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GREEK LYRIC, TRAGEDY,
& TEXTUAL CRITICISM

COLLECTED PAPERS

W. S. BARRETT

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and Textual Criticism*

COLLECTED PAPERS

ASSEMBLED AND EDITED BY

M. L. WEST

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Preface

Spencer Barrett, who died in 2001 in his eighty-eighth year, was one of the finest Hellenists of the second half of the twentieth century. His whole career, up to his retirement, was spent in Oxford: first as an undergraduate at Christ Church, tutored by Denys Page; then briefly as a Lecturer at that college (1938–9); then as a Lecturer, and from 1952 as a Fellow, at Keble College (1939–81). After retiring he moved to Bristol and continued his scholarly activity there.

He is known above all for his edition of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (or *Hippolytos*, as he insisted on writing it), which will always stand as one of the great editions and commentaries on a Greek play. Otherwise he did not publish a great deal. Apart from the important chapter that he contributed to Richard Carden's *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin–New York 1974), there are the five articles included in the present volume, and a substantial review of Part xxiv of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* in *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 682–92. But among the mass of papers that he left at his death there were typescripts of many more pieces that he had evidently written with a view to publication at some time or other. Some of them are incomplete or exist in more than one draft. But a number appeared to be in a sufficiently finished state, and of sufficient scholarly value, to justify their posthumous publication, and it is these that make up the bulk of this volume. I have also included three papers that Barrett wrote for oral presentation in various forums but regarded (to judge from the manner in which he preserved them) as having some more lasting value.

A year or so after his death his daughter, Mrs Gillian Hill, delivered eleven boxes of her father's papers to Adrian Hollis, his long-standing colleague in Keble. Dr Hollis invited me to go through them to see what there was in the way of publishable material. I spent a series of Sunday afternoons in his room working through the boxes and making a hand-list of their contents. I was disappointed not to find anything of the commentary on Pindar's odes for West Greek victors that Barrett was believed to have been working on for many years, except for the fragment that appears as chapter 5 of the present volume. But there were many other items that seemed worthy of serious attention, and I drew up a preliminary schedule. After taking advice from colleagues about particular areas of the collection—Dr W. B. Henry for Pindar and Bacchylides, Professor James Diggle for drama, and Professor M. D. Reeve for Latin authors—I submitted a proposal to the Press for the

publication of a volume, and offered to act as its editor. The Press made consultations of its own and received intimations that such a book would be received with enthusiasm in discerning scholarly quarters.

Apart from a couple of short items that exist only in handwritten form, the unpublished material is neatly and accurately typed and carefully laid out on the page. In a few of the early pieces Greek was written in by hand, but from 1964 onward it too was typed. However, the ensemble was not in such condition that it could be handed over to a printer as it was. Different pieces are on paper of different sizes; in some cases the footnotes are accommodated at the foot of each page, in others they are on separate sheets (and in a few cases some of them are missing); sometimes afterthoughts have been added in pencil; some of the typescripts have become a little tatty; and sometimes, as mentioned above, there are divergent drafts or partial drafts. In such cases I had to pick out what seemed to be the last or most complete version, or supplement one from another. It was then necessary to convert the whole into electronic form as a basis for further editing. The Oxford Faculty of Classics and the Jowett Copyright Trust made funds available for this laborious task, which was ably carried out by Dr Andrew Faulkner in 2004–5.

The typescripts do not normally carry a date, and while one or two of them can be assigned to a particular year, most can only be dated within broader limits, which I have indicated for each item in a footnote at the beginning of the chapter or section. External evidence is provided by such things as the size of paper used, the initial unavailability of a Greek typewriter, the existence of carbon copies, and certain details of writing and spelling: there was a time when Barrett did write ‘Hippolytus’ or ‘Hippolutos’ and not yet ‘Hippolytos’, and a time (before about 1951) when he had not yet committed himself irrevocably to the lunate sigma. Internal evidence comes from his references to existing publications, or from the absence of reference to works that he certainly would have cited if they had appeared. But it must be noted that he returned to certain items after an interval, and that in the case of the hefty piece on Pindaric metre (chapter 8) the indications of date are spread over a period of some twelve years. We cannot always, or indeed often, assume that he had applied the *summa manus*, and this should be borne in mind when any of this work is subjected to critical appraisal.

The question must here be asked, why he failed to bring so much that he had written to the point of publication. Was he not completely satisfied with it? Did he always intend to come back to it at some later time and improve it? Certainly he was a perfectionist, but I do not think that that is a sufficient explanation. Most of the typescripts are so carefully prepared as to suggest not work in progress but definitive presentations. In one or two cases there is evidence that publication was in train and was for one reason or another

aborted. My impression is that he composed many of these pieces not so much from a desire to see himself in print, or to instruct others, as from a need to work out the arguments for himself and construct a clear and coherent statement of them. He did this, in most cases at least, with the intention of publishing. But once he had done it, I suspect, he often lost the urge to see the matter through to publication, and instead turned to some other problem.

To anyone who never knew him his manner of writing may easily give the impression that he was a haughty, pompous, or arrogant man. He was not. In his personal dealings and conversation he was entirely pleasant, civil, and humane. But in intellectual questions, when he had once thought a matter through, he felt sure of his ground and was prepared to assert his views in uncompromising fashion. In his scholarly essays he castigates stupidity and negligence unsparingly where he finds it, and insists on the cogency of his own arguments. His tone is that of the magistrate who has reviewed all the evidence and reports to the court the conclusions he has drawn from it.

Sometimes these are dependent on his feeling for style: 'I refuse to believe that Bacchylides would have . . .', and the like. But they are always conclusions, not prejudices, and he always does his utmost to establish them on a rational footing. I once heard it said of him that he attached the same importance to trivial problems as to major ones. I do not think that was quite right: it was not that he regarded them as of equal importance, but that he felt that equal pains must be taken in solving them. So far as possible he tried to make philology into an exact science. He loved collecting and analysing statistics, not for their own sake but as an aid to deciding a question or establishing a rule. He seized on astronomical allusions as giving the opportunity for calculations. Readers will marvel as he describes minute papyrus traces more meticulously than any papyrologist, measures them (or the gaps between them) to a tenth of a millimetre, and compares them with every other example of the putative letter or letter combination in the papyrus; and how in general he pursues his investigations remorselessly into the remotest corners in order to deal with every conceivable alternative to his own position.

Much of his work has an exemplary value that transcends its particular results. In his pioneering work on Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* he shows how, by combining metrical analysis with study of the manuscript layout, one can draw conclusions for the placing and sequence of fragments and the development of the narrative. His discussions of Pindaric odes go beyond rigorous philology in the attempt to reconstruct personal and historical contexts: not an original approach, but an object lesson in disciplined speculation that may or may not succeed in finding the right answers but at least shows

how to tackle the questions. In the studies of Pindaric and Bacchylidean metrical practice he takes immense trouble to establish facts that may seem of slight interest or significance. But in the course of doing so he throws light on many problematic passages, and the outcome is that subsequent critics are left in possession of more exact yardsticks to apply to this verse.

I have edited with a light hand. I have tried to achieve consistency of spelling and general format, while in general respecting Barrett's preferences. I have only very seldom modified his somewhat idiosyncratic punctuation, though I myself, and most writers, would use far fewer of the semicolons and colons with which he stakes out the logical structure and steadies the tempo of his sentences, and fewer parentheses. I have not thought it my job to provide a survey of subsequent scholarship on the questions he discussed, only to update his references where appropriate and to supply references where he left them out. He tended to cite secondary literature with less bibliographical detail than is now customary: rather than inject this in each place, I have drawn up a separate list of the books he cites or alludes to. Matter inserted by me in the text or footnotes is enclosed in angular brackets < >, and first-person pronouns within such brackets refer, as you might expect, to me.

I thank the Franz Steiner Verlag for permission to reproduce two articles from *Hermes*; Oxford University Press for permission to reproduce one from the *Classical Quarterly*; the Council of the Hellenic Society for permission to reproduce another from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*; and the editors of *Dionysiaca: Studies in honour of Sir Denys Page* for permission to reproduce a paper from that volume.

For an account of Barrett's life and work I refer the reader to the memoir by Adrian Hollis in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 124 (2004), 25–36.

Martin West
February 2006

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Abbreviations

BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BPhW	<i>Berliner philologische Wochenschrift</i>
CEG	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin–New York 1983–9)
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
ed. pr.	editio princeps (first edition of the text in question)
FGrHist	Felix Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin–Leiden 1923–58)
GDI	H. Collitz et al., <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Göttingen 1884–1915)
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
Gow–Page, GP	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip</i> (Cambridge 1968)
Gow–Page, HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> (Cambridge 1965)
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
GVI	Werner Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> , i (Berlin 1955)
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JPh	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
KG	R. Kühner, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> , 2. Teil besorgt von B. Gerth, 2 vols. (Hanover 1898–1904)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
LSJ	Liddell–Scott–Jones, <i>Greek–English Lexicon</i>
<i>Mus. Helv.</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Page, FGE	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> (Cambridge 1981)
PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PFAO	<i>Papyrus de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i>

PLF	Edgar Lobel and D. L. Page, <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i> (Oxford 1955)
PMG	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962)
PMGF	Malcolm Davies, <i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , i (Oxford 1991)
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus papyrus</i>
PSI	<i>Papiri della Società Italiana</i>
RE	Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, et al., <i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart 1894–1980)
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
Roscher	W. H. Roscher (ed.), <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> (Leipzig–Berlin 1884–1937)
Schwyzler	Eduard Schwyzler, <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> (Munich 1939–71)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SH	Hugh Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons, <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Berlin–New York 1983)
SIG	Wilhelm Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (3rd edn., Leipzig 1915–24)
SLG	D. L. Page, <i>Supplementum Lyricis Graecis</i> (Oxford 1974)
TAPA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
TrGF	Bruno Snell, Richard Kannicht, Stefan Radt, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Göttingen 1971–2004)
Vorsokr.	Hermann Diels–Walther Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> (6th edn., Berlin 1951–2)
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

In citing classical authors Barrett uses more or less the same abbreviations as LSJ, except that he prefers *k* to *c* in Greek names and titles: S. OK, E. *Hek.*, Kall. *Hy.*, etc.

Stesichoros and the Story of Geryon

Stesichoros is a poet to whom the fates have been unkind. He wrote a great deal of poetry; he had a high reputation in antiquity, and apparently a very considerable influence on later literature; yet all that remained of his works until a few years ago, apart from a few isolated words and phrases, was about twenty fragments amounting in all to the equivalent of about forty hexameter lines.

Our picture of his writings, based merely on these tenuous fragments, a handful of allusions, and a few brief estimates by ancient critics, was naturally shadowy and ill defined. But recent publications of papyri, though they give us no great quantity of coherent text, have brought our picture into much sharper focus; and I propose tonight to give you some indication of what that picture now is. I shall base that indication in particular on the one poem that is now the best attested: the *Geryoneis*, the story of Geryon.

But first, some more general considerations. For his life, the evidence is sketchy, and either imprecise, or unreliable, or both: if one puts his activity in the second quarter of the sixth century, one must allow for a sizeable overlap—he is said to have lived a long life—into the adjacent quarters. He was a Western Greek: said to have been born in the Lokrian colony of Matauros, and his life connected by tradition both with Lokroi itself and with Himera in Sicily. He was doubtless influenced by the traditions of poetry which we know to have existed at Lokroi; but we know so vanishingly little of those traditions that their influence must remain an enigma.

We learn from the *Souda* that his works comprised twenty-six books. Now with other lyric poets references in ancient authors to a particular passage are made to a given *book*: ‘Pindar, *Paians*’; ‘Alkaios, Book 3’; and so on. But all our twenty-four such references to passages in Stesichoros are references not to a book but to a *poem*: ‘Stesichoros, *Geryoneis*’; ‘Stesichoros,

<Paper delivered at the Hellenic and Roman Societies’ Triennial Meeting at Oxford in September 1968. B. gave a copy to D. L. Page, who acknowledges his debt to it in his paper on the *Geryoneis* in *JHS* 93 (1973), 138–54.>

Sack of Troy'—except that two of them are to a book of a poem, 'Stesichoros, *Oresteia*, Book 2'. It is a quite safe conclusion that his poems comprised at any rate a book apiece; one at least, the *Oresteia*, was in more than one book, and for all we know the same may be true of others as well. We have the titles of a dozen of his poems; how many titles are lost we have of course no idea.

In the last twelve years there have been published fragments from papyrus rolls of no fewer than five of these poems: all of them published by Mr. Lobel in volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.¹ In 1956 came the first two, neither unfortunately of any size: of the *Nostoi*, four lines and tatters of two dozen more; of the *Boar-Hunters*, eighteen half-lines. But last summer came a better haul: a very little of the *Eriphyle* (seventeen half-lines); about fifty very broken fragments of the *Sack of Troy*, giving as published no single line complete; and about eighty fragments of the *Geryoneis*, mostly very broken and many of them minute, but preserving—as you will see from the handout—a certain amount of continuous text, and allowing also a certain amount of reasonably secure restoration.²

Now what manner of poems are they? I will begin with their outer form, and first with their metre. Until the papyri appeared we had to take on trust a statement in the *Souda* that 'all Stesichoros' poetry is triadic'; that statement is now confirmed. The triadic structure of the *Geryoneis* is readily established: I have set out the metrical scheme on the first page of the handout—a medium-sized strophe and epode, comparable in length with many of Pindar and Bacchylides. For the *Sack of Troy*, Dr. West has established a triadic structure with stanzas of comparable size.³ Of the other poems not enough survives for the whole structure to be determined; but there are indications of a nine-line strophe in the *Nostoi* (this was seen by Professor Merkelbach) and a seven-line strophe in the *Boar-Hunters* (seen by Professor Snell),⁴ and it would be perverse to doubt that these poems also were triadic.

The metres are in every case dactylic: pure dactyls in the *Geryoneis* and apparently in the *Boar-Hunters*, dactyls with some admixture of epitrites in the other three—I say 'some admixture', for the epitrite component is smaller than in the familiar dactylo-epitrites of Pindar and Bacchylides. I should not be surprised to learn that Stesichoros himself played a major part in the development of dactylo-epitrite from dactylic; but that is no question to be

¹ <The *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxiii (1956), nos. 2359–60; xxxii (1967), nos. 2617–19.>

² <On the handout see the appendix to this chapter.>

³ <M. L. West, *ZPE* 4 (1969), 135–7.>

⁴ <R. Merkelbach, *Maia* 15 (1963), 165 f. = *Philologica: Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997), 68 f.; B. Snell, *Hermes* 85 (1957), 249.>

discussed tonight. The dactyls, I should add, are often —and in the *Geryoneis* predominantly—*rising* dactyls, with the periods beginning not with a long but with a double short.

The dialect is fundamentally doricized epic; epic, that is, with Doric vocalism and the occasional use of metrically equivalent Doric forms (for instance *ποκα* as the equivalent of Homeric *ποτε*). The vocabulary is largely but of course not exclusively that of our Homer; the use of the vocabulary, and its grouping into phrases, shows—as might be expected—some deviation from the Homeric norm; and occasionally we meet a form that seems to have no equivalent in epic, but to come from a different dialect or from a later stage in the development of the language. But only occasionally: fundamentally, as I say, it is doricized epic—the dialect that in the course of the next hundred years was to establish itself as the *lingua franca* of the international choral lyric of the Greeks.

Our earliest reference to Stesichoros is by the poet Simonides <PMG 564>: Stesichoros had written a poem on the funeral games of Pelias; and when Simonides mentions a victory of Meleagros in those games, he adds ‘for so did Homer and Stesichoros sing to the peoples’. To Simonides, that is, he is a forerunner to be named along with Homer; and this linking of him with Homer becomes a commonplace. To Dio of Prusa <Or. 37(55). 7, ii. 116. 12 von Arnim> it is common knowledge that Stesichoros ‘emulated Homer and wrote poetry that was very similar to his’; to Longinus <13. 3> he is one of the few writers deserving to be called *Ὀμηρικώτατος*. Of the descriptions of his style by ancient writers, I will quote one by Dionysios of Halikarnassos and one by Quintilian. Dionysios says of him (*π. μμ.* fr. 6. 2. 7 <*Opusc.* ii. 205. 11 Us.–R.>), after discussing the merits of Pindar and Simonides, that he ‘is successful in the aspects in which they show themselves superior, and at the same time commands effects which they fail to attain: namely in the grandeur of the action which he makes his theme, and in the care which he bestows on the character and dignity of his personages’. And Quintilian <10. 1. 61 f.>, after putting Pindar first among lyric poets, proceeds next to Stesichoros: ‘one token of the strength of his genius is his subject-matter: he sings of great wars and famous heroes, and supports on his lyre the whole burden of epic poetry [*epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem*]. He gives his characters their proper dignity both in their actions and in their words, and if he had kept within bounds he would, I think, have been able to come a close second to Homer; but he is too full and too diffuse [*redundat atque effunditur*: a metaphor from a river that overflows its banks and spreads out instead of keeping to its channel]; a fault which one is bound to censure, but which nevertheless stems from the very fact that he has so much to say [*quod ut est reprehendendum, ita copiae uitium est*]’.

The picture which this gives is of a lyric poet writing large-scale works on epic themes with a fullness of treatment running sometimes into the diffuse; and the papyrus fragments are now beginning to make clear how true this is. They have shown us another thing too, which the quotation fragments had not led us to expect, but which we can now see to lie behind Quintilian's words about 'giving his characters their proper dignity both in their actions and in their words': namely the amount of direct speech which Stesichoros puts on the lips of his various characters. We shall see plenty of this in the *Geryoneis*; and the papyrus fragments show that he did just the same in his other works as well. The scrap of the *Nostoi* has Helen speaking to Telemachos; the scrap of the *Boar-Hunters* is pure narrative, but that of the *Eriphyle* has a dialogue between Adrastos and Alkmaon; and in the tatters of the *Sack of Troy* the two coherent pieces that I have been able to put together (following Dr. West's work on the triad) are again in each case speeches. This is of course entirely in the Homeric vein: in the *Iliad*, the direct speech amounts to 45 per cent of the whole; I should suppose that the proportion in Stesichoros was very similar.

But it is time now for me to turn to the story of Geryon. I shall call him 'Geryon', as the most familiar form of his name; though in fact the normal ancient form is Geryones, or in Stesichoros' Doric Garyonas; in Hesiod there is still a third form, Geryoneus.

One of the labours enjoined on Herakles by Eurystheus was to bring him the cattle of Geryon. This Geryon was a monster (I shall consider the detail of his monstrosity in a moment) whose father was a shadowy figure called Chrysaor, son of Poseidon by the Gorgon Medousa, and whose mother was the Okeanid Kallirrhoe. He lived in the island of Erytheia, out across the stream of the Okeanos, and equated at some stage—Stesichoros seems to accept, or at least to reflect, the identification—with one of the islands at the mouth of the Guadalquivir on which Cadiz now stands. He kept there a herd of cattle, guarded by a herdsman Eurytion and a two-headed dog Orthos, a brother of Kerberos (and, incidentally, first cousin to Geryon's own father). Herakles crossed the Okeanos, killed dog, herdsman, and Geryon himself, crossed the Okeanos again with the cattle, and drove them back to Tiryns.

Our earliest reference to the story is in Hesiod's *Theogony* (287–94). He tells of the birth of Chrysaor from Medousa, and then goes on:

And Chrysaor begot three-headed Geryoneus in union with Kallirrhoe, daughter of glorious Okeanos. Him did mighty Herakles kill, by his shambling cattle, in Erytheia amid the waters, on that day when he drove off his broad-browed cattle to holy Tiryns, crossing the stream of Okeanos, killing Orthos and the neatherd Eurytion in the misty steading beyond glorious Okeanos.

This is our earliest account; evidently the story was a familiar one at the time when these lines were composed, so that Stesichoros was breaking no fresh ground in his telling of it. (He was, as we know from other references, a vigorous innovator in some of the detail of some of his poems, and it is *a priori* likely enough that he innovated in the detail of the *Geryoneis*; but the main legend as he tells it is traditional.)

Our *fullest* account is in a very different work: the mythological handbook, probably of the first or second century AD, that goes under the name of Apollodoros. (It will go under that name, I should say, in this paper tonight: not because I believe Apollodoros wrote it, but because it is so much the simplest name to use.)

The tenth labour imposed on him was to fetch the cattle of Geryon from Erytheia. Erytheia was an island near the Okeanos, now called Gadeira. In it lived Geryon, the son of Chrysaor and Kallirrhoe daughter of Okeanos; his body was that of three men united at the belly but dividing into three from the waist and from the thighs. He owned a herd of red cattle, which were herded by Eurytion and guarded by the dog Orthos, a two-headed creature born from Echidna and Typhon. Herakles journeyed through Europe to fetch these cattle; he destroyed many wild animals, and set foot in Libya; and passing by Tartessos he left a monument of his journey by setting up two pillars over against one another at the boundaries of Europe and Libya. On his way he was heated by the Sun, and bent his bow at the god; and he, in admiration of his courage, gave him a golden cup, in which Herakles crossed the Okeanos. When he arrived at Erytheia he bivouacked on Mount Abas. The dog saw him, and rushed against him; but Herakles struck the dog with his club, and also killed the herdsman Eurytion when he came to help the dog. Menoites, who was pasturing the cattle of Hades there, reported this to Geryon; and he caught up with Herakles by the river Anthemous as he was driving the cattle away, joined battle with him, and was shot dead. Herakles then embarked the cattle in the cup, sailed across to Tartessos, and returned the cup to the Sun. (There then follows a lengthy narrative of all the things that happened to Herakles on his way home.)

I shall come back later to some of the detail of this account. For the moment I will confine myself to a brief consideration of the monstrosity of Geryon. In Hesiod he is 'three-headed'. In Aeschylus and Euripides he is *τριώματος*, three-bodied. The account in Apollodoros is the most circumstantial that we have: a kind of Siamese triplets united in the abdomen. There was evidently a similarly circumstantial account in Stesichoros; we have traces of it in the scholiast on the *Theogony* <287>, who says that Stesichoros 'gave Geryon six arms and six legs and made him winged'. As the words stand they might I suppose be compatible with a single body provided, after the fashion—or rather beyond the fashion—of a Hindu deity, with a plethora of limbs; but since Geryon is invariably three-bodied in art, it seems to me quite

safe to assume that the scholiast is merely mentioning features ignored by Hesiod (there is a *καί* in his account which is compatible with this), and that Geryon had three bodies in Stesichoros as well.

I have mentioned art; and having mentioned it I will show you one or two representations of the subject on sixth-century vases. And before I show them I would like to express my thanks to Professor Robertson for making it so easy for me to do so: I have been guided through the subject first by a paper he read in Oxford last term, and subsequently by the typescript of an article of his that is still only on its way into print;⁵ and finally he has crowned his kindness by actually lending me the slides. I could not have had better or more generous help; and I hope that in the use I make of it I shall say nothing of which he would disapprove. If I do, it will certainly be wrong.

The theme of Herakles' fight with Geryon is a very common one in sixth-century art. There are a few representations, on vases and elsewhere, that must be accounted pre-Stesichorean: the earliest is actually seventh-century, the others from about the first quarter of the sixth. But the vast majority of the representations—nearly seventy of them—are on vases that belong to the middle of the sixth century and its end; and it is likely enough that the impetus behind the popularity of the subject at this time is to be sought in Stesichoros' own poem.

It is not my purpose tonight, and certainly not within my competence, to give you a history of the legend in art; all I intend to do is to illustrate it from a very few of the more notable vases. Two of them are Chalkidian vases from the middle of the sixth century; two are Attic red-figure from its end. Between these come a vast number of Attic black-figure vases; but I pass over these as being, by and large, at once less informative and less attractive.

My first vase (fig. 1) is a Chalkidian neck-amphora from the middle of the sixth century.⁶ (The three pictures here are simply different aspects of the same vase.) The central figure is Herakles, drawing his bow and about to loose an arrow; facing him, Geryon—all three bodies erect, but with an arrow lodged apparently somewhere near the bottom of a throat. Behind Herakles his divine protectress Athena: she appears constantly on the vases, and we shall meet her in the poem as well. Behind her, the cattle. Dead, on the ground, the dog Orthos (no arrow in him, so perhaps clubbed, as in Apollodoros), and Eurytion, with an arrow in his back. Behind Geryon, a

⁵ <Martin Robertson, 'Geryoneis: Stesichoros and the Vase-painters', *CQ* 19 (1969), 207–21.>

⁶ Cabinet des Médailles 202. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, 8 and 46, no. 3, 65 f., pls. 6–9; <*LIMC* Geryoneus 16 = Herakles 2464. In lieu of the slides I reproduce line drawings of B.'s first three vases from Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques* (Paris 1899–1900), i. 238 (here fig. 3), ii. 160. 3 (fig. 2), 253 (fig. 1).>

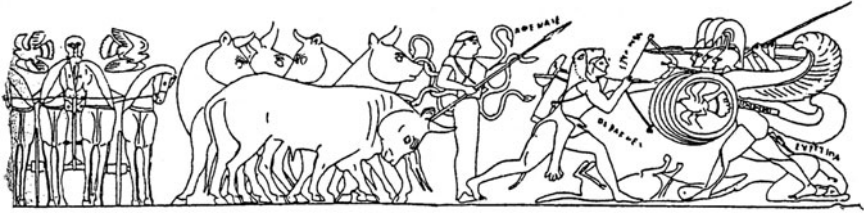


Figure 1



Figure 2

chariot; but this can hardly belong to the legend, and is likely to be a separate picture drawn to fill the space.

The conformation of Geryon can be seen more clearly on a larger photograph of part of the same vase. He is three-headed, and presumably three-bodied (though his shields conceal this part of him); he is six-armed, and winged. All this accords with Stesichoros, but one feature does not: he supports this superstructure on a single pair of legs.

A second Chalkidian vase (fig. 2), an amphora of about the same date and ascribed to the same painter,⁷ shows fewer figures: Herakles, with Athena again behind him, and Geryon. Physically Geryon is the same as on the other vase: again winged, and again a single pair of legs. This time we are at a later stage in the fight, and the three bodies are clearly visible: two of them are already disposed of and are collapsing, one forward and one to the rear. There is no indication of arrows in either of the fallen bodies: Herakles, though he wears his quiver, is holding no bow and is gripping the third head by its helmet and driving a sword into its throat.

In two respects the portrayal of Geryon on these two vases is abnormal: all earlier representations, and all the later vases, give him *six* legs and *no* wings; and these two Chalkidian vases, with *two* legs and with wings, are exceptional. Now we know that the wings appeared in Stesichoros; but we know that the

⁷ British Museum B 155. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, 10 and 47, no. 6, 65 f., pls. 13–15; <LIMC Geryoneus 15 = Herakles 2479>.

two legs did not. As far as the wings are concerned, I incline to suppose that they were an innovation of Stesichoros; and that they were taken over by this painter fairly soon after the poem became known but discarded later because they made Geryon too monstrous and complicated the picture unduly. For the legs, I agree entirely with a suggestion of Professor Robertson's: a six-legged Geryon, in side-view at least, is scarcely distinguishable from the three men side by side; our Chalkidian painter, concerned to stress the monstrosity, reduced the legs to two in order to make the three-in-one-ness visually apparent.

I now move to the end of the century and to my two Attic red-figure vases. The first of these (fig. 3), a cup painted by Euphronios,⁸ is not only a very good painting but the fullest of the lot: mythologically speaking perhaps too full. I am showing you first a detail, of the combatants: there is Geryon, with his six legs and no wings; one of his bodies has fallen back with an arrow in the eye, and Herakles after this success has given up his bow (though he still holds it, with a couple of arrows in his left hand) and is attacking the remaining bodies with his club. Orthos is dead between them, with an arrow in the chest.

And now the whole of the cup. Here again are the combatants; behind Herakles, Athena; behind her, Iolaos; and behind him, on the ground, Eurytion, still alive but bleeding from a wound in the chest. With the cattle, on the far side of the cup, three armed men. Behind Geryon, a woman, unnamed, in evident distress. She will be relevant to the surviving fragments of the poem. Iolaos and the armed men appear on no other vase than this; I should judge them to be quite out of place in what seems to have been essentially a solo expedition, and would suppose them to be an addition of Euphronios' own, made perhaps to fill out the very elongated field that this cup provided.

Now the second red-figure vase (fig. 4), a cup by the painter Oltos.⁹ The same six-legged and wingless Geryon, one body again fallen back with an arrow in the eye; but Herakles is this time attacking the remaining bodies with his bow. Behind Herakles, Athena and—uniquely—Iris; behind Geryon, once again the distressed woman. No dog; Eurytion on the ground, a wound in the chest.

I have said that I think it likely that it was Stesichoros' poem that gave the original impetus to the spate of paintings of the killing of Geryon. But this

⁸ Munich 2620. Beazley, *ARV*², 16 f. and 1619, no. 17, with references; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 22; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 391; Lullies-Hirmer, pls. 12–16; <*LIMC* Eurytion II 44 = Herakles 2501>.

⁹ Lost (but known from a careful drawing). Beazley, *ARV*², 62, no. 84; des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, pl. 38; Klein, *Euphronios*, 81; <*LIMC* Eurytion II 29; reproduced here from Klein>.



Figure 3

does not mean, of course, that every painter when he depicted the incident had the poem itself in mind: the poem sparked off the tradition, but the tradition then developed on its own, the painters following their predecessors rather than the poet (though perhaps with an occasional booster from the poem), and modifying the detail from time to time as they found it artistically convenient. I would suppose that the Chalkidian paintings, in view both of their date and of their wings, are likely to follow most closely the detail of the poem; but it would be rash, of course, to construct the detail from the paintings alone.

Now at last I come to the actual fragments of the *Geryoneis*. I have transcribed on the handout the three quotation fragments and those fragments of

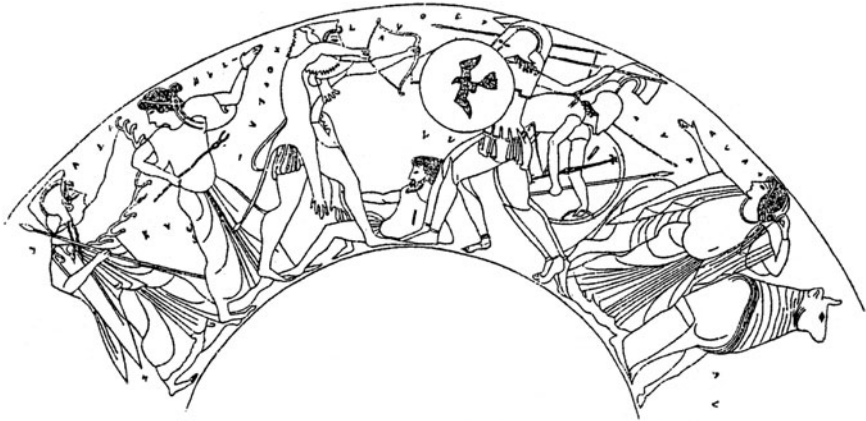


Figure 4

the papyrus which either offer a coherent text or give some kind of hint about the structure of the poem.

The papyrus was written early in the first century BC in a careful and regular hand. Now in three places we have in a single fragment parts of two adjacent columns, and in each case the metre in both columns can be identified; since we know the metrical structure, this enables us to deduce in each case the number of lines in a column, and each time that number is thirty. Since the hand is so regular, it is a reasonable working hypothesis that the number was consistent throughout the roll. In this case we can draw up a table indicating the metrical content of succeeding columns; and I have set out that table on the first page of the handout. There are 26 lines in a triad, 30 lines in a column; every column will begin at a point four lines later in the triad than its predecessor; after 13 columns, containing exactly 15 triads, we shall be back again where we began, and the 14th column will begin at the same point in the triad as the first.

In my table I have numbered the columns with roman numerals; and wherever we can identify the column to which a fragment belongs—which we can do immediately if the fragment comes from either the head or the foot of a column—I have put the column-number in the margin at the head of the text of the fragment. These numbers will be of considerable help in establishing the sequence of the fragments in the poem. But I must remind you that columns of the same number will keep recurring at intervals of 13 columns; so that two columns, say, with consecutive numbers need not themselves be consecutive, but may come at quite a distance apart.

We can tell from the column-numbers that the fragments of the papyrus extend over a pretty considerable stretch of the roll. Fr. 13 (E on the handout),

from col. XI, is at least one whole sequence earlier than fr. 4 (K on the handout), also from col. XI; fr. 6 (M on the handout), from col. X, cannot in view of its content be adjacent to either of these, and so is at least one further sequence apart. This means that the fragments are spread over at least 26 columns, or 780 lines; and they may well be spread even more widely.

One fragment has in its margin a stichometric numeral, N—that is, line 1300 of the roll. This unfortunately tells us nothing: the fragment is so small a scrap that we have no clue to its content, and so cannot tell what stage in the poem has been reached by line 1300. That the roll contained at least 1300 lines was likely enough in any case: Pindar's *Nemean*s have 1261 lines, his *Pythians* 1983, Sappho's first Book 1320. And I add that we must allow for the possibility that the *Geryoneis*, like the *Oresteia*, occupied more than a single roll.

A word about the handout. In including supplements I have stuck my neck out slightly but not very far: I have supplied, that is, not only the certain but also the reasonably probable; I have plumped sometimes, rather than leave a gap, for one of two indifferent alternative possibilities; and in dealing with broken lines have articulated the letters or indicated the metre in what seems the most likely way, even though other ways might be possible. On the other hand I have included no supplements that do not fit the space; and I have made no supplements in places where I could not feel certain about the sense or about the general structure of the sentence.

I have also thought it better not to clutter up the handout by indicating the authorship of supplements. I have adopted some from Mr. Lobel and some from Professor Page, and have contributed others of my own; and some are the rather complicated kind where I have developed or modified a suggestion made by one of the others. My conscience is easy about this, since the supplements which are not my own are already in print—Mr. Lobel's in vol. xxxii of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Professor Page's in his new Oxford Text, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (where the principal fragments are included as Addenda); but I certainly owe it to these scholars to give a blanket warning that a good deal of the property here is not mine but theirs.

Now the text.

I leave my fragment A for the moment, and begin with B: a quotation fragment, describing the birth of the herdsman Eurytion. According to Strabo, who quotes it, Stesichoros says that Eurytion was born (*γεννηθείη* is his word, clearly not part of the quotation) 'close over against famous Erytheia, by the limitless silver-rooted streams of the river Tartessos, within the hollow of a rock'. Now that we know the metre of the poem we can see that something is missing here: I have assumed it to be the verb *τίκτεν*, whose insertion allows us to fit the fragment into the beginning of an epode. (If

there *was* such a verb in such a position, Strabo would have been compelled to omit it from his quotation to suit the form of his own sentence in which he quotes it.) Tartessos (the same word as Tarshish) is usually a town but here the river, the Guadalquivir. The *παραί* are of course not its springs but its streams (the island lies off its mouth, not off its source); and I suppose them to be silver-rooted because Stesichoros conceives of the river as rising in the region of the silver mines from which the famous silver of Tartessos was obtained.

We have no notion at what precise point in the narrative this description came: at latest, of course, at the time when Eurytion is killed. And here I have one thing to say. In Apollodoros Herakles kills the dog Orthos and Eurytion when he first makes contact with the herd; the fight with Geryon comes only later, when Geryon arrives to recover the herd after Herakles has driven it away. I have no doubt whatever that the sequence of events in Stesichoros was the same. In many of the vase-paintings Eurytion (with or without a dog) is lying dead or dying at the feet of the combatants; which might create the impression that the painters were following a version in which the fight followed in the same spot as the killing of Eurytion and Orthos, and so more or less immediately after it. But this impression was never intended: the painters, concerned to fill their field with the persons and incidents of the legend, are perfectly willing to telescope those incidents both in time and in space. All one was meant to read into the paintings was ‘here is Herakles fighting Geryon after killing Eurytion and Orthos’; just where he killed them, or how soon before, is a question with which the painter was not concerned and which his public could be relied on not to ask.

I move on next to the fragment marked E on my handout. You may think, when you look at the handout, that I have been composing Greek lyric poetry rather than reconstructing it; but in fact we are lucky enough, in many places, to have just the right words or parts of words surviving for reconstruction to be fairly plain sailing.

The fragment contains a speech and its introduction. The speaker is Geryon: this is evident from line 27, *περὶ βουκὶν ἐμαῖς*. In lines 1–4 Geryon is designated: ‘to him in answer spoke . . . so-and-so’. All that survives of the actual designation is in line 4 the letters *θανατοιο* or *θανατοις*; as part of a designation this can hardly be anything other than the genitive *ἀθανάτοιο*, and genealogy and metre then conspire to make it at least very probable that the words were as I have put them down, ‘to him in answer spoke the doughty son of immortal Chrysaor and of Kallirrhoe’. We have no other evidence for the immortality of Chrysaor; but so little in any case is said about him anywhere that this need cause us no surprise. His father was Poseidon; his mother Medousa was admittedly the one mortal Gorgon of the three; but his

full brother, the horse Pegasos, was immortal, champing away in Pindar's time at the mangers of Olympos. And in any case Chrysaor's immortality seems to have especial point in the speech that follows.

Geryon in this speech is replying to a speech by another person—a male, since Geryon addresses him in 16 with an $\hat{\omega}$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$ whose termination is guaranteed by metre. And it is evident that that person has been trying to dissuade him from fighting with Herakles. The occasion therefore is at some point after Herakles has arrived in Erytheia and begun his cattle-rustling, but before Geryon himself has made contact with him. Whom then is Geryon addressing? Not his father Chrysaor: not at least if my supplements in 3 and 4 are right—you do not say 'to Chrysaor spoke the son of immortal Chrysaor': nor does $\hat{\omega}$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$ seem a likely way to address one's father. Not Eurytion: if Herakles has attacked the herd already, Eurytion is dead. Whom else? At this point I come back again to Apollodoros: when Herakles had killed Eurytion and Orthos, Menoites, who was pasturing the cattle of Hades in the neighbourhood, came and told Geryon what had happened. I suppose this account to derive—via what intermediaries I shall not conjecture—from Stesichoros himself. If one thinks about Menoites, he is a very unexpected character in the narrative: what is he, and what are the cattle of Hades, doing on Geryon's island at all? Why should Geryon not be present when Herakles makes his attack? Why should he not visit the herd, find dog and herdsman dead and cattle gone, and track the cattle till he comes up with Herakles? In a prose narrative, no reason at all; but in epic or quasi-epic, every reason—only if the news is brought to Geryon at home, when he is remote from his herd, can we have before he sets out the long series of speeches and counter-speeches which the poet delights to compose, and which as we shall see Stesichoros did compose on this occasion. I think therefore that there is every reason to suppose that Menoites here derives from an epic or quasi-epic source; and since he fits so suitably into Stesichoros' account, I am very willing to suppose that source to be Stesichoros himself.

At this point I go back a little, to fragments C and D. C comes from cols. VI and VII; *if* these columns are in the same sequence as Geryon's speech in col. XI, there are 105 lines between the last line of C and the first of E. On the first part of C I shall waste no words. The second part, in col. VII, may I think come from Menoites' description of Herakles. First, its position is suitable: Menoites describes Herakles and what he has done; Geryon says 'I'm going to fight him'; Menoites replies 'I wouldn't if I were you'; 105 lines is a quite likely stretch to be covered by this amount of speech-making. Secondly, $\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha$ in line 3 points to a speech: $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ in Homer comes predominantly in speeches. Thirdly, in line 2 a nominative ending in $-\delta\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$ is very likely 'quiver' (whether $\iota\delta\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$ or $\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\delta\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$: space would suggest the latter); and if in a speech

‘quiver’ occurs in the nominative, then a description of Herakles’ appearance is a promising place. Obviously this identification can only be very tentative; nevertheless the possibility is worth pointing out.

For the second fragment, D, we have no external means of establishing a position. But ω φίλε suggests the Geryon–Menoites dialogue; and one possibility is that Menoites is appealing to Geryon to consider his mother and father before he fights.

Now back again to E. Geryon begins: ‘Do not seek to affright my lordly spirit with words of chilly death’. The restoration is basically that of Professor Page, but modified by me. After ‘don’t try to frighten my . . .’ we must have ‘spirit’, which gives $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\alpha$ θυμόν; then θα[in 5 is ‘death’,]τα at the beginning of 6 is the end of an adjective agreeing with it, and between them there will be a verb to govern them. The next line, ‘and don’t (something) me’, I have not tried to restore: after μηδέ there will be either an elided $\mu\epsilon$ plus a word beginning $\epsilon\lambda$], or an unelided $\mu\epsilon$ plus a word beginning λ]. With ἐλέγχεα coming just below I should prefer to avoid it, or its cognates, here; probably therefore something beginning λ] is the more likely articulation.

Then Geryon proceeds to consider alternative possibilities and their consequences: the first with 7 αἰ μὲν γάρ, the second with 16 αἰ δέ. The restoration of the two if-clauses is pretty secure. In the second, a noun in -ραc (16) can only be πείραc or γήραc; the Homeric ἐπὶ γήραc ἰκέσθαι at once suggests itself. Then in the first, αγη] in 9 will obviously be its converse, ἀγήραoc or ἀγήρωc. Now it is καὶ ἀγήρωc; in Homer ἀγήραoc is constantly coupled with ἀθάνατοc, ‘immortal and unaging’, and so it must be here. This, with a verb in -μαι between them, gives ἀθάνατόc τ’ ἔσομαι καὶ ἀγήρωc, ‘if I am going to be immortal and unaging in Olympos’; then before ἀθάνατοc presumably a vocative, and for the end of 9 πὰρ μακάρεccι θεοῖc is of itself suitable and gives, as we shall see, the converse of what is said in the second if-clause. So we have ‘if, my friend, I am to be immortal and unaging with the blessed gods in Olympos’.

For the second if-clause, we have already established ἐπὶ γήραc ἰκέσθαι; before it my supplement seems inevitable—‘But if, my friend, I am bound to reach hateful old age’. Then, with an adverb in -θεc, the obvious sense will be ‘and to live apart from the immortals’ (ἀνευθεc, ἀπάνευθεc); and this leaves us with ἐν, in or among, something beginning with epsilon. For this I would suppose ἐφ’αμερίοιc to be at least very likely: ‘but if, my friend, I am bound to reach hateful old age and to live among creatures of a day, sundered from the blessed gods . . .’.

These are the alternatives; what are their respective consequences? In each case Geryon says that the better, or the nobler, course is so-and-so; what are the so-and-sos?

At this point we should look at the *Iliad*. In book 12 Sarpedon is encouraging Glaukos to join in the attack on the wall. ‘Why’, he says (I am paraphrasing here)—‘why do we two have such honour and such wealth in Lycia? Because we have it we must fight in the front of the battle, so that the Lycians may say of us that our wealth is matched by our glory in war.’ *Noblesse*, that is, *oblige*. And then he goes on (322–8):

‘Oh my friend’ [ω πέπον, he says; this may lend some support to my restoration of πέπον in Stesichoros, line 8]—‘oh my friend, if once escaped from this war we were going to be forever ageless and immortal, neither would I myself fight in the front of the battle nor would I send *you* on into the fighting that gives men glory; but as things are, since the black κῆρυξ of death in fact beset us beyond number, and no mortal man can escape them or avoid them—let us go *on*, whether we shall give glory to another or another to us.’

This passage is not only great poetry: it is, as great poetry usually is, logically sound. The first alternative is a mere pipe-dream, expressed in the optative: if we had immortality assured us if we survive the war, then our obvious course would be to survive the war and to refuse to fight; but we have not—we have got to die like every man; and since we have got to die in any case, then let us fight, and die if we must with honour.

But Geryon’s speech is different. In his first alternative immortality is not a mere pipe-dream but a serious prospect; the verb he uses is indicative, and whether my actual supplement of ἔσομαι is right or wrong the termination]μαι is certain, and any other verb that one restores in its place will be equally indicative. Immortality as I say is a serious prospect: his father is immortal (as the poet has reminded us a few lines before); his mother, an Okeanid, is presumably immortal too; it is entirely on the cards that he himself will inherit their immortality. What is the logic going to be now? It is not a question, as it was in the *Iliad*, of *becoming* immortal if he survives this present crisis, it is a question of being destined for immortality in any case. The logical thing then would be simple: if I am going to be immortal, fight Herakles, since he will not in any case be able to kill me; if I am not, fight him just the same, and risk honourable death rather than accept an old age of disgrace. Perhaps indeed this *is* what Geryon says; but I doubt it. The second alternative is pretty clearly along those lines (though I cannot feel any certainty about the precise construction): perhaps ‘it is far more καλόν for me to endure whatever is fated, so that shame and disgrace may not attend on me and on all my family from the lips of those who tell hereafter of the son of Chrysaor; may not that be the will of the blessed gods’. That must at least be the *general* sense of the second alternative; but for the first alternative I am by no means sanguine of restoring ‘fight in any case, since he won’t be

able to kill me'. It looks more likely to be 'it is better to endure disgrace and to allow Herakles to make away with my cattle' (in line 14, perhaps some part of *κεραϊζειν*); and this, after the *indicative* of the protasis, will not be as competent as I should have hoped.

But there we are. The passage is clearly modelled on *Iliad* 12, in language which, so far as one can restore it, is no mean adaptation of an exemplar which neither Stesichoros nor any poet could hope to surpass or even to equal; and if the logic does break down in the first alternative, the vigour and pathos of the whole will still remain. One begins to see why the ancient critics speak as they do of Stesichoros' concern with the *debita dignitas* of his characters.

The next piece on my handout, F, was hardly worth including at all. The vocative *Κρονίδα βασιλεῦ* seems a necessary restoration, and shows that the fragment belongs to a speech; the preceding line looks to have contained *ἀδίκοικιν*; for a guess therefore, a speech by Geryon in indignation at the robbery.

Next, G. There is no doubt about this: Geryon's mother Kallirrhoe is appealing to him, and appealing to him not to fight. And here the papyrus throws light on the vases: the distressed woman whom we saw on two of the vases, and whose identity had been much discussed, will certainly be Kallirrhoe.

In lines 4 and 5: 'I beseech you, Geryon, if ever I gave you my breast to suck.' The restoration depends on the parallel, first drawn by Mr. Lobel, with Hekabe's appeal to Hektor in *Iliad* 22, when she tries to dissuade him from fighting Achilles: *εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον*. Once again we have Stesichoros adapting an Homeric exemplar. And the first lines smack of another Homeric exemplar, when Thetis says to Achilles *τί νυ ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα*; The parallel depends, I grant, on my supplement at the beginning of line 3 <*ἀλας[τοτόκος]*>, but I am fairly hopeful that the supplement is right. In the *αλας[* at the end of line 2 both the vowels have grave accents in the papyrus: that means that according to *our* way of writing accents the accent comes on a syllable subsequent to these. The word therefore is a part not of *ἄλαστος* but of some derivative or compound: no word known to the lexica is of any use, but this compound is right for space (it tallies, that is, with the supplement in 5), is rhetorically effective, and is of course entirely possible linguistically. She calls herself 'wretched, calamitous in my motherhood, calamitous in my fate'.

I cannot supply the beginning of 4: I should have expected *ἀλλά σε*, but it is too short; *νῦν δέ σε* is too long; and I have failed to think of anything in between. In 8 and 9 she may be begging him to stay *παρὰ μητρὶ φίλαι* (which would be right for space) and to take delight in *εὐφροσύναι*, good cheer; but I

am puzzled by the tense, the aorist, of what seems bound to be *γανυθείς* or *γανυθέντα*, ‘delighting’. In 10 she may have finished speaking and be doing something to her fragrant peplos, her *θυώδεα πέπλον*; perhaps, as Hekabe does, exposing her breast. But the remains are too slight for more than speculation.

For the moment I shall pass over H and proceed to I. The essential solution—lines 25–9—is due to Professor Page, and only the adverb is mine: ‘then did grey-eyed Athena speak in her wisdom to her stout-hearted father’s brother who fares by horse’—that is, to Poseidon; both Homeric epithets, though neither is applied in Homer to Poseidon. Now Poseidon is Geryon’s paternal grandfather, and so has an obvious personal interest in the conflict. And Athena says to him ‘come, remember the promise you made’ (good Homeric language again)—remember your promise and . . . do what? At first blush, seeing *Γαρύοναν θανάτου* together, one thinks ‘save Geryon from death’; but this will never do. Athena is Herakles’ great champion, constantly helping him in his labours, constantly shown on the vases as standing behind him and lending him her support: she cannot conceivably be urging Poseidon to *save* his victim. Professor Page, in the apparatus to his Oxford text, propounds a solution: Athena is saying ‘you try to save Geryon; I shall help Herakles’. This is certainly better, but I still find it unconvincing: Athena’s part is surely to dissuade Poseidon from interfering at all (and the vases, I may add, show no trace of his helping Geryon). I have put down on the handout another solution which I think is much more what one would expect: remember your promise and *do not* try to save Geryon from death. This means that we must suppose that Athena has somehow squared Poseidon earlier in the poem; I have no notion how she managed to square him, but I find no difficulty in assuming that somehow she did.

Finally, where does the fragment belong? Again perhaps we may draw an analogy from the killing of Hektor in the *Iliad*: after Achilles has come against Hektor, and Hektor has turned and fled, the gods are all watching them; and Zeus, whose own sympathies are all with Hektor, inquires of the others whether they should save him or let him die. Athena protests; and Zeus gives way. Then (after a little intervention by Athena) the battle begins.

Now our fragment comes from the foot of col. VIII; and fragment K begins in the middle of col. XI, with Herakles about to join battle with Geryon. If the two columns are in the same sequence, there will be 73 lines between the fragments. This would give a divine discussion in much the same position as in *Iliad* 22. I would suppose that after rejecting his mother’s plea Geryon goes off in quest of Herakles and the cattle; and that in the interval between his going off and his finding them we have this divine interlude. After Athena’s speech there will be a reply by Poseidon and then I suppose an account of

how Geryon comes upon Herakles; the 73 lines would accommodate this very suitably.

The fragment begins with the broken lines ‘stayed with Zeus the king of all’ (the epithet is pretty secure: we knew it from Alkaios and an Orphic hymn). Who stayed, in the singular? I find it hard to see why one particular deity should be singled out: is it perhaps *none* of the gods—οὐ τις ἔμιμνε παρὰ Δία παμβασιλῆα θεῶν? Is their interest in the battle so intense that they desert Olympus and come down to watch from close at hand? And is it then that Athena, mistrusting Poseidon’s presence, delivers this reminder to keep him in order?

Now I revert for a moment to H. Line 19 begins *πείθου τέκνον*: my child, do as I say. (The initial π is represented only by a speck, but no other letter gives sense; the form as it stands is Attic, and impossible for Stesichoros, but can easily be supposed to be a corruption of an original *πείθευ*.) This immediately suggests that again we have Kallirrhoe speaking to Geryon; and the problem is then to relate this fragment to fragment G.

A moment ago I was supposing that I, the divine interlude, followed after Geryon’s rejection of Kallirrhoe’s appeal; and I is from col. VIII. Now H is from the foot of col. VI; if therefore it *is* Kallirrhoe speaking to Geryon, it will (on my supposition) come two columns before I. Now G, which is certainly Kallirrhoe to Geryon, is from an unknown column but not from VI or VII (and if from VIII, not the same VIII as I); if therefore G comes close to H, it comes before it, in one of cols. I–V.

So far so good. But now consider the beginning of H, line 15: this looks to be *ἰδοῖκά τε νικόμενον*, ‘and seeing him coming’, and this suggests the introduction to a speech, *ἰδοῖκά τε νικόμενον ποτέφα*: and seeing him coming she addressed him. But this is no way to introduce Kallirrhoe’s *second* speech to Geryon in the same complex as G; so that if G and H belong together, G comes *after* H. But in that case H cannot come two columns before I, since that leaves no room for G between the two; and either the divine interlude comes elsewhere or a whole sequence of 13 columns has to be inserted between H and I.

I do not know the answer to this. It may well be that my notion about ‘seeing him coming she addressed him’ is all wrong; and if it is, my arrangement can stand. But if it is right, I shall have to think again. The problem serves as a warning about the dangers of reconstructing a text as fragmentary as this.

Now K: the lower halves of two consecutive columns. In the first, Herakles has evidently caught sight of Geryon approaching, and is debating with himself about the tactics to use. In 18, *νόωι διέλεν* is presumably ‘decided’ (a rather odd use); then (20–2) ‘it seemed to him to be by far the better course

[Homeric, but with an odd Euboian infinitive *εἶν* for *εἶναι*] to keep his distance [at a guess: *ἀπάνευθε κιώντα* or the like] and make war covertly against this powerful man'. In 23 perhaps *εὐράξ* (Homeric, meaning 'on the side'): 'taking his stand to his flank he devised for him bitter doom.' I will stop there for the moment, and come back to the rest of the column later.

In the second column the text reappears as the poet is talking about an arrow, in the nominative: it is 'bearing [or some such verb] the end of a hateful death, with doom about its head [an extraordinary use of *κεφαλά* for the head of an arrow],¹⁰ besmeared with blood and (some kind of) gall' (an adjective has gone; the gall is the hydra's, which Herakles traditionally used as his poison); then, with *ὀδύναϊσιν* strangely in apposition to *χολαί*, 'the agony of the man-destroying sheeny-necked hydra'. That describes the arrow; and now Herakles uses it. 'And in silence, stealthily, he drove it into his forehead: and it cut through flesh and bone by the dispensation of the daimon; and it carried right through, did the arrow, to the very crown of his head and stained with crimson blood his breastplate and gory limbs.'

Here there are patent reminiscences of Homeric wounds. At the same time there are two things which are very strange. One (suggested to me by Dr. West) is the remarkable trajectory of an arrow which hits someone in the forehead and comes out at the top of his head; the other is the verb *ἐνέρεισε*, which suggests not a missile but a *thrusting* blow (it is what they do to the stake when they thrust it into the Cyclops' eye); so that one may be tempted to wonder whether Herakles is perhaps *stabbing* Geryon with an arrow. But of course he cannot be: everything else points to a normal missile arrow—'silently and by stealth', and perhaps above all line 21, 'it carried right through to the very crown of his head', which can be said surely only of a weapon travelling under its own impetus (the verb is thus used four times in Homer, always of a missile, whether arrow or spear). I remark also on *δαίμονος αἵται*: success with the more chancy missile is what might more readily be ascribed to the working of the daimon.

So despite the oddities I am confident that the wound is a wound by a missile arrow. The question now comes: which body? And I would suppose the first. In our two red-figure vases we saw the first body disposed of by an arrow in the eye: very much the wound we have here. And in the vase-paintings Herakles commonly begins with his bow but proceeds to other weapons for subsequent bodies—in one Chalkidian vase he is attacking the third body with a sword, in Euphronios the second body with his club. And this variety would be the natural choice for an epic or quasi-epic poet, so that the killing of the various bodies should not be repetitious, and should hold

¹⁰ <Marginal note in the typescript: 'No: Bacchyl. 5. 74 *χαλκεόκρανον . . . ἰόν.*'>

the interest of his audience. My fragment L is of possible interest here: in one line 'second', in the next line 'club'. But of course it might come from elsewhere in the poem; and I would point out that if it follows K there must be at least 57 lines between the two.

Back now to the end of the first column. In 25 someone seems to be holding a shield, apparently in front of something, *πρόθεε*; this can only be Geryon—Herakles does not carry a shield. Then we have 'from his head', 'horse-plumed helmet', and 'on the ground'. Professor Page suggests that Herakles hits Geryon on a head with a stone and knocks off its helmet, which clatters on the ground. But this surely is a strange tactic when one has a bow to use; and it must be noted that the vases at all stages of the fight regularly show the helmets all in place on their heads. Nevertheless the possibility must remain in play if no more convincing solution can be found. As an alternative, I remark that the remains might be compatible with a quite different interpretation: Herakles shoots an arrow, but hits Geryon on a helmet; the helmet wards it off from the head, and the arrow falls useless to the ground. As still another alternative: it *may* be that the body of the second column is after all the second, and that the first one is being disposed of here; though if so it would seem to me that the disposal is proceeding rather rapidly for Stesichoros' unhurried style.

My fragment O ought perhaps to be considered in this context: it comes from the head of a col. XII, and *might* therefore be the top of the second column of K. But I can make nothing of it: it mentions a head and, apparently, an ear, *ῥαα*, so that it might *prima facie* belong; but I have been able to extract no sense that fits either this context or any other.

Now finally the last lines of K. Here, in our one bit of continuous narrative, comes still another Homeric feature, a simile: 'And Geryon inclined his neck at an angle, like a poppy, that spoiling its tender form forthwith sheds its petals and . . .'—and there the fragment ends. Again we have a clear reminiscence of Homer: in *Iliad* 8, of a man shot in the chest by an arrow, 'just as a poppy droops its head to one side, a poppy in a garden, weighed down with fruit and with the showers of spring, so he let his head sink to one side all heavy with its helmet'. Though I find Stesichoros' language here a little odd: *αἶψα* passes my understanding.

Now I leave the fight with Geryon, and come to Herakles' journeying. He will have gone out by foot to the hither shore of the Okeanos; but at that point he had the problem of crossing the Okeanos to Erytheia. Stesichoros solved the problem for him by having the Sun give him the loan of a golden cup: the cup in which once he had reached the west in the evening he was carried back along the Okeanos to the east, ready for his next day's westward journey. The cup itself was well established in legend: we have it, described

for its own sake, in the famous lines of Mimnermos <fr. 12 West>. But was its use by Herakles traditional? Or was it Stesichoros' own inspiration? I should certainly like—though I cannot of course prove it—to think the latter.

Herakles has to make two journeys in the cup: out to Erytheia, then back again with the cattle. Does he keep the cup for the whole period, or does he borrow it separately and briefly for each of the two journeys? I suspect the latter. This would certainly be the most convenient course for the Sun; but in this world of fantasy such practical details might be overlooked. There is however another consideration that tells the same way. In Apollodoros the Sun lends Herakles the cup in admiration, after Herakles has threatened him with his bow for making him too hot: this surely happens towards sunset, as the Sun comes uncomfortably close to Herakles in the far west as he loses altitude before setting. And then in Apollodoros Herakles on reaching Erytheia *bivouacs* on Mount Abas; that again suggests an evening journey after which Herakles settles down for the night. But if he crosses to Erytheia in the late evening, Herakles must then surrender the cup to the Sun for his eastward journey; then he will borrow it again next evening (or a later one) for the return.

Now in fragment N we have the Sun embarking in the cup and Herakles setting off on foot: evidently Herakles has just surrendered the cup to the Sun. Now if there is only a single borrowing, for the whole round trip, this must be on the return; but if there are separate borrowings, it can be after either journey.

Consider now the text of the fragment. (Now that we know the metre, the transmitted text can be seen to have been slightly corrupt; I have made what seem to me the most likely changes.) 'Then did the son of Hyperion embark in his golden cup, that crossing through the Okeanos he might come to the depths of holy dark night, to his mother and his wedded wife and his dear children; but the other, the son of Zeus, went on foot into the wood shadowy with laurel-trees.' Is this the landing on Erytheia? Or the return to the mainland with the cattle? I think surely the former; if the latter, I do not see how the cattle could be ignored.

Now fragment M. This is again the journeying in the cup: 'Over the waves of the deep brine they came to the beautiful island of the gods, where the Hesperides have their all-golden abode.' And then in 6 I think *καλύκων*, of the buds on their apple-tree.

Two things here seem certain. One is that the fetching of the cattle of Geryon and of the apples of the Hesperides are different labours, enjoined by Eurystheus at quite separate times; we cannot therefore have Herakles collecting the apples in a poem devoted to the other and quite unconnected labour. The second is that the island of the gods, where the Hesperides tend

their apple-tree, is a quite separate island from Erytheia. There is therefore only one possibility: that in making his crossing to or from Erytheia Herakles touches at the island of the Hesperides; that is, that Stesichoros takes the opportunity, with Herakles in the neighbourhood, to throw in simply for its own sake a brief descriptive passage about this wonderland. We know that he mentioned in the *Geryoneis* another Atlantic island, the island of Sarpedon: it seems not unlikely that the mention came in the same context as this fragment.

But there is still one problem remaining: the subject of ἀφίκοντο is plural. Who are 'they'? One might think of Iolaos and the armed men on the Euphronios vase; but these are surely only a private venture of Euphronios—no trace of them anywhere else, the whole expedition reeks of single-handedness, and I would say that there is strong evidence for the single-handedness in the last line of fragment N, where it is Herakles (and no other mentioned) who sets off into the shadowy wood.

I can think of two possibilities. One is that the cup—which was a magic cup, self-propelled and self-steering—should have a personality and be included with Herakles in the 'they'. The other is that this is the return journey, and that 'they' is Herakles and the cattle. I find neither of these suggestions attractive; but I have no better one to offer.

Finally, I go back to my fragment A. Herakles, besides his major labours, had all manner of secondary exploits and adventures; and it was inevitable that these should attach themselves to the periphery of the major ones. One of them was a fight with the Centaurs that took place when Herakles persuaded one of their number, Pholos, to let him drink from a jar of wine that he was guarding as the Centaurs' common property. Here we have the antecedents of the fight: 'and he took a pot-like cup, of some three flagons measure, that Pholos had mixed and set before him, and put it to his lips and drank.' Evidently therefore Stesichoros took the opportunity to allow Herakles, whether on the outward or the homeward journey, to perform some of these minor exploits. But the language here suggests that they were dealt with summarily: when the giving of the wine that was the *casus belli* is mentioned here so casually, I cannot feel that the incident was recounted at length.

That then is what we know, or can conjecture, about the *Geryoneis*.

And now I would like first to say very briefly something that I have felt for a long time and become convinced of after working on these fragments: that I do not believe for a moment that this was choral lyric, as it has so often been said to be. Choral presentation of a work of this kind and this length would surely be intolerable. It will have been delivered, surely, like the epic on which

it is based, by a single performer, accompanying himself doubtless on the lyre.¹¹

And then to sum up my impression of the poetry. When so much of Stesichoros' effect must have been achieved on the grand scale, by the broad sweep of his narrative, it would be unfair to judge him more than provisionally on these tattered and uncertain scraps; but even from these something has begun to emerge. One can see now something of the merits that the ancient critics found: the resemblance to Homer, the dignity of his characters, the grandeur of his theme. At the same time one can see something of his faults: a certain lack of control, evinced not merely in the over-fullness or diffuseness that Quintilian castigates but also, I suspect, in a certain carelessness or muddle-headedness in his thought and language. But the faults, so far as one can tell, weigh little against the merits: my appetite is whetted, and I hope most earnestly that the papyri will one day give us something that we can really read and really judge.

APPENDIX: THE HANDOUT

<Barrett's handout contained: the metrical scheme of the *Geryoneis*; a table showing which portions of the triad were contained in each column of the thirteen-column cycle in the papyrus, and which fragments are assignable to the head or foot of each column; and the text of the fourteen main fragments, with some supplements and, where possible, a note of the place of each in the triad and the column-cycle. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce all this, as the metrical scheme is the same as printed in *SLG*, and so are the texts and supplementation except as noted below. I give therefore just the column-table and the list of fragments with identifications, placings, and notes of difference from *SLG*.>

Columns

13 columns (30 lines each) contain 15 triads (26 lines each), in the sequence given below. Columns of the same number recur every 13 columns. <S = strophe, A = antistrophe, E = epode.>

¹¹ <I argued for this view in *CQ* 21 (1971), 307–14. I must have had the initial idea from B., but after working out my own arguments for it I evidently forgot and failed to acknowledge his title to it, for which I belatedly apologize. MLW.>

Col.	Fragments assignable to		
	content	(a) head	(b) foot
I	S1—S4	...	...
II	S5—S8	...	...
III	S9—A3	...	...
IV	A4—A7	...	...
V	A8—E2	...	...
VI	E3—E6	42(a)	19, 20
VII	E7—S2	42(b)	...
VIII	S3—S6	...	3
IX	S7—A1	...	32
X	A2—A5	6	...
XI	A6—A9	13	4.i
XII	E1—E4	1	4.ii
XIII	E5—E8	...	...

Fragments

- A *PMGF* 181 = *SLG* 19.—S or A 4–7
- B *PMGF* 184 = *SLG* 7.—E 1–5
- C *SLG* 9.—<Column> VI–VII; E 3–6, E 7–S 2
- D *SLG* 10.—? S or A 4–8
- E *SLG* 11.—XI; A 6–A 8.—8 *πέπον* for *γένος* 10 ἀγγή[ρωσ παρ μακάρεσσι
θεοῖσ 20 κἀ[λλιον -υυ- 23 γε[
- F *SLG* 18.—? (not III, IV, X); S 8–A 9
- G *SLG* 13.—? (I–V, VIII–XI); A 9–S 4
- H *SLG* 12.—VI; S 7–E 6
- I *SLG* 14.—VIII; E 7–S 7.—2 βασιλῆα υ-] 8 θ[αν]άτον | ῥύσθαι στυγεροῦ]
- K *SLG* 15.—XI–XII; S 2–E 4.—ii 2 θανάτοι]ο τρέ[λος,] 3 [πότμον]
- L *SLG* 16.—? (not VI, VIII–X, XII)
- M *SLG* 8.—X; A 2–8.—1 ἐπι] 6 κ]αλύκω[ν
- N *PMGF* 185 = *SLG* 17.—S or A 1–9.—1 τᾶμος δ' Ὑπεριονίδας <μὲν>
2 -βαινε 3 περάσας
- O *SLG* 21.—XII; E 1–5.—4]απερη 5]ωσ ῥᾶσ [.]εθῆ[-

Stesichoros, *Geryoneis*, SLG 11

Prefatory note: When I speak of views that I expressed in 1968, I refer to an unpublished paper which in the September of that year I read to a meeting of the Hellenic and Roman Societies in Oxford <= above, chapter 1>. Both before and after that date I had much correspondence about the *Geryoneis* with Sir Denys Page, and it was agreed between us that he should make use of my paper in an article which he published in *JHS* 93 (1973), 136–54; my references to ‘Page’ are to that article (in which his contributions and mine are clearly distinguished).

My main purpose in this present paper is to clear up a point on which we disagreed, and on which I now believe that both of us were wrong. Since in doing this I shall be bound to take issue with the arguments he used, I will record here three things: first, my great personal debt to him and his scholarship ever since I became in 1932 one of his earliest pupils; secondly, my knowledge that he would have welcomed any criticism of his views that might bring us nearer to the truth; and thirdly my regret that neither I nor others can now have the benefit of his criticism of mine.

In *Iliad* 12 Sarpedon ends his speech to Glaukos as follows (322–8):

ὦ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ', οὐτέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην
οὐτέ κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν·
νῦν δ' ἔμπηξ γὰρ κήρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαί, ἄς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτῶν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν, ἦέ τωι εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἦέ τις ἡμῖν.

In the *Geryoneis*, the fragment SLG 11 contains the remains of a speech made by Geryon to Menoites, who has evidently been urging him not to risk death by fighting Herakles. Geryon begins ‘don’t try to frighten me by talking

<The prefatory note suggests that this piece dates from not long after Page’s death, which occurred on 6 July 1978.>

of death'; and he then sets out two alternatives which evidently owe at least their outline to those in Sarpedon's speech: 'if I am going to be immortal and unaging in Olympos, it is better . . . [lacunose]; but if I am destined to old age amid mortal men, it is a far finer thing for me . . . [lacunose again, but without doubt 'to take my chance of death rather than incur disgrace'].'

Now in Sarpedon's speech the first alternative is a mere pipe-dream, expressed in the optative, and the whole thing is entirely straightforward and rational: if we had immortality assured us if we survive the war, then our obvious course would be to seek to survive the war and to refuse to fight; but we have not—we are bound to die one day like every man, and since we shall die in any case, then let us fight, and die (if we must) with honour. But in Geryon's speech there is a crucial difference, that the first alternative is expressed not in the optative but in the indicative:

- αἶ μὲν γὰρ [ρ πέπον ἀθάνατός τ' ἔσο-
 μαι καὶ ἀγή[ραος -ω-ω-
 10 ἐν Ὀλύμπ[ωι,
 κρέσσον [ω-ω-υ ἔ-
 λεγγέα δ[-ω-
 καὶ τ[-ω-ω-
 κερα[-ω-ω-ω ἄ-
 15 μετερω[ω-ω-ω-

I have supplied the verb in the protasis as ἔσο]μαι, 'if I am going to be immortal'; but whatever it be, whether this or Page's πέλο]μαι, the -μαι makes it necessarily indicative. For Geryon, that is, immortality is not a pipe-dream but a serious prospect. His father Chrysaor is (as the poet has just reminded us¹) immortal, his mother the Okeanid Kallirrhoe is presumably immortal too; it is evidently very much on the cards that he will inherit their immortality. What then ought the first apodosis to be? Rationally, what he ought to say is this: 'if immortal, fight, since he can't kill me; if mortal, fight, and risk death rather than dishonour.' So I said in 1968; but I said also (and I say it now with increased conviction) that the vestiges of the first apodosis seem to point not to 'fight, since he can't kill me' but (ἐ]λεγγέα, κερα[ῖζ-) to 'better to endure dishonour and allow him to make away with my cattle'. Now this 'if immortal, better not to fight' is evidently irrational, and I found the irrationality unwelcome; but since I could see no way of avoiding it I was prepared to acquiesce, on the supposition that Stesichoros had been thoughtless or muddle-headed in adapting his Homeric original to a very different case.

¹ In introducing the speech; see my comment below on 3–4.

Page (149–50) was not prepared to acquiesce, and supposed that the first apodosis (which he did not attempt to restore) must in some way have said or implied that the better course was to fight. Against my own supposition about this apodosis he advanced three separate objections; I will consider them one by one.

First: ‘if alternatives are to be propounded (fighting, if mortal; not fighting, if immortal), a decision must be made between them, and made quickly; Geryon has to do one thing or the other within the hour. But he has no means of making that decision: he does not know whether he is immortal or not, and has no means of settling the question before the conflict with Herakles. The context requires that the sequel to both propositions be the same—that he will fight, as indeed he does.’ The context requires, I submit, no such thing. Geryon has a practical decision to make: to fight, or not to fight. He could make that decision on a better basis if he could first decide a question of fact: is he mortal, or is he not? What he has no means of deciding is the question of fact; the need for the practical decision still remains. That the question of fact is irresolvable means simply that the practical decision must be made with it unresolved; it does not mean (how could it?) that if it were resolvable it would be bound, however resolved, to point the practical decision in one and the same way—to require, that is, that Geryon should fight.

Second (in Page’s sequence, third): ‘the sentiment thus ascribed to Geryon [sc. in my first apodosis] seems quite out of character.’ No sentiment is ascribed to Geryon: only a factual statement about the advantages to him, on an unverifiable assumption, of a course of action which he has evidently no intention of following. It has been clear from the outset (‘don’t try to frighten me by talking of death’) that he proposes to fight; it will become clearer still as he considers the second alternative; I do not doubt that at the end of his speech he will make his intention quite explicit.² I see nothing here to detract in any way from his nobility: indeed his nobility can only be enhanced by his rejection of possible immortality, and I have little doubt that it was solely in order to enhance it that Stesichoros was moved to introduce the question of immortality at all.³

Last (in Page’s sequence, second): ‘if Geryon is immortal, the fact seems a bad reason for letting Herakles make away with his cattle.’ Indeed it does; and it is here, and here alone, that the problem lies. It was this that I found

² I shall indeed make him speak thus at the end of our fragment, 27–8.

³ I had better make my ‘introduce’ explicit: I should suppose the whole business of Geryon’s possible immortality to be an invention of Stesichoros’. He was well known for his *κωνοτομίας*; many of them became canonical, but by no means all.

unwelcome in the beginning, the irrationality of ‘if I am immortal, better not to fight’; and just as I have become increasingly convinced that the apodosis must be as I suppose, so I have become increasingly convinced of its absurdity as apodosis to this protasis. I sought to explain it all as incompetent adaptation by Stesichoros of his Homeric model; but can Stesichoros really have been as incompetent as this?

Now the absurdity lies not in the apodosis but in its combination with the protasis; and what I now propose to do is to modify the protasis. I suggest that this was modelled more closely than we had supposed on its Homeric prototype: that it was not ‘if I am destined to be immortal’ but ‘if I am destined to be immortal *if not killed by Herakles*’; after this, an apodosis ‘better not to fight’ makes perfect sense. Contingent immortality is not, I grant, a very usual destiny; but so few things about Geryon are usual that I see no difficulty in mere unusualness. We shall need to suppose that someone has informed him of it; but I cannot think that there was no potential informant on Erytheia.⁴ We shall need to suppose also that the information in some way left room for doubt; but why should we not?⁵

I now give the text of the fragment as I believe that it should be restored. The right-hand margin gives the following information: if no asterisk, the supplement appeared in the handout accompanying my paper of 1968; if an asterisk, the supplement appears here for the first time; if an asterisk in brackets, I have now modified the supplement I made in 1968. My supplements incorporate from Lobel’s *editio princeps* a number of completions of broken words (for details, see *SLG*); a more substantial debt will be acknowledged below.

χηρσὶν δ[ω - ω - ω τὸν
 δ’ ἀπαμ[ειβόμενος
 ποτέφα [κρατερὸς Χρυσάορος ἀ-
 θανάτοιῳ [γόνος καὶ Καλλιρόας·

- 5 “μή μοι θά[νατον θροέων κρυόεν- (*)
 τα δεδίκκ[ε’ ἀγάνορα θυμόν,

⁴ Immortality will certainly have been mentioned by Menoites, in the speech to which Geryon’s is a reply; Stesichoros might well have thought it good economy to make this the first intimation of his prospects that Geryon received. Menoites, herdsman of Hades, could easily be supposed to have his sources of information.

⁵ Euripides, for his own purposes, can make Theseus uncertain (*Hipp.* 893–8; see my note on 887–9) of the efficacy of the three prayers that Poseidon had promised him to fulfil; and that promise one may suppose to have been given direct. Stesichoros, for *his* own purposes, can no less easily make Geryon uncertain of his prospects of immortality, and the purposes are not far to seek: the abandonment of certain immortality would be too much to expect of even the most extreme nobility.

	μηδέ με λ[άθεσθαι κέλε' αἰδόος·	*
	αἰ μὲν γὰρ πέπον ἀθάνατός τ' ἔσο-	
	μαι καὶ ἀγή[ραος ἀνέρα τόνδε φυγῶν	*
10	ἐν Ὀλύμπ[ωι,	
	κρέσσον [με καθήμενον ἐνθάδ' ἐ-	*
	λεγχέα δ[έχθαι ἔπεα	*
=		
	καὶ τ[οῦδ' ὑπαλεόμενον ἀλκὰν	*
	κερα[ῖζομένας ἐπιθεῖν βόας ἀ-	*
15	μετέρω[ν ἀπονόσφιν ἐπαύλων·	*
	αἰ δ' ὦ φ[ί]λε χρῆ στυγερόν μ' ἐπὶ γῆ-	
	ρας [έκ]ξέθαι	
	ζώ[ει]ν τ' ἐγ' ἐ[παμερίους ἀπάνευ-	(*)
	θε θ[ε]ῶν μακάρω[ν,	
20	νῦν μοι πολὺ κἀ[λλιον ἀμφιέπειν	*
	ὅτι μόρσιμ[ον ἦι, μῆ δυσκλεία	*
—		
	καὶ δνείδε['] ἐμοί τε γένηται	*
	καὶ παντὶ γέ[νει παρ' ἀεισομένων	*
	ὀπίσω Χρυς[άο]ρο[ς υ]ἱόν[·	
25	μ]ῆ τοῦτο φ[ί]λον μακά[ρε]σσι θε[ο]ῖ-	
	σι γ[έ]νοιτο[.] []	
	οὗ το]ι προκ' ἐ[γὼ]ν περὶ βουσὶν ἐμαῖς	*
	ὑπαλύξω Ἄρεα]	*
	]κλεος [

The comment which follows will be concerned primarily with my new supplements, but I shall have a few things to say about my earlier ones. In references to Stesichoros (and Alkman) I omit 'PMG' and shorten 'SLG' to 'S'; by 'Theb(ais)' I mean the poem of the Lille Papyrus (P. J. Parsons, *ZPE* 26 [1977], 7–36; whatever its title, I do not doubt that Stesichoros was its author). When I discuss the papyrus of our fragment I refer to its other fragments by Lobel's numbers in the *editio princeps* (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxxii, pp. 1–29, with plates i and ii; 'the plate' refers to whichever of these contains the fragment in question).

3–4.]θανατοιο[or -οις[in a designation of Geryon can hardly belong to anything but 'the son of immortal Chrysaor'; his mother then fits conveniently into the remaining syllables.⁶ The designation is intended, presumably, to reinforce whatever may have been said already about his prospects of immortality.

⁶ Since Page ascribes ἀ]θανάτοιο[to Lobel, it may be well if I repeat Lobel's note: 'Either ἀ]θανάτοιο[or ἀ]θανάτοις[or θανάτοιο[possible. In the context the last looks likeliest.' He was supposing, I take it, that Geryon's speech had already begun.

That Chrysaor was immortal was not everyone's opinion: in the later addition at the end of the *Theogony* (second half of the sixth century? West on 881–1020) he and Kallirrhoe appear (979–83) in what is expressly (967–8, 1019–20) a list of unions of goddesses with mortal men. But I attach no importance to the discrepancy. It would be quite in character for Stesichoros to modify an existing tradition; but was there in fact a tradition at all? Few people will ever have given a thought to Chrysaor's status; and it would not surprise me that two poets with different purposes should have come down on different sides of this normally unimportant fence.⁷ His genealogy is compatible with either status: his father was Poseidon; on the one hand his mother Medousa was the one mortal Gorgon of the three, on the other his full brother Pegasos is acknowledged as immortal by Hesiod (*Th.* 284–6),⁸ by Pindar (*O.* 13. 92),⁹ and presumably by Euripides as well (fr. 312).

5–6. Most of what I supply dates from 1968, and needs I think no discussion. The one novelty is *θροέων*: we need a participle which begins with a consonant, scans $\omega-$, and means 'speaking of', 'warning me of', or the like; I have found nothing other than *θροέων* which satisfies me. (The verb has the same object at Soph. *OK* 1425 *ὃς σφῶν θάνατον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν [αὐτοῖν Blaydes] θροεῖ*.) In 1968 I could do no better than *φράζων*, which would be more like 'indicating', 'informing me of' (with an implication, unwanted here, that the information was accurate); Page preferred *προφέρων*, but I should expect this to mean 'reproaching me with'; *προλέγων* 'predicting' fails both as language (inappropriate to this near-epic dialect) and as sense (Menoites will not have *predicted* death). It must be said that *θροέω* is almost wholly confined to tragedy, with no instance in epic and only one in lyric, Bacch. 3. 9 *θρόησε δὲ*

⁷ West's dating of the pseudo-Hesiod is likely to make him later than Stesichoros. Now Kallirrhoe and Chrysaor are an odd pair to find in his list ('as an example of a marriage between a goddess and a mortal man, the myth . . . is somewhat *recherché*' West ad loc., writing before the papyrus of the *Geryoneis* had appeared); it might I suppose be alleged that he has dragged them in in order to correct Stesichoros. I do not make the allegation myself.

⁸ After describing the birth of Chrysaor and Pegasos from the stump of Medousa's neck Hesiod continues (284) *χῶ μὲν ἀποπτάμενος, προλιπὼν χθόνα μητέρα μῆλων, ἢ ἕκετ' ἐς ἀθανάτους, Ζητὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει, ἢ βροντῆν τε στεροπῆν τε φέρων Διὶ μητιόεντι ἢ Χρυσαῶρ δ' ἔτεκε τρικέφαλον Γηρουνῆα ἢ κτλ.* No indication in the *μὲν . . . δέ* that Chrysaor is *not* immortal: if you live in fabulous parts you can be immortal (Gorgons, Graiai) without flying up to the sky.

⁹ *τὸν δ' ἐν Οὐλύμπω φάτναι Ζητὸς ἀρχαῖαι δέκονται.* The present is just like Hesiod's *ναίει*: he has access to the mangers now (464 BC) and always. Not of course historic present (as foreign to lyric as to epic); though the mistake is an old one (schol. *ὑπεδέξαντο*), and keeps recurring.

λαός; but it is a word of poetry not prose (which has only *διαθροέω*, once Thucydides, once Xenophon, and Cassius Dio), and in tragedy it is found predominantly in lyrics.¹⁰ Tragedy (and Bacchylides) must have inherited it from somewhere; I see no reason to deny it to Stesichoros.

8. αἰ μὲν γὰ[ρ: what is written is γα and not (as Lobel) τα; similarly in 23 γε[and not (as Lobel) τε[.¹¹

8–10. In 1968, supposing the sense to be simply ‘if I am destined to be immortal’, I supplied (taking my *πέπον* from Sarpedon) αἰ μὲν γὰ[ρ πέπον ἀθάνατος τ’ ἔσο]μαι καὶ ἀγῆ[ρωσ παρ μακάρεσσι θεοῖς] ἐν Ὀλύμπ[ωι. This involves what must provisionally be called an anomaly, namely that the last syllable of a word, (ἀγῆ)ρωσ, should occupy monosyllabic biceps;¹² better therefore ἀγῆ[ραος, and in place of παρ μακάρεσσι θεοῖς something beginning with a vowel.¹³ I have now desiderated ‘if I am not killed by Herakles’: let this also be modelled on Sarpedon’s words, πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε, and ἀνέρα τόνδε φυγών fits exactly into the slot. When I first thought of this I felt some doubt over the word-order (ἐν Ὀλύμπωι construing with ἀθάνατος . . . ἔσομαι and not with the nearer φυγών); I do not now think that my doubts were justified.

¹⁰ Lyric/anapests/dialogue: Aesch. 7/0/0, Soph. 6/0/11, Eur. 9/4/1.

¹¹ The writer normally begins the crossbar of γ to the left of the upright, and sometimes (as here) so far to the left that the letter begins to resemble an ill-written τ. But the following observation holds good for all surviving instances of γ and τ: in γ the part of the crossbar to the left of the upright is always less than half as long as the part to the right; in τ, always more than half. (The γ of fr. 11. 4 (= S 13) γωνάζομα[ι is no exception: the plate is deceptive.) In our instances the approximate measurements (left/right, in mm.) are (8) 0.9/2.2 and (23) 0.9/2.0; that is, γ. Compare the indubitable γ of fr. 17. 4 (= S 22) αργαλαα, 0.8/1.8, and the indubitable τ of fr. 13(a). 3 (our fragment) ποτέφα, 1.0/1.6.

Lobel makes the same mistake in two other fragments: fr. 11. 12 (= S 13)]ρευγων, where he reads τ (though with the comment ‘γ may be possible’), and fr. 65. 2 (= S 72)]εκέγ[, where he reads τ without comment.

I point out a possibility (no more) in this last fragment: there are two lines only, 1]ανθνατο[and 2]εκέγ[; in this, θνατό[ν and τ]εκ’ might belong to a passage concerned with the inheritance of immortality. The last trace in 2, described by Lobel as ‘a slightly convex upright; ε or ο likely’, could just as well belong to ω, and ἐγώ[ν may deserve consideration (one can devise sentences in which it would follow a third-person verb).

¹² I say ‘provisionally’: the material is inadequate for any firmer judgement.

¹³ Page provided it by ὥστε βίου πεδέχειν. This could stand independently of the first part of his supplement, αἰ μὲν γὰ[ρ γένος ἀθάνατος πέλο]μαι κτλ., in which I find γένος unacceptable: those are the words (like εἰ Ἀθηναῖος εἶμι τὸ γένος) of a man who assumes that a son inherits his parents’ immortality but who does not know whether his parents are immortal; Geryon, presumably, knows that his parents are immortal but does not know whether he inherits their immortality. But Page’s supplement will lapse in any case if the proposal be accepted to which I shall now proceed.

11–12. ἐ]λεγχέα is so accented in the papyrus, as accusative singular or neuter plural of the adjective ἐλεγχής; the presumption is that the accentuation is correct, and we have no business without compelling reason to alter it to ἐλέγχεα. The Homeric use of the adjective (always masculine plural, of men who deserve reprobation or contempt) is clearly irrelevant; but I do not doubt that Nonn. *D.* 40. 35 ἐλεγχέα μῦθον ἀκούων, though about a thousand years later than Stesichoros, is based (as so many things in Nonnos must be based) on early precedents that are now lost to us.¹⁴ I supply therefore κρέσσον [με καθήμενον ἐνθάδ' ἐ]λεγχέα δ[έχθαι ἔπεα: καθήμενον of inactivity as *Il.* 24. 403 ἀσχαλόωσι γὰρ οἶδε καθήμενοι, the infinitive δέχθαι as *Il.* 1. 23 = 377, its sense 'accept without protest' much as *Od.* 20. 271 καὶ χαλεπὸν περ ἔοντα δεχόμεθα μῦθον (cf. *Il.* 18. 115 κῆρα); in ἔπεα I have assumed that Stesichoros would write contracted εα as εα not η (the papyrus may of course have had η).

13. καὶ τ[οῦδ' ὑπαλεόμενον ἀλκάν: Homeric ὑπαλεύομαι, ὑπαλύσκω, gives exactly the right sense (and occurs in Sarpedon's speech, 327 ὑπαλύξαι); the contraction I posit is found at Thgn. 575 ἀλεῦμαι, Arch. 231 ἐξαλευμένος, Sem. 7. 61 ἀλευμένη (εῦ codd. in every instance; εο West in the last two). Stesichoros will presumably have spelt it with εο; though I should expect this to have become εῦ in his tradition.¹⁵

For the ἀλκά of a robber cf. *Il.* 17. 61 (the lion which, ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς, seizes the best cow in the herd).

14. For κεραι[ῖζ- cf. *h. Herm.* 336, where Apollo calls Hermes as cattle-thief κεραιστῆς. The βόες must come in somewhere; and since they are feminine (27, and so normally of a herd) there will also be a masculine or neuter noun to be qualified by ἀ]μετέρω[ν (I assume -ω[ν not -ω[ι]). There will not, with all these essentials, be very much scope for choice; I think there is a good chance that my supplements give not only the general sense but Stesichoros' actual words.¹⁶

¹⁴ An adjective δυσελεγχής is unparalleled, but would be just as possible as the equally unparalleled δυκεκηδής of *Od.* 5. 466.

¹⁵ At S 12. 7 our papyrus has Attic οῦ in the imperative πείθου; I suppose this should be πείθεο rather than the πείθευ to which I corrected it in 1968. At *Theb.* 278 and presumably *Eriphyla* S 149. 1 the papyri have Attic οῦ in the Doric futures δωσοντι, cηγοῦ[ντι: rather than correct these to εο I would abolish the Doric futures and read δώσοντι, cηγόντι. At *Hel.* ποτερρίπτον <PMGF 187. 1> I prefer Bergk's ποτέρριπτον to Page's -εον.

¹⁶ In fr. 76 <= S 82> there are the letters]επιδ[, but with blank papyrus in the line below; nothing else is present. Inspection of the papyrus shows that the surface of the blank papyrus is undamaged, with no possibility of lost writing; the fragment therefore is quite irrelevant to my supplement.

18. ἐ[παμερίους will be Stesichoros' form, and not the ἐ[φαμερίους which I supplied, unthinkingly, in 1968.¹⁷

20. νῦν: it might I suppose be maintained that this is purely temporal, 'now' as opposed to the future he has been considering: 'the nobler course for me here and now is . . .'. But there is to my ear a strong suggestion of the 'under present circumstances' that is especially familiar in the νῦν δέ common from Homer onwards as 'as things are' after an irrealis (εἰ μὲν . . . νῦν δέ) or after εἴθ' ὄφελε 'would that he had' and the like; and I observe that Sarpedon uses just such a νῦν δέ as he returns from fantasy to reality. If that suggestion was intended, then although Geryon has put forward the two protases as if the choice between them was open, the νῦν will imply that he is in fact adopting the second as the basis for his decision.

20–1. πολὺν κά[λλιόν ἐστι παθεῖν] ὅτι μόρσιμ[ον Page; but (a) it would be better without the ἐστί, (b) I expect Geryon to be speaking about the action he ought to take and not merely about the consequences in which it may involve him. ὅτι μόρσιμ[ον ἦι is the destined but humanly uncertain outcome of the battle; with παθεῖν everything is simple (Aesch. *Th.* 263 πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον, Soph. *Ant.* 236 παθεῖν . . . τὸ μόρσιμον), but Geryon will be speaking solely of the consequences, and indeed of the consequences at their worst (for he will παθεῖν only if defeated). I prefer therefore to suppose that the missing infinitive is ἀμφιέπειν, 'busy myself with, engage in'. Now what he will ἀμφιέπειν is the fighting (cf. Pind. *I.* 8. 25a χάλκεον στονόεντ' ἀμφέπειν ὄμαδον) and not its outcome; but I find ἀμφιέπειν ὅτι μόρσιμον ἦι a not unnatural way of saying 'engage in an action which will take whatever course is destined', 'come to grips with my destiny, whatever it be'.

21–4. The supplements in 23, which I regard as certain, I owe to Professor M. L. West (and I am grateful to him for his permission to make use of them

¹⁷ The evidence is twofold. (1) Original ἀμέρα (> ἡμέρ-) seems to have acquired an aspirate only in Attic (and West Ionic), and even there not early: inscriptions in the old Attic alphabet have regularly εμερα, with ημερα 'rare and not found before 450 B.C.' (Threatte, *Gramm. Att. Inscr.* i, 500). (2) Manuscript evidence points to unaspirated forms in Pindar; and if in Pindar, then also in Stesichoros.

I give the facts for Pindar. The only instances that may be used as evidence are the six in which αμερ- is preceded by an aspirable consonant. If Pindar used no aspirate, one would expect a certain amount of corruption to the familiar aspirated forms; so that when an unaspirated form is preserved in four of the six, I think it quite safe to assume that all six were originally unaspirated. I cannot accept the alternative, that Pindar vacillated between the two forms (why should he? Not for the reasons imagined by Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars*, 11–13); and was he indeed acquainted with the aspirated forms at all? We have no reason to

here);¹⁸ the other supplements are mine. For the ἐμοί . . . γένηται with subjects such as these cf. *Il.* 17. 556 κοὶ μὲν δὴ, Μενέλαε, κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος | ἔσσειται, 23. 342 χάρμα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοισιν, ἐλεγχείη δὲ κοὶ αὐτῶι | ἔσσειται, 3. 242 αἴσχεα δειδιότες καὶ ὄνειδεα πόλλ' ἄ μοι ἐστίν, *Od.* 14. 402 ξεῖν', οὐτῶ γάρ κεν μοι ἐυκλείη τ' ἀρετὴ τε | εἴη ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους. My one doubt concerns the noun at the end of 21. I have thought of *δυσκλεῖα*, ἐλεγχεῖα, *κερτομία*; of these, I think *κερτομία* less suitable both in itself and in view of the parallels. In ἐλεγχεῖα I see no difficulty in the -εῖ-: this was a necessary stage in the development -εσία > -εῖα > -εῖα; and although in all such nouns from -εσ- stems disyllabic -εῖ- has vanished from our texts of Homer, it was evidently once normal there. But I do see difficulty in the correption μῆ ἔλ-, for although correption of μῆ is common in Homer it is found only in certain positions: first biceps, εἰ μῆ 30 (+ 3 Hes.), τῶ μῆ 1, δὸς μῆ 1, αἶ κε μῆ 1, ὄφρα μῆ 1; fifth biceps, εἰ μῆ 2, ὄφρα μῆ 2, αἶ κε μῆ 1; otherwise only *h. Herm.* 92 καὶ τε ἰδὼν μῆ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας. I have therefore preferred *δυσκλεῖα* (the converse of epic *ἐυκλείη*, cited above); the form is strictly anomalous (the development should be -κλεφεῖα > -κλεφεῖα > -κλεφεῖα (or -κλεεῖα?) > -κλεεῖα > -κλεῖα), but when Pindar has the equally anomalous -κλέα, -κλέος, -κλεῖ, -κλέας as his normal forms from words in -κλεησ (ἀγα-, εὐ-, Ἥρα-) I think it safe to allow the possibility of a *δυσκλεῖα* in Stesichoros.¹⁹

25–6. What I say from here onwards is based on my own examination of the papyrus in Oxford. I refer to its other fragments by their numbers in

suppose that his texts of Homer and Hesiod behaved as ours, with ἐφημ- *Od.* 4. 223, 21. 85, ἐφ ἡμ- *WD* 102.

The six instances are these: *O.* 5. 6 πεμ]πα[μέροις παρ., πεμπτα- ACNØBLGH, πενθα- E (the ode, though not by Pindar, is by a contemporary and shares the manuscript tradition of the genuine odes); *P.* 4. 130 ἐν τ' ἀμέραις EF, τ' ἄ- CV, θ' ἄ- presumably BG (the facts from Mommsen's apparatus); *P.* 8. 95 ἐπάμεροι codd. (VBFGH); fr. 182 (manuscripts of Aristeides) ἐπαμερίων ATR³, ἐφα- DUR⁴; *N.* 6. 6 ἐφαμερίαν codd. (BD), *I.* 7. 40 ἐφάμερον codd. (BD). I disregard fr. 157 ἐφήμερε (in sch. Ar., *Souda*) as flagrantly atticized.

For instances which depend solely on a breathing the manuscripts provide no evidence at all. Pindar himself distinguished ἄ- and ἄ- as A and HA, but the distinction vanished when his poems were transcribed into the Ionic alphabet; when distinction became possible again with the invention of breathings continuity had been lost, and the breathings that were written on Pindar's *αμερα* (written, I should suppose, only seldom to start with) represented not the aspiration of Pindar's long-vanished autograph but the aspiration that came naturally to the men who wrote them. The only sensible thing to do in these circumstances is proceed by inference from the instances for which we do have evidence: if Pindar pronounced ἐπάμερος, then he pronounced ἀμέρα.

¹⁸ He communicated them to me in 1968; they included the γέ[νει that was thought of independently by J. Diggle (Page, p. 140).

¹⁹ In late epigrams we have an occasional *εὐκλεῖην*, *ἀκλεῖην*, in the second half of the pentameter (Leon. Alex. *AP* 9. 80 = Page, *FGE* 1935, *IG* iii. 1337. 10 <= *GVI* 1029. 10>, *xiv.* 1663. 2 <= *GVI* 658. 2>). The writers presumably had precedent somewhere for this scansion.

Lobel's *editio princeps* (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. xxxii, no. 2617, with plates i and ii).

τοῦτο might of itself refer either back or forward: back as *Od.* 7. 316 ἀέκοντα δέ ᾿ οὐ τις ἐρύξει | Φαιήκων· μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο, forward as *Od.* 1. 82 εἰ μὲν δὴ νῦν τοῦτο φίλον μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσιν, | νοστήσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὄνδε δόμονδε, | κτλ. Here it certainly refers back, to the notion of his disgrace; it cannot refer forward as well, and after γένοιτο there will therefore be a strong stop, which would normally be marked by a point in the papyrus. After the final ο, 3.6 mm. of blank papyrus, with no trace of a point; the latest position elsewhere for a point at the end of a line is at fr. 4 i. 9, with 2.7 mm. clear between the final ι and the point.

27–8. I expect Geryon at this point to make an outright declaration of his intention to fight; *περὶ βουκὸν ἐμαῖς*, ‘in defence of my cattle’, is consistent with this expectation (cf. especially *Od.* 17. 471 ὀππότε ἄνῆρ περὶ οἴκι μαχαιόμενος κτεάτεσσιν | βλήεται, ἢ περὶ βουκὸν ἢ ἀργεννήσι δάεσσιν). Of the rest of the sentence, only two letters immediately legible, parts or vestiges of three or four more, and an accent; but enough, I think, for us to be able to recover the essentials. The traces are on three separate pieces of papyrus, fr. 13(a), 14, and 15, separated from one another by intervals which are established by their positions in 24 (the first two) and 25 (all three):

13(a)	14	15
....]...κε[...].]	]	περιβουκινεμαι
c. 12–13]	

....]...κε[: most of an acute accent, broken off on the left 1.1 mm. before the first trace of a letter; then the tops of two uprights (1.4 mm. clear between them) and above them a crossbar which on the left stops above the middle of the first upright and is not joined by that upright (clear space between them, and nothing to suggest that ink has been lost); on the right, thin traces of ink (discontinuous but clear under magnification) which continue for 1.1 mm. to within 0.2 mm. of the edge of the papyrus;²⁰ then immediately before κ a

²⁰ Lobel, reading] [as ‘the top of a circle’, did not observe this continuation of the crossbar. Its existence does not disprove his ‘top of a circle’, since he could have taken it as the left-hand part of the crossbar of a following τ, i.e.]ετ[,]οτ[, or]στ[. But ‘top of a circle’ is ruled out by another consideration. The writer’s round letters are sometimes flat-topped and sometimes straight-sided, and their top left corner is occasionally indistinguishable from the angle at the junction of two straight strokes: indeed *is* such an angle, for he makes his round letters in two separate strokes both starting at the top left. But the top right corner is an arc formed by a change of direction in a single continuous stroke of the pen; and even at its most abrupt this change of direction gives an arc which however tight is still distinguishable from the angle formed at the junction of the separate strokes. What we have here is a junction and not an arc.

small part of a top right arc. Between $\epsilon[$ and $]\pi$, space for three and a half average letters; towards the right of this space, $][$ is a tiny speck from the top of a letter, either from the top left of the letter before $]\pi$ or from the top right of the letter before that; the speck is triangular, broken off on its underside, and an upper edge (original) slopes down from the left to right for about 0.7 mm. at about 45° .

The first traces are exactly right for $]\iota\pi[$ (the accent on a diphthong such as $\acute{o}\iota$; of π , the first half) or for $]\acute{\eta}\pi[$; there will be some anomaly if they are from $]\iota\tau[$ or $]\acute{\eta}\tau[$ (the space between uprights would normally be greater, 1.6 to 2.0 mm.); they are not from $]\pi[$ (the crossbar would meet the first upright and project to its left). Between these traces and κ we shall need a vowel: if $]\iota\tau[$, then $]\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon[$ or $]\iota\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon[$ fits exactly (5.2 mm. between the first upright of π and the upright of κ ; 5.3 mm. in fr. 3. 5 $\pi\omicron\kappa$, 5.1 mm. in fr. 42(b). 3 $\pi\omicron\kappa$), and similarly $]\acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon[$ or $]\acute{\eta}\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon[$; if $]\iota\tau[$, then $]\iota\tau\omega\kappa\epsilon[$ (necessarily ω : o or ϵ too short, no room for two letters), and similarly $]\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\kappa\epsilon[$; if $]\pi[$, I think only $]\pi[\iota]\rho\kappa\epsilon[$ ($\pi[\iota]\sigma\kappa$ too long; $\pi\omicron\kappa$ and $\pi\epsilon\kappa$ are too short, and even $\pi\omega\kappa$).

Of these possibilities, the only one of which I can make anything is one that also fits the traces without anomaly, $]\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon[$. And what I can make of it is very suitable indeed: $\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}]\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon[\gamma\omega\nu\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (i.e. $\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$), in which $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ and $\gamma\omega\nu$ are of the right length for their lacunae and the speck before $]\pi$ will be from the top of the diagonal of ν where it projects beyond the first upright.²² The sense will be (giving the declaration that I look for) ‘never shall I [avoid battle, or the like] in defence of my cattle’; $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ will construe of course not after ‘avoid battle’ but after the notion of fighting (it matters little whether one says after ‘battle’ or after ‘I shall not avoid battle’ = ‘I shall fight’). The sentence is likely to have been completed in the $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ of the next line, with a maximum space available of 35 mm. or rather less than 13 average letters; my suggestion $\upsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\xi\omega$ $\mathcal{A}\rho\eta$ (I have found nothing else that is short enough) would occupy about 29 mm.

There are, with this $\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$, two other supplements that would fit the lacuna at the beginning; I am content with neither. First, $\omicron\upsilon\mu] \acute{\eta}\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$, with an

²¹ The traditional accentuation, with each enclitic throwing an accent back on to the syllable before. In my text I have printed $\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$, for I do not believe that such a series of enclitics could produce acutes on successive syllables; I have given my reasons in my *Hippolytos*, pp. 426–7.

The ambiguity of the letters ($\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$, $\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$) is likely to have been removed by lection signs. The accent on $\tau\acute{o}\iota$, being common to both, does not do this; perhaps it was $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa$, perhaps (either would be adequate) $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa$ or $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\pi\omicron\kappa$.

²² Rather than from the backward hook at the top of the final stroke of ω . But the two positions are less than a millimetre apart, and the distance between the speck and $]\pi$, on separate fragments, cannot be determined with total accuracy.

aorist subjunctive ‘avoid battle’ (ὕπαλύξω Ἄρη, parsed differently, would do again). This strong denial with οὐ μή is evidently appropriate; but is it possible for Stesichoros? I suppose the most relevant parallels to be not those in Attic (A. *Th.* 38 and thereafter) or in Herodotos’ Ionic, but (ignored by LSJ, οὐ μή i. 1a) those in the hexameters of Parmenides, *Vors.* 28 B 8. 61 οὐ μή ποτέ τις σε . . . παρελάσσει, 7. 1 οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμῆι. Perhaps Stesichoros could have used it; but I should prefer parallels that were not a century or so after his time.

Second, νῦν ἄ]ι ποκ’: elliptical εἴ(περ) ποτε is common in Attic, and in view of Alk. fr. 38. 11–12 αἶ ποτα κάλλοτα, ν[ῦν πρέπει | φέρ]ην ὅττινα τῶνδε πάθην τά[χα δῶι θεός (the supplements will give at least the general sense) I should not wish to deny the use to Stesichoros. But the emphatic νῦν is unattractive after the similarly emphatic νῦν of 20; and the implications of the expression are unwelcome, namely that Geryon is familiar with the necessity of repelling marauders. What other marauders could there be in Erytheia? Herakles made the crossing only with the aid of magic transport provided by the Sun; who else could be so fortunate?

29.]κλεος.[(the .[is the tip of an upright): κλέος is evidently appropriate in the context; *Ἡρα*]κλέος (Lobel) I think *prima facie* inappropriate (and does Geryon know his name?). Lobel made his suggestion before the word (in fr. 15, with the ends of 25 and 26) had a context at all; before, that is, I had combined fr. 15 with the main fragment, fr. 13(a).

Pindar and Psaumis: *Olympians* 4 and 5

Olympians 4 and 5 were written for a certain Psaumis son of Akron, a citizen of Kamarina in Sicily. They raise two separate problems: first, the nature and date of the victories they celebrate; second, the authorship of *Olympian* 5. The one poem, *Olympian* 4, is certainly by Pindar; the authenticity of the other is open at least to serious doubt.

I propose this evening to discuss these two problems in the order that I have indicated: first the victories, second the authorship of *Olympian* 5. And I must emphasize at the outset that the problems are quite independent of one another: whether *Olympian* 5 is by Pindar or not by Pindar, it is obviously a genuine contemporary ode, and the evidence it affords for Psaumis' victories and their dating is in no way affected by any uncertainty about its authorship.

I begin, then, with the victories celebrated in the odes. Very little of what I am going to say under this head will be novel: the arguments I shall use have all of them at one time or another been used already. They are in my opinion conclusive arguments, so that the problem ought not by now to be a problem at all. But I find invalid arguments still advanced, valid arguments still disregarded, and false conclusions still accepted, in almost every standard work that is at present current. What I shall try to do this evening is to put together the valid arguments and rebut—often tacitly—the invalid ones, in the hope of persuading you that the problem ought long ago to have been relegated to the status of an ex-problem.

The city of Kamarina in south-east Sicily was founded from Syracuse in about 598 B.C. In about 552 it seems to have been sacked and annexed by Syracuse; in about 492 it was taken from Syracuse by Hippokrates tyrant of

<Paper read at a seminar of the London Institute of Classical Studies on 24 February 1969 as a contribution to a series on 'Problems in Greek Lyric Poetry' organized by Professors J. P. Barron and E. G. Turner. Barron wrote to B. the next day, 'Your paper was received with great enthusiasm, and seems to have converted everybody, to judge from the delighted comments which I have heard today.' B.'s dating of *O.* 4 and 5 to 460 or 456 was adopted by H. G. T. Maehler in his re-edition of Snell's Teubner Pindar.>

Gela, and formally refounded by him; then in 485 or 484, when Hippokrates' successor Gelon won control of Syracuse and shifted his government there, the Kamarinaians were deported by him to Syracuse, and Kamarina itself was destroyed. τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε, says Herodotos: τὸ ἄστυ will be the lower town, the residential parts, with the akropolis and its temples presumably left intact.

Gelon, and after him his brothers Hieron and Thrasyboulos, ruled as tyrants at Syracuse for nearly twenty years. Their power extended over all the Greek cities of eastern Sicily, and latterly into western Sicily as well; and while they ruled, Kamarina continued uninhabited. But then in 466 the last tyrant, Thrasyboulos, was overthrown. For some years, it seems, the situation in Sicily remained confused: the tyrants had interfered so thoroughly in the various cities' affairs—exiling, deporting (sometimes whole populations), and importing new citizens from elsewhere—that no immediate settlement could be reached; and their disbanded mercenaries were a further ingredient in the confusion. But in the end a settlement was reached, on the basis more or less of a return to the *status quo ante tyrannidem*; and at the time of this settlement Kamarina was once again refounded by the Geloans. Our odes belong to the period immediately after this refounding.

The refounding is narrated by Diodoros under the year which he designates by the Athenian archon and Roman consuls of 461/60. This does not, unfortunately, mean that it took place during that year: although Diodoros' history appears in the guise of annals, the guise is in places a mere masquerade; he will often group together under a single year a sequence of related events which took place over a longer period. I shall come back to this problem later; for the moment, on the evidence of Diodoros, all we can say is that the refounding belongs within a year or two of 461.

Of our victor, Psauimis son of Akron, we know nothing apart from what we learn from the odes. He was evidently very rich; he seems to have spent his money generously to meet the needs of his fellow-citizens; but besides that he kept stables, and from these stables he sent teams and horses to compete at the Olympic games. I shall now consider what success he met with when he did so.

The scholia record one victory, and only one, for Psauimis: an Olympic chariot victory at the 82nd Olympiad, 452. This victory is absolutely secure: it is recorded, always with the same date, in five different places in the scholia; in the ancient *Life of Pindar* from Oxyrhynchos; and in the Oxyrhynchos victor-list (which is part of a complete catalogue of Olympic victors). It appears in this last as Καμίου Καμ[αριναίου τέθριππον: the name is misspelt (Cάμιος instead of Ψαῦμις), the ethnic is fragmentary (only the first three letters survive), but there can be no question but that the same man is meant.

Only this one victory is recorded; but we know of another one as well. We

know of it from *Olympian* 5; for that ode celebrates an Olympic victory won not with the chariot but with the mule-car, the ἀπήνη. This victory is not recorded because mule-car victories never were: the event was a short-lived one at Olympia, instituted in 500 and abolished in 444; and a consequence of this impermanence was that the compilers of the victor-lists ignored it altogether. It is not included in the Oxyrhynchos list; and on *Olympian* 6, another mule-car ode, the scholiast says expressly ἄπορον τὴν ποστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐνίκησεν, ‘there is no way of telling at what Olympiad the victory was won’.

Olympian 5 does admittedly mention not one event but three: in line 7, ἵπποις ἡμίονοις τε μοναμπυκίαι τε, ‘with horse-team and mule-team and single bridle’ (that is, the single horse, the κέλης); and it has sometimes been maintained (from the scholia onwards) that it celebrates a triple victory. It does not. All that the sentence says is that Psaumis *competed* in these three events, not that he won them; and we can confirm this, if confirmation were needed, from the Oxyrhynchos list, which tells us that in the year when Psaumis won with the chariot the horse-race was won by another man, a certain Python. Psaumis competed in three events, but he won only in one: the poem begins with a prayer to Kamarina to receive the garlands that are ‘the gift of the ἀπήνη and of Psaumis’; and that prayer is proof complete that the mule-car, and only the mule-car, was victorious on this occasion.

We know now, then, of a second Olympic victory of Psaumis. He has a chariot victory in 452; he has a mule-car victory, undated but not in 452. The next question is: for what victory is *Olympian* 4?

The scholiast says ‘the chariot victory’. And so does almost every editor today: either they say ‘chariot’ explicitly, or—what comes, or ought to come, to the same thing—they date the ode to 452. I shall argue this evening that this is demonstrably mistaken: that the ode is celebrating not the chariot victory but the same mule-car victory that is celebrated in *Olympian* 5. I am not—as I have indicated already—the first to say this, not by a long way: it was said by Boeckh in 1821. But Boeckh said another thing at the same time: first, he said that both odes were for the same mule-car victory; second, he said that when the scholiast said ‘chariot, 452’ this must be a mistake for ‘mule-car, 452’. All through the nineteenth century almost every editor followed him, and ascribed both odes to a mule-car victory of 452. But then in 1899 the Oxyrhynchos victor-list appeared, and showed that Psaumis did after all win with the chariot in 452. Boeckh’s second thesis, that the victory of 452 was with the mule-car, was thereby disproved; his first thesis, that the odes are both for the same mule-car victory, was not invalidated at all. But everybody, with strange irrationality, behaved as though it was, and hardly any editor in this present century has acknowledged it as valid. I except here

Schroeder, who decided in 1894 that the odes were both for a mule-car victory *before* the chariot victory (so that the new evidence did nothing to upset anything that he had maintained); and Farnell, who I am afraid did the truth no service by propounding it amid more than his usual fog of muddle and mistake.

The first point I want to make is that when the scholiast assigns *Olympian* 4 to the chariot victory of 452, this assignment is not evidence at all for the occasion of the ode. It is evidence for two things: it is evidence, and valuable evidence, for the occurrence and the date of the chariot victory; and it is evidence apart from that only for the ratiocinative processes of the Alexandrian scholar from whom it derives. And on those processes it throws no favourable light. He had an ode for Psaumis; he had a victory recorded for Psaumis; without more ado he put the two together and said that the ode was for the victory. He was wrong, and we can show that he was wrong. I will now proceed to do so.

(1) The Olympic chariot victory was the greatest of all victories in the games. If Psaumis had won that victory, Pindar would have left us in no doubt about it. We have thirteen of his odes for chariot victories, and in every one the chariot is named explicitly: ἄρμα, ἵπποι, τετραορία. In this ode it is not: all we have is in 10–11 *Ψαύμιος γὰρ ἵκει ὀχέων*.

People have been in trouble from time to time over the construction of these words; but honestly I do not know why. The subject of ἵκει is κῶμος understood from the sentence before. The two genitives (and they are of course both genitives: I will not waste your time by dallying with allegations that *Ψαύμιος* could also be called *Ψαύμιος* or that *ὀχέων* is a participle)—the two genitives are used predicatively, and they construe independently after the noun: ‘it comes as Psaumis’ κῶμος, for his ὀχέα’. It is Psaumis’ κῶμος, the victor’s κῶμος, just like Hagesias’ κῶμος in *O.* 6. 98; it is a κῶμος ὀχέων, a κῶμος for his ὀχέα, like the κῶμος ἀέθλων Πυθίων of *P.* 3. 73.

It is a κῶμος, then, for his ὀχέα. Now what are ὀχέα? Properly ὄχος—a second-declension noun with a heteroclite third-declension plural—properly it is a generic term, meaning simply ‘vehicle’: *φόχος*, the noun corresponding to *φέχω*, which is Latin *ueho*. As a generic term it can of course be applied to a member of any constituent species of that genus; and it is, quite commonly, applied to a chariot: Homer, tragedy, and once in Pindar himself (Apollo’s chariot, in *P.* 9. 11). But it can be applied just as readily to a mule-car: so several times in tragedy (for instance, the vehicle *Kassandra* arrives in in the *Agamemnon*: called in one place ἀπήνη, and in another, ὄχος), and then again once in Pindar himself. Properly, then, it is a generic term. But it comes also—it and its synonym ὄχημα—to acquire a more specific meaning, namely mule-car *as distinct from chariot*. In Pindar himself, in fr. 106, a catalogue of ‘the

best so-and-so comes from such-and-such a place' ends with 'the best ἄρμα from Thebes, the best ὄχημα from Sicily'; in a similar catalogue in Kritias <eleg. 6 West> we have in one line ὄχος Σικελὸς κάλλει δαπάνη τε κράτιστος and then a few lines later Θήβη δ' ἄρματόεντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρώτη. And the specific meaning is presupposed by a gloss in Hesychios: ὄχος Ἀκεσταῖος· ἐπεὶ αἱ Σικελικαὶ ἡμίονοι σπουδαῖοι. Now I do not believe that in a chariot-ode Pindar would describe the winning vehicle with a word at best ambiguous between chariot and mule-car and at worst specifically mule-car as opposed to chariot. Everywhere else, as I have said, he speaks of ἄρμα or ἵπποι or τετραορία. There is only one other winning vehicle that he calls ὄχος; and that vehicle is the mule-car of *Olympian* 6.

(2) In lines 11–13 Pindar mentions the present victory, and then immediately prays that Psaumis' λοιπαὶ εὐχαί may be fulfilled. In the context these λοιπαὶ εὐχαί can be one thing only, ambitions for further success in the games. Now when Pindar refers to such hopes for the future they are regularly hopes for a victory even better than the present one: e.g. *O.* 1. 109, in a *horse-ode*, hopes for a *chariot-victory*; *P.* 5. 124, in a *Pythian* chariot-ode, hopes for a chariot-victory at *Olympia*; *I.* 1. 65, in an *Isthmian* chariot-ode, hopes for victories at *Pytho* and *Olympia*. But there is nothing better than an Olympic chariot-victory: when a man has won this, then in Pindar's own words (*O.* 3. 43 ff.) he has reached the Pillars of Herakles beyond which no man may go. This present victory then must be a lesser one: a victory not with the chariot but with the mules.

(3) There are two things in *Olympian* 4 that make it clear that the victory it celebrates is Psaumis' first victory at *Olympia*. Now if that victory were the chariot victory of 452, the mule-car victory of *Olympian* 5 would be 448 at the earliest. But there are references in *Olympian* 5 to Kamarina as a recent foundation—I will speak of these in a moment—which seem quite incompatible with a date that would be about thirteen years after the city was founded.

The two things in *Olympian* 4 are these:

(a) In lines 11–12 Psaumis, 'garlanded with Pisa's olive, hastens to set glory afoot for Kamarina': in κῦδος ὄρσαι the verb—to get it going, set it moving—implies clearly enough the production of glory where there has been none before. The victory is Kamarina's first.

(b) The myth, linked with the γνώμη that it illustrates, again makes it clear that Psaumis has won no victories before. I will go through it:

I will not dye my words with falsehood: the test of action is the proof of mortals' worth. That test it was that freed Klymenos' son from the contempt of the Lemnian women: victor in the running in brazen armour he said to Hypsipyle as he went to

receive his garland ‘Such am I for speed; and my arms and my heart are as good. Even in young men grey hairs often grow at a time of life that is not that proper to them’. (18–27)

In the myth, Erginos is a young man prematurely grey-haired. He competes in the race in armour; and the Lemnian women when they see him think him old and bound to lose. But he wins all the same. And the moral that the myth illustrates is *διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος*, ‘the test of action is the proof of mortals’ worth’: that is, you must never judge by appearances.

This is obviously all said with reference to Psaumis. The scholiast thought that the point was that Psaumis was grey-haired; and this view is still quite commonly maintained. But it is, of course, absurd. In the race in armour a grey-haired man may reasonably be thought to be an outsider; but did the Greeks suppose that a man’s *mules* were less likely to win because the pigment was vanishing from his hair?

No: Psaumis’ victory has freed him from an *ἀτιμία* that he had on some other and more rational ground than grey hair. And that ground is not far to seek. Psaumis comes from this obscure corner of Sicily, from a derelict town that has been re-established only these few years, and has the effrontery to put in for all three of the purely equestrian events that are competed in at the time. The audience laughs at him and thinks him a fool. But he wins, and vindicates himself: *διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος*. And from this it follows, beyond any doubt, that he has won no victories at Olympia before.

The two odes, then, are for one and the same victory with the mule-car. Two odes for the same victory is nothing unusual: in Pindar and Bacchylides together we have six instances of this. The two odes will have been performed on different occasions; and I think it likely—there seems to be at least one parallel in the other instances—that one ode was performed at the games and the other at the victor’s home. *Olympian* 5 was certainly performed at Kamarina; there are indications—though I shall not have time for them this evening—that *Olympian* 4 was performed at Olympia.

Now I have already done a good deal to establish the date of the odes. The chariot victory was 452; the mule-car victory was *not* in 452, and it has also emerged—since this is Psaumis’ first victory, with the chariot victory still to come—that it was *earlier* than 452. If Kamarina was founded before 460 we have two Olympiads at our disposal, 460 and 456. If it was founded after 460 we have only 456; and victory and odes are fixed precisely.

But before I consider this final question I have a promise to fulfil: namely, to speak of the passages in *Olympian* 5 that point to a time soon after the founding of Kamarina. These passages serve a double purpose. First, they are a necessary part of my third argument for assigning *Olympian* 4 to the

mule-car victory: since the victory of *Olympian* 4 is Psaumis' first, it cannot be the chariot victory of 452 unless the mule-car victory, and with it *Olympian* 5, is 448 or later; and these passages will indicate that *Olympian* 5 is *not* as late as that. But a possible second purpose—given now that both odes are earlier than 452—is as evidence in our choice between 460 and 456. I will add to them, therefore, a passage from *Olympian* 4: irrelevant for my first purpose, but perhaps just worth considering for my second.

In *Olympian* 4, the passage is 11–12, *κῦδος ὄρραι σπεύδει Καμαρίναι: σπεύδει* there is the important word. In *Olympian* 5, one passage is 8: Psaumis as victor proclaims his *νέοικος ἔδρα*. I do not know for how long one could go on speaking of a city as *νέοικος*; but anything like thirteen years seems to me to be very unlikely.

But the most interesting passage—interesting not merely for the date, but for its own sake too—is *Olympian* 5. 9–14. Pindar is talking about Psaumis:

ἴκων δ' Οἰνομάου καὶ Πέλοπος παρ' εὐηράτων
σταθμῶν, ὧ πολιάοχε Παλλάς, αἶδει μὲν ἄλκος ἀγρόν
τὸ τεὸν ποταμόν τε Ὀανὸν ἐγχωρίαν τε λίμναν

καὶ σεμνοὺς ὀχέτους, Ἴππαρις οἴειν ἄρδει στρατόν
κολλᾶι τε σταδίων θαλάμων ταχέως ὑψίγυιον ἄλκος,
ὕπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δάμον ἀστῶν.

Coming from the lovely steading of Oinomaos and Pelops, O Pallas who holds the citadel, he sings of your holy precinct and the river Oanos and the lake of the land, and the hallowed channels wherewith the Hipparis waters the host, and swiftly cements a high-limbed grove of firm-set chambers, bringing out from helplessness into the light this folk of *ἀστοί*.

Evidently this is house-building in the new city: the inhabitants have been having a tough time bivouacking in the open; but now permanent houses are going up, and things are getting brighter. (*φάος*, as often, is the light of deliverance; and *στάδιοι θάλαμοι* are permanent dwellings as opposed to the temporary shacks they have been making do with hitherto.) Here again anything like thirteen years after the foundation, thirteen years of *ἀμαχανία* before the houses are built, is surely out: the ode cannot be as late as 448, and the mule-car victory comes therefore *before* the chariot victory of 452.

Now the interesting problem in the lines is this: what is the subject of *κολλᾶι*? And what exactly is that subject doing?

Ancient scholars, and a good many moderns, assume the subject to be *Ἴππαρις*, the river of Kamarina. But what is the river doing? Some ancients thought it was used as a waterway to bring building-material by. Aristarchos seems to have thought—the scholia are a bit confused here—that it deposited

mud that was used for brick-making; Wilamowitz thought that it provided simply water for brick-making. Farnell suggests that ‘the windings of the river fold in—“weld together”—the blocks of houses’: he does not tell us how the river does this *ταχέως*, nor does he tell us how by doing it the river ‘brings the *ἄστοί* out from helplessness into the light’.

Farnell of course is especially stupid; but none of the other solutions carries any kind of conviction—whether it provides timber, or mud, or water, is it really conceivable that one should speak of the river as *making* the houses? We must turn to the other possibility. Hermann suggested the subject was not the river but Psaumis. This view has not on the whole been popular with editors; but it must surely be right. Psaumis, the richest citizen of Kamarina, builds houses for the poorer citizens.

To us, the word-order might at first sight suggest Hipparis as subject; but we do not instinctively know the facts, and the audience did—anyone who knew that Psaumis was building houses would never think twice about what was meant. The particles—*μέν* answered by *τε*—are no trouble: the combination is common in Pindar. And the thing at once makes excellent sense. The difficulty of house-building in a new *πόλις* is shortage not so much of materials (which can always be found locally of one kind or another) as of labour: the ordinary family will have all it can do to get its land under cultivation, without spending time on building. Psaumis, the rich man, provides slave-labour for the building, so that the houses can go up while the family is in the fields. And one last point about the passage: *τόνδε δᾶμον ἄστῶν*. An *ἄστος* in Pindar is commonly not simply a ‘townsman’ but a ‘fellow-townsman’: a member of the same *πόλις* as someone else named in the sentence, and opposed, not infrequently, to *ξένος*. Now if the river is subject it cannot be used in this way; if Psaumis is subject it is, and instead of ‘this folk of townsmen’ we have ‘this folk of *his* townsmen’. There is no firm criterion here: the use I have indicated, though common, is not invariable, and *ἄστῶν* is still possible enough with Hipparis as subject. But with Psaumis as subject I think there can be no doubt that it does fall much better into place.

And now the last detail: 456, or 460?

I begin with Diodoros. It is his habit, as I have said, to narrate under a single year a sequence of related events which occurred over a longer period. Now he narrates Sicilian events in this period under the following years <11. 67 f., 72 f., 76>: 466 the fall of the tyranny in Syracuse; 463 wars and *στάσις* again in Sicily, and a revolt of ex-mercenaries in Syracuse; 461 (this is the important year for us) the revolt is put down, the Syracusans eject Hieron’s settlers from Katane, various cities restore their exiles and expel intruders; Rhegion and Zankle get rid of their tyrants; then, *μετὰ ταῦτα*,

Kamarina is refounded; and the cities agree together to restore the status quo and settle the ex-mercenaries in Messania. Then no more Sicilian events till seven years later, 454, except for a few lines about the Sikels under 459.

The events narrated under 461 pretty evidently belong to a period of some years; and that period *could* begin at any time after the preceding Sicilian section and end at any time before the next—begin, that is, as early as 462 and end as late as 455. I am not maintaining that it does in fact spread as widely as that, but spread to some extent I am sure it does. Now the refounding of Kamarina comes fairly well on in the narrative under 461; and I should think it likely therefore that its real date is appreciably *later* than that year.

There is one bit of evidence that may confirm this to some slight extent: evidence from the scholia. Two of the notes there give the date of the refounding, as in the so-manyeth Olympiad; but each time, unfortunately, the date is corrupt. In one note the manuscripts either omit the number or give it as the 42nd, which is absurdly 612–08; the other note gives the 85th Olympiad, which is equally absurdly 440–36. But there is still another note, which runs thus: ‘we can see as follows that Psaumis won with the mule-car about the 80th Olympiad [460]: the event was abolished in the 85th [440]; he won with the chariot in the 82nd [452]; therefore he won with the mule-car in the 81st [456]’. Now something has obviously gone wrong here: as the thing stands it is a total *non sequitur*. But the note forms part of the comment on *νέοικον ἔδραν*; and it seems likely therefore that one of the premises in it before it went wrong was that Kamarina was refounded in such-and-such an Olympiad. And since the conclusion is that the mule-car victory belongs to the 81st Olympiad, 456, one might surmise that the missing premise put the refounding in the 80th, the period from 460 to 456.

This is all, I admit, very tenuous; but my own hunch—it cannot be more—is that the foundation-date was in fact in the 80th Olympiad, and was perhaps something like 459, in which case the odes will belong to 456. Now what about the indications in the odes? *σπεύδει* and *νέοικος* are of course compatible with this three-year interval; just as they would be compatible with a year or two more or a year or two less. The house-building seems to me to give the best line, and here—this is just a hunch again, of course—three years seems to me as long a period as I should like to suppose. Plenty of time for the inhabitants to have acquired a feeling of *ἀμαχανία*; but high time, I should imagine, for Psaumis to be well on with his house-building—which he is doing, the poet has told us, *ταχέως*.

At this point I abandon my first topic; with its last end, inevitably, left rather loose. And I proceed to my second topic: the authenticity of *Olympian* 5.

Discussion of this problem must begin with the scholia: ‘this ode’, they tell us ‘was not in the ἐδάφια, but in Didymos’ commentary was said to be by Pindar.’

ἐδάφιον is a diminutive of ἔδαφος, ‘bottom, foundation, base’. The words are occasionally used of the text of a medical work as opposed to marginal additions, or the text of Aristotle as opposed to comment on the text or discussion of it; and so here it might be, and has been, supposed that the ode was absent from the text of the *Olympians* as commented on by Didymos, was vindicated by him for Pindar in his commentary, and was then *subsequently* incorporated into the text. I cannot myself think this likely: a century and a half before Didymos the ode was commented on in detail by Aristarchos (the scholia preserve his comment on three widely separated passages); I would suppose therefore that the ode was included among the *Olympians* by Aristophanes of Byzantium, a generation before Aristarchos, when he gave Pindar’s odes the arrangement (in seventeen books), and the sequence within the books, which they still retain. But I would suppose that when Aristophanes included it he marked it as doubtful; and that it was doubtful because it came to him from some source other than the primary source collections. These collections, whatever they may have been, I would suppose to be the ἐδάφια—the *basis* on which Aristophanes founded his edition: conceivably the text of his predecessor Zenodotos, more likely perhaps the collections used by Zenodotos as the basis for his text and still doubtless preserved in the library at Alexandria.

But whatever exactly the ἐδάφια may have been, *Olympian* 5 was absent from them: its provenance, that is, was not such as to guarantee its authenticity. And since the Alexandrians seem in general to have erred on the side of generosity in their dealings with doubtfully authenticated writings, the doubts from external evidence must remain strong. What we need to do now is to scrutinize the poem itself for indications of its authorship.

Evidence of various kinds has been adduced to show that the poem is not by Pindar. Its value is very mixed.

(1) There are so many similarities of detail between this poem and other *epinikia* that we must assume the poem to be not by Pindar but by an imitator. — I can attach very little weight to this argument. The long lists of similarities reduce themselves rapidly on inspection: many of them are either so remote as to be unrecognizable or so trivial as to be without significance. The reduction does certainly leave a residuum. But in the undisputedly Pindaric poems we find constant echoes of thought and language between one poem and another; and if *this* poem were undisputedly Pindaric, the echoes are not so many that their number would call for any especial comment. They have indeed been adduced by some to prove that the poem *is* by

Pindar. Clearly we shall do well to build nothing on the evidence of mere similarities.

(2) The metre is unparalleled in Pindar. — There are two points here:

(a) First, the metre itself: aeolic with a high dactylic content, and with an ithyphallic at the end of almost every period. Unusual, certainly; but Pindar's aeolic metres vary a good deal from ode to ode, with elements common in one ode that are rare in others; the case here seems to me to be pretty weak.

(b) Second, stanza-length. The shortest stanzas elsewhere in the *Epinikia* are those of the monostrophic *Nemean* 2, with 66 syllables; in *Olympian* 5 the strophe has 50 syllables and the epode 43. For stanzas as short as these we have to turn to the *Partheneia* (strophe and epode both 46; strophe 45, epode 35) or to the *Enkomia* (monostrophic, 44). This does seem to me very strange; the case here is evidently much stronger.

(3) The local colour is impossible for Pindar. We can say with certainty that Pindar himself was unacquainted with Kamarina: the site was deserted when he was in Sicily in 476; a special journey there after its refounding is out of the question. And yet, it is alleged, the local detail in the poem implies that the poet was familiar with the town and its topography; *ergo*, the poet is not Pindar. — This argument, I think, has force; though not quite in the way that I have just put it. It can be replied to that, of course, that there is no more detail in the poem than Pindar could have learned from Psaumis and noted down in about five minutes. But what cannot be explained so easily is why Psaumis should have made a point of the detail, or why Pindar should have thought it worth including: it does surely point rather to a poet who was familiar with the detail himself and could think of nothing better to put in his poem.

So far the evidence is pointing away from Pindar: pointing not firmly enough for there to be anything of a serious case if the ode were not already under suspicion; but given the suspicion, going some way already to confirm it.

But what does seem to me to establish the case beyond reasonable doubt is something I can show only by taking you through the ode in detail: there is a good deal in it that I should be reluctant to suppose that Pindar had written; and one or two things that I am quite certain he never could have written. I will go through the ode, and make my comment as I do so.

The ode consists of three triads, each addressed to a different deity: the first to the nymph Kamarina, eponym of the city; the second to Athena *πολιάοχος*; the third to Zeus.

It begins: 'Receive, daughter of Okeanos, with smiling heart the sweet flower of high prowess and of Olympia's garlands, given you by the tireless-hooved car and by Psaumis.' (1–3.)

ἄωτος is a favourite word of Pindar's: something very like our figurative 'flower'—the best or most perfect part, or example, or manifestation, of something. Twice he has this very phrase στεφάνων ἄωτος, 'the flower of garlands', garlands of surpassing excellence; as these Olympic garlands were. But he uses ἄωτος with the genitive in another and different way: an ode for a chariot victory is ἵππων ἄωτος (O. 3. 4), the superlative thing pertaining to horses; in O. 8. 75 the garlands won in the past by a family of wrestlers are χειρῶν ἄωτος ἐπίνικος, the superlative thing pertaining to their hands and arms that was given them for their victory, ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. In our passage the garlands are doubly described: with one kind of genitive as στεφάνων ἄωτος, the flower of garlands; with another kind as ὑψηλᾶν ἀρετᾶν ἄωτος, the flower of high prowess. Both descriptions entirely Pindaric. But I have got all the same a slight niggles of doubt about the combination of the two different genitives in the same phrase: I cannot help feeling that this suggests a slight uncertainty of touch. But this may of course be mere prejudice; I pass on therefore to something that I find more clearly out of character for Pindar.

'Who, exalting your city, Kamarina, that nurtures the folk, did honour to the six twin altars at the greatest festivals of the gods with sacrifice of oxen and five-day contesting in the games, with horse-team and mule-team and single bridle.' (4–7.)

These are the six altars of the twelve gods—two gods to an altar—that we meet also at Olympia in *Olympian* 10. Psaumis sacrificed oxen at the altars; and he competed also in these three events—competed simply, as we have seen, and won only in one.

This sentence, with all its datives plural, is no very successful one; but it is at least unambiguous, or ought to be. ἐορταῖς is locative, 'at the greatest festivals of the gods'. (It was of course a single ἐορτά of a single god; the plurals, I suppose, because the poet is thinking of it as the greatest of all the festivals of any of the gods.) Then ὑπὸ βουθυαίας, properly 'to the accompaniment of' sacrifice of oxen; what the sense requires is of course an instrumental, for it was *by* the sacrifice that he honoured the altars; but after the naked locative a naked instrumental would have been confusing, and hence the ὑπό, which can be used with the dative as virtually the equivalent of the plain instrumental. Then, parallel with βουθυαίας, he adds ἀέθλων τε πεμπαμέροις ἀμίλλαις, 'and five-day contesting in the games'. But now the ὑπό is no longer a mere equivalent of the instrumental, for his contesting did no honour to the altars: ὑπό does now indicate merely accompanying activities. And then finally, qualifying ἀμίλλαις, a further series of datives: contesting 'with horse-team and mule-team and single bridle'.

I cannot, as I say, feel this sentence to be very successful. But what makes

me certain that its author is not Pindar is not its form so much as its content.

What the poet is concerned with here is that Psaumis made a very considerable splash; and by making it increased, as he says, the standing of Kamarina.

First of all he sacrificed oxen (at six altars, so six of them at least); and after the sacrifice there would be a feast at which the oxen were eaten. Clearly this is the feast that Pindar refers to in *Olympian* 4. 15, when he speaks of Psaumis as *χαίρων ξενίαις πανδόκοις*, ‘delighting in hospitality where all are welcome’: Psaumis after his sacrifice held open house. Now we know of occasions when rich men entertained the whole Olympic gathering: Anaxilas of Rhegion had done so, and so had his son Leophron; Alkibiades was to do so later in the century. Whether we can press Pindar’s *πανδόκοις* to quite this extreme of hospitality I have no idea. But a minimum of six oxen ought to satisfy quite a number; obviously we are meant to assume that the entertainment was a very lavish one indeed.

Second, he competed in all three of the purely equestrian events: all of them of course expensive affairs for the competitor.

Now at this greatest of Panhellenic gatherings the delegations from the various cities were naturally concerned to show off as much as possible: to keep up with the Joneses and indeed to go one better than the Joneses if they could. And it was fair enough for Psaumis to make as much display as possible, and to remind people that Kamarina was on the map again and doing pretty well. But what I do not believe is that Pindar would praise, as this poet does, the mere display. Hospitality he can praise, and does, regularly; but as an aristocratic virtue, not as a means to increasing one’s status in others’ eyes. And to find cause for congratulation in a man’s merely competing, and not in winning, seems to me wholly alien to Pindar’s ethos. What this poet says in these four lines is said by Pindar with far greater reticence, and far greater effect, in *O.* 4 (14–15): ‘I praise him, most ready at rearing horses, and delighting in hospitality where all are welcome.’ That is Pindar’s way; the way of this ode is not Pindar’s.

I have still one thing to say on these lines: Psaumis engaged in ‘five-day competing in the games’. Now the contests at Olympia did certainly last for five days; but the equestrian events appear, as far as our evidence goes, to have taken place on a single day. That is, the poet applies to Psaumis’ events an epithet which should apply not to them but to the games as a whole. One can see why: he is concerned to stress the magnificence of everything; and accurately or not, the epithet has to come in. This again is not Pindar: it is some backwoods poet to whom the Olympic games are so grand that their grandeur has gone to his head.

To continue. ‘And for you’—that is, for Kamarina—‘for you by his victory

he set up rich glory; and he proclaimed his own father Akron and his new-founded home.’ (7–8.)

ἀνέθηκε: the victor seems normally to have set up, dedicated, an offering at Olympia, which would be inscribed with his name and his city’s; since in setting it up he recorded the city’s distinction, he is said to have ‘set up’ there the distinction itself. The same turn of phrase occurs twice in Pindar, with the verb *ἀνακεῖσθαι* serving as perfect passive of *ἀνατιθέναι*: in *O.* 13. 36 the bright glory of Thessalos’ feet *ἀνάκειται* by the streams of Alpheios; in *I.* 5. 18 Phylakidas’ double prowess in the pankration *ἄγκειται* at the Isthmos. I would regard this as one of the two most striking Pindaricisms in the poem; though oddly enough it seems to have escaped the net of the parallel hunters. Not that it proves anything: what Pindar did twice he could have done a third time; what he did twice might stick more firmly in the memory of a poet writing under his influence. Then *ἐκάρυξε*: he has the herald announce him as ‘Psaumis son of Akron, of Kamarina’; similarly in *Isthmian* 3. 12, with the victor as subject, *κάρυξε Θήβαν ἵπποδρομῶν κρατέων*: again, nothing significant for the authorship. But there is one point of prosody that may be significant. Pindar invariably observes the digamma in the pronoun *οἱ*, *ἐ*, and its adjective *ὄς*. Here there appears to be corruption of *καί* in front of *ὄν*: that is, the digamma is *not* observed. One can avoid this by assuming period-end after *καί*, as Bowra does: Pindar does about half a dozen times have period-end after a prepositive, and he does so after *καί* itself at *O.* 9. 65. But if one divides here after *καί* one must do the same after the *καί* of line 24; and twice in one ode might seem to be rather much. Also the division itself is not very welcome: undivided, the second line of the epode begins with the same element—twelve syllables long—as the second line of the strophe; and in the very simple metre of this ode the repetition of this element is likely to be genuine. It looks to me as if we have got corruption of *καί* before *ὄν*; and if we have, the ode is not by Pindar.

Now the second triad, addressed to Athena. ‘And coming from the lovely steading of Oinomaos and Pelops, O Pallas who holds the citadel, he sings of your holy precinct and the river Oanos and the lake of the land, and the hallowed channels wherewith the Hipparis waters the host, and swiftly cements a high-limbed grove of firm-set chambers, bringing out from helplessness into the light this folk of the men of his land.’ (9–14.)

I have spoken already of the subject-matter of these lines; and I have established, I hope, that Psaumis and not the river is the subject of the last two lines. But now I have other things to say.

‘He sings’, *ἀείδει*; evidently in this ode. But is the victor himself conceived of as singing it? When it hymns his own praises, and when he is himself addressed a little later? This is evidently impossible. What the poet must

mean, as Disson saw, is ‘he is responsible for the celebration in this ode of your *ἄλκοσ*’ and so on. He must *mean* this; but he has *said* it most ineptly.

And there is worse to come. ‘Coming from Olympia’ (I am paraphrasing)—‘coming from Olympia he sings of Pallas’ precinct, and swiftly cements a high-limbed grove of houses’: as though the building were being done on the triumphal procession. This again is not Pindar: not Pindar, but an incompetent. And another mark of his incompetence is the words he uses for the houses: ‘a high-limbed grove of firm-set chambers’. This might fit New York, or a set of London’s modern tower blocks; but not the ordinary Greek dwelling-house, which was a very undistinguished affair. This is now highfalutin stuff that has just got out of hand.

Now he comes back to the victory, and in doing so produces for once a *γνώμη* with a real Pindaric ring: ‘Ever in the matter of prowess effort and cost fight towards an achievement veiled in hazard’ (15 f.). To achieve success you must put your back into it (that is the *πόνοσ*) and spare no expense (*δαπάνα*); but even so it is a gamble (*κίνδυνοσ*) whether you will achieve it in the end. ‘But when they succeed, the men of their city too think them wise’ (16).

And then the last triad, this time addressed to Zeus. ‘Saviour Zeus, high in the clouds, you who dwell on the hill of Kronos and hold in honour broad-flowing Alpheios and the holy Idaian cave’ (17 f.): the cave is not Cretan, but at Olympia (Demetrios of Skepsis knows of an *Ἰδαίων ἄντρον* in Elis: that will be this). But for all that one expects the scansion of the word to be the same, *Ἰδαίων*; and if it is, then *ρέοντα* elides and we have in this dactylic sequence a long in place of a double short. The alternative is to suppose a scansion *Ἰδαίων*, with digamma and short iota. If this were Pindar, I would jib at either alternative; what this poet might do is another matter.

‘I come as your suppliant, giving tongue with the Lydian flute, to ask of you that you adorn this city with the glory of manly prowess; and that you, Olympian victor, delighting in Poseidon’s horses, may bear old age in gladness of heart to its end, with your sons, Psaumis, standing by’ (19–23). Here the sense requires that *εὐθυμον* should construe with *γῆρασ*, not *τελευτάν*: we need not a happy death but a happy old age. Word order on the other hand calls for it to construe with *τελευτάν*. What this poet may have intended I cannot tell.

Now a final *γνώμη*: this time less successful than the last. ‘If a man waters a wholesome prosperity, giving help with his possessions and adding good repute, let him not seek to become a god’ (23 f.). The sentence has been variously interpreted, but I see nothing else that it can be. If when you have *ὄλβοσ* you improve it further (‘waters’ ought to mean this: you water a plant to make it grow) by helping others (*ἐξαρκέων* oddly with no dative) and so acquiring good repute as well (*πρoσ-*), you have all that mortal man can

desire; to look for more would be to trespass on the preserves of heaven. The writer is straining for effect, and straining too hard: Pindar had said the same thing already more simply, and had said it well.

And that is all. It is not perhaps, in its way, a bad little ode; but I refuse to believe that it can be Pindar. I would not for a second suppose that its author is anyone whose name we know: there must, I suppose, have been in the Greek world a great many minor poets who were prepared to compose an ode for some local occasion; and here for once an ode by one of them has been preserved. How it found its way to Alexandria I have no idea: preserved, I suppose, at Kamarina (where odes for Olympic victories cannot have been all that common), attracting perhaps as the years went by the name of the poet of Psaumis' other ode, and then with the name attached exported somehow and attracting the attention of the library's collectors. One can only guess, and it does not greatly matter. But a fortunate chance in its way: not for the poem's own sake, but rather for the light it throws on Psaumis and on the circumstances of *Olympian* 4.

Pindar's Odes for Hagesidamos of Lokroi: *Olympians* 10 and 11

I have chosen to talk tonight about two odes of Pindar, *Olympians* 10 and 11. I have chosen these odes for two reasons. One is that they are good odes. The other is that they raise a number of problems which are typical of the problems that one meets in Pindar.

Pindar is, in my judgment, one of the easiest of Greek poets. He is commonly regarded as one of the most difficult; and this also, I think, is true. His poems are full of allusions: to matters of legend, to contemporary events, to the personal affairs of himself and his patrons. He wrote for audiences who were as familiar as himself with the things he was alluding to; and to them the allusions were crystal clear. But we, for much of the time, are not familiar with these things; and where Pindar's audience could interpret his allusions, immediately, in the light of their knowledge of the facts, we must try, painfully, to reconstruct the facts on the basis of the allusions. This is where the difficulty comes; it is a difficulty that lies at the door not of Pindar, but of oblivion.

The odes were written for a victor from Lokroi in Italy: Hagesidamos son of Archestratos, who won the boys' boxing at Olympia in 476 B.C. The date of the victory is guaranteed by the Oxyrhynchos victor-list. We may take it to be quite certain that he won no other victory at Olympia, and that the two odes both celebrate this one victory that he won as a boy; for two odes to be written for a single victory is common enough.

The relationship between the two odes is readily established. In *O.* 10, the longer ode, Pindar opens with a long apology for his delay; in *O.* 11 there is no hint of apology. Evidently the shorter ode was written soon after the

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victory, with a promise of a longer one to come; we may compare Bacchylides 1 and 2, both for the same victor—the one a mere trifle of 114 syllables, in language compatible only with immediate performance, the other a full-scale affair of apparently eight triads.

I said this was 'evident', and so it is; but for all that it was first realized only by Mingarelli, at the end of the eighteenth century. In ode 10 Pindar says that he will make up for his lateness by paying interest. The interest is in fact to be found in the excellence of the ode itself; but some ancient scholar (I suspect Didymos, but this may be just malice on my part) decided that the interest consisted in ode 11—the long ode the capital payment, the short ode accompanying it as the interest—and in consequence the manuscripts, and all the editions until 1798, solemnly head ode 11 τῶι αὐτῶι τόκος.

Ode 11, then, was written and performed soon after the victory; ode 10 was written a good deal later. Before I proceed to talk further about the odes, it will be as well to consider Pindar's movements at the time.

At this same Olympiad of 476 Hieron of Syracuse won the horse-race, and Theron of Akragas won the chariot-race. Both these tyrants commissioned Pindar to write odes for their victories—Hieron one ode, Theron two; and Pindar went out to Sicily—this, I think, is quite secure—to see to the performance of these odes. He will have gone first to Syracuse and then to Akragas.

Now we know that he was at the Olympic games in the August of 476: he says explicitly that he *saw* Hagesidamos' victory, and in *O.* 1 he implies, quite clearly, that he saw Hieron's. At some time between the games and the onset of winter he will have sailed for Sicily: perhaps with the Syracusan delegation, perhaps privately. We do not know how long he stayed; all we know is that he was back in Thebes for 474. But he will certainly have spent the winter of 476/5 in Sicily; most likely, I suppose, he will have returned to Thebes in the spring or early summer of 475.

I do not know what route he followed in sailing from Olympia to Syracuse. Warships made a coasting voyage, up to Corcyra and along the foot of Italy; merchant ships, less tied to land, could sail direct across the open sea; what horse-transport might do—if he came back with the Syracusan delegation—I have no idea. Now Lokroi is on the underside of the foot of Italy, near the toe, about ninety miles from Syracuse; the coasting voyage leads past it, the direct route might be deflected to Lokroi at the cost of a detour of no more than fifty miles. It would not have been difficult, and might even have been inevitable, for Pindar to call at Lokroi on his way to and from Syracuse and Akragas. But whether he called or not is a question that I must leave for the moment; I must proceed first to consider the earlier of his two odes, *Olympian* 11.

To begin the ode, Pindar makes use of an effective device of early poetry, the so-called Priamel. It is an elaboration of the simple paratactic comparison that we find for instance in *O.* 2. 98–100: ‘the sand is beyond numbering; and the joys that he has given to others—who can tell their tale?’ In the priamel the illustrating elements, prefixed to the illustrated, are multiplied in number; and they lead up to it, in consequence, as to a climax.

There are times when winds are what most meet men’s needs, and times when the waters from the sky, the rainy children of the cloud; but should one attain success by effort, then honey-voiced songs, the beginning of tales in after-time and a sure oath to his great prowess, is paid him as his due. (1–6)

It is useless to have a ship if there is no wind and you cannot sail; it is useless to have a farm if there is no rain and nothing will grow; so it is useless to win a victory if you have no ode to celebrate it, and your triumph is forgotten. But *with* the ode it will be remembered: the ode is ‘the beginning of tales in after-time’—men will still talk of your victory when it is long over; it is ὄρκιον, a sworn testimony, to what you have done, and πιστόν, a testimony that men will believe.

All this is Pindar’s constant theme; we shall meet it again, more forcefully, in *O.* 10. Without the ode, men forget, and the victor’s glory is lost to sight: ‘even great valiance’ he says ‘has deep darkness upon it if it lacks a song’ (*N.* 7. 12 f.). But *with* the ode the poet kindles a flame that illumines the victory for long generations to come: kindles a πυρός (*I.* 4. 43), a blazing fire, and from it there shines over land and sea alike the ἐργμάτων ἀκτίς καλῶν ἄβεστος αἰέν (*I.* 4. 42)—the radiance of fine deeds for ever unquenched.

He continues:

And an Olympic victor has this praise without stint, as a monument consecrate (7 f.):

an *Olympic* victor, proudest of all an athlete’s titles, most fruitful of renown. ἀγκειται, says Pindar: the word serves as perfect passive of ἀνατίθημι, properly ‘set up’ when you dedicate an offering or monument. The praise is not something transitory, uttered and then forgotten: embodied in the ode it remains there for all to see, a memorial no less permanent than the statue erected in the Altis or the offering affixed to the temple wall.

This my tongue is fain to tend (8 f.).

The sentence is still a purely general one: τὰ μέν is the praise of victors, or Olympic victors, in general; and ἐθέλει is a statement about Pindar’s general propensity.

And that a man should blossom with a poet’s wit is the god’s gift no less (10).

Success in the games comes by the gift of the god: Pindar has not said it here, but he says it elsewhere often enough; and all his thought—and the thought doubtless of the audience—was instinct with this belief. So equally (*ὁμοίως*) the poet's excellence is a gift of the god. There is not in this—what some editors have thought to find—any tone of diffidence (I do my best, but it is up to the god whether it comes off): there is, on the contrary, a proud confidence in his own inspiration.

Now at last, with half the poem gone, he speaks directly of the victor. For the boy himself only a brief word, but enough: it links his name with the supreme triumph of Olympic victory that has been named already. And then, to end the ode, an encomium of the Lokrians: they are no boorish colonials, cut off from civilization and repelling its influences—they are men of high refinement, and at the same time good fighters. We know little enough of the Lokrians and their ways: the chances of history have been unkind. But what little we know gives credence to Pindar's words. There was an early school of poetry there: Pindar himself refers to it in a fragment <140b. 4>; a Lokrian Xenokritos is said to have practised at Sparta in the seventh century; Stesichoros of Himera is said to have been born in the Lokrian colony of Matauros, and is connected with Lokroi in anecdote. For the visual arts we have the evidence of archaeology: in the early fifth century there are clay reliefs which show that Lokroi was the home of a vigorous artistic school—one with marked external influences (from Ionia, above all) yet at the same time with a strong individual quality. It has been maintained, by those competent to judge, that the famous Boston and Ludovisi thrones must be Lokrian work. Finally their prowess in war: seventy years or so before our ode the Lokrians had defeated the Krotoniates at the river Sagra, against heavy odds, in a battle which, for the surprise of its result, passed rapidly into legend.

I will read this encomium of the Lokrians; and I will then proceed to discuss the main problem of the ode—the problem of its venue. When Mingarelli rejected the old absurdity of regarding *O. 11* as 'interest', and recognized it as the earlier of the two odes, he supported his recognition by arguing that Pindar's promise of a longer ode not merely accompanied *O. 11* but was actually contained in it; and it was contained in this passage to which I shall now proceed.

I tell you then, son of Archestratos: for the sake of your boxing, Hagesidamos, I will sound forth an adornment of sweet song to add to your garland of golden olive, and will pay heed to your birth as a Lokrian of the West. Come thither with me, Muses, in the festal band: I'll warrant that we shall come to no folk that repels strangers or is unversed in what is fine—no, high taste they have, and are warriors too. The ways that are in his blood neither tawny fox nor loud-roaring lion could change. (11–20)

This is the passage that is to contain the promise: *κελαδήσω* future, 'I will sound forth'; *συγκωμάξατε* imperative, to the Muses, 'come thither with me'; *ἀφίξεσθαι* future, 'we shall come'. Pindar is pledging himself to an ode to be performed at some future time at Lokroi; the present ode, it follows, is performed not at Lokroi but, presumably, at Olympia itself. This was the view of Mingarelli; and it has been the view of the majority of editors ever since. 'The futures', says Wilamowitz <*Pindaros*, 217>, 'are unambiguous'.

But let us consider them.

First, *κελαδήσω*. The future, of course, expresses Pindar's intention. But it is perfectly common for the first person future of a verb of speaking to express an intention that is fulfilled in the utterance of the sentence itself. *O.* 6. 20: Hagesias is at once a good seer and a good fighter; *τοῦτό γε οἱ καφέω μαρτυρήσω*, 'I will bear him sure testimony of this'; the words are themselves the testimony. *P.* 10. 69: 'I will praise (*ἐπαινήσομεν*) Thorax's brothers for their good governance of Thessaly'; the words are themselves the praise. Nay more: there is just such a future in the very next lines of our ode, *ἐγγύασομαι*, 'I'll warrant you'; the word itself is the warranty. With all these (and there are many more) *κελαδήσω* falls willingly into line: Pindar's intention to voice Hagesidamos' praise is fulfilled in the very words in which he expresses it.

Second, *ἔνθα συγκωμάξατε*, to the Muses: 'come thither with me in the *κῶμος*'. This is dealt with very simply, by a single precise parallel. *N.* 9, written for Chromios of Aitna for a victory at Sikyon, begins with a similar address to the Muses: *κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικωνόθε, Μοῖσαι, τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν*, 'let us go in the *κῶμος* from Sikyon to Aitna'. And that ode is quite certainly sung at Aitna: the victory is long since over (he speaks of it with a *ποτε*), the *κῶμος* is the *κῶμος* of the ode itself. The subjunctive of that ode, *κωμάσομεν*, and the imperative of ours, *συγκωμάξατε*, are precisely on a level; if *κωμάσομεν* refers to the present *κῶμος*, so evidently may our *συγκωμάξατε* as well.

Lastly, *ἀφίξεσθαι*: 'we shall come'. There is no separate issue here: the future follows inevitably upon *συγκωμάξατε*. Once you have used an imperative, then when you proceed to describe the consequences of compliance there is no tense available except the future.

There is nothing here, in these futures and imperatives, that needs to be taken as a promise of a second ode: everything can be applied, normally and naturally, to the performance of *O.* 11 itself—in which case, of course, *O.* 11 is performed at Lokroi.

Is it then performed at Lokroi? I have shown that it can be; to show that it is, I must prove that Pindar's language is incompatible with performance at Olympia. And incompatible, I think, it is. In the first place, I cannot think that an Olympian audience would have understood: *κελαδήσω* they would have

taken, inevitably, of present praise, and the call for the Muses to go to Lokroi would have caused mere puzzlement. But suppose they had understood. If an ode is sung at Olympia, it is sung by the victor's friends and relatives in the first exultant moment of celebration, sung in token of present joy and gladness: its function is to praise the victor in the very moment of his triumph. Make the epode refer to the future, and the praise has gone: to be replaced by a mere *promise* of praise in time to come. Pindar never did that. If he had written an ode for Olympia, he would have written it for present celebration: the promise of another ode to come he would have made privately, and the ode itself he would have devoted to present gladness and that alone.

Olympian 11, then, was performed at Lokroi. One can easily imagine the situation: after Hagesidamos' victory, Pindar is approached by Arcestratos with a request for a full-scale ode. The request is something of an embarrassment: Pindar is already committed to Hieron and Theron; he will gladly write an ode, he says, but in the circumstances it is bound to be some months at least before he can get round to it. But Arcestratos, of course, wants something quickly: they will be sailing back soon to Lokroi, and obviously the boy must be given his celebration fairly quickly after they return. And so a compromise is reached: Pindar will write a brief ode now for immediate performance, and a full-scale ode later, once his other commitments are out of the way.

Pindar may, as I have said, have been able to call at Lokroi on his way to Syracuse. We have no notion, of course, of his normal practice with his odes: he had not only the words to communicate but also the music, and, I suppose, the choreography. If he could, doubtless he would instruct the chorus himself; if he could not, then in at least one instance (*O.* 6) it appears that the chorus-leader came to Thebes and was coached by Pindar there. I should like to fancy that on this occasion he called at Lokroi and stayed for a brief while to instruct the chorus; but this *is* fancy and no more. He does certainly say to the Muses *συγκωμάξατε*, which taken literally—with its *συν*—would imply that he was there in person for the performance; but any faith in the literal truth of Pindar's statements about his presence is shattered by *Pythian* 2, where he begins 'I come (*ἔρχομαι*) bringing this song from Thebes' but then later in the ode (67) says 'this song is sent (*πέμπεται*) like Phoenician merchandise across the sea'. He does, in *O.* 10, speak of Arcestratos (or Hagesidamos) as his *ξένος* <6 ἀλιτόξενον>, which might imply that they had entertained him; but how strictly he may use the word we have no means of telling.

But whatever happened—whether he called at Lokroi himself, or sent the ode by some intermediary, or even completed it before Arcestratos' departure—whatever happened, he sailed to Syracuse; and left the promise of

another ode to come later, when his other commitments were cleared. For what date he promised it we can only guess; it is not perhaps unreasonable to suppose that he promised to have it ready for his return, and to call at Lokroi and deliver it on his way.

But for whatever time he promised it, he failed. Perhaps he called at Lokroi without it, and without the time to stay and write it; more likely, perhaps, he never called at all, and a message came through to him later at Thebes reminding him of his promise. And now at last he writes his ode.

We must pause for a moment and try to imagine the effect of his broken promise. When *Olympian* 11 was performed Arcestratos will have told his friends that there was more to come: that the present brief ode was only an earnest, and that Pindar had promised another and longer ode for a second and doubtless still grander celebration. No ode arrives; the celebration is deferred; excuses wear thinner and thinner, and Arcestratos loses face. Has Pindar really forgotten? Or has Arcestratos been romancing about the whole thing?

Pindar will have been alive to all this; and so, when he does at last write the ode, he begins it with a long apology. The delay is entirely his fault: he had promised, and then forgotten. Arcestratos is absolved, his credit with his friends restored.

Read out to me the Olympic victor's name, Arcestratos' son, and say where on my heart it is written; I owe him a sweet song, and have forgotten that I do (10. 1–3).

τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα: the proud title in the very forefront of the ode, linked with the father's name. The father's, not the boy's (that will come later): the father is the prouder of the two, it is to the father that Pindar must make amends.

Come, O Muse, do thou and Truth daughter of Zeus with hand upraised keep off the rebuke of sinning with falsehood against a friend (3–6).

He has not belied himself, has not wittingly broken the promise that he made; he has merely left things too late:

The future came upon me from afar, and brought shame on my deep debt (7–8).

They make rather heavy weather of this phrase in the editions; but it is entirely simple, and very effective. When he made the promise it was for an occasion in the future, in ὁ μέλλων χρόνος, an occasion that was still *ἐκάς*, still far away; but before he realized it it was no longer *ἐκάς*—it had come upon him from afar and was there; his promise was broken, and he was shamed.

Yet one may dissolve keen reproach by giving interest: let him see then how the wave as it flows will deluge the rolling pebble, and how I shall pay a tale of common concern to render my loving goodwill (9–12).

I shall not in this paper spend time discussing textual problems; but for once there is a problem that does I think deserve a word. The manuscripts have *τόκος θνατῶν*, where *θνατῶν* is dubious metre, trivial sense, and sheer ruin to the rhetoric—*τόκος*, saved up for effect to the end of the sentence, must be followed by no other word; and in the next sentence the two indirect questions with *ὅπῃ* are left hanging loose without a construction. Schneidewin's *ὄρατ' ὦν* has found favour, and is certainly on the right lines; but the *ὦν* will not do—inferential *ὦν* (Attic *οὖν*) is unknown to Pindar—he uses *ὦν* only to strengthen other particles, or with disjunctives (*οὔτε, αἴτε*). The right solution must be Fennell's *ὄράτω*, 'let him see' (the following *νῦν* is now absolutely in place, second in the sentence after an imperative): not only better language, but better sense—it is the victor who has been waiting for his due, the victor who is to have it paid with interest; it is the victor who is to see what the interest is—the magnificence of the ode that he gets as recompense for the delay.

The two *ὅπῃ* clauses form a paratactic comparison, of the kind I have spoken of already: 'let him see then how the wave as it flows will deluge the rolling pebble, and how I shall pay a tale of common concern to render my loving goodwill'—the ode in its distinction will swamp criticism just as the wave swamps the pebble.

He will pay, he says, a *κοινός λόγος*. Now we have just had an amount of what I suppose we may call commercial language: *ὀφείλειν, χρέος, τόκος*; now, with *τείσομεν*, most editors have tried to take *λόγος* also in its commercial sense, of 'reckoning, account'. But it seems to me that the attempts all fail: one can make little sense out of *κοινός* (I cannot believe that it could mean 'mutually agreed'); and I doubt very much (despite modern analogies) whether *λόγον τίνειν* 'pay an account' is possible Greek. The *λόγος* is surely, as it so often is, what Pindar says in the ode, and more particularly the myth; and it is *κοινός* because it is a *λόγος* that is of common concern to all—the *λόγος* of the founding of the Olympic games. This is the *τόκος*, the interest, that Pindar will pay: instead of an ode of purely private or parochial concern, Hagesidamos shall have one whose subject will make it spread through the whole Greek world; and with it will spread the name and glory of Hagesidamos himself.

He continues:

For Exactness holds sway in the city of the Lokrians of the West; and they care for Kalliopa, and brazen Ares (13–15).

These are the virtues of the Lokrians. *Ἀτρέκεια*, exactness, getting things right. Did they in fact have a reputation for this, or is Pindar crediting them with it for his own purposes? There is one known fact, and as far as I am aware one only, that is relevant: Demosthenes <24. 139> tells us that they had a very strict and immutable code of laws which they applied with great exactness—‘they do not pass new ones, but they apply the old ones ἀκριβῶς, with exactness’. Music and poetry: I have spoken of this already. Warfare: of this as well.

But why are these virtues in point here? Notice the γάρ: this list of virtues in some way explains what Pindar has just said. They are no reason for his praising Hagesidamos. You might say that the Lokrians are punctilious people and so are concerned that Pindar should clear his debt properly; but that would make a very peculiar point. The point I think is a different one, that may not dawn on the audience at once. The myth, the founding of the Olympic games, is a myth that has been told in more than one form; and Pindar, when he tells it, will be found constantly to insist that his form is true and others false. This list of Lokrian virtues explains why the Lokrians are suitable recipients of this especially important ode: they have ἀτρέκεια, a desire to get things right; they are connoisseurs of poetry; and they are fighters too—not, you may say, a very obvious qualification in an audience, but the story is concerned in part at least with warfare. And he has, I shall argue in a moment, another reason too for bringing this virtue in.

Now Pindar continues:

Before Kyknos' fighting even the matchless might of Herakles gave way (15 f.).

This is a legend, so the scholiast informs us, that was told by Stesichoros <PMGF 207>: when Herakles fought with Kyknos, the son of Ares, Ares came to Kyknos' help, and Herakles turned tail. Later, though, Herakles fought Kyknos again and killed him.

Now what is the relevance of this here in Pindar? It ties up, the scholiast tells us, with what follows, where Pindar proceeds to the praise of a certain Ilas who has trained Hagesidamos in his boxing:

Before Kyknos' fighting even the matchless might of Herakles gave way; and for his victory in Olympia's boxing Hagesidamos must render thanks to Ilas, even as did Patroklos to Achilles (16–19).

Hagesidamos, we must understand, like Herakles, had the worst of it at first; but then Ilas spurred him on to new efforts, and so he won. So the scholiast tells us (following, of course, an Alexandrian commentator); and so nearly every modern editor continues to tell us as well.

Now of course this Alexandrian commentator had no independent evidence about the details of a boxing match 300 or 500 years before his day: his explanation is merely a deduction from Pindar's text. And it is, when you think about it, a pretty silly deduction. Pindar is writing this ode in praise of Hagesidamos; and he is paying *τόκος*, is doing his very best to please. Are we really to suppose that he praises him by first excusing him for nearly losing and then giving the credit for his recovery to his trainer? And more than that. Herakles *ran away* from Kyknos: what can Hagesidamos have done at Olympia that was comparable? And what could Ilas have done to get the credit for his recovery? Mere exhortation would be absurdly inadequate; any more active intervention would obviously have been barred. No: the whole thing, I am afraid, is a mare's nest. What the victor must thank his trainer for is what you would expect him to thank him for—his training. One could prove this, if one needed to, by looking at Pindar's other odes for boy boxers and wrestlers and pancratiasts: constantly in such odes he praises the trainer, and praises him, of course, for his training. But in any case Pindar goes on, after mentioning Ilas, to make his meaning perfectly clear:

For his victory in Olympia's boxing Hagesidamos must render thanks to Ilas, even as did Patroklos to Achilles: by whetting one with a native bent to prowess, to glory vast indeed might a man set him on, with a god's hand to aid (16–21).

What Ilas has done, what Hagesidamos must thank him for, is to put an *edge* on Hagesidamos' native talent: the same metaphor as in *I.* 6. 73, where another trainer is 'the Naxian whetstone that tames the bronze'.

So Herakles' flight before Kyknos is no parallel to Hagesidamos' fortunes in the boxing. There is only one other thing for it to be: it coheres not with what comes after but with what goes before. Pindar has praised the Lokrians: 'they care for Kalliopa, and brazen Ares. Before Kyknos' fighting even the matchless might of Herakles gave way.' The Lokrians are splendid fighters; that they have been defeated by a powerful enemy does not stand to their discredit. Even Herakles gave way before overwhelming odds.

Our knowledge of the history of the Western Lokrians in the early fifth century is not extensive: to call it 'sketchy' would be a gross overestimate. But we do know one fact that seems certainly to be relevant here. In his second Pythian—which I incline to date about 473; it can certainly hardly be earlier—the theme is gratitude, and gratitude to kings; and Pindar says to Hieron, 'and your name, son of Deinomenes, the girl of the Western Lokrians cries loud before her home; for from the helpless troubles of warfare your power brought safety into her eyes' (18–20). The scholiast explains: 'Anaxilas, tyrant of Messene and Rhegion, waged war on the Lokrians; Hieron sent his brother-in-law Chromios and threatened to march against Rhegion if

Anaxilas did not break off his operations; Anaxilas gave way before the threat, and the Lokrians had peace.' Now Anaxilas died, according to Diodoros, in 476/5; and if this attack on Lokroi is still mentioned in *Pythian* 2, presumably it came near the end of his reign. It came, that is, not long before our ode.

In *Olympian* 11 Pindar praised the Lokrians, without qualification, as *αἰχμηταί* (19). I think it possible that this trouble with Anaxilas occurred between the odes, perhaps in the spring of 475; and that Pindar now, writing while their impotence against Anaxilas is still smarting, has chosen not tacitly to withdraw his former compliment but to repeat it and affirm his faith in Lokrian valour. Repeated without qualification it would of course ring oddly at such a time, and would smack of insincerity; qualify it, and all is well. Anaxilas was too strong for them: yes, but Kyknos (Kyknos and Ares too, but on that point Pindar tactfully is silent)—Kyknos was too strong even for Herakles the nonpareil. And Herakles, remember, was victorious in the end.

One thing still remains to be looked into: the connexion of thought. 'They are good fighters: even Herakles had to give way before Kyknos. For his victory in the boxing at Olympia Hagesidamos must give thanks to Ilas' This does seem a startling jump—from the Lokrians' military misfortunes to Hagesidamos' debt to his trainer. If the jump be brought up in evidence against me, I can reply with a *tu quoque*: on the scholiast's view also there is an equal jump, though at a different place. But Pindar in general does not make violent jumps: he shows, I would say, an especial competence at the smooth transition (sometimes, perhaps, a smoothness only of the surface; but a smoothness for all that). What are we to do here?

The position of *πύκτας* (16) does provide some sort of transition. Pindar has been talking of the combat of warfare; from that he moves over to the combat of boxing, with *πύκτας* to give the key. But this alone is not much of a transition; and I remain unsatisfied.

In the Hesiodic version of the Kyknos story—in which Herakles suffers no defeat—Herakles has an ally in Athena <*Shield* 325 ff.>; perhaps in Stesichoros too (there is a hint of this in the scholia) she was his ally in his second and victorious battle. If so, one might seek a connexion with the aid of a double implication: just as Athena helped Herakles to his victory, and as Hieron helped the Lokrians to theirs, so Ilas helped Hagesidamos to his (helped him, I mean, merely by training him: the analogy is not to be pressed to detail). Granted the implications, the connexion is there; but even for a contemporary the implications would have put a strain on the understanding, and it is not Pindar's habit to write in riddles. I cannot believe that he did so here.

But another solution does occur to me. Apparent difficulties in Pindar lie often enough, as I have said, at the door not of Pindar himself but of our

own ignorance: there is some fact, familiar to Pindar himself and to his audience, which has perished from human knowledge; and without that fact in our minds, something simple and straightforward has become sheer mystery.

When one speaks of a 'trainer' nowadays one thinks immediately of a professional, a paid employee. But the trainers of Pindar's boy boxers and wrestlers were not professionals: they were the social equals of their pupils and the poet and all concerned. One need only think of the Athenian trainer Melesias whom Pindar praises in three of his odes <O. 8. 54, N. 4. 93, 6. 65>: Melesias, the father of the Athenian conservative statesman Thucydides. Ilas, too, will have been a Lokrian aristocrat; and it occurs to me to wonder whether he may not perhaps have been a general involved in the Lokrian defeat. If so, the transition is easy; and there is more point in the rather unexpected comparison that follows, 'let him give thanks to Ilas, as did Patroklos to Achilles'. Ilas perhaps is under something of a cloud at home; Pindar declares his confidence in him first by the Herakles comparison (which of course belongs to the Lokrians as a whole, not just to Ilas), then second, by the Achilles one, which is Ilas' own.

But all this is pure speculation, based on no evidence whatever; I indulge in it merely to show how the answers to problems that perplex us may be utterly simple and yet forever beyond our reach. And now I return again to the ode.

Without labour few there are that have own delight, that more than any deed irradiates one's life (22 f.).

This is the normal condition of human life, that only by effort do you win to joy and glory; and so with Hagesidamos—his victory has been achieved only at the cost of *πόνος*. This implies, I may add, no special struggle: it is not evidence for the notion that he was nearly beaten. In all his odes for boxers and wrestlers and pancratiasts Pindar talks of the *πόνος* and *κάματος* involved: involved, as the context in our ode clearly implies, not merely in the contest itself but in the training.

The sentence is not very logically expressed. The 'joy that more than any deed irradiates one's life' is not of course the *ἄπρονον χάρμα*: as Pindar says elsewhere (N. 7. 74), the more the *πόνος* the greater the delight. It is not the *ἄπρονον χάρμα*: it is the *χάρμα* that Hagesidamos has attained, the delight of the Olympic victory. And the delight is supreme because the Olympic festival is supreme, *ἐξάαιρετος*, in a class by itself; and so now from the *χάρμα* he moves over to Olympia and its games.

Of the peerless festival I shall sing, moved thereto by the ordinances of Zeus (24):

the Διὸς θέμιτες that govern the ordering of the festival, and require also that the poet shall praise it (cf. *τεθμός*, O. 7. 88, 13. 29). And from this he proceeds to the myth: the myth of the founding of the Olympic games.

Pindar's story of the foundation may be simply told. Herakles cleans the stables of Augeas, king of Epeians in Elis, and Augeas cheats him of his promised reward. Herakles comes against Augeas with an army from Tiryns; but the army is attacked and annihilated by Augeas' kinsmen the Moliones, the twins Kteatos and Eurytos. Herakles later ambushes the Moliones and kills them; then he comes against Augeas again, and sacks his city and kills him too. Then with the spoils he founds Olympia, with its cult of Zeus, and the Olympic games.

The interesting thing about Pindar's account is that it is clearly controversial: he insists on certain features of the account in a way which makes it evident that he is polemicizing against another version, a version which puts the foundation of the games *before* the time of Herakles.

I will go quickly through his account and point out as I proceed the features which are most obviously polemical; then at the end I will come back and consider what deductions we may draw from them.

He has just said 'of the peerless festival will I sing'; and from this he proceeds, by a relative pronoun, to the myth: he will sing, he says, of the festival

which by the ancient tomb of Pelops he founded, with its altars six in number, when he had slain Poseidon's goodly Kteatos | and had slain Eurytos, that from Augeas for his service he might exact nothing loath what *he* was loath to pay, a wage overwhelming, and in the thickets beneath Kleonai he ambushed and overthrew them too, did Herakles, on their journey . . . (24–30).

Notice how the subject of the sentence, Herakles, is saved up to the very end, and acquires thereby a very marked emphasis. To start with we learn merely that someone founded the games by Pelops' tomb, his *ancient* tomb—long after Pelops was dead; then as the sentence develops we begin to suspect, and then to realize, that the someone must be Herakles, but even so the sentence structure keeps us in at least a grammatical suspense until at the end the name at last is pronounced. This—the emphasis thrown on to the name of Herakles—is the first indication of polemic.

He killed the Moliones, then, (I continue with the text):

since aforesaid they had ravaged his Tirynthian host as it lay in the recesses of Elis, | they the Moliones overweening. Aye, and that king of the Epeians who cheated his guest saw not long afterwards his country with all its wealth beneath the relentless fire and the blows of the iron sinking, his own city, into a deep gully of ruin. (31–8)

βαθὺν εἰς ὄχετον ἄτασ: ὄχετός, 'channel' (normally an artificial channel), seems at first an extraordinary metaphor; but Herakles cleaned the stables by diverting rivers into them, that is by constructing ὄχετοί in which the dung was swept away; because he was not paid for these real ὄχετοί he constructs another, a metaphorical one of ruin, in which the whole city is swept away. But to continue:

When the stronger have a feud with one, there is no way to rid oneself of it. He too by his folly last of all found himself taken and escaped not sheer death. (39–43)

And now we have the founding of the games:

But the valiant son of Zeus brought together at Pisa his whole host and all the plunder, and measured out a holy precinct for his mighty father; and he fenced the Altis about and marked it off in a clear space, and the ground round about he made a resting-place for the evening meal, paying homage to Alpheos' course | among the twelve mighty gods. (43–9)

The Altis, of course, is the precinct of Zeus: Herakles founds his cult. The Alpheios shared an altar with Artemis: this was one of six double altars in the Altis (and so twelve gods in all). The six altars were mentioned already at the beginning of the myth (25 βωμῶν ἐξάριθμον: the reading should never have been disputed): this double mention—first emphatically at the beginning, and then repeated—is clearly significant.

And he called the hill by Kronos' name; before that it was nameless, while Oinomaos was king, and was drenched with much snow (49–51).

Notice the insistence on this: Pindar is clearly denying a belief that the hill of Kronos had importance—in cult, presumably—before the time of Herakles.

And at this primal birthrite the Moirai stood nigh at hand, and he who alone gives proof of the very truth, | Time (51–5).

'This primal birthrite': he insists that in founding these cults Herakles was first, with no other before him; and he enforces the insistence by bringing the Moirai there—the Moirai, who are birth-goddesses. Time is no birth-god: Pindar brings *him* there for another reason:

and as he passed onward he showed forth what is sure . . . (55).

It is *in the process of time* that this version of the legend becomes established as true, and others as false; hence it is Time who proves its truth, and if he is to prove it he must know it, and he knows it because he was there in person.

He showed forth what is sure: how he divided the firstfruits of the spoils, the gift of war, and offered sacrifice; and how he established the four-yearly festival with the first Olympic games and their victories (55–9).

Again he insists on the priority: *ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι πρώται*. And now the victors:

Who was it who got for his own the fresh-given crown, with arms, and feet, and chariot; setting in his hopes a prayer for glory in the games, and in action achieving it? (60–3)

‘Arms’ of course the field events, ‘feet’ the track events. And again the insistence on priority: *ποταίνιος στέφανος*—fresh, new, not offered before.

He proceeds now to a list of the victors; but I will leave that for the moment, and revert to the problem of the founding of the games.

The first question to ask is simply: against what other story of the foundation is Pindar polemicizing? I do not think there can be any real doubt about this. The hero of Olympia *par excellence* is Pelops: Pelops it is whose tomb is in the Altis; Pelops to whom offerings are made before the offerings to Zeus; Pelops by whose name Olympia, and the Olympic games, are called by Pindar himself and by Bacchylides (Olympia is *Πέλοπος πτυχαί* N. 2. 21, *Πέλοπος βάσσαι* O. 3. 23, *Πέλοπος δάπεδα* [precinct] B. 11. 25; the games are *Πέλοπος δρόμοι* O. 1. 94, *Πέλοπος ἄεθλα* B. 8. 31–2); and Bacchylides, in 476, finishes an Olympian ode (5. 178–82) by celebrating ‘Olympian Zeus, and the Alpheos, and Pelops, and Pisa’. Yet here Pindar pushes Pelops right out: his tomb is there, but only by accident—simply as the *place* where Herakles chose to found his cult and his games; and Pindar constantly stresses that before Herakles there was no cult, and no games, at Olympia at all. The story that Pindar is rejecting is a story that associates the foundation with Pelops.

Now the second question: what is the source of these two different legends, Pelops and Herakles? I must say at once that the Herakles legend is not invented by Pindar for this present ode: it appears (or parts of it do) in his two odes for Theron, O. 2 and O. 3, of 476; and in O. 3 he tells one detail of it (how Herakles fetched the olive from the Hyperboreans) in a way which clearly indicates that he is correcting an existing version.

Olympia, in the valley of the Alpheios, in the district known as Pisa, lies towards the southern fringe of the territory which in the fifth century was called Elis. The Eleians were a people of Aitolian stock, who came in from the north at the time of the Dorian invasion. Now the history of Olympia in the seventh and sixth centuries consists of a series of statements—contradicting one another, and so most likely deriving from the versions of opposing sides—about changes in the control of the games between the Eleians on the one hand and the Pisaians on the other; and these Pisaians, the inhabitants of Olympia and its district, are people of pre-Eleian, pre-Dorian stock over whom the Eleians had therefore at first uncertain control. Eleian control of Olympia seems to have become stabilized in the early sixth century; in 399, when the Spartans made the Eleians resign control of some of their peripheral

subject territory, they are alleged by Xenophon <Hell. 3. 2. 31> to have left them the control of Olympia, 'although it was not originally Eleian', on the ground that the Pisaians were mere peasants and not fit to take over the control. In 364 the Pisaians do take control, for a single Olympiad, but merely as the puppets of the Arkadians.

We appear, therefore, to have two contestants waging an unequal struggle for control of the sanctuary. There was right, perhaps, on both sides—right, that is, in the sense of a claim to the original control. On the one hand the site itself seems to go back before the invasions, with a sanctuary of Pelops and cult-centres on the hill of Kronos; and the games too, in some form, may date from this time. On the other hand the cult of Zeus may well have been established there by the invaders. It is easy to see how the two sides may have had different legends of the foundation: the Pisaian legends connecting the site and its games with Pelops; the different Eleian legends reflecting their own claims to the control.

Now if the Eleian claim is to have weight against the Pisaian, it must necessarily compare with theirs in antiquity: they alleged of course that Oxylos, who led their invasion, had taken control of the sanctuary and the games, but Oxylos alone will merely confirm Eleian control as usurpation. They must find some legendary figure of pre-invasion times, and ascribe the foundation to him. What better figure than Herakles?

Herakles is of course no Eleian; but in the first place he is no Pisaian either, in the second place as son of Zeus *par excellence* he is an appropriate founder for this festival of Zeus, in the third place he may be said to have an Eleian connexion of a kind. It was Herakles whom the Dorians used as a means of legitimizing their occupation of the various parts of the Peloponnese: in their invasion, they said, they were accompanied by the exiled descendants of Herakles, the Herakleidai (and one of the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, claimed descent from Hyllos, son of Herakles); it was in virtue of the rights of the Herakleidai that the Dorians claimed a right to their conquered territory. Now the Eleians, themselves Aitolians and not Dorians, could make no direct use of Herakles and the Herakleidai; they invented indeed a comparable exile of their own, an exile from Elis called Aitolos. But an indirect use they did make: they linked the story of their invasion with that of the Dorian invasion and the Herakleidai—their leader Oxylos serves as guide and ally of the invading Dorians, and in return for this guidance the Herakleidai confirm him in his possession of Elis.

Now if this is to be called a connexion between Herakles and the Eleians, it is only, as I have said, a connexion of a kind. The kind, however, may be significant. Elis seems to have been Sparta's oldest ally in the Peloponnese. Sparta, from early times, seemed to have had a strong

connexion with Olympia: the records of victors in the early centuries show far more Spartans than any others. And in Sparta, with her Heraklid kings, and her claims to the leadership of the Dorians, the feeling of descent from Herakles seems to have been especially strong. May not this perhaps give the clue to how Pindar's legend first arose—early perhaps in the sixth century, at a time when Sparta was strengthening her connexion with a pro-Dorian Elis that laid claim to control of Olympia?

But why should Pindar now, in 475, make such a point of stressing the authenticity of the legend? If the Eleians had stabilized their control a century ago, one might imagine that by now this story of the origins would have ceased to be a matter of serious controversy: that the two legends would have arrived at a *modus vivendi* that no one would need any longer to disturb. The *modus vivendi* is easily established: Pelops first, Herakles second, as refounder or developer of the games. Indeed it clearly was becoming established; for what Pindar throughout his account is concerned to defend is not the *connexion* of Herakles with Olympia but the *priority* of that connexion. Why, at this stage, should Pindar wish to disturb it?

It has occurred to me to wonder whether the answer may not perhaps be found in the political situation in the Peloponnese, and in Elis in particular, in the period immediately following the Persian wars. During this period a good deal of disaffection against Sparta became apparent, notably in Arkadia: it was not many years after our ode that Sparta fought two battles there, at Tegea against Argos and Tegea, at Dipaia against all the Arkadians except the Mantineians. And there will have been disaffection in Elis too: there are two hints that it was there already—the Eleian seer Hegesistratos, arrested and condemned by the Spartans (at some date before Plataia) for his activities against them; the Eleian contingent for Plataia arriving late, and their generals punished. And a few years after our ode, in 471/470, Elis carried out a synoecism; and it is commonly believed—not without reason—that this was accompanied by democratic reform. All this must have been in the air before 471: there will have been a feeling abroad that Elis was in danger of lapsing from her Spartan alliance. Now there can be doubt where, in such a matter, Pindar's sympathies would lie: Pindar the aristocrat, Pindar the pro-Dorian. This surely is a time when he might think it proper to bring back to men's minds the legends that reflected the supremacy in Elis of a pro-Spartan stock, that threw the renown of Olympia and its pan-hellenic festival on to the side of Dorian hegemony. There will have been many to prompt him: with his fame established as a pan-hellenic poet, he was an obvious as well as a willing instrument for propaganda.

There at least are some speculations. The cobbler has, I am afraid, done anything but stick to his last; I can only hope that those on whose province I

have trespassed will be merciful if I have said anything especially outrageous. But there *are* problems here; and they do deserve enquiry.

Now back again to the victors.

Best at the stadion, running straight with legs at full stretch [*τόνον* is explained by the Homeric *ἐτάθη δρόμος*: he was running *flat out*], was Likymnios' son Oionos; he came from Midea, leading his host. At the wrestling it was Echemos who gave glory to Tegea. Doryklos secured the result of the boxing, he who dwelt in the city of Tiryns. On the four-horse car | it was Semos, Halirrhothios' son, from Mantinea. With the javelin, Phrastor hit the mark. And Nikeus whirling his arm hurled with the stone a length beyond all others; and the allies wafted from their lips a great shouting. (64–73)

These victors are an undistinguished lot: three of them we know from no other source; two of them are not even given a city. Pindar must, I think, have inherited them from an earlier source; one might suggest, perhaps, that their cities have a certain relevance here—Mantinea, at least, and Tegea, cities that may now be turning against Sparta, and Pindar shows them with their members owing allegiance to Herakles. But with two victors left cityless, I can hardly believe that Pindar set great store by the implications of the list.

That at last is an end of historical speculation. And now, to finish the paper, I will confine myself to poetry.

And the lovely light of the fair-faced moon lit up the evening; | and the whole grove was filled with singing in glad festivity, after the fashion of the revel-song (73–7).

The games were held at the time of the full moon, which rises of course at sunset. There is another description of the Olympian full moon in *O.* 3. 19 f., in a passage every bit as effective as the passage here: Pindar was obviously deeply affected by the memory of this singing and festivity in the moonlight.

And now he comes back again from the myth to the present and to the victor. He makes his transition by means of the victory-song: just as they sang one then, let us sing one now.

Following the beginning made of old, now too let us grace a lordly victory with a song that bears its name, and sing loud of the thunder and of the fire-handed dart of Zeus who rouses the thunderclap, the blazing bolt that is fitting in every mastery; and the rich singing shall to the sound of the pipe meet the songs | that have come forth by glorious Dirke . . . (78–85).

With this he touches again upon his apology: his ode is late, but a thing though late may be welcome all the more for its lateness, like a son born at last to a man in his old age, when he was despairing of an heir:

that have come forth by glorious Dirke—after a long time, but even as a son from his wedded wife fills the long desire of a father who has come now to the reverse of youth,

and greatly does he warm his heart with love; for when a man's wealth gets to tend it an alien from outside it is a hateful thing to him when he dies; so . . . (85–90).

And here Pindar, almost unnoticed, leaves the rails. He has said 'just as a son born to a man late in life is welcome'; he should go on therefore, 'so this ode is welcome'. But as the simile developed it suggested another point of resemblance, between the man without an heir and the victor without a song; and it is this point that Pindar takes up as he leaves the simile.

So when a man does noble things and then comes without a song, Hagesidamos, to the steading of Hades, he has panted in vain and has given his labour but a brief delight (91–3).

The same point that we had in *O.* 11: without a song, men forget; the victor's glory perishes with him. But with a song it endures. As indeed it does endure: when we now, eighty generations later, on a winter evening in a barbarian island, can still picture the young Hagesidamos in the flush of victory on that hot August day in Greece.

But on you the lyre's delightful words and the sweet flute sprinkle their grace, and Zeus' Pierian daughters nurture your spreading fame; I and I, lending them an eager hand, have embraced the Lokrians' famous folk, drenching in honey this city with its goodly men; and I have praised the lovely son of Arcestratos, whom I saw as he won by strength of hand by the Olympian altar on that day—fair in his form and blended with youth—youth that once kept ruthless death from Ganymedes with the Cyprian's aid (93–105).

Fragment of a Commentary on Pindar, *Olympian* 10

64–6. *Best at the single course, running straight with his legs at full stretch, was Likymnios' son Oionos; he came from Midea leading his host.*

64. στάδιον: the shortest of the three ordinary footraces of historical times. All three were run on the stadion, a straight track of c. 190 metres,¹ with turning-posts (one for each competitor) at either end. This race, the stadion, was a single length of the track; the longer races consisted of a number of legs out and home along the track, with sharp turns of 180 degrees between legs (the *διάυλος* two legs, c. 380 metres; the *δόλιχος* probably twenty legs,² c. 3,800 metres.

ἀρίστευεν: was *ἄριστος*; equivalent to *ἐνίκησεν*, and followed by the same accusative of the event (*στάδιον*) that is normal after *νικᾶν* (in Pindar, *O.* 4. 22 *χαλκίοισι . . . ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον*, *O.* 13. 30 *σταδίου νικῶν δρόμον*; in prose, e.g. Th. 5. 49. 1 *παγκράτιον . . . ἐνίκα*). Cf., after another synonym, B. 6. 15 *στάδιον κρατήσας*; after *ἀριστεύειν* itself Theokr. 15. 98 *τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευε*.

εὐθὺν τόνον: internal accusative after *τρέχων*, specifying that in which the action of the verb consists (his running was an *εὐθὺς τόνος*): ‘running a going-flat-out in a straight line’. This gives the two characteristics of the stadion: there were no turns, and it was a sprint with the runners going flat out for the whole distance. *τόνος* is the verbal noun corresponding to *τείνω*; for its use

¹ There were of course slight local variations: Fiechter, *RE* iiiA. 1969. At Olympia, the fourth-century stadion whose remains survive is 191.27 metres long; it may be supposed to have reproduced fairly closely the length of the earlier and differently sited stadion.

² Sch. S. *El.* 684 *τῶν δόλιχόν φασι ἀγωνίσασθαι Ὀρέστην, ὅς ἐστιν κό στάδια, κό ἐτῶν ὄντα, ὥστε τῆι φύσει ἴσα τὰ τέρματα τοῦ δρόμου ἐποιήσατο* (so *Soud.* s.v., *ἔστι δὲ ὁ δόλιχος κό στάδια*). There may well be a reference to the *δόλιχος* in Ioh. Chrys. *Praef. in ep. Phil.* (*Patrologia Graeca* 62. 180) *ὁ τρέχων ἐὰν δέκα διαύλους δραμῶν τὸν ὑστερον ἀφήνῃ, τὸ πᾶν ἀπώλεσε*, and in Philox. *AP* 9. 319. 3 (Gow–Page, *HE* 3038) *δὲς δέκ' ἀπὸ σταδίων*. On the other hand sch. *Ar. Birds* 292 (= *Soud.* *διάυλος*) has *διάυλος ὁ διττὸν ἔχων τὸν δρόμον ἐν τῆι πορείαι, τὸ πληρώσει τὸ στάδιον καὶ ὑποστρέψαι, δολιχόδρομοι δὲ οἱ ἐπτὰ τρέχοντες* (where I would suppose *ἐπτὰ* to be *ἐπτὰ διαύλους*, not *ἐπτὰ στάδια*).

here of intense physical effort ('straining every nerve') cf. the use of *τείνω* in *Il.* 23. 375 *ἴπποισι τάθη δρόμος*, 758 (= *Od.* 8. 121) *τοῖσι δ' ἀπὸ νύσσης τέτατο δρόμος*: their running was stretched or strained tight, they ran flat out. *ποσσί*, which would be idle with *τρέχων* alone (with what else can a man run?), becomes meaningful with *εὐθὺν τόνον τρέχων*: the all-out effort is made with the legs.

