

Verbal Repetition in Greek Tragedy

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD.

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which critics, ancient and modern, have looked at verbal repetitions in the texts of Greek tragedy, in particular those repetitions of lexical words which may seem careless or unintentional. It compares surviving plays (taking a sample of those of Euripides). An index of repetitiveness for each play is calculated; it emerges that while Aeschylus' plays have a wide range, there is a statistically significant difference between those of Sophocles and those of Euripides, the latter being more repetitive. The *Prometheus*, whose authenticity has been doubted, has a much lower index than any other tragedy examined (though that of the *Alexandra* of Lycophron is much lower still). A comparison of repetitiveness within a small sample of plays has failed to find systematic differences between passages of dialogue and continuous speeches, or according to the category of word.

Some verbal repetitions may not have been in the original texts of tragedies, but may appear in manuscripts because of errors made by copyists. A systematic examination has been made of the manuscript tradition of selected plays to identify the instances where some manuscripts have a reading with a repetition, while others do not. The circumstances in which erroneous repetitions are introduced are identified; one conclusion reached is that copyists sometimes remove genuine repetitions.

Modern psychological research has thrown light on the processes of language comprehension and production, in particular a process known as 'priming' whereby an earlier stimulus facilitates the naming of an object. The thesis discusses the relevance of this research to the observed phenomena of verbal repetitions by authors and copyists.

The thesis concludes with a detailed examination of passages in three plays, and the remarks of commentators on them. Aesthetic and textual matters are discussed.

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## PREFACE and ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The origin of this study goes back to my time at Lincoln School and at Oxford in the 1950s. When reading Greek plays I was disturbed to find words recurring in a way that seemed pointless and unattractive. During my career as a civil servant I continued to read some Greek, and made a mental note of comments by editors on verbal repetitions.

When retirement loomed in 1994 I began to think seriously of studying the phenomenon in a structured way, making some rigorous comparison between authors. I had very helpful discussions with Professor Willcock, as a result of which I registered for a PhD thesis at University College London in 1995.

This study is the outcome. I have very much enjoyed the intellectual challenge it has provided.

I chose Greek tragedy not so much because it was the first place in which I had become conscious of repetitions, and certainly not because the phenomenon is peculiar to it, but because the existence of several authors writing in the same genre and at roughly the same time gave an opportunity for potentially illuminating comparisons.

I have a lot of people to thank for their help. I have no statistical training and only limited experience of working with statistics. I have therefore benefited greatly from discussions with Dr Tom Fearn, of the Department of Statistical Science, University College London; Mr B.J. Billington, a former civil service colleague in the Department of Transport; Dr Mark Bravington of the Centre for Environment, Fisheries and Aquaculture Science, Lowestoft; and, especially, Professor J.T. Temple, of the Geology Department, Birkbeck College, London.

One chapter of this thesis discusses psychological and cognitive aspects of repetition. This would not have been possible without the advice of my son, Dr Martin Pickering, lecturer in the Department of Psychology of the University of Glasgow. He has also been a more general source of advice, as have my son-in-law, James Owen and all other members of my family. My wife's forbearance, in particular, has been exemplary.

Most of all, I have been helped and stimulated by many members of the Departments of Greek and Latin in British Universities, and especially those of University College London. My supervisor, Professor Richard Janko, has been unfailing in his encouragement, and virtually every page of this thesis has been improved by his comments. He has kindly drawn my attention to a reference in his forthcoming book *Philodemus On Poems I*, which adds revealingly to our knowledge of ancient views on repetition. The Library of the Institute of Classical Studies, and the programs on its computers, have been an invaluable resource.

In gathering the data I have used especially the Pandora program with the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. This has greatly lightened the burden, and left me with enormous

admiration for those scholars who compiled concordances before the development of such aids. Even with them, and frequent checking, I fear that I have not achieved complete accuracy; I am however confident that slips are not many nor biased so as to throw doubt on my conclusions. The volume of the surviving plays of Euripides has necessitated selectivity, in the absence of a concordance like that of Rigo (1996) for Sophocles.

The format of this thesis has been constrained in some ways by the circumstances of its production on a Macintosh Performa with a LaserGREEK font from Linguist's Software Inc. and a Canon BJC 4550 printer. Neither underlining nor bold type comes very distinctively from the printer, and the font italicises Greek in an unsatisfactory way. I have therefore frequently used colour to emphasise Greek words. The font does not provide a lunate sigma; the preference for the traditional iota subscript and the traditional names of Greek authors and plays is my own.



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Many editors of tragedies observe at some point in their commentary that their author not infrequently repeats words in close proximity with no apparent purpose; they may give a selective list of such repetitions, and/or refer to what another editor has said in relation to that or another play.<sup>1</sup> This study explores the phenomenon of ‘careless’ repetition in greater depth than is possible or useful in a commentary on a particular play, and attempts a statistical comparison of authors.

Attic tragedy is the subject of this study.<sup>2</sup> The phenomenon of repetition is not, of course, confined to tragedy (Dover’s book *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* includes a very important study of repetition in Greek prose),<sup>3</sup> to Greek literature or indeed to literature.<sup>4</sup> Repetition for rhetorical effect is, naturally, found in oratory, and often discussed by ancient writers on rhetorical theory. ‘Careless’ repetition – which does not appear to follow the canons of rhetoric – is found in prose and poetry, Latin and Greek, and references to non-tragic repetitions will be found during the course of this study. But it seems right to separate performed poetry (drama and choral lyric) from, on the one hand, Homeric epic (and hexameter verse in the Homeric tradition) with its ubiquitous formulaic repetition (a natural feature of the oral poetry by which the Homeric poems were very heavily influenced, whether or not they were orally composed), and from, on the other hand, Hellenistic poetry written by consciously learned poets for learned readers (or hearers at a recitation). One might *a priori* expect words to be more exquisitely chosen by a bookish poet than by one who seeks to gain his effect at one performance.<sup>5</sup> Any conclusion reached from work on tragedy cannot, therefore, necessarily be applied to other genres of ancient poetry, much less to prose.

The repetitions which are examined in this study are ones which strike many modern readers as harsh; that is, those in close proximity, so that the word occurs for a second time while the first occurrence is still fresh in the memory, but yet there is no apparent

<sup>1</sup> An example of such a note is Dodds (1960) on *Bacchae* 647 “To avoid the repetition it has been proposed to substitute . . . But the Greek ear, and Eur.’s ear in particular was less sensitive to such things than ours: cf. . . Tucker . . . Jebb . . . Pearson . . . .”

<sup>2</sup> All complete plays by Aeschylus – with *Prometheus* – and Sophocles, and a representative selection of those by Euripides – with *Rhesus* – have been subjected to the statistical analysis; Chapters 6 and 8 concentrate on one play by each playwright, though Chapter 6 also looks at textual matters in the ‘alphabetic’ plays of Euripides; the investigations in Chapter 5 are restricted to a small number of plays.

<sup>3</sup> Dover (1997) Chapter 7A *Variety*. Dover uses ‘recurrence’, rather than ‘repetition’, but does not give a reason for this preference, and applies statistical techniques to differences between prose authors.

<sup>4</sup> In her book *Talking Voices* Tannen (1989) has a chapter entitled *Repetition in conversation: towards a poetics of talk*, which is discussed in Chapter 7 below. The temptation to look outside the realm of the verbal has, however, been resisted. Visual artists have a ‘style’, which may mean the recurrence of traits from one work to another; several, such as Monet and Cezanne, have produced series of paintings of the same subject, and “all the faces are the same” is frequently remarked about mediaeval paintings. Such repetition does not seem to provoke the sort of comments discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>5</sup> This *a priori* expectation is confirmed by the examination of Lycophron *Alexandra* reported in Chapter 4

point in the repetition. They are to be distinguished from:

a) repetition of *themes*,<sup>6</sup>

b) complete or partial repetitions of lines or phrases after lengthy intervals in one play, or between plays, of which there are several cases in Euripides, discussed in Harsch (1937);

c) rhetorical figures. There are many discussions of these figures, with classification and the listing of instances, in authors both ancient (though later than the classical tragedians) and modern. Large-scale modern treatments of rhetorical figures include Fehling (1969) and, for Latin poetry, Wills (1996).

(a) and (b) are not examined here. Rhetorical figures are, however, frequently discussed, though no attempt is made to criticise or supplement previous authors. The question whether and, if so, how rhetorical repetition is distinguishable from ‘careless’ repetitions is very relevant. The use of repetitive figures of speech highlights one of the motives for this study – ‘why is it that poets to whom repetition was often important and sensitively used also seem often to be careless of it?’ Those commentators who observe simply that the Greek ear did not bother about repetition ought to explain why it was nevertheless thought valuable as an ornament.

It is desirable at this stage to settle a point of terminology. The term ‘careless’ has been used above, as it or near synonyms like ‘indifference’, ‘casual’ or ‘unconscious’ often are by commentators, and the impression given by the phenomenon is well described by such words. But they are, in various degrees, value-laden, and beg one of the important questions addressed in this study. Wills (1996) proposes, in his Epilogue, the term ‘unfigured’; this will generally be used here, though without any endorsement of Wills’ somewhat arch explanation:

If we want to accord these passages a common appellation, I prefer the term ‘unfigured’ repetition. We notice the repetition but we lack a name for it, a figure to call it by. While it remains ‘unfigured’, we keep comparing the two repetitions wondering what effect has been aimed at. If in the end we have not yet ‘figured’ it out – then we should be honest and call it what it is: ‘unfigured’ for us in our own poetic, or in our knowledge of ancient poetics.

Wills may indeed be begging the question in the other direction, implying that no repetition can be simply ‘careless’.

It was explained above that the repetitions examined in this study were ones in close proximity, not ones after lengthy intervals. A criterion for ‘close proximity’ has to be laid down. That criterion must be to a degree arbitrary (though it must accord with the common sensibility of a reader or hearer) and insofar as it is to be used in a statistical analysis it must be strict. Tragic texts, and indeed all classical poetic texts, are divided into

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<sup>6</sup> Discussed for Aeschylus by Hiltbrunner (1950).

lines, and there is a generally accepted convention for the numbering of these lines;<sup>7</sup> the criterion for close proximity adopted here is ‘the recurrence of a word after not more than fifteen lines’. Not all lines are of the same length. This problem is minimised for the statistical analysis since that analysis is confined to trimeters; definitional problems are discussed fully in Chapter 3. The rest of the discussion in this study is more qualitative, and the cut-off is not applied so rigorously as to exclude the examination of striking repetitions after a rather longer interval.

There must also be a criterion for what constitutes a repetition. This criterion must, again, be strict in the statistical analysis, and is discussed fully in Chapter 3. Elsewhere, it has to be strict enough to prevent the discussion from sprawling out of control, but must not preclude the examination of anything which is worthy of note and is within the broad confines of the study. There are two to the criterion – (a) ‘what is a word?’<sup>8</sup> and (b) ‘what is a repetition of that word?’

(a) In languages like Greek and English there are some words, usually with little lexical content, that occur very frequently; the definite article, conjunctions and prepositions are in this category in both languages, and English adds to them auxiliary verbs and Greek adds particles. The repetition of such words is rarely striking to the ear, and often could not be avoided without great ingenuity and an ungainly result. The examination in this study has therefore generally excluded those words that are often classified as ‘non-lexical’, or by some linguists ‘closed-category’, and in the statistical analysis borderline cases have been excluded.<sup>9</sup>

(b) In any language with inflections it is not self-evident what a repetition is, and in one like Greek with many irregular verbs there is a wide area for dispute. The aim in laying down a criterion here has been to approach what a native speaker without a mastery of historical linguistics would regard as ‘the same word’. Sense and form must both be

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<sup>7</sup> This convention reduces problems to a tolerable level but does not eliminate them. The line numbering of lyrics often does not accord with modern colometry; editors frequently delete lines (though without affecting their numbering); rather less frequently they transpose lines, usually but not always retaining their traditional numbers; and owing to historical accidents there are line numbers in Aeschylus’ *Supplices*, in *Philoctetes* and in *Orestes* which correspond to nothing in the text.

<sup>8</sup> The word ‘word’ is itself problematic. Dover (1997) 26 eschews it as ambiguous and uses ‘lexeme’ for a dictionary heading and ‘token’ for an occurrence in a text (thus, the Shakespearian line ‘Never never never never never’ has one lexeme but five tokens). I find the use of ‘token’ in a technical sense, when it has a normal current meaning, confusing; and though that objection does not apply to ‘lexeme’ I have not been hampered by the ambiguity in ‘word’, using a phrase like ‘occurrence of the word’ when precision requires it.

<sup>9</sup> Dover (1997) 27 also sees the desirability of a distinction like the one this study makes between lexicals and non-lexicals, but does so in a different way. He distinguishes ‘mobiles’ from ‘appositives’; ‘mobiles’ being lexemes which can occur immediately after pause, immediately before pause, or anywhere else, while ‘appositives’ are lexemes which either cannot occur before pause (‘prepositives’) or cannot occur after pause (‘postpositives’). The word-lists generated by Dover’s classification are not very different from those used in the present study, and the decision how to classify a given word may sometimes be easier with his methodology, but it does not eliminate the need for perhaps subjective decisions in marginal cases, and seems less appropriate for poetry than for prose, since in poetry, for instance, disyllabic prepositions often appear before pause, with a change of accent.

related (i.e. 'go' and 'went', ἐρεῖν and λέγειν are not the same words).<sup>10</sup> Of prime importance in the statistical analysis is consistency between plays and authors, and the practice adopted is set out in Chapter 3; differences in inflection (including the regularly formed adverbs and comparatives/superlatives) do not mean different words, but other differences do. Elsewhere it is more important not to have criteria so rigid that they exclude striking phenomena from examination.

The plan of this study is as follows. Chapter 2 reviews what has been said previously on the topic, including the ancient evidence. Such a review is not only necessary to set in its context what is original in the present work, and to provide a touchstone against which its conclusions may be judged, but is also interesting in its own right as an illustration of the varying reception (as it is fashionably called) of ancient literature.

Chapter 3 introduces the statistical survey, explaining and justifying the methodology in detail.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the statistical survey.

Chapter 5 describes the attempts made to find systematic differences in the amount of repetition in different parts of plays, any correlation between repetitiveness and dramatic intensity and any variation amongst types of word in their tendency to be repeated in close proximity. The results of these attempts are largely inconclusive.

Chapter 6 is devoted to textual matters, addressing particularly the theory that unfigured and harsh repetitions found in the received texts of plays are due not to their author but to corruption in the tradition. There are a number of cases where one part of a manuscript tradition exhibits a repetition while another part does not; sometimes, therefore, a scribe has indisputably either introduced a repetition into a text or removed one. The chapter catalogues these in selected plays, and discusses them; it also surveys the emendations relevant to repetition that have been proposed in the first half of a selected play.

Chapter 7 looks at psychological and cognitive aspects of repetition, by author and copyist, and relates verbal repetition to some theories of the process of literary creativity.

Chapter 8 examines in detail a play by each of the tragedians and focusses on the repetitions in them, looking at aesthetic aspects and considering whether unfigured repetitions can, in Wills' phrase, be figured out, should be emended away, or may justifiably be regarded as 'careless'.

Chapter 9 summarises the conclusions of the work.

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<sup>10</sup> Dover (1997) 26 also treats suppletive forms as different lexemes.

## CHAPTER 2

## THE OPINIONS OF CRITICS AND OTHERS ABOUT VERBAL REPETITIONS

This chapter reviews and discusses what has been said previously about verbal repetitions. It concentrates on unfigured repetitions in Greek tragedy. To ignore figurative repetitions, or other genres, would however fail to set the present study properly in context, and would preclude any satisfactory conspectus of the ancient evidence.

## SECTION 1. THE OPINIONS OF CRITICS AND OTHERS IN ANTIQUITY

Ancient literary critics discussed the effectiveness, and pleasantness or unpleasantness, of repetitions or partial repetitions of words, and ancient rhetoricians listed figures of speech depending on such repetitions.<sup>1</sup> This section picks out relevant passages, as far as possible in order of date.<sup>2</sup>

A) Aristotle mentions repetitions three times in Book 3 of the *Rhetoric*:

a) In 1410a he quotes two verbal repetitions as examples of a figure he calls παρομοίωσις ('the similarity of the final syllables of each clause'). The first is ἄξιος δὲ σταθῆναι χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄξιος ὦν χαλκοῦ ('worthy of a bronze statue, not being worthy of a bronze coin'), and the second σὺ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ζῶντα ἔλεγες κακῶς, καὶ νῦν γράφεις κακῶς ('when he was living you spoke ill of him and now you write ill of him'); this sentence is also quoted by Demetrius,<sup>3</sup> with ἀποθανόντα before γράφεις, making the point clearer.

b) In 1412b he discusses the witty and rhetorically effective repetition of the same word with a different sense – Ἀθηναίους τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχὴν μὴ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν κακῶν, where the first ἀρχὴν means 'empire' and the second 'beginning'.

c) In 1413b-1414a he seems first to say that repetition (τὸ πολλάκις τὸ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν) is rightly disapproved of (ὀρθῶς ἀποδοκιμάζεται) in the written (γραφικῇ) style but used in the oral (ἀγωνιστικῇ) style; he then goes on to advocate changing the mode of expression (μεταβάλλειν) when repeating, and finally refers to *Iliad* 2.671-3:

<sup>1</sup> Roman rhetorical theory made so much use of its Greek predecessor that it seems right to treat Greek and Latin authors on an equal footing in this section.

<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes *Ranae* 1125-1175 makes Euripides criticise the opening of *Choephoroi* for repetitiveness; but for saying the same thing twice in different words, not for repeating the same word.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrius *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* 26 (where he uses it as an example of ὁμοιοτέλευτον) and 211. The date of this work is very uncertain; Innes in the Loeb edition (from which the translations of Demetrius below are taken), cites scholars arguing for dates from 270 B.C. to the first century A.D. Her view is that it was written in the late second or early first century B.C.

Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν ἄγε τρεῖς νῆας εἴσας,  
 Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης υἱὸς Χαρόποιό τ' ἀνακτος,  
 Νιρεὺς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε . . .

According to Aristotle, Homer makes Nireus famous by repeating his name three times at the beginning of consecutive lines, though he nowhere afterwards speaks of him again.

In *Rhetoric* Aristotle gives the impression of feeling his way on the subject of repetitions, and of not being nearly so interested in such figures as in metaphor and simile. But his examples turn up again and again in later writers. In other works he sometimes uses the word ἀδολεσχία, which in Plutarch's essay *De Garrulitate* means 'talkativeness', of verbal repetition. If the *Tractatus Coislinianus* and *Prolegomenon Comoediae* VI Koster do reflect the lost second book of Aristotle's *Poetics* then Aristotle included among the causes of laughter ἀδολεσχίαν "ὡς ὅταν τις δις τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι χρήσηται."<sup>4</sup> In *Sophistici Elenchi* 165b he defines ἀδολεσχία as τὸ πλεονάκις ταὐτὸ λέγειν, and discusses the subject in 173a; but his examples seem little more than verbal quibbles, as do those in *Topics* 130a and 154a, where he is discussing the incorrectness of definitions in which the same word is used twice (the term ἀδολεσχία does not appear here.)

B) Demetrius *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* refers to repetition in several places: in the preliminary section (1-35) about sentence structure, and in the discussions of each of the four styles (χαρακτῆρες) which Demetrius distinguishes; there are differences of emphasis in what he says, explicable by the differences in context.

a) In 28-29, in the course of his discussion of the use of periods with symmetrical clauses, Demetrius criticises jingling word-play, but says that assonance is sometimes useful and provides χάρις:

ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους *περὶ δικαιοσύνης* ὁ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ὀδυρομένος εἰ μὲν οὕτως εἶποι ὅτι "ποῖαν τοιαύτην πόλιν εἶλον τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἴαν τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν ἀπώλεσαν," ἐμπαθῶς ἂν εἰρηκῶς εἶη καὶ ὀδυρτικῶς· εἰ δὲ παρόμοιον αὐτὸ ποιήσει· "ποῖαν γὰρ πόλιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοιαύτην ἔλαβον, ὁποῖαν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέβαλον," οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία πάθος κινήσει οὐδὲ ἔλεον, ἀλλὰ τὸν καλούμενον κλαυσιγέλωτα. . . . γίνεται μέντοι γε χρήσιμά ποτε, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, "ἐγὼ ἐκ μὲν Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Στάγειρα ἦλθον διὰ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, ἐκ δὲ Σταγειρῶν εἰς Ἀθήνας διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν μέγαν"· εἰ γοῦν ἀφέλοις τὸ ἕτερον "μέγαν" συναφαιρήση καὶ τὴν χάριν.

In Aristotle's dialogue *On Justice* for instance, a speaker weeps for the city of Athens. If he were to say [example] he would have spoken with emotion and grief; but if he creates assonance [example] he will certainly not evoke emotion or pity, but rather the so-called "tears of laughter". . . . Assonance is however sometimes useful, as in the following passage of Aristotle [example.] If you take away the second "μέγαν" you will at the same time take away the charm.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> On the vexed question of the Aristotelian origin of these works see Janko (1984); in any case they deserve mention here.

<sup>5</sup> He uses this last example again in 154, on the elegant style.

b) In 59-66, and later in 103, on the grand (μεγαλοπρεπής) style, Demetrius says that repetition can produce grandeur (μέγεθος and ὄγκος).<sup>6</sup>

c) In 140, on the elegant (γλαφυρός) style, he says that though repetition<sup>7</sup> produces force (δεινότητες) Sappho uses it for charm (χάριτες); he quotes:

παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λιποῦσα οἴχη;  
 οὐκέτι ἤξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκέτι ἤξω.

and:

Ἔσπερε, πάντα φέρεις, φέρεις οἶν, φέρεις αἶγα,  
 φέρεις ματέρι παῖδα.

d) In 211-214, on the plain (ἰσχνός) style, he recommends repetition<sup>8</sup> for vividness:

. . . πολλάκις καὶ ἡ διλογία ἐνάργειαν ποιεῖ μάλλον ἢ τὸ ἅπαξ λέγειν . . .  
 ὅπερ δὲ τῷ Κτησίᾳ ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἀδολεσχοτέρῳ διὰ τὰς διλογίας, πολλαχῆ μὲν ἴσως ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὀρθῶς, πολλαχῆ δὲ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τῆς ἐναργείας τοῦ ἀνδρός· τίθεται γὰρ ταῦτο δις διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ποιεῖν ἔμφασιν πλείονα. οἷα τὰ τοιάδε . . . “ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ ἐσώθης· ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπωλόμην.” . . . εἰ ἀφέλοις θάτερον [σὲ ἔσωσα and δι’ ἐμὲ ἐσώθης] συναφαιρήσεις καὶ τὴν ἐνάργειαν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας πάθος.

. . . repetition is often more vivid than a single mention . . . This is relevant to the charge of garrulousness regularly brought against Ctesias on account of his repetitions. In many passages it is perhaps a valid charge, but in many others it is a failure to appreciate the author’s vividness. The same word is often put twice to increase the impact, as in this passage [example] if you take away either, you will also take away the vividness and the emotional impact of the vividness.

e) In 267-268, on the forceful (δεινός) style, Demetrius deals with figures of repetition<sup>9</sup> which provide force (δεινότης), citing Aeschines *Ctesiphon* 133 and (the second example) 202:

ἐκ τε τῆς ἀναδιπλώσεως, ὡς “Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται” (διλογηθὲν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα δεινότητα ποιεῖ)· καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς καλουμένης, ὡς τὸ “ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοῦς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς”.

Take repetition, as in [example]. The repetition of the name gives force. Or take the figure called anaphora [example].

Demetrius, therefore, seems sensitive to nearby and patterned repetitions and to discordant jingles, but insensitive (or not sufficiently sensitive to mention them) to the somewhat more distant and haphazard or subtle repetitions that have worried modern critics and are the prime subject of this study.

<sup>6</sup> The terms he uses in 59-66 are ἀναφορά, for which he cites the Nireus example, and ἀναδίπλωσις, a term which he does not confine to immediate repetition. In 103 his term is διλογία.

<sup>7</sup> His terms here are ἀναδίπλωσις for the first example and ἀναφορά for the second.

<sup>8</sup> Which he here calls διλογία, a word used in scholia for ‘tautology’ rather than verbal repetition.

<sup>9</sup> In the second example he calls the threefold ἐπί ‘ἀναφορά’ and the threefold καλεῖς ‘ὁμοιοτέλευτον’.

C) Philodemus *De Poematis* I-II has references to repetition in poetry,<sup>10</sup> which show literary critics like Pausimachus, Crates of Mallos and himself struggling with questions of the aesthetic qualities of sounds (especially sigma and lambda) and of accents and whether the repetition of these sounds or of words containing them enhances their aesthetic qualities. The concepts of rhetorical theory relating to figures are not used in this discussion.

Six examples of repetition are referred to in the extant parts of Philodemus' text. Three are from Homer – the Nireus one cited in A above:

οὐδ' ἄρα Λωτοφάγοι μήδονθ' ἑτάροισιν ὄλεθρον  
ἡμετέροις, ἀλλὰ σφι δόσαν λωτοῖο πάσασθαι.  
τῶν δ' ὅς τις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν

(*Odyssey* 9.91 ff.)

and:

καί ῥ' ἑτέρῳ μὲν δουρὶ σάκος βάλεν, οὐδὲ διαπρὸ  
ῥῆξε σάκος·

(*Iliad* 21.164-5)

Two are from tragedy:

βαρὺς βαρὺς σύνοικος, ᾧ ξένοι, βαρὺς

(Sophocles fr. 686 Nauck<sup>2</sup> = fr. 753 Radt)

and:

γενναιότης σοι καὶ τρόπων τεκμήριον  
τὸ σχῆμα ἔχεις τόδ', ἥτις εἶ ποτ', ᾧ γύναι·  
γνοίη δ' ἂν ὡς τὰ πολλ' ἂν ἀνθρώπου πέρι  
τὸ σχῆμα ἰδὼν τις εἶ πέφυκεν εὐγενής.

(*Ion* 237-40)<sup>11</sup>

The third is from Timotheus, and is restored as “σεμνον δ' ὁ πλάτανος σ[εμ]νόν”.

Of these, only the Sophoclean one is a figure as normally recognised, and indeed the repetitions might seem careless to some modern critics. Pausimachus however notices them and judges them largely by their sound. He likes the repetition of λωτο- with its λ, but not those of σάκος, especially close to ῥῆξε, “τοῦ ξεῖ προσενοχ[λή]σαντος τ[ῆν] ἀκοήν, [προσ]φέρου τὸ σίγμα” (contributing the sigma, since the xi troubles the ear also). As for σχῆμα in *Ion* Pausimachus is scathing; its repetition is not supportable ([οὐκέτ]' ἀνάσχε[το]ν), since it has a bad mixture of sounds and a circumflex accent on the first syllable (κακῶς μειχθ[έν]τα τοῖς ἤχοις εἰς τ[ῆν] πρ[ώ]την περισπᾶτ[αι]).<sup>12</sup> The repetition of σεμνον by Timotheus is excused on the grounds that the change of accent from grave to acute makes the words different (ἐφθεγγόμεθ' [ἄρ' οὐ]κέτι

<sup>10</sup> Discussed in Janko (forthcoming). The relevant columns of Philodemus Book I, in which he quotes Pausimachus, are 85-86 and 88-89. Philodemus' rebuttal, which helps with the interpretation of the fragmentary text of Book I, is in Book II (the Treatise A of Sbordone [1976]).

<sup>11</sup> This is how the text appears in Philodemus; with *scriptio plena* of the word, σχῆμα, that is discussed, and with a repetition of ἄν, for the second of which the mediaeval manuscript has γε.

<sup>12</sup> It is interesting that modern editors do not seem worried by this repetition; indeed Sybel (1868), on whom see below, specifically cites it (p.15) as acceptable, being intended to emphasise the comparison.



ταυτό, ἀλλά τ[ινα] πιῶσιν). Finally, Pausimachus argues that rearranging the Sophocles fragment to read βαρὺς σύνοικος, ὦ ξένοι, βαρὺς βαρὺς would make it sound worse.

D) The Rhetor ad Herennium,<sup>13</sup> in his discussion of *compositio* (Artistic Composition) in IV.12.18 recommends the avoidance of *eiusdem verbi adsiduitatem nimiam* (excessive repetition of the same word), exemplifying this by ‘nam cuius rationis ratio non exstet ei / rationi ratio non est fidem habere’. In IV.13.19 he distinguishes the figures of *repetitio* and *conversio*, according to whether the word repeated is at the beginning or end of its phrase (combination of the two he calls *complexio*). Similar classifications of figural repetitions are common in ancient rhetoricians,<sup>14</sup> and do not merit comment in a study that concentrates on unfigured repetitions. But the discussion of *tradio* in IV.14.20 is much more significant:

tradio est quae facit uti, cum idem verbum crebrius ponatur, non modo non offendat animum, sed etiam concinnioem orationem reddat, hoc pacto: “qui nihil habet in vita iucundius vita, is cum virtute vitam non potest colere.” item: “eum hominem appellas, qui si fuisset homo, numquam tam crudeliter hominis vitam petisset. at erat inimicus. ergo inimicum sic ulcisci voluit, ut ipse sibi reperiretur inimicus?” item: “divitias sine divitis esse. tu vero virtutem praefer divitiis; nam si voles divitias cum virtute comparare, vix satis idoneae tibi videbuntur divitiae quae virtutis pedisequae sint.”

ex eodem genere est exornationis cum idem verbum ponitur modo in hac, modo in altera re, hoc modo: “cur eam rem tam studiose curas, quae tibi multas dabit curas?” item: “nam amari iucundum sit, si curetur ne quid sit amari.” item: “veniam ad vos, si mihi senatus det veniam.”

*tradio* makes it possible for the same word to be frequently reintroduced, not only without offence to good taste, but even so as to render the style more elegant, [examples] . . . To the same type of figure belongs that which occurs when the same word is used first in one function, and then in another [examples].

(translation based on Caplan’s Loeb)

In the view of this author,<sup>15</sup> therefore, verbal repetition can ‘offendere animum’, but does not if it is part of the figure *tradio*.<sup>16</sup> Moreover the same name is given to punning repetition;<sup>17</sup> elsewhere (IV.21.29) the Rhetor ad Herennium calls this punning repetition *adnominatio*, those he quotes are pure puns (two quite different words, a flexional form of one being spelt the same as a flexional form of another), not the more subtle use of the same word in different senses (e.g. one literal, one metaphorical, as in Hermogenes below.)

<sup>13</sup> Probably to be dated early in the first century B.C.

<sup>14</sup> One sympathises with Frédéric (1985) who collects the ancient, mediaeval and early modern terminologies, and finds many discrepancies and confusions in them.

<sup>15</sup> The Greek parallel cited by editors, Alexander Numenii *De Figuris* p.37 Spengel, has a figure called ἀντιμετάθεσις, σύγκρισις or πλοκή, but says merely “ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσι χρώμενοι πλεονάκις ἕτερα σημαίνομεν”, with nothing about offending the ear.

<sup>16</sup> This is relevant to the view of many recent critics, discussed below, that the ‘Greek ear’ was insensitive to repetitions.

<sup>17</sup> Quintilian IX.3.69-70 also quotes the pun on *amari*, but as something to be avoided.

E) Dionysius of Halicarnassus says little of great relevance.<sup>18</sup> As far as the *De Compositione Verborum* goes, this is readily understandable, because, as he explains at the beginning, his subject is the arrangement (σύνθεσις) of words; he promises a further treatise on their choice (ἐκλογή), but that was either not written or did not survive. In Chapter 12 he insists on the importance of variation:

. . . μήτ' ὀλιγοσύλλαβα πολλὰ ἐξῆς λαμβάνοντα (κόπτεται γὰρ ἡ ἀκρόασις). . . μήτε πολυσύλλαβα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν, μηδὲ δὴ ὁμοίονα παρ' ὁμοιοτόνοις μηδ' ὁμοιόχρονα παρ' ὁμοιοχρονοῖς. χρή δὲ καὶ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνοματικῶν ταχὺ μεταλαμβάνειν . . . μηδὲ δὴ ἄρχεσθαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μηδὲ λήγειν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπερτείνοντας τὸν ἑκατέρου καιρόν.

. . . avoiding both the successive use of many short-syllabled words (for this jars upon the ear), and an excessive number of polysyllabic words, and also the monotony caused by the juxtaposition of words carrying the same accent or having the same time-length. Again, we must vary at frequent intervals the cases of substantives . . . and we must not begin or end with the same words to a degree that exceeds the bounds of good taste in each case.

But he passes over the point quickly, and gives no illustrative examples. Nor does he expand on the subject in any of his other critical essays.

F) Cicero says in *De Oratore* (3 206):

Nam et geminatio verborum habet interdum vim, leporem alias, . . . et eiusdem verbi crebra tum a primo repetitio, tum in extremum conversio, . . . et eiusdem verbi crebrius positi quaedam distinctio et revocatio verbi.

For there is sometimes force and in other cases charm in the iteration of words . . . in sometimes repeating a word several times at the beginning of clauses and sometimes repeating a word several times at their end . . . and assigning a different meaning to the same word used several times, and repetition of a word.

and in *Orator* (xxxix 135):

Eadem ratio est horum quae sunt orationis lumina et quodam modo insignia, cum aut duplicantur iteranturque verba aut leviter (MSS breviter) commutata ponuntur, aut ab eodem verbo ducitur saepius oratio aut in idem conicitur aut utrumque, aut adiungitur idem iteratum aut idem ad extremum refertur, aut continenter unum verbum non in eadem sententia ponitur . . .

It is the same way with the embellishments and, as it were, the ornaments of style; words are redoubled and repeated, or repeated with a slight change, or several successive phrases begin with the same words or end with the same, or have both figures, or the same word is repeated at the beginning of a clause or at the end, or a word is used immediately in a different sense . . .

Cicero thus appears to treat repetition only as a figure of speech (or rather as a number of different figures of speech), never as a blemish or a neutral feature of style.

G) The treatise *περὶ ὕψους*, probably of the 1st century A.D., contains little about repetition in the form in which it has come down to us, but that may be because there is a lacuna of some three pages in the discussion of figures. Chapter 20 praises the combination of asyndeton and anaphora in Demosthenes *In Midiam* 72, and according to

<sup>18</sup> Late 1st century B.C. The text and translation are those of Usher (Loeb).

chapter 23 τὰ πολύπτωτα are πάντα ἀγωνιστικά and κόσμου τε καὶ παντὸς ἕψους καὶ πάθους συνεργά (extremely effective and contribute both to ornament and to sublimity and emotion of every kind); but no examples are given.<sup>19</sup>

H) Quintilian<sup>20</sup> has in *Institutio Oratoria* IX.3.28-37 a lengthy discussion of figures of repetition (which he calls generically *adiectio*); distinguishing them according to the location in their respective clauses of the repeated words; he ascribes to these figures charm (*gratia*) and force (*vires*). There is nothing special here; but the work contains also two passages of particular relevance:

#### VIII.3.51

ταυτολογία . . . est eiusdem verbi aut sermonis iteratio. Haec enim, quanquam non magnopere a summis auctoribus vitata, interim vitium videri potest, in quod saepe incidit etiam Cicero securus tam parvae observationis, sicut hoc loco: "non solum igitur illud iudicium iudicii simile, iudices, non fuit". interim mutato nomine ἐπανάληψις dicitur, atque est et ipsum inter schemata, quorum exempla illo loco quaerenda, quo virtutes erunt.

Tautology . . . means the repetition of a word or phrase. The latter, though not avoided with special care even by the best authors, may sometimes be regarded as a fault: it is, in fact, a blemish into which Cicero not infrequently falls through indifference to such minor details: take, for example, the following passage [example]. It is sometimes given another name, ἐπανάληψις, under which it is ranked among figures, of which I shall give examples when I come to the discussion of stylistic virtues.

#### X.1.7

Et quae idem significarent solitos scio ediscere, quo facilius et occurreret unum ex pluribus, et, cum essent usi aliquo, si breve intra spatium rursus desideraretur, effugiendae repetitionis gratia sumerent aliud quod idem intelligi posset. Quod cum est puerile et cuiusdam infelicis operae, tum etiam utile parum; turbam tantum modo congregat, ex qua sine discrimine occupet proximum quodque.

I know that some speakers make a practice of learning lists of synonyms by heart, in order that one word out of the several available may at once present itself to them, and that if, after using one word, they find that it is wanted again after a brief interval, they may be able to select another word with the same meaning and so avoid the necessity of repetition. But this practice is childish and involves thankless labour, while it is really of very little use, as it merely results in the assembly of a disorderly crowd of words, for the speaker to snatch the first that comes to hand.

The first passage is evidence of the recognition by Quintilian that repetition could be a blemish, as well as a laudable figure of speech. The second demonstrates that the idea of deliberately avoiding repetition by using synonyms was not totally foreign to antiquity, even though its leading teacher of rhetoric did not think doing so worth the effort. This view of over-attention to words is consistent with Quintilian's depreciation of such meticulousness in his preface to Book VIII.

<sup>19</sup> Text in Russell (1964); translation from Russell (1965).

<sup>20</sup> Born around A.D. 35 and died probably in the 90s. The text and translation are those of Butler (Loeb).

The content of X. 1.7 has not been thought worthy of special notice by the commentators on Quintilian. Peterson (1891) notes that *infelicitis operae* is used of trouble which one gives oneself unnecessarily, with the further idea of unproductiveness, and that the subject of *congregat* is indefinite, and must be supplied from the context – ‘the man who learns by rote’. Cousin paraphrases it without comment,<sup>21</sup> though his book purports to be a “contribution à la recherche des sources de l’institution oratoire”. Burman (1720) has only one non-textual note on the paragraph, on *quae idem significarent*:

Prima ratio copiae verborum fit ex synonymia; non tamen ut temere synonymis utaris (id enim vituperat Fabius [i.e. Quintilian]) sed ut adhibeas delectum & iudicium. TURNEB.

I) In his treatise *περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου* Hermogenes outlines seven basic types of style, and mentions figures of repetition in his discussion of several of them.<sup>22</sup>

a)

καὶ μὴν καὶ αἱ ἐπαναλήψεις μάλα χρήσιμοι πρὸς εὐκρίνειαν καὶ σαφήνειαν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τι προθῆς σχῆμα τῶν ἐφελκομένων ἕτερον νόημα, εἴτ’ ἀναγκασθῆς ἐπεμβαλεῖν ἄλλα τινὰ νοήματα πρὶν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀκόλουθον, ἀνάγκη ἐπαναλαβεῖν καὶ διευκρινῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ σοι ἀσαφῆς καὶ συγκεχυμένος γένηται ὁ λόγος

(Rabe, p. 239)

Repetitions also are especially useful when the orator wants to create Distinctness and Clarity. When you introduce a thought in such a way that another thought will logically follow, but then are forced to deal with other matters before coming to the thought that has already been promised, you must repeat what you have said earlier, so that your organisation will not seem to be confused and unclear.<sup>23</sup>

b)

αἴτε οὖν περισώσεις καλλωπίζουσιν, ὅπερ ἐλέγομεν, καὶ αἱ κατὰ κῶλον ἐπαναφοραί, οἷον ‘μέχρι τούτου Λασθείης φίλος ὠνομάζετο Φιλίππου, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ὀλυθον, μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας’· ἐπαναφέρει γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῦτο μέρος τοῦ λόγου. διαφέρει δὲ περισώσεως τῆς κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο, ἢ ἐκεῖ μὲν συλλαβὴ ἐστὶν ἢ αὐτὴ ἐπ’ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν κῶλων, εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους, ἀλλ’ οὐ λόγου τι μέρος ὀλόκληρον, ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ ὅλη τις λέξις· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἂν ἢ ἐπαναφορά, καὶ παρίσωσις ἐστὶν ἢ κατ’ ἀρχὰς, ὁ δ’ ἂν παρίσωσις ἢ κατ’ ἀρχὰς, οὐκετι καὶ ἐπαναφορά. . . . αἱ μέντοι ἐπαναφοραὶ εἰ κατὰ κόμμα γίνονται, γοργὸν ποιούσι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ’ οὐ καλόν, οἷον ‘προσιῶν μὲν τῇ βουλῇ, προσιῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ’· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἡ ταχεῖα τοῦ μερισμοῦ ἀπόδοσις τὸ γοργὸν ἐποίησεν. ἔτι κάλλους ποιητικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτο σχῆμα, ἢ ἀντιστροφή. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ἐναντίον πῶς τῇ ἐπαναφορᾷ κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν κωλῶν τὴν αὐτὴν λέξιν.

(Rabe, pp. 302-3)

Thus parallelism creates Beauty, as I have said. A specific kind of parallelism is one consisting of repetitions at the beginning of a clause: [Example]. He repeats the same phrase at the beginning of each sentence. This figure differs from

<sup>21</sup> Cousin (1935) 542.

<sup>22</sup> Late 2nd century A.D. The text used is the Teubner of Rabe, on the TLG, and the translation that of Wooten (1987); in his preface Wooten explains that to make a usable translation he has “taken the liberty of reordering [Hermogenes’] sentences and even, on occasion, of paraphrasing the text.”

<sup>23</sup> By ἐπαναλήψεις here, however, Hermogenes obviously means repetition of an idea, not necessarily of a word or words.

assonance in that it is not a single syllable that is repeated or perhaps two, but a whole phrase or a whole word. I suppose that epanaphora is also an instance of assonance, since a whole phrase or word is repeated, which involves the repetition of syllables, but assonance is not epanaphora, since it does not involve the repetition of words. . . Finally, repetitions used in short phrases make the passage rapid, but not beautiful [Example]. Here too the fact that the corresponding member of the division is given quickly creates Rapidity. Another figure that produces Beauty is antistrophe, which is the opposite of epanaphora because the clauses use the same word at the end rather than at the beginning.

c)

ἔτι κάλλους ἴδιον καὶ τὸ πολύπτωτον καλούμενον σχῆμα, εἰ κατὰ κῶλον ἐκφέροιο . . . κατὰ μέντοι κόμμα εἰ γένοιτο, πλεον ἔχει τὸ γοργόν

(Rabe, p. 306)

The figure that is called polyptoton is also characteristic of beauty, if used in different clauses . . . if, however, polyptoton is used in phrases, it creates Rapidity

d)

ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος δριμύτητος τὸ ἐκ παρονομασίας, οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοιότητος, ὅταν κυρίῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι ἢ ῥήματι χρησάμενοι εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἐπόμενοι τούτῳ χρῆσώμεθα καὶ ἐφ' οὗ μὴ κύριόν ἐστι πρᾶγματος

(Rabe, p. 342)

There is another kind of Subtlety that consists in the use of a word first in its proper sense and then in a figurative way rather than by using words that sound alike. This happens when you use a noun or a verb in its usual sense and then use it in an unusual way . . .

Hermogenes' analysis of the effects of figural repetitions provides a good insight into how such repetitions were perceived in antiquity. The last of the passages quoted above is further evidence that repetitions of the same word with different senses were noticed and thought to be of rhetorical value. But there is nothing Hermogenes says relevant to unfigured repetitions, which are the prime concern of this study.

J) In his *περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου* Hermogenes foreshadowed a treatise *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*; the extant book with that title is generally agreed to be spurious, but merits mention here. The author categorises some types of repetition. He uses the term *ἐπανάληψις* which he says has three purposes – *πρᾶγματος διδασκαλία* (instruction), *προσώπου σύστασις* or *διαβολή* (support or slander of a person) and *ἥθους βεβαίωσις* (strengthening of a character). He quotes examples of each from Homer and from prose writers. There is a separate discussion in 4 (Rabe pp. 416-7) of the circumstances appropriate for repeating a terminology or varying it – *Πότε ταυτότητι ὀνομάτων χρῆσώμεθα καὶ πότε ποικιλία*. When one term is the clearest it should be used repeatedly – here Homer is quoted:

ὡς δὲ χιῶν κατατήκετ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσιν,  
ἦν τ' Εὐρος κατέτηξεν, ἐπὶ Ζέφυρος καταχεύη,  
τηκομένης δ' ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες·  
ὡς τῆς τήκετο καλὰ παρήια δακρυχεούσης. (*Odyssey* 19. 205-8)<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> It is odd that he omits 204, τῆς δ' ἄρ' ἀκούσης ῥέε δάκρυα, τήκετο δὲ χρῶς. The wording and punctuation of Homer printed in these citations are those found in the TLG text of pseudo-Hermogenes.

Synonyms, according to pseudo-Hermogenes, would not be so appropriate in that passage; but Homer properly uses the synonyms ὄξύ, δριμύ, πικρόν in:

ὥς δ' ὅταν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχη βέλος ὄξυ γυναῖκα,  
δριμύ, τό τε προΐεισι μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθιαι,  
Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι· (*Iliad* 11. 269-272)

Pseudo-Hermogenes gives examples of the use of synonyms in a prose author (Thucydides).<sup>25</sup> It appears therefore, at the least, that pseudo-Hermogenes, or his source, had been thinking about the appropriateness of verbal repetition.

K) The rhetorical text known as Anonymous Seguerianus claims one of the virtues of narration (τῆς διηγήσεως τὰς ἀρετάς) to be brevity (συντομίαν); and that you gain brevity if you avoid repetitions (ἐὰν τὰς ἀναδιπλώσεις παραιτοῖο); his example shows that he has figural repetition in mind.<sup>26</sup>

The passages above concentrate on repetition as a feature of a number of figures of speech, used in oratory or poetry with a definite purpose – pleasing and/or convincing the hearer. Only Philodemus, the Rhetor ad Herennium on *tradiuctio*, Quintilian and Pseudo-Hermogenes say anything of direct relevance to the unfigured repetitions that are the subject of the present study. They seem to be exploring the effect of repetitions in close proximity which are not part of recognised figures. The Rhetor, Pausimachus as reported by Philodemus, and Quintilian judge the merits of such repetitions by aesthetic criteria, pseudo-Hermogenes by the demands of clarity. There is no hint that the less meritorious repetitions are careless or unintentional; the issue is one of literary judgement, good or bad. Quintilian in X.1.7 indeed sees avoiding repetitions of the natural word as an undesirably artificial proceeding.

There is, also, a little evidence that ancient textual critics paid some attention to unfigured repetitions:

A) Servius *ad loc.* attributes *lumina* at Vergil *Georgics* 1.6 to an authorial revision:

*numina* fuit, sed emendavit ipse, quia postea ait *et vos . . . numina* (1.10)

B) The occurrence of ἀμβρόσιος four times in the following nine lines of *Iliad* 14 was too much for Zenodotus and Aristophanes, who without great imagination read καὶ μεγάλους for ἀμβροσίους in 177:<sup>27</sup>

ἀμβροσίη μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροῶς ἡμερόεντος  
λύματα πάντα κάθηρεν, ἀλείψατο δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ

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<sup>25</sup> It is noteworthy that Dover (1997) finds a remarkable fall in repetition in Thucydides compared with his predecessors – see Chapter 4 Appendix I below.

<sup>26</sup> Probably late second century or early third century A.D. This and the citation are from Dilts & Kennedy (1997).

<sup>27</sup> The authority for this is the *scholia vetera* (Erbse [1974] Vol 3, 600) viz. Αἰμ Ζηνόδοτος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης "καλοῦς καὶ μεγάλους" and Τιμ τινὲς "καλοῦς καὶ μεγάλους", ἵνα μὴ λυπηῖ τὸ ἀμβρόσιον συνεχῆς ὄν.

ἀμβροσίῳ ἐδανῶ, τό ρά οἱ τεθυμένον ἦεν·  
 τοῦ καὶ κινυμένοιο Διὸς κατὰ χαλκοβατῆς δῶ  
 ἔμπης ἐς γαίαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἵκετ' αὐτμή.  
 τῷ ρ' ἢ γε χροῖα καλὸν ἀλειψαμένη ἰδὲ χαίτας  
 πεξαμένη χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἔπλεξε φαεινοὺς  
 καλοὺς ἀμβροσίους ἐκ κράατος ἀθανάτοιο.  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον ἕανὸν ἔσαθ' . . .

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C) Diogenes Laertius (3.65.1) writes thus about the texts of Plato current in his day (the relevant words are underlined):

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σημεία τινα τοῖς βιβλίῳ αὐτοῦ παρατίθενται, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων τι εἴπωμεν. Χί λαμβάνεται πρὸς τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ ὅλως τὴν Πλατωνικὴν συνήθειαν· διπλῆ πρὸς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα Πλάτωνι· χί περιστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐκλογὰς καὶ καλλιγραφίας· διπλῆ περιστιγμένη πρὸς τὰς ἐνίων διορθώσεις· ὀβελὸς περιστιγμένος πρὸς τὰς εἰκαίους ἀθετήσεις· ἀντίσιγμα περιστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς διττὰς χρήσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν γραφῶν· κεραύνιον πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ἀστερίσκος πρὸς τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων· ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν. τὰ μὲν σημεία ταῦτα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα· ἅπερ (Ἀντίγονός φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζήνωνος) νεωστὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἴ τις ἤθελε διαναγνῶναι, μισθὸν ἐτέλει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

And since certain critical marks are affixed to his works let us now say a few words about these. . . . The dotted antisigma denotes repetitions and proposals for transpositions. . .<sup>28</sup>

This use of the dotted antisigma is supported by *Anecdota Romana* as cited by Gardthausen (1911):

τὸ δὲ ἀντίσιγμα περιστιγμένον παρατίθεται ὅταν ταυτολογῆ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν δεῦτερον λέγῃ.

The use of the term *διάνοιαν*, however, implies that the repetitions in question were repetitions of the sense (what we might call tautologies) rather than the verbal repetitions that are the subject of this study; and that implication is supported by references to antisigma in the Homeric scholia.<sup>29</sup>

D) A scholium in a manuscript of *Septem* shows awareness of verbal repetition. It is discussed in Chapter 6, Section 2(i). *Septem* 275-278a reads:

μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν	275
ταυροκτονούντας θεοῖσιν ὧδ' ἐπέυχομαι	
θήσειν τροπαῖα πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήμασι	
λάφυρα δαίμων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις	278
στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.	278a

The last word of 277 is ἐσθήματα in almost all manuscripts; 278a is not in several manuscripts, and some have merely the first three words. An ancient editor recognised

<sup>28</sup> Text and translation of the most relevant passage by Hicks (Loeb). I owe this reference to Small 1997.

<sup>29</sup> A scholium with a distant relevance is quoted in McNamee (1998) 287 "*Scholia in Iliadem* 9.443c (*scholia vetera*) ex. μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων· σημείωσαι ὅτι τὸ ὁμοιοτέλευτον ἔφυγε μεταβαλὼν τὴν φράσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπε ' μύθων τε ῥητῆρα καὶ ἐργων πρηκτῆρα '." The author of this scholium envisaged Homer avoiding a jingle.

there to be an unresolved question whether Aeschylus himself repeated πολεμίωι ἐσθήματα/σι, and proposes an emendation which would remove half of the repetition: the scholion reads

ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων μετὰ τὸν στίχον τοῦτον κείται τὸ  
 στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίωι ἐσθήματα,  
 καὶ οὐ δήπου κατὰ λήθην ὁ τοιοῦτος στίχος εἰκῆ  
 παρεγγέγραπται. ἢ δὲ τελευταία λέξις τοῦ πρὸ τούτου στίχου  
 “ἐσθήμασι” ἔχει· εἰ γοῦν τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει, συμβιβάζοι ἂν τις  
 ταῦτα, ἀντὶ τοῦ “ἐσθήμασι” “πτώμασι” μεταγράψας, καὶ ἔχει τὸ  
 ὅλον καλῶς, λέγοντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους ὅτι· πεσόντων τῶν  
 πολεμίωι ἀναθήσω πρὸ τῶν ναῶν τὰς τῶν πολεμίωι στολάς.

In some copies after this line [278] there is found

στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίωι ἐσθήματα,  
 and indeed this line has not been inserted carelessly at random. The final word of the previous line has “ἐσθήμασι”. This being so, one might accept those words, substituting “πτώμασι” for “ἐσθήμασι”. The whole passage is satisfactory, since Eteocles says “when the enemy have fallen I shall dedicate the clothes of the enemy in front of the temples.”



## SECTION 2. THE OPINIONS OF MODERN CRITICS AND OTHERS.

## SECTION 2(i) FIGURAL REPETITIONS.

Those verbal repetitions that form recognised figures of speech have been the subject of several scholarly studies. They are not examined exhaustively here, but those by Fehling (1969) and Wills (1996) require comment.

Fehling defines 'Wiederholung' widely, including antitheses when totally different words are used (e.g. πεζονόμον τ' ἔκ τε θαλάσσης *Persae* 76). He concentrates on literature before Gorgias (and very much on Aeschylus among the tragedians), and lists *Wiederholungsfiguren* under a large number of categories. He thus demonstrates that these figures were not introduced into Greek literature by Gorgias, but does not seem to attempt to compare archaic with later literature. He does not indeed use any statistical analysis, and rarely comments on the text, even where a repetition is relevant to a dispute over a reading; nor does he appear to note when a word being repeated in a figure also occurs once or more in close proximity. Fehling claims that 'Geminatio' in the choral lyric of Aeschylus has more to do with the 'musikalischen Kunstcharakter' of these songs than with 'gewöhnlichen Formen sprachlich-stilistischer Aufdrucksverstärkung' (normal forms of expression of linguistic style.)

The study of Wills (1996), though it relates to Latin poetry rather than Greek tragedy, must be noted here, because it is so comprehensive, and fully up-to-date. Unlike Fehling, Wills discusses only repetitions of the same word, as this study does. He seeks to provide systematic collections of evidence on various figures of word-repetition, and then to apply this body of evidence, concentrating on those patterns which have clear stylistic associations, and particularly those passages whose formal structure makes reference to other specific passages. His thesis is that one of the main functions of these figures in Latin poetry is to allude to earlier Latin poetry, or to Greek poetry from Homer onwards. He says:

By sharing a mark with a precedent, an instance of a figure shows it is in a tradition of marked language rather than just an idiosyncratic solecism. . . . in verse, the imitation of poets by poets is our best evidence for the tradition of poetic figures.<sup>30</sup>

A recent paper by Slings entitled *Figures of Speech and their Lookalikes* argues that most instances of anaphora (and of at least antithesis and chiasmus as well among phenomena that are commonly called 'figures of speech') are not aesthetic embellishments at all, but come from oral discourse, in which they are 'chunking devices' used to ensure that the information packaged in a clause or sentence does not become so dense as to obstruct its successful processing by a listener.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Wills (1996) 2.

<sup>31</sup> Slings (1997). His study does not look at poetry later than Aristophanes. He says that these chunking devices have no function in written discourse, where readers are able to process the text they read at the speed they determine themselves. He does not therefore necessarily conflict with the theory of Wills, which regards anaphora as very much an aesthetic embellishment.

## SECTION 2(ii) UNFIGURED REPETITIONS

Modern discussions of unfigured repetitions, on the other hand, are central to this study. They are frequent, ranging from notes in commentaries to articles in periodicals. This section seeks to provide an overview of what has been written about unfigured (alias ‘careless’ or ‘unconscious’ or ‘unintentional’) repetitions in Greek tragedy, noting also as appropriate some of the things that have been written about such repetitions in other genres.

Modern discussions of unfigured repetitions fall very broadly into four groups, according to their approach to the phenomenon; the fashionability of these approaches varies over time. The groups may be called *excoriatory*, *exoneratory*, *exculpatory* and *explanatory*. Non-judgemental discussions are few; the quantitative and comparative approach adopted in Chapters 3 to 6 of this study and by Dover (1997) in relation to Greek prose (on which see Chapter 4 Appendix I below) is rarely if ever to be found.<sup>32</sup> There is however an enigmatic statement in Schmid-Stählin’s discussion of Euripides “Die Zahl dieser Wiederholungen wächst in den spätesten Stücken (*Hel.*, *IT.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *IA* – nicht in *Bacch.*) bis zum 50.”<sup>33</sup> I have not been able to find the source for this, nor the unit of measurement.

## A. EXCORIATION.

The excoriatory approach is the first in logic, in that if nothing were felt to be wrong in unfigured repetition there would be no cause to defend or explain it. Critics who adopt the excoriatory approach regard unfigured repetition as a flaw, and are not afraid to criticise ancient authors for it.<sup>34</sup> Just because someone lived a very long time ago and is very famous his bad writing should not be passed over, any more than should, for instance, Aristotle’s attitudes to slaves and women. Cook wrote as follows in his article *Unconscious Iterations*:<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Schinkel (1973) uses the term ‘Funktionslose’ for unfigured repetitions in his study of repetition in Aeschylus; a study which is exhaustive but includes no statistical analysis or comparisons with other authors. He finds function in almost all the repetitions he studies, and is very reluctant to emend even the ‘Funktionslose’ ones away.

<sup>33</sup> Schmid-Stählin (1934) 795 note 1. On p. 489 they say of Sophocles “gegen Wiederholung derselben Worte oder Wortstämme oder Ausdrücke in Kurzen Abstand ist Sophokles ebensowenig empfindlich wie Aischylos; nur in wenigen Fällen ist das wiederholte Wort stärker betont.”

<sup>34</sup> A balanced, traditional, appraisal of repetition in English is to be found in Fowler’s magisterial *Modern English Usage* (Fowler [1926/1950] 495): “The first thing to be said is that a dozen sentences are spoiled by ill-advised avoidance of repetition for every one that is spoiled by ill-advised repetition. Faulty repetition results from want of care; faulty avoidance results from incapacity to tell good from bad, or servile submission to a rule of thumb – far graver defects than carelessness. . . The fact remains, however, that repetition of certain kinds is bad; and, though the bad repetitions are almost always unintentional, and due to nothing worse than carelessness, and such as their authors would not for a moment defend, yet it is well that writers should realise how common this particular form of carelessness is: the moral . . . is the extremely simple one – read what you have written before printing it.”

<sup>35</sup> Cook (1902) 146-158 and 256-267; see also later in this chapter and in Chapter 7.

In Soph. *OT* 399ff. Oedipus says to Teiresias –

ὄν δὴ σὺ πειρᾶς ἐκβαλεῖν, δοκῶν θρόνοις  
 παραστατήσιν τοῖς Κρεοντείοις πέλας.  
 λάων δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ χῶ συνθεῖς τάδε  
 ἀγηλατήσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾿δόκεις γέρων  
 εἶναι, παθῶν ἔγνωσ ἂν οἶά περ φρονεῖς.  
 Χο. ἡμῖν μὲν εἰκάζουσι καὶ τὰ τοῦδ' ἔπη  
 ὀργῇ λελέχθαι καὶ τὰ σ', Οἰδίπου, δοκεῖ.

Let us be honest: this sort of thing, even in Sophocles, is bad writing. Again, Euripides does his best to spoil the beginning of Talthybius' famous description of the death of Polyxena by an equally undesirable iteration of the word χεῖρ: *Hec.* 523ff. –

λαβῶν δ' Ἀχιλλέως παῖς Πολυξένην χερὸς  
 ἔστησ' ἐπ' ἄκρου χώματος, πέλας δ' ἐγώ·  
 λεκτοί τ' Ἀχαιῶν ἔκκριτοι νεανίαι,  
 σκίρτημα μόσχου σῆς καθέξοντες χεροῖν,  
 ἔσποντο. πλήρες δ' ἐν χεροῖν λαβῶν δέπας  
 πάγχρυσον αἶρει χειρὶ παῖς Ἀχιλλέως

Cook's whole thesis is that unfigured repetitions are 'unconscious', and this very judgemental passage is not typical of his article, but underlying it is an assumption that unfigured repetition is unaesthetic; and indeed Cook rarely if ever gives a repetition the benefit of the doubt – if he cannot immediately see a rhetorical point, then the repetition was unconscious.

Here are some other examples of this approach in criticism of the tragic poets:

Housman (1888) 321 on the repetition ἐκσωζοῖατο / ὑπεκσώζοιεν in *Persae* 451-3: "suspicion is aroused . . . not by the mere repetition, for the Greeks are less careful than the Romans and the moderns to avoid this fault. . . ."

Platnauer (1938) on *IT* 139: "Euripides' constant repetition of words may give offence but should not invite emendation."

Rose (1957) on ἐπαίτιος in *Eumenides* 465: "Since the word recurs two lines further on in a different sense, this is careless even for Aes. and there is a good deal to be said for Weil's conjecture μεταίτιος."

Outside tragedy:

Lilja accuses Charon of Lampsacus of repeating through inability to construct his sentences properly.<sup>36</sup>

Campbell (1982) 307 calls repetitions in Ibycus "inept and slovenly language".

In *Callimachus and his critics* Cameron describes the *Leontion* of Hermesianax as "surely the silliest surviving product of its age" and, as well as criticising its subject matter, attacks its "structure and style." The writing, he says, "is

<sup>36</sup> Lilja (1968) cited in Dover (1997) 140. Whatever the justification for her excoriation of Charon of Lampsacus, no-one could ever claim that the three great tragedians wrote doggerel.

everywhere lazy and formulaic.”<sup>37</sup>

The judgementalism inherent in this approach is not fashionable. But it is illuminating, in that it explains why so many readers and commentators feel uncomfortable with what they find in the text before them, and why the rather more sophisticated approaches discussed below have been adopted. Nor should it be simply dismissed as a misguided application of modern standards to ancient texts; all who write anything know that some of the things they write are better than others, and that some they would alter and improve if they had the time. Many modern poets correct and revise their drafts, and even their published poems.<sup>38</sup> The Donatus life of Vergil says that Vergil behaved similarly.<sup>39</sup> It is plausible that some parts of plays – plays which must have been written to tight deadlines for performance – were not as polished as others, and that the poet used the first word that came into his head, quite often the same one as had come into his head a few minutes before.

Perhaps as a balance to excoriation, a mention here should be made of the rare *exultatory* approach. Denniston (1950) lxii says:

The Greeks seem to have felt about the repetition of words in general that, while artistic repetition is stylistically effective, accidental repetition is not a thing to be sedulously and artificially avoided. (Their attitude to assonance was precisely the same.) The exactness of the significance of Greek pronouns, it is true, often makes the repetition of nouns unnecessary. But where repetition is the most convenient course, the Greeks do not boggle at it, and their writings are mostly free from the pitiful periphrases by which some of our own authors have sought to avoid calling a spade a spade more than once.

Dover (1997) 138 seeks a balance, but expresses himself judgementally:

Much pre-Platonic prose was insensitive to avoidable recurrence, and the tradition [*viz.* ‘to ring the changes on different lexemes in the same semantic field’] by Thucydides and taken to extremes by Isocrates was over-sensitive and therefore blatantly artificial. The . . . naturalness of Plato's style is achieved in large measure by his willingness to float between consistency and inconsistency of vocabulary as good articulate conversation does.

<sup>37</sup> Cameron (1995) 318. Interestingly, a comparison of the repetitiveness of Hermesianax with that of Callimachus does not support Cameron's assertion. There are, in the 98 surviving lines of Hermesianax' elegy *Leontion*, 29 repetitions of *identical* lexical words, and 83 repetitions of the same lexical word if no account is taken of differences in inflection; in 98 lines (33 to 130), taken from the middle of Callimachus' elegiac Fifth Hymn, there are 43 repetitions of *identical* lexical words, and 113 repetitions of the same lexical word if no account is taken of differences in inflection. If only repetitions after no more than 10 lines are considered, on 21 occasions Callimachus repeats an identical word after no more than 10 lines; Hermesianax on 10; taking different inflections as repetitions, the figure for Callimachus is 52, and for Hermesianax 31.

<sup>38</sup> If evidence for this is needed, it is to be found on virtually every page of Ricks' 1987 edition of Tennyson.

<sup>39</sup> Cum georgica scriberet, traditur cotidie meditato mane plurimos versus dictare solitus ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere, non absurde carmen se more ursae parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere. (Donatus *Vitae Vergilianae*, lines 78-82 in Brummer 1969)

When he was writing the Georgics, it is said to have been his custom to dictate each day a large number of verses which he had composed in the morning, and then to spend the rest of the day in reducing them to a very small number, wittily remarking that he fashioned his poem after the manner of a she-bear, and gradually licked it into shape. (Rolfe [1924] 470-3)

## B. EXONERATION.

The exoneratory approach denies the very existence of unfigured repetition in great classic poets. We find such repetitions in our texts, indeed, but because of copyists. L. von Sybel wrote a thesis in 1868 entitled *De repetitionibus verborum in fabulis Euripideis* which concludes, after a detailed study, that since a great artistic poet like Euripides would not have wished his words to be ‘molestae’ unless necessary, and it was not necessary (there being an adequate supply of synonyms), all repetitions that are ‘molestae’ are due to corruption; Sybel lays down criteria – repetitions with rhetorical point, ones after more than three lines, and ones of words with no weight, are not, in his view, ‘molestae’, and do not need emending away.

This approach was popular in the nineteenth century – *apparatus critici* are full of conjectures by editors such as Wecklein and Nauck to remove repetitions,<sup>40</sup> and though not adopted so uncompromisingly to-day, it is not dead. For instance, *Ajax* 1071 reads in the MSS:

καίτοι κακοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα δημότην

Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) accept the conjecture of ὄντα for ἄνδρα.<sup>41</sup> Again, Diggle justifies adopting Hartung’s deletion of *Orestes* 1430 by reference to ‘offensive repetition’.<sup>42</sup>

Nor is the exoneratory approach without any merit. Chapter 6 below shows that there are indisputably introductions of repetitions during a manuscript transmission, so conjectures to remove them are a legitimate editorial strategy. But it is impossible to see exoneration as uniquely valid: Chapter 6 also shows that there are many unfigured repetitions that cannot plausibly be ascribed to any copyist.

<sup>40</sup> Some analysis of conjectures in Euripides *Electra* is contained in Chapter 6 Section 3.

<sup>41</sup> See the discussion of this reading in Chapter 8 below.

<sup>42</sup> Diggle (1994) 385.

## C. EXCULPATION.

The exculpatory approach is to recommend the abandonment of modern attitudes to repetition. They did things differently in the past. Ancient authors did repeat words without point, but that was not a flaw in ancient times; the 'Greek ear' did not notice such repetitions. This view was well expressed by Campbell in his essay *On the language of Sophocles*:

One point in which modern languages are more precise and accurate than the ancient is their sensitiveness in not allowing one word to be used twice, unless for special reason, in the same passage<sup>+3</sup> . . . The word that has most recently passed through the mind is the most likely to present itself for selection, though it is rejected by the instinct of a modern writer. But in Sophocles this tendency appears unchecked, and, whether from the vividness of the impression which accompanied each word or from whatever cause, seems to have been unusually strong. A word once used is apt to be repeated in a different connection and even with a different meaning.<sup>+4</sup>

So too, eloquently and more generally (that is, not restricted to Sophocles), Jackson:

The total indifference of the dramatists to the repetition of all such words extends even to cases where the fact of the repetition must have been forced on their attention by the order of the words.<sup>+5</sup>

and:

It is of course a far cry to the days when Bentley, in his admirer's [Housman's] words, waded knee-deep in carnage to remove the repetitions, strewn over the text of Lucan, . . . In the Attic dramatists the chief indignity an overtasked word has to apprehend is that the editor will apologise for its existence. . . . the passages quoted are . . . examples . . . of a tolerance which Sophocles might have been wise to avoid if he had been writing a copy of Gaisford Verses, or Euripides if he had been competing for the Porson Prize.<sup>+6</sup>

The exculpatory approach is perhaps the one most frequently adopted by editors, who feel it necessary to draw their readers' attention to a repetition, and then say the Greeks would

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<sup>+3</sup> This assertion, though common, might not stand up to the closest of scrutiny. For instance, the very first sentence of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* repeats 'pleasant' with as little obvious point as any repetition in Euripides – "In that pleasant district of Merrie England which is watered by the river Don, there extended in ancient times a large forest covering the greater part of the hills and valleys which lie between Sheffield and the pleasant town of Doncaster." And on page 80 of S. Barlow's *The Imagery of Euripides* the word 'old' occurs four times in three sentences – "Menelaus comes onstage wrapped solely in an old piece of sail cloth. Hecuba the old Trojan Queen lies down on an old straw mattress. It is not certain how far conventions of the theatre went in abandoning the old stately costume . . ." Lionel Johnson's *By the Statue of King Charles at Charing Cross*, printed in the appendix to this chapter, displays many repetitions, not all of which would appear to have 'point' if they were in a Greek poem. For some further observations relevant to this topic see Chapter 7.

<sup>+4</sup> Campbell (1879) 83-84.

<sup>+5</sup> Jackson (1955) 198. Dover (1997) 140 cites Jackson and says "In poetry variation by synonymy went hand-in-hand with apparent indifference to recurrence and it is not surprising that fifth-century prose also shows a mixture."

<sup>+6</sup> Jackson (1955) 220.

not have been bothered by it.<sup>47</sup> This approach (admitting that we find unfigured repetition a flaw, but denying that its original audience did) cannot be rejected outright – it is an attractive way of accounting for the observed phenomena. Ancient evidence can be prayed in aid of it: negative evidence from the rarity of references to unfigured repetition in ancient critics, and positive evidence from Quintilian’s view (X.1.7 quoted in Section 1 above) that collecting synonyms to avoid repetitions is a waste of time.

But exculpation leaves a feeling of discomfort. Was there such a thing as a ‘Greek ear’ different from the general human one? And if the Greeks did not notice repetitions which modern people find offensive or tiresome, then why did they notice, and apparently rejoice in, repetitions in figures of speech? That might be explained on the supposition that the Greek ear did not retain what it had heard for very long, and noticed and was charmed (or irritated) only by repetition in *very* close proximity; but there are many examples of ring-composition and the like which assume recall of what was said some time ago.<sup>48</sup> Editors of tragic texts who are ready to dismiss a repetition for which they are unable to account as unimportant to and unnoticed by playwright and audience are just as ready to draw attention to repetitions that they admire, even ones which are not any recognised rhetorical figure. For instance, in *Andromache* the perfect of βαίνω is used twice in five lines (1022 βεβᾶσιν; 1027 βέβακε); Stevens (1971) says “the repetition stresses the identical fate that overtook both victor and vanquished”.

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<sup>47</sup> For instance:

Barrett on *Hippolytus* 29-32 “γῆς τῆσδε so soon after τῆνδε γῆν need cause no qualms: the Greeks had no prejudice against such repetitions.”

Dodds on *Bacchae* 647 πόδ’. . . πόδα “the Greek ear, and Eur.’s ear in particular, was less sensitive to such things than ours.”

