AGAMEMNON
OF
AESCHYLUS
WITH VERSE TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES

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"I am honoured and gratified by your proposal to dedicate to me your version of the Agamemnon. I regard the Oresteia as probably on the whole the greatest spiritual work of man."

Extract from a letter to Walter Headlam from A. C. Swinburne.

October 2nd, 1900.
EDITOR'S PREFACE

At the time of his death in 1908 Dr Walter Headlam had been for some years under engagement to prepare an edition of the *Agamemnon* for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. Unfortunately he was not able to complete it; but the Syndics were nevertheless desirous that a book the preparation of which had engrossed long periods of enthusiastic labour, should if possible be published.

With this end in view the existing material was entrusted to me to be sifted and arranged for the Press. The various parts of the work proved on investigation to be in different stages of progress; for, whereas the Introduction and Verse Translation were nearly complete, and had undergone considerable revision at the hands of their author, the recension of the text had not been carried through, there were no critical notes, and the commentary only existed in fragments. The deficiencies were however less serious than might appear from this statement. Dr Headlam had devoted himself for twenty years to the study of Aeschylus; he had ransacked the whole of the extant Greek literature in order to equip himself for the task of emending, explaining, and illustrating his favourite author; he had published from time to time in the philological periodicals critical studies on most of the difficulties which the text of the *Agamemnon* presents; and, when repeatedly working through the play, he had collected in note-books and in the margins of his printed copies abundant stores of evidence, which though not in their final shape were available in support of the conclusions he had reached.

I must now endeavour briefly to explain how I have dealt with this material.

So far as it went, the Introduction was finished, with the exception of the opening pages; but there can be no doubt that
at least a section bearing on the textual criticism of the play would have been added. In order to make the critical notes intelligible, I have added a short account of the most important MSS., taken principally from Wecklein. The Verse Translation had undergone constant revision, as will be apparent from a comparison of such extracts as have appeared in the occasional contributions with the complete text as now printed. The author was a severe critic of his own productions, and finality was not easily reached. The manuscript bears many indications that the text had not been definitely settled; and I have sometimes been compelled to choose between alternatives, neither of which was considered entirely satisfactory. The number of cases where the addition of a word or words was necessary is fortunately so small as to be negligible.

In constituting the text I have been guided mainly by the evidence contained in an interleaved copy of Wecklein's *Aeschylus* (1885). This book was intended by Dr Headlam to be the basis of his own recension, and here he was accustomed to enter such textual corrections as he considered final. Further assistance has been derived from the notes to the prose translation written for Messrs Bell's Classical Translations (London, 1904), in which he professed to record such of the readings adopted as were likely to be unfamiliar. In the few cases where these notes conflicted with the 'final' Wecklein, the testimony of the latter was taken as conclusive. There remained a number of passages where the editor had not made up his mind on the reading to be printed; but in most of these either the translation, verse or prose, or the notes show what he considered to be probable, and the actually doubtful points are both few and unimportant.

For the convenience of readers I have added below the page a brief record of the MS. evidence, wherever the text departs from it. For the most part this is taken from Wecklein's apparatus, whose authority I have generally followed in attributing to their authors such conjectures as it was necessary or desirable to mention.

The material available for the commentary was as follows: (1) note-books and loose sheets containing notes in course of
preparation; (2) notes and references written in the margin of printed copies of the play, the most important of which were in the interleaved copy of Wecklein already mentioned; (3) printed contributions to the Classical Review and Journal of Philology, and the notes to the prose translation. Dr Headlam had planned his commentary on an elaborate scale, seeking by illustrations drawn from every age of Greek literature to rest his criticism and interpretation upon the secure foundation of established usage. The complete design was never realised: the written notes which remain are intermittent and generally incomplete, and so far as they exist cover only a small portion of the text. On the other hand, many of the notes previously published required modification before they could be suitably incorporated in a commentary; and many others being superseded by later views had ceased to be of importance. In spite of these difficulties, it was thought better not to miss the opportunity of collecting the permanent results of Dr Headlam's criticism on the Agamemnon; and it is hoped that the new matter will be welcomed by those who are already familiar with his published work. It must be understood that, though in many instances I am responsible for the outward form which the note has ultimately assumed, the substance is in every case taken from one or more of the sources indicated above. No attempt has been made to work up rough material unless the design of the author in collecting it was established beyond reasonable doubt. Those who have endeavoured to sift numbers of references not always easy to find with the object of discovering the clue which holds the secret of their connexion will realise that the task I have undertaken is not without difficulty. I can only say that I have acted according to the best of my judgment, and if the result is to preserve for students some valuable fruits of the labours of one who has illuminated so many dark places in Greek poetry, I shall be more than satisfied. In the few cases where I have made additions to the notes I have distinguished them by square brackets.

For the principles by which the translator was guided in composing his version readers must be referred to the Preface to the Book of Greek Verse (Cambridge University Press, 1907);
EDITOR’S PREFACE

but I am permitted to quote the following extract from a letter written to Miss J. E. Harrison on Feb. 3rd, 1903, which has a peculiar interest as referring to the translation of the Agamemnon:

“The blank verse seemed to me to require the large language of the dramatists and Milton (without the slang of the dramatists)... The trouble comes with the Lyrics. They had to be in the same language to harmonise with the rest. That limits you very much in metre; you must forgo in the first place anapaestic rhythm. And whatever metre you use, there is one condition that prevents them ever being done to satisfaction. In the Greek they were the words written for music, to be sung; and in English there is nothing corresponds. English unhappily is not a singing language, as Italian is, or German; and the moment you try to write in English what is singable—which is hard in itself—you get for our ears too much tune. English ‘lyrics’ such as Shelley wrote are capable of the loveliest and subtlest effects, but they are effects for reading; and the lovelier and subtler they are, the less they can be sung.”

I desire to thank the proprietors of the Classical Review and of the Journal of Philology for permission to make use of the various articles which have appeared in those periodicals; Messrs George Bell and Sons for a similar liberty in respect of the notes to the prose translation; Mr J. T. Sheppard, who not only lent me a series of notes taken in 1904, when he was reading the play with Dr Headlam, but also looked over some of the proof-sheets; Mr H. H. Sills for sending me several Lecture-Room papers containing passages from the Agamemnon; and Mr L. W. Haward for information on sundry points of detail.

A. C. P.

23rd July 1910.
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ERRATUM

p. 181, note on l. 76 ff. for υπεργήρως read υπέργηρως
INTRODUCTION.

THE STORY.

Atreus son of Pelops son of Tantalus, reigning in Argos, banished his brother Thyestes, who had corrupted his wife Aerope and disputed his rule. When Thyestes returned in the guise of a suppliant, his life was spared by Atreus but only that he might suffer a more horrible injury. Pretending to celebrate his home-coming by a special feast, Atreus slew and served up to him his two young children. The father, misled for the moment, with a cry of agony kicked over the table and uttered a curse 'that so might perish all the race of Pleisthenes.' He was afterwards banished a second time together with his third son Aegisthus, then a mere infant.

Of Atreus we hear no more, but he was succeeded on the throne by Agamemnon and Menelaus, who ruled conjointly in Argos. The two brothers married two sisters, Clytaemnestra and Helen the daughters of Tyndareus and Leda. In the course of their reign they were visited by Paris or Alexander, son of King Priam, of the famous and opulent town of Troy, whom they hospitably entertained. He repaid their kindness by seducing Helen, the wife of Menelaus, and carrying her off with a quantity of treasure on board his ship to Troy, leaving the husband disconsolate and speechless.

Agamemnon, against the wish of his oldest advisers, espoused his brother's quarrel, and assembled a vast fleet of a thousand vessels to avenge the rape and recover Helen. The male population of Argos, except those too old for military service and those too young, embarked on the enterprise. The government was left in the hands of Clytaemnestra assisted by a body of elders who remained behind.

1 vv. 1583—1606.  
2 vv. 42—44, 409—28, 537—9, etc.  
3 vv. 72—82, 270—2, 790—5, etc.

H. A.
the attitude of Heaven was declared by a significant omen. Two eagles differently marked were observed preying together on a pregnant hare. From this omen the prophet Calchas drew a twofold conclusion partly favourable, partly the reverse. Recognising in the two birds the two kings different in nature but now unanimous for war, he foretold from their action that Troy should one day fall and her gathered riches be despoiled. But as the fate of the hare and her unborn young must of necessity be displeasing to Artemis, the protectress of such creatures, he saw reason to dread the displeasure of the goddess against the army when assembled at her own port of Aulis, which had been assigned as the point of departure for the fleet. Then, taking leave of the sign, in language vague but ominous, he deprecated the occurrence of a storm which must lead to a monstrous sacrifice, breeding enmity between a husband and a wife, and entailing vengeance for a child.

As the prophet had feared, so it fell out. The fleet was detained by foul weather at Aulis; the ships began to go to pieces; provisions were running short; and every resource suggested by the diviners proved vain. Agamemnon himself was impatient under these trials and would perhaps have seized the excuse for abandoning his design, leaving it to Heaven to punish the seducer of his brother’s wife. Before taking this step, however, he was informed of a remedy which would prove efficacious. This was nothing less than the sacrifice of his own daughter Iphigeneia to Artemis. The cruel alternative now lay before him, either of killing his child, or of refusing a personal sacrifice on behalf of the allies whom he had summoned to take part in a personal quarrel. After weighing the motives on either side, his calculating head got the better of his heart. In a moment of moral obliquity he consented to the sacrifice, and the fleet sailed. Ten years of labour and privation awaited him at Troy. The allies, for whose sake he had resigned so much, proved half-hearted in the end. By the loss of life abroad, he forfeited the sympathy of all but a scanty remnant of those who had been left behind. He made of his wife a concealed but implacable enemy; and he gave his bitterest foe the chance

1 See Pausan. ix. 19, 6—8. 2 vv. 113—63.
THE STORY

to cut him off in the very hour of his triumph over his great rival of the East. 

For there was one person who had not sailed with the sailing of the fleet. Aegisthus, son of Thyestes, had grown up in exile, nursing projects of revenge, and not forgetful of his unhappy father's claim to the crown. In the absence of the kings and their force, he found means of access to Clytaemnestra, herself burning to revenge the death of her daughter Iphigeneia. He obtained her love, and (more fortunate than his father) might enjoy it in peace, together with the reality, if not the semblance, of power in Argos. The adultery was not openly avowed; but enough was known for those who remained faithful to the absent king to shake their heads and hold their peace. Orestes, the lawful heir to the throne, was sent away to be brought up by Strophius of Phocis, a friend of the family.

This state of things could only last so long as Agamemnon was abroad; and accordingly the guilty pair took measures to provide against the day of his return. It had been arranged between the king and his consort that the fall of Troy should be communicated by a series of beacons extending from mount Ida in the Troad to mount Arachnaeus in the neighbourhood of Argos; and a watchman had been stationed to look out for the signal for a year before the city fell. This appointment, no doubt innocently devised to communicate the important event as soon as possible, resulted in giving the conspirators ample warning of the king's approach. Aegisthus had got together a body of troops, either companions of his exile or drawn from the disaffected generation which had by this time grown up at Argos. He now arranged that, on the king's arrival, the cunning and capable queen should receive her husband with all appearance of affection, should conduct him to the bath previous to the usual sacrifice, should there drop the valance or canopy over him, and

1 vv. 194—233, 452—64, 560—71, 829—33, etc.

2 The importance of the part played by Aegisthus, in the version of the story which Aeschylus followed, was first emphasised by Dr Verrall, to whom here, as elsewhere, I am much indebted. While I cannot agree with Dr Verrall (as will be seen later) about the precise nature of Aegisthus' plot, I think it clear from v. 1609 that a plot of some considerable kind is presupposed.

3 vv. 553—5, 871—2, 1585, 1608, 1625—7, etc.

I—2
despatch him thus entangled; while he himself, being precluded from appearing in public, should lurk in the vicinity, and, upon a signal of Clytaemnestra's action in the palace, should overpower with his partisans the following of the king, and join hands with his accomplice before the royal castle. From this stronghold he meant to govern Argos with absolute power, bribing some and coercing others. In the event the plan was much simplified by the fact that Agamemnon's fleet was utterly dispersed by a storm on the way home, so that the conqueror of Troy landed with the crew of a single ship, and fell an easy victim. The return of the king, his murder by Clytaemnestra, and the usurpation of Aegisthus, form the subject of the Agamemnon.

THE DRAMA.

This action, of which the preliminaries (so far as they are stated or seen to be implied in the play itself) have been narrated above, is disposed by the poet into four broad chapters. The first is taken up with the announcement of the fall of Troy; the second with the return of the king; the third with his murder; the fourth with the immediate sequel of the murder. Each of the first three divisions is subdivided, on a rough principle of symmetry, into two parts. The reception of the news from Troy precedes by a considerable interval its public declaration at Argos; the entrance of Agamemnon's herald precedes the entrance of the king himself; and the prediction of his murder by the prophetess Cassandra (whom he brings in his train) precedes, by a very short interval, its actual execution. The last division likewise falls into two parts, the first of which consists of Clytaemnestra's open justification of her act, and the second of Aegisthus' exposition of his conspiracy; the whole accompanied by recriminations between each of these persons and the body of faithful elders who compose the Chorus of the play. We will now trace the course of the action down to the entrance of the herald, at which point a question of some importance arises.

1 This detail is doubtful, but see v. 1354.
2 vv. 327–8, 666–8, 1636–40, 1650, etc.
The scene, which is laid before the royal palace, opens at night. A watchman is discerned on the roof. He explains that his business is to look out for the beacon, complains of his hardships, utters a few dark hints about the state of affairs within, and expresses a forlorn wish for the conclusion of his watch. While the word is yet in his mouth, the fire appears. He greets it with a cry of joy, raises a shout to apprise Clytaemnestra, executes a dance, adds a few more hints of a dubious nature, and disappears (I—39).

By the queen's orders offerings are despatched to all the neighbouring shrines, and flames arise through the darkness. A group of elders, ignorant of the news, assembles to inquire the reason. In despondent tones they observe that the kings and their army have been absent at Troy for close on ten years, yet the war still continues. They comment on their own feebleness, which caused them to be left behind. The queen enters to kindle the altars near the palace, and they question her in the hope of some comforting news. For the present she does not answer, but goes off, apparently to complete the ceremony by leading the sacrificial chant to which she alludes later (40—103).

The Chorus, left alone, relate the omen which attended the departure of the kings, its exposition by Calchas, his prophecy of good and evil, and yet of further evil. Then, after a preface justifying the ways of Zeus to men, they proceed to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. The father's tears, hesitation and eventual submission are depicted. The sacrifice itself is partly described; but they stop short of the fatal stroke, and pray that the good foretold by Calchas may now come about, as then the evil, dismissing his prediction of further evil as so much premature sorrow. On this note of uncertainty the ode concludes (104—269).

The night is far spent, when the queen reappears and announces the fall of Troy. The elders, with tears in their eyes, question her as to the proof and period of the capture. Pointing to the dawn, which ushers in her glad news, she informs them that it occurred in the night just past. They ask how she could learn so quickly, and in reply she narrates the transmission
of the fiery signal from hill to hill, over sea and plain, by means
of successive beacons. At the end of her rapid narrative the
elders invite her to repeat it for their fuller comprehension. She
contents herself with restating the chief fact, and goes on to
draw a picture of the captured city, with its medley of victors
and vanquished; deprecates any wanton sacrilege on the part
of the former, who have still to get home with the blood of the
dead upon their hands; and concludes by excusing her fears
as natural to a woman, and praying that all may be well in no
doubtful sense. The elders, having had leisure to reflect during
this speech, accept her evidence as certain, and turn to praise
Heaven for its mercy (270—366).

They begin by celebrating the power of Zeus, and his
unerring chastisement of guilt, as seen in the case of Paris.
This judgment refutes the saying that Heaven is indifferent
to human sin, a doctrine traceable to the temper engendered
by a sudden plethora of riches. Wealth without righteousness
insures a man’s ruin, his children’s ruin, his nation’s irreparable
harm. It brings him to a bloody end, unregarded of God or
man. The crime of Paris, the flight of Helen, the desolation
of the Argive home, are then described in verses famous for
their tender beauty. But instead of reverting to the theme of
divine justice, the Chorus passes, by an easy but remarkable
transition, to the general grief at Argos, caused by the death
of kinsmen at Troy. The private quarrel of the Atridae has
made them hateful at home. They may have conquered, but
they have slain many; the gods take note of that. They may
have won great glory; let not their hearts be lifted up, or Zeus
will blast them. A middle station between conquest and
captivity is the best. The tone of triumph with which the
ode began has relapsed into one of dark foreboding. At the
very close they call in question the truth of the fiery message
which prompted them to sing. With a short lyric colloquy
to this effect the music dies away. In the next scene
Agamemnon’s herald is observed approaching (367—507).

Here, then, we must pause to touch on a matter which has
cased some discussion in recent times. An ancient commentator
marks: ‘Some find fault with the poet that he represents the
Greeks as returning from Troy on the same day1. A modern commentator, Mr Sidgwick, remarks\(^2\): 'Observe that the herald arrives from Troy, announcing the return of Agamemnon, immediately after the beacon fires, on the morning after the capture. Such violations of possibility were held quite allowable by the licence of dramatic poetry.' Dr Verrall, justly objecting that neither the theory nor the practice of the Athenian drama bears out the last assertion, founds on this apparent discrepancy of times a new interpretation of the play. On a certain night a fiery signal announces the capture of Troy. In the course of the next morning the victorious king arrives, after having demolished Troy and traversed the whole length of the Aegaean Sea. One or other of these statements must be false. But, as it is certain that the king does arrive in the latter part of the play, while it is equally certain that a fiery signal is received in the first part, it would seem to follow that this signal cannot announce the capture of Troy. From the entrance of Agamemnon to the close of the play it is never mentioned. The story told by Clytaemnestra, of the chain of beacons extending from Ida to Arachnaeus, is improbable in itself; still more so if, as we learn later, a violent storm was raging in the Aegaean at the time of transmission. What, then, was the meaning of the signal? According to Dr Verrall, there was but one beacon altogether, and it was kindled on Arachnaeus by the conspirator Aegisthus, who there kept watch for the return of the king; and it was intended to warn Clytaemnestra in the city, and his adherents elsewhere, of Agamemnon's approach, that all their plans might be ready for the murder of the king and the seizure of the citadel which commanded the country. A watchman had been set on the palace roof to look out for its appearance. To avoid suspicion, he was chosen from among the loyal servants of the house; to account for his task, he was told that a beacon was expected, announcing his master's success at Troy; and 'his vigilance and silence were secured by threats and bribes.' On the night of Agamemnon's return, when the signal was fired, the queen,

1 Schol. v. 509 τινες μέμφωται τῶι ποιητή ὅτι αὐθημερὸν ἐκ Τροίας ποιεὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἥκοντας.
2 Note to v. 504 (509).
desirous to secure the persons of her principal opponents, sent for the elders to the palace, and informed them that Troy had fallen that very night. In reply to their inevitable question as to the receipt of the news, she swept them off their legs with a graphic but fictitious narrative of the transmission of the light from Troy to Argos. Left to themselves, the elders naturally began to entertain doubts as to the truth of the story, when Agamemnon's herald appeared, confirming indeed the fall of Troy, but, by the very fact of his arrival, showing the queen's relation to be false. By a train of accidents, however, the elders allowed the herald to depart without advising him of their suspicions. Meanwhile the plot grew ripe for execution, and was subsequently carried out.

Such, in brief outline, is Dr Verrall's account of the story, presumed as familiar at Athens, which Aeschylus undertook to illustrate. By reducing the circuit of the action it does at least avoid the absurdity of supposing that events which must necessarily take several days happen within the course of a few hours. Although it is itself open to several objections of detail, chief among which is the astounding falsehood in which the queen involves herself, without apparent necessity, by choosing to impart to the elders her secret information of the capture of Troy, I do not propose to follow these out. A graver objection is that, by making the business of the watchman a blind and the plurality of the beacons imaginary, the first part of the play is reduced from a substantial to a factitious transaction, and the massive structure of the drama, with its three broad chapters of the announcement, the return, and the murder, seriously undermined. I will therefore state the reasons which, in my opinion, make it needless to resort to this new interpretation.

It is buttressed by various arguments, but it rests on the assumption that the time of the action is continuous from start to finish; or rather, that it is contained within the early hours of one morning. Now, if, in the first part of the play, a fiery signal purports to announce the capture of Troy; and if, in the second part, the destroyer of Ilion himself appears, the first and most natural supposition is that the events of the play are
not closely consecutive in time, but are divided by an interval sufficient to permit of this happening. Is there anything in the play which absolutely forbids such a supposition? I venture to assert that there is nothing at all; that there is not a single circumstance which compels us to suppose that the events which follow v. 493 occur on the same day, or within the same week, as those which precede; that the criticism mentioned by the old commentator is unfounded; that Mr Sidgwick's observation falls to the ground; and that Dr Verrall has taken hold of the wrong limb of the difficulty. Instead of inferring that the beacon cannot announce the capture of Troy, we ought to infer that the king does not arrive in the course of the next morning. How this interval was conveyed to the audience, we can only guess; but Blomfield's suggestion is probable, that the Chorus leaves the theatre for a short space after v. 493.

On what arguments does the supposed circumscription of the time depend? Dr Verrall says, 'Language could not be clearer than that in which we are told that the herald arrives while the queen's announcement of the beacon-message is passing from lip to lip.' This is quite true; but it would be a nine days' wonder, if not more. While the report of the great event was still unconfirmed, nothing else would be talked about at Argos. Is it surprising, then, that the topic of discourse on either side of v. 493 is the same? And is it anything but the mere sequence of verses in the page, which prevents our imagining the requisite interval of time between that verse and the next? The break is not so directly patent as at Eum. 235 and again at Eum. 566, because at both these places the scene is changed as well; but if the language is closely scanned, the fact betrays itself sufficiently. The elders have been discussing with one another the probability of the fiery message being true. Suppose the time perfectly continuous. One of them catches sight of a herald, and expresses himself thus:

\[ \begin{align*} & \text{τάχ' εἰσόμεθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων} \\
& \text{φρυκτωρίων τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,} \\
& \text{εἴτ' οὖν ἄλθεῖς εἴτ' ὑπεράτων δίκην} \\
& \text{τερπνον τόθ' ελθὸν φῶς ἐφόλωσεν φρένας.} \end{align*} \]

Would anyone, who had just the moment before been keenly
discussing the fire, and who now saw his chance of settling the truth at once, stop to talk about ‘successions of light-bearing torches, of beacon-watches, and of fire’? He would simply say ‘the fire.’ It is fairly clear that an interval has elapsed, probably marked by the departure of the Chorus from the scene, and that this recapitulation is designed to fix the attention of the audience on the resumption of the subject. The poetical excuse for it is no doubt, as Dr Verrall remarks, that a certain tone of contempt is here in place; but this contempt is even more appropriate after the lapse of an interval than when the fiery message is still recent.

But the herald upon entering salutes the risen sun, addresses the gods whose statues face it, observes that the king has returned ‘bringing a light in darkness,’ and narrates the fierce gale which befell the Greek fleet one night upon the sea\(^1\). The expressions are suitable to a morning hour. However, there are more mornings in the year than one, and the language would be equally pointed on any morning that the king’s vessel happened to arrive. Indeed, for the expression ‘a light in darkness’ to receive its full force, the herald should be conceived as arriving shortly after dawn. But if the action all takes place on one day, the dawn is long since past\(^2\). The greater part of one episode, and a complete choric ode of a hundred lines, have intervened, which means much in a Greek play. If the action is continued on a different day, we can imagine the herald’s entrance at whatever hour we like.

On receiving the news of the capture, the queen institutes a sacrifice. On the return of the king a sacrifice is also got ready. Dr Verrall identifies these two, or supposes the one to be the completion of the other, both alike occurring on the same day. I see no reason for this view. So far as can be determined, the first appears to be an offering of oil and incense, or other combustible substances, hastily made to celebrate the glad news\(^3\). The other is a grand and elaborate affair, in which sheep are to be slaughtered, prepared to express thanksgiving for the king’s safe and unexpected arrival, and to provide the household with a

\(^1\) vv. 513, 524, 527, 658.
\(^2\) v. 291.
\(^3\) vv. 83—96, 599—602.
feast for the occasion\(^1\). When the herald arrives, and is interviewed by the queen, she remarks that she made the first celebration ‘long ago\(^2\)’, on receipt of the fiery message; whereupon she excuses the herald from reciting the complete story, and goes off to make preparation for a second.

These, so far as I can discover, are the sole grounds for asserting that the time of the drama is limited to a single day, and for ascribing to the poet either a plain absurdity or a design which does not appear on the face of the text. The *Agamemnon*, like the *Eumenides*, does not conform to the ‘unity of time’; nor is there any objection to this, which is founded on reason. Aristotle tells us that Tragedy at first obeyed the circumscription of time no more than Epic poetry. Manifestly not; for the passages of action and declamation were brought into it to give relief to a choir between its separate songs; and there was no reason why the subjects of the choral songs should be more restricted in their range than the incidents of Homer’s epic. But with the progress of the art, when the dancing and singing element united with the speaking and acting element to embody one connected and consistent action, Tragedy ‘endeavoured, as far as possible, to confine itself to a single revolution of the sun\(^3\).’ The reason of this was clearly stated by Lessing. It was designed to preserve the identity of the Chorus. It was improbable, if the action extended over a long time, or was removed to a great distance, that the same group of persons would throughout be present as interested spectators; and since the Chorus was still regarded as the foundation of the drama, a different Chorus meant a different play. But when this restriction could be eluded, a Greek dramatist had few further scruples either about identity of place or continuity of time. In the *Eumenides* the Chorus consists of supernatural beings, who can be present in any place at any time; therefore the time is severed and the scene is changed. In the *Agamemnon* the Chorus is conceived as a corporate body, or council of state, who would naturally assemble all together, from time to time, in a definite place. Therefore the time is broken, but the scene remains unchanged.

As regards the further difficulty, that the story of the beacons,

\(^1\) vv. 1040–2. \(^2\) v. 592. \(^3\) *Poet.* 1449 b 12.
if presented as a substantial occurrence, violates probability, the gravest (because the most gratuitous) part of it vanishes with the separation of the events in time. We are relieved from supposing that the message was transmitted in the midst of a howling storm. For what remains, that the distances are too great, the poet himself has frankly acknowledged as much in the first word of the description. If the reader feels, or thinks an Athenian audience would feel, that Aeschylus has taken an inexcusable liberty, it must be set down as a fault in his economy. The greater number, I am sure, will consider that he was justified in calling in a god to defend the minor probabilities, and delighting his hearers with a splendid poetic narrative.

Lastly, in reply to the objection, that the beacons are never once mentioned after the entrance of the king, three things may be urged. First, a dramatist cannot always advert to matters which have gone before, especially when they have taken place 'long ago,' and when there are more pressing matters to be considered. Secondly, the beacons are mentioned as a matter of course in the presence of the herald, which is sufficient evidence of good faith. Thirdly, it is equally remarkable that, if the events are all supposed to happen on the same day, not a syllable should escape one of the characters after v. 493, which makes it absolutely certain that this is the case.

We may now resume the thread of the action from v. 493 to the end of the play, after which some remarks will be offered on the whole.

The herald enters, and after saluting the gods in a rapture of joy, announces the return of the king and the utter destruction of Troy. The Chorus, with veiled meaning, inform him that their desire for the army's return was as great as the army's desire to get home. The herald betrays some surprise at their words, but instead of pressing his inquiries, embarks on a description of the hardships of the campaign, the sufferings of the army on land and sea, by night and day, and ends by asserting that all is compensated by the happy issue. Clytaemnestra now appears. She remarks that the event has

1 v. 293.  
2 v. 593.
justified her belief in the beacon message, but declines to hear
the complete account from any but her husband, to whom she
sends back the herald with a message to come quickly and an
assurance of her unshaken fidelity. Before the herald departs,
the Chorus affectionately inquire after Menelaus. The herald,
who prides himself on telling the truth, confesses that Menelaus
is lost; at the same time, being a scrupulous observer of form, he
shows some reluctance to mix bad news with good, but at length
avows that the Greek fleet was partly destroyed, and partly dis-
persed, by a terrible storm on the way home, from which the
king’s vessel escaped by miraculous aid. After consoling his
auditors with the hope that Menelaus may yet return, he goes
on his way (494—685).

In the lovely ode which follows, the theme of divine justice
left incomplete in the last, while the report of the capture was
still unconfirmed, is once more resumed. As the former ode
dealt with the mischief wrought by Paris at Argos, the latter
treats of the ruin brought by Helen on Troy. Her name and
her action alike marked her out as the instrument of divine
vengeance against the city. She reached the foreign shore in
safety, but a host of enemies followed in her train. She was
received with hymns of joy; but even before the foemen came,
those hymns were turned to lamentation. Peace, luxury, and
love were suggested by her advent; in the end she proved a
curse. Was it the prosperity of Priam which provoked this
judgment from Heaven? No, but an old taint of wickedness
in the race, which in the fulness of time brought forth fresh
wickedness, and with it the punishment of the whole. The
upright house is prosperous for ever; but Justice loves the
smoky cottage better than the guilty palace. Hardly have the
solemn words been uttered, when Agamemnon enters in a chariot,
followed (it is said\(^1\)) by another chariot containing Cassandra
and the spoils of Troy (686—773).

The Chorus accost him with honest warmth, not omitting to
observe the prevalence and success of more interested friendship.
They had never approved of the war for Helen’s sake, but they

\(^1\) In the Greek argument.
heartily rejoice at its conclusion, and look to the king to decide between true loyalty and false (774—800).

The king begins by acknowledging his debt of gratitude to Heaven for its aid in the punishment and destruction of Troy. He proceeds to corroborate the sentiment of the Chorus from his own experience of simulated zeal. He ends by announcing his intention of taking salutary measures for the better government of Argos. The queen enters, and in a long address, remarkable alike for its poetic expression and its dramatic irony, describes her afflictions caused by the king's absence, by the frequent rumours of his death, by the fears of a popular rising. She hails his return in a series of beautiful but extravagant images, and invites him to enter. At a given word, her women spread the king's path with purple tapestries. The king, taken aback by this display, severely reproves her extravagant laudation and her extravagant action, as more suited to an eastern despot than to one who entertains a proper fear of God and man. After a brief altercation, however, he is prevailed upon to tread the purple carpets, but not before he has evinced his humility by removing his shoes and commending the captive Cassandra to merciful treatment. The queen defends her prodigal action by reminding him of the wealth of the house, and the propriety of expense on such an auspicious occasion as the return of its lord. After expressing a prayer for the accomplishment of her vows, she follows her husband into the palace (801—965).

During the foregoing scene, what with the king's scruples and the queen's ambiguous language, an indefinable feeling of alarm has been created, which receives explicit utterance in the following choric ode. Despite the visible evidence of the army's return, the elders cannot enter into the full joy of the occasion, cannot banish the obstinate forebodings which have taken possession of their breasts, and yet cannot explain them at all. They reflect on the near neighbourhood of great prosperity to imminent decay. Loss of wealth may be repaired; a plentiful harvest may obliter ate a famine; but when blood has been shed, nothing can remedy that. They suppose it to be the will of Heaven that joy shall not run to excess, but always be limited by some admixture of sorrow (966—1018).
Clytaemnestra returns, and hastily orders Cassandra within. As she remains obstinately silent, the elders gently urge her to comply. The queen impatiently repeats her command, observing that the business of the sacrifice will not suffer her to wait. Still receiving no response, she contemptuously remarks that Cassandra is mad, and leaves her and the compassionate elders alone (1019—1055).

Cassandra now breaks silence. Wildly calling on Apollo, who had begun her ruin before and has completed it now, in a series of rapt prophetic cries she touches on the previous crimes of the house, the new crime—the murder of a husband by his wife—which is about to follow, the horrible manner of its execution, and her own miserable end, following on the destruction of her city. The elders, here and there perceiving her drift, but for the most part utterly bewildered, answer her cries with expressions of reproof, amazement, perplexity, alarm, incredulity, and pity. The vision then becomes distinct, and she commands the credit of the Chorus by dwelling in a more coherent fashion on the ancient misdeeds of the house of Atreus. The elders are surprised at her knowledge, and she informs them that she received the gift of prophecy from Apollo, but that she was doomed to disbelief because she foiled his love. In a second burst of inspiration she mentions the feast of Thyestes, and all but reveals the plot of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra against the newly returned king. The Chorus, convinced by the first fact, are puzzled and terrified by her intimation of the second. She then explicitly foretells the death of Agamemnon; but before she can calmly make all clear, a third access of frenzy seizes her, in which she forecasts her own death, reproaches Apollo for his cruelty, but predicts the vengeance of Orestes, and resigns herself to die. The Chorus, falling in with her humour, seek to console her. She waves aside their consolation, and approaches the doors, but recoils (as she says) at the smell of blood. She then invites the elders to witness the truth of her prediction in the day of vengeance; prays to the sun for its fulfilment; utters a general lament over the state of man, and enters the house (1056—1329).

Reflecting on her words, the Chorus observe that, if they
come true, if Agamemnon must atone for former bloodshed, prosperity is a fickle thing indeed. In the midst of their reflections the cry of the king is heard twice within. The elders hastily take counsel as to the best way of proceeding, and each in turn delivers his opinion. They are about to enter the palace, when the bodies of Agamemnon and Cassandra are exposed, with Clytaemnestra standing over them (1330—1370).

The queen now makes a clean breast of her duplicity and of her long cherished purpose of revenge. She dwells on the details of the murder, and openly glories in her action as a just retribution. To the elders, who reprove her effrontery, she expresses her indifference. They predict her cutting-off as a public pollution; but she retorts the former impurity of Agamemnon, who sacrificed his own daughter. They ascribe her defiant language to the maddening effect of bloodshed, and threaten her with retaliation. She rejoins that she has no fears; the love of Aegisthus and the infidelities of Agamemnon are her defence. She remarks that Cassandra keeps the latter's company even in death, adding a relish to her own passion for the former (1371—1448).

The Chorus, unequal to this audacity, pray for death to take them after their beloved master. They exclaim against Helen, who began the mortal work which her sister has completed. The queen reproves their desire for death and their denunciation of Helen. They allege the evil genius of the race, who, incarnate in the two sisters, has wrought by each an equal havoc; a change of statement which the queen approves. After deploiring the fierceness of the demon and appealing to Zeus, by whose will all must have happened, they turn to bewail the king slain by a violent end. Clytaemnestra protests that the deed is none of hers, but of the avenging spirit in her semblance, atoning for the crime of Atreus. The Chorus will not exculpate her, but admit that an avenger raised by Atreus may have cooperated to the destruction of his son. Once more they bewail the end of the king slain by craft. Clytaemnestra retorts the crafty death of Iphigeneia. The elders, in utter perplexity, know not what to think or do. They forecast the swamping of the house in blood; for justice now demands fresh bloodshed. They would fain
have died before seeing their king ignobly killed, with none to bury, none to weep, none to praise. The queen bids them dismiss these cares; she will bury him, and Iphigeneia will welcome him below. To this scoff the elders have no reply. They can only assert the eternal law, that the guilty must suffer. When a house is accurst, there is no remedy until it perish. The queen assents, but professes herself satisfied, for her part, if the evil spirit will now remove to some other family; she will be content to resign much of the house's wealth, if only bloodshed may now cease (1449—1576).

Hereupon Aegisthus enters with his soldiers. Pointing to the dead Agamemnon, he congratulates himself on the justice of his punishment for the crime of his father Atreus. He then narrates the story of the Thyestean feast, and the curse uttered upon the race; remarks on the propriety of his being the instrument of its fulfilment, as being the author of the whole conspiracy; and professes himself ready to die. The elders assure him that his death is certain. He turns savagely upon them, and threatens them with imprisonment or worse. They taunt him with his cowardice in laying this treacherous plot for a brave and heroic king. He replies that only thus could he compass his revenge, and intimates his resolve to make Argos submit to his power. The Chorus reproach him with polluting the land by joining the wife in the murder, and invoke Orestes to slay them both. Aegisthus, furious at this, directs his soldiers to take action. The elders on their side prepare for defence; but before the parties come to blows, the queen interposes, dissuades any further bloodshed, and advises both antagonists to depart to their several homes. Aegisthus continues to protest against the language of the Chorus, and threatens them with ultimate vengeance. The elders reply with spirit, threatening him with the return of Orestes. A few contemptuous words from the queen close the altercation; and so the first part of the trilogy of the Oresteia concludes (1577—1673).
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REMARKS ON THE STORY.

That this account of the return and death of Agamemnon differs in several important respects from the story as it appears in Homer, has often been observed. There are four chief passages of the Odyssey which allude to the matter. From the first two of these, which are quite consistent with each other, we learn that Aegisthus, for some reason, did not join the muster of the Greek fleet, but remained behind 'in the nook of horse-feeding Argos'; that he was divinely warned against the temptation of conspiracy against the absent king and of making overtures to his wife; that he nevertheless prevailed upon the latter, after much entreaty and contrary to his own expectation, to leave the house of Agamemnon for his own; that he slew Agamemnon on his return, reigned seven years in Mycenae, and in the eighth was slain by Orestes. We further learn that his enterprise was aided by the dispersion of Menelaus' fleet by a storm, as he was rounding Cape Malea on his way to Sparta, so that he could not come to his brother's assistance. Of the sixty ships which Menelaus led to Troy, all but five were wrecked off Crete. With these five he was carried away to Egypt, and only returned seven years later, just in time for the funeral feast which Orestes made after the slaying of Aegisthus and his mother. From this account we should infer that Agamemnon, returning to Mycenae with a remnant of his host, found himself involved in a conflict with a rebellious subject, who had taken means to strengthen himself in his absence; and that, deprived of the succours which he might have expected from his brother, he was overwhelmed and slain.

But this version of the matter was evidently not the only one current; for in the third passage of the Odyssey we find a more minute account of the death of Agamemnon, which is inconsistent with the foregoing. From this we learn that Agamemnon, thanks to the aid of Hera, escaped the storm which befell Menelaus; but that, as he was doubling Cape Malea, he himself encountered a gale which drove him on to a part of the coast which bounded

1 *Od. 1. 35—43 and 3. 262—312.*
2 *Od. 4. 512—47.*
a certain territory, where Aegisthus had his residence in succession to his father Thyestes. Luckily the wind changed, and Agamemnon reached his native land in safety. Upon disembarking, however, he was espied by a watchman, whom Aegisthus had set to look out for his return, fearing that he might get past unobserved and subsequently engage in hostilities. Upon receiving the intelligence, Aegisthus placed a hundred men in ambush, and went with chariots and horses to fetch the king and his followers to a banquet at his house. In the midst of the feast he fell upon his guests, and slew them all, though all his own men perished in the conflict. In this account nothing is said of Clytaemnestra, but there is an allusion to the vengeance of Orestes and the arrival of Menelaus in time for the funeral of Aegisthus. The fourth passage of the *Odyssey* agrees with the third in representing Agamemnon as slain at a banquet in the house of Aegisthus, but assigns a prominent share in the plot to Clytaemnestra. It is alone in making mention of Cassandra, who is declared to have been slain at the same time by Clytaemnestra herself. Indeed there is a verse in this passage, and another in a later book, to which we may perhaps trace the germ of the story that Clytaemnestra despatched her husband with her own hands.

Now, taking these two versions together as the sum of Homer's contribution to the legend, we may notice that nothing is said in either of the enmity of Atreus and Thyestes, of the banishment of Aegisthus, or of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, which form the chief springs of the dramatic action. On the other hand, we collect the hostility of Aegisthus and Agamemnon; the infidelity of Clytaemnestra and her share in the enterprise of Agamemnon's death; the death of Cassandra by her hand; and the dispersion of Menelaus' ships by a storm, from which Agamemnon himself escapes by divine aid, only to fall a victim to treachery on land. So much a later poet could consistently put together from the separate accounts. But in one particular the two versions are inconsistent. The statement in the second

1 *Od*. 11. 405—53.

2 *Od*. 11. 483 τάρος δέ με πέφρε καὶ αὐτῶν, and 24. 200 κοιμίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν (the subject in both places is Clyt ).

2—2
that Agamemnon, on his return voyage, had got safely as far as Cape Malea, assumes that his home is not at Mycenae, as in the *Iliad*, but at Sparta; therein agreeing with the view of the lyric poets, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Pindar. To suit this version we must apparently conceive of Aegisthus as a prince whose hereditary domain lies in the peninsula which terminates in Cape Malea. Agamemnon is first carried to the east coast of this territory. He escapes thence, doubles the cape, and disembarks on his own territory of Sparta. But in order to reach his inland fortress, he is still obliged to pass along the western border of Aegisthus' land, where a watchman had been stationed for a year to give notice of his progress up the valley of the Eurotas. He is directed to the castle of Aegisthus, whither Clytaemnestra had previously removed, and is treacherously murdered at a banquet.

This conception of the matter differs considerably from that of the first version, in which the centre of interest is Mycenae. The difference is not without interest, for it marks the first stage in the passage of the legend to the form in which we find it in Aeschylus. It can hardly be doubted that the second version, which places the seat of Agamemnon's rule at Sparta, is the older of the two. First, it is conformable to what we know of the earliest kingships that Agamemnon should be represented as reigning, not at Mycenae, like his father Atreus, nor at Pisa, like his grandfather Pelops, but on the other hand, like his grandfather, his father, and his brother, at the home of his wife, that is, at Sparta. Secondly, this version presupposes an archaic state of society, in which two chieftains dwelling on adjacent territories are at feud with each other, and one may get the better of his rival by the simple device of inviting him to a banquet at his castle. The whole relation smacks of something primitive, as indeed do those portions of the *Odyssey* from which it is extracted. But even before the Trojan war, as Thucydides tells us, this state of society had become antiquated by the growth of commerce and maritime intercourse, and the congre-

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1 Frazer, *Early History of the Kingship*, p. 240, where the reason of this is explained.
2 Thuc. 1. 7, 8.
gation of men into walled cities. Now that expedition itself was by all accounts due to the concentration of naval power in the hands of Agamemnon. Hence it was a plausible conception, doubtless resting on some basis of fact, to shift the seat of Agamemnon’s power from the poor and backward country of Laconia to the fortified town of Mycenae, with its dependencies of Argos and Tiryns, right in the trading area of Corinth, Cleonea, Sicyon, Troezen, and Epidaurus. Therefore Mycenae appears as his capital throughout the Iliad. To these altered conditions the poet of the Odyssey had to adapt the story of Aegisthus’ feat, which is nothing else than a variation on ‘the immemorial theme of the Odyssey itself. Clytaemnestra is a more pliable Penelope, who is left at home in the charge of a minstrel, while her husband is absent on a distant war. Aegisthus is a successful Antinous, who persuades the queen to remove to his own residence. Agamemnon is a less fortunate Odysseus, who, upon returning home with the remnant of his followers, is promptly murdered by his rival. Orestes is a retributive Telemachus. But by the time that Mycenae has become prominent, the conception of two rival chieftains living each on his several estate has sunk into the background; and how, in the new circumstances, Aegisthus might execute his project, the poet of the Odyssey did not know. Therefore, when he places the scene of the exploit at Mycenae, he is obliged to leave the details of Agamemnon’s murder vague, covering up his ignorance by saying that Menelaus was not at hand to help his brother. But when, in a later book, he wishes to give the details of the plot, he simply has recourse to the primitive version, and is thus compelled to leave the scene in the open and uncentralised country of Laconia.

Perhaps it was a perception of this inconsistency which led Stesichorus and Simonides to adopt the older account, which placed Agamemnon’s residence near Lacedaemon; and the same thing is implied in Pindar. According to the eleventh Pythian, the murder of Agamemnon took place at Amyclae, that is, about two and a half miles below Sparta in the vale of Eurotas. It is natural to suppose that Pindar, who calls Orestes a Laconian,

1 Od. 3. 267.  
2 Schol. Eur. Or. 46.
regards Lacedaemon as the seat of Agamemnon's power; that
Amyclae, a town long independent of Sparta, represents to a
later age, familiar with cities, what the primitive version broadly
calls the territory of Thyestes; and Aegisthus; and that here the
stratagem took place by which Agamemnon was slain. In other
respects Pindar agrees with Homer in leaving the actual slayer
of Agamemnon vague, while affirming that Cassandra was slain
at the same time by Clytaemnestra. Two alternative motives
are assigned for her act. The one on which the poet lays most
stress is her passion for Aegisthus, which could not be kept
dark; but he mentions another, traceable in part to the Cypria
of Stasinus, her anger at the sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

For Pindar, a lyric poet, whose chief purpose it was to adorn
a naked theme with a romantic incident, such a conception was
still admissible. He was not obliged to give the details of
Agamemnon's death, and his auditors might suppose it to have
happened in much the same way as Homer describes. But for
Aeschylus, a dramatic poet, whose business it was to present
this same transaction to the eyes of a fifth-century audience, and
to interest them in it for its own sake, the details of the epic
narrative were unsuitable. The primitive Homeric version was
out of relation to life as actually lived at the moment; and
without an effort of historical imagination, which is rather a
modern gift, those circumstances could not be reproduced at
once faithfully and probably. He was faced by the same
difficulty as the poet of the Odyssey, when, to suit the story to
changed historical conditions, he shifted the scene from the
neighbourhood of Lacedaemon to the great capital of Mycenae.
Ten years before the date of our play Mycenae had been
destroyed by Argos; and Argos is the name which Aeschylus,
apparently for the sake of some political allusions in the last act
of the trilogy, chooses to give to Agamemnon's realm. But the
problem, though slightly intensified by this greater air of
historical reality, was in its essence the same for both poets.
That problem was to substitute for the ancient version, in which
one border chieftain with his retainers cuts off by stratagem
another border chieftain with his retainers, an account of the
enterprise of Aegisthus conformable to a more settled and
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political state of society. As we have seen, the poet of the *Odyssey*, who evidently felt the difficulty\(^1\), did not take the pains to construct, perhaps could not even imagine a train of incidents by which the king of men, the lineal sovereign of a strong and wealthy town, the suzerain of a number of petty states, might himself be murdered, and his throne usurped, by a rebellious subject of no great personal courage. He takes refuge in the statement, that the revolution occurred when Menelaus was away.

But Aeschylus, or some predecessor whom Aeschylus followed, had a better idea of how such an attempt as that of Aegisthus might come about. With the growth of wealth and commerce in Greece, and the collection of its inhabitants into fortified cities, it became evident to political experience that freedom from external aggression was more than compensated by the danger of dissension within. The enterprise of Aegisthus is conceived as an incident of *stasis* or party faction, a feature of Greek politics whose beginning was traced by Attic thought to the influx of wealth which occurred a little before the Trojan War\(^2\). That this mature political conception of the matter has governed the shaping of the story between Homer and Aeschylus, is tolerably plain. In the drama, of course, it does not assume any great prominence; but enough details are given to show that it underlies the presentation, and is used to make it intelligible to a fifth-century audience. The scene is removed from an outlying tract of country to the heart of a city state. The origin of the dissension is ascribed to a personal quarrel between two members of the reigning family. Thyestes disputes the power of his brother Atreus, and is banished from the city. Even such uncouth incidents as the seduction of Aerope and the feast of Thyestes find some historical warrant in what was related of Gyges in Sardis and of Harpagus in Persia\(^3\). The feud continues into the next generation, and the hopes of the inferior faction centre on Aegisthus. He is to be conceived as hanging about in exile, intriguing with his adherents in the city, and waiting for a favourable moment for taking vengeance on his

\(^1\) See *Od*. 3. 248—52.
\(^2\) Thuc. 1. 2, 3.
\(^3\) Her. I. 11; I. 119.
enemies\textsuperscript{1}. His opportunity came with the Trojan War. Thucydides informs us that the protracted nature of that expedition gave a great chance to the malcontents in the Greek cities to overthrow the government, in the midst of which commotions most of the old hereditary monarchies went down, and were replaced by tyrannies\textsuperscript{2}. The temporary eclipse of one such monarchy is depicted in the \textit{Agamemnon}\textsuperscript{2}. The disaffection against the royal house of Argos is ascribed by the poet to the prolonged, costly, and selfish enterprise against Troy\textsuperscript{4}, which may be regarded as swelling the number of Aegisthus' partisans, and thus making the success of his attempt conceivable. A principal element in his plan, as in that of most Greek seditions, was to occupy the citadel which commanded the township. This might easily have been done in the absence of the kings, but it would have been a more difficult matter to retain it on their return. Besides, so long as the regent Clytaemnestra was his friend, there was nothing to be gained by premature action. His policy was to lie low until the day of Agamemnon's return, exciting as little suspicion as possible, and to overpower his enemies by a surprise; a thing manifestly impossible if he had already seized the fortress. But it was necessary for himself to be prepared against the surprise of their return, and to be ready for instant action. To such necessity we may perhaps attribute the introduction into the story of the beacon signal, which, while plausibly designed to announce the fall of Troy, has the secondary effect of giving the conspirators timely notice of their enemy's approach. On the day of the king's arrival, the conspirator who could draw nearest to his person, with the least suspicion, would be his wife; and to this circumstance we may naturally ascribe the bold invention which represents Agamemnon as overtaken in his privacy and murdered by his queen. In the interval between the murder and the appearance of Aegisthus on the stage, we may suppose the latter to have executed his part of the plan, originally a difficult part, but vastly simplified by the storm, that of overpowering the followers of the king.

\textsuperscript{1} v. 1668.
\textsuperscript{2} Thuc. 1. 12, 13.
\textsuperscript{3} The character of this sovereignty is defined by \textit{Cho.} 54—60 and \textit{Cho.} 863—5.
\textsuperscript{4} vv. 452—64.
This is the basis on which the drama rests. But as that part of it which is assigned to Clytaemnestra—the public intercourse with the elders, the reception of the king at his own home, and above all his actual murder—is obviously the part best fitted for dramatic treatment on the Greek stage, almost the whole interest of the presentation centres upon her; while Aegisthus, who cannot even openly appear, is relegated to the background. It is only from the last scene that we gather that he is at the bottom of the whole conspiracy. There remains one minor circumstance, for which the reason is not at once evident. Why does Aeschylus represent Agamemnon and Menelaus as reigning jointly at Argos?

It may be said that the concentration of interest which results—the desolation of the house at Argos by the wicked act of Paris, set off against the destruction of the house of Priam by the act of Helen—greatly increases the force and symmetry of the picture; and that the interest imparted to Menelaus provides several effective passages in the drama, such as the description of the storm. All this is true; but it may be doubted whether Aeschylus would have taken this liberty with history, simply for these reasons, if he had not found some warrant for it in the works of his predecessors. In the earliest version, as we have seen, both Agamemnon and Menelaus live in Laconia. There Agamemnon is murdered by Aegisthus, who in his turn is slain by Orestes, the latter exploit being regarded as just as simple an affair as the former. But when the murder was transferred to Mycenae, the execution of Orestes' feat became an equally difficult matter with that of Aegisthus. How could he escape the consequence of his attack on the master of a fortified town? Again the poet of the Odyssey passes over the details, but he is careful to retain, and to emphasise, the fact that Menelaus arrived from Egypt on the very day of the funeral feast of Aegisthus. The purpose of this retention is plain; the arrival of Menelaus accounts for the immunity of Orestes. But it involves the startling novelty that the home of Menelaus,

1 Od. 4. 5:6—7.
2 Od. 3. 311. It will be remembered what use Euripides makes of this synchronism in the Orestes.
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no less than that of Agamemnon, is at Mycenae. Why else should Menelaus, sailing from Egypt, go there at all? Of course the poet does not intend this inference; everywhere else he assumes that Menelaus lives at Sparta. But, having transferred the scene of Agamemnon’s death to Mycenae, he is obliged by the sequel of this particular story to bring Menelaus thither also. Now later writers, such perhaps as Agias of Troezen (author of the Nostī), having to explain in detail the achievement of Orestes, could by no means give up the opportune advent of Menelaus from Egypt; and having to account for his landing at Mycenae, they would incline to assert that Mycenae was his home. Hence the two brothers would be represented, in post-Homeric versions, as reigning together at Mycenae, just as in the earliest version they had reigned together at Lacedaemon. The seat of their joint government is merely transferred by Aeschylus, in conformity with his whole design, from the locality of Mycenae to the neighbouring locality of Argos.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The riper political experience, which had befallen the Greek world since the time of Homer, is one of the chief causes which impart to the poet’s treatment of the legend a seriousness and weight that are not felt to belong to it in the epic. Throughout the drama we are conscious that his eye is not really fixed on a remote antiquity, but that his sentiments and reflexions are drawn from that impressive age of Greek politics, which lies between the date of Peisistratus and the date of Pausanias; a period of wealth, commerce, and maritime adventure, in which parties fought in the several states, in which a combination of the states miraculous repulsed the national foe, in which individuals rose to power, yielded to their passions, and fell. Troy is the typical city of Asia Minor, a seat of wealth and luxury, where the decay of moral principle leads directly to political ruin. Argos is the scene of civic disunion terminating in tyranny. Another source of profound difference is the application to the story of certain theological ideas, some of
which seem in their origin to lie behind Homer, others to be the fruit of more refined speculation working on the simple and careless religion of Olympus. The first class of ideas, those which are concerned with the ritual of the tomb, the powers of the underworld, the peculiar effects of bloodshed, and the like, are less prominent in the Agamemnon than in the Choephoroi, where the religion of the grave is presented in all its sombre and mystic power, or in the Enmenides, where part of the poet's object is to fuse the system of Olympus with the conflicting system of the Earth and of the dead. After Aeschylus these ideas appear to have become antiquated, so far as literature was concerned, and to have died a natural death. Interesting as they are in themselves, they do not directly concern us here.

The second class of ideas, which, though modified by the transition of the Greek mind from theology to philosophy, continued to provide the staple of later thought, figures more largely in our play. The questions which exercise the poet are the old pair: What is the nature of the Power which governs the order of events? Does this Power interfere to punish the successful sinner? First of all, that there is such a Power, the poet does not doubt. He calls it by the traditional name of Zeus; but what sort of a Being corresponds to this name, he does not profess to know. To Zeus he ascribes the universal succession of causes and effects; his contact with the temporal order is one of spiritual direction; the principle of his operation is justice; the smoothness and ease of it is a sign of his power. In these matters the poet is the pupil of Xenophanes. When Xenophanes says, 'Among gods and men there is one greatest God, neither in body nor mind resembling mortal man....He is all eye, all ear, all thought....He sways all things without exertion by the notion of his mind....He remains always in the selfsame place, not moved at all, nor does it become him to travel hither and thither....There never was, nor ever will be, any man that knew the certain truth about the Gods, and what I affirm about all things; for although he might chance to state the fact as

1 v. 170.  
2 v. 1487.  
3 v. 773.  
4 See frags. 23—6 and 34 (Diels).
nearly as possible, yet he knows it not himself; but opinion is formed upon all things'—the substance of his language is reproduced by Aeschylus: 'Zeus, whosoever he is, if so it please himself to be called, by this name I address him. When I ponder all things, I can make no guess to fill the gap, except Zeus, if I must cast off, to the very name, the vain obsession of the mind'. Zeus employs no violence; (every act of Deity is without exertion); throned aloft, his thought somehow effects its end, even from where it is, on its holy seat. What merit has a Deity who should use violence on his awful throne? The Father disposes all things, turning them upside down, panting not at all in his mights. In his dealings with men, the justice of Zeus is embodied in laws, which distinguish his reign from that of those who might claim to have preceded him. The first law is, that moral wisdom is reward of painful experience. The second is, that the guilty must suffer.

As regards the first, the point of interest is to observe how the religious soul of Aeschylus converts to its own use a circumstance which had discouraged less elevated minds. Other writers, such as Solon, had contrasted the complacent hopes of man, his ardent pursuit of various ends, with his utter ignorance of the future and his liability to complete and unexpected disaster: 'Hazard is annexed to every work, nor does any man know, when a business is beginning, where it will end.' The purpose of Aeschylus is not to lament this inferiority of human constitution, but to justify and even applaud it. This he does by considering it in the light of a nobler object, not that of a man's practical success, but that of his moral perfection. He regards the suffering in which the 'blind hopes' of men so often terminate as a necessary discipline of human character. Even if a man had complete foreknowledge, nothing would ensure his acting right. Laius was thrice divinely warned of the consequences of committing a certain action, but he committed it none the less. Agamemnon was divinely warned of the consequences of sacrificing his daughter, but he did not repent.
till it was too late\(^1\). But if men will sin with their eyes open, instead of deploiring the fact that a man's aims miscarry through his ignorance of the future, we ought rather to be thankful that, when suffering comes, it operates to man's amendment. Hence it is not as a matter of complaint, but as part of a solemn hymn of praise, that he enunciates the maxim πάθει μίθοσ. In some remarkable lines he touches on the stealthy and unconscious transformation of character by pain\(^2\). It is an instance of the gentle but thorough process by which the Deity effects all change.

But it is the devout assertion of the second law which is the test of a truly religious mind, inasmuch as it appears to conflict with the evident facts of life. Long before Aeschylus there had been misgivings about the continued impunity of the wicked, and various attempts had been made to account for it. The view of Homer, if it can be called a view, was that Zeus suffered men to trade on their wickedness, that he might take it out in fuller measure later on: 'Although the Olympian punishes not at once, yet he does so at the last, and they pay with heavy interest, with their persons, and with their wives, and with their children\(^3\).' The wise Solon, having an eye on these words, gave a somewhat different explanation. Zeus surveys the end of all things; therefore he does not flare up, like an irascible man, at each particular sin. He waits till all has mounted up, and then he makes a clean sweep, as a vernal wind scatters the clouds, and restores the naked purity of sky\(^4\). But how if the sinner dies in prosperity, before the clearance comes? The answer of Solon is unsatisfactory but interesting: 'None that has a guilty mind escapes His notice for ever and ever, but in all case is shown up at the last. Only, while one pays forthwith, another pays later on; or if they themselves get off, before the visitation of Heaven catches them, it comes afterwards in any case: their deeds are paid for by the innocent, either by their children or by their posterity after them\(^5\).' We see here that the ends of justice are equally supposed to be satisfied, whether the punishment falls upon the sinner himself, or upon

\(^{1}\) vv. 228—31.  

\(^{2}\) vv. 189—91.  

\(^{3}\) II. 4, 160—2.  

\(^{4}\) frag. 4, 17—26.  

\(^{5}\) frag. 4, 27—32.
his innocent children or descendants. Theories of divine justice have usually been modelled on the scheme of human justice prevailing at the time; and it is well known that in early times the unit of which the law took cognisance was not the individual, but the family. If one member of a family did wrong, he was not himself directly punished, but indirectly, as a limb of the system of blood-relationship, on which as a whole the forfeit fell. But this community of interest embraced not only the members of the family living at the time; it extended also to the dead, between whom and the living the mere fact of dissolution made no essential rupture. The ancestor who committed a crime might at any time be penalised in the person of his descendant, on whom he depended for vital nourishment and his degree of honour among the dead. If the descendants were extinguished altogether, the fate of the ancestors would be miserable indeed. It was important to perpetuate the race and to keep it clear of guilt; but once the fatal act had been committed, once the curse had been entailed, it was not felt to be unfair that the living should be involved in the punishment of the dead. The divine retribution, like the human retribution, was assessed upon the whole; and the life which was subjected to justice was that which began with the earliest forefather and terminated with the last descendant.

The advantage of this collective view of responsibility was that, by giving the Deity an indefinite space of time in which to operate, it might at least be maintained that guilt was certain sooner or later to meet with its reward. But when the importance of the individual eclipsed that of the family, the dilatory character of divine justice assumed a new and perplexing aspect. What had hitherto been regarded as a deferred payment on the part of the family, now took the offensive shape of a vicarious punishment inflicted on the innocent. And yet to surrender this latitude of action on the part of Heaven was to give up the most plausible ground of experience on which it could be asserted that sin was always punished. Impressed with the conviction that compensation must somehow be made, but faced with the fact that the original sinner often ended his days in peace, it is perhaps not surprising that the moral sense of men
acquiesced in the belief, rooted in an earlier notion of responsibility, that if the fathers had eaten sour grapes, the children's teeth should be set on edge. Such is the opinion of Solon in the passage quoted above. We perceive a slight trace of dissatisfaction with it in his use of the word 'innocent'; though this is perhaps designed to excite indignation against the sinner rather than to impugn the fairness of the divine execution.

In the Oresteia there is a general inclination to reconcile beliefs surviving from a rude past with the conscience of a more humane and enlightened age. Thus, while in the Choephori the old law of reviling for reviling, blood for blood, is asserted in all its stern rigour, because it seems just that Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus should suffer for their crime, in the Eumenides, where the conscience instinctively takes sides with Orestes, the severity of the law is relaxed in obedience to a higher claim. The court of Areopagus is instituted to inquire into cases of justifiable homicide. In the Agamemnon there is a like attempt, on the one hand to uphold the just principle that guilt must be paid for, and on the other, to mitigate the conclusion by which alone this principle could be shown to have a sure basis in fact. The poet does not deny that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children. He admits that the crime of Atreus may have contributed to the destruction of his son. Nay, he points out how this might happen, through the physical link of blood connecting the two, which, in the control of a supernatural minister, fatally constrained Agamemnon to his doom. The same blood which had sinned higher up in Atreus was punished lower down in Agamemnon. But the physical connexion which enabled the retribution to be made, even after the original sinner had escaped, might also be used to palliate its injustice. The continuity in blood might import a transmission of moral qualities also. Hence the poet asserts that, if an ancestor sins, he bequeathst to his descendant a tendency to sin himself. The ancient crime of Laomedon came to birth again in the wicked act of Paris; then followed the punishment. The guilt of Atreus propagated itself afresh in the guilt of Agamemnon. It is the poet's cue, so to speak, to exhibit the personal culpability

1 vv. 1508—9.  
2 vv. 1510—3.  
3 vv. 1555—66.
of the latter. This is why, in the forefront of his drama, he lays so much emphasis on the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. It is important to observe that this act does not take in Aeschylus, as it does in Sophocles, the form of restitution to Heaven, wiping out a previous offence. It is merely imposed on Agamemnon as the condition of completing a certain design. It is a temptation indeed, but one which might have been resisted. Agamemnon might have broken up his armament and left Troy to divine vengeance; and the poet several times hints that this would have been the proper course to adopt. But the fatal taint was in his blood, and when the temptation to iniquity came, he fell. From that moment his personal responsibility began. It was increased by his conjugal infidelities in regard to Chryseis and Cassandra, and by the bloodthirsty character of his vengeance upon Troy.

Once a man has sinned, then, the mischief tends to propagate itself in his descendants, until in the fulness of time some outrageous act produces the ruin of his race. But to what agency are we to ascribe the first sin of all? In Homeric times it was sufficient to say that 'Zeus took a man's wits away,' or the like. Later ages, seeking for some motive on the part of the Gods, ascribed the fall of princes to a divine jealousy of their prosperity. There was a certain limit of success which no human king might pass with safety, any more than he might journey to the Hyperboreans or sail beyond the pillars of Heracles. This limitation of human capacity was what made a man a man; without it he would have been a God; and the Gods were naturally jealous of their prerogative. Traces of this way of thinking appear in Aeschylus; but where he is speaking most in earnest, where he professes himself at variance with the majority, such a view is evidently repugnant to him. Prosperity by itself, he says, is not sufficient to ruin a race; it is wicked and impious actions which are fatal. But prosperity is dangerous because it affords the temptation and occasion to sin. Similarly great renown is dangerous because it is likely to exalt the heart to presumptuous thoughts and reckless language. From this

1 vv. 467, 1004, etc.
2 So Pind. O. 5. fin. μὴ μακενόθην θέος γενέσθαι (advice to a fortunate man), etc.
3 vv. 749—54.
4 vv. 755—97.
5 vv. 755—97.
6 vv. 474—6.
danger nothing can save a man but a naturally sober mind, ‘the greatest gift of God.’ A mind naturally liable to be spoiled by success is presumably the gift of God also, but the poet does not make this statement with the cheerful indifference of Homer. He loves to trace the misfortunes of a family back to some wild mental impulse in an ancestor, which brings an evil strain into the race, which entails a curse on it, which raises a supernatural avenger to see to its execution. The completion of the train of misfortunes he ascribes to divine agency. But the first inclination to sin appears to arise by itself in the man’s own heart; only, like everything which a Greek could not go behind, it tends to be represented as a supernatural possessing power (παρακοπά πρωτοπήμων, πρωτάρχος ἀτη, ὁλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς).\(^2\) How this power is related to the general originating power of Zeus, we are not informed. All that is said is, that Zeus sooner or later visits the wicked act with justice. Without sin there could be no justice. But why this or that individual should be destined to be the sinner, upon whom or upon whose race justice is exercised, remains a mystery.

THE CHARACTERS.

In the light of these moral ideas the principal characters of the play are drawn. The fate of Agamemnon, as we have seen, is partly a compensation for his father’s crime, partly a punishment for his own. There is an element of misfortune in it, and an element of deserved retribution; and in the presence of these two our reprobation and our sympathy are almost equally divided. He embarks on a selfish and misguided enterprise; but he acts under a natural concern for the wounded honour of his family. He commits an odious crime in pursuit of his end; but he commits it under strong provocation, for the sake of his allies. He is merciless in his vengeance; but the offence was wanton, and the labour of execution prolonged and severe. His language is proud; but his pride is a natural weakness at the moment of his triumph. He is harsh, and

1 v. 919.
2 vv. 233, 1191, Theb. 756.
INTRODUCTION

suspicious; but he has suffered from the insincerity of his friends abroad, and has more than a glimpse of treachery at home. He is suspicious of Heaven also, he is feebly superstitious; but he knows that he is a man, the greatest in the world, the most liable to change. He is an unfaithful husband; but the fault, even when we find it most repugnant, is relieved by our knowledge of the infidelity of his wife. In his dignity and his weakness he is every inch a king. While it is impossible to call him an amiable character, we can share in some degree the loyalty which he inspires in the simpler natures of the play, the watchman, the herald, and the elders. When we observe him moving unconsciously to his doom, above all when we see him cut off in the midst of his glory by an ignominious end, our sense of the justice of his fate leaves room for the pity which the bewildered exclamations of his faithful counsellors claim.