The manuscripts have (unmetrically) *εὐθύτονον*. The correction to *εὐθὺν τόνον*³ is certain, and is now generally accepted; but it seems not yet to have been understood. It is consistently rendered 'course' or the like: e.g. LSJ s.v. III;⁴ Sandys, 'running a straight course on his feet'; Dornseiff, 'eine gerade Bahn mit den Füßen laufend'; Bowra, 'who ran a straight stretch on his feet'.⁵ This alleged meaning is fictitious. The English and German nouns 'stretch' and 'Strecke', cognate with the verbs 'stretch' and 'strecken' = *τείνειν*, acquire the meaning 'a continuous length or distance'; Greek *τόνος* does not.

65. Λικυμνίου: son of Elektryon by Midea, and half-brother of Herakles' mother Alkmene.

66. Οἰωνός: all else we know about him is the story of his death: he accompanied Herakles to Sparta, and was killed there by the sons of Hippokoon; in revenge Herakles killed the sons of Hippokoon in turn.

Μιδέαθεν: Midea is a Mycenaean fortress about 7 km. north-north-east of Tiryns, in the foothills at the edge of the Argive plain. Likymnios' mother Midea was its eponymn.

66. And at the wrestling it was Echemos who gave glory to Tegea.

The function of such a sentence, with articular participle and with a form of *εἶναι* either (as usually) expressed or (as here) dispensed with, is to identify the person or thing defined by the participle: *S. Ai.* 1288 *ὄδ' ἦν ὁ πράσων ταῦτα*, 'this was the man who did it'; *E. Hek.* 120–2 *ἦν δ' ὁ τὸ μὲν σὸν σπεύδων ἀγαθὸν . . . Ἀγαμέμνων*, 'the man who urged your cause was A.'; *Hdt.* 2. 171. 3 *αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι*, 'the daughters of D. were the persons responsible for exporting this ritual'; *Th.* 8. 68. 1 *ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπὼν Πείσανδρος*, 'the man who

³ Bergk, following Thiersch. Hermann (in Heyne, iii. 307 f.) proposed *σταδίου . . . εὐθὺν πόνον* (construed after *ἀρίστεινεν*, with *ποσσί τρέχων* alone and idle); Thiersch then *σταδίου . . . εὐθὺν τόνον* (construed as Hermann?); Bergk then (ed. 2) *στάδιον . . . εὐθὺν τόνον*.

⁴ They say 'metaph., *tenor of one's way, course*', and cite two instances: this, and *Plu. Dem.* 13. 4 *ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐνός καὶ ἀμεταβόλου διαγράμματος τῆς πολιτείας ἕνα τόνον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι ἀεὶ διετέλεσε*. The second instance is as spurious as the first: *ἀφ' ἐνός διαγράμματος* is a musical term (it appears in the sustained musical metaphor at *Mor.* 55d), and *τόνος* therefore is to be understood in its musical sense.

⁵ Lattimore renders 'keeping the strain of his running in an even course'; this avoids the common error without suggesting 'flat out', and misses *εὐθὺν* altogether.

moved this resolution was P.⁶ Here, where Pindar is concerned to identify the victor at the wrestling as Echemos of Tegea, we might most simply have had ἦν δὲ ὁ πάλαι νικῶν Ἐχέμος Τεγεάτας, ‘the victor at wrestling was E. of T.’ But in place of ‘won’ Pindar prefers the more colourful ‘gave glory to his country’; and this would give ἦν δὲ ὁ πάλαι κυδαίνων τὰν πάτραν Ἐχέμος Τεγεάτας, ‘the man who gave glory to his country at wrestling was E. of T.’ Instead of this we have ὁ δὲ πάλαι κυδαίνων Ἐχέμος Τεγέαν, ‘the man who brought glory to Tegea at wrestling was Echemos’; where Tegea, properly part of the identification, is made to construe as part of the definition. Quite illogical; but succinct and so effective. The word order helps: though syntactically Τεγέαν constricts in the definition, placed where it is in the sentence it is felt readily enough to behave as part of the identification, as if it were ‘the man who gave glory in the wrestling was Echemos, who gave it to Tegea’.

67–8. *And Doryklos secured the result of the boxing; Tiryns was the city where he dwelt.*

67. **Δόρυκλος**: otherwise unknown. (The same name is borne by four other minor characters in legend: see *RE* and *Roscher* s.v.)

ἔφερε as in νίκην φέρειν, ‘secure the victory’: *I.* 7. 21 φέρει γὰρ Ἴσθμοί | νίκαν παγκρατίου, *N.* 3. 18 τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει.

τέλος: ‘issue, outcome, result’. The outcome or result of a contest is normally the victory of one or other of the contestants: its τέλος is someone’s νίκη. Hence Pindar here, bent on varying his expressions for ‘won’, uses τέλος in place of the ordinary νίκαν: the phrase is (and was meant to be) recherché, but is wholly intelligible.

It needs to be said firmly that τέλος does not and could not, either here or elsewhere, mean ‘prize’. That meaning has been supposed here for the past two centuries (with φέρειν of securing a prize as at *O.* 9. 98), and is alleged by LSJ s.v. III. 2b both here and in four other places in Pindar and Bacchylides; but ‘prize’ is no natural development of any of the authenticated meanings of τέλος, and in all five passages one or other of the authenticated meanings makes perfect sense. At *N.* 7. 57 the context is not even agonistic, and τέλος is the ‘consummation’ of having complete εὐδαιμονία; at *B.* 11. 6 the goddess Victory κρίνει τέλος ἀθανάτοισιν τε καὶ θνατοῖς ἀρετᾶς, determines the issue of prowess; at *I.* 1. 27 ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ | ἔργματι κείτω τέλος each event (i.e. each of the events later comprised in the pentathlon) had its own result; at *P.* 9. 118, where the girl’s suitors run a race with the girl herself stationed at the end of

⁶ People usually speak as if (e.g., in *E. Hek.*) Agamemnon was subject and ὁ . . . σπεύδων predicate. I am far from sure that this is the right way round; but I am far from sure that it is meaningful in such identifying sentences to talk of ‘subject’ and ‘predicate’ at all. In cases like *S. Ph.* 114 οὐκ ἄρ’ ὁ πέρων . . . εἴμ’ ἐγώ; the person of εἴμι is irrelevant to the point at issue.

the track, *τέλος ἔμμεν ἄκρον*, and she is to be given to the first to touch her, she is *τέλος* not *quia* prize but *quia* finishing-post (as *ἄκρον* makes clear; for *τέλος* of the end of a course cf. B. 5. 45, the racehorse *πρὸς τέλος ὀρνύμενον*; Pl. R. 613c, runners *πρὸς τέλος ἐλθόντες*).⁷

Τίρυνθα ναίων πόλιν will be felt as ‘who dwelt in Tiryns as his city’ rather than ‘who dwelt in the city of Tiryns’. The simple apposition of *πόλις* to a city’s name is very rare in early poetry (I find it only at *Il.* 9. 530 *ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα*, *Od.* 11. 510 *ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τροίην*, Pi. P. 9. 106 *Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν*);⁸ and here the separation of *Τίρυνθα . . . πόλιν* by the verb will help to give the effect that I suppose. (English can mirror the effect only imperfectly in a dependent clause; it can do better in an independent one, *Τίρυνθα ἔναιε πόλιν*, ‘the city he dwelt in was Tiryns’.) Simple apposition is very common in Herodotos (c. 120 instances), but only as a rule when the city is one whose name would or might be unfamiliar to the average Greek;⁹ I observe that Pindar’s *Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν* is just such a case.

69–70. *And on the four horses it was Semos, Halirrothios’ son, from Mantinea.* (The verb is left unexpressed; ‘won’ can be immediately understood from what precedes.)

69. *ἀν’ ἵπποισι . . . τετράειν:* for ‘on the four horses’ equivalent to ‘on the four-horse chariot’ see O. 1. 41 n. <But Barrett’s commentary on O. 1 is not extant.>

70. *Σάμος ὁ Ἀλιροθίου:* the man and his father are known to us, but only from two quotations preserved in the scholia on our passage; and there is some doubt about his name—Semos (Dor. *Σάμος*) or Seros.

The first quotation is from Hesiod (fr. 49), and shows that our man and his father were known in legend before Pindar’s time: *ἦτοι ὁ μὲν Σῆρον καὶ Ἀλάζυγον υἱέας ἐςθλόους*; the verb obviously ‘begot’, the father named by

⁷ Jebb, on B. 11. 6, treats of all these instances, ours included (except that he very properly ignores *N.* 7), and explains them all correctly: B. 11 ‘issue’, O. 10 and *I.* 1 ‘result’, P. 9 ‘goal’. Yet he is so much under the thrall of convention that he fancies ‘prize’ to be ‘a fair rendering’ in O. 10 and ‘implied’ in *I.* 1. The answer to this sloppiness (if it needs an answer) is that *τέλος* could be used equally well in either case if no prize were given; as indeed in O. 10 Pindar indicates by no word that any was.

⁸ I have checked epic, lyric, Aeschylus, and Sophocles. I say ‘simple apposition’: I do not count, that is, instances where *πόλις* (or a synonym) is qualified by an adjective or genitive, as *Il.* 2. 501 *Μεδεῶνά τ’ ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον*, Alk. fr. 337 *Ἄντανδρος Λελέγων πόλις*. Nor do I count *Il.* 6. 152 *ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη*, 11. 711.

⁹ In metropolitan Greece he has *πόλις* with Trachis, Alpenos, Neon, Amphissa, Drymos, Akraiphie, Anthele. There is a tendency for *πόλις* to be added more readily in topographical descriptions in which other features (rivers, mountains, etc.) are named; this may account for *Τρηχίς πόλις* at 7. 199 (against five instances without *πόλις*) and perhaps *Ἀμφίσσαν πόλιν* at 8. 32. 2; also e.g. for *Σηετοῦ πόλιος* at 7. 33 (against six instances without *πόλις*). There may also be a tendency for *πόλις* to be added when it is said that someone founded a city or settled in it: e.g. 1. 168 *καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα*.

the scholia (evidently from the context in Hesiod) as Halirrhothios son of Perieres and Alkyone,¹⁰ a quite separate person from the Halirrhothios son of Poseidon of Attic legend. The second quotation is of two scazons from an *ἴαμβος* by ‘Diphilos author of the *Theseis*’: *ετρωφᾶις δὲ πῶλους ὡς ὁ Μαντινεὺς Cῆ*ος, | ὃς πρῶτος ἄρματ’ ἤλασεν παρ’ Ἀλφειῶις*; this is of little value, for it adds nothing to what Pindar says, and since we know nothing of the author we cannot treat him as independent of Pindar.¹¹

Now the text. The medieval tradition has *cām’ Ἀλιρ(ρ)οθίου*, and I do not think it can be doubted that this (unmetrical nonsense though it is) was in Aristophanes’ text: the scholia offer three explanations of it (all patently absurd), and two at least of these can be shown to be ancient.¹²

What we need is evidently the name of the victor and his father, the two together to have the scansion –υ––υ– or its equivalent. For the victor it appears from the scholia that three possibilities were canvassed in antiquity: (a) 83b: *Cāμος* read by Aristodemos (late second century BC), adducing Diphilos as ὁ *Μαντινεὺς Cῆμος*; (b) 83f: *Cῆρος* read by *τινές*, adducing Hesiod; (c) 83a: *Ἥρωος* read by Didymos, adducing Diphilos as ὁ *Μαντινεὺς Ἥρωος*. Of these, *Ἥρωος* (impossible as a proper name, and unmetrical in Pindar) will be a corruption not of *Cῆμος* but of *Cῆρος*; presumably Didymos found it in a text of Diphilos (*-EYCHPΩC*, an easy corruption of *-EYCCHPOC*) and incorporated it thence into Pindar.¹³

¹⁰ ἦν δὲ ὁ *Cῆρος* τοῦ *Ἀλιρροθίου* τοῦ *Περίηρου* καὶ *Ἀλκυνόνης*: I suppose that Alkyone is intended as mother of Halirrhothios not of Seros.

¹¹ He is referred to twice: once (83a) as *τὸν γράφοντα τὴν Θηγηίδα*, once (83b) as *Δίφιλος ὁ τὴν Θηγηίδα ποιήσας*. He may or may not be identical with the Diphilos who wrote a poem attacking a philosopher Boidas (sch. Ar. *Clouds* 96); but in any case we know nothing more of that Diphilos either (*not* his date: in sch. Ar. the sequence in *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα* is logical not temporal). Nor do we know whether the *Theseis* attributed to him is the poem supposed to belong to the sixth century.

¹² Two of them suppose *cāma* to be something like ‘note, distinction’: (a) *cām’ Ἀλιρροθίου* = *ἐπίσημος ὦν Ἀλιρρόθιος* (84a. 5, 84d. 10) sc. *ἐνίκα*, periphrastic like *ἱερὴ ἵς Τηλεμάχοιο* (83a. 12–14 *οἰονεὶ τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Ἀλιρροθίου*, 83c); (b) *ἐπίσημος ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀλιρρόθιος* (83b. 6, 84a. 3–4), presumably *σάμ’ Ἀλιρροθίου* sc. *ἐγένετο*. (c) The third (84d with 84c and 84e) supposes *σάμ’ Ἀλιρροθίου* to be Theseus (sc. *ἐνίκα*), *οἶον ὅμοιος ὦν Ἀλιρροθίω τῷ ἀδελφῶι* (i.e. the Attic Halirrhothios, like Theseus a son of Poseidon); presumably *cāma* taken as something like ‘mark, likeness’.

The antiquity of these interpretations: either (a) or (b) was rejected (83b) by Aristodemos; (c) was supported (84e) by a reference to the historian Aristippos (*FGrHist* 317 F 4) for Theseus’ participation in the games.

¹³ I think it less likely that Didymos took over *Cῆρος* uncorrupted from Diphilos, and that there has been systematic corruption in the scholia (three instances, only one following -c).

6

Pindar's Twelfth *Olympian* and the Fall of the Deinomenidai

I. THE ODE

The ode celebrates a number of victories (all of them, as we shall see, in the *δολιχος*, the 'long' race) won by a certain Ergoteles, of Himera in Sicily. It is not in any proper sense an *Olympian* at all: the first victory mentioned was at Olympia, which is why the ode was classified by Aristophanes of Byzantium among the *Olympians*; but the most recent of the victories, the immediate occasion of the ode, was won not at Olympia but at Pytho.¹

The ode begins with an invocation of Fortune, and a prayer that she should protect the victor's city. From this it proceeds, in the regular fashion of the Greek hymn, to a statement of Fortune's power; and this statement then merges into a gnomic passage on the instability and unpredictability of human affairs, from which in turn we emerge to the victor and to *his* changing fortune and final success.

'I pray you, daughter of Zeus of Freedom, keep in your care Himera in her widespread might, o saviour Fortune. Yours is the piloting of swift ships on the sea, and on land of rapid warfare and gatherings where men give counsel; while men have their hopes tossed often up, and now down, as they cleave a sea of vain illusion,

'and none yet on earth has found a sure token from the gods about an issue that is to be, and their perception of what is to come is blind. Men have found many a thing fall out contrary to their judgment, to the reverse of delight; while others have met with grievous squalls and then in a moment got abundant good in place of hurt.

<*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93 (1973), 23–35.>

¹ Similarly *Olympian* 9 is classified as an *Olympian* because it begins with the Olympic victory (of 468) and comes only thereafter to the Pythian victory (of 466).

‘Son of Philanor, so it is with you: by the hearth of your kin, like a cock that fights at home, the glory of your feet would have shed its leaves without renown, if civil strife that sets man against man had not bereft you of your native Knossos. But now, instead, you have taken a garland at Olympia, and twice from Pytho, and at the Isthmos, Ergoteles; and you take in your hands the hot waters of the nymphs and consort with fields that are your own.’

II. THE VICTOR

Ergoteles son of Philanor was a citizen of Himera in Sicily—a citizen, but not a native: as Pindar tells us (16), he was born a Cretan, in Knossos, but had to leave Knossos as a result of *στάσις*. When he came to live in Himera, no one tells us; but we can make a very probable guess.

At some time in the late 480s Himera was in the power of a tyrant, Terillos; and this Terillos was then expelled by Theron tyrant of Akragas. It was Terillos’ appeal to Carthage that provided the occasion of the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily in 480, defeated by Gelon tyrant of Syracuse and Theron at the battle of Himera; the expulsion of Terillos is therefore earlier, but presumably no long time earlier, than 480.²

We next hear of Himera in Diodoros’ narrative (11. 48. 6–8) under the year 476/5. Theron had installed his son Thrasydaios as ruler of Himera; Thrasydaios governed harshly, and the Himeraians, seeing no hope in an appeal to Theron, looked for help elsewhere. / Now at Syracuse the second of the Deinomenid tyrants, Gelon’s brother and successor Hieron, was at this time on the brink of war with Theron, who was supporting a third brother Polyzalos in disaffection against him; and the Himeraians made overtures to Hieron, offering, if he would attack their city, to revolt and engineer a surrender. But Hieron, rather than go to war with Theron, preferred to negotiate a settlement; and as an earnest of his goodwill he revealed to Theron the proposals that the Himeraians had made. The gesture succeeded: Theron investigated, found the information true, and settled his differences with Hieron. But Himera paid the price: Theron arrested his opponents there and put them to death. There were, says Diodoros, ‘many of them’ (*πολλοὺς ὄντας*). Then, still under the same year in Diodoros (11. 49. 3), Theron, seeing

[23/4]

² The facts in Herodotos, 7. 165. No other evidence for the date: when Diodoros (11. 1. 5) says that the Carthaginians spent three years in preparation for the invasion, the three years is measured not from Terillos’ expulsion (of which no word) but from an alleged agreement between Persia and Carthage to synchronize their invasions, and need be no more historical than the agreement.

that after his executions in Himera the city was short of inhabitants, settled there 'Dorians and others who wished' and enrolled them as citizens.³

Diodoros recounts all this under the year 476/5; and though Diodoros' dates are not completely reliable, the margin of error is unlikely to be very great.⁴ Now it will appear in a moment that Ergoteles' victories were won in or about the years 472–464; it is an obviously attractive supposition that he was one of the Dorians admitted to citizenship at Himera in 476 or shortly afterwards. The δόλιχος seems to have been of about 4,000 metres;⁵ if Ergoteles came to Himera when of undergraduate age, he would be ripe three or four years later for his career as δολιχοδρόμος. Proof of course is out of the question; but the dates fit so well that I suppose the probability to be very strong.

III. THE VICTORIES AND THEIR DATES

Pausanias, in his description of Olympia, gives the essential facts about Ergoteles (6. 4. 11): *Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι τε καὶ Νεμείῳ ἀνηρημένος, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶι φησι, Κρής δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνωσσιος· ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἱμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ πολλὰ εὔρετο ἄλλα ἐς τιμῆν.*

This account is evidently based on two sources: the inscription on his statue, for his victories; and Pindar, for his Cretan origins. One source, Pindar, is here before us; and since 1953 we have possessed a good part of the other source, the inscription. This (*SEG* 11. 1223a <= *CEG* 393>) is the left half of a

³ Θήρων δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἱμεραίων σφαγὴν ὄρων τὴν πόλιν οἰκητόρων δεομένην συνώκισεν εἰς ταύτην τοὺς τε Δωριεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπολιτογράφησεν. I can neither construe the sentence (with its two unconnected verbs) nor understand the article in *τοὺς Δωριεῖς*; but whatever the corruption I do not think that the sense can be in any doubt.

⁴ There are two controls. (a) Diodoros, after recording Theron's importation of new citizens, continues (11. 49. 4) οὗτοι . . . μετ' ἀλλήλων καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι διετέλεσαν ἔτη πενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ, until the destruction of Himera by the Carthaginians. He records this destruction (13. 62) under 409/8; his 'fifty-eight' is most likely a miscalculation for 'sixty-eight', and that gives 477/6 or (by inclusive reckoning) 476/5. (b) An ancient commentator supposed *O.* 2. 95–8, in an ode for Theron's Olympic chariot-victory of 476, to allude to the revolt of his cousins Kapys and Hippokrates (sch. 173 f, g), and that revolt seems likely to have been linked with the disaffection at Himera (sch. 173 g: Theron defeated them *περὶ τὴν Ἱμέραν*); what matters here is not whether the commentator was right or wrong in scenting the allusion (I think it likely that he was wrong; though I believe that there *is* an allusion in *O.* 2. 15–20, after a prayer for the continuance of the dynasty), but that he presumably knew it to be chronologically possible.

⁵ For the evidence (which shows some discrepancy) see Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen* i 1. 108–9, n. 232.

thin bronze plate inscribed stoichedon in the Ionic alphabet, with letter-forms appropriate to a date before the middle of the fifth century.⁶

Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθη[ε υ-ω-ω-ω--
 Ἕλληνας νικῶν Πύθι[α δις δόλιχον
 καὶ δὺ Ὀλυμπιάδας, δις δ' ἐν Νεμέαι τε καὶ Ἴσθμῶι,
 Ἰμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετὰς ἔμναι.]

[24/5]

There is room for doubt about the detail of the supplements,⁷ but there can be no doubt about the general sense. Pausanias' account is confirmed: Ergoteles won two victories at each of the four great games.⁸

But when Pindar wrote his ode the tally was not yet complete: two Pythian victories, but only one Olympian, one Isthmian,⁹ and no Nemeian. We may

⁶ Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* 246: 'unlikely to be much, if at all, later than 450.'

⁷ Those in 2 and 4 are due to Kunze, who first published the epigram (*Kretika Chronika* 7 [1953], 138–45; *V. Olympia-Bericht* [1956], 153–6); in 3 I replace his δι[ύο δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δις] by a supplement which avoids the bad Greek of δύο Ἴσθμια and might perhaps account for a formal ambiguity in Pausanias (see n. 8 below). At the end of 1 I expect Φιλάνορος -ω-ω-ω- rather than e.g. Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἀνακτι, but do not know how to provide the last five syllables: in Kunze's Φιλάνορος ἀγλαῶς νόος the epithet is at variance with the custom of these epigrams. It may be that one should consider a different approach, Φιλάνορος, ὅς ποτε δις δις | Ἕλληνας νικῶν Πύθι[άδας δόλιχον], with the last line e.g. Ἰμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετὰς]; on this I observe (a) that the ἀνέθηκε . . . νικῶν which it abandons is characteristic: Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, nos. 3, 8, 14, 17, 18, and (aorist participle) 4, 5, 9, 16; (b) that ποτε should refer to what is securely in the past at the time of the dedication (H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 53 [1933], 71–82), and so will have to construe only with νικῶν and not with the verb of 4; factually there is no difficulty, if Ergoteles dedicated the statue some years after his last victory, but I have no parallel for ποτε . . . νικῶν (ποτε νικήσας the epigram for Hieron's posthumous offering, Paus. 8. 42.9; there is of course no reason why if νικῶν be taken as representing the imperfect ἐνίκα it should not with a ποτε be antecedent to the leading verb).

[Only after my manuscript was with the printer did I become aware of the treatment of the epigram by J. Ebert, 'Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen', *Abh. Sächs. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 63:2 (1972), 79–82 (no. 20): Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκε[ε Φιλάνορος, ὅς ποτε ποσσὶν] | Ἕλληνας νικῶν Πύθι[α δις δόλιχον] | καὶ δὺ Ὀλυμπιάδας, δις δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δις,] | Ἰμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετὰς ἔπορευ]. He anticipates two of my suggestions (1 ὅς ποτε, 3 δις); he neither shares nor dispels my hesitation over ὅς ποτε . . . νικῶν. If ὅς ποτε is in fact right, I prefer my own treatment of the rest of the clause.]

⁸ Pausanias is formally ambiguous: two each at Nemea and the Isthmos, or two at the two together? I have supposed this to derive from a similar formal ambiguity in the inscription; but I have no doubt that the ambiguity is no more than formal, and that the writer meant to indicate two victories at each venue.

⁹ Another formal ambiguity in Pindar's καὶ δις ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἴσθμοῖ τε: certainly two at Pytho, but one at the Isthmos, or two? I suppose only one: this seems the more natural interpretation; and if there had been two I should have expected Pindar to leave us in no doubt. (The notion that καὶ δις ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἴσθμοῖ τε could be said of a single Pythian plus a single Isthmian victory, making two in all, is perverse; and no less perverse for Wilamowitz's tacit acceptance, *Pindaros* 305. The words might conceivably be so used by themselves, but not when they follow Ὀλυμπία: one might perhaps, if a man had won once at B and once at C, say 'you have won twice, at B and at C'; one could not, if he had also won once at A, say 'you have won at A and twice, at B and at C'. I say this because apparently it needs to be said; but the need passes my comprehension.)

ignore the Isthmian and Nemean victories (which we have no means of dating), and confine ourselves to the Olympian and Pythian: when the ode was written, Ergoteles had two Pythian victories and one Olympian; at some time after the ode he won a second victory at Olympia. If we can date the four victories, we shall know within what limits the ode must fall.

Our most valuable evidence for the dates is of course the Oxyrhynchos victor-list (*P. Oxy.* 222 = *FGrHist* 415). This gives us the δόλιχος-victors at Olympia for 476, 472, and 468; there is then a gap until 452. The victor of 472 is Ergoteles. The victors of 476 and 468 are not Ergoteles; his other Olympic victory was therefore either 480 (or earlier) or 464 (or later). Two considerations between them point to 464 as the most likely date: first, if Ergoteles came to Himera in *c.* 476, 480 or earlier is excluded; second, an interval of eight years between his two Olympic victories is on general grounds more probable than one of twelve or more, so that 464 is more probable than 460 or later. Neither consideration of course gives certainty: Ergoteles may have come to Himera at some other time, and an interval of twelve years cannot be firmly excluded. But 464 is certainly the most likely of the possible dates.

[25/6] Our other direct evidence is in the Pindaric scholia, in their preliminary notice to the ode. This appears in two versions, which I shall call **A** (the ‘Ambrosian’ version, in *A*; / *inscr.* a in Drachmann) and **V** (the ‘Vatican’ version, in BCDEQ; *inscr.* b in Drachmann):¹⁰

- A** Ὀλυμπιάδα μὲν ἐνίκησεν οὔζ' (77 = 472) καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οθ' (79 = 464),
 Πυθιάδα δὲ κε' (25 = 486) καὶ Ἴσθμια δμοίως.
V ἡγωνίσατο οὔζ' (77 = 472) Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς Πυθιάδα κθ'
 (29 = 470).

I begin with the Olympic victories. Both versions place one of them in the 77th Olympiad, 472, which we know to be right. The other victory is ignored by **V** but dated by **A**: dated, however, as ‘the next Olympiad, the 79th’. Since the next Olympiad was not the 79th but the 78th, one or other of these indications is corrupt. Before the Oxyrhynchos list was published (in 1899) the natural thing was to accept τὴν ἐξῆς and to reject ‘79th’.¹¹ But we now know from the Oxyrhynchos list that this was mistaken: τὴν ἐξῆς must be rejected, for the victor in the next Olympiad was not Ergoteles. ‘79th’, on the

¹⁰ It appears from Drachmann that **A** uses alphabetic numerals and that BCDEQ have the numbers written out in full; for ease of comparison I have converted these latter to alphabetic numerals.

¹¹ So Tycho Mommsen in 1864, reading οὔζ' καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οη' (78 = 468) and in **V** οὔζ' Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς, Πυθιάδα <δὲ > κθ'; then Bergk (1878), Mezger, Gildersleeve, Schroeder (1900).

other hand, is the very date, 464, that I have argued on other grounds to be the most likely; we have every reason, therefore, to accept it as genuine. The two Olympic victories belong to 472 and 464.

Now the Pythian victories. **A** gives the 25th Pythiad, 486, which is out of the question. **V** gives the 29th, 470; and this, falling between the two Olympic victories, is entirely suitable. $\overline{K\Theta}$ (29th) and \overline{KE} (25th) are very similar to the eye, and it is safe to assume that the $\kappa\epsilon'$ of **A** is a corruption of $\kappa\theta'$ and that $\kappa\theta'$ is genuine; one of the Pythian victories, therefore, falls in the 29th Pythiad, 470. For the other victory neither version gives a date. All we know for certain is that it comes before the second Olympic victory of 464; if Ergoteles came to Himera in 476 we can also assume (what is immaterial to the dating of the ode) that it is not as early as 478. We have therefore two alternatives: the 28th Pythiad, 474; or the 30th, 466.¹²

If 474 is right, the three victories mentioned by Pindar belong to 474 (Pythia), 472 (Olympia), and 470 (Pythia); there is then a gap of six years before the second Olympic victory of 464, and within that gap comes the ode. If 466 is right, the three victories belong to 472 (Olympia), 470 (Pythia), and 466 (Pythia); then a gap of two years before the second Olympic victory, and within this gap the ode. We may expect the ode to have been performed fairly soon after the last of the major victories it celebrates: either, that is, in 470 or in 466.

Between these alternatives, a performance in 470 and a performance in 466, we have so far seen no reason to make a choice. That scholars hitherto have preferred the earlier date is due in part at any rate to considerations of political circumstances alluded to in the ode.¹³ I shall come to these in a moment; but before I do so I shall proceed to the main point of my argument. It seems to me certain, from a reconsideration of the scholia, that/there are in fact good reasons for anchoring our floating Pythian victory; and that it should be anchored not in the traditional 474 but in 466, with the ode therefore in 466.

[26/7]

¹² I mention here two aberrant opinions of Boeckh's, both of them popular in the nineteenth century but forgotten in the twentieth; I mention them not for their own sakes but so that I can account below for other aberrations to which they led. First, he contrived to accept both $\kappa\epsilon'$ and $\kappa\theta'$, so that the victory of the 29th Pythiad was the second at Pytho; second, he dated the Pythian era four years too early and so put the 29th Pythiad (and its victory) in 474. The first aberration was killed by common sense; the second by the uncontested evidence of the Oxyrhynchos list and Bacchylides and the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*.

¹³ No one indeed seems even to have considered 466. Before 1899 this was natural enough: those who thought that the second Olympic victory was in 468 had to put the ode before 468; those who acquiesced in one or both of Boeckh's aberrations (see above, n. 12) were at least encouraged to put it as soon as possible after the Olympic victory of 472. Since 1899 inertia will have played a part: accepted opinions are tenacious of life, even after the evidence on which they were founded has perished.

Of the two versions of the scholion, **A** is patently corrupt: of the three dates it gives, one certainly is guaranteed, but one is self-contradictory ($\tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma \omicron\theta'$) and the third is evidently impossible (the 25th Pythiad, 486). **V** is not patently corrupt: of the two dates it gives, one is guaranteed and the other inherently probable, and the way in which the two are related is internally consistent, 'the 77th Olympiad and the next Pythiad, the 29th'—the 29th Pythiad, 470, is the next after the Olympiad of 472. It has therefore become the custom, since the Oxyrhynchos list was published (and $\tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$ shown to be corrupt), to disregard **A** altogether and to build solely on **V**; and Wilamowitz (*Pindaros* 305, n. 1) set the seal on this custom when he accounted for the text of the scholion in **A** as a corruption of the text preserved in **V**: $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma \Pi\upsilon\theta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha \kappa\theta'$ was corrupted first by a miswriting $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}'$ for $\kappa\theta'$, then by the intrusion of an $\omicron\theta'$ arising from a θ written in the margin in correction of $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}'$,¹⁴ and finally (when all this had happened) by the deliberate insertion of a $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ to restore some kind of sense.

It seems to me that this explanation of the two versions of the scholion is manifestly false, and this for three separate reasons, each of them, in my judgment, cogent.

In the first place, the $\omicron\theta'$ in **A** gives what does seem to be the true date of Ergoteles' second Olympic victory. I find it very unlikely (to say the least) that it should be the result of a corruption, however ingeniously explained, and should give the truth only by accident.

In the second place, the impossible $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma \omicron\theta'$ of **A** is not to be mended by converting it into the $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma \Pi\upsilon\theta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha \kappa\theta'$ of **V**; for $\tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma \Pi\upsilon\theta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha \kappa\theta'$ is equally, if less obviously, impossible. The 29th Pythiad, of 470, is certainly the next after the 77th Olympiad, of 472; next, but not $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$ should be used of an item which is next *in the same series*. An Olympiad is $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$ after the previous Olympiad, a Pythiad after the previous Pythiad; but a Pythiad is not $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\varsigma$ after the previous Olympiad.

In the third place, nobody so far seems to have asked what the original form of the scholion is likely to have been. Ergoteles won two Olympic victories and two Pythian; the scholar who wrote the original note had the victor-lists before him, with all four victories recorded there. Our scholia are as a rule generous with their information about the Olympic and Pythian victories of Pindar's victors; and here, with three of the four victories mentioned in the text, there was especial reason to give the fullest information possible. I am confident that in the original note all four dates were

¹⁴ The notion that $\omicron\theta'$ is the corrupt offspring (in one way or another) of $\kappa\theta'$ had been entertained already by Drachmann (ad loc.) in 1903 and by Schroeder in 1923 (ed. mai., appendix, p. 507).

given; and above all I find it inconceivable that when Pindar speaks of two victories at Pytho our Alexandrian scholar should have recorded the date of only one.

The solution, it seems to me, is obvious enough. Both versions of the scholion contain the words τὴν ἐξῆς in a position where they make no sense. The words must nevertheless have belonged to the original form of the note—they cannot have intruded themselves by accident; if they did so belong, they must have formed part of the enumeration of two consecutive victories in the same games. The Olympic victories were not consecutive; therefore the Pythian victories were, and the scholion recorded the fact. With that, we have the answer. The note ran originally

Ὀλυμπιάδα . . . οὗ καὶ οἱ, Πυθιάδα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς.

Corruption to our present versions would not be difficult: first, καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς will have been transposed into the place of the preceding καὶ (one might guess that the words were omitted, perhaps through homoeocatarcton before καὶ Ἰσθμια, and then restored in the wrong place):

Ὀλυμπιάδα . . . οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οἱ, Πυθιάδα δὲ καὶ. /

[27/8]

A preserves this unchanged, except for a further independent corruption of καὶ to κε. But in V someone jibbed at the nonsense of οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οἱ, and so removed it by deleting οἱ. The δὲ may have been removed as part of the same deliberate change; or it may have been lost by accident in a secondary corruption. Deletion of οἱ, loss (by deletion or accident) of δὲ, and we have what is essentially the scholion as it now is in V:¹⁵

Ὀλυμπιάδα . . . οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς Πυθιάδα καὶ.

If my arguments here be accepted, the four victories are 472 Olympia, 470 Pythia, 466 Pythia, 464 Olympia; and the ode will come between the Pythian victory of 466 and the Olympic victory of 464. Now I judge the arguments to be cogent of themselves; but they are clinched by a further statement in the scholia: on 1 παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου we have the comment (sch. 1a, in A) καταλυθέντων τῶν περὶ Ἰέρωνα ἀθλήσας ἤδη ἐνίκησεν· ὅθεν τὸν Ἐλευθέριον Δία < . . . >, ὡς τῶν Κυκλιωτῶν κατελευθερωθέντων τῆς τυραννίδος. Now Hieron died in or about 467, and the Deinomenid tyranny was finally overthrown less than a year later, in or about 466. I shall consider later, in the fourth part

¹⁵ I say 'essentially': V has also shuffled the word-order at the beginning and has a different (and untypical) verb, ἠγωνίατο οὗ Ὀλυμπιάδα in place of Ὀλυμπιάδα μὲν ἐνίκησεν οὗ. One might guess that this happened at the same time as the deletion of οἱ; if so, the loss of δὲ is perhaps most likely to be part of the same rewriting.

of this paper, the precise dating of these events and the precise sense to be sought from the scholion, but one thing is clear from the outset: the victory referred to cannot be earlier than the Pythiad of 466. Now the Alexandrian scholar who wrote the original note from which the scholion derives will either himself have been responsible for the list of Ergoteles' victories in the prefatory note or will have had that list before him as he wrote; and the victory he refers to will therefore have been included in that list. This victory cannot, as I say, be earlier than the Pythiad of 466; it cannot (assuming, as I think we may, that our man could count) have been the second Olympic victory of 464; therefore it was won *at* the Pythiad of 466, and my reconstruction of the list and my dating of the ode are thereby confirmed.

IV. THE ODE IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The ode begins with an invocation of the 'daughter of Zeus of Freedom, saviour Fortune', who is bidden to keep Himera in her care. Clearly this rather unusual invocation will have some especial point in the circumstances of the time.

We know of a number of cults of Zeus Eleutherios in various parts of the Greek world. Mostly we know merely of their existence, but in a few cases we know the occasion on which they were established: in Samos, after the fall of the tyrant Polykrates; at Plataia, after the defeat of the Persians in 479, and so perhaps at Athens too; at Syracuse, after the overthrow of the last of the Deinomenid tyrants, Hieron's brother and successor Thrasyboulos.¹⁶ Twice, that is, after deliverance from domination by a tyrant; once after deliverance from domination by an invading enemy.

I have said something already of the history of Himera: the tyrant Terillos was expelled in the late 480s by Theron of Akragas, and Himera was then ruled, with notable harshness, by Theron's son Thrasydaios; an appeal to Hieron in c. 476 brought only betrayal and disaster. The next thing we know of is after Theron's death about four years later. Theron was succeeded at Akragas by Thrasydaios; and Thrasydaios mustered a large army, of mercenaries, Akragantines, and Himeraians, and prepared for war with Syracuse. Hieron took the field against him; and after a major battle, with heavy casualties on both sides, defeated him conclusively. Thrasydaios was deposed;

¹⁶ Samos, Hdt. 3. 142. 2; Plataia, n. 39 below; Syracuse, n. 20 below. For other cults see Jessen, *RE* v. 2348–50.

the Akragantines established a democracy, sued for peace, and were granted it.

Diodoros recounts all this, beginning with Theron's death, under the year 472/1 / (11. 53. 1–5); but he has no Sicilian events again until five years later, [28/9] and it is likely that he has compressed into the single year the events of a longer period. Now in *Pythian* 1, composed for Hieron's chariot-victory of 470, there is a passage which has often been taken, and in my judgment must be taken, to refer to the defeat of Thrasydaios. After speaking of earlier battles in which Hieron had fought, 'when by the gods' devising they found them honour such as none in Hellas reaps, a lordly crown for their wealth' (the battles that is in in which the Deinomenidai established themselves as the leading power in Sicily), Pindar goes on: 'but now he has gone to war after the fashion of Philoktetes; and of necessity even one who was lordly has fawned on him as a friend.'¹⁷ In the context this battle, in which Hieron (ill though he was) took the field in person, must be one of major importance: inevitably, I think, the battle in which the Akragantines, the one power now remaining to dispute Hieron's dominance of the whole of Hellenic Sicily, were defeated and sued for peace. And the sentence begins *νῦν γε μὰν*: I should suppose the battle to have been pretty recent at the time when *Pythian* 1 was composed. Hieron's Pythian victory was won in the late summer of 470, and the ode I suppose is likely to have been performed in the autumn of that year: I should judge the likeliest date for the battle to be earlier in 470—at the very earliest in 471, but preferably in 470 itself.

At this time, then, the Akragantines installed a democracy and sued for peace. What happened to Himera we are not told, but there can be no room for doubt: independence at last from Akragas (whom Hieron will inevitably have deprived of her principal dependency); a new constitution; and a treaty with Syracuse.

Now by the conventional dating *Olympian* 12 comes at the same time as *Pythian* 1, with Himera not long released from Akragantine domination. And to this occasion the opening words of the ode can obviously be thought peculiarly appropriate: Himera is free, Zeus Eleutherios has played his part; it is now up to Fortune—whom Pindar for the occasion makes his daughter—to play her part as well, and keep Himera secure in this new-found freedom. All this appears to fit admirably; and one can see why scholars have been glad

¹⁷ P. 1. 47–52 ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν οἷας ἐν πολέμοιο μάχαις | πλάμονι ψυχῆι παρέμειν', ἀνίχ' ἠδ' ἵρσικοντο θεῶν παλάμαις τιμᾶν | οἷαν οὔτις Ἑλλάνων δρέπει, | πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον· νῦν γε μὰν τὰν Φιλοκτῆτῆα δίκαν ἐφέπων | ἐστρατεύθη, σὺν δ' ἀνάγκαι νιν φίλον | καὶ τις ἐὼν μεγαλάνωρ ἔσενεν.

to acquiesce in the date 470.¹⁸ But let us next consider the situation four years later, at the time when I have argued that we must suppose the ode to have been performed, after the Pythiad of 466.

Under the year 467/6 Diodoros narrates the death of Hieron and the succession of his brother Thrasyboulos (11. 66. 4); under the following year, 466/5, he narrates the revolution in Syracuse and the overthrow of Thrasyboulos (11. 67. 1–68. 7). I will come back in a moment to the question of Thrasyboulos' dates and their precise relation to the date of the ode; but first, in order to form a picture of the situation in Himera at the time, I will consider briefly both the circumstances of his fall and the situation in Sicily during the next few years. My account derives wholly from Diodoros.

When the revolution began, Thrasyboulos occupied Ortygia and Achradina with a strong force of mercenaries and allies; and there he was besieged by the revolutionaries. These sent a request for help 'to Gela, Akragas, and Selinous, and also to Himera and the Sikel cities inland'; and help was sent by all—help which comprised infantry, cavalry, and warships.¹⁹ /

[29/30]

There was a battle by sea and a battle by land; defeated in both, Thrasyboulos in the end capitulated. The Syracusans set up a democracy; voted to erect a colossal statue of Zeus Eleutherios and to establish an annual celebration;²⁰ and also 'freed the other cities that were ruled by tyrants or occupied by garrisons, and restored democracies in the cities'.²¹

But that was not the end of the troubles. Diodoros again (11. 72–3), under 463/2 (three years later): immediately after the fall of the tyranny, with freedom restored to all the cities in the island, Sicily was for a while at peace and prosperous. But then war and *στάσις* began again: and he proceeds to describe the situation in Syracuse. The *στάσις* there was between the original

¹⁸ Those who in the nineteenth century misdated the Pythiads (see above, n. 12) put the ode soon after the Olympiad of 472; but they supposed the defeat of Thrasydaios to have happened earlier in the same year, and so were operating with the same historical situation as those who put the ode in 470.

¹⁹ Diod. 11. 68. 1–2 *πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Γέλαν καὶ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Σελινοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις εἰς Ἱμέραν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ κειμένας, ἀξιοῦντες κατὰ τάχος συνελθεῖν καὶ συνελευθερῶσαι τὰς Συρακούσας. πάντων δὲ προθύμως ὑπακούοντων καὶ συντόμως ἀποστειλάντων τῶν μὲν πεζοῦς καὶ ἵππεῖς στρατιώτας, τῶν δὲ ναῦς μακρὰς κεκοσμημένας εἰς ναυμαχίαν, ταχὺ συνήχθη δύναμις ἀξιώχρως τοῖς Συρακοσίοις.*

²⁰ Democracy and Zeus Eleutherios appear in Diodoros (11. 72. 2) under the year 463/2, but as antecedents of the events ascribed to that year; there can be no doubt that they belong immediately after the capitulation (for which time democracy is at least implicit in 11. 68. 6, cited below, n. 30).

²¹ Diod. 11. 68. 5 *τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς τυραννομένης ἢ φρουρὰς ἐχούσας ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀποκατέστησαν ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς δημοκρατίας. Βυ ταῖς πόλεσι Diodoros ought to mean the Sicilian cities in general, and not merely the tyrannized or garrisoned ones (if these were meant, one would expect αὐταῖς); but I put no great trust in his linguistic precision.*

citizens and the mercenaries (*ξένοι*) who had been admitted to citizenship by Gelon; and these mercenaries repeated Thrasybulos' behaviour and occupied Ortygia and Achradina. They were blockaded there, and were finally defeated in a battle which Diodoros does not describe until two years later, under 461/60 (11. 76. 1–2). And then, also under 461/60, he describes further action against the tyrants' protégés elsewhere (11. 76. 3–6): first the Syracusans, and also the Sikels, made an attack on Katane alias Aitna (which since *c.* 476 had been occupied by settlers installed by Hieron), expelled Hieron's settlers, and restored the original inhabitants; and then 'those who under Hieron had been expelled from their own cities were restored with Syracusan support, and ejected those who had wrongfully usurped possession of cities not their own; these included men from Gela, from Akragas, and from Himera'.²² Also Kamarina (whose population had been deported by Gelon) was refounded by the Geloans; and at the same time Rhegion and Messana threw out *their* tyrants, the sons of Anaxilas. The cities then concerted an agreement with the *ξένοι*: these were all settled in the territory of Messana, and other cities left to their original inhabitants.

We can put little trust in Diodoros for the chronology of these later troubles: the events he describes under 463/2 and 461/60 are his only Sicilian events between 466/5 and 459/8,²³ and one may guess that he has concentrated under these two years a series of events that were continuous over a period of several years from 466/5.²⁴ But the general picture seems fairly clear: first, immediately after the fall of Thrasybulos, an abandonment of Syracusan domination of Sicily and a restoration (at least in the more directly dominated cities) of democracies; second, a period of some confusion

²² Diod. 11. 76. 4 *τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰέρωνος δυναστείαν ἐκπεπωκότεες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόλεων ἔχοντες τοὺς <Συρακοσίου> συναγωνιζομένους κατήλθον εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις ἀφηρημένους ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων· τούτων δ' ἦσαν Γελωῖοι καὶ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καὶ Ἰμεραῖοι.*

²³ Under 459/8 only a brief mention (11. 78. 5) of the capture by the Sikel leader Douketios of the small inland city of Morgantina; thereafter no Sicilian events until 454/3 (11. 86).

²⁴ The only event for whose date we have any control is the refounding of Kamarina, and the control is pretty vague. Psaumis of Kamarina, who won with the chariot at Olympia in 452, won at an earlier Olympiad a victory with the mule-car celebrated in *Olympians* 4 [*sic*: 11 *ῥχέων*] and 5, and the refounding was then still recent: 4. 11–12 *κῦδος ὄρσαι σπεύδει Καμαρίναι*, 5. 8 *τὰν νέοικον ἔδραν*, 13–14 the building of permanent houses still in rapid progress. The scholia have no date for the mule-car victory (the event was not included in the victor-lists); they do in three places give the Olympiad in which Kamarina was refounded, but every time the figure is corrupt (sch. O. 5. 16 *πε'* = 440/36, 19a omitted, 19b *μβ'* = 612/08). Another scholion (19d) affects to infer from certain premises that the mule-car victory was won at the 81st Olympiad, 456; as it stands the note is inconsequential, but it could be made at least partly consequential if one assumed the loss of a premise 'Kamarina was refounded in the 80th Olympiad' (*π'* = 460/56), and the assumption is encouraged by the fact that the note is part of the comment on 8 *τὰν νέοικον ἔδραν*.

[30/1] which resulted ultimately in the / elimination of the aliens imported into the various cities under Hieron and a restoration, as far as might be, of the status quo.²⁵

But I am concerned with events after the tyranny not for their own sake but for the light they throw on the situation under the tyranny; and there can be no doubt that in the years after 470 Himera, along with the rest of Greek Sicily, had been firmly under Syracusan domination. The form taken by this domination is likely to have varied from city to city. There were cities under more or less direct Syracusan control, ruled by tyrants (puppets, evidently, of the Syracusan tyranny) or held by Syracusan garrisons, and freed only after Thrasyboulos had fallen; they would include, presumably, Leontinoi (crowded by Hieron with the evicted populations of Katane and Naxos), and doubtless a number of the smaller cities such as Akrai and Kasmenai. For Himera, Gela, and Akragas we may assume a different situation: these three cities, along with Selinous,²⁶ could between them send to the Syracusan insurgents infantry and cavalry and warships, and cities which could send these against a tyrant were not, when they sent them, under that tyrant's direct control. On the other hand all three cities had had an obviously considerable number of their citizens exiled, and had aliens settled in them in their place: one might conjecture that Hieron had established in them some kind of less direct control—a government (democratic, apparently, at Akragas) that owed him its establishment and was ready to serve his purposes so long as he remained strong, but in the end proved ready to abandon him or his successor as soon as the régime showed signs of collapse.²⁷

Himera, then, will have been subject to Syracusan domination in the years following her release from Akragas in *c.* 470: a pro-Syracusan faction in power; exile for anyone suspected of anti-Syracusan leanings; aliens—one may suppose Hieron's veteran mercenaries—imported into the city in their stead.²⁸ And then finally, when Thrasyboulos was over-thrown, freedom—real freedom this time—from Syracuse in turn. Thrasyboulos was overthrown,

²⁵ A papyrus fragment (*P. Oxy.* 665 = *FGrHist* 577 F 1) provides a tantalizing scrap of evidence for this period of confusion: part of a list of the contents of some historical work (Phylistos?) which described various battles between Sicilian cities and the ξένοι (or in one case between the cities themselves).

²⁶ I do not know what control Hieron may have exercised over this far western city.

²⁷ I assume here that the emissaries of the Syracusan insurgents were dealing with established governments: this is what Diodoros' language (n. 19 above) would naturally suggest. But I suppose we must reckon with the possibility that they were dealing with fellow revolutionaries, and that there was some sort of coup in these cities before help was sent.

²⁸ If we are to trust Diodoros (11. 49. 4, cited above, n. 4) there was no split between the original citizens and Theron's new citizens of *c.* 476.

according to Diodoros, in 466/5; our ode was written, I have maintained, after the Pythiad (August or thereabouts) of 466. The supposition is irresistible that the freedom alluded to in the opening invocation is the freedom achieved by Thrasyboulos' overthrow. It is time now to seek to date that overthrow more accurately.

Actual dates for Hieron and Thrasyboulos are provided only by Diodoros: 478/7 (11. 38. 7), Gelon dies after seven years' rule, Hieron succeeds him and rules for eleven years and eight months; 467/6 (11. 66. 4), Hieron dies after eleven years' rule, Thrasyboulos succeeds him and rules for one year; 466/5 (11. 68. 4), Thrasyboulos is overthrown. We have also a statement of Aristotle (*Pol.* 1315 b 35–8) on the duration of the Deinomenid tyranny: ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὐτῆ πολλὰ διέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κύμπαντα δυοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι· Γέλων μὲν γὰρ ἑπτὰ τυραννεύσας τῷ ὀγδόῳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἰέρων, Θρασύβουλος δὲ τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέπεσεν.

If we accept Diodoros' dates and the more exact of his two figures for Hieron's rule, namely eleven years and eight months, we must say that Hieron acceded in the first four months of 478/7 and died in the last four months of 467/6; if we then take for Thrasyboulos' rule Aristotle's precise ten months and a fraction, Thrasyboulos will have acceded in the last four months of 467/6 and been overthrown between one and two months earlier in 466/5. / Now Diodoros identifies his years by the Athenian archon; and if we suppose them therefore to be archon-years (and take 1 July as an approximation to their beginning), Thrasyboulos will have acceded between March and June 466 and been overthrown between January and May 465. In this case our Pythiad (c. August 466) will fall well within Thrasyboulos' period of rule; and unless the ode was not commissioned until several months after the victory, it can contain no allusion to his overthrow.

[31/2]

It is possible of course that the ode *was* written at some interval after the victory. Nevertheless the natural time for it to be commissioned would be at Delphi, immediately after the victory was won;²⁹ and if it was, we might expect it to reflect the political circumstances at Himera as they were when Ergoteles left home for Delphi, say in July or August 466. I think it does; and that Thrasyboulos had already fallen by midsummer 466.

I think it likely that Diodoros' years for the Deinomenidai are the

²⁹ We have of course no evidence for the way in which odes were normally commissioned. But the difficulty of written communication (if nothing else) would make personal contact desirable, and the obvious occasion for this would be at the games themselves; I should be surprised if Pindar did not make a practice of attending the Olympic and Pythian festivals with this as one of his motives for attending. Our ode is one of two commissioned after a victory at the Pythiad of 466 (the other is *Olympian* 9, for Epharmostos of Opous).

right ones: dates and lengths of rule are at least consistent with one another,³⁰ and we have some sort of confirmation of one of the dates in the Parian Marble.³¹ But we have no good reason to equate these years with Athenian archon-years: the equation elsewhere is constantly breaking down (in favour of years beginning some months earlier) with events which are reliably dated from other sources;³² and what is likely to have happened here is that Diodoros (or perhaps his source) has loosely equated with Athenian archon-years the possibly very different years used by the original authority for his Sicilian dates. Nevertheless this supposition will not of itself get us entirely out of the wood: a year beginning after the vernal equinox will still put Thrasymboulos' fall only three months earlier, between October 466 and February 465; even a year beginning after the winter solstice would put it between July and November 466, and this (though just reconcilable with my suppositions) would be cutting things very fine.

It is conceivable, I suppose, that the revolution as Pindar writes is not yet successful but merely under way—Thrasymboulos pent up in Ortygia, and troops or ships from Himera already dispatched: freedom is not securely with us *yet*, but it is, or may be, on the way, and it depends now on *Τύχα* whether it does in the end arrive. Conceivable, but I think very unlikely: would Pindar really write thus with Himera still on the razor's edge? and would Ergoteles have departed for the games with his city's future thus at stake, or arranged to celebrate his victory with that future still obscure?³³ I think it far more probable that Thrasymboulos has fallen already; and the one obstacle to this supposition is Diodoros' figure of eleven years and eight months for Hieron's rule. Now this figure clashes irreconcilably with Aristotle's figure of ten years, and for that reason is already suspect: Aristotle's ten years is unemendable (being part of a total: Gelon seven plus, Hieron ten, Thrasymboulos one minus;

³⁰ The consistency continues thereafter: after relating the fall of Thrasymboulos, Diodoros goes on (11. 68. 6, still under 466/5) <ἡ πόλις> . . . διεφύλαξε τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἕτη χχεδὸν ἐξήκοντα μέχρι τῆς Διονυσίου τυραννίδος; he records the beginning of Dionysios' tyranny under 406/5 (13. 96. 4) and his death under 368/7 (15. 73. 5), and in each place gives the duration of his tyranny as 38 years. All this tallies; except that I do not know why the *χχεδὸν* (I suppose 'approximately' rather than 'nearly').

³¹ *Γ[έλων] ὁ Δεινομένους [υρακο]υ[σσών] ἐτυράννευεν* under 478/7 (FGrHist 239, A 53): Gelon by error for Hieron? But then *Ἱέρων . . . ἐτυράννευεν* under 472/1 (A 55), which was right in the middle of his tyranny: so much muddle here that the confirmation of 478/7 is at best very uncertain.

³² Constantly, but not consistently: A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* i (Oxford 1945), 4–5.

³³ There can be no doubt that the ode was performed at Himera, and not at the festival at Delphi: it is an ode not for a Pythian victory but for Himera and Ergoteles' whole career. Nor was this little masterpiece dashed off (and taught to the singers) in a day or two, in the intervals of a congested social and religious programme.

total eighteen), and if the clash is to be resolved it is Diodoros' / figure that must be changed. Changed I think it must be: ἔτη ἕνδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ will be an error (whether of Diodoros himself or of a copyist³⁴) for ἔτη δέκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. Diodoros' other figure of eleven years will now be a rounding up (by four months) instead of a rounding down (by eight); Aristotle's ten years will be a rounding down.³⁵ This change made, Hieron's accession will come at some time in the last eight months of the year, his death and Thrasyboulos' accession at some time in the first eight months, and Thrasyboulos' overthrow at some time in the first seven months. With the Athenian archon-year we should still be cutting things fine, with Thrasyboulos' overthrow not before July; with a year beginning at any earlier point we shall have all the time we need.

This change was proposed eighty years ago by Beloch,³⁶ when the one reason for making it was the need to resolve the clash between Diodoros and Aristotle. I have added a second and I think stronger reason; and I will now proceed to add a third.

I have referred already, in the third part of this paper, to the scholion (1a, in A) on the opening invocation: καταλυθέντων τῶν περὶ Ἰέρωνα ἀθλήσας ἤδη ἐνίκησεν ὅθεν τὸν Ἐλευθέριον Δία <...>, ὡς τῶν Σικελιωτῶν κατελευθερωθέντων τῆς τυραννίδος, 'the games at which he won his victory were subsequent to the overthrow of οἱ περὶ Ἰέρωνα; which is why (the poet speaks of) Zeus Eleutherios, in view of the Sicilians' release from tyranny'. When the ode was dated to 470, this comment was of course dismissed as pure muddle; but once one dates the ode to 466 it becomes important evidence. The victory is of course the Pythian victory of 466; and the man who made the comment may be assumed to have had evidence for the fall of the Syracusan tyranny which either indicated or at any rate was compatible with a date before the Pythiad of 466. As it stands, unfortunately, the language of the comment might create a suspicion of confusion (which might be either original, the

³⁴ Most probably, I think, Diodoros: a man who is hesitating between an exact 'ten years and eight months' and an approximate 'eleven years' might easily confuse himself into writing 'eleven years and eight months'.

³⁵ I do not think one can infer from Aristotle's language (no 'died in the eleventh' for Hieron) that he intended Hieron's rule to have lasted an exact ten years. In full it would have been *Γέλων μὲν γὰρ ἑπτὰ <ἔτη> τυραννεύσας τῷ ὀγδόω τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἰέρων <τυραννεύσας τῷ ἕνδεκάτῳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν>, Θρασύβουλος δὲ <δέκα μῆνας τυραννεύσας> τῷ ἕνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέπεσεν*; for brevity and variety he omitted 'died in the eleventh' for Hieron and 'after ruling for ten months' for Thrasyboulos. If Gelon died fairly early in his eighth year the total could be well under nineteen years: say Gelon 7 years 2 months, Hieron 10 years 8 months, Thrasyboulos 10 months; total 18 years 8 months, which Aristotle could then (neglecting the fraction) give as 'eighteen years'.

³⁶ *Griechische Geschichte*, 1st edn., i (Strasbourg 1893), 445 n. 2. In his second edition he abandoned the suggestion.

fault of the Alexandrian scholar who first composed the note, or secondary, the fault of some intermediary who reworded it); and though I do not myself believe that there is confusion at all, I must at least expound the problem. The trouble lies in the expression *οἱ περὶ Τέρωνα*: this *οἱ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα* means originally, of course, 'X's associates', comes commonly to mean 'X and his associates', and ends up as a mere futile periphrasis for 'X'. And the suspicion would be that *οἱ περὶ Τέρωνα* here is intended to mean simply 'Hieron', and that the writer has confused the death of Hieron (which by any reckoning is earlier than the Pythiad of 466) with the fall of the tyranny in the following year. If so, there are two possibilities: first, that he dates the victory after Hieron's death and confuses this with the fall of the tyranny (in this case the confusion is original and gross); second, that he dates the victory after the fall of the tyranny but describes this mistakenly as the fall of Hieron (in this case the confusion might only be secondary). Now if either of these possibilities is true, it seems to me more likely to be the latter: the confusion is not only a slighter one but is paralleled in these same scholia in A on *Olympian* 6 (165: the Syracusan Hagesias ἀνηρέθη Τέρωνος καταλυθέντος; he must of course have been killed when the *tyranny* was overthrown). But I incline myself to think that neither possibility is true, and that the writer is using *οἱ περὶ Τέρωνα* more meaningfully: that he is referring to the fall of the / tyranny in the year after Hieron's death, but instead of naming the relatively unimportant Thrasyboulos has preferred to comprise the whole dynasty, or rather the dynasty after Gelon, under a comprehensive 'Hieron's family'.³⁷

[33/4]

There are then, in all, three ways of explaining the note. On one of them, which presupposes a major muddle by the Alexandrian scholar who first composed it, the victory is dated after Hieron's death. On the others, which presuppose either a minor muddle, perhaps by an intermediary, or no muddle at all, it is dated after the fall of the tyranny; and this I believe to be what our Alexandrian scholar intended.³⁸

³⁷ It may be that the same use is behind the mistake in sch. O. 6. 165: that the original note had τῶν περὶ Τέρωνα in the sense of 'Hieron's dynasty', and that the Τέρωνος of the scholion is due to someone who misunderstood this τῶν περὶ Τέρωνα as meaning 'Hieron'.

³⁸ I suppose the same facts to be behind the note in sch. *inscr.* b (BCDEQ): Ergoteles, leaving Knossos as a result of στάσις, came to Himera, καὶ καταλαβὼν πάλιν τὰ ἐν Κυκελῖαι πράγματα στασιαζόμενα πρὸς Γέλωνος καὶ Τέρωνος ἐκδεξάμενος εἰρήνην ἐνίκησε. This is part of the same note in V that we have seen to have been arbitrarily rewritten where it deals with Ergoteles' dates (p. 85 with n. 15), and I suppose there to have been similar arbitrary rewriting here (perhaps with subsequent corruption). I take the last words to derive from a statement of the same facts as in A's (1a) καταλυθέντων τῶν περὶ Τέρωνα ἀθλήσας ἤδη ἐνίκησεν, with the 'victory' that of 466 and the 'peace' that which supervened on (ἐκδεξαμένης εἰρήνης Drachmann) the overthrow of the Deinomenidai. What I expect before this is a reference to the events which culminated in that overthrow; what we have is extraordinary stuff: if there was ever στάσις between Gelon and

I consider finally the question of Zeus Eleutherios: that Fortune should be invoked as his daughter is proper enough in any city whose freedom is or has been at stake; it may be thought more proper still if in that city Zeus Eleutherios has an actual cult. We cannot infer a cult from the invocation; but we may legitimately investigate the possibility of its existence. There are three occasions on which its institution might be thought appropriate.

First, after the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera in 480. This suggestion is based primarily on the analogy of Plataia, where after the defeat of the Persians in 479 the Greeks built an altar to Zeus Eleutherios (being so instructed by Delphi) and instituted quadrennial games.³⁹ It has been supported by the existence at Himera of the remains of a temple (of unknown dedication), imposing for a town of Himera's size, whose completion has been dated to 470–460;⁴⁰ and by the conjecture that this might be one of the two temples which the Carthaginians were required to build (we are not told where) as part of the peace terms of 480.⁴¹ This is all very flimsy indeed: the institution of a cult at this time is of course entirely possible; the evidence adduced does nothing to make it more than possible.

Second, after Himera's release from Akragas in c. 470. This I do not believe. That the freedom turned out not to be freedom at all is hardly an objection: as one escapes the frying-pan one may not be conscious yet of the temperature of the fire. But I doubt / whether even at the time the deliverance would have seemed enough of a deliverance to call for the institution of such a cult. The opponents of Akragas had been massacred, six years or so before; the

[34/5]

Hieron (sch. P. 1. 87 *φασὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰέρωνα [καὶ] πρὸς Γέλωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔστασιακῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔνεκα*) it would be described here very oddly (with *πρὸς*), it will not have been pan-Sicilian (Himera in particular owed no allegiance yet to Syracuse), and it was never relevant to Ergoteles if he came to Himera in 476 with Gelon two years dead. It may be that our man has muddle-headedly thrown back (with *καταλαβόν*) to the time of Ergoteles' arrival some reference to the revolution against the Deinomenidai, and in so doing has garbled it: *πρὸς* (whatever he means by it) out of sheer incomprehension of the facts, Gelon by what confusion I know not (perhaps by an over-confident expansion of 'the Deinomenidai').

³⁹ Plut. *Arist.* 20. 4, 21. 1; Str. 9. 2. 31 = p. 412; Paus. 9. 2. 5.

⁴⁰ P. Marconi, *Himera* 53. His date of 470–460 is based on the style of the lion-head rain-spouts; from what can be told of the structure of the temple itself he puts the beginning of the work in the first quarter of the fifth century, and his more precise suggestion of 'around 480' seems to be based only on guesswork ('presumibilmente') about the length of time likely to have been taken over the building.

⁴¹ Marconi, *op. cit.* 164–5 (he makes no conjecture about the deity to whom the temple was dedicated; 'perhaps to Zeus Eleutherios' Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 429). The peace terms are given by Diodoros (11. 26. 2) as follows (the subject is Gelon): *ἐπράξατο δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον γεγενημένας δαπάνας, ἀργυρίου διςχίλια τάλαντα, καὶ δύο ναοὺς προσέταξεν οἰκοδομῆσαι καθ' οὓς ἔδει τὰς συνθήκας ἀνατεθῆναι*. I should have guessed myself that the temples were to be at Syracuse and Akragas: one text of the treaty for each of the two allied powers.

survivors of the original citizens would be either, one supposes, acquiescent in Akragantine domination or at any rate unlikely to welcome a switch to the Hieron who had proved so treacherous at the time of the massacre; and the new citizens of after the massacre were Theron's own importation. I cannot conceive that enthusiasm for the new order would be very marked.

Third, after the fall of Thrasyboulos in 466. Here we have at once the parallel of Syracuse: whose citizens at this very time voted for a colossal statue of Zeus Eleutherios and an annual and elaborate festival of the Eleutheria on the anniversary of Thrasyboulos' overthrow (Diod. 11. 72. 2). The fall of the Deinomenidai was the beginning of a new era not only for Syracuse but for the whole of Sicily; at Himera too a new cult of Zeus Eleutherios would be easy to understand.

The invocation, as I have said, in no way presupposes a cult; but if there was a cult, it may well have been instituted in 466. Conceivably it was already in existence, instituted when the threat of servitude to the barbarian was averted in 480; but if it was, there can be no doubt that it took on new meaning now in 466, with the ending this time of no mere threat of servitude but of long years of servitude itself.

V. CONCLUSION

I will end by running briefly once more through the first two stanzas of the ode in this new context.

'I pray you, daughter of Zeus of Freedom, keep in your care Himera in her widespread might, o saviour Fortune.' The Himeraians are free at last, after long years of subjection to tyrants, domestic and foreign; whether or no they have signalled their gratitude by a cult, it is to Zeus Eleutherios and his aid that they owe their freedom, and the Fortune who is besought to guard it hereafter is named for that purpose as his daughter. And Himera is (or is to be: for this is a prayer) *εὐρυθενής*: no likely word at ordinary times for a city as undistinguished as this, but it will strike a chord in men who have just emerged from subjection into real *χθένος* (in whatever measure) of their own.

'Yours is the piloting of swift ships on the sea, and on land of rapid warfare and gatherings where men give counsel': the words come well when in the winning of freedom all these elements have successfully played their part.⁴²

⁴² Himera was one of the four cities who between them sent ships and troops to the Syracusan insurgents (see above, n. 19); I like to think (but have no means of proving) that she herself sent both.

‘While men have their hopes tossed often up, and now down, as they cleave a sea of vain illusion, and none yet on earth has found a sure token from the gods about an issue that is to be, and their perception of what is to come is blind. Men have found many a thing fall out contrary to their judgment, to the reverse of delight; while others have met with grievous squalls and then in a moment got abundant good in place of hurt.’ In part, of course, this is looking forward to Ergoteles’ own case: his disaster in Knossos, turning, against all expectation, into security and distinction at Himera. But in part it is looking back to Himera herself and to all the unforeseen vicissitudes of recent years: the expulsion of Terillos turning into subjection to Akragas; then defeat by Hieron turning into release from Akragas, but this again into subjection to Hieron instead; and now at last real freedom once again.

The Oligaithidai and their Victories (Pindar, *Olympian* 13; SLG 339, 340)

Pindar's thirteenth *Olympian* celebrates a double Olympic victory (stadion and pentathlon) won in 464 by a member of the Corinthian family of the Oligaithidai, a certain Xenophon son of Thessalos.

The family had won enormous numbers of victories throughout the Greek world, and at the end of the ode (98–113) Pindar gives a summary catalogue: three at Olympia, six at Pytho, sixty at the Isthmos, sixty at Nemea, and others at a long list of venues from Marathon to Sicily. But this final catalogue is only the second in the ode: towards the beginning (29–46) Pindar has already listed (what are included in the totals of the final catalogue) the victories of Xenophon himself, of his father, and of other named persons who are evidently Xenophon's closer relatives.

First Xenophon's present Olympic victories; then his earlier ones at the Isthmos (two) and Nemea:

32 δύο δ' αὐτὸν ἔρριψαν
πλόκοι κελίνων ἐν Ἴσθμιάδεσσιν
φανέντα, Νέμεά τ' οὐκ ἀντιξοεῖ.

Then those of his father Thessalos:¹

<*Dionysiaca. Nine Studies in Greek Poetry by former pupils, presented to Sir Denys Page on his seventieth birthday* (Cambridge University Library 1978), 1–20.>

¹ As of course they all are (Pindar would not hop back and forth between Xenophon and his father, or leave a double Pythian victory of Xenophon's till after the Isthmian and Nemeian): I shall assume this from the outset, and in the course of my discussion the assumption will be seen to be justified on other grounds as well. It is by a mere slip of the pen that sch. 56c ends a long account of the Hellotia with καθ' ἣν φησιν ἐπτάκις νενικηκέναι τὸν Ξενοφῶντα (sch. 50c, on the Pythia, has the truth); when in similar incidental remarks Puech and Farnell speak of the Athenian victories as Xenophon's, I suspect (from the punctuation of their translations) that it is more than the pen that has slipped.

- 35 πατρὸς δὲ Θεσσαλοῖ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ
 ῥεέθροισιν αἴγλα ποδῶν ἀνάκειται,
 Πυθοῖ τ' ἔχει σταδίου τιμὴν διαύλου θ' ἀλίωι ἀμφ' ἐνί, μη-
 νόσ τε οἶ
 τῶντοῦ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθήναισι τρία ἔργα ποδαρκῆς
 ἀμέρα θῆκε κάλλιστ' ἀμφὶ κόμαις,
 40 Ἑλλώτια δ' ἐπτάκις.

One Olympic victory: in 504 (sch. la), in a foot-race (αἴγλα ποδῶν) which was not the men's stadion (won in 504 by Is(ch)omachos of Kroton); the date, forty years before his son's victory, is compatible with a victory either as man (diaulos, race in armour; hardly, in view of his other victories, the dolichos) or / as boy (boys' stadion). At Pytho, stadion and diaulos on the same day. At Athens, in the same month as the Pythian victories, three foot-races on the same day (evidently in the Great Panathenaia, held every four years in the same summer as the Pythia²); according to the scholia they were the diaulos, the race in armour, and the stadion (I shall come back to this later). Finally, seven victories in the Hellotia at Corinth: individually unimportant, but notable for their number.

[1/2]

Then Pindar proceeds:

- 40 ἐν δ' ἀμφιάλοισι Ποτειδάνοσ τεθμοῖσιν
 Πτωιοδώρωι σὺν πατρὶ μακρότεραι

² The Panathenaia were held at the end of the first month of the Athenian year, Hekatom-baion; the Pythia were held in the second month of the Delphian year, Boukatios; and in later centuries at least the Delphian and Athenian years seem in principle to have coincided, the year beginning with the first new moon after the summer solstice. Now I take it to be certain that when Pindar says 'the same month' he means the same lunation, and not the same period of twenty-nine or thirty days: dates with a new moon between them are no more in the same month than dinner tonight and breakfast tomorrow are on the same day. But we need not in consequence abandon the Panathenaia and seek some lesser Athenian festival in the following month: we need only assume that on this occasion the two calendars were a month out of step, the Athenians having intercalated and the Delphians not, so that the Panathenaia came at the end of the same month in which the Pythia had been held. Such discrepancies would be especially easy in years when a new moon came close to the solstice; I remark therefore that this happened in two of the years that come into question for the Pythian and Athenian victories of an Olympic victor of 504. In 506 the new moon will have been first visible (weather permitting) on the evening of 25 June, four days before the solstice (29 June); in 498, suitable if Thessalos' Olympic victory was as a boy, it will have been first visible on the evening of 27 June, two days before the solstice.

Pindar of course did not carry in his head the quirks of local calendars of forty years before; but he will have known the time of month of the various festivals, and Thessalos would not forget the sequence of his victories. And I shall argue later that Pindar had another source available to him as well: a source which may well (n.16) have given him the information direct, without need for inference.

Τερψίαί θ' ἔψοντ' Ἐριτίμωι τ' αἰοδαί·
 ὄσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύατε
 ἦδὲ χόρτοις ἐν λέοντος, δηρίομαι πολέσιν

45 περὶ πλήθει καλῶν . . .

Who are these victors at the Isthmos? To us, in our ignorance, the lines most naturally mean ‘there will attend on Terpsias and Eritimos, together with their father Ptoiodoros, a longer measure of song’ (the τε after *Τερψίαί* prospective): Terpsias and Eritimos are sons of Ptoiodoros, and their relationship to Xenophon and Thessalos is left unspecified. To us, in our ignorance. But Pindar was writing not for an ignorant posterity but for a contemporary Corinthian audience to whom the personalities were all familiar: what we have to ask is not what relationships the words suggest to the ignorant, but with what relationships they might be compatible to the knowledgeable.³ They are compatible of course with those I have just mentioned; but they are compatible with others as well.

I turn now to the scholia; and there (58b–c) we find set forth relationships which are very different indeed:

Τερψίου ἀδελφός Πτοιόδωρος, καὶ Τερψίου μὲν παῖδες Ἐρίτιμος καὶ Ναμερτίδας, Πτοιόδωρου δὲ Θεσσαλός, οὗ Ξενοφών. τινὲς δὲ †τὸν Ναμερτίδαν† (read υἱὸν Ναμερτίδα) Ἐρίτιμόν φασι, Ἐρίτιμον δὲ Ἀυτόλυκον.

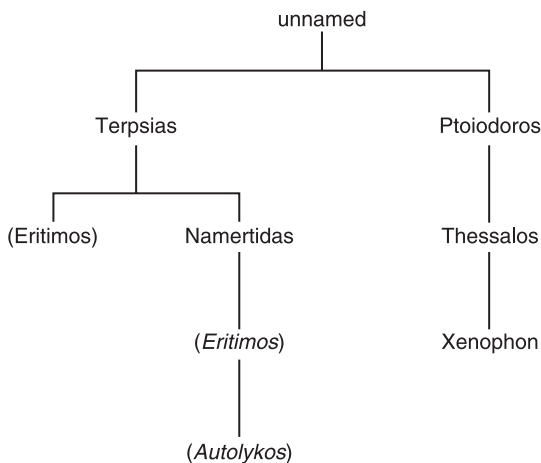
In the last sentence there can hardly be doubt about the sense, ‘that Eritimos is son of Namertidas’. This was first restored by Boeckh, who corrected τὸν *Ναμερτίδαν* to τοῦ *Ναμερτίδα*;⁴ I think my υἱόν preferable to his τοῦ.⁵

[2/3] I set all this out in a table (the main version in roman characters, the variant in italic; disputed positions in brackets): /

³ The principle which this exemplifies is cardinal, and—once stated—indisputable; I should have thought it not only indisputable but obvious, if it were not so commonly ignored by Pindar’s editors.

⁴ For the Doric genitive of a Doric name cf. sch. N. 6. 21a *Ἀλκμίδα*, I. 5 *inscr.b Πυθία*, 70 and 75a *Φυλακίδα*. The scholia vacillate unpredictably between Doric and Attic forms in their declension of Doric proper names (all the above appear elsewhere with Attic -ov); one may guess that some of their more immediate sources were more atticized than others.

⁵ The article is better away; the emphatically placed υἱόν (‘son’ as opposed to ‘brother’) is very much in point. I add (for what little it is worth) that the corruption I suppose is certainly no more difficult and perhaps even marginally easier.



About this genealogy there are two questions to be asked: first, can it be reconciled with Pindar's language? and second, from what source or sources is it derived? I consider the questions in order.

To the first question the answer is an unqualified 'yes'. It is true that many editors have been reluctant to abandon the 'natural' interpretation (with Ptoiodoros father of Terpsias and Eritimos): Hartung and Mezger rejected the evidence of the scholia altogether, and Mommsen came very close;⁶ Boeckh and Fennell accepted it, but unwillingly; Gildersleeve and Farnell could not decide. But this reluctance is a matter more of prejudice than of reason. It will be due in part to a failure to realize (what Pindar of course took for granted) that the Corinthian audience were in no doubt whatever about whose father was who; and in part to the retention, with the genealogy of the scholia, of the same construction as in the 'natural' interpretation, 'there will attend on Terpsias and Eritimos, together with (Thessalos') father Ptoiodoros, a longer measure of song'. One expects the unqualified *πατρί* to call Ptoiodoros father of someone in the same sentence;⁷ and with this construction, given this genealogy, it does not. The difficulty is a real one; but the solution is to abandon not the genealogy but the construction. This was done by Dissen:

⁶ They justify their rejection (or near-rejection) by arguments which in each case boil down to the remarkable assertion (which they do not of course put so openly) that because the Alexandrians could not agree on part of the genealogy we may disregard them altogether even where they agreed.

⁷ The rule which I am implying needs qualification (and it does not of course apply to instances such as 35, where there is no one to dispute the paternity with Xenophon); but it does I think apply to our present sentence.

[3/4] a dative 'him' is implicit after *ἔψονται* / (as often after this verb, e.g. *O. 6. 72, 9. 83, fr. 119. 4*), and the *τε* after *Τερψίαι* is not prospective but retrospective, adding *Τερψίαι . . . Ἐριτίμωι τε* either to *Πτωιοδώρωι* (so Dissen) or to the implicit *αὐτῶι*,⁸ 'there will attend on him, together with his father Ptoiodoros, and with/on Terpsias and Eritimos, a longer measure of song'; the implicit presence of Thessalos in the sentence will give *πατρί* its reference as readily as would his explicit presence.

To construe the passage thus is not a mere shift to accommodate the genealogy of the scholia: there are other considerations which call for this construction, and which even without the evidence of the scholia would point to Ptoiodoros as father not of Terpsias and Eritimos but of Thessalos; though I have never seen them set out, and I fear that without the evidence of the scholia I should set them out in vain. The family had won sixty victories at the Isthmos, a mere eleven km. from Corinth; Thessalos, with his Olympic and Pythian victories, was their most distinguished athlete, and the competition at the Isthmos will have been far less severe than at Olympia and Pytho: I cannot conceive that he had no Isthmian victories, nor if he had them can I conceive that Pindar here passed over them in favour of the Isthmian victories of his kinsmen (and spoke too of those victories as surpassing in number any feat of Thessalos⁹). Thessalos therefore must be included among the Isthmian victors; and so he is if Ptoiodoros is his father: 'there will attend on him, together with his father Ptoiodoros, . . . a longer measure of song.' That Thessalos is son of Ptoiodoros will be a fact as familiar to the audience as that Zeus is son of Kronos; they have just heard an account of Thessalos' victories at Olympia and Pytho and Athens and the Hellotia; now, when the next sentence begins 'and at the Isthmos, *Πτωιοδώρωι σὺν πατρί, . . .*', they will be in no doubt at all: these are still Thessalos' victories, but conjoined this time with those of his father (and, as the sentence develops, with those of other kinsmen too).

And now the second question: from what ultimate source does the genealogy in the scholia derive? The Alexandrian scholars whose work forms the basis of the scholia had no Burke or Debrett to help them with their prosopography; and when we find such genealogical statements in the scholia we must in the first instance suspect that they are based—whether as inference or as mere speculation—on the text of the ode itself. This is evidently the

⁸ I have not found a parallel for (*αὐτῶι*) *Τερψίαι τε* with ellipse of *αὐτῶι*; but word-order suggests that *Τερψίαι . . . Ἐριτίμωι τε* construes after *ἔψονται* rather than after *σὺν*. Not that it matters: the sense is not affected, and I suspect that if one had asked Pindar how he construed the datives he would have dismissed the question (if he understood it at all) as frivolous.

⁹ *μακρότεραι . . . ἔψονται . . . ἀοιδαί*: i.e. the victories in question outnumber those at any venue yet mentioned.

case at sch. O. 8. 106, where for Iphion and Kallimachos the identifications range from the victor's kinsmen (inference from Pindar's *γένει*, 83) to his father and uncle (speculation: 'father' not unlikely, 'uncle' hazardous). But it cannot be the case here in O. 13: as inference from the text I should have expected the superficial 'Ptoiodoros father of Terpsias and Eritimos'; but in any case—and this is conclusive—the genealogy includes two men of whom Pindar says no / word. The men who first set forth these relationships must without question have had access to a source other than Pindar. [4/5]

What source? The answer (first given, to my knowledge, by Hartung¹⁰) admits of little doubt: a family with so many victories to its name may be expected to have had one or more of the others celebrated in another ode or odes than ours; and in such an ode or odes things would be said or implied about relationships that might give the Alexandrians the material for their genealogy. Said or implied, and perhaps not always unambiguously to the ignorant: precisely the source that might lead to variant opinions such as those recorded in the scholia.

I come now to *P. Oxy.* 2623, first published by Lobel in 1967 (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xxxii), and included in *SLG* as 319–86: about seventy wretched scraps of papyrus, of which in general one can say little more than that such few as admit of judgment 'represent compositions of a kind that might be attributed to Pindar, Simonides, or Bacchylides' (Lobel). But in two of them Lobel has acutely observed indications of the Oligaitheidai and their victories: in 21(a), besides *πατέρος τ' ἄπο* and *ὁ μὲν σταδιο*[, what may be *Ἐ|ριτίμου κασιγ[νητ-*; in 22, besides *Πυθοι*, what may be *Κοριν[θ-* and *νικα]φορίαν* or *στεφανα]φορίαν*. Lobel himself advances the identification only tentatively, but I think it of itself very probable indeed; add the fact that we already had reason to suppose the existence at Alexandria of such an ode, and probability begins to give place to certainty.

Nothing in the fragments themselves gives any clear indication of authorship. But if the ode of which these two Oligaitheid fragments were part was an epinician (and I cannot doubt that it was¹¹), I suppose its author to have been Simonides. The alternative is that it should be from the lost part either of Pindar's *Isthmians* or of what was apparently Bacchylides' single book of epinikia; but it would be strange in that case, since the seventy fragments look as if they were spread over a wide range of text, that none of

¹⁰ He deserves no great credit for his observation, since he used it, perversely enough, in an attempt to discredit the evidence of the scholia (see above, n. 6).

¹¹ Past victories may be spoken of in other odes than epinikia: Pind. fr. 94b. 44 ff. (a partheneion); Bacch. fr. 20c. 7 ff. (an enkomion). But they are spoken of in different ways; and the way in these lines seems to me incompatible with anything but an epinician.

them should coincide with anything in the part of the book that is preserved.¹²

I have examined the fragments in Oxford. I do not doubt that they are to be combined as I combine them below (on the left, fr. 21(a) = SLG 339(a); on the right, in lines 5–9, fr. 22 = SLG 340): my supplements between them in 6 and 8 accord in length with the juxtaposition in 7; the fibres are compatible with the combination; and the fragments thus combined and supplemented have the makings of acceptable sense.¹³

[5/6] I print at this point an articulated and supplemented text; I give later a diplomatic transcript, with an account of my readings and a discussion of the detail. /

μικτα δεν..[
 ὀ]νάτωρ στεφα[ν
 3 π' ἀντώνατ' α. [
 κ]αί μιν παλα[ι.]. [
 μν[α]σθεὶς χάριν .[[]]..[.]. [
 6 πατέρος τ' ἄπο ν[ι]κ[ι]α[φορίαν γέρας α. . [κή-
 ριτίμου κασιγ[ν]ήτου Πυθόϊ γάρ ποτ[
 ὁ μὲν σταδίο[ι]οδρο[ό]μον, ἀντὰρ οπ[. [
 9 .].δα.[[]].[.].[.]π[!.....]εἰμηι Κοριν[θ

It is evident that in 4–8 the poet is recalling, as precedent for the present victory, victories won at Pytho in the past by the victor's father and by his brother Eritimos. Now in this, 'his brother' is manifestly ambiguous: whose brother? the victor's, or his father's? The poet's Corinthian audience, familiar with the personalities, will have been in no doubt; we, who are ignorant of them, can make at best no more than a rational guess. The Alexandrian commentators, later than the poet by several centuries and as ignorant of the personalities as ourselves, will have been in no better case; and might well in their comment have given different answers—'the victor's' perhaps the more obvious, 'his father's' perhaps suggested if in 4 the victories were called *παλαιὰ ἔργματα* or the like.

¹² For presumptive indications of the spread of the fragments see Lobel, 66: 'considerable variations of script'; fragments found 'at different times and in different parts of the site'. They are indeed 'possibly [from] more than one roll', and if so my argument is weakened to some extent; but I think only to some extent, for I see nothing to mark our Oligaiθid fragments as essentially different from all the others.

¹³ I ignore the two scraps which are included under fr. 21 = SLG 339 as (b) and (c). Both of them, like (a), have line-beginnings, and Lobel thinks them likely to be from the same column as (a): (a) is at the head of the column, and (b) will be from its foot and (c) from somewhere between them. Neither of the scraps contributes anything to the understanding of (a): the next after it, namely (c), has only a paragraφος with coronis followed by lo[and lk[.

I will express this possible difference of opinion in another way: if the victor's father be X, Eritimos might have been taken either to be X's brother or (as the victor's brother) to be X's son. But this is precisely the difference of opinion recorded in the Pindaric scholia: by the one account Eritimos is Namertidas' brother (and son of Terpsias), by the other (corrupt, but the correction seems secure) he is Namertidas' son. I cannot think that this agreement is fortuitous: I suppose therefore that our victor's father is Namertidas, and that chance has given us the very passage on which this part of the ancient genealogy depends and from which its uncertainty arose. I think indeed that we have the end of Namertidas' name, and that the account of the victories was much as follows:

Πυθόϊ γάρ ποστ['] ἐνίκων
 ὁ μὲν σταδίο[ιο δρό]μον, αὐτὰρ ὁ πε[νταέθλιον Ναμερ-
 τ]ίδας[.]

There remain a number of loose ends. First, the earlier generations: the Pindaric scholia inform us—what was not deducible from Pindar's text—that Terpsias and Ptoiodoros are brothers, and that Terpsias is father of / Namertidas (whether or not of Eritimos too) and Ptoiodoros of Thessalos; in our fragment, no word of any of this. From what source then did the Alexandrians acquire their knowledge? In part at least, we may suppose, from other references in the ode, whether adjacent to our fragment or remote from it: when Pindar devotes to the family's earlier victories two separate sections of a full-scale ode which together amount to a quarter of the whole, it will not be thought likely that Simonides gave them no greater part of an ode than we have in these five lines.¹⁴ But I have little doubt that there was a third source as well: yet another ode of Simonides for another victory. Thessalos, the family's one Olympic victor until 464, and a double Pythian victor as well, is *a priori* a likely recipient of an ode; and I see good reason to suppose that he did in fact receive one. The Alexandrians knew that his three victories at Athens were in the diaulos, the race in armour, and the stadion (sch. O. 13. 51d); from what source would they know this if not from an ode?¹⁵ and from what ode if not an ode for Thessalos himself? Pindar, writing in O.13 for Thessalos' own son, speaks merely of three victories in running on a single day, and it will not be

[6/7]

¹⁴ These catalogues of victories were doubtless prompted by the poet's patrons; a family which briefed the poet so fully in one case may be expected to have briefed him no less fully in another.

¹⁵ We have no reason to suppose that the Alexandrians had access to a victor-list for the Panathenaia; and if they did we have good reason to suppose that they never troubled to use it. In other places where Pindar refers (as here) to a victory simply as 'at Athens', the scholia are expressly unable to identify the festival: sch. N. 4. 30 (on 19) ἄθλον δὲ ποῖον ἀγώνα ἐνίκησε πολλοὶ γὰρ τελοῦνται, Παναθήναια καὶ ἄλλοι; sch. O. 7. 151 (on 82) εἴη δ' ἂν ᾗτοι τὰ Παναθήναια νεκρικῶς ἢ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἢ τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἢ τὰ Ἐλευσίνα, ἴσως δὲ καὶ πάντα ἀδήλωσ γὰρ εἴπεν.

supposed that Simonides gave greater detail when writing, in our present ode, for his first cousin once removed; but in an ode for Thessalos himself the full detail of this unusual feat is natural and indeed essential.¹⁶ That ode would certainly name Ptoiodoros as his father; it is likely enough that our present ode should name Terpsias as our victor's grandfather;¹⁷ the link between the two sides of the family, the fact that Terpsias and Ptoiodoros were brothers, might be given by either or indeed by both.

Second, the later generations; and here we have a substantial problem. On the one hand the Pindaric scholia mention no son of Namertidas who might be the victor of our ode; and if our ode is a principal source for their genealogy the omission, given the fullness of that genealogy, is remarkable. On the other hand they do include in their variant genealogy an Autolykos whose presence is hard to account for: *τινὲς δὲ *υἱὸν Ναμερτίδα{ν} Ἐριτίμων φασι, Ἐριτίμου δὲ Αὐτόλυκον*. If Autolykos was named in our ode it was as a victor; but if *τινὲς* are right he is our victor's nephew, and a victory won before his uncle's is unexpected. It is not of course impossible;¹⁸ and *τινὲς* might in any case be wrong. There is however another and more serious difficulty: in what possible way could Autolykos be mentioned in our ode that might (a) suggest but not prove (for this is a variant opinion) that he was son of Eritimos, (b) connect this paternity apparently with the supposition that Eritimos was son of Namertidas and not of Terpsias—that he was *κακίγνητος*, that is, of the victor and not of the victor's father?¹⁹

¹⁶ The ode might also have provided Pindar, to whom it was presumably available, with the facts he needed for his *μηνὸς τωῦτοῦ*: see above, n. 2 (at end).

¹⁷ Just as Pindar's ode names Ptoiodoros as Xenophon's. And Simonides, we may suppose, will have had the good fortune to express himself in a way that an ignorant posterity could not misunderstand.

¹⁸ I exemplify: X is born when his brother is twenty, his nephew is born ten years later when the brother is thirty; the nephew wins as *παῖς* at the age of sixteen, X wins in the same year or the next at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven. Of course such things could happen (and things beyond this, if the brothers were half-brothers); but they will hardly have happened very often.

If a nephew is (as ours would not be) a sister's son, then since Greek women married at a much earlier age than Greek men the overlap becomes much easier. Thus in Pind. *N.* 5. 43 Euthymenes wins as a man at the same Nemead at which his sister's son Pytheas has just won as *ἀγέμενος* (see P. Von der Mühl, *Mus. Helv.* 21 [1964] 96–7 = *Kl. Schr.* 227–8; his explanation admits no rational doubt).

¹⁹ I will answer my own question by setting forth the one hypothesis that I have been able to construct. Assume that Autolykos was in fact the son of our victor's brother. Then make the following suppositions: (a) Autolykos was old enough to have won a victory before the date of his uncle's ode; (b) Simonides referred to this victory, without naming Autolykos' father, by saying of our victor 'his brother's son Autolykos has won such-and-such a victory'; (c) someone at Alexandria forgot that a man may have more than one brother, and concluded that if Eritimos was the victor's brother Autolykos was Eritimos' son. Nothing here is impossible, and indeed some Alexandrian scholars were capable of worse things than (c); but I should be very surprised indeed if it all turned out to be true.

Two difficulties therefore: the absence from the scholia of a name that one might have expected to be present; the presence of a name that might more / intelligibly have been absent. Two difficulties; but is their origin perhaps the same? The sentence in which Autolykos is named is certainly garbled at one point (τὸν *Ναμερτίδα* in place, presumably, of υἱὸν *Ναμερτίδα*); assume a second garbling, and both our difficulties vanish at a blow: τινὲς δὲ *υἱὸν *Ναμερτίδα*{ν} *Ἐρίτιμόν φασι*, *Ἐρίτιμου* δὲ <ἀδελφόν> *Ἀυτόλυκον*. Autolykos becomes thereby the son not of Eritimos but of Namertidas; and is thus the hitherto nameless victor of our ode. [7/8]

Now if Autolykos is our victor, he will be son of Namertidas in any case—by the main genealogy as well as by the variant; and from this two consequences follow. First, we can see why the variant is expressed in this way, and not by the straightforward ‘Eritimos and Autolykos are sons of Namertidas’: this is the view of those who in *Ἐρίτιμου κασιγνήτου* reject the interpretation of *κασιγνήτου* as ‘brother (of Namertidas)’, and in rejecting it they assert ‘Eritimos is (not brother but) son of Namertidas; the brother of Eritimos is (not Namertidas but) Autolykos’. Second, this formulation implies that Autolykos has already been named, in the main genealogy, as son of Namertidas; as the scholion now stands he has not, but I believe that as it originally stood he had:

*Τερψίου ἀδελφός Πτοιόδωρος, καὶ Τερψίου μὲν παῖδες Ἐρίτιμος καὶ Ναμερτίδας, <οὐδ' Ἀυτόλυκος,> Πτοιόδωρου δὲ Θεσσαλός, οὐδ' Ξενοφών. τινὲς δὲ *υἱὸν *Ναμερτίδα*{ν} *Ἐρίτιμόν φασι*, *Ἐρίτιμου* δὲ <ἀδελφόν> *Ἀυτόλυκον*.*

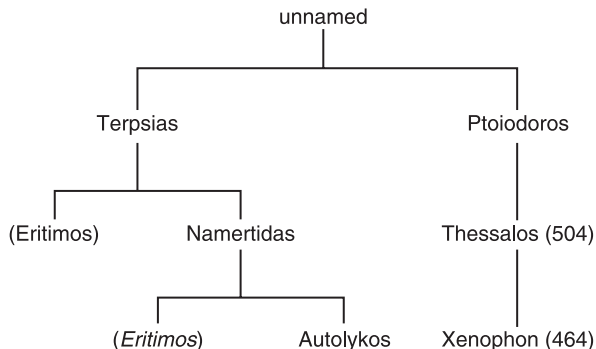
First all the relationships according to the main genealogy; then the modification according to the variant.

I add a brief note about my correction of the scholion. If I were dealing with a literary text I should be reluctant to treat it thus, for literary texts are seldom subject to the degree of corruption I have assumed; but by the same token there is seldom need for correction on this scale. The excerpts from ancient commentaries which form the basis of our scholia are a very different matter: not only were they copied with far less care, but they were deliberately recast and abbreviated by men of little competence;²⁰ and when we find in these scholia a learned note that seems confused or inconsequent, we may

²⁰ This is evident at once from the constant variation between different forms of the same note, above all in *O.* 2–12 (where we have two distinct recensions of the scholia, one in *A*, one in the other manuscripts). For variation in a genealogical statement cf. sch. *O.* 3. 68a (*A*) = 68d (BCDEQ); in a list of festivals, sch. *O.* 7. 153a + 154a (*A*) = 153e + 154c (BC(D)EQ). I have written in *JHS* 93 (1973), 24–8, <above, Chapter 6> about the corruption (first accidental, then deliberate) of a note concerned with the dates of victories.

usually assume that in its original form the note (whether right or wrong) was at least lucid and straightforward, and that the confusion or inconsequence is the work of those who copied it and adapted it. Usually we must confine ourselves to saying ‘something seems to have gone wrong’, and so it was here before 1967; we are now, I believe, able to do rather more.^{21/}

I now amend the genealogical table to suit the corrected scholion (I set by Thessalos and Xenophon the dates of their Olympic victories):



The only difference now between main and variant genealogies is in the position of Eritimos. I show him, bracketed, in both positions (italics for the variant); when I come to the detail of the text I shall inquire whether one position may be thought likelier than the other.

I suppose then that our victor is Autolykos son of Namertidas. The event: unknown.²² The venue: unknown; but when the two precedents cited for the victory are both Pythian, so perhaps may be the victory itself (I shall say more about this below). The date: at latest, before the death of Simonides in 468/7 (how long before? he was still composing odes in the early 470s, and one ode is securely dated to 477/6);²³ at earliest, a date compatible with the fact that

²¹ It is hardly worth while to speculate about how the omissions happened. That of ἀδελφόν will have been pure carelessness; that of οὐδ' Αὐτόλυκος might perhaps have been deliberate (excision of the irrelevant), though if so the man who omitted it was inconsistent when he came to Autolykos again.

²² In my discussion below of lines 1–3 I consider the possibility that there was mention of the victor's trainer. If there was, that points (n. 27) to wrestling or boxing or the pankration (and perhaps, though less certainly, to a boys' event).

²³ Victory with a cyclic chorus at Athens in 477/6: *Epigrammata Graeca* 185< >–90 Page (Sim. xxviii). Odes concerned with the battles of Artemision, Thermopylai, Salamis: *PMG* 531–6. Age in 477/6: eighty, according to the epigram (ὀγδωκονταέτης; not necessarily exact). Age at death: eighty-nine the *Souda*, ninety *Mar—*. *Par.* (*FGrHist* 239 A 57), over ninety Lucian *Makr.* 26. Date of death: 468/7 *Mar—*. *Par.*; it may be that this rests on a combination of the epigram's 'eighty', taken as exact, with the same eighty-nine as the *Souda*, but even so it will hardly be very far out.

the victor's second cousin Xenophon won as a man at Olympia in 464 (which tells us little: generations can soon get out of step, and between second cousins a difference in age of thirty years or so would be nothing out of the way).²⁴

I come now to consider the text in detail.²⁵

fr. 21(a)	μικταδεν. .[]να ωρστρεφα[3]π'αντωνα . .[.] μινπαλα[. . .][] . .[]σθειςχαριν .[1] . .[. . .][6 πατέροσταπρον[.]κ[.]φορίανγέραςα . .[ριτιμουκας . .[. . .] | ου πυθουγαρποτ[ομενσταδιο[. . . . .] | ο . αυταροπ[. 9 .] δα .[.] .[.] .[.] π[. . . . .] | εμμηκορι .[.	fr. 22
	μικτα δεν . .[δ]νάτωρ στεφα[ν 3 π' αντώννατ' α .[κ]αί μιν παλα[ι . .][μν[α]σθεις χαριν .[1] . .[. . .][6 πατέρος τ' ἄπο ν[ι]κ[α]φορίαν γέρας α . .[κη- ριτίμου κασιγ[ν]ήτων· Πυθόι γάρ ποτ[ενίκων (?) ό μὲν σταδίω[ο δρό]μον, αὐτὰρ ό πε[νταέθλιον Ναμερ- 9 τ]ίδας[·] .[.] .[.] .[.] π[. . . . .] | είμηι Κοριν[θ	

The fragments of the papyrus are reproduced in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xxxii on plates VI and VII; these two fragments are on plate VI (referred to below as 'the plate').

1 First line of a column . .[, a round letter, then traces on the line (ink adjoining the round letter on its right is the tip, with ink lost beneath, of φ in the line below). Of the round letter, the bottom right arc and (on papyrus displaced to the left) apparently part of a cross-stroke with a vestige of the top arc above: the bottom right arc thick for ε, but suited to θ; the cross-stroke high for θ, but suited to ε; conceivably the appearance of cross-stroke and top arc is illusory, the ink being from an abraded top left arc of ο or θ. On the line,

²⁴ A point of method which is of no practical importance: I reckon from Xenophon's victory, not (as might seem more proper) from Thessalos', since we do not know whether Thessalos won as man or as boy.

²⁵ I must thank Dr R. A. Coles for allowing me to consult him about some of the problems of the papyrus; at the same time I must absolve him from responsibility for what I have written about them.

For the two scraps (b) and (c) of fr. 21 = SLG 339 see above, n. 13; here again I ignore them, as completely useless.

prima facie parts of a horizontal, ζ, ξ, perhaps (but too far from the round letter?) δ; but perhaps the foot of a strongly serified upright followed closely by the foot of another letter, e.g. $\nu\mu$

2 Before ν , a not very wide letter: could be \omicron]; not μ] Between α and ω the foot of an upright; suits τ α], only part, but I think it certain: the lower arc of the loop, with ink lost at the left, and a thin vestige of the underside of the upper arc

3 π], parts of the second upright (upper third, foot), with the crossbar protruding to the right at the top Between the tops of π and α (the letters almost touch at the foot) a small hole in the upper layer; on the underlayer a short slanting stroke, clearly defined and quite unlike seepage. The only writing appropriate to this position is an apostrophe; I should guess that there was a hole at the time of writing, and that an apostrophe was written with its downstroke on the underlayer, its hooked end on surface at the lower edge of the hole that subsequently came away; on the edge of the undamaged surface on the left, just below the crossbar of π , is a thin vestige of ink that could be from the tip of the hook ...], the foot of an upright, then the start of a stroke rising to the right, then tiny vestiges of ink level with the tops (to the right of the lost tail of ϕ from the line above); if the first letter was τ the second was α , and the third, overlapping the tail of α , most readily (unless a lection sign) τ, ν, ψ

4], a speck on the line (tiny, but certain) very close to ι , presumably from α ; the space suits κ] α], vestiges of the left side of the main stroke, at the top and at mid-letter; apparently not λ (part of the other stroke ought to be visible)].], a trace on the line above the ν of $\chi\alpha\rho\nu$

5],.], first the junction of two bottom arcs, from the underside of μ (second half) or ω (not I think χ), then a speck rather above the line (displaced slightly down and to the left) which in $\nu\mu$] could be from the lower part of the diagonal of ν ; a blurred dark mark level with the tops is perhaps ink from the top left of ν , but I cannot locate it exactly (below the]. of]. μ , on papyrus displaced well down and to the right) .[|], a trace on the line in place for an initial upright; if a wide π or ν , no letter lost; not μ, ι] α], etc. (a curved foot would show on the right)]],.], the lower half of a circle (\omicron, θ), then a trace on the line in place for an initial upright].], a speck on the line, above the mid-point of the tops of $\iota\alpha$ below /

6 κ], not (as Lobel) χ : there is more ink from the upright than can be seen on the plate (concealed by a tiny turnover of papyrus) $\acute{\iota}\alpha$, not $\bar{\iota}\alpha$: the accent slants up briefly from ι , then flattens out over α ; for its length and shape compare (almost as flat) fr. 5. 2, 50. 2; contrast the $\bar{\alpha}$ of fr. 2. 4, 59. 11 γ , the foot; from the space, certainly not τ , pretty certainly not ι α],.], most of α (not the first half of μ : excluded both by remains of the loop and by

the trace next described), then two small vestiges of bottom edges, the first from a stroke (angle not determinable) adjoining the tail of *a*, the second possibly but not necessarily from a bottom arc (if it is, *a*. [could be e.g. *aic*[, *aμ*]

7 *ς*. [].. *ov*, compatible with *ςγ*[*v*] *η* *τ* *ο* *υ* (*ςγ*, serifed foot and trace from foot; *ητ*, tip of second upright and speck from left of crossbar)

8].. *ο*., compatible with] *μ* *ο* *υ* (and the gap before it with [*ι* *ο* *δ* *ρ* *ο*]): of *μ*, the first apex, the right edge of the second, and the tip (close to *ο*) of the final curved foot; of *υ*, a speck from the foot of the first upright, then ink from the top of the second and from the right edge at the foot. The plate may mislead. My *μ*: a dark mark 1 mm. below the foot of *υ* in the line above is not part of the writing; the edge of the second apex is 1 mm. below this. My *υ*: of the specks from the top of the second upright, the farthest left (with the lower edge of the following point) is on a fibre detached from the surface and displaced *c.* 0.5 mm. to the left (it is attached to the papyrus on the far side of a vertical break after the point, where there is now a slight overlap); if the displacement be corrected, the specks no longer suggest Lobel's 'upper part of a stroke rising to right', but are compatible with the second upright of *υ* *π*, the upper edge (hair-thin) of the crossbar along the break, and part of the top right angle [], a trace whose shape and position suit the upper edge of part of a top arc; hardly *α*, *λ*, *υ*

9 The first five letters (.] *δ* *α* [.] were written at an abnormally high level; by the eighth the level is normal [.] , the tip of an upright, presumably *ι* with one average letter lost before it [.] , two tiny traces on separate narrow horizontal strips; the possibilities include *ς* (left arc below middle, top arc towards right, with ink lost from the upper strip to the left of the trace) [.] [.] , what looks like the right end, high up, of a gently rising stroke, and beneath its abraded left part *c.* 1.5 mm. of convex horizontal trace level with normal tops (with ink lost? edge irregular; discontinuous at the left); if at normal level, I suppose *ο* or *ε*, but the accent (unless after all incomplete at the right) will be anomalously short or far to the left; if still at high level, perhaps a much abraded *κ*; if preceded by *ς* [.] , the spacing in either case indicates that there was a point between them, *ς*[.] (points were written as part of the text, and occupy space) [.] [.] , a vestige of an upper edge (normal level) below the *α* of *ς* *τ* *α* *δ* *ι* *ο* [.] *π* [.] , parts of both uprights and most of the right half of the crossbar (I think not two letters: the uprights too close for] *ι* *τ* [.] , the crossbar too far left for] *ι* *π* [.]) Between *μ* and *ι*, traces compatible with *η*: of the first upright, strongly serifed to the left as at fr. 9. 3, the foot and the serif at the top (suggesting at first sight the end of a horizontal); of the second, a vestige from the top *ι*. [.] , of *ι* the top third, then a trace compatible with the angle at the top left of *υ* /

We know little about Simonides' metrical practice; and in what metre this may be I cannot say. The double-short sequences of 6 and (apparently) 7 might suggest dactylo-epitrite, at least of a kind; and 8 would conform if in *σταδίοιο δρόμον* the scansion were $-ō \delta\rho-$. But with $-ō\delta\rho-$ 8 could be aeolic, and double-short sequences are perfectly in place in some aeolic: in Pindar, small clusters *O.* 9 ep., *P.* 2 str., *Pai.* 6 str.; a great many *N.* 6, *Pai.* 9.

1–3 In 1, *μικτά, κύμμικτα*, etc.; or *φορμικτά, -τᾶ?* In 2, *δ]νάτωρ* seems inescapable: either the appellative (Hesych., Phot., *δνήτωρ ὄνησι φέρων*; Phot. adds *καὶ δνάτωρ ὁμοίως*) or a proper name (*Ἰονήτωρ* two characters in mythology, and several Athenians; cf. *Ἰονάτας* of Aigina, *Ἰονήσιμος*). With this, 3 at once restores itself as *π' ἀντώνατ' α.* [(the *π'* the elided final syllable of a word begun in the line before²⁶). I suppose the word-play to be as possible with the proper name as with the appellative: this is the poet who wrote *ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριός* (*PMG* 507).

Of whom is this said? If (as I shall suppose) *μιν* in the next sentence is the victor, the victor must appear in this sentence in a way that will allow him to be picked up by *μιν*. If he is subject, I do not know why it should be said of him that *δνάτωρ ἀντόνατο* (if he is Autolykos, no play on a name). It may be relevant that when a victor is a young wrestler or boxer or pancratiast the poet will often praise his trainer:²⁷ the trainer certainly *δνήσι* his pupil, and may be said to *ἀντόνασθαι* when the pupil wins.²⁸ If this should indeed be the trainer, the sentence may I suppose have been so constructed that *μιν* can have the reference I desire.

4–7 In 4, other letters than *κ]* would fit the space, but I suppose a new sentence here to be very likely (with *μιν*²⁹ in its customary second place). In 5,

²⁶ This division before the elided syllable is of course normal (and so far as I know invariable).

²⁷ Pindar, in seventeen odes for wrestlers, boxers, and pancratiasts, mentions a trainer seven times (and mentions none in any ode for a victor in any other event). Three times the victor is a boy (*O.* 8, *N.* 6, *O.* 10) and once an *ἀγένοιος* (*N.* 5; the one trainer in Bacchylides is in an ode for this same victory); once perhaps a boy (*N.* 4: line 90, with the vocative *παῖ*, is corrupt; the same trainer Melesias as for the boys of *O.* 8, *N.* 6); once not certainly a man (*I.* 5: Phylakidas' second Isthmian victory, trained by his brother Pytheas); once a man (*I.* 4; but the trainer is named after the mention of an earlier victory as a boy). The ten odes with no trainer mentioned comprise two for boys (*P.* 8, *O.* 11), one most likely for a boy or *ἀγένοιος* (*I.* 6: Phylakidas' first Isthmian victory), one I should guess for an *ἀγένοιος* (*I.* 8), and six for men, either certainly (*O.* 7, *O.* 9, *N.* 2, *N.* 10) or presumably (*N.* 3, *I.* 7).

²⁸ At *O.* 8. 65 the thirtieth of his pupils' victories is a *γέρασ* for Melesias.

²⁹ I expect not Ionic *μιν* but Doric *νιν* (which I am confident was used by Pindar and Bacchylides); and my expectation might quite well be right. Papyri of Pindar are not only equally divided between *μιν* and *νιν* but show frequent vacillation: in about two dozen instances of the pronoun there are four of *μιν* with *ν* superscript, one of *νιν* with *μ* superscript, one of *μιν* in one copy and *νιν* in another. Evidently there were two opinions in antiquity about the form he used, and copies were constantly corrected to agree with one opinion or the other. It would not

for μ .[.] $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ or ω .[.] $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ beginning with the beginning of a word or syllable I do not think that $\mu\nu[\alpha]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ can be in doubt.³⁰ In 6, anastrophe of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ is given by the papyrus; at the end I have supposed for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ \mathcal{E} - the Doric crasis $\kappa\acute{\eta}$ -.

For the sense, I suppose something on the following lines: ‘and I say of him [the victor], calling to mind achievements of time gone by, that he has his winning of victory as a distinction that comes to him from his father and from his brother Eritimos.’³¹ $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ [in this sentence will presumably have to do with $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota$ not with $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$;³² if $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ or the like), the trace at the end of 4 would be in place for the first upright of ν in $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha[\iota\omega]\nu$].

This supposition leaves problems whose solution is not immediately obvious; I will discuss them briefly, lest they be thought to invalidate the supposition. The wording I shall put forward in doing so is not intended (though I pay regard to the traces) to do more than exemplify: I am not / seeking to restore Simonides’ text (our ignorance of the metre would in any case make this an idle pursuit), but merely to establish that the problems are not insoluble.

[12/13]

First, how is one to incorporate $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ in the sentence as I conceive it? It was not followed by $\tau\epsilon$, so not ‘and evoking $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ for the family’; the prepositional use is unlikely in the neighbourhood of genitives dependent on $\mu\nu\alpha\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; all I can suppose is that it was governed by a participle agreeing with the object of $\mu\nu\alpha\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, ‘that brought about $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ’ (the $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ attendant on or resulting from victory: e.g. Pind. *O.* 8. 57, 80). Not ‘kinsmen who brought about $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ’, for $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is excluded by the trace at the end of 4; not ‘kinsmen of old

be surprising if papyri of Simonides behaved in the same way; and though the evidence is quite inadequate to show that they did, it is not inconsistent with their having done so: three instances of $\mu\nu$, one of $\nu\nu$ with μ superscript (I exclude *PMG* 541. 8 $\nu\nu$ as not certainly Simonidean). The three instances other than ours are all in *P. Oxy.* 2430 = *PMG* 519 (fr. 53. 10, 62(b). 3, 92. 8); this might well tend to be consistent with itself, and so to make our tiny sample unrepresentative.

For Bacchylides the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of $\nu\nu$: in the main papyrus, $\nu\nu$: $\mu\nu$ is 21:1; in other papyri, 2:0, 1:0, 1:0. But with nearly all the evidence from a single papyrus, we cannot be certain that there were not papyri that followed a different practice.

³⁰ If the letters all belong to a single word, I find no alternative to $\mu\nu[\alpha]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. If to more than one, there is $\mu[\alpha]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; there are also (but they would surely in this manuscript have been indicated by lection signs) things like $\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

³¹ The notion of athletic excellence as something innate or inherited is of course common in Pindar; note especially *P.* 8. 44 $\phi\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ | $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ $\pi\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota$ $\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha$ (in a mythological paradeigma, but applied expressly to the victor). When a victor matches the achievements of named forbears Pindar is inclined to talk rather of ‘footsteps’, but the notion of inheritance is never far away: *P.* 10. 12 $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon\nu\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\iota}\chi\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$, *N.* 6. 15 $\acute{\iota}\chi\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\Pi\rho\alpha\zeta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\nu$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha$ $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ | $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$, *P.* 8. 35 $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\acute{\iota}\chi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$ $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ (followed shortly by 44 $\phi\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$, cited above).

³² And certainly not with $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$.

who brought about *χάρις*, for though a father's victories of a generation ago may be called *παλαιά*, hardly the father himself; I suppose therefore 'achievements of old that brought about *χάρις*', on the lines of *παλα[ιῶ]ν [ἐργμάτων] νικασθεῖς χάριν πολ[υ]ή[ρατον] ὀρσάντων δόμοις*].

Second, *γέρας* in agonistic contexts is little more than an elegant substitute for 'victory' (Pind. *O.* 2. 49 *Ὀλυμπίαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς γέρας ἔδεκτο*, *P.* 8. 78 *Μεγάροις δ' ἔχει γέρας*): how then do we justify its apposition here to *νικαφορίαν*? Most likely, I think, by supposing it to have been qualified by an adjective that took the emphasis; as it might be *καί μιν . . . [κυγενές] πατέρος τ' ἄπο νικαφορίαν γέρας ἀμ[φαίνειν] λέγω κῆ[ριτίμου] κασιγνήτου*, 'I aver that he displays his winning of victory as a distinction that goes with his birth, coming from his father etc.'³³

νικαφορία, known hitherto only from Pindar, is used by him of the winning of a single victory, actual (*P.* 1. 59) or typical (*N.* 9. 49), or in the plural of a plurality of such winnings (*O.* 10. 59, *N.* 10. 41), though once of the winning of victories generally (*N.* 2. 4: Timodemos, by his Nemeian victory, his first in the great games, *καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων νικαφορίας δέδεκται*); *γέρας* is applied by Pindar commonly to a single victory (*O.* 2. 49 and *P.* 8. 78, cited above; *O.* 8. 11, *P.* 5. 31, 124; similarly *Bacch.* 7. 8, 11. 36). Here therefore I should expect *νικαφορία* and *γέρας* to refer to the winning of the present victory and not to a propensity to victories; on the other hand an adjective such as *κυγενές* would be more appropriate to the propensity. The distinction is of course of no practical importance; and it might well be that a poet would blur it.

I come finally to the interpretation of *Ἐριτίμου κασιγνήτου*: is Eritimos brother of the victor or of the victor's father? The expression itself is compatible with either relationship; and the poet, writing for an audience who were in no doubt about the facts, could have used it equally well for either. The one thing that might give the ignorant a pointer is the description of these / earlier victories (I have supposed) as *παλαιά*; and I think it may well be this that made some ancient scholars suppose Eritimos to be brother of the victor's father. The pointer is not a certain one: a man's brother (especially if he be a half-brother) can be a very great deal older than the man himself; and I suppose that if Eritimos as the victor's brother had won say twenty-five or thirty years before him that might of itself have qualified as *παλαιόν*. But in that case the father's victory will have been won something like fifty or sixty

³³ There are devices that would avoid the apposition altogether, but I think them quite unacceptable: to read *ἱερᾶς* (but I cannot believe that this was written, and I think it in any case quite intractable); or to disregard the accentuation of the papyrus and read *νικαφορίαν γέρας* (but I find this a very improbable expression).

years before the date of our poem: would these two victories, of very different date and of different generations (one the victor's own), have been described together as *παλαιά*? The answer might depend, I think, on something outside our knowledge: no, I should incline to say, if Eritimos was still alive; but yes if he was dead. I suppose, that is, that *παλαιά* is compatible with either relationship; but compatible with Eritimos' being the victor's brother only if he was both a great deal older than the victor and no longer alive.

7–9 The poet has alluded to victories won in the past by the victor's father and by Eritimos; now he specifies them, as won at Pytho in events which he proceeds to name. (For 'at Pytho' I have supposed trisyllabic *Πυθού*, used by Pindar at *I.* 7. 51 and *P. Oxy.* 2442 fr. 51; with *Πυθοῖ* disyllabic there would be an unexpected sequence of six longs, *κατῖγνητῶν Πυθοῖ γὰρ ποτ'.*)

About the first victory there can be no doubt: *σταδίο[ιο δρό]μον*, as Pind. *O.* 13. 30 *σταδίου νικῶν δρόμον*. The second will be the *π.* [of 8, and this I suppose to be *πε[νταέθλιον* or *πε[ντάεθλον* (Pindar has both forms; I shall consider later which may be the likelier here): there are a good many other events beginning with *π* (*παγκράτιον*, *πάλαν*, *πύξ*, and those of *παῖδες*), but none with whose second letter I should wish to identify the trace after *π* (nor do I think *αὐτὰρ ὅπλ[ίτας τρέχων* any more acceptable).

Two things still need to be supplied. One is a verb, evidently at the end of 7; the obvious one is *ἐνίκων* or *ἐνίκασαν*, but perhaps of course a synonym instead. The tense may have been either imperfect or aorist: in statements of past victories either the present stem or the aorist may be used, I suppose as 'be a victor' and 'win a victory'; for indicatives cf. Pind. *N.* 5. 45 *ἐκράτει*, 10. 25 *ἐκράτησε*.

The other thing is the name of the victor's father; necessary not for the audience's sake (they know it already) but to further the father's glory. One purpose of the victory ode, a purpose which Pindar is never tired of proclaiming, is to preserve the memory of men's achievements for generations to come; and to fulfil this purpose name and achievement must be unmistakably conjoined. The name, therefore, and no mere designation as 'his father'.³⁴ And the victory not one or other of two, but one expressly his / own (with the

[14/15]

³⁴ Proof of this is to be sought in the first instance not in poets' practice but in human nature: what man would be content to have his achievements recorded for posterity under the semi-anonymity of 'X's father'? and if he was named as father in some other part of the ode, that would hardly alleviate the discontent. And poets' practice does of course conform: for fathers' victories cf. Pind. *O.* 13. 35 *πατρός . . . Θεσσαλοῖο*, *P.* 10. 12 *πατρός* alone for one victory, but Phrikias in the next sentence for another, *P.* 11. 43 *πατρὶ Πυθονίκω* (his name), *N.* 8. 16 *πατρός Μέγα*. It sometimes happens that Pindar names a victorious relative without specifying the relationship (*O.* 8. 15 Timosthenes, *O.* 9. 84 Lampromachos); for the converse, relationship without name, I can think only of *O.* 2. 49 *ὀμόκλαρον . . . ἀδελφεόν* (Theron's brother Xenokrates; are tyrants a special case?).

other expressly Eritimos’); so that the place for the name is with one of the victories—with the pentathlon therefore, in apposition to δ . And there I find it. I have argued already that the father is Namertidas; and in |.] $\delta\alpha$.[at the beginning of 8 the letters | $\iota\delta\alpha$ are as good as certain, with | τ] compatible with the space and ζ [with the traces. This agreement will hardly be fortuitous: I do not doubt that *Namερ|τ|ιδας* is to be restored. And I have one further thing to add: in the sentence as I have restored it *Namερτιδασ* will be the final word, and would naturally be followed by punctuation in the papyrus; there is a narrow lacuna after the ζ [, but from the apparent position of the following letter it seems not unlikely that the lacuna contained a point.

No more is needed: the poet has achieved variety of expression by *σταδίοιο δρόμον*; for the pentathlon, therefore, only the bare name, *αὐτὰρ ὁ πενταέθλιον Namερτιδασ*. And if this is all, then metre perhaps may help (however uncertainly) in the choice between *πενταέθλιον* and *πεντάεθλον*. I think it right to assume (in default of evidence to the contrary) that Simonides would have been as chary of single-value $\theta\lambda$ in mid-word as was Bacchylides;³⁵ if he was, the scansion here is likely to have been $-\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\lambda-$ or (common in Pindar) $-\overline{\alpha\epsilon}\theta\lambda-$; and with either of these scansions, I suppose that whatever the metre *πενταέθλιον* will contribute to a much likelier sequence of syllables than would *πεντάεθλον*.

One might have expected this sentence to end with the end of a verse; it is odd that it should end with the second syllable of a colon. But there are worse puzzles than this in the colometry of our papyrus (see Lobel pp. 70–1, on fr. 5); and my own puzzlement is strongly tinged with suspicion. The papyrus points after the second syllable of a colon also in fr. 2 (= *SLG* 320) at 3 and 18, and in fr. 5 (= *SLG* 323) at 13 and 14 (this in not more than seventy cola in which punctuation at this point in the colon could be recognized); I add (for we have no reason to suppose our papyrus exceptional among Simonidean papyri) that *P. Oxy.* 2430 (= *PMG* 519) points after the first syllable of a colon at fr. 9 ii 4 and after the second in the following line.

The two precedents cited here for our present victory are both Pythian; though we know from Pindar that Eritimos at least had Isthmian victories as well. It may be that Simonides is citing simply the most distinguished victories of the closer relatives; but I think it likelier that he cites the Pythian

³⁵ In Bacchylides’ 6 instances of $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\lambda-$ the $\theta\lambda$ is always double-value; contrast Pindar, in whose 47 disyllabic instances it is 20 times single-value. This is no special case: Bacchylides is much more reluctant than Pindar to admit single value in mid-word in any combination of so-called ‘mute and liquid’ (percentages of single value, for all combinations in mid-word, are 31 Pindar, 11 Bacchylides; and Bacchylides’ instances are largely confined to combinations with ρ). It seems prudent to suppose for Simonides the same severer treatment that we find in his compatriot and nephew.

victories because our victor too has won at Pytho. We know from Pindar that in 464 the family had six Pythian victories to its name; two belong to Thessalos; one each, as we now know, to Namertidas and Eritimos; there are still two that are unassigned, and I am very willing to suppose that this is one of them. /

[15/16]

9 The one certainty in this last sentence is Lobel's *Kορω*[θ-. Before it, *ν]είμμη*? there is also *δ]είμμη* (and conceivably *]ειμ'ήι*, and I suppose a possibility of *ει* for *ι*). The ten letters before this can presumably have contained something to account for a subjunctive; I should be reluctant to suppose our copyist to have been given to illiterate iotas, with *μη* for *μη*.

Two Studies in Pindaric Metre

I. SHORT ANCEPS IN DACTYLO-EPITRITES

It has more than once been observed that short ancipitia in Pindar's dactylo-epitrites are much commoner in the first triad of an ode than in later triads: in first triads about one anceps in nine is short, in later triads about one in forty-six. But this observation gives only part of the picture: there is a further sharp distinction to be drawn between the ancipitia in later triads. The facts, for Pindar's dactylo-epitrite epinikia, are these:¹

Short anceps is not uncommon (*a*) in the first triad of an ode, (*b*) in respon-
sion, in a later triad, with short anceps in the first triad; in other situations it is rare, and perhaps always associated with a proper name.

The difference in frequency is very marked: 'not uncommon' amounts to one instance in every eight or nine, 'rare' to one in every 235. My 'perhaps always' is short for 'always, unless one accepts any of the five instances which I shall exclude as corrupt'.

This statement can with advantage be refined; for within the first triad a

<This paper evidently matured over a long period. B. showed me a version of it in about 1981; cf. my *Greek Metre*, viii and 74 n. 102. In 1975 (chapter 11, n. 49) he had already anticipated a publication corresponding to part II of the present study. Note 132 cannot have been formulated long after 1978, and in n. 211 the year 1980 stands for 'the present time'. Note 236 was composed before 1982 and added to after. In n. 23 B. cites my *Greek Metre* (1982), in n. 4 Maehler's 1987 revision of Snell's Pindar, in n. 123 Hainsworth's commentary on *Od.* 5–8 (1988 in the English version), and elsewhere *SH* and *PMGF*, which appeared in 1983 and 1991 respectively.>

¹ I gave a brief and incomplete statement of the facts in 1956, in an article on dactylo-epitrites in Bacchylides (*Hermes* 84, 248–9) <below, chapter 14. The fact that short anceps is most frequent in the first triad of an ode, and often excused by a proper name, was first observed by Boeckh, *Pindari Opera quae supersunt*, i. 2. 282. Cf. also Herbert Höhl, *Responnsionsfreiheiten bei Pindar* (Diss. Köln 1950), 17–21.>

predominant part is played by the first strophe and epode (i.e. the first appearance of a stanza within the ode). Refined, it will become:

Short anceps is not uncommon (*a*) in the first strophe and epode of an ode, (*b*) in responson, in later stanzas, with short anceps in the first strophe or epode; it is found occasionally without this responson in the first antistrophe or in responson with short anceps in the first antistrophe; in other situations it is rare, and perhaps always associated with a proper name.

With this formulation, 'not uncommon' amounts to one instance in every seven and a half; 'occasionally', for the instances in the first antistrophe, is one in 54 (for short anceps in responson with these, one in six of the very few places where it might occur).

I can offer no convincing explanation of these facts,² and shall confine myself to establishing them. Explained or unexplained, they are facts just the same; and are of the same practical consequence to an editor.³

I will set out the figures in tabular form. They are for the dactylo-epitrite epinikia, excluding the fragments of the *Isthmians* lost after *I. 8*; of the mixed-metre *O. 13* I include only the dactylo-epitrite parts (the last two and a half verses of the strophe, the whole of the epode). I treat the two odes *I. 3* and *4* as the equivalent metrically of a single ode, but of a single ode beginning with *I. 4* (so that the single triad of *I. 3* is treated as the *last* triad of the composite ode); I shall justify this in Section E. In the monostrophic odes (*P. 12, N. 9*) I include all strophes after the first among 'later triads'.

I follow no published text, but have made my own decisions everywhere; I take Snell's text⁴ as a basis in the sense that I shall record, and account for, all my departures from it. In general (but with a few exceptions, which I shall record in their place) I treat as long all ancipitia whose quantity is for any reason indeterminate. I exclude all ancipitia which form the last syllable of a verse.

² The best I can do is this (which is perhaps not so much an explanation of the facts as a restatement of them): Pindar in his dactylo-epitrites does not (proper names apart) use short anceps if his audience is expecting a long; and the audience will expect a long if the first instance at that place is long (or at least if the first two instances, in strophe and antistrophe, are long). I do not know why this should be so; and I do not know how many in the audience will have had ears sensitive enough to register this refinement.

³ I know that the tragedians observe Porson's law. I do not know why they observe it; but I find myself in no way disadvantaged by my ignorance.

⁴ As revised by Maehler (1969, and then 1987); but I say 'Snell' except where Maehler differs from him.

Table A. Triads

	Total ancipitia	Short ancipitia	One short in every
(a) First triad	792	87	9.1
(b) Later triads, in responsion with short under (a)	383	50	7.7
(c) do., in responsion with long under (a)	2350	10*	235.0

Table B. First strophe and epode

(d) First strophe and epode	543	73	7.4
(e) Later stanzas (including first antistrophe), in responsion with short under (d)	395	56	7.1
(f) do., in responsion with long under (d)	2587	18*	143.7

Table C. First antistrophe (included under 'later stanzas' in Table B)

(g) First antistrophe, in responsion with short under (d)	34	10	3.4
(h) do., in responsion with long under (d)	215	4*	53.8
(j) Later stanzas, in responsion with short under (h)	24	4*	6.0

Of the four figures marked * (instances not in responsion with a first-strophe or first-epode short) the 18 under (f) consist of the 10 under (c) (proper names) plus the 4 and 4 under (h) and (j) (first antistrophe, and in responsion with these).

I will signal here an innovation in my terminology: if a short anceps in a later stanza is in responsion with a short in the first triad, I shall speak of it henceforth as 'echoing' that short. Briefer, certainly; and I think clearer.

I shall now proceed to list the instances of short anceps in Pindar's dactylo-epitrites, and to justify my inclusion in those lists, and my exclusion from them, of any ancipitia whose quantity might be disputed. I shall do this under seven heads (of which all but G are concerned with the epinikia alone): A, in the first strophe and epode; B, echoing these; C, in the first antistrophe (with long in the first strophe), and echoing these; D, non-echoing in later triads; E, *Isthmians* 3 and 4; F, the fragments; G, miscellaneous.

In the great majority of the disputable instances the choice will be between alternative forms of the same word with different scansion, or

between different scansions of a single form.⁵ I shall be guided by the following considerations:

(a) In situations where short ancepts is permissible, only one ancepts in every 7.3 is short; I suppose this to indicate a fairly strong preference for long even in these situations.⁶ I shall in each case consider the alternatives that were or might have been at Pindar's disposal, and the use he makes of them elsewhere (including his use of related forms where these are relevant): if he admits both forms or scansions readily, I shall assume (except in one or two special cases) that he intended a long; if he admits only the one, I shall assume that he intended that; if he shows a preference for one against the other, I shall make a probable judgement based on the strength of the preference that he shows.

(b) In situations where short ancepts would be anomalous, the same considerations but with a very different emphasis: a long form or scansion, unless it appears to be one that Pindar may be thought to have avoided entirely.

In the case of anomalous short ancepts, we shall need to consider whether there may be corruption. If an anomaly can be removed by a trivial correction, then it should be removed; the correction may affect either the anomalous short ancepts itself, converting it to long, or the corresponding long ancepts in the first strophe or epode, converting it to short. If on inspection there prove to be grounds other than the anomaly for suspecting the text, we should look for a correction that will remove the other difficulties and the anomaly at a single stroke.

⁵ What is a different form and what merely a different scansion will depend on one's alphabet: to Pindar the difference between *κόρα* and *κούρα* (both of which he spelt *KOPA*) will have been identical in kind to that between *ἄνῆρ* and *ἄνῆρ*.

Whenever I refer to Pindar's ambiguous alphabet, I shall write as if he used letters of the same form as the capitals of modern printed texts. In fact, some of his letters will have differed slightly, and one or two very greatly, from modern forms; but all I am concerned with is the ambiguity of his E and O (which he wrote in fact in more or less that form), and accuracy over his letter-forms would serve only to distract the reader and inconvenience the printer. I shall therefore say that for our *ξένος* and *ξείνος* he wrote in both cases *ΞΕΝΟΣ*, even though he will have used not *Ξ* but his equivalent of *χς*, and not *Σ* (four bars) but a form with three bars.

⁶ To the question 'what proportion of short anceptia would there be if he had felt equally free to have either quantity?' there can of course be no answer. But one can make a sideways approach. Long ancepts is the only means of producing, in normal dactylo-epitrites, a sequence of three longs within the verse. Now it might be thought that a poet whose language owes so much to that of Homer, in whom a sequence of three or more longs occurs on average rather more than once a line, would in any case find it convenient to have a high proportion of long ancepts. But I give the number of such sequences in three dactylo-epitrite and three aeolic odes, all of much the same length (1535 to 1710 syllables): dactylo-epitrites, 199 (*O.* 6), 194 (*P.* 3), 172 (*N.* 10); aeolic, 0 (*O.* 1), 13 (*P.* 2), 0 (*N.* 7). Quite clearly Pindar can compose at will either with or without these sequences; and in his dactylo-epitrites the very high proportion of long ancepts even in situations where short would be permissible is a matter not of linguistic convenience but of metrical or musical principle.

I shall not in general pay much attention to the manuscripts, for in most of the matters here at issue their support for one reading or another is of no account whatever. In some things, such as the choice between *κόρα* and *κούρα*, they are *a priori* useless, for when Pindar in either case wrote an ambiguous *KOPA* no manuscript on earth can tell us whether he meant the *O* to be short or long. In other things, such as *ἔστι(ν)* or *κτίς(ε)ειεν*, their uselessness can be established only *a posteriori*; but it has long been established beyond all possible doubt. I shall mention their readings occasionally, in instances where it might be supposed that they could be of value; but I shall normally do so only to show that they are in fact of no value at all.

When a short vowel is followed by mute-and-liquid I shall assume that the syllable is long; but I shall make the assumption explicitly and not tacitly. In doing so I shall commonly adduce figures for the relative frequency of short and long scansion before different combinations of mute and liquid. These are based on my own compilations, for Pindar's epinikia (in all metres; but not the fragments); they differentiate between initial and internal mute-and-liquid, but within internal do not differentiate between genuinely internal (*ἔδρα*) and quasi-initial (*ἔ-δραμον*, *ἀπο-δρέψαι*, *ἵππο-δρομία*). They exclude of course things like *ἔκ-λείψειν*.

I shall draw attention to the syllable I am concerned with by enclosing the rest of the word (or words) within brackets: (*ἄμ*)πέλ(ου), χαλκ(άσπιδα), (*ἄποι*)να κ(αί), (*μάκαι*)ραν (ἔστ(ί)αν), (*ὔπερ*)θεν δ(αίτα). The way I do it is quite unscientific: the part I leave unbracketed is properly speaking not the syllable at all, which is (*ἄμ*)πέ(λου), χαλκ(άσπιδα), (*ἄποι*)να (καί), (*μάκαι*)ρα(ν ἔστ(ί)αν), (*ὔπερ*)θεν (δαίτα). But it makes I think for intelligibility if I include after the vowel all the intervocalic consonants, on whose number (and sometimes nature) the quantity of a short-vowel syllable depends; it has also the advantage of allowing me to say 'πατρ(ός) is of indeterminate quantity' (when properly speaking it is *πατ(ρός)* if long, *πα(τρός)* if short), and of not requiring me to print things like (*διδόν*)τι κ(εείνια).

A. Short anceps in first strophe or epode

I list the instances, 73 in number. Those marked * are discussed below; so are all disputable ancipitia that I exclude as being long. Corresponding ancipitia: (9) = nine, all long (if disputable, discussed below); (+) = one or more short (details under section B).

- O. 3. 14 (2) (*ἔνει*)κεν (*Ἄμφ*-)
 15 (2) **Ολ*(*υμπίαι*)
 6. 18 (4) *πάρ*(*εστι*)

7. 1 (9) *(*â*)φνε(*â*c)
 2 (9) (*â*μ)πέλ(ου)
 4 (+) νε(*ανίαι*)
 15 (4) *(*Αλ*)φε(*ô*ι)
 16 (4) *(*ǣ*ποι)να κ(*αί*)
 17 (+) πατ(*έρα*)
8. 1 (7) **Ολ*(υμπία)
 16 (3) *ε*έ μ(*έν*)
 17 (3) *Κρόν*(ου)
 20 (3) *πάλ*(*ā*ι)
 22 (3) *πάρ*(εδρος)
11. 4 (+) *πόν*(ωι)
 6 (+) (*ö*ρ)κι(ον)
 16 (0) (*έγ*)γυ(*άσομαι*)
 20 (0) (*έρί*)βρομ(οι)
12. 6 (1) τὰ δ(*’*αδ̄)
 14 (0) παρ̄(*έστíαι*)
 17 (0) (*Όλυμ*)πί(αι)
13. 7 (9) *Δίκ*(αι)
 19 (4) (*βοη*)λάτ(αι)
 20 (4) *(*ě*ν)τεσ(ιν)
- P. 1. 4 (9) προ(ομίων)
 14 (4) (*άϊον*)τα γ(*άν*)
 3. 18 (4) (παρ)θέν(οι)
 4. 4 (25) (*αι*)ετ(ών)
 5 (25) (τυχόν)τος (*ιέρέα*)
 8 (25) *(*άρ*)γω(*όεντι*)
 23 (12) (*αι*)σί(αν)
 9. 3 (+) (*Τελεσι*)κράτ(η)
 21 (+) (*φασγάνωι*) τε μ(αρ-)
 21 (4) (*κεράϊ*)ζεν (*ἀγρίους*)
- N. 1. 1 (7) (σε)μνόν (*Άλφειού*)
 5. 1 (5) (*άνδριαν*)τοπ(οιός)
 2 (+) γλυκ(*εϊ’*)
 13 (+) ό τ(*â*c)
 13 (2) (*Ψαμάθει*)α τ(*ίκτ’*)
 14 (2) (*δίκαι*) τε μ(*ή*)
 15 (2) (*ǣ*ν)δρασ (*ἀλκίμους*)
 16 (2) (*ǣ*πα)σα κ(*ερδίων*)
 8. 2 (5) (παρ)θεν(*ήϊους*)
 3 (5) (*ή*)μέρ(οις)

- 5 (+) (ἀρει)όν(ων)
 5 (+) (ἐπι)κρατ(εῖν)
 13 (+) ὑπ(ἐρ)
 16 (+) Μέγ(ᾱ)
 17 (2) (παρ)μον(ώτερος)
9. 2 (+) *(νεο)κτίτ(αν)
10. 1 (+) (ἀγλαο)θρόν(ων)
 4 (+) τὰ Π(ερσέος)
 6 (+) κολ(εῶι)
11. 1 (5) (λέλογ)χας (Ἔστια)
 12 (2) τε ς(ύγγονον)
- I. 1. 2 (+) ὑπ(έρτερον)
 5 (7) τί φ(ίλτερον)
 17 (3) (διφρη)λάτ(αι)
2. 1 (5) (Θρασύβου)λε φ(ῶτες)
 4 (5) (εἰ)χεν (Ἀφροδίτας)
 14 (2) (Ξενο)κράτ(εῖ)
4. 1 (9) θε(ῶν)
 1 (9) (ἔκα)τι μ(υρία)
 2 (+) (ἔφα)νας (Ἰσθμίοις)
 14 (+) *(ἐγένον)το, χ(αλκέωι)
 16 (4) (ἀμέραι) γὰρ (ἐν)
 17 (4) (πολέμοι)ο τ(εσσάρων)
 17 (+) (μάκαι)ραν (έςτιαν)
5. 1 (+) (Ἀέ)λί(ου)
 2 (+) (ἔκα)τι κ(αί)
 2 (+) (μεγα)σθεν(ῆ)
 19 (+) (Πυθέαι) τε π(αγ-)
6. 22 (+) (ἐν) σ(χερ)ῶι

Most of them are unambiguous, but nine of them (marked * in the table) are open to dispute; I shall here go through the nine in order, and justify my choice (which in every case is other than Snell's). I shall then consider the possible instances of short ancepts that I have excluded from my list; only over one of these do I differ from Snell.

O. 3. 15: Ὀλ(υμπία), and similarly O. 8. 1 Ὀλ(υμπία); not Οὐλ(υμπία), Οὐλ(υμπία).⁷ This Οὐλ- is a metrical lengthening, common in epic (Homer, Homeric hymns, Hesiod⁸) as a means of accommodating to the hexameter

⁷ Pindar himself would in either case have written *ΟΑ*; what the manuscripts have (in fact δλ-) is therefore totally irrelevant.

⁸ There is no significant difference in the practice of the three, and I have therefore lumped them all together in my figures here.

forms of Ὀλυμπος which with Ὀλ- would have the scansion $\cup\text{---}\cup$ (34 *Ὀλύμπιοι*, 13 *Ὀλύμπιονδε*, but 5 *Ὀλύμπός τε* or *-όν τε*); but it spreads there only seldom beyond those limits (1 *-όνδ'*, 5 *-ου*, 2 *-ωι*), and does not spread at all to the adjective (69 *Ὀλύμπιος*, and similarly 7 *Ὀλυμπιάς*; the name Olympia does not occur). Now Pindar admits *Ὀλ-* without restriction in forms of Ὀλυμπος (2 *-όνδ'*, 1 *-όθεν*, 1 *-ον*, 1 *-ου*, 1 *-ωι*, as against 7 certainly and 4 apparently⁹ Ὀλ-), but has no instance of it in the adjective (8 certainly Ὀλ- and 3 apparently,¹⁰ together with one *Ὀλυμπιάς* 'female Olympian', and if he avoids it thus in the adjective one might expect him to avoid it similarly in *Ὀλυμπία* and in other formations with *Ὀλυμπι-* which refer to Olympia and its games. And so he does. There are 36 instances in all:¹¹ in 27 all the syllables in responsion with Ὀλ- are short, in 3 more in aeolic metres at least one is short;¹² in 1 more (*P.* 7. 15) apparently a short Ὀλ-, though there is no responsion to confirm this. That leaves 5. In 3 of these the first syllable occupies a dactylo-epitrite anceps in which a short would be permissible: our present two in the first strophe or epode, *O.* 7. 10 in responsion with a short anceps in the first strophe. In the remaining 2 the first syllable occupies, in an aeolic ode, an element which is elsewhere long; but in each case the element is theoretically anceps, and in each case there is good analogy for its being anceps in practice. One is *N.* 4. 75, at the beginning of a verse, where the Ὀλ- is in responsion with 11 longs (vv. 3 etc.); the legitimacy of the responsion | 'υ'- $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$. . . is guaranteed by the similar responsion at the similar beginnings of the two preceding verses, 1 etc. | 'υ'- $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$. . . (2 long, 10 short) and 2 etc. | 'υ'- $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$. . . (8 long, 2 mute-and-liquid, 1 short, 1 corrupt). The other is *O.* 4. 8-9 | Ὀλυμπιονίκαν | δέξαι κτλ., in responsion with 17-18 | οὐ ψεύδει τέρξω | λόγον κτλ. (and with this alone: there is only the one triad): with Snell's verse-division (as marked) 8 ~ 17 | $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ | . . .; if the whole is regarded (as I should prefer) as a single verse, it will incorporate a duplicate of *P.* 10. 13 etc., where the first word of 13 is Ὀλυμπιονίκα and the Ὀλ- is in responsion with 2 shorts and 1 long:

⁹ 'Apparently' in instances where there is no responsion to confirm the scansion: fr. 36, *Pai.* 22. (b)6, *Dith.* 4. 37, *Thr.* 7. 15.

¹⁰ 'Apparently' in instances where there is no responsion to confirm the scansion: *Pai.* 21. 3 etc., fr. 75. 1, fr. 96. 3.

¹¹ They are: 17 *Ὀλυμπία*, 7 *Ὀλυμπιάς* 'Olympic festival', 1 *Ὀλυμπιάς* adjectival with *νίκα*, 8 *Ὀλυμπιονίκα*s, 3 *Ὀλυμπιονίκος*. The two instances of *Ὀλύμπιος* which refer to Olympia or the games I have left with the adjective.

¹² *O.* 13. 25 (5 short out of 9), *P.* 10. 13 (2 out of 3), *P.* 8. 36 (1 out of 4). In the last of these Snell prints *Ὀλύμπιαί* and in his metrical scheme indicates consistent long: erroneously, for at 76 the corresponding syllable is τὰ δ'.

O. 4 ||υ-υ- -υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-||

P. 10 ||υ-υ- -υ-υ-υ-||

It appears then that in all 5 instances where metre might be thought to call for *Oύλ-* the *Όλ-* is in fact perfectly legitimate, and I have no doubt that *Όλ-* is to be read in all of them. Only once in the Pindaric corpus do I suppose *Oύλυμπία* to occur, and that is in the supposititious *O. 5*: of the five different verses in the triad, three (occurring between them twelve times) begin |---υ-υ-υ- . . ., and a fourth (with six occurrences) begins |---υ- . . .; in all 18 instances, unless in v. 2, the second syllable is long, and I suppose it to be long there also, | τῶν *Oύλυμπία* *Ωκεανού θύγατερ κτλ.* The poet of this ode has unpindaric prosody at 8 καί ὄν (Pindar would scan καῖ (F)όν) and 18 ῥέοντα (F)Ἰδαίων;¹³ this *Oύλυμπία* will make a third instance.

O. 7. 1: (ἀ)φνε(ἀς), not (ἀ)φνει(ἀς). Of Pindar's seven instances of the word, five are certainly ἀφνεός; in the other two (this and fr. 122. 2) the disputed syllable occupies an anceps in the first stanza of a dactylo-epitrite ode. In epic, always ἀφνειός (29 Homer, 2 hymns, 6 Hesiod); thereafter only ἀφνεός in early elegy (Sol. 34. 1, Thgn. 188, 559), lyric (Bacch., four times), and tragedy (three times), until ἀφνειός reappears in Hellenistic poetry. Pindar does not make use of specifically epic εἰ for ε before a vowel: no instance of χρύσειος, χάλκειος, πείω, κρείων, etc.; I do not doubt that to his ear the εἰ in the purely literary ἀφνειός was on a par with these, and equally to be avoided.¹⁴

O. 7. 15: (Ἄλ)φε(ῶι), not (Ἄλ)φει(ῶι). Pindar has the name thirteen times elsewhere,¹⁵ and always with ε (once indeed with synizesis, *O. 9. 18*). This time the εἰ is not only epic (7 Homer, 5 hymns, 2 Hesiod) but normal in later Greek,¹⁶ and it is strange that Pindar should so prefer the ε; but prefer it he

¹³ But at 16, where the manuscripts have εὖ δὲ (or δ') ἔχοντες, the sense calls not for Hermann's unpindaric ἦν δ' ἔχοντες but for Boeckh's εὖ δὲ τυχόντες. <On the 'unpindaric' scansions in *O. 5* cf. chapter 3 above.>

¹⁴ These forms are likely to have different origins: πείω a mere metrical lengthening of πνε(ε)ω; χάλκειος perhaps a different treatment (for metre's sake?) of the -ε-γο- that was original in χάλκεος; ἀφνειός supposed to be ἀφνε(ς)ιος from ἄφ(ε)νος, like ὄρε(ς)ιος > ὄρειος from ὄρος. But it may be thought that to Pindar's unphilological ear they all seemed merely an arbitrary substitution, for metre's sake, of a long vowel for a short. This presupposes, in so far as the εἰ was in any instance diphthongal in origin, that the analogy of mere lengthenings had caused the diphthong in these purely literary forms to give way to a lengthened ε̄ (from which it was in any case already indistinguishable in many dialects); the supposition does not seem unreasonable.

¹⁵ I do not include the Ἄλφεόν of the supposititious *O. 5*; though I include it in n. 17 below, where I am talking not about Pindar but about his manuscripts.

¹⁶ Though ε competes with it in poetry: 4 Bacchylides, 3 Euripides, 1 Theokritos (all three have εἰ as well); 1 Telesilla.

does, and I suppose short anceps here in a permitted place to be a great deal likelier than a unique divergence from his normal scansion.¹⁷

O. 7. 16: for (ἄποι)να κ(αί) see below, on I. 4. 14.

O. 8. 1: Ὀλ(υμπία); see above, on O. 3. 15.

O. 13. 20: (ἔν)τεcc(ιν), not (ἔν)τεcc(ιν). In the dative plural of neuter nouns in -οc Pindar elsewhere has -εcci(ν) 37 times, -εccι(ν) 7 times (and -έεccιν once); but 6 of the 7 instances of -εccι(ν) occur where the preceding syllable is short (βέλεccιν, ἔπεccιν, θάλεccιν, νέφεccι, πελάγεccι, τεμένεccι), and where as here the preceding syllable is long the figures are 30 -εcci(ν), 1 -εccι (P. 9. 63 χείλεccι; also 1 -έεccιν, N. 3. 15 ἐλεγχέεccιν).¹⁸ Of ἔντεccι(ν) itself Pindar has 6 other instances; it is also the only form in Homer (7 times), and indeed I can find no instance of ἔντεccι(ν) in any author. From all this I think it quite safe

¹⁷ A word about ἀφνεός and Ἀλφεός in Pindar's manuscripts. (I ignore the two instances in fragments, 122. 2 ἀφνε(ι)ῶι and 124. 8 ἀφνεός, both cited by Athenaios with ει.) Wherever ε might be thought metrically certain, the manuscripts are united in ε (4 ἀφνεός, 13 Ἀλφεός); but in the two metrically disputable instances in O. 7 they are divided, with ε in A but ει in others. It might be argued that a variant so selective in its appearances is to be taken seriously: that to Pindar's ear the ει of the forms ἀφνειός, Ἀλφειός, was a true diphthong, spelt by him with EI not E; and that the manuscript ει in the only two places where metre might admit it is a genuine survival of Pindar's spelling (so that we should read ἀφνειᾶc and Ἀλφειῶι). It might be argued, but I should not believe it. Another explanation is possible: that Pindar intended ε everywhere, writing it of course E, and that someone (presumably in antiquity) substituted the more familiar ει in the few places where metre allowed a long and might be thought indeed to prefer it. And this hypothesis is supported by the situation at the one place I have so far ignored in this note: O. 9. 17–18 *cón τε Κασταλία παρὰ ἥ Ἀλφεοῦ τε ῥέεθρον*. This *παρὰ ἥ Ἀλφεοῦ* corresponds to υ–||– in the seven other instances in the ode, with verse-end at || guaranteed by hiatus or *brevis in longo* in four of them; therefore Ἀλφεοῦ is —, with synizesis and so necessarily -εοῦ. But the manuscripts, whose colometry (going back to Aristophanes of Byzantium) happens here to coincide with Pindar's verses, present instead the impossible *παρ' ἀλφε(ι)οῦ* (impossible since it puts verse-end in mid-word; I have no doubt it goes back to Aristophanes himself, who blundered about in total ignorance of the nature of a verse and of the criteria for establishing its end). With *παρ' Ἀλφεοῦ* so divided, Ἀλφεοῦ is trisyllabic; -εοῦ then gives inexact responson, -ειοῦ exact. Of the manuscripts, AC have -ειοῦ (the others -εοῦ): this -ειοῦ has been introduced, mistakenly, in a place where the metre, as it was supposed to be, allowed the long and might indeed have been thought to prefer it. I have no doubt that at O. 7. 4 and 15 it was introduced in just the same way and just as mistakenly.

Two explanations. At O. 1. 92 I count as ἀλφεοῦ A's ἀλφαιοῦ corrected to -ειοῦ: αι is a misspelling of ε not ει, but was corrected (when the mistake was noticed) to the familiar ει. At O. 9. 17–18 my statement that the manuscripts divide *παρ' Ἀλφε(ι)οῦ* is based not on the reports of editors but on an inference (I think a secure one) from early printed texts and the metrical scholia.

¹⁸ Similarly with the much less common dative plural of adjectives in -ής: when the preceding syllable is short, either -έci(ν) (*κυργενέciν*) or -έccι(ν) (*εὔμενέccι; ?τηλεφανέccι*); when the preceding syllable is long, only -έci(ν) (*ἀλαθέcιν, εὔτειχέcιν, τηλαυγέcιν*) or -έεccι(ν) (*μεγαλοκευθέεccιν*).

to conclude that ἔντεσις should return to the text from which Moschopoulos expelled it.¹⁹

P. 4. 8: (ἀρ)γιν(όεντι); so the manuscripts, and so certainly Pindar, with short anceps (for the synizesis of -οε- cf. O. 9. 58 Ὀπρόεντος). Editors have engaged themselves, inexplicably, in corrupting (ἀργάεντι, ἀργεννόεντι) what is faultless: the word is Homeric (Il. 2. 647 ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον, 656 ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον),²⁰ with the same ῖ as in ἀργικέραυτος, ἀργιόδοτες.²¹

N. 9. 2: (νεο)κτίτ(αν) is my correction of the (νεο)κτίτ(αν) of the manuscripts. Its purpose is to free from anomaly an indisputable short anceps in a later stanza; I defer discussion of it therefore until section D.

I. 4. 14: (ἐγένον)το, χ(αλκίεω) is produced by the conflation of what are printed by editors generally as separate verses, and so is O. 7. 16 (ἄποι)να κ(αί); I have (as I shall say in a moment) good reason for the conflation, and I ought perhaps to have let the same reason prevail in another instance, N. 8. 16 (ἄγαλ)μα· σ(ύν). These three are not the only places where short anceps in the first strophe or epode might be produced in this way: there are four others as well, and it will be convenient if I deal with all seven together.

In none of the seven is there any guarantee of verse-end: neither hiatus in any corresponding instance nor *anceps iuxta anceps* (the other certain criterion, *brevis in longo*, is of course inapplicable to a pendant ending). Of the less certain criteria, the first that one should apply is verse-length: nowhere in the dactylo-epitrite epinikia, with a total of about 280 to 290 different verses,²² is it necessary to assume a verse of more than 30 syllables; and only in five places is it necessary to assume a verse of more than 24. Now three of the seven conflations would result in a verse of more than 30 syllables, and these three I think it safe to reject: O. 8. 2 (ἄν)δρες (ἐμπύροις), giving 33 syllables; N. 10. 17 (Ὀλυμ)πον (ἄλοχος), giving 38; I. 4. 1 (κέλευ)θος (ῶ), giving 31. A fourth I reject with less confidence: O. 12. 13–14 (in the sole epode) has 27 syllables if undivided, and so is most likely to be divided at one or both of the places which I mark, νῆ Φιλάνορος, ἦ τοι καὶ τεά κεν | ἐνδομάχας ἄτ' ἀλέκτωρ | κυγγόνοι παρ' ἑστία; if not divided after κεν it will have short anceps, (τεά) κεν (ἐνδομάχας). I see no compelling reason for

¹⁹ I say 'expelled' because it is in fact the reading of the manuscripts. But that reading is not to be called in evidence: in all seven instances in the epinikia of -(ε)εcci(v) from nouns in -οc and adjectives in -ής, -(ε)εcci(v) appears either as a variant or (N. 7. 94) as the only reading. (I take my facts from Mommsen: Turyn, p. xiii, expressly excludes such variations from his apparatus.)

²⁰ And is found also in a historical place-name, the islands called (with the Attic contraction) Ἀργινούσαι. In literature, also *h. Hom.* 19. 12 ἀργινόεντα . . . οὔρεα, and (of things other than places) *Ap. Rh.* 2. 738 ἀργινόεσσαν . . . πάχνην, 4. 1607 ἀργινόεντα . . . χαλινά.

²¹ See Risch, *Wortbildung d. hom. Sprache*, 154: a lengthening of *ἀργινός (as φαιδιμοίεος φαίδιμος), with *ἀργινός: ἀργι- :: πυκινός: πυκι(μηδής).

²² I cannot give an exact number: verse-division is not always secure.

preferring one division to the other: I suppose that *ceteris paribus* Pindar would not import short anceps, but in this case I have no means of telling whether *cetera* were in fact *paria*; I have equated my ignorance with a presumption that they were, but I may well be quite wrong.

Three possible instances remain: the three from which I started, *O.* 7. 16 (28 syllables if conflated), *I.* 4. 14 (15 syllables), *N.* 8. 16 (28 syllables, with redivision). These three belong together: they form, as customarily divided, three of the only four exceptions to a rule which I shall establish in part II of this paper, that except in the ending . . . –υ– | no verse in Pindar's dactylo-epitrite epinikia ends in a short vowel not followed by a final consonant. In these three instances, therefore, there is a strong argument in favour of conflation; and in none of the three would the verse formed by the conflation be impossibly long. I shall consider the question in more detail in Part II, where I shall give my reasons for accepting the conflation in *O.* 7 and *I.* 4 but rejecting it in *N.* 8.

I come now to the disputable instances which I regard as long. There are 20 of them; the great majority are disputable only in theory.²³

First, the 8 instances where a short vowel is followed by mute-and-liquid. Before these combinations Pindar has predominantly long scansion when they are internal and very commonly long scansion when they are initial; and I think it safe to assume that we have long anceps in every case. I give the instances, and append to each the figures for the two scansions (long: short) for that combination of consonants in that position, internal or initial, elsewhere in the epinikia: *O.* 6. 15 νεκρ(ῶν) [63:34]; 8. 3 τεκμ(αιρόμενοι) [8:10]; 11. 15 Λοκρ(ῶν) [63:34]; 12. 16 (ἀντιάνει)ρα Κν(ωσίας) [3:1]; *P.* 4. 18 δίφρ(ους) [55:14]; 23 εἰκλ(αγξέ) [43:29]; 9. 6 δίφρ(ωι) [55:14]; *N.* 8. 15 μίτρ(αν) [118:86].

I will deal with the other twelve instances in sequence; except that when the same point is at issue in more instances than one I shall deal with the later instances together with the first in sequence.

O. 3. 1: (φιλο)ξέιν(ους), not –ξέιν–; similarly *O.* 11. 17 (φυγό)ξέιν(ον), *N.* 9. 2 ξέιν(ων). Pindar admits the long form with complete freedom; about three-fifths of his instances are ξέιν- and two-fifths ξέιν-.²⁴

²³ I count as certainly long, and not even in theory disputable: (a) datives such as *P.* 9. 20 (ἀκόν)τεσσ(ω), since forms like ἀνάκτεσσ(ω) (*Od.* 15. 557) have only a precarious existence in literature; (b) *I.* 1. 16 (Καστορεί)ωι (ῆ), where there is hiatus and not correption (correption cannot give a short in the sequence –υ–; the 'apparent exceptions' in West, *Greek Metre*, 11 n. 17, are all resolvable.

²⁴ About 36 and 24 respectively; 'about' because one or two instances in fragments are not secure. My figures exclude the three instances in question here, but include instances of ξέιν- in dactylo-epitrite ancipitia where a short would be anomalous. They exclude also proper names.

O. 6. 6 and N. 1. 2: (Cυρα)κοσ(âv), or another form with long penult; not (Cυρα)κοσ(âv) with short penult, like the Cυράκοσαι that is printed at P. 2. 1. This last indeed seems to be the only appearance of a short penult in the whole of Greek literature;²⁵ and so far from being imitated it should itself be abolished. What has kept it in the text, in almost every edition from the Aldine to the present day, is mere illusion (abetted, of course, by inertia): an illusion not of manuscript authority (for it has none²⁶) but of metrical necessity, fostered by the fact that all seven corresponding syllables are short. But there is no metrical necessity: the position is theoretically anceps; the ode has υ in three other places; and υ to admit a proper name is especially easy (so also 21 Ἰξίονα in resposion with threefold υ—υ).

Wherever I can check the quantity of the penult in verse it is long: O. 6. 92 and P. 3. 70, an anceps in dactylo-epitrites where a short would be anomalous; Bacch. 5. 184, another such anceps in a position where Bacchylides would not ordinarily admit a short (*Hermes* 84 [1956], 248–51 <= below, chapter 14>); Kerkidas, fr. 14 Powell <= 65 Lomiento>, a scazon ending Cυρακούσαι; twice in hexameters, Hermippos fr. 63. 9 K.–A., Archastratos SH 142. 1.²⁷

I am confident that Pindar's only form had a long penult; but what was that form? His manuscripts have mostly -κοσ-, but (except in N. 1) a variant -κουσ- is respectably attested;²⁸ a papyrus has -κουσ- at O. 6. 92. I find it hard to explain the manuscript -κοσ- except as a transliteration of Pindar's KOCC (with -κουσ-)—a banalization; but if he wrote KOCC, did he mean the O to be short (our -κοσ-) or long (our -κουσ-)? I should expect the latter: there is a good deal of external evidence for the use of -κουσ-²⁹ and none for the use of -κοσ-; and linguistically I do not see how the form -κοσ- could be supposed to have arisen.

The name is evidently connected with that of a λίμνη near the city, called

²⁵ I disregard Cυράκοσαι printed in the excerpts from the later books of Diodoros (e.g. 21. 8, 22. 8. 1); on the misspellings in these excerpts see L. Dindorf's preface to his <*Diodori Bibliotheca Historica* (Leipzig 1867–8),> vol. iv, pp. iii–iv.

²⁶ Mommsen reports -κοσ- only from the Thoman Δ, Cυράκοσαι (its -κοσ- no more authentic than its -ρρ-). Thoman manuscripts have -κοσ- also at O. 6. 6 and 92.

²⁷ And possibly, but not probably, Euphorion SH 413 i 3] . . . κουσση.

²⁸ In A (O. 6) and/or one or more of the ζ manuscripts.

²⁹ In inscriptions and papyri all the instances I have found (I do not assert that there are no others) are -κουσ-. Inscriptions: IG ii². 384 (end of iv a.; the only occurrence of the name in Attic inscriptions); regularly in the Parian Marble (*FGrHist* 239; 264/3 BC). Papyri (with the centuries to which they are assigned by their editors): Pi. O. 6. 92 (v or vi p.); Bacch. 5. 84 (late ii or early iii p.); a historian (Douris?) *P. Oxy.* 2399. 11 (i a.). Medieval tradition: in some authors -κουσ- is a well-attested variant (Herodotos, Strabo; perhaps others whom I have not checked, or whose editors do not report such things).

Κυρακῶ.³⁰ That name is preserved only by Stephanos of Byzantion (under *Κυράκουσαι*), καὶ λίμνη ἥτις Κυρακῶ καλεῖται; the derivation of city-name from lake-name is asserted expressly by ps.-Skymnos (see n. 30) and presumably by Douris *FGrHist* 76 F 59 (= Steph. Byz. *Ἀκράγαντες*). Accepting the derivation, Kretschmer (*Glotta* 14 [1923], 98 f.), supposes the city-name to have been formed from *Κυρακῶ* plus *-ντζαι* (fem. pl. of *-ντ-*), i.e. *Κυρακῶντζαι Κυράκουσαι*; that would of course give *-c-* not *-cc-* (as e.g. *φερ-οντζα φέρουσα*). I had rather think of *Κυρακόεσσαι Κυράκουσαι*: the suffix *-ει/-εσσα* is common in place names, especially those formed from the names of flora or fauna (e.g. *Κελινοῦς, Ὀφιοῦσσα, Πιτυνοῦσαι, Πιθηκοῦσαι*), and I suppose that *κυρακ-* (with whatever termination) might be the Sikel name for a plant that was common there. One thinks of the papyrus plant that is found there now; if it was there then, it would not be unsuitable.

O. 8. 11: (ἔ)σπητ', not (ἔ)σπετ' (the manuscripts are divided);³¹ μέγα τοι κλέος αἰεὶ | ὠιτινὶ σὸν γέρας ἔσπητ' ἀγλαόν. The aorist subjunctive is normal: in sentences of similar content cf. O. 3. 13 θεόμοροι νίσοντ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους αἰοδαί, | ὠιτινὶ . . . | . . . Ἑλλανοδίκας . . . | ἀμφὶ κόμαισι βάλημι γλαυκόχροα κόσμον ἐλαίας;³² P. 10. 24 ὑμνητὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίνεταί σοφοῖς | ὅς ἂν . . . | τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλημι, I. 1. 50 ὅς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισι ἢ πολεμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος ἄβρόν, | εὐαγορηθεὶς κέρδος ὕψιστον δέκεται, 7. 27 ἴστω . . . ὅστις . . . χάλαζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται | . . . μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων;³³ at N. 11. 13 εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφῆι παραμεύεσται ἄλλους | ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν, | θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιστελλῶν μέλη κτλ. I am confident that the first subjunctive *παραμεύεσται* is followed by a second, *ἐπιδείξειμι* (Breyer, Gildersleeve). Only once does Pindar have an aorist indicative, I. 5. 9 ποθεινὸν | κλέος ἔπραξαν, ὄντιν' ἀθροοὶ στέφανοι | . . . ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν; but there the

³⁰ Behind the north-western shore of the Great Harbour, extending coastwise for two to three kilometres, as far as the western outskirts of the city in the north, is a tract of low alluvial land which in antiquity was what I shall call a fen (*OED* 'low land covered wholly or partially with shallow water, or subject to frequent inundations; a tract of such land, a marsh'). Thucydides, referring to different parts of it, says now *ἐλος* (6. 101. 1–3), now *λίμνη* (6. 66. 1, 7. 53. 2, 54). In one place (7. 53. 2) he speaks of *λίμνη ἢ Λυσιμέλεια καλουμένη*, and Theokritos (16. 84) treats *Lysimeleia* as a notable feature of the topography, calling Syracuse *Ἐφυραίων* | . . . μέγα ἄστυ παρ' ὕδασι *Λυσιμελείας*. It is evidently this fen, or part of it, that is *Κυρακῶ*; and *Κυρακῶ* will be the name implied by ps.-Skymnos 281–2 *ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόρου λίμνης λαβοῦσας τοῦνομα | τὰς νῦν Κυρακούσας παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένας*.

³¹ I mention the manuscripts since for once there is a theoretical possibility of their reflecting Pindar's intention: if he used *scriptio plena* he would have distinguished the two, *HEΣΠIETAI* and *HEΣΠIETO*. If he elided, both were *HEΣΠIET*.

³² The *ἄνθρωποι* are the men celebrated in the songs (picked up by *ὠιτινὶ κτλ.*), not the men who hear them: this is evident (or should be) from the opposition with *θεόμοροι*.

³³ I do not know whether anyone has yet observed (and I know that many have not) that *ἀμύνεται* is aorist subjunctive, with the short vowel proper to the subjunctive of a sigmatic aorist (**ἀμύν-* > *ἀμύν-*); cf. *Il.* 13. 465 *ἐπαμύνομεν*.

leading verb is aorist, which makes all the difference. Morphologically, ἔσπητ(αι) is perfectly in order: no reduplication at *P.* 4. 40 σπομέναν, but reduplication at *I.* 6. 17 <έ>σπέσθαι,³⁴ 5. 36 ἐσπόμενοι, and (I am confident) *O.* 9. 83 ἔσποιτο, *P.* 10. 17 ἔ<σ>ποιτο;³⁵ elision of verbal -αι (-μαι, -ται, -νται, -σθαι) 24 times elsewhere in the epinikia.

O. 11. 2: (ἔ)στιν δ', not (ἔ)στι δ'. Pindar very commonly uses paragogic ν to produce a long syllable: in the dactylo-epitrite epinikia over 130 times; 30 times the syllable is an anceps which would be anomalous if short.

O. 12. 16: ἄμ(ερεε) with long anceps. Of verbs beginning with metrically short ἄ-, I find 19 past indicatives with the temporal augment, 19 without.

O. 12. 19 (last verse of the epode): ὀμιλέων with synizesis and anceps suppressed rather than (ὀμ)λέ(ων) with short anceps. Certainly Pindar has verbal -εω(ν) much more often disyllabic (41 times) than monosyllabic (9 times);³⁶ on the other hand he affects the suppression of an anceps towards the end of a dactylo-epitrite stanza, and especially of an epode: of the 43 other stanzas in the epinikia, 17 have one or more ancipitia suppressed in the final verse and 9 others in the penultimate verse; of the 20 other epodes, 9 and 5.³⁷

O. 13. 20: (ίπ)πεί(οις), not (ίπ)πί(οις). Pindar has ίππι- more often (6 times), but twice ίππει- (*O.* 13. 68, *N.* 9. 22: each time the second syllable

³⁴ In dactylo-epitrites, Κλωθὸ κακινγήτας τε προσενέπω <έ>σπέσθαι κλυταῖς | ἀνδρὸς φίλου Μοίρας ἔφετμαῖς: Pauw's correction of the unmetrical σπέσθαι is certain.—There was a time when the English-speaking world learnt its metre from books written in German. It comes therefore as a shock to find Thummer defending the responsion -ω-ω-ω- (= D!) by a reference to the antiquated rubbish in Farnell, and objecting to the correction -ῶ-έσπ- (which he calls 'Hiat', and supposes to be the same phenomenon that he finds in *Ἡροδότῳ* ἔπορεν) on the ground that unlike Ὀλυμπιῶν Αἴγιναν and ἐγὼ Ἡροδότῳ and Ἀλφειὺν ἔρνεσι it involves no proper name; presumably he had not yet formulated the rule which this implies when he made no comment on *I.* 1. 11 στρατῶν ἐξ ἀέθλων and 4. 47 αἰετῶν ἄ τ', and had forgotten it by the time he came to 8. 66 πατραδελφεῶν ἄλικων.

³⁵ At *O.* 9. 83 and *P.* 10. 17 (both aeolic) the first syllable of ἔ(σ)ποιτ' occupies a theoretical anceps that elsewhere (three time in each ode) is long; in *O.* 9 variants ἔσπ- and ἔπ-, in *P.* 10 ἔπ- codd., ἔσπ- Moschopoulos.

To deny the reduplicated forms to Pindar on linguistic grounds is neither practicable nor justifiable: Maas, *Responsionsfreiheiten*, i. 20, 'gesetzt selbst, die reduplizierten Formen bei Homer beruhen auf falscher Worttrennung, so wüssten wir damit noch nicht, wie Pindar den Homer interpungierte'.

³⁶ I disregard (a) instances with no responsion to guarantee the scansion, (b) verbal forms (and their compounds) with no syllables preceding the -έω(ν), viz. (ἀσπ)πλέων, (ἀμ)πνέων, τρέω, χέων. At *N.* 7. 33, where the manuscripts have βραθῶν by mistake for a participle, I suppose that participle to be βραθῶν (sic: Farnell's βραθῶν is the wrong spelling) and not βραθέων: the denominative from βραθός should in Pindar be -θῶ (cf. his ἀντιξοέω, ἐπακοέω, καταφυλλοροέω) and not the -θέω to which it was cut down in Ionic and Attic (Schwyzer, i. 252).

³⁷ The figures are based on Snell's colometry; with different colometry one might add one or two or subtract one or two. I add that of the 50 instances of suppressed anceps in the dactylo-epitrite epinikia 36 occur in the last two verses of a stanza.

occupies a dactylo-epitrite anceps in which a short would be anomalous); no such preference therefore for *ἴππ-* that we should expect it here.³⁸

P. 4. 7: *κτίcc(ειεν)*, not *κτίc(ειεν)*. Pindar uses the *-cc-* freely (4 *κτιcc-*, 3 *κτιc-*; similarly 1 *cχιcc-*, 1 *cχιc-*). From other verbs, *ἀκοντιcc-*, *θεμιcc-*, *ὠκιcc-*; often Pindar's long form is not *-icc-* but *-ιξ-*, and this he uses with equal freedom (4 *κομιξ-*, 5 *κομιc-*).

I. 4. 15: *Ἄρ(ει)*, not *Ἄρ(cει)*. Pindar admits either indifferently.³⁹

B. Short anceps in later stanzas echoing short in the first strophe or epode

I list the instances of this phenomenon, 56 in number. First, the reference of the short anceps in the first strophe or epode (cited above in section A); then s(trophe), e(pode), m(onostrophic ode), and in brackets the number of short ancipitia (1/9 = one out of nine) in later stanzas. Then a list of all corresponding ancipitia in later stanzas: if short, cited; if long, line-number only; if disputable, marked * and discussed below. ‡ = proper name (not used if name is cited).

- O. 7. 4 s (1/9): 10* *Ἵλ(υμπίαι)*, 23, 29, 42, 48, 61, 67, 80, 86‡.
17 e (4/4): 36 *πατ(έρος)*, 55 *χθόν(α)*, 74* (*Ἰα*)*λυc(όν)*, 93 (*Καλλιάνα*)*κτος* (*Ἐρατιδάν*).
11. 4 s (1/1): 10* *ἀν(ήρ)*.
6 s (1/1): 12 (*Ἀγηςίδα*)*με π(υγμαχίας)*.
- P. 9. 3 s (9/9): 11 *ἐφ(απτομένα)*, 28 (*ἐγ*)*χέ(ων)*, 36 *κλυτ(άν)*, 53 (*ἐ*)*ξοχ(ον)*, 62 *φίλ(αc)*, 78 *κοφ(οίc)*, 86 *κρατ(ησίμαχον)*, 103 (*ἐπιχω*)*ρί(οιc)*, 111 *πατ(ήρ)*.
21 e (1/4): 46, 71‡, 96, 121 (*Ἄλε*)*ξίδ(αμος)*.
- N. 5. 2 s (5/5): 8* *ξέν(ων)*, 20* *ἐλ(αφρόν)*, 26 *δόλ(ωι)*, 38 *θε(όν)*, 44 *φίλ(ηc')*.
13 e (1/2): 31, 49 *ἐπ(αύρεο)*.
8. 5 s (1/5): 10, 22*, 27‡, 39, 44 *Μέγ(ᾱ)*.
5 s (3/5): 10 (*ἀνα*)*ξί(αιc)*, 22* (*χειρόνεc*)*ci δ'*, 27 *φόν(ωι)*, 39, 44.

³⁸ But let no one call in evidence the fact that the manuscripts have *ἴππει-*; they have it in six other places, five times unanimously, and in four of the six *ἴππει-* is guaranteed by metre. Nor is it relevant that with *ἴπποιc* as well as *ἔντεciv* (see above) there would be two short ancipitia in a single verse: this happens five times (P. 9. 21, N. 5. 13, 8. 5, I. 4. 1, 5, 2; I shall argue for a sixth at O. 7. 16–17), and is evidently neither avoided by Pindar nor affected by him.

³⁹ 3 *Ἄρει*, 2 *Ἄρεος*; 3 *Ἄρει*, 4 *Ἄρηc*. At I. 8. 37 I read, following Bury, <*ἄνδρ*> *Ἄρει χέ{ι}ραc ἐναλίγκιον στεροπαίcι τ' ἀκμὰν ποδῶν*. Not, with the commonly accepted transposition, *χειραc Ἄρεί <τ> ἐναλίγκιον κτλ*: the misplaced *τε* is intolerable. And <*ἄνδρ*> is very much in point, when his *χέρεc* are like a god's and his feet like lightning.

- 13 e (1/2): 30 νε(οκτόνωι), 47.
 16 e (2/2): 33 (δολο)φραδ(ής), 50 (ῆν) γε μ(άν).
 9. 2 m (2/10): 7, 12, 17‡, 22*, 27, 32 (έν)τί τ(οι), 37, 42‡, 47* (οὐ)κέτ', 52.
 10. 1 s (1/9): 7, 19, 25‡, 37, 43, 55, 61, 73 βί(αν), 79.
 4 s (3/9): 10* (γυναι)ξί κ(αλλικόμοισιν), 22 (παλαι)σμ(άτ)ων), 28, 40 (Ἄντία) τε ε(ύγγονος), 46, 58, 64, 76, 82.
 6 s (1/9): 12, 24 (Θεαί)ος (εὐφόρων), 30, 42‡, 48*, 60*, 66, 78, 84‡.
 I. 1. 2 s (1/7): 8, 19, 25, 36, 42 (δαπάναις) τε κ(αί), 53, 59.
 4. 2 s (4/9): 8, 20‡, 26 (Cικυῶ)νος (ᾠπασεν), 38 (ῥά)βδον (ἔφρασεν), 44 ἐπ(άξιον), 56, 62, 3. 2, 3. 8* (χαρίτεσ)σι β(αστάσαι).
 14 e (1/4): 32, 50, 86 (ἔρ)γον· (ἐνθα), 3. 14.
 17 e (1/4): 35, 53, 71, 3. 17 (τετρασ)ρι(άν).
 5. 1 s (4/5): 7 (ἀγω)νί(οις), 22 (εὐ)νομ(ον), 28 χρόν(ον), 43‡, 49 (πολυ)φθόρ(ωι).
 2 s (2/5): 8 (ἔπρα)ξεν, (ὄντυ'), 23, 29* (ἔκα)τι πρ(όσβαλον), 44, 50.
 2 s (3/5): 8 (ἀ)θρό(οι), 23 (κέλευ)θον (άν), 29 εεβ(ιζόμενοι), 44, 50.
 19 e (2/2): 40 (στράταρ)χον (Αἰθιόπων), 61 (δε)ξι(όν).
 6. 22 e (1/2): 47 περ(ιπλανᾶται), 72.

Two tendencies are apparent:

(a) Echoing short anceps tends to recur. Of the 73 places with short anceps in the first strophe or epode, there is echoing short anceps in 25. In two of these (in O. 11, with its single triad) there is nowhere for echoing short anceps to recur; in the other 23 it occurs as follows (3/9 means 'in three out of the nine possible instances'⁴⁰):

- consistently: 5 places (9/9, 5/5, 4/4, 2/2, 2/2);
 in effect consistently (one long in a proper name): 1 place (4/5);
 more than once: 6 places (4/9, 3/5, 3/5, 3/9, 2/5, 2/10);
 once only: 11 places (1 out of 2, 2, 2, 4, 4, 4, 5, 7, 9, 9, 9).

(b) Echoing short anceps occurs more readily in earlier stanzas than in later: ⁴¹

stanza:	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
proportion:	15/15	11/23	9/18	7/18	6/14	2/8	1/8	2/7	3/7	0/1
percentage:	60	48	50	39	43	25	13	29	43	0

⁴⁰ These figures do not include the first strophe or epode; so that e.g. 3/9, 'echoing short anceps in 3 of the 9 possible instances', is equivalent to 'short anceps 4 times (including the first strophe) in the 10 strophes or antistrophes'.

⁴¹ These figures indicate only the relative frequency of echoing short anceps in the different stanzas, and not its absolute probability.

(By '4' I mean the fourth of the stanzas in responsion: in a triadic ode, the antistrophe of the second triad or the epode of the fourth. By '9/18' I mean that of the 25 places with echoing short anceps 18 have a fourth stanza in which it might appear, and that it does appear in 9, or 50 per cent.)

I proceed now to consider what I have called in my table the 'disputable' instances: instances, that is, where either short or long scansion would be theoretically possible. There are fourteen of them; I have made decisions, of which I shall now render account, about their quantity (ten short, four long), and have included them, scanned in accordance with my decisions, in my figures above.⁴²

O. 7. 10: Ὀ(λυμπίαι); I have argued already, under A, that we should nowhere credit Pindar with *Ὀδλυμπία*.

O. 7. 74: for (Ἰά)λυ(ον) two scansions come into question, *ĩāļũc-* as *Il.* 2. 656 *Λίνδον Ἰήλυσον τε*, and *ĩāļũc-* as *Ov. Met.* 7. 365 *et Ialysios Telchinas*, *Dion. Per.* 505 *Ῥόδος ἐστίν, Ἰηλυσιῶν πέδον ἀνδρῶν*. I have no doubt that the second is to be accepted, with consistent short *υ* throughout the ode; for this scansion must be supposed also at *Anakr. PMG* 349 *οἶτος δηῦτ' Ἰηλυσιῶν | τίλλει τοὺς κυανὰς πιδας*. Metre there would admit either *ĩāļũc-* (giving two identical glyconics) or *ĩñļũc-* (giving two different glyconics, just as *Anakr. PMG* 357. 4–5 *συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφεται | δ' ὑψηλὰς ὀρέων κορυφάς*; but *ĩāļũc-* is ruled out by its *ĩ*, since a long second syllable is indicated not merely by the agreement of Homer, Pindar, Ovid, and Dionysios, but by its appearance as *η* in Ionic and Attic (*Hdt.* 1. 144. 3, *Th.* 8. 44. 2, and above all the Athenian tribute-lists, which have always, in the old Attic alphabet, *ιελυσιοι = Ἰηλυσιοι*).⁴³ Irrelevant to our choice is the *ĩāļũc-* in an epigram by an unknown Dionysios (*AP* 7. 716. 1 = Gow–Page, *HE* 1447), *ὄκοι πόλιν Ἰαλυσοῖο | ναίωμεν*.⁴⁴ Relevant, but corrupt, is the dactylo-epitrite skolion (*PMG* 727) of Timokreon of Ialysos, written not more than fifteen years before Pindar's ode, with 7 *εἰς πατρίδα Ἰαλυσόν ~ 3 ἀνδρ' ἱερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν*.⁴⁵ not (with *ω*) *εἰς πατρίδ' ἰαλυσόν*; not (with *ᾶ*) *εἰς πατρίαν ἰᾶλῦσόν*; I

⁴² In four of the ten instances my decision for a short is based simply on the tendency shown by the figures; the figures not as I give them (I do not argue in a circle) but as they would be if I ignored the four instances altogether. Ignore them, and there is no great difference: (a) consistently, not 5/5 but 4/4; 'more than once', not 4/9, 3/5 (once), 3/9, but 3/8, 2/4, 2/8; (b) 2nd, 13/23 (57%); 3rd, 10/22 (45%); 10th, 2/6 (33%).

⁴³ The fragment of Anakreon is preserved in two citations in *Et. gen.*; one has *ἰηλυσιῶν*, the other *ἄλυσιῶν*.

⁴⁴ That the epigram is Hellenistic (and not later) is an inference from its occurrence in a solidly Meleagran section of the Anthology. In the heading *Διονυσίου Ῥοδίου* the ethnic tells us nothing; it may indeed be no more than an inference from the content of the epigram.

⁴⁵ A third instance of the verse (11) has its own difficulties of responsion.

suppose that Page will be right with *πατρίδ' ἰαλῦσον εἴω*, though this Homeric use of *εἴω* (as *Τλιον εἴω* etc.) is surprising.

O. 11. 10: I have little doubt that the *a* of *ἀ(νήρ)* is short: in the nominative singular Pindar elsewhere has it 30 times short to 6 times long;⁴⁶ and corresponding short ancipitia at 4 ~ 10 are perhaps supported to some extent by the corresponding short ancipitia at 6 ~ 12.

N. 5. 8 and 20: two disputable instances which if short will give consistent short anceps throughout the ode (the first strophe plus five echoes). First, 20: the manuscripts give short anceps with *ἐλ(αφρόν ὄρμάν)*, and I have no doubt that they are right, once their unmetrical *ἐλαφράν* is corrected with Erasmus Schmid to *ἐλαφρόν*. This *ἐλαφρόν* will be the only known instance of *ἐλαφρός* as feminine, and to avoid it Turyn (*De codicibus Pindaricis*, 88) transposed to *ὄρμάν ἐλαφράν*, giving thus (he does not remark on the metre) a long anceps *ὄρμ(άν)*. But there are a good many isolated instances in Greek poetry of normally three-termination adjectives treated as two-, or of two- treated as three-;⁴⁷ I would far sooner assume an instance here, disguised by an easy and indeed almost inevitable corruption, than avoid it at the cost of assuming an unlikely and entirely accidental transposition.⁴⁸ And it would be an odd coincidence that that accident should produce the illusion of short anceps at precisely the place where short anceps might have been expected. Second, 8: presumably *ξέν(ων)*. Normally, I have maintained, *ξεν-* is to be preferred in ancipitia; but here, with all corresponding ancipitia short, I cannot doubt that Pindar intended consistent short throughout the ode.

N. 8. 22: *ἐκλ(ών)*, corresponding to 5 (*ἀρειόν(ων)*), will be long. Pindar has *ἐκλ-* 30 times elsewhere: short three times certainly (O. 13. 100, P. 3. 66, N. 4. 95) and once uncertainly (O. 2. 19, corresponding to three shorts and one long, 99), but otherwise long (I count as long the few instances where it occupies an anceps which in corresponding stanzas is always long). Short scansion, that is, is rare; and here, where Pindar is not affecting short anceps

⁴⁶ The existence of *ἀνήρ* is overlooked in the summary at the head of Slater's article in his *Lexicon*: the instances are O. 3. 12, 14. 7, N. 2. 3, 3. 72, 9. 15, I. 4. 70. Pindar is even less hospitable to *ā-* in other cases: figures for *ἀνερ-/ἀνδρ-* are *-a* 2/21, *-oc* 0/10, *-ι* 1/15, *-ε* 1/11, *-ac* 0/10, *-ων* 3/60.

⁴⁷ *φανερός* for instance is uniquely feminine at E. *Ba.* 992, *ποθεινός* at E. *Hel.* 623. Pindar's tendency is rather to produce unique specifically feminine forms: *ἀβάταν ἄλα*, *ἀκωνήταν ἔχε*, *ἀμετρήτας ἄλός*, *πολυξέναν ἐν* (all to give him a long final syllable, just as *ἐλαφρόν* here will give him a short one).

⁴⁸ I do not say unparalleled. The two manuscripts are BD; I find in B (in O. and P., always with other manuscripts) and in BD together (in N. and I.) very similar transpositions of two words at the following places (see Douglas Young, *GRBS* 6 [1965], 256; I ignore a few instances of misplaced monosyllabic particles, pronouns, and prepositions): O. 6. 82, 7. 94, 10. 35, P. 4. 280, 8. 97, 11. 34, N. 6. 27, 7. 81, I. 4. 73, 7. 8. I do not say unparalleled; but I still say unlikely.

(the only echoing short is in a proper name in the last stanza of six), we should evidently regard the syllable as long.

N. 8. 22: (χειρόνες)κι δ', corresponding to 5 (ἐπι)κρατ(εῖν), rather than -κιν δ'. There are six stanzas in responsion, and the short in the first is echoed in the second (10) and fourth (27); I think it probable therefore that it should be echoed here also in the third, and that this is another instance where my principle of preferring long in case of doubt should be abandoned.

N. 9. 22, 47: I have myself restored a short anceps in the first strophe, 2 (νεο)κτίτ(αν) in place of (νεο)κτίστ(αν), in order to legitimize the indisputable short anceps at 32 (ἐν)τί τ(οι); see under D (c). This restored short anceps, which I regard as quite certain, has in responsion with it ten ancipitia in all. The seventh of the eleven (32) is certainly short; two others, the fifth (22) and tenth (47), are disputable; I will now discuss these two.

N. 9. 22: ὄπλ(οικιν) is disputable only in name: it is long. Internal πλ elsewhere gives 39 long, 9 short.

N. 9. 47 is a very different matter. The text is corrupt in the manuscripts, and has been shabbily treated by the editors; it will need to be examined at length.

Pindar is saying (what he says of others elsewhere)⁴⁹ that Chromios, or more strictly a man who has attained to success such as Chromios', has reached the *ne plus ultra* beyond which men cannot pass:

⁴⁹ The *ne plus ultra* may be symbolized by the Pillars of Herakles:

O. 3. 43 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἔσχατιὰν Θήρων ἀρεταῖσιν ἰκάνων ἄπτεται
οἴκοθεν Ἡρακλέος σταλάν· τὸ πόρσω δ' ἔστι σοφοῖς ἄβατον
κάσφοις.

N. 3. 19 εἰ δ' ἔων καλὸς ἔρδων τ' εἰκότα μορφῇ
ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις ἐπέβα παῖς Ἀριστοφάνεος, οὐκέτι πρόσω
ἄβαταν ἄλα κίωνων ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές.

I. 4. 12 ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν
οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ' Ἡρακλείαις
καὶ μηκέτι μακροτέραν σπεύδειν ἀρετάν.

Or there may be a different spatial symbolism, leading up to the myth:

P. 10. 27 ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὐποτ' ἄμβατος αὐτῷ,
ὄσαις δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαΐαις ἀπτόμεσθα, περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον
πλόον· ναυεὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὖροις
ἔς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυματὰν ὁδόν.

Or Pindar may talk, as in our passage, in terms of heights:

O. 1. 113 ἐπ' ἄλλοις δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφούται
βασιλεῦσι· μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον.

The same notion is behind a number of other passages which are less directly comparable with ours: N. 11. 13–16, I. 5. 12–16, 6. 10–13, 7. 43–4, and the supposititious O. 5. 23–4.