<sup>48</sup> Miller (1945) goes so far as to say “Of the many devices evolved and utilized by the genius of Aristophanes to provoke laughter, perhaps none is more constantly encountered than verbal iteration. . . Certain words . . . because of their frequent occurrence with a particular force throughout a portion of a play, become almost a comic *leit-motiv* with a strong cumulative effect.” Among the examples he gives is πτωχός in *Acharnae*, appearing first in 440 then “with obvious reference to the first usage” 498, 558, 577a, 579, 593, 594.

## D. EXPLANATION.

The fourth approach is the explanatory. It takes two entirely different forms. The first looks at the phenomenon from the standpoint of the psychology of the writer. It was adopted by A.B. Cook in his article *Unconscious Iterations* at the beginning of the century.<sup>49</sup> The first half of this article is devoted to “the recurrence of an idea or a train of ideas [which] often involves the repetition of previously used expressions”. The repetitions in question here are usually at a considerable distance from each other, often in different plays, and are not the subject of this study. But the second half of the article is very relevant; Cook says “an expression once used haunts the memory for a time and tends to recur by virtue of its own persistence.” He cites a multitude of instances of such repetitions, distinguishing straight repetitions of word plus sense, repetitions with a different sense, and partial repetitions or echoes. He is greatly indebted to the psychological theory of the time, in which ideas of the unconscious were very important, and seems to regard the classification of a phenomenon as unconscious as all that need be said about it. As a partial explanation of the genesis of repetitions in writing Cook’s theory is very useful; his ‘unconscious’ has affinities with what modern psychologists call priming (see Chapter 7). It does moreover support a sensible reluctance to emend. But it is highly unsatisfactory as a complete account of the phenomenon of verbal repetition – Cook seems to be making the very odd assumption that poets never look over their work after the first drafting or that if they do they are so in thrall to their unconscious that they never notice a repetition it has provoked, a repetition that is quite obviously without literary purpose to Cook; he quotes some amusing examples of the phenomenon from newspapers without acknowledging the difference between journalism and careful literature. Nor does Cook ever look at the matter from the standpoint of the audience or the reader; Greek drama was a competitive exercise, and we must at the least ask why plays with so much ‘unconscious repetition’ in them were approved by the judges.

Cook was followed by W.H.S. Jones (1950) fifty years later. Jones, rather like Cook, believes a person has a conscious mind and an unconscious one (“On the first occasion my conscious mind chose the word intentionally; on the other occasions my unconscious mind thrust the word into places where my conscious mind would have rejected it.”). Like Cook, he can identify easily whether a repetition is conscious or unconscious (the conscious ones “follow strict rules”), but thinks there is a category in between, of ‘subconscious’ repetitions, “due to the suggestiveness of certain words in certain contexts and at certain times”. Unlike Cook, however, he recognises that writers look over their work, and concludes from the, to him, surprising fact that ancient writers let so many repetitions stand, that “the ancient writers tolerated repetitions far more easily than do we moderns, rejecting them only when fantastic.” He may be said to adopt the exculpatory approach from the standpoint of the writer rather than the hearer/reader. Interestingly, Fehling, in the chapter of his study cited above which discusses consciousness and intentionality, does not think that one can distinguish conscious from unconscious features of style, or that the distinction is of value for judging stylistic effect, but finds

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<sup>49</sup> Cook (1902) 146-158 and 256-267.



intentionality a much more complex concept, arguing that it is necessary but difficult to distinguish deliberate from accidental features in a passage (he cites alliteration, which he believes was not an intentional feature of Greek style).<sup>50</sup>

The second form taken by the explanatory approach is however the most subtle, and the most modern. It goes as far as it dare towards denying that there is such a thing as *vain* repetition. All repetition has point, which will be revealed by close critical investigation. This view was expressed cogently in an article about Sophocles by Easterling twenty-five years ago. She sets out the observations of Campbell, Jackson and Jebb, the first two avowed followers of the exculpatory approach and the third a more agnostic member of the same tendency, and goes on to say:

The question seems not to have been asked what is the nature of the “special reasons” (to borrow Campbell’s phrase) that govern the use of repeated words or, to put it in another way, what constitutes inartistic repetition in Greek. The purpose of this paper is to examine Sophocles’ practice, in the hope of finding at least a partial answer; of course one author’s habits may not be typical, but if many of the repetitions in the work of this notoriously repetitive poet<sup>51</sup> can be shown to have an explicable function then it will no longer be fair to make large assumptions about Greek indifference to repeated words. This is not at all the same thing as claiming that repetition must be significant; the point I hope to establish is that it may be.<sup>52</sup>

Another expression of this approach is found in Smethurst’s book comparing Aeschylus and the Japanese *Nō* playwright Zeami:

The verbosity and repetition that might seem blemishes in a silent reading of the text can be seen to function as a means of attracting an audience’s attention to particular words in the course of performance. This repetition – as well as puns, word association, and verbal interaction, which are also marks of Zeami’s style – is in turn a feature of Aeschylus’s style that points to the crucial role of individual words and sounds as conveyors of meaning.<sup>53</sup>

Goldhill’s 1984 book *Language, Sexuality, narrative: the Oresteia* uses verbal repetition as one of the keys, if not *the* key, to the reading of Aeschylus’ trilogy.

Here, as at the beginning of this Section, Wills (1996) and Slings (1997) merit mention, although Greek tragedy is not Wills’ subject, nor unfigured repetition Slings’. Wills in his epilogue *Unfigured Repetition* damns Cook for introducing the “troublesome term ‘unconscious repetition’”, saying that the question is an aesthetic one; what is needed, according to him, is an understanding of the phenomenon of unfigured repetition within *ancient* poetics, not our own. For this, he says, what is required is a “fuller inventory and description of the relevant markers.” Wills, therefore, believes the explanatory approach is right, but that the explanation has yet to be found. As for Slings, if the accepted figural repetition anaphora is more often a ‘chunking device’ than a figure of speech, then some unfigured repetitions may have such a point, preventing the information provided by an

<sup>50</sup> Fehling (1969) 70-80.

<sup>51</sup> A conclusion of this study is however that, rhetorical figures apart, he is not so repetitive as Euripides.

<sup>52</sup> Easterling (1974).

<sup>53</sup> Smethurst (1985) 207.

utterance from being so dense as to obstruct its successful processing by the audience.<sup>54</sup>

The modern version of the explanatory approach is indubitably stimulating, and studying passages closely often illuminates repetitions that at first appeared careless. It can, however, look like special pleading, which at the extreme can make it appear that all repetitions are significant. This seems as excessive a doctrine as the ones discussed above – that repetitions are unconscious, the fault of the copyist, or whatever; it is very hard to be convinced when reading a play that all the repetitions encountered have a point that is even in principle discoverable. One suspects that the techniques used could find significance in the most casually written passage, or in a random concatenation of words produced by a computer.

## APPENDIX

Lionel Johnson - By the Statue of King Charles at Charing Cross.

Sombre and rich, the skies;  
Great glooms, and starry plains.  
Gently the night wind sighs;  
Else a vast silence reigns.

The splendid silence clings  
Around me: and around  
The saddest of all kings  
Crowned, and again disrowned.

Comely and calm, he rides  
Hard by his own Whitehall:  
Only the night wind glides:  
No crowds, nor rebels, brawl.

Gone, too, his Court: and yet,  
The stars his courtiers are:  
Stars in their stations set;  
And every wandering star.

Alone he rides, alone,  
The fair and fatal king:  
Dark night is all his own,  
That strange and solemn thing.

Which are more full of fate:  
The stars; or those sad eyes?  
Which are more still and great:  
Those brows; or the dark skies?

Although his whole heart yearn  
In passionate tragedy:  
Never was face so stern  
With sweet austerity.

<sup>54</sup> It is relevant that drama, even now and more in antiquity, is primarily for seeing and hearing, and only secondarily for reading.

Vanquished in life, his death  
By beauty made amends:  
The passing of his breath  
Won his defeated ends.

Brief life, and hapless? Nay:  
Through death, life grew sublime.  
*Speak after sentence?* Yea:  
And to the end of time.

Armoured he rides, his head  
Bare to the stars of doom:  
He triumphs now, the dead,  
Beholding London's gloom.

Our wearier spirit faints,  
Vexed in the world's employ:  
His soul was of the saints;  
And art to him was joy.

King, tried in fires of woe!  
Men hunger for thy grace:  
And through the night I go,  
Loving thy mournful face.

Yet, when the city sleeps:  
When all the cries are still:  
The stars and heavenly deeps  
Work out a perfect will.

## CHAPTER 3

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS: DEFINITIONS AND CRITERIA

Chapter 4 presents the results of a statistical analysis of the trimeter portions of seventeen tragedies – all those ascribed to Aeschylus and Sophocles, and seven ascribed to Euripides (six spread out over Euripides' career,<sup>1</sup> and *Rhesus*) – and, as a comparison, of the *Dyscolus* of Menander and the *Alexandra* of Lycophron. The thought behind this analysis was that it might throw light on a number of questions. What part, for instance, does unfigured repetition play in the poetics of Greek tragedy (or of Greek literature more generally)? Are there differences between poets, between parts of plays (prologue, dialogue, agons, messengers' speeches etc.), or between classes of word? Is there any plausibility in the view that many unfigured repetitions are not the responsibility of the poet?

This work is not intended as a form of stylometry – an alternative to measuring sentence lengths, preferences among penultimate letters, frequency of resolutions etc.<sup>2</sup> The comments made by Clayman (1992, p. 388) are apposite:

Hypotheses about authorship and chronology, however, are by no means the only kind amenable to a quantitative approach. . . . When quantitative analysis tackles subjects like character, dialogue, image and structure it becomes far more relevant to what most scholars care about.

The results reported may, however, have implications for authorship studies, or for the relative dating of plays, and Chapter 4, with some of its appendices, discusses such matters.

The greatest practicable precision and consistency are essential if any valid statistical analysis is to be carried out. This chapter is designed to set out clearly the basis of the analysis whose results are presented in Chapter 4.

## I. WORDS.

As explained in Chapter 1, the statistical analysis has been confined to what are sometimes called lexical words, and sometimes open-category words. The rationale for this discrimination is that many non-lexical words are very common, and it is to be expected that they will occur several times in quite short passages. It is not claimed that such words are never repeated figurally,<sup>3</sup> nor that their unfigured repetition is never puzzling to the modern reader; indeed some repetitions of non-lexical words are noted and discussed in later chapters. Separating out 'interesting' repetitions of non-lexicals would

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<sup>1</sup> These plays, with the dates suggested in the article *Euripides* in the Oxford Classical Dictionary (1996), are: *Heraclidae* (430), *Andromache* (426), *Troades* (415), *Iphigenia Taurica* (413), *Orestes* (408), *Bacchae* (406).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. McLennan & Morton (1966) for sentence lengths, Ledger (1989) for penultimate letters, and Cropp & Fick (1985) for resolutions.

<sup>3</sup> Indeed, some of the ancient critics' favourite examples of figures of repetition turn on non-lexicals.

however inevitably have been a subjective matter, with the consequent danger of inconsistencies between plays, and vitiating of the comparisons. Studying repetitions only of lexical words provides a satisfactory wealth of data.

The analysis has therefore covered all nouns, all verbs but the simple εἰμί, almost all adjectives, and adverbs other than adverbs of time and place. It has not covered particles, interjections,<sup>4</sup> prepositions,<sup>5</sup> conjunctions, pronouns, articles, demonstratives, cardinal numbers, the negatives οὐ and μή with their compounds, ἄλλος, ἕτερος and εἰμί. The most problematic category is that of adverbs of time and place. These range from forms like τότε, as much a non-lexical as πότε (cf. English 'then' and 'when') to πάλαι, as much a lexical as παλαιός. It has proved impossible to draw a line within this group of words that is other than arbitrary; the group must be in or out as a whole. The decision was taken to exclude it. Appendix I to this chapter indicates how various borderline words have been treated.

The decision on adverbs should be compared with that taken by Dover (1997). Adverbs of time and place are not 'appositives' in Dover's terminology (that is, they can occur before or after pause), and are therefore 'mobile' and count as 'lexemes' in his calculations; his therefore seems a less restrictive criterion than the one used here. But Dover goes on to say:

I have generally found that differences between texts in respect of recurrence are sharpened if the enquiry is limited to nouns (excluding proper nouns), adjectives (excluding pronominal adjectives, πολὺς and πᾶς, and numerals), regular adverbs in -ως/-ῶς, εἶ, and verbs.<sup>6</sup>

That criterion is more restrictive than the one used here. Presumably Dover had made calculations of the effect on his figures of using a less restrictive one, but did not think the space that would have been occupied by displaying his calculations was warranted by their interest. Taken at face value, the reason he gives provokes the response that the natural desire to sharpen one's results is not an objective justification for excluding certain words from a study.

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<sup>4</sup> Except for ἄγε and ἰδοῦ, which are treated as parts of their respective verbs.

<sup>5</sup> χάριν and δίκην are not treated as different in their noun and quasi-prepositional uses.

<sup>6</sup> Dover (1997) 133. Dover does not treat any part of εἰμί as mobile unless it comes immediately after pause or is negated.

## II. TEXTS.

The texts used have been those of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG).<sup>7</sup> This is a common practice with analyses of Greek texts;<sup>8</sup> analysis other than with the TLG would be incomparably more laborious, to the point of rendering this study impractical. Variant readings where one produces a ‘repetition’ as defined for this study and the other does not are not so frequent as to vitiate the statistical analysis. They are however very interesting in their own right, and are discussed in Chapter 6 below.

Much more worrying for the statistics are deletions of lines. If a line is not genuine, then not only is any repetition of a word in it not a real repetition in the play, but also the line numbering is illusory – repetitions in genuine lines on either side of the deleted one are closer than appears. Editors are prone to delete lines in tragic texts, and different editors delete different lines, for various reasons,<sup>9</sup> and with varying degrees of conviction. The analysis in Chapter 4 ignores deletions.<sup>10</sup> That greatly simplifies the analysis, which is based on the received line numbering, common to all modern editions. It is however a worry that this simplification may have been achieved at too high a price – that the conclusions set out in Chapter 4 below are invalidated by it. One full comparison has therefore been made – between the TLG text of *Orestes*, deleted lines left in, and that text with the lines deleted by Diggle excluded, and his transpositions effected. Because Diggle deletes 10 per cent of the trimeters in the received text, this comparison is a severe test. It is discussed in Appendix V to Chapter 4. The results give reasonable grounds for confidence that ignoring deletions and transpositions does not vitiate the analysis in this study generally. They do, moreover, make one reflect on the ontological status of editorial deletions (and of the putative interpolations which justify them). Some thoughts on this subject are included in the appendix to Chapter 4.

Editors may also posit lacunas, to explain unsatisfactory features of the transmitted texts, but without affecting the sequence of line numbers. Lacunas have been generally ignored in the analysis, and repetitions scored as if the text were continuous. This can be justified on the ground that such lacunas are contentious, very short, or both. The lacuna after *Bacchae* 1329 is different; it is incontrovertible, and incontrovertibly long, and the fortuitous repetitions which span it are ignored in the analysis. The subject is discussed in Appendix VI to Chapter 4.

<sup>7</sup> Murray (1955), Dain & Mazon (1958) Murray (1902-13) Sandbach (1972) and Mascialino (1964) for Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Menander and Lycophron respectively. There are actually a very few divergencies between the TLG text and the one it follows. (Rigo [1996] points these out for Sophocles.)

<sup>8</sup> E.g. McDonald (1978), Philippides (1984), Rigo (1996); the last lists all differences between the TLG text used in his concordance and that of Lloyd-Jones & Wilson 1990a. The *Perseus* program contains the Loeb text; though used for checking some of the data in this study, it was not a primary source.

<sup>9</sup> Sometimes just because of a repetition they are unwilling to lay to the playwright’s charge. The Budé editors of Sophocles seem peculiarly reluctant to delete lines; there are only two deletions (*Trachiniae* 84 and *Ajax* 554b) in all the seven plays.

<sup>10</sup> And transpositions, which also affect the *proximity* of repetitions. Since the Budé editors relegate deleted lines from text to apparatus, instead of enclosing them in square brackets, as is the more usual practice, it has been necessary to put *Trachiniae* 84 and *Ajax* 554b back into the text of the TLG.

There are, in addition, some problems with line numbering:

- i) Modern texts of Aeschylus do not seem as perfectly standardised as those of the other two tragedians.
- ii) The numbering of lines of lyric often differs sharply from the colometry as printed in modern editions; the implications of this for the present study are discussed later in this chapter.
- iii) There are inconsistencies in the treatment of interjections *extra metrum*, which sometimes get a line number all to themselves; whether they do or not they have been discounted in the analysis.
- iv) There are two ghost lines in *Orestes*, line numbers which have never had any text corresponding to them, and there seem to be three in the Murray (1937 and 1955) texts of Aeschylus' *Supplikes*, and one in *Philoctetes*.
- v) The Murray (1937 and 1955) texts of *Septem* print line 803 in two places, as a deliberate emendation, not an error of printing; but they number each 803, so that the *Pandora* program apparently finds each word in that line repeated.

These minor difficulties have been allowed for in the analysis where possible; those remaining do not seem significant for conclusions of the study as a whole.

## III. REPETITIONS.

As pointed out in the preliminary discussion in Chapter 1, in any language with inflections it is not self-evident what a repetition is, and in one like Greek with many irregular verbs there is a wide area for dispute. A criterion other than absolute identity is, however, essential for this study. For instance, it would be absurd to say that the only repetition in *Andromache* 738-743 is that of ἀντιλήψεται:

ἦξω· παρὼν δὲ πρὸς παρόντας ἐμφανῶς  
 γαμβροὺς διδάξω καὶ διδάξομαι λόγους.  
 κἂν μὲν κολάζῃ τήνδε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ  
 σώφρων καθ' ἡμᾶς, σώφρον' ἀντιλήψεται·  
 θυμούμενος δὲ τεύξεται θυμουμένων,  
 ἔργοισι δ' ἔργα διάδοχ' ἀντιλήψεται.

It is arguable, however, that repetitions of words identical in all respects should be singled out and examined specially. Certainly they may be particularly striking. But special treatment for them would privilege indeclinables over inflected words, and neuter adjectives and nouns over masculine and feminine ones. No distinction has therefore been made between identical and other repetitions.

Of prime importance in the statistical analysis is consistency between works and authors; the decision taken has been that differences in inflection do not break identity, but other differences do. Thus, the occurrence of a compound verb close to a simple one is not a repetition, but the occurrence of two differently-inflected forms close to each other is a repetition. (Regularly formed adverbs and comparatives/superlatives are treated as inflections of the positive adjective.)<sup>11</sup> Some arbitrary decisions have had to be taken, and are set out in Appendix I to this chapter.<sup>12</sup> Most uncertainties about forms in a paradigm however affect very few actual occurrences, and therefore are of little importance for the statistical conclusions.

That is not the case with another group of decisions that has to be made. There are many words in constant use in Attic tragedy that have variant forms. One category comprises words whose main vowel may be either short or long (ξένος/ξείνος; κόρα/κουρά; μόνος/μουῖνος and, ubiquitously, χέρα etc. / χεῖρα etc.). Another category comprises compounds beginning εἰσ- or συν-, which may also be spelt with ἐσ- or ξ. It is arguable that these are different words, perhaps sometimes deliberately employed as variations to avert a repetition. It is arguable that they are slightly different forms of the same word, used for metrical reasons, or for reasons of euphony that we cannot now ascertain. It is also possible that some alternatives may be the product of a copyist rather than the

<sup>11</sup> Dover (1997) also treats regularly formed adverbs as repeating with the base adjective. Concordances, like Rigo (1996), have a different purpose from this study and may on the one hand include together suppletive forms of verbs though their stems are totally different, and on the other go as far as separating Ἥλιος from ἥλιος.

<sup>12</sup> It is not always evident whether forms in a paradigm are suppletive or not. Unequivocally different stems (eg. λέγω/ἔρω/εἶπον) are suppletive, but πάσχω/πέισομαι/ἔπαθον are treated as forms of the same word. Similarity is a necessary criterion as well as etymology (βλώσκω – which does not actually occur in the texts studied – would not be treated as repeating with ἔμολον).



playwright.  $\sigma\upsilon\nu/\xi\upsilon\nu$  variants are common in manuscript traditions; moreover, a fifth century text probably did not distinguish between  $\epsilon$  and  $o$  and non-diphthongal  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $o\upsilon$ , so unless the metre put it beyond doubt a fourth-century scribe (e.g. in the Lycurgan recension) would have to make his own decision. In this study an occurrence of two such forms in close proximity is treated as a repetition; Appendix I to this chapter lists other by-forms which are treated as repeating (or not repeating, as the case may be) with the standard one.<sup>13</sup>

Another group of decisions to be made is on the treatment of closely related words which are nevertheless distinguished in standard dictionaries. One of these is very common, and the way it is treated makes a difference in the figures for repetitions. While no dictionary treats the feminine of an adjective as a different word from the masculine, it is usual for  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$  to be treated as different words;  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  can however refer to a goddess, and the genitive plurals of the masculine and feminine are the same. They, and similar rarer doublets like  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma/\acute{\eta}$  are treated in the statistical analysis here as the same word, and therefore repeating with each other; but nouns where the genders are distinguished by more than the  $-a / -os$  alternation are not treated as repeating, nor are the proper names  $\Phi\acute{o}\iota\beta\eta$  and  $\Phi\acute{o}\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$  in *Eumenides* 8. Similar reasoning has led to the treatment of adjectives used as nouns as repeating with those used adjectivally (e.g.  $\acute{o}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is included with the adjective  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , though the abstract noun  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\alpha$  is not).

Finally, there are some tricky problems relating to homophones.<sup>14</sup> One example is  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ , which in *Bacchae* 439, 504 and 505 comes from  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  bind; it therefore repeats with  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  in 444; in the statistical analysis it is treated as not repeating with  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  in 492. Another example is  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , which is the future of both  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\theta\omega$  and  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omega$ . There is no instance in the plays studied of a repetition of  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (though it occurs in each sense), but in *Bacchae* 786-8 the ambiguity seems to be exploited:

Πε.	. . . οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τάδε, εἰ πρὸς γυναικῶν πεισόμεσθ' ἃ πάσχομεν.	785
Δι.	πειθή μὲν οὐδέν, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κλύων, Πενθεῦ· κακῶς δὲ πρὸς σέθεν πάσχων ὅμως . . .	. . . 15

<sup>13</sup> Where a stem exists only in one or two cases (e.g.  $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\acute{o}\nu\alpha\rho$ ), it is as a rule treated as repeating with other cases which are inflected from a different but recognisably similar stem (e.g.  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\tau\iota$ )

<sup>14</sup> Words with different accents (e.g.  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) are taken not to be homophonous.

<sup>15</sup> Dodds (1960) *ad loc.* merely notes “  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\eta$  (from  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omega$ ) was once suggested by Tyrrell, and has been proposed more recently . . . It looks neat as a retort to 786, yet can hardly be right, since it really destroys the force of the  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  . . .  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  antithesis.”

Homophonic ambiguity may also be at the heart of a repetition in *Trachiniae* 567-74:

Δη.	χῶ Ζηνὸς εὐθύς παῖς ἐπιστρέψας χεροῖν ἤκεν κομήτην ἰόν· ἐς δὲ πλεύμονας στέρνων διερροίζησεν. ἐκθνήσκων δ' ὁ θῆρ τοσοῦτον εἶπε· 'παῖ γέροντος Οἴνεως, τοσόνδ' ὀνήση τῶν ἐμῶν, εἴαν πίθη, πορθμῶν, ὀθούνεχ' ὑστάτην σ' ἔπεμψ' ἐγώ· εἴαν γὰρ ἀμφίθρεπτον αἶμα τῶν ἐμῶν σφαγῶν ἐνέγκη χερσίν, ἧ μελαγχόλους ἔβαψεν ἰοὺς θρέμμα Λερναίας ὕδρας, . . .	566     570   574
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There are two Greek words ἰός, one meaning 'arrow', which is obviously the sense in 566, and the other 'poison'; Rigo (1996) takes the latter as the sense of ἰοὺς in 574, though Easterling (1982) takes this too as 'arrow', with μελαγχόλους importing the idea of poison; perhaps the word hovers between the two, influenced towards 'arrow' by 566, and 'poison' by μελαγχόλους.<sup>16</sup>

The question is whether sense as well as form is an essential criterion for a repetition. Since metaphorical uses can give very different senses to what everybody would call the same word, it might seem wrong to refuse the name of repetition to an instance where two etymologically distinct words are, or have some of their forms, identical. On the other hand, it might seem wrong to treat εἶ from εἶμί as repeating with εἶ from εἶμι. The principle adopted, with some hesitation, has been to rely on the dictionary to determine whether a word is or is not the same as another word. Fortunately, except for εἶ (where the non-lexicality of εἶμί makes the decision relatively easy), there are too few actual instances of homophonous repetition to affect the statistics.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> There may be other operative ambiguities in repetitions in this vexed passage. Halleran (1988) argues that the repetition of βάπτω in two unusual but different senses in 574 and 580 (the first 'wound' with a hint of its literal meaning 'dip', and the second 'dyeing', though there is no vat of the poison which Deianeira could use) contains a deliberate hint that since the first dipping was deadly in its results, the second also portends a fatal outcome. The difficult phrasing of the lines is due to Sophocles' desire to produce the echo. Halleran does not notice the two other similar instances nearby; the one discussed above and ἀμφίθρεπτον / θρέμμα in 572/574.

<sup>17</sup> Another theoretical problem rendered harmless by its rarity in trimeters is that of tmesis. The *Pandora* program with the TLG does not distinguish a verb in tmesis from its simple form, and so it is treated here as repeating with that simple form, not with the undivided compound.

## IV. LOCATION IN TRIMETER

The reader of a play is sometimes struck by the reappearance of the same word at the same place in two nearby lines. For instance, consider *Bacchae*:

Κα.	μακρὸν τὸ μέλλειν· ἀλλ' ἐμῆς ἔχου χερός.	197
Τε.	ἰδού, ξύναπτε καὶ ξυνωρίζου χέρα.	
Αγ.	ἐς ὄπλ' ἐχώρουν . . .	759
	· · · πάλιν δ' ἐχώρουν . . .	765
	ὀρθὸν μεθίει διὰ χερῶν βλάστημ' ἄνω, ἀτρέμα, φυλάσσω μὴ ἀναχαιτίσειέ νιν, ὀρθὴ δ' ἐς ὀρθὸν αἰθέρ' ἐστηρίζετο,	1071
Αγ.	μακάριος, ἡμῶν τοιάδ' ἐξειργασμένων.	1243
Κα.	ὦ πένθος οὐ μετρητὸν οὐδ' οἶόν τ' ἰδεῖν φόνον ταλαίνας χερσὶν ἐξειργασμένων.	

There is evidence that repetitions in which both of the repeated words are the last in their line are more frequent than they would be if location were irrelevant.<sup>18</sup> There is also evidence (see Chapter 6) that the last word in a trimeter is the most exposed to cross-infection during transmission. But metrical shape is an important determinant of location. Thus ἐξειργασμένων has to be at the end of its trimeter if there is to be a caesura; bacchius-shaped words must come immediately after the first foot if Porson's bridge is to be observed; and pyrrhic-shaped words ending in a vowel need final place or elision. To judge whether there is a real tendency for repetitions to occupy the same location in their lines after other influences on that location had been eliminated, and if that tendency varied in any interesting way between plays and/or authors, would require a deep analysis that has not been attempted here. No account is therefore taken of location in Chapter 4, though it is discussed as appropriate in Chapters 6 and 8.

<sup>18</sup> In *Trachiniae*, for instance some 10% of repetitions are end-line. A crude calculation suggests that trimeters in that play contain on average 3.5 lexical words (the only words whose repetition is counted), and that less than 80% of trimeters end with a lexical; the percentage of end-line repetitions expected would therefore be  $1/3.5 \times 80/100 \times 1/3.5 \times 80/100$ , which is about 5.2%.

## V. RELEVANT LINES

The statistical analysis is confined to trimeter passages. Lyric diction differs greatly, for instance in word-preference and dialectal colour, from that of dialogue, and repetitive figures, especially anadiplosis, are more frequent there. So it is easier to be sure that like is being compared with like if lyrics are excluded. Moreover, lines in other metres vary in length,<sup>19</sup> and that alone would vitiate comparisons based on line intervals, requiring a much more laborious procedure. Trochaic tetrameters are, however, too like trimeters for the principle (as distinct from the practicalities) of excluding them to be unequivocal; Chapter 8.1, which deals with *Persae*, therefore looks at the tetrameter parts of that play.

Confining the analysis to trimeters has its own difficulties. In all tragedies, trimeter passages interface with ones in other metres; in many there are passages in which metres mingle, with kommoi or with short snatches of choral song in a spoken scene. More or less arbitrary decisions have to be taken; and have to be taken in the knowledge that they may affect the results, since plays differ greatly in the extent to which metres are mingled, and a difference between playwrights, for instance, might be due in part to a difference in this, rather than to any underlying difference in repetitiveness. The principles behind the decisions that have been taken, set out fully in Appendix II to this chapter, are:

- A) The repetition is scored at the second occurrence. That is, a word that occurs first in a non-trimeter passage and second in a trimeter one counts as a repetition in the trimeter passage, but a word that occurs first in a trimeter passage and second in a non-trimeter one does *not* count as a repetition in the trimeter passage.
- B) To be included in the analysis, a passage has to comprise at least 25 continuous trimeters.
- C) Any passage of five or more non-trimeters in the standard numeration is excluded from the analysis. But, for instance, short lyric interludes by the Chorus, and interruptions of trimeter passages by an actor with a lyric line or the dipodies that occur here and there in Sophocles, are treated as if they were trimeters. These last are often integrated into their surroundings, with repetitions.
- D) An exclamation *extra metrum* which has a line number to itself (or a short line containing no lexical words) is treated like one which does not; the intervals between repetitions which span such lines have been corrected in the analysis.

There is a problem with measurement when there is a repetition between a lyric passage and a trimeter one. A distance measured in lines is usually smaller (but sometimes larger, especially when there is overlapping with tetrameters) in terms of words than when all lines are trimeters. That is likely to even out amongst plays; but the fact that the TLG line numeration in Sophocles at least restarts each five lines (so, for instance, *Ajax* 420-425 goes 0, 1, 2, 5) makes some repetitions seem further away than they really are. A new line number has been assigned when this seems to result in an unacceptable anomaly.

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<sup>19</sup> So, of course, do trimeters according to the number of three-syllable feet in them. But no attempt has been made to correct for this.

## VI. MEASURING REPETITIVENESS.

Obviously, any word, except for a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, will eventually be repeated. It is only repetitions within a fairly short interval that are the concern of this study. A criterion is necessary to determine what interval is a ‘fairly short’ one. Chapter 1 lays down as that criterion ‘the recurrence of a word following an interval of not more than fifteen lines’.<sup>20</sup> Dover (1997), since he is working with prose, can use no such unit as the line, which is suitable only for stichic poetry. He measures the interval between occurrences in mobile lexemes (for this purpose *not* limiting them as described in Section I above), and counting a combination of prepositive and postpositive (e.g. πρὸς αὐτόν) as a mobile. He then calculates the reciprocal of the interval and uses it as his ‘index of recurrence’; this gives weight to the size of the interval between occurrences of the same lexeme (since, as Dover puts it, the recurrence is more obtrusive when the interval is short).<sup>21</sup> Measuring intervals by trimeters is not apparently as precise as measuring them by mobile lexemes (though that in turn would appear less precise than measuring by syllables), but a coarser measure may be a more appropriate indicator of aural effect. Moreover, distances in lines are easily calculable from data extracted by the program *Pandora* from the TLG, while distances in words (defined as mobile lexemes or in any other way) require individual manual calculation; sampling is therefore necessary if the work is to be done in a reasonable time and sampling would make it difficult to compare sections of plays.<sup>22</sup>

It would not be satisfactory, however, to construct a measure of repetitiveness by treating equally all repetitions following an interval of not more than fifteen lines. The shorter the interval between occurrences the more striking the repetition, and the more it may seem to be ‘careless’ or to call for an explanation. Dover’s use of the reciprocal of the interval between occurrences to produce an index of repetitiveness gives greater weight to nearby repetitions than to more distant ones. The present study has employed this technique with one important adaptation.

Repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are often qualitatively different from those at longer intervals; many form recognised figures (e.g. anadiplosis – *Bacchae* 1065 ἦγεν, ἦγεν; polyptoton – *Bacchae* 1073 ὀρθὴ δ’ ἐς ὀρθὸν; anaphora – *Orestes* 708-9 μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἄγαν προθυμίας | μισούσι δ’ ἀστοί), and others are found when one speaker in stichomythia picks up a word used by another (e.g. *Bacchae* 807-8 Πε. ξυνέθεσθε κοινῇ τὰδ’, ἵνα βακχεύητ’ ἀεὶ. | Δι. καὶ μὴν ξυνεθέμην — τοῦτό γ’ ἔστι — τῷ θεῷ. It has appeared helpful, therefore, to create an index for repetitiveness which *excludes* repetitions in the same or adjacent lines. This is a proxy for unfigured repetitions – only a proxy because some undeniable figures (for instance the picking up

<sup>20</sup> Line means, basically, trimeter; for discussion of this, see Section V above.

<sup>21</sup> Dover (1997) 133.

<sup>22</sup> Dover takes samples of 1000 mobile lexemes – no more than 300 lines of a play, while this study has looked at every trimeter in each of the selected plays; the variation in repetitiveness from one part of a play to another that it has revealed suggests that Dover’s samples would not be large enough for tragedy.

by a speaker of the word he himself used before an interruption) stretch over more than two lines, and because some of the most jarring of repetitions are ones in close proximity which seem to have no poetic or rhetorical point.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> In using his index Dover was not attempting to distinguish figural from other repetitions, though he does so in his table 7.2; moreover prose is of course different from poetry. Excluding repetitions in the same line removes the problem of the reciprocal of zero (which does not arise when intervals are measured in words not lines, since there *must* then be an interval of at least one).

## APPENDIX I. TREATMENT OF BORDERLINE WORDS

## 1. The following words are treated as lexical:

ἄγαν.  
 ἄγε.  
 ἄλις.  
 ἰδού.  
 ἴσος and ἴσως, whatever the sense.  
 λίαν.  
 σφόδρα.  
 τάχα, whatever its sense.  
 Ordinal and multiplicative numerals.

## 2. The following words are treated as non-lexical:

αἰί, αἰεί and αἰέν.  
 ἅμα.  
 ἄρτι and ἀρτίως.  
 αὖ and αὖθις.  
 δεῦρο.  
 ἔα the exclamation.  
 ἔνδον.  
 ἐνι and πάρα.  
 ἔτι.  
 εὐθύς.  
 ἤδη.  
 νῦν.  
 πάλαι.  
 πάλιν.  
 πανταχῆ and πανταχοῦ.  
 πάρος.  
 πολλαχῆ and πολλαχοῦ.  
 πέλας.  
 πέρα and πέραν.  
 πρωί.  
 ὑψοῦ and ὑψόθεν.

Cardinal numbers.

Negatives, simple and compound.

Simple words beginning ἀλλ- with the sense 'other'.

Simple words beginning ὁμ- with the sense 'like'.

## 3. The words in each of the following groups are treated as potential repetitions:

ἄγε and other forms of ἄγω.  
 δεσμά and δεσμοί.  
 ἐλεύσομαι, ἐλήλυθα, ἦλθον etc., (not ἔρχομαι).  
 ἔλκω and ἐλκύσω in Lycophron.  
 ἐρ- words meaning 'say' (ἐρῶ, εἶρηκα, ἐρρήθη, ῥηθεν); but not ἐρωτάω and ἔρομαι.  
 Ζεῦς and Ζην- forms (not with Δι- forms).  
 ἦσσαν and ἦκιστα.  
 ἰδού and parts of εἶδον.  
 καρά etc. and κῶρα etc.  
 λαός and λεώς forms.  
 λέγω is taken to be one word, whether the sense is 'say' or 'collect'.

μέγας and μείζων.

μικρός and μείων.

ὄναρ and forms inflected from the stems ὄνειρ- (even ὄνειρον) and ὄνειρατ-.

ὄψομαι ὄπωπα and ὄφθήσομαι.

πάς, πάνυ, πάγχυ, and πάντως, but not παντελῶς.

πλευρά (fem. sing.), πλευρόν, and πλευρόθεν.

ποιῶ and ποῶ.

Προμηθεά and προμηθέως in *PV* 85-86; similarly Λύκος and λύκος in Lycophron.

πρῶτος and πρότερος.

φῶς and φάος

The verbal in -τέος with other forms of the verb.<sup>24</sup>

A form having the doric  $\bar{a}$  and a form of the same word having η (in practice only when the repetition is between lyric and trimeter).

#### 4. The following are not treated as potential repetitions:

βιβάω and βαίνω.

δεῖ of necessity (with its other moods), δέω 'bind' and δέω 'lack' (δεόμενος being treated as from δέω 'lack').

δράω and δρασεῖω.

εἰκός, εἴοικα and εἰκότως.

θάρσος and θράσος.

ἴσχω and ἔχω; nor do σχεθ- forms repeat with forms of ἔχω.

μίμνω and μένω.

οἰκία and οἶκος (οἶκος can repeat with οἴκαδε and οἴκοθεν).<sup>25</sup>

πάς, ἅπας and σύμπας.

πέδοι and πέδον.

πέτρος and πέτρα in Lycophron.

πλήθω and πληθύω.

πόλις and πτόλις.

πολλάκις and πολὺς.

πυνθάνομαι and πεύθομαι (πεύσομαι, ἔπυθον and πέπυσμαι can repeat with πυνθάνομαι).

σίγα and forms of σιγάω.

σμικρός and μικρός.

τίνω and τίω.

χρή, χρεών, χράω and χράομαι.

<sup>24</sup> For purely practical reasons, the verbal in -τος, whose forms are not so easily distinguishable, is not treated as potentially repeating.

<sup>25</sup> This may under-represent Menander, in whom the first declension is *much* rarer than the second, but the adverbial forms are as if of the first.



## APPENDIX II. TREATMENT OF PASSAGES IN THE PLAYS STUDIED

The lines included in the analysis are listed below, with comments only when there is any unusual feature.

## 1. AESCHYLUS

*PERSAE:*

176-214.

290-531.

593-622.

759-851.

*SEPTEM:*

1-77.

The passage 181-244 – 21 trimeters by Eteocles followed by a dialogue between the Chorus (24 lyric lines in three strophic pairs) and Eteocles (six groups of three trimeters) – is excluded.

245-287. The Murray texts do not print the line some other editors call 278a. It is therefore ignored.

369-416.

422-451.

The passage 457-480 has fewer than 25 trimeters, and is therefore excluded.

486-520.

526-562.

568-625.

631-685.

793-820. Murray (1937) and Murray (1955) print line 803 twice, using the same number but in two different places. Hence *Pandora* registers a repetition of each word in the same line. That gives completely the wrong impression, and here alone in this analysis a departure has been made from the general principle of following the TLG (i.e. Murray [1955]); since Murray's repetition of 803 has not found general favour the words in that line have been counted only once; the analysis has used the TLG numbers for the other lines in the passage, ignoring transpositions and deletions. While printing 803 twice, Murray (1937) and Murray (1955) relegate to the apparatus the second occurrence of the line that begins πόλις σέσωται; since the traditional numbering of these lines was 804 and 821, the repetitions between them are irrelevant to the statistical analysis; the line has been included in the total of relevant trimeters in that analysis. A number of the textual problems hereabouts are discussed in Chapter 6 Section 2(i) below.

1005-1053.

*SUPPLICES:*

176-347. The line numbers 294, 297 and 312 have nothing corresponding to them in Murray (1955); this block is therefore treated as 169 lines and the calculations of gaps between repetitions have been adjusted accordingly. Murray (1955) prints 162-167 again after 175, numbering them 175a-f; there is a repetition of θεῶν in 189 from 175b, and in the analysis 175b is treated as 175.

The passage 348-417 contains 34 lyric lines and 36 trimeters, and has been excluded from the analysis.

438-523. The exclamation *extra metrum* following 467 does not have a line number.

600-624.

710-735.

The passage 736-775 contains 12 lyric lines and 28 trimeters, and has been excluded from the analysis.

903-965. 905 and 908, dochmiacs by the Chorus, are treated as trimeters in the analysis.

980-1017.

### AGAMEMNON

1-39. The watchman once interjects *ἰὸὺ ἰοῦ*. The interjection is given a line number (25), and has been discounted in the analysis.

258-354.

489-680.

810-974.

1035-1071.

The amoebaeon 1072-1177 contains 36 trimeters; although trimeters predominate up to 1099, the whole passage has clear boundaries, and there are many typically lyric repetitions in the non-trimeters of the first two strophic pairs. The whole amoebaeon is excluded from the analysis.

1178-1330. Cassandra has four short lines given line numbers (1214, 1216, 1307 and 1315): 1214, 1216 and 1315 contain lexical words (five in all) and are counted as lines in the analysis; 1307 has nothing but interjections and has been discounted. The lines between 1200 and 1205, and again between 1283 and 1291, are assigned by the TLG consecutive numbers corresponding with the order as printed. The TLG (Murray [1955]) numbers are followed.

1343-1406. The trochaic tetrameters 1344 and 1346-7 are treated like trimeters in the analysis.

The passage from 1407 to 1447, which contains 14 and 17 consecutive trimeters as well as 12 lyric lines, is excluded from the analysis.

1577-1648.

### CHOEPHORI

The lacunose prologue, 21 lines in modern editions, is excluded from the analysis.

84-151. Line 165, read in TLG between 123 and 124, is treated in the analysis as if in the place indicated by the line number; neither of the lexical words in it repeats in either place.

164-305. For the treatment of 165, see immediately above. The lines 227-230 are assigned by the TLG consecutive numbers corresponding with the order as printed. The TLG numbers are followed. The conjectural *μόνος μόνον* produces a line without a number (and containing only one word) between 243 and 244; the repetition is counted as in adjacent lines. 285 is treated in the analysis as being in the place indicated by its number.

479-584.

653-718.

730-782.

The 17 trimeters 838-854, with the succeeding lyric 855-871, are excluded from the analysis.

872-935. The interjection *extra metrum* following 880 does not have a line number assigned to it.

973-1064. Line 1041 in the manuscript is hypermetric, and in the text used for the analysis (Murray 1955) is made into two lines by conjectural supplements; these lines are numbered 1041a and 1041b; the only repetition as defined is in the paradosis of 1041, assigned to 1041a; the analysis, following the principle of using the traditional line numbers, treats 1041 as a single line. The interjection *extra metrum* following 1047 does not have a line number assigned to it.

*EUMENIDES:*

1-116. Murray (1955) moves 85-87 to follow 64; Murray (1937) had not done so. They retain their numbers in the TLG, and are treated in the analysis as their numbers indicate.

The passage 117-142, which contains five directions for cries by the Chorus given line numbers and one non-trimeter in which λαβὲ is repeated four times, has been excluded from the analysis.

179-253.

276-306.

397-489.

566-777.

The passage 778-880, containing three trimeter speeches by Athena of 14, 13, and 22 lines, separating three lyrics of 14, 14 and 9 lines, has been excluded from the analysis.

881-915.

*PROMETHEUS VINCTUS:*

1-92.

193-276.

298-396.

436-525.

609-686.

696-876. Io once interjects ἰὼ μοί μοι· ἔ ἔ. The interjection is given a line number (742), and is discounted in the analysis.

907-1039. The conjectural second ὦμοι in 980 does not increase the number of lines.

## 2. SOPHOCLES

*AJAX:*

1-133.

263-347. Ajax twice interjects ἰὼ μοί μοι and once ἰὼ παῖ παῖ; παῖ repeats from eight lines earlier. The two interjections without lexicals are discounted in the analysis; 339 is included in it.

430-595. The trimeter couplet 428-9 is part of the amoebaeon 348-429, and repetitions entirely within that amoebaeon are excluded from the analysis. Τροία in the preceding lyric has been given the line number 424, as in Pearson (1928) rather than the TLG's 422, since the TLG has no 423 or 424. The line numbered 554b in Pearson (1928) and given square brackets by him does not appear in the texts of the Budé/TLG; it is however in all the manuscripts, and consistently with the general policy in this study has been counted in the statistical analysis.

646-692.

719-865. Ajax once interjects ἰὸν ἰού. The interjection is given a line number (737), and is discounted in the analysis.

There are 36 trimeters in the passage 866-960, including a ten-line speech by Tecmessa. The passage is predominantly lyric, and has clear boundaries. It is excluded from the analysis.

961-1162. Teucer once interjects ἰὼ μοί μοι (974) and once οἴμοι (1002). The lines are discounted in the analysis.

The Chorus's five lines of anapaests (1163-1167) and the succeeding 17 trimeters are excluded from the analysis.

1223-1401.

*ELECTRA:*

1-85. Electra utters one short line numbered 77, and included in the analysis: it contains one lexical, which is repeated in 80.

251-471.

516-822.

871-1057. Chrysothemis' exclamation following 1020 does not have a line-number.

1098-1231. Electra's speech contains three short lines given line numbers (1160-2), 1160 contains no lexical, and is excluded from the analysis; the other two contain three lexicals between them; they are included in the analysis.

1288-1383.

The trimeters in the lyric passage 1384-1441 are excluded from the analysis.

1442-1507.

*OEDIPUS TYRANNUS:*

1-150.

216-462.

513-648.

698-862.

911-1085.

1110-1185.

1223-1296.

1367-1514. Oedipus' speech 1446-1475 has three lines of three syllables, with five lexical words, two of which are involved in repetitions. They have line numbers and are included in the analysis.)

*ANTIGONE:*

1-99.

162-331.

384-525.

531-581.

631-780.

883-928.

988-1114.

1155-1256.

*TRACHINIAE:*

1-93.

141-204.

225-496.

531-632.

663-820.

The passage 821-895 (in which 863, 864, 866, 867, 869, 870, 871-879, 889, and 891 are trimeters) is excluded from the analysis.

896-946

1044-1258 (Heracles' speech contains three short lines given line numbers (1081, 1085, 1086) and including seven lexical words; they are therefore included in the analysis.

*PHILOCTETES:*

1-134.

219-390. 219 is a four-syllable line, with one lexical, which is involved in a repetition. It is treated as a line in the analysis.

403-506.

519-675.

730-826. The line number 762 has nothing corresponding to it in the text. The calculations of gaps between repetitions have been adjusted accordingly. Nine of the lines spoken by Philoctetes, none consecutive, are short – those four which contain lexicals (736, 750, 786, and 804) are included in the analysis; the others – 732, 739, 785, 790 and 796 – have been discounted.

865-1080.

1218-1401.

1418-1444.

*OEDIPUS COLONEUS:*

1-116.

254-509. Oedipus' speech 310-321 contains two short lines with lexical words and line numbers (315, 318); they are included in the analysis.

549-667.

720-832.

The strophe 833-843 contains four trimeters amid dochmiacs; it is excluded from the analysis.

844-875.

The antistrophe 876-886 contain four trimeters amid dochmiacs, and is followed by four tetrameters 886-890; all are excluded from the analysis.

891-1043.

1096-1210.

1249-1446. (Polyneices' speech 1254-1279 contains one short line with a lexical word and a line number (1271), and therefore counted as a line in the analysis.

The trimeters in the passage 1447-1499 (three five-line dialogues between Oedipus and Antigone) amount to 15 lines out of 53; the passage is excluded from the analysis.

1500-1555.

1579-1669.

## 3. EURIPIDES

*HERACLIDAE:*

1-74.

111-287. 109-110 are part of the amoebaeon and are therefore excluded from the analysis; the probable lacuna between 110 and 111 would not of itself warrant the exclusion.

297-352.

381-607. The exclamation *extra metrum* in 552 is assigned a line number and is discounted in the analysis.

630-701.

709-747. The interjections *extra metrum* following 717 and 739 do not have line numbers assigned to them.

784-891.

928-1052.

**ANDROMACHE :**

(Exclamations *extra metrum* in this play other than 183 do not have separate line numbers.)

1-102.

147-274. (The exclamation *extra metrum* in 183 is assigned a line number and is discounted in the analysis.)

309-463.

545-765.

The passage 802-824 contains only 23 trimeters and is therefore excluded from the analysis.

866-1008.

1047-1165

1231-1283.

**TROADES:**

1-97.

In the amoebaeon between Hecuba and Talthybius 235-291 Talthybius has 17 trimeters. It is followed by 16 trimeters (two by the Chorus, 12 by Talthybius, and two by Hecuba). Both passages are excluded from the analysis.

341-443.

462-510.

608-781. The interjections *extra metrum* following 617 do not have line numbers assigned to them.

860-1059. The interjection *extra metrum* following 944 does not have a line number assigned to it.

1123-1215.

The passage 1216-1259 consists of three lyric lines, eight trimeters, six lines (in the conventional numbering) three trimeters, six non-trimeters, 11 trimeters, and a sequence of anapaests. It has been excluded from the analysis.

1260-1286.

**IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS:**

(None of the exclamations *extra metrum* in this play has a line number)

1-122.

236-391.

467-642.

658-826.

The largely lyric dialogue between Orestes (827-899) and Iphigenia begins with a trimeter and contains twelve others; it is excluded from the analysis.

900-1088.

1153-1202.

1284-1489. The line numbered 1441b was not in the manuscript P used by early editors; its authenticity is undoubted, and it is treated as a line in the analysis; calculations of intervals etc. have been adjusted.

**ORESTES:**

(None of the exclamations *extra metrum* in this play has a line number)

1-139.

208-315.

356-728. The line numbers 449 and 719 have nothing corresponding to them in modern editions; this block is therefore treated as 371 lines and the calculations of gaps between repetitions have been adjusted accordingly.

844-959.

1018-1245.

1311-1352.

**BACCHAE:**

1-63.

170-369.

434-518.

642-861. The exclamations *extra metrum* in 644 and 810 are assigned line numbers; they are discounted in the analysis.

912-976.

The passage 1024-1042 contains seven lyric lines and one iambic dimeter (perhaps lacunose); it has been excluded from the analysis.

1043-1152.

1200-1329

1330-1367. There is incontrovertibly a major lacuna between 1329 and 1330. Recurrences of words either side of it have therefore been discounted as repetitions. For a discussion of this see Chapter 4, Appendix VI.

**RHESUS :**

(None of the exclamations *extra metrum* in this play has a line number)

52-130.

137-194.

264-341.

388-453.

467-526.

565-674.

754-819.

833-881.

915-992.

**4. MENANDER****DYSCOLUS**

1-232.

233-426.

427-619.

620-702.

784-879.

**5. LYCOPHRON**

The whole of *ALEXANDRA*.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS OF THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS.

#### SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the statistical analysis of repetitions in all the complete plays of Aeschylus (including *Prometheus*) and of Sophocles, *Andromache*, *Heraclidae*, *Troades*, *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Bacchae*, and *Orestes* of Euripides, *Rhesus* ascribed to Euripides, Menander's *Dyscolus* and Lycophron's *Alexandra*; it compares plays and authors. The Appendices to this chapter look at the results reported in Dover (1997) and discuss several interesting problems relating to some individual plays. Chapter 5 examines some issues relating to the construction of plays.

The methodology adopted has been described in Chapter 3. The following tables set out the results for each of the tragic corpora in turn, attempting for the undisputed plays to follow the most likely dates of production and putting the disputed *Prometheus* and *Rhesus* last. In the tables, the figure called 'relevant number of lines' is the number of trimeters repetitions in which are included in the analysis – Chapter 3 explains that only trimeters in blocks of at least 25 trimeters are so included, and Appendix II to that chapter lists what those blocks are. It will be remembered that if the *second* of two occurrences of the same word is in a qualifying trimeter, that repetition is counted in the statistics. The 'interval' is calculated by subtracting the number of the line in which the word first occurs from that of the line in which it occurs for the second time; if a word occurs twice in the same line, it counts as 'same' in the table. The intervals in the tables are cumulative – that is, a repetition in the same line counts in the 'same' category in the table but is also included in the later categories. The first table for each corpus gives the total number of repetitions found in each play. The second table gives the number of repetitions in the same or adjacent lines standardised for length of play, and so provides a measure of the incidence of figured repetitions in the play.<sup>1</sup>

Then comes the 'Index of repetitiveness' for each play of the corpus. These indices have been devised by adapting those in Dover (1997) to the conditions of this study: lines rather than 'mobile lexemes' are used as the unit of measurement, and repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are ignored, to provide a measure of the incidence of unfigured repetitions.<sup>2</sup> The first step in calculating the index for a play is to find, for each qualifying

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<sup>1</sup> The figures are calculated by dividing the number of repetitions in the same and adjacent lines by the number of relevant lines in the play. The result is expressed as the number of repetitions per 100 lines.

<sup>2</sup> Figured repetitions are typically ones in close proximity. The index also excludes repetitions where one speaker in stichomythia picks up a word used by another, though not ones where a speaker picks up a word he used in his last utterance, before the other speaker intervened. An alternative measure of the incidence of unfigured repetitions would have been to take the total number of repetitions, subtract from it the number of repetitions in the same or adjacent lines, and standardise the result for length of play; this is however less sensitive in that a repetition after 14 lines scores identically to one after two; it does however produce a ranking of plays for repetitiveness quite similar to that produced by using the index.



repetition,<sup>3</sup> the reciprocal of the distance in lines between the first and second occurrences of the word. These reciprocals are then summed, and divided by the number of relevant lines in the play; the result is multiplied by 100 to get the index. If  $p_1, p_2, \dots, p_x$  are the distances in lines between the first and second occurrences of each repeated word,<sup>4</sup> and  $q$  the number of relevant lines, then the index is:

Formula 1. 
$$100(1/p_1 + 1/p_2 + \dots + 1/p_x) \times 1/q$$

---

<sup>3</sup> 'Qualifying', to summarise what was said in Chapter 3, means, in principle, 'of lexical words, of which at least the second occurrence is in a trimeter which is part of a block of 25 or more, where the distance between the lines is 15 or less.' Chapter 3 also describes how special cases are treated. For the calculation of the index, as has just been said, repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are ignored.

<sup>4</sup> If a word occurs three times within 15 lines, there are two qualifying repetitions; and the distance between the first and second occurrences, and that between the second and third are taken into account in the calculations. The third occurrence is not treated as repeating with the first. Thus in *Ajax* 1142-1149 there are two repetitions of *χειμών*, the first at an interval of two lines and the second at an interval of four lines:

ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσση θρασὺν	1142
ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν,	
ὦ φθεγμ' ἄν οὐκ ἄν ἠύρες, ἠνίκ' ἐν κακῷ	
χειμῶνος εἶχετ', ἀλλ' ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφαῖς	1145
πατεῖν παρείχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων.	
οὕτω δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸ σὸν λάβρον στόμα	
σμικροῦ νέφους τάχ' ἄν τις ἐκπνεύσας μέγας	
χειμῶν κατασβέσειε τὴν πολλὴν βοήν.	

## SECTION 2. TABULATIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

## A. AESCHYLUS

TABLE 4.1

## REPETITIONS IN THE AESCHYLEAN CORPUS

	Persae	Septem	Supplices	Agamemnon	Choephoroi	Eumenides	Prometheus
No. of relevant lines	399	451	407	817	590	562	756
Intervals							
same line	9	10	9	17	15	9	21
≤1	21	27	22	42	37	24	42
≤2	45	56	43	70	70	41	58
≤3	65	79	59	103	99	60	75
≤4	86	98	77	133	122	76	92
≤5	104	117	87	156	141	102	118
≤6	118	129	94	173	167	126	134
≤7	138	139	110	194	189	145	142
≤8	156	161	122	213	203	157	161
≤9	169	169	127	234	216	169	181
≤10	183	182	135	259	233	184	190
≤11	193	200	139	279	243	205	200
≤12	204	210	146	293	248	213	215
≤13	215	226	149	309	268	217	233
≤14	221	240	157	328	280	230	245
≤15	232	250	163	343	286	237	257

TABLE 4.2

## SAME AND ADJACENT LINE REPETITIONS PER 100 LINES IN THE AESCHYLEAN CORPUS

	Persae	Septem	Supplices	Agamemnon	Choephoroi	Eumenides	Prometheus
same	2.25	2.22	2.21	2.08	2.54	1.6	2.78
same & adjacent	5.26	5.99	5.41	5.14	6.27	4.27	5.56

TABLE 4.3

## INDICES OF REPETITIVENESS IN THE AESCHYLEAN CORPUS

<i>Persae</i>	10.44
<i>Septem</i>	9.87
<i>Supplices</i>	7.56
<i>Agamemnon</i>	6.94
<i>Choephoroi</i>	8.85
<i>Eumenides</i>	7.00
<i>Prometheus</i>	4.99

## B. SOPHOCLES

TABLE 4.4 REPETITIONS IN THE PLAYS OF SOPHOCLES.

	Ajax	Trachiniae	Antigone	O. T.	Electra	Philoctetes	O. C.
No. of relevant lines	955	955	907	1170	1095	1085	1249
Intervals							
same line	29	16	26	32	28	44	40
≤1	66	55	64	97	99	106	92
≤2	105	83	102	149	153	166	143
≤3	148	124	139	196	218	226	196
≤4	194	160	166	240	254	264	250
≤5	226	191	199	281	285	302	288
≤6	260	214	227	322	321	342	330
≤7	298	246	247	359	354	383	354
≤8	326	268	266	393	406	420	387
≤9	349	293	290	433	432	463	419
≤10	376	319	307	463	462	489	448
≤11	400	336	325	500	486	520	475
≤12	412	363	341	523	515	550	506
≤13	428	381	363	557	541	571	539
≤14	444	397	379	581	563	603	571
≤15	459	414	391	601	586	623	590

TABLE 4.5

SAME AND ADJACENT LINE REPETITIONS PER 100 LINES IN THE PLAYS OF SOPHOCLES.

	Ajax	Trachiniae	Antigone	O. T.	Electra	Philoctetes	O. C.
same	3.04	1.68	2.87	2.74	2.56	4.06	3.2
same & adjacent	6.91	5.76	7.06	8.29	9.04	9.77	7.37

TABLE 4.6

INDICES OF REPETITIVENESS IN THE PLAYS OF SOPHOCLES.

<i>Ajax</i>	8.18
<i>Trachiniae</i>	6.99
<i>Antigone</i>	7.23
<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	8.18
<i>Electra</i>	8.83
<i>Philoctetes</i>	9.41
<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	7.72

## C. EURIPIDES

TABLE 4.7

## REPETITIONS IN SOME PLAYS OF THE EURIPIDEAN CORPUS

	Heraclidae	Andromache	Troades	I T	Orestes	Bacchae	Rhesus
No. of relevant lines	877	919	743	1069	1132	909	643
Intervals							
same line	26	38	23	27	40	26	15
≤1	54	59	43	57	99	59	36
≤2	88	109	75	115	167	106	66
≤3	123	153	113	175	215	154	96
≤4	166	197	156	222	265	191	130
≤5	207	237	188	269	320	222	163
≤6	237	273	222	322	376	255	189
≤7	264	305	252	375	409	282	207
≤8	293	328	272	411	447	313	220
≤9	316	343	305	445	497	339	245
≤10	351	373	327	477	536	358	268
≤11	378	394	341	498	571	381	283
≤12	407	422	366	524	615	403	305
≤13	427	438	383	553	641	427	326
≤14	448	458	401	586	668	444	245
≤15	469	476	421	612	697	469	361

TABLE 4.8

## SAME AND ADJACENT LINE REPETITIONS PER 100 LINES IN SOME PLAYS OF THE EURIPIDEAN CORPUS

	Heraclidae	Andromache	Troades	I T	Orestes	Bacchae	Rhesus
same	2.96	4.13	3.1	2.52	3.53	2.86	2.33
same & adjacent	6.16	6.42	5.79	5.33	8.75	6.49	5.6

TABLE 4.9

## INDICES OF REPETITIVENESS IN SOME PLAYS OF THE EURIPIDEAN CORPUS

<i>Heraclidae</i>	8.61
<i>Andromache</i>	9.23
<i>Troades</i>	9.61
<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	10.14
<i>Orestes</i>	10.11
<i>Bacchae</i>	8.98
<i>Rhesus</i>	9.47

## SECTION 3. RANKINGS OF THE PLAYS BASED ON TABULATIONS.

The next group of tables ranks all the plays studied in ascending order of repetitiveness. Tables 4.10 and 4.11 set out the figures for repetitions in the same and adjacent lines, which are an indication of the appearance of the basic repetitive figures of anadiplosis, anaphora and polyptoton, and of stichomythic repetition. Table 4.12 turns to the prime focus of this study, measured by the index of repetitiveness.

TABLE 4.10 PLAYS RANKED BY SAME-LINE REPETITIONS

A. <i>Eumenides</i>	1.60
S. <i>Trachiniae</i>	1.68
A. <i>Agamemnon</i>	2.08
A. <i>Supplices</i>	2.21
A. <i>Septem</i>	2.22
A. <i>Persae</i>	2.25
?. <i>Rhesus</i>	2.33
E. <i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	2.52
A. <i>Choephoroi</i>	2.54
S. <i>Electra</i>	2.56
S. <i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	2.74
?. <i>Prometheus</i>	2.78
E. <i>Bacchae</i>	2.86
S. <i>Antigone</i>	2.87
E. <i>Heraclidae</i>	2.96
S. <i>Ajax</i>	3.04
E. <i>Troades</i>	3.10
S. <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	3.20
E. <i>Orestes</i>	3.53
S. <i>Philoctetes</i>	4.06
E. <i>Andromache</i>	4.13

TABLE 4.11 PLAYS RANKED BY REPETITIONS IN THE SAME AND ADJACENT LINES

A. <i>Eumenides</i>	4.27
A. <i>Agamemnon</i>	5.14
A. <i>Persae</i>	5.26
E. <i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	5.33
A. <i>Supplices</i>	5.41
?. <i>Prometheus</i>	5.56
?. <i>Rhesus</i>	5.60
S. <i>Trachiniae</i>	5.76
E. <i>Troades</i>	5.79
A. <i>Septem</i>	5.99
E. <i>Heraclidae</i>	6.16
A. <i>Choephoroi</i>	6.27
E. <i>Andromache</i>	6.42
E. <i>Bacchae</i>	6.49
S. <i>Ajax</i>	6.91
S. <i>Antigone</i>	7.06
S. <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	7.37
S. <i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	8.29
E. <i>Orestes</i>	8.75
S. <i>Electra</i>	9.04
S. <i>Philoctetes</i>	9.77

TABLE 4.12 PLAYS RANKED BY INDEX OF REPETITIVENESS

? <i>Prometheus</i>	4.99
A. <i>Agamemnon</i>	6.94
A. <i>Eumenides</i>	7.00
S. <i>Trachiniae</i>	6.99
S. <i>Antigone</i>	7.23
S. <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	7.72
A. <i>Supplices</i>	7.56
S. <i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	8.18
S. <i>Ajax</i>	8.18
E. <i>Heraclidae</i>	8.61
S. <i>Electra</i>	8.83
A. <i>Choephoroi</i>	8.85
E. <i>Bacchae</i>	8.98
E. <i>Andromache</i>	9.23
S. <i>Philoctetes</i>	9.41
? <i>Rhesus</i>	9.47
E. <i>Troades</i>	9.61
A. <i>Septem</i>	9.87
E. <i>Orestes</i>	10.11
E. <i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	10.14
A. <i>Persae</i>	10.44

An overall index for the undisputed plays of each playwright has been calculated by applying Formula 1 to them as a unitary whole:

TABLE 4.13 PLAYWRIGHTS' OVERALL INDICES OF REPETITIVENESS

Aeschylus	8.22 (range 6.94 to 10.44)
Sophocles	8.11 (range 7.23 to 9.41)
Euripides	9.49 (range 8.61 to 10.14)

SECTION 4. DISCUSSION.<sup>5</sup>

It appears from Tables 4.2 and 4.3 that, though there is no trend in Aeschylus' propensity to repeat words in the same or adjacent trimeters, there is a reduction in the index of repetitiveness from his earlier to his later plays. In this context the divergence between *Choephoroi* and the other two plays of the *Oresteia* is striking, and invites one to wonder whether the plays of the trilogy were written, though they were produced, together. Schein (1979), in his study of the location of word-end in the trimeters of Aeschylus and Sophocles, observes (pp. 20-21) that there are noticeable differences in the plays of the *Oresteia*, but finds that "in different respects each possible combination of two of the three plays differs from the third."

The relative dating of the plays of Sophocles is very uncertain (the order adopted here is that proposed by Reinhardt [1977]), though it is generally accepted that *Philoctetes* and *Oedipus Coloneus* were the two last. If Reinhardt is right, then Tables 4.5 and 4.6 suggest that Sophocles' propensity to repetition in trimeters (whether or not repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are excluded) increased from *Trachiniae* to *Philoctetes*; but the figures for *Ajax* and *Oedipus Coloneus* make it unsafe to draw any firm conclusion.

As for Euripides, it appears from Tables 4.8 and 4.9 that though there is no trend in his propensity to repeat words in the same or adjacent trimeters, there is an increase in his index of repetitiveness from the earlier to the later plays, excluding *Bacchae*.<sup>6</sup>

Tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12 look at all the plays. The ranking orders displayed by the three tables are quite different. Propensity to repeat words after brief intervals (that is, roughly speaking, figurally) does not seem to correlate with non-figural repetitiveness.

Table 4.10, repetitions in the same line, separates out Aeschylus from the rest, as the least prone to figures of repetition.<sup>7</sup>

Table 4.11, repetitions in the same and adjacent lines, once more shows Aeschylus the least prone. But, most strikingly, Sophocles proves the most prone – indeed if repetitions in adjacent lines only are considered, then Sophocles' seven plays take all but one of the top eight places (the other going to *Orestes*).

This study is however concerned primarily with unfigured repetitions, of which indices of repetitiveness (Table 4.12) are a measure, since they exclude the generality of figural repetitions. The indices for Aeschylus show a wide range, with a play by him at both top and bottom of the table. There are reasons, however, why conclusions for Aeschylus may

<sup>5</sup> In this Section, *Prometheus* is not included with Aeschylus, nor *Rhesus* with Euripides.

<sup>6</sup> This impression might, of course, be disproved by the plays not examined in this study, but does seem to accord with the enigmatic statement (already noted in Chapter 2 section 2ii above) in Schmid-Stählin (1934) 795 note 1 "Die Zahl dieser Wiederholungen wächst in den spätesten Stücken (Hel., IT., Or., Phoen., IA – nicht in Bacch.) bis zum 50." Whatever the unit of measurement, a difference between *Bacchae* and other late plays is certainly envisaged.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Schmid-Stählin (1934) 490, cited by Easterling (1974) "Sophocles uses both *anaphora* and *anadiplosis* much more frequently than Aeschylus". Schinkel (1973) observes that Aeschylus is, however, quite keen on polyptota.

be less robust than those for the other playwrights. First, the statistical base, in the form of qualifying trimeters, is smaller, often much smaller, for Aeschylean plays than for the others examined – only *Agamemnon* has more such lines than even one other play (*Troades*); repetitions do not occur evenly in any play (this subject is examined briefly in Chapter 5 and, for three plays, in Chapter 8), and the fewer the number of lines the less certainly does a representative rate emerge. Second, there is generally more intermingling of trimeters and other metres in Aeschylus than in the work of the other playwrights, and that may add noise to the calculations of indices.

As for Sophocles and Euripides, the data above suggest the conclusion that Euripides is markedly more repetitive than Sophocles. Though the ranges of the two overlap, only *Philoctetes* displays an index like those common for Euripides.<sup>8</sup>

There are two plays whose authorship is disputed. While the index for *Rhesus* is in line with Euripidean indices generally, the index for *Prometheus* is far lower than that of any other play studied. This finding is discussed in Appendix III to this chapter, while Appendix VII comments on *Rhesus*.

Two other works in iambic trimeters have been examined, as comparators. One is Menander's *Dyscolus*, the index of repetitiveness for which is 8.87; comfortably within the range of the tragedians. The other is the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, which is utterly distinct, having an index of 1.55. The important differences between the techniques of these works and those of tragedy render them of limited value as comparators. But *Alexandra* demonstrates that the level of repetition found in tragedy is not inherent in Greek poetry. There is a discussion of *Dyscolus* and *Alexandra* at Appendix VIII to this chapter.

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<sup>8</sup> For discussion of *Philoctetes* see Appendix IV to this chapter.



## SECTION 5. STATISTICAL TESTING

With what confidence can it be said on the basis of the data above that Sophocles tended to repeat words (ignoring non-lexical words and repetitions in figures of speech) less than Euripides?

The data before us are repetitiveness indices for seven plays of Sophocles and six of Euripides, which are assumed to be random samples of the total number of plays written by these two authors.<sup>9</sup> The assumption of randomness seems justified, since whatever the factors determining the survival of plays were, they are most unlikely to have included repetitiveness; and the selection of plays to be studied out of the total surviving plays of Euripides was made to achieve a chronological spread.

The question being asked of the data is what the probability is that the two samples come from the same population, the apparent difference being fortuitous. Many of the statistical tests devised for problems like this are 'parametric'; that is, they are based on the assumption that the populations have a known form, such as the 'normal distribution', which is frequently found in natural phenomena and industrial processes. But there are no good grounds for assuming that the distribution of repetitiveness in the plays of Greek tragedians, or literature generally, is 'normal'. A test like the *t*-test is not therefore appropriate.

A number of nonparametric tests have been devised for use in statistical problems where the populations cannot be assumed to have a known form. One of these is the 'rank-sum' test. It is carried out by arranging the two samples in order of increasing size, and then summing the ranks of the smaller group. Table 4.12, with the Aeschylean corpus and *Rhesus* eliminated, becomes Table 4.14:

TABLE 4.14 RANKING OF PLAYS OF SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES

RANK	PLAYWRIGHT	PLAY	INDEX
1	Sophocles	<i>Trachiniae</i>	6.99
2	Sophocles	<i>Antigone</i>	7.23
3	Sophocles	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	7.72
4	Sophocles	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	8.18
5	Sophocles	<i>Ajax</i>	8.18
6	Euripides	<i>Heraclidae</i>	8.61
7	Sophocles	<i>Electra</i>	8.83
8	Euripides	<i>Bacchae</i>	8.98
9	Euripides	<i>Andromache</i>	9.23
10	Sophocles	<i>Philoctetes</i>	9.41
11	Euripides	<i>Troades</i>	9.61
12	Euripides	<i>Orestes</i>	10.11
13	Euripides	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	10.14

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps some 120 for Sophocles and some 90 for Euripides.