To compass the chastisement of the guilty race, the Gods raised up two figures of strange and fearful power, the sisters Helen and Clytaemnestra. The former moves through the background of the drama as a beautiful but fatal presence, the embodiment of wanton sin, the instrument of Heaven for the ruin of the house of Priam, the remotest cause of the catastrophe of the house of Atreus. The latter, who is the direct agent of Agamemnon’s fall, presents the same reckless nature armed with the terrible motives of suppressed resentment and vindictive hate. On the portrayal of this grand and appalling figure the poet has concentrated his utmost skill. The two traits which he marks most firmly are her masculine capacity and her unerring duplicity. The first of these, besides being given by the testimony of the other characters, is immediately evident from the situation, in which she appears as adequate to great affairs of state; from the deference with which she is treated by the council of Elders, and from the almost contemptuous manner in which she deals with them; from the tenacity with which she pursues her end, and the promptness and energy with which she executes it. To accomplish her purpose she is ready to defy both Gods and men. The second trait, which cannot of course be directly revealed until the murder is done, is

1 v. 941.  
2 vv. 965, 1401, etc.
nevertheless conveyed by the prophetic hints of Calchas and Cassandra, and still more by the perpetual irony of her language, which is instinct with the very spirit of deceit. Of the motives which are expressly assigned to her, the most sincerely felt is her anger at the death of Iphigeneia, which has rankled in her bosom for ten long years. She is the lurking avengeress of Agamemnon’s crime. Her union with Aegisthus is subordinate; it is a necessary means to her end, a measure for her own protection. Her sense of her husband’s infidelities is confined to a passing scoff. But no mere accumulation of motives is sufficient to account for the total effect of her action, its certitude, its self-reliance, its unflagging zest. Only when she declares that she is not Agamemnon’s wife, but the incarnation of the ‘ancient, bitter Avenger of the cruel feast of Atreus’, do we begin to grasp the lines on which her character is conceived. There is something in her beyond the natural capacity of man or woman, something preternatural and daemonic. But if she is not solely sustained by common human motives, neither is she the impassive instrument of justice. She has a cordial relish of wickedness, as appears by the extraordinary gusto with which she dwells on her crime, and by her utter absence of remorse. At the end of the play, what puzzles the Chorus is not the justice of Agamemnon’s doom, but the fact that so much wickedness should be allowed to triumph. It is this margin of positive evil which calls for the vengeance of Orestes, a vengeance executed by divine command, and almost contrary to the inclination of the principal actor himself.

In the character of Aegisthus, on the other hand, all is plain. It is not in him that the curse of Thyestes reveals its mystic force. He acts through the natural motives of revenge and ambition. The circumstances of the case compel him to reach his end by treachery; and for all that is said to the contrary, it would appear that this method was itself the most congenial to his nature. By good fortune or by divine decree, he found in Clytaemnestra a nature suited to his purpose; without her he would have been nothing. His ignoble type of cunning, his absence from the scene at the supreme moment, furnish an
effective contrast to the daring hypocrisy and ubiquitous supervision of the queen; as does his overbearing petulance in the hour of success to the few unimpassioned words in which she acknowledges that the work of her life is done.

Cassandra, as Mr Sidgwick observes, is not truly a study of character at all, the interest lies in her situation. She is the victim of events which she clearly foresees, but which, by the condition of her estate, she is powerless to influence. Such a figure, having something improbable in it, requires more than ordinary power for its successful handling; but if successful, none can be more deeply impressive. Aeschylus has omitted no circumstance which could contribute to sink criticism in a flood of absorbing interest. The very silence of Cassandra provokes a disposition to hear her speak. From the first moment that she opens her mouth, curiosity is superseded by sympathy and awe. She is a princess tenderly reared, who, by a fatal mischance, has become an object of derisive contempt to her friends. Her family and her nation are ruined, but she is not permitted to share their fate, being reserved for slavery and death among her foes. She is a prophetess who has a horrible consciousness of the destination to which she has been brought, and an equally horrible prescience of the doom which there awaits her. Her one gleam of consolation is afforded by the fact that she can foresee the vengeance of Orestes. A peculiar poignancy is added to her story by the circumstance that we learn it all from her own lips. At each instant our sensibility to her misery is but the reflexion of her own.

The watchman and the herald are simple characters, such as never fail of effect when mixed up with events, intrigues, and passions greater than themselves. The simplicity of the former is that of the peasant, which includes fidelity to his masters without excluding a shrewd regard for his own safety and interest. The simplicity of the latter is of a different type. It is that of an honest man who has acquired some notion of great affairs by bearing a humble part in them, but whose view is limited to their formal and external side. The transparency of his nature is shown by the uncontrollable vehemence with which he expresses his joys and sorrows. But he does not forget
that he is a public officer, and he is almost absurdly anxious to discharge his own particular part in the most becoming manner. His personal delight at the success of the Trojan enterprise is increased by thinking of the high consideration which his master will enjoy in the world. He consoles himself for the sufferings and loss of life at Troy by reflecting what a fine position the army will hold in the esteem of future ages. While he feels it to be his duty to tell the strict truth, he is concerned about the impropriety of joining good and bad news together. The succession or conflict of these various feelings in his simple breast makes his language alternately impetuous, abrupt and circuitous. He is certainly one of the most original and lifelike characters in Tragedy.

[The following mss. containing the Agamemnon either in whole or in part are referred to by their respective symbols in the critical notes:—

M denotes the codex Mediceus (or Laurentianus) xxxii. 9, a parchment ms. of the tenth or eleventh century containing besides the plays of Sophocles and Aeschylus the Argonautica of Apollonius. Owing however to the loss of fourteen leaves in the part containing the Agamemnon, its evidence is only available for vv. 1—322, 1051—1158. Readings due to the second hand are recorded as m.

a denotes the codex Marcianus 468 (xci. 4), sometimes known as Ven. 2, and belonging to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It was formerly owned by Cardinal Bessarion, and in Hermann's edition is distinguished by the compendium Bess. It contains only the first 360 lines of the Agamemnon; Franz thought that it was copied from M when that ms. was still entire.

f denotes the codex Florentinus (or Laurentianus) xxxi. 8, a paper ms. written in the earlier part of the fourteenth century. Besides other plays of Aeschylus it contains the Agamemnon entire.

g denotes the codex Venetus (or Marcianus) 616 (xci. 5), a parchment ms. formerly assigned to the thirteenth but now to the fifteenth century. It contains the same plays of Aeschylus as f, but owing to the loss of several leaves is without vv. 46—1079 of the Agamemnon.
h denotes the codex Farnesianus (or Neapolitanus) I. E. 5, written in the latter part of the fourteenth century, as is generally believed, by Demetrius Triclinius. It contains the same plays of Aeschylus as \( f \) and \( g \), and the *Agamemnon* is complete.

It will be seen that \( f \) and \( h \) alone contain the whole of the *Agamemnon*, with the support of \( g \) in the latter part of the play. Only about a quarter of the text is extant in \( M \).

Corrections due to the editor are denoted by the symbol \( H \).
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΙΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

'Αγαμέμνων εἰς ἰδίων ἄπτων τῇ Κλυταιμήστρᾳ, εἶ πορθήσοι τῷ ἰδίῳ, ὑπέσχετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸν. ὦθεν σκόπουν ἐκάθευν ἑπὶ μισθῶι Κλυταιμήστρᾳ, ἢν τηροῦν τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἴδων ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτῇ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὡς λογοὶ μεταπέμπεται περὶ τοῦ πυρὸν ἔρουσα· ἔς ὄν 5 καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνιώταται· οὕτως ἀκουσάντες παμανίζουσιν. μετ' οὖ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλήβιδος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγεῖται. 'Αγαμέμνων δ' ἐπὶ ἀπήγγειλεν έρχεται· εἴπετο δ' αὐτῶι ἐτέρα ἀπήγγ, ἐνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα. αὐτὸς μὲν ὄν προεισέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἴκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταιμήστρᾳ, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμανείται πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν ἐαυτῆς καὶ 10 τοῦ 'Αγαμέμνονος θάνατον καὶ τήν ἐς 'Ὁρέστου μητροκτονίαν, καὶ εἰσπεράξατε ὦ σαίνομενη, μίφασα τὰ στέμματα. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαμμάζεται ὡς ἐκπληξίν ἔχων καὶ οἴκον ἱκανόν. ἰδιῶς δὲ Λασχύλος τὸν 'Αγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναρείσθαι ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κασάνδρας σωτηρίας θάνατον νεκρῶν αὐτῆς ὑπεδείχειν, τεσσορθεῖν τε Αἰγισθόν καὶ Κλυταιμήστραν ἐκάτερον διωχυρίζομεν 15 περὶ τῆς ἀναγέννησις εἰς κεφαλαίον τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναρέσει 'Ιφιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς 'Ορέστος ἐς 'Ατρέως συμφορὰς.

'Εδιδάξθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλοκλέους ὀλυμπιαδί κῇ ἔτει β. πρώτος Λασχύλος 'Αγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίσι, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῷ. ἔχορηγε Ξενοκλῆς 'Αφίδνεις.

16 ὁ Ὄρέστος Μ: Ὄνοστος Victorius. 17 κῇ Μ: ὄγδοηκοστῇ Meursius.
ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΦΥΛΑΞ.
ΧΟΡΟΣ.
[ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.]
ΚΑΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.
[ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ] ΚΗΡΥΞ.
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.
ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.
ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ et ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ del. Stanley.
ΦΤΛΛΕ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶν' ἀπαλλαγῆν πόνων
φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἦν κοιμώμενος
στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἀγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,
ἀστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὄρμηγυρων,
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι
ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν.
καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,
αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτω
ἀλώσιμον τε βάξιν. ὃδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
γυναίκος ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζειν κέαρ.
εῦτ' ἀν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἐνδροσόν τ' ἐξω
εὐνήν ὑνεῖρος οὐκ ἐπισκοπουμένην
ἐμήν· φόβος γὰρ ἄνθ᾽ ὕπνου παραστατεῖ,
τὸ μη βεβαιῶς βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνωι—
ὅταν δ' ἀείδειν ἡ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,
ὕπνου τὸδ' ἀντίμολον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,
κλαῖω τὸτ' οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,
οὐχ ὡς τὰ πρόσθ' ἀριστὰ διαπονομένου.
νῦν δ' εὕτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγῆ πόνων
εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὅρφναίου πυρὸς.
Scene: The palace of Agamemnon at Argos.

Time: Night in the first scene; in the second (v. 266 sqq.) dawn. After an interval at v. 493 the action is continued on a different day.

The watchman is discovered on the flat roof of the palace. During the tenth year of the war, in which it had been prophesied that Troy should fall, he had been set to watch for the beacon to be passed from Troy by Agamemnon as the sign of victory. It is now about the setting of the Pleiads (v. 817), which marked the winter or storm-season (χειμών, χιμᾶ, v. 5).

Watchman.

A whole year's length have I been asking Heaven Deliverance from this vigil, in the which
Upon the Atridae's roof aloft here stretched
On elbows, watch-dog-fashion, I have learnt
With general congress of the nightly stars
The waning seasons and the rising-times
Of those bright eminent splendid potentates
That bring men storm and summer.

So am I now
Still watching for the signal of a torch,
A fiery gleam with message out of Troy—
News of her fall, her capture—such the faith
Held by the man's mind in a woman's heart.

But while I spend
This restless time of rest abroad by night,
Free to the dews, unvisited by dreams,—
No sleep for me,
I warrant! sentry by my pillow stands
Fear, and forbids
The eyelid closing fast—nay, but as oft
As I would medicine sleep
With antidote of music,—hum a stave
Or whistle,—my voice breaks, my singing turns
To moaning for the fortunes of this House,
Not now so admirably administered
As once it was.—But now at length shine out
The fire with his fair tidings in the gloom
And bring me sweet release!
ο χαίρε λαμπτήρ, νυκτός ήμερήσιον
φάος πυφαύσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν
πολλῶν εν Ἄργει, τῇδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.
ιοῦ ἵοῦ.
'Αγαμέμνονος γυναῖκε σημαίνω τορῶς,
εὐνής ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις
ὀλολυγμον εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ ἤλιον πόλις
έαλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει.

αὐτὸς τ' ἔγωγε φρούμιον χορεύσομαι:
tὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θῆσομαι
τρὶς ἐξ βαλούσης τῇδὲ μοι φρυκτωρίας.
γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντως εὐφιλῇ χέρα
ἀνακτὸς οίκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλῶσσῃ μέγας
βέβηκεν· οἴκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,
σαφέστατ' ἄν λέξειν· ὡς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κοι μαθοῦσιν λήθομαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

dέκατον μὲν ἔτος τὸδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμον
μέγας ἀντίδικος,
Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἦδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκήπτρου

29 ἐπορθιάζειν ἰgay: ἐπορθιάζειν Μ.
40 Πριάμον ἰgay: πριάμω Μ.
30 ἀγγέλλων ἱgay: ἀγγέλλων Μ.
Hail, O thou blessed Lantern, uttering forth
A daylight in the darkness, to be sign
For many a dance in merry Argos now!

[calling to Clytaemnestra within.

Oho! Oho!
Let Agamemnon's consort have clear call
To arise up from her couch and lift up voice
Of jubilant thanksgiving, for as it shows
Plain by the beacon's telling, Troy is taken!

[Her jubilant cry is heard presently within.

—I'll lead off with a measure first myself;
My master's fortune will advantage me;
This lucky torch has thrown me sixes three.

[Dances.—During the interval of time supposed to pass now, sacrifices are lit up throughout the city at the Queen's command and the Elders of the city summoned to her presence.

Ah well at least God send
The master come safe home, to let me grasp
His friendly hand in mine! Beyond that, I'll
Keep silence; there's an ox
Weighs heavy on my tongue:—only, the house
Itself here, had it but a voice, could tell
Plain tale enough:—I, for my part, keep tales
For those instructed; else,—my memory fails.

[Exit.—Enter Chorus of Elders opening with a chant preliminary to their lyric song.

CHORUS.

Now is here the tenth year
Since Priam's great accusing peer
Prince Menelaus,—and
Prince Agamemnon—brothers twain
And by divine right both to reign
τυμής ὃχυρον ζεύγος Ἀτρειδῶν,
στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην
τῆσθ' ἀπὸ χώρας
ήραν, στρατιώτων ἀρωγήν,
μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἀρη,
τρόπον αἶγυπτώ, οὔτ' ἐκπατίοις
ἀλγεσι παιδων ὑπατηλεχέων
στροφοδουνταί,
πτερύγων ἐρετμοίσων ἐρεσσόμενοι,
δεμιουργὴ
πόνων ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες.
ὑπατος δ' αἰῶν ἦ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἡ Παῦ ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνὸθροον
γόνων ὄξυβόαν
τῶνε μετοίκων ύπεροποιονον
πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἑρμύν.
οὔτω δ' Ἀτρέως παιδας ὁ κρείσσων
ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρων πέμπει ξένιος
Ζεὺς, πολυάνορος ἀμφι γυναικὸς
πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυνιόβαρη
γόνατος κοιναίσων ἐρειδομένου
διακναίομενης τ' ἐν προτελείοις
κάμακος θῆσων Δαναοίσων
Τρωσί θ' ὄμοιως. ἔστι δ' ὀπηι νῦν
ἔστι τελείται δ' ἐσ τὸ πεπρωμένον·
οὔθ' ὑποκαίων οὔτ' ἐπιλείβων
ἀπύρων ἑρῶν
ὁργάς ἀτενεῖσ παραθέλειι.
Fast-coupled, one joint rank to share
Of throne and sceptre—since that pair
   Launched from Argive land
A thousand ships in battle-train
   By troops of Argos manned.

With loud War shouted harsh in cries
Of passionate anger in the wise
   Of eagles out they sped,
That lone in solitary woe
For lofty-nested children go
Wheeling round, around, in air
As their beating pinions row,
Lost now all that loving care
   About their infants' bed.

Yet shall there One Above defend
Those in his region denizen'd:
Pan, Zeus, Apollo, from on high
That hears their shrill complaining cry
Shall send his Vengeance by-and-by
   Upon the felon's head.

The Atridae so doth greater Lord,—
Zeus Guardian of the Stranger's Board,—
   On Alexander send;
For one too common, each man's woman,
Sore fatiguing bouts in common—
Down in dust the knee bowed under
And the spear-shaft knapped asunder
First before the final day—
Meaning both on Troy to lay
And Greece alike:—the matter still
Is where it is, and where Fate's will
   Appoints it, there shall end:—
Unburnt sacrifice will spurn
All softening of a temper stern;
Both oils to pour and coals to burn
   In vain a man shall spend.
ήμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιὰ
τῆς τότ' ἄρωγῆς ὑπολευθέντες
μύρνομεν ἴσχυν
ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκῆπτροις.
ο τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων
ἐντὸς ἀνάσσων
ἰσόπρεσβυς, 'Ἀρης δ' οὐκ ἐὰν χώραι·
tί θ' ὑπέργηρως, φυλλάδος ἤδη
κατακαρφομένης; τρίποδας μὲν ὀδοὺς
στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων
ὁναρ ἠμερόφαντον ἀλαίνει.
σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω
θύγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμήστρα,
tί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαινισθομένη,
tίνος ἀγγελίας
πειθοῖ περίπεμπτα θυσκεῖς;
πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,
ὑπάτων, χθονίων,
tῶν τε θυραίων τῶν τ' ἁγοραίων,
βωμοὶ δώρουσι φλέγονται.
ἀλλη δ' ἀλλοθέν οὐρανομῆκης
λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,
φαρμασομεῖν χρίματος ἁγνοῦ
μαλακάις ἁδόλουσι παρηγορίαις,
πελάνωι μυχόθεν βασιλείωι.
tοῦτων λέξασ' ο τι καὶ δυνατῶν
καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν,

79 τιθυστεργήρως Μ, τοθυστεργήρως αι, τό θ' ὑπέργηρων h. 82 ἠμερόφαντον h: ἠμερόφατον Μ. 87 θυσκεῖς Turnebus: θυσκῆιτ (i in rasura scr.) Μ. 90 τε θυραίων Enger: τ' οὐρανίων Μ.
But we, that aged sinews made
Defaulters in the task of aid—
Here on staves at home support
Strength of such a feeble sort
As infant's may be styled:—
The regent marrow, while his throne
Is youthful in the breast ungrown,
Is but in ancient senior's case,—
Ares lacking from his place:
With Age then, when the green leaf seres,
How is it? Forth abroad his way
Takes he on three feet, yet appears
Wandering like a dream astray,
As weak as any child.

But thou, our soveran Lady Queen,
What is it thou hast heard or seen,
What stir, event, or new advice
To cause thee raise up sacrifice
With couriers all our streets around?
Each God that in the township sways,—
God supernal, God infernal,
House-door, market-place or ways,—
Each beholds his altar blaze
With fresh oblations crowned:
And here and there, anointed well
With all-pure smooth bewitching spell
Of unguent from the royal cell
The high torch heaven-aspiring towers:—
Resolve me now, so much unfold
As may be or as can be told,
παιών τε γενοῦν τῆς δε μερίμνης,
η' νῦν τοτε μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει,
totē δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν τὴν θυμοβόρον
φροντίδ' ἀπληστον
φαίνουσ' ἀγάν' ἐλπὶς ἄμυνει.

κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν οἶδιον τέρας
αἰσιον ἀνδρῶν
ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ
θεόθεν καταπνεύει
πειθῶ, μολπᾶν
ἀλκάν, σύμφυτος αἰών·
ὅπως Ἀχαϊῶν
διθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἡβας
ἔμφρωνα ταγάν,
pέμπτε σὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι
θυρίους ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,
οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς
βασιλέυσι νεῶν,
ὁ κελαινός, ὁ δ' ἐξόπων ἄργαις,
φανέντες ἱκταρ
μελάθρων χερὸς ἐκ δορυπάλτων
παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἑδραίσιν,
βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν,
ἐρικυμάτα φέρματα, γένναν,

101 sqq. τοτε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἄγανα φαίνεις ἐλπὶς ἄμυνει φροντίδ' ἀπληστον | τὴν
θυμοβόρον λύτης φρένα Μ: corr. H. 104 τέρας Francken: κράτος Μ. 107 κατα-
πνέει (fort. e καταπνεύει) M: καταπνεύει a f h. 111 ἡβαις Ar. Ran. 1285: ἡβαν
(corr. ex ἡβαν) M. 112—114 omiserat M, add. m. 112 ταγάν a f h: τὰν γὰν m.
113 καὶ χερὶ Ar. Ran. 1288: δίκαιοι m. 117 ἄργαις Thiersch: ἄργας M.
119 δορυπάλτων Turnebus. 122 φέρματα Hartung: φέρματι M.
And medicine for my thoughts declare,
That still malignant aspect wear,
Save that with radiant face benign
From altars Hope doth somewhat shine
And bids avaunt this eating care
That my soul devours.

I 1.
The assuring sign will I tell forth—to me by right belong
The warbling measures; vigorous yet the moving spirit strong
Divine force live within me stirs, with valiancy for song—
The sign that on their path befell those twain united Kings,
Joint leaders of the youth of Greece, the sign of warrior wings
That sped them for the Trojan land with fierce avenging spear,—
Shown in a quarter near
Pavilion royal,—sable this, that argent in the rear,—
To Lord of ships the Lord of birds, remarked in place of pride,
Upon the spear-arm side,
On quivering hare's-flesh feeding both, young leverets quick
in womb.
βλαβέντα λουσθίων δρόμων.
aίλινον αίλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δὲ εὖ νικάτω.

ἀντ.
κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο λήμασι δισσοὺς
Ἄτρείδας μαχίμους ἐδάγ λαγοδάιτας
πομποὺς τ' ἀρχὰς.
οὗτω δ' εἰπέ τεράίζων.
"Χρόνωι μὲν ἄγρεῖ
Πριάμου πόλιν ἀδὲ κέλευθος,
πάντα δὲ πῦργων
κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημιουπληθῆ
μοῦρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον,
οῖον μὴ τις ἄγα
θεόθεν κνεφάσην
προτυπέν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας
στρατωθέν: οἰκτω γὰρ ἐπί-
φθονος 'Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ
πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς
αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου
μογερὰν πτάκα θυμένουσιν:
ςτυγεὶ δὲ δεῖπνοιν αἰέτων."
αἰλινον αἰλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

ἐπ.
τόσον περ εὖφρων, καλά,
δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων

136 ἅγα Hermann: ἅτα M. 139 οἰκτω Scaliger: οἰκω M. 146 τόσον
fH: τόσων M. 147 δρόσοις λεπτοῖς Wellauer: δρόσοισιν ἀἐλπτοις M | λεόντων
Stanley ex Etym. M. p. 377, 39: δντω M.
Prevented ere the safe last course that might outrun the doom.

Let Sorrow, Sorrow, a burden sound,—

In Joy prevailing drowned!

I 2.

Their sage diviner marking well how twain the tempers were
Of those two brother soldiers, knew the feasters on the hare
For those same captains of the war; and thus did he declare:

"A prey before this force in time the town of Priam falls;
When all the general common herd before the castle-walls
Shall be with violent fate consumed:—so be no jealous frown
Above come louring down
And strike the great curb forged to hold the mouth of Ilium town
In tented field,—for pity-struck displeasure sore, I wis,
Hath pure Maid Artemis;
Wroth with her Father's wingèd hounds; foul sacrificers they,
Poor timorous weak enchilded thing, with unborn young to slay!

Let Sorrow, Sorrow, a burden sound,—

In Joy prevailing drowned!

"Yet O thou Beauteous One, for all
So tender is thy loving care
To young dew dropping weak and small
In ravenous lion's teeming lair,
πάντων τὖ ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοις, εἴπερ τινά,
tούτων αἴνει ξύμβολα κρᾶναι,
δεξία μὲν, κατάμομφα
δὲ [φάσματα] στρουθῶν.
ιήμον δὲ καλέω Παιάνα,
μῇ τινας ἀντιπνόους
Δαναώς χρονίας ἐχενήδας ἀπλοίας
tεύξη ἱππευδομένα θυσίαν
ἐτέραν ἄνομον τιν’, ἄδαιτου,
νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον,
οὗ δεισίνορα. μύμνει
γὰρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος
οἰκονόμος δολία,
μνάμων ῥήμας τεκνόποινος.”
τοῖαδε Κάλχας ξὺν
μεγάλους ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν
μόρσυμ’ ἀπ’ ὀρνίθων
όδιων οἰκος βασιλεῖοις
tοῖς δ’ ὀμόφωνον
αἰλινον αἰλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ’ εὖ νικάτω.

στρ. α’.

Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ’ ἔστιν,—εἰ τὸδ’ αὐ-
tῶι φίλον κεκλημένωι,
tοῦτο νῦν προσενέπω—
oὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι

149 ὀβρικάλοις, εἴπερ τινά Ἡ.: ὀβρικάλοις τερπνὰ Μ. 150 αἴνει Gilbert:
aἴτε Μ. 152 φάσματα del. Ἡ. 165 ἀπέκλαγξεν a Ἡ.: ἀπέκλαγξεν Μ.
And for the suckling whelps of all
Wild creatures of the wood or field,—
Yet now at our most urgent call
Vouchsafe to yield;
Yield, and fulfil this feathered sign,
The most part good, yet part malign!
Yea and also I pray,
O Healer Apollo, prevent her and stay!
So that she send no contrary wind
With untimely delay
The Greek navy to fetter and bind,
Out of zeal for a sacrifice other and strange,
Without custom or law,
To the feaster unknown,
Bitter enmity working
Betwixt flesh and bone,
Without man-fearing awe,—
For a danger is lurking
In house that abides,
That in subtilty hides
To recoil again, Wrath ever-mindful, a Child will avenge!"

Such fortune for the royal House by sign of omen stored,
Much bane to mix with more of boon, the pealing prophet poured;
Wherewith in just accord
Let Sorrow, Sorrow, a burden sound,—
In Joy prevailing drowned!

II 1.

Zeus, whoso'er indeed he be,—
In that name so it please him hear,—
Zeus, for my help is none but he:—
Conjecture through creation free

1st strophe.
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

ἀντ. α'.
οὐδὸς τις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,
παμμάχιοι θράσει βρῶν,
οὐδὲ λέξεται, πρὶν οὖν·
ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-
κτῆρος οὐχεῖ τυχῶν·
Ἰνα δὲ τις προφρόνως
ἐπινίκια κλάζων
τεῦξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν.

στρ. β'.
tὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὀδῷ-
σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.
στάζει δ' ἐν θ' ὑπνωι πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιπήμων πόνος·
καὶ παρ' ἀκοντας ἤλθε σωφρονεῖν.
δαμόνων δὲ που χάρις βίαιος
σέλμα σεμνῶν ἥμενων.

ἀντ. β'.
καὶ τὸθ' ἡγεμῶν ὁ πρε-
σβυς νεῶν Ἀχαικῶν,
μάντιν οὐτινα ψέγων,
ἐμπαιοις τύχαισι συμπνεῶν,—
εὐτ' ἀπλοῖαι κεναγ·

175 τὸ Ραω: τὸδε Μ. 178 οὐδὸς τις Ἡ.: οὐδ' ὅστις Μ. 180 οὐδὲ λέξεται
Η. L. Ahrens: οὐδὲν λέξαι Μ. 187 τὸν Schuetz: τῷ Μ. 192 βίαιος Turnebus:
βίαιος Μ.
I cast, and cannot find his peer;
With this strange load upon my mind
So burdening, only Zeus I find
To lift and fling it sheer.

II 2.

One was that ruled the ring of yore,—
With boisterous challenge big and blown;
Him tell we not, his date is o'er;—
Nay, the next comer is no more,—
Found his outwrestler, and was thrown:—
But Zeus, with heart and voice acclaim
Victorious his triumphal name,
And wisdom is thine own!

III 1.

Sing praise; 'Tis he hath guided, say,
Men's feet in wisdom's way,
Establishing fast Instruction's rule
That Suffering be her school:—
The heart in time of sleep renews
Aching remembrance of her bruise,
And chastening wisdom enters wills that most refuse;
Stern is the grace and forced mercy kind
By Spirits upon their awful bench assigned.

III 2.

Thus with the elder captain then:—
When all his league of men
Lay weltering in the narrow Sound
Between shores, weatherbound,
γενὶ βαρύνοντι Ἀχαιών : λεώς,  
Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρό-
θος ἐν Λυλίδος τόποις.
stp. γ'. πυοι δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,
βροτῶν ἄλαι,  
νεὼν <τε> καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς,
παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθείσαι
τρίβων κατέξαινον ἂν-
θος Ἄργειῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
πικροῦ χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ
βριθύτερον πρόμουσιν
μάντις ἐκλάγξεν προφέρων
'Αρτεμίν, ὡστε χθόνα βάκτροις
ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδας
δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν·—

άναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τόδ' ἐπεὶ φωνῶν·
"βαρεία μὲν κηρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,
βαρεία δ', εἰ
tέκνων δαίξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,
πατρώνων παρθενοσφάγουσιν
χέρας μιαίνον ῥοῖς
πέλας βωμοῦ. τι τῶνδ' ἀνεφ
κακῶν; πῶς λιπόναυς γένωμαι

With body and spirit well-nigh spent,
Empty, in hard imprisonment
Amid those famed resorbing tides of Aulis pent,—
Without one doubt on prophet cast,
He bowed and drifted with the violent blast.

IV 1.

For gales continually from Strymon bore
   Lean fast and leisure curst, mooring unstable,
   Wildness of wits and waste of ship and cable,
Till the endless weary while with fretting sore
The flower of Argos wore:—
Whereat their prophet, pealing
   The dread name Artemis,
Cried means of help and healing,—
   Such cruel healing this
As heavier still the princes found
Than tempest; hard upon the ground
They beat the sceptre, mute with pain,
Nor tears could they restrain.

IV 2.

At last the elder uttered voice and cried:
   "Hard cruel fate refusal! Hard and cruel
   The butchery of my child, my own home's jewel!
Father's own hands at the altar crimson dyed
In young pure stricken tide!
Whichever path be taken,
   'Tis evil still to choose;
What can I, left forsaken?
ξυμμαχίας ἁμαρτών;  
παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας  
παρθενίου θ' αἴματος ὅργαι  
περιοργῶς ἐπιθυμεῖν  
θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἰπ.”

στρ. 8'.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἄναγκας ἔδω λέπαδνον  
φρενὸς πνεῶν δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν  
ἀναγγελν, ἀνίερον, τόθεν  
τὸ παινότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγγυω.  
βροτοῖς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις  
tάλανα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.  
ἐτλα δ' οὖν  
θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποίων  
πολέμων ἁρωγὰν  
καὶ προτέλεια ναιῶν.

ἀντ. δ'.

λιτάς δὲ καὶ κληρόνας πατρώιων  
παρ' οὖδὲν αἰῶνα παρθενεῖον  
ἐθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.  
φράσεω δ' αὖξοις πατήρ μετ' εὐχὰν  
δίκαιν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ  
pέπλουσι περιπετῆ παιντὶ θυμῶν  
προνωπῆ  
λαβεῖν ἄερδην, στόματος τε καλλιπρώηρου  
245  
φυλακαὶ κατασχεῖν  
φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἰκοῖς,
My league how can I lose?
They press me, furious with desire
For what 'tis lawful to require,
A virgin's blood for calming-spell;—
God send it may be well!"

V 1.

But under that sore stroke
Once donned the grievous yoke
Of Need compelling, all his thought within
To another quarter veered, set full for sin
And desperate action, to the utmost stretch
Resolved. It is that foul-suggesting wretch
Distraction! With her men's hearts at first
Grow reckless, hence their fatal harms begin,
Ruinous.—Alas, he steeled him to that worst,
Slaying of his child, in sacrifice to speed
War for a woman, sanction to let ships proceed.

V 2.

Her supplications all,
Her oft appealing call
On Father, her fresh years of maidenhood,
With umpires clamouring war for nothing stood.
To his ministers her father, after prayer,
Gave the sign—bade them seize her and upbear
Above the altar,—huddling where she lay
Wrapped in her robes, aloft with courage good
Kidwise to hold her, drooping,—and to stay
Those lovely lips with forced impediment,
Bridles with dumb curb muffling utterance, to prevent
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στρ. ε'.

βίας χαλικών τ' ἀναίδωι μένει·
κρόκου βαφᾶς δ' ἐσ πέδου χέονσα
ἐβαλλ' ἐκαστὸν θυτήρων
ἀπ' ὀμματος βέλει
φιλοίκτωι,
πρέπουσα θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεγγόνως
θέλουσ', ἔπει πολλάκις

πατρὸς κατ' ἄνδρώνας εὐτραπέζους
ἐμελητέρι· ἄγναι δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδαὶ
πατρὸς φίλου τριτόσπουνδον εὔποτμον
παῖνα φίλως ἑτίμα.

ἀντ. ε'.

tὰ δ' ἐνθεν οὖτ' ἐδον οὔτ' ἐννέπω·
tέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι.
Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν
μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει·
tὸ μέλλον <δ'>
ἔπει γένοιτ', ἀν κλύοις· προχαίρετω·
ἰσον δὲ τοῖ προστένειν·

tορόν γὰρ ἦξει σύνωρθρον αὐγαῖς.
pέλουτο δ' οὖν τάπι τούτουσιν εὐπρα-

ξις, ὡς θέλει τὸδ' ἄγχιστον 'Απίας

gαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.

ἡκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμήστρα, κράτος·
dίκη γὰρ ἐστὶ φωτὸς ἀρχηγοὺ τίεν

gυμναίκ' ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου.

258 παῖνα Enger (παιώνα Hartung): αἰώνα M.
259 δ' add. Elmsley.
261 ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' αἡμ: ἐπιγένοιτ' M.
266 σύνωρθρον Wellauer: σύνωρθον M | αὐγαῖς
Hermann: αὐταῖς M.
VI 1.

Curse on his house.—Then, letting raiment fall
In saffron to the ground, her slayers all
With eye she smote, the dumb eye's piteous dart
Aimed at each several heart,
Showing as a pictured form, that fain would speak—
How many a time in her dear father's hall
When boards were laden
She had sung before his guests! Unsullied maiden,
Joined in his joyous antheming
At grace with pure note blithe his loving child would sing.

VI 2.

What further was I neither saw nor tell;
Only, not vain is Calchas' oracle.—
Justice hath willed that knowledge fall inclined
On the tried sufferer's mind,
Learned in the proof: what shall be you may hear
Soon as it is; before that, fare it well!
'Twere but fore sorrow;
Plain shall it come with the early rays of morrow
Yet good speed now the sequel be,
As here the realm's immediate sole Defence would see.

[Meaning Clytaemnestra who now approaches.

Elder. I am here, O Queen,
In deference to thy rule; when the male Prince
Hath left a vacant throne, due homage then
Belongs unto his consort.—Keep thy counsel now
σὺ δ' εἴτε κεδύνον εἴτε μή πεπυσμένη
εὐαγγέλιοισιν ἐλπίζων θυηπολεῖς,
κλύομι ἄν εὐφρῶν· οὖδὲ σιγώσῃ φθόνος.

ΚΑΤΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.
εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὦσπερ ἡ παροιμία,
ἐὼς γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα.
πεύση δὲ χάρμα μεῖζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν.
Πριάμου γὰρ ἦρηκασιν Ἀργείου πόλιν.

Χ. Πῶς φῆς; πέφευγε τοὺπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.
Κ. Τροίαν Ἀχαίων οὐσαν· ἡ τορῶς λέγω;
Χ. χαρὰ μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυνον ἐκκαλομένη.
Κ. εὖ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὅμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
Χ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστῶν; ἔστι τώνδε σοι τέκμαρ;
Κ. ἔστιν· τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ.
Χ. πότερα δ' οὐείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθή σέβεις;
Κ. οὐ δοξαν ἄν λάκομι βριζόυσης φρενός.
Χ. ἀλλ' ἢ σ' ἐπιανέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;
Κ. παιδὸς νέας ὦσ κάρτ' ἐμωμηήςφ φρένας.
Χ. ποιοὺς χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;
Κ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τὸδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.
Χ. καὶ τίς τὸδ' ἔξικοτ' ἀν ἀγγέλων τάχος;
Κ. Ἰηφαίστος, Ἰδῆς λαμπρῶν ἐκπέμπων σέλας.

286 εὐπιθή Blomfield: εὐπιθή (ex εὐπειθεὶ) M.
287 λάκομι Karsten:
λάξομι M.
294 ἀγγάρου Canter ex Elst. M. p. 7: ἀγγέλου M.
296 πανών Casaubon ex Athen. xv. p. 700 E: φανών M.
With all good will;
But I would learn most gladly whether it be
Good news that sets afoot these offerings, or
But happy-tiding hopes.

CLYT. With happy tidings, as the proverb runs,
    Come Dawn from Night his Mother! but here is joy
Goes quite beyond all hope,—the Argive arms
Have taken Priam's town.
ELDER. What was this?
    It passed believing and escaped me.
CLYT. Troy
    In the hands of the Achaeans: am I plain?
ELDER. Such joy steals over me as calls forth tears.
CLYT. The truthful eye bewrays thy sympathy.
ELDER. What warrant is there? Hast thou any proof?
CLYT. Aye surely; unless Heaven hath played us false.
ELDER. Is it the flattering vision of a dream
    Hath won thy credence?
CLYT. I should not come crying
    The imagination of a drowsing brain.
ELDER. Can it then be some light-winged rumour
    Hath fed conceit so high?
CLYT. You rate my wits
    As light as a green girl's.
ELDER. What season then
    Hath seen the capture made?
CLYT. The selfsame night
    That now hath given the dawn before us birth.
ELDER. What courier could arrive thus rapidly?
CLYT. Hephaestus; his bright flame from Ida sprang,
    And fast in fiery post the beacons flew,
As one dispatched another: Ida first
To Hermes' hill in Lemnos; third the mount
Of Zeus in Athos caught the mighty brand
υπερτελήσ τε, πόντων ἄστε νωτίσαι, ἵσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ήδουνήν πεῦκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὡς τις ἥλιος, σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπάς· 

dì ou̱tì μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὑπνωι νικώμενος παρῆκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·

ἐκάς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Ἐυρίπου ροὰς Ἔσσαπίον φύλαξε σημαίνει μολόν·

οἱ δ' ἀντελαμψαν καὶ παρῆγγειλαν πρόσω γραίας ἑρείκης θωμὸν ἄμαυτες πυρί.

σθένουσα λαμπᾶς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρομένη, ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίων Ἄσωποῦ, δύκην φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρώνος λέπας ἥγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχῆν πομποῦ πυρῶς.

φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἴμανετο φρουρά, πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων·

λίμνην δ' υπὲρ Γοργώπων ἐσκήψειν φάος, ὁρὸς τ' ἐπ' Λιγάπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον ὄτρυσε θεσμὸν μὴ χρούζεσθαι πυρῶς.

πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδιαύτες ἀφθόνωι μένει φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ πορθμοῦ κατόπτην πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλει πρόσω φλέγουσαν· ἐν' ἐσκήψειν, ἐν' ἀφίκειν Ἀραχναίον αἴπος, ἀστυνείτονας σκοπάς·

κατεί. Ἀτρειδῶν εἰς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἀπαπποῦν Ἰδαίου πυρῶς.

298 sqq. vitiosa esse liquet. 309 πεδίων Ἄσωποῦ ἑ: παιδίον ὑποῦ M.
316 χρούζεσθαι Casaubon: χαρίζεσθαι M. 319 κατόπτην H.: κατοπτρον M.
320 ἐν' Hermann: ἐν' M. 322 τόδε ἑ: τόγε M.
From the island thrown in turn. Then towering high
To clear the broad sea's back, the travelling torch
Shot up to the very sky the courier flame,
In golden glory, like another Sun,
Fame to the far Makistos messaging:
Whose fiery office no defaulting sleep
Or tarrying sloth let fail; his ensign flying
Over the Sound Euripos made aware
Messapion's watchmen of his advent; they
With answering countersign, a kindled stack
Of old gray heather, passed the word along:
Which vigorous lamp with unabated force
Did shining as the bright Moon overleap
Asopus even to Cithaeron's ridge,
There to wake new dispatch; nor being aroused
That watch denied the far-sent missioner;
They burned above their bidding, and their light
Went sailing far beyond Gorgopis lake
To the heights of Aegiplanctus, urging still
No dallying in the breathless ordinance.
Whereat with liberal heart aloft they sent
Flame in a great beard streaming, that his flight
Should clean beyond the foreland pass, that looks
O'er the Saronic gulf; nor ever stooped
His pinion ere he gained our neighbouring height,
Arachnae's vigilant peak: alighting thence
Upon the Atridae's roof a gleam there came,
That Ida's fire his ancestor may claim.

1 *Or 'beyond the aforesaid.'*
τοιοίδε τοί μοι λαμπράπνόρων νόμοι,

\[325\]

όλλος παρ’ ἀλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι

νυκαί δ’ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.

τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολον τέ σοι λέγω

ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐρμοί.

329

Χ. Θεοῖς μὲν αὕθις, δ’ γύναι, προσεύξομαι:

λόγους δ’ ἀκούσαί τοῦσε καποθαμάσαι

διηνεκῶς θέλομ’ ἂν, ὡς λέγεις, πάλιν.

330

Κλ. Τροίαν Ἀχαίοι τῆδ’ ἔχουσ’ ἐν ἡμέραι.

οἴμαι βοὴν ἀμείκτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.

ὁξος τ’ ἀλειφά τ’ ἐγχέας ταύτῳ κύτει

διχοστατοῦντ’ ἂν οὐ φίλως προσενεποισ’

καὶ τῶν ἀλότων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα

φθογγάς ἀκούει ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς:

οὔ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες

ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυτάλμοι

παῖδων γέρωντες οὐκέτ’ ἐξ ἐλευθέρου

335

δέρης ἀποιμόζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον,

τοὺς δ’ αὐτὲ νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος

νήστεις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὡν ἔχει πόλις

τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον:

340

ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἐσπασεν τύχης πάλον,

ἐν αἰχμαλώτοις Τρῳκοῖς οἰκήμασι

ναίουσιν ἣδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων

δρόσων τ’ ἀπαλλαχθέντες· ὡς δ’ εὐδαίμονες

ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πάσαν εὐφρόνην.

324 τοιοίδε τοί μοι Schuetz: τοιοίδ’ ἔτοιμοι a h, τοιοίδ’ ἐτυμω f. 331 λέγοις f h.

334 ἐγχέας Canter: ἐγχέας a f h. 339 sqq. φυταλωμίων παίδες γερώντων codd.: corr.

Weil. 340 ὡς δ’ εὐδαίμονες Stanley: ὡς διεὐδαίμονες a f h.
This was the ordering of my torchmen's race,
One from another in succession still
Supplied and plenished; and he that won
Was he ran first, though last in all this run.
   Here is the proof and warrant of my joy,
Pass'd onward for me by my lord from Troy.

Elder. Lady, the gods
   I will adore hereafter; now I am fain
To satisfy my wonder, might it please you
Discourse again at large.

Clyt. This day the Greeks
   Hold Ilium in their hand. O, well I guess
Most ill-according noise is rise within her!
Pour in the same cruse oil and vinegar,
And you shall call them quarrellers, unkind;
Thus differing as their fortunes may be heard
Cries of the vanquish'd and the vanquishers.
Vanquish'd,—upon the several corpses flung
Of children, husbands, brothers,—aged sire,
Wife, sister, from a throat no longer free
Wail for their dear ones dead. The vanquishers
Their after-battle forage
And ranging in the night sets hungry down
Before such breakfasts as the town affords,
By no nice turn of ordered billeting,
But Luck's own lottery has them lodged ere this
In captur'd homes of Troy: there now at length
Delivered from the frosts and from the dews
Of the bleak sky they shelter, and how blest
Shall sleep at ease the whole unguarded night.
εἰ δ' εὐσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἱδρύματα, οὗ τὰν ἐλόντες αὕθες ἀνθαλότεν ἄν.
ἐρως δὲ μὴ τὶς πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῶι πορθεὶν τὰ μὴ χρῆ κέρδεσιν νικωμένους. δεὶ γὰρ πρὸς οἶκους νοστίμους σωτηρίας, κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν. θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός, εὐήγορον τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλῶτων γένοιτ' ἄν,—εἰ πρόσπατα μὴ τύχοι κακά. τοιαύτα τοι γυναίκος ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις. τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοῖς, μὴ διχορρόπως ἵδειν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τὴν ὄνησιν εἰλόμην. 
ΧΩ. γύναι, κατ' ἀνδρα σώφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις. ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστὰ σοι τεκμήρια θεοὺς προσεπεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζομαι· 
χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εὐργασταῖ πόνων.

"Ὁ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ Νῦξ φιλία, 
μεγάλῶν κόσμων κτεάτειρα· 
 nowrap; ἕπι Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες 
στεγανῶν δίκτυον, ὡς μῆτε μέγαν 
μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν των ὑπερτελέσαι 
μέγα δουλείας 
γάγγαμον, ἀτης παναλώτον.

352 οὗ τῶν ἐλόντες Hermann: οὐκ ἀνελόντες a, οὐκ ἄν γ' ἐλόντει fh | ἀνθαλόηεν 
355 Auratus: ἀνθαλοεῖν a, ἀνθαλοεῖν fh. 358 εὐήγορον II.: ἐγρήγορον codd. 365 αὖ 
Paley: εὖ codd.
If now they are showing reverence to the Gods
O' the fallen country and their holy shrines,
They shall not spoil then only to be spoiled:
But let no lust be falling on them first
From covetousness to plunder that they should not:—
The backward of the double course is yet
To measure; they must win safe passage home.
But let them only come without offence
Toward Heaven, the grievance of the perished well
May learn fair language,—if no sudden stroke
Of casualty befall.—These are my thoughts,
A woman's; but I pray
Good speed prevail without all counterpoise!
Great are my blessings; I would taste their joys.

ELDER. Thy woman's words, my Lady,
Have all a wise man's judgment: now having heard
Good warrant from thee, I'll address me next
To the praise of Heaven, since to us is given
Ample reward for all that labour done.

O Zeus the king of Heaven! O Night,
With so great splendour and so bright
   Possessed, O friendly Night!
On Troy's renowned high towers was cast
Thy snare, a net so close and fast
   As neither great nor small
Should leap the immense enslaving woof:
Doom's divine drag-net, huge and proof,
   At one sweep took them all!
Δία τοι ξένων μέγαν αίδούμαι
tον τάδε πράξαντι, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρω
τεύνοντα πάλαι τόξου, ὅπως ἂν
μήτε πρὸ καίρου μῆθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρων
βέλος ἥλιθιον σκῆψειν.

στρ. α'.

"Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν" εἰπεῖν
πάρεστιν, τούτο τ' ἔξειχνεσαί.
ἐπραξέων ὡς ἐκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις
θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιούσθαι μέλειν
ὁσοι ἀθίκτων χάρις
πατοῦθ' ὃ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής'.
πέφανται δ' ἐκτίνουσ' 385
ἀτολμήτων ἄρη
πνεόντων μείζον ἡ δικαίως,
φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφειν
ὑπὲρ τῇ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπή-
μαντον ὡστ' ἀπαρκεῖν
eὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα.

οὐ γάρ ἔστω ἐπαλέξις
πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ
lακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας
βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.

ἀντ. α'.

βιώται δ' ἀ τάλαινα Πειθώ,
προβούλου παῖς ἀφερτος Ἀτας'.
Be Lord Zeus of the Stranger’s board
For author of this act adored:
His bolt on Alexander bent
Was aimed so long as neither sent
Over the stars nor early spent
To light with idle fall.

I 1.

"Struck by the hand of Zeus!" ay, truth indeed,
And traceable: ’tis the act of will decreed
And purpose. Under foot when mortals tread
Fair lovely Sanctities, the Gods, one said,
The easy Godš are careless:—’twas profane!
Here are sin’s wages manifest and plain,
The sword’s work on that swelled presumptuousness,
With affluent mansions teeming in excess,
Beyond Best Measure:—best, and sorrow-free,
The wise well-dowered mind’s unharmed Sufficiency!

The Rich man hath no tower,
Whose Pride, in Surfeit’s hour,
Kicks against high-enthroned Right
And spurns her from his sight.

I 2.

Child of designing Ate’s deadly womb,
The wretch Temptation drives him to his doom.
άκος δὲ παμμάταιον· οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, πρέπει δὲ, φῶς αἰνολαμπτές, σίνος· κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον τρίβωι τε καὶ προσβολαῖς μελαμπαγῆς πέλει δικαιωθείς (ἐπεὶ διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὀρνιν), πόλει πρόστριμμα θείς ἀφερτον· λιτὰν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὕτις θεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶν φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαρεῖ· σίος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν ἐς δόμον τὸν 'Ἀτρεδάν ἥσχυνε ἥσιαν τράπε- ζαν κλοπαίσι γυναικὸς.

ήπονῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστορας κλόνους λογχίμους τε καὶ ναυβάτας ὀπλισμοῦς, ἁγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον ὶλιων φθοράν, βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν, ἀτλητα τλάσαν· πολλὰ δέ ἔστενων τάδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται· "'ιὼ 'ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι, 'ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες. πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους . . . . ἀφημένων ἴδειν.

Then cure is all in vain. The vice he wears
He cannot hide; sinister gleam declares
His mischief; as base metal at the touch
And trial of the stone, he showeth smutch
(This fond man like a child a-chase of wings),
And the awful taint on all his people brings:
To prayers is not an ear in Heaven; one frown
All conversant with such calls guilty and pulls down.
Such Paris was, that ate
Within the Atridae's gate,
And then disgraced the Stranger's bread
By theft of woman wed.

II i.

To Argos hurrying tumult, thronging power
Of men-at-arms and men-at-oars bequeathing,—
To Ilium bringing death for her sole dower,—
Ah, tripping it through her gate she's flown,
A crime done!—Then did voices moan,
The secrets of the house in sorrow breathing:

"The Home, woe, woe, the Home! The Princes, woe!
The impress where the wedded limbs yet show!
There yonder abject sits, where all may see,
Shamed, unreviling, silent, bowed indignity:
πόθων δ' ὑπερποντίας
φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
ἐιμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἐχθεταὶ χάρις ἀνδρὶ,
ὁμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαισ
errei pâs Ἀφροδίτα.

ἀντ. β'.

ἐνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες
πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν·
μάταν γάρ, εὖτ' ἀν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὁρᾶν—
παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὃψις οὐ μεθύστερον
πτεροῖς ὀπαδῶις ὑπνοι κελεύθων."

τὰ μὲν κατ' οἰκους ἔφ' ἑστίας ἀχὴ
tάδ' ἑστὶ καὶ τῶν ὑπερβατότερα·
τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' "Ελλανος αἰας συνορμένοις
πένθει ἀτλησικάρδιος
dόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει·

πολλὰ γοῦν θυγανεὶ πρὸς ἔπαρ·
οὔς μὲν γάρ <τις> ἐπεμψεν
 oidεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν
tεῦχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκά-

στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.

στρ. γ'  
ο χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων
καὶ ταλαντοῦχοι ἐν μάχη δορᾶς

429 πειθήμονες Housman: πειθήμονες codd.
437 Ἐλλανος Bamberger: Ἐλλᾶδος codd.
434 κελεύθων Karsten: κελευθως.
438 πένθεια ταλησικάρδιος codd.:
ATAMEMNΩN

Pined so with his beyond-sea dream
Afar, so lovesick he shall seem
The pale faint ghost of proud authority.

Fair shapely marbles white
Vex the distasting sight,—
Lost in the lack of eyes that shone,
The warm love dead and gone.

II 2.

"Dream-shown, in flattering shape, come phantasies,
With joy—nay, fond illusion all their bringing!
Blissful in vision there when heaven is his—
Ah, vanishing through his arms away
'Tis gone, with never pause or stay,
Fast on the fickle paths where Sleep is winging."

These are the one forlorn home's miseries,
And more exceeding bitter yet than these.
And what at large for all that host of war
Far hence, the general legion sped from Hellas' shore?
Their's in their several houses due
Is mourning and heart-broken rue—
Cause enough, sure, keen-touching to the core!

From each home once there went
A man forth: him it sent
Each knows; but what are these return?
A little dust, an urn.

III 1.

Ares, the Changer—of the Body's coin,
With scales poised—where the spears in battle join,
πυρωθέν ἐξ Ἰλίου
φιλοσε πέμπει βαρὺ
ψήγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-
τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί.
ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.
στένουσι δ’ εὑρίσκοντες ἀν-
δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἱδρις,
τὸν δ’ ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσοῦντ’—
"ἀλλοτρίας διὰ γυναικός,"
τάδε σίγα τις βαύξει,
φθονερὸν δ’ ὑπ’ ἄλγος ἔρπει
προδίκους Ἀτρείδαις.
οἱ δ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος
θῆκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς
εὐμορφοί κατέχουσιν· ἔχ-
θρὰ δ’ ἐχοντας ἐκρυψεν.

ἀντ. γ’

βαρεῖα δ’ ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότων·
δημοκράτους δ’ ἀράσ τίνει χρέος.
μένει δ’ ἀκούσαί τί μου
μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές.
τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
ἀσκοποί θεοί, κελαί-
ναὶ δ’ Ἐρυμῦς χρόνωι
τυχὴρὸν ὁντ’ ἀνευ δίκας

451 εὐθέτους Auratus: εὐθέτου codd. 455 διὰ Hermann ex Cramer anecid. 464 δημοκράτου Porson: δημοκράτου
458 προδίκους f. 468 ἀπόσκοποι f.

Oxon. Ι ρ. 119: διὰ f. 458 προδίκους f. codd.
Fined in the furnace home from Ilium sends
Dust, heavy dust and sore to weeping friends,—
A live man's worth of ash, full-measured load
In small jars' compass decently bestowed!

Then wail the sorrowing kinsmen, and belaud each man,
This for a perfect soldier, how that fell
Glorious amid the carnage, fighting well—
"For another's wife!" the growl comes low,
And sores against their Princes grow,
This process that began.

Others possess their tomb
There, in their beauty's bloom—
Troy's holders, in the land they hold
Graved, beneath hated mould!

III 2.

A people's talk is dangerous when it storms;
The effect of public curse their wrath performs.
For something cloaked within the night my mind
Stands listening:—the divine eyes are not blind
To men of blood: the man of mere success,
Luck's thriver in defect of Righteousness,
παλιντυχεί τριβαί βίου τιθειό ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' ἀφο-
στοις τελέθουτος οὕτως ἀλκά.
τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπτως κλύειν εὖ
βαρύ: βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσοις
Διόθεν κάρανα.
κρίνω δ' ἀφθονον ὀλβον·
μήτ' εἰπν πτολιπόρθης,
μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἄλοις ὑπ' ἀλ-
λω βίον κατίδοιμι.

πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλων
πόλιν διήκει θοᾶ
βάξει: εἰ δ' ἐτήτμος,
tis οἴδεν;— εἰ τι θεῖον ἐστι μὴ ψύθος.

tis ὡδε παιδνὸς ἢ φρενῶν κεκομένος,
φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν
νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'
ἀλλαγάι λόγου καμεῖν;

γυναικὸς αἰχμαῖ πρέπει
πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ἔνναινεσαι.

πιθανῶς ἅγαν ὁ θῆλυς ἔρος ἐπινέμεται
ταχύπορος: ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον
γυναικογηρύτου ὄλλυται κλέος.

Doomed by the dark Avengers, wanes again at last,
Dwindling, until he fades out where the dim
Lost shadows are; and there, no help for him.—
   And Fame, too loudly when she cries,
   Is dangerous also; flashing eyes
   Of Zeus the proud height blast.

   Mine be the happy state
   That moves no jealous hate;
   No conquest, neither let me see
   My own captivity.

AN ELDER. Swift rumour through the city goes
   At glorious message blazed in fiery sign:
   But whether it tell truth, who knows?
   Nay, whether it be not but some guile divine?

ANOTHER. What man so childish or so crazed of wit
   To let the tinder of his brain be lit
   By news in fire,—and then expire
   Extinct at the reverse of it?

ANOTHER. Right woman's giddiness, to a tempting lure
   The yielding 'yes' ere present proof assure.

ANOTHER. Feminine assenting, where her wishing lies,
   Makes fiery way; with fire's decay
   In chaff, so perisheth fame a woman cries!

[At this point there is an interval lasting some days (see Introduction,
   p. 9). At the opening of the new scene the Chorus are alone in
   the orchestra.]
τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων
φρυκτωρίων τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,
εἰτ' οὖν ἀληθείς εἰτ' ὀνειράτων δίκην
τερπινὸν τόδ' ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας·
κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὅρῳ κατάσκπνι
κλάδοις ἐλάιας· μαρτυρεὶ δὲ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ἔμφυρος δυσία κόνις τάδε,
ὡς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σου δαίων φλόγα
ὔλης ορείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,
ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων—
τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τούσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγου·
εὐ γὰρ πρὸς εὐ φανεῖσι προσθήκη πέλοι.

505

οὐσις τάδ' ἄλλως τῆδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,
αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τῇ ἀμαρτίαιν.

ΚΗΡΤΕ.

ιῶ πατρῶιον οὖδας 'Ἀργείαις χθονός,
δεκάτου σε φέγγει τῶιδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους,
πολλῶν ραγειωῶν ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχῶν·
οὔ γὰρ ποτ' ἡμῖνον τῆδ' ἐν ᾿Ἀργείαις χθονὶ
θανῶν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.

510

νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθόν, χαῖρε ὅ' ἡλίου φάος,
ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεύς, ὁ Πῦθιός τ' ἄναξ,
τόξοις ἵαπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη·
άλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον ὑσθ' ἀνάρσιοι·
νῦν δ' αὐτὲ σωτήρ ἵσθι καὶ παῖώνιος,

509 δεκάτου Iacob: δεκάτω codd.
516 ὡθ' margo Askewi: ὡθ' f, ὡθὲς h.
517 καὶ παιῶνιos Dobree: καὶ παγώνιos f, καπαγώνιos h.
[Elder (who has been looking out over the plain towards the sea).]

Now presently we shall know
The sober truth of all this cresseting,
Blazing of beacons, handing-on of fire,
Whether it be fact indeed or only some
Delightful dream that flatters and befools:—
A herald yonder from the shore in sight!
Umbraged with olive-branches,—ay, and further,
Mire's consorting sister, thirsty Dust,
Gives me good surety this advertisement
Shall not be voiceless, not a bonfire burned
With smoke of timber on a mountain-top;
His plain word shall establish either joy—
Nay, with aught else I cannot rest content;
Be glad proof present crowned with glad event!

Another. The man that in that prayer will take no part
Reap the reward of his misguided heart!

[Enter Herald, worn and broken by ten years' exposure before Troy.

Herald.

O Fatherland of mine, sweet home of Argos,
Ten years after on this blessed day
Arrived again at last! One hope hath held,—
One anchor after all those many broken,—
Never could I dream these bones would have
Their own dear Argive soil to rest in happy!

Now hail to thee, O Land, and hail to thee,
Thou bright Sun, and the land's high paramount,
Zeus; and the Lord of Pytho, blest be he,
And shoot his arrows upon us no more!
Scamander showed thee in thy wrath enough;
Preserver be thou, be thou Healer now,
ἀναξ Ἀπολλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς πάντας προσαναθή, τὸν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάνιων Ἔρμην, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, ἤρως τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν στρατὸν δεχεσθήκα τὸν λειμμένων δορόν. ἵω μέλαθρα βασιλέως, φίλαι στέγαι, σεμνοὶ τε θάκου, δαίμονές τ' ἄντηλιοι, εἰ πον πάλαι, φαιδροῖς τουσιδ' ὁμμασίων δέξασθε κόσμωι βασιλέα πολλῶι χρόνωι. ἦκει γὰρ ύμίν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων καὶ τοῖσδ' ἀπασί κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνον ἄναξ. ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει, Τροίαν κατασκάφαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου

Διὸς μακέλλην, τῇ κατεργασταὶ πέδουν, καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός. τοιόνδε Τροίαν περιβαλῶν ζευκτῆριον ἄναξ Ἀτρέιδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ ἦκει, τίεσθαί δ' ἀξιότατος βροτῶν τῶν νῦν'. Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελής πόλις ἑξεύχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον· ὁφλῶν γὰρ ἁρπαγής τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἡμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον αὐτόχθονον πατρῴων ἔθρισεν δόμον, διπλὰ δ' ἐτεισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμαρτια. ΧΟ. κήρυξ Ἀχαίων χαίρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ. ΚΗ. χαίρω· τεθναίην δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶθθεοῖς.
O Lord Apollo! Greeting unto you,
Ye Gods of Gathering all, with mine own patron,
Hermes, the sweet Herald, that homage hath
From heralds; and O ye Heroes in the earth,
Kind as of old you sped us, now receive
These relics of the spear....
Awake, beloved halls of royalty!
Hail to you! Hail, ye stately judgment-seats!
And hail, ye orient-facing Deities!
If e'er aforetime, O with bright eyes now
Beam after all these days upon the King!
For bringing light in darkness unto you
And all this people, Prince Agamemnon comes.
O give him welcome! 'Tis indeed his due;
He hath digged up Troy with mattock;
Yea, with the mattock of Zeus Justicer
Hath left the whole soil overturned and broke
And her seed rooted out of all the land.
So sore the yoke laid on her caitiff neck
By the elder lord Atrides, who now comes
Blest among men, the worthiest in the world
To be received with honour; for Trojan Paris
Nor all his liable city now can boast
Their trespass to outweigh their punishment:
Convicted both of rape and thievery,
He hath lost his pillage and of House been shorn
With all the land pertaining; he and his
Amerced for crime in twofold penalties!

Elder. O Herald of the Achaeans from the field,
    Best greeting and all joy!
Herald. I thank you; let me die now! At God's pleasure,
    I'll not oppose it longer.
ΧΩ. ἔρως πατρώιας τῆς γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν. 545
ΚΗ. ὁστ' ἐνδακρύειν γ' ὀμμασιν χαρᾶς ὑπο.
ΧΩ. τερπνής ἄρ' ἦτε τῆς 'έπηβολοι νόσου.
ΚΗ. πῶς δή; διδαχθείς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.
ΧΩ. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἰμέρω πεπληγμένου.
ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις;
ΧΩ. ὃς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός <γ'> ἀναστένειν.
ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στυγοστράτωι;
ΧΩ. πάλαι τὸ σιγὰν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.
ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεις τινάς;
ΧΩ. ὃς νῦν, τὸ σὸν δῆ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλῆ χάρις.
ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταῦτα δ' εἰν πολλῶι χρόνωι 555
τὰ μὲν τις ἀν λέξειν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,
τὰ δ' αὖτε κατίμωμφα—τὸς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν 560
ἀπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δ' αἰώνος χρόνον;—
μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγουμι καὶ δυσανλίας,
σπαρνᾶς παρείξεις καὶ κακοστράτους,—τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ήματος μέρος;†
τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσων καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος:
εὑρεί γὰρ ἦσαν δηῖν πρὸς τεῖχεσιν: 565
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ—καπο τῆς λειμώνιας
δρόσου—καταψεκαζοῦ, ἐμπεδὸν σίνος,
ἐσθημάτων τιθέντες εὖθηρον τρίχα.
χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνων,
οἴον παρείξι καθερτον Ἁδαία χιών,
Elder. You have been tried
By sickness for your fatherland?

Herald. Ay truly;
Mine eyes fill with tears for happiness.

Elder. Then there was pleasure in the sickness.

Herald. Pleasure?
Pray you, instruct me.

Elder. 'Twas a love returned
With love again.

Herald. For us then your heart yearned
As ours did yearn for home?

Elder. So much I grieved
That many a sigh my clouded heart hath heaved.

Herald. What cloudy gloom was this that overhung
Mislikers of our war?

Elder. A silent tongue
Hath long been my best amulet.

Herald. Amulet?
In absence of our princes were there any
You stood in fear of, then?

Elder. Indeed 'twere now,—
Your own phrase,—joy to die.

Herald. Ay, for it is
A brave success! Though, take the time in all,
With much to cause contentment, there were matters
Also for discontent—but Gods alone
May live unscathed of harm perpetually:—
Troth, were I to recount our miseries,
The toil, the wretched lodging—seldom respite
Snatched on a sorry couch—and all our groans
In the hour of daytime! Then again on shore;
Why there 'twas yet worse hardship; for we lay
Before the enemy's walls, and from the sky,
And from the damp fen, dews with damage dripped
Abiding, that our woolly garments made
All verminous:—or tell again of cold;
How bitter was the snow on Ida made,
88 ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

η θάλπος, εὔτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβρινάς
κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὐδοὶ πεσών—
tί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος;
παροίχεται δέ, τοῖς μὲν τεθνηκόσιν
τὸ μῆποτ’ αὕθις μηδ’ ἀναστήναι μέλεων.
tί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας εἰν ψήφῳ λέγειν,
tὸν ξῶντα δ’ ἀλγεῖν χρῆ τύχης παλιγκότον;
καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφορὰς καταξιώ.
ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ
νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πήμα δ’ οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει.
ὡς κομπάσαι τῶι δ’ εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει
ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένους.
"Τροίαν ἐλόντες δήποτ’ Ἀργείων στόλος
θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ’ Ἑλλάδα
dόμων ἐπασσάλευσαν ἄρχαιων γάνοις."
tοιαῦτα χρῆ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· καὶ χάρις τιμήσεται
Δίος τὸς ἐκπράξασα. πάντ’ ἔχεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. νικώμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι,
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἥβαι τοῖς γέρουσιν εὐμαθεῖν·
dόμως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμήστραι μέλεων
eἰκὸς μάλιστα, σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμὲ.

ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὑπο,
οτ’ ἡλθ’ ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,
φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἰλίων τ’ ἀνάστασιν.
καὶ τὶς μ’ ἐνύπτων εἶπε, “φρυκτωρῶν δία
πεισθέεσσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθήσθαι δοκεῖς;

577 συμφοράς Blomfield: συμφορᾶς codd.
580 δόμων...ἀρχαίων Hartung: ὀμοι...ἀρχαίων codd.
Killing the birds; or sweltering summer's heat,
When slumbering in his noonday drowsiness
Lay without stir the sunk unruffled sea......
What boots it to repine? The pain is past;
Unto the dead so past that no more now
They have any thought or care to rise again:—
Why make, with telling all the lost expense,
The live heart sore at Fate's malevolence?
'Adieu, cross Fortune, fare you well!' say I.
For us, the remnant of the host, our gain
Outweighs the utmost counterpoise of pain:
On Fame's wings flying over land and sea
This glorious day proud boasters we may be:
By the troops of Argos, having taken Troy,
Memorials to the Gods in thankful joy
Throughout all Greece their mansions to adorn
Were pinned these trophies from the Trojans torn.
All those that hear this blazon should applaud
The country and her captains; honour due
Being also done to Zeus, whose hand it is!
You have my tale in full.