- 45 ἴστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον·
εἰ γὰρ ἄμα κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρηται
47 κῦδος †οὐκέτι πρόρω (so B; οὐκ ἔστι πρόρω D)†
θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιᾶς ἄλλας ἐφάσασθαι ποδοῖν.

The manuscript text is too short by a syllable; and to restore this nearly all editors since 1900 have corrupted the text with a monstrous invention of Boehmer, οὐκ ἔστι πρόρω<θεν>.⁵⁰ I say ‘monstrous’ because in this context of proceeding further the ablatival⁵¹ πρόρωθεν is absurdly out of place;⁵² what we need is the πρόρω/πρόρω which appears in two of the parallels cited in n. 49 (with its comparative πρόριον in a third); and πρόρω/πρόρω is what the manuscripts here provide.

The solution is simple: combine the variants of B and D, and read οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶ πρόρω. This gives a short anceps, (οὐ)κέτ’; I have no doubt that this is right, but before it can be accepted there is another problem that must be cleared up.

The reading is no novelty: it goes back to Kallierges (1515), and indeed in essence to Triklinios,⁵³ after Kallierges it was the vulgate, and it appears in texts as late as 1869 (Christ’s *editio minor*). But some of those who put it in their texts, as well as those who did not, were dissatisfied with it, and suggested other things (all worthless) that might be read in its stead.⁵⁴ In so far as their dissatisfaction was aroused by the short anceps, it was idle. But there is also a real difficulty, in the recurrence of ἔτι, four words later, in the same sentence; the repetition is intolerable, and must not be imputed to Pindar.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ I except Turyn, who prefers Rauchenstein’s <ἀνδρ’> οὐκ ἔστι πρόρω; bad, but not monstrous.

⁵¹ As of course it is: no question in this word of the quite different locative suffix -θε(ν) of e.g. πρόρωθε(ν), ὑπερρωθε(ν).

⁵² It is irrelevant that Pindar twice has τηλόθεν where we should have expected τηλόσε: each time we are concerned with the distance travelled by (figurative) light or sound, and Pindar thinks of the distance from the recipient’s end in contexts where we should think of it from the source’s: *O.* 1. 94 τὸ δὲ κλέος | τηλόθεν δέδορκε (shines) τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων, *N.* 6. 48 πέτεται . . . τηλόθεν | ὄνυμ’ αὐτῶν. And another unrelated use of -θεν is equally irrelevant: at *Il.* 16. 634 the wood-cutters make a great din, ἔκαθεν δέ τε γίνετ’ ἀκοή: this is the notion of hearing proceeding from the ear to the source of the sound (as *ib.* 515 δύναιαι δὲ εὐ πάντοσ’ ἀκούειν).

⁵³ οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶ πρόρω Triklinios (οὐκ<έτ’> by conjecture? He did not know B), οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶ πρόρω Kallierges (who did know B).

⁵⁴ Gerber, *Emendations in Pindar*, lists eighteen proposals by fourteen scholars.

⁵⁵ I know of no parallel (apart from Eustathios’ text of *Od.* 11. 623, where he remarks on the double ἔτι: i.e. οὐ γὰρ ἔτ’ ἄλλον | φράζετο τοῦδ’ ἔτι μοι κρατερώτερον εἶναι ἄεθλον). Boeckh cites *S. Tr.* 829 πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ μὴ λεύσσων ἔτι ποτ’ ἔτ’ ἐπίπονον ἔχοι θανάων λατρείαι: anadiplosis, and irrelevant. Hermann (who does not himself read the first ἔτι) thinks that the duplication would be unremarkable: ‘in duplici ἔτι non est haerendum, quod saepius ita positum inuenitur’; he cites no instance, and I do not believe him. It is irrelevant that W. Dindorf at *S. Ph.* 1133 and Verrall at *E. Med.* 1077 produce duplicated ἔτι by bad conjectures; it is very relevant that the only parallel which either cites is our passage in Pindar.

But to avoid it we need not abandon the first *ἔτι*: we may equally well (what hardly anyone has considered)⁵⁶ remove the second. And that has two advantages: First, it brings the passage into line with Pindar's practice elsewhere: *ἔτι* in a negative sentence is always (nine times) contiguous with the negative, *οὐκέτι*⁵⁷ or *μηκέτι*.⁵⁸ Second (and more important), it enables us to remedy a further difficulty which no one seems to have observed, the use of the unqualified instrumental *ποδοῖν*. The unqualified instrumental is in point, of course, at *N.* 3. 52 *ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε* and at *N.* 3. 81, where the eagle seizes its prey *ποσίν*, in its talons; but it has point also at *N.* 1. 50 *καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ποσσὶν ἄπεπλος ὀρούσαις ἀπὸ στρωμνᾶς κτλ.* (Alkmene has just given birth, but jumps out of bed to protect her babies when the snakes attack them; the very fact of her being on her feet at all is remarkable) and at *O.* 10. 65 *εὐθὺν τόνον ποσσὶ τρέχων* (of the victor in the stadion at a legendary Olympiad; Pindar's point is not that he ran with his legs but that it was with his legs that he made the all-out effort, the *τόνος*).⁵⁹ But here it would be absurd to insist that this figurative progress to a figurative mountain-top is made on foot; what *ποδοῖν* needs is an epithet to carry the weight and to indicate some quality of a progress which would in any case be made on foot. And that is what we can have in place of *ἔτι*; read *οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ πόρωσ θνατὸν εἰὼν σκοπιᾶς ἄλλας ἐφάψασθαι ποδοῖν*: a mortal man cannot *by his own power* attain to greater eminence; *εἰὼν ποδοῖν* insists still further on the limit set by human capacity to human achievement. And *εἰὼν . . . ποδοῖν* is what the scholiast is

⁵⁶ Only Bothe, with *ἐπὶ σκοπιᾶς* (impossible, of course, after *ἐφάψασθαι*). I do not count W. A. Stone, who left the sentence without any *ἔτι* at all; not of set purpose (and without even acknowledging the fact), but as a by-product of his mistaken pursuit of other ends (*CR* 49 [1935], 124).

⁵⁷ I write *οὐκέτι*, of course, as a single word. So normally did Boeckh, but at *N.* 9. 14 he prints it old-fashionedly *diuisim*, *οὐκ ἔτι*. Careless; but what does one say of later editors, who one and all have copied him exactly?

⁵⁸ I do not of course assert, on the basis of a mere nine instances, that Pindar could *only* make them contiguous; merely that he had a strong tendency to do so. I have checked the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (my figures are fairly exact): 104 times contiguous; 83 times separated by postpositives (e.g. *οὐδ' ἔτι, οὐ γάρ τις μοι ἔτ' ἄλλος*); 16 times separated by something more substantial (e.g. *οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται* and *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν | τάφρος ἔτι χηρῆσεν*).

⁵⁹ No one has yet understood the passage, though it is quite straightforward. The stadion was a single length of the track (c. 190 metres), without any of the 180-degree turns involved in longer races; and it was a sprint, with the runners going as fast as they could for the whole distance. *εὐθὺν τόνον*, internal accusative after *τρέχων*, gives both these facts: his running was 'a going all out in a straight line'; the sense of *τόνος* is best illustrated by the use of the verb *τείνεσθαι* at *Il.* 23. 375 *ἵπποισι τάθη δρόμος*, 758 (= *Od.* 8. 121) *τοῖσι δ' ἀπὸ νύσσης τέτατο δρόμος*. Most scholars fancy that *τόνος*, like English 'stretch' and German 'Strecke', can come to mean 'a continuous length or distance'; it cannot. <Cf. above, pp. 71 and 73f.>

paraphrasing with *τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσίν*: his *ἑαυτοῦ* is the regular paraphrase for *ἑός* or *ός*.⁶⁰

The one thing about which there is room for doubt is the case-endings. Pindar makes very little use of the dual; and I can see no reason why he should have used it here, twice over, when either *έοῖς . . . ποσίν*⁶¹ or *έωι . . . ποδί*⁶² would have suited his metre.⁶³ If both dual forms were in the manuscripts, I should acquiesce in them without more ado; when one of them is conjectural, I think it proper to consider whether a number other than the dual might be restored.

I do not think that it could. We may dismiss the singular: *τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσίν* might be paraphrasing either the plural or (just as properly⁶⁴) the dual, but not the singular; so that if Pindar did not write the dual he wrote the plural. Between dual and plural, no difficulty over *ἔτι*: if a simple visual corruption it might indeed have arisen more easily from *έοῖς* (its *ς* lost before *κκ-*) than from *έοῖν*; but it might have come from an *ἔτι* written in the margin to resolve the muddle over *οὐκέτ' ἔστι* and mistakenly supposed to refer not there but here, and in that case it might have replaced either *έοῖς* or *έοῖν* with equal ease. But the corruption of *ποσίν* to *ποδοῖν* is another matter. It is not unthinkable (if *ποσίν* were so written as to look like *ποοῖν*, it would be easy to take it as a miswriting of *ποδοῖν*); but I can only call it unlikely, and I cannot persuade

⁶⁰ I give reference to text and [scholion], followed by (text) and paraphrase, in each case excerpted from a paraphrase of the whole sentence: *O. 6. 59* [93f, 97d] (*ὃν πρόγονον*) *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον*, *7. 63* [123 (*ἑὰ κεφαλᾷ*)] *τῆι ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦ Ἥλιου, κεφαλῆι*, *P. 4. 122* [213a] (*ἄν περὶ ψυχᾷ*) *κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆν*, *9. 36* [67] (*μῆτιν ἑάν*) *κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν*, *N. 1. 45* [67] (*δικασαί . . . χερσὶν ἑαῖς*) *ταῖς δύο χερσὶν ἑαυτοῦ*, *6. 15* [21a] (*ἑὰ πόδα*) *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πόδα*, *I. 4. 37* [58f] (*ὄμι φασγάνωι*) *τῶι ἑαυτοῦ ξίφει*, *5. 42* [48a] (*έωι δορί*) *τῶι ἑαυτοῦ δόρατι*, *6. 69* [97] (*ἄστει . . . έωι*) *τῆι ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι*.

⁶¹ Pindar would hardly have been troubled by the collocation *-οις κκοπ-*. I have counted the instances where he has *-ς* followed directly (no verse-end or sense-pause intervening) by *κκ-* *κχ-* *κτ-* *κθ-* *κπ-* *κφ-* (i.e. *ς* + plosive); there are twenty-seven, e.g. *O. 9. 30* *Ἡρακλέης κκύταλον*, *51* *ῥῥατος κθένος*, *P. 2. 85* *ὄδοις κκολαιῖς*.

⁶² For the singular cf. e.g. *Parth. 2. 66* *Δαμαίνας πά[τε]ρ, [...]* *ωὶ νῦν μοι ποδί κτείχων ἄγέο*, *Od. 9. 43* *διερώι ποδί κφυγέμεν ἡμέας | ἠνώγεα*.

I shall establish in Part II of this paper that Pindar avoids at verse-end a syllable ending in a short vowel. But he avoids it much less rigorously in verses ending . . . *-υ- |*, which have one such syllable in every twenty instances.

⁶³ I can see an actual objection to the dual at *O. 13. 95* *ἔμὲ δ' εὐθὺν ἀκόντων | ἰέντα ρόμβον παρὰ κκοπὸν οὐ κρηῖ | τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα κκαρτύνειν κχεροῖν* |. Pindar's figurative *βέλεα* are not arrows, which one needs two hands to discharge, but expressly javelins, and one throws a javelin with a single arm; so that one might think of reading *κχερί*. But although Pindar throws a javelin *παλάμῃ* at *P. 1. 44*, he speaks of the young Achilles at *N. 3. 44* as *κχερὶ θαμινὰ | βρακχεῖδαρον ἄκοντα πάλλων*.

⁶⁴ Paraphrasts, rendering their author's text into the Greek current in their own day, naturally replace the dual (dead by then) with the plural.

myself that the chances of its occurring are greater than the chances of Pindar's using the dual.

N. 10. 10: (γυναι)ξὶ κ(αλλικόμοισιν), rather than -ξιν κ-. Very much the same situation as N. 8. 22 (χειρόνες)σι δ': ten stanzas in responsion, with the short in the first echoed in the third and fifth; I suppose another echo here in the second. —In the seventh stanza, 64, long ancept is given by the dual (ἐξικέ)σθαν, its subject the two Apharetidai. This is the first of eight verbs (in nine verses) of which they are the subject, and the other seven are all plural (metrically guaranteed); a plural here would have given another echoing short, (ἐξίκον)το κ(αί). I have no idea why Pindar should have preferred the dual.

N. 10. 48 and 60: χειρ(ῶν) and (ἔτρω)σεν χ(αλκίας). No reason to suppose either to be short: in the nine stanzas corresponding with the first the only echoing short, 24, is in a proper name, (Θεαί)ος (εὐφόρων); and although Pindar admits χερ- freely in the singular, he has otherwise only two instances of χέρας and one of χεροῖν as against 1 χείρες, 6 χείρας, 4 χειρῶν.⁶⁵

I. 3. 8: (χαρίτες)σι β(αστάσαι) rather than -σιν β-. Ten stanzas in responsion; short in the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth, so probably here in the tenth.

I. 5. 29: (ἔκα)τι πρ(όσβαλον): six stanzas in responsion; short in the first, 2 (ἔκα)τι κ(αί), and in the second; that this, the fourth, should be short is suggested (a) by its being the same syllable of the same word as the first, (b) by the figures for initial πρ, which gives long scansion 34 times, short 63.

Finally I list the places where short ancepts in the first strophe or epode has in responsion with it ancipitia of which one or more are of indeterminate quantity, the others long; I have little doubt that those of indeterminate quantity are to be regarded as long. By 'O. 13. 7 (9) ~ 15 ἄκρ(αις) [63:34]' I mean 'the short ancept at O. 13. 7 has in responsion with it 9 ancipitia which are all certainly long except for 15 ἄκρ(αις); internal κρ gives long scansion 63 times, short 34'.

The places are these: O. 8. 16 (3) ~ 82 κεν Κ(αλλιμάχων); O. 13. 7 (9) ~ 15 ἄκρ(αις) [63:34]; P. 4. 4 (25) ~ 27 (ἄν)σπάσς(αντες) ~ 35 μάστε(ευσε) [there is also a form μάστευσε]; P. 4. 5 (25) ~ 28 (ἐπήλ)θεν φ(αιδίμαν) ~ 97 ξείν' ~ 143 (τρίται)σιν δ' ~ 220 πατρ(ωῶν) [118:86]; N. 5. 1 (5) ~ 19 χειρ(ῶν); N. 5. 13 (2) ~ 31 (ἔ)σκειν· π(ολλά); N. 5. 15 (2) ~ 33 πατρ(ός) [118:86]; I. 4. 1 (9) ~ 61 (ὔπερ)θεν δ(αῖτα) ~ 3. 7 (ἄποι)να χρ(ή) [26:26]; I. 4. 7 (4) ~ 3. 17 (Λαβ-δακίδαι)σιν σ(ύννομοι).

⁶⁵ My '4 χειρῶν' excludes the present instance; it includes two instances in which χερ- occupies a presumably long ancepts in dactylo-epitrites. At I. 8. 37 I read χέρας: see n. 39.

C. Non-echoing short anceps in first antistrophe

It happens but seldom that short anceps occurs in the first antistrophe without a corresponding short anceps in the first strophe. I list the instances. For each item all corresponding ancipitia are noted; cited if short, line-number only if long, except that the long anceps of the first strophe is cited, in [square brackets]. Symbols etc.: (3/8) = three short in the eight stanzas later than the first antistrophe; * = quantity or reading disputable (discussed below).

- P.* 9 (3/8) 1 [χαλκ(άσπιδα)], 9 (ὑπέδε)κτο δ', 26 λέ(οντι), 34, 51, 59 (παῖ)δα τ(έξεται), 76*, 84, 101 (Ὀλυμ)πί(οισι), 109.
P. 9 (0/8) 8 [θάλλ(οισαν)], 16 Κρέ(οισ), 33, 41*, 58, 66, 83, 91, 108, 116.
N. 5 (1/4) 5 [(Νεμεί)οισ], 11* ἐς (αἰθέρα), 23, 29, 41, 47 (μάρ)νατ(αι).
I. 2 (0/4) 3 [(ἔτο)ξευ(ον)], 8* (πρόσω)πα μ(αλθακόφωνοι), 19, 24, 35, 40.

Two instances are certain (one of them in a proper name), two disputable (I think one of them as good as certain; the other I think is probably corrupt). This figure, three or four out of a possible 215, is too small to afford a case for treating the instances as a special category; though I shall add to it later (under F) two further instances, and a presumable third, in the fragments. What does afford a case is the situation at *P.* 9. 9 etc.: after long anceps in the first strophe (1), short anceps in the first antistrophe (9) is echoed by short in three of the eight corresponding stanzas, that is, the short here in the first antistrophe has the same influence on following stanzas as does a short in the first strophe; and I do not think it can be denied that this circumstance does raise the first-antistrophe instances into a category of their own. The disputable instance which I accept is similarly echoed by a short in a later stanza.

I will now consider the instances in order.

P. 9. 9 (ὑπέδε)κτο δ', with three further shorts in responsion:⁶⁶ it would be welcome if we could normalize these by importing a short into the first strophe, at 1; but the long there seems quite unassailable. It is (ἔθελω) χαλκ(άσπιδα) Πυθιονίκαν | . . . Τελεσικράτη . . . γεγωνεῖν): the sole statement in the ode of Telesikrates' victory, in the race in armour at Pytho, and for that statement χάλκασπις is exactly right. The competitors in this race were equipped with helmet, shield, and greaves (at some stage the greaves will have

⁶⁶ Three, not four: 76 αἰ(εἰ) is safe against ἀ(εἰ). Pindar elsewhere has 18 αἰ-, 5 ἀ- (plus 2 αἰ- in an anceps where a short would be anomalous).

been abandoned, but hardly by now).⁶⁷ Of these the shield will have been the most awkward to run with, being both heavy and clumsy, and *χάλκασις* brings out its weight⁶⁸ (just as its clumsiness is brought out at *I.* 1. 23 *ἐν τ' ἀσπιδοδοῦποισιν ὀπλίταις δρόμοις*). The only attested compound of *ἀσπίς* which would give a short ancept here is *φέρασις*, and I regard this as evidently inferior; we need not of course restrict ourselves to attested compounds, but I have quite failed to think of any possibility that might be suitable here.

P. 9. 16 *Κρέ(οις')*: a proper name; and, as I shall say later (under *D (a)*), Pindar admits non-echoing short ancepts in a proper name in any stanza; as indeed he admits it in *Κρε(οντίς)* 'daughter of Kreon' at *I.* 4. 64 (fourth antistrophe). It may be that here in *P.* 9 he admitted *Κρέ(οις')* as much as a proper name as because of its position in the first antistrophe; but I have no doubt that this is the proper place to list it, as I shall explain below under *D (a)*.

Erasmus Schmid ought not to have changed here to *Κρεί(οις')*, and in *I.* 4 to *Κρει(οντίς)*: the forms with *κρει-* are epic, and I think them impossible for Pindar (who elsewhere has only *κρε-*: *κρέων* four times, *P.* 5. 29 *θεμικκρεόντων*, and at *N.* 6. 40 the victor's relative Kreontidas appears even as *Κρεοντίδα* trisyllabic; similarly *Bacch.* 3. 1 *κρέουσαν*, 18. 15 *Κρεούσας*). Epic will certainly have had *Κρείουσα* <now in *Hes. fr.* 10a. 20>, like its invariable *κρείουσα* (*Il.* 22. 48, *Hes. fr.* 26. 7, 31a), *κρείων*, *Κρείων*, *Κρειοντιάδης*; but it has these of necessity, since its metre excludes *δῆ κρέων* and its prosody resists *δῆ κρέων*. Their *ει* is indeed specifically epic, like that of *πνείω*, *ἀφνειός*, etc., and I have said already (section A, on *O.* 7. 1 *ἀφνεᾶς*) that Pindar appears never to make use of this specifically epic *ει* for *ε* before a vowel.

The corresponding long in the first strophe, 8 *θάλλ(οισαν)*, seems quite

⁶⁷ Paus. 6. 10. 4, on the statue at Olympia of Damaretos (victor 520 and 516): *πεποιήται . . . ἀσπίδα τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχων τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ κράνος ἐπὶ τῆι κεφαλῇ καὶ κνημίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσίν ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ τε Ἡλείων καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἄλλων ἀφηρέθη τοῦ δρόμου*. Presumably Pausanias' *ταῦτα* is both helmet and greaves; from vase-paintings it appears that the greaves were abandoned before the helmet (Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, ii. 1. 116–21), but I should hesitate to use the date of the vases (no greaves after the middle of the fifth century) as evidence for the date of the abandonment, especially as different games will hardly have abandoned them all at the same time. Telesikrates' own statue at Delphi is described (sch. *P.* 9, inscr. b) as *ἀνδριάς ἔχων κράνος*; whether or not it had greaves we neither are told nor can infer. His victory was in 474; Pindar's plurals elsewhere might suggest (if uncertainly) the maximum accoutrement in 490 (*P.* 10. 13 *Ὀλυμπιονίκα δις ἐν πολεμαδόκοις Ἄρεος ὀπλοῖς*, of the victor's father) and in 460 or 456 (*O.* 4. 22) *χαλκείσι τ' ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον*; of a legendary contest, but Pindar would describe it in terms of the real contest of his own day).

⁶⁸ Bronze also in *O.* 4. 22 (cited at the end of n. 67); and we may have *χ[αλκέ]αν ἄς[π]ί[δ]α* with reference to the race in armour in a fourth-century epigram (Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger*, no. 48 <= *CEG* 849. 4>).

secure: one could indeed remove it by changing a single letter, *θαλ(έουσαν)*, but we have no reason to suppose that *θαλέω* was known to Pindar,⁶⁹ and the contraction is one that I should not wish to import into his text without necessity.⁷⁰

The corresponding ancepts at 41, *τὸ πρ(ῶτον)*, is formally of indeterminate quantity, but I assume it to be long: when a short vowel precedes *πρ* the figures for long: short scansion are <*vacat*>, <*vacat*>.

N. 5. 11 *ἐc* (*αἰθέρα*) could of course be normalized easily as *εἰc*; whatever we read, we are merely interpreting Pindar's ambiguous *EC*. But after examining Pindar's practice elsewhere I have no doubt that we can only read *ἐc*. Before a vowel (where alone one can tell the quantity) not only is *ἐc* much commoner than *εἰc* (preposition + compounds: *ἐc* 37 + 9, *εἰc* 10 + 1)⁷¹ but *εἰc* is found only when the next syllable is short⁷² (at *Pai.* 9. 9 I read *ἐc ὄλβον*⁷³); here therefore, before the initial long of *αἰθέρα*, certainly *ἐc* not *εἰc*.

⁶⁹ It occurs in late authors (Q.S. 11. 96 *θαλέουσι*, Nonn. *D.* 16. 78 *θαλέει*, 34. 110 *θαλέουσι*), and here and there as a variant for *θαλέθω* (*Od.* 6. 63, *Ap. Rh.* 2. 843, *Mosch.* 2. 67, and perhaps elsewhere). This does not mean that it was not used in early poetry; but it certainly creates no presumption that it was.

⁷⁰ I do not doubt that Pindar would have admitted the contraction if anywhere he felt the need: he admits it freely enough in datives plural (*θεοῖσι*, *χαλκείοις*, etc.); but from verbs in *-έω* I find no instance of contracted *-εοι(-)*, as against 8 instances of uncontracted (I include two of *-ἔοι* which ought to be *-ἔοντι*, but exclude one of *πνέουσαν*). In other *o*-forms of these verbs I find the following (I count only instances whose scansion is certain, and exclude 19 of uncontracted forms of *πνέω*, *νέομαι*, etc.): *-εο-*, 3 contracted out of 32 (plus one remarkable *πνέον*); *-εω(-)*, 10 contracted out of 52.

Contraction of *-εοι-* is commonly supposed at *O.* 14. 15 *ἐπακοοί<τε> νῦν* (Bergk, to provide both a missing syllable and a missing verb; better spelt *ἐπακοοίτε*), but I believe that Pindar wrote *ἐπακοείτε*: the *νῦν* should go with an imperative not an optative. I add that the paraphrase of the sentence in the scholia (21d), which contains the present imperative *ἐπήκοοι γίνεσθε*, may well be based on the uncorrupted text (sch. 21a, with its 'ellipse of *γίνεσθε*', is on the defective text, but that is another matter): the colon which appears in the mss. (with the traditional colometry) as *ἐπάκοοι νῦν Θαλία τε ἔ-* is called by the metrical scholia, meaninglessly, *Ἀλκμαιώνειον (-όνειον, -όνιον) δεκακύλλαβον*, and if as I suppose Irigoien is right with *Ἀλκαϊκὸν ἐνδεκακύλλαβον* (it is certainly not an Alcaic *decasyllable*), that is *ἐπακοοίτε νῦν Θάλια τε ἔ-*, and the corruption will be later at any rate than the metrical scholia.

⁷¹ I exclude *ε(ι)σω*: 1 *ἔσω*, 1 *εἰσω*.

⁷² Contrast *ἐξ(-)* (always of course before a vowel; I exclude *ἐξω*): next syllable short, 26 + 23; long, 19 + 40. I think it clear from this that the absence of *εἰc* + long syllable is due to deliberate avoidance.

After *ἐc*, the next syllable may be of either quantity: short, 7 + 3; long, 29 + 6; indeterminate, 1 + 0.

⁷³ The beginning of a colon and of a verse, *ἐc] ὄλβον τινά*. That both quotation and (to judge from the space) papyrus have *ἐc* means of course precisely nothing; and people print *εἰc* because the corresponding syllables are long, 20 *ἦ γ(αῖαν κατα-)*, 39 *Μοιc(αῖαιc ἀνα-)*, 49 *Εὐρ(ῖπου τε συν-)*. But the first syllable of a verse is of variable quantity in this ode at 1 *ἄκτ(ίc) ~ 42 ἔν(ῶι)* and at 6 *ἐλ(αύνειc) ~ 16 ἦ π(όντου) ~ 36 ἀγ(αυόν) ~ 46 ἐπ(έτρεψαc)*, and perhaps at

The unavoidable (μάρ)νατ(αι) of 47 will be legitimized by this ἐς (αἰθέρα). I have considered whether it might be legitimized even more fully by a short ancept in the first stanza, where in place of 5 (νίκη Νεμεί)οις one might think of (νίκη Νέμει)α π(αγκρατίου στέφανον); but although νικᾶν can take more than one accusative at a time (I think three different ones in the epigram for Pindar's Ergoteles <CEG 393>, soon after 463, [δικτὰς] | Ἑλλαναοὺς νικῶν Πυθι[άδαο δόλιχον] | καὶ δὴ Ὀλυμπιάδαο: for the supplements see *JHS* 93 [1973], 25 n. 7 <above, p. 81>), Νέμεια νικᾶν seems to me to belong to the language of prose and formal inscriptions rather than to Pindar's lyric, and to consort especially ill with the very unprosaic νικᾶν στέφανον.

I. 2. 8 is (οὐδ' ἐπέρναντο γλυκεῖαι μελιφθόγγου ποτὶ Τερψιχόραο | ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσω)πα μ(αλθακόφωνοι αἰοδαί), and I think it unassailable: πρόσωπον of course has been suggested (first by Thiersch in 1820), but I cannot think it possible.⁷⁴ In the first strophe the long of 3 (ἐτό)ξευ(ον) seems to me equally secure: the word itself is certainly unassailable, and though it is true that a scansion ἰχνῆυων is at least probable at *P.* 8. 35, I should suppose that a short that is to be echoed in later stanzas needs to be unambiguously short (see my remarks in the penultimate paragraph of E below).

D. Non-echoing short ancepts in later triads

The instances here are the exceptions to my rule. I list them under four sub-heads.

Under each heading, on the left, the short ancept. On the right, all corresponding ancipitia: first (cited) the long in the first strophe or epode, then the line-numbers of the others (including that of the short ancept itself, bracketed and marked —). If a line-number is unmarked, the ancept is certainly long; if marked *, presumably long (quantity or reading disputable). A cited instance marked * is similarly disputable. Everything marked * is discussed below.

3 ἐν (ἀμέραι) ~ 13 αἰ[ὶ](ώνοο) ~ 43 κόρ(α) or κούρ(α); I see no reason therefore to prefer εἰς (ὄλβον) on grounds of response, and on the basis of Pindar's usage elsewhere I have no doubt at all that we should read ἐς.

⁷⁴ Any more than I should think τὴν κεφαλὴν possible at *X. An.* 2. 6. 1 ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν. There are certainly circumstances in which a singular is possible (*Hp. π. διαίτης* 73. 1 πάσχουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τοιαῦτα ἀπὸ πλησμονῆς: τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγέουσι καὶ βαρύνονται), but I have never seen them defined; in this last instance the writer is clearly thinking of the symptoms as manifested in the individual case, and it may be (or may not) that in our passage πρόσωπον would be possible if Pindar were thinking of each individual αἰοδά with its face besilvered. But of course he is not: the plural is simply a collective 'song, poetry'.

(a) *Proper names*

O. 8. 54	Μελ(ησία)	3 τεκμ(αιρόμενοι), 10, 25*, 32, 47, (54 —), 69, 76.
N. 10. 65	(Αφαρη)τίδ(αι)	5 (ᾶ)στη τ(αίς), 11, 23, 29, 41*, 47, 59, (65 —), 77, 83.
I. 2. 27	(Όλυμ)πί(ου)	11 (λει)φθείς, (27 —), 43.
I. 3. 15	Κλε(ωνύμου)	4. 15* Ἀρ(ει), 33, 51*, 69, (3. 15 —).
I. 4. 64	Κρε(οντίς)	4 θάλλ(οντες), 10, 22, 28, 40, 46, 58, (64 —), 3. 4, 3. 10.
I. 4. 72	(Όρ)κέ(αι)	18 μην(ών), 36, 54, (72 —), 3. 18.
I. 6. 63	(Ψαλυχι)αδ(ᾶν)	4 (ᾶω)τον δ(εξάμενοι), 13, 29*, 38, 54, (63 —).

(b) *Postpositives appended to proper names*

O. 3. 26	(Ιστρίαν) νιν· (ἔνθα)	11 κραίν(ων), (26 —), 41.
N. 9. 13	(Άμφιάρη) ποτ(έ θραρυ-)	3 δῶμ, 8, (13 —), 18, 23, 28, 33, 38, 43, 48, 53.
I. 6. 57	(Φυλακίδα) γάρ (ῆλθον)	7 νικ(ώντος), 16, 32, 41, (57 —), 66.

(c) *Corrigible instances*

P. 4. 180	(θέμμε)θλα ν(αιετᾶοντες) [read θεμέθλοισ]	19 (έκτελευ)τάς(ει), 42, 65, 88, 111, 134, 157, (180 —), 203*, 226, 249, 272, 295.
P. 12. 31	(ᾶελ)πί(αι) [read ᾶελπίαι]	7 (θρασει)ᾶν Γ(οργόνων), 15, 23, (31 —).
N. 9. 32	(έν)τί τ(οι) [read νεοκτίταν in 2]	2 (νεο)κτίστ(αν), 7, 12, 17, 22*, 27, (32 —), 37, 42, 47 *(οῦ)κέ, 52.
I. 4. 57	(πορ)θμόν (ήμερώσαις) [read πορθμούς]	3 ἔμν(ωι), 9, 21, 27, 39, 45, (57 —), 63, 3. 3, 3. 9.

(d) *Resistant instance*

O. 8. 42	ἀλ(ίκεται)	20 (Αἰ)γω(αν), (42 —), 64, 86.
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(a) *Proper names*

Seven of the exceptions occur in proper names. It is a commonplace that poets will diverge from their normal metrical or prosodic practice in order to admit an otherwise intractable proper name; Pindar indeed goes further than that, in that all but one of the names could be admitted without the use of short anceps (some easily, some rather more awkwardly),⁷⁵ but from the very number of the instances it is evident that the justification of the short anceps lies in each case in the mere fact of its occurring in a proper name, tractable or intractable.

⁷⁵ Easily: *Κρεοντίς*, *Όρρέαι* (and the *Κρέοια* of C). More awkwardly (in each case with correction of the final syllable): *Μελησία*, *Όλυμπίου*, *Κλεωνύμου* in (—)υ—υ(—), *Αφαρητίδαι* in (—)υ—υ(—). Intractable: *Ψαλυχιαδᾶν*.

I draw attention to *P.* 9. 8 *Κρέ(οις)*, in the first antistrophe with no other short in responsion. I have thought it proper to list it under C, as admissible because it is in the first antistrophe; but Pindar may I suppose have been influenced also by its being in a proper name.⁷⁶

I have excluded from my list a proper name that is ordinarily printed with short anceps, *I.* 6. 63 (*Λαιομεδον*)*τι(ἄν)*; I shall justify my exclusion below.

I will now go through the instances in order.

O. 8. 54 *Μελ(ηρία)*: the form of the name is quite secure. This man *Μεληρίας* appears twice elsewhere in Pindar; and outside Pindar he is familiar as the father of Thucydides son of Melesias (H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 52 [1932], 208–11).⁷⁷

N. 10. 60 (*Ἀφαρη*)*τιδ(αι)*: the form is not found elsewhere, but is not to be doubted. Idas and Lynkeus, sons of the man commonly known as *Ἀφαρεύς*, have otherwise a patronymic *Ἀφαρητιάδαι* (Ap. Rh. 1. 151; cf. St. Byz. s.v. *Φαραί*); this *-ιάδαι* is the normal means of fitting into the dactylic hexameter patronymics which with the linguistically regular *-ίδης* would be intractable (*Πηλη-ίδης*, *Τελαμων-ίδης*, etc.), and *Ἀφαρητίδαι* here is therefore a proper and linguistically more original equivalent of *Ἀφαρητιάδαι*. The *-τ-* (which is surprising: from *Ἀφαρεύς* one would expect *Ἀφαρηΐδης*, and in epic *Ἀφαρηιάδης*, like *Πηληΐάδης*) may be explained as from a by-form *Ἀφάρης* *-ητος*, which appears in [Plut.] *Parallel. min.* 40A (*Mor.* 315e) *Ἰδας ὁ Ἀφάρητος*,⁷⁸ and as the name of another man (son of Oineus) at Bacch. 5. 129 *Ἀφάρητα*; so the similar *τ-*forms *Ἄρητιάδης* (Hes. *Shield* 57) and *Ἄρητιάς* (Ap. Rh. 2. 966), ‘son/daughter of Ares’, are said (Hdn. Gr. ii. 639 L., cited by Eustath. 518. 25 on *Il.* 5. 31) to derive from a form *Ἄρης* *-ητος* (and sch. Hes. loc. cit. has *Ἄρης*, *Ἄρητος*, *Ἄρητίδης* καὶ *Ἄρητιάδης*, with an *Ἄρητίδης* precisely parallel to Pindar’s *Ἀφαρητίδαι*). We have now in Stes. *Eriph. PMGF*

⁷⁶ Of the 3,525 ancipitia (of whatever quantity) in the dactylo-epitrite epinikia, 450 are in a proper name: one in every 7.8. Of short ancipitia admitted under my primary rule (first strophe or epode, or echoing a short there) there are 129; if these were distributed at random between proper names and other words I should expect a similar proportion, with about 16.5 in a proper name. There are in fact 18 (1 in 7.2); so close to the proportion for ancipitia in general that evidently the distribution is indeed random, and whether a short anceps is or is not in a proper name makes no difference to its admissibility. I should expect the same to be true of short ancipitia admitted under my secondary rule (non-echoing in first antistrophe, or echoing such a short). But the numbers there are so small that I can argue only from analogy; and cannot therefore exclude the possibility that when Pindar admitted *Κρέ(οις)* he was influenced at any rate in part by its being in a proper name.

⁷⁷ I assume that the corresponding 3 *τεκμ(αιρόμενοι)* and 25 *τεθμ(ός)* are both long: elsewhere internal *κμ* gives (long:short) 8:10, internal *θμ* 14:12.

⁷⁸ The author bases his account on ‘Dositheos’ (*FGrHist* 290. 1). His *ὁ Ἀφάρητος* is altered by editors to *ὁ Ἀφαρήσιος*; it ought not to be.

S148 i 7 another τ -form from a similar name, Ἀμφιαρητεΐδας (from Ἀμφιάρης or $-\rhoεύς$: see below, n. 87), and this $-\epsilon\iota-$ (in Stesichoros doubtless $-\epsilon\iota\bar{-}$) might, if one took it seriously, suggest the possibility in Pindar of $(\text{Ἀφαρη})\tau\epsilon\iota\delta(\alpha\iota)$ with long anceps. I should be reluctant to take it seriously: it ought of course to be $-\alpha\iota-$, Ἀμφιαρητιάδας (like Ἀφαρητιάδας , Ἀρητιάδης), and I should like to lay the $-\epsilon\iota-$ at the door of Stesichoros' copyists; but if indeed it is Stesichoros' own (and in the jungle of the poetical patronymic it would be rash to say that any strange growth was impossible), I should think of it rather as an isolated aberration than as a possible paradigm.

I. 2. 27 ($\text{Ὀλυμ})\pi\iota(\text{ου})$: straightforward.

I. 3. 15 Κλε(ωνύμου) : the same Κλε- in the name of the family, the Κλεωνυμίδαι (I. 4. 4, guaranteed by metre). Not Κλε\iota- : I suppose a possible epicism,⁷⁹ and Pindar is prepared to epicize the names even of contemporaries⁸⁰ (Xenokrates of Akragas appears in I. 2 both as Ξεν- and as Ξειν-), but Pindar does not use epic $\epsilon\iota$ for ϵ before a vowel.

The stanza counts as the fifth epode of I. 4 (see section E). The corresponding syllable of the first epode is 4. 15 Ἄρ(ης) , which I have supposed to be long; if it were short, Κλε(ωνύμου) would be a normal echo of it.

I. 4. 64 Κρε(οντίς) , not (with Erasmus Schmid) Κρε\iota(οντίς) : the issues are the same as with P. 9. 16 Κρέ(οις) , discussed above under C.

I. 4. 72 ($\text{Ὀρ})\text{κέ(αι)}$: a contemporary, the victor's trainer (presumably a Theban). We may suppose that he himself pronounced his OPCEAC with the middle syllable short ($-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\text{c}$ is a common name-ending, $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\text{c}$ is not); and if he did, Pindar will not have epicized it to $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\text{c}$. As elsewhere before a vowel, he does not admit epic $\epsilon\iota$ for ϵ in names in $-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\text{c}$: he has Ἀδγέας , Αινέας (a contemporary Stymphalian, not the Trojan, but the name is the same), and Πυθέας (of Aigina, a contemporary: five times, once indeed <I. 6. 58> with contracted $-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$).

I. 6. 63 ($\text{Ψαλυχι})\alpha\delta(\acute{\alpha}\nu)$: the Ψαλυχιάδαι , the victor's family, are known from no other source; they are spelt thus in both manuscripts, once in the text and twice in the scholia (except that once in the scholia B has Ψαλυχίδαι , doubtless by a mere slip). Any name in any manuscript may of course be a misspelling, but we have no reason to suppose that this one is; and certainly

⁷⁹ Not apparently in literature before Ap. Rh. 2. 239 Κλειοπάτρη ; but a sixth-century inscription begins a hexameter with Κ]λεανδρος (CEG 366, found near Nemea; Mycenaean lettering? c. 525 BC?).

⁸⁰ I do not suppose that Kleonymos was very far from being a contemporary: the audience are expected to know of his $\text{δόξα παλαιῶ ἄρμασιν}$, but παλαιῶ need mean no more than 'in an earlier generation'. He will not be the eponym of the Kleonymidai, but merely a namesake; at Athens, we know of several members of the family of the Alkmeonidai who bore the name Alkmeon.

the possibility of an *-εῖδαι* to give long anceps may be ignored, when the *-ιάδαι* recurs in two other family names in Aigina, the *Βλεφιάδαι* of *O.* 8. 75 and the *Χαριάδαι* of *N.* 8. 46.⁸¹

At *I.* 6. 29 the manuscripts give (*Λαομεδον*)*τι(ᾶν)*, with the short anceps in responsion with that of (*Ψαλυχι*)*αδ(ᾶν)*; but I have no doubt that Bergk was right to make the trivial change to (*Λαομεδον*)*τει(ᾶν)*. From proper names with consonant stems Pindar has on the one hand *Ἀγαμεμνόνιος* (*-εος* epic; *-ιος* tragedy, but *-ειος* *E. IT* 1290, dialogue), *Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Ποσειδάνιος*; on the other hand *Καστόρειος*, *Νεστόρειος* (*-εος* epic), *Ἰσθμίωνος*,⁸² and apparently *Κυκλώπειος* (*fr.* 169. 7; tragedy mostly *-ιος*, but *-ειος* *E. El.* 1158).⁸³ I do not see therefore why he should not have felt at least as free to use *Λαομεδοντειᾶν* as *-ᾶν* (both forms are attested in other authors);⁸⁴ and if he did feel free to use it, it would have been perverse of him to create an unnecessary short anceps by using *-ᾶν* (I cannot feel that responsion with (*Ψαλυχι*)*αδ(ᾶν)* affects the issue).

(b) Postpositives appended to proper names

Three instances show an unexpected extension of the licence with proper names: *O.* 3. 26 (*Ἰστρίαν*) *νιν· (ἔνθα)*, *N.* 9. 13 (*Ἀμφιάρη*) *ποτ(ἔθρακυμήδεα)*, *I.* 6. 57 (*Φυλακίδαί*) *γάρ (ἦλθον)*. In each of them the short anceps occurs in a postpositive (twice an enclitic) appended to a proper name and forming a metrical unity with it; I cannot suppose that their agreement in this feature is fortuitous.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Ψαλυχιᾶν* involves a double licence: resolution (*-ῦχι-*) as well as short anceps. Erasmus Schmid (and many after him, as Heyne, Mommsen, Bowra) removed the resolution (not the short anceps) by *Ψαλῦχιᾶν*: irrationally, for families do not acquire their names to suit the convenience of poets who may one day write about them in dactylo-epitrites. Nor do individuals: at *I.* 4. 45 *Τελέσιᾶδας* involves Pindar in a quite remarkable resolution.

⁸² *I.* 4. 49, with (*Ἰσθμίωνος*)*νεί(αν)* an anceps in dactylo-epitrites (the four corresponding syllables are all long).

⁸³ At *O.* 9. 112 not of course *Αἰάντεον* but *Αἶαν, τεόν*.

⁸⁴ No instance earlier than Pindar. After him: *-ιος* *E. Tro.* 822 *Λαομεδόντιε παῖ; -ειος* (said to be regular by Herodian, ii. 417 L. = *Et. mag.* 226. 52) Kall. *fr.* 21. 4 *ἔγρετο Τιτώ (= the Dawn) | [Λαομεδοντείω] παιδί χροῖσσαι[ένη]* (Tithonos was son of Laomedon; 'non video', says Pfeiffer, 'quo modo patris nomen aliter suppleri possit', and the supplement is of course completely certain); *-ēus* twice in Vergil (also *-ius* twice), then in Ovid and later poets.

⁸⁵ Lest anyone suppose that it is fortuitous, I will calculate the chances of its happening fortuitously. I find, in the epinikia, that of short syllables following a long, and separated by two or more syllables from verse-beginning and -end, about one in every 96 is in a postpositive appended to a proper name. Now I have remaining (after disposing of the short ancipitia in proper names themselves) eight anomalous short ancipitia, these three and five more which I shall consider under (c) and (d). If we suppose that in each of these eight instances, taken individually, the chance that it will be provided by a postpositive appended to a proper name is

In two of the three instances the text is secure; but *N.* 9. 13 needs discussion. Pindar is explaining how Adrastos came to be king in Sikyon and so to found the Pythian games there; the manuscripts have *φεῦγε γὰρ Ἀμφιάρηόν (πο)τε θρακυμήδεα καὶ δεινὰν στάσιν | πατρίων οἴκων ἀπό τ' Ἄργεος*, with *ποτε* in B and *τε* in D. Now Amphiareos is named by Pindar twice in other odes (*O.* 6. 13, *P.* 8. 56),⁸⁶ and each time he has (as in Homer and Hesiod) five syllables, *Ἀμφιάρηος*.⁸⁷ If he has five here also, we must accept B's *τε*, and the anceps will be long: (*Ἀμφιάρη*)όν τ(ε). But in this same ode, at 24, his dative has four syllables (*ἀμφιάρηι* both manuscripts, *Ἀμφιαρεῖ* Schroeder): if we give him four syllables at 13 also we can accept B's *ποτε*, and the anceps will then be short (as I have shown it). The question turns on the relative merits of the sense given by *τε* and *ποτε*, and about this I can feel no doubt: Amphiareos and the *στάσις* between him and Adrastos are jointed not by *τε . . . καί*, as if they were separate things ('the combination of Amphiareos and *στάσις*'), but by *καί* alone, and *τε* therefore is out of place;⁸⁸ *ποτε* on the other hand is exactly what we need. For the name, therefore, a four-syllable form here as at 24, and with it short anceps. I suppose these four-syllable forms to be *Ἀμφιάρη* here and *Ἀμφιάρει* in 24.⁸⁹

1 in 96, the chance that three or more of the eight will be so provided is 1 in 16,430. And that assumes that all the other five are genuine; if, as I shall maintain, four of them are to be corrected away, three or more out of eight becomes three or more out of four, and the chance of that is 1 in 222,925. If one had a bet every day on such a probability, one might expect to win, on average, once in every 45 years in the first case, in every 610 years in the second.

⁸⁶ In Pindar's manuscripts he appears also at *I.* 7. 33, *Ἀμφιάρων*; but there (as I shall argue in Excursus I) he is monstrously out of place, and the name will have arisen by corruption.

⁸⁷ Pindar will have used this, the original form, and not the *Ἀμφιάρως* which became normal in late Greek (whence Latin *Amphiaraus*). That his manuscripts are in both places divided between the two forms will be due to the tendency of copyists to replace unfamiliar forms by familiar; it will hardly be a reflexion of divergent opinions at Alexandria about the proper form in Homer (sch. *Od.* 15. 244: *-ηος* Zenodotos, *-αος* Aristarchos).

That *-ηος* (<*-ηος*) is original and not an Ionicism is shown (*a*) by *ἀμφιαρεος* and *α<μ>φιαρεος* on a sixth-century Corinthian krater (*GDI* 3140 = Schwyzer, *Delectus*, 122. 8) on which other names have exclusively Doric forms, (*b*) by the stem *ἈμφιαρηF-* in the four-syllable form of the name, whether *Ἀμφιάρης* or *Ἀμφιαρεύς* (see below n. 89). Mycenaean *a-pi-ja-re-wo* (KN X 94), evidently the same name, is not necessarily direct evidence for *ἈμφιάρηFος*, since it might possibly (Ventris–Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 416) be *-ηFος* as genitive of the four-syllable form. <B.'s citation is of the first edition (1956). In the second edition (1973, p. 532) the entry appears as *a-pi-ja-re[->*

⁸⁸ Let no one be misled by Jebb to cite against me *S. Ai.* 1147 *οὔτω δὲ καὶ ἐὼ καὶ τὸ δὲ λᾶβρον στόμα | . . . τάχ' ἄν τις . . . | χεῖμῶν καταβέσειεν*: the first is 'you too', you like the man in the parable I have just rehearsed.

⁸⁹ When Schroeder wrote, the only external evidence for a tetrasyllabic form was Herodian's allegation (ii. 850. 21 L., from *Et. mag.* *Ἀφιαρεύς*; first adduced here by Bergk) that a form *Ἀμφιάρης* was a compound of *Ἄρης*; but since 1964 we have had in some scraps of epic (Antimachos, *Thebais?* <fr. 198 Matthews>), an accusative *Ἀμφιαρηα*, *SH* 912 ii 1. Whatever the nominative (Schroeder preferred to suppose *Ἀμφιαρεύς*), we have evidently a stem *ἈμφιαρηF-*,

(c) *Corrigible instances*

The paradosis gives further instances of non-echoing short anceps, all completely anomalous. Four of them can be removed by minimal corrections, and I think it right to remove them; I consider them below (and then, under (d), the fifth).

There are no others. There are ancipitia in this situation that would of themselves admit either long scansion or short (such as $\xi\epsilon\omega\text{-}/\xi\epsilon\nu\text{-}$, $\pi\bar{\alpha}\tau\rho\text{-}/\pi\check{\alpha}\tau\rho\text{-}$); I dismiss these as without question long.⁹⁰ I dismiss also the anomalous short ancipitia that could be produced by the conflation of what are ordinarily printed as separate verses:⁹¹ I think it evident that the verses are not to be conflated.

P. 4. 180: ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\grave{\iota}$ Παγγαίου θέμε)θλα ν(αιετάοντες) the manuscripts (except that the first hand of B and GH omit θέμεθλα, the last word of a colon); ($\theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}$)θλοις Boeckh and most editors since. (In the first epode ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu$)τάς(ει), securely long.) Accusative and dative are equally possible as language; for the dative cf. N. 4. 85 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi'$ Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων (also, of events or activities, N. 9. 40 βαθυκρήμνοισιν ἄμφ' ἀκταῖς Ἐλώρου, Pαι. 2. 97 ἄμφι . . . Παρνακταῖς πέτραις). Pindar, that is, had no conceivable reason to prefer the metrically anomalous accusative; therefore he did not prefer it.

P. 12. 31: ($\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda$)πτί(αι) many editors, with short anceps; in the first strophe a secure long, 7 ($\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$)ἄν Γ(οργόνων). The manuscripts have ἀελπτία (VFGH) and ἀελπία (B); short anceps apart, ἀελπτίαι would seem obvious (from the common ἀελπτος, and itself cited from Archilochos, fr. 105. 3 $\xi\zeta$ ἀελπτίης).

with the same $-\eta\mathcal{F}$ - that is original both in Ἄρης (Schwyzer, i. 576) and in $-\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$, and with an accusative and dative originally $-\eta\mathcal{F}\alpha$, $-\eta\mathcal{F}\iota$. These cases can appear in Pindar as $-\eta\check{\alpha}$ (3 instances) and $-\eta\check{\iota}$ (1), $-\acute{\epsilon}\check{\alpha}$ (6) and $-\acute{\epsilon}\check{\iota}$ (2), and $-\eta$ (4) and $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ (20); the four in $-\eta$ are N. 8. 26 Ὀδυσσῆ, N. 4. 27 and I. 6. 33 Ἀλκωνῆ, and O. 13. 21 βασιλῆ (βασιλῆα the manuscripts, unmetrically; the other instances point to $-\eta$, first suggested by Schneidewin, rather than Hermann's $-\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$). Here therefore $-\eta$ and $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$. The only question remaining is the accentuation: Ἀμφιάρης will presumably give $-\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$ $-\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota$, like Ἄρη Ἄρει, while Ἀμφιαρέυς would give $-\alpha\rho\eta$ $-\alpha\rho\epsilon\check{\iota}$; in default of other evidence I would sooner accept Herodian's nominative than disregard it.

Ovid's patronymic *Amphiareidae* = Ἀμφιαρηΐάδης (Fast. 2. 43) is *prima facie* a formation from $-\acute{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ (as Πηληϊάδης, Καπανηϊάδης, etc.) or perhaps $-\rho\eta\varsigma$ (as Ἀρηϊάδης, which would be the masculine equivalent of Quintus' Ἀρηϊάς of Penthesileia); but I would not assert that it might not have been formed from $-\rho\eta\omicron\varsigma$. The problem of patronymics is in any case complicated by the existence of forms with $-\tau$ - (see (a) above on N. 10. 60). I remark that although we have these forms in the patronymics Ἀφαρητ- Ἀρητ- and Ἀμφιαρητ-, and although in the names we have a corresponding Ἀφάρης $-\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and a grammarian's allegation of a corresponding Ἄρης $-\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, no corresponding Ἀμφιάρης $-\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ appears to have raised its head. Whether it ever existed, or was supposed to exist, I have no idea: it may be that analogy affected the patronymics without similarly affecting the names.

⁹⁰ I do not list them: it would be mere waste of time and paper.

⁹¹ O. 13. 99, 109; P. 9. 31 ~ 56; N. 10. 88; I. 1. 35; I. 2. 24 ~ 40, 36 ~ 41; I. 4. 21.

But ἀελπής is found at *Od.* 5. 408 γαῖαν ἀελπέα δῶκεν ἰδέσθαι (cf. also *Nik. Al.* 125), and an ἀέλπεια formed quite regularly from this will give us long anceps with (ἀελ)πεί(αι); so Mommsen. This ἀελπέαια would be easily corrupted (a single letter) to the more familiar-looking ἀελπίαι; and whether or not it is half-preserved in B's ἀελπία (which might be no more than a miswriting for ἀελπίαι), I think it certain.

N. 9. 32: (λαόν. ἐν)τί τ(οι) φίλιπποι) in responsion with (first strophe) 2 (τὰν νεο)κτίστ(αν) ἐς Αἴτναν) would be not only anomalous but perversely anomalous, when Pindar had (εἰ)κίν τ(οι) at his disposal;⁹² but to put εἰκίν τ(οι) into the text (with Boeckh) would imply that someone at some stage had replaced the familiar εἰκίν by Doric ἐντί, and I find this no less perverse and indeed wholly incredible. There is a simple way out: in 2 correct (νεο)κτίστ(αν) to (νεο)κτίτ(αν), and (ἐν)τί τ(οι) is anomalous no more. Compounds with -κτιστος and -κτιτος were evidently felt to be indifferent alternatives, and both are used of cities: -κτιστος in νεόκτιστος (*Hdt.* 5. 24. 4, *Th.* 3. 100. 2, *Cic. Att.* 6. 2. 3, *Cass. Dio* 6. 6), and cf. *Lyk.* 29 βουπλανοκτίστων λόφων of the site of Ilion; -κτιτος in εὔκτιτος (*Il.* 2. 592 = *h. Ap.* 423, *Bacch.* fr. 20c. 7), θεόκτιτος (*Sol.* 36. 8), νεόκτιτος καλλίκτιτος βούκτιτος (*Nonnos*). Verse has both, but prose only -κτιστος, and corruption to -κτιτος was therefore especially easy: [A.] *Prom.* 301 αὐτόκτιτ' ἄντρα (αὐτόκτιστ' many manuscripts),⁹³ *h. Aphr.* 123 ἄκτιτον (ἄκτιστον LE), and probably S. fr. 332 (cited by Hesychios as αὐτοκτίστους δόμους; if from dialogue, necessarily αὐτοκτίτους).⁹⁴ I do not doubt that we have the same trivial corruption here in Pindar.

Correction of 2 to νεοκτίταν has a further consequence: in the corresponding 47, which is corrupt, the remedy for the corruption may now involve a short anceps as legitimately as a long. I have discussed the passage already under B; and I have found that we must in fact assume a short anceps, (οὐ)κέτ' (ἐστί).

I. 4. 57: (πορ)θμὸν (ἡμερώαις) corresponds to an unshakable long in the first strophe (3), (ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία πανταί κέλευθος, | ὦ Μέλινς,

⁹² He has ἐντί ten times but εἰκίν once, *P.* 5. 116; and he can use the ν of these forms to produce a long syllable, *N.* 11. 5 φυλάσσειν Τένεδον.

⁹³ Dawe, *The Collation . . . of Manuscripts of Aeschylus*, 210: αὐτόκτιτ' MQKPV, αὐτόκτιστ' BHC.ΔΟΥΙ (other corruptions in Ya and N).

⁹⁴ The components of a two-word lemma in Hesychios are not necessarily either contiguous or in the same order in the author from whom the lemma is taken: his γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικαί is *Ar. Birds* 1106 γλαῦκες ἦμας οὔποτ' ἐπιλείψουσι Λαυρειωτικαί, his δακτύλων ἔκπωμα is *Ion*, *TrGF* 19 F 1. 2 ἔκπωμα δακτύλων. For the Sophoclean fragment therefore the possibilities extend beyond Pearson's αὐτοκτίτους | δόμους to Nauck's δόμους αὐτοκτίτους and to e.g. αὐτοκτίτους υ-υ-υ- δόμους.

εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανακ Ἴσθμίοις | ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς) ὕμν(ωι διώκειν);⁹⁵ the alternatives are to accept the anomaly or to change with Erasmus Schmid to (πορ)θμούς. Schmid's only motive was to secure a long ancepts; but the first question to be asked is how well πορθμόν and how well πορθμούς may suit the context. To answer this question will take some time: the passage is a troublesome one that has had shabby treatment from the editors, and I shall need to deal with it at length.

Pindar is speaking of Herakles:

ὄς Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἔβα, γαίᾳ τε πάσας
καὶ βαθυκρήμνου πολιᾶς ἀλὸς ἔξευρῶν θέναρ
ναυτιλῆαις τε πορθμόν ἡμερώσας.

Now Herakles was the great benefactor of mankind who made the world a safe place for men to live and travel in: what had been ἄγριον before he made ἡμερον, both by land and by sea: E. Her. 851 ἄβατον . . . χώραν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀγρίαν | ἐξημερώσας, and similarly ib. 20 ἐξημερώσαι γαίαν. He did this above all by killing the dangerous creatures that infested land and sea:⁹⁶ N. 1. 62 (his career generally) ὄσσοις μὲν ἐν χέρσῳ κτανῶν | ὄσσοις δὲ πόντῳ θήρας αἰδροδίκας; and cf. the 'cleansing' of sea and land at S. Tr. 1012, E. Her. 225. The sea creatures recur at N. 3. 23: he set up the Pillars of Herakles to mark the limit of his seafaring, δάμασε δὲ θήρας ἐν πελάγει | ὑπερόχους, ἰδῆται τ' ἐρεύνασε τεναγέων | ῥοάς, ὅπῃ πόμπιμον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος | καὶ γὰν φράδασε. And his services to seafarers recur at E. Her. 400: (he took the apples of the Hesperides,) ποντίας θ' ἀλὸς μυχοῦς εἰσέβαινε, θνατοῖς γαλάνειαν τιθεὶς ἐρετροῖς. What we have here, ναυτιλῆαις τε πορθμόν ἡμερώσας, will be in some sort a description of these services; but before I consider this more closely I must go back to the clause before.

In that clause, γαίᾳ τε πάσας | καὶ βαθυκρήμνου πολιᾶς ἀλὸς ἔξευρῶν θέναρ, the construction, and up to a point the meaning, are entirely clear: Herakles 'discovered the θέναρ of the whole earth and of the deep-cliffed sea'. They are entirely clear, that is, once one gets rid of the misconceptions with which the editors have befogged them. The fundamental misconception is the constant equating of ἔξευρεῖν with 'explore': the word means of course not 'explore'

⁹⁵ Cf. Bacch. 5. 31 τὼς νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ μυρία παντῶν κέλευθος | ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὑμνεῖν, κνανοσπλοκάμου θ' ἔκατι Νίκας | χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρηος.

⁹⁶ ἡμερώσαι expressly of his killing dangerous animals at Diod. 1. 24 . 6 ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας (at Max. Tyr. 32. 7 τὸν ἡμερωτῆν τῆς γῆς the reference is not explicit). The same verb for Theseus' killing of the various perils along the road from Trozen to Athens: S. fr. 905 ὄς παρακτίαν | στεῖχων ἀνημέρωσα κνωδάλων ὁδόν (the sow of Krommyon was a κνωδάλον, but the word is oddly applied to Periphetes, Sinis, Skiron, Kerkyon, Prokroustes); similarly Apollod. 3. 16. 1 (of Theseus) τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέρωσε.

but ‘find, discover (something one has been looking for)’.⁹⁷ A secondary misconception (secondary because it depends on ‘explore’) is the common notion that *γαίας* is accusative plural: Herakles might perhaps be said to have explored all lands, but he could not be said (when a good many at least of the more central ones were familiar already) to have searched for them and discovered them. And in any case a plural *γαίας* is unknown to surviving Greek literature;⁹⁸ the audience would instinctively take *γαίας* as the familiar genitive, and would forthwith be confirmed in this by *γαίας . . . καὶ . . . ἄλος* as the common ‘land and sea’.⁹⁹ Herakles discovered, then, the *θέναρ* of the whole earth and sea. So much is clear; but we must now ask what this *θέναρ* may be.

The *θέναρ* is the palm of the hand (Arist. *HA* 493b32 *χειρὸς . . . τὸ . . . ἔντος*, sch. Pind. (here, 92b) *τὸ κοῖλον τῆς χειρὸς*) or the sole of the foot (Hp. *Mul.* 2. 116, Arat. 718, Nonn. *D.* 25. 546), and its natural application in a metaphor will be to something hollow or concave.¹⁰⁰ The common explanation is (Dissen) ‘maris aequor litoribus cinctum’, (Farnell) ‘the whole of the Mediterranean basin closed in by high land’; but once again this depends on the misinterpretation of *ἔξευρών*: Herakles may have explored the whole

⁹⁷ Captain Cook, in the course of his voyages of exploration in the Pacific between 1768 and 1779, discovered a great many islands. It could be said of him presumably that *πολλὰς νήσους ἐξεῆυρε*, for he was looking for islands (and could reasonably suppose that there would be islands there); it could not ordinarily be said that he *ἔξεῆυρε* some individual island or island-group (New Caledonia, say, or Hawaii), unless he had heard reports of its existence and was making a specific search for it; it could not in any circumstances be said, unless by an editor of Pindar, that he *ἔξεῆυρε* the Pacific Ocean.

⁹⁸ There is a partitive genitive *γαῖων* three times in the *Odyssey* (8. 284 *ἦ οἱ γαῖων πολὺ φιλτάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων*, 12. 404 = 14. 302 *οὐδέ τις ἄλλη ἰ φαίνεται γαῖων*) and once in Kallimachos (*Hy.* 4. 270 *οὐδέ τις ἄλλη ἰ γαῖων τοσσόνδε . . . πεφιλήσεται*), and a non-partitive one in Dion. Per. 882 *γαῖων Ἀσίης*; I find no other plural of *γαῖα*. There are a number of instances of a plural of *γῆ* (LSJ s.v. ad init.), but mostly of types of land or soil or of parcels of land considered as property; I find a plural ‘countries’ in (?pseudo-)Demokritos (date ?), *Vorsokr.* 68 B 299 *γέας* and in Krinagoras (late first century BC), *AP* 9. 430 = Gow–Page, *GP* 1994 *γέαι* (but this author even has *χθόνες*, 9. 235. 1 = 1911). I do not know what Aeschylus wrote at *Pers.* 736, where the manuscripts have *γέφυραν ἐν δυοῖν* (δοιοῖν M) *ζευκτηρίαν*, but I do not think it likely to be *γαῖν δυοῖν*. (Nor can I accept Page’s *ἐν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίων*. I should look rather for a single genitive with the scansion –υ–, but have thought of nothing better than *ἡμόνων*.)

⁹⁹ I read of course *βαθνκρήμον* with the manuscripts; Heyne’s *βαθύκρημον*, making *βαθύκρημον πολιᾶς ἄλος . . . θέναρ* into a self-contained unity, would be desirable with *γαίας* accusative but is certainly impossible with *γαίας* genitive. For the double epithet with *ἄλος* cf. *P.* 4. 249 *κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχραις ποικιλόντων ὄφιν*, *O.* 6. 57 *τερπνάς . . . χρυσοστεφάνοιο λάβειν ἰ καρπὸν Ἥβας*, and perhaps *N.* 6. 43 *δακίους ἰ Φλειούντος ὕπ’ ὠγγίους ὄρεσιν* (so the paradoxos, but *ὠγγίους* ‘Bergk’); in none of these do the epithets add anything more essential than ours do here. (They are more purposeful at *N.* 4. 27 *τὸν μέγαν πολεμιστᾶν ἔκπαλον Ἀλκωνῆ*.)

¹⁰⁰ So at *P.* 4. 206 *νεόκτιστον λίθων βωμοῖο θέναρ*, explained as the upper surface of the altar, recessed (rimmed?) to receive the sacrifice.

Mediterranean basin, but he did not (beginning somewhere near its centre) search for it and discover it. Now what he did notoriously search for and discover, whether on his quest for the apples of the Hesperides or on that for the cattle of Geryon, was the western world's-end that took its name from the pillars he planted there; and I do not doubt that it is to this that Pindar is referring here. And that indeed was supposed by someone in antiquity; for the scholia (92b) paraphrase with *πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς πολυβαθοῦς θαλάσσης ἀνερευνήσας καὶ κατειληφώς τὸ τέλος*. What we do not learn from the scholia is how *θέναρ* could be supposed to mean or to imply *τὸ τέλος*,¹⁰¹ and it is into this that we must now inquire: either the western world's-end is in some way the *θέναρ* of land and sea, or *θέναρ* must (however unexpectedly) be a corruption of a word that will give us the sense we need.

Neither 'palm' nor 'sole' is an intelligible metaphor for the extremity of a horizontal extent, and we are bound, I think, to start from the palm as something hollow. Now the straits of Gibraltar form the single outlet to the Mediterranean:¹⁰² everywhere else the sea is hemmed in by land, land that is commonly high (the sea is *βαθύκρημος*¹⁰³) and that behind the coast stretches away in land-masses that for Pindar had no known limit.¹⁰⁴ Only at this one point is there a break in the land-masses; only at this one point does the surrounding land sink down in a concavity that is backed by no extent of land but gives access (by the straits it contains) to the emptiness beyond. Could this perhaps be the *θέναρ*, the hollow or concavity, of the whole earth and deep-cliffed sea? Perhaps it could. But there are concavities and concavities, and this particular concavity has no very evident similarity to that of the human palm; unless the metaphor of the *θέναρ* had antecedents now lost to us, I am reluctant to suppose that Pindar perplexed his audience with this

¹⁰¹ Appended to the paraphrase is a professed explanation: *θέναρ μὲν γὰρ κυρίως τὸ κοῖλον τῆς χειρός . . ., νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλότητος ἐπὶ τοῦ πυθμένος ἔταξε*. This explains, of course, nothing at all: to say that *θέναρ* is used of the sea-bottom (a quite extraordinary notion: Herakles a precursor of Jacques Cousteau?) throws not light but blackest darkness on an interpretation of it as 'end (of the earth)'. As it stands, pure muddle; but the muddle may of course have arisen during transmission, whether by the garbling of a single explanation or (more probably?) by the conflation of two inconsistent ones.

¹⁰² The Hellespont is not an outlet: the Black Sea is not external to the Mediterranean basin, but merely an appanage or extension of the Mediterranean itself.

¹⁰³ *Ἀ κρημνός* is *βαθός* as you look down from the top, *ὕψηλός* as you look up from below; the *ὕψικρημον πόλις* of [A.] *Prom.* 421 is built at the top of high cliffs, the *βαθύκρημος ἄλς* lies at the foot of high cliffs (just as in *N.* 9. 40 *βαθυκρήμοισιν . . . ἄκταις Ἐλώρου* the river flows at the foot of high banks). The rendering *πολυβαθής* in the scholion, as though the *κρημοί* went down deep into the water, is certainly mistaken. Nor do we want deep water at the world's end: rather shallows, *N.* 3. 24 *τεναγέων* (and see also my note on *E. Hipp.* 744–5).

¹⁰⁴ At *P.* 4. 251 *πόντωι . . . ἐρυθρῶι* he has some faint inkling of the existence of the Indian Ocean; I do not regard this as a 'known limit'.

obscurity. If *θέναρ* is indeed what he wrote, the obscurity is inescapable: I see no other way of extracting an acceptable sense. To escape it we shall need to replace *θέναρ* by some other word; and a word I suppose that was unfamiliar enough to lend itself to this *prima facie* not very probable corruption. Now a word that would give straightforward sense here is *πέρας*,¹⁰⁵ and that word has an unusual history: originally *πέρφαρ*, it develops in epic quite regularly into *πείραρ*, and in Attic and Doric it ought to develop just as regularly into *πέραρ*. But in Attic this *πέραρ* has been converted, presumably by dissimilation of the ρ (and perhaps with *τέρας -ατος* to help¹⁰⁶), into *πέρας*. We have no business to assume the same dissimilation for Doric,¹⁰⁷ and I see no reason whatever why Pindar should not be credited with *πέραρ*;¹⁰⁸ and if that word did appear in his text, the corruption of the oddity to the more familiar *θέναρ*¹⁰⁹ is not unthinkable.

As another possible replacement of *θέναρ* I have considered *τέκμαρ*, of which Aristotle says (*Rh.* 1357b9) τὸ . . . τέκμαρ καὶ πέρας ταυτόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γλώσσαν; but in the first place the instances of *τέκμαρ* (*τέκμωρ*)

¹⁰⁵ Common in the plural of the ends of the earth: Hes. *Th.* 518 Atlas holds the sky *πεύραων ἐν γαίης πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων*, Alk. 345 γὰς ἀπὸ περράτων, *Th.* 1. 69. 5 ἐκ περάτων γῆς, etc. For the singular I have found only Xenoph. *Vorsokr.* 21 B 28 γαίης . . . τὸδε *πεύρας* of the upper extremity (= surface) of the earth as opposed to the lower; but I do not doubt that the singular would be perfectly possible of an 'end of the earth' in one particular horizontal direction.

¹⁰⁶ So long as *τέρας* had already acquired its -τ- (which was not original).

¹⁰⁷ Or indeed for any dialect other than Attic. I find a form *πεύρας* in texts of Xenophanes and Parmenides, *Vorsokr.* 21 B 28 and 28 B 8. 42; but one can put little trust in the dialect forms of quotation fragments, and this need only be a copyist's (or quoter's) assimilation of epic *πεύραρ* to Attic *πέρας*. In Xenophanes, variants -αc and -αν (-αρ Maass); Orph. fr. 66b <= 111 Bernabé> is cited twice with *πεύραρ* and once with *πεύρας*.

¹⁰⁸ The nominative or accusative singular occurs in two other places in Pindar, and each time the manuscripts have in effect *πέρας*: at *O.* 2. 31 the first syllable is long, and *πέρας* is universally corrected to *πεύρας* (Moschopoulos); at *N.* 7. 19 it is short, *πέρας* (the manuscripts have one letter wrong, *παρὰ εἶμα* stupidly for *πέρας ἄμα*; there is no doubt about the correction, as I show in Part II). It could be that Pindar was inconsistent, and sometimes used -αc and sometimes -αρ; it could be that he always used -αρ and that his *ΠΕΡΑΡ*, here corrupted to *θέναρ*, was elsewhere normalized to *πέρας*. One may suspect that Pindar's dialect forms underwent at an early stage a good deal of more or less systematic normalization: I cannot think it fortuitous that the only traces in his manuscripts of an accusative τε = ce are at *O.* 1. 48, where it was mistaken for the particle, and at *N.* 6. 60, where it was corrupted to τὸ. If Pindar did indeed write *πέραρ*, then that of course may be what the paraphrase is interpreting with its *τέλος* (just as at *O.* 2. 31 *πεύρας* . . . *θανάτου* is paraphrased in sch. 55b τὸ τέλος τοῦ θανάτου); but I cannot exclude the possibility that this *τέλος* should belong to a paraphrase, whether irrational or inscrutably rational, of a text with *θέναρ*.

¹⁰⁹ I say 'the more familiar *θέναρ*': familiar not from its occasional appearances in literature but as a presumably workaday term for a part of the human body. There are not a great many words in -αρ: about eighty (excluding compounds) in Buck–Petersen, *Reverse Index*, 299, many of them unlikely to have been in current use and only about a quarter disyllabic with the first syllable short. If *πέραρ* was to be corrupted to one of them, *θέναρ* is a likely candidate.

‘end’ provide no analogy for a spatial *γαίας τέκμαρ* ‘end of the earth’,¹¹⁰ and in the second place *τέκμαρ* would be nothing like as vulnerable to corruption as would my supposed *πέραρ*.

I come back at last to the anomalous short anceps, (*ναυτιλίας τε πορ*)*θμόν* (*ἡμερώσαις*); and I will first consider the meaning of *πορθμός*. This, related to *περᾶν* ‘cross (the sea)’, is properly (a) an action noun, a crossing of the sea¹¹¹ (over any distance¹¹²) from one place on land to another; from this it moves easily into (b) ‘route across the sea’ (compare *ὁδός*, both ‘journey’ and ‘route’), and is then applied especially to (c) routes across narrow waters and then the narrow waters themselves. I exemplify: (a) E. *IA* 1379 *κἂν ἐμοὶ πορθμός τε ναῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν κατασκαφαί*, *Hel.* 532 (Menelaos’ wanderings) *πορθμοὺς . . . ἀλάσθαι μυρίους* (internal accusative), *ib.* 127 (of the return from Troy to Greece) *οὐ πάσι πορθμὸς αὐτὸς Ἀργείοισιν ἦν;—ἦν, ἀλλὰ χεμιὼν ἄλλος’ ἄλλον ὄρισε* (not ‘didn’t they all cross by the same route?’ but ‘didn’t they all make the crossing together?’); (b) E. *Cy.* 108 (to Odysseus, who has just said that he has come to Sicily from Troy) *πῶς; πορθμὸν οὐκ ἤδησθα πατρώιας χθονός*; (the route from Troy to Ithaka); (c) sometimes indeterminate between ‘route across narrows’ and ‘narrows’, but often clearly ‘narrows’, e.g. *Hdt.* 8. 76. 1, 91. Now which of these meanings can we suppose here, in *ναυτιλίας . . . πορθμὸν ἡμερώσαις*? It is not the action noun: first, what is made *ἡμερος* is not the action of crossing the sea, not the journey across it, but the sea itself or the route or routes across it;¹¹³ secondly, even if that were invalid and *πορθμὸν ἡμερώσαι* could be ‘make sea-crossing safe’, one could never say ‘make sea-crossing safe for seafarers’ (for seafarers, yes; but this is not ‘seafarers’¹¹⁴). It is not ‘the narrows’, i.e. the straits of Gibraltar: Herakles did not open up to navigation the straits that to Pindar are the very type of the *ne plus ultra*, the limit beyond which no man may go (I cite the

¹¹⁰ The semantic development of *τέκμαρ* (*τέκμωρ*), as ‘end’ and ‘sign’, and of the related *τεκμαίρεσθαι*, is obscure. But in the instances where the noun is ‘end’ it seems to be the end of an activity or situation, and I find nothing in the least like *γαίας τέκμαρ*: even at *Il.* 13. 20 *ἵκετο τέκμωρ*, *I Aἴγας*, the *τέκμωρ* is the end of an activity, his journey, and not of an extent of space; of a situation at *Il.* 16. 472 (horses and harness are in a tangle) *τοιοῦτο . . . εὔρητο τέκμωρ*, *Od.* 4. 373 (to Odysseus, becalmed at Pharos) *οὐδέ τι τέκμωρ | εὔρέμεναι δύνασαι*; of existence at *Pind.* fr. 165, the hamadryads *ἰσοδένδρου τέκμαρ αἰῶνος . . . λαχοίαι*, and presumably *Il.* 7. 30 (cf. 9. 48, 418, 685) *εἰς ὃ κε τέκμωρ | Ἰλίου εὔρωσιν* (the end of Ilios = the end of its existence); of activity at *P.* 2. 49 *θεὸς ἅπαν ἐπὶ ἐπιδουσι τέκμαρ ἀνύεται*. I will not pursue a commentator’s equating of *τέκμωρ* with *τέλος* in *Alkm.* *PMGF* 5. 2 ii: it is certainly irrelevant to the present question.

¹¹¹ Or of a river that needs to be crossed by boat (or by Centaur: *S. Tr.* 571).

¹¹² See my examples. And this applies equally to derivatives: *πορθμῆς* ‘ship carrying passengers’ E. *Hipp.* 753 from Crete to Athens, *IT* 355 from Greece to the Taurians; *πορθμέεσ* ‘crew of such a ship’ *Hdt.* 1. 24. 4, 7, from Taras to Corinth.

¹¹³ Just as in *S. Fr.* 905 (n. 96 above) the *ὁδός* that Theseus made *ἡμερος* is ‘route’ not ‘journey’.

¹¹⁴ A surprising number of translators pretend that it is.

instances above, n. 49,¹¹⁵ one of them from this very ode). It must therefore be ‘route across the sea’;¹¹⁶ and what we must now ask is, why the singular? At this point my inquiry into the previous clause bears fruit; if that clause is concerned with Herakles’ discovery of one particular place, the western world’s-end, the singular will be understood inevitably as the route to that place: he discovered the world’s end and made the route there safe for navigation.

Unambiguous sense; but not the sense we need. What Herakles made safe for navigation was not this single route (one which by Pindar’s time was no longer open to the Greeks¹¹⁷) but routes in general: references to his *ἡμέρωσις* of the sea are always expressed in purely general terms (I give the references above;¹¹⁸ from Latin one might add Sen. *HF* 955 *perdomita tellus, tumida cesserunt freta*, *Med.* 637 (Herakles’ death) *post terrae pelagique pacem*, *Ov. Her.* 9. 15 *se tibi pax terrae, tibi se tuta aequora debent*). If we are to have the same general *ἡμέρωσις* here we need not *πορθμόν* but *πορθμούς*; and if we read this to satisfy the sense, we shall at the same time get rid of the metrical anomaly. Pindar did not introduce that anomaly in order to spoil the sense: I regard the correction as certain.

(d) Resistant instance

I have listed 147 acceptable instances of short ancepts in the epinikia:

- (a) under my primary rule: first strophe or epode, 73, echoing them, 56;
- (b) under my secondary rule: first antistrophe, 3; echoing them, 4;
- (c) legitimate exceptions: in proper names, 8; in postpositives appended to proper names, 3.

There remains one short ancept, and only one, which does not fall into any of these categories: *O.* 8. 42 *ἀλ(ί)κκεται*, corresponding to 20 (*Αἰ*)*γιν(αν)* in the

¹¹⁵ I do not cite (irrelevant to my purpose there) *N.* 4. 69 *Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν*. When he substitutes Gadeira for the straits Pindar will have been quite unaware that Cádiz is about fifty miles outside the straits; indeed in fr. 256 he calls the straits *πύλαι Γαδειρίδες*.

¹¹⁶ It is not of course ‘the sea’, as alleged by LSJ s.v. (I. 1b, citing this passage alone); they appear to owe this fiction to Dissen.

¹¹⁷ By the late sixth century the Mediterranean west of Sardinia was virtually a Carthaginian lake: ‘the Greek share of the far west dwindled to the coasts of Gaul and north-east Spain, and . . . the way thither lay through waters controlled by the hostile Etruscans’ (Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, 344).

¹¹⁸ I will speak further about one of them: *E. Her.* 400 from a selective account of the feats of Herakles. A stanza begins with the Hesperides; then *ποντίας θ’ ἄλδος μυχοῦς εἰέβαινε, θνατοῖς γαλάνειαν τιθεῖς ἔρετμοῖς*; then Atlas. The Mediterranean has many *μυχοί*; but it may be that Euripides in this context is thinking of its western ones and therefore of the *ἡμέρωσις* of these in particular. But whatever his thoughts, his language remains purely general.

first epode. Naturally I should like to get rid of this unique exception; but there is no simple correction available, and my rule, with its primary and secondary stages, is not straightforward enough for me to be willing to make a violent change for its sake alone. I must consider therefore whether there is any other reason to suspect corruption.

Apollo and Poseidon are building the walls of Troy; and since Troy is fated to be sacked, and wholly god-built walls would be impregnable, they call Aiakos in to help them. When the walls are finished, three snakes try to get over them into the city, and two fail (and die) but one succeeds; this symbolizes of course the impregnability of the parts built by the two gods and the inadequacy of the part built by Aiakos.¹¹⁹ Then Apollo declares, according to the manuscripts,

*Πέρραμος ἀμφὶ τεαῖς, ἦρωσ, χερὸς ἐργααίαις ἀλίσκεται,
ὡς ἐμοὶ φάσμα λέγει Κρονίδα
πεμφθὲν βαρυγδούπου Διός,
οὐκ ἄτερ παίδων κέθεν, ἀλλ' ἄμα πρώτοις ἄρξεται
καὶ τετράτοις.*

Two generations of Aiakos' descendants will be involved in the taking of Troy: his sons (Telamon, and perhaps Peleus¹²⁰) as helpers of Herakles, his great-grandsons (Neoptolemos, Epeios) in the final sacking under Agamemnon.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ The symbolism was understood aright in antiquity (sch. 49b, 53d), but also wrongly (sch. 52a, 53e: the failures are Aias and Achilles, the successful snake Neoptolemos). The wrong interpretation is absurd, in that it bears no relation to anything in Apollo's prophecy (neither to the penetrability of the wall nor to the two generations of successful Aiakids); I find it remarkable (and disheartening) that there are still scholars who accept it.

¹²⁰ Usually it is only Telamon who is said to have accompanied Herakles; and so presumably Pindar himself at *N.* 3. 37, 4. 25. But Pindar includes this attack on Troy in a list of Peleus' early exploits (fr. 172), and similarly Euripides, *Andr.* 797.

¹²¹ The Greeks suffered from a custom of counting inclusively: a festival held every four years was *πενταετηρίς*, every two years *τριετηρίς*; 'every other day' was *διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης* (Hdt. 2. 37. 2, Hp. *Fract.* 48); the archon of 452/1 was seventh after the archon of 458/7 (Life of Pindar, *P. Oxy.* 2438); a man's grandson was *τρίτος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (Hdt. 3. 55. 2, Pl. *Rep.* 391c, Kall. *Hym.* 6. 98), his great-great-grandson *πέμπτος ἀπόγονος* (Hdt. 1. 13. 2). So that *τετράτοις* was for a Greek the proper number to define Aiakos' great-grandsons. But even a Greek could not call a man's own sons his *παῖδες δεύτεροι*; and Pindar abandons inclusive counting with his *πρώτοις*. (So for the day two days before the nones the Romans said *a.d. iiii nonas*, but for the day one day before them not *a.d. ii nonas* but *pridie nonas*.)

I do not suppose that Pindar gave a thought to the fact that he was counting in two different ways, or was even aware that he was; any more than people who fancy that the twenty-first century will begin on 1 January 2000 are aware that their fancy entails the equation $20 \times 100 = 1999$. But scholars, starting with the scholiast (59, 60a), have been aware of it. The more sensible ones have contented themselves with remarking on the fact. But Ahrens wanted Pindar's counting to be consistent, and to this end made a foolish conjecture which has imposed on a good many editors since: *τετράτοις*, to mean 'third'. The form, which is Ahrens' own invention, is intended to be an expansion of Aeolic *τέρτος* comparable to epic *τρίτατος* expanded from

And of each generation it is said that, with their assistance, Πέρραμος . . . ἀλίσκεται at the place where the walls have been built by Aiakos.

Now what this naturally means is that the walls will be breached in this part by an assaulting enemy, who will then go on to capture the city. That is what happened when Telamon came; we are told indeed that he pulled down part of the wall before Herakles could do so himself.¹²² But it is not what happened at the later capture of Troy; which was notoriously achieved not by an assault on the walls but by the stratagem of the wooden horse,¹²³ which was left outside the city by the Greeks and introduced into it not by the Greeks but by the Trojans themselves.

Now if the Trojans had simply brought the horse into the city through a gate, it would have been impossible for Pindar to associate the capture of the city with a weak place in the walls. But the horse was too big to be drawn in through a gate, and the Trojans demolished part of the walls in order to bring it in (*Little Iliad*, in Proklos' summary, διελόντες μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους; Verg. *A.* 2. 234 *diuidimus muros*); and it must be to this that Pindar is referring. But can you really say that the city ἀλίσκεται at the point where the Trojans demolish their own walls in order to admit the horse?¹²⁴ I should have

τρίτος, and I find this wildly improbable: when epic poets wanted to use a case such as -ων, -ης, -οις, the form τρίτατος enabled them to avoid the prosodic anomaly of e.g. δὲ τρίτων; but τρίτος can involve no such anomaly, and I think τρίτατος no more likely to have been formed than πέμπτατος or ἑκτατος. But even if the form were acceptable, Ahrens would not achieve his end by 'third'; he would merely make Pindar say 'grandsons', which he does not mean, in place of 'great-grandsons', which he does.

¹²² Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F 109; Apollod. 2. 6. 4. 2, Diod. 4. 32. 5, Serv. on *Aen.* 1. 619.

¹²³ 'Notoriously' in Pindar's day: the story was told in cyclic epic (*Little Iliad*, *Sack of Troy*) and by Stesichoros, and is brought up three times in the *Odyssey* as something completely familiar (4. 266 ff., 8. 492 ff., 11. 525 ff.); for its appearances in ancient art see Hainsworth on *Od.* 8. 492–3.

¹²⁴ If the main Greek army, when they returned that night, had entered the city through the gap made for the horse, it might make rather more sense to say that the city ἀλίσκεται there. But it seems that they did not: we are told that the men from inside the horse opened the gates to let them in (Apollod. *Ep.* 5. 20, Verg. *A.* 2. 266). I envisage the traditional story as follows.

The gates will not have extended to the full height of the wall, which will have continued uninterrupted above them; they will presumably have been of the same sort of size as the Lion Gate of Mycenae (gateway c. 3.2 metres high, 3.1 to 2.9 metres wide). The horse was not too wide to go through them, but much too tall; and so the Trojans demolished the wall above the gate which the horse was to enter. So Serv. on *A.* 2. 234 (*diuidimus muros*), *muros superpositas Scaevae portae; nam sequitur 'quater ipso in limine'*; Plaut. *Bacch.* 955 (it was disastrous for Troy) *quom portae Phrygiae limen superum* [i.e. the lintel] *scinderetur*, 987 (symbolizing a development of the action of the play) *superum limen scinditur*. The horse was then brought in through the gate: Verg. *A.* 2. 242, it stopped four times *ipso in limine portae*; Triph. 335–9, it was a tight fit through the gate, and Hera and Poseidon had to help it through. Presumably we are to think that the gate was closed again at nightfall; though since its leaves will have been supported on pivots in threshold and lintel, I do not know how this was done.

It looks as though we have the horse's entry into Troy in a fragment of Stesichoros' *Sack*

expected rather (to suit both the captures) something meaning ‘have its wall demolished’ or ‘admit the enemy’; and since the word containing the anomalous short ancept is now seen to give a sense which is not the sense that I should expect, I suppose the case for assuming corruption to be now very strong.

I can think of nothing suitable that has any visual similarity to *άλίσκεται*; I suppose therefore that we should regard *άλίσκεται* as a mistaken gloss that has replaced the original text. A text glossed by *άλίσκεται* was presumably in the present (i.e. the not very common oracular present); but we have no hope of recovering the actual words. My requirements would be met by *Περγάμου . . . τείχος πίτνει* (which might easily have been glossed *άλίσκεται*); but I give that not as a proposal but as an exemplification.

There is one other thing to be considered here: namely 45 *ἄρξεται*. If this is what Pindar wrote, I can understand it only as a very harsh *zeugma*: it will begin¹²⁵ when your sons are there and (be repeated) when your great-grandsons are. But what is ‘it’? It must be a verbal noun understood from *άλίσκεται* or its replacement: the *ἄλωσις*, or e.g. the destruction of the wall. Two difficulties here: first, the supplying of the subject, which I find very odd indeed;¹²⁶ second, that the two quite separate and unconnected sackings of Troy should be treated as a kind of continuum which ‘begins’ with the first of the sackings. It may be that the replacement of *άλίσκεται* could provide a more straightforward subject: if for instance Pindar had written something like *Πέργαμος . . . λύμαν ἔχει* or *πάσχει φθοράν* (again, I do no more than exemplify), the subject of *ἄρξεται* would be there before us. We should still be left with the *zeugma* and the continuum; but we might now abolish these by changing *ἄρξεται* to another verb (most simply, *ἔσεται*; or perhaps something such as *ἴξεται* or *ἔμβεται*).¹²⁷

of Troy, PMGF S105 (nothing survives to indicate entry through a gate, but Poseidon’s help does tally with Triphiodoros). I supplement on these lines: [οὐδέ ποτ’ ἂν Δα]ναοὶ μεμ[αό]τεσ ἔκθορον ἴ[π]π[ου], | εἰ μὴ κλυτὸς Ἐ]ννοσίδας γαῖάοχος ἀγνὸς ἔ[σω] | συνείρυσεν οὐ γ[ὰρ] Ἀπόλλων | Πέργα-
μον εἰς [ἰ]αράν οὐδ’ Ἄρταμις οὐδ’ Ἀφροδίτα | [εἰσίναι νιν ἕακον.] (My text depends on a combination, which has been disputed, of fragments of two papyri; for the last line there is room for only c. 12 letters, and I suppose corruption.)

¹²⁵ The word could also of itself be used as a passive, ‘will be ruled’; one can only deplore the pretence that that is equivalent here to ‘will be subdued’.

¹²⁶ I know of nothing comparable; I have got no help from KG i. 32–6 ‘Ellipse des Subjekts’.

¹²⁷ There have of course been attempts at so emending *ἄρξεται* that *Πέργαμος* may be its subject; they have failed completely, and often absurdly. Two of them have deluded, or half-deluded, a number of editors, viz. Bergk’s *ρήξεται* and Wilamowitz’s *ράξεται* (more or less ‘will be broken’ and ‘will be smashed’); I cannot suppose for a moment that *Πέργαμος* could be subject of either. (Certainly *τείχος ῥηγνύναι*, or usually *ῥήγνυθαι*, is common in *Il.* 12; but that *τείχος* is not a city wall but the structure built by the Greeks to protect their ships.)

I can of course make no attempt at restoring Pindar's actual words; but I am confident that neither *ἀλίσκεται* nor *ἄρξεται* is what he wrote, and I should print them both with obeli. And to return at last to my original purpose: if *ἀλίσκεται* is corrupt, the anomalous short anceps disappears; if a metrical anomaly occurs in a word which does not give satisfactory sense, it is quite safe to assume that the remedy which puts the sense to right will at the same time remove the metrical anomaly.

E. *Isthmians* 3 and 4

These two odes, composed for one and the same victor, Melissos of Thebes, are composed also with one and the same metrical scheme: five identical triads, of which one forms *I. 3* and four form *I. 4*. That two separate odes should be metrically identical is unparalleled; and a number of editors have maintained therefore that the odes are not separate, but were intended to form a continuous whole. I have never understood how anyone could suppose this to be even possible; and I will now adduce the incidence of short anceps as further evidence that it is false. But first I will briefly rehearse the other evidence.¹²⁸

First, the form of the odes. Each of them has its own beginning and its own end; if either of them had been lost and only the other preserved, no one could for a moment have supposed that the survivor was in any way defective.¹²⁹ Put them together, in whatever order, and they fall apart immediately at the join.

Second, the victories. *I. 3* is concerned with a pair of victories won by Melissos (9 *διδύμων ἀέθλων*), one at the Isthmos (event not named), the other with the chariot at Nemea. *I. 4* is concerned with a single victory, in the pankration at the Isthmos, and Pindar speaks of it as the family's first victory of any note for many a long year: the family had once been distinguished in the games,¹³⁰ but then for a long interval (after the death of four of its members in a single battle) its distinction had been dormant; now with

¹²⁸ There is a useful account of the problem and its history in A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar*, 87–94. (I use 'problem' to mean 'question propounded for discussion'; I do not mean 'question difficult of solution', for it is not.)

¹²⁹ With both preserved, there have of course been such fancies: Köhnken, 89–90.

¹³⁰ Not in fact as distinguished as Pindar pretends: the only actual victories he can cite are at Athens (presumably in the Great Panathenaia) and Sikyon; he makes up by speaking of their competing in the major games, and by suggesting (with an analogy from legend: Aias' defeat by Odysseus over Achilles' arms) that they ought by rights to have had the success they did not achieve: *καὶ κρέεσσι' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων | ἔσφαλε τέχνα καταμάρψαισα* (the aorist gnomic, but with the implication of course that that was what happened in this actual case).

Melissos' Isthmian victory, and with this ode to celebrate it,¹³¹ it is awake again. Pindar insists on this at great length and with elaborate imagery (spring after winter, awakening after sleep): his language is inconceivable unless the Isthmian victory is Melissos' first major victory and his only major victory to date.¹³² It follows that *I.* 4 was composed before the Nemean victory, and that *I.* 3 was composed when *I.* 4 was already complete: I regard this conclusion as inescapable, and can see no rational argument that might be advanced against it.

Those who suppose the odes to form a whole are divided between two opinions. According to one, the whole was conceived as a whole from the very beginning; the opinion flies in the face of reason, and I shall not waste time by considering it further. The other opinion is at least rational: that *I.* 4 was composed as an independent ode for the pankration victory, and that when Melissos won his Nemean victory, some fifteen months after the Isthmian,¹³³ *I.* 3 was prefixed to it, so that the whole might form a single ode.¹³⁴ This takes proper account of the victories; where it breaks down (and at this point reasoning from the facts must be reinforced by an understanding of thought and poetry) is over the total lack of coherence between the end of *I.* 3 and the beginning of *I.* 4: 'carmina uno quasi spiritu cantari potuisse

¹³¹ The ode is given by Poseidon (21): no victory other than the Isthmian can be meant.

¹³² He had some minor ones, which Pindar names at the end of the ode (67–72): three of them, two as a man and one as a boy, in the Theban Herakleia (= Iolaeia). But these, won in his own city, can do nothing of course to revive the ancient glory.

That this is his first major victory is obvious; that it is his only major victory to date is of course another point, but I think it equally obvious. Nottingham Forest, after winning the Football Association cup in 1898, had no major distinction until they won the Football League cup on 22 March 1978 and then became league champions on 18 April 1978. If I wrote an ode in which I congratulated them at length on reviving past glories by winning the Football League cup, and said no word of their being champions, would anyone doubt for a moment that I wrote the ode before 18 April? But Nottingham Forest are a real club consisting of real men, and Pindar and his victors are only the subject-matter of classical scholarship.

¹³³ The Isthmia were held in the spring or early summer of the even-numbered years BC, the Nemeia in the high summer of the odd-numbered years; if (what I do not doubt) the Nemean victory was at the Nemeia next following the Isthmian victory, the interval was of a year plus about three months. The arithmetic is simple enough but seems to have caused trouble: Schroeder speaks of the Nemean victory as coming three months *before* the anniversary of the Isthmian, and Wilamowitz says (*Pindaros*, 336) 'als etwa dreiviertel Jahre später Melissos . . . bei Nemea siegte'; for Thummer (*Die isthmischen Gedichte*, ii. 56) the interval appears to have shrunk still further, to 'einige Monate'.

¹³⁴ This is supposed by some to have been done when *I.* 4 had already been performed; by others, when it had been composed but not yet performed. Since I am confident that it was never done at all, I have no need to resolve their disagreement. But I remark that fifteen months would be a surprising time-lag for an ode by a Theban poet for a Theban victor.

et negauī . . . et nego', says Schroeder (ed. mai., 71); equidem et nego et negabo.¹³⁵

Human error is often to be laid at the door of accident or irrelevance; and so here it can be laid at the door of both. The accident is that though at Alexandria the odes were recognized to be separate,¹³⁶ in one of the two independent medieval manuscripts, D, they were run together,¹³⁷ and appeared so combined in D's descendants, including the *editio princeps* (the Aldine); B, in which they were kept separate, left no progeny here but the *editio Romana* (of Kallierges) and was itself lost to sight, and until it was rediscovered by Tycho Mommsen the unitarians had an illusion of authority behind them (and when the illusion vanished, their view persisted: falsehood, once established, will commonly survive the loss of the evidence that established it). The irrelevance is that *I. 3* precedes *I. 4* in the tradition: it does so for perfectly intelligible reasons, but reasons which are quite unconnected with the order of composition of or performance (to which Aristophanes, when he classified and arranged the odes, demonstrably paid no attention whatever).¹³⁸ Within each book of Pindar's epinikia the odes are arranged in four categories according to event: first, equestrian; second, boxing, wrestling, pankration, and (presumably) pentathlon; third, foot-races; fourth, at Pytho, musical.¹³⁹ *I. 3*, in which the only named event is the chariot-race, will have

¹³⁵ Indeed the prefixers themselves are not wholly at ease with their prefixing: Wilamowitz <*Pindaros*, 336> (after citing the opening of *I. 4*) 'das ist . . . hinter dem Schlusse der ersten Triade [= *I. 3*] wirklich kaum zu ertragen und konnte in einem Zuge nicht ausgesprochen werden'; Farnell (i. 256) 'the juncture . . . has not been effected with perfect skill'; Bowra (*Pindar*, 317) 'the joints are not very neat'.

¹³⁶ Evidence from the scholia in Köhnken, 87 n. 1.

¹³⁷ Certainly by accident not design, for in fact D runs together not just *I. 3* and 4, but the three odes *I. 2*, 3, 4. The common ancestor of BD omitted the headings of all the *Isthmians*, and left in each case simply a blank space; B preserves the spaces, but D in these two places closed them up.

¹³⁸ Of two odes for a single victory, *O. 11* was performed before *O. 10*, Bacch. 2 before 1; of Phylakidas' two victories in the pankration at the Isthmos, that of *I. 6* was at an earlier Isthmiad than that of *I. 5*.

The normal principle in such cases seems to be that the longer ode is put first. This is true of *O. 10* and 11 (5 triads, 1 triad) and Bacch. 1 and 2 (8 triads, 1 triad); it is true also in two cases of two odes for a single victory where we cannot say which of them was performed first, *O. 2* and 3 (5 triads, 3 triads) and *P. 4* and 5 (13 triads, 4 triads). If there is no marked difference in length the order is arbitrary: *I. 5* and 6 (each 3 triads), Bacch. 6 and 7 (each 2 strophes).

¹³⁹ See the table in Thummer's commentary on the *Isthmians*, ii. 115; though he tries to be too precise (within each category the order is evidently arbitrary). For the pentathlon, I have supposed the second category to be more suitable than the third, but the instances are not decisive: *N. 7* comes where the two categories meet; *O. 13*, placed between two foot-race odes, is for a double victory in stadion and pentathlon, and may have been categorized by either (I have assumed the stadion).

been treated as equestrian,¹⁴⁰ and *I. 4* was treated of course as pankration; doubtless the odes were placed last and first within their respective categories so that they might come together, but the order in which they come together is determined by their category and by nothing else.

I come at last to the incidence of short aneeps. I can best show this by means of a table, in which I set out all instances of ancipitia which either are short or correspond to a short at any point in either ode.

Horizontally: all corresponding instances of the aneeps in question, first those in *I. 4*, then those in *I. 3*; if an instance is short, the line number is (bracketed); ‡ indicates a proper name; * indicates disputable (i.e. susceptible of either scansion); if long, the line-number is unadorned.

Vertically: triad by triad, with the epode placed beneath the antistrophe.

Table D

		Isthmian 4					Isthmian 3		
(1)	7	19	25	37	43	55	61	1	7
(1)	7	19	25	37	433	55	61*	1	7*
(2)	8	20	(26)‡	(38)	(44)	56	62	2	8*
3	9	21	27	39	45	57	63	3	9
4	10	22	28	40	46	58	(64)‡	4	10
	(14)	32	50	(68)	14				
	15*	33	51*	69	(15)‡				
	(16)	34	52	70	16				
	(17)	35	53	71	17*				
	(17)	35	53	71	(17)				
	18	36	54*	(72)‡	18				

Disputable: *I. 4.* 15 Ἀρ(ει), 51 δ' ἀκμ(ᾶ), 54 ὄφρ(α), 61 (ὑπερ)θεν δ(αῖτα); *I. 3.* 7 (ἄποι)να χρ(ή), 8 (χαρίτε)ς εν β(αετᾶσαι), 17 (Λαβδακίδαι)ς εν (σύννομοι).

¹⁴⁰ But it will have been classified as Isthmian not Nemean because the Isthmos (with its unspecified victory) is named before Nemea: when an ode celebrates victories at more than one venue, it is classified according to the victory that Pindar mentions first. So *O. 9*, with Olympia, Pytho; *O. 12*, with Olympia, Pytho, Isthmos; *I. 2* (not a true epinician, but that does not affect the issue), with Isthmos, Pytho, Athens, Olympia; *I. 8*, with Isthmos, Nemea. *P. 7*, with the order (including earlier victories of the family) Isthmos, Olympia, Pytho, is classified as Pythian because the list of victories is preceded by a mention of the Alkmaionidai's building of the temple at Pytho (doubtless it is rightly so classified, for the Pythian victory of 486 accords with the evident reference in 18–19 to Megakles' ostracism of 487/6). In *I. 6* a Nemean victory is mentioned before the Isthmian; but it is expressly said to have been celebrated already in an earlier ode (*viz. N. 5*), and there is a clear implication that it was won (as it was) by an older member of the family.

I should perhaps issue a warning against Thummer's statement (*op. cit.*, i. 26), 'das Lob des aktuellen Sieges steht immer an erster Stelle des Siegeslobes, auch dann, wenn dieser Sieg nicht der ranghöchste Sieg des Gefeierten ist'. If by 'der aktuelle Sieg' he means 'the victory by which Aristophanes classified the ode', his statement is false for *P. 7* and for *I. 6* (and in so far as it is true it puts the truth very oddly). If he means 'the most recent victory', it is false for *O. 9*, where

It will be seen immediately that the incidence of short anceps in the first strophe and epode of *I. 4* is compatible only with their belonging to the first triad of an ode: three instances in the strophe and four in the epode, and two of them with echoing short anceps in later triads. That this triad should be the second triad of an ode beginning with *I. 3* is out of the question: the arrangement would create in *I. 4* an impossible collection of anomalous short ancipitia; even if the disputable ancipitia in *I. 3* were all treated as short, the arrangement would create in *I. 4* three instances of completely anomalous short anceps and five in the uncommon category of short anceps echoing short anceps not in the first strophe but in the first antistrophe, a category with only four instances in all the rest of the epinikia.

Now this establishes only what in any case was not open to rational dispute: that *I. 4* was composed as an independent ode. But short anceps will establish also that *I. 3* was not intended to be prefixed to *I. 4*. Whatever the reason for Pindar's practice with short anceps, he did not intend it as a kind of cryptogram to be cracked by scholars two and a half millennia later: it must have been related in some way to the performance of the ode. He must have thought it proper that if an anceps was to admit short scansion in any instance the possibility of short scansion should be made evident to his audience at the very first instance in the ode: I do not know why, and I do not know how many of his audience would have had ears sensitive enough to register what he intended; but that he did intend this I cannot doubt. It follows that if *I. 4* and *I. 3* were intended for performance on a single occasion, then (unless perhaps the interval between the performances was very long; and in that case one cannot talk of 'prefixing') *I. 4* must have been performed first and *I. 3* second. And I should have thought indeed that that would be the more effective order: first the earlier and by now familiar ode, then as a climax the novelty to celebrate the latest victory.

I say 'if they were intended for performance on a single occasion', for I cannot be certain that they were: the identity of their metre may be either connected with their performance or independent of it. It may be that Melissos was so captivated by the tune of *I. 4* that when he commissioned a short ode after his second victory he asked that the tune should be the same: I can see nothing inherently improbable in such a request. Or it may be that Melissos proposed a combined performance of the old ode with the new, and that either he or Pindar felt that the performance would go better if metre

the order is Olympia (468), Pytho (466), and for O. 12, where it is Olympia (472), Pytho (470, 466) — see *JHS* 93 (1973), 24–8 <above, chapter 6>, where I corrected the commonly held opinion that the Pythian victories were in 474 and 470 (even by that opinion the second Pythian victory is later than the Olympian).

and music were the same.¹⁴¹ But when I say ‘combined performance’ I do not mean performance as a single ode: I mean a performance of one ode followed at whatever interval by a performance of the other. Just as the odes could be no continuous whole in the order *I. 3, I. 4*, so they could be no continuous whole in the other order.

F. The fragments

We have too few fragments with respension for this part of my investigation to give any very useful results; but I will set out the facts for what they are worth.

I will first list the instances of short ancepts which we know to come in the first strophe of an ode (there are none that we know to come in a first epode). By each of these I list such corresponding ancipitia as survive: if short, cited; if long, line-number only. An asterisk indicates that an instance is disputable and will be discussed below.

- I. 9.* 1 (Αἰ)ακ(οῦ).
8 (ἀγω)νί(ων).
- Dith. 2.* 10 (αἰθομένα) τε (δαῖς), 28*.
12 (Να)ῖδ(ων), 30.
13 ὄρ(ίεται).
15 (παγ)κρατ(ής).
15 (κεραυ)νός (ἀμπνέων).
- fr. 78. 2 *προ(οίμιον).
3 *τὸν (ιρόθυτον).
- fr. 89a. 1 *(ἀρχομένοι)σιν (ῆ).
- fr. 120. 1 ὄμ(ώνυμε).
- fr. 122. 1 πολ(ύξεναι), 6, 16 διδ(άξαμεν).
1 νε(άνιδες), 6 ἐπ(αγορίας), 16.
2 *(ἀ)φνε(ῶι), 7.
4 (θυμιᾶ)τε π(ολλάκι), 9, 14, 19*.
5 νο(ήματι), 15 ξυν(άορον), 20 ἐπ(άγαγ’).
5 πρὸς (Ἀφροδίταν), 15, 20.

¹⁴¹ There may of course have been practical considerations of which we are ignorant: not much time available before the performance, or before Pindar’s departure from Thebes on another commission; so that (whether *I. 3* was to be performed alone or together with *I. 4*) the use of the same metre and music might either have saved Pindar time in composition or have made it easier to train a chorus already familiar with *I. 4*. We have, and can have, no idea; but such possibilities can never be excluded.

- fr. 124a. 1 ὄχ(ημ'), 4, 7.
 Thr. 3. 6 (ἀ)χέτ(αν).
 7 γάμ(οικι).

Disputable instances above (marked *): *Dith.* 2. 28 κεδν(άν) is Bury's supplement (adopted by Snell) [κεδ]ινάν; fr. 78 is not certainly dactylo-epitrite (and I suppose not quite certainly the beginning of an ode); fr. 89a. 1 should perhaps have ἀρχομένοις with no anceps (for the manuscript evidence, in any case hardly reliable, see Ed. Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes*, 205 n. 2; for the sequence D D with no intervening anceps cf. *O.* 13. 17 etc.); fr. 122. 2 (ἀ)φνε(ῶι) I have discussed in A (on *O.* 7. 1 ἀφνεᾶς); fr. 122. 19 is transmitted (in Athenaios) as κορ(ᾶν), but I suppose κουρ(ᾶν) to be the right interpretation of Pindar's *KOPAN*.

There are two instances of short anceps in the first antistrophe¹⁴² in respon- sion with a long in the first strophe:

- Dith.* 2. 1 [(ἔρ)πε cχ(οινοτένεια)], 19 (εἶ)κιw (Ἄρτεμις).
 fr. 123. 5 [(κεχάλ)κευτ(αι)], 10 *(ἔκα)τι κ(ηρός).

I mark fr. 123. 10 as disputable because τᾶς ἔκατι is conjectural for δεκατιτας; but though τᾶς might be questioned (τᾶςδ', θεᾶς), ἔκατι seems unshakable.

There are of course a number of short ancipitia, in unlocated fragments and with no responson preserved, of which we are quite unable to say to what category they belong, first triad or echoing or even anomalous; I see no purpose in listing them, and shall not do so.¹⁴³ There is however one set of

¹⁴² I have assumed that *Dith.* 2 is triadic; if it is monostrophic, the stanza will be its second strophe.

¹⁴³ But I will say something about two instances which I think may be illusory.

(a) Fr. 42. 3 (in Stobaios) καλ(ῶν μὲν ᾧν μοῖράν τε τερπνῶν ἐς μέσον χρῆ παντὶ λαῶι δεικνύ- ναι): as the words stand, certainly short anceps; I do not know why Pindar denies to original καλ- the epic lengthening that he allows so readily to original ξεν- κορ- νοσ- αν- etc., but deny it he undoubtedly does—45 instances of καλ- and none of κᾶλ-. But can the words stand thus? I think not: the dislocation in καλῶν . . . μοῖράν τε τερπνῶν is intolerable. It might have been avoided (at the cost, unless at verse-end, of another short anceps) by τερπνῶν τε μοῖραν; but why should that have been so improbably corrupted? I think it much likelier that what Pindar wrote was καλὰ μὲν ᾧν μοῖράν τε τερπνῶν (with ∪∪∪ = e): the variation would be very much in his manner (*O.* 6. 79, with a different sort of genitive, ὃς ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῖράν τ' ἀέθλων), its removal very much in a copyist's.

(b) Fr. 93. 3, at the end of a fragment (in Strabo) about Typhon, (ἐν Ἀρίμοις) ποτ(ε); Pindar's exemplar is *Il.* 2. 783, traditionally εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασι Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς. As I have given the words, they are necessarily (with either e.g. ποτε· στ- or e.g. ποτ'· οὐ) ∪∪∪-∪'- . . . = e '∪' (e) or e '∪' (D). But Pindar wrote *ENAPIMOIS*: did he scan the E short or long? He scanned the E of his *ENAIOS* long in six of the seven surviving instances (yet ἐν- always the manu- scripts; read of course epic εἰνάλιος, not Schroeder's ἐνν-); did he do the same in *ENAPIMOIS* here, with the metre ∪∪∪∪ (-) = D? If he did, I do not suppose that he intended Boeckh's εἰν Ἀρίμοις (his preposition *EN* before a vowel is c. 120 times short and never long), but rather

fragments in which there are short ancipitia which may perhaps be relevant to the reconstruction of the ode to which they are assigned: the fragments assembled by Snell under *Hymn 1* (vol. ii, 9–12). I shall attempt no coherent inquiry into the ode as a whole,¹⁴⁴ and shall not inquire whether all the fragments that are assigned to it are correctly assigned: I shall simply consider to what extent, on the assumption that they are correctly assigned, the incidence of short ancepts might give a guide to their arrangement.

One verse in the strophe, | – e – D ⊔ e – D – D – |, occurs in five separate fragments.¹⁴⁵ The ancepts which I mark ⊔ is long in what we know to be the first strophe, fr. 29. 5 (τῖ)μάν, and in three other instances, fr. 33a (ἀ)ιϛ[ϛ(-, fr. 33c. 5 (Ὀλύμ)πωι τ(η)λέφαντον), fr. 33d. 3 (ὦ)δὶν(εϛϛ), but short in the fifth, fr. 30. 5 (ἔμ)μεν· (ἀ-). If the short in fr. 30 is not to be anomalous, there must be a short in the first antistrophe, and the short in fr. 30 must either itself be that short or be an echo of it. I see no means of deciding between the alternatives except on the basis of the content of the two fragments.¹⁴⁶ fr. 29 contains the first 73 syllables of the first strophe, and fr. 30 the first 78 syllables of a strophe or antistrophe; if fr. 30 is from the first antistrophe,

that he took the expression in the *Iliad* to be what we should write *Eivaríμoιc*: that interpretation of the letters certainly lies behind Vergil's *Inarime Iouis imperiis imposta Typhoeo* <*Aen.* 9. 716>, and why should it not lie behind it by four or five centuries or more? No one in antiquity knew (though some tried to guess) who or what the *Ἄριμοι* or *Ἄριμα* might be (see West on *Hes. Th.* 304); given this ignorance, *Eivaríμoιc* was at any period just as reasonable an interpretation as *ἐν Ἀρίμοιc* of a series of syllables articulated neither in speech nor in writing (articulation in writing did become possible when Alexandria devised on the one hand *v̄a* or *v̄, a* or *v̄' a*, on the other *v̄a*; but that was long after Pindar's day, and even then how many will have bothered?). If we had responson to guide us, or if Strabo's quotation had not stopped where it did, we should know whether to credit Pindar with *ἐν Ἀρίμοιc* and a short ancepts or with *Eivaríμoιc* and no ancepts; without that guidance we can only say that either is possible. What we must not do is appeal to manuscript authority: the authority for the two alternatives is exactly the same.

¹⁴⁴ The reconstruction begun by Boeckh and continued by Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, 189–92) and Snell ('Pindars Hymnos auf Zeus', in *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, 4th edn., 82–94), goes a good way beyond what can be inferred with certainty from the evidence: there is a good deal in it that may well be right, but not nearly so much that must be.

¹⁴⁵ 'Separate' except that two are linked by a papyrus. The responson extends over 78 syllables, and cannot possibly be fortuitous.

¹⁴⁶ The first verse of fr. 30 is cited by Hephaestion (*Ench.* 15. 11) as the first of his two instances of the iambelegos; I should not wish to infer from this that the verse came near the beginning of the ode. When Hephaestion is dealing with stichic or distichic metres, his normal habit is to cite the first verse of a poem (or the second component of the first distich); I should suppose that he does this simply as the natural and obvious thing to do, and not as a matter of principle or system. When he is dealing with choral lyric I see no reason to suppose that he was systematic in his choice of instances (and certainly he was not in this case, else he would have cited the first verse of the first strophe), but rather that he cited simply the first instance that caught his eye or came into his head.

When in choral lyric he cites two instances of the same verse, they are likely enough to be

the gap between them will be of between 46 and c. 120 syllables;¹⁴⁷ can the transition from one to the other be effected within that space?

Next, two fragments cited by Hephaestion (*Ench.* 15. 13) as instances of τὸ Πινδαρικὸν καλούμενον: fr. 34 ὅς καὶ τυπεὶς ἀγνώι πελέκει τέκετο ξανθὰν Ἀθάναν and fr. 35b σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος ἄνησαν περισσῶς, both | υ ε υ D - e -l, with two short ancipitia in fr. 35b but none in fr. 34. If the fragments are in fact both from our ode,¹⁴⁸ and if (as would then be

from the same ode in responsion. Likely enough, but not certain; in Lesbian lyric his two varieties of the Alcaic hendecasyllable (15. 3: Alk. fr. 307, 331) are evidently from different poems (and it would be surprising if this was because the hymn to Apollo had no instance with initial short); and if he quarried an ode which had the same verse (as sometimes happens) in two unrelated places, he might easily choose two instances that were not in responsion with one another.

His lack of system can be seen in his instances of the four varieties of the elegiac pentameter (-υυ-υυ-. . .), all from Book 1 of Kallimachos' *Aitia* (of which the first 40 lines are preserved as fr. 1). For three of them he gives the first instance that occurs in the book (citing them in the order of their occurrence: 2, 6, 20); but for the fourth he skips the instances at 26, 30, 36, 38 (and I dare say others as well), and cites fr. 3. 2, an unknown but considerable distance further on.

¹⁴⁷ My figures are based on a strophe-length of between 119 and c. 193 syllables. Fr. 33d gives us a minimum length of 119 syllables, and this might well be the whole of the strophe: the maximum stanza-length for the dactylo-epitrite epinikia is 129 syllables. But *Dith.* 2 (dactylo-epitrite) has a strophe of 192 syllables (and *Pai.* 6, in another metre, has a strophe of 194); we have no reason to suppose that our hymn could not have had a strophe of similar length.

¹⁴⁸ The only evidence is the content of fr. 34, which seems well suited to the *θεογονία* which the ode is not unreasonably supposed to have contained (on the basis, primarily, of Luc. *Ikarom.* 27). If fr. 34, then not improbably fr. 35b as well: the Πινδαρικόν, despite its name, appears to be very rare (it is virtually non-existent in the epinikia), and I think it very unlikely that Hephaestion, having an instance to hand in a given ode, would for his second instance go farther afield than the verses in responsion with his first.

That Hephaestion cites these two verses in the same chapter in which he cites the two instances of the iambelegos (of which fr. 30. 1 is certainly, and fr. 34 very probably, from our ode) affords no presumption whatever that the Πινδαρικά also are from this ode. Wilamowitz appears to think that it does (*Pindaros*, 190 n. 2), 'Hephaestion 15, wo die pindarischen Verse alle [i.e. alle vier!] aus diesem Gedichte stammen': I think it very likely that they do, but the only way to establish this is to establish for each pair of verses independently that they are from the ode. Hephaestion had to fetch his verses from where he could find them: the iambelegos is not particularly common (the Alexandrian colometry has an iambelegos as a colon only in 7 of the 23 dactylo-epitrite epinikia), the Πινδαρικόν is very rare; if he found both of them in the same ode he would doubtless not be averse to using them, but there could be no possible point in his consciously searching for one of the very few odes that will have happened to have them both.

I will justify my statement about the rarity of the Πινδαρικόν. It is too long of course for a normal Alexandrian colon; and has therefore to be produced from more than a single colon. In *I.* 3/4 one can produce it from one and a half cola: *I.* 4. 3-4 etc. | (ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνωι διώκειν, | αἶει Κλεωνυμίδαι θάλλοντες αἰεὶ |); of the 10 instances there 7 are self-contained (i.e. are preceded by, and end with, word-end), but only at *I.* 4. 45 does the result approximate to a coherent linguistic whole. One can produce it similarly at *O.* 8. 9 and *N.* 5. 23 (each the only self-contained instance at its place in the ode); a few other self-contained instances might be devised (e.g. *N.* 9. 7), but they would bear no relation to Alexandrian or to any rational colometry. Nowhere in the epinikia is there a verse (in the strict sense) that has this form.

virtually certain) they are in responsion with one another,¹⁴⁹ then unless there is anomaly the first occurrence in the ode may be expected to have had the two ancipitia short;¹⁵⁰ that both shorts should be echoed in the same later verse is perfectly possible but not (statistically) very likely,¹⁵¹ and the simplest hypothesis will be that fr. 35b is itself the first occurrence. This simplest hypothesis is not necessarily the true one; but it is certainly the one that on purely metrical grounds one should consider first. Now fr. 35b has the sound of a breaking-off formula (the so-called *κόρος*-motif), and I observe that a natural place for such a formula would be at the end of the initial list of Theban glories: cf. *N.* 10. 19, at the end of the long initial list of Argive glories, *βραχύ μοι στόμα πάντ' ἀναγέσασθ' ὄρων Ἀργείων ἔχει τέμενος | μοῖραν ἐελών, ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βαρὺς ἀντιάει.* To put the fragment at this point would mean abandoning one feature of Snell's reconstruction: that Pindar, having designed and arranged his list of Theban glories for this purpose, moves at its end from the wedding of Harmonia to the singing of the Muses at that wedding, and that their song is the *θεογονία* which is thought to have bulked large in the ode; but the feature is one that I should wish to abandon in any case.¹⁵² The

¹⁴⁹ The *Πινδαρικόν* can hardly have appeared in more than one place in the ode.

¹⁵⁰ I say 'may be expected to have had', not 'will have had'; there will be a slight possibility that one of the shorts (hardly both) did not appear until the first antistrophe.

¹⁵¹ In the epinikia, six verses in the first strophe or epode contain two short ancipitia; between them, they have 29 other verses in responsion. Only once does one of these corresponding verses echo both the shorts (*I.* 5. 7, first antistrophe); 9 of them echo one short only, 19 echo neither.

I observe however that the chances (calculated from the epinikia) are not the same throughout an ode: the earlier in the ode the better the chance. A short in the first strophe or epode is echoed in one later instance in 7.6; the chance that two should be echoed together is the square of this, 1 in 58. But in the first two triads a short is echoed in one corresponding instance in 4.8, and the square of this is 1 in 23; for the first antistrophe alone the figures are 1 in 3.8 and 1 in 14.

¹⁵² We know of course that the Muses sang there: Thgn. 15, Pi. *P.* 3. 89–91. But Snell would have us suppose 'dass Apoll (mit den Musen) bei der Hochzeit des Kadmos ein grosses mythisches Gedicht vortrug, das vom Werden der Götter und Menschen erzählte' (op. cit., 84). This of itself is possible: at *N.* 5. 22 Apollo and the Muses at Peleus' wedding sing a song that turns imperceptibly into mythical narrative by Pindar himself. But if a song sung (however nominally) by Apollo and the Muses is to include fr. 33b *ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἔγεντ' Ἀπόλλων* and then (fr. 31) the creation of the Muses, I become incredulous.

It is likely enough that fr. 32 (Kadmos heard Apollo *μουσικὰν ὄρθαν ἐπιδεικνυμένον*) should come from our ode; but I see no reason why Pindar should not have come back to Harmonia's wedding (I dare say only briefly) at a later stage in the ode. That indeed is what I should have supposed from Aristides' language when he cites the fragment: (*Πίνδαρος*) *ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις διεξιὼν περὶ τῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ συμβαινόντων παθημάτων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸν Κάδμον φησὶν ἀκούσαι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μουσικὰν ὄρθαν ἐπιδεικνυμένου.* An odd way of putting it if Apollo's theme is what Pindar himself has just been said *διεξιέναι*: I should have expected rather that Kadmos' wedding belonged to an account of his career as a paradigm of *μεταβολή*, of the vicissitudes of human fortune. That is exactly what we have in Pindar's other reference to the Muses at the wedding, in *P.* 3. 86 ff.: he consoles the ailing Hieron with the

positioning raises other problems as well;¹⁵³ but I should certainly wish to keep it in play.

G. Miscellaneous

One consequence of the extreme rarity of anomalous short ancepts is that it will be very unwise to seek to introduce further instances of it by conjecture; and there is one passage where this consequence may be thought unwelcome.

In *I.* 6 Pindar tells how Herakles, coming to invite Telamon to join him on his expedition against Troy, arrives to find a feast in progress. Telamon asks him to open the proceedings with a libation; and Herakles thereupon prays to Zeus that Telamon may have a valiant son by Eriboia (Zeus then sends an *αἰετός* as a sign, and Herakles announces that the son will be born and must be named *Αἴας*). Now the sentence describing Herakles' arrival has lost two syllables, an ancept and a long: 35–6 ἀλλ' Αἰακίδαυ καλέων | ἐς πλόου <× –> κύρησεν δαυνυμένων. A great many unconvincing stopgaps have been proposed (as πλόου <κείνου> or <λαῶν> κύρησεν); only Von der Mühl (Mus. Helv. 14 [1957], 130–1 = Kl. Schr. 198–9) has proposed a supplement after first inquiring what word may be lacking to the sense. On what occasion should Herakles pray unprovoked for a son for Telamon? At his wedding-feast: <γάμου> (or <γάμους>) κύρησεν δαυνυμένων. I should find this completely

thought that not even Peleus and Kadmos had an αἶον ἀσφαλής—after their κάματοι they won through to ἄλβος ὑπέρατος, with the gods and the Muses at their wedding, but then from this they fell into misfortunes once again.

¹⁵³ I can see two principal difficulties that might be alleged. First, it may be said that the signing-off formula is less in place after a list of alternative possibilities (phrased as questions) than after the straight factual catalogue of *N.* 10. On the face of it, yes; but the difference between the two kinds of list is more formal than essential, and it would not be difficult to devise a transition that would make the signing-off entirely natural. Second, what of the gap between the end of the list (as we have it) and fr. 35b? The earliest that fr. 35b could come is in responsion with fr. 33d. 11, which would leave a gap of 41 syllables, and the gap might easily be appreciably longer: with a longer strophe (n. 147 above) it might be of anything up to c. 100 syllables. But I see no difficulty in this: fr. 35b (with its καί) is clearly only the second part of the signing-off formula; that formula may have been preceded by a transition of some kind; and we have no reason to suppose that the list of Theban glories in fr. 29 did not continue beyond the point at which Lucian stopped quoting it (Pindar could not go on indefinitely with a series of accusatives before producing a verb to give them a construction, and once he has produced it he can still extend the list, ἢ γάμου λευκωλένου Ἄρμονίας ὑμνήσομεν, <ἢ ∞ -- | κτλ.>).

I do not think it a difficulty that Hephaestion will be citing the first instance second. His order might have been purely fortuitous, depending on which instance happened to be the first to catch his eye or come into his head. Or there might have been a reason for it: in the original uncondensed form of his work he might well have commented on the different forms of the verse (long or short ancepts; in other places such comment survives even into our condensation), and if so he might have preferred to put first the more normal form.

convincing if it were not for the one thing: it gives an anomalous short anceps, γάμ(ον κύρησεν), in responsion with an unassailable long at 2 κρατ(ῆρα).

I can find only one near-synonym of γάμον that would give the right scansion, κᾶδος. But this of course is not ‘marriage’ but ‘marriage-alliance’, the connexion established by the marriage between the bridegroom (and his family) and the family of the bride;¹⁵⁴ and whereas in γάμον (or τάφον) δαινύναι or δαίνυσθαι the internal accusative can be used because the feast is an integral part of the wedding (or the funeral), and similarly with a straight synonym of γάμον like ὕμναίους, the κᾶδος is parallel not to the wedding but to the married state: the feast is not a part of it, and I should think κᾶδος δαίνυσθαι impossible.

I am troubled. It may be that there is a way out that will give the right sense and a long anceps, but I have no notion what it might be; and if in the end there is a conflict between sense and the quantity of the anceps, then sense must prevail.

II. SHORT VOWELS AT VERSE-END

I am concerned in this part of my paper with the incidence at verse-end of syllables ending in a short vowel: (αὐτί)κα, (πο)δί, (ἐφάψα)το, and the like. It is a commonplace of Greek metre that such a syllable, although prosodically short, may stand at verse-end as the equivalent of a long, and instances are common, in blunt and pendant endings alike:

πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχίνος ἐν μέγα <Archil. 201>.

εὐρείαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα <Tyrt. 2. 15>.

ἄνθρωπον εὗρε τὴν στέγην ὀφέλλοντα <Hippon. 79. 19>.

καὶ λάκιδες μέγαλαι κατ' αὐτο <Alk. 326. 8>.

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά <Od. 1. 1>.

I have taken samples of a few hundred lines to establish the approximate frequency of this phenomenon in early Greek poetry. I have counted as ending in a short vowel only syllables which necessarily end in one: if a syllable admits movable ν I have treated it always as -εν or -ιν and never as

¹⁵⁴ There are one or two instances where κῆδος and κηδέειν seem to be no more than ‘marriage’, ‘marry’, with reference to the bride alone and not her family: S. Tr. 1227 τοῦτο κῆδευσον λέχος, E. Med. 1341 γῆμαί σε, κῆδος ἐχθρὸν δέλεθρίον τ' ἐμοί (Iole is captive and her family dead, Medeia’s family could never come into question). I cannot think that this makes any difference in Pindar.

-ε or -ι, however it may appear in the manuscripts and editions.¹⁵⁵ My findings are these (by '76 in 400 = 1 in 5.3' I mean that of the 400 verses in my sample 76 have a final syllable ending in a short vowel, and that the phenomenon therefore occurs in one verse in every 5.3):

... -υ-||	Archilochos	64 in 347 = 1 in 5.4
... -ω-||	early elegy	32 in 337 = 1 in 10.5
... ---||	Hipponax;	22 in 202 = 1 in 8.4
... -υ--||	Lesbians ¹⁵⁶	11 in 44 = 1 in 4.0
... -ω--||	Homer and Hesiod	76 in 400 = 1 in 5.3

Different samples would doubtless give rather different figures, but hardly very different, and I have no need for any great precision: it is enough for my purposes to indicate that the frequency ranges, according to the ending, between something like one in five and something like one in ten.

My purpose is to establish that Pindar's practice is very different from that of the poets I have sampled. I can do this very simply, by setting out the facts once again in a table (using the same conventions as before; I put in brackets two proportions which are based on too few instances to be reliable); my figures this time are not for a sample, but for the whole of Pindar's epinikia (except that I exclude the fragments of the lost *Isthmians* which followed *I. 8*; I exclude also the supposititious *O. 5*). On the right I repeat, for ease of comparison, the proportions I have just given for my other poets.

	Dactylo-epitrites	Other metres	[Other poets]
... -υ-||	33 in 638 = 1 in 19.2	39 in 822 = 1 in 21.2	[1 in 5.4]
... -ω-||	0 in 607 = —	5 in 264 = 1 in 52.8	[1 in 10.5]
... ---||	0 in 20 = (—)	0 in 20 = (—)	[1 in 8.4]
... -υ--||	2 in 369 = 1 in 184.5	4 in 216 = 1 in 54.0	[1 in 4.0]
... -ω--||	2 in 212 = 1 in 106.0	3 in 223 = 1 in 74.3	[1 in 5.3]

These figures leave no room for doubt: a short vowel at verse-end is avoided by Pindar in a way in which it is not avoided by my other poets. The

¹⁵⁵ The manuscript tradition of Homer follows a rule that movable *ν* is added at the end of a line if the next line begins with a vowel, not added if it begins with a consonant; the rule is patently silly, and deserves only contempt. In Pindar the tradition appears (from Mommsen's apparatus; Turyn is silent on principle, p. xiii) to follow the same rule; and here, where the manuscript lines are not verses but Alexandrian cola, of which about half end at verse-end and half in mid verse, the rule is not merely silly but disastrous: at colon-end in mid verse it can destroy the metre, e.g. λέλογχε θαμινά for λέλογχεν θαμινά. But even at verse-end it is (as will appear) equally if less obtrusively destructive.

¹⁵⁶ The material is scanty; I have taken three fragments with line-ends, all apparently ... -ω-υ-|| (Sappho, fr. 58 and 60; Alkaios, fr. 48).

avoidance is not equally pronounced in all endings; but even at his most tolerant (in . . . -υ-) Pindar admits the phenomenon only a quarter as often as Archilochos.

As far as Pindar is concerned, the facts are all that matter. But these facts do throw light on a question of Greek prosody on which scholars have not seen eye to eye; and a consideration of that question will serve also to make Pindar's practice more intelligible.¹⁵⁷

The rule for the quantity of short-vowel syllables has been formulated in two ways; common to both is the proviso that mute + liquid may, with certain restrictions (which vary according to dialect and to genre), count either as two consonants or as one. The common formulation is this: 'a syllable whose vowel is short is long if the vowel is followed (whether or not within the same word) by two or more consonants, but otherwise is short.' The alternative formulation is this: 'a syllable whose vowel is short is long if it ends with a consonant (i.e. is "closed"), short if it does not (i.e. is "open")'; this presupposes a rule of syllabification that 'if there is a single consonant between vowels it belongs (without regard to any word-boundary) to the following syllable; if there are two or more consonants, then (without regard to any word-boundary) the first belongs to the preceding syllable and the last to the following syllable'¹⁵⁸ (thus πόλις εἴχει υυ-, but πάντα μείνει --υ-, πάντα τέλει --υ-). For short-vowel syllables in mid verse the two formulations come to the same thing (and the first has the pedagogic advantage of simplicity). But for short-vowel syllables at verse-end they have very different effects: both make (ἐναλ)λάξ|| long and both make (ἄλ)λο|| short, but (ἄλ)λο|| will be short according to the first and long according to the second.¹⁵⁹

A priori, I expect the second formulation to be right: only thus will the quantity of a syllable depend, as it should depend, on the constitution of the syllable itself. *A posteriori*, we now have the evidence of Pindar's practice to support it: when at verse-end he admits e.g. ἄλλο|| as readily as ἄλλων|| and

¹⁵⁷ I must thank Professor M. L. West for causing me to consider it: in the first draft of this paper I had confined myself to a statement of the facts.

¹⁵⁸ What, when there are three or more consonants in all, of those between the first and the last? The question is neither certainly resolvable nor of any relevance metrically. The ancient rule for dividing a word between lines puts the division before any sequence of consonants that can stand at the beginning of a word; if (as this formulation requires) we reject its *νικτός*, *ἄλτν*, in favour of *νικτός*, *ἄλτν*, it may yet incline us to *ἄρκτος*, *καμπτός*, rather than *ἄρκτος*, *καμπτός*. For a different approach (on phonetic principles) see W. S. Allen, *Accent and Rhythm*, 209.

¹⁵⁹ See Allen, op. cit., 204–7 (for the second formulation), against A. M. Dale, *Wiener Studien* 77 (1964), 20 n. 9 = *Collected Papers*, 191 n. 1.

ἄλλοι|| and (ἐναλλ)λάξι||¹⁶⁰ yet is reluctant to admit ἄλλο||, what conclusion can we draw except that he feels (ἄλλ)λο|| to be short but (ἄλλ)λοϰ||, like (ἄλλ)λων|| and (ἄλλ)λοϰ|| and (ἐναλλ)λάξι||, to be long? That what he is avoiding is not a short open syllable as opposed to a short closed syllable or a long, but simply a short syllable as opposed to a long?¹⁶¹

A. Dactylo-epitrites

First I list the instances of SVE in epinikia. I follow Snell's arrangement of the verses,¹⁶² and also (except in one instance, discussed below) his text. By * I mean 'in the first strophe or epode', by ~ 'in responsion with', by † 'disputable; discussed below'.

(a) . . . υυυ-| (109* + 529 = 638 endings¹⁶³), 10* + 23 = 33 instances: O. 3. 9 ἄπο, 13* ποτε; O. 6. 68 πατρί; O. 8. 4* πέρι; O. 13. 20* μέτρα ~ 43 ἀριστεύσατε ~ 66 αὐτίκα ~ 112 κατά; P. 1. 16* ποτε; P. 3. 78 θαμά ~ 94 ἔδνα τε, 5* ποτε ~ 74 ποτε, 40 οὐκέτι; P. 4. 53 δώματι, 40 θαμά ~ 86 τόδε ~ 224 σκίμψατο ~ 247 καί τινα ~ 293 ποτε; P. 12. 3* ἄνα, 6* ποτε; N. 5. 3* ὅτι, 40 πέρι ~ 46 ὅτι; N. 8. 28 χροῖ; N. 9. 17† ποτε, 3* πράσσετε; N. 10. 31 περι ~ 85 πέρι; I. 6. 55 αὐτίκα, 8* κάτα ~ 33 φείσατο.

¹⁶⁰ To complete my argument I must substantiate this statement; I will do so by giving, both for Pindar's epinikia and for my samples from other authors, the number of verse-end syllables ending in short vowel plus single consonant expressed as a fraction of the number of all verse-end syllables other than those ending in a short vowel alone; bracketed figures depend on too few instances to be reliable:

	-υ-||	-υυ-||	---||	-υ---||	-υυ---||	average
Pindar	1 in 2.5	1 in 3.8	(1 in 4.2)	1 in 3.8	1 in 4.3	1 in 3.6
Others	1 in 3.0	1 in 3.8	1 in 3.3	(1 in 3.2)	1 in 3.0	1 in 3.2

It is evident that Pindar shows no tendency to avoid at verse-end syllables such as (ἄλλ)λοϰ: such variations as there are between him and my samples may be due in part to differences of dialect and vocabulary, in part simply to chance.

¹⁶¹ Allen, *op. cit.*, 205-6, has looked for evidence of this kind, but reports nothing of any significance except in tragic trimeters with resolved fifth longum (all . . . υυυ-||). I give my own figures (including satyr-plays and trochaic tetrameters): total, 58; ending in short vowel plus consonant, 11; ending in short vowel, 1 (*S. Ai.* 459 καὶ πείδια τὰδε||). This 1 in 58 is far below the figure for all trimeters, which appears from samples to be of the order of 1 in 6.

¹⁶² There are not many places where I should prefer a different arrangement. If I followed those preferences there would be no significant change in my total numbers for the various endings; there would however (as I shall indicate below) be a small but significant change in my figures for the rarer types of SVE.

¹⁶³ All . . . e| (10 of them with the first longum resolved), except for 10 in O. 6 that are . . . D υ-| and 3 in N. 8 that are . . . e υ-|; SVE once in . . . D υ-| (O. 6. 68), otherwise only in unresolved . . . e|.

- (b) . . . -υ-| (92* + 515 = 607 endings), 0* + 0 = 0 instances.
 (c) . . . ---| (2* + 18 = 20 endings¹⁶⁴), 0* + 0 = 0 instances.
 (d) . . . υυ-| (53* + 316 = 369 endings¹⁶⁵), 2* + 0 = 2 instances: *O.* 7. 16*† ἄποινα; *P.* 4. 21*† διδόντι.
 (e) . . . -υ---| (35* + 177 = 212 endings), 2* + 0 = 2 instances: *N.* 8. 16*† ἄγαλμα; *I.* 4. 14*† ἐγένοντο.

The most important fact revealed by this list is that SVE in dactylo-epitrites is almost entirely confined to the ending . . . -υ-|. In that ending it is not uncommon; though it is still only about a quarter as common as in Archilochos.

I consider first these instances of SVE in . . . -υ-|. They show two tendencies: first, to occur in responsion with one another (19 are in responsion with at least one other instance, 14 are not); second, to occur in the first strophe or epode (where they account for one such ending in 10.9; elsewhere for one in 23.0). But these are no more than tendencies, and the situation is not the same as with short anceps: of the 33 instances, 17 are neither in the first triad nor in responsion with an instance in the first triad.

Only one instance out of the 33 is disputable: *N.* 9. 17. For the part of 17–18 which should be D–e–e || D–D– the manuscripts have ξανθοκομᾶν Δαναῶν ἦσαν μέγιστοι· καὶ ποτ' ἐς ἑπταπύλους Θήβας ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν: three syllables too few. Snell (as many before him) puts the lacuna at the end of 17, ἦσαν μέγιστοι <-υ-> || καὶ ποτ' ἐς ἑπταπύλους κτλ., but I cannot think this right: the sense is complete with μέγιστοι, and nothing added after it could be tolerable; with a stop after μέγιστοι, nothing tolerable could be fixed to καὶ ποτε.¹⁶⁶ In the next verse, on the other hand, an epithet for στρατόν is not merely tolerable but welcome; I divide therefore καὶ ποτε ||, with SVE (for καὶ ποτε isolated at verse-end cf. *O.* 3. 13 τάν ποτε ||, *P.* 1. 16 τόν ποτε ||, 12. 6 τάν ποτε ||). The epithet might come in either of two places, || ἐκλόν ἐς ἑπταπύλους Θήβας κτλ. (Boehmer; or another adjective in the same position¹⁶⁷) or ||

¹⁶⁴ Of these, 10 in *P.* 1 are . . . D–|, 10 in *P.* 9 are . . . e–|.

¹⁶⁵ All . . . e–|; the first longum resolved only at *O.* 13. 69 || καὶ Δαμαίω νιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργάεντα πατρί δείξον ||. If indeed it is resolved: I remark that deletion of πατρί would remove (a) an awkward and indeed confusing hyperbaton, (b) a genealogical self-contradiction by Athena (Bellerophon cannot be at once Αἰολίδας and son of Poseidon), (c) the resolution with its irregular responsion. I do not know why πατρί should have intruded; and I cannot be sure that Pindar would have felt Δαμαίος alone to be a sufficient designation of Poseidon (but at Corinth? and he is identified as Γαῖόχορος a few lines later).

¹⁶⁶ Gerber lists a dozen or so supplements at verse-end; they provide horrid confirmation of what I say. I get no encouragement from *O.* 13. 55, 87, *N.* 10. 25.

¹⁶⁷ λεκτόν *W. R. Hardie*, λάβρον *Turyn*, πλείστον *Von der Mühl* (and one might think of others, e.g. θούρον); none is clearly what we want, and λάβρον at least is clearly not what we want.

ἐπταπύλους κριτὸν ἐς Θήβας κτλ. (Erasmus Schmid); Schmid's solution gives what is perhaps the aptest epithet,¹⁶⁸ and presupposes (despite appearances) a rather easier corruption.¹⁶⁹

I do not accept four further instances which appear in Turyn's text but not in Snell's.¹⁷⁰ At *O.* 7. 14–15 etc. (epode; five triads) we have, with consistent word-end at A, B, and C, || e–e–D–(A)∪∪(B)–∪∪–∪∪(C)∪D∪D ||. Snell divides only at B, making the first verse ||e–e–De ||, with no SVE; Turyn divides only at C, making the first verse || e–e–DD∪– ||, with SVE four times out of five, 15 ὄφρα, (44 βρέχεν), 53 βαθύ, 72 σοφώτατα, 91 κάφα,¹⁷¹ it would be possible also to divide at both B and C, with ||d∪–|| between divisions (SVE as Turyn). Whatever we do, the metre will be to some extent anomalous;¹⁷² the best criterion to adopt will therefore be that of sense-pause. In the five epodes,

¹⁶⁸ Twice in Pindar, each time to denote simply excellence: *P.* 4. 50 of Euphamos' descendants, *I.* 8. 65 of the victor's father. (But when at Bacch. 9. 11 the same men as here are Ἀργείων κριτοί, the original 'picked out, chosen' is still clearly apparent.)

¹⁶⁹ 'Despite appearances': if one looks only at words, Boehmer's corruption is simple (ἐκλόν lost) and Schmid's complicated and improbable (κριτόν lost and ἐς transposed). But unless one supposes the omission to be pre-Alexandrian, one must look also at the colometry; which will have been originally | ἦσαν μέγιστοι· καὶ ποτε | ἐκλόν ἐς ἐπταπύλους (or ἐπταπύλους κριτὸν ἐς) | Θήβας ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν κτλ. The manuscripts divide καὶ ποτ' ἐς | ἐπταπύλους; when therefore Boehmer supposes that ἐκλόν was lost before ἐς he must also suppose that ἐς was transferred to the end of the preceding colon, and this in its turn is complicated and improbable. It will be much simpler to suppose that what was lost was ἐκλόν ἐς, and that Θήβας, left thus without a construction, was given one by the insertion of a conjectural ἐς in the easiest place. But this is equally the simplest explanation of how Schmid's reading would have been corrupted; and Schmid's was more exposed than Boehmer's to such a corruption. With Boehmer the lost words are the first two of their colon, with Schmid the last two; and it is at colon-end that these accidental omissions are commonest, whereas colon-beginning is more or less immune. Omissions common to all manuscripts occur as follows (I disregard omissions of monosyllables): colon-end, *P.* 12. 7 Γοργόνων, *N.* 1. 52 φάσγανον, 6. 25 πλεόνων, 10. 84 ναίειν ἐμοί, *I.* 8. 13 βλέπειν (and cf. *O.* 11. 10, *P.* 11. 57); mid-colon, *P.* 5. 118 ὁμοία, *I.* 2. 10, 6. 36 (at *N.* 6. 18 they suppose | ἔρνεα πρῶτος <ἐνικειν> ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ |, but why not | ἔρνεα πρῶτος ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ <ἀγαγεν> |? Cf. *O.* 13. 29 ἄγει, *P.* 9. 75 ἀγαγόντα); colon-beginning, none (though at *P.* 4. 64 ὤστε is omitted by all but B). Normally the omissions at colon-end come when a colon projects (as ours would not) beyond the colon above; but cf. *P.* 4. 180, where BGH omit θέμεθλα at the end of a colon shorter than the one above.

I derive my knowledge of the manuscripts' colometry solely from Mommsen, who says 'μέγιστοι· καὶ ποτ' ἐς | ἐ. Θ. B rec.' and 'μέγιστοι καὶ ποτ' ἐς | ἐ. Θ. D'. I do not know whether a further fault in early printed editions (they divide Θήβας | instead of | Θήβας) goes back to BD or only to Triklinios; I think it unsafe to assume that Mommsen's report was meant to imply anything about this division.

¹⁷⁰ It would be possible to fabricate still another instance by dividing *O.* 6. 81 πατρι | κραίνει (word-end in all stanzas); no one does, and I trust that no one will.

¹⁷¹ Four out of five is not of itself suspicious: the same at *O.* 13. 20 etc., and in another metre at *O.* 10. 20 etc.

¹⁷² With division at C, the anomalous . . . D ∪–| or || d ∪–|| is paralleled at *O.* 6. 5 etc. . . . D ∪–||; cf. also *N.* 8. 14 etc. . . . e ∪–|| (and *P.* 1. 2 etc. . . . D ––||, *P.* 9. 2 etc. . . . e ––||). With division only at B, the anomaly comes in the second verse; I consider it below.

no pause at all at A (unless a very light one at 14);¹⁷³ at B, a fairly strong pause three times (14, 33, 52); at C, a strong pause at 53, but otherwise division here would separate words which cohere either closely (15, 34) or very closely (71 *σοφώτατα* | *νοήματα*, 91 *κάφα* | *δαείς*). I follow Snell, therefore, and divide only at B; metrically, after a straightforward first verse, his second verse will be || d u u D u D ||, with three intervening shorts (which I treat as u u u); the anomaly will be comparable to that at *N.* 10. 1 etc., || u u - u u - u e - D ||, which I should set out as |_Λ D u - u e - D || with intervening u - u.¹⁷⁴

I come now to the instances of types other than . . . -u-||; these are so few that they may reasonably be called anomalous, and deserve close investigation lest any be illusory. It would indeed be possible to abolish them altogether; I therefore draw attention to the fragments (to which I shall come in a moment), with one certain instance in . . . -u-|| and one *prima facie* instance in . . . -u-||.

I will first clear out of the way three possible instances (not in my list) which I regard as certainly illusory.

(a) Only one of them is in Snell's text, *P.* 9. 88 Ἰφικλέα || (type . . . -u-l). Pindar's normal accusative of -κλέης (-κλεής) is -κλέᾶ (9, plus 2 probable),¹⁷⁵ his normal dative -κλέϊ (3) or -κλεῖ (3); but he has one accusative in -κλεᾶ (*P.* 12. 24 εὐκλεᾶ) and one dative in -κλέει (*Parth.* 2. 38 ἄγασικλέει). However seldom he avails himself of -κλεᾶ and -κλεει, he does avail himself of them; and I have no doubt that it was -κλέᾶ that he intended here, and not, with Ἰφικλέᾶ |, an SVE unparalleled in the dactylo-epitrite epinikia.¹⁷⁶

(b) The other two, both . . . -u- |, are in Turyn's text but not in Snell's. Both result from Turyn's making two verses out of what Snell treats as a single verse, and dividing *O.* 3. 18 φύτευμα | ξυνόν and *O.* 12. 16 ἀντιάνειρα | Κνωσίας; in neither case is there any sense-pause where Turyn divides (this is true of all six corresponding verses in *O.* 3; *O.* 12. 16 is in the only epode), and the anomalous SVE merely reinforces the case against a division that was never probable.

Now the four instances in my list. These share two peculiarities: first, each of them is in the first epode of its ode; second, for none of them is verse-end

¹⁷³ No one will think seriously of dividing at A. Boeckh did divide there, but out of mere inertia: he sets out (i. 382-3) the alternative possibilities, A or B or C, finds no 'certa argumenta' to guide him, and adopts A on the ground (I will not call it a reason) that there was colon-end there in the traditional colometry, '[rationem] Hermannianam [i.e. Alexandrinam] licet ceteris haud meliorem retinui'.

¹⁷⁴ _ΛD (= acephalous D, u u u) at stanza-beginning just like _Λd (u u) at stanza-beginning at *O.* 7. 1 etc., *P.* 9. 1 etc.

¹⁷⁵ I cite the instances in n. 220 below.

¹⁷⁶ But -κλεᾶ in the ending . . . -u- | is a different matter: for an instance (perhaps two) in non-dactylo-epitrite fragments, see n. 220 below.

established by any of the three certain criteria (no *anceps iuxta anceps*, no hiatus in any stanza; no question of course of *brevis in longo* in what would be pendant endings). *Prima facie* therefore it might appear that one has only to deny verse-end in order to abolish all four instances of SVE and replace them by four instances of legitimate short anceps. But in fact things are not as simple as that; and I shall need to examine the instances one by one to see whether or not verse-end ought properly to be supposed.

I shall give in each case the total number of verses in responson ('instances'), including the verse in question, and the number of syllables: x (in this verse, assuming there to be verse-end) + y (in the next verse) = z (in the verse resulting if the two are combined). By 'conflate' I shall mean 'assume there not to be verse-end at the point where Boeckh (and Snell) assumed it'; by 'juncture' I shall mean 'the point at which verse-end is in question'.

O. 7. 16: 5 instances; $8 + 20 + 28$. Conflation gives a long verse (two syllables less than the known maximum); but nowhere is there any appreciable sense-pause at the juncture, and twice the juncture separates epithet and noun (54/5 *παλαιαὶ | ῥήγιες*, 92/3 *κοινὸν | σπέρμα*). I have little doubt that we ought to conflate. We shall then have short anceps, (*ἄποιν*)*να κ(αί)*, in the first epode (16), but long anceps in the other four epodes; I have included these in my count of ancipitia in Part I.

P. 4. 21: 13 instances; $16 + 12 = 28$. Conflation would not give short anceps at 21/2 (first epode), (*διδόν*)*τι ξ(είνια)*, but it would on the other hand give short anceps at 90/1, (*κραί*)*πνόν, (ἐξ)*; that is, by avoiding an anomalous SVE we should involve ourselves in an anomalous short anceps. I suppose the anomalous SVE to be the more acceptable, and I add that consistent diaeresis in thirteen epodes creates a certain presumption of verse-end (though there is a heavy pause only twice, at 274 and 298); I do not therefore conflate.

N. 8. 16: 3 instances; $20 + 19 = 39$, but redivisible as $28 + 11$. Conflation (with redivision) would give short anceps at 16/17 (*ἄγαλ*)*μα· c(ύν)*, and also at 33/34 (*ῶν*)*δος, (ᾶ)*, but not at 50/1; all quite legitimate. But I think on the whole that one should not conflate: with Boeckh's verse-division there is twice a heavy or heavyish pause at the juncture, with the redivision there is little or no pause at the juncture anywhere; given the length of the first verse produced by redivision, the sense-pauses give what I think is a strong indication that Boeckh's division is right.

I. 4. 14: 5 instances (including I. 3); $8 + 7 = 15$.¹⁷⁷ The very shortness of the two separate verses tells in favour of their conflation: the dactylo-epitrite

¹⁷⁷ Snell ought not, in his metrical analysis, to mark certain verse-end at the end of 14 etc. He has presumably supposed 3. 14/15 *κατελέγει. | ἔτε* to involve hiatus, but it does not: (*F*)*ίτε*, just as P. 3. 29 *πάντα (F)ισάντι*.

epinikia have only one parallel for a sequence of two verses as short as this, O. 8. 5–7 etc. (though this is rather more than a parallel: three verses of 7 + 7 + 7 syllables with verse-ends certain, as 71–3 || γήραος ἀντίπαλον || Ἄϊδα τοι λάθεται || ἄρμενα πράξαις ἀνήρ ||). There is punctuation every time at the juncture: three times heavy (32, 86, 3. 14) but twice light (14, 68, between two elements which combine to give unity to the conflated verse). The case for conflation is evidently disputable, but I incline (if hesitantly) in its favour. It gives short anceps at 14/15 (ἐγένον)το, χ(αλκέω)ι and 68/69 (ἔρ)γον· (ἔνθα) but long anceps in the other three epodes; I have included the five in my count of ancipitia in Part I.

My judgment therefore on whether to conflate in these four instances is this: once yes; once probably yes; once probably no; once no. Others may differ from me, at any rate over the ones where I have said ‘probably’. But whatever one’s judgement, it must be observed that any of these instances that are regarded as SVE are in the first epode of their ode; and I think it reasonable to suppose that the first strophe and the epode of a dactylo-epitrite ode may extend to SVE the same relative hospitality that they extend to short anceps.

I come now to the fragments.

Of . . . —υ— | , five possible instances (in papyrus fragments my | marks colon-end). (1) and (2) *Pai.* 13 (a) 18 and 20 (papyrus; *prima facie* but perhaps not certainly dactylo-epitrite) | αἰθεριελικ[. . .]δε πορφύρεαι σὺν κρόκ[αι. . .]τιν ἀεὶ πρ[(margin lost)]| ευανθυκίεν[. . .]μωι σελα[: I should suppose verse-end after αἰθέρι and εὐάθυκι to be *prima facie* likelier than alternatives such as αἰθέρι¹⁷⁸ or (F)ελικ[, (F)έν[υτο.¹⁷⁸ (3) *Dith.* 2. 13 (papyrus) . . . ῥιψαύχενι | σὺν κλόνωι, | ἐν δ’ ὁ παγκρατῆς κεραυνὸς . . . : the alternatives are (a) . . . —e || e || e υ υ . . . , with SVE in ῥιψαύχενι, and (b) . . . —d υ— || e υ e υ . . . ; for the three-syllable verse in (a) cf. *N.* 1. 15b etc. (also || e || : 51b . . . ἔδραμον || ἀθρόοι, || ἐν . . . , 69b . . . χρόνον || <ἐν> cχερῶι || ἦσυχίαν . . .),¹⁷⁹ for the . . . d υ—| in the latter cf. *O.* 6. 5 etc. . . . D υ—||, *N.* 8. 14 etc. . . . e υ—||.¹⁸⁰ No help from responsion: at 31–2 (~ 13–14) the end of 31 is lost, and of 32 (~ σὺν κλόνωι) we have only | ματε[, apparently ματέ[ρος (or -α, -ι, etc.).

¹⁷⁸ Verse-end in mid colon is nothing out of the way: in the dactylo-epitrite epinikia, about one verse-end in eleven (counting corresponding verses as one, and ignoring the final verse of a stanza). In the non-dactylo-epitrite epinikia the Alexandrian colometry was even more incompetent (about 1 in 4: see n. 219 below).

¹⁷⁹ Snell conflates the verse with the previous one, scanning the -ον of ἔδραμον and χρόνον as long; I am incredulous. No other three-syllable verse in the epinikia (unless—but I doubt it—the first three syllables of *N.* 6. 1 etc.); but an unshakable four-syllable one, ||—e ||, at *O.* 7. 3 etc.

¹⁸⁰ I have considered above, and rejected, the possibility of dividing *O.* 7. 14–15 etc. so as to produce . . . D υ—|| or || d υ—||.

(4) *Thr.* 4 (fr. 128d, papyrus) 8]α· ἄλλο[τε δ' ἄλ]λοῖαι περι | (beginning of next line lost): possibly verse-end after preposition (*O.* 10. 20, *N.* 10. 31; cf. *O.* 9. 17, 14. 10) or preverb (*O.* 1. 57, 6. 53), possibly not (if the next colon began with two consonants, or indeed if Aristophanes divided D between two cola¹⁸¹). (5) *Thr.* 6 (fr. 128f) 8 (quotation, with a few letters in a papyrus) . . . ὁ δ]ε̅ χλωρα]ι̅ ἐλάταιαι τυπεῖς | οἴχεται Κ]αινεὺς]α̅χίαιαι ὀρθῶι ποδὶ | γὰν (nothing preserved after this): so Snell prints it,¹⁸² but verse-end is evidently quite uncertain (why not ὀρθῶι ποδὶ γὰν —, as —D?).

Of . . . —υ—|, one *prima facie* instance and one quite uncertain possibility. (1) Fr. 133. 2 (quotation) . . . κείων ἐνάτωι ἔτει̅ | ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τὰν βασιλῆε̅ς ἀγανοὶ . . . : the sole source is Plato, *Men.* 81b (whence Stobaios has taken it at second hand). Either Plato has quoted accurately, and we have a unique instance of SVE in . . . —υ—| in dactylo-epitrites; or Plato has garbled his quotation. There is nothing on the face of it to suggest garbling, so provisionally a genuine instance; but in any quotation-fragment there must always be some measure of doubt, and the anomalous SVE must be judged with that doubt in mind.¹⁸³ (2) *Pai.* 13 (b) 19 (papyrus)]ων ὀπότε | at colon-end, with the beginning of the next colon lost; no need for verse-end if e.g. ὀπότε]α̅τάαιεν οἱ ὀπότη̅ ἔ]α̅χατιαῖαι.

Of . . . —υ—|, one very unstable instance: fr. 165 (quotation) | ἰσοδένδρου | τέκμαρ αἰῶνος θεόφραστον λαχοῖα(ι) |; verse-end after λαχοῖα(ι) almost certain.¹⁸⁴ Snell reads λαχοῖα; but this is no better authenticated than the

¹⁸¹ He is perfectly capable of dividing D at —υ|—υ—: *O.* 11. 19, *N.* 5. 16 etc., *N.* 8. 13 etc. | ἰκέτας Αἰακοῦ σεμνῶν γονάτων πόλιός θ' ὑπὲρ φίλας |. He is even more capable of dividing it —υ—|—υ—: *O.* 7. 18 etc., 13. 6 etc., 7 etc., *P.* 1. 17 etc., 3. 5 etc., 17 etc., 22 etc., 9. 5 etc., 19 etc., *N.* 10. 4 etc., *I.* 4. 2 etc., 6. 8 etc.

¹⁸² In Snell–Maehler most of the supplements have dropped out of the text by accident. —I add that I am distrustful of οἴχεται: since Pindar, like Homer, has no historic present, οἴχεται could belong only to a report of Kaineus' fate by someone speaking in the ode; but this sounds like narrative, and if it is we shall need ὠχετο (which is a variant in the source, sch. Ap. Rh.).

¹⁸³ Only a minor lapse of memory would suffice, e.g. from . . . ἔτει̅ ψυχὰς πάλιν || ἀνδιδῶς, ἐκ τὰν . . . or from . . . ἔτει̅ <πραεῖ νόμι> || ἀνδιδοῖ . . . ; these are not proposals (if they were, I should wish to do better than the second), but indications of the kind of possibility that we must bear in mind.

¹⁸⁴ Verse-end, and indeed stanza-end; and verse-end also after ἰσοδένδρου (Maehler) is very probable. We have the sequence e — e — e υ, preceded by and ending at word-end, and evidently with a sense-pause at the end. Elsewhere in Pindar this sequence occurs: (a) as a complete verse, at stanza-end and not elsewhere (*O.* 3 str. and ep., *P.* 12, *I.* 2 str., *I.* 3/4 str., *Dith.* 2 str.); 30 instances in all, mostly with sense-pause; (b) as the end of a longer verse, five times at stanza-end (42 instances, but only 4 preceded by word-end), once earlier in a stanza (*I.* 3/4. 1 etc.; only *I.* 3. 1 preceded by word-end, and no adequate sense-pause); (c) not at verse-end, in c. 20 places with c. 140 instances, in 20 of the instances preceded by and ending at word-end, but in none of them with any sense-pause at the end.

plural,¹⁸⁵ and I should certainly (accepting the word as verse-end) allow avoidance of SVE to turn the scale in favour of *λαχοῖσαι*.¹⁸⁶

Of . . . —|, one instance: *Pai.* 5. 45 (papyrus) *εὐμνεῖ δέξασθε νόωι θεράποντα | ὑμέτερον κτλ.* The ode is monostrophic, with a very short stanza, and this stanza is unique in having only a single epitrite, —D—| D—| e—D—| D—| D D—; may the exceptional SVE have been admitted more easily in exceptional dactylo-epitrites? Hardly, for this type of SVE is very rare at any metre; in the epinikia I have found in dactylo-epitrites one probable instance in 216 endings, and shall find in other metres three instances in 239 endings.

B. Other metres

First I list the instances of SVE (conventions as in the previous list); I exclude the supposititious *O.* 5.¹⁸⁷ I have diverged in a few places from Snell's

¹⁸⁵ Sch. D *Il.* 6. 21 (cited by Snell) *ἀμαδρύαδες . . . ἄς Πίνδαρος ἰσοδένδρου τέκμων αἰῶνος θεόφραστον λαχεῖν <φην>*; Plut. *Mor.* 415d *Πίνδαρος . . . εἰπὼν τὰς νύμφας ζῆν ἰσοδένδρου τέκμων αἰῶνος λαχοῦσας*; ib. 757e *νύμφαι τινὲς . . . ἰσοδένδρου τέκμων αἰῶνος λαχοῦσαι . . . κατὰ Πίνδαρον*; a long note on hamadryads, in much the same form in sch. Ap. Rh. 2. 476 and in *Et. gen.* *ἀμαδρῦάδες*, ending in sch. Ap. Rh. *καὶ Πίνδαρος δέ φησι, περὶ νυμφῶν ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον, "ἰσοδένδρου τέκμων αἰῶνος λαχοῦσα"* and in *Et. gen. καὶ Πίνδαρος "ἰσοδένδρου τέκμων αἰῶνος λαχοῖσα(ι)"* (-οῖσα A, -οῦσαι B). It is true that writers talking about hamadryads in the plural might easily pluralize a singular to suit their context; on the other hand one can set little store by the presence or absence of *i* in copies of a grammarian's citation, and *περὶ νυμφῶν* might be thought to point to a citation with *-αι* rather than with *-α*.

It is commonly assumed that the fragment belongs to a recounting of the story of Rhoikos and his hamadryad; and Snell inserts it in the middle of a citation from the Theokritos scholia in which that story is told. In inserting it he has allowed it to displace the words in the scholion on which its inclusion at this point depends: after *ἡ δὲ νύμφη θεασαμένη χάριν αὐτῷ ὠμολόγησεν* the scholion continues *ἡλικιωτικὴ γὰρ ἔφη εἶναι τοῦ φυτοῦ*. That is, the fragment is supposed to be the hamadryad's statement that her life is coextensive with that of the tree; and this was urged by Schroeder (ed. mai., fr. 165) as a reason for reading the singular. Not I think a valid reason: I am not convinced that the fragment is to be pinpointed in this way; but even granted the pinpointing, the nymph might say 'we hamadryads' just as easily as she might say 'I'.

It should be said that the association of the fragment with the Rhoikos story is not as arbitrary as it might seem from Snell's edition, for it depends on two facts of which he makes no mention: first that the citation in sch. Ap. Rh. and *Et. gen.* comes after a résumé of the story of Rhoikos; second, that in Snell's 'Plut. qu. nat. 36' (= *Aetia physica* 36, vol. v. 3 of the Teubner edition, p. 28), from the part of the work known only in the Latin rendering of Gybertus Langolius, AD 1542, we have 'et Pindarus "paruula fauorum fabricatrix, quae Rhoecum pepugisti aculeo, domans illius perfidiam"' (Erasmus Schmid in 1616, iv. 161, says that he has seen no Greek text of this part of the work, 'sic autem Latina accipi: | Tu molitrix fauorum parua, perfidum | Quae puniens Rhoecum stimulo pepugisti eum |': whence he got this different rendering seems to be unknown).

¹⁸⁶ I do not suppose the nominative to be inexpugnable: a committed adherent of the singular might consider a dative.

¹⁸⁷ Its endings are . . . —| 1* + 5 = 6 (no SVE), . . . —| 4* + 14 = 18 (one SVE, 5* δῶρα).

colometry (or from his text), in order to rid the list of instances of SVE which I think certainly illusory; I discuss all these divergences below.¹⁸⁸

(a) . . . $\omega\omega$ -| (134* + 688 = 822 endings), 7* + 32 = 39 instances:¹⁸⁹ O. 1. 86 *ἐφάψατο*; O. 2. 23 *βαρύ*; O. 9. 17 *παρά*; O. 10. 86 *πατρί*, 4* *χερί* ~ 25 *ἐκτίσσατο* ~ 88 *ποιμένα*, 27 *ἀμύμονα*, 36 *πυρί* ~ 57 *ἄρα*, 59 *νικαφορίαίσι τε*, 20* *ποτί* ~ 62 *ἄρματι* ~ 83 *ἀραρότα* ~ 104 *ποτε*; O. 13. 72 *ποδί*; O. 14. 10* *παρά*; P. 2. 36 *παρελέξατο*, 31 *ὄτι*; P. 5. 94 *μέτα*, 7* *ἄπο* ~ 69 *Λακεδαίμονι*, 19 *φρενί* ~ 101 *φρενί* ~ 112 *ἔπλετο*, 20 *ὄτι* ~ 51 *φρενί*; P. 10. 6* *ὄπα*, 51 *χθονί* ~ 69 *ὄτι*; N. 3. 9 *ἄπο*, 2* *Νεμεάδι* ~ 23 *πελάγει* ~ 44 *θαμινά*; N. 4. 69 *ἀπότηρρε*; N. 7. 53 *Ἀφροδίτεια*, 5* *ἐπὶ ἴσα*; I. 7. 32 *Ἐκτορα*; I. 8. 18 *βασιλεῖ*.

(b) . . . $-\omega$ -| (46* + 218 = 264 endings), 1* = 4 = 5 instances: O. 2. 94 *χέρα*; O. 10. 98 *μέλιτι*; P. 2. 61 *κενεά*; N. 6. 22* *γένετο*; I. 8. 20 *ἀγεμόνα*.

(c) . . . $---$ -| (4* + 14 = 18 endings), 0* + 0 = 0 instances.¹⁹⁰

(d) . . . $\omega\omega$ --| (42* + 174 = 216 endings), 0* + 4 = 4 instances:¹⁹¹ O. 2. 100 *δῶναιτο*; N. 6. 28 *Μοῖσα*; I. 8. 16 *τραφέντα* ~ 36 *τυχοῖσα*.

(e) . . . $-\omega$ --| (37* + 186 = 223 endings), 0* + 3 = 3 instances:¹⁹² O. 1. 62 *ἀμβροσίαν τε*; O. 9. 51 *ἀλλά*; O. 14. 51 *Θαλία τε*.

Once again, SVE is largely confined to the ending . . . $-\omega$ -|, though not so rigorously: instances in other endings, though still uncommon (1 in 55.7), are not so very uncommon as in dactylo-epitrites.

In the ending . . . $-\omega$ -|, I observe that the instances of SVE

(a) tend to be in responsion with one another (21 are in responsion with at least one other instance, 18 are not);

(b) show no recognizable preference for the first strophe and epode (they account there for one ending in 19.1, elsewhere for 1 in 21.5);

(c) are commonest in . . . $-\omega\omega$ -| (19 in 190 = 1 in 10.0), next commonest in . . . ω --| (15 in 329 = 1 in 21.9), least common in . . . $-\omega$ -| (5 in 303 = 1 in 60.6);¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ I have not diverged otherwise. If I did diverge wherever I should arrange the verses otherwise than does Snell, the figures for the endings would not be significantly different; the instances of SVE would remain the same.

¹⁸⁹ Including, with ω at ω , 20* + 119 = 139 endings with 2* + 3 = 5 instances.

¹⁹⁰ Including, with ω at ω , 5* + 16 = 21 endings with 0* + 1 = 1 instance. I include also a verse (N. 6. 6b etc.) which Snell presents as $|\omega\omega$ -|, with 3 - and 3 ω (no SVE); I should wish myself (there are considerable problems in any case) to conflate it with the following verse.

¹⁹¹ One of these endings appears in the manuscripts as . . . $-\omega\omega\omega$ -| (N. 3. 14, in responsion with 7 instances of . . . $-\omega\omega$ -|; no SVE).

¹⁹² I exclude the corrupt I. 7. 33 and the two verses in responsion with it: I do not think that this is verse-end at all. See Excursus I.

¹⁹³ I include inessential variations: resolution of a longum; long anceps in . . . $-\omega$ -| . I treat O. 10. 13 etc. as if . . . $-(\omega)-\omega\omega$ -|.

(d) are unevenly distributed between odes: over half are in the two odes O. 10 and P. 5, which have 12 and 8 respectively instead of an expected 5.2 and 4.4.¹⁹⁴

I proceed now to consider my divergences from Snell. First, the places where his instances of SVE depend on nothing more than an arbitrary verse-division; I reject the division, and have excluded the instances from my list.

O. 4. 19–21 (the only epode; no responsion): || ἄπερ Κλυμένιοι παῖδα (A) Λαμνιάδων γυναικῶν (B) ἔλυσεν ἐξ ἀτιμίας (C); Boeckh divided at A, B, C, and so do editors generally (except that Snell divides only at A, C). But division at A gives SVE (type . . . -υ--|); therefore do not divide there, but only at B, C.

O. 4. 24–5 (the same epode): (A) οὔτος ἐγὼ ταχυτάτι, (B) χεῖρες δὲ καὶ ἦτορ ἴσον (C) φύονται δὲ καὶ νέοις (D) ἐν ἀνδράων κτλ. Everyone divides at A (rightly, no doubt) and at B; then either at C (most editors) or at D (Snell). But division at B gives SVE (type . . . -υ--|); therefore do not divide there. I should divide only at A and D; the verse will then be -υ-υ-υ-υ-, twice, plus -υ-υ-υ-.

O. 9. 77–8 (one of 4 epodes): || παραγορεῖτο μή ποτε (A) σφετέρας ἄπερθε ταξιοῦσθαι | δαμασιμβρότου αἰχμᾶς; everyone divides at A, with SVE (type . . . -υ-|). The division should be abandoned. There is nothing whatever to call for it: without it, the final syllable of ποτε is long (-ε σφ-), corresponding to longs elsewhere; there is no sense-pause at all here or at 21 or at 49, and only a light one at 105. And the undivided verse is so similar to the final verse of the epode as to create a presumption that it should be left undivided:

this verse: υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ -υ-υ-
 final verse: --υ-

I. 8. 42 (monostrophic; 7 stanzas): || μηδὲ Νηρέος θυγάτηρ νεικέων πέταλα (A) δις ἐγγυαλιζέτω || ~ 52 || ἵνας ἐκταμῶν δορί, ταί νιν ῥύοντό ποτε (A) μάχας ἐναριμβρότου ||; division at A was introduced by Turyn and then adopted from him by Snell. It gives SVE (type . . . -υ-|) in these two instances; I see nothing in its favour, and am confident that it is mistaken (even supposing it to be possible at all; for it depends on a conjectural reading in 32 which I am sure is false¹⁹⁵). No sense-pause in any stanza, except for a light one at 62.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Expected’ on the basis of the numbers in each ode of the different varieties of the ending. Conversely, P. 8 has 0 instead of an expected 5.0.

¹⁹⁵ At 32 the manuscript has | εὔνεκεν (read οὔνεκεν) πεπρωμένον ἦν φέρτερον γόνον ἄνακτα πατρός τεκεῖν | ποντίαν θεόν. A short syllable is lacking, and Turyn and Snell provide it by conjectures which give word-end at A: Turyn by Bury’s φέρτερόν <γε> γόνον (A), Snell by Ahlwardt’s φέρτερον πατ<έ>ρος ἄνακτα γόνον. Neither of these will do at all: Bury’s γε is idle; Ahlwardt turns awkward language into intolerable (we feel the noun-complex to be complete with φέρτερον πατέρος ἄνακτα, and γόνον added after its completion is feeble beyond endurance).

‘Awkward language’, I say of the manuscript text: the two nouns γόνον and ἄνακτα are uneasy

Without division the verse consists of two straightforward aeolic cola, $- \cup - \cup - \cup -$ plus $- \cup - \cup \cup \cup - \cup -$; the resolved longum in the second is characteristic of the ode, which has consistent resolution in five other places (7 etc., 8 etc. thrice, 10 etc.) and \cup in two besides.

Next the instances of SVE (excluded from my list above) which depend on a reading adopted by Snell but rejected by me. There are six of them: twice I reject a conjecture, once I adopt a different variant, once I change an accent, once I change a letter (a letter changed by most editors since 1843); once I can say no more than that the text is certainly corrupt.

O. 9. 43: | Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε Παρνασσού καταβάντε | δόμον ἔθεντο
 πρῶτον, ἄτερ δ' ἐννάς ὀμόδαμον || κτισσάσθαι λίθων γόνον |: so Snell, reading
 καταβάντε (SVE, type . . . $- \cup - - |$) with all manuscripts but A; but read
 instead καταβάντες with A. It may be said that corruption of dual to plural is
 likelier than the reverse; I think it more pertinent to start from the text, not
 from its transmission, and to say that the participle should agree in number
 with the nearer ἔθεντο rather than with the remoter κτισσάσθαι. I add that
 ἐθέσθαι would be just as possible metrically as ἔθεντο (of the syllables corre-
 sponding to $- \tau \omicron \pi \rho -$ three are long, three short, and one $- \nu \alpha \pi \rho -$): why, if Pindar
 put καταβάντε, did he not also put ἐθέσθαι?¹⁹⁶

bedfellows in any order; and when linguistic awkwardness coincides with metrical impossibility, we may expect them both to result from the same corruption. Now of the two nouns γόνον is the one we need and ἀνακτα is not: the prophecy was simply that Thetis' son would be more powerful than his father (Ap. Rh. 4. 801 *ὡς δὴ τοι πέπρωται ἀμείνονα πατρός ἐοίω | παῖδα τεκείν*), and the absolute level of his power (including any status as ἀναξ) will depend on the level of his father's power; we come to that only in what follows—if she consorts with Zeus or Poseidon, the son will overtrump the thunderbolt or the trident. I am confident therefore that the corruption resides in ἀνακτα, and that this has replaced something with the scansion $\cup - \cup$. But what? We have syllables to fill but nothing needed for the sense. In the same situation at O. 1. 104 (an unmetrical and unwanted ἄμα) Maas's ἐόντα is palmary; and on those lines I propose φέρτερον γόνον ἔτ' ἐόντα πατρός. I should have preferred this without the ἔτι, with its implication of a powerful father; but I can think of no alternative, and this ἔτι at least slips far more easily into the prophecy than would the description of the son as ἀναξ.

ἀνακτα can hardly have intruded from the margin, where it had no business to be (impossible as a gloss; and a variant on 47 would be 34 ancient lines away); for a guess (no more), ετεον was omitted in the colon

|τερονγονουετεονταπατροστεκειν ||

and the residual τα was then expanded to ἀνακτα. Whatever happened, the corruption can hardly have been simple. But let no one suppose that Ahlwardt's transposition has the merit of simplicity to set against its faults: for the extreme improbability of a transposition ABC > CBA, see n. 203 below.

¹⁹⁶ A poet's fluctuations between dual and plural are likely to be occasioned more by metrical convenience than by other considerations; and metrical convenience is enough to account for the switch to dual in κτισσάσθαι. But it may not be out of place if I say that of the three actions here described—descending from Parnassos, setting up house, and procreating issue—the one most suited to the dual is the procreation (however unconventional its means), and the one least suited to it the descent.

O. 14. 19: *ἄ Μινύεια* |; so the manuscripts, proparoxytone (except for a correction in C), and hence with *-ā* and with SVE (type . . . -υ--|). But this *-ā* is linguistically anomalous,¹⁹⁷ and Boeckh printed *Μιννεία* with *-ā* ('scripsi *Μιννεία* pro uulgarī *Μινύεια* ratione destituto omni'). Bergk recalled *Μινύεια* to the text, saying without reason 'uidetur poeta Aeolicam¹⁹⁸ formam praetulisse';¹⁹⁹ and there it has stayed, first in Schroeder and then in Snell. I hope that the addition of metrical anomaly to linguistic may help to drive it out again.

P. 11. 1: || *Κάδμον κόραι, Σεμέλα μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγνιάτις, | Ἴνῶ δὲ Λευκοθέα ποντιᾶν ὀμοθάλαμει Νηρηΐδων, || ἴτε κτλ.*; Snell prints Christ's conjecture *ἀγνιάτι*, with SVE (type . . . --|). But there is nothing the matter with *ἀγνιάτις*: attributes of a vocative can be in the nominative (*Il.* 4. 189 *φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε*; at O. 6. 103 *δέσποτα ποντομέδων* is the proper interpretation, before a vowel, of Pindar's ambiguous *-ON*), and the converse can happen too, as it does here immediately in *Ἴνῶ . . . ὀμοθάλαμει*;²⁰⁰ instances in Schwyzer, ii. 63, and in West's note on Hes. *Th.* 964. I assume that *Σεμέλα* is felt as vocative; the conjunction *Σεμέλα* (voc.) *μὲν . . . Ἴνῶ* (nom.) *δέ* will presumably be a development of the use in *Il.* 3. 276–7 *Ζεῦ πάτερ . . . Ἡέλιός τε* (which, with *τε* and only with *τε*, may be supposed to be an inheritance from Indo-European: Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, i. 7; Schwyzer, loc. cit.).

N. 7. 19: || *ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου παρὰ | κάμα νέονται*; so the manuscripts, with SVE (type . . . -υ--|). But the reading is certainly wrong, and must be corrected (with most editors) to Wieseler's palmary *θανάτου πέρας* ||

¹⁹⁷ A feminine *-ειᾶ* from an adjective in *-ειος* is guaranteed by metre at O. 10. 15 *Κύκνειᾶ* (Pindar's only feminine nominative singular of such an adjective; though he has an accusative *Ἰαριωνειᾶν*, I. 4. 49); but otherwise all I find is Ar. *Ekkl.* 1029 *ἀνάγκη . . . Διομήδειᾶ*, [E.] *Rh.* 762 *Ἐκτόρειᾶ χεῖρ*. All three in adjectives from proper names, and so perhaps under the influence of the *-ειᾶ* common in feminine proper names (and helped perhaps by the coexistence in *-εσ-* stems of current *-ειᾶ* and epic *-είη* = original *-ειᾶ*: *ἀλάθεια*, *ἀληθείη*); but however occasioned the *-ειᾶ* is very odd, and other instances are not to be supposed without a compelling reason.

Other unexpected instances of *-ā*: *Πέλλανᾶ* O. 7. 86, 13. 109; *τάμιᾶ* O. 13. 7 (certainly the singular, of Peace), *ἔερᾶ* N. 3. 78. Both *τάμιᾶ* and *ἔερᾶ* have the *-ā* elided before *ā* (*τάμι'* *ἀνδράσι*, *ἔερ'* *ἀμφέπει*); one might I suppose consider an alternative anomaly, the normal *ταμιᾶ*, *ἔερᾶ*, with synecphonesis of *-ā a-*.

¹⁹⁸ So called because of grammarians' statements about Aeolic *-ā* for *-ā*; but these statements seem in fact to have no basis other than Lesbian *-ā* in vocatives (only) of names in *-ā* (Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 5–6).

¹⁹⁹ I say 'without reason', for there is no shred of evidence for his 'uidetur': an accent added at earliest some 300 years after the poem was written is evidence for nothing at all. Anyone who wishes against reason to put trust in this illusion of authority ought first to ask himself what he makes of the manuscripts' unanimous *κυκνεία* for *Κύκνεια* in O. 10 and *πελλάνα* for *Πέλλανα* in O. 13 (and in O. 7; but there there was confusion with the dative *πελλάνα(ι)*).

²⁰⁰ It is odd that Christ did not, while he was about it, conjecture *Ἴνοι*.

ἄμα νέονται: (a) θανάτου *câma* is unintelligible, θανάτου *πέρας* exactly right (O. 2. 31 *πεῖρας . . . θανάτου*; adapted from epic θανάτοιο *τέλος*); (b) ἄμα is necessary to Pindar's point, that riches are no defence against death (not 'rich and poor are mortal' but 'rich and poor alike are mortal'); (c) ἄμα νέονται (there is correction of the -αι before ἐγώ) corresponds exactly with the ∪—∪ of the other four epodes, *câma νέονται* involves (as well as an unusual synizesis)²⁰¹ the responsion ∪ in an ode which otherwise deviates from exact responsion only twice,²⁰² each time in a proper name (— for ∪ in 35 *Νεοπτόλεμος*, unless indeed *Νεῶπτόλεμος*; ∪ for — in 70 *Εὐξέτιδα*). The corruption involves a single letter, *περασαμα* mistaken for *παρασαμα*; and I point out (lest modern texts mislead) that all this was on a single line: before Aristophanes, no colometry; thereafter, with his colometry (I give it with the uncorrupted reading), | ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου | πέρας ἄμα νέονται |. I add that the corruption is earlier than the ancient metrical scholia; for these, following their normal slovenly practice of analysing a colon on the basis simply of its first appearance in the ode, without regard to its subsequent appearances, say 'pherecratean, or hypercatalectic anapaestic monometer', i.e. ∪—∪—, *παρὰ *câma* νέονται*.

N. 7. 37: || *Κκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτεν, ἴκοντο δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν πλαγχθέντες* ||; so the manuscripts, but the metre elsewhere is || —∪—∪—∪—∪—∪—∪— |, and . . . —∪—|| at the end is unthinkable; the final word therefore is not *πλαγχθέντες*. Boeckh sought a remedy in transposition, || *Κκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτε, πλαγχθέντες δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν ἴκοντο* |, and most editors (Snell included) have followed him; but (a) the corruption supposed is vastly improbable (scarcely credible as an

²⁰¹ Synizesis of -εο- in a verb of monosyllabic stem is unparalleled: *Il.* 18. 136 *νεῦμαι*, and Pindar even has monosyllabic *πνέον*, *P.* 4. 225 ('even', since one might expect the original -εφο- of *πνέον* etc. to be more resistant to synizesis than the original -εσο- of *νέομαι*). Not unparalleled; but nevertheless very uncommon.

²⁰² In Snell's text it deviates in two other places, in each with ∪. In one, 37, it deviates by virtue of a conjecture which also imports SVE and which I shall be condemning in a moment. In the other, 65 ~ 86, his readings are unacceptable as language; correct the language, and exact responsion is restored at the same time. First, 64–5 *ἐὼν δ' ἐγγυὸς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐ μέμψεται μ' ἀνὴρ* || *Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἀλὸς οἰκέων καὶ προξενία πέποιθ'*· ἐν τε κτλ.: what we need is explanatory asyndeton (*προξενία πέποιθα* gives Pindar's reason for asserting that the Achaian will have no fault to find), and the *καὶ* is in the way; remove it (the manuscripts constantly intrude unmetrical particles into asyndeta), and responsion, with *οἰκέων* trisyllabic, is exact. Second, 84–6: they say that Zeus begot Aiakos, *λέγοντι . . . Αἰακὸν νῦν . . . φυτεύσαι* || *ἔαι μὲν πολίλαρχον εὐωνύμωι πάτραι*, || *Ἡράκλεες, *céo* δὲ προπρεῶνα ἦ μὲν ξείνων ἀδελφεόν τ'*; in any case of course correct *προπρεῶνα* to *προπράονα*, but the nonsensical *μὲν* is not to be saved by converting it to an unwanted *ἔμμεν* (and indeed worse than unwanted, when we have already construed *πολίλαρχον* without its aid) but to be ejected: read, that is, not *προπράον'* *ἔμμεν ξείνων* (as Snell), but *προπράονα ξείνων*, again with exact responsion.

accident,²⁰³ purposeless as a deliberate change), (b) a responsion υ is imported into . . . $-\upsilon-\upsilon\upsilon-\upsilon--\parallel$, blameless in itself but suspect in an ode which has no other instance of this responsion (see above, with n. 202). I should be reluctant to accept the conjecture in any case; that it imports SVE (type . . . $-\upsilon--\parallel$) is a further reason for rejecting it. I suppose the truth to be $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (or $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma?$);²⁰⁴ its predicative use (in which it is tantamount to a participle) is well paralleled at E. *IT* 417 (where it is coordinated with a participle), ὄλβου βάρους οἱ φέρονται $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ἐπ' οἶδμα πόλεις <τε> βαρ-βάρους περῶντες.

I. 7. 33: Ἄμφιάρῳν τε |; as it stands, this requires verse-end (the next word is εὐανθέ) and gives SVE (type . . . $---\parallel$); but I am confident that it is corrupt. (See Excursus I.) I have therefore excluded it from my list above; I have also excluded the corresponding verses, 16 ἄλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ | (the next word is εὔδει) and 50 | τεαῖσιν ἀμίλλαισιν | (the next word is εὐανθέα), since I observe that if our verse ended with short vowel plus consonant there would be no

²⁰³ The accidental transposition of two adjacent words (AB > BA) is one thing, the accidental interchanging of two words at a distance ($\underline{ABCDE} > \underline{EBCDA}$) is another. And unless this interchange was pre-Alexandrian it would not be encouraged by Aristophanes' colometry, which I now indicate: we have | Σκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτεν, ἵκοντο δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν πλαγχθέντες |, and we should have to suppose that this arose from | Σκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτε, πλαγχθέντες δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν ἵκοντο |. I know that anything can be corrupted to anything, but the obstacles here seem pretty severe. Douglas Young (cited in n. 48) produces only one parallel for such an interchange, in a single manuscript at P. 9. 24; and that would actually be helped by the colometry, which I mark: for | παῦρον ἐπὶ γλεφάρου | ὕπνον V has | ὕπνον ἐπὶ βλεφάρου | παῦρον. His report that at P. 1. 42 C has χερσὶ καὶ σοφοὶ for καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ χερσὶ is true but misleading: more fully, it has καὶ χερσὶ καὶ σοφοὶ for καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ χερσὶ, which is a very different thing. At I. 8. 32 he rejects Ahlwardt's transposition (πατέρος ἀνακτα γόνον for γόνον ἀνακτα πατρός) because he fancies the unmetrical reading of the manuscripts to be metrical; I have given my own reasons for rejecting it in n. 195 above. At I. 7. 29 Snell's apparatus records another instance, but wrongly: his note, taken over from Schroeder's *editio minor*, inverts the facts (the ἀστῶν . . . αὔξων of his text is the reading of the manuscripts, and αὔξων . . . ἀστῶν is merely a foolish conjecture of Hartung's).

I add that when a single word is several words out of place, $\underline{ABCDE} > \underline{BCDEA}$ (or the converse), as I. 8. 38–9 γέρας, O. 1. 60 οἶ, this is of course no analogy whatever for an interchange of the type $\underline{ABCDE} > \underline{EBCDA}$.

²⁰⁴ $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ Ahlwardt, $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ suggested (but not adopted) by Bergk. The word survives elsewhere only in Attic and Ionic (a Euripidean chorus for this purpose is Attic); what was it in Doric? Is the Attic η original (as in $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ -ητος) or secondary (from an original \bar{a} like that of Attic νεοκράς -άτος? Schwyzler, i. 499, supposes the word to be formed from $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$, with the -η- suffixal, i.e. original η ; Ernst Fraenkel, *Nomina agentis* (see his index), supposes it to be formed from $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$, with only the -τ- therefore suffixal and the η that of $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$, i.e. secondary η . I find it hard to suppose that the Dorians said $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ -ητος alongside $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\bar{a}$ and $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\bar{a}\varsigma$ (Attic $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$), and have preferred to follow Fraenkel; there is no exact analogy (I do not know whether Pindar's adverb $\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}$ might be relevant), and my preference can only be tentative. I have also followed Fraenkel (op. cit., ii. 200) in putting the accent on the -ης (or - \bar{a} ς); but I do not share his rejection of Herodian's $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$, and suppose rather that in Attic the accent shifted (when?) under the influence of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ etc.

need to assume verse-end at all: $\parallel -\cup\cup - \cup\mid - -\cup\cup - \cup\cup\cup\cup - \parallel$, with exact responsion, would be a perfectly acceptable single verse.

I next consider five instances of SVE which appear not in Snell's text but in Turyn's. Three of them (all multiple) are produced by a different verse-division, two by a different reading; all of them may be dismissed. I will consider first the three with different verse-division.

