II.—PROMETHEUS AND THE CAUCASUS.

It is a wide-spread belief among scholars that the scenes of the two plays ‘Prometheus Bound’ and ‘Prometheus Loosed’ were different, and that Aeschylus represented his hero as performing an underground journey of a thousand or two of miles between these two plays. It is supposed on the one hand, from testimony of Cicero and others (to be considered hereafter), that the scene of the Prometheus Loosed was certainly the Caucasus mountain range. And on the other hand it is thought to be equally clear, from internal evidence of the tragedy itself, that the scene of the Prometheus Bound is not the Caucasus, but the northern edge of Scythia near the ocean. Now Prometheus is swallowed up by the ground at the end of the first piece, and reappears, still bound to his rock, at the beginning of the second, and it certainly follows, granted the above premisses, that the poet intended the subterranean transit in question.

C. G. Schütz, the well-known editor of Aeschylus, was the first to assert distinctly that the two tragedies had different scenes. This was in 1782. Bothe, Porson, Heyne, Hermann and others presently gave in their assent. It must be observed that these earlier scholars did not conceive of the two plays as connected in a trilogy. When Welcker, in 1824, maintained the existence of a Prometheus-trilogy, he rejected the notion of a change of scene as incompatible with that theory. On the other hand, Hermann, holding to the difference in scene, made it a prime argument against Welcker's theory of a trilogy Prometheus. It was reserved for a later generation to believe at once in the trilogy and in the change of scene, and so to hold that Prometheus is somehow transferred from one place of punishment to the other. This has become, I may say, the received doctrine, set forth in most editions of the Prometheus. And it has met with surpris-

1Although Stanley, a century earlier, had maintained that the Caucasus was not the scene of the Prometheus Bound.

2 See citations Welcker, Aeschyl. Trilogie, p. 35.

3 First, perhaps, G. C. W. Schneider in his edition (1834). Then Schömann, Woolsey, Paley, Weil, L. Schmidt and Wecklein. Also Bergk (Griech. Litera-
ingly little dissent, considering the difficulties with which it is beset.

For that it is a hard doctrine, few, I think, will deny. The trilogy theory will doubtless stand. No one—now that Wilhelm Dindorf has passed away—doubts that the Prometheus Bound and the Prometheus Unbound were acted together, and it is probably needless for me to rehearse the evidence for it. But how can the scene of these two plays have been different? The case is not that of a simple shifting of scene, as between the Choephori and the Eumenides. Prometheus cannot be understood to transfer himself by ordinary locomotion. He remains fixed to his cliff in the convulsion which ends the first play, and he is still fixed there at the opening of the other. That he has meanwhile passed, cliff and all, to another part of the world seems a singularly irrelevant and unnecessary conception. There is no indication of such a transfer in the text of the preserved play. Hermes foretells what is to happen, with considerable detail. The craggy gorge will be shattered by a bolt of lightning; Prometheus will be hidden from sight; he will lie in a πετραία ἀγκάλη, 'a crevice of rock'; after lapse of long time he will come to the light again (ἀπορροφήν ἄγεις ἐς φῶς); then the eagle will come to devour his vitals. There is nothing of a subterranean journey, nothing of a transfer to the summit of Caucasus. We cannot, of course, assert positively that this was not mentioned in the Prometheus Unbound. And yet it seems hardly possible that it was. The Prometheus λυώμενος began directly with the parodos of the chorus of Titans. After this came a speech of Prometheus to the Titans. Here, if anywhere, was the natural place for this change of the place of punishment to be mentioned. Now we have from Cicero's hand a loose translation of the whole of this speech, but

turgeschichte) and (in substance) Bernhardy. The same conclusion is reached in the dissertation of Bernhard Foss de loco in quo Prometheus apud Aeschylum vinctus sit, Bonn, 1862. Schömann, if I understand him, fancies that Prometheus, after his underground confinement, was shot up like a rocket and fell on the top of Caucasus. Schneider supposes that the hero was understood, in the interval between the plays, to be dragged to the Caucasus and rebound there by Hephaestus. But the favorite view is that of an underground passage.

