

provide an analogous arena of competition and uncertainty. Powerful patrons constantly flexed their political muscle through the use of surrogates, making accusations against rivals, contesting wills and hiring sycophants. It was in such an arena that *defixiones* were thought to be effective, and it may be significant that judicial curses fall into disuse in Attica when the civil courts cease to be areas of real political competition.<sup>24</sup> The very fact that Aeschylus includes a binding curse in the story of the first murder trial and the aetiological founding of the court seems to suggest that curse and court were thought to have evolved simultaneously.

A. L. Brown has recently stressed how the focus of the trilogy shifts at the beginning of *Eumenides* from the human sphere to the divine. The anthropomorphised gods (Athena, Apollo and the Erinyes) physically take to the stage and confront one another within the formal constraints of a human courtroom as they sometimes do on the battlefield in the *Iliad*, while the mortal participants (Orestes and the Athenian jurors) are dwarfed by the immortals and cease to be of any real importance.<sup>25</sup> In such a setting, the activity of the Erinyes has been correspondingly 'anthropomorphised' into the rather commonplace Athenian activity of invoking a judicial binding curse prior to an important trial. Orestes is no longer their principal target, but rather the means through which they can attack Apollo;<sup>26</sup> if they can successfully bind Orestes' wits and tongue, he will be ineffective in his own defense and lose the case, much to the shame of his patron and protector. Lebeck's concern (cited at the beginning of this paper) over the apparent incompatibility of the title and content of the binding song vanishes once we realise that the Erinyes' complaint about the usurpation of their power perfectly expresses the larger meaning of a politically motivated judicial curse aimed at curtailing Apollo's influence.<sup>27</sup>

CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE

Stanford University

scholarship points to a much more gradual shift in power to the *hēliaia* beginning sometime after the turn of the century and culminating in a law attributed to Pericles in the fifties which granted pay for jury duty: C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1958) 216–21; R. Sealey, 'Ephialtes', *CPh* lix [1964] 14–18 = *Essays in Greek politics* (Woodhaven, N.Y. 1963) 46–52; D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (Ithaca 1978) 29–40; P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 318–19, 338–9.

<sup>24</sup> All of the extant Attic judicial *defixiones* date to the late fifth and fourth centuries (see n. 19). The period of radically democratic juries continued down until 322 BC, the year of Demosthenes' suicide, when the Athenian constitution was amended (at the urging of Antipater) to include property qualifications which effectively disenfranchised nearly four-sevenths of the citizens of Athens. As a result the size and power of the juries were severely curtailed and some courts were completely disbanded: J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iiiia (Strassburg 1904) 77–80; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 20–6; *CAH* vi<sup>2</sup> 459–60.

<sup>25</sup> A. L. Brown, 'The Erinyes in the *Oresteia*', *JHS* ciii (1983) 29–30.

<sup>26</sup> In the so-called Aretalogy of Serapis discussed above (n. 11), Serapis calms the fears of his priest with regard to the forthcoming trial (*IG* xi.4 1299.77–80):

μέθες ἄλγος ἀπὸ φρονός· οὐ σέ τις ἀνδρός  
ψήφος ἀιστώσει, ἐπεὶ εἰς <ἐ>μὲ τεῖνεται αὐτόν  
ἦδε δίκη, τὴν οὐτις ἐμεῦ περιώσιον ἄλλος  
ἀνὴρ αὐδήσει·

The god clearly interprets the legal charges laid against his human 'clients' as a personal attack upon himself.

<sup>27</sup> I should like to express my gratitude to Profs John J. Winkler and David R. Jordan for their help and enthusiasm in general, and for their specific remarks on earlier drafts of this paper. I have also benefited from the comments of Profs H. S. Versnel and Marsh McCall Jr and two anonymous referees.

ADDENDUM: Prof. B. M. W. Knox has independently noted some of the general correspondences between the Erinyes' binding song and judicial curses in a forthcoming article entitled 'Black Magic in the *Oresteia*'.

## Two notes on Sophocles' *Trachiniae*<sup>1</sup>

(i) 527–30

τὸ δ' ἀμφιείκητον ὄμμα νύμφας  
ἐλεινὸν ἀμμένει·  
κάπο ματρὸς ἄφαρ βέβαχ',  
ὥστε πόρτις ἐρήμα.