O. 10. 16 Ὀλυμπιάδι | ~ 58 Ὀλυμπιάδι | ~ 79 κελαδηρόμεθα |, with SVE (type . . . - $\cup\cup$ -|) in three epodes out of five. From certain verse-beginning to certain verse-end, 16-17 are \parallel Ἡρακλέα· πύκτας δ' (A) ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι (B) νικῶν (C) Ἰλαί φερέτω χάριν \parallel , with consistent diaeresis throughout the ode at B and C, and consistent except in this one epode (no diaeresis after elision) at A. Boeckh divided at A (impossibly)²⁰⁵ and at C, Snell (with editors generally) at C alone; Turyn divides at B alone. But division at B is intolerable: first, in all five occurrences the words from A to C form a coherent phrase which division at B disrupts, 16 ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι | νικῶν, 37 βαθὺν εἰς ὄχετόν | ἄτας, 58 σὺν Ὀλυμπιάδι | πρῶται, 79 κελαδηρόμεθα | βροντάν, 100 κρατέοντα χερὸς | ἀλκᾶι; second, division at B abolishes a characteristic feature of the metre of this ode, the sequence (-) $\cup\cup$ - (four times in the strophe, at 3 and 4; five times elsewhere in the epode, at 13, 15, 21).²⁰⁶ Avoidance of SVE would provide a further reason for not dividing, if there were not reason and to spare already.

P. 5. 49 μναμεῖα· | ~ 80 Καρνείε, | ~ 111 γλώσσαν τε |, with Boeckh's verse so divided as to give SVE (type . . . --|). Boeckh's verse appears in seven of its eight occurrences as \parallel -- \cup -- $\cup\cup$ -- \cup -- \parallel , but at 100 the third syllable is long in the manuscripts, ῥανθειῶν κώμων; Turyn follows Hermann's attempt to dispose of the inexact responsion by isolating the first three syllables as a separate verse, so that the syllable in question shall become final and admit either quantity indifferently.²⁰⁷ All quite mistaken; for I find 100 corrupt as

²⁰⁵ One cannot have verse-end after elision, for the elided syllable coheres with the vowel before which it is elided: δ' and ἐ- belong both metrically and orthographically to the same syllable. Division at πύκτας | δ' might have been more arguable: it might have been alleged that a poet who several times has verse-end after a prepositive (twice in this very stanza, 18 ὦς | Ἀχιλεὶ Πάτροκλος, 20 ποτὶ | πελώριον . . . κλέος) might occasionally have it before a postpositive; at P. 4. 179/180 (where verse-end is certain) I can see no non-metrical case for the deletion of δ'.

²⁰⁶ I am in general opposed to attempts to divide Pindar's verses into elements with names (in dactylo-epitrites I use D e etc. as shorthand symbols which represent not metrical elements but sequences of syllables); but in O. 10, with its very unusual metre, I find it hard not to recognize (in combination with aeolic elements) iambic metra, many syncopated and many with resolution of the first longum. This (-) $\cup\cup$ - I suppose to be (except for the first instance in 13) an iambic metron - $\cup\cup$ - or $\wedge\cup\cup$ -; 16-17 I treat as a single verse, divided neither at B nor at C, in which the syncopated metron -πίᾶδί νῖ- is followed by an aeolic colon -κῶν Ἰλαί φερέτω χάριν (which in this case happens to have a name, glyconic).

²⁰⁷ Hermann (*Opusc.* vii. 151-3) alleges other advantages for his arrangement; they are illusory. He objects to Boeckh's using three forms in -ήϊος (49 μναμήϊ?, 69 μαντήϊον, 80 Καρνήϊ?; Boeckh could easily in fact have got rid of the first two), 'epicae istae formae a quibus abstinuit

language, and to heal the corruption will at the same time dispose of the inexact responson. Arkesilas' dead ancestors, buried before the palace, can hear the songs that celebrate his victory; the manuscripts have (my | divides not their cola but the verses) *μεγάλαν (-άν) δ' ἀρετὰν (-άν) | δρόσῳ μαλθακά | ῥανθείσαν (-άν) κώμων θ' (om. Φ) ὑπὸ χεύμασιν | ἀκούοντί ποι χθονία φρενί, | σφὸν ὄλβον νίῳι τε κοινὰν χάριν | ἔνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλαι*. 'They hear his great prowess besprinkled with *δρόσος μαλθακά* (and) by the *χεύματα*²⁰⁸ of the *κῶμοι*': clearly the 'and' must go (*δρόσῳ* and *ὑπὸ χεύμασιν* are not parallel).²⁰⁹ But what are *κώμων χεύματα*? Songs can be poured (*I. 8 ἐπὶ θρήνον . . . χέαν*), *κῶμοι* cannot; therefore 'what is poured by the *κῶμοι*?', with a subjective genitive which I neither can parallel nor think credible. I accept therefore the old conjecture *ῥμνων*, and read *δρόσῳ μαλθακά | ῥανθείσαν ῥμνων ὑπὸ χεύμασιν*; and with this we have our short syllable, so long as we make *ἀρετὰν . . . ῥανθείσαν* accusative and not genitive. I have found no parallel in early poetry for 'hear his achievements praised', and so cannot substantiate my feeling that the accusative is the natural case;²¹⁰ but the accusative is certainly indicated by the following accusatives *ὄλβον* and *χάριν*. These accusatives are not of course in apposition to *ἀρετὰν* itself, but are internal accusatives in apposition to the *actio uerbi*, to the besprinkling of his prowess, and I think it evident that the apposition will be more readily intelligible after *ἀρετὰν . . . ῥανθείσαν* than after *ἀρετὰν . . . ῥανθεισάν* (indeed with *ἀρετὰν* it would be more natural to take the accusatives to be in apposition not to the besprinkling but to their hearing it; and this, though it would be *χάρις* and perhaps even *ὄλβος* for themselves, would certainly be no *χάρις* for Arkesilas).

I. 8. 11 μόχθον. ἀλλά | ~ 61 ἔστυται τε |, with SVE (type . . . —υ—|) in two instances out of seven: Turyn (following Boeckh and Schroeder) splits Snell's verse into two, and at 11 has to make an unlikely change in order to do so. That verse (with part of the next) is this: *ἀτόλματον Ἑλλάδι μόχθον. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δεῖμα μὲν παροιχόμενον*²¹¹ | *κρατερὰν ἔπαυσε μέριμναν*. Boeckh split it at *ἀλλά |*

Pindarus?; Pindar has *O. 2. 42 ἀρήϊον*, *N. 8. 2 παρθενήϊος* <+ *Parth. 2. 34 παρθενήϊα*>, and now (papyrus, not verifiable by metre) fr. 59. 6 *μαν[τ]ήϊον*. He objects to Boeckh's deletion (after Pauw) of *καί* in 69 *μαντήϊον τῷ {καί} Λακεδαίμονι*; I should not regret its departure (I think it less obviously in place than other instances of *καί* after a relative; Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar*, 259, *καί* C.3.c.a), but one could preserve it easily by *μαντεῖον*: *δι* (Christ, 1869).

²⁰⁸ Some mss. have *ὑποχεύμασιν* as a single word; but what could it mean?

²⁰⁹ Nor is *ὑπό* used *ἀπό κοινού*: *δρόσῳ* must be instrumental.

²¹⁰ Pl. *Rep.* 366b *ἐπαινουμένης* (sc. *τῆς δικαιοσύνης*) *ἀκούοντα*; but that is not early poetry.

²¹¹ *Benedictus* (*παροιχόμενον* the mss., i.e. *ΠΑΡΟΙΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ* Pindar): his fears (of 480–79) are over, and their passing (for the *Caesar occisus* construction cf. *P. 11. 22*) has brought his preoccupation to an end; I have never understood how anyone could take the passage otherwise. We are told by Thummer ad loc. 'Schadewaldt S. 279 liest mit *Benedictus παροιχόμενον*. Inzwischen hat P.Oxy. 26, 2439 die Lesung *παροιχόμενων* gesichert'. No papyrus ever 'sichert' a reading; it merely shows that the reading, true or false, was current at the time

μοι, but the enclitic is wrong and division before it is wrong; Boehmer's ἀλλὰ | ἐμέ (and then κρατερᾶν . . . μεριμνᾶν) keeps the pronoun orthotone, but resolves (with ἔμῃ) a longum that elsewhere is unresolved except in the proper name Ἐλέναν (51). Undivided, the verse is flawless. Yet the division is not frivolous, for it seeks to remove an irregular responson which the editors have found disturbing: in Snell's verse, ||— —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ— υ—υ—υ—υ—||, the eleventh syllable is five times short and twice long, 21 (ἐνεγ)κῶν and 41 (εὐ)θύς X(ίρωνος); and the irregularity vanishes if one divides at this point and lets the syllable be final. I myself find the long syllables disturbing,²¹² and believe that Turyn is right in seeking to remove the irregularity; but the way to remove it is not to split the verse and to that end to make changes in a flawless text at 11: it is to make changes in 21 and 41 themselves, for in each of them the text is defective for reasons other than metrical. At 41 the solution is very simple: in (ἰόντων δ' ἐς ἄφθιτον ἄντρον εὐ)θύς X(ίρωνος αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαι) replace εὐθύς by εὐθύ,²¹³ 'straight to Chiron's cave'; that of course would be the sense with εὐθύς as well, but an audience would naturally take εὐθύς as 'immediately' until they were brought up short by αὐτίκα, whereas εὐθύ is unambiguously local. At 21 the solution is far from simple, but the defects of the text are clear: in (κέ δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν ἐνεγ)κῶν κ(οιμάτο, δῖον ἔνθα τέκεε || Αἰακόν), the tense of κοιμάτο is odd, one misses παρὰ κοί or the like ('he took you to Aigina and lay in bed'), and though one may infer from what has gone before that κέ is Aigina (the girl) she has not yet been addressed and one would expect a vocative. All this will not do as it stands, and when a metrical anomaly is located in a corrupt text, the healing of the corruption may be expected to dispose of the anomaly.

when the papyrus was written, in this case the first half of the first century AD, when Pindar had been dead for about as long as Christopher Columbus or Maximilian I or Leonardo da Vinci has been dead in 1980. But that by the way: Pindar wrote ΠΑΡΟΙΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ, and the question is whether he meant the last *O* to be pronounced long or short; unless we can summon up his ghost to tell us, we shall never resolve the question by any appeal to authority of any kind.

²¹² I must attempt to say why; though my attempt will at the moment be only provisional. Long anceps (whether consistently long or only occasionally) is common enough in the early parts of an aeolic colon, but uncommon in the part following the double-short (or, if there be more than one, in the part following the last double-short); when it does appear in that part there seems always to be a bridge between it and the following longum, so that the long anceps may not be formed by the last syllable of a word.

I must say in what sense I use the term 'aeolic colon' (an 'anceps' may be consistently long, or consistently short, or variable; 'may' means 'may', not 'must'): a sequence of syllables in which longa alternate with elements of which one or more may be double-short and the others are anceps, and which is demarcated at either end either by verse-beginning or -end or by the juncture between the two juxtaposed longa. Thus our verse will consist of what I will call a 'basis' (×—, here —) plus a colon —υ—υ—υ—υ— plus a colon υ—υ—υ—υ—.

²¹³ At S. OT 1242 εὐθὺ πρὸς τὰ νυμφικὰ the majority of Dawe's manuscripts (including L before correction) have an unmetrical εὐθύς.

Everything was set to rights by Maas:²¹⁴ (*κε δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν *ἔνει*) *κεν*, (*Αἴγινα*, * *διον ἔνθα τέκες* || *Αἰακόν*); set to rights, but how does one explain the corruption? Maas's own explanation (*κοιμᾶτο* is the 'Rest eines Scholions, das das Beilager erzählte') will not persuade many. Explanation might be easier if one changed the verb, and instead of *ἔνεικεν*, *Αἴγινα* read *κομίξατ*, *Αἴγινα*:²¹⁵ a half-attentive copyist with the seduction more in his mind than the construction might well have thought that in *κομίξατο* (or a mis-writing *κομίσατο*) he saw *κοιμᾶτο*; and the meaningless *κε δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν κοιμᾶτο* might then invite (to provide some sort of sense and metre) the insertion of *ἐνεγκών*²¹⁶ and the consequent extrusion of *Αἴγινα*.²¹⁷

Now the two places where Turyn has a different reading.

P. 6. 13 *παμφόρωι χεράδι* | (so the manuscripts), with SVE (type . . . —υ—|). But Beck's *χεράδει* (accepted by editors generally) is evidently right: *χεράς* is known only from a plural *χεράδες* in Hesychios; *χεράδος* is in Homer (*Il.* 21. 319), Sappho (fr. 145), and Alkaios (fr. 344. 1); and its dative is expressly attested for Pindar (apparently for another place than this: fr. 327) by Sch. T on *Il.* and by *Et. gen.* and *Et. mag.*

P. 2. 79 *ἄτε γὰρ ἐνάλιον πόνον ἐχοίcas βαθύ* | *σκευᾶς ἐτέρας, ἀβάπτιςτός εἶμι κτλ.* (so the manuscripts), with SVE (type . . . —υ—). We need 'in the depths'; an adverbial *βαθύ* is impossible, and the choice is between Bergk's *βαθύν* and Wilamowitz's *βυθοῖ*. With either of them, SVE will disappear; between them, I do not doubt that *βυθοῖ* is right.

Finally, the fragments. The difficulty here is that we are seldom able to identify verse-end with certainty. In quotation-fragments we have commonly no guide at all, nor can we put much confidence in the text.²¹⁸ In papyrus fragments we are better off in that the text is in general reliable and that we may have some degree of guidance from respension; but from the colometry we get little more than help in establishing the respension and an assurance

²¹⁴ *Reponsionsfreiheiten*, ii. 16 n. 2. This was when he was forty; when he was seventy-five he was still of the same mind (I own his copy of Snell's second edition, marked 'traf ein 11/2/56'; at I. 8. 21 he wrote in the margin 'ἔνεικεν Αἴγινα Maas Resp II 16').

²¹⁵ It will be irrelevant that Pindar elsewhere has only active forms of *κομίζω*: the middle here will be exactly that of *γυναικα ἀγεσθαι*.

²¹⁶ I should like to adduce the form *ἐνεγκών* as evidence that the word is not Pindar's (who would have used *ἐνείcas*) but the corrector's; but I cannot, for Pindar's manuscripts credit him not only with *ἦνεγκ'* (*O.* 13. 66: merely an extra crossbar) but with *προσενεγκεῖν* (*P.* 9. 36, at verse-end; incredibly, when they have *ἐνεῖκαι* a few lines below at 53).

²¹⁷ It would have been even easier for the half-attentive copyist to think he saw *κομίσατο*; but it would have then been a good deal harder for a corrector to produce what is now in the manuscripts.

²¹⁸ Editors divide the fragments into the semblance of verses, but their divisions are inevitably more or less arbitrary. Avoidance of SVE (unless in . . . —υ—|) ought henceforth to provide one criterion; I should think it right to apply it in fr. 95, 105(a), 155, 203.

that hiatus after a short vowel at colon-end is in fact hiatus and not *scriptio plena* at elision. Stanza-end apart, we may expect (on the analogy of the non-dactylo-epitrite epinikia) that only half the cola will end with verse-end and that one verse in four will end in mid colon.²¹⁹

I will list the certain and the possible instances of SVE that I have been able to discover. I mark colon-end by | (by |[if the beginning of the next colon is lost), and verse-end not at colon-end by †; I add in brackets the evidence of responsion (N means that there is none).

(a) . . . —|: eight apparently certain instances, a few that are probable, and a number that are possible but quite uncertain.

Certain: at stanza-end, *Pai.* 7b. 40 ἔσσατο |; hiatus at colon-end, *Pai.* 4. 36 ἀνα[ίνετο] | αὐταρχεῖν, 43 τριόδοντί τε | ἐς (~ 12 ἀγακλέᾱ | rather than —ἐᾶ²²⁰), 45 εὐερκέα· | ἔπειτα, 9. 8 ἀπήμονα | εἰς ~ 38 ἐκαβόλε |, fr. 140a. 57 κοτέων θαμά, | ἀρχαγέται; hiatus in mid-colon, *Pai.* 8. 78 μελίφρονι † αὐδᾶι (~ 90 καθαρὸν δ[| × †]).

Possible at colon-end: *Pai.* 4. 12 ἀγακλέα | (see above), 58] πέρι |[(~ 27 ἀδαέστερος· | ἀλλ'), 7b. 49 Αἰγαῖον θαμά· | τᾶς (N), 8. 67 ἐφαίνετο; | χάλκεοι (N; probable²²¹), 84 γεγενημένα |[(N; probable²²²), 9. 34 δαιμονίωι τιwί | λέχει (~ 4 δδόν, | ἐπίσκοτον, 14 κθένος | ὑπέρφατον, 44 πόλιw, | ἀκερσεκόμα), 43 Πύθι[ε· | τῶι] (~ 3 ἀμάχανον | ἰσχύν, 13 τινός, | ἦ), 22 (b) 9 τόν ποτε |[(N), fr. 59. 11 τριπόδεσσι τε | καί (N), *Dith.* 1. 35], γαῖατο |[(21] ρωμενον· |[), *Parth.* 2. 47 [εὐκλέ]α | (see above, n. 220), fr. 140a. 15] αν τριχα |[(~ 67 ἦρχετο |

²¹⁹ Alexandrian colometry was doubtless just as incompetent in the other books as it is in the epinikia. For the non-dactylo-epitrite epinikia the figures are as follows (31 stanzas, each counted once only; in each stanza the last verse and last colon, which are bound to end together, are excluded from the count): verses, 194; cola 319; verse-end at colon-end, 147; verse-end in mid-colon, 47. I have not included in my figures the single-triad O. 4 and P. 7, the supposititious O. 5, and the two-strophe O. 14 (where Aristophanes was not even aware that the two stanzas were in responsion). Of the mixed-metre O. 13 I have included only the first six verses of the strophe.

The incompetence is quite erratic in its effect: in the strophe of O. 1, all ten verses end at colon-end; in the epode, five of the seven end in mid-colon.

²²⁰ Compounds in -κλεῖς have their accusative normally in -εᾶ: ἀγακλέᾱ P. 9. 106, I. 1. 34; εὐκλέᾱ O. 6. 76, P. 8. 62, 9. 56, N. 5. 15, 6. 46, *Pai.* 2. 103; Ἡρακλέᾱ O. 10. 16; elision or synizesis likely or supposed at N. 6. 29, fr. 51d, fr. 75. 5. In -εᾶ, one mid-verse instance, P. 12. 24 εὐκλεᾶ; cf. also the mid-verse dative Ἀγακικλέει at *Parth.* 2. 38. At verse-end we have ἀγακλέα here, Ὑφικλέα at P. 9. 88, and at *Parth.* 2. 47, by a not unlikely supplement, ναὸν Ὑτωνίας ἀ[μφ' εὐκλέ]α. At P. 9. 88 I have thought Ὑφικλεᾶ preferable to a very rare type of SVE; but in . . . —| I see no reason to avoid the normal -κλεῖᾶ.

²²¹ If there is no verse-end, then *prima facie* the three cola 67–9 will form a single verse of 23 or 25 syllables (we do not know whether χάλκεοι and χάλκεαι have two syllables each or three). In the non-dactylo-epitrite epinikia there are only four verses with more than 22 syllables: 28 in O. 10. 3, I. 7. 5; 24 in N. 2. 4; 23 in O. 4. 24–5 (discussed above). I count P. 11. 3–4 as two verses.

²²² A supplement involving hiatus seems very probable: φωνᾶι τᾶ τ' ἔοντα τε κα[ι] | πρόσθεν γεγενημένα |[[ᾶ τ' ἔσσει]ται (Lobel); or [ῶσα τ' ἔς]ται (Snell).

μόροιο (improbable²²³), 169a. 18 ἐκελθὼν μέγα· | [(~ 5 *Ηρακλέος*, | ἐπέι, 45 μόνον | ἄνευ), fr. 173. 5]αΐαι φρενί | [(N).

If there are other instances in mid-colon,²²⁴ they do not reveal themselves on present evidence. But I remark on two places where verse-end is necessary somewhere in mid-colon, and where there is a possibility that it might give SVE; the possibility cannot be verified, since not all the corresponding cola are preserved. (1) The last four cola of the strophe of *Pai*. 4 have 37 syllables in all; they contain no verse-end at colon-end, and must therefore contain at least one in mid-colon. I suspect that there is one after the seventeenth syllable (39 ἐὸν ἰεῖπεν, 49 ἔμπεδον ἰεῖη κεν); there might also be one after the fifth (with the first five syllables forming a verse with the preceding colon), and this would give SVE at 48 μέγαν ἄλλοθι ἰεῖ κλᾶρον ἔχω. (2) So also in the strophe of *Pai*. 6: five cola (12–16 etc.) with 54 syllables and no verse-end at colon-end; verse-end is necessary after the 21st (hiatus in 95) and after the 49th (hiatus in 138; Snell has brought this to colon-end by transferring the last five syllables to the following colon), but another verse-end seems very likely in between. Most likely, perhaps, after the 36th; but alternatively after the 30th, and this would give SVE at 136 ἀνερέψατο.

Three quotation-fragments deserve mention; one of them, 75. 16, I consider below under (b). I give the other two as divided by Snell, 105(a) *κύνας ὅ τοι λέγω*, | *ζαθέων ἱερώων ἐπώνυμ* | *πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας*, 107(a) *Πελαγον ἵππον ἢ κύνα* | *Ἀμυκλαίαν ἀγωνίω* | *ἐλελιζόμενος ποδὶ μίμεο κτλ.*; the divisions after *ἐπώνυμ* and *κύνα* seem to me neither impossible nor convincing. In 105 *ἔπῶνυμ* would not cohere ill with the double \cup — which follows.²²⁵ In 107 *ἢ κύν' Ἀμυκλαίαν* would give . . . $\cup\cup$ — \cup — \cup —, with an unusual sequence after the double short,²²⁶ but a verse \cup — \cup — \cup — \cup —²²⁷ is hardly less unusual;²²⁸ the tradition is in any case appalling (Snell's apparatus does not tell the whole story), and corruption is a very real possibility.

²²³ The next colon has only five syllables, and is the last of the stanza: *ἤρχετο* | *μόροιο κάρυξ*. In the non-dactylo-epitrite epinikia there are only two verses as short as this, *P*. 5. 6 *κύ τοι νν κλυτὰς*, 10. 14 *Ἄρεος ὀπλοῖς* (I do not believe in the four-syllable verse supposed at *N*. 6. 6b).

²²⁴ There may well be; of my 51 instances of SVE in non-dactylo-epitrite epinikia, 15 occur in mid colon. Ten of these are revealed immediately by hiatus (in four after unelidable -ῖ, in six after -ᾶ, -ε, -ο; the tradition mostly preserves the hiatus and does not elide); in the other five the verse-end is established only by respiration.

²²⁵ Aristophanes (*Birds* 926) makes the poet address Peisetairos with *σὺ δὲ πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας, ζαθέων ἱερώων ὀμώνυμ*, *δοῦς ἐμὴν κτλ.*; I should not wish to make any metrical inference from the transposition.

²²⁶ Similar sequences in *I*. 7. 10 . . . *καρτερᾶς Ἄδραστον ἐξ ἀλαλᾶς ἄμπεμψας ὄρφανόν*, *O*. 9. 56 *κοῦροι κορᾶν καὶ φερτάτων Κρονιδᾶν, ἐγχώροιο βασιλῆος αἰεῖ*; though in each case with a diaeresis after $\cup\cup$ — (in *I*. 7 it might indeed be verse-end).

²²⁷ I do not accept the *Ἀμυκλαίαν* which Snell adopts from Schroeder.

²²⁸ Cf. however *P*. 5. 11 *καταθύσσει μάκαιραν ἔστιαν* (clausular to the stanza; does that make a difference?).

Finally, two potential instances at colon-end which I have consciously disregarded: at *Parth.* 2. 66 *v̄n μοι ποδὶ | τεύχων* verse-end is not excluded by 36–7 *εργικεμαι* (cf., across verse-end, *O.* 1. 57 *ὑπερ | κρέμασε*, 6. 53–4 *ἐν | κέκρυπτο*), but it does seem to be excluded by 91–2]|*χηρα*[(no appropriate word could begin thus);²²⁹ *Pai.* 7b. 50 is printed by Snell]ο *ἔσσατο* | at stanza-end, but I shall cast doubt on this under (g) below. <Section (g) is missing.>

(b) . . . –υ–|: no certain instance, and few possibilities.

At colon-end in papyri: *Pai.* 13 (b) 19]ων *ὁπότε* |[(N); *Dith.* 3. 9 *ἐλθὲ φίλαν δῆ πόλεα* |[(N), but *πόλεα* = *πόλιν* is incredible (and the whole line in the papyrus is a mess of correction and recorection, with no certainty indeed that *πόλεα* was intended: see Snell's apparatus).

In a long quotation-fragment from a dithyramb, fr. 75, we have in 15–16 *εὐοδμον ἐπάγοισιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεια. τότε βάλλεται κτλ.*; and it seems likely enough that we should suppose verse-end after *νεκτάρεια*. But how is this to be scanned? Pindar is quite ready to admit synizesis in adjectives of material in –*εος*, and has (from *χρυσ-*, *χαλκ-*, *ἀργυρ-*, *φουικ-*) homosyllabic 2 –*εας*, 3 –*εαις(ιν)*, 2 –*εωι*, 1 –*εων*, 6 –*εοις(ιν)*; he has no instance of –*εᾶ* either with or without synizesis,²³⁰ but early lyric has synizesis at *Sapph.* 44. 9–10 *πορφύρα, ἀργύρα* (the scansion is certain, even though the spelling has been atticed), and presumably at *Anakr. PMG* 388. 10 *χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα.*

(c) . . . ––|: no certain instance; two dubious possibilities.

At colon-end in papyri: *Pai.* 8a. 25 *προμάθεια* |[(N), *Dith.* 4. 14]*φύτευεν ματρί* |[(but probably {*ν*}; see Excursus II).

(d) . . . –υ–|: no certain instance; a few possibilities.

At colon-end in papyri: *Pai.* 7. 1 *θεσπεσίων δοτήρα | καί* (N), 7b. 13 *π]τανὸν ἄρμα | Μοισα*[, 12. 8 and 9 *κρημνόν, ἔνθα [] | κελαινεφέ' ἀργιβρένταν λέγο[ντι]* | *Ζῆνα καθεζόμενον* (N; neither *ἔνθα* nor *λέγο[ντι]* necessarily colon-end, but the sense seems complete; if verse-end after *λεγο*[, presumably paragogic *ν*, i.e. not *λέγο[ντι]* but *λέγο[ιν]*), *Dith.* 4. 12]ομον[. . .]αντε |[~ 39 *ἴδον τ' ἄποπτα* |[(for the responsion, see Excursus II), 14]*φύτευε{ν} ματρί* |[(~ 41 *ἀντὶ φωτῶν* |[; major problems, but verse-end perhaps not unlikely: see Excursus), fr. 140a. 63 *ἔσσατο ἄ[ν]ακτι | βωμόν* (~ 11]*μεπερλῆ*!|[; inscrutable, but hardly verse-end.

In quotation-fragments, a few apparent instances in Snell's text; but the divisions are arbitrary, and we ought provisionally to divide the fragments otherwise. I give the fragments with Snell's divisions (at |): 5 *Αἰολίδα*ν δὲ

²²⁹ 'The first letter is plainly *c* and not *θ*' say Grenfell and Hunt. From the plate, I doubted them; from the papyrus itself I confirm that *c* is completely certain.

²³⁰ Except for *βρότῃ*, *O.* 9. 34; but whatever the linguistic facts this will hardly have been felt to be parallel. *κενῆ* of course is quite irrelevant.

Κίκυφον κέλοντο | ὦι παιδὶ τηλέφαντον ὄρραι | γέρας φθιμένωι Μελικέρται (it will be κέλοντο (F)ῶι), 95 ματρὸς μεγάλας ὀπαδέ, | σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων μέλημα | τερπνόν, 203 . . . κείμενον ἐν φάει, κρυφᾶι δὲ | σκολιαῖς γένυσσιν κτλ.

(e) . . . —ω—|: no instance.

At fr. 111. 4 (papyrus, supplemented from quotation), if ἐπάραξε is at verse-end it will be -εν. At fr. 169a. 47 Snell has Ἰόλαο[ς ἐ]ν ἑπταπύλοισι μένω[ν τε | Θήβαις] Ἀμφιτρύωνί τε κάμα χέων, but whatever the responson (it is problematic) I find τε in this position unacceptable as language ('at Thebes' should construe only after μένων, and this τε makes it construe after χέων as well, 'staying, and raising Amphitryon's tomb, at Thebes'). In fr. 155 (quotation) the division καρτερόβρεντα | Κρονίδα is arbitrary.

(f) Of unknown type (and mostly uncertain as well): *Dith.* 3. 4]ποδα || (N; πόδα, or e.g. —πόδα, ἀ]ποδά[μου, ὕ]πὸ δα[κκίους], fr. 104 b. 3 ἐ]πεφράς[ατο] | τῶν (not necessarily colon-end; and -ἔφρᾶς[ατο] or -ἔφρᾶς[ατο] or —φρᾶς[ατο?], *P. Oxy.* 841 fr. 144]λεσα[(N), *P. Oxy.* 1792 fr. 32. 4]ατο· || (N).

EXCURSUS I

I. 7. 33 and the death of Strepsiadidas

Pindar is concerned with the Theban victor's maternal uncle and namesake, Strepsiadidas. I will print the whole passage in *I. 7* concerning him. As it begins, the subject is the victor:

- μάτρωι θ' ὀμωνύμωι δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος,
 25 χάλκασπις ὦι πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν,
 τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται.
 ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς ὅστις ἐν ταῦται νεφέλαι χάλα-
 ζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,
 λοιγὸν <ἀντιφέρων> ἐναντίωι στρατῶι,
 ἀστῶν γενεᾶι μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων
 30 ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανῶν.
 τὴν δὲ Διοδότοιο παῖ μαχατὰν
 αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἔκτορα,
 †ἀμφιφάρον τε†
 εὐανθ' ἀπέπνευσε ἀλικίαν
 35 προμάχων ἀν' ὄμιλον, ἔνθ' ἄριστοι
 ἔσχον πολέμοιο νεῖκος ἐσχάταις ἐλπίσιν.

Pindar speaks of Strepsiadidas' death in battle and of the τιμὰ given to the valiant dead; then of the κλέος gained for his city by one ὅστις ἐν ταῦται

νεφέλαι χάλαζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται. Then he apostrophizes him: τὺ δὲ Διοδότοιο παῖ κτλ.

Whatever battle this may have been, it is clear from πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται that it was fought in defence of Thebes;²³¹ and Strepsiadidas died αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορα, ‘commending’ them in that his own choice was the same as theirs: death in defending his city from foreign assault.²³² To this very relevant pair of heroes the manuscripts add the wholly irrelevant Amphiareos; they cannot possibly be right. So far from dying in defence of his city, Amphiareos met his end as an invader, and an invader attacking the very Thebes that Strepsiadidas died to defend;²³³ and his end was not death as he resisted the enemy, but to be swallowed up in the earth, chariot and all, as he fled before the enemy.²³⁴ It would be hard to think of a hero less suited to comparison with Strepsiadidas.²³⁵ It will not do to say that the point of the comparison is that ‘they all fell valiantly in the front line of battle’²³⁶ or that ‘der Gedanke an das Kampf für das Vaterland . . . ist . . . bereits durch das Lob der Tapferkeit im allgemeinen und des Heldentods verdrängt’;²³⁷ not only does this do nothing to explain the inclusion of Amphiareos (who did not ‘fall valiantly in the front line of battle’ or meet a

²³¹ One can of course engage in a defensive battle in the course of an aggressive campaign, and ἀμύνεσθαι could be used of one who fights in such a battle; but not I think πρὸ πάτρας.

²³² We may assume that the version of the Meleagros story that Pindar is following is that of the *Iliad*, 9. 529–99.

²³³ ‘Since they assign Pindar the role of an extreme patriot here, scholars express surprise that Pindar should cite Amphiarus as the model of a man who died fighting for Thebes’: so David C. Young, *Pindar Isthmian* 7, 21. What on earth has ‘extreme patriotism’ got to do with it? I reject Amphiareos because (and solely because) I believe Pindar to have been a rational human being.

²³⁴ *N.* 9. 24–7 ὁ δ’ Ἀμφιαρεὶ χρίσσειν κερανῶνι παμβίαι | Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερον χθόνα, κρίψεν δ’ ἄμ’ ἴπποις, | δουρὶ Περικλυμένον πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν | θυμὸν αἰσχυρῆσθαι· ἐν γὰρ δαίμονιοι φόβοι φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν.

²³⁵ His end apart, Amphiareos is spoken of always as an excellent fighter; and as fighter and μάστιγ combined he is ideally suited to comparison with the soldier and μάστιγ Hagesias of Syracuse (*O.* 6. 12–21). But that is another matter altogether.

²³⁶ Young, 22. His next words are ‘they knew not the shame of flight’; since he has just referred to *N.* 9. 24–7, I can only suppose that he takes Pindar there to mean that Zeus caused Amphiareos to be swallowed up before he could be seized by the δαίμονιος φόβος and so expose his back in flight to Periklymenos’ spear. I am not aware that anyone has ever taken the passage thus before; and I cannot think that anyone will ever take it thus again. Cf. Apollod. 3. 6. 8 Ἀμφιαράω . . . φεύγοντι, Paus. 2. 23. 2 γενομένης . . . τῆς τροπῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίων τείχους, Str. 9. 1. 22 φεύγοντα (Radt on S. fr. 958; φυγόντα the manuscripts); I add that the three sanctuaries of Amphiareos which were locally supposed to be on the site of the swallowing-up were distant from the walls of Thebes by perhaps 1 km. (Paus. 9. 8. 3), by c. 17 km. (id. 9. 19. 4), and by c. 50 km. (Str. loc. cit.). [I leave this note as I originally wrote it. But I was too sanguine: the interpretation which I imputed to Young has subsequently appeared in Privitera’s edition of 1982.]

²³⁷ Thummer ad loc.

‘Heldentod’),²³⁸ but it entirely ignores the train of thought. From his general statement about the glory of death in defence of one’s country Pindar proceeds with τὸ δὲ Διοδότοιο παῖ to Strepsiadus’ death as exemplifying the general truth; we need some indication that it does exemplify it (the Theban audience of course will know already that it does, but praise must be explicit), and the indication comes precisely (and, as the text stands, solely) in this comparison with the legendary defenders of their city. Amphiareos can have no place in the comparison; and he must go.²³⁹

In his place I look for some explicit indication of the defence of Thebes, which I expect (since the corruption can hardly have been other than visual) to have been ἀμφ’ ἱερὸν (-όν) — (with — some equivalent of Thebes). This ἀμφί in a context of fighting will certainly retain its original local sense (however much it may be coloured by ‘to secure/keep possession of’);²⁴⁰ and here where the verb is not ‘fought’ but ‘died’ the local sense must certainly predominate. Couple this with Meleagros and Hektor, and we have a presumption that the engagement took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Thebes itself.

What I suspect that Pindar wrote is ἀμφ’ ἱερὸν τεῖχος; with this, the τε will be the residue of τε<ίχος>. Do this, and there is no reason to suppose verse-end at this point: ἀμφ’ ἱερὸν τεῖχος εὐανθέα corresponding to 16 ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ εὐδαι χάρις and 50 τεαίειν ἀμίλλαιειν εὐανθέα. The metre will be

— — — — —

²³⁸ Other attempts at explanation are equally futile. Christ suggests that Strepsiadus was a μάντις; if he was, this is not Pindar’s way of referring to the fact. Fennell supposes that he was killed ‘near Amphiaraus’ shrine’: as if the mere fact of being killed near Assisi would justify ‘he died commending St. Francis’. Wilamowitz <Pindaros, 412> weaves a tissue of implication that no one could possibly have understood: Amphiareos met his end ‘mit dem Wissen . . . , dass sein Sohn siegreich werden würde’, and so the Thebans too may hope for ἐπίγονοι who one day will restore their fortunes.

²³⁹ I make two subsidiary points. First, the rhetoric is far better with Amphiareos absent: the anaphora in αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορα is effective; add Ἀμφιάραόν τε and the effect is spoilt. (It would be unimpaired if and only if—what the τε indeed would suggest—Hektor and Amphiareos formed a natural pair; and of course they do not. αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Πολυδεύκεια Κάκτορά τε would pass muster rhetorically; but Hektor and Amphiareos are chalk and cheese.) Second, the paraphrase in the scholia (44) runs εὐ δέ, Διοδότου παῖ, ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τιθέμενος Μελέαγρόν τε καὶ Ἑκτορα καὶ τὰς τούτων ζηλῶν ἀρετὰς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐτελεύτησας προμαχόμενος τῆς πατρίδος: one can build little enough, of course, on such a paraphrase, but it may be thought more likely that the writer had no Ἀμφιάραόν τε in his text than that he had it and ignored it.

²⁴⁰ As it is notably in Tyrt. 5 W.: in telling his contemporaries how their grandfathers won Messene, Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὴν μὲν ἀροῦν ἀγαθὴν δὲ φυτεύειν, he says ἀμφ’ αὐτὴν δ’ ἐμάχοντ’ ἐννέα καὶ δέκ’ ἔτη; not a nineteen-year siege of a city, but nineteen years of fighting to win rich territory. The sense of ‘to secure possession of’ is here predominant; but the fighting was of course on Messenian soil, and the local sense remains.

EXCURSUS II

Dithyramb 4 (P. Oxy. 2445; fr. 70d)

The first thing to be said about this fragment is that it is almost certainly from the same roll (containing Pindar's *Dithyrambs*) as *P. Oxy.* 1604: the hand is the same, and the writing of the same size (10 letters = 31 mm., 10 lines = 47 or 48 mm.), and the content of our fragment may be thought to be appropriate to a dithyramb.²⁴¹ Lobel, cautious as ever, speaks of the identification as 'reasonably likely'; I shall assume, with an easy conscience, that it is in fact correct.

What this identification contributes to my present inquiry is the fact that in 1604 fr. 1 (= *Dith.* 1 and 2 Snell) we have evidence for the height of the column. That fragment has, on a single piece of papyrus, parts of two columns, extending over 38 lines (col. i) and 32 lines (col. ii); we have no reason to suppose that either the head or the foot of a column is preserved. So far, therefore, we have merely (from col. i) a minimum height of 38 lines. But we can do better than this.

Of col. ii the left-hand margin is preserved throughout; it has the normal slight slope, with the lines beginning progressively farther to the left as one descends the column.²⁴² Of col. i the left-hand margin is lost, but the ends of lines are largely preserved; and from these it can be seen that 11–24 and 25–38 are in responson. This fact was observed by Grenfell and Hunt in the *editio princeps*, but is treated as doubtful by Snell; to demonstrate its truth I will set out the remains of the two stanzas side by side (Figure 5).

The left-hand edge of the papyrus is broken off very irregularly. One may suppose the lost margin to have been more or less parallel to the margin

²⁴¹ Lobel speaks of the fragment as 'congruent in contents with what may be supposed to have characterized a dithyramb, being a lyrical narrative on a considerable scale of the story of Perseus'. For the content of a dithyramb our best evidence is of course in Bacchylides: the poems of his which were classified as dithyrambs consist predominantly or even wholly of mythical narrative, with commonly only the scantiest reference, or even no reference at all, to the occasion of their performance; in the Alexandrian text they had titles giving the subject of the narrative, with or without the name of the city for which they were composed (Ἴώ, Ἀθηναίους; Ἴδα, Λακεδαιμονίους; Ἀντηγορίδαι ἢ Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις; Ἥλιθεοὶ ἢ Θησεύς). For Pindar we have far less evidence; and from our best preserved fragments (*Dith.* 2 and fr. 75), each from the beginning of an ode, it appears that it was Pindar's practice to provide his dithyrambs with a long non-narrative opening. But that they did have an important narrative content may be thought to follow from the title appended to one of these (*Dith.* 2) in the papyrus: *κατάβασις Ἡρακλέους ἢ Κέρβερος, Θηβαίους*.

²⁴² <B. intended to add a footnote here, but it is missing. Perhaps he meant to say that the scribal habit in question is sometimes known as Maas's Law. Cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd edn. rev. P. J. Parsons (BICS Suppl. 46, London 1987), 5.>

]δαιμονωνβρομιαδιθοξναιπρε	πει	]εραν
]χορυφαν]
]θεμενευαμπυκες]
]ξετετιμοικαιθαλοσαιοιδαν]
]γαρευχομαιλεγοντιδεβροτ	οι	]ις
]αφυγοντανινκαιμελανερη	οσαλμας	]ις
]φορκοιοσυγγονονπατερων		]ας ιως
]ν]
]ποντεμο	λον	]τε λεταις
]ιανε	αν	]αν
]ρωμ	ενον·	]ναι ατο
	]ιον	]μα νθανατον
]]
	]	]λα ις

Figure 5

of col. ii; I have based my transcription on a pseudo-margin, parallel to these, beginning immediately before the]δ of 11, and have indented the first surviving letters of other lines according to their distance from this pseudo-margin (reckoning one letter to every 3.1 mm.). To bring out the relative lengths of the lines in the two stanzas I have printed a vertical line at an interval of 25 letters from the pseudo-margin;²⁴³ the real margin will have preceded the pseudo-margin by a constant interval which I should guess to be not far short of 10 average letters.

It will be seen that the line-lengths tally, with no more variation than is to be expected in lines of over thirty letters,²⁴⁴ and that wherever the

²⁴³ The 25 letters will be a mixture of real letters (where the text is preserved) and notional average letters (in lacunae). Since real letters, unlike notional letters, are of variable width, my vertical line will not accord with the alignment of letters preserved in the papyrus.

²⁴⁴ The number of letters seems to vary as a rule between something like two and two and a half times the number of syllables. The first verse of the strophe of N. 3 (15 syllables) has in its eight appearances the following letter-counts (I give them in order of magnitude): 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 37, 38, 39 (i.e. from 1.9 to 2.6 times the number of syllables). A much greater variation is of course perfectly possible: ἡ Λυκίων ἰωά (10 letters) has the same scansion as πλάγχθη πρέπει προς άντροις (26 letters).

scansion can be verified it agrees; I do not believe that this can be fortuitous.

Now the consequences of this responson. The two stanzas, being consecutive, will of course be strophe (11–24) and antistrophe (25–38); after these will come an epode, ending in col. ii in the line level with i 5 (a new poem begins in the following lines). Now a triad which begins in i 11 and ends in the following column level with i 5 must occupy five lines less than a column. If the epode was of the same length (14 lines) as the strophe, the triad was 42 lines long and a column contained 47 lines. If the epode was shorter or longer than the strophe by x lines, a column contained $47 \pm x$ lines. It appears from the analogy of other odes that x is unlikely to be greater than 3; the highest figure for which there is a parallel is 6.²⁴⁵

If the same copyist is responsible for two manuscripts of different authors, there is of course no reason why the columns in these two manuscripts should be of the same height. It may nevertheless be worth remarking on the situation in *P. Oxy.* 1788, a manuscript of Alkaios (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xv, with addenda in xxi; best consulted in *PLF* Alk. fr. 115–28); this was written by the same copyist as our manuscript, with (to judge by the one fragment reproduced in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xv) the same letter-size, line-spacing, and margin-slope. It had a column of at least 46 lines (the foot preserved, but not—or not visibly—the head): fr. 117 (a) + (b) + 118. 1–2, with $6 + 39 + 2 = 47$ lines but perhaps (Lobel is not explicit) a one-line overlap between 117 (a) and (b). The next column had two lines more than a multiple of 4: e.g. 46, 50.

I come now to *P. Oxy.* 2445 fr. 1. The fragment consists of two detached parts, (a) and (b), each with part of a single column; Lobel prints them with (a) on the left (= col. i) and (b) on the right (= col. ii), and says ‘I have not succeeded in establishing the relative levels of the two columns put together under this number, but I do not doubt that they were consecutive in the order shown’. I shall accept his judgement.

²⁴⁵ I give the figures for all the triadic odes of Pindar and Bacchylides for which the length of both strophe and epode is known (except that I have ignored Pindar’s *Partheneia*, with their exceptionally short stanzas.) For Pindar’s *Epinikia* I have of course counted not the Boeckhian verses but the Alexandrian cola, preserved in the medieval manuscripts. I have not differentiated between instances where the strophe is (a) longer and (b) shorter than the epode; they are about equally common.

Difference	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Pindar	6	11	10	8	3	2	2	42
Bacchylides	3	5	3	3	0	1	1	15

Instances where the difference is greater than 3 amount to one-sixth of all Pindar’s instances and one-fifteenth of Bacchylides’.

It was observed by R. Führer, *ZPE* 9 (1972), 41–2, that there is partial responsion between the two columns. I have no doubt that he is right in principle (though I shall differ from him slightly over the detail). But I think also that it is possible to take this observation a good deal further than it was taken by Führer himself; and to do this is the purpose of the present note.

I will first set out the complete text of the fragment (Figure 6), with the two columns so arranged that corresponding lines are at the same level. (I must stress that this is *not* the vertical relationship in which I suppose the two to have stood in the papyrus; I shall argue below that that relationship was very different indeed.) I have supposed for each column a left-hand margin with the same slope as in 1604 fr. 1 (see above). In col. ii the position of this margin is established by the three certain supplements in 12–14; my other supplements accord with the margin so established. In col. i I have made a rough estimate of the position of the margin; it will not be far out, and if it is out in one line it will be out by the same amount in all other lines.

In the lacunae I have reckoned the missing letters at 3.1 mm. each; these of course are notional average letters, and the number of actual letters missing in any line may be slightly greater or slightly smaller. To simplify the comparison of line-lengths I have printed a vertical line after the tenth letter (where relevant) and after the twentieth. In col. i the position of these lines depends of course on my estimate of the position of the margin, and it may be that the lines are misplaced (throughout the column) by a letter or so in one direction or the other.

Where lines are broken off at the beginning or the end, I have printed the normal square brackets. But where there are lacunae in mid-line I have not used square brackets, since to do so would have destroyed the alignment; a wholly missing letter is represented (like an illegible letter) by a dot; a missing letter supplied by a letter with a dot beneath.

It will be seen that from (–18) to (–1) the line-lengths and scansion are consistent with responsion; and that from (–7) to (–1) the agreement is so marked as to be inconceivable if there were no responsion. The only recalcitrant line is (–3), where nine syllables cannot possibly be accommodated in the *c.* 9 letters available at the beginning of i 14; the conclusion I draw is not that the responsion is illusory but that the text of i 14 is in some way defective.

Responson ceases after (–1); new stanzas therefore, not in responsion, will begin with i 17 and ii 18. If the whole text is from a single poem the two junctures will be, in whichever order, S(trophe)/A(ntistrophe) and A(ntistrophe)/E(pode); two possibilities therefore, which I will now consider. But first I will make an observation which is crucial to the inquiry: high up on the right-hand edge of col. i is the vestige of a coronis (the mark of triad-end)

		col. ii		
		-18	]γ.. [	1
		-17]]	
col. i		-16	]φεν ε[
1	] γος	-15	] .ον	
	] ]	-14	] ]	5
	] ]	-13	]ἄνα ρρηξαι[
5	] ἦτανπιφαισκω[	-12	---]	
	] . αρκει[]	-11	]ε	
	] ]	-10	] . | ..... ριφν	
	] ]	-9	]εμφλεν πατροςγωι	10
	] ]	-8	παρδε]σσειν νυπατοιειγ βουλευμασι :	
10	] υαλαμι	-7	ολυμ]ποθενδῶ εδιχρυσορρ απινῶσενερμαν	
	] ]	-6	καιπ]ρλιχο νγλαυ.	
	] ]	-5	κωπιδ]ατομε νελευσενζδ οντάποπτα	
	] ]	-4	θεαμα]τήπαρ αυτων ανδρωνμετά ςτασινακραγ[	15
	] ]	-3	επεθη]χέπετ ρανδῆφρανθε ναντιφωτων	
15	]φ υτευενματρ ι	-2	πικρα]γτερω τοανγταμοι βανεδασσατο[
	] . ανλεχεάταν αγχαιαδολ[	-1	ωιςτρα]ταρχ ωι .	
	] ]		] . ισε οι	
	] ]		]ον.. γενος τεδαιμο	20
	] ]		]ιλτε ταίτο δεφυγειν	
20	] κορυφαῖ		] . να ετεπαμ πάλαγμαμοροι[
]]]]	
]]]]	
]]]]	
]]]]	
]]]]	
]]]]	
25]]]]	

Figure 6

appertaining to the following column. Comparison of the vestige with the coronis surviving in *P. Oxy.* 1604 fr. 1 shows that a new triad will have begun in that column with a line level with (or fractionally higher than) i 3; since i 3 is 14 lines higher than the beginning of a new stanza at i 17, we know that

from i 17 to the end of a triad there were 14 lines fewer than in a column. But I have argued above that a column contained $47 \pm x$ lines, where x is the difference in length between strophe and epode in *Dith.* 1; therefore from i 17 to the end of a triad there were $33 \pm x$ lines. In this, x will not be large: probably not greater than 3, certainly not greater than 6.

I come now to consider my two possibilities.

(a) In col i, A/E; in col. ii, S/A. This can be ruled out immediately. From the beginning of E (i 17) to the end of a triad there will be $33 \pm x$ lines, This might happen in two ways. (i) $E = 33 \pm x$. Out of the question: Pindar's longest stanza is of 22 lines, Bacchylides' of 21.²⁴⁶ (ii) $E + S + A + E = 33 \pm x$, with an average stanza-length of 8 or 9 lines. Again out of the question: the lengths are possible enough of themselves, but the scheme requires responsion where there is none. The metre of i 19–22 (beginning of A) would need to recur, as it does not, at something like i 8 ff. and ii 10 ff.; the metre of the lines up to i 16 (end of A) and ii 18 (end of S) would need to recur, as it does not, in the lines up to something like i 7.

(b) In col. i, S/A; in col ii, A/E. With this, we shall have $A + E = 33 \pm x$. Now if an A begins at i 17 and an A ends at ii 18, the earliest possibility of responsion between these two stanzas is with i 20–5 ~ ii 1–6, and with this an A will have 21 lines. But if $A + E = 33 \pm x$, E will be $12 \pm x$, an unless we assume a high value for x we shall have too great a discrepancy in the lengths of A and E. If we take $x = 4$, we shall have a column of 51 lines, an A of 21 lines, and an E of 16 lines: the difference between the strophe and epode will be 4 in *Dith.* 1 (14 and 18) and 5 in our poem (21 and 16). Neither difference is impossible, but an arrangement which requires us to assume two such differences must be regarded with some suspicion.²⁴⁷ One could reduce the differences by assuming a slight variation in column-height: with a 50-line column in *Dith.* 1 and a 52-line column here they would come down to 3 and 4. But the more *ad hoc* assumptions one needs to make the less likely an arrangement becomes.

There is however a third possibility: that a new poem begins at ii 19, and that the junctures are E/S in col. i and E/new poem in col. ii. We shall then have $S + A + E = 33 \pm x$: a perfectly normal length for a triad.²⁴⁸ The responsion (–16) to (–1) will belong in part to A and in part to E, the juncture occurring somewhere about (–12). The 27 lines i 17–25 plus ii 1–18 will

²⁴⁶ <Footnote missing.>

²⁴⁷ Pindar has a difference of 4 or more in one ode in six, of 5 or more in one in ten and a half; the chance that the two would occur in two given odes is the product of these figures, one in 63.

²⁴⁸ With a column of 47 lines and a triad of 33, the two columns would overlap by 8 lines: ii 1 would be level with i 18.

contain the beginning of S and the end of A plus the whole of E, and there will be a metrical overlap between the two parts; either of 3 lines (i 23–5 ~ ii 1–3), giving $S + E = 24$, or of 6 lines (i 20–5 ~ ii 1–6), giving $S + E = 21$. I see no reason to prefer either of these alternatives to the other: with the former we might have $S = 11$, $E = 13$, triad = 35 (with a difference of 2 in *Dith.* 1), with the latter $S = 11$, $E = 10$, triad = 32 (with a difference of 1 in *Dith.* 1); there would be other acceptable possibilities as well.

With this arrangement everything is so straightforward that I feel pretty confident that it is right.

There is still one alternative to consider: either the triad beginning i 17 is the same as the triad ending at ii 18, the last of the poem; or the two triads are not the same, the former being the penultimate triad of the ode. I do not doubt that the second alternative is right. With the first alternative ii 19 would be level with i 3, so that col. ii would continue for at least 19 more lines after ii 22. But the appearance of the bottom of col. ii strongly suggests that the column ended either with ii. 22 or a line or so later. If the text continued in the column after 22, we should have two lines of at most 15 average letters followed by four of at most 20; I cannot call this impossible, but it does seem to me very unlikely. Suppose the additional triad, and the column could perfectly well end with 22 or the following line.

Bacchylides 3. 63–77

I publish this note for the sake of my restoration of 76–7. I should have liked at the same time to offer a restoration of the problematic 72–4, but I have quite failed to arrive at even a tentative proposal; since however my examination of the papyrus in London (in the British Museum, now officially the British Library, inventory no. 733 <= *P. Lit. Lond.* 46>) has enabled me to add something to earlier reports of its readings, I have thought it worth while to print a transcript of the whole of 63–77 with a detailed account of what I have been able to read. I give this first; I shall come only at the end to a restoration which is the real purpose of my publication.

οορ[.]μέελλαδῆχουσιν[.]ντι[
 ωμεγάνητηϊερωνθελησει[
 65]ενεοσπλείοναχρυσον[
]αἰπεμβαιβροτων[] [
]γεινπαρεστινός [] [
]ηφθονωῖπ'ἴαινεται[] [
]ληφιλιππονανδραρηϊον [
 70]ιουσκᾶπτρ[.]νδιο[] [
]κωντεμερο[]αμουσᾶν· [
]μαλέαιποτ[]ἴων[] [
]οσεφᾶμερονα.[] . [] [
]ασκοπεις/βραχ[
 75].εσσαδῆλιτυπ[
]εριων·οδᾶναξ[
]λοσειπεφερη[

65.]ε: vestige of cap, and most of cross-stroke; unambiguous.

69. *αρηϊον*: the papyrus now has *α[ρ]ηϊον*; but the whole loop of *ρ* was there when the facsimile was made (see the second plate of fragments).

< This piece dates from after the establishment of the British Library in 1973, and probably from before 1977, as Sophocles fragments are cited from Pearson.>

71'] : the right-hand half, centred over the upright of κ , of an acute accent; the vowel it pertains to is wholly lost.

72. π : not (as Jebb, Snell) π changed to κ , but rather (Kenyon) ν changed to π : in the original ink, two uprights and a diagonal; in different ink, the cross-stroke and a thickening of the top of the second upright. (But an original ν will have been anomalous: the diagonal not meeting the second upright, the second upright descending unusually low.)

]ι: parts of an upright, and high above the line, on the edge of the papyrus, a vestige of ink (0.2 mm.) at the right height for the right-hand tip of an acute accent. The position of the accent, its right-hand edge directly above the left-hand edge of the upright, excludes]ν]μ]π, admits]α]ε]ο]ι]υ]ι (and I suppose]η]ι]ω]ι), and only doubtfully admits]η.¹

73.] (at the beginning): an upright almost complete, with ink joining it on the left 0.7 mm. above the foot:]ν or]αι (or I suppose]λι]δι]κι]χι]ξι]ζι, if supplements could be found with τ).

α.]: α complete except for the tip of its tail; then at mid-letter faint vestiges of ink which suggest (rather uncertainly) part of an upright or shallow arc which just below them would have been in contact with the tip of the tail.

] (at the end): below the upright at the end of 72, part of a vertical stroke across the whole height (0.8 mm.) of a narrow strip of papyrus projecting from the right;² no subsequent ink at this level, so presumably from a final upright (not I think from the sometimes straight main stroke of ϵ : cap and toe could be lost above and below the strip, but the letter would then I think be too high). After this, apparently no point at the end of the line: no point preserved;³ a lost point would need to be clear of the final upright either by not more than 0.2 mm. or by not less than 7.0 mm., and I can produce no

¹ The writer commonly puts an acute well to the right of the vowel to which it pertains, and it normally overlaps a following ν or μ or π ; but I have found only two places where the overlap is for more than half the letter (3. 82]ν, 5. 126]μ), and even there it is far less than we should need to suppose here. On a diphthong with ι an acute normally extends appreciably beyond the ι , but exceptions are not very uncommon: our instance would be paralleled by 1. 84]ι, 3. 64]ι, 5. 88]ι, 9. 43]ι, 13. 109]ι, 15. 1]ι, 14. 11]ι, 18. 26]ι. On η an acute normally goes beyond the right of the letter; exceptions at 12. 1 (an anomalously short accent) and 17. 23 (the accent extends just beyond the middle of the second upright, i.e. farther than it would here).

² The trace, and the strip on which it appears, can be seen in their right position not on the papyrus itself but on the facsimile (fr. 12b, on the second plate of fragments; for once the painting-out of the background has not trespassed on the papyrus, but has left a slight edging of background all round the strip). On the papyrus the strip is now folded over to the right, and one can see only its underside superimposed on the main body of the papyrus. In the top half of the strip (c. 0.4 mm.), the papyrus is so very thin that the ink shows clearly through, and gives at first sight the illusion of a dot on the main body of the papyrus. There is no such dot; and Maehler's] (for Snell's]) is mistaken.

³ It can be seen from the facsimile that there is no point on the part of the surface now obscured by the folded-over strip.

parallel for either (the clear space before a point at line-end is normally between 1 and 5 mm.; the least I have found is 0.7 mm., the greatest 6.5 mm.).⁴

74.]a: of *a*, the right-hand 1.5 mm. of the main stroke; 1.0 mm. from its end, a tiny protrusion from its upper side, in place for the not uncommon overrunning of the understroke at the junction. Above the line, a clear trace suiting the right-hand 0.5 mm. of an acute accent on the letter before *a*; on its underside, at the edge of the papyrus, a tiny smudgy vestige of ink which I assume to be casual (if it is not, one will need to suppose the whole to be part of a superscript letter; I have no idea what letter, and I do not think the supposition likely).

/: a tall diagonal stroke, occupying the space of a letter; it resembles the stroke used in deletion, but there is no deleted letter there.

75.]': the right-hand part of an acute accent; below it, on a single projecting fibre 0.6 mm. above the foot of *ε*, 0.4 mm. of ink 2.8 mm. clear of *ε*; compatible with (among other things) the bottom arc of *ο*.

77.].: the right-hand half of an acute accent pertaining to a letter wholly lost; then *λ* or *δ* (most of the right-hand stroke, and clear traces of its junction with the left-hand stroke).

- ὄκο[ι] γε μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν, [ο]ὔτι[ς,
 ὦ μεγαίνητε Ἰέρων, θελήσει
 65 φάμ]εν céο πλείονα χρυδόν
 Λοξί]αι πέμψαι βροτῶν.
 εὔ λέ]γειν πάρεστιν, ὄ-
 τικ μ]ῆ φθόνωι πιαίνεται,
]λη φίλιππον ἀνδρ' ἀρήιον
 70]ίου κκᾶπτρ[ο]ν Διδ[ς
)—
 ἰοπλό]κων τε μέρο[ς ἔχοντ]α Μουσᾶν·
]μαλέαι ποτ[.....]ῖων
]. ος ἐφάμερον α.[.....].
]α σκοπεῖς· βραχ[ὺς ἄμμιν αἰῶν,
 —
 75 πτε]ρ]όεσσα δ' ἔλπικς ὑπ[ν]όημα
 ἰσαμ]ερίων· ὁ δ' ἀναξ[ι]φόρμιγξ
 ἑκαβό]λος εἶπε Φέρη[τος ν]ῆ
 “θνατὸν εὔντα χρῆ διδύμους ἀέξειν
 —
 γνώμας, ὅτι κτλ.”

⁴ After final *α* (of which there is no question here) the clear space is to be reckoned from the apex: the tail of the letter (which is often prolonged) may continue beneath and beyond the point.

69. Apollo saved Kroisos because of the magnificence of his gifts to Pytho (61–2). From Kroisos’ gifts Bacchylides has moved over immediately to Hieron’s; in the praise of Hieron that follows, Herwerden’s *θεοφι*]λῆ is evidently appropriate, and I cannot doubt it, despite the juxtaposition of (*θεο*)φιλῆ and φιλ(ιππων). I find no other word that might suit: the only sense I could give to ἐντε]λῆ (and that with no confidence) would be ‘of full excellence’ or the like,⁵ and I look for something more specific in this list of Hieron’s merits; δαμι]λῆ ‘lavish’ (of a person) I suppose to be out of the question for early lyric.

70. This is Zeus as the source and guarantor of Hieron’s royal power, as *Il.* 9. 98–9 καί τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε | σκῆπτρόν τ’ ἡδὲ θέμιστας. We need an epithet appropriate to him in this function: certainly not Nairn’s ξειω]ίου, but rather Blass’s τεθμ]ίου (even though it be unexampled of Zeus); except that I should expect the form in Bacchylides to be not Pindar’s τέθμιος but θέςμιος (cf. now the lyric fragment [Simonides?] *SLG* 390. 7]θέςμιον).

72–3. I have no idea what is being said. At the end of 73,] (from the last letter of the line) is 0.7 mm. of vertical stroke, towards the bottom of the letter; of possible final letters it would fit not only ι η ν but also ς (one of the writer’s narrow sigmas, the main stroke mostly upright, the cap and foot narrow enough to fall wholly within the lacuna). After this letter, no point is preserved (Maehler’s]· is a misprint for]·); it is not perhaps quite impossible that a point was written and has been lost, but I think it very unlikely indeed.

74. I can account for the *ερευνα* of the commentary only on the supposition (suggested by Lobel) that it is the imperative ἐρέυνα paraphrasing an imperative σκόπει, with the *σκοπεῖς* of the text a miswriting. I can do nothing with other interpretations of *ερευνα* (the noun ἔρευνα; a verbal form such as ἐρευνᾶ[τε, ἐρευνᾶ[σθαι]⁶).

In the text —]α σκοπ-, in the commentary]·ατα ερευνα: one neuter plural paraphrased by another? Lloyd-Jones (*CR* 8 [1958], 18) suggests δυν]ατά as a paraphrase of Jebb’s καιρι]α: not a very exact paraphrase, but I have nothing better to offer.

Apart from the diagonal stroke described above, no sign of punctuation after *σκοπεῖς*. I should expect the last words to be an independent ‘life is short’, whether Blass’s βραχ[ύς ἐστιν αἰών or Jebb’s βραχ[ύς ἄμμιν αἰών.⁷ If they were, then either a point has been swallowed up in the deletion (the

⁵ Not the ‘in authority’ argued for by Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 105: Bacchylides would not anticipate here the indication of Hieron’s power in 70.

⁶ The writer is unlikely to have meant ἐρευνᾶι: eight such iotas written correctly, one perhaps intrusive (fr. 7. 10 ουτωι[), none omitted (unless fr. 20. 7]λλωδια[is]λλω<ι> and not]λλω).

⁷ I have restored the commentary as ὅτι ὀλιγοχρό[νιος ἦμιν ἐστὶν ὁ βίος]; I should think this ἦμιν as compatible with Blass’s supplement as with Jebb’s.

top of the deleting stroke comes exactly where a point might be) or the punctuator made the deletion and was distracted thereby from punctuating. I should not wish to infer anything from the commentator's *ὄτι*: that he subordinates 'life is short' in his commentary need not indicate that it was similarly subordinate in his text.

75. The commentary, with *ἦ πτε[and],ημα*, confirms H. Fränkel's suggestion of *πτερ[όεσσα* and *νόημα*. What verb *ὑπ[ω-* can be paraphrased as *διαφθείρει* I do not know: I do not find Snell's *ὑπ[ολύει* convincing.⁸

76. Jebb's *ἐφαμ[ερίων*⁹ seems evident, and has been universally adopted.¹⁰ But if it was indeed written it was written anomalously, since with normal writing the whole of *ε* would project into the margin;¹¹ I find the anomaly unacceptable, and suppose therefore that we must restore the only word that will fit the space, *ἱαμ[ερίων*. Bacchylides had used *ἐφάμερον* immediately before, in 73, and this would be likely to make him seek a different word here. I find *ἱαμέριος* an unexpected choice: the poets can call men 'creatures of a day' (*ἐφάμεροι, ἐφαμέριοι, ἀμέριοι*); but to say that they are *equal* to a day is something for which I have no parallel.¹² Sophocles uses the word in fr. 593 P. <= 879a R.>, *τανυφλοίου γὰρ ἱαμέριος †ὄστις † αἰγείρου βιοτὰν ἀποβάλλει*; but that is a very different matter—a man is *equal in the number of his days* to, is as short-lived as, the leaves (presumably: *φύλλοισιν* Gleditsch) of the black poplar.

76–7. Kenyon's *ὁ δ' ἀναξ [Ἀπόλλων* has become *textus receptus*, but it cannot be right: Apollo is of course very commonly *ἀναξ*, but for the article in *ὁ ἀναξ Ἀπόλλων* I neither know a parallel nor should expect to find one.¹³ I am confident therefore that we have a compound beginning *ἀναξ[ι-*,¹⁴ such as *ἀναξίφορμιγξ*,¹⁵ and then in the next line *ἐκαβό[λος* (Jebb): *ὁ δ' ἀναξ[ιφόρμιγξ | ἐκαβό[λος εἶπε Φέρη[τος υἱ*. For *ὁ ἀναξίφορμιγξ ἐκαβόλος* I offer as exact

⁸ If it were not for *διαφθείρει* I should have wondered about *ὑπ[άγεται*.

⁹ First (in Kenyon's edition) as *ἐπαμ[ερίων*, then (in his own) as *ἐφαμ[ερίων*.

¹⁰ Ellis had doubts about it (*CR* 12 [1898], 64): 'after *ἐφάμερον* in 73 it seems unlikely that *ἐπαμερίων* should be the word of which *-ερίων* survives in 76.'

¹¹ This with *ἐφ-*; with *ἐπ-* the word would be even longer.

¹² <*vacat*>

¹³ I do not know whether this was in Herwerden's mind when he proposed to read *ὄ*, 'quod . . . dixit' (*CR* 12 [1898], 210).

¹⁴ First proposed in 1927 by Edmonds (*Lyra Graeca*, iii. 140), with *ἀναξ[ίχρησμος*. The light-hearted irresponsibility of Edmonds's treatment of papyrus texts makes everyone forget him; and I forgot to look at him myself until this note was almost in its final shape. I hereby record his priority with *ἀναξ[ι-*; but I cannot suppose that he is right with *-χρησμος* (see below).

¹⁵ Or *ἀναξίφορμιγξ*? The *ι* of the last syllable is presumably short (cf. *κύριγξ, μήνιγξ*, etc.), and I should have expected the accent to be recessive. But I am not minded to sort out the apparently inconsequential accentuation of nominatives in *-ξ* (of which a good many appear in any case only as lemmata in lexicons, or in grammars and the like).

parallels (in each case, as here, the first mention of the god in the context¹⁶) Pi. *Pai.* 6. 111 οὐδ' [ἀ]νέμους ἐ[λ]α[θ]εν οὐδὲ τὸν [ε]ὐρυφάρετραν ἑκαβόλον, *Pai.* 9. 47 καὶ γὰρ ὁ πόντιος ὄρσ[ιτ]ρίαινά νιν | περίαλλα βροτῶν τίεν.

ἀναξι- compounds are characteristic of Bacchylides. Before 1897 the lexica knew only the ἀναξιφόρμιγξ of Pi. O. 2. 1.¹⁷ Bacchylides has already added six more instances (one more of ἀναξιφόρμιγξ, 4. 7, and one each of five other compounds not previously attested: 20. 8 ἀναξιάλος, 17. 66 ἀναξιβρέντας, 6. 10 ἀναξιμολπος, 14B. 10 ἀνάξιππος, fr. 65. 11 ἀναξίχορος¹⁸): here therefore ἀναξι- is welcome enough as a seventh instance. For its second element I suppose -φόρμιγξ to be much the likeliest possibility: the spheres in which Apollo most notably excels are lyre-playing, archery, and prophecy, but only in lyre-playing can he really be said to ἀνάσσειν (all lyre players owe their craft to him and to his associates the Muses; but not all archers, and not all μάντις).¹⁹ I add that when we have archery in ἑκαβόλος I do not expect it in this epithet as well.²⁰

An arthrous adjective before a god's name is common in Bacchylides: 3. 28 ὁ χρυσάορος . . . Ἀπόλλων, 4. 2 ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων, 5. 199 ὁ μεγαιστοπάτωρ Ζεὺς, 9. 7 ἄ λευκώλενος Ἥρα, 13. 194 ἄ χρυσάρματος σεμνὰ μεγάθυμος Ἄθανα, 19. 49 τὸν ὄρσιβακχον . . . Διόνυσον, 28. 10 ὁ τοξοδάμας [ε]κάεργος Ἀπόλλων; in every instance the first mention of the god in the context.²¹ In our instance we shall have, in place of the god's name, an appellation unique to the god and serving therefore as a sufficient designation. The nearest to this in Bacchylides is the metronymic of 11. 15 ὁ Δαλογενῆς υἱὸς βαθυζώνοιο Λατοῦς; but my two parallels from Pindar can leave no doubt about the propriety of the locution.

The two parts of the compound may or may not have been linked by a hyphen beneath them. Three instances of ἀναξι- are verifiable for this in our papyrus: no hyphen at 17. 66 or 20. 8; at 6. 10 ἀναξιμολπου a hyphen

¹⁶ In *Pai.* 6 the earlier mention of Apollo at 79 is quite unconnected with the mention of him at 111.

¹⁷ I disregard ἀναξιδώρα (Hesych., and now appearing as S. fr. 1010 on the not very secure basis of Phot. Berol). <a 1576> ἀναξιδώρα· ἢ ἀνάγονσα καὶ ἀνιείσα τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκ γῆς Δημήτηρ. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν ἀμπελώνας φησι.

¹⁸ The attribution of the fragment to Bacchylides rests in large part on ἀν]αξίχοροι itself.

¹⁹ Against Edmonds's ἀναξι[χρησμος I add the further point that no compound in -χρησμος is found in any author; nor has poetry any compounds in χρησμι- apart from χρησμιωιδός, χρησμολόγος, and a synonym or two.

²⁰ Pindar, I grant, has archery twice over, τὸν εὐρυφάρετραν ἑκαβόλον. But this is the vengeful Apollo who is sworn to Neoptolemos' destruction, and who a few lines later will kill him at Delphi: his archery is very much in point.

²¹ I disregard 11. 106 ἀριστοπάτρα θηροσκόπος (= Artemis): no article; and Artemis has been named already.

beginning towards the right of the ξ (1.6 mm. from the end of its bottom stroke, which is 5.2 mm. long). In our instance the right-hand part of the letter is lost, and a hyphen written as at 6. 10 would be likely to have been lost with it.

Bacchylides 10. 11–35

I deal here only with the central part of the ode, in which the poet is concerned with the achievements of his Athenian victor. I give no account of the severely damaged beginning, with the problem of the victor's name, or of the sententious end.

I shall be concerned for much of the time with fitting supplements into the lacunae in 20–35 (all of them in the same column, 18 Kenyon = 22 Snell). My procedure has been to make tracings of the supplements from the same sequences of letters elsewhere in the papyrus, and to superimpose these on a tracing of the surviving parts of the column. Since the width and spacing of letters in the papyrus shows some variation, I have worked on the assumption that the writing in a lacuna will not in general have been tighter or looser than in its neighbourhood, and have chosen my exemplars accordingly; if a supplement appears to be at variance with the assumption (which has, of course, no absolute validity), I say so in my comment.¹

My tracing (covering lines 20–41), with supplements incorporated into the lacunae, is reproduced on the next page (Figure 7).

I have made my tracings from the facsimile published by the British Museum (London, 1897); but whenever I have been in doubt I have examined the papyrus itself in London.² I make the following observations:

(a) Col. 18 K. is made up of separate fragments which are not positioned quite accurately on the facsimile: in lines 20–42 the left-hand part is set, in relation to the right-hand part, *c.* 1 mm. too high and *c.* 1.5 mm. too far to the

<B. was working on this paper in 1974–5, as appears from some dated schedae. It was communicated to H. G. T. Maehler, who acknowledges his use of it in the first volume of his commentary (1982, p. 179).>

¹ Whenever I speak of the writer's 'tightest' writing, I disregard the exceptionally crowded writing at the end of some of the longer lines; since all the lacunae in our passage occur early in the line, these end-of-line instances are irrelevant.

² In the British Library (formerly, and still <no longer> in the buildings of, the British Museum), inventory no. 733 <= *P. Lit. Lond.* 46>, frame 2 (with cols. 13–22 K.).

20 ΑΝΙΚΑΜΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΙΝ ΠΟΔΩΝΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΑΝ ΟΡΜΑΝ·
 ΕΥΤΕΓΑΡ ΤΕΘΡΟΙΣΙΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ
 ΘΕΡΜΑΝΑΠΟΠΝΕΩΝ Δ' ΕΛΛΑΝ
 ΕΣΤΑΔΙΑΝΕΝ Δ' ΑΥΤΕΘΑΤΗΡΩΝ ΕΛΛΙΩΙ
 ΦΑΡ' ΕΣΑΘΡΟΟΝ ΕΜΠΙΤΝΩΝ ΟΜΙΧΩΝ
 25 ΤΕΤΡΑΕΛΙΚΤΟΝ ΕΠΕΙ
 ΚΑΜΠΕΝ ΔΡΟΜΟΝ ΊΣΘΜΙΟΝΙΚΩΝ
 ΔΙΣΜΙΝΑΓΚΑΡΥΞΑΝ ΕΥΒΟΥ·
 ΔΩΝΑΘΛΑΡΧΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΑΤΑΙ·
 ΔΙΣΔ' ΕΝΝΕΜΕΔΙΚΡΟΝΙ ΔΑ ΖΗΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΝΟΝ
 30 ΒΩΜΟΝ ΑΚΚΕΙΝΑΤΕΘΗΒΑ
 ΔΕΚΤΟΝΙΝ ΕΥΡΥΧΟΡΟΝ
 Τ' ΑΡΓΟΣΣΙΚΩΝ ΤΕΚΑΤΩΣΑΝ·
 ΟΙΤΕ ΓΕ ΞΑΝΑΝ ΝΕΜΟΝΤΩ ΑΜΦΙΤΕΥΒΟΙ
 ΑΝ ΠΟΛΥΧΛΑΙΟΝ ΟΙΘΙΒΕΡΑΝ
 35 ΝΑΟΣ ΝΑΙΓΙΝΑΝ ΜΑΤΕΥΕΙ
 Δ' ΑΛΛΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΩΝ ΚΕΛΕΥΘΟΝ
 ΑΝΤΙΝΑΣΤΙΧΩΝ ΔΡΙΓΝΩΤΟΙ ΟΔΟΞΑΣ ΤΕΥΞΕΤΑΙ·
 ΜΥΡΙΑ Δ' ΔΑΝ ΔΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΩΝ ΠΕΛΟΝΤΑΙ·
 Η' ΑΡΕΟΦΟΣ Η ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ ΤΙΜ' ΑΝ ΛΕΧΟΓΧΩΣ
 40 ΕΛΠΙΔΙ ΧΡΥΣΕΑΙ ΤΕΘΑΛΕΝ·
 Η ΤΙΝΑ Δ ΘΕΤ ΠΡΟΠΙΑΝ

Supplements in Bacchylides 10

(upper part of col. 18 K. = 22 S.)

Tracing made from facsimile, corrected from papyrus;
 relative position of constituent fragments adjusted.

Boundaries of lacuna shown by thin line ;
 damaged letters outside lacuna shown as complete.

0 10 20 30 40 50 mm.




Figure 7

left, so that the gap between them is shown as slightly wider than it really is;³ in my tracing I have put the two parts in what I judge to be the right relative position.

(b) The plates in the facsimile show slight variations of scale. Mostly they are slightly reduced (by an average of perhaps 1 per cent); but the plate with cols. 17 and 18 K. has been slightly enlarged (by about 1 per cent). This means that writing traced from other plates will be fractionally too small in relation to writing traced from this, by an average of perhaps 2 per cent;⁴ in our lacunae, of *c.* 25 mm., the discrepancy will amount to *c.* 0.5 mm. Normally this is not enough to matter; in marginal cases it needs to be taken into account, and I have tried to do so.

(c) The facsimile is useless as a representation of the edges of the papyrus: the background has been painted out, and the painting has everywhere encroached slightly on the papyrus itself. I have examined all these edges on the original, and anything I say about them is based on this examination.

First of all I transcribe the lines. I articulate and add or regularize accents and breathings; I follow the papyrus both in punctuation (it uses only a high point, which I represent by a colon) and in colometry;⁵ I give supplements where they are both certain and already acknowledged as certain (*viz.* in 25–7 and 29–35), but otherwise leave the lacunae blank (with figures indicating the approximate number of letters for which there is space, reckoned at the column's average of 3.6 mm. per letter).

The victor's brother-in-law has arranged for Bacchylides to compose the ode.

Col. 21 S. (=17 K.) *ἴν' ἀθάνατον Μουσαῖν ἀγαλαμα*
ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποισιν εἶη
χάρμα τετὰν ἀρετὰν
μανῶν ἐπιχθονίοισιν
 15 *όσσα† Νίκας ἕκατι ἄνθεσιν ξαν-*
θὰν ἀναδηράμενος κεφαλὰν
κῦδος εὐρείαις Ἀθάναις

³ In 40, where the facsimile appears to show the two fragments in contact, the protruding part of the right-hand fragment, with the letter δ , has the upper layer only; the left-hand fragment here has the underlayer only, and should be moved *c.* 1.5 mm. to the right so as to underlie the other.

The left-hand part of the column is on two separate fragments, with lines 20–42 and 43–53; these two fragments are not accurately related on the facsimile, and need to be adjusted differently (where they join, the upper one is shown too far to the left in relation to the lower).

⁴ The effect can be observed on the facsimile itself. A vertical strip of papyrus shown to the right of col. 18 K. is shown also on the next plate to the left of col. 19 K.; fibres which are 202.5 mm. apart on the first plate are 198 mm. apart on the second (discrepancy *c.* 2.25 per cent).

⁵ The colometry is misconceived at (5/6 ~) 15/16 ~ 33/34 (~ 43/44).

		θήκας Οἰνεΐδαις τε δόξαν ἐν Προς<ε>ιδάνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοις
Col. 22 S. (=18 K.)	20	10–11]α<ς> Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ταχεΐαν ὄρμάν· ... [6–7]ροισιν ἐπι σταδίου θερμ[5–6]πνέων ἄελλαν ἔστα [5]ν δ' αὖτε θατήρων ἐλαίωι φάρε[6–7]ν ἐμπίτνων ὄμιλον
	25	τετρ[αέλικτο]ν ἐπεὶ κάμψ[εν δρό]μον Ἴσθμιονίκαν δῖς ν[ι<ν> ἀγκ]άρυξαν εὐβού- λων [6–7]ων προφάται· δῖς δ' ἐ[ν Νεμέ]αι Κρονίδα Ζηγνός παρ' ἀγνὸν
	30	βαμὸς[ν· ἀ κλει]νά τε Θήβα δέκτ[ο νιν ε]ὐρύχορόν τ' Ἄργο[ς Κυκώ]ν τε κατ' αἶσαν οἷ τε Π[ελλάν]αν νέμονται· ἀμφί τ' Εὐβοι- αν πολ[υλάϊο]ν· οἷ θ' ἱερὰν
	35	νᾶσιν [Αἴγιν]αν·

The following changes were made by the corrector (A³):⁶ 14 μαν[ο]ῦ' ὄν, 23 α[ἰξ]ῶν' ὄν' ε and θ' ἐατηρων, 27 εὑβο[ι]ῦ', 28 [α]λ' ὄν.

The immediate occasion of the ode is a double victory at the Isthmos, in the *στάδιον* (c. 200 metres) and the *ἵππιος* (a double *δίαυλος*, out and home twice over, making four stadia in all;⁷ c. 800 metres).⁸ The poet describes these victories at some length; then in 29 he proceeds to a summary account of earlier victories at Nemea and elsewhere. The summary account is straightforward; the problems come in the description of the Isthmian events. But even here there are one or two details that admit no doubt or are irrelevant to the main problems; and I will dispose of these, and of one other triviality, at the outset.

20. *ταχεΐαν ὄρμάν* gives a short anapest (long elsewhere) in | e e – e 'x' e × ||; perfectly all right, and no need to change to *ὄρμάν ταχεΐαν*.⁹

25. *τετρ[αέλικτο]ν* (Platt) means 'such that there are four turns' (for *ἐλίττω* cf. *Il.* 23. 309, to a charioteer in a race, *οἶσθα γὰρ εὖ περὶ τέρμαθ' ἐλίττεμεν*).

⁶ My [ο]ῦ' may mean either 'o deleted, u written above' or 'o altered to u'.

⁷ Hesych. <ι 790> ἵππιος δρόμος· τετραστάδιος τις, Paus. 6. 16. 4 δρόμου δέ εἰσι τοῦ ἵππιου μήκος μὲν διάυλοι δύο, κτλ.; cf. E. *El.* 825 δις αὐτὸς διάυλους ἵππιους.

⁸ I use round figures; more exactly, the lengths are likely to have been c. 192.2 and c. 768.8 metres (O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, i Appendix I, summarized *ib.* ii. 63–4).

⁹ See my account in *Hermes* 84 (1956), 248–51 <below, chapter 14>, of short anapests in Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrites: not uncommon in ... 'x' e (×) |, though normally avoided elsewhere.

Applied to the turning-post this would be equivalent to ‘four-times-turned’, as Pi. O. 3. 33 δωδεκάγναμπτον . . . τέρμα δρόμου | ἴππων; applied to the δρόμος it is equivalent to ‘in which there are four turns’ and so ‘of four legs’ (the arithmetic is imprecise, for in running four legs one makes not four turns but three; but the imprecision is natural, and precision would only distract).¹⁰

26. κάμψ[εν δρό]μον (Jebb, in Kenyon)¹¹ might be either (a) when he had run the turning course or (b) when he had run the last leg of the course; the difference here is immaterial, and Bacchylides need not have had one in mind more than the other (though if either predominated, perhaps the latter). (a) κάμπτειν δρόμον, to bend one’s running, = ‘run a turning course’, and τετραέλικτον ἐπὶ κάμψεν δρόμον ‘when he had run the turning course of four legs’. (b) κάμπτειν acquires (presumably first in respect of the two-leg διαύλος) the sense ‘run the final leg (of)’: with the leg as object, A. Ag. 344 κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν (= make the return journey from Troy); with the whole course as object, as it would be here (‘when he had run-the-final-leg-of the four-turn course’), no instance, but the use is presupposed by the figurative use, in which one can κάμπτειν not only the τέλος of life (E. Hipp. 87, El. 956; τέλος ‘final stage’ rather than ‘final point’, as the equivalent of the last leg) but life itself (E. Hel. 1666, S. OK 91; run-the-last-leg-of life = complete its final stage).¹²

27. ν[ω ἀγκ]άρυξαν (Jebb, in Kenyon): the *vox propria* for announcing a victory (Hdt. 6. 103. 2, Th. 5. 50. 4, Ar. Wealth 585, and e.g. Luc. Anach. 36).

28. εὐβούλων [υ--]ων προφάται: the heralds who announce the victor’s name are ‘the spokesmen of the judicious —s’; evidently of the ἀγωνοθέται *alias* ἀθλοθέται. The only proposals to give this sense are Platt’s [ἀεθλόαρχ]ων and [ἀγωνάρχ]ων (cf. S. Ai. 572 ἀγωνάρχαι; our]ων would be from -αρχοι, in any case the likelier form in lyric). In these, [αγωναρχ] is much too long;

¹⁰ Another application Antip. Sid. AP 7. 210. 4 (= Gow–Page, HE 603) τετραέλικτος ὄφις, a snake that forms itself into four coils.

¹¹ κάμψ[εν] Jebb, but in fact κάμψ[εν]: of the ψ, the tip of the left arm. In the lacuna, certainly [ενδρο] not [εδρο]; though I doubt whether the -ν is right (unnecessary before δρ-), and at 15 ἀνθεσιν ξ- I am confident that it is wrong.

¹² I now think I was wrong in the explanation of κάμπτειν which I gave on E. Hipp. 87; the explanation I give above is in effect that of Kannicht (on E. Hel. 1666–9). But Kannicht ought not to import into his account of the word a notion of spurting (‘den Endspurt laufen’, ‘im Spurt beenden’) which there was no reason for it to acquire and which it clearly did not acquire: quite apart from the instances with ‘life’ (in which ‘spurt’ would be absurd), A. Ag. 344 is not ‘wenden und die zweite Teilstrecke zurückspurten’ but merely an elaboration of ‘(they still need to) get safe home again’, and any implication of acceleration or enhanced exertion would be irrelevant and ruinous. I have no doubt that Bacchylides’ victor did in fact put on a spurt at the end of his 800 metres, but Bacchylides neither needed to say this nor said it: Kannicht’s ‘nachdem er den vierfachen Stadienlauf im Spurt beendet hatte’ is not a rendering of Bacchylides’ Greek.

[*αεθλαρχ*] could be accommodated, but with writing rather tighter than the average. I have sought in vain for an equivalent that might fit the space, and suppose that Bacchylides did write *ἀεθλάρχων*; but I think it likely that what stood in the papyrus, written rather loosely, was the trivial corruption [*αθλαρχ*]*ων*.¹³

[*Κορινθίων*] (Fennell, Drachmann) would fit the space comfortably¹⁴ (and is metrically unexceptionable: n. 9 above); but it will not satisfy as sense. It might be thought to be supported by Pi. N. 2. 20 *Κορινθίων ὑπὸ φωτῶν | ἐν ἐκλοῦ Πέλοπος πτυχαῖς | ὀκτῶ στεφάνοις ἔμειχθεν ἤδη*, N. 10. 42 *Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν* (sc. at Nemea); but (a) both these passages belong to catalogues of past victories, in which the ethnics serve to define the venue, whereas in our passage the victories are present ones and their venue already indicated in 19 and repeated in this very sentence with *Ἰσθμιονίκαν*), (b) the laudatory *εὐβούλων* belongs to the *ἀγωνοθέται* in virtue not of their nationality but of their office (as Pi. O. 3. 12 *ἀτρεκῆς Ἑλληνοδίκας*), (c) the construction of our sentence continues into the next, *δις δ' ἐν Νεμέαι* sc. *νικῶντά νιν ἀγκάρυξαν*, and the ellipse there, straightforward if our subject is equally appropriate to Nemea, becomes very awkward if that subject is specific to the Isthmos.¹⁵

35. The space requires not [*αιγ{ε}ι*]*ων* (Snell, as 12. 6) but [*αιγι*]*ων* (as 9. 55, 13. 78). But in 37 it requires *ετ<ε>ιχ*]*ων* (as 18. 36 *ετ<ε>ιχε*]*ιων*).

I come now to the main problem. The misfortunes of the passage began when Blass adduced an epigram of the first century BC from Thera (Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 942 = *IG* xii. 3. 390 = Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* 55):

ἀ νίκα πύκταισι δι' αἵματος· ἀλλ' ἔτι θερμὸν
πνεῦμα φέρων κκληράς παῖς ἀπὸ πυγμαχίας
ἔστα παγκρατίου βαρὺν ἐς πόνο[ν], ἄ μία δ' ἄως
δις Δωρικλεῖδαν εἶδεν ἀεθλοφόρον.

¹³ With average writing, [*αεθλαρχ*] would be c. 1 mm. too long, [*αθλαρχ*] c. 2 mm. too short. Either could be accommodated without anomaly; what inclines me to the looser [*αθλαρχ*] is the fact that before]*ω* there appear to be 0.3 mm. of blank papyrus (in all, 0.6 mm., but the outer 0.3 mm. seems to have lost its surface; as far as I can tell the surface of the inner 0.3 mm. is intact). I have found eleven measurable instances of *χω*, and only in one is there clear space between the letters (3. 11, with 0.6 mm.); in nine the *χ* actually overlaps the *ω*. That is, the spacing of *χ*]*ω* in our line will have been unusually loose; I think this more readily compatible with a loosely written [*αθλαρχ*] than with a tightly written [*αεθλαρχ*].

¹⁴ Whereas Schwartz's [*δίκας ψάφ*]*ων* is hopelessly too long (even [*δικασιφα*] would be improbably tight); so that I need waste no time on expounding its equal hopelessness as sense.

¹⁵ Of the specific *Ἰσθμιονίκαν* in our sentence, only the general 'victor' carries through to the next: easy enough, when *ἐν Νεμέαι* is there to keep the 'Isthmian' from accompanying it. But we must not ask too much of *ἐν Νεμέαι*: if it is required to deny access to *Κορινθίων* as well, the burden will be more than it can bear.

The resemblance is noteworthy, with *ἔτι θερμὸν πνεῦμα φέρων*¹⁶ matched by our *θερμ[ὰν . . .]πνέων ἄελλαν* and then with *ἔστα* matched by our *ἔστα*. Blass supposed therefore that the two situations were the same, and that it was said of our victor that he took his position (*ἔστα*) for the *ἵππιος* before his breathing was back to normal after the *στάδιον*. He made a new sentence begin with 19:

- ἐν Ποσειδᾶνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοις
 20 εὐθὺς ἐνδειξ]ας Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ὄρμᾶν ταχεῖαν,
 ἐκφανεῖς οὐ]ροισιν ἔπι σταδίου·
 θερμ[ὰν δ' ἔτι] πνέων ἄελλαν
 ἔστα[, βρέχω]ν δ' αἰῖξε θατήρων ἐλαίωι
 φάρε[? ἐς ἵππιον]ν ἐμπίτνων ὄμιλον.
 25 τετρ[αέλικτο]ν ἐπεὶ
 κάμψ[εν δρό]μον, Ἴσθμιονίκαν
 δὶς ν[ῖν ἀγκ]άρυξαν εὐβού-
 λων [ὡ—]ων προφᾶται·

That is: 'In Poseidon's famous games you showed the Greeks the swift onrush of your feet forthwith, when you came forth clear at the bounds (i.e. the finishing-line) of the *στάδιον*; and still breathing forth a hot gust he took his stand (sc. at the starting-line), and darted off drenching the robes of the spectators with oil as he dashed into the throng (sc. of the runners) in the *ἵππιος*. When he came to the end of the four-turn course, the spokesmen of the judicious — s proclaimed him twice an Isthmian victor; . . .'

Jebb was conscious of some at any rate of the defects of this reconstruction, and produced a variation on it (still based on the situation suggested by the epigram):

- ἐν Ποσειδᾶνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοις
 20 εὐθὺς ἐνδειξ]ας Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ὄρμᾶν ταχεῖαν,
 δεύτερον δ' οὐ]ροισιν ἔπι σταδίου
 θερμ[ὰν ἔτι] πνέων ἄελλαν
 ἔστα[· βρέχω]ν δ' αἰῖξ' αὐτε θατήρων ἐλαίωι
 φάρε[? ἐς εὐθροον]ν ἐμπίτνων ὄμιλον,
 25 τετρ[αέλικτο]ν ἐπεὶ
 κάμψ[εν δρό]μον, Ἴσθμιονίκαν
 δὶς ν[ῖν ἀγκ]άρυξαν εὐβού-
 λων [ἀεθλάρχ]ων προφᾶται·

¹⁶ Cf. *ἐκ νίκας ἔτι θερμός* in a fragmentary inscription from Thebes, assigned to the second half of the fourth century BC (Ebert, *Epigramme auf Sieger*, 47 = IG vii. 2533 <= CEG 786>); the situation there may be the same.

He renders this: ‘In Poseidon’s renowned games thou didst show thy rushing speed to the Greeks at the outset:—then a second time did he take his stand at the bounds of the course,—still breathing a storm of hot breath,—and again he darted forward, the olive-oil from his body sprinkling the garments of the spectators as he rushed into the cheering crowd, after finishing the fourth round of the course. Twice have the spokesman of the prudent judges declared him a victor at the Isthmus, . . .’

There is a good deal that is unsatisfactory in each of these reconstructions, but I will confine myself for the moment (I will mention other things later) to four major difficulties which in one way or another are apparent in both alike:

(a) the asyndeton which they suppose, whether after 24 ὄμιλον (Blass) or after 26 δρό]μον (Jebb) is intolerable;

(b) it is equally intolerable that the two victories should be described in different persons, second person for the first and third person for the second;

(c) in 23 A³ has corrected the original αἰξε to αυτε, and the *prima facie* likelihood is that A³ is right and that we should read εστα [υ—]ν δ’ αυτε κτλ.; it is no recommendation of the two reconstructions that they assume the correction to be either mistaken (Blass) or confused (Jebb);

(d) both reconstructions are at variance with the punctuation in the papyrus (which hardly ever omits a point between sentences): a heavy point where the papyrus has none at the end of 18 (both) and either after 21 σταδίου and 24 ὄμιλον (Blass) or after 26 δρό]μον (Jebb); no heavy point (Blass) where the papyrus has a point at the end of 20.

There is one approach, and one only, that will avoid these difficulties. 26–8 Ἰσθμονίκαν δις νιν ἀγκάρυξαν κτλ. must be the apodosis of a sentence whose protasis contains the description of the victories; this protasis will take the form of a when-clause beginning at the beginning of 21 and describing first the victory in the στάδιον (down to 23 εστα) and secondly the victory in the ἵππιος (from 23]ν δ’ αυτε down to 26 δρό]μον). Restore the passage thus, and the difficulties all disappear: no asyndeton; third-person verbs for each victory (with the second person]αc of 20 now in the previous sentence); αυτε in place of αἰξε not only possible but necessary; the papyrus’s punctuation vindicated. What we shall have is this:

	εἶπ[ε γὰρ τε<ρ>θ]ροικιν ἐπι σταδίου	Barrett
	θερμ[ὰν ἀπο]πνε<ί>ων ἀελλαν	Platt (< > Barrett)
	εστα[, δίανε]ν δ’ αυτε θατήρων ἐλαίωι	Barrett
	φάρε[? ἐc ἀθρόo]ν ἐμπίτων ὄμιλον	Barrett
25	τετρ[αέλικτο]ν ἐπεῖ	Platt
	κάμψ[εν δρό]μον, Ἰσθμονίκαν	Jebb

δύς ν[ι ἀγκ]άρυξαν ἐβού-
λων [ἀ<ε>θλάρχ]ων προφάται·

Jebb
Platt

In the case of each victory, what is described in the protasis is the moment when the race is over and the result is ready to be announced: ‘when at the end of the *στάδιον* he came to a halt, breathing forth a hot gust, and then again wetted with oil the robes of the spectators as he tumbled into the thronging crowd after the four-turn course’s final leg, . . .’ Each time, in the protasis, no statement or indication of the victory (which we are expecting after the implications of 19–20)—that statement is saved up for the apodosis, where the distinction of a *double* victory can be made explicit: ‘. . . twice did the judicious masters of the games proclaim him Isthmian victor.’

The ‘hot gust’ is now simply the victor’s panting breath at the finish of his 200-metre sprint, and the analogy of the epigram disappears. It was never a very good analogy, and its disappearance is welcome: boxing and sprinting are very different exercises and cause very different degrees of exhaustion. An athlete in training will take very little time to get his breath back after a 200-metre sprint; so negligible an interval between races would be inconceivable in practice and absurd as a poet’s exaggeration.¹⁷

Now the detail of my supplements.

21–3. The first victory, in the *στάδιον*.

21. εῦτ[ε: three traces from the feet of letters (see Figure 8)].¹⁸ The first trace is in position for the foot of an initial upright; its triangular shape is compatible with its being the sharply-hooked foot of ε. The second trace is at the right distance from the first for εν, and its level is suitable: ν in εν may end well below ε (14. 1), or slightly above it (5. 196), or anywhere between. The third trace suits τ, which commonly descends well below the line; the space between the legs of ντ will be slightly wider than elsewhere, but I do not think this a difficulty.¹⁹

¹⁷ Nor would one expect the ἴππιος to be the next race after the *στάδιον*: rather the *δίαυλος*?

¹⁸ On the facsimile, only a single speck (the bottom of the third trace); everything else obliterated in the painting-out of the background.

¹⁹ The clear space between the traces of ν and τ is 5.0 mm.; but the trace of ν is only of the tapered tip, and if the tapering was to the left (as often) the space between the full strokes of the legs need not have been more than 4.8 mm. I have measured this space in 56 instances of ντ, and the widest I find is 4.6 mm. (13. 183; perhaps also 12. 42, in a Florentine fragment [to judge from the plate: *PSI* xii, pl. v]); that is, our instance has 0.2 mm. more space than any other. I am not troubled by this: I observe (a) that the space in our instance is increased by the uprightness of the leg of τ (its more usual slight slope would bring it closer to ν, as has happened at 13. 183 and 12. 42), (b) that the three factors that contribute to the space (the length of the right arm of ν and of the left arm of τ, and the width of the space between them) can each as I show them be matched with ease elsewhere, and it is presumably only by chance that they do not elsewhere occur in combination.

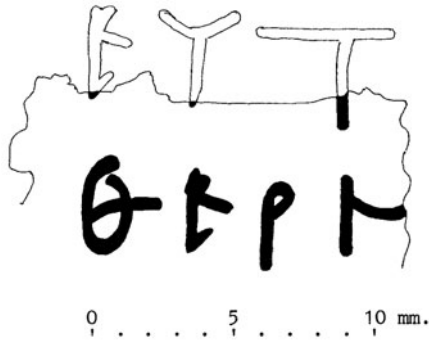


Figure 8

The sentence is amplifying the brief mention of the Isthmian victories in 19–20; after $\epsilon\delta\tau[\epsilon$, therefore, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$. After this, . . .] $\rhoοι\epsilon\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ will be ‘at the end of the $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ’, in which the $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ must be understood not as ‘race-track’ but as ‘(race over) a single length of track’: the context requires this, since the event must be specified in contradistinction to the $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (four lengths of the same track) specified in 25–6; usage agrees, for elsewhere in epinician poetry $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ seems always to be the race (or track-length²⁰) and never the track.

I have sought in Buck–Petersen and Kretschmer–Locker for disyllables in $-\rho\omicron\nu$ or $-\rho\omicron\varsigma$ that might fit the space and give or imply the meaning ‘end’, and have found only three that seemed to merit any consideration: $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omicron\nu$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$, and $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\theta\rho\omicron\nu$. I will examine them in order.

$\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta$] $\rhoοι\epsilon\iota\nu$ is an easy fit; but I can see no way to make $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\alpha \sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ mean ‘the end of the $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ’, whether as race or even as track. I could understand it only of a stepped or terraced slope for spectators to stand on;²¹ and to say that

²⁰ Pi. N. 8. 16 $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu \sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu = \delta\iota\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$.

²¹ Greek stadia were normally surrounded by banking (natural or artificial) for the spectators. In the fifth century, all still very simple—seating came only later; but to shape the banking into rough steps or terraces would be natural at any time. For the Isthmian stadion see O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, ii. 46–66: the ‘earlier stadium’ an enlargement (c. 470–460?) of its ‘archaic’ predecessor, has at its inner (north-west) end, 5 or 6 metres behind the starting/finishing line, ‘where the rocky ground rose steeply toward the west, . . . a series of four very irregular steps’, too narrow for seats, which ‘may also [sc. besides serving as stairs] have accommodated spectators standing up’; I suppose they may have been continued upwards by an embankment subsequently removed (when a stoa was built here after the stadion was abandoned).

$\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omicron\nu$, that on which one $\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$ or $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\kappa\epsilon$, is used especially of steps: E. Ph. 1179 (rung of a ladder), Hdt. 7. 23. 1 (the spoil from a deep excavation passed upwards by a chain of men standing $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omicron\nu$: evidently a series of ledges cut in the sloping side), and perhaps S. OK 1591. That the steps formed in spectators’ embankments were (or could be) called $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\alpha$ is indicated by the use of the word $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in a third-century inscription from Delphi (BCH 23 [1899], 564–9; 247/246?) giving a list of contracts for work on the gymnasium, stadion, and

the victor came to a halt at (or indeed on) this slope has two defects which exclude it here: first, any mention of overrunning in the first race would spoil by anticipation the vivid description of the overrunning in the second race; second, it would require us to take *σταδίου* as ‘race-track’, and thereby would leave the second race unspecified.

μέτ]ροιειν I find doubly unsatisfactory. In the first place I cannot think that [εγαρμετ] was written in the lacuna: with average writing it would be too long by *c.* 1.5 mm., and with looser writing by anything up to 4.5 mm.; certainly at the writer’s tightest it could be accommodated, with up to 0.75 mm. to spare, but in *ευτ*[and]ροιειν the writing is noticeably loose, and I think it very unlikely that in [εγαρμετ] between them it should have been noticeably tight. In the second place, I cannot persuade myself that μέτροειν ἐπι σταδίου is a possible way of saying ‘at the end of the *στάδιον*’. μέτρον, of a delimited amount or extent of something measurable (or thought of as measurable), is naturally used in express or implied contrast to amounts or extents outside its limits,²² and since in contexts of exceeding (or falling short) one may say indifferently ‘exceed the delimited amount’ or ‘exceed the limit’, it would not be surprising if μέτρον came by way of such contexts to acquire the meaning ‘limit’. But I find only one place where this has evidently happened, Sol. 27. 17 W. τὴν δεκάτην (sc. ἐτέων ἐβδομάδα) δ’ εἴ τις τελέεας κατὰ μέτρον ἵκοιτο, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἐὼν μοῖραν ἔχοι θανάτου;²³ and though this might justify

hippodromos in preparation (evidently) for a Pythian festival. The items are of the form ‘so-and-so [ἐπρίατο understood] such-and-such work for so many staters’, and include 27 τὰν βάθρων τ[οῦ σταδίου] τοῦ Πυθικοῦ Μελισσίων for 28 staters and 29–30 τὰν βάθρων ἐν [τῶ]ι Πυθικῶι σταδίω Νίκων πόδας [. . .] for 5 staters; the βάθρων is not at these prices anything very major (compare 110 staters for τ[ὸ]ν ἐκάβην τ[οῦ] Πυθικοῦ σταδίου καὶ τῶν ἀλμάτων τὰν ἐκ[άβην] καὶ ὀμάλιξι[ν, 23–24), and I do not see what it could be but the work of restoring the steps in the banking after four years’ weathering (LSJ’s ‘stand in the Delphic stadium’ is absurd: the word is a *nomen actionis* specifying the work contracted for, like ἐκκάβαρις ἐκάβης ὀμάλιξι ποιήσις φράξι πάξι of other items).

²² With a partitive genitive, the right amount as opposed to too much, Thgn. 475 μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἴνου, 479 δὲ δ’ ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, or to too little, 876 μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης; with a genitive defining the measured amount, ἦβης μέτρον is that delimited period which is one’s prime, as opposed to immaturity (ἦβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι, *Od.* 4. 668 etc.), to old age (μέτρ’ ἦβης τελέεαι, Thgn. 1326, though I cannot construe the sentence as a whole), or to both (ἦβης μέτρον ἔχειν, Hes. *WD* 438, Thgn. 1119).

²³ Not adduced by LSJ under μέτρον I. 3b ‘limit, goal’. The instances which they do adduce I find unacceptable:

(a) ἦβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι, explained as ‘the *term* [i.e. the point of demarcation] which is puberty’. No: this will not fit the instances with ἔχειν and τελέεαι (n. 22 above).

(b) *Od.* 13. 101 (of ships) ὅτ’ ἂν ὄρμου μέτρον ἵκωνται, explained as ‘the *goal* which is the mooring-place’; i.e. the limit (of their journey) which is the mooring-place. But one expects a genitive after μέτρον to indicate in some way what is delimited, and its replacement by a genitive identifying the limit itself seems to me mere confusion. What I should expect ὄρμου μέτρον to mean is ‘the right distance for mooring’ (ὄρμος ‘mooring’ rather than ‘mooring-place’: so

‘reach the μέτρον of the στάδιον’ = complete the στάδιον, it seems to me a good step further to say ‘come to a halt at the μέτρον of the στάδιον’, and ‘at the μέτρα’ (in the plural) I think a good deal harder still.

τέρθ]ροικιν, ‘end’, gives straightforward sense, but again there are difficulties of space: with average writing [εγαρτερθ] it would be too long by *c.* 2 mm. (and with looser writing by up to 5 mm.); and though with the writing at its tightest it could be accommodated with *c.* 1 mm. to spare, I think the tightness quite unacceptable between the loosely written ευστ[and]ροικιν. But if the word was written τεθ]ροικιν it will fit perfectly; and the misspelling is one that we need not hesitate to assume. Not only is the sequence -ερθρ- obviously vulnerable:²⁴ the word is in fact subject to this very misspelling elsewhere. Of the four instances of τέρθρον and its adjective τέρθριος in literary texts, two appear as τεθρ- in part of the manuscript tradition (in a third it is the second ρ that has gone, in a corruption of ΤΕΡΘΡ to CΤΕΡΕ);²⁵ and

Aeschylus and Herodotos, and I think also the other Homeric instance, *Il.* 1. 435 = *Od.* 15. 497 τῆν δ' εἰς ὄρμον προέρεσσαν ἐρετμοῖς, a position neither too close in nor too far out. But that would be possible only with ships moored clear of the shore, and of that there can be no question here. The harbour (which purports to be a real one, in Ithaka) is so well sheltered that ἀνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι | νῆες εὐσσελμοι, ὄτ' ἂν ὄρμον μέτρον ἴκονται: they are not floating free (else they would drift, however calm the harbour), but have their stern run ashore with the rest of the ship afloat, as was the normal Homeric practice; ordinarily when this was done they would be secured against dislodgement by wind and wave by means of stern-cables fastened ashore and anchors dropped from the bow, but in this sheltered harbour no such precautions are needed. That must be the situation (as in the harbour of the Cyclopes' island, *Od.* 9. 136–9), and in that situation there can be no question of distance from the shore. It could be that the phrase has been taken over unthinkingly from a description of mooring clear of the shore, but I doubt it: mooring clear of the shore will never have been more than an emergency procedure, and ὄρμον μέτρον ἰκέσθαι (even without the ὄτ' ἂν) has the sound of normal practice. More likely perhaps the phrase has been coined, even more unthinkingly, on the analogy of ἦβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι.

(c) Sol. 13. 52 W. (the poet) ἡμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος, 16 W. (cited as περὶ θεοῦ) γνωμοσύνης δ' ἀφανὲς χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι νοῆσαι | μέτρον, ὃ δὴ πάντων πείρατα μούνον ἔχει. Of course not ‘limit, goal’: I suppose the measured composition, or delimited pattern of behaviour, that characterizes the poet's craft or the divine purpose.

²⁴ τέρθρον itself would be wholly unfamiliar to a copyist, and Greek has no other words in -ερθρο-; the copyist would be familiar with words in -εθρο- (notably δλεθρος, πλέθρον, πτολίεθρον, (-)ρέεθρον), and his subconscious would be an easy prey to these (and conceivably even to τέθριππον).

²⁵ I cite the texts below. The behaviour of the manuscripts is reported as follows: Emp. (in Arist. *Resp.* 473b12), ‘τέρθρα LG^aH^a et corr mo, lacunam M: ceteri τέθρα, ambiguo V’ Bekker; Ar., ‘τεθρίους RM: τεθρίους VAL’ Coulon; Hp., ‘τὸ στερεὸν (τέρθρον Θ) ἦι vulg.’ Littré; *h. Hom.*, no corruption recorded by Allen (only a variant form of the line, with δ' ἴκοντο κάρηνα for δὲ τέρθρον ἴκοντο).

I do not bring into the reckoning the three instances in literary fragments cited by lexicographers (Erotian, *Et. magn.*): copyists are less likely to misspell a word which is what their text is about (and which recurs in that text a number of times).

in Hesychios the derivative *τερθρηδών* is misspelt, and misalphabeted, as *τεθρηδών*.

τέρθρον (related presumably to *τέρμα*) is ‘extreme point’, whether ‘end’ or (of a vertical object) ‘top’; it is defined as *τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει* (Erotian: see below) and *τὸ ἄκρον καὶ ὑψηλόν* (Hesych.). Of its derivatives, *τέρθριοι* (sc. *κάλοι*) are the outermost brailing-ropes, attached to the end (*τέρθρα*) of a ship’s yard;²⁶ *τερθρωτήρ* is the station of the *πρωιρεύς* as lookout (at the forward extremity of the ship), and *τερθρηδών* the *πρωιρεύς* himself.²⁷

τέρθρον itself occurs five times in literature: *h. Herm.* 322 *αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο* (summit); *Emp. Vorsokr.* 31 B 100. 4 *καὶ σφιν ἐπὶ στομοίσι πυκναῖς τέτρηται ἄλοξιν | ῥινῶν ἔσχατα τέρθρα διαμπερές* (perforations at the ‘extreme [= innermost] ends of the nostrils’,²⁸ forming the orifices of the air-carrying tubes); *Hp. Mul.* 2. 125 (on ‘hysterical’ affections supposed to be due to displacements of the womb) *ὅταν δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὰ ὑποχόνδρια προσπέσῃ (sc. αἰ ὑστέραι), πνίγουσιν, ἐπὴν ἐνθάδε τὸ τέρθρον ἦι τοῦ πάθεος, καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνει ἔμετος κτλ.* (‘le terme de l’affection’ Littré²⁹); *E. fr.* 371 and Apollodoros³⁰ *PMG* 701 cited by Erotian τ 29 *τέρθρον γὰρ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει, ὡς καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Εὐρυσεθεῖ ποιεῖ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγοντα οὕτως, “πέμψεις δ’ ἐς Αἴδου ζῶντα κοῦ τεθνηκότα, | καὶ μοι τὸ τέρθρον δῆλον εἰσπορεύομαι”*³¹ *καὶ Ἀπολλώδωρος ὁ τοὺς ὕμνους γράμας φησὶ*

²⁶ Hesych. <τ 526, 525> *τέρθρον*. . . τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ κέρως, and *τέρθρ<ι>οί*. οἱ εἰς τὸ κέρασ τοῦ ἰστίου ἐκατέρωθεν δεδεμένοι <κάλοι>, ἐν οἷς τὸ ἄρμενον ἔλκουσι; *Gal.* xix. 145 (*Gloss. Hipp.*) *τέρθρον*: κυρίως μὲν οὕτως ὀνομάζεται τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κεραίας, καὶ τέρθριοι οἱ κάλοι <οἱ> ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ ἰστίου παρήκοντες. Cf. sch. *Ar. Knights* 440a οἱ ἔσχατοι κάλοι, οὗς ἐκφόρουσιν καλοῦσιν οἱ ναῦται. I have repaired two evident omissions: <κάλοι> in Hesych., <οἱ> in *Gal.*

²⁷ Hesych. <τ 527> *τερθρωτήρ*. ὅπου ὁ πρωιρεύς προορᾷ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει, and <τ 338> *τε<ρ>θρηδών*. πρωιρεύς. Cf. <τ 522> *τερθρεύειν*. *τηρεῖν*, *σκοπεῖν*, *λιπαρεῖν*, where I suppose the sense *τηρεῖν*, *σκοπεῖν* to derive from ‘act as lookout’; I cannot account for *λιπαρεῖν*. (Nor can I trace any semantic connexion between *τέρθρον* and *τερθρεύεσθαι* ‘be disputatious’, *τερθρεία* ‘disputatiousness’.)

²⁸ Certainly ‘ends of the nostrils’ and not ‘surface of the skin’: M. Timpanaro Cardini, *Parola del Passato* 12 (1957), 250–70, N. B. Booth, *JHS* 80 (1960), 10–15, G. A. Seec, *Hermes* 95 (1967), 41–53; cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, ii, 219–24.

²⁹ So just above, of another variety of these affections, 2. 123 *ὁκόταν ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τραπῶσιν αἰ ὑστέραι καὶ τῆιδε λήγηι ὁ πνιγμός* (‘se fixe’ Littré): *τῆιδε λήγηι* and *ἐνθάδε τὸ τέρθρον ἦι* will correspond in sense, and the context requires ‘when the trouble/choking settles here’ — ‘settles being ‘reaching the end of its movement through the body’. *τέρθρον* here is rightly explained by Erotian τ 29 as *ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ τέλος*, wrongly by Galen (loc. cit. in n. 26) as *ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ τὸ ἄκρον καὶ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἐπιμελείας μάλιστα δεόμενον*.

³⁰ Whoever he was, who wrote lyric in epic dialect. He is commonly identified with the Apollodoros said by some to have taught Pindar at Athens (Ambrosian Life, i. 1. 11–15 Dr., whence *Eust. Proem. Pind.* 27, iii. 300. 1–5 Dr.); may be, but the name is a very common one.

³¹ The end of his journey? Of his life? Of his labours? The sentence is not necessarily complete. And statement, or question? Conjecture (*οἱ πορ-* Erfurdt, *εἰ πορ-* Bothe; *-κομαι* Herwerden) must remain in suspense.

“τίς τοιῆιδε ὄρηι ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τέρθρον θυράων;” ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν θυρῶν. The adjective *τέρθριος* occurs twice: Ar. *Knights* 440 τοὺς τερθρίους παρίει· τὸ πνεῦμ’ ἐλαττον γίγνεται (τερθρίους sc. κάλωσ: see above, with n. 26); S. fr. 333 P. <= R.> in *Et. magn.* (under *τερθρεία*) “τερθρία” μέντοι “πνοή” διὰ τοῦ τ ἡ ὀπιθία· Σοφοκλῆς *Κηδ(αλίων)*.³²

A rare word, but I have no qualms about restoring it to Bacchylides: for all the general simplicity of his adaptation of epic language (I include in this his compound epithets, which though often novel are formed straightforwardly from familiar elements), he is willing enough to admit a *recherché* word from time to time: e.g. *αἰών*, *ἄνδηρα*, *βληχρός*, *εἶρεν*, *ἦρα* c. gen., *θελημός*, *κόει*. I say ‘*recherché*’: the words as he used them belong evidently to high poetry, but at the same time some of them were still part of the living language in some dialects and in some senses. So *βληχρός* is common in Hippocratic Ionic; and *ἄνδηρα* (in Bacchylides of the sea-coast) is used by Hypereides of raised dikes.³³ Of *τέρθρον* it may be said that it has epic precedent, that like *βληχρός* it is known to be Hippocratic Ionic, and that like *ἄνδηρα* it is still in use in vernacular Attic (at least in its adjective) in a special sense: I do not think its legitimacy here can be doubted. For the plural used in place of the singular (*τέρθρα* in Empedokles is a true plural) cf. the precisely similar use of *τέρματα* at Pi. P. 9. 114 *πρὸς τέρμασιν . . . ἀγώνος* ‘at the end of the race-track’.

22. ἀπο]πνέων (Platt) is evidently suitable (and fits the space):³⁴ cf. *Il.* 6. 182 (the chimaira) *δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος*. But I have corrected]πνέων to]πνε<ι>ων: Bacchylides in his dactylo-epitrites ordinarily avoids short anceps in the position | (x) e ‘x’ . . . at the beginning of a period, even in dimeters of the form | (x) e ‘x’ e (x) | (see my remarks in *Hermes* 84 [1956], 250 <below, chapter 14>).

23. ἔστα: came to a halt; so e.g. *Il.* 10. 354 *ὁ δ’ ἄρ’ ἔστη δοῦπον ἀκούσας* (he had been running until he heard them: 350).

23–8. The second victory, in the ἵππιος. At the end of the final leg the victor cannot stop in time to avoid the spectators crowding beyond the finish: he runs on into them, and his oily body smears their clothes as he bumps or brushes against them. (An unusual incident? Or a regular occurrence which the poet describes only for the second race, just as he describes the panting

³² I understand neither the alleged equivalence nor the sense intended.

³³ Wackernagel’s *ἐξαύσα* at 5. 142, ‘taking out’ the firebrand from the chest, will if right (as I think it is) be another instance: *ἐξαύω* is vernacular Attic (Pl. Com. fr. 38 <= 37 K.–A.>) for taking meat from the poet with an *ἐξαυτήρ* = *κρέαγρα*.

³⁴ Whereas *ετι]* would (with normal spacing) be too short (and *δετι]* far too long).

only for the first?³⁵ No clue in *αὐτε*, which merely marks the transition to a different race.)

23. *δαίναε]ν δ' αὐτε* is Jebb's, considered by him (p. 478) but rejected in favour of *βρέχων]ν δ' αἰξ' αὐτε*.³⁶ It is certainly right, and *βρέχων]ν δ' αἰξ' αὐτε* and Blass's *βρέχων]ν δ' αἰξε* are certainly wrong:

(a) one expects that *αυτε*, as A³'s correction of A's *αἰξε*, should be right and *αἰξε* wrong: it is not uncommon for A to write nonsense and A³ to correct it, and there is no reason to suppose anything else to have happened here (*ΑΙΞΕ* for *ΑΥΤΕ* is a not very difficult visual error);³⁷

(b) *αἰξε/αἰξε* is no verb for a runner at the end of his 800 metres;³⁸

(c) *αὐτε* is necessary: *δ' αὐτε* makes it clear from the outset, as *δέ* alone would not, that this is now another race than that of 21–3;³⁹

(d) the runner did not, with the oil on his body, 'drench' or 'soak' (*βρέχειν*)⁴⁰ the spectators' clothes, but wetted or moistened them, and that is *δαίναε]ν*;⁴¹ compare Aristotle's distinction between the cognate *διερός* and *βεβρεγμένος*, *Gen. corr.* 330a16–18 *διερόν μὲν ἔστι τὸ ἔχον ἀλλοτρίαν ὑγρότητα ἐπιπολῆς, βεβρεγμένον δὲ τὸ εἰς βάθος*.

24. The lacuna will contain an epithet for *ὄμιλον*, presumably with *ἐ* (the simple accusative would be unexpected):⁴² *φάρε[? ἐς ...ο]ν ἐμπίτνων*

³⁵ If it did happen only at the end of the *ἵππιος*, it was presumably because the crowd was closer (the runner's own speed would be lower after the long race). If (as is supposed to have been normal practice) all races finished at the same end, this could only be random misbehaviour. Perfectly possible; but I remark that if at these games all races started at the same end, *στάδιον* and *ἵππιος* would finish at opposite ends, and crowds and space at the two ends might be different. (At the inner end, next to the entrance from by the temple, only 5 or 6 metres clear space beyond the finish; at this end also an elaborate set of starting-gates, of perhaps c. 470–460 B.C. The outer end is destroyed. Cf. Broneer, loc. cit. in n. 21 above.)

³⁶ Of]ν, parts of the right upright, with ink joining it on the left just above the foot.

³⁷ When (very occasionally) a correction by A³ is mistaken, it offends against metre or dialect but not against sense (so in this same line *θεατήρων* for *θατήρων*). Anyone who defends *αἰξε* must suppose either that A³ for once altered sense to nonsense or that he also altered an original *-ω]ν* to *-ε]ν*.

³⁸ So Jebb himself (478): 'the word suits a runner *darting forward* from the starting-point'. It does occur to him that the result is nonsense: *βρέχων δ' αἰξε κτλ.* 'he drenched the spectators [after passing the finishing-line] as he darted forward [from the starting-line]'; in his rendering the nonsense is obscured by the looseness of the English participle. Blass, concerned only with the start of the race, produces not nonsense but only absurdity: how does a runner at the start of a race drench the spectators with oil?

³⁹ Jebb's *βρέχων]ν δ' αἰξ' αὐτε* does keep the *αὐτε* (though the order would need to be *δ' αὐτ' αἰξε*), but at the cost of a contracted *αἰξε* which is improbable in lyric (Pi. N. 8. 40 *αἰσσει* is corrupt).

⁴⁰ Jebb's rendering of *βρέχων* as 'sprinkling' is doubly mistaken, both linguistically (the word does not mean that) and factually (it is not what happened).

⁴¹ From the spectator's point of view he soiled them; but the censorious *μίναε]ν* (Platt, with misgivings) is not the word of a poet praising his victor.

⁴² All I have found is S. OK 942, E. IA 808, with the subjects *ζῆλος* and *ἔρωσ*.

ὄμιλον. Not Jebb's εὔθροον]ν (in any case improbably tight): even if this could indicate 'cheering' (which Jebb believes and I do not), the epithet should not add a new detail irrelevant to the incident but should either be conventional or give some quality of the ὄμιλος conducive to the collisions. My ἀθρόο]ν does give such a quality: close-packed spectators (unlike scattered ones) have little chance of dodging when a man comes suddenly among them at a run.

I move back now to the preceding lines, 11–20. The ode has been composed

- ἵν' ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα
 ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποισιν εἶη
 χάρμα, τεὰν ἀρετὰν
 μανῶν ἐπιχθονίοισιν,
 15 ὄσσ*ον αἰδ* Νίκας ἕκατι
 ἀνθεσι{ν} ξανθὰν ἀναδηγόμενος κεφαλὰν
 κῦδος εὐρέϊαις Ἀθάναϊς
 θῆκας Οἰνεΐδαϊς τε δόξαν,
 ἐν Ποσειδᾶνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοισι
 20 ἀνίκ' ἄμφαν]ασι Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ταχεῖαν ὄρμάν.

I have no doubt whatever that 19–20 are to be restored (as I have restored them above) as a clause subordinate to what goes before them. I have little doubt about the detail of the restoration: the subordination will evidently be by 'when',⁴³ and for 'when' (with εὔτε disqualified by its presence in the next line) the obvious word is ἀνίκα; after this, ἄμφαν]ασι is the right word for 'displayed' (*Il.* 20. 411 ποδῶν ἀρετῆν ἀναφαίνων), and ἀνικαμφαν] fits the lacuna exactly.⁴⁴

There is a theoretical alternative of restoring 19–20 as an independent sentence, on the lines of . . . δόξαν. | ἐν Ποσειδᾶνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοισι | [πάσιν ἄμφαν]ασι Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ταχεῖαν ὄρμάν. | εὔτε γάρ κτλ.,⁴⁵ but this will never do. That the papyrus has no punctuation after δόξαν tells strongly

⁴³ Not 'where' (Kenyon ἔνθα): with this, 'you have by winning brought glory to Athens' is qualified in 19 by 'at the Isthmia' and this in its turn by 20 'where you showed your speed': hopelessly disjointed. With 'when' the whole of 19–20 forms a single unit qualifying 'you have brought glory', and qualifying it the more closely in that 'when you showed' is tantamount to a modal 'by showing'. I say 'a single unit', for I have no doubt that 19 'at the Isthmia' is felt as belonging within the when-clause, construing after the 'when' but thrust in front of it because the importance of the venue is what gives the victory its distinction. (No one should object that Bacchylides never postpones a conjunction 'by four words', for ἐν Ποσειδᾶνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοισι is the equivalent of a single word: the same postponement as *Pi. P.* 4. 122 ἀν περὶ ψυχὰν ἐπεὶ γάθῃσεν, 188 ἐς δ' Ἰαολλκὸν ἐπεὶ κτλ.)

⁴⁴ Blass's ἐνδειξ]ασι is not the right word; Kenyon's προῦφαν]ασι (I correct his -φην-) is far too long, as much with his own ἔνθα as with ἀνίκα.

⁴⁵ [πάσιν ἄμφαν]ασι would be too long for the lacuna, and one would need to find an alternative; I have thought it a waste of time to seek one.

against it;⁴⁶ but what clinches the matter is the second person]*ac*,⁴⁷ which will cohere with the second persons of 11–18 (13 *τεάν*, 18 *θῆκας*)⁴⁸ and not with the third persons of 21–35 (23 *ἔστα*[, 23 *δίανε*]ν, 26 *κάμψ*[*εν*, 27 ν[*ι*ν, 31 [ν*ι*ν]).⁴⁹ The change of person between 20 and 21 must coincide with a major break in the sense; with 19–20 subordinate, the break is where it should be. With 19–20 independent, the major break would be between 18 and 19, with 19–20 serving to introduce the detailed account which follows and thrown thereby into close connexion with it; a change of person across that connexion is inconceivable. If Bacchylides had intended such a structure, he would without question have written not]*ac* but]*εν*.

I come finally to 15, where before *Νίκας* the papyrus has *όcca* in place of –ο–. The accepted remedy is *όccά<κις>*; and if 15–18 were a general statement of all the victor’s successes, ending at 18 and succeeded in 19–35 by a detailed catalogue, *όccάκις* would embrace all the victories in that catalogue (ten, at the least) and would be well in place. But if the statement of 15–18 extends, as it must, to 20, it will be concerned only with the Isthmian victories of 19–20 (which will be the immediate occasion of the ode); and those victories, two in number, are inadequate for *όccάκις*. *όccά<κις>* therefore is wrong,⁵⁰ and *όcca* must be emended to something compatible with this narrower scope. What we need is not the frequency of the glory but its greatness, i.e. *όccον . . . κῦδος*; and the metre then gives us *όccον αῦ* (Richards, CR 12 [1898], 76), ‘what great glory once again you have brought about for Athens’ (‘once again’ because there have been other victories, and their glory, before):⁵¹ the *κῦδος* is that of the Isthmian victories alone, and all is well.⁵²

Nor is that all: *όccον αῦ* has other merits. In the first place, *όccον . . . κῦδος*: the hyperbaton binds the long clause firmly together, to its great advantage; and what would otherwise be two idle verbal devices acquire a purpose—the periphrastic *κῦδος . . . θῆκας* to provide the noun the hyperbaton requires, and *δόξαν* synonymous with *κῦδος* to extend the hyperbaton, and its binding

⁴⁶ Anyone determined to point heavily after *δόξαν* might I suppose explain the absence of punctuation in the papyrus by alleging that the punctuator mistook the indicative –*ᾶ*c for a participle –*ᾶ*c.

⁴⁷ Other interpretations of]*ᾶ*c are out of the question.

⁴⁸ They were preceded, presumably, by a vocative addressed to the victor.

⁴⁹ No word is complete, but none is in any doubt.

⁵⁰ To make it possible one would need to make 19–20 independent, against the papyrus punctuation, and to that end to alter]*ac* to]*εν*; the price is far too high.

⁵¹ Richards himself did not understand what his conjecture would mean: ‘*αῦ*’, he says ineptly, ‘would be explained by 27.’

⁵² I do not know how the corruption happened (via *οccον* with suprascript *αυ*, or via a lipographic *οccονικας*, or as a simple one-stage blunder), nor do I greatly care: it is possible enough in one way or another, and if a conjecture is certain in itself, nice questions of palaeographical probability become irrelevant.

effect, to the clause's very end. In the second place, *αὐ*: with this we are freed from what would otherwise be a difficulty at the transition in 29 to the list of earlier victories. With 15–20 concerned with the Isthmian victories alone, one would expect after the detail of the Isthmian victories (in 21–8) a fresh start in 29 for the list of earlier victories, as for a new topic not previously suggested; instead the poet links that list to the Isthmian victories in one unbroken sequence, with the construction continued across the link (29 *δις δ' ἐν Νεμέαι* sc. *νικῶντά νιν ἀγκάρυξαν*). This close linking might indeed have seemed an argument for *ὄσα*<*κις*>, with 15–18 a preliminary statement of all the victories present and past; but now with *ὄσων αὐ* the *αὐ* takes over, and by implying at the outset that there were earlier victories too enables the poet to move over from the present victories to earlier ones with no sharp transition, as to something already foreshadowed.

Bacchylides, Ode 13

This article had its origin in my dissatisfaction with a number of commonly accepted supplements in the ode, and was at first intended to be brief and selective; *uires acquisiuit eundo*, and it is now long and comprehensive. I have based it on two things: first, an attempt (primarily with the aid of Kenyon's facsimile) to relate every supplement exactly to the available space; second, an examination of the papyrus itself in London.¹ This second exercise has given me more than I had expected: in seven places I can now correct statements made about the smaller vestiges, and I have found nine such vestiges that no one before me had observed at all.

Since the article is now comprehensive, I have thought it best to print first the whole text of the ode (arranged, for convenience of metrical comparison, with a complete triad on each page) and then a continuous commentary. This commentary is deliberately limited in scope: it is directed solely at the restoration of the text, and discusses other questions only in so far as they are relevant to this end.

TEXT

I give below an account of the conventions I follow in printing my text. But I will account here for an innovation in the use of prosodic symbols: I indicate the value (single or double) of mute-and-liquid not by separating the letters ($\pi\lambda$) when they are double-value but by linking them ($\underline{\pi\lambda}$) when they are single-value. Economy and reason point the same way: the exceptional should be marked, the normal left unmarked.

<Dated to 1975 by the note on line 167. At one point B. implies that the paper is being published 'in a papyrological journal'; I presume he had *ZPE* in mind. He communicated the paper to Herwig Maehler, who acknowledges his use of it in the first volume of his commentary (1982, p. 258).>

¹ In the British Library, inventory no. 733 <= *P. Lit. Lond.* 46>, frame 3. I have been greatly helped by the use of an admirable binocular microscope which the Library has recently acquired, and which is far superior to the predecessor which Snell in 1936 described as 'ausgezeichnet'.

A'

beginning of strophe lost

9	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	]Καεω̄		
10	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	']τφ[ᾱ]υ	']	[-]
11	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ]		
	-	-	υ	-	-	υ	-	]δαν·	γ·

antistrophe and epode lost

B

beginning of strophe lost

6	-	υ	-	x	-	υ	-			
40		x	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	υ	] ιc
		x	-	υ	-	-	-	-	-]
9	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	-	-]·
	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	-	-]
11		ὑβριος		ὑψινδου						νό
45		παύσει		δίκας		θνατοῖσι		κραίνων,		αί ων·
	1	οἶαν	τινα	δύσλοφον	ώ-					αἰ
		μητᾶι		λέοντι						αἰ
	3	Περσείδας		ἐφίησι						εἰ
		χεῖρα	παντοίαισι	τέχναισ·						οἶ αιc·
50		οὐ γὰρ]	δαμασίμβροτος	αἴθων						εἰμ αἰ
	6	χαλ]μὸς	ἀπλάτου	θέλει						ἀτ
		χωρε]τῖν	διὰ	σώματος,	έ-					oc· ^E
		γνά]μφοθ	δ'	ὀπίσσω						δ'οπισσω
	9	φάσγα]νον·	ἥ	ποτέ	φαμι					ν·η
55		τᾶιδε]	περὶ	στεφάνοισι						φά
	11	παγκ]ρατίου	πόνον	'Ἐλ-						ἶ
		λάνεσσι]	ν	ιδρώνεντ'	ἔσεσθαι."					ἶ ὦ τ'ε αι·
	1	τόθεν	παρ]ᾶ	βωμῶν	ἀριετάρχου	Διὸς				Barrett / Blass
		νίκας]	φ[ε]ρ[ε]	μυθεός	ἀν-					δέ
60		θρώπο]ις	ιν	ἄ[ν]θεα						Jebb / Wilamowitz
	4	χρυσέ]αν	δόξαν	πολύφαντον	ἐν	αἰ-				λύφ
		ῶνι]	τρέφει,	παύροισι	ι}	βροτῶν				Richards
		α]ἰεί,	καὶ	ὅταν	θανάτοιο					Jebb / * Platt
		κυνέρον	νέφος	καλύψῃ,	λείπεται					σταθ ^v
65	8	ἀθάνατον	κλέος	εὐ	ἐρ-					ὑψη ^l
		χθέντος	ἀσφαλεῖ	σὺν	αἴται.					εἰ αἰσαῖ·

Γ	1	τῶν κα[ὶ ς]ὺ τυχῶν Νεμέαι,	αἰ	
		Λάμπωνος υἱέ,		
	3	πανθαλέων στεφάνοισιν		
70		ἀνθ[ε]ξ[ων] χαίταν [έρ]εφθειρ		
		..-...-] πόλιν ὑψιάγουαν	άγ	
6		..-...- τ]ερψιμ[β]ρότων	ό	
		ω[...-...-] ἀβ[ροθρ]όων		Barrett
		κώμων πατρ[ώ(ι)α]ν	μαν	
75	9	νᾶσο[ν], ὑπέρβι[ον] ἰσχύν.	έ ἰς	
		παμμαχίαν ἄνα φαίνων.	ἴα αἰ ων.	
	11	ῶ ποταμοῦ θύγατερ		
		διναῖντος Ἀλγῖν' ἠπιόφρον,	νξο ν'ηπιό	
	1	ἦ τοι μεγάλην [κρονίδα		Blass
80		ἔδωκε τιμάν,		
	3	έν πάντεσσιν [άγωσι	πά	Blass
		πυρρόν ὡς Ἑλλ[ασι - -	ώ	
		φαίνων· τό γε σὺν [κράτος ὑμ]νεῖ	αἰ ν·τ	Barrett
	6	καὶ τις ὑψαυχῆς κό[ρα	ατ ὑψαυχᾶς	* Jebb /
85		- - * - - -]ραν	α	
		πόδεσσι ταρφέως		
	9	ἤύτε νεβροῦ ἀπεν[θή]ς	υ βρ πέ	
		ἀνθεμόεντας ἐπ[ὶ] ὄχθου	μό	
	11	κοῦφα σὺν ἀγχιδόμ[οις	χιδ	Jebb
90		θρώ(ι)κουσ' ἀγακλειτα[ῖς ἐταίρα]ις·	ώ σ'α]ις·	* Blass
	1	ταὶ δὲ στεφανωσάμε[ναι φοιν]ιμέων	σά	/ Headlam
		ἀνθέων δόνακος τ' ἐ[πιχω-	θέ τ'ε	Jebb
		ρίαν ἄθυρσιν	ρῖ	
	4	παρθένοι μέλπουσι τ[εὸν λέχο]ς, ῶ		Jebb / Barrett
95		δέξποινα παγξε[ίνου χθονός,	αχ	Housman
	6	'Ἐν]θαῖδα τε ῥοδό[παχυν	ἴ	Palmer, Jebb
		ἄ τῶ[ν ἰς]θή[ρον] ἔτι[κτε Πηλέα	ά]ό[	Barrett / Jebb
	8	καὶ Ἰελαμ[ῶ]να [μο]ρυσ[τᾶν		Jebb
		Αἰσῶνι μ(ε)ιχθεῖς' ἐν εὐ[νᾶ]ι·	σ'ε εχ	* Blass / Sitzler

Δ	1	τῶν υἱέ|ε|α|ς ἀ(δ)ειαιμάχ|α|ς	μά	*Wil./ *Hou./ Wil.
	101	ταχύν τ' Ἀχιλλέ|ε|α	τ'α	
	3	εὐειδέ|ε|ρ|ς τ' Ἑριβο|α|ς	δέ τ'ε	
		παῖδ' ὑπέ|ρ|θ|υ|μ|ον βοά|ε|ω	δ'υπέ	Housman
		Αἴ|α|ν|τ|α| σ|α|κ|ε|σ|φ|ό|ρ|ον ἦ|ρ|ω,	αί φό	
	105	6 ὅ|ς τ' ἐπ|ὶ π|ρύ|μ|ν|αι| σ|τ|α|θ|ε|ῖ|ς	ὄστ'ε	
		ἔ|σ|χ|ε|ν θ|ρ|α|σ|υ|κ|άρ|δι|ον [ὄ|ρ|	κά	
		μ|αῖ|ν|ον|τ|α ν|ᾶ|α|ς	αί	
		9 θ|ε|σ|π|ε|ρ|εί|ω π|υ|ρ|ὶ π|ρ|ῆ|αι	οῖ	/ Barrett
		Ἔ|κ|το|ρ|α χ|α|λ|κ|ο|κο|ρ|υ|σ|τ|ά|ν|,	]ν·	Blass
	110	11 ὀ|π|τ|ό|τ|ρ|ε Π|η|λ|εῖ|δ|α|ς	οπό	
		τ|ρ|α|χ|εῖ|τ|α|ν [Ἀ|τ|ρ|εῖ|δ|αι|ε|ι μ|ᾶ|ν|ιν	]π	Blass
		1 ὤ|φ|ε|ῖ|ν|α|τ|ο, Δ|α|ρ|δ|α|ν|ῖ|δ|α|ς	εῖ	* Blass / Housman
		τ' ἔ|λ|υ|σ|ε|ν ἀ|λ|γ|έ|ων·	τ'ε	Barrett
		3 οἷ π|ρ|ὶν μ|ὲν [π|ο|λύ|π|υ|ρ|γο|ν]		Blass
	115	'Ι|λ|ίου θ|α|η|τ|ὸν ἄ|σ|τ|υ	ἀῆ	
		οὔ λ|εῖ|π|ον, ἀ|τ|υ|ζ|ό|μ|ε|ν|ο|ι [δ|ε	ν·α	
		6 π|τ|ᾶ|σ|σ|ον ὀ|ξ|εῖ|τ|αν μ|ά|χ|α|ν,	τ'ε δι ^{ωλ} ρ ^ω	
		εὔ|τ' ἐν π|ε|δ|ί|ω κ|λον|έ|ω|ν	αί τ'α	
		μ|αῖ|ν|ο|ι|τ' Ἀ|χ|ι|λ|λ|εῦ|ς	εῖ	
	120	9 λ|α|σ|φ|ό|ν|ον ὀ|δ|ρυ| σ|εῖ|ων|·		
		ἀ|λ|λ' ὅ|τ|ε δ|ῆ π|ο|λ|έ|μ|ο|ι|ο	ῖ	
		11 λ|ῆ|ξ|ε|ν ἰ|ο|σ|τ|ε|φ|ά|ν|ο|ν	ῆῖ ρό	
		Ν|η|ρ|ῆ|ι|δ|ος ἀ|τ|ρο|μ|η|το|ς υἱ|ός,	τ'ε εῖ	Schwartz / Barrett
		1 ὤ|σ|τ' ἐν κ|υ|α|ν|α|ν|θ|έ|ῃ θ|υ|μ|ὸν ν|α|υ|τ|ί|λ|ω|ν	έ	
	125	π|όν|τ|ω|ι β|ο|ρ|έ|α|ς ὑ|π|ὸ κ|ύ|	αῖ	
		μ|α|ε|ιν δ|αῖ|ζ|ε|ι	α|α|τ|ε| τ|α|σ|ά|ν|ν|μ|ε| δ	Blass
		4 ν|υ|κ|τ|ὸ|ς ἀ|ν|τ|ά|σ|α|ς ἀ|ν|α|τ|ε|λ|λ|ο|μ|έ|ν|α|ς,	δῖ·c	
		λ|ῆ|ξ|ε|ν δ|ὲ σ|ὺν φ|α|ε|ε|μ|ι|β|ρ|ό|τ|ω|ι	οὔρα ^α γ ^α νό	Blass / Housman
		6 ἀ|οῖ, σ|τό|ρ|ε|σ|ε|ν δ|ὲ τ|ε π|ό|ν|τ|ον	λέω ^α	
	130	οὔ|ρ|ια, ν|ό|τ|ου δ|ὲ κ|ό|λ|π|ω|σ|α|ν π|νο|ᾶ|ι	εῖ	
		ἰ|σ|τ|ί|ον ἀ|ρ|π|α|λέ|ω|ς τ' ἄ|		
		ε|λ|π|το|ν ἐ|ξ|ί|κ|ον|το χ|έ|ρ|σ|ον,		

1	ὡς Τρωῶες, ἐπ[εὶ] κλύον [αἰ- χματῶν Ἀχιλλεία		
135 3	μίμνο[ντ'] ἐν κλιείαισιν ἐΐνεκ[ε] γ' Ξανθάς γυναικός, Β]ρ[ι]σηίδος ἱμερογυίου,	οιη εἰ ἰδ ἰμ υἱ θ ^{σι} ἀντ	* Smyth
6	θεοῖσιν ἀντειναν χέρας, φοιβᾶν ἐσιδόντες ὑπαῖ χειμῶνος αἴγλαν,	οἰ ἰδ αν α ^δ μελπ	
140 9	παρσυδαί δὲ λιπόντες τείχεα Λαομέδοντος ἔ]ς πεδίον κρατερᾶν αἴξαν ὅ τ' ἐ μίναν φέροντες,	εἰ ἕς ες·	
145 1	ῥοφάν τ[ε] φόβον Δαναοῖς, ῶτρυνε δ' Ἄρης 3 ε]ύεγχῆς Ἀγκίων τε Λοξίας ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, ἴξόν τ' ἐπὶ θ[ε]ῖνα θαλάσσης,	ις· δ' α εἴ ἐγ ων· ἴξ τ' ε κας·	
150 6	ν]αυσι δ' εὐπρύμνοις παρα(ἰ) μάρναντ', ἐναριτ[ο]μ[έν]ων δ' ἔρ]ευθε φῶτων 9 αἶμα]τι γαῖα μέλα[ινα ἔκτορ]έας ὑπὸ χει[ρός], 155 11 ἦν <δε> μ]έγ' ἡμιθέοις ὄναα]ρ ἰσάθρον δι' ὄρμάν.	δ' ε τ'· ε εὐθ ^ε γ' η ἰωνδ' ἴ=ο ν·	/ *Housman, Platt
1	χαλίφ]ρονες, ἧ μεγάλαισιν ἐλπίσιν πνε(ἰ)οντες ὑπερφ[ι]αλόν θ' ἰέντες] ἀψ[ι]δά]γ	ς· η ωπ	Schwartz Barrett / * Tyrrell
160 4	Τ[ρῶε]ς ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ- πέρσαντες ὤισθεν] νέας 6 νεῖσθαι πι]σ[ι]λ]ιγ [εἶλα]πίνας τ' ἐν λαοφό]ροις ἔξειν θ[ε]δ[ο]ματον πόλιν· 8 μ]έλλον ἄρα πρότε[ρο]ν δι- 165)— ν]ᾶντα φοινίζει[ν Σκ]ᾶμανδρ[όν	τ' ε λιν· ᾶντ ἰξ	Barrett Barrett / Barrett / Blass / Barrett Barrett / Barrett /

F	1	θ]νά(ι)σκοντες ὑπ' [Αἰα]κίδααις		/ * Blass /
		ἔρειψ[ι]πύ[ργοις	ψ[ι]πύ	Tucker
	3	τῶν εἰ καὶ τ[] ~ ~ - x		
		ἢ βαθυξύλω[] ~ - -	θυξύ	
170	x	- ~ ~ - ~ ~ - -		
	6	- ~ - x - ~ -		
		x - ~ ~ - ~ ~ -		
		x - ~ - -		
	9	- ~ ~ - ~ ~ - -		
175		οὐ γὰρ ἀλαμπέυ νυκ[τοῦ	ἀλαμπέυ	
	11	πασιφανῆς ἀρετ[ὰ	ἰφά	
		κρυφθεῖς' ἀμαυροῦται καλύπτραι,	c'α	Housman
	1	ἄλλ' ἔμπεδον ἀκ[αμάται		Blass
		βρύουσα δόξαι	ἄι	
180	3	στρωφᾶται κατὰ γὰν [τε	φᾶ	
		καὶ πολὺπλαγκτον θ[άλασσαν·	τᾶν	
		καὶ μᾶν φερεικυδέα ν[ᾶσσαν·	δέ	
	6	Αἰακοῦ τιμᾶι, σὺν Εὐ-	αἰ·c	
		κλείαι δὲ φιλοστεφ[άνωι	εἰ	
185		πόλιν κυβερναῖ,		
	9	Εὐνομία τε σάφρων,	όφ	
		ἢ θαλάσας τε λέλογχεν	ἄ λέλ	
	11	ἄσπεά τ' εὐσεβέων	τ'ε βέ	
		ἄνδρῶν ἐν εἰ[ρ]ήναι φυλάσσει.	ἦναι εἰ·	
190	1	νίκων {τ'} ἐρικυ[δέα] μέλπεται, ὦ νέοι,	τ'ε τ'ω	* Barrett /
		Π]υθέα μελέτα[ν τε] βροτω-	θέ λέ	
	3	φ[ε]λέα Μενάνδρου,	λέ ου·	
		τὰν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ τε ῥο[αῖς] ἄμα δὴ		
		τιμασεν ἄ χρυσάρματος	ἄχ ἄρ	
195	6	σεμνὰ μεγάθυμος Ἀθάνα	γάθ να·	
		μυρίων τ' ἤδη μίτραϊσιν ἀγέρων	τ'η	
	8	ἔστεφάνωσεν ἐθειράς	φά εἰ	
		ἐν Πανελλάνων ἀέθλοισι.	οἰς·	
)—		

1	εἰ μή τινα θερσιεπιῆς	ἰὲ	
200	φθόνος βιάται,	ἄτ	
3	αἰνεῖτω σοφὸν ἄνδρα		
	ζὺν δίκαι. βροτῶν δὲ μῶμος	αἰ·βρυο	
	πάντεσσι μὲν ἔστιν ἐπ' ἔργοις,		
6	ἃ δ' ἄλαθεία φιλεῖ	δ'α	
205	νικᾶν, ὃ τε πανδ[α]μάτῳ	κᾶ μά	
	χρόνος τὸ καλῶς		
9	ἐ]ργμένον αἰὲν ἄ[έξει,	ἀλ	
	δ]υ]ρ]μ]ενέ]ω]ν δὲ μα[ταῖα		Blass
11	γλῶσσ'] αὔδ]η]ς μιν[ύθει		Blass
210	x - υ - x - υ - -		
	x - υ - υ - υ - υ -		
	x - υ - -		
3	- - - υ - υ - x		
	- υ - x - υ - -		
215	- υ - υ - υ - υ - -		
6	- υ - x - υ -		
	x - υ - υ - υ - υ -		
	x - υ - -		
9	- υ - υ - υ - υ - -		
220	ἐλπιδι θυμὸν ἰαίν[-	αἰ	
11	τᾶι καὶ ἐγὼ πύκυνο[ς		
	φοινικοκραδέεμοις [τε Μούσαις	νομ ε	Nairn
	ὑμνων τινα τάνδε ν[υ - x - υ -	εὔ[
	φαίνῳ ξενίαν τε [φιλά-	νων	
225	γλασον γεραίρω	αίρω·	
4	τὰν ἐμοί, Λάμπων, ε[ὐ πορῶν τίειν οὐ		Schw./Barr./Hou.
	βληχρὰν ἐπαθήσαις τ[έκει·	λῆ ρή	Barrett
6	τὰν εἰκ ἐτύμως ἄρα κλειῶ	κ'ε	
	πανθαλῆς ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξ[εν φρακὸν,	ἀνθὰ ἐς	Jebb
230	8 τερφιεπεῖς νιν ἄριδαὶ		
	παντὶ καρύξοντι λα[ῶ]ι.	πα ὑ	

In Attic, where single value is normal, print single-value $\pi\lambda$ and double-value $\pi'\lambda$; in choral lyric, where double value is normal, print double-value $\pi\lambda$ and single-value $\pi\lambda$. My text contains nine indications of single value; it would have needed twenty-two indications of double value.²

In my text, I have thought it proper in a papyrological publication to adopt two practices which I should deprecate in a text intended for reading: I follow the colometry of the papyrus,³ thereby breaking up Bacchylides' periods into artificial cola (though I mitigate the effect, as is customary, by indenting all cola that are not the first of their period); and I indicate all divergences from the letters of the papyrus,⁴ by <a> (inserted), {a} (deleted), and a with subscript asterisk (substituted for another letter).

In the margin I indicate:

(a) all lection signs, and all corrections, in the papyrus (I do not distinguish between hands); letters added or substituted by the corrector I put above the line, whether in the papyrus they are above the line or in the text;

(b) the authorship of supplements and corrections (except for those made by Kenyon in the *editio princeps*; my silence therefore means 'Kenyon'); 'Palmer, Jebb' are jointly or independently responsible for a supplement; 'Palmer/Jebb' are responsible respectively for the first and second supplement (or part of a supplement) in a line; '/Jebb' is responsible for the second supplement in a line (the first being Kenyon's); '*Jebb' is responsible for a correction.

METRE

I give below, on the left, an analysis of the metre in Maas's notation (in str. 3, my $\bar{D} = ---\omega-$), arranged according to the colometry of the papyrus but with braces joining cola which form part of the same period; | marks consistent word-end (diaeresis), || consistent word-end which is demonstrably

² It is also free of an inconsistency which I find unwelcome. Dialects which pronounced mute and liquid as double-value presumably pronounced them thus whatever the quantity of the preceding vowel. If therefore in such a dialect one prints single-value $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$, and double-value $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$, it will be inconsistent to print $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\delta\eta$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ with the consonants unseparated; yet to print $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\delta\eta$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ would be wasteful and inelegant. If however one prints single-value $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$, and double value $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$, then $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\delta\eta$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ will be accurate without more ado. (In Attic poetry the corresponding result will be achieved by double-value $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, single-value $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$; $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ again will be accurate without more ado.)

³ Except in the two places (84/5, 159/60) where it conflates two cola.

⁴ If the papyrus has $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma$, I treat neither $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ nor $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ as a divergence.

period-end (followed by the numbers of the lines which provide the demonstration). I give also, below, a table showing the quantities of the anapititia in every instance (except before ||), arranged according to their position in relation to the diaereses. In the headings, 'l' except in the final column includes ||; '?' means 'of ambiguous quantity. In the table, * means 'excluding a supplement proposed or defended in this article'.

Table E

			l'x'... -?u	Medial -?u	... 'x' e(x) l -?u	... 'x' l -?u
Str. 1	{xD	.....	10--	.....	.....	.....
	{xe||	101, 200	.....	.....	4-6	.....
3	{Dxl	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 1 6*
	{exex||	103, 115	.....	.....	7-3	.....
5	{xDx||	104	8--	.....	.....	.....
6	{exe	.....	.....	9--	.....	.....
	{xD	.....	.....	7--	.....	.....
	{xe||	185	.....	.....	5-4	.....
9	{Dx||	153	.....	.....	.....	.....
10	{Dxl	.....	.....	.....	.....	6 1 3*
11	{D	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	{xexex||	.....	.....	10--*	9-2	.....
Ep. 1	{xDxel	.....	4--*	.....	*2-2	.....
2	{xD	.....	*5--	.....	.....	.....
	{vexl	.....	.....	.....	*--4*	*5--
4	{exD	.....	.....	5 1-	.....	.....
	{xexe	95, 128	.....	*5--	*4 1-	.....
6	{xDx	.....	*4 1-	*2-3	.....	.....
	{exex||	64, 97	.....	2-3*	4 1 1	.....
8	{Dx	.....	.....	*4-1	.....	.....
	{exex||	.....	.....	.....	5-1	.....

In 1956 (*Hermes* 84, 248-51 <below, chapter 14>) I examined the incidence of short ancepts in Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrites, and found that the odes fall into two categories, which I will call 'free' and 'strict': free, ode 13 and the epode of ode 3 (the strophe is not dactylo-epitrite); strict, all other odes.⁵

In the strict odes, short ancept is almost wholly confined to the position . . . 'x' e (x) l (where the diaeresis is normally, and perhaps always, period-end); in other positions, four instances at most and perhaps even fewer. In the free odes, short ancept is both much commoner (in proportion) and positioned much more freely.

⁵ Odes represented only by tatters can be so classified only provisionally.

I can best set out the facts in tabular form;⁶ by ‘2(–) in c. 160’ I mean that there are c. 160 instances of anceps in this position and that two of them at most are short (the ‘at most’ as explained in the relevant footnote).

	strict odes	ode 3	ode 13
Initial: || ‘×’ . . .	2(–) ⁷ in c. 160	5 in 7	0 in 27
Initial or medial: ⁸ | ‘×’ . . .	0 in c. 90	—	0 in 5
Medial ⁹	2(–) ¹⁰ in c. 310	3 in 31	7(+7) in 52(+8)
. . . ‘×’e(×) |	42 in c. 350	3 in 30	23 in 65

I think it evident that when Bacchylides in this ode allows long and short anceps to correspond with such unusual freedom, we should set no embargo on supplements which introduce further instances of the licence. I analyse the situation thus:

(a) . . . ‘×’ e (×): freedom apparently complete.¹¹

(b) Medial anceps: moderate freedom, with a tendency for short instances to correspond;¹² of the eight places in my analysis with medial anceps, the seven preserved shorts are concentrated in three. In the other five places, 7 ancipitia preserved (none short), 19 lost: I should expect a strong preponderance of long among the 19, but if other considerations in any instance point to a supplement involving a short I should admit it without hesitation.¹³

(c) Initial anceps: in this ode, no short instance preserved (out of 32); but the five instances in ode 3 are guarantee enough that short initial anceps is as

⁶ Minor discrepancies between my figures here and in my *Hermes* article are due in part to the accession of new papyri since 1956, in part to an occasional change of mind about details of the text.

⁷ Apparently certain, 27. 44 || φίλα[ι]c (a paragraphos above the line); but the ode is not certainly strict. Assailable, 15. 45 || θεοικ δ’: I said in 1956 (loc. cit., 250 n. 2) that short anceps ‘could have been, or could be, avoided by || θεοικν δ; and Snell (1961) put θεοικ<υ> δ’ in his text (I should myself have put it only in the apparatus; and I add that I have since found it to be the property not of me but of Housman, cited by Platt in *CR* 12 (1898), 134).

⁸ Initial if diaeresis is period-end, medial if it is not.

⁹ I normally exclude from my reckoning instances of . . . ‘×’ |, in which the diaeresis could be period-end. But in 13 str. 3 I believe it not to be period-end (see my note on 81–2), and I therefore include the instances there as (+7) in (+8).

In the other two places in my analysis of 13 where I give . . . ‘×’ |, the diaeresis is likely to be period-end: pretty certainly at ep. 3 (a period ep. 2–5 would be unacceptably long), very probably at str. 10 (see below, n. 16).

¹⁰ Certain, 8. 12. Possible, 7. 1 θύγατερ Χρόνου τε και Νυκτός: could be medial, but will be . . . ‘×’ e (×) | if one supposes period-end after καί.

¹¹ The freedom will work both ways: in ep. 3, where the four preserved instances are all short, we need not hesitate to supply a long. I shall in fact supply a short at 159 but a long at 60.

¹² The tendency is a commonplace: it is found with . . . ‘∪’ e (×) in the strict odes; it is found also in Pindar’s dactylo-epitrites. <Above, chapter 8.>

¹³ In my two supplements among these 19 I have a long at 161 and a short at 186 ὄναα]β; this ὄναα]ρ seems inevitable, and the short anceps should cast no doubt upon it whatever.

legitimate as short medial.¹⁴ Once again, I should expect a strong preponderance of long among the 17 lost ancipitia, but should not hesitate to admit a short in a supplement that I thought probable for other reasons.¹⁵

COMMENTARY

Col. 28 S. lines 1–7

Lost.

Col. 29 S. = 23 K.: lines 8–43

Exiguous remains of the ends of five lines, on papyrus projecting to the left from that containing col. 30 S. (24 K.): from the top of the column, ends of 9, 10, and 12, on papyrus integral with that of col. 30; from the foot, ends of 40 and 42, on papyrus published by Kenyon as a separate fragment (fr. 30 K.) but now joined to the papyrus of col. 30 (the join is certain: edges and fibres tally exactly).

9. Of κ , the extreme tip of the leg; of λ the right leg (up to the junction) and vestiges from each end of the underside of the left leg (meeting the leg of κ at the edge of the papyrus). *Κλειώ* can be in no doubt: a Muse near the beginning of an ode 3. 3 *Κλειοί*, 4. 8 and 5. 13 *Οὐρανίας*, 12. 2 *Κλειοί*, 16. 3 *Οὐρανία* nom. (as well as Muses in the plural, e.g. 1. 1–3). *Kleio* recurs in our ode at 228.

10. Six traces survive (A–F on Figure 9; DEF not previously reported). To the right of F, no ink, and the surface apparently intact: that is, we have the end of the line, and from the situation in the corresponding lines it is very probable that this is also the end of a word.¹⁶ I suppose that

¹⁴ Compare also the instances in other odes discussed in n. **. <There seems to be no such note.>

¹⁵ At 162 (ep. 6) I supply a long anceps; at 158 (ep. 2), where I suppose the papyrus to have had *πνε]οντες*, I am confident that this will have been a miswriting for *πνειοντες* (as 10. 22 *]πνε<ι>ων*, in a strict ode). <Cf. above, p. 227> But at 157 (ep. 1) I think short anceps no obstacle to my preferring *χαλίφ]ρονες* to the orthographically anomalous *ἀαίφ]ρονες*; and at 58 (also ep. 1) I do not think that the quantity of the anceps should lead one to reject the claims of *τόθεν* against *ἐκ τοῦ*. That these last two instances are in responsion makes it all the easier to supply a short in both.

I observe that the short initial ancipitia of ode 3 (in responsion with one another) and of 27. 44 form in each case the first syllable of a stanza; so of course do the initial ancipitia of 13 ep. 1.

¹⁶ Of the thirteen corresponding lines (str. 10) we know that twelve had diaeresis at the end; the thirteenth (22) is lost. There is no hiatus anywhere to give proof of period-end: a strong sense-pause in four stanzas (76, 110, 154, 220) makes it probable but is not conclusive (cf. 5 str. 1: in ten instances, a strong sense-pause at 41 and 96, but no word-end at 16).

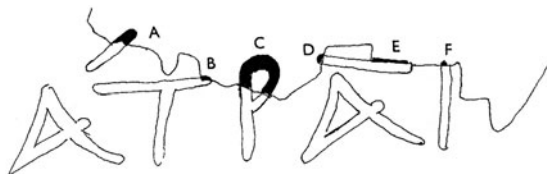


Figure 9

at this point we are still in the personal part of the ode, concerned with the victor or his victory; if so, the word must be compatible with such a context.

DE will be from a horizontal: D (rubbed) suits its beginning, E (1.2 mm.) its upper edge. If from a letter, then τ , but the downward slope would be unusual; the line would end $\acute{\rho}\tau\iota$, and of this I can make nothing at all.¹⁷ Therefore not a letter but a makron; in which a downward slope is not uncommon. Of the 84 makra in the epinikia, 81 are on α and 60 on final syllables, viz. 44 $-\bar{\alpha}\iota$ (the long-vowel diphthong), 6 $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$, 6 $-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, 3 $-\bar{\alpha}$,¹⁸ 1 $-\omega\iota$,¹⁹ I do not doubt that our makron was written over α in a final syllable. F (a tiny speck, 0.2 mm.) is not part of the makron (I find none longer than 3.7 mm.), and will be either from ι ($\bar{\alpha}\iota$) or from a point ($\bar{\alpha}\cdot$). As a reading, $\bar{\alpha}\cdot$ is perhaps the easier, since nowhere else in $-\bar{\alpha}\iota$ does the ι rise above the line of the upper edge of the makron; but the anomaly is very slight,²⁰ and I think the very common final $-\bar{\alpha}\iota$ much likelier than the uncommon final $-\bar{\alpha}$.

Before $\bar{\alpha}\iota$, C is either β or ρ . Its height in relation to the other letters might make β the easier, but I can do nothing with $\acute{\beta}\bar{\alpha}\iota$;²¹ I think therefore an unusually high ρ , with B before it from τ ($\tau\rho$ correctly spaced, and A in the

¹⁷ $-\rho\tau\iota$ might give $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\rho\tau\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\iota$ -, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\iota$ -, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\iota$ -, but none of these could have been written: B is incompatible with α and with Snell's ϵ (indeed the only vowel which is convincingly possible is ω); the acute accent (A) is incompatible with all but $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota$ (on $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\iota$ it would need to be far to the left).

¹⁸ Or 2 $-\bar{\alpha}$ (1. 49 $\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\bar{\alpha}$, 2. 1 $\phi\eta\mu\bar{\alpha}$)? At 2. 14, $\Pi\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\delta\bar{\alpha}\iota$ with the final ι deleted: was the makron written before or after the deletion?

¹⁹ In the dithyrambs (a different roll) the same preponderance of $\bar{\alpha}$, but the distribution is different.

²⁰ It results from the combination of three factors which individually are easy to parallel: makron low (presumably) over α ; downward slope of makron; ι higher than α . Closest to our instance is 3. 66 $\lambda\omicron\xi\iota\bar{\alpha}\iota$ (beginning of line); replace the ι there by the high line-end ι of e.g. 3. 79 $\omicron\psi\epsilon\alpha\iota$, 11. 57 $\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\iota$, 11. 115 $\tau\nu\chi\bar{\alpha}\iota$, and the parallel would be exact (or more than exact). Cf. also 10. 24 $\phi\bar{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\lbracket$, 15. 43 $\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\bar{\alpha}\nu$.

²¹ Only $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\beta\bar{\alpha}\iota$, in which μ (with B as its right apex) would be unusually close to β ; and the word seems very unlikely in the personal part of the ode. $\mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\beta\bar{\alpha}\iota$ (cf. Hes. *Th.* 912) is likely neither in the context nor as a reading: B ill suited to ρ , and too close to β ; the accent too far to the left for $\acute{\omicron}\rho\beta$.

right place for an acute on the vowel before τ).²² If $\acute{\tau}\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, I find two words that might be in place in the personal part of the ode:²³ $\acute{\mu}\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, the victor's head-band (196 below; Pi. O. 9. 84, I. 5. 62 $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$, $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\ \delta'\ \epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\mu}\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\alpha\nu$), and $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, either 'country' or 'clan, family'. Pindar has $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha$ six times of the victor's country and five times of his clan; two of the six instances, and all the five, are in odes for men of Aigina, and at I. 6. 63 he says of Pytheas (the same Pytheas as our victor) and his brother $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \Psi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$. . . $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\nu\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu\ |\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\omicron\nu\tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota$.

40.] (not previously reported) is a minute speck of ink *c.* 1.3 mm. clear of ι and *c.* 0.6 mm above its foot.

Col. 30 S. = 24 K.: lines 44–78

The column is split between two fragments, upper and lower, which are not accurately related on the facsimile (or on the papyrus itself as mounted); the lower one should be *c.* 1.8 mm. farther to the left, and slightly higher.

Supplements printed by Snell and Maehler on the left agree (if I make no comment below) with the margin given by the complete lines at the head and foot of the column.

44–57. The latter part of a speech by a spectator of Herakles' struggle with the Nemean lion; it is delivered during the struggle (which is described in the present tense), and foretells first of all Herakles' suppression of other threats to civilized existence (the end of this in 44–5) and finally (54–7) the future contests in the pankration at the Nemean games.²⁴

²² I can offer some analogy for the height of ρ in $\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}$: (a) 0.9 mm. above τ : in *c.* 60 instances of $\tau\rho$ I find 12 with ρ higher by 0.5 mm. or more; 0.9 mm. is matched at 3. 92 $\tau\rho[\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota$, nearly matched (0.7 mm.) at 13. 196 $\mu\iota\tau\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$; (b) 0.1 mm. above the makron: in 16 instances of $\rho\bar{\alpha}$ the nearest is 15. 43, 0.2 mm. below the upper edge of the makron; but if the upper edge of our sloping makron be produced to the left, the ρ will come 0.1 mm. below its line; and I add that the makron is likely (see n. 20) to have been lower than usual above the α .

As well as $\tau\rho$, $\gamma\rho$ would be possible, but I think not $\upsilon\rho$: in *c.* 50 instances of $\upsilon\rho$ I find only four with ρ rising more than 0.3 mm. above the right arm of υ , and none with it rising more than 0.5 mm. (3. 2, 5. 184).

For the position of the accent, cf. $\acute{\alpha}\tau$ at 5. 129, 7. 3, 13. 51, $\acute{\epsilon}\tau$ at 5. 76, 140.

²³ And others that might not: $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\acute{\rho}\acute{\eta}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, and the compounds $\delta\beta\rho\iota\mu\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$. With γ , $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$; with υ (but I think it impossible) e.g. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\bar{\alpha}\iota$.

²⁴ Who is speaking, and to whom? We can presumably rule out the possibility of human spectators; the normal candidates, both of whom have good reason to be present, are Athena (Jebb) and the nymph Nemea (Blass and Wilamowitz, more probably). I have considered Zeus, who as $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\eta\varsigma$ has no need to be physically present and who has a strong personal interest both in his son and in his own cult-seat; but if he calls Herakles $\Pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ he will be denying his own paternity, and—more important—it would accord ill with his omniscience that he should base his forecast of Herakles' future successes on a mere rational inference ($\omicron\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$) from his present prowess. I suppose the rational inference to be most appropriate to Nemea.

46. Not an 'eager exclamation' (Jebb), but the causal use of exclamatory οἶος, as e.g. *Od.* 18. 73 ἡ τάχα Ἴρος Αἴρος ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν ἔξει, | οἴην ἐκ ῥαχέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει, *Il.* 8. 450. A comma therefore after 45 κραίνων.

53. Of]μ, a tiny vestige (not previously reported) in position for the right-hand edge of the second apex.

58. In ◡ – παρ]ά βωμὸν κτλ. Blass's παρ]ά admits no doubt. The two syllables before it, in rather less than the space of five average letters, will need to make it clear that the speech has ended and to effect a transition from the mythical past to the present; and Wilamowitz's ἐκ τοῦ does both.²⁵ But it involves one serious difficulty: it will naturally mean 'from that time onwards', as if the games were founded forthwith; yet the speaker, with ποτε, has spoken of them as belonging to the indefinite future, and an immediate founding is evidently out of the question.²⁶

In early epic and lyric ἐκ τοῦ and ἐξ οὗ are almost always purely temporal, and indicate that a course of action or state of affairs supervenes immediately on, and proceeds continuously from, the occasion specified:²⁷ 'continuously from that time' (ἐκ τοῦ, ἐξ οὗ) or 'continuously from the time when' (ἐξ οὗ). With present or perfect, or negated aorist, it is 'ever since that time', or 'ever since the time when', continuously from then until now: e.g. *Il.* 8. 295 ἐξ οὗ δὴ προτὶ Ἴλιον ὠκάμεθ' αὐτούς, | ἐκ τοῦ δὴ τόξοις δεδεγμένος ἄνδρας ἐναίρω, *Od.* 1. 212 ἐκ τοῦ δ' οὐτ' Ὀδυσῆα ἐγὼν ἴδον οὐτ' ἐμὲ κείνος.²⁸ (Similarly with past or

²⁵ R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik*, 41, compares the demonstratives of *Od.* 19. 413 τῶν ἐνεκ' ἡλθ' Ὀδυσσεύς and *Pi.* O. 6. 17 τὸ καὶ | ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότηι πάρεστι Κυρακοσίω.

²⁶ Mythographically, an immediate founding by Herakles would be perfectly possible (Kall. fr. 59. 6, with Pfeiffer's note; references to scholia etc. there and on fr. 54), nor would it matter much that Bacchylides elsewhere ascribes the founding to the Seven on their way to Thebes (9. 11 πρώτιστον . . . ἄθλησαν, immediately after a mention of Herakles and the lion), for a poet is not bound to be consistent from ode to ode. My case against an immediate founding is based wholly on the prophecy with its ποτε, but I find the basis secure enough. (I have asked myself whether one might consider for the lost beginning something like 'I celebrate a victory in the Nemean games, which Herakles founded after killing the Nemean lion. He had a hard struggle with the lion, and as he struggled Nemea was moved to prophesy' etc. I have asked myself, and I have answered no: either a foundation-legend or a prophecy, but hardly both; and if both, then certainly not in this unconnected form—one would expect a ring-type reversion from prophecy to founding.)

²⁷ I am not concerned here with the time-reckoning instances (in which of course ἐκ τοῦ and ἐξ οὗ are purely temporal), 'it is now the twentieth year since . . .' and the like: *Il.* 1. 493, 24. 31, 776, *Od.* 2. 90, 19. 233, 24. 310.

²⁸ I list the instances (pr. = present, pf. = perfect, n. = negated aorist): *Il.* 8. 295 pr., 9. 106 pr., 13. 779 pr., 24. 638 n., *Od.* 1. 74 pr., 212 n., 2. 27 n., 8. 540 n., 11. 168 n. + pf., 14. 378 pf., 16. 142 n. + pr., 17. 103 pf., 19. 596 pf., 23. 18 n., *Hes.* *Th.* 556 pr., *Pi.* O. 2. 38 pr., 6. 71 pr. (and *Sim.* 103. 1 D. <= epigr. 45 Page> n., but not genuine). At *Od.* 18. 181 ἀγλαΐην γὰρ ἐμοί γε θεοὶ . . . | ὠλεσαν, ἐξ οὗ κείνος ἔβη κτλ. the ἐξ οὗ clause is used after the aorist as after the 'I have no ἀγλαΐη' which it implies; I suppose the use may be the same at *Sem.* 7. 117.

future verbs it is ‘thenceforth’ or ‘from the time when’, continuously from then until a time which may be either specified or left unspecified.²⁹) What we need here is a looser ‘that was the origin of what happens now at Nemea, namely . . .’; and although ἐκ τοῦ and ἐξ οὗ are once or twice used in this looser way, I cannot think it likely that ἐκ τοῦ should be so used in a sentence where it would readily bear the normal temporal meaning (at *h. Ap.* 272 ἐξ οὗ νῦν Πυθῶ κικλήσκεται, ‘that was the origin of the present name Pytho’, the temporal meaning is excluded by νῦν).³⁰ I look therefore for another demonstrative or relative expression that could bear the looser meaning: ἀφ’ οὗ might do so,³¹ but is too short; Bruhn’s ἔνθεν is too long; all I find of the right length is τότεν, and I suppose this to be the likeliest supplement.³² I think it no objection that it involves an initial short anceps: see my prefatory remarks on the metre.

²⁹ Past, *Il.* 1. 6, *h. Ap.* 343, Hes. *Th.* 562, Pi. *O.* 9. 76; future, *Il.* 15. 69, 601.

³⁰ There are two other instances of the looser use: *h. Dem.* 440 ἐκ τοῦ οἱ πρόπολος καὶ ὀπάων ἐπλετ’ ἄνασσα (that was the origin of her function as Persephone’s πρόπολος), *Od.* 21. 303 ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροι καὶ ἀνδράκι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη (that was the origin of the feud); in each case the normal temporal meaning is excluded by the tense (in *h. Dem.* I suppose the aorist ἐπλετο to be tantamount to a present ‘is’, as in 24 of its 45 occurrences in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but it could be tantamount, I think, only to a here-and-now present and not to the continuous present of ‘from then until now’).

I add that in three passages that I have classified under the normal use a looser use has sometimes been supposed: *Od.* 1. 24 ἐκ τοῦ δὴ Ὀδυσῆα Ποσειδάων . . . | οὐ τι κατακτείνει, πλάζει δ’ ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης (ever since he blinded the Cyclops, or in consequence of his having done so); Hes. *Th.* 556 ἐκ τοῦ δ’ ἀθανάτοιεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλλ’ ἀνθρώπων | καίουσ’ ὄστ’ εὐα λευκά (ever since Prometheus tricked Zeus into taking the bones, or in consequence of his having done so); *ib.* 562 ἐκ τούτου δῆπ’ αἰεὶ δόλου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ | οὐκ ἐδίδου κτλ. (from then onwards, or in consequence of that). In none of them do I see any reason to suppose the sense to be other than temporal (at *Th.* 562 cf. the purely temporal ἐκ τούτου δῆπ’ αἰεὶ of *h. Ap.* 343). At *Th.* 556 a good many people behave as if an αἴτιον called for ‘in consequence’; but in fact it calls rather for ‘ever since that time’. An Englishman may perhaps be allowed to cite the aetiological formulae of Kipling’s *Just So Stories*: e.g. ‘and from that day to this every rhinoceros has great folds in his skin and a very bad temper, all on account of the cake-crumbs inside’; ‘and from that day to this, Best Beloved, three proper Men out of five will always throw things at a Cat whenever they meet him, and all proper Dogs will chase him up a tree.’

³¹ Cf. 9. 21–4 κείνων ἀπ’ εὐδόξων ἀγώνων | ἐν Νεμέαι κλεινοὶ βροτῶν | οἱ τριετὴ στεφάνω ξανθὰν ἐρέψωνται κόμαν. Bacchylides has just described the first Nemeian games held by the Seven for Archemoros; κείνων must necessarily refer back to this, and the sense will therefore be ‘as the consequence of those glorious games [viz. those held by the Seven], glory at Nemea comes to those men who . . .’. (With ἀπό, no need for ‘ever since’; nor did anyone suppose the games to have been biennial ever since their legendary foundation.)

³² τότεν (not common in any author) is used once by Bacchylides, 5. 197, as ‘in consequence of this’ (sc. of their praise in poetry). In an aetiological passage, *Ap. Rh.* 4. 990 Δρεπάνη τότεν ἐκλήσεται | οὐνομα Φαιήκων ἱερῆ τροφός: that (sc. the presence of Kronos’ δρέπανον) is the origin of the name Drepane. With ὅθεν, cf. *Kall. Hy.* 3. 197 ὅθεν μετέπειτα Κύδωνες | νύμφην μὲν Δίκτυναν, ὅρος δέ . . . | Δικταῖον καλέουσιν, 203 ὅθεν μέγα χῶσατο μῦρτω.

59–63. Supplements are in general straightforward: in $\phi[\epsilon]\rho[\epsilon]\kappa\upsilon\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, ϕ is a very long tail, ρ a long tail, κ the upper edge of the tip of the arm, with the spacing right for $\phi[\epsilon]\rho[\epsilon]\kappa$; for its noun, $\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ is the right word and fits the space;³³ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ (Richards, CR 12 [1898], 76) fits the space³⁴ and is very suitable ($\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ of anything precious or highly esteemed, e.g. 10. 40 $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$, Pi. P. 3. 73 $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$. . . $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$); $\alpha\acute{\iota}\lambda[\acute{\omega}\nu\iota]$ is inescapable.

There can be no doubt about the construction: the flowers of victory (i.e. the victors' garlands) nurture glory for $\alpha\nu[\dots]\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$. Blass's $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron]\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$ fits the space, and I think it certain: some case of 'men' ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$, $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$) is common in general statements in Bacchylides and Pindar; in general statements about victors cf. 9. 22 $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\acute{\iota}$ $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ | $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\rho\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\iota$ $\xi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\nu$, Pi. O. 3. 10 $\Pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\alpha$. . . $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ | $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\rho\omicron\iota$ $\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}$, | $\acute{\omega}\iota\tau\iota\nu$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$.³⁵

Housman in 1898 proposed $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\delta\epsilon\theta\epsilon]\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$ (CR 12. 72 = *Classical Papers*, 450), saying ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\alpha$ is the subject of $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\iota$ '; this had its vogue (Jebb, Wilamowitz), but it is in fact much too short, and Snell therefore replaced it by $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon]\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$, saying ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\alpha$ est subi.'³⁶ But this in its turn is much too long, and I do not think that any participle with this sense could be found to fit.³⁷ Nor if one could be found should I wish to supply it. In the first place, there is no need for such a participle: that the flowers are the flowers of victory makes it evident that $\alpha\nu[\dots]\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$ are the victors, and there is no need

³³ *Níka* (Merkelbach, ZPE 12 [1973], 91) is too short; nor would word-order (or for that matter sense) allow $\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ to construe with $\Delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

³⁴ Jebb's $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha[\acute{\alpha}\nu]$ is much too short.

³⁵ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, i.e. to the victors (the word is picked up and explained by $\acute{\omega}\iota\tau\iota\nu$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$). The scholiast understood it aright (17i, 19c), the moderns mostly misunderstand it (supposing the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$ to be 'mankind' as audience; the opposition of god and man should have warned them that they were wrong).

³⁶ In full he says (he has just referred to Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 173 n. 1) ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\alpha$ est subi.: "flores alunt famam victoribus" Wil. 1.1.'; this is not quite accurate as an account of Wilamowitz's interpretation (see below n. 40).

³⁷ $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon]\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\nu$ would fit; but we cannot suppose a pair $\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\eta$ -/ $\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\theta\eta$ - on the analogy of $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ -/ $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\theta\eta$ -, $\acute{\rho}\iota\phi\eta$ -/ $\acute{\rho}\iota\phi\theta\eta$ -, $\kappa\rho\upsilon\phi\eta$ -/ $\kappa\rho\upsilon\phi\theta\eta$ -. If a verb has ϵ in its present stem, the vowel of an $-\eta$ - aorist is normally zero-grade: thus (with $\rho\alpha$ or $\alpha\rho$ < sonant r) ($\varsigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$) $\varsigma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ -, ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$) $\delta\alpha\rho\eta$ -, and (with $\lambda\alpha$ or $\alpha\lambda$ < sonant l) ($\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$) $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta$ -, ($\varsigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$) $\varsigma\tau\alpha\lambda\eta$ -; but zero-grade * $\varsigma\tau\phi\eta$ - is impossible, and $\varsigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ therefore can have no $-\eta$ - aorist. Certainly there are a few $-\eta$ - aorists with an ϵ taken over from the present, but in all of them (apart from one or two very late instances, presumably pseudo-archaisms) zero grade would have been possible, and I think it likely that they are secondary modifications (to conform with the present) of original zero-grade forms: so evidently ($\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$) $\pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa\eta$ - Timotheos, doubling $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta$ -; and so I should guess ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$) $\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma\eta$ - Homer, ($\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$) $\theta\epsilon\rho\eta$ - Homer, ($\varsigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$) $\varsigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta$ - Euripides, ($\xi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$) $\xi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\gamma\eta$ - Aristophanes and Attic.

I add that an aorist $\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\eta$ - would be welcome at Alkm. PMGF19, where the active participle $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota$ is unintelligible and a passive participle $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota$ (Kaibel on Ath. 111a) would make sense; but I think a solution must be sought in some other way.

for the word to define them further as ‘men who are garlanded’. In the second place, I think the participle not merely otiose but unsuitable: if a phrase begins *νίκας φερεκυδέος ἀντεφθειῖν* one expects the word on which the genitive will depend to construe after *ἀντεφθειῖν*, ‘garlanded with (the flowers) of glorious victory’; the natural case for these flowers would be dative, but if I heard *νίκας φερεκυδέος ἀντεφθειῖν ἄνθεα* I should assume not that *ἄνθεα* did not after all construe after *ἀντεφθειῖν* but that the poet had used an accusative in place of the normal dative.³⁸ And thereupon there are two difficulties: first, the abnormality of the accusative;³⁹ second, the fact that as subject of *τρέφει* we shall now have to supply a nominative *ἄνθεα* from the accusative *ἄνθεα*, and I cannot think this tolerable.⁴⁰ I have no doubt therefore that a participle is impossible, and that what Bacchylides wrote was *ἀνθρώποις*.

The main purpose of the sentence is to characterize Nemean victories as distinguished. Then *παύροις βροτῶν*, in apposition to *ἀνθρώποις*, adds the new point that there are only a few who achieve this distinction; in delivery there will be a pause before the new point, and a comma therefore should be printed after *τρέφει*.⁴¹

67–76. I have found no satisfactory restoration of the sentence as a whole; but I have things to say about some of the details.

³⁸ So (reading *ἀν[δεθε]ῖν*) Jebb and, apparently, Wilamowitz; see below, n. 40.

³⁹ To account for it one would have to say, I suppose, that after a participle in the dative plural the poet felt an accusative more intelligible than another dative plural; and that he might have been encouraged by the analogy of double accusatives after verbs of dressing. One could not adduce the accusative of 91–3 *στεφανωσάμεναι φοινικέων | ἀνθέων δόνακος τ’ ἐπιχωρίαν ἄθυρσι*, for *ἄθυρσι* is internal accusative: they do not garland themselves *with* an *ἄθυρσι*, their garlanding themselves *is* an *ἄθυρσις* making use (as is the local custom) of purple flowers and reeds.

⁴⁰ Jebb and Wilamowitz, both reading *ἀν[δεθε]ῖν*, have otherwise the same text as mine except for the first two syllables of 58. Jebb (p. 484), ignoring Housman’s ‘*ἄνθεα* is the subject’, assumes without question the construction ‘for men who have been crowned with the flowers of victory’, says ‘there is no evident subject for *τρέφει*’, is unwilling ‘to supply the nom. *ἄνθεα* from the accus.’, and so reads *ὄς νῦν* at the beginning of 58. Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, 173, n. 1), reading *ἐκ τοῦ* (or *ἐνθεν*) at the beginning of 58, says ‘die Konstruktion hat Jebb nicht richtig gefasst’ and then renders ‘denen, welchen die Blumen am Zeusaltar in den Haarschopf gesteckt sind, nähren sie für ihr ganzes Leben den goldenen Ruhm; aber deren sind immer nur wenige’; that is, presumably, he construes *ἄνθεα* after *ἀνδεθειῖν* and then supplies *ἄνθεα* again as subject. Both were right in assuming that if one read a participle *ἄνθεα* would have to construe after it. Faced then with the alternatives of finding another subject than *ἄνθεα* or supplying *ἄνθεα* as subject from the accusative, one chose one and the other the other; but both alternatives are impossible, and the only solution is to abandon the participle which alone entails them.

⁴¹ This is not a consequence of supplying *ἀν[θρώπο]ις*: the same apposition, and the same pause, would be there even with a participle. I add that the presence of *βροτῶν* in an apposition to *ἀνθρώποις* seems to me to raise no difficulty when *ἀνθρώποις* and the apposition are separated by seventeen syllables and a pause.

70. $\alpha\nu\theta\epsilon[\omega\nu$ is represented only by part of the cap of ϵ ; but space, sense, and metre leave no possible doubt.

72. Of ϵ , a minute speck of ink (not previously reported) in place for the tip of the cross-stroke.

73–4. I have no doubt that A and B (see Figure 10) are to be identified as ω : two vestiges (0.5 and 0.8 mm., with 1.0 mm. between) from the underside of a stroke, with a light upward curve at the outer ends that excludes ζ or ξ ; not two letters, since each vestige has the sharp continuous edge of the side of a stroke, and the space between them is not enough for them to belong to two separate horizontals.

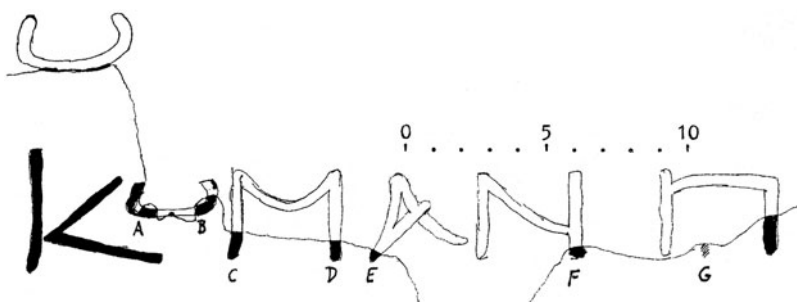


Figure 10

In 74 there can be no doubt that Bacchylides wrote $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omega\nu \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\alpha\nu$; there can equally be no doubt that this was not written in the papyrus (at any rate by the first hand; what correction there may have been we cannot tell). Certainly $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\nu$ (an easy error for $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omega\nu$ with $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\alpha\nu$ following): the traces CDEF are spaced correctly for $\mu\alpha\nu$, and E has the slope appropriate to α . Between ν and π a rather wide space (of c. 2.8 mm.), but such spaces do occur now and then between words⁴² (at * in e.g. 3. 91 $\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota^* \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$, 10. 11 $\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu^* \mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$, and in this very column 47 $\omega\mu\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota^* \lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\iota$; all at least as wide as ours, and the last actually 3.6 mm.); under π a rather blurred mark (G) which is much too far to the right for the left leg of π , and whatever it is (it may not be ink at all) is clearly not part of the writing. At the end, no room for $\pi\alpha\tau\rho[\omega\iota\alpha]\nu$ but only for $\pi\alpha\tau\rho[\omega\alpha]\nu$: the same error 90 $\theta\rho\omega\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma'$, 166 $\theta\nu\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

If $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omega\nu$, there can hardly be doubt that in 73 $\epsilon[\omega\nu$ is the end of an adjective qualifying it. We have $\epsilon[\alpha \dots]\omega\nu$, where $\epsilon[$ is the top 0.6 mm. of

⁴² Doubtless they are inadvertent: I suppose they happen when the copyist pauses to look back to his exemplar (which he will do most naturally at the end of a word).

an initial upright joined on the right by ink which belongs not to the cap of ϵ or ς but to the loop of β or ρ : on the edge of the papyrus, a vestige of the inner edge of the lower part of the loop. Clearly $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron$ - would be in place: $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ of a victor's $\kappa\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ Pi. I. 1. 50, of his $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ I. 8. 66; a victor's $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$ P. 8. 89. But Blass's $\acute{\alpha}\beta[\rho\omicron\pi\nu]\omicron\omega\nu$ will never do: no room for $[\rho\omicron\pi\nu]$, which would not need only the lacuna but the space of the following \omicron as well; and $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\nu$ $\omicron\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota$ is incredible.⁴³ What is in question is of course the vocal utterance of the $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota$, their song (Pi. P. 8. 70 $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota$. . . $\acute{\alpha}\delta\nu\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$, N. 3. 5 $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$. . . $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\nu$); that is, $\acute{\alpha}\beta[\rho\omicron\theta\rho]\omicron\omega\nu$, in which the $[\rho\omicron\theta\rho]$ fits the lacuna exactly.

Before] a the papyrus is preserved, over the whole height of the writing, for 1.8 mm. to the left of the toe of a ; the surface appears to have been lost from the area stippled in my drawing, but elsewhere to be intact. This rather wide space does not exclude any of the likeliest final letters: it is equalled or exceeded at * in e.g. 10. 21 $\pi\nu\epsilon\omega\nu^*$ $\alpha\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$, 44 $\kappa\alpha\iota^*$ $\alpha\mu\phi\iota$, 13. 78 $\delta\iota\nu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma^*$ $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\nu^*$; what it does make unlikely is Jebb's θ^* . In the only instance of θ^*a in the papyrus, at 16. 17, the space between θ and a is 0.8 mm.; in mid-word the protruding cross-stroke of θ may actually overlap the a , and the greatest clear space I find is 1.2 mm. at 13. 63.⁴⁴

76. $\pi\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ the papyrus, as accusative:⁴⁵ i.e. $\pi\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$.⁴⁶ Accentuation of course is only interpretation, and we may disregard it at will; nevertheless I suppose this to be right against Jebb's $\pi\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ (in which I like neither the plural nor the genitive). $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ certainly is suitable (*Il.* 20. 411, and I restore $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\alpha\nu$] $\alpha\varsigma$ at Bacch. 10. 20 <above, p. 229>); but so is $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ (9. 31).

⁴³ And the single-value $\pi\nu$ (with the nasal) would be unwelcome: see my remarks on the suggestion $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\iota$ at 227 below.

⁴⁴ The loss of surface in my stippled area deprives me of a further argument: that in θ^*a I should expect the apostrophe both to have been written and (with so much papyrus preserved) to be visible.

⁴⁵ Not the $-\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ reported by Snell, but a $-\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ which the writer will have meant as $-\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$; this $-\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ also 4. 1, 14, 10. 41, 11. 94, 13. 93, 18. 4, 37. The arc of the writer's breve when combined with acute is often very shallow, and sometimes is so flattened that it ceases to be an arc at all and becomes a straight line (3. 46, 5. 22, 70, 13. 57, 19. 1, 2) or indeed becomes convex (19. 3); there are other instances where the curvature is so slight that one sees it only if one looks for it.

