SHORTER NOTES

AESCHYLUS, *PERSAE* 767

The ghost of Darius provides a versified history of the Persian kingship, from the beginning down to the reign of his luckless son Xerxes, that starts out as follows in Martin West's Teubner text (1990):

> Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ,
> ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν·
> φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ᾠακοστρόφουν·
> τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ,
> ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις,
> Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο
> Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίᾳ·
> θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὔφρων ἔφυ.
> Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ηὔθυνε στρατόν·
> πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος ἦρξεν, αἰσχύνη πάτρᾳ
> θρόνοισί τ' ἀρχαίοισι·

First comes 'the *Mede* Cyaxares, whom A[eschylus] probably saw as the first king of a united Media and Persia, and therefore the right person to begin his list'.[1] Unless ἄλλος (766) is corrupt,[2] the first two members of the dynasty are anonymous. This is not perhaps surprising, given Aeschylus' limited knowledge of early Median and Persian history and given his use of these rulers as foils to the blest (εὐδαίμων) Cyrus. Each of them is, like the equally anonymous Cambyses (773), accorded only one or two lines, in contrast to the five lines devoted to Cyrus the Great. What is surprising is that the second of these is singled out for his good sense and his restraint ('For his clear thinking plied the tiller of his passions', 767).[3] Further, it is not clear what point is being made by attributing 'this deed' (τόδ' ἔργον, 766) to the good sense and restraint of the son of the Mede, particularly since it is not immediately apparent to what deed reference is being made.[4] As Alexander Garvie notes in his recent commentary on the play, 'That this line [767] is out of place in the codd. is highly likely'.

[1] A.F. Garvie (ed.), *Aeschylus. Persae* (Oxford, 2009), 300, with Garvie's emphasis (some scholars having taken Μῆδος to be a proper name).

[2] In his marginalia Richard Bentley noted that perhaps ἄλλος concealed the name of the second ruler; see M.L. West, 'The King's ghost's ghost kings', in M.A. Flower and M. Toher (edd.), *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell, BICS* Suppl. 58 (London, 1991), 182–8, at 183 n. 30.

[3] For the metaphor, compare *Ag*. 802 οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἴακα νέμων; Bacchyl. 17.21–3 ὅσιον οὐκέτι τεᾶν | ἔσω κυβερνᾷς φρενῶν | θυμ[όν]; Pind. *Isthm*. 4.71–2 κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστρόφου | γνώμᾳ πεπιθὼν πολυβούλῳ, fr. 214 Snell–Maehler Ἐλπίς, ἃ μάλιστα θνατῶν πολύστροφον γνώμαν κυβερνᾷ; see D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aischylos* (Groningen, 1963), 122–8.

[4] 'The nameless son … apparently founds the empire', H.J. Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* (Amsterdam, 1957–8), 1.146; 'the "work" probably is the ἡγεμονία Μήδων, which lasted till Cyrus deposed Astyages', H.D. Broadhead (ed.), *The Persae of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1960), 192–3; 'the unification of Media and Persia', Garvie (n. 1), 303.

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Denys Page therefore proposed relocating the line to follow 769.[5] This is an improvement, as the laudatory comment seems much more appropriate as a characterization of Cyrus, whose good sense and restraint can now be seen as accounting for his ability to impose peace on all his friends (769). An earlier attempt had been made to transpose line 767. The *scholia vetera* to the line, identifying as Artaphrenes the unnamed ruler whose good sense and restraint are commended, claim that the line presents an etymology of the ruler's name: ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης, ὃν ἐτυμολογεῖ, ὁ ἀρτίας ἔχων φρένας.[6] Since Artaphrenes is not named here, but is named later in the text, at line 776 and again in the interpolated line 778, Carl Gottfried Siebelis relocated 767 to follow 776.[7] Dirk van Nes, although preferring to leave the line in its transmitted place, notes that, if etymologizing is at issue here, the line would better follow 777.[8] Aeschylus is indeed fond of explicating and etymologizing proper names,[9] but good sense and restraint are odd qualities to highlight when describing the conspirator who carried out an assassination using guile (σὺν δόλῳ … ἔκτεινεν, 775–6). In any event, the scholion seems to reflect a text in which line 767 stood neither immediately before nor immediately after line 777, as its wording suggests that it is identifying someone not named in the text.