The sum of the ranks of the smaller group (Euripides) is 59. Table VIII of Hoel (1966) sets out rank-sum critical values. For a test where the sample sizes are 6 and 7, the critical values are 30 and 54 (i.e. if the rank-sums for a smaller sample fall between these figures the hypothesis that the populations are distinct should be rejected, since such a rank-sum would occur by chance more than five times in a hundred). 59 is outside the critical region. Therefore, the fact that higher indices of repetitiveness have been found in the Euripidean plays studied than the Sophoclean ones can properly be claimed not to be illusory.

This conclusion cannot, of course, be pressed too hard. Against it could, for instance, be adduced the wide range of Aeschylus' indices, and the differences from one part of a play to another which are brought out (for a very few plays) in Chapter 5 and at the beginning of each section of Chapter 8. But it is nevertheless important. The appendices to this chapter include discussions of problems with some particular plays.

## APPENDIX I

COMPARISON OF RESULTS WITH THOSE IN DOVER'S STUDY OF PROSE AUTHORS.<sup>10</sup>

Dover devises an 'Index of Recurrence', and uses it to compare passages of Herodotus, Gorgias, Thucydides and Isocrates. He also presents a table comparing passages of the same length (*viz.* 1000 mobile tokens – roughly, occurrences of lexical words) in ten authors in respect of their number of repetitions after different intervals (measured in mobile tokens). This table shows Gorgias as overwhelmingly the most prone to repetition after very short intervals, and the Old Oligarch well in the lead in repetitions at intervals from 4 to 15. Dover finds:

Thucydides shows a quite remarkable fall in recurrence [that is, compared to earlier prose writers] across the whole range from 1 to 20 intervals.

and:

There seems to be a clear chronological trend towards reduction of recurrence in oratory from Antiphon, via Lysias, to Demosthenes.

Dover's work has been discussed at several places above, and this study is greatly indebted to it, particularly for the idea of using reciprocals to give numerical weight to the evident fact that more distant repetitions, though noticeable, have less impact than closer ones. The results of this study are not, however, directly comparable with Dover's, because he looks at a somewhat more restricted range of words and uses non-mobile lexemes as the unit of distance between words, while this study uses lines.

Dover's methodology has nevertheless been applied to the prologue of *Ajax*, and produces a figure slightly over 1. Dover's figures for Herodotus, Gorgias, Thucydides and Isocrates are 0.76, 4.42, 0.32 and 0.13 respectively. Since Dover's index gives great weight to very close, that is largely figurative, repetitions,<sup>11</sup> and poets use poetical language, which is often figurative, it is not surprising that a poet scores higher on this index than prose writers (other than Gorgias!).

Dover finds a reduction in recurrence in the orators over the fourth century. There is too little fourth-century tragedy extant to make any judgement about trends here. It is scarcely relevant that Menander's repetitiveness as disclosed in this study is in line with that of the fifth century tragedians.

Though it is no part of this study to criticise Dover's work or conclusions, the variation in repetitiveness from one work of the same author to another, and indeed from one part of a play to another (on which see Chapter 5), revealed by this study suggests that Dover's samples may not be large enough. 1000 mobile lexemes are no more than 300 lines of a play, while we have looked at every extended trimeter passage in 21 tragedies.

<sup>10</sup> Chapter 7A of Dover (1997), pp 131-143.

<sup>11</sup> Dover uses the term 'formal recurrence' for what is here called 'figurative repetition'. He recognises this effect of his index, and therefore separates in one of his tables "data on close proximity (intervals 1-5) from data on intervals ranging from 6 to 20." (See Dover [1997] 134 and table 7.2.)

## APPENDIX II

THE *SEPTEM* OF AESCHYLUS

It is worth enquiring whether the repetitive technique adds anything to the case for or against the genuineness of the end of *Septem*. 1005-1078 is believed by many to be a later addition, under the influence of Euripides' *Phoenissae* or Sophocles' *Antigone* or both. Hutchinson lists earlier discussions; in his view we have a fragment of fourth-century tragedy added to Aeschylus' original *Septem* (and introduced into it by the anapaests 861-874).<sup>12</sup> The arguments for the spuriousness of the scene are based on plot and language.

If the disputed end is removed, the index for *Septem* is 9.88; per 100 lines, it has 1.74 same-line repetitions, and 5.22 repetitions in the same or adjacent lines. The index for the trimeter passage 1005-1053 is 9.76; it has 6.12 same-line repetitions, and 12.24 repetitions in the same or adjacent lines.

It is striking that the disputed passage has an index very like that of the rest of the play (and above that of all other plays but *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Orestes* and *Persae*), but a markedly higher number (per 100 lines) of repetitions in the same or adjacent lines (but below the figure for *Choephoroi*, and well below that for several plays of Sophocles and Euripides). However, the trimeter passage is only 49 lines long, and the repetition statistics for so short a passage of any play can diverge widely from those for the whole play.

It is also noteworthy that the passage contains two striking echoes of earlier words in the play. First, 1018-9

θεῶν πατρώων, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὄδε  
στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ἦρει πόλιν.

echo 582-3

πόλιν πατρώων καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς  
πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα;<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, *κοιλογάστορες* in 1035 echoes *κοιλογάστορος* in 496; these are the only occurrences of this word in extant Greek literature, nor are any compounds of either *κοιλο-* or *γαστηρ* other than rare.

An example of an Aeschylean emphasis upon a root is *τιμ*, which occurs seven times between 1003 and 1047. It occurs only eight times in the rest of the play, only once in close proximity; but its repetition is a feature of the *Oresteia*, in which the root is repeated within three lines on eleven occasions, while there are only three such repetitions in the whole of the complete plays of Sophocles and five in those of Euripides.

Less striking but perhaps still noteworthy is that the commonest repetition in the passage (*πόλις*, five times) is one of the two commonest in trimeters in the play as a whole (24

<sup>12</sup> Hutchinson (1985) 209-211.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Trachiniae* 259 στρατὸν λαβὼν ἐπακτὸν ἔρχεται πόλιν.

times, equalled by θεός); πόλις, however, is also a commonly repeated word in *Antigone* and *Phoenissae*.

No inference can be drawn about the genuineness of the end of *Septem* from all this. It does, however, reinforce the impression that the passage is reasonably well knit into the play, even though its theme and some aspects of its language support the idea that it is a fourth-century embellishment.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Stanford (1942) observes that it certainly has Aeschylean traits, and is at worst “a good specimen of ‘the school of Aeschylus’ ”

## APPENDIX III

THE *PROMETHEUS* ATTRIBUTED TO AESCHYLUS

The authenticity of this play is much disputed.<sup>15</sup> A full study of the problem is in Griffith (1977), who comes down against authenticity. He has a section entitled 'Repetition' (pp. 201-2), but that looks at words or phrases repeated anywhere within the play, and describes repetitions within a few lines of each other as:

. . . not of much significance; they are common in all authors, though the technique of variation is often employed to avoid clumsiness.

The tone of Griffith's discussion is shown in the following extracts:

Schmid has collected a remarkable list of passages in *Prom.* in which individual words or phrases are repeated . . . by and large they justify his emphasis on this as an extraordinary feature of the play.

Hiltbrunner . . . finds that with *Prom.* the picture is completely different from the other six plays: the repetitions are more numerous, but seem to lack any purpose or pattern.

. . . the word-for-word repetition is far more extensive and obvious than is usual for Aeschylus, who prefers more subtle variation of . . . thematically essential words or phrases.

Moreover, even Herington, who believes *Prometheus* is by Aeschylus, says:

But Schmid was no doubt justified in treating the high frequency of repetition in *PV* as a unique feature. Though exact comparative statistics seem to be lacking, there is almost certainly nothing approaching a parallel in tragedy or comedy.<sup>16</sup>

These extracts do nothing to prepare one for Table 4.12 above, which shows that there is far *less* repetition, aside from indisputable figures of speech, in *Prometheus* than in any of the other plays – not in the Aeschylean corpus only, but in the whole of the rest of extant Greek tragedy.<sup>17</sup> The conclusion seems to be “*Prometheus* may not be by Aeschylus because its author seems to avoid unfigured repetitions at intervals of 15 lines or fewer, and spreads his words out more.”

<sup>15</sup> The latest Teubner editor (West 1998) prints *Prometheus* after the other six plays and describes it as 'incerti auctoris.' Schein (1979) Appendix III, who was not able to take account of Griffith (1977), accepts *Prometheus* as by, and one of the latest plays of, Aeschylus, and claims that the peculiarities of the trimeter in it are in accord with these assumptions, but then admits that the tolerance of hiatus between two lines, of which the first is not end-stopped, is unique to *Prometheus* among tragedies.

<sup>16</sup> Herington (1970) 33.

<sup>17</sup> Although, as observed above, there is nothing in what Griffith (1977) says about repetition to prepare for these findings, his appendix L 'Word Distribution' does find that *Prometheus* 'has a slightly larger total of separate nouns than any of the other plays, in proportion to their size' and 'rather a small number of nouns used often'. 'This suggests,' he says 'that *Prom.*'s vocabulary is in this respect quite wide in range.' He denies that there is any significant statistical variation from author to author, but he may not have looked very deeply into this. (In the days before the TLG and search programs the collection of such data was, as he says, laborious and tiresome work.) It may be that the range of the vocabulary of *Prometheus* is the reverse of a coin whose obverse is Table 4.12; but to demonstrate this would necessitate going beyond nouns to verbs and adjectives. And to find that it is would not show the direction of causation – does the author of *Prometheus* employ a relatively wide vocabulary because he is more anxious than others to keep unfigured repetitions down, or is his low repetitiveness index a consequence of his use of a relatively wide vocabulary?

The impression of a stylistic divergence is reinforced when we look at repetitions in the same line. Table 4.10 shows that there are proportionately more of these in *Prometheus* than in the rest of the Aeschylean corpus, though several of the plays of Sophocles and Euripides exceed it. There may in addition be some qualitative difference; there are in trimeters analysed in *Prometheus* four examples of anadiplosis – repetition of the same form of a word, with or without an intervening word or words, which adds nothing to the sense, viz, 266 ἐκὼν ἐκὼν ἥμαρτον 274 πίθεσθέ μοι, πίθεσθε 338 αὐχῶ γάρ, αὐχῶ 999 τόλμησον, ὦ μάταιε, τόλμησον. Elsewhere in the Aeschylean trimeters which have been analysed, such anadiplosis is found only with monosyllabic vocatives (Ζεῦ *Agamemnon* 973 and *Choephoroi* 246 and παῖ *Choephoroi* 653 and 654).

These impressions must be treated with caution. Aeschylus, it should be remembered, shows a greater range in repetitiveness than the other playwrights, his repetitiveness indices ranging from 6.94 to 10.44. Can we be certain that he could not have written a play with an even lower index, particularly if, as some argue, *Prometheus* was the latest of his surviving plays, given that the others with low indices are in the *Oresteia*, which would have preceded it by a short interval?

## APPENDIX IV

THE *PHILOCTETES* OF SOPHOCLES

Five of the surviving plays of Sophocles have indices of repetitiveness much lower than any of those by Euripides which have been analysed here. The index of one, *Electra*, exceeds that of one, but only one, play of Euripides, *Heraclidae*. The impression of clear water between these two playwrights does not however survive *Philoctetes*, which has an index above the average for Euripides.<sup>18</sup> This is somewhat disconcerting, and makes it less easy to conclude, for instance, that we have found a settled Sophoclean trait, and that he was more concerned to avoid unfigured repetitions than was Euripides.

It is reassuring to find, therefore, that commentators have noticed stylistic differences between *Philoctetes* and the other surviving plays of Sophocles. Jebb in his edition says

The diction of the *Philoctetes* has been regarded by Schneidewin and others as somewhat deficient in the lofty force of earlier compositions. But this criticism is not warranted by those passages which gave the fittest scope for such a quality . . . If, in the larger part of the play, the language is of a less elevated strain, this results from the nature of the subject; since the gradual unfolding of character, to which the plot owes its peculiar interest, is effected by the conversations of Neoptolemus with Odysseus or with Philoctetes, in which a more familiar tone necessarily predominates.

Again, Earp in *The Style of Sophocles* makes many references to the greater naturalism of the dialogue in this play, and to the higher proportion of resolved feet than elsewhere in Sophocles.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Tables 4.10 and 4.11 show *Philoctetes* with the highest number of repetitions per 100 trimeters in the same and adjacent lines, and exceeded only by *Andromache* in same-line repetitions. But Sophocles' plays generally rank high in these tables.

<sup>19</sup> Earp (1944), especially p. 96 “. . . in which the dialogue approaches most nearly to normal speech.”; p.115 “. . . the *Philoctetes* is certainly the most naturalistic of all the plays and contains no set declamation . . .”; p. 122 “nearer to natural speech than any other of the plays.” This observation is supported by the series of same-line repetitions in antilabe in *Philoctetes* 810-817; a passage reminiscent of comedy, which includes the remarkable 816 – Φι. μέθες μέθες με. Νε. ποῖ μεθῶ; Φι. μέθες ποτε.



## APPENDIX V

THE *ORESTES* OF EURIPIDES

## 1. REPETITIONS

*Orestes* is one of Euripides' latest plays, probably produced in 408 BC. It has been characterised as a melodrama; its most striking formal feature is a long lyric aria by a Phrygian slave towards the end. This study has found particular repetitiveness in *Orestes*; it is very close to the top of tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12.

In common with other late plays of Euripides, *Orestes* is long, and quite a lot of its transmitted text has been suspected as being interpolated by actors. Diggle (1994) – the most recent Oxford Classical Text – puts 99 of its trimeters in square brackets (comparable with the 95 of *Helen* but many fewer than the 233 of *Phoenissae*).<sup>20</sup> Diggle, also alters the order of lines between 544 and 584, and between 1599 and 1613. The effect of these changes on repetitiveness has been assessed.

The base text, as throughout this study, was that of the TLG, i.e. the Oxford Classical Text of Murray (1907), *including* the lines put in square brackets by Murray (amounting to 27, including four not excised by Diggle). This text was then re-arranged by excluding the lines square-bracketed by Diggle and making all of his transpositions. Readings within lines, however, remain those of the TLG. (The aim of the exercise was to assess what effect Diggle's excisions and transpositions have on repetitiveness in the play, not to produce figures for Diggle's text.) The table of repetitions produced for the base text of *Orestes* was amended by removing those where either of the occurrences was in an excised line, and recalculating the intervals between occurrences affected by transpositions or the excision of intervening lines; that was simple, but it was more difficult to track down new repetitions created by transpositions or the excision of intervening lines. Since the program *Pandora* works only on the TLG, the derived text was inspected for repetitions by eye and by the use of a standard search program. The results are tabulated below:

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<sup>20</sup> As generally in this study, continuous trimeter passages only are examined – isolated trimeters or groups of trimeters in lyric contexts are ignored.

TABLE 4.15

*ORESTES*: MURRAY AND DIGGLE ORDERS COMPARED

	Murray order	Diggle order
No. of relevant lines	1132	1033
Intervals		
same line	40	34
≤1	99	84
≤2	167	148
≤3	215	194
≤4	265	244
≤5	320	293
≤6	376	340
≤7	409	379
≤8	447	419
≤9	497	461
≤10	536	497
≤11	571	520
≤12	615	552
≤13	641	582
≤14	668	607
≤15	697	635

The Index of repetitiveness for the Diggle order is 10.37, compared with 10.11 for the Murray order, and repetitions in the same and adjacent lines compare as follows:

TABLE 4.16

SAME AND ADJACENT LINE REPETITIONS PER 100 LINES IN *ORESTES*.

	Murray order	Diggle order
same	3.53	3.29
same & adjacent	8.75	8.13

Diggle's changes have slightly reduced the apparent propensity to repeat words in the same or adjacent trimeters (which is, as described above, something of a proxy for figural repetitions), but have slightly increased the index of repetitiveness (something of a proxy for unfigured repetitions, since it excludes repetitions in the same or adjacent trimeters). Diggle's changes have not affected the conclusions drawn earlier in this chapter about the relationship of *Orestes* to Euripides' other plays or of him to other authors.

There are 34 same-line repetitions in the Diggle text (3.29 per 100), and 6 in the lines Diggle judges to be interpolated (6.1 per 100). There are 50 repetitions in adjacent lines in

the Diggle text (4.84 per 100). There are 6 repetitions in adjacent interpolated lines (6.1 per 100), and on 6 occasions there is a repetition between an interpolated line and a word in the Diggle text.<sup>21</sup> So the putative interpolators were more prone to such repetitions than Euripides as reconstructed by Diggle. On the other hand, they were rather less prone to repetitions after longer intervals.

This is not surprising. Figurative repetitions can be a feature of sententiousness, and sententiousness can seem attractive to those seeking to embellish a text. If however unfigured repetitions are in some sense an unconscious result of the process of composition (on which see the discussions in Chapters 2 and 7), then fewer would be expected between the work of one writer (here Diggle's Euripides) and another (here an interpolator).

It is not, however, as if there were an enormous chasm between the repetitive technique of the interpolators and that of the reconstructed Euripides; the interpolators integrated their writing, in this respect, quite well into the play Euripides had written.

We must consider also the alternative hypothesis; *viz.* that the transmitted text is, or is very close to, what Euripides wrote, and excisions and transpositions are, in the main, editorial improvements. Then, if editors have been influenced in making changes by a desire to remove blemishes caused by repetitions which seemed offensive to their ears, they have succeeded only in respect of repetitions in the same or adjacent lines – *overall* those repetitions they have removed have been counterbalanced by ones which their excisions and transpositions have introduced.

Stronger conclusions than the above could perhaps be reached by an examination of *Phoenissae*, over 20 per cent of whose lines are square-bracketed by Diggle, as compared with under 10 per cent of *Orestes*.

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<sup>21</sup> Of course removal of interpolations also creates repetitions not in the Murray text, and transpositions create and remove repetitions; the figures in this sentence take no account of such happenings.

## 2. RESOLUTIONS.

It is not only in the field of repetitiveness that the wholesale excision of lines can affect indices of poetic practice. It is generally accepted that the frequency of the resolution of feet in the iambic trimeter (i.e. the number of tribrachs, anapaests and dactyls replacing iambs or spondees in the first five feet) increases steadily over Euripides' career, and that the index of such frequency is a valid method of dating a play. Cropp & Fick (1985) indeed use sophisticated statistical analyses of resolution rates to date plays of which few lines survive.

While, of course, the excision of a few lines is very unlikely to affect the resolution rate significantly (unless an editor used the existence or otherwise of a resolution as a criterion for rejecting lines), large-scale excisions might well affect it.

This is recognised by Cropp & Fick, who point out that differences in the calculations of different workers in this field depend largely on their different attitudes to the exclusion of spurious or suspect lines. They say:

The resulting differences are minor, except in the cases of *Phoinissai* and *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, where special problems of authenticity arise . . . In *Phoinissai*, the problems of interpolation are particularly vexing and have caused us to exclude from consideration, besides numerous minor passages, three passages . . . where suspicions of the presence of inauthentic or at least reworked material seem strongest. (It should be stressed that the exclusion of possibly genuine lines is less potentially misleading than the inclusion of spurious evidence.) Nevertheless, since excluded passages usually take some resolutions with them, the resolution/trimeter ratios based on the different counts remain remarkably consistent, the largest proportionate differences between the ratios [calculated by different researchers] being for *Hippolytos* . . . *Hekabe* . . . and *Ion*. [Cropp & Fick add in a footnote: "It should, however, be noted that if all the deletions in *Phoinissai* recommended by E. Fraenkel . . . were made, this would result in the removal of about 250 trimeters with about 100 resolutions from the complete text, reducing the resolution rate of the rest to about 33.1 per cent. Unfortunately, the one single suspect passage where inclusion or exclusion will have the greatest impact on the overall figures, lines 1104-1140 (with 23 resolutions in 37 lines), is also one of the most difficult to evaluate for authenticity . . . "]<sup>22</sup>

A brief analysis of the effect of Diggle's excisions on the resolution rate of *Orestes* has been carried out, based on the work of Philippides (1984). Philippides includes a metrical analysis of every trimeter in the plays she has selected (one of which is *Orestes*), and has the merit for the present purpose of great reluctance to exclude lines (stopping however short of this study, which, in principle, excludes no line in the manuscript tradition). She excludes from *Orestes* only "the lines which both the Oxford Classical Text [i.e. Murray (1907)] and the Budé list as corrupt", and includes *all* trimeters, even those embedded in lyric passages.

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<sup>22</sup> Cropp & Fick (1985) 6 and note 3.

Philippides finds 587 resolutions in 1175 trimeters – a resolution rate of 50.0%. 85 lines included in her analysis are excised by Diggle; they contain 37 resolutions – a resolution rate of 43.5%. The Diggle text, therefore, has 550 resolutions in 1091 lines, a resolution rate of 50.4%. The difference between the Philippides rate and the Diggle one is small, bearing out Cropp & Fick’s statement that “the resolution/trimeter ratios based on the different counts remain remarkably consistent”. What is striking is that the rate for the excluded lines, though not as high as for those parts of the play accepted as authentic by Diggle, is above the rate for any play by Euripides other than *Orestes*, *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (35.6% for *Helen* being the nearest). As with repetitiveness, we find the putative interpolator(s) managing to approximate his/their style(s) to that of the play being embellished.<sup>23</sup> There is, incidentally, too little fourth-century tragedy extant for a definitive statement of the practice of tragic playwrights in that century, but it seems to have differed from one to another; Alexandrian tragedians seem to have eschewed resolution.

Another possibility, of course, is that what we have is a set of editorial deletions from a text that is actually a unity. If the text were a unity one would expect the resolution of deleted lines and the rest to be similar, unless resolution were a criterion for or against deletion.

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<sup>23</sup> This may be borne out by the observation that in the 36 trimeters deleted by Diggle in his text of *Andromache* there are but five resolutions - 13.9%, quite close to the 15.9% calculated by Cropp & Fick for that play. In the 18 lines deleted by Diggle but not by Murray there are four resolutions – 22.2%. Deductions from all this are particularly difficult, however, because one line, which Diggle deletes but Murray does not, contains the exceptional number of 3 resolutions.

## APPENDIX VI

LACUNA IN *BACCHAE*

There is a lacuna between lines 1329 and 1330 of *Bacchae*. This corruption has a far more secure status than most others, even those universally accepted by editors: its only parallel for certainty is the loss of the beginning of *Choephoroi*. 1329 is the first part of an incomplete sentence spoken by Agave, and the next line in the sole manuscript (P, L having failed at 755) is 1331, the second part of a sentence spoken by Dionysus (1330 is supplied from the scholia to Dionysius Periegetes). The plot has obviously developed in the interim, and a number of the lost lines may survive transmogrified in *Christus Patiens*.

One might expect this lacuna to show up in an analysis of repetitions. The naïve expectation might be that, since the sets of lines preceding and following the lacuna are not contiguous in the normal sense, there would be fewer repetitions between the two sets than between similar sets where there is no lacuna. That expectation is confounded by the facts: there are five words occurring before the lacuna which occur after it with a gap of 15 lines or fewer (forms of λέγω, ἄθλιος, ἤγουμεν, and ἔχω), while in five other samples examined there were more than five repetitions crossing an arbitrarily selected boundary only once, and fewer than five on four occasions.

But is this naïve expectation valid? If unfigured repetitions were deliberately sought by the poet, then it would indeed be surprising to find them to find them created by what must properly be called an accident (as if, for instance, turning over two pages of a traditionally rhyming English poet did not interfere with the rhyme scheme). But if the unfigured repetitions are an unconscious result of the way in which the poet composed, and in the process of polishing his composition he tried, at least sometimes, to remove them, then one would expect more repetitions between sets of non-contiguous lines in the same play than between sets of contiguous ones. A brief attempt was made to test this hypothesis: in three long trimeter passages of *Bacchae* two pages were turned over and a count was made of the number of repetitions across the gap. Four, one and three were found. That does not support the hypothesis. At present therefore, all one can say is that random effects seem to predominate when small sections of plays are examined; that conclusion is also reached in Chapter 5 below.

## APPENDIX VII

THE *RHESUS* ASCRIBED TO EURIPIDES

The authenticity of *Rhesus* has been queried since antiquity. The hypothesis prefixed to *Rhesus* in manuscripts contains the following:

τοῦτο τὸ δράμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν ὡς οὐκ Εὐριπίδου· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτῆρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ.<sup>24</sup>

In 1964 Ritchie devoted a full-length book to this subject, concluding that the play was an early work of Euripides.<sup>25</sup> E. Fraenkel did not accept this conclusion in a review in *Gnomon*,<sup>26</sup> and the general impression remains that it is ‘unsafe’ to treat *Rhesus* as being by Euripides; for instance in his preface Diggle (1994) says:

De Rhesi auctore quaeritur? unum hoc certum, quod de auctore non certa est fides. Rhesum ab Euripide scriptam esse parum confido, scribi nequisse non dixerim.

This uncertainty has led to a general consensus that *Rhesus* is best ignored – though if it is the sole surviving substantial fourth-century tragedy it is surely worthy of particular attention – for instance it is not mentioned in Cropp & Fick (1985) or in *The Imagery of Euripides* by Barlow (1971).

Repetition of words and phrases has been studied by Ritchie and his predecessors. Ritchie says:

A tendency to the monotonous repetition of words and phrases has often been remarked on as characteristic of the style of *Rhesus*, and has been held up as a mark of inferior workmanship, by which is betrayed the hand of a poet less competent than Euripides. It is justly observed that the words and phrases repeated are often quite colourless and unemphatic, so that their recurrent use contributes to a certain flatness of style.<sup>27</sup>

Ritchie is here talking of the frequent use of particular words scattered throughout the play, “in keeping with a tendency of Euripides to make heavy demands on a stock of favourite words, most of them common in Attic. *Rhesus* does not appear to offend more than other plays of Euripides in this respect.” He goes on to discuss briefly the repetition that is the subject of this study:

Another aspect of verbal repetition, which need not particularly concern us, although it appears in *Rhesus*, is an indifference to the use of the same word more than once within a brief space, notably at the ends of verses close to one another. In *Rhesus* there are several instances of this kind of repetition, but it is, in fact, generally common in Euripides and is not fastidiously avoided by any of the tragedians. . . In *Rhesus* there are no strikingly harsh examples and the tendency is no more prominent than in other plays of Euripides.

<sup>24</sup> Though it is hard to understand δὲ, it is printed in Diggle 1994 without comment in the apparatus.

<sup>25</sup> Ritchie (1964) 357.

<sup>26</sup> Fraenkel (1965) 228-41.

<sup>27</sup> Ritchie (1964) 218ff.

He then looks at “the more important matter of the repetition of phrase”: “collocations of two or more words repeated with or without some variation . . . separated sometimes by only a short interval but sometimes by a long one” He compares *Rhesus* with *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae* in this respect, and concludes:

In neither of these plays, however, is the repetition on the same scale as in *Rhesus*, especially if difference of length is taken into account. There would indeed seem to be no other play of Euripides which approaches *Rhesus* in this respect. . . There is therefore an appreciable difference of degree between *Rhesus* and other plays of Euripides in the matter of repetition.

. . . .

Repetition is undoubtedly a marked feature of the style of *Rhesus*, but the fact that Euripides himself shows a strong tendency to carelessness in this respect makes this much less significant as evidence that the play is spurious.<sup>28</sup>

In the present study *Rhesus* has been subjected to analysis in the same way as the other plays examined. It appears from Tables 4.7 to 4.9 above that, though repetitions in the same line are fewer than in undoubted Euripidean plays, and repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are fewer than in all but *Iphigenia Taurica*, its index of repetitiveness puts *Rhesus* at the mid point of the range for Euripides, and above anything of Sophocles, even *Philoctetes*. There is no particular Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ here.

This study is not intended to be a stylometric one. Its prime purpose is not to use repetitiveness as a way of identifying authors, or dating works, but to see what light comparisons can throw on the poetics of repetition. Nevertheless, it is striking what different results have been produced by comparisons between *Prometheus* and the undoubted plays of Aeschylus and ones between *Rhesus* and the undoubted plays of Euripides.

It is perhaps time for a proper stylometric approach to the problem of the authenticity of *Rhesus*. Ritchie’s work now seems dated. It, and almost all its predecessors, looked at the lexical items in its stylistic analysis.<sup>29</sup> Lexical items are particularly dependent on subject matter, and an author may be particularly conscious of them. It might be worth examining instead, in a structured and rigorous way, how particles are used. It also seems strange in 1999 to read a study of tragedy which speaks of imitation, as if it were an infallible sign of an inferior poet, rather than of intertextual allusion, and which does not consider whether the repetitions of phrases at perhaps lengthy intervals within *Rhesus* were binding it together, and playing with concepts, rather than betokening poverty of invention.

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<sup>28</sup> In this part of his book Ritchie shows distinct signs of the excoriatory approach, as illustrated in Chapter 2 above.

<sup>29</sup> Pearson (1921) compares the frequency with which certain non-lexicals occur in *Rhesus* and in *Alcestis*, discovering quite a wide divergence between the plays; but Ritchie (1964) 145-6 claims that this type of evidence is discredited by the fact that the occurrence of ἐκέλευς varies widely amongst the other plays of Euripides. Subsequently, Marcovich (1991) has argued that alliteration is commoner in *Rhesus* than in Euripides, and shows that its author was “a poor poet”.



## APPENDIX VIII

THE *DYSCOLUS* OF MENANDER AND THE *ALEXANDRA* OF LYCOPHRON

The present study is of complete plays handed down to us under the names of the three great Attic tragedians. It might, however, be illuminating to undertake some comparison with other works of ancient literature. The phenomenon of verbal repetition is by no means unique to Greek tragedy. But comparisons between genres are fraught with difficulties. It is indeed hard to see how any attempt at statistical rigour could be made if the comparanda are in different metres. That is why the analysis reported above looks exclusively at passages in iambic trimeters, ignoring even passages in trochaic tetrameters.

Comparison with other compositions in iambic trimeters therefore seemed most likely to illuminate a study of repetitions in the tragedians.

1. *DYSCOLUS*

The variety of metres used by Aristophanes (let alone the special comic repetitions of e.g. *Lysistrata* 212-236) suggested complications that would be avoided by choosing Menander. An analysis was therefore made of *Dyscolus*, looking only at iambic trimeters, and excluding the 11 lines at the end that follow a passage in iambic tetrameters catalectic. The text used, as for the tragedians, has been that of the TLG, which for *Dyscolus* is the Oxford Classical Text of Sandbach (1972). The analysis treats conjectures to fill gaps in the papyrus just like other readings; but the gaps left blank by Sandbach no doubt included some repetitions, and therefore the figures given below are probably rather lower than they would be if the papyrus had survived entire. The same definition of a qualifying repetition has been used in the analysis of Menander as in that of the tragedians; although there are differences in the vocabulary of tragedy and of new comedy, there is no reason to expect them to invalidate comparisons.

TABLE 4.17

REPETITIONS IN *DYSCOLUS*

No. of relevant lines	797
<b>Intervals</b>	
same line	20
≤1	58
≤2	93
≤3	130
≤4	157
≤5	187
≤6	232
≤7	250
≤8	282
≤9	307
≤10	332
≤11	356
≤12	376
≤13	408
≤14	419
≤15	441

TABLE 4.18

SAME AND ADJACENT LINE REPETITIONS PER 100 LINES IN *DYSCOLUS*

same	2.51
same & adjacent	7.27

The Index of repetitiveness is 8.87.

The figures for *Dyscolus* would occasion no surprise if they emerged from the analysis of a tragedy. The figure for same-line repetitions is rather below and the index is just above the median for the tragedies studied (the mid-point in Tables 4.10 and 4.12); the figure for repetitions in the same or adjacent lines is well above that median (the mid point in Table 4.11), and exceeded only by *Orestes* and four plays of Sophocles.

No detailed examination of Menander's repetitive technique has been made. But it shows important differences from that found in tragedy: 11 out of the 20 cases of repetition in the same line are in antilabe, where one speaker picks up a word used by another. That is very unlike tragic practice,<sup>30</sup> though of course it is common in stichomythia for one speaker to pick up another's word. Moreover, the general effect produced by Menander's repetitions is of a natural conversational style, rather than figurative language, emphasis for poetic reasons, or the simple indifference that is quite often the first impression given by a tragic repetition, even one in which closer examination reveals subtlety.

<sup>30</sup> Except for *Philoctetes* 810-817, noted in Appendix IV.

New Comedy differs from tragedy in that breaks in its action are not filled with words in the text transmitted, but by the stage direction ΧΟΡΟΪ. In *Dyscolus*, there are six repetitions from Act 1 to Act 2; three from Act 2 to Act 3; and three from Act 3 to Act 4 (the metre changes between Act 4 and Act 5).<sup>31</sup> For comparison, repetitions across a purely arbitrary division (the lines numbered 100, 200 etc in our texts (excluding 700, which is close to a metre change) are 1, 6, 7, 2, 6, 3, and 3; averaging 4 - the same as the average number of repetitions across Act divisions. This identity must be co-incidental, but the implication is that, in this respect at least, Menander did not treat Act divisions specially in composing. A thesis that these repetitions have the effect of binding two Acts together could perhaps be defended (whether or not it was maintained that this binding reflected the intention of the playwright); such binding might have the dramaturgical function of bringing back the attention of the audience to the dramatic situation, after the distraction of the choral interlude; such an explanation is plausible in τὰδελφῶ in 226 followed by ἀδελφῆς in 240 between Act 1 and Act 2; θύειν in 422 followed by τεθυκέναι in 430 between Act 2 and Act 3; and the invocation of Heracles in 612 and 621 between Act 3 and Act 4. Relevantly, and not in relation to a verbal repetition, Handley (1965) observes in his note on the opening of Act 2:

The reference back with which the Act opens helps the audience to grasp the new situation and secures a degree of continuity after the break.

If unfigured repetitions are taken to be a result of the process of composition (on which see the discussion in Chapter 7) the phenomenon here could be taken as evidence of continuous composition of the dialogue by Menander, who when he got to a break between acts simply wrote ΧΟΡΟΪ and pressed on; this explanation is not of course inconsistent with finding a real binding effect in the repetitions. The difficulty of reaching certainty here is illustrated by the discussion of the repetitions over the massive lacuna in *Bacchae*, which it is impossible to explain as other than random (see Appendix VI to this chapter).

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<sup>31</sup> Repetitions are as defined throughout this study – i.e., a word repeated after no more than fifteen lines following its first occurrence. In the analysis repetitions from one Act to the next count, ΧΟΡΟΪ being treated just like an interjection without a line number.

2. *ALEXANDRA*

TABLE 4.19

REPETITIONS IN *ALEXANDRA*

No. of relevant lines	1474
Intervals	
same line	10
≤1	11
≤2	17
≤3	26
≤4	39
≤5	45
≤6	59
≤7	65
≤8	78
≤9	91
≤10	100
≤11	118
≤12	130
≤13	146
≤14	156
≤15	166

TABLE 4.20

SAME AND ADJACENT LINE REPETITIONS PER 100 LINES IN  
*ALEXANDRA*

same	0.69
same & adjacent	0.75

The index of repetitiveness is 1.55.

*Alexandra* resembles tragedy in some ways.<sup>32</sup> It is in iambic trimeters (with very few resolutions), and its form is of a messenger's speech, with an account of the prophecies of Cassandra framed by short addresses by a guard to an unnamed king (presumably Priam). It is obscurantist, with a vocabulary brimful of rare words. But these factors do not alone account for the very small number of repetitions within a few lines. This study is not the place for a full examination of Lycophron's repetitive technique, but it is striking that, though like a tragedian Lycophron quite often uses a rare word more than once, he spreads them over his poem, and does not re-use them after short intervals.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, he spreads common words over the poem; only  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  (with 12 of the 166 repetitions in the whole work) shows any tendency to cluster; one is left with the strong impression that there is a deliberate avoidance of repetition.

<sup>32</sup> Its date is controversial; but the references in it to Rome suggest a date in the early 2nd century B.C.

<sup>33</sup> He does not therefore go as far as Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the Columbian novelist, who is reported in the Guardian Weekly for February 12th 1995 from an interview in Le Monde as saying "I can't bear using the same adjective twice in the same book, except in very rare cases where exactly the same effect needs to be recreated."

## CHAPTER 5

### SOME SPECIAL ANALYSES

Chapter 4 has shown that there are distinct and measurable differences in propensity to repetition amongst tragedies, and from one tragedian to another, and that the differences between Sophocles and Euripides are significant. This chapter looks at some special issues, particularly ones which are internal to plays. It is relevant that Philippides (1984) believes resolutions in trimeters, which are well known to increase in number over the career of Euripides, are more prevalent in the more emotive passages of his plays, and that the studies of Laan (1995) on elisions lead her to a similar conclusion as Philippides on resolutions – that high and low incidences of each appear to coincide with dramatic intensity and non-excited passages respectively.

#### SECTION 1. PARTS OF PLAYS.

The first issue to be examined is that of the parts of plays. It appears on a reading of Greek tragedy that there is a lot of repetition in stichomythia, when one speaker picks up a word used by the other one, to emphasise, contradict or comment on it, while messengers' speeches, often describing some exotic happenings, contain more unusual words and less repetition of common ones. It might also be a plausible conjecture that certain parts of plays are more finely-wrought than others; tragedies were, after all, written under severe time constraints for performance at dramatic festivals, without the time for polishing that a Hellenistic poet, for instance, may have had.

The question is whether such apparent or plausible variations in tendency to repetition are measurable, and whether they differ among playwrights. There are two problems here. First, while, as has been shown in Chapter 4, relative repetitiveness is measurable at the level of the play and the author, random variations may obscure trends in shorter sections, like messengers' speeches or dialogues.<sup>1</sup> Second, while divisions like 'stichomythia' or 'agon' or 'messenger's speech' are well recognised, their precise definition for a statistical analysis may not be so easy; what, for instance, about dialogue with short utterances not restricted to one line by a participant?

An attempt to analyse a few plays (*Ajax*, *Andromache* and *Heraclidae*) in this way has nevertheless been made. Each of the discrete trimeter sections of the play (that is, those set out separately in Appendix II to Chapter 3) was examined. Two statistical correlations were made. The first correlation was between the proportion of lines in stichomythic or distichomythic dialogue to total lines in a section,<sup>2</sup> and the figure for repetitions in the same or adjacent lines in that section.<sup>3</sup> The second correlation was between the proportion

<sup>1</sup> This has been discussed in Chapter 4, especially in Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> There have to be at least two consecutive utterances, each of not more than two lines, for the lines to be counted as stichomythic or distichomythic. Antilabe is included with stichomythia.

<sup>3</sup> Calculated as in the tables in Chapter 4, by dividing the number of repetitions up to the interval in question by the number of scoring lines and expressing the result as the number of repetitions per 100 lines.

of lines in continuous speeches of ten or more lines in a section and the figure for repetitions in that section.<sup>+</sup> Tables 5.1 to 5.3 set the figures out for stichomythic or distichomythic dialogue, and tables 5.4 to 5.6 those for speeches:

TABLE 5.1. DIALOGUE – *AJAX*

<i>AJAX</i>	proportion of	same and adjacent
Section	di/stichomythia	repetitions per 100 lines
1-133	0.42	3.76
263-347	0.25	7.23
430-595	0.2	5.99
646-692	0	2.13
719-865	0.19	6.85
961-1162	0.23	9.5
1223-1401	0.22	8.38

TABLE 5.2. DIALOGUE – *HERACLIDAE*

<i>HERACLIDAE</i>	proportion of	same and adjacent
Section	di/stichomythia	repetitions per 100 lines
1-74	0.11	2.7
111-287	0.15	6.78
297-352	0	7.14
381-607	0.02	6.19
630-701	0.64	8.33
709-747	0.56	7.69
784-891	0.06	5.56
928-1052	0.14	5.6

TABLE 5.3. DIALOGUE – *ANDROMACHE*

<i>ANDROMACHE</i>	proportion of	same and adjacent
Section	di/stichomythia	repetitions per 100 lines
1-102	0.17	3.92
147-273	0.23	10.32
309-463	0.06	8.39
545-765	0.06	7.69
866-1008	0.2	2.8
1048-1165	0.15	5.04
1231-1283	0	3.77

<sup>+</sup> Defined as in Chapter 1 – i.e. “the recurrence of a word following an interval of not more than fifteen lines.” This figure is used instead of the index of repetitiveness here so as to cover all repetitions, including those in the same or adjacent lines.

TABLE 5.4. SPEECHES – *AJAX*

<i>AJAX</i>	proportion of	repetitions
Section	speeches	(as defined) per 100 lines
1-133	0.44	45.86
263-347	0.57	49.39
430-595	0.78	45.78
646-692	1	25.53
719-865	0.77	48.3
961-1162	0.61	49.5
1223-1401	0.68	55.31

TABLE 5.5. SPEECHES –*HERACLIDAE*

<i>HERACLIDAE</i>	proportion of	repetitions
Section	speeches	(as defined) per 100 lines
1-74	0.73	50
111-287	0.69	56.5
297-352	0.77	58.93
381-607	0.76	51.55
630-701	0	52.78
709-747	0	56.41
784-891	0.76	49.07
928-1052	0.7	56

TABLE 5.6. SPEECHES –*ANDROMACHE*

<i>ANDROMACHE</i>	proportion of	repetitions
Section	speeches	(as defined) per 100 lines
1-102	0.66	50
147-273	0.65	50
309-463	0.9	47.74
545-765	0.81	48.42
866-1008	0.65	62.24
1048-1165	0.69	55.08
1231-1283	1	52.83

Correlation coefficients were calculated according to the formula in Hoel (1966), p. 196:

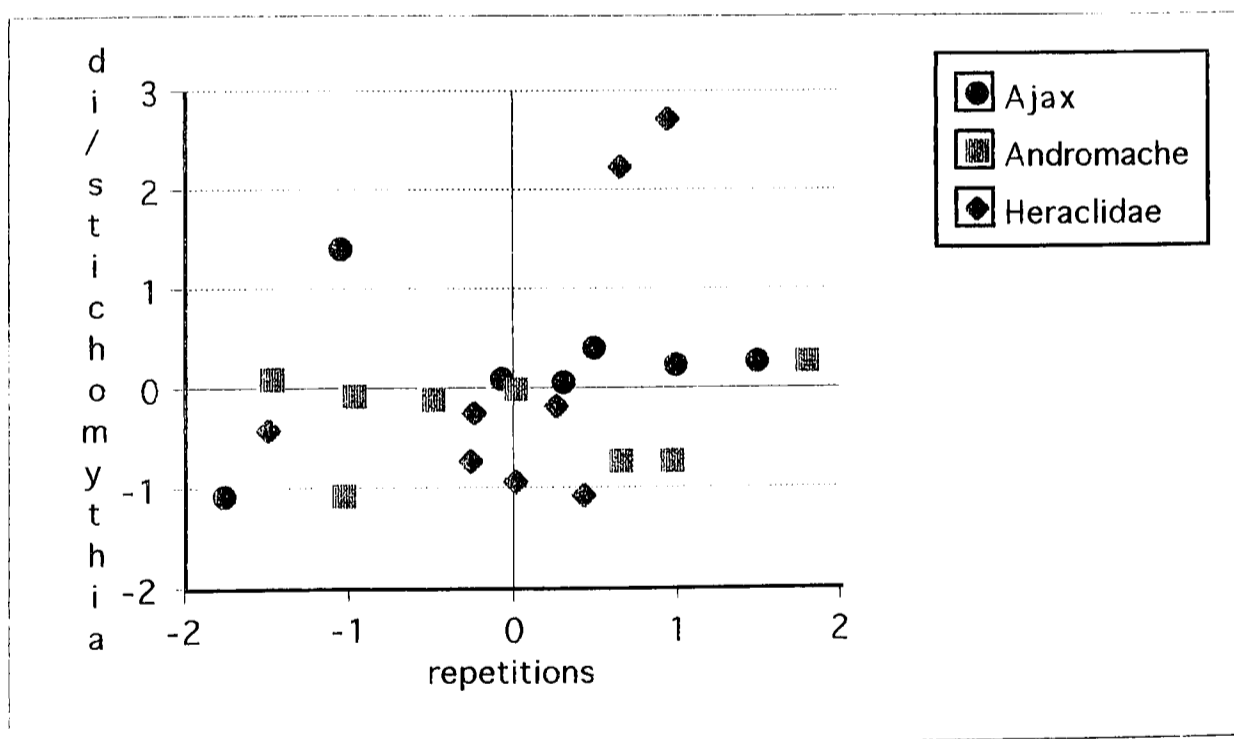
Formula 2

$$r = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})(y_i - \bar{y})}{(n-1)s_x s_y}$$

where for the first calculation x and y are the proportion of dialogue trimeters and the figure for same and adjacent line repetitions in each section respectively,  $\bar{x}$  and  $\bar{y}$  the mean of all the x's and y's, and s the standard deviation for x and y respectively. For the second calculation x is the proportion of speeches and y the figure for all repetitions in each section respectively. Hoel (1966) 194 explains that use of standard deviations in this calculation makes the measure of the relationship independent of the scale of measurement of the sets of data (here, the proportion of stichomythia/distichomythia or of speeches in a section of a play and the figure for repetitions in that section.)

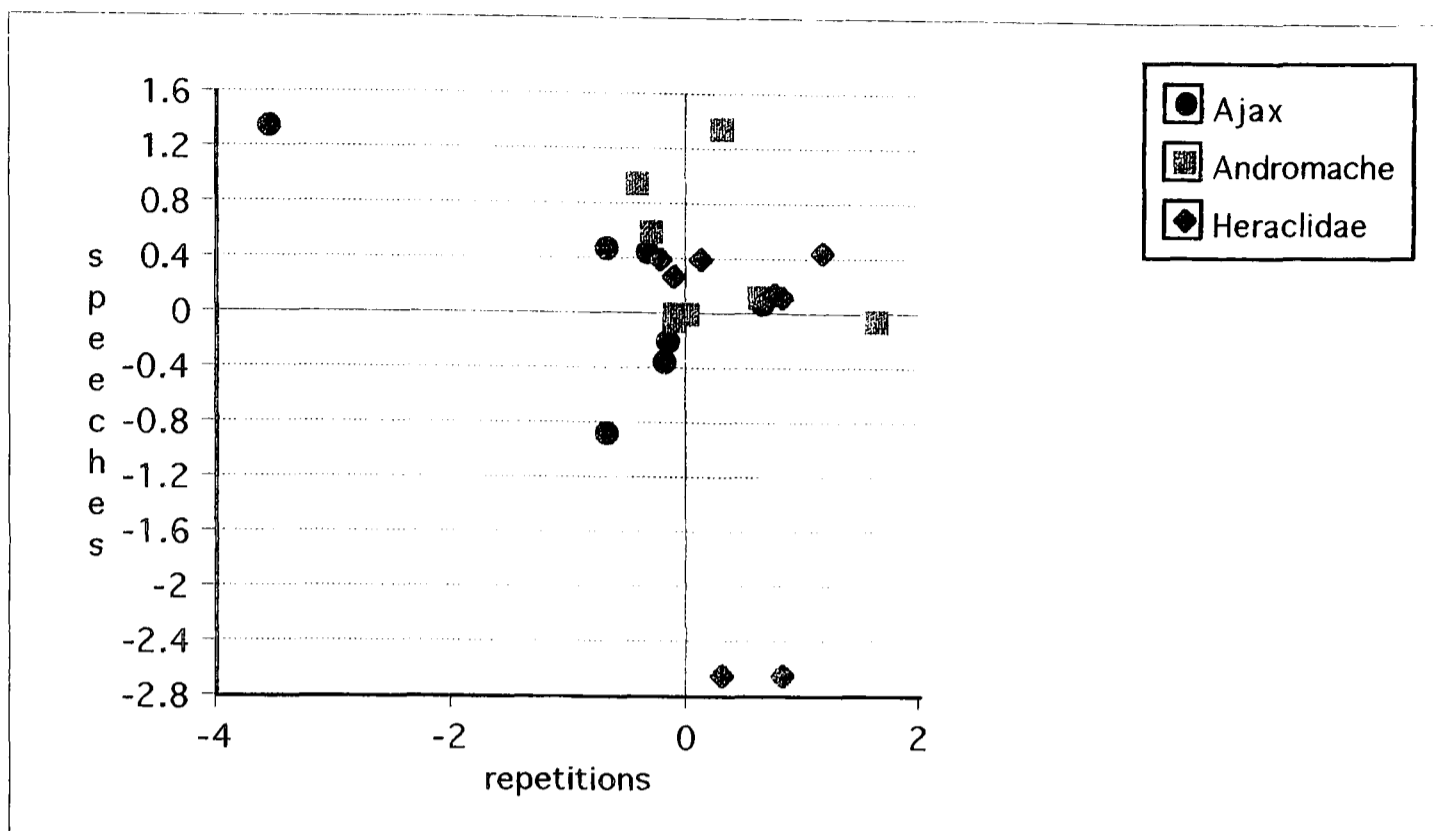
Graphs 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate the results.

GRAPH 5.1 Scatter diagram of repetitions in the same and adjacent lines against the proportion of stichomythia/distichomythia in sections of plays (both variables normalised).





GRAPH 5.2 Scatter diagram of the density of repetitions against the proportion of speeches of ten lines or more in sections of plays (both variables normalised).



For the three plays taken together there is a coefficient of 0.29 for the correlation between the figure for repetitions in the same or adjacent lines and the proportion of stichomythic or distichomythic dialogue in the sections of the play. Disaggregated, the coefficient for *Heraclidae* is 0.56, that for *Ajax* weak (0.25) and that for *Andromache* very weak indeed (0.06).

For the three plays taken together there is a negative correlation, with a coefficient of -0.33, between the number of trimeters in speeches and the total number of repetitions. Disaggregated, there are negative coefficients of -0.36 for *Andromache* and -0.68 for *Ajax*, while the coefficient for *Heraclidae* is very weak (-0.14).<sup>5</sup>

Three plays are not enough to support any generalisation, but the results, as far as they go, hint that repetitions in the same or adjacent lines may be correlated with stichomythic dialogue, and that repetitions in general tend to be less frequent in longer speeches; but that there are wide differences between plays.

<sup>5</sup> This negative correlation is due solely to the paucity of repetitions in Ajax's monologue 646-692: if that is excluded the coefficient is +0.13.

## SECTION 2. REPETITIVENESS AND DRAMATIC INTENSITY.

The second issue to be examined is that of any correlation between repetitiveness and dramatic intensity. Philippides concludes from her study of six plays of Euripides:

Concentration of resolutions beyond what would have been expected by chance under a random distribution appears to coincide with scenes of dramatic intensity; avoidance of resolutions often coincides with non-excited passages, narrative, rationalising discourse and scenes of camouflaged plotting or lying.<sup>6</sup>

‘Dramatic intensity’ must be a rather subjective concept, nor indeed is it obvious that a poet would use more resolved feet in a more excited passage, for the more resolutions the less is tragic verse identifiable as such, distinguished from comic verse, prose or ordinary speech.<sup>7</sup> This study follows Philippides’ categorisations without making any judgement on their validity. It looks only at the two plays which are both covered in her study and analysed here – *Orestes* and *Bacchae*. They are two of Euripides’ latest plays, with high resolution rates, and resolutions not concentrated on a few ‘key’ words, as is typical of earlier plays.

Philippides used a computer program to go through the play in continuous frames of 45 trimeters (i.e. the first frame comprises lines 1-45, the second frame lines 2-46 and so on – where there is a change to another metre the frame will have fewer than 45 lines), and picked out those frames where the resolution rate is significantly (at the 5% level) either higher or lower than that for the play as a whole.

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 identify the trimeter passages which Philippides found ‘significant’ in her terms, and sets by each the figures for repetitions in the same or adjacent lines in that passage and the figures for all repetitions in that passage. Repetition figures above the overall rate for the play are marked by being in red.

TABLE 5.7 RESOLUTION RATES AND REPETITION RATES IN *ORESTES*

lines	resolution rate	repetition	
		same + adjacent	rate all
1-96	high	7.3	54.2
208-275	high	5.9	55.9
357-411	high	7.3	58.2
432-497	high	13.8	66.2
671-718	low	8.3	68.7
934-956	low	21.7	78.3
1052-1142	low	5.5	48.4
1311-1352	low	9.5	73.8

<sup>6</sup> Philippides (1984) 107.

<sup>7</sup> Chapter 4 Appendix IV cites Earp (1944), who relates the higher proportion of resolutions in *Philoctetes* than in the rest of Sophocles to its greater naturalism. But on the other hand Garvie (1998) on *Ajax* 457-9 believes that six resolutions in nine lines perhaps suggest “the passion that is concealed beneath Ajax’ rational discourse.”

TABLE 5.8 RESOLUTION RATES AND REPETITION RATES IN *BACCHAE*<sup>8</sup>

lines	resolution rate	repetition	
		same + adjacent	all
1-61	high	1.6	37.7
261-305	high	4.4	62.2
452-518	high	14.9	56.7
711-770	high	3.3	40
755-808	low	5.6	38.9
1200-1249	low	4	44
1314-1367	high	7.4	81.5

No correlation emerges between the propensity to repetition in a passage and the significance of that passage in Philippides' terms. This does not seem likely to prove a fruitful line of research, even though it is *a priori* plausible for the dramatic intensity of a passage to be related in some way with propensities to repetition.

<sup>8</sup> Philippides includes the 16 lines 755-770 both in a high and in a low resolution passage. This is presumably no more than a consequence of her methodology – she works in overlapping 45-line passages.

## SECTION 3 CLASS OF WORD.

There is a very large number of different words in any language. They can be classified in many ways (by part of speech, by prosody, by derivation, etc.). It seemed worthwhile asking whether the repetitive practice of the Greek tragedians varied in any discernible way according to the class of word. Two studies were made.

## STUDY 1

In the first study, two plays of Euripides (*Andromache* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*) and Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* were analysed, with the aim of identifying those words most prone to repetition. This identification is not easy, since obviously those words which occur most frequently in a text are likely to be repeated (in the sense of this study) most often; can a correction be made for likelihood? A possible benchmark would be the number of times a word with  $x$  occurrences in a text would repeat after not more than fifteen lines if it were distributed randomly; comparing the number of observed repetitions of different words with their benchmark would be a measure of their propensity to be repeated.<sup>9</sup>

If each occurrence of a word were independent of each other occurrence, the probability of its occurrence in any line would be its total number of occurrences divided by the number of lines. Calling that probability  $p$ , the probability of a repetition as defined would be:

Formula 3  $1-(1-p)^{15}$

and the number of repetitions of that word to be expected in the trimeters of a play would be the number of occurrences times the probability of a repetition; that is the benchmark for that word. This calculation is over-simplified in two respects: first, it assumes that the text is continuous and, second, it assumes that a word cannot occur more than once in the same line. In reality the plays studied have between seven and ten discrete trimeter sections, and repetitions in a single trimeter occur. If precise measurements were sought, complex calculations would be necessary to remove these simplifying assumptions, but they are not necessary for getting an indication of differences in the propensity of different words to repetition. This study has also been restricted to words which occur at least twenty times in trimeters in the relevant play.

In the following tables the observed number of repetitions is compared with the benchmark; the final column is the ratio of the one to the other. Since it seemed possible that different types of word would have different propensities to be repeated, the second column distinguishes proper names, nouns, verbs and adjectives.

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<sup>9</sup> I owe the suggestion of this methodology to Dr T. Fearn of the Department of Statistical Science, University College London. It is not, of course, realistic to assume that words are distributed randomly, or that each occurrence of a word is independent of each other occurrence, since subject matter, certainly for most lexical words, is an important determinant of occurrence. But the purpose of the assumption is merely to provide a benchmark.

TABLE 5.9 PROPENSITIES TO REPETITION IN *ANDROMACHE*

WORD	TYPE	OCCURRENCES	REPETITIONS	BENCHMARK	RATIO
χείρ	noun	21	9	6.2	1.45
οἶκος	noun	26	13	9.1	1.43
κτείνω	verb	24	11	7.9	1.39
λέγω	verb	21	8	6.2	1.29
θεός	noun	32	17	13.2	1.29
φίλος	adjective	23	9	7.3	1.23
γυνή	noun	51	35	29.3	1.19
άνηρ	noun	25	10	8.5	1.18
πολύς	adjective	24	9	7.9	1.14
δόμος	noun	32	14	13.2	1.06
πατήρ	noun	22	7	6.7	1.04
παῖς	noun	67	44	45.5	0.97
κακός	adjective	50	27	28.4	0.95
ἔχω	verb	40	18	19.5	0.92
ἐθέλω	verb	20	5	5.6	0.89
λόγος	noun	26	8	9.1	0.88
τέκνον	noun	21	5	6.2	0.81
Ἀχιλλεύς	proper name	20	4	5.6	0.71

TABLE 5.10 PROPENSITIES TO REPETITION IN *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS*

WORD	TYPE	OCCURRENCES	REPETITIONS	BENCHMARK	RATIO
ναῦς	noun	26	14	8.03	1.74
σώζω	verb	29	17	9.8	1.73
λαμβάνω	verb	33	21	12.38	1.7
γύνη	noun	21	9	5.4	1.67
οἶδα	verb	24	11	6.93	1.59
φίλος	adjective	32	18	11.71	1.54
πατήρ	noun	20	7	4.93	1.42
γῆ	noun	23	9	6.4	1.4
καλός	adjective	22	8	5.9	1.36
γίγνομαι	verb	24	9	6.93	1.3
ἦλθον	verb	24	9	6.93	1.3
λόγος	noun	28	12	9.2	1.3
χείρ	noun	28	12	9.2	1.3
ξένος	adjective	42	23	18.98	1.21
θιήσκω	verb	35	16	13.06	1.16
ἔχω	verb	57	34	31.94	1.06
λέγω	verb	32	12	11.71	1.02
παῖς	noun	24	7	6.93	1.01
θεός	noun	67	39	41.63	0.94
Ἄργος	proper name	24	6	6.93	0.87
χθών	noun	24	6	6.93	0.87
πᾶς	adjective	21	4	5.4	0.74

TABLE 5.11 PROPENSITIES TO REPETITION IN *OEDIPUS COLONEUS*

WORD	TYPE	OCCURRENCES	REPETITIONS	BENCHMARK	RATIO
ἔθέλω	verb	20	9	4.3	2.09
ἀκούω	verb	20	7	4.3	1.63
πολύς	adjective	32	14	9.17	1.53
λόγος	noun	33	15	10.92	1.37
πᾶς	adjective	36	17	12.78	1.33
τέκνον	noun	29	11	8.61	1.28
πόλις	noun	33	14	10.92	1.28
μόνος	adjective	21	6	4.72	1.27
γῆ	noun	33	13	10.92	1.19
ξένος	noun	41	19	16.15	1.18
φίλος	adjective	26	8	7.04	1.14
πατήρ	noun	51	27	23.71	1.14
οἶδα	verb	28	9	8.07	1.12
θεός	noun	52	27	24.52	1.1
κακός	adjective	44	20	18.31	1.09
ώραώ	verb	21	5	4.72	1.06
δράω	verb	26	7	7.04	0.99
ἔχω	verb	48	21	21.33	0.98
χρόνος	noun	22	5	5.15	0.97
παῖς	noun	37	13	13.43	0.97
λέγω	verb	43	16	17.58	0.91
ἤκω	verb	20	3	4.3	0.7
άνήρ	noun	46	13	19.8	0.66

Nothing helpful emerges from the above tables about the behaviour of particular words. θεός, for instance, is the commonest word in two of the plays, and there are only three commoner in *Andromache*. But while it repeats 1.29 times more often than expected in *Andromache*, it repeats rather fewer times than expected in *Iphigenia in Tauris*. There is a similar inconsistency from play to play in λόγος, ἔχω, πᾶς and πατήρ; indeed inconsistency seems the rule rather than the exception. Nor do the different parts of speech seem to behave in a systematically different way.

It does, however, appear from the tables that the number of words (45) that are repeated (as defined) more often than would be predicted merely from the number of times they occur in trimeters is greater than the number of words (18) repeated less often than would be predicted. That is an indication that the tendency to repeat words is a real phenomenon, and not just the way in which the frequency of a word presents itself to the reader.<sup>10</sup> It is not however statistically very strong evidence.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Another indication of this may be the fact that, of the 149 words which occur twice and twice only in the relevant trimeters in *Andromache*, 13 recur within ten lines of each other.

<sup>11</sup> Dr Fearn has advised me how to calculate the standard deviation of the ratio in the tables; and that if the apparent clustering were random, about 95% of observations should lie within 2 standard deviations; 59 of the 64 observations do so lie.

## STUDY 2

The second study was confined to *Oedipus Coloneus*. The definitions of Chapter 3 were abandoned. Words used more than ten times in the play (whether in trimeters or not) were examined; the word lists produced by Rigo (1996) were used without adaptation (except for separating the different roots in the paradigms of ὀράω and ἔρχομαι) – thus, the regularly formed adverb is not, in this analysis, counted as a form of the adjective as it is generally elsewhere. Nor was the analysis confined to lexical words – a few non-lexicals were looked at, as well as all lexicals. All the occurrences of each word were listed, and the gap in lines (making no discrimination between trimeters and other lines) measured. The gaps were then brought to the same scale by dividing each gap by the mean gap for that word; if the crude gap were used in the analysis more frequent words would appear to have smaller gaps and thus cluster more than less frequent ones.<sup>12</sup> The standard deviation for the scaled gaps for each word was then calculated. The higher the standard deviation the less evenly is the word spread throughout the text. The result was:

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<sup>12</sup> I owe the suggestion for this method to Dr M. Bravington, statistician at the Centre for Environment, Fisheries and Aquaculture Science, Lowestoft. One problem that had to be faced was how to treat the lines before and after the first and last occurrences of a word in the play. If they were ignored, as being what statisticians call ‘censored’ data, a word occurring ten times in each of ten lines and not again would demonstrate the same scaled gap as one occurring ten times, in lines 100, 200, 300 . . . 1000. The decision was taken to aggregate the lines before the first and after the last occurrence and count that as a single gap in the scaling process.

TABLE 5.12 WORDS IN *OEDIPUS COLONEUS* IN DESCENDING ORDER OF STANDARD DEVIATION

WORD	ST. DEV.	WORD TYPE	WORD	ST. DEV.	WORD TYPE
δίκαιος	2.113	adjective	οἶδα	1.111	verb
μαινάνω	1.885	verb	ἔτι	1.11	adverb of time
γένος	1.719	noun	δύσμορος	1.106	adjective
τέκνον	1.663	noun	ἀέκων	1.105	adjective
βία	1.607	noun	χάρις	1.104	noun
τίθημι	1.585	verb	θεός	1.102	noun
μέγας	1.556	adjective	ἴστημι	1.099	verb
πείθω	1.534	verb	καλέω	1.098	verb
ἔργον	1.527	noun	ἰκνέομαι	1.096	verb
κακός	1.42	adjective	ἔμολον	1.091	verb
αὐτός	1.401	non-lexical adj	φωνέω	1.082	verb
χώρος	1.389	noun	φύω	1.08	verb
ἄγω	1.384	verb	ἔχω	1.069	verb
τάλας	1.381	adjective	δέω	1.051	verb
χείρ	1.352	noun	πάρειμι	1.047	verb
πάλιν	1.327	adv	πράσσω	1.046	verb
γέρων	1.324	noun	αὐθις	1.041	adverb of time
ἐθέλω	1.32	verb	φράζω	1.034	verb
(σ)μικρός	1.313	adjective	δόμος	1.034	noun
ἀκούω	1.292	verb	ἐκ	1.026	non-lexical pre
χρόνος	1.289	noun	ἔαω	1.024	verb
θνήσκω	1.283	verb	ἐμός	1.013	non-lexical adj
χρηζω	1.276	verb	ἡμεῖς	0.995	pronoun
πατήρ	1.261	noun	πολύς	0.994	adjective
γίγνομαι	1.255	verb	ἔπος	0.986	noun
δοκέω	1.252	verb	δράω	0.983	verb
φημί	1.234	verb	χώρα	0.98	noun
ἀνὴρ	1.232	noun	φέρω	0.966	verb
θυμός	1.226	noun	όράω	0.964	verb
πόλις	1.214	noun	ὄμμα	0.96	noun
Θησεύς	1.207	proper name	κλύω	0.957	verb
εἰ	1.202	non-lexic	λέγω	0.942	verb
γῆ	1.177	noun	όδος	0.94	noun
μόνος	1.174	adjective	φαίνω	0.939	verb
λόγος	1.16	noun	ἦκω	0.932	verb
ἄει	1.155	adverb of time	βαίνω	0.926	verb
φίλος	1.153	adjective	διδάσκω	0.919	verb
πάσχω	1.138	verb	βίος	0.918	noun
ξένος	1.124	adjective	πολύ	0.917	adverb
ζῶ	1.121	verb	ἄναξ	0.906	noun
ἦλθον	1.12	verb	τελέω	0.895	verb
ἦδη	1.12	adverb of time	δεινός	0.895	adjective
δαίμων	1.117	noun	Οἰδίπους	0.888	proper name
πᾶς	1.116	adjective	παῖς	0.885	noun



TABLE 5.12 Continued

WORD	ST. DEV.	WORD TYPE
οὐδείς	0.878	non-lexical
χθών	0.877	noun
μάλα	0.865	adverb
εἶμι	0.776	verb
ποιέω	0.767	verb
δίδωμι	0.763	verb
πιστός	0.762	adjective
εὖ	0.761	adverb
Ζεὺς	0.755	proper name
χρή	0.737	verb
λαμβάνω	0.733	verb
πέμπω	0.71	verb
βραχύς	0.657	adjective
εἶπον	0.566	verb

No intelligible pattern emerges from the above table. There is no discernible tendency for words with strong or emotionally charged meanings to cluster more than flatter ones. (For instance the strong word δίκαιος at the top of the list is counterbalanced by πιστός very near the bottom, and the flat one εἶπον at the bottom by the flat one τίθημι near the top.) Nouns and adjectives do seem to cluster rather more on average than verbs or adverbs, but there are plenty of verbs in the top half of the list. There is not even much of a difference between non-lexicals and the rest. For what it is worth, Table 5.13 below gives the average standard deviation for the different parts of speech:

TABLE 5.13

PARTS OF SPEECH IN *OEDIPUS COLONEUS* IN DESCENDING ORDER OF STANDARD DEVIATION

Average for each type	
TYPE	AVERAGE ST. DEV.
adjectives	1.191
nouns	1.19
non-lexicals	1.086
verbs	1.07
adverbs	1.037
proper names	0.95

## CHAPTER 6

### REPETITION IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

It is beyond doubt that what Jackson in *Marginalia Scaenica* calls “unconscious repetitions by the copyist” occur.<sup>1</sup> (By ‘unconscious’ Jackson means little more than ‘erroneous’; he is not considering changes deliberately introduced by a copyist.) Editors not infrequently remove, by emendation, repetitions found in ancient texts, and in doing so must be assuming that the repetitions they are removing were the result of copyists’ errors. Quite often, also, the manuscript tradition presents alternative readings, one with a repetition and one without. Among the considerations an editor must have in mind in choosing which to prefer is whether a copyist has introduced into a text a repetition not originally there or has removed, deliberately or inadvertently, a repetition the author had written.

This chapter looks at the issues outlined above.

#### SECTION 1. APOGRAPHS.

Relevant evidence may be obtainable from the study of manuscripts which were copied from a single exemplar if that exemplar is extant – manuscripts which are, that is, apographs of that exemplar. Where the reading of a copy is different, it must be either by mistake (and ‘mistake’ is the right word even in the unlikely but possible circumstance that it produces the original words of the author), or by deliberate conjecture. There are many apographs in the libraries of the world, but the labour of collating them is not normally undertaken once their totally dependent status has been demonstrated. Fortunately, however, the Euripidean manuscript usually denoted ‘P’ (one half being Palatinus Graecus 287 and the other Laurentianus conv. soppr. 172) was fully collated before it was shown to be totally dependent (in the so-called ‘alphabetic’ plays)<sup>2</sup> on the manuscript usually denoted ‘L’ (Laurentianus plut. 32.2).<sup>3</sup> The readings of P are thus reported alongside those of L in earlier apparatuses, such as that in the Oxford Classical Text of Murray (1902-13); a large number of them are also discussed in Zuntz (1965).

Zuntz says of the scribe of P:

Technically, too, the quality of the scribe’s copying is high. It is true that we have had to set out a fair number of significant instances where he misread his model; but these are almost as nothing in comparison with those where he successfully transferred into his neat lettering the ambiguous scrawl of L. The technical competence of this honest scribe is however matched by a supreme mental incompetence, as a result of which his capacity for errors is literally unlimited.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jackson (1955), Addenda B, 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyclops, Heraclidae, Supplices, Electra, Hercules, Iphigenia Taurica, Ion, Helena, and Iphigenia Aulidensis.*

<sup>3</sup> Zuntz (1965), 13-15 describes how a mark in L copied as a colon in P proved to have been a tiny piece of straw.

<sup>4</sup> Zuntz (1965), 136.

Zuntz goes on to list the types of error to which P was prone, and to give examples of them: dropping single letters, especially consonants; changing or adding letters; writing a wrong but similarly pronounced vowel; and repetition.

A study of the apparatus in Murray (1902-13) has been made,<sup>5</sup> and all instances where a substantially different word is read in P from that in its exemplar have been examined (differences of accent or breathing, or simply of inflection, have been passed over, as have all but very striking differences in non-lexicals). Despite the total dependence of P on L care is necessary when looking at each particular case, since corrections in L (whether or not by Triclinius) may or may not have been carried into P. Something like 100 substantial differences have been found.

Table 6.1 lists the 26 instances where a significant divergence in the readings of L and P is certainly, probably or possibly to be ascribed to the influence of a nearby word, whether or not there is a repetition in the strict sense used in the statistical analyses in Chapters 4 and 5. Most of the divergences do not need this influence to explain them (being the errors in single letters to whose prevalence Zuntz has drawn attention, or errors due to metathesis of βαλ- and λαβ-), though several indubitably do. They are all however relevant to this study, since if P alone had survived from Byzantium the text in front of editors would have had several corrupt repetitions in it, and would have lacked a few authentic repetitions. They also show what sort of errors relevant to repetition an error-prone Byzantine copyist can perpetrate, which therefore it may be reasonable to suspect in other texts.

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<sup>5</sup> Including *Cyclops* – genre is irrelevant here, since what is being investigated is the behaviour of the copyist, not that of the playwright.

