The *Supplices* of Euripides

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I

42	ἱκετεύω cε, γεραιά,
42/43	γεραιῶν ἐκ cτομάτων, πρὸc
	γόνυ πίπτουcα τὸ cόν·
44	†ἄνομοι τέκνα λῦcαι
44/45	φθιμένων νεκύων οἳ
	καταλείπουcι μέλη
46/47	θανάτῳ λυcιμελεῖ θηρcὶν ὀρείοιcι βοράν.

COMMENTATORS and emendators, with few exceptions, find the antecedent of the relative οἳ in νεκύων in line 44/45: "... corpses which leave behind their limbs as a prey to beasts." The gibbering ψυχή, knocking in vain at the gates of Hell, may have left its limbs behind as carrion. A corpse on the battlefield has abdicated control over its limbs: it does not enjoy the privilege of bequeathing them to anybody. The conjectures of the interpreters in line 44 are not such as to redeem the improbability of their interpretation: ἀνά μοι τέκνα λῦcαι φθιμένων νεκύων ed. Brubachiana and the early editors, rendered as "ut redimas mihi filiorum extinctorum cadauera" or "ut eximas meos liberos ex cadaueribus defunctorum," and modified by Brodaeus and Markland to ἄνα μοι κτλ., "surge mihi, redime filios meos, etc."; ἀνὰ λείψανα λῦcαι Kirchhoff, ἀνά μοι cτίχα λῦcαι Musgrave, ἀπὸ cώματα λῦcαι Wecklein,[1] ἄνομ' αἴcχεα λῦcαι Bruhn *apud* Murray.

A few have tried a different path. Reiske and Markland find the antecedent of οἳ in τέκνα, and Markland offers a choice of three constructions for the phrase φθιμένων νεκύων: (i) "ex cadaueribus defunc-

[1] Ed. maior (Leipzig 1898) and small annotated edition (Leipzig 1912). The conjecture is accepted by the latest editor, G. Italie (Groningen 1951), who also changes φθιμένων νεκύων to νεκύων φθιμένων. His laconic reason for this change ("zie antistr." is all he says) I take to mean that φθιμένων in the strophe now occupies the same position as φθιμένουc in the antistrophe. Such correspondences occasionally occur in Euripidean lyrics, but they are not to be introduced by this sort of περιεργία.

torum,"[2] (ii) genitive absolute, "cadaueribus tabescentibus," (iii) dependent on μέλη (so Reiske). "Haec nobis incerta sunt, quia ea pronunciata non audiuimus: unde nescimus ueram distinctionem"; but it will take more than punctuation and pronunciation to turn Markland's text into intelligible Greek. Grégoire[3] writes ἄνα μοι τέκνα λῦcαι, φθιμένων νεκύων μὴ καταλείπουcα μέλη κτλ., which Professor Page once called—perhaps a trifle indulgently—"pretty, though . . . unconvincing."[4] Murray produced a text of fits and starts, or, as he called it, of "clamores confusos precantium": ἄνομοι . . .—τέκνα λῦcαι. —φθιμένων κτλ., "Impii Thebani" . . . "Reddere[5] filios!" . . . "qui mortuos feris relinquunt." This division of speakers was exploded by Page, who himself conjectured ἄνα μοι νεκρὰ λῦcαι φθιμένων τεκέων.[6] But Murray has spotted what seems to me to be an obvious truth: that the only party which may be described as leaving limbs as a prey to beasts are the Thebans, who are refusing burial to the corpses.[7] And this view seems to be shared by the author of the most recent conjecture known to me: A. Y. Campbell[8] conjectures, without explanation, ἀνόμους κατάπαυcαι, "put a stop to the lawless men who . . .," in which the sense is more plausible than the alleged corruption.

In listing the conjectures which take νεκύων as the antecedent of οἵ, I omitted to record two conjectures which are simpler and better than the rest. O. Ribbeck[9] proposed ἀπό μοι for ἄνομοι, with the construction ἀπό μοι τέκνα λῦcαι φθιμένων νεκύων, "release for us our children from the dead corpses." Tmesis is common in Euripides' lyrics;[10] tmesis of the same verb, in a similar construction, occurs at Hom. *Od.*

[2] Defenders of this construction quote no parallel, so I offer them Aesch. *Ag.* 1023 τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν ("bring up from the dead").

[3] Budé ed. (Paris 1923).

[4] *CQ* 31 (1937) 96.

[5] 'Redime' in fact, since ἐcιδοῦcα in 48 shows that λῦcαι is middle imperative and not aorist infinitive. But that would make Murray's text even less coherent.

[6] *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.4).

[7] For καταλείπειν used of leaving corpses on a battlefield see *Il.* 12.226–27 πολλοὺς γὰρ Τρώων καταλείψομεν, οὕc κεν Ἀχαιοὶ | χαλκῷ δηώcωcιν. Before Murray the only note of disquiet I can find is A. Matthiae, *Obseruationes criticae* (Göttingen 1789) 14: "καταλείπειν μέλη de moriente uix bene dicitur; et hoc loco esse saltem deberet κατέλειψαν." I will not repeat his conjecture, which he withdrew in his edition (text 1814, commentary 1823).

[8] In his edition of *Helen* (Liverpool 1950) 123.

[9] *RhM* n.f. 31 (1876) 614.

[10] Kühner-Gerth I 534–35, W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Euripideischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart 1934) 266.

12.420–21 ἀπὸ τοίχουc | λῦce κλύδων τρόπιοc ("the wave removed the sides from the keel").[11] But I doubt if ἀπό is the preposition we want in this context; ἐκ is what we should expect, and ἐκ was neatly supplied by a second conjecture of Professor Page, published but reduced to unintelligibility by misprinting in A. S. Owen's edition of *Ion* (Oxford 1939) p.117: ἄνα μοι τέκνα λῦcαι 'κ φθιμένων. For the preposition see 346 νεκροὺc ἐκλύcομαι, and for μοι see 168 cῶcον νεκρούc μοι. "There are no certain cases of prodelision after αι in tragedy," says Platnauer.[12] But he is wrong: there is at least one. At Soph. *OC* 1608 πεcοῦcαι 'κλαῖον (Heath, κλαῖον codd.) the manuscript reading is not to be defended by the plea that the syllabic augment may be omitted in messenger speeches: for the conditions under which such omissions are permitted see Page on *Med.* 1141. Of the four remaining possible instances, I have already shown that Platnauer's doubts about two of them are justified;[13] but two instances which are probably to be accepted are *Hel.* 953 αἱρήcομαι 'γώ (Porson, αἱρήcομαι τό L), and *IA* 1396 γενήcομαι 'γώ (Reiske, γενήcομ' ἐγώ L). Platnauer has shown that there are seven instances of the prodelision —μαι 'γώ in Aristophanes.[14]

There is only one drawback to accepting this conjecture: the antecedent of οἵ is still νεκύων. But change the case of the relative and all will be well:

<div style="text-align:center">

ἄνα μοι τέκνα λῦcαι 'κ
φθιμένων νεκύων ὧν
καταλείπουcι μέλη . . .

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"arise, and release for us our children from the corpses whose limbs

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[11] The same construction (as ἀπολύειν τί τινοc) is used with the uncompounded verb at 470 λύcαντα cεμνὰ cτεμμάτων μυcτήρια, "release the μυcτήρια (Demeter's temple: *cf.* 173) from the suppliants' garlands." So the passage is rightly explained by B. Lavagnini, *AJP* 68 (1947) 84–86. Commentators join cτεμμάτων μυcτήρια or, since that is an impossible phrase, accept Nauck's ἱκτήρια. And there is one more place in the play where the verb ἀπολύειν ought probably to be restored. At 638–39 the messenger, announcing victory, declares to the chorus λόγου δέ cε | μακροῦ ἀποπαύcω, which, one would suppose, means "I shall stop you from making a long speech," than which no remark could be less apposite. H. van Herwerden, *Mnemosyne* n.s. 5 (1877) 36, conjectured ἀπολύcω, "I shall relieve you of a long speech" (*i.e.* I shall speak briefly). Compare *Hec.* 918, where Murray very plausibly conjectures καταλύcαc for καταπαύcαc.

[12] *CQ* n.s. 10 (1960) 141.

[13] *Heracl.* 999, *IA* 1435: see *CQ* n.s. 22 (1972) 244.

[14] And let me add another instance for consideration: Blaydes' φαίνεται ⟨'κ⟩ θεῶν at Aesch. *Pers.* 604, which is accepted by Page (OCT, Oxford 1972).

they are leaving for the beasts." ἄνα is an invitation to Aithra to leave the altar and approach her son on the chorus' behalf (*cf.* *Alc.* 276 ἀλλ' ἄνα τόλμα, *Tro.* 98–99 ἄνα, δύcδαιμον, πεδόθεν κεφαλήν (**P**, κεφαλά **V**), | ἐπάειρε δέρην,[15] Soph. *Aj.* 192 ἀλλ' ἄνα ἐξ ἑδράνων). The subject of καταλείπουcι is left unexpressed, as well it may be: the identity of the subject is not in doubt, for this reprehensible behaviour of the Thebans in refusing burial was described only a few lines earlier. For the idea 'release from the corpses' (*i.e.* 'from the corpse-strewn battle-field') see 762 θέραπεc ἦγον ἐκ φόνου, "the servants brought (the corpses) out of the carnage." The corruption of ὧν to οἳ is easy enough: either ὧν was lost by haplography after νεκύων and οἳ was supplied as a subject for καταλείπουcι, or, more likely, ὧν was simply assimilated to the case of the subject of the following verb. The repetition of the same sound in the adjacent syllables—ων ὧν causes no offence: see the passages I have cited in *ProcCambPhilSoc* 194 (1969) 59.

II

346   δράcω τάδ'· εἶμι καὶ νεκροὺc ἐκλύcομαι
            λόγοιcι πείθων· εἰ δὲ μή, βίᾳ δορὸc
            ἤδη τόδ' ἔcται κοὐχὶ cὺν φθόνῳ θεῶν.

346 δράcω Kirchhoff, δράcων **L**. 347 πείθων Nauck, πείcων **L**.

"I shall do this. I shall go and redeem the corpses by using persuasion; failing that, it will be done ἤδη by armed force and without divine displeasure."