528 post ἀμμένει] τέλος Wilamowitz, λάχος Dawe, <υ>→ Easterling

ἀμμένει need not have an object;<sup>2</sup> ἐλεινὸν can be taken adverbially. The only substantial objection to the text is thus metrical, for reasons already advanced by others and summarized below.

The paradosis has ἐλεινὸν. However, the forms δεεινός, κλεινός and ἐλεινός are identified as invalid in Attic by Porson<sup>3</sup> and Ellendt.<sup>4</sup> Porson plausibly explains the several corruptions in the MSS at e.g. Aesch. *PV* 246 as due to scribes' over-familiarity with Homer and ignorance of most metre.

Kamerbeek<sup>5</sup> defends the paradosis by citing as a parallel Men. *Sam.* 371 S. However, as Gomme and Sandbach observe,<sup>6</sup> neither this occurrence of the uncontracted form nor that at *Dysc.* 297 is metrically guaranteed. The longer form prevailed in the *κοινή*, which suggests an alternative explanation to Porson's for the corruption; and, even if it were genuine in Menander, it is nowhere metrically guaranteed in fifth-century Attic. By contrast, ἐλεινοί is guaranteed at Ar. *Ran.* 1063.

The scansion of the paradosis (υ υ υ υ υ υ) is itself highly suspect, being paralleled only in such exceptional circumstances as Eur. *Hipp.* 123 and Soph. *OT* 1208 (both dochmiac contexts) and Aesch. *Pers.* 80 (a catalectic anacreontic to end an ionic antistrophe). If, however, one makes the obvious emendation to ἐλεινὸν, one encounters the so-called 'iambic tripod', υ υ υ υ υ, a quantity which need not invite suspicion outside tragedy;<sup>7</sup> but in tragedy it is unknown outside dochmiac contexts,<sup>8</sup> of which this is certainly not an example. These are the considerations which have led editors to fill out the line as an iambic dimeter.

<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to Dr. M. Davies, Mr T. C. W. Stinton and an anonymous referee.

<sup>2</sup> LSJ s.v.—e.g. Soph. *El.* 1397.

<sup>3</sup> R. Porson, *Euripidis Hecuba* (London 1817) vi.

<sup>4</sup> F. Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum* (Berlin 1872) s.v. ἐλεινός.

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Kamerbeek, *The plays of Sophocles* ii (Leiden 1959) ad loc.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander, a commentary* (Oxford 1973) on *Dysk.* 297.

<sup>7</sup> M. L. West, *Greek metre* (Oxford 1982) 62, 68.

<sup>8</sup> West (n. 7) 111. See also A. M. Dale, *Lyric metres of Greek drama* (Cambridge 1968) 115.

It thus becomes a question of which iambic disyllable will give the best sense in filling the lacuna, and one must at this stage consider the context. The ode concerns the power of love, illustrating this with the tale of the fight between Heracles and Achelous for the honour of carrying off Deianeira as bride, while she watches nervous as a heifer. *ἄκνος* is a typical feeling of the prospective wife<sup>9</sup> and especially appropriate for Deianeira in view of the monstrous nature of Achelous (7–8) and the almost equal savagery of Heracles. This material has been treated in trimeters in the prologue, with notable verbal similarities (compare 19 with 510–13). The mixed feelings of Deianeira over her marriage to Heracles which are expressed in this ode were mentioned at 26–9:

τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς,  
εἰ δὴ καλῶς. λέχος γὰρ Ἑρακλεῖ κριτὸν  
ξυστᾶσ' αἰεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω,  
κείνου προκηραίνουσα.

In view of this, one might secure a further verbal echo by putting *λέχος* in 528. It is, after all, what does await her at the outcome of the fight. It will be *ἐλεινόν*—as is proved by the whole course of events, and already felt here and in the prologue, though in neither case for quite the right reason.

Deianeira's position as wife in Heracles' bed is essential to the workings of the play. She cannot countenance sharing it with another woman (539–40):

καὶ νῦν δὺ' οἶσαι μίμνομεν μιᾶς ὑπὸ  
χλαίνης ὑπαγκάλισμα.

and it is on the bed that she stabs herself, addressing with her last words (920) her *λέχη τε καὶ νυμφεῖ(α)*. Nor is there any doubt that in this ode the theme of passion as embodied in the bed is to the fore (*ἄκοιτιν* 503, *ιέμενοι λεχέων* 514, *εὐλεκτρος* 515, *τὸν δὲν προσμένουσ'* *ἀκούσαν* 525). It is the whole point which the *exemplum* illustrates.