TABLE 6.1

VARIANT READINGS RELEVANT TO REPETITION IN THE ALPHABETIC  
PLAYS OF EURIPIDES.<sup>6</sup>

Play & line	L reading	P reading	nearby words
Hclid 27	συμπράσσω	συμπάσχω	πράσσουσι - 27 (preceding)
Hclid 282	ἦβην	ὔβριν	ὔβριν - 280 (preceding)
Hclid 433	ἔτερψας	ἔτρεψας	τρεψόμεσθα - 440 (following)
Suppl 171	δεῦρο	ἐξωροῖ	ώραίων - 175 (following)
Suppl 217	φρεσίν	χερσὶ	φρόνησις - 216 (preceding)
Suppl 374	ἐς αἰεὶ	εὐσαεὶ	εὐσεβῆς - 373 (preceding)
Suppl 539	χρῆν	δὴ altered to δεῖ	δεῖ - 536 (preceding)
HF 49	ἰδρύσατο	ἠτήσατο	ἔδρας - 51 (following)
HF 74	πατῆρ	σωτῆρ	σώζω - 72 (preceding)
HF 590	πόλιν	πάλιν	πόλιν - 593 (following)
HF 829	νιν	νῦν	νιν - 828 (preceding)
HF 1100	ἔσωζε	ἔδοξε	ἔσώζετο - 1100 (following)
HF 1368	καλῶν	κακῶν	κακά - 1366 (preceding) end
Ion 1314	ἔζειν	ἔξειν	ὑφέξεις - 1308 (preceding)
Ion 1453	ἔλαβες	ἔβαλες	ἀπέβαλον - 1453 (preceding)
IT 329	βαλῶν	λαβῶν	ἔβαλλον - 326 (preceding)
IT 503	φθονεῖς	φρονεῖς	φρονεῖς - 503 (preceding)
IT 637	λάβης	βάλης	βαλῶ - 635 (preceding)
IT 669	φθάσας	φράσας	ἔφθης - 669 (preceding)
IT 733	ὁ τήνδε	ὅταν δε	ὅταν τε - 730 (preceding)
IT 1018	λαβεῖν	λαθεῖν	λαβεῖν - 1016 (preceding)
Hel 740	μένουσιν	μέλλουσιν	μένειν - 739 (preceding)
Hel 864	φάσγαν'	βάρβαρ'	βάρβαρ' - 864 (preceding)
Hel 1186	χροὸς	χθονὸς	χθονὸς - 1179 (preceding) end
Hel 1618	χρησιμώτερον	σωφρονέστερον	σώφρονος - 1617 (preceding)
IA 639	ἔτεκον	τέκνον	τέκνον - 638 (preceding)

There are in Table 6.1 five cases where P has repeated whole or part of a previously occurring word instead of the word actually in his exemplar.<sup>7</sup>

In three the repetition is the sole or overwhelming cause of the error (that *υ*, *η* and *ι* sounded the same to the scribe of P may have made the *Heraclidae* error easier):

*Heraclidae* 282: exact repetition from two lines earlier.

*Helena* 864: exact repetition from earlier in the same line.

*Helena* 1618: first three syllables taken from a word in the previous line.

<sup>6</sup> There was nothing relevant to repetition in *Cyclops* or *Electra*. 'end' in the table indicates that both the corrupted and the influencing word were the last words in trimeters.

<sup>7</sup> What may be a sixth instance is cited by Sybel (1868), 35. He claims that P originally had τύχης for δίκης in *Heraclidae* 933 following τύχην in 930. This is not reported in Murray (1902), and Wecklein (1898b) merely reports δίκ *in rasura* in 933.

In two the error would have been conceivable in the absence of a repetition:

*Hercules* 74: the first syllable, and the sense, coming from a word two lines earlier.

*IT* 733: a non-lexical from three lines earlier corrupting two other non-lexicals.

There are eight cases where a divergent reading in P may have been due to influence from a previously occurring word:

*Supplices* 374: first syllable perhaps from a word in the previous line.

*Supplices* 539: the replacement of χρῆν by δῆ and then δεῖ may have been influenced by δεῖ at the same point in the line three lines earlier, but δεῖ became the more familiar form and tends to replace χρή without any help from repetition.<sup>8</sup>

*Hercules* 1368: the replacement of καλῶν by κακῶν may have been influenced by κακά also at line-end two lines earlier,<sup>9</sup> but confusion of these two words is common.

*Ion* 1314: ἔξειν for ἔζειν may have been influenced by ὑφέξεις six lines earlier, though no explanation but confusion of minuscule ζ and ξ may be required.

*Ion* 1453: the replacement of ἔλαβες by ἔβαλες may have been influenced by ἀπέβαλον six words before, but confusion of the strong aorists of βάλλω and λαμβάνω is common, and in *IT* 329 serves to remove a repetition.

*IT* 637: the replacement of λάβης by βάλης may have been influenced by βαλῶ two lines earlier, but the frequency of the confusion of the strong aorists of βάλλω and λαμβάνω has already been remarked on.

*Helena* 1186: it is possible that χροὸς was replaced by χθονὸς under the influence of χθονὸς at the same point in the line seven lines earlier, but the distance makes that at least uncertain.

*IA* 639: τέκνον for ἔτεκον may have come from the same word in the previous line, but the error is simple in itself.

There are three cases where the influence, if it is responsible for the repetition, must have come from a later word:

*Heraclidae* 433: but the metathesis from ἔτερψας to ἔτρεψας does not need τρεψόμεσθα in 440 to explain it.

<sup>8</sup> Barrett (1964) 164-5 discusses this phenomenon.

<sup>9</sup> L writes consecutive lines in adjacent columns, while P goes straight down the column. This might make repetition from the previous line but one more likely for the scribe copying P from L.

*Supplices* 171: though Zuntz's explanation of the remarkable ἐξωροὶ for δεῦρο depends on the letter forms of L and not at all on ὠραίων four lines later.<sup>10</sup>

*IT* 503: this is the most plausible example of retrospective influence, from a later word in the same line.

There are five cases where P removes a repetition in L, in three of which the repetition is clearly figurative:

*Heraclidae* 27: L's καὶ σὺν κακῶς πράσσουσι συμπράσσω κακῶς is destroyed by P's συμπάσχω.<sup>11</sup>

*Hercules* 1100: the first hand of P destroys ἔσωζε πλευρὰς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τ' ἐσώζετο by reading ἔδοξε.

*IT* 669: ἔφθης με μικρόν· ταῦτὰ δὲ φθάσας λέγεις is destroyed by φράσας in P.

In two cases P removes unfigured repetitions which obtrude and could be described as 'careless repetitions by the poet':

*IT* 1018: λαθεῖν for λαβεῖν after λαβεῖν in 1016.

*Helena* 739-40: P reads μέλλουσι for μένουσι in μένειν τ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς τοὺς τ' ἐμοὺς καταδοκεῖν | ἀγῶνας οἱ μένουσί μ'.

This occasional abhorrence of repetition does not seem to have been noticed in discussions of the relationship of L and P in the alphabetic plays. There are indeed other possible examples of removal of a repetition in P, though since the original repetitions are neither obviously figurative nor particularly obtrusive the removal is not striking:

*Supplices* 217: confusion between φρεσί and χερσί in manuscripts is curiously common, and does not need any influence from φρόνησις to account for it. Collard (1975) *ad loc.* draws attention to a similar phenomenon in *Persae* 900, "where the sense of ἐκράτυνε, as that of κεκτημένοι here, induced the mistake", and *Hippolytus* 1448, discussed in Section 2(i) below, is another example.

*Hercules* 49: ἠτήσατο for ἰδρύσατο with ἔδρας two lines earlier.

*Hercules* 590: πάλιν and πόλιν are easily and commonly confused – three instances in *Septem* are listed in Section 2(iii) below

*Hercules* 829: νῦν and νιν are easily confused through itacism.

*IT* 329: the frequency of the confusion of the strong aorists of βάλλω and λαμβάνω has already been remarked on.

<sup>10</sup> Zuntz (1965) 2.

<sup>11</sup> In *Andromache* 462 P very similarly reads πάσχω for the πράσσω of all other manuscripts in the figurative εἰ δ' ἐγὼ πράσσω κακῶς, | μηδὲν τόδ' αὔχει· καὶ σὺ γὰρ πράξειας ἄν.

The conclusion so far may be stated as: a copyist is found introducing a repetition into a text from up to three (or possibly seven) lines earlier or from later in the same line. The same copyist is found removing a repetition within a pair of lines.

It is worth drawing attention in this context to four instances where an alteration or variant in L (that is, not in its copying by P) removes a repetition, whether or not that was the purpose:

*Electra* 311: L and P have ἀναίνομαι δὲ γυμνὰς οὔσα παρθένος, following γυμνὸν in 308. Triclinius writes ναῖκας above (γυ)μνὰς.

This alteration (which is read by most modern editors, omitting the preceding δὲ) is ascribed by Zuntz to Triclinius's use of another manuscript to correct an error that L had found in his exemplar; this is not the only Triclinian correction to L that Zuntz thinks came from this manuscript, though it is the only one relevant to repetition.<sup>12</sup> Kovacs however retains γυμνὰς, regarding γυναῖκας as a conjecture by Triclinius; if so, then could avoidance of repetition have been a motive?<sup>13</sup>

*Electra* 435: P and, apparently, L in its original state read ἴν' ὁ φιλάδελφος ἔπαλλε δελφίς.<sup>14</sup> φιλάδελφος is emended by Triclinius to φίλαυλος.

Triclinius, who was aware of the need for strophe and antistrophe to respond, would have been attracted by an alteration which secured responsion. It is generally assumed that he took the correct reading from Aristophanes *Ranae* 1317; but it might surely have been in the 'other manuscript' discussed on *Electra* 311. The repetition could as easily have been an error by L itself as in Eustathius's putative manuscript.

*Ion* 648-9: In καλῶς ἔλεξας, εἴπερ οὓς ἐγὼ φιλῶ | ἐν τοῖσι σοῖσιν εὐτυχήσουσιν φίλοις L gives λόγοις as a γράφεται variant for φίλοις.

This alteration could have been motivated by failure to realise that φίλοις is neuter.<sup>15</sup>

*IT* 553: In ὦ πανδάκρυτος ἢ κτανούσα χῶ κτανῶν Triclinius emends κτανῶν to θανῶν.

This alteration could be a consequence of taking the line, with Diggle, in the simpler way (Orestes has just told Iphigenia that Agamemnon was killed by "γυνή", and she laments the slayer and the slain). Murray keeps κτανῶν and sees

<sup>12</sup> Zuntz (1965) 107. Zuntz believes that Triclinius had discovered the minuscule manuscript that Eustathius had had transliterated from a majuscule survivor, and had a copy made from it which was then used, under his direction, as the exemplar for L.

<sup>13</sup> Kovacs (1998). The reading is defended in Kovacs (1985); Seaford (1985) in a footnote on page 319, disagrees with Kovacs and accepts Zuntz.

<sup>14</sup> Cited by Jackson (1955) 223 as an example of unconscious repetition by the copyist.

<sup>15</sup> Owen (1939) is however attracted by λόγοις.

Iphigenia casting her mind back to Aulis, where Agamemnon was the slayer.<sup>16</sup> Murray's interpretation is made plausible by the earlier couplet, 538-9, where Orestes has referred to Aulis directly, and Iphigenia has responded cryptically.

Finally, editors follow Stobaeus in *Electra* 294-6:

ἔνεστι δ' οἶκτος ἀμαθία μὲν οὐδαμοῦ,  
σοφοῖσι δ' ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀζήμιον  
γνώμην ἐνεῖναι τοῖς σοφοῖς λίαν σοφῆν.

Though errors are commonly found in quotations, and the repetition is one that might be branded 'careless', μὲν in the μὲν εἶναι of L and P is impossible. Although it does remove a repetition, it can only be a slip.

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<sup>16</sup> Murray (1913) writes "de Aulide cogitat" in his apparatus criticus.



## SECTION 2.

## DIFFERENCES AMONGST MANUSCRIPTS OTHER THAN DIRECT COPIES

In any play which survives in many mediaeval manuscripts there is inevitably a wealth of verbal discrepancies. Most of these are minor, and often considerations of grammar, metre or sense make it easy to decide which reading to adopt; but in many adjudication among readings is difficult. Sometimes indeed no reading is satisfactory, and recourse to emendation is necessary. If the 'stemma' pattern which has traditionally been the favoured model could be followed the task could be eased by establishing a hierarchy among surviving codices. If, that is, each surviving manuscript had been copied from a single lost exemplar, then its readings would be judged on the accuracy of the copying. That exemplar could be reconstituted from its descendants, and the process of reconstitution carried further back, in principle to the manuscript written by, or at the dictation of, the poet.

But it is now clear that no simple stemmatic model works for those Greek tragedies of which we have many manuscripts surviving. There is no single linear descent of manuscripts, but those who copied them, and those who had oversight of the copying, had more than one source, and though they might well have one prime exemplar frequently compared the readings of more than one and chose amongst them.<sup>17</sup>

The present section looks only at manuscript variants to which verbal repetition is relevant. Cases where editors do not accept any MS reading, but prefer an emendation, are left for Section 4. Three plays have been studied – *Septem*, *Trachiniae* and *Hippolytus*. The aim has been to examine every significant variant (that is one where different dictionary words<sup>18</sup> are read, not where there is a different inflectional or orthographical form of the same dictionary word) and to separate out all cases where repetition might plausibly be argued to be relevant to an observed difference in readings. Study of these cases, together with the conclusions of the apograph study above, may throw light on the processes of transmission relevant to verbal repetition. It may also help in judging what reading is to be preferred, and in assessing the conjectures scholars have made.

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<sup>17</sup> See for instance Chapter vi of Dawe (1964).

<sup>18</sup> Interjections, often doubled or quadrupled in lyrics, and where MSS often vary, have been disregarded.

SECTION 2(i) *Septem contra Thebas*.

This study has been based on the Oxford Classical Text of Page (1972), and the collation in Dawe (1964); Dawe has reported a number of variants relevant to this study which are not in Page, presumably because they are not relevant to the constitution of the text. The Teubner, West (1998), has been compared, and use has been made of the edition of Hutchinson (1985). In the absence of any other indication, references to 'Page' and 'West' in this section are to their texts and apparatuses as appropriate, references to 'Hutchinson' are to his note on the line in question, and those to 'Dawe' are to the collation in Dawe (1964). Canter (1580) has occasionally been cited as witness to the received text before modern editors worked on it.

Two tables have been drawn up. The first covers anadiploses only (as in Section 1 interjections have been disregarded.) The summary of the manuscript evidence does not lay claim to completeness – corrections and γράφεται variants may be ignored; the sigla used are those of Page (1972). Line numbering is often difficult, particularly in lyric passages, when editors adopt their own colometry, and sometimes seem to assign words differently; references may not therefore always be absolutely consistent.

TABLE 6.2 VARIANTS IN *SEPTEM* TO WHICH ANADIPLOSIS IS RELEVANT.

Line	Page text	Variant	Variant in
204	ὄτοβον ὄτοβον	ὄτοβον	H ac
566	ἄθεοι	θεοὶ θεοὶ	M and as variant in I & N
889	τετυμμένοι τετυμμένοι	τετυμμένοι	Y only
1000	πάντων πολυπονώτατοι	πάντων πολυπονώτατοι πάντων	H only
1058	πῶς	πῶς πῶς	NOYPV

In most of the above there is a problem with the text and the metre independent of the repetition. All that the table demonstrates is a wavering of the tradition.

Table 6.3 covers cases where there is a difference in readings to which repetition, in a wide sense, seems relevant.<sup>19</sup> 'Nearby word' is a word which may have influenced the variant reading. The column headed 'In line' shows the line in which the nearby word is found, and whether it precedes ('p') or follows ('f') the word it may have influenced; 'end' or 'e' means that both the primary and the nearby word end a trimeter; where the entry is in red, the error in question is the *removal* of an authorial repetition. The summary of the manuscript evidence does not claim to be complete – corrections and γράφεται variants may be ignored; sigla are those of the Oxford Classical Text of Page (1972).

<sup>19</sup> 'Repetition' here and in Tables 6.4 and 6.6 has a wide sense; besides identical words and inflectional or derivational forms some instances of mere similarity of sound or appearance have been listed.

TABLE 6.3 VARIANTS IN *SEPTEM* TO WHICH REPETITION IS RELEVANT

Line	Page (1972)	Variant	Nearby word	In line	Variant found in
45	φόβον	φόνον	φόνου	44 (p) end	Ya Oac K Q
46	κατασκαφὰς	κατασφαγὰς	ταυροσφαγοῦντες	43 (p)	P
61	πλευμόνων	πνευμόνων	πνοᾶς	63 (f) end	all but M
80	πρόδρομος	πρόδομος	δόμους	73 (p)	Y
86	ὀροτύπου	ὀρ(ρ)οκτύπου	κτυπ	83 (p)	all but Iγρ M
121	ἀρηίων	ἀργείων	Ἄργεῖοι	120 (p)	Δ
123	φόνον	φόβον	φόβος	121 (p)	BNdVY etc
126	πύλαις	πάλαις	πάλω	126 (f)	M ac
132	φόβων	φόνων	φόνον	123 (p)	M ac
141	λιταῖς	λυταῖς	θεοκλύτοις	141 (f)	Y
158	ἐπάγει	ἄγει	ἐπιμαίνεται; ἐπάξεις	155 (p) 158 (f)	I
171	πανδίκως	πανδήμους	δημίων	177 (f)	variant in Δ
177	θ'ἱερῶν/δ(')ἱερῶν	δηρῶν	δημίων	177 (f)	B
178	μελ-όμενοι	μελλ-/μελαιν-	μέλεσθε	177 (p)	O Pac Y
188	γένει	φύλω	φίλη	187 (p) end	YYa variant in PH
221	πόλιν	πάλιν	πόλεος	218 (p)	Nd pc
240	ταρβοσύνω	ταρβοσκύω	βόσκειται	244 (f)	Y
244	φόνω	φθόνω	φθονῶ	236 (p)	C
248	βουλεύειν	δουλεύειν	δουλείας	253 (f)	Y
251	ξυντέλεια	ξυγγένεια	γένος	256 (f)	O ac
252	φθόρον	φόνον	φόνω	244 (p)	M ac
252	nothing	οὐ	οὐ; οὐκ	250; 252 (p)	YBI
267	εὐγμάτων	ὀλυγμάτων	ὀλολυγμὸν	268 (f)	Y
277	πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήμα-		repeated in 278a	see discussion	
333	ἀρτιτρόποις	ὠμοδρόπων		see discussion	
350	ἀρτιτρέφεις	ἀρτιβρέφεις	βρέμονται	350 (f)	in YaPV
353	κενὸν	μέν	κενὸς	353 (p)	Nd
359	θαλαμηπόλων	θαλαμηπόλλων	πολλὰ	360 (f)	C
386	φόβον	λόφον	λόφους	384 (p) end	C
410	στιγγοῦνθ'	τιμοῦνθ'	τιμῶντα	410 (p)	Nd
432	γυμνὸν	δεινὸν	δεῖν'	426 (p)	Nd
454	πωλικῶν	πολικῶν	πόλει	452 (p)	ΔK
497	Ἄρει	ἄθεος	ἐνθεος	497 (p)	Δac
508	ξ/συνήγαγεν	μετήγαγε	ξυ- words	509 e, 510 (f)	γρ in Hs
513	φλέγων	ἔχων	ἔχει	511 (p) end	variant in Q
557	ἔ/εἴσω	ἔξω	ἔξωθεν	560 (f)	QΔ gr in P
558	ἐχθίστου	ἀδίκου	δάκος	558 (f)	HOY
576	†πρὸς μόραν†	various	see discussion		
590	εὐκηλον	εὐκυκλον	κύκλω	591 (f)	all but M
610	εὐσεβῆς	εὐγενῆς	γένει; εὐσεβῆς	604; 602 (p)	Q variants in PS
652	πόλιν	πα[τραν	πόλιν; πατρῶαν	647 e; 648 (p)	P. Oxy. 2333
678	αὐδωμένω	ἀνδωμένω	ἀνδρῶν; ἀνδρας	677 (p); 679 (f)	N
737	μελαμπαγῆς	μεγαλεμπαγῆς	μεγάλων	732 (p)	O
763	εὔρει	ἄρει/ἠ	ἀραί	766 (f)	variants in OP
768	†πελόμεν'†	τελ(λ)ο-	τέλεια	766 (p)	not M ac & I
774	πολύβοτ-	πολύβροτ-	βροτῶν	774 (f)	Q ac
787	πικρογλώσσους	πικρονόμους	σιδαρονόμω vel sim	788 (f)	Pγρ

[Continued

TABLE 6.3 (continued)

VARIANTS IN *SEPTEM* TO WHICH REPETITION IS RELEVANT

Line	Page (1972)	Variant	Nearby word	In line	Variant found in
809	κατεσποδημένοι	κατεσπορημένοι	όμοσπόροι	804 (see disc.) e	Y
881	δωμάτων	δόμων	δόμων	880 (p)	HKNAVY Pγρ
895	πλαγάν	πλατάν	πεπλαγμένους	896 (f)	K
905	τέλος	μένος	μένει	902 (p)	Y & var in BΔ
928	τεκνογόνοι	παιδογόνοι	παῖδα	929 (f)	Q & P s.l.
969	πανδάκρυτε	πολυδάκρυτε	πανάθλιε	970 (f)	all but MIΔBCPQ
973	τάχέων	γών	γόοισι	967 (p)	Q
990	μαθών	παθών	παθόν	983 (p)	Nd
998	κακῶν	πημάτων	πήμα; κακά	1004 (f); 994 (p)	Ya Pγρ
1005	δόξαντ'	μέλλοντ'	δοκοῦντα	1005 (f)	Q
1028	βαλῶ	λάβω	λαβεῖν	1021 (p) end	Δ
1042	πόλιν	πάλιν	πάλιν	1040 (p)	l variant in Q
1048	χώραν	πόλιν	πόλις	1046 (p)	Y
1061	πολιτῶν	πολλῶν	πολλῶν	1062 (f)	variant in K

As Table 6.3 shows, 61 instances have been found in *Septem* where a variant in one or more manuscripts has certainly, probably or perhaps been influenced by a word nearby.<sup>20</sup> In 28 it seems certain or likely that a previously occurring word has led to (or influenced) the replacement of the true reading at some stage in some part of the transmission.

Three of these involve forms of φόνος and φόβος apparently affected by an previous occurrence:

45: A few manuscripts read φόνον for φόβον;

123: Several manuscripts read φόβον for φόνον;

132: One manuscript (afterwards corrected) reads φόνων for φόβων.

The gaps between the word with the variant and the word that may have influenced it are 1, 2, and 9 respectively. To put this in perspective, forms of these two words occur 18 times in *Septem*, and there is some MS confusion between the two on four occasions (on φόνου in 574 Dawe reports “e minima rasura colligitur Mac φόβου fuisse”). The distances in lines between a form of one word and the nearest form of the other are 1, 3, 73, 2, 9, 30, 4, 4, 15, 26, 43, 142, 76, 74 74, 2 and 2. There are thus eight intervals of less than 10 lines, three of which involve some confusion, while there is confusion in only one instance with a long interval; the similarity of the early minuscule β to the ν is unlikely therefore to be the only cause of the confusion, though it must have made it easier.

<sup>20</sup> In general the simplifying, but *a priori* plausible, assumption is made that influence, if there is any, is from the closest word, whether it precedes or follows. But sometimes there are alternative (and not necessarily mutually exclusive) possible influences, and they are covered in the table and the discussion.

The 25 other instances are as follows:

46: κατασφαγὰς for κατασκαφὰς in one manuscript was surely influenced by ταυροσφαγοῦντες in 43.

80: The omission of ρ in πρόδρομος substitutes a rarer and less apposite word for a commoner one, but does not need δόμους in 73 to explain it.

86: ὀρ(ρ)οκτύπου in most manuscripts was surely influenced by ὀπλόκτυπ' (or whatever is the right reading) in 83.

121: One manuscript reads ἀργείων for the general ἀρηϊών (itself emended by editors to ἀρείων), under the influence of Ἄργεῖοι in the line before (the problem with Ἄργεῖων is metre not sense).

188: For the received γένει several manuscripts read φύλω or report it as a variant; according to Dawe φύλω started life as φίλω in the manuscript Y; it is plausible that this came from φίλη also at line end in the line above, altered to φύλω for reasons of sense; the other manuscripts, on this analysis, would have got φύλω from Y. This seems possible; Ya is related to Y, and the reading is a γράφεται variant in the other two manuscripts which report it.

244: One manuscript reads φθόνω for φόνω. Dawe thinks that this reading might be ancient and right, giving “a pointed and well-knit line” in place of a “curiously awkward” received text.<sup>21</sup> He accepts that φθόνω could be an accident, “though the natural sequence of corruption would be the opposite” (citing for this *PV* 859 etc.). He does not consider the possibility that φθονῶ in 236 was the agent of corruption. Eight lines is certainly a greater distance than in any totally convincing case of erroneous scribal repetition identified in this study, but, as with the scribal error in 252 discussed immediately below, cannot be ruled out.

252: One manuscript before correction read φόνον for φθόρον; only the gap of eight lines makes dubious the influence of the φόνω which this manuscript, like all but one of the other manuscripts collated, reads in 244.

252: Eteocles says in 250 οὐ σίγα μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιι and then, after a line by the Chorus, οὐκ ἐς φθόρον σιγῶσ' ἀνασχίση τάδε; Some manuscripts have another (unmetrical) οὐ before σιγῶσ'. Dawe says that their scribes were familiar with the idiom οὐκ ἐς φθόρον and construed the line as two separate sentences, inserting the necessary οὐ before the beginning of the second one.<sup>22</sup> Repetition from οὐ σίγα is also a possible explanation.

<sup>21</sup> Dawe (1964) 142.

<sup>22</sup> Dawe (1964) 69.

386: The replacement of φόβον by λόφον in one manuscript can confidently be put down to λόφους, also at line end in 384.

410: The replacement of στυγοῦνθ' by τιμοῦνθ' can confidently be put down to τιμῶντα two words before.

432: There is a six-line gap between the δεινὸν which has ousted γυμνὸν in the manuscript Nd and δείν' in 426. Dawe believes this was a deliberate substitution by Nd "either through motives of prudery or because he did not think that nudity was the sort of thing to calculated to inspire fear in an enemy".<sup>23</sup> He does not discuss the possibility that the substitution was a scribal error of repetition. Of course, the choice of word to replace γυμνὸν could have been primed (see Chapter 7) by 426 even though the decision to replace it was deliberate. Nd is a manuscript with several unique variant readings.

454: The replacement of πωλικῶν by the non-existent πολικῶν in two manuscripts may be ascribed to πόλει two lines before, though such a simple misspelling of a word (ο and ω were pronounced the same in Byzantine times) needs no more cause than scribal absence of mind.

497: The scribe of Δ first wrote ἄθεος at the end of this line, a palpable repetition from ἔνθεος the word before.

513: There are three manuscript variants for φλέγων in the phrase "διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων", to wit φλέγον, φέρων, and ἔχων. Dawe says that the original phrase was too out-of-the-way to escape emendation, and that ἔχων could have been a gloss on φέρων – he points out that very common words may be glossed in manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> ἔχων could also come from ἔχει two lines earlier.

678: One manuscript has the non-existent ἀνδωμένω for αὐδωμένω – oblique cases of ἀνήρ are in the preceding and following lines and may have been the trigger for the confusion of minuscule υ and ν.

737: Manuscripts have many small variations on μελαμπαγές; in the confusion one scribe may have been influenced from thirteen words earlier.

768: There is an unsolved crux here. Page (1972) prints

τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶν	766
βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί·	
τὰ δ' ὀλοὰ ἔπελόμεν'† οὐ παρέρχεται	768

Most manuscripts read the non-existent τελόμενι-; others read παλλόμενι-.

<sup>23</sup> Dawe (1964) 79.

<sup>24</sup> Dawe (1964) 69.

πελόμεν-, τελλόμεν-, τελούμεν-. Hutchinson puts all the variants down to the attempt to make a recognisable word out of τελόμεν-. He conjectures γενόμεν', postulating an uncial corruption; another conjecture on the same basis is Bücheler's πενομένους for πελόμεν' ού. But if τέλειαι two lines before is the source of the corruption,<sup>25</sup> the beginning of the genuine word need not have resembled that in our manuscripts. West (1998) deletes the word, as well as πόλεως in the antistrophe, as suggested in the apparatus of Page (1972); but Page and West have to make the assumptions that τελόμεν came from a majuscule dittography such as ΤΑΔΟΛΟΑ / ΤΕΛΟΜ, and that πόλεως was an explanatory gloss on ξυνέστιοι.

809: The traditional text from 803 runs:

Χο	τί δ' ἐστὶ πρᾶγος νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;	803
Αγγ	πόλις σέσεται· βασιλέες δ' ὁμόσποροι ἄνδρες τεθνήσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων	805
.....		
Αγγ	οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτρως μὴν κατεσποδημένοι	809
.....		
	πόλις σέσεται· βασιλείων δ' ὁμοσπόροι	820

Υ has κατεσπορημένοι in 809. The word is non-existent, and the finger of suspicion points at ὁμόσπορ-. Recent editors excise both (West [1998] and Hutchinson [1985]) or one (Page [1972], with radical transpositions) of the lines containing ὁμόσπορ-;<sup>26</sup> whether or not they are right, at least one of the lines is virtually certain to have been present when Υ's error occurred – in this case, of course, where the error is in a single manuscript, no-one would doubt the order of events.

881: Metre guarantees δωμάτων but most manuscripts have δόμων, which West (1998) plausibly puts down to the influence of δόμων in the previous line.

906: μένος for τέλος is probably due to μένει in 902 – though the apparatus in West (1998) oddly refers to μένει in 897. Dawe points to the problems Byzantine scribes found with the word 'τέλος' when it does not mean 'end'.<sup>27</sup>

973: γόοισι in 967 may have led to γόων for ἀχέων here, though intrusion of a gloss is possible. The explanations are not mutually exclusive, since, for instance, the earlier word may have inspired the glossator.

990: παθόν in 983 is rather distant to have influenced the change from παθών to μαθών here; it could have been a misreading of minuscule  $\mu$  as  $\omega$ .

<sup>25</sup> There could also have been influence from παλαιφάτων and καταλλαγαί on some of the variants.

<sup>26</sup> According to Dawe (1964) 119, the manuscript I omits 804. West and Hutchinson seem to believe that there was a marginal parallel or alternative inserted in two different places in the text. Murray's bizarre duplication of 303 (in both 1937 and 1955) is not relevant.

<sup>27</sup> Dawe (1964) 84. See also the discussion on 251 below.

1028: There is a seven-line gap between βαλῶ here and λαβεῖν in 1021, which, though they are both at the ends of their lines, makes one hesitate to ascribe to the latter the easy metathesis of the former to λάβω in one manuscript.

1042: The gap of two lines between πάλιν in 1040 and πόλιν here makes it plausible to ascribe the variant πάλιν for the latter to the former. There is confusion between the two words in two other places in *Septem* – in 613 πάλιν is replaced by πόλιν in most manuscripts eight lines after πολίταις.

1048: The unmetrical πόλιν for χώραν here probably comes from πόλις in 1046, as Dawe believes;<sup>28</sup> a gloss, even on such a common word, is also possible.

There are 19 instances where the influence has certainly, probably or possibly come from a later word. Most of these are partial, where a word is not replaced, but corrupted by a later one, often to a non-existent or totally inappropriate word.<sup>29</sup> The most convincing examples are:

126: It is unlikely that πύλαις would have become πάλαις without πάλω three words later, since πύλαι are so thematic in *Septem*.

240: Although βόσκεται is four lines further on, it is probably the reason for the strange ταρβοσκούω instead of ταρβοσύνω, though the minuscule κυ and υν could be similar.

267: ὀλυγμάτων for εὐγμάτων must be attributed to ὀλολυγμὸν in the next line.

359: Double lamda in θαλαμηπόλλων was probably written by a scribe with the next word, πολλά, in his mind.

787: πικρονόμους for πικρογλώσσους must be attributed to the closely following σιδαρονόμω.

The next list is rather less convincing, since the errors would not have caused great surprise in the absence of the later word:

141: The itacistic error λυταῖς for λιταῖς did not need the stimulus of θεοκλύτοις two words later.

177: δημίων may have cast its shadow back to affect the immediately preceding θ' ἱερῶν (δηερῶν in B). θ' ἱερῶν is the reading of only two manuscripts; most have δ' ἱερῶν or the like. If, as Dawe speculates,<sup>30</sup> θ' ἱερῶν is a tenuous survival of an ancient reading, then δ' itself may have something to do with δημίων.

<sup>28</sup> Dawe (1964) 87.

<sup>29</sup> Such a corruption is almost always in a single manuscript, whether in its text or as a variant: the corruption probably does not spread because a copyist is likely to notice, and do something about, a nonsensical word in his exemplar.

<sup>30</sup> Dawe (1964) 108.



774: πολύβροτος was probably written by a scribe with πολύβοτος in his exemplar and βροτῶν two words later in his mind. The reading itself provides no support for Blomfield's πολύβατος, which Page (1972) and some others accept.

928: The variant παιδογόνοι for τεκνογόνοι may derive from a gloss, or from παῖδα in the next line.

1061: The variant πολλῶν for πολιτῶν looks as if it came from πολλῶν in the next line.

Other variants, whether partial or of whole words, are even less convincing as due to anticipation. It is important not to be so influenced by the spirit of this study as to see repetition as the cause of any textual variant within a dozen or so lines of a vaguely similar word. There are after all very many variant readings in texts without there being any word in the vicinity at all like the intruder. The following list must be read with that *caveat* :

61: There is here an instance of the πλεύμων/πνεύμων alternation, discussed below on *Trachiniae* 1054. M here has the old form, which Page prints; it is not necessary to invoke πνοᾶς two lines later to explain the appearance of the later form in the other manuscripts.

171: πανδήμους for πανδίκ- might be related to δημίων in 177; but that is unlikely – πάνδημος is common throughout Greek literature, especially in its adverbial form πανδημεί, while πάνδικος is exclusively tragic.

248: δουλεύειν for βουλεύειν may have been affected by δουλείας in 253.

251: ξυγγένεια for ξυντέλεια, which Dawe cites as an example (like 908) of scribes' horror of the word τέλος when it does not mean 'end',<sup>31</sup> may have been affected by γένος in 256.

557: ἔξω for ἔσω is just possibly connected with ἔξωθεν in 560, but substitution of an opposite is a known form of corruption.

558: ἀδίκου must be an intrusive gloss on ἐχθίστου, and the jingle it produces with δάκος immediately following is therefore a coincidence.

763: ἄρει for εὔρει is just possibly connected with ἀραί in 766;<sup>32</sup> but the minuscule compendium for εὔ is often confused with α.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Dawe (1964) 84.

<sup>32</sup> The variant was, according to Dawe (1964), adopted by Hermann.

<sup>33</sup> See on *Hippolytus* 398 and 657, discussed in Section 2(iii); in *Septem* 459 O before correction read ἀχάλκου for εὐχάλκου.

There are two possible instances of repetition from a following word worthy of a more extended comment.

348ff:           βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι  
                    τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων  
                    ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται

Dawe says that the variant ἀρτιβρέφεις invites interest “but in view of its curious formation, the βρέμονται which follows, and the idea already suggested by ἐπιμαστιδίων it falls somewhere between *B* and *C*”<sup>34</sup> Neither ἀρτιβρεφής nor ἀρτιτρεφής occurs elsewhere in Greek literature,<sup>35</sup> though νεοτρόφου is glossed ἀρτιτρεφοῦς in a scholium on *Agamemnon* 724, and a similar unique word<sup>36</sup> has occurred seventeen lines earlier; in the eyes of a student of ‘careless’ repetition that tends to reinforce the reading ἀρτιτρεφεῖς. That is not to deny that βρ....βρ could be Aeschylean (cf. fragment 158 from *Niobe* – Ἴδη τε μυκηθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασιν | βρέμουσι μήλων). If ἀρτιβρέφεις is the false reading, then it is an anticipatory repetition.

590: M alone reads εὔκηλον; all other manuscripts (and M as a γράφεται variant) have εὔκυκλον, which was printed in Murray (1937), as it had been by some previous editors (e.g. Canter (1580)); subsequent editors adopt M’s word, often with a different ending (-ος Hutchinson (1985) following Prien; -ως Page (1972) following Donner). The variants here must be related to κύκλω in the following line. Hutchinson says “εὔκυκλον is much more likely than εὔκηλον to have been imported: κύκλωι comes in the next line, εὔκυκλον in 642 and in Homer, and the sense of εὔκηλον would puzzle.” The *lectio difficilior* logic is acceptable; but the repetition of the stem κυκλ would be Aeschylean, and this study is finding several instances of the *removal* of a repetition in the transmission of a play, of which Hutchinson and others were probably unaware.

The manuscript tradition of *Septem* itself is, however, relatively weak in evidence for the removal of repetitions. The only really plausible instances are:

353:           καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ  
where one manuscript has μέν for κενὸν, as if in a protest against polyptoton.

1005:           δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρῆ  
where one manuscript has μέλλοντ' for δόξαντ'. The scribe may have thought the context demanded a future (just as Headlam conjectured δόξοντ'), or been

<sup>34</sup> Dawe (1964) 109. *B* indicates that in Dawe’s opinion a reading is a conjecture, *C* an accident.

<sup>35</sup> Hutchinson (1985) is wrong in saying that ἀρτιτρεφεῖς occurs in *Hercules*. The word there is νεοτρεφεῖς.

<sup>36</sup> Discussed on 333-4 below.

affected by -ελλ- in the next word. It is nevertheless remarkable that these feelings should have counteracted the influence of δοκοῦντα two words earlier.

Much less plausible are:

158: It is unlikely that the replacement of the compound ἐπάγει by ἄγει was a reaction to the two nearby compounds with ἐπι-.

221: The πόλιν/πάλιν confusion occurs also in 613 and 1042, and in *Hercules* 590, so there is no reason to ascribe this instance to πόλεος three lines earlier.

508: It is unlikely that the γράφεται variant μετήγαγε for συν/ξυνήγαγεν was avoidance of the jingle with ξυστήσεται and ξυνοίστεον following shortly.

610: εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ occurs at the ends of 602 and 610, in the second of which the variant εὐγενῆς ἀνὴρ is found in some manuscripts. The repetition of εὐσεβῆς is right, since it emphatically likens Amphiaraus to the one εὐσεβῆς man on the boat, as the repetition of δίκαιος from 605 likens him to the one δίκαιος man in the city. εὐγενῆς is more likely to have been written by scribes under the influence of the preceding ἀγαθὸς than as a variation on εὐσεβῆς or a reminiscence of γένει in 604.

895: Instead of πλαγὰν followed after four words by πεπλαγμένους K has πλατὰν; almost certainly the misreading of a letter written in the Γ form, unconnected with the corruption in these lines (most editors following Elmsley delete πλαγὰν as a gloss).

998: It is not very plausible to attribute the replacement of κακῶν by πημάτων either to a desire not to repeat κακὰ from 994 or to πῆμα in 1004.

There are two possible removals of repetitions which need more discussion:

177-8            μέλεσθέ θ' ἱερῶν δημίων,  
                  μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε·

178 is obelised in Page (1972), with the note “languet” to μελόμενοι in the apparatus, and a suggestion of the dative μελόμενοις τ' (“sc. ἡμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν”); he does not doubt the repetition. It is odd however that the repetition has failed to preserve μελόμενοι in some manuscripts. The double λ in two is not remarkable, but Y's μελαινόμενοι is. Dawe calls it amusing, and speculates that it arose from a variant μαινόμενοι, the product of visual confusion of nu and lambda and phonetic confusion of ε and αι; Y's exemplar would have had αιν written over ελ and Y would have inserted the syllable in the only place where it

would make a Greek word.<sup>37</sup> The problem with this account is that there it requires three stages, one of which – the confusion of N and Λ – must have been uncial, and that there is no trace of any of the stages in the rest of the tradition. There is however no sign of an anti-repetitive tendency in Y, and this error must be a scribal slip with no special explanation.<sup>38</sup>

969: Canter (1580) printed

AN	ἰὼ ἰὼ πολυδάκρυτε σύ.	969
IΣ	σύ δ' αὐτε καὶ πανάθλιε	

The manuscript tradition is split between πολυδάκρυτε and πανδάκρυτε; the latter was followed by Murray (1937 and 1955), while Page (1972) and Hutchinson (1985) adopt the emendation πάνδυρτε, which is metrically preferable. Hutchinson convincingly says that παν- must be retained to match πανάθλιε in 970. It is very unlikely that it was changed to πολυ- to remove the repetition. A possible explanation for the vacillation of the tradition is that πανδάκρυτε and πολυδάκρυτε were alternative glosses on the rarer πάνδυρτε.

Finally, there are four textual problems to which repetition may be relevant, but which do not fall into any of the above categories.

275-278a: These lines are a notorious crux in *Septem*, simply obelised in Page (1972):

μήλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν	275
ταυροκτονοῦντας θεοῖσιν ᾧδ' ἐπέυχομαι	
θήσειν τροπαῖα πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήμασι	
λάφυρα δαίων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις	278
στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα.	278a

The last word of 277 is ἐσθήματα in all manuscripts except the first hand in M, the scholium in I and in Y (Y reads ἐσθημάτων). 278a is not in several manuscripts, and some have merely the first three words. The scholium in I has already been quoted in Chapter 2.1. It reads

ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων μετὰ τὸν στίχον τοῦτον κεῖται τὸ  
 στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίων ἐσθήματα,  
 καὶ οὐ δήπου κατὰ λήθην ὁ τοιοῦτος στίχος εἰκῆ  
 παρεγγέγραπται. ἡ δὲ τελευταία λέξις τοῦ πρὸ τούτου στίχου  
 “ἐσθήμασι” ἔχει· εἰ γοῦν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, συμβιβάζοι ἂν τις  
 ταῦτα, ἀντὶ τοῦ “ἐσθήμασι” “πτώμασι” μεταγράψας, καὶ ἔχει τὸ  
 ὅλον καλῶς, λέγοντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους ὅτι· πεσόντων τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἀναθήσω πρὸ τῶν ναῶν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων στολὰς.

In some copies after this line [278] there is found

στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίων ἐσθήματα,  
 and indeed this line has not been inserted carelessly at random. The final

<sup>37</sup> Dawe (1964) 86.

<sup>38</sup> Dawe elsewhere ([1964] 32) calls Y “the most corrupt of our sixteen manuscripts.”

word of the previous line has “ἔσθήμασι”. This being so, one might accept those words, substituting “πτώμασι” for “ἔσθήμασι”. The whole passage is satisfactory, since Eteocles says “when the enemy have fallen I shall dedicate the clothes of the enemy in front of the temples.”

The fact that there is a repetition in the transmitted text does not rule out Aeschylean authorship; the omission in so many manuscripts may tell against it. The reasoning of Hutchinson, however, who, like Murray (1937 and 1955) would delete *both* occurrences, does not persuade.

333-4: Canter (1580) followed the bulk of the manuscripts and printed:

κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόποις, ὠμοδρόπων      333  
νομίμων προπάροιθεν . . .

The first of the pair of words clearly begins ἀρτι-, and the second ὠμο-, but there is confusion as to their latter parts. Neither word occurs elsewhere in extant Greek literature (except that, unsurprisingly to a student of the phenomenon of repetitions, in 350 there is found ἀρτιτρέφεις, which is discussed above). For ἀρτιτρόποις P has a γράφεται variant ἀρτιδρόποις; and the scholiast in M has written δ over the τ. For ὠμοδρόπων YBHP<sup>γ</sup>ri.m. and probably O<sup>2</sup> have ὠμοτρόπων, and Q<sup>2</sup> has τ written over δ. There has clearly been interference among these readings. Modern editors ring the changes – Page (1972) presents ἀρτιτρόφοις ὠμοδρόπως, and Hutchinson (1985) ἀρτιτρόφους ὠμοδρόπους, assuming that the first word's π in the manuscripts has come in from the second word.

576: Recent editors obelise in this line; for instance Page (1972)

Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα, πρόσπολον φόνου,      574  
κακῶν δ' Ἀδράστῳ τῶνδε βουλευτήριον·  
καὶ τὸν σὸν † αὐθις πρὸς μόραν † ἀδελφεόν      576

In 574 all manuscripts read πρόσπολον, though P has a γράφεται variant πρόσπορον noted “ἦγουν τὸν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς σπορᾶς γεννηθέντα” which must refer in some way to 576. In 576 most manuscripts have πρόσμορον, which does not scan, M and A προσμόραν or πρὸς μόραν, while B I and P (as just noted) show knowledge of a reading πρόσπορον. There has clearly been some interference here, but the occurrence of such similar words at the same places in two nearby lines is not in itself suspicious. However, the impossibility of scanning πρόσμορον (of which some sort of sense [e.g. ‘doomed’] can be made, though it is not met elsewhere) and the senselessness of πρὸς μόραν, make deep corruption seem likely. Burges conjectured that the προσ- word presented the ruins of ὁμόσπορον in 576, which was glossed by ἀδελφόν, and that some quite different word (λοιδορῶν has been proposed) has dropped out. But certainty is impossible. μόρον at the end of 589 is too distant to be relevant.

652: All manuscripts read πόλιν at the end of this line. But a papyrus of the second century A.D. has πα and then breaks off. Many editors assume this indicates a variant πάτραν, which Hutchinson (1985) admits into his text. He believes πόλιν came in from the end of 647, and adduces a similar corruption in two manuscripts of *Phoenissae* 573. πάτραν is certainly the *difficilior lectio* but there is nothing untoward in πόλιν twice in five lines in any tragic poet. πάτραν could be an avoidance of a repetition of πόλιν, or a repetition from πατρώϊαν in 648 but as Dawe points out πα[ need not be for πάτραν at all; it could be for πάλιν.<sup>39</sup> Corruption from πα to πο is on the other hand more likely in minuscule than in uncial.

The conclusions from *Septem* may be stated as:

- 1) Repetition or partial repetition has been observed to be influenced certainly from as far as three lines earlier; and plausibly from as far as nine.
- 2) Influence from a later word is certain in the same or adjacent lines, and once is likely from four lines later (ταρβοσκύω in 240); cases where the influence would be up to six lines later have been observed, but the diagnosis of these is very uncertain.
- 3) Out of 26 repetitions in trimeters offered as variant readings by at least one manuscript, 7 (27%) are from one line end to another.
- 4) There are two clear and seven highly dubious cases of erroneous variants which remove rather than create repetitions.

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<sup>39</sup> Dawe (1964) 154.

SECTION 2(ii) *Trachiniae*

This study has been based on the apparatus criticus in Dawe (1996), the third edition of his Teubner text. Use has also been made of the Oxford Classical Text of Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a), and the editions of Davies (1991) and Easterling (1982); references to ‘Davies’ and ‘Easterling’ in this section are, in the absence of any other indication, to the notes in those editions on the line in question.

There is no special table for anadiploses, as in Sections 2(i) and 2(iii), since only one instance of variation among *Trachiniae* manuscripts in this respect has been found – in 1005 T reads ἐὰτέ με once while the rest have the anadiplosis ἐὰτέ μ’ ἐὰτέ με.

Table 6.4 lists the instances where there is a difference in readings to which repetition, in a wide sense, seems relevant. ‘Nearby word’ is a word which may have influenced the variant reading. The column headed ‘In line’ shows the line in which the nearby word is found, and whether it precedes (‘p’) or follows (‘f’) the word it may have influenced; ‘end’ means that both the primary and the nearby word end a trimeter; where the entry is in red, the variant in question appears to remove an authorial repetition. The summary of the manuscript evidence does not claim to be complete – corrections and γράφεται variants may be ignored; sigla are those of Dawe (1996).

TABLE 6.4 VARIANTS IN *TRACHINIAE* TO WHICH REPETITION IS RELEVANT.

Line	Dawe text	Variant	Nearby word	In line	Variant found in
105	ἄθλιον	ἄλιον	Ἄλιον	96 (p)	Lγρ
143	παθοῦσα	παροῦσα	πάρει; πάθημα	141 (p) 142 (p)	AUY
182	κάκ	καὶ	καὶ	182 (p)	R
187	λέγεις	ἔχεις	λόγον	184 (p) end	Zo
240	εὐχαῖς	εὐκταῖ’	εὐκταῖα	239 (p)	AUY
308	τεκνοῦσσα	τεκοῦσα	τεκοῦσα	311 (f)	all but K; see discussion
331	ἄλλην	λύπην οἱ λοιπὴν	λύπην	331 (f)	all but Zo; see discussion
339	ἐπίστασαι	ἐπίστασαι	ἐπιστήμην	338 (p)	RTUZgZo
413	κυρεῖς	δοκεῖς	δοκεῖς	402 (p) end	Zg
473	θνητὰ	ὀρθὰ	θνητὴν	473 (p)	Zo
558	φονῶν	φθόνων	φθινοντος	558 (p)	Zo
673	μαθεῖν	λαβεῖν	λαβεῖν	670 (p) end	L; see discussion
700	βλέψειας	ἐκβλέψειας	ἐκβρώματ-	700 (p)	LKT; see discussion
744	μαθῶν	παρῶν	πάρ’	744 (p)	P.Oxy. 1805
947	πρότερ-	πότερ-	πότερα	947 (p) 948 (f)	AUYKZgZo
963	nothing	ξένοι	ξένων	964 (f)	all but T
965	φορεῖ	φωνεῖ	ὀξύφωνος	963 (p)	K; see discussion
965	φορεῖ	φρονέει	φέρει	967 (f)	Zo; see discussion
1008	ἀπολείς	ἀπολείς μ’	ἀπολείς μ’	1008 (p)	Lac
1014	ἐπιτρέψει	ἀποτρέψ-	ἐπὶ	1013 (p)	Almost all but Zo
1021	θύραθεν	θύραζ-	ἔνδοθεν	1021 (p)	All but L s.l. & K
1054	πλεύμον-	πνεύμον-	πλευραῖσι	1053 (p)	KZgZoT
1071	ὥστε	ὅστις	ὅστις	1071 (p)	K
1167	ἐσελθῶν	προσελθῶν	εἰσεγράψαμην	1167 (f)	ZoT
1183	ἀπιστήσεις	ἀπειθήσεις	πίστιν	1182 (p)	Zo
1212	γενήσεται	φθονήσεται	φθόνησις	1212 (p)	ZgZo
1273	πάντων	θανάτους	θανάτους	1276 (f)	A

As the above table shows, 27 instances have been found in *Trachiniae* where a variant in one or more manuscripts has certainly, probably or perhaps been influenced by a word nearby. In 15 instances it seems certain, probable or possible that a previously occurring word has led to (or influenced) the replacement of the true reading at some stage in some part of the transmission. The most convincing ones are:

143: The παροῦσα of AUΥ is probably provoked by πάρει in 141; but the παθοῦσα accepted by editors from the other manuscripts is itself an echo of πάθημα in 142.

182: After writing καὶ twice in the line the copyist of one manuscript wrote it again instead of κάκ.

339: ἐπίστασαι for ἐφίστασαι is an easy error, but the preceding ἐπιστήμη would have made it easier.

558: A word beginning φθ has led Zo to begin the next but one the same way rather than with the simple φ.

744: A papyrus of the second century A.D. read, before correction, τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπου παρῶν for τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μαθῶν.

947: It was easy for copyists to omit the first ρ of πρότερα or the like directly after one πότερα and shortly before another. The oldest manuscript (L) and T preserve the ρ, though the forms they give are not the ones now printed following Dindorf.

965: K's reading φωνεῖ for φορεῖ must have come from ὀξύφωνος shortly before. For discussion of Zo's reading see below.

1008: The μ' originally written in L after the second ἀπολεῖς was later deleted.

1071: ὅστις ὅστις would seem a simple scribal error of repetition in K for ὅστις ὥστε, but may be more complicated, since L has ὅστις ὥς τις (like ὅστις ὅστις a breach of Porson's law). ὅστις ὥς τις looks like a conflation of ὅστις ὅστις with ὅστις ὥστε, but according to the preface to Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) K is an indirect descendant of L, rather than the other way around. So we must have a two-stage corruption in K.

1212: Zg and Zo have the blatantly erroneous repetition φορᾶς γέ τοι φθόνησις οὐ φθονήσεται for οὐ γενήσεται.



There are two variants whose link with a previous word seems less convincing because of their distance:

105: The γράφεται variant ἄλιον for ἄθλιον here might be a reminiscence of ἄλιον in 96.

413: δοκεῖς for κυρεῖς in 413 is 11 lines from the preceding δοκεῖς. Perhaps however that and κυρεῖς in 406, all at line end, produced some confusion in the mind of the scribe.

More interesting are:

240: AU and Y have εὐκταῖ' for εὐχαῖς in:

ΔH	εὐκταῖα φαίνων, ἧ' πὸ μαντείας τινός;	239	
ΛI	εὐχαῖς, ὅθ' ἦρει τῶνδ' ἀνάστατον δορὶ . . .		240

If the εὐχαῖς accepted by editors is what Sophocles wrote, εὐκταῖ' must be a scribal reminiscence of the line above. But a verbal repetition would have been at least as Sophoclean as a slight variation, and if it had appeared in all manuscripts editors would not have emended it. It may be that their preference for εὐχαῖς is based on the belief that copyists err in the direction of repetition, rather than away from it. This study has produced numerous examples of the reverse tendency, however, and we could have another here. Perhaps, however, editors are justified in accepting the authority of the oldest manuscript, the Laurentian.

673: γυναῖκες, ὑμῖν θαῦμ' ἀνέλπιστον μαθεῖν

For the last word Dawe (1996) accepts the reading of AU and LZ above the line; on the line L has λαβεῖν, while the other MSS read παθεῖν. Editors find difficulties with all three. Davies dismisses παθεῖν as “senseless” and “a bad conjecture based on μαθεῖν” (it is perhaps rather a misreading of uncial M as Π), and finds it impossible to construe λαβεῖν (to be “explained as a corruption imported from the end of line 670”), but takes μαθεῖν as an epexegetic infinitive; he has however some sympathy for emendation to βαλεῖν or πορεῖν. Easterling also reads μαθεῖν: “Probably λαβεῖν is a mere slip, under the influence of 670.” Lloyd-Jones & Wilson account for λαβεῖν as a corruption of βαλεῖν,<sup>40</sup> which they print in their Oxford Classical Text. Certainly, as they say, this particular corruption by metathesis is a common one; the problem is that they do not explain, and indeed ignore, the appearance of μαθεῖν/παθεῖν in most MSS. μαθεῖν/παθεῖν is not so much an easier reading than βαλεῖν or λαβεῖν as to suggest itself to a scribe on grounds of sense, so Lloyd-Jones & Wilson would have to postulate first the complete disappearance of the correct βαλεῖν from the tradition after its corruption to λαβεῖν; then the change of λαβεῖν to

<sup>40</sup> Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) 165.

μαθεῖν/παθεῖν as yet another removal of a repetition by copyists. This is not impossible, but the process assumed by those who read μαθεῖν is easier, and to be preferred as long as μαθεῖν makes sense, with due allowance for Sophocles' straining of language.

700: Dawe (1996) reads:

ὥστ' εἰ πρόιονος  
ἐκβρώματα βλέψεϊας ἐν τομῇ ξύλου 700

The MSS have ἐκβρώματ', followed in LKT by ἐκβλέψεϊας; in ZgZo by ἐμβλέψεϊας; and in AUΥ by ἄν βλέψεϊας. Davies articulates the assumption that ἐκ- is a repetition from the preceding word;<sup>41</sup> but a very similar dithering amongst ἐκβλέψασα ἐμβλέψασα and βλέψασα is found in Sophocles *Electra* 995, with no other ἐκ in the vicinity. Incidentally, ἐκβλέπω is found very rarely (only five times on the TLG, and all post-classical), while ἐμβλέπω is a common word, and thus the *lectio facilior*. . Dawe's emendation lengthens α by position before βλ; this is not uncommon in Sophocles – e.g. *Electra* 301 ὁ πάντ' ἀνακίς οὔτος, ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη, and *Ajax* 514 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὅτι βλέπω.

The most convincing instance in *Trachiniae* of a reading affected by a later word is:

1273: At the end of the play one manuscript reads θανάτους in 1273 and in 1276. Editors must be right to print the πάντων of two manuscripts in 1273, though the fact that the majority read the unmetrical ἀπάντων may hint that the corruption is not completely simple.

A difficult case is:

308: If modern editors are right, anticipatory repetition could be the explanation for the reading of most MSS here (another explanation would be simple resort to the commoner word):

ὦ δυστάλαινα, τίς ποτ' εἶ νεανίδων, 307  
ἀνανδρος ἢ τεκνοῦσα (sic edd.); πρὸς μὲν γὰρ φύσιν  
πάντων ἄπειρος τῶνδε, γενναία δέ τις.  
Λίχα, τίνος ποτ' ἔστιν ἡ ξένη βροτῶν; 310  
τίς ἢ τεκοῦσα, τίς δ' ὁ φιτευσας πατήρ;

Most MSS read τεκοῦσα in both 307 and 311, but in 307 K reads τεκνοῦσα, which is also a supralinear variant in L and a γράφεται one in A and Y (U has τεκνοῦσα as a γράφεται variant in 311; perhaps a displacement of the 307 variation rather than a genuine alternative in 311). Brunck corrected τεκνοῦσα to

<sup>41</sup> Jackson (1955) 224 makes the same assumption.

τεκνούσσα in 308.<sup>42</sup> Easterling says that the adjective makes a better pair than the aorist participle to ἄνανδρος and avoids what would otherwise be an ungainly repetition at 311. There is still however a jingle, though not an identical repetition.

Undoubtedly the most interesting repetition-related cases in the textual transmission of *Trachiniae* are ones where the variant lacks a repetition found in the main tradition. Despite sharing with Florentinus Laurentianus 32.2 (Zg) the introduced repetition in 1212, the manuscript Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 287 (Zo)<sup>43</sup> appears to remove repetitions on perhaps as many as six occasions:

187:

ΔΗ καὶ τοῦ τόδ' ἀστῶν ἢ ξένων μαθῶν λέγεις

Given the tendency the following cases will demonstrate in Zo, its reading of ἔχεις for λέγεις here may be viewed as avoiding picking up λόγον from 184.<sup>44</sup>

331:

μηδὲ πρὸς κακοῖς 330

τοῖς οἷσιν ἄλλην πρὸς γ' ἐμοῦ λύπην λάβη

The line is read thus by Dawe (1996) and by Easterling, and (with οὔσιν and λάβοι) by Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a). But ἄλλην is in Zo alone.<sup>45</sup> LKR have λύπην twice; AUΥ λύπην . . . λύπης; Zg and T have λοιπήν . . . λύπην, which is a γράφεται variant in Y and (as λοιπεῖν) in U. Easterling describes the line with the repetition of λύπην as “obviously corrupt”, with Zo’s ἄλλην removing the main difficulty. Davies says “the λύπην . . . λύπην offered (or presupposed) by most manuscripts is that common phenomenon, an error of anticipation.” λύπην . . . λύπην is no doubt wrong, but these editors give the misleading impression that ἄλλην was the reading of which it was a corruption; more likely all the texts in front of Byzantine scholars and scribes had λύπην twice; λοιπήν and ἄλλην for the first λύπην and λύπης for the second were differing attempts to make sense of it. Zo’s mild aversion to repetition has led it to a good conjecture (supported by the fact that all MSS have οἷσιν with paragogic ν, which is unmetrical before λ). But it almost certainly is a conjecture, like F.W. Schmidt’s διπλήν for the *second* λύπην.

<sup>42</sup> According to Easterling (1982) τεκνούσσα is not found elsewhere, but the TLG finds it in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, Book 1, 31f citing from Theophrastus, “Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῇ περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίᾳ φησὶν (9, 18, 10) ἐν Ἡραΐᾳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας γίνεσθαι οἶνον ὃς τοῖς μὲν ἄνδρας πινόμενος ἐξίστησι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τεκνούσας ποιεῖ.”; the manuscripts of Theophrastus, however, give ἀτέκνους or ἀτεκνούσας which Brunck emended to produce the reverse sense by reference to Aelian *V H* 13.6 and Pliny *N H* 14.116.

<sup>43</sup> There is a brief discussion of this manuscript at the end of this section.

<sup>44</sup> Dawe (1978) regards Zo’s reading as defensible though not correct, λέγεις “continuing the tone of εἶπας in 184”.

<sup>45</sup> Or so this discussion assumes. Certainly Zo is the only MS with this reading among those collated by Dawe, but the siglum ‘rec’ in Pearson (1928) is said by him to imply ‘duo vel plures’.

473:

ἐπεὶ σε μανθάνω 472  
 θνητὴν φρονοῦσαν θνητὰ κούκ ἀγνώμονα, 473

This is an effective polyptoton, which Sophocles must have written and which no modern editor would think of destroying. But for θνητὰ Zo reads ὀρθὰ. Even if this started life as a gloss, whether on θνητὰ or on οὐκ ἀγνώμονα, its displacement of θνητὰ is odd.

965: In πᾶ δ' αὖ φορεῖ νιν; Zo's φρονέει might be an attempt to get away from the φορεῖ of LAUYT and the φέρει of the common parent of Zg and Zo; there is φέρει in 967 and φέρεται in 968, and Easterling says that this gives strong emphasis to the essential function of the procession, to carry Heracles.<sup>46</sup>

1167: The manuscripts hesitate amongst ἐσελθῶν, εἰσελθῶν (read by LAUZg, which does not scan) and προσελθῶν. προσελθῶν was presumably an alternative metrical correction of εἰσελθῶν, perhaps preferred by Zo to ἐσελθῶν because in his text εἰσεγραψάμην followed closely.<sup>47</sup> πρὸς in 1168 is unlikely to have been a factor.

1183:

ΥΛ ὡς πρὸς τί πίστιν τήνδ' ἄγαν ἐπιστρέφεις 1182  
 HP οὐ θάσσον οἴσεις, μηδ' ἀπιστήσεις ἐμοί;

Picking up a word in a stichomythic line is very common, and indeed both natural and rhetorical in dialogue.<sup>48</sup> But for ἀπιστήσεις Zo reads ἀπειθήσεις.

There is one separate example:

963: The Triclinian manuscript T is the only one not to precede ξένων with ξένοι; this correct emendation was no doubt made to secure responsion with the strophe.

Finally, three instances of manuscript divergences in preverb, suffix or spelling where there may have been influence from a neighbouring word. (This study has not aimed at completeness in these minor matters.)

1014: Dawe reads ἐπιτρέψει with Zo alone; T reads ἀνστρέψει and other manuscripts ἀποτρέψει(ν). Easterling observes that all the manuscript readings are suspect on grounds of sense but that ἐπιτρέψει is more likely to be right. Unique preservation by Zo of an ancient and correct reading here seems as unlikely as in 331, discussed above. If ἐπιτρέψει came from ἐπὶ in 1013 that is sheer good fortune. The Oxford Classical Texts have however rejected all compound verbs; Pearson (1928) printed Postgate's οὐκέτι τρέψει and Lloyd-

<sup>46</sup> For the φωνεῖ of K see above.

<sup>47</sup> Dawe's ἐξεγραψάμην is an emendation. It introduces the word which, according to Easterling (1982), is the more normal one for the sense "wrote down for myself".

<sup>48</sup> Chapter 7 will show how natural it is.

Jones & Wilson (1990a) οὐ ποτε τρέψει. Perhaps the origin of the confusion is a compendium for ποτε misread as ἀπο- and then emended in the Triclinian circle, T's ἀνστρέψει being a slip of the pen for ἀνατρέψει, and Zo's ἐπιτρέψει another emendation.

1021: θύραθεν is clearly right. The question is why most manuscripts read θύραζε (or θύραζ' or θύραζεν) so soon after ἔνδοθεν; an explanation might be that scribes in tune here with the concept of polar opposition go the whole hog and oppose the endings as well as the stems of these words.

1054: Bond explains that πλεύμων was the true Homeric and Attic form, πνεύμων being the result of philological attempts (going back at least as far as Aristotle) to link it with πνέω and πνεῦμα, with which it naturally occurs.<sup>49</sup> He believes, against Diggle (1981), that in *Hercules* 1093 Euripides is deliberately etymologising (πνοάς and πνέω occur in the preceding line). It seems probable that Sophocles used the old form here, and that some Byzantines emended to the newer, as they also did at 567 and 778 where there is nothing similar in the vicinity. (AUY are consistent in the πν form, and ZgZo in the πλ; KTLRV are inconsistent.)

The conclusions from *Trachiniae* may be stated as:

- 1) Repetition or partial repetition has been observed to be influenced certainly from as far as three lines earlier; and possibly from as far as 11.
- 2) Influence from a later word is rare, and convincing only once, the later word being three lines distant.
- 3) Out of 17 repetitions in trimeters offered as variant readings by at least one manuscript 3 are from one line end to another – some 17%.
- 4) There are seven instances where one manuscript does not have a repetition which the rest have. In one of the seven instances the reading without the repetition is certainly right and in another it is the preferable reading. In all but one case the manuscript without the repetition is Zo. That manuscript is, physically, the same as P for Euripides, but it is not a copy of Zg, which is, physically, the same as L for Euripides; nor is P a copy of L for other than the alphabetic plays; it has, for instance, much more of *Bacchae* than does L. Zo therefore, written in the scriptorium of the Byzantine scholar Triclinius, is a relative of the manuscript T in which Triclinius's emendations (including the seventh removal of a *Trachiniae* repetition) are found.<sup>50</sup> It appears from Zuntz's description of P that virtually the whole of it was written by the same scribe. That scribe was by common

<sup>49</sup> Bond (1990) 344. a similar variation among manuscripts was mentioned above on *Septem* 61.

<sup>50</sup> No commentators have suggested that Zo itself contains Triclinius's emendations. According to the stemma in Dawe (1978), for *Trachiniae* and *Philoctetes* Zg and Zo are close to Triclinius's manuscript T, but are not post-Triclinian. But, unless Zuntz (1964) is wildly wrong, the physical manuscript Zg/L was a production for Triclinius, and Zo/P for the market under his auspices.

consent careless in the alphabetic plays of Euripides, and it was argued in Section 1 above that P has a slight but perceptible tendency to remove repetitions; and though the fault of carelessness does not seem to be generally imputed to Z<sup>o</sup> it does have some dozen idiosyncratic (and unmeritorious) readings in *Trachiniae* which do not remove repetitions. There are however no variants in P's version of the alphabetic plays of Euripides showing the conjectural ingenuity of some of those in *Trachiniae*.

SECTION 2(iii) *Hippolytus*

This study has been based on the apparatus criticus in Diggle (1984), the latest Oxford Classical Text – which is virtually the same as that of Barrett (1964),<sup>51</sup> except that a few new papyri were available to Diggle. In addition, however, four manuscript variants turning on repetition have been gleaned from Sybel (1868); they are not mentioned in the apparatuses of Barrett or Diggle, presumably as being what Diggle (1984) calls “manifestos singuli codicis errores”.

Two tables have been drawn up. The first covers anadiploses only (as explained earlier, interjections have been disregarded). The summary of the manuscript evidence does not lay claim to completeness – corrections and γράφεται variants may be ignored; the sigla used are those of Diggle (1984).

TABLE 6.5

VARIANTS IN *HIPPOLYTUS* TO WHICH ANADIPLOSIS IS RELEVANT.

Line	Diggle text	Variant	Manuscript Evidence
60	Ἄρτεμιν	Ἄρτεμιν Ἄρτεμιν	variant in LP
63	χαῖρε χαῖρε	χαῖρε	ACLP have repetition in some form.
367	ὦ πόνοι	ὦ πόνοι . . . ὦ πόνοι	V; MSS word order in 366/7 varies.
736	κῦμα	κῦμα κῦμα	variant in MC
739	τάλαιναι	τάλαιναι τάλαιναι	variant in MAC
830	μέλεα μέλεα	μέλεα	variant only in V
883	ὄλοον	ὄλοον ὄλοον	variant in BVDELP
884	πόλις	πόλις πόλις	BVCDELP have repetition in some form.
1382	ἔμολ-	ἔμολ' ἔμολ'	variant only in O
1384	μοι μοι	μοι	variant in VCD

There are ten instances where one or more manuscripts have anadiplosis (or, in 367, a similar phenomenon), while one or more do not. Diggle (1984) doubles the word or phrase in question three times, and prints it singly seven times. Diggle may not always be right in his judgement (though it is usually supported by metrical considerations) but whether he is or not, it emerges clearly that in Euripidean lyrics, where anadiplosis is a common figure, scribes sometimes introduce it where it should not be, and sometimes remove it from where it should be. There is no observable ‘policy’ of the different manuscripts in this matter (though the manuscript M (Marcianus gr. 471) is wrong – in the sense of disagreeing with Diggle [1984] – on three of the eight occasions to which it is a witness, twice failing to repeat where it should and once repeating where it should not). Barrett’s note on 63 “Ordinarily speaking, omission . . . is an easier error than duplication”, though intuitively appealing, is not borne out in *Hippolytus*.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> References to “Barrett” in this section are, in the absence of any other indication, to his note on the line in question.

<sup>52</sup> No instance either way was observed in the alphabetic plays; five, two of omission and three of duplication, in *Septem*, and one, of omission, in *Trachiniae*.

The second table lists the cases where there is a difference in readings to which repetition seems relevant. 'Nearby word' is a word which may have influenced the variant reading. The column headed 'In line' shows the line in which the nearby word is found, and whether it precedes ('p') or follows ('f') the word it may have influenced; 'e' means that both the primary and the nearby word end a trimeter; where the entry is in red, the error in question is the removal of an authorial repetition. The summary of the manuscript evidence does not claim to be complete – corrections and γράφεται variants may be ignored; sigla are those of Diggle (1984).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Sybel's sigla differ from those of modern editors; in the four instances due to him his B, C and d have been converted to P, L and D respectively.



TABLE 6.6.

VARIANTS IN *HIPPOLYTUS* TO WHICH REPETITION IS RELEVANT.