The word ἤδη harbours a problem generally ignored. "Failing that, it will be done ἤδη by armed force." While ἤδη commonly refers to what is to happen in the immediate future ('now at once'), it is not clear that it may legitimately be used in the apodosis of a conditional sentence to refer to an event which, so far from being immediate, is

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[15] I have seen no convincing treatment of these lines. Some, with no warrant, give ἄνα the force of a transitive verb: "ἄνα construendum uidetur cum κεφαλήν, i.e. ἄνεχε κεφαλήν" (Hermann), "ἄνα for ἀνάειρε, as John Milton (ap. Barnes) rightly took it" (Paley); Murray prints κεφαλή, with an impossible change of addressee to follow; Parmentier punctuates κεφαλὴν | ἐπάειρε, δέρην, which is abominable style; only Musgrave's addition of τε after δέρην deserves consideration (κεφαλὴν | ἐπάειρε δέρην τ'). But I wonder whether πεδόθεν κεφαλήν, ἐπάειρε δέρην does not belong to that species of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction illustrated by Soph. *El.* 105–06 ἔcτ' ἂν παμφεγγεῖc ἄcτρων | ῥιπάc, λεύccω δὲ τόδ' ἦμαρ, Hor. *Carm.* 1.30.5–6 *solutis | Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae*, though in these and all other instances known to me there is a copula and not asyndeton.

contingent upon a future event of uncertain time. Or, to formulate the problem bluntly, can ἤδη mean τότε? No evidence has been shown that it can.

Nauck[16] deleted 348 and left εἰ δὲ μή, βίᾳ δορός effective enough in its abruptness; and unless it can be bettered by conjecture, the deletion deserves serious consideration.[17] Such a conjecture is not Wilamowitz's καὶ δή, for it gives to the line a frigid aimlessness which, had the manuscript presented this reading, would probably have been despatched by Nauck with the same remedy. That Beck conjectured ἦ δή I mention only because it is creditable to make even a bad conjecture when others are asleep.

If the text is unsound, then perhaps the replacement of τόδ' by τότ' will mend it:

εἰ δὲ μή, βίᾳ δορὸς
ἤδη τότ' ἔσται κοὐχὶ cὺν φθόνῳ θεῶν.

Similarly Pl. Prt. 351E ἐὰν μὲν πρὸς λόγον δοκῇ εἶναι . . . cυγχωρηcόμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, τότε ἤδη ἀμφιcβητήcομεν. See also Aesch. PV 910–11 (Zeus will be overthrown) πατρὸς δ' ἀρὰ | Κρόνου τότ' ἤδη παντελῶς κρανθήcεται, Ag. 970–71 ὅταν δὲ τεύχῃ Ζεὺς ἀπ' ὄμφακος πικρᾶς | οἶνον, τότ' ἤδη ψῦχος ἐν δόμοιc πέλει, Cho. 819 καὶ τότ' ἤδη (Blomfield, τότε δὴ M) . . . μεθήcομεν, Soph. OC 437–41 χρόνῳ δ' ὅτ' ἤδη πᾶc ὁ μόχθοc ἦν πέπων . . . τὸ τηνίκ' ἤδη τοῦτο μὲν πόλιc βίᾳ | ἤλαυνέ μ' ἐκ γῆc. See also Thuc. 7.59.1, Ar. Pax 341, Plut. 694, Pl. Resp. 417B, Lys. 1.19, 12.66, 25.22, Isoc. 12.25, Isae. 11.22, 33, Dem. 16.27, 18.193.

I have retained the dative βίᾳ, though others may prefer to write βία. The dative phrase gives a better balance with the following cὺν φθόνῳ θεῶν; and the combination of εἶναι, its impersonal subject unexpressed, with an adverb or equivalent phrase is illustrated by Aesch. Sept. 683–84 εἴπερ κακὸν φέροι τιc, αἰcχύνηc ἄτερ | ἔcτω, Ag. 217 εὖ γὰρ εἴη, Cho. 868 εἴη δ' ἐπὶ νίκῃ, Eur. Med. 89 εὖ γὰρ ἔcται, HF 1292–93 ᾧ δ' ἀεὶ κακῶc | ἔcτ', Hel. 1273, Or. 1106.

III

365 CHO. ἱππόβοτον Ἄργοc, ὦ πάτριον ἐμὸν πέδον, STR.
      ἐκλύετε τάδ', ἐκλύετε
      ἄνακτοc ὅcια περὶ θεοὺc

16 BullAcImpSt.Petersburg 22 (1877) 92.
17 It is accepted by Wecklein in 1898 but not in 1912.

καὶ μεγάλα Πελαςγίᾳ
καὶ κατ᾽ Ἄργος;

370   εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τέρμα καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐμῶν κακῶν   ANT.
ἱκόμενος ἔτι ματέρος
ἄγαλμα φόνιον ἐξέλοι,
γᾶν δὲ φίλιον Ἰνάχου
θεῖτ᾽ ὀνήςας.

375   καλὸν δ᾽ ἄγαλμα πόλεςιν εὐςεβὴς πόνος   STR.
χάριν τ᾽ ἔχει τὰν ἐς αἰεί.

I have transcribed the first strophe in order to present it with a question-mark at the end. All the editors I have seen, with the exception only of Italie, make the sentence a statement: "Argos, you heard this good news from king Theseus." If Argos heard it, fifty miles away, then Athens is ruled by king Stentor. I translate the remainder. "May he, in going as far as the ending of my miseries and still further,[18] remove the bloody ἄγαλμα of a mother and make the land of Inachus friendly to himself by doing it service. Labour undertaken in a pious cause is a fine ἄγαλμα for cities and wins everlasting gratitude." The "bloody ἄγαλμα of a mother" is taken to mean the bloody corpses of their fallen sons, and there is no reason why the words ματέρος ἄγαλμα φόνιον should not have that meaning: see 631-32 τὸ còν ἄγαλμα, τὸ còν ἵδρυμα | πόλεος ("the glory, the stay, of your city," meaning these same dead heroes), 1163-64 οὐκέτι φίλον | φίλας ἄγαλμ᾽ ὄψομαί cε ματρός ("no longer shall I see you, dearly beloved delight of a loving mother"), *IT* 273, Aesch. *Ag.* 208, Soph. *Ant.* 1115, tr. fr. adesp. 126.3. And for the adjective φόνιον see 812 cῶμαθ᾽ αἱματοςταγῆ. But there are two difficulties. First, the recurrence of ἄγαλμα only eleven words later and with a different connotation betrays clumsiness to a high degree. Negligent repetition within a short space of common and colourless words is a well-known feature of tragic style: the word ἄγαλμα is neither colourless nor common. Second, the failure to define the verb 'remove' is troublesome: contrast the precision of 571 θάψω νεκροὺς γῆς ἐξελὼν Ἀςωπίας (similarly 38 ὡς ἢ τὸ τούτων λυπρὸν ἐξέλῃ χθονός).

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[18] ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἐμῶν κακῶν ἱκόμενος is compared with Theoc. 1.20 καὶ τᾶς βουκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἵκεο μοίςας by Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin 1875) 94. And for τὸ πλέον see also 158 τὸ (Musgrave, τί L) δὲ πλέον 'further than that', 'moreover', a certain conjecture, in spite of G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester 1955) 69 n.5.

I will add that φόνιον in this context is not apposite, although I am well aware that others will find it a choice epithet.

In place of ἄγαλμα I suggest ἄμυγμα: "may he put an end to a mother's bloody cheek-tearing." This clause defines τέρμα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν in the same way that τὸ πλέον ἔτι is defined by γᾶν . . . ὀνῆcαc. The noun appears at Andr. 826–27 ὀνύχων τε δάϊ' ἀμύγματα θήcομαι, Soph. Aj. 634 πολιᾶc ἄμυγμα χαίταc, and its cognates at Eur. fr.925a Snell γενύων τ' ἀμυχάc, Aesch. Cho. 24 πρέπει παρῇc φοίνιcc' ἀμυγμοῖc (text doubtful, παρηῖc φοινίοιc ἀμυγμοῖc Stanley, παρῇcι φοινίαιc ἀμυγμόc Conington). 'Bloody' is the epithet which this activity warrants: 76–77 διὰ παρῇδοc ὄνυχι λευκὸν | αἱματοῦτε χρῶτα φόνιον· ⟨ἒ ἔ⟩,[19] Hec. 655–56, Hel. 373–74, 1089, Or. 961–62. For the verb ἐξαιρεῖν in the sense 'put an end to', with an inanimate object, see Phoen. 991 πατρὸc ἐξεῖλον φόβον, Med. 904 νεῖκοc πατρὸc ἐξαιρουμένη, Pl. Resp. 387D καὶ τοὺc ὀδυρμοὺc ἆρα ἐξαιρήcομεν καὶ τοὺc οἴκτουc τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, 387E, Isoc. 12.165 ἐξαιρεῖν . . . τὰc διαφοράc, LSJ s.u. III init.[20] Comparable to the whole expression is Plut. Sol. 21.6 ἀμυχὰc δὲ κοπτομένων . . . ἀφεῖλεν (Solon "put an end to the cheek-tearing of mourners").

IV

476
    cκέψαι δέ, καὶ μὴ τοῖc ἐμοῖc θυμούμενοc
    λόγοιcιν, ὡc δὴ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν ἔχων,
    cφριγῶντ' ἀμείψῃ μῦθον ἐκ βραχιόνων.
    ἐλπὶc γάρ ἐcτ' ἄπιcτον, ἣ πολλὰc πόλειc
    cυνῆψ', ἄγουcα θυμὸν εἰc ὑπερβολάc.[21]

[19] For the text of these and the corresponding lines in the antistrophe see G. Zuntz, An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides (Cambridge 1965) 65–67; A. M. Dale, The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama² (Cambridge 1968) 75 n.1. I have two points to add: (i) the expression λευκὸν | αἱματοῦτε χρῶτα φόνιον, where χρῶτα is qualified by two epithets, the one descriptive, the other proleptic ("bloody the white flesh gory"), is so insipid that one of the adjectives must be altered. Since φονίωι ("with gory nail": so Hec. 657 δίαιμον ὄνυχα, Hel. 1089 ὄνυχα φόνιον) requires an improbable correption (Zuntz's objection to "the separation, excessively wide, of noun and adjective" is unwarranted: see Breitenbach, op.cit. [supra n.10] 243ff), perhaps we should consider λευκᾶc (Page): see Med. 923, 1148, El. 1023; (ii) the credit for first adding ⟨ἒ ἔ⟩ in the strophe should be assigned to Wilamowitz, Griechische Tragoedien, III: Euripides, Der Mütter Bittgang (Berlin 1899). The textual notes were not added until the fourth edition (1904), but this reading is presupposed by the 1899 version, as are most of the other prescribed readings. But Wilamowitz ignores the conjecture in Griechische Verskunst (Berlin 1921) 267 n.2.

[20] Phoen. 516 πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγοc ("removes every obstacle" Pearson) also belongs here and not in the class which LSJ invents for it. Euripides makes similar use of ἀφαιρεῖν: e.g. Med. 456, HF 99.

[21] ἐcτ' ἄπιcτον Fix, ἐcτι κάκιcτον L.

