

THE FIRST FOOT DACTYL IN AESCHYLUS

(1) Out of ca. 4,870 extant complete trimeter lines in Aeschylus (the lyrics being excluded) the dactylic resolution of the first foot occurs only 14 times. Thirteen instances are listed in C.F. Müller.¹ The figures given by J. Descroix² (10 instances), and by E.B. Ceadel³ (only 3 instances: *Sept.* 653; *Choeph.* 216 and 986) are not exact. It is to regret that D. Korzeniewski⁴ repeats Ceadel's tables (the first foot dactyl would take 1.07% of all resolutions).

The instances may fall into three groups. (a) Dactyls caused by proper names: *Prom.* 730 Κιμμερικὸν ἤζεις; *Sept.* 450 Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι; *Agam.* 1312 οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάισμα; *Choeph.* 986 Ἥλιος—ἄναγνα; frs. 55.13 M. Εὐβοῖδα καμπήν; 193.2 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς; 227.1 Ἀντίλοχ', ἀποίμωξον; 485.1 Εὐρύμαχος, οὐκ ἄλλος. (b) Resolutions beginning with a monosyllabic interjection or adverb: *Sept.* 653 ὦ θεομανές τε; frs. 399.1 ὦ θάνατε παιάν; 669 ἦ βαρὺ φόρημ'. And (c): The rest of caesures. *Agam.* 7 ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν; *Choeph.* 217 καὶ τίνα σύνοισθα; fr. 199 χαλκὸν ἀθερῆ.

The group (a) needs no comment. The pressure caused by proper names is so often beyond the poets' control, and can drive them even to anacalasis (as., e. g., in *Sept.* 488 Ἴππομέδοντος; 547 Παρθενοπαῖος).^{4a} As for the presence of Ἥλιος in this position, I would rather explain it by the hymnic influence (cf. Soph. *Ajax* 846=fr. 582 P. Ἥλιε; Eur. *Ion* 1149 Ἥλιος *Iliad* 3.277 Ἥέλιος (voc.); Orpheus I B 21 DK Ἥλιε). But E. Fraenkel⁵ has a different, 'syntactical' explanation.

The group (b) too seems to be tolerable enough, judging by Soph. *Ajax* 854=*Philoct.* 797 ὦ θάνατε θάνατε; *Antig.* 746 ὦ μαρὸν ἦθος;

¹ C. F. Müller, *De pedibus solutis in dialogorum senariis Aeschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis* (Berlin 1866) pp. 79 f. (Cf. also R. Enger, 'Die Auflösungen im Trimeter des Aeschylus', *Rhein Mus* 11 (1857) 444—50; J. Rumpel, 'Die Auflösungen im Trimeter des Aeschylus und Sophocles', *Philol* 25 (1867) 54—66).

² J. Descroix, *Le trimètre iambique des iambographes à la comédie nouvelle* (Paris 1931) pp. 112 f. and 170.

³ E. B. Ceadel, 'Resolved feet in the trimeters of Euripides and the chronology of the plays', *CQ* 35 (1941) 84.

⁴ D. Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt 1968) 55.

^{4a} The anacalasis at *Choeph.* 1049 φρασιζήτωνες is due to a 'heavy word'; that at *Choeph.* 657 εἶεν, ἀκνώω seems to be one of the playwrights' conventions.

⁵ *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*. Edited with a Commentary by Eduard Frankel (Oxford 1950) II p. 8 n. 2.

Philoct. 791 ᾧ ζένε Κεραλλήν; 936 ᾧ λιμένες, ᾧ; *OC* 1376 γῶν τ' ἀνακκοῦμαι, etc.

It is the atypical group (c) which I shall try to discard here.

(2) Fr. 199 M. reads:

γαλκὸν ἀθερῆ τόν<δ'> ἀσπίδος <θ'> ὑπερτενῆ.

ἀθερῆ τόν<δ'>... <θ'> is M. Schmidt's correction of the transmitted ἀθερίτων (*Anecd.* Bekker, p. 353.9) or ἀνθερητόν (Phot. p. 42.16, Reitz.). Now ἀθερῆ must be correct, for the line is quoted in order to prove the lemma ἀθερῆς. And since ἀθερῆ is anapaest its place can be only in the first foot. The remnant τόν seems to be a corruption of τε. Thus a simple transposition restores at once meter, sense, and elegance as well:

ἀθερῆ τε γαλκὸν ἀσπίδος <γ'> ὑπερτενῆ.

As for the supplement γ' cf. *Eumen.* 1003.

