

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### ZWIERLEIN'S SENECA AND THE EDITOR'S TASK \*

At last we have a first-rate, readily available, one-volume edition of Seneca's tragedies—an occasion for rejoicing and pounding the earth with a ready foot. For too long readers and students of Seneca have been hampered by lack of up-to-date standard texts; now their author is served handsomely by the Oxford Classical Texts series, for Otto Zwierlein's text of the tragedies joins the recent editions of the essays and letters by L. D. Reynolds. It arrives opportunely, at a time when Seneca's tragedies are increasingly recognized as speaking powerfully to late-twentieth-century readers.

Zwierlein not only gives us a text but also—greatest of virtues in an editor—explains his editorial decisions. He does so most systematically in the weighty *Kommentar* (henceforth *Komm.*), which is the chief subject of this review, but he has in a sense been preparing himself for his task and explaining his thinking for over twenty years, as his doctoral dissertation, the controversial *Rezitationsdramen* of 1966, already tackled certain textual issues.<sup>1</sup> Since then he has published detailed reviews of editions and studies of the tragedies; more recently a series of articles on textual questions has appeared in *WJA*, from 1976 to 1980, followed by a volume of *Prolegomena* to the edition.<sup>2</sup> (Nor is the process complete, for Z. has already published two lists of addenda and corrigenda to the text and *Komm.*;<sup>3</sup> and since he is not afraid to change his mind, we shall no doubt see further discussions and revised editions of the OCT.) The reviewer must take account of all this material, since *Komm.* regularly sends one to the earlier publications. Considerations of space therefore suggest that my best strategy is to take a cross-section through the material, by limiting myself to

\*L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae. Incertorum Auctorum "Hercules [Oetaeus]." "Octavia." Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit OTTO ZWIERLEIN. *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Pp. xxiv + 483; 2 diagrams (stemmata) in text. \$18.95.

*Kritischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien Senecas*. By OTTO ZWIERLEIN. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Einzelveröffentlichung 6. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986. Pp. 564; frontispiece in text. DM 148 (paper).

1. *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 20 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1966), pp. 167–219.

2. *Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der Tragödien Senecas*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1983, no. 3 (Mainz, 1984). Details of the reviews and articles will be given as relevant; they are collected in the bibliography of *Komm.*

3. *Hermes* 115 (1987): 383–84, n. 5, and O. Zwierlein, *Senecas "Phaëdra" und ihr Vorbilder*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1987, no. 5 (Mainz, 1987), pp. 81–93.

three plays that have recently received separate editions with commentaries, viz., *Hercules Furens*, *Troades*, and *Thyestes*:<sup>4</sup> *a tribus disce omnes*. I shall first fulfill a reviewer's obligations by describing both text and *Komm.*, and then take up certain methodological questions that Z.'s work raises.

It is a particular pleasure in a new edition to find conjectural improvements that must count as certain or highly probable, though naturally they are not many at this late date.

Examples include Z.'s relocation of *HF* 146–51 between 136 and 137, which gives a better balance between the natural world and human activities in this description of dawn and is confirmed by the order of topics in the parodos in Eur. *Phaethon*, Seneca's source;<sup>5</sup> his correction of *hostis* to *ensis* at *Tro.* 280 (see my comments in *EMC* 19 [1985]: 452); and his replacement of *piger* at *Thy.* 736 with *impiger*, which better matches both *non ponit iras* in 735 and the following description of the insatiable Atreus.

In the prefaces to the OCT and *Komm.*, Z. acknowledges the help that Bertil Axelsson provided right up to the time of his death. The majority of Axelsson's conjectures were not published but communicated to Z., and now enrich the text, apparatus criticus, and *Komm.*

One thinks of a series of conjectures in *Thyestes* alone that seem at first acquaintance of the highest quality: at 281, *versatur* replaced by *servatur*, which *inter alia* coheres better with *tam diu*; at 302, recognition of a lacuna before *hinc vetus*, in view of the sudden shift from talk of Thyestes' sons to Thyestes himself;<sup>6</sup> at 452, *scyphus* for *cibus* (a replication of J. Gronovius' conjecture at *Pha.* 208); at 694, correction of *ferro admovet* to *ferro adparat* (a modification of Z.'s own *ferro parat*—also proposed independently by Tarrant—which itself builds on Koetschau's *ferrum parat*); at 1033, correction of the weak *servantur* to *vorantur* (paleographically more persuasive than the otherwise excellent suggestions of Z. and Tarrant, viz., *laniantur* and *scinduntur*, respectively).

4. J. G. Fitch, ed., *Seneca's "Hercules Furens"* (Ithaca and London, 1987); E. Fantham, ed., *Seneca's "Troades"* (Princeton, 1982); R. J. Tarrant, ed., *Seneca's "Thyestes"* (Atlanta, 1985). For *Tro.* we have also R. L. Wertsch, ed., "L. Annaei Senecae *Troades*" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1970). This is not to overlook modern editions of other plays, such as Costa's *Medea* (Oxford, 1973), Tarrant's *Agamemnon* (Cambridge, 1976), Boyle's *Phaedia* (Liverpool, 1987), and Häuptli's *Oedipus* (Frauenfeld, 1983).

5. Z. explains the misplacement of the lines by supposing that in the early E tradition lines 132–58 were written in two columns,

(a) 132-	(b) 146-
136	151
(c) 137-	(d) 152-
145	148

and that a scribe then copied the blocks in the wrong order, viz., abcd. Since Z. has suggested similar explanations for other misplacements of anapestic lines (*Pha.* 345–46 and 348–49 in the archetype, *Pha.* 359 plus 405 in CSV, *Pha.* 966–78 in E: see, respectively, *WJA* n.s. 3 [1980]: 187, 2 [1979]: 173, and *ibid.*, p. 176, n. 36), some cautionary observations are in order. First, such space-saving doubling of columns is used for choral odes only in the E tradition: there is no evidence for it in the archetype or in the A tradition. Second, even E employs it rarely, and then mostly for very short lyric lines, not anapests (*HF* 876–93, *Med.* 860–78, *Oed.* 883–914): among all the anapestic passages it is used only once, for only 6 lines, at *Pha.* 959–64. Third, E's double columns are to be read alternately: e.g.,

<i>HF</i> 876	877
878	879
880	881, etc.

Columns to be read separately, as Z.'s hypothesis requires, are found only occasionally for passages of *antilabe* in trimeters; Z. cites only *Ag.* 791–79, *Oct.* 185–88, 451–61, 582–85, and these only in C (certainly they are not so treated in P, S, or E).

6. There is, however, much to be said for Courtney's proposal (*RFIC* 113 (1985): 299–300) to delete the whole of 299<sup>b</sup>–302<sup>a</sup> as an insertion designed to match up Atreus' plans with what actually happens in 404–90.

Z. displays neither a deliberately conservative nor a deliberately innovative tendency but rightly judges each question on its merits, and he shows admirable independence of judgment in doing so.

Where conservatism is required, he returns to the manuscripts and ignores the editors. Thus at *Thy.* 10 he restores the transmitted *vulneribus atras pascit effosis aves* (of Tityus), a splendidly paradoxical and Senecan phrase too long dulled by Avantius' substitution of *visceribus*. At 255 Atreus, asked what revenge he plans, replies "Nothing that could tolerate the limits of ordinary anger" (*nil quod doloris capiat assueti modum*). This presents his revenge as an active, overriding force; Madvig's substitution of *modus* re-frigerates the whole phrase ("nothing that the limits of ordinary anger could encompass"). But where the sense requires, Z. is prepared to abandon the paradox with confidence. At *Tro.* 273 he acknowledges that *brevis* does not cohere with *nec forsannis decem* in the next line, and therefore prints *levis* (proposed by a colleague of Baden's, and independently by Axelsson). In an equally trenchant note on *Thy.* 777 *medioque ruptum merseis caelo diem*, he rightly judges that *ruptum*, though vigorous, creates too confused a picture in combination with *merseis*, and accepts the old correction to *raptum*.