"Take careful thought, and do not, in your anger at my words and because you suppose that yours is a free city, deliver in reply a speech flushed with pride ἐκ βραχιόνων. For hope is not to be trusted: it has brought many cities into conflict, by tempting the spirit to excesses."

A commentator's first instinct is to suppose that βραχιόνων must be a comparative adjective. Then he finds the grammarians writing "βραχίων nur bei alten Grammatikern . . . sonst βραχύτερος"[22] and "βραχίων (nur als Subst., woraus lat. *bracchium*) βραχύτερος."[23] And so he writes such notes as these: "Distinguendum opinor: cφριγῶντ᾽ ἀμείψῃ μῦθον· ἐκ βραχιόνων | ἐλπὶς γάρ ἐcτι κάκιcτον, ἢ πολλὰc, &c. Βραχίονεc Graecis, ut *brachia* et *lacerti* Latinis, *robur* et *uires* denotat; *Fidens juuentus horrida brachiis*, Horat. III. Carm. iv. 50, et νέῳ βραχίονι Noster Hecub. 15, hac fab. 748 [738] νέοι βραχίοcιν" (Markland); "uide ne efficias uerbis contumeliosis, ut urbs nostra tibi respondeat sermonem robustum e brachiis torosis" (Reiske); "ne lasciuiens mihi reddas responsum ex lacertis, id est, ad lacertos, uel ad uim, rem deducens" (Heath); "*ex brachiis*: interpretor *ex uirium fiducia*" (Musgrave); "Poet. as a symbol of strength, ἐκ βραχιόνων by *force of arm*, E. *Supp.* 478" (LSJ *s.u.* βραχίων; but LSJ Suppl. is more cautious—"for 'as a . . . 478' read 'of strength of arm, νέοι βραχίοcιν, E. *Supp.* 738'"); "non voler . . . ricambiarmi d'una tumida risposta per effetto (della forza) del tuo braccio" (Ammendola);[24] "vertrouwend op uw kracht (cf. 738 βραχίοcιν)" (Italie). And finally Grégoire: "*me faire une réponse gonflée de ta force. Βραχιόνων* est bien le génitif du mot βραχίων, 'bras', et non un prétendu comparatif de βραχύc, comme le veulent certains modernes (Wilamowitz, Wecklein). Euripide, ainsi que les autres tragiques, ignore absolument un tel comparatif; par contre, il emploie plus de vingt fois le substantif βραχίων." And so there we are: Euripides uses the noun βραχίων "more than twenty times" (I count nineteen, even when this alleged instance is included);[25] not only Euripides but also Aeschylus and Sophocles "absolutely ignore" the comparative adjective βραχίων. And, to show how absolute is their ignorance of this comparative, they make great play with the other comparative βραχύτεροc—do they? Not a bit of it: not even once, not

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[22] Kühner-Blass I 555.

[23] E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I (München 1953) 538.

[24] G. Ammendola, ed. 2 (Turin 1956).

[25] Allen-Italie, *A Concordance to Euripides* (Berkeley 1954), record this instance under the adjective βραχύc. Mr Collard in his Supplement to the Concordance (Groningen 1971) has restored it to the noun βραχίων.

even in one of the three dramatists, is there to be found a comparative βραχύτερος.[26] So that when Grégoire says that they "absolutely ignore" the comparative βραχίων, he really means that they never find an occasion on which they need to use it. So much, then, for this interpretation. I should consider it to be an absurdity even if there were no alternative interpretation to offer. But with its absurdity I am less concerned than with the reasoning by which it was attained. It was, like Marvell's love, begotten by despair upon impossibility.[27]

And now what have Grégoire's fractious moderns to say for themselves? "Sieh' dich auch vor, auf meinen Antrag nicht| *kurz angebunden* ein entrüstet Nein| zu sagen" (Wilamowitz)[28]; "gib nicht als eben 'einem freien Staate' vorstehend eine *zu kurze* und hochfahrende Antwort" (Wecklein 1912). And not only "certains modernes"; for "certains anciens" had the same idea. Barnes gives the translation: "superbum reddas responsum, paucioribus prolatum." But this will not do: the length or shortness of Theseus' reply to the herald is a consideration of the profoundest irrelevance. The correct interpretation was given by Paley: "ἐκ βραχιόνων, like ἐξ ἀέλπτων, Aesch. Suppl. 351 [357], from βραχύς, 'on small grounds', 'from an inferior and weaker cause'." And E. B. England, *CR* 15 (1901) 55, writes: "the words ἐκ βραχιόνων, which some editors have thought corrupt, seem to me sound, and to mean 'though on the weaker side'. Cf. v.518f οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ Κρέοντα δεσπόζοντ' ἐμοῦ | οὐδὲ cθένοντα μεῖζον." Paley's citation of Aesch. *Supp.* 357 ἐξ ἀέλπτων is less apposite than the following passages: *Heracl.* 148–49 κίνδυνον ἐξ ἀμηχάνων | ῥίπτοντεc ("hazarding a risk in a desperate situation"), Soph. *Trach.* 1109 χειρώcομαι κἀκ τῶνδε ("I shall destroy her even in my present state of health"), *Phil.* 91–92 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸc ποδὸc | . . . χειρώcεται ("he will not defeat us with only one leg to stand on"); see also Eur. *Med.* 459 and *Hipp.* 705 κἀκ τῶνδε, Aesch. *Ag.* 1423 ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, Soph. *El.* 455 ἐξ ὑπερτέραc χερόc, *OT* 528 ἐξ ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν δὲ κἀξ ὀρθῆc φρενόc, *Trach.* 875 ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδόc, *OC* 807 ἐξ ἅπαντοc. And very similar is Thuc. 5.103.1 ἐλπὶc . . . τοὺc μὲν ἀπὸ περιουcίαc ("from a superabundance of resources," "from

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[26] Nor a superlative βραχύτατοc. Sophocles twice has βράχιcτοc, the form which presupposes a comparative βραχίων.

[27] The citations by F. H. M. Blaydes, *Spicilegium tragicum* (Halle 1902) 242, of Hermippus fr.58 Kock cφρίγει . . . βραχιόνων, and by R. Goossens, *RBPhil* 16 (1937) 625–26, of Achaios fr.4 Nauck (4 Snell) βραχίοναc . . . cφριγῶντεc (-ταc Bergk) have no relevance to the present question. I shall ignore the conjectures which have been offered in place of βραχιόνων.

[28] *Griech. Trag.* III (*supra* n.19).

a strong position") χρωμένους αὐτῇ, κἂν βλάψῃ, οὐ καθεῖλεν. The adjective has the same sense as at *Heracl.* 613 τὸν μὲν ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλῶν βραχὺν ᾤκισε, *Phoen.* 738 cθένος βραχύ, Soph. *OC* 880 χὠ βραχὺς νικᾷ μέγαν.

V

<div style="text-align:center">

CHO. — ὦ μέλεαι μελέων ματέρες λοχαγῶν,   STR.
     ὥς μοι ὑφ᾽ ἥπατι χλωρὸν δεῖμα θάccει ...
600 — τίν᾽ αὐδὰν τάνδε προςφέρεις νέαν;
— cτράτευμα πᾷ Παλλάδος κριθήςεται.
— διὰ δορὸς εἶπας ἢ λόγων ξυναλλαγαῖc;
— γένοιτ᾽ ἂν κέρδος· εἰ δ᾽ ἀρείφατοι
     φόνοι μάχαι cτερνοτυπεῖc τ᾽ ἀνὰ πτόλιν
605/606 κτύποι φανήcονται, τάλαινα, τίνα λόγον,
607 τίν᾽ ἂν τῶνδ᾽ αἰτίαν λάβοιμι;

— ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐτυχίᾳ λαμπρὸν ἄν τις αἱροῖ   ANT.
     μοῖρα πάλιν· τόδε μοι θράcος ἀμφιβαίνει.

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599 θάccει Murray, ταράccει L. 604 τ᾽ ἀνὰ πτόλιν Murray, γ᾽ ἀνὰ τόπον πάλιν L, iam τ᾽ ἀνὰ πτόλιν πάλιν Markland. 606 τάλαινα Hermann, ὦ τάλαινα L. 608 εὐτυχίᾳ Markland, εὐτυχῆ L; αἱροῖ Matthiae, αἵρῃ L.

This, for the most part, is Murray's text. I differ from him in two respects. First, I have followed Dale's[29] colometry in 605–07 ∼ 615–17. And, second, I have restored αἰτίαν at 607, where almost all accept Hermann's αἰτία, since I cannot believe that the iteration τίνα λόγον τίν᾽ has any but an enervating effect in this context.[30] The meaning is "What word of reproach, what blame would I receive?" For λόγον λαβεῖν see *Heracl.* 165–66 κακὸν λόγον | κτήςῃ πρὸς ἀcτῶν,[31] and for αἰτίαν λαβεῖν see Thuc. 2.18.3 αἰτίαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίcτην ᾽Αρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, 6.60.1. The two emendations of Murray himself, at 599 and 604, are admirable. At 599 ὑφ᾽ ἥπατι ... δεῖμα θάccει may be

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[29] "Metrical Analyses of Tragic Choruses," *BICS* Suppl. 21 i (1971) 78.

[30] αἰτίαν is also retained by W. Headlam, *CR* 15 (1901) 19, and by Grégoire, and approved by Zuntz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.19) 73.

[31] λόγος cannot by itself mean 'word of reproach', and it is no good supposing that such a meaning is possible at 565 πολλοὺς ὑπεκφύγοις ἂν ἀνθρώπων λόγους, where ψόγους (first considered and rejected by Markland) is needed. It depends on what qualification is given to λόγος. Here τίνα λόγον ἂν λάβοιμι; means "what sort of λόγος [i.e. an unfavourable one] should I receive?," and τίνα performs much the same function as the adjective in κακὸν λόγον κτήςῃ (*Heracl.* 165–66).

compared with Aesch. *Ag.* 982–83 θάρϲοϲ εὐπειθὲϲ ἴζ|ει (Scaliger, ἴξει F Tri) φρενὸϲ φίλον θρόνον, *Eum.* 517–19 ἔϲθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὖ | καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίϲκοπον | δεῖ μένειν καθήμενον, Eur. *Alc.* 604 πρὸϲ ἐμᾷ ψυχᾷ θάρϲοϲ ἧϲται. If ἀμφιβαίνει is the right reading at 609 (and there is no good reason to doubt it), then I cannot see how correspondence between that word and the end of line 599 will be achieved more neatly than it is by this conjecture; and I should hope that nobody will return to Markland's θράϲϲει.[32] Equally, in 604 ἀνὰ πτόλιν very simply restores correspondence with the antistrophe at a point where the text of the antistrophe seems unimpeachable.

