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Upon Aeschylus

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The Classical Review / Volume 14 / Issue 04 / May 2000, pp 194 - 201

DOI: 10.1017/S0009840X00082421, Published online: 27 October 2009

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0009840X00082421

How to cite this article:

W. Headlam (1900). Upon Aeschylus. The Classical Review, 14, pp 194-201 doi:10.1017/S0009840X00082421

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UPON AESCHYLUS.

(Continued from page 119).

II.

CHOEPHORI.

159 ἰὼ τίς δορυσθενὴς ἀνὴρ
ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων
Σκυθικά τ' ἐν χεροῖν παλίντων' [ἐν] ἔργῳ
[βέλη] 'πιπάλλων' Ἀρης
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν βέλη.

Ἀρης here has always seemed to me extremely dubious. The meaning cannot be 'what man or what god of War,' for that must have been τίς ἀνὴρ, τίς Ἀρης; or ἡ τίς Ἀρης; Besides, the opposite to ἀνὴρ should be θεός. But waiving those objections,—how strange an expression we are offered! 'What man is there armed with a spear to free the house, Ares wielding both a Scythian bow and hilted weapons in close combat?' Is Ares here the same as the man, or different? I do not see how he can be the same; Ἀρης could hardly mean 'a warrior' or 'a man of war'; when it is metaphorical, it is 'War' personified. The only way, I think, you can translate it is 'wielding like Ares in his hands a Scythian bow' etc. That is an idiomatic form of comparison in Greek; but the sense is no more satisfactory than before, for though the god was honoured most in Scythia as in Thrace, the characteristic weapon of Greek War would surely be anything rather than a bow. And the arms of Ares are in fact a spear and sword, Hom. E 852, Hes. *Scut.* 453-7.

The MS. gives ἐν ἔργῳ, which is certainly not elegant, as following ἐν χεροῖν; and metre convicts ἐν of being an interpolation. The record of Hesych. 'πιπάλλων: κραδαίνων, πάλλων confirms the genuineness of that word, and I see no reason for suspecting ἔργῳ, seeing nothing for which it is likely to be an error, while it makes good metre. But this presents us with another difficulty. ἔργῳ alone would naturally mean 'actually,' 'in fact,' as opposed to λόγῳ. ἐν ἔργῳ could mean 'in readiness,' 'prepared for action' (Eur. *I.T.* 1164), and in prose ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ could mean 'in the engagement,' 'in the action,' that is, of battle: but it may well be doubted whether ἔργῳ by itself would have been used in either of these senses. It might very well, however, be used in the second if it were defined, ἔργῳ Ἀρηος Simonid. 140 as ἔργον Ἀρηος Hom. A 734, h. *Apoll.* 10; and this I think affords a clue

for removing both blemishes at once by reading ἔργῳ 'πιπάλλων Ἀρεος,¹ or ἀρης. Aeschylus used this word in the *Supplices* v. 86 ἀρης φνυγάσιν, where cod. Guelf. has ἀρης, cod. M ἀρης with a schol. which offers interpretations according to either reading, ἀρης or Ἀρης. Whether the Epic form of the word should be retained is a minor question.

It is a *man*, then, that they cry for to come armed as their deliverer with spear and Scythian bow and weapons for close combat in his hands,—and the mention of the *Scythian bow* shows that the man in their imagination is a *Heracles*, the Saviour and Purger of the world from noisome beasts and human bullies; for the chief weapon of that famous archer was the Scythian bow: schol. Theocr. xiii. 56 ἐχρήτο δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς τόξοις, διδασχθεὶς παρὰ τινος Σκύθου Τευτάρου, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἡρόδωρος καὶ Καλλίμαχος. Lycophr. 56 Tzetzes p. 1175. Ath. 289 f Pythermus relates that Themison affected to be Heracles, ἡμφιεσμένος λεοντῇν· ἐφόρει δὲ καὶ τόξα Σκυθικά καὶ ῥοπαλὸν ἐκράτει. And this is how his armament² is described by Soph. *Trach.* 510:

ὁ δὲ Βακχίας ἄπο
ἦλθε παλίντονα Θήβας
τόξα καὶ λόγχας ῥοπαλὸν τε τινάσσων

spears, and παλίντονα τόξα,³ and a club. The natural meaning of the puzzling αὐτόκωπα is 'with handle in one piece,' like αὐτόγυνος. Inapplicable to a sword, it may be explained as alluding to the *club*.

Καθαίρειν is the word habitually applied to Heracles' purgation of the earth (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1012, 1061, Arrian *Indica* viii. 8, Plut. *Theseus* 7, Dio. Chrys. I. p. 194, Arr. *Epict.* iii. 26 ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχων καὶ ἡγέμων ἦν, καθαρῆς ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας, εἰσαγωγὴς δὲ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὁσιότητος); the house of the Atridae is also to be purged of foul oppressors, ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύσος πᾶν ἐλαθῇ καθαρμοῖσιν ἀπάν

¹ And I see that in his edition of the play (1899) Dr. Blaydes has suggested Ἀρεως.

² See Prof. Jebb's note on *Philoct.* 727.

³ 'Like a Scythian bow' is the comparison used by an unlearned man in Agathon fr. 4. 3 (Ath. 454 d) to describe the letter Σ, which illustrates the epithet παλίντονα: see Stein on Hdt. vii. 69, quoting Ammian. xxii. 8. 37,

ἐλαττηρίους 964, σύ τ' ὃ πατρώων δῶμα· σοὶ γὰρ ἔρχομαι δίκη καθαρτῆς says Orestes in Soph. *El.* 69. Is it not probable, then, on all accounts that the type of deliverer in the Chorus' mind is Heracles?