Like any good modern editor, Z. has freed himself from the cult of the *codex optimus*. In Seneca's case this means the Etruscus, for which a superstitious reverence grew up through the influence of two great editors, Gronovius and Leo, and was dispelled only partially and late by Carlsson's championing of the A tradition.

It is astonishing how, even when E's version is patently wrong, perverse attempts were made to save it rather than accept A's reading. At *Tro.* 395 A has *dissipat*, E *dissicat*; an unprejudiced observer would conclude that the not uncommon confusion of *c* and *p* has occurred in E—but no, E's reading flourished in the "corrected" form *dissicit* until fatally wounded by Carlsson, and even then lingered on (e.g.) in Viansino and Giardina.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally a reading that has become standard as a result of E-dolatry may slip past the most vigilant editor. Such is the case at *HF* 321, where Z. with most editors follows Leo in choosing E's *adit* as against A's *abit*: certainty is unobtainable, since we know nothing of the mythical episode in question; but syntactically *adit* causes great difficulties, since it must govern *fretum* but not *habenas*.<sup>8</sup>

Though Z.'s *Komm.* discusses most of the major textual problems, he does not aim to be encyclopedic. In the first two hundred lines of *Thyestes*, for example, I count some fifteen places not discussed by Z. where E or A has a variant that is not ungrammatical, unmetrical, or nonsensical, and a further four

7. Another instance is *Med.* 345, where Madvig's attempt (accepted by Leo and by Z.) to salvage E's ungrammatical *astris* by writing *arcis* results in a highly improbable metrical sequence: see my *Seneca's Anapaests* (Atlanta, 1987), pp. 36–37.

8. Two further examples. E places *Thy.* 290 after 293, where it makes no sense, whereas it is quite satisfactory in the order given by A. Leo, determined to stick as closely as possible to E and ignore A, placed the line after 292. But Occam's Razor requires the most parsimonious hypothesis, viz., that the line has been misplaced in one tradition (here E) rather than separately and differently in the two traditions. At *Tro.* 932 Z. accepts Gronovius' emendation of E's meaningless *altum vadoso sigaeo spectans sinum* to *altum vadoso Sigeon spectans sinu*. Significantly, neither Gronovius nor his followers explain the syntax of *vadoso . . . sinu*; but whether abl. of place or abl. of description, it is awkward, and Seneca must turn in his grave at the thought that he would call the sea "the deep" at the very point where he mentions its shallowness. Rather, he is juxtaposing high Sigeum with its shallow bay: *altum vadosos Sigeon spectans sinus* (so A). The sigmatism of *vadosos Sigeon* cannot be an objection in view of *quas scisso* (931) and *spectans sin-*: Fantham is right that this suits Andromache's fury. E's reading is to be explained by loss of the final *s* of *vadosos* through haplography, followed by adjustment of an apparently meaningless *sinus*.

places where he does not discuss a conjecture recorded in his apparatus criticus.<sup>9</sup> His principle seems to be, reasonably enough, to treat only those passages where he has something to add to previous discussions.

He is equally selective over conjectures: on *Tro.* 578, for example, after discussing conjectures by Axelson and Bentley, he remarks simply that "die übrigen bisher vorgeschlagenen Konjekturen zur Stelle sind mit Sicherheit auszuschneiden." Even so, the *Komm.* runs to 564 pages, of which the only section not directly concerned with textual problems is an excursus on the dating of *HO* (regarded as spurious, primarily because of its "cento-like" imitation of the other plays, and as possibly written by a contemporary of Juvenal: pp. 313–43). Its bulk would be considerably greater if Z. had not already treated many passages in his earlier publications, to which he simply refers in *Komm.* unless he has new points to make.<sup>10</sup> Again, he sometimes saves space by referring the reader to discussions by earlier scholars, presumably where he regards these as conclusive: thus on *HF* 207 he rightly sends us to Hoffa's lively and decisive defense of the transmitted text.

Sometimes in such references the reader would like to be told briefly the point at issue, in order to decide whether to follow up the reference. On *Tro.* 79 we are told laconically "*Ite* wird gestützt durch *Ag.* 310 *canite*, siehe dort Tarrant (S.232)." Fine, but Z. could have added in a phrase that these are examples of commands addressed by a chorus to its own members.<sup>11</sup> A similar terseness can make it challenging to understand the point of longer notes: at *HF* 74, the comments on *prementem* seem gratuitous until one turns to the OCT and discovers that Axelson proposed *frementem*; at *Thy.* 604–5, Z. plumps for *moventes* as substantival, "[the gods] who move all things," without mentioning Scaliger's suggestion that *moventes* agrees with *casus*,<sup>12</sup> and without tackling the meaning of *divinat*. Having accepted Axelson's *exsolvet* for *exsolvit* in the OCT at *Tro.* 338, he now comments (I translate) "The reply makes sense only if one sees in it a threat (cf. 307 ff.), with Axelson; so *exsolvet* is to be read." Certainly the conjecture is attractive, but this is a brief justification for changing the paradoxos: one would like to know how commentators have taken *exsolvit* over the past five centuries.

This terseness causes difficulties most consistently in Z.'s citation of parallels—an issue that I shall discuss in detail below. The significance of a parallel is rarely self-evident;<sup>13</sup> in fact, the important issue is usually not the parallel itself, but the argument of which it forms a part. Hence I have serious reservations about Z.'s policy of citing parallels in the apparatus criticus of his text, as if the parallels themselves settled the question.

Thus at *Tro.* 1126–27 "hi classis moram / hac morte solvi rentur," Z.'s apparatus reads "moram *E*: -as *A*; cf. 166, 613." The two passages cited speak of the "delay," not "delays," of the fleet. But the issue is not so clear-cut, as Wertis' commentary establishes in a couple

9. Z.'s selective policy can be frustrating in such situations: one would like to know, e.g., how he intends the reader to take *E*'s *limina* at *Thy.* 818 (*lumina A*, *munia* Gronovius, *foedera* Tarrant).

10. Such references are occasionally omitted where Z. has now changed his mind, presumably because he regards the earlier discussion as superseded: e.g., in *Gnomon* 38 (1966): 685 he argued for Leo's excision of *HF* 1162 (which he now retains), and in *Rezitationsdramen*, p. 193, for Bentley's *leget* in place of *teget* (which he now prints) at *Tro.* 1109.

11. That fact explains the plural *ite*, but not the singular *substringe* in 88, which is to be referred to *turba* in the previous line: I was somewhat skeptical of this usage until I found a parallel at *Thy.* 901–2 *turba famularis, fores / templi relaxa*—which demonstrates the value of parallels (see below). Fantham's translation refers the imperative to *pudor* in 91, which would seem to require transposition of 90–91 to precede 88, or at the least a change of punctuation at the end of 89.

12. In the addenda Z. switches even more tersely to this view.

13. It is not evident at all in Z.'s note in *Komm.* on *Tro.* 379–80, which reads in its entirety "Vgl. Ov. Met. 11, 43 *sensibus in ventos anima exhalata recessit*." There seems to be no textual point at issue, but surely Z. is not simply recording Seneca's source?

of sentences: "For the plural with *solvere* cf. *Phoen.* 246, *Luc.* 1.204 (with Getty *ad loc.*). Seneca could have written either the singular or the plural in this case, but perhaps *Tro.* 166 and 613 point to the singular here." In other words, the issue is one of probability, not certainty, and there are parallels on the other side also.

