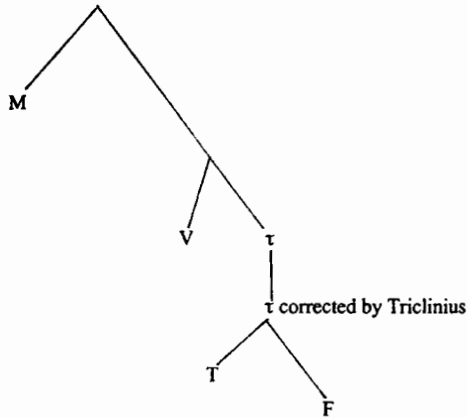


## AESCHYLUS, *AGAMEMNON* 104–59

My Teubner edition of Aeschylus, published in 1990 and reprinted with minor corrections a few months ago, contained the fruits of several years' engagement with the text of this author. Since completing it I have been working in other fields, and I have no new textual or exegetical proposals to offer. In responding to the invitation of the colloquium organizers, therefore, I thought that the best thing might be to take a well-known passage which would illustrate the uncertain nature of the transmission and a characteristic variety of problems, and to comment systematically on the issues that arise in it.

From the point of view of transmission, the plays of Aeschylus fall into three groups. The first is the Byzantine triad (*Persae*, *Septem*, and *Prometheus*), transmitted in a large number of manuscripts. The second consists of *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*, transmitted in only five manuscripts each, and for much of *Agamemnon* in fewer than that. And thirdly there are *Supplices* and *Choephoroi*, transmitted in a single manuscript (with its apographa). I have chosen a passage from the middle group, where we are not confined to a single manuscript, but where the stream of tradition is running through a narrow channel: *Ag.* 104–59. There are in fact, at this point, just four manuscripts. Their relationships are quite clear, so that this is one of the rather rare areas of Greek poetry where we can apply the stemmatic method in a straightforward way. At the same time we can observe the interventions made at two different times by a major Byzantine scholar, Demetrius Triclinius.

The manuscripts are the tenth-century Mediceus (**M**), the thirteenth-century Venetus 468 (**V**), the Neapolitanus II F 31, written in Triclinius' own hand perhaps around 1325 (**T**), and the slightly later Laurentianus 31.8 (**F**). **T** and **F** are both copied from a lost common exemplar ( $\tau$ ), which shares errors with **V** against **M**. Triclinius had entered some corrections and emendations and metrical scholia into  $\tau$  by about 1320, and these earlier interventions of his were taken into account by the copyist of **F**, as well as by the copyists of two other manuscripts (**G** and **E**) that are not available for *Ag.* 104–159. Triclinius then made a further series of corrections when he made his later copy **T**. The final complication is that **T**, as well as  $\tau$ , was available to the copyist of **F**, who was thus able to take account of Triclinius' later corrections as well as of his earlier ones. He took occasional readings from **T** as he copied, and added many more as he corrected his text. The *stemma codicum* is:



These are not the sole sources for the text. We also have the scanty *scholia vetera* preserved in *M*, and a number of quotations, among which the quotations of lines 104, 108 f. and 111 in Aristophanes' *Frogs* are of especial value.

The passage before us consists of a lyric triad: strophe, antistrophe, and epode. As far as line 139, therefore, we have a metrical control: we must expect close responsion between the strophe and the antistrophe, with only such divergences as may be legitimated by freedoms attested elsewhere. When two verses that are supposed to respond fail to do so, this is a clear indication that one or the other is corrupt. This was understood by Triclinius, who saw that 104–39 were a strophe and antistrophe, and made one or two (unsuccessful) attempts to correct instances of faulty responsion. Where such faults of responsion occur, one has to make a judgment on which of the two passages is corrupt. It is always possible that both are. If the sense and language do not give a clear indication, it may be possible to decide on grounds of metrical plausibility, even in the absence of responsion. This will apply also to the epode, 140–59.

The initial clauses of the strophe at once present us with difficulties of text and interpretation. The direct tradition, together with the scholia, gives ὄδιον κράτος. In Aristophanes' quotation, of the four manuscripts quoted by Sir Kenneth Dover in his recent edition of the *Frogs* as representative of the tradition, three give ὄουον, while the fourth, the Ravennas, which is the oldest (tenth century), gives ὄς δῖον. This nonsensical and unmetrical reading evidently represents a conflation of ὄουον with a suprascript correction δ. The correction may have been introduced by a tenth-century scholar acquainted with the text of Aeschylus, indeed with *M* itself, since the scribe of the Ravennas has been held to be the same man who copied the Sophoclean portion of

M.<sup>1</sup> The Aristophanic scholia attribute the reading ὄσιον to Asclepiades and say that most copies had αἴσιον; but this is an erroneous anticipation of the next word in the Aeschylean verse. It is conjectured (Fritzsche) that originally the scholia recorded ὄδιον as an ancient variant for ὄσιον. The upshot of this survey is that ὄδιον and ὄσιον must be regarded as equally well attested. We should not regard the Aristophanic line of tradition as carrying less weight on the ground that a quoting author may misquote. That is certainly true; but Aristophanes cannot have misremembered ὄδιον as ὄσιον, and there is no reason why he should have made a deliberate change. In the end we must decide between the two variants on grounds of sense and on the probabilities of error: *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* By both criteria the ὄδιον of the direct tradition emerges after all as superior. It provides the essential reference to the movement of the Achaean force, its setting forth (cf. 111 πέμπει, 127 κέλευθος, etc.), whereas it is hard to see any point in ὄσιον, especially beside αἴσιον. And ὄδιος, as a very rare word—practically unique to Aeschylus (cf. 158 ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ὀδίων)—would be very unlikely to enter the text by way of corruption, whereas ὄσιον is a commonplace adjective.

That was an easy problem; I dwelt on it at what may seem unnecessary length simply to illustrate the operation of several well-established principles of textual criticism. More difficult problems follow directly. Firstly there is ἐκτελέων, to which many editors have preferred Auratus' conjecture ἐντελέων, which may have been prompted by Triclinius' gloss τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων. It is, I think, clear (because we are in a position to reconstruct his manuscript source) that Triclinius could not have known a variant ἐντελέων, and that the gloss must be simply his interpretation of the sole transmitted reading ἐκτελέων. In my *Studies in Aeschylus* I have given a full account of the considerations that led me to retain this reading, and I shall not repeat them here. For the same reason I shall not discuss the form καταπνεύει or -πνεύει.

The next words present great difficulties of sense and syntax. Καταπνεύει might in itself be either transitive or intransitive. Then we find a row of four nouns, with a multiple ambiguity of cases and dependencies: πειθῷ may be nominative (with σύμφυτος αἰῶν in apposition) or accusative (with μολπᾶν ἀλκᾶν in apposition); μολπᾶν, depending on accentuation, may be accusative singular or genitive plural; and the same can be said of ἀλκᾶν. If μολπᾶν is genitive, it may be attached either to πειθῷ or to ἀλκᾶν. Scholars have introduced further variations by conjecture: πειθοῖ (Heller); μολπᾶς (Auratus); ἀλκᾶ (Schütz, to be construed with σύμφυτος); κἀλκᾶν (Bohle); δ' ἀλκᾶ (Headlam); σύμφυτον αἰῶ (Enger); σύμφυτος αἰοῖ (Merkelbach); and so on. But the text as transmitted seems to offer quite enough possibilities, and it should not be necessary to consider other, factitious ones.