1 Verses 1076–1025.
2 "ἐδειξεν ἄρχιμενος τῆς τραγωδίας" in Procopius Hist. Goth. 4, 6. See the fragment-collections. Notwithstanding this, Schömann makes his "Gelöster Prometheus" begin with a soliloquy of the hero.
there is no allusion to any change of place, though the hero
describes his past binding by the hand of Hephaestus and his
present punishment through the eagle.

Finally, no adequate motive for the supposed change of locality
can be assigned. Wecklein ascribes it to the desire for variety.
But the variety could have consisted in nothing but the substitution
of one painted scene for another very similar one. And since
the publication of Wilamowitz's recent article in Hermes on the
'Bühne des Aischylos,' it will be doubted by many whether scenes
or scenery were known to the Attic theatre at the time of the
composition of this trilogy. Variety would be dearly bought at
the price of so clumsy a device. And Aeschylus did not hesi-
tate in the Oresteia to keep the same scene during two successive
plays—Agamemnon and Choephori.¹

It might occur to some one to suppose a change of place to be
somehow bound up with the engulfment and the reappearance
of Prometheus. This engulfment is, of course, a feature added by
Aeschylus; it was no part of the former story. I dare say that
some have thought that the swallowing-up was a device for bring-
ing about a change of scene—that Prometheus is made to dis-
appear in the bowels of the earth in order that he may reappear
in a different place. A little consideration will show that this is
not so. The upturning at the end of the Προμηθεύς δεσμώτης is a
device—and the only possible device—for getting Prometheus off
the scene. The poet wished to exhibit the bound Prometheus in
two successive plays, separated by a 'wait.' In the modern
theatre this would be managed very simply. The curtain would
descend on Prometheus at the end of one piece, and rise on him
at the beginning of the other. But what was the primitive play-
wright to do? Prometheus could not be left hanging during the
interval between the two plays.² He must absolutely be got
off at the end of the δεσμώτης, and got on at the beginning of the
λύτευς—and got on in a bound condition, for the binding scene
cannot be repeated. We see what an embarrassment the poet
was in, and how ingeniously he met the difficulty; and we see
that all this points to no change of locality whatsoever.

¹ Schneider assigns other and incredibly trivial reasons for the supposed
transfer. As, for instance, that Zeus desired to remove Prometheus from the
sympathetic companionship of Oceanus and his daughters!
² I do not urge the consideration that Prometheus was represented by a
dummy in the first play and by a live man in the second, because there are
still some who doubt the use of a lay-figure in the Prometheus Bound.
The makeshift is indeed more successful in the termination of the first piece than in the opening of the second. The catastrophe of the δεσμώτης is extremely effective, and no one suspects a device. Not so the commencement of the λυόμενος. This play must have been rather abruptly and awkwardly ushered in by the rising of the silent and still fettered figure of Prometheus from the hollow underneath the orchestra. Nothing else is possible. But this rising, observe, cannot be understood as his first emergence from underground imprisonment—the 'coming to light' promised in verse 1021 of the preceding play. For if so, where does the punishment by the eagle come in? This punishment had gone on for ages at the time when the action of the drama begins. Clearly the emergence of Prometheus is no part of the play, but only, so to speak, a signal that the play is to begin. As soon as he is there, he is immediately supposed to have been hanging there for an immense period. And this explains why Prometheus says nothing at the outset of the piece, but waits to be addressed by the leader of the chorus. Were he supposed to be emerging for the first time after countless years spent in solitary darkness, this would be highly unnatural.

We see, then, that the swallowing-up of Prometheus and his reappearance are without significance for the question of locality, and are primarily a means of effecting an exit and a re-entrance of the hero.

