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OF  
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4

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# AGAMEMNON

OF

# AESCHYLUS

WITH VERSE TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION  
AND NOTES

BY

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EDITED BY

A. C. PEARSON, M.A.

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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) ;

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.

23<sup>ra</sup> July 1910.



## CONTENTS

	PAGES
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	I—38
TEXT AND TRANSLATION . . . . .	39—175
NOTES . . . . .	176—262
INDEXES . . . . .	263—266

ERRATUM

p. 181, note on l. 76 ff. *for* ὑπεργήρως *read* ὑπέργηρως

## 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<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>. At the moment of setting out

<sup>1</sup> vv. 1583—1606.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 42—44, 409—28, 537—9, etc.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 72—82, 270—2, 790—5, etc.

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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> See Pausan. IX. 19, 6—8.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 113—63.

to cut him off in the very hour of his triumph over his great rival of the East<sup>1</sup>.

For there was one person who had not sailed with the sailing of the fleet. Aegisthus<sup>2</sup>, 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<sup>3</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> vv. 194—233, 452—64, 560—71, 829—33, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 553—5, 871—2, 1585, 1608, 1625—7, etc.

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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>. 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.

<sup>1</sup> This detail is doubtful, but see v. 1354.

<sup>2</sup> 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 (1—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 caused some discussion in recent times. An ancient commentator remarks: 'Some find fault with the poet that he represents the



Greeks as returning from Troy on the same day<sup>1</sup>. A modern commentator, Mr Sidgwick, remarks<sup>2</sup>: '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 Aegæan 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 Aegæan 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,

<sup>1</sup> Schol. v. 509 *τινὲς μέμφονται τῷ ποιητῇ ὅτι αὐθημερὸν ἐκ Τροίας ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἤκοντας.*

<sup>2</sup> 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:

τάχ' εισόμεθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων  
 φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,  
 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην  
 τερπνὸν τόδ' ἔλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας.

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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> vv. 513, 524, 527, 658.

<sup>2</sup> v. 291.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 83—96, 599—602.

feast for the occasion<sup>1</sup>. When the herald arrives, and is interviewed by the queen, she remarks that she made the first celebration 'long ago<sup>2</sup>', 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<sup>3</sup>.' 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,

<sup>1</sup> vv. 1040—2.

<sup>2</sup> v. 592.

<sup>3</sup> *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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, 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

<sup>1</sup> v. 293.

<sup>2</sup> 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 dispersed, 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<sup>1</sup>) 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 obliterate 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 deploring 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).

## 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<sup>1</sup>, 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*<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 1. 35—43 and 3. 262—312.

<sup>2</sup> *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*<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* II. 405—53.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* II. 453 πάρος δέ με πέφυε καὶ αὐτόν, and 24. 200 κουρίδιον κτείνασα πῶσω (the subject in both places is Clyt.).

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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, this state of society had become antiquated by the growth of commerce and maritime intercourse, and the congre-

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Early History of the Kingship*, p. 240, where the reason of this is explained.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. i. 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, Cleonae, 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<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>; 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,

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 3. 267.

<sup>2</sup> 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



political state of society. As we have seen, the poet of the *Odyssey*, who evidently felt the difficulty<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> See *Od.* 3. 248—52.

<sup>2</sup> *Thuc.* 1. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Her.* 1. 11; 1. 119.

enemies<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. The temporary eclipse of one such monarchy is depicted in the *Agamemnon*<sup>3</sup>. The disaffection against the royal house of Argos is ascribed by the poet to the prolonged, costly, and selfish enterprise against Troy<sup>4</sup>, 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.

<sup>1</sup> v. 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. i. 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> The character of this sovereignty is defined by *Cho.* 54—60 and *Cho.* 863—5.

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. 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,

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 4. 546—7.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 3. 311. It will be remembered what use Euripides makes of this synchronism in the *Orestes*.

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 *Nosti*), 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 miraculously 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 *Eumenides*, 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<sup>1</sup>. To Zeus he ascribes the universal succession of causes and effects<sup>2</sup>; his contact with the temporal order is one of spiritual direction; the principle of his operation is justice<sup>3</sup>; 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<sup>4</sup>, '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

<sup>1</sup> v. 170.

<sup>2</sup> v. 1487.

<sup>3</sup> v. 773.

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>...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<sup>2</sup>...What merit has a Deity who should use violence on his awful throne<sup>3</sup>... The Father disposes all things, turning them upside down, panting not at all in his might<sup>4</sup>.' In his dealings with men, the justice of Zeus is embodied in two 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<sup>5</sup>. The second is, that the guilty must suffer<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup>.' 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<sup>8</sup>. Agamemnon was divinely warned of the consequences of sacrificing his daughter, but he did not repent

<sup>1</sup> vv. 170—7.

<sup>2</sup> *Suppl.* 97—102.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 192—3.

<sup>4</sup> *Eum.* 650—1.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 183—8, 261—2.

<sup>6</sup> vv. 1562—3.

<sup>7</sup> See Solon, frag. 4. 33—70 (Bergk).

<sup>8</sup> *Theb.* 745.

till it was too late<sup>1</sup>. But if men will sin with their eyes open, instead of deploring 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 μάθος*. In some remarkable lines he touches on the stealthy and unconscious transformation of character by pain<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>.' 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<sup>4</sup>. 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<sup>5</sup>.' We see here that the ends of justice are equally supposed to be satisfied, whether the punishment falls upon the sinner himself, or upon

<sup>1</sup> vv. 228—31.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 189—91.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 4. 160—2.

<sup>4</sup> frag. 4. 17—26.

<sup>5</sup> 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 *Choephoroi* 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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. 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 bequeaths to his descendant a tendency to sin himself<sup>3</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> vv. 1508—9.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 1510—3.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 755—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<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>. Prosperity by itself, he says, is not sufficient to ruin a race; it is wicked and impious actions which are fatal<sup>4</sup>. But prosperity is dangerous because it affords the temptation and occasion to sin<sup>5</sup>. Similarly great renown is dangerous because it is likely to exalt the heart to presumptuous thoughts and reckless language<sup>6</sup>. From this

<sup>1</sup> vv. 467, 1004, etc.

<sup>2</sup> So Pind. *Ol.* 5. fin. *μη ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι* (advice to a fortunate man), etc.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 749—54.

<sup>4</sup> vv. 755—9.

<sup>5</sup> vv. 385—97.

<sup>6</sup> vv. 474—6.

danger nothing can save a man but a naturally sober mind, 'the greatest gift of God<sup>1</sup>.' 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 (*παρακοπή πρωτοπήμων, πρώταρχος ἄτη, ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς*)<sup>2</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> v. 919.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 233, 1191, *Theb.* 756.

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<sup>1</sup>, 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 remoter 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<sup>2</sup>. The second trait, which cannot of course be directly revealed until the murder is done, is

<sup>1</sup> v. 941.

<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>,' 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

<sup>1</sup> v. 1502 f.

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.

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[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 ΤΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἄγαμέμνων εἰς Ἴλιον ἀπιὼν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστραι, εἰ πορθήσοι τὸ Ἴλιον, ὑπέσχετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ. ὅθεν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ μισθῶι Κλυταιμῆστρα, ἵνα τηροίη τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτῇ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλον μεταπέμπεται περὶ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα· ἐξ ὧν 5 καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται· οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες παιανίζουσιν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγεῖται. Ἄγαμέμνων δ' ἐπὶ ἀπήνης ἔρχεται· εἶπετο δ' αὐτῶι ἑτέρα ἀπήνη, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν προεισέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστραι, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμαντεύεται, πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ 10 τοῦ Ἄγαμέμνονος θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, καὶ εἰσπηδαῖ ὡς θανουμένη, ρίψασα τὰ στέμματα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται ὡς ἔκπληξιν ἔχον καὶ οἶκτον ἰκανόν. ἰδίως δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἄγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρέισθαι ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κασάνδρας σιωπῆσας θάνατον νεκρὰν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξεν, πεποίηκέν τε Αἴγισθον καὶ Κλυταιμῆστραν ἐκάτερον δισχυριζόμενον 15 περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐνὶ κεφαλαίῳ, τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναιρέσει Ἰφιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς Ὀρέστου ἐξ Ἀτρέως συμφοραῖς.

Ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι κῆ ἔτει β. πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἄγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίσι, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῶι ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς.

16 Ὀρέστου M: Θυέστου Victorius.

17 κῆ M: ὀγδοηκοστῇ Meursius.

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΦΥΛΑΞ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

[ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.]

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.

[ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ] ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

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ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ et ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ del. Stanley.

## ΦΥΛΛΞ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων  
 φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος  
 στέγαις Ἀτρείδων ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,  
 ἄστρον κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὀμήγουρι,  
 καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς 5  
 λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι  
 ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν.  
 καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,  
 αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν  
 ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν· ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ 10  
 γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζειν κέαρ.  
 εὔτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροσόν τ' ἔχω  
 εὐνήν ὀνειροῖς οὐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην  
 ἐμῆν· φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ,  
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνωι— 15  
 ὅταν δ' αἰδεῖν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,  
 ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,  
 κλαίω τότε οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,  
 οὐχ ὡς τὰ πρὸςθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένου.  
 νῦν δ' εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων 20  
 εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.

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, χεῖμα, 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!

ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ, νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον  
 φάος πιφαύσκων, καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν  
 πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει, τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.  
 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ.

25

Ἄγαμέμνωνος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς,  
 εὐνήσ ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις,  
 ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῆϊδε λαμπάδι  
 ἐπορθιάζειν, εἶπερ Ἴλίου πόλις  
 ἐάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει.

30

αὐτὸς τ' ἔγωγε φροίμιον χορεύσομαι  
 τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι  
 τρὶς ἔξ βαλούσης τῆσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας.  
 γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλή χέρα  
 ἄνακτος οἴκων τῆϊδε βαστάσαι χερί.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσηι μέγας  
 βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,  
 σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν· ὡς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ  
 μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ, κοῦ μαθοῦσι, λήθομαι.

35

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου  
 μέγας ἀντίδικος,  
 Μενέλαος ἀνάξ ἠδ' Ἄγαμέμνων,  
 διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκῆπτρου

40

29 ἐπορθιάζειν fgh: ἐπορθριάζειν M.

30 ἀγγέλλων gh: ἀγγέλων M.

40 Πριάμου fgh: πριάμω M.

[*The Beacon presently shines out upon the top of Mount Arachnaeus.*]

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

τιμῆς, ὄχυρόν ζεῦγος Ἄτρειδᾶν,  
 στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην 45  
 τῆσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας  
 ἦραν, στρατιῶτιν ἀρωγὴν,  
 μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη,  
 τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν, οὔτ' ἐκπατίοις  
 ἄλγεσι, παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων 50  
 στροφοδινοῦνται,  
 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,  
 δεμνιοτήρη  
 πόνον, ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες. —  
 ὕπατος δ' αἴων ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων 55  
 ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον  
 γόον ὄξυβόαν  
 τῶνδε μετοίκων, ὑστερόποινον  
 πέμπει παραβᾶσιν, Ἐρινύν. —  
 οὔτω δ', Ἀτρέως παῖδας, ὁ κρείσσων 60  
 ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει, ξένιος  
 Ζεὺς, πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς,  
 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῆ  
 γόνατος κονίαισιν ἐρειδομένου  
 διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις 65  
 κάμακος θῆσων Δαναοῖσιν  
 Τρωσὶ θ' ὁμοίως. ἔστι δ' ὅπηι νῦν  
 ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·  
 οὔθ' ὑποκαίων οὔτ' ἐπιλείβων  
 ἀπύρων ἱερῶν 70  
 ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.

50 ὑπατηλεχέων H.: ὑπατοὶ λεχέων M.

M | οὔτ' ἐπιλείβων Schuetz: οὔθ' ὑπολείβων M.  
del. Bamberger.

69 ὑποκαίων Casaubon: ὑποκλαίων

70 οὔτε δακρύων ante ἀπύρων M,



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-bye  
     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.

ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ  
 τῆς τότε ἀρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες  
 μίμνομεν ἰσχὺν  
 ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκῆπτροις. 75  
 ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων  
 ἐντὸς ἀνάσσω  
 ἰσόπρεσβυς, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώραι·  
 τί θ' ὑπέργηρος, φυλλάδος ἤδη  
 κατακαρφομένης; τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοῦς 80  
 στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων  
 ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον ἀλαίνει. —  
 σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρω  
 θύγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμῆστρα,  
 τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη, 85  
 τίνος ἀγγελίας  
 πειθοῖ περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς;  
 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,  
 ὑπάτων, χθονίων,  
 τῶν τε θυραίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων, 90  
 βωμοὶ δώροισι φλέγονται·  
 ἄλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης  
 λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,  
 φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ  
 μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις, 95  
 πελάνωι μυχόθεν βασιλείωι.  
 τούτων λέξασ' ὃ τι καὶ δυνατὸν  
 καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν,

79 τίθιπεργήρως M, τόθιπεργήρως a f, τό θ' ὑπέργηρων h. 82 ἡμερόφαντον h:  
 ἡμεροφάτον M. 87 θυοσκεῖς Turnebus: θυοσκινεῖς (ι in rasura scr.) M. 90 τε  
 θυραίων Enger: τ' οὐρανίων M.

But we, that agèd 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 γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης,  
 ἢ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει, 100  
 τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν τὴν θυμοβόρον  
 φροντίδ' ἄπληστον  
 φαίνουσ' ἀγάν' ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει.

στρ. κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον τέρας  
 αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν 105  
 ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ  
 θεόθεν καταπνεύει  
 πειθῶ, μολπᾶν  
 ἀλκάν, σύμφυτος αἰών·  
 ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν 110  
 δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἦβας  
 ξύμφρονα ταγάν,  
 πέμπει σὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι  
 θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,  
 οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς 115  
 βασιλεῦσι νεῶν,  
 ὁ κελαινός, ὁ δ' ἐξόπιον ἀργαῖς,  
 φανέντες ἵκταρ  
 μελάθρων, χερὸς ἐκ δορυπάλτου  
 παμπρέπτους ἐν ἔδραισιν, 120  
 βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν,  
 ἐρικυμάτα φέρματα, γένναν,

101 sqq. τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὰ φαίνεις | ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπλειστον | τὴν  
 θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα M: corr. H. 104 τέρας Francken: κράτος M. 107 κατα-  
 πνέει (fort. e καταπνεύει) M: καταπνεύει a f h. 111 ἦβας Ar. Ran. 1285: ἦβαν  
 (corr. ex ἦβᾶν) M. 112—114 omiserat M, add. m. 112 ταγάν a f h: τὰν γὰν m.  
 113 καὶ χερὶ Ar. Ran. 1288: δίκασ m. 117 ἀργαῖς Thiersch: ἀργίας M.  
 119 δορυπάλτου 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   Strophe.  
 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 λαισθίων δρόμων.  
αἴλινον αἴλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

- ἀντ. κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο 125  
λήμασι, δισσοὺς  
Ἄτρείδας μαχίμους  
ἔδάη λαγοδαίτας  
πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·  
οὔτω δ' εἶπε τεραίζων· 130  
“ χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ  
Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος,  
πάντα δὲ πύργων  
κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοπληθῆ  
μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον· 135  
οἶον μή τις ἄγα  
θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ  
προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας  
στρατωθέν· οἴκτωι γὰρ ἐπί-  
φθονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ 140  
πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς  
αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου  
μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισιν·  
στρυγεί δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.”  
αἴλινον αἴλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω. 145
- ἐπ. τόσον περ εὐφρων, καλά,  
δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων

136 ἄγα Hermann: ἄτα M.

139 οἴκτωι Scaliger: οἴκωι M.

146 τόσον

fh: τόσσων M.

147 δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς Wellauer: δρόσοισιν ἀέλλποισι M | λεόντων

Stanley ex *Etym. M.* p. 377, 39: ὄντων 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 Anti-  
strophe.  
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 luring 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 Beautous One, for all Epode.  
So tender is thy loving care  
To young dew dropping weak and small  
In ravenous lion’s teeming lair,*

πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις  
 θηρῶν ὀβρικόλοις, εἴπερ τινά,  
 τούτων αἶνει ξύμβολα κράναι, 150  
 δεξιὰ μὲν, κατάμομφα  
 δὲ [φάσματα] στρουθῶν.  
 ἰήιον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,  
 μή τινας ἀντιπνόους  
 Δαναοῖς χροῖας ἔχενῆιδας ἀπλοίας 155  
 τεύξῃ σπευδομένα θυσίαν  
 ἑτέραν ἄνομόν τιν', ἄδαιτον,  
 νεικέων τέκτονα σύμ-  
 φντον, οὐ δεισῆγορα. μίμνει 160  
 γὰρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος  
 οἰκονόμος δολία,  
 μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος."  
 τοιάδε Κάλχας ξὺν  
 μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν 165  
 μόρσιμ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων  
 ὀδίων οἴκοις βασιλείοις  
 τοῖς δ' ὁμόφωνον  
 αἴλινον αἴλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

στρ. α'. Ζεὺς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν,—εἰ τόδ' αὖ- 170  
 τῶι φίλον κεκλημένωι,  
 τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω—  
 οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι

149 ὀβρικόλοις, εἴπερ τινά Η.: ὀβρικόλοισι τερπνά Μ.  
 αἰτεῖ Μ. 152 φάσματα del. Η. 165 ἀπέκλαγξεν a fh: ἀπέκλαιξεν Μ.

150 αἶνει Gilbert:



*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 I.

Zeus, whosoe'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  
 χρῆ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως. 175

ἀντ. α'. οὐλός τις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,  
 παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,  
 οὐδὲ λέξεται, πρὶν ὦν· 180  
 ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν, τρια-  
 κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών·  
 Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως  
 ἐπινίκια κλάζων  
 τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν. 185

στρ. β'. τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὀδώ-  
 σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος  
 θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.  
 στάζει δ' ἔν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας  
 μνησιπήμων πόνος· 190  
 καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.  
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος  
 σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

ἀντ. β'. καὶ τόθ' ἡγεμῶν ὁ πρέ-  
 σβυς νεῶν Ἀχαικῶν,  
 μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,  
 ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων,—  
 εὐτ' ἀπλοῖαι κεναγ-

175 τὸ Ραυω: τότε M. 178 οὐλός τις Η.: οὐδ' ὅστις M. 180 οὐδὲ λέξεται  
 Η. L. Ahrens: οὐδὲν λέξει M. 187 τὸν Schuetz: τῷ M. 192 βίαιος Turnebus:  
 βιαίως M.

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 !

1st anti-  
strophe

## III 1.

Sing praise ; 'Tis *he hath guided*, say,  
*Men's feet in wisdom's way,*  
*Stablishing 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 forcèd mercy kind  
 By Spirits upon their awful bench assigned.

2nd  
strophe.

## III 2.

Thus with the elder captain then :—  
 When all his league of men  
 Lay weltering in the narrow Sound  
 Between shores, weatherbound,

2nd anti-  
strophe.

γεί βαρύνοντ' Ἀχαικὸς λεώς,  
Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρό- 200  
χθοις ἐν Λυλίδος τόποις·

στρ. γ'. πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι  
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,  
βροτῶν ἄλαι,  
νεῶν <τε> καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς, 205  
παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι  
τρίβωι κατέξαινον ἄν-  
θος Ἀργείων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ  
πικροῦ χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ  
βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν 210  
μάντις ἔκλαγξεν προφέρων  
Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βάκτροις  
ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδας  
δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν·—

ἀντ. γ'. ἄναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τόδ' εἶπε φωνῶν· 215  
“βαρεῖα μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,  
βαρεῖα δ', εἰ  
τέκνον δαΐξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,  
πατρώιους παρθενοσφάγοισιν  
χέρας μιαίνων ῥοαῖς 220  
πέλας βωμοῦ. τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ  
κακῶν; πῶς λιπόναυς γένωμαι

200 sq. παλιρρόχοις H. L. Ahrens: παλιρρόθοις M. 205 νεῶν Pauw:  
ναῶν M | τε add. Porson. 216 πιθέσθαι Turnebus: πειθέσθαι M. 219 sqq.  
μιαίνων παρθενοσφάγοισιν | ῥεέθροις πατρώιους χέρας | βωμοῦ πέλας M: corr. H. (ῥοαῖς  
Schoemann, πέλας βωμοῦ Blomfield). 222 πῶς λιπόναυς h: τί πῶς λιπόναυστε M.

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.

3rd  
strophe

## 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?”*

3rd an  
strophe

ξυμμαχίας ἀμαρτῶν;  
 παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας  
 παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὄργαι 225  
 περιοργῶς ἐπιθυμῆν  
 θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἴη."

στρ. δ'. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδν λέπαδνον  
 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν  
 ἄναγνον, ἀνίερον, τόθεν 230  
 τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνων.  
 βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις  
 τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.  
 ἔτλα δ' οὖν  
 θυτῆρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποιῶν 235  
 πολέμων ἀρωγὰν  
 καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.

ἀντ. δ'. λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρώιους  
 παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶνα παρθένειον  
 ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς. 240  
 φράσεν δ' ἀόζοις πατῆρ μετ' εὐχὰν  
 δίκαν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ  
 πέπλοισι περιπετῆ παντὶ θυμῶι  
 προνωπῆ  
 λαβεῖν ἀέρδην, στόματός τε καλλιπρώιρου 245  
 φυλακᾶι κατασχεῖν  
 φθόγγον ἀραίον οἴκοις,

*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.

4th  
stroph

## 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

4th an  
stroph

στρ. ε'.

βίαι χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδωι μένει·

κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα

ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτήρων

250

ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει

φιλοίκτωι,

πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν

θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις

πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους

255

ἔμελψεν· ἀγνῆι δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδαί

πατρὸς φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτμον

παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

ἀντ. ε'.

τὰ δ' ἔνθεν οὐτ' εἶδον οὐτ' ἐννέπω·

τέχνη δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι.

260

(Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν

μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει·

τὸ μέλλον <δ'>

ἐπεὶ γένοιτ', ἂν κλύοις· προχαιρέτω·)

ἴσον δὲ τῶι προστένειν·

265

τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς.

πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τὰπὶ τούτοισιν εὐπρα-

ξις, ὡς θέλει τόδ' ἄγχιστον Ἀπίας

γαίας μονόφβουρον ἔρκος.

ἤκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμήστρα, κράτος·

270

δίκη γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίειν

γυναῖκ' ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου.

258 παιᾶνα Enger (παιῶνα Hartung): αἰῶνα M.

263 δ' add. Elmsley.

264 ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' a f h: ἐπιγένοιτ' M.

266 σύνορθρον Wellauer: συνορθόν 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.

5th  
strophe

## 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.

5th ant  
strophe

[*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' εἶτε κεδνὸν εἶτε μὴ πεπυσμένη  
εὐαγγέλοισι ἐλπίσιν θνηπολεῖς,  
κλύοιμ' ἂν εὐφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶσθι φθόνος. 275

## ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.

εὐάγγελος μέν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία,  
ἔως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα.  
πεύσθι δὲ χάσμα μείζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν·  
Πριάμου γὰρ ἡιρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.  
ΧΟ. πῶς φῆς; πέφευγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας. 280  
ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὔσαν· ἦ τορῶς λέγω;  
ΧΟ. χαρά μ' ὑφέρπαι δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη.  
ΚΛ. εἶ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.  
ΧΟ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδέ σοι τέκμαρ;  
ΚΛ. ἔστιν· τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ. 285  
ΧΟ. πότερα δ' ὀνειρών φάσματ' εὐπιθῆ σέβεις;  
ΚΛ. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάκοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.  
ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἦ σ' ἐπίανέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;  
ΚΛ. παιδὸς νέας ὡς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.  
ΧΟ. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις; 290  
ΚΛ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.  
ΧΟ. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος;  
ΚΛ. Ἥφαιστος, Ἴδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας.  
φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς  
ἔπεμπεν. Ἴδῃ μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας 295  
Λήμνου· μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτου  
Ἀθῶιον αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο,

286 εὐπιθῆ Blomfield: εὐπειθῆ (ex εὐπειθεῖ) M.

287 λάκοιμι Karsten:

λάβοιμι M. 294 ἀγγάρου Canter ex Etym. M. p. 7: ἀγγέλου M.

296 πανὸν

Casaubon ex Athen. xv. p. 700 E: φανὸν 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 self-same 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

ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι,  
 ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονὴν  
 πεύκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὥς τις ἥλιος, 300  
 σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπᾶς·  
 ὁ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὕπνῳ  
 νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·  
 ἐκὰς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ροὰς  
 Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν· 305  
 οἱ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω  
 γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἄψαντες πυρί.  
 σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη,  
 ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίον Ἄσωποῦ, δίκην  
 φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας 310  
 ἡγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.  
 φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἡναίνετο  
 φρουρά, πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων·  
 λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος,  
 ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον 315  
 ὥτρυνε θεσμόν μὴ χρονίζεσθαι πυρός.  
 πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει  
 φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ κατόπτην πρῶν ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω  
 φλέγουσαν·<sup>4</sup> εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν, εὐτ' ἀφίκετο 320  
 Ἄραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπᾶς·  
 κᾶπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος  
 φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός.

298 sqq. vitiosa esse liquet.

309 πεδίον Ἄσωποῦ fh: παιδίον ὠποῦ M.

316 χρονίζεσθαι Casaubon: χαρίζεσθαι M.

319 κατόπτην H.: κάτοπτρον M.

320 εὐτ' Hermann: εἴτ' M.

322 τόδε fh: 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<sup>1</sup>, 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.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'beyond the aforesaid.'

τοιοῖδε τοῖ μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,  
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι· 325  
 νικᾶι δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.  
 τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω  
 ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.

ΧΟ. θεοῖς μὲν αὔθις, ὦ γυναῖ, προσεύξομαι·  
 λόγους δ' ἀκοῦσαι τούσδε κάποθαυμάσαι 330  
 διηνεκῶς θέλοιμ' ἄν, ὡς λέγεις, πάλιν.

ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῆιδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέραι.  
 οἶμαι βοῆν ἄμεικτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.  
 ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγχείας ταυτῶι κύτει 335  
 διχοστατοῦντ' ἄν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις·  
 καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα  
 φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς·  
 οἳ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες  
 ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυτάλμιοι 340  
 παίδων γέροντες οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου  
 δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον,  
 τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος  
 νήσταις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὦν ἔχει πόλις  
 τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον·  
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον, 345  
 ἐν αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασι  
 ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων  
 δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαχθέντες· ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες  
 ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.

324 τοιοῖδε τοῖ μοι Schuetz: τοιοῖδ' ἔτοιμοι a h, τοιοῖδ' ἔτυμοι f. 331 λέγοις f h.

334 ἐγχείας Canter: ἐκχείας a f h. 339 sqq. φυταλμίων παῖδες γερόντων codd.: corr. Weil. 348 ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες Stanley: ὡς δυσδαίμονες 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 rife 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 πολισοῦχος θεοὺς 350  
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,  
 οὗ τὰν ἐλόντες αὐθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν.

ἔρωσ δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῶι  
 πορθεῖν τὰ μὴ χρῆ κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.  
 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμου σωτηρίας, 355  
 κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν.

θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,  
 εὐήγορον τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων  
 γένοιτ' ἄν,—εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.  
 τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις. 360

τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίῃ, μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν·  
 πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τὴν ὄνησιν εἰλόμην.

ΧΟ. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια  
 θεοὺς προσειπεῖν αὐ παρασκευάζομαι. 365  
 χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἴργασται πόνων. √

ᾠ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ Νύξ φίλια,  
 μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα·  
 ἦτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες  
 στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὡς μήτε μέγαν 370  
 μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι  
 μέγα δουλείας  
 γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλώτου.

352 οὗ τὰν ἐλόντες Hermann: οὐκ ἀνελόντες a, οὐκ ἄν γ' ἐλόντει fh | ἀνθαλοῖεν  
 Auratus: ἄν θάνοιεν a, αὐ θάνοιεν fh. 358 εὐήγορον H.: ἐγρήγορον codd. 365 αὐ  
 Paley: εὐ 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 ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι  
 τὸν τάδε πράξαντ', ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν  
 μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρον  
 βέλος ἠλίθιον σκήψειεν. 375

τρ. α'. "Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν" εἰπεῖν  
 πάρεστιν, τοῦτο τ' ἐξιχνεύσαι. 380  
 ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις  
 θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν  
 ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις  
 πατοῖθ'. ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής·  
 πέφανται δ' ἐκτίνοισ' 385  
 ἀτολμήτων ἀρῇ  
 πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως,  
 φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπή-  
 μαντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν 390  
 εἰ πραπίδων λαχόντα.  
 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἔπαλξις  
 πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἄνδρῳ  
 λακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας  
 βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν. 395

ἀντ. α'. βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα Πειθῶ,  
 προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος Ἄτας·

379 ἔχουσ' corr. ex ἔχουσιν f. 380 πάρεστιν Hartung: πάρεστι codd. | τοῦτο τ' Boissonade: τοῦτ' f, τοῦτο γ' h. 381 ἔπραξεν Hermann: ὡς ἔπραξεν codd.

385 ἐκτίνοισ' Hartung: ἐγγόνους f, ἐγγόνους h. 386 ἀρῇ H.: ἀρη codd.  
 394 μέγαν Canter: μεγάλα codd. 397 προβούλου παῖς Hartung: προβουλόπαις codd.

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 Gods 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.

Strophe.

## I 2.

Child of designing Ate's deadly womb,  
 The wretch Temptation drives him to his doom.

Anti-  
strophe.

ἄκος δὲ παμμάταιον· οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,  
 πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·  
 κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον 400  
 τρίβωι τε καὶ προσβολαῖς  
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει  
 δικαιωθείς (ἐπεὶ  
 διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν),  
 πόλει πρόστριμμα θεῖς ἄφερτον· 405  
 λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν,  
 τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶν  
 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.

οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν  
 ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν 410  
 ἦισχυνε ξενίαν τράπε-  
 ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.

ρ. β'.

λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστορας  
 κλόρους λογχίμους τε καὶ ναυβάτας ὄπλισμούς,  
 ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίωι φθοράν, 415  
 βέβακεν ρίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν,  
 ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον  
 τάδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·  
 “ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,  
 ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες. 420  
 πάρεστι σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους  
 . . . . ἀφημένων ἰδεῖν.

401 προσβολαῖς J. Pearson: προβολαῖς codd. 404 ποτανὸν Schuetz: πτανὸν f.  
 405 ἄφερτον θεῖς f (ἐνθεῖς h): corr. Wilamowitz. 407 τῶν Klausen: τῶνδε codd.  
 410 τῶν f. 412 κλοπαῖς f. 414 κλόρους τε καὶ λογχίμους ναυβάτας θ'  
 H. L. Ahrens. 417 πολὺ δ' ἀνέστενον f. 418 τάδ' Auratus: τόδ' codd.  
 421 σιγὰς ἀτίμος ἀλοιδόρος codd.: corr. Hermann. 422 ἀδιστος ἀφεμένων codd.:  
 (ἀφημένων Dindorf).

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 1.

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:

2nd  
strophe.

*“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:*

πόθωι δ' ὑπερποντίας  
φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.

εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν

425

ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,  
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις  
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

ὄνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες

πάρεισι δόξει φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν·

430

μάταν γάρ, εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὄρᾶν—

παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν

βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον

πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθων.”

τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἐστίας ἄχῃ

435

τάδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα·

τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλανος αἴας συννορμένοις

πένθει ἀτλησικάρδιος

δόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει·

πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἠπαρ·

440

οὓς μὲν γάρ <τις> ἔπεμψεν

οἶδεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν

τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκά-

στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.

ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων

445

καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς

429 πειθήμονες Housman: πενθήμονες codd.

434 κελεύθων Karsten: κελεύθοις.

437 Ἑλλανος Bamberger: Ἑλλάδος codd.

438 πένθεια τλησικάρδιος codd.:

corr. H.

441 τις add. Porson.

*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.”*

2nd anti-  
strophe.

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?  
Theirs 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,

3rd  
strophe.

πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἴλίου  
 φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ  
 ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-  
 τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί- 450  
 ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.

στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄν-  
 δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἴδρις,  
 τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'—  
 “ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός,” 455

τάδε σίγα τις βαῦζει,  
 φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει  
 προδίκους Ἀτρείδαις.

οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τείχος  
 θήκας Ἰλιάδος γὰς 460  
 εὖμορφοι κατέχουσιν· ἔχ-  
 θρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.

τ. γ'

βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότῳ·  
 δημοκράντου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.  
 μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τί μου 465  
 μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές.

τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἄσκοποι θεοί, κελαι-  
 ναὶ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ  
 τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας 470

451 εὐθέτους Auratus: εὐθέτου codd.

455 διαὶ Hermann ex Cramer anecd.

Οχοπ. I p. 119: διὰ f. 458 προδίκουσιν f.  
 codd. 468 ἀπόσκοποι f.

464 δημοκράντου Porson: δημοκράτου



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,

3rd anti-  
strophe.

παλιτυχεῖ τριβᾶι βίου  
τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' αἰ-  
στοις τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά.

τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν εὔ-  
βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσσοις  
Διόθεν κάρανα.

475

κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον·  
μήτ' εἶην πολιπόρθης,  
μήτ' οὔν αὐτὸς ἀλοὺς ὑπ' ἄλ-  
λωι βίον κατίδοιμι.

480

πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου  
πόλιω διήκει θοὰ  
βάξις· εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος,  
τίς οἶδεν;—εἴ τι θεῖόν ἐστι μὴ ψύθος.

τίς ὦδε παιδνὸς ἢ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,  
φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν  
νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'  
ἀλλαγαῖι λόγου καμεῖν;

485

γυναικὸς αἰχμᾶι πρέπει  
πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.

490

πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ἔρος ἐπινέμεται  
ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον  
γυναικογήρυτον ὄλλυται κλέος.

471 παλιτυχεῖ Scaliger: παλιτυχη (vel -ῆι) codd.  
ὑπερκόπως codd.

476 κάρανα Tucker: κεραυνὸς codd.

474 ὑπερκόπως Grotius:

480 ἄλλωι H.: ἄλλων

codd. 483 ἐτήτυμος Auratus: ἐτητύμως codd.

484 ἢ f, ἢ h | τι Hermann: τοι

codd. 489 γυναικὸς Scaliger: ἐν γυναικὸς codd.

491 ἔρος Blomfield:

ὄρος codd.

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  
 φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς, 495  
 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην  
 τερπνὸν τόδ' ἔλθον φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας·  
 κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρῶ κατάσκιον  
 κλάδοις ἐλάιας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις  
 πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, 500  
 ὡς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίμων φλόγα  
 ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῶι πυρός,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων—  
 τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον·  
 εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανείσι προσθήκη πέλοι. 505  
 ὅστις τάδ' ἄλλως τῆιδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,  
 αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

## ΚΗΡΤΞ.

ἰὼ πατρῶιον οὔδας Ἀργείας χθονός,  
 δεκάτου σε φέγγει τῶιδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους,  
 πολλῶν ραγεισῶν ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχόν· 510  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἠὔχουν τῆιδ' ἐν Ἀργεῖαι χθονὶ  
 θανῶν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.  
 νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὕπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς, ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἄναξ,  
 τόξοις ἰάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη· 515  
 ἄλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον ἴσθ' ἀνάρσιος·  
 νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτήρ ἴσθι καὶ παιώνιος,

509 δεκάτου Iacob: δεκάτωι codd.      516 ἦσθ' margo Askewi: ἦλθ' f, ἦλθες h.  
 517 καὶ παιώνιος Dobree: καὶ παγώνιος f, κάπαγώνιος 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,

ἄναξ Ἄπολλον. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς  
 πάντας προσανδῶ, τόν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον  
 Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, 520  
 ἦρωσ τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν  
 στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.  
 ἰὼ μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,  
 σεμνοί τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι,  
 εἴ που πάλαι, φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' ὄμμασιν 525  
 δέξασθε κόσμω βασιλέα πολλῶι χρόνῳ.  
 ἦκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων  
 καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασιν κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.  
 ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
 Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου 530  
 Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον,  
 καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός. 533  
 τοιόνδε Τροίαι περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον  
 ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ 535  
 ἦκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν  
 τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελής πόλις  
 ἐξεύχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον·  
 ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς, δίκην  
 τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον 540  
 αὐτόχθονον πατρῶιον ἔθρισεν δόμον,  
 διπλά δ' ἔτεισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.

ΧΟ. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαῖρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.

ΚΗ. χαίρω· τεθναῖν δ'· οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς.

525 εἴ που Auratus: ἦπου codd.

Salzmann.

534 τοιούδε f.

532 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα del.

544 τεθναῖν H.: τεθναῖναι codd. | οὐκέτ' h et

schol. 555: οὐκ f.

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.

- ΧΟ. ἔρως πατρώιας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν. 545  
 ΚΗ. ὥστ' ἔνδακρύειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.  
 ΧΟ. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.  
 ΚΗ. πῶς δῆ; διδαχθεῖς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.  
 ΧΟ. τῶν ἀντερώτων ἰμέρωι πεπληγμένοι.  
 ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις; 550  
 ΧΟ. ὡς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός < γ' > ἀναστένειν.  
 ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στυγοστράτῳ;  
 ΧΟ. πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.  
 ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεις τινάς;  
 ΧΟ. ὡς νῦν, τὸ σὸν δῆ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις. 555  
 ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῶι χρόνῳ  
 τὰ μὲν τις ἂν λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε κἀπίμομφα—τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν  
 ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον;—  
 μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσουλίας, 560  
 σπαρνὰς παρείξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους,—τί δ' οὐ  
 στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος;†  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳι καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος·  
 εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δηίων πρὸς τείχεσιν·  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δέ—κἀπὸ γῆς λειμώνιαι 565  
 δρόσοι—καπεφέκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος,  
 ἐσθημάτων τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα.  
 χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνον,  
 οἶον παρεῖχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιών,

547 ἴστε f. 549 πεπληγμένοι Tyrwhitt: πεπληγμένοι codd. 551 γ' add. Heath. 552 στυγοστράτῳ M. Schmidt (στυγόστρατον Pauw): στύγος στρατῳ codd. 554 τυράννων f. 555 ὡς Scaliger: ὦν codd. 557 ἂν Auratus: εὖ codd. 561 παρείξεις H. L. Ahrens: παρήξεις codd. 565 δὲ J. Pearson: γὰρ codd.



- 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,

- ἢ θάλπος, εὔτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς 570  
 κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὔδοι πεσών—  
 τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος·  
 παροίχεται δέ, τοῖσι μὲν τεθνηκόσιν  
 τὸ μήποτ' αὔθις μηδ' ἀναστῆναι μέλειν.  
 τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν, 575  
 τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἀλγεῖν χρὴ τύχης παλιγκότου;  
 καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφορὰς καταξιῶ.  
 ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ  
 νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει.  
 ὡς κομπάσαι τῶιδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει 580  
 ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις·  
 “Τροίαν ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος  
 θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα  
 δόμων ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίων γάνος.”  
 τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν 585  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμῆσεται  
 Διὸς τόδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.
- ΧΟ. νικῶμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι,  
 αἰὲ γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρουσιν εὐμαθεῖν·  
 δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμῆστραι μέλειν 590  
 εἰκὸς μάλιστ' α, σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.
- ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο,  
 ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,  
 φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.  
 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνίπτων εἶπε, “φρυκτωρῶν δία 595  
 πεισθεῖσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς;

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 ?*

ἦ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἶρεσθαι κέαρ.”  
 λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὖσ’ ἐφαινόμην.  
 ὅμως δ’ ἔθνον· καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πόλιν  
 ἔλασκον, εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἔδραις  
 θνηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.

600

καὶ νῦν τὰ μάσσῳ μὲν τί δεῖ σέ μοι λέγειν;  
 ἄνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.  
 ὅπως δ’ ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν  
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι· τί γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἦδιον, δρακεῖν,  
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἄνδρα σώσαντος θεοῦ  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι; ταῦτ’ ἀπάγγειλον πόσει·  
 ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστ’ ἐράσμιον πόλει·  
 γυναιῖκα πιστὴν δ’ ἐν δόμοις εὖροι μολῶν  
 οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα  
 ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῳ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,  
 καὶ τᾶλλ’ ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον  
 οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου.  
 οὐδ’ οἶδα τέρψιν, οὐδ’ ἐπίψογον φάτιν,  
 ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.

605

610

615

ΚΗ. τοιόσδ’ ὁ κόμπος, —τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων,  
 οὐκ αἰσχρὸς ὡς γυναικὶ γενναῖαι λακεῖν;

ΧΘ. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, μανθάνοντί σοι,  
 τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.  
 σὺ δ’ εἶπέ, κῆρυξ, Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι,  
 εἰ νόστιμός τε καὶ σεσωμένος πάλιν  
 ἦξει σὺν ὑμῖν, τῆσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.

620

*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?

- ΚΗ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ 625  
 ἐς τὸν πολὺν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.
- ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθῆ τύχοις;  
 σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὐκρυπτα γίγνεται τάδε.
- ΚΗ. ἀνὴρ ἄφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαιϊκοῦ στρατοῦ,  
 αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. οὐ ψευδῆ λέγω. 630
- ΧΟ. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἴλίου,  
 ἢ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἤρπασε στρατοῦ;
- ΚΗ. ἔκρυσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·  
 μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα συντόμως ἐφημίσω.
- ΧΟ. πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος 635  
 φάτις πρὸς ἄλλων ναυτίλων ἐκλήιζετο;
- ΚΗ. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,  
 πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἑλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.
- ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῶι στρατῶι  
 ἐλθεῖν, τελευτήσαί τε, δαιμόνων κότῳι; 640
- ΚΗ. εὐφημον ἦμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ  
 γλώσσηι μιάνειν· χωρὶς ἢ τιμῆ θεῶν.  
 ὅταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πῆματ' ἄγγελος πόλει  
 στρυγνώι προσώπῳι πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρῃ,  
 πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τὸ δῆμιον τυχεῖν, 645  
 πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων  
 ἄνδρας διπλῆι μάστιγι τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ,  
 δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα,—  
 τοιῶνδε μέντοι πημάτων σεσαγμένον  
 πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἑρινύων· 650  
 σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον

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

ἤκοντα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὐεστοῖ πόλιν,  
 πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμείξω, λέγων  
 χειμῶν' Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν;

ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν,  
 πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην  
 φθείροντε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.  
 ἐν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά.

ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλαισι Θρήικιαι πνοαὶ  
 ἤρεικον· αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βίαι  
 χειμῶνι Τυφῶ σὺν ζάλῃ τ' ὀμβροκτύπῳ  
 ὤιχοντ' ἄφαντοι, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβωι.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὀρώμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς  
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπίοις.

ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος  
 ἦτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἔξηιτήσατο  
 θεός τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἶακος θιγῶν.  
 τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,  
 ὡς μήτ' ἐν ὄρμῳ κύματος ζάλῃν ἔχειν  
 μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.