I should like to propose that the φρένες in line 767 have nothing to do with Artaphrenes' name, that the word refers rather to the good sense of Cyrus and that the line originally stood after line 772, thus:

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ, 765
ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν· 766
τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ, 768
ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις, 769
Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο 770
Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἥλασεν βίᾳ· 771
θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὔφρων ἔφυ. 772
φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ᾠακοστρόφουν· 767
Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ηὔθυνε στρατόν· 773
πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος ἦρξεν, αἰσχύνη πάτρᾳ 774
θρόνοισί τ' ἀρχαίοισι· 775

That is, the line is Darius' explanatory (γάρ) gloss on εὔφρων in the previous line. Cyrus' success in bringing peace and expanding the Persian empire is owed to the gods' affection for him, whom they approve because he is sensible. Aeschylus is inordinately fond of playing on the relationship between φρένες and words containing the

[5] The suggestion was first recorded in Broadhead's commentary (n. 4), who adopted it in his text. Page himself printed 767 following 769 in his OCT of Aeschylus (1972). The transposition has been adopted by A.J. Podlecki (tr.), *Aeschylus*: *The Persians* (London, 1991[2]), A.H. Sommerstein (ed. and tr.), *Aeschylus* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2008) and Garvie (n. 4), who notes ad loc. that 'the Greeks generally admired' Cyrus and that they considered him especially to possess the qualities enunciated in the line.

[6] For the details, see West (n. 2), 183.

[7] C.G. Siebelis, *De Aeschyli Persis diatribe* (Leipzig, 1794), 129–31. This transposition was adopted by Gottfried Hermann, in the second edition of his text of Aeschylus (Berlin, 1859), and approved by P. Keiper, *Die Perser des Aeschylos als Quelle für altpersische Altertumskunde* (Erlangen, 1877), 42.

[8] Van Nes (n. 3), 126; likewise West (n. 2), 183.

[9] See especially R. Schweizer-Keller, *Von Umgang des Aischylos mit der Sprache: Interpretationen zu seinen Namensdeutungen* (Aarau, 1972). It is not only proper names that, according to the ancient commentators, Aeschylus is fond of etymologizing; see the scholia to *Sept*. 35 (ὅμιλος), 72 (θάμνος), *PV* 151 (πελώριος), 654 (ἔρως).

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element φρον- or -φρων. So, in *Septem*, Eteocles praises Amphiaraus for being, among other things, σώφρων (610), but immediately accounts for his participation in the enemy attack as involuntary (βίᾳ φρενῶν, 612). Following his matricide, Orestes admits that he is losing control of his *phrenes*, so he makes sure to proclaim the justice of his act while he is still ἔμφρων (*Cho*. 1024–6). Earlier in the same play Orestes' nurse noted that her job entails the application of a nurse's *phren* in order to correct the senselessness (τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν) of her infant charge (754–5). Shortly afterwards, when the chorus instruct the nurse to summon Aegisthus with cheerful *phren* (772), despite the apparently sad news regarding the fate of Orestes, she replies by asking incredulously whether the chorus are themselves cheered by the news (ἦ φρονεῖς εὖ; 774). In *Agamemnon*, the chorus attribute Clytaemestra's arrogant words (περίφρονα ἔλακες, 1426) to the fact that her *phren* (1427) has been maddened by the blood she has just shed. Earlier, the chorus had described Agamemnon's change of thinking at Aulis (φρονεῖν μετέγνω, 221) in terms of a wind-shift in his mind (φρενὸς … τροπαίαν, 219).[10]

The word εὔφρων specifically is associated with the workings of the *phrenes* on two occasions in Aeschylus. In *Supplices*, the Argive king acknowledges that it is not sensible (εὖφρον, 378) to rebuff the chorus's prayers, but he is at a loss, since his *phrenes* are gripped by dread (379). Of particular interest in connection with the passage we have been considering (*Persae* 767) is *Agamemnon* 805–6:

> νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως
> εὔφρων πόνον εὖ τελέσασιν <ἐγώ·>

Here the chorus, addressing their victorious king on his homecoming, assure him that their kindly disposition toward their successful returning leader derives not from the mere surface of their *phren* but, it is implied, from the very depths of their feelings. Shortly before, they had flattered Agamemnon by suggesting that he was too discerning to be deceived by dissemblers, whose pretence of friendship only gives the appearance of coming from a kindly disposed mind (εὔφρονος ἐκ διανοίας, 797). Unlike them, the chorus are willing to admit frankly that they earlier had reservations about Agamemnon's campaign to retrieve the unfaithful Helen, saying that they felt he was not plying the tiller of his thoughts aright (οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἴακα νέμων, 802), using the very same metaphor we see in *Persae* 767.[11]