But Murray, while curing one fault of responsion in 599, has left another fault in the line unmended. In 609 the third dactyl of the praxillean (μοι θράϲοϲ) cannot be answered by a spondee in 599 (χλωρόν). Further, the break between χλωρόν and δεῖμα presents "a unique example of word-end after long biceps."[33] Most of the solutions offered are either improbably violent (δεῖμα χολὴν ταράϲϲει Camper, δεῖμα φρέναϲ ταράϲϲει Hermann) or metrically unsafe (δεῖμα χλοερὸν ταράϲϲει p ~ μοι ⟨τὸ⟩ [Musurus] or μοί ⟨τι⟩ [Musgrave] or τοί με [Blaydes][34] θράϲοϲ ἀμφιβαίνει). The simplest solution yet proposed is Hartung's χλωρόν ⟨τι⟩ δεῖμα ~ μοι θάρϲοϲ ἀμφι-, giving a hemiepes and ithyphallic, as in the previous line, but it inspires little confidence. In Dale's[35] modification of this, χλωρὸν ⟨τὸ⟩ δεῖμα, the article is stylistically abhorrent.

"Tutissima proinde corrigendi ratio est, uocularum, si opus est, transpositio," said Porson.[36] And here, by shifting the position of χλωρόν, and changing it in the process to χλοερόν,[37] we may achieve the praxillean ὡϲ χλοερόν μοι ὑφ' ἥπατι δεῖμα θάϲϲει. The displacement of an adjective so that it may occupy a position next to its noun, or of a

[32] But the corruption may well have arisen by way of θράϲϲει: cf. Hesych. θράττειν· ἐνοχλεῖν, ταράττειν; *Suda* θράττειν· ταράϲϲειν.

[33] L. P. E. Parker, *CQ* N.S. 16 (1966) 24.

[34] *Aduersaria critica in Euripidem* (Halle 1901) 539.

[35] *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.29).

[36] Two leading advocates of this method of correction are in the habit of misquoting this remark with *uocabulorum* for *uocularum*: Headlam, *CR* 16 (1902) 243; G. Thomson, *CQ* N.S. 15 (1965) 164, and *Oresteia* (1966) I 71.

[37] The two words are confused at [Hom.] *Batrach.* 162, Philox.Leuc. *PMG* 836 (b) 17, Theoc. 13.41. Since they are semantically akin, and since χλωρόϲ is very much commoner than χλοερόϲ, it can be of no consequence that only χλωρόϲ is attested in application to such nouns as δεῖμα, δέοϲ. For discussion of the shades of meaning of χλωρόϲ see Jebb on Bacchyl. 5.172 (Appendix 473–74), Page on *Med.* 906.

noun so that it may stand next to its adjective, is a common error, and illustration exists in abundance.[38] The same type of error has also been detected at 274 οὓc ὑπὸ τείχεcι Καδμείοιcιν ἀπώλεcα κούρουc, where Hermann ("in notis mscrpt." Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea*) and independently Nauck restore the caesura and the rhythm by writing οὓc ὑπὸ Καδμείοιcιν ἀπώλεcα τείχεcι κούρουc.[39] This transposition must stand or fall with the decision on an equally anomalous hexameter in the same passage, 282 μήδ' ἀτάφουc τέκνον ἐν χθονὶ Κάδμου χάρματα θηρῶν, where Wilamowitz proposed ἐν Κάδμου χθονί. Dale [40] claims that these are "irregularities which should not be emended away," but does not explain why not. Fraenkel[41] cites 274 in defence of *Ag.* 111 πέμπει ξὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι θούριοc ὄρνιc, where others will prefer the colometry of Murray and Page; he also cites *Ag.* 156 τοιάδε Κάλχαc ξὺν μεγάλοιc ἀγαθοῖc ἀπέκλαγξεν, where the strong caesura in the fourth foot makes all the difference, and the textually dubious *Eum.* 365 Ζεὺc [γὰρ] αἱμοcταγὲc (αἱματοcταγὲc codd.) ἀξιόμιcον ἔθνοc τόδε λέcχαc. As to 282, L. P. E. Parker[42] shows, in favour of Wilamowitz's transposition, that word-end after the spondaic fourth foot is an equally grave anomaly. I therefore conclude that Hermann's and Nauck's transposition in 274 is to be accepted. And I shall soon be suggesting a further transposition for which a similar desire to simplify the word-order may be given as a cause: see on 699, *infra* p. 264.

VI

650   MESS.   λαμπρὰ μὲν ἀκτὶc ἡλίου, κανὼν cαφήc,
          ἔβαλλε γαῖαν· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἠλέκτραc πύλαc
          ἔcτην θεατὴc πύργον εὐαγῆ λαβών.
          ὁρῶ δὲ φῦλα τρία τριῶν cτρατευμάτων·
          τευχεcφόρον μὲν λαὸν ἐκτείνοντ' ἄνω
655   Ἰcμήνιον πρὸc ὄχθον, ὡc μὲν ἦν λόγοc,
          αὐτόν τ' ἄνακτα, παῖδα κλεινὸν Αἰγέωc,

[38] Headlam, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.36) 243–56; J. Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* (Oxford 1955) 228–231; E. W. Whittle, *ClMed* 29 (1972) 14.

[39] The same adjective has suffered transposition at Soph. *Ant.* 1115 Καδμείαc ἄγαλμα νύμφαc Nauck, Καδμείαc νύμφαc ἄγαλμα codd., and so too has the adjective χλωρόc at Ar. *Lys.* 255 βάροc χλωρᾶc φέρων ἐλάαc Bentley, φέρων βάροc χλωρᾶc ἐλάαc codd.

[40] *op.cit.* (*supra* n.19) 29.

[41] Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* II (Oxford 1950) 57–58.

[42] *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.33) 21.

καὶ τοὺς cὺν αὐτῷ δεξιὸν τεταγμένους
κέρας, παλαιᾶς Κεκροπίας οἰκήτορας,
†αὐτὸν δὲ Πάραλον ἐςτολιςμένον δορὶ
660 κρήνην παρ' αὐτὴν Ἄρεος· ἱππότην ⟨δ'⟩ ὄχλον
πρὸς κραςπέδοιςι ςτρατοπέδου τεταγμένον,
ἴςους ἀριθμόν· ἁρμάτων δ' ὀχήματα
ἔνερθε ςεμνῶν μνημάτων Ἀμφίονος.
Κάδμου δὲ λαὸς ἧςτο πρόςθε τειχέων
665 νεκροὺς ὄπιςθεν θέμενος, ὧν ἔκειτ' ἀγών.
ἱππεῦςι δ' ἱππῆς ἦςαν ἀνθωπλιςμένοι
τετραόροιςί τ' ἀντί ἅρμαθ' ἅρμαςιν.

653 cτρατευμάτων p, cυcτρατευμάτων L. 659 δὲ]
τε Murray. 660 δ' *add.* Reiske; ὄχλον Scaliger,
ὄχον L. 666 δ' Hermann, θ' L.

"Lectori etiam attentissimo multum et irritum negotium facesset subsequens narratio, ut nunc habet contextus," writes Markland at line 650. Markland's was the first serious discussion of this passage; the latest discussion is that of Mr Christopher Collard.[43] Mr Collard provides a convenient synopsis of the views of earlier commentators, and he has disposed of many of their mistaken notions (in particular he has vindicated the order of verses against the popular expedient of transposition), and these earlier mistakes I shall ignore except where they are relevant to my argument. But I have grave doubts about Mr Collard's own interpretation of these lines, and it is this which I wish chiefly to examine.[44]

First, I shall set out the facts which may be taken as established. The Athenian army is drawn up before the walls of the Cadmea in three separate detachments, 653 φῦλα τρία τριῶν cτρατευμάτων, clearly distinguished as (i) 654 τευχεςφόρον μὲν λαόν, the infantry, (ii) 660 ἱππότην δ' ὄχλον, the cavalry, (iii) 662 ἁρμάτων δ' ὀχήματα, the chariots. The infantry is divided into a right wing, led by Theseus (656–58),[45]

[43] *CQ* N.S. 13 (1963) 178–82.

[44] It is substantially the same as that of J. Mesk, *WS* 55 (1937) 48–54. The literary and archaeological evidence for Theban topography is collected by F. Schober, "Thebai (Boiotien)," *RE* 5A 2 (1934) 1423ff [hereafter cited SCHOBER with column number]. Both Mesk and Mr Collard ascribe this article to L. Ziehen, who wrote only the section "Kulte."

[45] Murray ought not to have printed in 658 παλαιᾶς Κεκροπίας ⟨τ'⟩ οἰκήτορας ("distinguuntur Thesei comites et indigenae Cecropii"), where the τε is anomalously placed: see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954) 517, Fraenkel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.41) 130–31.

and a left wing, possibly led by Paralos (659-60). This is quite clear: see Mr Collard, especially 179 n.3 and 181. The messenger, whose vantage-point is a tower near the Electran gate (651–52), defines the position of the three detachments by reference to three distinct landmarks. The right wing of the infantry stretches Ἰσμήνιον πρὸς ὄχθον (655), "towards the Ismenian hill," whose location is at the southeast of the walls.[46] The left wing is drawn up κρήνην παρ' αὐτὴν Ἄρεος (660), "alongside the fountain of Ares," which is located at the southwest of the walls.[47] The infantry, therefore, invests the whole southern circuit of the walls.[48]

Before proceeding to the third landmark, I will speak of the text and interpretation of line 659, which I have marked as corrupt. Our chief uncertainty attaches to the noun Πάραλον: is this name intended to signify the hero Paralos, or the Paraloi, the inhabitants of the Paralia named after him? First, let me explain why this name is introduced here at all. In old king Cecrops' day Attica was a conglomeration of towns: ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο . . . καὶ ὁπότε μή τι δείσειαν οὐ ξυνῇσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολίτευον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε . . . (Thuc. 2.15). Cecrops lived in Athens. But there are texts which hint at an even more specific location for 'Cecropia': *Ion* 936–37 Κεκροπίας πέτρας | πρόσβορρον ἄντρον (Acropolis); *Mel.Soph.* 10–11 θυγάτηρ Ἐρεχθέως Κεκροπίας ἐπ' αὐχένι | Ἴων' ἔτικτεν ("on the side of the Acropolis," unless the traditional site of Ion's birthplace has been changed); and the Acropolis again looms large in *El.* 1289 ὄχθον (Valckenaer, οἶκον L) Κεκροπίας εὐδαίμονα. These are the only tragic passages specific enough to help in the location of 'Cecropia'; they suggest that Cecrops was imagined as having his palace on the Acropolis. I do not say that Cecropia was felt to be synonymous with the Acropolis; but it does seem likely that Cecropia was felt to be limited to Athens, as centred on the Acropolis. Now, the Paralia is not a part of Athens. It is a part of Attica, and so it

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[46] See the plan in Schober, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.44) 1426. In Mr Collard's diagram (reproduced below) it has strayed a little too far north. Mr Collard rightly commends Murray's interpretation of the words ὡς μὲν ἦν λόγος in 655; but the credit for this interpretation should go to P. P. Dobree, *Aduersaria* II 81.