<sup>1</sup> A. Diller in *Serta Turyniana*, Urbana 1974, 523; cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983, 137, who regards the identification as «not quite certain».

What is the intended meaning? That should be the key to the whole question; and it cannot be emphasized too often that in attempting to solve a textual crux one must start from the likely meaning of the passage, from what the author seems to have wanted to express. In defining the likely meaning, one must have regard to the immediate context, the sentences preceding and following, so that a logical train of thought emerges. Here it is evident that the sentence provides justification for the claim κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν κτλ., and that the general sense is something like «for despite my age (*scil.* I may be too old for action, but) I still receive the heaven-sent inspiration of trustworthy song».

But the syntax still refuses to yield up its secrets. Ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνεύει Πειθῷ, or Πειθῷ μολπᾶν, would be clear by itself, with the verb intransitive as in Plato Com. fr. 189. 15 K.-A. μή σοι Νέμεσις θεόθεν καταπνεύσει. The possibility of a sense-pause at μολπᾶν is lent colour by the corresponding pause in the antistrophe at 125, where the paired spondaic words πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς match πειθῷ μολπᾶν. But the remainder, ἀλλὰν σύμφυτος αἰών, then seems completely intractable.

We seem to be forced after all to take αἰών as the subject of καταπνεύει and πειθῷ as its object.<sup>2</sup> Ἀλλὰν must then be in apposition to πειθῷ; and it remains to decide which of the two nouns governs the genitive μολπᾶν. Fraenkel joins πειθῷ μολπᾶν, taking ἀλλὰν as predicative: «for still from God above my age breathes down upon me the power of singing persuasively, so that this power becomes my militant strength». I prefer the other construction, «breathes (or perhaps better: blows) down upon me the power to persuade, which is what songs rely on». Be that as it may, this seems to be a case where we are forced step by step by our own logic to adopt a particular interpretation, even at the cost of abandoning the approach that our intuitive feelings first suggested. I do not find this a comfortable situation.<sup>3</sup> Logic is a lithe and imperious beast, and its triumphs are not to be begrudged. But when it overrides my instinctive *Sprachgefühl*, which I trust more, I am inclined to suspect it of having taken a wrong turn somewhere.

In 109 we again have a division between the manuscripts of Aeschylus and those of Aristophanes. In this case it is clear that it is the Aristophanic tradition that preserves the truth: ἦβας, not ἦβαν (or ἦβᾶν, as M had before correction). Ἑλλάδος is not the noun «Greece» but an adjective agreeing with ἦβας. The first part of the scholiast's paraphrase seems to reflect the true reading: τοὺς κρατοῦντας τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἦβην corresponds to κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἦβας. The conclusion, λέγει δὲ τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας, is also correct. But what is to be made of the words καὶ τὴν

<sup>2</sup> Fraenkel acknowledges the awkwardness of this when he writes (I. 65) «In the phrase of Aeschylus perhaps the boldest feature is that old age is made the subject of καταπνεῖν, while yet this 'breathing down' proceeds θεόθεν».

<sup>3</sup> E. Lobel is reported to have said once, «Of course, Aeschylus didn't know Greek». But I rather believe that he did.

ὁμόφρονα, which are evidently an interpretation of σύμφρονα ταγάν or ταγᾶν<sup>4</sup>? As they stand, they imply ἦβαν, with σύμφρονα in accord. Yet the explanation itself, «of one mind on matters of strategy», implies that the phrase refers to the leaders, not the led. Surely the scholion must originally have read καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονας περὶ τὰ τακτικά and it has been corrupted by assimilation to the nearer noun. O. Smith's deletion of καὶ misses the point; the particle is a clue to the original structure of the sentence.

In the next line, 111, the direct tradition gives πέμπει ξὺν δορὶ δίκας πράκτορι. This makes perfectly good sense, but the metre is out of accord with the antistrophe, 129 κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοσπληθῆ, or better (O. Müller) -πληθέα.<sup>5</sup> Clearly the antistrophe gives the right metre, a dactylic hexameter such as occurs elsewhere in the strophe (104, 119); even if there were no antistrophe to guide us, and no Aristophanic quotation, it should have been fairly clear that δίκας stands where a dactyl is wanted. It would probably have been recognized that δίκας is a gloss. But it would have been very difficult to guess what it had replaced, if we did not have Aristophanes' quotation to show us that it was καὶ χειρὶ. The scholion, τῷ δίκην εἰσπραξομένῳ, gives no pointer, for even if it illumines the origin of the gloss, it shows awareness only of the neuter noun δορὶ, not of the feminine χειρὶ. As Hense pointed out, there is another echo of the true reading in a fourth-century Attic epigram, *CEG* 488. 3 κ]τώμενον εὐκλῆαν [δ]ορὶ καὶ χειρὶ τόνδε πρὸς ἀ[ν]δρός... But without Aristophanes I am doubtful whether anyone would have recognized it as an echo, and as Fraenkel observes, the restoration would hardly have won general acceptance. Indeed, scholars were slow to adopt it even though they were aware of the Aristophanic passage. Pauw still prints δίκας πράκτορι in his text; in his notes he observes that this does not respond properly with the antistrophe, but the best he can do is conjecture λύμας, a spondee equivalent to the dactyl. It was not until Schütz<sup>2</sup> (1782) that καὶ χειρὶ was restored to its proper place in the text.

There are several instructive lessons here. It is an outstanding example of how indirect tradition may preserve the truth when it has disappeared from view in the main tradition. It provides an incontrovertible example of something that we often suspect without being able to prove it, the intrusion of a gloss into the text, supplanting the true reading. And it is to be noted that the gloss, which must originally have been δίκης, has been given a «Doric» form to accord with the dialect colouring proper to choral odes. The same thing is attested elsewhere, in Pindar as well as in tragedy. The fact that a word has a Doric alpha, therefore, does not suffice to defend it if there is reason to suspect it of being a gloss. Finally, not the least important lesson is that a text which makes good sense may nevertheless be badly corrupt. In the present case we have the evidence from metre and from an independent line of tradition. But there must be

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M's reading τᾶν γᾶν.

<sup>5</sup> Triclinius ought to have been struck by the conflict, but he takes no notice of it.

many cases where the evidence is lacking, or where there are only slight indicators to arouse the critic's suspicion.

A minor point in the same line: Aristophanes has σὺν, at least according to all the principal manuscripts; the same form appears in M (where lines 110–12 have been restored in a blank space by the hand that added the scholia); the other Aeschylus manuscripts have ξὺν. If we were to choose on the basis of weight of authority, clearly we should have to prefer σὺν, as M + Aristophanes must outweigh V τ. This would be a mistake. Aeschylus demonstrably used both forms. But ξὺν was the normal Attic form in his time, as we know from inscriptions,<sup>6</sup> and of the 143 places in the surviving plays where the metre is indifferent M gives ξὺν in 101 and σὺν in 42. In papyrus fragments of lost plays we find ξὺν in eight such places and σὺν in only one. No difference of usage can be detected between spoken and sung portions. We may therefore take it as a working hypothesis that Aeschylus normally wrote ξὺν except where σὺν was required for metrical reasons. Of course he may have been inconsistent; but even if he was, it is unlikely that his inconsistencies were faithfully preserved in the manuscript tradition, where we know that there was inconsistency. We shall in all probability come nearer the truth by assuming that he was consistent in such matters than by following the vagaries of the manuscripts. In the present place, an original σὺν is not likely to have turned into ξὺν in the common ancestor of V τ, whereas it was quite natural for Aristophanes to use the σὺν which in his own day had largely ousted the older form. Again the powerful criterion *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* comes into play.