⁴⁶ Despite Wackernagel's defence (*Kl. Schr.* 1195–6) I have not followed the grammarians' rule that $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ and $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ when they follow their noun are not subject to anastrophe: when we are told that there is no anastrophe $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$. . . $\sigma\nu\acute{\nu}\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\omega\varsigma\alpha\nu$ and $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha$. . . η $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha$ " $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ " (*Hdn.* i. 480 L; cf. sch. *Il.* 5. 824) I suppose this to be not a foolish explanation of a genuine linguistic phenomenon but a genuine explanation of a foolish orthographic convention (a convention which in any case was not universally accepted: sch. *Il.* loc. cit.).

Col. 31 S. (25 K.): lines 79–114

<I have here suppressed a paragraph in which B. described a tracing he had made showing the relative positions of the fragments of this column more accurately than the published facsimile. The tracing is missing.>

81–2. I am confident that these two cola, the third and the fourth of the strophe, form a single period: in the eight stanzas where their juncture is preserved, (a) the anceps at the end of the third colon is short⁴⁷ except in a proper name at 102, and this apparently conscious affectation of short anceps would be very unlikely in an indifferent syllable at period-end, (b) the two cola are commonly closely linked in sense. The junctures are 48/9 ἐφίησι | χεῖρα, 69/70 πανθαλέων στεφάνοισιν | [ἀνθ]έ[ων], 102/3 εὐειδέος τ' Ἐριβοίας | παιῶν ὑπέρθυμον, 114/15 [πολύπυργο]ν | Ἰλίου θαητὸν ἄστν, 135/6 μίμνο[ντ'] ἐν κλιδαίαισιν | εἴνεκ[ε]ν ξανθᾶς γυναικός, 147/8 Λυκίων τε | Λοξίας ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, 180/1 κατὰ γᾶν [τε] | καὶ πολύπλαγκτον θ[άλασσαν, 200/1 αἰνείτω σοφὸν ἄνδρα | σὺν δίκαι: only at 135/6 and 200/1 is a pause in delivery even possible, and even there it is in no way necessary and could only be slight.

In view of this situation in the other stanzas, I suppose (a) that the final syllable of 81 is very probably short, (b) that it is likely on the whole to be followed by no pause at all or by only the slightest of pauses.

The two supplements needed are at the end of 81 (a dative plural to complete ἐν πάντεσσιν [υ—υ]) and at the end of 82.

In 81, Kenyon suggested [ἀέθλοισι and Blass [ἀγῶσι; and a word meaning 'games' is evidently suitable.⁴⁸ I find ἀγῶσι the better word ('games' in the sense of 'games-meetings': Olympia, Pythia, Nemeia, Isthmia, and so on; ἀέθλοισι rather of athletic events: running, boxing, wrestling, and so on); and my desire for a short final syllable will be met with ἀγῶσι shorn of its final ν to become ἀγῶσι.

My desire for no pause at the end of 81 will be met if we put a comma after τιμάν and construe ἐν πάντεσσιν [ἀγῶσι in the participial clause. I see no

⁴⁷ At 48 I assume the papyrus to be right with ἐφίησι (as against ἐφίησιν), but my assumption is a matter of faith rather than reason, for the papyrus is not to be trusted over paragogic ν at colon-end (always written if the colon is blunt or if the next colon begins with a vowel; if the colon is pendant and the next colon begins with a consonant, it is written or omitted quite haphazardly, and omitted wrongly at 5. 115, 11. 43). At 114 [πολύπυργο]ν is not of course a certain supplement; but the word is in any case an epithet of ἄστν, and its final syllable therefore is almost bound to be short.

⁴⁸ Blass proposed ἀγῶσι 'um die Schlachten wie die von Salamis einbeziehen zu können' (*Rh. Mus.* 53 [1898], 295 with 285–6); I do not believe this for a moment. Certainly not Salamis, which has not yet been fought (it is spoken of as recent in *Pi. I.* 5. 48–50, for another of Lampon's sons and demonstrably at least three years later than our ode); but whatever battles one supposes, who in this athletic context would understand ἀγῶσι to mean anything but 'games'? Yet wrong reasons for a proposal do nothing to invalidate the proposal itself, if there are other genuine arguments in its favour; and so here.

objection to this and indeed some advantage: the *τιμά* first unqualified, *τιμά* in all respects and of every kind; then in the participial clause the poet selects the agonistic eminence with which he is immediately concerned.

The *πυρός*, the beacon that is seen afar, is an image for glory or for the things that spread it: Pindar kindles a *πυρός ἕννων* for his victor (*I.* 4. 43); the *κλέος* of the Olympic games *τηλόθεν δέδορκε* (*O.* 1. 94); the garlands won by Hieron are *τηλαυγείς* (*P.* 2. 6); the glory of the Aiakidai is a *τηλαυγές φέγγος* (*N.* 3. 64). What Zeus *φαίνει* like a *πυρός* is therefore ‘glory’ or the like; and if we supplied the object of *φαίνων* at the end of 82 it would not be Kenyon’s *ἀλκάν*. But with *τιμάν* already in the sentence we have no need for a further ‘glory’ in 82, and indeed could not endure it: the object of *φαίνων* is *τιμάν* itself, and at the end of 82 we need something adverbial or quasi-adverbial to qualify the ‘making it shine’. Blass’s *τῆλε* adds nothing to the *πυρός*, and I find it feeble;⁴⁹ Jebb’s *πανταί* is much better in itself, but hardly in the same clause as *πάντεσσιν* five words before.

To either of these I prefer *αἰεῖ*; to *αἰεῖ* I should myself prefer *λαμπράν*,⁵⁰ but with average writing *λαμπράν* would be slightly too long for the lacuna, and it may well be that Bacchylides would have preferred the simpler *αἰεῖ*.⁵¹

83. *τό γε σὸν [κλέος αἰ]νεῖ* Kenyon, Snell; far too short. At the end, *αἰ]νεῖ* (unquestioned, apparently, since the *editio princeps*) is an unlikely word in itself, and should evidently be *ὑμ]νεῖ*. But even with *ὑμ]νεῖ* there is too much space for *κλέος*; and I find no suitable disyllabic neuter of the right length but *κράτος* (*σθένος* is of the right length, but hardly suitable). The preceding sentence, given *ἀγῶσι* in 81, has been concerned with the athletic victories of the men of Aigina that give distinction to their country and (what is here indistinguishable from the country) its eponymous heroine. The new sentence of 84, added in asyndeton, ought to be enlarging on the same theme; it will not be inappropriate therefore that the girls should sing of Aigina’s *κράτος*.

⁴⁹ Metrically also it offends my ear; and I observe that of the five instances in Bacchylides of a disyllable ending in a short open vowel at a pendant period-end, four certainly and probably the fifth cohere closely with the preceding word: 5. 117 *ἐνποίητον ἄρμα*, 11. 12 *θεότιμον ἄστυ*, 13. 68 *Λάμπωνος νιέ*, 115 *θαητὸν ἄστυ*, 3. 43 *ἦν ἄστυ*. This may of course be fortuitous. But my suggestion is not fanciful: I have observed (and intend to publish my findings in detail <above, chapter 8>) that in Pindar short open syllables at period-end are rare, and in dactylo-epitrites very rare indeed, in endings other than . . . -ῡ-ᾶ̄||; Bacchylides behaves differently, and admits them not infrequently in . . . -ῡ-ᾶ̄||, but it would be perfectly possible that he should subject their use to certain restrictions.

⁵⁰ Not *λαμπρόν*, which I see was suggested by E. Piccolomini in 1898 (*Rendic. R. Accad. Linc.* 7. 165; it is at least metrical, which is more than one can say of all his suggestions).

⁵¹ I can just accommodate *λαμπραν* by using exemplars which are compact without being crowded (*ελλασι* 10. 20, *λαμπ* 13. 226, *ραν* 13. 85); it would involve no actual anomaly, but for all that I think it rather unlikely that it was written.

84–5. The papyrus has (as corrected) *καιτικυφανχησκο*[.....]ρᾶν: the two cola run together on to a single line and with a good part of the second colon omitted: eight syllables to be supplied, and room for no more than eight average letters in the lacuna. The omission will have come within the lacuna, and not at the end of 85: the lacuna is too wide for *κο*[ρα |]ραν <υ—υ—> and too narrow for *κο*[ρα | ——υ]ραν <υ—>.

86. ζ[: ink from the bottom angle; its shape would be consistent also with the first foot of ν, but its position (its lowest point 1.3 mm. above the foot of ε) is consistent only with ζ.

87. The grave accent on the ε of *απενθης* is by correction from an acute.

88. *φου*]ικέων: of ι, the extreme top (c. 0.1 mm.); then three vestiges in the right positions (in relation both to one another and to the adjacent letters) for κ, viz. the top 0.3 mm. of the upright, the extreme 0.3 mm. of the arm (the trace suggesting a slanting stroke), and the extreme 0.2 mm. of the leg.

94. Evidently τ[εόν with a neuter noun in -ο]ς; and for the noun the context points the way. The poet is here beginning the praise of Aigina's descendants, and will forthwith give the names and relationships of all the persons (save Zeus and Aigina) whom I list below:

Zeus = Aigina
|
Aiakos = Endais
|
Telamon = Eriboia
|
Peleus
|
Achilles

With Aigina's descendants thus in view he will begin in a way which indicates that they are her descendants; therefore τ[εόν λέχο]ς, the union with Zeus from which all of them are sprung. I say 'indicates': the indication is by implication and not by statement; but no more than implication is needed—the audience in Aigina has known from childhood that it was Aiakos who was conceived in Aigina's bed.

λέχο]ς appears never so far to have been proposed, though two other proposals do seek to indicate Aigina's maternity:⁵² τέκο]ς 'your child', Housman;⁵³ γένο]ς 'your issue' (in all generations), Edmonds. I have no

⁵² Others, less percipient, ignore the context altogether: κράτο]ς Blass (in any case too long), κλέο]ς Jebb.

⁵³ His first suggestion, made in ignorance of the]ς (which Kenyon did not report), was τ[εόν γάμον] with an alternative of τ[εόν γόνον] (CR 12 [1898], 72–3 = *Classical Papers* 450; γόνον also

doubt that λέχος is to be preferred:⁵⁴ it alone takes us back to the beginning of it all, and alone alludes to Zeus as ancestor of the Aiakidai (an ancestry that was matter evidently for local pride).⁵⁵ And the alternatives suffer each from a further disadvantage: τέκος, that it anticipates what is surely the first mention of Aiakos in 99; γένος, that it might as readily (and I think more readily) mean ‘your ancestry’ (*Od.* 19. 162).

97–8. These two lines, naming Peleus and Telamon as sons of Endais and Aiakos, are each divided between the upper and lower fragments of the column. On the papyrus as mounted, and similarly on the facsimile, the lower fragment is set 3.1 mm. too far to the right in relation to the upper;⁵⁶ lacunae between letters contained in different fragments are consequently wider or narrower, by 3.1 mm., than they there appear. My Figure 11 shows the remains of the two lines with the fragments properly adjusted.

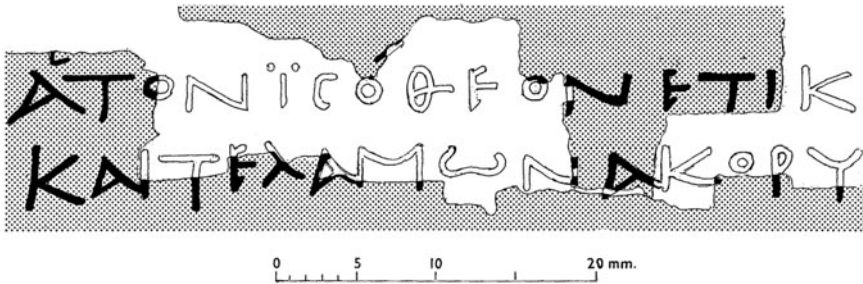


Figure 11

Thomas, *ib.* 79). When he became aware of the]c he might have been expected to change to τ[εὸν λέχο]c with an alternative of τ[εὸν τέκο]c; instead he proposed only τ[εὸν τέκο]c (*ib.* 140 = 464).

⁵⁴ Space is no criterion: any of the three would fit.

⁵⁵ Once again, an allusion will do: no need in Aigina to name the partner of her bed. Though normally the poets are more explicit: so, in other odes for men of Aigina, 9. 55 *Αἴγιαν*, *μεγ[ίστου]* | [*Ζην*]ός [*ἄ*]πλαθεῖσα λέχει τέκεν ἦρω κτλ., *Pi. N.* 5. 7–8 (only Zeus), 7. 86 *λέγοντι γάρ Αἰακόν νῦ* (sc. Zeus) *ὑπὸ ματροδόκου γοναῖς φυτεύσαι*, 8. 6 the *Διὸς Αἰγίνας τε λέκτρον* from which Aiakos was born, *I. 8.* 21–2 (the subject is Zeus) *εὐ δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν ἐνεγκὼν κοιμᾶτο, δῖον ἔθθα τέκεε* | *Αἰακόν, Ραί.* 6. 134 ff. (including 140 *λεχέων ἐπ' ἀμβρότων*).

⁵⁶ The alignment of the margin, and the space needed for the necessary μ[ω]ν in 98, indicate a displacement of c. 3 mm. Allow for this, and a speck of ink on the lower fragment comes into position for the toe of the α of]να[in the upper fragment; from this the displacement can be measured as an exact 3.1 mm.

Since the papyrus is mounted on a backing of cardboard, it is impossible to verify the matching of the vertical fibres on the verso; but such indications of these fibres as appear on the recto are consistent with my placing.

In the preceding column, which is divided between the same two fragments, I estimate the displacement as c. 1.8 mm. The two figures are not incompatible: the lower fragment is in bad condition between the columns, and may easily have stretched.

97. ἀτο[...][...].νετι[ο[, no alternative but the unmetrical ω;]], a speck from the top of a letter with an acute accent above;] (on damaged surface obscured by dark incrustation), what appears to be ink consistent with an upper arc, easily ο, possibly ν (right arm) or ε, certainly no other vowel.

No doubt about ετι[κτε(ν) Πηλέα (Jebb, with -εν, but presumably rather -ε);⁵⁷ before it an epithet, evidently with τό[ν. This epithet will scan --- or --, will begin with a vowel, and will have a long vowel in its final syllable; and it will have to be fitted into . .][. .], ν, in which the accent (given the long vowel in the final syllable) will be on the second syllable. I find one word (and am confident that there is no other) that fits the metre and space and traces:⁵⁸ ἰς[ό[θε]ον. The contraction of final -εον is not uncommon in Bacchylides: seven instances (including ἰσόθεον itself at 156 below); contraction of θεο- also at 5. 30 θεός and in θεο- compounds at 10. 41, 11. 12, 11. 60 (and perhaps 8. 28).⁵⁹

The adjective is a conventional epic one, applied in Homer (always in the formula ἰσόθεος φώς) to men of great distinction (Priam, Menelaos, Aias, Patroklos) and of no great distinction (Ereuthalion, Sokos). But it may be thought especially appropriate here to Peleus (who is ἀντίθεος in Pindar, fr. 172. 2): Peleus who married Thetis and had the gods attend his wedding;

⁵⁷ The choice is not between short and long anceps as such, but between short and long anceps as the last syllable of a word in this position. For . . . 'X'-υ- in Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrites I give the following figures in *Hermes* 84 (1956), 251-3 <below, chapter 14> (excluding dimeters, which are a special case and do not affect the issue): long ancipitia 127, word-end 9 (= 1 in 14); short ancipitia 27, word-end 6 (= 1 in 4.5). Given word-end in this position we may admit long anceps as readily as short if the sense requires it; if nothing is at issue but metre, the greater relative frequency of word-end after short anceps may suggest that we opt for short. It may also be argued that Bacchylides would not use paragoric ν to lengthen an anceps that might just as well be short: he uses it (in other positions) to lengthen ancipitia at 1. 153, 5. 115, 11. 43, fr. 4. 41, but all of them need to be long (in 5. 115 and 11. 43 the papyrus omits the ν, but at colon-end: see above, n. 47).

Two of the five lines in responsion with this have word-end in the same position: in 64 the anceps is long, in 156 it is short.

⁵⁸ The speck from the first ο (beneath the accent), measuring 0.2 × 0.15 mm. (about half the width of a stroke), has its edges preserved at the top and right, and they form a fairly sharp angle. This is perfectly possible in ο: the join of the circle comes at the top, and it is common enough for the two ends not to meet or to meet irregularly; what we have is presumably part of the end of the left-hand stroke, either not meeting the other or overriding it.

⁵⁹ Since]νν is perhaps not impossible as a reading, I had better say that ἰσόθεον would be a very unlikely spelling: although contracted -εο- is occasionally spelt -εν- in papyri of Bacchylides, this -εν- is not only less common (except in verbal endings) but is never found in second-declension -εοc and -εον. Figures for εο: εν are these: verbal ending, 2:5; third-declension genitives, 4:2; compounds, 3:1; second-declension -εοc and -εον, 7:0 (I disregard 3. 7, where the spelling is unknown, and include 5. 53 -ειον and 13. 156 -εων as corruptions of -εον and not of -ενν). The spelling -ενc or -ενν for second-declension -εοc or -εον is very rare in texts of any author; I find only Kall. *Hy.* 6. 57 ἄθεός, fr. 731 τῆν θεόν, Herodas 4. 62 and 65 ἀργύρενν, Leon. *AP* 6. 211. 2 (Gow-Page, *HE* 1960) πορφυρενν (but ἀργυροῦν in the line before).

Peleus to whom (*Il.* 24. 534) θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα | ἐκ γενετῆς· πάντας γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο | ὄλβωι τε πλούτῳι τε.⁶⁰

98. καίτελα.[.].α[.].[: no doubt about καὶ Τελαμ[ῶ]να; after that, evidently, an epithet. The traces are two tails of letters; configuration and spacing suit]ρυ[, and the space before them is right for [κο]. That is, [κο]ρϋ[σταν],⁶¹ proposed by Jebb in ignorance of the traces; the [κρα]τ[α]ι[όν] printed by Maehler fits neither traces nor space, and is out of the question.

99. At the end, εϋ[by correction from εἰ[. Of course εὐ[νᾶι (Sitzler), not εὐ[ναῖς (Jebb): the singular after the pattern of epic μίγη φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῆ; I add (following Maehler, *Akad.*) <= M.'s *Bacchylides: Lieder und Fragmente*, published by the Akademie-Verlag in Berlin> that the misreading of ευναι as the word εἶναι is likelier than the misreading of ευναις as the letters ευναις.

100. υἱεασερσιμάχ[the papyrus. At the end, not -μάχ[ους (Kenyon, and editors generally) but -μάχ[ας (Wilamowitz):⁶² cf. 5. 105 ἀναιδομάχαν, 16. 28 ἀταρβομάχας nom., *Pi.* O. 7. 15 εὐθυμάχαν, 12. 14 ἐνδομάχας nom., *P.* 2. 65 πεζομάχαις, *N.* 4. 30 ἀπειρομάχας nom.; from -μαχος the only masculine I find in Bacchylides and Pindar (apart from ἄμαχος, πρόμαχος, σύμμαχος, πύγμαχος) is *Pi.* P. 10. 3 ἀριστομάχου . . . Ἡρακλέος (otherwise -μαχος is feminine or neuter, *B.* 15. 3 Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχου, *Pi.* P. 9. 86 κρατησίμαχον *σθένος*). At the beginning, υἱας (Wilamowitz,⁶³ the more normal form⁶⁴) may be restored at once if the metre requires it, as it does with ἄεργι-:⁶⁵ the papyrus is apt on occasion to introduce poetical dialect-forms against the metre (I give instances on 135 below).

But the main problem is ἀεργι-; from which I can extract no suitable sense, and which I therefore suppose is corrupt. People render ἀερσιμάχ(ας) by 'rousing the fight' or the like,⁶⁶ as though μάχην ἀείρειν or ἀείρεσθαι could mean 'rouse the fight'; but it could not. To μάχην ἀείρειν I can attach no

⁶⁰ And cf. e.g. *Hes. fr.* 211. 7 τρίς μάκαρ Αἰακίδῃ καὶ τετράκις, ὄλβιε Πηλεῦ (with what follows), *Pi.* P. 3. 88–9 (of Peleus and Kadmos) λέγονται μὲν βροτῶν | ὄλβον ὑπέρατον οἱ σχεῖν.

⁶¹ Not κ[ο]ρ: a darkness on the corner of the papyrus seems to first sight to suit the tip of the leg of κ, but under magnification it can be seen not to be ink at all.

⁶² *GGA* 160 (1898), 133: τῶν υἱ[α]ς ἀερσιμάχας, printed thus (negligently, with the brackets wrong) and with no comment.

⁶³ *Loc. cit.*; also Christ, *Sitz.-Ber. Bayr. Akad.* 1898, 50. They will have thought of it independently, but Wilamowitz seems to have been the first in print: the offprints (now in my possession) which they sent to Kenyon are inscribed by him as received in February (Wilamowitz) and March (Christ).

⁶⁴ Early epic has 36 υἱας to 11 υἱέας.

⁶⁵ ἄεργι- five times in early epic; contraction only *h. Aphr.* 211 ἄργι-. I can see no reason why Bacchylides should have preferred a doubly unusual υἱέας ἀεργι- to a doubly normal υἱās ἄεργι-.

⁶⁶ So LSJ; similarly Jebb 'kindlers of battle', Passow–Crönert 'kampfbeginnend', Maehler 'schlachterregend'.

meaning.⁶⁷ Το μάχην αείρεσθαι I can attach a meaning, but not the meaning that is supposed. αείρεσθαι (αἴρεσθαι) is properly to pick something up so as to carry it (e.g. *Il.* 6. 293, *Ar. Frogs* 525); it is then used with an activity or the like as object, as ‘take upon oneself’ or ‘undertake’, and indicates that the subject commits himself to the activity (and may imply, where this is relevant, that he can be held responsible for what is done).⁶⁸ So especially when the activity is burdensome or troublesome: *E. Hek.* 105 ἀγγελίας βάρος ἀραμένη (cf. *Or.* 3 *κυμφορᾶς ἄχθος*), *Isok. Ep.* 1. 3 οὕτως ἐμβριθὲς αἴρομαι πρᾶγμα (cf. *Pl. Rep.* 274e); also *πόνους* (*E. Ion* 199), and commonly *κίνδυνον* (at least six times, Euripides to Demosthenes).⁶⁹ The commonest object is *πόλεμον* (from Aeschylus onwards), and here similarly the word indicates not the mere inception of hostilities but the subject’s commitment to them, often in contexts which imply that they will be difficult or burdensome.⁷⁰ (Similarly with *νεῖκος*, *δυσμένειαν*, *ἔχθραν*: commit oneself to.⁷¹) *μάχην αείρεσθαι* therefore

⁶⁷ At *E. El.* 2 ὄθεν ποτ’ ἄρα ναυὶ χιλίας ἄρη the αἴρειν is the ‘lead forth an expedition’ of αἴρειν στόλον (*A. Pers.* 795, *Ag.* 46, *E. Hek.* 1141; cf. τὰς ναῦς αἴρειν and elliptical αἴρειν ‘put to sea’, ‘set forth’). *Ar. Birds* 1188 πόλεμος αἴρεται, πόλεμος οὐ φατός, πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ θεοὺς presupposes no πόλεμον αἴρειν of a contestant, for the two contestants, birds (ἐμὲ) and gods, are precluded from being the agent; simply therefore αἴρεσθαι ‘rise’ (what metaphor? Winds can αἴρεσθαι, ‘get up’, *E. El.* 749, *Plut. Ant.* 65. 7; so can waves, dust, smoke; I do not know whether it may be relevant that the action of the play is high up in *Νεφέλοκοκκυγία*).

⁶⁸ Not well dealt with by LSJ αείρω IV. 4, 5, and Passow–Crönert αείρω B. 1, 2. Passow–Crönert give more instances, but some are intrusive (not from αείρομαι but from ἄρνημαι; even if Sophocles confused the words, lexicographers should not).

⁶⁹ At *E. Med.* 852 φόνον οἶον αἴρη the murder will weigh heavy on her; at *A. Pers.* 481 αἴρονται φυγῆν the Persian ships are committing themselves to an unwelcome course. At [E.] *Rh.* 54 αἴρεσθαι φυγῆν, 126 αἴρωνται φυγῆν, no more than ‘take to flight’ would be possible (Hektor is concerned with rumoured evacuation solely from his own point of view and not the Greeks’); but φυγῆν each time is only Stephanus’ conjecture for the φυγή of the manuscripts, and αἴρεσθαι φυγῆ is a perfectly proper ‘put to sea in flight’ that calls for no change (the passive as *A. Su.* 2, *Hdt.* 1. 165. 5, 170. 2).

I add that *συναίρεσθαι* (τι or τινος), to take a share of a burden = take part jointly in an undertaking, is normally used with the same kind of object as αἴρεσθαι; but at *A. Pr.* 650 *συναίρεσθαι Κύπριν* the notion of joint participation has taken control, and the object is of a kind (a pleasurable activity) that I cannot parallel with the simple verb.

⁷⁰ I cite the instances I have found. The implication of difficulty etc. is specially clear in instances marked * (and of responsibility in those marked †): *A. Su.* 342* *βαρέα κύ γ’ εἶπας, πόλεμον αἴρεσθαι νέον*, 439*, 950, *E. fr.* 50*, *Ar. Ach.* 913, *Pl. Com. fr.* 107 <= 115 K.–A.>, *Hdt.* 6. 14. 2, 7. 156. 2†, 8. 140. 3 (ἀντ-), *Th.* 1. 80. 3*, 82. 6, 118. 2, 125. 2, 3. 39. 3†, 4. 60. 2, 6. 9. 1, *D.* 5. 5*, 14. 3, *X. Mem.* 4. 14. 14, *Kyr.* 1. 6. 45*.

⁷¹ LSJ IV. 4 say ‘raise, stir up, νεῖκος αειράμενος *Thgn.* 90, cf. *E. Heracl.* 986, 991’; nothing of the kind. Theognis rebukes a seeming friend whom he suspects of insincerity: ἦ με φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἦ μ’ ἀποειπὼν | ἔχθαιρ’ ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος αειράμενος, ‘committing yourself openly to hostility’ (cf. *Th.* 1. 125. 2 πρὶν ἐξβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερώς, ‘committed themselves openly to’ the war they were planning); Eurystheus says ἐγὼ δὲ νεῖκος οὐχ ἐκὼν τόδ’ ἠράμην, it was Hera who constrained me to undertake this feud (and then *δυσμένειαν ἠράμην*, assumed this hostility towards him). So *D.* 21. 132 ἔχθραν τηλικαύτην, committed yourself to such violent hostility towards the Athenians.

should be ‘take up the task of fighting’, ‘commit oneself to fighting’; and an *ἀερισμάχας* based upon this seems to me impossibly unenthusiastic as an epithet of the two greatest warriors among the Greeks at Troy.⁷²

I can think of three compounds that would give more acceptable sense at the cost of no great change: (with *υῖέας*) *ὄρσι-*; (with *υῖας*) *ἐγερσι-* and *ἀ<δ>εῖσι-*.⁷³ All are close enough to the papyrus reading for ease of corruption to be no criterion,⁷⁴ and we need consider only their sense; and this I believe to point to *ἀδεισι-*, which is matched (both of Herakles) by 16. 28 *ἀταρβομάχας* and 5. 155 *ἀδεισιβόας* (also 11. 61). In the others, *μάχην ἐγείρειν* and *ὀρνύναι* are both possible enough; but the verbs are used (with *μάχην, φύλοπιν, ἄρρα, πόλεμος, νεῖκος*) of rousing the fighting as a whole, by gods, by commanders exhorting others, or by the fighters collectively, and to individual fighters therefore I suppose their derivatives to be much less suitable than *ἀδεισιβόας*.⁷⁵

108. *Incendere* rather than *urere*; therefore *πρήσαι* rather than *καῶσαι* (Blass; better *κῆαι*⁷⁶) or *καίειν* (Kenyon). With *πυρί*, hardly *πέρθειν* (Page).⁷⁷

⁷² I find one instance of *μάχην αἶρεσθαι*, Ar. *Ach.* 913: the Theban has birds for sale in Athens, and the informer denounces them as contraband, *φαίνω πολέμια ταῦτα*; to which the Theban, *τί δὲ κακὸν παθῶν | ὀρναπετίοισι πόλεμον ἦρα* (= Att. *ἦρω*) *καὶ μάχαν*; here *πόλεμον ἦρα* is of itself perfectly normal; but the notion of war with birds (dead ones) is an oddity of comedy; *μάχαν* is then added to increase the comic effect (the notion of fighting with them is even odder). Clearly the passage is no evidence for a normal *μάχην αἶρεσθαι*.

This is not the same as ‘begin the fight’, but it does of course in some sort approximate to it. It will be well therefore if I say (since English ‘begin the fight’ is ambiguous) that it approximates to it not in the sense of *ἄρχειν τῆς μάχης*, to initiate the fighting, but of *ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης*, to engage in the fighting for the first time. It may be praise of a warrior to say that he *ἄρχει τῆς μάχης*; it is not praise to say that he *ἄρχεται τῆς μάχης*.

⁷³ *ὄρσιμαχος* is in Buck–Petersen’s *Reverse Index* with a reference to this passage; I have not identified its author. *ἐγερσι-* I have not seen proposed. *ἀδεισι-* is Housman’s (*CR* 12 [1898], 140 = *Classical Papers*, 464), ‘perhaps *υῖέ ἀδεισιμάχῳ* (or *-α*)’; all that matters in this is the *ἀδεισι-* (the dual will be no more than a misguided attempt to account for the *ε* of *υῖέας*, and belongs to oblivion).

⁷⁴ It matters little that *ὄρσι-* keeps *υῖέας* and the others need *υῖ{ε}ας*. For the rest, I incline to think corruption of *ἀδεισι-* to be the easiest; but the margin is too slight and too uncertain for me to base argument on my inclination.

⁷⁵ Instances (* = *ὀρνύναι*, others *ἐγείρειν*): gods, *Il.* 4. 15*, 17. 544, 20. 31, and Athena is *ἐγρεκίδουμος* (Hes., *Lamprokles*), *ἐγρεμάχη* (*h. Dem.* 424 etc.; see Richardson ad loc.), *ἐγερσιμάχα* (Nikias), *ὄρσιμαχος** (*B.* 15. 3); commanders, *Il.* 2. 440, 5. 496 = 6. 105 = 11. 213, 9. 353*, 13. 778, and presumably Theseus *ἐγρεμάχας* at *S. OK* 1054; fighters collectively, *Il.* 4. 352, 8. 531 = 18. 304, 17. 261, 19. 237. Of an individual fighter I find nothing before Antip. Sid. *AP* 7. 424. 4 (= Gow–Page, *HE* 373), *ἐγερσιμάχας* of a fighting-cock.

⁷⁶ Blass himself, in proposing *καῶσαι*, added ‘oder *κῆαι*?’ (*Rh. Mus.* 53 [1898], 297); he supposed the *η* of epic *κῆαι* to be secondary, but it seems more likely to be original (Frisk, *Gr. etym. Wörterb.* s.v. *καίω*).

⁷⁷ The aorist is the expected tense. Page (*CR* 13 [1963], 109) sought with his present to make a single period of 108/9; but they are shown to be separate periods by the situation at 153/4, where Page’s attempt at conflation is inadmissible (see my note on 152–3).

109. χαλ[κεομίτρα]ν (Kenyon) is much too short; Blass's χαλ[κοκορυστά]ν (nine times in the *Iliad*, in eight of them of Hektor) is exactly right. For χαλκοκορυστάν eleven lines after 98 κορυστάν cf. 5. 28 λεπτότριχα, 37 ξανθότριχα; 11. 58 θεοδμάτους ἀγυιάς, 60 θεοφιλές ... Ἄργος; 11. 97 φοινικοκραδέμνοιο, 105 φοινικότριχας; 13. 182 φερεκυδέα, 190 ἔρικυδέα; 14. 4 βαρύτλατος, 12 βαρυπενθέειν.

111. Blass's original Ἀργείοισι is too short, his later Ἀτρείδαισι of the right length. Neither is strictly accurate, when the μῆνις was in fact directed against Agamemnon alone, but neither inaccuracy is in any way disturbing: the former at *Il.* 1. 423, when Thetis says to the already resentful Achilles μῆνι' Ἀχαιοῖσιν; the latter, coupling the two commanders, might be thought the easier of the two.

112–13. Δαρδανίδα] τ' ἔλυσεν ἄ[τας Housman (the ἄ[τας only *exempli gratia*),⁷⁸ 'freed the Trojans from their ἄτα'; cf. *Od.* 5. 397 ἀσπᾶσιον δ' ἄρα τόν γε θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν, *Pi. P.* 3. 50 λύσας ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων, *I.* 8. 6 ἐκ μεγάλων ... πενθέων λυθέντες. His Δαρδανίδα] is certainly right, and is indeed Δαρδανίδα]ς: a speck of ink (not previously reported) on the edge of the papyrus, in place for the tip of the cap of σ. But ἄ[τας will never do: the ἄτα of the Trojans was the final catastrophe of their city's destruction (Ibyk. *PMGF* S151. 8; of another city *Pi. O.* 10. 37), and from that destruction Achilles' inactivity brought them not release but only reprieve; what it 'released' them from was the need to skulk at home in terror because of their inferiority in the field, and that need, however irksome or distressing, could never conceivably be described as ἄτα. But what it was, or rather what it involved, was ἄλγεια, distress (mental or physical; in this case the mental distress of men who ἀτύζονται); Bacchylides will have written Δαρδανίδα]ς τ' ἔλυσεν ἀ[λγέων.⁷⁹

114. None of the Homeric standing epithets for Troy will fit metre and lacuna. Blass's [πολύπυργο]ν will do provisionally, and may well be right: it

⁷⁸ Jebb and Snell ascribe Δαρδανίδα] and ἄ[τας to Desrousseau. But the history is: 1897, Jebb (in Kenyon) Δαρδανιδᾶν] τ' ἔλυσεν ἀ[λκάν with Aias as subject (fr. 18 K. with μ]άνιν was not yet attached); February 1898, Platt (*CR* 12, 61–2) Δαρδανιδᾶν] τ' ἔλυσεν ἀ[λγος or ἄ[ταν (but he liked neither noun) with Achilles as subject, with the comment 'Professor Housman improves further to Δαρδανιδᾶς τ' ἔλυσεν ἄτας, or whatever the genitive may have been'; later in 1898, Desrousseau (in his translation, preface dated 10 March; not in his review of Kenyon in *Revue Universitaire* of 15 February) Δαρδανιδᾶς] τ' ἔλυσεν ἄ[τας. For Δαρδανίδα], Housman's priority is indisputable; for ἄ[τας he might well have disclaimed responsibility.

⁷⁹ Platt, in proposing Δαρδανιδᾶν] τ' ἔλυσεν ἀ[λγος or ἄ[ταν (see previous n.), said 'neither ἀλγος nor ἄταν seems right'. I agree with him in disliking ἀλγος in the singular, which is hardly appropriate to this protracted and general affliction; the plural (six times as common in Homer as the singular) is another matter. I observe (I am not suggesting an allusion by Bacchylides) that the Trojans are freed from their ἄλγεια by the same wrath ἡ μὲν Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγες ἔθηκε.

is of the right length,⁸⁰ and an adjective indicating the security of Troy is here in point.

πύργοι in poetry are commonly not ‘towers’ so much as city walls, and I find the *πολυ-* therefore unexpected⁸¹ (at *Il.* 7. 71 Troy is *ἐύπυργος*: the strength of the *πύργοι*); but *h. Ap.* 242 *Ἰκαλέην πολύπυργον* may be an adequate answer to my doubts.

Bacchylidean epithets are often not in point, so that a wide field is open, but I have hit on no alternative that I can commend. Of words that would fit the space, I observe that *πολύχρυσος* applies to Troy only in the days before the war (*Il.* 18. 289; cf. 9. 401–3); and that *θεότευκτος*, used by Simmias (*Pelekus* 2) of the *πύργοι* of Troy (the walls built by Apollo or Poseidon), will not so readily suit the *ἄστν*.⁸²

Col 32 S. = 26 K.: lines 115–49

Few problems; all of them at line-end, with lacunae of indeterminable length.

124. *θ[υμόν ἀνέρων* Schwartz (*Hermes* 39 [1904], 637), and *θ[υμόν* is necessary, since the object of *δαΐζει* must be not the men but their faculties; for the genitive I prefer the more explicit ‘sailors’:⁸³ the very involved word order seems to me less awkwardly involved if the hyperbaton *κυνανθείϊ . . . πόντωι* results from the intrusion of a key-word in the simile (which *ναυτίλων* would be and *ἀνέρων* would not). I have put *ναυτίλων*, which has epic precedent in *ναυτιλίη* and *ναυτίλλομαι*; but there are also *ναυβατᾶν* and I suppose *ναυπόρων*, and there might be others. For word end after long anceps at –‘-’-υ-| see above, n. 57: relatively less common in Bacchylides than after short, but entirely legitimate in any ode.

127. The first hand wrote *αντασανυμ[*; the corrector (A³) added the second *α* of *αντασας*, and in *ανυμ[* changed *υ* to *α*, deleted *μ*, and wrote above *μ* what I am pretty sure is *τεξ[* and not *π[* (the stroke running to the right from the top of the second downstroke is not a continuation of the crossbar, but a separate stroke at an appreciably lower level).⁸⁴ *ανατεξ[* can hardly be anything other than *ανατεξ[λλομένας*: I am willing to suppose that Bacchylides could speak of night as rising (Nonnos can, *D.* 33. 225 *νύξ ἀνέτελλε*); in a celestial rising

⁸⁰ Jurenka’s [*θεότιμο*]ν is not: hopelessly short.

⁸¹ *ἐπτάπυργος* of Thebes (Euripides, five times) is on the basis of one tower per gate; and Troy was not *πολύπυλος*.

⁸² The *πόλις* of Troy is *θεόδματος* at 163 below; but so is the *πόλις* of Aigina (12. 11) and the *ἀγνυαί* of Tiryns (11. 58; Cyclopes are not gods). Bacchylides, that is, can use *θεόδματος* loosely with no implication of divine masonry; I doubt whether the same would be true of *θεότευκτος*.

⁸³ Sailors have appeared long since in the accusative (*ναυτίλους* Blass, *ναυβάτας* Herwerden); I am not aware that anyone has yet proposed them in the genitive.

⁸⁴ Shown more clearly on plate iii in Jebb’s edition than in the facsimile.

I suppose the middle of ἀνατέλλω (used by Pindar of a flame, *I.* 4. 65 φλόξ ἀνατελλομένα) to be as possible in poetry as the middle of ἐπιτέλλω.

130. The papyrus has ουρανια with *αν* deleted, *ι* added at the end, and an acute accent (impossible until the correction was made) over *ου*: that is, ουρανια was corrected to a feminine nominative plural adjective οὔριαι qualifying what the corrector must have taken to be a feminine nominative plural noun (evidently πνοαί) at the end.

There can be no doubt that we must read not οὔριαι but οὔρια (Kenyon): we need a subject for στόρεσεν (it is not the βορέας that smooths the sea); and in οὔριαι νότου δὲ κτλ. the position of δέ would be intolerable. This leaves νότου δὲ κόλ[πωσαν πνοαι |] ἴστιον, where πνοαι might be either πνοαί (as the corrector supposed) or πνοαί (Housman⁸⁵). Bacchylides wrote an unaccented ΠΝΟΑΙ, and what the corrector supposed tells us nothing about what Bacchylides intended; for this the only evidence lies in usage and the requirement of the context.

Usage allows either πνοαί or πνοαί: nominative *Luc. VH* 1. 9 ἄνεμος . . . κολπώσας τὴν ὀθόνην (and cf. *Nonn. D.* 15. 223 πέπλον ὄλον κόλπωσεν ἐς ἀέρα κοῦφος ἀήτης), dative *AP* 9. 363. 10⁸⁶ πνοιῆι ἀπημάντωι ζεφύρου λίνα κολπώσαντες <-ντος Hecker>, *Nonn. D.* 4. 228 (Κάδμος) εἰαρινῶι κόλπωσεν ἀχείμονι λαΐφος ἀήτηι; plural e.g. *B.* 5. 28 ζεφύρου πνοιαίσις, singular e.g. *Il.* 5. 697 πνοιῆ βορέαο. The context points firmly to πνοαί. Each δέ-clause should bring a new development in the situation: to begin with, two stages in the change of weather—first the north wind drops, and then the οὔρια smooths the sea; but that the south wind fills the sails is no further stage in the change of weather, for the south wind is only the οὔρια under another name. After στόρεσεν δέ τε πόντον οὔρια, therefore, we are done with the change of weather, and what follows will be what the sailors make of it (as a single development, with their two actions linked by τε):⁸⁷ their sails had been furled while the storm was blowing, but now they spread them to the wind and ride before it to the shore.

135. ἐν κλισίησι the papyrus, with an evident epic reminiscence. The

⁸⁵ Published in May 1898 (*CR* 12, 217 = *Classical Papers*, 464); in April 1898 (ib. 152, under the false heading ‘XVII. 95–99’) Jebb had published πνοιῆ. Evidently they thought of the dative independently, but Housman thought of it in the right dialect and Jebb in the wrong; accuracy matters more than a month’s priority, and I therefore give πνοαί to Housman and not to Jebb.

⁸⁶ A hexameter poem; ascribed to Meleagros in the codex Palatinus, but the ascription has been doubted.

⁸⁷ Snell’s text, ἀρπαλέως <τ> ἄλεπτον, is misleading (though his apparatus is not): the brackets mark τ as a conjectural addition (and hence uncertain against δ’); in fact it is part of the original writing. Originally αρπαλεωταλεπτον, with the *c* of ἀρπαλέως omitted; the corrector then mistakenly converted τ into *c*, giving αρπαλεωσαλεπτον, when he ought instead to have left the τ and added the *c* before it.

editors suppose the reminiscence to be by the poet;⁸⁸ I have no doubt whatever that it is not by the poet but by his copyist, and that we must restore ἐν κλιείαιιν.

The convention of choral lyric is that despite its almost total dependence on epic vocabulary and its ready admission of certain epic inflexions, it eschews the Ionic η of epic and uses only its Doric equivalent: normally \bar{a} , in datives plural $-αιι$ or $-αις$. When in Bacchylides the papyrus offers an occasional exception in the body of a word, I regard it with mistrust but not with incredulity: the ear of an Ionian poet may not have distinguished securely between secondary and original η in his native dialect,⁸⁹ and it is at least not inconceivable that he should have slipped into (perhaps even consciously preferred) an occasional ἀδμήτα or παραπλήγι.⁹⁰ But a casual Ionic η in a case-ending, which the papyrus offers us here and only here (out of about 500 possible places), is a different matter:⁹¹ case-endings fall under a simple and obvious rule, and they account also for nearly two thirds of the potential instances of Doric \bar{a} in Bacchylides; to a casual Ionicism in a case-ending my attitude is one of unqualified disbelief.

It is no good to say, as does Jebb, that ‘the Homeric colouring of the passage sufficiently accounts for it’ (what ‘colouring’, unless he is begging the question? I suppose he means ‘the Homeric subject-matter’). In the two

⁸⁸ Except that Blass had reservations (ed. 1, ‘epica forma incertum num poetae debeatur’) and that H. W. Smyth had rather more than reservations (*Greek Melic Poets* [London 1900], 426, ‘probably a blunder for κλιείαιιν’).

⁸⁹ I have no idea how closely by the 480s secondary η in Keos had approximated to original η . A Keian inscription of the last quarter of the century (*IG* xii. 5. 593 = Schwyzer, *Delectus* 766) still distinguishes secondary η (written *H*) from original (written *E*); but not quite accurately (*H* twice for original η), and inscriptions are often conservative in their orthography.

⁹⁰ By ‘not inconceivable’ I do not mean ‘probable’. And it must be remembered that the papyrus is six centuries later than the poet (as remote from him in time as we are from Chaucer), and that during those centuries the text had undergone both the hazards of transmission and in the middle of those hazards the editorial activities of the Alexandrians: we must not pretend that the papyrus can provide secure evidence for all the detail of the poet’s autograph.

There are 19 of these mid-word Ionic η ’s in our papyrus (against about 200 \bar{a} ’s). That they show some vestiges of consistency (Snell–Maehler, xviii; cf. Jebb, 79–80; notably 5 -ζηλ-, 0 -ζαλ-) may tell in their favour; though if the consistency points to a conscious preference for η in certain words or situations, was the preference the poet’s or the Alexandrians’?

⁹¹ I say ‘a casual Ionic η ’: we have one case (an *enkomion*, in another papyrus) where Bacchylides appears to have affected η throughout a poem, viz. fr. 20A with κ]αθημένη, μούνη, κόρη, Μ]αρπήσεης, ανάγκη (corrected to -αι), κόρη, ἦρ]πασεν, καλλικρηδέμου (though κατ-άρατ[ον, χαλκεομίτραν, κρατερά). I do not know why this should be (and am mystified by the three instances of \bar{a} *purum*, if indeed they are genuine: why Attic, of all dialects?); but whatever the explanation, consistent η (or at least consistent η *impurum*) is no analogy whatever for a single inconsistent η .

(Consistent η perhaps also in fr. 20G? Also fr. 17 and 19, assuming them to be rightly ascribed; but these belong to a different genre.)

triads dealing with Troy (100–65) the text, excluding supplements, would admit 30 instances of Ionic η (18 of them in case-endings), including *αἰχμητήν* and *κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην* and *θῆνα θαλάσσης* and *διηέγτα Κκάμανδρον*, but all, apart from *κλιείησι*, are doricized; what possible effect, other than incongruity, could a poet expect to be produced by a single variation from an otherwise invariable norm?⁹²

⁹² We are told that the appearance of casual Ionic η may be justified by ‘literary associations’ (K. J. Dover, *Theocritus*, xxxv–vi, citing our passage); that the poet ‘sich bewußt eine Stelle aus einem ionisch schreibenden Dichter zum Vorbild genommen hat und diese Anlehnung durch Beibehaltung der Lautform hat deutlich machen wollen’ (B. Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars*, 104). I find this notion incredible; it rests on what I can only describe as a total misconception of the art of early choral lyric. The minds of men like Pindar and Bacchylides were saturated with epic words and phrases, familiar to them not merely from the poems that survive in our day but from the whole mass of early epic that has perished (and from elegy too, and the lyricized epic of Stesichoros, and we know not what other lyric besides); these words and phrases were the common stock of poetic diction, and they used them, as had their predecessors, with no sense of borrowing or imitating or echoing, but as men making a normal and unquestioned use of the traditional idiom of their craft. They gave these words and phrases a Doric dress because to do so was the fixed convention of their genre; they composed, without thinking about it, with Doric and not Ionic vocalism, and what tripped off the epic poet’s tongue as *ἡγαθέη* tripped off the lyric poet’s as *ἀγαθέα*. The supposition that in a tiny haphazard minority of instances they abandoned a vocalism which was second nature to them in order to acknowledge a debt which they never regarded as a debt seems to me to merit no consideration whatsoever. When Bacchylides had need to speak of Achilles inactive in his quarters, epic diction provided him with *ἐν κλιείησι(ν)* (six times in the *Iliad*, and *ἐν κλιείησι(ν)* eight times more); he used it not as a conscious borrowing from the *Iliad* (which in fact never uses it of an inactive Achilles, though it would make no difference if it did) but as a familiar expression that was natural and convenient in his context; and he made it *-αισι* not *-ησι* not by any conscious act of modification but by an instinctive and unthinking use of the natural vocalism of choral lyric. And that was that; or would have been that, if a copyist with the Homeric instances teeming in his subconscious had not inadvertently written *κλιείησι* and thereby started a hare which I fear may continue to outrun the hounds of reason.

This is no place to deal at length with Forssman’s allegations of Ionic η in Pindar; but since I have quoted him above I will cite two of the allegations to show their quality (they are on pp. 113–14 and 118–19). At *O.* 6. 10 *ματέρ’ εὐμήλοιο λ<ε>ἶποντ’ Ἀρκαδίας* the two closely related manuscripts NO offer *Ἀρκαδίης* (and *μητέρ’* as well, but this he does not tell us), the other manuscripts *Ἀρκαδίας*; we are invited to suppose this *Ἀρκαδίης* to be an indication by Pindar that he is here imitating (‘nachahmte’ Forssman) *h. Herm.* 2 = *h. Hom.* 18. 2 *Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου* (plus a Delphic oracle *Τίρυνθος . . . καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου*)—the same Pindar who (to take only proper-name phrases from the same ode) writes *πετραέσσας . . . Πυθῶνος* regardless of *Πυθοὶ ἐνὶ πετρῆεσσι* and *ὑπὸ Κυλλάνας ὄρος* regardless of *ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰτύ*. At *P.* 1. 10 *εὐκάρποιο γαίας μέτωπον* the lemma of the scholion in DGQU has *γαίης* (and D in its text has *γαίη*), all manuscripts but D (and with them the lemma in EF) have *γαίας*; no epic *Vorbild* extant, ‘also bleibt nur die Vermutung, daß Pindar [sc. with *γαίης*] sich ein verlorene Stelle im Epos anlehnte’.

I end this note by adducing one passage in which there lies a moral. In this same context in Bacchylides, at 110–12, the copyist wrote *ὅποτε Πη[λειῶδας] τρα[χ]εῖαν [ἐν στῆθεσσι μ]ῆνιν ὠρεῖ-ατ[ο], and μῆνιν* is the first word of the *Iliad*; yet no one comments on the economy with which a single non-Doric vowel evokes the whole of 16,000 hexameters. No one comments because the corrector noticed the error (he might easily have missed it, as he missed *ὀπ<π>ότε* and *ὠρ{ε}ῖνατο*) and restored Bacchylides’ *μᾶνιν*.

Consider now the evidence for this anomalous *κλισίησιον*: the reading of the papyrus. It is a familiar fact that Greek copyists of every period are apt on occasion to stumble into a wrong dialect form: most often of course an Attic form for a non-Attic, but other instances are by no means uncommon. Our papyrus has epic reminiscences at 1. 170 *νούσων*, 5. 78 *προσέειπεν*, 115 *τούς* (relative), 8. 27 *τελέσσαις*, 16. 11 *τόσσα*: they are all unmetrical, and no one ascribes them to anyone but the copyist.⁹³ Yet when this same papyrus offers an anomalous *κλισίησιον* which (inevitably) is metrical, everyone ascribes it to the poet. If the ascription is to continue, it will be well to make explicit the principle on which it is founded: that a copyist's tendency to stumble into false epicisms is selective, and leads him only into such false epicisms as are also unmetrical. To anyone who can accept this principle I have nothing more to say.

Col. 33. S. (27 K.) = lines 150–84.

The column is broken into two main parts: an upper part, with lines 150–69, and then (after a gap of five lines) a lower part, with lines 175–84. The upper part is made up of a number of fragments of which three were not located until the facsimile was being made; these three appear among the fragments at its end, identified, but with line-numbers less by 33 than those now in current use.

150. *παρα<ί>*: first Housman, *Athenaeum*, 25 December 1897, 887 (saying 'so also Platt').

151. There is a vestige of ink, not previously reported, in place for the first apex of *μ* in *ἐναριζ[ο]μ[έν]ων*.

152–3. The black earth was reddened with blood: both colour terms are conventional ('black earth' *passim*; to *ἐρεῦθειν* the earth with blood *Il.* 11. 394, 18. 329), but I suppose Bacchylides to have opposed them deliberately in a not ineffective contrast.

Page (*CR* 13 [1963], 109), in an attempt to combine 153–4 in a single period, proposed *μελα[ν]θειεῖς*. This does not commend itself as language: blood can be *μέλαν*, and a Greek uses colour words in a way which is other than ours; but would even a Greek have had the same earth both reddened and blackened by the same blood in the same clause? But the word is in any

⁹³ All these, of course, are forms that could perfectly well have been used (metre permitting) by Bacchylides himself. But the copyist will have been influenced by his familiarity with them not in Bacchylides but in epic: it must be remembered that a professional copyist is likely to have spent something like a third of his time copying texts in the epic dialect (of the 1916 literary and sub-literary papyri in Pack², 611 are texts of Homer and about 230 others are texts of other hexameter and elegiac poems in the epic dialect).

case excluded by another consideration: *μελανθειῖς* elided before *Ἐκτορέας* would have been divided between lines, *μελανθειῖς Ἐκτορέας*,⁹⁴ and at the beginning of 154 there is room for no more than *| εκτορ|*.

155–6. ]εγ'ἡμιθέοις[
 ]. ἰσοθέων δι' ὄρμάν.

In 156,] is 0.6 mm. of the right-hand edge of a more or less vertical stroke, slightly below the tops of the letters;⁹⁵ of final consonants (which alone can come into question⁹⁶) it could belong to *ρ* (with a flat-sided loop, easily paralleled) or to *ν* but not to *ς*. Then *ἰσοθεων*, as the original and unaltered reading.⁹⁷ Then *δι ὀρμαν* (between *ι* and *ο* a gap of 7 mm., enough for two average letters) corrected to δ'[[ι]]=*ρμαν* (the gap closed by two roughly horizontal strokes, *ι* struck out, an apostrophe added after *δ*): all very odd, but *δι' ὄρμάν* is not in any doubt.

The lacunae on the left are very small: for 155 –∪], the equivalent of just over four average letters; for 156 ∪–∪], including the] , of just over five. I shall produce a supplement of the right length for 156; in 155 I see no hope at all of making do with the space available, and think it necessary to assume corruption (so that 'too long' in my comment on earlier supplements is an objection only in so far as it applies to 156).⁹⁸

⁹⁴ To the best of my belief the rule is invariable. In our papyrus, 5. 106–7 *καλυδων*, 12. 1–2 *μνοαναεῖς*, 16. 15–16 *φωλθ*, 17. 41–2 *θελοιδμ*; plus about a dozen instances of elided *| τε* and *| δε*.

⁹⁵ On a slight leftward protrusion of the surface, now bent back at right angles and visible only when looked at from the side.

⁹⁶ Not elision (no trace of an apostrophe, which if written should be visible); not correction in the sequence –∪'–.

⁹⁷ Snell says 'ις[]θεων: ο supra v. add. A³?'; in fact, simply *ἰσοθεων*. Between *ς* and *θ* is a damaged area, with the surface mostly gone, but towards its right it contains a clear part of a right arc, and there is no reason to suppose this to be anything other than the remains of *ο* written by the original hand as part of the text; the only anomaly (to which I attach no significance) is that the *ο* will have been rather lower than usual, descending at least as low as the preceding *ς* (though not as low as the following *θ*). I see no trace of superscript writing: well above the left-hand side of the *θ* there is a dot contiguous with the damaged area, and this could be the left-hand side of a stroke; but two similar dots in the neighbourhood are evidently casual (one above it and to the right, under the *μ* of the line above, and the other under the *ε* of *ἰσοθεων*), and if two dots are casual the presumption is that the third is casual too. Other dark markings are not ink but exuded resin.

The facsimile is misleading: a scrap of papyrus with the beginnings of the preserved parts of 155–7 has twisted anticlockwise, pivoting at its top, and has obscured the trace of *ο* and part of *θ*. On the papyrus itself the scrap is now in its proper place.

⁹⁸ The congestion in 156 might be eased by supposing in 155 *ημιθεοις[ι(ν) |* written in error for *ημιθεοις(ι(ν))*, with only ∪ lost at the beginning of 156; the edge of the papyrus is close enough to the *ς* for *ςι* to be physically possible. But I think the supposition very unlikely: the error would be very unusual in our papyrus; and I expect word-end after *-οις* not *-οις(ι(ν))* (it

What sense are we to seek? Jebb proposed (as an accusative in apposition to the bloodshed of the preceding sentence) [πῆμα μ]έγ' ἡμιθέοις [Ιόξεϊαν] ἰσοθέων δι' ὄρμάν: too long,⁹⁹ but what in any case does it mean? 'A great woe to the ἡμίθεοι through the onslaught of the ἰσόθεοι', and the poet leaves us to infer that the ἡμίθεοι are the Greeks and the ἰσόθεοι the Trojans: I find inexplicitness and contrast equally incredible,¹⁰⁰ and I suppose Bacchylides to have written ἰσόθεον δι' ὄρμάν (Tyrrell),¹⁰¹ through the onslaught of one (Hektor, that is) who ἐπέεεσσο δαίμονι ἴσος.¹⁰² Better therefore Schwartz,¹⁰³ [ῆν δὲ μ]έγ' ἡμιθέοις[ι(ν) πένθος] ἰσόθεον δι' ὄρμάν; but once again too long,¹⁰⁴ nor was *c* the letter before ἰσοθεων.

Now Jebb and Schwartz both assume that the ἡμίθεοι are the Greeks and that the lines describe their distress; and I am not aware that anyone has questioned their assumption. But look at the context. The Trojans have been in effect the subject since 115: they stayed in Troy while Achilles was active; but when he withdrew, then in relief like sailors' after a storm they left Troy and scoured the plain and struck terror into the Greeks, with Ares and Apollo urging them on, and they reached the shore and fought by the ships, and the ground grew red with the blood of men slain by Hektor. Then our lines, 155–6. And then again the Trojans as subject (157–67): poor fools, they were

comes after the syllable corresponding to *-οις* in ten of the eleven other instances of the line, and in the eleventh comes one syllable earlier not later).

In lyric papyri in general it is not uncommon that a writer faced with a division such as *ἡμιθεοίσι(ν)*, with a single syllable left over to the next line, should inadvertently complete the word on the first line. But our papyrus is remarkably free from this error: only 17. 95/6 and perhaps 9. 101/2 (102 lacks a syllable, end of 101 lost) as against over forty instances correctly. I suppose the divergences in 1 str. 1/2 and 5 ep. 5/6, which might add four more instances, to be a matter of more than a copyist's inadvertence; at 9. 72/3 I think it unlikely that the difficulties should be due to false colometry. The converse error at 5. 13/14, | κλεινός for κλεινός, and presumably (but with other corruption too) at 17. 37/8.

⁹⁹ In 156, space not for [Ιόξεϊα]ν but only for [Ιξεϊα]ν. In 155, one would need to suppose πῆ<μα> μ]έγ': the [πῆμ] would be right for space.

¹⁰⁰ I cite Platt (*CR* 12 [1898], 62): 'Did ever any poet out of Bedlam talk of ἡμίθεοι in one line and ἰσόθεοι in the next?'

¹⁰¹ *CR* 12 (1898), 82, as part of an otherwise worthless proposal. ἰσόθεος (in Homer only of men) can of course be used quite properly of an action in which the agent acts like a god (it means 'such that there is equality with a god'; cf. E. *Tro.* 1169 τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος); cf. e.g. 13. 44 ὄβριος ὑψινόου, 17. 23 μεγαλοῦχον . . . βίαν.

¹⁰² This formula from the *Iliad* (adduced by Schwartz, not Tyrrell) is never in fact used of Hektor; but twice when he leads an attack he is βροτολογία ἴσος Ἀρηϊ (11. 295, 13. 802), and he is ἀπάλαντος Ἀρηϊ in the fighting in 8. 215.

¹⁰³ *Hermes* 39 (1904), 637.

¹⁰⁴ Even with the false colometry ἡμιθέοις[ι(ν) | πένθος (and disregarding the] in 156) the space before ἰσοθεων would contain not πένθος but only πένθο. In 155 one would need to suppose ῆν <δὲ> μ]έγ': the | ηνμ] would be right for space. Pfeiffer's ῆε μ]έγ'; cited by Snell, is too short (as well as being an unlikely form and involving an unlikely asyndeton).

buoyed up to hope that they would destroy the ships and hold festival in Troy; whereas instead they were to dye Skamandros with their blood. Throughout, the Trojans: the Greeks only as their victims, 145 ὄρσαν τε φόβον Δαναοῖς and (not even named) 152–3 ἐναριζομένων . . . φώτων. I can feel no doubt that in the middle of all this the ἡμίθεοι of 155 are not the afflicted Greeks but the victorious Trojans: the Greeks are far at the back of our minds, the Trojans are in its forefront; and only if the ἡμίθεοι are the Trojans will the following lines be intelligible from the outset.

That the ἡμίθεοι are the Trojans makes it no whit easier to accommodate ἰσόθρων,¹⁰⁵ and ἰσόθειον will still be necessary; we have therefore | –υ]εγ' ἡμιθέοις[| υ–υ]. ἰσόθειον δι' ὄρσαν. In this,]εγ' (unless corrupt¹⁰⁶) is presumably μ]έγ(α) or φλ]έγ(ε); if the lines form a separate sentence (as I think they must¹⁰⁷) the two preceding syllables will include a connective, most naturally δέ. For the rest, we shall need with μέγα a neuter noun and a verb; with φλέγε, a noun either as its subject (if intransitive: LSJ φλέγω B) or as its object (with Hektor understood as subject). I see no hope of a monosyllabic noun in the first lacuna;¹⁰⁸ the noun therefore will come in the second lacuna, and in the first lacuna we shall have with μέγα a monosyllabic verb, as ἦν δέ μ]έγ(α), with φλέγε some other monosyllable, as ἐν δέ φ]λεγ(ε). Both these supplements are far too long for the space available, and we shall need to assume

¹⁰⁵ I do not believe that the ἡμίθεοι (however widely Bacchylides may use the term: 11. 62) could be the main body of the Trojans as opposed to the ἰσόθειοι who lead the attack.

¹⁰⁶ Edmonds conjectured | ἦλυθ]έ τ', and corruption of *T* to *Γ* would be trivial; but it would be not τ' but θ', and corruption of Θ to *Γ* is a different matter. The corruption could still be trivial if it was an early one, made in copying from an exemplar that still used *scriptio plena*; but γε for a necessary τε would hardly be likely to survive for long the normal processes of collation and correction.

¹⁰⁷ The only alternative seems to be an apposition on the pattern of Jebb's πῆμα μ]έγ'; one might think of χάρ<μα> μ]έγ', in which the |χαρμ] would be right for space. But I find apposition unacceptable both for more general and for more particular reasons. More general: Hektor's ἰσόθειος ὄρμα is hardly to be distinguished from his slaughter of the Greeks; I find ἰσόθειον δι' ὄρσαν out of place therefore in a clause in apposition to that slaughter (whereas in a new sentence it will pick up his achievement effectively). More particular: υ–υ] would presumably be an adjective qualifying ὄρσαν (so Jebb, and I see no alternative); but I find no suitable adjective compact enough for the space (ἰθειά]ν and—if possible as feminines—βίαιο]ν and ἀρείω]ν as a misspelling of the too long ἀρῆιο]ν: all in various ways inadequate or inappropriate). I add that although Bacchylides has a fondness for the asyndetic accumulation of adjectives (c. 50 instances; two adjectives in contact in c. 15) I do not think this a likely place for it, where any preceding adjective will detract from the effect of ἰσόθειον (mostly the adjectives are purely decorative; the closest parallel would be 11. 20 κρατερᾶς ἦρα παννίκιοιο πάλας, but I do not find it cogent); to keep ἰσόθρων would of course be more impossible than ever in a clause in apposition to an achievement ascribed to Hektor alone.

¹⁰⁸ In Bacchylides, 'light' is φάος not φῶς; nor is φάος (light after darkness = relief after distress) in question by now—their φάος has come already at 139–40.

corruption or omission; if δέ was omitted, the remaining letters would in each case fit the space, | ηνμ] or | ενφλ].¹⁰⁹

For the noun, we need υ—υ in the space of rather over five average letters, with the last letter ρ or ν but not ς: I think there can be no possibility but the exceptionally compact ὄνεια|ρ, or in choral lyric rather ὄναα|ρ (either form will fit exactly).¹¹⁰ With this, φλέγε cannot come into question; μέγα on the other hand is eminently suitable (μέγ' ὄνειαρ *Od.* 4. 444, *Hes. Th.* 871, *WD* 41, 346, 822; μέγιςτον . . . ὄνεαρ *h. Dem.* 268–9).

The obvious supplement will now be ἦν <δέ> μ]έγ' ἡμιθέοις | [ὄναα]ρ ἰσόθεον δι' ὀρμάν. This admits two constructions: 'there was an ὄνααρ' (ὠνηντο οἱ ἡμίθεοι) and 'he (Hektor) was an ὄνααρ' (ὠνησε τοὺς ἡμιθέους). Of the two, I suppose the second to be more natural: of the nine instances of the singular ὄνειαρ in early poetry,¹¹¹ six are predicative after εἶναι or the equivalent with a person or thing as subject, and a seventh with an infinitive-clause as subject; I note especially one instance with Hektor himself as subject, *Il.* 22. 423–5 (Hekabe addressing him after his death: *κεν . . .*) ὁ μοι νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμᾶρ | εὐχολή κατὰ ἄστυ πελέσκειο πᾶσί τ' ὄνειαρ | *Τρωί τε καὶ Τρωιῆμι κατὰ πτόλιν, οἷ σε θεὸν ὡς* | *δειδέχατο* (both ὄνειαρ and comparison with a god: was this in Bacchylides' mind when he composed our sentence?).¹¹² I add further that 'his ἰσόθεος ὀρμά' comes more readily in a sentence of which Hektor is

¹⁰⁹ I have said 'the equivalent of just over four average letters': η, ν, and μ are all of them wide letters (and need wide spaces between them, since in each case there are adjacent uprights), and the three letters fill the space comfortably.

¹¹⁰ The word is not found elsewhere in choral lyric, so that we have to proceed not from parallels (no one will adduce *Theokr.* 13. 34 ὄνειαρ as evidence for Doric) but from more general considerations. Related words have original ὄνᾱ- (note the many Doric proper names in Ὀνᾱ-), with ὄνη- in Ionic; originally therefore ὄνᾱΦαρ. In Ionic, this would give first ὄνηαρ and subsequently (by metathesis in spoken Ionic) ὄνεᾱρ; with ὄνεαρ in existence, the long second syllable in epic will have been felt as a lengthening of vernacular ε to ει, and so ὄνειαρ. In choral lyric on the other hand one might expect the original vocalism, ὄνᾱαρ (with -ᾱᾱ- from -ᾱΦᾱ- preserved just as in νᾱαε). For Stesichoros I should have no doubts about ὄνααρ, nor indeed for Pindar; I am not quite so confident of the purity of Bacchylides' Doric, but in default of evidence I should think it folly to credit him with a form originating in Ionic epic.

I do not know what to make of Choïroboskos' statement (*An. Ox.* ii. 245) that the form ὄνηᾶτα was Aeolic; we must now consider with it the opening words of an ode, possibly but not certainly Aeolic, *SLG* 286 ii 10 ἦδη [μ] ὄνηαρ. Of related words, Alkaios is credited with (in a quotation) fr. 368 ἐπόναεν and (in papyri; I suppose ἐπον- not -ε πον-) fr. 5. 9 ἐπονᾶμε[ν]οι (with α by correction from η), fr. 33 (c) 4 ἐπονᾶμε[, fr. 119. 17 ἐπονῆμ[ενοι].

¹¹¹ I disregard *SLG* 286 ii 10 (see previous n.), since we have no idea how the word construed.

¹¹² The other predicative instances (subjects in brackets): *Il.* 22. 485 (Hektor), *h. Dem.* 268 (Demeter), *Hes. Th.* 871 (winds, personified; if apposition, ὄνειαρ is still tantamount to predicate), *WD* 346 (a good neighbour), 822 (days); *Od.* 15. 78 (infinitive clause). The other two early instances: *Od.* 4. 444 ἐφράατο μέγ' ὄνειαρ, *Hes. WD* 41 ὄσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδῆλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.

.....]ρρις ἔξειν θ[εόδ]ματον πόλιν.
 μ]έλλον ἄρα πρότε[ρο]ν δι-
 165 ν]άντα φοινίξει[ν Cκ]άμανδρ[ον
 θ]νά<ι>κκοντες ὑπ' [Aία]κίδαις
 ἔρευφ[ι]..[

The passage is evidently descended from passages in the *Iliad* where the poet describes a man's hopes or confidence, then calls him *νήπιος* and states the very different outcome that was to be: e.g. 2. 36 ff., 12. 110 ff., 494 ff. Usually the person called *νήπιος* is the grammatical subject of the preceding sentence, whose construction the word may then be taken to continue; sometimes he is not, as 17. 233 ff. οἱ δ' ἰθὺς Δαναῶν βρίζαντες ἔβησαν, | δούρατ' ἀνασχόμενοι, μάλα δέ σφιεν ἔλπετο θυμὸς | νεκρὸν ὑπ' Ἀϊαντος ἐρύσειν Τελαμωνιάδαο: | νήπιοι, ἦ τε πολέσσι ἐπ' αὐτῶι θυμὸν ἀπηύρα. Our passage is of the latter kind:] .ονες will be the equivalent of the epic *νήπιοι*; the Trojans, to whom it refers, are in the preceding sentence not in the nominative but in the dative ἡμιθέοις. The passage differs from its parents in that in them the order is always hopes–fools–outcome, whereas here it will be fools–hopes–outcome; the variation does not of course affect the affiliation.

157.] .ονες, as the equivalent of *νήπιοι*, will certainly be -φ]ρονες.¹¹⁶ Of compounds with the sense we need, I find only two that will fit the lacuna:¹¹⁷ ἀακίφ]ρονες and χαλίφ]ρονες. As sense, they are equally suitable: ἀακίφρων, as a derivative of ἀάω, is evidently appropriate; χαλίφρων in each of its two occurrences in Homer is actually coupled with *νήπιος*, *Od.* 4. 371 *νήπιος εἰς, ὦ ξεῖνε, λίην τόσον ἦ<δ>ὲ χαλίφρων*, 19. 530 *παῖς δ' ἐμὸς ἦος ἔην ἔτι νήπιος ἦδὲ χαλίφρων*. Metrically, again equally suitable: the short initial anceps given by χᾶλίφ]ρονες would be suspect in other odes, but is unexceptionable in this (see my prefatory remarks on the metre). But ἀακίφ]ρονες involves one anomaly which I cannot suppose to be admissible; I therefore reject it in favour of χαλίφ]ρονες.

ἀακίφρων in the manuscript tradition of Homer and Hesiod appears as ἀεκίφρων, because of a mistaken derivation from ἀέσαι; but it is rightly ἀακίφρων in Photios (= φρενοβλαβής) and Apollonios' lexicon (= βλαβε-κίφρων). In our passage only αακίφ] (and not αεκίφ]) would fill the lacuna. But here comes the anomaly. In epic, the word is scanned ἄἄκι-. For Bacchylides

¹¹⁶ Of]ρ, only the lower part of the tail. (']ρ vel]ν vel]ι esse vid.' Snell, as if there were a high vestige to the right compatible with loop or arm or dot; there is no such vestige.) Snell is wrong to exclude φ]ρ on the ground that the tail of φ would be visible: to the left of the tail of ρ, 2.9 mm. of clear papyrus; I have measured twenty-three instances of φρ, and find three with clear space between the tails of 2.9 mm. (3. 87, 11. 103) or 3.0 mm. (11. 124).

¹¹⁷ Wrong sense: ἄ δύκφ]ρονες (Blass), of mental processes unpleasant either to oneself or to another (despondent, malignant, perverse); ἄ πάρφ]ρονες (Jurenka), 'demented' (and too long). Too long: βλαμίφ]ρονες (Schwartz), κενόφ]ρονες.

to contract the *aa-* would be perfectly in order; but if he did so the expected spelling would be *ἀαί-*.¹¹⁸ That two vowels should contract in scansion yet be written as when uncontracted is common enough in lyric when they are dissimilar (so 13. 128 *φᾶεσιμ[βρότωι ~ epic φᾶεσίμβροτος]*;¹¹⁹ but when they are similar, contraction in scansion is regularly marked by contraction in spelling.¹²⁰ That is, *ἀαί-* and *ᾶαί-* would both be acceptable here but *ᾶαί-* would not; yet if the papyrus had the word it spelt it *αααί-*. It is not of course inconceivable that an original *ααί-* (less probably *αεαί-*) should have been corrupted to *αααί-*; it is vastly more probable that an original *χαλι-* was transmitted accurately.

157–63. The sense of the whole sentence (157–63) is evidently that the Trojans in their overweening confidence expected to destroy the ships (*κυανώπιδας . . . νέας*¹²¹) and hold festival in Troy (162]*πινας* can only be *εἶλα]πίνας*); we begin with a description of their confidence in a participial clause (158]*οντες*). Now 158–9 form a single period, and in other epodes these two cola are closely linked in sense (59–60, 125–6, 191–2, 224–5): it is likely that here also they should be closely linked, and that the participial clause should extend to the end of 159. Then in 160 the subject, *τ[ρῶε]ς ἱππευταί;* followed (down to 163) by their expectations.

157–60. For 159 and the beginning of 160 we know the total space available, since the papyrus has the two cola combined on a single line; but we do not know how this space is to be divided between the cola.¹²² Nevertheless I think that *τ[ρῶε]ς* (for the *τ[* see below) is in fact certain at the beginning of 160,¹²³ so that in 159 we have the equivalent of 11–12 average letters for *ο-ο-;*; supplements can be controlled by three vestiges of ink from the tops of letters.

In 158,]*οντες* will be a participle stating or implying the Trojans' confidence: *πνέ]οντες* (Blass), *αὐχέ]οντες* (Richards), *χαίρ]οντες* (Kenyon) will fit; *πνέι]οντες* (Ludwich) is too long; *κλάζ]οντες* (Kenyon) is far too long.

Now if 158–9 are closely linked in sense, *ὑπερφίαλον* will not construe adverbially with the participle (*πνέ]οντες ὑπερφ[ία]λον*, Blass, Schwartz,

¹¹⁸ *ᾶᾶ- > ā-* as in epic *ᾶαε*, *ᾶαατο* alongside *ᾶᾶαα*, *ᾶᾶαα* <*immo āāαα*>; also *ᾶᾶαα* > *ᾶτη*.

¹¹⁹ In Bacchylides, mostly in terminations; but cf. also 2. 2 *ἱεράν*, 11. 41 *θεότιμον*, 60 *θεοφιλέε*, 14. 19 *Κλεοπτολέμωι*, fr. 20A *Εὐ]ξανό[ν]*.

¹²⁰ I know of one potential exception, Pi. P. 3. 5 *νόον*; but perhaps *νόον* (for *νωω-* at the beginning of a period cf. O. 12. 112, P. 1. 17, 9. 25).

¹²¹ 'Ship' elsewhere in Bacchylides and Pindar always has *να-*; but an alternative *νε-* will be as legitimate as in epic (in Homer, one *νέαα* to every twelve *νήαα*). To derive *νέαα* here from *νέοα* is merely perverse.

¹²² Snell ought not therefore to have printed . . .]*ς* at the beginning of 160.

¹²³ *Τρῶε]ς* Kenyon, in the notes in his edition; not, as Snell, 'Nairn alii'.

continuing with the main clause in δόκεον Ἀχαιῶν or μάταν ἔφαντο¹²⁴) but will qualify a noun in the lacuna of 159. One possibility is that this noun should be the object of]οντες, on the lines of αὔξοντες ὑπερφιάλον μάταν φρόνημα; but I have thought of nothing that would fit the space in 159 (let alone the traces).¹²⁵ The alternative is that μεγάλαϊν ἐλπῖν | [. . .]οντες should be complete in itself, most likely I think with πνέ]οντες (but read πνε<ί>]οντες¹²⁶), much as Pi. P. 10. 44 θραεΐαι . . . πνέων καρδίαι, and that the noun qualified by ὑπερφιάλον should be the object of a second participle. Participles with their wide ντ are extravagant use of space, which is here at a premium, and I have been unable to accommodate any but the exceptionally short ἰέντες; with that, ὑπερφιάλον | θ' ἰέντες αὐδάν will give a sense which is evidently very appropriate.

It remains to relate this supplement to the traces (Figure 12). It appears to be compatible with them, as θ'ἰέντες]αυ[δα]ντ[ρωε]ς.



Figure 12

The stippling above A and B represents irregular smudgy ink, occurring especially on the raised parts of the surface, which I suppose to be offset on the papyrus from other writing with which it has been in contact. (A and B themselves are quite different in appearance; I have no doubt that they are part of the writing.) The hatched area between B and C has its surface stripped; for the hatched areas to the right of F and at the top right, see below. <B.'s finished *disegno* is missing, and I have had to reconstruct it from two of

¹²⁴ Both too long (even with Blass's *vāa*]ς, accepted by Schwartz, at the beginning of 160); and incompatible with the traces.

¹²⁵ μάταν φρόνημα is too long by about two average letters, and is incompatible with the traces.

¹²⁶ Initial ancepts in this ode may be short if necessary, but is long for preference (see my prefatory remarks on the metre); I am confident that Bacchylides would not have written πνέοντες with πνείοντες available. The papyrus can only have had πνε], not πνει] (room for four average letters, but the wide π and ν, with wide space needed between verticals, leave room only for ε); but πνε- for πνει- is a very easy copyist's error (I believe there to be another instance at 10. 22]πνε<ί>ων). <Cf. above, p. 227.>

his preliminary drawings. They do not show where his stippling and hatching was to go.>

At the beginning, A is too wide for a single upright and has an irregular upper edge as at the junction of strokes; it suits the apex of *a*. If *a*, the space before it is compatible with $\theta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\epsilon$] written economically but quite normally.

At the end, D is the top of an upright and E (0.7 mm. long) and F suit the upper edge of a horizontal. I think there can be no doubt that EF are from the crossbar of the τ in $\tau[\rho\omega\epsilon]c$: the word will occupy almost exactly the same space as at 13. 133 and 15. 50. D could then be either ν (second upright) or ι .

The identification of B to D as $\nu[\delta a]\nu$ needs more discussion.

(a) B is the final 1.0 mm. of a stroke rising gently to the right, and is readily identifiable with the right arm of ν ; it follows A at the right distance for *av*. All that is in question is the form of the ν : if ink has been lost at the left of the trace, a plain shallow-topped ν as e.g. 13. 115 (*a* $\epsilon\tau$) ν , 154 $\nu(\pi\sigma)$; if no ink has been lost, there will be a bulge at the upper edge of the stroke.¹²⁷ This bulge comes normally at the junction with the upright, e.g. 13. 179 ($\beta\rho\nu\sigma$) $\nu(c\alpha)$, which would put the upright towards the right of the letter, with a short right arm: an unexceptionable ν , but it would not be able to overlap a following δ , and I could not then find room for $[\delta a]\nu$ (see (b) below). Occasionally, however, there is a purely casual bulge well clear of the upright, as 13. 182 (ϵ) ν]; if there is in fact a bulge here I should assume it to be thus casual.

(b) $\nu[\delta a]\nu$ will need to have been written tightly: from right of ν to right of ν we have 10.6 mm., and with average writing I should expect 12 to 12.5 mm. But 10.6 mm. can be achieved, with no appearance of abnormality, by allowing ν to overlap δ (as it does occasionally: 15. 43, 17. 44) and by using the more compact forms of letters from normal writing: thus 15. 43 (*a*) $\nu\delta(a\epsilon\iota c)$ combined with 11. 74 (δ)*av*(*aov*), both perfectly normal in appearance, gives *c*. 10.5 mm.¹²⁸ This compactness will not I think be purely casual, and to assume it therefore will be legitimate: the line, with two cola conflated, is exceptionally long, and if the conflation was there already in our writer's exemplar it would have been natural for him to economize in space from the

¹²⁷ The main part of the trace occupies the right-hand half of a narrow strip of papyrus, *c.* 2.0 × 0.3 mm., which is detached except at its left end and twisted downwards at an angle of 40°; if it be supposed to be twisted back to its original position, it will appear that a tiny vestige of its upper edge and another of its right-hand tip are still on the main body of the papyrus. At its left-hand end the ink has a sharp edge; I cannot tell whether this is original or due to the flaking-off of the surface (which might happen the more easily on such a narrow strip).

¹²⁸ With the *av* of *κῠανωπιδα*c from the end of our line one could get below 10 mm.; but the crowded writing common in the protruding end of a line is no analogy for writing earlier in the line.

beginning: both $\theta\dot{\iota}\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$] and $\tau[\rho\omega\epsilon]_c$ will have inclined to compactness,¹²⁹ and so does the surviving] $\varsigma\dot{\iota}\pi\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (after this the protruding $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\omega\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\kappa$ is very cramped indeed; but this may happen in the protruding part of any long line).¹³⁰

(c) C raises a problem: vanishingly thin traces of ink along 0.5 mm. of the edge next to the stripped area, 1.4 mm. clear of D and 0.4 mm. below its top; the diagonal of a normal ν would be appreciably lower than this at this distance from the second upright. There are three possibilities: (i) C is not part of the writing but offset ink like that above A and B; (ii) it is part of the writing and not part of ν , in which case D will be ι and C belong to the preceding letter (\omicron , ω ; low for ϵ ; not α ; of consonants e.g. ς , τ); (iii) it is part of an anomalously written ν . I am reluctant to assume (i); I have failed to think of an approach that would accommodate any word that (ii) might offer; and from initial disbelief I have come to suppose that (iii) is easier than at first appears and is probably the truth. I have found a number of instances of ν that would come very close to having ink in this position: the figures corresponding to my 1.4 and 0.4 mm. above are no more than 1.5 and 0.5 mm. in 13. 35 $\theta\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$, 87 $\nu\epsilon\beta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, 124 $\epsilon\nu$, 128 $\lambda\eta\xi\epsilon\nu$, 229 $\pi\alpha\nu\theta\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$, 16. 25 $\mu\eta\tau\upsilon\iota$, and scarcely more than that in 5. 84 $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\eta\varsigma\epsilon\nu$, 16. 26 $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\alpha$, 18. 2 $\alpha\nu\alpha\xi$. Some of these instances (and some instances of ν generally) have convex or irregular diagonals; such a diagonal could account for the fact that C appears to be virtually horizontal.

Finally, I remark on two places where further traces may be concealed; both are indicated by hatching on my drawing. First, in $\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\phi[\iota\alpha]\lambda\omicron\nu$: a narrow strip of papyrus from the upper part of the lacuna is folded over to the right, obscuring the upper part of λ and the upper edge of \omicron ; if it were folded back into place I should expect it (if the surface is intact) to have traces of the missing $\iota\alpha$. Second, to the right of F: the lower edge of the papyrus has curled over upwards, and any traces on it are now invisible; it is conceivable that it should show the upper edge of the ρ of $\tau[\rho\omega\epsilon]_c$.

160–3. The Trojans' hopes; somewhere in the lacuna will be a verb 'they expected' or the like. In 162, supplements can be controlled by three tiny vestiges from the feet of letters.

¹²⁹ $\tau[\rho\omega\epsilon]_c$, with 15.6 mm. from left of τ to left of ς , is actually marginally longer than the other two instances of the word; but these are themselves compact. 11. 95 ($\mu\eta\lambda\omicron$) $\tau\rho(\omicron\phi\omicron\nu)$ with 81 (η) $\rho\omega\epsilon\varsigma$ would give 17.0 mm.

¹³⁰ I had better say that I have rejected the possibility of] $\alpha\chi[a]_v$: A and B are improbably close for] $\alpha\chi$], B and D are impossibly far apart for $\chi[a]_v$. Nor can I think $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ appropriate as a word: true, an $\acute{\eta}\chi\acute{\eta}$ $\theta\epsilon\varsigma\pi\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ is commonly ascribed in the *Iliad* to the advancing or fighting Trojans; but $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, applicable to an articulate $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\alpha}$ just as in Homer to an $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ or to $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\iota$, could hardly be applied to the inarticulate $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}$.

At the end of 162 will be the beginning of a verb (infinitive or participle) to govern *νέας*: ‘burn’ or ‘destroy’. Cf. the two, *ἐκ-* is at home with ‘destroy’ but hardly with ‘burn’: with ‘burn’ verbs *ἐκ-* seems to give the notion of starting a fire in much the same sense as English ‘kindle’, and to look forward not to the effect of the fire on what is burnt but to the mere establishment of the burning. The natural ‘burn’ verb here would be *ἐμπύμπρημι* (twelve times in the *Iliad* of setting fire to the ships); the two ‘burn’ verbs with *ἐκ-* which might come into question here are *ἐκκαίω* and *ἐκφλέγω*, and in the two relevant tenses (future and aorist) these are metrically equivalent to *ἐμπύμπρημι*; I think it inconceivable that Bacchylides should have used either of them here in preference to *ἐμπύμπρημι*. Therefore ‘destroy’; presumably *ἐκπέρθω*¹³¹ (so Blass, ed. 2, with *ἐκπέραντες*).

One might think of supplying the future infinitive, 160–1 *κνανώπιδας ἐκ* [*πέρσειν ἐδόξαζον*] *νέας*, and making 162 turn to the revelry at Troy, on the lines of (what itself is excluded by the traces in 162) [*μολπὰς δ’ ἄφαρ εἰλα*] *πίνας τ’ ἐν* | [. . . .] *ροῖς ἕξειν θ[εὸδ]ματον πόλιν*. But I think it much more likely that Bacchylides had in mind Hektor’s words to the Trojans at *Il.* 8. 498 *νῦν ἐφάμην νῆας τ’ ὀλέεας καὶ πάντα Ἀχαιοὺς* | *ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν* | *ἀλλὰ πρὶν κνέφας ἦλθε* (so that instead they bivouac in the plain); and on those lines one may supply *κνανώπιδας ἐκ* | [*πέραντες ὄϊσθεν*] *νέας* | *νεῖσθαι π* | *ἄ* [*λ*] *ιν*, [*εἰλα*] *πίνας τ’ ἐν* | [. . . .] *ροῖς ἕξειν θ[εὸδ]ματον πόλιν*. This supplement does accord with the traces: the three vestiges, over 163 *ξειν*, are in the right position (in relation both to one another and to the rest of the line) for *π* | *ἄ* [*λ*] *ιν* (*α*, left angle; *ι*, foot; *ν*, foot of second upright).¹³² It accords effectively with the *μέλλον ἄρα πρότερον κτλ.* of 164–7: the Trojans did not go back to the city either on the night of *Iliad* 8 or on the following night (*Il.* 18. 243–314), and on the day after that Achilles drove them (properly half of them, *Il.* 21. 7–8) into the bed of the river and killed them there, *ἐρυθαίνετο*

¹³¹ Homer has *πέρθω* (and *ἐκ-*, *δια-*) only of sacking cities, but later writers extend it to other destructions (so Pi. O. 10. 32 *ἔπεραν . . . στρατόν*); the extension in our case, to the destruction of the Greek ships drawn up within their fortified encampment, will be minimal.

¹³² None of the vestiges is more than 0.2 mm. (half the thickness of a stroke) in any dimension; nevertheless their configuration, and their relation to the generally horizontal edge of the papyrus, allows something to be said about what they might or might not have been, and that something is compatible with *π* | *ἄ* [*λ*] *ιν*. The first vestige is from the foot of an upright or stroke slanting upwards or perhaps most readily (with an upright left edge and slanting right) from the left angle of *α*; the second from its position (on a small corner of papyrus) looks to be from the foot of an upright or stroke slanting downwards or from the right end of a horizontal; the third is partly abraded, but from the amount of abrasion involved I should suppose a horizontal to be excluded and the foot of a single stroke, at whatever angle, to be the likeliest identification (the second upright of *ν* is often joined by the diagonal well above its foot, so that the foot itself is as of a single stroke).

δ' αἶματι ὕδωρ (ib. 21).¹³³ And it has a further considerable advantage: that the mention of festivity in the city follows especially well after *νεῖσθαι πάλιν*.

For the main verb I looked first for an imperfect, which might consort more readily with present participles in 158–9; but I find nothing of anything like the right length. *ἐξαύχεον*, ‘they were confident’, might just be squeezed in in conjunction with *ἐκ|κῆαντες*; but besides my objection to *ἐκκαίω* there is a further difficulty in the inelegance of the double *ἐκ*-. The aorist *ᾤϊσθεν* will be ‘they conceived the thought’ (in consequence of Hektor’s successes); it occurs three times in Homer (*ᾤϊσθην, ᾤϊσθη, ᾤϊσθείς*).

In 162, [. . . .] .οιc can hardly be other than a dative construing after *ἐν*, and ought therefore to end in *-αιc* or *-οιc*. Not *-αιc*, for *a* is out of the question; *o* is not only possible but actually suggested by the position of the trace (in place for the lower edge of the bottom arc),¹³⁴ and I think that *-οιc* may be considered certain. Before the *ο*, the] . is the tail of *ρ, τ, υ, or φ* (of which the spacing makes *φ* the least likely).

What I expect in *ἐν [. . . .] .οιc* is an indication of the place where the *εἰλαπίναι* will be: hardly, in the plural, the time. The proper place for such a public festivity is the streets: B. 3. 15–16 (Hieron’s victory-celebrations at Syracuse) *βρῦει μὲν ἱερὰ βουθύτοις ἑορταίς, | βρῦουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγνυαί*,¹³⁵ E. *Her.* 781–2 (after the killing of the tyrant Lykos) *Ἰρμήν' ᾧ στεφαναφόρει, ξεσταί θ' ἑπταπύλου πόλεως ἀναχορεύεατ' ἀγνυαί*, Ar. *Knights* 1320 (the celebration of good news with a public holiday) *τίν' ἔχων φήμην ἀγαθὴν ἥκεις ἐφ' ὅτωι κνικῶμεν ἀγνυαί* (cf. *Birds* 1233 *κνικῶν ἀγνυαί*); also in celebrations enjoined by oracles, D. 21. 51 *χορούς ἰστάται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ κνικῶν ἀγνυαί καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν*, and the oracles¹³⁶ in D. 21. 52 *κατ' ἀγνυαί κρατήρας ἰστάμεν καὶ χορούς*, 43. 66 *τὰς ἀγνυαί κνικῆν καὶ κρατήρας ἰστάμεν καὶ χορούς*.

What I believe to have been written is *λαοφο]ροιc* (with *λαο-* contracted as *Pi. I. 6. 29 Λαομεδοντιῶν*, and commonly in the vernaculars: Doric *Λατυχίδαc*, Ionic *λεωφόρε* Anacr. *PMG* 346. 13);¹³⁷ *λαοφο]* fits the space, and the second *ο*

¹³³ I do not mean that other supplements proposed do *not* accord with the *πρότερον*: I mean that ‘before ever they returned home’ is more effective than ‘before ever they destroyed the ships and feasted in Troy’.

¹³⁴ Snell’s *ε* is unlikely as a reading (it would be anomalously high) and offers no prospect at all of any sense.

¹³⁵ Cf. B. fr. 4. 79 (the blessings of peace) *κυμποσίων δ' ἑρατῶν βριθοντ' ἀγνυαί*. Here *κυμποσία* sound private, *ἀγνυαί* sound public: it may perhaps be relevant to adduce the (*κατ' ἀγνυαί*) *κρατήρας ἰστάμεν* in the public ceremonies enjoined by the two oracles I cite just below.

¹³⁶ The formulae of these two oracles are presumably traditional and authentic, whatever the status of the oracles themselves.

¹³⁷ For contraction in Bacchylides (principally in terminations, but not avoided elsewhere) see on 157, with n. 119.

could easily fall clear of preserved papyrus.¹³⁸ It is true that the word is commonly used of highways across the country, and for a street in town I have found in literature nothing closer than the adjectival use at Hdt. 1. 187. 1 τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος; but it would be reasonable that it should be used also of the main thoroughfares in a town, and Pollux indeed says that it was: 9. 37 (of the πόλις) τὰς μὲν εὐρυτέρους ὁδοὺς λεωφόρους ἂν καὶ ἀμαξιτοὺς καλοίησιν καὶ ἱππηλάτους, τὰς δὲ στενὰς στενωποὺς καὶ λαύρας. It would be natural that public festivity should be concentrated in any such wider thoroughfares; and a poet was of course at liberty to suppose them to have existed in his legendary city.

167. Kenyon proposed ἐρεψ[ιτοίχοις, presumably because it was the one ἐρεψι- compound in the lexica of his day, cited from A. Th. 882 δωμάτων ἐρεψίτοιχοι. It cannot be right, for the Aiakidai demolish not house walls but city walls. I cite Tucker on A. Th. loc. cit. (his 886 sq.), ‘since τοῖχος is the wall of a house and not a city, perhaps ἐρεψ[ιπύργοις may be approved’: this was in 1908, and his hope has remained unfulfilled for sixty-seven years. I now fulfil it: the papyrus has ερεψ[ι]πύ[ι], as I show in Figure 13, and quite certainly not Snell’s ερεψιτοίχ[ι] or Maehler’s ερεψ[ιτ]οί[ι],¹³⁹ and we must read ἐρεψ[ι]πύ[ι]ργοις.

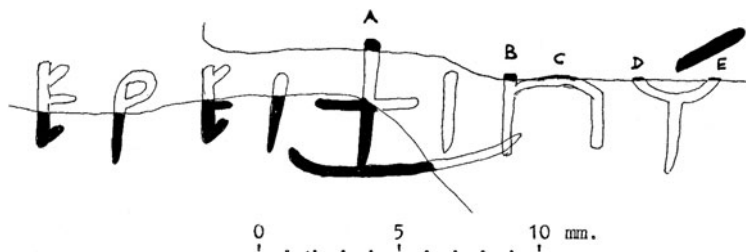


Figure 13

¹³⁸ I have been unable to find any other noun in -ροσλον, -τοσλον, -υοσλον, -φοσλον that might fit metre and space and sense.

¹³⁹ The letters as I show them are all written and spaced quite normally. In particular, the first upright of π often protrudes above the crossbar (sometimes more than here, e.g. 13. 82, 160), and the crossbar is often slightly convex; that the hyphen should intersect π (as is suggested by the configuration of its surviving part) is easily paralleled, e.g. 11. 35, 61, 108, 13. 162, 14. 4, 10.

In Snell’s ψιτοίχ[ι] (*Hermes* 71 [1936], 124–5) the equivalences will be ψ = A, ι = B, τ = C, ο = D, ι an inference from the space (‘so schmal, dass wohl nur ι in Frage kommt’), χ (left arm) = E. The traces individually might suit, but in combination are excluded by the spacing.

In Maehler’s ψ[ιτ]οί[ι], presumably ο = D, ι = E; possible of itself, but B and C (which he ignores) would need to be ιτ as in Snell’s reading, with the same impossible spacing of ψιτο.

Col. 34 S. = 28 K.: lines 185–219

190. Asyndeton, as Bacchylides breaks off from the praise of Aigina to celebrate the victory once more; and the $\tau\epsilon$ after $\nuίκαν$ is prospective. I find this $\tau\epsilon$ disturbing, and for two reasons. First, one is tempted as one hears it to take it as retrospective, joining this sentence to the sentence before; and though one soon realizes that one cannot, a competent poet will not set his hearers, however briefly, on a false trail. Second, the ode is an ode for Pytheas and his victory; fair enough that Bacchylides should diverge to praise his trainer, and praise him (as he does) at length, just as Pindar praises another Athenian trainer at length in *O.* 8; but to put victor and trainer formally on a level of importance by this double $\tau\epsilon$ seems to me to detract from the victor's praise without adding to the trainer's. The abolition of asyndeta by the interpolation of connecting particles is a very common error in the manuscript tradition of Greek poetry; I believe that we have an instance here, and that the $\tau\epsilon$ was interpolated (as retrospective) by someone troubled by the asyndeton.

199. From the ϵ of $\epsilon\iota$, two specks, from the cap and the tip of the cross-stroke. Of the second ϵ of $\theta\epsilon\rho\varsigma\grave{\epsilon}\pi\eta\eta\varsigma$, the upper edge of the cap (not previously reported).

202–3. The extreme ends of these lines are on a separate small fragment not shown on the facsimile but now attached in its proper place; the break runs vertically through the ς of $\mu\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and the ι of $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (with one edge of the ι on either side). There is no possible doubt: both ink and fibres tally exactly across the join, and the combination is completely certain.¹⁴⁰

204–8. We are concerned with the praises of Pytheas' trainer, Menandros. He was an Athenian, and evidently had detractors in Aigina; and Bacchylides' generalities are concerned to belittle this detraction. First (202–3) one commonplace, that people will find fault with anything that a man achieves; and now the sentiment that truth will always prevail and time give glory to fine achievement, whereas (208–9) the empty carping of ill-wishers fades away and is lost to sight. The linking of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, with the notion that truth establishes itself with the passing of time, is another commonplace: *Pi. O.* 10. 53 $\delta\ \tau\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\omega\nu\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ |\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\tau\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu\ |\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, *Men. Monost.* 13 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, *X. Hell.* 3. 2. 2 $\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$

¹⁴⁰ I stress this in order to get rid of a confusion inspired by Edmonds (*CR* 37 [1923], 148) and inherited by Snell (1934 and subsequently) in his apparatus on 203: 'huc fr. 30 K. traxit Edm., sed cf. v. 40.' There are two fragments: fr. 30 K. (the fragment reproduced with that number in the facsimile, on the second page of fragments) has the ends of lines 40 (] $\iota\epsilon$ and 42 (]·); our fragment (not in the facsimile) has the ends of lines 202 (]c) and 203 (] $\iota\epsilon$). The two are quite distinct; each of them is now attached in its proper and indubitable place in the papyrus, and there are no uncertainties or problems whatsoever.

λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι;¹⁴¹ cf. Pi. fr. 159 ἀνδρῶν δικαίων σωτήρ ἄριστος, S. OT 614.

Context and parallels make it I think certain that νικαν is infinitive (so the papyrus, νικάν) and not the accusative νίκαν (Merkelbach, *ZPE* 12 [1973], 90–1: ‘ἀλαθεία loves victory’ to be equivalent, with ἀλαθεία = ‘Unverborgenheit, Nicht-Vergessen’ > ‘Ruhm, Überall-bekannt-sein’, to ‘wer im Wettkampf gesiegt hat, dessen Andenken wird nie vergessen werden’).

205. πανδ[α]ματωρ: of ω, part of the left-hand arc and the upper tip of the right-hand arc; of ρ (read by Snell but not by Blass–Süss or Maehler), the outer edges of the top and right-hand side of the loop.

208–9. Restored by Blass with the aid of an incomplete citation in Cramer, *An. Ox.* i. 65. 22 <= *Epimer. Hom. α* 291 Dyck>: see Snell.

Col. 35 S. = 29 K.: lines 220–31

220. ἰαίν[is paroxytone in the papyrus; I suppose the order of probability to be ἰαίν[ει, ἰαίν[ων, ἰαίν[ειν.

221–2. No one hearing these words could possibly construe τᾶι (= ἐλπίδι) otherwise than after πίτυνος, ‘trusting in which’; therefore φοινικοκραδέμνοι [τρε not -οικ[ι.¹⁴²

223–4. The final υ–×–υ– of 223 will contain a feminine noun in the accusative, describing the ode or its performance as ‘an X of ὕμνοι’; presumably, with a total of six syllables, there will be another word as well. Now the noun is qualified by two pronouns: τάνδε will identify the X with the present ode (English would use something adverbial; ‘herewith’, ‘in this ode’, or the like); τινα therefore, applied to something known and identified, will not be the τινα of uncertain identity but will serve another purpose. It might I suppose apologize for a metaphor or the like (e.g. *A. Ag.* 735 ἱερεύς τις Ἄτας of the lion cub); more likely perhaps it will have the intensive force that it often has, predominantly with adjectives (e.g. *Od.* 13. 391 ἦ μάλα τις τοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἄριστος, *Ar. Birds* 924 [parodying lyric] ἀλλά τις ὠκεῖα Μουσαῶν φάτις). What I think likeliest in the lacuna is noun plus intensifiable adjective; but whatever we have it must give τινα a function.

All we have of the missing expression is .[, the foot of an upright (ι, γ, κ, π, etc.), and above this, written by a corrector, ν[; it is likely enough (but unverifiable) that .[was deleted, to be replaced by ν[, and that the missing expression therefore was ν[υ–×–υ–.

¹⁴¹ Applied differently in Xenophon (period of gestation as evidence of paternity), but with an evident allusion in λεγόμενος to the normal use.

¹⁴² What ἐλπιδι? Lampon had ambitions for further victories by his sons; but those ambitions would be oddly linked with the Muses as in some way sponsoring the present ode.

Blass proposed $\nu[\epsilon\sigma\pi\lambda\acute{o}\kappa\omega\nu \delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\nu$,¹⁴³ and Jebb improved this to $\nu[\epsilon\acute{o}\pi\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu \delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\nu$, but neither will do: $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\nu$ is the wrong word, for the poet does not ‘give’ his odes (see on 224–31, with n. 149); $\tau\iota\nu\alpha$ is quite pointless with Blass’ supplement and near enough pointless with Jebb’s ($\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\pi\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu$, meaning in effect nothing more than ‘new’ is too common a metaphor to need apology and too trivial for intensification). For the noun I suppose Schwartz’s $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ to be a fitting word; for the adjective (if $\nu[$ is right) a compound of $\nu\epsilon\omicron-$ seems probable (there will be few other adjectives of the form $\nu[\cup-$. . .), but what compound I do not know. Pindar’s $\nu\epsilon\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ is meaningful enough to bear the $\tau\iota\nu\alpha$; I have not thought of a comparable compound to fill the $\cup-\times-$ here.

224–31.

$\xi\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \tau\epsilon$ [$\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}-$
 225 $\gamma\lambda\alpha\omicron\nu \gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\omega,$
 $\tau\grave{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota \text{Λ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$ [$\cup-\cup \omicron\upsilon$
 $\beta\lambda\eta\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota\tau$ [$\cup-$
 $\tau\grave{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha \text{Κ}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$
 $\pi\alpha\nu\theta\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\xi$ [$\epsilon\nu \phi\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu,$
 230 $\tau\epsilon\rho\psi\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \nu\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}[\omicron]\iota\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}$
 $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\xi\omicron\nu\tau\iota \lambda\alpha[\acute{\omega}]\iota$

So the passage stood after the first crop of supplements: $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}|\gamma\lambda\alpha\omicron\nu$ Kenyon;¹⁴⁴ $\omicron\upsilon$ Housman; $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\xi$ [$\epsilon\nu \phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ Jebb, corrected to $\phi\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ by Housman. The decisive contribution was then made by Schwartz (*Hermes* 39 [1902], 638–9); with $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$ second-person optative,¹⁴⁵ $\text{Λ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$ must be vocative and a $\acute{\varsigma}\upsilon$ will be needed to establish it as vocative;¹⁴⁶ there must also be a verb to govern $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (= $\xi\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$) in 226, a noun to be qualified by $\omicron\upsilon$ $\beta\lambda\eta\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (and to be antecedent to $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in 228), and a mention of Pytheas so that $\nu\iota\nu$ in 230 may have a reference. He supplied these requirements by

¹⁴³ Blass’s notion of $\iota[\sigma\pi\lambda\omicron\kappa-$ corrected to $\nu[\epsilon\sigma\pi\lambda\omicron\kappa-$ does nothing to probabilify his supplement: $\iota[$ is only one of several possibilities for the original letter; and the errors made by our writer are normally much less sophisticated than this would be (they produce as a rule either common words or meaningless sequences of letters).

¹⁴⁴ $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ elsewhere of persons or cities, but of course perfectly possible of $\xi\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (‘such that there is a love of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{\alpha}$ ’). I have considered the possibility of $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}|\gamma\lambda\alpha\omicron\nu$ (Bacchylides is not averse to coinages with $\pi\alpha\nu-$); but $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ is strong enough of itself, and to strengthen it further with $\pi\alpha\nu-$ would be overdoing it.

¹⁴⁵ As of course it is. On the analogy of 5. 4 $\text{Μ}\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and 19. 13 $\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\nu$ we might think of a participle in $-αι\varsigma$ (copyist’s rather than poet’s) if a participle led to clearly superior sense; but it does not. Nor may we divide $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota\tau$: the $\nu\iota\nu$ of 230 is certainly Pytheas (it is Pytheas, not Lampon, whose fame the ode will spread abroad); Pytheas therefore must be mentioned in 226–7, and he can be mentioned only in $\tau[$ and not in $\tau\epsilon[$.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Also ist $\text{Λ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$ Vokativ und $\acute{\varsigma}\upsilon$ nothwendig’: necessary, that is, so long as there is nothing else before $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$ to tell us that $\text{Λ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$ is vocative and not nominative. If $\text{Λ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$ were followed directly by a second-person verb, there would be no need for $\acute{\varsigma}\upsilon$; but that would mean splitting the sentence into two, and I cannot believe that to be right.

τὰν ἐμοί, Λάμπων, [cὺ νέμων δόσιν οὐ
βληχρὰν ἐπαθήσαις τ[έκνωι,

and was right in everything but the detail. I will revert to this in a moment; but first I will comment on a trace in the papyrus that has not been previously reported: the ν of $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\omega\nu$ is followed, after a space of 1.7 mm., by 0.4 mm. of the left-hand edge of an upright, compatible with c (but compatible also with eleven other letters, so that we are not greatly advantaged by its presence).

The trace is low in relation to the ν : it comes wholly below its second upright, and is broken off at the bottom on a level with the foot of the first. This may not at first sight suggest the possibility of c ; but first sight is misleading. The ν is written well above the ordinary level of the line (the pecked line on my drawing) <the drawing is missing>; this happens with ν from time to time, and when it does happen the next letter will commonly revert to normal level (so, in this column, 14. 5 $\nu\eta$, 14. 23 $\nu\iota$; and especially 14. 11 ($\phi\rho\epsilon$) $\nu\epsilon$ ($c\epsilon\iota\nu$), where the edge of ϵ has vertical ink at exactly the same height in relation to the ν as in our case). That the left-hand edge of c should be vertical almost to its foot is not uncommon: so 13. 197 ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega$) c ($\epsilon\nu$), and so (very nearly, if not quite) the first c of 14. 11 $\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ just discussed.

In $c[\nu$, the tail of a long-tailed ν would be visible (my drawing shows the limit of intact surface; there is papyrus in places beyond this limit, but under-layer only, with the surface gone). But there is room for ν to have descended c . 0.5 mm. below the c without reaching surviving surface, and tails as short as this are not uncommon; cf. indeed 13. 188 $\epsilon\nu\epsilon$, with the feet of all three letters exactly on a level.

I revert now to the detail of Schwartz's supplement. I should correct it as follows:

(a) $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$, 'dispense, distribute, allot, assign', is not the likeliest verb with $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, and the tense I expect is not present but aorist (the hospitality thought of in its completeness and not as something still in progress); rather than $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu$, therefore, $\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

(b) $\tau[έκνωι$ is prosodically unwelcome, and I should replace it by $\tau[έκει$. Bacchylides, though he is ready enough to give mute + liquid¹⁴⁷ single value initially (47 instances, or about 3 in every 5; much the same proportion as Pindar), is chary of doing so internally: 30 instances, or about 1 in every 9 (Pindar about 1 in 3).¹⁴⁸ But there is more to it than that: these internal

¹⁴⁷ Throughout this paragraph my figures for mute + liquid exclude the combinations $\beta\delta\gamma$ + $\lambda\mu\nu$, which are double-value even in Attic.

¹⁴⁸ I have not distinguished between fully internal instances ($\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) and quasi-initial ones ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\text{-}\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\iota$, $\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\text{-}\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\nu$). Of the instances with ρ , 12 are fully internal (5 in proper names) and 13 quasi-initial; of the instances with λ , 1 is fully internal (proper name) and 3 quasi-initial.

instances are almost wholly confined to combinations with ρ (25 instances, or 1 in 5.6), plus a few of $\pi \tau \kappa + \lambda$ (4 instances, or 1 in 12); in combinations with nasals (which in Homer are never single-value, even initially) Bacchylides has only one internal instance, 17. 34 ἀφνεοῦ (1 in 23).¹⁴⁹ The scansion τῆκνωι, that is, while not impossible, would have been very unusual; I do not believe that Bacchylides made use of it when the synonymous τέκει was at his disposal.

(c) Bacchylides' point is that the ode for Pytheas serves as a requital of Lampon's hospitality, so that in place of δόσιν I expect some word meaning ἀμοιβήν; nor does the poet 'give' his ode to the victor,¹⁵⁰ but pays it him as his due. Snell's χάριν would of itself be appropriate, but the dative τ[έκει, easy enough after the *nomen actionis* δόσιν,¹⁵¹ will hardly be possible after χάριν; Snell himself supplied χάριν . . . τέκνου, but χάριν τέκνου is no way of saying 'the grateful favour paid to your son' when its natural and obvious meaning would be 'your son's grace or beauty'. I look therefore for another *nomen actionis*; and I find it in τίσιν. The verb τίνω (and ἀπο-, ἐκ-), of a payment made in return or under an obligation (τίνω τι 'pay', occasionally 'pay for'; τίνομαι or τίνυμαι τινα or sometimes τι, 'requite'), is predominantly used of payments made as penalty or compensation for wrong or injury; but the original neutral sense was never extinguished, and the verb is used from time to time of payments made in requital for a service or meritorious action. So e.g. *Il.* 18. 407 Θέτι . . . ζώαργια τίνειν (repay her for saving his life), *Od.* 22. 235 εὐεργεσίας ἀποτίνειν, *Hdt.* 3. 47. 1 εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, *A. Th.* 548 Ἄργει . . . ἐκτίνων . . . τροφάς, *X. Mem.* 1. 2. 54 τοῖς ἰατροῖς . . . μισθὸν τίνειν; and so in Pindar *O.* 10. 12 κοινὸν λόγον (the legend told in the ode, of concern to all) | φύλαν τείσομεν ἐς χάριν, *P.* 2. 24 τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιομένους τίνεσθαι. The noun τίσις is similarly used ordinarily of the payment or exaction of a penalty, but its original neutral sense appears at *Thgn.* 337 Ζεύς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τίσις οἷ μὲ φιλεῦσις κτλ.¹⁵² (So also the

¹⁴⁹ I exclude, as certainly corrupt, fr. 4. 70 ἄρχνᾶν (~ ~ ~).

¹⁵⁰ At *Pi. I.* 1. 45 the κόψα δόσις is not the poet's praise of the victor in his ode (nor is the ἀνὴρ σοφός the poet), but the praise accorded to the victor by right-thinking men in general, by the plurality of persons indicated by the plural γνώμαις immediately before: the same as the πολιατᾶν καὶ ξένων γλώσσαις ἄωτον of 51.

¹⁵¹ I have found no parallel with a noun in -σις before Attic prose: e.g. *Th.* 5. 35. 2 τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀλλήλοισι οὐκ ἀπόδοσι, *Pl. Ap.* 30d τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόσιν ὑμῖν. Datives after other 'gift' or 'giver' words: *A. Pr.* 612 πυρὸς βροτοῖσι δοτήρα, *S. Tr.* 668 τῶν σὼν Ἡρακλεῖ δωρημάτων (cf. *E. IT* 387 τὰ Ταντάλου θεοῖσιν ἐστιάματα), *E. Va.* 572 τὸν τὰς εὐδαιμονίας βροτοῖσι ἀλβοδόταν, *Ar. Clouds* 305 οὐρανίοισι τε θεοῖσι δωρήματα (but not *Il.* 24. 458, where the dative goes with the sentence as a whole). Instrumental datives in Pindar: *P.* 6. 17 εὐδοξὸν ἄρματι νίκαν, *I.* 2. 13 Ἴσθμίαν ἔπιοις νίκαν, *P.* 1. 95 τὸν . . . ταύρωι χαλκίῳι καυτήρα.

¹⁵² The genitive would not provide an analogy for τίσις . . . τ[έκειος: Theognis wants to requite his friends; Pindar is paying the ode to Pytheas but requiting Lampon.

cognate *ποινά*,¹⁵³ ordinarily of a penalty paid, can be used in a neutral sense: at *Pi. P.* 1. 59 the ode is *ποινὰ τεθρίππων*, at *N.* 1. 71 Herakles' final bliss is *καμάτων μεγάλων ποινά*.) In our context *τίειν* will naturally indicate a payment made to Pytheas in return for Lampon's hospitality; at the same time the ode is Pytheas' own due from the poet for his victory, and I suppose that Bacchylides would be willing enough for this second sense to be felt as well.

¹⁵³ The fifth century, knowing nothing of labio-velars, will have been unaware that the words were cognate. That does not affect my point.

Bacchylides 18. 52–3

Aigeus, in Bacchylides 18, gives an account of Theseus' equipment and clothing as reported by the *κάρυξ*.¹ (I retain the misguided colometry of the papyrus; I indent all cola which are not the first of their period.)

- 46 δύο οἱ φῶτε μόνους ἀμαρτεῖν
λέγει, περὶ φαιδίμοις δ' ὤμοις
48 ξίφος ἔχειν <ἐλεφαντόκωπον>,
ξεστοὺς δὲ δὴ ἐν χέρεσσι ἄκοντας,
50 κηϋτκτον κυνέαν Λάκαι-
ναν κρατὸς {v}περ<ι> πυρσοχαίτα,²
χιτῶνα πορφύρεον
53 στέρνοισι τ' ἀμφί, καὶ οὐλίαν
Θεσσαλὰν γλαμύδ(α).

In *χιτῶνα πορφύρεον στέρνοισι τ' ἀμφί*, 'and a purple *χιτῶν* about his breast', the position of *τε* is impossible;³ the passage therefore is corrupt, and emendation must restore *τε* to its proper place.

<This paper in its present form (there is an earlier draft) dates from after 1990, as my Aeschylus is cited in n. 1. The typescript is formatted as if for *ZPE*.>

¹ I accent the word as does West (*Aeschyli Tragoediae*, xlvi); the $\bar{\nu}$ of the oblique cases has no business to be shortened in the nominative, any more than the η in *μύρμηξ*. I add that the statement in Bekker's *Anecdota* (iii. 1148) that one accents *κῆρυξ ἐστὶ* (!), not *κῆρύξ ἐστι*, points the same way: the true accentuation *κῆρυξ ἐστὶ* conflated with the fictional *κῆρυξ*.

² *πυρσοχαίτα* Maas, *πυρσοχαιτου* the papyrus. Forms in *-χαιτος* appear twice (and late), each time in the neuter plural (*ἀμφίχαιτα* Diod., *εὐχαιτα* Herm.); forms in *-χαίτης* (*-χαίτας*) are common, and Bacchylides' genitive of *-τας* is *-τα*. <The 'Herm.' cited here is from Stob. i. 465. 4 Wachsmuth = Corp. Herm. fr. 26. 5 Nock–Festugière, where Nock reads *εὐχάτοις*.>

³ The rule of course is that *τε* follows the first word in its clause or word-group, with the proviso that prepositives need not (though they may) count as separate words. Exceptions are rare: Denniston, *Particles* 517–20, (iv) with (viii); his list is not complete (add at any rate Pi. *N.* 7. 97, E. *Ph.* 332, Ar. *Th.* 325; see also Fraenkel on A. Ag. 229 f.).

I am not aware that anyone has distinguished (as I think one should) between exceptions with prospective and (as here) with retrospective *τε*: one might expect greater freedom with the former, where the sentence-structure is still developing, than with the latter, where it is already determined. Denniston's prose instances are all in fact with prospective *τε* (except for one or

I know of only one serious attempt at this,⁴ the transposition proposed independently by Platt and Wilamowitz (and accepted by Jebb): *στέρνοις τε πορφύρεον* | *χιτών' ἀμφί*. But this does no more than replace one anomaly by another, namely the initial short in 53. It is not merely that the line (a complete period) is elsewhere | ---υ-υ-| (four stanzas in all, this included): all eight periods in the stanza begin with, or consist of, a glyconic or (in one case) a phalaecean, and in none of them is the first syllable treated as anceps. The second syllable is anceps (long in three periods, short in two, variable in three); the first is always either long or (in two periods, and once in another) long resolved into υυ.

χιτώνα then must stay where it is; the *τε* must follow it directly, and *πορφύρεον* therefore is corrupt and to be replaced by τ'-υ- (or of course by *τε υ-*, with *τε* followed by a double consonant). The replacement is not far to seek: Bacchylides wrote *χιτώνά τ' ἀργύφειον* | *στέρνοις ἀμφί*. The corruption of *ταργυφειον* to *πορφυρεον* would not be difficult; I shall return to the detail of it in a moment.

ἀργύφειος occurs three times in Homer, twice in the Homeric hymns, and twice in Hesiod; in four of the seven instances it is applied to clothing (*Od.* 5. 230 = 10. 543, the *ἀργύφειον φᾶρος μέγα* . . . *λεπτὸν καὶ χαρίεν* of Kalypso and of Kirke; Hes. *Th.* 574, the *ἐκθής* of Pandora; Hes. fr. 43(a). 73, the *εἶμα* of Eurynome). Its meaning is hardly separable from that of other epic adjectives in *ἀργ-*, which seem in general to convey a 'white-shining' moving over sometimes to a mere 'white' (cf. *h. Dem.* 196 *ἀργύφειον* . . . *κώας*)⁵ and sometimes to 'bright' (cf. *Il.* 18. 50 *τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀργύφειον πέλετο*

two with prepositives); though one must remember that retrospective *τε* is in any case rare in prose.

I list exceptions I have found with retrospective *τε*. (I have not sought systematically; I discount, of course, instances with prepositives, with which I include Ar. *Frogs* 1009 *ὅτι βελτίους τε*). In all of them *τε* follows a word-group forming a close unity, Hes. *Th.* 272 *χάμαι ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων*, 846 *πρηστήρων ἀνέμων τε*, A. *Su.* 282 *Κύπριος χαρακτήρ τε*, [E. *Al.* 819 *μελαμπέπλους στολμούς τε*; interpolated], Tr. 1064 *κυύρνης αἰθερίας τε καπνόν*, Ar. *Th.* 325 *Νηρέος εἰναλίου τε κόραις*; or part of a close unity, E. *Her.* 1266 *ἔτ' ἐν γάλακτί τ' ὄντι*. If in our passage we had *χιτώνα πορφύρεον τε*, some kind of defence might be offered; insert also the non-coherent *στέρνοις*, and the thing becomes indefensible.

Snell in his apparatus says '*τε* inusitate quarto loco ut vox *στέρνοις* extollatur'; presumably 'be given prominence'. But there would be no such prominence; and why in any case should the poet wish to make *στέρνοις* prominent?

⁴ And of one other, which can hardly be called serious, by Housman (*CR* 12 [1898], 74 = *Classical Papers*, 453): *κηῦτυκτον κυνέαν Λάκαιαν, κρατός <θ'> ὑπο πυρροχαίτου χιτώνα πορφύρεον στέρνοις {τ'} ἀμφί*. That is, he had (to disregard the epithets) 'a sword about his shoulders, and two javelins in his hands, and a helmet, and beneath his head a tunic about his breast'; one sees why Housman in later life deprecated the publication of his collected papers.

⁵ And *h. Hom.* 6. 10, the *στήθεα ἀργύφεια* of Aphrodite?

σπέος, of the cave of the Nereids under the sea);⁶ of clothing, it is probably rightly taken to denote the white, slightly glistening smoothness of fine linen (in which sense it will give an effective contrast here with the rough woolliness of the οὔλιος χλαμύς). It is not used elsewhere (in early poetry at any rate) of a man's χιτῶν;⁷ but there is good precedent in the χιτῶν κυγαλόεις of *Od.* 15. 60 and especially of *Od.* 19. 225–35 (was this passage perhaps in Bacchylides' mind?), where Odysseus wore both a χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὔλην . . . διπλῆν and a χιτῶνα . . . κυγαλόεντα | οἶόν τε κρομούιοιο λοπὸν κάτα ἰσχαλείοιο· | τῶς μὲν ἔην μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἡέλιος ὤς.

I return now to the corruption; which we must presumably think of as taking place in two separate stages. The obvious sequence would be: (1) ταργυρεον miscopied as πορφυρεον; (2) the essential τε restored in the one place where metre would admit it. But I think it likelier that it happened thus: (1) αργυφεον miscopied as αργυρεον (a very easy error);⁸ (2) someone faced with the absurdity of a silver χιτῶν was moved (not thinking of the rare ἀργύφεον) to make a deliberate change of ταργυρεον to πορφυρεον, and to transfer the τε that was thus abolished to the one place where metre would now admit it. I think this likelier because I find the second stage more credible so: if a man were inserting τε into a text from which it had already vanished I should expect him to pay heed rather to language than to metre and to insert it after χιτῶνα; a man who was himself abolishing the τε in his change of ταργυρεον to πορφυρεον might more readily in replacing it have looked for another home (perhaps he avoided τε πορφ- because it changed the metre, perhaps he simply felt subrationally that if τε is emended away here its replacement must come elsewhere).

Epimetrum: Ibykos, *PMGF* 285

Ibykos, as cited by Ath. 58a, described the Moliones as γεγαῶτας ἐν ὤεωι ἀργυρέωι. For ἀργυρέωι M. L. West has proposed ἀργυφέωι (*CQ* 20 [1970], 209); he adduces the ὠίω πόλυ λευκοτέρα of Sappho fr. 167, the whiteness of Helen's egg (*E. Hel.* [258], Eriphos fr. 7), and the egg of Orph. fr. 70 <= 114 Bernabé> ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος Αἰθέρη δίωι | ὤεον ἀργύφεον. These parallels give us good reason to regard ἀργυφέωι as probable, but no reason

⁶ Cf. also Emp. *Vorsokr.* 31 B 100. 11 ὕδατος . . . ἀργυφέοιο. The lexicographers explain ἀργύφεον as λαμπρόν (Hesych., *Et. magn.*, *Souda*) and as λευκόν (Hesych.).

⁷ In Ap. Rh., Medeia's καλύπτρη at 3. 835, 4. 474. Of a man's clothing I have not found it before Opp. *H.* 5. 233 ('white': the ἔματα of a herald bringing good news). Not that this matters: if the fabric is the same, the wearer's sex is irrelevant.

⁸ It is found in some manuscripts of *Od.* 5. 230, 10. 543, and Ap. Rh. 4. 474; at Nonn. *D.* 10. 190, 12. 312; and in Ibykos, *PMGF* 285 (see Epimetrum below).

(so long as ἀργυρέωι is not impugned) to regard it as certain. But a reason is to hand: silver is no material for eggshells, which must be fragile (even fabulous ones) if the young are to hatch; no nascent creature, whether a bird or reptile or human, can be supposed to burst its way through a metal shell.

Bacchylides, Asine, and Apollo Pythaieus¹

I. THE TEXT: FRR. 22 AND 4

Ep.	στα δ' ἐπὶ λαΐνον οὐ- δόν, τοὶ δὲ θεΐνας ἔντυον, ᾧδε δ' ἔφα· ἄυτόματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν <ἐς> δαΐτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρχονται δίκαιοι φῶτες. ² ---υ--	fr. 22	D - e - D || D - e - e - e - e - e -
	(desunt epodi uersus 6-10) (incertum an desit trias tota)		
Str.	(desunt strophae uersus 1-8) - υ υ - υ] τα Πυθω[- υ -- - υ --] εἰ τελευτ[-	fr. 4	
Ant.	(.)] κέλευσεν Φοῖβος [Ἀλ- κμήνας] πολεμαίνετον υ[ἰὸν (.) . . . υ . .] ἐκ ναοῦ τε καὶ παρ[- υ - (.) . . . υ . .] εἰ δ' ἐνὶ χώρα<ι> (.)] χισεν †τανφυλλο.[(.) . . υ] στ] ρέψας ἐλαΐας (.) . . υ . υ] σ] φ' Ἀσινεΐς (.) . . . υ] λε . . ? ἐν δὲ χρόν[ωι (.) . . υ . . .] ες ἕξ Ἀλικῶν τε.[- υ -- μάντι]ς ἕξ Ἄργευσ Μελάμ[πους ἦλ]θ' Ἀμυθαονίδας βω] μόν τε Πυθα<ι> εἰ κτίσει[- υ υ - καὶ] τέμενος ζάβρον. κείν] ας ἀπὸ ρίζας τόδε χρ[- - υ -- ἕξό] χως τίμασ' Ἀπόλλων ^υ		- e - e - D - 5 e - e - e || D - e - e - e || e - e - D 10 - e - e D - e - e - e - D 15 D - e - e - e - e - e -

Hermes 82 (1954), 421-44.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Paul Maas and Mr. E. Lobel for their help on various points; and to the Librarian of Victoria University, Toronto, for providing me with a photograph of the papyrus.

	ἄλσο]ς, ἴν' ἀγλαΐαι	D
	τ' ἀνθ]εῦσ[ι] καὶ μολπαὶ λίγ[ε]αι·	– e – e[–
	(.)]ονες, ᾧ ἄνα, τ . .]	20 – D[
	(.)]τι· σὺ δ' ὀλ[β	– D[
	(.)]αιοισιν[	(–)e – e[
[421/2]	Str. τίκτει δέ τε] θνατ]οῖσιν εἰ-	
	ρῆνα μεγαλ]άνορα]πλοῦτον |	
	καὶ μελιγλώ]σσων ἀ]ιοιδᾶν ἄνθεα,	25
	δαιδαλέων τ'] ἐπὶ βω]μῶν	
	θεο]ῖσιν αἴθε]σθαι βο]ῶν ξανθάι φλογί	
	μήρι' εὐ]μάλ]λων τε]μήλων	
	γυμνασίω]ν τε νέου]ς	
	αὐλῶν τε καὶ] κόμω]ν μέλειν.	30
	ἐν δέ σιδαρο]δέτοις] πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν	
	ἄραχνᾶν ἴστ]οὶ πέλ]ονται,	
Ant.	ἔγχεα τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεα	
	τ' ἀμφάκκα δάμναται εὐρώς	
	– ◡ – – – ◡ – – – – ◡ –	
	– ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – –	
	χαλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπύγων κτύπος,	35
	οὐδὲ συλάται μελίφρων	
	ὑπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων	
	ἀώιος ὃς θάλπει κέαρ.	
	συμποσίω]ν δ' ἔρατῶν βρίθοντ' ἀγυαί,	
	παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται.	40
Ep.	(deest epodus)	

Fr. 22: Athen. 5. 5 (p. 178b).

Fr. 4: 1–32, *P. Oxy.* 426;² 23–40, Stob. 4. 14. 3 (*Βακχυλίδου Παιάνων*); 31–7, Plut. *Num.* 20. 6 (quoted anonymously).

Cf. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part 3, 1903,

² The papyrus is now in Toronto, at the Library of Victoria University, where original numbering (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* no. 426) is retained. I have used two photographs: one (a very clear one, but covering only lines 1–21) in the possession of Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; and one, covering the whole fragment, which was sent to me by the Librarian of Victoria University. I refer to the collations of Grenfell and Hunt ('G.–H.'), made from the papyrus, and of Snell, made from a print of the same photograph as my first and covering therefore only lines 1–21 (Snell, *Bacch.*, p. 13).

The text of the poem is written on the verso of the papyrus, in what G.–H. call 'a rather uncultivated uncial hand which may be assigned to the third century'. There are no accents or lectional signs except for an apostrophe in 10 and 21 (but not 6, 17, 18; 9 unverifiable) and a trema twice in 18 (*ἰναγλαΐαι*: the only instances in the papyrus where is initial or begins a new syllable internally).

pp. 68, 72–3; F. Blass, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 3 (1906), 267–8; O. Höfer, in Roscher iii. 3366–7 s. v. ‘Pythaeus’, with footnote (1909); B. Snell, ‘Das Bruchstück eines Paians von Bakchylides’, *Hermes* 67 (1932), 1–13; p. Maas ‘Zu dem Paeon des Bakchylides’, *ibid.*, 469–71 <= *Kl. Schr.* 33–5>; *Bacchylidus carmina cum fragmentis . . . sextum edidit Bruno Snell* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1949). /

[422/3]

1.]τ: only the right-hand part of the cross-stroke; perhaps γ, ε.
2.]ειτελεϐτ[:]σιτ G.-H.,]οιτ (or]ουγ,]εργ,]σιτ sim.) Snell; ειπ [G.-H., Snell. My εϐ looks fairly certain as against ει, and if εϐ then τελεϐτ[seems necessary. If] . τ, then probably] .ιτ; and if] .ι (a long syllable) most likely] ει (see p. 443).
4. ϐ[: the top left-hand tip; a vowel, so *v* is certain.
6.]ι: a long syllable; the form of the ι and what may be traces of a ligature suggest ε]ι or α]ι.
7.]χ:] .κ G.-H.,]κ Snell. The right-hand tips as of χ or κ; before these, and separated from them by a damaged area, a longish stroke beginning almost horizontally on the left and curving gradually down to the right. If the tips are κ, I can see no explanation of this stroke; if they are χ, I can explain it only as the upper left-hand arm of the χ itself, on the assumption that the damage has displaced the upper layer of the papyrus slightly over the lower.][: the top of a slanting stroke; *prima facie* α, δ, λ, or *v*; *v* (G.-H., Snell) not excluded.
8.]ρε:]ρι G.-H.,]ρι]σι or]ει Snell. Of the ρ, the right-hand edge (I should exclude σ or ε); of the ε, the upright part of the main stroke (an odd shape for ι) and the tip of the cross-stroke contiguous with that of ψ, the ink being lost from the rest of the letter.
10. ε . ’ (the apostrophe is written, as in 21 but not elsewhere): ετ’ G.-H., Snell. After ε, a hole with some adjacent damage; then what may be the left-hand tip and right-hand half of the cross-stroke of τ, with the surface abraded between and below. ετ’ seems excluded by the spacing (ετ would cover the same space as ετο in 4 and 31). The photographs seem to allow either ε[ι]τ’ or εσσ’ (the top of the second σ unusually horizontal, but the form of the letter varies enough for this to be no obstacle); one might perhaps have expected to see the bottom of the ι or of the second σ, but it is hard to judge the extent of abrasions from the photographs.
11.][: the foot of a slanting stroke; *prima facie* λ, μ, or χ; an irregular upright perhaps not excluded.
12.]ς: the preceding letter (a short vowel) was too far from the ς for anything but ι]ς or ο]ς (Snell).

αργευς: originally *αργους*; the *ο* then altered (in the text) to *ε*.

13.]θ (so Snell): the upper part of the right-hand edge, too much for ρ (G.–H.) or an apostrophe.

For *αμυθ* the papyrus has *ομοθ* with the second *ο* altered *currente calamo* to *α*; above the first *ο* another hand has written *α*.

- [423/4] 19. [ι]: the gap would admit either *ι* or *ε*.
20. ε (so G.–H., Snell): the top left-hand edge. ο may also be possible, but I do not think it very likely (see pp. 443 f.).

. . [: οι [G.–H., ει [. .] , Snell. For the first letter, ρ (the top of the upright and the upper arc of the loop) seems more likely than ο; the upper arc ends clear of the edge on the right (hence Snell's ε, from the photograph), but in view of G.–H.'s ο (from the papyrus) it seems reasonable to assume abrasion at the edge. For . [, a trace high above the line and hard to reconcile with any possible letter in the text (neither shape nor spacing suit the tip of a high ι); it may be part of a superlinear letter, in which case ο (part of the left-hand edge) might be one possibility. Snell's final] . [(a dark patch on the edge of the papyrus, very high above the line) seems not to be ink at all.

22.] α:]ιδ G.–H.; Snell had no photograph of the line. Of the first letter, an upright on the very edge: ι, ν, or possibly η (there is no example of η elsewhere in the papyrus). Of the second, the outer strokes of α, δ, or λ; α seems most likely.
28.]λ (so G.–H.): this (and not]χ) is quite certain.

II. THE IDENTIFICATION

The foundation for the study of fr. 4 was laid in 1932, when Snell first identified the end of the papyrus fragment with the beginning of Stobaios' excerpt from *Βακχυλίδου Παιάνες*. In this paper I am chiefly concerned to establish four further things: (a) the responson in fr. 4, (b) the myth, (c) that fr. 22 is also part of the paian, (d) the place where the paian was performed.

The responson in fr. 4

A responson str. 23–32 ~ ant. 33–40 (and, perhaps, 1–2 ~ 31–2 ~ 39–40) was recognized by Maas and denied by Snell. The difficulties were (a) the need for

assuming a lacuna of two cola between 34 and 35,³ (b) the responsion 32 ἄρᾶχνᾶν ~ 40 παῖδικοῖ, (c) that the epode (3–22) would be twice the length of the strophe; these difficulties apart the responsion is exact.

Maas is right; for the metre of his strophe recurs also in 3–12. The lacuna must therefore be admitted,⁴ and the responsion ἄραχνᾶν ~ παιδικοί / either accepted or emended away.⁵ The third difficulty (which is the most serious) disappears, for the epode is now 13–22, of the same length as the strophe.

[424/5]

The responsion in 3–12 is in four places incompatible with the text as printed by Snell, but in none of them is it incompatible with the letters preserved in the papyrus. In three places all one need do is replace or reinterpret the papyrus text: in 3 read κέλευσεν (for the conjecture κέλευσε); in 9 divide]φ' Ἀσινεῖς (not]φασιν εἰς); in 10, where the papyrus is damaged, read]λε[ι]τ' or]λεσσ' (for]λετ'). In the fourth place (7) the]χισεντανφυλλο[of the papyrus is consistent with the responsion but is likely to be corrupt on other grounds; the conjecture ταν<ι>φυλλ- is (if one keeps]χισεν) inconsistent, and either a different or a more extensive emendation will be needed.

The myth

Line 9, which becomes]φ' Ἀσινεῖς, now gives the clue: Bacchylides is telling how Herakles, on Apollo's instructions, removed the Dryopes from Delphi to Asine in the Argolid, marking their frontier with a twisted olive or olives, and how Melampous later established at Asine an altar and precinct of Apollo Pythaieus.

The principal evidence for Bacchylides' narrative is to be found in three passages of Pausanias:

(a) For the removal of the Dryopes, cf. 4. 34. 9: Ἀσινᾶιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕξ ἀρχῆς Λυκωρίταις ὄμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ὠικουν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώσαντο, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύοπες. γενεᾶι δὲ ὕστερον τρίτηι, βασιλεύοντος Φύλαντος, μάχη τε οἱ Δρύοπες ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκρατήθη-

³ Or possibly between 35 and 36 (25 and 27 are metrically identical, and 35 might correspond to either); but there is a natural connexion of thought between 35 (trumpet calls) and 36 (being woken in the dawn).

⁴ It occurs in both Stobaios and Plutarch. It is incredible that such an omission should have become established in the book texts; therefore we must assume that both Stobaios and Plutarch reproduce the passage from the same early florilegium (in which the omission would be nothing out of the way). So Maas, *Hermes* 67 (1932), 469 n. 1 <= *Kl. Schr.* 33 n. 1>.

⁵ This raises the whole problem of *Responsionsfreiheiten* in dactylo-epitrites, which cannot be discussed here. Wilamowitz accepts the licence (*Griech. Versk.* 423 with n. 1; cf. *Pindaros*, 311 n. 2), Maas rejects it (*Die neuen Responsionsfreiheiten*, 1. 23 n. 3, and then—with a different solution—*Hermes* 67, 469 n. 4 <= *Kl. Schr.* 33 n. 4>). The question is important for me here only in so far as it affects the metre of line 12; see below, p. 433 n. 2 <= 19>.

σαν καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελφούς. ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἐρμιόνη Ἀσίην ἔσχον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίαι Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων. (For other accounts of the removal cf. schol. Ap. Rh. 1. 1212–19, *Et. gen.* s. v. Ἀσινεῖς [see Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, i p. 34], Strab. 8. 6. 13 [p. 373], Diod. 4. 37. 1–2. Kallimachos told the story in his *Aitia* [fr. 24, 25 Pf.; cf. 705], but the part that would concern us here is lost.)⁶ /

(b) For the olive(s), cf. 2. 28. 2 (I quote the passage, and discuss it, on p. 430 below): Herakles marked the Asinaian frontier at some place or places with an olive, possibly (Pausanias is not explicit) a στρεπτή ἐλαία.

(c) For the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine, cf. 2. 36. 5 (the destruction of Asine by the Argives in the eighth century): Ἀργεῖοι . . . ἐς ἔδαφος καταβαλόντες τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὴν γῆν προσορισάμενοι τῇ σφετέραι, Πυθαέως . . . Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπελίποντο <τὸ> ἱερόν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι.

According to Pausanias, Herakles brings the Dryopes to Delphi to dedicate them to Apollo, and Apollo instructs Herakles to take them from there to the Peloponnese, where they settle in Asine; Herakles marks their frontier with one or more (?στρεπταί) ἐλαῖαι; at Asine there was later a precinct of Apollo Pythaeus. In our text we have Delphi (1); Apollo instructing someone's son renowned in war (3–4); 'from the temple' (5);]ρέψας ἐλαίας (8); the Asinaians (9); Halieis, another town in the Argolic peninsula (11); and the foundation of an altar and precinct of Apollo Pythaeus (14–15). The identification is, I think, beyond doubt.

Fragment 22

This fragment is quoted by Athenaios as from a description of Herakles' arrival at the house of Keyx. But Herakles called on Keyx immediately before his subjugation of the Dryopes: cf. [Apollod.] 2. 7. 7. 1 διεξιὼν δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Δρυόπων χώραν, ἀπορῶν τροφῆς, ἀπαντήσαντος Θειοδάμαντος βοηλατούντος τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων θύσας εὐωχῆσατο. ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Τραχίνα πρὸς Κήϋκα, ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δρύοπας κατεπολέμησεν (cf. also Diod. 4. 36. 5–37. 1). Bacchylides is unlikely to have told the story of the Dryopes at length in another ode than ours; unless therefore he fits the visit to Keyx into another context, fragment 22 will be part of our ode.

⁶ The story may have been told or alluded to in a choral lyric poem of which a scrap is preserved in a papyrus (PSI 146 = Pi. fr. dub. 335 Snell): two consecutive lines beginning θειοδάμον[and πεφνεδρυ[may have contained some case of Δρύοψ or Δρύοπες and of the Dryopian Θειοδάμας (Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 134 n. 3). Enough can be seen of the metre to make it certain that the fragment does not belong to our poem.

The metre will correspond in one position only, namely as the opening lines of an epode. To secure this responsion one needs to make two changes in the received text,⁷ *σῑτᾶ* for the MS. *ἔστῑη* in 1 and *<ἔς> δαίτας* in 4; neither change is such as to be any obstacle to the combination.

The combination has one important consequence for fr. 4: it establishes the metre at the end of 14 and 16.

Asine: the performance of the ode

In fr. 4. 16 ff. *τῶδε [ἄλλο]ς*, the sanctuary where the ode is performed, can only I think be the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine itself. I shall discuss that passage in more detail below; at this point I will consider briefly such other evidence as we have for Asine and its sanctuary in historical times. /

[426/7]

Asine is on the east shore of the Gulf of Argos, about five miles south-east of Nauplia and twelve miles south-east of Argos. The site is one of great antiquity: the Swedish excavations of 1922–30 (Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm 1938) show it to have been inhabited from Early Helladic times. But at some date in the latter part of the eighth century BC the town was taken by the Argives and razed to the ground (Paus. 2. 36. 4–5, 3. 7. 4); the inhabitants escaped, and were settled by the Lakedaimonians on the west shore of the Gulf of Messene, where they called their new town Asine after the old (Paus. 4. 14. 3, 4. 34. 9).

Its inhabitants before its destruction belonged to a stock called Dryopes. These Dryopes were said to have lived originally in Central Greece, in a district variously defined as the neighbourhood of Parnassos, of Delphi, of Oita, of the Spercheios, and so perhaps embracing all of them;⁸ for Herodotus, the Dryopis is synonymous with the later Doris (1. 56. 3, 8. 31, 8. 43). From here they were said to have migrated after defeat by Herakles (the migration is sometimes, as in our ode, represented as a transplantation by Herakles, sometimes—as in the Messenian Asinaians' own version, Paus. 4. 34. 10—as a voluntary flight after defeat); this story has the air of representing an actual movement of population in a period preceding the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese. In the Argolid, Dryopes settled not only in Asine but in Hermione, and also at other places on the intervening stretch of coast; there is

⁷ The corrections *ἔντυον* and *ἔφα* (Neue, for *ἔντυον* and *ἔφασ'*) are necessary in any case, and have long been accepted.

⁸ For the evidence, see J. Miller, *RE* v. 1747 f.; add sch. *Ap. Rh.* 1. 1212–19a, p. 111. 1–3 *Wendel*, *περὶ Τραχίνα τὴν Θεσσαλικὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Οἶτην τὸ ὄρος πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Φωκίδος* (these words, displaced in the MSS., look very like a description of the original home of the Dryopes) and sch. *Amh. on Call. Hy.* 3. 161 *Τυφρ]ηστὸν ὄρος* (suppl. Pfeiffer).

evidence for Eion, Haliéis, and a Dryope near Hermione, and it is a reasonable assumption that the whole coast from Asine to Hermione was Dryopian.⁹

[427/8]

But Asine was destroyed by the Argives in the latter part of the eighth century;¹⁰ and thereafter it disappears from history. Strabo (8. 6. 11 = 373) / calls it a *κώμη*, Pausanias (2. 36. 4) speaks only of *ἐρείπια*. The Swedish excavations confirm the literary evidence: after c. 700 BC the town was deserted, and it remained deserted until c. 300 BC, when it was reoccupied by ‘fishermen and peasants’ and subsequently had a brief spell of importance as a fortress in the time of the Achaian League (Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, 437).¹¹ At the time of our ode, therefore, Asine had been uninhabited for over 200 years.

But when the Argives sacked the town they spared the temple of Apollo Pythaeus. We know of this from Pausanias (2. 36. 5); who also tells us that they buried by its walls a leading Argive who had been killed in the fighting, and that in his own day the temple was ‘still *δῆλον*’ (which suggests a ruin). Apart from this there is no explicit reference to the temple in ancient literature; there are nevertheless considerations which suggest that after the sack of the town the temple was not merely left standing but continued in use.

In the first place, the very fact that the temple was spared and a leading Argive buried there suggests that the Argives meant its cult to continue, presumably (the Asinaians being gone and the territory now Argive) under

⁹ Hermione: Hdt. 8. 43, 8. 73. 2 (in the latter passage he names Hermione and the Messenian Asine as the Dryopian towns in the fifth-century Peloponnese). Eion (site not known for certain): Diod. 4. 37. 2 *τρεις πόλεις ὠκικσαν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἐρμιόνην ἔτι δ' Ἥιόνα*. Haliéis: Call. fr. 705 Pf. *εἰς Ἀσίνην Ἄλυκόν τε καὶ ἄμ πόλιν Ἐρμιονήων* (Ἄλυκος probably one of the many aliases of Haliéis, for which see Bölte, *RE* vii. 2246; the context of the line is unknown, but it is a fair guess that it belongs to Kallimachos’ account of the Dryopian migration). Dryope: St. Byz. *Δρυόπη πόλις περὶ τὴν Ἐρμιόνα*. The district generally: Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 30 (speaking of Deiphontes son-in-law of Temenos) *πρῶτον μὲν ὑποπέμψας πρέσβεις κρύφα Τροϊζηνίους καὶ Ἀσινάιους καὶ Ἐρμιονεῖς καὶ πάντας ὅσοι τῆδε Δρύοπες ὠκουν ἀφίστησι τῶν Ἀργείων ἐθελοντὰς καὶ αὐτούς, μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ ὀμοῦ κείνοις ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξανασταίειν*.

¹⁰ Pausanias puts the sack of Asine in the generation before the first Messenian War (4. 8. 3; similarly in 2. 36. 4–5, 3. 7. 4 it follows soon after a Spartan invasion of the Argolid in the reign of King Nikandros, father of the King Theopompos of the first Messenian War); the Asinaians then come as suppliants to Sparta and fight on the Spartan side in the war; when it is over they are settled by the Spartans in the Messenian Asine (4. 14. 3). The date of the settlement in Messenia can hardly be questioned, but the date of the sack has been doubted: an interval of a generation between exile and resettlement seems long (cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i² 603 n. 1).

¹¹ To this period belong two inscriptions, one at Epidauros recording a dedication (c. 229–5; *IG* iv². 1. 621) of statues of Argive tyrants by *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀσινάιων*, one of Hermione (third or second century?; *IG* iv¹. 679) recording a renewal of *συγγένεια καὶ φιλία* with *ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀσινάιων* and admitting them to participation in the ceremonies of Demeter. (The latter inscription has usually been considered to refer to the Messenian Asinaians; now that the archaeologists have proved a renaissance of the Argolic Asine, it seems more natural that it should refer to that.)

their own control. But there is other evidence than this. When the Argives went to war with the Epidaurians in 419 BC they did so on a pretext that the Epidaurians had neglected their religious duties to a temple of Apollo Pythaeus (Th. 5. 53): *προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαίου, ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι (κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι)*. This temple has often been thought to be that of Apollo Pythaeus *alias* Deiradiotes at Argos itself; but if it were, there could be no point in saying *κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι*. The temple will certainly have been away from Argos, though presumably in a district under Argive control; and presumably also in a position reasonably accessible from Epidauros as well as from Argos. Further, the fact that Thucydides leaves the site anonymous suggests that it was at a place of no importance except for the temple. With all this Asine fits perfectly; and the identification has been suggested long since (cf. Poppo–Stahl and Classen–Steup *ad loc.*, and Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 215 n. b). /

[428/9]

And now the evidence of the site. About 600 yards north-west of the small peninsula on which Asine lay is a hill (Varvouna) about 300 feet high, the highest point in the immediate neighbourhood of Asine. On its summit the Swedes have excavated a building which they identify as ‘a temple . . ., probably the one mentioned by Pausanias’ (Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, 151). In giving the results of their excavations there, Frödin and Persson themselves draw no conclusions about the period when the temple was in use; but the results seem incompatible with its being derelict between 700 and 300 BC. The temple itself they appear to date (on the evidence of the finds there) ‘to the Archaic period, probably to the 7th century’, they speak of ‘Archaic and Hellenistic roof-tiles’, describe a few other finds as ‘Archaic’, and found close to the building ‘a vast quantity of sherds (Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian)’ (*op. cit.*, 149).

All in all, the evidence suggests that after the destruction of Asine the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus continued in use as a centre of Apolline worship in the neighbourhood, embracing at any rate the towns of Argos and Epidauros. If therefore our ode appears on internal evidence to have been performed there in the first half of the fifth century BC, we have no reason to doubt that in fact it was; and the ode will in fact become a further piece of evidence for the continuance of the cult.

III. COMMENTARY

Fragment 22

4. <ἐς> δαίτας . . . ἐπέρχονται: ‘arrive at, turn up at’; without the ἐς it would be ‘visit’ (LSJ III. 1).

Between fr. 22 and fr. 4. 3 Herakles is entertained by Keyx, defeats the Dryopes, and dedicates them at Delphi. All this will occupy either 16 cola (end of epode plus strophe) or 46 (end of epode, a complete triad, strophe).

Fragment 4

1. – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪]τᾶ Πῶθῶ [∪ – – would also be possible. If]τᾶ Πῶθῶ [– ∪ – –, then Πῶθῶ[is likely to be trisyllabic (Πῶθῶ[νός, Πῶθῶ[νᾶ or the like): the lex Maasiana is never infringed by Bacchylides in the position . . . ‘ – ’ e – | (see p. 442 n. 3).

3–4. Apollo’s instructions to Herakles. The supplements υ[ίόν (Edmonds) and [Ἀλκμήνας] are I think inevitable. The infringement of the lex Maasiana in 3 (|| – – ∪ – – – : – . . .) is venial; see p. 442 n. 3 <= here p. 311, n. 35>.

5. The removal of the Dryopes from Delphi. At the end, either Παρ[νασσίας (-ίδος) ‘the region of Parnassos’ or παρ[(a) c. gen., e.g. παρ’ὀμφαλοῦ (the position of τε as in 10. 44 ἐπ’ἔργοισιν τε καὶ ἀμφι βοῶν ἀγέλαις). The former / alternative is obviously attractive, but I am not certain that Bacchylides would have formed such a noun from the name of a mountain (Th. 5. 64. 3 has ἐς Ὀρέσθειον τῆς Μαυαλίας, but Mainalia, the territory of the Μαινάλιοι, had a political existence); if Parnassos was to be mentioned I should rather have expected something like ἐκ ναοῦ τε Παρνασσοῦ θ’ ἔδρας.

[429/30]

6–7. The settlement of the Dryopes in Asine. The χώρα is that of Asine (or a larger district containing it: the Argolid or the like).]ιδ is presumably δ’ preceded by a dative adjective defining or describing the χώρα; the alternative, that it should be τᾶ]ιδ’, seems to me impossible (the deictic ὅδε has no place in the middle of the mythical narrative).

7–8. Herakles marks the Asinaian frontier by twisting an olive or olives. The evidence for this is in Pausanias, 2. 28. 2 (following his account of the Epidaurian Asklepieion): ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνιούσι τὸ Κόρυφον ἔστι καθ’ ὁδὸν στρεπτήης καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἔθηκεν ὄρον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε εἰδείην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐτέρωθι ἀναστάτου γενομένης <τῆς> χώρας τὸ σαφὲς ἔτι οἶόν τε τῶν ὄρων ἐξευρεῖν. It appears from this that

Herakles was said (*a*) to have twisted a certain olive near Mount Koryphon, in the mountains between Epidauros and Asine, (*b*) to have marked the Asinaian frontier at some place or places with an olive; the twisted olive of (*a*) may or may not have been an olive of (*b*) (Pausanias gives no opinion, on the ground that here as elsewhere the limits of Asinaian territory are no longer known¹²).

First of all, there can be no doubt that *ἐλαίας* in Bacchylides is the olive or olives with which Herakles was said to have marked the Asinaian frontier. Second, Pausanias' *στρεπτή ἐλαία* does not necessarily imply that the olives in the frontier legend were traditionally *στρεπταίς*; but since we have *ῥέφιας* in our text, the supplement *στῆρέφιας* seems very nearly (though not quite) inevitable. Finally, Pausanias gives no indication whether Herakles marked the frontier with an olive at one place or at more (the *μηδὲ ἐτέρωθι* clause would fit well with the latter assumption, but does not require it); *ἐλαίας* therefore may be either gen. sing. or acc. plur.

3–8. I have dealt with some of the detail of these lines, but I have left the real difficulties untouched. They centre on line 7: this as it stands is reconcilable with the metre (– ◡ – – –) *χῆσεν τᾶν φύλλον* [– ||], but I can see no way of making it give acceptable sense. /

[430/1]

(*a*) I can articulate the latter part only as *τᾶν φύλλον ὄ* [– ||]. This gives a relative clause *τᾶν φύλλον ὄ* [– || – ◡ – *στῆρέφιας ἐλαίας*, and of this I can make nothing: the sense ‘which he bounded by twisting an olive-tree’ might suit, but I cannot see how it could be achieved (in particular, *φύλλα ἐλαίας* is ‘olive foliage’ not ‘leafy olive’), nor if it could be achieved would the sentence 6–8 bear much resemblance to Bacchylides’ normal style. The accepted conjecture *ταν<ι>φύλλον*- (probably *-ου* or *-ου[ς]*) would remove the difficulties, replacing the relative clause and *φύλλα* by a participial clause and an ornamental epithet for *ἐλαίας*;¹³ to reconcile it with the metre one would need to change *χῆσειν* to – ◡ and to admit a licence (◡) which is rare in Bacchylides’ dactylo-epitrites¹⁴ (only 3. 40 *Ἄλυστατα*, 3. 83 *ῥοῖα*, and perhaps 13. 64 *κῦλλον*). I have thought of *χῆσ' εὐφύλλον[ς]*, corrupted as a result of the

¹² This (which requires Facius' <τῆς>) is surely the meaning. Editors normally take it as a purely general statement about the uncertainty of the frontiers of *ἀνη χώρα ἀνάστατος* (Frazer ‘for when a country has been depopulated it is no longer possible to ascertain the exact boundaries’; so Hitzig–Blümner and others whom they cite); I doubt whether Pausanias would have said that in these words (*μηδὲ ἐτέρωθι* seems to me natural only of other points on the same frontier) or indeed at all (for it is false: only when a country has been *ἀνάστατος* for a long time are its frontiers forgotten).

¹³ *τανύφυλλος ἐλαίη* *Od.* 13. 102 (cf. 23. 190).—Here *ταν<υ>*- G.–H., *ταν<ι>*- Maas; cf. *τανίφυλλος* B. 11. 55, *τανίσφυρος* 3. 60, 5. 59 (dissimilation of *v*?).

¹⁴ Nor is it common in Pindar's: cf. Snell, *Pindari Carmina*, p. 313. It is perhaps worth remarking that Bacchylides' instances occur in two poems which also admit the respension with unusual freedom: see p. 442 n. 3 <= here p. 311, n. 35>.

superscription of *ταν* to denote a variant *τανυφυλλ-* (much the same thing seems to have happened in Stobaios' text of line 28: see below); but this is mere speculation.

(b) At the beginning of 7,]*χισεν* will be an aorist indicative and its subject will be the same as that of *στρέψας*, i.e. Herakles; the natural thing will be to construe it with 6,]*ι δ' ἐνὶ χώρα<ι>* [- υ - - -]*χισεν*, and to look for a sense such as 'he settled them in Asine' (cf. *Et. gen.* [s. v. *Ἀσινεῖς*] *Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς Δρύοπας . . . ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετώικισεν*; similarly sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 1212–19). But in the first place I can see no possibilities for]*χισεν* other than σ]*χισεν* and *τεί*]χισεν, and neither is obviously suitable (nor can I see an alternative to]*χ*: *ῶ(ι)κισεν* seems to be quite incompatible with the traces); in the second place there is very little room for five syllables at the beginning of the line. One might just find room for]*ι δ' ἐνὶ χώρα<ι>* [*Ἀπίας ἐντεί*]χισ', *εὐφύλλου[ς κτλ.*: but *ἐντειχίζω* is a verb of the historians, and a series of twisted olives round a frontier is not a *τεῖχος*. Since there is already reason to find corruption in the line, it is hazardous to speculate about the solution of its difficulties.

(c) The remaining problem centres on line 5. At first sight I should expect this to give the content of Apollo's instructions of 3–4, e.g. *κείνους*] *κέλευσεν Φοῖβος* [*Ἀλκμήνας*] *πολεμαίνετον υ[ῖόν στελλεν] ἐκ ναοῦ κτλ.*¹⁵ But if 6–7 belong to the narrative of Herakles' actions, two difficulties arise. First, if Apollo is subject of 3–5 and Herakles of 6–7 we expect a pronoun to mark the change of subject; but I can see no way to work a pronoun in. Second, as Professor Maas has pointed out to me, it would be remarkable if the oracle / (especially in this foundation legend) merely sent the Dryopes away without saying where they were to go (and cf. Paus. 4. 34. 9 *ἀναχθέντες δὲ εἰς Πελοπόννησον χρήσαντος Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ*). One solution of the difficulties would be to continue the oracle into 6 and 7; but (whatever the corruption in 7) I cannot see how to do this if Herakles is to be subject of *στρέψας* in 8, nor would there be room after the oracle for a statement (which I should expect) that Herakles did as he was told. The alternative would be to make the narrative begin with 5, and to supply a pronoun there, e.g. *τοὺς δ' ὄ γ'*] *ἐκ ναοῦ τε καὶ παρ[- υ - | σεῦ(ε)*; in that case I should expect the strophe to have contained Apollo's oracle and 3–4 to be its résumé, but no likely supplement occurs to me.

9–10. The Dryopes are now called *Ἀσινεῖς*. Cf. *Et. gen.* (s. v. *Ἀσινεῖς*) *εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς Δρύοπας ληιστεύοντας ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Πυθῶ χωρίων ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετώικισεν, ἕνα διὰ τὴν πολυπληθίαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων*

¹⁵ For the infinitive in *-εν* cf. 17. 41, 88, 19. 25. These are Bacchylides' only examples (I exclude 16. 18 *θῦεν βαρυ-*); it is presumably only coincidence, though an odd one, that they follow *κέλομαι, κέλευσε, κέλευσε*.

εἴργωτο τοῦ κακουργεῖν (cf. sch. Ap. Rh. 1. 1212–19a ἵνα τῇ πολλῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμιξίαι τοῦ ληιστρικοῦ ἤθους ἀπόσχωται). καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἄσινεῖς αὐτοὺς ὠνομάσθαι ὡς μηκέτι κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σινομένους. Bacchylides must I think intend this same etymology from ἀσινής; there is no room in our text for the πολυπληθία, but resettlement and delimitation would presumably be enough to make them ‘harmless’.

Ἄσινεῖς can as it stands only be nom. plur.; the acc. plur. of Ἄσινεῖς with the scansion $\cup\cup-$ would be Ἄσινεῶς (or possibly Ἄσινῆς).¹⁶ The verb (whether -λείτο or -λεσσε) is singular; with Ἄσινεῖς nom. pl. the construction must be that of e.g. Hdt. 4. 23. 5 οὐνομα δέ σφί ἐστι Ἀργυππαῖοι. In that case I see no alternative to οὐνομα δέ σ]φ’ Ἄσινεῖς¹⁷ in 9; then perhaps /λοιπὸν κα]λε[ι]τ’ [432/3] (the construction as in E. *Hec.* 1271–3 τύμβωι δ’ ὄνομα σῶι κεκλήσεται . . . κυνὸς ταλαίνης σῆμα; cf. also Pl. *Polit.* 279e, *Crat.* 385d, 419e).

This solution has the disadvantage of requiring two contiguous epicisms, neither directly paralleled in choral lyric: the metrical lengthening οὐνομα and the elision of the dative σφί. They are common enough in Homer (οὐνομα four times, σφί elided 21 times), and there are analogous epicisms in choral lyric (Pindar has οὔρεσι, Οὐλυμπ-; Bacchylides has σῶνεχέως 5. 113, and elides χέρεσσι 18. 49), so that the supplement remains possible; it must however be regarded with suspicion. The alternative (suggested to me by Mr. Lobel) is to treat Ἄσινεῖς as acc. and to read κά]λεσσ’. This will enable us to treat σφ’ as σφε (where the elision is of course unexceptionable: Pi. *P.* 5. 39), and will give a reason for the apostrophe (to distinguish κάλεσσ’ ἐν from κάλεσσειν); it will involve the assumption that the late accusative Ἄσινεῖς (normal in the κοινή) has replaced an original Ἄσινεῶς or -ῆς.

¹⁶ I have no doubt that the forms Ἄσινεῖς (nom.), -έας (acc.) are legitimate in Bacchylides. Pindar and Bacchylides normally decline -εῖς with -ε- (seldom -ῆ-), and contract readily (I use the term to include synizesis): -ῆ- 14, -ε- uncontracted 35, contracted 30; whereof in proper names -ῆ- 5, -ε- 24 and 24 (over half the instances of -ῆ- belong to the one word βασιλεύς, which has -ῆ- 8, -ε- 3 and 5; this may be a reflexion of Homeric practice, which virtually excludes -ε- in appellatives but admits it in certain proper names, or may be due merely to the metrical convenience of forms in βασιλη-). There is a direct parallel for the nom. Ἄσινεῖς at Pi. *P.* 1. 65 Δωριεῖς (-εῖς EF, -ῆς CGH); otherwise -έες (*P.* 5. 97 βασιλέες B. 21. 2 Μαντινέες) or -ῆες (βασιληῆς thrice, ἀριστῆες once; all Pindar). There is no parallel for the acc. Ἄσινεῶς (only ἀριστέῃς *I.* 8. 55, βασιληῶς *P.* 3. 94); but this is likely to be mere chance, in view of the frequency with which the same vowels are contracted in the acc. sing. (-ῆα 3, -ῆᾶ 7, -έα or -ῆ 7).

For the orthography of the contracted forms, I should expect in a text of Bacchylides -εῖς (not -ῆς) as nom., -έας (not -ῆς) as acc. (in the sing. we have -έα at B. 13. 101, 134, whereas in Pindar -ῆ *N.* 4. 27, 8. 26, *I.* 6. 33, and probably (-ῆον MSS.) *N.* 9. 13; at O. 13. 21 the MSS. -ῆα is perhaps rather -έα than -ῆ). In our passage, where there is a play on the adj. ἀσινής, -εῖς or -έας seems necessary: cf. B. 13. 230 τερψιπεεῖς, 14. 14 λιγυκλαγγεῖς, 8. 27 μεγαλοκλέας.

¹⁷ Or rather ο<v>νομα δέ σ]φ’: ονομαδεσ] is rather long for the probable space. The misspelling would be nothing unusual in a lyric text.

10–15. Melampous comes from Argos to Asine, and finds an altar and *τέμενος* of Apollo Pythaius. The greater part of the sentence is plain sailing: *χρόν[ωι* and *Μελάμ[πους*¹⁸ (G.–H.) and *βω]μόν* and *καί]* (Blass) are inevitable, and there is not much doubt about *ῆλ]θ'* (Edmonds); the first word of 12 ((.) . . .]ς or perhaps (.) . . . ο]ς) is most likely a nominative agreeing with *Μελάμπους*, and Snell's *μάντι]ς* is entirely suitable.¹⁹

The difficulty comes in 11, (.)]εσ *ἐξ Ἁλικῶν τε* [– υ – –. This seems to consist of a dependent clause coextensive with the line; in which case it looks as if – υ]εσ should be a neuter adjective and *τε* [– υ – – comprise (in whatever order) a neuter noun and a masculine participle. *Ἁλικῶν* is the genitive of *Ἁλικοί*, the inhabitants of the town of *Ἁλιεῖς*:²⁰ this town is near Hermione, on the coast of the Gulf of Argos near its mouth and about twenty miles south-east of Asine (its inhabitants were quite likely regarded as Dryopes who migrated along with the Asinaians,²¹ but it need not follow that Bacchylides so treats them here). /

[433/4]

What the clause is about I have no idea. Melampous comes *ἐξ Ἄργευσ*, and Halieis is twenty miles the other side of Asine from Argos; the clause cannot therefore merely describe his route (Höfer had suggested something on the lines of *τεμ[ῶν κέλευθον*).²² If the Halikoi are in some way relevant to the foundation of the sanctuary at Asine, there is nothing to tell us what that way may be; it is possible, I suppose, that they are of themselves irrelevant, and that the line merely explains how Melampous happened to come to Asine while bringing something from them or on his way to bring it.

14. *Πυθαιεύς*, not *Πυθαεύς*, is the original form of the word; it is found in two early Lakonian inscriptions, one assigned to c. 500 (Th. A. Arvanitopoulou, *Polemon* 3 (1948), 152–4, J. and L. Robert, *RÉG* 63 (1950), 158: *Πυθαιεῖ*) and one to the fifth century (*IG* v 1. 928: *Πυθαιεῖ*). Professor Snell has drawn my attention to these inscriptions, and suggested that the form be restored here.²³

¹⁸ Or *Μελάμ[πος*: that is Pindar's form (*P.* 4. 126, *Pai.* 4. 28, the latter guaranteed by the metre).

¹⁹ I assume the scansion — υ. The word corresponds to the first two syllables of 32 and 40, where Stobaios has the anomalous responson *ἀράχνην ~ παῖδικῶι*. Bacchylides has the element υ υ — only once, in the first line of the strophe of 1 (υ υ — — D υ e); I therefore assume that if the anomaly is to be removed the scansion is — υ —, and that if the anomaly is to be accepted it is — υ — that is the norm and υ υ — that is the licence.

²⁰ The inhabitants as well as the town are *Ἁλιεῖς* in literary prose (Xenophon and later), but fourth- and third-century inscriptions at the Epidaurian Asklepieion have *Ἁλικός*, *Ἁλικοί*: *IG* iv². 1. 42. 11; 121. 120; 122. 19, 69 (all 'so-and-so *Ἁλικός*'); 122. 74, 80 ([*τάς*] *πόλιος τῶν Ἁλικῶν*, [*ἄ πόλι*]ς ἄ τῶν Ἁλικῶν).

²¹ See above, p. 427 n. 2 <=> 9>.

²² *τεμῶν* would have to be a copyist's Atticism: in Bacchylides, as in Pindar, the verb is *τάμνω*.

²³ In Attic *Πυθαιεύς* presumably declines like *Πειραιεύς*, so that Dobree and Hude will be right in reading *Πυθαιεύς* in Th. 5. 53 (MSS. mostly *Πυθέως*; *Πυθαιώς* a first-hand correction in C).

κτίσε[(ν) – ∪ ∪ –: presumably an adjective qualifying βωμόν.

16–18. As far as language goes, one could construe]*as* ἀπὸ ῥίζας with the preceding sentence, reading τὸ δέ to start a new one; but this leads, as far as I can see, nowhere. The ῥίζα would be the source or origin from which the altar and τέμενος derived, and the word would have to refer back to something in the text before it;²⁴ there is nothing in the surviving text, nor I think could 11 contain anything that would justify the word.

It must therefore go with the following sentence (where τόδε must be read as one word); and the sentence will be κείν]ας ἀπὸ ῥίζας τόδε χρ[– – ∪ – – | ἐξό]χως τίμασ' Ἀπόλλων | [ἄλσο]ς. The supplements are little short of certain. First, – ∪]ς: this can only be the noun agreeing with τόδε (the noun might of itself come in the end of 16, but in that case I cannot see anything to do with – ∪]ς); since it is a place (*ἵνα*) and one honoured of Apollo and the scene of ἀγλαΐαι and songs, ἄλσο]ς (Snell) seems inevitable. Then –]ας: we need an adjective that will serve as a connective; κείν]ας (Blass) is entirely suitable and (though tightish) will fit the space, Snell's τοί]ας is less suitable and much too short. Finally ἐξό]χως (Blass) is obviously the sense required: cf. Pi. P. 11. 5 θησαυρόν, ὃν περιάλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας. The only difficulty is χρ[– – ∪ – –: when the metre was still uncertain a χρυσο- epithet of Apollo seemed probable, but I can do nothing with χρ[υσο – ∪ – –, either as one word or as two.²⁵ Perhaps, as Professor Fraenkel has suggested / to me, χρ[ησιμ- as an epithet of the ἄλσος (χρησιμωιδόν, or a two-word phrase with χρησιμοίς, χρησιμῶν): a sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus founded by a μάντις can hardly be other than oracular, and we know that the temple of Apollo Pythaeus at Argos was the seat of an active oracle in the third century BC (Schwyzer, *Dial. Gr. exempl. epigr.* 89; ib. 89^s = Vollgraff, *BCH* 33, 450 ff.) and in the time of Pausanias (2. 24. 1: μαντεύεται . . . ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς).

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'From that root sprang this precinct, and Apollo gave it honour passing great.' We return from the myth to the present: τόδε ἄλσος is the precinct where the ode is being performed. It can only, I think, be the precinct at Asine itself, which has grown from Melampous' original foundation as a plant grows from its root. The alternative, that it should be another ἄλσος regarded as a foundation from Asine (which would be its ῥίζα as a man's forbears are his)²⁶ seems to me impossible: not because we know of no such

²⁴ It cannot be a literal root: neither altar nor τέμενος is vegetable.

²⁵ The only hope for χρ[υσο- seems to lie in the possibility (suggested to me by Professor Maas) that Athenaios has misquoted: one might think e.g. of ἐπίαισι δίκαιοι ~ τόδε χρυσοφαρέτρας. But when ἐπέρχονται is of itself blameless I am loath to suspect it.

²⁶ I am not at all certain whether it would in fact be possible to use the ῥίζα metaphor in a case like this—whether, that is, the ῥίζα could be a separate entity from the offshoot. The metaphor is used nearly always of human descent; but there the family is the entity, the growing

ἄλσος²⁷ (where we know so little it is unsafe to argue from our ignorance) nor because of the allusiveness of the language (if the ode were constructed on the common ring-composition pattern, Bacchylides could have described the foundation already, and an allusion would suffice), but because this is no way for a Greek poet to talk about the relationship between two sanctuaries. A modern can call one sanctuary an ‘offshoot’ or ‘branch’ or ‘Filiale’ of another, as though the relationship between the two were direct; a Greek poet will think always of the human agency involved and express the relationship in terms of someone coming from A to found B (as Pythaius in Telesilla comes from Delphi to Argos,²⁸ / Melampous in Bacchylides from Argos to Asine), and this mode of thought admits no shorthand of the ‘offshoot’ type.²⁹

[435/6]

18–19. ἴν’ ἀγλαΐαι [(.) . . .] εὐσ[.] καὶ μολπαὶ λιγ[. We have emerged from the myth with τόδε ἄλσος, and the clause will describe what habitually happens there; cf., in the transition from the myth to the present, Pi. O. 1. 94 ff. . . . ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται ἀκμαὶ τ’ ἰσχύος θρασύπονοι, N. 5. 37 ff. γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν, ἔνθα νῦν εὐφρονες ἴλαι σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾶὶ θεὸν δέκονται καὶ σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ. The verb, therefore (which can only be]εὐσ[.]), will be not the aorist -ευσε but the present -εὔσι. It is I think intransitive: if transitive, the probable sense would be ‘honour Apollo’ (with e.g. Blass’ ὑμν]εὔσ[ι],³⁰ Snell’s κοσμ]εὔσ[ι]), but with Apollo there in 17 he could come again only as a pronoun (I cannot believe Snell’s θεόν at the end of 19), and

plant, whose branches are the living members and whose roots the forbears. The closest parallel to our passage is Pi. P. 4. 14–16 φαμί γὰρ τᾶσδ’ ἐξ ἀλπλάκτου ποτὲ γᾶς (= Thera) Ἐπάφοιο κόραν (= Libya) ἀστέων ρίζαν φυτεῦσσεσθαι μελησίμβροτον Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις. Now the Greek towns of the Cyrenaica (Apollonia, Barke, Euhesperides, Teucheira) seem all of them to have been in one way or another founded from Cyrene; and editors usually take ρίζα of Cyrene, ἄστυα of the other towns (cf. schol. 26 ἀστέων ρίζαν· τὴν Κυρήνην, ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ καὶ Ἀπολλωνία καὶ Τεύχειρα ἐκτίσθησαν). This I think is wrong. The dominion of Arkesilas IV appears to have embraced, in fact or pretension, all the towns of the Cyrenaica, and Pindar makes a point of speaking of these towns (Cyrene with the others) as a kind of unity: P. 4. 19 f. Thera is μεγαλὰν πολιῶν ματρόπολις, P. 4. 56 the oikist Battos I is bidden by the Pythia νάεσσι πόλις ἀγαγεῖν Νεῖλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα, P. 5. 15 f. Arkesilas is βασιλεὺς μεγαλὰν πολιῶν. In each case the πόλιες are Cyrene plus the others, and so here are the ἄστυα; the ρίζα, the root with which Libya is planted, is not Cyrene as metropolis of the others but the original settlement out of which the modern towns (Cyrene herself included) have now grown. (ῥίζαν so understood is not easily qualified as μελησίμβροτον, and it may be better to interpret Pindar’s ΜΕΛΕΣΙΜΒΡΟΤΟΝ as μελησίμβρότων.)

²⁷ Except of course at the Messenian Asine; but that is out of the question.

²⁸ See below, p. 439.

²⁹ The relationship between cities can be expressed directly in genealogical terms (in Pi. P*ai*. 2. 28 ff. the city of Athens is mother of Teos, mother of the Abderite chorus: ματρός . . . ματέρ’ ἐμᾶς); but cities are personifiable, and the relationship is expressed as one between persons.

³⁰ This verb seems to me in any case downright impossible: I cannot believe in ἀγλαΐαι as its subject or in ἀγλαΐαι instrumental with it.

there is no possible place for $\nu\nu$ (Blass suggested $\sigma' \acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma[\iota]$, but the transition to second person is impossible at this point). The nouns $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ and $\mu\omicron\lambda\pi\alpha\iota$ are more likely nom. pl. than dat. sing. (the plural is obviously very suitable). If they are, there are not many verbs to which they could both be subject: the obvious sense to look for will be 'flourish' or 'abound', and I think that Bacchylides may have written $\acute{\iota}\nu' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota [\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta]\epsilon\upsilon\sigma[\iota] \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\omicron\lambda\pi\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma[\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota]$. (If datives, then (e.g. $\acute{\iota}\nu' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota [(\dots)]\epsilon\upsilon\sigma[\iota] \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\omicron\lambda\pi\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma[\upsilon\phi\theta\acute{\omicron}\gamma\gamma\omega\iota \chi\omicron\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}]$; again a verb meaning something like 'abound', but this time $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ will hardly do, and I can think of no alternative.)

20–1. $(\dots)\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \tau\epsilon [| (\dots)\tau\iota$. The limits of the sentence are fairly clear. At the end, $\tau\iota$ is followed by $\sigma\upsilon \delta\acute{\epsilon}$; unless it is a vocative (which is hardly possible) it must be the last word of its sentence. For the beginning, the alternatives are the beginning of 20 and $\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$: the latter seems to me excluded both by the difficulty of fitting $\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ into the $-\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$ clause and by the abruptness of the transition at $\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$.³¹ (The words do, I think, / form an independent sentence; it is I suppose possible that they should be a substantival or adjectival phrase forming or qualifying the subject of $-\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$, but this—especially in view of the vocative—seems much less likely.)

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The following suppositions seem not improbable: (a) that 20 begins with a connective plus a dactylic word in $-\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$; (b) that $\tau\iota$ is a third plural indicative in $-\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, probably with a sibilant before the termination (Bacchylides elsewhere has $-\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ unelided only after a sibilant, viz. 5. 22 $\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, 13. 231 $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\upsilon}\xi\omicron\nu\tau\iota$; Snell, *Bacch.* p. 15*); (c) that the sentence contains some case of the pronoun $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ or of its adjective. A possible restoration on these lines might be

³¹ The second difficulty would not exist if one accepted a hypothesis of Snell's (*Hermes* 67, 10 ff.) that the words $\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ introduce a paian within the paian. He points to a 'Prinzip archaischer Chorlieder' by which the myth ends with an account of how in the mythological scene a song of some kind was sung, and then we get an actual song, though when we get it it is one which belongs not to the mythological but to the present situation—the two situations have as it were fused into one. His instances are (besides a half-parallel in Sappho, 55 D. <= 44 Voigt>) Bacch. 17. 124 ff. 'the $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\alpha\iota$ raised the $\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\gamma\acute{\eta}$, the $\acute{\eta}\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ the paian', and then (ending the poem) the paian ' $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\epsilon, \chi\omicron\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota \text{Κητών φρένα } \acute{\iota}\omega\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\nu$ '; Timoth. *Pers.* 210 ff. <= 196 ff. Page> 'they raised the paian', and then (215–53 <= 202–40 Page>, ending the poem) a private paian of Timotheos' own; he later adds (cf. *Bacch.* p. 102) Bacch. fr. dub. 60. 30 ff. 'everybody raised cries of gladness' and then (ending the poem) ' $\acute{\iota}\eta \acute{\iota}\eta$ '. So of this passage he says (p. 10) 'Bacchylides gibt also in seinem eigenen Paian, der einen aitiologischen Mythos erzählt hat, einen Paian, der in der mythischen Szene gesungen wird': this paian starts at 20 $\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, and has to last till 40, which he considers to be the end of the ode.

This hypothesis must, I think, be rejected. If the songs are sung at $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ and described in the present tense, they have nothing to do with the 'mythische Szene' (the 'historic present' is as unknown to Bacchylides as it is to Homer and to Pindar): the myth has ended already, and the songs are what normally happens now, in the fifth century, in the $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ where the ode is being performed. One could avoid this only by dividing $\tau\acute{\omicron} \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ and by completing $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma[.]$ as an aorist singular in $-\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$, but I see no hope of a solution along those lines; the habitual $-\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$, supported as it is by the parallels I have adduced, seems to me to be secure.

τᾶν αἴμωνες, ὦ ἄνα, Τρ[οζηνίων σε κοῦροι | κλειζόν]τι. For αἴμονες cf. *Il.* 5. 49 αἴμονα θήρης, explained by Apollonios as ἐπιστήμονα, ἔμπειρον; for κλειζόν (-κλειζ- *B.* 6. 16, *Pi.* *O.* 1. 110, *P.* 9. 91) cf. *Ar. Birds* 905, 950 (parodying choral lyric), etc. (MSS. generally κλημι-, but cf. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* 283 ff.); for the synizesis of -ίων cf. *B.* 17. 39 Κνωσίων. The supplement Τρ[οζηνίων] is not certainly compatible with the papyrus, and is in any case a mere guess; but an ethnic is suitable (cf. 17. 130 χοροῖσι Κηϊών, also a paian) and Trozen would be geographically apt, and if the traces on the papyrus could be interpreted as τρ.^ο [the superscript letter could be explained as the remains of a variant spelling οἰ for ο (MSS. regularly have Τροιζ-, but it appears from inscriptions that Τροζ- is the earlier and original spelling: Ernst Meyer, *RE* viiA. 618–20).

21. The metre must be σὺ δ' ὄλ[υυ -], and a prayer for prosperity (or, less probably, a statement 'thou givest prosperity') is the right sense: ὄλ[β (G.–H.) may be taken as certain.

22. The line presumably concludes the prayer begun with σὺ δέ; since 23–40 consist of a description of the blessings of peace, one might conjecture that peace is mentioned or alluded to here in 22.

There are in Bacchylides 23 dactylo-epitrite strophes or epodes whose metre is preserved at the end; of these, 21 end in an epitrite sequence of at least e υ e (-) (the other two are 8 [monostrophic], ending in D - e -, and 7 / [monostrophic], ending apparently in e - D -). The present line also, if the reading] .αιοισω[is correct, will consist of epitrites: either (-) - υ - αἰοισῶν - [or (-) - υ - αἰοισῶν υ - [. If] .διοισω[were read it would still perhaps be possible to restore the line as epitrites, but it would certainly be difficult.

28. μηρίταν εὐτρίχων Stobaios; Blass took this to be a conflation of the variants μηρ(ι)α τανυτρίχων and μηρί' εὐτρίχων. Of these, μῆρα τανυτρίχων is much too long for the space in the papyrus; μηρί' εὐτρίχων would fit (if rather loosely). But the papyrus has]λων not]χων, and μηρί' εὐμάλ]λων would fit the space exactly. Furthermore a short anceps in the dimeter ||e 'υ' e - | would be unusual (see p. 442 n. 3 <= 35>); εὐμαλλων replaces it by a long.

41–50. It can hardly be doubted that the missing epode was the last. It will presumably have ended with a final invocation of Apollo (Maas, *Hermes* 67, 470 f.).

IV. THE CULT OF APOLLO PYTHAIEUS AT ASINE

I have dealt already with the direct literary evidence for this cult, but I will briefly repeat it here. There are three items only to be considered. (a)

Pausanias 2. 36. 5: when in the eighth century the Argives sacked the town they left the temple standing, and buried a leading Argive by its walls. (b) Thucydides 5. 53: when in 419 the Argives declared war on Epidaurus they did so *προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαιῶς, ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι (κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι)*; this temple, I argued, cannot have been at Argos, and was very probably at Asine (I shall assume below that it was in fact there). (c) Our ode: a paian performed at Asine in the lifetime of Bacchylides (say in the first half of the fifth century BC).

All that we can say with any certainty is that the cult was as old as the eighth century, that after the sack of Asine it was under Argive control, and that the Epidaurians as well as the Argives participated in it. The state for which our ode was written participated in it, but what that state was we do not know (it may of course have been Argos or Epidaurus); my conjecture (on 20–1) that it was Trozen is a mere guess, and a guess that may not even be consistent with the papyrus.

Nevertheless we can go tentatively a little farther. The evidence is vague and unsatisfactory in the extreme; but such as it is it suggests that the cult at Asine may have been very ancient, perhaps the oldest cult of Apollo Pythaieus in the Peloponnese, and that it may have been an object of veneration for a number of states in the neighbourhood.

(a) The Argives after destroying Asine in the eighth century not merely spared the sanctuary but continued its cult for three hundred years and more: / this suggests that in the eighth century the sanctuary was especially venerable and of some importance outside Asine itself. [438/9]

(b) Thucydides sees no need to define the sanctuary more closely than as *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαιῶς*; this suggests that he assumed that his readers would know at once which sanctuary he meant, which again suggests that the one he meant may have been better known than any other which he might have meant (such as the one at Argos).

(c) Thucydides says *κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι*: the superlative might suggest that there were more than two states concerned in the cult. (Cf. K. O. Müller, *Die Dorer*, i². 85 with n. 3: ‘Es war ein gemeinsames Heiligtum der Umgegend, doch den Argeiern besonders eigen. Dies geht hervor aus Thukyd. 5. 53 *κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι.*’)³²

(d) The cult at Asine existed when its inhabitants were Dryopes, and was taken with them by these Dryopes when they migrated to Messenia. Paus. 4. 34. 11 *τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ἀγιώτατά εἰσι δῆλοι κατὰ μνήμην πεποιημένοι τῶν ποτε*

³² Despite this, Müller misidentified the temple as the Argive one. Of that, more in a moment.

ἐν Παρνασσῶι σφισιν ἰδρυμένων· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπος ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαίων· ἄγουσι καὶ παρὰ ἔτος αὐτῶι τελετῆν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες. Now the Dryopes who settled at Asine lived originally in Central Greece, in the neighbourhood of Delphi, in a district which coincided in part at any rate with the later Doris; they were driven out, in all probability, by the Dorians, who then traditionally settled in Doris for a period before moving south into the Peloponnese. If one can believe that the Pythian cult was established at Delphi before the Dorian invasion, then one might conjecture that the Dryopes (as Pausanias here evidently believes) brought it south with them from Delphi into the Peloponnese.

(e) The Argives claimed that the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeius on the Larisa at Argos was the oldest: according to the Argive poetess Telesilla <PMG 719> it was established by Pythaeius son of Apollo coming from Delphi, and the Argives were the first Greeks to whom he came (Paus. 2. 35. 2 with 2. 24. 1); the Hermioneans, says Pausanias, must have learnt the cult-title from the Argives (2. 35. 2); and now in our ode the sanctuary at Asine is founded by Melampous coming from Argos. This Argive claim is valueless as evidence. The shadowy figure of Pythaeius, known from no other source, suggests a late invention. Argos had physical control of the cult at Asine; nothing is more natural than that she should have sought to invent a *de jure* basis for that control. For that purpose the obvious means was a legend that made the Argive sanctuary original and the Asinaian one a secondary foundation. The legend could of course have been invented if the Argive sanctuary was in fact the older; but it is no less possible if the Argive sanctuary was the younger. /

[439/40]

(f) With the legends of Pythaeius and Melampous there goes another, namely the legend of the Asinaians themselves. In part this legend appears to be no more than a reflection of a historical event: the migration of the Dryopes from Central Greece to the Argolid, driven out by the southward-moving Dorians. But in part it is manifestly not historical; and that part can best be explained as an attempt, concomitant with the temple legends, to discredit Asinaian claims to precedence in the cult.

This unhistorical part of the legend consists in an accusation against the Dryopes of impiety towards the Delphic Apollo. Their king (who is variously named) was sacrilegious towards the Delphic temple: Diod. 4. 37. 1 Φύλαντος τοῦ Δρυόπων βασιλέως δόξαντος εἰς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν παρανενομηκέναι, [Apollod.] 2. 7. 7. 3 ἀπέκτεινε δὲ (sc. Ἡρακλῆς) καὶ Λαογόραν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, βασιλέα Δρυόπων, ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει δαινύμενον, ὑβριστῆν ὄντα καὶ Λαπιθῶν σύμμαχον (the τέμενος admittedly is not said to be at Delphi). The Dryopes themselves were brigands (Pherec. FGrHist 3 F 19 <= 19 Fowler>, *Et. gen.* s. v. Ἀσινεῖς, schol. Ap. Rh. 1. 1212–19a), and after their

defeat by Herakles were dedicated by him to Apollo at Delphi (Paus. 4. 34. 9; they were then on Apollo's instructions transplanted to Asine to keep them from further mischief; see above, p. 432); crime and punishment taken together suggest that the brigandage was practised against travellers going to Delphi, and this suggestion becomes irresistible when one considers that crime and punishment are then precisely paralleled in the case of the Krisaians in the Sacred War of c. 590 B.C. For the crime, cf. schol. Pi. hyp. *Pyth.* a (p. 2. 18 ff. Drachmann) *πολλὰ τῶν Κρισαίων ἐργαζομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ ἀποσουλόντων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον βαδίζοντας*, ib. b (p. 3. 7 f.) *ληιστρικῆ ἐφόδῳ χρώμενοι ἐφόνεον τοὺς παραβάλλοντας εἰς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, Aeschin. *Ctes.* 107 *γένη παρανομώτατα, οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡσέβουν* (Strab. 9. 3. 4 = 418, more mildly, *πικρῶς ἐτελώνουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἀφικνουμένους*); for the punishment, cf. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 108 *τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηναί Πρωοῖαι ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργαίαι.*

This charge against the Asinaians is manifestly a late fabrication. It was, of course, absent from the Asinaians' own account of their origins (Paus. 4. 34. 10, citing the Messenian Asinaians): while admitting the defeat by Herakles they denied the dedication at Delphi and the forced transplantation, and represented themselves as having fled to Eurystheus and been given Asine by him (this same version appears in Diod. 4. 37. 2); evidently they will have denied the brigandage as well. The charge of impiety must therefore have been fabricated by the Argives (by whom else?), and its purpose becomes obvious if one considers it as a concomitant of the Argive claim that their temple is the earliest: the Argives are concerned to prove, by legends both positive and negative, that they and not the Asinaians had the earliest cult of Apollo / Pythaeus. They do this while the Asinaian cult, preserved by them, is under their own control. Their purpose, surely, is to establish that they have a right to that control; and that purpose is probable only if the control is of some importance and their right to it uncertain. The legends suggest, I think, that the Asinaian cult embraced a number of states, and that it had at any rate a serious claim to independence of, and perhaps to seniority over, the Argive cult.

This is the evidence, so far as I can discover it, for the age and importance of the cult of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine. Some parts of it are weaker than others, and I do not pretend that any part of it is conclusive; taken together it does, I think, create a presumption that the cult at Asine was an old one, older, not improbably, than the cult at Argos, and that it had an importance which in all likelihood extended beyond the immediately neighbouring states of Argos and Epidaurous.

It remains to consider an opinion that has been a commonplace of Greek historians since the time of Karl Otfried Müller: namely, the opinion that the temple of Apollo Pythaeus on the Larisa at Argos was the centre of an ancient religious league embracing, under Argive suzerainty, the cities of the Lot of Temenos. (Cf. Müller *Die Dorier*, i². 154, i². 85; then e.g. Busolt, *Die Lakedaemonier*, 82–90, *Griechische Geschichte*, i². 222; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, iii². 254. The opinion is rejected by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, i². 1. 205 n. 1.)

