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PLAYS OF ÆSCHYLUS

TRANSLATED FROM A REVISED TEXT BY
WALTER HEADLAM, LITT.D.,
FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE EUMENIDES



LONDON
GEORGE BELL & SONS

1908

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THE EUMENIDES

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

THE PYTHIAN PROPHETESS.

APOLLO.

ORESTES.

HERMES (silent), conducting Orestes.

GHOST OF CLYTEMNESTRA.

CHORUS OF THE FURIES.

ATHENA.

JURY OF AREOPAGITES.

ESCORT OF ATHENIANS, who conduct the Furies to their cavern in
procession, with a chorus.

THE EUMENIDES

(*The Furies*)



Delphi, before the temple of Apollo.

Prophetess. First among the Gods I name with chiefest honour in this prayer the first diviner Gaea (Earth); and after her Themis (Law); for she, as a tradition telleth, took her seat here second upon that which was her mother's place of oracle; and third in succession, with the goodwill and consent of Themis and with no force done to any, another Titaness and child of Earth took seat here, Phoebe; she bestowed it as a birthday gift on Phoebus, and he bears the name of Phoebe borrowed from her.¹ He, coming from the lake and ridge of Delos, landed at the havening 10 shores of Pallas, and came thence to this country and his seat upon Parnassus. He was brought upon his way with solemn worship by the sons of Hephaestus, the road-makers, taming the wildness of the untamed land. And on his coming he was most highly honoured by the people and by Delphos the sovereign ruler of this country. Zeus caused

¹ The purpose of this opening passage is to prepare for the harmonious reconciliation at the close between the Powers of Earth and Darkness and the Powers of Heaven and Light.

his mind to be inspired with the diviner's art, and seated him as the fourth prophet on this throne; and Loxias is the interpreter of Zeus his father.

These are the Gods I worship in my opening prayer. 20
 And Pallas of the Precinct hath honourable mention also; and I adore the Nymphs, that habit where is the Corycian cavern, hollow, beloved of birds, the haunt of deities.—Bromius hath possessed the region—I am not forgetful—since the time when in his deity he led an army of the Bacchanals, designing death for Pentheus like a hunted hare. And with a call upon the springs of Pleistus, and Poseidon's power, and on the Most High Zeus of Consummation, I then take my seat as prophetess:—and may they grant me that my entrance now may be more successful 30 far than any heretofore. And if there be any Hellenes present, let them come in order of the lot, as is the usage; for I give responses as the God dictates.

(The PRIESTESS enters the temple, and presently comes out again, half fainting.)

O horror, horror, horror to relate and to behold, hath sent me forth again from the house of Loxias, that I have no strength left in me nor agile step; my running is rather with my hands than nimbleness of legs; for an aged woman in alarm is nought—nay, even as a child.

I was on my way towards the laurelled cell, when on the Navel-stone I saw a man polluted before heaven in the 40 session of a suppliant, his hands dripping with blood, and holding a drawn sword and a high-grown branch of olive, wreathed in humble fashion with the largest wool—a silvery fleece, for on that point I will speak with certainty.

And before this man there sleeps a wondrous troop of women seated upon thrones—no, not women, Gorgons:—

no, nor yet Gorgons either can I compare them to:—I have seen some in a picture before now carrying off the feast of 50 Phineus—but these are wingless, and black, and abominable altogether. And they snore with blasts one cannot venture near, and from their eyes there drips a loathsome rheum. And their attire is such as is not fit to bring near statues of the Gods, nor into homes of men. My eyes have never seen the tribe these visitants belong to, and I know not the land that can boast to breed this generation without harm, and not repent her pains.

The sequel now must be his care who is the master 60 of this house, the mighty Loxias himself: he is both Medicining-Seer and Portent-reader, and to those others purifier of their houses.

The interior of the temple. ORESTES seated at the Centre-stone, the FURIES surrounding him, asleep; HERMES in the background.

(*Enter APOLLO.*)

Apollo. I will not fail! Through to the end I will be thy protector close by thy side—aye, and though far removed,—and will not show me gentle to thine enemies. So now thou seest here these ravengers overcome by sleep: there lying sunken the abominable Maids, these hoary, ancient Children, with whom never mateth God or man or any 70 beast¹—nay, evil was the very cause of their creation,² for

¹ The relative clause, by a studied carelessness, usurps the place of the main sentence: *Class. Rev.* 1904, p. 242. There is another example at *v.* 688.

² *Paradise Lost*, i. 622:

‘A universe of death, which God by curse
Created evil, for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives.’

it is the evil darkness of the Pit that they inhabit under the earth, things abhorred by human kind and by the Gods of Heaven. Nevertheless thou must still fly and grow not faint; for they will chase thee right across the long mainland, footing it ever over the trodden earth,¹ and beyond sea and island colonies. And let not thy spirit fail through too much dwelling on the toil of it, but go unto the town of Pallas, and take session, clasping her ancient image in 80 thine arms. And there, with judges of the case and speech of soothing charm, we will discover means to free thee wholly from this trouble; for it was at my persuasion thou didst take thy mother's life.

Orestes. Lord Apollo, thou well knowest what is righteousness, and being perfect in that lore, add only to be not forgetful of it; thy *strength* to do good act is fully competent.

Apollo. Remember, let not fear dismay thy spirit.—And thou (*to HERMES*), my very brother, of one Father's blood, Hermes, do thou protect him; prove full well thy title 90 and be *Guide*, in shepherding this man, my suppliant. It is a thing sacred in the eyes of Zeus, this sanctity of outlaws, when sped forth upon their journey with auspicious escort.²

[*APOLLO leaves the temple, and ORESTES starts upon his journey in the charge of HERMES.*

¹ *v.* 76 βιβῶντ' ἀν' αἰεὶ τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα.

² σέβει τοι Ζεὺς τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας,

ὀρμώμενον βροτοῖσιν εὐπόμπῃ τύχῃ.

Aeschylus might have written ὀρμωμένων, but σέβει τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας is an idiomatic way of saying σέβει τοῦσδε ἐκνόμους, as, for example, *v.* 548 τοκέων σέβας εὖ προτίων, and *v.* 886 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄγνόν ἐστι σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας: so that τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας ὀρμώμενον is equivalent to τοῦσδε ἐκνόμους ὀρμωμένους, while βροτοῖσιν here, as often, merely means 'with men,' 'on earth.' The sentence has been sometimes misinterpreted, as though ὀρμώμενον meant 'sent to men.'

(*Enter the GHOST of CLYTEMNESTRA.*)

Clyt. Oh, ah, sleep on, would ye! and what good are ye asleep? While I, thus slighted in contempt by you, with the other dead there for my killing the reproach among the perished is still fresh and vivid,¹ and I wander in disgrace abroad:—I tell you, I am most grievously accused by them—and yet, though used so shamefully by nearest kin,¹⁰⁰ there is not one Spirit that shows wrath on my account, slaughtered as I was with hands of matricide!—Behold the wounds here with thine inward consciousness.²

Oh and yet plenty of my provisions have ye lapped—wineless drink-offerings, sober soothing-draughts, and banquets in the solemn night upon the burning brazier would I sacrifice, a season shared with you by none in Heaven. And all this I behold now trod like dirt beneath¹¹⁰ your feet, and *he* is gone, escaped even as a fawn; ay, and that lightly from the very meshes hath he sprung, making great mouths at you! Give ear, because my plea is for my very life! Be conscious, O ye Goddesses of earth below! 'Tis in a dream now Clytemnestra calls to you.

(*A sound of muttering or meowing (μὺ μῦ Ar. Eq. 10) is heard from the FURIES.*)

¹ Clytemnestra's passion makes her incoherent.

² *v.* 103 ὄρα δὲ πληγὰς τὰσδε καρδίᾳ σέθεν. Her wound was at the throat, πρὸς δέρην *v.* 595, ἔσω δέρας Eur. *El.* 1219. After this line the MS. gives:

εὐδουσα γὰρ φρήν ὕμμασιν λαμπρύνεται,
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν,

'for when asleep the mind is lit with eyes, but in the daytime mortal man hath no endowment of prevision.' But the Furies are not mortal men, nor do they need foresight to see what is present; nor is Clytemnestra in a mood for such reflections. I believe with Schuetz that they are an illustration quoted from some other play of Aeschylus.

Clyt. Mew, mew ! but the man is gone and far in flight.
For he hath *friends* far different from mine !¹

(*They mew again.*)

120

Clyt. Thou art too drowsy, thou hast no compassion for my case ; meanwhile Orestes, murderer of his mother here, is gone !

(*Cries of 'O, O,' from the FURIES.*)

Clyt. 'O, O,' and slumbering ! Come, arise at once. What *deed* hast thou accomplished except working mischief ?

Fur. O, O !

Clyt. Slumber and weariness, empowered conspirators, have drawn the venom of the dreadful dragoness !

Fur. (*With redoubled whimperings.*) To him, to him, to 130
him, to him, mark there !

Clyt. 'Tis but in dream thou art hunting and giving tongue, like a hound whose eager keenness never ceases. What is thy *doing*?² Up ! let not fatigue subdue thee ; be not made so soft with sleep as to forget the sense of hurt. Let thy liver feel the sting of merited reproaches ; for to the right-minded they are as a goad.³—And thou, waft thy

¹ Reading (with Weil) φίλοι γάρ εἰσιν, οὐκ ἐμοῖς προσεικότες. Hermann's reading φίλοις γάρ εἰσιν, οὐκ ἐμοί, προσίκτορες (which takes προσίκτορες like Ζεὺς ἀφίκτωρ in *Sufr.* 1) would mean 'for it is my kin, not I, that have petitionary Gods': what one looks for rather is 'but I have none,' that is, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ, as in Eur. *Or.* 576, where Orestes says :

ἢ μητρὶ μὲν πάρεισι σύμμαχοι θεοί,
τῷ δ' οὐ πάρεισι, μᾶλλον ἠδικημένῳ.

² τί δράς ; as τί σοι πέπρακται πρᾶγμα in *v.* 125.

