

... when at last
through the counsels of the blessed gods
they sacked the goodly city ... (lines 120–2)

Jebb's note on χρόνῳ is 'after ten years' war', and he compares Aesch. *Ag.* 126 χρόνῳ μὲν αἰρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος. Bacchylides could use the phrase χρόνῳ just as Aeschylus would, knowing that the figure of ten years had for centuries been accepted as the period of the battle for Troy. Aeschylus' δέκατον μὲν ἔτος (*Ag.* 40) had behind it the authority of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the former, the Greeks have the prophecy that they will take Troy in the tenth year (τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἰρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν, *Il.* 2.329); in the latter epic we learn that that is just what they did (*Od.* 14.240–2):

ἔνθα μὲν εἰνάετες πολεμίζομεν υἱὲς Ἀχαιῶν,
τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν Πριάμου πέρσαντες ἔβημεν
οἵκαδε σὺν νήεσσι, θεὸς δ' ἐκέδασσεν Ἀχαιοὺς.

Victory, Bacchylides explains, is something worth waiting for. Proetus left Argos, and after more than ten years – partly spent in extreme agony – he was granted victory by Artemis. The Atreidae (line 123) also found victory more than ten years after their departure from Argos, also having suffered greatly in the interval. And Alexidamus is in many ways like Proetus, and he is actually descended from the fighting companions of the Atreidae, victors at Troy.

Bacchylides left a closing seal in the last three words of his poem making it clear to all that his song had helped to convert male suffering and woe into male victory. The *Iliad* begins with the laying on of immense suffering for the Greeks at Troy: μυρὶ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' (*Il.* 1.2). Bacchylides' final words (also about the Greeks at Troy) are μυρίας ἀλκὰς Ἀχαιῶν (line 126). Thus with the smallest imaginable change he converts the countless woes of the Achaeans into their greatest victory. Anyone with the right sense, he says, will find the countless valorous deeds of the Achaeans. Thus Bacchylides uses his song to tell Alexidamus what, happily, he has just learned: the most horrible suffering (worse even than a defeat at Olympia) can be wiped out simply and best by a single word, the word with which Bacchylides began his song, Νίκα.

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HERODOTUS' PROEM AND ARISTOTLE, *RHETORICA* 1409a

At Aristotle's *Rhetorica* III 9.2 (1409a), in a discussion of λέξις εἰρομένη and κατεστραμμένη, occurs the following misquotation of Herodotus' proem:

ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη λέξις ἡ ἀρχαία ἐστίν· **Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἡδ' ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις**; ταύτη γὰρ πρότερον μὲν ἅπαντες, νῦν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ χράνται. λέγω δὲ εἰρομένην, ἡ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὐτήν, ἂν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀηδὴς διὰ τὸ ἅπειρον· τὸ γὰρ τέλος πάντες βούλονται καθορᾶν. (Kassel)

The three deviations from the MSS. of Herodotus are (a) the ethnic *Θουρίου*, (b) the Attic spelling *ἀπόδειξις*, and (c) the transfer of ἡδὲ from the end of the clause to the middle. This passage has excited a great deal of scholarly interest, primarily because of the possibility it gives rise to that Herodotus styled himself in his 'title' the 'Thurian' instead of the 'Halicarnassian'.¹

¹ It has often been observed that the first five words of Herodotus' proem resemble a title, with both author's name and the title of the work: see, e.g., J. L. Myres, *Herodotus Father of*

Another important issue involved in this passage, and one related to the problem of the ethnic in Herodotus' proem, is whether the quotation in the *Rhetorica* is genuinely Aristotle's. Kassel has hesitantly endorsed the passage as belonging to Aristotle, though perhaps a later addition by him.² One of the obstacles in the way of confidently asserting that the quotation is Aristotle's is thought to be the fact that it is not written in the style it is supposed to model,³ and that Aristotle would not make such an egregious error. But it has been suggested that the proem taken as a whole demonstrates a lack of periodicity thought to be the hallmark of λέξις εἰρομένη.⁴ Nonetheless, the anxiety regarding the possibility that Aristotle could have been wrong suggests a useful line of approach to the passage.