Shall we then adopt Welcker's view, and say that Caucasus is the scene of both plays? The difficulties in the way of this are familiar. First, the opening lines of the Prometheus Bound say nothing about the Caucasus, but speak of a remote region of Scythia. It further appears that this is near the Ocean, for the Oceanids hear the blows of Hephaestus's hammer. Secondly, the directions given to Io show that the speakers are not stationed on the Caucasus. After leaving Prometheus, Io is to come to the Nomad Scythians, skirt the country of the Chalybes, reach and ascend the valley of a river Hybristes, and then she is to arrive πρὸς αὐτὸν Καῦκασον, ἄρων ὑψίστον (verse 719) and cross its lofty summits. Obviously a long journey is here described, and the starting-point cannot be the Caucasus itself. Thirdly, the Caucasus is spoken of as peopled, or as having peoples living near it (422), while the scene of the play is an ἄβροτος ἑρμία (2), an ἀπάθετος.

1Vetusta saeclis glomerata horridis lucifera clades, Frag. III, verse 25.
These arguments are cogent, and show that the Prometheus Bound is not enacted in the Caucasus. Welcker's attempts to weaken their force partake of the nature of quibbles. Caucasus, he said, was looked on as a Scythian mountain, and it might be that the poet meant that mountain to be understood, without naming it. He laid stress on the word αὐρώ in 719. It meant, he argued, the *summit* of Caucasus, in distinction from its lower regions. This, even if true, does not fully meet the difficulty. But surely αὐρός is here simply the *aurōs* of celebrity. Caucasus was to Aeschylus the type of a lofty and impassable mountain. 'Ascend the Arve,' we might say, 'and you will see Mont Blanc himself before you.'

Welcker's view has won but few adherents. One of these is P. J. Meyer, author of a dissertation published at Bonn in 1861. Meyer endeavors to get relief by an extension of the term Caucasus. The scene of the play is in northern Scythia, but it is also in Caucasus. 'Caucasus' (he thinks) comprehends all the mountains of the northern world. The crucial verse 719 he understands as Welcker does, but he is better able to explain how Io makes so long a journey and yet is still in the Caucasus. But after all, this is only an alleviation of the difficulty. Granted that Aeschylus may have meant more by 'Caucasus' than we do, that he may have supposed it to extend to the Ocean and to be in Scythia. The stubborn fact remains that he has not named Caucasus in defining the scene at the outset, and that in two places later on he *does* speak of Caucasus in terms which he could not have used if that were the scene of the play. In short, this whole theory runs counter to the natural interpretation of the text of the Prometheus Bound. 'Persuasum habeo,' says Meyer, 'spectatores primis sex versibus-s-fabulae recitatis statim de Caucaso cogitasse,' We venture to affirm on the contrary that no spectator or reader,

1 So before him a scholiast: ἦτοι πρῶς τὸ ἐτερον μέρος τοῦ Καυκάσου· ὁ γὰρ Προμηθεὺς ἐν τοι τῆι και ἀκρομιαί τοῦ Καυκάσου ἐσταιναράθη. ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὥρος ἐπὶ πολὺ διῆκον. Hermann declared this view unworthy of a sane man.

2 Aeschylus *Prometheus vinctus quo in loco agi videatur.*

3 The ancients often speak of the Caucasus as Scythian. There is some authority for extending the name to the Rhipaean mountains (Dionys. Periegletes 663 and Eustathius *ad locum*). Probably Foss is right in the conclusion that Aeschylus's geography placed Caucasus and the Phasis to the north of the Maeotis instead of the east of the Euxine, and represented the Phasis as flowing into the Maeotis. Only in this way does Io's route become fully intelligible.
ancient or modern, unless his mind was prepossessed, ever gathered from the play itself that its action lay in the Caucasus.

Is there then no way out of these contradictions? We have found two roads no thoroughfare; one remains to be explored. Is it possible that the Caucasus was the scene of neither play? Hitherto everybody has assumed, as the one fixed fact, that the scene of the Prometheus Loosed lay in the Caucasus. Let us examine the grounds of this conviction.