ἔπειτα δ' Ἄιδην πόντιον πεφευγότες,  
 λευκὸν κατ' ἡμαρ οὐ πεποιθότες τύχηι,  
 ἐβουκολοῦμεν<sup>†</sup> φροντίσιν νέον πάθος,  
 στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδουμένου.  
 καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐμπνέων,  
 λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς ὀλωλότας, τί μῆν;  
 ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταῦτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.

654 Ἀχαιοῖς...θεῶν Dobree: Ἀχαιῶν...θεοῖς codd.

659 ἀλλήλαισι f.

660 κερωντούμεναι codd.: corr. Wasse.

665 ναυτικῶν τ' ἐρειπίων codd.: corr.

Auratus.

677 τί μῆν; Linwood: τί μή; codd.



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 swear 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 carcasses 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· Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν  
 πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μογεῖν· 680  
 εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ  
 καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Διός,  
 οὐπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλῶσαι γένος,  
 ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἤξειν πάλιν.  
 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι τάληθῆ κλύων. 685

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ᾧδ'  
 ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως—  
 μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν προνοί-  
 αῖσι τοῦ πεπρωμένου  
 γλώσσαν ἐν τύχαι νέμων;— 690  
 τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινει-  
 κῆ θ' Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως  
 ἐλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις,  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων  
 προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσεν 695  
 Ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔραι,  
 πολυάνδροί  
 τε φεράσπιδες κυναγοῖ  
 κατ' ἵχνος πλατᾶν ἄφαντον  
 κελσάντων Σιμόεντος ἀκ-  
 τὰς ἐπ' ἀεξιφύλλους 700  
 δι' ἔριν αἱματόεσσαν.

680 μογεῖν Sonny: μολεῖν codd.

693 ἐλένας Blomfield: ἐλένας codd.

688 sq. προνοίαισι Pauw: προνοίαις codd.

That may be! Menelaus,—in sore plight  
 Presume him needs you must; yet if the Sun  
 With any ray descries 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 I.

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!

1st  
 strophe.

- ἀντ. α'. Ἴλῳ δὲ κῆδος ὀρ-  
 θώνυμον τελεσσίφρων  
 μῆνις ἤνυσεν, τραπέζας ἀτί-  
 μωσιν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ 705  
 καὶ ξυνεστίου Διὸς  
 πρασσομένα τὸ νυμφότι-  
 μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίοντας,  
 ὑμέναιον, ὃς τότε ἐπέρρεπεν  
 γαμβροῖσιν αἰεῖδεν. 710  
 μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον  
 Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ  
 πολύθρηνον  
 μέγα που στένει, κικλήσκου-  
 σα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον,  
 τᾶμπροσθ' ἧ πολύθρηνον αἰ-  
 ῶν' ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν 715  
 μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλάσα.
- στρ. β'. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἴ-  
 νιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βού-  
 τας ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον, 720  
 ἐν βιότου προτελείοις  
 ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα  
 καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.

704 sq. ἤνυσεν H.: ἤλασε codd. | ἀτίμωσιν Canter: ἀτίμως ἴν' f, ἀτίμως h.  
 715 τᾶμπροσθ' ἧ (πάμπροσθ' ἧ Hermann) H.: παμπρόσθη codd. 718 sq. λέοντος  
 ἴνιν Conington: λέοντα σίνιν codd. 719 sq. ἀγάλακτα βούτας Wecklein: ἀγάλακτον  
 οὔτος (vel οὔτως) 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 carousal

Bride with *Hymen* fair 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!*'

1st anti-  
strophe.

## 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 ;

2nd  
strophe.

πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις  
νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν 725  
φαιδρωπὸν ποτὶ χεῖρα σαί-  
νοντα γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.

ἀντ. β'.  
χρονισθεῖς δ' ἀπέδειξεν ἦ-  
θος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων· χάριν  
γὰρ τροφᾶς ἀμείβων 730  
μηλοφόνοισιν ἄταις  
δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν·  
αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη,  
ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,  
μέγα σίνος πολυκτόνον· 735  
ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις Ἄ-  
τας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη.

στρ. γ'.  
πάραυτα δ' ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἴλίου πόλιν  
λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας,  
ἀκάσκαϊον <δ' > ἄγαλμα πλούτου, 740  
μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,  
δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος.  
παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανευ  
δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς,  
δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος 745  
συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν,  
πὸμπᾶι Διὸς ξενίου,  
νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς.

726 sq. φαιδρωπὸν...σαίνοντα Auratus: φαιδρωπὸς...σαίων τε codd. 728 sq. ἦθος Conington: ἔθος codd. 734 ἄμαχον δ' f. 737 προσεθρέφθη Heath: προσετρέφη 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.

2nd anti-  
strophe.

## III 1.

Likewise, arriving once in Ilium town  
 What languorous gentleness was seen !  
 Tranquildest 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.

3rd  
strophe.

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 !

- ἀντ. γ'. παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος  
τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον 750  
τεκνοῦσθαι μηδ' ἄπαιδα θνήσκειν,  
ἐκ δ' ἀγαθᾶς τύχας γένει  
βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.  
δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-  
μί· τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον 755  
μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,  
σφετέραι δ' εἰκότα γένναι·  
οἴκων γὰρ εὐθυδικῶν  
καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.
- στρ. δ'. φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν Ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεά- 760  
ζουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν  
Ὕβριν τότε ἦ τοθ', ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλημι  
βαθύσκοτον  
δαίμονα τίταν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον,  
ἀνίερρον θράσος μελαί-  
νας μελάθροισιν ἄτας, 765  
εἰδομέναν τοκεύσιν.
- ἀντ. δ'. Δίκᾳ δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν,  
τὸν δ' ἐναΐσιμον τίει·  
τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνωι χερῶν  
παλιντρόποις  
ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια προσέφατο 770  
δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλού-  
του παράσημον αἰνῶι·  
πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾶι.

755 δυσσεβὲς γὰρ Pauw: γὰρ δυσσεβὲς codd. 762 ὅτε Klausen: ὅταν codd.  
763 βαθύσκοτον (Maehly)...τίταν (Heinsoeth): νεαρὰ φάους κότον...τε τὸν codd.  
765 μελάθροις f. 768 τίει βίον codd.: corr. H. L. Ahrens. 769 ἔδεθλα  
Auratus: ἐσθλά codd. 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.

3rd anti-  
strophe.

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, unwithstood,  
 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.

4th  
strophe.

## 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.

4th anti-  
strophe.

ἄγε δὴ, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πολίπορθ',  
 Ἄτρείως γένεθλον, 775  
 πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω  
 μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας  
 καιρὸν χάριτος;  
 πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι  
 προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες. 780  
 τῶι δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν  
 πᾶς τις ἔτοιμος· δῆγμα δὲ λύπης  
 οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἧπαρ προσικνεῖται·  
 καὶ ξυχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς,  
 ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι, 785  
 . . . . .  
 ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων,  
 οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτός,  
 τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας  
 ὑδαρεῖ σαίνει φιλότητι.  
 σὺ δέ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν 790  
 Ἐλένης ἔνεκ', οὐκ ἐπικεύσω,  
 κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος  
 οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶακα νέμων,  
 θάρσος ἐκούσιον  
 ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων. 795  
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως  
 < ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν >  
 "εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν."

774 πολίπορθ' Blomfield: πολίπορθ' codd. 782 δῆγμα Stob. *fl.* 112, 12  
 et h: δέγμα f. 785 post hunc versum lacunam indicavit Hermann. 789 σαίνει  
 Casaubon: σαίνειν codd. 791 οὐκ ἐπικεύσω Hermann: οὐ γὰρ ἐπικεύσω codd.  
 794 θάρσος f. 797 ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν supplevit H.

[*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 διαπευθόμενος  
τόν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως  
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

800

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους  
δίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταίτιους  
νόστου δικαίων θ' ὧν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν  
Πριάμου· δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ  
κλύοντες ἀνδροθνήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς  
ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος οὐ διχορρόπως  
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῶι δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει  
ἐλπίς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῳ.  
καπνῶι δ' ἀλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὔσημος πόλις.  
ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ  
σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πνοάς.  
τούτων θεοῖσι χρῆ πολύμνηστον χάριν  
τίνειν, ἐπεὶ περ χάρπαγὰς ὑπερκόπους  
ἐπραξάμεσθα καὶ γυναικὸς εἵνεκα  
πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος,  
ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς,  
πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν·  
ὑπερθορῶν δὲ πύργον ὠμηστῆς λέων  
ἄδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.

805

810

815

805 φθορὰς Dobree.

810 θυηλαί Hermann.

813 χάρπαγὰς Tyrwhitt :

καὶ πάγας codd. | ὑπερκόπους Heath: ὑπερκότους codd.

814 οὔνεκα codd.

816 ἀσπιδηφόρος Blomfield: ἀσπιδηστρόφος f, ἀσπιδοστρόφος h.

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<sup>1</sup>, the expiring ash  
 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.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'life smouldering yet,  
 In Doom's burnt sacrifice, . . . .'

θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροῖμιον τόδε· 820  
 τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα μέμνημαι κλύων,  
 καὶ φημὶ ταῦτὰ καὶ συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις·  
 παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τόδε,  
 φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνου σέβειν·  
 δύσφρων γὰρ ἰὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος 825  
 ἄχθος διπλοῖζει τῶι πεπαμένωι νόσον·  
 τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πήμασιν βαρύνεται  
 καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει.  
 εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἄν, εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι  
 ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἶδωλον σκιᾶς 830  
 δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρευμενεῖς ἐμοί.  
 μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσπερ οὐχ ἐκὼν ἔπλει,  
 ζευχθεὶς ἔτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος·  
 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι  
 λέγω—τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεούς, 835  
 κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει  
 βουλευσόμεσθα· καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον  
 ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·  
 ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,  
 ἦτοι κέαυτες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως 840  
 πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.  
 νῦν δ' ἐς<sup>\*</sup> μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους  
 ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,  
 οἷπερ πρόσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.  
 νίκη δ' ἐπέιπερ ἔσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι. 845

822 ταῦτὰ Auratus: ταῦτα codd.  
38, 28.

826 πεπαμμενω (-ωι) codd.

πήματος τρέψαι νόσον codd.

824 φθόνου h: φθόνων f: ψόγου Stob. *fl.*

841 πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου Porson:

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. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,  
 οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλόνορας τρόπους  
 λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει  
 τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα  
 μαθοῦσ' ἐμαυτῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίον 850  
 τοσόνδ' ὅσονπερ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ.  
 τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα  
 ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν,  
 πολλὰς κλύουσιν κληδόνας παλιγκότους·  
 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤκειν, τὸν δ' ἐπεισφέρειν κακοῦ 855  
 κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα λάσκοντας δόμοις.  
 καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἀνὴρ ὄδ', ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο  
 φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέω λέγειν.  
 εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς, ὡς ἐπλήθουν λόγοι, 860  
 τρισώματός τ' ἂν Γηρυῶν ὁ δεύτερος  
 πολλὴν ἄνωθεν—τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω—  
 χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει λαβών,  
 ἄπαξ ἐκάστωι κατθανῶν μορφώματι.  
 τοιῶνδ' ἕκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων 865  
 πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης  
 ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελιμμένης.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,  
 ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστωμάτων,  
 ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσις τόδε. 870  
 τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς δορυξένος  
 Στροφίος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα

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



## CLYTAEMNESTRA.

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 Ilium.  
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

ἔμοι προφωνῶν—τόν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλίωι σέθεν  
 κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία  
 βουλήν καταρράψειεν, ὥστε σύγγονον 875  
 βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον.  
 τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.  
 ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι  
 πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἔνι σταγῶν.  
 ἐν ὀψικοίτοις δ' ὄμμασιν βλάβας ἔχω, 880  
 τὰς ἀμφὶ σοὶ κλάιουσα λαμπτηρουχίας  
 ἀτημελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνειράσιν  
 λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην  
 ῥιπαῖσι θωύσσοντος, ἀμφὶ σοὶ πάθη  
 ὀρώσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου. 885  
 νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλάσ', ἀπενθήτῳ φρενὶ  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἐγὼ σταθμῶν κύνα,  
 σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης  
 στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ  
 καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα. 890  
 τοιοῖσδέ τοί νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν. 894  
 φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ 895  
 ἠνειχόμεσθα· νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κάρα,  
 ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεῖς  
 τὸν σὸν ἦδ', ὦναξ, Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.  
 δμωιαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος  
 πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν; 900

**875** καταρράψειεν Scaliger: καταρρίψειεν codd. **880** κλάβας f. **891** sqq.  
 κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος, | ὀδοιπόρωι διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος· | τερπνὸν δὲ  
 τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν delevit H., vv. 886—893 eiecerat Dindorf. **894** τοί  
 νιν Schuetz: τοῖνυν codd. **898** ἄναξ f | πορθήτορος Valckenaer ad Eur.  
*Phoen.* 1518.

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 !

εὐθύς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος,  
 ἐς δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ἠγῆται δίκη.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνῳ νικωμένη  
 θήσει δικαίως, σὺν θεοῖς, θυμάρμενα.

ΑΓ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ, 905  
 ἀπουσίαι μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῆι·

μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἄλλ' ἐναισίμως  
 αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρῆ τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας.  
 καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμέ  
 ἄβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην 910

χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνηις ἐμοί,  
 μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον  
 τίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεῶν,  
 ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν 915

βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου.  
 λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ.  
 χωρὶς ποδοψήστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων  
 κληδῶν ἀντεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν  
 θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον· ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρῆ  
 βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίληι. 920

εἶπον τὰδ' ὡς πράσσοιμ' ἂν εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπέ, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην, ἐμοί—

ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.

ΚΛ. ἠϋξῶ θεοῖς δείσας ἂν ᾧδ' ἔρξειν τάδε;

ΑΓ. εἶπερ τις εἰδὼς γ' εὔ τόδ' ἐξείπεν τέλος. 925

ΚΛ. τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τὰδ' ἤνυσεν;

904 θυμάρμενα H.: εἰμαρμένα codd.  
 codd. 924 ἔρξειν H.: ἔρδειν codd.

921 εἶπον τὰδ' ὡς Weil: εἰ πάντα δ' ὡς

925 ἐξείπεν Auratus: ἐξείπον codd.

926 δοκεῖ Stanley: δοκῆ (δοκῆι) 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.

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

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 strew  
 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?

- ΑΓ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.  
 ΚΛ. μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆις ψόγον.  
 ΑΓ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.  
 ΚΛ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει. 930  
 ΑΓ. οὔτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἰμείρειν μάχης.  
 ΚΛ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.  
 ΑΓ. ἦ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δήριος τίεις;  
 ΚΛ. πιθοῦ· κρατεῖς μέντοι παρεῖς ἐκὼν ἐμοί.  
 ΑΓ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας 935  
 λυοὶ τάχος, πρόδουλον ἔμβασιω ποδός,  
 καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἔμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν  
 μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος·  
 πολλή γὰρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν  
 φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς. 940  
 τοῦμόν μὲν οὔτω· τὴν ξένην δὲ πρευμενῶς  
 τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε· τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς  
 θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶς προσδέρκεται·  
 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρῆται ζυγῶι,  
 αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον 945  
 ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δώρημ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαί τάδε,  
 εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.  
 ΚΛ. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;  
 τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον 950  
 κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς·

928 αἰδεσθεῖς f, αἰδεσθῆις h.  
 κράτος...πάρες γ' codd.

934 κρατεῖς...παρεῖς γ' Weil, γ' del. Wecklein:  
 939 δωματοφθορεῖν Schuetz: σωματοφθορεῖν codd.

941 τοῦμόν Emperius; τοῦτων codd.  
 codd.

950 ἰσάργυρον Salmasius: εἰς ἀργυρον

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 kindness; 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,

οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἄναξ,  
 ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.  
 πολλῶν πατησμὸν δ' εἰμάτων ἂν ἠϋξάμην,  
 δόμοισι προυνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις 955  
 ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένη.  
 ῥίζης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἴκετ' ἐς δόμους,  
 σκιὰν ὑπερτίνασα σειρίου κυνός.  
 καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματίτιν ἐστίαν,  
 θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνει μολόν· 960  
 ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς γ' ἀπ' ὄμφακος πικρᾶς  
 οἶνον, τότε ἤδη ψῦχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει  
 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστρωφωμένου.  
 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει·  
 μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλῃς τελεῖν. 965

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπεδῶς  
 δεῖμα προστατήριον  
 καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,  
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος αἰοιδά,  
 οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας δίκαν 970  
 δυσκρίτων ὄνειράτων,  
 θάρσος εὐπειθὲς ἴζει  
 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον; χρόνός δ' ἐπεὶ  
 πρυμνήσιδ' ἑνέμβολας  
 ψάμμᾶς ἀκτὰ παρή- 975  
 φῆσεν, εὐθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον  
 ὦρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.

954 δ' εἰμάτων Canter: δειμάτων codd. 956 μηχανωμένη Abresch: μηχανω-  
 μένης codd. 960 σημαίνει Karsten: σημαίνεις codd. | μολόν H. Voss: μολών codd.  
 961 γ' ἀπ' Stanley: τάπ' f, τ' ἀπ' h. 963 ἐπιστρωφωμένου Victorius: ἐπιστρεφω-  
 μένου f, ἐπιστροφωμένου h. 967 δείγμα f. 972 εὐπειθὲς Jacob: εὐπιθὲς codd. |  
 ἴζει Scaliger: ἴζει vel ἴζει codd. 974 ξυνεμβολὰς H.: ξυνεμβόλοισ codd. 975 sq.  
 ψαμμάς H. (ψαμμίς Il. L. Ahrens): ψαμμίας codd. | ἀκτὰ (vel ἀγά) H. L. Ahrens:  
 ἀκάτα f, ἀκάτας h | παρήφησεν Il.: παρήβησεν codd.



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 I.

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.

1st  
 strophe.

- ἀντ. α'. πεύθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων  
νόστον, αὐτόμαρτυς ὦν·  
τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὅμως ὑμνωιδεῖ 980  
θρήνον Ἐρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν  
θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων  
ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.  
σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτοι ματαίζει,  
πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις 985  
δίναϊς κυκώμενον κέαρ.  
εὐχομαί δ' ἐξ ἐμᾶς  
ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν  
ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.
- στρ. β'. μάλα γάρ τοι τὰς πολλὰς ὑγιείας 990  
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ  
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει·  
καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν  
ἄνδρὸς ἔπαισεν < ἄφνω  
δυστυχίας πρὸς > ἄφάντον ἔρμα.  
καὶ πρὸ μὲν τι χρήμάτων 995  
κτησίων ὄκνος βαλῶν  
σφένδονας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου—  
οὐκ ἔδν πρόπας δόμος  
πήμονας γέμων ἄγαν,

980 ὅμως Auratus: ὅπως codd.

981 Ἐρινύος Porson: ἐριννύς codd.

986 κυκώμενον H.: κυκλούμενον codd.

988 ψύθη Stephanus: ψύδη codd.

991 γὰρ &lt; αἰεί &gt; Blomfield.

994 ἄφνω πολλάκι δὴ πρὸς postea ἄφνω δυστυχίας

lacunae explendae causa supplevit H. L. Ahrens.

995 πρὸ μὲν τι Enger: τὸ μὲν

πρὸ codd.

999 πήμονας Victorius: πήμονας codd.

## 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!

1st anti-  
strophe.

## 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 ;

2nd  
strophe.

οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος·  
 πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλα-  
 φῆς τε καὶ ἔξ ἀλόκων ἐπετείαν  
 νῆστιν ἤλασεν νόσον. 1000

ἀντ. β'.

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσὸν ἅπαξ θανάσιμον  
 πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα τίς ἂν  
 πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων; 1005

οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ  
 τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν  
 Ζεὺς ἀπέπαυσεν ἐπ' ἀβλαβείαι;  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ τετάγμένα 1010

μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν  
 εἶργε μὴ πλεόν φέρειν,  
 προφθάσασα κάρδια

γλῶσσαν ἂν τάδ' ἐξέχει·  
 νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει,  
 θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέλπομέ-  
 να ποτὲ καίριον ἐκτολυπέυσειν  
 ζῶπυρουμένας φρενός. 1015

ΚΛ. εἶσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω·  
 ἐπεὶ σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις 1020  
 κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ  
 δούλων σταθείσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας,  
 ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μηδ' ὑπερφρόνει.  
 καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοι φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ  
 πραθέντα τλῆναι δουλίας μάζης βίαι. 1025

1003 ἤλασεν Schuetz: ὤλεσεν codd.

1004 πεσὸν Auratus: πεσόνθ' codd.

1009 ἀπέπαυσεν Hartung: αὐτ' ἔπαυσ' codd. | ἐπ' ἀβλαβείαι f, ἐπ' ἀβλαβείαι γε h.

1025 δουλείας...βία f (καὶ ζυγῶν θίγειν βίαι 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.

2nd anti-  
strophe.

*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.

εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης,  
 ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλή χάρις·  
 οἱ δ' οὔποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμησαν καλῶς,  
 ὦμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην.  
 ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἰάπερ νομίζεται.

1030

ΧΟ. σοί τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφῆ λόγον.  
 ἐντὸς δ' ἂν οὔσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων  
 πείθοι' ἄν, εἰ πείθοι'· ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως.

ΚΛ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην  
 ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη,  
 ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ.

1035

ΧΟ. ἔπου· τὰ λῶιστα τῶν παρεστῶτων λέγει.  
 πιθοῦ λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη θρόνον.

ΚΛ. οὔτοι θυραίαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴν πάρα  
 τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου  
 ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πάρος,  
 ὡς οὔποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν.  
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει·  
 εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχηι λόγον,  
 σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερσί.

1040

1045

ΧΟ. ἐρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἢ ξένη τοροῦ  
 δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νεαιρέτου.

ΚΛ. ἦ μαίνεται γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν,  
 ἣτις λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον  
 ἦκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν,  
 πρὶν αἵματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος.  
 οὐ μὴν πλέω ρίψασ' ἀτιμασθήσομαι.

1050

1029 παραστάθμων f. 1030 ἔχεις Auratus. 1032 δ' ἀλοῦσα C. G. Haupt.  
 1038 πιθοῦ Blomfield: πείθου codd. 1039 σχολὴν Dobree: σχολή codd.  
 1041 πάρος Musgrave: πυρός 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 unhopèd-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.*

ΧΟ. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτίρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι·  
 ἴθ', ᾧ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσασ' ὄχον,  
 εἴκουσ' ἀνάγκη τῆϊδε καίνισον ζυγόν.

1055

## ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

στρ. α'. ὄτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ.  
 ᾧπολλον ᾧπολλον.

ΧΟ. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυξας ἀμφὶ Λοξίου;  
 οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.

ἀντ. α'. ΚΑ. ὄτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ.  
 ᾧπολλον ᾧπολλον.

1060

ΧΟ. ἦ δ' αἴτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ  
 οὐδὲν προσήκουτ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

στρ. β'. ΚΑ. ᾠΑπολλον ᾠΑπολλον  
 ἀγυιᾶτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός·  
 ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.

1065

ΧΟ. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.  
 μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλῖαι περ ἐν φρενί.

ἀντ. β'. ΚΑ. ᾠΑπολλον ᾠΑπολλον  
 ἀγυιᾶτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.

1070

ᾧ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην;  
 ΧΟ. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν. εἰ σὺ μὴ τόδ' ἐννοεῖς,  
 ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθη.

ΚΑ. [ᾧ ᾧ]



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!

1st  
strophe.

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!

1st anti-  
strophe.

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!

2nd  
strophe.

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!

2nd anti-  
strophe.

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 συνίστορα 1075  
 αὐτοφόνα κακὰ καὶ ἄρταμα,  
 ἀνδροσφαγεῖον καὶ πεδορραντήριον.
- ΧΟ. ἔοικεν εὖρις ἢ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην  
 εἶναι, ματεύει δ' ὦν ἀνευρήσει φόνου.
- ἀντ. γ'. ΚΑ. μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπέιθομαι 1080  
 κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς  
 ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.
- ΧΟ. τὸ μὲν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι  
 ἦμεν, προφήτας δ' οὔτινας ματεύομεν.
- στρ. δ'. ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόποι, τί ποτε μῆδεται; 1085  
 τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα  
 μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μῆδεται κακὸν  
 ἄφερτον φίλοισιν,  
 δυσίατον; ἀλλὰ δ'  
 ἐκὰς ἀποστατεῖ. 1090
- ΧΟ. τούτων αἰδρίς εἶμι τῶν μαντευμάτων.  
 ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνω· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.
- ἀντ. δ'. ΚΑ. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς;  
 τὸν ὀμοδέμνιον πόσιν  
 λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος; 1095  
 τάχος γὰρ τὸδ' ἔσται,  
 προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ ἐκ  
 χερὸς ὀρεγομένα.
- ΧΟ. οὔπω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων  
 ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις ἀμηχανῶ. 1100

1076 καὶ ἄρταμα (vel ἄρταμάς) H. (κάρταμον Emperius, κάρταμα H. L. Ahrens):  
 καρτάμαι codd. 1077 ἀνδροσφαγεῖον Dobree (ἀνδροσφάγιον Casaubon): ἀνδρὸς  
 σφάγιον M. 1079 ἀνευρήσει Porson: ἀν εὐρήση M. 1080 μαρτυρίοισι Pauw:  
 μαρτυρίοισι M | τοῖσδ' ἐπιπέιθομαι Abresch: τοῖσδε πεπέιθομαι M. 1083 τὸ μὲν H.:  
 ἦμεν  
 ἦμην M.

## III 1.

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

3rd  
strophe.

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!

3rd anti-  
strophe.

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.

4th  
strophe.

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!

4th anti-  
strophe.

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

- στρ. ε'. ΚΑ. ἔ ἔ παπαῖ παπαῖ,  
 τί τόδε φαίνεται;  
 ἦ δίκτυόν τί γ' Ἰλίδου;  
 ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἢ ξύνεννος, ἢ ξυναιτία  
 φόνου. στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει  
 κατολολυξάτω  
 θύματος λευσίμου. 1105
- ΧΟ. ποίαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλλη  
 ἐπορθιάζειν; οὗ με φαιδρύνει λόγος.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς  
 σταγῶν, ἄτε καὶ δορὶ πτωσίμοις  
 ξυνανύτει βίου  
 δύντος αὐγαῖς. ταχεῖ-  
 α δ' ἄτα πέλει. 1110
- ἀντ. ε'. ΚΑ. ἀᾶ, ἰδὸν ἰδού·  
 ἄπεχε τῆς βοός·  
 τὸν ταῦρον ἐν πέπλοισιν  
 μελάγκερω λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι  
 τύπτει· πίτνει δ' <ἐν> ἐνύδρωι τεύχει.  
 δολοφόνου λέβη-  
 τος τύχαν σοι λέγω. 1115
- ΧΟ. οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος  
 εἶναι, κακῶι δέ τωι προσεικάζω τάδε.  
 ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις  
 βροτοῖς τέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ διὰ  
 πολυεπεῖς τέχναι  
 θεσπιωιδὸν φόβον  
 φέρουσιν μαθεῖν. 1120
- 1125

1105 ἀκόρετος Bothe: ἀκρεστος M.  
 πτώσιμος M. 1119 ἐν addidit Schuetz.  
 στέλλεται M | διαὶ Hermann,

1111 δορὶ πτωσίμοις Casaubon: δορία  
 1125 τέλλεται Emperius:

## V 1.

CASS. O Heavens, what should this be? Some devilish net? <sup>5<sup>th</sup></sup> <sub>strophe.</sub>  
 —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! <sup>5<sup>th</sup> anti-</sup>  
 The Bull . . . . . in cloak . . . . . with horned engine, see, <sub>strophe.</sub>  
 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. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας  
κακόποτμοι τύχαι— 1130  
τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ  
πάθος ἐπεγχύδαν—  
ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες;  
οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανουμένην. τί γάρ;  
ΧΟ. φρενομανῆς τις εἶ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ- 1135  
φὶ δ' αὐτᾶς θροεῖς  
νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ  
ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ,  
ταλαίνας φρεσὶν  
Ἰτυν Ἰτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς 1140  
ἀηδὼν βίον.
- ἀντ. 5'. ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας  
μόρον ἀηδόνας·  
περέβαλόν γέ οἱ  
πτεροφόρον δέμας 1145  
θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·  
ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.  
ΧΟ. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους ἔχεις  
ματαίους δύας,  
τὰ δ' ἐπίφοβα δυσφάτωι κλαγγᾷ 1150  
μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὄρ-  
θίοις ἐν νόμοις;  
πόθεν ὄρους ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὁδοῦ  
κακορρήμονας;

1132 ἐπεγχύδαν Η.: ἐπεγχέασα Μ. 1138 ἀκόρετος Ald.: ἀκόρεστος Μ.  
1143 μόρον ἀηδόνας Hermann: ἀηδόνας μόρον Μ. 1144 περέβαλόν γέ οἱ Enger:  
περεβάλλοντο γὰρ οἱ Μ. 1146 αἰῶνα γρ. η: ἀγῶνα Μ. 1148 θεοφόρους τ' Μ:  
corr. Hermann.

## VII 1.

CASS. O sorrowful doom of me—

6th  
strophe.

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!

## VIII 1.

CHORUS. Thou art brainsick, heaven-distraught,

For thine own case lamenting

In lawless measures, like the brown sad nightingale,

That *Ityn, Ityn* calleth still-unhushed through all

Her sorrow-plenished life.

## VII 2.

CASS. Ah fate of the nightingale;

6th anti-  
strophe.

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!

## VIII 2.

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. ζ'. ΚΑ. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι 1155  
 φίλων. ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν·  
 τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰόνας τάλαιν'  
 ἠννυτόμαν τροφαῖς·  
 νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κἀχερουσίους  
 ὄχθους ἕοικα θεσπιδήσειν τάχα. 1160
- ΧΟ. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω;  
 νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι.  
 πέπληγμαί δ' ἄπερ δάκει φοινίωι  
 δυσαλαγεί τύχαι μινυρὰ θρεομένας,  
 θραύματ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν. 1165
- ἀντ. ζ'. ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας  
 τὸ πᾶν. ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσῖαι πατρὸς  
 πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'  
 οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν  
 τὸ μὴ <οὐκ ἔχειν> πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει. 1170  
 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπελῶ βόλωι
- ΧΟ. ἐπόμενα προτέροις τάδ' ἐφημίσω,  
 καὶ τίς σε κακοφρονῶν τίθη-  
 σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίτνων  
 μελίζειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατοφόρα· 1175  
 τέρμα δ' ἀμηχανῶ.
- ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων  
 ἔσται δεδορκὼς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην,

1162 νεογνὸς ἀν αἰών Karsten.

Hermann: δῆγματι codd.

Schuetz: μινύρα κακὰ codd.

fg, ἔχει παθεῖν h.

Casaubon.

codd.

1172 ἐπεφημίσω Paley.

1163 ἄπερ Franz: ὑπὸ fg, ἴπαι h | δάκει

1164 δυσαλαγεί Canter: δυσαγγεί codd. | μινυρὰ

1170 οὐκ ἔχειν addidit Stadtmueller | ἔχειν παθεῖν

1171 ἐμπελῶ βόλωι H.: ἐμπέδωι βαλῶ codd., ἐν πέδωι

1173 κακοφρονῶν Schuetz: κακοφρονεῖν



## 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.

7th  
strophe.

## 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! Yet it would not serve—  
no cure;  
Her case is even as it is, and I  
Shall in a fever soon dash into the snare.

7th anti-  
strophe.

## 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—

λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς  
πνέων ἐσαίξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην 1180

κλύζειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πήματος πολὺ  
μείζον· φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.

καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμῳ ἴχνος κακῶν  
ῤινηλατούσῃ τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων.

τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς 1185  
ξύμφθογγος οὐκ εὐφῶνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.

καὶ μὴν πεπωκὼς γ', ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,

βρότειον αἶμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,

δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἐρινύων.

ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι 1190

πρώταρχον ἄτην· ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν

εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ, τῶι πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.

ἡμαρτον, ἧ θηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὥς;

ἧ ψευδόμαντις εἶμι θυροκόπος φλέδων;

ἐκμαρτύρησον προνομόσας τό μ' εἰδέναι 1195

λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ' ἀμαρτίας δόμων.

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκου πῆγμα γενναίως παγὲν

παιώνιον γένοιτο; θαυμάζω δέ σου,

πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν

κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάταις. 1200

ΚΑ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῶιδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει.

ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἡμέρῳ πεπληγμένος;

ΚΑ. προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε.

ΧΟ. ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον.

1180 ἐσαίξειν Bothe: ἐς ἤξειν codd.

1181 κλύζειν Auratus: κλύειν codd.

1193 θηρῶ Canter: τηρῶ codd., κυρῶ H. I. Ahrens. 1197 ὄρκου πῆγμα Auratus: ὄρκος πῆγμα codd. 1202, 1203 inverso ordine praebent codd., transposuit Hermann.

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. ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν. 1205

ΧΟ. ῖ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἠλθέτην νόμωι;

ΚΑ. ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην.

ΧΟ. ἦδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἠιρημένη;

ΚΑ. ἦδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθη.

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἄνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότωι; 1210

ΚΑ. ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὡς τάδ' ἤμπλακον.

ΧΟ. ἡμῖν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.

ΚΑ. ἰὸν ἰού, ὦ ὦ κακά.

ὑπ' αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος

στροβεῖ ταρασσῶν φροιμίους . . . .

1215

ὁράτε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους

νέους, ὀνειρῶν προσφερεῖς μορφώμασιν;

παῖδες, θανόντες ὡσπερὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων,

χείρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες, οἰκείας βορᾶς,

σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος, 1220

πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.

ἐκ τῶνδε ποιναὶς φημὶ βουλεύειν τινὰ

λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφόμενον,

οἰκουρόν, οἶμαι, τῶι μολόντι δεσπότηι

ἐμῶι· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν. 1225

νεῶν τ' ἄπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης

οὐκ οἶδεν οἶα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς

λέξασα κάκτεινασα φαιδρόνους, δίκην

ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῆι τύχηι.

1206 ἠλθέτην Elmsley: ἠλθετον codd.

1210 ἄνατος Canter: ἀνακτος codd.

1211 οὐδέν' Canter: οὐδέν codd.

1215 ἐφημένους post φροιμίους habent codd.,

eiicit Butler.

1224 οἶμαι Paley: οἶμοι codd.

1226 νεῶν δ' G. Voss |

ἔπαρχος Canter.

1228 κάκτεινασα Canter: 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 φονεὺς 1230  
 ἔστιν. τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος  
 τύχοιμ' ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν; ἢ Σκύλλαν τινὰ  
 οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην;  
 θύουσαν Ἄιδου μητέρ' ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἄρη  
 φίλοις πνέουσαν—ὡς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο, 1235  
 ἢ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῆι·  
 δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμωι σωτηρίαί.  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ὅμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ;  
 τὸ μέλλον ἤξει. καὶ σὺ μ' ἐν τάχει παρῶν  
 ἄγαν ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτίρας ἐρείς. 1240
- ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαίτα παιδείων κρεῶν  
 ξυνῆκα καὶ πέφρικα, καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει  
 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα·  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμου πεσῶν τρέχω.
- ΚΑ. Ἄγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον. 1245
- ΧΟ. εὐφημον, ὦ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.  
 ΚΑ. ἀλλ' οὔτι παιῶν τῶιδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγωι.  
 ΧΟ. οὔκ, εἴπερ ἔσται γ'. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.  
 ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχηι, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει.  
 ΧΟ. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄγος πορσύνεται; 1250  
 ΚΑ. ἢ κάρτα . . . . . παρεκόπης χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.  
 ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελούντος οὐ ξυνῆκα μηχανήν.  
 ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλην' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.

**1230** τόλμα H. L. Ahrens: τολμᾶ (τολμᾶι) codd. **1234** Ἄρη Franz (Ἄρην anon. ap. Blomfield): ἀρᾶν codd. **1239** μ' ἐν Auratus: μὴν codd. **1240** ἄγαν Bothe: ἄγαν γ' codd. **1241** παιδίων codd.: corr. Schuetz. **1248** εἴπερ ἔσται Schuetz: εἰ παρέσται codd. **1250** ἄγος Auratus: ἄχος codd. **1251** κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπει (παρεσκόπης) codd., κάρτα τᾶρα παρεκόπης Hartung.

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· δυσμαθῆ δ' ὄμως.

ΚΑ. παπαῖ, οἶον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι.

1255

ὄτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἄπολλον, οἷ ἐγὼ ἐγώ.

αὔτη δίπους λέαινα συγκοιμωμένη

λύκωι λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπουσίαι

κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν· ὡς δὲ φάρμακον

τεύχουσα κάμου μισθὸν ἐνθήσει κότῳ

1260

ἐπέυχεται, θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον,

ἐμῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀντιτείσασθαι φόνον.

τί δῆτ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε,

καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρηι στέφη;

σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.

1265

ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον πέσοντ', ἐγὼ δ' ἄμ' ἔψομαι.

ἄλλην τιν' ἄτης ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.

ἰδοῦ δ' Ἄπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ

χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δέ με

κὰν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην μετὰ

1270

φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην—

καλουμένη δὲ “φοιτάς,” ὡς ἀγύρτρια

πτωχός, τάλαινα, λιμοθνής, ἠνεσχόμην—

καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ

ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.

1275

βωμοῦ πατρῷου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει,

θερμὸν κοπέντος φοινίωι προσφάγματι.

οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν,

ἤξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος,

μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός·

1280

**1254** δυσμαθῆ Stephanus: δυσπαθῆ codd. **1257** δίπους Victorius: δίπλους codd. **1260** ἐνθήσειν (ν finali post adscripto) h | ποτῶι Auratus. **1266** ἐγὼ δ' Heath, ἄμ' ἔψομαι Hermann: ἀγαθῶ δ' ἀμείψομαι codd., πεσόντα θ' ὦδ' ἀμείψομαι Verrall. **1276** ἀντεπίξηνον codd. **1277** θερμὸν Schuetz: θερμῶι codd. | κοπέντος H.: κοπέισης codd.



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;

φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος  
 κάτεισιν, ἄτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·  
 ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας,  
 ἄξειν νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός.

τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ᾧδ' ἀναστένω; 1285

ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἴλίου πόλιν  
 πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἶλον πόλιν  
 οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,  
 ἰοῦσα πράξω, τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν.

Ἄιδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω· 1290

ἐπέυχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,  
 ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθνησίμων  
 ἀπορρυνέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

ΧΟ. ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαινα, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφῆ  
 γύναι, μακρὰν ἔτεινας. εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως 1295

μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου  
 βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατείς;

ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυξις, οὔ, ξένοι, χρόνῳ πλέω.

ΧΟ. ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται.

ΚΑ. ἦκει τόδ' ἦμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῆι. 1300

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οἶσ' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.

ΚΑ. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶι.

ΚΑ. ἰὸ πάτερ σοῦ σῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.

1283 post 1289 habent codd., huc transtulit Hermann | ἄραρε γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας Cramer *Anecd.* Ox. I p. 88. 1285 κάτοικτος Scaliger: κάτοικος codd.

1287 εἶλον Musgrave: εἶχον codd. 1290 τάσδ' ἐγὼ Auratus: τὰς λέγω codd.

1294 δὲ σοφῆ fg. 1304 σῶν Auratus: τῶν codd.

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.]*

- ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ χρῆμα; τίς σ' ἀποστρέφει φόβος; 1305  
 ΚΑ. φεῦ φεῦ.
- ΧΟ. τί τοῦτ' ἔφευξας; εἴ τι μὴ φρενῶν στύγος.  
 ΚΑ. φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἵματοσταγῆ.  
 ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς; τόδ' ὄζει θυμάτων ἐφεστίων.  
 ΚΑ. ὅμοιος ἀτμός ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει. 1310  
 ΧΟ. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλαΐσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.  
 ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εἶμι κὰν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ' ἐμὴν  
 Ἀγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν· ἀρκείτω βίος.  
 ἰὼ ξένοι,  
 οὔτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβωι 1315  
 ἄλλως· θανούσῃ μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε,  
 ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,  
 ἀνὴρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ·  
 ἐπιξενούμαι ταῦτα δ' ὡς θανουμένη.
- ΧΟ. ὦ τλήμον, οἰκτίρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου. 1320  
 ΚΑ. ἅπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν ἢ θρήνον θέλω  
 ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς. ἡλίωι δ' ἐπεύχομαι  
 πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις  
 ἐχθροὺς φόνευσιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς τίνειν ὁμοῦ,  
 δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος. 1325
- ΧΟ. ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν  
 σκιά τις ἂν πρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχοῖ,  
 βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.  
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτίρω πολύ.

1316 ἄλλως Hermann: ἀλλ' ὡς codd. 1322 ἡλίωι Jacob. 1324 ἐχθροὺς . .  
 τοὺς ἐμοὺς J. Pearson, φόνευσιν Bothe: ἐχθροῖς φονεύσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς codd. 1326 sqq.  
 Cassandrae continuant codd.: corr. Weil. 1327 ἂν πρέψειεν Boissonade: ἀντρέ-  
 ψειεν codd. | δυστυχοῖ Blomfield: δυστυχῆ codd.

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 ἔφθ  
 πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ'  
 οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἶργει μελάθρων,  
 “μηκέτ' ἐσέλθῃς,” τάδε φωνῶν.  
 καὶ τῶιδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλεῖν ἔδοσαν  
 μάκαρες Πριάμου· 1330  
 θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει·  
 νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἰμ' ἀποτείσει  
 καὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσι θανῶν ἄλλων  
 ποινὰς θανάτων ἐπικρανεῖ,  
 τίς ἂν ἐξεύξαιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ  
 δαίμονι φῦναι τὰδ' ἀκούων; 1340

ΑΓ. ὦμοι, πέπληγμαί καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.

ΧΟ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν ἀντεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.

ΧΟ. τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγμασιν·  
 ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ' εὖ πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλευμάτα. 1346

α'. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,  
 πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν.

β'. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ  
 καὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγχειν σὺν νεορρῦτῳ ξίφει. 1350

γ'. καγὼ τοιούτου γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὦν  
 ψηφίζομαί τι δρᾶν· τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ' ἀκμή.

δ'. ὄρᾶν πάρεστι· φροιμιάζονται γὰρ ὡς  
 τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσοντες πόλει.

1331 βροτοῖσιν Pauw: βροτοῖς codd. 1333 μηκέτ' ἐσέλθῃς Hermann: μηκέτι  
 δ' εἰσέλθῃς codd. 1339 fort. ἐπικράνειεν. 1340 ἐξεύξαιτο Schneidewin:  
 εὔξαιτο codd. 1346 εὖ Donaldson: ἂν codd.