Aristotle's chief criticism of λέξις εἰρομένη is that it does not have 'an end prescribed by its own structure' and is boundless (ἄπειρον), and is for that reason unattractive (ἀηδής).⁵ What feature of language is indicated by 'end' (τέλος) is not immediately clear and depends in part on what Aristotle meant by 'period', a problem in its own right.⁶ Assuming that the term 'end' applies at least to the division of one *kolon* from another,⁷ it is precisely the movement of ἦδε from its final position in the clause to the middle following the name group which makes the first clause of Herodotus' proem open-ended; and as Erbse has shown the phrase ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἦδε from the proem of Herodotus is really the equivalent of ἱστορήσας ἀπεδέξατο τάδε, upon which depend the following clauses beginning with ὥς.⁸ The original position of ἦδε, thanks to its unusual placement, helps to establish a boundary between the initial main clause and the succeeding subordinate clauses.⁹ Indeed, Demetrius knew well that the integrity of Herodotus' opening sentence depended in

History (Oxford, 1953), p. 67, who arranges the entire proem into a title-page. For recent endorsement of 'Herodotus the Halicarnassian', see J. Gould, *Herodotus* (New York, 1989), p. 14, and cf. p. 17.

² R. Kassel, *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica* (Berlin and New York, 1976), p. 164, critical note ad loc.; cf. F. Jacoby, 'Herodotos', *RE* Supp. ii (1913), cols. 207–9 = *Griechische Historiker* (Stuttgart, 1956), pp. 7–9.

³ See M. E. Hubbard in D. A. Russell & M. Winterbottom (edd.), *Ancient Literary Criticism* (Oxford, 1972), p. 148 n. 1.

⁴ G. A. Kennedy, 'Aristotle on the Period', *HSCP* 63 (1958), 285; cf. Jacoby, op. cit., col. 207 = p. 8, who argued that the quotation was Aristotle's and was meant to direct an auditor of his lecture to the style of the most famous practitioner of ἀρχαία λέξις; see as well Russell & Winterbottom, op. cit., p. 148 n. 1.

⁵ Translation from Russell & Winterbottom, op. cit., p. 148.

⁶ See, e.g., D. J. Driscoll, 'Aristotle's Period Reconsidered', *American Philological Association 1990 Abstracts* (Atlanta, 1990), 211.

⁷ Note Aristotle's comparison between the reader eager to reach the end of a sentence and runners who do not get winded when the end (τὸ πέρας, *Rh.* 1409a) is in sight, as well as what he has to say regarding the 'neatly-ended' period: λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον (*Rh.* 1409a). For an analysis of Aristotle's structural understanding of Herodotus' proem, see Kennedy, op. cit., p. 285, and cf. T. Adamik, 'Aristotle's Theory of the Period', *Philologus* 128 (1984), 186.

⁸ H. Erbse, 'Der erste Satz im Werke Herodots', in H. Erbse (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), pp. 210–11.

⁹ Most modern commentators who separate the opening sentence into *kola* divide after the ἦδε: see M. Pohlenz, 'Thukydidesstudien', *NGG* (1920), 58, Erbse, op. cit., pp. 211–12, T. Krischer, 'Herodots Prooimion', *Hermes* 93 (1965), 159, H. Hommel, 'Herodots Einleitungssatz: ein Schlüssel zur Analyse des Gesamtwerks?', in G. Kurz, D. Müller and W. Nicolai (edd.), *Gnomosyne: Festschrift Walter Marg* (Munich, 1981), p. 277.

Herodotus deploys the demonstrative ὅδε/ἦδε/τόδε following an anarthrous substantive as a clause boundary elsewhere in his history: cf. 2.41.4, 56.1, 58, 76.1; 3.12.4, 137.2, 153.1; 7.5.3. See J. E. Henry, 'The Omission of the Article with Substantives after οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος in Prose', *TAPA* 29 (1898), 57–8.

part on 'its final rounding,'¹⁰ and Denniston argued that the five words could not be put in any other order without ruining their effect.¹¹ Consequently, the shift of ἦδε constitutes the removal of a boundary which the ordering of the sentence itself provides (καθ' αὐτήν, *Rh.* 1409a).