³ *v.* 135. The vengeance of the dead, of which the Furies are embodiments, was conceived as being stirred up by reproaches, taunts, of the indignities and shames that they had suffered ; see *Cho.* 374 (with my note), 493, Eur. *Or.* 1239, Soph. *El.* 1069 ; and reproaches were described in many metaphorical words (as θείνειν *Théb.* 369, μαστικτῆρ *Sufr.* 475, καθικνεῖσθαι) as stinging blows, as from a scourge or goad. In *v.* 155 we see these taunts at work.

blood-hot breath upon the man, wither him with the hot blast of thy belly's fire ; follow with a fresh pursuit and wear him down. [Exit.]

(*The FURIES awake.*)

Fur. Rouse, arouse her there, as I rouse thee! Art 140
sleeping? Come, arise and kick sleep off, and in this prelude
let us see if there be anything at fault.

Out upon it! Fie! O sisters, we have suffered—

Suffered much and wantonly have I!

Suffered bitter anguish, O alack!

A fearful blow!

The game hath slipped from the meshes and is gone—

Overcome by sleep I lost my prey!

Aha, thou son of Zeus, thou art a thievish knave—

Thy youth has ridden trampling over aged Deities— 150

To respect thy suppliant, a godless man and cruel to his
parents—

The mother-slayer thou hast filched away, and thou a
God!

What is there here that any can call right?

And to me in dreams there came rebuke, that smote me
as a chariot-driver with mid-graspèd goad—

Under the ribs, under the lobe—

Sore I can feel it, sore exceedingly, a chill from the fell
common scourger's lash! ¹ 160

This is what these Younger Powers do,

Usurping everything beyond their rights—

A dripping curd of gore ²

About the foot, about the head—the eye may see the

¹ See *v.* 135 with the note. As the Furies are embodied in a concrete form, the taunts of Clytemnestra take effect in that way. In *v.* 161 read with Schuetz βαρύ τι, περίβαρυ, κρύος ἔχειν: cf. *Theb.* 819.

² *v.* 164 θρόμβον Wakefield.

Navel-stone of Earth possessed of a huge stain of blood upon it.¹

A Prophet, he hath brought defilement on his holy cell 170 with home-pollution, self-invited and self-urged; transgressing the Gods' law, he hath regarded human things, and the ancient Apportionings² he hath destroyed.

To me too is he grievous, and the man's deliverance he shall not compass; though he fly below the earth, there is no freedom for him evermore; a man with guilt upon him unabsolved, he shall get upon his head another to pollute him there.³

(*Enter APOLLO.*)

Ap. Out, I command you! get you from this house forthwith, begone from my prophetic cell! for fear you get 180 a wingèd glistening serpent speeding from the golden string, and with the pain disgorge the red froth drawn from human creatures, vomiting the clotted blood that you have sucked! *These* are not houses you are fit to come unto; your place is where are punishments of lopping heads and digging eyes and cutting throats, where by destruction of the seed boys' youthful vigour is impaired, and mutilation of extremities,⁴

¹ v. 169 :

ἔφεστίω δὲ μάντις ὄν μιάσματι
μυχὸν ἐχράνατ' αὐτόσσυτος, αὐτόκλητος.

One could hardly find a better example of the middle voice.

² παλαιγενεῖς δὲ Μοίρας φθίσας, more or less personified : v. 730 παλαιὰς διανομὰς καταφθίσας is the same thing.

³ ἕτερον ἐν κάρᾳ
μιάστορ' ἐκείνου πάσεται MS.

In place of ἐκείνου metre requires — ◡ —.

⁴ v. 185. On this passage see *Class. Rev.* 1905, p. 397. The alternation of substantives (with εἶσιν or γίγνονται understood) and verbs is quite natural in Greek, e.g. Aesch. *frag.* 158 :

Βερέκυντα χῶρον, ἔνθ' Ἀδραστείας ἔδος,
Ἰδης τε μυκηθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασιν
ἔρπουσι μῆλων πᾶν ὄρεχθεύει πέδον

and stoning, and where men moan long and piteously, impaled beneath the spine!—Do ye hear the sort of feast ye 190 have a liking for, that makes you loathed of Heaven? And all the fashion of your form suggests it. A blood-lapping lion's den is where such as you should habit, not in this wealthy¹ place of oracle, infecting with contagion. Begone ye in a herd unshepherded! No God in heaven hath any love for such a flock as you.

Fur. Lord Apollo, listen now to our reply:—Thou thyself art answerable for this, not in part, but all; 'tis thy sole doing, and thou art answerable wholly.

Ap. How so? Extend thy speech so far.

Fur. Thou gavest injunction that the man here should do matricide.

Ap. I gave injunction to exact² vengeance for his father.

Fur. And then engaged thyself to be acceptor of the blood.

Ap. And bade him turn for absolution to this temple. 200

Fur. And then revilest his conductors hither?

Ap. Ay, they are not fit³ to come near such a house as this.

Fur. But this is a part appointed us.

Ap. What is this proud office? Let us hear the noble privilege!

(*Class. Rev.* 1902, p. 435), Eur. *Cycl.* 164–170, Philostr. *Apoll.* v. 26
 ἔνθα οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ ὕβρις ἀλλύντων τε καὶ ἀλλυμένων, ῥέει δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

¹ *v.* 195 *πλουσίοισι*: a frequent epithet of temples, especially of Delphi with its rich offerings and its treasures. *πλησίοισι* of the MS. could not mean anything except 'in this neighbouring place,' and neighbouring to what? It has no meaning. *πλουσίοισι* is Pauw's emendation; the words are confused elsewhere, as Eur. *Med.* 956, Max. Tyr. xxxv. 3, Schol. *P. V.* 832 (v.l.), Stob. *Flor.* 22. 3.

² *v.* 203 *πρᾶξαι*. Wecklein's *κλέψαι* would be true (Soph. *El.* 35), but seems less fitting here.

³ *v.* 207 *πρόσφοροι*.

Fur. We drive out mother-slayers from their homes. 210

Fur. And women¹—how with a woman that destroys her husband?

Fur. That would not be a killing of same blood and kindred.

Ap. O quite then dishonoured and of no account you make² the troth-pledge between Zeus and Hera of Completion! And Queen Cypris too is cast into dishonour by this argument, from whom come to men their nearest³ and their dearest joys. For the Fate-sealed marriage-bed of man and wife is mightier than the pledge of any oath.⁴ If then you are so lenient to them that slay each other as not to punish or to visit them with wrath,⁵ I say it is not 220 justice of you to pursue Orestes: for in one case I observe you taking sharpest cognisance, and in another manifestly acting more remissly.—But the Goddess Pallas will review the justice of this case by trial.

Fur. That man I never, never will let go!

Ap. Keep on pursuing then, and give thyself more trouble!

Fur. Seek not to abridge my rights by argument.

Ap. I would not have them at a gift, thy rights.

Fur. No, thou art of great account in any case beside the throne of Zeus. But I, because a mother's bloodshed 230 draws me on, will pursue this man for vengeance, and thus set about my hounding quest. [*Exeunt.*

¹ v. 211 τί γὰρ γυναικάς (Paley).

² v. 213 ἡ κάρτ' ἄτιμα καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἠρκέσω MS. Perhaps ἠνύσω or ἠνύσας: what one expects is ὄχεται.

³ v. 216 τὰ φίλτατα includes both senses (100, 611), and 'closest tie' is necessary for the argument.

⁴ v. 218. Oath being a πῖστωμα.

⁵ v. 220. Reading τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ with Meineke: cf. Hom. Γ 278, T 259, Eur. Or. 315, Theognis 204. τὸ μὴ μέλεσθαι (Auratus) would do well—'as not to care or visit them,' or 'as not to care even to visit them.'

Ap. And I—will aid my suppliant, and rescue him! A fearful thing with men and Gods alike is the Appealer's wrath, should I forsake him wilfully.

*An interval of at least a year is imagined to elapse (ἀπει-
αυτισμός). The scene is now transferred to Athens, at the
shrine and ancient image of Athena.¹*

(*Enter ORESTES, accompanied by HERMES.*)

Orestes. Queen Athena, by the commands of Loxias am I come; receive an outcast wanderer with clemency—a suppliant not in need of absolution, but with edge abated and worn off upon men's habitations² elsewhere and on travelled ways, in course of journeying over dry land and²⁴⁰ sea, preserving the injunctions of Apollo's oracle, I come now to thy dwelling and thine image, Goddess, here still keeping at my post I will abide the settlement of trial.³

(*The FURIES enter dispersedly, questing on the trail by scent.*)

Aha, good! here are the man's traces manifest:—come follow by the dumb informer's evidence,—for as a hound pursues a wounded fawn, we track him by the (scent of) blood and droppings of it. And with the long ex-

¹ Professor Ridgeway thinks the scene is not the image of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, but another sanctuary of Pallas to the south-east of it, outside the wall, where was held the ancient court known as τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ. His arguments are given in the *Classical Review*, October 1907.

² See *v.* 455, Eur. *Or.* 423-4.

³ The text, I think, is complete, only the sentence develops irregularly as it goes on—a thing which Aeschylus does often for dramatic purposes (*zv.* 112, 905 are other examples): βρέτας τὸ σόν must be governed by φυλάσσω (v. 442 βρέτας τὸδε ἦσαι φυλάσσω) as well as by πρόσσειμι. But in *v.* 239 we should probably read ἀλλ' ἀμβλὺς ἤδη προστετριμμένος τε πρόσ with Prien.

hausting toil my inwards blow,—for every quarter of the earth has been grazed over by our flock, and over the sea too in wingless flight I came pursuing, no whit slower than 250 a ship. So now he must be crouching somewhere here;—the smell of human blood smiles sweetly on me.¹

Look out, look out again! scan everywhere around, for fear the matricide escape in flight scot-free.

Yes,² here he is again! in sanctuary, with arms entwined about the image of an immortal Goddess, he would fain submit to trial for his handiwork. 260

But it may not be:—a mother's blood upon the ground is ill to gather up again, O foul, liquid spilt upon the ground is lost and gone!

Nay, thou must render from thy living self the rich red liquor from thy limbs to swill; from thee would I get³ feeding of that evil draught.

While yet alive I'll wither thee away and drag thee down below, that thou mayst pay the quittance for thy cruel matricide.

¹ *v.* 253 ὀσμὴ βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελά: προσγελά, *arridet*, is a synonym of προσσαίνει, which (as Jebb well says on *Soph. Ant.* 1214) could be used of that which *appeals for recognition* by vividly striking the senses. αἰκάλλει was sometimes used instead. 'Smells wooingly, flatteringly, gives a welcome to my sense, gives me sweet warrant.'