Elder. I am overborne
No more contending; age is never old
For young Instruction.—

[Turning to Clytaemnestra who enters.

There should be rich news here,
For me too, but methinks most nearly touching
The House and Clytaemnestra.

Clyt. Some while since
I lifted up my jubilee, already,
When the first messenger, at night, by fire,
Told me the capture and the wrack of Troy.
They chid me then with scorn: Persuaded so
By beacons to believe that Troy is taken?
ὁ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς ἀηρεσθαὶ κέαρ." λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὖσ' ἐφαυνόμην. ὁμως δ' ἐθνων· καὶ γυναικείων νόμων ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτώλων ἐλασκον εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἔδραὶς θυυφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.

καὶ νῦν τὰ μάσσω μὲν τί δεὶ σὲ μοι λέγεις; ἀνακτόσ αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύςομαι λόγουν. ὅπως δ' ἀριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῦν πόσιν σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δεξασθαι· τί γὰρ γυναίκη τούτου φέγγος ἦδιον δρακέων, ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρα σώσαντος θεοῦ πῦλας ἀνοίξαι; ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσει· ἢκεν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει· γυναῖκα πιστῆν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὗροι μολὼν οἰανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα ἐσθλὴν ἔκεινωι, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύναροισιν, καὶ τάλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριοι οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου.

ΚΗ. τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος,—τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων,

ὀψιν αἰσχρὸς ὡς γυναικὶ χεναίαι λακεῖν;

ΧΟ. αὐτῇ μὲν οὕτως εἷπε, μανθάνοντι σοι, τοροῦσιν ἐρμηνεύσων εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.

σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξε, Μενέλαιον δὲ πεῦθομαι, εἰ νόστιμος τε καὶ σεσωμένος πάλιν ἢξει σὺν ύμῖν, τῆσδε γῆς φίλων κράτος.

623 τε Hermann: ἕ codd. | σεσωμένος codd.
O the right woman's credulous heart on wings!
With such derision was I argued fool:
Yet still kept offering; and throughout the town
Aloud they shouted—after woman's use—
Their jubilant anthem, lulling in the shrines
The hunger of the spice-fed odorous flame.
So now, what need we further circumstance
From thee? The King's own mouth shall render us
The tale in full:—but I must give my own
Dear honoured lord the best and soonest welcome—
Soonest and best, for to a woman's eyes
What hour is dearer than the hour when Heaven
Hath saved her husband from the wars, and she
Unbars her gates for him?—Go bid him, then,
Come hither with all speed, the country's darling,
Come with all speed, a faithful wife to find,
Even as he left her, a true hound within,
Still to his foes a foe, to him still kind;
Alike at all parts, every whit the same,
That all this while hath never broke one seal;
Of joys from other—nay, the whispered blame—
I have no more knowledge than of plunging steel!

[Exit]

HERALD. Valiant protest; with truth in every syllable,
True honest lady need not blush to cry it?

ELDER. We have heard her story,—as you apprehend,
In the ear of judgment, excellent, most plausible.—
But tell me, Herald, our beloved prince
Menelaus, shall we see him safe back with you?
KH. οὐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδὴ καλὰ
ἐσ τὸν πολὺν φίλουσι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.
ΧΟ. πῶς δὴ ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθη τύχους;
σχυσθέντα δ' οὖν εὑκρυπτα γένεται τάδε.
KH. ἀνήρ ἄφαιτος ἐξ Ἀλκαῖκων στρατοῦ,
ἀυτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοίον. οὐ ψευδὴ λέγω.
ΧΟ. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἡλίου,
ἡ ἱεῖμα, κοωνὸν ἄχθος, ἡρπασε στρατοῦ;
KH. ἐκυρισας ὡστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·
μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα συντόμως ἐφημίσω.
ΧΟ. πότερα γὰρ ἀυτοῦ ζωντος ἡ τεθυρίκτος
φάτις πρὸς ἀλλων ναυτίλων ἐκλήμετο;
KH. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὡστ' ἀπαγγέλαι τορῶς,
πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἡλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.
ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῶν στρατοῦ
ἔλθειν, τελευτήσαι τε, δαμόνων κότων;
KH. εὐφήμων ἦμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλωι
γλώσσηι μιαίνειν' χωρίς ή τιμῇ θεῶν.
ὅταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πήματ' ἄγγελος πόλει
στυγνῶι προσώπωι πτωσίμωι στρατοῦ φέρη,
πόλει μὲν ἐλκος ἐν τὸ δῆμοιν τυχεῖν,
πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγυσθεῦντας δόμων
ἀνδρας διπλῆι μάστυγι τήν Ἀρης φιλεῖ,
δίλογχον ἄτην, φωνίαν ἕνωρίδα,—
τοιόνδε μέντοι πημάτων σεσαγμένον
πρέπει λέγειν παιάνα τόνδ' Ἐρυνύνων
σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον

627 sq. et sequentia disticha Clytaemnestrae dant codd.: corr. Stanley | τίχοις
Porson: τίχῃ codd. 649 σεσαγμένων Schuetz: σεσαγμένων codd.
Herald. I have no art to colour falsehood fair
And lend the painting gloss for lasting wear.

Elder. O might then colour fair be joined with true!
'Tis vain to cloke disjunction of the two.

Herald. To speak no falsehood then, the prince is vanished
From his companions, together with his ship.

Elder. Loosing from Ilium in full sight? Or was 't
A general storm that tore him from the rest?

Herald. You have hit the target with a perfect aim;
And briefly phrased a long sad chronicle.

Elder. How was his name in current rumour bruited
By the other crews? As yet alive or dead?

Herald. None can aver by knowledge, save that one
That breeds the increase of the Earth, the Sun.

Elder. What is your story of the storm? How rose,
And how did close, this angry visitation?

Herald. It fits not to profane with dolorous tongue
A day of praise: that service and the Gods' 
Are twain and separate. When the messenger
Brings gloomy visage and disastrous hap,
An armed host's overthrow—one general wound
Lashed on the country, and her several men
From private home on home driven out with scourge
By curse of Ares with his double thong
Twinned thus for ruin and for slaughter leashed—
When such the load upon the bearer's back,
Why, then 'tis fitting that his anthem sound
The Avengers' tone; but when he comes with news
ἡκοντα πρῶς χαίρουσαν εὔεστοῖ πόλιν,
πῶς κεδιά τοῖς κακοίσι συμμείξος, λέγων
χειμῶν· Ἀχαιῶς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν;
Ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, οὕτε ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὸν,
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην
φθείροντε τὸν δύστην Ἀργείων στρατόν.
ἐν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ' ὄροιρει κακά.
ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλαισι Θηρήκιαι πνοαί
ἡρεικον· αἱ δὲ κεροτυποῦμεναι βίαι
χειμῶν Ἕλευ σὺν ζάλη τ' ὀμβροκτύπωι
οἴχοντ' ἀφαντοι, ποιμένοι κακοῦ στρόβωι.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνήλθε λαμπρὸν ἦλιον φάος,
ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Λίγαιων νεκροῖς
ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοὺς τ' ἔρειπίοις.
ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος
ητοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἐξηιτήσατο
θεός τις, οὐκ ἀνθρωπος, οἶκοις θυγών.
τύχη δὲ σωτηρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,
ὡς μητ' ἐν ὀρμω κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν
μητ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.
ἐπείτα δ' Ἄδην πόντιον πεφευγότες,
λευκοίν κατ' ἡμαρ οὐ πεποιθότες τύχης,
ἐβουκολούμεν φροντίσω νέων πάθος,
στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδουμένον.
καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἰ τις ἔστιν ἐμπνεόν,
λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς ὀλωλότας, τί μή;
ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταύτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.
Of preservation to a country blest
With ease and welfare, how then should I mix
The good with evil, and relate a storm
That ne'er came surely but from angry Gods!

Fire and sea, worst enemies before,
Now swore a covenant, and displayed their pledge
By wrecking all the luckless Argive host.
Trouble of the ocean in the night-time wrought;
The Northern wind grew boisterous, and our ships
Dashed one against the other; which, being rammed
With blast of the hurricane and battering sleet,
By that wild shepherding were lost and vanished.

And when the bright light of the Sun rose up,
Our eyes beheld
The vast Aegean like a field in bloom
With floating carcases of drownèd men
And tattered wrecks of ships. We, with a hull
Still sound, were brought off safe, either by sleight
Or pleading of some Power, had other, sure,
Than human hand, our pilot. Fortune too
Sat Saviour on our deck, vouchsafing us
Neither at mooring in the roads to suffer
Strain of a swelling surge, nor driving split
Upon a rock-bound coast. Then, being at length
From ocean graves delivered, with fair dawn,
The fact scarce crediting, we let our thoughts
Dwell musing on our strange reverse, our fleet
So bruised and buffeted....

Well, they likewise now,
If any be that breathes yet, speak of us,
Doubtless, as perished, we meanwhile supposing
Them in the same case:—let us hope the best
γένοιτο δ’ ὡς ἄριστα. Μενελεων γὰρ ὁ ὅνν πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μογείν. 680
ei δ’ οὖν τις ἀκτίς ἁλίου νων ἵστορεὶ καὶ ζώντα καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Δίος, οὕτω θέλουτος ἐξαναλώσαι γένος, ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἦξειν πάλιν. τοσαύτ’ ἀκούσας ἵσθι τάληθη κλύων. 685

στρ. α’. ΧΟ. τίς ποτ’ ὄνομαζεν ὅδ’
ἐς τὸ πάν ἐτητύμως—
μή τις ὄντων’ ὦ ὁρῶμεν προνοίας τοῦ πεπρωμένου
γλώσσαν ἐν τύχαι νέμων;—
τὰν δορίγαμμαβρον ἀμφινει-κῆ θ’ Ἐλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως ἠλέναν, ἠλανδρος, ἠλέπτολις,
ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτύμων
προκαλυμμάτων ἐπλευσεν
690
Ζεφύρου γύγαντος αὔραι,
πολύανδροί
te φεράστιδες κυναγοὶ
cat’ ἰχνος πλατᾶν ἀφαντον
κελσάντων Σιμόεντος ἀκτᾶς ἐπ’ ἀεξιφύλλους
di’ ἔρων αἱματόεσσαν. 700

That may be! Menelaus,—in sore plight
Presume him needs you must; yet if the Sun
With any ray describes him hale and quick,
By help of Zeus, then, being loth to see
The race quite blotted out, some hope there is
He yet may come safe home.—You have my story,
And rest assured 'tis absolute verity.

[Exit.

CHORUS.

I 1.

Who named her all so truly?
—Was't One beyond our vision,
By glimpse of Order fated
His happy lips who moved?—
This Prize debate-environed,
This Bride with spear to kinsman,
This Helena? Most perfect Helena?
'Twas Hell enow she proved,
When amorous from the silken-tissued
Veils before her bower emerging
Forth to Eastward sail she issued,
Spirit of Earth-born Zephyrus urging—
Forth to Eastward sail,
After her, men with ardour shipped,
Myriads of hunters, all equipped
In arms that harrier-like pursued
Fast on a printless trail of oars
Abeach on Simois' leafy shores,
Full cry, in bloody feud!
ἀντ. α': Ἡλευ ἓς κῆδος ὁρ-
thώνυμον τελεστιφρῶν
μῆνις ἢμυσεν, ὑπατέξας ἀτί-
μωσιν ὑστέρων χρόνων
καὶ ἥνεστον Δίος
πρασσομένα τὸ νυμφότι-
μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίοντας,
ὕμεναιον, ὡς τὸτ' ἐπέρρεπεν
γαμβροῖσιν ἀείδειν.
μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὑμνον
Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ
πολύθρηνον
μέγα ποιν ἱστενει, κικλήσκου-
σα Πάρων τον αἰνόλεκτρον,
tὰμπροσθ' ἡ πολύθρηνον αἰ-
ятия ἅμφι πολιταῖν
μέλεον αἴμα ἀνατλάσα.

στρ. β': ἔθρησεν δὲ λέοντος ἵ-
νων δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βοῦ-
tας ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,
ἐν βιότου προτελείοις
ἀμερον, εὐφιλόσαιδα
καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.

704 sq. ἢμυσεν Π.: ἢλασε codd. | ἀτίμωσιν Canter: ἀτίμως ἵν' ἢ, ἀτίμως h.
716 τάμπροσθ' ἡ (πάμπροσθ' ἡ Hermann) Π.: παμπρόσθη codd. 716 sq. λέοντος
ἡν Conington: λέοντα αἵνων codd. 719 sq. ἀγάλακτα βοῦτας Wecklein: ἀγάλακτον
οὕτος (vel οὕτως) codd.
I 2.

But unbent Wrath abiding
Works her will to render
That so dear alliance
    All too dear for Troy;
That scorn of high Zeus guarding
The shared Home's friendly Table
Wrath in her season visits
    On all that uttered joy,—
All that once in gay carousel
    Bride with Hymen fain would honour,
Hymen, when the time of spousal
    Bade them heap their praise upon her—
Ah, but at this time,
Though late the lesson, wiser grown
With age-long suffering of her own
    Sons' blood so lamentably shed,
That ancient City loud, I ween,
Laments with practice-perfect Threne,
    'O Paris evil-wed!'

II 1.

A young babe Lion, still at breast,
    Was home once by a Herdsman borne,
Housed beneath roof among the rest
    And reared there; in his early morn
And first of age, all gentle, mild,
    Youth's darling, the delight of Eld;
πολέα δ' ἐσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις

 vibrator τέκνου δίκαν

 φαιδρωπόν ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνοντα γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.

ἀντ. β'.

 χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπεδειξεν ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων· χάριν

 γὰρ τροφᾶς ἀμείβων

 μηλοφόνουσιν ἄταις

 δαίτ' ἀκέλευστος ἐτευξεν·

 αἵματι δ' οίκος ἐφύρθη, ἀμαχων ἀλγος οἰκέταις,

 μέγα σίνος πολυτόνοιον·

 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἑρεύς τις Α-τας δόμοι προσεβρέφθη.

στρ. γ'.

 πάραυτα δ' ἐλθεῖν ἐς 'Ιλίον πόλιν

 λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμοι γαλάνας,

 ἀκασκαίον < δ' > ἀγαλμα πλούτου,

 μαλθακῶν ὄμματων βέλος,

 δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος.

 παρακλίναιό ἐπέκρανεν

 δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς,

 δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος

 συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν,

 πομπαὶ Δίὸς ξενίου,

 νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρμύς.

726 sq. φαιδρωπόν...σαίνοντα Auratus: φαιδρωπός...σαίνων τε codd. 728 sq.

 ἢθος Conington: ἑθος codd. 734 ἀμαχων δ' ἡ 737 προσεβρέφθη Heath:

 προσετράφη codd. 740 δ' add. Porson.
And ofttimes, like a nursling child,
In arms with happy love was held,
While the weak flesh, demure and bland,
With fawning wooed the fostering hand.

II 2.

But age grown ripe, his humour showed
The born touch that his parents had;
Thank-offering when his nurture owed,
A banquet, ere the master bade,
With such wild slaughter he prepared,
It sluiced the dwelling foul with gore,
While helpless, all aghast, they stared
Upon that bloody mischief sore:
Divine Will there had found him room,
Housed, to be Priest of slaughtering Doom.

III 1.

Likewise, arriving once in Ilium town
What languorous gentleness was seen!
Tranquillest Pearl to shine in Riches' crown,
With Calm's own soul serene;
Eyes to send arrowy softness winging fire;
Loveliness torturing with the heart's desire.

Then from that Heaven away she fell,
Transformed into a Fiend of Hell:
Launched upon Priam's house to bring
Curse with her sweet companioning;
God's Vengeance, in his conduct led
With ruth about her bridal bed
And tears for widowed wives to shed!
παλαιόφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος
tετυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὀλβον
tεκνοῦσθαι μηδ' ἀπαιδα θυήσκειν,
ἐκ δ' ἀγαθᾶς τύχας γένει
βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζὼν.
δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-
μί· τὸ δυσσεβές γὰρ ἐργον
μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,
σφετέραι δ' εἰκότα γένναι·
οἶκων γὰρ εὐθυδίκων
cαλλίταις πότμοις αἰεὶ.

φιλεὶ δὲ τίκτεων "Τῆρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-
ζουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν
"Τῆριν τὸν ἢ τοῦ· ὡτε τὸ κύριον μόλη
βαθύσκοτον
daίμονα τίταν ἄμαχου, ἀπόλεμον,
ἀνίερον θράσος μελαί-
νας μελάθρουσιν ἀτας,
εἰδομέναν τοκεῦσιν.

Δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνως δώμασιν,
tοῦ δ' ἐναίσιμον τίει·
tὰ χρυσοπαστὰ δ' ἐδεθλα σὺν πίνων χερῶν
παλιντρόποις
οἰμασι λιποῦν· ὡσια προσέφατο
dύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλοῦ-
tου παράσημον αἶνων·
πὰν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾶι.

755 δυσσεβές γὰρ Pauw: γὰρ δυσσεβές codd.
762 ὡτε Klausen: ὡταν codd.
763 βαθύσκοτον (Maehly)...τίταν (Heimsoeth): νεαρὰ φάους κότων...τὸν codd.
765 μελάθρουσι δ. 768 τίταν codd.: corr. H. L. Ahrens.
769 ἐδεθλα
770 προσέφατο Tucker: προσέβα τοῦ codd.
III 2.

There is an ancient proverb men will preach
   As framed by wisdom of old time,
That prosperous Fortune, let him only reach
   To full estate and prime,
Hath issue, dies not childless; waxen so,
Weal for his heir begets unsated Woe.

But single in the world I hold
   A doctrine different from the old:
Not Weal it is, but Sinful Deed
   More sinners after him doth breed
Formed in his image; none the less
Doth lovely offspring always bless
The house that follows Righteousness.

IV 1.

Old Insolence in the evil sort of men
Young Insolence will gender, then or then,
When dawns the appointed hour, a Fiend of gloom
   For penance, violent, unconquered,
Flushed with such reckless Hardihood
   That sin's dark ruinous Doom
In black storm on the roof shall rage,—
The latter offspring like his parentage.

IV 2.

But Righteousness to the upright heart inclines;
Bright beneath smoky rafters her light shines:
Gilt-spangled halls, where hands guilt-spotted are,
   Swift with averted eyes forsakes,
Thence to the pure her blessing takes,
   To that false lauded star,
The Power of Riches, will not bend,
But guideth all things to their proper end.
ἀγε δῆ, βασιλεῦ, Ἰροίας πτολίπορθ',

'Ατρέως γένεθλον,

πῶς σε προσεῖπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω
μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὕποκάμψας
καιρὸν χάριτος;

πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι

προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.

tῶι δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάξειν

πᾶς τις ἐτοιμός· δῆγμα δὲ λύπης

οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἦπαρ προσικνεῖται·

καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὀμοιοπρεπεῖς,

ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι,

. . . . . . .

οὕτις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογυώμων,

οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὀμματα φωτός,

τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρόνοις ἐκ διανοίας

ὑδαρεῖ σαίνει φιλότητι.

σὺ δὲ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν

'Ελένης ἑνεκ', οὐκ ἑπικεύσω,

κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἤσθα γεγραμμένος

οὐδ' εὖ πρατίδων οἷακα νέμων,

θάρσος ἐκούσιον

ἀνδράσι θησισκούσι κομίζων.

. . . . . . .

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀκρας φρεινὸς οὖδ' ἀφίλως

<ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν>

"εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν."
[Enter Agamemnon in a four-wheeled travelling-waggon drawn by mules; followed presently by another containing, among other spoils, Cassandra; who throughout this scene and through the chorus following it continues motionless and silent but in view.

CHORUS.

Come O thou conqueror, my King,
What praise, what homage can I bring
Not to be scanty nor outwing
Thy pleasure with my style?
Too many in this world, we know,
Practise rather outward show,
Dishonest arts of guile:
All men for a man's distress
Have apt sighs ready,—never smart
Of sorrow going near the heart;
And as rejoiced in happiness
With formal fashion they constrain
The lips into a smile:—
But him that can discern his flock
The eyes that flatter shall not mock,
Fond affection when they feign
That lukewarm is the while.
Thou, when levying armament
In cause of Helen, didst present—
I will not cloke it—then
A picture to these aged eyes
Deformed in most unlovely guise,—
The handling of thy helm not wise,
Recovery at such dear expense
To purchase—willing Impudence
At cost of dying men:—
But now no glozer or false friend
Am I, pronouncing Happy end
Makes happy labourers.
γνώσηι δὲ χρόνωι διαπευθύμενος
tὸν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως
πόλιν οἴκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πρῶτον μὲν Ἀργος καὶ θείος ἐγχώριος
δίκη προσεπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μετατίους
νόστοι δικαίων θ' ὀν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν
Πριάμου· δίκαις γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ
κλύντες ἀνδροθνήτας Ἰλίου φθοράς
ἐς αἰματηρὸν τεῦχος οὐ διχορρόπως
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῶν δ' ἑναντίωι κύτει
ἐλπὶς προσήμει χειρὸς οὐ πληρομένωι.
καπνῷ δ' ἀλούσα νῦν ἐτ' εὐσήμως πόλις.
棨ης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ
σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πυνάς.
τούτων θεοῦι χρὴ πολύμνηστον χάριν
tίνειν, ἐπείπερ χάρπαγὰς ὑπερκόπους
ἐπραξάμεσθα καὶ γυναικὸς εἴνεκα
πόλιν διημάθουνεν Ἀργείων δάκος,
ὑπὸν νεοσσοῦ, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς,
πήδημ' ὄρούςας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσων·
ὑπερθρόνων δὲ πύργων ἀμηστῆς λέων
ἀδην ἔλειξεν αἰματος τυραννικοῦ.

805 φθοράς Dobree. 810 Θυγλάi Hermann. 813 χάρπαγὰς Tyrwhitt:
καὶ πάγας codd. | ὑπερκόπους Heath: ὑπερκόπους codd.
816 ἀσπιδηφόρος Blomfield: ἀσπιδηστρόφος ἰ, ἀσπιδοστρόφος ή.
Thy question in due time shall tell
Among this people which doth well
In stewardship, which errs.

Agamemnon.

To Argos first and to the country's Gods
Belongs my duty, that have aided me
To my return and justice we have done
Upon the town of Priam: when they heard
The unvoiced cause in heaven, with one consent
They cast into the urn of blood their votes.
For perishing waste of Troy: to the other urn
Hope of the filling hand came ever nigh,—
Unfilled. The city's capture even now
Shows manifest by the smoke; death vigorous yet
In Doom's fierce hurricane
Pants forth his opulent breath in puffs of Wealth.

Behoves us therefore render unto Heaven
Most memorable return, since we have wreaked
Our ample vengeance for an arrogant rape;
A whole town for a woman's sake hath been
Laid desolate in the dust by our fierce brood,
Hatched of a Horse in armed swarm, that sprang
About the sinking of the Pleiades,
And o'er the ramparts like a ravening Lion
Salient hath lapped his fill of soveran blood.

1 Or 'life smouldering yet,
In Doom's burnt sacrifice, . . . .'
θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτευνα φροίμιον τόδε·
τὰ δ' ἐσ τὸ σοῦ φρονῆμα μέμημαι κλύων,
καὶ φημὶ ταῦτά καὶ συνήγορόν μ' ἐχεις·
παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τόδε,
φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνου σέβειν·
δύσφρων γὰρ ἵστο καρδίαν προσήμενος
ἀλῆθος διπλοῖει τοῖς πεπαμένωι νόσου·
τοῖς τ' αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ πῆμασι βαρύνεται
καὶ τὸν θυραίον ὅλβον εἰσορῶν στένει.
εἰδὼς λέγομι' ἂν, εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι
ὅμιλιας κάτοπτρον, εἴδωλον σκιῶς
δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρεμμενεῖς ἐμοί.
μόνος δ' Ὁδυσσεύς, ὀστερ οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐπλεῖ,
ζευχθεῖς ἐτοιμὸς ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος·
εἰτ' ὕφν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζωντος πέρι
λέγω·—τὰ δ' ἀλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς,
κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει
βουλευσόμεσθα· καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχων
ὀπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεὶ βουλευτέον·
οὕτω δὲ καὶ δεὶ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,
ητοί κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.
νῦν δ' ἐσ μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους
ἐλθὼν θεοὶ πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,
οὕτε πρόσω πέμψαντες ἡγαγον πάλιν.
νίκη δ' ἐπείπερ ἐσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι.

822 ταῦτα Auratus: ταῦτα codd. 821 φθόνου h: φόνων l: ψόγου Stob. A.
38, 28. 826 πεπαμένων (-ων) codd. 841 πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου Porson:
πῆματος τρέψαι νόσου codd.
To Heaven this lengthened preface.—For your thought (Remembered in my ear), I say the same; You have me of your counsel; few indeed Are they with whom 'tis nature to admire A friend's good fortune with unjealous eyes: Malignant venom settling at the heart Distempers, and the sick man's burden makes Twice heavy; labouring with his own distress He groans the more for others' blessedness. By knowledge, proven in companionship's True mirror, ghost of a shadow I can term Some seeming-absolute devotion to me:— Only Odysseus, that was loth to sail, Being harnessed, pulled beside me loyally; Whether alive he be or whether dead The while I speak.....

For the rest, as touching Affairs of policy and of religion, A congress we shall summon, and debate In full assemblage. Our debate must be How what is healthy may persist in health; Where need appears of wholesome remedies, We shall endeavour to remove the mischief By sage employ of knife or cautery. Now to our palace hearth and home we pass, First to give salutation to the Gods That sent us and returned. May Victory Our firm adherent rest in constancy!
ΚΛ. άνδρες πολίται, πρέσβες Ἀργείων τόθε,
οὔκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλάνθρωπος τρόπονς
λέξαι πρὸς ύμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ᾽ ἀποφθέγει
τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν· οὔκ ἄλλων πάρα
μαθοῦσ᾽ ἐμαυτῆς δύσφορον λέξον βίων
tοσόνδι· ὀσονπερ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ᾽ Ἦλιωι.
τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα
ησθαί δόμους ἔρημον ἐκπαγλὼν κακῶν,
pολλὰς κλύουσαν κληδόνας παλιγκότους·
kαὶ τὸν μὲν ἥκειν, τὸν δ᾽ ἐπεισφέρειν κακοῦ
κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα λάσκοντάς δόμοις.
kαὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσον ἑτύγχανεν
ἀνὴρ ὅδε, ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὀχέτευετο
φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύων πλέω λέγειν.
eἰ δ᾽ ἦν τεθυνκώς, ὡς ἐπλήθυνον λόγοι,
τρισώματος τὰν Γηρωῦν ὁ δεύτερος
πολλὴν ἀνωθὲν—τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω—
χθονὸς τρίμουρον χλαίναν ἔξηγχει λαβὼν,
ἀπὰξ ἑκάστῳ καθαυτῶν μορφώματι.
tοῦωνδ᾽ ἔκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων
πολλὰς ἀνωθὲν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης
ἐλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίων λελιμμένης.
ἐκ τῶνδὲ τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ᾽ οὐ παραστατεῖ,
ἐμῶν τε καὶ σὼν κύριος πιστωμάτων,
ὡς χρῆν, Ὁρέστης· μηδὲ θανμάσῃς τὸδε.
tρέφει γὰρ αὐτῶν εὐμενῆς δορύζενος
Στροφίος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα

854 κληδόνας Auratus: ἡδονὰς codd. 859 τέτρητα H. L. Ahrens: τέτρωται
codd. 860 ἐπλήθυνον Porson: ἐπλήθυνον codd. 867 λελιμμένης Blomfield:
λελιμμένης codd. 869 πιστωμάτων Spanheim: πιστευμάτων codd. 872 Στροφίος
habet M in Cho. 675: Στρόφιος codd.
Clytemnestra.

My reverend Elders, worthy citizens,
I shall not blush now to confess before you
My amorous fondness; fear and diffidence
Fade from us all in time. O 'tis not from
Instruction I can tell
The story of my own unhappy life
All the long while my lord lay under Ilion.
First for a woman 'tis a passing trial
To sit forlorn at home with no man present,
Always malignant rumours in her ears,
One bawler tumbling on another's heels
With cruel blows each heavier than the last:—
Wounds! if my lord had got as many wounds
As rumour channelling to us homeward gave him,
He had been more riddled than a net with holes.
Or had his deaths but tallied with all tales!
He might have been a second Geryon,
Three-bodied, with a triple coverture
Of earth above to boast him—never speak
Of that beneath—one for each several corpse.

By reason of
These cross malignant rumours, other hands
Full many a time have set my desperate neck
Free from the hanging noose, recovering me
Against my dearest will.—Hence too it is
We see not present by our side this day
The child, Orestes, in whose person dwell
The pledges of our love; nor wonder at it;
He rests in keeping of our trusty cousin,
Strophius the Phocian, my forewarner oft
ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν—τὸν θ’ ὑπ’ Ἰλίῳ σέθεν κύνδυνον, εἰ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία 
βουλήν καταρράψειεν, ὡστε σύγγονον 
βροτοῦσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτύσαι πλέον. 
τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει. 
ἐμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαμμάτων ἐπίσωστοι 
πηγαί κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ’ ἐνι σταγών. 
ἐν ὑμικοῖσι δ’ ὀμμασι βλάβας ἐχὼ, 
τὰς ἀμβι σοὶ κλαίσουσα λαμπτηροιχίας 
ἀτμιμελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ’ οὐείρασιν 
λεπταῖς ὑπαί κώνωπος ἐξηγερόμην 
ῥιπαῖς θωῦσοντος, ἀμβι σοὶ πάθη 
όροσα πλείω τοῦ εὐνεῦδοντος χρόνου. 
νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ’, ἀπευθήτως φρενὶ 
λέγουμ’ ἀν ἄνδρα τόνδ’ ἐγὼ σταθμῶν κύνα, 
σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότον, ὕψηλῆς στέγης 
στύλων ποδήρη, μονογενές τέκνων πατρὶ 
καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλους παρ’ ἐλπίδα. 
τουλοῦσ’ τοῦ νῦν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν. 
φθόνος δ’ ἀπέστωσ’ πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ 
ἦνειχόμεσθα: νῦν δὲ μοι, φίλον κάρα, 
ἐκβαυ’ ἀπήμης τῆς, μὴ χαμαι τιθεὶς 
τοῦ σῶν πόδ’, ὀνάξ, Ἰλίον πορθήτορα. 
δμωια, τι μέλλεθ, αἰς ἐπέσταλται τέλος 
πέδων κελεύθων στρατωνύναι πετάσμασιν;
Of danger on two scores,—thy jeopardy
At Troy, and fear of popular tumult hatching
Plots in the lack of master, as 'tis common
When the man's down the more to trample on him:
Under which showing lies no trace of guile.

For me, the gushing fountains of my tears
Are e'en dried up, there's not a drop now left;
And my late-rested eyes have suffered hurt
From weeping o'er the lanterns lit for thee
That still were unregarded. If I slept,
The puniest whining of a pulsing gnat
Would rouse me from beholding in my dreams
More accidents to thee than could befall
Within the time that was my bedfellow.

Now, after all this borne, with heart unpined
I hail my lord, safe watchdog of the fold,
Main forestay of the ship, firm-footed pillar
Bearing the roof up, sole-born child vouchsafed
To father, to the wave-tossed seaman, land!
From these my honouring words of courtesy
Envy keep far! The sorrows formerly
Are plenty we have suffered.—Now, dear my lord,
Descend,—but set not on the humble ground
Thy princely foot, this trampler upon Troy.—
Come, women, your best haste, perform your office;
Pave the triumphal path with tapestry!
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

eυθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος,
ἐς δῶμ᾽ ἀελπτον ὡς ἄν ἡγήται δίκη.
tὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα φρουτὶς οὐχ ὑπνοι νικομένη
θήσει δικαίως, σὺν θεοῖς, θυμάρμενα.

ΑΓ. Ἀνήσας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ,
ἀπονείαν μὲν ἐπίπας εἰκότως ἐμὴ·
μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ᾽ ἐναίσιμως
ἀλείπων, παρ᾽ ἄλλων χρὴ τὸ ἡγχεσθαι γέρας.
καὶ τάλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ
ἀβραμε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαμαιπέτεσ βόσμα προσχάλησ εμοί,
μηδ᾽ ἐμασί στρώσασ᾽ ἐπέφθομον πόρον
tίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών,
ἐν ποικίλως δὲ θυητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσον
βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑθαμᾶς ἀνευ φόβου.

ΛΕΓ. λέγω κατ᾽ ἀνδρὰ, μὴ θεόν, σέβεως ἐμὲ.
χωρὶς ποδοψηφήστρων τε καὶ τάν ποικίλων
cληδῶν ἀντεί· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν
θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον· ὄλβισαι δὲ χρὴ
βίον τελευτήσαντ᾽ ἐν εὐεστοὶ φίληι.

ἐπον τάδ᾽ ὡς πράσσομι ἀν εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ᾽ εἰπέ, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην, ἐμοὶ—
ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἵσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ᾽ ἐμέ.

ΚΛ. ἡφίξω θεοὺς δείσας ἄν ὡδ᾽ ἔρξεω τάδε·
ΑΓ. ἐπερ τις εἰδώς γ᾽ ἐν τόδ᾽ ἐξείπεν τέλος.

ΚΛ. τί δ᾽ ἄν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τάδ᾽ ἧμυσεν;

904 θυμάρμενα H.: εἰμαρείνα codd.
codd.
921 εἰπον τάδ᾽ ὡς Weil: el πάντα δ᾽ ὡς
924 ἐρξεω H.: ἐρδεω codd.
925 ἐξείπεν Auratus: ἔξειτον codd.
926 δοκεῖ Stanley: δοκή (δοκη) codd.
Straight let a purple road be laid, and so
Let Justice lead him to his undreamed home!
The rest in fashion just with Heaven's consent
Vigilance awake shall order to content.

Agamemnon.

Offspring of Leda, guardian of my house,
Thy speech: befits our absence,—its proportion
Having been lengthened; but becoming praise,
That is a tribute should proceed from others.
Moreover, womanize me thus no more,
Nor fawn me, as I were an Eastern wight,
With grovelling Oes and clamour; neither streu
Robes on the earth, to call down jealousy.
These are the glorious honours that belong
To Gods; but human feet on broideries—
’Tis in my conscience fearful. Let your homage
Yield to me not the measure of a God,
But of a man; the sound on Rumour’s tongue
Rings different far of mats and broideries.
A modest mind’s the greatest gift of Heaven.
The name felicity’s to keep till men
Have made an end in blessing.—I have said
How I will act herein to feel no dread.

Clyt. Tell me now, of your honest mind,—

Agam. My mind
Is fixed, and shall not shake.

Clyt. —in hour of peril
Would you have made performance of this act
A promised vow to Heaven?

Agam. Aye, had advised
Authority prescribed that holy service.

Clyt. So; and what think you Priamus had done
If this achievement had been his?
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

ΑΓ. εν ποικίλους ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.
ΚΑ. μὴ νῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆς ψόγον.
ΑΓ. φήμῃ γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.
ΚΑ. ο δ' ἀφθόνητος γ' οὐκ ἔπιξηλος πέλει.
ΑΓ. οὔτοι γυναικὸς ἐστιν ἰμείρειν μάχης.
ΚΑ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικάσθαι πρέπει.
ΑΓ. ἡ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δήμιος τίεις;
ΚΑ. πιθοὺ: κρατεῖς μέντοι παρεῖς ἐκὼν ἐμοί.
ΑΓ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἄρβυλας
λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ἐμβασιν ποδός,
καὶ τοὺς δέ μ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν
μή τις πρόσωθεν ὦμματος βάλοι φθόνος:
πολλή γάρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσίν
φθείροντα πλούτων ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ύφας.
τούμον μὲν οὖτω: τὴν ξένην δὲ πρεπεμνῆς
τήν' ἐσκόμιζε: τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακοῦς
θέος πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶσ προσδέρκεται:
ἐκὼν γάρ οὐδεῖς δουλίων χρήται ξυγὼν,
αὐτή δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἔξαρποι
ἀνθος, στρατοῦ δώρημ', ἐμοὶ ἑξνέσπετο.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούει σοῦ κατέστραμμα τάδε,
ἐἰμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.
ΚΑ. ἐστιν θάλασσα, τίς δὲ νῦν κατασβέσει:
τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἵσαργυρον
κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφᾶς:

928 αἰδεσθεῖς l, αἰδεσθῆς h.
934 κρατεῖς...παρεῖς γ' Weil, γ' del. Wecklein:
κράτος...πάρεις γ' codd.
939 δωματοφθορεῖν Schuete: σωματοφθορεῖν codd.
941 τούμων Emperius: τούτων codd.
950 ἵσαργυρον Salmasius: εἰς ἄργυρον
codd.
AGAM. Oh, he
     Had marched upon embroidered tapestry,
     I make no doubt.
CLYT. For human censure then
     Have never a scruple.
AGAM. Yet the tongues of men
     Are potent.
CLYT. He that moves no jealousy
     Lies beneath envying.
AGAM. 'Tis not womanly
     To thirst for contest!
CLYT. But felicity
     Is graced in being conquered.
AGAM. And thine eyes,
     Do they account such 'conquest' as a prize?
CLYT. O waive the right and yield! Of your own will
     Choose to be vanquished, you are victor still.
AGAM. Well, if you must, let presently be loosed
     The shoes that do the service of my feet.

[A slave unlooses his shoes.

And as they tread these purple things, I pray,
No jealous eye may strike me from afar!
I have much conscience to be prodigal
In squandering Wealth of silver-purchased woofs.
Thus much for me:—now lead this damsel in

[Showing Cassandra.

With kindliness; the eye of Heaven regards
A gentle master with benignity:
None wears the slave's yoke of his will, and she
 Comes by the army's tribute in my train
  As rarest blossom out of all our spoil,
—So then, being bound and subject to thy pleasure,
Trampling upon purples I will go.

[He proceeds slowly on the purple path towards the palace.

CLYT. There is the sea—shall any stanch it up?—
Still breeding, for its worth of silver weight,
Abundant stain, freshly renewable,
οίκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶν διὸν θεοῖς, ἀναξ, ἐχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὖν ἐπίσταται δόμος. πολλων πατησμον δ' εἰμάτων ἄν ηὐξάμην, δόμουι προνεχθέντος εν χριστηρίους ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆς δὲ μηχανωμένη.

ρίζης γὰρ οὕσης φυλλας ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους, σκιὰν ύπερτεινασα σειρίου κυνός.

καὶ σοῦ μολούτως δωματίτω εἴστηνθι, θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνει μολόν· ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς γ' ἀπ' ὁμφακος πικρὰς οἰνον, τότ' ήδη ψύχοι ἐν δόμοις πέλει ἀνήρ τελείου δώμη ἐπιστροφωμένου. Ζεὺς Ζεὺς τέλειος, τὰς ἐμάς εὐχὰς τέλεις μέλοι δὲ τοι σοὶ τῶν περ ἀν μελλής τελείων.

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τὸδ' ἐμπεδῶς δείμα προστατήριον καρδίας τερασκόπου ποταῖα, μαντιπολεὶ δ' ἀκέλευτος ἀμυσθὸς ἀοιδά, οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας δίκαιον δυσκρίτων ὄνειράτων, θάρσος εὐπεθῆς ζει ἕρεν ὕλον θρόνον; χρόνος δ' ἐπεὶ προμνησίων ἐμνεμβολάς ἡμμας ἀκτὰ παρή-

φησεν, εὐθ' ὕπ' ἕμοιν ἄρτον ναυβάτας στρατὸς.

954 δ' εἰμάτων Cantor: διμάτων codd. 958 μηχανωμένη Abresch: μηχανω-

μένης codd. 960 σημαίνει Karsten: σημαίνεις codd. | μολόν H. Voss: μολῶν codd. 961 γ' ἀπ' Stanley: τὰ' f, τ' ἀπ' h. 963 ἐπιστροφωμένου Victori us: ἐπιστροφω-

μένου f, ἐπιστροφωμένου h. 967 δεῖγμα f. 972 εὐπεθῆς Jacob: εὐπεθῆς codd. | εἰς Scliger: εἰς vel εἰς codd. 974 ἐμνεμβολάς H.: ἐμνεμβολῶς codd. 975 sq.

For purpling robes withal: nay, Heaven be praised,
The house, my lord, affords us plenty such;
'Tis not acquainted yet with penury.
I had vowed the trampling of a thousand robes,
Had the oracles enjoined it when I sought
Means for recovery of a life so precious!
Still from the living root the mantling green
Against the Dog-star spreads a leafy screen,—
So thou returning to thine hearth and home,
Warmth as in winter cries Behold me come!
Aye and when mellowing Zeus makes ripe and sweet
Wine from the young grape’s bitter, cool in heat
Reigns within walls where moves the man complete:—

[As Agamemnon goes in.

O Zeus Completer, now complete my prayer,
Completion of thy plans be now thy care!

[Exit.

CHORUS.

I 1.

Still not shifting:—wherefore yet
Hovereth so persistent set
Before my boding heart this haunting fear?
While ever in mine ear
Music unbid sounds a prophetic drone:
What ails me that I cannot say,
As to a riddling dream, ‘Away!’
And seat Assurance firm upon my bosom’s throne?

The time is past, and fully past,
When seaward from the sandy shore
Came following home with furrowed score
The long ropes’ mooring-cast,
When from the land our gathered host
Loosed for the war and Ilium’s coast.
πεύθυμαι δ' ἀπ' ὄμματων
νόστον, αὐτόμαρτος ὄν·
tὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὀμως ὑμνωδεῖ
θρήνον Ἔρυμος αὐτοδίδακτος ἐσωθεν
θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων
ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.
σπλάγγνα δ' οὕτωι ματαίζει,
pρὸς ἐνδίκοις φρεσίν τελεσφόροις
dınais κυκώμενον κέαρ.
εὐχομαι δ' εξ ἐμᾶς
ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν
ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.

μάλα γάρ τοι τὰς πολλὰς ὑγνείας
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γάρ
γείτων ὦμότοιχος ἐρείδει·
καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν
ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυσεν < ἀφῶν
δυστυχίας πρὸς > ἀφαντον ἔρμα.
καὶ πρὸ μὲν τι χρημάτων
κτησίων ὦκνος βαλῶν
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὖμέτρου—
οὐκ ἐδυ πρόπας δόμος
πημονᾶς γέμων ἁγαν,
I 2.

Now by mine own eyes I learn,
Mine own witness, their return;
Yet none the less my soul within me still
With all-unprompted skill
Dolorous her descant endless doth intone,
Murmuring in the dismal gloom
Dirge of angry Spirits’ doom,
And cannot call sweet Hope's fair confidence her own.
And Truth is in this troubled sea;
   The heart within my bosom whirled
   Is tossed with Omen, dashes hurled
Ashore on Verity!—
God send that all may false my thought
And be to unfulfilment brought!

II 1.

Health, to largeness growing, will not rest
Safe within limit; yet the verge is pressed
   By neighbour Sickness, one thin wall between:
Ships in full career and fates alike
In prosperous weather unawares will strike
   Upon a reef unseen.
Yet if but Caution scrupulous fling
Wealth by the board with timely swing
Of Measure’s tempered sling,—
With harm-fraught overcharge unfilled,
No foundering of the fabric’s build;
οὐδ’ ἐπόντυσε σκάφος:
πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλα-
φῆς τε καὶ ἑξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειῶν
νῆстιν ἡλασεν νόσον.

ἀντ. θ’.
tὸ δ’ ἐπὶ γὰν πεσῶν ἀπαξ θανάσιμον
πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν ἀμα τίς ἄν
ταλιν ἀγκαλέσατ’ ἐπαείδων;
οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαχ’
tῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν
 Zeus ἀπέπανσεν ἐπ’ ἀβλαβεῖα).
ei δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα
μοῖρα μοίραν ἐκ θεῶν
ἐἵργη μὴ πλέον φέρειν,
προφθάσασα καρδία
γλῶσσαν ἄν τάδ’ ἐξέχειν:
νῦν δ’ ὑπὸ σκότων βρέμει,
θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπελπομέ-
να ποτὲ καίριον ἐκτολυπεύσεων
ζωπυρομένας φρενός.

Κ. οἰς κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω·
ἐπέι σ’ ἐθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις
κοινωνῖν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ
δούλων σταθείσαν κτησίον βωμοῦ πέλας,
ἔκβαιν ἀπήνης τῆςδε, μηδ’ ὑπερφρόνει.
καὶ παιδα γὰρ τοι φασῶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ
πραθέντα τλήναι δοιλίας μάζης βίαι.

1000 ἡλασεν Schuetz: ἔλεσεν codd.
1004 πεσῶν Auratus: πεσῶν θ’ codd.
1009 ἀπέπανσεν Hartung: ἀπ’ ἐπανο’ codd. ἐπ’ ἀβλαβεῖα I, ἐπ’ ἀβλαβεῖα γε h.
1025 δοιλίας...βία f (καὶ ἱγγὼν διγεν βια h).
The walls ride out the perilous day;
Largess of Heaven with ample yield
From one year's furrowing of the field
   Shall forthwith drive the fasting plague away.

II 2.

Aye, but on the earth let mortal fall
A man's red lifeblood, who shall then recall
   With art of warbling verse the life once dropt?
One there was that had that proper skill
To raise up from the dead, but hindered will
   Of Zeus the wizard stopped.
Appointed portions God-ordained
Curb each other, each refrained
From undue vantage gained;
Else to the light, outstripping tongue,
Heart of her own self all had flung,
   That now frets passioning in the dark,
Frenzied, without all hope to find
In mazes of the fevered mind
   One thread of help, one clew to reach her mark.

Enter Clytaemnestra.

Clyt. Get thee within, thou also, thou, Cassandra:
   Since God hath mercifully appointed thee
To take thy place among our troop of slaves
By the altar of Possession, there to stand
Partaker in our holy laving-water,
Come step down from the wain and be not proud;
Alcmena's own son condescended once,
They say, to bondage, spite of the slave's fare.
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

ei δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆς δ' ἐπιρρέου τύχης, ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλῆς χάρις· οἱ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ ἐπίσταντες ἤμησαν καλῶς, ὡμοί τε δούλους πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην ἐξεις παρ' ἣμῶν οἰάπερ νομίζεται.

ΧΟ. σοὶ τοι λέγουσα πανεται σαφή λόγον.

ἐντὸς δ' ἂν οὖσα μορφήμων ἀγρευμάτων πείθοι ἄν, εἰ πείθοι· ἀπειθοῖς δ' ἐσως.

ΚΛ. ἀλλ' εἰπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένην, ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νῦν λόγωι.

ΧΟ. ἐπού· τὰ λοίστα τῶν παρεστάτων λέγει. πιθοῦ λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρῃ θρόνων.

ΚΛ. οὖτοι θυραίαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴν πάρα τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου ἐστηκεν ἣδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγᾶς πάρος, ὡς οὖντο· ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν. σὺ δ' εἰ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μῆ σχολὴν τίθει· εἰ δ' αξυνήμων οὖσα μὴ δέχη λόγον, σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνωι χερί.

ΧΟ. ἐρμηνεῶς ἐσυκεν ἡ ἕνη τοροῦ δείσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νεαρέτου.

ΚΛ. ἡ μαίνεται γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν, ἡταί λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαρέτον ἤκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπιστάται φέρειν, πρὶν άιματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος. οὐ μὴν πλέως ρήψασ' ἀτμισμάθομαι.

1029 παραστάθμιν. 1030 έξεις Αυρατος. 1032 δ' ἄλοιπα Κ. Γ. Χαύπτ. 1038 πείθοι Βλόμφιλδ: πείθον codd. 1039 σχολῆν Δοবρέ: σχολῆ codd. 1041 πάρος Μουσγρέβ: παρὸς codd.
And should that portion be assigned by force,
At least there is much comfort in a master
Whose wealth is ancient heritage; your sudden harvesters
Are still excessive to their slaves and harsh.
Expect from us our usage customary.

**Elder to Cassandra.**

She pauses for thee:—damsel, it was plain,
To thee.—Being taken in the toils of Fate,
Be swayed an if thou wilt; perhaps thou wilt not.

**Clyt.** Well, if she be not, like a cheeping swallow,
Possessed of some unknown outlandish tongue,
My words must penetrate and speak persuasion.

**Elder.** Go with her; 'tis well as may be, what she saith;
Be ruled, and leave thy session in this carriage.

**Clyt.** I have no leisure to be tarrying here
Abroad; already by the central hearth
The beasts are waiting for the sacrifice,
Thank-offering for our so unhoped-for joy:
Thou then, if aught herein
Thou wilt, make no delays; or if thou hast
No speech or understanding, then let e'en
Thine uncouth hand make signal.

**Elder.** An interpreter,

Methinks, the lady needs; her ways are as
A wild creature's made captive.

**Clyt.** Sooth, she is mad,
And swayed by some curst mood, when she hath left
A land made captive thus, yet cannot brook
To endure the bridle till she first foam off
Her passionate rage in blood.—But I'll not waste
More words to be disdained.

[She flings in.]
ΧΩ. ἔγω δ', ἐποικίρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι·
ὁδ', ὁ τάλαυμα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσασ' ὦχον,
eἰκονο' ἀνάγκη τῇδε καίνισον ζυγόν.

ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

στρ. α'. ὁτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ.
ἀπολλοῦν ἀπολλοῦν.
ΧΩ. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυξας ἀμφὶ Λοξίου;
οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὡστε θρηνητὸν τυχεῖν.

ἀντ. α'. ΚΑ. ὁτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ.
ἀπολλοῦν ἀπολλοῦν.
ΧΩ. ἦ δ' αὐτὲ δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θείον καλεῖ
οὐδὲν προσήκουντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

στρ. β'. ΚΑ. Ἀπολλοῦν Ἀπολλοῦν
ἀγυιὰτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμόσ'
ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.
ΧΩ. χρήσεων ἐοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.
μένει τὸ θείον δουλίαι περ ἐν φρενί.

ἀντ. β'. ΚΑ. Ἀπολλοῦν Ἀπολλοῦν
ἀγυιὰτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμόσ.
ἀ ποῖ ποτ' ἡγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην;
ΧΩ. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν. εἰ σὺ μὴ τὸδ' ἐννοεῖς,
ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθη.

ΚΑ. [ἀ' ἀ']

1065 εἰκονο' Robortellus: ἐκοῦσ' Μ.
1068 περ ἐν Schuetz: παρ' ἐν Μ.
1074 ἀ' ἀ' omittunt f h.
Elder. And I feel rather
Pity and will not be anger'd: come, sad lady,
Leave thy carriage void; yield to necessity
And take this yoke upon thee.

I 1.

Cass. O woe, woe, woe, O Earth!
Apollo, O Apollo!

Elder. How now?
What means this in Apollo's case? His nature
Is not to have dirges for him.

I 2.

Cass. O woe, woe, woe, O Earth!
Apollo, O Apollo!

Elder. There again,
Crying upon Apollo thus, when grief
Is profanation to his presence.

II 1.

Cass. Apollo, O Apollo!
Thou God of Ways, Apollo mine, Destroying name,
Proved on me in verity this second time!

Elder. She will be prophesying of her own distresses;
The spirit abides yet though the mind be slaved.

II 2.

Cass. Apollo, O Apollo!
Thou God of Ways, Apollo mine, Destroying name,
Whither hast thou made my way! what House is this!

Elder. The Atridae's; if you understand not that,
Learn it of me; you shall not find it false.
στρ. γ'. μισόθεον μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ συνιστορα
αὐτοφόνα κακὰ καὶ ἄρταμα,
ἀνδροσφαγεῖον καὶ πεδορραντήριον.
ΧΩ. έουκεν εὖρις ἣ ἐξεῖνη κυνὸς δίκην
ἐλιναι, ματεύει δ' ὑν ἀνευρῆσει φόνον.

ἀντ. γ'. ΚΑ. μαρτυρίωσι γὰρ τοῖσ' ἐπιπείθομαι·
κλαίομενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγάς
ὅπτας τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.
ΧΩ. τὸ μὲν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι
ἡμεν, προφήτας δ' οὕτως ματεύομεν.

στρ. δ'. ΚΑ. ἱώ πότοι, τί ποτε μὴδεται;
τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα
μέγ' ἐν δόμοις τοῖσδε μὴδεται κακὸν
ἀφερτον φίλοις,
δυσίατον; ἀλκὰ δ'
ἐκάς ἀποστατεῖ.
ΧΩ. τούτων ἀἰδρίς εἴμι τῶν μαντευμάτων.
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐγνων· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.

ἀντ. δ'. ΚΑ. ἱώ τάλανα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς;
τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσων
λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;
τάχος γὰρ τὸδ' ἔσται,
προτείνει δὲ χειρ ἑκ
χερὸς ὀρεγομένα.
ΧΩ. οὕτω εὐνήκα· νῦν γὰρ ἑξ' αἰνιγμάτων
ἐπαργέμουσι θεσφάτωσ ἀμηχανῶ.
III 1.

Cass. Nay, 'tis abominable! 't hath known within it
    Murder unnatural, butchery, limbs dissevered—
    A human shambles, floor with horror spersing!

Elder. 'Tis a keen-scented hound; she hunts, she hunts,
    And on this track will presently see killing.

III 2.

Cass. Ha!
    There are the witnesses I build my trust on—
    Yonder, behold there, babes for slaughter plaining,
    Plaining for roasted flesh, a father's eating!

Elder. Truly, we were acquainted with your fame
    In soothsaying, but we seek no prophets here.

IV 1.

Cass. O God, what is this thing!
    What awful, horrible thing!
    Designed within these walls, what heinous act!
    No art shall cure, nor love endure....
    And all help far aloof.

Elder. What she divines now is unknown to me;
    The first I saw, because the whole city rings it.

IV 2.

Cass. O monster, wilt thou so!
    The partner of thy bed,
    After his laving—How declare the end?
    'Tis near—apace with hurrying reach
    Hand upon hand, it comes!

Elder. Beyond me still; dark riddle enough before;
    Now 'tis obscure and purblind oracle.

H. A.
στρ. ε'. ΚΑ. ἐ ἐ παπαὶ παπαὶ,
τὶ τόδε φαίνεται;
ἡ δικτυόν τὶ γ' Ἀιδων;
ἀλλ' ἀρκυς ἡ ἔωνενος, ἡ ἔωνετια
φόνοι. στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει
catololuvx'atow
θύματος λευσίμου.

ΧΟ. ποιάν ἔριννην τήνδε δώμασιν κέλη
ἐπορθιάζειν; οὐ με φαιδρύνει λόγος.
ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαιν ἔδραμε κροκοβαθῆς
σταγών, ἄτε καὶ δορὶ πτωσίμοις
ἔσωνύτει βίον.
δύντος αὐγαῖς. ταχεῖ
ἀ δ' ἀτα πέλει.

ἀντ. ε'. ΚΑ. ἅ ἢ ιδον ιδου·
ἀπεχε τῆς βοός
τὸν ταῦρον ἐν πέπλουσιν
μελάγκερωι λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι
τύπτει; πίνει δ' <ἐν> ἐνυδρωι τεύχει.
δολοφόνου λέβη
tos τύχαν σοι λέγω.

ΧΟ. οὐ κομπάσαιαν ἀν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἀκρος
εἶναι, κακῶι δὲ τωι προσεικάξω τάδε.
ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τὸς άγαθὰ φάτις
βροτοῖς τέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ διὰ
πολυπεῖς τέχναι
θεσπιωδὸν φόβον
φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.
Cass. O Heavens, what should this be? Some devilish net? —But she's a net that shares the bed, that shares Murder! Uplift, ye ravenous haunting Pack, Your jubilant hymn for sacrifice, O damnable!

Elder. Avenging Spirit to raise her triumph-shout Over this House? The words appal my cheer.

VI 1.

The ruddy drops run yellow back to my heart, Such pallor as when Men faint of a mortal stroke, such pallor as times With the sunset rays of life when the fatal end is nigh.

V 2.

Cass. Ah ware, beware, away! Keep clear of the Cow! The Bull . . . . in cloak . . . . with horned engine, see, Felled! In a vessel of water prone he falls . . . . This is the tale of a Caldron's murderous treachery!

Elder. I cannot boast to be a master-judge Of oracles, but I spell some mischief here.

VI 2.

But when from divinations ever hath come One message of good? 'Tis matter of evil still, some lesson of fear Is ever the drift of all their multitudinous words.
στρ. 5'. ΚΑ. ἱὼ ἱὼ ταλαίνας
κακόποτομοι τύχαι—
tὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῦ
πάθος ἐπεγχύδαν—
ποὶ δὴ μὲ δεύρο τὴν ταλαίναν ἡγαγες;
οὐδὲν ποτὲ εἶ μὴ ξυνθανομένην. τί γὰρ;

XO. φρενομανής τις εἰ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ-
φί δ' αὐτᾶς θροεῖς
νόμον ἄνομον, οὐδ' τις ξοῦθα
ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ,
tαλαίναις φρεσὶν
"Ἰτυν Ἰτυν στένουσα ἀμφιθαλὴ κακοῖς
ἀνδῶν βίον.

ἀντ. 5'. ΚΑ. ἱὼ ἱὼ λυγείας
μόρον ἄγδόνος·
περέβαλον γέ οὐ
πτεροφόρον δέμας

θεοί γλυκὼν τ' αἰώνα κλαμμάτων ἄτερ·
ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμῶς ἀμφήκει δορί.

XO. πόθεν ἐπισυστοὺς θεοφόρους ἔχεις
ματαιῶς δύας,
tὰ δ' ἐπὶφοβα δυσφάτῳ κλαγγαὶ
μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὁρ-
θίους εὐ νόμοις;
pόθεν ὀροὺς ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὀδοὺ
κακορρήμονας;

1132 ἐπεγχύδαν Η.: ἐπεγχέασα Μ. 1138 ἀκόρετος Αld.: ἀκόρετος Μ.
1143 μόρον ἄγδόνος Hermann: ἄγδόνος μόρον Μ. 1144 περέβαλον γέ οἱ Enger:
περέβαλον γὰρ οἱ Μ. 1146 αἰώνα γρ. m: ἀγὼνα Μ. 1148 θεοφόρους τ' Μ:
corr. Hermann.
Cass. O sorrowful doom of me—
   Aye, me, for the bowl I crown
   With mine own fate—Ah whither hast brought me, then,
   Only to share, yes, only to share in death!

Chorus. Thou art brainsick, heaven-distraught,
   For thine own case lamenting
   In lawless measures, like the brown sad nightingale,
   That Ibyn, Ibyn calleth still-unhushed through all
   Her sorrow-plenished life.

Cass. Ah fate of the nightingale;
   Sweet singer, the Gods round her
   Put wings, put life, save only for wailing, sweet;
   For me 'tis cleaving soon with a two-edged blade!

Chorus. These wild and passionate throes,
   Whence rush they on thee thronging?
   Such terrors wherefore shape in uncouth dismal song,
   Yet clarion-high? What is it guides thy boding lips
   On their ill-uttering path?
στρ. ε’. ΚΑ. ἵω γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι
φίλων. ἵω Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν·
tότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σας αἰώνας τάλαν
ήμυντόμαν τροφαῖς·
νῦν δ’ ἀμφὶ Κωκυτῶν τε κάχερον νίσιν
ὅχθους ἐοικα θεσπώιδήσειν τάχα.

ΧΟ. τί τόδε τορὸν ἀγαν ἐπος ἐφημίσω;
νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι.
πέπληγμαί δ’ ἀπερ δάκει φοινῖοι
δυσαλγεῖ τύχαι μνυρὰ θρεομένας,
θραύματ’ ἐμοὶ κλύειν.

ἀντ. ε’. ΚΑ. ἵω πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας
tὸ πᾶν. ἵω πρόπυργοι θυσίας πατρὸς
πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἀκος δ’
οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
tὸ μὴ <οὐκ ἔχεω> πόλιν μὲν ὀσπερ ὁὐν ἔχει·
جماعة ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνος τάξῃ ἐμπελῶ βόλων

ΧΟ. ἐπόμενα προτέρους τάδ’ ἐφημίσω,
καὶ τίς σε κακοφρονῶι τίθη-
σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίτνων
μελίζειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατοφόρα·
tέρμα δ’ ἀμηχανῶ.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ’ ἐκ καλυμμάτων
ἔσται δεδορκῶς νεογάρμου νύμφης δίκην,

1162 νεογνὸς ἀν ἀλὼν Karsten. 1163 ἀπερ Franz: ὑπὸ fg, ὑπαὶ h | δάκει
Hermann: δῆματι codd. 1164 δυσαλγεῖ Canter: δυσαγγεῖ codd. | μνυρὰ
Schuetz: μνυρά caká codd. 1170 ὁὐκ ἔχεω addidit Stadtmueller | ἔχεω παθεῖν
fg, ἔχει παθεῖν h. 1171 ἐμπελῶ βόλῳ II.: ἐμπέδωι βαλῶ codd., ἐν πέδωι
Casaubon. 1172 ἐπεφημίσω Paley. 1173 κακοφρονῶι Schuetz: κακοφρονεῖν
codd.
IX 1.

Cass. O bridal, bridal of Paris, ruin of home!  
Scamander river whereof my people drank!  
By thy dear beaches once was I nursed and throve, but now  
My place of prophecy is like to be  
Cocytus and the shores of Acheron.

X 1.

Chorus. Ah, what is this thou hast uttered all too plain!  
A babe might understand . . . .  
Compassion wounds me in the flesh with fangs  
At thy sore agonizing plaintive wail,  
Harrowing my soul to hear.

IX 2.

Cass. O labour, labour of Ilium utterly lost!  
O slaughter lavish of kine my father made  
For her proud rampired walls! Yct it would not serve—  
no cure;  
Her case is even as it is, and I  
Shall in a fever soon dash into the snare.

X 2.

Chorus. Still in the former strain thine utterance goes;  
It is some Spirit malign  
Whose heavy spite upon thee tunes thy song  
To things of dole and sorrow, telling of death;  
And the end I cannot see.

Cass. No more now with a newly-wedded bride's  
Dim vision from a veil shall peep my oracle—
λαμπρός δ' ἐοικεν ἦλιον πρὸς ἀντολᾶς πνεῶν ἐσάξειν, ὡστε κύματος δίκην κλύζεων πρὸς αὐγάς τοῦτε πῆματος πολὺ μεῖζον· φρενώσῳ δ' οὐκετ' ἐξ αἰνηγμάτων. καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμως ἱχνος κακῶν ρυμηλατοῦσι τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων. τὴν γὰρ στέγην τὴν ὁύποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς ἐξυμμοργγος οὐκ εὐφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.

καὶ μὴν πεπωκῶς γ', ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον, βρότειον αἶμα κῶμος εὖ δόμοις μένει, δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἑρωνών.

ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὑμνον δόμασιν προσήμεναι πρώταρχον ἀτήν· ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέτυσαν εὖνας ἀδελφοῦ, τῶι πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς. ἡμαρτον, ἢ θηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὁς; ἢ ψευδόμαντις εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων; ἐκμαρτύρησον προμόσας τὸ μ' εἰδέναι λόγωι παλαιάς τῶν ἀμαρτίας δόμων.

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὅρκου πῆγμα γενναῖως παγέν παιώνιον γένοιτο; θαυμάζω δὲ σου, πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὡσπερ εἰ παρεστάτεις.

ΚΛ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῶι ἐπέστησεν τέλει. ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἰμέρωι πεπληγμένοι;

ΚΛ. προτοῦ μὲν αἴδως ἢν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε.

ΧΟ. ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον.
I feel the spirit
Upon me rushing, like a mighty wind
To the sunrise blowing clear: now presently
Rolled up against the orient light shall wash
Disaster huger far! I'll monish you
No more in riddles; come, attest me, run
My pace now while I scent the traces out
Of acts done long ago.

Within these walls
There haunts a Quiring Band, that sings one tune,
But not sounds tuneful—'tis not sweet, their theme.
   Aye, to more riotous courage well caroused
With human blood, within this House abides,
And will not be sent forth, a Rout of wassailers,
Kindred-Avengers, that besetting keep
Fast by the chambers, chanting; and their chant
Is Deadly Primal Sin:—anon they sicken,—
A Brother's bed their fierce abhorrence, cursing
The abuser—Have I missed the target now,
Or will you cry me aim? Am I indeed
Mere babbler, knocker at the doors with lies
And trickery? On your oath, confess the long
Bad history of this House my knowledge!

Elder. Nay,
   Let oath be ne'er so well and truly plighted,
It cannot medicine:—but I marvel at thee,
To have lived thy life beyond the seas, and yet
Of alien people to speak sure as though
Thou hadst been a witness present.
Cass. It was the seer
   Apollo made me mistress of this power.
Elder. His Godhead smitten with love?
Cass. I was ashamed,
   The time was, to speak of it.
Elder. Aye, brighter days
   Make daintier niceness ever.
ΚΑ. ἁλλ' ἢν παλαιστής κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν. 1205
ΧΟ. ὅ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἐργον ἥλθέτην νόμωι;
ΚΑ. ἄνων γινανέσασα Λοξίαν ἐφευσάμην.
ΧΟ. ἡδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἡρήμενή;
ΚΑ. ἡδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθη.
ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἀνατος ἥσθα Λοξίου κότωι;
ΚΑ. ἐπειθον οὐδὲν οὐδέν, ὡς τάδ' ἦμπλακον.
ΧΟ. ἠμῶν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.
ΚΑ. ἴον ἴον, ὡς κακά.

ὑπ' αὐ μὲ δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος
στροβεῖ ταράσσων φρομίοιοι . . . .

ὄρατε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους
νέους, ὄνειρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασιν;

παῖδες, θανόντες ὦσπερεί πρὸς τῶν φιλῶν,
χέιρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες, οἰκείας βορᾶς,

σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμοι,

πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὥν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.