The chief proof lies in the third fragment of the play—the speech of Prometheus already alluded to. This speech has been transmitted to us by Cicero (Tusc. II 10) in a Latin version avowedly made by himself. It is introduced by the words 'has igitur poenas pendens, adfixus ad Caucasum, dicit haec.' In the text of the speech itself, at the end, the Caucasus is named as the scene of the action. The words are:

' e quo liquatae solis ardore excidunt
guttae, quae saxa assidue instillant Caucasī.'

Prometheus's gore is melted by the sun, and falls in drops upon the rocks.

This mention of Caucasus, imbedded in the text of the play, seemed final and decisive. It would be so if this were the text of Aeschylus himself. But herein lies, in my view, the gist of the whole matter. These verses are not Aeschylus, but Cicero's version of Aeschylus. Cicero supposed, as every one supposed in his day, that the Caucasus was the scene of Prometheus's punishment. What if the mention of Caucasus is due to him, and the saxa Caucasī were, in the original, simple nameless πέρπατι?

Cicero as good as tells us (in the following chapter) that this translation was made by him, as an exercise in verse-composition, while he was a student in Athens. We do not know whether he translated the whole play, or only this passage. But there is nothing in the nature of the case to render such a freedom as I have supposed unlikely. It is only what the makers of poetical translations always do. Cicero's other translations from Greek poets afford many examples of analogous additions. ¹ And, as it

¹An insight into Cicero's usage is easily obtained by comparing his translations from Aratus and Homer (conveniently put together at the end of several of our editions) with the originals. Added epithets are common: tempestas laeæ = ἕρματ (Odys. 1 363), diurno saxo = ἀῶν (II. B 319), splendenti corpore virgo = παρθένον (Arat. 97). This is the least of many sorts of padding which are
PROMETHEUS AND THE CAUCASUS. 

57

happens, we have an indication that this particular version was not an exact and literal rendering of the original text. The sixth verse of the passage, resque numen Mulciberi adscivit manus, is obviously a translation of Prometheus's words to Io in the Prometheus Bound (619), βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Δίον, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χείρ. We cannot suppose that Aeschylus used this phrase twice in the same trilogy; it is clear that Cicero embellished his translation from the Prometheus Solutus with an effective bit from the Prometheus Vinctus.

This passage set aside, nothing remains that can be said to prove that the scene of the Prometheus Unbound was the Caucasus. That Cicero says adfixus ad Caucasum in introducing his version, can count for nothing. Nor is it any more conclusive that Strabo (p. 183) in the words introducing the tenth fragment, says that it occurs in a passage in which Prometheus describes to Heracles the route from Caucasus to the Hesperides (καθεγούμενος 'Ἡρακλῆ τῶν ὀδών τῶν ἀπὸ Καυκάσου πρῶς τὰς 'Εσπερίδας). These expressions may perfectly well reflect the ideas of Cicero and Strabo, not of Aeschylus. For by 'Caucasus' they mean simply 'the scene of the play.' It never occurred to them that this scene could be other than Caucasus. Still less can the mention of the Phasis in Fragment I be a proof. This and Fragment II are part of the parodos. Fragment II belongs in order between the parts of I. The chorus of Titans announce their presence to Prometheus, and describe their journey. Three places are named in the scraps we have; the Red Sea, the παντοτρόφος Λίμνη (=the Fountain of Helios, where the sun rises), and the Phasis. But there is nothing to show that the Phasis was at or near the end of the route. A dozen other places, for aught we know, may have followed it