## CHORUS.

With all on earth insatiate is  
 Good Fortune; while she woos 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 1355  
 πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερί.
- ς'. οὐκ οἶδα βουλῆς ἥστινος τυχῶν λέγω.  
 τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευσαι πέρι.
- ζ'. κάγῳ τοιοῦτός εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ  
 λόγοισι τὸν θανόντ' ἀνιστάναι πάλιν. 1360
- η'. ἦ καὶ βίον τείνοντες ὧδ' ὑπείξομεν  
 δόμων καταισχυνηῆρσι τοῖσδ' ἡγουμένοις;
- θ'. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ·  
 πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος.
- ι'. ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων 1365  
 μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρὸς ὡς ὀλωλότος;
- ια'. σάφ' εἰδότας χρῆ τῶνδε θυμοῦσθαι πέρι·  
 τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναί διχα.
- ιβ'. ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι,  
 τρανῶς Ἀτρείδην εἰδέναί κυροῦνθ' ὅπως. 1370
- ΚΛ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων  
 τάναντί' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπαισχυνηθήσομαι.  
 πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων, φίλοις  
 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον  
 φράξειεν ὕψος κρεῖσσον ἐκπηδήματος; 1375  
 ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὄδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι  
 νείκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν·  
 ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις.  
 οὔτῳ δ' ἔπραξα, καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι,

**1355** μελλοῦς Trypho (*Rhet.* VIII p. 741 Waltz, III p. 196 Spengel): μελλούσης  
 codd. **1356** πέδοι Hermann: πέδον codd. **1361** τείνοντες Canter: κτείνοντες  
 codd. **1367** θυμοῦσθαι E. A. I. Ahrens: μυθοῦσθαι codd. **1374** πημονῆς  
 Auratus | ἀρκύστατ' ἂν Elmsley. **1377** νείκης Heath: νίκης codd.



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—

ὡς μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μόρον. 1380  
 ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,  
 περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.

παίω δέ νιν δίς· κὰν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασιν  
 μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότι 1385  
 τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς  
 Διὸς νεκρῶν Σωτήρος εὐκταίαν χάριν.

οὔτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεσῶν·  
 κὰκφυσιῶν ὀξείαν αἵματος σφαγὴν  
 βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῆι ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου,  
 χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἢ διοσδότῳ 1390  
 γάνει σπόρητος κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

ὡς ᾧδ' ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,  
 χαίροιτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι.  
 εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῶι,  
 τὰδ' ἄν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν· 1395  
 τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὄδε  
 πλήσας ἀραιῶν αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολῶν.

ΧΟ. θαυμάζομέν σου γλῶσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος,  
 ἥτις τοιούδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον.

ΚΛ. πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος· 1400  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστῳι καρδίαι πρὸς εἰδότας  
 λέγω—σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις  
 ὅμοιον—οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς  
 πόσις, νεκρὸς δὲ τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς  
 ἔργον, δικαίας τέκτονος. τὰδ' ᾧδ' ἔχει. 1405

1380 ἀμύνεσθαι Victorius: ἀμύνασθαι codd.  
 στιχίζων g. 1386 Διὸς Enger: αἰδου codd.  
 1390 sq. διοσδότῳι γάνει Porson: διὸς νότῳ γὰν εἰ codd.

1382 περιστοιχίζων f, περι-  
 1387 ὀρυγάνει Hermann.

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,  
 χθονοτρεφὲς ἔδανὸν ἢ ποτὸν  
 πασαμένα ῥυτᾶς ἐξ ἄλως ὄρμενον  
 τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς;  
 ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες—ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσση—  
 μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοῖς. 1410

ΚΛ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγὴν ἐμοὶ  
 καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἀράς,  
 οὐδὲν τότ' ἀνδρὶ τῶιδ' ἐναντίον φέρων·  
 ὃς οὐ προτιμῶν, ὡσπερὶ βοτοῦ μόνον,  
 μῆλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,  
 ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ  
 ὠδῖν', ἐπωιδὸν Θρηικίων ἀημάτων.  
 οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν,  
 μισμάτων ἄποιν'; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν 1415  
 ἔργων δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἶ. λέγω δέ σοι  
 τοιαῦτ' ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς παρεσκευασμένης  
 ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, χειρὶ νικήσαντ' ἐμοῦ  
 ἄρχειν· εἴαν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραίνῃ θεός,  
 γνώσῃ διδαχθεῖς ὀψὲ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν. 1420  
 1425

ἀντ. ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἶ,  
 περίφρονα\* δ' ἔλακες. ὡσπερ οὖν  
 φονολιβεῖ τύχαι φρῆν ἐπιμαίνεται,  
 λίπος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος εὖ πρέπειν·  
 ἀτίετον ἔτι σὲ χρῆ στερομένην φίλων  
 τύμμα τύμματι τεῖσαι. 1430

1408 ῥυτᾶς Stanley: ῥύσας vel ῥυσᾶς codd. | ὄρμενον Abresch: ὀρώμενον (ὄρ- h) codd. 1410 ἀπόπολις Seidler: ἄπολις codd. 1411 ὄμβριμον codd. 1414 τότ' 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 I. Voss: τύμμα codd.



ΚΛ. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν·  
 μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην,  
 Ἄτην Ἐρινύν θ', αἰσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,  
 οὗ μοι Φόβου μέλαθρον Ἐλπὶς ἐμπατεῖ, 1435  
 ἕως ἂν αἴθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐμῆς  
 Αἴγισθος, ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.  
 οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσπίς οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους.  
 κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆσδε λυμαντήριος,  
 Χρυσήιδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίωι, 1440  
 ἧ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἦδε καὶ τερασκόπος,  
 καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε θεσφατηλόγος  
 πιστὴ ξύνεννος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων  
 ἰσοτριβῆς.—ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως· ἧ δέ τοι, κύκνου δίκην 1445  
 τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον,  
 κεῖται, φιλήτωρ τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,  
 εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, χλιδὴν.

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος,  
 μηδὲ δεμνιοτήρης, 1450  
 μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ὀμιλεῖν  
 Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, δαμέντος  
 φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου,  
 πολλὰ τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί·  
 πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον. 1455

**1432** fort. ἀκούση γ'. **1436** ἐμῆς Porson: ἐμάς codd. **1444** ἰσοτριβῆς  
 Pauw: ἰσοτριβῆς codd. **1447** φιλήτως f. **1448** χλιδὴν Auratus: χλιδῆς codd.  
**1451** ὀμιλεῖν H.: ἐν ἡμῖν codd. **1453** καὶ post εὐμενεστάτου habent codd.,  
 delevit Franz.

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!

1st  
strophe.

ἰὼ < ἰὼ > παράνουσ Ἑλένα  
μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς  
ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίαι.

νῦν δὲ τελείαν πολύμναστον ἐπηγηθίσω  
δι' αἰμ' ἄνιπτον, εἴ τις ἦν ποτ', ἐν δόμοις 1460  
ἔρις ἐρίδματος, ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.

ΚΛ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου  
τοῖσδε βαρυνθείς·

μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψῃς, 1465  
ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὡς μία πολλῶν  
ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὀλέσασ'  
ἀξύστατον ἄλγος ἔπραξεν.

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

κράτος < τ' > ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν  
καρδιόδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις. 1470  
ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν  
κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖσ' ἐννόμως  
ὑμνον ὑμνεῖν ἐπεύχεται . . . . 1475

ΚΛ. νῦν ὄρθωσας στόματος γνώμην,  
τὸν τριπάχυντον  
δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.

1456 ἰὼ addidit Blomfield | παράνουσ Hermann: παρανόμοις codd. 1460 sq.  
εἴ τις ἦν ποτ' H. (εἴ τις ποτ' Karsten): ἦ τις ἦν τότε codd. 1465 ἐκτρέψῃς f.  
1467 ὀλέσαν f. g. 1469 sq. ἐμπίτνεις Canter: ἐμπίπτεις codd. | διφυίοισι Hermann:  
διφυεῖσι codd. 1471 τ' add. Hermann. 1472 καρδιόδηκτον Abresch: καρδία  
δηκτὸν codd. 1473 μοι post δίκαν habent codd., del. Dindorf. 1474 ἐννόμως h:  
fort. ἐκνόμοις. 1475 fort. ἐπεύχεται νόμοις. 1476 νῦν δ' codd.: corr. H.  
1477 τριπάχυντον Bamberger: τριπάχιον codd.



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!

1st anti-  
strophe.

## 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 αἵματολοιχὸς  
νειριτροφεῖται, πρὶν καταλήξαι  
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἵχαρ.

1480

στρ. β'. ΧΟ. ἦ μέγαν οἴκοις τοῖσδε

δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς,  
φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-  
ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου·

1485

ἰὼ ἰή, διαὶ Διὸς

παναιτίου πανεργέτα.

τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;

τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντὸν ἔστιν;

ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,

1490

πῶς σε δακρύσω;

φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;

κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῶιδ'  
ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.

ῶμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον

1495

δολίῳ μόρῳι δαμείς

ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳι βελέμνῳι.

ΚΛ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοῦργον ἐμόν;

μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῆις

Ἄγαμεμνονίαν εἶναί μ' ἄλοχον·

1500

φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ  
τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστῳρ

Ἄτρεως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος

τόνδ' ἀπέτεισεν

τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.

1505

1480 νειριτροφεῖται Η.: νείρει τρέφεται codd.

1481 ἵχαρ Η.: ἰχώρ codd.

1482 τοῖσδε corruptum.

1487 πανεργάταν fg.

'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?

2nd  
 strophe.

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!

- ἀντ. β'. ΧΟ. ὡς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ  
 τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων;  
 πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-  
 πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.  
 βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις  
 ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων  
 μέλας Ἄρης, ὅποι δίκας προβαίνων  
 πάχνηαι κουροβόρωι, παρέξει.
- 1510
- ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,  
 πῶς σε δακρύσω;  
 φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;  
 κείσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῶιδ'  
 ἀσεβεῖ θανάτωι βίον ἐκπνέων.
- 1515
- ὦμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον  
 δολίωι μόρωι δαμείς  
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμωι βελέμνωι.
- 1520
- ΚΛ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔτος δολίαν ἄτην  
 οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ';  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέν,  
 πολυκλαύτην Ἰφιγένειαν,  
 ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων  
 μηδὲν ἐν Ἄιδου μεγαλαυχείτω,  
 ξιφοδηλήτωι  
 θανάτωι τείσας ἅπερ ἤρξεν.
- 1525  
 1530

**1512** δίκας Martin (δίκην Butler): δὲ καὶ codd. | προβαίνων Canter: προσβαίνων codd. **1522** sq. οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον | τῶιδε γενέσθαι damnavit Seidler. **1527** τὴν πολυκλαυτὸν τ' codd., τὴν delevit Meineke, πολυκλαύτην coniecit Porson. **1528** ἀνάξια δράσας codd.: corr. Hermann. **1531** ἔρξεν 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 !

2nd anti-  
strophe.

- στρ. γ'. ΧΟ. ἀμηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεὶς  
 εὐπάλαμον μέριμναν,  
 ὅπαι τράπωμαι, πίτνοντος οἴκου.  
 δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῆ 1535  
 τὸν αἵματηρόν· ψεκὰς δὲ λήγει.  
 Δίκαι δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θήγεται βλάβης  
 πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναισι μοῖρα.
- ἰὼ γᾶ γᾶ, εἴθε μ' ἐδέξω,  
 πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου 1540  
 δροίτης κατέχοντα χαμεύνην.  
 τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;  
 ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσῃ, κτεῖνας'  
 ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκωκῦσαι  
 ψυχῇι τ' ἄχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων 1545  
 μεγάλων ἀδίκως, ἐπικρᾶναι;  
 τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ  
 σὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων  
 ἀλαθείαι φρενῶν πονήσει;
- ΚΛ. οὐ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημ' ἀλέγειν 1550  
 τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κάππεες, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν—  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων,

1533 εὐπάλαμον codd.: corr. Porson. 1537 δίκη ἰ, δικά ḡ | θήγεται  
 Emperius: θήγει codd. 1538 θηγάναις codd. 1545 ψυχῇι τ' E. A. I. Ahrens:  
 ψυχὴν codd. 1550 μέλημ' ἀλέγειν Karsten: μέλημα λέγειν codd.

## CHORUS.

## III I.

Thought fails me; in a maze I grope  
And find no means of help or hope,

3rd  
strophe

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—

ἀλλ' Ἴφιγένειά νιν ἀσπασίως  
 θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρή, 1555  
 πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον  
 πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων  
 περὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

ἀντ. γ'. ΧΟ. ὄνειδος ἤκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνείδους,  
 δύσμαχα δ' ἔστι κρῖναι. 1560  
 φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.  
 μένει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς  
 παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ.  
 τίς ἂν γονὰν ἀραῖον ἐκβάλῃ δόμων;  
 κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄται. 1565

ΚΛ. ἐς τόνδ' ἐνέβης ξὺν ἀληθείαι  
 χρησμόν. ἐγὼ δ' οὔν  
 ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν  
 ὄρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,  
 δύσπλητά περ ὄνθ', ὃ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ' 1570  
 ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν  
 τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισι.  
 κτεάνων τε μέρος  
 βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πανεπαρκὲς ἔμοιγ'  
 ἀλληλοφόνους 1575  
 μανίας μελάθρων ἀφελούσῃ.

1554 Ἴφιγένειά νιν Auratus: Ἴφιγένειαν ἴν' codd. 1558 φιλήσει Stanley:  
 φιλήσῃ codd. 1562 θρόνῳ Schuetz: χρόνῳ (χρόνῳ) codd. 1564 ἀραῖον  
 Hermann: ῥᾶον codd. 1565 πρὸς ἄται Blomfield: προσάψαι codd. 1566 ἐνέβης  
 Canter: ἐνέβη codd. 1574 πανεπαρκὲς ἔμοιγ' H.: 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.

3rd anti-  
strophe.

## 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!"

## ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

ὦ φέγγος εὐφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου.  
 φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους  
 θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄγη,  
 ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἐρινύων 1580  
 τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,  
 χερὸς πατρώιας ἐκτίνοντα μηχανάς.  
 Ἄτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆσδε γῆς, τούτου πατήρ,  
 πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὡς τορῶς φράσαι,  
 αὐτοῦ δ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὦν κράτει, 1585  
 ἠνδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεως τε καὶ δόμων.  
 καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολῶν πάλιν  
 τλήμων Θυέστης μοῖραν ἠὔρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,  
 τὸ μὴ θανῶν πατρῶιον αἰμάξαι πέδον  
 αὐτοῦ· ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατήρ 1590  
 Ἄτρεὺς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως, πατρὶ  
 τῶμῳ, κρεουργὸν ἡμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν  
 δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.  
 τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας  
 . . . . .  
 ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος 1595  
 ἄσημ'. ὁ δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοῖαι λαβῶν  
 ἔσθει βορᾶν ἄσωτον ὡς ὀραῖς γένει.  
 κᾶπειτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον οὐ καταίσιον  
 ὠμῶξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἐρῶν,  
 μόρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται, 1600

1579 ἄγη Auratus: ἄχη codd.

Post 1594 lacunam indicavit Hermann.

δ δ' Dindorf: ἄσημα δ' codd.

Auratus: σφαγῆς codd.

1585 αὐτοῦ δ' Elmsley: αὐτοῦ τ' codd.

1595 fort. ἐνθρυπτ'.

1596 ἄσημ'.

1599 ἀμπίπτει Canter: ἄν· πίπτει codd. | σφαγῆν

[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 *heartly* 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,

λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθείς ἀράϊ,  
οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.

ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ σοι πεσόντα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν πάρα,  
καγὼ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς·  
τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπὶ δὺ' ἀθλίῳ πατρὶ  
συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις·  
τραφέντα δ' αὖθις ἢ δίκη κατήγαγεν.  
καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρὸς ἠψάμην θυραῖος ὦν,  
πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας.  
οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί,  
ἰδόντα τοῦτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσιν.

1605

1610

ΧΘ. Αἴγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω.  
σὺ δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε φῆς ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν,  
μόνος δ' ἔποικτον τόνδε βουλευσαι φόνον·  
οὗ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρα  
δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς.

1615

ΑΙ. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέραι προσήμενος  
κώπηι, κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῶι δορός;  
γνώσῃ γέρον ὦν ὡς διδάσκεσθαι βαρὺ  
τῶι τηλικούτῳ σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον.  
δεσμὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας αἶ τε νήστιδες  
δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν  
ἰατρομάντεις. οὐχ ὀραῖς ὀρῶν τάδε;  
πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ πταίσας μογῆις.

1620

ΧΘ. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον  
οἰκουρὸς εὐνήν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνων ἅμα  
ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῶι τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον;

1625

1602 ὀλέσθαι Tzetzes: ὀλέσθη codd.

1605 ἐπὶ δὺ' Emperius: ἐπὶ δέκ' codd.

1613 τόνδε φῆς Pauw: τόνδ' ἔφησ codd.

1624 πταίσας Butler: πῆσας codd.,

παίσας schol. Pind. *Pyth.* II 173.

1626 αἰσχύνων Keck: αἰσχύνουσ' codd.

*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 τᾶπη κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγενῆ.  
 Ὅρφεϊ δὲ γλώσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις·  
 ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶι, 1630  
 σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν  
 ἄξι· κρατηθεὶς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανῆι.
- ΧΟ. ὡς δὴ σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσση,  
 ὃς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῶιδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,  
 δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως; 1635
- ΑΙ. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφῶς·  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἦ παλαιγενής.—  
 ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι  
 ἄρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα  
 ζεύξω βαρείαις—οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον 1640  
 κριθῶντα πῶλον· ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ  
 λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.
- ΧΟ. τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες, ἀλλὰ νιν γυνή,  
 χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων, 1645  
 ἔκτειν'; Ὁρέστης ἄρα που βλέπει φάος,  
 ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο πρευμενεῖ τύχη  
 ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῖνδε παγκρατῆς φονεύς.
- ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τὰδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γνώσῃ τάχα—  
 εἶα δὴ, φίλοι λοχίται, τοῦργον οὐχ ἐκὰς τόδε. 1650
- ΧΟ. εἶα δὴ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.
- ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ μὴν πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.
- ΧΟ. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' αἰρούμεθα.

1631 νηπίοις Jacob: ἠπίοις codd. 1637 ἦ Porson: ἦ codd. 1638 ἐκ τῶνδε codd.: corr. Jacob. 1641 δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ Scaliger: δυσφιλῆς κότῳ codd. 1644 νιν Spanheim: σὶν codd. 1650 choro dant codd.: corr. Stanley. 1653 αἰρούμεθα Auratus: ἐρούμεθα codd.

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 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 understand—

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.

- ΚΛ. μηδαμῶς, ᾧ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα δράσωμεν κακά,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλά, δύστηνον θέρος· 1655  
 πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει μηδὲν ἡματωμένοις.  
 στείχετ' αἰδοῖοι γέροντες πρὸς δόμους, πεπρωμένοις,  
 πρὶν παθεῖν, εἷξαντες ὥραι· χρῆν τὰδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.  
 εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις, δεχοίμεθ' ἄν,  
 δαίμονος χηλῆι βαρείαι δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. 1660  
 ᾧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.
- ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ᾧδ' ἀπανθίσαι  
 κάκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους,  
 σῶφρονος γνώμης θ' ἀμαρτεῖν τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀ<ρνου-  
 μένους>.
- ΧΟ. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἶη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν.
- ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν ὑστέρισιν ἡμέραις μέτειμ' ἔτι. 1666
- ΧΟ. οὐκ, ἐὰν δαίμων Ὀρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπευθύνηι μολεῖν.
- ΑΙ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἀνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.
- ΧΟ. πρᾶσσε, πιαίνου, μιαίνων τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ πάρα.
- ΑΙ. ἴσθι μοι δώσων ἄποινα τῆσδε μωρίας χρόνῳ. 1670
- ΧΟ. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.
- ΚΛ. μὴ προτιμήσης ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων· ἐγὼ  
 καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων καλῶς.

1654 δράσωμεν Victorius: δράσομεν codd. 1655 θέρος Schuetz: ὁ ἔρως codd.

1656 ὑπάρχει Scaliger: ὑπαρχε codd. | ἡματωμένοις Hermann: ἡματώμεθα codd.

1657 sq. στείχετ' αἰδοῖοι H. L. Ahrens: στείχετε δ' οἱ codd. | πεπρωμένοις...εἷξαντες Madvig: πεπρωμένους τούσδε...ἔρξαντες (ἔρξαντα gh) codd. | ὥραι H. (ὥραν Housman): καιρόν codd. 1659 δέχοιμεθ' Martin: γ' ἐχοίμεθ' codd. 1663 δαίμονος

Casaubon: δαίμονας codd. 1664 θ' Stanley: δ' fh | ἀμαρτεῖν τὸν Casaubon:

ἀμαρτήτον fh, om. g | ἀρνουμένους supplevit H. 1670 χρόνῳ Wecklein: χάριν

codd. 1671 θαρρῶν codd.: corr. Porson | ὥστε Scaliger: ὡσπερ codd. 1672 sq.

ἐγὼ et καλῶς om. codd., ex schol. suppleverunt Canter et Auratus.



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.

## NOTES

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. ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ ἄστρον ἔδειξα τάς τε δυσκρίτους 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 χειμέρια δύνουσι Πελειάδες (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 φθίνωσιν in v. 7 is idiomatic for *watching, observing, marking* (φυλάττειν, τηρεῖν) *the time when*; Herodas 3. 55 is an example, νοεῦνθ' ὀπήμος παιγνίην ἀγνήητε. Dem. 4. 31 Φίλιππος φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ ἠνίκ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκείσε 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, δεσπόζειν, οἰκοδεσποτεῖν, *tyrannus Hesperiaæ Capricornus undæ* (Hor. *C.* ii. 17. 19).

ἀστέρας 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 βυσαύχην θεᾶς Διοῦς σύνουκος, γηγενῆς 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 φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος: *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' ἡμαρ (for καὶ νῦν ἐς μὲν τόδ' ἡμαρ) εὖ ῥέπει θεός· νῦν δέ

κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Phil.* 617 οἶοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' (for οἶοιτο μάλιστα μὲν) ἑκούσιον λαβών, εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ', ἄκουτα, *Ant.* 327 ἀλλ' εὐρεθείη μὲν μάλιστ', εἰάν δέ τοι ληφθῆι τε καὶ μῆ... Aesch. fr. 36 εὐοδίαν μὲν πρῶτον, 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 ο written above ω, meaning ἐλπίζον, an obvious conjecture which naturally has not contented scholars. The correction ἐλπίζειν 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 κρατεῖν, expressing what your superiority or predominance enables you to do, cf. Thuc. iv. 104 κρατοῦντες τῶι πλήθει ὥστε μὴ αὐτίκα τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγεσθαι. vi. 74 ἐν ὄπλοις ὄντες ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Eur. *Hel.* 1639 ΘΕ. ἀρχόμεσθ' ἄρ', οὐ κρατοῦμεν. ΧΟ. ὅσια δρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἔκδικ' οὔ. For ἀνδρόβουλον cf. Soph. fr. 857 κατ' ὄρφανὸν γὰρ οἶκον ἀνδρόφρων γυνή.

12 ff. εὐτ' ἂν δὲ is resumed by ὅταν δ' (16) after the interruption caused by the explanatory γὰρ-clause. For similar instances of a resumptive δέ cf. *Cho.* 988, 1024, Plat. *Apol.* 34 D εἰ δὴ τις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχει,—οὐκ ἀξιώ μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε· εἰ δ' οὖν κ.τ.λ., *Gorg.* 480 E εἰάν μόνον μὴ αὐτὸς ἀδικῆται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὐλαβητέον· εἰάν δὲ ἄλλον ἀδικῆι ὁ ἐχθρός... Pausan. v. 25. 8, 9 τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶι Ἐκτορι κληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν ὄντων ὀκτώ, τὸν γὰρ ἕνατον..., τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ τούτων κ.τ.λ.

15. τὸ μῆ...συμβαλεῖν depends on φόβος παραστατεῖ—a favourite construction in Aeschylus. Cf. *Pers.* 294 ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἦδε συμφορὰ τὸ μῆτε λέξαι μῆτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη, *P. V.* 891 μίαν δὲ παίδων ἕμερος θέλξει τὸ μῆ κτεῖναι σύννευον.

16. μινυρίζειν: cf. Max. Tyr. 7. 7 ἦδη τις καὶ ὑπὸ ἀδλημάτων ἀνὴρ ἄμουσος διετέθη μουσικῶς, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἕναυλος ὦν διαμέμνηται τοῦ μέλους, καὶ μινυρίζει πρὸς αὐτόν.

27. εὐνήs ἐπαντείλασαν 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 dawning on the clients waiting in his ante-chambers till he rises: ὁ δὲ μόγις ἂν ποτε ἀνατείλας αὐτοῖς πορφυροῦς τίς ἢ περιχρυσος ἢ διαποικίλος· εὐδαίμονας ὦιετο καὶ μακαρίους ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς προσειπόντας ἦν τὸ στήθος ἢ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων δοίη καταφιλεῖν. In the *Bacchae* 747 a messenger wishes to say 'the flesh was torn from their limbs before you could wink' (πρὶν μύσαι, πρὶν καταμίσαι), but feeling this is too familiar to a king, he turns it θᾶσσον δὲ διεφοροῦντο σαρκὸς ἐνδύτᾳ ἢ σὺ ξυνάψαις βλέφαρα βασιλείοις κόραις 'than you could close your eyelids on your royal eyes.' οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶακα νέμων, applied by the Chorus to the King in v. 793, is another such respectful phrase.

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. xvi. 124 ff. ἀγλαόθρονοί τε κοῦραι σὺν εὐθυμίαι νεοκτίτῳ ὀλόλυξαν... ἠΐθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν νέοι παιάνιζαν, Aesch. *Theb.* 254 ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῆ παιώνισον. For the dative λαμπάδι cf. Eur. *I. A.* 1467 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπευφημῆσατ', ὦ νεάνιδες, παιᾶνα τῆμῃ συμφορᾷ.

32 f. τὰ δεσποτῶν... φρυκτωρίας. The metaphor is taken from the game of πεσσοί, *Tables* or *Backgammon*, in which the moves of the pieces were determined or limited by the throws (βάλλειν, βόλος), or falls (πίπτειν, πτώσεις) of the dice. τίθεσθαι is applied to the skill of the player, whose opportunities are so conditioned: cf. Soph. fr. 861 στέργειν τε τὰ κπεσόντα καὶ θέσθαι πρέπει | σοφὸν κυβευτήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στένειν τύχην. Plat. *Rep.* 604 C ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων, πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα. This is referred to by Plut. *Mor.* 467 A where he says κυβείαι γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν βίον ἀπέικασεν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ βάλλειν δεῖ τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ βαλόντα χρῆσθαι καλῶς τοῖς πεσοῦσι. Stob. *Flor.* 124. 41 πεττεῖαι τι εἴκειν ὁ βίος, καὶ δεῖ, ὥσπερ ψῆφόν τινα, τίθεσθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄνωθεν βαλεῖν, οὐδ' ἀναθέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον ('to make another throw or withdraw the move'). [Plat.] *Hipparch.* 229 E ὥσπερ πεττεῶν, ἐθέλω σοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀναθέσθαι ὅτι βούλει τῶν εἰρημένων. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26 ὅθεν ἀπέικαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντίγονος κυβευτῆ πολλὰ βάλλοντι καὶ καλὰ, χρῆσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ τοῖς πεσοῦσι. Hor. *C.* i. 9. 14 *quem sors dierum cunq̄ue dabit, lucro arpone.* Hence expressions like Dem. 23. 134 πρὸς τὸ καλῶς ἔχον τίθεσθαι, Eur. fr. 287 ἀλλ' οὐν τυγχάνων τὰ πράγματ' ὀρθῶς ἂν τιθῆι, πράσσει καλῶς. But that εὖ belongs to πεσόντα is shown by Eur. *Or.* 603, *El.* 1101, etc.

43 f. δισκήπτρου τιμῆς: *Eum.* 629 διοσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφόμενον, Hom. *A.* 278 ἐπεὶ οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς.

48. κλάζοντες introduces the following simile: Hom. *II.* 428 οἱ δ' ὥστ' αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες ἀγκυλοχέλαι πέτρῃ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχωνται, Hes. *Scut.* 405, Eur. *Tro.* 146 μάτηρ δ' ὡσεὶ τις πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν ὄρνισιν, ὅπως ἐξάρξω.

49. ἐκπατίους. Criticism here has wavered between the MS. ἐκπατίους and ἐκπάγλους the conjecture of Blomfield. ἐκπάγλους ἄλγεσι 'exceeding anguish' would of course be perfectly natural in language; but ἐκπατίους 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, ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων, δεμνιοτήρη πόνον ὀλέσαντες. As the Kings launch forth in ships, so fly the eagles πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι—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: Horapoll. *Hieroglyph.* ii. 56 βασιλέα ἰδιάζοντα καὶ μὴ ἐλεοῦντα ἐν τοῖς πταιίσμασι βουλόμενοι σημεῖναι, ἀέτον ζωγραφοῦσιν· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις τόποις ἔχει τὴν νεοσιανὴν καὶ ὑψηλότερος πάντων τῶν πετεινῶν ἵπταται.

50. ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων, 'in exceeding anguish for their lofty-cradled children.' As you could say ἀλγείν τιος (*inf.* 576, Eur. *Hec.* 1256), so you could say ἄλγος τιός: *Pers.* 837, Eur. *Hel.* 202, *Suppl.* 807, 1117 παίδων ὑπὸ πένθους, *Phoen.* 1578 ἄχει δὲ τέκνων.—Mr Housman (*Journ. Phil.* xvi. 247) first pointed out that ὑπατοι λεχέων (see cr. n.) could not mean 'high above their eyries.' ὑπατος means ὑψιστος, and is always a *superlative*: ὑπατε κρείοντων Hom. Θ 31, σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἐστ' ὑπατον Theogn. 376, θεῶν ὑπατον Ar. Rhod. iv. 146, Δία τὸν πάντων ὑπατον, hymn. ap. Aristid. i. 452, ὑπατον παίδων Pind. *P.* x. 9. The genitive is of the partitive nature, as in ἀντιξή ἢ πυμάτη θεῖν ἀσπίδος Hom. Ζ 118, τὸν δ' ὑστατον εἶρεν ὀμίλου ἐσταότα N 459, οἶακος ὑστάτου νεώς Aesch. *Suppl.* 725, ὁ δ' ὑστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου *inf.* 1299, ἐσχάτη χθονός *P. V.* 872, ἤδη γὰρ ἔδραι Ζεὺς ἐν ἐσχάτη θεῶν; Soph. fr. 821: so ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς *inf.* 514 means 'supreme in the land,' as Pind. *O.* xiii. 24 ὑπατ' εὐρυναάσσων Ὀλυμπίας, and in Tim. Loc. 100 Α ὡς τὰλλα μέρεα ὑπηρετεῖν τούτοι καθάπερ ὑπάτωι τῷ σκάνεος ἀπαιτος, translate it as you may, it will be seen that ὑπάτωι is still superlative, and τῷ σκάνεος 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 πρωτολεχής, μονο-, κοινο-, αἰνο-, δεινο-, ἀπειρο-, εὐ-, ἵππο-, ὄρει-, γη-, χαμαι-. The formation would first be ὑπατολεχέων, and in Epic the

λ might merely be doubled in pronunciation, as πολύλλιστος Hom., μονόλλυκος Arat. 1124; but the usual plan for metrical purposes or for euphony was to substitute η for ο, as θανατηφόρος, αίματηφόρος, θεσφατηλόγος, έλαφηβόλος, πολεμηδόκος, ξεινηδόκος, γλαυκηπόρος, όμφαλητόμος, νεήφατος, νεηθαλής, and countless others, to which I will only add όφηβοσίη from the *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 113. The whole subject is treated with his unique learning by Lobeck, *Phryg.* p. 633-713.

55. εἴ τις Ἀπόλλων would be easier to support than the MS. ἡ τις: see on 149, 1461.—For τις ('Apollo, it may be') cf. Antiphanes fr. 129 (ii. 63 K.) θαλάττιον μὲν οὗτος οὐδὲν ἐσθίει | πλὴν τῶν παρὰ γῆν, γόγγρον τιν' ἢ νάρκην τιν' ἢ κτέ., Alexis fr. 108 (ii. 334 K.) ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸς υἱός... τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, Οἰνοπίων τις ἢ Μάρων τις ἢ Κάπηλος ἢ <τις> Τιμοκλῆς, Lucian iii. p. 14 ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἢ Τιτυός, ἢ Ὄτος, ἢ Ἐφιάλτης, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνους, ii. p. 60 μὴ πρὸς ἓν μέρος ὀράτω...εἰ μὴ Βρασιίδας τις εἶη προσηδῶν ἢ Δημοσθένης ἀνακόπτων τὴν ἐπίβασιν.

65. ἐν προτελείοις, before the issue is decided. προτέλεια, 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. ἀπύρων ιερῶν. ἄπυρα, far from being abnormal, were a distinct class of offerings, roughly parallel with ἔμπυρα and λουβαί, 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 θυσιῶν τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐρινύων, ἃ καὶ νηφάλια καλεῖται. So Eur. fr. 904 mentions the offering of θυσίαν ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας to a deity who may be either Zeus or Hades: Ζεὺς εἶτ' Ἄιδης ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις. 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 τήνγε λιτήσω ἀποστρέψαι ἐριώλας | Αἰσονίδης γουνάζετ' ἐπιλλείβων ἱεροῖσιν | αἰθομένοις) 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 ἔμπυρα nor by λουβαί nor by ἄπυρα will anyone appease the stubborn anger of Zeus (or of Μοῖρα Διός 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. *Aen.* vi. 376 *desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*. Moschion fr. 2 (*F. T. G.* p. 812) ὦ καὶ θεῶν κρατοῦσα καὶ θνητῶν μόνη | μοῖρ', ὦ λιταῖς ἄτρεπτε (see *Class. Rev.* xviii. p. 430) δυστήνων βροτῶν, | πάντολμ' ἀνάγκη. Manetho p. 92 Koechly τίπτε μάτην, ἄνθρωπε, θνηπολλέεις μακάρεσσιν; | τίπτε μάτην τρισέλικτος ἀν' οὐρανὸν ἤλυθε κνῖσα; | ἴσχεο, οὐ γὰρ ὄνειαρ ἐν ἀθανάτοιο θνηλαῖς (ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θνηλῆς). | οὐ γὰρ τις δύναται γένεσιν μετατρεψέμεν ἀνδρῶν, | ἦθ' ἅμα νηπιάχοις συγγίγνεται ἀνθρώποισιν, | εὐθύ τε Μοιράων εἰλίσσεται ἀμφὶ μίτοισιν, | κλώσμασιν ἀρρήκτοισι σιδηρείοισι τ' ἀτράκτοις.

71. παραθέλξει without τις is strange: perhaps we should read παραθέλξεις.

72. ἀτίται means 'insolvent,' 'defaulters,' 'bankrupt,' unable to pay the debt of military service to the State (χρέος τόδε *Theb.* 20). Hesych. ἀτίτην: ἄπορον. ἄτιμον. τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα ἀποτίσαι, and τίται: εὐποροί, 'men of means.'

76 ff. ὁ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων ἐντὸς ἀνάσσων ἰσόπρεσβυς... τί θ' ὑπεργήρως; ... παιδὸς οὐδὲν 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 δις παῖδες 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 αἰὼν δὲ δι' ὀστέων ἐραίσθη. 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 γερόντων which we find instead of ἔργα at the crisis. Euripides would have apologised at the crisis itself.

79. τί θ' ὑπεργήρως; κτέ. For the question cf. Pind. *P.* viii. 95 ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος.

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

90. τῶν τε θυραίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων 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. βασιλείωι. The appellation 'royal' often connotes choiceness of quality: Athen. 64 b (βολβοί) οἱ βασιλικοὶ λεγόμενοι, οἱ καὶ κρείσσοι τῶν ἄλλων εἰσί, id. 54 b, 76 f.

97 f. ὅ τι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν. Cf. Eur. *Ion* 233 πάντα θεῶσθ' ὅτι καὶ θέμις ὄμμασι.

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. *Suffr.* 490 κλάδους τε τούτους αἰψ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις λαβῶν 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 θυσιῶν—ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ' together, and τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα was an explanation of τὴν θυμοβόρον φροντίδα. In reading φαίνουσ' I follow f and Triclinius. ἀγανὰ φαίνουσα is like Theocr. ii. 10 ἀλλὰ Σελάνα, φαῖνε καλόν: so now the reason is apparent why we find ἀγαιὰ, not ἀγανῆ: it was not feminine but neuter plural.

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

108. πειθῶ should possibly be πειθοῖ (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 σύριγγι μελίσδομαι, εἰσέτι φωνὰ ἄτρομος ἐν τρομερῶι σώματι ναιετάει. The passage has echoes of Pind. *O.* i. 104—112, and seems to me to be itself echoed in Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 774. 44 κοσμὸν δ' ἕμεναίων δεσποσύνων | ἐμὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἄγει καὶ ἔρωσ | ἕμνῆιν· δμῶσιν γὰρ ἀνάκτων | εὐαμερίαὶ προσιοῦσαι | μολπᾶν θράσος αἴρουσ' | ἐπὶ χάρμασιν (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 Ἄτη and the Λιταί: Hom. *I* 505 ἧ δ' Ἄτη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἰαν βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους, with βλαφθεῖς in 512. So *inf.* 406, when Ἄτη



has her way, λιτᾶν ἀκούει οὐδείς θεῶν. For the significance of βλαβέντα λουισθίων δρόμων, 'prevented from her final course,' as applied to the hare, see Platt in *Class. Rev.* xi. p. 94. For the accusative after βοσκόμενοι cf. Eur. *Med.* 826 φερβόμενοι κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, Cratinus (i. 57 K.) ap. Athen. 99 f. ἦσθε πανημέριοι χορταζόμενοι γάλα λευκόν. The order of the words (λαγίαν...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 δισσοῦς go together; then, seeing that δισσοῦς is unsuitable, some have substituted other words, as Lobeck πιστούς, Dindorf ἴσους. 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 κελαινός and the other ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς—in common language μελανάετος 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 εἰκός, says Pindar fr. 81, τῶν ἐόντων ἀρπαζομένων παρά θ' ἐστίαί καθῆσθαι καὶ κακὸν ἔμμεν. Menelaus is called by Apollo in the guise of Asiades (Hom. P 588) μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής, and of him Orestes says (Eur. *Or.* 754) οὐ γὰρ αἰχμητῆς πέφυκεν, ἐν γυναιξὶ δ' ἄλκιμος, Electra (*Or.* 1201) οὔτε γὰρ θραυὸς οὔτ' ἄλκιμος πέφυκεν, Helen (Colluthus 314) οἶσθα γὰρ ὡς Μενέλαος ἀνάλκιδός ἐστι γενέθλης. Add Quint. vi. 30—43. δισσοὶ Ἀτρεΐδαι is the common phrase, Eur. *Hec.* 510, *Or.* 818, Soph. *Ai.* 57, 947, and similarly 390, 960, *Phil.* 793, 1024, *sup.* 43.

131. ἀγρεῖ recalls the ἄγρα of the eagles.

134. κτήνη 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 μή...κνεφάση means μόνον φράζεσθαι οἱ 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 μάντις which will win. 'πάντες' ἔφη 'νικᾶτε μόνον μὴ τις σὲ παρέλθῃ, καὶ σὲ κατατρέψῃ, καὶ σὲ παρατροχάσῃ.' 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—*μόνας δεῖδιθι τὰς ἀκρίδας.*—*στόμιον...στρατωθέν*, 'the great embattled bit that should hold the mouth of Troy.' *στρ.* is an epithet 'limiting' the metaphor. *προτυπέν*, as by lightning.

139. *οὔκτωι*: cf. Philipp. Thess. *A. P.* ix. 22 ἢ θεὸς ὠδίνων γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος, οὐδ' ἐδίκαζεν τικτούσας κτείνειν, ἄς ἐλεεῖν ἔμαθεν.

143. *θυομένοισιν* glances at Iphigeneia.

146. We should probably read *τόσον περ εὐφρων* <δέ>, *καλά*, or *τόσον περ εὐφρων, ἀκαλά*, '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. *τόσσων* 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. *ὀβρικόλοις, εἴπερ τινά*: see crit. n. '*Consent to ratify, if ever any. the portents of these fowls.*' The alteration involves the writing of *ΟΒΡΙΚΑΛΟΙCΙΠΕΡΤΙΝΑ* for *ΟΒΡΙΚΑΛΟΙCΙΤΕΡΠΝΑ*, 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 *τερπνά* 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' ἑμῶν πάντων, εἴπερ ἄλλωι τινὶ πρόποτε πρᾶγματι τὸν νοῦν προσέσχετε, καὶ τούτῳ προσέχειν*: Isae. 8. 5 *εἴ τινι οὖν καὶ ἄλλῃ πρόποτε δίκημ προσέσχετε τὸν νοῦν, δέομαι ἑμῶν καὶ ταύτῃ προσέχειν ὁμοίως*: for other examples see Blomfield on *inf.* 503 (525 W.) *εἴ που πάλαι, φαιδροῖσι τοισὶδ' ὄμμασιν δέξασθε*, 'with bright eyes now,' Blaydes on *Ar. Nub.* 356, *Thesm.* 1157, Leaf on Hom. *Ω* 704, Stat. *Achill.* 1. 509 *si quando, avidissimus hauri*.

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

159. *σύμφυτον*, 'cleaving,' is used in the same way as *ξύμφυτος αἰών* (v. 109).

165. *ἀπέκλαγξεν*, like *ἐκλαγξεν inf.* 211, expresses the loud and

excited tone of voice which marked the spiritual exaltation of the *μάντις*. This is the explanation of other words applied to the delivery of oracles, as *ιάχειν* and *κέλαδος* and those which are technical of them, *λακεῖν*, *ὀρθιάζειν*. *λακεῖν* 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 reflexion 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. *οὐλός 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 he that was great aforetime,' the stress being on *πάροιθεν*. That is pointless here. The only plausible conjecture I have seen is *οἶδ' ὅστις* (Pauw). For ΟΥΔΟCTIC I write ΟΥΛΟCTIC, 'a violent one was great of old, swelling with boisterous puissance.' The metaphor throughout is of a combat—*τριακτῆρος* and *παρμάχῳ*, a word which it will be seen in the *Thesaurus* was properly used of the pancratiast. *οὐλος*, the epithet applied by Homer to Ares and Achilles, is eminently suitable to this turbulent swasher.

180. *οὐδὲ λέξεται*: 'but shall not be reckoned, being one of the past.' Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 322 *ἀλλ' αὐτίκ' ἐν τοῖς μηκέτ' οὖσι λέξομαι*, *Hec.* 905 *σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατὴρ Ἰλιάς, τῶν ἀπορθήτων πόλις οὐκέτι λέξῃ*. For the sense cf. Timotheus ap. Athen. 122 d (fr. 21 Wil.) *νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει· τὸ πάλαι δ' ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων· ἀπίτω μούσα παλαιά*.

181. *τριακτῆρος*: 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. *τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν* is the opposite of *ἀμαρτήσεται 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 *ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*, Hes. *Op.* 218 *παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*, Hdt. i. 207 *τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάρिता μαθήματα ἐγεγόνεε*, Plat. *Symp.* 222 B *κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ὥσπερ νήπιον παθόντα γνῶναι*.