² *v.* 258:

ὄδ' αὐτέ γ' ἀλκὰν ἔχων
περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεῖς
θεᾶς ἀμβρότου.

The MS. gives:

ὄδ' αὐτε γοῦν ἀλκὰν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει

which was meant for an iambic trimeter; whenever scribes can make what they consider an iambic line, they do so, often by inserting γε or οῦν and so on. οῦν was ejected here by Hermann. If the γε is sound, it must mean 'Yes.'

³ *v.* 266 βοσκὰν φεροίμαν MS., doubtful.

And thou shalt see there whosoever else among mankind hath done iniquity, by sin against a God or a stranger or 270 his own dear parents, suffering each the due reward of justice. For Hades is a great corrector of mankind below the earth, and taketh note of everything with mind that writeth it as in a book.

Orestes. Taught in the school of sorrow, I am deeply read in purifying lore; I know when it is right to speak, and likewise to keep silence; but in this present matter I was *charged* to speak, by a most wise instructor: for the blood upon my hand is slumbering now and fading—the 280 matricidal pollution is washed out; for while yet fresh it was expelled at the bright God Apollo's hearth with purges of slain swine: and it would make a long tale to recount from the beginning all those that I have visited with harmless intercourse.¹ So likewise now it is with pure lips innocently that I call upon this country's Queen, Athena, to come hither to my aid: without spear lifted, she shall win both me and my country and the Argive people in true honest 290 friendship and alliance absolutely. O whether then it be in Libyan regions of the earth, about her natal stream of Triton's flood that she be planting an erect or covered foot,²

¹ Here in the MS. follows a proverbial line from elsewhere, *χρόνος καθαιρεί πάντα γηράσκων ἡμοῦ*, 'Time in his ageing course destroyeth all.'

² *v.* 294 *τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῆ πόδα*. This is the literal translation of the words, but what precisely they imply it is not easy to be certain. Some (as Paley, Liddell and Scott *s.v.* *ὀρθός*, Verrall) take *ὀρθόν* to mean 'advanced beyond the skirt.' There are these difficulties—that the antithesis to *κατηρεφῆ* one would expect rather to be *γυμνόν*, and that *ὀρθῶ ποδί* elsewhere (so far as I can find) means always *recto talo*, upright in standing or walking as opposed to lying down or sitting. *μὴ κατηρεφῆ* 'not covered,' would be easier. I cannot help suspecting that in any case there is an allusion of some kind to Homer *Z* 92, where a *πέπλος* (as at the Panathenaea) is to be offered to Athena:

θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡνυκμοιο :

succouring her friends,—or whether like a man that is a marshal bold she be surveying the Phlegraean Plain, O may she come—a God can hear though he be far away—to be my deliverer from this affliction.

Fur. Never shall Apollo or Athena's might deliver thee, but thou shalt be abandoned utterly and lost, finding the 300 place of gladness in thy heart no more.¹

Dost thou not even answer, but contemn my words, a victim fatted up for me and consecrated? While yet living thou shalt make me banquet, and not slain beside the altar; and thou shalt hear now a spelling hymn to bind thee to us.

Come now, let us join hands in the dance, for we are purposed to show forth a dismal minstrelsy and to expound our functions, how this band of ours administers the affairs 310 of men. Just and upright we consider that we are;² when a man displayeth openly clean hands and pure, no wrath from us proceeds against him, and he passes through the course of life unscathed; but when he hath committed sin as this man hath, and privily concealeth hands defiled with blood, then do we arise to lend an upright witness to the 320 dead, and to exact the price of bloodshed thoroughly.

Mother who didst give me birth, O Mother Night, to be a Punishment to them that are in dark, to them that are in

here the reading ἐπὶ γούνασιν gave rise to a debated question whether the Palladium was a standing or a seated figure: see Strabo 600, Libanius iv. 1115-6.

¹ After this line the MS. gives:

ἀναίματον βόσκημα δαιμόνων σκιά·

'the bloodless meat of Spirits below, a shadow.' If it belongs to this passage at all, it would come best after *v.* 305 οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμῶ σφαγείς, 'and not slain at altar'; but I suspect that it was quoted in the margin as a parallel.

² εὐθυδίκαιοι δ' οἴμεθ' εἶναι·

cf. οἴμεθα in Thuc. v. 105, νομίζομεν in i. 70.

day, give ear! Because the son of Leto seeketh to deprive me of my rights, by taking from my grasp this cowering hare, the rightful expiation for a mother's blood.

Over the victim is chanted this ditty, to madden the 330 brain, distract the sense, and blight the mind, a hymn that from the Furies comes, fettering the will, untuned with harp, and withering men away.

For this is what the thread of Fate throughout all time continuing assigned to be our office in perpetual possession—those among Mankind that have incurred the wanton act of kindred bloodshed,¹ upon such to wait until he pass 340 below the earth,—and after death he is not over-free.

Over the victim is chanted this ditty, to madden the brain, distract the sense, and blight the mind, a hymn that from the Furies comes, fettering the will, untuned with harp, and withering men away.

These offices were sealed by Fate upon us at our birth:—but from the Gods Immortal to refrain our hands: there is 350 none that shares the banquet with us, and in pure-white raiment I have neither part nor lot: for my province is the wrecking of a house, when war domestic hath destroyed a kinsman.

Even so are we now setting upon him,² and lusty though he be, yet do we make him faint and dim at last.³ 360

¹ *θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι
ξυμπέσωσιν μάταιοι*

(Turnebus) seems to be the right correction of *θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαις ξύμπασωσιν μάταιοι*.—*ξυμπέσωσιν* is used euphemistically (like *ξυμφορά*) with irony.

² Reading *ἐπὶ τὸν ᾧδ' ἰέμεναι* with E. Ahrens.

³ This is the main sense clearly; the MS. gives:

*ἐπὶ τὸν ᾧ δίδμεναι
κρατερὸν ὕνθ' ὁμοίως
μαυροῦμεν ὑφ' αἵματος νέου—*

of which the last part is a paraphrase of the original.

And while I am eagerly seeking to relieve another of this troublesome office,¹ and upon concerns of mine to seal the Heavenly Gods' exemption, without coming to inquiry²— Zeus hath rejected from his conversation this '*gory and abominable tribe*'—

< Wrecking of a house, when war domestic hath destroyed a kinsman :

Even so are we now setting upon him, and lusty though he be, yet do we make him faint and dim at last. >

Glories of men,³ for all their grandeur in the light of day, waste again beneath the earth and dwindle in dishonour, 370

¹ Xen. *Cyr.* vii. I. 44 τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ Κροῖσον συστρατεύειν ἀφελεῖν σφίσιν ἐδεήθησαν.

² This passage, in a text which cannot be relied upon, is extremely difficult to deal with, and the version given here is only tentative. The MS. has :

σπευδομενα (altered to σπευδόμεναι) δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τάσδε μερίμνας
θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς ἐπικραίνειν
μηδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν.

With ἀτέλειαν and εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν, it looks as though we had allusion to the Liturgies or Public Duties at Athens, and the legal right, which any citizen charged with such a liturgy possessed, of calling on some other person to perform it, as being better able to support the burden. The dispute between the rival claimants to immunity (ἀτέλεια) was adjudicated by the magistrates (διαδικασία). As the text stands, therefore, the Erinyes appear to say: 'We are not only willing, but anxious, to relieve the Celestials of this Liturgy, and to undertake the charge ourselves, without waiting for them to challenge us before a magistrate.'

The comparison of the Gods' concern for human affairs to a Liturgy is made by Lucian ii. 760: εἶτα καὶ προνοεῖν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων οὐ πᾶσιν ἐδόκουν οἱ θεοί, ἀλλ' ἦσαν τινες οἱ τῆς συμπάσης ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦς ἀφιέντες, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς εἰώθαμεν ἀπολύειν τῶν λειτουργιῶν τοὺς παρηβηκότας.

ἐμαῖς μελέταις was conjectured by H. Voss: and there ought, I think, to be a caesura after ἐμαῖς.

³ δόξαι, τ' ἀνδρῶν, 'seemings' or 'conceits,' appearances or reputations.

before the onset of our sable raiment and the malignant dancing of our feet.¹

For with vigorous leap high from aloft down I alight with nimble foot, ah, heavy the fall! with legs that, though the runner be swift, trip him to his dire confusion.

And while he falleth, yet doth a man know it not,² from the disease of folly; so thick the gloom in which pollution 380 hovers over him; a cloud of darkness hanging as it were above his house becomes the theme of many a sighing tale.

For it abideth.³ Able are we to contrive and to effect, and with long memories for evil, Awful Ones and inexorable to men, administering a chosen province though rejected with dishonour⁴ by the Gods Above and separated from

¹ ὀρχησμοῖς τ' ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός: the following passage is in the measure of the Cretic *lyrorchete* and was danced to it: cf. Athenaeus 631C ἡ δ' ὑπορχηματική ἐστὶν ἐν ἧ ἄδων ὁ χορὸς ὀρχεῖται, Soph. *Aj.* 700 Κνώσι' ὀρχήματα, and Hesychius Κνώσια κῶλα: τὰ ὀρχηματικά (so read for ὀρμητικά).

² In the blindness caused by Ἄτη: Soph. *Ant.* 583.

³ μένει MS. I consider Dobree's μέλει γάρ very probable,—'we see to it,' make it our care, our business: μέλειν, μέλεισθαι, μελέτωρ were almost technical terms in this connection.

⁴ v. 388:

ἄτιμ' ἀτίεται δίομεναι
λάχη θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ'
ἀνηλίω λάμπαι.

There is apparently an iambus or a trochee more than there should be. I am inclined to eject λάχη: then (with Weil's reading in 388) we get:

ἄτιμα τίομεν ἀτίεται
θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' ἀνηλίω λάπα.

λάμπαι was corrected by Wieseler to λάπα on account of metre. λάμπη and λαμπώδης were the forms in later use, but λάπη (*prūtuita*) is preserved in nine places by the MSS. of Hippocrates and by the MSS. of Athenaeus 132E in a line of Diphilus:

πάντες βλιχανώδεις εἰσὶ καὶ μεστοὶ λάπης.

I cannot tell why editors should have been so chary of accepting the

them by the sunless mould—a province of rough travelling 390
for the seeing and the dim of sight alike.