Now let me turn to certain issues concerning editorial method. No critic could fail to be impressed by the published evidence of Z.'s enormous devotion to his subject and of his scrupulous preparation for the task of editing. But like any great enterprise, this one carries its attendant dangers, best summarized in the word "positivism." An editor who has made an exhaustive study of the words, phrases, and rhythms used by his author, and by Roman writers generally, may be inclined to deny that his author could on occasion use divergent words, phrases, and rhythms. To invent a Senecan *sententia*, great knowledge may impede judgment. I shall begin, then, by illustrating both the strengths and the weaknesses engendered by Z.'s painstaking collection of material.

Z.'s systematic study of types and frequency of elision at various points in the iambic trimeter (*Prolegomena*, pp. 203–29) enables him to settle many issues with confidence.<sup>14</sup> Thus at *Tro.* 973 "an aliqua poenae pars meae ignota est mihi?" Garrod had rearranged the last four words, producing *mihi ignota est meae* to eliminate the supposedly illegitimate elision of the last vowel of an iambic disyllable;<sup>15</sup> but Z. parallels such an elision in this position from *Thy.* 463 *meae excluso* and *Med.* 128 *tuae ignorent*. His collection of material will naturally form a valuable resource for other editors: at *HF* 12, for instance, it is now possible to document one's feeling that the reading of A, *fera coma hinc exterret*, gives an awkward rhythm, for *Prolegomena*, p. 214, shows that though Seneca occasionally permits overriding of the third-foot caesura after an elision in this position, and occasionally permits elision of a long syllable in this position, he never allows both to occur in the same line. The only danger is that this material might be used in too positivistic a fashion, to exclude any reading or conjecture that is not precisely paralleled. Z., for example, disallows my conjecture *pectori en tela indue* at *HF* 1028 on the grounds that elision of a long syllable is unparalleled in this position before the particle *en*.<sup>16</sup> But this seems too restrictive. Elision of the last syllable of a cretic word like *pectori* occurs relatively frequently in this position (*Prolegomena*, p. 222); an instance before a monosyllable with a long vowel is *Ag.* 11 *curiae hic*, and instances before a monosyllabic prefix with a long vowel include *Ag.* 2 *Tartari e-missus*, 475 *infimo e-versum*, *Thy.* 1085 *vindica a-missum*. The editor must consider reasonable probabilities as well as certainties.<sup>17</sup>

14. On meter Z. also has the benefit of "Reeve's Law," which states that the sequence anapest-trochee is inadmissible in Latin poetry generally, because of the problems of ictus that it would create. This rules out the readings of A at *Tro.* 158 (*nemoris tutus*) and *HO* 182 (*pariter cuncta*).

15. *CQ* 4 (1910): 122; Garrod himself noted that such an elision is permitted before a word beginning with a monosyllabic prefix, e.g., *Juv.* 6. 327 *morae impatiens*.

16. My conjecture was made independently of Axelsson's *pectori tela indue*, first published in *Komm.*: the *en* is needed to mark the point at which Amphitryon begins to address Hercules (see my comm.). Müller had earlier conjectured *pectus en telo indue*, which apparently aims to mean "here, impale my breast with your arrow." But when *induo* signifies "to impale upon (dat.) / with (abl.)" it is regularly reflexive, the object being either *se* or a part of the subject's body: instances are collected at *OLD*, s.v. *induo* 5b (where however *Ov. Met.* 9. 82 scarcely belongs), to which add *Ov. Am.* 2. 10. 31–32 "induat adversis contraria pectora telis / miles." Extending the verb's range to include this meaning in a nonreflexive use, at the very moment when Amphitryon turns away from self-address, would assuredly confuse the audience.

In the following line, *vel stipitem istum . . . converte*, Z. follows Axelsson in inserting *huc* after *istum*; but an indication of direction is not absolutely necessary if the context makes it clear: cf., e.g., *Sen. Ira* 2. 34. 1 "mures formicaeque, si manum admoveris, ora convertunt."

17. The complications caused by such metrical considerations are illustrated by *HF* 112 and *Thy.* 1021: in the former Z. abandons his earlier defence of the reading *iam odia mutantur mea* (A), primarily on the grounds that elsewhere there are only six cases of monosyllables elided in this verse position,

Another product of Z.'s systematic preparation is a list of letters that tend to be confused, primarily in majuscule script, and a shorter list of letters that are exchanged for phonetic reasons (*Komm.*, pp. 482–97 and 498–500). Again, such material, though valuable, must be used with caution: at *HF* 1312 Z. prefers Withof's *senile* to the transmitted *letale*; but though he can parallel confusion of *s* with *l*, *n* with *t*, and *i* with *a* individually, the question remains why all three should have occurred together.

Equally useful to editors will be the analysis of *Fehlertypen* in the indexes of *Komm.* (pp. 504–6). Z. is generally scrupulous in identifying the mechanism of corruption supposed by any conjectural correction to the text. Methodologically, this is all to the good: since scribes are human, their errors should be explicable in terms of characteristic human proneness to err. It needs to be borne in mind, of course, that such explanations are only hypotheses and must accord with probability. At *HF* 659–60, Z. reports Axelson's extremely imaginative suggestion as to how *tota . . . ethna* (codd.) arose from what he regarded as the original reading, *toto . . . orbe*: "*tota* (Einfluss von *irrita*) *orbe*—*tota urbe*—*tota Enna* (Glossen zu *urbe*, durch das *urbe* verdrängt wurde)—*tota ethna* (Schreibfehler)." Each step is conceivable, but together they strain one's credulity.<sup>18</sup>

Knowledge that scribes often confuse particular words (e.g., *ultor* and *victor*) can tempt the editor to look for error at every occurrence of the word, and thus to make conjectures in bulk, so to speak. In *WJA* [1980]: 188–90, Z. noted that scribes often confuse *iacere*—*latere*—*patere*, and therefore replaced the transmitted word with another from this trio at four places in the tragedies where he thought this improved the sense, even though the sense had not previously been held suspect. But by the time of the OCT he had stepped back from one of these (*Phoen.* 603), and in the addenda he withdraws two more (*HF* 1223, *Med.* 694). Clearly, the initial method was overly systematic.

The use of parallels exemplifies particularly well the issue of the relationship between knowledge and judgment. I shall make this my central topic, since Z.'s *modus operandi* constantly involves citation of parallels—not without good reason, of course. No one would deny the value of parallels in deciding textual questions: they establish what *can* be said, in particular by the author under discussion. But their habitual use carries certain dangers, which I shall attempt to illustrate. Two points should be made at the outset: first, Z.'s method is not peculiar to him but is characteristic of a certain tradition in philology; second, it is the massive competence of Z.'s work that frees me from concern over mundane details and allows me to concentrate on this question of policy.

Philologists are sometimes prone to overvalue linguistic parallels at the expense of other considerations. At *HF* 322, for instance, the problem is not primarily linguistic but mythological: we have no idea what happened to Hercules' ship in this episode.<sup>19</sup> (Z.'s linguistic parallels are in any case unpersuasive, since

none of which is *iam*; yet in the latter he accepts B. Schmidt's emendation (<*iam*> *accipe hos potius libens*, though it creates elision of *iam* in the same position. Clearly considerations of sense are (rightly) playing a large part in these decisions. (Though Z.'s acceptance of E's *vota mutantur mea* at *HF* 112 weakens his case against the transmitted *precor* in 113 and for his own conjecture *pater*, he stoutly defends the latter over six pages [*Komm.*, pp. 24–30]; *parce, precor precor!*).