ἐκ τῶνδε ποινᾶς φημὶ βουλεύειν τινὰ

λέοντ' ἀναλκων ἐν λέχει στρωφώμενον,
οἰκουρόν, οἶμαι, τῶι μολόντι δεσπότη

ἔμων' φέρειν γὰρ χρῆ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν.

νεῶν τ' ἁπαρχός Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης

οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλώσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς

λέξασα κάκτεινασα φαιδρόνους, δίκην

ἀτὴς λαθραίον, τεύξεται κακὴ τύχη.

1206 ἥλθέτην Elmsley: ἥλθετον codd.
1210 ἀνατος Cantor: ἄνακτος codd.
1211 οὐδὲν' Cantor: οὐδὲν codd.
1215 ἐφημένους post φρομίοιοι habent codd.,
eiecit Butler.
1220 νέων τ' ἁπαρχός Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης
1224 οἶμαι Paley: οἶμοι codd.
1226 νεῶν d' G. Voss |
1228 κάκτεινασα Cante.: καὶ κτείνασα codd.
Cass.  O but he strove
    Ardent with favour for me.
Elder.  And so in course
    Came you to the act of kind?
Cass.  I did consent
    With Loxias, and then failed him.
Elder.  Being possessed
    Already with divining spirit?
Cass.  Already
    I showed my own folk all that should befall them.
Elder.  Yet without suffering from Apollo's wrath?
Cass.  After that sin I never might have credit.
Elder.  Thy art seems credible enough to us.

Cassandra moaning.

Oh, oh, oh, my pain . . . again comes on me
The agony of clear vision, racks me at first
With dizzying whirl . . . . anguish . . . .
    There, see now
Those yonder, seated at the House . . . . young forms
Like phantoms of a dream . . . . children, as 'twere,
Slain by their own kindred . . . . their hands filled
With flesh, familiar meat . . . . aye, they show now Visible,—the inward parts, a rueful burden,
Tasted of by their father!

For these things
Vengeance is plotted by a faint soft Lion,
Wallowing the while in bed,—forsooth to keep it Warm and safe against the Master's coming!
My master—the slave's yoke must be endured.
    High admiral, proud vanquisher of Troy,
He dreams not, he,
After the fawning speeches long drawn out
By lecherous hound's false tongue, what act it is
With smiling Ate's treachery she designs
τοιάδε τόλμα: θήλυς ἄρσενος φωνεύς ἔστων. τί νῦν καλοῦσα δυσφιλές δάκος τύχοιμ' ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν; ἢ Σκύλλαν τινὰ οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην; θύουσαν 'Αιδού μητέρ' ἀσπονδόν τ' Ἄρη φίλοις πνέουσαν—ὡς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο, ἢ παντόπολμος, ἡσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῆ. δοκεῖ δὲ χαῖρειν νοστίμως σωτηρίαι.

καὶ τῶν' ὁμοίων έἰ τι μὴ πείθω τί γὰρ; τὸ μέλλον ἥξει. καὶ σὺ μ' ἐν τάχει παρῶν ἀγαν ἀληθόμαντην οἰκτίρας ἑρείς.

ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θεόστοι ταῖτα παιδείων κρεὼν ἣνήκα καὶ περικα, καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει κλύνῃ ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα· τὰ δ' ἀλλ' ἁκούσας ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω.
ΚΑ. Ἀγαμέμνονος σὲ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον. 1245
ΧΟ. εὔφημον, ὡς τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.
ΚΑ. ἀλλ' οὕτι παιὼν τῶι' ἐπιστατεὶ λόγῳ.
ΧΟ. οὐκ, εἴπερ ἔσται γ'. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.
ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχῃ, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει.
ΧΟ. τῶοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄγος πορσύνεται;
ΚΑ. ἡ κάρτα .... παρεκόπτης χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.
ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελοῦντος οὗ ἠνήκα μηχανήν.
ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἀγαν γ' Ἐλλην' ἐπίσταται φάτων.
For deed in cursed hour! Such monstrous doing,—
The female slayer of the male! What beast
Most loathsome shall I call her? *Amphisbaena*?
—Or rather *Scylla*, dweller in the rocks,
Housed there for seaman's ruin! A Mother wild
With Hell's own bacchanal rage, whose heart breathes war
To the death against her own! With jubilant cry
The monster, how she shouted, as men's triumph
Shouts when the battle breaks,—while safe return
Would seem her gladness .

Credit me now or not,
'Tis all one; for what skills it? What must be
Will be; and you shall soon behold, and pity,
And call me all too true a prophetess.

**Elder.** Thyestes' banquet on his children's flesh
I understand and shudder,—nothing feigned,
No fable, terrible truth; but for the rest
I lose the track and wander.

**Cass.** You shall see
The death of Agamemnon.

**Elder.** Hush, good words!
Calm thine unhappy lips.

**Cass.** Nay, what offence?
There is none in presence here with *Healing* office,
In the case I tell of!

**Elder.** Not if it is to be,
But Heaven avert it!

**Cass.** While you stand and pray
They are busy there with killing.

**Elder.** What man's hand
Must bring this crime about?

**Cass.** O wide then truly
You have wandered from my warning!

**Elder.** I cannot see
The means whereby the doer should compass it.

**Cass.** Yet am I well instructed in the tongue
Of Hellas,—all too well.
ΧΟ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα· δυσμαθή δ᾽ ὀμοὶ.

ΚΛ. παπαί, οἶον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δὲ μοι.

ὁτότοι, Λύκει τ' Απόλλων, οἱ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ.

αὕτη δίπους λέαινα συγκομωμένη

λύκων λέωντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπονύσαι

κτενεὶ μὲ τὴν τάλαναν· ὡς δὲ φάρμακον

τεῦχουσα κάμῳ μισθον ἐνθήσει κότων

ἐπεύχεται, θῆγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον,

EMPL ἄγωγῆς ἀντιτείσασθαι φόνον.

τί δὴ τ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἐχω τάδε,

καὶ σκήπτρα καὶ μαντεία περὶ δέρη στέφη;

σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.

ἲτ' ἐσ φθόρον πέσουν', ἐγὼ δ' ἀμ' ἐφομαι.

ἀλλὰν τιν' ἄτης ἄντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.

идοῦ δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ

χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δὲ με

καὶ τοῦσδε κόσμους καταγέλωμένην μετά

φίλων ὑπ' ἔχθρων οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην—

καλουμένην δὲ ''φοιτάς,'' ὡς ἀγύρτρια

πτωχός, τάλανα, λιμοθηης, Ἡνερχόμην—

καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ

ἀπήγαγ' ἐσ τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.

βωμὸν πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίζησον μένει,

θερμὸν κοπήντος φωνίων προσφάγματι.

οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοι γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν,

ὢζει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὐ τιμάρος,

μητροκτόνου φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός·
Elder. Why, so are the oracles From Pytho, yet they are hard enough withal.

Cass. Ah! the fire, coming upon me . . . . how it burns, O Slayer Apollo, O!

[Groaning.

This human Lioness yonder couching with A Wolf in absence of the generous Lion, Will take my wretched life—as 'twere a poison She were compounding, to the venomous brew Vows she will add my wages,—while she whets Her blade for man, vows for my bringing here To take revenge in blood.

Why keep I then, Only to be mockery of myself, these baubles— Wands and prophetic wreaths about my neck? You shall perish first before my hour:

[She flings off the sacred symbols of her office and then tramples on them,—fillet and golden wand and gold-embroidered robe.

So:

Lie there; go to perdition,—I shall follow: Endow some other with your fatal Wealth! —Why, 'tis Apollo that himself now strips My prophet's raiment off—that even in this, His livery, let his eyes behold me laughed, By friends and foes indifferently, to scorn: —I suffered, like a vagrant mountebank, Like some poor starveling wretch, the name of Wanderer,— And now the Seer hath made a seer of me To bring me to this bloody end! Here waits, Here for my father's altar waits a block, Hot with the red stream from another's neck. Yet shall we fall Not unavenged of Heaven, for there shall come A Champion of our cause, an Offspring born To Mother's death and Father's recompense;
φυγάς δ' ἀλήτης τῆςδε γῆς ἀπόξενος 
κάτειςιν, ἀτας τᾶςδε θρυγκώσων φίλους· 
ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας,
ἀξειν νυν ὑπτίασμα κεμένου πατρόσ.

ti δητ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ὤδ' ἀναστένω;
ἐπει τὸ πρῶτον εἴδον Ἰλίου πόλιν
πράξασαν ὡς ἐπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἴλουν πόλιν
οὔτως ἀπαλλάσσονσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,
ιούσα πράξω, πλήσομαι τὸ καθανεῖν.

Ἄιδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω:
ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,
ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἵματων εὐθηνησίμων
ἀπορρέωντων, ὦμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

ΧΟ. ὁ πολλὰ μὲν τάλανα, πολλὰ δ' αὐθ σοφὴ
γύναι, μακρὰν ἐτεινασ. εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως
μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἰσθα, πῶς θελάτον
βοῶς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς;

ΚΛ. οὐκ ἐστ' ἄλυγεις, οὔ, ἔνοι, χρόνῳ πλέο.

ΧΟ. ὁ δ' ὑστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται.

ΚΛ. ἥκει τόδ' ἡμαρ: σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῆ.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἵσθι τλῆμων οὐδ' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.

ΚΛ. οὐδὲις ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαίμονων.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι καθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶι.

ΚΛ. ἰω πάτερ σοῦ σῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.

An exile and a stranger from the land,
A wanderer shall return
To set the last crown on this pile of doom:
In Heaven above there is a great oath sworn
His father's outstretched corpse shall bring him home.
Why stand I then lamenting? Once I have seen
My town of Ilium in her present case,
While those that led her captive, under God's
High judgment, so come off—I will go too
Forthwith and face my fortune—to my death.

[She goes up to the palace-gates.]

The Gates of Death, I hail you! I pray only
To get a mortal wound, that I may close
These eyes without a struggle, my life's blood
Ebbing to an easy death.

Elder. Sad lady,
Of so much sorrow and withal so wise,
Thou art long in thy discoursing:
But if thou verily knowest thine own fate,
What means it, like the heaven-appointed ox,
Moving so patiently to the altar?

Cass. Sirs,
There is no avoidance, none, by time deferred.

Elder. Yet latest is the best.

Cass. The day is come,
Little shall I gain by flight.

Elder. Well, thou hast truly
A fortitude in sufferance.

Cass. Those are terms
Bright fortune never hears.

Elder. Well, there is comfort
In death that comes with honour.

Cass. O my father,
Thou and thy noble children!

[In entering the palace-doors she suddenly recoils with horror.]
ΧΩ. τί δ’ ἐστὶ χρῆμα; τίς σ’ ἀποστρέφει φόβος; 1305
ΚΑ. φεύ φεύ.
ΧΩ. τί τούτ’ ἐφευξας; εἰ τι μὴ φρενῶν στύγος.
ΚΑ. φώνων δόμων πνέουσιν αἴματοσταγὴ.
ΧΩ. καὶ πῶς; τόδ’ ὀξεὶ θυμάτων ἐφεστίων.
ΚΑ. ὁμοίως ἄτρομος ὁσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει.
ΧΩ. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάισμα δώμασιν λέγεις.
ΚΑ. ἀλλ’ εἰμι κἀν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ’ ἐμὴν
’Αγαμέμνονος τε μοῖραν’. ἀρκεῖτοι βίος.
ιὼ ἔγειοι;
οὔτοι δυσοίζω θάμνων ὡς ὄρνις φόβων
ἀλλως: θανοῦση μαρτυρεῖτε μοι τόδε,
ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ θάνη,
ἀνὴρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς πέση.
ἐπιξένουμι ταῦτα δ’ ὡς θανομένη.
ΧΩ. ὁ τλῆμον, οἰκτῖρω σε θεσφάτου μόρον. 1320
ΚΑ. ἀπαξ ἐτ’ εἰπεῖν ῥήσων ἡ θρῆνον θέλω
ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτής. ἦλιοι δ’ ἐπεύχομαι
πρὸς ύστατον φῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαιόροις
ἐχθροὺς φόνευσιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς τίνειν ὁμοῖ,
δούλης θανοῦσης, εὐμαρόνι χειρόματος.
ΧΩ. ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ’ εὐπτυχούντα μὲν
σκιά τις ἄν πρέψειν’ εἰ δὲ δυστυχοῖ,
βολαῖς υγρώσσων σπόγγος ὡλεσεν γραφῆ.
καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐκεῖνων μᾶλλον οἰκτίρω πολύ.
Elder. What is the matter? what is it affrights thee?

Cass. Faugh, faugh!

Elder. Faugh, faugh? Wherefore so?
Unless it be some sickening in the spirit.

Cass. Blood! the air is full of weltering blood!

Elder. Nay, nay: it is nothing but the smell of sacrifice
Offering upon the hearth.

Cass. 'Tis such a reek
As issues from a tomb.

Elder. Well, truly that
Were most un-Syrian odour.

Cass. I will go in
To finish there my wailing for my own
And Agamemnon's fate: life, content me!
—O think not, sirs,
I am as a bird that startles at a bush
In idle terror: when I am dead, confirm me,
*When for this woman here a woman dies,*
*And slain a man for man ill-mated lies:*—
I crave this of you as at point of death.

Elder. Poor soul, with death foreknown, I pity thee.

Cass. Yet once more will I speak, one speech, or dirge
Over my own death:—O thou Sun in heaven,
I pray to thee, before thy latest light,
That, when my champion comes, my enemies
May pay the same time then for murdering this
Poor slave, an easy victim!

[She passes into the palace.]

Elder. O sad vanity
Of human fortunes! Their best happiness
Faint as a pencil'd shadow; once unhappy,—
Dashed with a wet sponge at a sweep clean out!
This, to my thinking, pitiable far more.
τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἐφιπάσι βροτοῖσιν. δακτυλοδεϊκτῶν δ’ ὦτις ἀπειπὼν εἰργεὶ μελάθρων, “μηκέτ’ ἐσέλθης,” τάδε φωνῶν, καὶ τῶιδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλείν ἐδοσαν μάκαρες Πριάμου; 1333
θεοτίμητος δ’ οἰκαδ’ ικάνει· νῦν δ’ εἰ προτέρων αἱμ’ ἀποτείσει καὶ τοῖσι θανόυσι θανῶν ἄλλων ποινῶς θανάτων ἐπικρανεῖ, τίς ἄν ἔξευξατο βροτῶν ἄσυνι· δαίμονι φῦναι τάδ’ ἀκούων;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι, πέπληγμαι καιρίαιν πληγῆν ἔσω.
ΧΟ. σύγα· τίς πληγήν ἀυτὲι καιρίαιως οὔτασμένος;
ΑΓ. ὦμοι μαλ’ αὐθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.
ΧΟ. τούρχουν εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγμασιν· ἀλλὰ κοινωσόμεθα εὑ πως ἀσφαλῆ ψουλεύματα. 1346
α’. ἐγὼ μὲν ύμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω, πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ’ ἀστοίσι κηρύσσειν θοὐν.
β’. ἐμοὶ δ’ ὄπως τάχιστά γ’ ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ καὶ πράγμ’ ἐλέγχειν σὺν νεορρύτωι ἔιφει. 1350
γ’. καγὼ τοιοῦτον γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὄν ψηφιζομαι τι δράν· τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ’ ἀκμὴ.
δ’. ὀραν πάρεστι· φρομιαξοῦνται γὰρ ὡς τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσουτες πόλει.

1331 βροτοῖσιν Pauw: βροτοῖς codd. 1333 μηκέτ’ ἐσέλθης Hermann: μηκέτε
1339 fort. ἐπιράκειεν. 1340 ἔξευξατο Schneidewin:
ediacho codd. 1346 ev Donaldson: ἀν codd.
CHORUS.

With all on earth insatiate is
Good Fortune; while she wooes the door
Of gazed and gorgeous palaces,
None warns her from it, bars ingress
With Enter here no more!
Here is a man the Gods let burn
The town of Priam; safe return
He finds, with Heaven-awarded bliss:—
If now for others' blood-guilt he
Must pay the forfeit, his death be
For deaths of old the crowning fee,—
Who may boast harmless destiny
His birthright, hearing this?

AGAMEMNON within the palace.

O I am hurt! wounded, a mortal wound.

ELDER. Peace, hark! Whose voice is that cries out a hurt, a mortal wound?

AGAM. O God! wounded again, another.

ELDER. To judge by groaning of the king, the deed should e'en be done;
Come let us join debate and take safe counsel as we may.

FIRST ELDER. I give you my opinion,—sound alarm
And summon rescue to the palace hither.

SECOND. And I say, burst in now immediately
And prove the matter with the naked sword.

THIRD. Holding the same opinion, I would vote
For acting somehow; there's no tarrying here.

FOURTH. 'Tis gross and palpable; their opening act
Shows ominous of usurping tyranny.
ε'. χρονίζομεν γάρ· οἱ δὲ τῆς Μελλοῦς κλέος
πέδου πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερί.

ζ'. οὐκ οίδα βουλῆς ἥστυνοι τυχὼν λέγω.
τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλεύσαι πέρι.

η'. ἦ καὶ βίον τείνοντες ὡδ' ὑπείρομεν
δόμων κατασχυντήριοι τοῦτο ἡγούμενοι;

θ'. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ καθαυτεῖν κρατεὶ.

ι'. ἦ γάρ τεκμηρίουσιν εξ' οἰμωγμάτων

μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρος ὡς ὀλωλότος;

ια'. σάφ' εἰδῶτας χρή τώιδε θυμοῦσθαι πέρι·

ιβ'. ταῦτην ἐπαίνειν πάντοθεν πληθύνοματι,

τραϊὼς Ἀτρείδην εἰδέναι κυροῦνθ' ὁπως.

ΚΑ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων
tάναντι' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἑπαινοχυνθῆσομαι.

πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρᾶ πορούνων, φίλοις
dοκοῦσιν εἴναι, πημοηθὴν ἀρκύστατον

φράξειν ψυχρὰς κρεῦσθαν ἐκπιθήματος;

ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγῶν ὡδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστοις πάλαι

νείκης παλαιὰς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν

ἐστικα δ' ἐνθ' ἐπαίνη ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις.

οὕτω δ' ἐπραξά, καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἀρνῆσομαι.
FIFTH. Because we dally! while the lauded name
Of Tarrying is as dirt beneath their feet.

SIXTH. I have no counsel or advice to give;
Counsel is Action's own prerogative.

SEVENTH. I am of that same mind; it passes me
To raise the dead again with only words.

EIGHTH. Even to prolong our lives shall we bow down
Under these foul disgracers of the House?

NINTH. It is not to be borne, 'twere better die;
Death were a milder lot than tyranny!

TENTH. What, shall we then conjecture of his death
By divination of mysterious groans?

ELEVENTH. We should be certified before we passion;
Surmise is one thing, certitude another.

TWELFTH. I am multiplied on all sides for that course,
Plainly to assure us of the King's condition.

[As the Elders are about to enter the palace, the bodies of Agamemnon and Cassandra are exposed, with Clytaemnestra standing over them.

CLYT. All my politic speeches heretofore
Shall nowise make me blush now to confess
The truth and contrary:—how else indeed
When studying hate's act for a hated foe
Supposed friend—how else pitch the toils of Doom
To a height beyond o'erleaping? 'Twas not sudden;
For me, 'twas but
The test and trial of an ancient feud,
Long thought on, and at last in time arrived:—
I stand here now triumphant, where I struck!
And so contrived it also—I'll avow it—
ως μήτε φεύγειν μήτ’ αμώνεσθαι μόρον. 1380
ἀπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων, περιστιχίζων, πλοῦτον εἰματος κακον.
παῖω δὲ νῦν δίς· κἂν δυνῶν ὀιμώγμασιν μεθήκειν αὐτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότι τρίτην ἑπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς 1385
Διὸς νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκταίαν χάριν.
οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὅρμαίνει πεσών· κάκφυσιῶν ὅξειαν αἴματος σφαγήν
βάλλει μ’ ἐρεμνητί ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου,
χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἡσσοῦν η διωσόδωτων
γάνει σπόρητος κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

ὡς ὦδ’ ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,
χαίροιτ’ ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτ’, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπεύχομαι.
εἰ δ’ ἦν πρεπόντων ὡστ’ ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῶι,
tάδ’ ἄν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν· 1390
τοσόνδε κρατήρ’ ἐν δόμους κακῶν ὁδε
πλήσας ἁραιῶν αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολῶν.
ΧΟ. θαυμάξομεν σου γλώσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος,
ἡτις τοιοῦτ’ ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον.
ΚΛ. πειράσθε μου γυναῖκὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος· 1395
ἐγὼ δ’ ἄτρεπτων καρδίαι πρὸς εἰδότας λέγω—σῦ δ’ αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις ὁμοιον—οὕτως ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς
πόσις, νεκρὸς δὲ τῇσδε δεξιάς χερὸς
ἐργον, δικαίας τέκτονος. τάδ’ ὦδ’ ἐχεὶ. 1400

1380 ἀμώνεσθαι Victorius: ἀμώνεσθαι codd. 1384 περιστιχίζων ι, περι-
1386 Διὸς Einger: ἄιδου codd. 1387 ὀργάνει Hermann.
1390 sq. διωσόδωτων γάνει Porson: διὸς νότω γαν ei codd.
As neither should he scape me nor resist:
I wreathed around him, like a fishing-net,
Swathing in a blind maze,—deadly Wealth of robe,—
And struck two blows; and with a groan for each
His limbs beneath him slacked; and as he lay,
I gave him yet a third, for grace of prayer
To God Safe-keeper,—of the dead below.
With that he lay still, panting his own life out:
And as the gory jets he blasted forth,
Rain of the sanguine drench bespattered me,
Rejoicing, as in balm of heaven rejoices
Cornland when the teeming ear gives birth!

The case then standing thus,
My reverend Elders, you may find herein
What gladness you may find,—but I do glory!
Yea, and upon the body could we pour
Drink-offerings of the proper substance, then
Those offerings had been just, past measure just!
Drink-offering from the bowl of harm and bane
Brimmed for his home, which here his own lips drain!

ELDER. We are astonished at thy tongue's audacity,
    Such glorying over thine own wedded man.

CLYT. You practise on me
    As I were a thoughtless woman:
    With heart unshook I tell you what you know,—
    And praise me or dispraise me as you please,
    'Tis all one,—this is Agamemnon; my
    Husband; a corpse; the work of this right hand,
    Whose workmanship was just. That is the case.
στρ. ΧΟ. τί κακὸν, ὦ γύναι,
χθονοτρεφές ἐδανὸν ἡ ποτὸν
πασαμένα ῥυτᾶς ἐξ ἄλος ὄρμενον
τόδ᾽ ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ᾽ ἀράς;
ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες―ἀπόπολις δ᾽ ἐση―
μῦσος ὀβρυμον ἀστοῖς.

ΚΑ. νῦν μὲν δικάξεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγήν ἐμοὶ
καὶ μῦσος: ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ᾽ ἐχειν ἀράς,
οὐδὲν τὸτ᾽ ἄνδρη τῶιδ᾽ ἐναντίον φέρων·
οὺς οὐ προτιμῶν, ὅσπερεὶ βοστὸν μόρον,
μῆλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,
ἐθυσεν αὐτοῦ παίδα, ψιλτάτην ἐμοὶ
ωδὲν, ἐπωιδὸν Θρηκίων ἀημάτων.
οὐ τούτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρῆν σ᾽ ἄνδρηλατεῖν,
μιασμάτων ἄπωϋ; ἐπήκοοος δ᾽ ἐμῶν
ἐργῶν δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἰ. λέγω δὲ σοι
τοιαύτ᾽ ἀπειλεῖν, ὥς παρεσκευασμένης
ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, χειρὶ νικήσαντ᾽ ἐμοῦ
ἀρχεῖν· έαυ δὲ τοῦμπαλων κραίνηθε θεός,
γνώση διδαξθεῖς ὅψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

ἀντ. ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἰ,
περίφρονα δ᾽ ἐλακεῖς. ὅσπερ οὖν
φονολιβεῖ τῦχαι φρήν ἐπιμαίνεται,
λίπος ἐπ᾽ ὁμμάτων ἀἱματος ἐν πρέπειν·
ἀτίετον ἐτὶ σὲ χρῆ στερομέναν φίλων
τύμμα τύμματι τεῖσαι.

1408 ῥυτᾶς Stanley: ῥύσας vel ῥυσάς codd. | ὄρμενον Abresch: ὀρφύμενον (ἀρ- ἁ
1410 ἀπόπολις Seidler: ἀπόλις codd. 1411 ὀβρυμον codd. 1414 τὸτ᾽
1415 I. Voss: τόδ᾽ codd. 1418 ἀημάτων Canter: τε λημμάτων codd. 1419 χρῆν
Porson: χρῆ codd. 1429 πρέπειν E. A. I. Ahrens: πρέπει codd. 1431 τύμματι
1430 I. Voss: τύμμα codd.
CHORUS clamouring.

Woman, what poisonous herb of the earth hast eaten
Or sorcerous liquor sprung from the running sea
To bring this slaughter upon thee and curse of the land?
Having stricken off, shorn off, cut off thyself shalt be,
With general hatred banned!

CLYT. Your sentence now is banishment for me
And execration and the people's curse,
Though never did you then the least advance
Objection against him, that never recked
No more than a beast's death, one lost from all
The abundance of the fleecy multitude,
But slaughtered his own child, my dearest travail,
To charm a wind from Thracia! Was't not right
In recompense of that polluted act
To banish him the land? Yet now you hear
My doing, you are a harsh judge. But I warn you,
If thus you mean to menace, be advised
That I am well prepared, conditions equal,
If you shall vanquish me by force, to own
Your rule;—but if God will the contrary,
Then lessoning you shall have, though late, in wisdom!

CHORUS.

Lofty in arrogant vaunt as wicked of spirit!
Mind being then so mad with shedding of gore,
On the eye should answering gore in a blood-fleck show;
Disgraced, abhorred, unowned, thou hast yet thy doom in store,
To pay with blow for a blow!
Καὶ τῇν ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν:
μὰ τῆν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην,
"Ατὴν Ἐρμων θ', αἰσι τῶν ἐσφαξ ἐγώ,
οὐ μοι Φόβου μέλαθρον Ἐλπὶς ἐμπατεῖ,
έως ἂν αἰθη πῦρ ἑφ' ἐστίας ἐμῆς
Αἰγυσθος, ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εὐ φρονῶν ἐμοῖ.
οὐτὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀστίς οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους.
κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆς δε λυμαντήριος,
Χρυσήδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλώι,
ἡ τ' αἴχμαλωτος ἦδε καὶ περασκόπος,
καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τούδε θεσφατηλόγος
πιστὴ ἐξευνεῖσι, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων
ἰσοτριβης.—ἀτιμά σ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.
ὅ μὲν γὰρ οὖτως: ἢ δέ τοι, κύκνου δίκην
τὸν ὑστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον,
κεῖται, ψιλήτωρ τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,
ἐυνής παροψάνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, χλιδῆν.

οτρ. ά'. ΧΩ. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος,
μηδὲ δεμυστήρης,
μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ὀμιλεῖν
Μοῦρ' ἀτέλευτον ὑπνον, δαμέντος
ψυλακος εὐμενεστάτον,
πολλὰ τλάντως γυναικὸς διαι'
πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.
Clyt. Hear then the sanction of my solemn oath:—
By Justice, taken in fulness for my child,
By Ate, and Erinys, unto whom
I slew that sacrifice, in the House of Fear
My spirit sets no foot! so long as fire
Is kindled on my hearth by my good friend
Aegisthus, true and kind as heretofore:
Him find we no slight shield of confidence.
Low lies the wronger of his wedded wife,
Solace of every Chryseid under Troy,—
With her, his bondservant and soothsayer,
His fortune-telling concubine, his true
Bedfellow, practised equally with him
In lore of the bench on shipboard.—But the pair
Have got their merits: his condition, thus;
While she, after her swan's last dying wail,
This lover of him, lies there; to me this slight
Side-morsel to the wedded feast, this toy,
To me brings only the dear sweet of triumph!

Chorus.

I i.
O for a Fate might bring me swift,
Without sore-agonizing pain
Or lingering bed, her blessed gift
Of sleep, that world-without-end sleep,
Converse with me still to keep,
That would not wake again!
My kind Protector, he that bore
In woman's cause a toil so sore,
By woman's hand extinguished!
ιώ < ἵω > παράνους ἊΕλένα
μία τάς πολλάς, τάς πάνω πολλάς
ψυχάς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροία.
νῦν δὲ τελείαν πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω
δι' αἴμα ἄνπτον, εἰ τις ἤν ποτ', ἐν δόμοις
ἐρις ἐρίδματος, ἀνδρός οἰζύς.

Κ.Λ. μῆδεν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου
τοίσδε βαρυνθείς:

μηδ' εἰς Ἀλένην κότον ἐκτρέψησις,
ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὡς μία πολλῶν
ἀνδρῶν ψυχάς Δαναῶν ὀλέσασ'
ἀξίστατον ἄλγος ἐπράξεν.

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. δαίμον, ὃς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι καὶ διφυί-
οσι Τανταλίδαισιν,

κράτος < ἄτρ > ἑσθυψιχον ἐκ γυναικῶν
καρδιόδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις.
ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν
κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖσ' ἐννόμως
ὑμνον ὑμνεῖν ἐπεύχεται . . . .

Κ.Λ. νῦν ὀρθωσας στόματος γνώμην,

τὸν τριπάχυντον
dai'mon gênnhis tîsde kiklîsków.

O Helena, thou cause insane
    That all those many lives hath lost,
    Lives untold for thy sole cost
Upon the Trojan plain!
But now thou hast crowned complete that hecatomb
    In blood past all remission
With one full-perfect, memorable indeed
As e'er the world hath seen,—thou bitter seed
Of enmity, firm-planted in man's home
    To man's perdition!

Clytaemnestra.
Nay sink not so, be not so broke
Death for your portion to invoke,
    Nor yet your wrath divert
On Helena, that her sole guilt
All those many lives hath spilt
    With such deep yawning hurt.

Chorus.
I 2.
O Spirit of haunting Doom that bears
    The House down, O how sore thou art
On Tantalus' twain soveran heirs!
In woman too twain weapon, steel'd
Of equal temper, thy hands wield,—
    A poignard in my heart!
Feet planted on his corse, the proud
Foul raven, uttering harsh and loud
    His chant of joy triumphant!

Clytaemnestra.
Ah, now you set your verdict right;—
The Spirit of all our race indite,
    So gross with o'ergrown flesh!
ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἰματολογὸς νειριτροφεῖται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχαρ.

στρ. β. ΧΟ. ἦ μέγαν οίκους τοῦσδε δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμην αἰνεῖς, φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτηρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου· ἰὼ ἵη, διὰὶ Διὸς παναιτίου πανεργέτα.

τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται; τί τῶν ὀυ θεόκραντόν ἔστιν;

ἰὼ ἵω βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς, πῶς σε δακρύσω; φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τὶ ποτ' εἴπω; κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ψάρσματι τῶν ἀσβεῖ θανάτω βίον ἐκπνεών.

ἀμοί μοι κοίταν ταῦτ' ἀνελεύθερον δολίων μόροι δαμεῖς ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμωι βελέμνωι.

ΚΛ. αὐξεῖς εἶναι τὸδε τοῦργον ἐμὸν; μὴ ἐπιλεκῆς Ἑγαμεμνονίαν εἶναι μ' ἀλοχον· φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ τοῦτ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμὺς ἀλάστωρ Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θωνατῆρος τοῦτ' ἀπέτευσεν τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.
'Tis he still fosters in the maw  
This bloodthirst hungering for the raw,  
With lickerish craving, ere last bite  
Have well ceased aching, fresh!

**CHORUS.**

**II 1.**

Huge of a truth his bloated mass  
And fierce wrath never-bated:  
Story of ruthless Doom, alas,  
With harm unsated.  
By will of Zeus did this befall,  
Sole author and sole cause of all;  
Can aught without him come to pass?  
Herein was aught not fated?

O my King, my King,  
Tears enough I cannot bring,  
Words enough I cannot find  
To voice my loving mind:  
Thus to lie by murderous death  
In that spider-web entangled,  
Gasping out thy breath,  
On so churlish bed, ay me,  
With slaughtering weapon slain and mangled  
By the hand of treachery!

**Clytaemnestra.**

Suppose you it was mine, this act?  
Conceive not e'en that here in fact  
'Tis Agamemnon's wife you see!  
Mere semblance of her, she:  
The fierce ancestral Ghost of him  
That Atreus made a feast so grim  
Hath made this man the price;  
Heaped him this man upon his own  
Young firstlings offered yet ungrown,  
Full perfect sacrifice!
καὶ τὸ δὲ φόνον τὶς ὁ μαρτυρήσων; πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-
πτωρ γένοιτ' ἀν ἀλάστωρ.
βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις ἐπιρροαίσιν αἰμάτων
μέλαις Ἀρης, ὅποι δίκας προβαινὼν
πάναι κουροβόρωι παρέξει.

ἰὼ ἵο βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς,
πῶς σε δακρύσων;
φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἰπω, κεῖσαι δ' ἄραχνης ἐν υφάσματι τῶιδ'
ἀστεβεὶ θανάτωι βίον ἐκπνέων.

οἷμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον
dολίω μόρωι δαμείς
ἐκ χερῶς ἀμφιτόμωι βελέμνωι.

ΚΛ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην
οἰκοισίων ἔθηκ';

ἀλλ' ἔμοιν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνοις ἀερθέν,
πολυκλαὐτὴν Ἰφιγένειαν,

ἄξιον ἀδίκαιον ἄξιον πάσχων

μηδὲν ἐν Ἀιδοὺ μεγαλαυχεῖτω,

ἐξιφόδηλητοι
θανάτωι τείσας ἀπερ ἱρέεν.

1512 δίκας Martin (Δίκην Butler): δὲ καὶ codd. | προβαίνων Canter: προβαίνων codd.

1522 sq. ὅτε ἀνελεύθερον ὁμαιθανάτων | τῶιδε γενέσθαι damnavit Seidler.

1527 τὴν πολυκλαὐτὴν τ' codd., τὴν delevit Meineke, πολυκλαὐτὴν coniecit Porson.

1528 ἀνάξια ὀράσας codd.: corr. Hermann. 1531 ἱρέεν Spanheim.
CHORUS.

II 2.

‘Not guilty’? Then support that plea:
   Whose witness can be cited?
Go to:—yet such a Ghost might be
   In aid united;
Onward it rolls in kindred blood,
Red Slaughter’s torrent, flood on flood,
Till Babes’ flesh fed-upon shall see
   Its firm stain full requited!

O my King, my King,
Tears enough I cannot bring,
Words enough I cannot find
To voice my loving mind:
Thus to lie by murderous death
In that spider-web entangled,
Gasping out thy breath,
On so churlish bed, ay me,
With slaughtering weapon slain and mangled
By the hand of treachery!

CLYTAEMNESTRA.

Of treachery! Dealt not he then too
   This House a treacherous blow?
But what he wrought that branch that grew
   From me, that he made grow,
My sore-wept own beloved maid,
With equal penance hath he paid;
Slain for it even as he slew,
   He need not boast below!

II—2
σπ. γ. ΧΟ. ἀμηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς
eυπάλαμον μέριμναν,
ὅπαι τράπωμαι, πίτνωτοι οἶκουν.
δέδοικα δ᾽ ὦμβρον κτύπον δομοσφαλῆ
tὸν αἰματηρὸν: ψεκὰς δὲ λήγει.
Δίκαι' δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θῆγεται βλάβης
πρὸς ἄλλας θηγάναισι μοῖρα.

ἰὼ γὰρ, εἴθε μ᾽ ἐδέξω,
πρὸν τόν ἐπὶ διᾶ ἄργυροτοῖχον
δρόιτης κατέχοντα χαμεύνην.
τίς ὁ θάψων νῦν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;
ἡ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσηι, κτείναι';
ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἁποκωκῦσαι
ψυχή τ' ἀχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων
μεγάλους ἁδίκους ἐπικράναι;

τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος ἐπ' ἄνδρὶ θεῖω
σὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων
ἀλαθειαὶ φρενῶν πονήσει;

ΚΛ. οὔ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημ' ἀλέγειν
τοῦτο: πρὸς ἡμῶν
κάππεσε, κάθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν—
oὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἰκῶν,
Chorus.

III i.

Thought fails me; in a maze I grope
And find no means of help or hope,
While the very House is quaking:
Under this crashing rain of gore
'Twill sink—'tis early drip no more.
—Yet other whetstones rest, whereon
Justice for other work undone
Her weapon sharp is making!

O Earth, O Earth, would thou hadst been
My shroud, ere I my lord had seen
Here in a silvern coffer spread,
That kingly head
Laid on such a lowly bed!

Who shall bury him? who make moan?
Wilt thou add sin to sin,—thine own
Man's blood upon thy hands, proceed
Then with a mockery to atone,—
With funeral dole for his dead soul
To salve thy heinous deed?

And how should mourning o'er him dart
The hero's praise with tears of ruth?
How should it bear that heavy part
With heart-felt sorrow's truth?

Clytaemnestra.

That care is no concern for thee;
Beneath our hand he fell,
Down beneath us lay dead; and we
Beneath will speed him well:—
But not with household from his gates
To wail behind his bier—
άλλ' Ἰφιγένειά νυν ἀσπασίως
θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρῆ,
pατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὀκύπορον
πόρθμευμ' ἄχεων
περὶ χείρα βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

ἀντ. γ'. ΧΟ. οὐνείδος ἦκε τόδ' ἀντ' οὐνείδοις,
δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖναι.
φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.
mενεὶ δὲ μῖμοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς
παθεῖν τὸν ἑρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ.
τις ἄν γονᾶν ἄραιον ἐκβάλοι δόμων;
κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄται.

ΚΛ. ἐς τῶν ὑν ἐνέβης ἔω̣ν ἀληθείαι
χρησμόν. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν
ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῶν Πλεισθενίδων
ὄρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,
δύστλητα περ ὑνθ', ὁ δὲ λοιπῶν, ἠντ'
ἐκ τῶν ὄμων ἄλλην γενεὰν
τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθεντασιν.
κτεάνων τε μέρος
βαϊῶν ἑχούση οἰκεπαρκῆς ἐμοίγ'
ἀλληλοφόνους
μανίας μελάθρων ἀφελοῦσηι.

1554 Ἰφιγένεια νυν Auratus: 'Ἰφιγένειαν' ἐν' codd. 1558 φιλήσει Stanley:
φιλήσει codd. 1562 θρόνων Schuetz: χρῶν (χρῶνω) codd. 1564 ἀραιον
Hermann: ὑάων codd. 1565 πρὸς ἄται Blomfield: προσάψαι codd. 1566 ἐνέβης
Canter: ἐνέβη codd. 1574 πανεπαρκῆς ἐμοίγ' II.: πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι δ' codd.
His daughter at the Doleful Straits
    Below stands waiting near:
Her love, her duty she shall bring,
Her arms about his neck shall fling.
    And kiss her Father dear!

CHORUS.

III 2.

Thrust by counterthrust is foiled;
Judgment is hard,—the spoiler spoiled,
The price for bloodshed yielded.
While Zeus upon his throne shall reign,
For wrong done, penance must remain
Commandment:—How shall forth be cast
The seed of Curse? To Ruin fast
The race is glued and welded.

CLYTAEMNESTRA.

Ah, justly now you leave your taunts
    For God's most firm decrees.—
I say now to the Spirit that haunts
    The House of Pleisthenes:
“I am ready—let an oath be sworn—
To bear, though heavy to be borne,
    Thus much: but now begin
New order; quit this House outworn;
Henceforth some other race be torn
    By own blood shed within.
If such within these halls the price,
For me small riches will suffice
Once having rid them of their vice,
    The frenzy murdering kin!”
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

ὁ φέγγος εὐφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου.
φαίνειν ἃν ἡδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους
θεοὺς ἀνωθέν γῆς ἐποπτεύεων ἀγή,
ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἑρμύων
τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,
χερὸς πατρώιας ἐκτίνουτα μηχανάς.

Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τήσδε γῆς, τοῦτον πατήρ,
patέρα Θεόστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὡς τορῷς φράσας,
αὐτοῦ δ’ ἀδελφόν, ἀμφιλεκτὸς ὄν κράτει,
ηὐδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεως τε καὶ δόμων.
καὶ προστρόπαιος ἑστίας μολὼν πάλιν
τλήμων Θεόστης μοῖραν ἦρετ’ ἀσφαλῆ,
τὸ μὴ θανῶν πατρῶιον αἰμάξαι πέδου
αὐτοῦν. ξένια δὲ τοῦτο δύσθεος πατήρ

Ἀτρεὺς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἡ φίλως, πατρὶ
tῶμωι, κρεουργοῦν ἦμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγεων
dοκῶν, παρέσχε δαίτα παιδείων κρεὼν.
tὰ μὲν ποδηρὴ καὶ χερῶν ἀκροὺς κτένας

ἐθρυπτ’ ἀνωθεὶ ἄνδρακας καθήμενος

ἀσημί’. δ’ δ’ αὐτῶν αὐτίκ’ ἀγνοῖα λαβῶν
ἐσθεὶ βορᾶν ἁσωτὸν ὡς ὀράις γένει.
κάπειτ’ ἐπιγοῦς ἔργον οὐ καταίστων
ὠμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ’ ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἔρων,
μόρον δ’ ἀφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται,
[Enter Aegisthus attended by a body-guard of spearmen.

Aegisthus.

O welcome dawning of the day of judgment!
Now will I say the Gods above look down
With eyes of justice on the sins of earth,
When I behold this man, to my dear pleasure,
In woven raiment from the loom of Vengeance
Paying for the foul craft of his father's hands.

Atreus was his father, reigning here
In Argos; and his right being questioned by
Thyestes—understand,
My father and his brother—he drove out
Thyestes from the house and from the land.
Returning then
Suppliant in sacred form petitionary,
Safety so far did poor Thyestes find
As not to perish there upon the spot
And spill his life-blood where his fathers trod;
But mark what entertainment this dead man's
Ungodly father makes the sacred guest;
With welcoming
Most hearty but scarce kind, feigning a day
Of cheer and sacrifice and flesh-killing,
He served a feast up of his children's flesh.
The foot-parts and the fringes of the hands
He kept aside concealed; the rest in messes
Gave him to eat, obscure; he straightway took of it
Unwitting, and made banquet, as you see,
Most thriftless for this House! Then being aware
Of that enormous deed, he groaned, he reeled
Backward, spewing up the butchery, and invoked
An awful doom upon the House of Pelops,
λάκτυσμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθείς ἀραί, οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πάν τὸ Πλευσθένους γένος.

ἐκ τῶν δὲ σοι πεσόντα τόνδ᾽ ἰδεῖν πάρα, κάγῳ δίκαιοι τοῦ δοτὴ τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς· τρίτον γὰρ ὅντα μ᾽ ἐπὶ δυ᾽ αἰθλίωι πατρὶ συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ᾽ ἐν σπαργάνοις· τραφέντα δ᾽ αὐθις ἡ δίκη κατήγαγεν. καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρος ἥψάμην θυραίος ὦν, πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας. οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ καθθανεῖν ἐμοί, ἰδόντα τούτων τῆς δίκης ἐν ἐρκεσιν.

ΧΩ. Ἀὐγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοὶσίν οὐ σέβω. σὺ δ᾽ ἄνδρα τῶν δὲ φής ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν, μόνος δ᾽ ἐποικτόν τῶν βουλεύσαι φόνου· οὐ φημί ἀλύζειν ἐν δίκη τὸ σὸν κάρα δῆμορρίφεις, σάφ᾽ ἦσθι, λευσίμονισ ἄρας.

Ἀ. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέραι προσήμενον κώπη, κρατοῦντων τῶν ἐπὶ ξυγῷ δορός; γνώσῃ γέρων ὥν ὡς διδάσκεσθαι βαρὺ τῷ τηλικοῦτῳ σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένου.

δεσμὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας αἰ τε νήστιδες δυνα διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν ἰατρομάντεις. οὐχ ὁράς ὅραν τάδε; πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιξε, μὴ πταίσας μογής.

ΧΩ. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἢκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον ὀικουρὸς εὐνόην ἄνδρος αἰσχύνων ἁμα ἄνδρι στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐβούλευσας μόρον;

Thus, with a kick to aid his curse, and dashing
The table down,
*Thus perish all the seed of Pleisthenes!*
Hence comes it in your sight a corpse lies he,
And I the just contriver of his death.
A third-born living child, a third last hope,
In my unhappy father's banishment
He drave me out a babe in swaddling-clothes,
And Justice now hath brought the grown man back.
While yet without I touched him, hit my man,
For this dark subtle train was all my plan.
My hour is ripe for death now when he lies
In toils of Justice caught before these eyes.

**Elder.** Aegisthus, to insult upon distress
I like not.—So thou sayest that wilfully
Thou hast compassed the man's death, alone devised
This woful tragedy? Thine own head then,
I say, shall not scape justice; thou shalt feel
The pelting volleys of a people's curse!

**Aegisth.** Thou talk so, sirrah, from the lower bench,
When on the main thwart sits authority!
The task is wisdom, and grey hairs will find
At these years how 'tis grievous to be put
To school; but prison and the pangs of hunger
Are your most excellent doctors to instruct
The hoariest head in wisdom. Hast thou eyes
And seest not? Kick not thus
Against the goad or thou mayst hurt thy feet.

**Elder.** Vile woman, thou to deal with soldiers thus
Come newly from the field! Home-keeping, and
Dishonouring the man's bed, to plot this death
Against a man and captain of the war!
ΑΙ. καὶ ταῦτα τάπη κλαυμάτων ἄρχηγεν Ἡ. Ορφεῖ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεισ· 
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἤγετ πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαραί, 
ποτέ οὖ έξορίνας νηπίως ὦλαγμασιν 
ἀξηι· κρατηθεῖς οὖ· ἡμερώτερος φανη.

ΧΟ. ὲς δὴ σὺ μοι τύραννος Ἱργκεϊν ἐγη, 
ὅς οὐκ, ἐπείδη τοῦτο έβουλευσας μόρον, 
δράσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἐτήσιοι αὐτοκτόνως;

ΑΙ. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναῖκος ἤν σαφῶς· 
ἐγὼ δὲ ύποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἦ παλαγενῆς—
ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦτος ἤρματων πειράσομαι 
ἀρχεῖν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα 
ζεύξω βαρείαν—οὕτι μὴ σειραφόρον 
κρηθῶντα τῶλον· ἅλλ' ὁ δυσφίλει σκότων 
λιμὸς ξύνουκος μαλθακόν σφ' ἐπόψεται.

ΧΟ. τὶ δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν δὲ ἑκτευς κακῆς 
οὐκ αὐτός ἴναρίζεις, ἅλλα νυν γυνῆ, 
χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεών ἐγχωρίων, 
ἐκτευ'; 'Ορέστης ἄρα που βλέπει φῶς, 
ὁπως κατελθὼν δεύρο πρεμυμενεῖ τύχη 
ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῦτο ταγκρατῆς φονεύς.

ΑΙ. ἅλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τάδ' ἐρδευν καὶ λέγεις, γνώσῃ τάχα—
ἐὰν δη, φίλοι λοχίται, τούργον οὐχ ἕκας τόδε. 

ΧΟ. ἔὰν δη, ξύφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.

ΑΙ. ἅλλα κἀγὼ μὴν πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.

ΧΟ. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τῆν τύχην δ' αἱρούμεθα.
AEGISTH. Progenitors of tears are these words too:—
The very counter thine to Orpheus' tongue!
He with his ravishing voice did all things hale;
Thou, with a foolish yelp exasperating,
Shalt see thyself
Haled, and thine own breast by compulsion tamed.

ELDER. Thou to be despot over Argive men!
When after plotting murder of this one
Thou durst not venture thine own hand to do it.

AEGISTH. The cozening clearly was the woman's part;
I was a suspect foe hereditary.
—However,
With help of this man's treasure I will essay
To rule here, and the disobedient colt
With heavy yoke will break—no courser running
In traces, crammed with corn! 'tis hunger lodged
In loathsome cram'd darkness that shall humble his flesh.

ELDER. Ah, why then didst thou with a craven's heart
Not slay the man thyself, but take a woman,
Stain to her country and her country's Gods,
To do the killing? O doth somewhere look
Orestes on the light, that Fortune's grace
May give him good speed home again to be
Victorious executioner of these both!

AEGISTH. O well then, sirrah,
If thus you mean with act and word, you soon shall under-
stand—
What ho! my trusty men-at-arms! Your work lies here
to hand.

[The Guard advance.

ELDER. What ho! let each his sword well-gripped be now
prepared to ply.

AEGISTH. Well, I too with my sword well-gripped will not
refuse to die.

ELDER. To die! An omen! Be it so; content, content, am I.
KL. μηδαμώς, ὃ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ δράσωμεν κακά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμήσαι πολλά, δύστηνον θέρος. 1655 πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει μηδὲν ἡμιματωμένους. στείχετ' αἰδοίοι γέροντες πρὸς δάμους, πεπρωμένους, πρὶν παθεῖν, εἰξαντες ὥραι· χρην τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν. εἰ δὲ τοιούτῳ γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις, δεχοίμεθ' άν, δαίμονος χηλή βαρεία δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένου. 1660 ὥδ' ἔχει λόγοι γυναικός, εἰ τις ἄξιοί μαθεῖν.

AI. ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίων γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι κάκβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοιαύτα δαίμονος πεπρωμένους, σώφρονος γνώμης θ' ἄμαρτειν τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀ' ῥνουμένους＞.

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἄν 'Ἀργείων τὸδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσωπαῖνεν κακῶν.

AI. ἀλλ' ἐγώ σ' ἐν υστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτεμ' ἐτ. 1666

ΧΟ. οὐκ, εὰν δαίμων Ὁρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπευθυνῇ μολεῖν.

AI. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἀνδρὰς ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.

ΧΟ. πρᾶσσε, πιαίνον, μιαίνων τὴν δίκην' ἐπεὶ πάρα.

AI. ὑσθὶ μοι δώσων ἀποινα τήσδε μωρίας χρόνωι. 1670

ΧΟ. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.

ΚΛ. μὴ προτιμήσης ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων' ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ θήσουμεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων καλῶς.

Clytaemnestra, *interposing*,

Nay nay forbear, my dearest lord, let us no mischief more; The harvest here already reaped is plenty and full sore; We have surely suffered harms enough without the waste of gore.—

Most reverend Elders, get you home; yield now to Fate's decree,

Betimes, before you suffer; Fate's executor were we. But should this heavy chastening prove enough, we will submit,

So hard by our familiar Spirit with his fierce talon smit: A woman's counsel here you have, will any stoop to it.

Aegisthus, *fuming still*.

But these to let their tongue run wild and wanton at this rate,

And fling such whirling words abroad in tempting of their fate,

And be so reft of all advice, their master thus to brave!

Elder. 'Twas never yet the Argive way to cringe before a knave.

Aegisth. Ah well, I'll have my vengeance of you yet in days to come!

Elder. Thou shalt not, if but Heaven direct Orestes' footsteps home.

Aegisth. O, well I know how banished men will feed on husks of hope.

Elder. Do, do; with fatness gross defile God's law; 'tis in thy scope.

Aegisth. The day will come; I warn thee, thou shalt rue this folly then!

Elder. O bravely now the cock may crow and strut beside his hen!

Clytaem. These idle yelpings prithee hold in slight regard; we two

Will be the masters in this House, and our dispose will do.
4 ff. The Watchman has been watching for the greater part of a whole year—not longer, because according to God’s prophecy through Calchas Troy was only to fall in the tenth year and not before: see Homer B 329. The ἀστέρες are of course the constellations whose risings and settings were the signs of seasons (P.V. 473 f. ἀντωλᾶς ἐγὼ ἀστρων ἐδείξα τὰς τε δυσκράτους δύσεις), and the Watchman has had time to learn the signs of Winter or Storm-season—the same word expresses both in Greek—for it is now past the autumnal equinox, the time when χειμέριαν δύνωσι Πελεώδες (Hes. fr. 44), and the setting of the Pleiades proverbially marked the season most dangerous of all at sea. In this allusion therefore an ominous note is heard at once; and presently confirmed, for the capture, as we are duly informed in v. 817, has taken place ‘about the sinking of the Pleiades,’ and Agamemnon has set sail for home immediately, committing the rash act against which Neoptolemus in Quint. 7. 298–311 is expressly warned by Lycomedes. His rashness was followed by the disastrous storm in the Aegean.—The construction ὅταν φθίνοσιν in v. 7 is idiomatic for watching, observing, marking (φιλάττειν, τηρεῖν) the time when; Herodas 3. 55 is an example, νοεῖνθ ὁ δῆμος παγνύν ἀγνύτε. Dem. 4. 31 Φίλιππος φιλάξας τοὺς ἔτρησε ἢ τὸν χειμώνα ἐπιχειρεῖ ἢνικ’ ἄν ἢμεῖς μὴ δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖε ἀφικέσθαι.—δυνάστας is an astrological word: see Proclus on Plat. Rep. in Schoell and Studemund Anecdota ii. p. 26; in sense, synonymous with more familiar terms such as κρατήτωρ, δεσπόζεων, οἰκοδεσποτείν, τυράννος Hesperiae Capricornus undae (Hor. C. ii. 17. 19).

ἀστίρας repeats in plain words the preceding metaphorical description. This is a common feature of Tragic style, and as such is burlesqued by Xenarchus (Ath. 63 f) κοῦτε βυσαίχρον θεῖς Δηροῦς σύνοικος, γραγανής βόλβος. Further Aeschylean examples will be found inf. 500, 816, Pers. 615, Theb. 191, 476, 717, 926, P. V. 7, 374, 829, 956, 1054, Supp. 231.

8. καὶ νῦν answers to μὲν in v. 1, which is itself intended to qualify φρονματές ἔτειας μήκος: as throughout the year...so now. Similarly inf. 592 ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι (for πάλαι μὲν ἀνωλόλυξα)...603 καὶ νῦν, Theb. 21 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τόδ’ ἦμαρ (for καὶ νῦν ἐς μὲν τὸ δ’ ἦμαρ) εὖ ἰπέτει θεῶς: νῦν δὲ
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k.t.l., Soph. Phil. 617 οἴοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' (for οἴοιτο μάλιστα μὲν) ἐκούσων λαβὼν, εἰ μὴ θέλεις δ', ἁκοίτα, Ant. 327 ἀλλ' εὑρεθεὶς μὲν μάλιστ', εἶν δὲ τοι ἀφήθη τε καὶ μή...Aesch. fr. 36 εἰσιν ἡμῶν μὲν πρῶτων, Soph. fr. 807.

10 f. 'For so a woman's manlike spirit is sanguine to expect,' ita enim sperare valet. The MS. gives ἐλπίζων with o written above ω, meaning ἐλπίζων, an obvious conjecture which naturally has not contended scholars. The correction ἐλπίζεων I find from Wecklein had been proposed before by an anonymous critic in 1834, but I have never seen it even mentioned. For the infinitive after κρατάω, expressing what your superiority or predominance enables you to do, cf. Thuc. iv. 104 κρατοῦντες τοι πληθεί ὡστε μὴ αὐτίκα τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγεσθαι. vi. 74 εὖ ὅπλοις ὡντες ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Eur. Hel. 1639 ΘΕ. ἀρχύμεσθ' ἀρ', οὐ κρατοῦμεν. Χ. ὁ σία δράν, τὰ δ' ἐκδικ' οὖ. For ἀνδρόβουλον cf. Soph. fr. 857 κατ' ὀρφανὸν γὰρ οἶκον ἀνδρόφρονα γυνή.

12 ff. εὖτ' ἂν δὲ is resumed by ὅταν δ' (16) after the interruption caused by the explanatory γὰρ-clause. For similar instances of a复工umptive δέ cf. Cho. 988, 1024, Plat. Apol. 34 ἐι δὴ τις ὑμῶν ὑντὸς ἔχει,—οὐκ ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ ἐγογ' ἐι δ' οὖν κ.τ.λ., Gorg. 480 ἐ εἰδίν μόνον μὴ αὐτὸς ἀδικήται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὐλαβήτευν· εἶν δὲ ἄλλον ἀδικήτ' ὁ ἐχθρός...Pausan v. 25, 8, 9 τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐκτορα κληρομένων ἀραβρὸν ὄντων ὁκτώ, τὸν γὰρ ἑνατον..., τῶν δὲ ὁκτω τοῦτον κ.τ.λ.

15. τὸ μὴ...συμβαλεῖν depends on φόβοις παραστατεῖ—a favourite construction in Aeschylus. Cf. Pers. 294 ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἢδε συμφορὰ τὸ μήτε λέξει μὴ τροπήσαται πάθη, P. V. 891 μίαν δὲ παίδων ἤμερος ἥλξει τὸ μὴ κτεῖνα σύνενον.

16. μυνρίζειν: cf. Max. Tyr. 7. 7 ἡδὲ τις καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλημάτων ἀνήρ ᾤμωσος διετέθη μουσικῶς, καὶ τὰ ὅτα ἐναντίον ὃν διαμέμνηται τοῦ μέλους, καὶ μυνρίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν.

27. εὖνη ἐπανέδεσαν is a reverent phrase, suggested by a comparison with the rising of the sun or stars. Lucian i. 474 applies it in the same way to a great man dazzling on the clients waiting in his ante-chambers till he rises: ὁ δὲ μόρις ἂν ποτε ἀνατείλας αὐτῶς πορφυρὸς τίς ἢ περίχρυσος ἢ διαποκύκλος; εἰδαίμονας ὡστε καὶ μακαρίως ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς προσεπτόντας ἢ τὸ στῆθος ἢ τὴν δεξιὰν προσεύχων δοιὰ καταφελέων. In the Bacchae 747 a messenger wishes to say 'the flesh was torn from their limbs before you could wink' (πρὶν μῦσαι, πρὶν καταμύσαι), but feeling this is too familiar to a king, he turns it θάρσον δὲ διεξήρωντο σαρκῶν ἐνδυτὰ ἢ σὺ ἐωνάψαις βλέφαρα βασιλείωις κόραις 'than you could close your eyelids on your royal eyes.' οὖτ' εὖ πρατίδον οἴκα νέμων, applied by the Chorus to the King in v. 793, is another such respectful phrase.

H. A. 12
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28. ὀλολυγμός is the ‘lulu’, ‘ullaloo’, familiar to us now from Africa, the shrill cry of women either for joy and triumph, or in sorrow and mourning. For its association with the παιάν cf. Bacchyl. vii. 124 ff. ἀγλαόθροον τε κούρα λύνει γενέσθεν ὀλόλυγον...ήθειον δ’ ἐγγίθει τέοι παίαντερν, Aesch. Thesp. 254 ὀλολυγμόν εἰρόν εὖμενη παιάντερν. For the dative λαμπαδί cf. Eur. I. A. 1467 ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐπευφημίσατ’, ὧ νεάνιδες, παίανα τῇμῆμι συμφοράί.

32 f. τὰ διεσπετῶν...φυκτωρία. The metaphor is taken from the game of πεσοῦτ, Tables or Backgammon, in which the moves of the pieces were determined or limited by the throws (βάλλειν, βάλος), or falls (πέπτει, πτώσεις) of the dice. τίθεσθαι is applied to the skill of the player, whose opportunities are so conditioned: cf. Soph. fr. 861 στέργειν τα τάκπεσοντα καὶ θέσαι πρέπει | σοφὸν κυβερτήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στέιειν τύχην. Plat. Rep. 604 C ὅσπερ ἐν πτώσει κυβῶν, πρὸς τὰ πε- πτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα. This is referred to by Plut. Mor. 467 A where he says κυβεῖαι γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν βίον ἀπείκασεν, ἐν ὄν καὶ βάλλειν δεῖ τὰ πράσφορα, καὶ βαλόντα χρῆσαι καλός τὸς πεσοῦτ. Stob. Flor. 124. 41 πέπτειει τινὶ ὑπεκεν ὁ βίος, καὶ δεῖ, ὅσπερ ψῇβων τινα, τίθεσθαι τὸ συμβαίνον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀναθεῖν βαλεῖν, οὐδ’ ἀνάθεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον (‘to make another throw or withdraw the move’). [Plat.] Hipparch. 229 E ὅσπερ πέπτειοιν, ἐθέλω σοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνάθεσθαι ὑπ’ ὑπεκείς τῶν εἰρημένων. Plut. Pyrrh. 26 ὅθεν ἀπείκαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀιτίγνωσ κυβερνήτη πολλὰ βάλλοιτι καὶ καλά, χρῆσαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένω τοῖς πεςοῦται. Hor. C. i. 9. 14 quem sors die rum cunque nam, lucro appone. Hence expressions like Dem. 23. 134 πρὸς τὸ καλὸς ἐχον τίθεσθαι, Eur. fr. 287 ἀλλ’ οὐντυγχάνων τα πράγματ’ ὅρθως ἐν τιθή, πράσσει καλῶς. But that εὖ belongs to πεσοῦτα is shown by Eur. Or. 603, El. 1101, etc.

43 f. διεξετήττουν τυμής: Eum. 629 διεσθότως εκήπτρουσι τιμαλφοίμενον, Hom. A 278 ἐτεὶ ὧν ποθ’ ὀρμῶς ἐμμορεί τυμής σκηττοῦχοις βασιλείς.

48. κλάζοντες introduces the following simile: Hom. II 428 οὗ δ’ ὅστ’ αἰχμαλοῦσι γαμφώντες αἰκυλοχεῖται πέτρη ἐφ’ ψηλῆ ῥεγαί μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχωσθαι, Hes. Scut. 405, Eur. Tis. 146 μάτηρ δ’ ὁδεῖ τις πτανός κλαγγαν ὀρίσον, ὃς ἔξερξε.

49. ἐκτάτωσ. Criticism here has wavered between the MS. ἐκτάτωσ and ἐκτάγλος the conjecture of Blomfield. ἐκτάγλος ἀλγεί ‘exceeding anguish’ would of course be perfectly natural in language; but ἐκτάτωσ is better rhythmically, and better sustains the figure. Other poets are content with transitory metaphors, and that is one way of writing; no one but Aeschylus has his habitual practice—no one, perhaps, but Pindar had his power—of pursuing a similitude, of carrying a figure through. This passage is a very fine example. Eagles always represented Kings, but the Kings here—for the two are closely coupled,
and one’s quarrel is the other’s (vv. 42–44)—whose high bed has been robbed are compared to eagles whose high bed has been robbed, ἀλγεσι παῖδων υπατηλέχεων, δεμνιοτήρη τὸνον ὀδέσαντες. As the Kings launch forth in ships, so fly the eagles πτερύγων ἐφετοῦσιν ἐφε- σόμενοι—this need not be pressed, but still it happily maintains the parallel. And then the likeness is pursued; the eagles in their lofty haunts are conceived as denizens (μέτοικοι) in the region of the loftiest-dwelling Gods,—Apollo, Pan, or Zeus; and as μέτοικοι when wronged appealed at Athens to their προστάται or ‘patrons,’ so the eagles will appeal to these; One above will surely hear their cry and will defend their right. ‘And thus,’ continues Aeschylus, ‘the Atridae are sent by a greater lord, Ζεὺς ξένιος, against Alexander.’

It is in the manner of Aeschylus, then, to choose an epithet which will bear out his comparison. Now eagles and vultures were notoriously remote and solitary; so of course, from the nature of their high degree, were Kings—all Kings, though the more ἀπρόσιτοι they were, the more marked was the resemblance: Horapollo. Πιερογλυφ. ii. 56 βασιλεία ἰδιαίως καὶ μὴ ἑλεόντα ἐν τοῖς πταῖσασι βουλόμενοι σημῆναι, ἀετῶν ξυγραφοίσιν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἑρμίοις τόποις ἦκε τὴν γεωσιναί καὶ ψηλότερος πάντων τῶν πετειῶν ἵπταται. 50. ἀλγεσι παῖδων υπατηλέχεων, ‘in exceeding anguish for their lofty-craddled children.’ As you could say ἀλγείν τινος (inf. 576, Eur. Ἱερ. 1256), so you could say ἀλγος τινος: Pers. 837, Eur. Ἀδ. 202, Suppl. 807, 1117 παῖδων ὑπὸ πενθους, Phoen. 1578 ἄχει δὲ τέκνων.—Mr Housman (Journ. Phil. xvi. 247) first pointed out that υπατοι λεχέων (see cr. n.) could not mean ‘high above their eyries.’ ὑπατοι means ψυστοι, and is always a superlative: υπατε κραώντων Hom. Θ 31, σῶν δὲ κράτοι πάντων ἐστ’ ὑπατοι Theogn. 376, θεῶν ὑπατοι Ap. Rhod. iv. 146, Δία τὸν πάντων ὑπατοι, hymn. ap. Aristid. i. 452, ὑπατοι παῖδων Pind. P. x. 9. The genitive is of the partitive nature, as in ἀντίς η ἐπιμάτη θεῶν ἀσπίδος Hom. Ζ 118, τὸν δ’ ὑπατον εὐρην ὠμίλον ἐσταότα Ν 459, οἶκος ὑπατον νεώς Aesch. Supp. 725, ὁ δ’ ὑπατός γε τοῦ χρόνου inf. 1299, ἐσχάτη χθονός Π. V. 872, ἣν γὰρ ἑδραί Ζεὺς ἐν ἐσχάτηθεν; Soph. fr. 821: so ὑπατος τε χώρας Ζεὺς inf. 514 means ‘supreme in the land,’ as Pind. O. xiii. 24 ὑπατε εἰρμανασσων Ὀλυμπίας, and in Tim. Ι.ocr. τοολ ος τάλα μέρα ὑπατεστεν τουτοι καθάπερ ὑπατοι τω σκανεως ἀπατοι, translate it as you may, it will be seen that ὑπατοι is still superlative, and τω σκανεως a partitive genitive; and this is the sense which is impossible in ὑπατοι λεχέων. I believe that the MS. reading is the corruption of a compound, to be added to the many adjectives in-λεχής, as προσολεχής, μονο-, κοιν-, ἀινο-, δενο-, ἀπειρο-, ευ-, ἱππο-, ὑρει-, γη-, χαρα-. The formation would first be ὑπατολεχέων, and in Epic the
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λ might merely be doubled in pronunciation, as πολύλαλος Hom., μονόλλακος Arat. 1124; but the usual plan for metrical purposes or for euphony was to substitute η for α, as θανατηφόρος, αἰματηφόρος, θεσφατηλόγος. ἐλαφηβόλος, πολεμηρόκος, εὐνιδόκος, γλαυκητόρος, ὀμφαλητόρος, νεῖφατος, νεσαλής, and countless others, to which I will only add ὀφινβοσία from the Inscriptions of Cos, p. 113. The whole subject is treated with his unique learning by Lobeck, Phryn. p. 633–713.