Where then is the mortal that boweth not in awe and
terror of these things, when he heareth from my lips that
Ordinance that was conferred upon me by the Gods beneath
the seal of Fate with fullest powers? I have a grant of
antique privilege, nor do I meet with any lack of honour,
though my place appointed is below the earth and in the
sun-forsaken gloom.

(*Enter* ATHENA.)

Ath. Far off I heard the cry of an appeal to me, the 400
distance of Scamander, while making occupation of the
land which, be it known, the chiefs and captains of the
Achaeans, being a great portion of the captured spoil,
assigned unto me entire in perpetuity, as a chosen gift unto
the sons of Theseus. Thence came I speeding with un-
wearied foot,¹ without wings, only with my bosoming Aegis
whirring in the air—*this* was the car my strong young steeds
were yoked to.²

Beholding here a strange new company of visitants—I
feel not any fear at all, but wonder is before mine eyes,— 410
what can ye be? I speak to all in common—both to this

correction here, or why Mr Sidgwick should call the word a very late
one, and 'the strain of meaning very harsh, and the word in the last
degree unlikely.' It meant a viscid, mucous slime, such as gathers on
the top of stagnant or fermented liquids, like the 'mother' (*γρᾶς*,
ἐπιπαγος) on boiled milk or vinegar, or the scum on Shakespeare's
'filthy-mantled pool': and in descriptions of Hell, or places that
resembled Hell, this was a characteristic detail; e.g. Hom. *h. Dem.*
432 ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι, Verg. *Aen.* vi. 462 *loca senta situ*.

¹ ἄτρυτον πόδα is an allusion to her title Ἀτρυτώνη. She was called
ἄτρυτος ἐν μάχῃ in a fragment quoted by Hesychius.

² πῶλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζέβασ' ὄχον, 'No other car, no other
steeds have I' (Drake). The 'deictic' τόνδε is equivalent to a
'limiting' epithet.

person seated at my image, and of you, that are like to no begotten seed,¹ that are not beheld by Gods among the Goddesses, nor yet resemble any shapes of human kind:—but to speak ill of one's neighbour when with no ground of complaint² transgresses equity, and Justice holds aloof from it.

Fur. Thou shalt hear all in brief, Daughter of Zeus:—we are the drear children of dark Night, and in our homes below the earth our name is *Curses*.³

420

Ath. I am informed of your generation and the titles ye are called by.

Fur. Yes, and thou shalt presently hear my rights and honours!

Ath. I shall know them, if plainly informed.

Fur. We drive out homicides⁴ from their homes.

Ath. And where does the slayer find his flying end?

Fur. Where joy and gladness are quite out of vogue.

¹ *v.* 413 *σπαρτῶν*, cf. *Soph. O.C.* 1534; here it includes both the classes specified by *οὔτε—οὔτε*: had it meant some different kind it would have been followed by *οὐδέ*.

² *v.* 416 *ἄμομφον ὄντα* Robert. *ἄμορφον ὄντα* of the MS. with *τὸν πέλας* (*Auratus*) would of course be applicable, but the error *μορφ-* for *μόμφ-* is very common, and here *μορφώμασι* has just preceded. Perhaps *ἄμομφον* was the text before the scholiast, and his note should run: *ἄμομφος οὐσα, οὐ δυνήσῃ με ἐφ' οἷς εἶπον ἀντιψέξαι*, 'Being unreproached, you will not be able to fling back reproach at me for what I have said.'

³ *Ἄραί*, Harms invoked by imprecation.

⁴ *v.* 424 *βροτοκτονούντας*: a stricter definition of their office would be *αὐτοκτονούντας*, and Davies thought that this is what Aeschylus wrote, and that *βροτοκτονούντας* was substituted by a scribe who did not understand it. *αὐτοκτονεῖν*, however, was in use by scholiasts themselves, as *Sufr.* 271, *Theb.* 679 (where read *εἰς τὸ αὐτοκτονεῖν*). In *v.* 210 their definition is *τοὺς μητραλοίας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν*, and *μροκτονούντας* might be mistaken for *βροτοκτονούντας*, but I do not feel that it was necessary to be so specific.

Ath. Is that the sort of flight that you are noising¹ upon *this* man?

Fur. Yes, for he thought fit to be his mother's murderer.

Ath. Was there no other force whose wrath he stood in fear of?

Fur. Why where could there be such incentive² as to 430 matricide?

Ath. There are two parties here, and half the argument.

Fur. But waver of *oath* he will neither take nor tender!

Ath. You care more for the name of 'just' than for the act.

Fur. How so? instruct me, for thou art not poor in subtilty.

Ath. I say you must not win by oaths an unjust cause.³

Fur. Well try then and examine, and judge righteous judgment.

Ath. Will ye indeed commit the settlement of the cause to *me*?

Fur. Most surely, with respect for thee as worthy and of worthy parentage.⁴

Ath. Sir, what answer would you return to this? First tell your country and your birth and your misfortunes, and 440 then repel this charge—if it be with confidence in justice that you sit here keeping your station at this image by my hearth, a sacred suppliant after the manner of Ixion:—give me a clear reply to all these questions.

¹ ἐπιβροίξειν is a hunting term, used of hallooing hounds on, like ἐπιθώσσειν, ἐπισίξειν.

² κέντρον, 'goad'; see v. 469.

³ v. 435 τὰ μὴ δίκαια is the object, not the subject, of νικᾶν: Eur. frag. 1034:

φεῦ φεῦ τὸ νικᾶν τᾶνδιχ' ὡς καλὸν γέρας
τὰ μὴ δίκαια δ' ὡς ἀπανταχοῦ κακόν.

⁴ Reading πῶς δ' οὐ; σέβουσαι γ' ἀξίαν κἀπ' ἀξίων, though other readings would give sense enough.

Orestes. Queen Athena, I will begin with thy last words and relieve thee of a great anxiety. I am not in need of purification, nor had I pollution on my hand when I took session at thine image. And I will show thee a strong 450 testimony:—it is the law that the guilty suppliant should keep silence until at purifying hands he hath been blooded by the slaughter of a sucking swine. Long since have we performed this absolution upon other houses and on other ways by land and water.¹

So much for that scruple, which I thus remove. And for my birth, the case with that thou shalt hear forthwith. I am an Argive, and of my father it is well that thou enquirest—Agamemnon, marshaller of men in ships, with whom in concert thou didst make the city of Ilium to be no 460 more a city.² This man perished in a way that was not well, on his returning home, for he was slain by my black-hearted mother, who enveloped him in cunning trammels, which bare witness to his murder in the bath.

And I, returning,—having been before that time in exile, —slew my mother, I will not deny it, in blood-requital for my dearest father. And for this work Apollo Loxias is jointly answerable, who, to goad my heart, forewarned me of dire pains, if I refused to act thus on the guilty. Now 470 determine thou by judgment, whether I did *righteously* or

¹ *v.* 454:

πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα
οἴκοισι καὶ βατοῖσι καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις.

βατοῖσι is Weil's emendation for *βοτοῖσι*. This is what Orestes said before in *v.* 238:

ἀλλ' ἀμβλὺς ἤδη προστετριμμένος τε πρὸς
ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν,
ἴμοια χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν.

² *v.* 460 σὺν ᾧ σὺν Τροίαν ἄπολιν Ἰλίου πόλιν ἔθηκας. The sentence would run much better without *Τροίαν*, which is not only superfluous but awkward in its place. *Τρώων* or *Τρωσίν* would be easier. Meineke conjectured *πρῶαν* or *πρῶην*, 'lately.'

no ; for before thee, whatever may be my fate, I will accept it.

Ath. The matter is too grave, if any mortal man presume to judge it ; nor is it lawful for me either to decide a case of murder done in keen resentment :¹ especially since *thou*, in spite of all, art come here as a suppliant subdued and humble,² purified and harmless to my house, and I have respect to thee as being, after all, offenceless towards my City ;³ whereas the character that belongs to *these* is far from gentle,⁴ and if they fail to win their case successfully, 480 the land is threatened with poison from their fierce stomachs, which falling on the ground will be a fearful devastating blight.

So then the matter stands,—in either case—their abiding or their dismissal,—a source of grievous and perplexing hurt to me. However, since the matter hath alighted in this quarter,⁵ I will appoint judges of homicide, reverencing⁶

¹ *v.* 475. Reading ὄξυμηνίτου.

² *v.* 476 *κατηρτυκῶς* (which the editors do not appear to have understood) is a synonym of *σεσωφρονηκῶς* (cf. *v.* 44).

‘ At your age

The hey-day in the blood is tame, it’s humble,
And waits upon the judgment.’

³ *v.* 478 *αἰδοῦμαι* (Hermann for *αἰροῦμαι*) was the proper term for respecting the petition of a suppliant.

⁴ *v.* 479 *αὔται δ’ ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέπελον* : from *πέμπειν* in 484 and *Agam.* 1189 *κῶμος, δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἐρινύων* it would seem that the adjective had been applied to the Erinyes before Aeschylus, and that he was inclined to connect it with *πέμπειν*. But the uses of the adjective *πέπελος*, and the proper name *Πέπελος*, forbid. It was formed, as I have pointed out, from the root *πέπ-*, and is a synonym of *πέπων*,—*ripe, mellow, mild, soft, flaccid, over-ripe* : these cover all the senses of the adjective.

⁵ *v.* 485 *ἐπεὶ δὲ πρᾶγμα δεῦρ’ ἐπέσκηψεν τόδε* : or ‘ come to this point,’ as *δεῦρο δ’ ἐξοκέλλεται* in *Sufr.* 447.

⁶ *v.* 486 *αἰδουμένους* Prien for *αἰρουμένους*. With this alteration the MS gives :

the of oaths, to be a Court, which I will establish for all time. You must call witnesses and evidence, the sworn supports of Justice; and when I have chosen the 490 best out of my citizens, I will return, to judge this matter well and truly.¹ [Exit ATHENA.

Fur. Now will there be subversion of old ordinances, if the cause and injury of this matricide is to prevail! All men now will be reconciled by this action to unscrupulousness, and many another suffering of their very child's inflict- 500 ing is in store for parents in the course of time to come.²

For from us mortal-watching Maenads³ wrath for men's

φόνων δικαστάς, ὀρκίων αἰδουμένους
θεσμόν, τὸν εἰς ἅπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον,

which, as it stands, appears incredibly elliptic. It seems likely that something has dropped out either before or after θεσμόν.