18. At *Tro.* 985–86, Z. rightly notes that the interpolation recognized by Peiper would be of an unusual type, since it breaks into the original syntax; but he overlooks Fantham's persuasive explanation: "perhaps the first stage was the intrusion of an extra *quis* in 986, then to avoid the improper lengthening of *nescit* in the fourth foot a makeshift line was inserted."

19. Mythical considerations suffer again at *HF* 485, where Z. ignores the obvious reference to the invulnerable Cycnus (cf. *Ov. Met.* 12. 72–145) and unconvincingly takes *integer* to mean "previously unwounded" (viz., before being fatally wounded by Hercules). At 779 Z. passes over the gross mythological problems presented by drunken, monstrous Lapiths who are killed by Hercules at a party that he did not attend.

*deserta* could not mean “deserted by wind or waves” without further indication.) Consideration of linguistic parallels must, of course, be combined with due regard for the sense of the passage. It is exactly this combination that makes Z.’s note on *Tro.* 913 persuasive in its advocacy of Bentley’s correction to *tantus mali comitatus*. But there is a danger that parallels alone may be regarded as settling a textual issue.

For example, Z. reports Hoffa as having supported the reading *coetum* (A) at *Tro.* 1042 by means of three parallels for the phrase *coetum solvere*. But Hoffa’s decisive point concerned the greater appropriateness of *coetum* (vs. *questum*) to the context, well summarized by Wertis: “it is not the lamentation of the Trojan women which will be ended by their departure, but rather the fact that as a group they will no longer be able to console one another and, according to the theme of the preceding chorus, lessen their individual sorrow.” Similarly, Z. believes that Axelson successfully defended the transmitted reading *impulsus* . . . *cecidit* at *HF* 286–87 by citing three examples of *impulsus* with *cadere* or a similar verb. But no one denies that *impulsus cecidit* is linguistically viable: the objection is that it fails to fit Hercules’ action, which was to push the mountains apart, not flatten them. It is characteristic of Z.’s method that he defends the transmitted *iura* at *HF* 660 by parallels, without discussing the issue of meaning that I raised in *TAPA* 111 (1981): 68: he seems to take *iura* to mean the “laws” governing a certain region, but all his supposed parallels have a genitive of the region concerned (e.g., *Med.* 614–15 *temerata ponti iura*), which is notably missing here. At *Tro.* 586, where a choice presents itself between *victor iratus tumens* (CSV) and *v.i. timens* (E TP), Z. simply supports *tumens* with three parallels that connect *ira* and *tumor*. But it is in fact a constant theme of this act that the Greeks, though victorious, are *afraid*—afraid that the war will have to be fought again if Astyanax survives and grows up as a rallying-point for the Trojans. (Note 530 *timor*, 535 *horreo*, 548 *timet*, 551 *metu*, 592 *metus*, 593 *timerem*, 662 *timent*, 707 *terror*, 767 *timor*, 790 *timendus*!) For the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* expressing the coexistence of seemingly contradictory emotions, one might compare *Tro.* 1128–29 “magna pars vulgi levis / odit scelus spectatque.”

The danger that a parallel may be used somewhat mechanically is particularly great when the parallel is a source-passage.

For instance, at *HF* 683–84, the fact that Seneca is echoing Ovid’s *incertas exercet aquas* (*Met.* 8. 166) does not preclude the possibility that he replaced the plural with a stylish collective singular (*incerta* . . . *unda* A). Similarly, at 690, the fact that he was imitating Vergil’s “*ulmus . . . quam sedem Somnia . . . / . . . tenere ferunt*” (*Aen.* 6. 283–84), as Z. notes in the OCT, did not oblige him to use a relative pronoun in the same case (*quam tenet* codd.), rather than varying the construction (as in Leo’s correction). Again, at *Tro.* 1150, Z. believes that *stetit* means Pyrrhus was already standing atop Achilles’ grave-mound when Polyxena arrived—because Ovid says so with the verb *stare* (*Met.* 13. 455–56 “*utque Neoptolemum stantem ferrumque tenentem / . . . vidit*”). But regardless of Ovid’s picture (which is in fact less precise than Z. implies), Seneca’s *stetit* can only mean “took his stand.” (Cf. my comm. on *HF* 15 *stetit*, again altered in meaning as well as form from an original *stantem*). Imitation necessarily involves some degree of adaptation and alteration.<sup>20</sup>

20. At *HF* 72, even if we concede *argumenti causa* an imitation of Eur. *HF* 403–4, it is no compliment to Seneca to suppose that he transmuted Euripides’ fine phrase about the *base* of heaven into a physical impossibility by writing that the *middle* of heaven—i.e., the zenith—rested on Hercules’ neck (see my comm.). Z.’s use of the reading *meliusque* (E) as evidence for dating the emergence of the E tradition (*Prolegomena*, pp. 30–32) rests on the assumption that it is false and must therefore be rejected.

Parallels must, of course, be close and cogent if they are to carry conviction. Z.'s parallels generally meet this requirement, but not always.

On *Tro.* 381, for example, he and Axelson provide a string of passages where *corpus inane* means, naturally enough, "the body empty of life"; but it would take more than this to convince me that Seneca's phrase *nudum latus* means the same thing. The same requirement holds when extended passages are claimed to be parallel. Z. believes, for instance, that *HF* 739–47 is imitated at *Oct.* 472–76, where he thinks the phrase *tempus irae dare* is a reprise of *HF* 742 and therefore supports the conjecture *animoque parciit* in that line (*animaeque* codd.). But though *Oct.* 476 *petitur hac caelum via* could conceivably echo *HF* 743 *caelum petit*,<sup>21</sup> I see no close general correspondence between the passages. In fact, a contrast is more evident; for whereas *Oct.* lists the varied virtues of a statesman, the passage in *HF* recommends avoidance of specific abuses of power, viz., cruelty and murder: the repetitiousness of *animaeque parciit* is therefore actually a recommendation.

Even where a parallel is genuine enough, it must not be given more weight than it can bear. For example, Axelson argued (against Leo's transposition of *HF* 49 after 54) that 48 and 49 belong together because the author of *HO* combined echoes of them in his line 22. But the next line in *HO* draws on *HF* 59–61: so the author must be picking out scattered plums from Juno's speech in *HF*, and there is no obstacle to supposing that 49 was separated by five lines from 48. Moreover, a parallel, however genuine, can be a two-edged sword. Thus the phrase *latebo rupis exesae cavo* (*Phoen.* 359) certainly parallels the reading *exesae* (A) at *HF* 460; but though the parallel might be thought to guarantee A's reading,<sup>22</sup> one must also weigh the possibility that the parallel is the source of an interpolation by A.

A further danger of parallels is that they may give a false sense of security if they support part but not all of a difficult expression.

I take as a first example *Tro.* 296, where Bücheler's *greges* produces a much more Senecan expression, as Z. demonstrates, than the transmitted *gregis* (the latter raises the irrelevant question "Which Trojan flock?"), but where the syntax is uncertain. Z. takes *Phrygii greges* as standing in apposition to *opima colla*; he parallels this interwoven apposition (abAB) from *HF* 14 *clara gemini signa Tyndaridae*, and more generally from enclosed appositions like *Ag.* 800 *fida famuli turba*. But such parallels do not illustrate apposition of the whole (*greges*) to a part (*colla*); or is *colla* to be understood as a metonymy for *victimae*, and if so, should this not be paralleled? On the present evidence *colla* should be taken as accusative of respect.<sup>23</sup> My second example is *HF* 130, where Z. takes *ursae* as a genitive singular. This gives: "The frigid sign by the lofty pole has wheeled its yokebeam around and summons the dawn with the seven stars of the Arcadian bear." Z. provides parallels for the double ablative and various other matters, but not for the most difficult point, viz., that the sign *is* the bear.<sup>24</sup>

A critic who relies heavily on parallels will inevitably be tempted to prefer the normative and suspect the unique. This approach overlooks what Lucretius

21. The phrase is hardly a rarity: cf. *Hor. Carm.* 1. 3. 38, *Ov. Am.* 3. 8. 50, *Fasti* 1. 307, 3. 510, *Sen. Oed.* 280.