[47] The evidence for this location, and against the location given by Pausanias, is decisive: Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 26 (1891) 241–42, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 32 n.1; Schober, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.44) 1426. In Mr Collard's diagram it has strayed a little too far south.

[48] Mr Collard's diagram unaccountably shows the infantry investing only the southeast.

would not be under the direct control of Cecrops. Theseus unified Attica, and Theseus therefore would be (or so Euripides might reason) the first king who might appropriately be described as leading an Attic, as opposed to an Athenian, army. It is proper that Theseus himself should lead the "inhabitants of old Cecropia," while someone else leads the outsiders. The epithet παλαιᾶς reinforces the distinction between the past and present states of Athens-Attica.

At the beginning of 659 αὐτόν cannot be tolerated: it is one thing to say αὐτόν τ' ἄνακτα, "the commander himself," quite another to say αὐτὸν δὲ Πάραλον, "Paralos himself," when this is the first we have heard of him. Furthermore, αὐτόν τ' ἄνακτα . . . αὐτὸν δὲ Πάραλον . . . κρήνην παρ' αὐτήν is very clumsy writing. It looks as if the second αὐτόν has intruded under the influence of αὐτόν overhead at 656 (for a similar intrusion from above see on 1090, infra p.266). We therefore have a free hand to replace αὐτόν with anything suitable. We might bring in the Paraloi simply enough by writing λαὸν δὲ Παράλων (λαὸν Jacobs, also Dobree, Aduersaria II 81, Πάραλων Kirchhoff). But what one would expect to be told, after hearing that Theseus and the Cecropids are on the right, is that Paralos and/or the Paraloi are on the left. Reiske's λαιόν for αὐτόν, whether interpreted as masculine in agreement with Πάραλον or as neuter in agreement with the noun in the phrase κέρας τεταγμένον (mentally supplied), is unsatisfactory for the reasons given by Mr Collard, p.181. I can see no economical way of introducing a reference to the left-wing position of a plurality of Paraloi; but we may specify such a position for Paralos by writing λαιῷ δὲ Πάραλον ἐςτολιςμένον δορί, where δορί, as often, has a collective sense. Paralos may stand as eponymous part for the whole of the folk named after him. He was a sufficiently celebrated hero, with a portrait in the Propylaea and a shrine at Piraeus.[49] Wilamowitz's claim[50] that Paralos would have been named only "wenn er in der Schlacht etwas thäte" is unconvincing. Apart from the deliberate contrast which Euripides is exploiting between Cecropids and Paraloi and which alone would justify the introduction of the eponymous hero, the commander of the cavalry is later given a name (680 Phorbas), but for no conspicuous achievement.

A final point. I think that we must accept Murray's τε in place of δέ, for these reasons: (i) δέ interrupts the essential triple division τευχες-

[49] RE 18 (1949) 1208-09 s.u. PARALOS 3.
[50] loc.cit. (supra n.47) 233 n.1.

φόρον μὲν λαόν ... ἱππότην ‹δ'› ὄχλον ... ἁρμάτων δ' ὀχήματα, (ii) in αὐτόν τ' ἄνακτα ... †αὐτὸν δὲ Πάραλον the first τε does not join αὐτὸν ἄνακτα to what precedes but rather looks forward to a corresponsive particle; a second τε is needed to correspond to the first, so that the two wings may be seen to be coordinated as subdivisions of the τευχεc- φόροc λαόc. It may be argued in reply to (i) that the secondary contrast thus interposed is so straightforward that it does not confuse the picture, and to (ii) that examples of corresponsive τε ... δέ are offered by Denniston, *Particles* 513 (the Euripidean instances are an unhappy and precarious collection). But we ought not to scruple to make a change which could be documented a thousand times over when the gain in lucidity is substantial.

We may now proceed to the third landmark, the "sacred monument of Amphion" (663), that is, the tomb of Amphion and Zethus. It is the location of this monument that I must make the beginning of my contention. Aeschylus at *Sept.* 527–28 (quoted by Mr Collard, 180 n.2) speaks of Parthenopaeus as προcταχθέντα Βορραίαιc πύλαιc | τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν Διογενοῦc 'Αμφίονοc. The Borraean gate can be situated nowhere except on the northern side of the city; Aeschylus says that Amphion's tomb is situated near that gate. This is significant evidence. Archaeologists have attempted to identify this τύμβοc or μνῆμα with a hill directly north of the Cadmea. It has been replied that this hill is too large to permit such an identification, since Pausanias (9.17.4) describes the monument as χῶμα οὐ μέγα. A further piece of evidence has been adduced: that Pausanias locates the tomb vaguely in the neighbourhood of the Proitidian gate, which is believed to have been situated in the northeast of the wall. But this evidence must be treated with caution. Pausanias locates his buildings and his sites by reference to three gates only: the Electran, the Neistan (believed to be in the northwest) and the Proitidian. The sites which he mentions as being near the Proitidian gate he locates in the vaguest terms, and they are probably scattered over a wide area. We need not therefore suppose that there is any contradiction between Aeschylus and Pausanias. The tomb of Amphion may safely be located in the north or northeast. But Mr Collard follows neither Aeschylus nor Pausanias. Instead he locates the tomb due east.[51] Why he does so I do not know, since he is able to offer no evidence in support. He does, indeed, say that Euripides "seems to bring the tomb of Amphion a little nearer the gate of

[51] Mesk, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.44), who does not give a plan, seems to require the same location.

Electra than its northeast location (confirmed by archaeological evidence) strictly requires." I think that "a little nearer" is perhaps an understatement for what is a movement through forty-five degrees, from northeast to due east. But let that go. I ask only, what is the archaeological evidence which confirms the location of the tomb in the northeast? Mr Collard quotes none, and none is quoted by Schober 1446. The archaeological evidence which Schober does quote supports the location of the tomb due north of the walls. Furthermore, Euripides says that the chariots were disposed "beneath" the tomb. Mr Collard is obliged to dispose them *between* the tomb and the Ismenian hill. He says that "the chariots would seem to be below it (ἔνερθε 663) to an observer looking northward from a tower at the gate of Electra." If all else were in favour of Mr Collard's interpretation, this further geographical imprecision might be overlooked. As it is, it must be accounted as another difficulty created by his interpretation.

And so the position which we have reached is this: Mr Collard, following unspecified archaeological evidence which locates the tomb in the northeast, locates it due east; I, following Aeschylus and the archaeological evidence presented by Schober 1446, which may or may not be relevant (for I have no competence to assess it), locate the tomb north of the Borraean gate. I shall therefore locate the chariots at the north of the city in order to see what effect this has on the remainder of the narrative.

I now come to the disposition of the cavalry: 660–62 ἱππότην δ' ὄχλον | πρὸς κρασπέδοιϲι ϲτρατοπέδου τεταγμένον' | ἴϲουϲ ἀριθμόν. The old interpreters took these words to mean that the cavalry was disposed on the edges of the army in two detachments of equal number. Mr Collard (p.180) rejects this interpretation for the following reason: "In 680ff. the cavalry come to the immediate aid of the chariots, which began the battle (674f.) and are stationed ἔνερθε ϲεμνῶν μνημάτων Ἀμφίονοϲ (663). The cavalry therefore was on one flank of the army only."[52] It all depends on where you place the chariots. If you place the chariots where Mr Collard places them, then the only way to make sense of the succeeding narrative is to place the cavalry where he places it. If you place the chariots elsewhere, then you can think again about the disposition of the cavalry. But, before we do think again, consider this. Euripides says that the cavalry was drawn up

[52] Similarly Mesk, *loc.cit. (supra* n.44) 52.

πρὸϲ κραϲπέδοιϲι ϲτρατοπέδου. It is essential to Mr Collard's interpreta-
tion that this should refer to one edge only; so, for the moment, let us
allow that κραϲπέδοιϲι refers to a single edge. Here will be the pro-
gress of the messenger's description: (i) the infanty is disposed be-
tween the Ismenian hill and the Fountain of Ares, (ii) the cavalry is
disposed "on the edge of the ϲτρατόπεδον." Immediately the reader
asks himself two questions: which edge, left or right? and whose edge,
that of the infantry, or some other edge? To the first question—left or
right?—the reader must answer "I cannot tell." And if Mr Collard
denies this by reminding us that "in 680ff. the cavalry come to the
immediate aid of the chariots," who according to his arrangement are
on the right, I reply that 680ff are twenty lines away and that we
cannot be kept waiting until the fighting is nearly over before we dis-
cover what position the combatants were occupying before the fight-
ing began.[53] To the second question—whose edge?—his reaction will,
I think, go somewhat like this: "We are told that the cavalry is drawn
up on the edge of the ϲτρατόπεδον. It must therefore be contiguous
with the infantry, for no other edge has been mentioned, nor do I
know that any other edge is going to be mentioned. I cannot possibly
retain an open mind about the identity of the edge, because I have no
means of divining that in the next line but one the poet is going to
mention the chariots and so create another edge or two." No, it will
not work: if you are to retain your reader's comprehension, you can-
not define the position of X by reference to Y, when Y does not yet
exist. Moreover, if Mr Collard were correct in locating the cavalry on
the right edge not of the infantry but of the combined forces of the
infantry and the chariots, then Euripides has chosen a very odd way of
defining the position of the chariots. Why did he locate them beneath
that problematic monument, the tomb of Amphion, when he could
have avoided all ambiguity and imprecision by simply telling us that
they were located between the infantry and the cavalry?

   And now let us see what happens when the words πρὸϲ κραϲπέδοιϲι
ϲτρατοπέδου τεταγμένον are interpreted to mean "drawn up on the
edges of the infantry." Everything will be found to fall into place. The

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[53] In fact, the statement that "the cavalry come to the immediate aid of the chariots" is
a misunderstanding of 680ff. Euripides says that when the Athenian and Theban cavalry
saw that the chariots had begun fighting, they ϲυνῆψαν ἀλκὴν κἀκράτουν ἡϲϲῶντό τε (683). The
words ϲυνῆψαν ἀλκήν mean the same as ϲυνῆψαν μάχην "they joined battle (with each
other)," not "they went to aid (the chariots)." The mistake goes back to Wilamowitz,
*Analecta Euripidea* 106.

cavalry, in two detachments of equal number (ἴcουc ἀριθμόν), invests the east and west;[54] the infantry invests the south; the chariots invest the north. The city is surrounded, as it was when the Septem attacked it. And now consider a consequence of that earlier investment. Since the Septem and their contingents attacked the complete circuit of the walls, the dead, whose bodies have not been moved from the places where they fell, must be assumed to be lying at intervals around the whole circuit. If the Athenians are to invest only the southeast, as Mr Collard wishes, then, since we are explicitly told that the Thebans stationed themselves directly opposite the Athenians contingent for contingent (666–67), Theseus must be severely faulted for his general-ship if he failed to despatch Paralos or a handful of the Paraloi to col-lect at least those corpses which lay unguarded around the northern and western sides. Reason conspires with the indications of the text to suggest that, when the Thebans took their stand "in front of the corpses, for whose possession the battle was being fought" (665), they stood in front of them all, not half of them.