55. εἰ τίς Ἀπόλλων would be easier to support than the MS. ἡ τίς: see on 140. 1461.—For τίς ("Apollo, it may be") cf. Antiphanes fr. 129 (ii. 63 Κ.) θαλάττων μὲν οὖσα οὐδὲν ἐσθιείη | πλὴν τῶν παρὰ γῇς, γόγγρων τιν' ἡ νάρκην τιν' ἡ κτέ., Alexis fr. 108 (ii. 334 Κ.) δὲ μὲν οὖν ἔρος νός... ταῦτας γέγονεν, Οἰνοπίων τίς ἢ Μάρων τίς ἢ Κάπηλος ἢ <τίς> Τιμοκλῆς, Lucian iii. p. 14 ἀλλ' εἰ τίς ἢ Τιτνός, ἡ Ἡμώς, ἡ Ἐφιάλτης, ὑπὲρ ἑκάνων, ii. p. 60 μὴ πρὸς ἐν μέρος ὀρᾶτο...εἰ μὴ Βρασίδας τίς εἰς προπηδῶν ἢ Δημοσθένης ἄνακόπτων τιν' ἐπίβασιν.

65. ἐν προταλείοις, before the issue is decided. προταλεία, as representing the ceremonies previous to the consummation of marriage, was metaphorically used for preliminaries to the completion, perfection, accomplishment of anything—of a voyage in v. 237, of mature age in v. 721, and often in later authors.

70. ἀπ' ὁρῶν ἱερῶν. ἄπυρα, far from being abnormal, were a distinct class of offerings, roughly parallel with ζευρυπα and λοββαί, but not needing dedication by fire, as when in an ordinary sacrifice the worshipper shared his meal with the gods. They might be offered to the Olympians as a means of propitiation; but as a rule these deities were invited to fire-sacrifices. The mistake of the Rhodians in Pind. O. vii. 88 was that they established a worship of Athena with ἄπυρα, whereas, being an Olympian, she should have been honoured with fire. The regular offerings to the subterranean powers were ἄπυρα, partly because intended to sink into the earth instead of ascending to Heaven, and partly because their worship in general involves propitiation rather than communion. The scholiast rightly recognises the customary character of such offerings: τῶν θυσίων τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐρανών, ἢ καὶ νηφάλλα καλεῖται. So Eur. fr. 904 mentions the offering of θυσίων ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας to a deity who may be either Zeus or Hades: Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἄιδος ὑμοράζομεν οὐτεργεῖς. Other instances of ἄπυρα, given in Gardner and Jevons’ Manual of Antiquities, p. 238, are coins, locks of hair, horses driven into the sea and so forth. Of course neither the kindling of fire nor the pouring of libations would make ἄπυρα effective; and the Chorus cannot mean by ὑποκαίων and ἐπιλείβων (Apoll. Rhod. i. 1132 πολλὰ δὲ τήνις λιτήσων ἀποστρέψαι ἐρωλας | Λισονίδης γονάκετ' ἐπιλείβων ἱεροῖσιν ἀλοβεόνως) that somebody might seek so to appease divine anger
aroused by another regular kind. It is clearly their intention to express that by no sort of offering, neither by ἐμπορα nor by λοιβαι nor by ἀπορα will anyone appease the stubborn anger of Zeus (or of Μοῦρα Διὸς implied in τὸ πεπρωμένον, which comes to the same thing), whose intention is to cause many woes to Greeks and Trojans alike. Thus, ‘the stern temper of unburnt sacrifices’ represents the fixed mood of Fate, in relation to which all sacrifice is useless: Verg. Æn. vi. 376 desine fata deum flecti sperare precando. Moschion fr. 2 (F. T. G. p. 812) ὁ καὶ θεῶν κρατοῦσα καὶ θυντῶν μόνη | μοῦρ, ὦ λαταις ἄτρεπτε (see Class. Rev. xviii. p. 430) δυστήνων βροτῶν, | πάντολμ' ἀνάγκη. Manetho p. 92 Koechly τίπτε μάθην, ἄνθρωπε, θυντόλειας μακάρεσσιν; | τίπτε μάθην τρυσέλκτος ἀν' οὐρανόν ἠλθε κάσα; | ὲ'σχεο, ὦ γὰρ ὑνεαρ ἐν ἀθανάτου θυηλάι (ἐν ἀθανάτου θυηλής). | οὐ γὰρ τες δύναται γένεσιν μετατρεψέ ἐμεν ἀνδρῶν; | ἦθι ἀμα νηπίαχοις συγγίγνεται ἄνθροποισιν, | εἶδοι τε Μοιρών εἰλάσσεται ἀμφὶ μίτωσιν, | κλωσμασιν ἀρρήκτουσι σιδηρεῖασι τ’ ἄτρακτοις.

71. παραβέλεξι without τες is strange: perhaps we should read παραθέλεξι.


76 ff. ὅ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μελῶς στέρνων ἐντὸς ἀνάσσων ἵσοπροσβις... τί θ’ ὑπεργήρως; ...παιδὸς οδίνον ἀρείων: as the marrow in its nonage is as feeble and unfit for war as in old age, so conversely in extreme old age it is as feeble and unwarlike as a child’s,—a pathetic expansion of the saying δὲς παιδὶς οἱ γέροντες, ‘old age is second childhood.’ The marrow is the measure of the whole bodily vigour: in fact a familiar name for it was αἰὼν, ‘the life,’ as in Pind. fr. 111 αἰων ὅ ὅ ὅ δετέων ἐρασθη. ἀνάσσων is appropriate to the marrow, regent in its frame of bone and dominating vital functions (Tim. Locr. 100 a, Plat. Tim. 73 b), and should not be changed to ἀνάσσων, shooting up like a beanstalk! See also Plin. N. H. xi. 37, 67.—These lines prepare us for the βουλαὶ γεροῦντων which we find instead of ἐργα at the crisis. Euripides would have apologised at the crisis itself.

79. τί θ’ ὑπεργήρως; κτέ. For the question cf. Pind. P. viii. 95 ἐπέμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ’ ὦ τις; σκιάς ὅναρ ἄνθρωπος.

87. See cr. n. The corruption is due to the tendency of the copyists to remove paroemiacs.

90. τῶν τε θυραῖων τῶν τ’ ἀγοραῖων appears to be the right antithesis, viz. that of the shrines of all deities in the public places of the town and of those in each several and private place,—at the street-door of each house. The title θυραῖος is assigned to Apollo in Macrob. Sat. i. 9. 6.
For the similar practice of the Jews see Isaiah 57. 8 'Behind the doors also and the posts hast thou set up thy remembrance.' 1 Maccabees 1. 55 'And at the doors of the houses and in the streets they burnt incense.'

96. basileiων. The appellation 'royal' often connotes choiceness of quality: Athen. 64 b (βολβοί) oi basileikoi λεγόμενοι, oi kai kreίσσουσες τῶν ἄλλων εἰσί, id. 54 b, 76 f.


99. τε γενοῦ. The sentence begins as though another τε were to follow, but it never does, because the intervening relative clauses are supposed to have put it out of mind; a parenthesis usurps the place of the main sentence. Cf. Siph. 490 κλάδους τε τούτους αἱ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις λαβὼν κτέ. It is studied carelessness to resemble the irregularity of actual speech, like the 'nominativus pendens,' which Aeschylus is so fond of using.

101 ff. See cr. n. The words, I think, were transposed to show the construction, i.e. in order to bring ἐκ θυσίων—ἀγανα φαίνουσα together, and τὴν θυμοφθόρον λίπης φρείνα was an explanation of τὴν θυμοβόρον φροντίδα. In reading φαίνουσα' I follow f and Tricliniuss. ἄγανα φαίνουσα is like Theocr. ii. 1ο ἄλλα Σελανύ, φαίνε καλόν: so now the reason is apparent why we find ἀγανα, not ἀγανη' it was not feminine but neuter plural.

105. ἐκτελέων, 'men of prime': which, however, would be more naturally contrasted with immaturity than with the aged Elders' own decay. ἐκτελέων (Hermann al.) would be 'men in power.'

108. πειθὸ should possibly be πειθό (Heller), 'inspires me by divine impulse with puissance in song.' The general sense is 'though I am now too weak to fight, I am still strong enough to sing,' as the old shepherd says in A. P. vi. 73 εἰσέτι γὰρ σύργγυ μελίσσωμαι, εἰσέτι φωνα ἅτρομος ἐν τρομερῷ σώματι ναυταίε. The passage has echoes of Pind. O. i. 104—112, and seems to me to be itself echoed in Eur. Phaethon fr. 774. 44 κοσμῶν δ' ἐμεναιών δησποστύνων | ἐμύ καί τὸ δίκαιον ἁγει καὶ ἐρως | ἤμενιν· δηρωσιν γὰρ ἀνάκτον | εὐαμερίᾳ προσικνόσαι | μολπάν ἄροσθε | ἀρουσ') | ἐτὶ χάρημον (as I emend χάρματ').

113. See cr. n. δίκας was a gloss on πράκτορι, and καὶ χερὶ was no doubt lost owing to the recurring final syllable.

121 ff. The kings subduing Troy with her teeming multitude inside are typified by eagles. Aeschylus, I suspect, was thinking of that remarkable passage—Hesiodic or Orphic in character rather than Ionic—about 'Ατη and the Λιταί: Hom. I 505 ἢ δ' 'Ατη σθεναρη' τε καὶ ἀριττός, οὖνεκα πᾶσας πολλῶν ὑπεκτροβείε, φθανε δὲ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἰαν βλάπτονος' ἀνθρώπους, with Βλαφθείς in 512. So inf. 406, when 'Ατη
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has her way, λεγάν ἄκοινε οὐδεὶς θεῶν. For the significance of βλαβέντα λοισθῶν δρόμων, ‘prevented from her final course,’ as applied to the hare, see Platt in *Class. Rev.* xi. p. 94. For the accusative after βοσκό- μενοι cf. Eur. Med. 826 φερβόμενοι κλεινοτάτην σοφίαν, Cratinus (i. 57 K.) ap. Athen. 99 f. ἥσθε πανημέριοι χορταζόμενοι γάλα λευκόν. The order of the words (λαγίναν...γένναν), common in Latin, is rare in Greek, although Lucian has it.

125 f. The principle that in Greek the emphatic words are placed first, and the unemphatic follow after, is the key to the understanding of this sentence. All critics have assumed that λήμασι δισσοίς go together; then, seeing that δισσοίς is unsuitable, some have substituted other words, as Lobeck πιστωσί, Dindorf ἵσους. The truth is that the words which go together are δύο λήμασι: ‘seeing the twain warrior sons of Atreus two in temper.’ What enables the sage prophet to identify the pair of eagles with the pair of princes is that the birds are royal warriors, but one κελανός and the other ἕξοπτον ἄργας—in common language μελανάτος and πύγαργος (Arist. 618 b 18). These represent characters which correspond to those of Agamemnon and Menelaus. The taunt of spiritlessness or κακία so often aimed at Menelaus (largely based, one may suppose, on the lost Epic and Lyric literature) seems to be hinted at in v. 420—424; οὐ γὰρ εἶκός, says Pindar fr. 81, τῶν ἑνῶν ἀρταζομένων παρὰ θ’ ἐστίαι καθήσαται καὶ κακῶν ἐμμεν. Menelaus is called by Apollo in the guise of Asiaedes (Hom. P 588) μαλθακός αἰχμητῆς, and of him Orestes says (Eur. *Or.* 754) οὐ γὰρ αἰχμητῆς πε- φυκεν, ἐν γυναιξί δ’ ἄλκιμος, Electra (Or. 1201) οὐτε γὰρ θραυσί οὐτ’ ἄλκιμος πέφυκεν, Helen (Colluthus 314) οὐσθά γὰρ ὦς Μενέλαος ἀνάλκιδος ἐστὶ γενέθλισ. Add Quint. vi. 30—43. δισσοὶ Ατρέδαι is the common phrase, Eur. *Hec.* 510, Or. 818, Soph. *AI.* 57, 947, and similarly 390, 960, *Phil.* 793, 1024, *sup.* 43.

131. ἄγρη recalls the ἄγρα of the eagles.

134. κτήμα is not κτήματα, but means ‘beasts, cattle.’ There is a double meaning, as the language suggests to the audience the herd of the Greek forces.

136 ff. οἶον μὴ...κυφάση means μόνον φραξοθαί or φυλακτέον μὴ... and this is the saving clause which it appears from some amusing parodies was proper to a prophecy: *A. P.* xi. 163 a wrestler, a pentathlete, and a runner come to find out from a μάτις which will win. ‘πάντες’ ἡφι ‘νικάτε: μόνον μὴ τις σὲ παρέλθῃ, καὶ σὲ κατατρῆψῃ, καὶ σὲ παρατραχάσῃ.’ In xi. 365 a farmer consults an astrologer on his prospects. ‘If it rains enough,’ is the response, ‘and not too much, and the furrows are not spoilt by frost, nor young shoots crushed by hail, nor the crop devoured by deer, and nothing else unfavourable befalls
from earth or air, I foretell you a good harvest—μούνας δειδαθε τὰς ἀκριδας,—στόμων...στρατωθέν, ‘the great embattled bit that should hold the mouth of Troy.’  

*στρ.* is an epithet ‘limiting’ the metaphor.  

προτυπέν, as by lightning.


143. θυμόνουσιν, glances at Iphigeneia.

146. We should probably read τόσον περ εὐφρων <δέ>, καλά, or τόσον περ εὐφρων, ἀκάλα, ‘thou gentle one’ (so Platt in *C. R.* xi. 95). That at any rate should be the metre. καλά, if sound, is the well-known epithet of Artemis [more often καλλίστη]: but see Ar. *Ran.* 1359 and other evidence quoted by Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1271, n. 1], used here after the usual custom to flatter and conciliate the goddess. τόσον of *M* is an epicism, due to the familiarity of Homer to the copyists.

147. λεόντων. The *lion*, which is common on Lydian coins and still extant on the ancient gates of Mycenae, was probably the badge of the Lydian dynasty of Pelops. That seems to be the reason why the term is applied to various members of that family, Agamemnon in v. 1258, him or his army in v. 818, Clytaemnestra in v. 1257, Aegisthus in v. 1223; and as the lion’s offspring is a type of Helen in v. 718, so it appears here to mean Iphigeneia.

149. ὀβρικάλος, εἴπερ τινά: see crit. n. ‘Consent to ratify, if ever any, the portents of these fowls.’ The alteration involves the writing of ὁβρικαλοικιστέρπινα for ὁβρικαλοικιστέρπινα, by which means we obtain the usual formula of invocation, justifying (as in no other way it can be justified) the emphatic place of τούτων, and abolishing the superfluous and inappropriate *τρπνά* which had been already bracketed by Paley. The form of appeal is ‘if ever before, so now,’ that is ‘no occasion was ever more urgent than the present’; e.g. *Dem.* 32. 3 δέομαι δ’ ὑμῶν πάντων, εἴπερ ἄλλω τινι πώποτε πράγματι τὸν νόου προσέχετε, καὶ τοῦτω προσέχειν: Isa. 8. 5 εἰ τινι οὖν καὶ ἄλλη πώποτε δίκη προσέχετε τὸν νόου, δέομαι ὑμῶν καὶ ταύτη προσέχειν ὑμῶς: for other examples see Blomfield on *inf.* 503 (525 W.) εἰ τον πάλαι, φανεράιτε τουσίδ᾽ ὄμμασιν δέξασθε, ‘with bright eyes now,’ Blaydes on Ar. *Nub.* 356, *Thesm.* 1157, Leaf on Hom. Ω 704, Stat. *Achill.* 1. 509 si quando, auidissimus hauri.

151. κατάμομφα: since after all they are not wholly favourable to us, not satisfactory altogether (ἀψεγῇ, Soph. *El.* 496), but with elements in them which portend us evil too.

159. σύμφυτον, ‘cleaving,’ is used in the same way as ξύµφυτος αἶών (v. 109).

165. ἀπίκλαγξεν, like ἐκλαγξεν *inf.* 211, expresses the loud and
excited tone of voice which marked the spiritual exaltation of the μάταιος. This is the explanation of other words applied to the delivery of oracles, as ἀγάμεν and κέλαδος and those which are technical of them, λακείω, ὀρθαγέεν. λακείω does not mean 'to say,' or, as L. and S. suppose, 'to noise abroad,' but 'to utter with a wild, confused, and half-articulate cry,' such as comes from the victims of a nightmare. Compare for instance Cho. 35, 533, inf. 287.

170 ff. How could Agamemnon, so plainly warned, commit this fatal crime? Because he is an example of the general law laid down by Zeus that man shall learn wisdom, not by foresight or prophetic admonition, but after the event by experience and reflection on his own past actions. Experience teaches by memory revisiting us in dreams or by unnoticed working.

175. μάταν, 'causeless,' 'unaccountable,' 'unwarranted.' μάταν, as often, is used like the adjective μάταιος.

178. οὐδές τις: see cr. n. I am aware that ὅστις may be argued for, but probability is very much against it, and when we find the sentence beginning with οὐδ' ὅστις, suspicion is considerably increased. For what is certain is that οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν or οὐδ' ὅς τοῖς πάροιθεν could only mean 'not even that he was great aforetime,' the stress being on πάροιθεν. That is pointless here. The only plausible conjecture I have seen is οὐδ' ὅστις (Pauw). For ΟΥΔΟΚΤΙΚ I write ΟΥΛΟΚΤΙΚ, 'a violent one was great of old, swelling with boisterous puissance.' The metaphor throughout is of a combat—τριακτήρος and παμμάχων, a word which it will be seen in the Thesaurus was properly used of the pancratist. οὐλος, the epithet applied by Homer to Ares and Achilles, is eminently suitable to this turbulent washer.

180. οὐδ' λέγει: 'but shall not be reckoned, being one of the past.' Cf. Eur. Alc. 322 ἀλλ' αὐτίκ' ἐν τοῖς μηκέτ' οὗσι λέξοι, Hec. 905 σὺ μεν, ὁ πατρὶς Ἰλασ, τῶν ἀπορθήτων πόλεις οὐκέτι λέξη. For the sense cf. Timotheus ap. Athen. 122 d (fr. 21 Wil.) νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει· τὸ πάλαι δ' ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων. ἀπίτω μοῦσα παιδαί.

181. τριακτήρος: an allusion to the myth, probably of Orphic origin, of the wrestling-match between Cronos and Zeus at Olympia. Pausanias, in his account of Olympia (v. 7. 10) refers to it: 'Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronos himself; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronos.' See also viii. 2. 2.

185. τεῦξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν is the opposite of ἀμαρτησεται φρενῶν.

186 ff. It was in this way, I believe, that Prometheus became reconciled to Zeus. For the proverb Instruction by Suffering see Hom. P 32 μεχθῆν ἐν ὑπό νήπιος ἔγγο, Hes. Op. 218 παθῶν ἐν τε νήπιος ἔγγο, Hdt. i. 207 τὰ ἐν μοι παθήματα ἐώτα ἀχώρητα μαθήματα ἐγένοντες, Plat. Symp. 222 ὶ κατὰ τὴν παρομοιαν ὴσπερ νήπιον παθῶντα γνώναι.
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189 ff. ἐν θ' ὑπνοι...καὶ is an instance of the common idiom, according to which τε...καὶ serve rather to subordinate than to coordinate: 'when...then...' Cf. Soph. fr. 234. 5 εἰτ' ὣμαν αἰτεῖ μέσον ὁμφάκος τύπον, καὶ κλίνεται τε καταπορκοῦνται βότρος, 'and as it declines the grape reddens.' Antig. 1186. Hdt. i. 181, 199, ii. 93, vi. 41 Stein. Xen. Anab. iv. 2, 12, vii. 4, 12, Eq. 5. 10 oú φθαίει τε ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ὑππος καὶ.... Aristid. i. 402, 511. Lucian ii. 584. Timocles (Ath. 407 d) καὶ ταῦτα τε ἐφήπτο (Porson for ἐφήπται) καὶ.... Heliod. viii. 8, ν. 18 ἀλλ' ἄμ ὠλας τε αἰσχρε καὶ ἡμεὶς ἀγκυραν καθίμεν. Plat. Phaedr. 254 B καὶ προς τ' αὐτῷ ἐγένετο καὶ εἶδον τὴν ὀφιν κτ.—στάξει is rightly explained by Dr Verrall: 'The admonitory recollection of experience is compared to a wound which long afterwards will ache at times and even break out again, reminding the sufferer of the original hurt.' I cannot go with him further in his reading and explanation; but the root of the idea is a sore that oozes, bleeds, breaks out again. And ἐν ὑπνοι is a most important part of it. Bodily disease may be unfelt in the activity of day, but will disturb the sick man's rest upon his bed: Dio Chrys. ii. p. 169 R. οὗτε γὰρ νόσημα οὗτον οὖν ἀναίσθησαν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὡς μηδέποτε βλανία καὶ, ἐπιμοῦν γενέσθαι μηδὲν ἐπιπάθεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγρηγορῶτε καὶ βαδίζετε μὴ σφόδρα ἕνοχλῆ, εἰς γε τήν κοίτην ἀπήντησε καὶ διασπάει καὶ διαφθείρει τὸν ὑπνον. And as it is with bodily diseases, so it is with the sufferings of a wounded spirit, which are eloquently described by Achilles Tatius i. 6 ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ διώματι παρῆλθον, εἶθα μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν, οὖν ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν ὤννάμην. ἐστι μὲν γὰρ φύεται καὶ τάλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σῶματος τραύματα εν νυκτί χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπαναταταίρητα μᾶλλον ἦδαν ἡσυχάζουσοι καὶ ἐρεθίζε τὰς ἀλγονήσεις: ὡς γὰρ ἀναπηγοῖται τὸ σώμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἐκλογ νοεῖν, τα δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα μὴ κινομένου τοῦ σωμάτος πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀδυνά: ἐν ἡμέρα μὲν γὰρ ὀρθαλμοῦ καὶ διὸ τᾶς πολλῆς γειμόνες περεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἀντιπεράγοντα τὴν ψυχήν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς: ἐὰν δ' ήσυχαία τὸ σώμα πεσώθη, καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἡ ψυχή γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται, πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέος κοιμώμενα: τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λίπα, τοῖς μερμοῦσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κυνδυνοῦσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἔρωτι τὸ πῦρ. Conscience also 'chastens in the night-season,' as they say in the Old Testament, from which many illustrations could be drawn; the best, perhaps, are Job 33. 14. For God speaketh once, yea twice, in a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction, that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man; he keepeth back man from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword. He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones: and so on; such act of God is a χάρις βλατος—whom he loveth he chasteneth—to make man repent
and deliver his soul from going into the pit: 5. 17 Happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty: for he maketh sore, and bindeth up: he woundeth, and his hands make whole. Psalm 16. 7 I will bless the Lord who hath given me counsel: yea, my reins instruct me in the night seasons. συμφέρα, as we are told in the Eumenides v. 523, σωθονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει, under the deterrent influence of fear; and when fear was sent divinely to a man, it was commonly in the time of rest upon his bed, in dreams (Job 4. 12—17, 30. 15—17, Wisdom of Solomon 17 and 18. 17—19); and such fears, in the Greek view, came by the agency of δαίμονες, black spirits (e.g. Cho. 282—8): thus were theologised the twinges of a guilty conscience, which Plato in Rep. 330 οὐδεις as torturing a man upon his death-bed with the fear of Hell, and causing him to start up, like a frightened child, from sleep: he had ridiculed such myths before, but now they rack him with the apprehension that they may be true—whether it be merely from the weakness of old age, or because he really sees those terrors plainer, being nearer to them. It was in dream that the divine part of us waked and saw; εἶδεν δὲ, says Pindar in fr. 231, πρασσόντων μελέων, it lies dormant while the limbs are active, but becomes prophetic while we are asleep. Aeschylus can hardly not have shared in the Pythagorean doctrine, and must, I think, include allusion to it here; it is his brevity in allusion to familiar doctrine that makes his lyrics difficult. μνησιτήμων, like μνησιστέφανος αὖγὼν in Pindar, means 'putting in mind of suffering,' and could mean both 'reminding of the past' and 'warning of the future.'—πρὸ καρδίας is 'at the seat of consciousness,' cf. 967, Cho. 390, Eum. 103.

192 f. δαίμονων δὲ ποιο χάρις κ.τ.λ. The particles δὲ ποιο (‘and I suppose,’ P. V. 848, Plat. Phaedr. 270 ε, Legg. 650 β) are often used of some presumption that may be entertained about divinities. See Pers. 726 γνώμης δὲ ποιο τις δαίμονων ξυνήσατο. Bacchyl. v. 91 τὰ δὲ ποιο Παλλαδί ξαιθάι μέλει. Plat. Rep. 517 β θεος δὲ ποιο οἶδαν εἰ ἀληθῆς οὖσα τυχάνει. Soph. Ai. 489 θεοὶς γὰρ ὡς ἐδοξεῖ ποιο.—It might, however, be suggested that the purpose of the lines is to contrast the gentle and spiritual mode of correction existing under the reign of Zeus with the turbulent rule of Ouranos and Cronos. For how, the poet would then conclude, should man be grateful to and adore a deity who ruled the world by main force? Thus, with ποιο and βιαίως retained, 'whereas where is there any joy of deities who sit upon their awful seat violently?'

194. καὶ τότε means 'so it was then,' as καὶ νῦν means 'so it is on this occasion'; in other words, both phrases are employed to mark a particular example of a general principle: Pind. P. iii. 29 κλέπτει τε
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197 ff. συμπιέσων. Cf. Schol. Pind. N. vi. 90 (55) ή ζάκοτον φρυγικάτα μετουσίων τοῦ φέροντος καὶ αὐτὸ συμπιέσουσα τῇ ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ Ὀμήρου (Λ 573 f.).—The lyric method is to begin at the crisis and to join in points of description or narrative without regard to their logical sequence.—κανάγει, *famishing*, is a Hippocratican word: lit. emptying the vessel of the stomach. [Cf. ἁγγείον as used by Empedocles (Α 74 Diels).]

211. προφέρων: cf. inf. 955 δόμοιμα προνεχθεῖτος ἐν χρηστηρίοις. Τρέβαρα, οὕτως ἐντείνομεν τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγγυαι, ὅτε ἔστι καὶ ἀνάγκη ἑξετάζοντος ἐλπίς ἐνήμερος, ὡς ἐν ατομικῷ ἀρχαῖος ἐκδοθέν. 212 f. χθόνα βάκτρας ἐπικρούσαντας. The action shows their emotion: see Hom. Α 245, β 80.

219. πατρώιοις κ.τ.λ. See cr. n. The reading of the MS. arises through τῆς ἕργας, i.e. the tendency of the scribes to simplify the order of the words, with πεθροῦσα substituted for ποιῶς.

228 ff. ἐπεὶ 8′ ἀνάγκασα ἐδώ λεπάδαν...τόθεν τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγγυα: once he had persuaded himself that he was yielding to Necessity, from that point he abandoned himself in desperation and resolved to stick at nothing. This was a familiar idea, that ἀνάγκη (of poverty or love, for instance) drives a man to do or suffer anything: Theognis 195 ἐπεὶ κρατερὴ μιν ἀνάγκη ἐντείνει, ἢ τε ἄνδρος πλήμνα θήκενον. 384 πενὴν μητέρι ἀμμαχανύς ἔλαβον, τὰ δίκαια φιλεύντες, ἢ τε ἄνδρον παράγει θηρῶν ἐς αμφιλακήν, βλάπτουσαν ἐν στήθοισι φρένας κρατεροῦ ἐπ᾽ ἀνάγκης. τολμαί δ᾽ οὐκ ἔθελον ἀναγκαία πολλὰ φέρειν, χρηματοῦντα εἰκόνα, ἢ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδάσκετε, ψυχεῖν τ᾽ ἐξαπάτοις τ᾽ ὀυλομέναις τ᾽ ἐρέιδαι, ἀνόρα καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοντα. Antiphon 121. 12, P. V. 16, Sappho 2. 17. Ἡρέτης πάντολμος became a regular epithet of ἀνάγκη: Α. P. ix. 11 πάντα δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐδίδαξε πικρῇ πάντολμος ἀνάγκη. xvi. 15. 7 ἀρχήμων ἐνδείκτης καὶ ἅ πάντολμος ἀνάγκη. Moschion, *Telephus* fr. 2 N. ὥ καὶ θεοῦ κρατοῦσα καὶ θνητῶν μόνη Μοῖρ᾿, ὡς λίτας ἀπετεί νεκρῶν βροτῶν πάντολμος ἀνάγκη, στυγγιῶν ὡς κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην ἡμῶν ἔφεδεν τὸ ἔθει τερέματα ξυγόν. The parenthesis βροτοῖς θρασύνει γὰρ ἀσχολοφόρης τάλαινα παρακοπᾷ πρωτοπήμορον describes the process by which ἀνάγκη produces this state of mind: he is at his wits’ end; ἀμμαχανύειν drives him to distraction (παρακοπά), βλάπτουσαν ἐν στήθοισι φρένας κρατερῆς ὡς ἀνάγκης, as Theognis says; he abandons the restraint (σωφροσύνη) which had hitherto kept him in check, and gives himself up wholly to θραμάς, the spirit of bad audacity, bold recklessness and sin. Ἀνάγκη, therefore, acts in the
same way as "Δυσιβάσις, who makes a man φρενοβλαβή and leads him astray into ἀνεφόν θράσος (v. 764).

The words ἀναγγεῖαν, ἀναγγέλω, ἀνεφόν mean 'wicked,' 'sinful against God': ἀναγγεῖον or δισαγγίον always means 'polluted' by sacrilege or bloodshed.

When used in a bad sense, τόλμα is much the same as θράσος, and expresses 'criminal wickedness' or 'crime' in general; and παιστόλμος or παισταλμός is the strongest term of condemnation that can be applied to man or woman, 'ready to commit any crime without restraint of conscience.' This is the meaning of ἐπερτολμον φρόνημα and παιστόλμος ἐφωτας in Cho. 591, 595 and ἀτολμον ἰδ. 628 is the opposite. τλᾶν and τλήμων are sometimes used to the same effect, as τλάμον καὶ πανοργην χειρὶ in Cho. 383: just as ἀτολμήτων in v. 385 implies a 'wicked sin,' so ἀτλήτα τλάσα in v. 417 means in English 'committing a crime.' Similarly ἔτλα in v. 234 is equivalent to ἐτόλμησεν in the sense indicated.

230. τόθεν, 'from that moment,' might also be relative, picked up by ἔτλα δ' οὖν after the parenthesis: but in any case it refers to ἀνάγκας, as has been shown in the previous note.

232. See cr. n. The copyist assumed that γὰρ must be the second word, and therefore punctuated after βροτοῦς, the explanation offered in the schol. being δὴ ἐγὼ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τολμῶν. It was probably another grouping at a sense that produced the reading of M. Similarly, the right reading (Heath) in Eur. H. F. 1126 is ἀρκεῖ σωπή γὰρ μαθεῖν δ' βούλομαι; but γὰρ was assumed to be the second word; a stop accordingly was placed after ἀρκεῖ, and then to get a sense the δ' was changed to οὖ: so that we find ἀρκεῖσ' σωπή (or σιωπῆ) γὰρ μαθεῖν οὖ βούλομαι.

237. προτελεία. It is possible that, as in Eur. I. A. 433 'Αρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεάνιδα, there is an allusion to the pretended marriage with Achilles.

239. [Mueller's correction was provisionally adopted. For the form see the commentators on Cho. 349.]

243. περιπετή: the adj. is passive corresponding to περιβάλλω τινα πέπλοις. 'Where she lay, wrapt in her robes.'

246. φυλακαί. If the MS. reading is kept, it should be treated as subject to κατασχέιν. In Eur. Τύν. 194 τῶν παρὰ προθύρων φυλακῶν κατέχουσα' the sense is 'to keep watch.' Cf. Pind. P. iv. 75 τὸν μονοκρήπτιδα πάντως ἐν φυλακαί σκηνέμεν μεγάλαι.

257 f. τριτόσπουδον...παιάνα. Cf. Harmodius ἐν τώι περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλεων νομίμων, ap. Athen. iv. 149 c μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον σπονδᾶς ἐποιεύτω...ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιάν ἀιδεται.
265. ἵσον. So Eur. Or. 426 τὸ μέλλον δ’ ἵσον ἀπραξίαν λέγω.—τὸ δὲ προκλαίειν added by m to 263 was a gloss on this word.

266. σύνορθον αὐγαίς, ‘full clear with the rays of morning’—a vague but ominous reference.

268 f. τὸσ’ ἄγγιστον κ.τ.λ. refers to Clytemnestra. ἄγγιστον describes her relation to the throne, which is expressly stated in the verses following (Schuetz). It was the almost invariable practice of the Greek stage for a character on the first appearance to be announced and described for the information of the audience. So inf. 590.

ἔρκος is used several times in Homer of persons: so ἔρμα (Eum. 704), πύργος, ἔρμα and the like.

276. εὐάγγελος μὲν. The tenor of the answer with its repetition of εὐάγγελος from the previous speech corresponds exactly to Supp. 381 ἄγος μὲν...ὑμίν δ’ ἀργεῖν... 282. Cf. Plut. Camill. 30 δακρύνωτες ἀπιστίαι τῇς παρούσῃς ἠδονής.

283. εὐ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. For an explanation of the full force contained in these words we must look to the records of Physiognomy. In that science, so much studied in the East, it is the eyes that give the most important signs and are the windows of the soul: Script. Physiogn. i. p. 305 Foerster τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων καὶ τὰ σύνολα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνδορται καὶ ὁσπερ διὰ πυλῶν τουτών ἡ ψυχή διαφαίνεται. ib. ii. 17, 409. 1 Samuel 16. 7 ‘for man look eth on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the eyes,’ that is, ‘the heart.’ Leon. Tar. A. P. vii. 661 φυσιγνώμον ὁ σοφιστής, δεινὸς ἀπ’ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τὸ νόημα μαθεῖν. Eur. Med. 215. There are other passages in this play which are explained by the same notion; see notes on 786 and 1427. κατηγορεῖν, ‘to argue,’ ‘prove,’ belongs to the physiognomical vocabulary (see Foerster’s Index ii. p. 394—5), having been used, doubtless, by old Ionic writers on the subject and retained as technical; hence it appears in other writers often when they speak of what is indicated, whether good or evil, by such outward signs. See Eur. fr. 690 ὁ γ’ εἶδες αὐτὸ σοῦ κατηγορεῖ στυγώντος ὡς εἶδς ἅν..., Philostr. Imag. 29 ὅκυτητα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ κυνός, VII. Soph. i. 17 πειθή κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός (ii. p. 19 and p. 380 Kayser), Heroic. p. 303 = 698, Aelian N. A. i. 5, Heliod. iii. 5, Plut. Mor. 695 D, Schol. Thed. 109: there are also some examples in the Dictionaries which should be classed under this head.

287. λάκομι is Karsten’s correction of the MS. λάβομι, which cannot bear the sense attributed to it here—‘I would not accept the mere fancy of a slumbering mind’; that would be ὁδ’ ἄν δεχομέν δόξαν εὐδοούσης φρενός. But δόξαν λαβεῖν is used only in the following senses: (1) to get reputation, with or without an epithet, or with a genitive repu-
tation of or for; as λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ἐπαίνοι, ψόγον, ὀνείδος, εὐκλείαν, δια-βολῆν, φθόνον, αἰσχύνην, γέλωτα etc., (2) to conceive a notion (of), entertain a conception (of), as λαβεῖν ἔννοιαν, φαντασίαν, νόημαν. But δόξαν or δόκησιν λέγειν is to state mere opinion as opposed to knowledge (Eur. I. T. 1164, Bacch. 628, Herac. 395, Soph. Trach. 426, Hdt. vii. 185): λύκομοι is a stronger synonym of λέγομεν (see on 619), and now the emphasis falls where it should, on δόξαν.

288. The old men assume that she has only ordinary woman’s reasons, dream or rumour, as in Eur. Hel. 1190 πότερον ἐννύχοις πε-πεισμένη στένει; ἀνέιροι ἡ φάτιν τιν’ οἴκοθεν κλύνον:—ἐπίαναν is a heightened synonym of ἵθρεψεν: Bacchyl. iii. 67 ὅστις μὴ φθόνω πιαί-νεται, Plut. Mor. 516 δ ἡ ψυχῇ...βοῶσκονα καὶ πιαίνουσα τὸ κακόθες. Similar is the use of αὖξειν: Ath. 782 d αὖξει γὰρ καὶ τρέψει μεγαλύνει τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ποτοῖς διατρήβη, Pind. N. iii. 58 ἐν ἀμφότεροι πάλαι θυμοῦ αὖξειν, Bacchyl. i. 52 ἐθέλει δ’ αὖξειν φρένας ἀνδρός (sc. πλούτος). So ἐλπίδα τρέψεσθαι is varied by βοῦσκεσθαι, στείεσθαι (inf. 1668), φέρ-βεσθαι: see Class. Rev. xv. p. 102.—ἄπτερος φάτις, of which fantastic explanations have been given, means a winged, or metaphorically a wing-swift rumour. Φήμη, fama, was a thing that flew: Hdt. ix. 100, 101, Telestes (Ath. 616 f), Orph. Arg. 596; fama volat. It should be observed that when the phrase τῇ δ’ ἄπτερος ἐπλετοῦ μέθος occurs in the Odyssey, it seems always to denote a certain obscurity in the speaker’s words, which causes them to fall short of the hearer’s intelligence. Thus in Od. 17. 57, when Penelope has questioned Telemachus about the result of his voyage to Pylus, and Telemachus, who has just recognised his father at the swineherd’s hut and been commanded to keep silence, has made an evasive reply, the meaning is that the full intention of his speech was hidden from her. In Od. 19. 29 Telemachus makes no direct answer to Euryclea’s question about the torch-bearer who would be required, and it is implied that his words had a hidden import in reference to his father which failed to reach her. In Od. 21. 386 Eurycleia failed to understand that the slaying of the suitors was implied in the speech of the swineherd. In Od. 22. 398 Eurycleia, when invited to enter, beholds to her joyful amazement the bloody corpses of the suitors lying on the ground.

However this may be, the old poetical word ἄπτερος was used by later writers of things which though wingless are swift as with wings, wing-swift, like the Flying Dutchman. And in this sense ἄπτεροι τάχει was a favourite phrase (fully illustrated by Nauck, F. T. G.² p. 922): we find πτηροῖ τάχει sometimes used instead. In the same sense—the usual explanation of the grammarians is ταχέως or αἰφνιδίως—was used the adverb ἄπτερως, or ἄπτερεως (lengthened like ἄψοφεως for the
purpose of dactylic verse). \(\alpha\pi\tau\rho\circ\sigma\) or \(\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\) should probably be read in P. V. 707: see Journ. Phil. xx. p. 296, where further illustrations are quoted.

298. \(\pi\o v\o n\o n\ \o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o\o
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335. οὐ φίλως might appear to belong to προσεπέτοις (Soph. El. 1471 προσηγορεῖν φίλως, O. C. 758 τήν πόλιν φίλως εἰπών, Eur. HIPP. 793 εὐφρόνως προσεπέτευν), but sense requires that it should be joined to διοικηταίγεντες 'unfriendly separated.' Many editors accept Auratus' διοικηταίγεντες 'an, οὔ φίλω 'separated, and not friends,' which may well be right.

348. ἀπαλλαχθέντες is corrupted to ἀπαλλαγέντες frh. So for κρυβθεῖς we get κρυφθεῖς and even κρυβθεῖς. See also on 737. — ως δ' εὐδαίμονες, 'and how blest!' exclamationary, as in 1235 ως δ' ἐπικυνείατο. This use of ως and ὁσος, in combination with δε, is very common in Greek verse, but sometimes escapes critics because Greek does not use the note of exclamation. Cf. Ar. Eq. 269 ως δ' ἀλαζών, ως δ' μάσθης, Dem. 21. 209 τῶν δε βάσακαν, τούτων δέ ὅλεθρον, τούτων δὲ ὑβρίζειν ἀναπνεύσας, τούτων ὅσον δὲ καὶ ἀποπνεύει μῦρόν, ως δὲ καὶ σφαλέον βαθίζει. So the text is quite sound in Eur. Sūpp. 901 πολλοὺς δ' ἑρμάς τακτο πήλειών ὅσα εἴχων, ἐφρούρει μιθὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, where Canter conjectured úρας, which would be correct if instead of πολλοὺς a definite number had been named. Liban. iv. 116. 11 μετά τῶν πολλῶν πολέμους, μετὰ τὰς πολλὰς μάχας καὶ ἀρωτείας καὶ τρόπαια, καὶ θαλατταν ὅση, 'and all that sea!' Tzetzes, Chil. vii. 39 ἵππων τοῖς ἀρδεύμασι τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐγράνες ἀλλα τε πούσα βάρβαρα δράςας εἰς ἐπιπλήξεις. Damoxenus fr. 3 (iii. 353 K.) γ' δ' εἰρυθμία τὸ τ' ἱθος ἡ τάξις θ' ὅση.

It was a commonplace in praise of Peace that you could sleep the whole night long and were not wakened by the trumpet in the morning just when sleep is sweetest: Bacchylides fr. 2. 9 J.

χαλκεάν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος,
οὐδὲ συλλάται μελόφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων
ἀώνος δ' θάλπει κέαρ.

Polyb. iii. 433, Schweighäuser δεῖν ἀναμιγνηθήναι τοὺς συνεδρίους δώτι κομμομένους τὸν ὅρθρον εἰς μὲν τὸν πολέμον διεγείροντον αἱ σαλπίγγες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ ὁρυθεὶς, a saying quoted by Plut. Nīc. 9. So ἀφιλακτον = 'without a watch to keep.'

350. εὐσεβῶς need not be altered to εὖ σέβοισθ (Scaliger). In Lyric you would say εὖ σέβειν (εὐσεβοῦτες in Eum. 1020 is perhaps an exception), εὖ λέγειν, εὖ παρατεῖν: elsewhere εὐλογεῖν etc. The edd. unnecessarily restore εὖ παραστῇ in Theb. 34, and Cobet wrongly rejects κατηφεῖς in Eur. Med. 1012.

352. οὐ τὰν ἑλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοιοὶ ἄν: the combination is proverbial. Zenob. i. 35, Diogen. i. 33 αἰρόντες ἱππήμασθα, Suid. s.v. αἰρήσω τάξα, Ael. N. H. i. 29 αἱρεί τοὺς ὀρνισθήρας ἵππημένη, Opp. Hal. ii. 133 ὀλλύμενοι δ' ὀλέκουσι καὶ οὖς πέφυνον φωνῆς, Xen. Cyr. vi. 3. 20 el ὁ κυκλοφεῖνοι

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κυκλωθείειν, Α. Π. ix. 14 εἶλε δ' ἄλοις, Soph. O. C. 1025 ἐχὼν ἔχει, καὶ στρατός, ἐὰν τί προκείμενον; such phrases for ‘the bitter bit,’ ‘turning the tables,’ or ‘catching a Tartar’ are favourite in Greek and Latin.

353 ff. She is still imagining the scene. μὴ ἐμπίπτημι could not refer to the future; we must have had μὴ ἐμπέσει, as in Pers. 128. So above εἰ εὐσέβοις can only mean ‘if they are reverencing.’

357 ff. θεοίς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μάλις στρατός,
ἐὐγγορον τὸ τῆμα τῶν ὀλολότων
γένοιτ' ἄν,— εἰ πρόσπαθα μὴ τύχοι κακά.

This is somewhat darkly worded for the sake of double meanings. To their intelligence she says: ‘The only danger to be apprehended now is that they may commit some sacrilege, which would bring the vengeance of the gods upon them; otherwise, if they arrive without having offended against Heaven, the human discontent at home caused by the losses in an unpopular war is likely to be reconciled, to hush its murmuring voice and welcome the returning Princes with good words; there is nothing to be apprehended here, unless some accident should happen to them.’ τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλολότων, ‘the grievance of the lost’—the wound that each home suffers for the loss of its dead kinsman, the growls under the breath at the unworthiness of the cause, the festering resentment against the Princes growing under the surface like a spreading gangrene, and the grave danger that the angry murmurs of the people may result in insurrection, are the theme on which the Elders dwell in the succeeding chorus (455 ff.):

‘ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικὸς,
τάδε σηγά τις βούξει,
φόνευρον δ' ἕπ' ἄλγος ἔμπει
προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις.

βαρεία δ' ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότω,
ἐμοκράιντον δ' ἀμάς τόιε χρέος.

However, as Clytaemnestra anticipates, this bitter feeling has abated by the time the King arrives; ἐφίμων πῶνος εὖ τελέσασαν is the note of his reception, ‘good ends make all amends’ (v. 797).

But the covert meaning for herself is that her own sore πῆμα—the word she uses with the same concealed significance in v. 856—her own grievance for the loss of Iphigeneia will know how to put on fawning and effusive welcome, as of course it does when the time comes; her daughter’s death she does not even mention—but a ‘sudden stroke’ may fall upon him unawares!

It is for the sake of this that she selects the word εὐγγορον (Eubul. 'Od. 1), a synonym of εὐφημον, as εὐαγορία (Callim. Lau. Pall. 139)
of εἰφημία. She anticipates her own long-drawn smiling welcome and laudation, εἰφροσύνε δέδεται λόγοι, inf. 1227 οὐ γλῶσσα...λέξασα κακτείνασα φαιδρόνος...τείεται; which is what the Chorus hint to Agamemnon in 779—800, and what he understands, 821—831. The MS. reading is supposed to mean 'And (even) if they came without offence towards Heaven, (yet) the soreness of the slain might become wide-awake, even supposing no sudden accident befel them'; except that εὔρηγορὸς γένοιτ' ἄν is usually slurred over and taken as though it were εὔρηγορὸς εἴη, 'would be on the watch.' But some word of favourable sense appears to be demanded by the order of the words. εὔρηγορον...γένοιτ' ἄν, if we read it, would be 'might turn accuser'; the φθορεῦν ἄλγος of the Argives on account of their be-reavements (457) might give its discontentment voice; but my objection to that sense is still the same, that the Greek should then have been εἰ δὲ καὶ θεοίς οἰαρκλάκτρος μόλοι στριτός, ἀλλὰ τῶν γ' ὀλωλῶν εὔρηγορον (or εὔρηγορὸς γένοιτ' ἄν τὸ πῆμα.—The last clause is added like an afterthought, correcting a too confident expression, as Hom. A 60, Soph. O. T. 969, O. C. 1450, Trach. 586.

361. τὸ δ’ εὖ κρατοῖν: Supp. 985 εὖ δὲ τὰ λώιστα, Dem. 4. 51 νικών δ’ ὅ τι πάσιν ἤμιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

362. τὴν δὲνησίν, 'the due fruit.' Cf. Soph. fr. 533 ἀλλὰ τῶν πολλῶν καλῶν τίς χάρις; 'The blessings are many: what I want is their enjoyment.'

365. θεοῖς προσεπτεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζομαι: so Ατ. Αυ. 226 οὐποψ μελωδεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζοτα, Thesm. 99 σύγα· μελωδεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζεται. They never said θεοίς εὖ προσεπτεῖν, but used the verb alone, προσεπτεῖν, προσανεδώ, προσφωνεῖν, προσηνέπειν, προσαγορεῖν. Observe that in Soph. Trach. 229 ἀλλ’ εὖ μὲν ἑγεθ’ ἐν δὲ προσφωνούμεθα there is a special reason for the addition of the adverb. In Eur. H.F. 599 Paley was wrong in taking καλῶς with πρόσεπε.

368. κόσμων. The Pythagoreans called the stars κόσμων [Æet. ii. 13. 15, Diels, Doxogr., p. 343. 7].

374 ff. Δία τοι ξίφον: 'It is Zeus Hospitable, I say, who is the author of this act; if the vengeance has been long in coming, let that cause no doubt; it has only been deferred in order that the stroke might fall the surer.' Such is the connexion with the following lyric, where the sentiment is taken up and developed: εἴραξαν ὡς ἔκρατεν. There is a strong stress on Δία τοι as there is with σῦ τοι, σε τοι, which is only one case of a more general use. τοι makes an appeal to the knowledge or conscience of the hearer and so is often used in assertion, as οἴητοι in negation, to lay stress upon the word it goes with. Examples are inf. 913, 1031, 1039, Cho. 913, Supp. 375, 545, Eum. 758,

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379. ‘Διὸς πλαγάς ἐξουσίαν’ κ.τ.λ. The lyric takes up the preceding declaration and confirms it: ‘It is the stroke of Zeus that they have felt may safely be pronounced, and if we follow out the sequence of events, the act and its motive can be traced to him. It was his act, and his act was the execution of a determined purpose. It has been said that the gods do not concern themselves to visit sin: an irreligious lie! Here is a manifest proof that they do visit it; for the destruction of Troy is evidently punishment for the presumptuous sin of Paris. This is the reward of those who are made insolent with riches and righteousness.’

There is a chorus in the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides precisely to the same effect as this passage, and closely resembling it in language. It is sung after the triumph of Heracles over the murderous usurper Lycus: his dying cry is heard within, ὁ πᾶσα Κάδρον γαῖ', ἀπόλλυμαι δόλωι: and then the Chorus rejoin:

747 καὶ γὰρ διώλλυς· ἀντίποινα δ' ἐκτίνων
tóλμα, διδοῖς γε τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην.—
tις θεοῦς ἀνομίας χραινὼν θητῶς ὄν
ἀφρονα λόγων ωφραίνων μακάρων
catébali' ὦς ἀρ' οὐ στάνονσιν θεοί—
gέροντες, οὐκή εὖ στι δυσσεβῆς ἄνήρ.

773 θεοὶ θεοὶ τῶν ἀδίκων
méloσαι καὶ τῶν ὅσιων ἐπάειν.
ὁ χρυσὸς αὐ τ' εὐτυχία
φρεῦν βροτοὺς ἔσαιται
dίνασιν ἀδικον ἐφέλκων,

but Justice shatters them in time.

802 πιστῶν μοι τὸ πολιοῦν ἡδη
λέχος, ὦ Ζεί, τὸ σὺν οὐκ
ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φάνθη,
λαμπράν ὁ ἐδείξεν ὁ χρόνος
tαῦ Ἡρακλέος ἄλκαιν.

809 κραίσσων μοι τύραννος ἐφυ
ἡ δειγγέει 'ἀνάκτων,
α' νῦν ἐσορωτεῖ φαίνει
ἐξεφηφάρων ἐς ἀγώνων
ἀμίλλαν εἰ τὸ δίκαιον
θεοὶ ἐτ' ἀρέσκει.

‘The base-born usurper affords manifest proof, when you regard the issue of the contest, that Righteousness is still pleasing in the sight of Heaven.’
Blomfield pointed out that πλαγῶν ἔξοισιν must be taken together: but few have heeded. πληγήν, ἐλκος (Herod. iv. 60), πταῦμα, ἔχειν are regular expressions for 'to be wounded,' ἔχειν serving to form a passive as in αἰτίᾳν ἔχω, etc. ἐπεὶν πάραστίν is 'that judgment may be pronounced indeed;' as in Theb. 906 παρέστη δ' ἐπεὶν ἐπ' ἀδιάλοουσιν ὡς ἡράτην... and Philemon, fr. 108 'καλὸν τὸ θνίσκων ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον λέγειν.'—For ἔχανεσαι cf. Supp. 89 Δῶς ἠμέρος οὐκ εὐθέρατος ἐτέχθη.

381. See cr. n. The first ὦς was inserted to explain the construction. Cf. Schol. Supp. 441 λέγει τὸ ὅτι.—οὐκ ἐφα τις. It has been supposed (Jebb on Soph. Ant. 620) that Diogoras of Melos is referred to, and the allusion suits the reason for his atheism given in Sext. Emp. Math. ix. 53, that the guilty are not punished: ἀδικθείς ὑπὸ τινος ἐπαρκήσαντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔνεκα τοῦτον παθόντος. [But it is very doubtful if he can be placed so early: see e.g. Gomperz, Greek Thinkers, E. tr. i. p. 577.]

385 f. The MS. reading (see cr. n.) is meaningless. We can quickly clear the ground; for a little reflection will admit what Karsten and Weil have pointed out, that there is no place here either for ἐγκύνοις or for Ἀρη πνεύστων: Paris, who is the sinner (v. 499), has paid for his sin in his own person; and the subject of the passage is the retribution following sin that comes through a spirit made insolent with riches; whereas Ἀρη πνεύστων μελζον ῥὶ δικαίος would condemn him for a spirit over-bellicose! Hartung's reading therefore, ἐκτίνουσα τόλμα τῶν Ἀρη πνεύστων κτέ., besides giving an unparalleled caesura, is untenable for sense: nevertheless the chief part of the credit is due to him for ἐκτίνουσα. For Ἰρή I merely restore Ἰρῆ, ἡ ἀνάκρισις, destruction by the sword, a word used by Aeschylus in Supp. 86. No accusative is now required with ἐκτίνουσα, because Ἰρῆ is itself the penalty—a turn of phrase exactly paralleled in v. 1512 Ἀργὸς δίκαις πάχαιναι κοινοβορώροι παρέξει. There is the same conception in 760—6 (δαίμονά τίται) and in Cho. 643 (τίτειν μύσας).

389 ff. ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον, i.e. 'beyond due Measure' (ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον). But it is not necessary to read with Weil μέτρον τὸ βέλτιστον, though that is in any case the meaning: see Parvem. ii. p. 80—2 Leutsch, for the proverb πάντων μέτρον ἀρετὸν, Lucian i. 756, and Aristotle, Index s.v. μέσος for βέλτιστον. The reference to Troy is illustrated by Homer N 621 Τρόιες ὑπερφίαλαυ, Bacchyl. xii. 158 ἢ μεγάλαις ἐλπὶσεν πνεύστες ὑπερφίαλον...Τρόιες ὑπενεταί. In the following words the definition of τὸ μέτρον is laid down as 'Sufficience, clear of harm, with an ample endowment of understanding (σύνεσις),' as Pythagoras μύκταν προπίδων ἐκτύπατο πλούτον according to Empedocles (fr. 129, 2 Diels); or 'sufficence for one well-endowed with sense.' ἀπήματον ἀπαρκεῖν means ἔχειν δοσον ἀποξην ἄβλαβως (Theognis 1153), as ἐξαρκέων κτεάτεσσα
in Pind. O. v. 24, ἥδεων τ' ἀρ' οἰκείων ἔχει Bacchyl. i. 57, Solon 5. 1 δήμων μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος, ἀσρόν ἐπαρκεῖ.

395. εἰς ἀφάνειαν: that is ὅταν τίνι δίκηρ τις ἀφαινάτη. Cf. Trag. fr. in Stob. Eel. i. 3. 45 (fr. adesp. 418 N.) ἄφρονες δ' ὀπόσου τὸ δίκαιον ἀγονοῦ ὑπὸ τὰς ἄδικος βιωτῶς ἀφανές. Max. Tyr. 31. 2 ὁμολογάγων εἶναι δὲ ἐργὸν καὶ λόγον, καὶ μῆτε τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἀφάνειαν κομιδῇ ἐξενελιγάθαι κτε.

396. βιάται δ' ἀ τάλανα Πειθό: [for the significance of Persuasion in connexion with ἧβρις, ἅτη, and ἐλπίς, see Cambridge Praelections, p. 115 ff.]

397. The reading of the MS. (see cr. n.) is not a metrical line at all, apart from strophic correspondence. προβοῦλον παῖς (Hartung) is right: Soph. fr. 553 ποικιλομήτιδες ἢται, Cho. 645 τέκνον δ' ἐπαινεῖνει δόμοις εἰμάτων παλαιτέρων τίνων μύσος χρόνων κυλτά βυσσόφρον 'Ερων, like Hecate in Macbeth, 'the first contriver of all harms.' προβοῦλος παῖς was probably the first stage in the error.

398 f. ἀκος recalls Hesiod's νῆκεστον ἀσόμηθε quoted on v. 469.—σίνως, mischief, is a synonym of ἅτη or βλάβη: for ἅτη βλάπτωνον ἀνθρώπους see Hom. I 505, T 91.

404. τοιαυτῶν ὅρων is an allusion to ἔλπις: πτηράσ διώκεις, ὦ τέκνον, τᾶς ἐλπίδας Eur. fr. 271. In Soph. Ant. 615 ἔλπις is a πολύπλαγκτος. Hope of wrongful gain, Ambition, is a stage on the road to ruin: Thuc. iii. 45 ὑ τε ἔλπις καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παιτὶ πλείστα βλάπτονσι, v. 103 ἔλπις δὲ, κυνώνων παραμύθινον ὤσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσιάς χρωμένοις άυτῆς καὶ βλάψης, οὐ καθεξή: τοὺς δὲ ἐσ ἄπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἀμα τε γεγονόσκεται σφαλέστων, καὶ ἐν ὧν ἐπὶ φυλάξεται τις αὐτῆς γνωρισθέσται, οὐκ ἐλλείπει. Plut. Pyrrh. 26 ὦτον μὲν ἔξετεσε τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν ὁ Πύρρος ἐλπιδών, νομισθεὶς ἃ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐκτάτο ταῖς ἔλπισιν ἀπολλυνέται, διὰ ἐρωτα τῶν ἀπότων οὔδεν οἴος δὲ δεῖ θέσθαι τῶν ὑπάρχοντων φθάσας. Pind. P. iii. 19 ἀλλάτωι ἤρατο τῶν ἀπέωντος οίοι καὶ πολλοὶ παῦνον | ἐστὶ δὲ φίλουν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ματαιώστοι, | δίστοις αἰσχύνοις ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω, | μεταρώματα θρηνῶν ἀκράντων ἔλπισιν. | ἄπει τοιάνταν μεγάλην αὐτάν | καλλιτέλπων λήμα Κορονίδος. Thuc. iv. 17 μὴ παθεῖν ὅπερ οἱ ἄφθοι τι ἀγαθῶν λαμβανόντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀei γὰρ τοῦ πλέουσος ἔλπιδι ὅργωνται διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀδοκήτως εἰτυχήσας.

405. See cr. n. What the MS. gives is merely a case of simplex ordo, as explained in my paper on Transposition of Words, Class. Rev. xvi. p. 243.—πρόστριμμα suggests βάσανος (401): Max. Tyr. 20. 3 τὸν μὲν γὰρ χρυσοῦ βασινίζει λάθος προστριβώμενοι αὐτῆς.

418. δόμων προφήτηται 'spokesmen of the house' are members of Menelius' household whose gossip voiced abroad the condition of affairs within; gave whispered utterance to the private and domestic
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grief of the deserted husband. These revelations they convey in guarded language like the Chorus in the *Choephoré*, 45—82, not mentioning names, but saying πρόμοι, ἀφημένων, ὑπερποντιάς, ἀνδρί, τις. For πρ. with the genitive cf. Athen. 187 b, ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἀπάντας εἰσήγαγε προφήτας ἀτόμων.

421. See cr. nn. The reading of the MSS. is neither sense nor metre: with σιγάς ἀτύμως ἀλοιδόρους Hermann restored both. The corruption was introduced by some scribe who failed to perceive the construction of πάρεστιν ἰδείν—thought that it required a nominative. Just the same thing happened in Eur. *Tro. 36 τὴν δ' ἀθλίαν τῷδ' εἰς τις εἰσορᾶν ἠθεί, πάρεστιν, Ἐκάβην κειμένην πυλῶν πάρος: where inferior MSS. give πάρεστιν Ἐκάβη κειμένη. What ἄδιστος should be is uncertain. ἀφημένων, 'sitting apart': of Achilles sulking in his tent in Hom. Ο 106 ὁ δ' ἀφημένοι σὺν ἄλεγχει σὺν' ὀδηγεῖ (with which Leaf compares Θ 207, Λ 81). Add Hdt. iv. 66 ἠτυμωμένοι ἀποκατέστησε. Mourners are constantly said to sit moping, e.g. Hom. k 497, § 41, π 145, Epictet. ii. 16. 33 κλαύσεις καθήμενος ὡς τὰ παιδιά; so ii. 24. 25 τὶ ὄνω ἐκείνων (Achilles) ὠφελεὶ παύτα, ὅταν καθήμενος κλαύῃ διὰ τὸ κορασίδων; iii. 13. 9 μέλλω καθήμενος κλαίειν, ὅτι μόνον ἀπελειφθην καὶ ῥήμας; iii. 24. 8 ἂν δὲ τις ἀποθημησή τῶν συνήθων, καθήμενοι κλαίομεν; see καθήμαι in Upton's index. So 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, remembering Zion.'

424. δοξα. Attic puts δόξειν ἄν where the Ionic writers say ἔρεις or the like: so Herodas, e.g. iv. 31.

427. ὄμματων δ' ἐν ἄχριναις ἐρρει πᾶο' Ἀφροδίτα is precisely like an Orphic line quoted by Loebek, *Aglaophamus*, p. 951.χειρῶν δ' ἀλλιμένων ἐρρέειν πολυργός Ἀθήνη, 'with the destruction of hands, Athena, the goddess of handicraft, was clean gone': and so all spirit of love, love-sense, is departed in the lack of eyes, which are the channels of desire (ἄμερος), and were created, according to Empedocles, by Aphrodite (frs. 86, 87 Diels).

429. πειθήμονες of the MSS. is contrary to the sense: πειθήμονες Housman ('si dicerentur πειθήμονες, intelligerem' Karsten) rightly: ν. 286 ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθή. Tryphiod. 456 (Aphrodite) προσέφη πειθήμονε φωνή.

431. This line has caused much trouble because the sentence has no finite verb; yet δοκῶν ὀρᾷ, the most plausible of the conjectures, cannot be right, because Greek never said δοκῶν ὀρᾷ, always δοκῶ ὀρᾷ. The verb is in fact omitted, with dramatic effect: 'For oft, as dreaming that he beholds his joy, he would embrace.' This is quite common in Greek writing: Semon. *Amorg. 7. 110 κεχρύτος γὰρ ἄνδρος—οὶ δὲ γείτονες χαλώουσ' ὀρῶτες, Philem. 126 μὸς λευκός, ὅταν αὕτην τις—
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434. *κελευθοίς* of the MSS. was an easy error for *κελεύθων* (see cr. n.): when there was the choice, Aeschylus can hardly have preferred to make the sense less lucid by an assonance less pleasant to the ear. For the sense cf. Lucian ii. 711 (of the Dream) πυρόσ ὦν, ὡς ψάει, καὶ ὄρον έξων τής πτήσεως τῶν ὕπτων.—Milton must have been thinking of this passage when he wrote (Il Penseroso, 6—10):

> And fancies fond with gaudy shapes possess
> As thick and numberless
> As the gay motes that people the sunbeams,
> Or likest hovering dreams,
> The fickle pensioners of Morpheus’ train.

436. *ὑπερβατάτερα*, or *ὑπερφατάτερα* as Herwerden proposed. It is an extremely easy alteration, and so would be ὁ πολύφατος τ’ ἀγών βροτῶν in Theb. 759, if not in Pind. fr. 75: cf. P. xi. 47. Hom. β 50 and the oracle in Hdt v. 78.—*ὑπερβαρτον* in Aesch. fr. 99. 21 may be for *ὑπέρφατον* or *ὑπέρβατον*.

437 ff. *τὸ πάν δ’ ἀφ’ Ἑλλαδος αὰς συνορμένοις* of the MSS. is impossible rhythm here: it would be a single unrepeated logoselic figure in a stanza of quite different rhythm. See cr. n. From the private grief of Menelaus while he sat at home we pass now to the general multitude at large, the warriors across the sea at Troy and their kinsmen, whom they left at home in Greece: what of the warriors? In their homes too the due and fitting behaviour towards them is mourning. *πρέτει* governs the dative *συνορμένοις*: for a victor, acclamation is the proper tribute, Pind. N. iii. 67 βοῶν δὲ νικαφόρων σὺν ’Αριστοκλείδαι πρέτει; the proper tribute to the dead is (also praise, but in the shape of) regretful lamentation. And γοῶν depends on *πρέτει*: well, they may, there is reason enough, surely, why their houses should behave so.

*ἀτλησικάρδιος* is ‘broken-hearted,’ as *ἀτλησίφρων* (Hesych. *ἀτλησίφρων*:
a φάσμα τύλμης έννοιαν ξέχων). The MSS. give πάνθεια πλησικάρδως, the opposite of the sense, and a contradiction in terms: P. V. 169 τίς ἄδει πλησικάρδως θεών ὅτω τάδ’ ἐπιχαρῆ; τίς ὦν συνισσαλαί κακοὶς πενεῖ; ‘who is so hard-hearted as to feel no grief or indignation?’ But Hesychius also records τλαισφόρα: ὑπομονητικῶν, ‘patient,’ long-suffering, ‘stout-hearted.’ Hom. I 3 πάνθει δ’ ἀτλήτων βεβολώματο (Τ 367 ἀτλήτων ἄχος, Apoll. Rhod. ii. 858 κῆδος), Ε 382 τέτλαθι...καὶ αἰνάσχεο κηδομένη περ, Υ 18 τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη...καὶ κῦντερον ἄλλο πτωτ’ ἐκλής, Ω 48 ἀλλ’ ἦ τοι κλαύσας καὶ ἀδυράμενος μεθέρηκεν· τλητῶν γὰρ μοῦρα θυμῶν θέσαν αὐθρώπουσιν. inf. 886 τλασ’ ἀπενθήτῳ φρενί. A. P. vii. 335 τλῆθι πάνθους, εὐνασον. Archilochus 9. 5—10 ending τλῆτε, γυναικεῖων πάνθων ἀπωτάμενοι.

443. τεύχη may mean ‘arms.’