189 ff. ἐν θ' ὑπνωι...καὶ is an instance of the common idiom, according to which τε...καί serve rather to subordinate than to co-ordinate: 'when...then...' Cf. Soph. fr. 234. 5 εἴτ' ἡμᾶρ αὖξει μέσσον ὄμφακος τύπον, | καὶ κλίνεται τε κάποπερκοῦται βότρυς, 'and as it declines the grape reddens.' *Antig.* 1186. Hdt. iv. 181, 199, ii. 93, vi. 41 Stein. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 2. 12, vii. 4. 12, *Eq.* 5. 10 οὐ φθάνει τε ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ.... Aristid. i. 492, 511. Lucian ii. 584. Timocles (Ath. 407 d) καὶ ταῦτά τε | εἴρητο (Porson for εἴρηται) καὶ.... Heliod. viii. 8, v. 18 ἀλλ' ἄμ' ἡλιός τε ἀνίσχε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄγκυραν καθίεμεν. Plat. *Phaedr.* 254 B καὶ πρὸς τ' αὐτῶι ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τὴν ὄψιν κτέ.—στάζει 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 ὑπνωι 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. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσημα οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναίσθητον τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὡς μηδέποτε βλάψαι μηδὲ ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι μηδεμίᾳς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ κὰν ἐγρηγοροῦσι καὶ βαδίζοντι μὴ σφόδρα ἐνοχλήῃ, εἰς γε τὴν κοίτην ἀπήντησε καὶ διασπᾶ 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 δωμάτιον παρήλθοι, ἔνθα μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν, οὐδ' ὑπνοῦ τυχεῖν ἠδυνάμην. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τᾶλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα ἐν νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπανίσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ἐρεθίζει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας· ὅταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἔλκος νοσεῖν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα μὴ κινουμένου τοῦ σώματος πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾶ. ἐν ἡμέραι μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα πολλῆς γεμιζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀκμὴν, ἀντιπεριιάγοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· ἐὰν δ' ἡσυχία τὸ σῶμα πεδηθῆι, καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ψυχὴ γενομένη τῶι κακῶι κυμαίνεται· πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμώμενα· τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λῦπαι, τοῖς μεριμνῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἐρῶσι 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 βίαιος—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.* συμφέρει, as we are told in the *Eumenides* v. 523, σωφρονεῖν 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 D—E describes 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; εὔδει δέ, says Pindar in fr. 231, πρᾶσσόντων 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. μνησιπήμων, like μνησιστέφανος ἀγών 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. δαμόνων δέ που χάρις κ.τ.λ. The particles δέ που (‘and I suppose,’ *P. V.* 848, Plat. *Phaedr.* 270 E, *Legg.* 650 B) are often used of some presumption that may be entertained about *divinities*. See *Pers.* 726 γνώμης δέ πού τις δαμόνων ξυνήψατο. Bacchyl. v. 91 τὰ δέ που Παλλάδι ξανθῶι μέλει. Plat. *Rep.* 517 B θεὸς δέ που οἶδεν εἰ ἀληθῆς οὔσα τυγχάνει. Soph. *Ai.* 489 θεοῖς γὰρ ὦδ’ ἔδοξέ που.—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 ποῦ 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 τέ

νιν οὐ θεὸς οὐ βροτὸς ἔργοις οὔτε βουλαῖς. καὶ τότε γνοὺς Ἴσχυος Εἰλατίδα ξεινίαν κοίταν.... Agamemnon acted hastily, yielding without critical enquiry (παθὼν ἔγνω gives the contrast to μάντιν ψέγων), and so is described as ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων, 'letting his spirit yield to violent circumstance,' which is the same thing as φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν in v. 229.

197 ff. συμπνέων. Cf. Schol. Pind. *N.* vi. 90 (55) ἢ ζάκοτόν φησι κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ φέροντος καὶ αὐτὸ συμπνέον τῇ ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ (A 573 f.).—The lyric method is to begin at the crisis and to jot in points of description or narrative without regard to their logical sequence.—κεναγγεῖ, *famishing*, is a Hippocratean word: lit. emptying the vessel of the stomach. [Cf. ἀγγεῖον as used by Empedocles (A 74 Diels).]

211. προφέρων: cf. *inf.* 955 δόμοισι προυνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις.

212 f. χθόνα βάκτροις ἐπικρούσαντας. The action shows their emotion: see Hom. A 245, β 80.

219. πατρώιους κ.τ.λ. See cr. n. The reading of the MS. arises through τὸ ἐξῆς, *i.e.* the tendency of the scribes to simplify the order of the words, with ῥεέθροις substituted for ῥοαῖς.

228 ff. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδω λέπαδνον...τόθεν τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω: 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 ἐντύει, ἢ τ' ἀνδρὸς τλήμονα θῆκε νόον. 384 πενίην μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης ἔλαβον, τὰ δίκαια φιλεῦντες, ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην, βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης· τολμᾷ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλων αἰσχέα πολλὰ φέρειν, χρημοσύνηι εἴκων, ἢ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδάσκει, ψεύδεά τ' ἔξαπάτας τ' οὐλομένας τ' ἔριδας, ἄνδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα. Antiphon 121. 12, *P. V.* 16, Sappho 2. 17. Hence πάντολμος became a regular epithet of ἀνάγκη: *A. P.* ix. 11 πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε πικρὴ πάντολμος ἀνάγκη. xvi. 15. 7 ἀσχήμεων ἔνδεια καὶ ἄ πάντολμος ἀνάγκα. #Moschion, *Telerehus* fr. 2 N. ὦ καὶ θεῶν κρατοῦσα καὶ θνητῶν μόνη Μοῖρ', ὦ λιταῖς ἄτρεπτε δυστήνων βροτῶν πάντολμ' ἀνάγκη, στυγνὸν ἢ κατ' αὐχένων ἡμῶν ἐρείδεις τῆσδε λατρείας ζυγόν. The parenthesis βροτὸς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρομήτις τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων describes the process by which ἀνάγκη produces this state of mind: he is at his wits' end; ἀμηχανίη drives him to distraction (παρακοπὰ), βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, as Theognis says; he abandons the restraint (σωφροσύνη) which had hitherto kept him in check, and gives himself up wholly to θράσος, the spirit of bad audacity, bold recklessness and sin. Ἀνάγκη, therefore, acts in the

same way as Ἄτη βλαψίφρων, who makes a man φρενοβλαβῆ and leads him astray into ἀνιερόν θράσος (v. 764).

The words δυσσεβῆ, ἄναγον, ἀνιερόν mean 'wicked,' 'sinful against God': ἄναγος or δύσαγος 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 παντότολμος or πάντολμος 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 ὑπέρολμον φρόνημα and παντόλμους ἔρωτας in *Cho.* 591, 595 and ἄτολμον *ib.* 628 is the opposite. τλᾶν and τλήμων are sometimes used to the same effect, as τλάμονι καὶ πανούργωι χειρί in *Cho.* 383: just as ἀτολμήτων in v. 385 implies a 'wicked sin,' so ἄτλητα τλᾶσα 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 βροτούς, the explanation offered in the schol. being ὅθεν ἔγνω πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τολμᾶν. It was probably another groping at a sense that produced the reading of M. Similarly, the right reading (Heath) in Eur. *H. F.* 1126 is ἀρκεῖ σιωπῆ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὃ βούλομαι; but γάρ was assumed to be the second word; a stop accordingly was placed after ἀρκεῖ, and then to get a sense the ὃ was changed to οὐ: so that we find ἀρκεῖ· σιωπῆ (or σιωπῆ) γὰρ μαθεῖν οὐ βούλομαι.

237. προτέλεια. It is possible that, as in Eur. *I. A.* 433 Ἄρτεμιδι 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. περιπετῆ: the adj. is passive corresponding to περιβάλλω τινὰ πέπλοις. 'Where she lay, wrapt in her robes.'

246. φυλακάι. If the MS. reading is kept, it should be treated as subject to κατασχέειν. In Eur. *Trö.* 194 τὰν παρὰ προθύροις φυλακὰν κατέχουσ' the sense is 'to keep watch.' Cf. Pind. *P.* iv. 75 τὸν μονοκρήπιδα πάντως ἐν φυλακᾷ σχεθέμεν μεγάλοι.

257 f. τριτόσπονδον...παιᾶνα. Cf. Harmodius ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν νομίμων, ap. Athen. iv. 149 c μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο...ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιᾶν αἰδεταί.

265. ἴσον. So Eur. *Or.* 426 τὸ μέλλον δ' ἴσον ἀπραξίαι λέγω.—τὸ δὲ προκλύειν added by m to 263 was a gloss on this word.

266. σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς, 'full clear with the rays of morning'—a vague but ominous reference.

268 f. τὸδ' ἄγχιστον κ.τ.λ. refers to Clytaemnestra. ἄγχιστον 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... ὑμῖν δ' ἀρήγειν...

282. Cf. Plut. *Camill.* 30 δακρύνοντες ἀπιστίαι τῆς παρουσίας ἡδονῆς.

283. εὐ γὰρ φρονούντος 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 τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰδῶνται καὶ ὡσπερ διὰ πυλῶν τούτων ἡ ψυχὴ διαφαίνεται. *ib.* ii. 17, 409. 1 Samuel 16. 7 'for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the eyes,' that is, 'the heart.' Leon. Tar. *A. P.* vii. 661 φυσιογνώμων ὁ σοφιστής, δεινὸς ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ 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 τό γ' εἶδες αὐτὸ σοῦ κατηγορεῖ σιγῶντος ὡς εἴης ἄν..., Philostr. *Imag.* 29 ὠκύτητα κατηγορεῖ τῷ κυνός, *Vit. Soph.* i. 17 πειθὸν 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. *Theb.* 109: there are also some examples in the Dictionaries which should be classed under this head.

287. λάκοιμι is Karsten's correction of the MS. λάβοιμι, which cannot bear the sense attributed to it here—'I would not accept the mere fancy of a slumbering mind'; that would be οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην δόξαν εὐδούσης 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, ἔπαινον, ψόγον, ὄνειδος, εὐκλειαν, διαβολήν, φθόνον, αἰσχύνην, γέλωτα etc., (2) to conceive a notion (of), entertain a conception (of), as λαβεῖν ἔννοιαν, φαντασίαν, νόησιν. But δόξαν or δόκησιν λέγειν is to state mere opinion as opposed to knowledge (Eur. *I. T.* 1164, *Bacch.* 628, *Heracl.* 395, *Soph. Trach.* 426, *Hdt.* vii. 185): λάκοιμι is a stronger synonym of λέγοιμι (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 πεπεισμένη στένεις ὀνείροις ἢ φάτιν τιν' οἴκοθεν κλύουσα;—ἐπίανεν is a heightened synonym of ἔθρεψεν: *Bacchyl.* iii. 67 ὅστις μὴ φθόνῳ παιίνεται, *Plut. Mor.* 516 D ἡ ψυχὴ...βόσκουσα καὶ παιίνουσα τὸ κακότηες. Similar is the use of αὔξειν: *Ath.* 782 d αὔξει γὰρ καὶ τρέφει μεγαλύνει τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ποτοῖς διατριβή, *Pind. N.* iii. 58 ἐν ἀρμείουσι πᾶσι θυμὸν αὔξων, *Bacchyl.* i. 52 ἐθέλει δ' αὔξειν φρένας ἀνδρός (*sc.* πλοῦτος). So ἐλπίδι τρέφεσθαι is varied by βόσκεσθαι, σιτεισθαι (*inf.* 1668), φέρβεσθαι: 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 uolat. It should be observed that when the phrase τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος 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 Eurycleia'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 ἀπτέρῳ τάχει was a favourite phrase (fully illustrated by Nauck, *F. T. G.*<sup>2</sup> p. 922): we find πτηνῶι τάχει sometimes used instead. In the same sense—the usual explanation of the grammarians is ταχέως or αἰφνιδίως—was used the adverb ἀπτέρως, or ἀπτερέως (lengthened like ἀποφέως for the

purpose of dactylic verse). ἄπτερος or ἀπτέρως should probably be read in *P. V.* 707: see *Journ. Phil.* xx. p. 296, where further illustrations are quoted.

298. πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι may be either 'to put the ocean at his back' or 'to skim the broad back of ocean.' The passage is incomplete, and the line which follows cannot be explained with any certainty. [The translation favours Weil's view that the gloss of Hesychius, προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα, which Dindorf wished to substitute for πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων in 313, formed part of a passage which has been lost here.]

299. It is possible that there is an allusion to Ischys, the son of Elatus (pitch-pine), who intrigued with Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, when she was with child by Apollo.

305. σημαίνει μολόν may mean 'signified his arrival,' as translated (cf. 960); or simply 'arrived, giving signal,' [as in *Soph. Ant.* 1208.]

316. μὴ χρονίζεσθαι: see cr. n. So in 1670 χρόνωι and χάριν are confused.

318. πώγωνα: so πωγωνίας in familiar use of a comet.

319. κατόπτην: see cr. n. This is the form which analogy supports: cf. *fr.* 304 τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτην ἔποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν, *sup.* 299 πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος, *Ar. Au.* 57 τὸν πόπτην λύχρον. See also *Stat. Silu.* ii. 2. 3 *celsa Dicarchei speculatrix uilla profundi*. In *Theb.* 631 cod. Viteb. has ἄνδρα τευχιστὸν for ἄνδρα τευχιστήν, and in *Anacreont.* 40. 10 φθόνον οὐκ οἶδα δαϊκτόν Pauw restored δαϊκτήν.

320. ἔσκηψεν: *tum demum terrae incubuit cum ad Arachnaeum montem uenit*.

321. For mt. Arachnaeus see *Pausan.* ii. 25. 10, *Steph. Byzant.* p. 110, 4 Ἀραχναῖον ὄρος Ἄργους.

322. ἐς τόδε: see cr. n. In *Eum.* 755 M has ὄγ' where ὄδ' is preserved by the other copies, and in *Soph. O. C.* 860 F has τόν γ' for τόνδ'.

326. πρώτος δραμεῖν, though it could mean 'to start first,' usually meant 'to finish first,' and the play of words (which may have been familiar in the case of torch-running) depends upon this ambiguity. The light from Ida ran both first and last, as starting first and ending last; the light from Mount Arachnaeus ran both first and last, as starting last and ending first.

331. ὡς λέγεις, 'your version of this tale': see cr. n. Perhaps we should read ἕως λέγοις (the optative following θέλωμ' ἄν), as ἕως ἄν is now read for ὡς ἄν in *Soph. Phil.* 1330, *Ai.* 1117, *O. C.* 1361: this would be 'so long as you should speak.' For the optative see *Goodw. M. T.* § 531, who quotes *Plat. Theaet.* 155 A.

335. οὐ φίλως might appear to belong to προσενέποις (Soph. *El.* 1471 προσηγορεῖν φίλως, *O. C.* 758 τήνδε τὴν πόλιν φίλως εἰπών, Eur. *Hipp.* 793 εὐφρόνως προσενέπειν), but sense requires that it should be joined to διχοστατοῦντε ‘unfriendly separated.’ Many editors accept Auratus’ διχοστατοῦντ’ ἄν, οὐ φίλω ‘separated, and not friends,’ which may well be right.

348. ἀπαλλαχθέντες is corrupted to ἀπαλλαγέντες fh. So for κρυφθείς we get κρυφείς and even κρυβεῖς. See also on 737.—ὡς δ’ εὐδαίμονες, ‘and how blest!’ exclamatory, as in 1235 ὡς δ’ ἐπωλολύξατο. This use of ὡς and ὅσος, in combination with δέ, is very common in Greek verse, but sometimes escapes critics because Greek does not use the note of exclamation. Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 269 ὡς δ’ ἀλαζών, ὡς δὲ μάσθλης, Dem. 21. 209 τὸν δὲ βάσκανον, τὸν δὲ ὄλεθρον, τοῦτον δὲ ὑβρίζειν ἀναπνεῖν δέ, Lucian i. 552 ὅσον δὲ καὶ ἀποπνεῖ μύρων, ὡς δὲ καὶ σφαλερὸν βαδίζει. So the text is quite sound in Eur. *Supp.* 901 πολλοὺς δ’ ἐραστὰς κἀπὸ θηλειῶν ὅσας ἔχων, ἐφρούρει μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, where Canter conjectured ἴσας, which would be correct if instead of πολλοὺς a definite number had been named. Liban. iv. 116. 11 μετὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς πολέμους, μετὰ τὰς πολλὰς μάχας καὶ ἀριστείας καὶ τρόπαια, καὶ θάλατταν ὄσσην, ‘and all that sea!’ Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii. 39 ἵππων τε τοῖς ἀρδεύμασι τοὺς ποταμοὺς ξηράνας ἄλλα τε πόσα βάρβαρα δράσας εἰς ἐπιπλήξεις. Damoxenus fr. 3 (iii. 353 K.) ἡ δ’ εὐρυθμία τό τ’ ἦθος ἡ τάξις θ’ ὄση.

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.

χαλκεῖαν δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος,  
οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων  
ἀώιος ὃς θάλπει κέαρ.

Polyb. iii. 433, Schweighäuser δεῖν ἀναμνησθῆναι τοὺς συνέδρους διότι κοιμωμένους τὸν ὄρθρον ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ διεγείρουσιν αἱ σάλπιγγες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ ὄρνιθες, a saying quoted by Plut. *Nic.* 9. So ἀφύλακτον = ‘without a watch to keep.’

350. εὐσεβοῦσι need not be altered to εὖ σέβουσι (Scaliger). In Lyric you would say εὖ σέβειν (εὐσεβοῦντες in *Eum.* 1020 is perhaps an exception), εὖ λέγειν, εὖ θαρσεῖν: elsewhere εὐλογεῖν etc. The edd. unnecessarily restore εὖ θαρσεῖτε in *Theb.* 34, and Cobet wrongly rejects κατηφείς in Eur. *Med.* 1012.

352. οὐ τὰν ἐλόντες αὐθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν: the combination is proverbial. Zenob. i. 35, Diogen. i. 33 αἰροῦντες ἡιρήμεσθα, Suid. s.v. αἰρήσω τάχα, Ael. *N. H.* i. 29 αἰρεῖ τοὺς ὄρνιθοθήρας ἡιρημένη, Opp. *Hal.* ii. 133 ὀλλύμενοι δ’ ὀλέκουσι καὶ οὐς πέφνουσι φονῆας, Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 3, 29 εἰ οἱ κυκλούμενοι

κυκλωθεῖεν, *A. P.* ix. 14 εἶλε δ' ἀλούς, *Soph. O. C.* 1025 ἔχων ἔχει, καί σ' εἶλε θηρῶνθ' ἢ τύχη: such phrases for 'the biter bit,' 'turning the tables,' or 'catching a Tartar' are favourite in Greek and Latin.

353 f. She is still imagining the scene. μὴ ἐμπίπτῃ could not refer to the future; we must have had μὴ ἐμπέσῃ, as in *Pers.* 128. So above εἰ εὖσεβοῦσι can only mean 'if they are reverencing.'

357 ff. θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,  
εὐήγορον τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων  
γένοιτ' ἄν,—εἰ πρόσπαια 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 ὀλωλότων, '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.):

ἄλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός,  
τάδε σίγά τις βαῦζει,  
φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει  
προδίκους Ἀτρείδαις.

βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότῳ,  
δημοκράντου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.

However, as Clytaemnestra anticipates, this bitter feeling has abated by the time the King arrives; εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν 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 Iphigenia 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 εὐήγορον (*Eubul. Ὀδ.* 1), a synonym of εὐφημον, as εὐαγορία (*Callim. Lau. Pall.* 139)

of εὐφημία. She anticipates her own long-drawn smiling welcome and laudation, εὐφροσιν δέξεται λόγοις, *inf.* 1227 οἶα γλώσσα...λέξασα κάκτείνας φαιδρόνους ..τεύξεται; 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 ἐγρηγορὸς γένοιτ’ ἄν is usually slurred over and taken as though it were ἐγρηγορὸς εἴη, ‘would be on the watch.’ But some word of favourable sense appears to be demanded by the order of the words. ἐπήγορον...γένουτ’ ἄν, if we read it, would be ‘might turn accuser’; the φθονερὸν 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 θεοῖς ἀναμπλάκητος μόλοι στρατός, ἀλλὰ τῶν γ’ ὀλωλότων ἐπήγορον (or ἐγρηγορὸς) 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 κρατοίη: *Supp.* 985 εἴη δὲ τὰ λῶιστα, Dem. 4. 51 νικώη δ’ ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

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

365. θεοὺς προσειπεῖν αὐ παρασκευάζομαι: so Ar. *Au.* 226 οὐποψ μελωδεῖν αὐ παρασκευάζεται, *Thesm.* 99 σίγα· μελωδεῖν αὐ παρασκευάζεται. They never said θεοὺς εὖ προσειπεῖν, but used the verb alone, προσειπεῖν, προσαιδᾶν, προσφωνεῖν, προσεννέπειν, προσαγορεύειν. Observe that in Soph. *Trach.* 229 ἀλλ’ εὖ μὲν ἴγμεθ’, εὖ δὲ προσφωνοῦμεθα there is a special reason for the addition of the adverb. In Eur. *H.F.* 599 Paley was wrong in taking καλῶς with πρόσειπε.

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

374 ff. Δία τοι ξένιον: ‘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: ἐπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν. There is a strong stress on Δία τοι as there is with σύ τοι, σέ 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 οὐτοι in negation, to lay stress upon the word it goes with. Examples are *inf.* 913, 1031, 1039, *Cho.* 913, *Supp.* 375, 545, *Eum.* 758,

Soph. *El.* 582, 624, 773, *Phil.* 1095, Pind. *P.* v. 122: so in ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι 'this is the reason,' *inf.* 867, 1603, *Cho.* 1054.

379. 'Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν' 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, ὦ πάσα Κάδμου γαῖ', ἀπόλλυμαι δόλωι: and then the Chorus rejoin:

747 καὶ γὰρ διώλλυς· ἀντίποινα δ' ἐκτίνων  
τόλμα, διδούς γε τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην.—  
τίς θεοὺς ἀνομίαι χραίων θνητὸς ὦν  
ἄφρονα λόγον οὐρανίων μακάρων  
κατέβαλ' ὡς ἄρ' οὐ σθένουσιν θεοί;—  
γέροντες, οὐκέτ' ἔστι δυσσεβῆς ἀνήρ.

773 θεοὶ θεοὶ τῶν ἀδίκων  
μέλουσι καὶ τῶν ὀσίων ἐπάειν.  
ὁ χρυσὸς ἅ τ' εὐτυχία  
φρενῶν βροτοὺς ἐξάγεται  
δύνασιν ἀδικὸν ἐφέλκων,

but Justice shatters them in time.

802 πιστόν μοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἦδη  
λέχος, ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸ σὸν οὐκ  
ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φάνθη,  
λαμπρὰν δ' ἔδειξ' ὁ χρόνος  
τὰν Ἡρακλέος ἀλκάν.

809 κρείσσω μοι τύραννος ἔφυσ  
ἢ δυσγένει' ἀνάκτων,  
ἃ νῦν ἐσορῶντι φαίνει  
ξιφηφόρων ἐς ἀγώνων  
ἀμιλλαν εἰ τὸ δίκαιον  
θεοῖς ἔτ' 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 *πλαγὰν ἔχουσι* must be taken together: but few have heeded. *πληγὴν, ἔλκος* (Herod. iv. 60), *τραῦμα, ἔχειν* are regular expressions for 'to be wounded,' *ἔχειν* serving to form a passive as in *αἰτίαν ἔχω*, etc. *εἰπεῖν πάρεστιν* is 'that judgment may be pronounced indeed'; as in *Theb.* 906 *παρέστι δ' εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίωσιν ὡς ἐρξάτην...* and Philemon, fr. 108 *καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγειν.*—For *ἐπιχνεῦσαι* cf. *Sufr.* 89 *Διὸς ἕμερος οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη.*

381. See cr. n. The first *ὡς* was inserted to explain the construction. Cf. Schol. *Sufr.* 441 *λείπει τὸ ὅτι.—οὐκ ἔφα τις.* It has been supposed (Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 620) that Diagoras 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: *ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπό τινος ἐπιορκήσαντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔνεκα τούτου 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 *ἐκγόνους* or for *Ἄρη πνεόντων*: Paris, who is the sinner (v. 409), 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 *Ἄρη πνεόντων μείζον' ἢ δικαίως* would condemn him for a spirit *over-bellicose*! Hartung's reading therefore, *ἐκτίνουσα τόλμα τῶν Ἄρη πνεόντων κτέ.*, besides giving an unparalleled caesura, is untenable for sense: nevertheless the chief part of the credit is due to him for *ἐκτίνουσα*. For *ἄρη* I merely restore *ἀρή*, *havoc, destruction by the sword*, a word used by Aeschylus in *Sufr.* 86. No accusative is now required with *ἐκτίνουσα*, because *ἀρή* is itself the penalty—a turn of phrase exactly paralleled in v. 1512 *Ἄρης δίκας πάχλαι κουροβόρωι παρέξει.* There is the same conception in 760—6 (*δαίμονα τίταν*) and in *Cho.* 643 (*τίνειν μύσος*).

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 *Paroem.* ii. p. 80—2 Leutsch, for the proverb *πάντων μέτρον ἄριστον*, Lucian i. 756, and Aristotle, *Index s.v. μέσος* for *βέλτιστον*. The reference to Troy is illustrated by Homer N 621 *Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι*, Bacchyl. xii. 158 *ἢ μεγάλας ἐλπίσιν πνεῖοντες ὑπερφίαλον... Τρῶες ἱππευταί.* In the following words the definition of *τὸ μέτρον* is laid down as '*Sufficiency, clear of harm, with an ample endowment of understanding (σύνεσις)*,' as Pythagoras *μήκιστον πρᾶπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον* according to Empedocles (fr. 129, 2 Diels); or 'sufficiency for one well-endowed with sense.' *ἀπήμαντον ἀπαρκῆν* means *ἔχειν ὅσον ἀποζῆν ἀβλαβῶς* (*Theognis* 1153), as *ἐξαρκῶν κτεάτεσσι*

in Pind. *O.* v. 24, ζῶειν τ' ἀπ' οἰκείων ἔχει Bacchyl. i. 57, Solon 5. 1 δῆμωι μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος, ὅσσοι ἐπαρκέι.

395. εἰς ἀφάνειαν: that is ὅταν τὴν δίκην τις ἀφανίσῃ. Cf. Trag. fr. in Stob. *Ecl.* i. 3. 45 (fr. adesp. 418 N.) ἄφρονες δ' ὀπόσοι τὸ δίκαιον ἄγουσ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδίκου βιοτῆς ἀφανές. Max. Tyr. 31. 2 ὁμολογίαν εἶναι δεῖ ἔργου καὶ λόγου, καὶ μῆτε τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἀφάνειαν κομιδῇ ξυνεληλάσθαι κτέ.

396. βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα Πειθῶ: [for the significance of Persuasion in connexion with ἴβρις, ἄτη, 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. προβούλου παῖς (Hartung) is right: Soph. fr. 533 ποικιλομήτιδες ἄται, *Cho.* 645 τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει δόμοις αἱμάτων παλαιτέρων τίνειν μύσος χρόνωι κλυτὰ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς, like Hecate in *Macbeth*, 'the close contriver of all harms.' πρόβουλος παῖς was probably the first stage in the error.

398 f. ἄκος recalls Hesiod's νήκεστον ἀυσθῆμι quoted on v. 469.—σίνος, *mischief*, is a synonym of ἄτη or βλάβη: for Ἄτη βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους see Hom. I 505, T 91.

404. ποτανὸν ὄρνιν is an allusion to ἐλπίς: πτηνὰς διώκει, ὦ τέκνον, τὰς ἐλπίδας Eur. fr. 271. In Soph. *Ant.* 615 ἐλπίς is ἅ πολὺπλαγκτος. Hope of wrongful gain, Ambition, is a stage on the road to ruin: Thuc. iii. 45 ἢ τε ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ ἔρωσ ἐπὶ παντὶ πλείστα βλάπτουσι, v. 103 ἐλπίς δέ, κινδύνωι παραμύθιον οὔσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῆι κὰν βλάβῃ, οὐ καθείλε· τοῖς δὲ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γινώσκεται σφαλέντων, καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλάξεταί τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθείσαν, οὐκ ἔλλείπει. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26 οὕτω μὲν ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν ὁ Πύρρος ἐλπίδων, νομισθεὶς ἅ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐκτάτο ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀπολλύναι, δι' ἔρωτα τῶν ἀπόντων οὐδὲν εἰς ὃ δεῖ θέσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων φθάσας. Pind. *P.* iii. 19 ἀλλά τοι | ἦρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων· οἶα καὶ πολλοὶ πάθον· | ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον, | ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω, | μεταμῶνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν. | ἔσχε τοιαύταν μεγάλην αὐάταν | καλλιπέπλου λῆμα Κορωνίδος. Thuc. iv. 17 μὴ παθεῖν ὅπερ οἱ ἀθήως τι ἀγαθὸν λαμβάνοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων· αἰ γὰρ τοῦ πλέονος ἐλπίδι ὀρέγονται διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀδοκῆτως εὐτυχῆσαι.

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 χρυσὸν βασανίζει λίθος προστριβόμενον αὐτῆι.

418. δόμων προφήται 'spokesmen of the house' are members of Menelaus' household whose gossip voiced abroad the condition of affairs within; gave whispered utterance to the private and domestic



grief of the deserted husband. These revelations they convey in guarded language like the Chorus in the *Choephoroi*, 45—82, not mentioning names, but saying πρόμοι, ἀφημένων, ὑπερποντίας, ἀνδρί, τις. For πρ. with the genitive cf. Athen. 187 b, ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἅπαντας εἰσήγαγε προφήτας ἀτόμων.

421. See cr. nn. The reading of the MSS. is neither sense nor metre: with σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους Hermann restored both. The corruption was introduced by some scribe who failed to perceive the construction of πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν—thought that it required a nominative. Just the same thing happened in Eur. *Tro.* 36 τὴν δ' ἀθλίαν τήνδ' εἴ τις εἰσορᾶν θέλει, 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. O 106 ὁ δ' ἀφήμενος οὐκ ἀλεγίζει οὐδ' ὄθεται (with which Leaf compares © 207, Λ 81). Add Hdt. iv. 66 ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται. Mourners are constantly said to sit moping, e.g. Hom. κ 497, ξ 41, π 145, Epictet. ii. 16. 33 κλαύσεις καθήμενος ὡς τὰ παιδία; so ii. 24. 25 τί οὖν ἐκείνου (Achilles) ὠφελεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν καθήμενος κλαίῃ διὰ τὸ κορασίδιον; iii. 13. 9 μέλλω καθήμενος κλαίειν, ὅτι μόνος ἀπελείφθην καὶ ἔρημος; iii. 24. 8 ἂν δέ τις ἀποδημήσῃ τῶν συνήθων, καθήμενοι κλαίωμεν; see κάθημαι in Upton's index. So 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, remembering Zion.'

424. δόξει. Attic puts δόξειεν ἂν where the Ionic writers say ἐρείς or the like: so Herodas, e.g. iv. 31.

427. ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαῖς ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα is precisely like an Orphic line quoted by Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 951 χειρῶν δ' ὄλλυμένων ἔρρειν πολυεργὸς 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 (ἕμερος), and were created, according to Empedocles, by Aphrodite (frs. 86, 87 Diels).

429. πενήμονες of the MSS. is contrary to the sense: πειθήμονες Housman ('si dicerentur πειθήμονες, intelligerem' Karsten) rightly: v. 286 ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθῆ. Tryphiod. 456 (Aphrodite) προσέφη πειθήμονι φωνῆ.

431. This line has caused much trouble because the sentence has no finite verb; yet δοκῶν ὄραϊ, the most plausible of the conjectures, cannot be right, because Greek never said δοκῶν ὄρῳ, always δοκῶ ὄρᾶν. 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 κεχηνότος γὰρ ἀνδρός—οἱ δὲ γείτονες χαίρουσ' ὄρωντες, Philem. 126 μῦς λευκός, ὅταν αὐτὴν τις—

ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν—κέκραγε... 4. 15, Xenarch. 4. 16, Theocr. i. 105 οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος—; Lucian i. 242 ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη ποτὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην—ἀλλ' οὐ χρὴ αὐχεῖν, iii. 178, i. 232, 274, *A.P.* v. 34, 184. 5, 128, *Priar.* 82. 6, Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 8, Ar. *Vesp.* 1178 Blaydes. Soph. *O.T.* 1288 τὸν πατροκτόνον, τὸν μητρός—αὐδῶν ἀνόσι' οὐδὲ ῥητά μοι, Lucian iii. 296 πολὺ τὸ 'ἐὰν ὁ πατήρ—καὶ κύριος γένωμαι τῶν πατρώων, [καὶ] πάντα σά,' Ov. *Heroid.* xiii. 164. Cf. *inf.* 503 (as Ar. *Lys.* 33, 37), 1095, *Cho.* 193, 1030, Eur. *Tro.* 713.

To the passages already cited in general illustration may be added Lycophr. 112—4, Eur. *Hel.* 35, Meleag. *A.P.* xii. 125, Hor. *C.* iv. 1. 37, Theocr. xxx. 22, Eur. *Alc.* 348—356.

ἔσθλά here and elsewhere = the Attic ἀγαθά.

434. κελεύθοις 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) πτηνὸς ὦν, ὡς φασι, καὶ ὄρον ἔχων τῆς πτήσεως τὸν ὕπνον.—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. ὑπερβατώτερα, or ὑπερφατώτερα as Herwerden proposed. It is an extremely easy alteration, and so would be ὁ πολύφατός τ' ἀγὼν 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 πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος αἴας συνορμένους of the MSS. is impossible rhythm here: it would be a single unrepeated logaoedic 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. πρέπει governs the dative συνορμένους: for a victor, acclamation is the proper tribute, Pind. *N.* iii. 67 βοῶν δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδαι πρέπει; the proper tribute to the dead is (also praise, but in the shape of) regretful lamentation. And γοῦν depends on πρέπει: well, they may, there is reason enough, surely, why their houses should behave so.

ἀτλησικάρδιος is 'broken-hearted,' as ἀτλησίφρων (Hesych. ἀτλησίφρων:

οὐδεμιᾶς τόλμης ἔννοιαν ἔχων). The MSS. give πένθεια τλησικάρδιος, the opposite of the sense, and a contradiction in terms: *P.V.* 169 τίς ὧδε τλησικάρδιος θεῶν ὅτωι τάδ' ἐπιχαρῆ; τίς οὐ συνασχαλαί κακοῖς τεοῖσι; 'who is so *hard-hearted* as to feel no grief or indignation?' But Hesychius also records τλασίφρονα: ὑπομονητικόν, 'patient,' 'long-suffering,' 'stout-hearted.' Hom. I 3 πένθει δ' ἀτλήτωι βεβολήατο (T 367 ἄτλητον ἄχος, Apoll. Rhod. ii. 858 κῆδος), E 382 τέτλαθι...καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ, Y 18 τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης, Ω 48 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος μεθέηκεν· τλητὸν γὰρ μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι. *inf.* 886 τλαῖσ' ἀπειθήτω φρενί. *A.P.* vii. 335 τλήθι πένθος, εὔνασον. Archilochus 9. 5—10 ending τλήτε, γυναικεῖον πένθος ἀπωσάμενοι.

443. τεύχη may mean 'arms.'

445 ff. ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης κτέ. 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 (ψῆγμα), *finned in the fire* (πυρωθέν), and *heavy*, for it causes heaviness; and packed in vessels which are εὔθετοι, a word covering two senses,—'handy,' *habiles*, and 'decently disposed,' *bene compositi*, applied to a corpse: Bekker *Anecd.* 40. 23 εὔθετεῖν νεκρόν: τὸ εὔ κοσμεῖν ἐν τάφοις νεκρόν.

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

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ἤλυθον Σκαμανδρίους,  
ἔθνησκον, οὐ γῆς ὄρι' ἀποστερούμενοι  
οὐδ' ὑπίπυργον πατρίδ'· οὐς δ' Ἄρης ἔλοι,  
οὐ παῖδας εἶδον, οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χεροῖν  
πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν, ἐν ξένηι δὲ γῆι  
κείνται. τὰ δ' οἴκοι τοῖσδ' ὅμοι' ἐγίγνετο·  
χῆραί τ' ἔθνησκον, οἱ δ' ἀπαιδες ἐν δόμοις  
ἄλλως τέκν' ἐκθρέψαντες, οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφοις  
ἔσθ' ὅστις αὐτῶν αἷμα γῆι δωρήσεται.

The consequence of discontent at home formed the subject of well-known stories referred to by Plat. *Legg.* 682 D: οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὄντι δεκέτει, ὃν τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἐκάστων οἴκοι κακὰ πολλὰ ξυνέβαινε γιγνόμενα περὶ τὰς στάσεις τῶν νέων, οἱ καὶ ἀφικομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τε καὶ οἰκίας οὐ καλῶς οὐδ' ἐν δίκῃ ὑπεδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ὥστε θανάτους τε καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς γενέσθαι παμπόλλας;

461. εὐμορφοί. So Homer X 370 (the Greeks gathering round the corpse of Hector) οἱ καὶ θηήσαντο φῦν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸν Ἐκτορος.

463. βαρεία, *dangerous*, is answered by βαρύ in 475.

464. δημοκράντου: popular indignation is as effectual as a curse officially pronounced (Dem. 18. 130 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται, id. 19. 70): it may lead to a rising and the stoning of its object.—χρεός is anything *required*; in prose confined to a debt of money, but in poetry any function, service, obligation. ἀπαιτεῖν is to demand, τίνειν to fulfil the requirement.

469. Another image, developed out of the word ἀμαυρόν: Hesiod had said that when a man is prosperous unrighteously, his estate is *minished and brought low*: *Op.* 321

εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ χερσὶ βίη μέγαν ὄλβον ἔληται,  
ἢ ὄγ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης ληίσσεται, οἶα τε πολλὰ  
γίγνεται, εὐτ' ἂν δὴ κέρδος νόον ἔξαπατήσῃ  
ἀνθρώπων, αἰδῶ δέ τ' ἀναιδέϊα κατοπάζῃ.  
ῥεῖα δέ μιν μαυροῦσι θεοί, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκοι  
ἀνέρι τῶι, παῦρον δέ τ' ἐπὶ χρόνον ὄλβος ὀπηδεῖ.

and again 282:

ὅς δέ κε μαρτυρήσιν ἐκὼν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσσας  
ψεύσεται, ἐν δὲ δίκην βλάβας νήκεστον ἀασθῆι,  
τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται.  
ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

471. παλιντυχεὶ τριβᾷ βίου has not been understood: τριβᾷ 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 *Eumenides*: 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 b ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενοι πυρὶ καὶ χαλκῶι.

The MS. reading βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσσοις Διόθεν κεραυνός 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 *κάρανα*: that is precisely what the sentence wants.

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

484. *εἰ τι...ψύθος* 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 *πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς 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 F *ὄρω τὴν Στωικὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἔπη οὕτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσαν*: 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 rumore reconciliationis afficeret, acciperetque Agrippina, facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia*, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 4), without waiting for proof visible and palpable, *πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος*: such premature rejoicing is presently apt to be extinct as the fire among the thorns.—The MS. reading *ὄρος ἐπινέμεται* cannot be interpreted as ‘the boundaries of a woman’s mind are encroached upon’ (*ἐπινέμεται* passive). To cross a limit was *ὑπερβαίνειν* (*ὑπερπηδᾶν, ὑπερθορεῖν*) *ὄρον*: but no Greek ever said *ἐπινέμεσθαι ὄρον*.—For the general sense cf. Plut. *Artax.* 28 *καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἴσως, τὸ Σοφόκλειον, ‘ταχεία πειθῶ τῶν κακῶν ὁδοιπορεῖ.’* (fr. 714) *λεία γάρ τις ἢ πορεία καὶ κατάντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλόμενον*. For *χάριν ξυναινέσαι*, ‘to yield assent to pleasure,’ cf. Pind. *P.* iv. 139 f. *ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον*.

500. *κόνις*. The dust is an indication of speed: *Theb.* 60 *χωρεῖ κονίει*. Lucian i. 623 *οὐχ ὄρᾳς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὸν ἰδρῶτι ρέομενον καὶ τὸ πόδε κεκοιμημένον καὶ πνευστιῶντα; μεστὸν γοῦν ἄσθματος αὐτῷ τὸ στόμα. τί ταῦτα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἢ σπουδῆ;* The speed of the Herald shows that he comes with a definite message: *Pers.* 249 *ἀλλ’, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τάχ’ εἴσημι πάντα ναμερτῆ λόγον· τοῦδε γὰρ δράμημα φωτὸς Περσικὸν πρόπει μαθεῖν· καὶ φέρει σαφές τι πρᾶγος ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλύειν*. *Theb.* 356 *ὁ τοι κατόπτης, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, στρατοῦ πευθῶ τιν’ ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, νέαν φέρει, σπουδῆ διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν*. Eur. *Hec.* 216 *καὶ μὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔρχεται σπουδῆι ποδός, Ἐκάβη, νέον τι πρὸς σε σημανῶν ἔπος*. *Hel.* 602 *λέγ’, ὡς φέρεις τι τῆιδε τῆι σπουδῆι νέον*. *Med.* 1118 *καὶ δὴ δέδορκα τόνδε τῶν Ἰάσονος στείχοντ’ ὀπαδῶν· πνεῦμά τ’ ἠρεθισμένον δείκνυσιν ὡς τι καινὸν ἀγγελεῖ κακόν*. *Christ. Pat.* 98, 125, 1858. Lucian ii. 681 *ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ*

σπουδῆι προσιών οὗτός ἐστιν; ἢ πού τι ἐκ γῆς νεώτερον ἀπαγγέλλεις.  
EPM. ὑπέρμεγα, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ μυρίας τῆς σπουδῆς δεόμενον.

501. σοι. The dative belongs to both clauses, and must be taken after σημανεῖ. Cf. *Eum.* 36 ὡς μήτε σωκεῖν μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάσιμ, *Theb.* 651, Soph. *O.T.* 1455.

504. ἀποστέργω 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. ἀπεσθίειν = *to leave off eating*, as illustrated in Athen. 649 b. So ἀπαλγῆσαντας τὰ ἴδια in Thuc. ii. 61.

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

510. ῥαγισῶν: hopes were *anchors* or *cables* to a Greek: Eur. *Hel.* 277 ἄγκυρα δ' ἦ μοι τὰς τύχας ὥχει μόνῃ, πόσιν ποθ' ἤξειν καὶ μ' ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν, οὗτος τέθνηκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ' ἔστι δῆ. *Heliod.* v. 19 Χαρίκλειά μοι βίος ἦν, ἐλπίς καὶ διαδοχὴ τοῦ γένους: Χαρίκλεια μόνῃ παραψυχὴ καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄγκυρα. καὶ ταύτην ὑπετέμετο καὶ παρήνευκεν ὅτι ποτ' ἔστι τὸ εἰληχός με δαιμόνιον. For ῥαγισῶν cf. *sperem abrumperere* (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 50 etc.).

516. ἦλθες (see cr. n.) was perhaps an explanation of a false reading ἦισθα.

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 Βοιωτοῖς ἀγῶν ἢ ἀγορά... ὄθεν καὶ ἀγωνίους θεοὺς Αἰσχύλος τοὺς ἀγοραῖους.

521. ἦρως: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 1. 1 προσευξάμενοι θεοῖς καὶ ἦρῳσι τοῖς τῆν Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν ἰλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφᾶς, Plut. *Arist.* 11 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦρῳες, οἷς ἔκλεγε θύειν, ἀρχηγέται Πλαταιέων ἦσαν.