Choeph. 215—18 read:

Ὁρέστῃς. εἰς ὄψιν ἤκεις ὄνπερ ἐξήρχου πάλαι.
Ἠλέκτρα. καὶ τίνα σύνοισθα μοι καλουμένηι βροτῶν;
Ὁρ. σύνοιδ' Ὁρέστῃν πολλὰ σ' ἐπαγγουμένην.
Ἠλ. καὶ πρὸς τί δῆτα τυγχάνω κατευγμάτων;

Here too the dactyl in 216 can be easily removed by transposition: τίνα καὶ σύνοισθα...⁶ Evidently καὶ is that of a question asking for additional information: 'Now just who of all mortals is the person you know that I was calling for?' The placing of such a καὶ after the interrogative is both common enough and elegant. Among the numerous examples given by Denniston (*Gr. Part.*² 312—16) cf. *Ar. Lys.* 836 τίς χάστιν ποτε; *Eur. Hec.* 1201 τίνα δὲ καὶ σπεύδων φάριν / πρόθυμος ἦσθα; *Hippol.* 1171 πῶς καὶ διώλετ'; *Phoen.* 1354 πῶς καὶ πέπραται...: *Hec.* 515, etc. The original τίνα καὶ was adjusted by somebody to 218 καὶ πρὸς τί: hence the transmitted metrical anomaly: καὶ τίνα.

(3) That leaves us with the *locus vexatus*: *Agam.* 4—7, which in Fraenkel's edition reads so:

ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ἠμήγυριν
5 καὶ τοὺς φέροντας γεῦμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι.
[ἄστῆρας ἔταν φθίνωσιν ἀντολὰς τε τῶν.]

(a) Pauw suspected and Valckenaer rejected line 7, followed by Wilamowitz, Murray and Fraenkel. I think they are right.

(b) But Mazon, Headlam-Thomson⁷ and others keep the line as transmitted. This does not seem to be possible, as both Fraenkel (*Agam.* II, pp. 6—9) and Denniston-Page (*Agam.*, p. 67) have pointed out. For if one takes ἀστῆρας with κάτοιδα (as, e.g., Mazon does:

⁶ Paley's solution: [καὶ] τίνα ζύνοισθα is invalidated by 217 σύνοιδ'.

⁷ *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*. Edited with Introduction, Translation, and a Commentary in which is included the work of the late Walter G. Headlam by George Thomson (Cambridge 1938) I pp. 100 f.; II pp. 3 f.

'dont je sais et les levers et les déclinés'). ἕτην φθίνωσιν cannot stand in an indirect question but can only mean 'whenever they disappear'. And if one takes τοὺς φέροντας as antecedent to ἀστέρας (as, e.g., Thomson does: 'the shining constellations that bring men summer and winter, as they rise and set'), then the transmitted ἀντολάς τε τῶν simply cannot yield the required meaning of καὶ ὅταν ἀνατέλλωσιν.

(c) That is why Denniston and Page have adopted Margoliouth's and Lobel's change of the transmitted ἀντολάς into ἀντολαῖς, while keeping the line and reading:

λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι
ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν ἀντολαῖς τε τῶν.

„I know the assembly of the stars at night, and those which bring, winter and summer to mortals — bright potentates, stars conspicuous in the sky — whenever they set and by their risings” (p. 67).⁸

Against the genuineness of line 7 the following can be said.

(a) If we have succeeded in eliminating the dactyls from fr. 199 and *Choeph.* 216, then *Agam.* 7 remains as the only extant example of a metrical irregularity unparalleled both in Aeschylus and Sophocles. In fact, ἀστέρας is the only one-common-noun-dactyl in the first foot in both tragedians, so that Fraenkel's indictment of line 7 only gains in weight: „Is it really necessary, in order to save for Aeschylus a line open to serious objections on grounds of language, to swallow a metrical phenomenon entirely without parallel in the thousands of trimeters of the older tragedians that have come down to us?” (II, p. 8). In view of the numerous one-word-dactyls in the first foot in Euripides (89 examples are listed in Müller, *o.c.*, pp. 93 f.), such as *Phoen.* 756 ἀσπίδας; *IA* 609 = *Or.* 52 ἐλπιδας; *HF* 1090 αἰθέρας; *El.* 15 ἄρσενα, etc., it seems safer to assume that line 7 is post-Euripidean in origin.

It is of no avail to refer to Semonides fr. 7.78 D.:

δήνεα δὲ πάντα καὶ τρόπους ἐπίσταται.⁹

For, first, Aeschylus was not actually an iambographer. And second, δήνεα is an epic relic: *Iliad* 4.361 = *Hes. Th.* 236 ἦπια δήνεα οἶδε.