445 ff. ὁ χρυσαμοίδος δ’ Ἀρης κτ. This is a fine example of the power that Aeschylus has of developing an image and sustaining it: The God of War is like a money-changer who gives gold for bulkier metal; but his dealing is in flesh and blood; he has his scales like the money-changer, but they are the scales of battle; he receives a human body, a man’s bulk, and what he gives back for it in exchange is like the merchant’s gold-dust (φύγμα), fined in the fire (πυρωθέν), and heavy, for it causes heaviness; and packed in vessels which are εὐβεσι, a word covering two senses,—‘handy,’ habiles, and ‘decently disposed,’ bene compositi, applied to a corpse: Bekker Anecd. 40. 23 εὐβεσεῖν νεκρόν: τὸ εὐ κοσμεῖν ἐν τάφοις νεκρῶν.

455. In a similar spirit, as reported by Eur. Τρ. 374 ff., Cassandra argues that the sorrows of Argos were worse than those of Troy:

[...]

The consequence of discontent at home formed the subject of well-known stories referred to by Plat. Legg. 682 D: οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν χρόνων ὤντε δικέτει, ὅν τὸ ‘Ἰλιον ἐπιλορκεῖτο, τὰ τῶν πολιορκοῦσιν ἔκαστον οἴκοι κακὰ πολλὰ ἔνεβαίνει γιγάντεια περὶ τὰς στάσεις τῶν νέων, οἱ καὶ ἄφικομένους τούς στρατιώτας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τε καὶ οἰκίας οἱ καλῶς νῦν ἐν δίκερ υπεδέξαντο, ἀλλ’ ὥστε θανάτους τε καὶ σφαγάς καὶ φυγάς γενέσθαι παμπόλλας;
461 εὐμορφοι. So Homer X 370 (the Greeks gathering round the corpse of Hector) ὃ καὶ θησαυρὸς φύην καὶ εἶδος ἀγητῶν Ἑκτόρος.

463. βαρεῖα, dangerous, is answered by βαρύ in 475.

464. δημοκράτους: popular indignation is as effectual as a curse officially pronounced (Dem. 18. 130 οἵδε γὰρ δὲν ἔτυχεν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ οἰς ὁ δῆμος καταράτας, id. 19. 70): it may lead to a rising and the stoning of its object.—χρέος is anything required; in prose confined to a debt of money, but in poetry any function, service, obligation. ἀπαίτεῖν is to demand, τίνει to fulfil the requirement.

469. Another image, developed out of the word ἀμαυρών: Hesiod had said that when a man is prosperous unrighteously, his estate is ministered and brought low: Οἶ. 321

and again 282:

ὅς δὲ κε μαρτυριόμενοι ἕκὼν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσσας
φεύσηται, ἐν δὲ δίκην βλάψας νήκεστον ἀσθῆτι,
τοῦ δὲ τ’ ἀμαυροτέρη γεινή μετόπισθε λέειεταί.
ἀνδρός δ’ εὔφωρον γενεή μετόπισθεν ἄμελεν.

471. παλιντυχεῖ τριβαί βίον has not been understood: τριβάω means attrition; as Fortune caused him to wax great unrighteously, so the Erinyes cause him eventually to wane again and dwindle, minishing him to a faint shadow, till at last he disappears in Hell. The working of a curse, of which the Erinyes are the embodiment, upon the conscience of the victim is more fully pictured in the Enneaid: they suck his blood, until they have worn him away to a shadow (264–7, 302, 360. 371, 938), and then drag him down to Hell (267), from which there is no escape (175, 341).

476. κάρανα. The construction of the sentence corresponds to Athen. 523 ἡ ἔξιν ὀμκαρνοῦ βαλλόμενον τυρὶ καὶ χαλκῷ.

The MS. reading βάλλεται γὰρ ὃσαν δῶθεν κεραννός has received the following interpretations: (1) 'for a thunderbolt is hurled from Zeus upon the eyes (of the too-famous man).’ Even if the construction be allowed to pass, this is excluded, because Greek never spoke of hurling a thunderbolt on a man's eyes; it would convey no meaning. The eyes are plainly the jealous eyes of Zeus. (2) ‘for a thunderbolt is hurled by the eyes of Zeus (upon the too-famous man).’ But though lightning may be flashed from his eyes, the thunderbolt was always wielded in his
hand. On these grounds I am convinced that Prof. Tucker (Class. Rev. vii. p. 340) is right in regarding κεραυνός as an error and in substituting κάραυνα: that is precisely the sentence wants.

477. αφθόνος ἄλβος: there is a pun on the double meaning of αφθόνος, of which some early moralist must have taken advantage.

484. κατά...ψυκός is added as an afterthought: see on 359.

487 ff. The phrases of the Chorus are mockingly borrowed from the fire, πυρωθέντα καρδίαν and in 491 πεθαίνειν ἢγαν ὁ θῆλας ἔρος ἐπινέμεται—for there were two things ἐπινέμεσθαι was so commonly applied to that the original metaphor from grazing cattle was forgotten in their case and became appropriated to themselves,—the ravages of fire or of disease (Thuc. ii. 54, 58). There is a playful application of the word in Plut. Mor. 415 γ ὅρῳ τὴν Στουκικὴν ἐκπύρωσεν ὡσπερ τὰ Ἰρακλείτων καὶ Ὁρφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἔτη οὐτῶ καὶ τὰ Ἱσιωδῶν καὶ ἀνεξάπτωτοσαι: and what the Elders mean (with an undercurrent of allusion to her amorous intrigue and protestations) is that a woman is ready to accept good news upon the slightest warrant (quo rumorem reconciliationis afficeret, accipereque Agrippina, facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia, Tac. Ann. xiv. 4), without waiting for proof visible and palpable, πρὸ τοῦ φανετόσ: such premature rejoicing is presently apt to be extinct as the fire among the thorns.—The MS. reading ὥρος ἐπινέμεται cannot be interpreted as ‘the boundaries of a woman’s mind are encroached upon’ (ἐπινέμεσθαι passive). To cross a limit was ὑπερβαίνειν (ὑπερπήδων, ὑπερβορείω) ὥρον: but no Greek ever said ἐπινέμεσθαι ὥρον.—For the general sense cf. Plut. Artoc. 28 καθόλου μὲν οὐν ἵσως, τὸ Σοφόκλειον, ‘ταχεία πεθώ τῶν κακῶν ὠδιστορέι’ (fr. 714) λεία γὰρ τις ἡ πορεία καὶ καταντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλημένον. For χάριν ἔσωναιτα, ‘to yield assent to pleasure,’ cf. Pind. P. iv. 139 f. ἐπὶ μὲν θητῶν φρένεις ὡκύτεραι κέρδος αἰνήσατι πρὸ δίκας δόλων.

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σπουδὴ προσιων οὖτος ἐστιν; ἦ ποι τι ἵκ γῆς νεώτερον ἀπαγγέλλει. ἘΡΜ. ὑπέρμεγα, ὁ Ζεῦς, καὶ μυρία τῆς σπουδῆς δεόμενον.

501. The dative belongs to both clauses, and must be taken after σημαίνει. Cf. Eum. 36 ὡς μῆτε σωκεῖν μῆτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάςαν, Theb. 651, Soph. O.T. 1455.

504. ἀποστέρων always means 'I fall out of love with,' 'I cease to care for': thus here the thought implied is that anything less than glad news explicitly told will leave the speaker dissatisfied. Hence γάρ in v. 505: what has appeared is so good that any addition which is otherwise will be disappointing. For the force of ἀπό in composition cf. ἀπεσθείαν = to leave off eating, as illustrated in Athen. 649 b. So ἀπαλγήσατας τὰ ἱδα in Thuc. ii. 61.

509. δεκάτον: see cr. n. Some modern editors retain the MS. error δεκάτων, as though the Herald said he had returned on the tenth day of the year, for it could not mean anything else.

510. ῥαγεσών: hopes were anchors or cables to a Greek: Eur. Hel. 277 ἀγκυρά δ' ἢ μοι τὰς τύχας ὅχει μόνη, πόσιν ποθ' ἦξειν καὶ μ' ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν, οὗτος τεθηκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ δὴ. Heliod. v. 19 Ἑρακλεία μοι βίος ἢ, ἐπίκει καὶ διωδοχοῦ τοῦ γενοῦς: Ἑρακλεία μόνη παράψυχή καὶ, ὡς εἴτε, ἀγκυρά. καὶ ταῦταν ἐπιστεύετο καὶ παρηγέγεκαν ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰλήφος με δαμόνον. For ῥαγεσών cf. spem ad rumpeere (Tac. Ann. iv. 50 etc.).

516. ἡλίades (see cr. n.) was perhaps an explanation of a false reading Ἡλίας.

518. ἀγωνίουσ: gods of assembly, as in Supp. 195, where Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, and Hermes are subsequently singled out for mention: so ib. 248. Probably they were the twelve chief gods of the tribes who worshipped at the games. As gods of meeting they are also ἀγοραῖοι: Schol. Hom. Ω 1 παρὰ δὲ Βοιωτῶς ἄγων ἢ ἄγορα... ὅθεν καὶ ἀγωνίουσ θεοὺς Λίσχυλος τοὺς ἀγοραίοις.


525. εἴ πον, 'if perchance' (ῥήτα)... Cf. Ατ. Εἰκ. 347 εἴ πον δικίδων εἶται εὑ κατὰ ἐξον μεταίκου, Supp. 405 εἴ πον τι μὴ τῶν τύχων. The prayer is of the same form as Hom. E 116 εἴ ποτε μοι καὶ πατρὶ φιλα φρονέσσα παρέστης δήμῳ ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὐτ' ἔμε φιλα, Ἀθήνη. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 757 νῦν, εἴ ποτ' ἐμᾶς ἐτέλεσας ἐφετμᾶς, εἴ δ' ἀγε. Sappho i. 5 ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴτητα κατέρωτα... ἐκλυτέ. 25 ἐλθε μοι καὶ νῦν. Ατ. Ἀἰχ. 405 ὑπάκουσον, εἰπερ ποὺσ', αἰθρώσον τιν. We expect καὶ νῦν, but that is here expressed by τοιωθῷ, which has been a great puzzle to critics: 'with bright eyes now.' Else we should only have had τοῖς (which
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There are certain images in Isaiah which this passage recalls:

14. 23 'I will sweep it (Babylon) with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.' 30. 28 The breath of the Lord shall reach 'to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity.' Aeschylus in his characteristic way sustains his image. In the MSS. however it is interrupted by a line interpolated from the margin (Pers. 813) (Soifiol 8') aia-Toi aia/Aoi'wv l^pfjLalTa, which had been quoted to illustrate the devastation of the land. In the Persae the verse is spoken by the ghost of King Darius, who has been raised from the dead to give advice to the Persians after their defeat at Salamis: on being informed of Xerxes' expedition he condemns it, and prophesies the crowning disaster of Plataea, v. 809

οὔ σφιν κακῶν ὑψαστ᾽ επαρμένει ταῖεῖν,

υβρεὸς ἄποινα καθέων φρονημάτων.

οἵ γὰρ μολὼντες Ἐλλαδόν οὐ θεῶν βρέτη

ήμωντο συλαν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νέους,

βομοί δ᾽ ἄτοι, δαμόνων θ᾽ ἱδρύματα

πρόμμαξι φύρδῃ ἐξανέσπραπται βάθρων.

τογάρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα

πᾶσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοινότερο κακῶν

κρηνὶς ἀπεσβηκ ἀλλ᾽ ἄτρ ἐκπιώντεται.

There in store abides
The crown of all their ills, in recompense
For their presumptuous and ungodly sin,
That in the land of Hellas made no conscience
Either to spoil the images of the gods
Or burn the temples; the altars are clean gone,
The shrines of deities torn up by the roots
And overturned and swept from their foundations.
Therefore for their ill-doing, ills no less
They have in suffering, and yet more shall have;
The fount of sorrow is not stanched yet
But still comes welling forth.

That is his denunciation of those barbarous and irreverent acts of desecration which Herodotus records (viii. 33; 53; 109, ix. 42) and which had impressed the Greek imagination with such deep and lasting horror (see e.g. Isocr. 4. 155). The passage in the Persae must have been familiar to all that heard the Agamemnon, and the acts themselves—including the burning of the temples on the Acropolis at Athens—must have been within the memory of many. Is it conceivable that Aeschylus before this audience, or any Greek at any
time, could have put this statement as a proud boast in the mouth of a religious herald? See also Eur. Icet. 862—5.

The destruction of sacred buildings had no significance in the story of the Sack of Troy. If it happened, it was because in the burning of the town it was inevitable.

Quint. xiii. 432 speaks of the fire raging round: ὅραν καίντο ἔν πάντα Ἀττιμάχου μέλαθρα, καταλήγοντι δ' ἄσπετος ἄφρε Πέργαμον ἀμφ' ἔρατιν περί τ' ἵερον 'Ἀπόλλωνος νησὶ τε ἔζαθεν Τριτονίδος ἀμφὶ τε βωμον 'Ερκείοιν, θάλαμοι δὲ κατεπρῆβον, ἐρατευοί νυών Πράμων θόλες δ' ἄμαθυντο πᾶσα: and in Seneca, Agam. 653 the Chorus lament templa deos sufer usta suos. But this is nowhere mentioned as having brought them retribution; and indeed for the Greeks to commit this act deliberately would have been impossible; there was no religious enmity; the Trojan gods were their gods. This is quite a different matter from the particular acts of sacrilege that were committed by individuals: Eur. Tho. 15 Poseidon complains ἔρημα δ' ἄλπη καὶ θεῶν ἀνάκτορα φῶνι καταρρεῖ πρὸς δὲ κρυτίδων βάθροις πέττωκε Πράμως: and in describing the massacre Tryphiodorus 598 says: οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχον ἀθεσμοτάτης ἕτο μιτῆς, ἱπατάτων δ' ἔχραινον ἀπειθεῖας αἰματι βωμοῦς. οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες ἀτμοτάτους φῶνισαν οὐδ' ὅρθιοι κτείνοντο, χαμαὶ δ' ἱκετήσαν γυια τενάμενοι πολιούσι κατεκλαύντο καρχίσων.

537. συντελής, sharing the same privileges and so involved in the same liabilities.


543. τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ, returned from the field = ἀπὸ στρατείας (608).

544. The form τεθάναι was long ago rejected by Hermann. Against all such conjectures as retain τεθάναι οὐκ ἀντερῶ it is sufficient to point out that ἀντιλέγω βανεῖν could not possibly mean 'I refuse to die'; still less could ἀντιλέγω τεθάναι. Hartung's χαίρω· βανεῖν ἄν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεῖος would mean 'I will not urge against the gods that I would die'; and Kayser's χαίρω· βανεῖν δὲ μ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεῖος 'I will not urge against the gods that I died.' The only conjecture that approaches the meaning aimed at is Schneidewin's χαίρω· τὸ τεθάναι δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεῖος, if rendered, 'as to dying, I will no more oppose the gods.' The general idea is doubtless the same as that in Hom. η 225 (first cited by Butler) ὡς κ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηρον ἔμης ἐπιβῆσετε πάτρης | καὶ με πολλὰ παθώτα· ἓριντα με καὶ λιπαὶ ἀιῶν | κτῆσιν ἐμῆν ὄρμως τε καὶ ψεφέσεις μέγα δῶμα. Add h. Aphrod. 154 Bouloīμην κεν ἐπεστα, γίνει eikûs, σῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβάς, δῶμαι δόμον Λίδιος εἰσώ. Aesch. Cho. 437
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207

Succeeds

Twere

My garments.

That is not Chionides' answer.

Guided by these passages I read as in the text. Cf. Othello ii. 1. 187 If it were now to die, 'Twere now to be most happy; for I fear, | My soul hath her content so absolute | That not another comfort like to this | Succeeds in unknown fate.

χαίρω γε, read by Enger and others, cannot be right, as this is the answer to χαίρεις; not to χαίρε.

551. When it is seen that this line is the answer to a question (as Heath took it), it is plain that the natural supplement is γ', 'Aye,' which is besides most easily omitted. For similar instances see Eur. Or. 1122, Phoen. 1344, Cycl. 217, Ed. 667, Ar. Nub. 469.

552. στυγοστράτως: see cr. n. The corruption is an example of a very common form of error, which has been illustrated in Class. Rev. xv. p. 17 f.


561. παρείξεις (from παρείκω as εἶχες from εἶκο), 'opportunities, or 'relaxations.' See cr. n. The schol. has σπανίους. καὶ τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ συνεχῶς ἀπηλαύμεν.—κακοστράτους: Chionides ἤρως fr. 1 (i. 4 K.) πολλοῖς έγώιδα κοῦ κατὰ σὲ νεανίας φρουροῦντας ἀτεχνῶν (? ἀτενέο K.) κάν σάμακι κοιμώμενους.

562 is corrupt. For οὐ λαχύντες, οὐ λάχοι τις might be suggested. Margoliouth's ἀσχάλλωντας would require a second negative.

563. καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος is perhaps a case of simplex ordo (see Class. Rev. xvi. p. 244), and we should read καὶ πλέον προσῆν στύγος.

565. δὲ. For the corruption into γὰρ see Porson on Med. 34, 1083, On editing Aeschylus, p. 119.—The words κατο...δρόμου are parenthetic, which accounts for the gender of τιθέντες (Verrall). Cf. 616 f. οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν—οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν—Ἀλλον πρὸς ἀνδρός.

566 f. 'Causing mildew and making the hair or wool of our garments verminous,' εὐθηρον,—for θηρῖν was applied in more or less humorous horror to the smallest creatures. No one who has served a campaign—in South Africa or elsewhere—will dispute the truth of the description. Plut. Mor. 352 f, speaking of the linen garments
worn by the Egyptian priests, remarks that linen is ἱκώια φθειροποιών, ως λέγοντι.

This in any case is the meaning of ἐνθηρον, which is applied to a festering wound in Soph. Phil. 698; and the rhythm is in favour of the punctuation adopted in the text. The usual arrangement

δρόσοι κατεψεκαζον, ἐμπεδων αίνος
ἐνθημάτων, τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα,

moves haltingly and throws the unemphatic τιθέντες into an abnormal place at the beginning of a clause. Sophocles, however, would appear to have read it so and taken τρίχα to mean the hair of the head: in the Ajax he makes his sailors before Troy complain as follows:—

600 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τλάμων παλαιὸς ἀφ' ὀν χρόνος
· θαῦμα μίμων λειμών ἀποειν μηνῶν
ἀνήρθησοι αἰεὶ εὐνώμαι.

1206 κείμαι δ' ἀμέρμονος ὄντως
αἰε πυκνάς δρόσοις τεγγύμενοι κόμας,
λυγρὰς μνήματα Τροίας.

577. The sense is ἐφρητ' ἀνία A. P. v. 72, υαλετε curae. χαίρειν καταβίω is merely one of the many variations of the phrase χαίρειν λέγω or κελεύω, which meant 'I say to you χαίρε,' 'I bid you hail,' or 'I bid farewell to you,' 'I say good-bye to you.' Instead of these words poetical or humorous language indulged in a great variety of substitutes: χαίρε προσεῖπας Kaibel, Epig. 256. προσεῖπας χαίρειν 781. αὐθήσαντες χαίρειν 205. ἐνεσε χαίρειν 103. ἐνέσῳ κλαίειν μακρὰ Archestratus (Ath. 117 a). χαίρειν προοννέπω Soph. Trach. 227. χαίρειν ἐφίειαι Ai. 112. ἀρτι δ' χαίρειν τοῦτο περί προθύρων ἐπιτέλλομαι Theocr. xix. 26. ἀείςας χαίρειν Kaibel, Epig. 237. χαίρειν κελεύων πολλά Ar. Ach. 200. πολλὰ χαίρειν φρώσας: ἀποταξάμενος Hesych. μακρὰ χαίρειν λέγων Lucian ii. 614, ἐων i. 714, φράσαντες ii. 820. ἐρρωσθαὶ λέγων Antiphanes 88. ἐρρωσθαὶ φράσας πολλὰ Dem. 19. 248, Lucian ii. 861. κλαίειν ἄνωγα Eur. Cycl. 340, 701. κλαίειν ἄγαρεϊν Plat. Com. 173. οἰμόζειν παραγγείλαντες Lucian i. 422.

583. θείς...τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα: Soph. fr. 871 νη τοῦς ἐν "Ἀργεῖ καὶ κατὰ Σάρπτην θεοὺς.

585. εἰλογεῖν: see on 350.

589. εφαθεῖν, 'teachableness,' as δυσμαθεῖν (Cho. 224) from δυσμαθῆς, ὃφιμαθεῖν, φιλομαθεῖν. 'It is never too late to learn.'

591. σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμὲ: Cho. 820 πλεῖς τάδ' ἐν· ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος αὐξέσαι τοῦ· ἀτα δ' ἀποστατεί φιλον.

592. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι is equivalent to πάλαι μὲν ἀνωλόλυξα (see note on v. 8), and πάλαι μὲν is taken up by καὶ νῦν in 603.
595. καὶ τίς μ᾽ ἐνιπτῶν reproduces the language of the Elders in vv. 481 ff., which Clytaemnestra had not heard. But the Chorus merely expressed the general sense of Argos, and the queen must have become acquainted with this in the interval implied in πάλαι (592).

602. κομφαντες perhaps means ‘extinguishing with wine at the end of the rite.’


614. σημαντήριον. Oppian Hal. iii. 361 κτήσω αἱ κείροντες ἀσημαντιοῦ δόμου—an orphan’s unprotected home. It was the common practice to seal up store-rooms and other treasuries, e.g. Eur. Or. 1108, Plat. Legg. 954 AB, Ar. Thesm. 414 ff., Lys. 1199, Diog. L. iv. 59, Hdt. ii. 121 β, Plaut. Cas. 144, Amphitr. 773, Stob. Flor. 6. 33 (so here σημαντήριον includes the seal of chastity).

616 f. ἀλλον πρὸς ἀνδρός belongs to τέρψιν and has no connexion with the intervening words οὐδ᾽ εὑρώγον φάτιν. So Theogn. 461 μὴ ποτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ απρόκτοισι νόν ἔχε, μηδὲ μενοίνα, χάρμασι, τῶν ἀνυσι γίνεται ωδημία. [For fuller discussions of this idiom, which Bergk (P. L. G. ii. p. 159) unnecessarily doubts, see Tyrrell in C. R. ii. p. 140 f., Kaibel on Soph. El. 1358 (p. 270)].—It is most natural to understand χαλκοῦ βαφάς (with the schol.) as poetical for σιδήρου βαφάς, which is often mentioned, the tempering of iron, to harden it or to soften it. The illustration is chosen of course for the double meaning.

618 ff. The MS. gives 618—9 to the Herald; most critics follow Hermann now in giving them to Clytaemnestra; Dr Verrall thinks they are spoken by a ‘Conspirator.’ Many commentators render τοιόδε’ ὁ κόμπος, ‘talis quidem sui iactatio,’ ‘a boast like this,’ ‘that sort of boast,’ as though it were τοιόσοδε κόμπος; but it can only mean ‘such is the boast;’ and unless it is corrupt—which is improbable, for corruption would rather be the other way—our explanation must allow it its due meaning. μανθάνω means intellego, ‘I see,’ ‘I understand,’ ‘I take your meaning’: μανθάνεις, ‘do you see?’ Examples are abundant in Comedy and Plato: Eur. Or. 1129 ΠΥ. εἶτ’ αὐτὸ δολοῖ τούργον αὐτείνεν χρέον. ΟΡ. Ἑλένην φονείην μανθάνω τὸ σύμβολον. ΠΥ. ἑγὼ: Ατ. Ran. 64 Δ. ἄρ’ ἐκδιδοῦσκο τὸ σαφὲς, ἢ τέρμα φράτσῳ; ΗΡ. μὴ δὴτα περὶ ἑτοὺς γε πίων γάρ μαθανάω. And μανθάνεις accordingly means ‘you understand,’ rem tenes, as Lucian i. 564 ΑΓΟ. οὐκοίν...δῆλον ὧτι μόνος ὁ σπουδαίος μισθὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ λήφθηται; ΧΡΥΣ. μανθάνεις. This is implied by a participle in Cho. 112 ΗΑ. ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ τάρ’ ἐπείξωμα τάδε; ΧΟ. αὕτη σὺ τινὰ μανθάνουσο’ ὡν φράσται, i.e. μανθάνεις: and the same is implied here by μανθάνοντι σοι: ‘Her speech is thus, as you understand.’ The person

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addressed, therefore, must have shown the Elder that he understands; and it follows that the previous remark cannot have been made by Clytaemnestra: seeing no reason to believe in Dr Verrall's Consipator, I conclude that the MS. is right in assigning 618—9 to the Herald. 

_αὕτη μὲν οὖν εἶπε_ is a formula dismissing her case, as 941 τοῦμόν μὲν οὖν, _Eum_. 556, _Theb_. 409, 1003, _Supp_. 513; they jot in _µανθάνοντι_ σοι, and add a plainer explanation in the following line, of which the natural interpretation is 'in the judgment of good critics—those who can read between the lines—only very specious words.' Then σὺ δ' εἶπε, κήρυξ, is the antithesis to _αὕτη μὲν οὖν_ εἶπε, 'now for your story further.' _λακεύν_ is an invidious word; it means 'to scream' or 'cry aloud without reserve or self-control' (_αὐεῖν, λακάζειν_, _σωφρόνων_ _µαθήµατα_ _Theb_. 169, _Supp_. 884): it is used contemptuously by Clytaemnestra of the bawling news-bringers in 856, and her γεναικείων νόµων ὀλοκληρόν ἐλάσκον in 601 is a retort, quoting the contemptuous judgments passed on her supposed impetuous behaviour; in _1427_ _περίφρονα_ ἐλακεύς is used of her by the Chorus (as _κοµπαίζεις_ in 1399) to rebuke her vaunting menaces, but a woman of her character would never, I think, apply it to herself: see n. on 287.—But the most important phrase is _ὁς γυναικὶ γενναία_, in which _ὁς_ after an adjective should have a limiting or qualifying force; not, as Peile takes it, 'particularly for a noble lady,' but 'for such a person as a noble lady,' 'considering that a noble lady is the speaker.' Examples are familiar, as Soph. _Ο. Τ_. 1118 _παιστός_ ὡς νοµείς ἀνήρ, 'trusty as any, in his shepherd's place,' _O. C_. 20 _μακρὰν_ γὰρ ὡς γέρωτι προοστάλης ὄδοι, 'a long way for an old man,' _Αἰ_. 395 ἔρεβος ὁ φαενότατον, ὡς ἐμοὶ, _Plat_. _Sophist_. 226 _ταχείων_, ὡς ἐμοί, _σκέψεων_ ἐπιστάσεως, 'a rapid process of thought for such as I am,' _Parmen_. 136 _ὁ_ _πολὺ_ ἔργον προοστάτες ὡς τηλικώτες, _Dio Chrys_. ii. p. 267 _ρ._ ὁ _δριμὴν_ _μὲν_ καὶ _δόλων_ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, _πολὺ_ δὲ ἀπέχοντα τῆς νῦν κακοποθείας, _Thuc_. v. 43 _ηλικίας_ μὲν ἐτὶ τότε ὁν νέον ὡς ἐν ἀλλήν πόλει, _Iv_. 84 ἢν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδίκατος, ὡς _Λακεδαιμόνιος_, εἰπεῖν. The meaning then should be that such unabashed avowals, though brim-full of truth, are surely _indecorous_, unbecoming a true gentlewoman. If the punctuation is made interrogative, this is exactly what the Herald says.—'The Chorus are well aware of Clytaemnestra's hypocrisy; therefore I do not think 618—9 would be said by one of them; but the Herald, who knows nothing and is surprised and unfavourably impressed, thinking that noble ladies do not usually proclaim their fidelity and affection in such terms (cf. _Plut. Mor_. 768 β ἢ_ ὡς_ γεναια_ λυνὴ πρὸς ἀδρα_ νοµιµον_ συγκραθεῖσα_ δὲ_ Ἐρωτος_ ἀρτικὸν ἀν ὑποµείνεικε καὶ_ ὀρακόντων_ _πεµβολὰς_ μᾶλλον ἢ_ φαύισιν_ ἀδρός_ ἀλλοτρίον_ καὶ_ συγκατάλυσιν_); thinking perhaps that there is some indecency in her saying 'that I may give my honoured lord the best and soonest welcome—for to a woman's
eyes what hour is dearer than ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρός, σώσαντος θεοῦ, πύλας ἀνοίξαι (v. 608 f., where see n.)? ’ Clytaemnestra here of course is merely overacting; but in Sophocles her true behaviour is such that Electra refuses her the character of γενναία γυνῆ: El. 287 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λόγοισι γενναία γυνὴ φωνοῦσα τοιᾷ́ ἐξονειδίζει κακὰ́; οἱ δὲνθεόν μίτημα, σοὶ μόνη πατὴρ τέθνηκεν; κτε. It is true that Sir R. Jebb renders, ‘this woman, in professions so noble’; but I incline to the other interpretation, ‘this so-called noble lady,’ as in Eur. El. 326 Agamemnon is to Electra τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὥς κλεινός, ὥς λέγουσιν. Or. 17 ὥς κλεινός, εἶ δὴ κλεινός, Ἀγαμέμνων.

623. σεσοφένοις. [In support of this form Wecklein, Curiae epīgr. p. 60 quotes Photius, p. 507, 22 σέσωται καὶ σεσωμένοι οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνευ τοῦ σ...οἱ δὲ νέωτέροι σέσωμαι, and Suid. s.v. σέσωται, and concludes ‘librarios peccauisse addendo σ ex posteriori dicendi consuetudine.’]

631. ἀναχθεὶς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλιου points to the form of the legend according to which Menelaus quarrelled with Agamemnon after the sack of Troy, and set sail before him: see Hom. γ 136 ff., Soph. fr. 479, Pausan. x. 25. 3.

641 ff. εἰφήμον ἦμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλω γλώσσῃ μιᾶνειν: χωρίς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν...(653) πῶς κεδα τοῖς κακοῖς συμμεξὼς; These are all religious phrases. In the Ion 1017 Creusa has two drugs with different virtues, one wholesome and the other—venom from the Gorgon’s serpents—deadly, and is asked εἰς ἑν δὲ κραθήτ’ αὐτὸν ἡ χωρίς φέρεις; She replies χωρίς... κακῶ ἡγάθον οὐ οὔπημέρυνται. See further Paley’s note on Ion 248, and compare Plat. Legg. 800 b—e, Plat. Aem. Paul. 35 τὴν ὁμότητα τῆς τύχης, ὥσ ὦκ ἤδεσατο πένθος τοσοῦτον εἰς οἰκών ζῆλον καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ θυσίων γέμουσαι εἰσάγοντα καὶ καταμηνύοντα θρήνους καὶ δάκρυα παιδῶν ἐπηκιώσει καὶ θριάμβους. The words χωρίς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν are a brief proverbial expression of familiar doctrine—‘that ceremonial is apart from the Gods of Heaven’: see Plat. Legg. 828 c ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸν χθωνίου καὶ δόσου αὐθ θεοῦς οἰφανίους ἐπομοναστέων καὶ τὸ τῶν τοῦτοι ἐπομένων οὐ ξυμμεκτέων, ἀλλὰ χωριστέων κτλ., Tim. 69 ο σεβόμενοι μιᾶνειν το θείον, ὃ τι μὴ πάσα ἡν ἀνάγκη, χωρίς ἐκείνου κατοικίζουσιν εἰς ἄλλον τοῦ σώματος οἴκημα τὸ θείον, Plut. Mor. 361 b θεοὶ and ἄθανατοι are often used in discrimination from the χθωνίου διάρμοι: Apollodor. i. 33 Wagner, Persephone was compelled to remain the third part of the year μετὰ Πλοῦτωνος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν: frequently by Aeschylus in the Eumenides, 109, 352, 363, 414, who have λάχνη θεῶν διχοστατοῦντα 389. But each form of worship is fitting in its proper place, and πρέπει is the word habitually used: the true paean should be sung at banquets, ἀνδρείων παρὰ διατυμόνεσθαι πρέπει παίανα κατάρχειν Alcman fr. 22: praise and honour are the fitting tributes (πρέπει) to a
conqueror or benefactor, *supr.* 437, 529, Pind. fr. 121, O. ii. 50, iii. 9, P. v. 43, N. iii. 67 βοῶν δὲ νικαφόρωι σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδαι πρέτει: praise also is the fitting memorial of the dead, only in their case it takes the form of lamentation—πρέτει λέγειν παιάνα τῶν Ἕρων.

645 ff. 'News of the double wound inflicted by the double scourge that Ares uses—one the general public wound felt by the whole country, the other that felt severally by each home in private for the loss of a loved man.' The notion of a wound suggests a scourge; the notion of a scourge leads Aeschylus to conceive these lost men as driven out from their houses *banned and excommunicate* beneath 'the curse of War; because polluted men banned by the people's excommunication were expelled ἀγγλαίων μάστυχις as Lycophron calls it, v. 436, which would seem to have been the original reading in *Cho.* 288 διόκεσθαι πόλεως | ἀγγλαίων μάστυχις λυμανθεν δέμας where the MS. has χαλκηλάτων πλάστιγγι. This one may suppose was the reason why Christ used a scourge in driving out the money-changers from the Temple (John 2. 15) as defilers and polluters of it. See also *Cho.* 374 ἀλλὰ διηλῆς γὰρ τῆςδε μαράγγης | δούτος ἰκείται: τῶν μὲν ἀρωγαί | κατὰ γῆς ἥηη: τῶν δὲ κρα- τοῦτον | χέρεσι οὐχ ὄσω, where, as in the present passage, the two lashes are clauses marked by μέν and δὲ. Both passages have been misinterpreted, but would not have been if critics had remembered that when the items signified by Greek words meaning *twin* or *double* are specifically named, it was regular to indicate them by the particles μέν and δὲ, or τε and τε, or τε and καί: examples near at hand are v. 337, 826, 872, *Supp.* 1920, *Pers.* 168, *Theb.* 769, *Eur. Andr.* 516. Here, instead of preceding as is usual, the word διηλῇ follows the two items, as in Pind. N. v. 52, *Eur. Supp.* 332, Soph. *El.* 1078, A. P. ix. 40. 5, *Ov. Trist.* iii. 8. 33. διλογχοὺν ἀπερι and φωιών εὐνορίδα introduce new metaphors, and διλογχοὺν no more refers to the μάστυχις than εὐνορίδα: it is derived from the common practice of carrying a pair of spears.

654. οὐκ ἀρδυντος θεῶν refers to the crime and punishment of Aias the Locrian: see Schol. *AD* on Hom. *N* 66.

656. πόρ καὶ ψάλασσα. This in the usual story was regarded as a compact struck between Poseidon and Athena (privileged to employ her father's lightning: *Eum.* 830), who had previously been on opposite sides. The opening of the *Troades* of Euripides shows them making this agreement.

659. See cr. n. It is impossible to say whether f's reading is an epicism introduced by the copyists or whether the Attic poets really used such forms; nor do inscriptions give any help.

661. σὺν θάλητ' τ' ἀρμοκτύπωι. In descriptions of storms at sea
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ομβρος, rain, is a constant detail. [Thus Eur. Τρο. 78 (referring to this particular storm) καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ομβρον καὶ χάλαξαν ἀστετον πέμψει.] Greek ships, we must remember, were undecked and had no bilge-pumps; all the baling must be done by hand.

667 ff. ἢτοι τις εξεκλεφεν ἢ ἐξητήσατο, κτέ. 'We were either spirited away θεῶν κλοπαῖς (Eur. Ο rit. 1497) or saved by the intercession of some divinity who begged us off,' ἐξητήσατο, as Apollo, for example, ἐξητήσατο Αἴδηφος from the Fates, schol. Eur. Αἰ. 12. ταῦρω δὲ φύγων μόρον οὖς ἐσάσσεν η θεὸς ἡ δαίμον, says Quintus of this, xiv. 627. Gods often save οἱ θεοὶ τις ἁμρί ἐσάσσεν, 328 Ζηνὸς νόσος ἡ τίς αἰσθ. iv. 930 Θetis steers the Argo between the Shifting Rocks, η δ' ὑπόθεν πέτρων τισ θηραλίου. Val. Flacc. ii. 48. Ach. Tat. iii. 5 δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς περιέσσεστο ἡμῶν τῆς πρόκροι μέρος. Lucian i. 652 sailors narrate τοὺς Διοςκορίδως ἐπιβαίνοντες η τῶν ἀλλι τὸς μηχανῆς θεῶν ἐπὶ τῶν καρχηδων καθεδομένον ἡ πρὸς τοῖς περιαλίους ἑστῶται καὶ πρὸς τινα ημῶν μαλακικὴ ἀπευθυνοίτα τὴν ταύν.

670. εν ἀρμοι refers to the danger of a rising swell when the ship is at anchor. Cf. Suφ. 774 οὐδὲν ἐν ἀγκυρούχας θαρσοῦσα υαν ποιμένες παραγάτικα, ἄλλως τε καὶ μολύντες ἀλίμιες χθονα ἐν νήκτι, sib. ιο. 203 πιναι δύσορμοι. Such was the position of the Athenians at Pylos: Τhuc. iv. 26 τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχοντων ἄρμον...οἱ δὲ μετεσώμοι ἄρμον...ράμων γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν πρήσων ἐλάνθανον, ὅποτε πνεύμα ἐκ τοῦτον εἰς ἀπορον γὰρ ἐγίνετο περισσεῖ. The correction ἀρμοῖ should mean in combragibus—in the seams or frame of the ship. But that would be εν ἀρμοῖς.

676 ff. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνων: he endeavours to suggest grounds for hoping the best. The connexion of thought is as follows:—'All we know for certain is that Menelaus and the rest have disappeared; but after all, we do not know that they have perished: we conjecture it; but they, no doubt—if there are any among them that survive—are now conjecturing the same of us; and it is possible that our conjecture may be equally mistaken. So we need not quite despair. Let us hope for the best in a bad business. For the truth is you must expect that Menelaus is most probably in great distress; but still, wherever he may be, if only he is alive, there is some hope yet that he may manage to get home again.'...γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα: 'as well as may be.'—πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλιστα is opposed to εἰ δ' οὖν ('if, however') in the same way as the ordinary phrase μάλιστα μὲν may be followed by ἐπιστα (e.g. Heliod. i. 15 μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς σχολάσεσ τῶν ἔρωτα: εἰ δ' ἐναπερείνειε..), πρῶτον being neuter and adverbial: Plut. Μορ. 574 Μαλίστα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον... δειτερον δε. Isaeus ii. 20 μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρμής ἐπιστα, δειτερον δε δια.... So Iambl. ii. 416. Diog. Laert. ix. 66 διαγωνίεσθαι δ' οὖς οἶον τε πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐργους πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἰ δὲ μή, τοί λόγωι. 'Though your
first and chiefest expectation—the great probability—must be that he is in sore straits, still there is some hope.' Aristid. i. 810 μάλαστα μὲν δὴ καὶ πρῶτον..., ἐτή δὲ. Hdt. ii. 59 μάλαστα μὲν καὶ προθυμόστατα... δεύτερα.... πρῶτον might also be masculine, although that is less likely here: Ath. 524 δ μάλαστα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον. Plat. Ἀματ. 136 ν μὴ μοι, εἴπον ἐγὼ, ἄμφιστέρως λέγε, ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτος μᾶλλον τε καὶ πρῶτον. οὔδεις ἂν, ἐδέχ· τοίτο γ' ἄμφιστήσεις, οὐκ οὔτε τὸν ἁτρόν καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτοτον. Dio Chrys. i. 180 πρῶτον καὶ μάλαστα αὐτῶι.—οὖν merely adds emphasis to the other particles it is combined with: Ὅ. Ὀ. 834 ήμῖν μὲν, ὑμᾶς, ταύτα ἔμπνευ. ἐστὶν δ' ἄν ὄν πρὸς τοῦ παρώτως ἐκμάθης, ἐξ ἐλπίδα, 'but still have hope.' δ' οὖν is a more emphatic δὲ. εἰ δ' οὖν is the same as εἰ δέ, but a little stronger. It introduces the alternative, to which πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλαστα is opposed.—μογεῖν; see cr. n. Τzetz. Ἀναλ. 1.40 κείνοι γὰρ τε μέγα πέλαγος Τύρων πέροντες | ἀστυ Τρωίων έιδον, έλον λυκιάβατα μογείνειτε.

696. Ζεφύρων γίγαντος αὑρα: the reason for this epithet is to suggest that Zephyrus, the Spring-wind, lent his influence as the wind of Love; because according to one legend the father of "Ερως was Ζεφύρων γίγας: Lydus de mens. p. 117, de estent. p. 282 ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ Τύχης ἐφόρωι (ἡχόντο) Σωφροσύνη τε καὶ ἴ. Ἡρωτὶ, ὅτι μυθικοὶ Ζεφύρων τοῦ γίγαντος εἶναι παιδά ἄξιοτόν, ὡς φησιν Εὐρύτος ὁ Δακιδαμίνοις ὁ μελοποιός ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως: ‘ἀγλαυμεῖν ἴ. Ερως.' See Bergk, Ποιητ. Λυρ. Gr. iii. p. 639. [Alceaus fr. 13 calls Eros δειμώτατον θεῶν <τῶν> γένεται ἐπιτίθελος Ἰρίς χρυσοκόμα Ζεφύρωι μαγείσα.]

697. πολύανδροι: she is always πολύνανα γυνὴ (v. 62), but the swarms of men pursuing her in hot quest now are in a different temper.

702 η. κόδος ὁρθανώμον τελεσφόρων μήρας ήμωσ (that is, ἔτελεσεν, ἐτελείωσεν, ἔτερατεν): 'thought-executing Wrath brought the κόδος to fulfilment in the true meaning of the term,' as Ἀνιγη. 1178 ὁ μάντι, τούτοις ὡς ἀρ ὁρθόν ἠμωσα. Cf. O. C. 454 παλαίφαβῃ ἀμοὶ Φοῖβος ἠμωσεν ποτε, Ὅ. Ὀ. 156 ἠμωσετ' εκτοτάν φλόγα, Ἡμ. τ 567 οί ἢ 'ένιμα κραίνοντων, θεό. 870 ἡληθή...ἐπέκρανεν. This transformation is the subject of the following passage to v. 717, which describes how the Doom of Ζεύς έπεσε was at last effected, how Helen παρακλάνασ' ἐπέκρανεν γάμον πικρὰς τελευτάς, and how joy was changed to sorrow. κόδος means both 'relationship by marriage' and 'mournings' (the due office of relations); and there is no single word in English that will cover the two senses. Cf. Eur. Ανδρ. 103 ἰλίοι άλπειαί Πάρες οὖ γάμον ἀλλὰ τιν' ἀταν ἄγαγετ' ενναίαν ἐς θαλάμους Ἐλένει. The MS. reading κόδος ἠλασε would mean 'drove away,' 'dispelled,' as in Orph. Ηγ. 73 γ. 7 πολύστονα κόδοτ' ἠλάσασ. In Eur. Ἐρεικ. 788 Reiske substituted διήνυσεν for διήλασεν.
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707 f. τὸ νυμφόταιον μέλος ἐκφάτως πῶντας: Troy, in the person of the bridegroom’s kinsmen (γαμβροί), to whom fell the singing of the wedding-chorus, honoured (that is, celebrated, as εὐπτομον παιάνα φίλος ἐτύμα in v. 258) the Hymenaeus sung in honour of the guilty bride and bridegroom, slighting and dishonouring thereby the Stranger’s Table. But if it was all joy and merry-making then, it is all sorrow now and lamentation; ῥμέαιος has been changed to θρήνος.—That being an εὐφήμος γῆνος changed to a δύσφημος, it is very likely that ἐκφάτως is a mistake for εὐφάτως meaning εὐφήμος, as δυσφάτως κλαγγαί in v. 1150 means δυσφήμω. If ἐκφάτως is sound, it means ‘outspokenly,’ in loud and bold avowal. The sentence is turned artificially in order to make all these antithetical points in a brief compass with the telling words in telling places. The change of the ῥμέαιος to the θρήνος was a common-place: Eur. Alc. 922 τῶν δὲ ῥμεαιῶν γόος ἀντίπαλος, Soph. O. T. 420 ff. βοῖς δὲ τῆς σῆς...οταν καταίσθη τὸν ῥμέαιον, ὅν δόμοις ἄιορμον εἰσεπλευσας, εἴπολος τοιχῶν.

712. γεραύα, i.e. all too late: ins. 1425 γυώσῃ διδάξθεις ὅψε γὸν τὸ σωφρονέιν. It must be joined with μεταμανθάνουσα (cf. ὁψιμαθής).

718 ff. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λεόντος ἵνα δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βούτας ἀνήρ φιλόμαστον: throughout this simile we must remember that the Lion-cub means Helen and the Herdsman Paris, and observe how carefully the touches are designed to correspond. It does not seem unlikely that λεόντος ἵνα would be specially appropriate to Helen as a member by marriage of the Pelopid House; see my note on v. 147: but Paris who carried her off and kept her in his house was of course habitually called βούτας ἀνήρ (Eur. Hec. 646) or βοικόλας or pastor,—which confirms the truth of the corrected reading. As Wecklein has pointed out, without this word we should not know what μηλοφύνως (v. 731) meant. For the evidence of the wider sense of μῆλον see On editing Aeschylus, p. 137. Yet Wilamowitz in C. R. xx. 446 speaks as if μηλοφύνως were fatal to βούτας, and had been overlooked. ἀγάλακτα (from ἀγάλαξ) means ἀμογάλακτα, ‘foster-brother’; for as yet it is an unweaned suckling, φιλόμαστος.

723. γεραψεῖ εἰπόχαρτον calls to mind the famous passage in the Iliad, Γ 149 ff., where the aged councillors at the Scaean gate are entranced by the sight of Helen’s beauty. The late Epic writers describe the spell of her beauty in similar terms: Quint. xiv. 58, Tzetz. Antehom. 141.

724 ff. πολία δ’ ἐσχ’ ἐν ἄγκαλαισ...φαιδρωπός ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνων τε γαστρός ἄνάγκαιος (see cr. n.) could only mean, as Dr Verrall takes it, the young lion ‘got many a thing, when embraced it woed the hand with radiant visage under stress of appetite’; but as ἐν ἄγκαλαις ἔχειν
was the regular phrase for holding a child or a pet-creature in one's arms, I incline to read with Auratus what I have translated, φαιδρωπόν ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνοντα γαστρός ἀνάγκαιον. Which we take of these two readings matters little, but if we read σαίνοντα we must also read φαιδρωπόν—whether masculine or neuter used adverbially with σαίνοντα—because both these words belong to the description of the lion-cub. The point is that he, or Helen whom he typifies, began by fawning with a smile like treacherous Ate, who σαίνει φιλόφρων or φαιδρόνως as I shall show on v. 1226. This is clear when we compare the corresponding final lines of the antistrophe, ἐκ θεοῦ δὲ ἀρείος τὶς Ἀτας δόμοις προσεθερέθη.

729. χάριν. 'As grace to his maintainers owed': because it was the custom for children on coming of age to make their parents and nurses a symbolic thank-offering (θρέπτρα Hom. Δ 478, θρεπτήρια, προφέω) in return for their bringing-up.—By the slaughter of the cattle we are to imagine the carnage in the streets of Troy.

731. μηλοφόνουσιν ἄταις. As a point is elsewhere reinforced by the insistent repetition of a word, by πολύθρησσον for example in vv. 713, 715, and by ἄται following ἄταις in v. 736, so, when the comparison is expounded, the conclusion is that Helen proved a νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρμύς (748). This recalls the language of Soph. fr. 519 ἢ δ' ἄρ' ἐν σκότωι λήθουσά με ἔσαν' Ἐρμύς. For the words cf. Pers. 655 οὔτε γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλει πολεμοφόρουσιν ἄταις.

737. προσεθερέθη: see cr. n. In Eur. Hec. 600 for θρεφθήναι L. has τραφήναι: and in MSS. generally the heavier first aorist forms tend to be wrongly ousted by the weaker second aorists (On editing Aeschylus, p. 104 ff.).—ἐκ θεοῦ — θεοῦν, 'by the will of the gods' (Theb. 311 ὑπ' ἄνδρος Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν περπατέων). So Theb. 23 καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ, and see the examples quoted in On editing Aeschylus, p. 107.

739. φρόνυμα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας: the idea this would suggest is smiling and seductive Calm, who tempts men to embark, but in seeming innocence treacherously lures them to disaster,—just as Ἀτη does, whose wrath is elsewhere likened to a storm (v. 810). A. P. vii. 668 οἴον εἰ μοι γελώσας κατασπαράσεις γαλάνη κύματα... νησίβατην μ' ὁψεσθε. Lucian iii. 197 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ βάλασσα ἰκανή προκαλέσασθαι καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς γαλάνη φανείσα, ἵστε, κἂν μὴ εἴπων ὅτε εἰ καὶ παντάπωσιν ἠπειρώτης καὶ ἀπειρόπλους τις εἰς, πάντως ἄν ἐθελήσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβηκῇ καὶ περπατήσῃ καὶ πολυ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποστάσαι. Lucret. ii. 556: wrecks are a warning to mankind

invidi maris insidias uivisque dolumque
ut nitare uelint, nune ullo tempore credant,
subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti
and again, v. 1004

nee poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti
subdola pelligere in fraudem ridentibus undis,
improba naucleri ratio cum caeca iacet.

Meleager, A. P. v. 156:

ά φθερος χαροπόθ 'Ασκληπιώς οίδα Γαλήνης
δήμασι συμπείθει πάντας ἐρωτοπλοεῖν.

Such glittering Calm of sunlit weather
In her bright eyes hath she,
Fair Amoret! all men's hearts together
Launch upon Love's alluring sea.

Simonides quoted by Plut. Mor. 798 D (where I adopt Hermann's παρέπισθαν for the MS. παρήσαν):

λευκάς καθύπερθε γαλάνας
εὐπρόσωποι σφας παρέπισθαν ἔρωτες ναίας
κλαίσας χαραξίστοιν δαιμονίαν ἐς ὑβριν,

the result of which is ὀθληρὸς or ἀτη.

gαλήνης calm and γέλωσ smile are in fact the same in origin, γαληνής and γελανής merely different forms of the same word: γελανώσας θυμόν Bacchyl. v. 80, διαγαληνίσας πρόσωπον Αρ. Εχ. 646, γαληνοῦ μειδάματος Themist. 282 λ, μειδαί τῆς θαλάσσης γαληνώσης χαρέστερον Alciphr. iii. 1. Aristotle, Physig. p. 811 b 37 οἱ κόνες ἐπείδαι ὁμοπεννοσει, γαληνής τὸ πρόσωπον ἔχουσων. ἐπείδη οὖν ἡ τε συνεφής ἐξις αὐθάδεαιν ἐμφαίνει ἡ τε γαλήνη κολακέαιν, ἡ μέση ἄν τοῦτοι ἐξις εὐαρμόστοις ἔχοι. Philostratus, Imag. ii. 1 says of the ὑμνητριαι singing before Aphrodite that their gestures prove that they have risen from the sea, τὸ μειδίαμα δ' αἰτῶν γαλήνης ἐστίν αὖγιμα.

740. ἀκασκαίων δ' ἀγαλμα πλούτου, 'a jewel in the crown of Wealth.' In P. V. 482 he applies the phrase to horses, bred by the wealthy for the race-course, ἵππου, ἀγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλούτου χαλίδης, 'the lustre of luxurious affluence'; and Meredith in Beauchamp's Career c. 15, doubtless with both these passages in mind, very happily makes a double application of it: 'As the yacht, so the mistress: things of wealth, owing their graces to wealth, devoting them to wealth—splendid achievements of art both!...Did Beauchamp at all desire to have those idly lovely adornments of riches, the Yacht and the Lady, swept away?' Thucyd. vi. 41 speaks of ἰπποὺς καὶ ὁπλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἴς ὁ πῶλεμος ἀγάλληται, 'all the pride and pomp of war,' and in Philostr. Heroic. p. 791 Ajax, for his strength and beauty, is called ἀγαλμα πολέμου. In Thuc. ii. 44 Pericles asks the Athenians to regard their houses and their lands as κηπίων καὶ ἐγκαλλωσιμα πλούτου, the mere pleasure
for wealth to display its graces in. ἀγλάίσμα is used in the same way: Achill. Tat. ii. 1 of the rose, γῆς ἐστὶ κόσμος, φυτῶν ἀγλάίσμα, ὀφθαλμός ἀκρόν. Heliod. iii. 6 εἶδε τὸ ἀγλάίσμα ἐμὸν τε καὶ Δελφῶν, Χαρκλέαν. ἀκασκαῖον, 'gentle,' expresses 'languid, delicate': Hesych. ἀκασκα· ἡφύγως, μαλακώς, βραδέως. Cratinus ap. Bekk. Aeneid. p. 371, 1 σκῆπτρωσιν ἀκασκα προβῶντες.

This passage affords a remarkable instance of a common formula of description, in which the details are accumulated without any connecting particles. The mannerism has been imitated by Milton, Paradise Regained ii. 156 More like to goddesses | Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet, | Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues | Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild | And sweet allayed, yet terrible to approach, | Skilled to retire, and in retiring draw | Hearts after them, tangled in amorous nets. So Ach. Tat. i. 3 εὑρίσταται δὲ μοι γυνὴ φοβερὰ καὶ μεγάλη, τὸ πρόσωπον ἀγρία, ὀφθαλμός ἐν αἴματι, βλασφημαί παρειά, ὀφείς αἱ κόμαι· ἀπρός ἐκρατεῖ τῇ δεξιᾷ, δύνα τῇ τῇ λαϊκῇ. i. 4 τοιαύτῃν εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σέληνην· ὀμμα γοργόν ἐν ἰδέῃ· κομὴ ἀκνή, τὸ ἐκαθὼν οὐλον· ὀφρυς μέλαιαι, τὸ μέλαι ἀκρατον· λευκὴ παρεια, τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφιανύστετο καὶ ἐμμεῖτο πορφύραι, οἰνα εἰς τὸν ἐλέφαντα Λυδία βαπτεῖ γυνῆ· τὸ στόμα ῥόδων ἀνθος ἦν, ὅταν ἀρχηταί τὸ ῥόδον ἀνάγεται τῶν φύλλων τὰ χείλη. ὥς δ' εἶδον, εὔθες ἀπωκλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ἐξέτερον πτερωσκεί βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρέει· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ οἴδος ἐρωτικών τραύματι. viii. 12 παρθένος ἦν ἐνεδίψη, οἴομα Ροδὼπης, κυνηγόνων ἐρώτα καὶ θρήνας· πόδες ταχεῖς, εὐστοχοι χεῖρες, ζωνὴ καὶ μίτρα καὶ ἀνεξωφρένες εἰς γούν χειτῶν, καὶ κατ' ἄνδρας κούρα τρυχῶν. Antiphanes Λατ. Jr. 33 (ii. 23 K.) ἄ. ὧ ταῖν, κατανοεῖς τὸν ποτ' ἐστὶν οὐσίο | ὃ γέρων; Β. ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν οὐσος Ἐλληνικοσ· | λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιόν χιτωνίακος καλός, | πελείδων ἀπαλόν, εὐρύθυμος βακτρία, | βεβαια τράπεζα—τὶ μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλος | αὐτὴν ὄραν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν δοκεῖ. Ter. Phorm. 104 uidemus: uiro pulchra: et quo magis diceres, | nil aderat adiumenti ad pulchritudinem: | capillus passus, nudus pes, ipsa horrida, | lacrumanæ, uestitus turpis. Aesch. Thed. 611 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ῥβόσαν φυεί, | ποδώκες ὀμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνται. Eur. Supp. 867 φῖλος τ' ἀληθῆς ἦν φίλος παροῦσι τε | καὶ μή παροῦσιν· ὦν ἀρθόμον οὐ πολὺς· | ἀψευδές ἤθος, εὐπροσ- | ψευδόνομο στόμα, | ἀκρατον οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐσικέτασιν ἐγὼν | οὔτ' ἐσι πολίται. ib. 904 οὐκ ἐν λόγοις ἦν λαμπρὸς ἂλλ' ἐν ἄσπιδι | δεῖνος σοφιστήσ πολλὰ | τ' ἐξειρων σοφά, | γνώμη δ' ἀδελφὸν Μελεάγρῳ ἀλειμένον ἦσον παρέσχεν | ὅναμα διὰ τέχνης δορός, | εὐφῶν ἀκριβῆ μονοτίκην ἐν ἄσπιδι· | φιλότιμον ἤθος πλουσίου, φρονημα δε | ἐν τόσον ἔργοι, οὐχί τοῖς λόγοις ἐφόν. Verg. Aen. xi. 338 largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello | dextera, consilii habitus non futilis auctor, | seditione potens. So in Aesch.
Supp. 577 both 

somewhat

The earliest example is Semonid. Amorg. 7. 71 τὴν δ' ἐκ πιθήκου· τοῦτο δὴ διακριθοῦ | Ζεὺς ἀνδράσιν μέγιστον ὡπασεν κακόν. | ἀψίχιστα μὲν πρόσωπα· τουατ' γενή | εἰσὶν δ' ἀστεοὺς πάσιν ἀνθρώποις γέλως: | ἐπ' αὐξένα βραχεία, κινεῖται μόις, | ἀπνυγός, αὐτόκωλος. In this passage the word κυνεῖται enables me to see that the Physiognomic writers were the source from which this manner of description was derived.


749 ff. There is an important passage in an earlier and remarkable writer with which this, I believe, has not been brought into comparison: Ezekiel 18. 1 The word of the Lord came unto me again, saying, What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion to use this proverb any more in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right...he is just, he shall surely live saith the Lord God. See the remainder of the chapter, and Jeremiah 31. 29. That is a general repudiation of inherited guilt, the doctrine of the Decalogue; an assertion of individual responsibility, the Buddhist doctrine. For the doctrine of Aeschylus see Introduction p. 31.

761. ἐν κακοῖς. There are two forms of the proverb. Solon fr. 7 has τίκτει γὰρ κόρον ὑβρις, ὅταν πολὺς ὀξυς ἔπηται ἀνθρώπωσιν ὀσοὺς μὴ νόσοι ἀρτίοις ἢ, but in Theogn. 153 the lines are altered to τίκτει τοι κόρον ὑβρις, ὅταν κακῶι ὀξυς ἔπηται ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὀτωι μὴ νόσοι ἀρτίοις ἢ.

762. The correction βαθύσκοτον (see cr. n.) implies the common confusion of φ and β (cf. 436, 770) and of φ and θ. Somewhat similar is Bentley's τρέλεσκοτον for τρίδε σκοτοί in Soph. fr. 314.

771 f. δύναμιν οὐ σέβονται πλοῦτον παράστημον αἰνώ. The best illustration is Plat. Legg. 870 a—c. The coining of money often marked the first assumption of absolute power.—When Bacchylides ix. 49 says οἶδα καὶ πλοῦτον μεγάλαν δύνασιν ἀ καὶ τὸν ἀχρεῖον τίθησι χρηστῶν—τί μακρὰν γλώσταν ιθύσας ἐλαϊνὸς ἐκτὸς ὀδού; I suppose that a passage on the
power of wealth must have followed in the poem of Solon (fr. 13) part of which (v. 33 sqq.) he has been paraphrasing for his young Athenian. The examples of παντοτιν ἐρωτε became a commonplace; see Hor. C. i. 1. 3 sqq. with Orelli-Hirschfelder’s note on v. 18.

774 ff. In this address to Agamemnon the Chorus have two objects: first, as representatives of the people, to assure him of a favourable reception; secondly, to warn him of Clytaemnestra’s insincerity and unfaithful stewardship. The latter object they attain by using phrases which appear to point at her obliquely: 784 ἐνγχαίρουσιν ὀμοιοπρεπεῖς, 788 δοκοῦντ' ἐφρονος ἐκ διανοιας, 796 οὐκ ἄπ' ἄκμας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως and 799 τὸν ἀκάρυον οἰκουργία. Agamemnon, when he refers to their welcome (v. 821 ff.) replies in the same manner (v. 831), showing that he fully understands them.

777. Cf. Eur. I. A. 977 πῶς ἄν σ' ἐπανέσαιμι μὴ ξιν λόγως, μηθ' ἐνδεκτο τοῦθ' ἀπολέσαιμι τὴν χάριν;—καρδὸν χάριτος = ‘the due measure of thy content.’

779. τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, or τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι as read by Weil. The latter phrase is used by Lucian iii. 274 where he is reminding Samippus, who had wished to be a king, what the drawbacks of the position would have been: ἐπιβουλαὶ μιρίαι καὶ φθόνοις παρὰ τῶν συνόντων καὶ μίσος καὶ κολακεία, φίλοι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀληθῆς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δεός ἀπαντεῖ ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐπαύν δοκοῦντες εἶναι.

782. δήγμα...λύπης, pang of grief, resembles 742 δηξίθυμον ἐρωτος ἅνος, 1472 καρδιώδητον, Soph. fr. 757 ἐρωτος δήγμα. The metaphorical use of δάκω, as applied to pain, grief, annoyance and the like, is very common: see the examples collected in On editing Aeschylus, p. 102. δάκω, δήγμα are merely equivalent to λυπῶ, λύπη, the words regularly given as their synonyms in lexicons and scholia. δήγμα λύπης is a periphrasis for λύπη just as δήγμα ἐρωτος (quoted above) is a periphrasis for ἐρως. The same MS. error (see cr. n.) is found in Lucian i. 24 οὔτε κάνησις ὑμοία πρόσεστιν οὔτε ψυχῆς δείγμα τι, ἀλλὰ τέρψις ἄλλως καὶ παιδὰ τὸ πράγμα, where Cobet (V. L. p. 142) shows that δήγμα is to be read.

784 ff. Two things indicate that at least a line—probably a paroemiac—is missing, the metrical hiatus between βιαξόμενοι and ὀστίς, and the sense; for ἐνγχαίρουσιν, if taken as a verb they sympathise in gladness,’ is not true; they only feign to sympathise; it is the dative, ‘in the guise of sympathisers,’ Lucian i. 838 προστιντές οὖν ἐδεξιώντο καὶ θυμαμάζουσιν ἐόκεισαν (see for the idiom Cobet, N. L., p. 341), and the verb followed in the missing line. The purport almost certainly was ‘they smile a forced smile only with the lips; but their eyes bewray them’: Heliod. ii. 19 πρὸς ταύτ' ἐμεδίδασεν ἀλίγον καὶ
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which, as I learn from Burton, is the regular metaphor in Arabic; firásah, their word for physiognomy, means properly 'skill in judging the points of a mare (faras),' an eye for horseflesh: and the metaphor in Greek was derived, I suppose, from a common Oriental source. In that science, as I have shown in the note on v. 283, it was the eye that told the truth.—údarei, 'watery,' is the opposite of ákráto, 'neat' or 'undiluted' as applied to wine and metaphorically 'absolute,' 'unmitigated.'

Ar. Pol. ii. 4, p. 1262 b 614 én de têi pôlei têin filêmón anagkaion èdarái génesthai dia têin koivnian têin tõiaûtôn (i.e. of women and children), kai ñkosta légei tôn èmôn ñ vîôn pantêra ñ pantêra vîôn.

For the description of the false friend cf. Max. Tyr. vi. 7 to ðê èdwlion autôn prôxeiron kai pantodapôn, kolaîkôn èsroì kai ñíasou, sekatêron kai saìntôn, kai èp' ákraí ñkôlîtî to filêm ëxóntôn. Òî x èp' enôias agôméon kte.

791. óuk èpipéstî.: see cr. n. ãwr may have been inserted merely for sense: see On editing Aeschylus, p. 121.

794 f. têcs èkouston ándraisi thêúskeousi komizous, 'in seeking to recover a consenting wanton by means of the lives of men.' komizous is used of the quest for Helen by Pind. O. xiii. 59 òî mèn gênei filôn sau 'Atrêos 'Elefan komizontes, oî ð' àpò pâmpan èfroûntes, and N. vii. 28 xai thôi Meîlêlai dàmàrta komizâi and in the Tebûnîs Parûri, vol. i., p. 3 (fr. 1, 1) ð' ðavionèi xàrmia moî filôn ñte ñgýpas ñte dòrati pôlemiôa tân Phrûgôn pôlôn èfroûtheis mônà tâmià komizâi thêlôn léxêa pâlôn eîs pâtrav.—thârros èkouston is, as Dr Verrall takes it, a description of Helen herself, rather than 'the willing wantonness of Helen,' as
Weil explained it: θράσος is used in a personal sense in Theb. 172 κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ (γνὴι) οἷς ὀμηλητῶν θράσος (ἐστὶ), Eur. Andr. 261 ὁ βάρβαρος σὺ τρέμα καὶ σκληρῶν θράσος, and many other neuter words like στύγος, μῖσος, ἔλεγχος, ὄνειδος, μίσημα, ἀλήμα, πατάλημα, παροψώμια (v. 1448) were used to describe persons not only in addressing them but in speaking of them (Class. Rev. xiv. p. 117).

This view of Helen's conduct would be familiar to a Greek audience so that they would not experience the least difficulty in understanding what was meant, especially after the introduction of Helen's name in v. 791. Stesichorus (before his Recantation) had declared that 'Ελένη ἐκοίμασα ἀπήρε (Bergk, p. 215); and her conduct was a ground of discontentment both at home and in the camp. It was bad enough that men's blood should be shed for a woman's sake at all (sup. 62, cf. Supp. 486), especially when that woman was another's wife (sup. 455, Achilles in Hom. A 154, I 327, 339); but for a woman who went off with her lover of her own accord (see also Eur. Andr. 592 ff.), this was indeed a thing intolerable. Herodotus i. 4 presents the Asiatic view of this very matter; when women were carried off, it was folly to make exertions for revenge, ἄρα γὰρ δὴ δὴν, εἰ μὴ αὐτὴν ἐβούλωντο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπαξέντο.

796 f. If ἀφίλος is sound, a supplement such as ἔστιν ἐπαινεῖν seems to be required. A short line was often written at the side and afterwards omitted. ἐπιλέγειν is to pronounce a judgment, censure, eulogy or epitaph: Plut. Mor. 704 ε ὑπάρχεις μόναις τὸ 'καλόν' ἐπιλέγεσθαι. Arist. 1323 b 11 ει δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐπιλέγειν μη μόνον τὸ 'καλὸν' ἄλλα καὶ τὸ 'χρήσιμον.' Philem. 128 καλὸν τὸ θυμισκέαν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτων λέγειν. Theb. 906 πάρεστιν εἰτείν ἐπ' ἀδύλοισιν ὡς... sup. 379.—ἐφροῦν means pleasant, agreeable, welcome, = σαίνει, προσγελαί, arrided: as in 1577, Supp. 19, 383, 543, 983, Pind. O. ii. 40, Ἀ. vii. 67. For the sentiment see Cope on Ar. Rhet. i. 11. 8.