22. As Axelson argued in *Korruptelenkult* (Lund, 1967), pp. 12–13.

23. Axelson, *Korruptelenkult*, p. 33, and Z. oddly think that Bücheler intended *greges* as "Akkus. Graecus," but that would have required *Phrygios*. According to Axelson (*ibid.*) the acc. of respect in *Sen. Trag.* usually depends on adjectives or past participles, but *Med.* 353 *totos horruit artus* provides an example with a finite verb.

24. If correct, which I doubt, this would be an example of "disjunctiveness" (my comm. on *HF* 683). I prefer to write *Ursa* in 130: "The frigid sign by the lofty pole, Arcas' Bear with its seven stars, summons the dawn." *Septem stellis* is now more descriptive than instrumental: for such an ablative followed by a different type of ablative phrase cf. *Med.* 1035–37 "cum gregis ductor radiante villo / aureo fratrem simul ac sororem / sustulit tergo."



would call the atomic swerve—by which I mean the tendency of the poet, in the unpredictable nature of things, occasionally to veer away from standard phrasing. Again, it will be worthwhile to illustrate with examples, though I do not wish to imply that this is a besetting vice of Z.

At *HF* 269 Z. comments that *recidere* “ist dem Dramencorpus fremd” (a prejudicial way of saying that it does not occur elsewhere in the tragedies), and he toys inconclusively with the possibility of normalizing it to *decidere*, as the *recentiores* did; but one might equally well describe *decidere* as “foreign to most of the tragedies,” for it occurs only in *Ag*. At *HF* 104 he rejects E’s *vitatae* (“dem Dramencorpus überhaupt fremd” again—but frequent in Ovid) in favor of *violatae*, a characteristic normalization by the interpolator of A if ever I saw one.<sup>25</sup>

On *Tro.* 176 Z. tells us that *tantum* is the usual word for “only” in the tragedies (23 uses), with *solum* appearing only here; in Vergil, he continues, we find 40 uses of *tantum* and one of *solum*. But that single instance of *solum* in Vergil demonstrates that an uncharacteristic usage should not be questioned without other grounds: euphony may well have moved Seneca to avoid *tantum* here in view of *terra tremuit*. There are indeed other grounds for suspicion hereabouts, as Z. pointed out earlier (*WJA* 2 [1976]: 183–85): in particular, since an epiphany from the underworld causes the earth to tremble violently (see 171–75 here, and cf. my comm. on *HF* 520–22), one would expect it to stir up the sea, not calm it—the calming indeed comes at the *disappearance* of Achilles’ ghost, 199–202. But the importance of Achilles’ relationship to the sea in this act speaks against Z.’s deletion of 176–77 *in toto*. The trouble lies specifically in the verb *stravit* in 177. Bentley jotted down *movit*: this gives the required gist, but in colorless fashion, and *movere* occurs in 173. More lively would be *volvii* (cf. *Ag.* 64–65 “aequor / furit alternos volvere fluctus”) or *tollit* (cf. *Ag.* 471). Alternatively, *vada* may conceal an original *vado*, in which case the possibilities for the verb are many (e.g., *fremuit*, *saevit*, *surgit*, *tumuit*, *turget*). If *stravit* has intruded from 183, as I suppose, it need not be close paleographically to the original verb: in view of the many possibilities, the correct step is to place daggers around *stravit* in 177.

A reasonable tolerance is needed also for words in unusual senses, for unusual constructions, and indeed for anomalies in all areas, including myth, morphology, and meter. If biologists have to live with random mutations, and physicists with the uncertainties of Brownian movement, we humanists must not be too tidy-minded. For brevity’s sake I shall refer the reader to instances discussed in my commentary on *HF*,<sup>26</sup> but a metrical anomaly requires a little more space.

At *Tro.* 1080, Z. is somewhat elliptical in registering his objection to the transmitted *cacumine*; the point is that Seneca avoids iambic fifth feet, the only other exception being *Med.* 512 *nepotibus* (apart from three instances explained by the need to accommodate Greek proper names: *Tro.* 195, *Med.* 709, *Thy.* 115; cf. [Sen.] *HO* 804). Z. follows Lange in replacing *cuius* in *cacumine* with *cuius* in *fastigio*. But though Z. is right that *nepotibus* in *Med.* 512 “seine besondere rhetorische Entschuldigung hat,” *cacumine* here has an equally clear poetic “excuse”: it is used to avoid an obtrusive echo of *cuius e fastigio* eleven lines earlier.<sup>27</sup>

25. Naturally a *hapax legomenon* may legitimately be suspected if there are other grounds for questioning a passage: at *Tro.* 584 I first doubted that *inditum* could give the required sense “driven into,” and the rarity of the verb in poetry then confirmed my suspicions (cf. *AJP* 107 [1986]: 272–73).

26. Unusual use of word: *HF* 26 (*truncus* = “club”); unusual construction: *HF* 1162 (see n. 148 in my comm.); myth: *HF* 87–88 (concerning Furies with fiery hair); morphology: *HF* 538 (Z.’s conjecture *panderant* replaces one unique form with another, for the perfect stem *pand-* is unknown outside the grammarians; cf. *TLL* 10. 1. 193. 8–14).

27. Other instances of what I regard as normalization are found at *HF* 430 (*sceptrone*) and 1012 (*latebras*): for details, see my comm. Akin to these is an instance of regularization at *Thy.* 87–90. Here

It must be said that a somewhat literal-minded tradition in philology still manifests itself occasionally in this commentary, though Z. is gradually moving away from it. For example, the question whether a Senecan character is speaking the literal truth is rarely useful for the editor. Clytemnestra tells herself that it is actually in her children's interests for her to kill Agamemnon, since otherwise they will be subjected to a crazed stepmother, Cassandra. Z. sees that she is actually pursuing her own interests, not her children's: consequently, he deletes *Ag.* 198<sup>b</sup>–99<sup>a</sup>, following Axelson. But by such criteria half the speeches in the tragedies would have to be excised, for they are replete with self-deceit, rationalization, self-justification.<sup>28</sup>

This tendency to literalism causes difficulties in the particularly poetic and evocative second choral ode of *Troades*. The ode begins with the question whether the spirit lives on after death, "when the spouse has placed a hand on the dead one's eyes, when the last day has blocked the returning suns (374 *supremusque dies solibus obstitit*) and the grim urn has imprisoned the ashes" (trans. after Fantham). Of course, death does not literally block the sun's return, but for the dying person it does; subjective experience is skillfully evoked by the paradoxical use of objective language. An equally powerful use of language is seen later, when the chorus concludes that the spirit is mortal: "and no longer does that person, who has reached the pools by which the high gods swear, *exist at all*" (390–92 "*nec amplius, / iuratos superis qui tetigit lacus, / usquam est*"). Here the solid geography of the traditional underworld is effectively juxtaposed with the philosophical idea of nonexistence, of being in no place (*nec usquam est*). The juxtaposition is underlined, as is the notion of a cessation of being, by the unusual sense-pause after *usquam est*.<sup>29</sup> But all this suffers ill in *Komm.* On 390–92 Z. does indeed distance himself from Axelson's overly logical objections, but only to make a vague reference to traditional poetic metaphors. On 374 he withdraws his earlier proposal to excise, and even acknowledges some poetic play between *dies* and *solibus*, but still discusses the line in grudging and reductive terms.<sup>30</sup>

The subject of death is subtly treated by Seneca elsewhere in *Tro.*—e.g., at the end of the first ode (161–63): "*felix Priamus: / felix quisquis bello moriens / omnia secum consumpta tulit.*" The last phrase is complex and untranslatable: *tulit* suggests that the dying man's world is transferred to a new existence, but *consumpta* suggests rather that it perishes with him. *Omnia* adds a further touch of ambiguity: "his whole world," in one sense, is his city; but for the dying man it is the *whole* world that is passing away. In

Z. is right to punctuate both sentences as questions; but there is no virtue in altering *mittor* to *mittar* to match *ducam*: since the ghostly Tantalus is *now* being sent, there is nothing to be said for an indignant deliberative subjunctive or future indicative.