(b) G. Pasquali¹⁰ and W. Headlam¹¹ have argued that the clause ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι ἀστέρας etc. standing in apposition to τοὺς φέροντας ... λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, goes well with Aeschylus' fondness for placing side by side a metaphoric expression and its explanation in plain language; or, as Pasquali put it, first the riddle, then its solution. However, such concrete explanations are always short: *Pers.*

⁸ Hugh Lloyd-Jones too adopts Margoliouth's emendation, judging by his translation (*Agamemnon*. Prentice-Hall Greek Drama Series, 1970, pp. 15 f.): „... the bright potentates, shining in the sky, the stars, when they set and at their rising.”

⁹ The other remnant first-foot dactyl in early iambographers is Archiloch. fr. 18.4 D. οὐδ' ἐρατής, οἷος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥόας.

¹⁰ G. Pasquali, 'Passi difficili nell' *Agamemnone*', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N. S. 7 (1929) 225—28.

¹¹ In *The Oresteia*, ed. G. Thomson, II pp. 3 f.

612 παμφαῆς μέλι; *Prom.* 804 f. γρῦπας; *Sept.* 727—30 ὀμόφρων σίδαρος, etc. In none of the instances adduced by Pasquali, Headlam (and, Thomson) does the explanatory apposition amount to one and a half lines, as is the case with ἐμπρέποντας — ἀντολαῖς τε τῶν. Moreover, as Fraenkel (p. 9) put it, if we drop line 7, then such a simple, clause as this one: 'the shining powers that bring to mortals winter and summer, standing out clear in the sky' conceals no riddle at all.

(c) 'The bright potentates, conspicuous in the sky' are told to 'bring (τοὺς φέροντας) winter and summer to mortals.' No monarch brings ever anything to his subjects (consisting of both the assembly of starlets and the community of men) when he disappears, only when he arrives. So here too: when the rulers Pleiads rise, early in May, they bring θέρος to mortals (*Hes. Op.* 383 f. Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων / ἄρχεσθ' ἀμήτου). Likewise, the heliacal rising of the ruler Arcturus, in the middle of September, brings χεῖμα to mortals (cf. *Soph. OR* 1137 ἐξ ἤρος εἰς Ἀρκτοῦρον). For the mission of the kingly superstars as δωτήρες ἑάων the words of line 7 ἀντολαῖς τε τῶν would do: the words ὅταν φθίνωσιν seem to be in disaccord with τοὺς φέροντας. Of course, Aeschylus knew well that winter comes with the setting of the Pleiads (cf. *Prom.* 457 f. ἔστε δὴ σφιν ἀντολαῖς ἐγὼ / ἄστρων ἔδειξα τάς τε δυσκρίτους δύσεις). But the point is that the *image* of the mighty stars bringing blessings to mortals required only their divine παρουσία, not their waning or setting as well.¹²

In conclusion, I think Valckenaer was right when he wrote (on *Eur. Phoen.* 506): „adscripterat quis ad hunc versum (*Agam.* 6) ἀστέρας; hinc orsus, ut suspicor, ineptum nescio quis nobis senarium tornavit”, followed by Wilamowitz (Preface to his edition of 1914, p. XXVIII): „Ag. 7 glossa ἀστέρας ansam dedit versus procludendi.” Cf. also Fraenkel (II, p. 9). Incidentally, with the line 7 dropped the opening speech of the Watchman makes a logical unity consisting of 20 lines (cf. 1 ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων and 20 ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων as do the opening speech of the Prophetess in the *Eumenides* 1—20 (cf. 1 θεῶν and 20 θεοῦς and that of Eteocles in *Septem* 1—20).

E. B. Ceadel¹³ wrote: „There seems no reason for suspecting Aeschylus' use of the first-foot dactyl, in spite of the doubts of Yorke.”¹⁴ I agree with him as far as the likely groups of dactyls (a) and (b), quoted above, are concerned. But I do not think that Aeschylus could be held responsible for the unlikely dactyls of group (c).

University of Illinois
March, 1972

M. Marcovich.

¹² In the same way the evil ruler, the bright superstar Dog of Orion, brings (φέρει) much fever to mortals when he comes forth at harvest-time (δπόρηξ εἰσιν): *Iliad* 22.26—31.

¹³ *CQ* 35 (1941) 86 n. 2.

¹⁴ E. C. Yorke, 'Trisyllabic feet in the dialogue of Aeschylus', *CQ* 30 (1936) 117.