800. οἰκουρόωντα. If nothing else had told Agamemnon that the Chorus are alluding to Clytaemnestra, this word could not fail to tell him. οἰκουρέω, to keep house, was the duty of the faithful housewife. Eur. Hec. 1277 κτεινείν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλοχοῦ, οἰκουρός πικρά. Or. 928 εἰ τάνδον οἰκουρήματοι οἱ λευκομέναι φθείροντον, ἀνδρῶν εὐνίδας λοβωμένου. Lykophr. 1107 λατρείν λεαπτὸς εἰσίδουσ' οἰκουρίαν. Liban. iv. 115: Agamemnon on departing for the Trojan expedition is supposed to have charged his wife in these terms:—οδι μὲν πλοῦσιν, οὐ γνῶσιν, μακρός, οἳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἔννοι ἐλπίδεσι ἄθλησαν. δει γαρ, ἢν δεῖ, πάντα παθεῖν ὅτες σωφρονύσωσιν ἢμιν οἱ γυναῖκες. ταυτί σωμα παρακαταθέμει τὰ παιδία. οἰκουρέ, καὶ φιλάξ τῆς οἰκίας ἐστι πιστῆ καὶ μείναν ἀπὸντα παλίν γνην ἔρισιν, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μητρὶ, καὶ πατήρ ἄντι ἐμοί. ἦς εσπανηξε καὶ ἐπαινεῖσομαι σε τῆς οἰκουρίας.
802. τοῖς ἐμοὶ μετατίθεντες recalls the arrogant inscriptions set up by Pausanias at Delphi and Byzantium: Thuc. i. 132, Athen. 536 a.


807 f. τῶν δ’ ἐναντίων κύτε ς ελπίς προσήμεια χειρός οὐ πληροφέρων. The other urn saw Hope of the hand which was to drop a vote in it con-
tinually coming nigh, but never saw it quite arrive: for when a hope arrived, it was a hope realised: Eur. Or. 859 οἴμοι προσηλθον ελπίς ἤν φασομένη...Herc. Fur. 771 δοκημάτων ἐκτὸς ἦλθεν ἐλπίς. Hopes far from realisation were called μακραὶ ἐπίδεις, distant hopes; when realised, or nearly, they were ἐλπίδες παρούσαι: Cho. 694 νῦν δ’ ἦπερ ἦν δόμοις βακχείας κακῆς ἰμπρὸς ἐλπίς, ἦν παροῦσαι ἑγγράφειν.

809. καπνῶν δ’ ἄλοφος κτῆ.: ‘the capture of the city now remains still manifest by the smoke.’ Dio Chrys. i. p. 72 R. καὶ νῦν ἐτι τοῖτο δραί, Menander fr. 113 (iii. 34 K.) καὶ νῦν ἐτι ἀποίητα πάμπολλ’ ἕστιν ἦμῶν.

810. See cr. n. If Hermann’s reading is taken, Troy with all her insolent wealth—the cause of her damnation—is conceived as a burnt sacrifice to “Ατη (inf. 1434, Thcb. 938 ἔστακε δ’ “Ατοῖ τροπαίον εἰ πῦλαι). Helen, who fired Troy (Achill. Τατ. i. 8 τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης τὸν γὰρ τόρον ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίως ἄλλο τὸρ), has been already likened to a sacrificial minister of “Ατη in v. 736. ζην, which appears in ζωπυρεῖν, is a proper word of fire in Greek as υἱωρε and υἰως are in Latin: Eur. Bacch. 8, Ar. Lys. 306, ἄθρακι ζώοντι Αρατ. 1041. The wind fans the flame into life, which is contrasted with the dying ash: Quint. iii. 712 ff. Cf. Hom. Ῥ. 68 πυρὸς τ’ ἄλοφο θύελλαι.

812. πολύμνηστον χάριν. Max. Τυρ. xxx. 4 speaks of Pausanias and Lysander sacrificing or dedicating a tithe of their spoils.

826. Tzetzes on Lycophr. 354 pointed out that πεπαμένος should be written with a single μ. τῶν πεπαμένων is the Aeschylean substitute where poetry would generally give τῶν κεκτημένων, prose τῶν ἔχοντι.

829 ff. By the vague δοκούντας, ‘certain ones in appearance,’ he conveys to them that he is quite aware of Clytaemnestra’s insincerity; and then, as though he were thinking only of the Greeks at Troy, con-
tinues with μόνος δ’ Ὀδυσσεύς, just as they had continued with σὺ δέ μοι in v. 790.—ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον here means the mirror which ὁμιλία, con-
suetudo, converse or conversation, association, companionship, familiarity, holds up, the glass in which the associate’s true character is shown: κατόπτρον μὲν ἐμφανίζεται τύπος τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ σώματος, ὁμιλίαι δὲ καὶ λόγοι το τῆς ψυχῆς ἢδος χαρακτηρίζεται Stobaeus, Flor. iv. p. 430, Gaisford. ἐν μὲν τῶς ἑσύπτρωι ὄ τῆς ὀψεως, ἐν δὲ τῶς ὁμιλίαις ὄ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρακτήρ βλέπεται is the form in Antonius and Maximus. Eur.
NOTES

El. 383 on ὑῇ ἀφρονήσθῃ, δει κενῶν ὀδοιπορίων όπλαρες πλανάσθε, τῇ δ’ ὀμλαία βροτοῖς | κρεινείτε καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσιν τούς εὐγενεῖς; Andv. 683 ὑ’ δ’ ὀμλαία | πάντων βροτοίς γέγνεται διδάσκαλος. Aesch. Sūpp. 1004 ἀγνῷ ὀμλον ὡς ἐλεγχεῖσθαι χρόνων. In Plut. Mor. 53 A the flatterer is compared to a mirror, which only reflects foreign images: —δίκων κατόπτρων, παθῶν ὀθθείων καὶ βίων καὶ κυκμάτων εἰκόνας ἀνάδειγμένων. But that is a different comparison. It is certain that ὀμλαία does not mean friendship (φιλία), nor is κατόπτρον ever used of a mere reflexion (σκιὰ οὐ εἰδωλοί). See fr. 393 κατόπτρον εἴδους χαλκὸς ἐστ’, οἶνος δὲ νοῦ, Eur. Hipp. 428 κακοῖς δὲ θυγατὸν ἔξεφη’, ὥστε κατόπτρον ὡστε παρθένοι νέαι χρόνοι.

835. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πρὸς θεοὺς. This use of τὰ πρός, ‘with regard to,’ is not of the commonest and occurs chiefly with θεοὺς and πόλιν: Soph. Phil. 1441 εὐσέβειν τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς, O. C. 617 τὰ πρὸς σε, Trach. 879 σχετικῶν τὰ πρός γε πρᾶξιν (Hermann), Eur. Or. 427 τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δὲ πῶς ἔχεις; 1664 τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δὲ τῶν ἐγὼ θήσω καλῶς, Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 11, Dem. 3. 26, Aeschin. 3. 120. In later prose the idiom is employed freely.

841. See cr. n. and for the form of expression cf. Soph. Phil. 705 τὸ πῆμα τοῦτο τῆς νόσου τὸ υἱόν παρόν, Ai. 363 τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἄτης, Apoll. Rhod. iv. 4 ἄτης πῆμα δυνάμερον.

845. νίκη δ’.... But in his contest presently with Clytaemnestra (v. 933) he quickly yields the victory to her, and before long her triumph is complete.

855 f. Ford, The Broken Heart v. 3

When one news straight came huddling on another
Of death! and death! and death!

In κακοῦ κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα she means him to understand disasters happening to him, his wounds or death; she herself has in mind ἀραὶα κακα’ (v. 1396) inflicted by Agamemnon on his wife at home, the slaughter of her child (τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀμολογῶν v. 358) and his unfaithfulness (v. 1440).

859. τέτρηται, which H. L. Ahrens gave for the MS. τέτρωται, is the right verb; a net is not full of wounds, but of holes: δικτύων πολυπρύθων Babr. iv. 4.

860. εἰ δ’ ἣν τεβηρίκώς.... A shade of intonation in the Greek as in the English would make a wish of this, ‘If only he had been killed!’ and I fancy this is the suggestion, that he deserved to die three times over, ἄξιος τρὶς τεβηρία in the common phrase: Eur. Or. 1512 ΟΡ. ἐνδώκως ἢ Τυνδάρεως ἄρα παῖς διώλετο; | ΦΡ. ἐνδικώτατ’, εἰ γε λαμοῦς εἶχε τριττίχους θανεῖων like some three-headed monster.

The ‘coverlet’ of earth or stones was a familiar metaphor from
Homer downwards: Ι. 57 ἦ τέ κεν ἦδη λάνον ἐστο χιτώνα κακῶν ἐν ἄσσα ὀφρυα. See the passages collected by Blomfield.

868. ἐκ τούδε τοῦ. The real reason of course was that she might carry on her intrigue with Aegisthus undisturbed; that was the ‘price’ for which she ‘sold’ Orestes, Cho. 132 πετραμένοι γὰρ νῦν γε πως ἀ λώμεθα πρὸς τής τεκούσης, ἀνάρα δ’ αὐτηκλάζειτο Αἰγίσθων, ib. 914.

872 ff. Στροφίος is so accented by M in Cho. 675. [Blass (Choeph. p. 24) says: ‘Ferner accentuiren ich mit M v. 679 Στροφίος gemäss der Regel wonach diese Namen auf -os bei kurzer erster Silbe Paroxytona sind: ’Εχιος Στρατιός und doch Φήμios.’ See also Cobet’s remarks to the same effect in V. L. p. 59.]

ἀμφιλεκτα πήματα. Two things might happen: Agamemnon first might fall at Troy; and then the people might revolt and frame a plot to murder the young heir, and so destroy the dynasty entirely. Lucian’s Tyranocide ii. 151, who has killed the tyrant’s son, argues that to ἐνο γεγενημένον οὐ φυγῆ, οὐδὲ δευτέρας ἐπαναστάσεως ἐλπὶς, ἄλλα παντελῆς καθαρά, καὶ πανολεθρία παντὸς τοῦ γένους, καὶ ὑπόθεν τὸ δεινὸν ἄταν ἐκκεκομμένον.—For βουλὴ καταρράψειν cf. Alexis ii. 329 K. (Athen. 568α) ῥάπτουσι δὲ | πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλάς. Ael. Ν. A. vii. 10 ἐπιβουλᾶς ῥάπτουσι (v.l. ῥάπτουσι), Epic. 26 καταρράψας μόρον, inf. 1604 φόνον ῥαφεὺς. Similarly ῥάπτειν is combined with κακα, φόνον, βάτανον; add the compounds δολορράφος, μηχανορράφος, δικορράφος. Βουλή καταρράψειν could not mean ‘hazard a plot,’ because Greek said ἀναρρίπτειν, or ἀναβάλλειν, κύβον βόλον or κάνδυον, never καταρρίπτειν. If, on the other hand, the meaning were ‘overthrow the Council,’ we should at least have had τὴν βουλὴν, but Tragedy never uses this technical Athenian term to describe a body of councillors in the heroic age. Observe moreover that she is speaking of a danger to Orestes’ life.

880 ff. I take it that Clytaemnestra here is feigning just what Imogen says honestly in Cymbeline iii. 4. 38

False to his bed! What is it to be false?
To lie in watch there, and to think on him?
To weep 'twixt clock and clock? if sleep charge nature,
To break it with a fearful dream of him,
And cry myself awake?

Night after night, she means, the lamp has been burning in her chamber and she waiting to receive him there, and weeping because he, like a faithless lover, never heeded it: Anth. Pal. v. 190. 3

ἀρά γε τὴν φιλάσωτον ἐτ’ ἐν κοίταις ἀθρήσω
ἀγρυπνον, λύχνων πόλλ’ ἀνοδαμένην†
(ἀνοδυρμένην Jacobs, ἀποκλαμένην Huschke)

H. A.
Ah, shall I find the unthrift still awake
And sorrowing to her lamp for my dear sake?

ib. 279, 263, 150. Plut. Mor. 759 f Λαίς της Ἔναθαινον ἑφέσπερον
dαίσσα λαμπτήρων σέλας’ ἐκδέχομένη. But in truth the lamp has been
alight in expectation of Aegisthus, or in Aegisthus' company, for the
lamp was always witness, Heliod. i. 12, Auth. Pal. v. 4, 5, 7, 8, 128,
165, 166—in Lucian i. 648 it is cited as a witness, and in amatory
language plays a large part as a sentimental symbol: lovers, says Plut.
Mor. 513 F, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, πρὸς ἄφνηα περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγονται,
 quam φιλτάτη κλίνῃ,’ καὶ Ὅμηρος θεόν σε νόμισεν, εὐδαιμον λίγυα,’ a saying
Asclepiades alludes to in A. P. v. 7 λίγυα, σο' ει ὧδες ει, τὴν δολὴν
ἀπάμπνον. And if a gnat's least whining woke her in alarm, it was
alarm about Aegisthus; that is why in 881 and 884 she repeats the
ἀμφι σο’; which for that reason I have thought should be a little stressed.

In the ears of the audience the words τοῦ ἐνεύδοστου would suggest
another bed-fellow than the time she speaks of. For βλάβας (or βλάβην)
ἐχειν, to suffer injury, see Eum. 802 ὥς ταῖτ’ Ὀρέστην δρώντα μὴ βλάβας
Or. 542 ον μη’ τιμήμοις: φαινεῖ δὲς βλάβας ἔλαβε, schol. Flor. on Ag. 72
βλάβην ἔχουσες ἀπό (l. for αὐτ’ τοῦ γῆρος.

887 ff. These are familiar examples of a single ἐλπίς, a saving hope
or stay, existing or afforded, to rely upon: but critics since Blomfield
have been offended by the καὶ in v. 890; and rightly, on their view
of the construction: some therefore would read γὰίναιν for καὶ γῆρ, while
others take the καὶ to begin a new series of comparisons. Yet καὶ γῆρ
I am sure is sound, for μονογενείς τέκνον πατρὶ (παρ’ ἐλπίδα φαίνειν) καὶ γῆρ
φανέραν ναυτίλους παρ’ ἐλπίδα is the meaning. So Pindar O. x. 86
speaks of his late-appearing ode as coming dearly welcomed like a
long-desired child granted to a father late in life: τί παρ’ εὐκλέι Δήρκαι
χρόνων μὲν φάνεν ἀλλ’ ὥστε παῖς εἰς ἀλόχον πατρὶ ποθεῖνοι ἵκοιτι νεότατος
τοῦ πάλιν ἥρη. Liban. iv. 651. 10 πότων ἑπίδειξον σοι τῶν πολιτῶν γυναικας
μὲν αὐτῶν ἐχοντας εἰπείν πατέρας δ’ οὐ κεκλημένους, ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἔσχατον
γῆρας ἠκοίτας καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πράγματος προσαφηρμένους; ἀν
οὖν ἡγ’ μὲν σοι ταῦτα πεῖθωμαι γύναιον δὲ ἐνδον ὥρ’ παιδες δὲ μηδαμη
φαίνωνται,...Hom. h. Dem. 219 παιδα δὲ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὦφυγονον
καὶ ἐλπίδαν ὄμπλασαν ἀθώντοι.

παρ’ ἐλπίδα with its double meaning (vv. 278, 1042) comes with
telling irony at the end: but the effect of it is weakened by three
lines which follow in the MSS., and which I have omitted, believing
them to have been merely an illustration quoted in the margin (see
cr. n.).
Fair is the clear day viewed after the storm,
Spring-water to the parching wayfarer,
Dear the deliverance from all hard constraints.

That is the construction of them, as in Theognis 255 κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιότατον, λύστον δ' ὑγιαίνει, πράγμα δὲ τερπνότατον τοῦ τις ἐραί τὸ τυχεῖν, Soph. fr. 329 κάλλιστον ἐστὶ τούδικον περικέναι, λύστον δὲ τὸ ζήν ἀνυσον, ἡδίστον δ' ὡς πάρεστι λήψει ὃν ἐραί καθ' ἡμέραν, Λ. Π. ν. 169 ἴδιον θέρων διψῶντι χιών ποτόν, ἴδιον δὲ ναυτιας ἐκ χειμῶν ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν στείφων. ἡδίστον δ' ὡς τοῖς κρύψη presume ὅμους φιλόντος χαλάινα καὶ αἰνῆται Κύπρις ὑπ' ἀμφότεροι,—this epigram repeating the same commonplace. I need only add Eur. Anony. 870 ω ναυτίλουσι χείματος λιμὸν ψανεῖς and Ω. 719 ἱδίαν ὑψιν. πιστὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἀνήρ κρείσσων γαλαγῆς ναυτίλουσι εἰσόραν to show that κάλλιστον ἢμαρ εἰσίτειν ἐκ χείματος would be little more than tautology with γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλους. Besides, τουοσὲι τοι νῦν ἀείων προσφήγμασι should follow the προσφήγματα immediately.

904. See cr. n. An alternative reading is σὺν θεωσιν, ἀρμενα.

905 ff. Agamemnon answers coldly, and δωμάτων ἐμὸν θυλαζ would have made another woman wince. His first remark is a severe snub, and his next, that praise should come from others, is at least ambiguous.


917. This line was explained by Blass Mélanges Henri Weil, 1898, p. 13: to walk merely over ποδαφστρα would be ανεπιφθονος; but it would have a very different sound if rumour said that he had walked upon τὰ ποκίλα, which belong to the service of the gods. Cf. Damascius ap. Suid. s.v. χωρίς τὰ Μνησῶν... χωρίς γὰρ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀρίσματα, οὐδέν ἤτοι τὴν λεγόμενα Μυσῶν καὶ Φυγών. So χωρίς is predicative, followed by τε καλ', in Soph. O.C. 808, Plat. Prot. 336 b.

918 f. τὸ μή κακῶς φρονεῖν θεὸς μέγαστον δώρον: Eur. Med. 635 στέργον δὲ με σωφροσύνα, δώρημα κάλλιστον θεῶν. In the allusion to felicity (Διβύσα) which follows there appears to be a side-reference to the proverbial Thes. 612 θεοῦ δέ δώρον ἐστιν ἐνυχθέων βροτοις, Cho. 57 τὸ δ' εὐνυχθέων, τὸδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεῶ τε καὶ θεῶν πλέον. Jebb on Soph. O. T. 1529 remarks that this is the first allusion in literature to the famous adage attributed to Solon. Cf. Dio Chrys. xxviii. 13 (ii. 535 R.) ὅστις δ' ὑπὸ μεγάστοις ἀγαθοῖς συναπερχόμενοι τὰ ἀριστα πράξεις, οὕτως εἰδαμονασθάτα τελευτάι.

921. See cr. n. The reading of the MSS. could only mean 'if it is the case that (supposing certain conditions) I should act' (or 'fare')
'in all things thus, I have no misgivings.' This can hardly be called a meaning; nor is it so used in Tragedy. Cf. Supp. 403 εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρῶ, οὐκ ἂν εὐ δημον τάδε πράξαμα ἀν. Cho. 684 τοσαὐτ' ἀκούσας εἶπον. Eur. 641 τὴν δ' αὐτ τουαίτην εἶπον.

922. καὶ μὴν τὸ δ' εἰπέ...ἴμοι is the preface to a question: Hdt. vii. 47. Ar. Nub. 500, 748, Thesm. 740, Plut. 902, Plat. Cratyl. 385 β, Rep. 351 ν, Lucian i. 297. Everyday language would say καὶ μὴν τὸδε μοι εἰπέ. Tragic style habitually uses ἐγὼ, σὺ superfluously: if emphasis was desired it would have been secured by the position of the word, καὶ μὴν ἐμοί τὸδε εἰπέ. Nevertheless in the use of ἐγὼ, ἐμοί, ἐμὲ at the end of three successive lines we hear an undertone of strife between two wills. Thus, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην is interposed, as in the following examples: Soph. Ant. 446 σὺ δ' εἰπέ μοι, μὴ μέχρις ἄλλα συντόμως, ἥδησθα...; Trach. 1117, Eur. Med. 768 μὴ πρῶς ἣδησθήν, supr. 515, 897, Thesd. 266 μὴ φιλοστόρως. Ar. fr. 473 καὶ μὲν αὐτῆς μή μετ' ἀξιεργιάς. Plat. Com. 86 (Ath. 110 d) καὶ οὖν τοι...οὐκε πραίμενος, μη τῶν καθαρύλλων (where μὴ shows οὐκε to mean 'return'—it is often used in the imperative—not, as the editors take it, 'he came back'). εἰπεῖν παρὰ γνώμην is 'to speak contrary to one's own γνώμη, deliberate opinion, conviction, advised judgement.' Cf. Thuc. vi. 9 οὔτε ἐν τοῖς προτέρους χρόνοις...εἶπον παρὰ γνώμην οὔτε ἐν τοῖς δεικτικοῖς τί καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγον. Plutt. Mor. 986 τις ἐγὼ δ' ἐκατόσωμαι ὑμῖν, μη καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοὶ δοκῇ χαριζόμενος διαλέγονται 'against his conviction, to please me.'

Dem. 1451. 16 τὸ χαριζέσθαι τι παρὰ γνώμην opposed to τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι βέλτιστα παρατεῖν. Plut. Phoc. 9 ἐμὲ...λέγειν α μὴ δει παρὰ γνώμην οὐκ ἄναγκασθε. Tib. Gracch. 2 οὔστε καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς λέγειν ἐκφεύγομεν ὑπ' ὅργης...βλασφημεῖν. Philop. 6 ὡς παρὰ γνώμην βιασθὲναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀλθεῖν. So παρὰ δοξαν οὐ γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἰπεῖν: Plat. Laches 178 γ wisdom if it is to do something τὸ νοοῦσαι ἀλλα...ἀλλα λέγουσι παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δοξαν. Rep. 346 a εἰπέ τοι οὖν ἐμει τοι ἅπαν...; καὶ ὃ μακάριε μὴ παρὰ δοκόμον ἀποκρίνον. Corp. 500 κατὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀποκρίνον. 495 a εἰπέρ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑπείς. In Eur. Med. 577 οἵμως δ' ἐμοὶ, κει παρὰ γνώμην ἐμ'] δοκείς προδοῦς σήν ἰδοὺν τὸν δίκαιον ἀδρέων the meaning is 'unadvisedly,' as in Thuc. i. 70 παρά γνώμην κινδυνεύει, Soph. Trach. 389 οἷς ἀπὸ γνώμης λέγεις. Liban. i. 291 πρόκατο όμηρα παρὰ γνώμην, κελεύοντος τοῦ θυμοῦ, i.e. ὅργη βιασθὲν αὐτὸν νργήγη. φρενῶν Soph. O. T. 524, 'more upon humour than advised respect.' Philoct. 1191 ΧΟ. τί οἴδοντες ἀλλοκτόνων γνώμαι τῶν πάροι, ὃν προδοὺς; Φί. οὔτοι νεμεσθην ἀλλων χειμερίων λυτεῖ καὶ παρὰ νοῦν θροεῖν. 'Contrary to my opinion' would be παρὰ γνώμην ἐμ', as Eur. I. A. 502 οτι παρὰ γνώμην ἐμ'] ὑπὲθηκας ὄρθως τοὺς λόγους, where the sense is 'expectation,' as in Aesch. Supp. 463 γένοντο δ' εῦ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμ', Eur. H. F. 594 μὴ παρὰ γνώμην πέσης.
924. ἐρεῖν: see cr. n. εὐχομαι in the sense 'I vow that I will' always takes the future. Greek never said ἐπέκα ς ἐρεῖν ὃν for 'you vowed that you would,' and ἐπέκα ς ἐρεῖν could only mean 'you vowed that you were performing.'—ἐρεῖν was probably the alteration of a scribe who thought that ἀν and ἐρεῖν belonged together. The editors strangely imagine that δότε ἐρεῖν ταύτε means 'to refrain from treading on dyed robes'; having forgotten that when you made a vow to the gods you did not say οὐθέσο, 'save me, and I will—not sacrifice!' Vows were made in times of fear or danger (Plat. Legg. 929 ε, Anth. Pal. ix. 7); you said, Deliver me from this danger, and I vow to sacrifice so much. Similarly in v. 954 Clytaemnestra says πολλῶν πατησμῶν εἰμάτων ἄν ἡμέρσην, 'I would readily have vowed the sacrifice of many robes to ransom Agamemnon's life.'—Agamemnon would have obeyed Calchas as he had done in the matter of Iphigeneia.

925. 'Yes, supposing the authority on ritual (the priest, εὐ εἰδὸς μαντευόμενος Hom. β 170: cf. Z 438) had prescribed (πιθανόσκων εἰπε or ἐγγυήσατο) this holy service' (τόδε τέλος, which now has a proper sense).—ἐξεπτων of the MSS. is the alteration of a scribe who mistook the construction of εἰπέρ τις.—If εἰπέρ τις had really meant 'if anyone ever did,' we should have had no γε with εἰδὸς εὐ: yet γε must be genuine, for it was never inserted by scribes except metri gratia: εἰπέρ...γε is siguidem; in answer to a question, 'yes; that is, if...' (O.T. 369).

933. ἥ καὶ σὺ is tu quoque, and could not mean anything else.

934. See cr. n. and cf. Soph. Αἰ. 1353 κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φιλῶν νικώμενος. In v. 932 Clyt. has forced him to accept the ominous 'felicitation' of v. 919 (see Solon in Hdt. i. 32), and now contrives to make him yield of his own accord (ἐκόν).

935. ὑπαί τις...λύσι: Hom. ξ 496 ἄλλα τις εὖ εἰπεῖν 'Ατρέδης 'Αγαμέμνον.

938. πρόσωθεν marks the connexion with θεῶν: Εὐμ. 297 κλέα δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὃν θεός, ιδ. 400 πρόσωθεν εξήκουσα, Τ.χ. 690, Blomf. on P. V. 320.

939 f. πολλῇ γὰρ αἴδος δωματοφθορεῖν ποσίν φθείραντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνίτων ἥρφας: this is the scruple that Clytaemnestra scornfully replies to in v. 949 ff. δωματοφθορεῖν is a synonym of the usual word οἰκοφθορεῖν, to squander one's substance, ruin one's estate by spendthrift prodigality. ὀλεσίουκος and ἀπωλεσίουκος were used humorously in the same sense.

941. τούτων μὲν οὖτω: so Max. Τυχ. xxi. 3 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ταύτη ἔχει ὅτι δὲ καὶ περὶ ὑμᾶς κτέ. Lucian ii. 729 ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἰκανῶς: τὰ Πυθαγόρον δὲ ἠθέλε τέγα, ii. 872. Either τούτων μὲν ἀλιὰς or ταῦτα μὲν οὖτω would be Greek, but not τούτων μὲν οὖτω (see cr. n.).

944. She, therefore, being a delicately-nurtured princess, will feel
the condition of slavery with peculiar keenness. At the same time Agamemnon wishes to convey that she has only been assigned to him according to the common practice as the choicest flower of all the spoil, and that he has no personal interest in her beyond that. A comma is substituted for the full-stop which is commonly but wrongly placed at the end of v. 944. The formula τάιτες (or οὐδεῖς)...αὐτῇ δὲ is extremely common. The predicate comes first in Greek, and the stress here is on τολλῷν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον ἄθος.

949 ff. Clytaemnestra utters not a word about Cassandra, but replies 'You talk of squandering wealth and ruining the house; surely there is the whole sea to draw from, with as good purple-fish in it as ever came out of it; purple only costs its weight in silver, and we can afford to pay for it. Besides, thank Heaven! there is a store of purple garments in the house already; we are not quite paupers; the house is surely not going to be ruined by the sacrificing of a few dyed robes.' Thus ἦσθιν θελάσσα not 'there is a sea,' but 'the sea is in existence': cf. Ach. Tat. vii. 9 εἰ δὲ ταύτα γέγονεν οὕτως, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, μαθεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔξεσται· ἔχετε τούτων δεδεμένων· εἰσίν αἱ θεράπαιναι· ἦσθιν ὁ Σωσθένης. Alexis 15. 14 ὁ ταρχισσώλης ἦστιν· ἐλθὼν πυθάνου (you can go and ask him whether I didn't pay him as much). Acts 19. 38 ἀγοραῖοι ἀγιοίτα, καὶ ἀιθύπατοί εἰσίν· ἐγκαλεῖτωσαν ἀλλήλως. Soph. Ο. C. 506 ἦστ' ἐποικος ὑπέστη—οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει κτέ. 'The house affords us store of these.' Cf. Theoc. 22. 222 λιγεῖαν μελίγματα Μοισέων, εἰ δὲ αὐτὰ παρέχοντι καὶ ὡς ἔμοι ὁ ὁ κούρακα. Eur. Ἐ. 359 ξενίων κυρήσθη, οἳ ἐμοὶ κεύθει δόμοι, ἵν. 870 φέρε ὡς δὴ ἔχω καὶ δομοί κεύθουσι μον κόμισι ἀγάλματ' ἐξένεγκομαι. If any alteration is to be made, I think it should be ὁ οἶκος, giving the construction ὑπάρχει (ἡμῖν) ἐχειν τῶν: in that case cf. Rhes. 170 ἀλλ' ἦστ' ἐν οἴκους· οὐ βίον σπανίζομεν, 178 καὶ πρῶθεν ἐπιν· ἦστι χρυσός ἐν δόμοις. Alexis 127 Ἀ. λαβ' ἐλθὼν σήσαμα. B. ἀλλ' ἦστιν ἐνδον. Λτ. Πι. 522 πόθεν ἐν λάβοιμι... οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἀἰκοθεν.

954 ff. Perhaps the thought in her mind is 'If you sacrificed Iphigeneia to recover Helen (κορίζειν v. 795), I would have sacrificed more than a few robes to recover the life of my dear daughter!'

957 ff. These lines appropriate certain familiar Oriental images, which may be illustrated from a well-known Arabic poem, speaking of a friend,

Sunshine he in wintry season;
When the dog-star burned, a shadow.

1 Translated by Dr H. M. Posnett, Comparative Literature (1886) p. 135, a book full of interesting and fruitful ideas.
But these figures are so manipulated by Clytaemnestra as to allow herself an ironical side-reference to her real intention.

‘Aye and when Zeus is maturing bitter vengeance for an unripe virgin, then there is coolness in the house!’ ὀμφαξ was used in that sense. πικρῶς often means ‘bitter’ in resentment, and Cassandra in v. 1229 foresees ὧν τείχεται, the deed that Clytaemnestra’s workmanship designs for execution. The γε ἐὰν δὲ τείχη Ζεὺς γε gives a meaning intonation to the sentence. Then echoing ἀνδρὸς τελείων—‘complete’ or ‘perfect’ of a full-grown man as being married and head of a household—she appeals to Zeus himself, as God of τέλος, consummation in all senses, to complete, fulfil, perfect her prayer.—σημαίνει μολὼν: see cr. n. ‘Warmth...signifies its coming’ is the literal rendering: see v. 305.

967 f. δείμα προστατήριον καρδίας ποτάται is a metaphor from wind, such as is often employed in poetry to describe emotions of the spirit: Sip. 229 φρενῶς πνεύμων δυσσεβῆ προταίαι, Thesp. 692 ἐπεὶ δαίμον κήματος αὐτοπραια χρυσάτες μεταλλάκτων ἵςος ἄν ἥθου θεμερωτέρων πνεύματι: νῦν δ’ ἐτί ζεῖ. προστατήριον καρδίας is ‘set stubbornly before my consciousness,’ like πάροιδεν δὲ πρώφρας ὅμοιος ἄντει γραδίας θυμός in Chw. 390, where the preceding words τί γὰρ κεῖθος φρέν’ ἄν σείου ἤμπορ ποιήσαι; illustrate ποτάται here. The allusion is to the phrases technically used of wind; στάσις, properly its setting in a certain quarter, ἱστάμενος, εὐστάθης, ἀντιστατᾶν: so οὖριστάται νόμοιν in Chw. 817 is an allusion to the ὄφος ὕμων. Cf. Pers. 705 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιῶν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀνήσταισαι.—For the confusion of δείμα and δείγμα (see cr. n.) see On editing Aeschylus p. 101.

970 ff. οὐδ’ ἀποπτύσας...θάρσος ἦτε. The construction is slightly varied from οὐδ’ ἀποπτύσασθα...θαρσῶ, as in Eum. 100. Cf. Eur. Aec. 604 πρὸς δ’ ἐμαί φυχάθα θάρσος ἦταν.

973 ff. χρόνος δ’ ἐπεὶ κτέ. ‘Time has passed since the sandy shore chafed’ (or ‘grazed’ from παρ-αφάω, related to παραφάσσω) ‘the cables cast out together from the stern when the sea-borne host sped for the walls of Troy.’ Cf. siv. 40 δέκατον ἐτος τὸδ’ ἐπεὶ τιθόδ’ ἀπὸ χώρας ἤραν, 437 ἄφ’ Ἑλλάνου αἰαὶ συνομιέναι, Eur. I. A. 1319 μ’ μοι ταῦθα καλκεμβαλόνδον πρύμνας Λιλίδες δεῖξοντας τούτον’ εἰς ὄρμους ὠφελεν ἐλάτων προταίαι, El. 1022 πρωποῦχοι Λιλίαν, Ov. Trist. iii. 9. 13 dum solutur assere funis, Val. Flacc. ii. 428. Thus προμηθείων ξυνεμβολάσ is equivalent to προμηθεία ξυνεμβεβλημένα: Eum. 751 ἐκβολάς ψηφοῖν. Some may prefer ἄγα, the alternative suggestion of Ahrens; for, though ἄγα is not glossed by ἀκτῆ, the two words appear sometimes to be confused. Thus in Pind. I. ii. 42 Νείλου πρὸς ἀκτῶν Schneidewin reads ἄγας and Bury ἄγας from the schol. πρὸς ἀγαίας; see also Jacobs Anth. xii. p. 96.
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Schneidewin also restored πρὸς ἀγάς in Anth. Pal. v. 82 and ἀγῆν in Arat. Phaen. 668. Numenius ap. Ath. 395 a ὀπτότε πέτραι ἀμμόδεις κλείονται ἐπ’ ἀκρήν κύματος ἀγῆς. Ψαμμᾶς is taken in preference to Φαμμᾶς in view of the copious collection of adjectives belonging to this type which are brought together by Lobeck, Path. Proll. p. 442 f.

984 ff. ὑπάλληλα δ’ οὕτωι μεταίητε πρὸς ἑνίκουσ φρεσὶν τελεσφόρους δίνας κυκώμενον κέαρ: In simple terms the meaning is 'My heart too is beating violently, and I know its agitation is not idle but warranted by apprehensions that will surely come to pass,' as Hecuba says in Eur. Hec. 83 ἐσται τι νέον: ἦξε τι μέλος γοερὸν γοεραίς: οὕτωι ἐμά φρῆν ὁδ’ ἀλάστος φρύσει, ταρβεῖ. The metaphor is built up out of the phrase κυκώμενον κέαρ 'a troubled heart': Archilochus 66 θυμεῖ, θύμ’ ἀμηλάνοισι κύδεσιν κυκώμεσιε, Tragic fragment in Clem. Alex. p. 486 οὕτωι γὰρ οὕτωι καὶ διὰ σπλάγχνων ἑσοχ χωροῦσι καὶ κυκώσων ἀνθρώπων κέαρ. As κυκώμενος was usually said of tossing waves, the heart dashing against the midriff (κραδία δὲ φοβώι φρέινα λακτίζει P. V. 881) can be spoken of as a boat tossed in swirling eddies upon a troubled sea and dashed upon a shore. These considerations support the conjecture δίνας κυκώμενον (see cr. n.), as Apoll. Rhod. i. 1327 ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ διάνιησ κυκώμενον ἀφρέον ὕδωρ. Plat. Cratyl. 439 c ὀσπερ οἷς τινα δίνην ἐμπεσόντες κυκώται, [Arist.] Mirabil. cxxx. p. 46, 16 Westermann τότε δὴ πάλων οὖν πολλῶν μὲν βραχθῆσιν μεγαλῶς δὲ καὶ ταχείας δίναις τὴν θαλάσσαν ἄναιξέωι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι κυκώμενην ἐκ βεθῶν, where there are variants κυκλωμένην, κυκλομένην. The same error is illustrated by Tryphiod. 325 ἵππη καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ κυκλούμενον ὕδωρ, where κυκώμενον should be read (κυκλόμενον, κυκώμενον and κυκλώμενον are quoted as variants), and by Nonn. Dionys. xx. 336 ἀφίνῳ δὲ ἐκ σκοπόλεοι χύνῃ κυκλώμενον ὕδωρ (al. κυκώμενων). So κυκώσιτε (Reiske) should be restored for κυκλώσιτε in Polyb. xi. 29. 10. The MS. reading could not mean anything but 'circling round,' not 'eddying'; for κυκλοῦσθαι can only be applied to a river which encircles or to the surrounding stream of Ocean (Nonn. Dionys. i. 495 etc.).

990 ff. are corrupted, but the sense is clear; probably we should begin with μάλα τι τοι… The language recalls Solon 13. 71 ff. (=Theogn. 227 ff.) πλοῦτον δ’ οὐδέν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώπισθατι…τὸ ἀν κορεοειν ἄπαντας; cf. inf. 1330. The idea of Health as a Mean appears in Max. Τυχ. xxxix. 2 οὖν ἦ μὲν ὡγεία μέτρον τι ἐστι τῆς τῶν συμάτων ἐναρμοστιας; …ἐστιν οὖν ὧν ὀποῖος ποικίλοι τι τοι ή ὡγεία ἐστι, καὶ παντοδαπόν, οὖχι δὲ ἀπλοῖν καὶ ὠμολογημένον;

994. It is generally agreed that something has been lost here. The supplement adopted and its insertion in this particular place are advocated on the ground that ἄνθρος should not be separated far from
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πότμος, and παίειν πρώς is the usage in such cases. In Aesch. fr. 99. 23 Blass restored μή πάντα παίεισαι' ἐκχέω πρός ἔρματι, a reading which is made certain by Plat. Rep. 553 B παύσασα ὦσπέρ πρός ἔρματι τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐκχέαστα τά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτόν κτέ. Com. adesp. fr. 391, 2 (iii). 482 K.) μὴ πολλάκις πρός τὸν αὐτὸν ἄθιν παίειν ἐξοντα καὶρον ὀμολογούμενον.

995 ff. ὀκνος (nearly the same as εὐλάβεια) is the opposite of θράσος, and πημονάς is a synonym of ἀτας, so that the whole means: 'Now let but timid caution cast beforehand some of the possession overboard from the derrick of Proportion' or 'Due Measure, the whole fabric does not founder through being loaded with surcharge of Harm'—the Too Much that causes ἀτην. For the contrast see Plat. Ἐθην. Θάρσος ἀπροσδοκία κακοῦ, Εὐλάβεια φυλακή κακοῦ, Xen. Ages. ii. 2 θαρρῶν πλεοῦσα ἐθνέν ἢ ὀκνῶν ὁμέτο, Thuc. ii. 40 διαφερότως γὰρ ἐκ καὶ τόθε ἐγείμεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιειρήμοσον ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὅ τοις ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὀκνῶν φρές: which is illustrated by Xerxes' speech in Hdt. vii. 49—50 with θράσοις and ὀκνέως opposed. ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἢγαν ἀράστου, as Plut. Camill. 6 says of believing or disbelieving miracles. Horace (C. ii. 10. 13 ff.) after the famous passage on the Golden Mean continues thus: sperat infestis, metuit secundis alteram sortem bene praeparatum pectarum. The grammatical construction of the MS. reading is far from clear: πρὸ μὲν τι (see cr. n.) is probably right. μὲν marks the antithesis with ν. 1004 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσόν, as in Supp. 452 καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν...458 ὅποις δ' ὁμαίμον αἵμα.—οὖνδόνῃ, as is proved by an inscription discovered by the French at Delphi (see Wyse in Class. Rev. xiv. p. 5), was the technical term for the derrick used in discharging cargo.

1002. τε εὐκόπτεις τοι καὶ μοί must be taken with what follows ('even from the annual ploughing of the fields').

1007 ff. οὖθε is equivalent to οὐ καὶ 'not even the one who knew...': so 1524 οὖθε γὰρ οὖτος = οὐ καὶ οὖτος γὰρ, Soph. O. T. 325 ὥς οὖν μηδ' ἐγὼ ταῦταν πάθω = καὶ ἐγὼ μη.—In reference to the death of Asclepius the Chorus say in Eur. Alc. 124 μονὸς δ' ἂν εἰ φῶς τὸδ' ὤν | ὀρμουσιν δεδορκῶσ | Φοιβον παίς, προλιποῦσ' | ἤλθεν ἔδρας, σκοτίας | 'Αἰδα τε πύλας τοὺς | διαβενόσις γὰρ ἀνάστη | πρὸν αὐτόν εἰλε Διόβολον | πλήκτρον πυρὸς κερανίων. So Pindar (P. iii. 1 ff.) says 'I would that Cheiron, who brought up Asclepius, best of physicians, were still alive'—εἰ χρεών τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώςας κοινὸν εὐκαθῆσαι ἐπος. But Asclepius was stopped by Zeus, when he was tempted to restore the dead to life (ib. 55 ff.), as Aeschylus says here, εἰ' ἄβλαβεία to prevent his arrangements being thwarted—or εἰ' εὐλάβεια (Plat. Rep. 539 c) as a precautionary measure to that end; either would do. (For a possible instance of confusion between ἄβλαβεια and εὐλάβεια see H. Herm. 83.) Apollodorus iii. 122
says Zeus δὲ φοβεῖσι μὴ λαβόντες ἀνθρωποι θεραπειάων παρ’ αὐτοῦ βοηθῶσιν ἄλληλοις, ἑκατόνοις αὐτῶν. Ὡν. Fast. vi. 759 Iuppiter exemplum heritus directit in illum fulmina. Then, according to the ancient story which he himself narrates at the beginning of the Alcestis, Apollo, in anger at the killing of his son, destroyed the Cyclopes who had forged the thunderbolt. Zeus thereupon condemned him to a year’s penal servitude in the house of Admetus son of Pheres; and while there, Apollo saved Admetus from death by tricking the Fates (Μοῖραι δολωσας Alc. 12) whom he had made drunk with wine. In Aesch. Enn. 726 the Eumenides refer to this:

EYM. τοιαύτ’ ἐδράσας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμωι; Μοῖραι ἐπείσας ἀφθῖτους θείαι βροτοὺς.

API. οἶκων δίκαιον τὸν σέβοντ’ εὐργετεῖν ἄλλως τε πάντως χαῖτε δεόμενοι τύχοι; EYM. αὐ τοι παλαιὰς διανομὰς καταφθίσας οἴνωι παρρητάτησας ἄρχαίς θεῖς.

These are the same terms in which they had reprehended the dealings of Apollo with Orestes, v. 172 ἐπὶ νόμον θεῶν βρότεα μὲν τίων παλαιγενεῖς δὲ μοῖραι φθίσας. The Μοῖραι are personifications of these μοῖραι or διανομαί ‘apportionments’ or ‘dispensations,’ provinces allotted to the various divinities and severally administered by them. In the same play, the Eumenides complain that Athena, by her decision in the case of Orestes, is robbing them of their τιμαὶ διανωῖ (848), rights assigned to them in perpetuity by Μοῖρα (335 f.). Hades has his μοῖραι: mortal men have theirs; not to live for ever, but to fall one day within the power of Death. Hippolytus therefore was restored to life Dite indignante Öv. Met. xv. 535; dis indignantibus ii. 645: at Clymenus (Hades) Clothoque dolent, haec fila reperi, hic fieri regni iura minora sui by being baffled of their prey, Fast. vi. 757. And so, as Spenser says, Faerie Queene Bk. i. v. 40:

Such wondrous science in man’s wit to reign
When Jove avised, that could the dead revive
And fates expired could renew again,

he put an end to it. The exact force of ἐπὶ ἀβλαβεῖς therefore would be ‘to prevent the appointed μοῖραι being hindered by the interference of Asclepius.’ From this we conclude that there exist in the system over which Zeus presides certain ‘vested interests’ or ‘spheres of influence’ assigned by Dispensation (Μοῖρα). With a polytheistic system it is evident that they will often be in opposition; just as human destinies may be: see Conington’s note on Verg. Aen. vii. 293 fatis contraria nostris fata Phrygum. For, to take a particular instance,
there is no reconciling the interests of Ceres and of Famine, *neque enim Cereremque Famenque fata coire sinunt*, *Ov. Met.* viii. 785; or of Artemis and Aphrodite. But each must be content to abide within his own sphere and not seek to encroach upon another's, or the balance of power will be upset, which *Mòpra* regulates, whose dispensations are upheld and administered by Zeus. There is a good illustration in *Ov. Met.* ix. 427, where the Gods murmur and complain that they should not be allowed to confer the gift of youth as *Hebe* does:

*cui studeat deus omnis habet; crescitque sauroe turbido sedito: donec sua Juppiter ora soluit, et ‘O nostri si qua est reverentia;’ dixit; ‘quo ruitis? tantumne aliquis sibi posse uidetur Fata quoque ut superet? Fatis Iolus in annos quos egit rediit; Fatis iuuenescere dehent Callirhoe geniti, non ambitione nec armis. nos eliam, quoque hoc animo meliore seratis, me quoque Fata regunt: quae si mutare ualerem, nec nostrum seri curuarent Aeaca annit,’ etc.

And in *Eur. Hippol.* 1327 Artemis explains why she has not interfered to save her votary from the wrath of Aphrodite:

> Κύπρις γὰρ ἤθελ’ ὡστε γίγνεσθαι τόδε, πληροῦσα θυμόν· θεοῦσι δ’ ὡδ’ ἔχει νύμος. οὐδεὶς ἀπαντῶν βούλεται προδύμαι τῇ τοῦ θέλοντος, ἄλλ’ ἀφιετάμενθ’ αἰε. ἤπει, σάφ’ ἵσθι, Ζήνα μὴ φοβημένη οὐκ ἂν ποτ’ ἡλθον ἐς τόδ’ αἰσχύνης ἐγὼ ὡστ’ αἴορα πάντων φίλτατον βροτῶν ἐμοὶ θανεῖν ἑάσαι.

‘Aphrodite’s heart was set upon it; and in such a case we none of us offer opposition to the desire of any of our fellows: otherwise, but for fear of Zeus (who upholds this system of spheres of influence with its rule of give and take), I would never have suffered him to perish.’—For πλέον φέρειν cf. *Soph. O. T.* 1190 τίς ἀνὴρ πλέον τάς εὐδαμονίας φέρει η τοσοῦτον ὅσον κτέ.

1022. κτησίου βωμοῦ, in the open court-yard in front of the palace. Athen. 189 e "Ωμορος δὲ τὴν αἰλήν ἤει τάττει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων τόπων, ἐνθα γῆν ὁ τῶν ἔρκειον Ζηνὸς βωμὸς.

1023. ἀπήνης: this was four-wheeled (*τετράκυκλος* Hom. Ω 324) and usually drawn by mules. In *Eur. El.* 998 it may be that the Trojan slaves of Clytaemnestra are in the car with her. In *Tro.* 573 Andromache is placed among the spoil, which is being removed in the ἀπήνη (when τετραβάμονος ἀπήνης is used of the Wooden Horse, it is compared
to a four-wheeled carriage). It was commonly used as a travelling-
where the old men accompanying Priam come down from the πόλις in
άπναια. It may be that Agamemnon came back in a car suited to an
oriental monarch; thus the car of the King of Babylon is said to be
απαν έλεφαντος εργασμένων, έγγύτατα απήνης 'Ελληνικῆς (Walz, *Rhet.
Gr. i. p. 531).

1024 f. This was the Greek commonplace of consolation, that even
heroes half-divine (ὑμίθεω) had not been free from human sorrows, and
had submitted to the like themselves. One of the earliest examples is
in the *Heraclea of Panyasis (fr. 16 Kinkel):

\[
\text{τλῇ μὲν Δημήτρια, τλῇ δὲ κλατὸς 'Αμφιηνής,}
\text{τλῇ δὲ Ποσειδαῖον, τλῇ δ’ ἀργυρότοτος 'Απάλλων}
\text{ἀνόμοι παρὰ θητῶι θητεύμεν εἰς ἑταντόν,}
\text{τλῇ δὲ καὶ ἀβρομόθμιοι 'Ἀργη υπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκη,}
\]

where no doubt he was speaking of the servitude of Heracles to
Omphale in Lydia.

1034 f. Hesych. χελίδονος δίκην: τοὺς βαρβάρους χελίδοναν άπεικά-
ζουσι διὰ τὴν αὐτόνετον λαλίαιν (read αὐτόνετον). Just below we have
χελίδονων μουσείων: ὁς βάρβαρα καὶ αὐτόνετα ποιοῦντων τῶν τραγικῶν, with
reference to *Ar. *Rau. 93. Thus βαρβάρος is practically the equivalent
of αὐτόνετος, and here merely strengthens ἀγνώτα φωνῆν: Hesych. βαρ-
βαρα: αὐτόνετα, αὐτακτα. One of the tests for admission to the Eleusinian
mysteries was that the candidate should not be φωνῆς αὐτόνετος; in other

1041. πάρος: see cr. n. πρῶς σφαγᾶς πυρὸς could only mean that
fire was to cut the victims' throats or that the victims were to cut the
throat of fire; and there would be no construction for the genitive
ἐστίας. Musgrave's correction removes both these blemishes and gives
precisely what we want: Eur. *H. F. 922 ἰερὰ μὲν ὦν πάροιθεν ἐσχάρας
Δώοις | καθάρας' οἶκον. *Ion 376 προβομοίοις σφαγαῖσι μήλων. *Al. 162
πρόσθεν ἐστίας κατηχεῖτο. *Andr. 1112 ὦς πάρος χρηστηριών εὔχατο.—
πάρος usually follows its case immediately, or with a word intervening
as in *Trach. 724, and may surely have as much intervening as other
prepositions; see Fritsche on Theocr. 16. 109: so sup. 133 πάιτα δὲ
πῦργων κτῆμα πρόσκε δὲ ὑμιπλορή. There is the same corruption in Eur.
*Hel. 870 κροῦσον δὲ πεύκης, ἴνα διεξέλθω, πάρος (Reiske for πυρὸς), and as
I believe in *Eum. 1050 τιμάτε καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὄρμασθω πάρος (codd. πυρὸς).

1045. οὐ δὲ 'marks an antithesis, not of persons, but of clauses,
and serves merely to emphasise the second clause': Jebb on *Soph. *El. 448,
who quotes several parallels. Cf. Lucian ii. p. 656 οὐχ ἀπαντες, ὦ Ζεῦ,


1053. *ἔποικτηρ* from the Chorus strikes the note which is meant to be in our thoughts throughout this scene. It is repeated in v. 1320, and again in 1329—their last word as it is their first. Agamemnon partly brings his own doom on himself, and we are not to feel that he is altogether to be pitied; so by heightening our pity for Cassandra Aeschylus has weakened it for Agamemnon.


1063. προσήκοντι: cf. Soph. fr. 592 *μὴ σπαίρε πολλοῖς τὸν παρώνα δαίμονα· στιγμόμενος γὰρ ἐστὶ θρηνεῖσθαι πρέπειν.

1077. καὶ πεδορραντήριον: Dr Verrall would read παιδορραντήριον ‘a place for sprinkling (with the blood of) babes.’ *παιδέων* is not elsewhere used in Tragedy, but the sense suits admirably if it can be got out of the word.

1095. λυτροῦσι φαιδρύνασα: Apoll. Rhod. iii. 300 αὐτοὶ τε λιαρότατοι ἑφαιδρύναντο λοιποῖς.

1103. ἡ...γε is used in a question, as in *Cho.* 417 τί δ’ ἂν φαίτες τύχομεν; ἡ τάπερ πάθωμεν ἄχεα πρὸς γε τῶν τεκομένων; γε serves as a link with the previous question: *Cho.* 992 τί σοι δοκεῖ; μήρινα γὰρ εἰτ’ ἐκδών ἐφυ...; *Theb.* 836 τί φώ; τί δ’ ἄλλο γ’ ἡ πόνοι πόνων δόμων ἐφέστιοι; [Eur. *Cycl.* 207], Dio Chrys. ix. 20 p. 294 R. τί δὲ; εἰ χωλοὶ πάπτεσ ἢταν οἱ πρέχοντες, ἔχρω γε μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅτι χωλοῖς χωλὸς ἐφθης; Max. Tyr. xvi. 3 ἀνα γε μάθησιν (sc. ὁνομάζομεν ἂν), ἡ Πλάτωνι ὁμοφώνοις ἀνάμμηγεν;

1107. θύματος λευτήμων: ‘abominable sacrifice’—*i.e.* ‘stonable,’ ‘deserving stoning’ (that is ‘lynching’), as καταλείψημος (Suid. Phot. s.v.), ἀρασίμος, μαστιγώτως, ἀκοῦσίμος Soph. fr. 823, ἐπόψιμος *O. T.* 1312. See *inf.* 1409, 1413.


1110. κροκοβαφῆς. The hue of pallor—white in Northerners, and ashy in the Negro—is in Greeks and Indians green or yellow. Hence χλωρὸν δέος was the regular expression, describing the effect of fear upon the countenance. Both in Greek and Latin paleness is spoken of as ‘greener than the grass’ (Sappho fr. 2. 14, Longus i. 17), or ‘yellow as the saffron crocus,’ or ‘as boxwood,’ or ‘as gold.’

Strictly the blood runs to the heart leaving the complexion sallow, which Aeschylus understood as well as Aristotle p. 1520 δία τί οί μὲν
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aiσχυνόμενοι ἐρυθρῶσιν, οί δὲ φοβούμενοι ύξρίωσιν, παραπληγίων τῶν παθῶν ὄντων; ὅτι τῶν μὲν αἰσχυνόμενων διαχείται τὸ αἷμα ἐκ τῆς καρδίας εἰς ἀπαίτα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὡστε ἐπιτολαίζειν· τοῖς δὲ φοβηθείσι συντρέχει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, ὡστ' ἐκλείπειν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν. ('A true account,' says Gellius xix. 6, who quotes this, 'but why is it that fear has that effect?') a question to which fanciful answers are suggested by Macrobi. vii. 11.) Cf. The Emperor of the East iv. 5. What an earthquake I feel in me! | And on a sudden my whole fabric totters; | My blood within me turns, and through my veins, | Parting with natural redness, I discern it | Changed to a fatal yellow. Others prefer to explain κροκοβαφής σταγών as 'the drop of red blood,' like πορφυρὰ βαφή in Pers. 320, on the ground that the dye called saffron was made from a purple crocus and is termed ruber, rubens, puniècus by the Romans. [Yet another view, that κροκοβαφής σταγών is the gall, is taken by Tucker on Cho. 183.]

1111 ff. ἀτε καὶ δορὶ πτωσίμως ἐνυανύτει (whose arrival synchronises, coincides with) βίου δύντος αὐγαίς, the very pallor that is seen in wounded men when life is ending in a yellow sunset. Thus δορὶ πτωσίμως = δοριστετής.

1116. [The common punctuation, corrected by H., places a colon after ταῖρον instead of after βοὸς.]

1124. ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων. From Soph. Trag. 1131, τέρας τοι διὰ κακῶν ἐθέπισισ, this would appear to be an allusion to some proverbial phrase.

1131 ff. τὸ γὰρ ἰμῶν θροὼ πάθος ἐπεγχύδαι. The parenthesis is an explanation of ταλαίνας. Hitherto she has seen Agamemnon's fate; now she sees that her own death is to be added to his. Cf. Eur. Hec. 736 ἐκ δυστη'—ἐμαυτήν γὰρ λέγο λέγονσα σέ—Ἐκάβης, τι δράσω; | Not unlike are Trag. 869, Soph. O. T. 1071, Oppian Hal. iv. 345: see also on 1225. It is evident, therefore, that θροὼ is right, and that Hermann's θρῳεῖς ἐπεγχύσει will not stand. ἐπεγχέει, another suggestion, is not Greek. The MS. reading ἐπεγχέεσα is metrically impossible; but if it would only scan, we feel that it gives just the sense required. ἐπεγχύδαι—following the analogy of χύδαι, καταχύδαι, ἀμφιχύδαι—seems to me the most probable correction, because such adverbs are commonly explained by participles, e.g. Cho. 65 οὐ διαρρύδαιν] ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀν διαρρέων, Eum. 556 περαιβάδαιν] παραβεβηκότα, Hesych. σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας: ἁγανακτήσας ἐλακτεῖς ἁγαν, schol. Lyocphr. 1425 χαϊδών: χαίνοντες.

1140 f. 'Ἰτυν...βίων. The grammatical relation of the accusatives is not certain. A possible alternative rendering would be: 'With (cry of) 'Hyn,' 'Hyn,' plaining for a life luxuriant in misery.'
II 142 ff. The exclamatory accusative in Greek is almost unknown to the grammarians. It became much more common in Roman times, but was always introduced by some such word as αἰαί or ὦ.

II 144. περιβάλλων γέ οί. This correction (partly anticipated by Enger) explains the origin of περιβάλλοντο, while the meaningless γάρ is an interpolation. When Sophocles uses οί, he also follows the practice of the lyric poets, Trach. 650 ἀ δέ οί, El. 196 ὣτε οί (Hermann for σοι), and so does Cratinus in a burlesque lyric verse, fr. 241, Ἡραν τε οί. In our passage γέ is equivalent to μέν, in opposition to ἐφοι δέ.

II 146. γλυκίν τ' αἰώνα κλαιμάτων ἀτέρ. 'A sweet life except for lamentation,' otherwise the conditions are all pleasant. I have never been able to see that κλαιμάτων ἀτέρ can have any other meaning here than that which Schneidewin also had suggested: the nightingale in Greek poetry from the earliest to the latest was the type of unconsolable lamentation. ἀτέρ, like ἀνεν, and many other words meaning 'without,' 'apart from,' is used elsewhere in the sense 'except.' For the general sense cf. Aphthonius Progym. 11 (Walz Khet. Gr. i. p. 103) Niobe is speaking ἀλλὰ τι ταύτα ὑδρόμαι, παρὸν αἰτήσαι θεοὺς ἑτέραν ἀλλαξασθαί φύσιν, μίαν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων τεθέαμαι λύσιν, μεταστήναι πρὸς τὰ μηδὲν ἀοιδατόμενα· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δέδουκα μή καὶ τοῦτο φανεία μείνῃ δικρύνουσα. For the nightingale see Dio Chrys. ix. 19 p. 293 R. οὐκοῦν, ἐφὼ ὁ Διογένης, εἶπε τὸ ταχύτατον εἶναι κρατιστόν ἐστι, πολὺ βέλτιον κόριδον εἶναι σχέδου ἢ ἀνθρώπον· ὥστε τὰς ἀρδόνιας οὐδὲν τι δει οἰκτείναι οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐποπας, ὦτι ὅρθες ἐγένοντο εἰ ἀνθρώπων, ὦς ὑπὸ τοῦ μίθου λέλεκται.

II 159. There is considerable similarity to Eur. Tr. 460 ff., where Cassandra says, addressing her country, her dead father and brothers; οὐ μακρὰν δεξεσθέ μ', ἥξω δ' εἴ τεκρόνσι νικηφόροις· καὶ δόμοις πέρσας· Ἀτρειδῶν, ὦν ἀπολόμεσθ' ὑπό. II 167. πρόπτυργοι might also mean 'before his walls.' Cf. Max. Tyr. xi. 2 καὶ τῶν μὲν Πριάμωι εὐχομένωι ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς, βοῶν καὶ οίς δοσμέραι τῶι Δίω καταβοῦτι, ἀτελῆ τὴν εὐχὴν τίθητι (sc. Δ. Ζεύς).

II 170 ff. See cr. nn. and cf. P. V. 950 οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταύτ' ἐπαρκέσσει τοῦ μῆ' οὗ πεσεῖν ἀτίμως. The text was first corrupted to τὸ μῆ' πῶλιν μὲν ὀπερ οὖν ἐχεῖ ἐχεῖν, παθεῖν, being merely an insertion to patch the metre. Constantly, finding μῆ' οὖ, scribes omitted the οὖ as περιοσόν (see Journ. Phil. xxiii. p. 296), and it should always be written in texts, at any rate where there is any trace of it.—ἐμπλῶ βόλων describes exactly what she does in v. 1290 ff. For the metaphor, see the oracle in Hdt. i. 62 ἐρρίπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δικτύων ἐκπεπέτασθαι, θύνων δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναῖης διὰ νυκτός, Opp. Hal. iii. 465, Cyn. iv. 141, Eur. Bacch. 847 ἀγρ' ἐσ βόλων καβάσταται, Khes. 730, Herod. viii. 75.—For θερμόνως cf. A. P. vi. 173 (of a votary of Cybele) θερμόν ἐπεὶ λύσθης ὀδ' ἀνέπαυσε πόδα.
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II79. λαμπρός. The metaphor shifts by means of this word, which covers the meaning ‘fresh’ applied to wind. As πνεῦμα and πνεῦμα, spiritus, meant not only wind but inspiration, the spirit of prophecy is spoken of in terms belonging to a rushing mighty wind, which will wash the unseen horror to the light, as though it were a wave rolled up against the Orient rays. The wind is ἀργεστής Ζέφυρος (ἅπηλωτής).

II80. ἐσάξευν: see cr. n. ἐξει is often used of wind: Hom. B 146 τῷ (κύματα) μὲν τ’ Εὐρός τε καὶ Νότος τε ἡρόν· ἐπάξεας, Soph. Ai. 358 ἐξεις ἐξεις νότος ὦς λήγει.

II81. If τῆρα is the subject (cf. Hom. Ψ 61 θεί κύματ’ ἐπ’ ἡμόνος κλίζεσκον), perhaps κλίσεων may be right.—For the image Catull. lxiv. 269 is quoted: hic qualis fluit placidum mare matutino | horrificans Zephyrus procluiss incitatur undas | Aurora exoriente uagi sub limina solis, | quae tarde primum dementi flameae pulsae | procedunt tenitique sonant plangore cachinimi, | post uento crescente magis magis increbrescent.

II87 οἱ. The κώμος, drunken well with human blood, refusing to be sent away, sit fast against the chamber singing; and their song is deadly Primal Sin (πρωταρχὸν ἄρτην), the first act of Kin-murder when Aticus slew the children of Thyestes: Cho. 1066 παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν μόχθοι τάλαιες τε Θεόστον. For δώμασιν προσήμεναι cf. Verg. A. vii. 342 Allecto Laurentis tecta tyranni | celsa petit, taciturnque obsedit limen Amatae, iv. 471 Orestes | armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris | cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae. So they sit guarding the vestibule of Hell: vi. 563 (with Conington’s note), 279, 555, 574, ov. Met. iv. 453.

II91 οἱ. ἐν μέρει δ’ ἀπέπτυσαν κτέ. is part of the Image of the κώμος explained above: Jeremiah 25. 27, Lucian i. 750.—The words admit of various constructions. δυσμενεῖς may be either nominative or accusative (belonging to evil); or we might take ἀπέπτυσαν absolutely and understand the rest to mean δυσμενεῖς τῷ εὖν ἀδέλφῳ πατοῦντι.—For ἐν μέρει ‘each in turn’ cf. Cho. 331 κλῆθ᾽ εὗν, ὥ πάτερ, ἐν μέρει πολυθάκρυτα πένθη.

II93. ἡ θηρῷ τῷ τοξότης τις ὦς; ‘Or have I brought my quarry down?’ Greek often adds to metaphors such phrases as ὥστε τοξότης (Soph. Ant. 1084), γατέλων δικόν (Cho. 201), which we should not express. So Eur. Hipp. 872 πρὸς γάρ τινος ὀλον ὥστε μάντις εἰσορω λακόν.

II96. λόγωι παλαιάς, ‘storied,’ ‘historic’: Soph. O. Ῥ. 1394 ὃ Πόλυβε καὶ Κόρυνθε καὶ τὰ πάτρια | λόγωι παλαιά δῶματα (where, however, the editors of Sophocles, neglecting this parallel, connect λόγωι with πάτρια against the natural order). Hermann and Dobree, followed by Paley and others, substituted τὸ μὴ εἶδεναι in 1195, to be joined with λόγωι in the sense ‘that I know not merely by hearsay.’
Apart from other objections, this is contrary to the order of the words: since the point in that case would consist in λόγοι, which must have preceded εἰδέναι, i.e. τὸ μή λόγοι εἰδέναι. See Eur. Heracl. 5 οἴδα δ᾿ οὐ λόγωι μαθῶι. Antiphon 5. 75 ἀπολογείσθαι οὖν πολλοί νεώτεροι εἴμι καὶ λόγωι οἴδα. λόγοι often implies 'in word only': Eur. fr. 57 καὶ τὸ δούλον οὐ λόγωι (not only in word) ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην. Thesp. 832 ἦλθε δ᾿ αἰωκτὰ πίματ' οὐ λόγωι. Soph. Trach. 1046, El. 1453, Ai. 813. [For ἐκμαρτυρεῖ, which has nothing to do with the technical ἐκμαρτυρία but signifies 'to testify openly,' see Wyse on Isae. iii. 77.]


1205. ἀλλ᾿ ἂν παλαιστῆς κάρτ’ ἐμοὶ πνεὼν χάριν: i.e. 'he contended for me strenuously' (ἐπάλαεον ἃ ἐβρωτής). Similarly Eur. Suppl. 704 λόχος δ᾿ ὀδώτων ὄφεος ἔξαγρωμένος δενὸς παλαιστῆς ἂν. Cf. generally the speech of Lady Faulconbridge in King John i. 1. 253:

King Richard Coeur-de-lion was thy father:
By long and vehement suit I was seduced
To make room for him in my husband's bed:
Heaven lay not my transgression to my charge!
Thou art the issue of my dear offence,
Which was so strongly urged past my defence.

So in Ovid Heroid. 5. 139 Oenone says of Apollo:

Me fide conspicuus Troiae munitor amavit:
ille meae spolium virginitatis habet.
id quoque lactando. rupi tamen uinge capillos
oraque sunt digitis aspera facta meis.

Oenone too, according to Ovid, received her gift of medicine from Apollo (ib. 145).

1206. νόμωι, they say, to make it easy for her to confess what was so natural: cf. Hom. ψ 296 ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροι παλαιῷ θεσμῷ ἵκοιτο.—
For ἥλθέντι see Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 279.

1210. ἀνατός: see cr. n. There is a similar confusion in Lycophr. 1172.