It may be urged that nevertheless the fighting power of Heracles might be described as Ἄρης, just as the fierce attack of Orestes and Pylades is described as διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης in *v.* 964. But in reference to Heracles this is just the term that might have been avoided. In legend he and Ares meet; and when they meet, it is as enemies and rivals, and the Dorian hero is victorious.¹ The Ἄσπίς Ἡρακλέους of Hesiod is the story of his fight with Ocyneus and his father Ares; armed with bow and spear, he wounds him there (*v.* 461) as he had wounded him before in Pylos (*v.* 359); when he strove with Achelous, Ares vainly lent his aid against him (Pausan. vi. 19. 12). In his combat against Geryon, it was the giant who στείχεν ἵσος Ἀρεὶ βίαν. (Aesch. *fr.* 74. 7).

324 Πυρὸς [ῆ] μαλερὰ γνάθος: anyone giving information about the following scholium will be rewarded by my grateful thanks: ἡ γνάθος συνήθης, ὡς ὁ κρημνὸς λέγει Πίνδαρος καὶ ἡ ἡχώ Σιμωνιδῆς. W. Dindorf in the *Thesaurus* quotes a few occurrences of οἱ γνάθοι, which he thinks are merely slips in writing: here the schol. appears to speak as though the feminine were a poetical use. But who said anything except ὁ κρημνός? and what is possible except ἡ ἡχώ? Bergk, quoting the scholium among the fragments of Pindar and Simonides, makes no remark.

482 schol. should be εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄτιμος ἐν πυροῖσι κνισωτοῖς ἔσθι παρ' εὐδείπνοις χθονός· οὕτως τὸ ἐξῆς. ὃ ἐστὶ, παρὰ κατοικοιμένους δείπνῳ τιμωμένους, τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν μεταλαμβάνόντων ἐναγισμῶν, σὺ ἄτιμος ἔσθι.

506 ἄκου', ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοιαῶν ἔστ' ὁδύρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σφῆξαι τόνδε τιμήσας λόγον.

The stress is obviously upon ὑπὲρ σοῦ as upon αὐτός; 'these lamentations are on your behalf; it is your own interest to listen to them.' Now what is τοιαῶν? It appears to me it could only stand if it had been the predicate with the stress upon it, and that as it is, we must have τάδε: therefore I would read

ἄκου', ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοι τάδ' ἔστ' ὁδύρματα

¹ Thus when Heracles instituted the Olympian games and won the pancration and wrestling, Ares was beaten in boxing by Apollo, Pausan. v. 7. 10.

for τοι in such cases adds emphasis: e.g. 922 σύ τοι σεαυτήν, οὐκ ἐγώ..., *Ag.* 1030 σοί τοι λέγουσα πάνετα σαφῆ λόγον. 'It is you she speaks to in quite plain terms, and now pauses for an answer,' *Supp.* 375 σὺ τοι πόλις 'Thou art the city,' Soph. *Phil.* 1095, *El.* 582, 624, Eur. *Heracl.* 732, and commonly σέ τοι λέγω, etc.

541 εἰ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐκλιπὼν ἐμοὶ οὐφείσεπᾶσα σπαργάνη πλείζετο

The purport of *v.* 542 was clear enough; but I had been accustomed to regard the verb as beyond our means of determining. On the contrary, it can be restored with absolute confidence. We had overlooked the scholium upon it, which is ἐπιμελείας ἡξιοῦτο. I happened to have remarked this noticeable phrase used elsewhere to explain κομίζειν in its sense of 'tend' or 'nurse'; so I turned at once to lexicons and scholia and found what I expected. κομιδή is regularly explained by ἐπιμελεια, and the stock interpretations of κομῆεν and κομίζειν are ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς τρέφειν or ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν. It is unnecessary to transcribe examples; they may be found abundantly in the *Thesaurus*, Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*, Hesych. ii. p. 224. ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν was the definition of Apollonius and Apion (*Et. Gud.* p. 607^a 48).

The line, then, was

οὐφίς ἔπειτα σπαργάνη κομίζετο.

Thus a new form σπαργάνη 'swaddling' may be added in the Dictionaries to σπάργανον. There are many like it (see Lobeck *Proll.* 175 sqq.); and both feminine and neuter terminations occur for instance in δοκάνη, δόκανον, δρεπάνη, δρέπανον, θηγάνη, θήγανον, πλαθάνη, πλάθανον, ὀχάνη, ὄχανον. But the verb σπαργανάω is already found in Plat. *Legg.* 789 E and Hesych. s.v. Σπάρξαι, as πλεκτανάω *Cho.* 1047 besides πλεκτανόω.

ἔπειτα had always appeared to me the only natural correction of ἐπᾶσα. It is a further detail, the second here as in *v.* 527 ἐν σπαργάνοισι παιδὸς ὀρμίσαι δίκην 'havened it, like a child, in swaddling-clothes', indicating that the serpent typifies a human child. The correction had been made before by Martin, and by Peile who argues for it quite correctly p. 249.