525. εἴ που, 'if perchance' (*puta*).... Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 347 εἴ που δικίδιον εἶπας εὖ κατὰ ξένου μετοίκου, *Supp.* 405 εἴ που τι μὴ τοῖον τύχοι. The prayer is of the same form as Hom. E 116 εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστῃς δήϊω ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὖτ' ἐμὲ φίλαι, Ἀθήνη. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 757 νῦν, εἴ ποτ' ἐμὰς ἐτέλεσσας ἐφετμάς, εἰ δ' ἄγε. Sappho i. 5 ἀλλὰ τυτὸδ' ἔλθ', αἴποτα κἀτέρωτα... ἔκλνες. 25 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν. Ar. *Ach.* 405 ὑπάκουσον, εἴπερ πώποτ' ἀνθρώπων τινί. We expect καὶ νῦν, but that is here expressed by τοῖσιδε, which has been a great puzzle to critics: 'with bright eyes now.' Else we should only have had τοῖσιν (which

h writes), as Alciphron i. 38 ἡ δὲ οὐκέτι φαιδροῖς τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὄψεται μειδιώσα.

530 ff. 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) βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι δαιμόνων θ' ιδρύματα, 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

οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν,  
 ὕβρεως ἄποينا κᾶθέων φρονημάτων·  
 οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη  
 ἠιδούντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς,  
 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ιδρύματα  
 πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.  
 τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα  
 πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοῦδέπω κακῶν  
 κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ' ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται.

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 stanch'd yet  
 But still comes welling forth.

That is his denunciation of those barbarous and irreligious 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. *Hec.* 802—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: ὁμοῦ καίοντο δὲ πάντα Ἀντιμάχοιο μέλαθρα, καταίθετο δ' ἄσπετος ἄκρη Πιέργαμον ἀμφ' ἐρατὴν περί θ' ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος νηόν τε ζάθειον Τριτωνίδος ἀμφί τε βωμὸν Ἐρκείου· θάλαμοι δὲ κατεπρήθοντ' ἐρατεινοὶ νίωνῶν Πριάμοιο· πόλις δ' ἀμαθύνετο πᾶσα: and in Seneca, *Agam.* 653 the Chorus lament *templa deos super 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. *Tro.* 15 Poseidon complains ἔρημα δ' ἄλση καὶ θεῶν ἀνάκτορα φόνωι καταρρεῖ· πρὸς δὲ κρηπίδων βάρθοις πέπτωκε Πριάμος: and in describing the massacre Tryphiodorus 598 says: οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν εἶχον ἀθεσμοτάτης ὑπὸ ριπῆς, ἀθανάτων δ' ἔχραινον ἀπειθέας αἵματι βωμούς. οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες ἀτιμοτάτοισι φόνουσι οὐδ' ὀρθοὶ κτείνοντο, χαμαὶ δ' ἰκετήσια γυῖα τεινάμενοι πολιοῖσι κατεκλίνοντο καρῆσιν.

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

539. κλοπῆς: Hdt. ii. 114 ἦκει ξείνος, γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἦκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, *ib.* 118, 119.

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

544. The form τεθῆναι was long ago rejected by Hermann. Against all such conjectures as retain τεθῆναι οὐκ ἀντερῶ it is sufficient to point out that ἀντιλέγω θανεῖν could not possibly mean 'I refuse to die'; still less could ἀντιλέγω τεθῆναι. Hartung's χαίρω· θανεῖν ἂν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς would mean 'I will not urge against the gods that I would die'; and Kayser's χαίρω· θανεῖν δέ μ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς 'I will not urge against the gods that I died.' The only conjecture that approaches the meaning aimed at is Schneidewin's χαίρω· τὸ τεθῆναι δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς, 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 δύστηνον ἐμῆς ἐπιβήσετε πάτρης | καίπερ πολλὰ παθόντα· ἰδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν | κτῆσιν ἐμὴν δμῶάς τε καὶ ὑπερεφές μέγα δῶμα. Add *h. Aphrod.* 154 βουλοίμην κεν ἔπειτα, γύναι εἰκυῖα θεῆσιν, σῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβάς, δῦναι δόμον Ἄιδος εἶσω. Aesch. *Cho.* 437



ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ νοσφίσας ὀλοίμαν. Callim. fr. 219 τεθναίνην ὄτ' ἐκείνον ἀποπνεύσαντα πυθοίμην. Eur. *El.* 281 θάνοιμι μητρὸς αἵμ' ἐπισφάξασ' ἐμῆς. Or. 1116 καὶ μὴν τόδ' ἔρξας δις θανεῖν οὐχ ἄζομαι. Musaeus 79 ἀντίκα τεθναίνην λεχέων ἐπιβήμενος Ἡροῦς. Plat. *Apol.* 28 D, Synes. *Epist.* 107, Plut. *Mor.* 1094 A οὐδ' εὐξάτο τις ἐμπλησθεὶς ὄψων ἢ πεμμάτων βασιλικῶν εὐθὺς ἀποθανεῖν, Aristid. i. p. 709. 20 Dind., *inf.* 1610. Cic. 2 *Phil.* 119 *mihī uero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis*, etc. 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 χαῖρε.

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, *El.* 667, Ar. *Nub.* 469.

552. στυγοστράται: 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.

555. τὸ σὸν refers to his τεθναίνην in v. 544. Cf. Strabo, p. 793 ὥστε νῦν, τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, 'ἐξ' ἐτέρων ἕτερ' ἐστίν.' Aristid. ii. 164, Dind. καλῶς γε ποιῶν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὸ σὸν δὴ τοῦτο, καὶ τάληθ' ἴ λέγων.

561. παρέξεις (from παρέικω as εἶξίς from εἶκω), 'opportunities,' or 'relaxations.' See cr. n. The schol. has σπανίους. καὶ τούτου γὰρ οὐ συνεχῶς ἀπηλαύομεν.—κακοστρώτους: Chionides ἤρωες fr. 1 (i. 4 K.) πολλοὺς ἐγώϊδα κοῦ κατὰ σέ νεανίας φρουροῦντας ἀτεχνῶς (? ἀπενὲς K.) καὶ σάμακι κοιμωμένους.

562 is corrupt. For οὐ λαχόντες, οὐ λάχοι τις might be suggested. Margoliouth's ἀσχάλλοντας 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. δέ. For the corruption into γάρ see Porson on *Med.* 34, 1083, *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 119.—The words καπὸ...δρόσοι are parenthetic, which accounts for the gender of τιθέντες (Verrall). Cf. 616 f. οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν—οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν—ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρός.

566 f. 'Causing mildew and making the hair or wool of our garments verminous,' ἐνθηρον,—for θηρίον 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 ἤκιστα φθειροποιόν, ὡς λέγουσι.

This in any case is the meaning of ἔνθηρον, 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 κατεψέκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος  
ἔσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἔνθηρον 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' οὗ χρόνος  
Ἰδαίᾳ μίμνων λειμώνι ἄποινα μηνῶν  
ἀνήριθμος αἶεν εὐνώμαι.

1206 κείμαι δ' ἀμέριμνος οὕτως  
αἰεὶ πυκιναῖς δρόσοις τεγγόμενος κόμας,  
λυγρᾶς μνήματα Τροίας.

577. The sense is ἔρρετ' ἀνῆαι *A. P.* v. 72, *ualete curae*. χαίρειν καταξιώ is merely one of the many variations of the phrase χαίρειν λέγω or κελεύω, which meant 'I say to you χαῖρε,' '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: χαῖρε προσείπας Kaibel, *Erig.* 256. προσείπας χαίρειν 781. αὐδήσαντες χαίρειν 205. ἔννεπε χαίρειν 103. ἐνέπω κλαίειν μακρά Archestratus (*Ath.* 117 a). χαίρειν προυννέπω Soph. *Trach.* 227. χαίρειν ἐφίεμαι *Ai.* 112. ἄρτι δὲ χαίρειν τοῖσι τεοῖς προθύροις ἐπιτέλλομαι Theocr. xix. 26. αἰέσας χαίρειν Kaibel, *Erig.* 237. χαίρειν κελεύων πολλά *Ag. Ach.* 200. πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας: ἀποταξάμενος Hesych. μακρὰ χαίρειν λέγων Lucian ii. 614, ἐὼν i. 714, φράσαντες ii. 820. ἐρρῶσθαι λέγων Antiphanes 88. ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Dem. 19. 248, Lucian ii. 861. κλαίειν ἄνωγα Eur. *Cycl.* 340, 701. κλαίειν ἀγορεύω Plat. *Com.* 173. οἰμῶζειν παραγγείλαντες Lucian i. 422.

583. θεοῖς... τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα: Soph. fr. 871 νῆ τοὺς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεοῦς.

585. εὐλογεῖν: see on 350.

589. εὐμαθεῖν, 'teachableness,' as δυσμαθεῖν (*Cho.* 224) from δυσμαθής, ὀψιμαθεῖν, φιλομαθεῖν. 'It is never too late to learn.'

591. σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ: *Cho.* 820 πλεῖ τάδ' εὖ· ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος αὐξέεται τόδ'· ἄτα δ' ἀποστατεῖ φίλων.

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. καί τις μ' ἐνίπτων 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. κοιμώντες perhaps means 'extinguishing with wine at the end of the rite.'

609. πύλας ἀνοίξαι. Similarly Eur. *Cycl.* 502 θύραν τίς οἶξει μοι; Eupolis fr. 220 ἦν οὐκ ἀνέωιξα πώποτ' ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ. Ar. *Ecc.* 962, 990. Nicet. Eugen. 4. 245, 268, 6. 528.

614. σημαντήριον. Oppian *Hal.* iii. 361 κτήσιν ἀεὶ κείροντες ἀσημάντοιο δόμοιο—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, *Amphit.* 773, Stob. *Flor.* 6. 33 (so here σημαντήριον includes the seal of chastity).

616 f. ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς belongs to τέρψιν and has no connexion with the intervening words οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν. So Theogn. 461 μὴ ποτ' ἐπ' ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε, μηδὲ μενοῖνα, χρήμασι, τῶν ἀνυσσι γίνεται οὐδεμία. [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. 279<sup>1</sup>).]—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 τοῖοσδ' ὁ κόμπος, 'talīs quidem sui iactatio,' 'a boast like this,' 'that sort of boast,' as though it were τοῖοσδε 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 δηλοῖ τοῦργον οἱ τείνειν χρεῶν. OP. Ἐλένην φορεύειν· μανθάνω τὸ σύμβολον. ΠΥ. ἔγνωσ. Ar. *Ran.* 64 ΔΙ. ἄρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές, ἢ ἔτεροι φράσω; HP. μὴ δῆτ' ἐπεὶ ἐτινοὺς γε· πάντ' γὰρ μανθάνω. And μανθάνεις accordingly means 'you understand,' *rem tenes*, as Lucian i. 564 ΑΓΟ. οὐκοῦν...δῆλον ὅτι μόνος ὁ σπουδαῖος μισθὸν ἐπὶ τῆι ἀρετῆι λήσεται; ΧΡΥΣ. μανθάνεις. This is implied by a participle in *Cho.* 112 ΗΛ. ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ τὰρ' ἐπέξωμαι τάδε; ΧΟ. αὐτῆ σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνουσ' ἤδη φράσαι, i.e. μανθάνεις; and the same is implied here by μανθάνοντί σοι; 'Her speech is thus, as you understand.' The person

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 Conspirator, I conclude that the MS. is right in assigning 618—9 to the Herald. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε is a formula dismissing *her* case, as 941 τοῦμόν μὲν οὕτω, *Eum.* 556, *Theb.* 409, 1003, *Suffr.* 513 ; they jot in *μανθάνοντί 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' εἶπέ, κῆρυξ, is the antithesis to αὕτη μὲν οὕτως, 'now for *your* story further.' λακεῖν is an invidious word ; it means 'to scream' or 'cry aloud without reserve or self-control' (αὔειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα *Theb.* 169, *Suffr.* 884): it is used contemptuously by Clytaemnestra of the bawling news-bringers in 856, and her γυναικίωι νόμωι ὀλολυγμὸν ἔλασκον in 601 is a retort, quoting the contemptuous judgments passed on her supposed impetuous behaviour ; in 1427 περίφρονα ἔλακες is used of her by the Chorus (as κομπάζεις 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 ὡς γυναικί γενναίαι, in which ὡς 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. O. T.* 1118 πιστὸς ὡς νομὲς ἀνὴρ, 'trusty as any, in his shepherd's place,' *O. C.* 20 μακρὰν γὰρ ὡς γέροντι προυστάλης ὁδόν, 'a long way for an old man,' *Ai.* 395 ἔρεβος ᾧ φαεινότατον, ὡς ἐμοί, *Plat. Sophist.* 226 C ταχέϊαν, ὡς ἐμοί, σκέψιν ἐπιτάττεις, 'a rapid process of thought for such as I am,' *Parmen.* 136 D πολὺ ἔργον προστάττεις ὡς τηλίκωιδε, *Dio Chrys.* ii. p. 267 R. δριμὺν < μὲν > καὶ δόλιον ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολὺ δὲ ἀπέχοντα τῆς νῦν κακοηθείας, *Thuc.* v. 43 ἡλικίαι μὲν ἔτι τότε ὦν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, iv. 84 ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, 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, is surprised and unfavourably impressed, thinking that noble ladies do not usually proclaim their fidelity and affection in such terms (cf. *Plut. Mor.* 768 B ἡ δὲ γενναία γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα νόμιμον συγκραθεῖσα δι' Ἔρωτος ἄρκτων ἂν ὑπομείνειε καὶ δρακόντων περιβολὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ψαῦσιν ἀνδρὸς ἀλλοτρίου καὶ συγκατάκλισιν) ; 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 ἀνδρί, σώσαντος θεοῦ, πύλας ἀνοῖξαι (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 γυνή: *El.* 287 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λόγιοισι γενναία γυνή φωνοῦσα τοιάδ’ ἐξονειδίζει κακά· ὦ δύσθεον μίσσημα, σοὶ μόνῃ πατὴρ τέθνηκεν; κτέ. 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 Aegisthus is to Electra τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὁ κλεινός, ὡς λέγουσιν. *Or.* 17 ὁ κλεινός, εἰ δὴ κλεινός, Ἀγαμέμνων.

623. σεσωμένος. [In support of this form Wecklein, *Curae epigr.* p. 60 quotes Photius, p. 507, 22 σέσωται καὶ σεσωμένος οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνευ τοῦ σ...οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι σέσωσμαι, and Suid. *s.v.* σέσωται, and concludes ‘librarios peccauisse addendo σ̄ ex posteriore dicendi consuetudine.’]

631. ἀναχθεὶς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλίου 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. εὐφημον ἡμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλωι γλώσσηι μιαίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν...(653) πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμείξω; 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 ἓν δὲ κραθέντ’ αὐτὸν ἢ χωρὶς φέρεις; She replies χωρὶς· κακῶι γὰρ ἐσθλὸν οὐ συμμείγνυται. See further Paley’s note on *Ion* 246, and compare Plat. *Legg.* 800 B—E, Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 35 τὴν ὁμότητα τῆς τύχης, ὡς οὐκ ἠδέσατο πένθος τοσοῦτον εἰς οἰκίαν ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ θυσιῶν γέμουσαν εἰσάγουσα καὶ καταμιγνύουσα θρήνους καὶ δάκρυα παιᾶσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ θριάμβοις. The words χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν are a brief proverbial expression of familiar doctrine—‘that ceremony is apart from the Gods of Heaven’: see Plat. *Legg.* 828 C ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὄσους αὐθιγῶν θεῶν οὐρανίους ἐπονομαστέον καὶ τὸ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων οὐ ξυμμεικτέον, ἀλλὰ χωριστέον κτέ., *Tim.* 69 D σεβόμενοι μιαίνειν τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἦν ἀνάγκη, χωρὶς ἐκείνου κατοικίζουσιν εἰς ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος οἴκησιν τὸ θνητόν, Plut. *Mor.* 361 B θεοὶ and ἀθάνατοι are often used in discrimination from the χθόνιοι δαίμονες: Apollodor. i. 33 Wagner, Persephone was compelled to remain the third part of the year μετὰ Πλούτωνος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς: frequently by Aeschylus in the *Eumenides*, 109, 352, 363, 414, who have λάχη 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 δαιτυμόνεσσι πρέπει παιᾶνα κατάρχειν Alcman fr. 22; praise and honour are the fitting tributes (πρέπει) to a

conqueror or benefactor, *sup.* 437, 529, Pind. fr. 121, *O.* ii. 50, iii. 9, *P.* v. 43, *N.* iii. 67 βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδῳ πρέπει: praise also is the fitting memorial of the dead, only in their case it takes the form of lamentation—πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων.

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 execration were expelled ἀγῆλάτῳ μάστιγι as Lycophron calls it, v. 436, which would seem to have been the original reading in *Cho.* 288 διώκεσθαι πόλεως | ἀγῆλάτῳ μάστιγι λυμανθέν δέμας where the MS. has χαλκηλάτῳ 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 διπλῆς γὰρ τῆσδε μαράγνης | δοῦπος ἰκνίεται· τῶν μὲν ἄρωγοὶ | κατὰ γῆς ἤδη· τῶν δὲ κρατούντων | χέρεις οὐχ ὄσσαι, where, as in the present passage, the two lashes are the clauses marked by μὲν and δέ. Both passages have been misinterpreted, but would not have been if critics had remembered that when the items signified by Greek words meaning *two* or *double* are specifically named, it was regular to indicate them by the particles μὲν and δέ, or τε and τε, or τε and καί: examples near at hand are v. 337, 826, 872, *Supp.* 1020, *Pers.* 168, *Theb.* 769, *Eur. Andr.* 516. Here, instead of preceding as is usual, the word διπλῆι 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. δίλογχον ἄτην and φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα introduce new metaphors, and δίλογχον no more refers to the μάστιξ than ξυνωρίδα: it is derived from the common practice of carrying a pair of spears.

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

656. πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα. 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 ζάληι τ' ὄμβροκτύπῳ. In descriptions of storms at sea

ὄμβρος, rain, is a constant detail. [Thus Eur. *Tro.* 78 (referring to this particular storm) καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὄμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἄσπετον πέμψει.] Greek ships, we must remember, were undecked and had no bilge-pumps; all the baling must be done by hand.

667 f. ἦτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἔξητήσατο, κτέ. 'We were either spirited away θεῶν κλοπαῖς (Eur. *Or.* 1497) or saved by the intercession of some divinity who begged us off,' ἐξητήσατο, as Apollo, for example, ἐξητήσατο Ἄδμητον from the Fates, schol. Eur. *Alc.* 12. παῦροι δὲ φύγον μόρον οὐς ἐσάωσεν ἢ θεὸς ἢ δαίμων, says Quintus of this, xiv. 627. Gods often save from shipwreck: Apoll. Rhod. iii. 323 θεὸς δέ τις ἄμμ' ἐσάωσεν, 328 Ζητὸς νόος ἠέ τις αἴσα. iv. 930 Thetis steers the Argo between the Shifting Rocks, ἣ δ' ὄπιθεν πτέρυγος θίγει πηδαλίω. Val. Flacc. ii. 48. Ach. Tat. iii. 5 δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς περιέσωσεν ἡμῖν τῆς πρώρας μέρος. Lucian i. 652 sailors narrate τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπιφαινομένους ἢ τιν' ἄλλον ἐκ μηχανῆς θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ καρχησίω καθεζόμενον ἢ πρὸς τοῖς πηδαλίοις ἐστῶτα καὶ πρὸς τινα ἠϊόνα μαλακὴν ἀπευθύνοντα τὴν ναῦν.

670. ἐν ὄρμῳ refers to the danger of a rising swell when the ship is at anchor. Cf. *Sufr.* 774 οὐδ' ἐν ἀγκυρουχίαις θαρσοῦσι ναῶν ποιμένες παραυτίκα, ἄλλως τε καὶ μολόντες ἀλίμενον χθόνα ἐς νύκτ', *sufr.* 203 πνοαὶ δύσορμοι. Such was the position of the Athenians at Pylos: Thuc. iv. 26 τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ὄρμον...οἱ δὲ μετέωροι ὄρμον...ῥᾶιον γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τριήρων ἐλάνθανον, ὅποτε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἶη· ἄπορον γὰρ ἐγίγνετο περιορμεῖν. The correction ἄρμῳ should mean *in comragibus*—in the seams or frame of the ship. But that would be ἐν ἄρμοῖς.

676 ff. καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων: 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.'—πρῶτόν 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 ἔπειτα (e.g. Heliod. i. 15 μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς σχολάσειν τὸν ἔρωτα· εἰ δ' ἐναπομείνειεν,...), πρῶτον being neuter and adverbial: Plut. *Mor.* 574 E μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον..., δεύτερον δέ... Isaeus ii. 20 μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπέισθη, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ... So Iamb. ii. 416. Diog. Laert. ix. 66 διαγωνίζεσθαι δ' ὡς οἶόν τε πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ 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 *μάλιστα μὲν δὴ καὶ πρῶτον...*, ἔτι δέ. Hdt. ii. 59 *μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότητα...*, δεύτερα.... *πρῶτον* might also be masculine, although that is less likely here: Ath. 524 d *μάλιστα δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι*. Plat. *Amat.* 136 D *μή μοι, εἶπον ἐγώ, ἀμφοτέρους λέγε, ἀλλ’ ὁπότερον μᾶλλον τε καὶ πρότερον. οὐδεὶς ἂν, ἔφη, τοῦτό γ’ ἀμφισβητήσειεν, ὡς οὐχὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ πρότερον*. Dio Chrys. i. 180 *πρώτοι καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶι*.—*οὖν* merely adds emphasis to the other particles it is combined with: *O. T.* 834 *ἡμῖν μὲν, ὄναξ, ταῦτ’ ὀκνήρ’· ἕως δ’ ἂν οὖν πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ’ ἐλπίδα, ‘but still have hope.’* δ’ οὖν is a more emphatic δέ. εἰ δ’ οὖν is the same as εἰ δέ, but a little stronger. It introduces the alternative, to which *πρώτον τε καὶ μάλιστα* is opposed.—*μογεῖν*: see cr. n. Tzetz. *Antehom.* 140 *κείνοι γάρ τε μέγα πέλαγος Τύρων περόωντες | ἄστν Τρώϊον ἴδον, ὄλον λυκάβαντα μογεῦντες*.

696. *Ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔραι*: 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 Ἔρως was Ζέφυρος γίγας: Lydus *de mens.* p. 117, *de ostent.* p. 282 *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Τύχηι ἐφόρωι (ἠῦχοντο) Σωφροσύνηι τε καὶ Ἔρωτι, ὃν οἱ μυθικοὶ Ζεφύρου τοῦ γίγαντος εἶναι παῖδα ἀξιοῦσιν, ὡς φησιν Εὐρυντος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὁ μελοποιός· ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως· ‘ἀγλαομειδὲς Ἔρως.’* See Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii. p. 639. [Alcaeus fr. 13 calls Eros *δεινότατον θεῶν <τὸν> γένατ’ εὐπέδιλλος Ἴρις χρυσοκόμαι Ζεφύρωι μιγείσα.*]

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

702 ff. *κῆδος ὀρθώνυμον τελεσιφρων μήνις ἤνυσεν* (that is, *ἔτελεσεν, ἔτελείωσεν, ἐξέπραξεν*): ‘thought-executing Wrath brought the *κῆδος* to fulfilment in the true meaning of the term,’ as *Antig.* 1178 *ὦ μάντι, τοῦπος ὡς ἄρ’ ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας*. Cf. *O. C.* 454 *παλαίφαθ’ ἀμοὶ Φοῖβος ἤνυσέν ποτε, O. T.* 166 *ἠνύσατ’ ἐκτοπίαν φλόγα*, Hom. τ 567 *οἱ ῥ’ ἔτυμα κραίνουσιν, Theb.* 870 *ἀληθῆ...ἐπέκρανεν*. This transformation is the subject of the following passage to v. 717, which describes how the Doom of Ζεὺς ξένιος was at last effected, how Helen *παρακλίνασ’ ἐπέκρανεν γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς*, and how joy was changed to sorrow. *κῆδος* means both ‘relationship by marriage’ and ‘mourning’ (the due office of relations); and there is no single word in English that will cover the two senses. Cf. Eur. *Andr.* 103 *Ἰλίωι αἰπεινᾶι Πάρις οὐ γάμον ἀλλά τιν’ ἄταν ἀγάγετ’ εὐναίαν ἐς θαλάμους Ἐλέαν*. The MS. reading *κῆδος ἤλασε* would mean ‘drove away,’ ‘dispelled,’ as in Orph. *hymn.* 73. 7 *πολύστονα κῆδὲ ἔλασσας*. In Eur. *Heracl.* 788 Reiske substituted *διήνυσεν* for *διήλασεν*.



707 f. τὸ νυμφότιμον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίνοντας: Troy, in the person of the bridegroom's kinsmen (γαμβροί), to whom fell the singing of the wedding-chorus, *honoured* (that is, *celebrated*, as εὐποτμον παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα 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; ὑμέναιος has been changed to θρήνος.—That being an εὐφημος ὕμνος changed to a δύσφημος, it is very likely that ἐκφάτως is a mistake for ἐφάτως meaning ἐφήμως, as δυσφάτωι κλαγγῆι in v. 1150 means δυσφήμωι. 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 ὑμέναιος to the θρήνος was a commonplace: Eur. *Alc.* 922 νῦν δ' ὑμεναίων γόος ἀντίπαλος, Soph. *O. T.* 420 ff. βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς... ὅταν καταίσθῃ τὸν ὑμέναιον, ὃν δόμοις ἄνορμον εἰσέπλευσας, εὐπλοίας τυχών.

712. γεραία, *i.e.* all too late: *inf.* 1425 γνώσῃ διδαχθεῖς ὄψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν. It must be joined with μεταμανθάνουσα (cf. ὄψιμαθής).

718 ff. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος Ἴνιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βούτας ἀνὴρ 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 λέοντος Ἴνιν 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 ἀνὴρ (Eur. *Hec.* 646) or βουκόλος or *pastor*,—which confirms the truth of the corrected reading. As Wecklein has pointed out, without this word we should not know what μηλοφόνουσι (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 μηλοφόνουσι were fatal to βούτας, and had been overlooked. ἀγάλακτα (from ἀγάλαξ) means ὀμογάλακτα, 'foster-brother'; for as yet it is an unweaned suckling, φιλόμαστος.

723. γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον 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. πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις...φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις (see cr. n.) could only mean, as Dr Verrall takes it, the young lion 'got many a thing, when embraced it wooed the hand with radiant visage under stress of appetite'; but as ἐν ἀγκάλαις 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, *φαιδρωπὸν ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνοντα γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις*. Which we take of these two readings matters little, but if we read *σαίνοντα* we must also read *φαιδρωπὸν*—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 *φαιδρόνους* as I shall show on v. 1226. This is clear when we compare the corresponding final lines of the antistrophe, *ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερέυς τις Ἄ|τας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη*.

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, τροφέια*) 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 *πολύθρηνον* for example in vv. 713, 715, and by *ἄτας* following *ἄταις* in v. 736, so, when the comparison is expounded, the conclusion is that Helen proved a *νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς* (748). This recalls the language of Soph. fr. 519 *ἢ δ' ἄρ' ἐν σκότῳ λήθουσα με ἔσταιν Ἐρινύς*. For the words cf. *Pers.* 655 *οὔτε γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλλυ πολυμοφθόρουσιν ἄταις*.

737. *προσεθρέφθη*: see cr. n. In Eur. *Hec.* 600 for *θρεφθῆναι* L. has *τραφῆναι*: 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* = *θεόθεν*, 'by the will of the gods' (*Theb.* 311 *ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν περθομέναν*). So *Theb.* 23 *καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ*, and see the examples quoted in *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 107.

739. *φρόνημα 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 Ἄτη does, whose wrath is elsewhere likened to a storm (v. 810). *A. P.* vii. 668 *οὐδ' εἴ μοι γελώωσα καταστροφέσειε γαλήνη κύματα, ... νηοβάτην μ' ὕψεσθε*. Lucian iii. 197 *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἱκανὴ προκαλέσασθαι καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπισπάσασθαι ἐν γαλήνῃ φανείσα, ἵστε, κὰν μὴ εἶπω· ὅτε εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἠπειρώτης καὶ ἀπειρόπλους τις εἴη, πάντως ἂν ἐθελήσειε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβῆναι καὶ περιπλεῦσαι καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποσπάσαι*. Lucret. ii. 556: wrecks are a warning to mankind

*infidi maris insidias uirisque dolumque  
ut uitare uelint, neuē ullo tempore credant,  
subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti*

and again, v. 1004

*nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti  
subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis,  
improba naucleri ratio cum caeca iacebat.*

Meleager, *A. P.* v. 156 :

ἃ φίλῶς χαροποῖς Ἀσκληπιάς οἶα Γαλήνης  
ὄμμασι συμπείθει πάντας ἔρωτοπλοεῖν.

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 *παρέπεισαν* for the MS. *παρήσαν*):

λευκᾶς καθύπερθε γαλάνας  
εὐπρόσωποί σφας παρέπεισαν ἔρωτες ναΐας  
κλαΐδος χαραξιπόντου δαιμονίαν ἐς ὕβριν,

the result of which is ὄλεθρος or ἄτη.

*γαλήνη* 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* Ar. *Eq.* 646, *γαληνοῦ μειδιάματος* Themist. 282 A, *μειδιᾷ τῆς θαλάσσης γαληνώσης χαριέστερον* Alciphr. iii. 1. Aristotle, *Physiogn.* p. 811 b 37 οἱ κύνες ἐπειδὴν θωπεύωσι, *γαληνές τὸ πρόσωπον ἔχουσι. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἡ τε συννεφῆς ἕξις αὐθάδειαν ἐμφαίνει ἢ τε γαληνὴ κολακείαν, ἢ μέση ἂν τούτων ἕξις εὐαρμόστως ἔχοι.* Philostratus, *Imag.* ii. 1 says of the *ὑμνήτραι* singing before Aphrodite that their gestures prove that they have risen from the sea, *τὸ μειδίημα δ' αὐτῶν γαλήνης ἐστὶν αἶνιγμα.*

740. ἀσκαῖον δ' ἄγαλμα 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, *ἵππους, ἄγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλούτου χλιδῆς*, '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 *ἵπποις καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἀγάλλεται*, 'all the pride and pomp of war,' and in Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 791 Ajax, for his strength and beauty, is called *ἄγαλμα πολέμου*. In Thuc. ii. 44 Pericles asks the Athenians to regard their houses and their lands as *κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου*, the mere pleasance

for wealth to display its graces in. ἀγλαΐσμα is used in the same way: Achill. Tat. ii. 1 of the rose, γῆς ἔστι κόσμος, φυτῶν ἀγλαΐσμα, ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθέων. Heliod. iii. 6 εἶδες τὸ ἀγλαΐσμα ἐμόν τε καὶ Δελφῶν, Χαρικλείαν. ἀκασκαῖον, 'gentle,' expresses 'languid, delicate': Hesych. ἀκασκα· ἡσύχως, μαλακῶς, βραδέως. Cratinus ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 371, 1 σκήπτροισιν 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 ἐφίσταται δέ μοι γυνὴ φοβερὰ καὶ μεγάλη, τὸ πρόσωπον ἀγρία, ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν αἵματι, βλοσυραὶ παρειαί, ὄφεις αἱ κόμαι· ἄρπην ἐκράτει τῇ δεξιᾷ, δαίδα τῇ λαίᾳ. i. 4 τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐπὶ ταύρω γεγραμμένην Σελήνην· ὄμμα γοργὸν ἐν ἡδονῇ· κόμη ξανθή, τὸ ξανθὸν οὐλον· ὄφρῦς μέλαινα, τὸ μέλαν ἄκρατον· λευκὴ παρεία, τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφοινίσσεται καὶ ἐμμεῖτο πορφύραν, οἷαν εἰς τὸν ἐλέφαντα Λυδία βάπτει γυνή· τὸ στόμα ῥόδων αἶθος ἦν, ὅταν ἄρχηται τὸ ῥόδον ἀνοίγει τῶν φύλλων τὰ χεῖλη. ὡς δ' εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῶι τραύματι. viii. 12 παρθένος ἦν εὐειδής, ὄνομα Ῥοδῶπις, κυνηγίων ἐρῶσα καὶ θήρας· πόδες ταχεῖς, εὐστοχοὶ χεῖρες, ζώνη καὶ μίτρα καὶ ἀνεζωσμένοις εἰς γόνυ χιτῶν, καὶ κατ' ἀνδρας κουρὰ τριχῶν. Antiphanes *Ant. fr.* 33 (ii. 23 K.) A. ὦ τάν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτοσί | ὁ γέρων; B. ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός· | λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιὸς χιτωνίσκος καλός, | πιλίδιον ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμὸς βακτηρία, | βεβαία τράπεζα—τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως | αὐτὴν ὄρᾶν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν δοκῶ. Ter. *Phorm.* 104 *uidemus: uirgo pulchra: et quo magis diceres, | nil aderat adiumenti ad pulchritudinem: | capillus passus, nudus pes, ipsa horrida, | lacrumae, uestitus turpis.* Aesch. *Theb.* 611 φέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἠβῶσαν φύει, | ποδῶκες ὄμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται. Eur. *Supp.* 867 φίλοις τ' ἀληθῆς ἦν φίλος παροῦσί τε | καὶ μὴ παροῦσιν· ὦν ἀριθμὸς οὐ πολὺς· | ἀψευδὲς ἦθος, εὐπροσηγορον στόμα, | ἄκρατον οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐς οἰκέτας ἔχων | οὐτ' ἐς πολίτας. *ib.* 904 οὐκ ἐν λόγοις ἦν λαμπρὸς ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσπίδι | δεινὸς σοφιστῆς πολλὰ τ' ἐξενρῶν σοφά, | γνώμη δ' ἀδελφοῦ Μελεάγρου λελειμμένος | ἴσον παρέσχεν ὄνομα διὰ τέχνης δορός, | εὐρῶν ἀκριβῆ μουσικὴν ἐν ἀσπίδι· | φιλότιμον ἦθος πλούσιον, φρόνημα δὲ | ἐν τοῖσιν ἔργοις, οὐχὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἔχων. Verg. *Aen.* xi. 338 *largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello | dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor, | seditione potens.* So in Aesch.

*Suppl.* 577 βοτὸν ἐσορῶντες δυσχερὲς μειζόμβροτον, | τὰ μὲν βοός, τὰ δ' αὖ γυναικός, he might have said τὰ μὲν βοῦν, τὰ δὲ γυναῖκα οἱ τὰ μὲν βοὸς ἔχουσαν, τὰ δὲ γυναικός, but it was as easy and more elegant to introduce τὰ μὲν βοός without construction. The earliest example is Semonid. Amorg. 7. 71 τὴν δ' ἐκ πιθήκων· τοῦτο δὲ διακριδὸν | Ζεὺς ἀνδράσιν μέγιστον ὤπασεν κακόν. | αἴσχιστα μὲν πρόσωπα· τοιαύτη γυνή | εἶσιν δι' ἄστεος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γέλως· | ἐπ' αὐχένα βραχεῖα, κινεῖται μόγῃς, | ἄπυγος, αὐτόκωλος. In this passage the word κινεῖται enables me to see that the Physiognomic writers were the source from which this manner of description was derived.

748. νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς. So in describing Hecuba's dream of the birth of Paris, Pind. fr. *Paeon.* viii. 30 (*Ox. Pap.* v. p. 65) ἔδοξε δὲ τεκεῖν πυρφόρον Ἐρινύν. According to Stasinus, the author of the *Cypria*, Helen was the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis: Athen. viii. 334 c d, Eratosth. *Catast.* 25.

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.

751. ἐν κακοῖς. There are two forms of the proverb. Solon fr. 7 has τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἐπηται ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι, but in Theogn. 153 the lines are altered to τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶι ὄλβος ἐπηται ἀνθρώπωι, καὶ ὅτωι μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι.

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

771 f. δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλοῦτου παράσημον αἰνω. 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 πλοῦτου μεγάλην δύνασιν ἃ καὶ τὸν ἀχρεῖον τίθησι χρηστόν—τί μακρὰν γλῶσσαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ; 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 παντοῖοι ἔρωτες 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 ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς, 788 δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας, 796 οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως and 799 τὸν ἀκαίρως οἰκουροῦντα. 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 ἂν σ' ἐπαινέσαιμι μὴ λίαν λόγοις, μηδ' ἐνδεῶς τοῦδ' ἀπολέσαιμι τὴν χάριν;—καιρὸν 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 μυρίαὶ καὶ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν συνόντων καὶ μῖσος καὶ κολακεία, φίλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀληθής, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δέος ἅπαντες ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα εἶναι δοκοῦντες εἶναι.

782. δῆγμα...λύπης, pang of grief, resembles 742 δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος, 1472 καρδιόδηκτον, Soph. fr. 757 ἔρωτος δῆγμα. The metaphorical use of δάκνω, as applied to *rain*, *grief*, *annoyance* and the like, is very common: see the examples collected in *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 102. δάκνω, δῆγμα are merely equivalent to λυπῶ, λύπη, the words regularly given as their synonyms in lexicons and scholia. δῆγμα λύπης is a periphrasis for λύπη just as δῆγμα ἔρωτος (quoted above) is a periphrasis for ἔρος. The same MS. error (see cr. n.) is found in Lucian i. 24 οὔτε κίνησις ὁμοία πρόσεστιν οὔτε ψυχῆς δείγμα τι, ἀλλὰ τέρψις ἄλλως καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα, where Cobet (*V. L.* p. 142) shows that δῆγμα is to be read.

784 ff. Two things indicate that at least a line—probably a paroemiac—is missing, the metrical hiatus between βιαζόμενοι and ὄστις, and the sense; for ξυγχαίρουσιν, 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 προσιόντες οὖν ἐδεξιούνητο καὶ θαυμάζουσιν ἐώκεισαν (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 ταῦτ' ἐμεδίωσεν ὀλίγον καὶ

βεβιασμένον καὶ μόνοις τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐπιτρέχον. Hom. O 101 ἡ δὲ γέλασεν χείλεσιν, οὐ δὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὄφρυνσι κυανέησιν ἰάνθη. Lucian iii. 153 προσίεται μὲν καὶ προσμειδιᾷ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἄκροις, μισεῖ δὲ καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ὀδόντας διαπρίει. Plaut. *Capt.* 484 *nemo ridet. sciui extemplo rem de confecto geri. ne canem quidem inritatam uoluit quisquam imitariet, saltem, si non adriderent, dentis ut restringerent.* Fronto, p. 243 Naber ὁ τοι γέλωσ, οὕτως τὸ πρὶν ἄδολος εἶναι πεφυκὼς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας τῶν γελώντων ἐπιδεικνύειν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακομηχανίας καὶ ἐνέδρας ὡς καὶ τὰ χεῖλη κρύπτειν τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλήσ προσγελώντων. Schol. Plat. *Rep.* 337 A, p. 926 μήποτε οὖν τὸ Ὀμηρικόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἴσως ἐρρήη, 'μείδησε δὲ θυμῷ σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον' τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν χειλῶν γέλωτα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σεσηρέναι γιγνόμενον σημαίνει.—προβατογνώμων: he uses ἵππογνώμων in the same connexion in fr. 243:

νέας γυναικὸς οὐ με μὴ λάθῃ φλέγων  
ὄφθαλμὸς ἤτις ἀνδρὸς ἤι γεγευμένη·  
ἔχων δὲ τούτων θυμὸν ἵππογνώμονα...

which, as I learn from Burton, is the regular metaphor in Arabic; *firâsah*, 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.—ὕδαρῆ, 'watery,' is the opposite of ἀκράτῳ, 'neat' or 'undiluted' as applied to wine and metaphorically 'absolute,' 'unmitigated.' Ar. *Pol.* ii. 4, p. 1262 b 614 ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν φιλιάν ἀναγκαῖον ὑδαρῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν τοιαύτην (*i.e.* of women and children), καὶ ἤκιστα λέγειν τὸν ἐμὸν ἢ υἱὸν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα υἱόν. For the description of the false friend cf. Max. *Tyr.* vi. 7 τὸ δὲ εἶδωλον αὐτοῦ πρόχειρον καὶ παντοδαπὸν, κολάκων ἔσμοι καὶ θίασοι, σεσηρότων καὶ σαινότων, καὶ ἐπ' ἄκραι τῇ γλώττῃ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐχόντων· οὐχ ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἀγομένων κτέ.

791. οὐκ ἐπικέσω: see cr. n. γὰρ may have been inserted merely for sense: see *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 121.

794 f. θάρσος ἐκούσιον ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων, 'in seeking to recover a consenting wanton by means of the lives of men.' κομίζειν is used of the quest for Helen by Pind. *O.* xiii. 59 τοὶ μὲν γένει φίλῳ σὺν Ἀτρείος Ἐλέναν κομίζοντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν εἴργοντες, and *N.* vii. 28 ξανθῷ Μενέλαι δάμαρτα κομίσαι and in the *Tebtuinis Papyri*, vol. i., p. 3 (fr. 1, 1) ὃ φανεῖς χάρμα μοι φίλον ὅτε μ' ἠγάπας ὅτε δόρατι πολεμῶν τὰν Φρυγῶν πόλιν ἐπόρθεις μόνα τὰμὰ κομίσαι θέλων λέχεια πάλιν εἰς πάτραν.—θάρσος ἐκούσιον 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 (γυνή) οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος (ἔστι)*, Eur. *Andr.* 261 *ὦ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος*, and many other neuter words like *στύγος*, *μῖσος*, *ἔλεγχος*, *ὄνειδος*, *μίασμα*, *ἄλημα*, *παιπάλημα*, *παροψώνημα* (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 *Ἑλένη ἐκοῦσα ἀπῆρε* (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, *δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο*.

796 f. If *ἀφίλως* is sound, a supplement such as *ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν* 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 E *ταύταις μόναίς τὸ 'καλῶς' ἐπιλέγεσθαι*. Arist. 1323 b 11 *εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ 'καλόν' ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 'χρήσιμον.'* Philem. 128 *καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγειν*. *Theb.* 906 *πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίοισιν ὡς...* *sup.* 379.—*εὐφρων* means *pleasant, agreeable, welcome*, = *σαίνει, προσγελαῖ, arridet*: as in 1577, *Supp.* 19, 383, 543, 983, Pind. *O.* ii. 40, *N.* vii. 67. For the sentiment see Cope on Ar. *Rhet.* i. 11. 8.

800. *οἰκουρῶντα*. If nothing else had told Agamemnon that the Chorus are alluding to Clytaemnestra, this word could not fail to tell him. *οἰκουρεῖν, to keep house*, was the duty of the faithful housewife. Eur. *Hec.* 1277 *κτενέμιν νιν ἢ τοῦδ' ἄλοχος, οἰκουρὸς πικρά*. Or. 928 *εἰ τάνδον οἰκουρήμαθ' οἱ λελειμμένοι φθείρουσιν, ἀνδρῶν εὐνιδας λωβώμενοι*. Lycophr. 1107 *λυπρὰν λαΐνης εἰσιδοῦσ' οἰκουρίαν*. Liban. iv. 115: Agamemnon on departing for the Trojan expedition is supposed to have charged his wife in these terms:—*ὁ μὲν πλοῦς, ὦ γυναῖ, μακρὸς, αἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐλπίδες ἄδηλοι. δεῖ γὰρ, ἦν δέμη, πάντα παθεῖν ὅπως σωφρονῶσιν ἡμῖν αἱ γυναῖκες. ταυτί σοι παρακατατίθεμαι τὰ παιδία. οἰκοῖρει, καὶ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκίας ἔσο πιστὴ καὶ μῆνον ἀπόντι πάλιν γυνὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μήτηρ, καὶ πατὴρ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ. ἴσως ἐπανήξω καὶ ἐπαιέσομαί σε τῆς οἰκουρίας*.



