sung. The name for this class of poetry would have been useful in the archaic literary lexicon, perhaps emerging, as I have suggested, in the context of formal poetic competitions, and it continued to be used as a technical term by Aristotle and Peripatetic literary historians.[36]

ANDREW FORD
Princeton University

A NOTE ON AESCHYLUS *AGAMEMNON* 332

πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον

The basic meaning of this phrase is clear enough, albeit difficult to render gracefully in English: the nighttime wanderings of the Greek victors in Troy as they search for food are governed by no clear sign or principle of apportionment but are determined solely by chance. The phrase is, however, both somewhat odder and somewhat more significant than people have realized.

What is initially intriguing is why Aeschylus has Clytemnestra use this phrase. The answer lies, I believe, in the obsessions and subplots that here, as so often in this play, lurk behind Clytemnestra's words. When later in the play, for instance, she speaks of her chastity through the image of dipping bronze (611–12) or of her concern for her husband through the images of nets and cloaks (866–73), her language on both occasions clearly reveals what is really on her mind: her upcoming murder of Agamemnon.[1]

In Clytemnestra's speech at 320–50 she is, on the surface, simply evoking, with characteristic vividness, scenes suggested by the recent news that Troy has fallen. At the same time, however, she is in the major portion of this speech (330–50) implicitly setting the lax and thoughtless disarray of Agamemnon's troops in Troy against the calculated, military precision of her own preparations for Agamemnon's homecoming—a comparison that of course coheres with her determination throughout the play to establish her ascendancy over Agamemnon in word as well as in deed. She has just paraded before us in detail the efficiency of her beacon-relay (281–316); now, in abrupt contrast, she evokes for us the chaos that reigns in Troy—the babel of incompatible sounds (322–25), the agonies of the vanquished (326–29), and, her climactic point, the careless and carefree disorganization of the victors, the host of dangers that lurk for them even in triumph (330–50). At several points her description of the Greeks in Troy echoes her beacon speech in such a way as to underscore her implied comparison. Whereas the Greeks in Troy will sleep the night through (336–37), Clytemnestra's beacon-watcher guards against sleep (290–91), and her beacon

brings a prompt awakening (299).[2] The Greeks at Troy, confident in their victory, will pass the night without guard (337 ἀφύλακτον); Clytemnestra speaks of her watchers on Messapion as guards (293 φύλαξι). What marshals (332 τάσσει) Agamemnon's forces in Troy is νυκτίπλαγκτος πόνος (330), producing a τάξις that is random, sprawling, the product of no conscious control on the part of the leader. The sequence of the beacons, in contrast, is intricately organized and precisely linear, a reflection of that man-counseling woman who ordained it (312–13): τοιοίδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι, / ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι. And whereas Clytemnestra can speak of her beacons as running a race that has already been won (314), for Agamemnon and his troops the return lap is yet to be run (344).

Clytemnestra's phrase in 332 is part of this larger scheme of contrasts. She has just responded to the chorus' request for a sure sign of Troy's capture by reeling off for them the intricacies of her beacon-relay: they asked for a τέκμαρ (272 τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδέ σοι τέκμαρ;), and she has given them one (315): τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω. In contrast to this controlled τέκμαρ of her beacons, she now mentions, with scarcely veiled scorn, the lack of any such control among the Greeks in Troy, using the cognate, τεκμήριον (332): πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον. That her mastery has for the time persuaded the chorus is clear from their response at 351–54, in which they not only naively commend her masculine intelligence (351)[3] but also implicitly recall their own demand at 272 for τὸ πιστόν, for a τέκμαρ (352): ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια. Not yet, of course, does the chorus fully appreciate the extent of Clytemnestra's mastery, nor can they yet foresee what awaits Agamemnon at the end of his return lap (a πιστὸν τέκμαρ indeed!). Full comprehension will begin to dawn only with other τεκμήρια, the last appearance of the word in *Agamemnon* (1366–67): ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων / μαντευσόμεσθα τἀνδρὸς ὡς ὀλωλότος;[4]

DAVID H. PORTER
Skidmore College

2. Cf. Clytemnestra's scornful reference to sleep at 275, the watchman's concern to stay awake at 14–15, and Clytemnestra's mention of her wakefulness at 889–94. If ἐγρηγορὸς is the proper reading at 346, it will be part of the same network.

3. The chorus has obviously missed the irony of Clytemnestra's γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ at 348, just as they missed the irony of the reference to her husband at 316. Note that the first line of each of their answers (317, 351) pointedly addresses her as γύναι.

4. I wish to thank the Editor and the two anonymous referees of *CP* for criticisms and suggestions that have led to improvements in this article.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE: A *RETRACTATIO*

In his paper "To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage" (*CP* 81 [1986]: 140–46), R. T. Ridley demonstrated that the frequently repeated story of the sowing of the ruins of Carthage with salt after its destruction in 146 B.C. was nowhere attested in the sources. The repetition of the story over the last fifty years had apparently sufficed to guarantee its authenticity to a succes-