I should not have narrated all my process here without a purpose: this was a good example of the method by which scholia may be used for recovering the text. The secret of their value in this application is that they are practically constant. Annotators do not, when interpreting, give merely the best

word that comes into their own heads, but they use traditionary and accepted synonyms; the same word is explained by the same equivalent in any place and any author. This is equally true of their formulae in dealing with constructions.¹

612 ἀλλαδήτῳ ἐν λόγους στυγεῖν
φουίαν Σκύλλαν·

612 appears thus in M, with such deficiency of accent. It has always been assumed, since Portus, that ἀλλα should be ἀλλαν, and it may be right. Of ἀλλαν δεῖ τιν' Hermann says 'non est hic nexus is qui Aeschilo convenire videatur. Scribendum potius est ἀλλαν δ' ἔστιν' comparing P.V. 828 ἀλλῃ δ' ἄκουσον . . . That in my judgement too is an improvement, and good Greek certainly in itself; but I have a notion that will account I think for the MS. more easily:

ἴ' ἀλλ' οἶδ', εἴ τιν' ἐν λόγοις, στυγεῖν

'among any in story'. The effect of that in Greek will be more easily felt than a translation found for it in English. It does not merely mean 'I can find hatred in my heart for', like Soph. fr. 275 τὸν Ἀἶδαν οὐδε γῆρας οἶδε φιλεῖν, A.P. xii. 103 οἶδα φιλεῖν φιλέοντας· ἐπίσταμαι, ἦν μ' ἀδικῇ τις, μισεῖν, but rather 'among all in story I know one who deserves my hate', like fr. 300. 1 γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν ἐκμαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι, Phrynich. 20. 1 πιθήκους οἶδ' ἐτέρους τινὰς λέγειν, Archestrat. (Ath. 29 c) 17 οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλων πολέων βοτρυοσταγὴ ἔρην εἰπεῖν αἰνῆσαι τε, and others I quoted in the *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. p. 106 in emending Callim. A.P. xii. 130. 6 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγων ἀτρεκές οἶδα μόνος, which should be λέγειν ἀτρεκέ' or τῶτρεκέ' as Meleag. A.P. vii. 428. 10.

In v. 613 Σκύλλαν is unmetrical; the proper name, as often, has been substituted for some descriptive word, which would here be κόραν (Merkel). Even if Σκύλλαν suited metre, κόραν would be better, for what follows presently turns wholly on the relationships of the murderesses quoted.

Preuss thought that the two following strophes ought to be transposed. Dr. Wecklein records the opinion in the margin of his text, and in his school edition actually adopts

¹ I assumed that the scholium had always been overlooked, because it appeared from Wecklein's Appendix of conjectures that no use had yet been made of it. But Dr. Postgate has since pointed out to me that it was remarked by Conington as the phrase 'by which Hesychius explains κομίζειν,' and this fact Paley says 'it is important to observe,' adding that the Schol. probably found κομίζετο. Yet to Conington it 'seems clear that σπάργαν' formed part of the original text,' and Paley reads σπαργάνοις ὠπλίζετο.

that arrangement. I can hardly conceive how such a thing should come about; but that it should have been propounded and approved will show how unsatisfactory other methods of interpretation have appeared. I believe the true arrangement to be this:

621 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμνασάμην ἀμειλίχων
πόνων— B. ἀκαίρως δέ· δυσφιλὲς γαμή-
λευν· ἀπεύχετον δόμοις
γυναικοβούλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν
ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τευχισφόρῳ,
ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ, δόμοις ἐπικτότως σέβεις;
τίω δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἔστιαν δόμων,
γυναικείαν ἀπολμον αἰχμάν.

A. κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον
630 λόγῳ· γοῶται δὲ δήποθ' ἐν κατάπτυστον,
ἤκασεν δέ τις
τὸ δεινὸν αὖ Λημνίοισι πῆμασιν·
θεοστυνγίτῳ δ' ἄγει
βροτῶν ἀτιμωθὲν οἴχεται γένος·
σέβει γὰρ οὔτις τὸ δυσφιλὲς θεοῖς·
τί τῶνδ' οὐκ ἐνδίκως ἀγέρω;

626 δηῖος ἐπικτότωςέβασ M 627 τίων δ' M

630 γοῶται δὲ δη ποθεῖ M

The point I start from is that the last line is a *triumphant reply to an objection* that the examples quoted are not pertinent, are out of place: and it is plain that this objection is to be found in v. 622 ἀκαίρως δέ, which is synonymous with οὐκ ἐνδίκως. That must be an interruption by another speaker. The clue of a *retort* leads on to seeing that σέβει and ἀτιμωθέν are answers to τίω δ' (Stanley) and my reading σέβεις. In order to understand this interruption, we must look into the purport of the whole.

The subject of the Chorus is the audacious imagination of man's heart; the disastrous consequences of human passion generally, and the desperate acts to which women especially are induced by ungoverned and illicit loves: what is in their mind is plainly the criminal relation of Clytemnestra with Aegisthus, leading to the murder of the husband:

ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι
καὶ γυναικῶν φρεσὶν τλαμώνων
παντόλμους ἔρωτας ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν;
ἐξύγους δ' ὁμαυλίας
θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως παρανικᾷ
κνωδάλων τε καὶ βροτῶν.