I will pass over Heath's conjecture οἰωνῶν βασιλεῖς in 114, which merely advances the dividing-point between the single omen-bird (or bird-omen) of 111 and the more specific vision of the two eagles in what follows; and I will pass over the small correction needed in 115 (ἀργᾶς), which I have discussed in my *Studies*. This brings us to 117, where M and V have the correct text παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἔδραισιν, though in M the τ of παμπρέπτοις is cancelled, while F has παμπρέποισιν ἔδραις and T παμπρέπτεσιν ἔδραις.

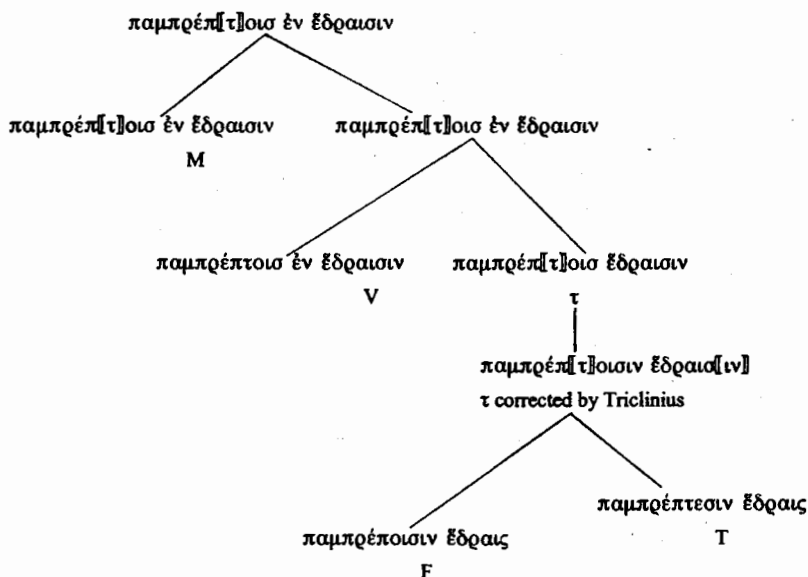
We see here the results of Triclinius' efforts to bring the metre of strophe and antistrophe into accord. The responding line is 135 πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρός, where V, and very likely the common ancestor of V τ, has πτανοῖσι. F and T both have πτανοῖς, and so in my apparatus I put «πτανοῖς τ». But perhaps τ had πτανοῖσι, like V, and the final iota was deleted by Triclinius when he annotated the manuscript. This reduces the verse to a reizianus, - - - - -. We see the same reduction of a long to a short dative in 117, where F T have ἔδραις in place of ἔδραισιν, and at 141 (T). In F, which presumably reproduces what the copyist found in τ following Triclinius' corrections, the metrical agreement with 135 is still imperfect:

<sup>6</sup> See L. Thraette, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I, Berlin–New York 1980, 553 f.

παμπρέποισιν ἔδραις  
 πτανοῖς κυσὶ πατρός.

In T we see Triclinius' final solution to the problem: *παμπρέπτεσιν ἔδραις*. He quotes the phrase in the same form in his scholia (p. 104. 33 Sm.): *ἐν ταῖς παμπρέπτεσι καὶ εὐπρεπέσιν ἔδραις*. The adjective has taken a bizarre form; in a separate note (p. 105. 26) he declares it to be from a feminine nominative *παμπρέπτις*.

We can realize our stemma codicum as a stemma variantium:



In 119 the best reading is again preserved in V, as independent corruptions have occurred in M and τ. In M *ἐρικύμονα* has become *ἐρικύματα* under the influence of the following *φέροματι* — another reminder that what is the best manuscript in general is not necessarily the best at a specific point in the text. However, it still has an echo of the true reading in the scholiast's gloss *πολυκύμονα*. In τ the unfamiliar noun *φέροματι* has been turned into the verb *φέρβοντο*: the scribe was probably expecting a main verb somewhere to follow the plural subject that had now emerged, and *φέρβοντο* accurately described what the eagles were doing to the hare.

The next textual point worth mentioning brings us into the antistrophe. In 123 *λαγοδαίτας*, «the hare-feasters», appears correctly in F T, but in M V as *λογοδαίτας*, which could only mean something like *δευτσοοφιστάς*. This is one of about sixteen places where M and V agree in error against τ. These cases have led some scholars to suppose that M V depend on a common hyparchetype, or that V

vacillates between the two lines of tradition represented by **Μ** and **τ**. I have argued, however, that in each instance the superior reading in **τ** was obtained by emendation.<sup>7</sup> So here: it did not require much intelligence to notice that λογοδαίτας was nonsense, or to see what it should have been.

As the object of ἐδάη, μαχίμους λαγοδαίτας is complemented by πομπούς τ' ἄρχάς. So, at any rate, **Μ V**, which is to say the *paradosis*;<sup>8</sup> **τ** had πομπούς τ' ἄρχούς. Some older critics, not understanding the stemmatic status of **τ**, took the latter reading as their point of departure, and emended to πομπᾶς τ' ἄρχούς (Musgrave) or πομπᾶς ἄρχούς, «the leaders of the expedition» (Karsten, followed by Weil and Wilamowitz). The expedition against Troy, however, was not in any proper sense a πομπή. The πομπ- word echoes ἐμπει in 111; it should refer therefore to the ominous eagles who are sending the Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος on their way, and the transmitted πομπούς is exactly suitable to this. Can the eagles also be ἄρχαί? Or should we follow Rauchenstein and re-accent ἄρχάς as ἄρχᾶς, «senders-forth of the command», i.e. of the commanders? The Atreidai might perhaps be called ἄρχαί in the plural (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 973), but the singular seems more doubtful, despite the analogy of κράτος and ταγάν in 109–10. In any case such an expression would be awkward in this sentence, where the Atreidai are already present: it would be strangely inconsequential to say that Calchas recognized the two differently-tempered Atreidai in the belligerent hare-feasters who were sending forth the commanders. If we retain ἄρχάς, the word applies to the eagles themselves, presumably as rulers among birds; this confirms their equivalence with the human rulers, and echoes the point made in 114, οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς (or -ῆς) βασιλεῦσι νεῶν ... φανέντες.

Fraenkel accepts πομπούς ἄρχάς, though he understands the «conducting chiefs» to be the Atreidai rather than the eagles. But he follows Thiersch and Karsten in deleting the τ' which attaches the phrase to what precedes. He argues that it is wrong because «it destroys the relation between the object (λαγοδαίτας) and the predicative noun (ἄρχάς).» He takes δύο λήμασι δισοῦς Ἀτρεΐδας as the object of ἰδών, μαχίμους λαγοδαίτας as the object of ἐδάη, and πομπούς ἄρχάς as the predicate: «When he beheld the two sons of Atreus with their two different characters, then he knew that the valiant eaters of the hare were the captains that led the host on its way.» But it is surely better, with Denniston and Page, to take the omen as the unexpressed object of ἰδών (cf. ο 532): when Calchas saw it (the eagles devouring the hare), he understood that ... The two following accusative nouns, Ἀτρεΐδας and λαγοδαίτας, are then the object and predicate, and the further phrase πομπούς

<sup>7</sup> M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus*, Stuttgart 1990, 352 f.