Line	Diggle text	Variant	Nearby word	In line	Variant found in
32	ἔκδημον	ἔκδηλον	ἔκδημον	37 (f)	MOVDEL
41	χρη	δει	δείξω	42 (f)	all but LP
57	βλέπων/ον/ει	είσορων	είσορῶ	51 (p)	only pap. P Sorbonne 2252
107	χρεῶν	θεῶν	θεῶν	106 (p)end	Ppc teste Sybel
254	ἀνακίρ(ρι)νάσθαι	ἐντείνασθαι	ξυντείναί	257 (f)	quotation only
255	μυελόν	φιλίας	φιλίας	254 (p)	only pap. P Sorbonne 2252
271	ἐλέγχουσ'	ἐννέπουσα	ἐννέπειν	271 (f)	M only
301	πόνους	λόγους	λόγοις	299 (p)end	O only
303	ἐτέγγεθ'	ἐπέιθεθ'	πέιθεται	303 (f)	scholia only
337	τλήμον	μήτερ	μήτερ	337 (f)	E only
348	ἀλγεινόν	ἀλγιστον	ἥδιστον	348 (p)	CDE and gnomologia
398	ἄνοιαν	εὐνοιαν	εὐ	398 (f)	VE
520	τόκω	τέκνω	τέκνον	517 (p)end	L only
593	μῆσομαι	μνήσ-	προμνήστριαν	589 (p)	A only
619	τόδε	τέκνα	τέκνον	615 (p)end	ostrakon only
628	σπείρας	θρέψας	θρέψας	628 (f)	gnomologium v
630	φυτόν	κακόν	κακοῦ	629 (p)end	OVCDELP
657	ἀφρακτος	εὐφρακτος	εὐσεβές	656 (p)	E only
658	πατρί	κακά	κακός	654 (p)end	M only
688	δῆ	δεῖ	δεῖ	688 (p)	OV; CD omit
750	ὀλβιόδωρος	βιόδωρος	ὀλβίων	755 (f)	A & schol only
776	δόμων	δρόμ-	βοηδρομεῖτε	776 (p)	BCDEP
786	νέκυν	νεκρόν	νεκρόν	789 (f)	CDELP
797	τύχη	δίκη	τύχης	801 (f)end	L teste Sybel
817	πόνων	παθέων	ἐπαθον	817 (f)	BOCDELP
817	τάλας	πόλις	τάλαιν'	816 (p)	MOA
829	κραιπνόν	πικρόν	πικράν	825 (p)	CDELP
895	δόμους	πύλας	πύλαις	882 (p)end	M only; see discussion
896	σέβων	κλύων	κλύειν	904 (f)end	C only
984	καλοῦς	πολλοῦς	καλόν	985 (f)	VCDELP
992	πρώτον	πρότερον	πρώτα	991 (p)	VCDELP
1002	ἔχειν	ἐλείν	ἔχων	1006 (f)	MBOACE & v
1007	δῆ	μῆ	δῆ	1008 (f)	AD
1038	καί	οὐ	οὐκ	1038 (p)	A only
1039	εὐοργησία	εὐορκ-	ὄρκους	1038 (p)	DE & 2nd-hand in BAVL etc
1047	δυστυχεῖ	δυσσεβεῖ	δυσσεβεῖ	1050(f)end	MOAC
1089	φυγῆς	χθονός	χθονός	1087(p)end	D teste Sybel
1158	πόλιν	πύλην	πολίταις	1158 (p)	D only
1178	ἔχων	φέρων	ἔχων	1177 (p)	P teste Sybel
1247	τέρας	κάρα	κάρα	1237(p)end	BDELP
1311	ἔγραψε	ἔταξε	γραφάς	1311 (p)	A only
1323	παρέσχες	ἐνειμας/ἐμεινας	ἐμεινας	1322 (p)	DLPHE
1326	τυχεῖν	ἔχειν	ἔχει	1328 (f)	O only
1362	καί	τόν	τόν	1362 (p)	V only
1437	φθιτοῦς	νεκροῦς	διεφθάρης	1436 (p)	CDELP
1448	χέρα	φρένα	φρενός	1454 (f)	ACDELP

Table 6.6 shows 46 instances where a variant reading has certainly, probably or perhaps been influenced by a word nearby. In the following 14 of these, it seems certain or likely that a previously occurring word has led to (or influenced) the replacement of the true reading at some stage in some part of the transmission:

57: The aberrant papyrus P. Sorbonne 2252 has εἴσορῶν from 51; although there is nothing of itself suspicious in the repetition of this verb after six lines, and φάος εἴσορᾶν is a common Euripidean construction (six times in the extant plays), φάος βλέπειν is rather commoner (eight times in the extant plays), and the difference in word-order between LP (τόδε βλέπων) and the rest (βλέπων τόδε) does not support the possibility that the papyrus has preserved the right reading.

107: Sybel (1868) reports θεῶν (later corrected) as replacing χρεῶν in end-line position in a manuscript under the influence of the previous line; χρεῶν also, interestingly, occurs at the end of 110, but that is not the plausible source of the error.

255: The aberrant papyrus P. Sorbonne 2252 has φιλίας from the previous line.

301: One manuscript has λόγους for πόνους at the end of the line; λόγοις ends 299 and begins 303.

520: One manuscript has τέκνω for τόκω at the end of the line; τέκνον ends 517.

630: Barrett surprisingly attributes the replacement of φυτὸν by κακὸν in most of the manuscripts to the substitution of a simple word for an unusual one, and does not mention κακοῦ at the end of 629. Indeed, forms and compounds of κακός are so common in this speech of Hippolytus (ten in the 45 lines Diggle (1984) retains from 616 to 668), that one must entertain the possibility that Euripides used it again here and part of the transmission removed it, taking φυτὸν from *Medea* 231, where it is also used of women. But it is more plausible that φυτὸν, maintaining the metaphor of σπείρας τε καὶ θρέψας from 628, is genuine.<sup>54</sup>

658: κακά for πατρί must be ascribed to κακός at the end of 654, though the prevalence of the word in this speech (see on 630 above) may also be relevant.

688: The identical Byzantine pronunciation of δῆ and δεῖ would encourage the repetition.

776: For δόμων in βοηδρομεῖτε πάντες οἱ πέλας δόμων four manuscripts have words beginning δρομ- .

1038: The words involved (καί and οὐ) are small and very common, but the variant is nevertheless a repetition.

<sup>54</sup> cf. Aeschylus *Supplikes* 281 Νεῖλος ἂν θρέψειε τοιοῦτον φυτόν.

1039: Barrett says the dubious word εὐορκησία for εὐοργησία is the aberration of a copyist with ὄρκους (1037) in his mind; the thematic importance of the ὄρκος in the play may explain why the error became popular with the correctors of various manuscripts.

1089: The χθονός for φυγῆς that Sybel (1868) reports must have come from χθονός also at line-end in 1087.

1323 The replacement of παρέσχεσ by ἔνειμας or ἔμεινας must be due to ἔμεινας in the previous line. Barrett says “ἔνειμας is sense and ἔμεινας nonsense, but neither is metre (save with L’s impossible γε).”

1362: The words involved (καί and τόν) are small and very common, but the variant is nevertheless a repetition.

There are four further instances where the influence of the previously occurring word is much more debatable:

593: μνήσομαι for μήσομαι in one manuscript may have been influenced by προμνήστριαν in 589, though there is another confusion in the tradition (several manuscripts read μητίσομαι), and the fact that μιμνήσκω is a commoner word than μήδομαι might alone explain the error.

619: The ostrakon Berol. 4758 contains only 616-24. Though it might have been copied (by a schoolboy?) from a text into which τέκνα had come from τέκνον at the end of 615, a more likely motive for the change from τόδε would be to make the thought seem clearer. (Barrett’s explication of τόδε as “τὸ σπαρῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους”, though convincing, requires more sophistication in the reader or hearer.)

657: Though the misreading of the minuscule α as the compendium for ευ may have been influenced by ευ in the previous line (compare 398 discussed below, where the influence would be from a *following* word) it also occurs at *Septem* 763, discussed in Section 2(i).

1247: δύστηνον κάρα ταύρου is less likely to be right than δύστηνον τέρας ταύρου – Barrett observes that periphrastic κάρα (which is what it would be here) seems only to be used of persons, and that the sense of τέρας is desirable. But explaining why most manuscripts have the false reading is not so easy. 10 lines seems a long way for a scribe’s eye to slip back, or for the priming effect (on which see Chapter 7) of a word to persist; *Trachiniae* 413, discussed above, and *Hippolytus* 895, discussed below, could however be parallels.

There are three more complex cases:

348: The superlative at the beginning of the line ἥδιστον, ὦ παῖ, ταῦτόν ἀλγεινόν θ' ἅμα, seems to have led to the replacement of ἀλγεινόν by ἀλγιστόν in part of the tradition. The superlative would, indeed be perfectly appropriate; ἀλγεινόν is presumably read by editors because its manuscript authority is better and because the corruption *to* the superlative seems easier to account for (though evidence from the present study shows that repetitions may be removed during transmission).

817: Diggle and Barrett prefer τάλας to the alternative πόλις at the end of this line. Barrett claims that τάλας is dramatically more apposite here, and surmises that πόλις was an actor's change with 844 in mind. In fact L is the only manuscript to read τάλας. Most manuscripts read τάλαινα, but that is unmetrical; it may have come from τάλαιν' in 816, and L could easily have changed it to τάλας. I would read πόλις with Murray (1902), comparing ἰὼ πόλις in 884. The corruption here seems unconnected with the one in the same line discussed below.

829: A group of manuscripts has πήδημ' ἐς "Αἰδου πικρὸν ὀρμήσασά μοι for the accepted πήδημ' ἐς "Αἰδου κραιπνὸν ὀρμήσασά μοι. Barrett explains πικρὸν as an anagrammatic variant. The corruption may however well be related to the more complex textual problem hereabouts, which starts with 808 and the following lines, where the manuscripts read (only variant readings relevant to the current discussion are noted):

χαλᾶτε κλήθρα, πρόσπολοι, πυλωμάτων,  
ἐκλύσαθ' ἄρμούς, ὡς ἴδω δυσδαίμονα 809  
γυναικός, ἢ με καθανοῦσ' ἀπώλεσεν.

809 τὸν δαίμονα OV:δυσδαίμονα rell.

The text following 822 is:

κακῶν δ', ὦ τάλας, πέλαγος εἰσορῶ 822  
τοσοῦτον ὥστε μήποτ' ἐκνεῦσαι πάλιν  
μηδ' ἐπερᾶσαι κύμα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς 824  
[ἐκλύεθ' ἄρμούς, ὡς ἴδω πικρὰν θέαν] 825  
τίνα λόγον, τάλας, τίνα τύχαν σέθεν 826  
βαρύποτμον, γύναι, προσαυδῶν τύχῳ;  
ὄρνις γὰρ ὡς τις ἐκ χερῶν ἄφαντος εἶ,  
πήδημ' ἐς "Αἰδου κραιπνὸν ὀρμήσασά μοι.

825 CDELBV: om. MOA

829 κραιπνὸν MBOAV: πικρὸν CDEL

As Barrett says, 825 is manifestly out of place here; by this time Theseus is seeing Phaedra's body, and there is both in the passage 817-832 and in the antistrophic 836-850 an alternation of two iambic and two dochmiac lines, which 825 would break. Editors therefore remove it and put it in the place of the transmitted 809.

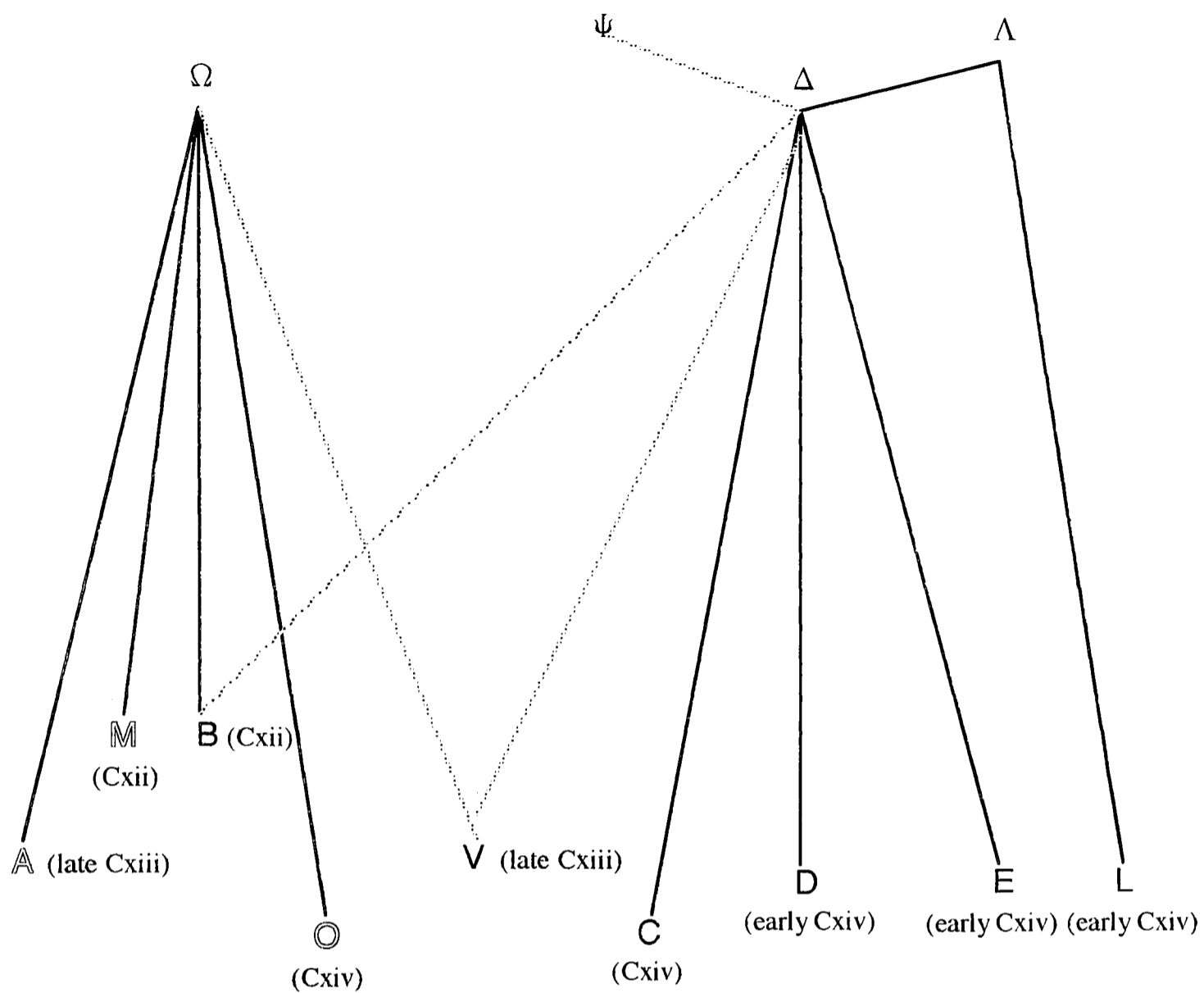
the last word in which is unconstruable if it is *δυσδαίμονα* and a senseless construction if it is *τὸν δαίμονα*. Barrett's explanation (on 808-810) of all this is that there was a manuscript which had the *δυσδαίμονα* line in its text and the *πικρὰν θέαν* line written as a variant at the foot of the page, and that the last line of that page must have been 824.

Barrett does not comment on the relationship between 825 with *πικρὰν* and the *πικρὸν* variant in 829. MOA do not contain 825 and read *κραίπνόν*, while CDEL contain 825 and read *πικρὸν* (H is not available here). The error in 829, therefore, looks like a copyist's repetition from 825, assisted by the fact that the words are near anagrams and that *κραίπνός* is much the rarer (it is not found elsewhere in Euripides). B and V contain 825 but nevertheless read *κραίπνόν*.

The diagram on the next page sets out the stemma of the *Hippolytus* codices following Barrett. According to him, B after 471 is heavily contaminated from a manuscript of the Δ branch of the Λ family, while V is a hybrid, in general adhering to Ω between 412 and 833.

A plausible explanation of what we find in the manuscripts for 825 and 829 is that the copyists of B and V (or, of course, direct ancestors of theirs), who were working from a manuscript of the Δ group as well as their basic Ω group exemplar, found in the Δ group manuscript an extra line and added it into their text, but did not alter their Ω group manuscript's *κραίπνόν* to *πικρὸν*. More speculatively, one can also suggest that the manuscript with the *πικρὰν θέαν* line written as a variant at the foot of the page was the exemplar of Λ, and that the copyist of Λ took it into his text and then, while it was still at the forefront of his mind, replaced *κραίπνόν* with *πικρὸν* four lines later.

Stemma Codicum of Euripides *Hippolytus*, following Barrett (1964) page 62



Codices with sigla in red read *κραίπνόν* in *Hippolytus* 829  
 Codices with outlined sigla do not contain *Hippolytus* 825

Table 6.6 shows five instances where a reading has certainly or probably been affected by a word occurring later:

254: Plutarch's quotation has ἐντείνασθαι for the ἀνακιρνάσθαι or ἀνακρινάσθαι of the manuscripts of Euripides; inaccuracies in quotations are notorious, and influence from ξυντείνειν in 257 is likely here.

271: The variant ἐννέπουσα does not even scan, and comes evidently from ἐννέπειν three words later in the line.

303: There is confusion in the manuscript tradition between οὔτε γὰρ τότε | λόγοις ἐτέγγεθ' ἦδε νῦν τ' οὐ πείθεται and . . . λόγοις ἐθέλγεθ' . . . The scholia report a further variant, . . . λόγοις ἐπείθεθ' . . . Barrett judges it to be "obviously false", but a figural repetition putting all the emphasis on the continuance of Phaedra's state is not altogether out of place, and if it had been the sole MSS reading would not have been emended. But as a variant with poor attestation it is properly put down to the influence of the following word.

337: Editors read ὦ τλήμον, οἶον, μήτερ, ἠράσθης ἔρον. But one MS inverts τλήμον and μήτερ while another repeats μήτερ. The scribe was perhaps inspired to introduce a figural repetition, but more probably it was a conflation of readings before him that had the two words τλήμον and μήτερ in different orders.

628: The θρέψας of the gnomologium Escorialense for the σπείρας of the manuscripts of Euripides in ὁ σπείρας τε καὶ θρέψας πατήρ is again to be blamed on the inaccuracy of quotations. But the gnomologium reads, with a number of the manuscripts, κάκθρέψας not θρέψας; Barrett is however convincing in his argument that the compound would mean 'brought her up to maturity', and the simplex is therefore better; moreover θρέψας τε κάκθρέψας, despite the superficial parallel with *Choephoroi* 562 ξένος τε καὶ δορύξενος δόμων, loses the reference back to σπέρμα in 622.

There are six more doubtful examples:

41: Modern editors read χρή against almost all manuscripts. Barrett justifies his reading by arguing that χρή had a 'moral' nuance in the fifth century, and is therefore appropriate here, while since δεῖ came to oust χρή from the spoken language copyists or actors might naturally substitute the later and more familiar word; the similarly-sounding δείξω two words later may have been a minor contributing factor here, but the error occurs also in 120 (curiously, only in the two manuscripts which do not read it in 41), and there χρή itself has just preceded.

398: The misreading of the minuscule  $\alpha$  in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$  as the compendium for  $\epsilon\nu$  could have been influenced here by  $\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}$  immediately following in the line. In 657, discussed above, the influence would be from a *preceding* word; there is another instance – *Septem* 763 – in Section 2(i).

786: Barrett does not mention the possibility of an anticipatory repetition from 789 here, but explains the  $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  of CDELP as the common word substituted for the uncommon – “tragedy usually has the Attic  $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  but occasionally prefers the more elevated  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ ”. The one influence does not, of course, exclude the other.

896: The variant  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$  in one manuscript for  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega\nu$  is a trivialisation. The scribe thought of Poseidon hearing Theseus’s curses rather than as honouring his own promise taken up in those curses – which is Barrett’s explanation of the text as printed. It is not necessary to postulate any influence from  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$  eight lines later.

1326:  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  for  $\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  may have been influenced by  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$  in 1328.

1448: Barrett explains the reading  $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  for  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  as “a pedantic correction by someone concerned to insist that [Theseus] had not killed [Hippolytus] with his own hand.” The confusion between these two nouns occurs so often, however, that no special explanation may be needed. It seems unlikely that  $\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in 1454 was an influence.

Here again there are two more complex cases:

817: Diggle and Barrett read  $\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega} \pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\nu \acute{\omega} \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ . (The corruption here seems unconnected with the one in the same line discussed above.) Most manuscripts however have  $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  for  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\nu$ . Barrett links the change to an intrusion of  $\acute{\omega}\nu$  between  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\nu$  (an intrusion found in almost all manuscripts). But anticipatory repetition from the following  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\theta\omicron\nu$  must surely have been an influence.

1047-1050:

$\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \text{“}\acute{\text{A}}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma \rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\iota} \delta\upsilon\sigma\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\text{”}$	1047
$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\alpha\varsigma \phi\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega\nu \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$	
$\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha\nu \lambda\upsilon\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu.$	
$[\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omicron\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\iota} \delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota.]$	1050

In 1047 editors read  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ ; many manuscripts have  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ . In 1050, which is deleted by Barrett and Diggle with good support from a scholium (“ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\acute{\iota}\varsigma \omicron\acute{\upsilon} \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omicron} \acute{\iota}\alpha\mu\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ”), all manuscripts but one have  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  (E has  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ ). Barrett then explains the variant in 1047 (“clearly false: the man to whom immediate death is a boon is not the  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , who may be enjoying life, but the  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , to whom it is a release from misery.”) as having



come in from 1050. He goes on to explain 1050 as some kind of an echo of 1047 - “an actor expanding with a line of which 1047 reminded him?”. But Barrett’s explanation of 1050 does rather undermine his explanation of 1047, since if 1047 had *δυστυχεῖ* the echo would be weaker.

Finally there are twelve cases where the false variant is the one without a repetition. It is hard to explain three except as the avoidance of repetition:

984: The natural *καλοῦς* is replaced by *πολλοῦς*, thus avoiding repetition with *καλὸν* in 985 – not a repetition Euripides himself would have shunned.

992: In the apparently figural and Euripidean *πρῶτα δ’ ἄρξομαι λέγειν | ὄθεν μ’ ὑπήλθες πρῶτον ὡς διαφθέρων, πρῶτον* is replaced by *πρότερον*.

1311: *γραφὰς ἔταξε* for *γραφὰς ἔγραψε* is a striking avoidance of *figura etymologica*. *γραφὰς τάσσω* is a rare phrase – the only parallel in the TLG is, by an odd coincidence, from the ecclesiastical writer Hippolytus.

Another possible case is:

1002: The weight of the manuscripts here favours *ἐλεῖν*, but Barrett and Diggle print *ἔχειν*, Barrett justifying his preference by the argument that a present or perfect tense is more natural in the context of *νῦν* and *δοκεῖς*. He does not ask how the variant arose, or draw attention to the repetition with *ἔχων* in 1006. Presumably *ἔχω* is too common a word for the latter circumstance to seem worth mentioning; but that very fact might have led to the choice of *ἐλεῖν* as the *difficilior lectio*.

Less persuasive examples are:

895: M’s *πύλας* for *δόμους* is odd; “*Αἶδου δόμους* is the commoner collocation, and the one that makes sense here (as Barrett says, when you die you go not *to* the gates but *through* them). If 882 were nearer to 895 the variant would more easily be explained by *πύλαις* there; avoidance of repetition with *δόμους* in 901 is not really plausible.

1007: *δῆ*, which recurs in 1008, is replaced by *μῆ*.

1158: *πόλιν*, following *πολίταις* in the same line and preceding *πόλεις* in 1161, is replaced by *πύλην*. This is explicable as a misreading in minuscule of an omicron not properly closed at the top (-ιν and -ην were both pronounced the same by the scribe, and the minuscule abbreviations differed only in that ιν had the diaeresis“.)

1437: νεκρούς instead of φθιτούς removes the jingle with διεφθάρης in 1436, though it is explicable with Barrett as the substitution of the common word for an uncommon one. It may be relevant that this example is found in the same manuscripts (CDELP) as those in 984 and 992.

Sybel (1868) cites two further instances which are not reported by Barrett or Diggle:

797: δίκη for τύχη at the end of this line, with τύχης at the end of 801.

1178: φέρων for ἔχων following ἔχων in 1177. Sybel, consistently with his thesis that the repetitions he judges ‘molestae’ were the fault of copyists, believes that φέρων should be read here.

There are two more complex cases:

32: In Barrett’s view the change from ἔκδημον to ἔκδηλον (read by most manuscripts) was deliberate, designed, with the change of ὀνομάσουσιν to ὠνόμαζεν, to give an explicit contrast between Phaedra’s open shamelessness at Athens and her later secrecy at Troezen. This is perhaps too sophisticated, and misreading M as Λ would have been easy in uncials. Incidentally, ἔκδηλος does not occur elsewhere in tragedy, and is rare in any literature of the classical period.

750: The replacement of ὀλβιόδωρος by βιόδωρος avoids repetition with ὀλβίων in 755. Barrett explains βιόδωρος as a corruption from the unfamiliar ὀλβιόδωρος, which is indeed otherwise a postclassical word, but βιόδωρος is a far from common compound itself (only six occurrences in classical literature), and the two elements of ὀλβιόδωρος, as of βιόδωρος are common words.

The conclusions from *Hippolytus* may be stated as:

- 1) Repetition or partial repetition has been observed to be influenced certainly from as far as four lines earlier (six in the case of an aberrant papyrus text), and possibly from as far as 13.
- 2) Influence from a later word is certain only in the same line (or three lines later in the case of a quotation); cases where the influence would be from six and eight lines later have been observed, but the diagnosis of these is very uncertain.
- 3) Out of 34 repetitions in trimeters offered as variant readings by at least one manuscript, twelve are from one line end to another – some 35%.
- 4) There are three clear and nine other possible cases of erroneous variants which remove rather than create repetitions.

## SECTION 3 CONCLUSIONS FROM SECTIONS 1 AND 2.

Overall, 65 instances where repetition is or may be relevant to a variant reading have been found in the manuscript tradition of *Septem*, 28 in that of *Trachiniae* and 56 in that of *Hippolytus*. These numbers do not correlate with the lengths of the plays – *Septem* is 35% shorter than *Hippolytus* but has 16% more instances; *Trachiniae* is only 15% shorter than *Hippolytus*, but has only half as many instances. There are two other striking differences between the traditions. First, the *Hippolytus* tradition displays ten variants turning on anadiplosis, more than *Septem* (five), and far more than *Trachiniae* (one). Second, instances of partial influence from a nearby word, often producing nonsense garbles, have been found far more often in the *Septem* tradition than in the others.

Such comparisons are not of great significance, because:

- a) The text of *Septem*, like that of all Aeschylean plays except perhaps *PV*, is particularly prone to corruptions of all kinds, including ones turning on repetitions.
- b) It is often a matter of judgement whether a variant reading has been influenced by a nearby word.<sup>55</sup> There is little doubt if the two words are close together, or if the word in question is an unusual one; but it is less plausible to attribute the appearance of a common word in part of a tradition to repetition from another occurrence of the same or a similar word several lines away; after all, there are very many *variae lectiones* which cannot be attributed to repetitions. The decision whether to include a borderline case in a table may not always have been taken consistently.
- c) The number of *variae lectiones* in the apparatus to a text must depend on several factors; the number of manuscripts being reported (other things being equal the more manuscripts the more different readings), and the policy of editors in the reporting of readings, which may be restricted to readings which have some chance of being right. Dawe (1964) deliberately reports all readings, including distortions and nonsense-words, which may not have been reported in the apparatuses used for *Trachiniae* and *Hippolytus*.<sup>56</sup>

The data in Sections 1 and 2 invite the question “How far can the influence of a word over another written by a scribe be shown to extend?” Common sense suggests it would diminish over distance, and that it will be shorter in the case of influence from a later word than in that of influence from an earlier word (since a word once read might remain

<sup>55</sup> Sometimes there is more than one candidate for selection as influencing word – and there may indeed be more than one word that has exercised influence.

<sup>56</sup> This is demonstrated for *Hippolytus* by the fact that Sybel (1868) reports five cases on which the Diggle and Barrett apparatuses are silent.

in a scribe's mind indefinitely, while his eye is unlikely to run far ahead of his pen).<sup>57</sup> It would be valuable to have figures, but the uncertainty of many diagnoses of the cause of repetitions – and sometimes the uncertainty which nearby word has been exercising influence – makes this very problematic. Table 6.7 however brings together data from Sections 1 and 2 in an attempt to compare repetitions from preceding words and those from following ones, and to distinguish more from less certain instances. The plays are not separated (what is being sought is a general conclusion about scribal propensities); nor are identical and partial repetitions separated (it is *influence* itself that is being studied)

TABLE 6.7

## DISTANCES BETWEEN SCRIBAL ERROR AND SOURCE OF INFLUENCE

Distance in lines	PRECEDING		SUBSEQUENT	
	ALL	MOST LIKELY	ALL	MOST LIKELY
0	19	14	11	11
1	16	9	8	3
2	15	11	2	
3	6	4	6	1
4	5	3	2	1
5	2		2	
6	5	1	2	
7	4		1	
8	3		1	
9	3			
10	1			
11	1			
12				
13	1			

It appears from this table that most errors in transmission that could be attributed to the influence of another word (i.e. that could be described as 'unconscious repetitions' by the scribe) are within a few lines of the plausible source of the influence.<sup>58</sup> Where the putative influence is a *subsequent* word, it is usually very close to the error. Only *Septem* 240 – ταρβοσκούω for ταρβοσύνω with βόσκεται four lines later – and *Trachiniae* 1273 – θανάτους for πάντων with θανάτους in 1276 – are likely examples of influence over an interval of more than one line.

Overall, influence from preceding words is much commoner than influence from subsequent ones, the only apparent exception being partial repetitions in *Septem*.

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter 7 for some discussion of the psychological mechanisms involved. In a particular case there may be another explanation of a repetition from a word which follows in modern texts – there might have been a dislocation of lines so that at some time in the transmission it was a preceding word; some dislocation, though with different effect, may have occurred with *Septem* 809 and *Hippolytus* 829.

<sup>58</sup> There is a danger of circularity here; the nearer a similar word is to the error, the more its influence suggests itself as the source of the error. Objectivity is impossible, and these results should be used with caution.

It appears from the three traditions examined in Section 2 that the last word in the trimeter is most exposed to cross-infection during transmission. In 7 *Septem*, 3 *Trachiniae* and 12 *Hippolytus* repetitions, both words are the last in a trimeter. These figures represent 27%, 17% and 32% respectively of the number of repetitions in trimeters offered as variant readings by at least one manuscript, and are much higher than would be expected if scribally-induced repetition occurred at random.<sup>59</sup> This may be partly but not entirely because the last word in a trimeter is more exposed to corruption than others. There are, for instance, 69 words in *Trachiniae* trimeters where one or more manuscripts offer a substantially different word; in 20 the variant is in the last word of the line – 29%.<sup>60</sup>

The apograph study, however, did not show any special tendency for errors of repetition to concentrate on the last word in trimeters. Only two examples were found, only 8% of the number of repetitions in trimeters offered as variant readings. We are dealing in the apograph study, of course, with the idiosyncracies of just one scribe, while the study in Section 2 generalised from the idiosyncracies of many scribes in three different traditions.

The study of differences between manuscripts other than direct copies has, however, found enough cases of apparent removal of a repetition during transmission to support the somewhat surprising findings of the study of apographs. Not all are equally convincing, but there is undeniably a slight but discernible tendency in some manuscripts to remove repetitions that must have been written by the poet.

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<sup>59</sup> No rigorous calculations have been attempted, and the data set is perhaps not large enough. But, for what it is worth, Schein (1979) p. 42 finds that there are 5.4 words (including non-lexicals, other than enclitics) in the average trimeter of Aeschylus. A random pair of words would therefore each be at the end of its line about once every 30 occasions - less than 4%. Schein finds 5.9 words in the average trimeter of Sophocles, and does not study Euripides.

<sup>60</sup> At 5.9 words in a line the expected percentage would be 17. But if account is taken of lexicals only – and certainly data collection has concentrated on lexicals, of which there are perhaps 3.5 in a Sophoclean line – the expected percentage would be much closer to the observed one.

## SECTION 4. CONJECTURES.

Classical texts, and particularly difficult texts like those of Greek tragedy, have been the object of conjectural emendation, especially but not exclusively since the Renaissance. Scholars, that is, have not only chosen amongst different readings offered by manuscripts, but have also proposed readings not found in any manuscript. Scholars who edit whole texts (as distinct from discussing individual passages) may print an emendation in place of any manuscript reading, or in an *apparatus criticus* to their edition may set out one or more emendations, without actually printing them in the text they offer. In that text they may or may not indicate, usually by means of obeli (†), that the word or words so indicated are unsound. In general, printing an emendation implies a reasonable degree of confidence in it, while obelising manuscript readings with emendations in the *apparatus* shows a conviction that the text is unsound, without confidence in the emendation. If the text is not obelised but emendations are set out in the *apparatus* the editor has doubts about the text but believes it may be sound. Emendations in an *apparatus* may be a way of defining the nature of a problem and possible lines of a solution rather than a firm alternative to the printed text.

At first sight it would appear that the objective of any editor is to print what the original author wrote. That must be qualified in two respects – first, editors intending to produce texts for the reader (especially ones for use in schools) may judge that doubts about the soundness of a comprehensible text are better suppressed in the interests of readability, and second, the great changes that have taken place since antiquity in the writing of Greek mean that some ambiguities may be in principle unresolvable (e.g. the division between words in δεμε – δ' ἐμε or δέ με). But, even thus qualified, 'printing what the original author wrote' may be too naive a concept.

There may never have been a text as definitive or stable as people mesmerised by the apparent fixity of print may believe. Even during the ascendancy of print authors revised what they wrote after publication, but the result was different editions with different dates.<sup>61</sup> Before the invention of printing each copy was unique, and not identical with any other; and something of the same fluidity is found to-day, with alterations made so easy by word-processing, the Internet, and the like. In the ancient world there may have been circulating from the very beginning different wordings, so that there was never a single authentic text.<sup>62</sup> Of course, Attic tragedies were written for one particular performance, at the City Dionysia, whether or not they were also performed in deme theatres or were revived later. But we can never know the precise text used at that performance; adaptations during rehearsals may well have been made, especially as the poet was his own producer. It was certainly not long before the process began that Tarrant (1989) calls

<sup>61</sup> However, books without any date are common, and dates can be deceptive – witness the dates on Ordnance Survey maps, where partial revisions mean that features can be shown together which never co-existed, and certainly not at the date printed on the map.

<sup>62</sup> Chapter VII *Edizioni originali e varianti di autore* of Pasquali (1952) discusses authorial variants, but does not find texts with them in Greek or Latin until the very end of the Roman republic. That may be a consequence more of the nature of the evidence than of anything else.

a collaborative effort of original author and subsequent readers, and which led to the texts that appear in modern editions. D.L. Page (1934) describes actors' interpolations, supposed to have been made during the fourth and third centuries B.C., when Euripides was very popular on the stage; Lycurgus late in the fourth century had an official copy made of the works of the three great tragedians, but that, Page believes, would not suffice to prevent interpolation. Interpolations are also sometimes ascribed to readers seeking to make the line of argument clearer. Barrett argues that from the time when Aristophanes of Byzantium, around 200 B.C., edited the tragedies they were protected from interpolation.<sup>63</sup> The idea however that there is a clear-cut distinction between authentic text and interpolation, and that it is possible to excise the latter and restore the former, may be over-simplified.<sup>64</sup> Chapter 4 Appendix V.2 shows that the lines marked in the most recent Oxford Classical Text of *Orestes* (Diggle [1994]) as interpolated are similar in metrical technique to those accepted in that text as genuine, and that the lines marked in that text of *Andromache* (Diggle [1984]) as interpolated are similar in metrical technique to those accepted in that text as genuine, but different from either the 'genuine' or the 'interpolated' lines of *Orestes*. If these lines are indeed interpolated the collaboration between author and interpolator in respect of metrical technique is peculiarly successful.

Since the Renaissance scholarly activity has continued unabated with the aim of restoring authentic texts as well as of explaining them, interpreting them and illustrating them by parallels, so as to maximise the comprehension of their readers and those who seek to translate and stage them for modern audiences. Conjectural emendation is an important part of such activity. Dawe observes wryly that only a tiny proportion of conjectures "will be thought to have hit the truth";<sup>65</sup> nor have many but the most obvious ones been confirmed by new discoveries in papyri. Many conjectures, of course, are valuable in illuminating difficulties in received texts, and forcing the reader to address them. But it is hard not to feel that many are continuing the old practice of collaboration; A.N. Other is hoping that Euripides and he together will produce a better play than Euripides himself had managed; and sometimes he may be justified in that belief. Editorial notes on conjectures sometimes almost admit that this is the aim: for instance Dale (1967) on ἐχθίστην in *Helena* 72 "ἐχθίστης [Dingelstadt's conjecture] is perhaps an improvement".<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Barrett (1964) 45-46.

<sup>64</sup> Page (1934) 116 acknowledges this – "The additions made by men who understood Euripides and acted in his plays are an important part of our tradition; it will always be interesting to detect their presence, but we have a great consolation if we fail occasionally."

<sup>65</sup> Dawe (1965) 3.

<sup>66</sup> But it is often explicitly recognised that this is improper *viz.* Platnauer (1938) on *IT* 481 "Hirzel's χθονός (with κάτω) for χρόνον and μακράν (adv. of time) for μακρόν may be an improvement on Eur.; it can scarcely rank as an emendation."

Conjectural emendations (as distinct from choices amongst manuscript readings or slight adaptations of one such reading) have been and continue to be made for many reasons. They can perhaps be schematised thus:

I. Emendations for reasons of sense:

- a) Where the manuscript text is judged meaningless or completely ungrammatical;
- b) Where although superficially grammatical and meaningful, close attention reveals that the manuscript text is unidiomatic;
- c) Where the manuscript text gives a sense contrary to that which is judged to be required in the context;

II. Emendations for reasons of form:

- a) Where the manuscript text is unmetrical (false quantity, failure of strophic responsion, breach of Porson's law, etc.);
- b) Where the manuscript text is judged stylistically defective, for instance because it gives an infelicitous repetition.

A conjecture is more persuasive if the origin of the presumed corruption can be explained; if, especially, it can be ascribed to scribal error of a known type, such as confusion between letters written either in the majuscule or in the minuscule script, confusion between vowels pronounced alike in later antiquity or the middle ages, or glosses originally written over words and substituted for them at a later stage in the transmission. In recent years scholars have usually felt it necessary to account for corruptions and justify their conjectures, while in the nineteenth century it seems sometimes as if dissatisfaction with sense or style were itself ground enough for emendation.

This study looks at emendations to which repetition is relevant. Earlier sections of this chapter have demonstrated that scribes on occasion replace a word in their exemplar by ones that occur nearby in the text they are copying, and Chapter 7 discusses the psychological mechanisms at work. Sometimes the intrusive word is totally different from the word displaced (though it is usually grammatical in its new context, and the scribal error often produces a deformation of the original word rather than its complete loss). The emendation offered where the error is ascribed to repetition therefore need not be similar in shape, sound or sense to the manuscript word, while if the error is ascribed to misreading the emendation should be similar in shape or sound and if the error is ascribed to an intrusive gloss the emendation should be similar or related in sense.

A short analysis has been carried out to see if any pattern can be discerned in the conjectural activity related to repetition. To minimise interference from divergent manuscript readings it seemed best to look at a passage with a restricted manuscript tradition. It quickly became clear that the *codex unicus* of *Choephoroi* and Aeschylus' *Supplices* was too corrupt to make it feasible to separate out emendations directed to repetition from those designed to extract satisfactory sense from the received text. One of



the alphabetic plays of Euripides, dependent on the manuscript L, was therefore indicated, and the first 800 lines of *Electra* were chosen. It was important to examine as broad a spectrum as possible of conjectures; besides the Oxford Classical Texts of Murray (1913) and Diggle (1981), the Budé text of Parmentier & Grégoire (1925) and the Teubner texts of Donzelli (1995), Nauck (1900) and Wecklein (1898a) (especially Wecklein's appendix "Conjecturas minus probabiles continens") were studied. Conjectures recorded in these sources have been examined.<sup>67</sup>

In the first 800 lines of *Electra* some 400 words have been the object of substantial conjecture. Since different scholars often propose different remedies for words that are widely believed to be corrupt there have been far more than 400 emendations proposed. 97 of the 400 words have been the object of one or more conjectures which remove or introduce a repetition. In this exercise only repetitions with an interval of 10 lines or less have been taken into account, but a lax definition of repetition has been employed; besides identical words and different inflectional forms of the same word derivatives have been included. No account has been taken of the intention behind a conjecture: it may have had the primary purpose of removing (or introducing) a repetition; the scholar proposing the conjecture may have had another primary purpose, but been aware of and happy about its effect on repetition. Or the effect on repetition may have been entirely unnoticed. Repertories of conjectures and plain texts like Oxford Classical Texts and Teubner editions only very rarely describe the purpose of the conjectures adopted or merely deemed worthy of mention in an apparatus.

The following tables list the conjectures relevant to repetition that have been identified in the first 800 lines of *Electra*. As observed above, a single word can be the object of several conjectures; all conjectures that have the same effect on repetition are lumped together (i. e. if there have been several conjectures replacing a word which repeats with another, then they are treated as one conjecture).<sup>68</sup> Sometimes, however, a word is the subject of several conjectures, all of which remove its repetition with a nearby word, but one or more produce a repetition with another word; in such cases each conjecture which introduces a repetition is treated as a separate conjecture. If a conjecture is accepted by Diggle (1981) it is printed in red in the table, and if it is one of several conjectures made it is privileged by being listed followed by "etc."; such a privilege is also granted to conjectures adopted by Donzelli (1996) but not by Diggle (1981). The author of single and privileged conjectures is noted, but where there have been more than two or three no list has been drawn up. Words marked with an asterisk occupy the last place in a trimeter.

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<sup>67</sup> Conjectures that involve inflection only, or that rearrange words without changing any of them substantially, have been ignored, as have all but striking conjectures affecting non-lexicals. Nor have proposals to delete whole lines, though deletion would remove some repetitions and perhaps create others by bringing words closer together. Completeness in this exercise is not claimed; there have no doubt been many conjectures made but not recorded in the sources examined, and the nature and presentation of the material in the sources makes oversights all too easy.

<sup>68</sup> If however each of a pair of repeating words has been the subject of conjecture to remove the repetition, the conjectures affecting different ones of the pair have been listed separately, in Tables 6.8 and 6.9 respectively.

TABLE 6.8

CONJECTURES THAT REMOVE REPETITIONS WITH PRECEDING LINES IN EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

Line	Word in L	Conjecture	Removes rep. with	distance	Conjecture by
592	ἄνεχε (2nd)	delete	ἄνεχε (1st)	0	Kayser
45	αἰσχύνομαι	ἀναίνομαι	ἦσχυν'	1	Wecklein
233	ἔχων*	στένων	ἔχειν*	1	Camper
252	δόμων*	γάμων	δόμοις*	1	Camper
277	πατήρ*	ναγίους	πατρός*	1	Nauck Wecklein Herwerden
312	ἀναίνομαι	αἰσχύνομαι	ἀναίνομαι	1	Page
342	πύλας*	ναγίους	πύλαις	1	Nauck Wecklein Weil
442	ἀκτὰς	ἄκρας	ἀκτὰς	1	Orelli
490	προσβῆναι	προσστείχειν	πρόσβασιν	1	Hartung
508	ἀνόνηθ'	οὐ δηθ'	ἀνόνηθ'	1	Sandford
556	ἐξέθρεψε	ἐξέκλεψε	ἔθρεψεν	1	Pierson
676	δίκην*	ναγίους	δίκαι'	1	Weil Schenkl etc.
678	γῆ	Γαί' etc.	γῆς	1	Musgrave
210	ναίουσ'	ἀν' etc.	ναίω	2	Musgrave etc.
238	ἔχεις*	κυρεῖς	ἔχει	2	Nauck
508	ἠνεσχόμην	ναγίους	ἔχων	2	various
23	εἶχεν	εἶργεν	εἶχ'	3	Nauck
92	φόνου*	βοτοῦ, γονοῦ	φόνον	3	Musgrave; Reiske
231	λόγων*	φέρων	λόγους*	3	F.W.Schmidt
268	παῖδας	πατρός	παίδων	3	Camper
519	ἐθαύμασ'	ναγίους	κάθαύμασ'	3	Canter Vitelli Heiland
606	γίγνεται	βούλεσθαι	ξυγγένωμαι	3	Hartung
654	λέγ'	δέχ'	λέγ'	3	Elmsley
772	φόνου*	μόρου	φονεύς*	3	Wecklein
247	θανάσιμον	ναγίους	θανῶν	5	various
219	κακούργους	πανούργους	κακῶν	6	Nauck
795	χρεῶν*	θέμις	χρεῶν*	6	Wecklein
595	πόλιν	χθόνα	πόλει	8	Wecklein
211	ἄλλω	ἄβρῶς	ἄλλαν	8	Camper
21	χθινός*	λωτίσματα	χθινός*	9	Nauck
11	παλαιὰ	πατρῶα	παλαιὸν	10	Camper
568	δέδορκα	δέδοικα	ἔσδέδορκεν	10	Victorius

TABLE 6.9

CONJECTURES THAT REMOVE REPETITIONS WITH FOLLOWING LINES  
IN EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

Line	Word in L	Conjecture	Removes rep. with	distance	Conjecture by
594	τύχα (1st)	καλᾶ, λευκᾶ	τύχα	0	Denniston Reiske
44	ἥσχυινεν	ἔχρωσεν	αἰσχύνομαι	1	Rauchenstein
232	ἔχειν*	τύχου, λαβεῖν	ἔχων*	1	F.W.Schmidt Vitelli
236	δὲ δὴ	various	δὲ δὴ	1	various
441	ἀκτάς	ὄχθας	ἀκτάς	1	Camper
533	γενήσεται	φανήσεται	γένοιτ'	1	Dobree or Nauck
641	πόσει	various	πόσει*	1	various
685	θανεῖν	κτανεῖν etc.	θανάσιμον	1	Seidler etc.
697	ἐμοῖς	ἐγὼ	ἐμῆ*	1	Camper
10	Αἰγίσθου	αἰσχίστω	Αἰγίσθος	2	Haupt
208	ναίω	κλαίω	ναίουσ'	2	Pierson
369	ἄνδρα	παῖδα	ἀνδρὸς	2	Herwerden
426	πέση*	στρέφω σφαλῶ	πεσὸν*	2	Kayser Denniston
476	δορί	ἄορι	δοριπόων	3	Hartung
602	τύχαι	various	δυστυχοῦντι	3	various
413	δόμοις	various	δόμων	4	various
1	ἄργος	various	ἄργος	5	various
242	ἀδελφὸς	ὄμαιμος	ἀδελφὸν	6	Camper
566	ἰδοῦ	various	εἰσιδῶν	6	various
789	χρεῶν*	παρῆν	χρεῶν*	6	Kvičala
10	χερὶ*	μόρω	χερὸς	7	Haupt
207	δόμοις	γάμοις	δόμοις	7	Pierson
22	παῖδ'	τέκνον	παίδων	8	M Schmidt
158	κοίτα	ὄροῖτα	ἀκοίταν	8	Burges
221	θανεῖν	κτανεῖν	τεθνηκότος	8	Wecklein
685	πρὸς τὰδ'	various	πρὸς τὰδ'	8	various
253	ἀνῆρ	ἄτερ	ἄνδρ'	9	Wilamowitz
1	παλαιὸν	πολίστον	παλαιὰ	10	Camper
59	μέγαν πατρί	μελαμβαθῆ	μεγάλῃ	10	Nauck
395	ξένος	φίλος	ξένους	10	Camper

TABLE 6.10

CONJECTURES THAT CREATE REPETITIONS WITH PRECEDING LINES IN EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

Line	Word in L	Conjecture	Removes rep. with	distance	Conjecture by
116	nothing	στυγνῶς	στυγνὰ	0	Nauck
131	nothing	τλᾶμον	τλᾶμον	0	Hermann
314	ἐμῆ	μήτηρ	μήτηρ	0	Murray
593	nothing	λιτὰς	λιτὰς	0	Matthiae
789	χρεῶν*	παρῆν	παρῆγεν	0	Kvičala
192	χαρίσαι	φάρει	φάρεια	1	Wecklein
606	τόδε*	φίλον	φίλος*	1	Hartung (1)
676	δίκτην*	νίκη	νίκη	1	Vitelli (1)
211	μᾶτηρ	πατρός	πατρίων	2	Camper
247	θανάσιμον	φίλ' ἄσημον	φίλος*	2	F.W.Schmidt
633	λέξων	δμῶν	δμῶες	2	Porson
661	εἰσῶ	εἰσάγω	ἄγε	2	Camper
676	δίκτην*	κράτος	κρατεῖς*	2	Weil
697	ἐμοῖς	ἐγῶ	ἐγῶ*	2	Camper
181	νυχεύω	χορεύω	χορούς	3	Porson
231	λόγων*	φέρων	φέρων	3	F.W.Schmidt
508	ἠνεσχόμην*	ἀνέστενον	στένεις*	3	Rauchenstein
44	ἦσχυνεν	ἔσχε	ἔχων	4	Semitelos
226	καλῶς	ἄλλως	ἄλλους	4	Victorius
615	θέλοις*	πόλεως	πόλιν	4	Wecklein
252	δόμων*	γάμων	γάμον*	5	Camper
138	ἐχθίστων	οἰκτίστων	οἰκτρὰν	6	Nauck
742	θνατᾶς	δίας	Διόθεν	6	Hartung
335	τέκων*	τάφος	τάφω*	8	Wecklein
582	ἀσπάσσωμαι	εἰσπέσωσιν	πέσων*	8	Holzner
79	ἐσβαλῶν	ἐσλαβῶν	λαμβάνω	9	Lindau
697	τοῖς	ζῶσ'	ζῶσαν	10	Camper

(1) The conjecture is part of a more extensive rewriting.

TABLE 6.11

CONJECTURES THAT CREATE REPETITIONS WITH FOLLOWING LINES IN EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

Line	Word in L	Conjecture	Removes rep. with	distance	Conjecture by
30	φθονηθείη	φόνον θείη	φόνω*	0	Burges
675	νίκην	δίκτην	δίκαι'	0	Wecklein
796	Αἴγισθ'	ἄναξ	ἄναξ*	0	Vitelli
221	θανεῖν*	κτανεῖν	κτάνοιμι	1	Wecklein
719	ἐπίλογοι	λοχᾶ, λόχοι	ἄλοχον	1	Hartung
95	ἄμιλλαν	ἄμ' ἄλλοιν	ἄλλην	2	Lobeck
216	οἶκον	οἶμον	οἶμον	2	Weil
602	τύχαι*	ἐμαί	ἐμούς*	2	Rauchenstein
539	ὄτω	ἔτ' οὐ	ἔτ' οὔσαι	3	Kirchhoff
641	πόσει	πόλει	πόλει*	3	Heath
1	παλαιόν	πολίστον	πόλιν*	4	Nauck
22	παῖδ'	τέκνον	τέκνα	4	M Schmidt
146	διέπομαι	δρύπτομαι	δρύπτε	4	Schenkl
165	λώβαν	ἀνέρι	ἀνήρ	4	Nauck (1)
581	μόνος*	μόλων	ἔμολες	4	F.W.Schmidt
11	παλαιὰ	πατρῶα	πατρὸς	5	Camper
207	δόμοις	γάμοις	σύγγαμος	5	Pierson
247	θανάσιμον	ἀνάξιον	ἄξιος	5	F.W.Schmidt
489	ἔχει*	φέρει	φέρων	5	Kayser
538	γῆν	νῦν	νῦν	5	Scaliger
497	παλαιόν	γέρον	γεραιέ	6	Seidler
233	ἔχων*	στένων	στένειν*	7	Camper
466	πτεροέσσαις	πυροέσσαις	πύρπινοος	7	Barnes
131	λατρεύεις	ἀλατεύεις	ἀλάταν	8	Hartung
219	κακούργους	πανούργους	πάντως	8	Nauck
297	ἔχω*	στέγω	στέγαισι	8	Beck
617	σαφῶς*	σφαγεύς	βουσφαγεῖν	10	Camper
740	ἀλλάξαντα	ἀμείψαντα	ἄμειψον	10	Dindorf

(1) The conjecture is part of a more extensive rewriting.

In Tables 6.8 to 6.11 above conjectures creating repetitions (55 in all) are nearly as frequent as ones removing them (62 in all).<sup>69</sup> This is a surprising finding, and suggests that the community of scholars, taken as a whole, is little less sensitive to repetitions than Euripides; that is, a scholar making a conjecture for a reason unconnected with repetition either does not notice or is not deterred by the fact that it creates one.<sup>70</sup> However, far more of the conjectures that remove repetitions are accepted by modern editors (seven as against two conjectures introducing repetitions, one of which, interestingly, was made by Victorius, the first editor).

It is not surprising that conjectures removing repetitions in the same line are rare (only 2 in all), since such repetitions are usually well-understood figurative ones, and that 37 of the 61 conjectures removing repetitions relate to repetitions within three lines, since it is repetitions in such proximity that most grate on the modern ear. 8 out of the 55 conjectures creating repetitions are in the same line, and therefore produce figurative repetitions; the purpose of most of these conjectures is probably related to the metre of a lyric passage, and as shown earlier in this chapter scribes do sometimes omit one occurrence of a doubled word. There seems to be a slight tendency to concentrate emendations affecting repetitions on the ends of trimeters, mirroring the tendencies found above for poets and copyists to do so. In particular, in 7 of the 27 conjectures in trimeters which removed a repetition with a preceding word both the words occupied final place in their lines – however, none of those accepted by Diggle (1981) did so.

## SECTION 5. EPILOGUE.

The final words in this chapter should be those of Porson on *Medea* 157, where Brunck had conjectured *λίαν* for *τόδε*, when *λίαν* occurs again in 158 and *τόδε* is found in 154: “Repetitiones verborum, ut non sunt nisi gravissimis de causis tollendae, ita non sunt ex emendatione obtrudendae.”

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<sup>69</sup> A conjecture which removes one repetition and creates another is scored in each relevant table.

<sup>70</sup> Indeed, what is true of the community of scholars seems to be true of individual scholars. Camper, Nauck and Wecklein are the three scholars with the most conjectures removing repetitions and the most creating them to their names. And only Musgrave has proposed more than two removals without proposing any creations.

## CHAPTER 7

## PSYCHOLOGICAL AND COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF REPETITION

## SECTION 1. REPETITIONS BY THE PLAYWRIGHT.

## a. Consciousness and Intention.

Chapter 2 attempted an analysis of commentators' views on repetition. In the first half of the twentieth century psychological terminology was frequently employed. Cook's article of 1902 was entitled *Unconscious Iterations*, and in it he says

Confining ourselves . . . to unconscious iteration of a verbal sort we can affirm that it results from two distinct - not to say opposite - causes. On the one hand *the recurrence of an idea or a train of ideas often involves the repetition of previously used expressions*. On the other hand, *an expression once used haunts the memory for a time and tends to recur by virtue of its own persistence*.<sup>1</sup>

The addenda to Jackson (1955) *Marginalia Scaenica* are entitled *Unconscious repetitions by the poet* and *Unconscious repetitions by the copyist* respectively. Campbell in his essay on the language of Sophocles writes

The word that has most recently passed through the mind is the most likely to present itself for selection, though it is rejected by the instinct of a modern writer.<sup>2</sup>

He does not use the term 'unconscious'.

The idea of unconscious memory was current in psychology towards the end of the nineteenth century. Hermann Ebbinghaus, whose seminal series of experiments on himself led to the modern science of memory, distinguished the involuntary return of mental states from conscious recollection.<sup>3</sup> This is quite different from the psychoanalytical concept of the unconscious introduced by Freud; there is never any suggestion that repetitions by the author are Freudian, in the sense of having a motivation of which he is unaware, though there have been suggestions that errors by a copyist may be explicable in such terms.<sup>4</sup>

There are several other common descriptions of the phenomenon being studied including 'careless', 'casual' and 'tolerated'. One which has resonances of psychology is 'unintentional'. Modern literary critics often belittle the value of this concept, arguing that the effect of a work on hearer or reader (its reception) is independent in logic and in fact from the mental processes of its creator, and that those mental processes are in principle unknowable; even if dead authors have left accounts of their creative processes or living ones can be asked, they may lie or have forgotten. Nevertheless, it is normal for less

<sup>1</sup> Cook (1902) 146.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell (1879). His final clause makes a very sweeping assertion, which may be undermined by the examination of an English poem in the Appendix to Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ebbinghaus (1885/1964).

<sup>4</sup> Timpanaro 1974/1976 discusses slips by copyists, not by authors, and uses textual criticism to attack Freud's theories rather than using Freud to illuminate textual problems.

sophisticated readers or hearers of a literary work (or viewers of a painting) to believe that there is some direct communication between its creator and them, and that their sensitivity to a work is enhanced by understanding the creative processes behind it.

Consciousness (Bewußtsein) and intentionality (Absichtlichkeit) are the subject of a chapter in Fehling (1969), though it is focussed on figural repetitions, and particularly alliteration. Fehling summarises

Zu Unrecht wird angenommen, daß zwischen Zeiten ‘bewußten’ und ‘unbewußten’ Figurengebrauchs unterschieden werden könne. Der individuell verschiedene Grad von Bewußtsein wirkt sich nur unwesentlich auf den Schaffensprozeß aus. Dagegen ist das Kriterium der Absichtlichkeit notwendig, um zufällige Klangkonstellationen von hergestellten zu unterscheiden, d. h. von solchen, die ‘Formen’ im obigen Sinne sind. In diesem Sinne kennen die Griechen keine Alliteration.<sup>5</sup>

Fehling, that is, does not think one can distinguish conscious from unconscious features of style, nor that the distinction is of value for judging stylistic effect. But he finds intentionality a much more difficult concept. He believes it is necessary to distinguish deliberate from accidental features (for instance alliteration, which he believes was not an intentional feature of Greek style) in a passage, but that it is difficult to do so. He also believes that there are degrees of intentionality, *viz.* a word occurs to an author who does not notice that it alliterates or whatever; a word occurs to an author who notices that it alliterates and accepts it into his text; a word occurs to an author who notices that it alliterates and positively welcomes it into his text.

#### b. Natural Language.

Repeating words is a feature of the natural use of language. That has been observed by several of those who have commented on repetition in the tragedians. Since the development of means of recording ordinary conversation, and of collecting and analysing corpora of writing less formal than literature, it has been possible to document this feature. In her book *Talking Voices* Tannen has a chapter entitled *Repetition in conversation: towards a poetics of talk* which contains much of relevance to this study. The following is an example she gives of repetition in conversation:–

Frank complains that he has nothing to do because he is unemployed. His friend Terry takes the opportunity to encourage him to be more contemplative: she suggests he take advantage of his free time “to daydream.” To illustrate what she has in mind, she recommends that he stand on a bridge and watch the water go under it. He counters that he will finish the book he is reading. This frustrates Terry:

TERRY	THAT’S NOT DAYDREAMING! ... darn it! [laughter]
FRANK	Well, <u>daydreaming</u> is something that comes natural! <u>You don’t don’t PLAN daydreaming.</u>
TERRY	You don’t even you’re not even hearing what I’m SAYING! What?

<sup>5</sup> Fehling (1969) 120-121.



FRANK    You can't PLAN daydreaming ...  
               "I'm going to go daydream for a couple of hours, guys, so"  
 TERRY    Yes you CAN plan it!  
               You can plan daydreaming

Thus speakers weave the words of others into the fabric of their own discourse, the thread of which is, in turn, picked up and rewoven into the pattern. Repetitions and variations make individual utterances into a unified discourse, even as they are used for evaluation: to contribute to the point of the discourse.<sup>6</sup>

Later on, she uses a short passage from a recorded dinner-table conversation to show an argument being structured by a series of self-repetitions, as each utterance picks up a word or phrase from a previous one; she illustrates it by circling and linking repeated words and phrases; different colours are used here:—

Well I – I mean basically what I feel is  
 what I really like ..... is people.  
 And getting to know them really well.  
 And you just CAN'T get to know  
 ... TEN people REALLY WELL.  
 You can't do it.<sup>7</sup>

### c. Priming.

There has been much work by experimental psychologists on 'priming'. It has been demonstrated that someone who encounters a word once takes measurably less time to comprehend it when he encounters it again after a short interval. If the second word is not the same but semantically similar to the first, there is still a priming effect, but it is weaker. If the similarity is in sound only the effect may be non-existent.<sup>8</sup> Priming has also been found to facilitate the production of the name for a thing.<sup>9</sup>

There has been far less work on the effect of priming on the *spontaneous* production of words.<sup>10</sup> There is however a discussion by Levelt of lexical selection, which contains the following paragraph entitled *The imitation problem*:

<sup>6</sup> Tannen (1989) 58.

<sup>7</sup> Tannen (1989) 70.

<sup>8</sup> Neisser (1954) reports an experiment in which the preliminary presentation of a word facilitated the recognition of it when it was subsequently flashed on a screen, but a homophone of the word originally presented (e.g. 'scene' followed by 'seen') was no more easily recognised than any other word not previously presented. Meyer & Schvaneveldt (1971) report an experiment in which the recognition of a string of letters as an English word (rather than a 'nonword') was quicker and less often mistaken if primed by a semantically associated word.

<sup>9</sup> Wheeldon & Monsell (1992) find: "Naming of a pictured object is substantially facilitated when the name has recently been produced in response to a definition or read aloud. . . [even] when the subjects can name the pictures quickly and accurately in the absence of priming. . . . experiments show that prior production of a homophone of the object's name is not an effective prime, (although slower responses are somewhat facilitated when the homophones are spelled the same)."

<sup>10</sup> This is presumably because experimenters have to control the conditions of their experiments.

There is both conversational . . . and experimental . . . evidence that speakers tend to have some preference for words that have recently been used by the interlocutor or by themselves. This tendency cannot be fully explained by the interlocutors sharing the same topic of discourse. . . . The experimental evidence shows that the preference for re-using words even extends to words that are semantically non-discriminative. There is, in addition, a strong recency effect, which makes it likely that the effect is caused by a temporary extra activation of the relevant lemma,<sup>11</sup> due to the speaker's hearing or using the word . . . the fluency of formulating seems to be served by re-using recently activated words. In short, as long as a theory of lexical selection only acknowledges semantic or syntactic reasons for selecting words, these imitation phenomena cannot be explained.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear therefore that there is nothing in the least odd about the repetition of words in the tragedians. Not only are the authors behaving in the common human way, but they are also accurately representing their characters as behaving in the common human way. It is not however possible thus to evade the problem of consciousness or intentionality, because works of literature differ from spontaneous speech in that they are 'composed'.

#### d. Composition.

Works of literature differ from spontaneous speech in that they are 'composed'; but is composition itself a fully conscious process? This is discussed by L. T. Milic *Rhetorical Choice and Stylistic Option: The Conscious and Unconscious Poles*.<sup>13</sup> One of Milic's two poles is the belief that a writer can exert no control over the style at all, all of it being determined by habits, associations, and conditioning. The other pole is the belief that the writer can consciously control and artistically shape every detail of his utterance. Although, according to Milic, "some truth lies at both of these poles", he believes that there is considerable evidence "for the hypothesis that a substantial part of the language-generating behaviour of the writer is not conscious and deliberate but unconscious, determined, and habitual".<sup>14</sup> In Milic's view there are two functions in the process of composition – one that of generating a set of words and the other that of scanning it to see if it is satisfactory. The conscious mental participation is in the scanning. Milic is here referring to the original production of a text in writing, not to its later revision. In the revising process he believes the same two mental processes occur, but in the opposite order. The writer scans the words he has written until he finds something to arrest him – an ambiguity, an infelicity etc. Then in revising he allows the language-generating mechanism to operate again, often finding it easier to strike out unsatisfactory sentences

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<sup>11</sup> 'lemma' is used by cognitive scientists with a meaning which is close to 'word-stem'; an entity which contains syntactic and semantic information, but not phonology or morphology.

<sup>12</sup> Levelt (1993) 8.

<sup>13</sup> In Seymour Chatman (1971) 77-94.

<sup>14</sup> Milic emphasised in the discussion following his paper (Seymour Chatman [1971] 92) that he was not using the term 'unconscious' in a Freudian sense, but accepted that a useful distinction might be drawn between unconscious (i.e. predetermined by what he calls psychological factors) and habitual (i.e. predetermined by training and use).

and generate new ones than to tinker and adjust.<sup>15</sup> (Milic does not seem to allow for the use of artificial aids in the revising process, though thesauruses have been with us since the middle of the nineteenth century.)<sup>16</sup>

A picture thus begins to emerge of the process following which we find repetitions in tragic texts. The tragic poet starts composing with the plot already determined, and with several concepts or motifs in his head. These motifs, probably but not necessarily tied to particular words, recur during his composition; they are repetitions which we readily accept as meaningful (this might be called ‘priming by concept’). In addition, each time he uses a word (the cognitive scientist’s ‘lemma’), it has a priming effect on him, and he is a little more likely to use it again than a word which had not been primed.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, because he is a poet, he is looking for embellishments, and, as in many if not all other languages and cultures, those often take the form of word-plays and complete or partial repetitions (assonance, rhyme or alliteration). Some of these may be more apt than others. Then he revises what he has written – at least, it is hard to imagine that he does not, but revision may have been less important to him than to some other writers. First, revision was physically more difficult when one was working on wax tablets rather than on paper or, seductively easiest of all, at a word-processor. Second, he almost certainly did not have anything like a thesaurus.<sup>18</sup> Third, he was writing to tight deadlines for performance at an annual festival with fixed dates; he had four plays to compose, and what he was aiming at was persuading the judges and the audience generally that he should be awarded the prize. Whether or not he was also hoping for a reading public, that was not the important thing.<sup>19</sup> Would minor infelicities of diction matter sufficiently for him to make the great effort to refine them?

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<sup>15</sup> Levelt (1989) Chapter 12 argues that there is a ‘monitor’ which is used to correct (‘repair’) what a person utters in the course of the utterance.

<sup>16</sup> Gabriel Garcia Marquez, already quoted in a footnote to Chapter 4 Appendix VIII, relevantly follows “I can’t bear using the same adjective twice in the same book, except in very rare cases where exactly the same effect needs to be recreated.” by “The word-processor is very useful for solving that kind of problem.”

<sup>17</sup> A footnote to the discussion of *Persae* 256-289 in Section 1(ii) of Chapter 8 below suggests that repetition is relatively rare between trimeter passages and odes sung by the chorus, though there are striking examples of repetition between trimeter passages and amoebaea. If a systematic study substantiated this impression, it would suggest that odes were composed separately from trimeter passages, so that there was no priming effect between them.

<sup>18</sup> “Dictionaries, as compendia of day-to-day speech, did not exist in antiquity. What individual ‘glossaries’ there were did not appear until the time of Aristotle in the fourth century B.C., and even then tended to be organized thematically around subjects, such as good Attic usage or obsolete words used by Homer.” (Small [1997] 68) See also Quintilian X.1.7 discussed in Chapter 2 Section 1 above

<sup>19</sup> He was not a learned Alexandrian or Roman poet looking for the applause of people like himself in their studies (repetitions by Latin elegists might call for a different analysis), or a Victorian poet aware that the reviewers were waiting to savage him.

## SECTION II. BY THE COPYIST.

Priming is as helpful a concept for the explanation of repetitions by copyists as it is for those of authors. The copyist meets a word, and that primes it in his mind.<sup>20</sup> If he meets it again soon he will recognise it more quickly; the sooner he meets it the stronger the priming effect, and hence the quicker the recognition. This has no practical effect if the recognition is correct. But perhaps the priming effect makes a mistake in recognition more likely,<sup>21</sup> so that the word in the exemplar is replaced by a repetition or partial repetition of an earlier word. This priming effect should fade rapidly; as the copyist reads on, the priming by later words will be the more forcible and erroneous repetitions by the copyist should concentrate within a few words, or a very few lines, of the original occurrence. And so Table 6.7 has shown.

Erroneous repetitions by the copyists are not only of previously occurring words; Chapter 6 has demonstrated many instances of scribal errors that can be ascribed only to subsequent words.<sup>22</sup> There is relevant recent work on speech errors; Dell *et al.* (1997) note that “In speech production, previously spoken and upcoming words can impinge on the word currently being said, resulting in perseverations (e.g. ‘beef needle soup’) and anticipations (e.g. ‘cuff of coffee’).” In an experiment in which they got people to repeat phrases of the type commonly called ‘tongue-twisters’, they found that “As a phrase gains familiarity, the number of order errors reduces and the pattern of order errors moves from one in which perseverations dominate to one in which anticipations are more common.” Such an influence is different from that of priming,<sup>23</sup> and produces distortions of the intended word rather than replacing it altogether.

The speech-errors reported by Dell *et al.* are provoked by words in close proximity, and indeed it seems unlikely that anticipatory errors would be provoked by words very far ahead.

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<sup>20</sup> Zuntz (1965) 136 describes the process thus “The scribe glances at his model manuscript – very rapidly, as it seems – and thereupon repeats to himself, mentally or aloud, the words he is going to write; he dictates them not as they are but as he conceives of them.” Zuntz is seeking to explain spelling mistakes like itacism, but what he says is equally relevant to repetition.

<sup>21</sup> There is certainly evidence, reported in Leeper (1935), that priming influences the interpretation of a picture that can be ‘seen’ in two ways.

<sup>22</sup> Timpanaro (1974/1976) indeed claims that the majority of errors of assimilation found in Greek and Latin codices and in modern manuscripts and typescripts are ‘regressive’ rather than ‘progressive’. On p. 97 he writes “It is true that sometimes what has already been uttered or written then impinges on what follows, but more usually the speaker or writer is preoccupied with what he is about to say or write, and it is this preoccupation which gives rise to the mistaken anticipation.” His claim does not accord with the Table 6 7 above, though if the most plausible same-line repetitions alone are taken, the figure in that table for prospective repetitions is not much lower than the figure for backward-looking ones.

<sup>23</sup> Priming, as noted above, is stronger for sense than sound, while the speech-errors studied by Dell *et al.* relate to sounds.

The 'eye-voice span' is a measure of the amount of material or time by which the voice lags behind the eyes in oral reading, and it may be relevant here. Morton (1964) reports Woodworth & Schlosberg (1954) as saying "With experienced readers the span is as long as eight words, two seconds or a line of print, depending on which unit of measurement one prefers to consider." Whether or not copyists were accustomed to read their exemplar aloud (or indeed to be dictated to) it might seem reasonable to equate the eye-voice span measured in words (time is not relevant since copying is a discontinuous operation unlike reading aloud) with the length of text a copyist reads and holds in his mind before beginning to write it down. It also seems reasonable to treat a professional scribe as an experienced reader. Then, given that a trimeter contains on average between five and six words, the Woodworth & Schlosberg figure of eight words would seem generally consistent with the finding in Chapter 6 that 17 of the 19 anticipatory repetitions are within two lines, and 10 are in the same line.