If, then, line 767 originally stood between lines 772 and 773,[12] the ghost of Darius is, as it were, defining τὸ εὔφρον as having one's *phrenes* in control of one's *thymos*, in contrast, say, to possessing the σιδηρόφρων θυμός (*Septem* 52) that characterizes the savage attackers of Thebes or the implacable *thymos* that Electra claims to have inherited from her mother and which she likens to a bloody-minded wolf (λύκος γὰρ ὥστ' ὠμόφρων | ἄσαντος ἐκ ματρός ἐστι θυμός, *Cho*. 421–2).[13] There is no reason to object to the appearance of γάρ in successive sentences, for which the text of Aeschylus

[10] See also 174–6 (προφρόνως …φρενῶν … φρονεῖν), 546–7 (φρενός … δύσφρον), 1620–2 (σωφρονεῖν … φρενῶν).

[11] Authors subsequent to Homer seem to use φρένες and πραπίδες more or less interchangeably; see S.D. Sullivan, 'πραπίδες in Homer', *Glotta* 65 (1987), 182–93. For the meaning of εὔφρων and for the train of thought in this passage, see the extended discussion by Fraenkel on *Ag*. 806.

[12] Garvie (n. 4), 302, *ad* 762–4, considers ηὔθυνε 773 to be a nautical metaphor. If so, it will have been well prepared for by ὠκοστρόφουν in the preceding line.

[13] Famously, Euripides' Medea, whose *thymos* is in control of her *bouleumata*, claims that that is the cause of the greatest misfortunes for mortals (*Med*. 1079–80).

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affords a number of parallels.[14] I can supply no convincing explanation for the dislocation of the line, although the similarity in the endings of consecutive lines (-στρόφουν 767, στρατόν 773) may have caused the omission of 767. In any event, it is as likely to have fallen out from after 772 as after 769 (Page), 776 (Siebelis) or 777 (van Nes). The manuscripts of the tragedians provide several examples of lines omitted in cases where no obvious palaeographical explanation (homoioteleuton, homoioarkton, vel sim.) is available, in some instances the line being inserted later in the margin or at the foot of the page.[15] On at least two occasions, however, the omitted line and the line preceding it have identical words in the *middle* of the verse in the same metrical *sedes*, as 772 and 767 have γάρ. So, the scribe of Vat. gr. 1345 initially omitted Eur. *Phoen*. 9 (φῦναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Λάιον; line 8 reads Πολύδωρον ἐξέφυσε, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον), later adding it, in the correct place, between the lines. And the scribes of both Madrid 4677 and Leiden Voss. gr. Q4A omitted *PV* 515 which, curiously enough, ends in οἰακοστρόφος (τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος; line 514 reads τέχνη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῷ), the former adding it in the margin while, in the latter manuscript, the line was added between the lines by a later hand.

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[14] *Pers*. 667–70, *Sept*. 336–8, *Suppl*. 713–14, *Ag*. 532–4, 832–34, 1186–7, *Cho*. 75–6, 753–5 (with πῶς γὰρ οὔ; intervening), 989–90. See also *PV* 333 (πάντως γὰρ οὐ πείσεις νιν· οὐ γὰρ εὐπιθής.).
[15] *Pers*. 164, 391, 467, *Sept*. 232, 1037, *PV* 17, 196, 515, 721, 818, Eur. *Phoen*. 9, 37, 65, 73, 97–8, 406, 437, 636, 842, 868, 964, 1079, 1082, 1158, 1170, 1379, 1403, 1666. I have relied for these examples on the collations of R.D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1964) and D.J. Mastronarde and J.M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai*. University of California Publications in Classical Studies 27 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1982).

AN EPIGRAM AND A TREASURY: ON *SIM. FGE* XXXIIIB [B. 162; D. 163; *EG* XXXIII]

Κίμων ἔγραψε τὴν θύραν τὴν δεξιάν,
τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιὰν Διονύσιος.

Cimon painted the door to the right,
and the right door as one goes out, Dionysius. (*Anth. Pal*. 9.758)

Denys Page correctly classified this epigram, which comes from a series of *Simonidea* in the ninth book of the *Palatine Anthology*, as a signature epigram.[1] The Cimon

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous reader of *CQ* for a number of suggestions and improvements. I am grateful to Melissa Mueller and Ivana Petrovic for discussing this epigram with me. The abbreviations of the epigraphic corpora follow *SEG*. *CEG* = P.A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca*, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1983; 1989); *EG* = D.L. Page, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Oxford, 1975); *FGE* = D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981). All references to *EG* and *FGE* are limited to the corpus of the epigrams ascribed to Simonides, unless otherwise stated.

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