<sup>8</sup> I refer to the definition of this term given in my *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 53: «[conjectural criticism] starts, so far as possible, from the 'paradosis' (παράδοσις), which is a rather imprecise but convenient term meaning 'the data furnished by the transmission, reduced to essentials'» (with the following amplifications and qualifications).



ἀρχάς may properly be appended by means of the connecting particle. So in the end we uphold the text of the paradosis: not by starting with a prejudice in its favour, but by careful consideration of the sense.

There follow two or three minor problems of limited interest, before we come to 131, where both manuscripts and scholia have οἶον μὴ τις ἄτα θεόθεν κτλ. So far as sense goes, there is no fault to be found with this, and it remained in editions until the nineteenth century. The trouble is that it is unmetrical, as the first syllable of ἄτη is long, and both the respension with 114 and the transparently dactylic nature of the verse call for a short syllable at that point. Perhaps the older critics, not knowing that ἄτη is contracted from ἄFάτα, thought that it could sometimes be scanned as an iambus; there is a tetrameter fragment of Archilochus which might seem to support this,<sup>9</sup> but there too corruption must be assumed. Once it was recognized that ἄτα could not be right, the solution was easy: ἄγα. It is palaeographically beautiful (ΑΓΑ > ΑΤΑ), and what is more important, it yields an even finer sense than ἄτα: not just (unexplained) harm from the gods, but their resentment at what they are seeing. It is picked up by the following ἐπίφθονος. Finally, it may actually have survived in indirect tradition, in *Et. Magn.* 5. 27 (17. 30 Lasserre–Livadaras) ἄγα· φθόνος καὶ βασιανία.

Manuscripts and scholia again agree on οἴκω(ι) in 134, but it was already seen to be wrong by Auratus and Scaliger. Neither the Atreid house (supposing that that could be understood) or any other house is relevant here. Besides, οἴκω could only express an object of Artemis' φθόνος, but then it would conflict with the πανοῖσιν κυοῖ πατρὸς. οἴκτω, which seems a reasonably certain correction, does not conflict with them because it is a different kind of dative, explaining the basis of the φθόνος. The corruption is of a very simple sort, involving merely the omission of a letter. This is particularly liable to happen in consonant clusters; compare the unstable attestation of the τ in παμπρέπτοις (117, above).

The variants in 135 have already been discussed in connection with the corresponding line of the strophe.

In 137 we come upon a pretty little accident. Μ (both in the text and in the lemma of the scholion) has the correct, poetic form πτάκα, with short root syllable—actually a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, apart from πτάκες «cowards» in Hesychius. Τ and F have the more familiar form πτώκα, to the ruin of the metre. In V we find the *vox nihili* πτάωνκα. Evidently the common ancestor of V τ must have had πτάκα with a suprascript ω̄, probably intended not as a correction but simply as an elucidation. The scribe of τ took it as a correction and wrote πτώκα, while the scribe of V, who must have been a thick-head, misread the ω̄ as ων and incorporated it in the word. (We shall see him do something similar at 152.) The misreading can be paralleled at *Persai* 203,

<sup>9</sup> Fr. 127 W. ἤμπλακον καὶ πού τιν' ἄλλον ἦδ' ἴατη ἵκησάτο.

where the manuscript Y has βωμὸν with suprascript ων: this ων derives from a misread ὦ, βωμῶ(ι) being a variant attested in several other manuscripts.<sup>10</sup>

With that we take our leave of the antistrophe and come to the epode. Here we no longer have strophic respension to guide us. The transmitted text is our only evidence for the metrical scheme, and if we have reason to emend the text, we are not bound to keep the metrical scheme unchanged, provided that the modified scheme satisfies our sense of what is metrically plausible and in accord with Aeschylus' habits.

The issue arises with the very first word of the epode, τόσσον. M has τόσσων (the ending is clearly wrong, and Turnebus in his edition of 1552 adjusted it to τόσσον), while V τ have τόσον. Aeschylus uses both forms, and there are other places where M correctly gives τσσσ- or ὄσσσ- (as proved by the metre) while other copies give only a single σ. But there are also cases of a similar distribution when the metre shows the single-σ form to be right.<sup>11</sup> So we cannot decide the question here either on the basis of the superior quality of M or on that of the double-σ form's being the *lectio difficilior*. What tips the balance in favour of τόσον is an *a priori* metrical criterion: Aeschylus' strong general preference for short anceps in lyric iambic metra.

Following τόσον περ, the paradosis (M V) has εὔφρων καλά. There is nothing in the scholia vetera. καλά appears to represent the subject of the sentence, and the context indicates that this is Artemis. But clearly the bare adjective cannot perform this role. In T F an article has been supplied: ἃ καλά. This could either be a deliberate emendation by Triclinius or the incorporation of a glossator's article written above the text to clarify the syntax;<sup>12</sup> we have already seen how an intrusive gloss may take on a Doric form in a lyric context. In any case ἃ is of secondary origin, not genuine tradition.

Most editors, even those who realized the weakness of its credentials, have been content to print it. Groeneboom and Fraenkel write that we cannot do without it; Denniston–Page call it «indispensable». But this is to start from the assumption that our only choice is between καλά and ἃ καλά, in other words, that the τκαλά of the paradosis can only be emended in one way. But why should it not conceal something different?

Certainly Artemis was thought of as beautiful, and Καλλίστη appears among her cult titles. It seems possible that where she was already identified in the context, she

<sup>10</sup> Y is a manuscript particularly given to creating chimaeras by misinterpretation of suprascripts; see West, 331. Another manuscript in which I have noticed this amusing weakness is a twelfth-century copy of the *Iliad*, Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.2.7 (Allen's O<sup>5</sup>, van Thiel's and my R).

<sup>11</sup> See Fraenkel's note.

<sup>12</sup> Such 'glossing' articles are frequent in T and F; examples may be seen in the plates illustrating these two manuscripts at the end of the first volume of Fraenkel's edition (in T: lines 1, 3, 5; in F: line 9). Note also the intrusive article in T F at 146, τῶν στρουθῶν.

might be referred to as ἄ καλά, though no real parallel has been produced.<sup>13</sup> But this reading produces an iambic dimeter of the form - - - - | - - -, which I believe to be unparalleled in Aeschylus:<sup>14</sup> the word-end after long anceps is as offensive as in the trimeter of dialogue.

Two elegant alternative emendations of καλά were produced by nineteenth-century English scholars, only to languish ignominiously in Wecklein's *Appendix coniecturas virorum doctorum minus certas continens*. One was Blomfield's ψακάλοις, «foetuses, newborn creatures», a choice vocable known to Aristophanes of Byzantium and Hesychius, and just the sort of word Aeschylus might use.<sup>15</sup> It is then necessary to add τ' after δρόσοις. The metre becomes - - - - | - - -, iambus + choriamb dovetailed, which is very attractive because it corresponds to a recurring pattern in this triad (108 ≈ 126, 116 ≈ 134, 141, 147). Blomfield assumes that the subject, Artemis, is understood from the antistrophe, and that the initial syllable of ψακάλοις has simply fallen out, just as has happened with λεόντων in the next line. It is less easy to explain why the residual κάλοις (which, in an ancient manuscript without accentuation, would have looked like an adjective agreeing with δρόσοις) should have turned into καλά. Still, if ψακάλοις had been transmitted, we should have relished it greatly and defended it against any attempt at alteration.