More recent work on the eye-voice span has however suggested a shorter distance. Rayner and Pollatsek (1989 p. 181) say that the only really satisfactory way to measure the eye-voice span is by making a record of eye-movements and relating the eye-movement record to a record of the vocal output. When measured in this way the distance the eye is ahead of the voice is only a couple of words on average. That finding makes anticipatory repetition by the copyist harder to explain. Rayner and Pollatsek, however, observe that a problem with the work on eye-voice span is that it is nowadays unnatural for adults to read aloud for meaning (as distinct from reading at seminars papers which they have themselves written, or reading from books to children). The results of the experiments they report may not therefore apply to professional copyists, and indeed the findings in Chapter 6 may suggest that copyists read up to a couple of lines ahead of their writing. But all this is very speculative.

## CHAPTER 8

### STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL PLAYS

This chapter looks at repetition in three plays – *Persae*, *Ajax* and *Andromache*. After a few general remarks which have not found a place in earlier chapters the studies here concentrate on aesthetic and stylistic aspects, and on textual problems which turn on repetition. They do not claim completeness (which the studies of textual variants in Chapter 6 did).

#### SECTION 1 REPETITION IN THE *PERSAE* OF AESCHYLUS

As usual, the text of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) – Murray (1955) (i.e. the second edition of his Oxford Classical Text) – has been the basis for the statistical analysis, but the Oxford Classical Text of Page (1972), the Teubner of West (1998), and the editions of Broadhead (1960), Belloni (1994) and Hall (1996), have also been used.<sup>1</sup> Assaël (1993) *La Répétition comme procédé stylistique dans les Perses d'Eschyle* has been of particular value, and some of the other articles published with it are relevant. Hall and Assaël themselves drew on Kelley (1979), *Variable Repetition: Word Patterns in the Persae*.

*Persae* is the earliest Greek tragedy to survive. It is a short play (1076 lines), with a large lyric component; a significant proportion of its dialogue is in trochaic tetrameters (117 lines), and many of the trimeter passages are very short. The statistical analysis in Chapter 4 looked only at the four longest trimeter sections (176-214, 290-531, 593-622 and 759-851). It found that *Persae* and *Septem* had higher propensities to repetition than Aeschylus' later plays. Stanford seems to note this phenomenon:

. . . it is noticeable that assonance, alliteration and verbal repetition of all kinds are unusually frequent in Persians. This is perhaps because the play has least action and has the most narrative and dirge-like lyric poetry of all Aeschylus' extant work.<sup>2</sup>

*Persae* is a play in which Aeschylus harps almost obsessively on a few concepts, usually using the same basic word to express them. Hall puts this well:

Aeschylus uses numerous techniques by which to build up an impression of the enormous size of the Persian forces, and the consequent enormity of the Persian disaster. For example, the basic word πᾶς . . . is of course frequent in any Greek text but the accumulated phrases . . . gradually and almost subliminally build up an impression of the totality of the catastrophe . . . In some parts of the Messenger's narrative a word from the root πᾶς occurs in nearly every line. . . The same applies to πολὺς and its compounds. . . Even more distinctive is the recurrence of the term πλῆθος . . . an analogous term is οχλός. . . The root term κακός is so predominant as to require no documentation. . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any other indication, references in this section to the above editors are to their texts and apparatuses as appropriate, and references to 'Dawe' are to the collation in Dawe (1964).

<sup>2</sup> Stanford (1942) 84. This study has found the phenomenon, of course, outside the lyric passages.

<sup>3</sup> Hall (1996) 24.

She could have added *ναῦς* to her list (11.3% of the repetitions in trimeters in *Persae* are of this, the word most commonly repeated), though its frequency is due more to the basic subject of the play than to the more subtle purposes of emphasis to which Hall ascribes the frequency of the other words.

Assaël takes this further. She sees the interaction of variations, metamorphoses and oppositions setting the pattern of the tragedy, having very close links with the tragic and dramatic plot, leading from the initial evocation of the power and wealth of the Persians to the catastrophic dénouement and mournful wailing of the funerary rites.<sup>4</sup> Her instances vary in persuasive power. She sees the repetition of *πολυ-*, especially *πολύχρυσος*, and *μέγας* in the parodos as part of the theme of *Persae* – *ὑβρις* leading to disaster. Later in the play *πολυ-* appears in *πολύποννον* (320) and *πολύδακρυν* (939). Again, the thrice-repeated *πέμπω* and *ἔπεσθαι* of the parodos become *λείπω* repeated four times in 961-985. But when Assaël wrests significance from the repetition of *δόρυ* after 16 lines (304 and 320) it seems that she has let her insight run away with itself.

The aesthetic analysis undertaken here differs from Assaël's in looking at repetitions which provide internal coherence to sections of the play rather than binding the play together as a whole.

#### SECTION 1(i) ANALYSIS OF REPETITIVENESS IN SECTIONS OF *PERSAE*.

As shown in Chapter 4, the index of repetitiveness for *Persae*, calculated as in Chapter 4, is 10.44, the highest for all the plays studied, while repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are about average for Aeschylus and low for the tragic corpus as a whole.

The overall figures for *Persae* do however conceal great differences amongst the four longer trimeter passages, as appears from Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1

#### REPETITIVENESS IN THE FOUR MAIN TRIMETER PASSAGES OF *PERSAE*

Passage	176-214	290-531	598-622	759-851
Index	3.54	12.76	8.68	7.77
Intervals:				
same	0	2.89	0	2.15
same & adjacent	7.69	6.2	0	3.23

Lines 290-531, dominated by four substantial speeches by the Messenger, are brimful of repetitions, particularly of rather simple words like *πάς*, the *ναῦς* so characteristic of the play, and *κακός*, so characteristic of most tragedies; part of the effect may be to keep the narrative going apace. On the other hand, the two speeches by the Queen are much more

<sup>4</sup> Assaël (1993) 248 – abstract of her paper in English.

sparing of repetitions,<sup>5</sup> and that of Darius' ghost is in between. The fourfold "παῖς ἐμός" in the Queen's first speech receives especial prominence because there are relatively few other repetitions in it. Darius' repetitions tend to be concentrated in his epitome of Persian history, and on the word κακός; but they include the portentous ὑπέροκτος, discussed more fully later.

The 114 trochaic tetrameter lines in the play occur in two main groups – 21 lines in which the Queen's opening speech is framed by the Chorus, 34 lines of dialogue between the Queen and the Chorus, and 56 lines of dialogue between the Queen and Darius's ghost. The only stichomythic passages are in this metre. It is not possible to make a direct comparison between repetitiveness in iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters; the latter are in their paradigm form (without resolved feet) one quarter as long again as the former (15 as against 12 syllables), but using that factor to convert tetrameters into trimeters and treating each 12 (or equivalent when there is resolution) tetrameters as 15 trimeters means breaking lines in the middle of words, and treating stichomythia as 1¼ lines answering 1¼ lines. Table 8.2 therefore treats the tetrameter line as if it were a trimeter one, but gives a second index figure, calculated after multiplying the line intervals by 1.25.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 8.2

REPETITIVENESS IN THE THREE MAIN TETRAMETER PASSAGES OF  
*PERSAE*

Passage	155-175	215-248	703-758
Index	7.43	16.97	15.05
Adjusted to trimeters	5.98	10.99	10.39
<i>Intervals in tetrameters:</i>			
same	4.76	0	5.36
same & adjacent	9.52	2.9	10.71

Tetrameters do not seem to behave very differently from trimeters in respect of repetition. It may be relevant that stichomythic dialogue in *Persae* is found only in the second and third tetrameter passages, and that these passages are among the most repetitive in the play.

<sup>5</sup> The higher index for the Queen's second speech is due to the repetitions of φίλοι and κακῶν from 598 in 600; in short passages a few occurrences can have a disproportionate effect.

<sup>6</sup> Since in calculating the repetitiveness index repetitions in the same or adjacent lines are ignored, this conversion would produce too low a figure without some adjustment for repetitions in adjacent tetrameters, some of which would not be adjacent if the passage were in trimeters, which are shorter lines; 40% of the repetitions in adjacent tetrameters have therefore been included in the index figure.



SECTION 1(ii) REPETITIVE TECHNIQUE IN SELECT PASSAGES OF *PERSAE*.<sup>7</sup>

## 1. Amoebaeon – 256-289

In this dialogue the Chorus get the first account from the Messenger of the disaster the Persian forces have suffered. It includes many subtle repetitions, both within the utterance of one party to the dialogue and between utterances. The sense of some of these repeated words is fluid, varying from occurrence to occurrence.

Χο.	ἄνι' ἄνια κακὰ νεόκοτα καὶ δαί'. αἰαῖ, διαίνεσθε, Πέρ- σαι, τόδ' ἄχος κλύοντες.	[στρ. α. 256
Αγ.	ὥς πάντα γ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνα διαπεπραγμένα· καυτὸς δ' ἀέλπτως νόστιμον βλέπω φάος.	260
Χο.	ἦ μακροβίωτος ὄδε γέ τις αἰῶν ἐφάνθη γεραιοῖς, ἀκού- ειν τόδε πῆμ' ἀελπτον.	[ἀντ. α. 265
Αγ.	καὶ μὴν παρών γε κοῦ λόγους ἄλλων κλύων, Πέρσαι, φράσαιμ' ἂν οἱ' ἐπορσύνθη κακά.	
Χο.	ὄτοτοτοῖ, μάταν τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα παμμιγῆ γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθετ' - αἰαῖ - δάαν Ἑλλάδα χώραν.	[στρ. β. 270
Αγ.	πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότμως ἐφθαρμένων Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.	
Χο.	ὄτοτοτοῖ, φίλων πολύδονα σώμαθ' ἀλιβαφῆ κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσιν.	[ἀντ. β. 275
Αγ.	οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα, πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο στρατὸς δαμασθεῖς ναίοισιν ἐμβολαῖς.	
Χο.	ἴνζ' ἀποτμον δαίοις δυσαιανῆ βοάν, ὥς πάντα πᾶν κακῶς † ἔθεσαν· αἰαῖ, στρατοῦ φθαρέντος.	[στρ. γ. 280
Αγ.	ὦ πλείστον ἔχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμῖνος κλύειν· φεῦ, τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὡς στένω μεμνημένος.	285
Χο.	στυγναί γ' Ἀθᾶναι δαίοις· μεμνήσθαι τοι πάρα· ὡς πολλὰς Περσίδων [μάταν] ἔκτισαν εὐνίδας ἢδ' ἀνάδρους.	[ἀντ. γ.
Chorus	Agonising, agonising, bad, without precedent and dire! <i>Aiai</i> , Persians, weep as you hear about this disaster.	

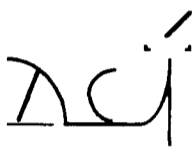
<sup>7</sup> Except where specifically stated, the text printed, here and in Section 1(iii), is based, as usual, on that given in the TLG; *viz.* Murray (1955). The translation is that of Hall (1996), adapted as necessary to bring out repetitions or where the text printed differs from hers. No comments are made on textual matters with no relevance to repetition (many emendations have their origin in metrical difficulties).

- Messenger     Indeed, for the entire force is lost; I did not expect to return home myself.
- Chorus            We are old; our lives have proven too long if we must live to be told about this disaster.
- Messenger     I myself witnessed the damage suffered, Persians, and can give you an account of it. I did not hear about it from other people.
- Chorus            *Otototoi!* In vain did you, weapons innumerable and various, go – *aiai* – from Asia to the hostile land of Greece.
- Messenger     The shores of Salamis and all the neighbouring regions are filled up with the corpses of those who met unhappy deaths.
- Chorus            *Otototoi!* You are saying that the dead bodies of our friends, tossed about and sea-drenched, are carried along, their cloaks wandering about them.
- Messenger     Our bows and arrows were useless, and the entire force was defeated by the ramming of ships.
- Chorus            Yell out a melancholy shout of ill-omen against our enemies; [they] have made everything bad everywhere. *Aiai*, the army is destroyed.
- Messenger     O Salamis, most hateful name to hear. Alas, how I groan as I remember Athens.
- Chorus            Athens is indeed abhorrent to her enemies. We have reason to remember that she made many of the Persian women widowed and husbandless.

As Broadhead (1960) points out, in this dialogue, at least until his last couplet, the Messenger is taking the lead with reports, and the Chorus are responding with lamentation. It is noteworthy how many of the significant repetitions are by the Chorus of a word of the Messenger's; for instance, in 265 they pick up ἀέλιπτως, by which in 261 he referred to his own unexpected safe return, and inverting its connotation from happy to sad use it of the unexpected nature of the disaster that befell the Persian force. The stanza 280-3 echoes three of the Messenger's words with compounds of πότμος, and with στρατός and φθείρω. In 286/7 the Chorus pick up Ἀθῆναι and μέμνημαι (the famous words of his servant to Darius in Herodotus V.105). There are, of course, also repetitions initiated by the Chorus – in his couplet 266-7 the Messenger picks up several words from the first strophe – κλύω, Πέρσαι, and κακά; and in 273 πρόσχωρος (its only occurrence in Aeschylus) echoes the Chorus's χώραν in the previous line. But much more the Messenger picks up his own words; the whole phraseology of his second couplet harks back to 255 in his opening announcement; and he emphasises Σαλαμῖνος (273 and 284).

As for the Chorus, after an initial (and the only) anadiplosis, they introduce δάϊος, which will prove their thematic word, fluid in sense between 'hostile' and 'wretched'. If the text above is wrong to remove μάταν in 288, that is another repetition of a despairing term from 268.

It is unclear how many times δάϊος occurs. The text in 270-1 between Ἀσίδος and Ἑλλάδα is very uncertain; ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν δίαν, or something close to it, is the common manuscript text; and West (1998) and Hall (1996) print it, capitalising Δίαν 'of Zeus'. However Murray (1955), Broadhead (1960), Page (1972) and Belloni (1994) print δάαν, citing the reading δάιαν found by Blomfield (1818) in a manuscript (cod. 1203) in the library of Lambeth Palace. The repetition of such a thematic word, with the sense "hostile", is very much in keeping with the style of this amoebaeon, and it would be nice to believe it had manuscript authority. I have therefore examined the manuscript, by kind permission of the Librarian. I see what led Blomfield to his conclusion; between the delta and the iota (which has the common two dots above it) there is a clearly written curved stroke, joined on the line to both the letters before and after it. In shape it is like this, though it is smaller:



The problem is that the middle feature resembles no other alpha I found in the manuscript, nor part of any compendium; it is most like one of the forms the scribe uses for sigma, for instance in the following δυσπότημος, though his usual sigma-iota has σ, not c. The other occurrences of forms of δάϊος have normal alphas. This one cannot be an alpha unless the scribe simply omitted any downstroke; epsilon without the middle stroke, which is very small in some other instances, is less implausible. The manuscript does not seem in general carelessly written, and this particular word is very legible. Although I see what led Blomfield to his opinion, I fear Lambeth 1203 does not have δάιαν, though it does not have δίαν either. The repetition in some modern texts, therefore, has no manuscript authority.<sup>8</sup>

More is to come. In 279 the Messenger uses ναίοισιν, close in sound to δαίοισιν; it is not surprising to find that two manuscripts (Npc and Oac) read δαίοισιν.<sup>9</sup> And Weil, who frequently emends to remove repetitions, proposed ἄνδρας δαίους for ἄνδρας πολεμίουσ in 243 – in the stichomythic tetrameters that precede the amoebaeon.<sup>10</sup>

If Weil were right, this repetition would link the amoebaeon with the previous scene. A

<sup>8</sup> I have not made a full collation of the paper manuscript Lambeth 1203, nor did Dawe [1964] or Turyn [1943] who lists it, dating it 14th-15th century. The excursus at the end of this section, however, relates a few points of interest about it.

<sup>9</sup> Dawe (1964) 72 suggests an interaction with 336 as the cause: the same phrase ναίοισιν ἐμβολαῖς occurs there, and three (different) manuscripts read δαίοισιν. Interaction may help to explain the variation in 336 but the immediate context is sufficient to explain 279.

<sup>10</sup> Weil (1867) *ad loc.* gives as his reason 'malim soni causa'.

possible function of repetition would be to link a choral passage into its wider context.<sup>11</sup> Here although many words prominent in the dialogue between the Chorus and the Messenger occur nearby as well, they are for the most part words common in tragedy generally (e.g. κακός, πᾶς, πολὺς) or in this play (Πέρσαι); the repetition, however, by the Queen in 298 of ἀνανδρον ‘without an officer in command’ picks up with changed sense the Chorus’s ἀνάνδρους ‘husbandless’ in 289.

## 2. Lines 355-385 of the Messenger's second speech.

The repetitions in this passage have been analysed by Michelini (1982). They are indicated by different colours here (the asterisks mark off chiming jingles), and there follow an extract from Michelini and a discussion.

ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλληνας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σὺ Ξέρξῃ τάδε ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἴξεται κνέφας, Ἕλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν ναῶν ἐπανθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε δρασμῶ κρυφαίῳ βίοτον ἐκωσοῖατο.	355     360
ὁ δ' εὐθύς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον Ἕλληνας ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον, πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχους λόγον, εὐτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ, τάξαι νεῶν στῖφος μὲν ἐν στοίχοις τρισίν, ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ, ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους. ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοῖαθ' Ἕλληνες κακόν, ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὐρόντες τινά, πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον. τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε κάρθ' ὑπ' εὐθύμου φρενός· οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀκόσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ δείπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρητον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο *καὶ νύξ ἐπήει*, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἀναξ *ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει* πᾶς θ' ὄπλων ἐπιστάτης· τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεῶς μακρᾶς, πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος. καὶ πάννηχοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν ναῶν ἀνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεῶν. *καὶ νύξ ἐχώρει*, κού μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο· ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπῳλος ἡμέρα πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαίαν εὐφειγγῆς ἰδεῖν, . .	365     365   [368] [367] <sup>12</sup>  370     375     380    385

<sup>11</sup> No systematic study of this has been undertaken; but while there are striking examples of the verbal linking of lyric amoebaea with trimeter passages (for instance, *OC.* 833-886, *Heraclidae* 73-110), such linking seems rare with odes sung by the chorus alone. There is a noteworthy example in *Ajax*, linking 604-5 with 646.

<sup>12</sup> Murray's transposition of these lines is not accepted by all editors.

For a Greek man came from the Athenian force and told your son Xerxes this: when the darkness of black night fell, the Greeks would not stay there, but would leap up onto the benches and try to save their lives by making a furtive escape, each one of them going in a different direction. Because Xerxes did not understand that this Greek man was tricking him, nor that the gods were against him, on hearing this he immediately gave a pre-battle speech to his admirals as follows. As soon as the sun should cease burning the earth with its rays and darkness should take over the regions of the sky, they were to arrange the column of ships in three rows, and the other ships were to surround and encircle Ajax's island to guard the passageways leading out to the sounding sea. If the Greeks avoided a horrid fate, and found some way of escaping furtively with their ships, the prescribed punishment for all his men would be beheading. This is what he said, and with a very optimistic heart, for he did not comprehend what the gods had in store.

And yet the [Greeks] prepared their dinner, in no disorderly manner but with hearts obedient to authority, and each seafaring man fastened his oar-handle to the peg, ready for rowing. When the sunlight failed and night came on, each man who was the king of his own oar embarked, as did each man who was master of his weapons. The banks of rowers called out in encouragement to each other down the length of the ships, and they made sail, each according to his instructions. And all night long the kings of the ships kept the entire naval force moving to and fro.

Night was departing, and the Greek force had not attempted any furtive escape whatever. As soon as the brilliant sight of daybreak and her white horses covered the earth, . . .

Michelini says:

The passage in 357-385, which describes the night, uses elaborate techniques of repetition and ring-composition. . .

A cluster of themes – the supposed escape of the Greeks, the deceit of the gods, and the day-night opposition – recur at three key points in the narrative: in the false message (357-361), Xerxes' orders (364-373), and the moment of reversal at dawn (385-386). The passage of the long night of ἀπάτη and false confidence is marked by an even more elaborate scheme of verbal echoes woven back and forth from line to line. There are chiming jingles [*marked off in the text above with asterisks*],<sup>13</sup> word plays on τάξις / τάσσω<sup>14</sup> and πλόον / πλέω, and a lavish over-use of certain rather simple and obvious words and their compounds (e.g. πᾶς, ναῦς, νύξ) all within the eleven or so lines describing Persian night maneuvers (375-385). This second class of repetitions is not used to mark off segments and is so trivial and pervasive as to lack any thematic significance.

The result is a strong emphasis on sequence. Time expressions referring to the sun's rays (377 and 386) form a double ring, enclosing references to the progress of the night (378 and 384), and focussing further attention on the other, non-thematic repetitions that bind the events of the night together internally from line to line. The tension before the change-over, and the progressive time sequence extending throughout the night are expressed with such an elaborate and florid use of traditional poetic technique, because the poet is working at a rather unaccustomed task. The paratactic style which Aeschylus commanded excels at building upon or expanding an original situation, either through restatement or

<sup>13</sup> Michelini (1982) has the footnote "All three phrases head their lines. The first two are not parallel; but the second halves of the verses are . . . and this draws them together."

<sup>14</sup> Despite their proximity, noun and cognate verb have quite different meanings (contrast 298 ταχθεῖς . . . τάξι); τάξις here = "line of ships" or "bank of oarsmen", while the verb means "ordered".

elaboration . . . paratactic style works through patterns which lead to expectations of symmetrical, though by no means stereotypical, resolutions. Dealing with a reversal that is *not* anticipated in the narrative, on the other hand, requires a subordination of the richness of this style to the demands of the time sequence. The speech achieves the effect of reversal through paratactic means, by using reversal as a theme, building the speech around the most traditional pattern of change, the alternation of night and day.<sup>15</sup>

The repetition of δρασμῶ κρυφαίω from 360 as κρυφαίως δρασμὸν in 370 and as κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν in 385 illustrates persuasively in verbal terms the first part of Michelini's analysis; it is worth noting that ἔκπλους and δρασμός do not occur elsewhere in Aeschylus' surviving works, while κρυφαῖος occurs otherwise only in *Choephoroi* 83. Similarly, what she calls 'chiming jingles' are to be seen as binding together the passage from 375 to 385 (unless of course they are due to scribal error). But what she calls 'over-use' of πᾶς, ναῦς, and νύξ can be paralleled too often in Aeschylus for it to have any powerful binding force here. The concept of binding a narrative together is a useful tool for elucidating repetition, but like most such tools can dominate the critic's thinking, and appear when inappropriate.

There are other noteworthy repetitions in this passage to which Michelini does not draw attention: that of φρενός/φρενὶ in the end-line position in 372/4 brings out the contrast between the vain confidence of Xerxes and the orderliness of the Greeks;<sup>16</sup> but that of καθίστασαν/καθίστατο also in the end-line position in 382/5 seems to have no special point, and to be a good illustration of Aeschylus' willingness to use the same word twice if it is the appropriate one, not feeling constrained to vary; Krohn proposed καθ' ἴστασαν, but not, presumably, to mitigate the repetition. The voices of the two occurrences are different because 382 describes what is going on from the point of view of the commanders giving instructions to the crews (active voice) while 385 takes the standpoint of the fleet, autonomously as it were refraining from flight (middle).

3. The exhortation of Darius' ghost (832-838) and the final speech of the Queen (845-851).

Δα	σὺ δ', ᾧ γεραιὰ μῆτερ ἢ Ξέρξου φίλη <sup>a</sup> , ἐλθοῦσ' ἐς οἶκους κόσμον <sup>b</sup> ὅστις εὐπρεπῆς λαβοῦσ' <sup>c</sup> ὑπαντίαζε <sup>d</sup> παιδίε. πάντα γὰρ κακῶν <sup>f</sup> ὑπ' ἄλγους <sup>g</sup> λακίδες ἀμφὶ σώματι <sup>h</sup>	835
	στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων <sup>i</sup> . ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εὐφρόνως σὺ πρᾶνον λόγοις· μόνης γάρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύωνι ἀνέξεται.	838

<sup>15</sup> Michelini (1982) 109.

<sup>16</sup> Sullivan (1997) in her analysis of psychological terminology in Aeschylus lists φρενός in 372 among uses of φρήν similar to those found in other poets, earlier and contemporary, and identifies the 'phrenes' there as the source of speech (p. 31) and associated with joy (p. 37). φρενὶ in 374 she claims to be a use of φρήν not found in earlier or contemporary poets, as 'subject to authority'. She does not mention or seem to see any significance in the close repetition of the word.

Ba	ὦ δαῖμον, ὡς με πόλλ' ἐσέρχεται κακῶν <sup>f</sup> ἄλγη <sup>g</sup> , μάλιστα δ' ἦδε συμφορὰ δάκνει, ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς <sup>e</sup> ἀμφὶ σώματι <sup>h</sup> ἐσθημάτων <sup>i</sup> κλύουσάνι, ἢ νιν ἀμπέχει. ἀλλ' εἶμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα <sup>c</sup> κόσμον <sup>b</sup> ἐκ δόμων ὑπαντιάζειν <sup>d</sup> παῖδ' <sup>e</sup> ἐμὸν πειράσομαι.	845       850
Darius	But you, aged and beloved mother of Xerxes, go home, get suitable clothing for your son, and meet him. For in his anguish at the catastrophe he has completely ripped up the embroidered robes he was wearing into tattered threads. So calm him down with kind words; you, I know, are the only one he will be able to bear listening to. . . . . . . .	
Queen	O god, numerous harsh pains are afflicting me, but the misfortune which hurts me most of all to hear about is that my son is disgraced by his clothes on his body. I shall go and get robes from the palace and try to meet him. For I shall not fail those dear to me in a time of trial.	

The repetitions are indicated by superscript letters in the text above. In addition, there are two cases of *variatio* – from ἐλθοῦσ' and οἴκους in 833 to εἶμι and δόμων in 849. The Queen's speech has seven lines, and the words it picks up are in the seven lines of Darius' speech which are addressed to her.<sup>17</sup> Strikingly, the repetitions show a roughly chiasmic pattern: all six of the words repeated from the first three lines (832-4) recur in the last three (849-851), though one recurs also in 845-848, and both of the cases of *variatio* are from the former triad into the latter; while all six of the words repeated from 835-8 recur in 845-8, though one recurs also in 851.

Paley (1870) rejected the Queen's speech as spurious.<sup>18</sup> Broadhead (1960) finds "difficulties in it", but though repetitions might have been used by an interpolator to save himself trouble in composition, this comprehensive semi-chiasmic series of them surely indicates a single hand. Nineteenth-century editors proposed a number of emendations to get rid of repetitions: Blaydes ἄχθους for ἄλγους in 835; Haeberlin ἦδη for ἄλγη in 846 (retaining the MSS κακὰ at the end of 845 – it is usually emended following Schütz to κακῶν to parallel 835); and Weil μου τέκνω in 850 (where the manuscripts have the dative of παῖς in some form, παῖδ' ἐμὸν being due to Lobeck).

<sup>17</sup> The intervening lines include a couplet by the chorus which contains ἦλγησ'.

<sup>18</sup> But he branded many lines in the play as spurious, believing it to have been remodelled and subjected to interpolation. (Paley [1870] 171).

SECTION 1(iii) SOME FURTHER TEXTUAL POINTS IN *PERSAE* RELEVANT TO REPETITION

This section has a discussion of a few textual points to which repetitions are relevant – either ones which illustrate matters discussed in this study, or ones to whose resolution it may contribute:

- |    |  |             |
|----|--|-------------|
| 1) | ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ<br>καὶ πολυχρύσου στρατιᾶς ἤδη<br>κακόμαντις                     | 8<br><br>10 |
|    | prophetic of disaster, anxious about the homecoming of the King and his gold-bedecked army |             |

All manuscripts have πολυχρύσου, except for M with πολυχρύσους. West (1998) prints Wecklein's πολυάνδρου (Weil conjectured πολύχειρος). West explains his action:

. . . the adjective [πολυχρύσου] appears purely ornamental and without point. The Elders are not concerned about the gold that the army has taken abroad but about the safety of a vast force of men. As they have used the word πολυχρύσων in the preceding sentence it is legitimate to suspect that πολυχρύσου in 9 is nothing but an accidental repetition. [West presumably means 'by a scribe' not 'by Aeschylus'] Aeschylus could, of course, repeat words at short intervals, and often does so. The argument is not that repetition is offensive in itself, but that here it gives a wrong emphasis. Wecklein's πολυάνδρου gives the true one. . . it states the essential idea that is developed in the whole passage 12-58. . . 73 πολυάνδρου δ' Ἀσίας. . . 532ff Περσῶν τῶν . . . πολυάνδρων στρατιάν. . ."<sup>19</sup>

West's argument is forceful, and the scribal error assumed is paralleled,<sup>20</sup> but he does not mention the two further occurrences of πολύχρυσος in this anapaestic passage, which rather support the received text, accepted by Broadhead ("It was part of the poet's design to impress on the audience the wealth and splendour of the Persian realm; hence the repeated references to gold (πολύχρυσος occurs four times in the πάροδος"), by Belloni (1994), who adduces reasons similar to Broadhead's, and by Hall (1996). The case is not made out for changing the received text.

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 2) | ὄρῳ δὲ φεύγοντ' αἰετὸν πρὸς ἐσχάραν<br>Φοίβου· φόβῳ δ' ἄφθογγος ἐστάθην, φίλοι·<br>μεθύστερον δὲ κίρκον εἰσορῶ δρόμῳ<br>πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κᾶρα<br>τίλλονθ'· | 205 |
|----|---|-----|

But I saw an eagle taking refuge at the hearth of Phoebus: my friends, I stood there speechless with terror. Next I saw a hawk rushing on beating wings towards the eagle, and tearing its head with its talons.

The MS P, according to the collation in Dawe (1964) and the apparatus in Page (1975) (it is not mentioned in West [1998]), has a γράφεται variant φόβῳ for δρόμῳ at the end of

<sup>19</sup> West (1990) 75. It is noteworthy that he, unlike many nineteenth-century editors, is a little shamefaced at emending to remove a repetition.

<sup>20</sup> See, for instance κατασφαγᾶς for κατασκαφᾶς under the influence of ταυροσφαγοῦντες in *Septem* 46, discussed in Chapter 6, section 2(i).



207. Dawe says “δρόμω has long been suspected; but . . . φόβω must originally have been a gloss on not δρόμω but τρόμω, which Zakas conjectured.”<sup>21</sup> Dawe goes on to speculate on the possibility of εἰσορῶ ἔν ττρόμω meaning ‘I saw with a thrill of fear’, saying in a footnote “The presence of φόβω in ν. 206 cannot go unnoticed, but equally it is hard to see how it could actually have caused Pγρ’s reading in 207.” Dawe may be assuming that γράφεται here, as at some other places in P, indicates a gloss rather than a variant reading;<sup>22</sup> for Table 6.7 shows that repetition by scribal error in the following line is a common enough phenomenon, and here the striking assonance φοίβου/φόβω, followed by φ twice more in 206 might have reinforced the prominence of φόβω in a scribe’s mind. If φόβω was a gloss on τρόμω it must come from a manuscript other than P, since P reads δρόμω with the rest of the manuscripts. It is preferable (Occam’s razor) to regard φόβω as an erroneous scribal repetition rather than postulate (1) the corruption of δρόμω to τρόμω, (2) the glossing of τρόμω by φόβω, (3) the loss of τρόμω from the tradition; or, if δρόμω is not the true reading, (1) the corruption of τρόμω into δρόμω, (2) the glossing of τρόμω by φόβω, (3) the ousting of the correct τρόμω from the whole of the tradition but the retention of the gloss in one small part of it (the need to lose also ἔν adds to the complexity of this version of events).

- |    |                                  |     |
|----|----------------------------------|-----|
| 3) | τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ’ ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη | 292 |
|    | · · ·                            |     |
|    | · · · πᾶν δ’ ἀναπτύξας πάθος     |     |
|    | λέξον . . .                      | 295 |

to speak or inquire about our sufferings. . . speak, unfolding the whole suffering.  
(My translation)

Broadhead defends the transmitted reading of these lines, but then conjectures (though without printing) πόση in 292; Murray (1955) accepted and printed it. Neither Page (1972) nor West (1998) seems at all troubled by πάθη, which Belloni (1994) also keeps. The repetition is not cited in Broadhead’s argumentation, but presumably if an emendation were accepted, the repetition from a subsequent word would be invoked to explain the corruption. It appears from Table 6.7 that unequivocal cases of repetition from a following word are rarely more than one line apart, while this is two. The repetition πάθη/πάθος here is supported by the repetition λέξαι/λέξον.

- |    |       |   |     |
|----|-------|---|-----|
| 4) | Αγ.   | Ξέρξης μὲν αὐτὸς ζῆ τε καὶ φάος βλέπει.                                   | 299 |
|    | Βα    | ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα   | 300 |
|    | Mess. | Xerxes himself lives and looks upon the light.                            |     |
|    | Queen | What you have said brings a great radiance to my household, anyway, . . . |     |

<sup>21</sup> Dawe (1964) 173.

<sup>22</sup> Dawe (1964) 103.

A scholium on Aristophanes *Ranae* 1028 quotes 299 ending βλέπει φάος: this order of words is adopted by Murray (1937) and (1954) and by some other editors. φάος is a good example of repetition with change of sense; Broadhead (1960) says of it in 300 that it “takes up φάος in 299, but in the epic sense of the joy of victory or deliverance”, and Silk describes the Queen’s reply as ‘triumphantly punning’.<sup>23</sup> There is no reason to prefer the order of words in the scholiast’s quotation (quotations are even more liable to corruption than substantive texts); Aeschylus elsewhere uses both word-orders (φ. β. in 261 and *Agamemnon* 1646, and β. φ. in *Eumenides* 746) and the only other tragic examples are φάος βλέπει in Euripides fragment 65 line 20,<sup>24</sup> and βλέπων φάος in *Rhesus* 971. Broadhead says “If Aesch. wrote βλέπει φάος, the MS reading may be due . . . to the position of φάος in the following line”; but inversion of the order of words is a frequent corruption in manuscripts, and does not need a special explanation. For instance, in this very play all manuscripts except QKP have the unmetrical ἔπος εἶπεῖν for εἶπεῖν ἔπος at the end of 714.

- 5) Λίλαιος Ἀρσάμης τε κάργῆστης τρίτος 308  
οἶδ’ ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμονα  
νικώμενοι κύρισσον ἰσχυρὰν χθόνα· 310  
πηγαῖς τε Νείλου γειτονῶν Αἰγυπτίου  
Ἄρκτηύς, Ἀδεύης, καὶ † φρεσεύης τρίτος  
Φαρνοῦχος, οἶδε ναὸς ἐκ μιᾶς πέσον.

Lilaios and Arsames, and thirdly Argestes – they rammed in defeat the tough ground of the dove-breeding island. Arkteus (neighbour of the springs of Egyptian Nile), Adeues and thirdly [. . .] Pharnouchos – they fell from a single ship.

There are many other textual difficulties in the above extract from the Messenger’s enumeration of lost Persians, but the one relevant to this study is the repetition of τρίτος at the end of 308 and 312. Broadhead (1960) cites Butler (1816) objecting to the repetition of τρίτος after 308 as betokening poverty of invention and as altogether unworthy of a great poet “qui hic mirum in modum variavit”,<sup>25</sup> and Paley’s view that 311-13 is a spurious addition, the construction being “a mere repetition of what has just preceded, namely an enumeration of names with τρίτος and οἶδε.”<sup>26</sup> Broadhead goes on to observe that “mere repetition is far from being a serious objection: it may quite well be laid to Aesch.’s charge”, but then expresses some doubts about the genuineness – or at least freedom from corruption – of 312. Assaël, far from doubting it, sees poetic power in the threefold repetition of the numbers 3 and 10,000, culminating balefully in their combination in 30,000.<sup>27</sup> (There is μυρίας in 302, and 314-315 read Χρυσεὺς

<sup>23</sup> Silk (1974) 90. But Weil, characteristically, proposed φέγγος for φάος.

<sup>24</sup> Austin (1968), from *Erechtheus*.

<sup>25</sup> Butler was not an opponent of repetition in general; he admired, for instance that in 541-3.

<sup>26</sup> Paley (1870); as observed above Paley branded many lines in the play as spurious.

<sup>27</sup> Assaël (1993) 19-20; her words are “ces chiffres se combinent entre eux et ils prennent une signification maléfique.”

Μάταλλος μυριόνταρχος θανών | ἵππου μελαίνης ἡγεμῶν τρισμυρίας.) This may be an over-indulgent reading, but Hall perceptively draws attention to the thematic and metaphorical emphasis on counting throughout *Persae*.<sup>28</sup> The earlier editors were wrong to doubt the repetition of τρίτος; it is hard to see why an actor or interpolator should have sought to out-Aeschylus Aeschylus in adding to the catalogue of fallen Persians. If the lines were a marginal parallel, where could they have come from? (The answer ‘Phrynichus’ *Phoenissae*’ suggests itself, but is fanciful in the extreme).

- 6) . . . θάλασσα δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἦν ἰδεῖν  
ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν, 420  
ἄκται δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ’ ἐπλήθουον.

and it was no longer possible to glimpse the sea, which was brimming with wrecked ships and dead men. The shores and reefs were brimming [‘abrim’ might give the flavour better, since the Greek words are very similar rather than identical] with corpses.

Hall (1996) points out that words with the stem πληθ-, extremely common throughout the play, are piled up on one another (413, 420, 421, 429, 432) “like the Persian corpses themselves.” But Headlam, in the fashion of a nineteenth-century editor, proposed τ’ ἀνθοῦσα for πλήθουσα (comparing *Agamemnon* 659) to remove the repetition in 420/1.<sup>29</sup> Though ΠΛΗ is possible as an uncial corruption of ΤΑΝ influenced from the next line the text should not be suspected and, in any case, in *Agamemnon* 659 (ὀρώμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς) ἀνθέω governs the dative.

- 7) Αγ τεθνᾶσιν αἰσchrῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.  
Βα οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα συμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι. 445  
ποίῳ μόρῳ δὲ τούσδε φῆς ὀλωλέναι;

Mess. they died shamefully by the most inglorious of fates.  
Queen *Oi*, how wretched I am at this terrible misfortune, friends. How do you say these men died?

If it were the only reading, μόρῳ in both 444 and 446 would be just another example of a slightly disconcerting repetition; disconcerting at least if Hall’s translation is rightly nuanced, so that on the first time it is met it is a weighty word, but on the second it is little more than a filler, the sentence turning on ὀλωλέναι. A better translation of 446 might however be ‘By what fate do you say these man died?’, when μόρῳ has weight on both occasions.

Several manuscripts (BHCA and perhaps Y<sup>ac</sup>) read πότμῳ in 444. This is adopted by West (1998) as πότμῳ. Dawe puts it down to a “gloss on the μοῖρα sense of μόρος”,<sup>30</sup> but then goes on to speculate that it may have come from 446, and that the true reading there was ποίῳ δὲ πότμῳ, πότμῳ being glossed by μόρῳ. That is a complex theory, and

<sup>28</sup> Hall (1996) 25.

<sup>29</sup> Headlam (1898) 190; Wakfield tried ἐπλήθουον in 421.

<sup>30</sup> Dawe (1964) 95.

πότμος is much commoner in tragedy with the first syllable short than with it long. West is probably assuming that μόρω in 444 was a gloss expelling πότμω from most of the tradition;<sup>31</sup> it might have been a scribal error induced by μόρω in 446, even though it appears from Table 6.7 that unequivocal cases of repetition from a following word are rarely more than one line apart. But for speakers in dialogue to pick up words from each other is normal and natural both in literature and life (see Chapter 7), and not to be emended away here. πότμω is either a gloss (though a search of scholia in TLG have found none where πότμος is a gloss rather than being glossed) or a scribal removal of an authorial repetition, of which there are examples in Chapter 6.

- 8) Βα σὺ δ' εἶπέ, ναῶν αἱ πεφεύγασιν μόρον 478  
 ποῦ τάσδ' ἔλειπες· οἶσθα σημήναι τορῶς;  
 Αγ ναῶν δὲ ταγοὶ τῶν λελειμμένων σύδην 480  
 κατ' οὔρον οὐκ εὐκοσμον αἶρονται φυγῆν·  
 στρατὸς δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἐν τε Βοιωτῶν χθονὶ  
 διώλλυθ', . . .

Queen But you, tell me, which of the ships evaded destruction? Where did you leave them? Do you have knowledge so that you can give me a clear indication?

Mess. The commanders of the remaining ships hurriedly took to flight in disorder with a following wind. The rest of the force began dying off in the Boeotian land . . .

The root of λείπω occurs three times in this passage. It varies in its connotation, and Hall gives a different rendering in each case. In place of λελειμμένων there is some MSS authority (YaQ and γράφεται variants in BP and – as ἐλελεγμένων – H) for λελεγμένων. Though picking up a word used by a previous speaker is common and often effective in dialogue, λελεγμένων meaning ‘the ships you have spoken of’,<sup>32</sup> i.e. those which evaded destruction, seems preferable to λελειμμένων meaning ‘the ships which I have left’ – the meaning expected after ἔλειπες; despite *Agamemnon* 517, where the sense of λελειμμένον in στρατὸν λελειμμένον δορός is much helped by δορός, ‘the ships which got away from the Greeks’ seems more difficult. Broadhead (1960) says that ναῶν τῶν λελειμμένων echoes the Queen’s ναῶν αἱ πεφεύγασιν μόρον; but ἔλειπες interferes with that echo. λελειμμένων as an error for λελεγμένων would be easy just after ἔλειπες, and though it has been shown that repetitions are sometimes removed in transmission, that error is much the rarer. I prefer λελεγμένων.

It remains odd that after a question from the Queen about the ships the Messenger gives all his details about the land-army. But that oddity has nothing to do with repetition.

<sup>31</sup> For what it is worth, μόρος is nearly twice as common in tragedy as πότμος (87 as against 45 occurrences in the non-fragmentary plays), but in Aeschylus it occurs 54 times and πότμος only 4. μόρος may therefore be thought the more likely to be used as a gloss.

<sup>32</sup> This, rather than ‘chosen’, is the sense of λελεγμένος elsewhere in Aeschylus – *Septem* 424 and 455, *Choephoroi* 778 and *Eumenides* 675.

- 9) ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἔπι τοῖσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις  
πιστοῖσι πιστὰ ξυμφέρειν βουλευματα. 527

You should contribute trustworthy counsels about what has happened to us who trust you.

Hall's translation has to add 'to us', which does not appear in the text, to make sense; and in her note she says that 'πιστοῖσι' might just possibly refer to the Chorus rather than to the Queen – "You must take faithful counsel among your faithful selves."

Broadhead (1960) discusses the interpretation, and the possibility that πιστοῖσι is:

corrupt, and should be replaced by some entirely different word, in spite of the idiomatic juxtaposition of πιστοῖσι and πιστά. If πιστοῖσι (πιστοῖς some MSS) is corrupt, the corruption may have been due to the copyist's eye catching πιστά when he was about to write the first word of the line.

Subsequent editors do not pursue this idea, but Dawe describes 528 as 'very difficult'.<sup>33</sup> It is to be noted that most manuscripts, including M, have the unmetrical πιστοῖς, and Ya has πυστοῖς, deliberately because it is glossed διδακτοῖς. Something may therefore be wrong. It would seem natural for a dative adjective following ἔπι τοῖσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις to be in agreement with the phrase and describe what has happened; but we have to assume πιστοῖσι is quite unconnected with the words before. πυστοῖσι must not be dismissed out of hand; it could go with τοῖς πεπραγμένοις and be translated 'these events we have learnt of'. But πυστός is a word whose very existence in classical Greek is dubious – it turns up again as a variant in P and scholia for πιστός in *Prometheus* 917, and otherwise only in Eustathius and Herodian. Blomfield's πιστῶς τὰ πιστὰ keeps the word-play and avoids many of the difficulties.

However, πιστοῖσι should perhaps simply be obelised. Though this study has found no precise parallel, scribal error could easily have assimilated the original word into an Aeschylean polyptoton very like μὴ καὶ τι πρὸς κακοῖσι προσθῆται κακόν three lines later and ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν in 681.

- 10) αἱ δ' ἄβρόγοι Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν 541  
ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν,  
λέκτρων εὐνάς ἀβροχίτωνας

The softly-wailing women of Persia who long to see their recent bridegrooms, the soft sheets of their nuptial beds . . .

For ἄβρό-γοοι IVP offers ἀκρο- and D ἀνδρο-. Blomfield (1818) adopts ἀκρόγοοι from a conjecture by Pauw because of the repetition. Broadhead (1960) says on ἄβρόγοοι:

cf. ἀβροπενθεῖς 135, restored from the Schol. for MS ἀκροπενθεῖς. Although ἀβροχίτωνας follows in 543, there is no need to accept Blomf.'s ἀκρόγοοι: it is thoroughly Aeschylean to lay the colours on thickly in drawing his picture of the 'refinements' of Oriental ways.

<sup>33</sup> Dawe (1964) 88.

Broadhead is surely right, but the MSS variants are interesting. β and κ are easily confused in minuscule, but I has a note (ταῦτον τῷ ἀκροπενθεῖς) showing that ἀκρο- came from comparison with the text he had for 135. D's ἀνδρο- must be due to the following ἀνδρῶν. Chapter 6, section 2 has found many instances parallel to this of D's, where a word is corrupted, often to a non-existent or totally inappropriate word, by a later one;<sup>34</sup> the word here is non-existent, though not inappropriate.

- 11) φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὅστις ἔμπειρος κυρεῖ 598  
 ἐπίσταται βροτοῖσιν ὡς ὅταν κλύδων  
 κακῶν ἐπέλθῃ πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖ, 600  
 ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῆ, πεποιθέναι  
 τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ δαίμον' οὐριεῖν τύχης.

Friends, whoever has experience of ill knows that when a wave of ill comes upon people they are usually completely terrified. But when the god sends calm currents they usually become convinced that the same god of luck will always waft them on.

(My translation)

The above is the reading of virtually all manuscripts; most editors following Weil emend to αἰὲν ἄνεμον. One motive may have been dislike of the repetition δαίμων . . . δαίμονα; Broadhead (1960) rightly observes that by itself it is not really objectionable (indeed, the translation shows that it is natural in English; the repetition that jars is that of κακῶν/ills), but, says Broadhead:

the phrase δαίμονα . . . τύχης has seemed to many scholars all but impossible. . . The two words seem here to be practically synonymous, and, as there is no exact parallel to the phrase, editors have been quick to assume corruption (τύχας and τύχην have been proposed); but as there is not any doubt that δαίμων could be used in a wholly impersonal sense for 'fortune' (good or bad), we might well render 'the δαίμων (lot) bestowed by fortune'; alternatively, but perhaps less probably, we could explain δαίμονα τύχης as a pleonastic expression, like συμφορὰ πάθους in 436. With the former explanation compare Pindar's phrase τύχα δαίμονος (*Ol VIII, 67. .*), 'the τύχη bestowed by a god'. We may supply σφᾶς or αὐτόν as obj. to οὐριεῖν, which, however, might be intr.: cf. the intr. use of ἐπουρίζω, κατουρίζω.

Belloni (1994) also retains the MSS text, but the parallels he cites for δαίμων τύχης seem to be rather for τύχη δαίμονος. Schinkel (1973), as usual very reluctant to emend a repetition away, renders 'Daimon, der Glück bringt' and supports the reading by the assonance with δειμαίνειν in 620 and the later δαίμονα Δαρείον in 620-1. Weil's conjecture is little short of brilliant. But the continuance of the metaphor from κλύδων through εὐροῆ to οὐριεῖν supports the retention of the traditional text. It is not surprising, given the assonance here, that one manuscript offers εὐροεῖν as a γράφεται variant for οὐριεῖν, or that Lennep proposed οὐρίση for εὐροῆ.

<sup>34</sup> The one from αὐδωμένω to ἀνδωμένω in Septem 678 is indeed similar.

- 12) ἀμφότερα· διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατευμάτων. 720  
Both. There was a double front with two forces.

Most manuscripts read στρατηλάτοι or -λάταιν. But ‘forces’ not ‘generals’ must be right, and στρατηλάτοι/αιν a scribal deformation under the influence of ἐστρατηλάτει three lines earlier. The question, discussed by Dawe,<sup>35</sup> is whether the στρατευμάτων of QKP is the preservation of the true reading or a Byzantine emendation. The line has another interest as repeating ideas rather than words; the duality of army and navy is expressed by ἀμφότερα, διπλοῦν, δυοῖν and the dual number.

- 13) Βα . . . γνώμης δέ πού τις δαιμόνων ξυνήψατο. 724  
Δα φεῦ, μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν καλῶς.  
Queen But perhaps some god helped in the plan [sc. to bridge the  
Bosporus].  
Darius Alas, some great god came and so he (Xerxes) judged wrongly.

The apparatus in West (1998) has “possis ἦλθ’ ἀλάστωρ (cf. 354), at v. Cho. 119”. This reminds one of a nineteenth-century attempt to remove a repetition which is itself pointed and indeed natural; a divine power may have helped in the audacious bridging plan, but the outcome was disastrous. Why should Aeschylus have distinguished two divinities, τις δαιμόνων and ἀλάστωρ?

- 14) Βα ναυτικός στρατός κακωθείς πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν. 728  
Δα ὧδε παμπήδην δὲ λαὸς πᾶς κατέφθαρται δορί;  
Queen The sea-army’s affliction brought about the loss of the land-army.  
Darius Has the whole force been thus destroyed by enemy action?

On 728 the apparatus in West (1998) has “ὤλεσε λαόν R; possis -σεν λεών (cf. 383)”, and on 729 for λαὸς πᾶς “πᾶς στρατός We πᾶς στρατηγὸς λ”.<sup>36</sup> στρατός and λαός are often glossed by each other,<sup>37</sup> and it is surprising that West should have thought it worth paper to consider emending R into metre; the repetition in the received text is rhetorically apt. As for 729, the use of λαός suggests that it is to be thought of as comprising two στρατοί. The variant στρατός (which would be the third occurrence of the word in two lines, to be followed by another in 731) is virtually unmetrical (in only two cases in tragedy does the second metron of a trochaic tetrameter not end with a word-end), and πᾶς στρατηγὸς actually unmetrical. στρατός must be a gloss or scribal repetition, its intrusion being followed by the transposition of πᾶς to give a semblance of metre; πᾶς στρατηγὸς must be an aberration by a scribe with πᾶς στρατός before him.

<sup>35</sup> Dawe (1964) 133.

<sup>36</sup> R, W and λ are manuscripts not collated by Dawe (1964); ε West’s siglum for a group Dawe reports individually. One of the manuscripts West (1998) groups as λ is physically the same as L for Euripides and Zo for Sophocles, but according to West the Aeschylean section was transcribed before it came under the influence of Triclinius.

<sup>37</sup> e.g. scholia on 244 τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἦτοι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος and 347 οὕτω τις δαίμων κατέφθειρε τὸν λαὸν ἦτοι τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Περσῶν. ὤλεσε λαόν could also be a reminiscence, or parallel that has got into the text, of *Iliad* 22 107 Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν.

- 15) Βα πρὸς τὰδ' ὡς Σούσων μὲν ἄστυ πᾶν κεναυδρίαν στένει. 730  
 Δα ὦ πόποι κεδνῆς ἀρωγῆς κάπικουρίας στρατοῦ.  
 Queen Yes: not only does all Susa lament its emptiness of men...  
 Darius Alas for the trusty protection and assistance the army gave!

In place of κεδνῆς many manuscripts (VNNdOYAIγρPγρ) have κενῆς. This is an attractive reading, and has been printed by some editors, e.g. Canter (1580) and Blomfield (1818). Blomfield explains his preference thus: “κενῆς spectat quodammodo ad κεναυδρίαν in superiore versu.”<sup>38</sup> Transferring the emptiness from the city of Susa to the army that could not defend it would be very Aeschylean – perhaps more Aeschylean than the irony in κεδνῆς.<sup>39</sup> Although the loss of δ following κεναυδρίαν in the previous line is a more likely corruption than its addition, this study has shown that manuscripts do quite often erroneously remove repetitions. There are two instances in Aeschylus where a copyist undoubtedly omitted δ in κεδνός: *Septem* 407 and *Persae* 142; in both however the error was in a single manuscript and was corrected. I prefer κενῆς here.

- 16) κτείνουσα λιμῶ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν 794

This foreshadows a passage ringing the changes on ὑπερ- compounds, especially with κόμπος, and φρον- forms and compounds:

- ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφεν θνητὸν ὄντα χρὴ φρονεῖν. 820  
 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξαιθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν  
 ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.  
 τοιαῦθ' ὀρώντες τῶνδε τὰπιτίμια  
 μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις  
 ὑπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα 825  
 ἄλλων ἐρασθεῖς ὄλβον ἐκχέη μέγαν.  
 Ζεὺς τοι κολαστῆς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν  
 φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθυνος βαρύς.  
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκείνον, σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένοι,  
 πινύσκειτ' εὐλόγοισι νοθητήμασιν, 830  
 λῆξαι θεοβλαβοῦνθ' ὑπερκόμπῳ θράσει.

. . . that mortals must not overrate themselves in their thoughts; for hubris flowered and produced a crop of calamity, and from it reaped a harvest of lamentation. Consider what the penalties for this are like, and remember Athens and Greece, so that no-one may overscorn the situation god has put him in, lust after what belongs to others, and pour away great prosperity. For Zeus stands over and chastises overweening minds, and he is a stern assessor. So in the light of this, use sensible words of warning to admonish Xerxes to behave temperately and stop offending the gods with his boasts and overweening confidence.

(Translation by Hall (1996); the words in red altered to bring out the repetitions)

Something similar is found in *Septem* 391-410, with ὑπερκόμπους, ὑπέρκομπου and ὑπέρφρονας following one another in quick succession. ὑπέρκομπος is virtually unknown to Greek literature outside these two plays – otherwise, it is cited from anapaests by Menander.

<sup>38</sup> Blomfield (1818) 68.

<sup>39</sup> Stanford (1942) cites examples of ‘irony and sarcasm’ in Aeschylus, but misses this one.



In 794 modern editors' reading ὑπερπόλλους is found only in M before correction to ὑπερπώλους, and is unknown to the scholia.<sup>40</sup> The other manuscripts are, in effect, divided between the remarkable ὑπερπώλους, which e.g. Blomfield (1818) accepted, with a scholiast's interpretation "κτείνουσα λιμῶ τοὺς πολυίππους Πέρσας", and ὑπερκόμπους, which also makes an appearance in the scholia. It would be like Aeschylus to repeat ὑπερκόμπους, having in his head an unusual word expressing the Persians' excessive pride, and overusing it; but this is its *first* appearance, it is not particularly appropriate in the context of famine in 794, and its replacement in part of the tradition by ὑπερπόλλους/πώλους would be hard to explain; it must be a marginal parallel from 826. The scholia show that ὑπερπώλους was an old reading, but it occurs nowhere else, and is dubious Greek (ὑπέροινον in Polyaeus *Strategemata* 8.25.1 seems the only parallel for a ὑπέρ- compound with the sense 'having much/too much of a commodity'); it could be explained as a very ancient misinterpretation of a fifth-century B.C. Attic ὙΠΕΡΠΟΛΟΣ. It is hard to explain why it should have ousted ὑπερπόλλους from so much of the tradition. ὑπερπόλλους is nevertheless the reading with the most point, and should be retained, though with no great confidence.

17)	Ξε	ἴετ' αἰανῆ καὶ πανόδυρτον δύσθροον αὐδάν. δαίμων γὰρ ὄδ' αὖ μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί.	941
	Χο.	ἦσω τοι καὶ πανόδυρτον λαοπαθῆ τε σεβίζων ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη πόλεως γέννας πεινητηῆρος. κλάγξω δ' αὖ γόον ἀρίδακρυν.	945
	Xerxes	Let out a ceaseless and dismal harsh-voiced noise, for this god has changed course against me.	
	Chorus	I shall indeed let out a dismal noise [945 is very corrupt] of a grieving city race. I shall shriek again a tearful lament.	

The above text is virtually that printed by Canter (1580), and will serve to represent the manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> It will be seen that echoes are almost as much a feature of this lyric dialogue as of the amoebaeon analysed in Section 1(ii): the Chorus repeat forms of ἴημι, and καὶ πανόδυρτον and αὖ from Xerxes; γέννας also repeats with Xerxes' γέννα in the strophe, and πεινητηῆρος and ἀρίδακρυν echo θρηνητηῆρος and πολύδακρυν in 939 and 940 – the Chorus's own section of the strophe.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> ὑπερπόλλους presumably means "the overnumerous", though Hall's translation "any excess population" implies that Aeschylus was a disciple of Malthus and Darwin, and saw advantage in the reduction of the population of Attica by famine so that only fit soldiers survive; the idea did however occur in the Epic Cycle *Cypria*, in which, according to a scholium on *Iliad* 1.5, Zeus seeing τὴν γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθείας caused first the Theban then the Trojan wars. The word ὑπέρολος is found also once in pseudo-Demosthenes and twice in Xenophon.

<sup>41</sup> Canter followed some manuscripts with αἰαιῆν for αἰαιῆ; since he did not recognise the strophic responsion with 931–40 he did not find some of the problems which beset modern editors.

<sup>42</sup> In addition, the manuscript C has the noteworthy error λαόθροον in 942, a partial repetition of λαοπαθῆ following in 945.

Modern editors generally bring 941 into responsion with the strophe by deleting καὶ and replacing πανόδурτον with πάνδурτον. 944-5 is more problematic; West says “πάν{ο}δурτον in 944 appears to be a mistaken repetition of words in 941. It is unlikely that the chorus would echo Xerxes’ adjective, and even if they did, the καί would be impossible.”<sup>43</sup> West (1998) prints ἦσω τοι καὶ πάνυ, λαοῦ | πάθεα σεβίζων. It is not clear why West thinks the chorus would be unlikely to echo Xerxes’ adjective; contrariwise Hall says on 990-1 “It is remarkable that Xerxes here imitates the chorus’ diction as he responds to them, whereas in the rest of the dirge he takes the lead in introducing new language and ideas.” West’s version itself assumes a partial echo, and πάνυ is a prosaic word, rare in tragedy; West points out, however, that three of its five tragic appearances are in Aeschylus and argues that the similarity with 941 led to total assimilation. It must be doubtful whether the answer to the problems of this passage have been found yet.

- |     |   |                        |
|-----|---|------------------------|
| 18) | ὄλοοὺς ἀπέλειπον<br>Τυρίας ἐκ ναῶς<br>ἔρροντας ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς<br>Σαλαμινιάσι, στυφελοῦ<br>θείνοντας ἐπ’ ἀκτᾶς | 962<br><br><br><br>965 |
|-----|---|------------------------|

I left them behind, destroyed, disappearing from Tyrian ships onto the coasts of Salamis, striking against the harsh coast.

Broadhead (1960) says:

ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς . . . ἐπ’ ἀκτᾶς has seemed suspicious to many edd.: ἄκραις was proposed for the former by Weil, for the latter by Pauw. Wil. does not find the repetition objectionable, since ‘ἀκταί merely gives the locality, while ἀκτὴ refers to the sea-coast itself.’

A very similar repetition is found in the manuscript of Euripides *Electra* 441/2, where Orelli’s ἄκρας, with short initial syllable, for the second ἀκτᾶς is guaranteed by responsion; here, on the other hand, we want a long initial syllable. Wilamowitz’s argument reads like special pleading; those critics who find repetition objectionable do not usually distinguish between repetition with change of sense and repetition with the same sense. Broadhead sees the repetition reminding us of the Messenger’s description in 302f., where the adjective στυφλοῦς is very like στυφελοῦ here; while Belloni (1994) is reminded of 272-3 (Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταί). ἐπ’ ἀκτᾶς at the end of the antistrophe is supported by ἀκτάν at the end of the strophe (954), by the parallelism between ἔρροντας ἐπ’ (964) and θείνοντας ἐπ’ (966), and indeed by the prevalence of echoes in the whole kommos.

<sup>43</sup> West (1990) p. 91.

## CHAPTER 8, SECTION 1 EXCURSUS ON MS Lambeth 1203.

Of this manuscript Blomfield (1818) says in his preface:

Sed nescio an vere dixerim librum istum a me collatum fuisse. Et enim quum occasio codicis evolvendi insperanti mihi oblata esset, summa cum festinatione, sine Aeschylo impresso, et memoriae tantum fidens perlegi.

Nor have I made a full collation, and the interest of one would lie more in its relevance for the late Byzantine transmission of Aeschylus than in any contribution to the reconstitution of his text. But the manuscript does demonstrate the openness of the recension. It has many points of resemblance to P (e.g. in 2 it has πίστὰ ‘utroque accentu’, and in 262 it has ο written over the ω of μακροβίωτος). However, in 601 it shares the strange error ὀμαίμων for ὁ δαίμων with H; in 300 δόμασι for δώμασιν with KMac, and in 1077 τοῖσδε for τοί σε with Δ. It demonstrates its connection with but sturdy independence of P in 215, where P, alone among Dawe (1964)’s manuscripts, has μερῶν as a γράφεται variant for μήτερ; Lambeth 1203 puts μερῶν in the text, with μήτερ as a γράφεται variant – apparently its only such.

The most remarkable error is found in the passage 775-78:

. . . τὸν δὲ σὺν δόλῳ	775
Ἄρταφρένης ἔκτεινεν ἑσθλὸς ἐν δόμοις,	
ξὺν ἀνδράσιν φίλοισιν, οἷς τόδ’ ἦν χρέος.	
[ἔκτος δὲ Μάραφισ, ἔβδομος δ’ Ἄρταφρένης.]	778

He was killed in the palace by noble Artaphrenes, along with some friends whose obligation it was. Sixth came Maraphis, seventh Artaphrenes, and then myself.

778 is bracketed by many editors, as totally inconsistent with any other account of Persian history. The scribe of Lambeth 1203 wrote δεύτερος for ἔβδομος. This is not a normal scribal error. Presumably he was thinking about what he was writing, realised that Artaphrenes had appeared a couple of lines earlier, and concluded that this must be a second Artaphrenes.

CHAPTER 8 SECTION 2 REPETITION IN THE *AJAX* OF SOPHOCLES

As usual, the text of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) – Dain & Mazon (1958), their Budé edition, has been the basis for the statistical analysis, but the Oxford Classical Texts Pearson (1928) and of Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a), the Teubner of Dawe (1996) and the editions of Stanford (1963) and Garvie (1998) have also been used. Relevant observations in the editions of Jebb (1896) and Kamerbeek (1963) have been noted, as have ones by Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b).<sup>44</sup> The article by Easterling (1974) *Repetition in Sophocles* has been particularly useful.

SECTION 2(i) ANALYSIS OF REPETITIVENESS IN PARTS OF *AJAX*

The figures in Chapter 4 reveal nothing remarkable about the propensity to repetition in *Ajax*; the index for the play is close that for the Sophoclean corpus as a whole: only two plays have more same-line repetitions per 100 trimeters, but only one has fewer repetitions in the same and adjacent lines. *Ajax* is generally accepted following Reinhardt (1977) as being the earliest of the surviving plays of Sophocles; but there is no discernible trend in the repetitiveness of this playwright.

9.6% of the repetitions in trimeters in *Ajax* are of ἀνὴρ, the word most frequently repeated (47 times in all). 14 of these repetitions are in the 84 trimeters 1318 to 1401, the 15 individual occurrences of ἀνὴρ in those trimeters are followed by three more in the closing anapaests. Only five of the 18 refer to Ajax; two refer to Odysseus, two to Teucer, one to Agamemnon, two to groups present on stage, and six are general (though one of them implies Odysseus and another implies Ajax).

Chapter 5 Section 1 found a weak correlation between the figure for repetitions in the same or adjacent lines and the proportion of stichomythic or distichomythic dialogue in the sections of *Ajax*, and a negative correlation, due entirely to the monologue 646-692, between the number of trimeters in speeches and the total number of repetitions. Table 8.3 looks separately at four different parts of *Ajax*. Two are scenes with two characters – 430-595 with Ajax and Tecmessa, and 961-1184 with Teucer and Menelaus; both scenes including long speeches and stichomythic dialogue. Two are monologues by Ajax – 646-692 where he is the only speaker between two choral odes, and 815-865 where he is, most unusually for any scene in tragedy after the prologue, absolutely alone without even a chorus.

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<sup>44</sup> In the absence of any other indication, references in this section to the above editors are to their texts and apparatuses as appropriate, and references to Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) are to the notes on the lines in question, between pages 9 and 41.

TABLE 8.3

REPETITIVENESS IN FOUR SCENES IN *AJAX*

<i>Section</i>	> 430-595	646-692	815-865	961-1162
<i>Index</i>	8.36	3.57	6	8.25
<i>Intervals</i>				
same	2.4	0	5.89	4.5
up to 1	5.99	2.13	5.89	9.5

Ajax's first monologue is strikingly different from the other three scenes, the statistics for all of which are much more like those for the play as a whole. Although it includes no repetition in the same line, and only one in adjacent lines, it does not have a less poetic or rhetorical feel about it; it is rather that the figures are of antithesis (648 – φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται), (665 ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα), metaphor (651 – ἐθελύθη στόμα) and even simile (651 – βαφῆ σίδηρος ὡς) more than of repetition, and that Sophocles eschews the words that are frequent in the play as a whole (especially ἀνήρ and κακός), using rather unusual (though not particularly rare) ones.

The high figure for repetitions in adjacent lines in the Menelaus/Teucer scene is due to the passage of stichomythia 1120-1141, which has six of the twelve such repetitions in the whole scene. It is typical of stichomythia for one speaker to pick up the other's words in this way, but the stichomythic passage in the Ajax/Tecmessa scene has no instance; is it fanciful to attribute that to Sophocles' desire to make this scene a warmer one between people with some affection for each other rather than a point-scoring confrontation?

SECTION 2(ii) REPETITIVE TECHNIQUE IN SELECT PASSAGES OF *AJAX* <sup>45</sup>

I. *Ajax* contains several striking examples of what the Rhetor ad Herennium IV.14.20, discussed in Chapter 2.1 above, calls *traductio* (viz. ‘cum idem verbum crebrius ponatur’):

1. The first is the repetition of forms of μέγας as many as fourteen times (or thirteen times, if the manuscripts are wrong in 225) in the first lyric passage of the play (the Chorus’s anapaests and ode, and Tecmessa’s anapaests – some 550 words in all). After μέγαν in 139 and μεγάλοι in 142 we find a particularly concentrated passage, where a contrasting term is also repeated, thus heightening the emphasis on μέγας:

τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ψυχῶν ἰεῖς	154
οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι· κατὰ δ’ ἂν τις ἐμοῦ	
τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθοι.	
πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔχονθ’ ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει.	
καίτοι σμικροὶ μεγάλων χωρὶς	
σφαλερὸν πύργου ῥῦμα πέλονται·	
μετὰ γὰρ μεγάλων βαιὸς ἄριστ’ ἂν	160
καὶ μέγας ὀρθοῖθ’ ὑπὸ μικροτέρων.	

For one who shoots at great souls could not miss; but if someone were to say such things against *me* he would not carry persuasion. It is against the man who *has* that envy creeps. And yet small men without the great are a treacherous defensive tower; for with the great to help him a humble man might best be kept upright, and a great man too if served by smaller men.

The theme continues, rather more diffusely, with μέγαν (169), μεγάλα (173), μεγάλοι (188), μέγας (205), μεγάλων (225), μέγας (226), μέγαν (241) and μεγάλας (262).

There are 39 examples of forms of μέγας in the play as a whole, and it is repeated again by the chorus at 615-619 and 713, 714 and 718; but this close repetition, within 15 lines, never occurs in trimeters. Stanford (1963) observes, in his discussion of the reading in 225:

Sophocles presumably chose the vague phrase deliberately to sustain the emphasis on greatness which pervades this part of the play. . . It is important for the effect of the play that both the greatness of Ajax and the greatness of his environment and even the greatness of his enemies should be well established before he reappears in the humiliation of his anguish. This repetition of ‘great’ also emphasises the Chorus’s sense of their own weakness in the face of calamity without Ajax’s leadership.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Except where specifically stated, the text printed in this and Section 2(iii) is based on Pearson (1928); that given in the TLG is Dain & Mazon (1958). The translation is that of Garvie (1998), adapted as necessary to bring out repetitions or where the text printed differs from his. No comments are made on textual matters with no relevance to repetition (many emendations have their origin in metrical problems).

<sup>46</sup> Lloyd-Jones & Wilson are unhappy: the apparatus in 1990a says “μεγάλων dubium: an μελέων”; in 1990b they say “μεγάλων seems not particularly appropriate, and the presence of μέγας in the next line arouses some suspicion”; Lloyd-Jones (1994) prints μελέων. Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1997) defend emendation, noting, but dismissing by saying it is not necessary to refute, the observation of Stanford (1963). Garvie (1998), also, though printing μεγάλων and interpreting it as sarcasm, as in 188, thinks corruption from μέγας below not impossible.

This note is perceptive. It is interesting to find that the epithet is used only once of Ajax – but, successively, of ὄκνος, θόρυβοι, ψυχαί, of ‘people’ generally (three times, with three appearances of a contrasting term, in the lines 158-161 quoted above), αἰγυπιός, φάτις,<sup>47</sup> βασιλῆς, Αἴας, Δαναοί, μῦθος, ῥυτήρ and finally ὀδύναι.

2. The second is the sixfold repetition of forms of τάχος, noun or adjective, between 804 and 853 – the first two when the chorus and Tecmessa are setting off to find Ajax after the messenger’s dire warnings, and the next four in Ajax’s soliloquy (in the absence even of the chorus) before his suicide.