For the existence of the league, and for Argive suzerainty, the primary evidence is an incident at the beginning of the fifth century, reported by Herodotus (6. 92. 2). In the campaign of Sepeia, Sikyon and Aigina supported Sparta against Argos; Argos, after her defeat, imposed a fine on them both, and Sikyon actually paid. Now Argos in her defeat had no political authority by which she could exact a fine; this suggests that her authority was grounded in religion, and that she claimed some kind of religious suzerainty over Sikyon and Aigina. If she claimed it over these, presumably she claimed it also over the whole Lot of Temenos. So far, at any rate, the traditional view is sound enough.

But for the belief that the league centred on the temple of Apollo Pythaeus at Argos there is, as far as I can see, no valid evidence at all. For Müller based his opinion on the passage in Thucydides that we have considered already: the Argive war against Epidaurus because of Epidaurian neglect of sacrifices due to Apollo Pythaeus. It is admittedly tempting to combine this incident with the Herodotean one, and to assume that Argive authority in the two incidents rested on the same foundation. But if this combination is valid, the religious centre of the league will be the temple of Apollo Pythaeus mentioned by Thucydides. Müller, when he made the combination, believed Thucydides' temple to be at Argos; he therefore concluded that the Argive temple was the / centre of the league (and was able to find an additional piece of evidence in the Argive claim that their temple of Apollo Pythaeus was the oldest). But Thucydides' temple, I have maintained, was not at Argos; it was in fact in all probability at Asine. If therefore the combination is valid the religious centre of the league must also have been at Asine;³³ if the combination is invalid (and

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³³ This view, or something like it, was advanced by Farnell (*Cults*, iv. 215 with n. b). But he goes too far: he thinks that Asine was 'the shrine which the Dorians of the Peloponnese elected as the central point of the common worship of the god who had inspired and directed their migration'. He says 'Dorians of the Peloponnese' because of what Diodoros (12. 78. 1) says in describing the origins of the war in 419: Ἀργεῖοι . . . ἐγκαλέσαντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τὰ θύματα οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ πόλεμον αὐτοῖς κατήγγειλαν. If this were right it would mean that the Lakedaemonians had obligations at Asine. But *Λακεδαιμονίους* is a manifest mistake for *Ἐπιδανρίους*.

it is in fact quite arbitrary) the centre of the league may well have been at Argos, but we have no evidence for connecting Apollo Pythaeus with the league at all.³⁴ All we have is the Argive claim that their cult of Apollo Pythaeus was the oldest; but that claim, though it makes adequate supporting evidence, of itself leads nowhere.³⁵

ADDENDUM

I must refer here briefly to an article which appeared when my own was already complete: F. M. Heichelheim, 'The Bacchylides Paian in Toronto', *Symbolae Osloenses* 30 (1953), 77 ff. This article comprises first a list of new readings of the papyrus (which was examined by H. in Toronto), second, a few speculations about the poem, with tentative restorations. About the second part I need say nothing; but since the first part is based on an autopsy, I think it proper to say explicitly that where H.'s statements can be verified from the photographs some of them are certainly inaccurate, and that I therefore consider it unsafe to rely on them where they cannot be so verified.

[442/3]

There are in all six places where H.'s new readings differ significantly from my own;³⁶ I discuss these six below, giving in each case H.'s reading and any comment he makes, then my own comment. In the two cases (2, 20) where I cannot exclude H.'s reading I have modified my own account (pp. 423 f.) to include a reference to this discussion.

2.]ο; 'ο is the only possible letter, albeit fragmentary'.—The ο itself I cannot verify: the photographs show one speck of ink, and perhaps a second, on the very edge of the papyrus; these do not suggest ο, but I cannot tell what

³⁴ Another piece of evidence adduced by Busolt (*Die Lakedaimonier*, 84) is bogus: the treaty of 420 made by the Athenians with the Argives, Mantineians, and Eleians, each side on behalf of themselves and their allies, is to be set up by the Argives ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶν ἱερῶν (Th. 5. 47. 11). This has nothing to do with Apollo Pythaeus: his temple was on the way up to the Larisa (Paus. 2. 24. 1); the temple in the ἀγορά was of Apollo Lykeios (S. *El.* 6 with schol.; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 32. 8 with Paus. 2. 19. 7).

³⁵ I have in several places in this paper anticipated the conclusions of a short article on Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrites which will appear in a forthcoming fascicle of *Hermes* (= chapter 14 below). I shall maintain there (a) that except in two 'free' poems (3 and 13) Bacchylides normally admits short anceps only in the position . . . 'υ' e (—)l, and avoids it in l (—) e'υ'. . . (even, as a rule, in dimeters of the form l (—) e × e (—) l); (b) that he does not observe the lex Maasiana with equal rigorousness in all positions (notably, in . . . 'x' e — l word-end is never found after 'x', whether long or short, while in l — e '—' . . . word-end after '—' is quite common).

³⁶ The seven other readings which he gives are these: 3]κελ, 4 π[or τ[slightly more likely than υ', 5 καιπαρ[, 11 μ[, α[, or λ [, 24]α, 25]λ, 29]ν.

abrasion there may be. The following ι has a tail descending well below the line; all I would say is that if the letters are]οι the tail descends unusually far, whereas the descent is common in the ι written in ligature with α (but α seems impossible here) and probable also in the similar ι written in ligature with ϵ .

7.]κτισεν; 'κτ is written similarly as in l. 14, but difficult to read owing to breaks in the papyrus'.—It is not κτ; it is not even remotely like κτ. The papyrus is undamaged for a little way to the left of the ι , and the right-hand part of the previous letter is perfectly clear. I describe this as 'the right-hand tips as of χ or κ'; there is the tip of a stroke (very nearly horizontal) level with the top of the ι , and below it a good part of a downward-sloping stroke which actually joins the ι at a point level with the bottom of the line (the ι continues rather lower). It is unquestionable that this second stroke belongs to the letter immediately preceding the ι , and that it is quite irreconcilable with any part of τ; the κτι of κτισε in 14 bears no resemblance whatever to the letters here, and what H. means by his comparison I cannot conceive.

13.]ρ.; 'not the longish rounding of a θ as in the same line, too low and not of the right rounding for an apostrophe either, but only the short and not always closed rounding of a ρ is visible here'.—θ in this hand varies a good deal; the surviving trace, though quite unlike the right-hand curve of the θ in the same line (which bulges towards the bottom), is exactly like that of the θ in 23 (which is smaller and bulges towards the top). The loop of ρ is everywhere (seven instances) much smaller than the loop one would have to suppose in a ρ here.

16. Not ν]α or]α, possibly τ]α or γ]α; 'a tiny protruding part of the papyrus on the outer left shows that the last of the lost letters on the left had not a straight stroke going down to the right, but left an empty space there'; i.e. if the letter preceding α ended in a vertical stroke, the bottom of that stroke would be visible.—I see no reason to exclude ν]α. The spacing of the letters in this text is irregular: ν]α would be spaced more loosely (by varying amounts) than in 25, 22 (if that is]να), 23, 18, but not I think more loosely than in 20 (the spacing in 5 is not accurately verifiable, but looks nearly as loose). H.'s τ]α or γ]α, on the other hand, do involve a serious difficulty of spacing, and I should judge them to be impossible: the cross-stroke of a τ or γ ought actually to join the upper part of a following α, but here it would be separated from it by a wide gap.

20.]ο and]ω both possible.—I cannot from the photographs exclude ω, though it would surprise me. But metre does, I think, exclude it (or at least makes it very improbable): we should have to suppose —]ωνῆς ᾠάντρη [(or conceivably —]ωνῆς κτλ.), i.e. | (–)e ∪ D [or | (–)e ∪ e [∪ . . . (the latter longer than a dimeter); but a short anapest in this position would be abnormal (see p. 442 n. 3 < = 35>).

$\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\nu\omicron\varsigma$ both possible.—A long vertical tear in the papyrus, from 16 to 23, passes to the left of the ς , and at this point some papyrus is broken off on its left; all that remains / of the ϵ is the upper left-hand edge. This looks more like ϵ than \omicron , but I cannot exclude \omicron . If, as seems likely, the two edges of the papyrus actually join above and below the letter (as they are now joined, though on my earlier photograph there is a gap), I should have expected part of an \omicron to come on the right of the tear; I find this difficult not so much because there is nothing visible there (this might be due to abrasion, which I cannot judge) as because the spacing of $\omicron\varsigma$ would then be unusually close.

[443/4]

Dactylo-epitrites in Bacchylides

I shall examine here two questions of Bacchylides' metrical practice in his dactylo-epitrites: (a) the admission of short anceps, (b) the observance of the *lex Maasiana*.

I exclude from consideration 1. the ten minor fragments preserved in quotation, as being unreliable material,¹ 2. the fragmenta dubia, 3. conjectural supplements, except for a very few which appear inevitable. Under (a) I also exclude all ancipitia which are the last syllable of a period (the possibility of *brevis in longo* for any syllable in this position clearly makes this a special case).

By | I denote a diaeresis (word-end) invariable throughout a poem; by || I denote period-end. I use the symbol ∪ (in isolation) in the *ad hoc* sense of 'short anceps'. By ∩ I denote a particular anceps whose quantity varies; by × I mean either (in general formulations) 'anceps of whatever quantity' or (in lacunae etc.) 'anceps of uncertain quantity'. A 'place' comprises all corresponding 'instances' of a syllable, line, etc.

I should emphasize that all general statements which I make about the practice of Bacchylides and Pindar are made with reference only to their dactylo-epitrites, and not to their works as a whole.

A. SHORT ANCEPS IN BACCHYLIDES' DACTYLO-EPITRITES

I will first deal briefly with two points of which one is well known, the other (on present evidence) irresoluble.

Hermes 84 (1956), 248–53.

¹ As they stand they have no instance of short anceps and no necessary exceptions to the *lex Maasiana* (fr. 13. 1–3 could all be one period).

First, short ancipitia in Bacchylides tend to correspond: a place which admits \cup tends to admit it in more instances than one (though not normally in all). Pindar, in whom \cup is relatively only half as common, has the same tendency to correspondence, though it is in general less strongly marked; he has however several places with consistent \cup .²

Second, in Pindar's dactylo-epitrites a high proportion (about three-fifths) of the instances of \cup occur in the first triad of their poem, and there are (seven proper names apart) scarcely any instances of \cup in a triad later than the first without a corresponding instance in the first triad: the only exceptions in the / epinicia are *O.* 3. 26, *O.* 8. 42, *I.* 4. 57, *I.* 6. 57. Whether Bacchylides has any similar tendency cannot be properly determined for lack of long poems preserved entire; if he has, the evidence suggests that it is at least less marked³.

[248/9]

I will now come to the point with which I am chiefly concerned (it has not, I think, been observed hitherto): Bacchylides does not admit \cup with equal freedom in all positions in the line; he has, in fact, a strong tendency to confine it to one position only. His practice is as follows: *short anceps is not uncommon in the position . . . 'cup e (x) | (where the diaeresis is normally, and perhaps always, period-end); in other positions (except in two 'free' poems, 3 and 13) it is very rare indeed.*

Pindar's practice is quite different: he admits \cup readily in a variety of positions, and . . . 'cup e (x) | accounts for only about a third of his instances.⁴

a) Four-fifths of all instances of \cup in Bacchylides occur in the position . . . 'cup e (x) |: total instances of \cup 85 (in 44 places), of . . . \cup e (x) | 68 (in 34

² Bacchylides: of 44 places which admit \cup , 22 have it in 2 or more instances (of places with 4 or more instances preserved, 20 out of 32); 37 out of the 44 places have – in at least one instance (of the other 7, 4 are preserved in only 1 instance, 2 in 2, 1 in 4; of the last, 13 ep. 3, a fifth instance is probably to be restored as –).

Pindar (epinicia only): of 80 places which admit \cup , 55 have it in only 1 instance, and only 10 in more than 2; the 10 include 4 or 5 with \cup in all instances (10, 6, 25, 3, 3).

³ Pindar's preference for the first triad has several times been remarked (most recently H. Höhl, *Responsionsfreiheiten bei Pindar*, Diss. Köln 1950); I do not know that anyone has formulated the rule I give for triads other than the first. (It does not apply to the monostrophic *N.* 9; at *N.* 10. 82 $\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$?; in *I.* 3/4 the independent composition of *I.* 4 is betrayed by 5 instances of \cup in its first triad with none corresponding in *I.* 3.)

In Bacchylides the rule is certainly not observed at 3 ep. 2, 3, 5, 5, 6, probably not at 1 str. 6, 11 ep. 8, possibly not at 1 str. 2, 5 str. 8 (readings at 1. 10 and 5. 8 uncertain; for 1. 2 see p. 253 n. 2 <here = n. 21>).

⁴ My figures (for the epinicia only) are these: (a) . . . \cup e (x) | 45 instances (+ . . . \cup d¹ | 4), | (x) e \cup . . . 43 (+ | d² \cup . . . 14); (b) . . . \cup D (x) | 10, | (x) D \cup . . . 11 (+ 28 and 8 instances respectively coming also under (a)); (c) || \cup . . . 6; (d) others 6. Whether this shows any preference for one position as against another can be determined only if the figures are compared with those for long anceps in corresponding positions; I doubt if anything of importance would emerge from such a count, and have not attempted it.

places).⁵ Bacchylides has 340 instances of . . . – e (×) |; i.e. . . . ∪ e (×) | occurs in one out of every six instances of . . . × e (×) |.⁶

The diaeresis in . . . ∪ e (×) | is certainly period-end⁷ in 25 of the 34 places; I am willing to believe, but unable to prove, that it is period-end in all.⁸

b) Of the 17 instances (10 places) of ∪ in other positions, 14 (7) occur in two passages (in each place I add in brackets the number of instances of ∪):

3 ep.: || ∪ (5) D — e ∪ e || e ∪ (1) e — e — e || e ∪ (1) e ∪ (1) e e ∪ e ||
13 ep. 6–9: || — D ∪ (2) e ∪ (3) e ∪ e || D ∪ (1) e ∪ e — ||

Both poems are unusual in other respects. In 3, the strophe is not dactylo-epitrite, and the epode itself is almost exclusively epitrite; the epode contains, besides the unusual instances of ∪, the only two certain instances in Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrites of the resposion ∪∪; both ∪∪ and ∪ in the epode may be due to / the influence of the strophe (which admits both freely).⁹ In 13, instances of the normal . . . ∪ e (×) | are unusually common: 23 (8 places) out of 64 (9 places) of . . . × e (×) |; that is, the ode (which is an early one, c. 489) shows an exceptionally free technique in both frequency and position of ∪.

c) Otherwise, ∪ occurs in only 3 places (1 instance each): 7 str. 1 || D '∪ e — e — e ∪ e | (perhaps to be eliminated by assuming period-end after τε καί, as twice in Pindar, which would give || D '∪ e ||); 8 str. 12 | ∪∪ e '∪ (D —?) |; 15 str. 3 || '∪ e — D |.¹⁰

d) Bacchylides avoids ∪ in the position | (×) e '∪ . . ., which is the second commonest in Pindar; this avoidance extends even to dimeters of the form | (×) e × e (×) |, in which . . . ∪ e (×) | might have been expected to be common. His instances of | (×) e ∪ . . . are these:

⁵ Other possible instances: 7. 1 (see (c) below); 14 B. 4 | ἤμενᾶ μ'ε'σᾶις ἄγυῖαις || (but read μῆσσαις? σ A, σσ L with σ written above); fr. 20 B. 23 | — ∪ ∪] φῆσι| σκότος: | ῥῶλ[βῖ — ∪ — | (but ῥῶλ[is uncertain: 'οῶλ[, εῤ[, θα[sim.' Snell). At 1. 75, 9. 42 scan ευνᾶη, ευνᾶει; at 9. 5, 14 B. 8 ευνᾶλες, ευνᾶλεα.

⁶ Excluding odes 3 and 13 the proportion is about one in eight.

⁷ I regard period-end as certain when there is at least one instance of hiatus or brevis in longo, or when two acipitia are juxtaposed, or when the alternative is a period of more than six metra.

⁸ The proportion 25 out of 34 proves nothing: it differs very little from the proportion (79 out of 104) for all places in Bacchylides with . . . × e (×) |. — The 9 uncertain places are 5 ep. 3, 8; one of 7 str. 2 and 3; 7 str. 6; 11 ep. 2, 8; 12 str. 4; 13 ep. 1; one of fr. 20 B str. 1 and 2. In 5 ep. 1–4 I should arrange the periods || — d¹ e — e ∪ || D | — D ∪ e — || e — e — ||.

⁹ The strophe is ||¹ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ||² ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ||³ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ||. The proportion of ∪∪ to — in the two cases of ∪∪ is 2:11, 9:3; of short to long in the five cases of ∪, 9:2, 10:3, 8:5, 4:8, 10:2.

¹⁰ It is perhaps worth remarking that the last instance (15. 45) could have been, or could be, avoided by || θῆσιν δ' in place of || θῆσις δ'.

- (i) excluding dimeters, 3 (3) out of 156 (53); of these, 2 in the 'free' ode 3 (ep. 3 and 5, both $\parallel e \cup \dots$), the other 8. 12 (str. 12) $\dot{\iota}\delta\ \pi\ddot{\omicron}\ \dot{\lambda}\ddot{\upsilon}\ddot{\alpha}\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\dot{\iota}\ \dot{\lambda}$ —
 . . .¹¹
- (ii) in dimeters, 5 (3) out of 75 (23); of these, 3 (1) in the 'free' ode 13 (str. 4, $\parallel e \cup e$ — \parallel), the others 5. 38 (ep. 8) $\parallel \dot{\bar{A}}\lambda\phi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\delta\dot{\iota}\nu\bar{\alpha}\omega\ \parallel$ and 10. 22 (ep. 2) $\parallel \theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \mu\bar{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\dot{\iota}\ \pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\dot{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\bar{\alpha}\nu\ \parallel$ (conceivably $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\dot{\iota}\omega\nu$, but there is no parallel for this epicism in choral lyric).¹²

e) At 13 ep. 6 (see (b) above) the 2 instances of \cup (63, 129), and a possible third instance (96), precede the caesura which Bacchylides affects in the middle of his longer periods.¹³ Now there are also 8 places where \cup precedes a diaeresis which may be either period-end or an invariable caesura. These places clearly cannot be taken with 13 ep. 6 to prove \cup normal before a caesura, and I should prefer to assume (though I cannot prove it) that in most of them at any rate the diaeresis is period-end; I have excluded them all from my totals for \cup in / Bacchylides. It nevertheless remains possible that in some of the places the diaeresis may be caesura.¹⁴

[250/1]

My observations have one principal consequence for the text of Bacchylides: supplements, conjectures, and variants involving \cup in a position

¹¹ For 13 ep. 7 see below, n. 5 <= 13>.

¹² I exclude 14 B. 4 (see p. 249 n. 3 <= 5>) and fr. 4. 28 (where I read $\mu\eta\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\bar{\alpha}\lambda\dot{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu\ \cup\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\eta\lambda\bar{\omega}\nu$; see *Hermes* 82 (1954), 438 <= above, p. 306>). — There are several instances of : (x) $e \cup e$ (x) | (where : is a variable caesura); it is possible (see p. 251 n. 1 <= 14>) that the diaeresis preceding 5. 38 and perhaps 13 str. 4 should be regarded as caesura rather than period-end (though this of course may be the case with other dimeters as well).

¹³ I have assumed that it is caesura; but period-end cannot be entirely excluded. In 5 of the 6 instances there is word-end. The sixth is 162/3, . . . $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\lambda\alpha\ \pi\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \{\dots\}\ \rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\upsilon\omega\ \theta\{\acute{\epsilon}\delta\}\ \mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\nu$, where I do not (despite Snell 'ε pot. qu. α') see how $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ can be other than a preposition governing a dative such as $[\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}]ρ\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (Schwartz). Now Pindar has period-end between preposition and its case (O. 10. 20/21 $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\ \parallel \pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\rho\dot{\iota}\omega\nu\ \delta\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, N. 10. 31/2 $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\ \parallel \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\theta\lambda\omega\nu\ \kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$) and between preverb and verb (O. 1. 57/8 $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \parallel \kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon$, O. 6. 53/4 $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \parallel \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\nu\pi\tau\omicron$; I. 3. 18 is not certain) as well as after $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ (4 times) and $\eta\acute{\iota}, \acute{\omega}\varsigma, \delta\varsigma$ (once each); but Bacchylides has no certain parallel (5. 74/5 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \parallel \epsilon\dot{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$ probable to avoid a seven-metron period; for the possibility of $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \parallel \text{Nυκ}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ at 7. 1/2, see above, (c)). If $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \parallel [\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}]ρ\alpha\iota\varsigma$ here, we have $\parallel - D \cup \parallel e \cup e \cup e \parallel$; this removes 2 instances of exceptionally placed \cup , but transfers 3 (1) to the rare category | (x) $e \cup \dots$ — I should add that the papyrus offers an instance of \cup before caesura at 5. 14 (str. 14), $\parallel - D - D \acute{\iota}\cup : e - e \parallel$. But here the $\acute{\iota}\cup$ ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}$) is superfluous to the responsion, and must be removed (Maas, *Responsionsfreiheiten*, i. 14, ii. 18).

¹⁴ They are: 5 ep. 1 (1 instance), 7 (1), 8 (1), 7 str. 4 (1), 10 str. 2 (1) or 4 (3) (one at least of these must be period-end), 13 str. 3 (7), 10 (4), fr. 20 B str. 1 (1).

For 5 ep. 1 (period-end?) see above, p. 249 n. 6 <= 8>. Caesura seems most likely at 5 ep. 7: period-end there as well as after 8 would give two very short periods, $\parallel - D \cup \parallel e \cup e \cup \parallel$; the syllable occurs at the junction of two proper names, $\Phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \dot{\iota}\ \dot{\bar{A}}\lambda\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$. It is perhaps also worth remarking that 13 str. 3 and 10 occur in a 'free' poem, and that it is arguable that the apparently conscious affectation of \cup (at 81 supply $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\dot{\iota}$! cf. 48 $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\iota}\rho\sigma\dot{\iota}\lambda$) is more likely in the middle of a period than in an indifferent syllable at period-end. (For 5 ep. 7/8 and 13 str. 3/4 see also p. 250 with n. 4 <= 12>.)

other than . . . \cup e (\times) | should be regarded with suspicion, unless in a poem which shows signs of a free technique. In particular, I hesitate to accept Snell's text at the following places: 1. 139 || $\pi\acute{o}\lambda[\acute{\iota}\nu \bar{\epsilon}\varsigma \nu'\acute{\epsilon}'\acute{\alpha}] \gamma \beta\check{\alpha}\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{o}\nu \kappa\tau\lambda$. (Edmonds); 7. 13 — — \cup —] $\chi'\acute{\epsilon}' X\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$ [— — \cup — — | (I have assumed — — \cup — — —] $\chi'\acute{\epsilon}' X\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$ [\cup — |); fr. 20 B. 8 | $K\bar{\upsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\langle\acute{\epsilon}'\rangle \bar{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\theta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\acute{\iota} \phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}'\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ || (Maas; I prefer, following Erfurdt, $K\bar{\upsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma \tau' \acute{\epsilon}'\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma \langle\delta\acute{\iota}\rangle \acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\theta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\acute{\iota} \phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}'\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: this involves only a small departure— $\langle\Delta I\rangle AI$ —from the presumed reading of the papyrus, and accounts better for Athenaios' $K\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma \delta' \acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota$). A second consequence is that syllables of doubtful quantity in positions abnormal for \cup should be treated as long: 8. 24 | $\pi\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\varsigma \bar{\epsilon}\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho \tau'\acute{\epsilon}' \pi[\lambda\bar{\epsilon}\upsilon]\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{o} \nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ||; similarly at 14. 19 | $K\lambda\bar{\epsilon}\omega\pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\iota$ (not || $K\lambda\bar{\epsilon}\omega\pi\tau\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\iota$).

B. THE LEX MAASIANA IN BACCHYLIDES' DACTYLO-EPITRITES

This law, first propounded by P. Maas in *Philologus* 63 (1904), 297 ff. \leftarrow *Kl. Schr.* 9 ff. \rightarrow is worded by him in his *Griechische Metrik* (§ 48) as follows: 'Für mehrere Metra des Rhythmus $\times -\cup - \times$ gilt folgende Regel: nach langem anceps außerhalb der Mittelzäsur soll kein Wort schließen.' The principal application of this to Bacchylides' dactylo-epitrites is to syllables in the positions . . . $\langle - \rangle \times |$, . . . $\langle - \rangle e |$, $| \times e \langle - \rangle$, . . . , $| e \langle - \rangle$.¹⁵

I am concerned here to make two points about Bacchylides' practice: first that the law is not observed with equal rigorousness in all positions; secondly that in one position at any rate it applies to short anceps just as much as to long.

I state my figures in each case proportionately: instances with word-end as a proportion of total instances. Since instances with word-end have a tendency to correspond, I add in brackets, after the figures for instances, the number of places in which these instances are found. I give separate figures for dimeters of the form $| (\times) e \times e (\times) |$, inasmuch as these dimeters (*a*) have each to be included under two heads, (*b*) contain no instance of word-end after the central anceps. In, for example, ". . . $\langle - \rangle e |$: word-end 9 (8) out of 127 (34) + 19 (6)", 127 instances (34 places) is the figure for . . . $- e |$ excluding dimeters, 19 (6) the figure for dimeters ($| (\times) e - e |$); the 9 instances (8 places) of word-end after $\langle - \rangle$ are all contained in the 127 (34).

¹⁵ The diaeresis is not required to be period-end.

Under (e.g.) ... 'x' e l I give instances where it can be determined whether or not there is word-end after 'x', but where the quantity of 'x' is indeterminable. /

[251/2]

- (a) ... '—' e x l: word-end 0 (0) out of 143 (40) + 51 (17).
 ... '∪' e x l: word-end 0 (0) out of 36 (15) + 5 (3).
 ... 'x' e x l: word-end 0 (0) out of 7 (7) + 2 (2).
 Total: word-end 0 (0) out of 186 (43) + 58 (18).

In this position the law is observed without exception, for long and short syllables alike. In two instances '—' is followed by elision; this is evidently not felt as word-end.

- (b) ... '—' e l: word-end 9 (8) out of 127 (34) + 19 (6).
 ... '∪' e l: word-end 6 (5) out of 27 (16) + 0 (0).
 ... 'x' e l: word-end 4 (4) out of 8 (8) + 3 (3).
 Total: word-end 19 (12) out of 162 (37) + 22 (6).

In this position exceptions are not uncommon: commonest with short syllables, but by no means rare with long. In at least two places exceptions with '—' and '∪' correspond.

In one instance '∪' is followed by elision; this will not be felt as word-end.

- (c) l x e '—' . . . : word-end 8 (4) out of 33 (17) + 21 (9).
 l x e '∪' . . . : word-end 0 (0) out of 0 (0) + 1 (1).
 l x e 'x' . . . : word-end 3 (2) out of 5 (3) + 0 (0).
 Total: word-end 11 (6) out of 38 (18) + 22 (9).

In view of the extreme rarity of '∪' in this position it is probably safer to treat instances of 'x' as long.¹⁶

In this position exceptions are quite common with long syllables.¹⁷ One might guess that after any short syllables which did occur word-end would be no less legitimate.

- (d) l e '—' . . . : word-end 3 (3) out of 120 (36) + 49 (14).
 l e '∪' . . . : word-end 0 (0) out of 3 (3) + 4 (2).
 l e 'x' . . . : word-end 0 (0) out of 5 (4) + 5 (5).
 Total: word-end 3 (3) out of 128 (36) + 58 (15).

¹⁶ That Bacchylides here prefers — to ∪ even with word-end is indicated by the fact that in 2 instances (1. 153, fr. 4. 3) the quantity of — before word-end is due to paragogic *v*.

¹⁷ Therefore at 5. 155/6, 195/6, ll D^Δ: — e —^β: e ∪ e ll, I incline (pace Maas, *Philologus* 63, 302 n. 12- <= *Kl.Schr.* 13>) to put the caesura at A not B, and to regard word-end at B as an exception to the law.

In this position exceptions are very rare with long syllables; whether they would be legitimate with short one cannot tell.¹⁸

In one instance ‘-’ is followed by elision; this will not be felt as word-end.

It should be observed that the two positions in which word-end is most rigorously avoided are those where it would isolate the group $e \times$ at the beginning or end of a line.¹⁹

How far dimeters should be taken into account in determining the proportions of word-end is debatable. The position in which they would most influence the proportion is (c), and here I incline not to take them into account: / most of them are $l \times e \text{ ‘}\times\text{’ } e \times l$, and here word-end after ‘ \times ’ is rigorously excluded under (a); in the others, $l \times e \text{ ‘}\times\text{’ } e l$, it might also be thought to be excluded under (b) rather than under (c).²⁰

I add a list of the instances of word-end under the various heads. Instances which are connected by ~, or to which the same letter is appended, correspond.

(a) ... - $e \times l$: none; elision 12. 37 (dimeter, $l e - e - l$), 13. 78.

(b) ... - $e l$: 1. 2²¹ ~ 148, 6, 8; 7. 2; 9. 50 (A); 13. 64 (B); 15. 2 (C); fr. 4. 25. (5. 12 is corrupt.)

... $\cup e l$: 5. 4 ~ 19; 12. 4; 13. 157 (D), 196 (B); 15. 51 (C); elision 13. 190 (D).

... $\times e l$: 7. 18 *ατεκνὸν* [- \cup - ||; 9. 76 (A) \times] *πρῶξεν*[- ||; 13. 97 (B) *ετι*[*κτῆ*(ν) *Πῆλῆᾶ* ||, 124 (D) probably *θ*[*υμῶν ἀνῆρῶν* | or *θ*[*υμῶν νᾶυβᾶτᾶν* |. (At 15. 4 - - \cup - \times χ] *ρῶσῆᾶς* | word-end is not certain: perhaps *παγχ*] *ρυσῆᾶς*.)

¹⁸ For an exception after \cup conjectured at fr. 20 B. 8 see above, p. 251.

¹⁹ We do not however know whether Bacchylides would have avoided word-end after $e \cup$.

²⁰ The figures for the different types of dimeter are as follows: $l \times e \text{ ‘}\times\text{’ } e \times l$ 16 (7) with ‘-’, 1 (1) with ‘ \cup ’, total 17 (7); $l e \text{ ‘}\times\text{’ } e \times l$ 35 (10) with ‘-’, 4 (2) with ‘ \cup ’, 2 (2) with ‘ \times ’, total 41 (11); $l \times e \text{ ‘}\times\text{’ } e l$ 5 (2) with ‘-’, $l e \text{ ‘}\times\text{’ } e l$ 14 (4) with ‘-’, 3 (3) with ‘ \times ’, total 17 (4).

²¹ I owe this reference to Professor Maas. He has seen that the new fragment in the Kallimachos scholia (fr. 2a Pf., vol. ii p. 103) forms the beginning of the first ode, and that fr. 16a Kenyon does not belong here (nor fr. 14 Kenyon to 7-9):

[-*Κλυτοφόρμιγγες* *Διὸς ὕ-*
ψιμέδοντος παρθένου]
ἔννεα (or *δεῦρ’ ἴτε*) *Πι*] *ερίδες*
- -] *ἔννεφα*] *νετε* - -
5 - $\cup \cup$] *ους*, *ἴνα κ*] *υ-*
δαίνητε] *γαίας* *Ἰσθμί*] *ας*
- - \cup] *ν*, *εὐβούλου* *Ἰ*] *οσει-*
δάνα γαμ] *βρόν* *Νηρέ*] *ος*

(*κυδαίνητε* is Jebb’s). I am very grateful to Professor Maas for pointing this out to me, and for his permission to use it here.

- (c) | × e – . . . : 1. 122 ~ 145 ~ 153 ~ 168; 8. 14 ~ 30; 10. 51; fr. 4. 3.
 | × e × . . . : 8. 8 || –]ι̇σὶ̇ ἄγῶν[δ̇ς – υ υ]ταν κτλ. ~ 24 || πα̇ις ε̇ῶν ἄνῆρ τ̇ε̇
 π[λευ]νας κτλ.; 15. 3 || υ – υ – ×] Παλλαδος ορσιμαχου. (For 15. 4 see
 above, under (b).)
- (d) | e – . . . : 9. 25; 10. 6; 14. 17; elision 12. 37 (see (a)).

Seven Against Thebes: the Final Scene

In *Dionysiaca: Nine Studies . . . presented to Sir Denys Page* (Cambridge 1978), R. D. Dawe considers on pp. 87–103 ‘the end of *Seven Against Thebes* yet again’. He has taken up the challenge of H. Erbse¹ that ‘die Gegner des überlieferten Textes’ (i.e. those who believe the end of the play to be spurious) should ‘ihr Unbehagen präzisieren’; and he sets forth what he supposes to be ‘enough concrete linguistic and metrical fact to convince all but the most obdurate that the end of the play which we possess is not the end that Aeschylus wrote for it’.

Unfortunately a good deal of what Dawe offers us as linguistic and metrical fact turns out on investigation to be linguistic and metrical fiction; and if I were an ally of Erbse I should rejoice. But I am not an ally of Erbse: I share Dawe’s conviction that a great part of the end of the play is from the hand not of Aeschylus but of an interpolator—of a man who, I should suppose in the fourth century, recast the end in order to bring it into line with the dispute over burial which Sophocles had popularized in his *Antigone*.

Now if a thesis is supported by bad arguments as well as good, the refutation of the bad arguments does nothing whatever to weaken the efficacy of the good. But the human mind unfortunately does not work in this way: people suppose, foolishly and irrationally, but they suppose it none the less, that to destroy a bad argument that has been advanced in support of a thesis makes the thesis itself in some way less probable than it would be if the argument had never been advanced at all. I think it may be well therefore if I undertake myself the exposure of the more patent errors in what Dawe has written; for in doing so I can stress that their exposure leaves me just as convinced as I was before that Dawe is right in maintaining that rather over a hundred lines in the last quarter of the play are the work not of Aeschylus but

<Composed not long after 1978, the date of Dawe’s paper. A handwritten addition to n. 28 refers to a part of Chantraine’s *Dictionnaire étymologique* that appeared in 1980. For n. 19 B. may have used *TrGF* ii (1981). In n. 79 I think he would have mentioned my *Greek Metre* (1982) if it had been available.>

¹ In <J. L. Heller (ed.),> *Serta Turyniana*, 198.

(the words are mine, but I think that Dawe will not disagree) of a third-rate hack. But that hack was writing in Athens at a time when *nondum obliti erant Athenis loquier lingua Graeca*; and if I show him to use that language without the solecisms that Dawe would suppose, I am merely showing him to possess the natural birthright of a fourth-century Athenian. His linguistic incompetence will manifest itself not in solecisms but in straining the language in what he mistakenly supposes to be the manner of Aeschylus, or in falling flat where Aeschylus would have risen; and to demonstrate that kind of incompetence, to a reader who is predisposed to be deluded, will seldom if ever be possible.

What follows is not intended as a systematic investigation of the language of the spurious parts of the play, nor even as a systematic investigation of the questions raised by Dawe: my primary purpose, as I have said, is to purge the case for the prosecution from such errors of Dawe's as might be in danger of discrediting it. I have not kept rigorously within these limits (in particular, I have added a few points of my own to the case for the prosecution); but in general I have dealt only with those objections of Dawe's which I have found to be demonstrably and seriously mistaken. I have as a rule said nothing (*a*) about incidental trivialities of which I disapprove, (*b*) in places where there may be room for doubt, (*c*) in places where I think there is more to be said than Dawe has realized,² (*d*) in places where I agree

² But I will mention the most important: 854–60 *ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ὄδρον | ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν | πίτυλον, ὅς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται | τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα, | τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον, | πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανή τε χέρσον*. In the language here Dawe finds (pp. 89–90) two especial flaws: the causal use of *ἀμείβεται*, and the ineptness of the epithets *τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον* (inept if applied to Charon's boat, yet not in this sentence construable with *χέρσον*, the shore to which the boat is sailing). The objections are entirely valid; yet they can be disposed of by a means which Dawe does not so much as mention, the interpretation of *θεωρίδα* not as *θεωρίδα ναῦν* but as *θεωρίδα ὁδόν*. This was proposed by Hermann and accepted by Weil; and I am confident that it was what the writer intended. Hermann adduced Hesych. θ 447 *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἴασι ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά θεωρίδα*; and the scholia in M, after a note identifying the *θεωρίς* as Charon's boat, have a garbled comment *λέγει δὲ ὅτι ταύτην ὁδὸν θεωρητικὴν ὥσπερ οἶδεν ὁ στόνος τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα*—too far gone to be unscrambled, but evidently talking about a *ὁδὸς θεωρική* that takes one to Acheron. Now *ὁδός* is indeterminate between 'road' and 'journey', and I expect *θεωρίς* (*ὁδός*) to be similarly indeterminate; for 'journey' cf. Hesych. θ 446 *θεωρίς . . . θεωρία*, and in our passage 'journey' is indicated by the adjectives. It is *μελάγκροκος*, a journey for which black fabrics are worn; it is *ἀστιβῆς Ἀπόλλωνι* (*ἀστιβής*, 'such that there is no treading', could be applied as well to the journey as to the road—for the range of meaning of such adjectives see my note on E. *Hipp.* 677–9; I throw in the remark that at S. *Ai.* 670 *νιφοστιβεῖς χειμῶνες* are winters in which one treads on snow); and I suspect that when the writer calls it *ἄστολος* he is intending *θεωρίς ἄστολος* as a variant on *στόλος ἄστολος* (*στόλος* 'journey'), with the 'a-pejorative' (D. Fehling, *Hermes* 96 [1968], 142–55) of *νόμος ἄνομος, πότμος ἄποτμος*, etc.

The writer might have saved posterity a good deal of trouble if instead of *θεωρίδα* he had written *θεωρίαν*. Perhaps he did: *IAN* and *IDA* are not difficult to confuse. I do not find the

with him (which I do most commonly when his objection is not to the language as a matter of grammar or semantics, but to its content and its style).

My comment is confined to the final scene of the play, from the entry of the herald (1005) to the end. It is when he reaches this scene that Dawe says (not quite accurately, but nearly so) ‘discussion is now confined to points of language and metre’; and it is here that I have found his errors to be concentrated.

Before I proceed to my comment I will stress once more that it is not my intention to defend the ascription of these parts of the play to Aeschylus: if I am defending anything (other than the truth) I am defending the writer’s knowledge of his native language; and a man can know his native language and yet be a very indifferent poet and a very incompetent dramatist. As this man was.

1005–6. δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ’ ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρῆ
δήμου προβούλοισ τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεωσ.

Dawe: ‘τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεωσ has been objected to on the grounds that we already know where we are. τοῖσδε (Wilamowitz), parallel to τῶιδε in 1025, would imply the presence of a number of silent πρόβουλοι, but where they sprang from there is no knowing. The τῶιδε of 1025 can be taken as anaphoric, not deictic, and is not necessarily support for τοῖσδε here. The problem of 1006 is however not one that we need take too seriously, and Nicolaus may be right in saying of the expression “dass sie zur Formel eines amtlichen Erlasses gehören muss”.’

I do not know who it may have been who objected to τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεωσ ‘on the grounds that we already know where we are’. Nor do I know whether he made the same objection at *Pers.* 761 τόδ’ ἄστνι Cούων, *Su.* 292 τῆιδ’ ἐν Ἀργεῖαι χθονί, 912 ἀνδρῶν Πελασγῶν τήνδ’ ἀτιμάζεισ χθόνα, 1023 πόλι τάνδε Πελασγῶν, *Ag.* 506 τῆιδ’ ἐν Ἀργεῖαι χθονί, *S. Ai.* 434 τῆσδ’ ἀπ’ Ἰδαίας χθονός, *Ant.* 733 Θήβησ τῆσδε, 1162 τήνδε Καδμείαν χθόνα, *E. Alk.* 476 Φεραίας τῆσδε κωμηταί χθονός, 480 Φεραίων ἄστνι προσβῆναι τόδε, *Med.* 702 τῆσδε γῆσ Κορινθίας, 916 τῆσδε γῆσ Κορινθίας, 1381 γῆι δὲ τῆιδε Cικύφου, *Hkld.* 198 Ἀθήνασ τάσδε, *Andr.* 664 τῆσδε γῆσ Φθιώτιδοσ, *Her.* 271 τάσδε Θήβασ, *Tro.* 1261 Πριάμου τόδ’ ἄστνι, *Ph.* 563 ἄστνι Θηβαίων τόδε, 635 τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονός, 776 τῆιδε Θηβαίαι χθονί, 1045 Θηβαίαν τάνδε γᾶν, *Or.* 1601 ἐν Ἀργεῖ τῶιδε τῶι Πελασγικῶι, *Ba.* 172 ἄστνι Θηβαίων τόδε, 450 τάσδε Θήβασ, 660

sentence a particularly successful one (and nothing of course can defend the anomalous synzesis or prodelision in ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι; on which see below, n. 85). But this interpretation does at least allow the writer’s incompetence to stop short of the irrational confusion of which Dawe finds him guilty.

τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονός, 1043 τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονός, 1247 Θήβας τάσδε.³ If Dawe thinks that these instances may not provide adequate analogy for τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως, he should tell us why; if he thinks that they do, he should not speak of the objection as ‘not [to be taken] too seriously’, but should condemn it outright as purely frivolous (or for preference be silent about it altogether).

The unwary might infer from Dawe that the objection was made, or subscribed to, by Wilamowitz; it was not. He did indeed object to τῆσδε, but on other grounds:⁴ ‘der Ausdruck “der dem Volke vorberatende Ausschuß des Kadmeerstaates” . . . erträgt es eigentlich nicht’ (*Aisch. Interpr.*, 89 n. 1). I think this objection just as frivolous as the other: the presence or absence of τῆσδε seems to me to make not the slightest difference to this perfectly straightforward expression. But the objection in any case is secondary: Wilamowitz’s real reason for his change was not his dislike of τῆσδε but his desire for τοῖσδε; it was not, as Dawe might seem to suggest, that he suffered the presence of the πρόβουλοι for the sake of avoiding τῆσδε, but that he rejected τῆσδε for the sake of the presence of the πρόβουλοι. He started by inferring from 1025 τοιαῦτ’ ἔδοξε τῶιδε Καδμείων τέλει that the πρόβουλοι are on the stage (if they are not, then τῶιδε is a great deal odder than Dawe seems to suppose⁵), and because of this changed τῆσδε to τοῖσδε (which is indeed unavoidable if the πρόβουλοι are present when spoken of). There is certainly a serious problem here; but it does not arise from any linguistic oddity in 1006.

1007. Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ’ ἐπ’ εὐνοίαι χθονὸς
θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς.

Dawe: ‘ἐπ’ εὐνοίαι χθονός gives the reason why Eteocles may be buried. It cannot therefore mean “accompanied by the good-will of the land”. But that

³ I do not vouch for the completeness of this list. I have deliberately excluded one or two instances that come soon enough after the first indication of the scene for it to be alleged that they are intended to reinforce it (as E. *Hipp.* 29 τῆσδε γῆν Τροζηνίαν after 12 τῆσδε γῆς Τροζηνίας).

In some instances one can see a good rhetorical reason for the use of both name and demonstrative: Ag. 506 is spoken by the Argive, just back from Troy, who had never hoped to survive the war and be buried at home in Argos; Or. 1601 is Orestes’ answer to Menelaos’ ‘where could you rightly be king?’. But in most instances one or the other (not necessarily either) could be omitted without detriment to anything but the metre.

⁴ That he calls τῆσδε ‘müssig’ (as it certainly is) is not of course an objection, but merely an indication that if altered it will not be missed: he speaks of ‘das nicht nur müssige τῆσδε’, and then proceeds to his reason (foreshadowed by the ‘nicht nur’) for actually wishing it out of the way.

⁵ And will need more justification than an assertion that it ‘can be taken as anaphoric’. Dawe might have done better to attack the language of 1025; where the difficulty of the singular τέλει may also be thought greater than he supposes (p. 97: ‘the point is not of much weight’).

is what it ought to mean according to the ordinary rules of language. ἐπὶ with a dative, or indeed any other case, never means the same as ἀντὶ with a genitive. εὐνοια, meaning good-will towards some one, does not take a genitive but a dative.’ These ‘ordinary rules of language’ are not the rules of fifth- and fourth-century Attic.

First, Dawe’s second rule: ‘εὐνοια, meaning good-will towards some one, does not take a genitive but a dative.’ This is false: it take a genitive.⁶ Dawe cites one passage as an instance of what he calls ‘the regular construction with the dative’, and it is not an instance at all: D. 18. 273 οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ εὐνοίαι γ’ ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, where ἐμοὶ construes not after εὐνοίαι but after παρεχώρεις.⁷ Of the genitive he says ‘the only instance of εὐνοια with an objective genitive cited by LSJ is Xen. *Anab.* 4. 7. 20’ (they cite also Pl. *Gorg.* 485a, but of this he says no word), and he proceeds to abolish this instance by means of a novel misinterpretation. But his initial certainty abates as he proceeds (‘the point may require further investigation than I have been able to give it’), and he ends by saying (n. 10) ‘I shall certainly remain open to persuasion if incontrovertible examples can be found’. Well here are some: Hdt. 6. 108. 3 (the Lakedaimonians have advised the Plataians that they will find an alliance with the Athenians more advantageous than one with themselves) ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι; Th. 1. 22. 3 ἐπιπόνως δὲ ἠύρίσκετο (sc. the precise facts of the operations in the war), διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι (sympathy for one side or the other), 7. 57. 10 καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων τινὲς ἅμα μὲν κέρδει, τὸ δὲ πλεόν Δημοσθένους φιλίαι καὶ Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίαι ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἐπεκούρησαν; Lys. 10. 27 ἔτη δὲ γεγωνῶς ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἐν ὀλιγαρχίαι δι’ εὐνοίαν τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους ἀπέθανεν, 22. 11 ἴσως δ’ ἐροῦσιν . . . ὡς ἐπ’ εὐνοίαι τῆς πόλεως συνεωνοῦντο τὸν κύτον, ἢ ὡς ἀξιώτατον ὑμῖν πωλοῖεν, 33. 1 ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἔνεκα, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀξίον Ἡρακλέους μεμνήσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος συνήγειρε δι’ εὐνοίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος; Pl. *Plt.* 262c πειρατέον ἔτι καφέστερον φράζειν εὐνοίαι τῆς σῆς φύσεως, ὧ Σώκρατες, *Gorg.* 485a ὅπου δ’

⁶ It can also (and in the fourth century more commonly) take a prepositional phrase, e.g. D. 6. 10 τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐνοίαν, 20. 50 τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. A genitive can occasionally be subjective (D. 18. 153 θεῶν τινος εὐνοίαι, [D.] 10. 50 συμμαχῶν εὐνοίαι), though here again more often a prepositional phrase, e.g. D. 18. 3 τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν εὐνοίας.

⁷ In citing it he says ‘e.g. Dem. *De Corona* 273’; I do not know what may be latent under the ‘e.g.’. But I remark that at E. *Tro.* 6, (ever since that day) οὐποτ’ ἐκ φρενῶν | εὐνοὶ ἀπέστη τῶν ἐμῶν Φρυγῶν πόλει, and Or. 868 cῶι γὰρ εὐνοίαν πατρὶ | ἀεὶ ποτ’ εἶχον, the datives construe not after εὐνοία(ν) but after οὐποτ’ ἐκ φρενῶν εὐνοὶ ἀπέστη = εὐνοϊκῶς ἀεὶ διάκειμαι and after εὐνοίαν εἶχον = εὐνοῦς ἦ.

ἀν φαῦλος ἦι, ἐντεῦθεν φεύγει καὶ λουδορεῖ τοῦτο, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἐπαινεῖ, εὐνοίας τῆι ἑαυτοῦ, ἡγούμενος οὕτως αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν; D. 15. 11 ἐγὼ νομίζω, πρᾶττοντος μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτωι πάνθ' ὡς ὄρμηκε βασιλέως, σφόδρ' ἂν Ἀρτεμισίαν πειραθῆναι περιποιῆσαι Ὠδὸν αὐτῶι, οὐ τῆι βασιλέως εὐνοίαι, ἀλλὰ τῶι βούλεσθαι πλησίον αὐτῆς διατρίβοντος ἐκείνου μεγάλην εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. Finally, Xenophon, loc. cit: they came to a πόλις called Gymnias; ἐκ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὁ ἄρχων τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. ἔλθων δ' ἐκείνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλασσαν· εἰ δὲ μή, τεθνᾶναι ἐπηγγεῖλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλλεν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· ὧι καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας—that the reason for his coming was this, and not their goodwill towards the Greeks.⁸ The article τῆς ('not accounted for' according to Dawe) is exactly like the articles in Herodotos⁹ and Demosthenes cited above; the effect is presumably 'not because of their (her) goodwill': the author, in denying that the goodwill provided the motive, either admits its existence or implies that it was professed.

Now Dawe's other rule. 'ἐπὶ with a dative . . . never means the same as ἀντι with a genitive': no, but there are occasions (as I shall show below) when the difference in meaning is immaterial and the two are in practice indifferent alternatives. The ἐπὶ here will be the ἐπὶ found commonly after verbs of honouring: τιμᾶν, στεφανοῦν, δωρεῖα διδόναι ἐπὶ τινι. The dative after it most commonly gives the actions which occasion the honour: neuters plural D. 18. 114 ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, 23. 185 ἐφ' οἷς εὐ πεποιήκασι ὑμᾶς τετίμηνται, 20. 72 τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις δοθείσας δωρεῖας (cf. 3. 36, 18. 4, 83, 117, 118, 19. 147, 20. 83, 137); nouns Pi. Parth. fr. 94b. 41–6 τίμασθαι . . . πολυγνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις; D. 20. 81 τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς . . . εὐεργεσίαις . . . δοθέντων, 154 τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δωρεῖας; in our passage we have instead the virtue manifest in the action, and so Aischin. 3. 226 στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῆι and (combined with a neuter plural) Gorg. *Vorsokr.* 82 B 11a (*Palamedes*) 16 ἐτιμώμην γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντιμοτάτοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων, ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ σοφίαι. (The action, or the virtue manifest in it, that

⁸ 'On this view τούτου ἕνεκα denotes purpose, and ἕνεκα with the second phrase has to denote cause': so Dawe, with the suggestion apparently that this shift in the sense of ἕνεκα is unwelcome. It is nothing out of the way: Hdt. 3. 79. 1 they left the wounded behind καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, Th. 7. 57. 9 Ἀργεῖοι . . . οὐ τῆς συμμαχίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς παραντίκα ἕκαστοι ἰδίας ἀφελίας . . . ἠκολούθουν, Lys. 22. 20 χρῆ δὲ . . . μὴ μόνον τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἕνεκα αὐτοὺς κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδείγματος ἕνεκα τῶν μελλόντων ἕεσθαι, Aeschin. 1. 178 οὔτε κέρδους ἕνεκα ἀδίκου οὔτε χάριτος οὔτε ἔχθρας.

⁹ In Herodotos the article is present in *a* but absent in *d*; I think it likelier that it was omitted by someone who thought as Dawe than that it was inserted by someone who thought as I.

occasions an honour may equally be thought of as requited by it; so that ἐπί τινι and ἀντί τινος may, as I have said, be used in such contexts as in effect indifferent alternatives. So D. 18. 83 στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἔμ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, 222 ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί; 297 εἰτά μ' ἐρωτάις ἀντι ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμάσθαι; Aischin. 3. 226 αὐτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτάις τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος ὅστις . . . ἀξιοίη στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῆι.) I see, that is, no strictly linguistic objection to the phrase.¹⁰ The objection which I do see is founded rather in fact and custom than in language: one expects that what is given to Eteokles ἐπ' εὐνοίαι χθονός, for his patriotism, will be some signal honour, the equivalent for a fallen Theban of στέφανοι or δωρεαί given to living Athenians; and if 1008 described some such honour I should be well content. But it does not: it tells us merely that he will be buried in Theban soil;¹¹ and that burial is no exceptional honour but the natural right of any Theban, however inglorious, who is neither a traitor nor tainted with some intolerable pollution.¹²

1008 (cited in full above, with 1007): κατασκαφαίς.

Dawe: 'This word normally means "destruction". But here and at 1037, and also at Soph. *Ant.* 920, it bears a different meaning. Now *Ant.* 920 comes at the end of the famous section condemned by A. Jacob . . . In any case, whether *Ant.* 920 ζῶς ἐς θανάτων ἔρχομαι κατασκαφάς is genuine or not, the choice of the word κατασκαφάς can be explained by the unusual nature of Antigone's tomb, a cave-like formation in which she is immured. It is something "dug out". . . . By analogy φίλαις κατασκαφαίς in *Sept.* 1008 ought to mean something like "welcome excavated chambers" which it transparently does not. It is difficult to resist the idea that *Ant.* 920 has been our interpolator's imperfectly understood model'; and on 1037, where the word occurs again, he speaks of

¹⁰ I discount Fraenkel's objection (*Mus. Helv.* 21 [1964], 62) that 'mit Ausnahme der Wendung ἐπανεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῆι εὐνοίαι scheint ἐπ' εὐνοίαι nur so gebraucht zu werden, dass die εὐνοια dem eignet, der das Subjekt des dabeistehenden Verbums ist'. Prepositional phrases that are common with one meaning are not thereby debarred from bearing other meanings that accord with the normal use of the preposition: 'over the road' in English most commonly means 'on or to the other side of the road', but that does not prevent my saying 'there is flood-water over the road' (i.e. covering it) or 'they went to law over the road' (i.e. litigated about it).

¹¹ Reading γῆς φίλῃς κατασκαφαίς; with the φίλαις of the manuscripts it tells us even less. (I discuss the reading below.)

¹² This same ἐπί that gives the ground for awarding an honour can equally give the ground for imposing a penalty: A. *Su.* 6 οὐτὰν' ἐφ' αἵματι δημηλασίαν ψήφωι πάλεως γνωσθεῖσθαι, Th. 1. 138. 6 ἐπὶ προδοσίαι φεύγοντος (in exile), D. 21. 12 ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐφ' οὗ τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐ δίκαιος ἂν ἀπολωλέναι φανήσεται. But whether honour or penalty it gives the ground for treating a man exceptionally; whereas in our passage it affects to give the ground for treating him as he would have been treated in any case.

it as used ‘catachrestically’ here at 1008. This will not do at all: there is no catachresis; it is in no way ‘unusual’ for a grave or tomb to be ‘dug out’; and *κατασκαφαίς* says nothing about ‘chambers’.

It is true that *κατασκάπτειν*, with its cognates, is used normally as ‘raze to the ground’; but the word is literally ‘dig down’, and there can be no reason *a priori* why it should not be used, with perfect propriety, of the excavation of a grave or subterranean tomb.¹³ And (what Dawe does not mention) Sophocles in a certainly genuine passage provides us with good reason *a posteriori* to accept the use: *Ant.* 891 *κατασκαφῆς οἴκησις*, of the chamber in which Antigone will be immured; described also as *πετρῶδης κατῶρυξ* (774), and evidently, from the account in 1215 ff., a tomb of some kind, whether chamber or tholos, cut into the rock of a hillside.¹⁴ It is indeed an ‘excavated chamber’, but ‘chamber’ is given only by *οἴκησις*, and *κατασκαφῆς* is simply ‘excavated below the ground’.¹⁵ There we have one certain case in fifth-century tragedy of a cognate of *κατασκάπτειν* with the sense ‘excavate’, and if we have one we can have others: I can attach no suspicion whatever to *κατασκαφή* as ‘excavation’, whether of the act of excavating, or of the result. About the nature of the excavation the word itself can tell us nothing: in *Antigone* we know it to be very large, at 1037 below it will be the simplest of graves; here therefore at 1008 we have merely the digging of a grave or tomb, with no indication of its kind.

I find then no evidence for interpolation in the use of *κατασκαφαί* here and at 1037. But once one admits that we have interpolation, and interpolation inspired by Sophocles’ *Antigone*, it becomes of course quite evident that the word was put into the interpolator’s head by its appearance in *Antigone*; I suppose not simply by *κατασκαφῆς οἴκησις* but by the word itself in *θανόντων κατασκαφάς*, which is likely enough to have established itself in the text by the time when our man was writing.

One thing more: for *γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαίς* I read *γῆς φίλης κατασκαφαίς*

¹³ *σκάπτειν* most commonly of tilling; but Th. 4. 90. 2 *τάφρον ἔσκαπτον* as a fortification.

¹⁴ It is clearly something large internally, and enough is said of it, in one place or another, to have prompted inquiry into the precise nature of its construction. But Sophocles was not an archaeologist, and I think it mistaken to expect from him a consistent and accurate picture of a particular kind of Mycenaean tomb.

¹⁵ Both chamber- and tholos-tombs, when constructed in the slope of a hill, consisted of a subterranean tomb proper approached by a more or less horizontal passage (dromos). Both were made by digging downwards (*κατα-*): although the chamber-tomb had its chamber cut horizontally into the rock at the end of the dromos, the dromos itself was cut out of the hillside by excavation from above (and would often, for economy of construction, be made with a downward slope towards the chamber); the tholos-tomb was all of it excavated from above, and a vaulted chamber then constructed within the excavation and covered with a mound of soil. See the diagram in Wace and Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, 492–3.

(Blomfield),¹⁶ the digging of a grave in the land that was dear to him. *γῆς κατασκαφαίς* without *φίλης* would be merely digging in the earth, with the place of burial neither named nor implied (and the whole expression the merest padding); *γῆς* would be otiose (in what else can one dig a grave?),¹⁷ and *φίλαις* (i.e. satisfying his desire to be buried, not left unburied) inept.¹⁸ That *φίλαις* should arise by accident (a copyist's unthinking assimilation to *κατασκαφαίς*) would be easy;¹⁹ that it should, with *φίλης* to hand, be any writer's deliberate choice is more than I can believe. Our man was incompetent yes; but this would be not incompetence but perversity.

1009. *στέγων γὰρ ἔχθροὺς θάνατον εἴλετ' ἐν πόλει.*

Dawe raises two objections against the language of this line: the first is valid, but not stated correctly; the second (which has been felt by others before Dawe, and has led some of them to make bad conjectures) I believe to be illusory.

First, *στέγων*. I agree with Dawe that this (Wakefield's correction) is certain, with *στρυγῶν* a simple corruption and *εἴργων* a gloss (the same gloss at 216, *Su.* 135). I agree with him also that whereas city walls can properly be said to *στέγειν* the enemy, Eteokles cannot: the interpolator, basing himself on 216 and 234, has overstepped, as Aeschylus would not, the line between the effective and the inept. But Dawe misstates the case against *στέγων* when he

¹⁶ He did not put it in his text: after suggesting it he continued 'sed in Agam. [507] μεθέξειν φιλάτου τάφου μέρος'. But *Ag.* 507 provides not an analogy for *φίλαις* but a contrast: οὐ γὰρ ποτ' ἠὔχον τῆιδ' ἐν Ἀργεΐαι χθονί | θανὼν μεθέξειν φιλάτου τάφου μέρος: the *τάφος* is *φίλατος* expressly as being *τῆιδ' ἐν Ἀργεΐαι χθονί*, whereas in our passage 'at Thebes' would be neither expressed nor implied.

¹⁷ *E. Andr.* 1160 *γῆς τε κοσμήσαι τάφωι*, *El.* 1277 *γῆς καλύψουεν τάφωι*; but there the word suggests the mound of earth (*Su.* 53 *τάφων χώματα γαίας*).

¹⁸ I can understand *φίλαις* only thus ('humatio mortuis exoptabilis' Schütz), and not in the active sense by which some avoid the ineptitude: C. E. S. Headlam 'kindly interment in the earth', Tucker 'a grave dug kindly in its soil' (he pays unwitting tribute to *φίλης* by smuggling in a substitute in 'its'; similarly Smyth). *φίλος* is certainly used occasionally with *nomina agentis* (or *rei actae*) in much the sense of English 'affectionate', to indicate that the agent is a *φίλος* acting in conformity with his *φιλία*: *E. Tro.* 1184 *φίλα προσφθέγματα* (the grandson at his grandmother's tomb), [E.] *IA* 1229 *φίλαιεν ὑποδοχαίς δόμων* (the married daughter giving a home to her aged father), *A. Th.* 934 *διατομαίς οὐ φίλαις* (the brothers hacking one another to pieces). But I do not find *φίλοι κατασκαφαί* ('affectionate digging', the action of those who *κατασκάπτουεν* out of *φιλία*) a very likely concept, and I cannot suppose that a writer would have expected the words to be taken thus, especially when *θάπτειν* has no subject expressed and the identity of the diggers (or of those responsible for the digging) is left unspecified; and whoever they be, what place has their mental attitude in the provisions of the edict?

¹⁹ *Trag. adesp.* 281 (about burial) appears in Stobaios (3. 40. 8) with *γῆς φίλης ὄχθοις*, in Diogenes Laertios (4. 25) with *φίλοις* (BP; *φίλεις* F). But in each case the line is quoted by a philosopher (Teles, Krantor) for his own purposes; how far do the variants (there are others) depend on copyists, how far on quoters?

says that the verb ‘is used only of things’ (i.e. with things as subject): there are at any rate four instances in later Greek where a body or line of soldiers is said to *στέγειν* an enemy attack,²⁰ and if I found the same use in tragedy I should think it unexceptionable. These instances must not however be supposed (as they are by Headlam, loc. cit. in n. 20) to be adequate justification for *στέγων* here: the real objection (which Dawe combines with his mistaken one) is that *στέγειν* is ‘keep out’ not in the sense of ‘fend off’ but in the sense of ‘be impervious to, impenetrable by’ (as a ship’s hull is impervious to the sea, or a roof to the rain); and whereas a line of soldiers or a city wall can be impervious to the enemy, a single man cannot.²¹

Second, *ἐν πόλει*. Dawe: ‘*ἐν πόλει* is a serious embarrassment to the defenders of authenticity, for the simple reason that it is not true that Eteocles chose death in the city—and there is nothing else that *ἐν πόλει* can mean. The enemy never got inside the city gates.’ Our writer will have been well aware that they never got inside, and incompetent though he was we must credit him at least with ordinary sanity: if he wrote *ἐν πόλει* (and I am confident that he did, when there is an effective contrast between *ἐχθρούς* and *πόλει*) what he meant by it was not ‘inside the city’. What he did mean is not far to seek.

The enemy, as Dawe says, never got inside the gates. Yet they died *ἐν Θήβησι* (*Il.* 6. 223 *ὄτ’ ἐν Θήβησιν ἀπώλετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν*; *Od.* 15. 247 *ὄλετ’ ἐν Θήβησι*, of Amphiareos); their leader Adrastos at their funeral spoke *ἐν Θήβησιν* (*Pi. O.* 6. 16); when their sons the Epigonoι came against Thebes they fought *ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι . . . Θήβησιν* (*Pi. P.* 8. 39 ff.); they took the city in the end, but this is the fighting before it was taken²²). In all these *ἐν Θήβησιν* is

²⁰ LSJ cite *Plb.* 3. 53. 2 (of a rearguard) *ἔστειν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν βαρβάρων*, 18. 25. 4 *οὐ δυναμένους στέγειν τὴν τῆς φάλαγγος ἔφοδον*; Headlam, *On Editing Aeschylus*, 95, adds *Diod.* 11. 32. 4 *οὐ μὴν γε τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ βίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔστειν οὔτε τὸ κατεσκευασμένον τεῖχος οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων*, *Parmenion AP* 9. 304 (= *Gow–Page, GP* 2604–7) *τὸν γαίης καὶ πόντου ἀμειφθείσασιν κελύθοισι | ναυτὴν ἠπείρου, πεζοπόρον πελάγους*, | *ἐν τρισαῖσι δοράτων ἑκατοντάσιν ἔστειν ἄρης | Σπάρτης | αἰσχύνεσθ’, οὔρεα καὶ πελάγη*.

²¹ A single man could be said to *εἴργειν* the enemy (so at 416 *Melanippos*, one of the Theban champions, is bidden *εἴργειν τεκούσῃ μητρὶ [= Θήβησιν] πολέμιον δόρυ*); and our writer will have felt, mistakenly, that *στέγειν* could be used as in all ways equivalent to *εἴργειν* ‘keep out’. I scent another way in which the two are not equivalent (I will put it in the plural, so as not to risk confusion with the first): you could say of a body of soldiers that they chose death *εἴργοντες* the enemy, in fending them off, but could you say that they chose it *στέγοντες* the enemy, in being impenetrable by them? I expect the participle to denote an activity; *εἴργοντες* does, *στέγοντες* does not.

²² That is evident from the passage as a whole. I add that the fighting is observed by Amphiareos, and that he will be observing it from the place outside the city where as one of the Seven he had been swallowed up in the earth and thereafter had a shrine; for its location see Schober, *RE* vA. 1451–2 (with plan, 1425–6).

equivalent not to ‘in Thebes’ but to ‘at Thebes’; the same use, ‘at’ or ‘in the neighbourhood of’, is familiar with other city-names (e.g. Th. 4. 5. 2 *ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὧν* of the Peloponnesian army in 425), and is indeed normal in giving the location of a battle.²³ Now if the Seven are said to have died *ἐν Θήβαις*, so might Eteokles be; and all that happens in our passage is that a Theban speaking of a Theban’s death in battle is made to replace *ἐν Θήβαις* by *ἐν πόλει*. I cannot think that on the face of it there are serious grounds here for dissatisfaction with the language.

I have no direct parallel to offer: no instance, that is, of *ἐν* (τῆ) *πόλει* used of fighting at (as opposed to in) a city.²⁴ But I have found the following instances which are variously relevant:

(a) Thucydides’ *οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει*, which in contexts of a siege is the besieged as opposed to the besiegers (e.g. 2. 73. 2), is used also of citizens at home as opposed either to an army away on a campaign (e.g. 4. 65. 3) or to exiles (e.g. 4. 2. 3, Kerkyraian exiles *ἐν τῶι ὄρει*; 4. 75. 1, Samian exiles on the adjacent mainland); and these citizens at home are certainly not thought of as confined within the city walls.

(b) Two instances where *πόλει* has a qualification (I do not know what difference this may make): Hdt. 6. 74. 2 (he wanted to take them to Nonakris and bind them by an oath on the water of the Styx); *ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει λέγεται εἶναι . . . τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* (for its location see Paus. 8. 17. 6, *οὐ πόρρω*

²³ Battles: e.g. Th. 1. 18. 1 *ἐν Μαραθῶνι*, 57. 1 *τὴν ἐν Κερκύραις ναυμαχίαν*, 73. 4 *ἐν Καλαμῖνι ξυμμαχίᾳ*, 100. 3 *ἐν Δραβηκκῶι*, 108. 1 *ἐν Τανάγραις*, 108. 3 *ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις*, 113. 2 *ἐν Κορωνείαις*.

This use of *ἐν Θήβαις* etc. is commonly explained as a shift in the meaning of *ἐν* (KG i. 464, Schwyzer ii. 458); it may also be explained (Bölte, *RE* iiiA. 1269) as the extension of the name of a *πόλις* to the territory inhabited by its *πολίταις*. If the use began in this latter way it has lost touch with its origins in e.g. Hdt. 8. 46. 1 *ἐν Καλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν* and in X. *Hell.* 7. 5. 11 (cited below, with n. 25); but this does not mean that such an origin might not have been felt in other instances, and we must bear both explanations in mind. (The two processes of shift and extension might easily have been interrelated.)

In support of his explanation Bölte adduces two kinds of evidence. (a) The use with other prepositions: e.g. Hdt. 5. 76 *ἐπέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας* of a Peloponnesian invasion that got no farther than Eleusis; Th. 5. 77. 2 *ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου ἐκβώντας* stipulating, in a treaty, the abandonment of an investment of Epidaurus. The argument is not conclusive, for there may have been a shift in the meaning of the other prepositions as well; but evidently such instances are in some sort relevant to the use with *ἐν*. (b) Instances such as *Od.* 3. 278 *Κούριον . . . ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων*. I add Pi. N. 10. 42 *Κορίνθου . . . ἐν μυχοῖς*, of victories at the Isthmos, 11 km. from Corinth; and I find a good instance in E. *Hkld.*, whose scene is the Marathonian tetrapolis (32): Iolaos not only says *τέρμιον* | *κλειῶν Ἀθηνῶν τόνδ’ ἀφικόμεσθ’ ὄρον* (37–8; *τέρμιον* Wecklein, for an unconstruable *τέρμονας*; cf. Hesych. τ 541 *τέρμιον· ἔσχατον*) but summons the inhabitants to his aid with *ὦ τὰς Ἀθήνας* | *δαρὸν οἰκοῦντες χρόνον* | *ἀμύνετε* (69).

²⁴ For fighting *in* the city cf. Th. 5. 82. 2 *μάχης γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει* (an attack by the Argive *δήμος* on the *ὀλίγοις*): presumably street-fighting in the city itself.

from the ruins of Nonakris); X. *Hell.* 7. 5. 11 ἐγένετο . . . ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ‘arrived at’ (he had still to enter it).²⁵

(c) One instance of εἰς τὴν πόλιν (for its relevance, see n. 23): X. *Hier.* 2. 10 (the sentence is a general one, about the inhabitants of any city) εἰς δὲ . . . ἄλλοι στρατεύουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, εἰς δὲ τοῦ τευχόους ὄντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴν γε εἶσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθουσιν, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι.

No direct parallel for Eteokles’ death when fighting ἐν πόλει. But enough in the way of indirect parallels to confirm me in my belief about what the writer intended; and if it could be intended by a fourth-century reviser of the play, I cannot think it axiomatic that it could not have been intended by Aeschylus.

1022–4. καὶ μήθ’ ὄμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χειρώματα
μήτ’ ὄξυμόλποις προσέβειν οἰμώγμασιν,
ἄτιμον εἶναι δ’ ἐκφορᾶς φίλων ὕπο.

The general sense is perfectly clear: it has been decreed that Polyneikes is to be cast out unburied for dogs and birds to devour, and here we have an elaboration of the ‘unburied’—no heaping of a mound, no lamentation, but a denial of funeral rites (of the ἐκφορά, the carrying of the corpse from home to tomb). The general sense is clear, but there are difficulties in the detail; and Dawe’s treatment of these difficulties does not always accord with the facts of language.

First, 1022: no τυμβοχόα χειρώματα are to accompany Polyneikes. Now ὄμαρτεῖν is ‘go with, accompany’; and in a context of funeral rites one expects this to be ‘go with him (in the ἐκφορά)’.²⁶ What then are the χειρώματα? The word ought to be (and is elsewhere) a derivative of χειροῦσθαι ‘overpower, subdue’;²⁷ but in our passage it is ordinarily supposed to be connected directly

²⁵ At 3. 5. 17–18 Lysandros ἐφθη τὸν Πανσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενος, and then ἦιε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος and attempted to take the town by storm; i.e. ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ ἐγένετο = ‘arrived at Haliartos’. At 7. 5. 11 we have ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγένετο Ἐπαμειώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐμελλον ἐν . . . ἰσπεῖδω μαχεῖσθαι . . ., οὐκ εἰσῆιμι ταύτη . . ., ἐνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινε εἰς τὴν πόλιν; here also ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐγένετο will be ‘arrived at the city of the Spartans’.

²⁶ I add that in ‘he shall have neither A nor B, but shall be denied an ἐκφορά’ the δέ (Denniston, *Particles* 167–8, B(3), first paragraph) seems to presuppose that A and B are ingredients in an ἐκφορά. I do not mean that an audience would interpret ὄμαρτεῖν in the light of a δέ that they have not yet heard: I mean that the δέ is an indication of how the writer expected them to have understood ὄμαρτεῖν.

²⁷ Ag. 1326 εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος, an easy overpowering; S. *OT* 560 (the killing of Laios) θανασίμῳ χειρώματι, a lethal overpowering. Jebb is wrong on *OT*; but he is right on *OK* 698, ἀχειρώπων ‘unconquered’ of the olive.

with *χείρ*²⁸ and to be more or less ‘handiwork’ (schol. τὰ . . . διὰ χειρῶν ἐργαζόμενα), in one or other of the senses of the English word.²⁹ Dawe subscribes to this opinion, takes *χειρώματα* to be ‘something created by the hand’ (of a burial mound), and paraphrases the whole as ‘burial mounds shall not go hand-in-hand with, or otherwise accompany, Polyneices’;³⁰ in which he castigates the misuse both of *χειρώματα* and of *ὀμαρτεῖν* (and if the writer did mean this, the castigation would be well deserved). Now at one point Dawe is in fact making the worst of a bad job: verbal nouns in *-μα* are not infrequently used as *nomina actionis*, and the writer might with that use in mind have intended *χειρώματα* as ‘doing things with the hands’ (Smyth ‘service of hands . . . to pile his barrow’, Groeneboom ‘grafheuvel opwerpende handreikingen’); which might be thought to abate the oddity of *ὀμαρτεῖν*.³¹ It does not however remove it, and the misuse of *χειρώματα* is not abated at all; if the writer intended even this, he was still a bungler.

I do not believe that he did intend it: both the misuses disappear if one accepts an interpretation advanced by Tucker (and approved by Erbse), that *χειρώματα* means ‘slaves’ (*σώματα κεχειρωμένα*).³² That nouns in *-μα* should be applied to persons is not uncommon in tragedy; suppose this application here, and *χειρώματα* becomes a regular derivative of *χειροῦσθαι* and *ὀμαρτεῖν* is straightforwardly ‘accompany him (in an ἐκφορά)’. But Dawe will have none of it: *τυμβοχόα* cannot readily mean *τύμβον χῶσοντες* [*sic*], so *τυμβοχόα*

²⁸ I say ‘connected directly’ in case *χειροῦσθαι* be itself derived not from *χείρων* (cf. *ἐλασσώ*, etc.) but from *χείρ*; cf. J. Kerschensteiner, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 15 (1960), 39–64, ‘sich ein Objekt mit der Hand zu eigen machen’. Neither derivation is without its difficulties; but a derivation from *χείρ* is accepted in the etymological dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine.

²⁹ Working with the hands, or the product or result of working with the hands.

³⁰ He says ‘go hand-in-hand with’ because that is how he has just rendered *ὀμαρτεῖν* at S. fr. 260 ἀλλὰ τῶι γήρῃ φιλεῖ | χῶ νοῦς ὀμαρτεῖν καὶ τὸ βουλεύει ἄ δεῖ; the metaphor there is perfectly straightforward, equally possible for English ‘accompany’ or ‘go with’, and needs none but a literal rendering.

³¹ The work of mound-raising does not ‘accompany’ Polyneikes any more than does the mound itself; but it might, unlike the mound, be said to ‘attend’ him, and that, though not the meaning of *ὀμαρτεῖν* (and no part of the ἐκφορά), is perhaps close enough to that meaning to give only incompetence instead of absurdity.

I see no support for such a use of *ὀμαρτεῖν* in A. fr. 355 *μειξοβόαν πρέπει διθύραμβον ὀμαρτεῖν σύγκωμον Διονύσει (σύγκωμον Τυρwhitt for σύγκωμον)*. If (as has been supposed) it is Dionysos whom the dithyramb *ὀμαρτεῖ*, then the dithyramb that ‘joins him in the κῶμος’ might be said to ‘accompany’ him with little if any distortion of the original meaning. But I think it evident from the word order that *Διονύσει* construes only after *σύγκωμον*, and what I then expect the dithyramb to *ὀμαρτεῖν* is dancing or the like: Plutarch begins his quotation with the *μειξοβόαν* for whose sake he makes it, and would not have scrupled to omit a preceding dative (as it might be <ταχυπόδων δὲ κροτημάτων χάριτι>); or a dative might be supplied from what went before, with our sentence beginning e.g. <ὦν δὲ> *μειξοβόαν* κτλ. A satyr-chorus?

³² One might compare *δμῶες*, if the word is indeed related to *δάμημι* and not to *δόμος*.

χειρώματα must be “mound-heaping slaves”, a concept that most of us will view with dismay’—a dismay occasioned by ‘the strangely drab and narrowly circumscribed life of *τυμβοχόα χειρώματα*’. Most of us, if we care to think for a moment about ancient slavery (or indeed about grave-diggers today), will feel no such emotion; but in any case the allegation that *τυμβοχόα* ‘cannot readily mean *τύμβον χώκοντες*’, and must therefore (it is implied) denote the sole and permanent occupation of these men, is unfounded. Such expressions may of course be concerned only with a permanent or habitual occupation or activity (so, for instance, if one said *δούλων τυμβοχόων οὐ πάνυ ἐλεινός ἐστιν ὁ βίος*); but ordinarily they will be relevant to what the persons concerned are doing (or were doing, or will do, or would do) on a given occasion, and when they are so relevant it is only from our knowledge of the circumstances and of normal practice that we can tell (if we think about the matter at all) whether what they are doing now is also what they do normally or habitually.³³ In our passage therefore there can be no need whatever to understand more than ‘slaves to heap a mound’, *δούλους τύμβον χώκοντας*. I do not doubt that that is what the writer intended: interpret his words thus, and we absolve him of two bizarre misuses. At the same time, however, we credit him, in *χειρώματα* = ‘slaves’, not only with an unwelcome piece of bombast but with a use for which I find no adequate parallel in tragedy: although it is common there for verbal nouns in *-μα* to be used of persons, they appear in general not to be used (as *χειρώματα* would be here) to designate them, but only to characterize them, or to predicate something of them, when they are already designated by other means. The anomaly, if it be one, is venial in comparison with the misuses in the alternative; but it is one that I would sooner credit to the interpolator than to Aeschylus. (I will go into detail in an excursus at the end of this paper, and will consider there a number of real and apparent exceptions to my suggested rule.) <B. later decided to make the excursus an independent piece; it is chapter 16 below.>

Now the second difficulty: 1023 *προσκέβειν*. Dawe: ‘In order to understand this infinitive—once we eject the imaginary slaves from 1022—we have to supply <τινα> as subject. This is an awkwardness, and another is the inapposite use of such a compound in *προς*.’ The first awkwardness, that *προσκέβειν*

³³ At *Il.* 9. 544 Meleagros kills the boar *πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας*, i.e. *ἄνδρας τὸν κάπρον θηρήκοντας*: the words would be compatible with their being full-time professional huntsmen, but we happen to know that they were not. At *A. Th.* 36 *σκοποὺς δὲ καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατοπτήρας στρατοῦ | ἔπειμψα* Eteokles has sent *ἄνδρας τὸν στρατὸν κατασκευομένους*: no question of a full-time occupation. The closest parallel I have found to our passage is *A. Cho.* 769 *ἄγειν κελεύει δορυφόρους ὄπαινας*, ‘come with an armed retinue’; whether or not we suppose them to be permanently armed full-timers, ‘the spearmen who form his retinue’, depends not on the Greek but on our preconceptions about the behaviour of Mycenaean kings.

has no subject expressed, is not an awkwardness at all: Aischin. 3. 11 νόμον . . . ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, [D.] 40. 49 τῶν νόμων ἀπαγορεύοντων μηδὲ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων πατέρας κακῶς λέγειν τεθνεώτας; the edict of the πρόβουλοι is following the same natural linguistic practice as is followed by Athenian laws and decrees.³⁴ (Whether or not we have slaves as subject of the preceding clause is irrelevant: the decree is not that the slaves shall not lament him, but that nobody shall. I add, lest this be part of the supposed awkwardness, that there is no difficulty in the switch from expressed subject in one clause to indefinite unexpressed in the next: E. *Hipp.* 654–7 χρῆν δ' εἰς γυναῖκα πρόσπολον μὲν οὐ περᾶν, | ἄφθοργα δ' αὐταῖς συγκατοικίζειν δάκη | θηρών; Or. 512–15 καλῶς ἔθεντο ταῦτα πατέρες οἱ πάλοι. | εἰς ὀμμάτων μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶων περᾶν | οὐδ' εἰς ἀπάντημ' ὅστις αἰμ' ἔχων κυροῖ, | φυγαῖσι δ' ὄσιον, ἀνταποκτείνειν δὲ μή.³⁵)

The second awkwardness, on the other hand, is indisputable: I see no way of making satisfactory sense of this *προς*-. I add that I also find *-έβειν* unexpected: *έβας* is no necessary constituent of lament; and though it may of course be conjoined with it if the dead man merits reverence, what the πρόβουλοι are forbidding is simply the ordinary funeral rites that might be given to any man, and the notion of *έβας* seems to me to be alien to their decree. This combination in a single word of a futile *προς*- and an inapposite *-έβειν* might be thought to point to corruption from another compound with *προς*- in which the *προς*- was in point; but I can think of none that

³⁴ I do not mean that the use has a specifically legal flavour: it is in laws and decrees that general prohibitions are most commonly to be found. Nor do I mean that such subjectless infinitives are confined to general prohibitions (and injunctions): they can be used anywhere where there is no need to specify the subject. At random: Is. 3. 58 ὁ δὲ νόμος πέντε ἑτῶν κελεύει δικάσασθαι τοῦ κλήρου ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ ὁ κληρονόμος, [A.] Th. 1013 (ἔδοξε) Πολυνείκου νεκρῶν | ἔξω βαλεῖν ἄθραπον, A. Ag. 928 ἄλβια δὲ χρῆ | βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοί φιλῆι, Th. 5. 41. 2 οὐκ ἔώντων Λακεδαιμονίων μεμνήσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, E. Ba. 653 κλήριον κελεύω πάντα πύργον ἐν κύκλωι. Greek no more feels the lack of a subject with such infinitives than English feels the lack of an agent with a verbal noun (forbids the crowing of those still subject to audit; were opposed to there being any mention of it) or with a passive (have decreed that his body shall be cast out).

³⁵ I am not aware that anyone has ever suggested that in Or. the subject is unexpressed throughout, with the ὅστις-clause construing as dative (as of itself it could: S. *Ant.* 35, Ar. *Wasps* 586, *Peace* 371); but since the construction might be thought possible on paper, I remark that I think it impossible to the ear.

I add two further instances, in a real decree and an imaginary law, of the switch from expressed subject to unexpressed: IG i³. 78 = Meiggs–Lewis 73 (probably c. 422 BC; I transliterate from the Attic alphabet into the Ionic), 54–7 τὸν δὲ βασιλέα ὀρίσαι τὰ ἱερά τὰ ἐν τῷ Πελαργικῷ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ἐνδιδύεσθαι βωμοῦς ἐν τῷ Πελαργικῷ ἀνευ τῆς βουλής καὶ τοῦ δήμου, μηδὲ τοὺς λίθους τέμνειν ἐκ τοῦ Πελαργικοῦ, κτλ.; Pl. *Laws* 958d–e θήκας δ' εἶναι τῶν χωρίων ὅποσα μὲν ἐργάσιμα μηδαμοῦ . . . , ἃ δὲ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοῦτ' αὐτὸ φύσει ἔχει, τὰ τῶν τετελεκηκότων σώματα μάλιστα ἀλυπῆτως τοῖς ζώσι δεχομένη κρύπτει, ταῦτα ἐκπληροῦν (the sense of the second part is clear, though not its construction; I should have expected *πεφυκότα* for *φύσει*, and then *δεχόμενα*).

satisfies both sense and metre. I am reluctant to lay *προσκέβειν* at the door of any writer; but if I must, then it was not Aeschylus.³⁶

1033–4. *τοιγὰρ θέλουσ' ἄκοντι κοινώνει κακῶν,
ψυχῆ, θανόντι ζῶσα κυγγόνωι φρενί.*

‘ἄκοντι’, says Dawe, ‘does not fit the situation. How can Polyneices, who urgently needs burial, possibly be described as ἄκων?’ Precisely for this reason, that he needs and craves for the burial that he is denied: from that denial come his *κακά*, and he suffers them ἄκων. Antigone will help him, and in doing so may expect to be afflicted with *κακά* herself, *κακά* that she will incur with her eyes open and of her own will, *θέλουσα*: ‘*fratrem inuitum in mala incidisse, se ultro discrimen adire dicit*’ (Weil). That is certainly what the interpolator intended, and it makes perfectly adequate sense.³⁷ But it makes a very bad antithesis. With *θέλουσ' ἄκοντι* and the like one expects that what one of the two persons approves and the other disapproves should be the relationship between them which the sentence itself expresses: *Od.* 5. 154 *ἰαύεσκεν . . . παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθελούσῃ*, *Pi. O.* 10. 28 *ὡς Ἀγέαν λάτριον | ἀέκονθ' ἐκὼν μισθὸν ὑπέρβιον | πράσσοιτο*, *S. Tr.* 198 *οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐκούσι δὲ | ξύνεστιν*. And so here one would expect that what Polyneikes disapproves should be what Antigone approves, the *κακῶν κοινωνία* on which she is bent; whereas what he disapproves is not this at all,³⁸ but simply his own *κακά*. It is not that Polyneikes cannot be described as ἄκων: he can be (and is), but only in respect of the wrong thing for a genuine antithesis. It is in its falseness that I judge the incompetence of the antithesis to lie, and to defend it it will not be enough to adduce antitheses which are genuine and merely empty (e.g. *Il.* 7. 197 *οὐ γὰρ τις με βίηι γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται*, where *ἐκὼν* serves merely to underline the *ἀέκοντα*; similarly *Pi. O.* 10. 28 above): we shall need antitheses which like ours do not even fit the proper pattern at all.³⁹

³⁶ Sophocles' Antigone, who makes much play with her *εὐδέβεια*, can say of her burial of her brother (511) *οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τοῦς ὁμοπλάγχθους ἐβειν*. What is appropriate to Antigone there is not appropriate to the *πρόβουλοι* here; but the interpolator, finding *ἐβειν* and its cognates so frequent in Sophocles' play, may have taken the word over without giving thought to its appropriateness.

³⁷ Perfectly adequate, that is, for the theatre. If one thinks about it one realizes that by incurring her own *κακά* Antigone will free Polyneikes from his, so that there will be no *κοινωνία* (except of course in that death itself is a *κακόν*); but the audience in a theatre will not think so far.

³⁸ Unless we assume that he had told Antigone (either presciently while he was alive or supernaturally after his death) that she was on no account to get herself into trouble for the sake of burying him. I make a free offer of this possibility to my opponents; I am not so uncharitable as to think that any of them will accept it.

³⁹ It may be that I have done no more than formulate more precisely the same objection that was felt by Dawe. If so, this was nevertheless worth doing; for as Dawe formulates it it can be countered at once as I have countered it above.

1035–6. *τούτου δὲ cάρκας οὐδὲ κοιλογάστορες
λύκοι πάρονται μὴ δοκηάτω τινί.*

Whatever one says about these lines one must not speak, as Dawe does, of ‘the interpolator’s insecure handling of language in his use of οὐδέ where οὐ would be correct’: this was a man who, incompetent though he may have been, at least spoke Greek as his mother-tongue; and that such a man should have written οὐδέ when all he meant was οὐ is something which if Dawe had not thought of it I should have called unthinkable. If he wrote οὐδέ, then he meant οὐδέ; and that (unless one supposes a lacuna, ‘<not birds . . . > and not wolves’⁴⁰), is ‘not even wolves’,⁴¹ with the implication, which might be thought not unreasonable, that the wolf is more capable than any other carrion-eater of disinterring a corpse.⁴² And not only ‘not unreasonable’: in this context the ‘not even’ is actually to be desired. The traditional corpse-scavengers are dogs and birds (from the *Iliad* onwards: 1. 4–5), and the herald has spoken of dogs (1014) and birds (1020). It would be remarkable that Antigone should ignore these and speak only of wolves; if she says ‘not even wolves’ she does not ignore them.

But this ‘not even’ underlines the difficulty which the wolves in any case entail: the notion that Antigone intends, unaided, to bury her brother so thoroughly that no wolf can dig him up. I see no defect whatever in the language:⁴³ I do see a vast improbability in its content.

1037–40. *τάφον γὰρ αὐτῶι καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἐγὼ
γυνή περ οὔσα τῶιδε μηχανήσομαι,
κόλπῳ φέρονσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος,
καὐτῇ καλύψω· μηδέ τῳι δόξῃ πάλιν.*

I share Dawe’s belief that these lines could never have been written by Aeschylus, and I have in general no quarrel with his strictures on the shifts resorted to by their defenders. What I do have is something of my own to say about them; and I will take the opportunity to say it. In their concern on the

⁴⁰ This gives good Greek, but not the Greek I should have expected; which is not οὐ . . . οὐδέ but οὔτε . . . οὔτε, ‘neither birds nor wolves’. <Such a lacuna was supposed by C. Prien and is accepted in my edition.>

⁴¹ To Dawe’s ‘οὐδέ means “not even” or “and not”’ one must add of course ‘or “not . . . either”’, the negative of καί ‘also’. But that meaning does not come into question here: Tucker’s pretence of finding it is idle (and ought not to have half imposed on Denniston, *Particles*, 195).

⁴² Dawe does think it unreasonable (he does not say why). Webster might not have done so (*The White Devil*, V. iv): ‘Call unto his funeral dole | the ant, the field-mouse, and the mole, | to rear him hillocks that shall keep him warm | and (when gay tombs are robbed) sustain no harm; | but keep the wolf far thence, that’s foe to men, | for with his nails he’ll dig them up again.’

⁴³ None, that is, in the language of the sentence itself, from *τούτου* to *πάρονται*. But it may be thought that *μὴ δοκηάτω τινί*, which follows naturally enough after a simple negative statement, does not follow so naturally after a statement with ‘not even’.

one hand to find, and on the other hand to demolish, interpretations that might be passed off as Aeschylean, people seem never to have asked themselves what the lines will most naturally mean. Yet they are in fact (if one makes one necessary assumption) simple, straightforward, and immediately intelligible to an audience; they are also inept.

Antigone is explaining (*γάρ*) how she will ensure that Polyneikes' body is not devoured by wolves: she will dig him a grave and bury him in it. Not easy for a woman, but nothing else will be wolf-proof (no mere sprinkling with earth), and her language is quite explicit: *κατασκαφαί*, digging down, can in this context be nothing but the excavation of a grave;⁴⁴ *καλύψω*, of itself less explicit (merely 'cover'), is of course entirely appropriate to her filling in the grave above him.⁴⁵ That is what she will do, and she tells us how she will do it: *τῶιδε* is instrumental, and refers (this is my 'one necessary assumption') to a digging-tool that she shows as she speaks and that she has been carrying (and will carry) in the bosom of her dress.⁴⁶ I can see nothing else that the writer can have intended, and if he intended this he was certainly not Aeschylus: such a verbally unexplained *τῶιδε* might pass muster in comedy, but is not the way of fifth-century tragedy. Antigone would need to have brought the tool with her before she heard the edict, and with no knowledge therefore (unless she had been reading Sophocles) that it would be needed; and what adequate tool could be carried in this not very commodious space?⁴⁷

I can see, as I say, nothing else that the writer can have intended. What else could *τῶιδε* mean? It is not 'for Polyneikes', for he is already there in *αὐτῶι*, and *αὐτῶι* is not to be touched;⁴⁸ and to construe *τῶιδε . . . κόλπωι* is mere desperation. And what, if not the tool, is the object of *φέρουσα*? Not earth to

⁴⁴ I have discussed the word already, on 1008.

⁴⁵ *καλύπτειν* of a normal burial e.g. *El.* 1277 *τόνδε δ' Αἰγίεθου νέκυν | Ἄργουσι πολίται γῆς καλύψουσιν τάφωι, Hel.* 1066 *χέρσωι καλύπτειν τοὺς θανόντας ἐναλίους.*

⁴⁶ The *κόλπος* of the *πέπλος* is its front part between collar-bone and girdle, arranged ordinarily so as to overhang the girdle: sch. *Il.* 14. 219 *τὸ κατὰ τὸ στήθος κόλπωμα τοῦ πέπλου, 22. 80 τὸ ἐπάνω τῆς ζώνης κόλπωμα τοῦ πέπλου.* It would be the natural place for a woman to secrete or carry things: *Il.* 14. 219, 223, Aphrodite's *κεστός* taken by Hera; *Od.* 15. 469, three gold cups; *E. Ion* 888, *Hel.* 244, flowers (*Ion εἰς κόλπους = Hel. ἔσω πέπλων*).

⁴⁷ The interpolator will have had his reasons for making her carry it there: he was writing for the stage, and could not allow the audience to see it before she speaks of it.

⁴⁸ Pierson changed it to *αὐτῆς*, and many have followed him; but the change is indefensible. In the first place, *αὐτῶι* is right: what we need, after *τούτου δὲ σάρκα* two lines before, is the anaphoric *αὐτῶι* and not *τῶιδε*. In the second place, *αὐτῆς* is wrong: the mere repetition *αὐτῆς . . . καὶ αὐτῆς* is not of itself objectionable (cf. *E. El.* 307–9 *αὐτῆς μὲν . . . αὐτῆς δέ*), but the first *αὐτῆς* would on the one hand need (in such a repetition) more prominence than this would have and on the other hand would take the wind out of the sails of the emphatic *ἐγώ* (cf. P. Nicolaus, *Die Frage nach der Echtheit der Schlusszene von Aischylos' Sieben gegen Theben* [Diss. Tübingen 1967], 71; though he ought not to fancy that words can derive emphasis from being at the end of a verse).

sprinkle on him, for that is neither the meaning of *κατασκαφάς* nor (if it could be supplied from nowhere) compatible with it, nor in any case would it give protection against wolves;⁴⁹ and not Polyneikes, for he is no burden for a girl to carry in the *κόλπος* of her fine-linen dress.⁵⁰

1040. μηδέ τωι δόξει πάλιw (cited in its context above, on 1037–40).

Dawe finds this both stylistically and linguistically unacceptable. With his stylistic objection I agree: I should not wish to credit Aeschylus with this expression ‘following so closely on [1036] *μη̄ δοκησάτω τινί*’—and worse than closely, when the second has in effect the same reference as the first.⁵¹ But his linguistic objection is ill-conceived and idle.

It runs thus: ‘nor, so far as we know, could *δόξει πάλιw* mean “entertain the opposite opinion” as if *πάλιw* were in some way equivalent to *τὸναντίον*. Homer (e.g. *Iliad* 9. 56) may say *πάλιw ἐρέει*, just like English “gainsay” or the German “widersprechen”; and Sophocles can say *ἐκβαλεῖν πάλιw* at *OT* 849 of some one who might retract his story. But nothing comparable to *πάλιw δοκεῖν* exists, and it is hard to see how it could, any more than “gainseem” or “reseed” could exist in English.’

The writer uses *πάλιw* here as equivalent not to *τὸναντίον* but to *ἐναντίως*. The use at *Il.* 9. 56 is exactly the same: Diomedes has spoken against Agamemnon’s proposal to abandon the war, and Nestor says to him *οὐ̄ τις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσειται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, | οὐδὲ πάλιw ἐρέει* (schol. *τὸ δὲ πάλιw . . . ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔμπαλιw ἐρεῖ, ἐναντίως*); the relation between *πάλιw ἐρέει* and *δόξει πάλιw* is identical with that between e.g. *E. Ph.* 359 *ὅς δ’ ἄλλως λέγει* and *Th.* 6. 23. 4 *εἰ δέ τωι ἄλλως δοκεῖ*. Dawe actually cites this *ἐρέει πάλιw*, yet denies the analogy between it and *δόξει πάλιw*; he does not tell us why he denies it, and I can only speculate about the misunderstanding responsible for the denial.

⁴⁹ I may add that one would not expect her to carry the earth stuffed into the bosom of her dress: rather to hold up the hem of her skirt to make a receptacle, which is not what would ordinarily be meant by *κόλπος*.

⁵⁰ It is true that according to one version (the evidence is cited by Lloyd-Jones, *CQ* 9 [1959], 98) Antigone drags the body away and puts it on Eteokles’ pyre. I cannot think that cremation before burial was in our writer’s mind (no hint of it in the text; the burial is described as a protection against wolves, and wolves are not interested in ashes; and how and when, from a shared pyre, would she sort out Polyneikes’ ashes for burial?); but in any case I do not believe that this dragging, however performed, could be described as ‘carrying him in the *κόλπος* of my *πέπλωμα*’.

⁵¹ ‘Not even wolves shall devour him (let no one suppose it); for I shall bury him myself (and let no one suppose otherwise)’; my condensation enhances the incompetence, but it does not create it. But such arguments from style are directed in vain against those who can say (Erbse <as n. 1>, 184) ‘derartige Wiederholungen gehören zur Kraft der Sprache, die das mutige Mädchen hier führt, um die Unumstösslichkeit ihres Entschlusses zu bekräftigen’.

The one objection that might reasonably be raised against *πάλιν* is the rarity of the use in which it defines one event (condition, etc.) as the converse of another:⁵² apart from *Il.* 9. 56 (above) I find only *Pi. O.* 10. 87 *ἴκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἦδη*, ‘the reverse of youth’ = old age,⁵³ and it might be alleged that one Homeric⁵⁴ and one Pindaric instance are doubtful precedent for tragic dialogue. But no worse than doubtful; and the doubt is largely dispelled by the use of the nearly synonymous *ἐμπαλιν*:⁵⁵ adverbially, *S. Tr.* 358 *ὄν νῦν παρώσας οὗτος ἐμπαλιν λέγει*,⁵⁶ *Hdt.* 2. 35. 2 *τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἦθεα καὶ νόμους*, *Pi. O.* 12. 11 *ἐμπαλιν . . . τέρψιος*, *P.* 12. 32 *ἐμπαλιν γνώμας*, *X. Hier.* 4. 5 *τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἐμπαλιν ἀνέστραπται*,⁵⁷ and with an article *Hdt.* 1. 207. 3 *ἔχω γνώμην . . . τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι*, 2. 19. 3, 9. 56. 2, *E. Hel.* 310; substantivally with an article *A. Pers.* 223, *Ag.* 1424 *ἐὰν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραίνη θεός*, *Prom.* 202, *E. Hek.* 789, *Hdt.* 2. 121. 1, *X. Kyr.* 8. 4. 32.

⁵² I stress ‘defines’: I exclude instances in which the second event (etc.) is defined by other means, and *πάλιν* is added merely to draw attention to the fact that it is the converse, or reciprocal, of the first, e.g. *Pl. Phil.* 14c–d *ὅταν τις ἐμὲ φῆμι Πρώταρχον εἶνα γεγονότα φύσει πολλοὺς εἶναι πάλιν τοὺς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐναντίους ἀλλήλοις*, *Gorg.* 482d *καὶ σου κατεγέλα, ὥς γε μοι δοκεῖν, ὀρθῶς τότε· νῦν δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς ταῦτὸν τοῦτο ἔπαθεν*, *S. El.* 371 *εἰς μὲν μάθοις | τοῖς τῆσδε (sc. λόγοις) χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ σοῖς αὐτῆ πάλιν*.

⁵³ But the use is presupposed by *Pi. N.* 1. 58 *παλίγγλωσσαν δὲ οἱ ἀθάνατοι | ἀγγέλων ῥῆσιν θέσαν*. The *ἄγγελοι* will have said ‘there are snakes killing the baby’, but what happened was that the baby (Herakles) killed the snakes: the report turned out to be the converse of the truth. Cf. also *E. Ion* 1096 *παλίμφομος*.

⁵⁴ Dawe’s ‘Homer (e.g. *Iliad* 9. 56)’ implies other Homeric instances; there are none. At *Il.* 4. 357 *πάλιν δ’ ὅ γε λάξετο μῦθον* is ‘took back his words’, retracted his accusation. At *Od.* 13. 254, when the disguised Athena tells him he is in Ithake, Odysseus is overjoyed and speaks to her, *οὐδ’ ὄγ’ ἀληθέα εἶπε, πάλιν δ’ ὅ γε λάξετο μῦθον* (and pretends to be Cretan): odd, but presumably ‘took back’ (before even uttering it) the true story that he was on the point of telling her.

⁵⁵ See Solmsen, *Beitr. z. griech. Wortforschung*, i. 157 ff.: *πάλιν* accusative of **πάλιν* ‘turning, reversal’ (cognate with *περι-τελλόμενος*, *πόλος*, *τέλσον*, etc.), used as internal accusative with verbs of motion; *ἐμπαλιν* < *ἐν* (= *εἰς*) *πάλιν*. He supposes (158 n. 0) that the words were originally identical in meaning and differentiated only in the fifth century, ‘indem für das inhaltsschwere “umgekehrt, im Gegenteil” das lautvollere *ἐμπαλιν* bevorzugt wurde, für die anderen Bedeutungen *πάλιν*, das seit Platon auch für das wenig gewichtige satzverbindende “hingegen, dagegen” auftritt’. I think it likelier that there was an original distinction in the primary use, *πάλιν* of the way one moves and *ἐμπαλιν* of the way one faces: the early instances of the primary use seem compatible with this supposition, and one can see why *ἐμπαλιν* should have acquired more readily the sense ‘the other way round’ and why *πάλιν* not *ἐμπαλιν* acquired the sense ‘again’ (going back to where one started). But the distinction was certainly sometimes blurred or disregarded: instances in nn. 56–7 below.

⁵⁶ Just like *πάλιν ἐρέει*: he told one story to the Trachinians in the *ἀγορά*, now he is telling a different story to Deianeira. Different audiences for the different stories; not therefore retraction but self-contradiction.

⁵⁷ Is turned back to front, upside down: honour instead of punishment for killing them. But *πάλιν* in the same sense *E. Med.* 412 *καὶ δίκαια καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται*, *Hipp.* 982 *τὰ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτ’ ἀνέστραπται πάλιν*.

1042–3 Herald: αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.

Antigone: αὐδῶ σε μὴ περιεσσά κηρύσσειν ἔμοι.

Dawe suggests that *περιεσσά* is unaeschylean: ‘The word is a favourite of Sophocles and Euripides, and it occurs in [Aesch.] *PV* 383. It does not occur in Aeschylus, or anywhere before Aeschylus, except in a fragment of Empedocles.’ The word, or a derivative, occurs at Hes. *Th.* 399 *περιεσσά δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκεν*, fr. 278. 4 (*Melampodia*) εἷς δὲ περιεσσεύει, τὸν ἐπενθήμεν οὐ κε δύναιο, Alkm. *PMGF* 50(a) *περιεσσόν*, Thgn. 769 εἴ τι *περιεσσόν* | εἰδείη, 1369 (to Aphrodite) *κοὶ τί περιεσσόν* | Ζεὺς τόδε τιμήσας δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχει; I do not know why the fragment of Empedokles⁵⁸ is said to be ‘before Aeschylus’ (Empedokles’ birth is commonly put at c. 492,⁵⁹ which would make him about 24 to Aeschylus’ 57⁶⁰ when the *Seven* was produced early in 467); it might have been more to the point to mention the four instances in Aeschylus’ close contemporary Pindar,⁶¹ *P.* 2. 91 (for Hieron of Syracuse, who died in 467) *στάθμας . . . τινοσ ἐλκόμενοι περιεσσᾶς*, *N.* 7. 43 *βάρυνθεν δὲ περιεσσά Δελφοὶ ξεναγέται*, fr. 35b, fr. 110.

Dawe prefixes to his comment ‘see LSJ s.v. II. 2’ (i.e. A. II. 2), where under ‘II. *more than sufficient, superfluous*’ we have ‘2. in bad sense, *superfluous, useless*’; and he might with more justification have said not that the word ‘does not occur’ but that it does not occur in this sense.⁶² But though this be true, I cannot think it significant. The different senses of *περιεσσός* are not more than different applications of a single basic meaning: *τὸ περιεσσόν* is what *goes beyond* a limit, whether the limit is that of what is normal, or of what is proper, or of what is necessary or sufficient or effective; and its going beyond it may be regarded (according to circumstances and to the nature of the limit) favourably or unfavourably or neutrally. We have far too little evidence for the early use of the word to be able to say that any one of these applications was impossible before the date at which it happens to be first exemplified; and I add that the application supposed here is exemplified no more than 25 years

⁵⁸ *Vorsokr.* 31 B 13 οὐδέ τι τοῦ παντὸς κενεὸν πέλει οὐδὲ *περιεσσόν*: Dawe says “‘over-full’ is the translation given by Kirk and Raven: a meaning clearly inappropriate to our context here’. Whatever the translation given by Kirk and Raven (they are following, presumably Diels’s ‘*übertoll*’), the meaning is ‘in excess, superfluous’: the totality of matter is precisely equal in volume to the totality of space, so that there is neither space without matter (*κενεόν*) nor matter without space (*περιεσσόν*).

⁵⁹ Guthrie, *Hist. of Greek Philosophy*, ii. 128: ‘the general opinion is well founded that [his dates] must have been approximately 492–32.’ H. Dörrie, *Der kleine Pauly*, ii. 258, puts his birth ‘um 483/2 v. Chr.’ (which would make him about fifteen in early 467).

⁶⁰ Born 525 (*Marmor Parium*).

⁶¹ Born probably 522 (see F. Schwenn, *RE* xx. 1610).

⁶² But he cannot have *meant* to say this, when he goes on ‘except in a fragment of Empedocles’ and then maintains that the word in that fragment is *not* used in this sense.

or so after the date of the *Seven* at *S. Ant.* 780 *πόνος περιετός ἐστι τᾶν Ἰδίου κέβειν*. I am in any case far from convinced that this ‘useless’ which everyone supposes here was in fact the sense intended: the edict to which the herald is demanding obedience in 1042 is one that Antigone clearly regards as going beyond the proper limits of the state’s authority, and that this should be the point of her *περιετός* seems to me both to be more likely in itself and to make the line a far better riposte to the herald’s demand.⁶³

1044–5. Herald: *τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγῶν κακά.*
 Antigone: *τράχυν’ ἄθαρτος δ’ οὐτός οὐ γενήσεται.*

Dawe: ‘When Antigone echoes [the herald’s] *τραχύς* with *τράχυν’*, she *ought* to be saying: “let them be as rough as they like: this man is still not going to go without burial.” But instead of *τραχυνέτω* she uses the second-person imperative, “be rough”. This cannot be excused by saying that in Antigone’s mind the *δῆμος* and the herald are all one, since the herald’s *γε μέντοι* is there expressly for the purpose of dissociating himself from the *δῆμος* . . . To invent a new meaning for *τράχυν’*, as commentators often do, “to use the word *τραχύς*”, is dishonest and grotesque.’ But *τραχύνειν* is not ‘be rough or harsh’ but ‘make rough or harsh’, with the factitive meaning that is normal in denominative in *-ύνω* formed from adjectives.⁶⁴ Dawe has himself invented a new meaning for *τράχυνε*,⁶⁵ and has thereby laid himself open to a sharp rebuke from the opposition.

⁶³ That I am interpreting the work not of Aeschylus but of an interpolator puts me under no obligation to make the worst of it: even a bad poet is likely to have intended the more effective rather than the less.

⁶⁴ Ernst Fraenkel, *Griech. Denominativa*, 30–41, 58–61; A. Debrunner, *IF* 21 (1907), 74–88. One or two do move over, exceptionally, from ‘make such-and-such’ to ‘be such-and-such’: *βραδύνειν*, *ταχύνειν* (Fraenkel, 31–2; and cf. *κρατύνειν*).

⁶⁵ I say ‘invented’, since he clearly intends his ‘be rough’ to be the normal meaning; which it is not. If the meaning ‘be rough’ is found at all, it is aberrant; LSJ do cite two instances (both late), but one is illusory and I think it likely that the other is corrupt.

Both of them have to do with turbulent rivers. One is Diod. 1. 32, on the cataracts of the Nile: they are formed where the river passes through a *τόπος* . . . *τραχύς καὶ φαραγγώδης* (8), with many large rocks which give rise to *δῖναι θαυμασταί*; but when the river is in flood it is possible to sail a boat down them, *παντός τοῦ τραχύνοντος τόπου τῶι πλήθει τοῦ ρεύματος καλυπτομένων* (10). The normal transitive sense is entirely suitable, and is therefore what Diodoros intended (if he had meant simply ‘rough’ he had the unambiguous *τραχέος* to hand): the rocks, when they are exposed, *τραχύνουσι τὸν ποταμόν*, make it turbulent.

The other is Plut. *Cat. mai.* 20. 6, where Cato teaches his son *τὰ δινώδη καὶ τραχύνοντα τοῦ ποταμοῦ διανηγόμενον ἀποβιάζεσθαι*. This of course can only be intransitive. But at Plut. *Rom.* 3. 5 we have *ἰδὼν . . . κατιόντα* (sc. *τὸν ποταμόν*) *πολλῶι ρεύματι καὶ τραχύνόμενον* (the river is the self-same Tiber as in *Cat. mai.*); rather than accept in *Cat. mai.* a remarkable divergence from normal usage, I should prefer to regard its *τραχύνοντα* as a corruption (no very difficult one) of *τραχυνόμενα*.

But that rebuke will not resolve the issue. *τράχυνε* ought to mean ‘make them harsh’; the scholia allege that it means not this but *λέγε πολλάκις*, *τραχὺς ἔσται ὁ δῆμος*,⁶⁶ and a good many editors have acquiesced. But none, to my knowledge, cites a parallel for this oddity; and until I am given a parallel I shall remain incredulous. We get no help from Ernst Fraenkel (*Griech. Denominativa*, 31 n. 4), ‘lediglich eine Bildung des Augenblicks is das äschyl. *τράχυνε*’ = ‘sprich nur dein *τραχὺς*’ (*Sept.* 1045). Ein Grund zur Änderung liegt nicht vor; assertion uncontaminated by argument. Groeneboom does better, ‘maak het volk (in uw woorden) zoo grimmig als ge wilt’, i.e. ‘make them harsh’ becomes ‘represent them as harsh’; but still no parallels. I have therefore sought for parallels myself; and I do indeed find a few factitive or quasi-factitive⁶⁷ verbs in *-ύνω* which are used as ‘regard or represent as such-and-such’ (all of them are used also as a simple ‘make such-and-such’⁶⁸), *αἰσχύνω* *καλλύνω* *μεγαλύνω* *σεμνύνω*, and in later Greek *μεγεθύνω* *σμικρύνω*.⁶⁹ But all I have found are concerned with the attribution of what I will categorize as ‘value’ (importance, merit, and the like, or their converse), and are used thus only where ‘make such-and-such’ would be nonsensical or absurd and there could therefore be no ambiguity;⁷⁰ the same is true also

⁶⁶ Their *πολλάκις* will be intended to give (accurately enough) the force of the present imperative: *go on speaking of them as τραχεῖς* (as you are doing now); so e.g. *E. Med.* 603 *ὑβριζε*.

⁶⁷ Of the six verbs which I shall list, only *μεγαλύνω* *σεμνύνω* *σμικρύνω* are strictly factitives (from *μέγας* *σεμνός* *σμικρός*). *αἰσχύνω* *καλλύνω* are not factitives from *αἰσχύρος* *καλός* but instrumentatives from *αἰσχος* *κάλλος*; but they can of course have exactly the same meaning as factitives (with ‘furnish with *αἰσχος*’ equivalent to ‘make *αἰσχύρος*’), and a Greek would doubtless have been unconscious of any formal difference (especially as the *αἰσχ-* and *καλλ-*, though at variance with the positive adjective, agree with the comparatives and superlatives, *αἰσχιετός* *κάλλιστος*). *μεγεθύνω*, an instrumentative from *μέγεθος* (and possibly only as a late formation: Fraenkel, *op. cit.* 34), is much further from being a factitive; but I have included it in my list since it behaves exactly as do the others.

⁶⁸ Commonly in a different sense of ‘such-and-such’.

⁶⁹ I list a few instances: *αἰσχύνω* (‘make’ commonly) *Pi. P.* 3. 22 *ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρω;* *καλλύνω* (‘make’ *S. fr.* 871. 6) *S. Ant.* 496 *ᾤσταν ἐν κακοίει τις ἄλοὺς ἔπειτα τοῦτο καλλύνειν θέλη;* *μεγαλύνω* (‘make’ *Plut. Them.* 27. 6) *Th.* 8. 81. 2 (Alkibiades in the assembly) *ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν παρὰ Τιτσαφέρνη* (his influence with T.), *Plut. Kim.* 16. 3 *μεγαλύνων τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους;* *σεμνύνω* (‘make’ *D.* 19. 238) *Pl. Phil.* 28c *ἑαυτοὺς . . . σεμνύνοντες* (the *σοφοί*, when they maintain that *νοῦς* is *βασιλεὺς οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς*); *μεγεθύνω* (‘make’ as *LSJ* I. 1) *Longin.* 9. 5 *μεγεθύνει τὰ δαιμόνια* (of Homer, as when he makes the gods’ horses cover vast distances in a single bound); *σμικρύνω* (‘make’ *Luc. Gall.* 14) *Demetr. Eloc.* 236 *ἐσμικρύνεν τὸ πρᾶγμα*.

⁷⁰ There might be thought to be an ambiguity in the case of *σεμνύνω*; but it would be a purely formal ambiguity, affecting not the meaning but the means by which it is achieved. I have supposed the word to be based on *σεμνός* (< *σεβ-νός*) in the sense ‘worthy of reverence’, and to be used as ‘regard or represent as worthy of reverence’; it might I suppose be alleged that it is based on *σεμνός* in the sense ‘revered’ and is used as ‘(seek to) make revered’ (the use I am discussing seems everywhere to be confined to the ‘imperfective’ tenses, the present and imperfect). But I should not believe the allegation: the deponent use of *σεμνύνεσθαι*, ‘give oneself airs’, is certainly based on *σεμνός* as ‘worthy of reverence’.

of two factitives in *-όω* that I have found used in the same way, *μειόω* *σεμνόω*.⁷¹ I have found no factitive so used that is concerned with the attribution of a specific quality such as *τραχύτης*; and I add that in our passage the normal meaning of *τράχυνε*, ‘make rough or harsh’, would give perfectly good (if quite inappropriate) sense.⁷² I cannot think therefore that the verbs I have found will serve as parallels; and unless real parallels can be found I shall regard the alleged meaning of *τράχυνε* as impossible. But no less impossible for the interpolator than for Aeschylus himself: the word will be corrupt, and will not therefore be relevant to the question of interpolation.

I know of two conjectures that have some claim to be considered. First, *τραχύς γ’ ἄθαπτος δ’ οὔτος οὐ γενήσεται* (Burges): but this use of *γε* ‘where a word is echoed in agreement’ (Denniston, *Particles*, 131) is at best unusual, and Denniston (who does not mention the conjecture) provides no very adequate parallels; also I should expect this Antigone to say not ‘I know’ but ‘who cares?’. Second, *τραχύς δ’ ἄθαπτος οὔτος οὐ γενήσεται*; (L. Schmidt): a perfectly good sentiment (Isok. 14. 55: to prevent the burial of the dead is *δεινότερον τοῖς κωλύουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν*), but one which will involve Antigone in a certain inconsequentiality: the logic of the argument requires her to mean by *τραχύς* what the herald implied by it, *τραχύς* towards herself; but with that her motive will shift from sisterly love and duty (as it has been hitherto) to mere avoidance of the consequences of neglect. But I do not set much store by this consideration: the line makes an effective rhetorical point, and the audience are unlikely to think beyond this and concern themselves with the precise implications of the second *τραχύς*. I have no doubt that the interpolator could have written the line as thus emended; I should not wish to maintain that Aeschylus could not have written it as well.

⁷¹ *μειόω* (‘make’ Plut. *Cat. mai.* 21. 8) X. *Kyr.* 6. 3. 17 (to a spy) *μηδὲν ἐλάττου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μηδὲ μείον τὰ τῶν πολεμίων* (text? see below); *σεμνόω* (not cited as ‘make’) Hdt. 1. 95. 1 οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ζόντα λέγειν λόγον. — I cite X. *Kyr.* according to the *παράδοσις*; but this is intolerable, when *ἐλάττου* and *μείον* mean the same, and one or other of the doublets must go. It is easy to see which: *ἐλάττων* (etc.) is the regular gloss on *μείων* (etc.), and I suppose therefore that {*μηδὲν ἐλάττου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς*} is a gloss on *μηδὲ<ν> μείον*; the absence of *μηδὲ μείον* from DF will be due simply to an attempt to abolish the tautology in what somebody mistakenly supposed to be the simplest way.

I find three other factitives in *-όω*, *ἀξιώω*, *δικαίωω*, *ἀφομοιώω*, used as ‘regard or represent as *ἄξιον*, *δίκαιον*, *ὁμοίον*’. These belong evidently to a different category from the other verbs I have found; but however one defines the category it is obvious that it will not embrace *τραχύνω*.

⁷² I say ‘the normal meaning of *τράχυνε*’. Uncompounded *τραχύνω* seems in fact not to be found in the active in relation to harshness of mood, but only in relation to physical roughness; but this will be fortuitous. *τραχύνεσθαι* as a deponent is commonly ‘be or become harshly disposed’; and cf. App. *BC* 2. 12 ὁ . . . Καίσαρ ἐξετράχυνε τὸ πλήθος, Plut. *Marc.* 6. 2 ἐξετράχυνε τὸν δῆμον.

I add one further point: I have quite failed to understand why Dawe should say ‘the herald’s γε μέντοι is there expressly for the purpose of dissociating himself from the δῆμος’. The γε μέντοι is there for the purpose of ‘introducing an objection in dialogue’ (Denniston, 412): Antigone has just indicated (however one takes περιεκά) her lack of concern for the official edict, and the herald objects that the δῆμος will not take disobedience lightly. So at *Ag.* 938, when Klytimestra has urged him not to concern himself with public opinion, Agamemnon objects φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρου μέγα χθένει; and at *E. Hipp.* 103, when Hippolytos has expressed his lack of concern for Aphrodite, the old man objects *κεμνή γε μέντοι κάπισημος ἐν βροτοῖς*. Neither the herald nor Agamemnon nor the old man is dissociating himself from anyone or anything (unless of course from his interlocutor’s attitude).

1053. ἀλλ’ αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ, ἀπεννέπω δ’ ἐγώ.

After strictures (which I think justifiable) on the feebleness of the line,⁷³ Dawe continues: ‘More objectively we may draw attention to the fact that this verse contains an elision exactly in the middle—the “quasi-caesura”. Similar in this respect are 1005, 1007, 1012, 1020, 1030, four of which involve τόνδ’, τοῦδ’, or τήνδ’. Six occurrences in 48 lines is not credible for Aeschylus. Lammers, cited on p. 247 of Groenboom’s edition, had commented on the very high number of elisions in general in this suspect section of the play.’ This ‘more objective’ consideration is not objective at all: it is founded not on the observation of Aeschylus’ practice but on unverified assumptions about that practice; the assumptions are mistaken, and the objection is invalid.

I observe first that by ‘quasi-caesura’ Dawe does not mean (what the expression might suggest) elision after the third longum serving as caesura in the absence of a penthemimeral or hepthemimeral caesura: he means simply elision after the third longum, without regard to the presence or absence of caesura elsewhere in the line. His six instances are these:

1005	δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ’ ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρή
1007	Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ’ ἐπ’ εὐνοίαι χθονός
1012	οὔτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ’ ἐπέσταλται λέγειν
1020	οὔτω πετηνῶν τόνδ’ ὑπ’ οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ
1030	ἔχουε’ ἀπιστον τήνδ’ ἀναρχίαν πόλει
1053	ἀλλ’ αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ, ἀπεννέπω δ’ ἐγώ.

⁷³ I should guess that the interpolator, whose Antigone has just said ἐγὼ δὲ θάψω τόνδε, based the present verse (whether consciously or subconsciously) on *S. Ant.* 71 ἀλλ’ ἴσθ ὅποια σοὶ δοκεῖ, κείνον δ’ ἐγὼ | θάψω.

In 1005 there is no caesura elsewhere. But each of the other five lines has a penthemimeral caesura; a weak one in 1012, but cf. *Ag.* 326 ἀμφὶ | σώμασιν, *E. IT* 321 ἀντὶ | σώματος, *Or.* 114 ἀμφὶ | τὸν Κλυταιμήςτρας, *Cy.* 5 ἀμφὶ | γηγενή.

‘Six occurrences in 48 lines [he means 49 lines: 1005–53] is not credible for Aeschylus.’ On the contrary, entirely credible.⁷⁴ Aeschylus has elision after the third longum in about 1 line in every 12;⁷⁵ the mean number of instances in 49 lines will therefore be 4.1, and (given random distribution) the probability that in any 49 lines there will be 6 or more instances will be 0.221, i.e. a chance of about 1 in 4.5.⁷⁶ I give examples of what we actually find: in our passage there are 6 instances in 49 lines (1 in every 8.2); in the *Seven* itself there are instances at 537, 538, 544, 549, 554 (5 in 18 lines; 1 in every 4.3);⁷⁷ in *Agamemnon* there are 17 instances in the 108 (*sic*) lines 1197–1306 (1 in every 6.7), 6 of them being in the 19 lines 1236–54 (1 in every 3.6); in *Eumenides* there are 21 instances in the 153 lines 591–743 (1 in every 7.6), 6 of them being in the 21 lines 643–63 (1 in every 4.0) and 6 in the 29 lines 707–35 (1 in every 5.6). Elision of τόνδ’ etc. in this position is common, and to have 4 instances in 49 lines is unremarkable: there are 5 instances in 14 lines at *Ag.* 493 τόνδ’, 499 τοῖδ’, 501 τῆιδ’, 504 τῶιδ’, 506 τῆιδ’.

When Dawe says ‘is not credible for Aeschylus’, his words need not imply that he supposes elision at this point in the line to be less common in Aeschylus than in fifth-century tragedy generally; but in case they are taken by anyone to imply this, I remark that I have no reason to believe it to be true.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ If the elision in each case provided (as it does not) the only caesura, 6 instances in 49 lines might certainly be thought improbable; but I should not wish even then to call it incredible, when there are 4 instances of such caesura in 35 lines at *Ag.* 921, 929, 946, and 955, and perhaps a fifth instance without even the elision, if 943 is κρατεῖς μέντοι παρεῖς ἑκὼν ἐμοί.

⁷⁵ I have made simply a crude count of elisions, and have not attempted to differentiate according to the coherence or non-coherence of the words involved. I observe that the proportion varies from play to play (*Pers.* 1 in 14; *Th.*, excluding our passage, 1 in 21; *Su.*, *Ag.*, and *Cho.* 1 in 11; *Eum.* 1 in 10); I observe also, lest the variation be thought significant, that in *E. Or.* the first 594 trimeters have a proportion of 1 in 22, the remaining 519 a proportion of 1 in 9.

⁷⁶ If the probability of there being an instance in any one line be p , then the probability of there being x instances in n lines is $p^x(1-p)^{n-x}n!/x!(n-x)!$; with $p = 0.08333$ (i.e. 1/12) and $n = 49$, calculate this for values of x from 6 to 49, and the sum of the results is 0.221.

⁷⁷ 18 divided by 5 is of course 3.6, but I calculate the frequency on the basis of 4 in 17 lines; i.e. I disregard (here and subsequently) both the first instance and the line in which it occurs. (Suppose that a phenomenon occurred in every fifth line: it would clearly be wrong to take the instances in 25, 30, 35, and 40, and to say ‘4 instances in the 16 lines 25–40 is 1 in every 4 lines’.) But I do not do this for *Th.* 1005–53: the limits of that passage are not set (as are those of the others) by the first and the last instance, and it is only by chance that these instances come in the first and the last line.

⁷⁸ For Aeschylus (1 in every 12 instances) see n. 75 above. For Sophocles and Euripides I have taken only samples (rapidly, but I think my figures are substantially correct): *Ai.* 1 in 10, *Ant.* 1 in 11, *Ph.* 1 in 10, *Med.* 1 in 12, *Tro.* 1 in 14, *Or.* 1 in 13, *Ba.* 1 in 17.

That the caesura should be provided by this elision seems indeed to be rather *more* common in Aeschylus than in Sophocles or Euripides: from the tables in J. Descroix, *Le trimètre iambique*, 262–3 and 46–7, one can extract the following proportions (complete plays only): Aeschylus (excluding *Prom.*), 49 in 3,501 = 1 in 71.4; Sophocles, 78 in 7,540 = 1 in 96.7; Euripides (excluding *Cy.*, *IA*, *Rh.*), 155 in 16,009 = 1 in 103.3; these figures are in need of revision, but I should be surprised if the revision disturbed the relation between the three tragedians.⁷⁹

J. Lammers, *Die Doppel- und Halbchöre in der antiken Tragödie*, 33 n. 2, alleges that ‘die Zahl der Elisionen in besagtem Teile [sc. 1005–53] überragt das Mittel anderer Teile der Septem bedeutend’; the allegation (repeated by Dawe at third hand⁸⁰) is quite untrue. For 1005–53 Lammers reckons 31 elisions in 48 lines = 65 per cent (actually in 49 lines = 63%); he contrasts this with 1–38, 245–86, 568–625, with 17, 21, and 21 elisions, which he reckons as 59 in 136 lines = 44 per cent (actually in 138 lines = 43%). If he had been less selective over his *anderen Teile* he would have discovered that for all trimeters before 1005 the figure is 56 per cent and more especially that in 369–416 there are 44 elisions in 48 lines = 92 per cent.⁸¹

1075–8. ὄδε Καδμείων ἦρυξε πόλιν μὴ ἀνατραπήναι
μηδ’ ἄλλοτρίων κύματι φωτῶν
κατακλυθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.

Dawe makes two objections to ἦρυξε.

First: ‘ἐρύκω does not occur in forms with the temporal augment before the time of Xenophon.’ I should think this hardly significant if it were true.

⁷⁹ Revision in two ways: first, I should exclude some lines that Descroix includes (interpolations) and include some that he excludes (spoken trimeters associated with lyrics); second, I should aim at a more consequential treatment of postpositives and prepositives. For Aeschylus, my figures would be more like 43 in 3,508 = 1 in 81.6; I have not worked through Sophocles and Euripides, but samples suggest that for these also I should arrive at a rather lower frequency than Descroix’s.

I should perhaps draw attention here to a serious and quite uncharacteristic confusion in Maas’ *Gr. Metrik* and *Greek Metre*, §103 (echoed by Snell, *Gr. Metrik*, 13, and taken over in detail by Korzeniewski, *Gr. Metrik*, 48): ‘Die Zäsur kann auch hinter dem 3. Longum eintreten, und zwar bei Aischylos und Sophokles insgesamt etwa 25mal; bei Euripides etwa 100mal, jedoch bei diesem nur vor einer elidierten Silbe.’ The facts are rather (I keep the figures approximate): ‘the caesura can also occur after the 3rd longum: without elision, about 20 times in Aeschylus, about 10 times in Sophocles, and perhaps never in Euripides; before an elided syllable, about once in every 100 lines in all three alike.’

⁸⁰ He takes it from Groeneboom, and Groeneboom knows the book (n. 1113) only from W. Morel’s review in *BPhW* 51 (1931), 1409–15.

⁸¹ I assume that he used Wilamowitz’s text. With Page’s there are 42 = 87%.

But it is false: ἡρύκακε *Il.* 5. 321, 20. 458, 21. 594; ἤρυνκε *Eleg.* adesp. 28. 9 West <now = Simon. *eleg.* 21. 9>; ἐξήρυνκε *S. Ph.* 423.⁸²

Second: ‘Nor is it the *mot juste*. ἐρύκω means “to restrain”, or “to keep off” an enemy, i.e. to check them in their onslaught. Now if the citizens of Thebes had been hell-bent on suicide, on flinging themselves on a numerically superior enemy, Eteocles could reasonably be said to have “restrained” them from being overwhelmed. But what he did was to defend, and save, an invested city. ἐρύκω is entirely unfitted to such a context.’ In *S. Tr.* 119–21 the chorus, after singing of the vicissitudes of Herakles’ career, continue ἀλλά τις θεῶν αἰὲν ἀναμπλάκητον Ἴδιδα σφε δόμων ἐρύκει. Dawe prints the text thus in his own edition: does he suppose that Herakles was hell-bent on suicide?

1076. μὴ ἀνατραπήναι. To write μὴ ἀνα- with the manuscripts⁸³ and call it synzesis, and to write μὴ ἴνα- (as Dawe) and call it prodelision, are merely different interpretations of the same phenomenon, and I am not concerned here with the choice between them: I am concerned simply with Dawe’s statements about the legitimacy of the phenomenon, whatever it be called.

He says (p. 90 with n. 3) ‘the interpolator did not know . . . that prodelision of ἀνα- was illegitimate’, and ‘the only known exception is from *Soph. Ichn.* 160: εἰ μὴ ἴνανοστῆσαντες ἐξίχνηνύσατε’;⁸⁴ and again (p. 100) ‘prodelision of ἀνα- is nowhere found in tragedy, unless we count the satyr-play *Ichneutae* (v. 160)’. If the facts were as he alleges, I could attribute them only to chance: when μὴ ἀπο(-) and μὴ ἀντι(-) and μὴ ἀδίκειν etc. are all acceptable,⁸⁵ what

⁸² The word is common only in Homer (84, plus 2 ἐρυνάω); thereafter I find (before Xenophon) hexameters 7 (Hymns, Hesiod, Empedokles), elegy 6, iambus 1, lyric 9, tragedy 7 (not counting ours), Old Comedy 2, Herodotos 5. The Homeric instances include 9 of ἔρυνκε, ἔρυνξε, etc. with none of ἤρυνκε, ἤρυνξε, etc. (and 11 of κατέρυνκε etc. with none of κατήρυνκε etc.); this accords with a general Homeric tendency to avoid the temporal augment in words of this scansion (so ἄκου(ς)ε etc. 49 + 9 compounds, ἤκου(ς)ε etc. 12, and αἶψε etc. 14 + 5, ἦψε etc. 1; cf. J. A. J. Drewitt, *CQ* 6 [1912], 50–9).

⁸³ Dawe, *Collation and Investigation*, 296: μὴ ἀνατραπή*ναι C, μὴ ἀνατραπήναι rell.

⁸⁴ The papyrus has μὴ ἀνανοστῆσαντες (*P. Oxy.* 1174 vii. 2).

⁸⁵ I do not assert that the following list is complete (* = ἦ ἀ-, all others μὴ ἀ-, unless I record the words; satyr-plays in brackets). ἀπο(-): *A. Su.* 209, (*Theoroi* fr. 17. 90 M. = 276. 90 Ll.-) <= 78c. 54 Radt>; *Prom.* 651; *S. El.* 1169, *OT* 1388, *Tr.* 239*, *Ph.* 933, (*Inachos* fr. 269c. 42), (*Ichn.* fr. 314. 376* [314. 367 P.]), fr. 730d. 1* (?); *E. Med.* 35, *Hkld.* 882, *Hipp.* 803*, *Andr.* 843 (?) ἀπόδος ὦ φίλα, ἀπόδος, *Su.* 639 (?) μακροῦ ἀποπαύσω, *IT* 731, *Hel.* 832, 1011, *IA* 817*. ἀντι(-): *E. Andr.* 808, *Su.* 362, fr. 654. ἀ- privative: ἀδικ- *A. Eum.* 85, 691, 749, *E. (Cy.* 272), *Hipp.* 997, *Hek.* 1249, *Su.* 304; ἀμαθ- *E. Hkld.* 459, *Su.* 421, *Tro.* 981; ἀμελ- *A. Su.* 725, 773, *Eum.* 86; ἀτελ- *S. Ph.* 728 (?); ἀφρον- *E. El.* 383 (?).

When Dawe, in disapproving (very properly) of 859 ἀτιβῆ Ἰπλόλωνι, says (p. 90) ‘such initial alphas are prodelided only with ἀπο- compounds’, it may be that the fault lies less in his knowledge of the facts than in his expression of it: i.e. that ‘such initial alphas’ is an opaque way of saying ‘the alpha of initial ἀπ-’, and that by ‘ἀπο- compounds’ he means ‘ἀπό- and words

possible reason could there be for avoidance of $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha(-)$? But the facts are not as he alleges: E. *Su.* 591 $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, Ba. 1072 $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\ \nu\iota\nu$, *Cretans* fr. 82. 52 Austin <= 472e. 52 Kannicht> $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

compounded with it'; but even so he will be denying the legitimacy of a hypothetical $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ for which the three instances of $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta(\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$ might be thought to provide adequate analogy.

On 859 I remark (since Dawe does not) that the anomaly of an instance's involving $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\iota$ is compounded by its involving $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\iota\beta\acute{\eta}$: instances in which the first word is longer than a monosyllable are at least very rare in tragedy (in my list above, E. *Su.* 639 $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\epsilon\ \mid\ \mu\alpha\kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma\omega$ is certainly corrupt, since $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma\omega$ gives defective sense; but the defect is most easily removed by Herwerden's $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\omega$). Neither anomaly is necessarily impossible of itself (with $\acute{\epsilon}-$, which is normally subject to similar restrictions, cf. on the one hand e.g. A. *Th.* 714 $\mu\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta\iota\varsigma$, *Cho.* 919 $\mu\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon$, on the other e.g. A. *Cho.* 162 $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$, S. *Ph.* 591 $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$); what I cannot credit is the combination of the two.

A Detail of Tragic Usage: The Application to Persons of Verbal Nouns in *-μα*

This article was originally conceived as an excursus to be appended to my article ‘*Seven Against Thebes: the final scene*’ <above, chapter 15>. But as I worked on it it outgrew the limits proper to an excursus, and I have converted it therefore into an independent article; since it follows immediately after the other article it will still discharge its original function.

That function is to justify an observation which I make in discussing *Th.* 1022 (in the edict forbidding the burial of Polyneikes) μήθ’ ὀμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χειρώματα. I maintain that the only meaning the writer can have intended is ‘no slaves shall go with him to heap a mound’; and I observe that this use of *χειρώματα* as a designation is one for which I find no adequate parallel in tragedy (and would sooner therefore impute to an interpolator than Aeschylus); ‘although it is common [in tragedy] for verbal nouns in *-μα* to be used of persons, they appear in general not to be used (as *χειρώματα* would be here) to designate them, but only to characterize them, or to predicate something of them, when they are already designated by other means’. It is this statement (I shall call it ‘my rule’) that I am now concerned to justify.

The article betrays its origin by restriction of its scope: I ignore a good deal that would be germane to the inquiry if I were conducting it for its own sake but was not germane to the purpose for which I instituted it. I have not concerned myself with the semantic development of forms in *-μα*;¹ I have confined my investigation to tragedy (the richest source, but not the only one); and I have not inquired into the comparable use of verbal nouns that are formed in other ways.² I give therefore only a partial picture: a landscape,

<Presumably written soon after chapter 15. Two works that appeared in 1981 are cited, but *TrGF* iii (1985) was evidently not yet available.>

¹ Only in this footnote, for instance, do I remark on the fact that a person described as *δούλευμα* is one who *δουλεύει*, whereas a person described as *φόνευμα* is one who *φονεύεται*.

² So, for instance, *E. Ph.* 1021 (apostrophizing the Sphinx) *Καδμείων ἄρπαγά = ἡ Καδμείους ἤρπαζες*, *E. El.* 896 *ὄν . . . θηρσὶν ἄρπαγὴν πρόθεσ = ἀρπασθησόμενον*.

if you will, that shows only one side of the wood; and I remark that I have found the interest of the painting to lie not in the wood itself but in the trees.

That verbal nouns in *-μα* should be applied to persons is certainly common in tragedy: I find over 150 instances.³ But with rare exceptions (which I shall seek to justify) they are used in accordance with my rule: they characterize, or predicate something of, persons already designated by other means. They are used thus in apposition, or as vocatives (the person being designated not by the vocative but by being addressed), or predicatively.⁴ I give a few typical instances: *A. Th.* 186 βρέτη περούσας πρὸς πολιτσοῦχων θεῶν | αὔει λακάζειν, *ωφρόνων μισήματα*, *Cho.* 235 ὦ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασιν πατρός, 1028 *κτανεῖν τέ φημι μητέρ' οὐκ ἄνεν δίκης*, | *πατροκτόνον μίαιμα καὶ θεῶν στύγος*, *S. Ant.* 320 οἴμ' ὡς λάλημα δῆλον ἐκπεφυκὸς εἶ, 756 *γυναικὸς ὦν δούλευμα μὴ κώτιλλέ με*, *E. Med.* 594 *φύσαι τυράννουσ παῖδας*, ἔρυμα δώμασιν, *Hipp.* 11 *Ἰππόλυτος*, ἀγνοῦ Πιπθέωσ παιδεύματα, *Trö.* 1106 Ἰλιόθεν ὅτε με πολὺδακρυν Ἑλλάδι λάτρευμα γάθεν ἔξορίζει (sc. ἡ ἄκατος), *Ion* 748 *γυναῖκες*, ἰστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ κερκίδοσ | δούλευμα πιστόν, *Or.* 836 *βεβάκχεται μανίαισ*, *Εὐμένει θήραμα*. There is also a small category of instances which cannot be defined syntactically, but in which the noun is nevertheless used evidently not to designate but to describe; I will come to these in a moment.

I find in tragedy only two verbal nouns in *-μα* that provide clear exceptions to my rule: *θύμα* 'sacrificial victim',⁵ and *σπέρμα* in the sense 'offspring' or 'race' (e.g. *S. OK* 600 *γῆσ ἀπηλάθην* | *πρὸς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σπερμάτων*, *E. fr.* 285. 4 *χῶτῳ σπέρμα γενναῖον παρῆι*, *Ba.* 35 *πάν τὸ θῆλυ σπέρμα Καδμείων*).⁶ In each case there are special considerations: *θύμα* is the *vox propria* for a sacrificial victim, and can be used as readily of a human victim as of any other; *σπέρμα* appears in early poetry as a metaphor for 'offspring, issue' (in any generation), *Hes. fr.* 43(a). 54 *ἀλλ' οὐ πῶσ ἦιδει Ζηνοσ νόον αἰγιόχοιο*, | *ὡσ οὐ οἱ δοῖεν Γλαύκῳι γένοσ Οὐρανίῳνεσ* | *ἐκ Μῆστρησ καὶ σπέρμα μετ' ἀνθρώποισι λιπέσθαι*,⁷ and the tragic poets will have felt themselves to be simply taking

³ I exclude all instances of *θύμα* and *σπέρμα* (see below). I say 'about' (*a*) because in a few places the reading or construction is disputable, (*b*) in case I have missed anything; I have checked my own list of tragic nouns in *-μα* (compiled from Buck–Petersen and the individual indices and lexica) against the lists in D. M. Clay *A Formal Analysis of the Vocabularies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides* (Diss. Minnesota, Athens 1958), but even so I cannot be certain that no relevant instance has slipped through my net.

⁴ These constructions cannot always be sharply distinguished from one another.

⁵ *E. Her.* 453, *IT* 329, 596, 1163 (and cf. *Ba.* 1246); none of these, unless perhaps *IT* 1163, falls under my rule. *IT* 212 does fall under it; *Hel.* 357 (and perhaps *Her.* 995) is internal accusative.

⁶ There are instances that do fall under my rule (e.g. *A. Th.* 474 *Μεγαρεύσ*, *Κρέοντοσ σπέρμα*, *S. Ph.* 364 ὦ σπέρμ' Ἀχιλλέωσ); that of course would be inevitable with any word meaning 'child'.

⁷ This appears to be the only pre-tragic instance to survive (*Pi. O.* 7. 93, of 464 BC, is not an instance; I explain it below). But there must have been others: when Thucydides (5. 16. 2) says that the Pythia in the years before 427 designated the Spartan king Pleistoanax by *Διοσ υἱοῦ*

over a traditional metaphor and not to be making independent use of a verbal noun.

I come now to the instances where the noun's descriptive and non-designatory function is indicated not by the syntax but by the context. In E. *Erechth.* fr. 360 N. = 50 Austin <= 360 Kannicht>, where Praxithea is consenting to the sacrifice of her daughter for the city's safety, she says (50) *χρῆσθ' ὦ πολῖται τοῖς ἐμοῖς λοχεύμασιν*; but she has already said (38) *τὴν οὐκ ἐμὴν <οὖν> πλὴν φύσει δῶσω κόρην | θύσαι πρὸ γαίας*, and in *τοῖς ἐμοῖς λοχεύμασιν* we have therefore not a designation (we know already whom she means) but an emotive description (with a suggestion of the pains of childbirth: 'the fruit of my travail' or the like).⁸ In E. *Su.* the mothers' sole concern throughout the play is the recovery of their sons' bodies; and here again it is not designation but description when they say at 371 (the subject is Theseus) *εἰ γὰρ . . . ἄγαλμα ματέρος φόνιον ἐξέλοι* and at 631 (to Zeus) *τὸ δὲ σὸν ἴδρυμα πόλεος ἐκκομίζομαι πρὸς πυρὰν ὑβρισθέν.*⁹ (In both these instances the word retains its original status as a verbal noun, *ὦ τι ἀγάλλεται*;¹⁰ in two similar instances it seems to be losing that status to become a mere 'idol, ornament'.¹¹) Finally, an instance which is of my own

ἡμιθέου τὸ σπέρμα, this *σπέρμα* will be the Pythia's word not Thucydides'; it will not be supposed that she acquired it from tragedy, nor that she had only a single non-tragic precedent. Pindar has *σπέρμα* (also of human semen) in the related sense of 'descent', O. 2. 46, 7. 93 *μὴ κρύπττε κοινὸν σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος* (to any member of the victor's clan: 'do not conceal the fact that you share with him descent from Kallianax'); Hesiod twice has *σπερμαίνειν* as 'procreate'. In tragedy the metaphor is common also in *σπείρειν* (as E. *Ph.* 22 *ἔσπειρεν ἦμιν παῖδα*) and *σπορά*.

⁸ In other instances where the word is used of persons (always in accordance with my rule: E. *Her.* 252, *Ph.* 803, 1019, and presumably the corrupt *Ph.* 816) it seems to be no more than a colourless 'child' (of the mother), 'issue' (of a female ancestor); unless at *Her.* 252 *ὦ γῆς λοχεύμαθ', οὗς Ἄρης σπείρει ποτέ* we are meant to picture the actual parturition as the Sown Men sprang forth from the earth.

⁹ They have just called on Zeus to help the Athenian army, and now they explain why he should help: 'it is the *ἄγαλμα*, the *ἴδρυμα*, of your city that I am seeking to have brought free to burial' (*ἐκκομίζομαι* with the manuscript, and not Musgrave's *ἐκκόμίζέ μοι*). *ἴδρυμα* I suppose = *δι' ὧν ἡ σὴ πόλις ἀεφαλῶς ἴδρυτο*; but I find this strained, and remark that unexceptionable sense would be given by the anomalous *ἔρῳμα* with which Wilamowitz sought to put A. *Eum.* 701 to rights (*ἔρῳμα* for the intolerable *ἔρῳμά τε*; see *Arist. u. Athen.* ii. 336 n. 13).

¹⁰ It retains it also, when applied to a person, at A. *Ag.* 208, S. *Ant.* 1116, E. *Su.* 1164, *Tro.* 193, fr. 282. 10, fr. 968 <= 62h Kannicht>, and *Trag. adesp.* 126. 3, all in straightforward accordance with my rule, and at E. *IT* 273, which I shall consider later at greater length.

¹¹ E. *Hipp.* 631 (Hippolytos is railing against that pernicious thing a wife, and *ἄγαλμα* is a mere description of her) *ὁ δ' αὖ λαβὼν ἀτηρὸν εἰς δόμους φυτὸν | γέγηθε, κόσμον προστιθεὶς ἀγάλματι | καλὸν κακίετω*; fr. 386 *ἀνόνητον ἄγαλμα πάτερ οἴκοι τεκνόν* (no context preserved, but evidently *ἄγαλμα* is characterizing some real or hypothetical child).

At E. *El.* 388 (interpolated), where the word is certainly not felt as a verbal noun, it is used predicatively: *αἱ δὲ κάρκες αἱ κεναὶ φρενῶν | ἀγάλματ' ἀγορᾶς εἰεν*. At E. *Hel.* 705 *νεφέλης ἄγαλμ' ἔχοντες ἐν χερσὶν λυγρόν* (also I think interpolated) it is simply 'image', not a real person but the dummy Helen made of cloud.

making, in that it depends on supplements proposed by me in *S. Niobe* fr. 445. 5 (I deal with the fragment at length in my contribution to Richard Carden's *Papyrus fragments of Sophocles*, 192–9; most of my results are reported in Radt's edition, *TrGF* iv, whose numeration I use): Apollo and Artemis are on the roof-top, with Apollo spying out the girls in the house for Artemis to shoot them (we know this from fr. 441a = *P. Oxy.* 2805; in Carden, pp. 175 ff.), and he says to her what I restore as *καὶ μὴν τρίταις* | *αὐτὰς δὲ ὄρω* [*θήραν βολαῖς*, | *τὴν μὲν κρέκουσ*] *αν τὴν δὲ* [*κνάπτουσαν φάρη*· | $\cup\text{---}\cup$ ϵ] *ὑάγρ[ο]υ φω[ράματος]*.¹² I do not think that *εὐάγρου φωράματος* can be in any real doubt: I find nothing else either ending *-άγρου* or beginning with *φω-* that has any serious chance of being appropriate to the context, and these two words are each of them very appropriate indeed (*φώραμα* 'a thing found in the course of a search', *εὐάγρος* 'which is an easy prey'). The words will construe, presumably, after something which expresses or implies a request for Artemis to shoot at them (so fr. 441a. 6 *οὐ τενεῖς ταχὺν* | [*ἰδὲν κατ' αὐτήν*];), as it might be *τόξευε, κύγγον, εὐάγρου φωράματος*;¹³ and they will once again be a description of persons already designated.

I have not included in my reckoning instances in which a noun in *-μα* is qualified by a personal genitive or adjective, as *E. Ion* 1473 *ᾧμοι, νόθον με παρθένευσ' ἔτικτε* *κόν* = (*κὺν*) *παρθένος οὐσα ἔτικτες*, *Her.* 546 *τί ταρβὼν ὀρφάνευσ' ἔμων τέκνων* = *τὰ τέκνα ὀρφανεύμενα*, *Or.* 1196 *Ἑλένης Μενέλεως πτώμ' ἰδὼν ἐν αἵματι* = *Ἑλένην ἐν αἵματι πεπτωκυῖαν*,¹⁴ *Hek.* 390 *οὐ σὲ . . .*

¹² Since not everyone will have Carden's book on his shelves, I will explain my reconstruction of 3. Analogy requires *αὐτὰς* to be preceded by a word meaning (in some sort) 'other'; metre then points to a case of *τρίτος*, and since 'third girls' is impossible language we shall need something like what I have written (for *τρίταις βολαῖς* cf. *E. Su.* 389 *οἶδε δεῦτεροι λόγοι*). Now *τάςδε* after *ὄρω* must necessarily be predicative, 'I can see here . . .', and so should be in agreement with the object of *ὄρω*; as *τὴνδε* would have been if the text had been *τὴνδ' ὄρω θήραν*. I supposed that Sophocles (who submits the Greek language to stranger contortions than this), needing a plural for the sake of the following apposition, wrote *τάςδε ὄρω θήραν* with the intention that *τάςδε* should nevertheless be felt as predicative, with an effect which I explained as 'I can see here in a plurality of females a quarry for your third shooting'. I did not consider the possibility of a plural *θήρας* (*S. Ph.* 1146 *ὦ πταναὶ θήραι*), nor does it merit consideration: two girls shot in a single salvo are not *θήραι* but *θήρα*.

¹³ <Note missing.>

¹⁴ *πίπτειν* is often used as 'die a violent death'. Tragedy has *πτώμα* and *πέσχημα* four times (2 + 2) of such a death (*A. Su.* 662, 937 *πολλὰ γίγνεται πάρος* | *πέσχηματ' ἀνδρῶν*, *S. Ai.* 1033, *E. fr.* 728. 2; cf. *E. Ph.* 1482, *El.* 686), twice (0 + 2) of the dead person, each time in accordance with my rule (*E. Hek.* 699 apposition, *Ph.* 1701 vocative), and five times (3 + 2) with a dependent genitive (*E. Andr.* 652 *νεκρῶν*, *Her.* 1131 *τέκνων*, *Ph.* 1482 *νεκρῶν τρισσῶν*, 1697 *Ἐπεοκλέους*, *Or.* 1196 *Ἑλένης*). LSJ (*πτώμα* II. 1, *πέσχημα*) find of course in these last instances a meaning 'corpse'; which they even extend to *A. Su.* 662 *μηδ' ἐπιχωρίους* <ἔρις> *πτώμασιν αἱματίαι πέδον γὰς* (as if you bloodied the ground with corpses: you bloody it by their violent deaths). In later Greek this use of *πτώμα* with a genitive continues: *Dion. Hal. Ant.* 4. 70. 5 *λαβῶν τὸ ξιφίδιον αἰ διεχρήσατο ἐαντήν ἢ γυνή, καὶ τῷ πτώματι προσελθὼν αὐτῆς*, *Plut. Aem.* 21. 5 *ὡς δὲ μόλις ἐν πολλοῖς ὄπλοις*

καθθανεῖν Ἀχιλλέως | φάντασμι' Ἀχαιοὺς . . . ἠτήσατο = Ἀχιλλεὺς φαντασθεῖς.¹⁵ it is not that the noun is applied to a person, but that the whole complex is equivalent to name (or pronoun, or other designation) plus participle.¹⁶ I observe that exactly the same use is found with other kinds of verbal noun, as E. *Hel.* 1321 *μαστεύουσα* . . . *θυγατρὸς ἀρπαγὰς δολίους* = *θυγατέρα δολίως ἀρπασθεῖσαν*, Or. 1357 *πρὶν ἐτύμως ἴδω τὸν Ἑλένας φόνον καθαιμακτὸν ἐν δόμοις κείμενον* = *Ἑλένην πεφονευμένην*.¹⁷

I proceed now to a number of passages that call for rather more detailed comment.

A. *Karians* (= *Europa*), fr. 143. 18–20 M. <= 99. 17–19 Radt> (also Wilamowitz, *Aisch. Interpr.*, 235, and Lloyd-Jones, Addendum to Appendix [1957] to Loeb Aeschylus, ii. 599–603; mishandled by Nauck, fr. 99), *κλέος γὰρ ἦκεν <Ἑλλάδος> λωτίσματα | πάσης, ὑπερφέροντας ἀλκίμωι θένει, | αὐχεῖν δὲ Τρώων ἄστυ πορθήσειν βίαι;* as it stands, a clear exception to my rule.¹⁸

καὶ πτώμασι νεκρῶν κείμενον ἀνευρέθη). But it begins to be used also without a genitive, Plb. 15. 14. 2 *ὁ τε γὰρ τῶν νεκρῶν ὄλιθος . . . ἢ τε τῶν χύδην ἐρριμμένων ὄπλων ὁμοῦ τοῖς πτώμασιν ἀλογία δυσχερῆ τὴν διόδον ἐμελλε ποιήσειν*, Plut. *Alex.* 33. 8 *οἱ τε τροχοὶ συνειχόντο πτώμασιν πεφυρμένοι τοσοῦτοις, οἱ θ' ἵπποι καταλαμβανόμενοι καὶ ἄποκρυπτόμενοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεκρῶν ἐξήλλοντο*; each time the writer was doubtless encouraged to omit *νεκρῶν* by its proximity in the same sentence, but it is clear that *πτώματα* was coming by now to mean simply 'bodies of the fallen'. And so Phrynichos indicates (*Ekl.* 352 Fischer): *πτώμα· ἐπὶ νεκροῦ τιθέασιν οἱ νῦν, οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ πτώματα νεκρῶν ἢ οἴκων*.

¹⁵ This I think rather than = *Ἀχιλλέως εἶδωλον* (we must not automatically equate *φάντασμα* with English 'phantasm'; and I observe that this *Ἀχιλλέως φάντασμα ἠτήσατο* refers to the same incident as 37 *ὑπὲρ τύμβου φανείς* . . . *Ἀχιλλεὺς* . . . *αἰτεῖ*); similarly 94 (interpolated) and 54. At 54 the speaker is the ghost himself, Polydoros; he has just said (30) *νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ μητρὸς φίλης | Ἑκάβης αἰέσω* (I infer that he is speaking from the roof-top), and now speaks of Hekabe as *φάντασμα δαιμανούσ' ἐμόν*. I do not assert that an audience would feel it incongruous if a phantom (with a very solid presence) spoke of 'my phantom' as appearing to someone out of their sight; but I think that what he means is not 'my phantom' but *ἐμὲ φαναζόμενον*.

¹⁶ But at E. *Hel.* 204 *Κάστορός τε συγγόνου τε διδυμογενὲς ἄγαλμα πατρίδος* . . . *ἰπρόκροτα λέλοιπε δάπεδα* the genitive is evidently appositional, 'K. and his brother, the *ἄγαλμα* of their homeland'.

¹⁷ Here also LSJ (I. 5) give a sense 'corpse' (and also at 1491, where it is 'killing'). At Or. 990 *Μυρτίλου φόνον δικῶν ἐς οἶσμα πόντου* (where 'corpse' would be absurd: Myrtilos was killed by being thrown into the sea) one might, I suppose, equate *Μυρτίλου φόνον* with *Μύρτιλον φονευθέντα* in the sense 'Myrtilos who was thereby killed'; but I prefer to think *δικῶν* intransitive (Pi. O. 10. 72) and *φόνον* internal accusative, 'making a throw which consisted in the killing of M.'. A close analogy at E. *Ph.* 639–41 *τετρασκελὲς μόσχος ἀδάματος πέσημα δίκη* (the cow Kadmos was following lay down, and thereby indicated the place where he was to found his city): instead of an object 'its body' (*Ba.* 600 *δίκετε πεδόσε . . . σώματα*) we have an internal accusative *πέσημα*. — I have accepted Bergk's correction of the *τετρασκελής* and *ἀδάματος* of the mss.: 'four-legged heifer' must certainly go; *ἀδάματος* is then suggested both by concinnity and by Ovid's description of the same animal at *Met.* 3. 11, 16. Though *ἀδάματος* has of itself a certain attraction: the animal lies down where it lists, free of the spatial constraints and habits of domestication.

¹⁸ *λωτίσματα* is used quite regularly at E. *Hel.* 1593 *τί μέλλετ', ὦ γῆς Ἑλλάδος λωτίσματα, | σφάζειν φονεύειν βαρβάρους κτλ.*

But the whole fragment, copied by a semi-literate schoolboy¹⁹ with his mind evidently on other things, is monstrously corrupt;²⁰ there has been an omission (of half a verse and more, starting in mid-verse) only a few verses before, and my rule will not be infringed if we suppose, for reasons independent of the rule, another omission here, e.g. κλέος γὰρ ἦκειν <Ἀσιάδ' εἰς πολύσπορον | ἄνδρας δορυσσούς, Ἑλλάδος> λωτίσματα | πάσης, ὑπερφέροντας ἀλκίμωι θένει. My reasons: Europa, speaking presumably in Lycia (Aeschylus' Κἄρες = Λύκιοι²¹), will be some 500 km. south-east of Troy, farther from Troy (by the best part of 100 km.) than is Mycenae,²² and that she should say 'the Greeks ἦκουσιν and are confident of sacking Troy' would be a remarkable use of ἦκειν;²³ but ἦκειν is easy enough if what they have come to is the land-mass of which both Troy and Lycia are part, and for that we need the land-mass in the text, 'have come <to Asia>'.²⁴ I add that though the concord λωτίσματα . . . ὑπερφέροντας is not impossible (n. 34) its replacement by <ἄνδρας> . . . ὑπερφέροντας seems to me to give further gain.

I will digress to say that I think there is another omission immediately after these lines: . . . αὐχεῖν δὲ Τρώων ἄστν πορθήσειν βίαι· | <and Sarpedon has gone there to help repel the invading army;> | πρὸς οὐδέδοικα μή τι μαργαίνων δορὶ | ὑπέρφατον δράσῃ τι καὶ πάθῃ κακόν. If the text as we have it is continuous, Europa simply takes for granted (and leaves the audience to take for granted) Sarpedon's involvement in this faraway war; I do not believe that so essential a point was not made explicit. Nor with the text continuous can I find a satisfactory explanation of πρὸς οὐδ;²⁵ whereas after e.g. ἀπείρξων πολέμιον πύργων στρατόν we could take it as 'at whose hands', construing

¹⁹ We even know his name (Apollonios) and his age (not more than thirteen or fourteen): Wilcken, referred to by Lloyd-Jones.

²⁰ His text here is κλεογαρηκειενλοτισμοματος | πασηνυπερπερωντεσαλχιμουστενης | αυχειδेत्रωαναστπαρθησηβιον: every word garbled except γὰρ, πάσης, δέ, ἄστν.

²¹ Str. 14. 3. 3 οἱ ποιηταὶ δέ, μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοί, συγχρόντες τὰ ἔθνη, καθάπερ τοὺς Τρώας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς Φρύγας προσαγορεύουσιν, οὕτω, καὶ καὶ τοὺς Λυκίους Κἄρας.

²² Distances as the crow flies: Xanthos–Troy 485 km., Mycenae–Troy 398 km., Xanthos–Mycenae 612 km. Aeschylus' notion of the relative distances will have been, naturally, very vague, but will hardly have been wildly at variance with reality; and he will have been well familiar with Sarpedon's words to Hektor (*Il.* 5. 478; cf. 2. 877), καὶ γὰρ ἔγων ἐπίκουρος ἐὼν μάλα τηλόθεν ἦκω· | τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίῃ, Ξάνθῳ ἔπι δινηέντι.

²³ As if someone in Cape Town should say 'the Venezuelans have come and are confident of taking Tangier': in the triangle Cape Town–Tangier–Caracas the three sides are in the same proportion (each about 17 times as long) as in the triangle Xanthos–Troy–Mycenae.

²⁴ As if my man in Cape Town should say 'the Venezuelans have come to Africa'.

²⁵ The best one can do is to take πρὸς οὐδέδοικα as 'this makes me afraid'. I am not convinced that this is possible as language (I get no comfort from LSJ πρὸς A. II. 2); and this is not in any case the connexion I should have expected (rather the simple δέ of e.g. δέδοικα δ' αἰνῶς or φόβος δ' ἔχει με).

after *πάθῃ* (as the predominant verb:²⁶ Europa's fears are concerned not with the *δράμα* but only with the *πάθος*).²⁷

[A. *Myrmidons*], fr. 225 M. = 286 Ll.-J. <= 132c Radt>, 13–14 (Achilles speaking of Atreidai): [τίς γὰρ] τοιούτ[ο]υς εὐγενεστέρους ἐμοῦ | [ἀρχοὺς ἄ]ν [εἴ]ποι καὶ στρατοῦ ταγ[ε]ύματα. So it is printed (except for minor variations of supplement) in all editions hitherto, with *ταγεύματα* an exception to my rule. But *ταγεύματα* is a ghost, for what is written in the papyrus is *καὶ στρατοῦ τὰ βέλτατα*: first recognized (from the papyrus itself) by J. Rea, *ZPE* 7 (1971), 93–4, and once recognized quite evident even from the plate (in *PSI* xi and in *Mélanges Bidez* <= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie . . . de l'Université libre de Bruxelles* 2, 1934>).²⁸

S. *OT* 97 ἄνωγεν ἡμᾶς Φοῖβος ἐμφανῶς ἄναξ | μίαισμα χώρας ὡς τεθραμμένον χθονὶ | ἐν τῆιδ' ἐλαύνειν μηδ' ἀνήκεστον τρέφειν: I suppose the *μίαισμα* to be not the murderer as the source of pollution ('a defiling thing' Jebb) but the pollution inherent in him;²⁹ in any case we do not yet know as Kreon speaks that the source of pollution is in fact a person.³⁰

S. *OT* 1167 τῶν Λαῖου τοῖνυν τις ἦν γεννημάτων: the shepherd, as Oedipus gradually worms out of him the identity of the baby he gave to the man from Corinth. I do not see how else the words could be understood but as 'one of the children begotten by Laios', and with that meaning they might be thought

²⁶ For *δράσῃ* intruding into *πρὸς οὐδ' . . . πάθῃ* cf. e.g. *Ag.* 634–5 *πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα . . . | ἔλθειν τελευτήκαί τε δαίμονος κότῳ*, with Fraenkel's note on 318; the first verb is the intruder at *Theokr. Epigr.* 21. 1 *Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ σταθὶ καὶ εἴσιδε*.

²⁷ If it be thought that Sarpedon's *κακόν* will be inflicted rather *πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων* than *πρὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ* (we are to think, presumably, of Homeric warfare), one might I suppose make the antecedent *Ἄρη* 'warfare'; or one might change *πρὸς οὐδ'* to *πρὸς ὧν* (on the few occasions in this copy when the letters actually make Greek words, this is of course no guarantee that the words are the right ones). One could read *πρὸς ὧν*, of course, without positing a lacuna; but I posit a lacuna not because of the problem of *πρὸς οὐδ'* but to remedy the defectiveness of Europa's exposition.

²⁸ Since the instance has vanished, I have no need to speak about the authorship of the fragment; but since I have indicated by square brackets my disbelief in the attribution to Aeschylus, I had better say that when Snell speaks of the attribution as 'jetzt gesichert' (*Szenen aus griech. Dramen*, 2 n. 1) he is mistaken. The fragment (225 <132c R.>, on *PSI* 1211) is not, as he alleges, 'von der gleichen Hand geschrieben wie die Oxyrhynchos-Stücke der Myrmidonen [sc. *P. Oxy.* 2163]'; and the publication by Bartoletti in 1966 of a new fragment belonging to the same roll as *P. Oxy.* 2163 is irrelevant to the attribution of fr. 225.

²⁹ I do not mean that the murderer cannot be called a *μίαισμα*; I mean merely that this seems not to be the natural interpretation here. When he is so called, the instances accord with my rule: S. *OT* 241 *ὡς μιάματος | τοῦδ' ἦμιν ὄντος*, A. *Cho.* 1028 *κτανεῖν τέ φημι μητέρ' οὐκ ἄνευ δίκης, | πατροκτόνον μίαισμα καὶ θεῶν στύγος* (at *Ag.* 1645 *μίαισμα* is rather internal accusative: see Fraenkel).

³⁰ Kreon of course knows it. But the sentence was composed not by Kreon but by Sophocles, who wished the nature of the pollution to emerge only after another question by Oedipus.

an acceptable variation on the regular *Λαΐου ἦν γέννημα*.³¹ But the dialogue which follows is possible only if the words mean not this but ‘a child from Laios’ household’: Oedipus immediately inquires (1168) *ἦ δοῦλος, ἦ κείνου τις ἐγγενής γεγώς*; so that 1167 must be compatible both with the child’s having been sired by Laios and with its being a slave-child not sired by him; at 1169 the shepherd is well aware that he has not yet revealed the paternity, and he comes out with it only at 1171 *κείνου γέ τοι δὴ παῖς ἐκλήϊζετο*.³² I add that the question the shepherd is answering is not expressly about the paternity, 1164 *τίνος πολιτῶν* (sc. *ἔδέξω τὸν παῖδα*) *κὰκ ποίας στέγης*; and since he is utterly reluctant to reveal the truth, he will not go a word beyond the inevitable ‘from Laios’ house’. That sense is not to be extracted from 1167 as it stands (attempts to extract it are wholly idle³³), and it follows that 1167 is corrupt; the corruption will lie in *γεννημάτων* (whose removal will rid us also of the remarkable concord *τῶν Λαΐου . . . τις . . . γεννημάτων*³⁴), and in its replacement I look for *οἴκων* or *δόμων* or the like. One might think simply of *οἴκων ἄπο*; but how should this be corrupted to *γεννημάτων*? I observe however that *γέννημα* is a common gloss on words meaning ‘offspring’ (Hesych. s. vv. *γένεθλα, γόνος, θάλλος* [i.e. *θάλος?*], *φίτυμα*); and I suppose that in a verse such as *τῶν Λαΐου τοῖνυν τις ἦν βλάστη δόμων* the writing of *γέννημα* above *βλάστη*

³¹ S. Tr. 315 (Lichas, answering Deianeira’s question about Iole’s parentage) *ἴσως | γέννημα τῶν ἐκείθεν οὐκ ἐν ὑστάτοις*.

³² I have asked myself whether with 1167 ‘a child of Laios’ Oedipus might in 1168 be accepting the paternity and inquiring into the maternity (a bastard by a slave-girl, or *ἐγγενής* as in effect ‘legitimate’), with 1171–2 ‘he was said to be Laios’ child, and your wife can best fill in the details [sc. about the maternity]’. I have asked myself, and have answered ‘no’; the shepherd could not, after revealing the paternity, say (1169) *πρὸς αὐτῶν γ’ εἰμὶ τῶν δεινῶν λέγειν* (the maternity, with its incest, is no more terrible than the paternity with its parricide).

³³ Wilamowitz renders ‘dem Laios gehört’ es an’, supposing (see Bruhn ad loc.) that the genitive might just as well be possessive as *genetivus auctoris*: on paper, yes, but only on paper. Jebb fancies that in *τῶν Λαΐου . . . γεννημάτων* the *τῶν Λαΐου* might be felt as genitive of *οἱ Λαΐου*: not even on paper. In any case the words would at best be ambiguous between this and the obvious ‘child of Laios’, and we do not want ambiguity. We want imprecision: men who are reluctant to utter the truth do not use language which might or might not be taken as an explicit statement of the very thing they are struggling to conceal: they use vague language which neither admits the whole truth nor yet denies it.

³⁴ More remarkable than the editors suppose. Those who comment on it at all (no word in Jebb) suppose it to be defended by things like *Od.* 6. 157 *λευσπόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεύσαν*, *E. Su.* 12–14 *τέκνων . . . οὐς . . . ἤγαγε*, *Tro.* 735 *ὦ φίλτατ’, ὦ περιεῖα τιμηθεῖς τέκνον*, *Ba.* 1305 *τῆς σῆς τὸδ’ ἔρνος . . . νηδύος | . . . καθανόνθ’ ὀρώ*, *Pl. Lach.* 180e *τὰ . . . μειράκια τάδε πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἴκοι διαλεγόμενοι*; in all of which a neuter noun used of a person or persons (either properly or by an easy metaphor) is followed or preceded, naturally enough, by a masculine or feminine adjective or participle or relative. These do not seem to me to provide adequate analogy for a masculine *τις* sandwiched between the components of a neuter partitive dependent on it. Nor does S. *OK* 1693 *διδύμα τέκνων ἀρίστα*, where the concord would be normal even if we were not concerned with persons: *Il.* 22. 139 *κίρκος . . . ἐλαφρότατος πετηνῶν*, *Hdt.* 4. 85. 2 (*ὁ Πόντος*) *πελαγέων . . . ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος*.

(or whatever word it might have been) might well have resulted in *γεννημάτων*.³⁵

S. *Ph.* 170 *μή του κηδομένου βροτῶν μηδὲ ξύντροφον ὄμμα ἔχων*: before I consider this I must talk about other passages with *ὄμμα*. The word is properly a verbal noun from the stem *ὄπ-* (*ὄψομαι, ὄπωπα, ὄφθην*), originally **ὄπμα*, and part of the same group as *ὀπτήρ, -όπτης, -οπτος, -οπτρον, ὄψις*; and as such it will be basically either an act of seeing (look, glance, gaze), like *βλέμμα, δέργμα*, or a thing seen (a sight), like *θέαμα, ὄραμα*. Now from 'look' etc. it moves over to 'eye' (originally not the eye as the physical organ, which is *ὀφθαλμός*, but the eye as the seat of vision or the mirror of emotion, though the distinction is often blurred); and this 'eye' becomes so common that scholars tend to ignore the word's origins and start their interpretation from 'eye'.³⁶ Yet the meaning 'look, gaze' is evident in e.g. *Il.* 3. 217 *κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας* (his eyes remained in his head);³⁷ and there are in fact instances (often misinterpreted) where *ὄμμα* in this sense is used as internal accusative (*Prom.* 903 *μηδὲ κραισσόνων θεῶν ἔρωσ ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με*,³⁸ *E. Su.* 322 *γοργὸν ὄμμ' ἀναβλέπει | σὴ πατρίς, Her.* 221 *ἔθθηκε Θήβας ὄμμ' ἐλεύθερον βλέπειν*).³⁹ Similarly the meaning 'thing seen, sight' is commonly ignored;⁴⁰ yet there are places where it is perfectly clear, and in these places it is applied to persons. *A. Cho.* 238 (Elektra to the newly recognized Orestes) *ὦ τερπνὸν ὄμμα τέσσαρας μοίρας ἔχον | ἐμοί, προσανδάν δ' ἐστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον | πατέρα σε κτλ.*: a quite straightforward 'sight', in accordance with my rule; it follows closely after her first words, three lines before, *ὦ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασι πατρός*. *S. Ai.* 977 (Teukros, on first seeing Aias' shrouded corpse) *ὦ φίλτατ'*

³⁵ Or one might find all the letters in a paraphrase *γέννημα τῶν Λαῶν οἴκων*.

³⁶ They may perhaps be encouraged in this if in their own language the development has been in the reverse direction; as it has in English, where the original use of 'eye' is as the organ of vision, and the other uses have developed therefrom.

³⁷ *ὄμματα* here is naturally rendered in English by 'eyes' (e.g. Lang, Leaf, and Myers 'with eyes fixed upon the ground'); and this may delude native speakers of English into a belief that the word here actually *means* 'eyes' (as opposed to 'gaze'). The truth is of course that English 'eye(s)' has taken over the function of a verbal noun (*OED* 5 'With reference to the direction of the eye; hence often equivalent to: Look, glance, gaze'); sometimes a synonym is available ('gaze', for instance, if one is looking fixedly or intently, and so here one might say 'with his gaze fixed on the ground'), but often 'eye(s)' has acquired a monopoly: in 'keep your eye on the ball' there is no other noun that we might use in place of 'eye'. I should suppose that a German with his *Blick* and a Frenchman with his *regard* is better equipped than an Englishman to understand this use of *ὄμμα*.

³⁸ So (in effect) the manuscripts. The text needs correction in detail, but the correction will not affect the use of *ὄμμα*. I suspect that what the author wrote was *μή με κραισσόνων ἔρωσ ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδρακείη*; I will give my reasons in the excursus at the end of this article.

³⁹ See Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides*, 12–13. At *Su.* 322 *γοργὸν ὄμμ'* is Wecklein's correction of the nonsensical *γοργόν' ὦσ* of the manuscript.

⁴⁰ Commonly, but by no means invariably: it is recognized e.g. by Kaibel on *S. El.* 902 and by Weil on *E. Alk.* 1133; they both cite as parallels *A. Cho.* 238 and *S. Ai.* 1004.

Αἴας, ὦ ξύναιμον ὄμμ' ἔμοί: I will come back to this later. 1004 (Teukros, when the corpse is uncovered) *ὦ δυσθέατον ὄμμα καὶ τόλμης πικρᾶς, | ὅσας ἀνίας μοι κατασπείρας φθίνεις:* a variation on *θέαμα δυσθέατον*; to start with the sight is not Aias the person but the condition of his body, the outcome of a *τόλμα πικρά*, but then Teukros moves on to address him as a person. *El.* 902 *κευθὺς τάλαν' ὡς εἶδον, ἐμπαίει τί μοι | ψυχῆι κύνηθεσ ὄμμα, φιλάτου βροτῶν | πάντων Ὀρέστου τοῦθ' ὄρᾶν τεκμήριον:* the 'sight familiar to her soul' (sch. *ὄραμα ὃ ἀεὶ ἐφανταζόμεν κατὰ ψυχῆν*) is of course Orestes;⁴¹ but she changes her construction, and the *ὄμμα* is only implicitly defined. *E. Alk.* 1133 (Admetos, to Alkestis newly restored to him) *ὦ φιλάτης γυναικὸς ὄμμα καὶ δέμας, | ἔχω ᾧ ἀέλπτως, οὐποτ' ὄψεσθαι δοκῶν: ὄμμα ἐquivaut ici à θέαμα, et répond à ὄψεσθαι, comme δέμας répond à ἔχω* (Weil). *Ion* 1261 *ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφικοῦ πατρός, | οἶαν ἔχιδναν τήνδ' ἔφυσας:* effectively the same as *ὦ πάτερ Κηφικέ, ταυρόμορφε ἰδεῖν*, and the function of *ἰδεῖν* there is served by *ὄμμα* here; the genitive as in the Homeric periphrases with *βίη, ἴσ, κένος*, etc.⁴² *Or.* 1082 (Orestes to Pylades) *ἀλλ' ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄμμ' ὀμιλίαις ἐμῆς, | χαίρε:* I have no doubt that we should read *ὄμμα* (PIVL) and not *ὄνομα*; that the following genitive is 'companionship' and not 'companion' would not surprise me even if 1233 were not (Pylades speaking) *ὦ συγγένεια πατρὸς ἐμοῦ, κἀμὰς λιτάς, | Ἀγάμεμνον, εἰδάκουσον* (cf. *Ph.* 291). — I revert now to *S. Ai.* 977 *ὦ φίλτατ' Αἴας, ὦ ξύναιμον ὄμμ' ἔμοί.* That the body is still shrouded does not tell against the interpretation of *ὄμμα* as 'sight', since it is still shrouded when Teukros at 992 says *ὦ τῶν ἀπάντων δὴ θεαμάτων ἐμοὶ | ἄλγιστον ὦν προσεῖδον ὀφθαλμοῖς*

⁴¹ Jebb renders *ὄμμα* as 'image', and then contradicts his rendering by saying 'ὄμμα is the "face" or "form" of her brother'; on the scholion he says 'the writer took *ὄμμα* to mean "sight", a sense possible for it only when, as here, it denotes the human face or form (*Ai.* 977: *ib.* 1004: *Aesch. Ch.* 238)'. If Jebb is prepared to say that *ὄμμα* cannot have meaning A except when it has the very different meaning B, he must not expect me to take his pronouncements seriously; nor do I. It appears to be true, however (and this may be what he was trying ineffectually to say) that in all the instances where *ὄμμα* is interpretable as 'sight' the sight is a person (whether alive or dead, whether human or divine). This is hardly likely to be fortuitous (*θέαμα* behaves in no such way); I suppose therefore that the association of *ὄμμα* with the human eye and its functioning and expressions had become so strong that the use as 'a sight' was confined to instances where the sight was a human being (or a god). Jebb supposes these instances to be an extension of the meaning 'eye'; I suppose them to be survivors of a very different meaning after its restriction by the influence of the meaning '(human) eye'.

⁴² In two passages where Sophocles uses *ὄμμα* periphrastically it seems to be 'eye' as the mirror of emotion: *Ai.* 140 *πεφόβημαι πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας*, *Tr.* 527 (Deianeira awaiting the outcome of the fight between Herakles and Acheloiros) *τὸ δ' ἀμφειέκητον ὄμμα νύμφας ἔλεινὸν ἀμμένει* (*ἔλεινόν* predicative, of her pitiable expression; the iambic dimeter is not to be completed by *ἔλεινὸν ἀμμένει* <τέλος>, for the outcome will be *ἔλεινόν* only if Acheloiros wins, but rather by *ἔλεινὸν <ἀμφίς> ἀμμένει*, of Deianeira waiting well away from the struggle, *τηλαυγεῖ παρ' ὄχθωι*).

ἔγώ.⁴³ Now ὄμμα is qualified by an adjective describing Aias not as a sight but as a person; and the instance will therefore be particularly relevant to *Ph.* 171 μηδὲ ξύντροφον ὄμμα ἔχων. The commentators there proceed in general from ὄμμα ‘eye’, either directly (Radermacher, ‘einen mit ihm zusammenlebenden Freund . . ., dessen teilnehmendes *Auge* seine Leiden milderte’) or by way of ‘face’ (Jebb ‘the face of a man who lives with one’, Webster ‘the eye or face of someone who lives with him’). But I have no doubt that the scholiast is right in paraphrasing μηδὲ ὁρῶν εἰς ἄνθρωπον σύνοικον: where again ὄμμα will be ‘a sight’ and will be qualified, as in *Ai.* 977, by an adjective describing the man not as a sight but as a person. Now I have maintained that a verbal noun in -μα is not used in tragedy to designate a person, but only to describe him; and here we have ξύντροφον ὄμμα indubitably designating a man who shares one’s subsistence. But I do not think that this can be seriously supposed to be an exception to my rule: just as in *Ἐλεύης πτώμα* = *Ἐλένην πεπτωκυῖαν* it is *Ἐλένης* that designates and *πτώμα* that describes, so here I take *σύντροφον ὄμμα ἔχων* as = *σύντροφόν τινα ἔχων ὁρώμενον* (or, if I may use an ‘eye’ word without confusing the issue, *σύντροφόν τινα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχων*), so that it is *σύντροφον* that designates and ὄμμα that describes.

E. *IT* 273: a credulous herdsman is reported as saying to the shipwrecked Orestes and Pylades ὦ ποντίας παῖ Λευκοθέας, νεῶν φύλαξ, | δέσποτα Παλαίμων, ἴλεως ἦμιν γενοῦ, | εἶτ’ οὖν ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκόρω | ἢ Νηρέως ἀγάμαθ’, ὅς τὸν εὐγενῆ | ἔτικτε πενήκοντα Νηρήιδων χορόν. This *Νηρέως ἀγάματα* is predicated (‘or if you are the Dioskoroi who are sitting on the shore, or *Νηρέως ἀγάματα*’) of persons already designated by their being addressed, and to that extent falls under my rule; but it would not fall under it satisfactorily if *Νηρέως ἀγάματα* were a sufficient designation of some known deities. I cannot think that it is (and no editor has produced a rational explanation of who such deities might be): the only familiar young male marine deity is Palaimon, and hence the herdsman’s first guess (a bad one: who then is his companion?); then the Dioskoroi (not marine, but at least like Palaimon they save ships at sea); then his thoughts revert to marine deities proper, and he supposes that there may be other young male ones, unknown to him and so unnameable, whom he describes as ‘darlings⁴⁴ (not ‘the darlings’) of Nereus’. He may I suppose be thinking that the father of fifty daughters (why else mention them?) might well have male issue of some kind, whether sons or daughters’ sons, but we have no business to tie him down to

⁴³ It might be thought to tell against Jebb’s interpretation as ‘the “face” or “form” of a kinsman’; though I suppose he would say that Teukros is thinking of Aias as he was when alive.

⁴⁴ Not a very accurate rendering of *Νηρέως ἀγάματα* = persons in whom Nereus ἀγάλλεται; but I need something simple with a plural.

one or the other or indeed to issue at all: why else should Euripides make him use such imprecise language except to indicate an equal imprecision in his thought?

E. Or. 928: Orestes deserves a *στέφανος* for killing Klytaimestra, ἢ κείν' ἀφήρει, μήθ' ἀπλίζεσθαι χέρα | μήτε στρατεύειν ἐκλιπόντα δώματα, | εἰ πάντων οἰκουρήμαθ' οἱ λελειμμένοι | φθεροῦσιν, ἀνδρῶν εὐνιδας λωβώμενοι.⁴⁵ Editors are apt to take οἰκουρήματα to mean *γυναϊκας οἰκουρούσας*; which gives a clear exception to my rule. But I have no doubt that Di Benedetto is right in taking it to mean not the women but their performance of their duties as οἰκουροί, a performance wrecked by their seduction ('chi corrompe la moglie di chi è in guerra in realtà distrugge la custodia e la buona amministrazione della casa'⁴⁶). His objection to the usual interpretation is that Euripides would not have used φθείρειν in the sense 'seduce', and with this I agree (though for reasons other than his);⁴⁷ and I find it myself intolerable that πάντων οἰκουρήματα φθεροῦσιν should bear a meaning to which ἀνδρῶν εὐνιδας λωβώμενοι adds nothing whatever.

I will end by giving, for the sake of anyone who may wish either to verify my facts or to pursue the question further, a list of all the verbal nouns in -μα that I have found to be applied in tragedy to persons. I indicate the authors in whom I have found them as follows (I disregard any questions of authenticity): all except those in brackets are from Euripides; other authors

⁴⁵ φθεροῦσιν Wecklein, followed by Weil; φθείρουσιν the manuscripts. Klytaimestra's adultery is thought of as potentially (ἀφήρει, not ἀφείλε) establishing a precedent, and the envisaged universal acceptance of that precedent is expressed, necessarily, in the future indicative (if the stay-at-homes are going to seduce the wives of those away with the army); so 566, and cf. 936 (with which in turn cf., in the law courts, Lys. 14. 11 ἐνθυμηθῆναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι εἰ ἐξέσται ὅτι ἂν τις βούληται ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ὄφελος νόμους κείσθαι ἢ ὑμᾶς συλλέγεσθαι ἢ στρατηγούς αἰρεῖσθαι). Most editors acquiesce in φθείρουσιν; they do not explain it to their readers, and I do not know how they explain it to themselves.

⁴⁶ Though this puts too much emphasis on mere housekeeping, in a sentence where only adultery is really in point. The duty of the οἰκουρός is to ensure that the returning husband shall find everything at home just as he left it; and the prime ingredient in this is that she herself shall be οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε (A. Ag. 607), loyal to him in every way and loyal sexually above all.

⁴⁷ He says simply 'non esistono in epoca classica attestazioni dell'uso di φθείρειν nel senso di "corrompere"; which is true, but not conclusive. In ordinary spoken Attic φθείρειν has given way (except in φθείρεσθαι 'go to the devil') to διαφθείρειν, but tragedy makes much use also of the simple φθείρειν as a convenient (and elevated) synonym of διαφθείρειν; if therefore διαφθείρειν 'seduce' was legitimate for Euripides, I do not doubt that he would have felt free to use φθείρειν in the same sense. But although διαφθείρειν occurs as 'seduce' in classical Attic (Lys. 1. 4, 8, 16, 37, 13. 66, D. 45. 27; cf. Men. Pk. 499 S. = 249 Kö., fr. 5), it is never so used in tragedy (E. Ba. 318 διαφθαρήσεται of the woman is just like Hipp. 1008 διεφθάρην of the man, and is not 'be seduced' but 'abandon one's virtue, take to immorality'). I infer from this that the use was not dignified enough for tragedy, and if διαφθείρειν is excluded on that score, so also a fortiori will φθείρειν be. What is in question is not the date of the use but its stylistic level.

are indicated by A(eschylus), S(ophocles), M(inor tragedians), and T(ragic adespota).

ἀγαλμα^{AST}, ἀγλαΐσμα, (ἀγνισμα)^A, ἀδίκημα, (ἄλημα)^S, ἀνάθημα, ἀπέχθημα, βλάστημα^A, (βόσκημα)^A, (γέννημα)^S, (δείμα)^S, δούλευμα^S, (δώρημα)^A, ἔλκημα, ἐπίχαρμα, ἔρμα, εὖρημα^S, ἡγεμόνευμα, θαῦμα^S, θέαμα^{AS}, θήραμα, θησαύρισμα, ποίναμα, θρέμμα^S, θῦμα, ἴδρυμα, καλλίστευμα, κήδευμα^S, (κίνυγμα)^A, (κρότημα)^S, κτήμαSM, λάλημα^S, λάτρευμα^S, λόχευμα, λώτισμα^A, (μείλιγμα)^A, (μέλημα)^A, μίαςμα^{AS}, μίμημα, μίσχημα^{AS}, νύμφευμα, ὄμμα^{AS}, ὄχημα, παιδευμα^T, (παραγκάλισμα)^S, πέσημα, (πίστωμα)^A, πρέσβευμα, (πρόβλημα)^S, πρόθυμα, προπόλευμα, προσηγόρημα, πρόσπτρυγμα, πρόσφαγμα, (προσφώνημα)^S, (ρύμα)^S, σπέρμα^{AS}, στύγημα, συγκοίμημα, σχήμα, (τέχνημα)^S, τρύφημα, τύμβευμα, ὕβρισμα, ὑπαγκάλισμα, φάσμα, (φίτυμα)^A, φόνευμα, (φρούρημα)^A, (φώραμα)^S, χάρμα, χόρευμα, ὠφέλημα^{AT}.

I cannot guarantee that I have omitted nothing by mere oversight. But I will justify a few exclusions, and inclusions, that are deliberate. I have excluded verbal nouns that have lost touch with their origins (as λῆμα, χρῆμα). I have included words about whose construction I cannot be completely certain (apposition or internal accusative), and words which occur in lines or passages that I believe to be interpolated (even E. *Andr.* 937 *λαλημάτων*); but I have excluded E. *Tro.* 1121 *δίσκημα* as certainly internal accusative, and [A.] *Th.* 1022 *χειρώματα* as being the starting-point of the whole discussion. For *φώραμα* see above on S. *Niobe* fr. 441a. In the tragic adespota (all references to Snell–Kannicht, *TrGF* ii) there are a few possible instances on papyrus fragments too broken for certain diagnosis (if they are indeed instances, I see no indication that they conflict with my rule): 646. 12 *ἔρμα*, 651. 11]μα, 679. 11 *ἀγκάλισμα*. Of the quotation fragments, two come into question. The single line 349 *ὦ μηχανήμα λυγκὸς αἰολώτερον* (no context preserved)⁴⁸ will not be addressed to a person, but will be exclaiming at the craftiness of a scheme: there is no analogy in the *τέχνημα* of S. *Ph.* 928, addressed to Neoptolemos, *ὦ πῦρ σὺ καὶ πᾶν δεῖμα καὶ πανουργίας | δεινῆς τέχνημ' ἔχθιστον*, for there the addition of the genitive makes all the difference.⁴⁹ But in 515a. 1–5 (= S. fr. dub. 1019 Nauck, 1120 Pearson <= Adesp.

⁴⁸ Plutarch (*Mor.* 16d) borrows the line for an address to *ποιητική*, and continues with *τί παίζουσα τὰς ὀφρὺς συνάγεις, τί δ' ἐξαπατῶσα προσποιῆ διδάσκει;* This creates of course no presumption that in its original context the line introduced a similarly personal address.

⁴⁹ Comparison with a lynx does not point to a person: the lynx is *αἰόλη* because of its spotted fur (*βαλιά* E. *Alk.* 579, *uaria* and *maculosa* Verg. *G.* 3. 264, A. 1. 323), like the dog at Kall. *Hy.* 3. 91; a Greek will presumably have felt in *αἰόλη λύγξ* and *αἰόλον μηχανήμα* two different applications of a single sense ‘variegated’ (so that the line is quite untranslatable into English). *αἰόλος* is regularly glossed by *ποικίλος*; which is used of a leopard-skin at *Il.* 10. 80, of a *μηχανήμα* at S. *OK* 762.