This theme they illustrate by the example of Althaea, the mother whose revengeful anger burnt the brand on which depended the life of her own son; and of the daughter Scylla, who was bribed by her father's enemies to take her father's life. They are

then proceeding 'And since I have made mention of heartless deeds of sorrow,' when they are suddenly interrupted by a voice complaining that the examples do not fit the case—'Nay, not to the purpose! an abhorred *adulterous alliance* and plots conceived by a *wedded woman's* mind against her *wedded man*,¹ a man and a soldier,² such' is the petulant question, 'do you hold in *admiration* beseeeming enemies? My admiration is for a passionless domestic hearth, a womanly and unaudacious temper' [not for *ὑπέρολμον φρόνημα*, not for *παντόλμους ἔρωτας*]. The meaning of *σίβεις* is 'since you pass over such a case as that, I suppose that you approve it!'

To this no immediate answer is returned; the Chorus appears at first to ignore it loftily, continuing thus—and judge, observing the order and emphasis of the words in Greek, whether it is not a reply: 'But the *chief place* among crimes in history is held by the *Lemnian*: when a man bewails some abominable horror, the monstrous outrage is compared to the "Lemnian tragedy": by reason of sin abhorred by god, the race of them has perished with dishonour among men—for "*admiration*" is a regard in which no one holds that which is loathsome in the sight of heaven. What is there among these that I adduce *improperly*? None indeed; for all are crimes committed from various motives by misguided women; but the last, the murder of husbands by their wives, is the most execrable of them all; it has become a proverbial synonym for everything most monstrous and abominable, a thing abhorred by gods and men alike. That is the *climax* they were leading up to when they were interrupted by that impatient voice; and it will not be denied, I think, that the interruption makes it still more telling and impressive—the reason, of course, that Aeschylus employed the artifice.

This free dramatic treatment of the Chorus³ is characteristic of the Attic drama in its Aeschylean stage. The interruption most resembling this is to be found in *Supp.* 88, if my view of it is right—and I think it is unintelligible otherwise—

¹ 989 *ἦτις δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τοῦτ' ἐμήσατο στόγος ἐξ οὗ τέκνων ἦνεγχε ὑπὸ ζωνῆν βάρος*, what think you she would do *τὸ δ' αὖ μὲν ἔκατι κῆκδίκου φρονήματος*;

² See *Eum.* 628-640, and compare *Ag.* 1625 *γόναι, σὺ... ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον*; That is addressed to Aegisthus, and the phrase *γυναικοβούλους μήτιδας* is so framed that it might include Aegisthus here; but that is by the way.

³ K. O. Mueller *History of Greek Literature* I. p. 414 sqq.

A. *εἶθ' εἴη Δίος εὖ παναληθῶς*—

B. *Δίος ἱμερος οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη*.

It does not seem necessary, therefore, to seek outside the Chorus itself for the complaining critic, though the possibility is of course conceivable. The Chorus itself, Dr. Verrall thinks, was composed of men, and not of women; that 'the strong denunciation of women is rather more appropriate to men' is certainly a reasonable argument.

The sentiment of *v.* 627 would be very well expressed as an aspiration by *τίοι μ' ἀθέρμαντον ἐστίαν* 'I hope I may always...' cf. *Pind. P.* xi. 50, *Eur. Ion* 150, 502, *fr.* 893 (*Ath.* 158e), *Callim. N. Del.* 98, *Theocr.* xxvi. 30, xvi. 66, xvii. 8, *Moschus v.* 12, *A.P.* v. 120.⁴

Instead of Enger's reading in 630 I had thought of *γοῦται δ' ὁδὴ ποθ' εἰς κατάπτυστον*,...

643 *Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμῆν, προχαλκεύει δ' Αἴσα φασηανουργός*

Pausanias *v.* 18. 2 describes from the chest of Cypselus a scene where *Δίκη* has 'Αδίκη by the throat and is beating her with a stick, *ῥάβδῳ παύουσα*. Mr. Frazer *iii.* p. 612 gives from a red-figured vase an exact representation of the scene, except that Justice there is literally *hammering* Injustice. Here Destiny is the armourer who forges the weapon for Justice to employ.⁵ In *Ag.* 1537, with language very similar, one would expect to find also the same image. Yet the MSS. give *δίκη* (or *δίκαι*) *δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θήγει βλάβης πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάταις μοῖραι*. It seems probable that Triclinius was correct in writing *δίκαι*, which will mean 'for the hand of Justice.' In face of *Αἴσα* it would be rash to alter *μοῖραι*: otherwise, modifying a suggestion by Prof. Robinson Ellis, we might perhaps read *θήγεται... θηγάταισιν αἶραι*:—supposing that could mean a chopping instrument requiring to be sharpened. It is usually explained by *σφύρα*, and in a fragment of Callimachus, the only place where it occurs in literature, *αἰράων ἔργα* stands for 'blacksmith's work.' Hesychius, however, and *Bekk. An.* 359. 19 give *αἶρα*: *σφύρα. ἀξίνη*: and might not *μαχ—αἶρα* mean originally a *battle-axe*? But one of the sign-posts to the sentence is the genitive *βλάβης*, which according to my ear should be dependent neither on *πρᾶγμα* nor on *θηγάταις* but on the final substantive,

⁴ These optatives will leave no doubt that *ἔν* in *Eur. Bacch.* 422 is an interpolation.

⁵ Compare Hermann's reading in 882 *ἔοικε γὺν αὐτῇ: ἐπιζήνου πέλας αὐχὴν πεσεῖσθαι πρὸς δίκης πεπληγμένους*.