3. The third is more complex. In Teucer’s speech replying to Menelaus Pearson (1928) displays four forms of στρατηγός, noun or associated verb, two forms of ἡγοῦμαι, one form of στρατεύομαι, words based on αρχ five times, κρατῶν twice in four lines, ἀνάσσω/ειν twice in two lines and ἄγω twice, framing line 1097. The speech reads, with all these repetitions (and one word similar in meaning, θεσμός) in bold, and other noteworthy repetitions in distinctive colours:

οὐκ ἂν ποτ', ἄνδρες, ἄνδρα θαυμάσαιμ' ἔτι,  
 ὅς μηδέν ὦν γοναῖσιν εἶθ' ἀμαρτάνει,  
 ὅθ' οἱ δοκοῦντες εὐγενεῖς πεφυκέναι  
 1095  
 τοιαῦθ' ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἐν λόγοις ἔπη.  
 ἄγ', εἴπ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐθις, ἧ σὺ φῆς ἄγειν  
 τόνδ' ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιοῖς δεῦρο σύμμαχον λαβῶν;  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐξέπλευσεν ὡς αὐτοῦ κρατῶν;  
 1100  
 ποῦ σὺ στρατηγεῖς τοῦδε; ποῦ δὲ σοὶ λεῶν  
 ἔξεστ' ἀνάσσειν ὦν ὄδ' ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν;  
 Σπάρτης ἀνάσσων ἦλθες, οὐχ ἡμῶν κρατῶν.  
 οὐδ' ἔσθ' ὅπου σοὶ τόνδε κοσμήσαι πλέον  
 ἀρχῆς ἐκεῖτο θεσμός ἧ καὶ τῷδε σέ.  
 1105  
 ὕπαρχος ἄλλων δεῦρ' ἐπλευσας, οὐχ ὄλων  
 στρατηγός, ὥστ' Αἴαντος ἡγεῖσθαί ποτε.  
 ἀλλ' ὦνπερ ἄρχεις ἄρχε, καὶ τὰ σέμν' ἔπη  
 κόλαζ' ἐκείνους· τόνδε δ', εἴτε μὴ σὺ φῆς  
 εἶθ' ἄτερος στρατηγός, ἐς ταφὰς ἐγὼ  
 1110  
 θήσω δικαίως, οὐ τὸ σὸν δείσας στόμα.  
 οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς σῆς οὐνεκ' ἐστρατεύσατο  
 γυναικός, ὥσπερ οἱ πόνου πολλοῦ πλέω,  
 ἀλλ' οὐνεχ' ὄρκων οἴσιν ἦν ἐνώμοτος,  
 σου δ' οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ ἡξίου τοὺς μηδένας.  
 1115  
 πρὸς ταῦτα πλείους δεῦρο κήρυκας λαβῶν  
 καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἦκε· τοῦ δὲ σοῦ ψόφου  
 οὐκ ἂν στραφείην, ἕως ἂν ἦς οἶος περ εἶ.

Men, I should never again be surprised at a man who is born a nobody and then goes wrong, when those who seem to be born noble speak words that are so wrong. Come, start again from the beginning and tell me, do you really claim that it was you who took and brought this man here as an ally for the Achaeans? Did he not sail out himself as his own master? By what right are you his general? How do you have the authority to command the host which he led from home? You

<sup>47</sup> φάτις itself occurs three times in the choral lyric (173, 186 and 191); on the second and third occasions called κακὰν.

came as ruler of Sparta, not as our commander; there is no established ordinance of command that you should discipline him any more than he for his part should discipline you. You sailed here as a commander subordinate to others, not as the general of the whole army, to rule some day over Ajax. No, command those whom you command, and chastise *them* with those proud words of yours; but as for him, whether you or the other general say no, I shall duly put him in his grave, with no fear of what you may say. For it was not for your wife's sake that he made the expedition, like those who have their fill of labour, but for the sake of the oaths by which he was sworn, and not at all for your sake; for he placed no value on nobodies. Therefore come back here with extra heralds, and with the general as well. I won't pay attention to the noise you make, so long as you are the kind of man you are.

If ἡγεῖται' in 1101 is replaced by a form of ἄγω, with Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990) and Garvie (1998), for the sake of Porson's law, these details change, but the overall picture does not. Accepting, with Lloyd-Jones (1994) and Garvie (1998), Schneidewin's deletion of 1105-6 would significantly attenuate the impression given, but Reichard's of 1111-7 (Wecklein 1111-4) would do so only slightly.<sup>48</sup>

The words in bold between 1099 and 1107 seem synonymous or nearly so;<sup>49</sup> that is why Garvie (1998) can retain the overall flavour by using 'command/er' six times, though attaching it to different Sophoclean words. Sophocles is not drawing nice distinctions, but is tempering repetition with *variatio*.

Of the other, coloured, repetitions, only that of the *phrase* δεῦρο . . . λαβῶν in 1098 and 1115 calls for special comment. Is Teucer sarcastically suggesting that Menelaus has the same authority over the heralds and Agamemnon as he claimed to have over Ajax? That is rather forced; more probably Sophocles is simply re-using a phrase primed by its first occurrence (this particular collocation is not found elsewhere in tragedy).

<sup>48</sup> The purpose of these deletions seems to have been to remove inconsistencies or weak arguments.

<sup>49</sup> ἀρχῆς in 1097 has a quite different sense, and looks fortuitous rather than a forerunner. The words in bold after 1108 seem entirely natural.



II. The following is a collection of striking examples of repetitions in *Ajax* (some, admittedly, at a distance from each other), which do not seem classifiable as *tradio* in the sense used above. In many, perhaps all, it is possible to see poetic craft in these repetitions, and often that takes the form of ‘word-play’.<sup>50</sup> But the effort that has to be made to find point is sometimes great, and an impression of indifference on the part of Sophocles may remain:

- |    |      |   |
|----|------|---|
| 1. | ’Οδ  | καιρὸν δ’ ἐφήκεις· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τ’ οὖν πάρος 34   |
|    |      | τά τ’ εἰσέπειτα σῆ κυβερνώμαι χερί.   |
|    | ’Αθ  | ἔγνω, ’Οδυσσεῦ, καὶ πάλαι φύλαξ ἔβην  |
|    |      | τῆ σῆ πρόθυμος εἰς ὁδὸν κυναγία.  |
|    | ’Οδ  | ἦ καί, φίλη δέσποινα, πρὸς καιρὸν πονῶ;   |
|    | Od.  | You have arrived at the right time [ <i>to the purpose</i> ]; for in all things past and future I am guided by your hand. |
|    | Ath. | I knew it, Odysseus, and that is why I came out on the road a while ago, zealous to promote your hunting-expedition.      |
|    | Od.  | Dear mistress, am I really labouring to good effect [ <i>to any purpose</i> ]?  |

The alternatives to Garvie’s translation bring out the repetition. Stanford (1963) observes:

καιρός [34], as often, means the best point of time for a special purpose. . . In 38 it has the developed meaning ‘profit, success’ (the result of timely action. . .)

2. The manuscripts present ὄμμα three times in the parodos:

πεφόβημαι πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας. (139-40)

I become afraid like the eye of a winged dove.

ἀλλ’ ὅτε γὰρ δὴ τὸ σὸν ὄμμ’ ἀπέδραν,  
παταγοῦσιν ἄτε πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι· (167-8)

For indeed when they escape from your sight, they chatter like flocks of birds.

ἔθ’ ὦδ’ ἐφάλοις κλισίαις ὄμμ’ ἔχων κακὰν φάτιν ἄρη. (191)

No longer keep your face thus hidden in your huts beside the sea, bearing the burden of the evil rumour.

If the third of these is not corrupt,<sup>51</sup> it is to be interpreted on the lines suggested by Seale:

Sophocles exploits his chosen situation by investing the imagery of sight with a new significance. The eyes now become the test of fear and courage. The Chorus shrinks in fear at the Greeks’ slander, ‘like the eye of a timorous dove’ (139-40).

<sup>50</sup> The Rhetor ad Herennium appears to call some types of word-play *tradio*; Chapter 2 has demonstrated the fluidity of technical terms in ancient authors. Word-play has two species – the first the use of the same word in different senses, and the second the use of different but similarly sounding words in a pointed juxtaposition. The pun in English nowadays is seen as an almost exclusively comic device, but although Aristophanes demonstrates *passim* that it was thought comic in ancient Greece as well, it was also serious. Before the time of comparative philology and scientific etymology the relation of sound to meaning was not perhaps seen as arbitrary, but rather as significant, and worthy of exploration by a tragic poet.

<sup>51</sup> It is replaced in Dain & Mazon (1958) and Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) by Reiske’s pedestrian conjecture ἐμμένων; Garvie (1998) retains the received text.

By contrast the eye of their lord will inspire fear in others (167-171) . . . the most telling image occurs in their final expectations of what Ajax must do to quell the rumours. On this, the third time that it appears, the word has gathered a clear significance ‘Do not, do not win an evil reputation by keeping your eye hidden in the hut by the sea’. Here the ‘reputation’ of Ajax depends on how he faces up to the situation. In the context ὄμμα points not merely to revelation, to sight after blindness, but to the courage of facing a revelation burdened with public shame and humiliation. On another level, the metaphorical meaning of eye, as a light or a sight which brings comfort, also suits the dramatic situation. Ajax has been residing in his hut for days in silent seclusion (192ff). His followers are lost without him and here they are summoning him to show himself, to unveil the eye which brings terror to his enemies and comfort to his friends.<sup>52</sup>

Later, there is another repetition of ὄμμα with word-play in 447-8 (κεῖ μὴ τόδ’ ὄμμα καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι | γνώμης ἀπῆξαν τῆς ἐμῆς,) and 462-3 (καὶ ποῖον ὄμμα πατρὶ δηλώσω φανείς | Τελαμῶνι;), on which Seale observes:

ὄμμα, just now [447] a metaphor of distorted vision, here [462] quite simply means ‘face’. The repeated image links delusion and revelation, madness and shame, in a single tragic pattern.<sup>53</sup>

3. Αἰ ἰώ,  
 φίλοι ναυβάται, μόνοι ἐμῶν φίλων  
 μόνοι ἔτ’ ἐμμένοντες ὀρθῶ νόμῳ 350  
 ἴδεσθέ μ’ οἶον ἄρτι κῦ-  
 μα φοινίας ὑπο ζαλῆς  
 ἀμφίδρομον κυκλεῖται.  
 Χο οἴμ’ ὡς εἰκας ὀρθὰ μαρτυρεῖν ἄγαν.  
 Ajax Oh dear sailors, you who alone, alone of my friends, still remain  
 firm in your loyalty, see what a wave now encloses and encircles  
 me, raised by a storm of blood.  
 Chorus Alas, your testimony seems to be all too accurate.

Easterling elucidates the repetition: -

we may be tempted to think that Sophocles was just being careless in repeating ὀρθός (the passage is indeed cited by Schmid-Stählin as an instance of insignificant repetition): one might translate ὀρθῶ νόμῳ as ‘the sound rule of loyalty’ and ὀρθὰ μαρτυρεῖν as ‘give a true report’; what significant link is there between these two usages? But the whole context concerns the state of Ajax’s sanity, and this repetition, involving a shift in meaning of the repeated word, ironically draws attention to the gulf between Ajax’s view of the situation and that of the ‘normal’ Chorus. That something akin to word-play is at work here is strongly suggested by ἄγαν which throws all the emphasis onto ὀρθά.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Seale (1982) 150-1. Garvie (1998), though he translates ὄμμα ‘face’ sees in it an echo of 167 – “by merely showing his face Ajax will silence the rumour, as the little birds were silenced at 169-71.” May there also be significance in the repetition of πτηνός close to that of ὄμμα in 140 and 168? While the ὄμμα is no longer that of the doves, but has become that of the vulture, the repetition of ‘winged’ refers directly back. LSJ (1968) gives ὄμμα πελείας, and ξύναιμον ὄμμα in 977 as examples of periphrases for the person. It might be worth studying what force is retained by the noun in such periphrases (e.g. κάρα *Antigone* 1, βία [frequently in *Septem*, ὄνομα).

<sup>53</sup> Seale (1982) 155.

<sup>54</sup> Easterling (1974) 19.

4. ἄλημα 'fine meal' (ἀλέω), hence 'a subtle knave' (Jebb [1896]) occurs in 381, again in 389 and nowhere else in classical Greek literature unless it should be read for λάλημα in *Antigone* 320. It seems quite in character for Ajax to find a new term of abuse for Odysseus, and then use it again.

5. Αἰ εἰ ζῶν Ἀχιλλεὺς τῶν ὄπλων τῶν ὧν πέρι  
κρίνειν ἔμελλε κράτος ἀριστείας τινί,  
οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτ' ἔμαρψεν ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ.  
νῦν δ' αὐτ' Ἀτρεΐδαι φωτὶ παντουργῶ φρένας 445  
ἔπραξαν, ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ' ἀπώσαντες κράτη.  
κεῖ μὴ τόδ' ὄμμα καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι  
γνώμης ἀπῆξαν τῆς ἐμῆς, οὐκ ἂν ποτε  
δίκην κατ' ἄλλου φωτὸς ὧδ' ἐψήφισαν.

Ajax If Achilles had been alive and was to assign to anyone the victory for excellence in the matter of his own arms, no one else would have seized them instead of me. but now the sons of Atreus have procured them for a man who is at heart a villain, and have thrust aside *my* triumphs. If these eyes and mind had not been distorted and parted company from my intention, they would never have procured by voting such a decision against another man.

Easterling discusses the repetition of φῶς, and concludes:

The function of the repetition here seems to be to tighten the argument, concentrating the audience's attention instead of allowing it to be distracted or diffused by variation. This is different from *tr deductio*, in which a single word carries the leading idea; here the repeated words are not in themselves specially significant, but they strengthen the link between sentences 1 [*i.e.* 445-6] and 2 [*i.e.* 447-9] (the syntactical parallelism contributes to the same effect) and thereby make an implicit comparison between Achilles and Ajax as upholders of the right.<sup>55</sup>

She mentions, without focussing on, the φρένας/φρένες repetition, but does not mention the appearance of the near-synonym ἀνδρὸς between φωτὶ and φωτὸς, which weakens her argument, since it is a variation which could 'distract the audience's attention'. Moreover, the first φῶς refers to Odysseus and the second, in a generalising way, to Ajax himself, who has been ἐμοῦ in 444 and ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ' in 446. There may actually be no significance in the occasional use of φῶς instead of ἀνὴρ in a play where it is the dominance of the latter word that is significant.<sup>56</sup> Just before these repetitions are found that of κράτος/κράτη (the singular and plural having different senses) and that of αὐτ' in 444 and 445 (with emphatically the same sense – τὰ ὄπλα).

<sup>55</sup> Easterling (1974) 21. She may be imputing to the ancient rhetoricians' term *tr deductio* a more precise signification than it has.

<sup>56</sup> φῶς, like ἀνὴρ, is more frequent in *Ajax* than in any other of Sophocles' surviving plays (φῶς 8 out of 20 instances in total, ἀνὴρ 86 out of 353). *Variatio* of these two words is also found in 806-807 and in 1354-1358 (βροτὸς τοῦ in 1358).

6. In his 'deception' speech Ajax uses κρύπτω twice:

ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος 646  
 φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.<sup>57</sup>

Long and immeasurable time brings forth all things that are obscure and when they have come to light hides them again.

κρύψω τόδ' ἔγχος τούμῳ, 658  
 I shall hide this sword of mine,

The first hiding is metaphorical and the second all too literal.<sup>58</sup> Garvie (1998), however, does not see any reference back in κρύψω, but rather an allusion to the use of κρύπτω in the context of the burial of a corpse; κρυφαίω in 899 is relevant.

7. ὁ [Τεῦκρος] δ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἔδρας | πέμπει με . . . 780-1  
 Teucer immediately from where he sat sent me . . .

τί μ' αὖ . . . | . . . ἐξ ἔδρας ἀνίστατε; 787-8  
 Why have you once more disturbed me from where I was sitting . . . ?

There is nothing remarkable about the phrase ἐξ ἔδρας; it does not occur elsewhere in Sophocles, but does in the other tragedians (interestingly, twice in three lines of *Bacchae*). To see a deliberate parallel between Teucer and Tecmessa would be forced; after eight lines Sophocles is indifferent to re-using a phrase that is running in his head; Garvie (1998) says that the echo seems to be fortuitous.

8. Ἄγ . . . τήνδε δ' ἔξοδον 798  
 ὀλεθρίαν Αἴαντος ἐλπίζει (sc. Τεῦκρος) φέρειν.  
 Τε οἴμοι τάλαινα, τοῦ ποτ' ἀνθρώπων μαθῶν; 800  
 Ἄγ τοῦ Θεστορείου μάντεως, καθ' ἡμέραν  
 τὴν νῦν ὃ τούτῳ θάνατον ἢ βίον φέρει

Mess. . . and he [Teucer] expects that this departure of Ajax will lead to his death.

Tec. Alas, unhappy me, who was the man from whom he learned it?

Mess The prophet son of Thestor, a pronouncement which on this very day brings death or life to him.

Easterling says:

Since φέρειν in the sense 'turn out' is unparalleled, the text has been suspected, but if the usage could be admitted there would be no difficulty in explaining the force of the repetition. The two clauses containing the repeated word both express the same idea, that this day is crucial for Ajax, but there is a shift in the meaning of φέρειν from 'turn out' to 'bring'. This repetition with slight variation might be seen as contributing emphasis, helping in a small way to direct attention to what is dramatically important.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, Herwerden conjectured φαίνει for φύει; Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1997) find this "attractive, though not compelling". They do not discuss the corruption assumed, so it does not emerge whether they acknowledge the existence of the removal of repetitions in transmission, such as Chapter 6 discovered.

<sup>58</sup> See Knox (1979) 134.

<sup>59</sup> Easterling (1974) 21.

Easterling is presumably, like most editors, assuming that ὀλεθρίαν must be an adjective; and this assumption, with the difficulty with the sense of φέρειν to which she draws attention, has led to many emendations. Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) insert τὴν before ὀλεθρίαν, Garvie (1998) adopts Jebb's Αἴαντος εἰς ὀλεθρον, and Dawe (1996) obelises 799 and the beginning of 802; emendations to both φέρειν and φέρει have also been proposed. But ὀλεθρίαν may be a noun; the only examples in LSJ are from the Septuagint,<sup>60</sup> but Stanford so takes it, translating “expects that this departure carries the destruction of Ajax.” φέρειν and φέρει then have the same sense, and the repetition is less subtle than the one Easterling finds.

9. Τεκ Αἴας . . . | κείται, κρυφαίῳ φασγάνῳ περιπτυχῆς. 899  
Here lies . . . Ajax . . . folded round his hidden sword.
- Τεκ . . . ἰν περιπτυχεῖ | φάρει καλύψω τῶδε . . . 915  
I shall cover him completely with this enfolding cloak . . .

The same adjective περιπτυχῆς (only here in the tragedians) is used of Ajax folded round the sword and Tecmessa's cloak folded round Ajax.

10. Με ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσση θρασὺν 1142  
ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν,  
ὧ φθεγμ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἠῦρες, ἠνίκ' ἐν κακῷ  
χειμῶνος εἶχετ', ἀλλ' ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφεῖς 1145  
πατεῖν παρείχε τῷ θέλοντι ναυτίλων.  
οὔτω δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸ σὸν λάβρον στόμα  
σμικροῦ νέφους τάχ' ἂν τις ἐκπνεύσας μέγας  
χειμῶν κατασβέσειε τὴν πολλὴν βοήν.

I once saw a man bold of tongue who urged on the sailors to sail in a storm, but in whom you would have found no voice when he was in the grip of trouble in the storm, when he hid beneath his garment and submitted to being trampled by any of the crew who wished. So also with you and your violent mouth, a great storm might blow up quickly from a little cloud and extinguish your loud shouting.

Lloyd-Jones (1994) translates χειμῶνος in 1143 as ‘during a storm’; but Stanford (1963) is more convincing in observing that in its first occurrence χειμῶνος has its general sense ‘in the season of storms, i.e. winter’, but in 1145 its specific one, ‘a storm’, as in 1149, where Lloyd-Jones (1994) changes the rendering to ‘tempest’. Jebb (1986) translates ‘in time of storm’ in 1143 and ‘tempest’ in 1145. Garvie (1998) uses ‘storm’ each time in his translation as printed above, but hedges his bets in his commentary, offering ‘in winter’ as an alternative in 1143.

<sup>60</sup> e.g. *Maccabees* 3.4.2 τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον αὐτοῖς ἐπικριθεῖσαν ὀλεθρίαν.

11. Χο. τίς ἄρα νέατος ἐς πότε λή- 1185  
ξει πολυπλάγκτων ἔτεων ἀριθμός,

Cho. Which then will be the last, when will it stop, the number of the wandering years, . . .

ἀριθμός occurs only once, in 1185, but Stanford observes, relevantly, that in that line, where τίς anticipates it,

it means 'number' in the sense of 'one of a series', 'an item in a list' but 'numbering' in the sense of 'sum' or 'total' in 1186 – a good example of Sophocles' fluid use of words.

SECTION 2(iii) SOME FURTHER TEXTUAL POINTS IN *AJAX* RELEVANT TO REPETITION

1. Forms of χείρ occur five times between 27 and 50. In 35 two MSS (LN) record φρενί as a variant for χερί, and in 46 two different MSS (CH) record χειρῶν as a variant for φρενῶν. This mirroring is accidental, and manuscript variation between these two words is strangely common (e.g. *Hippolytus* 1448), though an environment in which forms of χείρ were plentiful could have encouraged a scribe at some stage in the transmission to add another one in 46. As for 35, Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) say

Dawe [61]. . . thinks the MS reading χερί to be ‘a literal-minded substitute’ for φρενί. . . It is the other way round; when Odysseus says he is steered or guided by Athena’s hand, he does not mean that he is physically propelled by her, but the person responsible for the variant, unless his error was purely mechanical, was too literal-minded to understand this.

It is not clear what Lloyd-Jones & Wilson mean by ‘mechanical’; they are presumably not relating it to the repetition; though Chapter 6 found a slight but discernible tendency in some manuscripts to remove authorial repetitions Lloyd-Jones & Wilson may not have been aware of it, and ‘mechanical’ would be an odd way to describe it. They seem however to produce an adequate defence of χερί, which has overwhelming manuscript authority.

2. In 61 most MSS read ἐλώφησεν φόνου; πόνου is given only by DXsZrZc and as a variant in Xr. There have been forms of φόνος at the ends of lines 43, 50, and 55; Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) say that φόνου, ‘the best-attested reading’ probably derives from 50 and 55; Dawe, who also prefers πόνου, thinks that the pronunciation of φ as an aspirated π would contribute to causing the corruption.<sup>62</sup> Kamerbeek (1963) says “φόνου at the end of 55 is an argument for rather than against the reading φόνου”, and Garvie (1998) “φόνου is preferable . . . in that it picks up 50, 55 and rounds off the description of the killing before we move on to the torture of the still living animals.” It is easier to account for a corruption to φόνου than from it (though Chapter 6 has demonstrated that repetitions are removed in transmission, no convincing instance has been found after an interval as long as six lines). But *tradiuctio* of φόνος would certainly be in Sophocles’ manner, nor does φόνος seem less appropriate than πόνος to follow λωφάω (cf. Quintus of Smyrna VI.156-8 Τρῶες δ’ ἄστεος ἐντὸς ἀταρβέες ἐντύνοντο | ἐς πόλεμον μεμαῶτες ἰδ’ εὐχόμενοι μακάρεσσι | λωφήσαι τε φόνιοι καὶ ἀμπνεῦσαι καμάτοιο). φόνου should be read.

<sup>61</sup> Dawe (1973) 126, who also points to χέρα at line end in 40.

<sup>62</sup> Dawe (1973) 127. Such a mechanism could have operated only if the error were very early indeed. Moreover, any such confusion could lead to corruption in either direction.

3. Two successive lines by Athena in stichomythia (109 and 111) begin τί δῆτα τὸν δύστηνον and μὴ δῆτα τὸν δύστηνον; G. Wolff conjectured δείλαιον, comparing line 1000, where the MSS vary between the two readings. But the result of this emendation – verbally and metrically similar phrases in a speaker’s successive lines – would be almost as obtrusive as the received text. That text portrays Athena emphasising, for the benefit of the real Odysseus, who hears what is going on, the cruelty of Ajax to what he believes to be Odysseus.

4. Soon after the repetition of “δῆτα τὸν δύστηνον”, Ajax ends 112 “τᾶλλ’ ἐγὼ σ’ ἐφίεμαι”,<sup>63</sup> and 116 “τοῦτο σοὶ δ’ ἐφίεμαι”; Blaydes conjectured σε προὔννεπω and Schneidewin ἔγωγέ σ’ εὐχομαι in 112, to remove the repetition, but modern editors do not find difficulty with it. Stanford points out the repetition of a verb he calls ‘rather imperious’, and it can be read as characterising Ajax. The two phrasal echoes (109/111 and 112/116) provide some support for each other.

5. τέλος δ’ ἀπάξας διὰ θυρῶν . . . 301  
 . . .  
 κᾶπειτ’ ἐνάξας αὐθις ἐς δόμους πάλιν 305

In the end he rushed off through the door . . . and then he rushed back again into the house

There is a repetition of compounds of ἄσσω in lines 301 and 305;<sup>64</sup> the question is whether it is the same compound that is repeated. In 301 the prefixes ἀπ-, ὑπ-, and ἐπ- are all found in manuscripts; in 305 ἐπ- and ἀπ-, while P.Oxy. 2093 has ἐν- (following ἀπ- in 301).<sup>65</sup> Dawe (1996) and Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) accept the papyrus reading in both places, and certainly amidst all this scribal confusion ἀπάξας in 305 is explicable as an error caused by the 301 occurrence. The compound ἐνάξας, however, though providing a satisfying contrast with ἀπάξας in 301 (while ἐπάξας seems rather a puzzling one), appears to be unique here.

6. In 328-330 the MSS, virtually unanimously, have a threefold repetition of forms of φίλοι:-

ἀλλ’, ὦ φίλοι, τούτων γὰρ οὔνεκ’ ἐστάλην,  
 ἀρήξατ’ εἰσελθόντες, εἰ δύνασθέ τι.  
 φίλων γὰρ οἱ τοιοῖδε νικῶνται φίλοι 330

Well, my friends – for this is why I came out – go inside and help him, if you have any power. For it is by friends that such men as these are won over, friends.

<sup>63</sup> The reading preferred by Dawe (1996) ‘τᾶλλ’ ἐγωγ’ ἐφίεμαι’ does not affect the repetition, but removes the difficulty of accusative and infinitive after ἐφίεμαι meaning ‘command’.

<sup>64</sup> That they are at the same place in the line is insignificant, since a bacchius-shaped word will scarcely fit anywhere else.

<sup>65</sup> Information in Dawe (1973) Vol. 2 p. 12, Dawe (1996), Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) and Garvie (1998).



Most editors, however, read *λόγοις*, a *γράφεται* variant in two manuscripts (Xs and Bodleian C 89 (54) as reported in Pearson [1928]) and appearing in a Stobaeus quotation. *φίλοι* is retained by Stanford (1963), who observes:

*λόγοις* certainly makes much easier sense . . . But when proverbs are alluded to the allusive phrase is often rather strained, and keeping *φίλοι* one can translate “for it is by friends that such friends as these are overcome” . . . Or else perhaps follow Kamerbeek . . . taking *φίλοι* as vocative. . . there is pathos in Tecmessa’s repetition of *φίλοι* (cf. 315, 328) at the end of her speech: both she and Ajax need all their friends now: . .

According to Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) *φίλοι* should not be defended: “ ‘such friends as this’ has little point, and the anaphora is not particularly effective.” (They do not seem to consider the vocative option.) Sophocles, however, may have thought there was sufficient rhetorical point to justify the repetition, and as for the effectiveness of the anaphora, it is clear that he liked framing lines with a repeated word (cf. 508 and 1097). But can one properly read an ambiguous form as a vocative where the syntax makes it seem nominative –  $\hat{\omega}$  would surely be expected?<sup>66</sup>

The authority for *λόγοις* is weak, though Xs and, probably, Bodleian C 89 (54) are Moschopoulean manuscripts, and Moschopoulos seems to have had good ancient sources not otherwise known to us.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the reading does have the support of Stobaeus, which must be worth something, though quotations are notoriously prone to error.

Perhaps, however one has to share the despair of Dawe (1973):

*λέγεις* ends the line below, but this ought rather to have ensured the safety of *λόγοις* than caused its omission, for this can be no ordinary case of haplography. The sense given by *λόγοις*, though acceptable on a pedestrian level, is less than brilliant, and one must wonder whether it, as well as *φίλοι*, is a scribes’ line-filler, an interpolation made either on a deficient text, or by someone who did not understand the construction of *νικῶνται* with the genitive. The original might have been entirely different.<sup>68</sup>

7. The Chorus say (428-9):

οὗτοι σ' ἀπείργειν οὐδ' ὅπως ἐὼ λέγειν 428  
ἔχω, κακοῖς τοιοῖσδε συμπεπτωκότα.

and Ajax says (430-433):

αἰαῖ· τίς ἄν ποτ' ᾤεθ' ᾧδ' ἐπώνυμον 430  
τοῦμὸν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;  
νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δις αἰάζειν ἐμοί,  
καὶ τρίς· τοιούτοις γὰρ κακοῖς ἐντυγχάνω·

<sup>66</sup> Moorhouse (1982) 27 attempts to produce rules for the use of vocatives with and without  $\hat{\omega}$  in Sophocles; he finds that  $\hat{\omega}$  is required with unaccompanied adjectives. But perhaps *φίλος* counts as a noun.

<sup>67</sup> Dawe (1973) 57.

<sup>68</sup> Dawe (1973) 139.

- Ch I can't restrain you, but I don't know how I am to allow you to speak, now that you have fallen into such misfortunes.  
 Ajax Alas! Who would have thought that the name by which I am called would so correspond with my misfortunes? For now I can say alas even twice or thrice; for such are the misfortunes I encounter;

Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) delete 433 following Morstadt, and Garvie (1998) thinks they may be right. In (1990b), they say “Kamerbeek defends this line as achieving, together with 431 and 429, ‘an intentional monotony’”, but judge the line should be deleted “for without it Ajax’ grim pun upon his name is more effective.” It may seem pedestrian, and the speech runs well without it; but the transmitted text hangs together – τρίς being appropriate to the threefold repetition of the syllable αι and the word κακοῖς. The repetition is in Sophocles’ manner, and why should anyone have interpolated it?

8. Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) and Garvie (1998) print for 600-605:

ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τλάμων παλαιὸς ἀφ' οὗ χρόνος  
 † Ἰδαῖα μίμνων λειμωνία ποία† μη-  
 νῶν (μήλων MSS) ἀνήριθμος αἰέν εὐνώμαι (εὐνώμα or εὐνόμα MSS)  
 χρόνῳ τρυχόμενος,

but as for me in my misery, long is the time that . . . keeping no count of the months, I make my bed here for ever worn away by time,

Stanford (1963) says “The recurrence of χρόνος in 601 and χρόνῳ in 605 may indicate corruption: Martin conjectures πόνῳ.” The context is very corrupt, but the repetition is rather an example of the use of the same word in slightly different senses (first duration of time, second ageing) like those discussed in II above. Easterling quotes Jebb (1896) on this passage; Jebb says that though this repetition suggests languor, like the repetition of ‘land’ at the beginning of Tennyson’s *The Lotus-Eaters*,<sup>69</sup> Sophocles was indifferent to the recurrence: Easterling argues that Jebb is illogical here.<sup>70</sup> The collocation of χρόνος and ἀνήριθμος is supported by Ajax’s first line following the lyric “ἅπανθ’ ὁ μακρὸς κάναριθμητος χρόνος”.<sup>71</sup> There is much emphasis on time in this part of the play, and that supports the repetition.

9. 727-30 read in Pearson (1928) following most manuscripts:

. . . ὥς οὐκ ἀρκέσοι  
 τὸ μὴ οὐ πέτροισι πᾶς καταξανθεῖς θανεῖν.  
 ὥστ’ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ χερσῶν  
 κολεῶν ἐρυστὰ διεπεραιώθη ξίφη.

. . . that he would not be strong enough to avoid death, completely mangled with stones. So they came to such a pitch that in their hands swords were actually drawn and unsheathed from their scabbards.

<sup>69</sup> “Courage!” he said, and pointed toward the land, / “This mounting wave will roll us shoreward soon.” / In the afternoon they came unto a land, / In which it seemed always afternoon.

<sup>70</sup> Easterling (1974) 18.

<sup>71</sup> Repetition of striking words binding a choral ode into the trimeters before or after it is remarkably rare (see footnote on *Persae* 256-289 above). This instance is all the more noteworthy.

Two or three MSS have ὥς τ' for ὡς in 727, which Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a), Dawe (1996) and Garvie (1998) accept. At the beginning of 729 Dawe (1996) accepts B. Thiersch's conjecture ἔστ' for ὡστ', punctuating with a comma after θανεῖν. Of the conjecture Jebb (1896) says "ὡστ' (and so) has been suspected on account of the second ὡστε: but the latter, going with τοσοῦτον, does not offend the ear, since its sense is different and subordinate." Moreover, an ear that would be offended by ὡστ' . . . ὡστε would probably also be offended by ἔστ' ἐς τ at the beginning of the line; which may be why Dawe prints εἰς for ἐς (the collations do not make the manuscript preference clear). Though *Trachiniae* 1071, discussed in Chapter 6.2(ii), shows that scribes do make errors like that assumed by Thiersch, it is hard to justify such an emendation to reduce the offence to a modern ear.

10. 738-739 have the messenger saying:

βραδείαν ἡμᾶς ἄρ' ὁ τήνδε τὴν ὁδὸν  
πέμπων ἔπεμψεν, ἢ φάνην ἐγὼ βραδύς.

Too slow then was this mission on which the one who sent me dispatched me, or I have turned out to be slow.

The Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) apparatus says "βραδείαν ] μάταιον Nauck, fortasse recte: ἀχρεῖον F. W. Schmidt";<sup>72</sup> in (1990b) they expand on this as follows:

If the text is right, it presumably means 'either Teucer was too late in sending me, or I have been too slow'. But this would be an odd way of expressing the first of these alternatives, and it may well be that βραδείαν is an error caused by the wandering of a scribe's eye to the next line.

No parallel for the scribal error which Lloyd-Jones & Wilson has been found in the studies reported in Chapter 6, though it cannot be ruled out; but Stanford (1963) properly observes; "The sentence is ingeniously constructed to place a form of βραδύς first and last in the sentence." Sophocles likes this sort of framing, and the emphasis on tardiness is apt.<sup>73</sup> The fondness for figurative repetition hereabouts evinced by a type of polyptoton (πέμπων ἔπεμψεν) in the couplet may support the manuscript reading.

11. In 745-8 the MSS (with minor variations) read:

Αγ.	ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τᾶπη μωρίας πολλῆς πλέα, εἶπερ τι Κάλχας εὖ φρονῶν μαντεύεται.	745
Χο	ποῖον; τί δ' εἰδῶς τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι;	
Αγ	τοσοῦτον οἶδα καὶ παρῶν ἐτύγχανον.	

Mess. These words are very foolish, if indeed with sound understanding Calchas utters prophecy.

Cho. What is this? knowing what about this matter?

Mess. So much I know, and I was present.

<sup>72</sup> Schmidt presumably conjectured ἀχρεῖον because χρείας in 740 would then pick it up.

<sup>73</sup> ἢ δ' ὁδὸς βραδύνεται in Sophocles *Electra* 1501 is perhaps a parallel. Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1997) weaken in their belief that there may be corruption here.

The link between the Chorus's question and the Messenger's reply is unsatisfactory, and indeed a lacuna has been conjectured. As it stands, εἰδὼς must agree with Κάλχας, while the Messenger uses οἶδα of himself. Reiske conjectured δεδιὼς for δ' εἰδὼς, thus removing the repetition, and πάρει for πέρι, which would make εἰδὼς agree with the subject of πάρει, i.e. the Messenger, and create a different repetition. Schneidewin conjectured πάρει alone, linking the two lines in Sophocles' manner; this is printed by Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) and Garvie (1998).<sup>74</sup> The emendation is persuasive; πέρι could be an example of the removal of a repetition, like those identified in Chapter 6 – a contributory motivation could have been the provision of a preposition for the genitive τοῦδε πράγματος.

12 757 and 771 both begin δίας Ἀθήνας. Lloyd-Jones & Wilson say of 771 “The repetition of δίας Ἀθήνας from 757 is suspicious. . .”,<sup>75</sup> but defend it, and print it in (1990a); Dawe (1975) obelised it, and in (1996) printed the anonymous conjecture Αἶας Ἀθήναν in 771. The second occurrence is however signalled as being such by “εἶτα δεύτερον” in 770, and the point may be that Calchas – whose words are being reported throughout this passage – is emphasising the repetition of Ajax's offence towards Athena.

13. 789-793 in the manuscripts repeat πράξιν:

Χο	τοῦδ' εἰσάκουε τάνδρός, ὡς ἤκει φέρων	789
	Αἶαντος ἡμῖν πράξιν ἣν ἤλγησ' ἐγώ.	790
Τεκ	οἶμοι, τί φῆς, ἄνθρωπε; μῶν ὀλώλαμεν;	
Αγ	οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν πράξιν, Αἶαντος δ' ὅτι, θυραῖος εἶπερ ἐστίν, οὐ θαρσῶ πέρι.	

Ch. Listen to this man, for he comes with news for us of an affair concerning Ajax which has caused me pain.

Tec Alas, man, what is it you say? Surely we are not undone?

Mess I do not know how *you* are faring, only that as far as Ajax is concerned, if indeed he is out of doors, I have no confidence.

Dawe (1996) accepts Reiske's conjecture βᾶξιν in 790; Jebb (1896) reports Reiske's purpose as to avert the repetition, but himself believes the true recommendation of the conjecture is that the use of πράξιν is somewhat strange “since the message announces nothing new which has befallen Ajax, but merely points to an imminent crisis in his fate.” Stanford (1963) regards the repetition as “apparently casual”. Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) have an ingenious interpretation of πράξιν in 792:

. . . if, as has been assumed, not unnaturally in view of μῶν ὀλώλαμεν; in 791, πράξιν in 792 refers to Tecmessa's fortune, the repetition is indeed surprising. However, πράξιν is right in both places, for 792 is addressed not to Tecmessa,

<sup>74</sup> Though Dawe (1996) stays with the manuscripts, though suspecting a lacuna. In (1973) 150 he cited the objection of Pearson (1922) 25 that with the emendation πάρει and παρῶν would refer to different occasions. There are however too many repetitions in tragedy with such an ‘unsatisfactory’ feature for this objection to be conclusive.

<sup>75</sup> Garvie (1998) is unhappy with the genitive in δίας Ἀθήνας, not with the repetition.

but to the Coryphaeus, and οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν πράξιιν means ‘I do not know what you mean by πράξις’.

This defence of the manuscripts and of Sophocles’ poetic craft is not, however, convincing. How could the Messenger not know what the Chorus mean by πράξιιν when it is so evidently what he himself reported to them a few lines earlier? And the structure of the dialogue here makes it more likely that the Messenger is addressing Tecmessa, who asked him the question, and who picks up his θυραῖος in her next remark; he is effectively summarising for her, who has only just come out of the hut, what he has already told the Chorus.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, in his Loeb translation (1994) Lloyd-Jones, though retaining the idea that the Messenger is addressing the Chorus, translates πράξιιν as ‘news’, which suggests he would be happier with βάξιιν in *both* places.

βάξιιν in 790 is therefore attractive. πράξιιν would then be a scribal slip under the influence of 792. In accepting it it must however be remembered that Chapter 6 has found no similar case of repetition from a following word after an interval of more than one line, and that the echo βάξιιν – πράξιιν, despite the difference of vowel-length and accent, might be almost as offensive to a delicate ear as πράξιιν – πράξιιν.

14. Αἰ καὶ σφας κακοὺς κάκιστα καὶ πανωλέθρους  
 ξυναρπάσειαν, ὥσπερ εἰσορῶσ’ ἐμέ 840  
 αὐτοσφαγῆ πίπτοντα· τὼς αὐτοσφαγεῖς  
 πρὸς τῶν φιλίστων ἐκγόνων ὀλοίατο.

And may they snatch them away the wretches in utter wretchedness and total destruction, even as they look upon me falling at my own hands; so may they perish at the hands of their closest descendants.

The repetition in 841 is very striking; it frames a trimeter and it plays upon two senses of αὐτοσφαγῆς, both Sophoclean features illustrated above. Yet virtually all modern editors except for Dain & Mazon (1958) and Stanford (1963) remove it, deleting some or all of 839-42. Their reasons include a scholium “ταῦτα νενοθεῦσθαί φασιν, ὑποβληθέντα πρὸς σαφήνειαν τῶν λεγομένων”; Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) say:

The insufferable features of the passage are the word φιλίστων, which Sophocles cannot have used, and the inappropriate curse. . . neither Agamemnon nor Menelaus was killed by one of his descendants. But if . . . we cut out simply the words doubted by the ancient commentator, we are leaving in αὐτοσφαγῆ, which seems to imply that the Atreidae will perish in this way, and in any case has the air of belonging with the rest of 841-2. Once we have cut out the whole of 841, ὥσπερ εἰσορῶσ’ ἐμέ is surely too cryptic and abrupt. . .”

Lloyd-Jones & Wilson do not explain how an interpolator came to insert an ‘inappropriate’ curse – surely he was unlikely to invent a myth.<sup>77</sup> Is it so inappropriate to

<sup>76</sup> Garvie (1998) interprets it in this way in his translation – the one used here – without commenting on the repetition.

<sup>77</sup> Or refer to a very recondite one – Jebb (1896) 131 cites a late story that Iphigenia sacrificed Menelaus and Helen in the land of the Tauri.

make a character in a play utter a curse that is not fulfilled? Vergil's *Aeneid*, for instance, has a number of prophecies the *ipsissima verba* of which do not come to pass.

Are Lloyd-Jones & Wilson right that Sophocles could not have used the word φίλιστων? It occurs nowhere else in Greek, except as a proper name, and at some time it was not surprisingly glossed by φιλτάτων, which entered the text of some manuscripts. But:

1. The comparison of φίλος is fluid, to say the least. φίλτερος/τατος, φιλαίτερος/τατος, and φιλώτερος/τατος are all found, as is μάλλον φίλος.

2. Although -ίων/ιστος is regular only for adjectives in -υς and -ρος, and is otherwise usually affixed to the stem of a related noun, not to the adjective (thus καλός makes καλλίων/ιστος), κακός makes, *inter alia*, κακίων/ιστος, and Homer uses φίλιων as the comparative of φίλος in *Odyssey*. 19, 351 = 24, 268 (in his note on this Homeric usage, interestingly, Eustathius cites the Ajax passage as parallel). φίλιστος would therefore have been comprehensible in the fifth century as a superlative of φίλος.

3. What interpolator, at what date, is likely to have ignored Greek grammar and invented a new superlative for a very common adjective?

Is it not more likely that, *pace* the scholium, Sophocles has marked this highly emotional passage by two epic forms (τῶς and ὀλοίατο), a slight anacoluthon,<sup>78</sup> deliberate variation of myth, framing a trimeter with a daring repetition of a rare word in two different senses, and a coinage?

15. πανύστατον δὴ κοῦποτ' αὖθις ὕστερον. 858  
 . . . for the last time, never again to do so.

is another line with a framing repetition which is deleted (with the four preceding lines) by Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a), Garvie (1998), who retains 854, and some other editors. Soon afterwards there follows

τοῦθ' ὑμῖν Αἴας τοῦπος ὕστατον θροεῖ, 864  
 This is the last word Ajax speaks to you;

where for ὕστατον some MSS read ἔσχατον; almost certainly an intrusive gloss on ὕστατον (ὕστατον is glossed ἔσχατον in the *Etymologicum Magnum*); explaining it as a conscious attempt to remove a repetition, or as the correct reading, lost elsewhere under the influence of 858, is much less plausible. The emphasis on finality in this final speech by Ajax is fitting and appropriate, and 858 (and ὕστατον in 864) should be retained; indeed 858 supports the retention of the preceding lines, despite the difficulties in them, which are not considered here.

<sup>78</sup> As commentators point out, ὥσπερ looks both backwards to ξυναρπάσσειαν and forwards to τῶς.

## 16. 1008-1011 read in Pearson (1928):

ἦ ποῦ με> Τελαμών, σὸς πατὴρ ἐμός θ' ἅμα,  
 δέξαιτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος ἴλεως τ' ἴσως  
 χωροῦντ' ἄνευ σοῦ. πῶς γὰρ οὐχ; ὅτῳ πάρα  
 μηδ' εὐτυχοῦντι μηδὲν ἦδιον γελᾶν. 1010

Telamon, no doubt, your father and mine alike, would receive me, coming without you, cheerfully and, perhaps, graciously. Of course he will; he who even in good fortune finds it just as impossible to laugh with pleasure.

But a number of MSS (including the oldest, L, and others formerly believed to have greatest authority) have ἴλεων for ἦδιον in 1011. The general view is that this should be treated as a scribal error caused by ἴλεως in 1009, but some editors are tempted by it; Stanford (1963) for instance says "ἴλεων . . . is not entirely impossible as a bitter repetition"; and Kamerbeek (1963) says

The unusual character of the expression ἴλεων γελᾶν is in favour of this reading of L and some other MSS; it is further possible that somebody, versed in rhetoric, has changed ἴλεων so shortly after ἴλεως.

Dawe adduces in favour of the priority of ἦδιον the existence of a third reading, the unmetrical ἴδιον,<sup>79</sup> which he claims to be a stage in the corruption of ἦδιον to ἴλεων; it is perhaps rather a conflation of the two prime variants.

Although Chapter 6 has demonstrated indubitable examples of the removal of repetitions in transmission, the reverse corruption is much the commoner, and more likely here. ἠδύς is a regular partner of γελᾶω (*Ajax* 79, *Troades* 406). ἦδιον should be read.

There is another textual point involving repetition in the passage. Most manuscripts have τ' ἴσως at the end of both 1008 and 1009. But θ' ἅμα is read by several in 1008 and in 1009 by two and as a variant by two others; only H acknowledges it twice, the second time as a γράφεται variant. What is the cause of this confusion?

a) Sophocles wrote ἴσως twice; it was glossed ἅμα, and the gloss entered the text of several manuscripts, in different places (or, but less likely because ἅμα is found in different places, it was a removal of a repetition).

b) Sophocles wrote ἴσως once, in 1009, and ἅμα once, in 1008.<sup>80</sup> A copyist made an error of anticipatory repetition which took over most of the tradition, and this was corrected in the right place by some and in the wrong place by a very few.<sup>81</sup>

c) Sophocles did not write ἴσως at all. He wrote ἅμα in 1008 and ἰδὼν, as

<sup>79</sup> That this is an established reading, not a mere slip, is evident from its being glossed οἰκτεῖον in one manuscript.

<sup>80</sup> Not the other way round, since Sophocles did not use ἴσως in the sense 'equally' – *Philoctetes* 758 is the most plausible example of that meaning, but is in a doubtful context and was translated 'haply' by Jebb.

<sup>81</sup> It is written as a *correction* in L and Zc, so cannot be a preservation in them, and perhaps not in others.

conjectured by Hermann and printed in Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) and Dawe (1996), in 1009. ἰδὼν was corrupted to ἴσως by repetition of the *sense* of ἅμα, and then the (b) procedure took place.

Occam's razor makes (c) the least plausible, and the inappropriate sense required of ἴσως makes (a) less plausible than (b).

17. 1071-2 read in the MSS:

καίτοι κακοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα δημότην  
μηδὲν δικαιοῦν τῶν ἐφεστῶτων κλύειν.

For it is a characteristic of a bad man for a man of the people to claim the right not to listen to those set over him.

Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990a) read ὄντα for ἄνδρα following Reiske; in (1990b) they say:

‘ἄνδρα’, Campbell writes, ‘is almost a pronoun, and hence the repetition is not felt’, and Jebb, Pearson, Dain and Dawe have all followed him. But Reiske was surely right to emend this word, which will have got into the text by a kind of dittography.

Garvie (1998) follows Lloyd-Jones & Wilson, calling the juxtaposition of the repeated ‘man’ “awkward and pointless.” On the other hand, Kamerbeek (1963) says “The succession ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα should not be objected to in a poet of the 5th century”, and Jebb (1896) “it may be doubted whether a Greek ear would have been offended; the words ἄνδρα δημότην closely cohere, and the emphasis falls first on κακοῦ, and then on δημότην.”

One can sympathise with the apologetic tone of Campbell, Jebb and Kamerbeek; of the 60 instances in Sophoclean trimeters where adjacent words repeat there seems to be no other in which the sense so annuls the expectation of rhetorical point aroused by the sound – the nearest is, perhaps significantly, in 1093 (οὐκ ἂν ποτ’, ἄνδρες, ἄνδρα θαυμάσαιμ’ ἔτι). It is even very rare for any repetition within the same line to lack clear point – the repetition of ἔχω in *Trachiniae* 553 is one of the few examples.<sup>82</sup> The corruption assumed by Lloyd-Jones & Wilson is a plausible one; the nearest parallels in Chapter 6 are βάρβαρ’ for φάσγαν’ following βάρβαρ’ in *Helena* 864 and τιμοῦνθ for στυγοῦνθ’ following τιμῶντα in *Septem* 410. But against Lloyd-Jones & Wilson it must be observed that Sophocles shows throughout this play a fondness for the word ἀνὴρ, that the collocation of ἀνὴρ and δημότης also occurs in *Antigone* 690 (and in Aristophanes *Nubes* 1219), and that ὄντα feels like a textual critic’s resource.<sup>83</sup> The line is not Sophocles at his best, but I would stay with the manuscripts.

<sup>82</sup> 552-4 ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ . . . ὀργαίνειν καλὸν | γυναῖκα νοῦν ἔχουσιν· ἧ δ’ ἔχω, φίλοι, | λυτήριον λώφημα . . .

<sup>83</sup> ὄντα would have to be an example of the use of a participle substantively without the article, in an indefinite sense (Goodwin [1889] para. 827); Goodwin finds this appearing especially in θνητὸν ὄντα, as in *Antigone* 455. It seems an odder use when conjoined with a noun (δημότης) rather than an adjective.



18. 1276-9 read:

. . . ἀμφὶ μὲν νεῶν  
ἄκροισιν ἤδη ναυτικοῖς ἔδωλοις  
πυρὸς φλέγοντος, ἐς δὲ ναυτικὰ σκάφη  
πηδῶντος ἄρδην Ἑκτορος τάφρων ὑπερ;

. . . as fire already blazed around the edge of the ships' quarter-decks, and Hector leapt high over the trenches on to the ships' hulls?

Lloyd-Jones & Wilson (1990b) say “νεῶν and ναυτικοῖς are on the face of it pleonastic, and the further addition of ναυτικὰ σκάφη strengthens the suspicion of corruption”, but emend only by inserting θ' before ἔδωλοις; Dawe conjectured ναυτίλων, Bergk πευκίνοις. The emphasis on ships is a deliberate and forceful evocation of the scene at the end of Iliad 15. Nevertheless, the judgement of Lloyd-Jones & Wilson may be sound. There are sufficient cases of repetitions introduced by scribes to make such an error plausible here, but no emendation is obviously right (the true reading need share nothing with that in the manuscripts but metrical shape); though Table 6.7 shows second occurrences more than twice as often the result of such corruption as first ones, first ones are corrupted often enough.

19. βαλεῖτε χήμας τρεῖς ὁμοῦ συγκειμένους 1309  
. . . you will cast us out as well, three people lying together with him.

1306 ended with κειμένους. Now one MS (L) has a γρ variant συνεμπόρους for συγκειμένους. Dawe toys with the possibility that this is the preservation of the true reading (in which case the vulgate is easily explicable as a scribal repetition from 1306) but decides to stay with the overwhelming weight of the manuscripts and regard συνεμπόρους as an emendation whose motive was that ἡμεῖς are not yet dead and prostrate;<sup>84</sup> if its motive were to remove a repetition the distance between the two occurrences would be paralleled in only one of the instances of removal found in Chapter 6 – viz. *Trachiniae* 184/187. In any case, the repetition has point – the corpses of Teucer, Tecmessa and Eurysaces (χήμας τρεῖς) would lie with (συγ) the corpse of Ajax.

20. Αγ ἦ πάνθ' ὁμοῖα· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῷ πονεῖ. 1366  
Οδ τῷ γάρ με μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἢ ἑμαυτῷ πονεῖν;  
Agam. The whole world is alike: every man labours for himself.  
Od. For whom is it more natural for me to labour than for myself?

The repetition is entirely normal in stichomythia. The interesting thing is that a group of MSS have a repetition, but of φρονεῖ/φρονεῖν, while one has φρονεῖ/πονεῖν and one (L) follows πονεῖ in 1366 with φρονεῖν as a supralinear variant for πονεῖν in 1367; there are two other variants in 1366 (φιλεῖ and ποιεῖ) with very little manuscript authority. It is noteworthy that manuscripts with an erroneous reading still keep a repetition.

<sup>84</sup> Dawe (1973) 171.

CHAPTER 8. SECTION 3. REPETITION IN THE *ANDROMACHE* OF EURIPIDES

As usual, the text of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) – the Oxford Classical Text of Murray (1902) – has been the basis for the statistical analysis; it was also the basis for the TLG publication *A Semilemmatized concordance to Euripides' Andromache* (McDonald [1978]) which has made the task of analysing repetitions very much easier. The Oxford Classical Text of Diggle (1984) has been compared throughout, and variant readings and conjectures relevant to the study are discussed. Relevant matter in the editions by Stevens (1971) and Lloyd (1994) and the monograph by Kovacs (1980) has been taken into account.<sup>85</sup>

SECTION 3(i) ANALYSIS OF REPETITIVENESS IN PARTS OF *ANDROMACHE*

The analysis in Chapter 4 found more same-line repetitions per 100 lines in *Andromache* than in any other play of Euripides. The Index of repetitiveness of *Andromache* (9.3) is however slightly below Euripides' average; *Andromache* is usually dated to around 426 B.C., and is therefore among the earlier of the surviving plays of Euripides, whose repetitiveness (*Bacchae* excluded) seems to show a tendency to increase.

9.2% of the repetitions in trimeters in *Andromache* are of παῖς, the word most frequently repeated.<sup>86</sup>

Chapter 5 Section 1 found virtually no correlation between the figure for repetitions in the same or adjacent lines and the proportion of stichomythic or distichomythic dialogue in the sections of *Andromache*, and a negative correlation between the number of trimeters in speeches and the total number of repetitions. Table 8.4 looks separately at three different parts of *Andromache*: the prologue (1-102), the scene dominated by the Peleus/Menelaus agon (545-765), and the scene dominated by the Messenger's speech (1048-1165).

<sup>85</sup> In the absence of any other indication, references in this section to the above editors are to their texts and apparatuses as appropriate.

<sup>86</sup> This is due particularly to the five occurrences of παῖς παιδός meaning 'grandson'; it is treated here as a repetition, not a single word, and that is supported by Anderson (1997) 143-4, who says of the recurrence 1063-1083 "The phrase may sound like a simple circumlocution for 'grandson', but against the background of family deaths the innocent words assume a deeper significance. By linking Neoptolemos to Peleus as 'the son of the son', Euripides sustains our awareness of the three generations involved. Once again before the messenger's account of the murder Euripides repeats the expression, this time placing it in the mouth of Peleus, who accentuates the loss by pointing out that each son was an only son: 'How did he die, the only son of my only son?' "(πῶς δ' οἴχεται μοι παῖς μόνου παιδός μόνος; – 1083)

TABLE 8.4

REPETITIVENESS IN THREE SCENES IN *ANDROMACHE*

Section	> 1-102	545-765	1048-1165
Index	9.36	7.91	9.32
Intervals			
same	1.96	5.43	4.24
up to 1	3.92	7.69	5.08

None of these appears very different from the play as a whole. The agon scene has proportionately more repetitions in the same line (that is, roughly, figurative repetitions) than the play as a whole, and strikingly more than the prologue;<sup>87</sup> but its Index is lower than that of the play as a whole, the prologue or the scene with the messenger's speech.<sup>88</sup> The messenger's speech proper contains no repetition in the same line and only one repetition in adjacent lines.

<sup>87</sup> This is due largely to the remarkable series of polyptota in 738-743, which will be discussed later.

<sup>88</sup> The figure for repetitions in the same line is due largely to the collocation *παῖς παιδός* discussed above, in lines preceding the messenger's speech proper. This does not affect the last three figures in Table 8.4.

SECTION 3(ii) REPETITIVE TECHNIQUES IN *ANDROMACHE*<sup>89</sup>

## I. COMPLEX REPETITIVE PATTERNS

## 1. Interweaving.

a)	Πη.	σὺ γὰρ μετ' ἀνδρῶν, ᾧ κάκιστε κάκ κακῶν; σοὶ ποῦ μέτεστιν ὡς ἐν ἀνδράσιν λόγου; ὅστις πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Φρυγὸς ἀπηλλάγης λέχος, ἄκληστ' ἄδουλα δῶμαθ' ἐστίας λιπῶν, ὡς δὴ γυναῖκα σῶφρον' ἐν δόμοις ἔχων πασῶν κακίστην. οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιτό τις σῶφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατίδων κόρη, · · · κοινὰς ἔχουσι. κᾶτα θαυμάζειν χρεῶν εἰ μὴ γυναῖκας σῶφρονας παιδεύετε;	xxxAxBxB xxXxxAX xxAXXX XXXXX xxCDxXE XBxxxXx DXXC*	590     595  600
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Pel. What! Are you to be counted among men, you scoundrel bred of scoundrels? Can you possibly be reckoned as a man? You had your wife removed by a Phrygian man, when you left unlocked †without slaves the house of your hearth†, as if you had a chaste woman in your home when she was really the greatest scoundrel. No Spartan girl could be chaste even if she wanted to be: . . . . Should one wonder, then, that you do not educate your women to be chaste?

As demonstrated in the schema (where x indicates a non-lexical and X a lexical word outside the repetitive pattern, and the asterisk a *variatio*) the beginning of Peleus' diatribe relies heavily on interlacing repetition of κακ- and ἀνδρ-, overlapping with repetition of the phrase σῶφρων γυνή (varied with κόρη). The collocation of σῶφρων and γυνή is frequent in Euripides (nine times in other plays, and in *Andromache* outside this passage in 235), though not found in Sophocles' extant plays (twice in Aeschylus). Even in this very repetitive context, the repetition of forms of ἔχω in 594 and 600, with no metrical parallelism, is surely insignificant.

The whole speech, like *Andromache's* opening one, is full of words for 'house', δόμοι in 594, 597, 602, 612; δώματα in 593 (if the word is sound)<sup>90</sup> and 620; and οἶκοι in 609, 632 and 635. κακ- and γυνή are also, not surprisingly, thematic throughout the speech.

b)	οὐ χρὴ 'πὶ μικροῖς μεγάλα πορσύνειν κακὰ οὐδ', εἰ γυναῖκές ἐσμεν ἀτηρὸν κακόν, ἄνδρας γυναιξὶν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι φύσιν.	352
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One should not bring about great evils for small reasons; nor, if we women are a baneful evil, should men make their nature like to ours.

<sup>89</sup> Except where specifically stated, the text printed is based on Murray (1902), which is that given in the TLG. The translation is that of Lloyd (1994) adapted as necessary to bring out repetitions or where the text printed differs from his. No comments are made on textual matters with no relevance to repetition.

<sup>90</sup> Diggle (1984) obelises; the problem is with the phrase δῶμαθ' ἐστίας 'house of your hearth', which Lloyd (1994) describes as "impossible".

Although in English, as Lloyd's translation shows, it is more natural to use a pronoun than to repeat the noun 'women', it is easy to feel that in Greek *γυναῖξιν* is preferable to *αὐταῖς*. But it is much less easy to understand the repetition of *κακ-*, prominent though it is made by its position at the ends of consecutive lines; the evil which women may be has nothing to do with those which Andromache claims in the previous lines would stem from the rejection of Hermione by Neoptolemus. Nor is there a contrast of any rhetorical interest. Perhaps, despite the interweaving, *κακός* is such a common word in tragedy that its repetition, even within a sentence, is inconsequential.

c) Αν. οἴμοι, πικρὰν κλήρωσιν αἴρεσίν τέ μοι  
βίου καθίστης· καὶ λαχοῦσά γ' ἀθλία 385  
καὶ μὴ λαχοῦσα δυστυχῆς καθίσταμαι.

Andr. Alas! You present me with a bitter lottery and choice of life. I am wretched if I win it, unfortunate if I do not.

Stevens (1971) says on *καθίσταμαι*:

we might, as Wecklein says, have expected *φανήσομαι*. It closely follows *καθίστης*, but such repetition is fairly common in Eur., e.g. *Hec* 655-6; *El* 44-5, and presumably was not regarded as a blemish.

Stevens does not observe the adjacent repetition of *λαχοῦσα* (a simple and effective anaphora). That context shows that Euripides was currently conscious of repetition, and makes prominent the repetition of forms of *καθίστημι*.<sup>91</sup> Unless therefore the text is corrupt, and *καθίσταμαι* a copyist's error for something like *φανήσομαι*, influenced by *καθίστης* and *καθίσταμαι* in 371, the concept in the two lines is the same, and *ὑπὸ σοῦ* is to be understood with *καθίσταμαι* – perhaps instead of translating *καθίσταμαι* as if it were a copula Lloyd could have rendered “I am presented with wretchedness if I win it and unhappiness if I do not.” The double repetition, moreover, makes prominent the *variatio* between *ἀθλία* and *δυστυχῆς*, and must throw doubt on Lloyd's assertion “there is no effective difference here between ‘wretched’ and ‘miserable’.”

## 2. Repetition for emphasis.

Ερ. ὦ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος, 261  
ἐγκαρτερεῖς δὴ θάνατον; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἔδρας  
ἐκ τῆσδ' ἐκούσαν ἐξαναστήσω τάχα·  
τοιόνδ' ἔχω σου δέλεαρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ λόγους  
κρύψω, τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτὸ σημανεῖ τάχα. 265  
κάθησ' ἔδραϊα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ περίξ σ' ἔχοι  
τηκτὸς μόλυβδος, ἐξαναστήσω σ' ἐγὼ  
πρὶν ὧ πέποιθας παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως μολεῖν.

<sup>91</sup> *καθίσταμαι* in 371 may be too distant to be relevant. It would be forced to see point in the use of all three voices of the verb.

Herm. You barbarian creature, with your stubborn insolence, do you brave death then? But I will soon make you leave your refuge willingly, such a bait do I have for you. No more of that, though, for I will hide my words and the deed will soon speak for itself. Sit on as a suppliant, for even if molten lead held you fast I will make you move before the son of Achilles comes, on whom you rely.

Hermione's threat is underlined by the emphatic repetition of the central word with its subject pronoun expressed, and by τάχα twice at the end of its line, and by five occurrences of the second person pronoun. It is an interesting coincidence that *Medea*, another early play of Euripides, has ἐξαναστῆσαι twice in four lines (1212-5).

### 3. Linking.

Πε	. . . . κύδιον βροτοῖς πένητα χρηστὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πλούσιον γαμβρὸν πεπάσθαι καὶ φίλον· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν εἶ.	640
Χο	σμικρᾶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς νεῖκος ἀνθρώποις μέγα γλώσσ' ἐκπορίζει· τοῦτο δ' οἱ σοφοὶ βροτῶν ἐξευλαβοῦνται, μὴ φίλοις τεύχειν ἔριν.	
Με	τί δῆτ' ἂν εἶποις τοὺς γέροντας, ὡς σοφοί,	645
Peleus	It is more honourable for mortals to have a good poor man as father-in-law and friend than a bad rich one. You are nothing.	
Chorus	From a small beginning the tongue contrives great strife for humankind, and wise mortals guard carefully against causing quarrels with their friends.	
Menelaus	Why then say that old men are wise, . .	

This is the mid-point of the first Peleus/Menelaus interchange in this agon. With the repetitions indicated the chorus links the speeches of the two protagonists.

### 4. *Treductio*.

a) In a short passage:

Πηλ.	εἰ μὴ φθερῆ τῆσδ' ὡς τάχιστ' ἀπὸ στέγης καὶ παῖς ἀτεκνος, ἦν ὃ γ' ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγῶς	708
	ἐλαῖ δι' οἴκων τήνδ' ἐπισπάσας κόμησ· ἢ στερρὸς οὔσα μόσχος οὐκ ἀνέξεται τίκτοντας ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχουσ' αὐτῆ τέκνα. ἀλλ', εἰ τὸ κείνης δυστυχεῖ παίδων πέρι, ἄπαιδας ἡμᾶς δεῖ καταστῆναι τέκνων;	710

Peleus . . . if you don't get to perdition out of this house as fast as possible with your childless daughter, whom my grandson will drag by the hair through this house and drive out. A barren heifer, she will not tolerate others giving birth, not having children herself. But if she is unfortunate with regard to children, is it necessary for me to be made childless?

This *treductio* is on the theme of children and childlessness.<sup>92</sup> It is not apparent that there is any semantic difference between the two terms παι- and τικτ/τεκν-; one might indeed

<sup>92</sup> There had just been a similar *treductio* in Menelaus' speech, with five occurrences of παῖς and two of τικτω in ten lines.

have expected Euripides to find παῖς ἄπαις more attractive than παῖς ἄτεκνος; but it is perhaps to avoid overdoing things that Neoptolemus is on this occasion not called παῖς παιδός. The contrastive framing of 712 is effective, as is the contrast between παίδων of Hermione in 713 and ἄπαιδας of Andromache in 714, τέκνων at the end of 714 however seems lame, adding nothing to ἄπαιδας.

b) In a lengthy passage:

Ερ	ἔγνωσ· ὀλεῖ γάρ μ' ἐνδίκως. τί δεῖ λέγειν;	920
	ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε Δία καλοῦσ' ὁμόγνιον, πέμψον με χώρας τῆσδ' ὅποι προσωτάτω ἢ πρὸς πατρῶον μέλαθρον*. ὡς δοκοῦσὶ γε δόμοι τ' ἐλαύνειν φθέγμ' ἔχοντες οἶδε με,	925
	μισεῖ τε γαῖα Φθιάς. εἰ δ' ἥξει πάρος Φοίβου λιπὼν μαντεῖον εἰς δόμους πόσις, κτενεῖ μ' ἐπ' αἰσχίστοισιν· ἢ δουλεύσομεν νόθοισι λέκτροις** ὣν ἐδέσποζον πρὸ τοῦ. πῶς οὖν τάδ', ὡς εἶποι τις, ἐξημάρτανες;	930
	κακῶν γυναικῶν εἴσοδοί μ' ἀπώλεσαν, αἶ μοι λέγουσαι τοῦσδ' ἐχαύνωσαν λόγους· Σὺ τὴν κακίστην αἰχμάλωτον ἐν δόμοις δούλην ἀνέξῃ σοὶ λέχους κοινουμένην; μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐν γ' ἐμοῖς δόμοις βλέπουσ' ἂν αὐγὰς τ'ἄμ' ἐκαρπούτ' ἂν λέχῃ.	935
	κἀγὼ κλύουσα τοῦσδε Σειρήνων λόγους, [σοφῶν πανούργων ποικίλων λαλημάτων,] ἐξηνεμώθην μωρία. τί γάρ μ' ἐχρῆν πόσιν φυλάσσειν, ἢ παρῆν ὅσων ἔδει;	940
	πολύς μὲν ὄλβος· δωμάτων* δ' ἠνάσσομεν· παῖδας δ' ἐγὼ μὲν γνησίους ἔτικτον ἂν, ἢ δ' ἠμιδούλους τοῖς ἐμοῖς νοθαγενεῖς. ἀλλ' οὔποτ' οὔποτ' - οὐ γὰρ εἰσάπαξ ἐρῶ <sup>93</sup> - χρῆ τοὺς γε νοῦν ἔχοντας, οἷς ἔστιν γυνή,	945
	πρὸς τὴν ἐν οἴκοις* ἄλοχον ἐσφοιτᾶν ἐὰν γυναικῶν· αὐταὶ γὰρ διδάσκαλοι κακῶν· ἢ μὲν τι κερδαίνουσα συμφθεῖρει λέχος, ἢ δ' ἀμπλακοῦσα συννοσεῖν αὐτῇ θέλει, πολλὰ δὲ μαργότητι . . . κἀντεῦθεν δόμοι νοσοῦσιν ἀνδρῶν. πρὸς τάδ' εὐ φυλάσσετε κλήθροισι καὶ μοχλοῖσι δωμάτων* πύλας· ὕγιες γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰ θύραθεν εἴσοδοι δρῶσιν γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ κακά.	950

Exactly; for he will kill me justly. Why say more?

But I beseech you in the name of Zeus the god of kindred, take me from this land, as far as possible, or to my father's palace. For this very house seems to speak and drive me out, and the land of Phthia hates me. If my husband leaves the oracle

<sup>93</sup> Self-conscious anadiplosis of a non-lexical word. There are similar self-conscious repetitions at *Choephoroi* 654 – παῖ παῖ θύρας ἄκουσον ἐρκείας κτύπον. | τίς ἔνδον, ὦ παῖ παῖ, μάλ' αὔ; *Eumenides* 1014 – χαιρετε, χαιρετε δ' αὐθις, ἔπη διπλοῖζω (or whatever is the right correction of the MS ἐπιδιπλοῖζω) and, in comedy, *Equites* 249 καὶ πανούργον καὶ πανούργον· πολλὰκις γὰρ αὐτ' ἐρῶ.

of Phoebus and comes to the house before then, he will put me to a most disgraceful death, or I shall be subject to the concubine who was formerly my slave.

How then, as someone might say, did I err in this way? The visits of bad women were my downfall. They filled me with vanity by saying this: ‘Will you put up with that wretched captive slave-woman in your house sharing your bed? By Hera, in my house she would certainly not have enjoyed the use of my bed and lived to see the light of day’. I heard these Siren-words [of clever, wicked and wily chatterboxes] and was puffed up with folly. Why should I have watched over my husband, when I had everything that I needed? I had abundant wealth, and I was queen of the house; my children would have been legitimate, hers bastards and half-slaves to mine. But never, never (for I will not say it only once) should married men, if they have any sense, allow women to visit their wife at home. For they are teachers of evil: one helps to corrupt the marriage for gain, another because she has fallen and needs someone to share her shame, and many because of wantonness. The result is that men’s homes are afflicted. Guard well the doors of your homes against this with bolts and bars; for the visits of women from outside accomplish nothing wholesome, but many evils instead.