802. τοὺς ἔμοι μεταιτίους recalls the arrogant inscriptions set up by Pausanias at Delphi and Byzantium: Thuc. i. 132, Athen. 536 a.

806. αἱματηρὸν τεύχος: an urn of blood, like μελιτηρὸν ἄγγος—a honey pot (Ar. fr. 440): κεράμιον ὀξυρὸν—a vinegar jar (ib. 511).

807 f. τῶι δ' ἐναντίωι κύτει ἐλπίς προσήμει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένωι. The other urn saw Hope of the hand which was to drop a vote in it continually coming nigh, but never saw it quite arrive: for when a hope arrived, it was a hope realised: Eur. Or. 859 οἶμοι· προσῆλθεν ἐλπίς ἦν φοβουμένη...Herc. Fur. 771 δοκημάτων ἐκτὸς ἦλθεν ἐλπίς. Hopes far from realisation were called μακρὰι ἐλπίδες, distant hopes; when realised, or nearly, they were ἐλπίδες παροῦσαι: Cho. 694 νῦν δ' ἤπερ ἦν δόμοισι βακχείας κακῆς ἱατρὸς ἐλπίς, ἦν παροῦσαν ἐγγράφειν.

809. καπνῶι δ' ἀλοῦσα κτέ.: 'the capture of the city now remains still manifest by the smoke.' Dio Chrys. i. p. 72 R. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο δρᾶι, Menander fr. 113 (iii. 34 K.) καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀποίητα πάμπολλ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν.

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 Ἄττη (inf. 1434, Theb. 938 ἔστακε δ' Ἄττας τροπαῖον ἐν πύλαις). Helen, who fired Troy (Achill. Tat. i. 8 τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίας ἄλλο πῦρ), has been already likened to a sacrificial minister of Ἄττη in v. 736. ζῆν, which appears in ζωπυρεῖν, is a proper word of fire in Greek as uiuere and uiuus are in Latin: Eur. Bacch. 8, Ar. Lys. 306, ἄνθρακι ζῶντι Arat. 1041. 'The wind fans the flame into life, which is contrasted with the dying ash: Quint. iii. 712 ff. Cf. Hom. μ 68 πυρός τ' ὄλοοιο θύελλαι.

812. πολύμνηστον χάριν. Max. Tyr. 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. τῶι πεπαμένωι is the Aeschylean substitute where poetry would generally give τῶι κεκτημένωι, prose τῶι ἔχοντι.

829 ff. By the vague δοκοῦντας, '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, continues with μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, just as they had continued with σὺ δέ μοι in v. 790.—ὀμιλίας κάτοπτρον here means the mirror which ὀμιλία, consuetudo, converse or conversation, association, companionship, familiarity, holds up, the glass in which the associate's true character is shown: κατόπτρωι μὲν ἐμφανίζεται τύπος τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ σώματος, ὀμιλίαις δὲ καὶ λόγοις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος χαρακτηρίζεται Stobaeus, Flor. iv. p. 430, Gaisford. ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐσόπτροις ὁ τῆς ὄψεως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρακτήρ βλέπεται is the form in Antonius and Maximus. Eur.

*El.* 383 οὐ μὴ ἀφρονήσῃθ', οὐ κενῶν δοξασμάτων | πλήρεις πλανᾶσθε, τῆι δ' ὀμιλίαι βροτοὺς | κρινεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἠθεσιν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς; *Antr.* 683 ἢ δ' ὀμιλία | πάντων βροτοῖσι γίγνεται διδάσκαλος. *Aesch. Supp.* 1004 ἀγνώθ' ὀμιλον ὡς ἐλέγχεσθαι χρόνῳ. In *Plut. Mor.* 53 A the flatterer is compared to a mirror, which only reflects foreign images:—*δίκην κατόπτρον, παθῶν ὀθνείων καὶ βίων καὶ κινήματων εἰκόνας ἀναδεχόμενον.* But that is a different comparison. It is certain that ὀμιλία does not mean *friendship* (φιλία), nor is *κάτοπτρον* ever used of a mere reflexion (σκιά or εἶδωλον). See fr. 393 *κάτοπτρον εἶδους χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ,* *Eur. Hēr.* 428 *κακούς δὲ θνητῶν ἐξέφην', ὅταν τύχηι, προθεῖς κάτοπτρον ὥστε παρθένῳ νέαι χρόνος.*

835. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς θεούς. This use of τὰ πρὸς, 'with regard to,' is not of the commonest and occurs chiefly with θεούς and πόλιν: *Soph. Phil.* 1441 *εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεούς,* *O. C.* 617 *τὰ πρὸς σέ, Trach.* 879 *σχετλίωι τὰ πρὸς γε πρᾶξιν* (Hermann), *Eur. Or.* 427 *τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δὲ πῶς ἔχεις;* 1664 *τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δὲ τῶιδ' 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.* 765 *τὸ πῆμα τοῦτο τῆς νόσου τὸ νῦν παρόν,* *Ai.* 363 *τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἄτης,* *Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 4 *ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον.*

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 *ἀραῖα κακά* (v. 1396) inflicted by Agamemnon on his wife at home, the slaughter of her child (*τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων* 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: *δικτύου πολυτρήτου* *Babr.* iv. 4.

860. *εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς*.... 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 τεθναίνει* in the common phrase: *Eur. Or.* 1512 *OP.* *ἐνδίκως ἢ Τυνδάρειος ἄρα παῖς διώλετο;* | *ΦΡ.* *ἐνδικώτατ', εἴ γε λαιμοὺς εἶχε τριπτύχους θανεῖν* like some three-headed monster.

The 'coverlet' of earth or stones was a familiar metaphor from

Homer downwards: Γ 57 ἢ τέ κεν ἤδη λάινον ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔιεν ὅσσα ἔοργας. See the passages collected by Blomfield.

868. ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι. 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 πεπραμένοι γὰρ νῦν γε πως ἀλώμεθα πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης, ἀνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο Αἴγισθον, *ib.* 914.

872 ff. Στροφίος is so accented by M in *Cho.* 675. [Blass (*Choeph.* p. 24) says: 'Ferner accentuire ich mit M v. 679 Στροφίος gemäss der Regel wonach diese Namen auf -ιος bei kurzer erster Silbe Paroxytona sind: Ἐχίος Στρατίος und doch Φήμιος.' See also Cobet's remarks to the same effect in *V. L.* p. 59.]

ἀμφιλεκτα πῆματα. 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 *Tyrannicide* ii. 151, who has killed the tyrant's son, argues that τὸ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον οὐ φυγή, οὐδὲ δευτέρας ἐπαναστάσεως ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ παιτελῆς καθαίρεσις, καὶ παρωλεθρία παντὸς τοῦ γένους, καὶ ριζόθεν τὸ δεινὸν ἅπαν ἐκκεκομμένον.—For βουλήν καταρράψειεν cf. Alexis ii. 329 K. (Athen. 568 a) ράπτουσι δὲ | πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλὰς. Ael. *N. A.* vii. 10 ἐπιβουλὰς ράπτοντες (v.l. ρίπτοντες), *Eum.* 26 καταρράψας μόρον, *inf.* 1604 φόνου ραφεύς. Similarly ράπτειν is combined with κακά, φόνον, θάνατον: add the compounds δολορράφος, μηχανορράφος, δικορράφος. βουλήν καταρρίψειεν could not mean 'hazard a plot,' because Greek said ἀναρρίπτειν, or ἀναβάλλειν, κύβον βόλον or κίνδυνον, never καταρρίπτειν. If, on the other hand, the meaning were 'overthrow the Council,' we should at least have had τὴν βουλήν, 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 ἔτ' ἐν κοίταισιν ἀθρήσω  
ἄγρυπνον, λύχνῳ πόλλ' ἀποδοαμένην †  
(ἀποδυρομένην Jacobs, ἀποκλαομένην Huschke)

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 Λαῖς τις ἢ Γναθαίμιον ἐφέσπερον δαίουσα λαμπτήρων σέλας ἐκδεχομένη. 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, *Anth. 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, κὰν μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, πρὸς ἄψυχα περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγονται, 'ὦ φιλάτῃ κλίνῃ,' καὶ 'Βακχὶς θεὸν σ' ἐνόμισεν, εὐδαιμον λύχνε,' a saying Asclepiades alludes to in *A. P.* v. 7 λύχνε, σὺ δ', εἰ θεὸς εἶ, τὴν δολίην ἀπάμμνον. 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 ἀμφὶ σοί, which for that reason I have thought should be a little stressed.

In the ears of the audience the words τοῦ ξυνείδοντος would suggest another bed-fellow than the time she speaks of. For βλάβας (or βλάβην) ἔχειν, *to suffer injury*, see *Eum.* 802 ὡς ταῦτ' Ὀρέστην δρῶντα μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν, *Soph. Ai.* 1325 τί γάρ σ' ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ βλάβην ἔχειν; *schol. Eur. Or.* 542 on μὴ πισήμους· φανερὰς βλάβας ἔλαβε, *schol. Flor.* on *Ag.* 72 βλάβην ἔχοντες ἀπὸ (l. for ἀντι) τοῦ γήρως.

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 γαίαν for καὶ γῆν, while others take the καὶ to begin a new series of comparisons. Yet καὶ γῆν I am sure is sound, for μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ (παρ' ἐλπίδα φανέν) καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναντίλοις 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: τὰ παρ' εὐκλείῃ Δίρκαί χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν ἀλλ' ὅτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ ποθεινὸς ἴκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἤδη. Liban. iv. 651. 10 πόσους ἐπιδείξω σοι τῶν πολιτῶν γυναῖκας μὲν αὐτῶν ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν πατέρας δ' οὐ κεκλημένους, ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἔσχατον ἤδη γήρως ἦκοντας καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πράγματος προσαφηρημένους; ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν σοι ταῦτα πείθωμαι γύναιον δὲ ἔνδον ἢ παῖδες δὲ μηδαμῇ φαίνονται,...*Hom. h. Dem.* 219 παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψίγονον καὶ ἄελπτον ὄπασαν ἀθάνατοι.

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.*):

κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,  
 ὀδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος,  
 τερπνὸν δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.

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 δικαιοτάτον, λῶιστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν, πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον τοῦ τις ἐραῖ τὸ τυχεῖν, Soph. fr. 329 κάλλιστόν ἐστι τοῦνδικον πεφυκέναι, λῶιστον δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἄνοσον, ἡδιστον δ' ὅτῳ πάρεστι λῆψις ὧν ἐραῖ καθ' ἡμέραν, *A. P.* v. 169 ἡδὺν θέρους διψῶντι χιῶν ποτόν, ἡδὺν δὲ ναύταις ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν στέφανον· ἡδιστον δ' ὁπόταν κρύψηι μία τοὺς φιλέοντας χλαῖνα καὶ αἰνῆται Κύπρις ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων,—this epigram repeating the same commonplace. I need only add Eur. *Andr.* 870 ὦ ναυτίλοισι χείματος λιμὴν φανείς and *Or.* 719 ἡδέϊαν ὄψιν· πιστὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἀνὴρ κρείσσων γαλήνης ναυτίλοισιν εἰσορᾶν to show that κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος would be little more than tautology with γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις. Besides, τοιοῖσδέ τοι νιν ἀξίῳ προσφθέγμασιν should follow the προσφθέγματα immediately.

904. See cr. n. An alternative reading is σὺν θεοῖσιν, ἄρμενα.

905 ff. Agamemnon answers coldly, and δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ 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.

914. κάλλειν: a technical term of worship. Cf. Eupol. fr. 333 (i. 346 K.) βάπτειν τὰ κάλλη τὰ περίσεμνα τῇ θεῶι.

917. This line was explained by Blass *Mélanges Henri Weil*, 1898, p. 13: to walk merely over ποδόψηστρα would be ἀνεπίφθονον; but it would have a very different sound if rumour said that he had walked upon τὰ ποικίλα, which belong to the service of the gods. Cf. Damascius ap. Suid. s.v. χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν...χωρὶς γὰρ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ὀρίσματα, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν. So χωρὶς is predicative, followed by τε καί, in Soph. *O. C.* 808, Plat. *Prot.* 336 B.

918 f. τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον: Eur. *Med.* 635 στέργοι δέ με σωφροσύνα, δῶρημα κάλλιστον θεῶν. In the allusion to *felicity* (ὀλβίσιαι) which follows there appears to be a side-reference to the proverbial *Theb.* 612 θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς, *Chō.* 57 τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ 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 δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς συναπέρχεται τὰ ἄριστα πράξας, οὗτος εὐδαιμονέστατα τελευτᾷ.

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 ὡς so used in Tragedy. Cf. *Supp.* 403 εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρίν, οὐκ ἄνευ δήμον τάδε πράξαιμ' ἄν. *Cho.* 684 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας εἶπον. *Eum.* 641 τὴν δ' αὖ τοιαύτην εἶπον.

922. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπέ...έμοί is the preface to a question: Hdt. vii. 47, Ar. *Nub.* 500, 748, *Thesm.* 740, *Plut.* 902, Plat. *Cratyl.* 385 B, *Rep.* 351 D, Lucian i. 297. Everyday language would say καὶ μὴν τόδε μοι εἶπέ. Tragic style habitually uses ἐγώ, σύ superfluously: if emphasis were desired it would have been secured by the position of the word, καὶ μὴν ἐμοί τόδ' εἶπέ. Nevertheless in the use of ἐγώ, ἐμοί, ἐμέ 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' εἶπέ μοι, μὴ μῆκος ἀλλὰ συντόμως, ἤδησθα...; *Trach.* 1117, Eur. *Med.* 768 μὴ πρὸς ἡδονήν, *sup.* 515, 897, *Theb.* 266 μὴ φιλοστόνωσ. Ar. fr. 473 καὶ κρίνον αὐτὴ μὴ μετ' ὄξυρεγμίας. Plat. *Com.* 86 (Ath. 110 d) καίτ' ἄρτους...ἦκε πριάμενος, μὴ τῶν καθαρύλλων (where μὴ shows ἦκε 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 τῷ προτέρῳ χρόνῳ...εἶπον παρὰ γνώμην οὔτε νῦν, iii. 42 οὔτω γὰρ ἦκιστα ἂν παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι. *Plut. Mor.* 986 B ἐγὼ δ' ἐκστήσομαι ὑμῖν, μὴ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί δοκῆι χαριζόμενος διαλέγεσθαι 'against his conviction, to please me.' *Dem.* 1451. 16 τὸ χαρίζεσθαι τι παρὰ γνώμην ὀρροῦσεν τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι βέλτιστα παραινεῖν. *Plut. Phoc.* 9 ἐμὲ...λέγειν ἂ μὴ δεῖ παρὰ γνώμην οὐκ ἀναγκάσετε. *Tib. Gracch.* 2 ὥστε καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκφερόμενον ὑπ' ὀργῆς...βλασφημεῖν. *Philop.* 6 ὡς παρὰ γνώμην βιασθεῖεν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν. So παρὰ δόξαν οἱ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἰπεῖν: Plat. *Laches* 178 B οὐκ ἂν εἶποιεν ἂ νοοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ...ἀλλὰ λέγουσι παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν. *Rep.* 346 A ἐπεὶ τοσόνδε εἶπέ· οὐχὶ φαμέν...; καὶ ὦ μακάριε μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἀποκρίνον. *Gorg.* 500 B μηδὲ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀποκρίνον. 495 A εἴπερ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐρεῖς. In Eur. *Med.* 577 ὅμως δ' ἐμοίγε, κεῖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρῶ, δοκεῖς προδοῦς σὴν ἄλοχον οὐ δίκαια δρᾶν the meaning is 'unadvisedly,' as in Thuc. i. 70 παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί, Soph. *Trach.* 389 οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης λέγεις. Liban. i. 291 προήκατο ῥῆμα παρὰ γνώμην, κελεύοντος τοῦ θυμοῦ, i.e. ὀργῆι βιασθέν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη φρενῶν Soph. *O. T.* 524, 'more upon humour than advised respect.' *Philoct.* 1191 XO. τί ῥέξοντες ἀλλοκότῳ γνώμῃ τῶν πάρος, ὧν προῦφαινες; Pl. οὔτοι νεμεσητὸν ἀλύοντα χειμερίῳ λύπῃ καὶ παρὰ νοῦν θροεῖν. 'Contrary to my opinion' would be παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν, as Eur. *I. A.* 502 ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν ὑπέθηκας ὀρθῶς τοὺς λόγους, where the sense is 'expectation,' as in Aesch. *Supp.* 463 γένοιτο δ' εὖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν, Eur. *H. F.* 594 μὴ παρὰ γνώμην πέσης.

924. ἔρξεν: see cr. n. εὐχομαι in the sense 'I vow that I will' always takes the future. Greek never said ἠϋξω ἔρδειν ἄν for 'you vowed that you would,' and ἠϋξω ἔρδειν could only mean 'you vowed that you were performing.'—ἔρδειν was probably the alteration of a scribe who thought that ἄν and ἔρξεν belonged together. The editors strangely imagine that ὦδ' ἔρδειν τάδε means 'to refrain from treading on dyed robes'; having forgotten that when you made a vow to the gods you did not say οὐ θύσω, 'save me, and I will—not sacrifice!' Vows were made in times of fear or danger (Plat. *Legg.* 909 E, *Auth. 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 ἠϋξάμην, '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, εὖ εἰδὼς μαντευόμενος Hom. β 170: cf. Z 438) had prescribed (πιφαιύσκων εἶπε or ἐξηγήσατο) this holy service' (τόδε τέλος, which now has a proper sense).—ἐξεἶπον of the MSS. is the alteration of a scribe who mistook the construction of εἶπερ τις.—If εἶπερ τις had really meant 'if anyone ever did,' we should have had no γε with εἰδὼς εὖ: yet γε must be genuine, for it was never inserted by scribes except *metri gratia*: εἶπερ ...γε is *siquidem*; in answer to a question, 'yes; that is, if...' (*O. T.* 369).

933. ἦ καὶ σὺ is *tu quoque*, and could not mean anything else.

934. See cr. n. and cf. Soph. *Ai.* 1353 κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φίλων 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 (ἐκῶν).

935. ὑπαί τις...λύου: Hom. ξ 496 ἀλλά τις εἶη εἰπεῖν Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι.

938. πρόσωθεν marks the connexion with θεῶν: *Eum.* 297 κλύει δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὦν θεός, *ib.* 400 πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα, *Cho.* 690, Blomf. on *P. V.* 320.

939 f. πολλή γὰρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς: 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. ὠλεσίοικος and ἀπωλεσίοικος were used humorously in the same sense.

941. τοῦμόν μὲν οὕτω: so Max. *Tyr.* xxii. 3 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ταύτῃ ἔχει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ περὶ ὑμᾶς κτέ. Lucian ii. 729 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰκανῶς· τὰ Πυθαγόρου δὲ ἤδη λέγε, ii. 872. Either τούτων μὲν ἄλλῃς or ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω would be Greek, but not τούτων μὲν οὕτω (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 πάντες (or οὐδείς)...αὕτη δέ is extremely common. The predicate comes first in Greek, and the stress here is on πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαιρετον 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 ἔστιν θάλασσα not 'there is a sea,' but 'the sea is in existence': cf. Ach. Tat. vii. 9 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα γέγονεν οὕτως, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, μαθεῖν δ' ὑμῖν ἐξέσται· ἔχετε τὸν δεδεμένον· εἰσὶν αἱ θεράπαιαι· ἔστιν ὁ Σωσθένης. Alexis 15. 14 ὁ ταριχοπώλης ἐστίν· ἐλθὼν πυνθάνου (you can go and ask him whether I didn't pay him as much). Acts 19. 38 ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν· ἐγκαλείψωσαν ἀλλήλοις. Soph. O. C. 506 ἔστ' ἔπαικος ὃς φράσει.—οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει κτέ. 'The house affords us store of these.' Cf. Theocr. 22. 222 λιγεῶν μειλίγματα Μουσέων, οἷ' αὐτὰ παρέχουσι καὶ ὡς ἐμὸς οἶκος ὑπάρχει, Eur. El. 359 ξενίων κυρήσεθ', οἷ' ἐμὸς κεύθει δόμος, *ib.* 870 φέρ' οἶα δὴ ἔχω καὶ δόμοι κεύθουσί μου κόμης ἀγάλματ' ἐξενέγκωμαι. If any alteration is to be made, I think it should be οἶκοι, giving the construction ὑπάρχει (ἡμῖν) ἔχει τῶνδε: in that case cf. *Rhes.* 170 ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐν οἴκοις· οὐ βίον σπανίζομεν, 178 καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον· ἔστι χρυσὸς ἐν δόμοις. Alexis 127 A. λάβ' ἐλθὼν σήσιμα. B. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἔνδον. Ar. *Pac.* 522 πόθεν ἂν λάβοιμι...; οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οἴκοθεν.

954 ff. Perhaps the thought in her mind is 'If you sacrificed Iphigeneia to recover Helen (κομίζεις 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<sup>1</sup>, speaking of a friend,

Sunshine he in wintry season;  
When the dog-star burned, a shadow.

<sup>1</sup> 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!' ὄμφαξ was used in that sense, πικρός often means 'bitter' in resentment, and Cassandra in v. 1229 foresees οἶα τεύξεται, the deed that Clytaemnestra's workmanship designs for execution. The γε in ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς γε gives a meaning intonation to the sentence. Then echoing ἀνδρὸς τελείου—'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 μολόν: see cr. n. 'Warmth...signifies its coming' is the literal rendering: see v. 305.

967 f. δέμα προστατήριον καρδίας ποτᾶται is a metaphor from wind, such as is often employed in poetry to describe emotions of the spirit: *Sup.* 229 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν, *Theb.* 692 ἐπεὶ δαίμων λήματος αὖ τροπαίαι χρονίαι μεταλλακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θεμερωτέρωι πνεύματι· νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ. προστατήριον καρδίας is 'set stubbornly before my consciousness,' like πάροιθεν δὲ πρώρας δριμύς ἄηται κραδίας θυμός in *Cho.* 390, where the preceding words τί γὰρ κεύθω φρέν' ὃ σείον ἔμπας ποτᾶται; illustrate ποτᾶται here. The allusion is to the phrases technically used of wind; στάσις, properly its setting in a certain quarter, ιστάμενος, εὐσταθής, ἀντιοστατεῖν: so οὐριοστάταν νόμον in *Cho.* 817 is an allusion to the οὔρος ὕμνων. Cf. *Pers.* 705 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιὸν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀνίσταται.—For the confusion of δέμα and δέγμα (see cr. n.) see *On editing Aeschylus* p. 101.

970 ff. οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας...θάρσος ἔχει. The construction is slightly varied from οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας...θαρσῶ, as in *Eum.* 100. Cf. *Eur. Alc.* 604 πρὸς δ' ἐμῷ ψυχᾷ θάρσος ἦσται.

973 ff. χρόνος δ' ἐπέε 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. *sup.* 40 δέκατον ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ τῆσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας ἦραν, 437 ἀφ' Ἑλλανος αἴας συνορμένοις, *Eur. I. A.* 1319 μὴ μοι ναῶν χαλκεμβολᾶδων πρύμνας Αὐλῆς δέξασθαι τοῦσδ' εἰς ὄρμους ὄφελεν ἐλάταν πομπαίαν, *El.* 1022 πρυμνοῦχον Αὐλιν, *On. Trist.* iii. 9. 13 dum soluitur aggere funis, Val. Flacc. ii. 428. Thus πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβολὰς is equivalent to πρυμνήσια ξυνεμβεβλημένα: *Eum.* 751 ἐκβολὰς ψήφων. Some may prefer ἀγά, the alternative suggestion of Ahrens; for, though ἀγή is not glossed by ἀκτηή, the two words appear sometimes to be confused. Thus in *Pind. I.* ii. 42 Νείλου πρὸς ἀκτάν Schneidewin reads ἀγὰς and Bury ἀγάν from the schol. πρὸς αὐγὰς: see also Jacobs *Anth.* xii. p. 96.

Schneidewin also restored *πρὸς ἀγᾶς* in *Anth. Pal.* v. 82 and *ἀγῆν* in *Arat. Phaen.* 668. Numenius ap. *Ath.* 305 a *ὁππότε πέτραι ἀμμώδεις κλύζονται ἐπ' ἄκρι κύματος ἀγῆι*. *ψαμμάς* is taken in preference to *ψαμμίς* 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. *σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτοι ματάζει, πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις δίναις 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 *ἔσται τι νέον· ἤξει τι μέλος γοερὸν γοεραῖς· οὔποτ' ἐμὴ φρήν δὲ ἀλίωστος φρίσσει, ταρβεῖ*. The metaphor is built up out of the phrase *κυκώμενον κέαρ* 'a troubled heart': Archilochus 66 *θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε*, Tragic fragment in *Clem. Alex.* p. 486 *οὔτοι γὰρ οὔτοι καὶ διὰ σπλάγχνων ἔσω χωροῦσι καὶ κυκῶσιν ἀνθρώπων κέαρ*. As *κυκώμενος* was usually said of tossing waves, the heart dashing against the midriff (*κραδία δὲ φόβωι φρένα λακτίζει P. V.* 881) can be spoken of as a boat tossed in swirling eddies on a troubled sea and dashed upon a shore. These considerations support the conjecture *δίναις κυκώμενον* (see cr. n.), as *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1327 *ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ δίνησι κυκώμενον ἄφρεεν ὕδωρ*. *Plat. Cratyl.* 439 c *ὥσπερ εἰς τινα δίνην ἐμπεσόντες κυκῶνται*, [*Arist.*] *Mirabil.* cxxx. p. 46, 16 Westermann *τότε δὴ πάλιν σὺν πολλῶι μὲν βρυχηθῶι μεγάλαις δὲ καὶ ταχείαις δίναις τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναζειν καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι κυκωμένην ἐκ βυθῶν*, where there are variants *κυκλωμένην, κυκλουμένην*. The same error is illustrated by *Tryphiod.* 325 *ἴαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ κυκλούμενον ὕδωρ*, where *κυκώμενον* should be read (*κυκλόμενον, κυκώμενον* and *κυκοώμενον* are quoted as variants), and by *Nonn. Dionys.* xx. 336 *ἄφνω δ' ἐκ σκοπέλοιο χύθη κυκλούμενον ὕδωρ* (al. *κυκοώμενον*). So *κυκῶντες* (Reiske) should be restored for *κυκλοῦντες* 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 τί τοι...* The language recalls *Solon* 13. 71 ff. (= *Theogn.* 227 ff.) *πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν... τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας*; cf. *inhf.* 1330. The idea of Health as a Mean appears in *Max. Tyr.* xxxix. 2 *οὐχ ἡ μὲν ὑγεία μέτρον τι ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων εὐαρμοστίας; ... ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ποικίλον τι σοὶ ἡ ὑγεία ἔσται, καὶ παντοδαπὸν, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ὁμολογημένον;* Λ.

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 *ἀνδρὸς* should not be separated far from

πότμος, and παίειν πρὸς is the usage in such cases. In Aesch. fr. 99. 23 Blass restored μὴ πάντα παίσασ' ἐκχέω πρὸς ἔρματι, a reading which is made certain by Plat. *Rep.* 553 B πταίσαντα ὡσπερ πρὸς ἔρματι τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐκχέαντα τὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐναντὸν κτέ. *Com. adesp.* fr. 391, 2 (iii. 482 K.) μὴ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον πταίειν ἔχοντα καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον.

995 ff. ὄκνος (nearly the same as εὐλάβεια) is the opposite of θράσος, and πημονᾶς is a synonym of ἄτας, 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 ἄτην. For the contrast see Plat. *Defin.* Θράσος ἀπροσδοκία κακοῦ, Εὐλάβεια φυλακὴ κακοῦ, Xen. *Agas.* ii. 2 θαρρῶν πλείονα ἔθνευ ἢ ὀκνῶν ηὔχεται, Thuc. ii. 40 διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔχομεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει: which is illustrated by Xerxes' speech in Hdt. vii. 49—50 with θρασύς and ὀκνεοῦσι opposed. ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄριστον, 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 pectus.* 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 v. 1004 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσόν, as in *Suipp.* 452 καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν...458 ὅπως δ' ὄμαιμον αἶμα.—σφενδόνη, 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 couples ἀμφιλαφῆς to πολλά, and καὶ must be taken with what follows ('even from the annual ploughing of the fields').

1007 ff. οὐδὲ is equivalent to οὐ καὶ 'not even the one who knew...': so 1524 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος = οὐ καὶ οὗτος γάρ, Soph. *O.* 7. 325 ὡς οὖν μηδ' ἐγὼ ταῦτον πάθω = καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ.—In reference to the death of Asclepius the Chorus say in Eur. *Alc.* 124 μόνος δ' ἂν εἰ φῶς τόδ' ἦν | ὄμμασιν δεδορκῶς | Φοίβου παῖς, προλιποῦσ' | ἦλθεν ἔδρας, σκοτίας | Ἄϊδα τε πύλας· τοὺς | δμαθέντας γὰρ ἀνίστη | πρὶν αὐτὸν εἶλε Διόβολον | πλήκτρον πυρὸς κεραυνίου. So Pindar (*P.* iii. 1 ff.) says 'I would that Cheiron, who brought up Asclepius, best of physicians, were still alive'—εἰ χρεῶν τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας κοινὸν εὔξασθαι ἔπος. But Asclepius was stopped by Zeus, when he was tempted to restore the dead to life (*ib.* 55 ff.), as Aeschylus says here, ἐπ' ἀβλαβεῖαι to prevent his arrangements being thwarted—or ἐπ' εὐλαβεῖαι (Plat. *Rep.* 539 c) as a precautionary measure to that end; either would do. (For a possible instance of confusion between ἀβλαβέως and εὐλαβέως see *H. Herm.* 83.) Apollodorus iii. 122

says Ζεὺς δὲ φοβηθεῖς μὴ λαβόντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐκεραύνωσεν αὐτόν. *Ov. Fast.* vi. 759 *Iuppiter exemplum ueritus direxit 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 (Μοῖρας δολώσας *Alc.* 12) whom he had made drunk with wine. In *Aesch. Eum.* 726 the Eumenides refer to this:

- ΕΥΜ. τοιαῦτ' ἔδρασας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμοις·  
Μοῖρας ἔπεισας ἀφθίτους θεῖναι βροτούς.  
ΑΠ. οὐκὸν δίκαιον τὸν σέβοντ' εὐεργετεῖν  
ἄλλως τε πάντως χῶτε δεόμενος τύχοι;  
ΕΥΜ. σύ τοι παλαιὰς διανομὰς καταφθίσας  
οἴνοι παρηπάτησας ἀρχαίους θεάς.

These are the same terms in which they had reprehended the dealings of Apollo with Orestes, v. 172 f. *παρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεια μὲν τίων παλαιαιεῖς δὲ μοῖρας 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 δαναϊαί (848), rights assigned to them in perpetuity by Μοῖρα (335 f.). Hades has his μοῖρα: 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 Ov. Met.* xv. 535, *dis indignantibus* ii. 645: *at Clymenus (Hades) Clothoque dolent, haec fila reneri, 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 Joye avised, that could the dead revive  
And *fates expired* could renew again,

he put an end to it. The exact force of ἐπ' ἀβλαβείαι 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 Famemque 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 *Μοῖρα* 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 fauore  
turbida seditio: donec sua Iuppiter ora  
soluit, et 'O nostri si qua est reuerentia,' dixit;  
'quo ruitis? tantumne aliquis sibi posse uidetur  
Fata quoque ut superet? Fatis Iolaus in annos  
quos egit rediit; Fatis iuuenescere debent  
Callirhoe geniti, non ambitione nec armis.  
uos etiam, quoque hoc animo meliore feratis,  
me quoque Fata regunt: quae si mutare ualerem,  
nec nostrum seri curuarent Aeacon anni,' 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' ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τόδε,  
πληροῦσα θυμόν· θεοῖσι δ' ᾧδ' ἔχει νόμος·  
οὐδεὶς ἀπαντᾶν βούλεται προθυμῖαι  
τῆι τοῦ θέλοντος, ἀλλ' ἀφιστάμεσθ' αἰεί.  
ἐπεὶ, σάφ' ἴσθι, Ζῆνα μὴ φοβουμένη  
οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἦλθον ἐς τόδ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐγὼ  
ὥστ' ἀνδρα πάντων φίλτατον βροτῶν ἐμοὶ  
θανεῖν εἶσαι.

'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 τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσον κτέ.*

1022. *κησίου βωμοῦ*, in the open court-yard in front of the palace. *Athen.* 189 e *Ὁμηρος δὲ τὴν αὐλὴν αἰεὶ τάττει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων τόπων, ἐνθα ἦν ὁ τοῦ ἐρκείου Ζηνὸς βωμός.*

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-carriage: Eur. *I. A.* 147, 618, Soph. *O. T.* 753, 803. So Tryphiod. 241, where the old men accompanying Priam come down from the πόλις in ἀπήναι. 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 ἄπαν ἐλέφαντος εἰργασμένον, ἐγγύτατα ἀπήνης Ἑλληνικῆς (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* i. p. 531).

1024 f. This was the Greek commonplace of consolation, that even heroes half-divine (ἡμίθεοι) 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):

τλή μὲν Δημήτηρ, τλή δὲ κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,  
 τλή δὲ Ποσειδάων, τλή δ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θνητῶι θητευέμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,  
 τλή δὲ καὶ ὄβριμόθυμος Ἄρης ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκη,

where no doubt he was speaking of the servitude of Heracles to Omphale in Lydia.

1034 f. Hesych. χελιδόνος δίκη: τοὺς βαρβάρους χελιδόσιν ἀπεικάζουσι διὰ τὴν ἀσύνθετον λαλίαν (read ἀσύνετον). Just below we have χελιδόνων μουσεῖον: ὡς βάρβαρα καὶ ἀσύνετα ποιούντων τῶν τραγικῶν, with reference to Ar. *Ran.* 93. Thus βάρβαρος is practically the equivalent of ἀσύνετος, and here merely strengthens ἀγνώτα φωνήν: Hesych. βάρβαρα: ἀσύνετα, ἄτακτα. One of the tests for admission to the Eleusinian mysteries was that the candidate should not be φωνῆς ἀξύνετος; in other words, he must be Ἑλληνα τὴν φωνήν (see Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 165).

1041. πάρος: see cr. n. πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός 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 ἱερά μὲν ἦν παροίθεν ἐσχάρας Διὸς | καθάρσι' οἴκων. *Ion* 376 προβωμίους σφαγαῖσι μῆλων. *Alc.* 162 πρόσθεν ἐστίας κατηξάτο. *Andr.* 1112 ὡς πάρος χρηστηρίων εὔξαιτο.—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 πάντα δὲ πύργων κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημοπληθῆ. There is the same corruption in Eur. *Hel.* 870 κροῦσον δὲ πεύκη, ἵνα διεξέλθω, πάρος (Reiske for πυρός), and as I believe in *Eum.* 1050 τιμᾶτε καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πάρος (codd. πυρός).

1045. σὺ 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 ἅπαντες, ὦ Ζεῦ,

τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν ξυνιᾶσιν· ἄμεινον οὖν, οἶμαι, τῇ χειρὶ σημαίνειν καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι σιωπᾶν. [But this passage, so far from supporting the ordinary interpretation, rather favours Wecklein's view that σὺ is addressed to the Chorus. Since, however, καρβάνωι cannot be separated from χερὶ, Prof. Mackail suggests (*C. R.* xix. 197) that κάρβανος χείρ alludes to the forcible removal of Cassandra from the car.]

**1053.** ἐποικτίρω 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.

**1055.** ζυγόν: cf. Eur. *Or.* 1330 ἀνάγκης δ' ἐς ζυγὸν καθέσταμεν, *sup.* 228.

**1063.** προσήκοντ': cf. Soph. fr. 592 μὴ σπεῖρε πολλοῖς τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα· σιγῶμενος γάρ ἐστι θρηνέεισθαι πρέπων.

**1077.** καὶ πεδορραντήριον. Dr Verrall would read παιδιορραντήριον 'a place for sprinkling (with the blood of) babes.' παιδίον is not elsewhere used in Tragedy, but the sense suits admirably if it can be got out of the word.

**1095.** λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα: Apoll. Rhod. iii. 300 αὐτοί τε λιαροῖσιν ἐφαιδρύναντο λοετροῖς.

**1103.** ἦ...γε is used in a question, as in *Cho.* 417 τί δ' ἂν φάντες τύχοιμεν; ἦ τάπερ πάθομεν ἄχα πρόσ γε τῶν τεκομένων; γε serves as a link with the previous question: *Cho.* 992 τί σοι δοκεῖ; μύραιά γ' εἶπ' ἔχιδν' ἔφν...; *Theb.* 836 τί φῶ; τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ πόνοι πόνων δόμων ἐφέστιοι; [*Eur. Cycl.* 207], Dio Chrys. ix. 20 p. 294 R. τί δέ; εἰ χωλοὶ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ τρέχοντες, ἐχρῆν γε μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅτι χωλοὺς χωλὸς ἐφθης; Max. Tyr. xvi. 3 ἄρα γε μάθησιν (*sc.* ὀνομάζομεν ἄν), ἢ Πλάτωνι ὁμοφώνως ἀνάμνησιν;

**1107.** θύματος λευσίμου: 'abominable sacrifice'—*i.e.* 'stonable,' 'deserving stoning' (that is 'lynching'), as καταλεύσιμος (*Suid. Phot. s.v.*), ἀράσιμος, μαστιγώσιμος, ἀκούσιμος Soph. fr. 823, ἐπόψιμος *O. T.* 1312. See *inf.* 1409, 1413.

**1109.** Cf. Eur. *Ion* 685 οὐ γάρ με σαίνει θέσφατα μὴ τιν' ἔχη δόλον.

**1110.** κροκοβαφής. 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 διὰ τί οἱ μὲν

αἰσχυρόμενοι ἐρυθριῶσιν, οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι ὠχριῶσιν, παραπλησίω τῶν παθῶν ὄντων; ὅτι τῶν μὲν αἰσχυνομένων διαχεῖται τὸ αἷμα ἐκ τῆς καρδίας εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὥστε ἐπιπολάζειν· τοῖς δὲ φοβηθείσι συντρέχει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, ὥστ' 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 Macrob. 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 κροκοβαφῆς σταγῶν as 'the drop of red blood,' like πορφυρᾷ βαφῆι in *Pers.* 320, on the ground that the dye called saffron was made from a purple crocus and is termed *ruber, rubens, runicus* by the Romans. [Yet another view, that κροκοβαφῆς σταγῶν is the gall, is taken by Tucker on *Cho.* 183.]

1111 ff. ἄτε καὶ δορὶ πτωσίμοις ξυνανύτει (whose arrival synchronises, coincides with) βίου δύντος αὐγαῖς, the very pallor that is seen in wounded men when life is ending in a yellow sunset. Thus δορὶ πτώσιμος = δοριπετήης.

1116. [The common punctuation, corrected by H., places a colon after ταῦρον instead of after βοός.]

1124. ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων. From Soph. *Trach.* 1131, τέρας τοι διὰ κακῶν ἐθέσπισας, this would appear to be an allusion to some proverbial phrase.

1131 ff. τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ πάθος ἐπεγχύδαν. The parenthesis is an explanation of ταλαινας. Hitherto she has seen Agamemnon's fate; now she sees that her own death is to be added to his. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 736 EK. δύστην'—ἐμαντήν γὰρ λέγω λέγουσα σέ—'Εκάβη, τί δρῶσω; Not unlike are *Tro.* 869, Soph. *O. T.* 1071, Orpian *Hal.* iv. 345: see also on 1225. It is evident, therefore, that θροῶ is right, and that Hermann's θροεῖς ἐπεγχεύς will not stand. ἐπεγχεύαι, another suggestion, is not Greek. The MS. reading ἐπεγχεάσα is metrically impossible; but if it would only scay, we feel that it gives just the sense required. ἐπεγχύδαν—following the analogy of χύδην, καταχύδην, ἀμφιχύδην—seems to me the most probable correction, because such adverbs are commonly explained by participles, e.g. *Cho.* 65 οὐ διαρρύδαν] ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ διαρρέων, *Eum.* 556 περιαιβάδαν] παραβεβηκότα, Hesych. σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας: ἀγανακτήσας ὑλακτεῖς ἄγαν, schol. Lycophr. 1425 χανδόν: χαίνοντες.

1140 f. Ἴτυν...βίον. The grammatical relation of the accusatives is not certain. A possible alternative rendering would be: 'With (cry of) *Ityn,*' *Ityn,*' plaining for a life luxuriant in misery.'



1142 f. 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 *αἰαῖ* or *ὠί*.

1144. *περέβαλόν γέ οἱ*. This correction (partly anticipated by Enger) explains the origin of *περεβάλοντο*, while the meaningless *γάρ* is an interpolation. When Sophocles uses *οἱ*, he also follows the practice of the lyric poets, *Trach.* 650 *ἀ δέ οἱ*, *El.* 196 *ὄτε οἱ* (Hermann for *σοι*), and so does Cratinus in a burlesque lyric verse, fr. 241, *Ἦραν τε οἱ*. In our passage *γε* is equivalent to *μείν*, in opposition to *ἐμοὶ δέ*.

1146. *γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ*. 'A sweet life except for lamentation,' otherwise the conditions are all pleasant. I have never been able to see that *κλαυμάτων ἄτερ* 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. *ἄτερ*, like *ἄνευ*, and many other words meaning 'without,' 'apart from,' is used elsewhere in the sense 'except.' For the general sense cf. Aphthonius *Progym.* 11 (Walz *Rhet. Gr.* i. p. 103) Niobe is speaking *ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ὀδύρομαι, παρὸν αἰτῆσαι θεοὺς ἕτεραν ἀλλάξασθαι φύσιν, μίαν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων τεθέαμαι λύσιν, μεταστῆναι πρὸς τὰ μηδὲν αισθανόμενα· ἀλλὰ μάλλον δέδοικα μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φανείσῃ μείνω δακρύνουσα*. For the nightingale see Dio Chrys. ix. 19 p. 293 R. *οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Διογένης, εἴπερ τὸ ταχύτερον εἶναι κράτιστόν ἐστι, πολὺ βέλτιον κόρυδον εἶναι σχεδὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον· ὥστε τὰς ἀηδόνας οὐδὲν τι δεῖ οἰκτίρειν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἔποπας, ὅτι ὄρνιθες ἐγένοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μύθου λέλεκται*.

1159. There is considerable similarity to Eur. *Trö.* 460 f., where Cassandra says, addressing her country, her dead father and brothers: *οὐ μακρὰν δέξῃσθέ μ'· ἤξω δ' ἐς νεκροὺς νικηφόρος | καὶ δόμους πέρσασ' Ἀτρειδῶν, ὧν ἀπωλόμειθ' ὕπο*.

1167. *πρόπυργοι* might also mean 'before his walls.' Cf. Max. Tyr. xi. 2 *καὶ τῶι μὲν Πριάμοι εὐχομένωι ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς, βουῆς καὶ οἷς ὁσήμεραι τῶι Διὶ καταθύοντι, ἀτελῆ τὴν εὐχὴν τίθησι (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς)*.