θήγεται βλάβης μοῖρα, as you have θανάτω μοῖρα (*Pers.* 919, *Ag.* 1463). The only other possibility I see is that βλάβης is an error for an accusative, θηγάει βλάβας or βλάβην.

688 ὦ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἀρά
ὥς πόλλ' ἐπωπᾶς κάκποδὼν εὖ κεμένα
τόξοις πρόσωθεν εὐσκόποις χειρουμένη
φίλων ἀποψιλοῖς με τὴν παναθλίαν
καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης—ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων
ἔξω κομίζων δλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα—
νῦν δ'...

The first four lines have been punctuated at various places, the hinge of the question being whether καὶ in κάκποδὼν means 'and' or 'although.' One thing, I think, may be allowed—it must mean either one or else the other; but we cannot have it both ways. Weil with Bothe punctuates at ἐπωπᾶς, and takes καὶ to be 'and,' coupling the two clauses ἐπωπᾶς and ἀποψιλοῖς. The sentence in this arrangement reads to me as though εὖ κεμένα were a new object, not an epithet of πολλά, 'how many things thou markest, and subduing things well-bestowed out of the way, strippest me...' I cannot prove that this is wrong, only I think it cannot mean 'how many things thou markest, and subduing them, although well-bestowed out of the way' (καὶ χειρουμένη αὐτὰ, καίπερ ἐκποδὼν εὖ κεμένα).

The general feeling, however, which I share, has been that 'although' should be expressed, and that καὶ expresses it. If that is so, the following verb requires a connecting particle, and τ' accordingly was inserted by Hartung and δ' by Paley after φίλων. There are three reasons why I think that we should rather read τόξοις πρόσωθεν δ': first, because τόξοις χειρουμένη goes more fitly with ἀποψιλοῖς than with ἐπωπᾶς; secondly, it gives a better balance to the rhythm; and thirdly, this is a more likely place for a particle to have been omitted. When δέ or γάρ are placed in verse later than their normal place in prose, they experience at the hands of copyists one of two things commonly—either they are transposed to the usual position or else they are neglected: for example 700 πρὸς δυσσεβείας <δ> Pauw, *Supp.* 540 τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν <δ> Tucker. My sentence reads then 'how many things hast thou thine eye upon, though well situated (or "disposed") out of the way, and with unerring marksmanship strippest me of one after another of my own! As now Orestes—for he was prudently advised in getting his feet out of the deadly mire—yet, for all that, even him thou hast now brought low.' Orestes was ἐκ-

ποδὼν εὖ κείμενος: yet even thus he has not escaped the Curse's aim.

790 Of the restoration here I now feel sure:

ἴσθι δ' ἀνδρὸς φίλου πῶλον εὖ-
νιν ζυγόντ' ἐν ἄρματι
πημάτων' ἐν δρόμῳ προστιθεῖς
μέτρον τις ἂν σφάζομενον ῥυθμόν
794 δάπεδον ἂν τοῦτ' ἴδοι
ἀνομένων βημάτων ὄρεγμα.

'Bethink thee that Orestes in his painful mission is as a colt harnessed in a chariot: it is by imposing moderation while the race is being run that one may see the eagerness of straining steps preserving over this course their ordered pace.' σφάζομενον was rightly understood by Blomfield as the middle; it agrees with ὄρεγμα and it governs ῥυθμόν. Orestes has a race before him (ἔλασε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν is the phrase applied to him when his enterprise is successfully accomplished, *v.* 938, ἦκει γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρεῖον ἐκπλεθρον δραμὼν ἀγῶνα *Eur. El.* 881); now, if he is to be successful, he must not be allowed to get out of hand and run away, but be kept always under control. In other words, it is of vital moment that he should remain cool, and the Chorus pray that Zeus will therefore put the check upon him.

Except that I have changed the punctuation and removed the accent from τις (in the MS., as in scores of other places, τίς¹) the only alteration made is in *v.* 794, where ἴδοι, of course, had been conjectured long ago by Portus. The MS. τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν δάπεδον is meaningless and unmetrical. My reading agrees exactly with the corresponding line

διὰ δίκας πᾶν ἔπος
ἔλακον

(which is certain, for πᾶν ἔπος 'every syllable' is a frequent and invariable phrase), and the words δάπεδον ἂν τόδε occur in *Pind. N.* vii. 87. 'This course' is the adventure he is now engaged in.

The conception of Orestes' task as a contest appears throughout the *Electra* of Euripides in many phrases: 613 *OP.* ἦκω 'πὶ τόνδε στεφανόν. 693 εὖ πυρσεύετε κραυγὴν ἀγῶνος τοῦδε, 749 *HA.* πῶς ἀγῶνος ἤκομεν; 759 Orestes' attendant with the news of his success, ὦ καλλίνικοι παρθένοι Μυκηνίδες, νικῶντ' Ὀρέστην πᾶσιν ἀγγέλλω φίλοις, tells Electra that the servants of the house στέφουσιν εὐθὺς σοῦ κασιγνήτου κᾶρα χαίροντες ἀλαλάζοντες. The Chorus thereupon exclaim

¹ But the schol. is written on τις ἂν... 'λείπει τὸ ὅπως. καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴδοι. ὁ δὲ νοῦς, ὅπως ἂν τις τοῦτο ἴδοι,...