But finer than this was the conjecture of the man who was called by Conington the first Greek scholar of the time in the country, by Bywater the last representative of the Porson school, and by Wilamowitz the only true English counterpart of Cobet: Charles Badham.<sup>16</sup> He produced the same metrical pattern with Ἐκάτα, a title of Artemis which is especially apt here because at *Suppl.* 676 Aeschylus associates it with childbirth: Ἄρτεμιν δ' Ἐκάταν γυναικῶν λόχους ἐφορεῦεν. He might also have associated it with the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, for in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* Iphigeneia herself became Artemis Enodia, and Artemis Enodia was later identified with Hecate. If Ἐκάτα lost its initial letter, κατα might well be made into καλά. I ventured to adopt this emendation in my text.

In the next line, 141, the paradosis gives δρόσοισιν. Triclinius reduced this to δρόσοις, which accords with the metrical pattern just described. Whether he did so from an instinctive feeling for the metre or simply from the tendency to banalize which he shows elsewhere, he then inconsequentially did the contrary with ἀέπτοις, making it into ἀέπτοισι. There is no doubt that ἀέπτοις and not ἀέλπτοις (M) is right, whatever Aeschylus meant by it: here is another example of the best manuscript having

<sup>13</sup> Fraenkel quotes *Ar. Ran.* 1359 as emended by Kock, ἅμα δὲ Δίκτυννα παῖς ἄ καλά (παῖς Ἄρτεμιν καλά codd.). On the problems of that line cf. Dover *ad loc.*

<sup>14</sup> See *West*, 177.

<sup>15</sup> Aristophanes listed it in his *Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν* (fr. 203 Slater), just after citing ὄβρι-καλα from this passage of the *Agamemnon*. Sophocles (fr. 793) used the compound ψακαλοῦχοι.

<sup>16</sup> On Badham see now the memoir by J. U. Powell recently published by L. Lehms in *Eikasmos* 8, 1997, 245–81, at pp. 272–79.

the worse reading. The corruption spread to the scholion too (see the apparatus), although the explanation given, τοῖς ἔπεσθαι τοῖς γονεῦσι <μή> δυναμένοις, shows that ἀέπτουι had previously stood there.

λεόντων is corrupt in the direct tradition and preserved in the indirect, namely *Et. Gen./Magn.* s.v. ἔρσαι (from Aristonicus), καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκύμνουι τῶν λεόντων δρόσουι κέκληκε. In the archetype the first syllable had been omitted or had become obscured by some stain, leaving ὄντων, which copyists interpreted as ὄντων. In τ this was itself omitted, or perhaps rather cancelled by Triclinius; at any rate it is absent from T and F. It seems likely that critics would have restored λεόντων sooner or later even without the help of the Etymologica.

In 143 I have suggested the possibility that θηρῶν is an intrusive gloss on ἀγρονόμων. It is not necessary to the sense or to the metre; without it, the line becomes a simple aristophanean (one of Aeschylus' favourite cola) instead of a contracted dactylic hemiepes + catalectic iambus. It is easy to defend the transmitted text by saying that it is unobjectionable. But anyone who studies texts soon discovers that, as a matter of historical fact, corruptions often result in a text which is (on the face of it) unobjectionable. One cannot assume that if there is no apparent flaw, the text must be correct. This does not mean, of course, that one is justified in making conjectures for no reason at all. But one must remember that sometimes an «unobjectionable» text may look as it does *either* because it has been truly transmitted *or* because it has suffered a particular, well-known type of corruption; and one should then keep both possibilities in mind, even if there is no way of deciding between them.

I follow most modern editors in reading τερπνά as feminine, parallel to εὐφρων. As the apparatus indicates, there have been those who read it as neuter plural, with ξύμβολα. But since the «counterparts» of the omen which the goddess asked for were anything but τερπνά, Hartung found himself obliged to change the adjective into its opposite: θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοισι <ν> ἄ >τερπνά <τε> τούτων αἰτεῖ ξύμβολα κρᾶναι. Similarly Karsten, with ἀτερπῆ τούτων κτλ. But 144 does not seem to benefit from having this word attached to it, whereas, as τερπνά, it makes a satisfactory close to the preceding sentence.

There are many conjectures on 144 which I have not reported. Mostly they alter the sense in various ways, while departing implausibly from the paradosis. The verb αἰτεῖ has been especially vexed, but I believe that those critics are right who understand it to mean that Artemis is asking Zeus for permission to act.<sup>17</sup> Calchas is represented as knowing Artemis' desire, but not Zeus' response; hence he is able to warn that the situation is dangerous without being in a position to predict the outcome with certainty. This is perfectly in line with the following verses. The omen is ambivalent, δεξιὰ μὲν,

<sup>17</sup> So Klausen, Paley, Denniston–Page, and others. Cf. *Ag.* 662 ἐξητήσατο; *Eum.* 363 ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς.

κατάμομφα δέ. Artemis may set disaster in train, but the seer prays it may yet be averted.

φάσματα στρουθῶν is obviously wrong: unmetrical, as the line was clearly a dactylic pentameter (or possibly hexameter), and risible in sense, as στρουθοί — whether sparrows or ostriches — stand at the opposite end of the scale from eagles in avian dignity and augural significance. The gloss in M T, τῶν ἀετῶν, shows a poignant faith in the limitless licence of poetic or oracular metaphor.

In any attempt to restore the original reading, we must try to satisfy three criteria, the three fundamental criteria which apply to all textual choices.<sup>18</sup> We must decide what the sense of the passage requires; we must look for a word or words which express this in appropriate diction and metrical form; and we must give a plausible account of the corruption to what is transmitted. As to the last point, it does not seem that we have to do with a visual corruption here. There is little prospect of finding a suitable word that could have been misread as στρουθῶν. As Porson saw long ago, these sparrows must somehow have flown in from B 311, the epic version of the portent at Aulis. Are they the last relic of a scholion which cited the Homeric episode? Or a simple gloss by someone whose thoughts unaccountably strayed to that very different scene? The second alternative seems on the whole the more promising. I have cited in my apparatus what seem to me the two best conjectures, though obviously no certainty is attainable. Of the two, my preference is for Keck's νεοσσῶν, because it leads more readily to στρουθῶν. Keck points out that νεοσσός can be used of the young of any animal, and that here it would clearly refer to the young of the hare; «aber da das Wort gewöhnlich von kleinen Vögeln gebraucht ward, so konnte ein Erklärer, der nicht den ganzen Zusammenhang der Stelle im Auge hatte, leicht an Il. II 311 στρουθοῖο νεοσσοὶ νήπια τέκνα denken».<sup>19</sup>

In the next line the manuscripts give ἰήιον δὲ καλέω παιᾶνα. This is satisfactory as sense, but problematic in metre. It has to be analysed as a lyric iambic trimeter, the second metron being a resolved cretic (δὲ καλέω) and the third a baccheus (Παιᾶνᾶ, with *brevis in longo*). But the split resolution, δὲ<sup>1</sup> καλέω, is improbable, and the verse as a whole would not be a good match for the general metrical patterns that prevail in the triad. Ahrens's small change of δὲ to δῆ produces something much more in keeping: the same pattern - - - - | - - -, that we have already noted as a recurrent one in the context. If we accept the shortening of the first syllable of Παιᾶνα, we obtain a verse identical with 141:

δρόσοις ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων  
≈ ἰήιον δῆ καλέω Παᾶνα.