28. In the dialogue between Atreus and his attendant in *Thy.*, Z. gives the whole of 316<sup>b</sup>–321<sup>a</sup> to the attendant. But it is plainly impossible for the person who speaks 317<sup>b</sup>–19 then to ask the question in 320–21: at the very least he would need to begin the question with "Well then . . .," "Therefore . . .," or "Alternatively. . . ." Z. has been misled by a desire to find a simple and consistent role for the attendant in opposing Atreus' plan to send his sons on an embassy to Thyestes. But Z. is certainly right that 319 alone cannot be given to Atreus, as in A. The correct arrangement must therefore be that produced, e.g., by Leo (= Loeb) and Tarrant, based on E. The attendant is actually little more than a sounding-board, like most Senecan confidants. In 316<sup>b</sup>–17<sup>a</sup> and 320–21 he simply asks practical questions about the embassy, primarily designed by Seneca to elicit Atreus' Machiavellian deliberations.

29. Compare the unusual half-line at 1103, broken off as Astyanax' life is broken off.

30. On Z.'s overly literal interpretation of the reading *decies* (E) at *Tro.* 74, see my comments in *EMC* 19 (1985): 451–52.

*Rezitationsdramen* (pp. 215–16), Z. rightly defended *tulit* (against A's *videt*) as a deliberate echo of 157 *secum excedens sua regna tulit*. Now he dallies with Bentley's *trahit*; but *trahere* would carry too strong a note of destruction (as Bentley's parallels show, *Med.* 428 *trahere cum pereas libet*, *Ag.* 870), disrupting the balance of preservation and annihilation in *consumpta tulit*.

So much, then, for my discussion of parallels, linguistic norms, and related matters. In the rest of this article I shall first discuss certain textual problems, and then comment on the Oxford text itself and its apparatus criticus.

*HF* 20: Here we are faced with the unmetrical line *Thebana tellus nuribus sparsa impiis*. I first hailed Axelson's alteration of *nuribus* to *matribus*, assuming that the last three words meant "scattered with ungodly mothers": the mothers would be women made so by Jupiter (a characteristically Senecan "pregnant" usage), the *paelices* who so annoy Juno and place her repeatedly in the role of a "stepmother" (21), and who are *impiae* in their flouting of her (as she sees it). I was therefore astonished to discover, from *Komm.* and the addenda, that Axelson and Z. intend the correction in the sense "bloodstained by unnatural mothers"—viz., by Agave. Though such a generalizing use of the plural is found elsewhere in Seneca's tragedies (see my comm. on *HF* 1284 *pavidasque matres*), its use here is unthinkable, since it would inevitably cause confusion with the *paelices*; nor can the phrase be a genuine plural referring to all the Cadmeids, since only one of them was *impia mater* in this context. The ellipse of *cruore* is clearly much more difficult than in Z.'s closest parallel, *HO* 18 *sparsit peremptus aureum serpens nemus*, where both *peremptus* and the general context clarify the sense.

The participle *sparsa* has traditionally been interpreted to mean that the Theban land is "scattered thick" (Miller) with Jupiter's mistresses, and in my conjecture *nuribus aspersa impiis* I intended *aspersa* in the same sense. Z.'s objection that the women in question lived in the palace at Thebes, not all over the Theban land, fails to acknowledge the characteristic exaggeration of Seneca's rhetoric, which can speak (e.g.) of Priam as "buried beneath his whole realm" (*Tro.* 30 *toto conditum regno*). Since the five certain uses of *aspergo* in Seneca tragicus all concern bloodshed, whereas *spargo* is used more frequently and in more varied senses, I prefer Axelson's conjecture to my own, but in the sense "scattered with mothers."

*HF* 299: Z. follows Bothe's alteration of *tibi, o deorum ductor* to *tum tibi, deorum ductor*, on the grounds that some connection of thought is needed with what precedes. But the argument is unconvincing, for asyndeton is everywhere in Seneca's tragedies: opening the text at random I find *Ag.* 234–36 "tu nos pericli socia, tu, Leda sata, / comitare tantum: sanguinem reddet tibi / ignavus iste ductor ac fortis pater," where the implied connection is "then, in that case," as here.

*Tro.* 15–16: E's reading is the *lectio difficilior* in construction, but it is also more difficult in the sense that it yields an unconvincing meaning:<sup>31</sup> "Troy's walls, those lofty glories, lie scorched, with the houses piled up" ("alta muri decora congestis iacent / tectis adusti"). Surely, if one wishes to refer to the piles of rubble in a razed city, the walls (as in A's reading, *congesti . . . adusti*) provide a more spectacular instance than the houses. A's reading also gives *tectis* a more convincing (and pathetic) relationship to the rest of the sentence, as a dative governed by *congesti* (cf. *HO* 1153 *Pindo congestus Athos*): the walls lie collapsed in heaps upon the charred buildings.

*Tro.* 197: Leo, Giardina, and Z. take the line to mean that Achilles' ghost "divided the day with deep night," and they naturally anathematize such nonsense with the obelus. But as I pointed out in *AJP* 107 (1986): 270–71, the line actually means that he "separated the

31. As so often, the principle *lectio difficilior lectio potior* is subject to qualifications that make it unusable. Similarly, at *HF* 1051, Z. calls A's *gravis* the more difficult reading, though it could be a case of dittography from the following word, *vis*; for a further instance, see my comm. on *HF* 920.

daylight [of the upper world] from the deep darkness [of the underworld],” and this compressed statement is expanded more prosaically in the following lines (198–99): the gaping chasm that gave the ghost access to the upper world (cf. 178–80) closed over him after he descended underground again. I now add that we see here a pattern found several times in Senecan messenger-speeches—and one in a sense characteristic of his style generally (see Croll’s essay cited below)—in which a new idea is first stated in a compressed, even allusive way and is then expanded by further (often coordinate) clauses (e.g., *Ag.* 489–90, 497–98 “*ipsa se classis premit, / et prora prorae nocuit et lateri latus,*” *HF* 664–67, 816–17 “*paene victorem abstulit, / pronumque retro vexit et movit gradu*”).

*Tro.* 770: It is unfortunate that Housman’s authority was thrown behind the absurd reading of the MSS, *medios* (*CQ* 17 [1923]: 163–64 = *Classical Papers* [Cambridge, 1972], p. 1074). A Roman audience hearing *annos* would inevitably understand it in the sense “long life, old age,” and the addition of *medios* could only cause mental chaos. *Annos*, of course, stands in tension with *laudes bellicas*, since military heroes are not noted for longevity (cf. 211–14). All this points unmistakably to the correction *melius*, which occurred to Garrod (*CQ* 5 [1911]: 215) and independently to me—and no doubt to others familiar with the frequent confusion of *meli-* and *medi-* (in Sen. *Trag.* cf. *HF* 72, 1110, *Pha.* 766). This gives: “I used to pray (insanely) that you would be renowned in war like your father, and (more wisely) that you would live as long as your grandfather.” *Melius* is used in a slightly different but analogous fashion, to correct a previous prayer, at *Med.* 139 and 930.