1215. See cr. n. An adjective has been lost.

1216. τοὺς δόμους ἐφμένους, 'seated against the house'—like the Furies, who personify their vengeance (see n. on 1187 f.),—rather than 'seated on the roof.' She sees the figures, vague and shadowy at first; as they grow plainer, gradually she discerns the details one by one; at last they show distinct, πρέπουσι (v. 1221).

1223. λέοντ': he was a Pelopid like the rest, but ἄναλκες: see on 147.

H. A.
1224. ὄμως, ἄρα, 'no doubt': see on 800.

1225. φῆμεν γὰρ κτέ., explaining δεσπότης ἐμῶς: Eur. Hel. 1193 (Helen to Theoclymenus) ὁ δέσποτα—ηὔος γὰρ τοῦ ὄνομαξιον τ' ἕτος—ὁλολα, Ar. Vesp. 1297 (with Starkie's note), Ach. Tat. v. 17 (in the address of a letter) Λευκίππῃ Κλειτοφώντι τῶν δεσπότης μοι—ταύτῳ γὰρ σε δεὶ καλεῖν. Aristaeetus ii. 5 αὐ τούς 'Αρπεδάνη (πρὸς αὐ γὰρ ἐξεπίθηδες ὡς ἔχω πάθους ἀπήγγειλα τὴν υποτικροῦν τῶν βελῶν ἦδον').

1227 ff. οἷα οἴδαν οἰα...τεύχεται. The text, which is correct except that we must read λέξασα κακτέυσα (Plat. Prot. 329 λ ὀσπερ τὰ χαλκία πληγέντα μακρῶν ἧξει καὶ ἀποσείνει), has suffered grievous treatment at the hand of many critics. οἷα is understood with λέξασα as well as with τεύχεται as though it were οἷα λέξασα οἷα τεύχεται. 'The general meaning is:—' He little dreams what accursed act all her protracted words of smiling blandishment are but the treacherous cloak and prelude to.' In the speech which opens at v. 846 we have had a sample of her treacherous speech, and Agamemnon feels the hollowness enough to make the significant answer (v. 925) ὑποσιάμα μὲν εἰπας εἰκότως ἐμή μάκραν γὰρ ἐξέπευμας. In the Eumenides Apollo describes her (634 ff.):—ἀπὸ στρατείας γὰρ ναὶ, ἀντικομικά τὰ πλεῖστα ἀμενον, εὐφροσιν δεσδεμένη | <τὰ πρῶτα μίθοις, η’ κατάπτυστος, γυνὴ | παρίστατ’ αὐτῶι θέρµ’ ἐν ἀργυρηλάτωι: | ὑμνήτη περπάντε Λυστρα, κατὶ τέρματι | φάρος περεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ’ ἀτέρμοι | κόπτει πεδήσασ’ ἄνδρα διαδάλευρ πέπλων. 'After receiving him with kindly words of welcome, she stood by while he was performing his ablutions in the bath, and at the conclusion tramelled him in a cunning robe and hewed him down.' γλώσσα is of course the false-speaking tongue, as in the proverbial warning against 'the smyer with the knyf under the cloke' attributed to Solon (fr. 42):

πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρα ἐκαστὸν ὄρι
μὴ κρυπτὸν ἐχὼν ἔχως κραδίαι
φαίδρωι σε προσενέτηκ’ προσπότωι
γλώσσα δὲ οἱ διεχόμεθος ἐκ μελαίνας φρειός γεγωνη.

And φαίδρονος means ' with smiling cheerfulness ' in her greeting (v. 525 φαίδροισι τουιδ’ ὄμμισαν δέξασθε, Cho. 503 φαίδραι φρειν δεξαμεν’ ἄν); here, like φιλόφρων in Pers. 98 (a passage to be quoted presently), merely describing the appearance worn by simulated cheerfulness.

To flatter with such sinister intention was to behave like a κύων λαίθαργος, which treacherously fawns and bites at the same time; a proverbial verse said σαίνουσα δάκνεις καὶ κύων λαίθαργος εἶ (Soph. fr. 800 Nauck). This must be part of the suggestion in κυνὸς here, though the epithet μιστητής introduces another quality.

And like the treachery of a κύων λαίθαργος is the deceitfulness
of "Athena: with smiling blandishment she lures men into her nets:
Pers. 94

Ach. that
83 σαίνων ἄτων διαπέλεκεν the metaphor is applied to a treacherous person. And Helen too, as we have seen in the n. on 724 ff., is a minister of "Athena, just as the Lion-cub that typifies her is called ἴστρεις τις Ἀτας. In the corresponding line of the previous strophe he had been described as φαίδροπος, ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνων τε ὁ φαίδρωπὸν ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνοντα: that implies fawning with the fatal blandishment of Ate, δίκην Ἀθηνᾶς λαθραίουν.

1233. οἰκούσαν ἐν πέτραισι corresponds to Homer's Σκύλλην πετραίν (μ. 231).

1234. θόνουσαν "Αἰδοὺς μητέρα is not 'Mother of Hell' or 'Dam of Death,' but 'raging, infernal, hellish mother,' exactly as Eur. Cycl. 396 τῷ θεοστυγεί "Αἰδοὺς μαγαώρω, Aristias Trag. fr. 3 μαζαγρέτας "Αἰδοὺς τραπεζεύς, 'damned,' 'devilish.' The genitive is equivalent to an adjective such as these, or 'deadly,' 'fateful:' Eur. Or. 1399 ἔδειξεν σιδαρέωσιν "Αἴδα, Andr. 1046 σταλάσσων "Αἴδα φόνον. 'Ερενίων, 'Ερενίος are used just in the same way: Ach. Tat. v. 5 ἐδείχθησεν ὁ Τιτάτης δειπνὸν 'Ερενίων 'of retribution,' 'avenging.' Both genitives serve as limiting epithets to a metaphor: δικτυών τι "Αἰδοὺν Αγ. 1103 = 1580 = 1611, Soph. Trach. 1051, explained by Ai. 1034: Thesb. 853, Ag. 650, 980, Eur. Supp. 773 = Cho. 151, Eur. Alc. 424: βάκχους "Αἰδοὺν Eur. Hec. 1077, H. F. 1119, Hipp. 550 (Musgrave): I. T. 286 "Αἰδοὺ δράκαιναν, Hec. 483 "Αἴδα θαλάμους Εὐρώπας θεραπτῶν. See also Lobeck on Soph. Ai. 802, Blaydes on Ar. Thesm. 1041.

1251. παρεκόπτῃς, in answer to the question 'by what man's hand.' Quite failing to see that τοις δ' in v. 1249 may refer to a woman, the chorus assume that a man is meant (as in Soph. Ant. 248 Creon, never dreaming that the culprit is Antigone, asks: τί φής; τίς ἄνδρον ἦν ὁ τολμησάς τάδε;) Cassandra’s reply refers to the confession ἐκ δρόμουν πεσῶν τρέχων in v. 1244, which corresponds to her request at v. 1183 καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνθρόμος ἔχουσα κακῶν μνηματοῦσιν. ἀποκατῆται τῶν ἔχων

1 eis ἄρκωστα MSS.
was used in the same way of hounds being thrown off the trail: Bekk. 
Anecd. 428. 25 ἀποκοπήν τῶν ἵππων τὴν κύτα λέγονσιν ὅταν μηκέτι  ἐφιάληκα τὰ ἱγια. Hesych. ἀποκοπήναι: ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων κύτα λέγεται ὅταν μὴ ἐφιάληκα. The true reading is doubtful, but it is possible that the scribes have tampered with the order of the words, putting ἀρα too soon, and that we should restore ἡ κάρτα χρυσομοῦ ἀρα παρεκόπης ἱππῶν. Similarly in Soph. O. C. 534 σαι τ' εἰς' ἀρ' ἀπόγονοι τε καὶ (Jebb) has become σαι τ' ἀρ' εἰς' ἀπόγονοι τε καὶ.


1256. Δάκει', in his character of Destroyer, as 'Wolf-slayer.'

1259 ff. ὡς δὲ κτέ. The construction of this sentence is uncertain. ἑπείχεται ἀντίτεισσαθαί would be 'prays to...'; ἑπείχεται ἀντίτεισσαθαί 'vows that she will....' κότως should not be changed although it is figured as ποτόν. [The translation suggests the acceptance of the Trichlinian ὁθῆσεν, with ἀντίτεισσαθαί explaining μυσθόν. But no final solution was approved.]

1266. See cr. n. If the reading is τῶν ἀμείψθαι ορ' πεσόντα θ' ὡς ἀμείψθαι, the meaning is 'thus I'll require you.'

1269 ff. ἐποττεύομαι...μάτην, 'having regarded me even in this raiment laughed to scorn by foes and friends alike without distinction.' The form of phrase, which from its unfamiliarity has occasioned a good deal of doubt and alteration, may be illustrated by the proverbial sayings ἐρρέτω φίλος σιν ἡθρω (Plut. Mor. 50 f, Macar. iv. 12), σφάλλειν σιν ἡθροῖς καὶ φίλος κέρδος φέρει and ἀπόλουτο καὶ φίλος σιν ἡθροῖς (Macar. viii. 95). Bergk's reading in Pind. P. viii. 74 πολλῶι σοφῶι (for σοφῶι) δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόσων βῶν κορυστήμεν ὄρθοβουλουσί μαχαίρις would be just such another phrase, 'is thought not only by fools but by many wise men also.' If the original had been καταγελομανήσθην μάτην φίλον ὑπ' ἡθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπος μέτα, to take this for ὑπ' ἡθρῶν would have been a natural error, and to transpose μέτα and μάτην a ready expedient for making a construction; but the MS., which throws the stress on ἡθρῶν, has a very obvious meaning, 'laughed at now in Argos as before at Troy.' That would have been as well expressed by φίλον μέτα, ἡθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπος ὑπ'.
1276. βωμὸν πατρώιον, the altar of ζεῦς Ἐρκευος at which Priam was slain.—άντι: so long as a preposition can follow its case, there is no objection to its elision or even to a pause after it. Examples in iambic verse are Eur. Ἰτακ. 732 θηρόμεθα αὐτρόν τῶν ἔπτει μου, Ἰο. 1021 καὶ προσκυνέομεν βαρβάρων ἔπτει θέλεις, Λυσ. Ι. 1146 (tragic style) χώμαν ἦσ ὑπ’ εὐ πεπόνθησε, Eur. Ι. Α. 967 ὅπερ μὲν ἑστρατεύμηθη, Αἰσχ. Συμ. 260 αἰὲν ἦσ ἡ ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται (rightly corrected for αἴνης δακρύος). Here αὖτί follows its case as in Λυσοφρ. 94 ὀστρίκων μὲν ἄντι, 305 εὑρ ὑδαίν άντί, but does not suffer anastrophe.

1277. See cr. n. The construction cannot be κοπείσης (οτί κοπείσαν or κοπείσῃ) θερμῶι φοινῶι προσφέγματι ‘butchered with a hot bloody stroke,’ for two reasons; even if it were possible to speak of a hot stroke, πρόσφηγμα does not mean (as some have wished it to mean), a blow or stroke; and μένει μὲ κοπείσαν or κοπείση could not mean ‘awaits me, about to be beheaded,’ κοφθησιμένην; it could only mean ‘awaits me after I have been beheaded.’

The construction, therefore, must in part be προσφεγματι κοπείσης ‘the sacrifice’ or ‘slaughtered body of me butchered.’ The dative, then, if θερμῶι κοπείσης φοινῶι is sound, depends on μένει, ‘a block is in store for the slaughter of me butchered’; more probably, as is generally thought, it depends either on θερμῶι (Schuetz’ conjecture), ‘a block is in store for me hot with the bloody slaughter of me butchered’; or on φοινῶι (Haupt), ‘a block is in store for me, bloody with the hot slaughter of me butchered.’

The difficulty is in κοπείσης. Cassandra, as a prophetess, might of course visualise a block streaming with the slaughter of herself, foreseeing the future as though it had already happened, as she does in 1080—1119. But μένει is not the language of visualisation; it is the language merely of prediction; and my feeling is that in conjunction with μένει we ought to have, not κοπείσης, but κοφθησιμένης. Consider now two passages: Plat. Mor. 597 ε τῶν Λεωντίδην ἐπέσφαξε θερμῶι τῶι Κρῆσιδότωι ‘slew Leontides while the body of Cephsidotus was yet warm.’ Philostratus Κασάνδρα, Ιμαγ. 10, describing a picture of these very murders; after slaying Agamemnon, ἢ Καλταμμύστρα τὴν τῶι Πραίμον κόρην ἀποκείνει θερμῶι τῶι πελέκει ‘with her axe yet warm.’ And then consider whether you would not like to read κοπέσως: either θερμῶι κοπέτως φοινώι προσφέγματι ‘there waits for me a block, hot with the bloody sacrifice of a butchered man,’ or θερμῶι κοπέτως φοινῶι προσφέγματι ‘bloody with the still warm slaughter of a butchered man.’ See now how well the plurals follow, τεννήσομεν and ἄντωι.

I have little doubt about the answer,—if only it could be shown how κοπέτως came to be altered to κοπείσης. Well, it was a deliberate
alteration made by a half-intelligent corrector, who took the participle as referring to Cassandra, and therefore made it feminine. In this same play there are at least two other passages which have been subjected to precisely the same treatment: in v. 275, κλούμι' ἄν εὔφρων· οὖν δέ στεφάνη φθώνος, f and h give στεφάνι; and again in 283, εὖ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὁμοι σου κατηγορεῖ, they give φρονοῦσι.

1286 ff. εἶπα τὸ πρῶτον κτῆ. Now that the capture (εἶλον: cr. n.) of Troy is avenged, I go gladly to meet death. Cassandra's speech in Eur. Tro. 353—405 is in effect an expansion of this passage, if read in connexion with ib. 455—461.

In Sen. Agam. 1005—1011 Cassandra speaks to Clytaemnestra: 'You need not drag me to my death; I willingly—nay, gladly follow.'

Perferre prima munition Phrygibus meis
propero; repletiitn ratibus euersis mare;
captas Mycenas; mille dactorem ducum,
ud paria fata Troicis lucrat malis,
perisse doneo feminae, stupro, dolo.
nil moramur: rapite, quin grates ago:
iam, iam iuiat uixisse post Troiam, iuiat.

But πράξω in v. 1289 is doubtful.

1290. προσευνόιη: see n. on 365.


1304. ιὼ πάτερ σοῦ σὰν τε γενεαῖν τέκνων is a fine answer to their empty consolations. There is a stroke remarkably like this in Marlowe's Tragedy of Dido, ii. 2, where the queen is endeavouring to cheer Aeneas, son of Priam and Hecuba:

_Dido._

Be merry, man:
Here's to thy better fortune and good stars [_Drinks._

_Aen._

In all humility, I thank your grace.

_Dido._

Remember who thou art; speak like thyself:
Humility belongs to common grooms.

_Aen._

And who so miserable as Aeneas is?

_Dido._

Lies it in Dido's hands to make thee blest?
Then be assured thou art not miserable.

_Aen._

O Priamus, O Troy, O Hecuba!

When Antigone is doomed to death, the Chorus attempt to console her with somewhat similar praise (Soph. Ant. 817 ff.); but she rejects the mockery of their words, and appeals to Thebes and Dirce (ib. 839 ff.).

1311. οὐ Σύριον must be taken closely together, κατ' εἰρωνείαν.
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1323 f. See cr. n. ‘I pray...that to my champions my enemies may pay for the slaying of a murdered slave.’ This is on the whole the best remedy, although φόνευσαν is a strange word for tragedy to use. [See Housman in Journ. Phil. xvi. p. 210.] An alternative would be τοῦ ἐρμοὶ τιμαῶαι ἐχθροὺς φανεῖν τοὺς ἐρμοὶ στὲ. Cf. Plut. Dio et Brut. comp. 5 καὶ Δίωνος μὲν τιμωρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐφίης πεσόντος.

1325. For the loosely-added genitive, cf. Eur. El. 1195 τίς ξένος... ἐρμὸν κάρα προσφύτευται μητέρα κτανῶτος; Cyc. 244 πλήσοντι νηών τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ' ἄνθρακος θερμῆν ἔδωτος δαίτα τοῖς κρεανομοί.

1326 ff. These lines contain an Aeschylean figure developed out of the phrase σκῖα τὰ βητηρῶν (Nauck F. T. G., p. 783, Eur. Med. 1224, Soph. Al. 125, Ar. Au. 683 etc.), ‘All is Vanity,’ empty and unsubstantial, and not real or solid: ‘every man at his best state is altogether vanity,’ Psalms 39. 5, Soph. O. T. 1186 ff. ἵνα γενεῖ βροτῶν, ὡς ἐρᾶς ῥά καὶ τὸ μηδεν ἔσωσας ἐναρμῆ. Aeschylus makes his ‘shadow’ that of σκιαγραφία, as Iamblichus, Protrept. 8 εἰ θεωρήσειν ὑπ' αὐγᾶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον βίον εὐρήσει γὰρ τὸ δοκοῦσα εἶναι μεγαλὰ τοῖς ἄνθρωποι πάντα ὡς σκιαγραφῶν κτε. πρέφειν implies that life, when seeming most vivid, is only a pencilled sketch: cf. v. 253 πρέποιτον θ' ὡς εἰ γραφαίς.

I formerly preferred τέρψειν, which was proposed by an anonymous critic: pleasure of this life (τὸ τερπώνυ) is short-lived and faint like a deceptive imitation: Xen. Symp. 4. 22 ἦ μὲν αἰτῶν ὡψι εὐφραίνειν δύναται, ἦ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοῦ τέρπων μὲν οὗ παρέχει πόθον δὲ ἐρμοῖε. Cf. Ar. Poet. 6. 1450 b 1 παραπλησίου γὰρ ἔστιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραφικῆς: εἰ γὰρ τίς ἐναλείψεις τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύδην, οὐκ ἂν ὡμοίς εὐφραίνειες καὶ λεικογραφήσας εἰκόνα. Stob. Flor. 14. 24 (Socrates) έωκεν ἦ κολακεία γραττῆ πανοπλία. διὸ τέρψει μὲν ἔχει, χρείαν δὲ οὐδέμιαν παρέχεται. This train of thought led Greeks to the conclusion μὴ φινάι ἄρματον, and the chorus in Soph. O. C. 1211 ff. is only a versification of an ancient and familiar commonplace. ‘Thus we have τὰ τερπόντα δ' οὐκ ἂν ἰδοῖς ὡπον, and in Pind. P. viii. 88 ἐπάμερον: τί δὲ τές, τί δ' οὗ τές; σκῖας ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος (an hyperbole like εἰδωλον σκίαις, κατ' οὔκ σκίαι) is led up to by the reflection εν δ' ὀλέγω τὸ τερπών αὔξεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάντει χαράι. Pleasure is like the grass that withereth and the flower that fadeth; τοῖς ἱκέλῳ πῆχυνον ἐπὶ χρόνων ἄνθεσεν ἦβης τερπάμεθα, Mimnermus (fr. 2) says.

eυτυχοῦντα μὲν applies to Agamemnon's fortunes, ἐ δὲ δυστυχοῖ to Cassandra's: κυριωτέρα δ' ἐν οἰκτω τὰ τῆς Κασάνδρας, says Philostratus,
Imag. Kasánandra, and that is what Aeschylus takes care to stress. But it is hardly for Cassandra to pronounce that her own case is far more pitiable than Agamemnon’s; and I think with Weil that this final comment is as usual by the Chorus: ‘vaticinatur Cassandra, non philosophatur.’ For the opposition of the μεν- and δε-clauses, expressing the contrast of the bad to the worse, cf. Théb. 172 κρατούσα μεν γὰρ οὐκ ὅμοιως τρίσις, δείκται δ’ οἶκων καὶ πολεί πλεον κακῶν. Achill. Tat. i. 7 ποιησαν μὲν γὰρ γενῆ, καὶ εὐκορφος ἤν ἐώς δὲ καὶ ἀμορφίαν δυστυχῆ, διπλοῖν τὸ κακῶν. Lucian iii. 232 πολείν μὲν οὖν καὶ νέων πατρίς· τοῖς δὲ ἥδη γεγηρακόσι πλεών ἐγγίνεται ὁ πόθος. Cho. 740 ὡς μοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ... ἥλυνεν ἐν στέρνους φρένα, ἀλλ’ οὕτω πως τοιῶν τῇ ἀνεσχύρην. For the pity which is due to Cassandra cf. Antiphanes ap. Stob. Flor. 97. 1 καλὸς πεινεσθεῖρ μᾶλλον ἡ πλούσιν κακῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεον τὸ δ’ ἐπιτίμημαι φέρει.

1330. ἀκόρεστον. So it is said of Wealth in Ar. Plut. 188 ὡστ’ οὐδὲ μετάτο σοῦ γέγον ὄνειδος πόστε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἑστὶ πάντων πλημμοσύνη κτε.

1331. δακτυλοδικτον, that is, ‘admired and gorgeous palaces,’ show places.

1333. μηκέτ’ ἐσθῆσις. The entrance of Wealth into men’s houses is described in Ar. Plut. 234—244.

1339. ἐπικράνει: so the MSS., and the future is the natural tense here, but it is hardly credible that it could be scanned ἐπικράνει, and a paroemiac at this point is unusual. Perhaps ἐπικράνειον ‘should he complete...’

1340. τίς ἀν < ὄντι> εὔξαυτο Canter, but the sense required is ‘who can boast that his lot is free from harm?’ (cf. Menand. 355 ὦν ὡστ’ εἰτείν εἴστα ἐντα ‘ταῦτ’ οὖν πεισόμαι). τίς ἄν < ὄντι> Porson, but οὖν cannot stand so in ἀρδοδι. τίς τῶν Weil, τίς < τοῦ> ἀν E. A. Ahrens, τίς < τοῦ> ἄν Verrall, alii alia, all but Schneidewin retaining εὐξάιτο. This cannot be. τίς ἄν εὐξάιτο; has only one meaning in Greek, ‘who would wish?’ (e.g. Antiphon 6. 1 εὐχόμενος ἄν τις ταῦτα εὐξάιτο, Dem. in Hermog. Rhet. p. 179 εἶτα ἀ Φίλεππος εὐξάιτ [ἀν τοὺς θεοὺς, ταῦτα οὐκ ἐνθάδε ποιοῦσαν]). In ordinary language it is very common, e.g. Isocr. 3. 16 καίστα τίς οὖν ἄν εὐξάιτο τῶν εὐ φρονοῦντων τοιαύτης πολιτείᾳ μετέχειν...; (where G has δεξαῖτο which is equally common, but means ‘be content to’). Ar. Ran. 283 ἐγὼ δὲ γ’ εὐξαίμην ἄν... and occurs also in Soph. fr. 327 οὕτω γὰρ γάμον, ὥ φίλαι, οὕτ’ ἄν ἄλβον ἐκμετρον ἐνδον εὐξαίμαιν εχειν’ φθονεραι γὰρ ὁδοί. I thought once of τίς ἄν αὐχήσει, but though Hesych. gives αὐχέω: εὐχόμαι, that is the only place I have ever found it so explained, and probably the true reading is Schneidewin’s rejected εὐξάιτο.
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1355. Μελλοῦσ. The word should be written so, not μελλοῦς, to indicate that it is a personification or idealisation of a quality. These were formed in Greek as easily by a termination in ὄ as in English by a capital letter. Tryphon (Mus. Crit. i. 49), quoting this word as an example of ὄνοματοποια κατὰ παρονομασίαν, gives ... τῆς Μελλοῦσ χάριν no doubt by defect of memory. The phrase τῆς Μελλοῦσ κλέος gives me the impression that it refers to some proverbial commendation of Deliberation, and in this I am supported by an epigram of Antiphilus A. P. xvi. 136 ἐ' Ἀρκεῖ δ' ὑ μέλλησις' (Intention) εἶδε σοφός. This may have been the very proverb, from an early gnomic poet. They, the speaker ironically remarks, are paying singularly little respect to 'that same lauded name' Delay. Cf. Eur. I. T. 905 ὅπως τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα τῆς σωτηρίας λαβώντες κτ., On. Trist. i. 8. 15 illud amicitiae sanctum et venerabile nomen | re tibi pro ulti est sub pedibusque iacet.

1373 f. φίλοις δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, 'passing as beloved,' and therefore to be treated with dissimulation.—See cr. nn. The corrections assume that the scribe took ἀρκεστατὰν to be an adjective and altered τηροῦσα accordingly.

1379. I formerly punctuated after τάδε (C. R. xii. 247), joining it with έπραξα: but there is no need for the pronoun to be emphatic.

1382. πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν is taken to be merely a fine phrase for abundance of material; surely it implies that the silver-purchased raiment which he trampled in his pride of wealth has now itself, as it were, become the instrument of his undoing, changed into the net of Ate. See vv. 383, 940, 951, 1580.

1385 f. τρίτην ἐπενδύσωμι κτέ. The third libation was offered to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ: Aesch. fr. 55 τρίτον Δίως Σωτηρος εὐκταίαν λίβα. See also note on v. 257 τριτόσπουνδον παιάνα and cf. 650 παιάνα τόιδ Ἐρμέων. 'My third blow was offered as a prayer-offering to the subterranean Zeus'—as Hades may be called, for in the Underworld his position corresponds to that of Zeus among the Olympian powers above; and so in Supp. 160 ff. the Danaids from Egypt say, 'If Zeus Petitionary will not hear our prayer, our swarthy company will perish by the noose and make their supplication to the dark Zeus of the Earth, that Zeus most Hospitable—to all that seek rest from their labours with him, who grants entertainment freely to the dead, τὸν γαῖον, τὸν πολιεύοντατον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκηρυκτῶν, where the schol. has τὸν καταγαθόνιον Λαμνον. There is something of the same irony as in the words σωλζέσθω κάτω in Soph. El. 438 and σωμίζοντων κάτω Αἰ. 660; and there is a precisely similar implication in the mention of a third libation in Cho. 576.
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Φόνον δ' Ἐρώτες οὖχ ἐπιεπαναμενή ἄκρατον αἷμα πίεται τρίτην πόσιν, ἢ.δ. 'as her third and crowning draught.'

1390 f. recall Hom. Ψ 597 τόιο δὲ θυμὸς ἢ ἄνθη, ὡς εἰ τε περὶ σταυχέσσιν ἑρμηνί | λυμὸν ἁλδήσκοντος, ὅτε φραίσουσιν ἄρωμα, 'His heart was gladdened as the heart of growing corn is gladdened with the dew upon the ears when the fields are bristling' (Leaf).

1394 ff. πρεπόντων was formerly taken as a partitive genitive with ἓν (as though ἓν τῶν π.) 'had it been among things fitting,' and Wecklein still takes it so. But Wellauer and Blomfield truly observed that in such phrases the article is used; we must have had τῶν π. Dr. Verrall accordingly takes it as a genitive absolute 'under fit circumstances, with good cause,' interpreting 'Could there be a fit case for a libation over the dead, justly and more than justly this would be that case.' The natural construction, as van Heusde saw, is πρεπόντων ἐπισπέιδεω, 'to pour a libation of what is fit,' σπέιδεω being often used with a genitive, e.g. Longus ii. 31 ἐπισπείαντες οἴνον, 22, iii. 12. Philostr. Απολ. v. 15, Επιστ. 39 οὐκ οἶνον σπέιδοντες αὐτῶι ἀλλὰ δακρύων. Heliod. vii. 15 ἀποσπέιδω τῶι ἐμαυτής δακρύων, iv. 16. Plut. Μορ. 655 ε. Herodian v. 5. 12. In the sense 'it is possible to,' ἐστιν ὥστε is common enough: sup. 389 ἐστο δ' ἀπήμαντον ὄστι' ἀπαρκεῖν εὐ πραπίδων λαχῶνα, Soph. Phil. 656, Eur. Ηέρ. 701 ἀλλ' ἐστι κάκ τῶων ὥστε σωθήναι. ἐπισπέιδεω is properly used of pouring a libation upon a sacrifice: Hdt. ii. 39 ἐπετα τι ὑ' αὐτῶι (the altar) οἶνον κατά τοῦ ἵρμιον ἐπισπ., as iv. 62 ἐπεών γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατά τῶι κεφαλέων, iv. 60, vii. 167. Nicand. Thyat. (Ath. 486 a), Plut. Κομι. 4. Xen. Ἐρήμ. i. 5. Here the whole point lies in πρεπόντων, for of course, to pour libations on a corpse was to give him the due rite of burial: Anth. Append. Cougny ii. 485, Nicet. Eugen. ix. 4 το σῶμα συγκαίονσιν, Ἑλλήνων νόμων, χώς ἐπισπείαντες. By τάδε, which is explained by τοσώτιδε...ἀραίων in the following lines, Clytaemnestra means that the proper libations for Agamemnon would be taken from the ἄραία κακά (that is, βλαβερά) that he has himself inflicted on his own house. Such metaphors from libations are common in later Greek and Latin; e.g. in Achilles Tatius, iii. 16, a lover about to cut his throat upon his mistress' grave says λαβεῖ οὖν, Δευκάπη, τὰς πρεπούσας σοι χώς παρ' ἐμοῦ.

1400. παράσφει κτδ. may be a reminiscence of Hector's words to Ajax in Hom. Η 233 μὴ μεῖς, ὡς τε παιδὸς ἀφανῷ πειρήτιζε | ἔλκε γυναικός, ὡς οὖν οἴδεν πολεμήμα ἐργα | αὐτάρ ἐγὼ εὖ οἶδα μάχας τ' ἀνδροκτασίας τε.

1406 f. τί κακὸν...χθονοτρεφίς ἰδανὸν ἔτον...ρύτας ἐκ ἄλος ὀμμενον; 'what φάρμακον, solid or liquid?' Hom. Α 741 ἤ τῶι φάρμακα ἡγη ὕστε τρέφει εὐρεία χθῶν. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 530 φάρμαχ' ὅσ' ἦσειρός τε
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I409. τάδ' ἐπέθυμεν θύως δημοθρόνος τ' ἀράς; I take this to mean τάδ' λεώσιμον θύμα (v. 1107). Other views are that θύως here means 'frenzy,' either 'this maddened rage of thine' or 'this fury of the clamouring people.'

I418. See cr. n. Perhaps we should read Θρηκτίων γ' ἀκμάτων: but τε may have been merely a metrical addition, after the corruption of Λ to Λ.

I423. ἐκ τῶν ὄμοιων, 'conditions equal.' So Plat. Phaedr. 243 τι συμβουλεύει δὲ καὶ Δυσιάς ὅτι τάχιστα γράφαι οἷς χρὴ ἔραστη πάλαι ἢ μὴ ἐρωτεῖ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων χαρίζεσθαι, where the phrase is equivalent to ceteris paribus.

I429. λίπος ἐπ' ἀκμάτων αἱμάτως εὗ πρίτευν: the eye shows the heart (see nn. on 283, 784 ff., 1 Samuel 16. 7 But the Lord said unto Samuel, Look not on his countenance or on the height of his stature). Therefore bloody heart should have a bloody eye to match. The blood will come from public stoning.

I432. καὶ τήν' ἀκούεις ὅρκιων ἐμῶν θέμιν can hardly be correct, for ἀκούεις would mean 'you hear,' 'you have heard now;' it is after the law has been recited that the orator says ἀκούεις τῶν νόμων, and the same is the case invariably with ἀκούεις or κλέεις. Greek would be καὶ τῆν' ἀκούσαν (Casaubon), as Cho. 498, or ἀκούε γ' (Herwerden), or as I suggest ἀκούεις γ', Eur. 306, Soph. Ai. 1141.

I435. οὐ μά Φόβου μέλαθρον Ἐλπίς ἐμπατεί, 'my confident spirit sets no foot within the house of Fear.' For the metaphor cf. Ecclesiastes 7. 4 'The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning; but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth.' [Quint. xiv. 168 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πον πάστα μέλας δόμοις εἶτος ἐέργει λῆβης.] μέλαθρον is used in the singular of the cave of Philoctetes (Soph. Phil. 1453), and of the temple of Artemis (Eur. I. T. 1216). For the combination of φόβου and ἐλπίς see Thuc. vii. 61 οἳ τοὺς πρῶτοις ἀγώσι σφαλέωτες ἐπειτα διὰ παινῶ τῆν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὀμοίαν ταῖς ἐμφαρμαῖς ἔχονσιν.

I437. εὗ φρονών ἐμοί: 'sympathetic' is the nearest equivalent, as in other places, e.g. sup. 283, Cho. 770.

I439 ff. This is the scene that Cassandra foretells in Lycophron, 1108:

ἔγω δὲ ὅρατης ἀγχή κείσομαι πέδων
Χαλυβδικῶν κνώσοντι συντεθραυσμένην.
κεῖται in this sense often begins a sentence: Hom. E 467, Π 541, 558, Σ 20 κεῖται Πάτροκλος. ΘεOd. 779 πεπτωκεν ἄνδρων δείκτης κομπάσματα. Α. Ρ. xii. 48 κεῖται: λαξ ἐπίβαινε κατ' αὐξήσον.

1445 ff. ἥ δὲ τοι... κεῖται, φιλήτωρ τοῦδ'. ἡμoi δ' ἐπήγαγεν, εὐνής παραψώνήμα τῆς ἐμής, χλιδήν.

The antithetical sentence (shaped in the figure called Chiasmus) puts in a brief and telling way the relations of Cassandra to Agamemnon and to Clytaemnestra, and the results of them in each case: 'she was the lover of him,—and is laid low by his side; she dared to trespass on the rights of marriage that were mine,—and all that she has thereby brought to me is the delight of triumph.'

By the words φιλήτωρ τοῦδε she implies at least two things: that Cassandra had chosen to side with Agamemnon against herself; and that she now lies, as a lover should, beside him. Hereafter she herself and Aegisthus are to fall, as Cassandra had foretold, woman for woman, man for man (v. 1317); and in Cho. 893 Orestes says to her φιλέις τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγάρ ἐν ταϋτι τάφω κείση. Perhaps by the active word she wishes to imply that the woman was the seducer; in Sen. Agam. 1001 she says:

at ista poenas capite persoluet suo, captiina coniunx, regii paelex tori. trahite, ut sequatur coniugem eruptum mihi,

'that she may follow the husband she has stolen from me.' The associations of the word are likely to havelent a special sting to it; the Cretans, says Strabo 484, τὸν μὲν ἐρωμενον καλοσά ν κλεινών, τὸν δ' ἐραστὴν φιλήτωρα. Hesych. gives φιλήτωρ: ἐραστὴς, and Nonnus uses it as an adjective, 'loving': Dion. xxii. 27 φιλήτωρι κάλπων, Ioan. xviii. 55 ἵππους δ' ἀνέκοψε φιλήτωρ Πέτρων ιοῷ.—παροψίς or παραψωνήμα mean a trivial extra morsel, Pollux x. 87 τὰς δὲ παραψίδας...ἐτὶ μάζης ὡς ζωμῷ των ἡ ἐδέσματος εὐτελοῦς δ' ἔστι παραψώσασθαι, vi. 56 παροψίδα: ἓστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ζωμῷ τῇ εἴδος, ἡ ὡς τινές, μάζης, ἡ παρενθήκη τις ὄψεως, δ' ὦν ἐνοῦ εἰσονερ παραψωμάτων. And when used metaphorically they were a
synonym for a πάρεργον, as opposed to an ἔργον or σπούδασμα (Galen 227 ἔργων δ” αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ σπούδασμα…. Plat. Euthydem. 273 D ‘Οὖτοι ἔτι ταῦτα σπούδαζομεν, ἀλλὰ παράγομεν αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα…’ ‘Καλὸν ἄν τι τό γ’ ἔργων ἡμῶν εἴη, εἰ τηλικαὶ πράγματα πάρεργα ὑμῖν τυχόναι ὁντα’): Sotades (Ath. 368 a) παροψίς εἶναι φαίνομαι τοίς Κροβύλων τοῦτον μασάται, παρακατεσθίεις δ’ ἐμέ. Magnes (ib. 367 f) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παροψίδοι. Philostr. H. 1111. 284. 662 φυτεύω δὲ αὐτὰ (these other fruits) οἶον παραφύματα τῶν ἀμπέλων. Clem. Alex. 695 καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐφάπτεται φιλοσοφίας οὐ τριγύλων τι ἐπὶ τῶν δείπνων παροψίδοι. Himerius Or. xiv. 24 οὐ δὲ Πῆρρωνος τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἔρων οὐχ ὡς μεγᾶ σπούδασμα οἶον ὧν τι παρώψημα τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας.

Metaphorically, therefore, these words mean a mere slight toy or by-play beside the serious business or main action; and thus παροψίς is applied in Aristophanes Δωδ. fr. 236 to a married woman’s lover: πάσας γυναικῶν ἐὰν ἐν γέ τοῦ τρόπου ὁσπερ παροψίς μικρός ἐσκευασμένος. It is in precisely the same way that εἰνής παροψώσμα τῆς ἔρως is applied by Clytaemnestra to her husband’s paramour.

The metaphorical meaning of these words has not been grasped; παροψώσμα here has hitherto been taken as though it were ἕρως, a seasoning to enhance the appetite, εἰνής παροψώσμα something that gives a zest and gusto to the pleasures of the bed; and the usual interpretation has represented Clytaemnestra as proclaiming to the public, ‘Cassandra by her death has added a relish to the enjoyment of my commerce with Aegisthus.’ How that would be possible is not easy to imagine; still less easy to imagine any woman making such a profession. ἐπάγειν is used by Pindar thus, like ἐπίδοται: P. viii. 64 to Apollo, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόδε χαρμάτων ὀπταυς, οἶκοι δὲ πρὸς ἄρταλεάν δόους…ἐπάγειν: cf. O. ii. 10, 41, Soph. Αἰ. 1189. The phrase εἰνής παροψώσμα τῆς ἔρως is not the accusative and object to ἐπίγαγεν, but the nominative and subject of it—or better, perhaps, it is in apposition to the previous nominative ἦ δὲ τοι. It follows that the object must be χλιδήν: see cr. n. The schol. has τὴν ἐκ περιουσίας τρυφεῖν, which Blomfield took to be an explanation of παροψώσμα merely. It must have included χλιδῆς, for of that word τρυφεῖν is the grammarians’ regular equivalent (see Ruhnken Tim. 276 = 230, Moeris 408 = 370): thus (to quote passages some of which will at the same time illustrate the sense of luxuriating triumph) Aesch. Supp. 925 Ἑλλησίν εὐχλείεις, 242 χλιδῶν, schol. τρυφώντα, Cho. 137 ἐν…πάνωσι χλίνονσα, schol. τρυφώντα. Hesych. εὐχλείει: ἐντρυφάαι. χλιεῖ: θρύπτειν, P. Β. 1003 χλιδῶν ἐοίκος τοῖς παροῦσιν πράγμασι, schol. τρυφάν, ἀνείσθαι. Soph. Trach. 281 ἐπερχλίουτεσ, schol. ἐπερετρυφήσαιτε.
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1456. Παράνοια. Cf. Eur. Or. 79 (Helen speaks) ἐπιλεγειν θεομανεῖ πότις, Theb. 640 o θεομανεῖ...Οἰδίπους γένος, ib. 741 παράνοια σύναγε νηπφόροι φρενώλεις.

1461. εἰ τις ἢν ποτ' see c.r. n. This use of εἰ τις is not so well recognised as it should be; it means 'any that there may be,' 'some or other;' and is declineable, as in the other well-known use πλουτὸν στένοσα τινός. I believe it should be read with Elmsley in Soph. Ail. 179 ἣν ἀλκοοδόρας εἰ τιν' Ἑννάλως μορφαν ἔχων 'some complaint or other,' 'possibly,' 'perchance,' for ἦν τιν', and in Aesch. Cho. 752 with Buttmann (Griech. Sprachl. i. 142) εἰ λυμός ἥ διψ' εἰ τις ἥ λυσιν ἔχει 'or thirst, may be' (like ἢν τύχη, εἰ τύχον, τυχόν, sì forte Munro on Lucr. v. 720) for δύση τις. Exactly similar is the use of εἰ ποθι in Ail. 885 εἰ ποθι πλαζόμενον λεύσων, and of εἰ ποθεν in Philoct. 1204 εἴφος εἰ ποθεν ἥ γένεν ἥ βελέων τι προπέμψατε. It should be considered whether Tro. 705 ἢ εἰ ποτὲ ἐκ σοῦ γενόμενα παιδε Ἰλιον πόλιν κατοι κίστειν may not be explained in the same way.

1463 ff. ἐπεώχον...ἐκτρέψησ: for the change from present to aorist in prohibitions cf. sup. 909 ff. For the distinction in meaning see C. R. xix. p. 30.

1465. ἐκτρέψης: for illustrations of this word see On editing Aeschylus, p. 100.

1468. αἰστατον ἁλγος, uinlus incompositum, 'a hurt unhealable;' referring to their description of Helen as ἐν δόμωσ ἔρως ἔρεμματος.

1471 f. κράτος τ' ἵονψχον ἐκ γυναικῶν κρατήνει: Helen and Clytemnestra are both instruments to execute the purpose of the haunting Spirit. Schol. Κλαυταιμήστραν καὶ Ἐλείνην λέγει, αἱ κατὰ φαυλότητα ὅσως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξωσ. The infatuation of the daughters of Tyndareus was an old tradition: see Hom. λ 436—9, Eur. El. 1062 τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἴδος αἰτων ἄξιον φέρει | Ἐλείνης τε καὶ σοῦ, δόν δ' ἐφυτε συνγχόν, | ἀμφοῦ ματαίον Κύστορός τ' οὔκ ἄξιον. | ἤ μὲν γὰρ ἀπασθεῖα' ἐκόνω' ἀπώχειο, | σοὶ δ' ἄνδρ' ἀριστων Ἑλλάδος διώκεισα. Similarly in Ὀρέστ. 249 ἐπιστήμων ἔτεκε Τυνδάρεως εἰς τὸν φύσαν | γένος θυγατέρων δυσκλέεις τ' ἀν Ἑλλάδα, where we learn from the scholiast that Hesiod (fr. 117) had said that both she and Helen (and Timandra, a third sister,) had received from Aphrodite the gift of beauty but the curse of ill-fame with it; all deserted their husbands: τίμων δὲ φιλομεδόν 'Αφροδίτη | ἂγάθην προσιδίσασσα, κακῶς δὲ σφαίρα ἐμβαλε φήμην, | Τυμόνδρον μὲν ἔπεσεν 'Εχεμον προληπτοῦν' ἐβεβήκει, | ἐκέτο δ' ἐξ Φυλή, φιλὸν μακάρεσι θεοὺς: | ὅς δὲ Κλαυταιμήστρῃ προ-

ληπτοῦν' Αγαμέμνονα δῶν | Αἰγάθθων παρέλεκτο καὶ ἐλευθ. 'χείρον ἀκοίτην: | ὅς δὲ Ἐλείνη ἠσχυνε λέχος εἰσιγευο Μενελαύν. This was followed by Stesichorus (fr. 26) who assigned a reason for the curse:
NOTES

Nicolaus in Walz, Rhet. i. 385 makes Agamemnon, when struck down, exclaim: ὁς ἐπὶ δυστυχίᾳ τῶν Ἀτρείδων κατόστη πατήρ ὁ Τῦνδαρος ἑκάτερας γοναίς τοὺς Ἀτρέως ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. καὶ πλεῖ μὲν δε 'Ελείνην Μεγέλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ Κλιταμνήστραν ἀνήμημαι: Μεγέλαος μὲν 'Ελείνην τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλοτροῖ. Κλιταμνήστρα δὲ τοὺ θιώναι (τῶν βίων MS.) ἐμὲ καὶ κακοπραγοῦμεν δὲ ἑκάτερας ἀγαθότεροι.

1474 f. The ending of these two lines is doubtful: see cr. n. But, if the two words required are ἐκνόμοις and νόμοις (like νόμοιν ἀνόμοιν 1137), it is plain how easily νόμοις might be omitted; and the omission would lead naturally to writing ἐκνόμοις.

1476. νῦν in the sense of ‘now at last,’ and not νῦν δ’ (see cr. n.), is required. Cf. Ar. Eccl. 204 νῦν καλὸς ἐπήμεσας, Plat. Gorg. 452 ε νῦν μω δοκεῖς δηλῶσαι κτέ. Similarly in Theocr. i. 132 νῦν ηα μὲν φορέοιε βατοι several copies have νῦν δ’.

1480. νειρτροφεῖται. The MSS. reading may be, I think, a corruption of a compound νειρτροφεῖται, like σκιατροφεῖσθαι: cf. νυκτηροφείσθαι Theb. 29. To write it as we find it would be the natural tendency of a copyist; thus we get in MSS. ἄγει κνήμων schol. Pind. p. 312 (fr. 82) for ἀγχίκρημον, ὄνησε πόλεων Simonides in Plat. Prot. 346 c for ἄνειτολως, κάμψει διανοῦ Telestes in Ath. 637 a for κακφεδάνων; while for the strengthened form of the verb they tend to write the simple form; thus (to take a case in which this often happens) in Eur. fr. 1063. 5 for ἀναστροφωμαί (Gesner) the MSS. of Stobaeus and Choricius vary between ἀναστροφωμένη and ἀναστροφωμάνη.

The form might also be νειρτραφεῖται, as σκιατραφεῖται. This word too supplies an example of the tendency to break up compounds: in Stob. Flor. 97. 17 (Eur. fr. 546. 8) there is a τ.η. σκιὰ τροφοῦμαι.

1481. νέος ἰχαρ ‘fresh in appetite’ (τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν). ἰχαρ is to ἱξανάω as μῦχαρ to μερχαναύω, λόφαρ to λιοφάω, μώμαρ to μομάχαω, λῦμαρ to λυμαίνομαι. There is no such word as ἰχαρ (Dind. Lex. Aesch.); Supp. 863 is corrupt. The intestine murders in the House that follow in such swift succession are conceived as wounds made by a devouring monster, whose thirst for blood revives again before the last wound has had time to heal. ἰχώρ of the MSS. is taken to mean ‘gore, bloodshed’—a sense incredible. Its proper sense is a humour, lymph, serum; never blood, that it should be extended (like ἀμά) to mean a deed of blood. And the phrase should naturally be a further account of ἐρως.
1482. τοίσδε is probably a gloss: cf. 1657. Perhaps we should read η μέγα την μέγατο δόκις with Weil: see on 1506.

1488. κανέν διά: Soph. Trach. 1278 κανέν τούτων ὅ τι μη Ζεὺς.

1506. The addition of τά after εἶ for metrical reasons was first suggested by Schuetz. Perhaps ἰσθή or αἰτή should take the place of τά: see on 1482.

1508. τῶ τῶ: is Doric. Cf. πώμαλα, not at all. [See Shilleto cr. n. to Dem. F. L. § 56.] πόθεν and πῶ are used with the same force—'go to!'

1510 ff. βιάζεται δ’... The blood of the slain children of Thyestes lies congealed upon the earth (μελαμμαγές αἵμα φόνων Theb. 724), demanding vengeance (τίτας φόνοις πέπηρεν οὐ διαρρήθαν Cho. 65), and is not to be washed away until sufficient blood of kindred has been shed by murder to atone for it: φόνωι φόνον λύειν is the principle. Soph. El. 1384 ἵδεθ' ὅπον προνύμετα | τὸ δισφερόστον αἵμα φυσών Ἀργ. Eur. Or. 811 πάλαι παλαιὰς ἀπὸ συμφορᾶς δόρων | ὁπότε χρυσάει | ἐρίς ἀργὸς ἦλθε Ταυταλδαῖς, | οἰκτρόστα τοιούτα καὶ | σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων: | οἴναι φόνου φόνος ἐξαμέλβην | ὃ ε' αἵματος οὐ προλείπει | διασώσαιν Ἀτρέδας. "Ἀργὸς πάλαια κυνοβόροιοι (φόνοι) δίκαι παρέχων, feud-murder serving as the price for bloodshed, is just like ἀργῇ ἀτολμήτων ἐκτίνονσα in v. 385, havoc and destruction paying the penalty for sin.

1524. She takes up their words δολίων μιρων with the retort οἴδε γὰρ οὗτος δολιῶν ἀτην οἴκουσιν ἐδήν'; An ellipse such as is implied here by γὰρ was often explained by scholiasts, see e.g. scholia on P. V. 1015, Pers. 237, Eur. Or. 794, Art. Nub. 1366: and the explanation was liable to be incorporated in the text, as οὐκέτι in Ῥήσεις 17. Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 323, condemns Hom. κ 190 on similar grounds. So here the lines which precede οἴδε γὰρ were a scholiast's explanation, οὔτ' αἴνειθέρον οἵμα τάσιν τώδε γενέσθαι.

1527. Porson on Med. 822 (826) restored πολυκλαύτην on the ground that the less common form of the feminine is liable to corruption, and that τ' was a subsequent addition. Meineke rejected τ'ν, which he thought to have been inserted with the object of avoiding a paronomiac. Errors due to the last-named cause will also be found in 87, 783 (προσεμφυκεῖται h), and 791.

1528. ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων corresponds to ἄξι' αξιῶν, ἀξία διγνή, a common use. [Eur. Supp. 813 σφαγεύσας οὐκ ἄξι' οὐκ ὑπ' ἄξιον, Ιον 735 ἄξι' αξιῶν γεννητόρων ήθη φυλάσσεις.]

1531. ἐρέν, 'what he wrought' (see cr. n.), is equally possible. Hom. Π 351 Ἄξι ἄνα, ὅσ τεισασθαι ὅ με πρότερος καί ἐγρεγ. 1532 ff. The construction is εἰπόλαμον φροντίδος μέριμναν στερηθεῖς, ἀμηχανοῦ ὅταν τράπωμαι. So Soph. O. T. 170 οὐδ' ένι φροντίδος ἐγχος ὅ

II. τὸς δ’ ἐπιτύμβιος κτέ.: i.e. and if you do, what praise of yours could be genuine? ἵπτων is intransitive, as in Supp. 556 ἵπτει δ’ Ἀσίδος δὲ αἰας.—ἀνδρὶ θεῶ: Cratinus, fr. 1 (i. p. 11 K.), of Cimon, σὺν ἀνδρὶ θεῶι καὶ φιλοξενοτάτῳ καὶ παίν’ ἀρίστω τῶν Πανελλήνων.

III. πόρθμευρ’ ἀχέων. Schuetz was the first to quote in illustration of this phrase Stob. Ecl. i. 49. 50 (p. 418 Wachs), containing an extract from Apollodorus περὶ τῶν θεῶν (F. H. G. i. p. 429) ἐκ γὰρ τοιούτων ὀρμώμενοι πιθανός καὶ τούς ἐν Ἀιδόν νομιμοποιοῦσι ποταμοῖς κατωνομάκασιν. Ἀχέροντα μὲν διὰ τὰ ἄχη, ὡς καὶ Μελανπίθης ἐν Περσεφόνη (fr. 3)

καλεῖται δ’ <ἐνεκ’> ἐν κόλπουι γαίας ἀχὲ εἰσὶν προξέων, Ἀχέρων,

H. A.
επεί καὶ Δικήμιος φησί (fr. 1):
μυρίας παγάδι δακρύων ἂχεων τε βρύει
cαὶ πάλιν (fr. 2):
"Αχέρων ἂΧεα πορθμεύει βρωτοίων.

1568. Πλεισθενίδων. It is difficult to find a place for Pleisthenes in the genealogy Zeus, Tantalus, Pelops, Atreus, Agamemnon. Later writers, to meet the difficulty, assert that Pleisthenes was son of Atreus and father of Agamemnon, but died young, so that Agamemnon was commonly called the son of Atreus (Schol. Eur. Or. 4). There is no warrant for this in Homer, but some faint indication that Aeschylus had heard of it: see vv. 775, 1602.

1574. πανεπαρκὴς ἐμοίῳ' is assumed to have been the original text which with ἄποχρη superscript ultimately produced the MSS. reading. The first step was πᾶν ἄποχρη 'μοι'; but since πᾶν ἄποχρη cannot be construed together, πᾶν was taken to be a predicate; and that necessitated a connecting particle in the following clause: and so we get κτεάνων τε μέρος βαίον ἔχουσιν πᾶν, ἄποχρη μοι ὑπὸ.... The rhythm alone is enough to show that this cannot be genuine; but to confirm my view that such was supposed to be the construction, cod. f has actually that punctuation, a comma after πᾶν. I had long looked with suspicion upon ἄποχρη, for it is a prose word, not a poetical, and neither in Epic, Lyric, nor Tragedy is ever used at all. Thus it would be a natural synonym for explanatory purposes: Moeris p. 262 ὅσκ ἄπηρκέν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁκ ἄπεχρη, Ἀριστοφάνης Πολυδίδων. But poetry uses ἄρκω and compounds, verbs and adjectives, as v. 390 ἄπημαντον ωστ' ἄπαρκεν, Pers. 240 πλούτος ἐραρκής, A. L. x. 76 πλούτον ἔχειν ἑθέλω τῶν ἐπάρκοιν, Aes. ap. Suid. ἐπολαργός: εἰὴ μοι βίοτος πανεπαρκίος. See also Cho. 68 παναρκέτας τόσον βρείν. Aeschylus has also παναρκές Theb. 152. The copyist, after the habit of such with unexpected compounds, made two words of it. In Iambi. Vit. Pyth. § 147 Cobet (Coll. Crit. p. 378) for τὸ λεγόμενον πᾶν ἄλθεΐς restored παναλθεῖς, and the tendency is seen in Theb. 709 where παναλθεῖν was the first attempt at ΠΑΝΑΛΗΘΕΙ. ἐμοίγε is quite suitable: Plat. Prot. 346 έγώ, ὃ Πιπτάκε, οὐ διὰ ταύτα σε ψέγω ὅτι εἰμὶ φιλόφυγος, ἐπεὶ ἐμοίγε ἐξαρκεὶ οὐ... Pherecrat. 145. 17 ἀλλ' οἵν ἐμοίγε χοῦντο ὡν ἄποχρων ἀὐρ.—For the general sense cf. the words of Menelaus in Hom. δ. 97 ὅν ὄθελον τριτάτην περ ἐχὼν ἐν δώμασι μούραν νναέν, οἰ δ' ἀνάρεσ σῶν ἐμεμεναι.

1579. ἄη: 'This shows you are above, | You justicers, that these our nether crimes | So speedily can venge,' King Lear iv. 2. 79. Cf. Diogen. vi. 88 νῦν θεοὶ μάκαρες: ἐπὶ τῶν ἄξιοις τιμωρουμένων ἐφ' οἷς ἐπραξεν.
NOTES

1591. Προθύμος μᾶλλον ἡ φίλως: he plays bitterly on two words commonly applied to welcome, προθύμος δέχεσθαι, eager, zealous, hearty, and φιλοφρόνος or φίλως, kind. Effusive rather than sincere this welcome was.

1594 f. This passage is mutilated and corrupt, but there can be little doubt what happened (see Prof. Platt’s article in Class. Rev. xi. p. 96), because the story is told elsewhere not only of Thyestes but of Tereus and of Clymenus and in Hdt. i. 119 of Harpagus, and when the details are described they are the same. The toes and fingers (and the head), which would have been recognised as human, were concealed apart (Senec. Thyest. 764, Hdt. l.c., Achill. Tat. v. 3 and 5) and afterwards displayed in proof (Zenob. ii. 234, Senec. 1038, Hygin. fab. 88, Hdt., Ach. Tat., Ov. Met. vi. 658); the rest, including the ἐντερα and σπλάγχνα (sup. 1220), was broken small (Senec. Thyest. 1059) and served as meat. The separate table made it easy for the fated guest alone to have the special mess (Hdt., cf. Ov. Met. vi. 648—50). The general shape of the sentence therefore would appear to have been something like this:

τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἀκρον κτένας
ἐκρυπτ᾽ ἀνεθεῖν, τάλλα δ᾽...
ἐνθρυπτ᾽ ἀνοθεῖν ἀνθρακὰς καθήμενος.

 Cf. Ov. Met. vi. 656 ipse sedens solio Tereus sublimis autio. The kicking over of the table is also told of Tereus by Ovid in 661.

1597. ἄσωτον, spendthrift, prodigal; usually meaning one who wastes his substance in riotous living, and applied with bitter irony to the banquet of Thyestes.

1601 f. ξυνδίκως is either simply ‘jointly, together with,’ for which sense Pind. P. i. 1 χρυσάτα φόρμιξες, ‘Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἱστολακάμοι σύνδικοι Μοσών κτέανον’ is quoted; or else ‘in support of’—so that the act is symbolic. In the latter sense it has been suggested to read σύνδικος (Karsten), as in Pind. O. ix. 98 σύνδικος δ’ αὐτῶς ἰολάων τύμβος εἰναλία τ’ Ἀλευσίς ἀγλαίασαν.—οὕτως is part of the curse: ‘go perish...!’

1605. τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ’ ἐπὶ δάκ’ of the MSS. is ridiculous. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐν addition to two others would make sense and may be right; but I suspect the original was τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ’ ἐπὶ δάκ’ ‘I who was my father’s third last hope.’ Cf. Cho. 235, 695, 772, Aeschines ii. 179.

1610. See on 544. Aristid. i. 709 Ἀκεδαμώνως ὶν’ ἡδοντ’ ἄρι
τεθναίνει ἀπαντες, εἰ λῃστοιν ὀδικὴν παρὰ Θηβαίων. ὀντω δὲ ὄργης αὐτῶς ἔχουσι;


1619 f. Cf. sup. 1425 γιόσµην διδαχθεὶς ὑπὲ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

1625 ff. γίναι, σὺ...ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ addressed to Aegisthus. There is the same contrast in Cho. 624 γιναικοβούλου τοι μῇτίδας φρενών εκ' ἀνδρὶ τευχεσθόνω, which is so framed that it might include Aegisthus. See also Eum. 628—40. For οἰκουρός cf. Eur. Heracl. 700 αἰσχρόν γὰρ οἰκούμην γίγνεται τόδε, τοὺς µὲν µάχεσθαι τοὺς δὲ δειλαὶ µένειν. Enger points out that Cassandra had already so described Aegisthus: sup. 1224.

1630 ff. Orpheus tamed (ἥµέρου) the savage breast with persuasive charm (πειθοῖ): you shall find your own savagery tamed by compulsion (βιαί). Ερωτας θεσμόν, διὰ πειθεῖς ἐγώ, οὕτω κρατηθεὶς Αριστοχέας fr. 2 (F. T. G. p. 728). Cf. Dio Chrys. xxxii. 61 f. p. 683 to the Alexandrians, speaking of their degenerate popular musicians: τούτων µὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐδὲς Ἀρµίων ὢτὸν Ορφεύς· ὃ µὲν γὰρ νῦν ἦν Μοῦσης, οὔ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρµισσίας αὐτῆς γεγόναστ...τοιχαρίου οὐκ ἀπὸ κέκνων οὐδὲ ἀθάνατον ὢ τηθον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀποκαλλήτα τωρ' υἱὸν αὐτῶς, ἀλλ' ὅσε περίκε, κυνικῆς καὶ ὑλαγχυοὶ εἰκάζετε...καὶ µὴν ὁ γε ὁ Ορφεύς τὰ θηρία ἥµέρου καὶ µοσσικά ἔπαιζε διὰ τῆς οἰδῆς· οὕτω δὲ υἱός, ἀνθρώπους ὡστα, ἀγάννοις πεποιηκόσι καὶ αὐτανευτοῦσι.

1638. ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦτο χρηµάτων... He leaves that awkward topic hastily and cuts the matter short: Thcb. 1052 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κἀποτρέ- ποιµα δεῖµα πολιτῶν (the Chorus with reference to the burial of Polynices).—For the sense cf. Eur. El. 939, where Electra is addressing the corpse of Aegisthus: ἥχεις τις εἶναι τούτῳ χρηµάτα σθένων.

1640. οὕτω µὴ σειραφόρον κριθώντα πωλοῦν. The tracer (σειραφόρος or δεξιώσειρος) had light work, as compared with the horses running under the yoke. κριθώντα expresses the effect of his generous diet. He was called upon to make a special effort at the corners of the race-course, when he was thrown wide to the off (Soph. El. 721), and had to pull the chariot round on the pivot of the near wheel. Hence the metaphorical use of σειραφόρος and δεξιώσειρος of one who gives assistance in the time of need (sup. 833, Soph. Ant. 140).


1650. λοχίται. Aegisthus is attended by λοχίται or δορυφόροι (Cho. 764 f., Eur. El. 616), the characteristic retinue of a τύραννος.
I652. ἀλλὰ καγὼ μὴν. Porson substituted ἀλλὰ μὴν καγὼ and has been generally followed, but the change is unnecessary; for (1) a similar rhythm is found elsewhere: Eur. I. A. 908 ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γαῖν ταλαίνης, Ion 557 τῷ θεῷ γαῖν οὐκ ἀποστεῖν, and (2) the order of the words, i.e. the occurrence of μὴν after the pronoun, is not uncommon: καγὼ μὰν κνίδω Theocr. v. 22, καὶ ἐν ἔμοι μὴν Plat. Legg. 644 d, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν Eur. Hec. 401, Or. 1117, Andr. 256, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μέντοι πεισών γε κείσομαι Ar. Nub. 126, μᾶ Δ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ Lys. 130.

I656. μηδὲν ἡματομένοις. See cr. n.: most editors read μηδὲν αἵματωμέθα, 'let us not spill any of our blood.'

I657 f. See cr. nn. The true reading of these obscure lines I believe to be that printed in the text, or something closely resembling it. τοῦσδε, given by the MSS. at the end of v. 1657, was a marginal note, just as on Eur. Hippi. 1152 πρὸς δόμους δρμῷμενοι there is a schol. τοῦσδε, and on Andr. 141 ἐμόλες οἴκους, though δεσποτῶν ἐμὸν, follows, a schol. εἰς τοὺς ἐμοίς οἴκους δηλοντί, καυρὸν was a gloss on ὀραί or ὀραν, as was first pointed out by Prof. Housman in Journ. Phil. xvi. p. 289. If ὀραν is right, it is used as καυρὸν Soph. Ai. 34, 1316, ἀφριάν Ar. Ach. 23.—For πρὸν παθέωn cf. Hom. P 30 ἀλλὰ σ' ἐγὼ γ' ἀναχωρῆσαντα κελεῦω ἐς πληθὺν ἱέναι,...πρὸν τι κακὸν παθέων, Y 196, Apollonius ap. Stob. Flor. 58. 12 καλὸν πρὸν παθέων διαδραχθηναι πηλίκον ἐστίν ἴσχυα, Eur. Med. 289 ταῦτ' οὖν πρὸν παθέων φιλάξομαι, Xen. Anab. ii. 5. 5 ὦ δοββηθέντες ἀλλήλοις, φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὸν παθέων κτέ.—It is Clytemnestra's plea that she was the executor of Doom, 1434, 1471 ff., 1498 ff., Cho. 909 ἡ Μοῖρα τοῦτον, ὦ τέκνων, παραιτία. The MSS. reading, πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένοις 'to your predestined houses,' is absurd. Thus χρῆν τάδ' ὦ επράξαμεν is 'it was fated we should act herein as we have acted.' Cf. Ter. Eun. 95 ne crucia te, obscuro, anime mi, mi Phaedria. | non pol quo quemquam plus amem aut plus diligam | eo feci: sed ita erat res: faciendum futi. Eur. H. F. 311 ὦ χρῆ γὰρ οἶδες μὴ χρεῶν θῆσαι ποτέ. Ar. Ach. 540 ἐρεὶ τις, οὐ χρῆν' ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν εἴπατε. Quint. ix. 493 (Agamemnon says to Philoctetes) μηδ' ἡμῖν χόλον αἰνῶν ἐνὶ φρεσί σῇσι βαλέσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ μακάρων τάδ' ἔρέξαμεν.

I660. δαίμονος: cf. 1568 f. The metaphor has nothing to do with the spur (πληκτρον) of a fighting-cock: the phrase βαρὺς δαίμον (βαρν-δαίμονια) or βαρεία τύχη was developed into the conception of a bird of prey that souses down, or swoops down, heavily: e.g. sup. 1174, 1469, Pers. 518, Soph. Ant. 1272, 1346, O.T. 263, 1300, 1311. The same figure is made out of βαρὺς κότος Ζηνός in Supp. 654.

I662. ἀλλὰ...ἀπανθάσαι is like the exclamatory use of the inf. with δὲ in Dem. 21. 209 (quoted on v. 348). Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 147.

I663. δαίμονος πειρωμένου here and in Cho. 511 means more than 17—3.
'trying one's luck'; it means 'putting one's predestined fortune to the touch.' 

1. σ' ωφρονος γνώμης θ' ἀμαρτείν τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἄρνουμένους, dominium recusantes (Ov. Met. viii. 848): γνώμης ἀμαρτείν is ‘to be ill-avoided,’ 'mistaken' (Hdt. i. 207, γνώμης χρηστής ix. 79, τῆς ἀράστης iii. 81); τείχεται φρειών in 185 is the opposite, ‘shall be well-avoided.’ ‘To be well-avoided or ill-avoided in doing so and so’ is expressed by a participle, as 183 κλαίων τείχεται φρειών, 793 οὐδ' εὖ πραπτῇν οίακα ἕμων...κομίζων, Eur. Bacch. 329 τεμῶν τε Βρόμων σωφρονεῖς, Hdt. vii. 15 οὐκ ἐφροίων εἶπες, i. 116 οὐκ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι μιν ἐφ' ἐπιθυμέοντα.... To be metrical here, the participle must be deponent, and I know no other which will give the sense required except ἄρνουμένους: for which see Heliod. iii. 3 ἐποιοῖ τὸν χαλιγόν, ὅσα μὲν δεσπότην, ἱπτεῖτο. To deny their master is exactly what the Elders have been doing, 1633 etc., and that was proverbially impolitic: Walz, Rhet. Gr. i. 281, Soph. El. 394—7, 340, 1014, 1465; Eur. fr. 337, 93, 604; Hec. 404. This leads to their retort, which is the same as in Soph. El. 397 σὺ ταῦτα θώσει: οὐκ ἐμοῖς τρόπους λέγεις, P. V. 969 σέβομ, προσεύχον, θώπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἄει.

1659. Cf. Soph. El. 794 ὑβρίζε, νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυχαίαις, Cho. 57 φοβεῖται δὲ τίσ: τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖ, τὸδ' εὖ βροτοῦν θεοῖς τε καὶ θεοῖ πλέον, i.e. 'they (Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra) may hold their reign of terror while their luck endures!' 1660. χρόνως: see cr. n. The usual idiom is ἄδοξαι ἄπωνα followed by the genitive without the addition of χρόν. For the corruption cf. 316.
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