860 νίκας στεφαναφορίαν¹ κρείσσω παρ'
'Αλφειοῦ ρέεθροις τελέσας κασίγνητος σέθεν.
ἀλλ' ἐπάειδε καλλίνικον ὠδὴν ἑμῷ χόρῳ.
Electra says ὦ γαῖα καὶ νύξ ἦν ἐδε-
κόμεν πάρος, νῦν ὁ μὲν τοῦ μὲν ἀμπτυ-
χαί τ' ἐλεύθερα . . . φέρε κόμης ἀγάλματ'
ἐξενέγκωμαι, φίλοι, στέψω τ' ἀδελφοῦ κράτα
τοῦ νικηφόρου: and when Orestes appears
she welcomes him as a conqueror 878-887
with ὦ καλλίνικε πατρός ἐκ νικηφόρου...δέξαι
κόμης σῆς βοστρύχων ἀνδήματα, ἥκει γὰρ οὐκ
ἀχρεῖον ἐκπλεθρον δραμῶν ἀγῶν' ἐς οἴκους...and
says to Pylades στέφανον...δέχου φέρη γὰρ
καὶ σὺ τοῦδ' ἴσον μέρος ἀγῶνος.

The hint for all this is contained in the
two brief passages of Aeschylus already
quoted, and in *vv.* 582, 725, 865-7. I think
there must have been another in what
follows immediately in this same chorus.
After their appeal to Zeus, they pray to the
deities worshipped at shrines within the
house; and then they turn—in his own
paeonic metre—to Apollo, whose charge has
laid this enterprise upon Orestes:

802 τὸ δὲ καλῶς κείμενον ὦ μέγα ναίων
στόμιον, εὖ δὸς ἀναδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός,
καὶ νιν ἐλευθερίως
λαμπρόν ἰδεῖν φιλόις
ὄμμασιν ἐκ δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας.

κταμενων mut. in κτάμενον M: corr. Bamberger.
ἀνιδεῖν M. λαμπρῶς M: corr. H. L. Ahrens.
ὄμμασι δνοφερᾶς M: corr. Hermann.

'And thou that inhabitest that great fair-
built cavern, grant that we may well en-
garland a man's house, and that her eyes
may look forth bright by privilege of free-
dom, with a friendly gaze, out of her gloomy
shroud.' The texture of the verse, as com-
monly with Aeschylus, is very close. At
present δνόφου καλύπτουσι δόμους δεσποτῶν
θανάτοισι (50): its look is hostile, because
that is the attitude of its occupants towards
Orestes; gloomy and δουλοπρεπές because the
sympathisers with his cause are kept in
subjection under fear (see 959 sqq.), both
Orestes and Electra are as it were πεπραμένοι
(132), and she herself is ἀντιδούλος (135):
but if God will, the rightful owners and
their party will be able soon to wear the
fearless mien of freedom, when the house of
Orestes may abandon her black veil and put
on garlands for a victory in what may be
termed a *Pythian* contest.

Whether my conjecture is right or not, I
have no doubt about the rest: ἐλευθερίως has
its proper sense, and the adjective is used by
Theognis 538, 916; which, since they are

¹ The exact restoration is not clear, but unimportant for the purpose.

the earliest examples, ought to be added to
the dictionaries. The first of the passages
begins 535 οὐποτε δουλείη κεφαλὴ ἰθεῖα
πέφυκεν.—λαμπρῶς was simply the gloss on
λαμπρόν as 284 ὄρῶντα λαμπρόν, Pind. *N.* vii.
65 ἐν τε δαμόταϊς ὀμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν: cf.
x. 39 ἀξιοθέην κεν . . . Ἀργεῖ μὴ κρύπτειν φάος
ὀμμάτων, Eur. *H.F.* 221 Θῆβαις ἔθηκεν ὄμμ'
ἐλεύθερον βλέπειν, and in general illustration
Ion 1469, Pind. *I.* iii. 39 = iv. 21.

The following will show that 'to crown
the house' is quite a natural phrase: Pind. *P.* xi. 14 ἐστὶν τρίτον ἐπὶ στέφανον
πατρῶν βαλὼν, ii. 6 κρατέων τηλαυγέσιν
ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις: cf. *P.* ix. 4.
A.P. ix. 588 by reason of a victory at the
games ἐπτάπυλοι δὲ Θῆβαι καὶ γενέτωρ ἐστέφεθ'
Ἑρμοκράτης. Simonid. *A.P.* xvi. 2 Theognetus
by his victory πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐστέφανωσε
πόλιν. Eur. *H.F.* 773. in that fine Hebraic
outburst of triumphant song: 'Ἰσμήν' ὦ
στεφαναφόρει, ξεσταί θ' ἐπτάπυλοι πόλεως ἀνα-
χορεύσας ἀγυαί after the καλλίνικος ἀγὼν of
Heracles: cf. *fr.* 282. 18, *Tro.* 566. Simonid.
Ep. 98 οὔτος Ἀδείμαντου κείνου τάφος οὐ
διὰ βουλὰς Ἑλλὰς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο
στέφανον.