515a Sn.–K.>), where I cannot stomach the punctuation (Wachsmuth's) adopted in all three editions, I observe that the lines are quite straightforward if one assumes that *παιδεύματα* is applied to persons.⁵⁰ *ἐπεὶ πέπρακται πᾶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς, | χωρῶμεν ἤδη, παῖδες, εἰς τὰ τῶν σοφῶν | διδασκαλεῖα, μουσικῆς παιδεύματα· | προσλαμβάνειν δὲ δεῖ καθ' ἡμέραν αἰεὶ, | ἕως ἂν ἐξῆμι μανθάνειν, βελτίονα.* The writer will have intended *μουσικῆς παιδεύματα* to be equivalent to *μουσικῆς μαθηταί, μουσικὴν παιδευθησόμενοι*.⁵¹ very bad, but he was evidently a very bad poet;⁵² at any rate he conforms to my rule.

EXCURSUS

Prometheus Bound 901–3

This excursus has its origin in my citation of the passage above as an instance of the use of *ᾄμμα*, in a sense such as 'look, gaze', as internal accusative with a verb of seeing. My discussion below will be concerned not with the use of *ᾄμμα*, about which I have no more to say than I have said already, but with the restoration and interpretation of the sentence in which the use occurs; unless that sentence is set to rights, its problems may be felt to cast doubt ('in a corrupt context' or the like) on the use itself.

The passage comes in a short ode of three stanzas. In the strophe (887–93) the chorus approve of the maxim that *τὸ κηδεύσαι καθ' ἑαυτόν* is best, and that a *χερνήτης* ought not to desire marriage with the rich or nobly born; in the antistrophe (894–900) they pray, alarmed by Io's fate, that they may never enter the bed of Zeus or of any *τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*. Then our passage, at the beginning of the epode; no responsion therefore to help us in considering it.

I give first the manuscript text. The colometry is that of M (I have no information about the colometry of other manuscripts); I have incorporated one obvious correction (*προσδράκοι* Salvinus for *προσδάρκοι, -δέρκοι*,

⁵⁰ I do not know whether this has ever been said before; no indication that it has in any of the three editions (of which Pearson's has quite a long discussion), and I have not looked further.

⁵¹ Euripides, when he uses *παιδευμα* of a person, has it with a genitive of the *παιδευτής* at *Hipp.* 11, *El.* 887; so also fr. 939, and I suppose also fr. 897, *παιδευμα δ' Ἐρωσ Κοφίας κτλ.* Now *μαθητής* can take a genitive either of the teacher or of the subject learnt (or both at once: *Pl. Smp.* 197d); our writer has evidently supposed the same two uses to be possible with *παιδευμα*. I have little sympathy with him.

⁵² Though not so bad (no man could be) as to write at 8–9 and 11–12 the nonsense which the manuscripts impute to him.

-δράμοι); I ignore the trivial errors of isolated manuscripts (they are reported by Dawe, *Collation and Investigation*, 238).

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὀμαλὸς ὁ γάμος
ἄφοβος, οὐ δέδια· μὴ δὲ κρείσσ-
όνων θεῶν ἔρωσ ἄφνυ-
κτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με.

A good many things are wrong here: ὅτι could be said only by a woman already married (or contemplating a specific marriage) to an equal; οὐ δέδια after ἄφοβος is silly;⁵³ adversative μηδέ is impossible; θεῶν is at least undesirable (what is contrasted with marriage between equals should be marriage with one's superiors,⁵⁴ not marriage with superior gods; nor indeed do the chorus think of themselves as θεαί⁵⁵); finally the metre is astray.

Headlam cured all these faults by restoration which he published first in 1907 (*JPh* 30, 314–15) and then in 1908 (in a footnote to his translation):

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποτε μὲν ὀμαλὸς ὁ γάμος
ἄφοβος· ὃν δε δέδια, μὴ τι κρείσσόνων
ἔρωσ ἄφνυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με.

The metre (disguised by the eccentric colometry) is straightforward unsyncopated iambic (the last metron catalectic), with much resolution at the beginning but none at the end (I mark the metra and the resolutions): ἐμοὶ δ' ὀπῶτ' εἰ μὲν ὀμαλὸς ὀγαλμος ἄφῶβος· ὄν | δε δέδια, μὴ | τι κρείσσωνων | ερωσ ἀφνυκτον ὀμμα | προσδρακοι με |. Exactly the same pattern (with fewer metra) in the next period, | ἀπὸλέμος ὀδεῖ | γ' ὀ πὸλέμος, ἄπὸρα πὸρίμος, οὐδ' εχω τις ἀν | γενοίμαν |; the final period moves over to lekythion (unresolved) plus pherecratean A.

For the ὅτι of the manuscripts most editors accept Arnaldus' ὅτε, which

⁵³ It would be just as silly if one got rid of the asyndeton by οὐ<δὲ> δέδια. <So Elmsley.> I have not therefore listed the asyndeton as a separate fault.

⁵⁴ Superiors not simply in status but (κρείσσόνων) in power, so that one cannot fight against them (904 ἀπόλεμος ὀδε γ' ὀ πόλεμος). With only κρείσσόνων in the text (and θεῶν gone) the passage falls into line with other statements of the futility of conflict with the stronger (I specify, weaker first, the conflicts which prompt them): Hes. *WD* 210 (nightingale v. hawk) ἄφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέληι πρὸς κρείσσονα ἀντιφερίζει; *Il.* 21. 485 (Artemis v. Hera) βέλτερόν ἐστι . . . ἢ κρείσσον ἵφι μάχεσθαι; *Pi.* *O.* 10. 39 (Aegeus v. Herakles) νεῖκος δὲ κρείσσων | ἀποθέσθ' ἄπορον, *N.* 10. 73 (Apharetidai v. Zeus) χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν κρείσσόνων.

⁵⁵ They are thinking of their own case as parallel to that of the mortal Io. And earlier in the play (529) they have said μηδ' ἐλινύσαιμι θεοὺς ὀσίαις θοίνας ποτινισομένα βουφόνους παρ' Ὑκεανού πατρός ἄσβεστον πόρον; gods do not offer sacrifice to gods.

gives a syncopated first metron, $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\prime\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon = | \cup - \wedge \cup |$.⁵⁶ The sole purpose (I am in sympathy with it) of Headlam's $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ will be to avoid the syncopation; indeed he wavered between $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ and two other words which have the same effect, printing in 1907 ' $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ (or $\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu$ or $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$)' and in 1908, with brackets to indicate uncertainty, ' $(\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon)$ '. Certainly not $\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\nu$ (with ellipse of the subjunctive $\eta\iota$); between $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ and $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ I suppose his second thoughts to be wiser (the chorus are thinking of their own case, or rather cases, and $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ would extend their thoughts beyond this). If $\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ were read as $\omicron\tau\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$ its corruption to $\omicron\tau\iota$ would be easy enough.

Headlam's $\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$ I regard as palmary: exactly the words we need, and the corruption involved would be very easy.⁵⁷ But I do not believe that Headlam himself ever understood it aright. In 1907 he appears to take it as an example of a relative clause preceding its grammatical antecedent, i.e. 'the $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ I fear'.⁵⁸ In 1908 he shifts to a rendering (without comment) 'For me, when equal, marriage hath no terrors; but may the kind I fear, the love of greater Powers, never cast its fatal eye on me'. In this English sentence 'the kind I fear' can be understood only as 'the kind of marriage I fear', and that is certainly what the Greek must mean: I do not see how anyone, when $\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$ comes in express ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$) and immediate contrast to the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma$, could have understood it otherwise than as 'the one I fear' = 'the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ I fear'. But Headlam appears to construe this as in apposition to the following $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$, and this I cannot accept: $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ (sexual desire) and $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (its fruition) are not to be equated; and though the $\kappa\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ (= $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\omicron\iota$ $\kappa\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$) may look on one with inescapable gaze, I cannot think that a $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ could be said to do so. I construe $\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ($\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$) $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$ therefore as internal accusative, of the kind that is called (and often miscalled) 'in apposition to the sentence', discussed in my note on E. *Hipp.* 752–7. It would have been simple enough if they had said something on the lines of $\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$, $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\ \kappa\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\nu\nu\omicron\nu\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota$; I find it scarcely less simple with this more elaborate and more effective expression. (No difficulty about the two internal accusatives: $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\omicron}\mu\mu\alpha$ are not on the same level.) I can give no

⁵⁶ Not $| \epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\prime\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ | \omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ | \alpha\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$ (a) In the lyric iambs and trochaics of tragedy resolutions of the type $\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ($\cup \cup$) are a good deal less common than those of the type $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ($\cup \cup$); a string of the commoner is to be preferred to a string of the rarer. (b) This analysis can be combined with Headlam's $\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$ only at the cost of a metron $| \acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\ |$ with syncopation following immediately on resolution, whether $| \cup \acute{\omega}\ \acute{\lambda}\prime - |$ or $(\acute{\omega}) | \acute{\lambda}\prime \cup \cup - |$; if Dale (*Lyric Metres*, 39) goes too far in regarding the sequence as wholly inadmissible (cf. E. *Hipp.* 1145), it is certainly unwelcome in metrical contexts as simple and homogeneous as ours. Of the possible instances collected by Diggle (*Studies on the Text of Euripides*, 18–21) the great majority come in metrical contexts which are anything but simple and homogeneous.

<Notes 57–60 are missing. In n. 60 B. will have justified the form $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$ by reference to Pindar's usage and his own emendation of Pi. N. 4. 23, for which see below, pp. 466 f.>

literal rendering, for the resources of English are often inadequate to the rendering of Greek internal accusatives;⁵⁹ best perhaps to take refuge in anacoluthon: ‘but the one I fear—never, I pray, may the desire of those more powerful than I look on me with inescapable gaze.’

But one thing in Headlam’s proposal will never do: the idle *τι* in the *μή τι* which he substitutes for *μηδέ* (and worse indeed than idle, with so many accusatives already in the sentence). I should not wish simply to omit the *τι* (i.e. to read *μή* alone in place of *μηδέ*), for I am reluctant to import a synco-pated metron, and I look therefore for another monosyllable. I do not see what else this could be but *με*: its position here will not only be appropriate (the enclitic second in its clause) but advantageous, in that it will help understanding to have the external *με* preceding the internal *ὄμμα*. But if we read *μή με* we must abolish the *με* of *προσδράκοι με*, and if we merely remove it we destroy the metre: either we must make the last metron a full one, and to that end must retain *θεῶν*, so that we shall have | *θεῶν ἔρωσ* | *ἄφυκτον ὄμμα* | *προσδράκοι* |, or if we remove *θεῶν* (and I cannot believe that it can be kept) we must find a replacement for *με* in the final catalectic metron of | *ἔρωσ ἄφυκτον ὄμμα* | *προσδράκοι με* |. I see only one way of replacing it: read *προσδρακεΐη*.⁶⁰

New Identifications in *P. Oxy.* 2180 (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*)

This papyrus, the tattered remains (about 1,000 letters) of an elegant roll, was edited by C. H. Roberts (hereafter ‘R.’) in vol. xviii of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, published in 1941. Out of a total of 53 fragments he located 29;¹ the 24 which he left unlocated are mere scraps, averaging $6\frac{1}{2}$ letters (maximum 12, minimum 2), with about a third of their letters represented by ambiguous and sometimes minimal remains.

I have worked first on a photograph and then on the papyrus itself, which is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. <It is now in the Sackler Library.> I have been able in the end to locate a further 17 fragments (in three instances location was impeded by an unfamiliar reading), and to relocate one that had been wrongly located. This leaves seven; I will give an account of these at the end of this article.

The exercise turns out to have been worthwhile. I summarize the readings I have elicited:

- (a) hitherto unknown, and I think true: 524, 528;
- (b) hitherto unknown, and evidently false: 109, 438;
- (c) agreeing with a true variant against a false: 294, 461, 525;
- (d) agreeing with the medieval tradition in a reading which is commonly corrected: 200.

I have also elicited presumptive support for a deletion (8); and in a related papyrus (*PSI* 1192; see below) I infer at 188 another reading hitherto unknown (and very possibly right).

<Not earlier than 1986 (see on fr. 41 with n. 26). B. communicated his results to Hugh Lloyd-Jones in September and October 1988; cf. Lloyd-Jones and Wilson, *Sophocles* (OCT, 1990), xvi, and *Sophoclea* (Oxford 1990), 79, 80–3, 92.>

¹⁻⁸ <Notes 1–8 were left to be written on separate pages that are now missing from the best copy. (The subsequent notes are accommodated at the foot of each page of the main text.) I have located drafts of notes 2, 4, and 5 in another folder.>

All 56 located fragments are from the first 600 lines of the play (more precisely, from lines 60–587); it seems likely therefore that any of the unlocated fragments that belong to this manuscript (I do not believe that all of them do) should be from the same part of the play.

The roll, as I have said, was elegant. The hand is ‘an extremely fine and careful book-hand’ (R.); and—I shall consider this in detail later—the text is laid out in regular columns of exactly 20 lines, the lines being spaced at a constant 5.6 mm. The column of writing was thus 11 cm. in height (its width, in trimeters, will have been much the same); the upper and lower margins survive (in one place each) to a height of 4 cm. but were doubtless originally higher.²

There is another papyrus which falls to be considered along with ours: *PSI* 1192, published in 1935. (Hereafter I shall discard its number, and call it simply ‘*PSI*’; similarly our fragments will be simply ‘*P. Oxy.*’.)

PSI, also from Oxyrhynchos, has on its single fragment parts of the text of *OT* which are not preserved in *P. Oxy.* but are from the same part of the play: the upper parts of two columns (and above them unwritten papyrus for 6 cm.), the first having remains of 178–90 and the second the beginnings of 197–200. Column-heads, that is, at 178 and 197; and these fit exactly into the sequence, which I shall give in a moment, of the column-heads in *P. Oxy.*

From the editors’ description of it, coupled with its provenance, R. thought it ‘very likely’ that *PSI* was from the same roll as *P. Oxy.*; and I, because of the columniation, was prepared to strengthen this to ‘almost certain’. I then saw a photograph of *PSI*; and the hand is without question the same.

That, one might suppose, is that; but it is not. In favour of the identification: same provenance, same hand, same columniation, same part of the play. But against it: *PSI* is written with a broader pen (with the corollary that the letters are rather larger: a given sequence will have taken up about a sixth more space), and the lines are spaced slightly more widely (*PSI*, 5.8 mm. a line; *P. Oxy.*, 5.6 mm.). I cannot discount these differences: the fragments of *P. Oxy.*, spread over more than 500 lines, both before and after those contained in *PSI*, show no appreciable variation in width of pen and no deviation from the regular 5.6 mm. I do not believe that *PSI* and *P. Oxy.* can be from the same roll.³

² They reach 4 cm. below 416 and above 417; the papyrus is broken off irregularly, and in each case the 4 cm. is attained on a width of only a few millimetres. Roberts’ figure of ‘not less than 7 cm.’ for the upper margin will be based on fr. 43; but the unwritten papyrus in that fragment turns out to be intercolumnar (see below, on 118).

³ <Note missing.>

I suppose therefore that the same copyist produced two identical copies of the play (identical except for the thickness to which he cut his pen and for a minute difference in the spacing of the lines).⁴ I know of no parallel for this, but I see no reason to think it improbable: this was a first-class professional copyist, producing rolls of the highest quality: why should he not have produced two near-identical copies of the same well-known play, whether on commission or in the confidence that it would be easy to find buyers?

The chance that fragments of both copies should survive is obviously very slight; but I have no doubt that it has happened. There are no other improbabilities: it is natural that both should be found in the same place, since the copyist's clients are likely to have lived locally; and given that a fragment of *PSI* was to survive, there is about a 40% chance of its coming from the first 30 columns (lines 1–593), and about a 30% chance of its doing so without coinciding with a fragment of *P. Oxy.*⁵

That the two manuscripts are not the same is of course of no practical importance: two copies made with the same layout by the same very careful copyist will have had no significant differences from one another. In particular, they will have had in the lyrics the same colometry; which I have no doubt was the standard colometry established by Aristophanes of Byzantium.

I come now to the columniation: every column an exact 20 lines. I give the sequence of column-heads: unbracketed figures are known from the preservation either of the column-head itself or of the preceding column-foot (those marked † are known from *PSI*); <122> and <574> are half-known;⁶ bracketed figures are inferences from the sequence. In lyrics I append to the figure the first word of the line; except that at 159/60 we do not know at what point the lines were divided.

62, (82), 102, <122>, (142, 159/60), †178 ἀκτάν, †197 Θρήικιον, (217, 237, 257, 277), 297, (317, 337, 357, 377), 397, 417, 437, 457, 476 ἄνδρα, (494 ἐπὶ τάν), 513, (534, 554), <574>, (594, 614, 634).

That these figures do not always proceed by increments of 20 is due to irregularities not of column-content but of numeration. (a) In two places (one in 1–59, the other at 533) the papyrus text does not include a line that is present in the medieval tradition; I shall come back to these lines later.

⁴ The writer evidently kept his pen trimmed to a constant width; it is inconceivable, given his elegance and regularity in other respects, that he should have written part of the roll with a broader pen. And there is a more direct proof than this: of 200 τὸν ὃ πυρφόρων *PSI* has τον], and I have located *P. Oxy.* fr. <40?> so that it contains]πυρ[; the two sets of letters, in the same line, each show the width of stroke that is characteristic of their manuscript.

⁵ Of the 30 columns, 17 are not represented at all in *P. Oxy.*, and five others only minimally (between 4 and 12 letters).

⁶ <Note missing.>

(b) In the choral odes (151–215, 463–512) the numeration of modern texts does not accord with the papyrus colometry, but follows that of Brunck; and the two are very different.⁷ I make the following assumptions about the papyri:

(1) The first choral ode, 65 lines in Brunck, had 70 lines; the three strophic pairs will have had stanzas of (a) 10 lines (8 Brunck, 11 Pearson), (b) 12 lines (12 and 11 B., 11 P.), (c) 13 lines (13 B., 13 P.). For (b), 12 is guaranteed by *PSI*, which has line-beginnings for the whole antistrophe (179–89); the figures for (a) and (c) will then give 20-line columns.

(2) The second choral ode, 50 lines in Brunck, had 54 lines; the two strophic pairs will have had stanzas of (a) 11 lines (10 B., 11 P.), (b) 16 lines (15 B., 15 P.). For (b), 16 is in effect guaranteed by *P. Oxy.*, and the remains of (a) point strongly in the direction of 11.

I have not continued the sequence beyond 634: lyrics set in at 649, and we cannot be certain of their colometry.⁸

8. My comment on this line stems from the fact that fr. 42, with letters from 60–1, comes at the foot of a column. We know that a column contained an exact 20 lines (not only in *P. Oxy.*, but also in *PSI*); it follows therefore that the 60 lines of the first three columns corresponded to the first 61 lines of the medieval text.

I discount altogether the possibility that one of the first three columns had 21 lines. I discount also the possibility that the copyist omitted a line by accident: he could hardly have made the same mistake in two separate copies.⁹ I cannot of course disprove the possibility of an accidental omission in his exemplar.¹⁰ But much the likeliest explanation is that he was reproducing a traditional text that was one line shorter than the medieval;¹¹ and there is one obvious candidate for the exclusion (one, I think, and only one¹²):

⁷ <Note missing.>

⁸ <Note missing.>

⁹ Unless one copy was made from the other, without the mistake's having been corrected first; but I do not believe this for a moment.

¹⁰ But an omission would hardly have remained unrepaired unless it left coherent sense; and there are very few single lines in 1–59 that could be so omitted.

¹¹ Interpolations established in the medieval tradition are as a rule already established by the second century. But not always: *E. Ph.* 1–2 are absent from two papyri, *P. Oxy.* 3321 and 3322, assigned respectively to the first/second century and to the second/third; cf. M. W. Haslam, *GRBS* 16 (1975), 156. And at 531 below I shall come to another instance: the line is absent from the papyrus, and I have no doubt that it is rightly absent.

¹² I wondered at first about 51, but I am now confident that the deletion of a single line is not the way to solve the difficulties of 46–57. I consider the passage in an excursus at the end of this article. <Not found.>

- 6 ἀγὼ δικαιῶν μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων, τέκνα,
 ἀλλων ἀκούειν αὐτὸς ὄδ' ἐλήλυθα
 8 [ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος].¹³

The line was deleted by Wunder, and his case against it has been restated by M. D. Reeve, *GRBS* 11 (1970), 286–8: the character who opens a Sophoclean play does not identify himself, and the audience learn his name when he is addressed with it.

I shall probably have spoken in vain. Wunder spoke, and Bruhn said 'die Nennung des Namens ist notwendig, damit der Zuschauer weiss, wen er vor sich hat': notwendig? Can he have read what Wunder wrote? Reeve spoke, and Dawe said 'Wunder, and others after him, who prefer their heroes to be more modest, have sought to remove this essential line': essential? Can he have read what Wunder wrote, and what Reeve wrote? Now I have spoken, and the next defender of the line will doubtless pretend that I was moved solely by dislike of the self-exaltation. If the defenders of interpolated lines were more honest, honest men might pay more attention to what they say.

One other line in the medieval tradition is absent from the papyrus, 531 αὐτὸς δ' ὄδ' ἤδη δωμάτων ἕξω περᾶι; and I believe that the papyrus is right. The line is a mere metrical stage-direction, useful perhaps to a reader but quite purposeless on the stage:¹⁴ Oedipus is no stranger either to the audience or to Kreon. Perhaps indeed worse than purposeless, if it detracts from the immediacy of Oedipus' anger at the sight of Kreon.

60–1 = fr. 42

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 60 |]οο[| νοσεῖτε πάντες, καὶ ν]οο[ὕντες, ὡς ἐγὼ |
| |]σεξ[| οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὅστι]ς ἐξ [ἴσου νοσεῖ. |
| |] [| foot of column |
| |] [| |

60 ο[, left arc 61]ς, speck from end of cap

¹³ The construction will be 'I who am called Oedipus famous in the eyes of all', with πᾶσι κλεινός attributive to Οἰδίπους (the *dativus iudicantis* as e.g. 40 κράτιστον πᾶσι, *Ai.* 1363). The attribute ought to be part of what he is called, but will instead be his own addition to the name; so E. *Hek.* 1271–3 τύμβωι δ' ὄνομα σῶι κεκλήσεται . . . κινὸς ταλαίνης σῆμα, where the name is Κινὸς σῆμα (the scene of the naval battle of 411) and ταλαίνης the speaker's own addition. So also E. *El.* 118, I am daughter of Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra, κικλήσκουσι δέ μ' ἀθλίαν Ἥλέκτραν πολυῆται: I have little doubt that she means that they call her not 'poor Elektra' but simply Elektra (cf. E. *Tel.* 102. 11–12 Austin <= fr. 696. 11–12 Kannicht> Τήλεφον . . . καλοῦσέ μ' ἀετοί), and that ἀθλίαν is her own addition.

¹⁴ Nobody in antiquity had thought of equipping a text with directions such as 'enter Oedipus'; I suppose that when texts were produced for private reading there might have been a tendency to interpolate lines such as this to suit the convenience of a reader. But this opens up a much wider question than I have any desire to consider here.

The fragment fits the end of no other column down to 633 (the latest point at which we can be sure of the limits of the columns). We might in theory have the ends of two long lines with two shorter lines below; but I find no possibility of this in the first 700 lines (I have looked no further). It would in any case be very unlikely indeed in trimeters, in which ξξ could not come later than the tenth element.

91–5 = fr. 30

91	]δ[	εἰ τῶν]δ[ε χρήσεις πλησιαζόντων κλύειν,
	]μῶς[	ἔτοί]μος [εἰπεῖν, εἴτε καὶ στείχειν ἔσσω.
	]αντα[	ἔς π]άντα[σ αὔδα. τῶνδε γὰρ πλέον φέρω
	]νθο[	τὸ π]ε]νθο[σ ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πέρι.
95	]μ[	λέγοι]μ[ἂν οἷ ἤκουσα τοῦ θεοῦ πάρα.

92]μ, a trace on the line from the central arc 93]α, the tip of the tail 94 θ, the remains now resemble ε (shaped like a roman lower-case e), except that there is a tiny trace of the right arc continuing below the cross-stroke ρ[, two traces, from the top left and bottom left arc, with the surface lost between them 95]μ[, the top (both tips)

109. In place of *δυστεκμαρτον* the papyrus had *δυστεκμάρτου*, an unmetrical assimilation to the enclosing genitives.

	οἱ δ' εἰςὶ ποῦ γῆς; ποῦ τόδ' εὐρε]θήσ[εται
	ἶχνος παλαιᾶς δυστεκμάρτου]υ αἰ[τ]ία[σ;
110	ἐν τῆιδ' ἔφασκε γῆν· τὸ δὲ ζητού]μενο[ν

The remains of 109 are divided between two established fragments:]υα[(tops: of υ, both arms) below 108 ης;]ι[.]ια[(bottoms; the first a minute speck) above 110 μεν. The two sets of letters are in the right position in relation to one another and to the beginning of the line.¹⁵

117 (on an established fragment)

116	οὐδ' ἄγγελός] τις οὐ[δὲ συμπράκτ]ωρ ὁ[δοῦ
	κατεῖδ', ὅτου] τις ἐκ[μαθῶν ἐχρ]ήσατ' ἄν;

The medieval manuscripts have variants *κατεῖδ'* and (unmetrically) *κατεῖδεν*. In the papyrus, *κατεῖδ* fits the available space; *κατεῖδεν* is much too long.

118 = fr. 43

¹⁵ R.'s]κμ[(for]υα[) is the best that can be done to accommodate the traces to the true text. But]κ was not written, nor would the letters be in the right position.

The fragment has only two letters,]ων [; it is broken off below them, but above them has unwritten papyrus for the space of 11 lines. We have three fragments with letters from near the ends of 106–21. I show them as far as 119, with fr. 43 to their right; its location is confirmed by the horizontal fibres, which continue across the gap. The edges of fr. 43 are very irregular; I have not attempted to represent them exactly.

106	]στειλλ[εισαφω	ς	
	]ειντ[ινα]	[
	]θησ[εται]	[
	]υαι[τ]ια[ς]	[
110	]μενο[ν]	[
	]ενον[]	[
	]οσ[]	[
	]ονω[ι]	[
	]νπαλ[ι]	[
115	]σταλ[η]	[
	]ωρο[δου]	[
	]ησατὰ[ν]	[
	]οσφοβω[ιφνγ]ων]	[
119	]ιδωσφ[ρασαι		

121. In this line, the last of eight (114–21) from which letters are preserved on an established fragment, there are problems for which I can find no solution. I print the line together with the line before it.

120	]υροιαθ[	τὸ ποῖον; ἔν γὰρ πόλλ' ἄν ἐξε]	ύροι μαθ[εῖν,
	]..μ.[	ἀρχὴν βραχείαν εἰ λάβοιμεν	ἐλπίδος.

121].., two tiny specks from letter-tops, with the papyrus broken off below them
], a speck just below the level of the tops

First, the content of the lacuna on the left. In 114–20 the letters of the medieval text will give an even margin. (In 114–17 another fragment has letters from mid-line; everything tallies). But if in 121 one equates the μ of the papyrus with the μ of λάβοιμεν, the medieval text gives a supplement which is about five letters too short.

One might think simply of a five-letter intrusion in the papyrus text;¹⁶ but there is a second difficulty. Although the trace after μ might be reconciled with ε (top left arc), the traces before μ cannot readily be reconciled with

¹⁶ The copyist started to write the wrong word, realized his mistake after five letters, deleted the letters, and continued: such things do happen, but not very often. I had wondered about a ditigraphic expansion of ειανεῖ into ειανειανεῖ; but that would still leave us a letter short.

οι: they are closer to μ than they should be (and if the second were from ι I should expect the foot also to be preserved); they are also slightly high. They might more readily be assigned to the two arms of ν : they are in the right position, and the arms of ν do sometimes rise slightly above neighbouring letters.

I am quite unable to find a solution; nor indeed have we enough evidence to do so. If in place of $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (for which I should shed no tears) the papyrus had $\epsilon] \nu\mu$ (or $\alpha] \nu\mu$, or $\omicron] \nu\mu$), the medieval text down to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ is of the right length for the space before it; but I find nothing that would give an acceptable solution on those lines.

187–91. These lines are not in *P. Oxy.* but in *PSI*. My comments are based on the photograph (murky, and not always easy to read) in the Ashmolean Museum.

I transcribe the lines from ed. pr. I do not dispute the reading of any of the surviving letters (most of them are clear enough on the photograph); what I do dispute is the indication given of the content of lacunae.

- 187 $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\nu\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu[\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\epsilon\varsigma$
 $\varsigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\rho\upsilon\varsigma\omicron[\mu\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 $\omega] \nu\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\chi[\rho\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\alpha\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$
 190 $\epsilon\upsilon\omega] \pi\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron[\nu\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\nu$
 $\dots] \omicron\nu\dots[$

In 189 the lacuna at the beginning is not nearly filled by $\omega]$, and I do not doubt that the papyrus had $\tau\omega] \nu$; for $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ in place of $\delta\hat{\omega}\nu$ in lyrics without metrical necessity cf. *Ai.* 226 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$, 256 $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, *Ant.* 1137 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$, *Ph.* 708 $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$, 1127 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$. In more detail: I can see $\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\chi[$ on the photograph, but before that the papyrus is damaged and the photograph unclear, and I can identify nothing; presumably $] \nu\upsilon$ can be identified on the papyrus, but from the photograph all I can say is that there is space for ν preceded by part of ν . I should judge the surviving part of ν to be less than half; but whatever part survives, ω plus the other part is quite inadequate to fill the lacuna on the left. Indeed ω plus the whole of ν would be inadequate: if one makes a tracing of $\omega\nu$ in 179 or 185 or 187 (all three are of exactly the same width) and superimposes it here with the ω aligned with the margin, the ν falls short of the edge of the fragment—so far short that one would expect the beginning of the letter after ν to fall within the lacuna. But supply $\tau\omega] \nu$, and the supplement will fit without difficulty.

In 191 the count of five letters missing on the left is misleading. Before $] \omicron\nu$ (which is identifiable on the photograph) the space available is much the same, certainly, as that which will have been occupied by the five letters of

εω]πα; but it is also much the same as that occupied by the seven letters of *κατεγρηρ*. A tracing of *αρεατετ*] (no wide letters, and some narrow) shows that it fits the space.

426 = fr. 48]*τακαιτ* [, joining the end of the line preserved on an established fragment,]*τ*[.]*υμονστομα*. When the fragments are placed together the join is unmistakable; there are indeed two tiny overlaps where fibres have separated from the surface beneath.

πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Κρέον]τα καὶ τοῦμὸν στόμα

τ [, most of *τ* (the right-hand tip on the other fragment), then the outer edge of a left arc.

(In 425 there has been a parablepsy in ed. pr.: read *το]ις κοις τεκνοις*.)

437–41. To the four fragments already located I have added five more, 35, 37, 39, 45, 52.

		52
		35 | 39
] [
437	37	]μ'.εκ[
	]ν[	]ιδιαφιθερ[
	]φυει[	]κακλασαφ[
	45	]γαγ[
440	]ουν	]τ[.]ζε|υρ[
441	]υ[

head of column

- 437 *ποι]οις[ι; μει]ν[ον· τις δε] μ'εκ[φύει] βροτων;*
 [—
η[δ' η]με[ρα] φύει [σε κα]ι διαφθερ[ει].
 —
ω[ε παντ' α]γαν [αϊνι]κατὰ κασαφ[η λέγει]ς.
 —
- 440 *οϋ[κ]ουν [εὐ ταῦτ' ἄρισ]τ[ο]ς εὐρί[σκειν ε]φους;*
 —
- 441 *τ[οια]υ[τ' ἀνείδι]ξ' οἷς εἰμ' εὐρήσεις μέγαν.*
 [—

437]μ', the right foot of μ, and above it a trace too far to the right for top of μ; between μ and ε, the tip of the φ below κ[, an initial upright, too close to ε for τ to be likely 438]φ, half the body of the letter, and its tip three letters to the left of the ν above]ι, specks on the very edge θ, a bottom left arc ε, ink

from the bottom edge ρ[, foot of an upright 439]γ, the right-hand half of the crossbar meeting (as in 513 γαρ) the top of α α, the top third, descending at a slight slant from just above the crossbar of γ to the point (just visible) where the two strokes diverge υ[, the top left corner (broken) and the tip of the second upright]κ, the ends of arm and leg and a speck from the upright φ[, part of a left arc 440]ζ, a trace from the end of the cap ε |, a speck from the top left arc ι[, the very top 441]υ[, the left arm; the foot is at the top of an established fragment

In 438 the papyrus has φύει for the φύσει of the medieval tradition. But there can be no doubt that the future φύσει, linked with διαφθερεῖ, is right: the revelation of Oedipus' parentage, and his destruction, are indissolubly the same. That φύει picks up the tense of ἐκφύει is not an argument in its favour but an explanation of how it arose.

460–7. I have no new fragments to add; but from the fragments already identified I can establish that in 461 the papyrus had κἄν λάβητις μ' ἐψευςμένον (with all manuscripts but L), and did not agree with L in omitting the μ'.

The lyrics are indented by the space of about three letters; their colometry can be established with the help of 474–5 (see below). Except for 463]όντ[their remains are on two narrow vertical strips, of which the left-hand one has lost most of its surface; I use round brackets instead of square, e.g.)ιπ(, to mean 'the letters I expect here are ιπ, but the traces are too scanty for verification'. I put the margin of error in my expectations at about 1 mm.

- 460 δμόςπορός τε] καὶ φ[ονεύς·] καὶ τ[α]ῦτ' ἰὼ[ν
 εἶσω λο]γί[ζο]ν· κἄν λ[άβητις μ'] ἐψε[υςμένον,
 φάκκε]ω ἔ[μ'] ἦδη μ[αντικῆι] μῆ[δὲν φρονεῖν.
 τίς] ὄντ[ιν] ἄ (θεσπιέπεια) [
 Δελφίς ε)ἶπ(ε πέτρα,
 465 ἄρρητ' ἄρρ)ήτ(ων τελέσαν]τα [
 φοινίαισι] χε[ρσίν;
 ὄρα νιν ἄε)λ(λάδων . . .

461]γι[, on broken and abraded papyrus, the crossbar of γ, a speck from near its foot, and a speck from ι near its foot; the traces are compatible also with ζ, but they are in the right place for γι and the wrong place for ζ. The length of the lacuna between λ[and]εψ can be established accurately from the supplements in the lines above and below, and without question it held [αβητιςμ] and not [αβητις]: the lacuna is of c. 25 mm., and without μ (which is wide) the letters would fall short of filling it by between 4 and 5 mm.¹⁷

¹⁷ Dain and Dawe both say that μ' is omitted by the papyrus. This falsehood is presumably a mistaken inference from the supplement [αβητις] printed in ed. pr.; that supplement is manifestly (else there would have been a note) no more than a transcription of Pearson's text, without any implication as to its suitability to the lacuna.

473–5. I print the lines simply for the sake of the colometry; which will be the same as that of the corresponding 463–5.

[ἐλάμψε γὰρ τοῦ νιφόεντος]
 ἀρτίως φα]ν[εῖσα
 475 φάμα] Παρν[ακοῦ τὸν ἄδηλον

The content of 475, as printed above, is established by that of 465. In 474 the only trace, a serified foot above the first upright of ν in]παρν[, can be accounted for only as the first upright of ν in φα]ν[εῖσα, with a division νιφόεντος | ἀρτίως; from this it follows that in 463–4 the division was θεσπέπεια | Δελφίς. Finally, we may safely suppose 476 ἄνδρα πάντ' ἰχνεύειν | ~ 466 φοινίαισι] χε[ρσίν]: a heavy stop at the end of each, and metrically they are the same as 464 ~ 474.

501–4 (500–3 by Pearson's numbering).¹⁸ I place here fr. 29, which R. assigns to 971–4. On the left, his readings; then my readings; then the text of 501–4 (in 504 there are two letters from the fragment with 504–12).

501	τ[	π	π[λέον ἢ γὰρ φέρεται
	└ κ[	κ[	κ[ρίσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής·
	ο[	ς[	ς[οφίαι δ' ἂν σοφίαν
504	η[	π[	π[αραμ]εῖ[ψειεν ἀνήρ.

501 Lower part of an upright: τ and π equally possible (also γ , η , ι , κ , ν , ρ) 502 κ complete. Below it the surface is damaged, and R. supposes a paragraphos (required by his location) to have been entirely lost; but I should have expected its right end to be visible beyond the damage 503 Left arc: o and c equally possible 504 Either π or τ : a crossbar (at the wrong level for a paragraphos¹⁹) extending left into the margin (as is normal²⁰); beneath it, aligned with the uprights of 501 and 502, an upright, lost except for ink from its foot (R.'s η) and perhaps a hint of its junction with the crossbar.

I find no place in the dialogue of the play in which a κ at line-beginning is preceded and followed by initial letters compatible with the traces here; not 962–5, with ν , κ , ϕ , τ , since there would need to be a paragraphos not only

¹⁸ There is bound to be some inexactitude when with a sensible colometry one's numbering has to be based on a colometry as aberrant as Brunck's; but Brunck's 500 is ι εἰδότες· ἀνδρῶν δ' ὅτι μάντις], and Pearson's 500 ought to be one line higher. <Lloyd-Jones and Wilson number as Pearson.>

¹⁹ It is 2.8 mm. below the bottom of ς . This is the normal spacing between lines of writing; a paragraphos would come at about half the distance.

²⁰ π or τ as first letter of a line is aligned, more or less, by its (initial) upright, so that the crossbar protrudes into the margin by about the same amount as a paragraphos. So in all surviving instances: 441]τοιαῦτ', 454]τῆι, 505]πρὶν, 508]πτερόεσσα, 509]ποτέ.

under κ but under ν as well. I am less certain about the lyrics, where search is harder; but when my placing puts the fragment not only in the right part of the play but close to another fragment, I have not much doubt that it is right.

I have supposed (except in one detail) that the papyrus had the same colometry as Pearson, just as it does in the seven lines from 504 | παραμεύσειεν to 509 | ποτέ. Here in 501–4 Pearson's colometry is also that of LA, except that where Pearson divides μάντις LA divide μάντις | πλέον; since Alexandrian colometry likes to divide at word-end rather than in mid-word, I have preferred |πλέον to μάντις (the choice does not affect my identification: the trace of 501 suits either |π or |τ).

520–30. To the seven fragments which contribute to these lines I have added five more: 31, 33, 36, 44, 49.

	36 + 49		
31	]γο[	ή] ζημία μ[οι τοῦ λό]γο[ν] τούτου φέρε[ι,	520
α[	]ικακ[	ἀλλ' εἰς μέ[γιστον, εἰ] κακὸς μὲν ἐν [πόλει,	
κα[	]καιφιλ[	κα[κὸς δὲ πρὸς σοῦ] καὶ φίλων [κεκλήσομαι.	
αλ[		ἀλλ' ἴθ' ἤλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τ[οῦ] οὖν[ειδος, τάχ' ἂν	
δδ[		δ' ὁ[ρῶ] γῆ βιασθῆν[αι] μᾶ[λλο]ν ἢ γινώ[μην] φρενῶν.	
		τ[οῦ] πο[σ] δ[ὲ] ἐφάν[θη] ταῖ[ς] ἐμαῖς γνώ[μαις] ὅτι	525
44		π[ρ]οεισθεις [δ] μάντις τοὺς λ[όγ]ους ψ[ευδεῖς] λέγοι;	
]νταδ[	33	ἠδᾶτο [μὲν] τάδ[ε];] οἷδ[α δ' οὐ γ]ινώ[μην] τίνι.	
]νδ[	]ᾱπο[	εἰ]ξ ὀμμάτ[ω]ν δ' ὀρθῶ[ν τε κ]αὶ ἀπ' ὁ[ρθῆς] φρενῶς	
	]ατο[	κατη[γορεῖ]το τοῦ[το] π[ικλή]μα το[ῦ]το μοί;	
	]νν[	οὐκ οἶδα[· ἂ γ]ὰρ δρώει [οἱ κρατο]ῦν[τες οὐχ ὀρώ.	

There are vestiges (in some cases minute) of all paragraphoi but that below 524.

520]γ, speck of upright, end of crossbar 521]ι, the trace rising to the left from its foot is a serif (it stops just short of the edge) κ[, on the line, ink from the serif; most of the rest of the letter is on the adjoining fragment 522 α[, traces consistent with α or λ]κ, tips of arm and leg A fibre lost just below mid-letter from fr. 36 α[is the fibre projecting to the left from fr. 49] . φ λ[, the left foot; the right foot (with part of ω) is on an established fragment, above]ου (and the ν, tops only, on a third fragment, below με) 524 δ', top of δ followed by an undamaged apostrophe ρ[, left arc]μ.α[, vestiges, above 525 θη, of the underside of μ and the toe of α; not]εν[, and the position is right for]με[525 See below 528 δ[, bottom left and top; most of the rest of the letter is on an established fragment]ᾱ, the tail, with the last 1.0 mm. of a makron above the letter ρ[, ink from the left arc 530 No breathing above α[: the high ink is the top of α itself In the following lacuna the space requires [αγ], with *scriptio plena*, not [γ] From the space, δρώει [οἱ not δρώει]ν οἱ

In three places in these lines the readings of the papyrus are of importance for the establishment of the text.

(a) 523–4. The placing of fr. 31 can admit no doubt. It fits no other position in the play; and the reading it gives, δ' ὀργῆι, is not only an intelligible variant on the ὀργῆι of the medieval tradition but a superior variant. As a variant it is new, but as a conjecture it is old: <δ> was proposed by Moriz Schmidt in 1861, and was placed by Bruhn in the text of his revision (1897) of Schneidewin–Nauck.

There are, this passage apart, eight instances in Sophocles of an elided postpositive at verse-juncture (6 δέ, 2 τε); five of them are in this play. (The ancient practice, continued by medieval tradition, is to put the postpositive, as here, at the beginning of the second verse.) For the order τάχ' ἄν δέ (and not the τάχα δ' ἄν of e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 281, Pl. *Phdr.* 265b) cf. Th. 6. 2. 4, and in tragedy τάχ' ἄν γάρ at E. *Alk.* 1101, *Hkld.* 462.²¹

With this text the μὲν . . . δέ correspond (the δὴ insisting on the truth of the μὲν-clause), and ἀλλά introduces the whole complex (in which the weight is of course on the δέ-clause) as a correction of Kreon's assessment of the situation: 'Oh, but it's not quite like that: this imputation was made, certainly, but I dare say in compulsive anger rather than as a considered judgement.'

In the text without δέ the τάχ' ἄν has of course to be taken, as in this text, only with ὀργῆι βιασθέν κτλ. (that the imputation ἦλθεν is a matter of knowledge, not surmise), and τάχ' ἄν κτλ. will have to carry the weight of the sentence: 'Oh, but this imputation was made, I dare say, in . . .'. I find two difficulties. First, the (μὲν) δὴ ought to stress the truth or certainty of the statement it introduces, and this consorts very oddly with the mere surmise of τάχ' ἄν. Second, I do not believe that τάχ' ἄν κτλ. could be felt as carrying the weight: one would naturally articulate before it, with τάχ' ἄν in its normal position at the beginning of its colon, and that would give a sentence like OK 964 θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὕτω φίλον, | τάχ' ἄν τι μνησκουσιν εἰς γένος πάλαι, where Oedipus' main point is simply 'it was the will of the gods', and his speculation about their motives is only secondary. If our sentence be treated thus, the result is of course impossible.

To the question *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* there can only be one answer. It is common enough for a particle to be interpolated into an asyndeton, but who, in a text without δέ, would have suspected asyndeton? And how likely is it that a particle should be interpolated in this position? Whereas for a particle to be lost in this position might be thought especially easy.

²¹ <Footnote intended but not written.>

(b) In 525 the papyrus has not]πρoσδ[but]πoσδ[, i.e. τοῦ]ποσ δ[' ἐφάνθη. The]πoσδ[(bottoms of πο, most of σδ) is on the top edge of a fragment, above 526]εicθειc[. To the left of o (bottom left arc) are the feet of two uprights; the first has a serif to the left (just visible between the upright and the edge of the papyrus), the second is not serified but curls round to the right. The only uprights which curl round to the right are the final uprights of π and η (all others, including that of ρ and the first upright of π, are serified²²); these two uprights therefore are the two uprights of π. The space agrees: the first upright is directly above the left-hand side of the c of π]εicθ, and]του fits exactly into the same space as]πει.

(c) In 528 the κα̂π' of the papyrus seems to me clearly preferable to the κα̂ξ of the medieval tradition. If you accuse a person in his absence, the accusation cannot be said to proceed *from* your eyes or facial expression; and in ἐξ ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν the ἐξ will be used as in *Tr.* 875 βέβηκε Δηϊάνειρα τὴν πανυστάτην | ὀδῶν ἀπασῶν ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός, *Ph.* 91 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἑνός ποδός | ἡμᾶς τοσοῦδε πρὸς βίαν χειρώσεται, *El.* 455, *OK* 848, in a sense which I suppose to be something like 'on the basis of'.

If we continue with κα̂ξ ὀρθῆς φρενός, the same preposition will necessarily be understood in the same sense. Perfectly possible, of course. But whereas the accusation cannot be said to proceed from the eyes, it can very properly be said to proceed from the mind in which it originated; and the use of the different preposition would serve to bring this out. Only a nuance; but a nuance that seems to me more worthy of Sophocles.

And once again, *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* Easy enough to write κα̂ξ for κα̂π' under the influence of the preceding ἐξ; no such inducement to write κα̂π' for κα̂ξ.

575–7 = fr. 34. The fragment comes immediately above another fragment (parts of 577–80), with which it shares two letters; a third fragment has the end of 574–7.

575]αιω[	μαθεῖν δικ]αιῶ [ταῦθ' ἄπερ κάμου cὺ] νὺν.
]εουγ[	ἐκμάνθαν]ε· οὐ γ[ὰρ δὴ φονεὺς ἀλώc]ομαι.
]ηντη[	τί δῆτ'; ἀδελφ]ῆν τῆ[ν ἐμὴν γῆμαc ἔχ]εις;
	ἄρνηcιc οὐ]κ ἔνεcτιω [ὦν ἀνιcτορεῖc.

575]α, the tip of the tail ι, the lower half ω[, almost intact, but broken off at the top; if the expected circumflex was written, it will have been wholly lost

²² The serif projects to the left (usually rising fairly sharply, and sometimes with a downward extension to the right); it is often pronounced (overall it may be half as long as the upright itself), though occasionally it degenerates into a mere slight clubbing of the foot.

576]ε, a vestige of the tip of the bottom arc, not reconcilable with ν γ[, a trace of the serif at the foot and a speck from the top left 577]η, tips of the two uprights; most of the letter, from the cross-stroke downwards, is on the other fragment ν, complete except for the lower half of the first upright; a speck from the foot of this upright is on the other fragment

In 575, *εκμανθανε* was written with *scriptio plena*: even if the final ε had vanished entirely its presence could be inferred from the space, which would not be filled without it. But in 576 the α of *δητα* was not written: there is no room for more than *δητ*.

UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

There are seven fragments which I have not been able to locate. At least two of them (47, 53) are not from our text; two others (50, 51) are too small to be locatable, or worth locating, unless they can be related physically to adjacent fragments.

Fr. 32. There is nothing to suggest that it is not in the same hand as the main bulk of the fragments. The obvious clue to its location is the point in]ν·ε[(or]ν·θ[); I have searched the play for places where there might be a point in this position, but have found none that fits. I have found one that comes so near to fitting that I will give it here; but there are too many difficulties for me to regard the identification as more than a very uncertain possibility.

1	] , [	τὸν χρυσομίτρ]α[ν τε κικλήσκω	
	]ο[	τὰςδ' ἐπώνυμ]ο[ν γὰς,	210
	]ν·ε[	οἰνώπα Βάκχο]ν, ε[ῦιον	
	]·ςτ[	μαινάδων ὁμό]ςτ[ολον,	
5	]ι[	πελασθῆναι φλέ]γ[οντ' . . .	

1] , [, part of the tail of α or λ, or perhaps of the leg of κ 3 ε[, or θ: the left edge, with a vestige of the cross-stroke 4] , , on the edge of the papyrus, a minute speck on the line, just clear of c; before cτ it could only be from α τ[, part of the crossbar; π perhaps not excluded, but unlikely 5]ι[, an upright, lacking only its very foot; to its left at the bottom vestiges of a serif (ν perhaps not excluded, with the last trace not from a serif but from the diagonal); to its right, at the top, clear papyrus for 0.6 mm., with nothing to suggest that ink has been lost (i.e. that γ might have been written)

This identification would put the fragment lower down in the same column as 197–201 (*PSI* plus fr. 40). The colometry is secure: the line-beginning of 209, preceded by a strong pause here and a moderate one in the strophe

(196), is not to be doubted; those of 210–13 are guaranteed by those in the strophe (197–200).

The first question to ask is whether a point would have been written here; it is by no means an obvious place. But modern editors have varied in their punctuation, some putting a comma after *Βάκχον* but some after *εὔιον*, and I could sympathize with a man who inserted a point to insist on the former phrasing. It may perhaps be relevant that the point seems to have been added after the text was written (above the tops of the letters, which have normal spacing); unlike those at 451 *ν·ο*, 515 *ν·ε*, and 461 *ν·κ*, which look to have been written as part of the text.²³

The difficulties which deter me are these:

(a) whereas the initial supplements in 209, 211, 212 are consistent with one another for length, that in 210 is short by about the equivalent of an average letter; one would need to suppose that (unless the reading was different; but why should it be?) *τασδε* was written with *scriptio plena*, and I think this very unlikely;²⁴

(b) the speck before *c* is incompatible with *o*; one would need to suppose it to be casual ink;

(c) in 213,]ι[is in the right place for the upright of the *γ* in *φλέγοντ*; one would need to suppose either that I am wrong in thinking that *γ* was not written, or that the text of the papyrus was not that of the medieval manuscripts.²⁵

If the identification could be established, we should add to the authority for 212 *ὁμόστολον* (certainly right in any case): the *μονόστολον* of the generality of medieval manuscripts would be too long.

Fr. 41

]υνη[
]λει[

²³ As part of the text also, I should think, at 446 *c·c*; but at 430 *ν·ο* the point looks to be the same as ours.

²⁴ *Scriptio plena* occurs twice at a strong pause, 530 and 576 (I should expect a point to be written, but in neither case can I verify it); otherwise only once, 530 *δρῶει* [οι. The elided vowel is omitted 22 times; the apostrophe, where verifiable, is more often written than not. (I have not investigated instances where both the letters adjoining the vowel are in a lacuna, even where the available space would be decisive for the presence or absence of the vowel.)

²⁵ There are discrepancies between strophe and antistrophe which people resolve as follows (I mark what I judge to be the Alexandrian colometry):

200 str. | τὸν ὦ <τᾶν> πυρφόρων ἀστραπᾶν | κράτη νέμων, ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, |
213 ant. | πελασθῆναι φλέγοντ' ἀγλαῶ!πι <—> πεύκαι πὶ τὸν |

It may be that this is not the right approach; but I can think of no approach that will resolve our difficulty.

1 τ [rather than the left-hand half of π ; it may be indeed, but I cannot be sure, that the crossbar actually ends at the edge 2] λ , the main stroke; or α ? ι [, the lower two-thirds of an upright; conceivably ρ , hardly ν or π

I am confident that this is not by our copyist. Anomalies: the top of the second upright of ν , normally unadorned, is hooked right round to the left; the crossbar of τ droops down to the right, thickening as it goes (even more anomalous if π); the λ does not have the curving tail normal in λ and α ; the ϵ is abnormally small.

Fr. 46

]. χ [
]. λ [
] ι [

1],, a dot on the line 2] λ , a speck on the line, then the lower half of an upright, the foot neither serified nor curved; between them 1.8 mm., with (except at the very left) unwritten papyrus up to mid-letter. The two might be combined as π , or possibly η ; otherwise ι preceded by a final upright

I greatly doubt whether this is by our copyist. The χ (right half, with left foot and part of leg) is unusually narrow and anomalously shaped; the ι in 3 has an excessive leftward serif at the top. In 2, if] λ , the lack of a serif at the foot would be surprising; if] π or (especially)] η , the straight foot rather less so.

T. F. Brunner (*ZPE* 66 [1986], 295), working on the] χ [,] $\iota\lambda$ [,] ι [of ed. pr., locates the fragment at 798–800. I should expect this to be mistaken (the wrong part of the play), and so it is: one would need to read] $\zeta\chi$ [and] $\alpha\iota\lambda$ [, and neither of these is possible.²⁶

Fr. 47

] ν [
] $\psi\epsilon\nu$ [
]. λ [

3] λ [, the tip of an upright, then the upper edge of an arc

Not from this play: it fits none of the three instances of $\psi\epsilon\nu$ (306, 739, 789); nor, if $\psi\epsilon\nu$ was written in error for final $-\psi\epsilon$, does it fit any of the three

²⁶ Brunner's other suggestions also are mistaken (fr. 39 = 119–21 or 1246–8, fr. 48 = 1215): I have now anchored the fragments securely at 438–40 and 426. One of the suggestions indeed was stillborn: at 119–21 he assigns to fr. 39 letters already known to be on another fragment, securely located by R.

instances of final $-\psi\epsilon$ (323, 473, 827). Nor I think is it by our copyist: the hand is similar, but much less carefully executed.

Fr. 50

]κϵ.[..].{

κ, tips of arm and leg .[, serif from the foot of an upright .].[, traces on a single fibre, projecting for *c.* 14 mm. from above ε, from where it will have sloped gradually downwards

Not from 440 or 462.

Fr. 51

]νμ[
]..{

2],, on the line, the very end of a stroke, sloping down fairly steeply to the right; above it, at and above the height of a letter-top, confused traces of ink (the position suits an apostrophe, but I cannot verify it) .[, on the very edge of the surface (which is lost beyond it), ink apparently from the edge of a left arc

I have looked at 54 instances of νμ in the first 600 lines. Four are preserved on other fragments; of the remaining 50 none, on a cursory inspection, seems likely to have had below it letters that might be reconciled with the traces here. I should have liked to place the fragment at 435–6 (in a well represented column), where εφ]νμ[εν would be above]δ^oο[ι; but this would be a wildly anomalous δ: in the twelve verifiable instances, the two strokes at the right-hand angle merge and continue as an extension of the bottom stroke.

Fr. 53

Broken and uncertain traces of one or two letters from each of four lines of writing; the lines are spaced at intervals of 3.7 mm. Quite certainly not from the text of our play, in which the lines are spaced at intervals of 5.6 mm.

Lyric-and-iambic Duets in Euripides

I propose in this paper to examine those scenes in the plays of Euripides which consist of a duet or dialogue conducted partly in excited lyric metres (predominantly dochmiac) and partly in iambic trimeters similar to the spoken iambics of dialogue. For brevity I shall refer to these two types of metre simply as 'lyric' and 'iambic'.

The alternation of metre is not haphazard: in each scene the lyrics belong predominantly or exclusively to one character, the iambics predominantly or exclusively to the other. Now this distinction in metre corresponds in general with a distinction of mood: in each scene the lyric character has given way to strong emotion, the iambic character is (relatively at any rate) calm and self-possessed. The lyrics, that is, are, as one might *a priori* expect, the medium of emotional expression, the iambics a mark of relative calm. Pretty certainly the contrast was emphasized by a distinction in delivery, only the lyrics being sung. <Cf. Barrett's *Hippolytos*, pp. 266–7 and 319.>

Nevertheless there are exceptions to the general distinction of metre: on occasion the lyric character uses iambics, on occasion the iambic character uses lyric. It is with these exceptions that I am primarily concerned in this paper. If, as seems certain, the distinction in metre is in general meant to express a difference in mood, any exception to the general distinction cannot be arbitrary: iambics uttered by the lyric character must mark a temporary calming-down, lyrics uttered by the iambic character a momentary yielding to emotion. This I shall attempt to establish as a rule.

<This paper seems to have been originally intended for a lecture and then to have developed as a written disquisition, which never achieved its final form. Parts of it exist in several drafts, the latest of which contains pencil corrections and additions and lacks the concluding section of the Appendix. The absence of reference to G. W. Bond's *Hypsipyle* of 1963 provides a *terminus ante quem*, but the work may date from many years earlier than that. In the earlier drafts B. does not yet use lunate sigmas (which he was already using, though not consistently, in 1951, as appears from the typescript of a paper on 'Some Interpolations in Euripides' *Hippolytus*' which he read to the Oxford Philological Society in that year); he uses the radical spellings Hippolutos, Hupsipule, etc., rather than the Hippolytos, Hypsipyle, which he used in his *Hippolytos* and thereafter.>

First (after two prefatory sections), I shall classify certain 'licences'—that is, divergences, real or apparent, from the strict distinction of complete iambic trimeters on the one hand and lyric metres on the other—and maintain that these licences do not constitute exceptions to the general distinction. Second, I shall examine, scene by scene, the surviving exceptions to the distinction, and attempt to show that each of them either has a motive or is to be removed by the correction of a false ascription in the manuscripts or the current texts. If (as I think I can) I can do this plausibly for each exception, I shall have established my rule; thereby I shall also have confirmed my arguments over the individual exceptions.

The greater part of these lyric-and-iambic scenes in Euripides have no strophic correspondence. Of these astrophic scenes there are eighteen in all, and it is to these that I shall confine myself in the main part of the paper. In an appendix I shall deal with seven other scenes in which there *is* strophic correspondence: these scenes contain the same alternation between lyrics and iambics, and so are obviously relevant here, but they differ in so many ways from the astrophic scenes (e.g. many are monodies) that they need separate treatment. My generalizations in the main part of the article will not (unless explicitly) include the strophic scenes.

The eighteen astrophic scenes are: *Hipp.* 565–600, 874–84, *Andr.* 825–65, *Hek.* 681–720, *Supp.* 1072–9, *Her.* 909–21, 1178–1213, *Tro.* 235–91, 1209–50, *IT* 644–56, 827–99, *Ion* 763–99, 1437–1509, *Hel.* 625–97, *Ph.* 103–92, 1335–55, *Hyps.* lxiv. 2. 13–54 <= fr. 759a. 1590–1632 Kannicht>, *Bacch.* 1024–42.

The seven strophic scenes (dealt with in the appendix) are: *Alk.* 244–79, *Med.* 1271–81 ~ 1282–92, *Hipp.* 817–33 ~ 836–51, *Hkld.* 75–94 ~ 95–110 (+ lacuna), *Her.* 735–48 ~ 750–61, *Or.* 1246–65 ~ 1266–85, *Or.* 1353–65 ~ 1537–48.

DELIVERY

That the lyrics are sung is hardly disputable. That the iambics are *not* sung is to be assumed on two main grounds: (a) their similarity to the iambics of ordinary dialogue, (b) the emotional difference in the content of the lyrics and the iambics. An additional ground, for what it is worth, is the fact that the manuscripts show no Doric forms in the iambics.

The most obvious form of distinction is that of sung lyrics and spoken iambics (so e.g. Wilamowitz on *Ion* 763, 'der Alte spricht, Kreusa singt'). But I doubt whether the distinction is always as clear-cut as that:

(a) A character can switch in mid sentence from one metre to the other. (Iambics to lyrics *IT* 827/8, *Ion* 1440/1, *Hel.* 658/9, *Ph.* 145/6; lyrics to iambics *Hel.* 640/1. In the strophic scenes: iambics to lyrics *Or.* 1356/7, lyrics to iambics *Med.* 1283/4, 1287/8, *Hipp.* 818/9, 822/3, 837/8, 845/6, *Or.* 1344/5, 1348/9.) Normally at the change of metre there is a pause, of a particular kind: as a rule the part of the sentence preceding the change makes complete sense by itself, and the part following is only an inorganic addition to it (twice, conversely, the part preceding the change is an inorganic prefix—*viz.* a vocative—to the part following). But even so the two parts are closely enough connected for a complete change in delivery from song to speech—or speech to song—to seem improbable; and twice (*Hel.* 640/1, *Or.* 1354/5) the change in metre comes in the very middle of the sentence, between subject and verb, with no possibility of a pause.

(b) A line (either an iambic trimeter or a lyric unit beginning iambically) divided between the two characters can be delivered partly as iambics, partly as lyrics (see below); again a complete change in delivery, from speech to song, seems improbable.

This seems to indicate for the delivery of the iambics some kind of accompanied declamation or recitative; very likely the *παρακαταλογή* of [Plutarch] *de Mus.* 1141a (he ascribes its invention to Archilochos; a little later he seems to be referring to the same thing with *τῶν ἰαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κρούειν, τὰ δὲ ἄιδεσθαι*). [Aristotle] *Probl.* 19. 6 may well be referring to these scenes: *διὰ τί ἡ παρακαταλογή ἐν ταῖς ὠδαῖς τραγικόν; ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν; παθητικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνωμαλές, καὶ ἐν μεγέθει τύχης ἢ λύπης· τὸ δὲ ὀμαλὸν ἔλαττον γοῶδες.*

There is, however, no reason to think that the iambics were necessarily delivered in the same way in all the different scenes (or indeed in the whole of any individual scene); e.g. plain speech would seem to be the most suitable medium for Talthybios in *Troades* 235–91. To beg no questions I shall avoid ‘sung’ and ‘spoken’, and speak of ‘lyric’ and ‘non-lyric’ delivery.

USE OF THE CHORUS

(a) Lyrics

Normally in these scenes the lyric character (almost invariably a woman) is a principal character in the play who has given way to emotion at some crisis in the action: either the principal character of the scene (the scene centring on her emotion) or one of the two principal characters (the scene centring on

the contrast between the emotions of the two). But there are a number of scenes where lyrics are dramatically necessary to bring out the tension and yet the principal character's mood is such that he must use iambs: in these scenes Euripides makes use of the chorus as a convenient emotional pressure-gauge, and gives them lyrics which serve to bring out at once the tension of the scene and, by their contrast, the mood (resolution, utter despair, and the like) of the iambic character.

The scenes in which the chorus acts as the lyric character are seven: *Hipp.* 565–600, *Supp.* 1072–9, *Her.* 909–21, *Tro.* 1209–50, *IT* 644–56, *Ph.* 1335–55, *Bacch.* 1024–42. In five of them (*Hipp.*, *Supp.*, *Tro.*, *IT*, *Ph.*) the iambic character is the principal character of the scene; the use of the chorus' lyrics as a foil to his mood is especially clear in *Hipp.*, *Tro.*, and *Ph.* In the other two scenes the iambic character is a messenger, and there can be no question of the use of the chorus as a foil: in the *Herakles* the purpose of their lyrics is solely to bring out the tension, in the *Bacchae* the chorus are important in their own right and so may count here as the principal character of the scene.

(b) Iambics

The chorus have an iambic part in three scenes: *Hipp.* 844–84, *Hek.* 681–720, *Ion* 763–99. In the *Ion* they play a special part in answering the questions of the Old Man, who is the principal iambic character. In the *Hippolytos* and the *Hekabe* they are simply a foil to the lyric character.

(c) Significance of 'Chorus'

It seems highly improbable that the iambic lines should be delivered in unison by more than one person; that is, when iambic utterances are assigned to the chorus, it should be assumed that the lines are delivered (as in ordinary dialogue) by the chorus-leader alone. The same I think is true (though less obviously so) of the lyric utterances assigned to the chorus: these short excited utterances forming part of an emotional dialogue are ill suited to the formality of delivery in unison; and in the two scenes (*Hipp.* 565–600, *Bacch.* 1024–42) where the chorus as lyric character also have iambic lines, it is unlikely that if the iambs are delivered by the leader alone the lyrics should be delivered by the whole chorus together. A little more evidence in support of this hypothesis is provided by the strophic scenes; see the Appendix.

LICENCES

(1) *Iambic trimeters delivered by the lyric character may have either a non-lyric or a lyric delivery.*

Obviously lyric trimeters are found elsewhere among dochmiac systems (e.g. *Hipp.* 371 ~ 676, *Her.* 880): therefore one might reasonably expect to find them among these dochmiacs. To a certain extent it is possible to use mechanical criteria for the distinction of lyric and non-lyric trimeters.

(a) Isolated trimeters (i.e. trimeters, of whatever number, comprising the whole of an utterance of the lyric character) are likely to be non-lyric. There are nine instances of such trimeters (three in *Hipp.* 565–600, one at *Hipp.* 874, three in *Ph.* 103–92, one at *Hyps.* lxiv. 2. 48 <= 1627>,¹ one at *Bacch.* 1029); all are explicable, and will be explained below, as deliberate exceptions to the distinction of metre.

(b) Single trimeters appearing in the middle of a lyric utterance (i.e. with lyrics both before and after) are likely to be lyric. There are six instances of such trimeters (*IT* 837, 843, 845, *Ph.* 129, 148, 168). Four of these lines are so embedded that lyrics both before and after belong to the same sentence; one (*IT* 845) belongs to the same sentence as the following lyrics; one only (*IT* 837) is syntactically independent of the surrounding lyrics.² In no case is it conceivable that the line coincides with any change in the character's mood or in the delivery. They may all therefore be regarded as purely lyric iambs.

These criteria leave a third category still undecided: trimeters which come at the beginning of an utterance continued by lyrics, and trimeters which come at the end of an utterance begun as lyrics. Of these, the greater part are indubitably non-lyric. (I include in my consideration trimeters occurring in mixed lyric-and-iambic utterances of the iambic character, all in the *Helen.*)

¹ This instance is only a half-line.

² After dochmiacs there comes:

ὦ κρείσσον ἢ λόγοισιν εὐτυχῶν τύχαι.
τί φῶ; θαυμάτων πέρα καὶ λόγου
πρόσω τάδ' ἐπέβα.

(So Elmsley, *Museum Criticum* 2 [1826], 296–7, for the meaningless and unmetrical εὐτυχῶν ἐμοῦ ψυχῶν.) The line cannot be given to Orestes (Seidler): first, his τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῦμεν of 841 is clearly answering the εὐτυχῶν of 837; second, κρείσσον ἢ λόγοισιν . . . λόγου πρόσω is natural enough when one character is repeating herself, but intolerable if a second character is repeating the words of a first.

(c) Trimeters at the end of a lyric utterance: all non-lyric. There are six instances, all single lines except for *Ph.* 133 (a half-line); in every case the iambic line forms a new sentence (or, in one case, is preceded by a pause in the delivery).³ Four of these instances come in the *Phoinissai*, in the mouth of the lyric character (Antigone); three of them (133, 158, 179) are obviously parallel to certainly non-lyric lines of the same character, and so must be non-lyric, and the fourth also (138) is explicable as non-lyric. The other two instances come in the *Helen* (641, 660), in the mouth of the iambic character (Menelaos); non-lyric delivery is for him *a priori* likely, and the variation is in fact explicable in each case.

(d) Trimeters at the beginning of the first utterance of the lyric character: all non-lyric. There are four instances; in two of them (*Ion* 1445–6, *IT* 827(–8?)) the following lyrics belong to the same sentence but are preceded by a pause; in two (*Hek.* 681–3, *Hel.* 675–6) they start a new sentence. Non-lyric delivery is explicable in every case on the same ground, namely that the lines are uttered before the character has completely given way to her emotion.

(e) Trimeters at the beginning of a lyric utterance other than the first utterance of the lyric character: some non-lyric, some lyric.

(i) Explicable as non-lyric: *Ph.* 145 (followed by a pause; parallel to certainly non-lyric lines), *Ph.* 161–2 (followed by a pause),⁴ *Hel.* 658 (uttered by iambic character; sentence completed, with no pause, by the following lyrics).

(ii) Probably lyric: three instances in the *Hekabe* (689, 699, 714). Apart from her initial utterance (see (d) above) Hekabe has six lyric utterances; three of these are introduced by a single iambic line (689, 699, 714).⁵ Clearly all three of these lines will have the same delivery, and in two cases there are reasons for thinking that the delivery is lyric: 689 has a double anadiplosis (ἄπιστ' ἄπιστα, καινὰ καινὰ δέρκομαι);⁶ 699 has only a single dochmius after it to complete the utterance, and the content of that dochmius justifies no increased agitation in the delivery (ἐκβλητον, ἧ πέεγμα φοιούου δορός | ἐν ψαμάθωι λευράι;).⁷

³ *Hel.* 641; see below.

⁴ Despite the lack (in the current texts) of punctuation at the end; see below.

⁵ The following lyrics begin a new sentence only after 689; but both 699 and 714 form a complete sentence in themselves, the additions of the lyrics being inorganic.

⁶ Anadiplosis is very common in Euripides' lyrics (statistics in Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik*, 214–21), and double anadiplosis occurs eleven times (op. cit., 220); in his dialogue it is much less common.

⁷ The variant φοιούου has led to attempts to emend 699 into two dochmii (ἐκβλητ' Hartung, *ἐκβολον* Weil); but φόιου(ο) is a regular variant or error for the much rarer φοίνου(ο) — about four times in five in Euripides — and the analogy of 689 and 714 guarantees the iambs.

(2) When an iambic trimeter is divided between the two characters, then (under certain conditions) the iambic character's part may be delivered non-lyrically and the lyric character's part lyrically.

There are seven trimeters (*Her.* 910, 911, 914, *Ion* 763, 765, 1452, 1497) for which this mixed delivery may be assumed. All but one (*Her.* 911) fulfil, and are alone in fulfilling, certain conditions:

- (a) The iambic character has the first part of the line.⁸
- (b) The division is made at the hepthemimeral caesura.⁹
- (c) The lyric character's part of the line is the beginning of an utterance continued by lyrics.¹⁰

The assumption that the first part of the line is delivered non-lyrically is an obvious one. The assumption that the second part is delivered lyrically may

⁸ It seems obviously proper that in these mixed-delivery trimeters the non-lyric part should come first. It is natural enough that the iambic character should stop in the middle of one of his normal units, and that the lyric character should then begin by completing that unit (lyrically); it would not be natural for the lyric character to deliver (lyrically) an incomplete part of a unit abnormal in his lyrics in order to permit its non-lyric completion by the iambic character.

Thus in two instances (*Ph.* 133, *Hyps.* lxiv. 2. 48 <= fr. 759a. 1627>) where a normal iambic line is so divided (at the penthemimeral caesura) that the first part goes to the lyric character, it is *a priori* likely that the lyric character's part should be delivered non-lyrically; and in fact non-lyric delivery is in each case explicable and can in each case be argued on other grounds (see 1 (c) and (e) above).

In one instance (*Ion* 1500) a line which is probably some form of an iambic trimeter is so divided but has both parts delivered lyrically: (*Kr.*) ἔκτενά ε' ἄκουσ'. (*Io.*) ἐξ ἐμοῦ τ' {οὐχ ὄσι} ἔθνησκεις (οὐχ ὄσι' del. Wilamowitz). Here there is no justification for non-lyric delivery by Kreousa (at the end of a dochmiac utterance) and every justification for lyric delivery by Ion; Maas (*Griech. Metrik*, §76) proposed to restore a normal trimeter by reading ἔκτενά ε' ἄκουσ'. | ἐξ ἐμοῦ τ' οὐχ ὄσι' ἔτλης, but (apart from the question whether ἔτλης makes acceptable sense) a normal trimeter is not wanted. (There is a parallel to this division of a syncopted trimeter at *S. El.* 1276 (Orestes is iambic, Elektra lyric): *Op.* τί μὴ ποιήσω; *Hl.* μή μ' ἀποστερήσεις | τῶν ᾠδῶν προσώπων ἠδονὰν μεθέσθαι.)

⁹ At *Ion* 763–5 I follow Wilamowitz and divide 763 with Victorius and 765 with L:

- 763 *Πρ.* ὦμοι θάνοιμι θύγατερ. *Kr.* ὦ πάλαυ' ἐγώ,
 ἔλαβον ἔπαθον ἄχος ἀβίστον, φίλαι.
- 765 *Πρ.* διοιχόμεσθα τέκνον. *Kr.* αἰαὶ αἰαὶ.

The alternative is to divide with Boissonade:

- 763 *Kr.* ὦμοι θάνοιμι. *Πρ.* θύγατερ. *Kr.* ὦ πάλαυ' ἐγώ,
 ἔλαβον ἔπαθον ἄχος ἀβίστον, φίλαι.
- 765 διοιχόμεσθα. *Πρ.* τέκνον. *Kr.* αἰαὶ αἰαὶ.

Wilamowitz's division has the disadvantage that the Old Man should anticipate Kreousa with a cry of grief, and then in 768 (*μήπω στενάξῃς*) show so sudden a change of front. But Boissonade's has at least an equal disadvantage in the bathos of *διοιχόμεσθα* after Kreousa's agonized cry and before the second agonized cry introduced by *αἰαὶ αἰαὶ*.

¹⁰ In the three instances (*Ph.* 123–4, 161–2, 171–2) where the lyric character has the second part of a trimeter and continues with a full trimeter, non-lyric delivery is to be assumed for the whole; see 1) (a) and (e) (i) above.

be made on three grounds (apart from the ground of the character's mood, which demands lyric delivery in every case):

(a) *Ion*. 765 is *διοιχόμεσθαι τέκνον*. || *αἰαῖ αἰαῖ*, i.e. a trimeter with the anceps of the last metron suppressed, and so a lyric unit; the second part (containing the suppression) must be delivered as lyrics.

(b) *Herakles* 910 is *ὦ λευκὰ γήραι κόματ'*. | '|| *ἀνακαλεῖς με τίνα*, where *υυ—υυ* is of itself analysable as a dochmius and calls out for lyric delivery.

(c) The second part of the line is in every case the beginning of an utterance continued by lyrics (dochmiacs in every case but *Her.* 910, for which see below); except at *Ion* 765 (for which in any case see (a) above) the lyrics belong to the same sentence.

One line (*Her.* 911), as I have said, does not conform to these conditions; it is *βοάν*. || *ἄλαστα τὰν δόμοισι*. || *μάντιν οὐχ* (the central part belongs to the iambic character). It does, however, approximate to them: to (a) and (b) in so far as the iambic character's part, considered by itself, could be the beginning of an iambic trimeter to the hephthemimeral caesura; to (c) in so far as *βοάν* is a continuation of the lyric part of the preceding line, and *μάντιν οὐχ* is continued by a dochmius.

There is one interesting fact about the lyric parts of these lines which may or may not be accident: namely that they tend to be susceptible of an alternative scansion as dochmii or related units. It would (if not accident) explain the regularity of the apparently arbitrary break at the hephthemimeral caesura, and perhaps allow also an explanation of the exception at *Her.* 910–11.

(a) The division at the hephthemimeral caesura leaves the lyric character with *—υ—*; this can equally be scanned as a hypodochmius (common enough among dochmiacs, and beginning a dochmiac utterance at e.g. *Ion* 719).¹¹ In all the examples in *Ion* the following lyrics are dochmiac. In two cases, however, synaphea is not preserved: 763 *ὦ τάλαυ' ἐγώ*, | *ἔλαβον ἔπαθον ἄχος*, 1452 *τὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας* | *ἀπέβαλον πρόσω*.

(b) Of the two lyric fragments of *Her.* 911 the second (*—υ—*) is, as a cretic, in place before the dochmius which follows; but the first (*υ—*) is impossible as an independent unit. But if the messenger's words are neglected the chorus' scan throughout as dochmii (I indicate the position of the Messenger's words by A): *ἀνᾶκᾶλεῖς με τίνα* | *βῶαν*; A *μᾶντιν οὐχ* | *ἔτερόν ἄξομαι* | A *αἰαῖ* A *δαῖοι* | *φόνῳ*, *δαῖοι* | *δὲ τὸκῶν χῆρες*.

¹¹ At *Ion* 765 the lyric character is left with *—υ—*; this begins a dochmiac utterance at e.g. *Hipp.* 866, *Hyps.* lxiv. 2. 15, 23 <= 1593, 1601>.

(3) A lyric unit may be divided between the two characters in such a way that the part given to the iambic character (always the first part) is equally susceptible of scansion as the beginning of an iambic trimeter; the iambic character's part is then delivered non-lyrically, the lyric character's part lyrically.

The assumptions that the two parts are so delivered are obvious ones. There are in all eleven units so divided.

(a) Syncopated iambic trimeter (υ— υ—υ|—υ—): *Ion* 765 (see (2) (a) above).

(b) Syncopated iambic dimeter (υ— υ—|—): *Her.* 912–13.

(c) Iambelegus (×—× | —υ—υ—): *Ion* 769, 770, 1478–9.

(d) Iambelegus 'klingend' (—υ— | —υ—υ—): *Hyps.* lxiv. 2. 31 <= 1609>.¹²

(e) Iambelegus + spondee (×—× | —υ—υ—): *Her.* 1185, 1186, 1187–8, *Ion* 1483–4.

(f) Dochmiac dimeter: *Ion* 1471 *Iω. πῶς εἶπας; Κρ. ἄλλοθεν γέγονας, ἄλλοθεν.* Wilamowitz, following Dindorf, produces an iambic trimeter by inserting *κύ* before *γέγονας*. This is impossible: Kreousa's part of the line must be delivered as lyrics, and if the line is converted into a trimeter it will be unique (a) in that Kreousa's part will form a complete lyric utterance, (b) in the position of the break. Furthermore, *ἄλλοθεν γέγονας, ἄλλοθεν* calls for dochmiac scansion. There are two possible solutions. (a) —υ— can be swallowed as an abnormal form of a dochmius. The manuscripts offer a number of examples of υ—υ— in certainly dochmiac contexts in Euripides (cf. *Hek.* 715, 1084, *Hipp.* 593, 840, 841, *Ion* 692, 1472, *Ph.* 183); but even if υ—υ— can be swallowed it does not follow that —υ— can. (b) It can be emended into a normal dochmius. If this is done it is *Ion's πῶς εἶπας* that must be changed; it may be that *πῶς εἶπας* has replaced an original *τί φήεις*, and that *τί φήεις* written in the margin has come thence into the previous line (*ὦ τέκνον, τί φήεις; οἶον οἶον ἀνελέγχομαι*), where its excision would leave two dochmii in place of cretic + two dochmii. The fact that L has *ον τί φήεις in rasura* gives some ground for suspecting *τί φήεις* in its present position.¹³

¹² So the papyrus: *οἴμοι κακῶν cōv. | μὴ στέν' ἐπ' εὐτυχίαισιν.* The unit appears also at *Hipp.* 1280; nevertheless it is much less common than the iambelegus, and so *εὐτυχίαις* may be right (Maas, *BPhW* 31 [1911], 331; the same reading is given, with no comment in his critical apparatus, by Robert, *Hermes* 44 [1909], 378).

¹³ Sophocles has a similar division of a dochmiac dimeter at *OK* 836 ~ 879: *Κρ. υ— υ—υ—υ—*. Kreon in that scene is elsewhere iambic.

HIPPOLYTOS 565–600

Phaidra, listening at the palace door, hears her nurse and Hippolytos talking inside.

Iambic: Phaidra

Lyric: the chorus.

Before the scene begins Phaidra is in a state of physical collapse and mental exhaustion, the outcome of a long period of brooding on, and ineffectual struggle with, her passion; she is already (401) rationally convinced that death is the only way out, but she has no initiative left for suicide or for anything else. So she has made no more than a half-hearted attempt to interfere with the schemes of her nurse, who has initiative enough and sees the need for it. And now, listening at the door, she hears that Hippolytos has been told and is cursing her; her nurse has gained her nothing and lost her even honour.

In the *Andromache* (825–65; see below) Hermione, resolved on suicide, uses lyrics to her nurse's iambics. But Hermione's despair has come suddenly, in a violent revulsion from self-confident arrogance, and is a wild and irrational thing of the emotions. Phaidra's has been there long enough, and this latest disaster serves only to crystallize her resolution and give her at last the initiative for suicide (599); there is no burst of emotion, for her emotions are exhausted, but only the quietude of utter and resolved despair. <Cf. Barrett's *Hippolytos*, p. 267.>

Therefore Phaidra uses iambics. As a foil to her resolve, and to bring out the full tension of the scene, the chorus breaks out in the agitation of dochmiacs. As Phaidra each time utters vague words of disaster, the chorus press her in agitated uncertainty for the truth, drawing the tension tighter and tighter with the greater explicitness of Phaidra's answers till in 589–90 the truth is out.

Licences. none.

Exceptions. At one point only Phaidra deserts iambics, for a cry of despair at 569.¹⁴ This is soon after the beginning, once she is satisfied of the full purport of what she hears. This one short cry has its definite function: it sets the chorus's agitation afoot. They at the beginning, their alarm roused but still hesitant, have twice uttered an iambic trimeter; but now that Phaidra

¹⁴ This cry in L scans as a dochmius (ὶὼ μοι αἰαῖ), in MBVL² as a syncopated iambic dimeter (ὶὼ μοι αἰαῖ αἰαῖ). Whether it should be treated as lyric or as *extra metrum* is not a matter of any importance; it is equally justified in either case.

calls out in despair their agitation breaks out to the full, and they question her hereafter in dochmiacs.

At the end, when the chorus know the worst and have bewailed it in a dochmiac passage (591–5), their uncertainty (an uncertainty of knowledge rather than expectation) is over; thus their last question of Phaidra (598: what will you do now?) is iambic again.

Corrupt exception. In the middle of the last lyric utterance of the chorus the manuscripts insert an interjection of Phaidra: *Χο. τὰ κρυπτὰ γὰρ πέφηνε, διὰ δ' ὄλλυται . . . Φα. αἰαῖ ἔ' ἔ. Χο. πρόδοτος ἐκ φίλων.* Such an interjection in the middle of the chorus' sentence is of itself possible enough (cf. *Tr.* 580, 1229), but it would imply an extreme of emotion in Phaidra; and for her at this stage the emotion of an interjection in any position is impossible. Deletion is scarcely legitimate ('auch für die schauspieler war ein wehruf an dieser stelle deplaciert' Wilamowitz); the interjection can be left there in the chorus's mouth.¹⁵

HIPPOLYTOS 874–84

Theseus has just read the tablet in the hand of the dead Phaidra.

Lyric: Theseus, in horror at its content.

Iambic: the chorus-leader.

Licences. None.

Exceptions. Theseus' first utterance is iambic, before the horror has taken full hold of him.

Before Theseus' first utterance the chorus make a short dochmiac utterance (866–70; the manuscripts add three iambic lines, but these are to be excised).¹⁶ These lyrics, uttered to empty air while Theseus is reading the tablet, are no part of the dialogue, which begins only at 874. The chorus' previous utterance (852–5), at the end of Theseus' long lyric lament, was dochmiac, and showed them to be in a horror of anticipation (855 *τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῶνδε πῆμα φρίσσω πάλαι*); now, when Theseus has noticed the tablet (in ten

¹⁵ Scanning as an iambic metron; the preceding line is two dochmii, where — — — must either be swallowed as a dochmius or be emended into a more normal form. Wilamowitz (*Griechische Tragödien*, i. 188) scans the lines as iamb. dim. cat. + anap. (= dochm.) + cret. + dochm.; this is not very convincing.

¹⁶ B has the scholion *ἐν τισιν οὐ φέρονται οἶτροι*: and in fact their content ('I suspect misfortune; may the house escape ruin') is intolerable bathos after the lyrics ('it is all over with the house'). They are likely to be not so much interpolation as an actors' alternative to the lyrics (Wilamowitz, *Hippolytos*, 219–20).

iambic lines, 856–65) and is reading it, this horror grows greater, and they break again into dochmiacs as they see final ruin dawning.¹⁷ Then the dialogue begins: first Theseus touches the first fringes of his horror in iambics; the chorus remain silent (any further lyrics from them would blunt the edge of Theseus' lyrics that are coming), and their leader restrains herself to ask a direct and deferential question in iambics. Then Theseus' lyrics burst out (with another iambic line from the chorus-leader at 881 to throw them into relief); and then, the first violence of his horror over, he calms down into iambics to report Phaidra's message and to pronounce his curse on Hippolytos.

ANDROMACHE 825–65

Lyric: Hermione, in a sudden suicidal despair now that her father has deserted her and left her to face alone the consequences of her scheme and its failure.

Iambic: her nurse, being firm with her.

No licences and no exceptions.

HEKABE 681–720

Hekabe's servant has brought in the body of Polydoros.

Lyric: Hekabe, breaking down at the sight of the body of the one son whom she had believed safe.

Iambic: the servant and the chorus.

Licences and exceptions. The first of Hekabe's utterances is introduced by three iambic lines (681–3). These are certainly non-lyric, uttered before her emotion has overcome her: her next (lyric) sentence is explicitly the beginning of her lament (685 *κατάρχομαι γόων*).

¹⁷ Their sense of ruin implies (especially in their present mood) no very great leap to conclusions. They know from Phaidra's last words on the stage that she was devising evil for Hippolytos (728–31: *κακόν γε χᾶτέρωι γενήσομαι θανοῦσα . . . τῆς νόσου δέ τῆςδέ μοι κωνῆι μετασχῶν σωφρονεῖν μαθήσεται*), and this tablet is obviously the means of that evil. Theseus' demeanour as he reads may well confirm them.

In 867–8 (*ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀβίωτος βίου τύχα πρὸς τὸ κρανθὲν εἶη τυχεῖν*), which from their meaninglessness are certainly corrupt, there is pretty certainly an intrusion from 821 (*κατακονὰ μὲν οὖν ἀβίωτος βίου*); so Maas, *BPhW* 31 (1911), 329.

Of her remaining six utterances, three are introduced by a single iambic line (689, 699, 714). These lines are probably all lyric (see above).

SUPPLIANTS 1072–9

Euadne has just thrown herself into the flames of Kapaneus' pyre.

Iambic: Iphis, too old (and too broken by the recent death of his son Eteoklos) for any violence of emotion.

Lyric: the chorus, in horror and then in sympathy for Iphis. (Lyrics are needed at this moment, and only the chorus can utter them.)

No licences and no exceptions.

HERAKLES 900–21

Herakles, inside the palace, has killed his children, in full hearing of the chorus; now a messenger comes out to tell them the whole story.

Lyric: the chorus, violently agitated.

Iambic: the messenger, agitated too but striving to keep control of himself.

Licences. Iambic lines divided: 909–10, 910–12, 914. Lyric unit divided: 913 (syncopated iamb. dim.).

The fragmentary nature of the messenger's utterances serves to mark his agitation, until in 916 an unbroken line comes as he regains control.

Exceptions. None.

HERAKLES 1178–1213

Theseus has arrived to find Amphitryon and Herakles with the bodies of Megara and the children.

Lyric: Amphitryon, in an agony of grief for his son.

Iambic: Theseus, full of horror and sympathy, but calm.

Licences. Lyric units divided: 1184–5, 1186–7, 1188–9 (all iambelegus + sp.).

Exceptions. None.

TROADES 235–91

Lyric: Hekabe, distraught.

Iambic: Talthybios, a mere matter-of-fact messenger, with some human sympathy (267), but taking it all very much in the day's work.

No licences and no exceptions.

TROADES 1209–50

Iambic: Hekabe, in the calm of utter hopelessness, deliberately proceeding with the last rites for Astyanax.

Lyric: The chorus, breaking down at the sight and at her words (cf. 1216 ἔ ἔ, φρενῶν ἔθιγες ἔθιγες).

Licences. None. At 1238 the manuscripts give Hekabe only part of an iambic line (ὦ φίλταται γυναῖκες); but after this there is certainly a lacuna (probably of several lines) which has swallowed up the latter part of Hekabe's utterances and the beginning of the chorus', which as it stands has neither sense nor motive.

Exceptions. Twice (1229, 1230) Hekabe answers with a single cry of grief (αἰαῖ and οἴμοι) the chorus' bidding to lament.

IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS 644–56

Orestes has persuaded Iphigeneia that he, not Pylades, should be sacrificed.

Lyric: the chorus, registering the necessary pity.

Iambic: Orestes (resolute) and Pylades (unhappy at the thought of Orestes' self-sacrifice and pondering the exchange which he suggests at 674).

No licences and no exceptions.

IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS 827–99

Orestes has convinced Iphigeneia of his identity.

Lyric: Iphigeneia, filled with emotion (down to 849, joy at the reunion; then, to 872, grief over the past; then fear for the present).

Iambic: Orestes, calm throughout.

Licences. Lyric iambic trimeters to Iphigeneia: 837, 843, 845.

Exceptions. Iphigeneia begins with one non-lyric iambic line, before her emotions take control, and then in mid-sentence switches to lyrics.

Corrupt exceptions. At 832 Orestes is given two dochmii sandwiched between two iambic lines and forming a sentence with the second:

κἀγὼ σέ, τὴν θανοῦσαν ὡς δοξάζεται.

κατὰ δὲ δάκρυ, κατὰ δὲ γόος ἅμα χαρᾶι

τὸ σὸν νοτίζει βλέφαρον, ὡσαύτως δ' ἔμὸν.

This cannot be sound. Orestes betrays little emotion throughout, and says little that is not prompted by Iphigeneia's excited words: so most noticeably his *κἀγὼ σέ, τὴν θανοῦσαν* (831) picks up her *ἔχω σ' Ὀρέστα, τηλύγετον* (828), his *τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῦμεν ἀλλήλων μέτα* (841) is inspired by her *ὦ κρείσσον ἢ λόγοισιν εὐτυχῶν τύχαι* (837). Similarly here he could never broach the subject of tears and weeping: Iphigeneia must do that in the dochmiacs of 832 ('I am shedding tears of joy'), with Orestes replying in 833 (just as in 831) 'so am I'. This assignment is that of Maas (*Hermes* 61 [1926], 240 <= *Kl. Schr.* 49>), and is certainly right. But what is less certain than the assignment is the reading. Merely to assign 832 as it stands to Iphigeneia makes her sentence end in mid-course, for Orestes to finish it with his iambic line. But the flood of Iphigeneia's emotion cannot dry up in mid sentence; and even less can the flood be interrupted by a staid iambic line. Most likely a dochmius is missing after (or in) 832 to complete Iphigeneia's sentence.

ION 763–99

The chorus have told Kreousa that she shall have no children.

Lyric: Kreousa, distraught by the shattering of her hopes.

Iambic: the Old Man, keeping his head (after a moment's initial despondency) and investigating the facts.

The chorus also take part in the latter part of the scene (771–99), which is formed by the fourfold repetition of the following pattern: question by the Old Man (two iambic lines), answer by the chorus (two iambic lines), outburst by Kreousa (lyrics).

Licences. Lyric units divided: 765 (sync. iamb. trim.), 769 (iambel.), 770 (iambel.). Iambic line divided: 763.

Exceptions. None.

ION 1437–1509¹⁸

Kreousa has just convinced Ion that she is his mother.

Lyric: Kreousa, overcome by joy (tinged from time to time with sorrow for the past).

Iambic: Ion, his emotions under control.

Licences. Iambic lines divided: 1452, 1497. Lyric units divided: 1471 (dochm. dim.), 1478–9 (iambel.), 1483–4 (iambel. + sp.).

Exceptions. Kreousa begins with two spoken iambic lines (1445–6), before her emotions take control, and then in mid-sentence switches to lyrics.

At 1500 a lyric unit (probably a syncopated iambic trimeter) is so divided that the second part is given to Ion: (*Kρ.*) *ἔκτενά τ' ἄκουσ'. Ἴω. ἐξ ἐμοῦ τ' {οὐχ ὄσι}' ἔθνηικκεε.* Ion's part of the line must certainly be delivered as lyrics (and so, therefore, must Kreousa's be; it is not, it should be noted, isolated, but comes at the end of a short lyric utterance). This, Ion's one lyric utterance (and, incidentally, his last utterance in any metre) in this scene, comes when the emotional pressure on him is at its greatest; he gives way for the moment when he thinks how near he came to matricide.

HELEN 625–97

Eighty lines (541) before the beginning of the scene, Helen and Menelaos have met. Helen recognizes Menelaos as soon as she sees him clearly (560), but Menelaos, confident in the genuineness of the *εἶδωλον* whom he has left with his crew, rejects the real Helen's advances in a long stichomythia (up to 593). Then a sailor appears and announces the vanishing of the *εἶδωλον* (597–621); Menelaos recognizes the truth and takes Helen in his arms (622–4).

¹⁸ For this scene I assume the colometry of Wilamowitz's edition; Murray's colometry obscures the facts.

Helen (lyric) is in a transport of joy, accentuated by the dejection into which, a moment before, she had been thrown (594–6) by Menelaos' refusal; for her the present is everything. Menelaos (iambic) is in a very different way: it is not simply that he is a man, with a strong sense of dignity, and so has more self-control, but rather that bewilderment is uppermost in his mind. True, his wife is his again; but he has thought her his already for seven years, and so cannot feel—as Helen does—the sudden change from misery to joy. His mind is concentrated, not on *what* has happened now, but on *how* it has happened and on the events—which as yet he scarcely understands—which have brought it about. But for Helen these events are only too well known; they are past misery which she would forget to give rein to present joy.

There is, unfortunately, a good deal of confusion (both in the manuscripts and in the current editions) in the attribution of the lines. I shall here work right through the scene, discussing the attributions as I go; at the end I shall give a résumé of exceptions.

625–9. Helen: two iambic lines at first, before her emotions take control; then (in a new sentence) an outburst of lyrics—'Menelaos is mine at last'.

630–1. Menelaos, iambics: three syllables only to the present, then his mind turns to the past and his bewilderment.

632–5. Helen, lyrics: her joy.

636–41. Menelaos.¹⁹ Lyrics at first: his emotion appears, brought out by Helen's. (*οὐκ ἐμέμφθην*: this is not churlishness or meiosis, but rather an apology for his coolness.) His thoughts turn from the reunion to their first union, their marriage; then from this to the separation, and the tone drops suddenly (in mid-sentence, with a pause in delivery) to an iambic line—*τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐκ δόμων δ' ἐνόσφισαν θεοί*.²⁰

642–3. Lyrics. L shows no change of speaker, but this cannot still be Menelaos: it must be Helen.²¹ It is rejecting the past and looking to the present and the future: things will become better now; the *κακόν* has become *ἀγαθόν* and brought us together. 644–5 are *τὸ κακὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν cé τε κἀμὲ συνάγαγεν, πόσι, χρόνιον, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀναίμαν τύχας*: the ms. *πόσιν*, as useless and cumbersome as a word could be, must give place to *πόσι* (Hermann).

646–7. Iambics. L gives them to Helen, but is clearly wrong: 648 sqq. are certainly Helen and certainly a new speaker (L originally had a paragrahus

¹⁹ L shows the change of speaker after *πρόσφισι*; but it is obvious that *δ φιλάττη πρόσφισι* is to be transferred to Menelaos (Reisig, *Coniectaneorum in Aristophanem libri duo*, i. 280).

²⁰ Deleting the meaningless *ε' ὁμοῦ* after *θεοί* (Reisig, *loc. cit.*; he also—wrongly—changed *δ* to *ε'*); otherwise the text is as in L, and in the next line *δ'* remains after *ἀλλαν*.

²¹ So Tyrwhitt (*ap. Musgrave, Exercitationum in Euripidem libri duo* [Leiden 1762], 162).

there; it was later removed, presumably by someone who realized that Helen must speak the lines and did not question that 646–7 were hers). Wilamowitz gives the lines to the chorus (*Griechische Verskunst*, 564 n. 2: ‘646 ist evident, daß der Chor spricht, nicht Helene, wie in den Codd.’); but the chorus are Helen’s friends, and would never pray for Helen’s happiness as a mere means to Menelaos’. Menelaos, however, can make the prayer—‘may you be happy: I shall never be if you are not’ (a shade self-centred; but then, Menelaos is); the lines are his.²²

648–51. Helen, lyrics: she forswears sadness for the past in the face of present joy.

652–3. Menelaos, iambics: five syllables to the present, then the past and his bewilderment.

654–5. Lyrics. No change of speaker in L. ‘My tears spring from joy and have more gladness in them than pain’; this cannot be Menelaos, contrasting his tears of joy (ἐμά emphatic) with Helen’s tears of grief. The joy, and the lines, are Helen’s;²³ ἐμά is emphatic because of the change of speaker, and need imply no tears of Menelaos’.

656. Iambic: ‘who would ever have thought this possible?’. Helen would: τᾶδε (which on her lips must be the reunion) was prophesied by Hermes long ago (56 sqq.), and although Teukros dismayed her for a while, Theonoe has just assured her (530 sqq.) that Menelaos is alive and not far away. So the line cannot be Helen’s, as L makes it; it is Menelaos,²⁴ still intent on the past, and scarcely able to conceive what has happened (τᾶδε on his lips is the whole sequence of events).

657. Lyric. No change of speaker in L. ‘I hold you, unexpected, to my breast.’ This, with the next line Menelaos’, must be Helen. She comes as close to echoing Menelaos’ words as she can in truth: ἀνέλιπτος she cannot call him, but ἀδόκητος she can, and does.

658–60. Menelaos: iambics, but breaking into lyrics for one line at the memory of his misery at Troy. Kretschmar gave the lyric line to Helen, but this cannot be right. Helen is deliberately not thinking of the past, and shows the extremest reluctance when in the next lines Menelaos tries to force her to speak of it. A violent interruption, finishing Menelaos’ sentence for him, is

²² So Tyrwhitt (loc. cit.).

²³ So Lachmann (*De mensura tragoediarum*, 54; it is clear from p. 82 that he continues the following lines also to Helen).

²⁴ So A. A. Kretschmar. I have not had access to his work on this scene, which is contained in a Halle dissertation of 1825 (*In Euripidis Helenae carmine melico vs. 653–704 sententiae loquendique genera explicata tum metra ordinata*) and in an Eisleben programme of 1830 (*Comment. de carmine melico quod est in Euripidis Helena inde a vs. 625 usque ad 697 ed. Matth.*).

unlikely on any account; it is impossible for Helen here, for she refuses to speak of the past even when pressed and so *a fortiori* would never break in with it unbidden.

661–5. Helen, violently agitated at the memory of the past, tries (in lyrics) to stave off Menelaos' demands; Menelaos presses her in iambics.

666–79. Helen begins her story in agitated lyrics, in an emotional rush of single facts, with no connected narrative; Menelaos continues to draw out the facts with questions in iambics.

680–90. Still the same; except that Menelaos, his own emotions now raised (over the past again), makes three utterances in lyrics, completing Helen's dochmii, but all so short (three syllables, or two) as to give little impression of lyrics.

691. Menelaos: iambic, an angry apostrophe of Paris. The line is clearly not a vocative prefixed to 692–3, but an apostrophe complete in itself (and so to be printed with a full stop at the end), venting the hatred that at this moment is the thought uppermost in Menelaos' mind.

692–3. Lyrics. Normally these are continued to Menelaos: L has no note of a new speaker, and a note of Helen (by a late hand?) at 694. But they greatly weaken the force of 691. And their sense is strange: for Menelaos will be saying that *τάδε* (the whole course of events, adumbrated in 691) has brought destruction (*a*) to Paris as well (*καί*: as well as to Menelaos' house) and (*b*) to a myriad Greeks; but the destruction of Paris is, for Menelaos, condign retribution for his sins, whereas that of the Greeks is no small part of the sins themselves, so that their coupling here, and their coupling by *τε* at that, is scarcely conceivable. Rather, I think, the lines are Helen's; then *cé* in 692 becomes Menelaos, with whose ruin that of the Greeks can rightly be coupled. The text, however, is corrupt: the metre is hardly possible, and the *καί*—which even with the attribution to Menelaos is awkward—is now downright impossible. Wilamowitz <*Griech. Verskunst*, 563>, who gave the lines to Menelaos, read *τάδε <πόλις τε cón> καὶ cé διώλεσεν μυριάδας τε χαλκείπλων Δαναῶν* (3 dochm. + anap.). On the same lines one might make Helen say *τάδε <δόμον τε cón> κτλ.*; she will be picking up Menelaos' words.

694–7. Helen, lyrics: she has dealt with Menelaos and the Greeks, and comes back at the last to herself and her own sorrow and innocence.

Licences. None.

Exceptions. Helen: iambics (625–6) at the very beginning, before she gives way to her emotion. Menelaos: lyrics at 636–40, on the one occasion when he lets himself think of his happiness (though even here he ends despondent with an iambic line), and again at 659, when (between two iambic lines) the thought of past misery overcomes him for a moment. Otherwise only three

brief scraps of lyric in excited questioning and comment: 680 πῶς; αὐδα, 681 ὦ τλάμων, 685 τί φήεις;

PHOINISSAI 103–92

Antigone, in the care of the Paidagogos, is being shown the Argive army gathered around Thebes.

Lyric: Antigone, full of a wild childish excitement.

Iambic: the Paidagogos, the steady and respectful old slave in charge of his young mistress.

Licences. Lyric iambic trimeters to Antigone: 129, 148, 168.

Exceptions. Her three lyric trimeters apart, Antigone uses iambs no less than nine times. This is quite exceptional; but so (for these scenes) is Antigone's character, and the whole variation of metre is extraordinarily effective in its indication of her mood. She is not a woman overcome by deep emotion of joy or grief or fear: she is a young girl violently and naively excited by the strangeness and scarcely-understood importance of the occasion and the things she sees, now giving play to her excitement and now—especially as she asks questions of the old man—bringing it momentarily under some sort of control.

Of the nine instances of non-lyric iambs, seven come in questions to the old man: after his vague answer (123) to her first lyric question she drops into iambs (123–4) for a more explicit question, and thereafter all her questions are iambic (133, 141, 145, 158, 171–2, 179).²⁵ An eighth instance (161–2 ὄρω δῆτ' οὐ σαφῶς, ὄρω δέ πως | μορφῆς τύπωνμα στέρνα τ' ἐξηκασμένα) comes effectively as she peers into the distance striving to distinguish Polyneikes. The remaining instance (138) comes at the end of a brief lyric utterance made as she looks at Tydeus (οὗτος ὁ τᾶς Πολυνείκεος, ὦ γέρον, αὐτοκακιστὴρ νύμφας ὁμόγαμος κυρεῖ; ὡς ἀλλόχρως ὄπλοισι, μειξοβάρβαρος); the lyrics are the vehicle for her excitement as she recognizes him for a marriage-connexion

²⁵ I do not count the lyric question of 135–7, which expects no answer. The lyric question of 156–7 (ποῦ δ' ὅς ἐμοὶ μιᾶς ἐγένετ' ἐκ ματρὸς πολυπόνωι μοίραι;) is in much the same case: it is more an expression of her emotion and her eagerness to see her brother, addressed to empty air, than a request for information; and she shows that it expects no answer, when she turns at once to the old man with a cajoling iambic question (ὦ φίλτατ', εἰπέ, ποῦ ἔτι Πολυνείκης, γέρον;). Finally in 145 (τίς δ' οὗτος ἀμφὶ μνήμα τὸ Ζήθου περᾶι;) the content of the question is complete with the iambic line, and the lyrics which follow are not part of it but merely her excited comment; in the current texts the absence of punctuation after περᾶι is misleading, and I would point περᾶι; –| καταβόστρυχος κτλ.

of her own, the iambic line seems to mark her sobering-down as she appraises him for that position and finds him strange.²⁶

PHOINISSAI 1335–55

This short scene occurs just after the death of Kreon's son Menoikeus; the messenger is delivering to Kreon and chorus the news of the deaths of Eteokles and Polyneikes and of Iokaste. It raises several problems of attribution.

The messenger delivers his news in two instalments: 1339 the deaths of Eteokles and Polyneikes, 1349 the death of Iokaste. Each instalment is greeted first by a short lyric utterance from the chorus, then by iambs from Kreon. The distinction in metre corresponds as usual to a difference in mood. At first sight one might expect Kreon to show the greater emotion, for it is his sister and nephews who are dead, whereas the chorus are not even from the same city. But in fact the case is very different. Twenty-five lines before the scene begins Kreon has appeared on the stage coming straight from the body of his son, and seeking Iokaste to lay it out; he is so broken by his own disaster that the new disasters, bad as they are, can cause him no violent outburst of grief. The chorus on the other hand are ripe for an emotional outburst. Throughout the siege they have shared the emotions of the Thebans (cf. 243–9); and now their ode (1283–1307) before Kreon appears, as they wait for news of the duel between Polyneikes and Eteokles, has revealed their emotions as strung up to the highest pitch: *αἰαὶ αἰαὶ, τρομερὰν φρίκαι τρομερὰν φρέν' ἔχω . . . ἰὼ μοι πόνων . . . τάλαιν' ἐγὼ τάλαινα, πότερον ἄρα νέκυν δλόμενον ἰαχῆσω . . . βοᾷ βαρβάρωι στενακτὰν ἰαχὰν μελομένην νεκροῖς δάκρυσι θρηγῆσω*. Naturally, therefore, the chorus break out in lyric lament as soon as the news is announced; Kreon, equally naturally, lets the news sink in and only then breaks silence, not (as the chorus) with lament for this one disaster, but with a deeper grief that relates it to the whole history of calamity in the house.²⁷

²⁶ The nine instances of non-lyric iambs are very varied in their metrical composition and their relation to adjoining lyrics. (a) Single trimeter. Isolated: one (141). At end of lyric utterance: three (138, 158, 179). At beginning of lyric utterance: one (145). (b) Beginning of trimeter (completed by Paidagogos). At end of lyric utterance: one (133). (c) End of trimeter (begun by Paidagogos) plus full trimeter. Isolated: two (123–4, 171–2). At beginning of lyric utterance: one (161–2).

²⁷ So explicitly in 1352–5; less explicitly, and so more powerfully, in 1342. Cf. sch. MA ad loc.: *οὐ μάτην ἄρα, φησὶν, ὁ Οἰδίπους κατηράσατο· εἰς ἔργον γὰρ ἐχώρησαν αἱ ἀραὶ*.

But the attribution is confused in the editions: normally both the lyrics (1340–1) and the iambics (1342–3) after the first announcement are given to Kreon. It is maintained that this has manuscript authority; for L at 1340 notes that Kreon is the speaker and at 1342 has no note. The authority is however of little value; L has equally (despite the silence of Prinz–Wecklein and Murray) no note of a new speaker at 1344 or 1345 or again at 1352, so that the absence of a note at 1342 is worthless as evidence. And it is in fact obvious that there is a change of speaker at 1342; quite apart from the manuscript evidence, and quite apart from the emotional difference of the lines, the apostrophe of the *δῶματα Οἰδίπου* must be the beginning of a new utterance. Now 1342 cannot be the messenger (V, followed by certain early editors); it must be elicited by news just heard, and be spoken either by Kreon or by the chorus, not by the bringer of the news. Therefore either (a) 1340 is the chorus (MABVP) and 1342 Kreon (MABP),²⁸ or (b) 1340 is Kreon (L) and 1342 is the chorus (no ms.). Of these alternatives, (a) is certainly right: it gives after 1339 reactions in the chorus and Kreon which are parallel to their unquestionable reactions after 1349 and which (as there) are explained and indeed demanded by the different emotional states of the two.²⁹ Against it may be alleged the content of 1341: that the deaths are *πάθρα* to Kreon rather than the chorus,³⁰ that *μοι καὶ πόλει* (to me personally and to the city collectively) is fitting only on Kreon's lips (cf. also his words of 1310–11, *πότερ' ἔμαυτὸν ἢ πόλιν στένω δακρύσας*). But the chorus, identifying themselves emotionally with the Thebans, can feel the deaths as *πάθρα* (indeed they have almost prepared the way for the word in 244: *κοινὰ δ' εἴ τι πείσεται ἐπτάπυργος ἄδε γὰρ, Φοινίσσαι χῶραι*); and the disjunction *μοι καὶ πόλει* is proper enough on a foreigner's lips.

This leaves the attribution of 1344–8 to be considered. 1348 is guaranteed as Kreon's by *ἀδελφῆ* *σῆ* of 1349; 1347 is obviously the messenger. That leaves 1344–6. Of these, 1344 is given by all manuscripts to the chorus; but this will never do. It belongs in fact to the messenger.³¹ In the first place the sobriety of its grief accords ill with the chorus's emotional state. In the second place the scene is primarily a dialogue between the messenger and Kreon. Nearly every messenger-scene in Euripides opens with a brief dialogue between the messenger and the primary recipient of the news; the chorus, except of course when they take part themselves as the primary recipient, do not intrude into

²⁸ Prinz–Wecklein and Murray do not report the behaviour of B at 1342; it does in fact note that Kreon is the speaker.

²⁹ But 1343 is intolerable and must go.

³⁰ *πένθρα* (L) would avoid this difficulty only to produce another: *πένθος* is not violent enough. *ἄχρα* would be better; but in any case *πάθρα* can stay.

³¹ The messenger ignores the chorus and addresses all his remarks to Kreon: second person singular in 1339, 1347, 1349, 1357.

this dialogue.³² Exceptionally here they intrude with their cries of lament, but these cries are needed to produce the proper tension in the scene and by their contrast to bring out to the full the weight of Kreon's grief; apart from these cries they have no business in the scene. The messenger on the other hand is a principal character in the dialogue; yet with the manuscript attribution he has no line between 1339 and 1347. This line will fit him perfectly; he is (1335, 1337) filled with grief at the news he brings, and expresses here his share in Kreon's grief exactly as does the messenger in the *Herakles* (916).

Finally 1345–6; of which 1346 is contained in the text of AP and the margin of MB and is omitted in VL. The manuscript attribution (not counting L, which is silent between 1340 and 1347; see above) is to Kreon.³³ Certainly 1347 shows that the line preceding it (whether 1345 or 1346) is uttered by Kreon. I would argue that 1345 is in fact not uttered by Kreon; and that therefore 1346 is genuine³⁴ and is uttered by him. It is again a matter of Kreon's mood; of the grief at his son's death that makes this further calamity one which to him must be secondary to his own. The *συμφορά*, says 1345, is *βαρυσποτμωτάτα*; but what in the context can the *συμφορά* be but the death of Eteokles and Polyneikes? And how for Kreon can that be *βαρυσποτμωτάτα*, with Menoikeus only freshly dead? The line could be his only if it were (which it is not) *οἴμοι συμφορᾶν βαρυσποτμωτατᾶν*, with the plural embracing all the deaths together; and a plural he does use in 1346, *οἴμοι κακῶν δύστηνος*.³⁵ 1346 must alone be his. 1345 then can go only to the chorus; for whom the death of Eteokles and Polyneikes is the one real disaster, and so properly *βαρυσποτμωτάτα*.³⁶

HYPsipYLE lxiv. 2. 13–54 (Arnim)³⁷

Amphiareos has just departed, leaving Hypsipyle together with her sons (Euneos and Thoas).

³² They intrude for special reasons at *Andr.* 1076, as Peleus collapses with the shock of the news: *ἄ ἄ τί δράσεις ὦ γεραιέ; μὴ πέσεις· ἴεπαιρε καυτόν.*

³³ Certainly in MB; presumably (Prinz–Wecklein and Murray say nothing to the contrary) in AVP.

³⁴ Its omission is easily accounted for by homoeocatacrton.

³⁵ When in 1348 he says *καὶ πῶς γένοιτ' ἂν τῶνδε δυσποτμώτερα*; the *τῶνδε* covers the same area as the *κακῶν*.

³⁶ The attributions for which I have argued were first proposed by Kvičala (*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 9 [1858], 624–5). His principal argument is the insufficient one that 'wir gewinnen dadurch die beste Symmetrie'.

³⁷ lxiv. 2. 70–111 Grenfell–Hunt <and Bond, *Eur. Hypsipyle* (Oxford 1963)>, 305–41 Page <*Select Papyri*, iii: Poetry (Cambridge Mass. 1941); fr. 759a. 1590–1632 Kannicht>.

Lyric: Hypsipyle, breaking down after the strain of her recent experiences and under the joy of the reunion and memory of the past.

Iambic: Euneos,³⁸ calm.

Licences. Lyric unit divided: 31 (iambel. ‘klingend’).

Exceptions. At 48–9 <1627> *Υψ.* ἦ γὰρ [ρ] κέ[ω]στ[α]ι; *Ev.* Βα[κ]χ[ίου] γε μηχαναῖς an iambic trimeter is divided at the penthemimeral caesura, the first part being given to Hypsipyle and the second part to Euneos. The second part is certainly non-lyric. It seems certain enough that the first part is as well: it is the first part of the line and a complete utterance (see above, (a)).

This will be Hypsipyle’s one non-lyric utterance. There is, I think, a reason. The version of the *Λήμνια ἔργα* used by Euripides in this play is by no means clear; but from this half-incredulous question ἦ γὰρ κέεωσται it is obvious that Hypsipyle either believes or fears that her father is dead. Consequently Euneos’ casual implication (47 <1626>) of his survival comes to her as an utter shock;³⁹ and this shock, for the moment of her question, sobers her down completely—only for her to break again immediately into lyrics⁴⁰ when the first impact of the shock is over.

BACCHAI 1024–42

The messenger has come with news of Pentheus’ death.

Lyric: the chorus, exultant at the news and at the triumph of Dionysos.

Iambic: the messenger, saddened by the news.

³⁸ The papyrus, after οἱ Ὑψιπ(ύλης) υἱοί at 12 <1590> and Ὑψιπ(ύλη) at 15 <1593>, has only paragraphi; that Euneos alone is the speaker is clear from 43–4 <1622–3>. Grenfell and Hunt gave 54 <1632>, for no reason at all (there is still only a paragraphus), to Thoas; Italie restored it to Euneos.

³⁹ The shock will be greatest if she believes him dead; that belief would follow if Euripides’ version is that of sch. Pind. hyp. *Nem.* b lines 9–15 Drachmann: Ὑψιπύλη τὸν πατέρα Θόαντα ἐνείρξασα κιβωτῶι ἐφύλαττεν ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὸ τοῦς Ἀργοναύτας ἐκπλεύσαι φανεροῦ γενομένου ταῖς Λημνιάσι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Θόαντα αὐτὸν μὲν κατεπόντωσαν ἐνείρξασαι τῆι κιβωτῶι, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ὑψιπύλης θάνατον ἢ δὲ μαθοῦσα φεύγει. ἐν τοσούτῳι δὲ ληισταῖς περιτυχοῦσα πιπράσκειται Λυκούργωι. Alternatively (I would say less probably) she may have embarked him in a chest herself (Ap. Rh. 1. 622–3 *λάρνακι δ’ ἐν κοίλῃι μιν ὑπερῶ ἀλλος ἦκε φέρεσθαι, ἢ αἶ κε φύγηι*) and felt little confidence in his survival.

⁴⁰ Of these lyrics (four lines in all) only the last words of each line have survived, and their content can only be guessed; but *πρ]οσοδοκία βιοτᾶς* (51 <1629>) may be the remnant of a belief or fear that her father was dead.

Licences. None. At 1036 the manuscript gives the messenger only two iambic metra, but the sense as well as the trimeter is incomplete, and a lacuna is certainly to be assumed.

Exceptions. The chorus's first utterance (1029) is an iambic line. This is before the messenger has announced (1030) Pentheus' death; immediately that is announced their lyrics begin.

Tabulation of Exceptions

	<i>Iambics to lyric character</i>			<i>Lyrics to iambic character</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>First utterances</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Interjections</i>	<i>Others</i>
<i>Hipp.</i> 565–600	3	2	1	1	1	—
— 874–84	1	1	—	—	—	—
<i>Andr.</i> 825–65	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Hek.</i> 681–720	1	1	—	—	—	—
<i>Supp.</i> 1072–9	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Her.</i> 909–21	—	—	—	—	—	—
— 1178–1213	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Tro.</i> 235–91	—	—	—	—	—	—
— 1209–50	—	—	—	2	2	—
<i>IT</i> 644–56	—	—	—	—	—	—
— 827–99	1	1	—	—	—	—
<i>Ion</i> 763–99	—	—	—	—	—	—
— 1445–1509	1	1	—	1	—	1
<i>Hel.</i> 625–97	1	1	—	5	—	5
<i>Ph.</i> 103–92	9	—	9	—	—	—
— 1335–55	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Hyps.</i> lxiv. 2. 13–54	1	—	1	—	—	—
<i>Bacch.</i> 1024–42	1	1	—	—	—	—
Total instances	19	8	11	9	3	6
Scenes concerned	9	7	3	4	2	2

APPENDIX

Strophic Lyric-and-iambic Scenes

I have considered above only those scenes which have no strophic responson. There remains another small group of scenes in which there is responson of one kind or another: these scenes deserve the separate treatment which I am here giving them, since they all differ in other ways also from the astrophic scenes.

They are of two types, which I shall call the simple-strophic and the complex-strophic.

Simple-strophic

There is only one instance of this type: *Alk.* 244–79. Its pattern is similar to that of the simpler astrophic scenes (e.g. *Andr.* 825–65, *Tro.* 235–91), with alternate utterances in lyrics by one character and in full iambic lines by the other. The difference is that this scene is arranged as strophe, antistrophe, strophe, antistrophe, epode; each strophe or antistrophe consists of a lyric utterance plus an iambic one (of two lines). This (in the earliest of the plays) is Aeschylean technique: Aeschylus' lyric-and-iambic duets are regularly arranged in similar strophic form (*Su.* 344–417, 736–64, *Pers.* 256–89, *Sept.* 203–44, 686–711, *Ag.* 1072–1172).⁴¹

The distinction in metre between the characters corresponds with a clear difference in mood. Alkestis, on the verge of death, has come out for the last time into the open air: she, with the horror of death on her, is lyric. Admetos, controlling himself, is iambic: only in his last utterances (see (b) below) does he give way at all.

The scene differs from the astrophic scenes in two other ways:

(a) In the lyric metres. In the astrophic scenes (and also in the complex-strophic scenes) these metres are always predominantly dochmiac: in this scene they are predominantly iambic. (This again is Aeschylean technique.)

(b) In the metre of Admetos' last utterance. This, the one exception to the normal lyric-iambic distinction, is in anapaests, which otherwise never appear in these scenes; they seem to indicate a degree of emotion intermediate between the restraint of iambics and the complete abandonment of lyrics.

Complex-strophic

In these scenes the strophic correspondence is (with minor variations) of the same kind: there is one strophe only, balanced by one antistrophe, each consisting of a group of at least four utterances, which as a rule are alternately lyric and iambic. There are six such scenes: *Med.* 1271–81 ~ 1282–92; *Hipp.* 817–33 ~ 836–51; *Hkld.* 75–94 ~ 95–110 (+ lacuna); *Her.* 734–48 ~ 749–61; *Or.* (a) 1246–65 ~ 1266–85 (+ 1286–1310), (b) 1353–65 ~ 1537–48.

Of these six scenes, one (*Hipp.*) is a monody by an actor. Of the other five, four occur in place of a normal stasimon (or of part of a stasimon), and one is

⁴¹ With a few minor variations (multiplying or omitting the iambics at the end of the last antistrophe, *Su.* 344–417, *Pers.* 256–89; mixing lyrics with the iambic utterances or iambics with the lyric, *Su.* 734–64, *Ag.* 1072–1172).

a parodos. This explains two peculiarities of the scenes: first the prominent or predominant part played by the chorus in all but *Hipp.*; second, the greater metrical regularity (the lyric metres are more straightforwardly dochmiac,⁴² and the iambic lines almost always go in pairs⁴³).

For my present purpose the important difference between these and the astrophic scenes is that in at least six strophes or antistrophes out of the twelve the different utterances are not distributed according to metre between two characters; i.e. one person may use both lyrics and iambs. This runs counter to the basic principle of the astrophic scenes, in which one person uses, with a limited number of clearly motived <sic> exceptions, one metre only. It may happen in two ways:

(a) The whole strophe or antistrophe (both lyric and iambic parts) is delivered by one person: actor, *Hipp.* str. and ant.; chorus, *Med.* ant., *Or.*^b str.

(b) The strophe or antistrophe is divided between the chorus and an actor without any distinction of metre between the two: *Or.*^a str. and ant.

What I am concerned to maintain here is that this apparent abandonment of the metre–character correlation does not invalidate the general rule I sought to establish for the astrophic scenes, and that the use of different metres, here as in the astrophic scenes, does in fact reflect a difference in mood. In the astrophic scenes this difference was clear-cut, being normally that between the moods of two different characters differently affected by events. Here, however, where the different metres are regularly used by one and the same character, all that the difference between them can reflect is a momentary difference in that one character's mood, a slight temporary shifting of his emotions. All therefore that in these cases I can hope to do is to establish a relation between the content of the individual utterances and their metre; I maintain that this relation is there, and that although not as a rule marked enough for the passages to be used as an argument for the contrasted use of the metres, it is nevertheless clear enough for the passages to be reconcilable with the general rule.

The six scenes fall into three classes, which deserve separate treatment: (1) scenes which occur in the place of a normal stasimon (*Med.*, *Her.*, *Or.*^{ab}): these scenes I shall call 'stasimoid'; (2) monody by an actor (*Hipp.*); (3) parodos (*Hkld.*).

⁴² Except for *Or.*^a and the last utterance (e) of *Or.*^b, it appears that only cretics and iambs are mixed with the dochmiacs.

⁴³ Exceptions: *Or.*^a 1260 ~ 1280 (one line); *Her.* 754 (one line). *Her.* 760–2 is three lines in the manuscript, but the third is interpolated; *Hkld.* 77 is one line in the manuscript, but a second is missing.

(1) *Stasimoid scenes*

These four scenes resemble one another in that they take the place of a stasimon or of part of a stasimon (hence, clearly, the strophic form) and in that the chorus plays in them a predominant or at any rate important part.

Two of them (*Med.*, *Her.*) are delivered principally by the chorus (which is alone on the stage), but include also trimeters delivered off the stage by characters who are being murdered. Each of them takes the place of only part of a stasimon, *Med.* being preceded by a normal strophic pair and *Her.* being followed by two normal strophic pairs.

The other two (*Or.*^{ab}) replace the normal stasimon entirely, *Or.*^b with the peculiarity that between strophe and antistrophe is interposed the long monody of the Phrygian and his trochaic dialogue with Orestes. *Or.*^a is a duet divided evenly between the chorus and Elektra (and followed by a short astrophic passage including lines delivered by Helen off the stage); *Or.*^b is delivered entirely by the chorus, but the antistrophe at any rate is divided between different choreutai.

The function of these scenes is quite different from that of the astrophic scenes. The astrophic scenes occur for the most part *after* some critical happening in the play, and are concerned with a character's reactions to that happening; to convey that character's mood as clearly as possible it is contrasted with another character's, and it is to bring home this contrast that the two metres are used and are each confined to one character. The stasimoid scenes, on the other hand, occur *while* something critical is happening, *viz.* during violent action off the stage, action whose culmination they either accompany (*Med.*, *Her.*) or await (*Or.*); they are not concerned with a character's reactions (only *Or.*^a in fact contains a character on the stage), but have the function of maintaining the tension or suggesting appropriate emotions during the inaction. The reason for the mixture of lyrics and iambics seems in part to be that an unevenness of mood is best suited to moments of tension: *παθητικὸν τὸ ἀνωμαλές*. This is clearest in the two scenes of waiting, the *Orestes* scenes (especially *Or.*^a, the emotional ups-and-downs of women all on edge); to a lesser extent it fits also *Med.* and *Her.*, but here other reasons also come into play.

When dealing with the astrophic scenes I argued that the utterances of the chorus, whether lyric or iambic, were delivered by one member of the chorus only. The same can be argued, partly on additional grounds, for the utterances of the chorus in the strophic scenes.

(a) If one assumes that the iambics are delivered by one person only, then the lyrics also must be delivered by one person only in those scenes where iambics and lyrics are syntactically inseparable: *Med.* ant., *Or.*^b str.

(b) The content of many of the lyric utterances is such as to require delivery by one person: e.g. the questions which the chorus asks of Iolaos in *Hkld.*, the cries as things are heard or seen (*Med.* str. a, *Or.*^b ant. c), the deliberation of action in *Med.* str. c.

(c) In *Or.*^a two of the lyric utterances of the chorus clearly cannot be by the same person.

(d) The speaker of an utterance of the chorus is addressed in the second person singular at *Hkld.* 78, 85, 94, 98, 99, 100, 105 (all but 78 in reply to lyric utterances), *Or.* 1275.

(e) When separate utterances of the chorus have to be assigned to separate persons, the iambics are certainly to be assigned to one member only (probably the leader); the lyrics may be the rest of the chorus (i.e. minus the leader), but they may equally well be a single singer (*Her.*, *Or.*^b ant.).

(f) The lyric utterances of *Her.* certainly had no dance accompaniment: cf. (at the very end of the antistrophe, 761) *πρὸς χορὸν τραπώμεθα.*

Medeia 1271–81⁴⁴ ~ 1282–92

Medeia has left the stage to kill her children.

The strophe (a | B | c | D | e) is divided between the chorus and *Medeia*'s children (behind the scenes): the iambics are the children's, crying out as *Medeia* comes to kill them;⁴⁵ the lyrics are the chorus', in ineffective horror.

The antistrophe (a : B | c : D | e) is all the chorus'. The iambics each time belong closely to the preceding lyrics (there is a pause between, but no new sentence), so that there can be no change of singer with the change of metre.⁴⁶ The pattern is similar to that of *Hipp.* 817–33 ~ 836–51 (see below): two utterances of which each begins violently as lyrics and then sobers down into a pair of trimeters, and then finally a lyric utterance. The content of the different metres does to some extent balance the difference in delivery: a] I know of only one woman who in past time killed her children (lyrics for the infanticide); B] Ino, when Hera drove her forth in madness (iambics for the antecedents); c] she fell into the sea, killing her children (lyrics again

⁴⁴ I adopt the now generally received order of the lines: (interjection), 1273, 1274, 1271, 1272. So Seidler (tentatively, in *De versibus dochmiacis* [1811], 293) and then Schenkl (*Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 85 [1862], 849–51); this is now partly confirmed by the Strasbourg papyrus (N. Lewis, *Études de Papyrologie*, 3 [1936], 52 sqq.; Snell, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 5 [1937], 70 sqq.; cf. Page, *Euripides: Medea*, ad loc.).

⁴⁵ These behind-the-scene cries of the murdered are regularly either interjections or iambic trimeters: cf. *Hek.* 1035, 1037, *Her.* 749, 754, *El.* 1165, 1167, *Or.* 1296, 1301. Lyrics would not be possible: you do not sing when you are being murdered.

⁴⁶ There might, however, (though I doubt it) be a change of singer between aB and cD and again between cD and e.

for the infanticide),⁴⁷ D] leaping over the cliff, and died with her two children (the substance already told in the lyrics, the singer relaxes into iambs for the detail and the résumé); e] lyrics for the final despairing comment on the troubles that come from women's sexual relations.⁴⁸

Herakles 734–48 ~ 749–61

Lykos has gone in to his death; the chorus remain alone on the stage.

The pattern is a || (L) || B || c || D: alternating lyrics and pairs⁴⁹ of iambic lines from the chorus, and (in the antistrophe only)⁵⁰ a behind-the-scenes iambic line of Lykos (L).⁵¹ The content of the lyrics and iambs is quite

⁴⁷ *πίτνει δ' ἄ τάλαιν' ἐς ἄλμαν φόνωι τέκνων δυσσεβεῖ*: i.e. Ino jumped with her two children into the sea (*φόνωι* is modal). The scholiast explicitly contradicts this interpretation: *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱστοροῦσι τῷ παιδί [sc. Μελικέρτῃ] συγκατενεχθῆναι τὴν Ἰνώ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· Εὐριπίδης δὲ φησιν αὐτὴν αὐτόχειρα τῶν δύο παιδῶν γενομένην, Λεάρχου καὶ Μελικέρτου, αὐτὴν ὕστερον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ῥίψαι*: in this case *φόνωι* is causal, but he must be wrong: for on his theory *κυνοθανοῦσα* (1289) would be false and the four lines on her suicide largely irrelevant.

⁴⁸ That is, Ino, like Medea, killed her children as a result (ultimately at any rate) of jealousy against a rival (for *λέχος* cf. *Med.* 568 *οὐδ' ἂν εὐ φαίης, εἴ εἰ μὴ κνίζοι λέχος*, 571 *ἦν δ' αὖ γένηται ξυμφορά τις ἐς λέχος*). This indicates that the version of the legend presupposed here is similar to that of *Hyg. Fab.* 4 (headed *Ino Euripidis*), in which Ino's infanticide is *post* (though not explicitly *propter*) the marriage by Athamas of another wife, Themisto, and a plot of Themisto's in which she attempts to kill Ino's children but, by Ino's devising, kills her own instead.

⁴⁹ D in the antistrophe has three lines (760–2) in the manuscript, but 762 is to be deleted (Nauck).

⁵⁰ Unless a line of Lykos' is missing in the strophe (between 739 and 740). This was proposed by Dziatzko in *Rh. Mus.* 21 (1866), 308–10, and has found no favour since; nevertheless there is a good deal to be said for it.

(a) The responsion requires it. Wilamowitz (*Herakles* ii.² 164–5 = 373–4) admitted that it was strange for 754 to be ignored in the responsion, but maintained that behind-the-scenes utterances could be so ignored; he adduced the analogy of *S. El.* 1398–1441, where the strophe contains two behind-the-scenes cries of Klytaimestra not answered in the antistrophe. But the solution in Sophocles is to assume a lacuna in the antistrophe: (i) an on-the-stage line of Elektra's also is unanswered, (ii) other behind-the-scenes lines of Klytaimestra's *are* answered (see Kaibel's commentary, p. 287).

(b) 740–1 (str. B) is an apostrophe of Lykos uttered out of the blue, with no vocative to indicate the addressee. This is odd; it would not be odd if Lykos had just made an utterance. So the corresponding apostrophe of Lykos in the antistrophe (755–6) is called forth by Lykos' own words.

Against an utterance here by Lykos it might be argued: (i) the chorus in c (742–6) give no sign of having heard such an utterance, but continue as in a to exult at Herakles' return; (ii) by D (747–8), where the leader has to draw the chorus' attention to events inside ('let us see whether Lykos is meeting his deserts'), nothing can have given a clue to Lykos' fate; (iii) *τόδε κατάρχεται μέλος κτλ.* (749–51) seems to indicate that *ὠ μοί μοι* (749) is Lykos' first utterance. But all this comes to very little if Lykos' utterance before 740 was 'what's all this' (e.g. *ἄ ποῖ ποτ' ἦλθον; τί τόδ' ὄρω κατὰ στέγας*); which would neither distract the chorus nor give the leader a clue nor begin a *μέλος*.

⁵¹ Lykos also has a behind-the-scenes interjection at 749, between strophe and antistrophe.

different: the lyrics are exultant (in the strophe over Herakles' return, in the antistrophe over Lykos' death), the iambics restrained (B in each case bitterly addressed to the absent Lykos, D exhortations of the chorus). From this difference in content a division between different singers may certainly be assumed; there is additional evidence for the division in the intrusion of Lykos' line between a and B in the antistrophe, and in the probable survival of traces of two paragraphi in the manuscript.⁵²

Orestes 1246–65 ~ 1266–85 (and 1286–1310)

Orestes and Pylades have just gone into the palace to kill Helen. Elektra remains outside on guard, the chorus with her.

The scene comprises, as well as strophe and antistrophe, an astrophic part at the end. In no part of the scene is there a consistent distinction of metre between the characters; but throughout the metre corresponds with the momentary emotions of the characters.

Both strophe and antistrophe consist of a dialogue between Elektra and the chorus (or rather different individual singers from the chorus). Elektra and the chorus are equally on edge; therefore the dialogue is conducted predominantly (on both sides) in dochmiacs. But in both strophe and antistrophe Elektra makes one of her four utterances, and the chorus two of their five utterances, in iambics. Each time the iambics accompany a temporary lessening of the tension.

Strophe. In 1251 Elektra's iambics come as she controls herself to give clear instructions to the chorus. When the purport of her instructions is understood and the chorus divide into two bodies to guard the two approaches, one woman from each body speaks in iambics as they go to their place.

Antistrophe. A member of the chorus raises a false alarm: Elektra's tension breaks, and she falls into iambics (1271–2) to say 'it's all up'. Then, when the alarm is disposed of (in lyrics), one woman from each body assures her (calmly, in iambics) that no one can be seen.

At the end of the antistrophe Elektra listens at the palace door (1281–2), and the chorus-leader calls out to Orestes and Pylades within (1283–5);⁵³ with

⁵² I.e. the notes *Αμφ.* and *Χορ.* at 740 and 742 (str. B and c); these (which are certainly false) are very likely misinterpretations of original paragraphi denoting a change of singer in the chorus.

⁵³ The mss. give all of 1281–5 to Elektra; Wilamowitz gave 1283 to the chorus in order to secure the same division of persons in strophe and antistrophe. I suspect that the chorus-leader is here the singer, having remained in the centre when the two halves of the chorus moved away to the sides: cf. Krieg, *De Euripidis Oreste*, 80 'nec fieri potest ut chorus ad parodos dispositus in aedes vocem mittat'.

that the antistrophe ends. No answer comes. And then Elektra speaks. First she has two iambic lines (despair: 'they give no heed: has her beauty paralysed them?'). Then the delay makes her fearful again, and she breaks out in dochmiacs: 'someone will come'. Then she controls herself and reverts to iambics (1291–2) to instruct the chorus to keep closer watch; the chorus reply in lyrics.

Then a woman's voice (Helen) calls out from within as Orestes and Pylades attack her (iambics, as usual). Then two iambic lines and a short lyric utterance: 1297 (iambic) 'Do you hear? They have begun a murder'; 1298 (iambic) 'Presumably it is Helen who is calling out'; 1299–1300 (lyrics) 'Zeus, Zeus, come to the help of my φίλοι'. The manuscripts make 1297–8 Elektra (except that B originally had *Xop.*), 1299–1300 the chorus (*Hμυχop.* MAB, *Xop.* P, no note in L). This of course is wrong: 1298 can only be a member of the chorus, and 1299–1300 must be Elektra; probably then 1297 is another member of the chorus.⁵⁴ That is, when the cry is heard the two halves of the chorus give the usual stolid comment: Elektra, caught unprepared, pauses for the full meaning to sink in and then breaks out with a wild prayer to Zeus for support. Then (1301) Helen calls out for a second time (iambics again); and Elektra at once breaks out (1302–10; lyrics) in a frenzy of vindictiveness.

Orestes 1353–65 ~ 1537–48

The strophe and antistrophe come nearly 200 lines apart; between them is the long monody of the Phrygian and the trochaic scene between him and Orestes. Each of the two is delivered by the chorus, at a point in the action when they are waiting alone outside the palace: the strophe as they wait for the news of Helen's murder, the antistrophe as they wait (with Helen vanished and Hermione a prisoner) for the next development.

The antistrophe (a || B || c || D || e) is divided between different singers. This is clear enough from the content, and is in part indicated by the manuscripts:⁵⁵ these have *Xop.* at 1537 (*a*), *Hμυχop.* at 1539 (*b*), *Hμυχop.* at 1541 (*c*), and then *Xop.* again after the end, in front of the trochaic tetrameters which begin at 1549. There is a fairly clear distinction of mood between lyrics and iambics: *a* agitation at the crisis; *B* reflection—what shall we do?; *c* agitation again at the first sight of smoke rising from the palace; *D* more considered

⁵⁴ So, in effect, Hermann (1297 *Hμυχ.*, 1298 *Hμυχ.*, 1299–1300 *Hλ.*).

⁵⁵ MABVLP; I give their readings as reported by Murray and Prinz–Wecklein. I have checked MBL by the facsimiles; for these Murray and Prinz–Wecklein are inaccurate at 1541 (*Hμυχop.* B, paragraphus L, nothing at all in M) but otherwise correct. Whether *Hμυχόριον* is a satisfactory note is another matter: I suspect rather individual singers (see above).

explanation of the smoke; *e* lyric comment on the power of the gods and the curse on the house.

The strophe (a B : c : D | e) can have no division between singers.⁵⁶ But even here there is some kind of distinction of mood between the metres: *a* (vehemently) make a noise; *B* (less vehemently, giving the reason), so that the Argives shall not come along; *c* (excited by the thought) before I see Helen's bloody corpse; *D* (the less exciting alternative) or hear the news from a servant—since I am still uncertain about what has happened. Then in *e* the final lyric comment.

(2) *Monody*

Hippolytos 817–33 ~ 836–51

Theseus, as Phaidra's body is revealed.

Strophe: a : B | c : D | e | F | g

Antistrophe: a : B | c | D | e : F | g

There is a pause at every change of metre. But the pauses are of different kinds: after the iambics the pause is every time heavy, after the lyrics the pause is light (four times the sentence continues across it, the other two times there is, despite a new sentence, a close connexion of thought). That is, the strophe and antistrophe each fall into four utterances; of which the first three begin as lyric and end as iambic (the fourth being entirely lyric).

The effect of this pattern is clear enough. Theseus' emotion comes in bursts: each burst begins violently with dochmiacs, and then (with a slight pause) sobers down for a pair of trimeters; then, after a more marked pause, comes another burst. With this the content of the different metres agrees conclusively: the dochmiacs are in each case pure emotion, the iambics more collected and reflective.⁵⁷

The use of this metrical and emotional pattern is entirely appropriate to the dramatic circumstances. Theseus has just suffered one blow in Phaidra's suicide; a second blow is to come in a moment with the revelation of her charge against Hippolytos. Therefore Euripides is at pains to suggest a grief

⁵⁶ Except possibly that whereas aBcD (directly concerned with the facts of the present situation) are one singer, *e* (lyric comment on the nemesis coming to Helen) may be the whole chorus. This may be indicated by the note *Xop.* in all mss. at 1361 (*e*); at 1353 (*a*) they have no note (except that *M* once had *Xop.*, now erased). Similarly at the end of the strophe, after the individual utterances of *a–D*, *e* contains lyric comment that the whole chorus might deliver.

⁵⁷ Cf. the analysis of the scene by Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, 147–51; e.g. (149) 'den Dochmien die explosive-entfesselte Äußerung, den iambischen Trimetern die intellectuellgebändigte Rede zufällt'.

which is violent yet partly under control: violent, so that the second blow shall bring him to breaking-point; under control, so that that breaking-point shall still be left to reach. Similarly from the other side, that of the audience, the tension must be drawn tighter without breaking altogether, and that again is achieved by the alternation of dochmiacs and iambic, of emotion and restraint: once again, *παθητικὸν τὸ ἀνωμαλές*.

<(3) *Parodos*

Herakleidai 75–94 ~ 95–110 (+ lacuna)

Barrett does not appear to have completed his Appendix with the programmed discussion of this scene.>

Review of Turyn on the Manuscripts of Euripides

Alexander TURYN: *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 43.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

This is a book of which I have much to say in praise but more in blame.

I begin with the praise. T. has given us an immensely valuable repository of fact: we have now for the first time a catalogue of every surviving manuscript of Euripides, described with (so far as I can judge) commendable accuracy, and with enough readings cited to give us at least an indication of its character. He has made one discovery of the first importance about the most valuable of all Euripidean manuscripts, L. He has done the spadework for an investigation of the Palaeologean editions of the Byzantine triad, and has arrived at results which will at least provide the starting-point for the fuller treatment which this dreary but inevitable problem should one day be given.

But the purpose of a work on the manuscript tradition of an author is not merely to discover facts but to make use of them: to establish the relationship of the manuscripts, to discover whence they derive their readings, and to determine thereby which of them deserve our respect, which our suspicion, and which our total disregard. In this aspect of his work T. has not succeeded. His views on the relationship of the manuscripts are often not merely wrong but perversely wrong: they are iniquated by a desire to find simplicity in a tradition that is at all stages tangled and confused, to explain in terms of a tidy Lachmannian stemma facts which cry aloud that they are due to

<C. J. Fordyce sent Turyn's book to B. in September 1957 for review in the *Classical Review*, with the request to submit the review by 1 February 1958 and a suggested limit of 1600 words. I cannot say whether B. completed the review on time or ever sent it in. More likely he wrote at some point asking to be allowed much more space and was refused. At any rate the review did not appear. B. summarizes his case against Turyn on p. 429 of his *Hippolytos*.>

contamination. In pursuing these views he makes use of arguments which seem to me not only mistaken but in many cases not arguments at all: facts which are merely compatible with his hypothesis he adduces in proof of it (as if there were validity in the syllogism 'if p, then q; but q; therefore p');¹ facts that can be squared with it with difficulty he squares, without a hint that they point more readily another way; facts that cannot be squared with it he ignores. He sees only one side to a question, and in support of it parades a vast mass of material set forth in a manner (assured, prolix, repetitive, and ill-arranged) which may bludgeon or benumb the unwary reader into acquiescence. Let the reader be wary: in the parts of his work where I have ready access to the material I have no doubt that T. reaches false conclusions by invalid arguments based often on a partisan selection of the facts; in the parts where I have not (namely in his treatment of the later tradition of the triad) I can merely say that I find his method equally unsatisfactory and that I have no confidence that his selection of facts is more reliable than it is elsewhere.

The plays of Euripides may be divided into three groups, each of which presents its own problems to the editor:

(1) the nine 'alphabetic' plays, *Hel.*, *El.*, *Her.*, *Hkld.*, *Su.*, *IA*, *IT*, *Ion*, *Cy.*, preserved only in the two closely related manuscripts L and P;

(2) seven of the ten 'select' plays, *Alk.*, *Andr.*, *Ba.*, *Hipp.*, *Med.*, *Rh.*, *Tr.*, preserved as a rule both in LP and in other unrelated manuscripts;

(3) the other three select plays, *Hek.*, *Or.*, *Ph.*, (the 'triad'), preserved not only as (2) but in large numbers of late manuscripts of which many derive from the recensions of the Palaeogeon scholars Moschopoulos, Thomas, and Triklinios.

I will deal first with T.'s discussion of L and P in plays other than the triad.

He begins with a full account of L. This account is extremely valuable, and includes one discovery of major importance: the corrector *l*, whose alterations have played such havoc with this manuscript, is no other than Demetrios Triklinios (*né* Triklines). The identification is based first on a close resemblance of handwriting, second, on an identity of habit (the same interest in metre, manifesting itself in brief metrical notes, in revision of the colometry, and in textual changes for the sake of responsion); it may be regarded as certain. Not only this, but there is evidence which suggests that the production² of this manuscript was organized by Triklinios: the signatures on the

¹ For instance, p. 236: if L in copying *Ba.* had a complete exemplar but gave up half-way, he would probably stop at the bottom of a page; he does stop at the bottom of a page; therefore he had a complete exemplar.

² T. himself (p. 233) inclines to prefer 'completion'.

gatherings (to indicate the order of binding) are in Triklinios' hand, and the hand of one of the two scribes (responsible also for a metrical manuscript corrected by Triklinios) is identified by T. with that of Nikolaos Triklines, whom he reasonably conjectures to have been a relative of Demetrios.

He next considers at length the relationship of L and P. Vitelli, followed notably by Wecklein and by Maas, had contended that P was a descendant of L; T. attempts to controvert him, and to establish that P is not a descendant of L but its twin. He fails.

The hypothesis of P's descent from L needs to be elaborated thus (following Vitelli): P's exemplar was a copy of L which in the select plays had been corrected and supplemented from an independent manuscript (the most notable of the supplements being *Tr.* and the end of *Ba.*, which are lacking in L). The evidence is as follows. In the alphabetic plays P nowhere preserves the truth where L is in error, and must here be a straightforward copy of L, whether direct or indirect; there is additional evidence (adduced by Wecklein) in the fact that some of P's more bizarre errors can be accounted for as misreadings of ambiguous writing in L.³ In the select plays L and P are still closely related (they share a large number of errors found in no other manuscript), but here P is salted with readings (true and false) which are not in L but are known from other manuscripts; the assumption of an exemplar copied from L and corrected (in these plays only) from another source provides an economical and convincing explanation of all the facts.

In combating this hypothesis T. has first to clear the ground by showing that errors of P need nowhere be explained as due to a misreading of L: he alleges that in most of the instances adduced by Wecklein L's writing is unambiguous, and that the few where it *is* ambiguous can be explained by supposing L's exemplar to have had a script very like that of L. This argument is of course (though essential for him) an entirely preliminary one: if he succeeds he does nothing to show that P is *not* descended from L. In my opinion he does not succeed: I would say that in about half of Wecklein's forty-odd instances L could easily be misread as P, in about a quarter *might*, in the remaining quarter could not;⁴ and though many of the genuine instances are admittedly trivial, I do not believe that coincidence could

³ <A couple of years after B. wrote this, Günther Zuntz made his famous and conclusive discovery that a spot of reddish straw adhering to the surface of L was the source of a non-sensical colon written in P. See Zuntz, *Inquiry*, 14 f.>

⁴ T. does not discuss every instance, but exemplifies by eighteen where, 'contrary to the statements of Wecklein, the writing of L is entirely distinct'. Of six of the eighteen Wecklein is innocent: *IT* 11, 91, 192, 281, 552, 1350 were adduced by him as instances not of L's ambiguity but of P's carelessness in copying abbreviations. Of the other twelve I should myself see ambiguity (whether 'could' or 'might') in eight.

account for one and all (note especially *Su.* 171 δεῦρο.καὶ L, ἐξωροῖκαὶ P: it would be remarkable if two manuscripts had δεῦρο.καὶ looking so very like ἐξωροῖκαὶ).

He then proceeds to positive arguments for P's independence of L. He produces four; none of them is valid.

(a) P (in the alphabetic plays) preserves the truth, or near-truth, where L is in error. T. adduces (from nine plays, with over 12,000 lines) seven instances: in three (I would say four) P is evidently wrong; in the others the truth could easily have been restored by divination, conscious or subconscious.

Her. 149 ὡς κύγαμος σοι Ζεὺς τέκοι νέον L, ὡς κύγαμος σοι Ζεὺς τέκοι νέον γόνον P. This γόνον is not 'the correct authentic conclusion of the line' but the most miserable of stopgaps: Amphitryon boasted that Zeus was (Heath, Murray) his κύγαμος . . . <τέκνου> τε κοινοῶν.⁵

IA 109 κατ' εὐφρόνης L (-ην L²), κατ' εὐφρόνης κκιάν P. There is no reason to think κκιάν other than a stopgap; it is not even a very good one (the *shadow* of night? Rather κνέφας, as *Ph.* 727).⁶

IT 692 λήσειν βίον L, with γ superscript above c; λύσειν βίον P. λήγειν will be right (whether βίον or βίου), and the impossible λύσειν a trivial corruption of λήσειν.

Arg. *IT* Ὁρέστης κατὰ χρησιμὸν ἔλθων εἰς Ταύρους τῆς Κυθίας μετὰ Πυλάδου παραγενόμενος τὸ . . . τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον ὑφέλῃσθαι προηριεῖτο: ἔλθων erased by l; παραγενόμενος L (now), παρακνηθεῖς P. P's 'taking leave of his senses' is impossible in this sentence, and not 'authentic' but corrupt. I see no reason to think it corrupted from something other than L's reading; if that was παραγενόμενος the corruption is certainly strange, though no stranger than the reverse corruption supposed by T.; but if we may trust Prinz L's reading was not παραγενόμενος but παρακνηθεῖς, and the corruption an easy one.⁷

IT 1006 ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐκ δόμων | θανῶν ποθεινός, τὰ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀσθενή: γυναικὸς P, γυναικῶν L. The fourteenth century knew nothing of Porson's law; but it was easy to write γυναικός to balance ἀνὴρ (not, I think, a conscious change:

⁵ This, and not (Wilamowitz) Ζεὺς ἐκοινώνει τέκνου: the stylistic merits of κοινοῶν, here as in the similarly corrupt 340, seem to me to outweigh any doubts about the form (with which cf. *S. Ai.* 572 λυμεῶν). In any case the sense ('joint father') is in no doubt.

⁶ <Cf. *Hippolytos*, p. 429 n. 1.>

⁷ T. does not trust him: where Prinz said 'παραγεν**** L (fort. fuerat παρακνηθεῖς), παραγενόμενος l', T. maintains that the ὄμενος is original. The facsimile shows ὄμενος in a hand which is more like l but might be L; the issue turns on whether there has been an erasure, and this can be determined only from the manuscript itself (the facsimile shows a spacing, and a conceivable vestige of ink, which are compatible with an erasure but do not require it). Prinz made his collation from the manuscript; whether T. made his from manuscript or facsimile I do not know.

rather than a man expecting the singular never noticed that the compendium over γυναικ was ὦν not ὄς).⁸

Hkld. 494 κᾶμοὶ δὲ λέγει L, κᾶμοὶ λέγει P. An obvious correction.

Hel. 741 ἐκπλέξαι LP^{ac}, ἐκκλέψαι P^{tc} (the original scribe *currente calamo*, according to T.). T. supposes a superscript variant ignored by L and noticed by P at the last moment; but the correction is obvious, and P could easily have divined it while writing (or there might, if you will, have been a superscript conjecture in the copy of L which I posit as P's exemplar).

(b) P. commonly agrees with L against *l*, and therefore does not derive from L *after* correction by *l*; it occasionally agrees with *l* against L, and therefore does not derive from L *before* correction by *l*; therefore it does not derive from L at all. —The argument would be valid only if we knew that *l*'s corrections and additions were all made at the same time; we do not know this, and have no reason whatever to think it true. The converse is entirely probable: T. elsewhere makes much of Triklinios' habit of returning to an author after long intermission; and if, as T. surmises, it was Triklinios who organized the production of L, one might actually expect him to carry out a rapid διόρθωσις while the exemplar was still to hand. His first concern would be to repair major omissions: this would account immediately for T.'s *pièce de résistance*, the argument to *Hkld.* (om. L, add. *l*, habet P),⁹ and for titles, subscriptions, and *dramatis personae*; but he might equally well make scattered corrections to the text.

(c) P agrees with L against corrections made by the original hand. —T. makes much play with this argument (pp. 271 f., 282 f., 283, 284, 287). It is based on three instances. One is *Su.* 111: λόγον LP, but in L λόγον is corrected to γόον; T. tells us that Wecklein's 'γόον *l*' is misleading, and that 'the correction γόον was made . . . by the original scribe L'. What T. is identifying so confidently is the single letter γ, written in by the corrector after he had erased the original λ and γ; it is of a shape which I cannot match on this page of L but which I can match in autographs of Triklinios.¹⁰ The other instances are *Alk.* 376 and *Hipp.* 190, which are omitted by LP but added in the margin of L; T. believes them to have been added by the original scribe. Even if he is right¹¹ he proves nothing: a copyist can easily overlook a marginal addition (as T. acknowledges when it suits him to do so: p. 320 lines 7 ff.).

⁸ I do not mean that he *misread* the compendium, but that he never read it at all; one reads words not letters.

⁹ Similarly, in the select plays, the arguments to *Med.* and *Andr.* (added by *l*; P agrees closely).

¹⁰ It is perhaps unfortunate that T. should 'take this opportunity to warn the reader that in his apparatus Wecklein occasionally twisted the notation of the manuscript evidence to make it fit his theory'.

¹¹ In *Hipp.*, at least, I am far from certain that he is. If either line was added by the original hand, it was added at a different time and with a different pen.

(d) P has an argument to *Hel.* which is lacking altogether in L, and must therefore come from another source.—This would be evidence only if the argument were *prima facie* ancient. It is not: it is not of a type with the normal (and certainly ancient) Euripidean arguments; and its first part in particular has a strong Byzantine flavour.

Now the select plays. Here T. maintains that Vitelli's thesis (of contamination in the manuscript intermediate between L and P) is incompatible with the fact that LP so often conspire in error; and that instances where L stands alone in error can be explained, without assuming contamination in P, as mere private errors by L. The first of these arguments is arrant nonsense.¹² The second is idle: of course they can (in theory, at least); but the instances which require us to assume contamination are those where P diverges from L to agree in error with other manuscripts, or to agree with them in truth where L agrees in error with other manuscripts. These instances are very frequent indeed (e.g. *Andr.* 52, 53, 82, 83, 133, 154, 217, 220, 241, 242), and are cardinal to any consideration of the relationship of L and P in the select plays; yet I find in T. no acknowledgement even that they exist. Contamination is not a hypothesis to be debated but a fact to be accepted; the question that T. should consider is not whether it exists, but where. That it has affected P not L depends, I grant, not on the situation in the select plays but on the presumption (on the evidence of the alphabetic plays) that P derives from L; but on any account it has affected either P or L, and Vitelli's thesis that it has affected P is not to be sneered at as an 'accommodating device' (p. 283) but to be acknowledged as a rational application of an unquestioned fact.

In pp. 288–98 T. discusses another relative of LP, which he calls Q (Harleianus 5743; A in Kirchhoff). This manuscript has the end of *Alk.*, *Rh.*, and the beginning of *Tr.* in a text which is evidently closely related to LP; by comparing their treatment of a mutilated passage in *Tr.*, T. establishes that P and Q are descended independently from a common source. T. himself believes this to be identical with his 'common source of LP'; the facts as he cites them are entirely compatible with its being the corrected copy of L from which I assume P to descend. Q is in any case not a sincere descendant of its source, but is heavily contaminated from outside: some instances in T., others in Kirchhoff's apparatus (cf. Lloyd-Jones *Gnomon*, 30 [1958], 507 f.).

¹² It is so extraordinary that I cite it in full: 'The fact that common errors of LP or of L^{ac}P or of L^cP in so many cases appear in P without being removed by P (or by the imaginary intermediate copy) proves that there is no basis at all for the assumption voiced by Vitelli, Wecklein, and Maas, that P (or that intermediate copy) did a systematic comparison with some other manuscripts for the purpose of removing the errors appearing in the text. This idea is, therefore, to be discarded' (pp. 284 f.). What does T. think Vitelli said? Or that a fourteenth-century contaminator could do?

I proceed next to T.'s treatment of the manuscripts of the select plays. On p. 308 he gives a stemma:¹³

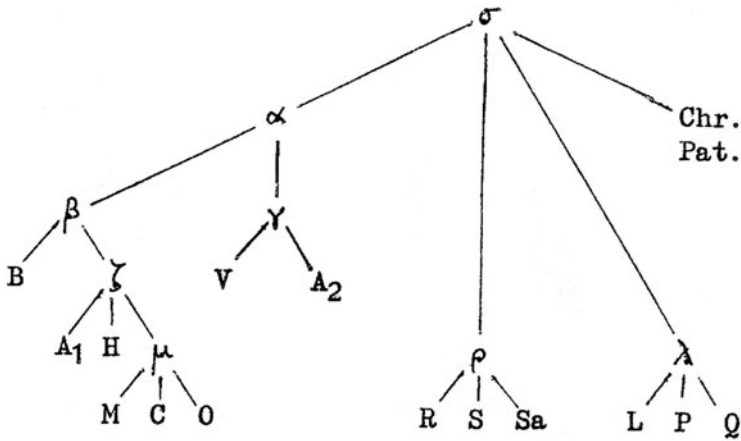


Figure 14

Of these, λ is disregarded in the triad, O in *Alk.*, *Andr.*; ρ and C concern only the triad;¹⁴ A is A₁ in the triad, *Hipp.*, *Med.* 1–231, A₂ in *Med.* 232–1419, *Andr.*

This stemma is worthless. I will convict it first out of T.'s own mouth, then out of mine.

(a) To establish his stemma, T. adduces, for each of his Greek-letter classes, a list of errors characteristic of the manuscripts of that class. I repeat the list for the class he calls ζ (p. 319; I omit references and readings, and give simply the manuscript groupings in each case—first those with the reading T. regards as true, then those with the reading(s) he regards as false; I put members of ζ in heavy type):¹⁵ BAM^{pc}COVRS ~ HM^{ac}; BOVRS ~ A ~ HMC; BOVRS ~ AHMC; BOVRS ~ AMC; BACOVRS ~ HM; Bva ~ ORS ~ AMC; BMVaRS ~ AHCO; BMVaRS ~ A ~ HC ~ O; BAMVaRSa ~ HCOS; BHVaRS ~ AMCO; BAMOVRS ~ HC; BCVRS ~ AMO; BVS ~ HM; BVLP ~ AMO; BVLP ~ AMO; BOVLP ~ AH; BOVLP ~ AH. This is the list which purports to 'prove that the manuscripts A and H and the group μ derive from a common source'.

¹³ <B. gives a slightly reduced version of what Turyn prints. I reproduce B.'s version.>

¹⁴ C = Turin, Bibl. Naz. B.IV.13 (14th cent.); R = Vat. gr. 1134 (AD c. 1300); S = Salamanca, Bibl. Univ. 31 (AD 1326); Sa = Vat. gr. 1345 (14th cent.).

¹⁵ Va = Vatican, Pal. Gr. 98 (14th cent.); apparently a copy of V (though not quite sincere), and cited by T. where leaves are now missing from V.

(b) Since I possess complete collations of *Hipp.* I adduce from that play the behaviour of the eight manuscripts used by T. (BAHMOVLP) in the first 49 lines for which they are all available. There are (to consider only first hands, and to ignore errors found in a single manuscript) twenty places where these manuscripts are at variance; in no single one of them is their grouping consistent with T.'s stemma. True readings first: 321 BMH ~AOVLP; 325 BAMOLP ~ HV; 326 BHMOLP ~ AV; M ~ BAHOVLP; 328 AHOVLP~ MB; 330 AHL ~ M ~ BOVP; 330 BHVLP ~ AM²O (om. M); 333 H ~ O ~ BAMVLP; 339 HVLP ~ BAMO; 345 BMV ~ AHOLP; 349 BHMLP ~ AOV; BAMV ~ HOLP; 351 BAMOVL ~ HP; 359 HMOVLP ~ BAO; 361 BAMOPL ~ HV; 364 (corrupt) BOLP ~ AHMV; 365 BAO ~ HMOVLP; AHMOVLP ~ BO; BAMO ~ LP~ HV; 366–7 BAMOLP ~ HV.

T. is right, of course, in grouping MBOA in one class (his β) and LP in another (his λ); but this had been common ground since Kirchhoff first began to sort the manuscripts out a century ago. The details of the affiliation within the classes are in general no more than a desperate attempt to account stemmatically for a state of affairs which can be due only to contamination. For instance, T. evidently places V (and A₂) in a separate sub-class of α because of the many instances where V agrees with λ against β ; this placing will account for any of the three situations (true reading first) $\beta V \sim \lambda$, $\lambda \sim \beta V$, $\lambda V \sim \beta$, but it will not account for the fourth and equally common situation $\beta \sim \lambda V$ (e.g. *Hipp.* 885, 919, 965, 984, 992). When these four situations are all found, there can be no explanation but contamination: V is a hybrid, deriving its readings sometimes from β and sometimes from a relative of λ . Similarly the divergences which make him treat B as a separate branch of β are due to contamination: his placing will account for $\lambda B \sim \zeta$ but not for the equally common $\zeta \sim \lambda B$ (e.g. *Hipp.* 821, 825, 830, 854, 877, 884). His placing of H is out of the question at least for *Hipp.*, where it is in the main a descendant of the same relative of λ from which V is contaminated; though it does at the same time show a number of striking affinities with M.

Finally the triad. One feature of T.'s stemma here is his production of a new class of a dozen or more 'recentiores', ρ (all fourteenth century or later, typified by RSSa), which is to be 'of the same stemmatic rank' as the 'vetustiores' α . If this were true it would be a fact of the first importance; but I do not believe it for a moment. T. provides us with so few significant facts about these manuscripts that it is impossible to form a clear picture of them; but none of the facts goes against the assumption that they are highly contaminated manuscripts which add little or nothing (other than new error) to our evidence for the text. I find it significant that one of them is the wretched Haun. (Copenhagen 417), which in *Hipp.* is a descendant (direct or collateral) of the hybrid V with extensive further contamination from mostly worthless

sources; none of T.'s evidence suggests that it and its fellows are of greater value in the triad.

But the main feature of T.'s work on the triad is an extensive discussion of the three Palaeogeon recensions of Moschopoulos, Thomas, and Triklinios. These recensions were produced in the years around 1300, and are therefore (in part at least) earlier than all our extant manuscripts save HMB certainly and AV less certainly; since their editors resorted to conjecture, we must needs investigate the recensions not because of their own value (which is slight) but to discover what traces there are of their having affected other manuscripts.

In one respect T.'s work on this dreary problem seems likely to be of great value to scholars working on it hereafter. He begins with a manuscript (Angelicus Graecus 14) which he identifies as Triklinios' own master-copy of his recension: it is heavily corrected in Triklinios' own hand, and has many leaves replaced by a fresh transcript entirely in Triklinios' hand. This manuscript contains scholia of Moschopoulos, Thomas, and Triklinios himself, appropriately distinguished; T. uses these distinctions as evidence for the identification, in other manuscripts, of purely Moschopoulean or Thoman scholia, and by this means identifies the recensions of these scholars. He lists the manuscripts which carry them: about 100 of Moschopoulos, 20 of Thomas, 20 of Triklinios.

But this investigation is only a preliminary to the assessment of the text of the recensions and of their influence on later manuscripts; and here I find T.'s treatment wholly unsatisfactory. His belief is that the only manuscripts which are free from Palaeogeon interpolations are HMBV (the three manuscripts which are, and one which may be,¹⁶ earlier than the recensions); all other manuscripts are interpolated, the other *vetustiores* (ACO) and the *recentiores* lightly, LP so heavily that he discards them altogether in the triad. This is his belief (though he nowhere states it so succinctly), and his whole interminable discussion of the recensions is built about it; yet he produces no shadow of argument in its support.

What he does produce is long lists of 'interpolations' initiated by each of the recensions, some found in the recensions alone and others shared

¹⁶ T. puts V 'c. 1280' and Moschopoulos 'c. 1290', but these dates are little more than guesses; it is chronologically quite possible that V should have been contaminated at any rate from Moschopoulos. On p. 83 T. appears to recognize this possibility, but dismisses it with 'but we did not discover in it [i.e. in V] any Palaeogeon interpolations'. From a few samples I have taken of T.'s representative Moschopoulean manuscripts (XXa) it appears that agreements of V with Moschopoulos are not uncommon: *Hek.* 88 καὶ MALP, ἦ V Mosch.; *Or.* 150 λόγον ἀπόδος MABLP, λόγον δ' ἀπόδος V Mosch.; *Or.* 200 δλόμεθ' ἰονέκνεες δλόμεθα fere MABLP, δλόμεθ' δλόμεθ' ἰονέκνεες fere V Mosch. (ἰονέκνεες XXa, ἰοννέκνεες V, ἰοννέκνεες Xa^s). I do not myself believe that V took these readings from Moschopoulos, but I have no idea why T. is so sure that it did not, nor why he breathes no word of their existence.

with later manuscripts (ACOLP and the *recentiores*); and it appears that he imagines these lists to be evidence for his thesis. But before we can accept them as evidence we must have proof that they are interpolations; what qualifies a reading for inclusion in the lists? T. nowhere sees fit to tell us,¹⁷ but as far as I can see it is the very fact that the reading is not found in any of HMBV.¹⁸ The lists are not evidence for the thesis but merely a reassertion of it.

The whole thesis depends, in fact, on the tacit assumption that a reading found first in a recension was initiated by it; and for this assumption there is of course no justification whatever. If, for instance, a reading found first in Moschopoulos appears also in L, two explanations are possible: either L has taken it from Moschopoulos, or Moschopoulos has taken it from a congener of L. T. never even considers the second alternative, yet on all grounds it is the more likely. In other plays L constantly diverges from other manuscripts as the representative of a separate and sincere branch of the tradition; when it does the same in the triad we may expect it to do so in the same capacity. Nor do such readings differ in kind from readings carried by L (against MBV) in other plays: some are true, others are mere blunders of a kind that appears at all stages in the Euripidean tradition; nothing requires us to assume contamination from the recensions.

More than this: some of the readings cited by T. as interpolations tell strongly against his thesis. *Hek.* 734 ἀργείων LPS Thom., ἀργεῖοι MBR¹, ἀργείων AR² Mosch.: -ον and -ων are not conjectures based on -οι; -ον is genuine and beyond the conjectural capacity of Thomas, -ων is a corruption not of -οι but of -ον. *Ph.* 1597 μητρός ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν MBAVRS Mosch. Trikl., ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν L, ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν ποτέ P, ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν ἔτι Thom.: L has the first stage of the corruption, P and Thomas have made different attempts to fill out the line. *Vita Euripidis* in A and Moschopoulos (= the *Souda* article on Euripides, with a slightly different text): ὑποστάντα κινδύνους δι' ἄπερ κτλ. *Souda*, ὑποστάντα (c. 9 letters blank) δι' ἄπερ κτλ. A, ὑποστάντα δι' ἄπερ κτλ. all

¹⁷ He only tells us what *disqualifies* it (p. 106): its appearance in one or more *vetustiores* (he gives this the lie at once by including readings found in the *vetustiores* A and O); its appearance in one or more *recentiores*, unless the *recentiores* seem to have derived from the recensions (I forbear to comment).

¹⁸ It may also be necessary for it not to be found in *both* of RS (the only *recentiores* which T. consistently cites in these lists): at least he cites only two 'interpolations' in which both RS agree with a recension (*Hek.* 1119, a stupid blunder; *Ph.* 636, the truth), and each time prefers to think it not an interpolation at all but a reading acquired by Moschopoulos from an earlier *recentior*. Whether there are other instances where RS agree with a recension against (H)MBV, T. does not say, and I have no means of telling (do they perhaps do so at e.g. *Hek.* 691 ἀδάκρυτον ἀστένακτον LP Mosch., *Ph.* 646 γὰς fere A Mosch.? These are readings which one might have expected T. to cite as interpolations; are they exculpated by RS? Or has T. merely overlooked them?).

Moschopoulean manuscripts: A has the first and pre-Moschopoulean stage of the corruption.¹⁹ Other readings not cited by T. are equally telling: *Hek.* 352 γάμων ALP, γάμου O Mosch., βίου MV; γάμων is genuine and not the corruption of a Moschopoulean conjecture.

I do not of course deny that some of T.'s 'interpolations' are conjectural restorations: Triklinios' conjectures in particular are common and unmistakable. But a great many of the Moschopoulean and (especially) the Thoman readings are no different from the ordinary errors and blunders that infest Greek manuscripts of any period, and I see no reason to father them on the editor rather than on his manuscript sources; by the same token, when Moschopoulos (more rarely Thomas) has the truth against (H)MBV I shall not assume without more ado that he has it by divination and not by inheritance.²⁰ If I find a reading in Moschopoulos alone I shall regard it with suspicion but not with contempt; if I find it in Moschopoulos and a later manuscript (or manuscripts) I shall ask myself, before suspecting it, whether that manuscript is one that normally carries genuine readings.²¹

For a true assessment of the nature of the recensions we need full collations, not merely the one-sided selection of readings presented by T. In the first place we need to inquire into the question (which T. never considers) of the affiliation of their manuscript sources. Soundings I have made suggest that Moschopoulos' basic text was thoroughly mixed, agreeing now with one manuscript and now with another: T. has given agreements with L, A, and O; I have cited (n. 16) some agreements with V, and I note also e.g. *Hek.* 720 ὠικτικας ABVLP, ὠικτίσω fere M Mosch., *Ph.* 1038 ἐπετ(τ)ότυζε MAVLP, ἐπωτ(τ)ότυζε B Mosch. It would be remarkable if such a text carried no early readings that are not preserved in (H)MBV; it would be equally remarkable if

¹⁹ No word in T. of this explanation: to him it is 'obvious' (p. 103) that the omission was an error of Moschopoulos' own, and the situation in A 'shows' (p. 104) that A, transcribing the Moschopoulean ὑποστάντα δι' ἄπερ κτλ., felt the lack of an object for ὑποστάντα and so left a gap for it to be filled in later.

²⁰ T. does occasionally give reasons for thinking a given reading to be conjectural, but the reasons are often unconvincing. At *Or.* 439 Moschopoulos' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν is a 'metrical correction' of εἰπεῖν ἔχεις; this is the same Moschopoulos whom at *Ph.* 560 T. supposes to have corrupted the metrical πόλιν κῶσαι to κῶσαι πόλιν. At *Or.* 415 Thomas's omission of μέν is a deliberate change to reduce the line from thirteen syllables to the Byzantine twelve; yet of the next five Thoman 'interpolations' listed, three expand a line from twelve syllables to thirteen and one contracts a line from twelve to eleven.

²¹ I would not exclude the possibility that even in Triklinios there may be an occasional vestige of otherwise unattested truth. At *Or.* 823 he has ποικίλη, otherwise recorded only as a variant in MC. At *Hek.* 453 (φασιν Ἀπιδανὸν πεδία λιπαίνειν MAVLP, φασιν Ἀπιδανὸν τὰς γυίας λιπαίνειν Trikl.) I incline to believe that τὰς γυίας is a pseudo-metrical rewriting not of πεδία but of an otherwise unattested γύας (far superior to πεδία both as metre and as language; and if Triklinios had started from πεδία I should have expected δὴ πέδον or the like). <γύας was read by Hermann and Prinz-Wecklein.>

a good many of these readings were not preserved independently in one or more of AOLP. For Thomas and Triklinios I have made no soundings, and will not speculate.²² In the second place, if we are to determine whether later manuscripts have been influenced by the recensions, we need again complete collations: constant coincidence will give a presumption of dependence, but sporadic coincidences must be weighed, not counted, in an attempt to determine whether they suggest dependence or merely community of source.

I have not liked to speak thus harshly of another scholar's work; and indeed I must stress once more that with all its faults the book contains much that merits praise. But T.'s own language in speaking of those with whom he disagrees, and disagrees wrongly, is not such as to encourage a reviewer to mince his words. And above all I fear that this book may, if its failings are not exposed, prove a serious handicap to Euripidean scholarship. The investigation of manuscript affiliations is a wearisome business for which there are few who have either the leisure or the stomach; when a scholar who has investigated them for years sets out his results at length and with every appearance of complete assurance, the world at large will believe him right. If they find details of his argument obscure or unconvincing, they will blame this rather on the complexity of the subject-matter than on any weakness in the argument itself; and their belief will remain unshaken. It is to shake it that I have written this review.

²² Save to say (what T. himself observes, but interprets differently) that Thomas shows frequent agreements with one or both of LP.

A Note on the Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides

The purpose of this note is to establish the original order of the plays contained in the Jerusalem palimpsest. This is perhaps a trivial question, but it is one which admits of a quite certain answer; I have been moved to deal with it here by the fact that a different answer is at present current (J. A. Spranger, CQ 32 [1938], 198; cf. A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, 87; A. Lesky, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, 154) and has been used as evidence in considering the relationship of the palimpsest to the other manuscripts.

This manuscript of Euripides, written in the tenth or eleventh century, was broken up within about two hundred years of its being written, and its parchment reused (after the erasure of the Euripidean text) for the writing of other manuscripts. Thirty-four leaves from it are preserved (mixed in at random with palimpsest leaves from other sources) in a twelfth- or thirteenth- century manuscript of a commentary on the prophets, manuscript 36 in the Greek Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem.

Since the Euripides manuscript was of much smaller format than the new manuscript, a whole sheet (two leaves) of the Euripides manuscript was in each case flattened out and used (after the necessary trimming) to make a single leaf of the new manuscript. Each leaf contains an average of 50 lines of text (25 lines on each side). The text on the two leaves comprising a sheet is sometimes consecutive, sometimes separated by an interval of 100 or 200 lines: it is evident therefore that the sheets were originally made up in gatherings of at least three sheets, the inner sheet having its text consecutive, the middle sheet having its leaves separated by the inner sheet (100 lines), and the outer sheet having its leaves separated by the inner and middle sheets

<Written after Turyn's book on the manuscript tradition (1957), but before B.'s *Hippolytos* (1964), where its results are briefly stated on p. 68 n. 3. S. G. Daitz, *The Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides: a facsimile edition* (Berlin 1970), 3, knows of B.'s engagement with the problem only from that footnote.>

(200 lines). If one then attempts to reconstruct the gatherings of a play in sequence, it becomes apparent that they all comprised not three sheets but four (i.e. were quaternions); that no outermost sheet survives is evidently the result of damage to the outside of the fold in binding, which will have made these sheets unsuitable for flattening out.

The manuscript therefore was originally made up of quaternions (gatherings of 4 sheets = 8 leaves = 16 pages) which each contained 400 lines of text (50 to a leaf, 25 to a page); and we can, with only a small margin of error (due to our uncertainty about the lineation, especially in the lyric passages), deduce from the surviving sheets the pagination of the whole of every play of which these sheets preserve a part. From this it is easy to proceed to the sequence in which these plays stood in the manuscript: at whatever point in a quaternion a given play ends, the next play must be one that begins at the same point in a quaternion; or rather, since the play will have been preceded by a hypothesis, the text of the play must begin at a point slightly later in the quaternion (by about one to two pages, 25–50 lines).

It will soon be found that only one sequence satisfies these conditions. I give that sequence below in tabular form. Each horizontal row gives the content of a quaternion; the eight figures in each row are the eight leaves of the quaternion (surviving leaves in **heavy type**), the figure being in each case the line-number of the last line of the play contained on the leaf in question. The brackets drawn at the top of the table serve to link the two leaves comprised in the same sheet. The content of a quaternion divided between two plays is given on three lines (bracketed in the right-hand margin): the first line gives the end of the first play, the second line gives the number of lines available on each leaf for the hypothesis of the second play, the third line gives the beginning of the second play.

All these figures (except those in heavy type, and those immediately preceding them) are subject to a slight margin of error: in the first place the manuscript admits slight variations from its norm of 25 lines to a page, in the second place its lineation will have differed slightly from that of the texts on which our modern line-numbering is based. But the error is unlikely, over a number of consecutive leaves, to average more than one line a leaf: over the longest sections that can be checked the average content of a leaf never falls below 49 or exceeds 51 (for *Ph.* 807–1700, 18 leaves, it is 49.7; *Or.* 105–1556, 29 leaves, 50.1; *Andr.* 80–1091, 20 leaves, 50.6; *Hipp.* 320–1336, 20 leaves, 50.85; *Med.* 51–1376, 27 leaves, 49.1). In estimating the content of leaves preceding the first surviving leaf of a play, or following the last, I have therefore assumed a content of 50 lines by our numbering; except that at the beginning of *Hek.* I have assumed an average content of 51 (in order that the first quaternion may begin with line 1, not line 19) and that in *Ph.* I have

<i>Hek.</i> (text)	50	103	153	204	254	304	354	404	1
	455	506	556	606	662	715	768	818	2
	868	920	971	1022	1073	1124	1173	1223	3
	1273	1295							} 4
<i>Ph.</i> (hyp.)		28	22						
(text)			28	78	128	178	228	278	} 5
	328	378	428	478	528	578	615	656	
	706	756	806	853	899	950	1000	1050	6
	1100	1150	1200	1250	1300	1350	1400	1450	7
<i>Or.</i> (hyp.)	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750	1766		} 8
(text)							30		
							4	54	} 9
	104	154	213	263	313	362	412	463	
	514	564	614	666	717	766	795	846	10
	896	946	997	1048	1099	1151	1200	1250	11
	1302	1355	1407	1464	1508	1556	1606	1656	12
	1693								} 13
<i>Andr.</i> (hyp.)	13	21							
(text)		29	79	122	169	220	270	321	} 14
	371	422	472	523	573	624	674	725	
	776	830	886	936	986	1041	1091	1141	15
	1191	1241	1288						} 16
<i>Hipp.</i> (hyp.)			3	31					
(text)				19	69	119	169	219	} 17
	269	319	368	418	468	518	569	620	
	672	723	775	826	878	929	981	1032	18
	1084	1135	1186	1237	1289	1336	1386	1436	19
	1466								} 20
<i>Med.</i> (hyp.)	20								
(text)		50	100	151	203	255	304	353	} 21
	401	450	499	547	596	645	693	742	
	791	839	888	937	985	1034	1083	1131	22
	1180	1229	1277	1327	1376	1419			23

assumed that the 22 divided tetrameters 603–24 were written each on two lines (as those of *Or.* 774–98 must certainly have been, to make 130 lines occupy three leaves).

The space available for hypotheses, according to this reconstruction is as follows. The first line gives the number of lines available if the copyist began immediately after the end of the preceding play, the second line gives the number available if he began at the head of the next new page (he may well have fluctuated between the two practices); the 'plus-or-minus' figures in brackets indicate the likely margin of error, on the assumption that the aver-

age content of lost leaves in the neighbourhood may have been up to one line higher or lower than the 50 I have assumed.

	<i>Hek.</i>	<i>Ph.</i>	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Med.</i>
Following immediately	0	50(±20)	30(±4)	34(±5)	34(±11)	20(±4)
—on next page	0	47(±17)	21(±2)	21(±2)	31(±6)	0

I compare these figures with the number of lines occupied by the hypotheses in the four manuscripts MABV (using the lineation not of the manuscripts but of Murray's text, and allowing two lines in each case for the *dramatis personae*):

	<i>Hek.</i>	<i>Ph.</i>	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Med.</i>
M	0	48	44	19	30	—
A	18	48	44	26	30	38
B	—	55	29	19	30	29
V	0	55	44	26	30	23

It remains possible, of course, that the manuscript contained other plays than the six from which leaves have been preserved, and that one or more of these other plays may have been located between the surviving six. The four plays which come into question, with their lengths, are as follows: *Alk.*, 2 quaternions + 363 lines; *Tr.*, 3 qu. + 132; *Rh.*, 2 qu. + 196; *Ba.*, 3 qu. + c. 250.

It is evident that *Alk.*, occupying with its hypothesis nearly an exact three quaternions, could be fitted at any point into the sequence I have proposed; since its position in most existing manuscripts (OBVDL) is immediately in front of *Andr.*, that is the place which I should expect to find it here also. But since we have leaves preserved of all but two of the quaternions containing *Or.* and *Andr.* (and of these quaternions at least two leaves), the odds are perhaps against the disappearance without trace of three consecutive quaternions from the series.

Since *Alk.* might occupy slightly less than three quaternions, the possibility of the sequence *Or.—Med.* (unlikely as it stands because of the scanty space available for the hypothesis of *Med.*) would be increased by its conversion into a sequence *Or.—Alk.—Med.* (which would leave 50 lines available for the two hypotheses of *Alk.* and *Med.*). But in this case there would be a gap between *Med.* and *Andr.* of *x* quaternions + 178 lines, which would need to be filled, rather loosely, by *Tr.* (no other combination of *Tr.*, *Rh.*, and *Ba.* would suit). This gives a sequence *Hek.—Ph.—Or.—Alk.—Med.—Tr.—Andr.—Hipp.*, which is on all counts scarcely a likely one.

Finally, *Tr.* and *Rh.* together occupy very nearly six quaternions; this suggests the possibility that these two together might be inserted at any point into the sequence I have proposed. It is, I suppose, a possibility; but again I think it very unlikely.

I should judge therefore that the original sequence was most probably *Hek. Ph. Or. Andr. Hipp. Med.*, with the possibility that *Alk.* occurred at some point in the sequence. It remains of course possible that there were other plays after *Med.*

The Epitome of Euripides' *Phoinissai*: Ancient and Medieval Versions

I. THE THREE VERSIONS

We now know that the epitomes prefixed to the plays of Euripides in the medieval manuscripts were written not for this purpose but as part of a complete collection of Euripidean epitomes, arranged alphabetically by initial, and intended presumably to make the subject-matter of the plays available to persons unable or unwilling to read the plays themselves. The first direct proof of the existence of this collection came with the publication in 1933 of a fragment containing *Rhesos*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Skyrioi* (Gallavotti, *Riv. Fil.* 61 [1933], 177 ff.; now PSI 1286); we now have parts of it in three other papyri as well (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 44, with *Hippolytos*; *P. Oxy.* 2455, with over twenty plays, including *Medea*, *Orestes*, *Troades*, *Phoinissai*; *P. Oxy.* 2457, with *Alkestis* and *Aiolos*), and may reasonably suppose that *P. Oxy.* 420 (*Elektra*; published in 1903) is also from the same work.

The medieval texts of the epitomes are substantially identical with the ancient (save in *Medea*, where the medieval version follows an abnormal pattern), but show a good many minor discrepancies of wording: that of *Alkestis* has been much condensed, but in *Rhesos*, *Hippolytos*, *Orestes*, *Troades*, and *Phoinissai* the differences, though numerous, are relatively trivial.

My concern in this paper is with the epitome of *Phoinissai*. The part of this published in *P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 17, amounts to fifteen lines of the papyrus text, covering the last two-fifths of the epitome; it contains nineteen discrepancies from the medieval vulgate. Since I was interested at the time in the later medieval tradition of Euripides, it occurred to me to compare the two versions with that in the Moschopoulean manuscripts of Euripides; and I discovered that in eight of the nineteen discrepancies Moschopoulos sided with the papyrus against the medieval vulgate. At this point Dr. J. W. B. Barns

communicated to me a transcript of fragments of the first half of the epitome from *P. Oxy.* 2544, and it was evident that the situation here was the same; I then succeeded in identifying two further fragments of *P. Oxy.* 2455, belonging to the gap between *P. Oxy.* 2544 and the main fragment of *P. Oxy.* 2455, and here again the situation was the same. We now have, therefore, papyrus fragments of the epitome ranging over the whole of the ancient text; and it is evident that the Moschopoulean version is far closer to that text than is the version found in the principal medieval manuscripts. One consequence of this is that we are now able to reconstruct the original text of the epitome with tolerable certainty. But a more important consequence is the proof that Moschopoulos made use of sources independent of (and, it will appear, superior to) those of our earlier medieval manuscripts.

I shall first transcribe, in parallel columns, the three versions of the epitome; I shall then discuss the problems raised by their comparison.

II. THE TEXT OF THE THREE VERSIONS

[58/9] My symbols for the three versions, and my sources for them, are as follows (line-numbers are those of my parallel texts): /

- Ⲣ: the papyrus version. Lines 1–36 are in *P. Oxy.* 2544 (published by Mr. R. A. Coles and Dr. Barns, pp. 52–55 above); lines 32–77 are in *P. Oxy.* 2455 (50–77 edited by E.G. Turner in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xxvii, pp. 46 f.; 32–64 edited or re-edited by me in section VI below, with the aid of three fragments printed by Turner as unassigned).
- Ⲓ: the Moschopoulean version. I give this from my own collations of two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Auct. F. 3. 25 and Barocci 120; these are the manuscripts used by Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, as his principal representatives of the Moschopoulean recension, and called by him X and Xa.¹
- Ⲛ: the medieval vulgate, as it appears in the four manuscripts MBAV (in L and P, the other two manuscripts currently used by editors of Euripides, the epitome is lacking). There are full collations of these in Prinz–Wecklein; Murray does not record all variants.

Where the manuscripts of any one version are not agreed, I indicate this in my transcript by brackets (enclosing words or letters not present in all of

¹ The version is already in print (from a Wolfenbüttel manuscript, Gudian. Gr. 15) in the apparatus to Dindorf's edition of the scholia.

them) or by asterisks, and give an account of the variants (save for those involving paragogic *ν*) at the end of the transcripts; I ignore altogether one or two minor errors of single manuscripts.