*Thy.* 1074: The phrase *tu quoque sine astris* is perplexing: “you also without stars”—like whom or what? Z. glosses “like the day,” citing 824–25, where no stars emerged as the sun set unnaturally in the east. But one doubts whether this sense would occur immediately to the audience, and in any case this remark seems pointless in the present context. *Tu quoque* after 1073 would more naturally mean “you, like me,” and the *astra* would be identical with the *di* who have fled and by whom Thyestes feels abandoned (1070, 1073; for *di* = *astra*, cf. 843, 893, with Z. in *WJA* 4 [1978]: 145). But this would be a feeble “point” by Senecan standards (as Tarrant notes, ad loc.), since Thyestes is “without stars” only because night and the world are thus bereft. That the original was more worthy of Seneca is suggested by the word *vides*, which is paradoxical, since night typically conceals sights from others (cf., e.g., 786–87, 1094–95). I believe, then, that we should read *etiam sine astris*: Night can see Thyestes “even without stars” because darkness is her natural condition, whereas other divinities would require light. *Tu quoque* is an erroneous gloss on *etiam* that has replaced the word it was meant to explain.

I now turn to the Oxford text itself. Despite my enthusiasm for its usefulness, I must confess to a momentary twinge of regret at seeing Seneca’s colorful, turbulent text finally enclosed in the sober garb of the OCT series. As one expects from this series, the design of the page is clear, though rather too crowded to *invite* the reader visually into the text. I am disappointed that speaker-attributions are placed within the block of text rather than in the left margin: this policy makes it difficult to spot speaker-changes, particularly when they occur at mid-line, and visually it creates the impression of a narrative text rather than suggesting the variety of dialogue. I would urge use of the circumflex accent as an aid to the reader in distinguishing perfect from present forms (e.g., *adit* vs. *adīt*, *petit* vs. *petīt*).

On orthographic questions Z. shows himself as diligent as in other matters: variant spellings of the MSS are recorded either in the OCT’s apparatus criticus or more usually in its *appendix orthographica vel grammatica*, and spelling matters are discussed in *Prolegomena*, pp. 258–66. To my mind, attempts to recover the original spelling are doomed, and Z. gives too much credence to the MSS and particularly to E: we really do not want

texts besprinkled with forms like *nervom* (HF 1198). On the vexed questions of how to spell the acc. pl. of *omnis* (*omnes* or *omnis*?), Z. simply follows the Etruscus, which results in an absurdity like *aut omnis defende . . . aut omnes trahe* (HF 306–7). A standardized spelling would be far more acceptable, and I suspect most readers would prefer *-es* in the acc. pl. of all third-declension words, since ambiguity between nom. and acc. pl. is more manageable than between gen. sing. and acc. pl.

Punctuation is not the least of an editor's responsibilities, and Z. again shows himself scrupulous here, for example, in weighing what recent editors have done.

With Viansino and Fantham he rightly links *Tro.* 78 to 77 (not to 79) by punctuation; with Giardina and Fantham he puts the words *vix capiunt fidem* into parentheses at *Tro.* 169. One of the simplest but most drastic things an editor can do is to introduce a question mark. At HF 26, Z. follows Axelson in inserting one after *iubar*, thus changing the meaning of *licet* in 21 from "though" to "is it allowed . . . ?"<sup>32</sup> Initially this seems attractive, for the ascent of Hercules to heaven seems too much for Juno to concede, and indeed the plan of action that she evolves is intended to forestall it (121–22). But on reflection I am inclined to retain the traditional comma: at this point in the prologue Juno has not hatched a plan and is simply assuming that Alcmena and Hercules will follow the other *paelices* and bastard children into heaven. At *Tro.* 916 the question mark after *pependit* is more plainly wrong, for if *quam . . . pependit* were a prolepsis of the Trojan women's claims to suffering, like the questions in 909–10 and 911–12, then Helen would have to go one better by claiming to have been kept waiting longer; but *me meus traxit statim* shows she is speciously representing the Trojan women's wait as something of a boon, and *quam . . . pependit* must therefore be a statement parallel to 908–9 *vos levat e.q.s.*<sup>33</sup> More attractive is Z.'s question mark after *me vicit* at HF 116: Juno concedes defeat only sardonically and for the sake of argument, believing that the agent of her supposed defeat—Hercules' *virtus*—will actually bring about her victory.

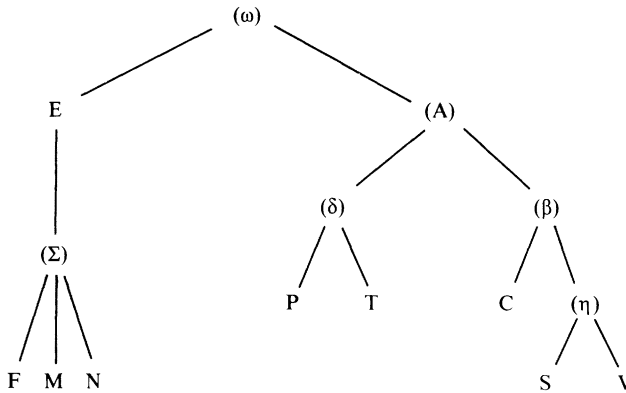
One optional matter of punctuation is of some stylistic interest. It is characteristic of Seneca's *stile coupé* that an idea is not exhausted by its first condensed statement but needs a second and third equally epigrammatic formulation. (The dynamics of this style were memorably described long ago by Croll: see "*Attic*" and *Baroque Prose Style: Essays by Morris W. Croll*, ed. J. Max Patrick et al. [Princeton, 1966], esp. pp. 211–12.) The equal status of the restatements is obscured, to my mind, by Z.'s policy of placing a colon before the last but a semicolon between the others, as at HF 341–44 "rapta sed trepida manu / sceptris optinentur; omnis in ferro est salus: / quod civibus tenere te invitis scias, / strictus tuetur ensis." Now it is true that Z. elsewhere employs the colon in an effective if unorthodox fashion to herald the one-line summary (often sententious) that rounds off many a Senecan period (see, e.g., HF 475, 1121). But the last formulation in an "exploded"

32. In the apparatus it seems to be Z.'s policy to attribute to its originator punctuation that he adopts and that notably changes the sense (as here and, e.g., at *Thy.* 47, 813); but he does not record even the most meritorious suggestions about punctuation that are not adopted (e.g., those of Bentley at HF 770, 800).

33. HF 1042–44 is certainly an alternative question (cf. HF 618–20 and *Oed.* 203–4) and should not be split in two. At HF 286, Z. places a comma between *Tempe* and *pectore*, but the only examples I find of *cum*-clauses in asyndeton (other than *cum inversum*) are in choral odes, whose style is more naturally given to such parallelism (cf. *Med.* 345, *Ag.* 338–39, *Thy.* 555): I therefore take everything from *pectore* to *via* (288) as a parenthesis. It is clearly wrong to place a comma at the end of *Thy.* 591 (vs. 590), thus making *speciosa* agree with *navis* (rather than with *alta*; see Z. in *Gnomon* 41 [1969]: 768, not cited in *Komm.*): no ship's captain would spread full sail in the storm described by Seneca, and *hinc et hinc* is much more appropriate to the now-calm seas beautified by sails spread *here and there* across them. Z.'s punctuation occasionally errs more mysteriously, e.g.: HF 259 (a comma cannot coexist with the reading *tremuit*), 1156–57, *Tro.* 19 (period needed after *Troia*).

sentence is not necessarily an *epiphonema* of this kind; in the example cited, the most sententious formulation is in fact the second, *omnis in ferro est salus*.<sup>34</sup>

In order to clarify my comments on the apparatus criticus, I provide a simplified stemma of the upper reaches of the transmission, in which hypothetical manuscripts are designated by parentheses. My remarks on the apparatus will be based almost exclusively on *HF*, for which I have personal knowledge of the manuscripts.