freely employed. Thus, βοών ἄρρητων (Arat. 132) becomes manu vinctum domitumque iunctum, καλὰ φαίνει (Arat. 148) becomes tremulum quatiens e corpore flammam, πέλος (Arat. 205) becomes iubam quatiens fulgere miscanti, κρόϊο (Arat. 225) becomes contortis aries cum cornibus. Whole verses are thus put in bodily: thus at Arat. 27, 82, 277, 308, 339 (of the Greek text). Two whole verses, of which there is no trace in the original, are inserted after Arat. 360. An extreme case is Arat. 286, where one verse is padded into four. These additions sometimes include proper names: poena satiabit Achives (II. B 329), Neptunia pistrix (=ocean, Arat. 647), Arcuto . . . dedit Juppiter (Arat. 406), Aegaeo defixa in gurrite Chius (Ξιώ, Arat. 638); compare Arat. 134, 248, 343. The translation of Sophocles Trach. 1046 ff., in Tusc. II 8 keeps fairly near the original, but even here Ἐχίνινς θρήμα becomes Hydra generatum, and ἀφιάτω πέδη peste textili.
in the enumeration. The route, so far as it is indicated, corresponds roughly with Io's route from Prometheus's standpoint to Egypt, as described in the preserved play—except, of course, that it is in the opposite direction.

We see that there is no cogent evidence that the Ἴπουμενός was enacted in the Caucasus, unless we regard as such the belief of Cicero and Strabo, who had the play before them, and the consensus of antiquity generally that Caucasus was the place of Prometheus's punishment. The universality of this belief influenced Welcker strongly. But it proves too much. It pertains to the Prometheus Bound as well as the Prometheus Loosed—to the beginning as well as the end of the punishment. Lucian, for instance, in the dialogue 'Prometheus' travesties the opening scene of the Ἴπουμενός δεσμώτης, and designates the place as Caucasus. Were the δεσμώτης lost, we should accept this as evidence that its scene lay in the Caucasus; yet we know it did not. Other places where the beginning of the punishment is referred to the Caucasus are Cleanthes quoted in Plutarch de fluviis 5, 3 (προσέδησεν αὐτῶι τὸν Προμηθέα), Arrian Peripl. Eux. 11, 5 (ἵνα περ ὁ Προμηθεύς κρεμασθήναι υπὸ Ἡφαίστου κατὰ πρόσταξιν Δίος μυθεύεται), Schol. Prom. 347 (τὸν Προμηθέα προσῆλώσεν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. Even the Hypothesis of the Prometheus Bound places the action in the Caucasus: ἡ μὲν σκηνή τοῦ δράματος ὑποκείται ἐν Σκυθίαι ἐπὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. We see that the whole thing hangs together. Both plays were equally thought to have their scene in the Caucasus. In the case of the first play this belief was certainly wrong, and there is no reason to think it was right in the case of the second. Men read their Aeschylus by the light of the current form of the story, learned at school and propagated by many later poets, and they read into him what was not there.¹ The mistake was the easier, as the actual scene of the plays was somewhat vaguely indicated by the poet.

¹There is a trace of the contrary (and correct) doctrine in antiquity. I mean the supplementary remark in the Mediceus (ἰστὸν δὲ ὅτι, etc.) printed in our editions after the Hypothesis. There were those, even among the ancients, who read the play attentively. It is just possible that a further trace of this right view may lurk in a fragment of Varro's satire 'Prometheus Liber' (n. 4 Riese):

mortalis nemo exaudit, sed late incolens
Scytharum inhospitalis campis vastitas,

in which I would call attention to the word campis (not montibus). Ribbeck guesses that these lines may be taken from Accius's Prometheus.
Both plays, then, had the same scene, and that scene was not intended by the poet to be the Caucasus mountains, but a nameless part of Scythia. I hope I have succeeded in making this as clear to others as it is to me. I regard the conclusion as certain, because it is the only one which does not lead to absurdities. A further word may be allowed me about this belief, which possessed the later ancients, that Prometheus was chained in the Caucasus.

The oldest account, in Hesiod, mentions no particular place. Aeschylus fixed it vaguely in the distant north. It is in Alexandria time that the earliest distinct mention of the Caucasus in connexion with Prometheus meets us. Apollonius of Rhodes makes the Argonauts, on approaching Colchis, hear the groans of Prometheus and see the eagle going to and returning from its meal. Eratosthenes, as quoted by Arrian, also put Prometheus in the Caucasus. Numberless writers then chime in. But although, as I have said, the Caucasus theory is first found distinctly stated by Alexandrines, there is no doubt that it is older than these. This is shown as follows.