(ii) 1015–17

οὐδ' ἀπαράξαι <μου>  
κρᾶτα βία θέλει  
μολῶν τοῦ στυγεροῦ; φεῦ φεῦ.

1016 *χρῶτα* Dawe

As grounds for suspecting the MSS, Dawe writes as follows:<sup>10</sup> 'What is absolutely inconceivable is that he should frame the question: "will no one even (or will no one either) *cut off my head*?"'<sup>11</sup> Has any man or god in the literature of any nation ever proposed to terminate his days in such a manner?' M. L. West, reviewing Dawe,<sup>12</sup> supports him.

In answer to this question, we may cite the following:

Hom. *Il.* ii 259, *μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ κάρη ὤμοισιν ἐπέιη* (if he does not chastise Thersites); Hom. *Od.* xvi 102, *αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς* (if he leaves the suitors unpunished); Soph. *Phil.* 618–19 (Odysseus again), *καὶ τούτων κᾶρα | τέμνειν*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hor. *Carm.* i 23, and the collected references of R. G. M. Nisbet and M. E. Hubbard *ad loc.*

<sup>10</sup> *Studies on the Text of Sophocles* iii (Leiden 1978) 94–5.

<sup>11</sup> His italics.

<sup>12</sup> *CPh* lxxv (1980) 366; West repeats this preference in *Gnomon* liii (1981) 525.

*ἐφείτο τῷ θέλοντι μὴ τυχῶν* (if he were not to bring back Philoctetes); Prop. ii 7.7, *nam citius paterer caput hoc discedere collo / quam possem nuptae perdere more facis*; Ov. *Her.* 16.153, *ante recessisset caput hoc cervice cruenta / quam tu de thalamis abstraherere meis.*

All of these parallels are uttered counterfactually; that is to say, they are of the form: 'I would rather suffer (even) decapitation than *p*', where *p* is something which the speaker certainly would not wish to happen but does not really expect either. Here, Heracles says, 'I would rather be beheaded than continue in this agony'. Yet this only goes to show the horrific nature of Heracles' actual state. We need not find this actualisation of a *topos* which is often used counterfactually surprising in this play. N. Zagagi<sup>13</sup> points out that it was proverbial, at least in later antiquity and probably earlier, to say, 'I would rather have endured (even) Heracles' Labours than this'. But at Soph. *Trach.* 1046 ff. and Eur. *Her.* 1411 ff., Heracles says, 'My labours were nothing compared with this'.

Dawe makes certain further points. First, '... even at 1036 he does not ask for decapitation', which supposedly throws suspicion on 1016. But we should look at 1035: *παῖσον ἐμᾶς ὑπὸ κλῆδος*. This call to be hit under the collar-bone looks to be *just* such a call for decapitation.

Secondly, Dawe cites Hom. *Il.* xvi 323–4 as showing that the verb *ἀπαράξαι* is appropriate for flesh. Clearly, however, this is insufficient to prove that it is *inappropriate* for heads, or in some way better for flesh than for heads; and it is one of these stronger theses which Dawe should prove. Reference to Hom. *Il.* xiv 496–8:

Πηνέλεως δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος ξίφος ὀξὺ  
αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσειν, ἀπήραξεν δὲ χαμᾶζε  
αὐτῇ σὺν πῆληκι κάρη.

in which this very verb is used of a head, suggests very strongly that it is a perfectly good verb to use with either, just as its English equivalent 'hack off' can be used of various objects.

It is really not surprising that Heracles should make such a request, since it is for a violent death (consistent with his character in the play) and for an end fit for heroes (given its fairly frequent occurrence in the *Iliad*).<sup>14</sup> If Dawe's reference to 'any literature' is intended literally, one may suitably close with two remarks:

(i) In the Middle Ages, beheading was a preferred method of execution, being both quicker and more dignified than such alternatives as hanging or drowning.

(ii) The end of Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* shows a man who is quite content to go to the guillotine.

PAUL GILDERSLEEVE

120 Cairnfield Avenue,  
Neasden,  
London NW2.

<sup>13</sup> *Tradition and Originality in Plautus*, Hypomnemata lxii (Göttingen 1980) 18–67, especially 42 ff., 55 ff.

<sup>14</sup> In addition to xiv 496, cf. x 456, xx 481–2, and the anatomical remark at viii 325 ff. For further neck-wounds cf., for example, v 656, vii 12.