1170 f. See cr. nn. and cf. *P. V.* 950 *οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶι ταῦτ' ἐπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ πεσεῖν ἀτίμως*. The text was first corrupted to *τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει ἔχειν, παθεῖν* being merely an insertion to patch the metre. Constantly, finding *μὴ οὐ*, scribes omitted the *οὐ* as *περισσόν* (see *Journ. Phil.* xxiii. p. 296), and it should always be written in texts, at any rate where there is any trace of it.—*ἐμπελῶ βόλωι* describes exactly what she does in v. 1290 ff. For the metaphor, see the oracle in Hdt. i. 62 *ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός*, Opp. *Hal.* iii. 465, *Cyn.* iv. 141, Eur. *Bacch.* 847 *ἀνὴρ ἐς βόλον καθίσταται*, *Rhes.* 730, Herod. vii. 75.—For *θερμόνους* cf. *A. P.* vi. 173 (of a votary of Cybele) *θερμόν ἐπεὶ λύσσης ὧδ' ἀνέπαυσε πόδα*.

1179. λαμπρός. The metaphor shifts by means of this word, which covers the meaning 'fresh' applied to wind. As πνεῖν 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) (ἀπηλιώτης.

1180. ἐσάξειν: see cr. n. αἶξαι is often used of wind: Hom. B 146 τὰ (κύματα) μέν τ' Εὐρὸς τε καὶ Νότος τε ὄρορ' ἐπαίξας, Soph. *Ai.* 353 αἶξας ὄξυς νότος ὡς λήγει.

1181. If πῆμα is the subject (cf. Hom. Ψ 61 ὅθι κύματ' ἐπ' ἠϊόνος κλύεσκον), perhaps κλύσειν may be right.—For the image Catull. lxi. 269 is quoted: *hic qualis fluctu placidum mare matutino | horrificans Zephyrus proclivis incitat undas | Aurora exoriente uagi sub limina solis, | quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae | procedunt leuiterque sonant plangore cachinni, | post uento crescente magis magis increbrescunt.*

1187 ff. The κῶμος, drunken well with human blood, refusing to be sent away, sit fast against the chamber singing; and their song is deadly Primal Sin (πρώταρχον ἄτην), the first act of Kin-murder when Atreus slew the children of Thyestes: *Cho.* 1066 παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπήρξαν μόχθοι τάλανες τε Θυέστου. For δώμασιν προσήμεναι cf. Verg. *A.* vii. 342 *Allecto Laurentis tecta tyranni | celsa petit, tacitumque 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.

1191 f. ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν κτέ. is part of the Image of the κῶμος explained above: Jeremiah 25. 27, Lucian i. 750.—The words admit of various constructions. δυσμενεῖς may be either nominative or accusative (belonging to εὐνάς); or we might take ἀπέπτυσαν absolutely and understand the rest to mean δυσμενεῖς τῷ εὐνάς ἀδελφοῦ πατοῦντι.—For ἐν μέρει 'each in turn' cf. *Cho.* 331 κλῦθί νυν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐν μέρει πολυδάκρυτα πείθη.

1193. ἢ θηρῶ τῆ τοξότης τις ὡς; 'Or have I brought my quarry down?' Greek often adds to metaphors such phrases as ὥστε τοξότης (*Soph. Ant.* 1084), ναυτίλων δίκην (*Cho.* 201), which we should not express. So Eur. *Hipp.* 872 πρὸς γάρ τινος οἰωνὸν ὥστε μάντις εἰσορῶ κακόν.

1196. λόγῳ παλαιάς, 'storied,' 'historic': *Soph. O. T.* 1394 ὦ Πόλυβε καὶ Κόρινθε καὶ τὰ πάτρια | λόγῳ παλαιὰ δώματα (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 εἰδέναι 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 λόγῳ, which must have preceded εἰδέναι, *i.e.* τὸ μὴ λόγῳ εἰδέναι. See Eur. *Heracl.* 5 οἶδα δ' οὐ λόγῳ μαθών. Antiphon 5. 75 ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὧν πολλῶι νεώτερός εἰμι καὶ λόγῳ οἶδα. λόγῳ often implies 'in word *only*': Eur. fr. 57 καὶ τὸ δοῦλον οὐ λόγῳ (not only in word) ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ τῆι τύχῃ. *Theb.* 832 ἦλθε δ' αἰκτὰ πῆματ' οὐ λόγῳ. Soph. *Trach.* 1046, *El.* 1453, *Ai.* 813. [For ἐκμαρτυρεῖν, which has nothing to do with the technical ἐκμαρτυρία but signifies 'to testify openly,' see Wyse on Isae. iii. 77.]

1197. ὄρκου πῆγμα, an oath's plight: Eur. *I. A.* 395 τοὺς κακῶς παγέντας ὄρκους καὶ κατηναγκασμένους.

1205. ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν: *i.e.* 'he contended for me strenuously' (ἐπάλαιεν as ὑβριστής). Similarly Eur. *Supp.* 704 λόχος δ' ὀδόντων ὄφεος ἐξηνδρωμένος δεινὸς παλαιστῆς ἦν. Cf. generally the speech of Lady Faulconbridge in *King John* i. 1. 253:

King Richard Cœur-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 spoliū uirginitatis habet.  
id quoque luctando. rupi tamen ungue 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 λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἴκοντο.—For ἠλθέτην see Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 279.

1210. ἄνατος: see cr. n. There is a similar confusion in Lycophr. 1172.

1215. See cr. n. An adjective has been lost.

1216. τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους, '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 ἄνακτις: see on 147.

1224. οἶμαι, *credo*, 'no doubt': see on 800.

1225. φέρειν γὰρ κτέ., explaining δεσπότη ἐμῶι: Eur. *Hel.* 1193 (Helen to Theoclymenus) ὦ δέσποτ'—ἤδη γὰρ τόδ' ὀνομάζω σ' ἔπος—ὄλωλα, Ar. *Vesp.* 1297 (with Starkie's note), Ach. Tat. v. 17 (in the address of a letter) Δευκίππη Κλειτοφῶντι τῷ δεσπότη μου—τοῦτο γὰρ σε δεῖ καλεῖν. Aristaenetus ii. 5 σὺ τοίνυν Ἀρπεδόνη (πρὸς σὲ γὰρ ἐξεπίτηδες ὡς ἔχω πάθους ἀπήγγειλα τὴν ὑπόπικρον τῶν βελῶν ἡδονήν).

1227 ff. οὐκ οἶδεν οἶα...τεύξεται. The text, which is correct except that we must read λέξασα κάκτείνασα (Plat. *Prot.* 329 A ὥσπερ τὰ χαλκία πληγέντα μακρὸν ἡχέει καὶ ἀποτείνει), has suffered grievous treatment at the hand of many critics. οἶα is understood with λέξασα as well as with τεύξεται as though it were οἶα λέξασα οἶα τεύξεται. 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. 905) ἀπουσαί μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῆ μάκραν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας. In the *Eumenides* Apollo describes her (634 ff.):—ἀπὸ στρατείας γὰρ νιν, ἡμποληκότα | τὰ πλείστ' ἄμεινον, εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη | <τὰ πρῶτα μύθοις, ἢ κατάπτυστος, γυνή | παρίστατ' αὐτῷ θέρμ' ἐν ἀργυρηλάτῳ> | δροῖτη περῶντι λουτρά, καπὶ τέρματι | φᾶρος περσεκῆνωσεν, ἐν δ' ἀτέρμονι | κόπτει πεδήσασ' ἄνδρα δαιδάλωι πέπλωι. 'After receiving him with kindly words of welcome, she stood by while he was performing his ablutions in the bath, and at the conclusion trammelled him in a cunning robe and hewed him down.' γλῶσσα is of course the false-speaking tongue, as in the proverbial warning against 'the slyer with the knyf under the cloke' attributed to Solon (fr. 42):

πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ὄρα  
μὴ κρυπτὸν ἔχων ἔγχος κραδίαι  
φαιδρῶι σε προσενέπημι προσώπωι  
γλῶσσα δέ οἱ διχόμυθος ἐκ μελαίνας φρενὸς γεγωνῆι.

And φαιδρόνους means 'with smiling cheerfulness' in her greeting (v. 525 φαιδρῶισι τοισίδ' ὄμμασιν δέξασθε, *Cho.* 563 φαιδρῶι φρενὶ δέξαιτ' 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 κυνός here, though the epithet μισητῆς introduces another quality.

And like the treachery of a κύων λαίθαργος is the deceitfulness

of Ἄτη: with smiling blandishment she lures men into her nets: *Pers.* 94

δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ  
 τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει;  
 τίς ὁ κραιπνῶι ποδὶ πηδῆ-  
 ματος εὐπετέος ἀνάσσω;  
 φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνου-  
 σα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει  
 βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκυας ἄτας<sup>1</sup>.

And Soph. fr. 519 illustrates the same connexion of thought: ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐν σκότῳ λήθουσά με | ἔσαι' Ἐρινὺς ἠδοναῖς ἐψευσμένον. In Pind. *P.* ii. 83 σαίνων ἄταν διαπλέκει 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 Ἄτη, just as the Lion-cub that typifies her is called ἱερεύς τις Ἄτας. In the corresponding line of the previous strophe he had been described as φαιδρωπός, ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνων τε οἱ φαιδρωπὸν ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνοντα: that implies *flattering with the fatal blandishment of Ate, dicker of Ate's lazarium*.

1233. οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι corresponds to Homer's Σκύλλην πετραίην (μ 231).

1234. θύουσαν Ἄιδου μητέρα is not 'Mother of Hell' or 'Dam of Death,' but 'raging, infernal, hellish mother,' exactly as Eur. *Cycl.* 396 τῷ θεοστυγῇ Ἄιδου μαγεῖρωι, Aristias Trag. fr. 3 μαζαγρέτας Ἄιδου τραπέζης, 'damned,' 'devilish.' The genitive is equivalent to an adjective such as these, or 'deadly,' 'fatal': Eur. *Or.* 1399 ξίφεσιν σιδαρέοισιν Ἄιδα, *Andr.* 1046 σταλάσσω Ἄιδα φόνον. Ἐρινύων, Ἐρινύος are used just in the same way: Ach. Tat. v. 5 ἐδείπνησεν ὁ Τηρεὺς δείπνον Ἐρινύων 'of retribution,' 'avenging.' Both genitives serve as limiting epithets to a metaphor: δίκτυόν τι Ἄιδου *Ag.* 1103 = 1580 = 1611, Soph. *Trach.* 1051, explained by *Ai.* 1034: *Theb.* 853, *Ag.* 650, 980, Eur. *Supp.* 773 = *Cho.* 151, Eur. *Alc.* 424: βάκχαις Ἄιδου Eur. *Hec.* 1077, *H. F.* 1119, *Hipp.* 550 (Musgrave): *I. T.* 286 Ἄιδου δράκαιναν, *Hec.* 483 Ἄιδα θαλάμους Εὐρώπας θεραπνῶν. See also Lobeck on Soph. *Ai.* 802, Blaydes on Ar. *Thesm.* 1041.

1251. παρεκόπης, in answer to the question 'by what man's hand.' Quite failing to see that τοῖς 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 ἀνδρῶν ἦν ὁ πολμήσας τάδε;). Cassandra's reply refers to the confession ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω in v. 1244, which corresponds to her request at v. 1183 καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμῳ ἔχνος κακῶν ῥινηλατούση. ἀποκοπῆναι τῶν ἰχνῶν

<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἀρκύστατα MSS.

was used in the same way of hounds being thrown off the trail: Bekk. *Anecd.* 428. 25 ἀποκοπήναι τῶν ἰχνῶν τὴν κύνα λέγουσιν ὅταν μηκέτι εὐρίσκη τὰ ἴχνη. Hesych. ἀποκοπήναι: ἐπὶ τῶν ἰχνεύοντων λέγεται ὅταν μὴ εὐρωσιν. The true reading is doubtful, but it is possible that the scribes have tampered with the order of the words, putting ἄρα too soon, and that we should restore ἡ κάρτα χρησμῶν ἄρα παρεκόπησεν ἐμῶν. Similarly in Soph. *O. C.* 534 σαί τ' εἶσ' ἄρ' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ (Jebb) has become σαί τ' ἄρ' εἰσὶν οἱ σαί τ' ἄρ' εἶσ' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ.

1254. τὰ πυθόκραντα: scil. Ἑλλην' ἐπίσταται φάτιν. Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 640 f. ΙΦ. ὦ πάτερ, ἐσεῖδόν σ' ἀσμένη πολλῶν χρόνῳ. ΑΓ. καὶ γὰρ πατήρ σέ. For the confusion of δυσπαθῆ and δυσμαθῆ see Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 432.

1256. Λύκει', in his character of Destroyer, as 'Wolf-slayer.'

1259 ff. ὡς δὲ κτέ. The construction of this sentence is uncertain. ἐπεύχεται ἀντιτείσασθαι would be 'prays to...,' ἐπεύχεται ἀντιτείσεσθαι 'vows that she will....' κότῳ should not be changed although it is figured as ποτόν. [The translation suggests the acceptance of the Triclinian ἐνθήσειν, with ἀντιτείσασθαι explaining μισθόν. But no final solution was approved.]

1266. See cr. n. If the reading is τῶιδ' ἀμείφομαι οἱ πεσόντα θ' ὦδ' ἀμείφομαι, the meaning is 'thus I'll requite you.'

1269 ff. ἐποπτεύσας...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 σὺν ἐχθρῶν (Plut. *Mor.* 50 F, Macar. iv. 12), σφάλλειν σὺν ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλους κέρδος φέρει and ἀπόλοιτο καὶ φίλος σὺν ἐχθροῖς (Macar. vii. 95). Bergk's reading in Pind. *P.* viii. 74 πολλοῖς σοφοῖς (for σοφῶς) δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόνων βίον κορυσσέμεν ὀρθοβούλοισι μαχαναῖς would be just such another phrase, 'is thought not only by fools but by many wise men also.' If the original had been καταγελομένην μάτην φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μέτα, to take this for ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν 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 ἐχθρῶν, has a very obvious meaning, 'laughed at now in Argos as before at Troy.' That would have been as well expressed by φίλων μέτ', ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως ὑπο.

1272. Cf. Dio Chrys. xiii. p. 422 R., οἱ δὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄνθρωποι ὀρώντες οἱ μὲν ἀλήτην οἱ δὲ πτωχὸν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ φιλόσοφον. Phrynichus fr. 33 (i. 379 K.) ὦ κάπραινα καὶ περίπολις καὶ δρομάς. Menander fr. 546 (iii. 166 K.) τὸ δ' ἐπιδιώκει εἰς τε τὴν ὁδὸν τρέχειν ἔτι λουδορουμένην κυνός ἐστ' ἔργον, 'Ρόδη.

1274. ἐκπράξας = ἀνύσας (704): *postquam reddidit me uatem.*

1276. βωμοῦ πατρώιου, the altar of Ζεὺς Ἐρκεῖος at which Priam was slain.—ἀντ': 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. *Bacch.* 732 θηρώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ὑπ'· ἀλλ' ἔπεισθέ μοι, *Tro.* 1021 καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι βαρβάρων ὑπ' ἧθέλες, Ar. *Lys.* 1146 (tragic style) χώραν ἧς ὑπ' εὖ πεπόνθατε, Eur. *I. A.* 967 ὦν μέτ' ἐστρατευόμεν, Aesch. *Supp.* 260 αἶαν ἧς δι' ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται (rightly corrected for αἰδῆνης διάλογος). Here ἀντί follows its case as in Lycophr. 94 ὀστρίμων μὲν ἀντί, 365 ἐνὸς δὲ λώβης ἀντί, but does not suffer anastrophe.

1277. See cr. n. The construction cannot be κοπέισης (or κοπέισαν or κοπέιση) θερμῶι φοινίωι προσφάγματι 'butchered with a hot bloody stroke,' for two reasons; even if it were possible to speak of a *hot stroke*, πρόσφαγμα does not mean (as some have wished it to mean), a *blow* or *stroke*; and μένει με κοπέισαν or κοπέιση could not mean 'awaits me, *about to be* beheaded,' κοφθησομένην; it could only mean 'awaits me *after I have been* beheaded.'

The construction, therefore, must in part be προσφάγματι κοπέισης 'the sacrifice' or 'slaughtered body of me butchered.' The dative, then, if θερμῶι κοπέισης φοινίωι 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 θερμόν (Schuetz' conjecture), 'a block is in store for me hot with the bloody slaughter of me butchered'; or on φοίνιον (Haupt), 'a block is in store for me, bloody with the hot slaughter of me butchered.'

The difficulty is in κοπέισης. 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 κοπέισης, but κοφθησομένης. Consider now two passages: Plut. *Mor.* 597 F τὸν Λεοντίδην ἐπέσφαξε θερμῶι τῶι Κηφισοδότῳ 'slew Leontides while the body of Cephisodotus was yet warm.' Philostratus *Κασάνδρα, Imag.* 10, describing a picture of these very murders; after slaying Agamemnon, ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρα τὴν τοῦ Πριάμου κόρην ἀποκτείνει θερμῶι τῶι πελέκει 'with her axe yet warm.' And then consider whether you would not like to read κοπέντος: either θερμόν κοπέντος φοινίωι προσφάγματι 'there waits for me a block, hot with the bloody sacrifice of a butchered man,' or θερμῶι κοπέντος φοίνιον προσφάγματι 'bloody with the still warm slaughter of a butchered man.' See now how well the plurals follow, τεθνήξομεν and ἡμῶν.

I have little doubt about the answer,—if only it could be shown how κοπέντος came to be altered to κοπέισης. 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, κλύοιμ' ἂν εὐφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶσθι φθόνος, f and h give σιγῶντι; and again in 283, εὖ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σου κατηγορεῖ, they give φρονούσης.

1286 ff. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον κτέ. 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 nuntium Phrygibus meis  
propereo; repletum ratibus euersis mare;  
captas Mycenae; mille ductorem ducum,  
ut paria fata Troicis lueret malis,  
perisse dono feminae, stupro, dolo.  
nihil moramur: rapite. quin grates ago:  
iam, iam iuuat uixisse post Troiam, iuuat.*

But πράξω in v. 1289 is doubtful.

1290. προσεννέπω: see n. on 365.

1303. εὐκλεῶς. Honour is a medicine even against death: Pind. *P.* iv. 187 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ θανάτῳ φάρμακον κάλλιστον ἕως ἀρετᾶς ἀλιξιν εὐρέσθαι σὺν ἄλλοις. *Theb.* 670 εἶπερ κακὸν φέροι τις, αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ ἔστω· μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσιν. See *Class. Rev.* xvii. 290.

1304. ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ σῶν τε γενναίων 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:

<i>Dido.</i>	Be merry, man:
	Here's to thy better fortune and good stars [ <i>Drinks.</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	In all humility, I thank your grace.
<i>Dido.</i>	Remember who thou art; speak like thyself: Humility belongs to common grooms.
<i>Aen.</i>	And who so miserable as Aeneas is?
<i>Dido.</i>	Lies it in Dido's hands to make thee blest? Then be assur'd thou art not miserable.
<i>Aen.</i>	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.



Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1150 πίνεις οἶνον οὐκ ἀνθοσμίαν, *Plut.* 703 οὐ λιβανωτὸν γὰρ βδέω, *Soph. fr.* 140 κατάγνυται τὸ τεῦχος οὐ μύρου πνέον. Similarly *Soph. El.* 1500 ἀλλ' οὐ πατρώϊαν τὴν τέχνην ἐκόμπασας, *Eur. Alc.* 814 ὄδ' οὐ θυραίων πημάτων ἄρχει λόγος, *Plat. Phaedr.* 242 B οὐ πόλεμόν γε ἀγγέλλεις.

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 φόνευσιν is a strange word for tragedy to use. [See Housman in *Journ. Phil.* xvi. p. 210.] An alternative would be τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαύροις ἐχθροὺς φανείσιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς κτέ. Cf. *Plut. Dio et Brut. comp.* 5 καὶ Δίωνος μὲν τιμωρὸς οὐδείς ἐφάνη πεσόντος.

1325. For the loosely-added genitive, cf. *Eur. El.* 1195 τίς ξένος... ἐμὸν κῆρα προσόψεται μητέρα κτανόντος; *Cycl.* 244 πλήσουσι νηδὺν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ' ἀνθρακος θερμὴν ἔδοντος δαῖτα τῷ κρεανόμω.

1326 ff. These lines contain an Aeschylean figure developed out of the phrase σκιὰ τὰ θνητῶν (*Nauck F. T. G.*, p. 783, *Eur. Med.* 1224, *Soph. Ai.* 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. ἰὼ γενεαὶ βροτῶν, ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ. Aeschylus makes his 'shadow' that of σκιαγραφία, as Iamblichus, *Protrept.* 8 εἰ θεωρήσειεν ὑπ' αὐγᾶς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον· εὐρήσει γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι μεγάλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντα ὄντα σκιαγραφίαν κτέ. πρέψειεν implies that life, when seeming most vivid, is only a pencilled sketch: cf. v. 253 πρέπουσα θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς. I formerly preferred τέρψειεν, which was proposed by an anonymous critic: pleasure of this life (τὸ τερπνόν) is short-lived and faint like a deceptive imitation: *Xen. Symp.* 4. 22 ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄψις εὐφραίνει δύναται, ἡ δὲ τοῦ εἰδώλου τέρψιν μὲν οὐ παρέχει πόθον δὲ ἐμποιεῖ. Cf. *Ar. Poet.* 6. 1450 b 1 παραπλήσιον γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραφικῆς· εἰ γὰρ τις ἐναλείψει τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύδην, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως εὐφράνειεν καὶ λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα. *Stob. Flor.* 14. 24 (Socrates) εἴκειν ἢ κολακεία γραπτῆι πανοπλίαι. διὸ τέρψιν μὲν ἔχει, χρεῖαν δὲ οὐδέμιαν παρέχεται. This train of thought led Greeks to the conclusion μὴ φῆναι ἄριστον, and the chorus in *Soph. O. C.* 1211 ff. is only a versification of an ancient and familiar commonplace. Thus we have τὰ τέρποντα δ' οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις ὄπου, and in *Pind. P.* viii. 88 ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις, τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἀνθρώπος (an hyperbole like εἶδωλον σκιᾶς, καπνοῦ σκιά) is led up to by the reflection ἐν δ' ὀλίγωι τὸ τερπνὸν αὐξεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί. Pleasure is like the grass that withereth and the flower that fadeth; τοῖς ἴκελοι πήχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀνθεσιν ἤβης τερπόμεθα, *Mimnermus* (fr. 2) says.

εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν applies to Agamemnon's fortunes, εἰ δὲ δυστυχοῖ to Cassandra's: κυριώτερα δ' ἐν οἴκτωι τὰ τῆς Κασάνδρας, says *Philostratus*,

*Imag.* Κασάνδρα, 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 μέν- and δέ-clauses, expressing the contrast of the bad to the worse, cf. *Theb.* 172 κρατούσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὀμιλητὸν θράσος, δείσασα δ' οἴκωι καὶ πόλει πλέον κακόν. *Achill. Tat.* i. 7 ποιηρὸν μὲν γὰρ γυνή, κἂν εὐμορφος ἦι· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀμορφίαν δυστυχῆι, διπλοῦν τὸ κακόν. *Lucian* iii. 232 ποθεινὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ νέοις πατρίσι· τοῖς δὲ ἤδη γεγηρακόσι πλείων ἐγγίνεται ὁ πόθος. *Cho.* 740 ὡς μοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ... ἤλγυνεν ἐν στέρνοις φρένα, ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδε πῆμ' ἀνεσχόμεν. For the pity which is due to Cassandra cf. *Antiphanes ap. Stob. Flor.* 97. 1 καλῶς πένεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλουτεῖν κακῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεον τὸ δ' ἐπιτίμησιν φέρει.

1330. ἀκόρεστον. So it is said of Wealth in *Ar. Plut.* 188 ὥστ' οὐδὲ μεστὸς σοῦ γέγον' οὐδεὶς πώποτε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐστὶ πάντων πλησμονή κτέ.

1331. δακτυλοδείκτων, that is, 'admired and gorgeous palaces,' show places.

1333. μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης. The *entrance* of Wealth into men's houses is described in *Ar. Plut.* 234—244.

1339. ἐπικρανεῖ: so the MSS., and the future is the natural tense here, but it is hardly credible that it could be scanned ἐπικρᾶνεῖ, and a paroemiac at this point is unusual. Perhaps ἐπικράνειεν 'should he complete...'

1340. τίς ἂν <οὐκ> εὔξαιτο Canter, but the sense required is 'who can boast that his lot is free from harm?' (cf. *Menand.* 355 οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ζῶντα 'ταῦτ' οὐ πείσομαι'). τίς ἂν <οὖν> Porson, but οὖν cannot stand so in *apodosis*. τίς τᾶν Weil, τίς <ποτ'> ἂν E. A. Ahrens, τίς <τίν'> ἂν Verrall, *alii alia*, all but Schneidewin retaining εὔξαιτο. This cannot be. τίς ἂν εὔξαιτο; has only one meaning in Greek, 'who would wish?' (e.g. *Antiphon* 6. 1 εὐχόμενος ἂν τις ταῦτα εὔξαιτο, *Dem.* in *Hermog. Rhet.* p. 179 εἶτα ἃ Φίλιππος εὔξαιτ' ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦτα ὑμῶν ἐνθάδε ποιούσιν). In ordinary language it is very common, e.g. *Isocr.* 3. 16 καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν εὔξαιτο τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τοιαύτης πολιτείας μετέχειν...; (where G has δέξαιτο which is equally common, but means 'be content to'), *Ar. Ran.* 283 ἐγὼ δέ γ' εὔξαιμην ἂν... and occurs also in *Soph. fr.* 327 οὔτε γὰρ γάμον, ᾧ φίλοι, οὔτ' ἂν ὄλβον ἔκμετρον ἔνδον εὔξαιμην ἔχειν· φθογεραὶ γὰρ ὁδοί. I thought once of τίς ἂν αὐχῆσειε, but though *Hesych.* gives αὐχέω: εὐχομαι, that is the only place I have ever found it so explained, and probably the true reading is Schneidewin's rejected ἐξεύξαιτο.

1346. εὐ πως: see cr. n. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1466 εὐ δέ πως προμηθία καθήστο Κάδμου λαὸς ἀσπίδων ἔπι. The converse error occurred in v. 557.

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 ῶ as in English by a capital letter. Tryphon (*Mus. Crit.* i. 49), quoting this word as an example of ὀνοματοποιία 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 'Ἀρκεῖ δ' ἅ μέλλησις' (*Intention*) ἔφα 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 λαβόντες κτέ., *On. Trist.* i. 8. 15 *illud amicitiae sanctum et uenerabile nomen | re tibi pro uili 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 ἀρκυσταταν to be an adjective and altered πημονῆς accordingly.

1379. I formerly punctuated after τάδε (*C. R.* xii. 247), joining it with ἔπραξα: 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 ἐπενδίδωμι κτέ. The third libation was offered to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ: Aesch. fr. 55 τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος εὐκταίαν λίβα. See also note on v. 257 τρίτοσπονδον παιᾶνα and cf. 650 παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων. 'My third blow was added 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 πολυξενώτατον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων, where the schol. has τὸν καταχθόνιον Ἄιδην.

There is something of the same irony in the words σωιζέσθω κάτω in *Soph. El.* 438 and σωιζόντων κάτω *Al.* 660: and there is a precisely similar implication in the mention of a third libation in *Cho.* 576

φόνου δ' Ἐρινὺς οὐχ ὑπεσπανισμένη ἄκρατον αἶμα πίεται τρίτην πόσιν, *i.e.* 'as her third and crowning draught.'

1390 f. recall Hom. Ψ 597 τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς | ἰάνθη, ὡς εἴ τε περὶ σταχύεσσιν ἔέρσηι | ληίου ἀλδήσκοντος, ὅτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι, '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 ἦν (as though = ἐν 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 ἐπισπένδειν*, 'to pour a libation of what is fit,' *σπένδειν* being often used with a genitive, *e.g.* Longus ii. 31 *ἐπισπείσαντες οἶνον*, 22, iii. 12. Philostr. *Apoll.* v. 15, *Epist.* 39 οὐκ οἶνου σπένδοντες αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ δακρῶν. Heliod. vii. 15 *ἀποσπένδω τῶν ἐμαντῆς δακρῶν*, iv. 16. Plut. *Mor.* 655 E Herodian v. 5. 12. In the sense 'it is possible to,' *ἔστιν ὥστε* is common enough: *sup.* 389 *ἔστω δ' ἀπήμαντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα*, Soph. *Phil.* 656, Eur. *Hipp.* 701 ἀλλ' ἔστι κακ τῶνδ' ὥστε σωθῆναι. *ἐπισπένδειν* is properly used of pouring a libation upon a sacrifice: Hdt. ii. 39 *ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (the altar) οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπισπ.*, as iv. 62 *ἐπεὶν γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν*, iv. 60, vii. 167. Nicand. *Thyat.* (Ath. 486 a), Plut. *Rom.* 4, Xen. *Ephes.* 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 *τὸ σῶμα συγκαίουσιν, Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ, χοὰς ἐπισπείσαντες*. By *τάδε*, which is explained by *τοσῶνδε...ἀραιῶν* in the following lines, Clytaemnestra means that the *proper* libations for Agamemnon would be taken from the *ἀραιὰ 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 *λαβεῖν οἶν, Λευκίππη, τὰς πρεπούσας σοι χοὰς παρ' ἐμοῦ*.

1400. *πειρᾶσθε κτέ.* may be a reminiscence of Hector's words to Ajax in Hom. H 235 *μήτι μεν, ἢντε παιδὸς ἀφαιροῦ πειρήτιζε | ἢε γυναικός, ἢ οὐκ οἶδεν πολεμηῖα ἔργα | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ εὖ οἶδα μάχας τ' ἀνδροκτασίας τε*.

1406 f. *τί κακὸν...χθονοτρεφὲς ἔδανὸν ἢ ποτὸν...ῥυτᾶς ἐξ ἀλὸς ὄρμενον*; 'what *φάρμακον*, solid or liquid?' Hom. Δ 741 *ἢ τόσα φάρμακα ἦδη ὄσαι τρέφει εὐρέϊα χθών*. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 530 *φάρμαχ' ὅσ' ἠπειρός τε*

φύει καὶ νήχυτον ὕδωρ. Longus ii. 7 οὐδὲν φάρμακον, οὐ πινόμενον, οὐκ ἐσθιόμενον, οὐκ ἐν αἰδαῖς λαλούμενον. *P. V.* 495 οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημι' οὐδὲν οὔτε βρώσιμον, οὐ χριστὸν οὐδὲ πιστόν. Eur. *Supr.* 1110 βρωτοῖσι καὶ ποτοῖσι. Ov. *Fast.* v. 243 *omnia temptabo latis medicamina terris et freta Tartareos excutiamque sinus.*

1409. τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς; I take this to mean τόδε λεύσιμον θύμα (v. 1107). Other views are that θύος here means 'frenzy,' either 'this maddened rage of thine' or 'this fury of the clamouring people.'

1418. See cr. n. Perhaps we should read Θρηκίων γ' ἀημάτων: but τε may have been merely a metrical addition, after the corruption of A to Λ.

1423. ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, 'conditions equal.' So Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 D συμβουλευὸν δὲ καὶ Λυσίαι ὅτι τάχιστα γράψαι ὡς χρὴ ἐραστῆι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ ἐρῶντι ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων χαρίζεσθαι, where the phrase is equivalent to *ceteris paribus*.

1429. λίπος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος εὐ πρόπειν: 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.

1432. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίων 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 τὸν νόμον, and the same is the case invariably with ἀκούεις or κλύεις. Greek would be καὶ τήνδ' ἄκουσον (Casaubon), as *Cho.* 498, or ἄκουέ γ' (Herwerden), or as I suggest ἀκούση γ', *Eum.* 306, *Soph. Ai.* 1141.

1435. οὐ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον Ἐλπίς ἐμπατέι, '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 πᾶντα μέλας δόμος ἐντὸς ἐργεῖ λήθης.] 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 φόβος and ἐλπίς see Thuc. vii. 61 οἱ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶσι σφαλόντες ἔπειτα διὰ παντὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἔχουσιν.

1437. εὐ φρονῶν ἐμοί: 'sympathetic' is the nearest equivalent, as in other places, e.g. *supr.* 283, *Cho.* 770.

1439 ff. This is the scene that Cassandra foretells in Lycophron, 1108:

ἐγὼ δὲ δροίτης ἄγχι κείσομαι πέδωι  
Χαλυβδικῶι κνώδοντι συντεθραυσμένη·

ἐπεὶ με, πεύκης πρέμνον ἢ στύπος δρυὸς  
 ὅπως τις ὑλοκουρὸς ἐργάτης ὄρεύς,  
 ῥήξει πλατὺν τένοντα καὶ μετάφρενον  
 καὶ πᾶν λακίζουσ' ἐν φοιαῖς ψυχρὸν δέμας  
 δράκαινα διψᾶς, κάπιβᾶσ' ἐπ' αὐχένος,  
 πλήσει γέμοντα θυμὸν ἀγρίας χολῆς,  
 ὡς κλεψίνυμφον κοῦ δορίκτητον γέρας  
 δύσζηλος ἀστέμβακτα τιμωρουμένη.

κείται in this sense often begins a sentence: Hom. E 467, II 541, 558, Σ 20 κείται Πάτροκλος. Theb. 779 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα. A. P. xii. 48 κείμαι· λὰξ ἐπίβαινε κατ' αὐχένος.

1445 ff.

ἢ δέ τοι...

κείται, φιλήτωρ τοῦδ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,  
 εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, 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 *φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ τάφῳ κείσῃ*. 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,  
 captiua coniunx, regii paelex tori.  
 trahite, ut sequatur coniugem ereptum mihi,*

'that she may follow the husband she has stolen from me.' The associations of the word are likely to have lent a special sting to it; the Cretans, says Strabo 484, τὸν μὲν ἐρώμενον καλοῦσι κλεινόν, τὸν δ' ἐραστὴν φιλήτορα. Hesych. gives *φιλήτωρ*: ἐραστής, and Nonnus uses it as an adjective, 'loving': *Dion.* xxi. 27 *φιλήτορι κόλπῳ*, *Ioan.* xviii. 55 Ἰησοῦς δ' ἀνέκοψε φιλήτορι Πέτρον ἰωῆι.—*παροψίς* or *παροψώνημα* mean a *trivial extra morsel*, Pollux x. 87 τὰς δὲ παροψίδας...ἐπὶ μάζης ἢ ζωμοῦ τινος ἢ ἐδέσματος εὐτελοῦς ὃ ἔστι παροψήσασθαι, vi. 56 *παροψίδα*: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ζωμοῦ τι εἶδος, ἢ ὡς τινές, μάζης, ἢ παρειθῆκη τις ὄψου, ὃ οἱ νῦν ἀν' εἴποιεν παροψημάτιον. And when used metaphorically they were a

synonym for a *πάρεργον*, as opposed to an *ἔργον* or *σπούδασμα* (Galen i. 227 *ἔργον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ σπούδασμα...* Plat. *Euthydem.* 273 D 'Οὔτοι .ἔτι ταῦτα σπουδάζομεν, ἀλλὰ παρέργοις αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα...' 'Καλὸν ἂν τι τό γ' ἔργον ὑμῶν εἴη, εἰ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα πάρεργα ὑμῖν τυγχάνει ὄντα'): Sotades (Ath. 368 a) *παροψίς εἶναι φαίνομαι τῷ Κρωβύλῳ· τοῦτον μασᾶται, παρακατεσθίει δ' ἐμέ.* Magnes (*ib.* 367 f) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παροψίδες. Philostr. *Heroic.* 284 = 662 *φυτεύω δὲ αὐτὰ* (these other fruits) *οἷον παροψήματα τῶν ἀμπέλων.* Clem. Alex. 695 καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐφάπτεται φιλοσοφίας οἷα τρωγάλιόν τι ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ παροψώμενος. Himerius *Or.* xiv. 24 τοὺς δὲ Πύρρονος τρόπους καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἔριν οὐχ ὡς μέγα σπούδασμα οἷον δέ τι παρόψημα 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 *Δαιδ.* fr. 236 to a married woman's lover: *πάσαις γυναιξίν ἐξ ἑνός γέ του τρόπου ὥσπερ παροψίς μοιχὸς ἐσκευασμένος.* It is in precisely the same way that *εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς* is applied by Clytaemnestra to her husband's paramour.

The metaphorical meaning of these words has not been grasped; *παροψώνημα* here has hitherto been taken as though it were *ἡδυσμα*, a seasoning to enhance the appetite, *εὐνῆς παροψώνημα* 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 *ἐπιδούναι*: *P.* viii. 64 to Apollo, *τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόθι χαρμάτων ὄπασας, οἴκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἀρπαλέαν δόσω...ἐπάγαγες*: cf. *O.* ii. 10, 41, *Soph. Ai.* 1189. The phrase *εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς* is not the accusative and object to *ἐπήγαγειν*, but the nominative and subject of it—or better, perhaps, it is in apposition to the previous nominative *ἣ δέ τοι*. It follows that the object must be *χλιδῆν*: see cr. n. The schol. has *τὴν ἐκ περιουσίας τρυφήν*, which Blomfield took to be an explanation of *παροψώνημα* merely. It must have included *χλιδῆς*, for of that word *τρυφή* 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 Ἑλλησιν ἐγχλίεις, 242 χλίοντα, schol. *τρυφῶντα*, *Cho.* 137 ἐν...πόνοισι χλίουσι, schol. *τρυφῶσιν*. Hesych. ἐγχλίει: ἐντρυφᾶι. χλίει: θρύπτει, *P. V.* 1003 χλιδᾶν ἔοικας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι, schol. *τρυφᾶν, ἀνίσσθαι*. *Soph. Trach.* 281 ὑπερχλίοντες, schol. ὑπερεντρυφήσαντες.

1451. φέρουσ' ὀμιλεῖν (see cr. n.) is exactly like *Soph. Ai.* 1201

νεῖμεν ἐμοὶ τέρψιν ὀμιλεῖν: cf. Pind. *N.* x. 72 χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν κρεσσόνων, *I.* ii. 37 αἰδοῖος μὲν ἦν ἀστοῖς ὀμιλεῖν.

1456. παράνουσ. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 79 (Helen speaks) ἔπλευσα θεομανεῖ πότμοι, *Theb.* 640 ὦ θεομανές...Οιδίπουν γένος, *ib.* 741 παράνοια συνᾶγε νυμφίους φρενώλεις.

1461. εἴ τις ἦν ποτ': see cr. n. This use of εἴ τις is not so well recognised as it should be; it means 'any that there may be,' 'some or other,' and is declinable, as in the other well-known use πλούτωι σθένοντος εἴ τινος. I believe it should be read with Elmsley in Soph. *Ai.* 179 ἢ χαλκοθώραξ εἴ τιν' Ἐυνάλιος μομφὰν ἔχων 'some complaint or other,' 'possibly,' 'perchance,' for ἢ τιν', and in Aesch. *Cho.* 752 with Buttmann (*Griech. Sprachl.* i. 142) εἰ λιμὸς ἢ δίψ' εἴ τις ἢ λιψουρία ἔχει 'or thirst, may be' (like ἦν τύχηι, εἰ τύχοι, τυχόν, *si forte* Munro on Lucr. v. 720) for δίψη τις. Exactly similar is the use of εἴ ποθι in *Ai.* 885 εἴ ποθι πλαζόμενον λεύσσω, and of εἴ ποθεν in *Philoct.* 1204 ξίφος εἴ ποθεν ἢ γένυν ἢ βελέων τι προπέμψατε. It should be considered whether *Tro.* 705 ἴν' εἴ ποτε ἐκ σοῦ γεινόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πόλιν κατοικήσειαν may not be explained in the same way.

1463 ff. ἐπέυχου...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. ἀξύστατον ἄλγος, *uulnus incompositum*, 'a hurt unhealable'; referring to their description of Helen as ἐν δόμοις ἔρις ἐρίδματος.

1471 f. κράτος τ' ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν κρατύνεις: Helen and Clytaemnestra are both instruments to execute the purpose of the haunting Spirit. Schol. Κλυταιμνήστραν καὶ Ἑλένην λέγει, αἱ κατὰ φανυλότητα ἴσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἔχουσι. The infatuation of the daughters of Tyndareus was an old tradition: see Hom. λ 436—9, Eur. *El.* 1062 τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδος αἶνον ἀξίον φέρει | Ἑλένης τε καὶ σοῦ, δύο δ' ἔφυτε συγγόνω, | ἄμφω ματαίω Καστορός τ' οὐκ ἀξίω. | ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἀρπασθεῖσ' ἐκοῦσ' ἀπώιχετο, | σὺ δ' ἄνδρ' ἄριστον Ἑλλάδος διώλεσας. Similarly in *Orest.* 249 ἐπίσημον ἔτεκε Τυνδάρεως εἰς τὸν ψόγον | γένος θυγατέρων δὲσκληές 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: τῆσιν δὲ φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη | ἠγάσθη προσιδούσα, κακὴν δὲ σφιν ἔμβαλε φήμη, | Τιμόνδρην μὲν ἔπειτ' Ἐχέμων προλιποῦσ' ἔβεβήκει, | ἔκετο δ' ἐς Φυλῆα, φίλον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. | ὥς δὲ Κλυταιμνήστρη προλιποῦσ' Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον | Αἰγίσθωι παρέλεκτο καὶ εἴλετο χεῖρον' ἀκοίτην. | ὥς δ' Ἑλένη ἠσχυνε λέχος ξανθοῦ Μενελάου. This was followed by Stesichorus (fr. 26) who assigned a reason for the curse:



οὔνεκα Τυνδάρεως ῥέζων ποτὲ πᾶσι θεοῖς  
 μούνας λάθετ' ἠπιοδώρω  
 Κύπριδος· κείνα δὲ Τυνδάρεω κόραις  
 χολωσαμένα διγάμους τε καὶ τριγάμους τίθησιν  
 καὶ λιπесάνορας.

Nicolaus in Walz, *Rhet.* i. 385 makes Agamemnon, when struck down, exclaim: ὡς ἐπὶ δυστυχίαι τῶν Ἀτρείδων κατέστη πατὴρ ὁ Τύνδαρος ἑκατέραις γοναῖς ταῖς Ἀτρέως ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. καὶ πλεῖ μὲν δι' Ἑλένην Μενέλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ Κλυταιμνήστραν ἀνήρημαι· Μενέλαος μὲν Ἑλένην τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλοτριῶ, Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ τοῦ βιῶναι (τῶν βίων MS.) ἐμέ· καὶ κακοπραγοῦμεν δι' ἑκατέρας ἀμφότεροι.

**1474 f.** The ending of these two lines is doubtful: see cr. n. But, if the two words required are ἐκνόμοις and νόμοις (like νόμον ἄνομον 1137), it is plain how easily νόμοις might be omitted; and the omission would lead naturally to writing ἐκνόμως.

**1476.** νῦν in the sense of 'now at last,' and not νῦν δ' (see cr. n.), is required. Cf. Ar. *Ecc.* 204 νῦν καλῶς ἐπήνευσε, Plat. *Gorg.* 452 E νῦν μοι δοκεῖς δηλῶσαι κτέ. Similarly in Theocr. i. 132 νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βᾶτοι several copies have νῦν δ'.

**1480.** νειριτροφεῖται. The MSS. reading may be, I think, a corruption of a compound νειριτροφεῖται, like σκιατροφεῖσθαι: cf. νυκτηγορεῖσθαι *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 ἀγχίκριμμον, ὀνήσει πόλιν Simonides in Plat. *Prot.* 346 C for ὀνησίπολι, κάμφει διάυλον Telestes in Ath. 637 a for καμφιδιάυλον; 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 ἀναστρωφωμένη (Gesner) the MSS. of Stobaeus and Choricus vary between ἀναστρωφωμένη and ἀναστρεφωμένη.