In later antiquity the name Caucasus, as is well known, was extended to far eastern mountain ranges, and included the mass now known as Hindu-Kush, the western outliers of the Himalayas, called also Paropamisos by the Greeks. Two rival 'prisons of Prometheus' were shown to travellers, one in the Colchian Caucasus, between the Black Sea and Caspian, and one in the Indian Caucasus—the Hindu-Kush. Now we are told by Eratosthenes, whom Arrian quotes in his Anabasis and Indica, that this latter location of the Caucasus and of Prometheus dates from Alexander's campaign. The Macedonians in Alexander's suite, the story goes, called this Paropamisos mountain Caucasus, to flatter the

1Argonautica II 1247 ff.
4Anabasis V 3, 1; Indica 5.
monarch's vanity, and seeing a cave, they forthwith dubbed it 'Prometheus's prison,' and declared that this was where Hercules came and shot the eagle. Strabo is even more explicit, though he does not name Eratosthenes. It appears that opinion was divided between the cavern and a beetling precipice crowned by two crags as the actual place of punishment. Anyhow it is evident that Prometheus and the Caucasus were connected in men's minds at the time of Alexander's campaign; else the discovery of this new 'Caucasus' would not have brought with it a new location of Prometheus's punishment. The old Caucasus also, as has been said, continued to be thought of as the place where Prometheus had suffered. The precise point was a peak called Στροβίλοσ, visible from the sea-coast at points near the Greek settlements in Colchis. This too was a show-place. Pompey, Appian tells us, visited the Colchian Caucasus in the Mithridatic war on purpose to see the spot where Prometheus had been chained. Eratosthenes, whom Arrian and Strabo copy, evidently was clear that this location was the older of the two—that is, that the Colchian Caucasus was fixed on before the Indian Caucasus as the scene of Prometheus's sufferings. Indeed this would be probable, even without direct testimony.

We may then be certain that the notion that Prometheus was bound in the Caucasus antedated the eastern campaign of Alexander. There is reason to think it a good deal older than this. In Sophocles' play called Κολχίδες occurred the verse

\[\text{υμεῖς \ μὲν \ ἄκ \ ἄρ \ δίστε \ τὸν \ Προμηθέα} ;\]

The subject of the play was Jason and Medea, and Welcker surmised, with much probability, that this verse was part of a description of the magic salve (φάρμακον Προμηθείου) made of Prometheus's blood. This salve is mentioned by Apollonius in the Argonautica, and by Plutarch de fluviiis (5, 4) as compounded by Medea. If Sophocles represented the Colchian sorceress as collecting drops of Promethean blood, there can be little doubt that he thought of Prometheus as bound in the Caucasus.

It seems, therefore, that the location of Prometheus in the Caucasus took place, so to speak, between Aeschylus and Sophocles—
that is to say, about the middle of the fifth century. It is perhaps idle to speculate how it came about. We may, nevertheless, hazard a guess. Pherecydes of Leros produced his mythical history about the time in question. In the second book he treated the story of Prometheus. The one quotation we have from this narrative concerns itself with the parentage of the eagle which tortured Prometheus. It was the offspring of Typhon and Echidna. We are not told that Pherecydes connected Prometheus with the Caucasus. But, oddly enough, we do know that he connected this same Typhon with the Caucasus in treating the Gigantomachia in his first book. Then, too, it is known that Apollodorus's Βιβλιοθήκη follows Pherecydes pretty closely in this part, and Apollodorus puts Prometheus in the Caucasus. Putting all together, it seems not unlikely that it was Pherecydes who disseminated this form of the story. It probably came from the Milesian colonies Phasis and Dioscurias, which were close under the western end of the Caucasian range.

Frederic D. Allen.

1 Frag. 21 Müller (=Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 1252).