¹ This must be the last line of the speech. The line which follows it in Cod. M was probably a fragmentary illustration of *v.* 486.

² *v.* 499 :

πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμοπαιδότηρωτα
πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῦσιν μεταῦθις ἐν χρόνῳ.

ἔτυμοπαιδότηρωτα is my emendation. In the MS. the novel compound word is broken up, as unfamiliar compounds usually were, into separate pieces, ἔτυμα παιδότηρωτα. There is no sense here in ἔτυμα: it could only mean 'real, genuine sufferings,' as when Oppian *Hal.* v. 305 says, τότε δὴ μιν ἐτήτυμος ὤρσεν ὄλεθρος λοίσθιος. But ἔτυμος, ἐτήτυμος, ἐτεός were commonly applied to children in the sense true-born, e.g. Ἐτεοβουτάδαι (as Ἐτεοκρήτες), Ep. Kaibel 852 Βουταδέων ἐτύμων, Philostr. *Apoll.* vi. 40 ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῇ τίκτειν, Dio Chrys. II. 408 Heracles ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἐτεὸς υἱός, Soph. *Trach.* 1064:

ὦ παῖ, γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγάς,
καὶ μὴ τὸ μητρὸς αἷμα πρεσβεύσης πλέον.

³ *v.* 506 :

πέυσεται δ' ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, προφωνῶν
τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά,
ληξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε μόχθων·
ἄκεά τ' οὐ βέβαια τλάμων
μάταν παρηγορεῖ.

ληξιν is from the vocabulary of medicine, which spoke of ληξιπύρετος:

misdoings shall no more proceed ; I will give free scope to deeds of death : and one man from another, warning of his neighbour's evil case, shall seek to learn cessation or abatement of the trouble ; and uncertain remedies, poor man, he recommends in vain. 510

No man hereafter, when smitten by calamity, need appeal in wailing phrase, '*O avenging Justice, O ye thrones of the Erinyes!*' Therefore a father, it may be, or mother newly-stricken may make piteous complaint,¹ because the House of Justice is now falling.

There are times when Fear is well, and it should remain still seated as a warder of the mind ; it is a good thing to preserve wise-mindedness² beneath constraint : and who that fostereth in his heart no sense of awe³—

Maximus *περὶ καταρχῶν* 254 *μειότερον τελέσειε πόνον λήξιν τ' ὀδυνάων.*
Hesychius *λαφησέων* : *ληξέων, ἀναπαυσέων.* Liban. *Epist.* 1434 *B*
νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν προσκυνῶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος υἱόν· τοῦ φθινοπάρου
δέ, εἰ διδοίη, τήν τε λήξιν αὐτοῦ (on the spot) καὶ αὐτὸν ὀδύμεθα,
κομίζοντες ἄσμα μικρὸν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων.

¹ *μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω*
ξυμφορᾷ τετυμμένος
'ἰὼ Δίκαι, ἰὼ θρόνοι τ' Ἐρινύων'—
ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἂν πατήρ
ἢ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθῆς
οἴκτον οἰκτίσται'—ἐπειδῆ
πίτνει δόμος Δίκας.

It is tempting to make *ἐπειδῆ* depend directly on *μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω* and take *ταῦτα—οἰκτίσται'* as a parenthesis, '—in such terms as these a parent might make piteous complaint—,' but though *τάδε* is used so in *Ag.* 456, 1334, *Cho.* 313, we must surely have had *τόνδε* if *οἴκτον* is sound.

² *σωφρονεῖν* is synonymous with *γνώμαι σεαυτόν*, to *know your place* in relation to the Gods and to your fellow-men.

³ *v.* 525 :

τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν φάει
καρδίαν ἀνατρέφων.

The true reading is uncertain, but the sense is clear ; 702 *τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν* ; and *Soph. Aj.* 1073-6, 1084.

whether man or city equally—would still keep reverence for Justice?

Neither an ungoverned life approve thou, nor a despot- 530
ridden; God hath everywhere assigned superiority to the Mean, though the ways of his administration vary.

And I speak a word proportionate: the child of Irreligiousness is Pride, in very truth; but from Healthiness of mind there cometh that good Weal that all men love and 540
pray for.

And in general I say, Revere the Altar of Righteousness, and beware lest at the sight of gain thou spurn and trample it with godless foot; for punishment shall surely follow; the appointed end abides in store. Therefore let each man be one that duly holdeth his parents in high worship and hath reverence for that freedom of his house¹ by which 550
he doeth honour to the stranger.

The man that of his own free will is righteous, and without compulsion, shall not be unblest; and utterly destroyed can never be: but the bold reckless man that in defiance carrieth aboard much freight in a great mass confused without regard to Right perforce in time I tell you shall haul down his sail,² when trouble comes upon it and his yard is shattering. 560

¹ *v.* 550. This is the meaning of *δωμάτων ἐπιστροφάς*, 'the ruin of the house'; *Theb.* 635, *Agam.* 963.

² τὸν ἀντίτολμον δὲ φαμί παρβάδαν
τὰ πόλλ' ἄγοντα παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας
βιαίως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν.

ἄγοντα was supplied by Pauw, but has been strangely misinterpreted by many critics—'acting in most instances,' 'wresting most things away from justice,' 'bringing,' 'dragging.' It means (in the metaphor) 'with a cargo of possessions in which all distinctions of right and wrong are confounded.' *βιαίως* would go as well with this clause as with the other; cf. Hesiod *Op.* 220, Pindar *frag.* 169 in Plat. *Gorg.* 484 B. τὰ πολλὰ is idiomatic in this sense, e.g. Callim. *h. Apoll.* 108:

Behold, in the midst of the wild waters that he cannot stem he calls upon the name of them that will not hear: his Fortune-Spirit laughs at the hot-headed man, to see the fool, that boasted he should never come to this, brought low with his distresses and not weathering the point: dashing his one-time wealth upon the shoal of Justice, he is lost eternally, unwept, unseen.

The Areopagus.

Athena. Herald, perform thine office and control the people, and let the piercing Tyrrhene¹ trumpet, filled with human 570 breath, declare his intense utterance to the throng: for while this council-chamber is filling, it is expedient to keep silence

Ἄσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
λίματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι σурφετὸν ἔλκει,

Pers. 272.

¹ This line is mutilated in the MS. :

·Ἦ·

ἔιτ' οὖν διάτορος Τυρσηνικῆ
σάλπιγξ.

βροτείου πνεύματος which follows seems to require something *heavenly* or *divine* as an antithesis; and the general view is plausible, that *οὖν* is a corruption of *οὐρανός* (*ουνος*); but it is not likely that *διάτορος* should govern a genitive *οὐρανοῦ*, and an objection to *εἰς οὐρανὸν δὲ* is that we miss then the article *ἡ*, which in this place sounds so good at the beginning of the line. *ἢ τ' οὐρανεῖα* is not inconceivable, or some compound adjective.—Dr Verrall has conjectured *Ἐριονίου δὲ*, ‘the Tyrrhene trump of Hermes,’ but this, I fear, would be attributing to Hermes a new theft. To Hermes were ascribed the invention of the single reed-pipe and (by some) of the lyre; but with the trumpet, even of the six kinds known to the grammarians, I cannot find that he had anything to do. The brazen trumpet, which was among the products of Tyrrhenian and Argive bronze-work, was Athena’s own. At Argos she was worshipped as *Ἀθηνᾶ Σάλπιγξ*, and when trumpeters make a dedication of the instrument, it is to her: *Anth. Pal.* vi. 151, 159, 194, 195. She might therefore have said *καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔϋρημ', ἢ τορὸς Τυρσηνικῆ σάλπιγξ*.

and that my ordinances should be learnt by all the city for time everlasting and by these parties,¹ to the end that justice may be well determined.

(*Enter* APOLLO.)

Fur. Lord Apollo, keep to thine own province! what business hast thou in *this* matter, tell us?

Ap. I come both to give testimony—for the accused here is a suppliant at my house and at my sanctuary, and 580 I am the purifier of this bloodshed—and myself to share the trial; I am answerable for his mother's killing. (*To* ATHENA.) Open thou the case.

Ath. (*to the FURIES*). The word is with you—I am opening the case; for the pursuer to begin by speaking first will be the right way to inform us of the matter.

Fur. We are many, but we will speak concisely. (*To* ORESTES.) Reply, sentence by sentence, to our questions. First tell us, didst thou slay thy mother? 590

Or. I did so; of *that*² there is no denial.

Fur. Here is one of the three bouts already!

Or. I am not down yet; you boast too soon.

Fur. Well, but you must tell us *how* it was you slew her.

Or. I tell you,—with a drawn sword stabbing her in the throat.

Fur. But under what influence and by whose advice?

Or. By this God's oracles; he bears me witness.

Fur. *The Prophet gave thee instruction to do matricide!*

Or. Ay, and to this hour I am not sorry for it.

Fur. Ah but if the verdict grips thee thou wilt tell 600 another tale!

Or. I have trust; my father will send succour from the grave.

¹ Reading *καὶ τοῦσδ'*.

² *τοῦδέ γ' οὔτις ἄρρησις πέλει* Nauck.

Fur. Put trust now in the dead, after murdering thy mother!

Or. Because she lay under the attaind of two pollutions.

Fur. How so? Instruct the court.

Or. She was her husband's murderess, and killed my father.

Fur. Very well,—*she* is quit by suffering death, while *you* are living.

Or. And why did you not drive *her* in chase when living?

Fur. She was not blood-relation of the man she killed.

Or. And am *I* in blood-relation to my mother?

Fur. Why how else bred she thee, thou bloody man, within her girdle? Dost thou disown the nearest tie of mother's blood?

610

Or. Now for thy witness, O Apollo! Give thy pronouncement, whether I was *justified* in killing her—for that I *did* it, as I said before,¹ I do not deny,—but whether it was *justly* done or not, this act of blood, in thy opinion, give thy judgment, that I may inform the court.

Ap. I will declare it before you, this great tribunal of Athena—*justly*: and I am a prophet and my words are truth. Never upon my seat of oracle did I yet speak aught, whether it were concerning man or woman or people, that had not been commanded me by Zeus the Father of the Heavenly Gods. How weighty is the force that this plea carries I would have you understand, and charge you be obedient to my Father's will; for Oath has not more potency than Zeus!