The form might also be νειριτραφεῖται, 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 *v.l.* σκιᾶ τροφοῦμενος.

**1481.** νέος ἶχαρ 'fresh in appetite' (τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν). ἶχαρ is to ἶχανάω as μῆχαρ to μηχανάω, λῶφαρ to λωφάω, μῶμαρ to μωμάομαι, λῦμαρ to λυμαίνομαι. There is no such word as ἶχαρ (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. ἶχώρ 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 αἷμα) to mean a *deed of blood*. And the phrase should naturally be a further account of ἔρωσ.

1482. τοῖσδε is probably a gloss: cf. 1657. Perhaps we should read ἦ μέγαν <ἦ μέγαν> οἴκοις with Weil: see on 1506.

1488. ἀνευ Διὸς: Soph. *Trach.* 1278 κοῦδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεύς.

1506. The addition of σὺ after εἶ for metrical reasons was first suggested by Schuetz. Perhaps ἦσθα or αὐτὰ should take the place of εἶ: see on 1482.

1508. πῶ πῶ; is Doric. Cf. πώμαλα, not at all. [See Shilleto cr. n. to Dem. *F. L.* § 56.] πόθεν and ποῦ 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 (μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον *Theb.* 724), demanding vengeance (τίτας φόνος πέπηγεν οὐ διαρρύδαν *Cho.* 65), and is not to be washed away until sufficient blood of kindred has been shed by murder to atone for it: φόνω φόνον λύνει is the principle. Soph. *El.* 1384 ἴδεθ' ὅπου προνέμεται | τὸ δυσέριστον αἷμα φυσῶν Ἄρης. Eur. *Or.* 811 πάλαι παλαιᾶς ἀπὸ συμφορᾶς δόμων | ὅποτε χρυσέας | ἔρις ἀρνὸς ἤλυθε Ταρταλίδαις, | οἰκτρότατα θοινάματα καὶ | σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων. | ὄθεν φόνω φόνος ἐξαμείβων | δι' αἵματος οὐ προλείπει | δισσοῖσιν Ἀτρεΐδαις. Ἄρης πάχραι κουροβόρωι (φόνον) δίκας παρέχων, feud-murder serving as the price for bloodshed, is just like ἀρῆ ἀτολμήτων ἐκτίνουσα in v. 385, havoc and destruction paying the penalty for sin.

1524. She takes up their words δολίωι μόρωι with the retort οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ'; An ellipse such as is implied here by γάρ was often explained by scholiasts, see e.g. scholia on *P. V.* 1015, *Pers.* 237, Eur. *Or.* 794, Ar. *Nub.* 1366: and the explanation was liable to be incorporated in the text, as οὐκέτι in *Rhesus* 17. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 323, condemns Hom. κ 190 on similar grounds. So here the lines which precede οὐδὲ γάρ were a scholiast's explanation, οὗτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον τῶιδε 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 τῆν, which he thought to have been inserted with the object of avoiding a paroemiac. Errors due to the last-named cause will also be found in 87, 783 (προσεφικνεῖται h), and 791.

1528. ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων corresponds to ἄξι' ἀξίων, *digna dignis*, a common use. [Eur. *Supp.* 813 σφαγέοντας οὐκ ἄξι' οὐκ ὑπ' ἀξίων, *Ion* 735 ἄξι' ἀξίων γεννητόρων ἦθη φυλάσσεις.]

1531. ἔρξεν, 'what he wrought' (see cr. n.), is equally possible. Hom. Γ 351 Ζεῦ ἄνα, δὸς τείσασθαι ὃ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργεν.

1532 ff. The construction is εὐπάλαμον φροντίδος μέριμναν στερηθείς, ἀμηχανῶ ὅπαι τράπωμαι. So Soph. *O. T.* 170 οὐδ' ἐν φροντίδος ἔγχος ὦ

τις ἀλέξεται, Opp. *Hal.* iii. 571 οὐδέ οἱ ὄπλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν οἶον ἄρῃην ἐκ γενύων. 'I find in thought no ready weapon to my hand and know not where to turn.'

1536. ψεκὰς δὲ λήγει: 'it is no longer early drizzle.' The phrase is based upon the word ἀσταγές or ἀστακτί 'in torrents': ἀψικαστί might have been used in the same sense.

1537 f. 'Yet there are other whetstones whereon destined hurt is being whetted for the hand of Justice to another end.' In *Cho.* 643 Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμῆν, προχαλκεύει δ' Αἴσα φασγανουργός Destiny is the armourer who forges the weapon for Justice to employ, and here, with language very similar, we expect to find the same image. It seems probable, therefore, that Triclinius was correct in writing δίκαι, which will mean 'for the hand of Justice.' In face of Αἴσα it would be rash to alter μοῖρα: otherwise, modifying a suggestion by Prof. Robinson Ellis, we might perhaps read θήγεται...θηγάναισιν αἶρα:—supposing that could mean a chopping instrument requiring to be sharpened. It is usually explained by σφῦρα, and in a fragment of Callimachus, the only place where it occurs in literature, αἰράων ἔργα stands for 'blacksmith's work.' Hesychius, however, and Bekk. *Anecd.* 359. 19 give αἶρα· σφῦρα. ἀξίνη: and might not μαχ-αιρα mean originally a *battle-axe*? But one of the sign-posts to the sentence is the genitive βλάβης, which according to my ear should be dependent neither on πρᾶγμα nor on θηγάναισιν but on the final substantive, θήγεται βλάβης μοῖρα, as you have θανάτου μοῖρα (*Pers.* 919, *sup.* 1463). The only other possibility I see is that βλάβης is an error for an accusative, θηγάνει βλάβας or βλάβην. The θηγάναι are the incentives urging Orestes to revenge.

1546. ἀδίκως, dishonestly, like δίκην παράβαντες in v. 780. Cf. Schol. on Soph. *El.* 270 σπένδοντα λουβᾶς· τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας Αἰγίσθου κατηγορήμα, εἰ σπένδει θεοῖς, ὅπου ἄδικος φόνος εὔργασται.

1547. τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος κτέ.: *i.e.* and if you do, what praise of yours could be genuine? ἰάπτων is intransitive, as in *Supp.* 556 ἰάπτει δ' Ἀσίδος δι' αἴας.—ἀνδρὶ θείωι: Cratinus, fr. 1 (i. p. 11 K.), of Cimon, σὺν ἀνδρὶ θείωι καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῶν Πανελλήνων.

1557. πόρθμευμ' 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 πιθανῶς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἄιδου νομιζομένους ποταμοὺς κατωνομάκασιν. Ἀχέροντα μὲν διὰ τὰ ἄχῃ, ὡς καὶ Μελανιππίδης ἐν Περσεφόνη (fr. 3)

καλεῖται δ' <εἵνεκ'> ἐν κόλποισι γαίαις  
ἄχε' εἰσιν προχέων, Ἀχέρων,

ἐπεὶ καὶ Δικύμνιός φησι (fr. 1).

μυρίαῖς παγαῖς δακρύων ἀχέων τε βρύει

καὶ πάλιν (fr. 2).

Ἀχέρων ἄχρα πορθμεύει βροτοῖσιν.

1568. Πλεισθениδῶν. 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. πανεπαρκῆς ἔμοιγ' is assumed to have been the original text which with ἀπόχρη superscript ultimately produced the MSS. reading. The first step was πᾶν ἀπόχρη 'μοιγ': but since πᾶν ἀπόχρη 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 βαιὸν ἐχούση πᾶν, ἀπόχρη μοι δ'.... 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 ἀπόχρη, 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 οὐκ ἀπῆρκει ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀπέχρη, Ἀριστοφάνης Πολυίδωι. But poetry uses ἀρκῶ and compounds, verbs and adjectives, as v. 390 ἀπῆμαντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν, *Pers.* 240 πλοῦτος ἐξαρκής, *A. P.* x. 76 πλοῦτον ἔχειν ἐθέλω τὸν ἐπάρκιον, Anon. ap. Suid. Παλαμῆδης: εἴη μοι βίωτος πανεπάρκιος. See also *Cho.* 68 παναρκέτας νόσου βρύειν. Aeschylus has also παναρκῆς *Theb.* 152. The copyist, after the habit of such with unexpected compounds, made two words of it. In *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* § 147 Cobet (*Coll. Crit.* p. 378) for τὸ λεγόμενον πᾶν ἀληθές restored παναληθές, and the tendency is seen in *Theb.* 709 where παναληθεῖ was the first attempt at ΠΑΝΑΛΗΘΗ. ἔμοιγε is quite suitable: Plat. *Prot.* 346 C ἐγώ, ὦ Πιπτακέ, οὐ διὰ ταῦτά σε ψέγω ὅτι εἰμὶ φιλόσοφος, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε ἐξαρκεῖ ὄς... Pherecrat. 145. 17 ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμοιγε χούτος ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνήρ.—For the general sense cf. the words of Menelaus in Hom. δ 97 ὦν ὄφελον τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δώμασι μοῖραν ναίειν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σοοὶ ἔρμεναι.

1579. ἄγη: '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 ἀξίως τιμωρομένων ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξαν.

1591. *προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως*: he plays bitterly on two words commonly applied to welcome, *προθύμως δέχεσθαι*, *eager, zealous, hearty*, and *φιλοφρόνως* 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 *ἔντερα* 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 ποδῆρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας  
ἔκρυπτ' ἀνευθεν, τᾶλλα δ'...  
ἐθρυπτ' ἀνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος.

Cf. Ov. *Met.* vi. 656 *ipse sedens solio Tereus sublimis auito*. 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 *χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκόμων σύνδικον Μοισῶν κτέανον* is quoted; or else '*in support of*'—so that the act is symbolic. In the latter sense it has been suggested to read *σύνδικον* (Karsten), as in Pind. *O.* ix. 98 *σύνδικος δ' αὐτῶι Ἰολάου τύμβος εἰναλία τ' Ἐλευσίς ἀγλαΐαισιν*.—*οὕτως* is part of the curse: 'go perish...!'

1605. *τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπὶ δέκ'* of the MSS. is ridiculous. *ἐπὶ δὺ* 'in addition to two others' would make sense and may be right; but I suspect the original was *τρίτην γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐλπίδ'* 'I who was my father's third last hope.' Cf. *Cho.* 235, 695, 772, Aeschines ii. 179, *A. P.* viii. 389, *Erigyr.* Kaibel 116, Thuc. iii. 57, Pers. ii. 35.

1610. See on 544. Aristid. i. 709 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἠδίστ' ἀτεθναίειν ἅπαντες, εἰ λήψονται δίκην παρὰ Θηβαίων· οὕτω δι' ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσι*.

1613. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 427 *σὺ τὴν ἐμὴν φῆς μητέρ' εἰς Ὀδυσσεύως ἤξειν μέλαθρα*;

1618. ἐπὶ ζυγῶι, 'When on the main thwart sits authority.' [ζυγόν denotes here a bench at the stern: see Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 57, n. 131, and cf. Eur. *Ion* 595, *Phoen.* 74.]

1619 f. Cf. *sup.* 1425 γνώση διδαχθεὶς ὄψε γοῶν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

1625 ff. γύναι, σὺ...ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῶι is addressed to Aegisthus. There is the same contrast in *Cho.* 624 γυναικοβούλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τευχεςφόροι, which is so framed that it might include Aegisthus. See also *Eum.* 628—40. For οἰκουρὸς cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 700 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ οἰκούρημα γίγνεται τόδε, τοὺς μὲν μάχεσθαι τοὺς δὲ δειλῖαι μένειν. Enger points out that Cassandra had already so described Aegisthus: *sup.* 1224.

1630 ff. Orpheus tamed (ἡμέρου) the savage breast with persuasive charm (πειθοῖ): you shall find your own savagery tamed by compulsion (βίαι): Ἔρωτος θεσμόν, ὧι πεισθεὶς ἐγώ, οὐπω κρατηθεὶς Aristarchus 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 γάρ ἐστιν οὐδεὶς Ἀμφίων οὐδὲ Ὀρφεύς· ὃ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸς ἦν Μούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμουσίας αὐτῆς γεγόνασι...τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἀπὸ κύκνων οὐδὲ ἀηδόνων ὁ ζῆλος αὐτῶν ὠνόμασται παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικε, κνυζηθμοῖς καὶ ὑλαγμοῖς εἰκάζετε...καὶ μὴν ὃ γε Ὀρφεὺς τὰ θηρία ἡμέρου καὶ μουσικὰ ἐποίει διὰ τῆς ὠιδῆς· οὗτοι δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, ἀγρίους πεποιήκασι καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους.

1638. ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων... He leaves that awkward topic hastily and cuts the matter short: *Theb.* 1052 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτρέπομαι δέημα 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: ἤνχεις τις εἶναι τοῖσι χρήμασι σθένων.

1640. οὔτι μὴ σεραφόρον κριθῶντα πῶλον. The *tracer* (σεραφόρος or δεξιόσειρος) had light work, as compared with the horses running under the yoke. κριθῶντα 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<sup>st</sup> the pivot of the near wheel. Hence the metaphorical use of σεραφόρος and δεξιόσειρος of one who gives assistance in the time of need (*sup.* 833, *Soph. Ant.* 140).

1641 f. Cf. Eur. *Supp.* 1104 οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα δῆτά μ' ἄξειτ' ἐς δόμους, σκότῳ δὲ δώσειτ', εἴθ' ἀσιτίαις ἐμὸν δέμας γεραίων συντακεῖς ἀποφθερῶ;

1645. μίασμα. Cf. *Cho.* 1026 (of Clytaemnestra) πατροκτόνον μίασμα καὶ θεῶν στύγος.

1650. λοχῖται. Aegisthus is attended by λοχῖται or δορυφόροι (*Cho.* 764 f., Eur. *El.* 616), the characteristic retinue of a τύραννος.

**1652.** ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴν. Porson substituted ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γὰρ and has been generally followed, but the change is unnecessary; for (1) a similar rhythm is found elsewhere: Eur. *I. A.* 908 ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γοῦν ταλαίνης, *Ion* 557 τῶι θεῶι γοῦν οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν, and (2) the order of the words, *i.e.* the occurrence of μὴν after the pronoun, is not uncommon: καὶ γὰρ μὲν κνίζω Theocr. v. 22, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴν Plat. *Legg.* 644 D, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν Eur. *Hec.* 401, *Or.* 1117, *Andr.* 256, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μέντοι πεσῶν γε κείσομαι Ar. *Nub.* 126, μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐγὼ γάρ *Lys.* 130.

**1656.** μηδὲν ἡματωμένους. See cr. n.: most editors read μηδὲν αἱματώμεθα, 'let us not spill any of our blood.'

**1657 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. *Hipp.* 1152 πρὸς δόμους ὀρμώμενον there is a schol. τοῦσδε, and on *Andr.* 141 ἔμολες οἴκους, though δεσποτῶν ἐμῶν follows, a schol. εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς οἴκους δηλονότι. καιρόν was a gloss on ὦραι or ὦραν, as was first pointed out by Prof. Housman in *Journ. Phil.* xvi. p. 289. If ὦραν is right, it is used as καιρόν Soph. *Ai.* 34, 1316, ἄωρίαν Ar. *Ach.* 23.—For πρὶν παθεῖν cf. Hom. P 30 ἀλλὰ σ' ἐγὼ γ' ἀναχωρήσαντα κελεύω ἐς πληθὺν ἰέναι, ... πρὶν τι κακὸν παθεῖν, Y 196, Apollonius ap. Stob. *Flor.* 58. 12 καλὸν πρὶν παθεῖν διδαχθῆναι πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἡσυχία, Eur. *Med.* 289 ταῦτ' οὖν πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξομαι, Xen. *Anab.* ii. 5. 5 οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους, φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν κτέ.—It is Clytaemnestra's plea that she was the executor of Doom, 1434, 1471 ff., 1498 ff., *Cho.* 909 ἡ Μοῖρα τούτων, ὦ τέκνον, παραιτία. The MSS. reading, πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους 'to your predestined houses,' is absurd. Thus χρῆν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν is 'it was fated we should act herein as we have acted.' Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 95 ne crucia te, obsecro, anime mi, mi Phaedria. | non pol quo quemquam plus amem aut plus diligam | eo feci: sed ita erat res; faciundum fuit. Eur. *H. F.* 311 ὁ χρῆν γὰρ οὐδεὶς μὴ χρεῶν θῆσει ποτέ. Ar. *Ach.* 540 ἐρεῖ τις, οὐ χρῆν· ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν εἶπατε. Quint. ix. 493 (Agamemnon says to Philoctetes) μηδ' ἡμῖν χόλον αἰνὸν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι βαλέσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ μακάρων τάδ' ἐρέξαμεν.

**1660.** δαίμονος: cf. 1568 f. The metaphor has nothing to do with the spur (πληκτρον) of a fighting-cock: the phrase βαρὺς δαίμων (βαρυν-δαιμονία) or βαρεῖα 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.

**1662.** ἀλλὰ...ἀπανθίσαι is like the exclamatory use of the inf. with δέ in Dem. 21. 209 (quoted on v. 348). Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 147.

**1663.** δαίμονος πειρωμένους here and in *Cho.* 511 means more than

'trying one's luck'; it means 'putting one's *predestined* fortune to the touch.' *ἐξιστορήσαι μοῖραν τύχης* in *Theb.* 493 is the same thing.

1664. *σώφρονος γνώμης θ' ἄμαρτεῖν τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀρνούμενους*, *dominium recusantes* (*Ov. Met.* viii. 848): *γνώμης ἄμαρτεῖν* is 'to be ill-advised,' 'mistaken' (*Hdt.* i. 207, *γνώμης χρηστής* ix. 79, *τῆς ἀρίστης* iii. 81); *τεύξεται φρενῶν* in 185 is the opposite, 'shall be well-advised.' 'To be well-advised or ill-advised in doing so and so' is expressed by a participle, as 183 *κλάζων τεύξεται φρενῶν*, 793 *οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶα κινέμων...κομίζων*, *Eur. Bacch.* 329 *τιμῶν τε Βρόμιον σωφρονεῖς*, *Hdt.* vii. 15 *οὐκ ἐφρόνεον εἴπας*, i. 116 *οὐκ εὖ βουλευεσθαί μιν ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα*.... To be metrical here, the participle must be deponent, and I know no other which will give the sense required except *ἀρνούμενους*: for which see *Helioid.* iii. 3 *ἢ ἵππος τὸν χαλινόν, ὅσα μὲν δεσπότην, ἤρριέτο*. 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 θῶπεν· οὐκ ἐμοὺς τρόπους λέγεις*, *P. V.* 969 *σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' αἰί*.

1669. Cf. *Soph. El.* 794 *ὑβριζε, νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυγχάνεις*, *Cho.* 57 *φοβεῖται δέ τις· τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖσι θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον*, *i.e.* 'they (Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra) may hold their reign of terror while their luck endures!'

1670. *χρόνῳ*: see cr. n. The usual idiom is *διδόναι ἄποινα* followed by the genitive without the addition of *χάριν*. For the corruption cf. 316.



# INDEXES.

## I. GREEK.

- ἀγά, 975  
 ἀγάλαξ, 718 ff.  
 ἀγαλμα, 740  
 ἀγκυρα, 510  
 ἀγώνιοι θεοί, 518  
 "Αἰδου μήτηρ, 1234  
 αἰροῦντες ἠρῆσθαι, 352  
 ἀκασκαῖος, 740  
 ἄλγος (τινός), 50  
 ἀμαρτεῖν γνώμης, 1664  
 ἀμαυρός, 469  
 ἀνάγκη, 228 ff.  
 ἀξι' ἀξίων, 1528  
 ἀξύστατον ἄλγος, 1468  
 ἀπήνη, 1023  
 ἀπὸ στρατοῦ, 543, 608  
 ἀποστέργω, 504  
 ἀπόχρη, 1574  
 ἄπτερος φάτις, 288  
 ἄπυρα, 70  
 ἀρή, 385  
 ἀρκῶ, 1574  
 ἀρνεῖσθαι, 1664  
 ἄσωτος, 1597  
 ἄτερ, 1146  
 ἄτη, 726, 1228 ff.  
 ἀτίτης, 72  
 ἀτλησικάρδιος, 437 ff.  
 ἀφημένων, 421  
 ἀφθονος, 477
- β and φ confused, 435, 762  
 βάσανος, 415  
 βασιλείος, 96  
 βλάβας ἔχειν, 880  
 βλαβέντα, c., gen. 121 ff.  
 βόλος, 1171  
 βόσκεσθαι, c. acc., 121 ff.  
 βουλή, 872 ff.  
 βούτας, 718 ff.
- γαλήνη, 739  
 γάρ corrupted from δέ, 565  
 — in parenthetic explanation, 1225  
 — position of, 232  
 — with ellipse, 1524
- γάρ wrongly inserted, 790  
 γε = γες, 551  
 — for μέν, 1144  
 γενναία γυνή, 618 ff.
- δαίμων, 1660, 1663  
 δέ confused with γάρ, 565  
 — resumptive, 12 ff.  
 — που, 192 f.  
 δείγμα and δείμα confused, 967  
 δῆγμα, 782  
 διπλή μάστιξ, 645 ff.  
 δισσοὶ Ἀτρεΐδαι, 125 f.  
 δόξαν λαβεῖν, 287  
 δόξει )( δόξειεν ἄν, 424  
 δυναστής, 4 ff.  
 δυσμαθῆ and δυσπαθῆ confused, 1254  
 δωματοφθορεῖν, 939  
 δῶρον θεοῦ, 918 f.
- εἶ που, 525  
 εἶ τις, 55, 149, 1461  
 εἰπεῖν πάρεστιν, 379  
 εἴπερ...γε, 925  
 εἰς ἀφάνειαν, 396  
 ἐκ θεοῦ, 737  
 ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, 1423  
 ἐκπράξας, 1274  
 ἐκτείνειν, 1228 ff.  
 ἐκτελής, 106  
 ἐκτρέπειν, 1465  
 ἐκφάτως, 707 f.  
 ἐλπῖς, 404, 510, 807 f., 1605  
 — φανεῖσα, 887 ff.  
 ἐν μέρει, 1191  
 ἐνθηρος, 566  
 ἐπάγειν, 1447  
 ἐπαντέλλω, 27  
 ἐπεγχύσαν, 1132  
 ἐπιλέγειν, 796  
 ἐπινέμεσθαι, 487 ff.  
 ἐπισπένδειν, 1394 ff.  
 Ἐρινύς, 748  
 ἔρκος, 268 ff.  
 ἐσάξειν, 1180  
 ἐσθλός, 431

ἔστιν θάλασσα, 949  
 εὖ φρονεῖν, 1437  
 εὐήγορον, 357 ff.  
 εὐθετος, 445 ff.  
 εὐλογεῖν, 585  
 εὐμαθεῖν, 589  
 εὐσεβεῖν, 350  
 εὐφρων, 797  
 εὐχομαι, c. fut. inf., 924

Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, 1385 ff.  
 Ζέφυρος, 696  
 ζῆν, 810  
 ζυγόν, 1055, 1618

ἦ...γε; 1103  
 ἦνυσεν, 702 ff.

θ and ο confused, 762  
 θάρσος (θράσος), 794  
 θρήνος, v. ὑμέναιος  
 θύος, 1409  
 θυραῖος, 90

ιάπτω, 1547  
 ἰχαρ and ἰχώρ, 1481

καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπέ, 922  
 καὶ νῦν corresponds to μέν, 8, 592  
 καὶ τότε, 194  
 καιρὸν χάριτος, 777  
 καλά, epithet of Artemis, 146  
 κάλλη, 914  
 κάρανα, 476  
 καταρράπτειν, 872 ff.  
 κατηγορεῖν, 283  
 κατοπτῆς, 319  
 κείται, 1439  
 κεναγγῆς, 197 ff.  
 κῆδος, 702 ff.  
 κλάζειν, 48, 165  
 κομίζειν, 795  
 κόμισ, 500  
 κόσμοι, 368  
 κρατεῖν, c. inf., 10 f.  
 κριθᾶν, 1640  
 κροκοβαφῆς, 1110 #  
 κτήνη, 134  
 κυκῶμενον κέαρ, 984 ff.  
 κῶμος, 1187 ff.

λαμπρός, 1179  
 λάσκειν, 165, 287, 618 ff.  
 λέξεται, 180  
 λεύσιμος, 1107  
 λόγῳ παλαιός, 1196

μανθάνω, 618 ff.  
 μάστιξ, 645 ff.  
 μάταν, 175  
 μέλαθρον Φόβου, 1435

Μελλώ, 1355  
 μέν, position of, 8 ff., 592  
 μέν...δέ, after διπλοῦς etc., 645 ff.  
 μέν οὕτως, 618 ff.  
 μέτρον, 389 ff.  
 μή, in parenthesis, 922  
 μή οὐ, corrupted, 1170  
 μῆλον, 718 ff.  
 μήν, follows pronoun, 1652  
 μινυρίζειν, 16  
 μνησιπήμων πόνος, 189 ff.  
 μογεῖν, 676 ff.  
 Μοῖρα (μοῖρα), 1007 ff.  
 μύελος, 76

νειριτροφεῖται, 1480  
 νῦν = 'now at last,' 1476  
 νῦν ἔτι, 809

ξυνδίκως, 1601 f.

οἶ, 1144  
 οἶκος (or οἶκοι) ὑπάρχει, 952  
 οἰκουρεῖν, 800, 1625 f.  
 οἶμαι, 800, 1224  
 οἶον μή, 136 ff.  
 ὄκνος, 996  
 ὄλολυγμός, 28  
 ὄμβρος, 661  
 ὀμιλίας κάτοπτρον, 830  
 ὄμφαξ, 961  
 ὅταν after φυλάσσειν, 4 ff.  
 οὐ, negating single word, 1311  
 οὐδέ = οὐ καί, 1007 ff.  
 οὐλος, 178  
 οὖν, 676 ff.

παιάν, 257 f.  
 παιδίον, 1077  
 παίειν πρὸς, 994  
 παλαιστῆς, 1205  
 πανεπαρκῆς, 1574  
 πάντολμος, 228 ff.  
 παρὰ γνώμην, 922  
 παρακοπήναι, 1251  
 παραφάω, 975  
 παρείξεις, 561  
 πάρος, 1041  
 παροψώνημα, 1448  
 πεπαμένος, 826  
 περιπετής, 243  
 πεσσοί, 32 f.  
 πῆγμα ὄρκου, 1197  
 πῆγμα νόσου, 841  
 πημονά, 999  
 πιαίνω, 288  
 πλαγὰν ἔχειν, 379  
 πλέον φέρειν, 1012  
 πρέπειν, 427 ff., 641 ff., 1326 ff.  
 πρὶν παθεῖν, 1657 f.  
 πρὸ καρδίας, 189 ff.

προβατογνώμων, 786  
 προθύμως, 1591  
 πρόπυργοι θυσίαι, 1167  
 προσειπεῖν, 365, 1290  
 προσήκων, 1063  
 πρόσωθεν, 938  
 προτέλεια, 65, 237  
 προφέρειν, 211, 955  
 προφήτης, 418  
 πρώτον τε καὶ μάλιστα, 676 ff.  
 πρώτος δραμεῖν, 326  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι, 609  
 πῶ πῶ; 1508  
 πῶγων, 318

σαίνειν, 726, 1228 ff.  
 σειραφόρος, 1640  
 σεσωμένος, 623  
 σίνος, 398 f.  
 σκιά τὰ θνητῶν, 1326 ff.  
 σπουδή, 500  
 Στροφίος, 872  
 σὺ δέ, 1045  
 συμπνέων, 197 ff.  
 σύμφυτος, 159  
 συντελής, 537  
 σφενδόνη, 997

τὰ πρὸς, 835  
 τε, in anacoluthon, 99  
 τε...καί, 189 ff.  
 τέλος, 925  
 τί ('what of...?'), 79  
 τίθεσθαι, 32 f.  
 τις, omitted, 71  
 —, = 'perhaps,' 55  
 τῶν, 228 ff.  
 τὸ μή, c. inf., 15

τὸ σόν, 555  
 τόδε corrupted to τόγε, 322  
 τοι, 374 ff.  
 τόλμα, 228 ff.  
 τοῦμόν μὲν οὕτω, 941  
 τριβή, 471  
 ὑδαρής, 789  
 ὑμέναιος, changed to θρηῖνος, 707 f.  
 ὑπατηλεχής, 50  
 ὑπατοι λεχέων, 50

φ and β confused, 435  
 φαιδρόνους, 1228 ff.  
 φαίνειν (ἀγανά), 101 ff.  
 φάρμακα, 1407 f.  
 φιλήτωρ, 1447  
 φόνουσις, 1323  
 φυλακῆ κατασχεῖν, 246

χαίρειν καταξιῶ, 577  
 χαλκοῦ βαφάς, 617  
 χάριν ξυναινέσαι, 487 ff.  
 χάρις βίαιος, 189 ff.  
 χελιδῶν, 1034  
 χλιδή, 1448  
 χρέος, 464  
 χωρίς, 917  
 χωρίς ἢ τιμὴ θεῶν, 641 ff.

ψεκάς, 1536

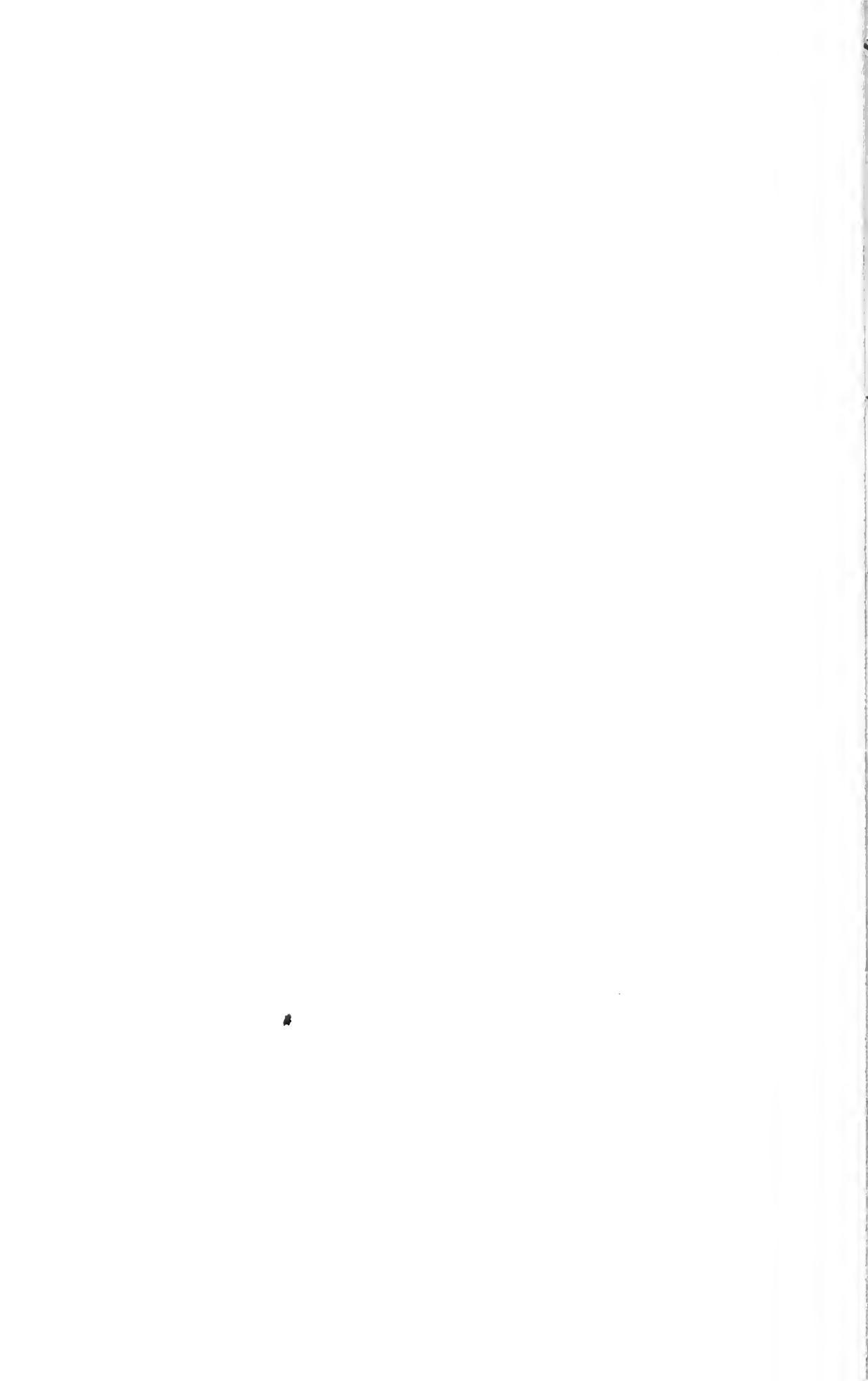
ῥραν, 1657 f.  
 ὡς, 921  
 ὡς, with limiting force, 618 ff.  
 ὡς δέ, 348  
 ὥστε, after ἔστιν, 1394 ff.  
 — τοξότης, 1193

# U.C. CLASSICS LIBRARY

## II. ENGLISH.

- accusative, after *βόσκεσθαι*, 121 ff.  
— exclamatory, 1142  
Acheron, 1557  
Aegisthus, 1625, 1650  
Aeschylus, religious ideas, 749 ff., p. 28 ff.  
— style, explains metaphor, 4 ff.  
— — studied carelessness, 99  
— — sustained figure, 49, 445 ff.,  
530 ff.  
after-thought, in conditional clause, 359,  
484  
Aias the Locrian, 654  
anacoluthon, 970 ff.  
anchorage, danger in open, 670  
Arachnaeus, 321  
Artemis, pitying child-labour, 139  
article, force of, 361  
Asclepius, 1007  
asyndeton, in descriptions, 740  
  
blood-feud of kinsmen, 1510 ff.  
  
compounds, liable to corruption, 50, 552,  
1480, 1574  
conscience, awakes at night, 189 ff.  
'coverlet' of earth, 860  
  
dative, after *εὐφημεῖν*, 28  
— plural, form of, 659  
death, prayed for on attainment of de-  
sire, 544, 1610  
Diagoras of Melos, 381  
dual termination, 1206  
  
ellipse of verb (euphemistic), 431  
eyes, abode of love, 427  
— in physiognomy, 283, 784 ff., 1429  
  
Fate, sacrifices to, 70  
forced laughter, 784 ff.  
  
genitive, after *ἄλγος*, 50  
— of participle, after possessive pro-  
noun, 1325  
— partitive after *ὑπατος*, 50  
  
Health as a Mean, 990 ff.  
Helen, 718 ff., 723, 794  
heroes, sorrows of, 1024 f.  
hyperbaton, v. parenthesis  
  
infinitive, after *κρατεῖν*, 10 f.  
— epexegetic, 1451  
  
infinitive, exclamatory, 1662  
Ischys, 299  
  
kings, compared to eagles, 49, 121 ff.  
  
lamp, in lovers' chamber, 880 ff.  
lion, of Pelopids, 147, 718 ff., 1223  
  
Menelaus, cowardice of, 125 f.  
— leaves Troy, 631  
metaphor (from wind), 967 f.  
  
nightingale, 1146  
  
old age, 76 ff., 108  
optative, in commands, 935  
— with *ἔως*, 331  
order of words, 125 f., 357 ff., 1197  
— simplified by scribes, 219, 415, 563  
Orpheus, 1630 ff.  
  
pain disturbs sleep, 189 ff.  
paleness, 1110  
parenthesis, or *διὰ μέσου* construction,  
616 f.  
paroemiac verse, corrupted, 1527  
participles, corruption of aorist, 348, 737  
Persuasion, 396  
Pleiads, setting of, 4 ff.  
Pleisthenes, 1568  
Poseidon and Athena, 655  
preposition following case elided, 1276  
prohibitions, tenses in, 1463  
proverbs (*ἀπὸ θεσφάτων κακῶν*), 1124  
— (*πᾶθει μάθος*), 187  
provinces of gods distinct, 1007 ff.  
  
sacrilege of Greeks at Troy, 530 ff.  
sealing-up of store rooms, 614  
shipwreck, safety in, 667 f.  
Solon's adage, 918 f.  
  
third libation, 1385 f.  
Thyestes, 1594 f.  
Tyndareus, daughters of, 1471 f.  
  
vows made to gods, 924  
  
wealth, power of, 771, 1330  
winged dreams, 434  
  
Zeus wrestles with Cronos, 181







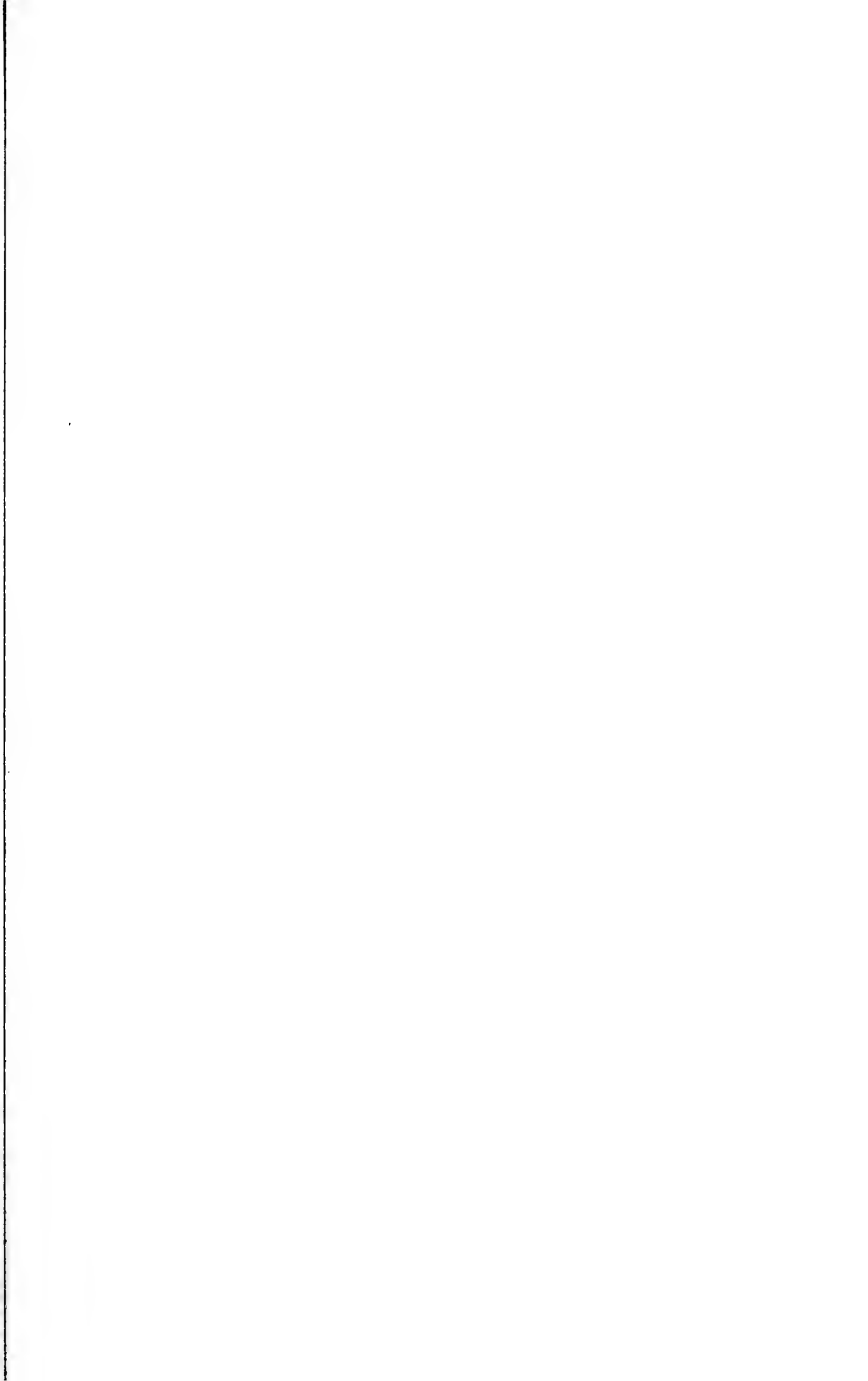
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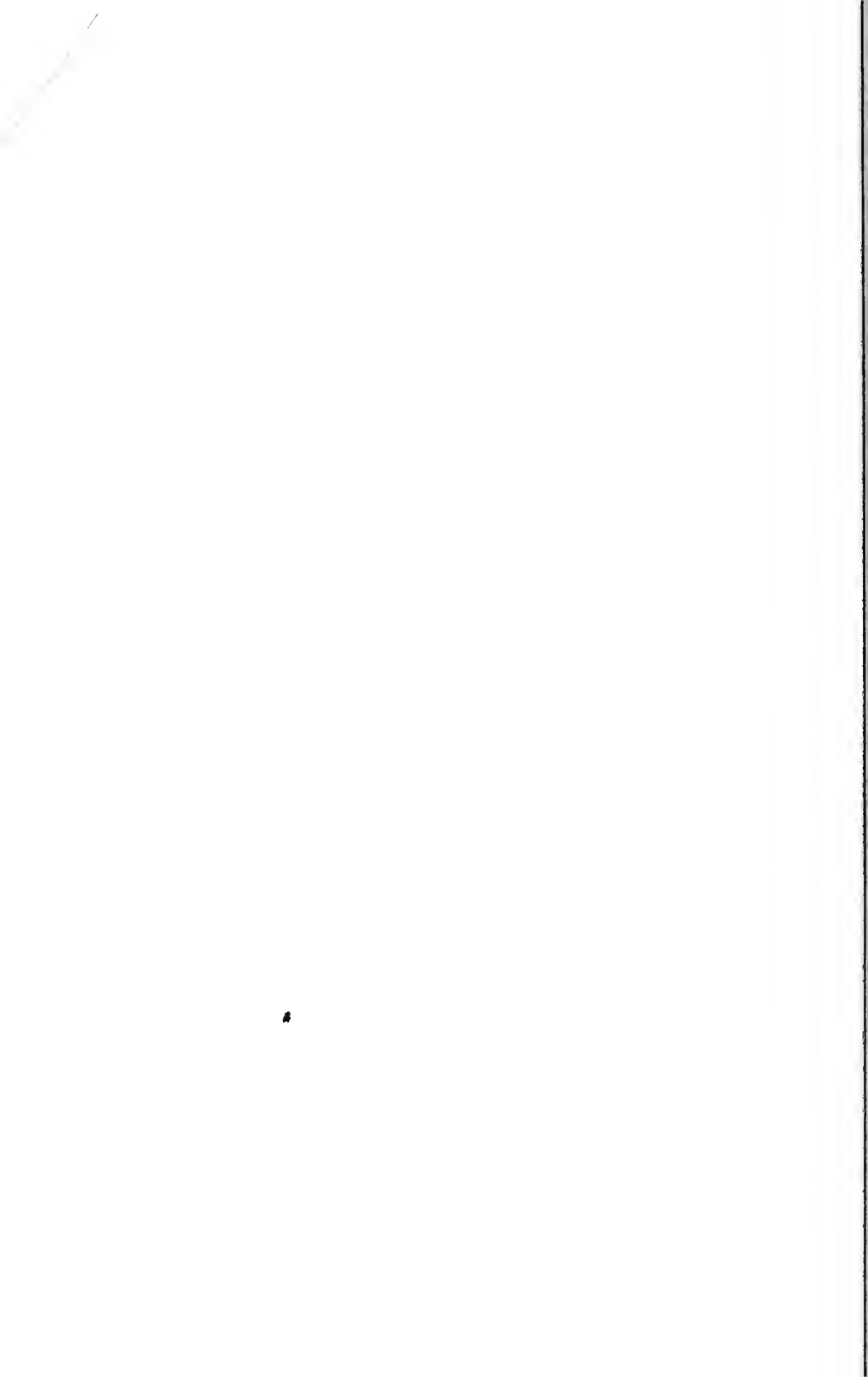
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