While certainty is impossible, it is important at least to consider whether the change at *Rhetorica* 1409a was deliberate. The argument has often been made that the transposition of ἦδε is due to Aristotle quoting from memory and is hence not a conscious adaptation.¹² In support of this view is the frequency with which Aristotle misquotes prose passages.¹³ Additionally, a later imitator of Herodotus, the anonymous Hellenistic author of the *Vita Homeri Herodotea*, while attempting to echo the historian's proem in his own beginning, committed precisely the same transposition as Aristotle, moving the demonstrative out of its final position: 'Ἡρόδοτος Ἀλικαρνασέως περὶ Ὀμήρου γενέσιος καὶ ἡλικίης καὶ βιοτῆς τάδε ἱστόρηκε κτλ.¹⁴

It is more difficult to establish that Aristotle deliberately tampered with Herodotus' opening remarks. In defence of this position it should be noted that the movement of words in quotations from their original position was not an unknown tool of literary criticism in antiquity.¹⁵ Furthermore, in the case of Aristotle, it should be observed that nowhere else in the *Rhetorica* does he misquote a *first line* by changing the original word order. It must be admitted that of the other four first lines quoted in the treatise three are exceedingly famous and in verse.¹⁶ On the other hand, Herodotus' proem was also celebrated, as was the other correctly quoted opening line from a prose work in the *Rhetorica* treated only a few sections further on from the Herodotus passage in the same chapter (Isocrates' *Panegyricus* found at 1409b).¹⁷ First lines were a point of reference for ancient literary critics,¹⁸ and they seem to have

¹⁰ W. Rhys Roberts' translation of τῆς καμπῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ τέλος, *Demetrius, de Elocutione* § 17 (Cambridge, 1902, repr. New York, 1979), p. 77.

¹¹ J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford, 1952), p. 7.

¹² See E. M. Cope & J. E. Sandys, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, iii (Cambridge, 1877, repr. Salem, New Hampshire, 1988), p. 93 ad loc., Jacoby, op. cit., col. 206 = p. 7, W. S. Hinman, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in the Rhetoric, Poetics and Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle* (Diss. Columbia, 1935), pp. 37–8.

¹³ Hinman, op. cit., p. 171, notes that wherever it is possible to check Aristotle is accurate in the quotation of prose passages twenty-four per cent of the time.

¹⁴ On the date and intentions of the imitator, see the introduction to Wilamowitz's text, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 137 (Bonn, 1916). Note also that the Aristotelian commentaries to the *Rhetorica* preserve the transposition: *Anonymi et Stephani in Artem Rhetoricam Commentaria, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, xxi 2, ed. H. Rabe (Berlin, 1896), p. 194 and p. 318.

¹⁵ See, e.g., N. A. Greenberg, 'Metathesis as an Instrument in the Criticism of Poetry', *TAPA* 89 (1958), 262–70.

¹⁶ Homer, *Iliad* 1.1 (1415a), *Odyssey* 1.1 (1415a); Pindar, *Ol.* 1.1 (1364a); cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *de Compositione* 98.

¹⁷ It is true that Aristotle has the present συναγόντων where Isocrates has the aorist συναγαγόντων. However, I am primarily concerned with word order, not differences in spelling; see below, n. 20.

On the evident celebrity of Herodotus 1.1 in particular see the correct quotations at Plutarch, *Moralia* 604f.3 (Pohlenz-Siebeking) and Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 28.69 (Keil ii). Also note below, n. 20, that Demetrius too quotes both Herodotus 1.1 and Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 1, and Dionysius Herodotus 1.1. To these favourite passages one can also add the opening of Plato's *Respublica*; cf. Denniston, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁸ The *Pinakes* of Callimachus are notable in this regard, for they seem to have included first lines: cf. Callimachus F 436, F 443, F 444, and F 449 (Pfeiffer), and see R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), p. 129, E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Princeton, 1968),

been studied in school.¹⁹ Indeed comparison with other literary critics makes Aristotle's misquotation of Herodotus' introduction all the more noteworthy. Neither Demetrius in the *de Elocutione* nor Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the *de Compositione* misquotes a first line of a prose work through transposition.²⁰