Fur. Zeus, sayest thou, delivered thee this oracle for thee

¹ *v.* 614 δρᾶσαι γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα. He had said this twice already, *vv.* 466-471, 591. The MS. gives ὥσπερ ἐστίν, which means nothing. It was Greek to say δρᾶσαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἔδρασα, or εἶναι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἔστιν, but not δρᾶσαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐστίν. Davies restored εἶπον, but the editors have disregarded it.

620

to tell Orestes here, that he should revenge his father's death regardless wholly of his duty to his mother ?

Ap. Ay! for it is a very different thing, the killing of a noble *man*, exalted with the sceptre of God-given royalty,—and that too by a woman's hand—not with the gallant far- 630 shot arrow like an Amazon's, but in the manner ye shall hear, thou, Pallas, and ye judges here in session to decide about this matter with your vote.

On his returning from the field, with the balance of advantage for the most part to the good, she gave him welcome first with words of kindness; and then, as he was performing his ablutions in the bath, and at the end of them, she cloaked a garment like a tent about his head,¹ entangled him in the cunning endless robe, and hewed him down.

That is the story of the *Man's* destruction, that all- 640 venerated ruler, that great admiral; and the woman I have described in such a character² that the people may be stirred to indignation that have been appointed to decide this trial.

¹ *v.* 634:

ἀπὸ στρατείας γάρ νιν, ἡμποληκότα
τὰ πλείστ' ἄμεινον, εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη
· · · · ·
δροίτη περῶντι λουτρὰ καπὶ τέρματι
φᾶρος περὸ σκῆνωσε.

There is certainly a lacuna here of one line, if not more. The missing passage must have contained *μύθοις* or *λόγοις* to agree with *εὐφροσιν*, and *ἐν* to govern *δροίτη*: it may have contained a description of Clytemnestra and another finite verb: see *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 290. —κατεσκήνωσε is possible.

² ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον MS. δέ is necessary, but as Clytemnestra is not present, we cannot merely read ταύτην τοιαύτην δ': either we must have τὴν δ' αὖ τοιαύτην εἶπον (Weil), or, more probably, a line has fallen out, *e.g.*:

τὴν δ' αὖ γυναῖκα τὴν κατάπτυστον θεοῖς
ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον.

Fur. Zeus, as you argue, holds a father's killing of the more account; yet he himself cast his old father Cronos into prison: is there not a contradiction there?—I call upon you judges to take note.

Ap. O ye most loathsome monsters, Heaven's abhorrence! fetters he might undo, there is a remedy for that, and many a means of deliverance again; but when a man is once dead 650 and the dust hath swallowed up his blood, there is no more rising again then: for *that* my Father Zeus hath made no healing charm, though all things else he re-disposes and turns upside down without his labour costing him a breath.

Fur. See now what thy plea for his acquittal means:— shall he spill upon the ground his mother's blood and then inhabit his father's house in Argos? What altars of the public shall he use? What holy water of religious Brethren shall admit him?

Ap. That too I will declare, and mark how rightly. The 660 mother is not the engenderer of her so-called 'generation' (child), but the nurse only of the sown conception.¹ It is the male engenders; she doth but receive, as from a stranger, harbouring as a host, and keeps the young plant

¹ v. 661:

οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένου τέκνου
τοκέυς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου.
τίκτει δ' ὁ θράσκιων.

τοῦ κεκλημένου τέκνου would be intelligible, and may be the true reading.

The doctrine was Egyptian, according to Diodorus i. 80: νόθον δ' οὐδένα τῶν γεννηθέντων νομίζουσιν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀργυρωνήτου μητρὸς γεννηθῆ· καθόλου γὰρ ὑπειλήφασιν τὸν πατέρα μόνον αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς γενέσεως, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τροφήν καὶ χώραν μόνον παρέχεσθαι τῷ βρέφει· καὶ τῶν δένδρων ἄρρενα μὲν καλοῦσι τὰ καρποφόρα, θηλέα δὲ τὰ μὴ φέροντα τοὺς καρπούς, ἐναντίως τοῖς Ἑλλήσι. It was also Pythagorean, Stob. *Flor.* i. 64.

safe, unless God blight it.¹ And I will show thee a great proof of this: there may be a father without aid of mother, —here at hand is a witness, in a Child of Zeus, <neither begotten in wedlock>² nor yet nurtured in the darkness of the womb, but such a plant as no goddess could give birth to.³

Pallas, as always it shall be my aim to make thy city and 670 thy people great, so with this man, it was to that end that I sent him to seek sanctuary in thy house, that he might be a faithful friend eternally, and that thou, Goddess, mightest gain thee an ally in him and his successors, and that it should be established everlastingly, the posterity of this people to uphold their covenant.

Ath. Has enough now been said, and may I now command these judges to give an honest vote, of their true conscience? ⁴

Fur. For our part, our every bolt is shot; I only wait to 680 hear how the trial is to be decided.

Ath. (to APOLLO and ORESTES). And you? how shall I dispose so as to have no complaint from you?

¹ οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός, keeps it safe for those in whose case God prevents not.

² A line beginning with οὐ has fallen out :

πέλας
 μάρτυς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός,
 <οὐ >
 οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη,

as Coluthus 180, of Athena, ἦν γάμος οὐκ ἔσπειρε καὶ οὐ μαιώσατο μήτηρ. Without it, οὐδὲ could only mean 'not even.'

³ Athena was born out of the head of Zeus.

⁴ As the passage stands, it seems that this speech of Athena's must be taken as a question; but in the Greek it reads more like a declaration: 'Enough has now been said; I now command these judges to give an honest vote, of their true conscience.' One may suspect that this was the original form, and that the passage has been subjected to some re-fashioning. See Wecklein's note in his text, p. 449.

Ap. Sirs, ye have heard what ye have heard, and in giving your vote let there be reverence in your conscience for your oath.

Hear now my Ordinance, ye people of Athens, judging here the first trial for shed blood : and for the future too it shall remain unto the people of Aegeus as a Judges' Court for ever. And this Hill of Ares,¹—once the camping-ground of the Amazons, when they came, out of jealousy towards Theseus, with an army, and they built here then a new walled city as a counterwork to his, and sacrificed to 690 Ares—from which cause the rock and hill of Ares take their name of *Ares' Hill*.² And upon it Reverence in my Burghers, and its kinsman Fear, shall restrain from wrongdoing both by day and night alike :—so long as my citizens themselves shall make no innovation in the laws ; with foul adulterate streams and muddy clay polluting fair bright water thou wilt never find it drinkable.

The mean between the ungoverned and the despot-ridden is what I counsel my citizens to preserve and venerate, and 700 not to banish from the city all restraint of fear,—for what man that hath no fear of aught is righteous? With such a venerated object of your righteous dread, ye will possess a bulwark of preservation for your land and polity such as none hath elsewhere in the world, either among the Scythians or in the region of Pelops.³ Herewith do I establish a Tribunal free from touch of lucre, reverend, quick to anger, a protection still awake and vigilant on behalf of them that sleep.

This at such length I have spoken as an exhortation to 710

¹ Prof. Ridgeway would translate '*yon* Hill of Ares,' holding that the scene of the trial is not the Areopagus : see note on *v.* 235.

² The construction is never completed, but is allowed to lapse forgotten after parenthetic clauses introduced by relatives ; see note on *v.* 68.

³ The rival Dorians ; cf. Soph. *O. C.* 695.

my citizens for time to come:—you must now rise, take each of you his ballot, and decide the cause with reverence for your oath.—My words are ended.

Fur. Well, I advise you to remember how dangerous these visitants are, and by no means to slight them.

Ap. And I charge you also—to remember the oracles—which are not from me only but from Zeus, to stand in awe of them, and not make them barren of effect.

Fur. But thou art showing regard for blood-matters which are not thine office,¹ and the shrines will be no longer pure where thou shalt give thine oracles.²

Ap. And are my *Father's* counsels, then, mistaken in Ixion's case, the first suppliant appeal for homicide?

Fur. You talk:—but if I fail to win the cause, my visitation shall be grievous to this land thereafter.

Ap. Nay, you are honourless among the younger and the older Gods alike, and I shall win.

Fur. This is just the way you acted in the house of Pheres,—you induced the Fates to make mortal men immortal!

Ap. Well, is it not right at all times to befriend a worshipper, and the more especially in his time of need?

Fur. Thou, thou didst quite destroy the ancient Dispensations² and beguile the antique Goddesses with wine.

Ap. Thou, thou wilt presently fail to obtain the verdict, and then spit thy poison—which will do thy enemies no harm.

Fur. Since thou, my junior, art trampling upon my antiquity, I wait to hear the verdict of this trial.

Ath. It is now *my* duty, to give judgment in conclusion; and I shall add this ballot in favour of Orestes: for there is

¹ *v.* 718 οὐ λαχών: *Ar. Plut.* 972, *Plato Com. frag.* 167 ἀτὰρ οὐ λαχών ὅμως ἔλαχες.

² See *v.* 173.

no mother that gave birth to me, and I am for the male in 740 everything—except for marrying—with all my heart, and am most thoroughly the father's child. Accordingly I shall not hold of more account the killing of a woman wed that slew her wedded man, the master of the house; Orestes is the winner of the cause, even though he be judged equal in the voting.

Turn out the ballots from the urns, ye judges that have been assigned that office.

Or. O bright God, Apollo, how will the trial be decided?

Fur. O Night, our Mother dark, dost thou behold?

Or. Now it will be for me the light of day still, or a halter.

Fur. Ay, for us, using privileges still, or ruin. 750

Ath. Sirs, count up well the cast-out ballots, observing honesty in the division of them. If judgment be absent, there is great harm done, and the cast of a single vote ere now hath lifted up a house.

Ath. The accused man is acquitted on the charge of blood, for the number of the lots is equal.

Or. O Pallas, O thou Saviour of my House! I was bereft of fatherland, and *thou* hast given me a home: and now in Greece it shall be said, 'The man is again an 760 Argive, with a habitation in his father's heritage, by the grace of Pallas and of Loxias and of Him who seaeth all things, the Preserver':—He hath had regard unto my father's killing, and preserveth me, beholding these my mother's advocates.