This speech by Hermione includes a *traductio* of its themes – the house (δόμοι, and variations marked \*), the marriage-bed (λέχος, and variations marked \*\*) and the nature of woman (γυνή). Forms of κακός occur four times. The themes of house and woman are continued in the Chorus’s intervention and Orestes’ speech following Hermione’s, and repetitions of γυνή link the speeches together. The Chorus uses a form of polyptoton in 956, κοσμεῖν γυναῖκας τὰς γυναικείας νόσους, and then Orestes has γυνή three times in quick succession and δόμων in his third line. But, although the theme of ‘house’ continues unabated, the term after 959 changes to οἴκοι.

##### 5. Polyptota rampant.

Μεν	ἤξω· παρῶν δὲ πρὸς παρόντας ἐμφανῶς γαμβροὺς διδάξω καὶ διδάξομαι λόγους. κὰν μὲν κολάζῃ τήνδε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ σώφρων καθ’ ἡμᾶς, σώφρον’ ἀντιλήψεται· θυμούμενος δὲ τεύξεται θυμουμένων, ἔργοισι δ’ ἔργα διάδοχ’ ἀντιλήψεται.	738  740
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Men. I will return; face-to-face with my son-in-law, openly, I will instruct him and be instructed by him. If he punishes this woman and is reasonable with me in future, he will receive reasonable behaviour in return; but if he behaves angrily he will meet an angry response and for his deeds he will receive appropriate deeds in return.

On this feast of rhetorical repetitions Stevens (1971) says “Perhaps Eur. is representing M. as hiding the weakness of his withdrawal behind a show of rhetoric and reason. The effect of these expressions is to stress the idea of reciprocity: ‘I behave to others as they behave to me.’” Kovacs says “this kind of language is surely intended to suggest the cool and calculating rationalism that Menelaus has displayed all along, as well as the Sophistic content.”<sup>94</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Kovacs (1980) 103.



Besides the five polyptota we find the repetition of ἀντιλήφεται at the end of 741 and 743; this, and the feeling that the fifth polyptoton – ἔργοισι δ' ἔργα – is too much of a good thing, has led Diggle to follow Valckenaer and Wecklein in deleting 743, and, alternatively, to propose ἀνταμείψεται at its end. Though one can easily imagine an actor gilding this lily, or a commentator putting a parallel in the margin, deletion is not warranted, and ἀνταμείψεται retains the (perhaps obnoxious) jingle while weakening the (perhaps effective) emphasising of reciprocity.<sup>95</sup>

## 6. Prefix rampant.

ὡς δώματ' ἐκλιπούσα Μενέλεω κόρη	1049
φρούδη τάδ' ἤκω δ' ἐκμαθεῖν σπουδὴν ἔχων	1050
εἰ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ· τῶν γὰρ ἐκδήμων φίλων	
δεῖ τοὺς κατ' οἶκον ὄντας ἐκπονεῖν τύχας.	

. . . that the daughter of Menelaus has left this house and gone away. I have come in haste to find out if this is true, for those at home should exert themselves over the fortunes of friends who are away.

Euripides' fondness for ἐκ- compounds may have got the better of him here: four in four lines outdoes *HF* 18-22 with three in five lines.

## 7. Stichomythia.

Ερ.	τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἡμῶν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς <sup>1</sup> ὅς μ' ἔχει <sup>2</sup> , τὰ δ' ἐκ θεῶν τοῦ πανταχῆ δ' ὀλώλαμεν.	
Ορ.	τίς οὖν ἂν εἴη μὴ πεφυκότων γέ πω παίδων γυναικι <sup>3</sup> συμφορὰ <sup>5</sup> πλὴν εἰς λέχος <sup>4</sup> ;	905
Ερ.	τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ νοσοῦμεν· εὖ μ' ὑπηγάγου.	
Ορ.	ἄλλην τιν' εὐνήν <sup>11</sup> ἀντὶ σοῦ στέργει πόσις <sup>6</sup> ;	
Ερ.	τὴν αἰχμάλωτον Ἐκτορος ξυνευνέτιν <sup>11</sup> .	
Ορ.	κακόν <sup>7</sup> γ' ἔλεξας <sup>8</sup> , ἀνδρα <sup>1</sup> δίσσο <sup>2</sup> ἔχειν <sup>2</sup> λέχη <sup>4</sup> .	
Ερ.	τοιαῦτα ταῦτα. κατ' ἔγωγ' ἡμυνάμην.	910
Ορ.	μῶν εἰς γυναῖκ <sup>3</sup> ἔρραψας οἷα δὴ γυνή <sup>3</sup> ;	
Ερ.	φόνου <sup>9</sup> γ' ἐκείνη καὶ τέκνω νοθαγενεῖ.	
Ορ.	κᾶκτεινας, ἢ τις συμφορὰ <sup>5</sup> σ' ἀφείλετο;	
Ερ.	γέρων <sup>10</sup> γε Πηλεὺς, τοὺς κακίονας <sup>7</sup> σέβων.	
Ορ.	σοὶ δ' ἦν τις ὅστις τοῦδ' ἐκοινῶνει φόνου <sup>9</sup> ;	915
Ερ.	πατήρ γ' ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτης μολῶν.	
Ορ.	κᾶπειτα τοῦ γέροντος <sup>10</sup> ἠσσήθη χερί;	
Ερ.	αἰδοῖ γε· καὶ μ' ἔρημον οἴχεται λιπῶν.	
Ορ.	συνῆκα· ταρβεῖς τοῖς δεδραμένοις πόσιν <sup>6</sup> .	
Ερ.	ἔγνωσ· ὀλεῖ γὰρ μ' ἐνδίκως. τί δεῖ λέγειν <sup>8</sup> ;	920

Herm. Some by myself, some by the husband to whom I am married, and some by a god. Everything contributes to my ruin.

Or. What misfortune, then, could a woman have – at least if she has no children yet – except in connection with her marriage?

Herm. That is exactly where my trouble lies – you prompted me well.

<sup>95</sup> Lloyd (1994) says of the proposed deletion “This line is undoubtedly superfluous, and the repetition . . . is inelegant, but stylistic flaws are weak grounds for deletion in this speech.” It is doubtful whether aesthetic flaws in style (which is what Lloyd means) are strong grounds for deletion anywhere, though demonstrable departures from the style of Attic tragedy may well be.

- Or. Does your husband love another woman instead of you?  
 Herm. The captive who was Hector's wife.  
 Or. That is bad, for a man to have two bedfellows.  
 Herm. That is how it is. And then I acted in self-defence.  
 Or. Did you plot against the woman as women do?  
 Herm. Yes: death for her and for her bastard child.  
 Or. And did you kill them, or did some chance prevent you?  
 Herm. Yes: old Peleus, honouring those who are worse.  
 Or. Did you have any accomplice for this murder?  
 Herm. Yes, my father came from Sparta for this very purpose.  
 Or. And then he was worsted by the hand of the old man?  
 Herm. Worsted by his respect; and he has gone, leaving me alone.  
 Or. I understand: you are frightened of your husband because of what you have done.  
 Herm. Exactly; for he will kill me justly. Why say more?

The repetitions in this dialogue are marked with superscript numerals. They are unremarkable, and only the polyptoton in 911 is emphatic. They are all (except that of λέγω) of words naturally prominent given the subject of the dialogue (even the often colourless ἔχω seems here to imply male possession of women), and there is none of the direct picking up by one speaker of words uttered by the other that is often found in stichomythia.

### 8. Paralleling.

- καὶ τοῦθ' ὑποπτον ἦν ἄρ'· εἰς δὲ συστάσεις 1088  
 κύκλους τ' ἐχώρει λαὸς οἰκῆτῳ θεοῦ.  
 Ἄγαμέμνωνος δὲ παῖς διαστείχων πόλιν 1090  
 εἰς οὓς ἐκάστῳ δυσμενεῖς ἠῦδα λόγους·  
 Ὅρατε τοῦτον, ὃς διαστείχει θεοῦ  
 χρυσοῦ γέμοντα γύαλα, θησαυροὺς βροτῶν,  
 τὸ δεύτερον παρόντ' ἐφ' οἷσι καὶ πάρος  
 δεῦρ' ἦλθε, Φοίβου ναὸν ἐκπέρσαι θέλων; 1095  
 καὶ τοῦδ' ἐχώρει ρόθιον ἐν πόλει κακόν·

This evidently aroused suspicion. The people who dwell in the territory of the god began to stand together in groups. The son of Agamemnon went round the city, speaking hostile words into the ear of each: 'Do you see this man, who goes round the sanctuary of the god full of gold, the treasuries of mortals? He has come here a second time for the same purpose that he came before, to sack the temple of Phoebus.' As a result of this, an angry uproar began to spread round the city.

Both ἐχώρει and διαστείχ-ων/-ει are at the same place in the line.<sup>96</sup> The repetition of διαστείχ-ων/-ει is noted by Stevens (1971), who says "such repetition with no special point sounds to us careless but is not rare in Euripides", and by Jackson, who includes it without particular comment in his list of *Unconscious repetitions by the poet*.<sup>97</sup>

Although στείχω and compounds are common words, διαστείχω is emphatically not. These are the only occurrences in Attic literature; it appears once in Pindar, once

<sup>96</sup> This must not be overpressed, since their metrical shape severely constrains their position in a trimeter.

<sup>97</sup> Jackson (1955) 222.

(emended away) in Theocritus and once in Meleager; the rest of its 51 appearances in the TLG are late, and 32 are in Nonnus. Far from being careless, the use of the same rare (though not *recherché*) word clearly parallels the behaviour of Orestes and Neoptolemus in this fateful visit to Delphi. It is very hard, in the face of this parallelism, to argue that Orestes and Neoptolemus are not in Delphi at the same time, whatever the implications for the time the action of the play is supposed to take – see Lesky (1947) 99ff.

ἐχώρει, used first literally and second metaphorically, is less remarkable; the word is much commoner, and the distance between the occurrences much greater. The same verb is used three more times in this Messenger's speech.

#### 9. Repetition of words mirroring repetition of action.

φθείρεσθε τῆσδε, δμῶες, ὡς ἂν ἐκμάθω  
εἴ τίς με λύειν τῆσδε κωλύσει χέρας.  
ἔπαιρε σαυτήν· ὡς ἐγὼ καίπερ τρέμων  
πλεκτὰς ἱμάντων στροφίδας ἐξανήσομαι.  
ᾧδ', ᾧ κάκιστε, τῆσδ' ἐλυμήνω χέρας; 715

The repetition of χέρας at the same place in the line in 716 and 719 might look like “indifference”, but for the repetition of τῆσδε two words before (and in 715), and the repetition of the syllable -λυ preceding χέρας. There may be a mirror of the action here – first Peleus dares Menelaus to prevent him from freeing Andromache's hands, and then in similar words he accuses him of having assaulted those same hands.

#### 10. Crescendo.

ἔνθεν κομίζων ξηρὸν ἐκ πόντου πόδα 1259  
τὸν φίλτατον σοὶ παῖδ' ἐμοί τ' Ἀχιλλέα 1260  
ᾧψη δόμους ναίοντα νησιωτικούς  
Λευκὴν κατ' ἀκτὴν ἐντὸς Εὐξείνου πόρου.  
ἄλλ' ἔρπε Δελφῶν εἰς θεόδητον πόλιν  
νεκρὸν κομίζων τόνδε, καὶ κρύψας χθοῖ  
ἐλθὼν παλαιᾶς χοιράδος κοῖλον μυχὸν 1265  
Σηπιάδος ἴζου· μίμνε δ', ἔστ' ἂν ἐξ ἀλὸς  
λαβοῦσα πεντήκοντα Νηρηίδων χορὸν  
ἔλθω κομιστήν σου· τὸ γὰρ πεπρωμένον  
δεῖ σ' ἐκκομίζειν· Ζηνὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τάδε.

From there, you will leave the sea dry-shod and see Achilles, your dear son and mine, living in his island home on the White Shore in the Euxine sea. Go now to the god-built city of Delphi, and take this body there for burial. Then go and sit in a hollow cave on Sepias' ancient cape, and wait until I bring from the sea a chorus of fifty nymphs to escort you. You must accomplish what is fated, for this is Zeus's will.

κομίζω and related words are used four times in eleven lines, in varying senses. It is tempting to put this down simply to the priming of the word and its running in Euripides' head. But so pronounced a marking is rarely inane, and perhaps what we see is a building up in sense: the first is a weak use where all the semantic weight falls on ξηρὸν; the second a technical use, of a funeral procession; the third of a divine escort; and the fourth and most sententious of the fulfilment of the divine will.

## 11. Variations on the same root.

. . . ἄλλ' ἔβαλλον ἐκ χερῶν πέτροις.  
 πυκνῆ δὲ νιφάδι πάντοθεν σποδούμενος  
 προὔτεινε τεύχη κάφυλάσσειτ' ἐμβολὰς  
 ἐκεῖσε κάκεισ' ἀσπίδ' ἐκτείνων χερί. 1130  
 ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἦεν· ἀλλὰ πόλλ' ὁμοῦ βέλη,  
 οἴστοί, μεσάγκυλ' ἔκλυτοί τ' ἀμφώβολοι,  
 σφαγῆς ἐχώρου βουπόροι ποδῶν πάρος.  
 δεινὰς δ' ἂν εἶδες πυρρίχας φρουρουμένου  
 βέλεμνα παιδός. 1135

. . . but they pelted him with stones from their hands. Pounded by a dense hail of missiles from every side, he held his shield in front of him and warded off the blows, holding out the shield this way and that with his hand. But they achieved nothing, and many weapons – arrows, javelins, ox-piercing spits pulled from the slaughtered beasts – fell together before his feet. Then you would have seen a Pyrrhic dance, as your boy guarded himself against the missiles.

The five examples of the phonologically distinctive root \*bl, signifying 'throw', in this passage give a background emphasis by their repetitive sound to the sense conveyed by the words – weapons being thrown.

Stevens (1971) does not discuss this, but on the repetition of -τείνω in 1130-1 says:

there is little if any distinction between these verbs, and if τεύχη means only 'shield' the two phrases seem carelessly tautological; but τεύχη normally denotes armour and/or arms and might here include a sword, which would serve to deflect a missile here and there, the conduct of his shield being then more precisely indicated in 1131.

There is no need however to apologise for Euripides here; Lloyd's translation does not duck the repetition (indeed enhances it by rendering τεύχη and ἀσπίδα identically) and 1131 emerges as an amplification of the first half of 1130.

## II. REPETITIONS OF SINGLE WORDS

## 1. In prominent position.

- a) εἷς παῖς ὄδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς βίου· 406  
 τοῦτον κτενεῖν μέλλουσιν οἷς δοκεῖ τάδε.  
 οὐ δῆτα τοῦμοῦ γ' οὔνεκ' ἀθλίου βίου·

This one child I had left, the most precious thing in my life; and those who have made this decision are going to kill him. No! Not for the sake of my wretched life.

The repetition of βίου at line-end position virtually forces on us the implication that the child is the only light left in Andromache's life; if that light is extinguished her life is truly wretched; therefore it might as well be sacrificed for his.

- b) ἀρχαί τε, πληροῦντές τε βουλευτήρια, 1097  
 ἰδία θ' ὅσοι θεοῦ χρημάτων ἐφέστασαν,  
 φρουρὰν ἐτάξαντ' ἐν περιστύλοις δόμοις.  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ μῆλα, φυλλάδος Παρνασίας 1100  
 παιδεύματ', οὐδὲν τῶνδέ πω πεπυσμένοι,  
 λαβόντες ἡμεν ἐσχάραις τ' ἐφέσταμεν  
 σὺν προξένοισι μάντεσιν τε Πυθικοῖς.

The magistrates, filled the council-chambers, and on their own initiative those in charge of the god's treasures posted guards in the colonnaded temples. We knew nothing yet of this. We took sheep, nurselings of the foliage of Parnassus, and stood at the altar with our hosts and the Pythian prophets.

ἐφέστασαν has metaphorical and ἐφέσταμεν literal sense. These are two of the only three occurrences of ἐφίστημι in *Andromache* and the line-end position is a marking one; the contrast between the temple authorities and the visitors is perhaps being drawn to attention.

## c) Colloquialisms in prominent position.

- i) εἰ μὴ φθερῆ τῆσδ' ὡς τάχιστ' ἀπὸ στέγης 708  
 if you don't get to perdition out of this house as fast as possible . . .  
 φθείρεσθε τῆσδε, δμῶες 715  
 Get to perdition away from this woman, slaves!

This use of φθείρεσθαι and compounds of angry dismissal occurs elsewhere in Euripides and comedy; and its "use is probably colloquial and its appearance twice in eight lines is appropriate to the choleric old man."<sup>98</sup>

- ii) 896 and 901 both begin τί χρῆμα. The repetition draws particular attention to Orestes' surprise at being suddenly supplicated by Hermione.

<sup>98</sup> Stevens (1971) on 708.

## d) Prominent repetition with variation in number.

. . . ἔνθα Λοξία δίκην 51  
 δίδωσι μανίας, ἧ ποτ' ἐς Πυθῶ μολῶν  
 ἤτησε Φοῖβον πατρὸς οὐ κτείνει δίκην,

. . . where he is making amends to Loxias for the madness with which he went to Pytho once to demand reparation for the father whom he killed.<sup>99</sup>

πικρῶς δὲ πατρὸς φόνιον αἰτήσει δίκην 1002  
 ἄνακτα Φοῖβον· οὐδέ νιν μετάστασις  
 γνώμης ὀνήσει θεῶ διδόντα νῦν δίκας,

He will regret demanding reparation from Lord Apollo for his father's death, nor will it help him that he has changed his mind and now makes amends to the god.

. . . Φοίβω τῆς πάροιθ' ἀμαρτίας 1106  
 δίκας παρασχεῖν βουλόμεσθ'· ἤτησα γὰρ  
 πατρὸς ποτ' αὐτὸν αἵματος δοῦναι δίκην.

I want to make amends to Phoebus for my earlier fault: I once demanded that he make reparation for my father's death

The repetition on each occasion is marked; twice both occurrences are at line-end, and once they frame a couplet. The parallel is emphasised between what Neoptolemus once demanded of Apollo and what he is now offering him. Twice the plural (which is much rarer than the singular of δίκη in tragedy) is used of the former demand, but the semantic difference is not clear, nor is it likely that there is a deliberate avoidance of precise repetition.

## 2. Not in prominent position.

a) Αν ὦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχθιστοι βροτῶν 445  
 Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,  
 ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,  
 ἐλικτὰ κούδεν ὑγιές, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ  
 φρονοῦντες, ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖτ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.  
 τί δ' οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν; οὐ πλείστοι φόνοι; 450  
 οὐκ αἰσχροκερδεῖς; οὐ λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν  
 γλώσση, φρονοῦντες δ' ἄλλ' ἐφευρίσκεσθ' αἰεῖ;

Andr You inhabitants of Sparta, most loathed of mortals to the whole human race! Treacherous councillors, lords of lies, contrivers of evil, thinking twisted thoughts and nothing sound but all round about, you are unjustly prosperous in Greece! What is there not among you? Not the most murders? Are you not continually found to be avaricious, and to say one thing while thinking another?

The word φρονέω is common in Euripides (12 times in *Andromache*, though twice in suspect passages); neither line position nor semantic or phonological context give the repetition prominence here, and it looks as if Euripides did not attach importance to it, even amid highly rhetorical invective.

<sup>99</sup> Lloyd in his translation does not use different phraseology for singular/singular or singular/plural

- b) . . . μήτε δώμασιν λαβεῖν 620  
κακῆς γυναικὸς πῶλον· ἐκφέρουσι γὰρ  
μητρῷ' ὄνειδη. τοῦτο καὶ σκοπεῖτέ μοι,  
μνηστῆρες, ἐσθλῆς θυγατέρ' ἐκ μητρὸς λαβεῖν.  
πρὸς τοῖσδε δ' εἰς ἀδελφὸν οἱ' ἐφύβρισας,  
σφάξαι κελεύσας θυγατέρ' εὐηθέστατα; 625

. . . or to take into his house the daughter of a bad woman; for they export the faults of their mothers. In my opinion, suitors, look out for this: to marry the daughter of a good woman. Furthermore – the outrage which you committed against your brother, when you bid the poor fool sacrifice his daughter!

The verbal repetition is of θυγατήρ; but what is significant rhetorically is the comprehensive *variatio* between γυναικὸς πῶλον and θυγατέρ' ἐκ μητρὸς where the contrast is emphasised by the use of different words, the absence and presence of a preposition, and the reversed order of the nouns. πρὸς τοῖσδε moves to a new point, what we should think of as a new paragraph, and there is no significance in the reappearance of θυγατέρ', referring to Iphigeneia (who, incidentally, was scarcely of an ἐσθλή mother) in 625.

- c) ἥσσων πεφυκῶς Κύπριδος, ὦ κάκιστε σύ. 631  
κᾶπειτ' ἐς οἴκους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλθῶν τέκνων  
πορθεῖς ἀπόντων, καὶ γυναῖκα δυστυχῆ  
κτείνεις ἀτίμως παῖδά θ', ὅς κλαίοντά σε  
καὶ τὴν ἐν οἴκοις σὴν καταστήσει κόρην, 635  
κεῖ τρίς νόθος πέφυκε. πολλάκις δέ τοι  
ξηρὰ βαθείαν γῆν ἐνίκησε σπορᾶ,  
νόθοι τε πολλοὶ γνησίων ἀμείνονες.

. . . worsted by Aphrodite, you scoundrel. And then you come and ravage my grandson's house while he is away, and ruthlessly try to kill an unfortunate woman and her son. He will make you and your daughter in the house regret it, even if he is a bastard three times over. Often dry soil is better than rich in its crop, and many bastards are better than legitimate children.

No prominence is given to the repetition of πεφυκῶς – πέφυκε after five lines; indeed in 631 it seems to be little more than a copula with ἥσσων, but the repetition νόθος – νόθοι in 638 is given prominence by τρίς and πολλοὶ; and the repetition πολλάκις – πολλοὶ is virtually anaphora. Thus the bastardy is marked, and the illustration linked with the proposition it illustrates. It is less clear whether the οἴκους – οἴκοις repetition is significant or not; it is weakly marked, by the contrast of ἐμῶν and σὴν, and could be read as insisting that the house where Hermione is is that of Peleus' family.

- d) Πηλ. . . ἠσθόμην γὰρ οὐ σαφῆ λόγον 1048  
Pel. I heard an unclear report
- Χο Πηλεῦ, σαφῶς ἤκουσας . . . 1053  
Cho. Peleus, you heard truly

This repetition is not strongly marked, either by metrical position or by context (although Lloyd translates both as ‘heard’ the Greek uses different verbs). The observation by Stevens (1971) “The adverb picks up σαφῆ λόγον in 1048 but has a slightly different sense: not ‘clearly’ but ‘truly’, ‘correctly’”, though plausible, is less than compelling.

- ε) ἀπὸ δὲ φθίμενοι βεβᾶσιν Ἰλιάδαι βασιλῆες 1022  
βέβακε δ’ Ἀτρείδας ἀλόχου παλάμαις 1027

This repetition is not strongly marked, either by metrical position or by context. Stevens (1971), however, renders both the verbs ‘they are dead and gone’ and says “the repetition stresses the identical fate that overtook both victor and vanquished”. This is plausible, but Stevens is very ready to dismiss repetitions as careless and it may not be legitimate for him to pick and choose where artistic effect (or intention) is to be assigned. This study is less ready to dismiss repetitions as unintentional or careless, but many repetitions of single words do not have any observable marking effect.

- f) Πη. . . . τῶν γὰρ ἐκδήμων φίλων 1052  
δεῖ τοὺς κατ’ οἶκον ὄντας ἐκπονεῖν τύχας.  
Χο. Πηλεῦ, σαφῶς ἤκουσας· οὐδ’ ἐμοὶ καλὸν  
κρύπτειν ἐν οἷς παρούσα τυγχάνω κακοῖς·  
βασίλεια γὰρ τῶνδ’ οἴχεται φυγὰς δόμων. 1055  
Πη. τίνος φόβου τυχοῦσα; διαπέραινέ μοι.  
Pel. . . . for those who are at home should exert themselves over the fortunes  
of those who are away  
Cho. Peleus, you heard truly. Nor is it right for me to conceal evils of which I  
am a witness: the queen has fled from this house.  
Pel. What was she afraid of? Tell me everything.

Even though τύχας precedes in 1052, and we seem to have an example here of the picking up of interlocutors’ words by participants in dialogue, the verbs τυγχάνω and τυχοῦσα both seem to be little more than makeweight auxiliaries, and their repetition is not marked metrically or by context. It may therefore have no more significance than the occurrence of περαίνων in 1062, six lines after the prosaic line-filling διαπέραινε.

- g) τοιαῦθ’ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι θεσπίζων ἄναξ, 1161  
ὁ τῶν δικαίων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κριτῆς,  
δίκας διδόντα παῖδ’ ἔδρασ’ Ἀχιλλέως.  
ἐμνημόνευσε δ’, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος κακός,  
παλαιὰ νείκη; πῶς ἂν οὖν εἴη σοφός;

That is what the god who gives oracles to others, the arbiter of justice for mankind, did to Achilles’ son as he tried to make amends. He remembered old quarrels, like a bad man. How then can he be wise?

The repetition ἀνθρώποις – ἄνθρωπος is not strongly marked, but since the interval is of only two lines we may be right in seeing the text as placing Apollo firmly on a level with those whom he purports to judge.



CHAPTER 8 SECTION 3(iii) SOME TEXTUAL POINTS IN *ANDROMACHE* RELEVANT TO REPETITION

1. Andromache's speech in the prologue includes the following passage:

καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἐν κακοῖσι κειμένην ὅμως	26
ἐλπίς μ' αἰεὶ προσῆγε σωθέντος τέκνου	
ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν κακῶν·	
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Λάκαιναν Ἑρμιόνην γαμῆ	
τοῦμόν παρώσας δεσπότης δοῦλον λέχος,	30
κακοῖς πρὸς αὐτῆς σχετλίους ἐλαύνομαι.	

Hope always led me on before, involved in misfortunes though I was, that while my son was safe I should find some defence and protection against misfortune; but since my master married the Spartan Hermione, and rejected the bed of me, his slave, I am persecuted cruelly by her.

For κακῶν in 28 two manuscripts (B and O) read δόμων. Kovacs is very attracted by this – or rather by an emendation of it to δόμον. In the course of a full discussion he says:

In 28, κακῶν is the *lectio facillior* and looks suspiciously like a scribal conjecture. Both B and O read δόμων, a difficult word in this context, and on that account a very unlikely mistake for the plain and inviting κακῶν. There is nothing grammatically wrong with the way the line is usually printed. But if B and O had been our only witnesses, and if editors had been spared the temptation to premature ease that the other MSS offer, I am fairly certain that 27-28 would look as follows in all our editions:- σωθέντος τέκνου / ἀλκὴν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν δόμον '...that if the boy lived our house would find some kind of help and defense.' This palaeographically easy change allows us to account for everything the MSS provide.

Stylistically it is awkward to say, in the space of three lines, 'Though I was sunk in *misfortunes*, nevertheless the hope drew me to him that I would find aid and a defense against *misfortunes*.' It is true that Greek ears were less sensitive than ours to repetition. Just how far their tolerance extended is not clear. But even if Greek ears were not offended by such a sentence, Greek logic would be. For either κακῶν in 28 refers to the same misfortunes as those in 26 or it does not. If it does, we have nonsense. For the evils of 26 are most naturally taken as the ones she has just enumerated (the loss of husband, son and country), and against these there is no help, nor even some kind of (τιν') defense. If by some chance κακοῖς means the indignities of forced cohabitation with her master . . . , that makes no sense either, for the survival of her child offers no plausible hope for the alteration of that condition. If, on the other hand, κακῶν refers to different misfortunes from those in 26, the use of the same word to designate both is unusually careless writing. In addition, the mind is hard put to imagine what other evils Andromache might be referring to. . . .

There are objections which might be raised against δόμον, but they turn out upon inspection to be either inconclusive or points in its favor. It seems odd at first glance for this slave-woman in her miserable circumstances to be concerning herself with what are essentially dynastic matters, the continuing well-being of her δόμος. And indeed, a δόμος most of whose members are dead and whose living members are far from their ancestral home is a somewhat difficult concept. . . .

. . . There is no obstacle to treating δόμος as the equivalent of γένος in our passage.

It might be objected that δόμον (Andromache's) would be confusing and ambiguous after δόμοις (Neoptolemus's) in 24. But the immediate context is sufficiently clear to avert misunderstanding. . . .<sup>100</sup>

Kovacs could have suggested as a reason for the replacement, as he assumes it, of δόμον by κακῶν that there had been contamination from the similar line in Sophocles *OT* (218 – ἀλκὴν λάβοις ἄν κάνακούφισιν κακῶν). His reasoning, however, though ingenious, has not convinced Diggle, who prints the received text. The indictment of the logic of κακά depends on reading it as if it had the definite article; admittedly the omission of that word in verse is normal, but that does not mean that it is everywhere to be assumed; if we take Andromache as referring to evils *generally* and *indefinitely* throughout 26-31 rather than to any particular evils it is not relevant to ask if the word in 28 refers to the same or different evils from those in 26. So Greek logic need not be offended by the repetition; and as for Greek ears, a concept discussed in Chapter 2, one must observe that repetition of κακός is very common in tragedy.

If κακῶν is taken as the correct reading, it remains to account for the variant. It has been demonstrated in Chapter 6 that repetitions are sometimes removed in the course of manuscript transmission, and here there may also be the influence of δόμοις in 24, reinforced by the importance of the οἶκος/δόμος concept in the whole speech (δόμοις itself occurs only in 24 and 43, but οἶκος and derivatives are all pervasive – 13, 18, 21, 34, 41, 43, and 48); Chapter 6 exemplifies a fairly close parallel in *Hippolytus* 658, where a manuscript (M) replaces πατρί (forms of which also occur in 652 and 661) by κακά four lines after κακός in 654, in a speech where κακός is a frequent word.

- |    |                          |     |
|----|--------------------------|-----|
| 2. | τλάμον' ἴάμφι λέκτρων    | 123 |
|    | διδύμων ἐπίκοινον ἐοῦσαν |     |
|    | ἀμφιῖ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως.    | 125 |

unhappy over one who is shared by two couches <that is> over the son of Achilles.

(tentative translation of corrupt passage by Stevens [1971])

Murray (1902) obelises, and in his note Stevens (1971) says “linguistically, the repetition of ἀμφί is unsatisfactory.” The only parallel for so close a repetition of ἀμφί in tragedy (except in obvious anaphora), in *HF* 1036-7, was emended away by Elmsley; and here, in his emendation of a passage which has other difficulties, Diggle (1984) prints ἄνδρα (with παῖδ' in apposition) for the second ἀμφί. A scribal repetition of ἀμφί in a context that was perhaps already corrupt is quite plausible.

- |    |                                       |     |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 3. | εἶπ', ὦ νεᾶνι, τῷ σ' ἐχεγγύω λόγῳ     | 192 |
|    | πεισθεῖσ' ἀπωθῶ γνησίῳν νυμφευμάτων;  |     |
|    | ὡς ἡ Λάκαινα τῶν Φρυγῶν μείων πόλις,  |     |
|    | τύχη θ' ὑπερθεῖ, κάμ' ἐλευθέραι ὄρας; | 195 |
|    | ἢ τῷ νέῳ τε καὶ σφριγῶντι σώματι      |     |

<sup>100</sup> Kovacs (1980) 10.

πόλεως τε μεγέθει καὶ φίλοις ἐπηρμένη  
οἶκον κατασχεῖν τὸν σὸν ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω;  
πότερον ἴν' αὐτὴ παῖδας ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκω  
δούλους ἐμαυτῇ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφολκίδα;  
ἢ τοὺς ἐμούς τις παῖδας ἐξανέξεται  
Φθίας τυράννους ὄντας, ἢν σὺ μὴ τέκης;

200

Tell me, young woman, what valid reason induces me to oust you from legitimate marriage? Is it that Sparta is a lesser city than Troy †and outstrips it in fortune† and that you see me free? Or am I incited by my young and lusty body and by the greatness of my city and by my friends to want to take possession of your house instead of you? Or so that I might bear children myself instead of you, to be slaves and a wretched encumbrance to me? or will the Phrygians tolerate my children as kings, if you do not give birth?

Kovacs says

Lines 198 and 199 end in ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω; and ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκω respectively. Here are five pairs of syllables, of which three are exactly the same while the remaining two differ by one letter each. They stand at the end of two successive lines, not in stichomythy, and with no trace of antithesis. This is a jingle, a rhyme, an assonance (call it what you will) for which there is no parallel.<sup>101</sup>

To solve this and other problems he diagnoses in the received text Kovacs proposes a re-ordering plus deletion of 194 and 195, so that the text would read:

εἶπ', ὦ νεᾶνι, τῷ σ' ἐχεγγύω λόγῳ	
πεισθεῖς' ἀπωθῶ γνησίων νυμφευμάτων;	193
πότερον ἴν' αὐτὴ παῖδας ἀντὶ σοῦ τέκω	199
δούλους ἐμαυτῇ τ' ἀθλίαν ἐφολκίδα;	200
ἢ τῷ νέῳ τε καὶ σφριγῶντι σώματι	196
πόλεως τε μεγέθει καὶ φίλοις ἐπηρμένη	197
οἶκον κατασχεῖν τὸν σὸν ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω;	198
ἢ τοὺς ἐμούς τις παῖδας ἐξανέξεται	201
Φθίας τυράννους ὄντας, ἢν σὺ μὴ τέκης;	

Hirzel had earlier proposed a one line lacuna between 198 and 199, giving ἵνα something to depend on: he believed this would make the repetition into a rhetorically effective anaphora. Neither remedy is followed in Diggle (1984), who does no more than obelise part of 195 (obelised also in Lloyd's translation); and though Kovacs' strictures on the jingly repetition are understandable, it may be read as having rhetorical force, emphasising the notion of Andromache's supplanting Hermione in home-making and child-making; certainly it is not by itself conclusive grounds for a transposition – which incidentally does not remove the striking parallelism, but merely makes three lines intervene.

<sup>101</sup> Kovacs (1980) 23. He has the footnote: "Euripides does use assonance at line-end to point up an antithesis, eg *Pho.* 1478f. But there is no antithesis in our passage between θέλω and τέκω. Other examples of terminal assonance given in E. Norden (*Die Antike Kunstprosa* 1.28ff and 2.832ff) either involve no more than two syllables, as in *Med.* 314-15 and *Alc.* 782ff or a strong antithesis (usually marked by μέν and δέ, as in *Med.* 408f, *And.* 689f, *Hec.* 1250f). We may surmise that with no antithesis in view such an assonance would be merely annoying to Greek ears. *Alc.* 782ff is the closest Euripides comes – except for our passage – to gratuitous jingle."

4. ἔβαν δὲ Πριαμίδαυ ὑπερ-  
βολαῖς λόγων δυσφρόνων  
παραβαλλόμεναι, δολίοις δ' ἔλε Κύπρις λόγοις, 287

. . . vying with one another in extravagant and malicious words. Aphrodite won with deceptive words . . .

The simple repetition of λόγοι has provoked suspicion and an emendation that goes into the following word. The apparatus to Murray (1902) says “Fortasse πόθων δυσφόρωι”; but Stinton observes:

The λόγοι are not simply the rude things they said to each other, but the words in which each made the offer, or stated her case, to Paris. The word is repeated in the next line – a clumsy repetition in English, but in this style it simply has the effect of underlining the importance of the λόγοι: it was by words that the contest was fought and won, not by the merits of the rival claimants.<sup>102</sup>

5. [εὐκλεία δ' οἷς μὲν ἔστ' ἀληθείας ὕπο,  
εὐδαιμονίζω· τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ ψευδῶν, ἔχειν  
οὐκ ἀξιόσω, πλὴν τύχῃ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν.]  
σὺ δὴ στρατηγῶν λογάσιν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ  
Τροίαν ἀφείλου Πρίαμον, ὧδε φαῦλος ὢν; 325  
ὅστις θυγατρὸς ἀντίπαιδος ἐκ λόγων  
τοσόδ' ἔπνευσας, καὶ γυναικὶ δυστυχεῖ  
δούλῃ κατέστης εἰς ἀγῶν'; οὐκ ἀξιῶ  
οὔτ' οὖν σὲ Τροίας οὔτε σοῦ Τροίαν ἔτι.  
[ἔξωθέν εἰσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες εὖ φρονεῖν 330  
λαμπροί, τὰ δ' ἔνδον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι,  
πλὴν εἴ τι πλούτῳ· τοῦτο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα.  
Μενέλαε, φέρε δὴ διαπεράνωμεν λόγους.]

Those who have fame through truth I congratulate; but those who have it through falsehoods I will not consider that they have anything except seeming wise by chance. Was it really you, who are so petty, who once led the chosen men of Greece and seized Troy from Priam? You, who breathed such rage as a result of the words of your child-like daughter, and entered into a contest with an unfortunate slave-woman: I no longer regard you as worthy of Troy, or Troy of you. Those who have the reputation of being wise are outwardly illustrious, but inwardly the same as everybody else, except perhaps in wealth; that has great power.

Come now, Menelaus, let us consider the matter in detail.

This beginning of Andromache's speech in her agon with Menelaus has in 15 lines eight lines of generalisation. Murray deletes three (321-3), and Diggle six (321-3 and 330-2 and also 333, a linking line with three resolutions in it). There are repetitions between the two suspect sections, and between each and the unchallenged lines that intervene, but that does not argue for spuriousness. The repetition of λόγος after seven lines is unremarkable;<sup>103</sup> that of the verb ἀξιόω more noteworthy, since it is less frequent, but if

<sup>102</sup> Stinton (1965) 30.

<sup>103</sup> 323 has three resolutions in it; and is suspected on those grounds alone. Its interpolation as a filler must be separate from the interpolation of any other lines, since an interpolator who was happy with three resolutions in one line would have been unlikely to have taken no liberty at all in six lines, and 333 is clearly designed for its context, while the others are generalisations.

anything the repetition makes unitary authorship of the sets of lines more plausible; while linking the two common words φρονεῖν and δοκεῖν occurs also at 646 in this play. *Alcestis* 565, *Bacchae* 312, *Antigone* 707, *Ajax* 594, Sophocles *Electra* 550 and 1056, *OC* 1665 and 1666, *PV* 385, and Menander 665 Kock 2. The repetition however gives mild support to the suggestion that one of the passages originated as a marginal parallel to the other; a couplet very like 330-1 is indeed quoted by Stobaeus as from Menander.<sup>104</sup>

- |    |                                       |     |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 6. | οὐχ ᾧδ' ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν ἢ Τροία καλεῖ· | 341 |
|    | . . . ἢ σφ' ἄνανδρον ἐν δόμοις        | 347 |
|    | χήραν καθέξεις πολιόν;                | 348 |

Troy does not call him such a coward. . . Or will you keep her husbandless in your house to be a grey-haired widow?

The word ἄνανδρος is used only twice in *Andromache*, within seven lines, and in two quite different senses – the first of a man, meaning ‘unmanly’, the second of a woman, meaning ‘without a husband’. The second is the more usual sense of the word in the tragedians. There could be here a deliberate play on the two senses of the word, like those to which attention was drawn on *Ajax* 34-8 above;<sup>105</sup> the point would be to emphasise the bond between Neoptolemus and Andromache. But this may be too ingenious a reading, and perhaps the priming of the occurrence in 347 by that in 341 is no more than priming, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Kovacs sees the repetition as one piece of evidence that 333-51 are a histrionic interpolation; assuming that Euripides could not have been guilty of this infelicity, but an interpolator could.<sup>106</sup> It is hard to support him in this assumption. The repetition here after six lines of a word which though not infrequent in Euripides occurs only twice in *Andromache* is closely paralleled by ἀπόση in 187 followed by ἀπωθῶ in 193; there too there is some change of sense and no clear point.<sup>107</sup>

- |    |                                     |     |
|----|-------------------------------------|-----|
| 7. | ἄχθος ἐπ' ἄχθει καὶ στάσις πολίταις | 475 |
|----|-------------------------------------|-----|

One burden on top of another and dissension for the citizens.

This polyptoton would be unremarkable but for having occurred already in 396. Neither it nor any other polyptoton, anaphora or anadiplosis of ἄχθος occurs elsewhere in extant

<sup>104</sup> ἔξωθέν εἰσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες εὐτυχεῖν | τὰ δ' ἔνδον εἰσὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι. (Kock 669, from Stobaeus 4.40.14) The difference between this and the text of *Andromache* is greater than Stevens (1971) makes it appear, and it may have been a partial appropriation of Euripidean words by Menander, retaining tragic metre, rather than a marginal quotation of a Menander passage that crept into the text of Euripides. For quoting these lines as a parallel to be appropriate, the Euripidean text would have already to have had 321-323 in it.

<sup>105</sup> Where it was observed that the Rhetor ad Herennium appears to call some types of word-play *tradiuctio*.

<sup>106</sup> Kovacs (1980) 30.

<sup>107</sup> It would be forcing things to claim that a parallel is being drawn between what Andromache fears slavery may do to herself and what she ironically asks if Hermione believes she will do to *her*.

Greek literature. Is there a reason for this repetition, and might the audience have been expected to cast its mind back to the previous occurrence? Kovacs attempts to find a reason:

the Chorus repeat verbatim a phrase of Andromache's from 396. Andromache had spoken these words in despair at the misery of her condition, and the misery which her child added to it, before she makes her heroic decision to die for her son. She explicitly retracts this point of view in 418-20. The words thus stand for the nonheroic aspect of Andromache's character, which exists only fleetingly in her but is the Chorus's main attribute.<sup>108</sup>

We may nevertheless simply have an example of a phrase running in Euripides' head; he liked it and saw no reason to refrain from using it a second time. Corruption has been suspected according to the apparatus in Murray (1902) (if 475 is corrupt ἔριδας in 467 might be sound); the variation between MSS on whether there is a τ' after ἄχθος (as Diggle [1984] reads) here as in 396 may be evidence of contamination. If the earlier phrase had been written here as a parallel it could have ousted the true text; but it is hard to imagine what it could have been a parallel to (the parallel in the received text is in the repeated phrase and that alone) or why part of the tradition removed the τ';<sup>109</sup> on the other hand if the original text was ἄχθος ἐπ' ἄχθει the τ' could have been a scribal correction from 396.

8. Παῖς ὦ πάτερ,  
 μόλε φίλοις ἐπίκουρος.  
 Ἄν κείση δῆ, τέκνον ὦ φίλος, 510  
 μαστοῖς ματέρος ἀμφὶ σᾶς  
 νεκρὸς ὑπὸ χθονὶ σὺν νεκρῶ τ'. . .  
 Παῖς ὦ μοι μοι, τί πάθω; τάλας  
 δῆτ' ἐγὼ σύ τε, μάτερ.

Child Father, come to the aid of your loved ones.

Andr. You will lie, beloved child, on your mother's breast, a corpse with a corpse beneath the earth.

Child Alas! What will happen to me? We are wretched indeed, mother, you and I.

Stevens (1971) says

According to Denniston [1950] 276(3) δῆτα in affirmative sentences almost always echoes a word or words of a previous speaker. He notes *Andr.* 514 as one of the very rare exceptions. Jackson, however ([1955] 87, n. 1) suggested that in 510 Eur. wrote ὦ τάλας echoed by τάλας δῆτ', and that φίλος was substituted owing to φίλοις in 509.

Repetition of τάλας has indeed more rhetorical point than that of φίλ- and a scribal error repeating φίλος after six words is not difficult; and though for Andromache to respond to her son's "Come father to help your loved ones" with "Beloved child. . ." is quite in the tragic style, the usual practice with δῆτα points towards Jackson's conjecture.

<sup>108</sup> Kovacs (1980) 101.

<sup>109</sup> Metrical emendations in lyrics are rare in manuscripts other than Triclinian ones, and anyway removing the τ' is not sufficient to restore responsion.

9. Πηλ. . . . εἶπέ, τίμη δίκη χέρας  
βρόχοισιν ἐκδήσαντες οἶδ' ἄγουσί σε  
καὶ παῖδ'; ὕπαρνος γάρ τις οἷς ἀπόλλυσαι,  
ἡμῶν ἀπόντων τοῦ τε κυρίου σέθεν.  
555
- Αν. οἶδ', ὦ γεραιέ, σὺν τέκνῳ θανουμένην  
ἄγουσί μ' οὕτως ὡς ὄρας. τί σοι λέγω;  
οὐ γὰρ μιᾶς σε κληδόνας προθυμία  
μετήλθον, ἀλλὰ μυρίων ὑπ' ἀγγέλων.  
560  
ἔριν δὲ τὴν κατ' οἶκον οἶσθά που κλύων  
τῆς τοῦδε θυγατρὸς, ὣν τ' ἀπόλλυμαι χάριν.  
565  
καὶ νῦν με βωμοῦ Θέτιδος, ἣ τὸν εὐγενῆ  
ἔτικτέ σοι παῖδ', ἣν σὺ θαυμαστὴν σέβεις,  
ἄγουσ' ἀποσπάσαντες,
- Pel. Tell me, by what right do they *lead* you as a prisoner with your son, having bound your hands with cords? For you perish like an ewe with her lamb, in my absence and that of your master.
- Andr. These men are *leading* me captive as you see, old man, to be put to death with my child. What can I say? For it was not with a single eager summons that I sent for you, but be innumerable messengers. You have heard, no doubt, about the strife raised in the house by this man's daughter, and of the reasons why I am being killed. Now they *lead* me captive, having dragged me from the altar of Thetis, mother of your noble son, whom you *hold in reverence*.

The repetition of the apt and colourless word ἄγουσ[ι] three times in 12 lines would not be noteworthy, were it not that a γράφεται variant ἄγεις for σέβεις in 566 is recorded by M and a scholium in V. Scribal repetition from the next word, even when in the next line, is not surprising (though Chapter 6 has found no precise parallel), particularly in a context in which the scribe has been well primed with ἄγω. ἄγω in the sense 'hold, account, treat' seems regularly to be construed with the adjective rather than the adverb (τιμιώτερόν τε αὐτὸν ἄγοιεν Thucydides VIII.81.2 is ambiguous between adjective and adverb).

10. κῆδος συνάψας in Menelaus' speech in the agon repeats κῆδος ξυνάψαι from Peleus' preceding speech:<sup>110</sup>

- ὅτ' ὦν σὺ Πηλεὺς καὶ πατρὸς κλεινοῦ γεγώς,  
κῆδος συνάψας, αἰσχρὰ μὲν σαυτῷ λέγεις  
ἡμῖν δ' ὀνειδίη διὰ γυναῖκα βάρβαρον . . .  
648
- κἀγὼ μὲν ἠὔδων τῷ γαμοῦντι μήτε σοὶ  
κῆδος ξυνάψαι μήτε δώμασιν λαβεῖν  
κακῆς γυναικὸς πῶλον.  
620

On 648, Stevens says:

If the text is sound ἡμῖν or ἐμοί must be supplied; M. then picks up P.'s words in 620 and retorts in effect that the connection by marriage as well as P's renown and ancestry should have restrained him from the insults he has uttered. The ellipse is difficult, though the reference back to 620 is some help, and the point is not very satisfactory; but perhaps the text can stand.

<sup>110</sup> It is not clear on what manuscript authority Murray (1902) and Garzya (1978) vary σ and ξ, while Diggle (1984) prints σ on both occasions; none mentions the matter in his apparatus.

To pray the reference back in aid of the text is to assume that the audience would keep this phrase in its mind for twenty-five lines, though in cases of ‘pointless’ repetitions commentators frequently assume that an audience would have forgotten a word after a much smaller interval.<sup>111</sup>

### 11. Some repetitions in suspect passages:

- a) [κάκεινο νῦν ἄθρησον· εἰ σὺ παῖδα σὴν  
 δούς τῷ πολιτῶν, εἴτ' ἔπασχε τοιάδε,  
 σιγῇ καθῆσ' ἄν; οὐ δοκῶ· ξένης δ' ὑπερ  
 τοιαῦτα λάσκεις τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους;  
 καὶ μὴν ἴσον γ' ἀνὴρ τε καὶ γυνὴ στένει\*  
 ἀδικουμένη πρὸς ἀνδρός· ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἀνὴρ  
 γυναῖκα μωραίνουσιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχων.  
 καὶ τῷ μὲν ἔστιν ἐν χεροῖν μέγα σθένος,  
 τῇ δ' ἐν γονεῦσι καὶ φίλοις τὰ πράγματα.  
 οὐκ οὐκ δίκαιον τοῖς γ' ἐμοῖς ἐπωφελεῖν;]  
 γέρων γέρων εἶ. τὴν δ' ἐμὴν στρατηγίαν  
 λέγων ἔμ' ὠφελοῖς ἂν ἢ σιγῶν πλέον.  
 'Ελένη δ' ἐμόχθησ' οὐχ ἑκούσ', ἀλλ' ἐκ θεῶν,  
 καὶ τοῦτο πλείστον ὠφέλησεν Ἑλλάδα·

[And now look at this: if you married your daughter to one of the citizens, and then she suffered something like this, would you be sitting in silence? I do not think so. Yet, on behalf of a foreigner, do you scream such things about your relatives? And, again, a husband and a wife wronged by her husband lament equally; so too a husband with a foolish wife in his house. And for him there is great strength in his hands, but for her matters depend on her parents and friends. Is it not then right for me to help my own?] You are an old man, old! You would help me more by speaking of my generalship than if you were silent. Helen's troubles were not voluntary, but came from the gods, and she thus gave the greatest benefit to Greece:

Stevens (1971) says of the passage in square brackets:

These lines, weak in argument and confused in expression, are bracketed by Murray and other editors,<sup>112</sup> following Hirzel, and are pronounced by Page [1934, p. 65] to be ‘an expansive interpolation, probably histrionic, specially written for this passage’; he notes that it is not as well composed as such passages usually are. 678 certainly follows quite naturally after 667.

Stevens also points out that 672-4 are clumsily expressed. Certainly the absence of anything like ἡ μὲν at the beginning of 673 is odd. But the repetitions of ἀνὴρ, γυνή and φίλος do nothing to weaken the case for Euripidean authorship, and the linkage of the bracketed passage to the following lines by threefold repetition of forms of ὠφέλειν strengthens it.

Within the bracketed passage there is a crux. The starred στένει in 672 is Dobree's emendation; all MSS and citations other than M have σθένει (M has σ\*ένει); Stevens

<sup>111</sup> κῆδος συνάπτω does not occur elsewhere in the tragedians, but κῆδος ἀνημμένον does at *HF* 35, and Thucydides 2, 29, 3 τὸ κῆδος Πανδίονα ξυνάψασθαι shows that it was a natural phrase.

<sup>112</sup> Including Diggle (1984), but not Garzya (1978).



says that σθένει “may well be right, the sense being ‘husband and wife are of equal account’”. He does not draw attention to σθένος in 675, though that could be an explanation for the corruption – faced with an illegible letter a copyist or copyists looked ahead and found a suitable word. If σθένει is right, there is some play on two senses of the σθεν term – the first emotional and the second emphatically physical.

- b) ὅταν τροπαῖα πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός  
οὐ τῶν ποιούντων τοῦργον ἡγοῦνται τόδε, 695  
ἀλλ’ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν δόκησιν ἄρνυται,  
ὅς εἰς μετ’ ἄλλων μυρίων πάλλων δόρυ,  
οὐδὲν πλέον δρῶν ἑνὸς ἔχει πλείω λόγον.  
[σεμνοὶ δ’ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμεῖοι κατὰ πτόλιν  
φρονοῦσι δήμου μείζον, ὄντες οὐδένες· 700  
οἱ δ’ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν μυρίω σοφώτεροι,  
εἰ τόλμα προσγένοιτο βούλησις θ’ ἅμα.]  
ὥς καὶ σὺ σὸς τ’ ἀδελφὸς ἐξωγκωμένοι  
Τροία κάθησθε τῇ τ’ ἐκεῖ στρατηγία,  
μόχθοισιν ἄλλων καὶ πόνοις ἐπηρμένοι. 705

When an army triumphs over the enemy, this achievement is not attributed to those who do the hard work, but the general takes the credit. He wields his spear as one among countless others, and does no more work than one, but has more renown. [Sitting pompously in office in the city, they look down on the people, although they are nobodies. But they are infinitely wiser than them, if daring and purpose were added.] Thus you and your brother sit back, puffed up by Troy and by your generalship there, exalted by the toil and labour of others.

Diggle (1984), following Busche, deletes the lines in square brackets. Lloyd (1994) accuses them of introducing “an irrelevant extension of the opening generalisation into the realm of politics” and of an uncertain grasp of number and an illogical conditional. But, as Stevens observes, the words σεμνοὶ δ’ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμεῖοι in 699 are picked up (with *variatio* rather than verbal repetition) by ἐξωγκωμένοι . . . κάθησθε . . . στρατηγία in 704-5; the use of μύριος in both 697 and 701 resembles many other repetitions in tragedy, and seems to bind the disputed passage into its context, emphasising that there are thousands more ordinary people than generals.<sup>113</sup> The afterthought in 702 might however have been an interpolation by someone of an élitist turn of mind who could not accept that Jack was really as good as his master.<sup>114</sup>

- c) οἶον δέδρακεν ἔργον Ἀνδρομάχην κτανεῖν 806  
καὶ παῖδα βουλεύσασα, κατθανεῖν θέλει,  
πόσιν τρέμουσα, μὴ ἀντὶ τῶν δεδραμένων  
ἐκ τῶνδ’ ἀτίμως δωμάτων ἀποσταλῆ,  
ἢ κατθάλλῃ κτείνουσα τοὺς οὐ χρῆ κτανεῖν. 810

. . . what she has done in plotting to kill Andromache and her son, wants to kill herself. She is afraid that her husband will banish her in disgrace from this house because of what she did or that she will be killed for trying to kill those whom she should not kill.

<sup>113</sup> Lloyd’s translation fails to bring this out, or to make it clear that οἱ δ’ refers to δήμου.

<sup>114</sup> βούλησις does not occur in literature before Euripides, but is found also in *HF* 1305 and *IT* 1019.

810 is deleted by Diggle (1984) following Cobet, on the grounds that it is absurd for the Nurse to say in so many words that Hermione wants to die because she is afraid of dying, supported by the rarity of the use of the article as a relative in dialogue in Euripides.<sup>115</sup> It is however well bound in to its context by repetitions,<sup>116</sup> and Cobet may be pressing logic too hard; and would an interpolator have dared to use the article as a relative? Several manuscripts read *θανεῖν* at the end of 810 instead of *κτανεῖν*. That reading would produce a different pattern of repetitions, without reducing their number. The received text should be retained as the better rhetorically, though a change from *κτανεῖν* to *θανεῖν* under the influence of *κτείνουσα* is easier to one the other way under the influence of *κατθάνη*.

- d) Τρ. ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων 876  
 πάροιθε τῶνδε, μή τιν' αἰσχύνην λάβῃς  
 πρόσθεν μελάθρων τῶνδ' ὀρωμένη, τέκνον.  
 Χο. καὶ μὴν ὄδ' ἀλλόχρως τις ἔκδημος ξένος 880  
 σπουδῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς βημάτων πορεύεται.  
 Ορ. ξέναι γυναῖκες, ἧ τάδ' ἔστ' Ἀχιλλέως  
 παιδὸς μέλαθρα καὶ τυραννικαὶ στέγαι;

Nurse But go inside, and do not show yourself here in front of this house, or you might suffer some damage to your reputation, being seen before this mansion, child.

Cho. Yes, here is a stranger of foreign appearance coming here hot-foot towards us.

Orest. Strangers, is this the mansion of Achilles' son, the royal palace?

878 is deleted by Diggle (1984) following Nauck. Their motive is rather superfluity of content than repetition of words, though *τέκνον* in it is repeated from 874, *μελάθρων* recurs in 882 and editors see no point in the repetition of *τῶνδε* from the line before (*ὦδε* has been proposed as an emendation). Stevens (1971) observes that the line may be genuine and add a touch of fussiness to the Nurse's rebuke. The case for deletion is not strong; indeed the repetition of *μέλαθρα* can be read as binding together the exit of the Nurse and the entrance of Orestes.

12. Most manuscripts read *εἴτ' ἐκφοβηθεῖσ' αἰχμαλωτίδος φόβῳ* in 962. Lenting conjectured *φόνῳ*, a reading found in the Jerusalem palimpsest H (subsequently corrected to the vulgate). P.Oxy. 2335 (of the second century A.D.) reads *φ]θονῳ*, whose sense is wrong. Murray (1902) and Diggle (1984) accept *φόνῳ*, but Stevens and Kovacs both lean, on grounds of sense and interpretation, to *φόβῳ*, as does Garzya (1978).<sup>117</sup> A very similar phrase occurs in 1059, where the MSS read *ναί, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰχμαλωτίδος φόβῳ* (three lines, incidentally after an occurrence of *φόνου*). Kovacs regards 1059 as supporting *φόβῳ* here, but Lenting, followed by Diggle (1984), conjectured *φόνῳ* there

<sup>115</sup> Lloyd (1994) 145.

<sup>116</sup> There is another instance of the perfect of *δράω* in 814.

<sup>117</sup> Kovacs (1980) 97

also, though Murray (1902) and Garzya (1978) keep the MSS text. Moreover Chapter 6 found several close parallels to this MS vacillation: in *Septem* – 45 (φόνον for φόβον), 123 (φόβον for φόνου), 132 (φόνων for φόβων), 244 (φθόνω for φόνω), and 574 (φόβου for φόνου), and *Trachiniae* 558 (φθόνων for φονῶν). Although it is easier to account for corruption to φόβω (an error by scribes under the influence of the preceding verb), than for corruption to φόνω or φ]θουω, the fondness for polyptota shown in this speech supports the retention of the common manuscript reading.

13. ἀλλ' ἔκ τ' ἐκείνου διαβολαῖς τε ταῖς ἐμαῖς 1005  
κακῶς ὀλεῖται· γνώσεται δ' ἔχθραν ἐμήν.  
ἐχθρῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μοῖραν εἰς ἀναστροφήν  
δαίμων δίδωσι κούκ ἔᾶ φρονεῖν μέγα.

By the agency of Apollo and by my slanders he will die a wretched death, and will learn what my enmity means. God overthrows the fortune of his enemies, and does not tolerate their pride

The repetition of forms of ἐμός at the ends of two consecutive lines has, in conjunction with another repetition, of words with the root ἐχθρ-, and a problem of interpretation, provoked suspicion. Kovacs says:

In 1005 Orestes identifies himself closely with the intentions of Apollo, but identification is not identity. According to most of our MSS, Orestes goes on to say “He (Neoptolemus) shall know what it is to be my enemy. For the god overturns the fortunes of enemies and does not allow them to be proud.” Only an extreme megalomaniac could simply identify – with no comment or argument – his own enemies with the enemies of the god. This has provoked several attempts at emending ἐχθρῶν or ἀνδρῶν.

Orestes is no megalomaniac. And furthermore, the poet is not usually so careless as to repeat the same word in two different cases at the end of successive lines.<sup>118</sup> It seems likely that a scribe displaced the original last word of 1006 with the last word of the previous line. This ἐμαῖς was ‘corrected’ to ἐμοί in part of the tradition and ἐμήν in the rest.<sup>119</sup>

Kovacs inclines to Kirchhoff’s emendation θεοῦ. Although Chapter 6 finds erroneous repetition by a scribe from one line-end to the next in *Septem* 44/45 and 187/188 and *Hippolytus* 629/630, Kovacs has to assume a two-stage corruption, which must reduce its plausibility here. Much more telling against Kovacs, however, is the fact, apparently unnoticed by him, that 999 ends ἐμῶν and 1001 ἐμέ; this *tr deductio* of the first person of pronoun and adjective is easily explicable as portraying Orestes as egocentric (rather than megalomaniac). The manuscripts’ text can stay.

<sup>118</sup> Kovacs has a note here reading “This is rare in Euripides. In most cases repetition makes some point, as at *Alc.* 704-5” – actually 704-5 is part of a passage of five lines in *Alcestis* with four repetitions of forms of κακός in metrically final position.

<sup>119</sup> Kovacs (1980) 37.

14. Kovacs describes the repetition of  $\nu\nu$  in 1031 and 1032 as inelegant (Stevens calls it 'awkward'), and replaces the first, in the course of emending the passage, by  $\nu\hat{\nu}$ .<sup>120</sup> It is hard to believe that repeating as unemphatic a word as  $\nu\nu$  is so stylistically bad as to throw doubt on a text; Euripides repeats  $\nu\nu$  within two lines on eleven occasions: most are in different sentences but in *Andromache* 294-8, *HF* 828 *Bacchae* 288 and *IA*. 461-2 the two occurrences are as linked as in this passage, and the repetition of itself cannot be suspicious.

15. At the end of the anapaestic passage 1166-1172 most MSS repeat  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , e.g.:

$\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  τε κακοῖς πῆμασι  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   
εἰς ἔν μοίρας συνέκυσας.

AVLP have the above; MO  $\pi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  ἔκυσας (O omitting the whole of 1172), and P. Berol. 13418 (5th century AD) has  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ [ . . . ]μασι κυσας, perhaps to be restored as [δὴ πῆ]μασι (which Garzya [1978] reads). Murray (1902) and Diggle (1984) both delete  $\pi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ . Stevens (1971) says:

If we accept the deletion of  $\pi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , the sense is 'and you yourself in your sorrows' (causal) 'have become involved in one and the same fate (as your grandson)'. A papyrus . . . has  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ [ . . . ]μασι κυσας, and we should probably read (with Garzya and Tovar)  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  δὴ πῆμασι  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ . For the next line the paraphrase in Σ συνεδυστύχησας αὐτῷ (sc. Νεοπτολέμῳ) fits the MS reading, but this is not wholly satisfactory. The repetition  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ... συνέκυσας sounds to me worse than similar examples elsewhere, eg *HF* 153 *Ba.* 256, and some parallels cited by Garzya eg *Alc.* 1103  $\nu\iota\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\iota$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and *Hel* 1389 are quite different, since there the repetition is rhetorically effective. For εἰς ἔν μοίρας cf *Hel.* 742 εἰς ἔν ἐλθόντες τύχης 'united in our misfortune'; *Tro.* 1155  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\prime$  ἐμοῦ τε κάπο σοῦ | εἰς ἔν  $\xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\prime$ . In both passages, however, there is a verb of motion, which  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  is not, and it is rather forced to say that Peleus and Neoptolemus share the same fate. The catalectic line  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  δὴ πῆμασι  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  would metrically and in meaning be a suitable ending, and perhaps 1172 should be omitted, as in some MSS.

Certainly the parallels Stevens cites are not as harsh as the MSS repetition here (*HF* 153 reads  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  ἐν βρόχοις ἐλῶν | βραχίονός φησ' ἀγχόναισιν ἐξελεῖν; and *Bacchae* 256  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta'$  αὐ̂ θέλεις | τὸν δαίμον' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐσφέρων νέον | σκοπεῖν πτερωτοὺς κάμπύρων μισθοὺς φέρειν), nor is  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  . . .  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  with two intervening lines at *Ajax* 1306-9, discussed above. And the fact that  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  and  $[\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}]\kappa\upsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  are phonologically similar but morphologically different is a striking feature.

But the corruption is an odd one, and the process that must be assumed is complex. The editors who delete  $\pi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  must take  $\pi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$  as an intrusive gloss on κακοῖς and ἔκυσας as an anticipatory scribal repetition from  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  below, later corrected

<sup>120</sup> Garzya (1978) accepted Canter's  $\nu\nu\nu$  in place of the second  $\nu\nu$ .

in many manuscripts to κύρσας to mend the metre. The papyrus however seems to demand an explanation irreconcilable with that one: *viz.* that 1171 and 1172 were alternative final paroemiacs at one stage in the transmission; later, the one was written in a MS as a γρ. variant, and then incorporated, the papyrus coming from that stage; finally, someone with a thorough knowledge of metre realised that anapaestic systems end with one, not two, paroemiacs, and turned the first one into a dimeter. It is hard to be sure that these complex proceedings are more likely than an inelegant repetition by Euripides, which may seem to be an emphatic close.

## CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSIONS

### 1. Summary.

The systematic investigations described in the earlier chapters of this study were designed to illuminate the phenomenon of unfigured verbal repetition in Greek tragedy. The opinions of modern commentators, outlined in the second part of Chapter 2, are suggestive but not wholly satisfying. This may be in part because commentators have reached their conclusions on the basis of their own aesthetic judgement or literary theories, or have compiled lists of examples without comparing one author with another, or one style of writing with another, and without setting instances where an event has occurred against instances where, though circumstances are the same, it has not. It may also be in part because they have been drawing inferences from the phenomenon itself without evidence of what people in the ancient world actually thought about it: there is indeed little evidence about this, but there is *some*, as the first part of Chapter 2 has shown.

The following conclusions are suggested:

1. Repetition in the sense of this study is a feature of all the classic tragedians (in a way that it is emphatically not a feature of Lycophron), but there are observable differences among them. In particular, Chapter 4 has shown that Euripides has a greater propensity than Sophocles to non-figural repetitions in trimeters and that the *Prometheus* ascribed to Aeschylus is very different from the undisputed plays of that and the other tragic authors – though still much more repetitive than Lycophron.
2. Ancient literary critics did notice verbal repetitions, but concentrated on the effectiveness of figurative ones. However, the Rhetor ad Herennium, pseudo-Hermogenes, Quintilian and Pausimachus *apud* Philodemus, brought together, show that unfigured repetitions were not totally unnoticed or considered totally unimportant in ancient times. But they were not thought of great importance, nor their avoidance worth a great deal of effort; in Pausimachus' view the precise repetition of an unpleasant-sounding word like σχῆμα should be avoided, but that a change of accent might be all that was needed; and the repetition of a pleasant-sounding word, like λωτός, was a good thing.
3. Manuscript variants demonstrate that some of the repetitions in traditional texts are due to copyists' errors, and studying them systematically can show the circumstances in which they seem to occur. Experimentation here is in principle possible, though little of the work in experimental psychology yet undertaken has been directly relevant. Emendation to remove repetitions which are in all ancient manuscripts may therefore be justified, particularly when the error assumed is one

that is known to be prevalent, or is psychologically plausible, but must always be undertaken in the knowledge of the large number of unfigured repetitions which have to be accepted as genuine.

4. Manuscript variants also demonstrate that copyists could and did remove repetitions from their exemplars. This type of error is rarer than the reverse one, and may be a trait of some copyists (or Byzantine editors) only. But editors should never exclude the possibility that the true reading was a repetition, but has been lost in the whole of a tradition.

5. Repeating words is natural in human communication. A playwright who sought realism in dialogue would repeat words more often than one who eschewed it (is it relevant here that Sophocles is less repetitive than Euripides, and that *Philoctetes* is Sophocles' most repetitive play?). In writing, a playwright will himself naturally repeat words, and if he wishes to minimise repetitions, will have to remove them deliberately.

6. Concentrating on repetitions in the study of a play, as in Chapter 8, can produce useful insights, though perhaps at the expense of some loss of balance.

## 2. Aesthetics.

Every repetition encountered raises the question 'why' in the mind of the reader. The attractive way of answering that question is to attribute repetition to the word-craft of the playwright wherever a plausible and aesthetically satisfying explanation can be found, and to set down the remainder to textual corruption or, as a last resort, to the indifference of the playwright. But is this defensible? If some repetitions are due to indifference, why, apart from a desire to think as little ill of the playwright as possible, should there be hesitation in attributing non-figurative repetitions generally to that indifference?

The reply may be a *reductio ad absurdum*. If any repetition may be due to indifference, then why should not all be? So anaphora and polyptoton do not exist (as Fehling (1969) seems to claim alliteration does not). Indeed no word is ever deliberately chosen.

We must therefore exercise judgement, and that is largely an aesthetic judgement. Concentration on the phenomenon of repetition does make many examples aesthetically understandable, or explicable as due to corruption – many, but not all.

This study has found no criteria with any claim to objectivity. Our aesthetic judgement may, in any case, be valid for us. But it should be illuminated by an understanding of the context and purpose of classical Attic tragedy, which was different from those of its descendants lost (Alexandrian tragedy and the tragedy of the poets of the Roman republic) or surviving (Seneca, Renaissance, French etc.). That context was the desire to please an audience at one single performance, not, as with modern plays, to achieve a long run, but in order to win a competition.<sup>1</sup> If figurative repetition assisted this aim, then playwrights

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<sup>1</sup> Heath (1987) may underestimate the competitive aspect.

would use it. If unfigured repetitions did not matter one way or another, then playwrights would not struggle hard against the effects of priming. We may not think some such repetitions jar, and rightly criticise them, but should realise avoiding them was not very important to him.

We must not, of course, put classical poets beyond criticism: Easterling (1974) said that ‘poets are different from us’. Yes, but in the way that chess grandmasters are different from moderate club players; they make many fewer mistakes, and see far further into what they are doing; but they are human, neither computers nor from another planet. Just as grandmasters can be distracted, or follow the wrong line of analysis, so poets can write weak lines or choose the wrong word. And just as one grandmaster is better than another, or better at a certain type of game, so one poet can be better than another, or better in certain respects; and even Homer and Kasparov sometimes nod.

### 3. Further analysis.

If we take the differences between poets and plays found in Chapter 4 as our starting point, then a deeper question suggests itself. ‘Is frequency of repetition merely the obverse of diversity of vocabulary?’ If the answer were ‘yes’, then which is cause and which effect? X has the broader vocabulary, and therefore repeats less without noticing it; or X likes to avoid repetition, and so broadens his vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> Nor is the measurement of the diversity of vocabulary in a work or an author without its own problems. Cossette’s book *La Richesse lexicale et sa mesure* (Cossette [1994]) explains that the naive measure (obtained by dividing the number of different words (*mots*) in a text by the number of *vocables* – occurrences of all words) is fatally dependent on the length of a text, since, the number of *mots* in a language being finite, the number in a text cannot increase *pari passu* with the number of *vocables*; moreover, a text whose subject matter varies greatly will tend to have a more diverse vocabulary than one with a more restricted subject-matter, whichever of them has the more varied style. Cossette reviews a number of attempts that have been made to remove the interference of length with measures of diversity, by using logarithms or square roots. If one of these proved satisfactory (and the fact that tragedies do not differ enormously in length might help) then it might be possible to begin to separate out tendency to repeat words in proximity from any tendency to restrict one’s vocabulary. A more recent proposal, by Rigo (1994), is to use what he calls ‘entropie’ as a measure. Whether that would stand up to scrutiny I do not know.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cossette (1994) 24 “Les vocables peuvent être absent ou moins fréquent dans un texte parce que leur probabilité d’emploi dans la situation est faible ou parce que l’auteur veut les éviter ou éviter leur répétition pour des raisons de style.”



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