<sup>18</sup> Formulated in my *Textual Criticism*, 48.

<sup>19</sup> K. H. Keck, *Aeschylus 'Agamemnon' griechisch und deutsch*, Leipzig 1863, 237. Before discovering that he had had the idea, I proposed it with identical arguments in M. L. West, *BICS* 31, 1984, 181. It also occurred independently to E. Scheer.

δή is also very appropriate to the utterance, as Calchas moves from his evaluation of the omen to his prayer. I have elsewhere<sup>20</sup> compared *Pers.* 226–8,

ἀλλὰ μὴν εὐνοῦς γ' ὁ πρῶτος τῶνδ' ἐνυπνίων κριτῆς...  
ἐκτελοῖτο δὴ τὰ χρηστά,

where the metre guarantees the Byzantine restoration of δῆ for δὲ of the paradosis, and *Sept.* 481, following Eteocles' confident prediction for the battle at the third gate,

ΧΟ. ἐπεύχομαι δὴ σὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ἰὼ πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων.

One more small improvement to the verse is wanted. The Attic form is Παιῶν (παιῶν, παιωνίζω), not Παιάν, and there is evidence for it in the manuscript tradition of Aeschylus and of Sophocles, in lyric portions as well as in dialogue. But it tended to be ousted by the common form παιάν. At Soph. *OT* 187, for instance, a papyrus, the Laurentian manuscript before correction, the lemma of the scholion, and the twelfth-century K all give παιῶν δὲ λάμπει, while most of the later manuscripts have παιάν. Παιῶν is therefore to be restored in places where only παιάν survives in the tradition.

In 149 the paradosis offers ἔχενῆϊδας (with five syllables) and then at the beginning of the next line ἀπλοῖας (with four syllables).<sup>21</sup> So far as the metre goes, we cannot rule these spellings out.<sup>22</sup> However, at 188 ἀπλοῖαι appears with its normal Attic prosody, - - -, and at *Suppl.* 1046 (also lyric) εὐπλοῖαν is scanned - - -. Most editors have assumed ἔχενῆϊδας ἀπλοῖας as the end of the verse that begins with μῆ τινας. It could not in any case end with the dactyl ἔχενῆϊδας, and an ending ἔχενῆϊδας ἀπλοῖας, even if the resolution of -πλοι- were admissible in Aeschylus, would give a «blunt» close (... - - -) out of keeping with the rest of the epode, and indeed the rest of the triad, where all other dactylic lines have the pendant close (... - - -). The interpretation ἔχενῆϊδας ἀπλοῖας, therefore, seems definitely preferable to that of the paradosis.

It is probable that ἔχενῆϊς was familiar to Athenian ears as a noun, the name of a small fish that was supposed to hold back the progress of ships, and that «by a bold and arbitrary 're-etymologizing' Aeschylus has so transformed the name of the tiny creature that it now vividly expresses the working of the mighty powers of nature.»<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> West, *ibid.* there again unaware that my conjecture had been anticipated in the 1860s, as so many editors had ignored it.

<sup>21</sup> ἀπλοῖδας in τ represents merely an accidental repetition of the ending of ἔχενῆϊδας. Triclinius' gloss μῆ ἑώσας πλεῖν shows that he took it as another adjective.

<sup>22</sup> At I 362 an unpublished papyrus and nearly all manuscripts write εὐπλοῖην with resolution.

<sup>23</sup> Fraenkel *ad loc.* Aeschylus was followed by Nonnus, *Dion.* 13. 114 ἔχενῆϊδος ἄκρα γαλήνης.

He was of course at liberty to treat it as an adjective. But we ought not to overlook the proposal of Keck to delete ἀπλοίας as a gloss. He objected to the accumulation of three attributes (ἀντιπνούς, χρονίας, ἔχενῆιδας), and more specifically to the combination ἀντιπνούς ἀπλοίας: «denn wie kühn auch immer Aischylos im Gebrauch der Adjektive ist, so konnte er doch nie ‘das Stilleliegen der Schiffe’ ein ‘entgegenwehendes’ nennen.» Dindorf had previously replaced ἀπλοίας by αὔρας. I am not sure that the argument is compelling; θουσίαν in 150 carries an even greater weight of attributes, and ἀντιπνούς ἀπλοίας can be understood as «non-sailing due to contrary winds». Still, the situation is similar to that with θηρῶν in 143. ἀπλοίας is a word that might well have served as a gloss, and its removal would leave very satisfactory metre (a dactylic hexameter). It would also mean that Calchas utters truly awesome oracular language and does not throw the effect away by providing a simple translation.

τεύξι in 150 is glossed ὦ Ἄρτεμι. The scholiast therefore read the verb as second person, and unless he supposed it to be a middle form, a variant τεύξις is implied. Although this is palaeographically the *difficilior lectio*, as οσσ might easily be reduced to σπ, it is clearly impossible. The subject is Artemis, not Paian, as the feminine participle shows, and she could not be addressed directly (especially just after καλέω Παῖωνα) without a vocative being expressed.

At 152 we see another instance (as at 137) of the scribe of V mindlessly embodying a suprascript into the text. μενεῖ was evidently a gloss on the prophetic present μῖμνει. (Cf. the gloss in T: μένει.) σύμ-φυτον was divided between lines in V's exemplar, and the μενεῖ above μῖμνει has attached itself to the σύμ.

It will be seen from my apparatus that several critics have thought of adding a spondaic word after δεισήνορα, whether a noun (relieving the string of adjectival attributes) or an infinitive (giving a fuller construction with σπευδόμενα). From the point of view of the sense there is no necessity for any addition, though θουσίαν ... νεικέων τέκτονα ... οὐ δεισήνορα is certainly very bold; we have to understand that the sacrifice of Iphigeneia will become «the engineer of dissensions» through the person of Clytaemestra, to whom the last epithet is really appropriate, and who remains in view in the following phrases as the embodiment of the μνάμων Μῆνις τεχνόποινος. From the point of view of the metre, there is something to be said for adding a spondee after δεισήνορα: the syntactic pause will then, as usual, coincide with a metrical pause, and μῖμνει γὰρ will become initial in the verse, as are molossic words and word-groups elsewhere in the triad (114, 117, 122 κεδνός δέ, 123?, 135). But we cannot press this so far as to say that the metre demands a supplement. We must be content to state the facts that may favour one, and keep the possibility in mind. Perhaps one day a papyrus may appear and vindicate Lachmann's and Hermann's metrical instinct.

The last point worthy of comment is τ's omission of the γὰρ after μῖμνει. The omission of a γὰρ is potentially of interest because this particle is very liable to be

written as a gloss, or actually interpolated, where there was an explanatory asyndeton. Such an asyndeton would be effective here. Does the absence of the γάρ from part of the tradition indicate that it is not part of the original text?

Possibly; but there are two things that argue against this conclusion. One is the stemma: as the γάρ is in both M and V, it should have been in the archetype text, and τ had no access to any independent line of tradition. We could only circumvent this by the somewhat strained hypothesis that the particle was still superscript in the archetype and in the common source of V τ, and that M and V put it in the text while τ ignored it.