	Ⲫ	Ⲙ	Ⲛ
	[E]τεοκλῆς π[αραλαβ]ῶν τὴν ἐν Θῆ[βαις βασιλείαν] [τ]ὸν ἀδελφ[ὸν Πολυ]νεΐκην ἀπ[εστέρησε τοῦ δικ]αίου.	Ἐτεοκλῆς παραλαβῶν τὴν (τῶν) Θηβῶν βασιλείαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πολυνείκην ἀποστέρει τοῦ μέρους.	Ἐτεοκλῆς παραλαβῶν τὴν (τῶν) Θηβῶν βασιλείαν ἀποστέρει τοῦ μέρους τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πολυνείκην.
5	φυγὰ[ς δ' εἰς Ἄρ]γος παραγεν[νόμενος ἐκείνο]ς ἔγημεν [θυγατέ]ρα τ[οῦ] βασι[λέως Ἀδράστ]ου. κ[α]τ[ε]λ[θ]εῖν δ' εἰς τὴν]	φυγὰς δὲ ἐκείνος εἰς Ἄργος παρεγένετο καὶ ἔγημε θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀδράστου. κατῆλθε δὲ εἰς τὴν	φυγὰς δὲ *εἰς Ἄργος ἐκείνος* παραγενόμενος ἔγημε(ν) (τὴν) θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀδράστου, κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν
10	[πατρίδα φιλοτιμούμ]ενο[ς] κ[αὶ τὸν πενθερὸν πείσας] [στρατ.....]οιδῶν κυ[νῆθροισεν ἐπὶ Θή]βας.]	πατρίδα φιλοτιμούμενος τὸν πενθερὸν πείσας στρατείαν ἀξιόχρεων κυναθροῖσαι ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας.	πατρίδα φιλοτιμούμενος, καὶ πείσας τὸν πενθερὸν συνῆθροισεν *ἀξιόχρεων στρατῶν ἐπὶ Θήβας κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*.
15	[ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐ]τῶν ἔπεισε[ν αὐτὸν ὑπόσπονδον] [εἰς τὴν πόλιν] παραγενέσθαι[ι,]	ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπόσπονδον παραγενέσθαι.	ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπόσπονδον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι πρότερον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς.
20	[δεινοπροσωπήσαντος δέ] [ὑπέρ τ]ῆς τυραννίδ[ος] [Ἐτεοκλέους] 25 [οὐκ ἠδύνατο] [τὰ τέ]κνα συναγαγ[εῖν] [εἰς φιλίαν·] [Πολυνείκης δέ]	δεινοπροσωπήσαντος δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος Ἐτεοκλέους ἡ μὲν Ἰοκάστη τὰ τέκνα συναγαγεῖν εἰς φιλίαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, Πολυνείκης δὲ	δεινοπροσωπήσαντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος (τοῦ) Ἐτεοκλέους ἡ μὲν Ἰοκάστη συναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα εἰς φιλίαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο*, Πολυνείκης δὲ ὡς πρὸς πολέμιον λοιπὸν*
30	[πα]ραταξόμενος[ς] [ἐχωρίσθη·] [Τειρεσί]ς[α] δ[έ] ἔχρησεν] * [νικήσειν] τοὺς ἐκ τῆς [πό]λεως*	ὑποταξάμενος ἐχωρίσθη. Τειρεσίας δὲ ἔχρησε νικήσειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως	παραταξάμενος ἀνεχώρησε(ν) τῆς πόλεως. ἔχρησε δὲ ὁ Τειρεσίας νίκην θέσθαι τοῖς Θηβαιοῖς
35	[ἐὰν ὁ Κρέοντος .. .]ς Μεν[οικεὺς σφάγιον] [Ἄρει .. .]ς [ὁ] μ[ὲν οὖν]	ἐὰν ὁ Κρέοντος υἱὸς Μενοικεὺς σφάγιον Ἄρει γένηται*. ὁ μὲν οὖν	ἐὰν ὁ παῖς Κρέοντος Μενοικεὺς σφάγιον Ἄρει γένηται. / ὁ μὲν οὖν Κρέων ἠρνήσατο ἐπιδοῦναι τῇ πόλει τὸν παῖδα· ὁ δὲ
40	[νε]ανίσκ[ος ἐβούλετο καὶ]	νεανίσκος ἐβούλετο καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς φυγῆν μετὰ χρημάτων διδόντος	νεανίσκος ἐβούλετο καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐταῖι φυγῆν μετὰ χρημάτων διδόντος

45	[<i>ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε</i>][<i>ν</i>] [<i>Θηβαῖοι δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας</i>] τῶν Ἀργείων] [<i>Ἔτεοκλῆς δὲ καὶ Πολυ-</i>]	<i>ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε</i> <i>Θηβαῖοι δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας</i> τῶν Ἀργείων ἔσφαξαν <i>Ἔτεοκλῆς δὲ καὶ Πολυ-</i> <i>νεΐκης μονομαχῆσαντες</i> <i>ἀλλήλους ἀνείλον.</i> <i>ἡ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ αὐτῶν</i>	<i>ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε(ν)</i> <i>καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔπραξε(ν).</i> <i>Θηβαῖοι δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας</i> τῶν Ἀργείων ἔσφαξαν <i>Ἔτεοκλέους δὲ καὶ Πολυ-</i> <i>νεΐκους μονομαχῆσαντος*</i> <i>ἀνείλον ἀλλήλους.</i> <i>ἡ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ αὐτῶν</i>
50	[<i>νεΐκης μονομαχῆσαντες</i>] <i>ἄ[λλήλους ἀνείλον.]</i> [<i>ἡ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ</i>] αὐτ[ῶν] <i>Ἰοκ[άστη]</i> [<i>νεκροὺς εὐρούσα</i>]	<i>νεκροὺς εὐρούσα</i> τοὺς υἱοὺς <i>ἑαυτὴν κατέσφαξεν,</i> <i>ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς</i> <i>Κρέων παρέλαβε</i> <i>τὴν δυναστείαν</i> <i>οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι</i> <i>τῆι μάχῃ[ι τ]ρ[ε]φθέντες</i> <i>ἀπε[χῶρ]η[σαν].</i> <i>Κ[ρ]έων δὲ</i> <i>παρρησιαστικώτερον</i> <i>τῆι τύ[χῃ]ι χρώμενος</i>	<i>εὐρούσα νεκροὺς</i> τοὺς υἱοὺς <i>ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτήν,</i> <i>ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς</i> <i>Κρέων παρέλαβε</i> <i>τὴν βασιλείαν</i> <i>οἱ δὲ* Ἀργεῖοι</i> <i>νικηθέντες τῆς μάχης</i> <i>ἀνεχώρησαν. Κρέων δὲ</i> <i>δυσχερῶς φέρων</i>
55	[<i>τοὺς</i>] παῖδας <i>ἑαυτ[ὴν προ]σε[π]έσφαξε</i> , <i>ὁ [δὲ] ταύτης ἀδελφὸς</i> <i>Κρέων παρέλαβεν</i> <i>τὴν βασιλείαν</i>	<i>τοὺς υἱοὺς</i> <i>ἑαυτὴν κατέσφαξεν,</i> <i>ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς</i> <i>Κρέων παρέλαβε</i> <i>τὴν δυναστείαν</i> <i>οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι</i> <i>τῆι μάχῃ[ι τ]ρ[ε]φθέντες</i> <i>ἀνεχώρησαν. Κρέων δὲ</i> <i>δυσχερῶς φέρων</i>	<i>εὐρούσα νεκροὺς</i> τοὺς υἱοὺς <i>ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτήν,</i> <i>ὁ δὲ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς</i> <i>Κρέων παρέλαβε</i> <i>τὴν βασιλείαν</i> <i>οἱ δὲ* Ἀργεῖοι</i> <i>νικηθέντες τῆς μάχης</i> <i>ἀνεχώρησαν. Κρέων δὲ</i> <i>δυσχερῶς φέρων</i>
60	[<i>οἱ</i>] δὲ Ἀ<ρ>γεῖοι <i>τῆι μάχῃ[ι τ]ρ[ε]φθέντες</i> <i>ἀπε[χῶρ]η[σαν].</i> <i>Κ[ρ]έων δὲ</i> <i>παρρησιαστικώτερον</i> <i>τῆι τύ[χῃ]ι χρώμενος</i>	<i>τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆι Καδμείαι</i> τῶν πολεμίων πεσόντας <i>εἰς ταφήν οὐκ ἔδωκε,</i> <i>Πολυνείκην δὲ</i> <i>ἀκήδεστον ἔρριψεν,</i> <i>Οἰδίποδα δὲ φυγάδα</i> <i>τῆς πόλεως ἀπέπεμψατο,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν οὐ φυλάξας</i> <i>ἀνθρώπων νόμους,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ὄργην</i>	<i>τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆι Καδμείαι</i> τῶν πολεμίων πεσόντας <i>οὐκ ἔδωκεν εἰς ταφήν,</i> <i>Πολυνείκην δὲ</i> <i>ἀκήδεστον ἔρριψεν,</i> <i>Οἰδίπου δὲ φυγάδα</i> <i>τῆς πατρώας* ἀπέπεμψεν,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν φυλάξας</i> <i>τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νόμον,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ὄργην</i>
65	τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆν <i>Καδμείαν</i> τῶν πολεμίων περ[ὶ] τ[ῆ]ς <i>εἰς τ[α]φήν οὐκ [ἔ]δωκεν,</i> <i>Πολυνείκην δ'</i> <i>ἀκήδεστον ἔρειψεν,</i>	<i>τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆι Καδμείαι</i> τῶν πολεμίων πεσόντας <i>εἰς ταφήν οὐκ ἔδωκε,</i> <i>Πολυνείκην δὲ</i> <i>ἀκήδεστον ἔρριψεν,</i> <i>Οἰδίποδα δὲ φυγάδα</i> <i>τῆς πόλεως ἀπέπεμψατο,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν οὐ φυλάξας</i> <i>ἀνθρώπων νόμους,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ὄργην</i>	<i>τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆι Καδμείαι</i> τῶν πολεμίων πεσόντας <i>οὐκ ἔδωκεν εἰς ταφήν,</i> <i>Πολυνείκην δὲ</i> <i>ἀκήδεστον ἔρριψεν,</i> <i>Οἰδίπου δὲ φυγάδα</i> <i>τῆς πατρώας* ἀπέπεμψεν,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν φυλάξας</i> <i>τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νόμον,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ὄργην</i>
70	<i>Οἰδίποδ[α] δὲ φυγάδα</i> <i>τῆς πόλεως ἀπέστειλε</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν οὐ φυλάξας</i> [τὸ]ν ἀνθρώπων νό[μ]ον, [ἐφ' ᾧ] δὲ τὴν ὄργη]ν	<i>τῆς πόλεως ἀπέπεμψατο,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν οὐ φυλάξας</i> <i>ἀνθρώπων νόμους,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ὄργην</i>	<i>τῆς πατρώας* ἀπέπεμψεν,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ μὲν φυλάξας</i> <i>τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νόμον,</i> <i>ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ὄργην</i>
75	οὐ λοιπογραφῆσας [οὐδὲ τοὺς] παρα[]ν [<i>δυστυ</i>]χεῖς ἐλεῆσ[α]ς.	<i>λογοποιήσας</i> <i>οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν</i> <i>δυστυχίαν ἐλεήσας.</i>	<i>λογοποιήσας</i> <i>οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν</i> <i>δυστυχίαν ἐλεήσας.</i>

⌘ 33–34 νικησειν] το[υ]ς εκ | της πο]λεως 2455: το]υς εκ της [πολεως νικησειν 2544

⌘ 2 τῶν X 37 γενήσεται Xa

⌘ 2 τῶν B 5–6 ἐκείνος εἰς ἄργος B 7τὴν MA 12–14 ἀξιόλογον

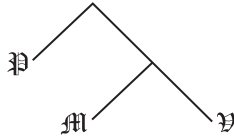
στρατεῖαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ εἰς θήβας ἐλήλυθε B 24 τοῦ MB 27 ἐδύνατο

A; ἴσχυσε V 29 λοιπὸν MB: ἐχθρὸν AV 50 μονομαχῆάντων A 60 οἷ τε B

71 τῆς πατρίδος A

III. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE THREE VERSIONS

I propose to establish the following stemma:



In establishing it, I shall constantly have to assume that one of two variants is right and the other wrong; my justification of these assumptions will be found in section IV below. [60/1]

That $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{V}$ share a common source which is not a source of \mathcal{P} is shown by their frequent coincidence in error where \mathcal{P} has the truth. The most notable instances are 63–64 (*δυσχερῶς φέρων* for *παρρησιαστικώτερον τῆι τύχηι χρώμενος*) and 75 (*λογοποιήσας* for *οὐ λοιπογραφήσας*). I add 3–4 (*ἀποστερεῖ*), 25–27, 30, 48, 71, 76–77; less certain are 2, 3–4 (*μέρους*), 37, 55. That the common source of $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{V}$ was not \mathcal{P} itself or a descendant of \mathcal{P} will hardly need demonstration;² though demonstration is at hand in occasional errors of \mathcal{P} where $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{V}$ have the truth (notably 43–44; cf. 53, 65).

It follows that unless there is contamination \mathcal{M} or \mathcal{V} can never inherit the truth alone against the consensus of $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{V}$ or $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{M}$. If we do in such a situation find the truth in \mathcal{M} or \mathcal{V} alone, then unless we can assume conjecture we must acknowledge contamination; if we do not find it, we may provisionally accept the stemma as a complete statement of the relationship.

\mathcal{M} against $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{V}$ is clearly wrong at 6, 9–13, 13, 23, 30, and 69, and presumably wrong at 45 and 73. Only at 59 might one think of preferring \mathcal{M} 's *δυναστείαν*, as *lectio difficilior*, to $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{V}$'s *βασιλείαν*; but *βασιλείαν* is faultless, and the case against it uncertain.

\mathcal{V} is at variance with $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{M}$ in twenty-five places; they fall into four clearly defined categories.

(a) In seven places where $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{M}$ have the verb after its object, or other complement, or subject, \mathcal{V} has it before it: 3–4, 12–13, 26, 32, 56, 61, 67. I have no doubt that \mathcal{V} 's order is a late modification: it is in general inferior to the other (notably at 3–4), and at 61 it produces a hiatus *μάχηι ἀνεχώρησαν* (or would produce it, if \mathcal{V} had not further corrupted *τῆι μάχηι* to *τῆς μάχης*).³

² Since \mathcal{P} is represented not by one manuscript but by two, only one of them could be an ancestor of $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{V}$ (unless one were an apograph of the other). But it would in any case be fantastic to suppose that a single Egyptian manuscript should have become, before it was consigned to a provincial rubbish-tip, the ancestor of the whole medieval tradition.

³ The author seems to be strict in his avoidance of hiatus. For instances after prepositives (where it is venial) see below, n. 4; apart from these I find it, in the papyrus texts, in two passages only. One is *PSI 1286 A i. 16 f.* (*Rhes.*) *δὲ αὐ[τοῦ Ἑκ]τορος τὸν φ[όνο]ν ἐνηργήθη[ι ἐ]πινοεῖ*; here I observe (a) that the first hiatus could be made venial by reading *αὐτοῦ <τοῦ>*, (b) that *ἐπινοεῖ* is an odd verb and the wrong tense (the author seems not to use the historic present), (c) that the medieval tradition has its verb after *αὐτοῦ* (and so may avoid hiatus): *δὲ αὐτοῦ (. . .) Ἑκτορος τὸν*

I add that where \mathfrak{B} is lacunose, and \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{V} are at variance in this way, there can be no doubt that \mathfrak{B} had the order as in \mathfrak{M} : 11, 51, 54 (again \mathfrak{V} 's order is inferior, notably at 54). Similarly at 17–18, where \mathfrak{B} and \mathfrak{V} are at variance, \mathfrak{M} will have omitted the words *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* from before, not after, *παραγενέσθαι*.

[61/2] (b) In five places \mathfrak{V} has a surplus over $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$, ranging in length from three words to nine: 14, 19–21, 29, 39–41, 46. At first blush one might expect the longer version to be original, and the shorter to be due to deliberate / abbreviation; but on examination the surpluses suggest themselves as intrusive. None of them adds anything to the narrative: four of them merely make explicit what is already adequately implied; the fifth (46) is absurd. It is conceivable that an abbreviator should have excised precisely the passages that were dispensable; it is more likely that an expander should have elaborated where the less intelligent reader might find an implication obscure. I remark further (a) that 19–21 seem to presuppose the $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$ version of 22–27 (the \mathfrak{B} version, with the subject of 25–27 carried over from 15, will scarcely brook the presence of 19–21), and that the \mathfrak{B} version seems to be original, (b) that 14 and 46 each contain a hiatus, *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ* and *καὶ ἔπραξεν* (both venial, but the epitome is otherwise free of hiatus).⁴

(c) In five places \mathfrak{V} has an expression approximately synonymous with that of $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$: 17–18 *εἰσελθεῖν* (*παραγενέσθαι* $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$), 31 *ἀνεχώρησε τῆς πόλεως* (*ἐχωρίσθη* $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$), 33 *νίκηνη ἔσσειθαι* (*νικήσειν* $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$), 34 *τοῖς Θηβαίοις* (*τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως* $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$), 71 *πατρώιας* (*πόλεως* $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$). In none of these is \mathfrak{V} 's reading superior; in two at least (31, 34) the reading of $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$ is more in accordance with the author's usage.

(d) Eight miscellaneous variants: 15 *ἀπτῶν* $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$, *Ἰοκάστη* \mathfrak{V} (shown by hiatus to be intrusive); alternative forms etc. at 70, 73; false word-order at 35; omissions at 9, 72; wrong cases at 49–50, 61.

In the great majority of these instances the discrepancies between $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{M}$ and

φόνον γεγενῆσθαι (for the verb Harl. has, corruptly, *φασιν*, \mathfrak{V} leaves a blank). The other is *P. Oxy.* 2455. 85 (*Skiron*) *κατυ[ρ]οι εἰρη*: I should expect corruption, but the text is too fragmentary for speculation. (I do not include *P. Oxy.* 2455. 215 (*Phaethon*) *θεοῦ υἱ* [ὄ]c: for *υἱ* Turner reports 'the lower parts of two verticals: *ν* would also be possible'; perhaps therefore, space permitting, *π[αῖ]c*, but the context is fragmentary and the sense may be quite different.)

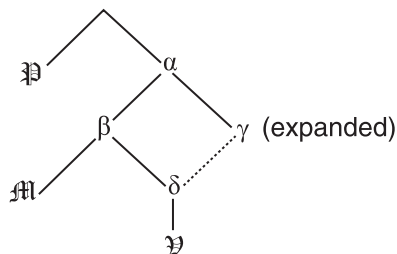
⁴ Only the strictest practice eschews hiatus after *καὶ* or the article. But our author seems to be chary of it; and he seems also (what tallies) to have it predominantly before proper names. I find the following instances, or possible instances, in the papyrus texts (all in *P. Oxy.* 2455): 118 *τοῦ Ὀξύλου*, 123 (?) *οἱ Ἄριστο*[δήμ[ου] παῖδες, 133 *απαρσθενει και ορ* (proper name? one expects *Εὐρυσθενεὶ και Προκλεῖ*), 140 (?) *τοῦ Ἀγαμέ*[μνονος, 228]*αδετωα* (conceivably *τῶι Ἀθάμαντι*), 254 *και Ἐλενος* (why the *καί*?), 280]*τω επιβο*[υλ]εουμεν[ω], 283 *Φρίξον τε* [κ]αι Ἐλλην[ν τ]ῆν ἀδε[λ]φ[ή]ν ('Ἐλλην intrusive? we have been told already that she is his sister; τῆν ἀδελφὴν therefore pointless with Ἐλλην, but in place instead of Ἐλλην). Turner's articulation is uncertain at fr. 115] *οἱ ἀδελφ*[οἱ] (*ἰοια δελφ*[?]) and fr. 109] *ε και ο* [*σκαιός, καιόμενος*?]; similarly fr. 54 π[ε]ρι αρ[] (*περιαρμόσαι, ἐσπέρια*?).

Ϝ are evidently due to deliberate revision; and wherever a choice can be made between the readings, it appears that it is Ϝ and not ϙϞ that the revision has affected. This is precisely what we should expect. While the epitomes were still an independent book, their text is likely to have remained stable; once an epitome was prefixed to the text of a tragedy its status fell to that of mere exegetical material, and it became liable to modification in the same way as the scholia with which it was now on a level. A revised and expanded text in Ϝ is natural enough ; a revised and abbreviated text in ϙ is scarcely credible. Even less credible would be the subsequent course of the tradition: full and abbreviated versions circulating side by side from the second century onwards, to become the sources respectively of Ϝ and Ϟ; the errors now shared by Ϝ and Ϟ arising in one version only, and transmitting themselves to the other by contamination. There are few processes in the transmission of a Greek text that I would call impossible ; but there are some that I would call very improbable indeed, and this is one.

So far, in this survey of the variants, there has been nothing to suggest contamination. There are clear instances of ϞϜ wrong with ϙ right; there are no clear instances of ϙϜ wrong with Ϟ right, or of ϙϞ wrong with Ϝ right. / The stemma may therefore stand unaltered, and wherever in the situations ϙϞ ~ Ϝ or ϙϜ ~ Ϟ the two readings seem equally possible, we may safely assume that the reading private to Ϝ or Ϟ is false.

[62/3]

It does for all that seem necessary to assume some minor degree of contamination, though of a kind that does not affect the conclusions I have just drawn. The grounds for the assumption are to be found at 29–30: παραταξόμενος ϙ, ὑποταξάμενος Ϟ, ὡς πρὸς πολέμιον λοιπὸν παραταξόμενος Ϝ. The man who inserted ὡς πρὸς πολέμιον λοιπὸν can have inserted it only in a text which had the future participle; yet the error -άμενος is shared by Ϝ with Ϟ, and ought therefore to have been the reading of Ϝ before expansion. Contamination from Ϝ to Ϟ and from Ϟ to Ϝ seems equally improbable: Ϟ would not take a variant from the long text and ignore the adjacent surplus; Ϝ would not accept from the short text a variant which made especial nonsense in the long. But there is a third possibility which explains the situation more readily:



I assume, that is, that the insertions originated not in a direct ancestor of \mathfrak{B} but in a collateral (γ), and were taken over from this collateral into a direct ancestor (δ); that the error *-άμενος* arose in the common source (β) of \mathfrak{A} and δ , and so was absent from γ but present in δ ; and that when the insertions were taken over from γ into δ the error was left uncorrected.

There is no need to assume that all the revision apparent in \mathfrak{B} was the work of a single hand. If the insertions, as I have suggested, were made in γ and incorporated thence into δ , it does not follow that the changes of order and the substitution of synonyms had a similar career: they may just as well have occurred in the direct ancestry of \mathfrak{B} , at any point or points in the descent from β . Some of them at any rate occurred at at least one remove from \mathfrak{B} , for in two cases there has been subsequent corruption: at 33 *νίκην ἔσειθαι* has become *νίκην θέσειθαι*; at 61 *τῆι μάχηι* has (presumably after transposition) become *τῆς μάχης*.

Any attempt to date the various stages in the transmission can only be speculative. We do not know when it became customary to prefix an epitome to a tragic text; I would myself surmise that it happened in late antiquity (say the sixth century), at the time when it became customary to fill the margins of the codex with the copious extracts from commentaries that became the basis of the medieval scholia. If one assumes (as I think one must: see my *Hippolytos*, pp. 59 f.) that the medieval tradition of Euripides is founded on a unique transliteration of ancient manuscripts, made in the ninth or tenth century (to be subsequently corrected from other ancient manuscripts that were never themselves transliterated), then either α or β could be that unique transliteration; if α , the insertions are medieval; if β (which I should prefer to assume), the insertions belong to late antiquity, and γ is an ancient manuscript from which they were culled by δ . /

[63/4]

IV. NOTES ON THE VARIANTS

These notes are concerned primarily with instances where \mathfrak{B} is at variance with \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{B} ; I discuss other variants only where I need to supplement what I have said already in section III.

2. ἐν Θήβαις: cf. *P. Oxy.* 2455. 270 (*Phrixos II*) Ἀθάμας ἐν Ὀρχομε[νῶν βασι]λεύ[ω]ν.

3–4. ἀπεστέρησε: the author seems not to use the historic present; the space in \mathfrak{A} is better filled by the aorist. [See Addendum.]

3–4. τοῦ δικαίου: not demonstrably superior to τοῦ μέρους.

5–6. ἐκεῖνος seems to be rightly placed in \mathfrak{M} : in \mathfrak{P} it is awkwardly late; in \mathfrak{V} there is a variant order (B) agreeing with \mathfrak{M} , and this presumably was the order of the common source of \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{V} . [See Addendum.]

9–13. \mathfrak{P} is clearly right; independent corruptions in \mathfrak{M} (κατῆλλε, om. καί, κυναθροῖσαι) and \mathfrak{V} (om. δέ).

12. ἀξιόξερον is feeble, and \mathfrak{P} 's]ονιδων brings it under strong suspicion; but]ονιδων is itself unsatisfactory. It can be restored only as a patronymic, the letter before ο (which begins a line) being necessarily a vowel; the two candidates are Ταλαῖονιδῶν and Ἀμυθαονιδῶν, the descendants of Talaos and of his grandfather Amythaon. Now in the first place such literary allusiveness is unexpected in our author (who assumes scant mythological learning in his reader); in the second place neither patronymic is accurate—of the six champions (other than Polyneikes) Euripides makes only Adrastos Talaionid and only Adrastos and Amphiaraos Amythaonid. It is true that other authors have other Talaionidai: Hippomedon (in *Ph.* 'a Mycenaean by birth', 125) is sometimes son (or son's son) of Talaos, sometimes replaced by Mekisteus son of Talaos; Parthenopaios (in *Ph.* 'son of Atalante', 150) is sometimes son of Talaos. But Tydeus and Kapaneus (invariable members of the Seven) belong firmly to other families, and are connected with the Talaionidai only by marriage or by mother: the Oineid Tydeus marries Adrastos' daughter (as does Polyneikes; similarly the Amythaonid Amphiaraos marries Talaos' daughter Eriphyle); the Proitid Kapaneus is sometimes son of Talaos' daughter Astynome. If we are to justify Ταλαῖονιδῶν (or Ἀμυθαονιδῶν) here, we must say that our author not only diverged from Euripides' account but used the patronymic, improperly, to include marriage-connexions and descendants in the female line. This is not easy; and since the patronymic is in any case out of character, I prefer to regard]ονιδων as corrupt. In this case I should expect]ονιδων and ἀχιόχρεων to be independent corruptions of some third (and uncommon) word. Conceivably ἀξιόνικον: not unsuitable in this author, and trivialized easily to ἀξιόχρεων; \mathfrak{P} might perhaps have had αξιλονιδων (an odd corruption, but fairly close; and any corruption to -ονιδων is likely to be odd). The preceding word was most likely στρατείαν in the common source of $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$ (\mathfrak{M} has στρατείαν, \mathfrak{V} the variants στρατόν MAV, στρατείαν B); the gap in \mathfrak{P} would admit στρατειαν before αξιλονιδων, but hardly before any longer word.

15. If Iokaste is to be named at all, she must be named here where first mentioned; but the name is not merely private to \mathfrak{V} but involves a hiatus before ἐπεικεν. It is therefore intrusive; and it will be intrusive also in 25 ($\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$) and 53 (\mathfrak{P}). /

19–21. The interpolation in \mathfrak{V} would fit ill into the original form of 15–27 as preserved (see below) in \mathfrak{P} .

23. ὑπέρ (restored by Wecklein) was presumably corrupted to ὑπό in the source of $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$, and then omitted by \mathfrak{M} .

25–27. \mathfrak{P} 's text was appreciably shorter than $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$'s. Iokaste's name will be intrusive (see on 15); in its absence the subject may carry over from 15, and \mathfrak{P} can be restored with fair certainty as I have restored it. The postponing of οὐκ ἠδύνατο (in $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$) was presumably a consequence of the intrusion of ἡ μὲν Ἰοκάστη.

30. -άμενος an error in the source of $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}$; ὑπο- a further error of \mathfrak{M} 's own (intended to mean 'submitting'?).

31. ἐχωρίσθη: cf. *P. Oxy.* 2455. 84 (*Skiron*), *Rh.* 13.

33. \mathfrak{V} 's νίκην θέσθαι is evidently (Barns) a corruption of νίκην ἔσεσθαι; this, with the dative, may have been intended to remove a fancied ambiguity (subject or object) in the accusative with νικήσειν.

34. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως is more our author's style: he affects an occasional harmless synonym. Note the different word-order in the two papyri: that of 2455, agreeing with \mathfrak{M} , is evidently superior.

35. \mathfrak{P} apparently had the same word-order as \mathfrak{M} (Coles and Barns, p. 55 above); its . . .]ς might be either υἱός or παῖς, but υἱός is more our author's habit in identifying X as son of Y.

37. \mathfrak{P} had space for more than Ἄρει γένηται (see section VI); presumably a longer verb.

43–44. \mathfrak{P} 's omission can only be accidental (some indication of Kreon's reluctance is needed to give point to ἐβούλετο); note that it produces a hiatus.

48. ἔφαξαν was seen to be corrupt by Hermann; \mathfrak{P} seems to have had another and longer verb (see section VI).

53. Ἰοκάστη is intrusive: see on 15.

55. παῖδας is more our author's habit than υἱούς (though cf. *Hek.* 13); this may, however, be due in part to his avoidance of hiatus (which is here irrelevant to the choice).

56. \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{V} have obvious trivializations (\mathfrak{V} 's perhaps secondary) of the more informative and effective προσεπέφαξεν (for which cf. *arg. S. Ant.* 3. 18).

59. δυναστείαν, the less obvious word (but acceptable to our author: *P. Oxy.* 2455. 20 [*Melanippe*] δυνάτου, 39 [*Or.*] δυναστεύειν, *PSI* 1286 A ii. 16 [*Skyrioi*] δυνάστη, *Her.* 6 δυνάστην), might appear the more likely to be genuine; but βασιλείαν is of course faultless (cf. 2), and the appearance may well be illusory.

61. τρεφθέντες is evidently the right word (the others trivializing? note that ἡττηθέντες gives a hiatus).

62. ἀπο- rather than ἀνα- in describing their complete departure.

63–64. παρρησία, properly 'speaking without restraint', moves over to 'acting without restraint' (LSJ 3); hence 'showing too little restraint in his

good fortune'. This is obviously genuine; but the preciousity caused difficulty, and so was removed by the mistaken paraphrase *δυσχερώς φέρων*.

65. Two errors in \mathfrak{B} : omitted *μὲν* (*μὲν . . . δέ* is very much our author's habit); the accusative (normal in later Greek) in place of the more elegant dative.

70. \mathfrak{V} has substituted Attic *Οἰδίπουν* for the *Οἰδίποδα* of the *κοινή*; perhaps under the influence of the poetic text?/

[65/6]

71. *ἀπέστειλεν*: common in our author (*An.* 16, *Or.* 6, *Ba.* 6; cf. *P. Oxy.* 2455. 146, 158), and evidently genuine.

75. *λοιπογραφεῖν* is an accountant's term, 'carry over' (in allowing payment to be deferred); so here Kreon, acting impetuously in the first flush of his anger against Polyneikes, does not allow that anger to stand over, does not defer its settlement. Another preciousity that was misunderstood; the result of the misunderstanding, *λογοποιήσας*, is this time a mere nonsensical garbling.

76–77. *οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν δυστυχίαν ἐλεήσας* is an absurdity. \mathfrak{B} is restored by Turner as [οὐδὲ τοὺς] παρὰ [καιρὸ]ν [δυστυ]χεῖς ἐλεήσ[ας]; I should have expected rather *παρ' ἀξίαν*. (I have not verified the space.)

V. MOSCHOPOULOS' TEXT OF THE OTHER EPITOMES

We can compare the versions of \mathfrak{B} , \mathfrak{M} , and \mathfrak{V} in one other epitome, that of *Orestes*; but here the situation is quite different. In the fifteen⁵ 5 lines of which parts are preserved in the papyrus, there appear to be seven discrepancies between \mathfrak{B} and \mathfrak{V} ; in all but one of them \mathfrak{M} agrees with \mathfrak{V} , and the exception may not be significant. Where \mathfrak{V} has *Ὀρέστη* (BA; *Ὀρέστην* MV) δὲ *Ἐρμιόνην ἐπέταξε λαβεῖν* and \mathfrak{B} has *Ὀρέ[στη] δὲ ἐπέταξεν | . . . | μὲν Ἐρμιόνη[ν] λαβεῖν γυναῖκα* (suppl. Turner),⁶ X has *Ὀρέστην δὲ Ἐρμιόνην ἐπέταξε λαβεῖν* but Xa has *Ὀρέστην δὲ Ἐρμιόνην ἐπέταξε γυναῖκα λαβεῖν*.

For the only other play included in Moschopoulos' recension, *Hekabe*, there is no papyrus of the epitome. The medieval evidence is also defective: the epitome is not preserved in MBVLP,⁷ but only in A, Moschopoulos, and a number of non-Moschopouleian manuscripts of the fourteenth century and later. (It is quite evidently a genuine early epitome, derived from the same collection as the others; Schwartz, and following him Murray, ought not to

⁵ Turner prints twelve, but I can add three more: see section VI.

⁶ Or *Ἐρμιόνη[ν] λαβεῖ[ν] γυν[αῖκα]*: see section VI.

⁷ I say 'is not preserved': it must be remembered that the beginnings of B (up to *Hek.* 522) and V (up to *Hek.* 31: Turyn, op. cit. 90) are later replacements.

have stigmatized it as 'late'.) Moschopoulos and A are in close agreement; there are about nine discrepancies between them and the other manuscripts, and in at least three of these their reading is manifestly inferior.⁸

VI. NEW IDENTIFICATIONS IN *P. Oxy.* 2455

I have been able to assign to the *Phoinissai* epitome three fragments (48, 56, 125) printed by Turner as unassigned. I print below the part of the epitome affected by these identifications.

[66/7] Before the part which I print there will (if one assumes the text to have agreed with *P. Oxy.* 2544) have been 412 letters, which can be arranged in 14 lines averaging 29.4 letters (the extant lines average 29.2; the seven lines at the end of the preceding epitome average 29.7); before this there will have been three lines of heading.⁹ I number the lines accordingly, assigning 1–3 / to the heading and 4–39 to the epitome proper (of which I print 18–31; my numbers on the left, Turner's on the right).

I identified the fragments, tentatively, on the basis of Turner's transcripts; Dr. Barns then examined them for me in London, and was able to confirm the identifications and to verify a number of doubtful readings. My notes on the readings are based on his reports; supplements are my own.

	[τειρες]ι[ας]δ[εεχρηκεννικησεω]το[υσεκ]	
	[τηςπο]λεω[εανοκρεοντοσυιος]μεν[οι]	
20	[κευσεφ]αγιω[·ο]μ[εν]	
	[ουνη]αυικ[οσεβουλετοκαιεαυτον]	
	[απεσεφ]αξε[ν·θηβαιουδετουςηγεμο]	
	[νας]τωναρ[γειων·ε]τεο	
	[κληδεκαιπολυνεικηςμονομαχησαν]	
25	τεα[λληλουςανειλον·ημενοννημητηρ]	291
	αυτ[ων]ιοκ[αστηνεκρουσευρουσατους]	
	παιδαεαυτ[ηνηπρο]ζε[π]εσεφ[αξ]εν[·ο]δε]	
	ταυτηςαδελ[φος]κρεωνπαρελ[αβεν]	
	τηνβασιλειαν[·ο]δεαγειοιτημημαχη[ιτ]ρ[ε]	295

⁸ Line 2 (Murray) *εφαγῆναι ἡξίου* A, Mosch. (against *εφάγιον ἦνται*), 8 *δυστυχοῦς* (against *δυστυχοῦσης*), 14 *τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν* (against *τῆς ὀράσεως*).

⁹ The epitome will thus have occupied, without the heading, 36 lines of the papyrus. If the first and last lines are on a level (Turner, p. 33) a column of text will have contained 35 lines (columns which include a heading, whose three lines occupy the space of five or six lines of text, will have had 32 or 33 lines in all); Turner's estimate (*loc. cit.*) of 'between 43 and 45 lines' must therefore be reduced, and calculations depending on it must be revised.

30 φθεντεσαπε[χωρ]ης[αν·]ς[ρ]εωνδεπαρρη
 ciasτικωτερο[ν]τηντυ[χη]ιχωρωμενος

18–23, left: fr. 48 (its lateral position ensured by the vertical fibres). 18–20, right: fr. 125. 25–31: the main fragment (fr. 17), with fr. 56 inserted into 27–30.

18. ι: an upright, with a trace of a serif at the foot. δ: almost certain (though with a puzzling mark above the base line). 19. λ: indeterminate traces. ε: traces of the horizontal stroke touching ω. 20. The gap is 2–3 letters too long for [αρειγενται·ο]: the ν[is half a letter to the right of the ς[above, the]μ half a letter to the left of the]μ above. μ: the traces fit well. 21. αριςκ: much rubbed, but the traces fit well (though the ς will have been unusually cramped). 22–23. The lines are separated only by the normal space: there can (*pace* Turner) have been no line between them. 23.]δωντωναν[Turner, but the δων is on a separate scrap of papyrus that has been wrongly attached. After αρ[γειων apparently not εσφαξαν but a longer verb (up to c. 11 letters): with εσφαξαν there would be room in 23 for the whole of ετεοκλης, which would leave 24 too short. 26. Perhaps]ιοκαστ[: fr. 64. 1]καστ[would fit after]ιοκ[. (The other two lines of fr. 64 are on a separate scrap of papyrus that has been wrongly attached.) 27.]ς (fr. 17): a trace touching the back of ε over half-way up.]εσφ[: fr. 56. 28. ωνπ: fr. 56 (the π shared with fr. 17 παρελ[). 29. γ (fr. 17): the writer seems to have omitted the ρ. ειοιτη: fr. 56. ρ: the foot of a descender. 30.]ς[.]εω: fr. 56.

I have also been able to assign to the *Orestes* epitome one fragment printed by Turner as unassigned: fr. 113 belongs just before the part printed by him as 32–39.

(top of column)

[εδωκεν εις χειρας α]ντοικ· οι δε ταυ-
 [την φονευειν εμελ]λον· επιφ[ανε]ι[ς]
 [δε μενελαος και βλεπων] ε[α]ντοιν [αμα]
 [γυναικος και τεκνου στερουμενον]
 [υπ αυτων επεβαλλετο τα βασιλεια]

(32) [πορθει]ν κτλ.

This identification also was suggested by me on the basis of Turner's transcript, and verified in London by Dr. Barns; I give the readings in accordance with his report. The]αιστρ[printed by Turner as the first line of fr. 113 is on / a separate scrap of papyrus which has been wrongly attached; the fragment begins with his line 2, which is the first of a column. [67/8]

I add (this has not been verified from the papyrus) that the scrap stuck on to the surface of fr. 18 (Turner, p. 67) might be incorporated in 36–37 so as to confirm Turner's γυναικα:

[...]. μεν ερμιονη[ν λαβει]ν γυν[αικα]
 [πυλ]αδη δε ηλεκτρα[ν κυνοικ]ις[αι]

VII. THE AUTHORITY OF THE BYZANTINE RECENSIONS

Since Kirchhoff's edition of 1855 it has been customary for editors to disregard all the many manuscripts of the triad (*Hekabe*, *Orestes*, *Phoinissai*) which appear to derive from the recensions of Byzantine scholars of the Palaeologean age; their readings, when cited at all, are cited as conjectures, not as evidence for the tradition. More recently, these manuscripts have been investigated at length by A. Turyn (*The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana, 1957): he sorts them out into those deriving from the recensions of Moschopoulos, Thomas, and Triklinios, and gives a good deal of miscellaneous information about their readings. But he continues to regard them as worthless for the constitution of the text, and indeed goes far beyond Kirchhoff in that he rejects as 'interpolations' not only readings peculiar to the recensions but also, in general, readings found first in the recensions and shared by them with later manuscripts hitherto regarded as sincere (viz. A, O, L, and P);¹⁰ when this happens we are to regard the later manuscripts as 'interpolated' from the recensions, and to ignore their testimony.¹¹ L and P, indeed, agree so frequently with the recensions that Turyn discards them altogether.

This wholesale rejection of the recensions is based on an assumption that any reading found first in a recension may be supposed to have originated in it (unless—for Kirchhoff but not for Turyn—it be found also in a later manuscript that can be regarded as sincere). This assumption is entirely arbitrary. No recension produces its text out of thin air: it uses manuscript sources. A reading found first in a recension *may* have originated in that recension, but may equally have been inherited by it from its manuscript sources; a reading found first in a recension and then in a later manuscript *may* have been taken by the later manuscript from the recension, but may equally have been inherited by recension and manuscript from the same ultimate source.

As far as the *Phoinissai* epitome is concerned, the assumption is now shown to be not merely arbitrary but false: if we consider the places where, with \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{B} at variance, we can be certain of the reading of their common ancestor, we find that \mathfrak{A} has nine times corrupted a reading preserved by \mathfrak{B} but has twenty-five times preserved a reading corrupted by \mathfrak{B} . Moschopoulos' source

¹⁰ Turyn's dating of A; I accept it here *ad hominem*.

¹¹ Turyn never formulates this explicitly as a principle, but he appears (with rare exceptions) to adhere to it in practice.

was not only independent of the source used by earlier manuscripts but was far superior.

If Moschopoulos had an independent source for this one epitome, it does not of course follow that he had an independent source for the text of the plays; nevertheless the situation here should serve as a sharp warning against the assumption that readings appearing first in Moschopoulos (or, similarly, in Thomas or even Triklinios) are necessarily 'interpolations'. Certainly these / [68/9] scholars did indulge in conjecture; but we have never had reason to suppose that all their readings not found in older manuscripts are conjectural. We cannot fancy their texts to be dependent on precisely those few older manuscripts that have chanced to survive (by Turyn's dating, only M, B, V, and the fragmentary H); nor can we fancy those four manuscripts to have preserved between them all the variants that were current in the early medieval tradition. It would be strange, therefore, if the recensions did *not* preserve early variants unknown to us from older manuscripts. We must not reject their readings out of hand as worthless: we must weigh them, and attempt to determine how far they are likely to be conjectural and how far to have been inherited from earlier sources.

My own impression is that whereas Triklinios manifestly indulges in wholesale conjecture, Moschopoulos and Thomas present texts which look very little different from the eclectic texts that are familiar at all periods of the tragic tradition: that there is no reason to credit them with any large degree of conjecture, and that where they agree with later manuscripts such as A, O, L, and P the agreement will commonly be due to community of source. This is only an impression: a considered verdict can be based only on complete collations, of the recensions themselves (in representative manuscripts), of earlier manuscripts and representative later ones, and of the indirect tradition; those collations are lacking (Turyn's lists of readings are confessedly only a selection), and any judgment formed in their default will be at best provisional. Nevertheless I cite a few instances, collected casually, which go some way to support my case, and at least indicate the kind of evidence that will be required to establish it. All the instances are concerned with readings found in one (or more) of the recensions but not in earlier medieval manuscripts of the plays;¹² if I

¹² I have taken the readings of the recensions from Turyn if he cites them, from manuscripts if he does not: Moschopoulos from the Oxford manuscripts X and Xa; Thomas from the Cambridge manuscripts Z and Zd (Cambridge University Library, bound together as Nn. 3. 14; Zd does not include *Phoinissai*). For the readings of other manuscripts I follow Prinz-Wecklein, but have verified those of MBHLP from the facsimiles.

give no reference to Turyn's book, the reading is one which he does not mention.¹³

(a) There is earlier evidence for the reading.

Hek. 996: τοῦ πλησίον Eustathios, Thom., P; τῶν πλησίον MBAL, Mosch.

Or. 61 (Turyn, p. 109): κυμοφοράς *P. Oxy.* 1616, Mosch.; κυμοφοράν M^BAVLP, Thom.

Or. 1182: λέγειν Vatopedi gnomology (12th cent.),¹⁴ Thom., P; μέλλειν M^BAVHL, Mosch.

Or. 1335: ἀξίοις τ' ἄρ' (variously accented) *P. Oxy.* 1370, Mosch., Thom. (Z), A; ἀξίοις τ' ἄρ' P; ἀξίοις γάρ MB; ἀξίοις ἄρ' Thom. (Zd), L; ἀξίοις ἄρ' B².

[69/70] *Ph.* 1215: οὐκ Vatopedi gnomology, Mosch., Thom.; κοῦκ M^BAVLP. /

(b) The reading is a deprivation of a reading preserved in a later manuscript (so that recension and manuscript must be supposed to depend on a common source):

Life of Eur. (= the *Souda* article on Eur.), p. 14. 6–7 Dindorf (Turyn, pp. 103 f.): ὑποστάντα κινδύνους δι' ἄπερ *Soud.* (rightly); ὑποστάντα (blank space for c. 9 letters) δι' ἄπερ A; ὑποστάντα δι' ἄπερ Mosch.

Hek. 352: see (c) below.

Ph. 1597 (Turyn, p. 178): μητρός ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν M^BAV, Mosch., Trikl. (rightly); ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν L; ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν ποτε P; ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν ἔτι Thom. L has the first stage of the corruption (omission of μητρός); P and Thomas have two varieties of the second stage (filling out the line by a stopgap at the end).

(c) The reading is one which the editor of the recension would not, or could not, have arrived at by conjecture:

Hek. 352: γάμων Thom., ALP (rightly); γάμου Mosch.; βίου MV. This instance belongs both here (γάμων not conjecturable from βίου) and under (b): Moschopoulos' γάμου is a corruption of γάμων (and Moschopoulos, Turyn has argued, is earlier than Thomas).

¹³ Where he does mention a reading, it will be found that he deals with the evidence very differently: at *Or.* 61 the agreement of Moschopoulos with the papyrus is 'certainly fortuitous' (it could be, of course, but why 'certainly?'); in the *Life* he supposes that A, in copying Moschopoulos' text, 'felt the lack of an object after ὑποστάντα and left a blank space for the missing word to be filled in later on' (no suggestion that there might be another, and more credible, interpretation of the facts); at *Ph.* 1597 he does not report the readings of L and P; at *Hek.* 734 he merely states that ἀργείων and ἀργείον are alike 'interpolations'.

¹⁴ See G. A. Longman, *CQ* N. s. 9 (1959), 129 ff.

Hek. 734 (Turyn, p. 108): ἀργεῖον Thom., LP (rightly); ἀργεῖοι MB; ἀργείων Mosch., A. The corruptions are evidently due to incomprehension of the difficult ἀργεῖον; to restore this ἀργεῖον was certainly beyond the conjectural capacity of Thomas.

Or. 186: φίλα Mosch. (rightly); ὦ φίλα M^BAVHLP, Thom. Moschopoulos has no awareness of respension in the lyrics (cf. Turyn, p. 117; seventeen violations of it in this parodos, mostly inherited); he had therefore no motive for making a change.

ADDENDUM

I have at the last minute identified a further fragment of the *Phoinissai* epitome in *P. Oxy.* 2455; it is printed by Turner as part of the epitome of *Tennes*, fr. 14, col. xiii, 172–4, and is reproduced by him on plate iv (where it appears as a small scrap in tenuous contact with the main body of the fragment). It contains the blank end of line 3 and a few letters from the ends of 4–6; it fits just below fr. 17, col. xx, 289–90, where traces of 1–2 (title and first line of the play) are preserved.¹⁵ My readings, made from the plate, have been confirmed by Dr. Barns from the papyrus; he reports also that the colour of the fragment, and the superficial appearance of the back fibres, accord well with the new location.

[ηδνποθεσις] []
 [ετεοκλησπαραλαβωντηνενθη]βαισβα[σι]
 5 [λειαντοναδελφονπολυνηικη]ναπε[στε]
 [ρησεντουδικαιου·φυγαδεκ]εινοσεισ[

4. ἐν Θήβαις: so *P. Oxy.* 2544; Θηβῶν, or τῶν Θηβῶν, **MA**. /

[70/1]

5. ἀπε[στέρησεν: my conjecture is confirmed. After α the writer first wrote μ, then superimposed on it a π; next comes a sprawling ε, connected to the π by an awkward ligature, in an apparent attempt to disguise the projecting right-hand hook of the μ. (Turner reads ἀπερξ[: his ρ is the hook of the μ and the ligature just above it, his two sigmas are the ε.)

6. ἐκεῖνος: the word-order of **MA** and B is confirmed against that of MAV and that of *P. Oxy.* 2544.

¹⁵ In line 1, φ[οι]γίςσαι[ωναρ]χηι (fr. 17, col. xx, 289), we should probably insert fr. 20]ωναρ[. Dr. Barns reports that the fibres seem to suit this location.

The Epitome of Euripides' *Auge*

This fragment (*P. Colon.* 1, inv. 264), with the beginning of the epitome of *Auge*, was first published by L. Koenen in *ZPE* 4 (1969), 7–18 with Tafel iii(a) and iv, under the title ‘Eine Hypothese zur Auge des Euripides und tegeatische Plynterien’. I have been greatly advantaged by Koenen’s exposition of the literary and iconographic evidence for the Euripidean play; but I shall differ from him first in my reconstruction of the text of the epitome and second (and in consequence) about the implications of Euripides’ version of the legend for ritual practices at Tegea. In particular, I think that by the end of my discussion the Tegeate *πλυντήρια* will have disappeared.

I begin by transcribing the papyrus text. Side by side with the transcript I put Koenen’s reconstruction, so that it may be seen (a) what I am differing from, (b) what borrowings I am making. Since Koenen expressly sets no store by the detail of his reconstruction, but aims only to give the general sense (‘Im einzelnen sind die Ergänzungen sehr unsicher, aber der Gedankengang ist im

<Intended as the first part of a paper ‘Three Euripidean Epitomes (*Auge*, *Alexandros*, *Elektra*)’. The other two parts are not extant. The typescript dates from after 1979, but makes no reference to W. Luppe, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 29 (1983), 19–23; however, pencil additions were made after the appearance of *P. Oxy.* 3651–2 in 1984, updating an initial list of papyrus epitomes which I give here as revised:>

- Π1 *P. Oxy.* (iii) 420
 Π2 *PSI* (xii) 1286
 Π3 *P. Mil. Vogl.* (ii) 44
 Π4a *P. Oxy.* (xxvii) 2455
 Π4b *P. Strasb.* 2676 (same roll; Schwartz, *ZPE* 4 [1969], 43; Mette, *ibid.* 173)
 Π5a *P. Oxy.* (xxvii) 2457
 Π5b *P. Oxy.* (lii) 3650 (same roll; previously published, more fully and with plate, by R. A. Coles, *BICS* Suppl. 32)
 Π6 *PFAO* 248 (*Recherches de papyrologie* 3 [1964], 37)
 Π7 *P. Oxy.* (xxxii) 2544 (more fully, *CQ* 15 [1965], 52)
 Π8 *P. Colon.* 1 (inv. 264)
 Π9 *P. Mich.* inv. 1319 (Turner, *Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat.* 17 [1968], 133)
 Π10 *P. Oxy.* (lii) 3651
 Π11 *P. Oxy.* (lii) 3652

ganzen . . . kenntlich'), I shall offer no criticism of detail, except where I think it relevant to the establishment of my own proposals; my criticism of the general sense will emerge in the course of my exposition of these proposals.

	top	
]ησχηραρχηι[		Αὔγη,] ἦς ἀρχή{ι}·
]νασοδεπολ[	2	Ἀλέας Ἀθά]γας ὄδε πολ[ύχρυσος δόμος.
]θεεισ [		ἦ δ' ὑπό]θεεισ·
]σαρκαδιασδ[	4	Ἄλεος ὁ βασιλεὺ]ς Ἀρκαδίας δ[ύο εἶχεν υἱοὺς καὶ θυ- γατέρα Αὔγην π]άσας κάλλει [τε καὶ ζωφροσύνη διαφέ- ρουσαν καὶ ἰέρει]αν τῆς Ἀλέα[στίης ἐν Τεγέα Ἀθάνας αὐ- τήν κατέστησεν.] ἦ δὲ τῆς πα[ννουχίδος τῆς τῆ Ἀλέα τελουμένης ἐπι]στάσης χο[ρῶν ἠγγήσασθαι ἠρέθη. ἰδὼν δὲ
]σωλισθεν[		αὐτὴν ὁ Ἡρακλῆ]ς ὤλισθεν [εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ αὐτὴν
]ηταπλυν[	10	τὴν τῆς θεᾶς ἐσθ]ῆτα πλύν[ουσαν ---
]λησιονκρη[		ἐβίασεν λάθρα π]λησίον κρή[νης ---
]δεκατατ.[	12	] δὲ κατὰ τῆ[ν
Ιοινωμενο[		θ]οινώμενο[
]..εν[	14	]τῆ εν[
...		

First, the heading: this is the normal form in texts of these epitomes, and its three-line layout also is normal.¹

The fragment is from the head of a column. If (the natural assumption) it comes from a roll containing the complete corpus of epitomes, then either *Auge* was the first epitome in the corpus or it begins at the head of a column by mere chance. We know that the epitomes were arranged alphabetically by initial only (plays with the same initial coming in an apparently arbitrary order); there were fifteen plays whose titles began with A, and of these we know that *Aiolos*, *Alexandros*, and *Andromache* were preceded by others;² there is one chance in twelve that the *Auge* was first. The chances of its coming at the head of a column fortuitously are not calculable.³

¹ On three lines, *Π2*, *Π4*, *Π5*; same form with a simplified layout, *Π3* (everything written continuously) and *Π6* (n. 5 below); no other headings survive: *Π1* is a fragment from mid-epitome; for *Π7* and *Π9* see n. 4 below.

² *Π5* has *Alkestis–Aiolos*; *Π5b* (same roll) has *Alexandros–Andromache* with *Alexandros* beginning at least nine lines down a column which was not the first.

³ It might happen fairly easily (especially near the beginning of a roll) if (a) the column was of the right height for one average epitome, (b) the copyist, when a new epitome began at about the turn of a column, shortened or lengthened the earlier column to make the new epitome begin at column-head. I say 'if': we have no reason whatever to suppose that in our case either part of my protasis is true.

I do not suppose that this single epitome was copied in isolation (why then the heading?);⁴ but we cannot perhaps exclude the possibility that the fragment is not from a complete collection: *Π6*, which has the normal heading (though not the normal layout),⁵ seems likely to have contained a selection only.⁶

In the title-line, the papyrus has]ηcηαρχηι = ἦc ἦ ἀρχή{ι} (and not, as Koenen reports,]ηcαρχηι = ἦc ἀρχή{ι}). But the article must go: it is absent from the formula in four other papyri,⁷ and present in none; it will certainly therefore be intrusive in ours.⁸

The intrusive ι in the nominative ἀρχή{ι} is of course a common error: the copyist of *Π4* writes *αρχηι* consistently in his headings. Its interest here is that it gives a clue to the copyist's practice in writing the long-vowel diphthongs *αι ηι ωι* (of which no instance is preserved); it suggests that like the copyist of *Π4* he may write or omit their ι at random. In my supplements therefore I have felt free to assume whatever form seems best suited to the space available.

The first line of the play was convincingly restored by Merkelbach (in Koenen): *Ἀλέας Ἀθά]νας ὄδε πολ[ύχρυσος δόμος*. This is based not merely on general probability but on an apparent citation in Men. *Heros* 84 *Ἀλέας Ἀθάνας* [(shown by the form *Ἀθάνας* to be a citation from tragedy) and an

⁴ I add that the copying of a single epitome is unlikely except in, or for, the schoolroom. Our one certain instance of a schoolroom copy, the semi-literate *Π9*, is not even of the whole epitome (it began in the middle). We may or may not have another in *Π7* (*Phoinissai*), with the epitome proper beginning at the head of a column; perhaps from a complete collection, with the heading at the foot of the column before, but from the informality of the hand Coles and Barns (*CQ* 15 [1965], 53) are inclined to think rather of a schoolroom copy. In our papyrus the hand certainly suggests the professional and not the schoolroom.

⁵ Two lines only: first, title and ἦc ἀρχή; second, first line of the play, with comfortable room at the end (which is missing) for ἦ δ(ε) ὑπόθεσις.

⁶ Before the title (*Μήδεια*) the numeral β̄. Near the end of the preceding epitome (only a scrap survives) the name *Iolkos*, which is not in place in any play beginning with *M* or *A* (unless conceivably *Melanippe ἢ κοφύ*, but in *Π4* that seems to come next *after Medeia*); but it would be very much in place in *Peliades*, and it may be that we have the three plays concerned with *Medeia*, *Peliades*, *Medeia*, *Aigeus*, arranged, with *Medeia* second (β̄), in order of dramatic date (so Papatomopoulos, *Rech. de pap.* 3 [1964], 41–2, though he ought not to suggest that the *Medeia* epitome is actually worded as a continuation of *Peliades*: its opening words, τὸν Πελίου φόνον δι[ιαπραξάμενος Ἰάσων κτλ.], are just like those of *Orestes*, Ὁρέτιης τὸν φόνον τοῦ πατρὸς μεταπορευόμενος κτλ.). *Medeia* begins with the third line of its column, and will have continued for a few lines into the next; if *Peliades* began at the head of the previous column, it will have had the very similar length of two lines more than a column.

⁷ *Π2*, *Π4*, *Π5*, *Π6* (lacuna in *Π3*); also an epitome of Menander's *Τιμβριοι* (Körte, <*Menander: Reliquiae* [Leipzig 1938]>, i. 149, reproduces the layout of the papyrus; Sandbach, <*Menandri Reliquiae Selectae* [OCT 1972]>, p. 306, does not).

⁸ Different authors might differ in their usage; our epitomes are all by the same man, and he will have been consistent.

apparent adaptation in Favorinus (= E. fr. 264a Snell, Suppl. to Nauck <= Kannicht>) *Ἀλέου τοῦ πολυχρύσου δόμοι*.

The first sentence of the epitome proper can be restored with complete confidence (except for the detail of the very last words). The writer begins, after his wont, with a straightforward and succinct statement of the essential relationships and circumstances: cf. especially⁹ *Aiolos*, *Ἄϊολος παρὰ θεῶν ἔχων τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων δ[υναστεί]αν ὤικισεν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν νήσο[ις υἱὸς ἐξ] καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἴσας γεγεννηκώς; Hipp., [Θησεὺς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ποσειδῶνο[ς], βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίων· γήμας δὲ] μίαν [τῶν Ἀμαζονίδων Ἰππολύτην] Ἰππολύτων ἐγέννησεν, κάλλι τε καὶ [σω]φροσύνη διαφέροντα; Mel., [Ἕλληνο[ς] τοῦ Διὸς Ἄϊολο[ς] τεκνωθεὶς ἐ]κ μὲν Εὐρύπυδικο[ς] ἐγέννησεν Κρηθέα καὶ] Καλμωνέα καὶ] Κύκυφον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χίρων[ος] θυγατρὸ[ς] Ἰππη[ς] κάλλι διαφέρου[σαν] Μελανίπην; Sthen., Προῖτο[ς] Ἄβαν[τος] μὲν ἦν υἱὸς [Ἀκριοῦ] δὲ ἀδελφός,] βασιλεὺς δὲ Τίρυνθο[ς]·] *Cθενιέβοιαν δὲ] γήμας ἐξ αὐτῆ[ς] ἐγέννησεν παιδάς;* *Phrix. B, Ἀθάμας ἐν Ὀρχομε[νώ] βασιλεύ[ω]ν [Ἰν]οῖ τῇ Κάδμου θυγατρ[ὶ] συνῆν,] παιδάς [ἐκ Ν]εφέλης προγεγεν[νηκώς] Ἕλληνας τε καὶ Φ]ρίξον.**

Aleos is king of Arkadia. 'King' in these initial statements is commonly expressed by *βασιλεύς* or a cognate, but the writer can use *δυνάστης* as its equivalent: initially only in *Aiolos*, cited above,¹⁰ but also, in later places, *Or. Ἀργουε δυναστεύειν*, *Skyr. τῶι Κυκυρίω[ν] δυνά]στη*, *Mel. [τοῦ] δυνάστο[υ]*, *Alex. τοῦ δυνάστου* (Priam), *Her. τὸν δυνάστην Κρέοντα*. Here therefore *Ἀρκαδίας* δ[υναστεύων].

Auge is his daughter. Parentage in these initial statements is regularly expressed with the aid of the verb *γεννάω* (above, passim; also *Phaethon, Her.*); here therefore *γενν]ήσας*. (Koenen reads]ασας; the plate shows a tiny trace, c. 0.5 mm., which might certainly be the tip of the foot of *α* but might just as readily be the tip of the foot of *η*, which in this hand is strongly hooked.)

Auge's beauty will have been expressed in the same way as Melanippe's and Hippolytos' (see above): *κάλλι [διαφέρουσαν]*.

We know that Aleos made Auge priestess of Athena Alea; therefore *ἰέρει[αν] τῆς Ἀλέα[ς] Ἀθηνᾶς*. Article and order just as Hdt. 1. 66. 4 and 9. 70. 3 *τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθαναίης*, Str. 8. 8. 2 *τῆς Ἀλέας Ἀθηνᾶς* (Pausanias has *ἡ Ἀθ. ἡ Ἀλ., or Ἀθ. ἡ Ἀλ., or Ἀθ. Ἀλ.*).

Put all this together, and we have the sentence almost complete: [*Ἄλεος] c Ἀρκαδίας δ[υναστεύων θυγατέρα γενν]ήσας κάλλι [διαφέρουσαν Ἀὐγὴν ἰέρει]αν τῆς Ἀλέα[ς] Ἀθηνᾶς (κατέστησεν or the like). These supplements will*

⁹ All from papyri; supplements in half-brackets are made with certainty from the medieval sources.

¹⁰ δ[εσποτεί]αν Kassel (followed by Austin). But the winds were his subjects, not his slaves; therefore δ[υναστεί]αν.

give us the column-width, of *c.* 31 letters;¹¹ but the division between lines is still to be established, and will depend on the initial supplement in 4. Now if the left-hand margin be aligned on 2 *Ἀλέας Ἀθά]νας* we shall have in 4 *Ἄλεος. . .]c Ἀρκαδίας δ[υναστεύων*, and of this . . .]c I can make nothing at all.¹² I suppose therefore that the missing word is (ἀ)πάσχη]c, which has a purpose: Aleos was king not of a single Arkadian city but of the whole country, united in legendary times under a single ruler.¹³ With ἀπάσχη]c, 5 and 6 will begin, with an even margin, *γατέρα* and *λαυγην*; the first line of the play (2) will have been indented by about two and a half letters, and the title and ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις by a further four.

After *Ἀθηνᾶς* we have | to be filled, the end of the lacuna being also the end of the sentence, and in it we need a verb meaning 'made'; this will not by itself fill the whole of the space, and for the rest I expect ἐν *Τεγῆα(ι)*. That will leave us some seven or eight letters for the verb; I suppose therefore that it was ἐποίησεν, the same verb that is used of a similar appointment in *Ιον*, τὸν δ' ἐκτραφέντα ὑπὸ τῆς προφήτιδος οἱ Δελφοὶ νεωκόρον ἐποίησαν. The order, to avoid hiatus, will be ἐποίησεν ἐν *Τεγῆαι*; and this, divided *εποιη]cενεντεγεται*, will fit excellently, giving even margins.

To put all this together:

- Ἀγγη,] ἡc {ἡ} ἀρχή{ι}.*
- 2 *Ἀλέας Ἀθά]νας ὄδε πολ[ύχρυσος δόμος.*
 ἡ δ' ὑπό]θεσις.
- 4 *Ἄλεος ἀπάσχη]c Ἀρκαδίας δ[υναστεύων θυ-*
 γατέρα γενν]ήσας κάλλιε [διαφέρουσαν
- 5 *Ἀυγην ἰέρει]αν τῆς Ἀλέα]c Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίη-*
 σεν ἐν Τεγῆαι.]

The establishment of this sentence is not of itself of any great importance; but we do now have a known column-width to aid us in reconstructing the remaining lines. That width, of *c.* 31 letters, is very much what I should have expected (and Koenen's width of *c.* 41 letters is not): the other three papyri with three-line headings have widths of *c.* 25–27 letters (*IT2*), *c.* 28–30

¹¹ From the beginning of]c to the middle of]η, directly below, is 31 letters plus half of η; from the middle of]η to the beginning of]α, directly below, is 31 letters less half of η.

¹² Let no one suggest τῆ]c *Ἀρκαδίας*. Not only is τῆ]c too short for the space: the article is impossible as language. Our author puts no article with unqualified proper names when they are first mentioned: articles infringing this rule, which is normal in Greek, occur only in the medieval sources (where in some cases they can be shown to be intrusive) and in supplements in the lacunae of the papyrus texts. If there are indeed exceptions, there will be special reasons.

¹³ I do not know whether the extent of his empire might be responsible for the choice of *δυναστεύων* rather than *βασιλεύων* (as 'holding sway over' or the like).

letters (*II4*), and *c.* 29–30 letters (*II5*);¹⁴ and *III*, which was perhaps a fourth,¹⁵ has *c.* 24–26.¹⁶ It may be that the width is conditioned by the three-line layout: the first line of a Euripidean play, in the 34 known instances, ranges from 26 to 35 letters (average 30), and the copyist may have wanted this line not to end appreciably short of the right-hand margin (no difficulty if it was too long for the column: the end could be run over on to the line containing ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις, as has happened several times in *II4*).¹⁷

I add that although we know the width of the column we have not got a precisely defined left-hand margin. A copyist may begin his lines in exact vertical alignment, or he may as he descends the column begin them increasingly farther to the left; and we clearly cannot infer the angle of the margin from four ten-letter supplements (however certain) in consecutive lines. I remark, however, that as one descends the column the lines acquire a progressively greater upward slope (so that line 13 is 10° out of parallel with line 2); and my impression, which is purely *a priori*, is that this would happen more readily with a margin more or less perpendicular to the opening lines: the upward slope of the lower lines gives them the same sort of angle with a vertical margin that horizontal lines would have with a slanting margin, and I should guess therefore that slant and increasing slope are more likely to occur separately than in conjunction. I have worked on this assumption; but it is only an assumption and nothing more.

What remains is the following (with margins perpendicular to the lines at the top there will be *c.* 10–11 letters missing on the left, *c.* 12–13 on the right):

]ηδετησπα[
8]σπασησχο[
]σωλισθεν[

¹⁴ *II5b* has columns of *c.* 28–30 letters (*Alexandros*) and *c.* 29–31 (*Andromache*). *II5a* (same roll) has an average of 34 letters in *Aiolos*, but with rather smaller writing; in *Alkestis* (above *Aiolos* in the same column) the writing is of the same size as in *II5b*, with presumably *c.* 29–30 letters.

¹⁵ The fragment begins at the head of a column in mid-epitome and mid-sentence; this is at least compatible (and so is the writing) with its being from a book text, and so most likely from a text of the whole corpus, which one would expect (no certainty, of course) to have had the normal layout.

¹⁶ But in Part II <on *Alexandros*: not extant> I shall suggest that the exemplar of *II5*, certainly a text of the whole corpus and presumably (like *II5* itself) with a three-line heading, had *c.* 35. Other widths: *II3* (full heading, but written continuously) apparently *c.* 25–28; *II6* apparently *c.* 40–45 (but with a two-line heading, and apparently containing only a selection of epitomes; see above, nn. 5–6); *II7* *c.* 35–36 (but it may not be a book text: see above, n. 4).

¹⁷ In the three other papyri with this layout the first and third lines are heavily indented but the second, the first line of the play, begins flush with the margin; it is unexpected that in ours it should be indented slightly. Presumably the copyist felt that if the two short lines were to be indented the longer line between them should have some indentation too; this will have meant more frequent overruns (room for only *c.* 29 letters instead of *c.* 31), but overruns will have been common enough for this to be a matter of indifference.

- 10]ηταπλυν[
]λησιονκρη[
 12]δεκατατ[
]οινωμενο[
 14]..εν[

We expect an account of the rape of Auge by Herakles; and that is what we have, with traces of all the details that we know from other sources. Auge was dancing, at a festival of Athena ([Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 366 *Palladios choros* | *dum nectit Auge uim stupri passa*; Moses of Choren, cited in a Latin version of his Armenian by Nauck, *TGF* 436, *dum in Arcadiae quadam urbe festum Mineruae celebraretur, cum eiusdem sacerdote Augea Alei filia choreas in nocturnis sacris agitante rem Hercules habuit*): 8 χορ[.¹⁸ The festival was at night (Moses, above); 7 presumably πα[ννυχ-. The rape was at a spring near the temple (Paus. 8. 47. 4): 11 κρη[ν-. Auge was washing some woven fabric in the spring (Pompeian paintings, reproduced by Koenen): 10 ἐσθ]ητα πλυν[. Herakles was drunk (E. fr. 265): 13] οἴνωμένο[.

What is Auge washing? Koenen assumes without more ado that it is the goddess's clothing; and he erects on this assumption a theory of a festival of *πλυντήρια* at Tegea, and of a *ιερός γάμος* of Athena and Herakles, connected with the festival, in whose legend the priestess has replaced the goddess. I think that the assumption can be disproved, and the theory thereby deprived of its foundation, by a consideration of the text of our fragment with its column-width of *c.* 31 letters.

I begin with 9 ὤλιθεν. According to Koenen the subject is Herakles: when he saw Auge he ὤλιθεν [εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. The expression is to be parallel to what is said of Phaidra in the *Hippolytos* epitome: θεασιάμενη δὲ τὸν νεανίσκον] ἡ Φαῖδρα εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλιθεν,] οὐκ ἀκόλαστος οὐσα πληροῦσα δὲ Ἄ]φροδιίτης μῆνιν.¹⁹ Now an expression appropriate to Phaidra's reluctant and unhappy passion is not necessarily appropriate to Herakles' vigorous promiscuity; and indeed I think it completely inappropriate. But no matter: with a 31-letter column it becomes quite impossible to make Herakles the subject of ὤλιθεν. Auge is subject of the sentence beginning with 7] ἡ δέ; if Herakles is to be

¹⁸ χο[Koenen; but the plate seems to show a vestige of ink in place for the top left angle of ρ (with the upright bending back slightly as in 1).

¹⁹ A few letters (line-beginnings) in *II3*, the rest from the medieval manuscripts; all seems to tally here, though there are marked discrepancies elsewhere. But I am unwilling to impute to our author the hiatus in *Φαῖδρα εἰς*: a perverse hiatus, since with the same words it could be avoided by *θεασαμένη δὲ ἡ Φαῖδρα τὸν νεανίσκον*. It may be that he did avoid it thus, and that both the papyrus and the medieval tradition have inherited the same early dislocation; or it may be that he used words that differed slightly from those in the medieval manuscripts. I have seen no photograph of the papyrus, and cannot judge the possibility of accommodating *κατώλιθεν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν*; I do not think its word order an improvement.

subject of 9 ὤλιθεν, then between the two we must provide a verb for ἡ δέ, a transition to the new sentence, and a subject (Herakles) for ὤλιθεν. It is evident that 7–8 τῆς πα[to]στάτης is a genitive absolute, so that none of our desiderata can be inserted within it: all we are left with, for verb, transition, and subject, is 8–9 χορ[c. 22]c ὤλιθεν. I can think of only one way of doing this, χορ[εύουσα ὑφ' Ἡρακλείου ἐωράθη, δ]c ὤλιθεν [εἰς ἔρωτα; perhaps just suitable for length²⁰ (and the hiatus -η ὄc would I suppose be permissible at a pause), but the transition by the relative is so totally at variance with the elegant lucidity of our author that one has only to suggest it to reject it.

All that remains therefore is to make Auge the subject of ὤλιθεν, with Herakles becoming subject only with the new sentence of 12] δέ. And once Auge is subject everything becomes straightforward: she slipped not figuratively, into some error or misfortune,²¹ but literally—she had a fall when dancing, and in falling dirtied her clothes and had to leave the dancing temporarily to get them clean again. And that she should do so makes excellent narrative sense. She is raped, so the story goes, when dancing in honour of Athena. But not even Herakles will assault her in public: he must find her somewhere in temporary seclusion. The fall and the consequent laundering are a natural and effective way of achieving this seclusion.²²

²⁰ *λουσεωραθη*) fits perfectly; but [*λουσεωραθηρακλει* would project beyond the preceding lines by most of *λε* (and with *υποηρακλει* by even more). Not *ηρακλειου*, which would leave no room for a verb: *ωφθη* would be too long (and would the author have used it? *οραθει* in *Hek.*).

²¹ Koenen considers the possibility that Auge ὤλιθεν [*εἰς ὄλεθρον*] (he does not favour it, and it would in fact be intolerable); a literal slipping he does not consider.

²² I mention three features of the Pompeian paintings (which are evidently all adaptations of the same original, and may therefore be treated as one):

(a) Auge has a companion. This is natural enough on any account (what Greek girl would go alone to a spring at night?); there is no need therefore to draw an analogy with the two *πλυντρίδες* or *λουτρίδες* at the Athenian *πλυντήρια*.

(b) Auge is wearing an apparently quite normal garment (A), which Herakles is in process of tearing off her; she is washing a quite separate garment (B). If B is her own garment, she will have changed into A before washing it; why, if she can change into A, does she not go on dancing in A and leave the washing of B until the festival is over? One could easily think of a reason: that B was some special vestment, A a mere workaday garment unsuitable for the dance. But I should suppose rather that the artist is unconcerned with the realities: he needs B to indicate the washing; he needs A to indicate the imminent rape, with Herakles tearing it off a reluctant girl. With only a single garment he would have found it hard either (with Auge wearing it) to indicate the washing or (with Auge already naked) to indicate the imminent rape.

(c) It looks from the paintings as if the whole garment is being dipped in the water; clothing does not dry well at night, and if Auge puts the garment on again for the dancing it will still be soaking wet. I do not suppose that either the poet or the artist gave much thought to this practical detail; though I should guess that Euripides spoke merely of her going to the spring to get the garment clean again, leaving his audience free to think (if they thought at all) of a mere localized cleaning of the dirtied parts, with the garment as a whole remaining dry. But the artist had to indicate that the garment was being cleaned; and he could not do so without suggesting total immersion.

I consider now the detail. If Auge be subject from 7 until Herakles takes over in 12, her sentence will fall naturally into two parts, the first part ending with ὄλιθεν. This part will have been much as follows:

-]ῆ δὲ τῆς πα[ννυχίδος τῆς ἐ-
8 νιαυσίας περι]στάσης χορ[εύουσα ἐπὶ πηλώ-
δου ἐδάφου]ς ὄλιθεν·

For the genitive absolute I have considered two possibilities: τῆς πα[ννυχίδος . . . -]στάσης and τῆς πα[ννυχίου . . . -]στάσης χορ[είας]. I opt for the former because we need to be told that Auge herself is dancing, and this information will be given most readily by χορ[εύουσα]. Now in τῆς πα[ννυχίδος . . . -]στάσης the article requires there to be some definition of the παννυχίς (the author cannot speak simply of 'the παννυχίς' as if his readers knew all about it); the aorist participle -στάσης will mean in some way 'when the festival occurred' (not 'during the festival', which would have the perfect, -εστώσης); I suppose therefore 'when the annual παννυχίς came round' (LSJ περιίςτημι B. II. 1). In the rest I expect to be told what she slipped on, with]ς most likely the end of a genitive, presumably governed by ἐπί; my ἐπὶ πηλώιδου ἐδάφου]ς gives a suitable sense and is of the right length.

For the rest of Auge's sentence I suggest:

- [καταμιάνασα δὲ
10 ἰλύϊ τὴν ἐςθ]ῆτα πλύν[ειν εὐθὺς ὄρμη-
εν ἐπὶ τινα π]λησίον κρή[νην μεταχωρή-
12 casa.

'A nearby spring' is exactly right²³ (Paus. loc. cit., ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ ναοῦ κρήνη, where the rape is said to have taken place). Perhaps ἐπὶ τὴν π]λησίον κρή[νην, but the article is hard to justify ('the nearby spring', as if the author supposed either that his readers were familiar with the topography or that every temple had a spring in its purlieu); the grammars admittedly (as KG i. 609) offer me no better parallel for ἐπὶ τινα πλησίον κρήνην than Pl. Laws 639b οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἄρχοντα ἀλλά τινῶν ἐφόδρα γυναικῶν,²⁴ but I should expect the attributive use of the adverb, common when it is sandwiched between article and noun, to be easy enough when it is sandwiched between indefinite and noun.

I must enter one caveat about the reading. The final upright of the ν of πλυν[has ink descending to the right from its tip: this occurs also in 2 να

²³ Not Koenen's π]λησίον κρή[νης, 'near a spring': it was not near the spring but at it; and on Koenen's reconstruction (as she was washing the ἐςθῆς he raped her near a spring) one would need the article, 'raped her near the spring' (the spring where she was doing the washing).

²⁴ X. Oik. 19. 18 ὅταν ἔχη τι πλησίον δένδρον is 'has a tree near it'.

(a ligature running from the ν to the top of the loop of a), but not in 6 $\nu\tau$, 9 ν [, 11 $\nu\kappa$, 13 $\nu\omega$, $\nu\omicron$, 14 ν [\omicron . What I have supposed here is ν [ϵ : we have no instances of $\nu\epsilon$, but I see no reason to deny the possibility of a concave ligature from the tip of ν to the top of the downstroke of ϵ ; nevertheless I should point out that the only actual parallel is in νa . If this were ν [a , we should have presumably the aorist $\pi\lambda\upsilon\nu$ [a]; this is not the tense I should have expected, and I find it difficult (since the next word would begin with a consonant) to think of a convincing supplement.

Finally, Herakles. At this point supplementation becomes a good deal more speculative; I hazard the following:

- 12 $\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha$. Ἡρακλῆς] δὲ κατὰ τὴν χ ην παρὰ τῶ< ι > Ἀλέ-
 ω < ι > καταλύσας] οἰνωμένο[ς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐωχίας
 14 εἰς ταῦτὸ παραγεν[όμεν[$\omicron\varsigma$. . .

Some explanation of Herakles' presence in Tegea seems to be called for. For κατὰ τὴν χ ην cf. (of fortuitous presences) *Med.* Αἰγία κατὰ τὴν χ ην ἐπ[ιφανέντα, *Or.* κατὰ τὴν χ ην δὲ Μενέλαος ἐκ τῆς πλάνης ὑποστρέψας . . . ἦλθεν; for καταλύσας cf. *Alk.* κατέλυσεν παρὰ (Herakles lodging with Admetos),²⁵ *Hyps.* καταλύσαντες παρὰ τῆι τοῦ Λυκούργου γυναικί.²⁶ (For my $\tau\nu$ [Koenen reads τ [and supplements τῆ[ν ; from the plate the trace seems at least as compatible with the left arm of ν as with the tip of the left upright of η .) In 13,] οἰνωμένο[ς is certain.²⁷ Then in 14] . $\epsilon\nu$ [(of] . . only the tops): I am incredulous when Koenen says 'am ehesten:] $\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\nu$]',²⁸ and suppose from the plate that]ομεν[is at the least very likely (the first trace seems not to be the straight crossbar of Koenen's τ but the top arc of \omicron or ς ; of the second letter the traces look more like the apexes of μ than the tips of η). For]ομεν[or] ς μεν[a participle seems most promising;²⁹ there will be a good case at this

²⁵ I correct Turner's ϵ]κλυσεν πα[(*IIA*, ed. pr.; where see Plate iv).

²⁶ <Pencilled in the margin: 'Diod. 4. 33. 7 (of Her. at this time) καταλύσας παρὰ Ἀλέωι τῶι βασιλεῖ.'> In τῶι Ἀλέωι the hiatus between article and proper name is permissible: in papyri, *Archelaos* τοῦ Ὀξέλου and (quite certain) [οἱ Ἀριστο]δήμ[ου] παῖδες, *Temenidai* [τοῦ Ἀγαμέ]μνονος, *Phrix.* Α (probably) τῶ< ι > Α[θάμαντι; and cf. *Rhes.* δι' αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> Ἐκτορος τὸν φιλόνο ν ἐνηργήθηα[ι ἴε]πρωσεῖτ', where τοῦ is of itself desirable, would easily be lost, and removes an improper hiatus (of the two medieval manuscripts, V has a space between αὐτοῦ and Ἐκτορος, Q has an absurd $\phi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$; the verb, 'he alleged' or the like, is missing in VQ and corrupt in the papyrus—wrong sense and wrong tense, as well as an improper hiatus).

²⁷ I do not know why Koenen, after saying that Herakles was drunk, should supply θ]οινωμένο[ς . The form οἰνώμενος (as against ὦνω-) is common in manuscripts: invariable in those of Aristotle (according to LSJ s.v.); *S. Tr.* 268, *E. Ba.* 687, 814; *Poll.* 6. 21; also (if one may trust the editors' silence) *Plut. Mor.* 1d, 712b, *Alkiph.* 3. 21. 1.

²⁸ The hiatus would be venial if τῆ< ι > were the article; *Phrix.* Β τῶ< ι > ἐπιβουλομένη[ω ι.

²⁹ Other possibilities: in one word, ὑπ]ομέν[$\epsilon\nu$, προ]ομέν[$\epsilon\nu$, etc.; in two words, μέν (or μεν-) preceded by ὁ, τό, τοῦτο, -ατο, -ετο, etc., or by - ς . Our author is fond of μέν . . . δέ; but this does not seem a very likely place for them.

point in the narrative for παραγεννόμενος, of Herakles' arrival, and with it 'from the feasting' to explain his drunkenness ('the feasting' as being an expected ingredient or concomitant of the παννυχίς). The author's normal aorist participle of (παρα)γίγνομαι seems to be (παρα)γεννηθείς, five times in papyri (three with παρα-, two without);³⁰ but for παραγενόμενος cf. (also in papyri) perhaps *Alex.* 30 π[α]ρα[γενό]μενος,³¹ certainly *Alk.* γενόμενος (see n. 31) and *Med.* γενόμενος, and perhaps *Philokt.* [γενόμ]ερον.³² The three participles in the sentence I have produced need cause no hesitation, since they are not on a level ('H., who had been received as a guest by A., came along drunk from the feast and . . .'); compare the similar accumulation on different levels in *Rhes.*, [τουτο]ις δ' ἐπιφανείς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπηκθη[μένος τήν] [πολεμίαν παρ]ουσίαν, [ἐξ]απατηθείς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς [ὡς Ἀφροδίτ]ης ἄπρακτος ὑπέστρεψεν.³³

I give finally a continuous text of my restoration of the fragment, and append to it a drawing (figure 15) on which I have traced the surviving letters directly from the plate and my supplements from the same letters elsewhere on the plate (except for γ and φ, of which no example survives).

- Αὔγη,] ἦς {ῆ} ἀρχή{ι}·
- 2 Ἀλέας Ἀθάνας ὄδε πολ[ύχρυσος δόμος.
ἦ δ' ὑπό]θεσις·
- 4 Ἄλεος ἀπάσης] Ἀρκαδίας δ[υναστεύων θυ-
γατέρα γενν]ήσας κάλλιε [διαφέρουσαν
- 6 Αὔγην ἰέρει]αν τῆς Ἀλέα[ς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐποίη-
σεν ἐν Τεγέαι.] ἦ δὲ τῆς πα[ννυχίδος τῆς ἐ-
8 νιαυσίας περι]στάσης χορ[εύουσα ἐπὶ πηλώ-
δου ἐδάφου]ς ὤλιθεν, [καταμιάνασα δὲ

³⁰ παραγεννηθείς *Alex.* 26, *Rhes.*, *Phaeth.*; γεννηθείς *Aiolos*, *Phaeth.*

³¹ I say 'perhaps', since I am not wholly convinced by π[α]ρα as a reading; though the word is certainly what the context requires. I do not cite παρ]αγενόμενος from *Alk.* (*II5*, ed. pr): it will be ἐ]μαθεν πα[ρὰ (θεράποντός τινος) τ]ὰ γενόμενος[α.

³² In medieval sources (-)γενόμενος is much the commoner: παραγεννηθείς *IT* (-γενόμενος *Trikl.*), γενηθείς *Hkld.*; παραγενόμενος *Andr.*, *Hek.*, *Ph.* (παραγε[pap.]), *Rhes.* (παραγενηθεί[ντος] pap.), γενόμενος *Or.*, *Sthen.*, περιγενόμενος *Her.*

Other aorist forms: indicatives (papyri) [πε]ριγενήθη *Med.*, ἐγένετο *Temen(idai?) = II9*), (medieval sources) περιεγένετο *Peir.*, ἐγένετο *Ion*; infinitive (3 pap., 1 med.) and subjunctive (1 pap., 2 med.) are always middle.

I should have expected our author to be consistent (is he avoiding sequences of short syllables? That would account for an acquiescence in γενέσθαι, γένηται; it would also weight the scales especially against πᾶρᾱγᾱνόμενος); and I should not be surprised to learn that instances of (-)γενόμενος in papyri are due not to author but to copyist (as one certainly is, and doubtless others, in the medieval sources). But that is irrelevant to my present purpose; which is to restore the text as written not by the author but by a copyist.

³³ Papyrus text, with one mistake (ἐπέστρεψεν) corrected from the medieval tradition (in V, Haun., and Q) and with supplements based rather loosely (but securely) on that tradition, which is badly garbled.

- 10 ἰλύϊ τὴν ἐσθ]ήτα πλύν[ειν εὐθὺς ὄρμη-
- cen ἐπὶ τινα π]λησίον κρή[νην μεταχωρή-
- 12 casa. Ἡρακλῆς] δὲ κατὰ τύ[χην παρὰ τῶ<i> Ἄλέ-
- ω<i> καταλύσας] οἰνωμένο[ς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐωχίας
- 14 εἰς ταὐτὸ παραγεν]όμενος . . .

ΑΥΓΗΝΙΣΤΕΡΧΗΝ
ΑΛΕΞΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΟΔΕ ΠΟΛΥΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΔΟΜΟΣ
ΚΑΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ
 ΠΛΕΟΥΣΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΕΣΑΡ ΚΑΔΙΑΣ ΔΥΝΑΣ ΤΕΥΩΝΘΥ
 ΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΑΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΔΙΔΕΡΟΥΣΑΝ
 ΑΥΓΗΝΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΕΤΟΙΜ
 ΣΕΝΕΝΤΕΓΕΔΗ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΔΟΣ ΤΗΣ Ε
 ΝΙΑΥΣΙΔΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΣΗΣ ΧΟΡΕΥΟΥΣΑ ΕΠΙ ΠΗΛΩ
 ΔΟΥΣΕΒΔΑΦΟΥΣ ΩΧΘΕΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΑΝ ΑΣΑΔΕ
 ΙΛΥΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΣΘΗΤΑ ΠΛΥΝΕΙΝ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΩΡΜΗ
 ΣΕΝΕΠΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΚΡΗΝΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΧΩΡΗ
 ΣΑΣΑ ΜΕΡΑ ΚΛΗΣΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΥΧΗΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΑΛΕ
 Ω ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΑΣ ΟΙΝΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΩΧΙΑΣ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ

Figure 15

Shorter Notes

1. PINDAR, NEMEAN 4. 23¹

Our texts give Pindar three instances of ἔδράκην (all participles: *P.* 2. 20 -εῖσα, *N.* 7. 3 -έντες, fr. 123. 3 -εῖς) and one of ἔδρακον (*N.* 4. 23 κατέδρακεν); but I suppose the last (at the end both of a verse and of an Alexandrian colon: κατέδρακεν | Ἡρακλέος) to be in all likelihood a fourth instance of ἔδράκην, viz. κατεδράκη.

Pindar used a non-Ionic alphabet (I shall represent it by capitals); his poems were before long transcribed into the Ionic alphabet (I shall represent the transcription by unaccented lower-case). Pindar's alphabet used E for all varieties of *e*, our *ε* and *η* and non-diphthongal *ει*; the transliterator had to choose every time, and sometimes chose wrongly, between these three possibilities. If Pindar intended κατέδρακεν he wrote KATEΔΡΑΚΕΝ, if κατεδράκη KATEΔΡΑΚΕ; of the former the transliterator will have made κατεδρακεν, of the latter inevitably not κατεδρακη but the more familiar κατεδρακε, which before *η*- will then have acquired a paragogic *ν* and become κατεδρακεν (colon-end is irrelevant: in the transliterator's day a stanza was written continuously, like prose; at Alexandria the practice at colon-end was to put *ν* if the next colon began with a vowel). Whether therefore Pindar intended κατέδρακεν or κατεδράκη, our manuscripts will have the same κατέδρακεν; all that their reading tells us is that he intended one or other of these two forms, and we delude ourselves if we fancy that it can give any vestige of authority to one against the other. The only rational course is to proceed by analogy from Pindar's practice elsewhere; and since elsewhere he has forms of ἔδράκην three times and of ἔδρακον never, we must read κατεδράκη. We may of course be wrong: three instances are too few to

¹ <This chapter is put together from notes written at various times. I remember B. telling me of his emendation of *Pi. N.* 4. 23, and I later communicated it to W. B. Henry, who records and discusses it in his *Pindar's Nemeans: A Selection* (Munich–Leipzig 2005). Cf. B.'s conjecture of προσδρακείη at [A.] *Prom.* 903 in the Excursus to chapter 16 above, p. 367.>

give certainty. But we shall be a good deal more likely to be wrong if we read κατέδρακεν.

I do not expect to make many converts: people are likely to go on printing κατέδρακεν and to justify themselves by saying that this is the reading of the manuscripts. The mirage of authority is always a more alluring guide than the wavering compass of reason.

2. AESCHYLUS, *CHOEPHOROI* 973–1006²

In Appendix C of his edition of the *Agamemnon* (vol. iii, 809–15) Professor Fraenkel argues for the deletion (with Wecklein) of *Choephoroi* 991–6 and 1005–6.

I am certain that this deletion is right: other considerations apart, only thus does νῦν in 997 become intelligible, and (more important still) only thus, with the vacillation between φᾶρος and mother removed, is the passage reinstated as a unity of rhetoric and stagecraft, the whole of it concentrated on this huge crimson cloth, instrument and proof of murder, spread out in a compelling spectacle across the stage.

But I have two points to add.

First, the more important point: given that 991–6 are interpolated, so also are 989–90. For these two lines have no purpose but to lead up to 991–6. They are an inorganic addition to the previous sentence, of a kind common in interpolations; and being so added to it they destroy its rhetoric (it reaches its climax, and should end, with 988). More than that, this mention of Aigisthos and his deserts is out of place in the passage as a whole. From 980 to 1004 Orestes is concerned only with the φᾶρος and Klytimestra's deed: first, while the attendants are unfolding it (983–8), he calls upon the sun³ to witness it as evidence of her crime and the justice of her death; then, the unfolding complete, he passes straight to his denunciation τί νῦν προσείπω (997; the φᾶρος—witness the anaphoric νῦν—has been uppermost in his mind throughout). A mention of Aigisthos here, even to dismiss him, spoils the whole effect: it weakens the concentration on the φᾶρος at the very climax of its full display. Aigisthos has had all the mention he needs in the plurals of 973–9; after that

² <This and the following note appear to be early, from the 1940s or 1950s. The paper is 10" × 8", B. is not yet using a Greek typewriter, and in the Sophocles note he has not yet adopted the lunate sigma.>

³ <B. later realized that ὁ πᾶντ' ἐποπτεύων τᾶδε (985) must be Zeus, not the sun, and that 986 is interpolated. See my *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart 1990), 262–3.>

Orestes has done with him, and from now to the end of the play is concerned only with his mother's deeds and death.

My second point concerns the origin of the interpolation. Professor Fraenkel regards it as expansive: a producer inserted it to give actor and audience an extra piece of rant. I should suggest that it was rather an alternative: that 989–96 and 1005–6 were put together as a single whole to *replace* 997–1004, and that the present form of the passage is the work not of the interpolator but of an editor concerned to incorporate both versions in a reasonably intelligible text. This hypothesis has one marked advantage. The interpolator was able to write pseudo-Aeschylus well enough to deceive nearly every editor of the play; it is hard to believe this same man incompetent enough to leave an unintelligible *viv* at 997 and to produce an almost equally harsh jump from *φᾶρος* to mother at 1005. But given that the interpolation was to replace 997–1004, neither of these is the interpolator's work: they are both the editor's, and the interpolator's standard of competence becomes consistent.

3. SOPHOCLES, *ANTIGONE* 411 f.

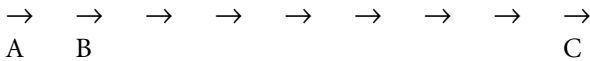
καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων ὑπήνεμοι
ὄσμήν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ βάλῃ πεφευγότες.

It seems desirable to give an explanation of this passage for the sake of undergraduates, who are (not unnaturally) either misled or perplexed when they read the remarks of Jebb (*ad loc.*) and Pearson (*CQ* 22 [1928], 181 f.).

The first essential (attained neither by Jebb nor by Pearson) is an understanding of the English words 'windward' and 'leeward'. You are to windward of an object when the wind is blowing from you to it, to leeward when the wind is blowing from it to you. The windward side of an object is the side nearest the source of the wind, the leeward side farthest from it: if the object is such as to provide shelter from the wind the windward side is exposed and the leeward side sheltered.

The second essential (attained by Pearson—though without the first it avails him little—but not by Jebb) is the relation of the English words to their Greek equivalents. For this Jebb quotes the evidence which he cannot use: *X. Oik.* 18. 6 f. (if you start winnowing ἐκ τοῦ προσηνέμου μέρους of your threshing-floor, the wind will blow the chaff all over the floor and mix it up with the unwinnowed corn; if you start ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηνέμου the chaff will be carried straight into the ἀχυροδόκη); *Thphr. CP* 3. 6. 9 (α πνευματώδης καὶ προσήνεμος τόπος opposed to τὰ ὑπήνεμα). *προσήνεμος* is '(to) windward', *ὑπήνεμος* is '(to) leeward'.

Now the guards are sitting ὑπήνεμοι, to leeward. To leeward of what? Not of the corpse: if you want to avoid a smell you do not sit to leeward of its source, so that the wind (and with it the smell) is blowing from the source to you. To leeward, clearly, of the hill-tops; which is why Sophocles says ἐκ and not ἐπί: ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων ὑπήνεμοι. And since the guard, wherever they are, must be in full view of the corpse, it follows (so obviously that Sophocles need not say it) that the hill-tops, and with them the guards, are to windward of the corpse. Diagrammatically (A is the hill-tops, B the guard, C the corpse; the wind is blowing with the arrow):



All this was understood by Campbell, and explained by him with perfect lucidity: ‘supposing the corpse to be exposed in a hollow of the high ground, surrounded by hillocks, they would select a point of observation on the lee-side of one of these hillocks, and to the windward of the corpse, which they would have full in view.’ But he assumed in his readers a knowledge of the meaning of the words ‘lee-side’ and ‘windward’; lacking that knowledge, Pearson can say: ‘Though struggling hard, I have failed altogether to understand Campbell . . . I can only suppose that ‘lee-side’ and ‘windward’ are not used *in pari materia*. There is no mystery about this matter: the simple meaning is that they selected a spot to *leeward* [his italics] of the corpse for the reason given in 412.’ Did they, indeed!

4. EURIPIDES, *ALKESTIS* 208 = *HEKABE* 412⁴

The same interpolation has affected two passages, one in *Alkestis* and one in *Hekabe*.

In *Alkestis* the maidservant, speaking to the chorus-leader, has described Alkestis’ desperate state; then

205 ὄμωσ δέ, καίπερ σμικρὸν ἐμπνέουσ’ ἔτι,
βλέψαι πρὸς ἀνγὰς βούλεται τὰς ἡλίου,
207 = A ὡς οὐποτ’ ἀθθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον
208 = B [ἀκτῖνα κύκλον θ’ ἡλίου προσόψεται].

Here she breaks off: ἀλλ’ εἶμι—I will go inside, and tell them you are here.

⁴ <Austin’s *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta* is cited, so after 1968; before vol. i of Diggle’s OCT (1984).>

In *Hekabe* Odysseus is about to take Polyxene away to her death. Hekabe threatens resistance, but Polyxene dissuades her; then

- 409 ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη μοι μήτερ, ἠδίστην χέρα
 δὸς καὶ παρειᾶν προσβαλεῖν παρηίδι,
 411 = A ὥς οὐποτ' αὖθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον
 412 = B [ἀκτίνα κύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσόψομαι].
 τέλος δέχρη δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγμάτων·
 414 ὦ μήτερ, ὦ τεκοῦς, ἄπειμι δὴ κάτω.

Each time the same pair of lines, A + B; each time Euripides wrote A, as an elliptical relative clause with ὥς = 'as' — 'as [she (you) will do] never again, but now for the last time of all'; each time the interpolator, with B, expands it into a causal clause with ὥς = 'since, for' — 'for never again, but now for the last time of all, will she (shall I) look on the rays and orb of the sun'.

Before I examine the two passages separately, I adduce one consideration that is relevant to both: namely that οὐποτ' αὖθις with ellipse of a future verb occurs in three other passages in which a doomed person's last actions are described by himself or by another. These passages lend evident support to my suppositions of that ellipse in *Alk.* and *Hek.*; to my contention, that is, that A was intended to stand alone without B following. The passages are these: *S. Ant.* 806–10 ὀρᾶτέ μ', ὦ γὰς πατρίας πολῖται, τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν στείχουσιν, νεάτον δὲ φέγγος λεύσσουσιν ἀελίου, κοῦποτ' αὖθις; *E. Tro.* 761–3 νῦν, οὐποτ' αὖθις, μητέρ' ἀσπάζου θέθεν, | πρόσπιτνε τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας | ἔλις ἐμοῖς νώτοις καὶ στόμ' ἄρμοςον; and an interpolation⁵ at *S. Ai.* 856–8 ἐδ', ὦ φαεννῆς ἡμέρας τὸ νῦν ἐλας, | καὶ τὸν διφρευτὴν ἥλιον προσεννέπω, | πανύστατον δὴ κοῦποτ' αὖθις ὕστερον.

I proceed now to consider the two passages separately; and first *Alkestis*. Here interpolation is palpable and generally acknowledged: B is intolerable after 206. All that has been doubted is the extent of the interpolation: Valckenaer (on *Hipp.* 682) expelled both A and B ('duo mihi uersus . . . ex Hecuba male uidentur collocati'); Lachmann expelled B alone. And Lachmann of course was right: A is flawless,⁶ and not only flawless but effective and (I would say) essential. The pathos of 'for the last time of all' is very much in place; the line provides (what 205–6 alone do not) a proper and

⁵ In general, of course, one ought not to adduce linguistic parallels from interpolations: an interpolator's notion of acceptable Greek will not be that of a fifth-century poet. But in this case we know already that the use was legitimate in fifth-century tragedy, and I cite the interpolation as evidence not of its legitimacy but of its familiarity: the interpolator (in the fourth century?) will have had access to far more tragedies than have survived to our day, and one may guess that he knew other instances of the use than the few which remain to us.

⁶ *Pace* Dale ad loc.: I have no notion why she should say 'the order becomes a little artificial with this addition' (i.e. with 207, alone, 'added' to 205–6).

satisfying clausula to the maidservant's account of Alkestis' state; finally the passage is intended to prepare us for Alkestis' imminent appearance on the stage, and the expectation of that appearance is created not by the mere announcement of her wish but by the suggestion⁷ ('as [she will do] now for the last time') that the wish is shortly to be fulfilled.

In *Hekabe*, on the other hand, interpolation is commonly not acknowledged: no one has ever assailed A and B together; B was deleted by Wecklein,⁸ but later editors have ignored his deletion.⁹ Yet it must be right. The pathos is greater if 412 is attached to 410–11, 'embrace me, for the last time of all', just as at *Tro.* 751–3 (cited above); the ellipse after *οὔποτ' ἀθλις* is suggested by the parallels. But what clinches the issue is the action on the stage. At some point Polyxene and Hekabe must embrace, and Polyxene must pause in her utterance as they do so. When do they do this if 412 is in the text? Not, evidently, after 410: 411–12, explaining the request, must come before not after its fulfilment. Only therefore after 412; but for the 'embrace me' to be separated from the embrace by two lines of explanation is manifestly bad theatre. Remove 412, making 411 part of the request, and they embrace naturally and effectively after 411: 'embrace me, for the last time of all', and then they do so.

The interpolator's motive will in each case have been dislike, or incomprehension, of the ellipse. The same motive is notorious in the interpolation prevalent after elliptical *ἀλλ' ὄμως*:¹⁰ *Or.* 1022–4 *οὐ γὰρ ἀφείκα τοὺς γυναικείους γόους | στέρξεις τὰ κρανθέντ'; οἴκτρα μὲν τάδ', ἀλλ' ὄμως | [φέρειν εἰ ἀνάγκη τὰς παρεστῶσας τύχας]* (the scholiast comments on a text without 1024); *Ba.* 1027–8 *ὡς σε στενάζω, δοῦλος ὢν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄμως | [χρηστοῖσι δούλοις κυμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν]* (1028 lifted ineptly from *Med.* 54); *Her.* 1364–6 *γῆι δ' ἐπὴν κρύψῃς νεκροῦς | οἴκει πόλιν τήνδ', ἀθλίως μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄμως | [ψυχὴν βιάζου τὰμὰ κυμφέρειν κακά]* (del. Nauck; *ψυχὴν βιάζου* is bizarre,¹¹ *κυμφέρειν* is inapposite

⁷ I had almost said 'implication'; but strictly, I suppose, 207 is part of the wish (she wishes to take what will be her last look at the sun), and so *implies* nothing as to its fulfilment. But the distinction is purely formal: whether implication or suggestion, the effect on the audience is just the same.

⁸ Its omission in M can only (as Wecklein recognized) be accidental: interpolations in tragedy establish themselves early and securely, and by medieval times their status had long ceased to be precarious. M in fact has the line written by the first hand in small letters between the lines, corrupted into the guise of a scholion: *ἀντι τοῦ κύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσόφομαι*. It will have been omitted in M's exemplar (or an ancestor of that exemplar) and then inserted again in its proper place in letters small enough to make the insertion possible; so written it will have had the appearance of annotation, and the mistaking of *ἀκτίνα* for *ἀντι τοῦ* was then an easy error.

⁹ <It is reported by Diggle and accepted by Kovacs.>

¹⁰ Protected from interpolation by the stichomythia at *El.* 753 *ἤκουσα κἀγώ, τηλόθεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὄμως*; cf. also *Ar. Ach.* 956 and *IA* 904.

¹¹ Its author intended it as 'force yourself to'; Wilamowitz's 'zwing dich zum Leben', with the infinitive epexegetic, is impossible.

when Herakles himself will *not* be in Thebes); at *Tro.* 366 and *Hkld.* 319 the case is less certain. In *Hekabe*, something not dissimilar at 1085–7 ὦ τλήμων, ὦς σοι δύσεφορ' εἴργασται κακά: | δράσαντι δ' αἰσχρὰ δεινὰ τὰπιτίμια | [δαίμων ἔδωκεν ὅστις ἐστὶ σοι βαρῦς] (1087 lifted from 723).

The current treatment of the passages (delete A + B in *Alkestis*, delete neither in *Hekabe*) is evidently encouraged by the belief that *Alkestis*, where B is most obviously intrusive, is interpolated from *Hekabe*. But the encouragement is irrational: if B came from one play to the other, this creates not the slightest presumption either that A came with it (Euripides could certainly use the same line in two different plays)¹² or that B was genuine in the play from which it came. And in any case, if the line did come from one to the other (which is anything but certain: why not from a third source to both?),¹³ I should expect it to have come from *Alkestis* to *Hekabe*: not simply because sunlight is already in the context of *Alkestis* but not of *Hekabe*, but because of the future *προσόψομαι* (-εται). The tense is necessary in *Alkestis*, where the looking is still to come; in a line devised for *Hekabe* I should expect the present *προσδέρομαι*—she *is* looking at it now, and the tense would more naturally be accommodated to the nearer *νῦν* than to the remoter *οὔποτ' ἀνθις*.

5. EURIPIDES, *HEKABE* 599–602¹⁴

Talthybios has ended his account of Polyxene's death, and of the nobility with which she met it. Hekabe begins with a few words on the multiplicity of her troubles; then she continues:

¹² *A priori*, I should have thought this obvious. *A posteriori*, I have compiled the following list (aided by an 1882 Strassburg dissertation of F. Schröder, *De iteratis apud tragicos Graecos*); I exclude instances where a line is certainly interpolated in one of the two plays, and mark with * instances where interpolation has been suspected; and I remark that the list would presumably be much longer if we had all Euripides' plays instead of about a fifth: identical, *Med.* 270 = *Tro.* 708, *Med.* 693 = *Peliades* fr. 602, *Hek.* 805 = fr. 1048. 1; virtually identical, **Hek.* 279 = *Or.* 66, *Telephos* fr. 149. 24 Austin <fr. 727c. 48 K.> = *IA* 818, *Med.* 1030 = **Tro.* 760, *Med.* 1310 = *Hel.* 779, *Andr.* 884 = *IT* 238; closely similar, well over a dozen pairs, e.g. *Hipp.* 281 and *Ba.* 215, *Med.* 1310 and *Hipp.* 353, *Med.* 546 and *Su.* 427, *El.* 14 and *Or.* 63.

¹³ The line's first appearance might perfectly well have been (to look no further afield) in one of Euripides' sixty-odd lost plays; where of course it might have been either genuine or interpolated.

¹⁴ <On 10" × 8" paper; in one draft the Greek is still written in by hand. B. mentions his condemnation of *Hek.* 599–602 on p. 199 of his *Hippolytos*. He was anticipated in it by G. M. Sakorraphus, *Mnemosyne* 21 (1893), 199.>

- καὶ νῦν τὸ μὲν σὸν ὥστε μὴ στένειν πάθος
 590 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἐξαλείψασθαι φρενός,
 τὸ δ' αὖ λίαν παρείλες ἀγγελεῖκά μοι
 γενναῖος. οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, εἰ γῆ μὲν κακῆ
 τυχοῦσα καιροῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχυν φέρει,
 χρηστῆ δ' ἄμαρτοῦς ὦν χρεῶν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν
 595 κακὸν δίδωσι καρπὸν, ἄνθρωποι δ' αἰεὶ
 ὁ μὲν πόνηρος οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν κακὸς
 ὁ δ' ἔσθλος ἐσθλός, οὐδὲ συμφορᾶς ἔπο
 φύςιν διέφθειρ', ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς ἐστ' αἰεὶ;
 [ἀρ' οἱ τεκόντες διαφέρουσιν ἢ τροφαί;
 600 ἔχει γὰρ μέντοι καὶ τὸ θρεφθῆναι καλῶς
 δίδαξιν ἐσθλοῦ· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τις εὖ μάθην
 οἶδεν τό γ' αἰσχροῦ, κανόνι τοῦ καλοῦ μαθῶν.]
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ἐτόξευεν μάτην·
 εὖ δ' ἔλθῃ καὶ σήμηνον Ἀργείοις τάδε,
 605 μὴ θιγγάνειν μοι μηδέν', ἀλλ' εἴργειν ὄχλον,
 τῆς παιδός.

599–602 are absurd here. The trouble is not that Hekabe is made to philosophize *παρὰ καιρόν* (that is common enough in Euripides); it is that the lines are utterly and disastrously irrelevant to her first and genuine point of 592–8.

I begin with 600–2. These lines are likely enough to be Euripidean; but Euripidean or not, they come from a context very different from ours. The speaker is talking about the source of our knowledge of right and wrong (with the emphasis, I think, on wrong), and has just said something like ‘the naturally virtuous have an innate sense of right and wrong, and an innate abhorrence of the latter’. Then he goes on: ‘yet (*γὰρ μέντοι* adversative, as usually) a good upbringing too (*καί*, as well as natural virtue) can teach one what is right, and so by implication what is wrong (*γὰρ* emphatic, because *τὸ αἰσχροῦ* is what is really in point)’.

But what happens in our context? In 592–8 she has said ‘the behaviour of land depends on circumstances as much as on its nature (bad land can on occasion be fruitful, good land unfruitful), but the behaviour of men depends on their nature alone: whatever his circumstances, the bad man is always bad and the good man good’. Her theme, that is, is consistency in virtue and vice; and for that theme the source of our knowledge of good and ill is neither here nor there. Not only that: when one tries to make sense of the lines in our context, one fails.

6. EURIPIDES, *ELEKTRA* 1185–9 ~ 1201–5¹⁵

Two utterances of the chorus are in responsion:

1185–9 (strophe)
 ἰὼ τύχας, ἅς τύχας,
 μήτηρ τεκοῦς ἄλαστα,
 <ἄλαστα> μέλεα καὶ πέρα
 παθοῦσα σῶν τέκνων ὑπαί·
 πατρὸς δ' ἔτειεας φόνον δικαίως.

1201–5 (antistrophe)
 πάλιν πάλιν φρόνημα σὸν
 μετεστήθη πρὸς αὔραν·
 φρονεῖς γὰρ ὅσα νῦν, τότ' οὐ
 φρονοῦσα, δευνὰ δ' εἰργάσω,
 φίλα, κακίγητον οὐ θέλοντα.

1185 ἰὼ τύχας, ἅς τύχας is — — — — —; 1201 πάλιν πάλιν φρόνημα σὸν is — — — — —. Before we accept this as an instance of the correspondence of syncopated and unsyncopated metra (Murray, Denniston) we should scrutinize the lines for signs of corruption. I find none in 1185;¹⁶ I do find one in 1201. The repetition of the verb φρονεῖς . . . οὐ φρονοῦσα is rhetorically effective; the effect is undermined if φρονεῖς is picking up a preceding φρόνημα. I suppose that Euripides wrote λήμα, and that this has been supplanted by its regular gloss: in the Euripidean scholia cf. *Med.* 119 (λήματα) φρονήματα, 348 (λήμα) φρόνημα, *Alk.* 982 (ἀποτόμου λήματος) τοῦ κληροῦ σου φρονήματος, *Rh.* 499 (λήμά τ' ἀρκούντως θρασύς) καὶ ἰκάνως τὸ φρόνημα θρασύς, *Or.* 1625.

7. EURIPIDES, *IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS* 28–41¹⁷

ἀλλ' ἐξέκλειψεν ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου
 Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς, διὰ δὲ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρα
 30 πέμψασά μ' εἰς τήνδ' ὠικισεν Τάυρων χθόνα,
 οὐ γῆς ἀνάσσει βαρβάροις βάρβαρος
 Θόας, ὃς ὠκὺν πόδα τιθεὶς ἴσον πτεροῖς

¹⁵ <After 1969 (n. 16), before vol. ii of Diggle's OCT (1981).>

¹⁶ Pace J. Diggle, *PCPS* 15 (1969), 55 <=*Euripidea*, 28>: he finds the repetition with ἅς 'banal', and seeks to remedy this by <κληρ>ἅς or <τερρ>ἅς or <τυγν>ἅς. I do not myself find the repetition banal; I do not desiderate another adjective as a prelude to ἄλαστα and μέλεα καὶ πέρα; and finally I doubt the appropriateness, when the τίς is δικαία, of any of Diggle's adjectives except conceivably the last.

¹⁷ <After 1969, as it cites Diggle, *PCPS* 15; not later than 1977, as there is no reference to T. C. W. Stinton's discussion of the passage in *JHS* 97. 149–51 (= *Collected Papers on Greek Tragedy* [Oxford 1990], 304–7). But pencil additions to the typescript take note of the 1981 OCT.>

- εἰς τοῦνομ' ἦλθε τόδε ποδωκείας χάριν.
 ναοῖσι δ' ἐν τοῖσιδ' ἱερέαν τίθησί με·
- 35 ὄθεν νόμοισιν οἶσιν ἦδεται θεὰ
 Ἄρτεμις ἑορτῆς, τοῦνομ' ἦς καλὸν μόνον—
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα κυῶ, τὴν θεὸν φοβουμένη·
 θύω γάρ, ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει,
 ὃς ἂν κατὰσχη τήνδε γῆν Ἑλλήν ἀνὴρ.
- 40 [κατάρχομαι μέν, σφάγια δ' ἄλλοισιν μέλει
 ἄρρητ' ἔσωθεν τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων θεᾶς.]

35 νόμοισιν οἶσιν Herwerden: νόμοισι τοῖσιδ' L (τοῖσιν Triclinius) uersum deleuit
 Monk 39 κατὰσχη Barrett: κατέλθη L 40–1 uersum deleuit Stedefeldt

In 38–41 various deletions have been proposed: in particular, of 38–9 by Murray (in his text) and then by J. Diggle in 1969 (*PCPS* 15, 56–9 <= *Euripidea*, 28–32>), and with 41 in his text of 1981), of 40–1 by H. Stedefeldt (as one of the *sententiae controuersae* appended to a dissertation *De Lysandri Plutarchei fontibus*, Bonn 1867), of 38–41 by H. Usener. My purpose here is to show that 38–9 are genuine and 40–1 intrusive.¹⁸

First, that 38–9 are genuine. It is crucial to the plot that every male Greek who arrives in the country must be sacrificed; and when a fact is thus crucial, it is Euripides' practice to set it straightforwardly before the audience in the prologue-speech. These lines do precisely this; without them, the information trickles out casually and incompletely from remarks that follow.

Delete the lines, and how are the audience told? In 36–7, merely a dark hint of something not καλόν. In 40–1 they hear of σφάγια ἄρρητα, sacrifices whose description is taboo: this implies nothing as to their nature (what is ἄρρητον may be wholly innocent). From 53–4 (Iphigeneia describing her dream) they learn at last that she is concerned with the killing of ξένοι: καὶ γὰρ (sc. ἔδοξα) τέχνην τήνδ' ἦν ἔχω ξενοκτόνον | τιμῶς ὑδραίνειν αὐτὸν ὡς θανούμενον; but in fact this τέχνην τήνδ' ἦν ἔχω ξενοκτόνον is no way of giving information, but natural only as an allusion to information already given. The next fact, that it is Greeks who are killed, will emerge only when Iphigeneia has gone, when Orestes and Pylades appear: 'Is this the temple?' says Orestes, and then (72) καὶ βωμός, Ἑλλήν οὐ κατασάζει φόνος; Once again, natural enough when the audience know the facts already, but no way of apprising them of the facts. And that is all: of one essential, that every male Greek who arrives here is sacrificed, no mention at all.

¹⁸ Others since Stedefeldt have supposed this (as Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea*, 33, and, in their texts, Bruhn, Weil, England, and Strohm); but I have nowhere seen the case fully argued.

We know Euripides' way: with the lines, we have it; without them, we do not (nor indeed do we have even a workable alternative). Deletion is out of the question.

What has caused difficulty, of course, is Iphigeneia's supposed inconsistency: τὰ δ' ἄλλα *κιγῶ*, she says, and then at once proceeds to tell us everything. But the difficulty is illusory: her *κιγῶ* is a suppression not of the facts (they are well known, and she can speak of them without a qualm) but of her judgment on them. Her *τοῦνομι' ἦς καλὸν μόνον*¹⁹ is building up to a forthright condemnation, τὰ δ' ἔργ' ἀνόσια or the like; she suppresses it, *κιγῶ*, and contents herself with a mere statement of the facts.²⁰ This statement was what she had originally intended to give as the completion of the sentence beginning *ὄθεν*; now, after suppressing her condemnation, she breaks her construction and adds the statement instead with *γάρ*, as an indication of what her judgment would have been and why therefore (hence the *γάρ*) it must be suppressed.

The parallel of *El.* 1244–6 is very nearly exact: (Kastor speaking to Orestes) *δίκαια μὲν νυν ἦδ' ἔχει, ἐν δ' οὐχὶ δρᾶις· | Φοῖβός τε, Φοῖβος—ἀλλ' ἀναξ γάρ ἐστ' ἐμός, | κιγῶ· σοφὸς δ' ὦν οὐκ ἔχρησέ σοι σοφά.* Kastor, like Iphigeneia, was building up to a forthright condemnation; like her he suppresses it, *κιγῶ*, breaks his construction, and contents himself with more tactful words—not this time with a statement of the facts (which are notorious), but with the *λιτότης* of 'his oracle was not in accordance with his wisdom'.

Second, that 40–1 are intrusive. The prologue-speech falls into two parts: first the factual background, then (beginning with 42) Iphigeneia's dream; between the two parts the actor will pause. Before that pause the monstrous fact of 38–9 forms a natural and effective climax; the climax is destroyed if 40–1 with their palliative detail tag on lamely after them (their lameness enhanced by what is by any account an awkward *asyndeton*). This alone should damn them; but they damn themselves for another reason too, that what they say is false: the *cfάγια* take place not within the temple but at the altar that stands in front of the temple in full view of the audience, to be discussed and described by Orestes and Pylades in 72–3.

¹⁹ *τοῦνομα* is the word *ἐορτή*, a fair name concealing practices that are foul: so Badham, rightly approved by Diggle, 58 <= 32>.

²⁰ <Pencilled addition in typescript:> When I speak of Iphigeneia as suppressing, intending, and so on, I mean of course that Euripides gives her the words of a person who suppresses, intends, and so on, and that he means the audience to understand them thus. My way of speaking is much more convenient; but we must remember always that it is only a kind of convenient shorthand; I cannot think that anyone will be misled by it here. But there are certainly places where people use this shorthand without thinking back <these two words doubtfully read> in (what alone matters) the poet's intention.

It is easy to see whence 40–1 are derived, and how the falsehood arose. In 617 Orestes asks *θύσει δὲ τίς με*, and Iphigeneia replies *ἐγώ*. Then 621–4:

- Op.* αὐτὴ ξίφει θύουσα θῆλυς ἄρκενας;
If. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ χαίτην ἀμφὶ σὴν χερνίβομαι.
Op. ὁ δὲ σφαγεὺς τίς; εἰ τὰδ' ἱστορεῖν με χροή.
If. εἴσω δόμων τῶνδ' εἰςὶν οἷς μέλει τάδε.

There we have the content of the lines and a good deal of the wording, with the falsehood in the content based on a misunderstanding: the acolytes of 624 are indoors *as Iphigeneia speaks*, not when they sacrifice. There is more of the wording in 56 (Iphigeneia interpreting her dream) *τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης, οὐδ' ἀκατηξάμην ἐγώ*, and then in 65–6 *εἴμ' εἴσω δόμων | ἐν οἷσι ναίω τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων θεᾶς*.²¹

The purpose of the interpolation? I suppose it to be a 'pedantic' one, of the kind I have discussed on *Hipp.* 625–6, 663, 871–3: Iphigeneia must not be allowed the imprecision of *θύω*²² (even though she says the same at 618), but must give the same detail as in 621–4, at whatever cost to the dramatic effect. It may be that the interpolator intended his lines as an addition to the original text; I think it more likely that (as I suppose in all three passages in *Hipp.*) he intended them as a replacement of the lines he disliked,²³ and that the two versions were later conflated by an editor (doubtless with an indication in his margin that they were alternative): it is perhaps symptomatic that here as at *Hipp.* 625–6 and 871–3 the false version has been deleted by some modern scholars and the genuine one by others. I add that this supposition accounts for the asyndeton between 39 and 40: 40–1 as a replacement of 38–9 construed as part of the main sentence (*ᾄθην . . . κατάρχομαι κτλ.*) and needed no connecting particle; the asyndeton arose only by accident, when the two versions were put together.

The lines to be replaced were presumably 38–9. I have considered the possibility that they were 37–9 (for it might be that the interpolator felt the same qualms about *κιγώ* as have been felt in modern times, and indeed that these qualms contributed to his distaste for 38–9); in this case one might say that *ἄρρητα* was his substitute for the abandoned *κιγώ*. But I think it more likely that he left 37 in his text, and that *ἄρρητα* was intended not as his substitute for *κιγώ* but as his explanation of it.

²¹ The three passages between them provide the words which I here bracket: (*κατάρχομαι*) *μὲν, (σφάγια) δ' ἄλλοισιν (μέλει) | ἄρρητ' (ἔσωθε τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων θεᾶς)*. I doubt whether *ἄρρητα* (which I shall mention below) derives from 1198.

²² Imprecision, not inaccuracy: the person in charge of the sacrifice may naturally be said to *θύειν* even though others do the actual killing.

²³ That he was thereby removing something indispensable will have occurred to him no more than it has occurred to modern scholars who have deleted the lines.

I comment on various details.

In 35, Herwerden's *νόμοισιν οἷσιν*²⁴ is rightly resuscitated by Diggle in place of the vulgate *νόμοισι τοῖσιν*: Euripides would not have used *τοῖσιν* as relative except under metrical constraint. *τοῖσιν* is only Triklinios' correction of L's *τοῖσιδ*²⁵; and that *τοῖσιδ*²⁵ presumably arose when a copyist's eye slipped from *οἷσιν* to *τοῖσιδ* directly above.

In 35–6, objection has been raised to the 'hyperbaton' *νόμοισιν . . . ἑορτῆς* (so Bruhn ad loc., Diggle p. 56 <= 29>). But the word order is not hard to parallel: cf. (with genitives of various kinds) Th. 2. 67. 4 *τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὐκ ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων*, 4. 12. 1 *τὸ τροπαῖον . . . ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης*, 7. 43. 3 *τὸ τεῖχος οὗ ἦν αὐτόθι τῶν Κυρακοσίων αἰρούσι*, E. *Hel.* 1026–7 *Ἦρας δὲ (sc. εὐχου) τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐν ταύτῳ μένειν | ἦν εἰς σὲ καὶ σὸν πόσις ἔχει σωτηρίας*. A genitive so placed seems to be felt as construing rather within the relative clause than outside it: so evidently in many of my parallels, and such a construction is unquestionable (a) with similar genitives placed inside the relative clause, e.g. Th. 6. 100. 1 *τοὺς ὀχετοὺς αὐτῶν οἳ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπονομηδὸν ποτοῦ ὕδατος ἡγμένοι ἦσαν*, (b) with nouns placed at the end of the relative clause in agreement not with the antecedent but with the relative, e.g. *IT* 63–4 *σὺν προσπόλοισιν ἄς ἔδωχ' ἡμῖν ἄναξ | Ἑλληνίδας γυναῖκας*. I suppose therefore that our passage would be delivered with no pause before *ἑορτῆς*; it may well be the assumption of such a pause (which in English or German would be inevitable with this word order) that lies behind the objections.

I have considered a further possibility: that Monk was right in deleting 35, and so leaving *ναοῖσι δ' ἐν τοῖσιδ' ἱερέαν τίθησί με | Ἄρτεμις ἑορτῆς, τοῦνομ' ἦς κτλ.* The deletion has certain advantages: the subject of *τίθησι*, which with the manuscript text is formally unclear between Artemis and Thoas,²⁵ is now unambiguously Artemis; the construction becomes completely regular; and there is now only one reference to the *νόμος* of the sacrifice (certainly Iphigeneia must make it clear to the audience that the sacrificing of Greeks is established custom and no innovation of her own; but once may be thought enough). But it has two disadvantages which I am unable to discount. First, Iphigeneia is evidently in full charge of the temple and all its ritual and cult-objects, and not merely of this single infrequent rite of sacrificing Greeks:

²⁴ Thought of, but never adopted, before Herwerden: Musgrave, reading *νόμοισι τοῖσιν*, speaks of the *insuavis sonus* of *νόμοισιν οἷσιν*; Matthiae, reading *δθ' ἐννόμοισι τοῖσιδ*, says of *νόμοισι τοῖσιν* that it is hard to see why Euripides should have preferred it to *νόμοισιν οἷσιν*.

²⁵ I suppose not more than formally: the mention of Thoas may be thought too brief and subordinate to give him much chance of being felt as subject of what follows. If one thinks of practical details, Thoas may be a likelier subject (how does a goddess install a priestess?); but in a context of miracles practical details may presumably be ignored.

she is κληιδούχος (131), πυλωρός (1153); at 1199 she has an unquestioned right to cleanse the polluted cult-image. If 34 construes alone it gives her this full charge; 36 construing with it limits her office, both improperly and awkwardly (for the audience will already have assumed *ιέρεα* to have its normal unrestricted sense).²⁶ Second, what motive was there for the interpolation? We should need I think to suppose that the man who replaced 38–9 by 40–1 inserted 35 at the same time so that his 40–1 might have a construction: unlikely behaviour, when he might more easily have put the substance of 40–1 into lines which construed without further modification of the text.

In 39 Diggle objects to *κατέλθῃ* that in tragedy the verb means either ‘descend’ or ‘return (as from exile)’; and he takes its use here as ‘arrive at’ (‘for which LSJ can find no better authority than *Od.* 24. 115 *κατήλυθον ἡμέτερον δῶ*, an unhomeric passage bristling with abuse of language’) to be a mark of interpolation. Its use here will in fact rather be as ‘put into, land in’, with *κατα-* as in *καταπλεῖν*, *κατάγεςθαι*, *κατασχεῖν*; LSJ cite (what Diggle missed: it is under *κάτειμι*) *Od.* 16. 472 f. *νῆα θοῆν ἰδόμην κατιούσαν | ἐς λιμέν’ ἡμέτερον*. It remains true that the use is unexpected, when Euripides had the metrically equivalent *κατάσχη* at his disposal (cf. *Cy.* 223 *ληισταί τινες κατέσχον ἢ κλώπες χθόνα*; *Hel.* 1206 *πόθεν κατέσχε γῆν*; fr. 846. 3 *Ἄργος κατασχών*); corruption of *κατάσχη* to *κατέλθῃ* would equally be unexpected, but is certainly on the cards.

8. EURIPIDES, *HELEN* 335–7²⁷

335 ἰὼ μέλεος ἀμέρα·
 τίνα τάλαινα τίν’ ἄρα δακρυ-
 337 όεντα λόγον ἀκούομαι;

336 τίνα τάλαινα τίν’ ἄρα Barrett: τίν’ ἄρα τάλαινα τίνα L

The manuscript reading in 336–7 gives four iambic metra with the second and third | *νᾶ τῖνᾶ δᾶκρῦῶεντᾶ λόγῶν* |; these admit of two treatments. (My

²⁶ Normal, but I think not invariable: I suppose *ιέρεα ἐορτῆς* to be possible Greek. At *Hek.* 223–4 *θύματος δ’ ἐπιστάτης | ιερέυς τ’ ἐπέστη τοῦδε παῖς Ἀχιλλέως* it would not be easy to dissociate *ιερέυς* from *θύματος*; cf. *Ba.* 1114 *πρώτη δὲ μήτηρ ἤρξεν ιερέα φόνου*, where *φόνου*, construing primarily after *ἤρξεν*, may be felt also to construe to some extent after *ιερέα*.

²⁷ <This and the two following notes on *Helen* all postdate Kannicht’s commentary on the play (1969). The note on 352–3 is still on 10” × 8” paper, the other two on A4.>

| delimits the metra, my † marks word-end.) One, | ∪ † ∪ ∪ † ∪ ∪ | ∧ – ∪ † ∪ ∪ |, involves syncope following a resolved longum: Dale's absolute prohibition of this phenomenon is perhaps unjustified, but it is at least very rare indeed, and there can be no doubt that this instance is exceptionally harsh.²⁸ The other, | ∧ ∪ ∪ ∪ † ∪ | ∪ – ∪ † ∪ ∪ |, involves split resolution following syncope: this also is vanishingly rare.²⁹ Metrically, that is, the manuscript text invites suspicion; if there is no simple and obvious remedy we must keep the text on probation, if there is such a remedy we should adopt it.

Dale herself <*Euripides: Helen*> adopts Hermann's transposition | τῖν' ἄρα τάλαινᾶ τῖνᾶ λῶγῶν | δᾶκρῦῶεντ' ἄκῶνσῶμαί |. Metrically this is unexceptionable, but its word order is clearly inferior to that of the manuscript (the important *δακρύνετα* should precede the neutral *λόγον*): metrical normality is bought at too high a price.

My own transposition of ἄρα does seem to me the simple and obvious remedy that we require. The metre is now absolutely regular (I have printed it as four iambic metra with the first anceps suppressed; it could equally well be four trochaic metra with the last anceps suppressed);³⁰ the same sequence thrice in this *κομμός* in utterances of the chorus (338–9, 346–7, 360–1). No violence is done to the word order: when the first word of a sentence is doubled, words which tend to second place (enclitics, vocatives, particles) may either follow the first instance (e.g. *Ph.* 103 ὄρεγέ νυν ὄρεγε γεραιὰν χέρα, *Or.* 971 βέβακε γὰρ βέβακεν) or follow the second instance (e.g. *Hel.* 331 βάτε βάτε δ' εἰς δόμους, 370 βοὰν βοὰν δ' Ἑλλάς αἶα κτλ.) or be distributed between the two positions (*Ph.* 819 ἔτεκες ὦ γαῖ' ἔτεκές ποτε κτλ., *S. Ai.* 1215 τίς μοι, τίς ἔτ' οὖν τέρψις ἐπέεται). Finally the corruption that I suppose—the appending of the (ἄ)ρα to the wrong τίνα—may be thought to be an exceptionally easy one.

²⁸ Kannicht ad loc. cites four instances: *Andr.* 1219, *Hek.* 1093, *Ion* 1449, *IT* 864–5. I put no great trust in the last three (all in mixed metrical contexts, and in *IT* at least I have no confidence in the text); *Andr.* 1219 seems inescapable (| ἀμπτᾶ' μένᾶ' | φροῦδᾶ πᾶντᾶ κείτᾶι | ~ ω φίλος | δόμον ἐλίπες | ἐρῆμον |). The problem is complicated by the issue of 'cretics': are we to exclude *Hek.* 1100–1 | ἀμπτᾶ' μένῶς | οὐρανῶν | ὑψίπτετες | εἰς μεῖλαθρόν | in the belief that 'cretics' in sequence are not to be regarded as syncopeated iambic or trochaic metra? Finally does word-end after the resolution (in *Andr.* and *Hek.* 1100–1) make any difference?

²⁹ On split resolution see L. P. E. Parker, *CQ* 18 (1968), 241 ff. Her 'more probable examples' of split resolutions in the iambs, trochaics, and cretics of drama include no instances after syncope, unless three instances of 'cretics' be taken into account: in Euripides only *Ph.* 1525 | τῖν' ἐπὶ πρῶτων ἀπὸ χάλιτᾶς σπᾶράλυμις ἀπᾶρχᾶς βᾶλω |.

³⁰ The resolved longum τῖν' ἄ(ρα) is not of course split resolution: there is no 'split' when the first of the shorts is a non-postpositive monosyllable; and here the two syllables are further welded by the postpositive nature of ἄρα and by the elision.

9. EURIPIDES, *HELEN* 352–3

Helen, with Menelaos believed dead, intends to kill herself, either by the rope or by the sword. The former alternative she expresses thus:

φόνιον αἰώρημα διὰ δέρας ὀρέξομαι.

These words have never yet, to my knowledge, been understood. The renderings in current editions and lexica are quite wide of the mark: Pearson ‘I will stretch out for my own behoof a murderous hanging noose across my neck’; Grégoire ‘d’un nœud de mort; d’un nœud suspendu; j’enlacerai mon cou’; Kannicht ‘ich werde mir ein tödlich durch den Hals (schneidendes) Gehänge langen’, and ‘αἰώρημα . . . die herabhängende Schlinge’; LSJ αἰώρημα 2 ‘*hanging cord, halter*, E. *Hel.* 353’; Passow–Crönert αἰώρημα ‘= τὸ αἰωρούμενον, schwebende Last, Eur. *Hel.* 353’; Dale gives the passage up as hopelessly corrupt.

αἰωρεῖσθαι is used of anything that stays clear of the ground with no support beneath it; it may be suspended from above, it may be floating free. ὀρέγειν is to stretch out a part of one’s body (normally a limb), or anything held by it, as far as possible from the body’s centre or vertical axis; ὀρέγεσθαι as a deponent is to stretch oneself out (normally again by extending a limb, but the limbless snake can ὀρέγεσθαι, *Il.* 11. 26). Here Helen, by hanging herself, will (a) αἰωρεῖσθαι, swing or hang free in the air, (b) ὀρέγεσθαι, stretch herself out—by extending not a limb but her neck.³¹ αἰώρημα is not ‘noose’ but a *nomen actionis*, construing as internal accusative (the miscalled ‘apposition to the sentence’ that I have discussed at length on E. *Hipp.* 752–7): διὰ δέρας ὀρέξομαι αἰωρουμένη, ‘I will stretch myself out all through my neck in a lethal hanging’.³²

The case of αἰώρημα is the same in the other two passages in Euripides where it occurs.³³ At *Su.* 1045–7 Euadne, poised on a rock and about to leap down into the pyre, says ἦδ’ ἐγὼ πέτρας ἔπι | ὄρνις τις ὡσεὶ Καπανέως

³¹ In such photographs or paintings as I have seen of persons hanged the elongation of the neck is very noticeable.

³² It is perhaps relevant to say that in colloquial or vulgar English the words ‘swing’ and ‘stretch’ have since the sixteenth century been euphemisms for death by hanging.

³³ The word is rightly understood (in all three passages) by V. Di Benedetto, *Maiia* 13 (1961), 298 f.; but he misconstrues it both at *Su.* 1047 (‘accusativo di oggetto interno di *κουφίζω*, che mi pare sia da intendere come intransitivo’) and at *Hel.* 352–3 (‘anche se l’oggetto normale di *διὰ δέρας ὀρέξομαι* dovrebbe essere qualcosa come *βρόχον* o simile, egli [sc. Euripide] preferiva sostituire alla menzione della cosa quella dell’effetto, provocato dall’azione espressa dal verbo’).

ὕπερ πυρᾶς | δύστηνον αἰώρημα κουφίζω, with αἰώρημα κουφίζω = κούφως αἰωροῦμαι (as E. *El.* 861 πῆδημα κουφίζουσα = κούφως πηδῶσα, S. *Ai.* 1287 ἄλλα κουφιεῖν = κούφως ἀλείσθαι); at *Or.* 984 τὰν οὐρανοῦ μέσον χθονός τε τεταμέναν αἰωρήμασι πέτραν the rock τέταται αἰωρούμενη, with the dative αἰωρήμασι as at e.g. *Ba.* 169 κῶλον ἄγει ταχύπουν σκιρτήμασι βᾶκχα.

A final detail: everyone so far seems to have overlooked the correction (necessary in a case-ending) of Attic δέρης to lyric δέρασ. <Diggle prints this in his OCT (1994), claiming it as his.>

10. EURIPIDES, *HELEN* 898–9

Helen asks Theonoe not to tell her brother of Menelaos' arrival:

μή μου κατείπησ' εὖ κασιγνήτῳ πόσι
τόνδ' εἰς ἐμὰς ἦκοντα φιλιτάτας χέρας.

I should have supposed the construction scarcely to need elucidation, if it were not that one misunderstanding or another has induced Pearson, Dale, and Kannicht all to replace μου by Lenting's (and Seidler's) μοι.³⁴

898 means 'do not denounce my husband to your brother': so *Hek.* 243 (Hekabe reminding Odysseus of the time when he came to Troy as a spy) ἔγνω δέ σ' Ἑλένη καὶ μόνῃ κατεῖπ' ἐμοί, *Andok.* 2. 7 κατειπεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας. The word order μου . . . πόσι, with the enclitic genitive second in its clause, and separated from the noun on which it depends, is abundantly illustrated by Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* 32 (= *IF* 1 [1892], 364): his examples include (as well as our line) e.g. *Il.* 14. 95 νῦν δέ σ' ἐν ὄνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας, *Ar. Frogs* 573 οἷς μου κατέφαγες τὰ φόρτια, *Knights* 708 ἐξαρπάσομαι σου τοῖς ὄνυξι πάντερα, *Pl. Rep.* 327b καὶ μου ὅπισθεν λαβόμενος ὁ παῖς τοῦ ἱματίου; with a quasi-enclitic (op. cit. 34 [= 366]), e.g. E. *Hkld.* 12 ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν γῆς ἀπηλλάχθη πατήρ. In the participial clause, 899 '(denounce my husband) as present here', τόνδε is of course predicative with ἦκοντα, 'has arrived (and is) here' (so, just before, 874 ἦκει πόσις εἰς Μενέλεως ὄδ' ἐμφανής; and e.g. *IT* 236 ὄδε . . . βουφορβὸς ἦκει).

Pearson's misunderstanding is complete: he reads μοι 'since (1) there is no other instance of κατειπεῖν c. gen. in Euripides, (2) the complex idiom, by

³⁴ For the priorities, see Kannicht: Lenting in his edition of *Med.* (1819), Seidler in the commentary of Hermann (1837; for Hermann's use of Seidler's conjectures see his preface, vi–vii).

which *κατειπεῖν* is followed by gen. of person and object clause, is more suitable to prose'; i.e. he supposes *μου* to involve an absurdity which is presumably 'lay against me an information that my husband has arrived'. Dale at least does not parade the absurdity, but is equally unconscious of the truth: 'the gen. is hard to construe.' Kannicht rejects the absurdity and contemplates the truth, but only to reject it in turn: 'der Genitiv läßt sich [nicht], wegen *τόνδε*, possessiv auf *πόσι* . . . beziehen.' Presumably he regards *τόνδε* as attributive; but it is predicative, and predicative *τόνδε* is no more incompatible with *μου* than at 874 (cited above) predicative *ὄδε* is incompatible with *κόσ* (cf. e.g. *Alk.* 1126 *τήνδ' ὀραίς δάμαρτα σήν*, *Or.* 1013 *καὶ μὴν ὄδε κόσ κύγγονος ἔρπει*).

I have printed the *φιλάτας* of the manuscript not because I believe it to be right but in order not to distract attention from my defence of *μου*. In fact I have no doubt that Cobet (*Novae Lectiones*, 196), followed by Kannicht, is right with *φίλτατον*: Menelaos' affection for Helen is not in point, only Helen's for Menelaos. Assimilation to the case of the neighbouring *χέρας* was a very easy error.

11. EURIPIDES, *KYKLOPS* 290–5, 318–19³⁵

Odysseus pleads with the Cyclops not to kill and eat men who have done such service to his father Poseidon:

290 οἱ τὸν κόν ὄναξ πατέρ' ἔχειν ναῶν ἔδρα
 ἔρρυάμεσθα γῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδος μυχοῖς·
 ἱεράς τ' ἄθραυτος Ταυάρου μένει λιμῆν
 Μαλέας τ' ἄκροι κευθμώνες, ἣ τε Σουνίου
 δίας Ἀθάνας σῶς ὑπάργυρος πέτρα

295 Γεραίστιοί τε καταφυγαί.

290 ναῶν Canter: νεῶν L 291 ἔρρυάμεσθα Matthiae: εἰρυάμεθα L 292 ἱεράς
 Barrett: ἱερέυς L ἄθραυτος Triclinius: ἄθραυτος L 293 ἣ Triclinius: οἷ L

The Cyclops rejects the plea:

318 ἄκρας δ' ἐναλίαις αἶς καθίδρυνται πατῆρ
 χαίρειν κελεύω· τί τάδε προυστήσω λόγου;

318 αἶς Paley: ἄς L 319 λόγου Barrett: λόγω L

³⁵ <After 1965 (n. 36); perhaps before 1973 (ibid.).>

290. The four shrines of Poseidon are all associated with anchorages, and anchorages might be called νεῶν ἔδραι; but from 292 ἄθραυστος and from 318–19 it is evident that we want not ‘anchorages’ but ‘temples’, and ‘temples’, in tragedy is not νεῶν but ναῶν (Björck, *Das Alpha impurum*, 103 f.).

291. ἱερέυς is nonsense. Editors commonly accept a Byzantine conjecture ἱερός (found in copies of L); but ἄθραυστος predicative cannot be thus preceded by a descriptive epithet of λιμῆν. We must read ἱεράς; cf. Pi. P. 4. 44 *Ταίναρον εἰς ἱεράν*. In L the ligature for εὔ is often very similar to α; it is likely that L’s exemplar was another minuscule manuscript in which it was equally similar.³⁶

318. ἄς is absurd: Poseidon has not ‘set up’ or ‘established’ or ‘founded’ the headlands. It is he himself who, in his cult-statue, is set up *on* the headlands, with καθίδρυται passive: cf. SIG 1020. 5 (Halikarnassos, first century BC) *Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ καθιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆν ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροιζήνος ἀγαγόντων*, Plut. *Rom.* 29. 1, Plb. 10. 10. 8 (νεώς); with the uncompounded verb E. *Hipp.* 32 f. *Ἰππολύτῳ δ’ ἔπι | τὸ λοιπὸν ὀνομάσουσιν ἰδρῦσθαι θεάν*, Isokr. 12. 92 *τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἰδρυμένοις*, Lykourg. 1 *τοῖς ἥρωσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰδρυμένοις*.

319. Odysseus began his speech with the plea of services rendered to Poseidon; hence προυστήσω, ‘put in front’, made it the first or principal argument (the order implied by προ- may be either of sequence or of emphasis).³⁷ After this, λόγῳ will of course construe, ‘in what you have said’; but λόγῳ is the natural case, ‘set in front of, in the front of, what you have said’, and L is so full of careless errors of this kind³⁸ that one need not hesitate to ascribe the deviation to copyist not poet. For the genitive cf. D. 18. 15 *τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄλου τὴν πρὸς ἔμ’ ἔχθραν προΐσταται* (‘puts foremost in (at the head of) his whole suit’, Goodwin), Pl. *Rep.* 599a–b *τοῦτο προστήσασθαι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου ὡς βέλτιστον ἔχοντα* (‘set this in the forefront of his life as his best possession’, Adam).

³⁶ Cf. G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, 180 ff., especially 181, last paragraph. <ἱεράς was also conjectured, on similar grounds to B.’s, by R. Kassel, *Maia* 25 (1973), 104 = *Kl. Schr.* 204.>

³⁷ LSJ are of course quite wrong with their rendering (A. II. 3) ‘put forward as an excuse or pretext, use as a screen’: the word can bear this meaning in other contexts, but not in this. In putting a thing in front one may or may not mean it to conceal what lies behind; if one does, it is a screen or excuse (D. 5. 9, Antiphon 2. 3. 1), if one does not, it is not.

³⁸ So in this neighbourhood, besides the errors cited in the apparatus above, 258 *τούτω* for *τούτων*, 273 *τοῦδε* for *τώιδε*, 274 *πολλὰ* for *μᾶλλον*, 297 *κοινού* for *κοινοί*, 299 *νόμοι* for *νόμοι*.

12. EURIPIDES, *MELEAGROS* fr. 515³⁹

Καλυδῶν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονὸς
 ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοις πεδὶ ἔχουσι εὐδαίμονα·
 Οἶνεὺς δ' ἀνάσσει τῆσδε γῆς Αἰτωλίας,
 Πορθάονος παῖς, ὅς ποτ' Ἀλθαίαν γαμεῖ,
 Λήδας ὄμαιμον, Θεετίου δὲ παρθένον.

For this opening cf. *Hel.* 1 sqq. *Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί κτλ.*

The speakers in E.'s prologues have two main things to say as soon as possible: who they are and where they are. In the *Helena*, Helen begins by saying where she is, and in 16 sqq. says who she is; the *μὲν* in 1 looks forward to the second statement (so in the *Hippolytos* πολλῆ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος θεὰ κέκλημαι Κύπρις looks forward to something like ἦκω δ' ἐπὶ τῆσδε γῆν Τροζηνίαν τιμωρησόμενος Ἰππόλυτον ὅς μ' ἀτιμοῖ; though by the time this idea is reached in 10–22 the whole connexion of thought has changed, so that it is no longer co-ordinated with the idea it answers).

Here therefore *Καλυδῶν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα* looks forward to an announcement by the speaker of his identity. Now the genealogy of lines 3–5 is clearly leading up to the birth of Meleagros; and it therefore seems likely that the prologue should be spoken either by Meleagros himself (who will proceed to something like the *τοῦ δ' ἔφυν ἐγώ* of *IT* 4) or by some retainer of his (who will qualify Meleagros' name by e.g. *δεσπότης ἐμός*; cf. the nurse's *δέσποινα ἐμὴ Μήδεια* in *Med.* 6–7).

This is not certain; for in the *Helena* the genealogy of Proteus' family in 4 sqq. does not lead up to an announcement of Helen's identity. But it is hard to see what other human speaker would do (Althaea, and Oineus if he was a character, are ruled out by their mention in 4–5; Atalante does not *a priori* seem at all a likely speaker). And a god or goddess (e.g. Artemis) is not likely, for Euripides' prologizing gods hasten to announce their identity at the very beginning; Apollo in *Alk.* by *θεός* 2 and *παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν . . . Ἀσκληπιόν* in 3–4; Aphrodite in *Hipp.* by *Κύπρις* 2; Hermes in *Ion* by *Ἐρμῆν* 4; Poseidon in *Tr.* by *Ποσειδῶν* 2; Dionysos in *Bacch.* by *Διὸς παῖς* 1 and *Διώνυκος* 2.

³⁹ <The two notes on Euripidean fragments are handwritten on pages from a notepad, and certainly early, probably from the 1940s. B. still uses the spellings Hippolytus and (inconsistently) Dionusos, and not yet the lunate sigma. I have slightly expanded the second note from an elliptical original.>

13. EURIPIDES, *PHOINIX* fr. 804

Transmitted thus (Stob. 4. 22. 109):

μοχθηρόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ τέκνα
 δίδωσιν ὅστις οὐκέθ' ὠραῖος γαμεῖν (A; γαμεῖ M)
 δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνή.

Restore perhaps:

μοχθηρόν, ὅστις ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ νέαν
 δίδωσι θυγατέρ' οὐκέθ' ὠραῖω γαμεῖν·
 δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνή.

I suppose that ὅστις slipped into the place of θυγατέρ', and was replaced by ἐστιν; that ὠραῖω then changed to ὠραῖος; and that νέαν > τέκνα was a separate corruption.

14. THUCYDIDES 7. 68. 1⁴⁰

Gylippos is exhorting the Syracusans before the final battle in the Great Harbour:

πρὸς οὖν ἀταξίαν τε τοιαύτην καὶ τύχην ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτὴν παραδεδωκυῖαν πολεμωτάτων ὀργῇ προσμείζωμεν, καὶ νομίζωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους οἳ ἂν ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαι τοῦ προσπεσόντος δικαιώσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον, ἅμα δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι ἐκγενησόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενόν που ἠδιστον εἶναι.

Construe πολεμωτάτων with ὀργῇ: let us engage with them in the state of mind of utter enemies, in a mood of utter hostility.

The editions I have consulted are unanimous in construing πολεμωτάτων with ἀνδρῶν and taking ὀργῇ as 'in anger': so the scholia, Krüger, Poppo–Stahl, Classen–Steup, Marchant, Bodin–de Romilly, Dover. None of them manifests any disquiet at the word-order; but it is, surely, intolerable, with its interlacing of τύχην . . . ἑαυτὴν παραδεδωκυῖαν and ἀνδρῶν . . . πολεμωτάτων, and with πολεμωτάτων tagging on lamely and unconvincingly after a phrase already to all appearances complete. Construe as I do, and the word-order is entirely natural.

⁴⁰ <After 1965, as Dover's commentary on book 7 is cited.>

In 923 *χρήσα]τε* has been generally accepted. In 924 and 925 my proposals were adopted by Lloyd-Jones in his edition of 1960, but have not I think been adopted by anyone since. None of those who reject them shows any awareness of my reason for making them; I had supposed that the reason would be evident, but since it has proved not to be I had better set it forth explicitly.

Quite simply, I do not believe that Menander could have expressed ‘a hundred feet long’ by *ποδῶν τὸ μῆκος ἑκατόν*: I find the dislocation of normal word order inexplicable and intolerable. I see only one way to remove the abnormality, and that a very simple one: move the dicolon, and *ἑκατόν*; becomes Knemon’s indignant protest at what will now be *ἑκατόν] ποδῶν τὸ μῆκος*, with the normal word order of e.g. Hdt. 7. 109. 2 *τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιτά κηι τὴν περίοδον*, X. An. 1. 7. 15 *ὡς εἴκοι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος*, Isokr. 12. 136 *οὐδ’ ἦν μυρίων ἐπῶν ἦι τὸ μῆκος*.

16. SENECA, *HERCULES* 1–21⁴²

I give the text as it was printed by Leo; my disagreements with it will emerge in the course of my discussion.

- Iuno. Soror Tonantis (hoc enim solum mihi
nomen relictum est) semper alienum Iouem
ac templa summi uidua deserui aetheris
locumque caelo pulsa paelicibus dedi;
tellus colenda est: paelices caelum tenent. 5
hinc Arctos alta parte glacialis poli
sublime classes sidus Argolicas agit;
hinc, qua recenti uere laxatur dies,
Tyriae per undas uector Europae nitet;
illinc timendum ratibus et ponto gregem 10
passim uagantes exerunt Atlantides.
ferro minax hinc terret Orion deos
suasque Perseus aureus stellas habet;
hinc clara gemini signa Tyndaridae micant
quibusque natis mobilis tellus stetit. 15
nec ipse tantum Bacchus aut Bacchi parens
adiere superos: ne qua pars probro uacet,
mundus puellae sarta Cnosiaca gerit.

⁴² <This and the following piece on Seneca’s *Medea* were probably written around the same time. The *Medea* piece can be dated after 1977, as Radt’s Sophocles fragments (*TrGF* iv) are cited; but B. has not yet seen Zwierlein’s 1978 article, which he does cite in this *Hercules* piece (n. 60). Both antedate Zwierlein’s OCT (1986).>

sed uetera querimur—una me dira ac fera
 Thebana tellus sparsa nuribus impiis
 quotiens nouercam fecit!

20

An excellent notion, that she should be crowded out of the sky by her husband's catasterized paramours. Now in fact she is not: only two of her catasterisms are of the paramours, of Kallisto who became the Bear (6–7) and of Maia Taygete Elektra among the seven Pleiades (10–11); the others are of an agent in the seduction (8–9 the Bull), or of the offspring of the paramours (13 Perseus of Danae, 14 the Twins of Leda, 15 Apollo and Artemis—*nitentes* as sun and moon—of Leto), or of the crown of the paramour (18 Ariadne) of a paramour's son. But no matter: her complaint is designed to bring out her hostility not so much to her rivals as to the stepchildren they have inflicted on her, with her hatred of the stepchild Hercules to come as climax; well enough therefore that it should be the stepchildren who bulk largest among the catasterized.

5. Viansino suggested deletion; and he was right. The interpolator will have sought to make even more explicit what was explicit enough already; and in doing so he made it too explicit, for when so few of the catasterisms are of the paramours themselves *locum . . . paelicibus dedi* is sailing near enough to the wind without the open exaggeration of *paelices caelum tenent*.

7. I can think of no way in which the Bear might be said to *agere* a fleet. The Bear is what the sailor steers by, and that fact is expressed by *regit*: Prop. 2. 28. 24 *haec* (sc. *Callisto*) *nocturna suo sidere uela regit*, Ov. Tr. 4. 3. 1–2 *magna minorque ferae, quarum regis altera Graias, | altera Sidonias, utraque sicca, rates*,⁴³ Germ. Arat. 40–1 *dat Graiis Helice cursum maioribus astris, | Phoenicas Cynosura regit*, Luc. 8. 174–6 *qui non mergitur undis | axis innociduus gemina clarissimus Arcto, | ille regit puppes*, Avien. Arat. 125 *Helice Graios, Tyrios Cynosura per altum | parua regit*.

⁴³ That the Greeks steered by the Great Bear, the Phoenicians by the Lesser, is a commonplace: first Arat. 37–9 *Ἑλίκη γὰρ μὲν ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ | εἰν ἅλι τεκμαίρονται ἵνα χερῆ νῆας ἀγυεῖν, | τῆι δ' ἄρα Φοίνικες πύκνονι περώσει θάλασσαν* (cf. also Kall. fr. 191. 54–5); then Ov. Her. 17. 149, Fast. 3. 107, Man. 1. 296–302, and hence, in our passage, Seneca's *Argolicas*.

We should not suppose that Greek or Phoenician sailors treated their Bear as bearing consistently due north (that way would lie shipwreck): the merest layman could see that they diverged appreciably east or west of due north according to hour and season (the Great Bear, in the eastern Mediterranean in Aratos' day, by up to about 25°, the Lesser by up to about 10°), and the sailors will presumably have used their Bear as a guide to the position of the celestial pole (which was marked by no star: our present Pole Star, now less than 1° from the pole, was in Aratos' day about 13° away); the Lesser Bear will have been simply a better guide to this than the Great.

If we keep *agit*, we shall need to say that it means here, like *regit*, ‘directs the course of, guides’; and I am incredulous. Properly speaking, *nauem agere* is to impart motion to a ship (as do wind, current, rowers), *nauem regere* is to control and direct that motion: Lucr. 4. 901–3 *quippe etenim uentus subtili corpore tenuis | trudit agens magnam magno molimine nauem, | et manus una regit quantouis impete euntem*. The man in control of the ship may be said to do either: *nauem regere* in that he controls and directs its motion, *nauem agere* in that he is responsible (by having the crew set the sails, or row) for its being in motion at all.⁴⁴ Now when he directs the ship on a particular course, he sets that course (at night) by the stars; and since the stars are thus responsible for the course the ship follows, they may be said *nauem regere*. But the stars are in no way responsible for the fact that the ship is in motion; and that they could be said *nauem agere* I do not believe.

I am similarly incredulous at Val. Fl. 5. 44–6 (Iason lamenting the dead Tiphys), *te sine, Thespiade, nos ulla mouebimus ultra | aequora? nec summa speculantem puppe uidebo | Pleiadumque globos et agentes noctibus Arctos?*: indeed doubly incredulous, for even if *agentes noctibus* could mean ‘which guide one in the nights’, that sense is not the sense that I should look for here. Not merely do the words add nothing to the picture (why else, and when else, should a helmsman watch the stars?), but appended thus to the Bears and not to the Pleiades they actually disturb: if only the Bears are supposed to give a bearing and not the Pleiades, why should Tiphys watch the Pleiades at all?⁴⁵ What I expect here is some observable characteristic of the Bears, parallel to *Pleiadum globos* (the cluster-formation which alone makes a notable object of these insignificant stars);⁴⁶ and their obvious and notorious characteristic is

⁴⁴ So also *currum agere*. English has, for land vehicles, a similar use: an Englishman ‘drives’ the car that a German ‘führt’ and a Frenchman ‘conduit’.

⁴⁵ You can perfectly well get a bearing from the Pleiades: if you know your stars well enough, you can get from any star a bearing at least as good as you can get in daytime from the sun. You use the Bears not as the only source of a bearing but as the easiest and most accurate.

I can produce an explanation of why both Pleiades and the Bears should be watched but *agentes noctibus* applied to the Bears alone: the poet thinks of Tiphys as setting his course by the Bears, but as observing also the relative bearing of the Pleiades so that if the Bears are temporarily obscured by cloud he may use the Pleiades to keep himself on the same Bear-set course until the Bears appear again. I can produce this explanation, and I think it entirely rational; but I do not for a moment suppose that Valerius’ mind would have worked in this way.

⁴⁶ As Roman poets were well aware: Prop. 3. 5. 36 *Pleiadum spisso cur coit igne chorus*, Sen. Med. 96 *et densi latitant Pleiadum greges*. They form of course a single cluster; Valerius’ *globos* means no more than *globum*, just as Seneca’s *greges* means no more than *grex*. (Langen’s ‘*globi singulae stellae dicuntur*’ is a remarkable misconception, and his comparison of *lunai (lunae) globum* in Lucretius and Vergil is more remarkable still; one may doubt whether he had ever looked at the Pleiades. That some natural philosophers supposed the stars to be spherical is neither here nor there.)

that they never set. So in the earliest description of a sailor's star-watching, *Od.* 5. 274, the Bear ἣ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει, | οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο; and this 'never dipping into the sea' becomes a commonplace of Latin poetry: *Ov. Tr.* 4. 3. 1 (cited above) *utraque sicca* (and 1. 2. 29 *sicca . . . Arcto*, 4. 9. 18, *Sen. Med.* 404 *sicca . . . Arctos*), *Luc.* 8. 174 (cited above) *qui non mergitur undis*, and e.g. *Verg. G.* 1. 246 *Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingi*, *Ov. Met.* 13. 293 *immunemque aequoris Arcton*, 726 *Arctos | aequoris expertes*, *Fast.* 2. 191 (at the catasterization) *saeuit adhuc canamque rogat Saturnia Tethyn | Maenaliam tactis ne lauet Arcton aquis*, 4. 578 *aequoreas numquam cum subeatis aquas*, *Ibis* 472 *liquidis quae caret Arctos aquis*, *Tr.* 3. 10. 3 *stellis numquam tangentibus aequor*, *Sen. Oed.* 507 *dum Nerea nesciet Arctos*, *Thy.* 867 *Plostraque numquam perfusa mari*. There is one fairly simple change that will produce this sense in Valerius: for *et agentes noctibus Arctos* read *et egentes fluctibus Arctos*. It will not produce it well: *egentes*, unlike Ovid's *caret*, suggests that their never dipping into the sea is a deprivation (for which *Fast.* 2. 191, cited above, is no very adequate parallel, since Iuno's malice makes that a special case); and a deprivation ought also to be rather of water than of the waves. But I think ill enough of Valerius to be ready to credit him with this.⁴⁷ I do not think so ill of him as to suppose that he could have written *et agentes noctibus Arctos*.

8. *recenti uere* (EΣ) is impossible; *tepenti uere* (AE²) is excellent.

(a) Seneca is referring to the sun's passage through the Bull, which it entered on either 16 or 23 April (the dates depend on alternative delimitations of the signs of the zodiac: see Excursus I) and left on either 17 or 25 May. Spring will have been thought of as beginning at latest by the vernal equinox (see Excursus II), which was on 23 March; from mid April to mid May it was certainly no longer *recens*. <The Excursuses are not extant.>

(b) There is an evident contrast between *glacialis* and *tepentis*. The contrast is purely verbal, and corresponds to nothing in the nature of things: the extreme celestial north is imagined to be cold (a commonplace of Roman poetry) because of the coldness of the extreme terrestrial north; the Bull is

⁴⁷ There are of course plenty of other ways in which the sense 'that never set' could be achieved; but I can think of none that has any adequate resemblance to the reading of the manuscripts.

Since I have considered expressions with *nec* in place of *et* (on the lines of *nec tinctas fluctibus arctos*), I remark that these have another disadvantage than mere remoteness from the manuscripts: I should expect *globos* in place of *globum* to be occasioned by metrical necessity, and that necessity is provided by *et* but not by *nec*.

<Lieberman in his Budé edition (2002) ascribes *egentes fluctibus* to Fontius (c. 1500) and Heinsius. Michael Reeve and I, on reading B.'s discussion, independently wondered if *egentes lotibus* should be considered—an unattested but possible and intelligible word.>

associated with *tepor* for the quite unrelated reason that the sun is passing through it in the warm weather of established spring. But that Seneca intended the contrast, and plumed himself on it, I cannot doubt.

Since there has been misunderstanding, I elaborate what I say under (a). Seneca is talking about a part of the sky where (*hinc qua* etc.) the days grow longer in spring. That can only be the zodiacal sign of the Bull through which the sun is then passing; the days grow longer (from 13 hours 12 minutes to 14 hours 29 minutes)⁴⁸ as a direct consequence of its movement through the sign, which takes it increasingly far from the celestial equator. He is *not* talking about the first rising of the Bull before sunrise (from about 28 May to 27 June), or about its last setting after sunset (from about 27 March to 6 May):⁴⁹ before sunrise and after sunset on any day there are constellations rising along the whole 180° of eastern horizon and setting along the whole 180° of western, and the phenomena of the changing year cannot be *located* in any one of the several constellations with whose rising or setting they happen to coincide.

10–11. The morning setting of the Pleiades on about 10 November marked the beginning of stormy weather when it was dangerous to sail; whence their cluster is, properly and intelligibly, *timendus ratibus*. But other things in these lines are not so intelligible:

⁴⁸ On the basis of 16 April to 17 May. On the basis of 23 April to 25 May they grow from 13 hours 31 minutes to 14 hours 43 minutes.

⁴⁹ Not that anyone would be likely to talk of the rising or setting of 'the Bull' as a whole, when it was a process which lasted about a month (rising, from η Tauri in the Pleiades to ζ Tauri on the tip of the outer horn; setting, from \circ Tauri to β Tauri on the tip of the inner horn): one observed risings and settings to get a precise date, and so observed normally either single stars or small groups of stars. In the Bull, one normally observed either the Pleiades (spoken of always not as part of the Bull, but under their own name) or the Hyades (the Bull's head, and sometimes so called).

A date which Ovid alleges for the rising of the Hyades has been called in evidence on our passage (Korzeniewski, *Gymnasium* 75 [1968], 295 f.): *Fast.* 5. 603, the Bull raises his *ora* on 14 May. It is quite irrelevant; but it may at least arouse a proper contempt for Ovid's astronomy if I give the facts about the Hyades (my own dates are calculated for their one bright star, Aldebaran). Their evening setting was about 18 April, and the Roman calendars are accurate enough: e.g. 17 April in *Ov. Fast.* 4. 677. Their morning rising was about 11 June, and the Roman calendars are absurdly wrong. All of them are agreed on 2 May; and on 2 May, so far from being seen to rise before the sun, the Hyades at the moment of sunrise were still between 7° (Aldebaran) and 4° (ϵ Tauri) below the horizon. Most of the calendars give other dates as well for this one phenomenon, and Ovid excels himself by giving five dates in all: 2 May (*Fast.* 5. 164; misdescribed as the evening rising, which was in October); 14 May (5. 603: the Bull's *ora*); 30 May (5. 734); 2 June (6. 197); 15 June (6. 711). One may excuse a poet for not being wholly accurate; but this is actually to cock a snook at accuracy.

(a) *timendum . . . ponto*: the sea is put at no risk by its own storms; the ships may fear the Pleiades, but why should the sea?

(b) *passim uagantes*: how can this be said of a cluster of perfectly ordinary fixed stars, whose only motion is to be carried around daily (or rather in about four minutes less than a day) with all the rest of the starry sphere?⁵⁰

(c) *exerunt*: the word might most naturally be used of their rising:⁵¹ but their rising (in May) marked the beginning of the safest sailing weather, and it was their setting (in November) that brought the storms.⁵² I cannot believe that Seneca means their evening rising in late September,⁵³ when the weather was becoming uncertain (this is not what anyone would understand by ‘rising’ unqualified, and why this rather than their much more notorious and storm-fraught setting?);⁵⁴ I am reluctant to think him merely confused;

⁵⁰ What can properly be said to *uagari* are the planets (*πλάνητες*, ‘wanderers’) and the sun and moon, all of which are in constant motion in relation to the fixed stars; e.g. Cic. *ND* 2. 80 *uagas stellas* [= planets] *et inerrantes* [= fixed stars], 103 *luna . . . iisdem spatiis uagatur quibus sol . . . iisdemque spatiis eae stellae quas uagas dicimus* [= planets] *circum terram feruntur* (then 104 *stellarum inerrantium maxima multitudo*). The fixed stars collectively may be said to *uagari*, in virtue of the daily revolution of the celestial sphere: Sen. *Thy.* 833–4 *terras et mare cingens et uaga picti sidera mundi*. But if one star-group in a list of seven is said *passim uagari*, the *uagatio* ought to be peculiar to that one group; and there is no *uagatio* that is peculiar to the Pleiades. It is not even that their route across the sky ranged especially widely: it was the same route that the sun follows on about 6 May and 8 August (Gregorian); and although this route ranged more widely than that of southern or circumpolar stars, nearly a quarter of the stars that were visible at Rome followed a route that ranged more widely still (including, from those in Seneca’s list, the Twins and Perseus).

⁵¹ Luc. 8. 160 (of the sun, half-set) *nec quibus abscondit nec si quibus exerit orbem | totus erat*; Avien. *Arat.* 1262 *et matutino cum surgit Aquarius orbe | os Equus atque pedes nouus exerit* (and cf. 1145, 1547).

⁵² Their setting as the beginning of the close season for sailing is a commonplace from Hesiod onwards (*WD* 619–29).

⁵³ Calculable as 24 September. Roman authors put it later, about 10 October.

⁵⁴ Their evening rising is alleged to mark the beginning of winter in sch. *Arat.* 259 (p. 392. 5 Maas <= 207. 9 Martin>); but the note is foolish and should be ignored. Aratos says of the Pleiades (264–7) *ὀνομαστὰι | ἦρι καὶ ἐσπέριαι, Ζεὺς δ’ αἴτιος, εἰλίσσονται, | ὄσφις καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμάτος ἀρχομένοιο | σημαίνεν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπέρχομένου τ’ ἀρότιοιο*: of the three occurrences which he says they herald, one (summer) is traditionally associated with their morning rising, two (winter and ploughing) with their morning setting; so that he mentions no occurrence to justify his *ἐσπέριαι*. But the commentator, more tidy-minded than sensible, persuaded himself that Aratos must have associated one of his occurrences with an evening phase, and to this end he transferred the beginning of winter from the traditional morning setting to the evening rising: *σημαίνουσιν αἱ Πλειάδες καιρούς· ἑώιαί μὲν γὰρ ἀνατέλλουσαι σημαίνουσι θέρου ἀρχήν, ἑώιαί δὲ δύνοσαι ἀντίληψιν τῶν κατὰ σπόρον ἔργων, ἐσπερίαν δὲ ἀνατολήν ποιούμεναι χειμῶνος ἀρχήν σημαίνουσιν. τῆς δὲ ἐσπερίου δύσεως οὐκ ἐμνήσθη, διὰ τὸ συμβαίνειν αὐτὴν περὶ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν καὶ μηδὲν ἐξαιρετὸν περιέχειν σημεῖον*. The last sentence betrays the way his mind was working.

I suppose therefore that he uses *exerunt*, without thought of its ambiguity in the context, to mean simply ‘disclose, reveal’.⁵⁵

One might get rid of the difficulty under (a) by reading *e ponto*; but if one does this there will be inescapable difficulty under (c).⁵⁶

12. The line is surely intrusive:

(a) Orion has no place in this list: he is neither *paelex* nor son of a *paelex* nor in any way connected with a *paelex*. True, he is (by the common version)⁵⁷ son of Zeus as to one third; but son without the assistance of a mother. When Hyrieus had entertained Zeus and Poseidon and Hermes, they asked him what gift he would like in return. When he asked for a son, the three discharged their urine (or their semen) on to the hide of the beast he had killed for them, and told him to bury it; and from this in due season Orion was born, *Οὐρίων . . . διὰ τὸ οὐρήσσει*.⁵⁸

(b) With 12 in the text, we have (12–13) ‘here are Orion and Perseus’: two constellations which are set well away from one another, with the Bull between. Remove 12, and we have (11, 13) ‘there are the Pleiades and Perseus’: adjacent to one another, and naturally conjoined.

(c) The structure of the catalogue is much improved if 12 is removed: *hinc* the Bear, *hinc* the Bull (the two animals, set against one another in a contrast

⁵⁵ Cf. Avien. *Arat.* 516 (he is talking of the faintness of the stars of the Ram, and rising is not in question; = *Arat.* 228 *αὐτὸς μὲν νωθῆς καὶ ἀνάστερος οἷα ἐλήγηι | κέψασθαι*): *nam quanti luminis astra | esse solent, aciem quibus aurea luna retundit, | marcida Lanigeri tantum se forma sub auras | exerit, in tenui quamquam primordia Phoeben | orbe habeant nulloque decus dea proferat ore*. The Pleiades, like the stars (in general) of the Ram, are faint, being notable simply as a cluster; to say that they disclose or reveal themselves may be thought to suggest their faintness.

At Luc. 10. 211–12 *rapidus qua Sirius ignes | exerit* Housman (p. 335, n. †) leaves open the choice between ‘rises’ (the ‘more natural’ meaning; nonsense in the context, but Lucan is badly muddled) and ‘scintillates, blazes forth’; this ‘blazes forth’ is I think strongly supported by Stat. *Th.* 6. 581 *Hesperos exertat radios* (where ‘rises’ is excluded not only by the context and the facts of nature but by the intensive verb). But *ignes exerit* and *exertat radios* are no parallel for *gregem* (= *sese*) *exerunt*; nor are Sirius (brightest of the fixed stars) and Venus (far brighter even than that) any parallel for the feeble Pleiades.

⁵⁶ <Ex ponto was conjectured by H. T. Karsten, *Spicilegium Criticum* (Leiden 1881), 45, a ponto by J. G. Fitch, *Seneca’s Hercules Furens* (Ithaca 1987), 122.>

⁵⁷ Familiar from Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 493–536; also sch. A <D> *Il.* 18. 486 and elsewhere. By a version ascribed to Hesiod (fr. 148(a)) and Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 52 <= 52 Fowler>) he is son of Poseidon by Euryale daughter of Minos.

⁵⁸ Nobody ever called him *Οὐρίων*: the story belongs to a dialect in which the words were *Ἰρίων* and *ὠρέω*. Since Orion, and the story, are localized in Boiotia, that dialect was Boiotian; in which the *ō* of lengthening and contraction (*ou* in Attic; *οὔρέω* < **Φορέω*?) is *ω*. The story cannot have arisen until spoken Boiotian had reduced original *Ἰσαρίων* to a trisyllabic *Ἰρίων*; all we know is that the name is shown by metre to be trisyllabic in all three instances in Korinna (even though it is spelt *Ἰρ-* only in one, *PMG* 655 i. 14, and *Ἰαρ-* in the others, 654 iii. 38, 662. 2). <B. might also have cited *Pi. N.* 2. 12; perhaps he thought Pindar less relevant to ‘spoken Boiotian’.>

of cold and warm); *illinc* the Pleiades and Perseus (adjacent to one another), *hinc* the Twins and the sun and moon (two pairs of twins).⁵⁹

Removal will involve changes of punctuation to accord with (*c*): full point after 9 . . . *nitet.*!, no point at all after 11 . . . *Atlantides* !.

The interpolator's motive? I suppose that his knowledge of mythology (Orion part son of Zeus) and of the stars (Orion the most conspicuous of all the constellations), and his desire to air that knowledge, will have outrun his sense of relevance (Orion motherless).⁶⁰

20. E's *Thebana tellus nuribus sparsa impiis* is grossly unmetrical; A's *Thebana nuribus sparsa tellus impiis* is metrical (the word-divisions as 698 *non prata uiridi laeta facie germinant*), but is hardly more than a device to restore metre at the expense of diction.⁶¹ We should presumably start from E; but not (as Leo) with Bücheler's *Thebana tellus sparsa nuribus impiis* (unmetrical: Seneca does not admit short anceps in the fifth foot except very occasionally in a final tetrasyllable, *nepotibus* or the like), and not with Baehrens's *Thebana tellus nuribus a! sparsa impiis* (intolerably affected). I do not know whether anyone has yet proposed *Thebana tellus nuribus asparsa impiis*, but if not I do not know why not; I doubt whether the word will carry any connotation of 'stain, sully', but if it does it will not be a disadvantage.⁶²

17. SENECA, *MEDEA* 652–69

The third choral ode in *Medea* falls into two parts: the first, seven ordinary Sapphic stanzas; the second, seven expanded Sapphic stanzas, consisting each

⁵⁹ The sun and moon, circling the ecliptic once in every year or every month, have no fixed location to determine their place in this catalogue; and I take it therefore that Seneca's placing of them was determined as I have said. The location it supposes (at the moment when Iuno speaks) is perfectly possible: the Twins are a zodiacal constellation in which sun and moon alike spend a twelfth of their yearly or monthly circuit.

⁶⁰ I find it hard to set limits to Seneca's capacity for overstatement, and I have not therefore adduced as evidence of interpolation one feature of the line which I should nevertheless be glad to lose: the notion that Orion should frighten the gods. That he should frighten the stars (Stat. *Silu.* 1. 1. 45) is a proper enough conceit; but that he should frighten the gods (including Artemis who killed him?) is another matter. One thing that in any case is certain is that 'gods' means 'gods' and does not mean 'stars' (why should it? and how should anyone understand the catachresis?), both here and in the passages adduced by O. Zwierlein, *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 4 (1978), 145; the familiar divinity of the sun and moon does not affect the issue.

⁶¹ <B. has taken his information from Leo's apparatus, but in fact A omits this verse; the reading quoted is found in a number of other manuscripts.>

⁶² <The same conjecture was proposed by J. G. Fitch in *TAPA* 111 (1981), 66. But Fitch later adopted Axelson's *matribus* for *nuribus*.>

exile) of Peleus comes at the end of the Trojan war,⁶³ the death of Aias son of Oileus as the Greeks sailed home from Troy, the death of Nauplios at least no earlier; I do not suppose that Seneca had any very precise notion of the dramatic date of *Medea*, but it cannot possibly have been as late as this.⁶⁴

⁶³ Not of course his earlier exiles (from Aigina after killing Phokos, from Phthia after killing Eurytion), but an exile late in life: E. *Tr.* 1126–8 (Neoptolemos has sailed away) *καὶ νῆα τινας ἰ Πηλείως ἀκούσας συμφορὰς, ὡς νῆν χθονὸς Ἰθάκαςτος ἐκβέβληκεν*; Peleus came to the little island of Ikos (by Peparethos) and died there (sch. ad loc., sch. Pi. *P.* 3. 166 with Kall. fr. 178. 24, Antip. Sid. *AP* 7. 2. 10 = Gow–Page, *HE* 223; sch. Pi. says he died *οἰκτρῶς καὶ ἐπωδύνως*). The exile seems to have been the subject of Sophocles' *Peleus*; see the editions of Pearson and Radt.

⁶⁴ The Argonauts are a generation earlier than the men who fought at Troy; it is inconceivable that Iason's troubles should be thought of as outlasting the Trojan war.

At 622–4 the chorus, after recounting the death of Tiphys, say *Aulis amissi memor inde regis* [sc. *Tiphys*] *portibus lentis retinet carinas stare querentes*; and people take this to mean that Agamemnon's fleet is weatherbound at Aulis as the words are uttered. If they were right in so taking it it would make no difference for my present purpose: events at the end of the war would still be in the future. But they are wrong: such a casual synchronization of incidents in two unconnected legends is incredible; and I should call it incredible even if it accorded (which I deny) with the relative chronology of the legends. There is no problem: the present is not the true present, 'is detaining (at the present moment)', but the habitual present, 'detains (as a regular thing)'; Aulis, deprived of its king by a ship, takes its revenge by imposing delays on any ship that comes that way. And so it does. Aulis is on the Boiotian shore of the Euripos, the strait between Euboia and the mainland, and sailing-vessels in that strait were subject (and are still subject) to constant delays, occasioned in part by the notorious tidal streams of the Euripos, in part by winds. Seneca is giving the *αἴτιον* (with a typical *inde*: *Ov. Fast.* 2. 473, 3. 695) of phenomena familiar in his own day.

The strait comprises, over a distance of about four miles, three narrow channels separated by two wide basins. Aulis, with its two harbours, lies south of the middle channel, and the tidal streams are a serious problem only in the very narrow northern channel, the Euripos proper, where at springs <= spring tides> they rush through at 6 to 7 knots (11 to 13 km. an hour), changing direction four times daily and with slack water only for about ten minutes at the change; in the other channels they are much weaker (about 2 knots at their strongest). But Seneca will not have had any exact knowledge of the topography and hydrography: it was enough for him that Aulis was in the same neighbourhood as the tidal streams, and (more important) was associated with them in literature (*A. Ag.* 191 *παλιρρό<χ>θους ἐν Ἀυλίδος τόποις*, *E. IT* 6–9). Winds are likely to have been a serious problem in all three channels: 'on entering Búrji [i.e. the southern] and Stenó [i.e. the middle] channels it is necessary for a sailing vessel to have a fair or leading breeze . . .; on running up from the southeastward in summer with the sea breeze she should be prepared to anchor at any moment, for it frequently happens that the wind does not blow home to the head of Évripos strait, and on rounding Cape Búrji it will be found blowing from the northward . . .' (*Mediterranean Pilot*, vol. iv). I suppose that Greek sailors, if delays seemed likely to be long, would try to beach their ship; why not then, if they could reach them, in one of the harbours at Aulis?

<Ink addition in lower margin:> For an excellent oblique aerial photograph of the whole neighbourhood see R. V. Schroder, *Ancient Greece from the Air* <London 1974>, 91 (cf. also p. 44).

Necessarily therefore the deaths are recounted in the form of a prophecy.⁶⁵

Next, before I come to the main problem of the stanzas, I will consider another and unrelated problem which seems to have escaped attention. The seven stanzas A–G contain what is expressly a list of *exitus diri*; and with one exception⁶⁶ the chorus give for every man in the list both the fact of his *exitus* (whether past or future) and the circumstances that make it *dirus* (normally its manner, but for Tiphys and Mopsus its remoteness from their home). The exception is Peleus, for whom we have only (657) *exul errabit*: the *diritas* is there in *exul*, but of his death while in exile there is not a word. This will never do: *errabit* (which adds little enough to *exul*) will have replaced a verb meaning ‘will die’; and that verb will be *efflabit* (not very different to the eye, and the copyist mistook the unfamiliar locution for the familiar).⁶⁷ In Latin of every period *animam efflare* is a normal way of saying ‘breathe one’s last’; and three times in verse *efflare* is used in this sense with no object expressed (Cic. *Div.* 1. 106, Stat. *Th.* 9. 899, Claud. 28. 188; cf. the similar use of *expirare*). Like its English equivalent, (*animam*) *efflare* is often used of the death of someone known to be already at death’s door (Gracch. *Orat.* 46, when being flogged; Varr. *RR* 1. 69. 3, after being stabbed; Nep. *Paus.* 5. 4, as a result of starvation); Peleus before his exile was already very old (*Il.* 18. 434 γήραι λυγρῶι . . . ἀρρημένος; cf. S. *Peleus* fr. 487), and if we suppose his death, whatever its proximate cause, to be consequent on his senile frailty, *efflabit* may be thought especially appropriate.⁶⁸ But it would not be inappropriate to other

⁶⁵ It is not so obvious why Alkestis’ death should be put in the future; I suppose that if Seneca thought of her as still unmarried when Pelias was killed he may have felt the interval to be too short for her to be dead already. —I observe that his dating makes it impossible for her to be rescued by Herakles, who has just been spoken of as already dead. There was, it is true, a version in which she was not rescued by Herakles but sent back to life by Persephone; but any thought of her return to life would be contrary to Seneca’s purpose here. That might indeed be a reason for making Herakles predecease her; but I greatly doubt whether Seneca would have thought along these lines.

Of the manuscripts’ *redimens* . . . *impedens* (I disregard the unmetrical *impedit*) one or the other must be made finite, and I suppose Gronovius to be right with *impendes*. I find the vocative better placed with *impendes* than with *redimes*, and *redimes* indeed would involve a vocative without necessity (*redimet* would be metrical, and would give, *pace* Housman, a wholly acceptable text; but it involves a greater change).

⁶⁶ Admetos (662–3) I reckon of course not as an exception but as a special case.

⁶⁷ *Herc.* 452 *exul errauit*, *Phoen.* 372 *ut exul errat*, *Med.* 20 *per urbes erret ignotas egens exul*, *Thy.* 237 *exul errauit*; Cic. *Clu.* 175 *cum uagus et exul erraret*. A similar association of *exul* with *uagus* etc. has led to a corruption comparable with ours at *Oed.* 13 *curis solutus exul, intrepidus uacans (caelum deosque testor) in regnum incidi*, where for *uacans* A has *uagans*; this time most likely a deliberate change, by a man who mistook the gender of *uacans* (which is neuter: the office of king was vacant).

⁶⁸ <Pencilled addition in typescript:> A note (still to be written) on how Peleus may have died; did onions have something to do with it (Kallimachos <fr. 178. 23–6>)?

deaths: *exul Hannibal . . . exspiravit* (Liv. 39. 52. 8), and Hannibal at the age of sixty-five took poison to avoid extradition from Bithynia to Rome.

Now the questions whose solution is still not generally agreed. There can be no doubt that 660 is to be divided as I have indicated: half a hendecasyllable (its beginning lost) plus an adonian. This done, the manuscript text poses three major problems: (a) F has (including the defective line) one hendecasyllable too many; (b) the sentence of 660–1 is both defective and (in at least one detail) corrupt; (c) this same sentence continues without a pause from one stanza into the next, whereas every other stanza ends with sentence-end before the transition to another Argonaut.

First, the surplus hendecasyllable: if we keep the lines in the manuscript order, we must remove a single hendecasyllable from (F). W. R. Hardie (*JPh* 33 [1914], 95–101) deleted 656; but we cannot thus dispense with the chorus's authority for their knowledge of events that are still to come.⁶⁹ Leo, followed by Housman (*CQ* 17 [1923], 166–7 = *Classical Papers*, 1077–9), deleted 657; but the line is blameless, and the death in exile of the aged Peleus, familiar to antiquity (though not to Housman),⁷⁰ is a natural ingredient of this catalogue of disasters. But no other single line can be removed; if we keep the manuscript order we are forced into the abandonment of 657. I shall have more to say in a moment.

I consider next the defective 660–1: <—∪—> *patrioque pendet | crimine poenas | fulmine et ponto moriens Oileus*. First, the man who died *fulmine et ponto* was not Oileus but his son Aias—Aias whose death is here considered as retribution for *patrium crimen*, for Oileus' offence in violating the sea in the Argo; we must therefore convert *Oileus* into the genitive *Oilei*, and the lacuna will contain a word meaning 'son' on which *Oilei* will depend. Second, Aias' own offence of sacrilege, when he assaulted Cassandra at Athena's altar, was too notoriously the cause of his disaster for his father's offence to be allowed simply to replace it; the two offences must be conjoined, and the *-que* of *patrioque* will join 'his father's' to a 'his own' in the lacuna. Two requirements

⁶⁹ Hardie thought he could dispense with it by dispensing also with all the future indicatives (he read *erravit, cadit, pendit, redimis . . . impendens*); he explained the presents as a timeless use ('the interest lies in the question *what* happened to the Argonauts, not *when* it happened'). Wholly unconvincing; and I add that *erravit* lands him with the wrong exile for Peleus (he has never heard of the right one) and that he is still left with *nociturus* (of which he says no word). It would not of course be absurd to explain *nociturus* as future in relation only to *cadit*, supposing Nauplios to have drowned when his beacon was already alight but the ships only on their way towards the cliffs; but I should call the supposition very improbable, and I add that in Hyginus (*Fab.* 116) Nauplios was still there when the few survivors swam ashore and *a Nauplio interficiebantur*.

⁷⁰ 'errabit . . . is absurd . . . , for Peleus had already suffered both his exiles.'

then for the lacuna, and both are provided by Housman: *patrio* <*gnatus proprio*>*que pendet* | *crimine poenas* | *fulmine et ponto moriens Oilei*. Yet for two reasons he is wrong. First, cases of *patrius* and *patria* in Seneca's tragedies have their first syllable invariably short.⁷¹ Second, the naked ablative *crimine* is no way of indicating the offence for which the penalty is paid.⁷² At *Med.* 925 *uos pro paternis sceleribus poenas date* one could not dispense with the *pro*, nor can one here: <*pro suo natus*> *patrioque pendet* | *crimine poenas*.⁷³

I see no other way in which the lacuna might be filled: five syllables, and we need *pro*, 'his own', and 'son'; no room for manoeuvre. But even so the sentence still has one defect: <*pro suo natus*> *patrioque pendet* | *crimine poenas* | *fulmine et ponto moriens Oilei* has *Oilei* at an intolerable distance after the *natus* with which it must cohere. The remedy is simple: transpose the lines (with Peiper), and we have *fulmine et ponto moriens Oilei* | <*pro suo natus*> *patrioque pendet* | *crimine poenas*, with *Oilei . . . natus* close together. And the one stone has killed a second bird as well: we now have sentence-end at stanza-end.

Has killed, indeed, a third bird, for the question of the intrusive line is now re-opened: the transposition gives us ten hendecasyllables in F (two too many) and seven in G (one too few). The only course now will be to transfer two hendecasyllables from F to G, namely 658–9 (so Peiper; there can be no alternative), and to delete one from G; and I cannot doubt that this is right, for there is one hendecasyllable in G that cries out to be deleted. But before I come to this deletion I will remark that the transpositions I have supposed are not nearly as complicated as my piecemeal treatment might suggest: omission and misplacement have affected only the three lines about Aias, 660–1, and in the rest of the passage nothing whatever has been disturbed. What I suppose to have happened is that these three lines were inadvertently omitted and subsequently restored, and that in the course of their absence and restoration three things went wrong with them: the half-line was lost; 661 was transposed from beginning to end; and the lines were reinserted in the wrong place, after 659 instead of after 657. Lines that are copied as part of a continuous text are

⁷¹ The observation is not my own, but I can find no record of the source from which I took it. I have verified it: 64 instances, plus 9 in *Herc. Oet.* and 14 in *Oct.* It does not apply to the oblique cases of *pater*.

⁷² One can say *furti crimine damnari*, 'on a charge of theft', and I suppose one might say *furti crimine poenas pendere*. But the behaviour of *crimen* as 'accusation, charge' is irrelevant to its behaviour as 'wrongdoing, offence'; in default of a preposition the proper case would be the genitive, as *Phoen.* 589 *fraudis alienae dabo* | *poenas*.

⁷³ <O. Zwielerlein, *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 4 (1978), 151, supplemented <*pro suo gnatus*>. J. G. Fitch in the Loeb Seneca viii(1) (2002) modifies this to <*pro suo natus*>.>

protected from such mishaps; omitted lines that return first into the margin and thence into the text are at hazard in every way.⁷⁴

Finally, the removal of a hendecasyllable from G. I have said that one line there cries out to be deleted, and here it is:

ipse qui praedam spoliūque iussit
 aureum prima reuehi carina
 666 [ustus accenso Pelias aeno]
 arsit angustas uagus inter undas.

Seneca is saying ‘Pelias was dismembered and boiled in a cauldron’; he says it far better, and more characteristically, without 666. Pelias is designated unambiguously in 664–5, and we need his name no more than we need, elsewhere in the ode, the names of Orpheus, Periklymenos, Hylas, Peleus, Admetos. The cauldron is indicated by *angustas inter undas*, the boiling by *arsit*, the dismemberment by *uagus* (of the pieces of flesh as they drift about in the seething water): this is admirable stuff, a piece of typically Senecan allusiveness; and the whole thing is spoiled by the *uoces propriae* of 666.⁷⁵ Seneca himself can never have so spoiled it: the line belongs not to him but to a man who was bent on clearing up an allusiveness that he found obscure.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The omission of half a line was evidently accidental; since we know that it happened, there is not much point in guessing just how it happened. The insertion of 660–1 in the wrong place was presumably the result of a well-meant but mistaken guess (or they may of course have been in the margin of a page that ended with 659). The transposition of 660 with 661 I suppose to have been deliberate.

661–60 will have appeared in the margin, I take it, on two lines, with the half-line already lost: *fulmine et ponto moriens Oilei | patrioque pendet crimine poenas*. If the copyist had met this nonsense in the body of the text he would have transcribed it without a thought; meeting it in the margin, and faced with the problem of replacing it in the text, he was constrained to think, and thought declared it to be gibberish. A moment’s further thought suggested that written in the reverse order, with *Oileus* in place of *Oilei*, the lines would cease to be gibberish; and so when he inserted them in the text he reversed their order and wrote *Oileus*. Mistaken; but who shall blame him?

⁷⁵ My opinion is not shared by Richter and Peiper: they delete 665 except for *arsit*, which they put in place of *ustus*; i.e. [*ustus*] *accenso Pelias aeno | arsit [angustas uagus inter undas]* rearranged as *arsit accenso Pelias aeno*. Untidy, but why not? Interpolators are under no obligation to be tidy, and an untidy interpolation will have an untidy cure; I make no objection to the deletion on this account. I merely describe it as monstrous; I have no need to repeat myself by saying why.

⁷⁶ He had a brother who depraved the text of Juvenal in the same way. For instance <3. 93–7>: *an melior cum Thaida sustinet aut cum | uxorem comoedus agit uel Dorida nullo | cultam palliolo? [mulier nempe ipsa uidetur | non persona loqui:] uacua et plana omnia dicas | infra uentriculum et tenui distantia rima*.

<Zwierlein in his OCT prints the *Medea* passage as B. recommends except that he has *errabit* and leaves a gap instead of a supplement in 660a. Fitch’s text in his Loeb is the same as B.’s except for *errabit*.>

18. SENECA, *NATURALES QUAESTIONES* 3. 29. 7⁷⁷

Quem ad modum in morbum transeunt sana et ulceri uicina consentiunt, ut quaeque proxima terris fluentibus fuerint, ipsa eluentur stillabuntque, deinde decurrent; et hiante pluribus locis saxo fretum saliet et maria inter se componet. Nihil erunt Hadria, nihil Siculi aequoris fauces, nihil Charybdis, nihil Scylla: omnes nouum mare fabulas obruet et hic qui terras cingit oceanus extrema sortitus ueniet in medium.

fretum *Madvig*: per fretum *codd*.

At the end of the first sentence, whether or not *Madvig*'s conjecture is correct, the sense is clear: Seneca is describing the opening-up of new straits as a stage in the progress of the final cataclysm. He proceeds in the next sentence to the supersession and disappearance of the ancient straits. Of his two examples, one, the strait of Messina (its description expanded by the mention of Scylla and Charybdis), is genuine enough; but the first, the Adriatic, is not a strait. What is a strait, however, is the strait of Otranto; that and the strait of Messina are the two straits whose crossing was most familiar to a Roman, and that is what Seneca is talking of here: *nihil erunt Hadriae, nihil Siculi aequoris fauces*. He describes it as does Valerius Maximus (9. 8. 2, of Caesar's attempted crossing from Epirus to Brundisium): *naiculam conscendit et e flumine Aoo maris Hadriatici saeua tempestate fauces petiit*. (Cf. also Florus, *Epit.* 1. 18. 3, 4. 2. 31.) The verb *erunt* is plural because its subject is *fauces*; with *Hadria* nominative the plural in the anaphora is scarcely credible.

⁷⁷ <An early note, on 10" × 8" paper.>

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