As a final note of support for the position that the modification at *Rhetorica* 1409a was deliberate, there is evidence elsewhere in the treatise that Aristotle was capable of adapting a quotation to suit his own text. At the end of the work Aristotle writes, *εἴρηκα, ἀκηκόατε, ἔχετε, κρίνατε*, recognized by some as a reworking of the conclusion to Lysias, *Or.* 12, where among other changes he replaces *δικάζετε* with *κρίνατε*. While this modification seems trivial, Aristotle may in fact be indulging in some cleverness: *κρίσις* is central to the rhetorical art, which is to say the subject of the treatise, and so an appropriate concept with which to end the work: see especially *Rhetorica* 1377b, *ἐπεὶ δ' ἔνεκα κρίσεως ἐστὶν ἡ ῥητορική (καὶ γὰρ τὰς συμβουλὰς κρίνουσι καὶ ἡ δίκη κρίσις ἐστὶν) κτλ.*²¹ Additionally, *κρίσις* is a term appropriate to the evaluation of texts, Aristotle's included, whereas *δίκη* (case, suit), with its forensic overtones, is not.

Whether the transposition of *ἦδε* at *Rhetorica* 1409a is to be attributed to an interpolator or to Aristotle, and if to Aristotle, whether to his faulty memory or to a deliberate effort on his part to support his general observation on the nature of *λέξεις εἰρομένης*, the quotation of Herodotus' proem has been changed; and the changed text happens to provide an illustration of the very fault described as belonging to *λέξεις εἰρομένης*.²²

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p. 103, and P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i (Oxford, 1972), p. 452. Although only testimonia survive for the *Pinakes*, see P. Oxy. 2455 (Pack² 453), P. Mil. Vogl. 44 (Pack² 398), and PSI 12 1286 (Pack² 428), all containing hypotheses to plays of Euripides which include first lines and which seem to be influenced by the tradition of indexing associated with Callimachus. See W. Luppe, 'Der Anfang der "Busiris"-Hypothese (P. Oxy. 3651)', *ZPE* 80 (1990), 13–15. See also P. Flor. 3.371 (Pack² 2090) and the discussion of F. Lasserre, 'Une notice bibliographique antique: P. Flor. III 371', *Aegyptus* 37 (1957), 243–9.

¹⁹ See, e.g., P. Tebt. 3.901 (Pack² 384: opening of Euripides, *Bacchae* repeated three or four times), Mon. Epiphan. 2.611 (Pack² 557: a very late document, *Iliad* 1.1 repeated six times), and P. Ryl. 1.59 (Pack² 274: opening of Demosthenes, *de Corona* repeated six times; see E. G. Turner, 'A Writing Exercise from Oxyrhynchus', *MH* 13 [1956], 236–8, who considers the papyrus the practice of a 'budding chancery scribe').

²⁰ I have not excluded from consideration quotations where words have been omitted from the beginning or end of a first sentence; note also that I have included citations which contain differences in spelling, both morphological and dialectical, from the original texts. Demetrius, *de Elocutione* § 17 and 44 = Herodotus 1.1; § 44 = Thucydides 1.1; § 25 = Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 1; § 3 = Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.1; § 205 = Plato, *Respublica* 1.1; §§ 10, 20, and 245 = Demosthenes, *Leptines* 1. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *de Compositione* § 163 = Thucydides 1.1; § 182 = Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 1; § 209 = Plato, *Respublica* 1.1; § 119 = Demosthenes, *de Corona* 1. Both Demetrius and Dionysius introduce words into their quotations: Demetrius § 21 *τὸν Πειραιᾶ* (Plato, *Res.* 1.1), Dionysius § 192 *νομίσῃ με* (Demosthenes, *Aristocrates* 1). Dionysius also omits a word in his quotation of a first line (§ 43): *ἐχθρας μηδεμιάς*, where *ἐμμε* is missing after *ἐχθρας* (Demosthenes, *Aristocrates* 1).

²¹ See Cope & Sandys, op. cit., pp. 220–1.

²² I would like to thank Dr D. C. Innes for her help in revising this note.