To all this country now and to thy people I, for the utmost fulness of all time to come, before departing to my home, will pledge an oath: No captain of the Argive land shall ever bring the well-appointed army to invade her: for we ourselves, out of the grave where we shall then be lying 770

—we, for them that shall transgress these pledges of mine now, will so contrive with hopeless difficulties—by causing them disheartened journeys and cross-omened marches¹—that they shall repent their pains. But if all be kept, and they still honour this city of Pallas with their allied arms, we promise then to be benignant rather to them.

And so farewell; may thou and the people of thy city still maintain the wrestling-grip resistless by thine adversaries, to ensure her safety and her victory in arms! 780

Fur. Oho, ye younger Gods, ye have ridden down the Ancient Laws and reft out of my grasp² . . . And I, unhappy wretch, dishonoured, promise deadly wrath, upon this land ah! venting from my bosom poison, poison in revenge that they shall rue, droppings of sterile power to the soil! And from it shall come mildew, killing leaf and killing birth—O vengeance of Justice!—that shall sweep over the land and cast upon the country foul infectious 790 plagues of human death!

Bewail? How act? Be fearful to this people—O fie, Daughters of Night, in deep affliction, mourning for the loss of honour!

Ath. Let me persuade you not to take it so tragically. Ye are not defeated; the trial resulted honestly in equal votes, to no dishonouring of thee! No, it was from Zeus 800 there came most signal testimony, and its deliverer himself bare witness, that Orestes if he did this should not suffer any harm. Ye, therefore, be not passionate, shoot no

¹ v. 773:

παρόρνιθας πόρους

τιθέντες.

Pind. *Nem.* ix. 18 αἰσιᾶν οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδὸν κτέ.

² v. 782 κακ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου: Abresch thought that there was a line missing here: cf. 150 seqq., 325, Homer I 344 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας εἴλετο καὶ μ' ἀπάτησεν.

deadly wrath upon this land, nor cause her barrenness, by discharging droppings . . .¹ sharp cankers to destroy her cultivated seed. For I do promise you in all sincerity that ye shall have a place of cavern in the righteous land, where at your braziers ye shall sit on splendid thrones, worshipped 810 with honour by my citizens.

Fur. Oho, ye younger Gods, ye have ridden down the Ancient Laws and reft out of my grasp And I, unhappy wretch, dishonoured, promise deadly wrath, upon this land ah! venting from my bosom poison, poison in revenge that they shall rue, droppings of sterile power to the soil! And from it shall come mildew, killing leaf, and killing birth—O vengeance of Justice!—that shall sweep over the land and cast upon the country foul infectious 820 plagues of human death!

Bewail? How act? Be fearful to this people—O fie, Daughters of Night, in deep affliction, mourning for the loss of honour!

Athena. Ye are *not* dishonoured! and do not therefore in exceeding wrath, being divine powers, make a land of mortal men distempered.² I too put my trust in Zeus—I

¹ Reading:

ὕμεις δὲ μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μὴ βαρὺν κότον
ἐν τῆδε γῆ σκῆψητε, μὴδ' ἀκαρπίαν
τεύξητ', ἀφείσαι [δαιμόνων] σταλάγματα.

² *v.* S27:

μηδ' ὑπερθύμως ἄγαν
θεαὶ βροτῶν κτίσητε δύσκηλον χθόνα.

κτίσητε (Linwood's correction of στήσητε) is a synonym of θῆτε or ποιήσητε, and a favourite use with Aeschylus. The precise sense that he attached to δύσκηλον cannot be determined, but I feel sure the word is genuine, for this reason:—there were several Epic words in κηλ- whose meaning was a matter of debate,—κῆλον and περίκηλος, and ἀεκήλια in Σ 77 (though that, no doubt, was merely an Epic license for ἀεικέλια, like ἀπερείσια for ἀπειρέσια). Aeschylus therefore was at liberty to charge the word with various suggestions, including the

need not say it—and I alone among the Powers of Heaven 830 know the keys of the store-chamber in which the Thunderbolt is sealed up:—but there is no need of that;¹ thou wilt yield, I pray, to my persuasion, and not cast forth over the land from an unbridled tongue (the curse) that all things bearing fruit should fail to prosper.² Calm the fierce bitterness of the dark swelling wave,³ as being held in honour and veneration, and partaker in abode with me. Enjoying for evermore the first-fruits of this broad domain, as offerings for the sake of children and the marriage-rite, you shall yet applaud my saying.

Fur. *Me* to be treated thus! *me* with the wisdom of 840 antiquity! and to have my habitation in the land, a dishonoured thing, forsooth, and foul! My spirit is full of fury and utter wrath. What pang is this that enters my

κηλίδας of *v.* 820,—*stained, scorched, withered* (αὐονά *v.* 334), *plagued, enchanted*. His admirer Ion (Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 571) used εὐκηλος of a tree, as an equivalent of εὐκέατος (which was interpreted *easy to burn, or easy to split*), and Hesychius records the use of κηλός in the sense of κήλεος.

¹ A delightful touch of humour, ‘—but of course we shall not want that.’

² γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ ἑκβάλλης ἐπὶ χθόνα
καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς.

καρπὸν cannot belong, as many critics have constructed it, to γλώσσης, ‘the fruit of a rash tongue, bearing the fruit that everything should fail to prosper’; fruit does not bear, but is borne: τιθέντα, ‘causing,’ would be Greek, but the participle would still be out of order at the beginning of the clause in the emphatic place. καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα must mean πάντα τὰ καρποφόρα: that is the way in which the curse of the Erinyes will take effect.

But the sentence now seems too elliptic. Prof. Ellis has conjectured that ἐπὶ χθόνα is a mistake for ἐπίφθονα, ‘malignant utterance’ (cf. *v.* 373). I only hesitate to *substitute* this for ἐπὶ χθόνα because I think it not unlikely that a line has fallen out.

³ *v.* 835 κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος, *i.e.* κλυδώνιον χολῆς *Cho.* 182.

side? Hear thou my passioning, O Mother Night! I have been reft of my time-honoured privileges by the knavish tricks of Gods Above and swept contemptuously away!

Ath. I will indulge thy humours, because thou art my senior:—at the same time, though thy wisdom is, no doubt, far more than mine, still to me also Zeus hath granted no mean understanding.¹ And I warn you, if you go to any foreign country, you will only fall in love with *this*; for time in his succeeding stream shall flow with larger honour for my citizens; and thou, with an honourable seat against the temple of Erechtheus, shalt receive from companies of men and women more than thou wouldst ever get from any others in the world. So do not, I pray you, cast upon my territories any blood-incentives, to hurt the stomachs of the young, maddening them with fury as with wine; nor yet extract as it were the heart of fighting-cocks and plant in my citizens a spirit of war intestine and rash daring against one another. Let their warfare be abroad—it shall be found in plenty for the man in whose heart there shall be a strong desire for glory—but fight of the domestic fowl I will not have.

This then is my offer at your choice—to do well, be well done by, honoured well, and have a share in this most God-beloved land.

Fur. *Me* to be treated thus! *me* with the wisdom of antiquity! and to have my habitation under ground, a dis-

¹ *v.* 850:

καίτοι σὺ μὲν πον κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,
φρονεῖν δὲ κάμολ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

I have corrected this in *Class. Rev.* 1902, p. 246: the MS. *καίτοι μὲν σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα* is one among countless cases of *μὲν* being shifted by a scribe to the beginning of a clause. The sentiment is that of Job xii. 2: *No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you: but I have wisdom as well as you*; and of Haemon in Soph. *Ant.* 683-7.

honoured thing, forsooth, and foul! My spirit is full of fury and utter wrath. What pang is this that enters my side? Hear thou my passioning, O Mother Night! I have 880 been reft of my time-honoured privileges by the knavish tricks of Gods Above and swept contemptuously away!

Ath. I will not be weary of speaking blessings on you, that you shall never say how you, an elder Goddess, were cast out from this land by me, thy junior, and my mortal citizens with inhospitable scorn. No, if Persuasion is a thing aught sacred in thine eyes—the soothing charm and magic influence of my tongue¹—why then, remain here; but if you will not, then it would surely be unfair of you to launch upon this city any indignation or fierce anger or injury to 890 her folk. For it is open to you to be a landholder in this country with fair treatment and full privileges absolutely.

Fur. Queen Athena, what is the abode you promise me?

Ath. One free from any touch of sorrow; you were best accept it.

Fur. Say that I accept:—what privilege is there designed for me?

Ath. That without thy good will no house shall flourish.

Fur. Wilt thou secure for me possession of such power?

Ath. Yes, for I will prosper the fortunes of thy worshippers.

Fur. And wilt thou pledge me a warrant for all time?

Ath. I need not promise what I will not perform. 900

Fur. I feel thy charm begin to work:—my wrath abates.

Ath. Well then, abide here in the land and thou shalt win thee friends.

¹ *v.* 887 γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον. θελκτήριον is a substantive, as in Nicand. *Ther.* 365, παυστήριον *ib.* 746, κλητήριον *Trachin.* 575. Cf. Eur. *I. T.* 235 θεᾶ φίλον πρόσφαγμα καὶ θυτήριον.

Fur. What strain then wouldst thou have me chant upon the land?

Ath. Terms that reflect on victory without a flaw! Call blessings from the earth and from the ocean-dew, and from the heaven; pray that the blowing winds may pass over the land with sunny breath,¹ that increase of the earth and cattle may not faint with time but flow on ever for my citizens in streaming plenty, and that seed of human-kind may be preserved.

910

But may your fruitfulness be rather shown in the righteous;² for, like a shepherd of herbs, I love the unrepented sort of these just men here present.³

These blessings are for thee to give, and in the glorious tournaments of war *my* heart shall never rest content but I will make this city famous in the world as a victorious town.

Fur. I will accept the Union of home with Pallas, and will not reject a City which even Zeus Omnipotent and Ares hold as a strong fortress of the Gods, the precious jewel that protects the altars of Hellenic Deities. For her I make my prayer, with all benignant auspices, that life's enjoyments

¹ *v.* 907 *εὐηλίως*: see note on *v.* 927.—The construction alternates between the accusative and the accusative with infinitive; see my note on *Cho.* 277.

² *v.* 911 *τῶν εὐσεβούντων δ' ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις*. *ἐκφορωτέρα* is *feracior*, governing the genitive, 'more fertile in,' 'more productive of'; *ἐκφέρειν καρπὸν* was the regular word for producing crops. This gives its proper sense to the comparative.