I do not profess to feel sure that my
reading is the right one, but it seemed to
deserve the statement of a case for it. What
causes a little discomfort is the εὖ: and the
effect of it should be weighed with any verb
that is proposed. ἀνάγειν (Weil) would make
good sense 'to lift up the house again',
'recover it'. Dr. Blaydes has offered εὖ δὸς
αὖ ἰδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός, on which I remarked
the shortening of αὖ as doubtful, not finding
any certain instance. It was however clearly
enough so used by Plat. *Com. fr.* 153. 3
ἐστᾶσ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐκείθεν τῆς γραμμῆς, οἱ δ' αὖ
ἐκείθεν, and by Archestratus (*Ath.* 300 d)
οὗτος γὰρ αὖ ἐστὶν ἐκείθεν: and it is possible
that it may have been so used in *Ag.* 1009,
Cho. 959. One point I have always,
rightly or wrongly, felt was cardinal: the
addition of νιν means that the subject of
the sentence changes; if δόμον had been the
subject of both verbs, νιν would have been
superfluous; if νιν, as I have taken it, is the
subject of the second verb, then δόμον is the
object of the first, and *vice versa*.

848 οὐδὲν ἀγγέλων σθένος

ὥς αὐτόσ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρα πείθεσθαι περί

instead of αὐτόσ is the only alteration
necessary: 'messengers avail nothing com-
pared with a man going and enquiring him-
self upon the spot;' (αὐτοῦ) as 581 δεῦρ'
ἐποπτεύσαι.

πείθεσθαι περί 'about (the matter)', is

exactly like *Ag.* 1358 τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευῆσαι πέρι.

862 ἡ πῦρ καὶ φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ
δαίον ἀρχάς τε πολισσονόμους
<σφετέρους τε δόμους>
ἕξει, πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον.

This insertion of the usual 'anapaestic base' before the paroemiac makes πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον what from its place in the sentence it should naturally be, an apposition: the δόμους of Orestes could hardly have been left unmentioned, while it is apparent how easily the line might be omitted.

956 κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ
ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς:

παρὰ τὸ μὴ is an error for πρὸς τὸ μὴ, the regular scholiastic formula to explain an 'exegetical' infinitive; and I now believe that the whole of this sentence is a paraphrase, κρατεῖ τ' αἰεὶ πῶς τὸ θεῖον, ...so that the original was

κρατεῖ πῶς αἰεὶ τὸ θεῖον τὸ μὴ
(ὑπουργεῖν) κακοῖς

'Divinity proves ever strong enough not to...' A paraphrase would naturally have αἰεὶ πῶς, for that is the usual phrase (Blaydes on *Ar. Ran.* 414). No place for it could be more suitable than this.—I doubt whether ὑπουργεῖν is the original word; it is often used to explain others: exact correspondence would require κακοῖς ~ ~ ~

κρατεῖν, 'to prevail,' is elsewhere constructed with an infinitive expressing what your superiority or predominance enables you to do: *Thuc.* iv. 104 κρατοῦντες τῷ πλήθει ὥστε μὴ αὐτίκα τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγεσθαι. vi 74 ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντες ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. *Eur. Hel.* 1639 ©E. ἀρχόμεσθ' ἄρ', οὐ κρατοῦμεν. XO. ὅσα δρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἔκδικ' οὐ. This construction should be restored in

Ag. 10 ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν—ὅδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζειν
κέρει.

'and tidings of her capture,—for so a woman's manlike spirit is sanguine to expect,' *ita enim sperare valet*. The MS. gives ἐλπίζων with ο written above ω, meaning ἐλπίζον, an obvious conjecture which naturally has not contented scholars. The correction I find from Wecklein had been proposed before by an anonymous critic in 1834, but I have never seen it even mentioned.

EUMENIDES.

219 εἰ τοῖσιν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους χαλᾶς,
τὸ μήτ' ὄνοσθαι μήτ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ

for μὴ γενέσθαι seems to me as probable as anything proposed: the verb was used by Aeschylus in *Supp.* 339.

259 The Erinyes come questing on the scent of blood:

καὶ νῦν ὃδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστί που καταπακῶν
δομῇ βοροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελᾷ.
ὄρα ὄρα μάλ' αὖ, πάντα λεύσσει μὴ
λάθῃ φύγδα βᾶς ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.

258 ὃδ' αὖ τ' ἐγεον ἄλκᾳν ἔχων
περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεῖς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου
ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν.

258 is the point where he is *discovered* (cf. *O.C.* 117–138); therefore we require ὅδε 'here he is!' and αὖ is used in such cases rather than αὐτε (e.g. *Pers.* 906, 944 *P.V.* 67, 124, 588, 904, *Ag.* 1214, *Soph. Trach.* 987, 1031, 1082, *Aj.* 871, *Phil.* 1222). ὃδ' αὐτέ γ' οὖν of the MS. is neither Greek nor metre; both, and sense as well, are given by my reading τέγεον ἄλκᾳν, that is, ὑπόστυγον, covert or protection under roof: for the word see Leaf on *Hom. Z* 248 τέγειο θάλαμοι. 'τέγεος pro τέγειος, ut τέλειος pro τέλειος, hoc ex τέλος, illud ex τέγος' says Stephanus; as βρότεος, βρότειος: and there appears no reason why τέγειος should not be used for feminine as well as τέλειος, τέλειος, ἔλειος, ὄρειος, βρότειος and the like.

Comparison of the MS. readings in 255 and *O.C.* 121 suggests that in both we have corruptions of the *verbal*.