Brevity and concision are notable characteristics of Z.'s apparatus. In reporting variant readings and conjectures, Z. sometimes repeats only the part of the word in which the variation occurs (e.g., *Tro.* 92 solutas *E*: -a *A*, 100 demissa *Scaliger*: di- ω). In these cases the method is acceptable and usefully concentrates attention on the point at issue, but it can be overdone, as at *HF* 683 incertis (*ex* -us *E<sup>pc</sup>*) . . . meander undis *E*: -a . . . le- -a *A*. Such a report would be fine for a computer, but we humans are reassured by a little more redundancy. At several places (e.g., *Thy.* 70, 86<sup>b</sup>-87, 100-101) I found myself turning back to Giardina for just such reassurance that I had understood Z.'s terse report correctly. But elsewhere concision actually produces a gain in clarity, as in the use of italics for letters that stand in erasures (e.g., *HF* 66 *ut bacchus E<sup>2pc</sup>*). A masterstroke is Z.'s use of the symbol *E\** to mean "the reading of *E* before it was altered to the vulgate (*A*) reading."<sup>35</sup> A typical report of this kind reads (*HF* 352) "factum *E\**: fastum *A*," which represents the transmission more clearly and elegantly than "factum *E<sup>l</sup>*: fastum *AE<sup>2</sup>*."

The apparatus is sensibly shortened and clarified by omission of singular errors of the individual MSS descended from *A*, particularly the erratic *P*, which according to Z.'s

34. I should have liked to see more exclamation marks—e.g., at *HF* 864, 921, 978, 1004—for Seneca's is nothing if not a vigorous text. At *Tro.* 608 we need an exclamation mark or question mark after *parenti* to register the ridiculousness of the notion—followed by a dash to mark the sudden realization that perhaps it is not so ridiculous. The dash is often useful to indicate that a new thought has suddenly occurred to the speaker: if the previous sentence is complete before the new idea arrives, there should be a period before the dash, such as Z. correctly provides, e.g., at *HF* 520; a dash without a period indicates that the new thought breaks into the previous sentence, as at *HF* 488. By these criteria, at least, Z. should add many more periods before dashes (e.g., at *HF* 121, 258, 369, 1028), rather than removing them as he does (in the addenda) at *Oed.* 1032.

35. The asterisk is, however, occasionally omitted where it would seem to be required, as at *HF* 72 and 94.

estimate contains some 1,500 singular errors in the whole corpus.<sup>36</sup> Also omitted are singular errors of  $\delta$  and  $\beta$  (e.g., the fact that at *HF* 218  $\beta$  ended the verse *serpentum oculos*). More questionable in method is Z.'s silence in a place like *HF* 687, where the error *lucifer* for *luctifer* occurs in both  $\delta$  and S and may therefore have stood as a variant in A itself. Z.'s failure to report an error of A itself (*HF* 826 *cum* for *ium*, 1136 *pariter* for *per iter*, 1227 *nos* for *vos*) is to be attributed to oversight, not policy, since he records even small errors of E, which is stemmatically A's equal.<sup>37</sup> Certainly readings of E or A that are not nonsensical should be included (*HF* 118 *certa* E, 815 *vincitus* A).

Those who use this apparatus criticus for information about the MSS' behavior should be aware that singular errors are omitted not only where there is no report, but also where there is. This raises the question that bedevils the use of a symbol like A: does it mean "the reading of all the MSS from which A is reconstructed" or "the reconstruction of A's reading"? Because of this ambiguity, Tarrant in his *Agamemnon* avoided the symbol A altogether and reported only surviving MSS (viz., PCS); in *HF* I used A only in cases where T<sup>1</sup>PCS all agree. Z., however, is a reconstructionist: at *HF* 538 he reports "tenderant A," although that reading is found only in TCV, whereas P has *tendantur* and S *tendeant*; at 1175 he says "differte A," though PS have *differre*. The same policy governs Z.'s use of the symbol  $\omega$ . At *HF* 1028, for example, E and CSV read *indue*, but TP have the unmetrical *move*; the latter is pretty clearly a singular error of  $\delta$ , and Z. consequently reports "indue  $\omega$ ." Now this policy of reconstruction is entirely defensible, so long as the use of the symbols is explained unambiguously. Z.'s list of sigla tells us that  $\omega$  = EA and A =  $\delta\beta$ . These definitions should mean that  $\delta$  at *HF* 1028 has *indue*, but that is not the case. In fact, in Z.'s usage  $\omega$  means "the last common ancestor of E and A," and A means "the last common ancestor of  $\delta$  and  $\beta$ ."

Things are better managed with  $\Sigma$ , which is defined with precision as "parens codicum F, M, N amissus," so that Z. can legitimately say "terna  $\Sigma$ " at *HF* 62 despite the fact that only F and N have that reading. But Z.'s reconstructionist tendencies are much in evidence in his reports of E. As is well known, the characteristic readings of E have been altered to those of the vulgate tradition over the first few pages of the Etruscus (i.e., the first few hundred lines of *HF*). In most places, the original letters cannot be read with confidence, and editors generally report the readings of  $\Sigma$ , which was copied from E before the latter was defaced and no doubt generally preserves the original readings of E. But Z. goes one step further, reporting the readings of  $\Sigma$  directly as those of E in many places (e.g., *HF* 8, 12, 21—where the inference is wrong—34). Again, this policy produces a certain clarity and simplicity, but one feels that Z. should have distinguished between actual and inferred readings of E, perhaps by qualifying the siglum E in the case of inferred readings.<sup>38</sup>

36. I have noticed very few errata or omissions in the apparatus criticus. At *Thy.* 303, *ac* is a conjecture of Bothe (for *hinc* codd.) and should be so recorded; at 53, *accerse* should be attributed to ES or ESu but not Ep alone. Errors in line-references are miraculously few: in *HF*, "683 sq." should read "683 sq." (an error generated by the aquatic context?) and "875-95" should read "875-94"; in *Thy.*, "459" should read "452." Z.'s reorganization of the anapaests' colometry has put line-references off by a line at *HF* 1105 (*vastisque*), *Ag.* 59-60, *Oed.* 992.

37. A singular error of E is missed at *Thy.* 498, where the MS appears (at least in microfilm) to have *loto* for *loro*, as Giardina reports.

38. A similar situation obtains with T, whose original  $\delta$  readings have often been altered to those of the later vulgate. Admittedly, it is more often possible to make out the original reading of T, particularly under ultraviolet light, but not, e.g., at *HF* 454, where the report "nunc  $\delta$ " is an inference from P's reading. I note that because of Z.'s policy of excluding singular errors, we still have no report of T's readings in the majority of places in most of the plays. Microfilm does not allow one to recover original readings or even to distinguish the first correcting hand from the scribe's hand in this MS: it would therefore be useful if a full collation could be published.

Though this article has devoted more space to the *Kommentar* than to the OCT, the text is of course by far the more important of the two books. The mountains of scholarship produced by the critics are justified only insofar as they enable readers to deepen and refine their understanding of the text itself. The central activity remains, as always, reading the text—or better, reading it aloud to oneself and to others—and attuning oneself to the richness of its meaning both intellectually and imaginatively. This is a different activity from textual criticism, where there is ultimately a single right answer: a poetic work contains many meanings, revealing themselves differently to different readers, or to the same reader at different times. This is the work, this is the task—and the delight.

JOHN G. FITCH  
*University of Victoria*