I give overleaf a sketch of Mr Collard's battle plan and a sketch of my own. I have tried to reproduce Mr Collard's plan as accurately as possible; my own sketch of the walls describes a circle, for reasons which will become clear later.

It remains to consider two possible objections to my arrangement. First, offence has been taken at the words ἴcουc ἀριθμόν, placed in apposition to ὄχλον. Mr Collard says on p.180 that they are "very difficult to explain and to substantiate grammatically," and again on p.182 that they are "supposedly constructed 'κατὰ cύνεcιν' with ὄχλον in 660, but they are unclear in meaning . . . nor does the account else-where state that they [the cavalry] were placed equally on both sides of the army; I doubt if the Greek will bear that sense." If the words ἱππότην δ' ὄχλον | πρὸc κραcπέδοιcι cτρατοπέδου τεταγμένον are under-stood, as I have argued that they are most naturally understood, to mean that the ἱππότηc ὄχλοc was arranged on both edges of the in-fantry, then we already have a mental subdivision of the ὄχλοc into two parts. To append the phrase ἴcουc ἀριθμόν to that now plural con-

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[54] The two wings of the infantry were the regular station for the cavalry in fifth-century warfare: Thuc. 4.93.4, 99.1, 96.5 (Delium), 5.67.1–2, 73.1 (Mantinea); A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I (Oxford 1956) 15. For κράcπεδα used of the wings of an army see Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.16 τοὺc δὲ πελταcτὰc ἐπὶ τὰ κράcπεδα ἑκατέρωθεν καθίcταcθαι καὶ τοὺc ἱππέαc, quoted by Markland.
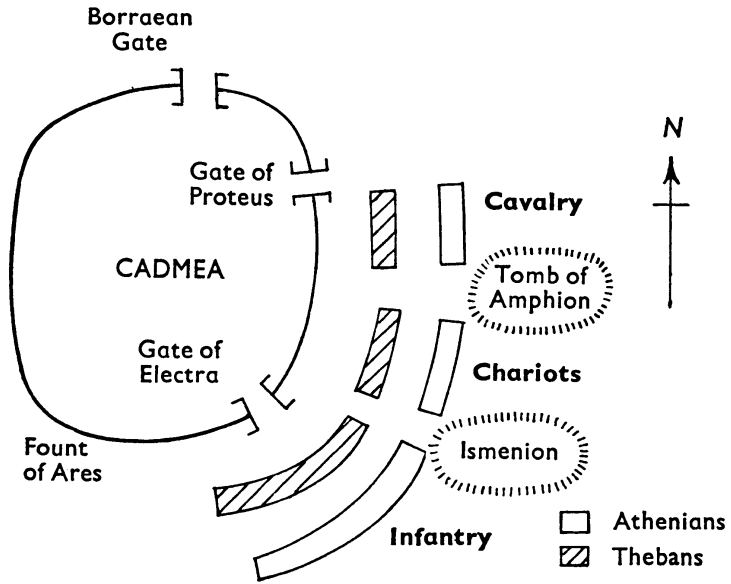
PLAN OF BATTLE ACCORDING TO COLLARD
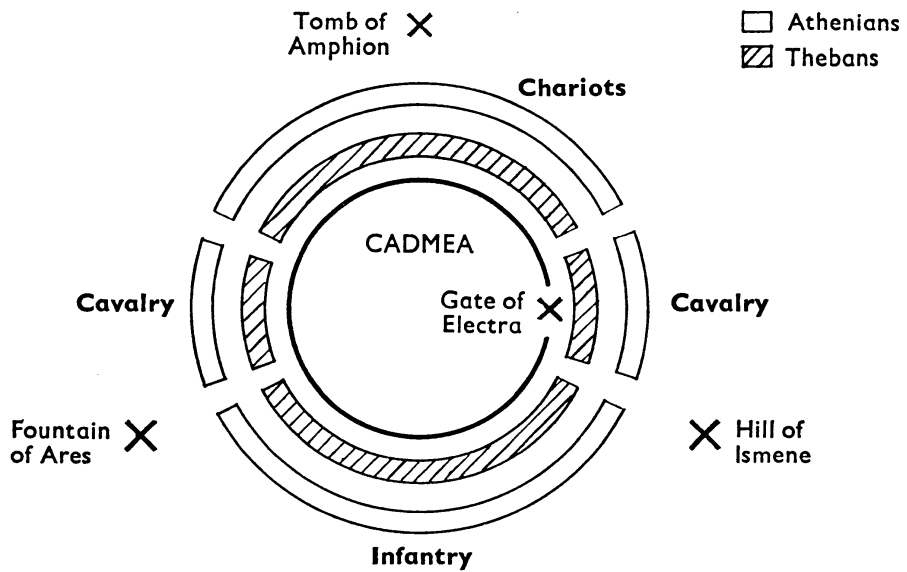
PLAN OF BATTLE ACCORDING TO DIGGLE

cept creates no difficulty either logical or linguistic.[55] Mr Collard's own solution is to emend line 662 as follows: ἴϲων <δ'> ἀριθμὸν ἁρμάτων [δ'] ὀχήματα, "the chariots, equal in number (to the cavalry)." I find ἴϲων ἀριθμόν a rather ponderous attribute to be borne by ἁρμάτων when this is dependent on ὀχήματα, and I should rather have expected that style would have dictated the attachment of such an attributive phrase not to the genitive but to the governing noun. "Es ist im Griechischen ein völlig zu Recht bestehender Sprachgebrauch, dass ein Adjektiv zu dem regierenden Substantiv tritt, auch wenn es dem Sinne nach eigentlich nur zu einem von jenem abhängigen Genetiv gehört," says Wilamowitz on *HF* 468; see also Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 794 and Fraenkel on *Ag.* 504. I will quote only one example of such enallage: Soph. *Trach.* 656 πολύκωπον ὄχημα ναόϲ. But it is not a necessary part of my case to invalidate Mr Collard's conjecture.

The second possible objection to my arrangement is that the messenger, immediately after describing how first the chariots and then the cavalry joined battle, proceeds: 684–88 λεύϲϲων δὲ ταῦτα κοὐ κλύων (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦ | ἔνθ' ἅρματ' ἠγωνίζεθ' οἵ τ' ἐπεμβάται) | τἀκεῖ παρόντα πολλὰ πήματ', οὐκ ἔχω | τί πρῶτον εἴπω, πότερα τὴν ἐϲ οὐρανὸν | κόνιν προϲαντέλλουϲαν, ὡϲ πολλὴ παρῆν, κτλ.[56] The messenger was on a tower near the Electran gate, which, it is believed, was situated at the south-east of the wall.[57] He now claims that he was on the spot where the ἅρματα and the ἐπεμβάται fought. There is a preliminary problem to be considered: are the ἐπεμβάται the charioteers or the cavalry? In spite of 585 πάντ' ἄνδρ' ὁπλίτην ἁρμάτων τ' ἐπεμβάτην, I think it more likely that they are the cavalry. There is no reason why ἐπεμβάτηϲ should not mean a cavalryman (so *Bacch.* 782 ἵππων . . . ἐπεμβάταϲ), and the sequence of thought favours a mention of the cavalry. In 674–79 the messenger has described the clash of the chariots; in 680–83 he describes the engagement of the cavalry; when he proceeds λεύϲϲων δὲ ταῦτα κοὐ κλύων—ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἦ | ἔνθ', we expect him to say not "where the chariots and the charioteers fought" but "where the

[55] In the same way ἴϲοι is applied to two groups, equally distributed on right and left, at *Hel.* 1573 ἄλλοι δὲ τοίχουϲ δεξιοὺϲ λαιούϲ τ' ἴϲοι.

[56] Line 686 τἀκεῖ παρόντα πολλὰ πήματ', οὐκ ἔχω was deleted by Herwerden, *Mnemosyne* N.S. 5 (1877) 37, not without reason: "uide quam inuenuste interpolator usus sit uocabulis παρόντα πολλά, sequente tertio post uersu πολλὴ παρῆν, quamque ridicule is qui πολλὰ πήματα narraturus est, primo loco memoret *puluerem*. rem minime iucundam esse experti nouimus. sed quis tamen puluerem *serio* πῆμα uocauerit?"

[57] Schober, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.44) 1430. See also Wilamowitz, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.47) 210–11; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias* V (London 1898) 36.

chariots and the cavalry fought."[58] But let us leave the answer to that difficulty in suspense. The charioteers at least cannot be brought any closer to the Electran gate than northeast. Therefore, if the Electran gate is situated in the southeast, why does the messenger claim to have been on the actual spot where the chariot fight took place? Paley faces the question with blunt common sense: "the Athenian chariot-eers had advanced from below the tomb of Amphion (v.663), i.e. from near the πύλαι Προιτίδες, to the πύλαι ῞Ηλεκτραι (v.651)." Wilamowitz damned the messenger as a liar, who speaks "mit offenbarer Rück-beziehung."[59] Grégoire damned him as a braggart: "L'Argien un peu hâbleur exagère visiblement en décrivant cette mêlée homérique. En lui faisant développer la formule courante λεύccων κοὐ κλύων[60] jusqu'à lui faire dire un mensonge évident pour quiconque connaissait un peu la ville de Thèbes, Euripide a voulu nous montrer que les récits de bataille des témoins *civils* n'étaient pas toujours plus sûrs que ceux des combattants." But there is a simpler solution: imagine that the position of the Electran gate, for the purpose of this narrative, is higher up the eastern wall.

We must consider what sort of picture of Theban topography Euripides was trying to implant in his listener's mind and what sort of picture an Athenian mind was capable of apprehending from such a verbal narration. βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαcτοc μανθάνει τὰ δεξιά: the βιβλίον with which Mr Collard must equip his spectator is, I fear, a publication by Bartholomew & Co. The picture at which Euripides was aiming was a picture of broad outlines: he could not aspire to anything more precise. His listeners had never seen a ground plan of Thebes. Few of them knew where the Electran gate lay, and the Is-menian hill, the fountain of Ares and the tomb of Amphion were no more than names to them. Euripides knew the location of those land-marks well enough; and he was bound to construct a narrative which was not inconsistent with that location. He chose to mention the Is-menian hill, the fountain of Ares and the tomb of Amphion because the names are decorative and contribute an air of precision and veri-similitude. He located the Athenian forces by reference to those land-marks, and he placed the Theban forces contingent for contingent

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[58] I exclude the possibility that the ἐπεμβάται are the παραιβάται mentioned in 677 and 679.