358 ἐπὶ τὸν ᾧ διόμεναι
κρατερόν ὄνθ' ὁμοίως
μαυροῦμεν ὕφ' αἵματος νέον

The last two lines are unmetrical, and the reason is that the words have been transposed to indicate the construction. When this happens—and it happens commonly—one or more words are often replaced at the same time by an explanatory synonym. That is here the case with ὁμοίως, which cannot have been used by Aeschylus in the sense of ὅμως 'nevertheless,' but was regularly used by grammarians in explanation, chiefly of ἔμπης (see Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*). That is the natural word here, as e.g. *Theognis* 293 οὐδὲ λεῶν αἰεὶ κρέα δαίνυνται, ἀλλὰ μιν ἔμπης καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔοντ' ἀγρεὶ ἀμυχανίη. The exact restoration depends upon the *antistrophe*, in which unfortunately there is a word missing:

καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν,
377 σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις
κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν.

If 377 consisted of two paeons (hyporchematic, ὀρχησμοῖς 373) like the three verses preceding it, σφαλερὰ καὶ (Schoemann) τανυδρόμοις, or σφαλέρ' ἄταν τ., we should read:

ἐπὶ τὸν ὧδ' ἰέμεναι (E. A. Ahrens).
κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ὑπὸ νέου
μαυροῦν αἵματος ἔμπας.

If 377 was what Weil suggests, σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις ὅμως, then we need not change μαυροῦμεν:

κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ὑφ' αἵματος
μαυροῦμεν νέου ἔμπας.

That I believe to be the truth.

752 τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαίρεσει
γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγεται μέγα.
[βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον ψῆφος ὤλεσεν μία.]

Mr. Macnaghten's view (which I had overlooked) that this last line should be ejected, seems to me constantly more probable. Some examples of such a clause as 753 added for the sake of antithesis and introduced by δὲ 'whereas' are 105, *Ag.* 628, *Soph. O.T.* 615 Jebb, *Ant.* 672, *O.C.* 1534, *Pind. N.* i. 54, *Plat. Legg.* 775 C, *Aesch. Eum.* 697 as corrected, and, as I understand it, *Ag.* 357.

1033 (dactylic metre).

1033 βᾶτ' ἐν δόμῳ μεγάλοι φιλότιμοι
Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἀπαιδὲς ὑπ' εὐφροنى πομπᾷ

1036 (εὐφαιμίτε δὲ, χωρίται)
γῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισιν

1038 τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περισέπται τύχαι τε
(εὐφαιμίτε δὲ πανδαμί).

1036 χωρεῖτε M: corr. Hermann.

The copyist, approaching the completion of his task, has written, as at the end of the *Agamemnon*, with great haste and carelessly. βᾶτ' ἐν δόμῳ is unmetrical and ungrammatical; βᾶτε δόμῳ (Wellauer) appears to me no more than metrical: βᾶτε δόμον [ᾧ] μεγάλοι would be correct, but I feel constantly that ᾧ, so far from having been inserted here, has been absorbed. βᾶτέ μοι ᾧ would serve; but the MS. is better perhaps accounted for by ΒΑΤΕΟΔΟΝΩ, that is βᾶθ' ὁδόν, ᾧ..., a suitable phrase for starting a procession; perhaps, indeed, a formula: cf. *Soph. fr.* 760. ἰ βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λέως.

In v. 1039 περίσεπτα τύχοιτε has been conjectured; but the optative is out of place; it is a statement or a promise, not an aspiration. I return to an opinion arrived at many years ago that ΠΕΡΙΣΕΠΤΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΤΕ is an error for ΠΕΡΙΣΕΠΤΑΠΥΚΑΣΤΕ, τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περίσεπτα πυκασταί, a synonym of στεπταί, 'crowned, laden with honours.' It is a most natural expression: cf. *Plat. Rep.* 465 D our citizens, compared with Olympian-winners, τροφῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὅσων βίος δέεται ἀναδοῦνται: *Ar. Eq.* 502 στεφάνοις κατάπαστος, schol. κατάμεστος, πλήρης, πεποικιλμένος. Pherecr. (*Hesych.* ii. p. 160) βριθόμενης ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ μεστα τραπέζης.

W. HEADLAM.

ON THE USE OF THE WORDS τραγῳδός AND κωμῳδός.

1. LIDDELL AND SCOTT in their *Lexicon* tell us that τραγῳδός is first 'a tragic poet or singer, these characters being originally one,' but 'later, when the poets ceased to act, the term τραγῳδός, tragedian, was for the most part confined to the tragic actor..., the tragic poet being called τραγῳδοποιός or τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλος (but τραγῳδός continued also to be used in its old sense...).' They mention separately τραγῳδοί 'members of the tragic chorus' and the plural τραγῳδοί 'often used = τραγῳδία.' They therefore hold that in Attic Greek the word has at least three distinct meanings, poet, singer, actor. For κωμῳδός they give only two, poet and actor,

thus leaving out, perhaps by inadvertence, the very first sense to which the form of the word points.

These ideas are probably universal among scholars who have not looked into the facts. In a way they have come down to us from Ammonius or earlier writers whom he followed, for he says κωμῳδός καὶ τραγῳδός λέγεται ὁ χορευτὴς καὶ ὑποκριτής· κωμῳδοποιός δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοποιός οἱ ποιηταί· ἐνίστε δὲ συγγέουσι τὴν διαφορὰν. But in the *schol. ad Dem.* 5. 6, ὑποκριτὰς ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς νῦν τραγῳδοὺς λεγομένους τοὺς ποιητάς, οἷον τὸν Εὐριπίδην καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην, τοὺς δὲ νῦν ὑποκριτάς· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν δύο· τὸν μὲν δευτέρα-