The editors generally have retained *τῶν δυσσεβούντων δ'* of the MS. and sought (with Schuetz) to make it mean 'more ready to weed out (*ἐκκαθαίρειν, ἀποκαθαίρειν*), or cart away, the wicked,' like a gardener or a husbandman: but the comparative is inappropriate then; and they have forgotten that the *gardener* is Athena; the part of the Eumenides, as Earth-Powers, is to permit *produce* of all seed.

³ The Areopagites, representing the Athenians. *ἀπένθητον*, the sort that brings no sorrow, causes no regret; cf. 58.

may be made to teem forth for her from the Earth in bounteous plenty by the beaming radiance of the Sun.¹

Ath. It is in kindness to my Citizens that I am acting thus, in planting here among them Spirits so powerful and 930 so ill-appeased; for to their lot hath fallen the disposal of all things touching Man; but he that meets with them in angry mood² knows not from what quarter come the blows that strike his life: it is the offences of his forefathers that arrest and hale him before these, and Destruction silently, for all his vaunt, with deadly anger crumbles him to dust.

Fur. May breath of evil never blow to hurt her trees—'tis by my grace—and may the scorching heat that nips the 940 budding eyes of plants refrain from trespassing beyond the boundaries of its region;³ may no drear disease of sterile blight proceed against her; may Pan make her flocks to thrive at the appointed season⁴ with twinned increase, and may there be rich offspring of the boon Earth's wealth to pay reward for Spirits' gift of Treasure-trove.⁵

Ath. O hear, ye Warders of my City, how great blessings 950 she doth seal you surely—for the Queen Erinys hath great power both with the Immortals and with those of Earth below, and in the affairs of Man most manifestly their dispose

¹ The Sun conspiring with the Earth implies the reconciliation of the Furies with Apollo.

² Reading ὅ γε μὴν κύρσας βαρέων τούτων. It is possible that something has been lost, to the same effect as *v.* 313.

³ *v.* 942: or 'from trespassing upon this region.'

⁴ χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ, without fail at the due season, and with no untimely birth; Ovid *Fasti* iv. 647:

*et pecus ante diem partus edebat acerbos,
agnaque nascendo saepe necabat ouem.*

⁵ For the turn of the sentence compare Ovid *Fasti* iv. 931, where *Robigo*, Mildew, is addressed:

*at tu ne viola Cererem, semperque colonus
absenti possit soluere uota tibi.*

is absolute, to some affording songs of gladness, and to others life that is a blur of tears.

Fur. To all untimely sudden deaths I cry Avaunt! and may the lives of her young lovely maidens win a husband 960 —grant that, Ye whose proper power it is,¹ and Ye, O Heavenly Fates, our Sisters by one Mother,² Spirits whose dispense is pure, participants in every home, at every season weighty with most righteous presence, everywhere most honoured among Gods of Heaven.

Ath. My heart is glad to hear them seal these blessings on 970 my land so zealously; and I am grateful to Persuasion's eyes for looking with their favourable guidance on my tongue when pleading with these Powers that were so wrathfully averted from me: nay, but Zeus of Eloquence prevailed, and our contention for the good is crowned with triumph absolutely.

Fur. May Faction, that insatiable source of evil, never rage within this city; never may the dust drink up the 980 purple blood of citizens in anger³ and for revenge seize greedily upon retaliating deaths of civic blood: may their exchanges rather be of joy for joy with sentiments of love in common, and dislike with one consent; therein lies the cure for many human ills.

Ath. O have they not the judgment to find out the path of speaking fair?⁴ From these Shapes of Terror I foresee 990 great gain in store⁵ for you, my Citizens: for if ye keep

¹ Zeus and Hera.

² *ματροκασιγνήται*. This and the reiterated *θεαί, θεῶν* marks the harmonised agreement between the Upper and the Nether Gods.

³ *δι' ὀργάν* might go with either clause.

⁴ *v.* 989:

*ἄρα φρονούσι γλώσσης ἀγαθῆς
ὄδδν ἐδρίσκειν;*

⁵ *v.* 991:

*ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσέρπον
μέγα κέρδος ὄρω τοῖσδε πολίταις·*

προσέρπον is my reading for the MS. *προσώπων*; see *Journal of Hellenic*

good feeling between them and you, and hold them in high honour, ye shall surely shine conspicuous in the world for guiding land and city in the path of upright justice.

Fur. Joy I wish you, joy in due apportionment of wealth, joy, O ye people of the City, blest with friendship of the Virgin who is seated near to Zeus,¹ learners of wise-minded- 1000
ness in time; and shelterers beneath the wings of Pallas, ye are viewed as sacred by the Father.

Ath. Joy to you also! But I must now go before you to point out your chambers by the sacred light of these your Escort:² come ye now, and with these solemn sacrifices being sped below the earth, what is harmful to the country keep down there suppressed,³ and what is profitable send aloft to make my city triumph!—Lead on now, ye Sons of 1010
Cranaus that possess this City, lead these Denizens upon

Studies, 1906, p. 276, note 11. *ἔρπειν* is *to be upon the road*, and *προσέρπειν*, *ἐφέρπειν* were used especially of time's oncoming, and what it promises or threatens in its course: *P. V.* 129, 288, *Soph. Aj.* 228, 1255 *καὶ σοὶ προσέρπον τοῦτ' ἐγὼ τὸ φάρμακον ὄρω*, *O. T.* 540, *Pind. Pyth.* i. 57, *Nem.* iv. 44, vii. 68, *Ol.* vi. 97, *frag.* 131, *Theocr.* v. 83, xxii. 15, *Eur. frag.* 441.

¹ *v.* 998. Reading with Bothe:

χαίρετ' ἄστικὸς λεώς,
ἵκταρ ἡμένας Διὸς
Παρθένου φίλας φίλοι.

For the reasons, see the note on my verse translation of this scene in *A Book of Greek Verse*, p. 286.

² *v.* 1006. This may be taken with the following line.

³ *v.* 1008. Cf. *Soph. O. C.* 92. The MS. gives:

τὸ μὲν ἀτηρ[ι]ον

χώρας

as though it meant 'the harmful part of the country': we may read (with Paley) τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χώρας, 'what is harmful to the country,' or with Linwood χωρὶς κατέχειν (cf. *Theocr.* vii. 127 τὰ μὴ καλὰ νόσφιν ἐρύκοι). κατέχειν and the adjective κάτοχος were technical in this connexion: *Persae* 226, *C. I. A.* Boeckh I. pp. 486-7.

their way, and in the hearts of the Citizens may there be good will for good received.

Fur. Joy to you, again I say it, joy, all ye dwellers in the City, mortal and immortal both. While ye possess the City of Pallas and keep my Denizenship sacred, your life's 1020 fortunes shall give you nothing to complain of.¹

Ath. I thank you for the terms of these your benedictions, and will now conduct you with the light of blazing torches to that nether subterranean House, with ministers that are the guards of mine own image; and with right; for it should be the eye of all the land of Theseus that shall arrive,² a noble troop of maidens, wives, and aged dames.

Deck them with scarlet over-cloaks of honour, and let 1030 the blazing light move on; that so the good will of these new dwellers in the land may be shown henceforth in blessings of fine Manhood.³

¹ *v.* 1015. Punctuate :

χαίρετε . . .
 πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν
 δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοί·
 Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμον-
 τες, μετοικίαν δ' ἐμήν
 εἶ σέβοντες, οὗ τι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου.

Compare *Sufr.* 81 and *Cho.* 792 in my translation. The accepted punctuation at νέμοντες is tautology.

² *v.* 1027 ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν: for the optative, cf. *Soph. O. C.* 647, 861, *Eur. Or.* 109, *Plato Protag.* 310 B.

³ φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι
 τιμᾶτε, καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πυρός,
 ὅπως ἂν εὐφρων ἦδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς
 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρέπη.

There are three allusions in this passage to the Panathenaic Festival: on that occasion the μέτοικοι, Resident Aliens or Denizens, were permitted to take part in the procession as being *of good will* (*Hesychius s.v. Σκαφηφόροι*), and for special honour were arrayed in *scarlet cloaks* (*Photius s.v. Σκάφας*). The Furies (now *Εὐμενίδες*, *Benign Ones*) are to be treated as the μέτοικοι were at the Panathenaea, and the whole

Chorus of the ESCORT.

Pass on your way, O ye mighty ones, jealous of honour,¹
Children of Night, in glad-hearted procession—

Hush ye, good words, all ye people !

There in primeval mysterious caves of the Earth
worship of honour and sacrifice—

Hush, all ye people, good words !

1040

Gracious and loyal-hearted to the land, come hither, O
ye Worshipful, pleased with flame-devouring torch upon
your way—

Cry aloud now with jubilee in chorus !

.

the citizens of Pallas : Zeus the all-seeing and Fate have
conspired to this end.

Cry aloud now with jubilee in chorus !

of this procession is designed as a reflection of the great procession at
that feast. And *εὐάνδροισι* is an allusion to the contest of *εὐανδρία* on
that occasion. See my paper on 'The Last Scene of the Eumenides'
in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1906, p. 268.

It is still possible that, as Hermann thought, a passage may have
fallen out before this.

πυρός should perhaps be *πάρος*.

¹ *βᾶθ' ὀδόν, ᾧ μεγάλοι φιλότιμοι* is my emendation. Being written (as
was often done) without elision, *βατεοδονω* was mistaken for *βατ' ἐν
δόμω*. Many have been content to read *βᾶτε δόμω*, but the utmost that
could mean is 'step upon the house.' The sentence seems to call for *ᾧ*,
and in starting the procession to Athena at the *Χαλκεία* Sophocles *frag.*
760 uses the phrase *βᾶτ' εἰς ὀδὸν δῆ, πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς*.

This is a Paean of gladness, in dactylic metre, like those in Bergk
Poetae Lyrici III⁴ p. 676 and in Eur. *Phaethon* 773. 66 *seqq.*, and
corresponds to that which was chanted at the Panathenaea: *J.H.S.*
1906, p. 274.

At the words *ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς* the Eumenides will join in
the women's cry of *Ololu!* The words themselves are probably uttered
by a Herald (whose commands were usually in anapaestic verse); and
if so, it is he who gives the warning *εὐφραμείτε*.

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