[59] *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.47) 234.

[60] Cf. Aesch. *PV* 266 καὶ μὴν παρών γε κοὐ λόγουc ἄλλων κλύων, Soph. *Trach.* 747, Eur. *IT* 901. See also Theseus' speech at 846–56.

facing the Athenians. That the Thebans, thus deployed, are able to protect the corpses which lie around the circuit of the walls is the strongest indication to the listener that the whole circuit of the walls is invested. The listener does not need to know the precise location of each individual landmark; for, even if he did know it, he would not have time during the messenger's narrative to piece together the facts which might complete in his mind a consistent picture of the topography and of the fighting. The plan of battle which I have sketched is therefore the plan which I believe Euripides would have sketched if he had been called upon to explain his narrative. He would have claimed that he had envisaged the three landmarks as occupying equidistant points around the circumference of the Cadmea and that he had envisaged the Electran gate as located somewhere on the eastern circuit of the walls. Not even Meton himself would have found fault with such an explanation.

VII

κἀὶ cυμπατάξαντεc μέcον πάντα cτρατὸν
700   ἔκτεινον ἐκτείνοντο . . .

Of Euripidean lines which have been alleged to lack a caesura few emerge from scrutiny with their claim untarnished: 303 cφαλῆc γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τἄλλ' εὖ φρονῶν is emended with certainty by Marchant; Hec. 355 γυναιξὶ παρθένοιc ἀπόβλεπτοc μέτα and El. 546 ἐκείρατ' ἢ τῆcδε cκοποὺc λαβὼν χθονόc have other faults and are marked as corrupt by Murray; Andr. 397 ἀτὰρ τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρομαι τὰ δ' ἐν ποcίν requires little ἀγχίνοια to set right; Hel. 86 ἄταρ τίc εἶ πόθεν; τίνοc δ' αὐδᾶν cε χρή; ought never to have been cited, since δ' αὐδᾶν is merely a bad conjecture for ἐξαυδᾶν; IA 630 καὶ δεῦρο δὴ πατέρα πρόcειπε cὸν φίλον is probably not by Euripides, but, if it is, it is easily emended. The only three serious claimants are Hec. 1159 γένοιντο διαδοχαῖc ἀμείβουcαι χερῶν, fr.495.6 (=Page, GLP 13.31) ὀρθοcταδὸν λόγχαιc ἐπείγοντεc φόνον, and perhaps Bacch. 1125 λαβοῦcα δ' ὠλέναιc (ωλεν[α]ιcι Π) ἀριcτερὰν χέρα, though this verse is troublesome on other counts. Some[61] would create a caesura in all three places (the papyrus has already done so in one) by writing -αιc' for αιc. Dodds on Bacch. 1125 calls this "a rather

[61] See P. Maas, Greek Metre (Oxford 1962) § 103.

artificial device." Perhaps it is; but it is a well-nigh miraculous coincidence that the same three lines in which alone we have any justification for suspecting that Euripides may have dispensed with the caesura also happen to contain a word ending in -αις immediately before the division of the verse.

In 699 only two conjectures are known to me. The conjecture ϲυμπατάξαντ' ἐϲ is ascribed by editors to Blomfield, *Museum Criticum* 1 (1826) 184, but it should more correctly be assigned to Dobree, *Aduersaria* II (1831) 81, for Dobree died in 1825. The authors of this conjecture call it a nominative absolute ("i.e. ϲυμπαταξάντοιν τοῖν βαϲιλέοιν," "Creon sc. ac Theseus. Est nominatiuus, quod aiunt, pendens"), and the conjecture is accepted by almost everybody. To me it seems that the economy of this solution is an inadequate recompense for the hispidity of the construction and style. Murray's reshuffle ϲτρατὸν δὲ πάντα ϲυμπατάξαντεϲ μέϲον is a more hopeful approach, but his introduction of δέ for καί lessens its probability. I think that transposition may well be the solution; and perhaps we have here another example of that scribal habit which I discussed on 599 (*supra* p.251), the habit of bringing closer together words in agreement with each other. If we alter the order of words and add one letter, we shall have

$$καὶ~μέϲον~⟨ἅ⟩παντα~ϲυμπατάξαντεϲ~ϲτρατόν.^{62}$$

The meaning will be "they dashed together the whole of the centre of the army." The centre of the army will be the infantry; and perhaps this is a reasonable way of designating the infantry, since the conventional placing of the cavalry on the infantry's wings[63] suggests that the infantry, led as it is by the commander-in-chief, may be looked upon as the army's centre. But perhaps a further improvement is desirable; for I fancy that, if the manuscript had presented the verse in the form in which I have given it, the verse would have attracted a further very slight change, that of κἀϲ for καί:

$$κἀϲ~μέϲον~ἅπαντα~ϲυμπατάξαντεϲ~ϲτρατόν.$$

The infantry is now designated by ϲτρατόϲ, as it was by ϲτρατόπεδον

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[62] A similar transposition will solve a metrical problem in the tragedian Ezechiel (B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* [Göttingen 1971] I 128, pp.288ff). Line 164 reads ϲκεύη †κόϲμον τε πάνθ' ὃν ἄνθρωποϲ φέρει, and Snell suggests ϲκεύη τε κόϲμον θ' ὅλον. Simpler is πάντα ϲκεύη κόϲμον θ', where the scansion of ϲκεύη is defended by 209 κτήνη τε πολλὰ καὶ δόμων ἀποϲκευή.

[63] *Supra* n.54.

at 661. For ἐc μέcον used of combatants advancing to meet each other, see *Il.* 23.814 ἐc μέcον ἀμφοτέρω cυνίτην μεμαῶτε μάχεcθαι, Soph. *Trach.* 513–14 (Heracles and Achelous) οἳ τότ' ἀολλεῖc | ἴcαν ἐc μέcον, Eur. *Phoen.* 1361 ἐλθόντ' ἐc μέcον μεταίχμιον. For word-end after initial dactyl see 93 μητέρα; it is found in plays produced before or about the same time as our play at Aesch. *Ag.* 7 ἀcτέραc, *Cho.* 216 καὶ τίνα, 986 ἥλιοc, Soph. *Aj.* 846 ἥλιε, Eur. *Alc.* 802 οὐ βίοc, *Telephus* (C. Austin, *Noua fragmenta Euripidea* [Berlin 1968] 102.10) μητέρα, *Erectheus* (65.56 Austin) πόντιε.

VIII

811
        προcάγετε ‹   › δυcπότμων
        cώμαθ' αἱματοcταγῆ.

προcάγετε ‹   › δυcπότμων ~798 cτεναγμὸν ὦ μάτερεc. Hermann's προcάγετε ‹τῶν› restores responsion, but προc‹άγετ'›ἄγετε does so more stylishly and shows why the loss occurred. Similarly *Alc.* 400 ὑπάκουcον ἄκουcον, *Hipp.* 1374 προcαπόλλυτέ μ' ὄλλυτε (προcαπόλλυτ' ἀπόλλυτε Wilamowitz), *Hec.* 167 ἀπωλέcατ' ὠλέcατ', *Or.* 181 διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα, *Bacch.* 1065 κατῆγεν ἦγεν ἦγεν. The same corruption is found at *Med.* 1252 κατίδετ' ἴδετε **OL**, κατίδετε **AVBP**, and at *Or.* 1465 ἀνίαχεν ἴαχεν, where one manuscript has ἀνίαχεν alone.[64]

IX

(IPHIS)
    ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄλλουc εἰcορῶν τεκνουμένουc
    παίδων ἐραcτὴc ἦ πόθῳ τ' ἀπωλλύμην.
    †εἰ δ' ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον κἀξεπειράθην τέκνων
1090
    οἷον cτέρεcθαι πατέρα γίγνεται τέκνων,
    οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον εἰc ὃ νῦν κακόν·†
    ὅcτιc φυτεύcαc καὶ νεανίαν τεκὼν
    ἄριcτον εἶτα τοῦδε νῦν cτερίcκομαι.

This is the text of **L** and Murray; and Murray's are the *obeli*. I paraphrase Iphis' speech (1080–93). "Why is it not possible to become

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[64] On the habit of following a compound verb with a simple verb in which the force of the compound is maintained, see the works cited by Fraenkel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.41) II 175 n.3; to which may be added C. Watkins, *HSCP* 71 (1966) 116–19; R. Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism: A Reader* (Harvard 1969) 78–85; E. J. Kenney on Lucr. 3.261 (Cambridge 1971).

young again and live one's life afresh ? In matters of domestic management[65] if something goes wrong it can be set right by a change of plan. But mistakes concerning one's life cannot be set right in this lifetime. And yet if we had our lives to live again we should avoid making the same mistakes twice. When I was young I wanted children. *But if I had realised what it means for a father to lose his children, I should have had none, and so I should have avoided my present plight.* For I fathered a fine son, and now I have lost him."

The words in italics represent the evident sense which must be borne by the obelized lines. The repeated τέκνων (1089–90) betrays corruption, and some have also found offence in the repetition of ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον (1089, 1091). Canter proposed to replace τέκνων by τεκών: "if I had come to this and had experienced, by having fathered a child, what it is for a father to lose his children..." Grégoire claims the conjecture as his own, which is surprising, since it had received the approval of Reiske, Heath, Markland, Musgrave, Porson, Hermann, Dindorf and Paley; and it is also accepted by the most recent editor, Italie.[66] That is an impressive crowd of supporters; but now listen to Elmsley. "This is an emendation, of which we may say, in the language of Mr Wakefield, *friget, uehementer friget*. When two contiguous verses end with the same word, and there is reason to suspect that word to be erroneous in one instance, the critic may be allowed to take a greater latitude of conjectural emendation, than has been taken in the passage before us ... In our passage the reader is at liberty to replace the first τέκνων by any word which appears to him to improve the sense."[67] Availing himself of this liberty Elmsley conjectured πάρος and τότε. And the following disyllables have been

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[65] For ἐν δόμοιc in 1082 Nauck, *BullAcImpSt.Petersburg* 9 (1866) 390–91, proposed ἐν νόμοιc, which is perhaps an improvement, though not a necessary one.