The other objection is metrical. If nothing is added after δεισίννορα to break the synapheia, γάρ is needed to maintain the even flow of the rhythm, which will be interrupted if there are only two long syllables between the bicipitia. If a spondee and verse-end are added after δεισίννορα, the next verse will begin with an anacrusis, which is admissible in theory but would be isolated in this triad. So it is very probable that the omission of the particle in τ is a pure accident. Omission, especially of small words, is after all one of the commonest types of corruption.

There I make an end. I hope it has been a useful exercise. Textual criticism is an essential art, and like all arts, it is best learned not by studying the theory of it but by seeing it done and by doing it.

Oxford

Martin L. West

### Osservazioni:

L'intervento di West ha fatto risuonare nell'aula del seminario il fascino della sua edizione e dei suoi *Studies*: credo che pochi studiosi in questo secolo abbiano rappresentato con tanta consapevolezza la natura problematica della tradizione di Eschilo. Ma in qualche caso mi pare che le sue soluzioni, pur sempre affacciate con grande prudenza, rispondano a una logica troppo cartesiana per adattarsi interamente alla dizione del nostro poeta. Prendo l'esempio di καλά al v. 140, un luogo in cui senza dubbio il testo fa difficoltà. La lezione di TF á καλά ha tutta l'aria di una congettura, probabilmente di Triclinio, introdotta se non altro per risolvere il problema sintattico posto dal testo ms.: ma anche questa soluzione può essere sospettata (e West la sospetta) perché dà luogo ad un fine di parola dopo lunga anceps, senza paralleli in Eschilo; Ἐκάτα di Badham, sostituendo un coriambo al secondo digiambo, risolverebbe elegantemente il problema metrico, e introdurrebbe un appellativo di Artemis che ricorre già, associato al nome della dea, in *Suppl.* 676. Io sono rimasto attratto, prima e dopo il colloquio di maggio, da questa soluzione, che nello stesso tempo mi inquieta. Sarà forse, debbo pur ammetterlo, perché á καλά è la lezione con cui ho conosciuto questo passo dell'*Agamennone*, quando Antonio Maddalena me lo



leggeva in terza liceo, ma potrebbe essere anche perché ἄ καλά, che rievoca un appellativo cultuale di Artemis (non debbo ricordare l'attenzione che Eschilo ha per gli appellativi cultuali: West sa bene tutto questo, ma lo ritiene meno importante dell'anomalia metrica) rievoca un'aura indeterminata, quella del rapporto cultuale con una divinità potente e spesso terribile, e mi pare abbia un effetto connotativo molto più espressivo di Ἐκάτα, un nome sacro assai più frequente dell'appellativo καλά, ma per questo stesso motivo assai meno ricco di forza evocativa.

Al v. 147 è noto, e West fa bene a ricordarlo, che la forma attica è Παιών e non già il trådito Παιάν. Ma in una formula rituale tradizionale che riprende intenzionalmente il ritornello ἦ ἦ Παιάν (cf. Pd. *Pae.* 2. 35, *carm. pop.* 858. 19 e 867.3 P.) non vedo perché Eschilo non avrebbe potuto mantenere il vocalismo originario e più diffuso, come altrove (cf. *Ag.* 45 χιλωναύτην e l'annotazione di Fraenkel) ha mantenuto degli -η- che probabilmente stavano nei suoi modelli ionici: il parallelo con *Soph. OT* 187, dove gli ultimi editori oxoniensi (in accordo peraltro con una parte della tradizione) hanno preferito παιών non colloca West in buona compagnia.

Vittorio Citti

Your comments on vv. 105-06 give the right diagnosis. In his pencilled marginalia in Fraenkel's edition A.Y. Campbell wrote opposite 'still from the gods the age that has grown with me breathes down upon me persuasiveness of song to be my warlike strength' two exclamation marks and the words 'how can it?' You forbid us to intervene by conjecture, but I had a try myself in CPh 83, 1988, 101, which does at least meet your requirements.

On 123 - 25 it seems odd to describe eagles as being warlike when all they are doing is obeying a law of nature and winning an easy victory over a hare. It must be the Atridae, whether under that name or another, who are μάχμοι, just as later they, and perhaps their cronies, are called φιλόμαχοι (230). Secondly, I cannot see that we are ever going to make sense of ἀρχᾶς. What would make sense is ἄτας. There is a famous confusion of these two words at Hom. Γ 100, Ζ 356, and Ω 28. We think of πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν (59), and the close link between Erinys and Ate at Hom. Τ 87f., in our play at 1433, and in *Cho.* at 402-04. If you were willing to abandon the τ', you could have a sentence which read 'on seeing the two Atridae with their two (different?) resolute spirits, he recognised the hare-eaters as the warlike despatchers of destruction'.

In 135 for the οἶκω / οἶκτω confusion compare *Soph. El.* 93. In 140 the commentaries are useless in explaining the τόσον περ. Can you throw any light on the construction? There is no doubt that οὔσα could be concessive if we read αἰνεῖ. But what is it with αἰτεῖ?

In 146 the spelling Παιάν / Παιών comes into question. Threatte p.234 suggests the answer may not be as clear-cut as we would like.

Since one of your ideas is relevant to one of the parts of Prof. Citti's paper, could I raise with you now your proposal at *Cho.* 279, namely τὰς δ' ἔγνω νόσους? The sense you give, and the balance of the sentence which it imparts, is admirable. But it does lean heavily on one place in Isocrates. Do you think it possible that Hermann's αἰνῶν, and Lachmann's αἰνεῖ at *Agam.* 44, are both rather more than 'consents to', and actually denote a prescriptive order?

Roger D. Dawe

Page 44: The principle that in textual criticism one must start from «what the author seems to have wanted to express» is not without its dangers. It may lead to an attempt to emend a text to fit a preconceived notion of what an author means, a notion which may in fact be erroneous.

I agree that it is best to take μολπᾶν with ἀλκᾶν. Could the phrase be translated «which confers might on my songs»? Persuasion makes the Chorus's songs as powerful as a military victory. This is the contribution that even the aged Chorus can make.

Page 49: The corruption of οἴκτω may have been assisted by a scribe's consciousness that from 37 onwards the house has been an important theme in the play.

Pages 51-52: What sense is to be given to ἀέπτοις? Wellauer's δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς (Todt λεπταῖς) seems to me to be at least worth mentioning. *Pace* Denniston-Page the adjective is used of small animals (sheep and goats) at Hdt. 8.137.2.

Page 53: νοσοῶν is in many ways attractive. However, although it is true that the word can be used of any young animal, it does seem to be employed most often of birds. At *Cho.* 256 (cf. 501) it will describe the orphans of the royal eagle. I therefore find it confusing if in the context of the omen of the eagles and the pregnant hare it should refer, not to the former, but to the offspring of the latter.

Page 55: Keck's objection to the accumulation of three attributes is certainly not compelling.

Alex F. Garvie

La relazione West presenta un istruttivo spaccato, come si usava dire un tempo, 'diacronico' della costituzione del testo eschileo: nella triade strofica dell'*Agamennone* (104-121-122-139; 140-159) offertaci in saggio sono opportunamente delineate, nel loro successivo ricomporsi e scomporsi, le varie metodiche di intervento dei filologi. Naturalmente, come sottolinea bene W., un momento focale di quelle metodiche è costituito dalla 'riscoperta' della responsione strofica ad opera di Demetrio Triclinio, su cui forse si potrà anche aggiungere qualcosa.