[66] And at 479 Grégoire claims for himself a conjecture by Musgrave which went out of fashion long ago. While I am defending Canter's conjecture against misappropriation, let me take from Canter a conjecture to which, through no fault of his own, his name has become wrongly attached. At 174 Markland writes: "Canterus uertit *quas ipsas*, quasi legisset ἃc αὐτάc." The version to which Markland refers is by Portus, not Canter. "Insigni sane fraude Porti uersionem, obscuri scilicet hominis, et cuius nomen libro praefixum parum gratiae conciliaturum esset, sub illustriore Canteri nomine uenditauit Paulus Stephanus," Elmsley, preface to *Heracleidae* (*cf. Quarterly Review* 7 [1812] 454–55). And yet the conjecture should not be ascribed to Portus either, for *quas ipsas* is already the rendering of Melanchthon, the second edition of whose translation (I have not seen the first) was published at Frankfurt in 1562. Indeed, Portus' version is merely a revision of Melanchthon's, just as later Latin versions are revisions of Portus'.

[67] *Classical Journal* 9 (1814) 60.

offered in emulation: cαφῶc Hartung, ἐγώ Hirzel, καλῶc Holzner,[68] μαθών Nauck, τορῶc Prinz, ἅπαξ Fritzsche and later Hartman,[69] πάλαι Naber,[70] παθών Paley and later Blaydes.[71] Not one of these conjectures amends the line, for there is still a fault to be found in the words εἰ δ' ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον. "If I had come to this"—come to *what*? There is nothing to which τόδε may refer. Editors appear to suppose that it refers either to the acquisition of a second youth or to the fathering of children in the first youth. But it can refer to nothing of the sort. No good is therefore served by repunctuating with a comma after κἀξε-πειράθην and writing κακόν for τέκνων in 1091: τέκνων | οἷον cτέρεcθαι πατέρα γίγνεται κακόν.[72] And it is a desperate man who will consider replacing εἰ δ' ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον by any of the following proposals: εἰ δ' εἰcιδὼν τόδ' Hartung, εἰ δ' ἠcθόμην τε κἀξεπειράθην τόδε Heimsoeth, εἰ δ' εὖ τόδ' ἔγνων Hirzel, εἰ δ' ἧc ἔχω νῦν ἐξεπειράθην τύχηc Schenkl, εἰ δ' αὐτὸc ἔμαθον κἀξεπειράθην τύχηc Wecklein olim,[73] εἰ δ' ἦν πρόδηλον Holzner, εἰ δ' αὐτὸc ἤδη Nauck, εἰ δ' εὖ τόδ' ἤδη Haupt[74] (accepted by Wilamowitz in 1875 and by Wecklein in 1912). I forbear to transcribe the verses of H. G. Viljoen, *Acta Classica* 5 (1962) 12–13.

The only fault in the words εἰ δ' ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον is that τόδε has nothing to refer to either before or after it; but if it is to be retained, it must be made to refer one way or the other. In fact, the problems of τόδε and τέκνων are not two but one. To prove that, I must set out the evidence for the various uses of the locution ἐc τόδ' ἔρχομαι and cognate locutions. These uses may be distributed into four classes: (i) τόδε refers back to a clear conception expressed immediately before: Soph. *Aj.* 554–56 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιcτοc βίοc . . . ὅταν δ' ἵκῃ πρὸc τοῦτο (i.e. τὸ φρονεῖν), *OT* 1157, *OC* 548, 981,[75] Eur. *Ion* 1411, *Tro.* 401, *Bacch.* 1380, *IA* 1368; (ii) τόδε refers forward and is picked up by an epexegetical clause: *Hipp.* 1298–99 ἀλλ' ἐc τόδ' ἦλθον, παιδὸc ἐκδεῖξαι φρένα | τοῦ cοῦ δικαίαν, *HF* 1356, *Phoen.* 1328, *Antiope* (Page, *GLP* 10) 7; (iii) τόδε is qualified by a noun in the genitive, and this phrase refers

[68] *Studien zu Euripides* (Vienna 1895) 83.
[69] *Mnemosyne* N.S. 10 (1882) 313.
[70] *Mnemosyne* N.S. 10 (1882) 155.
[71] Paley in his school edition of *Supp.* (Cambridge 1888), a reference I owe to Mr Collard; Blaydes, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.34) 152.
[72] κακόν is Toup's conjecture, the punctuation is Lennep's.
[73] *JahrbClPh*, Supplbd. 7 (1874) 331.
[74] *Hermes* 8 (1874) 4=*Opuscula* III (1876) 606.
[75] Editors punctuate as if τόδ' agreed with ἀνόcιον cτόμα. They are corrected by Housman, *AJP* 13 (1892) 156–57=*Classical Papers* 196, approved by Jackson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.38) 194.

forwards and is picked up by an epexegetical clause: *Med.* 56–57 ἐγὼ
γὰρ ἐς τοῦτ' ἐκβέβηκ' ἀλγηδόνος | ὥστε, *Hipp.* 1332, *Andr.* 170, *HF* 1281,
1294, *El.* 918, *Phoen.* 963, *Or.* 566; (iv) τόδε is qualified by a noun in the
genitive, and this phrase refers backwards: Soph. *OT* 124–25 πῶς ... ἐς
τόδ' ἂν τόλμης ἔβης;, Eur. *Ion.* 244.

It should be clear, then, that εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον, if sound, requires
some qualification. And it is likely that this qualification will take the
form of a noun in the genitive, whose place has been usurped by
τέκνων. The choicest noun available is πάθους:

> εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον κἀξεπειράθην ⟨πάθους⟩,
> οἷον στέρεσθαι πατέρα γίγνεται τέκνων,
> οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον εἰς ὃ νῦν κακόν.

The noun πάθους is governed jointly by both ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον and ἐξε-
πειράθην, and the expressions ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον πάθους and ἐξεπειράθην
πάθους may be said to form in combination a single unit which paves
the way for the epexegesis in the following line: "if I had come to
such a length of suffering and had experienced it—what it is like for a
father to lose his children—I should not have come into this my
present misery." For a similar turn of phrase see *Med.* 34–35 ἔγνωκε δ'
ἡ τάλαινα συμφορᾶς ὕπο | οἷον πατρῴας μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι χθονός.

I have chosen the noun πάθους because of its similar application in
the following passages: 11–13 ... πάθος παθοῦσαι δεινόν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ πύλας |
Κάδμου θανόντων ἑπτὰ γενναίων τέκνων | ἄπαιδές εἰσιν, 83–85 τὸ γὰρ
θανόντων τέκνων | ἐπίπονόν τι κατὰ γυναῖκας | ἐς γόους πάθος πέφυκεν,[76]
786–93 ἄγαμόν μ' ἔτι δεῦρ' ἀεὶ | Χρόνος παλαιὸς πατήρ | ὤφελ' ἀμερᾶν
(Porson, ἀμέρα L) κτίσαι. | τί γάρ μ' ἔδει (Markland, με δεῖ L) παίδων; | τί
(Nauck, τὸ L) μὲν γὰρ ἤλπιζον ἂν πεπονθέναι | πάθος περισσόν, εἰ γάμων
ἀπεζύγην; | νῦν δ' ὁρῶ σαφέστατον | κακόν, τέκνων φιλτάτων στερεῖσα
(Markland *et fortasse* L, στερεῖσθαι l, στέρεσθαι Blomfield), 1120–22 τί
γὰρ ἂν μεῖζον τοῦδ' ἔτι θνητοῖς | πάθος ἐξεύροις | ἢ τέκνα θανόντ'
ἐσιδέσθαι;.

No further change is needed. The variation εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον πάθους
... οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον εἰς ὃ νῦν κακόν, if it is not very imaginative,
is not inept ("if I had [in a previous life] come to this length of suffer-
ing ... I should not have come to this my present plight"), and Toup's
κακοῦ for κακόν, approved by Porson, *Aduersaria* 245, and by Hermann,
but destroying the variation, is best avoided. The expression ἐς τόδ'

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[76] On the text see *supra* n.19.

ἦλθον . . . κακόν is perhaps sufficiently defended by *Andr.* 126 τὸ παρὸν κακὸν εἰc ὅπερ ἥκειc, fr.449 τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰc ὅc᾽ ἔρχεται κακά.[77]

Finally, consider the two lines 1092–93 which are appended to the passage I have discussed: ὅcτιc φυτεύcαc καὶ νεανίαν τεκὼν | ἄριcτον εἶτα τοῦδε νῦν cτερίcκομαι. Iphis now applies his general reflections to his own personal case: he had a son, and now he has lost him. Poor Evadne! What has become of your glorious suicide? Forgotten, after twenty lines. Your father's heart is riven with grief, but not for you. At the moment of his daughter's death he protests that it is grievous to lose his son. A son, moreover, whom he has not only procreated but also begotten (φυτεύcαc καὶ . . . τεκών), and of whom he is being deprived at this very moment (νῦν cτερίcκομαι: the only appearance of this verb in tragedy, apart from Agathon fr.5 Nauck [5 Snell]). True, editors can rewrite the passage and bring back Evadne to share her brother's limelight;[78] but, had Dr Johnson been a student of Euripides and not of Shakespeare, he might have said without unfairness that "no amendment can be made to these lines but by a general blot."[79]

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[77] The author of the 'Danae' fragment ([Eur.] fr.1132 N.) perhaps had our lines in mind when he wrote (line 65) οὐκ ἄν ποτ᾽ ἦλθεc †ὲc τόδε θράcουc†. Porson supplied ἐc τόδ᾽ ⟨εἰc ὃ νῦν⟩ θράcουc.

[78] Wecklein suggested in 1898 a lacuna after φυτεύcαc, which in 1912 he filled with ⟨παῖδα cωφρονεcτάτην | εἰδόc τ᾽ ἀγητήν⟩; Schenkl suggested a lacuna after 1093; W. Gilbert, *ActaSocPhilLips* 6 (1876) 337, proposed ὅcτιc φυτεύcαc ⟨τήνδε⟩ καὶ νεανίαν [τεκὼν] | ἄριcτον εἶτα τῶνδε (Bothe) νῦν cτ., or ὅcτιc φυτεύcαc ⟨τήνδε⟩ καὶ νεανίαν | τεκὼν ἄριcτον εἶτα [τοῦδε] νῦν cτ. ; H. G. Viljoen, *Acta Classica* 5 (1962) 12–13, ὅcτιc θυγατέρα καὶ νεανίαν τεκὼν | ἄριcτον εἶτα τοῖνδε (Camper on *El.* 333 [Lugd. Bat. 1831], a reference I owe to Mr Collard) νῦν (or τοῖν δυοῖν) cτ. The tautology φυτεύcαc καὶ . . . τεκών is defended by Wilamowitz on *HF* 1367, though he proposes to read φυτεύcαc καὶ τεκὼν νεανίαν κτλ. The remarks directed against Wecklein's and Gilbert's proposals by G. Kiefner, *Die Versparung* (Wiesbaden 1964) 97, show that he had no inkling of the problem which they were tackling.

[79] I am indebted to Professor Sir Denys Page for invaluable criticism and to Mr Christopher Collard for the loan of copies of Ammendola's and Italie's editions and for further helpful discussion.