Lo scolio metrico ‘finale’ Tricliniano (104b Smith) si limita purtroppo a un’etichettatura generale (e generica) della triade, in cui il bizantino ravvisa una preponderanza di *cola* anapestici, frammisti a qualche sequenza giambica e dattilica: ovviamente dove Triclinio è, come in questo caso, più reticente, la ricostruzione del suo metodo filologico risulta più ardua. Si può comunque, intanto, distinguere la modalità degli interventi nella coppia strofica, tesi in linea di principio alla ricostituzione di una responsione più o meno precisa, rispetto a congetture nell’epodo (apparentemente inutili o banalizzanti per W.: 140 *add. á*; 41 *δοσοισι ἀέπτοισι pro δοσοισι ἀέπτοις* a proposito di cui egli parla, rispettivamente, di «tendency to banalize» e di un intervento fatto «inconsequentially»; *ibid. om. ὄντων*), proprio dove il bizantino non era vincolato dall’intelaiatura responsiva ‘esterna’, e poteva di conseguenza attendersi un maggior rispetto del *textus receptus*. Ma il quesito che sorge spontaneo è se Triclinio non congetturasse piuttosto qui per (a noi ignote) ragioni metriche ‘interne’, dubbio che dovrebbe spingere a un giudizio meditato.

Credo poi necessiti di ulteriore approfondimento la possibilità adombrata da W. (essa forse non risulta con evidenza nello stemma accluso nella prima pagina della sua relazione) che T, il ‘Farnesiano’ II F 31 di Napoli, che contiene l’autografo dell’Eschilo finale tricliniano ‘a responsione pienamente restituita’ sia fonte di contaminazione per il filologo-copista autore del paleograficamente «slightly later» F (Laurenziano 31, 8), esemplare di un’*ekdosis* tricliniana precedente, sia pure non di molto, quella del Farnesiano e a responsione (mi pare dica O. Langwitz Smith) ancora «reluctantly admitted».

Devo confessare che mi sfuggono il significato e la cogenza di un’operazione filologica tanto tortuosa e sofisticata quanto, nella sostanza, inutile: se essa avesse avuto origine nello *scriptorium* di Triclinio stesso, anche dopo la sua morte, piuttosto si sarebbe provveduto a una copia dell’autografo magistrale T. E ancora, su che base, se non sulla presunta posteriorità paleografica del Laurenziano (dato in quanto tale non incontrovertibile), ci si può pronunciare contro altre (forse più logiche) possibilità: ad esempio che F sia il terreno di un’operazione ‘in progress’ e che le successive correzioni (lezioni, ma anche varianti colometriche) si devano al progressivo impianto dell’edizione dapprima ‘proto-tricliniana’, ossia τ, e poi ‘finale’ su un autografo sostanzialmente tomano?

Evidentemente, dopo gli studi un po’ tumultuosi di O. Langwitz Smith, la possibilità che F costituisca uno stadio preparatorio dell’Eschilo tricliniano (vecchia ipotesi di Dawe, *Eranos* 1959) è ora fuori moda, ma forse il parallelo con la lenta crescita dell’Euripide finale nell’altro autografo Angelico T potrà ancora indurre a una certa cautela.

Andrea Tessier

## Replica:

A V. Citti

It is honest of Citti to confess that his liking for ἄ καλά at *Ag.* 140 may be due to the fact that he made the acquaintance of the passage in this form in *terza liceo*: We are often influenced by this factor: I first studied the play in an edition which read ἰχθῦς at line 287, and it was a long time before I was able to renounce the beautiful image of the fishes surfacing to bask in the beam of the beacon fire. As for ἄ καλά, the existence of a cult title Καλλίστη gives it a specious attraction (though see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 61-71). But while modern commentators rejoice in finding possible connections with cult, it is not self-evident that Aeschylus would have gone for a cult allusion rather than a poetic title with more specific relevance to Iphigeneia.

At 147 it may be possible to defend the transmitted ἰήμων ... Παιᾶνα by reference to the «formula rituale tradizionale» ἰῆ Παιᾶν; but was it traditional in this form at Athens? It is not, by the way, «il vocalismo originario»: Παιᾶν is the Doric contraction of Παιᾶφων, Παιῶν is the Attic. I note Dawe's reference to Thraette I 234, where the most pertinent datum is the appearance of Παιᾶν in an Attic verse dedication of the first half of the fourth century (*CEG* 751). But at Soph. *OT* 187 we see the Doric form encroaching on the Attic in the tradition, and the corrupt αἰῶνα at *Ag.* 247 points to παιῶνα there. I repeat what I said in my paper about ξὺν δορί in 111: that even if Aeschylus was inconsistent in his use of forms, it is unlikely that his inconsistencies were faithfully preserved in the manuscript tradition, which we know to be unreliable in such matters.

A A.F. Garvie

Garvie raises an important point regarding my principle that one must start from what the author seems to have wanted to express. He remarks that this «may lead to an attempt to emend a text to fit a preconceived notion of what an author means, a notion which may in fact be erroneous». Certainly one should not come with a *preconceived* notion, but on the contrary form a notion without preconception after carefully considering the context and train of thought. Of course one may form the wrong notion. But one is less likely to go wrong in this way than if one simply tries to see the answer in the *ductus litterarum* without regard to the *ductus sensus*.

I prefer my paraphrase of μολπᾶν ἄλκᾶν, «which is what songs rely on», to Garvie's suggestion of «which confers might on my songs», because ἄλκῆ more suggests defensive than offensive strength. It is not a question of the songs overwhelming the hearer; rather that with περθῶ they will stand firm and not be dismissed as idle tales.

What Aeschylus meant by ἀέπτοις (141) I do not know - possibly 'untended' - but it certainly seems unlikely that this choice poetic word should appear as an accidental corruption from the common adjective λεπτοῖς (or -αῖς) with change of accent.

A R. D. Dawe

Dawe maintains that μαχίμους in 124 should refer to the Atreidai. Word order and emphasis seem to me to favour taking it with λαγοδαίτας with the verb in second place in the colon rather than initial. The point of calling the eagles warlike or pugnacious is to assimilate them more closely to the Atreidai. As to ἀρχάς, I have given my interpretation in my paper. The ancient ἀρχή/ἄτη variants in the Iliadic passages cannot justify the introduction of ἄτας here.

In 140 ff. I punctuate after τερπνῶ, so that the construction is nominal: «So kindly is Artemis to young creatures». The περὶ simply emphasizes τόσον.

As I accept neither Lachmann's αἰνεῖ at 144 nor Hermann's αἰνῶν at *Cho.* 279, I need not strain to establish whether that verb might be used of a prescriptive order. It is up to those who think it might to produce parallels.

A A. Tessier

Tessier raises the tangential matter of the exact circumstances in which the manuscript F was produced. I see nothing «tortuosa e sofisticata» in the idea that the scribe used two exemplars, τ and T, referring to the latter especially as he corrected his text after copying. This is the hypothesis that best fits the evidence, in the triad as well as in *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*. But it requires a fuller demonstration than can be undertaken here. The question does not affect our assessment of the textual problems.