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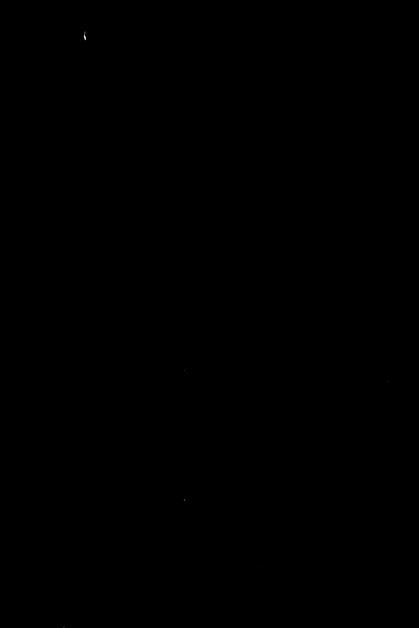
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### EUMENIDES OF AESCHYLUS.



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DUBLIN UNIVERSITY PRESS SERIES.

# (ΑΪΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΝΊΔΕΣ.)

#### THE EUMENIDES OF AESCHYLUS.

3 Critical Edition,

WITH METRICAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION,

BY

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LIT. D., Q. U. I.; F. R. U. I.;

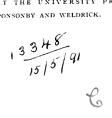
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Αἰσχύλῳ Εὐφορίωνος ᾿Αθηναίῳ πολὺ πρώτῳ ποιητῶν χάριτος τόνδ᾽ ἀνέθηκα πόνον βάρβαρος ὧν Ἦληνι καὶ ὀψίγονος Τιτῆνι θεσπέσιον δ᾽ ὀλίγῳ δώρῳ ἐνῆν τὸ σέβας

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#### PREFACE.

THIS edition is addressed in the first place to that limited number of scholars who take an interest in the restoration of the text of Aeschylus; secondly, to those students who are called upon to make the *Eumenides* a subject of special study in the course of their reading for University distinctions. Not a few things of which scholars do not need to be told are to be found in the notes; but the work is very mainly critical, that is, engaged in the earnest inquiry: 'What is the true text, and what does it mean?'

A critical edition is not made to order, nor to meet a trade demand. It appears whenever the author has completed his congenial task, without any hurry, and to his own satisfaction; so far as the last can be said of works that are imperfect in their nature, that only report progress and mark a new starting-point, 'adeo brevis in perfecto est mora'.

The publication of this text and notes has been much delayed through various causes. My first emendation of the play was made in May, 1863, when I satisfied myself that  $\tau \hat{\alpha}$  in v. 507,

τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας,

in which form the line then appeared in the only editions I possessed, Tauchnitz' and Didot's, was a relic of ἄγοντα. So the verse became the hexapodia which was required, and the sense was made perfect. A year or two later I acquired Weil's edition, then Hermann's, Müller's, and many others. To take them in the order in which they came under my notice, Weil's edition, 1861, placed ἄγοντα rightly, and he attributed the emendation to Pauw, 1733, who had edited

τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄγοντ' ἄνευ δίκας.

Weil transposed the word on the ground that so the line is better modulated, and not for the true critical reasons, that  $\tau \hat{\alpha}$   $\pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\alpha}$  is wrong in sense, and that the  $\tau \hat{\alpha}$  told where the  $\tilde{\alpha} \gamma o \nu \tau \alpha$  had been. Then I found that Pauw's conjecture is given by Hermann, who did not accept it, probably because it had been adopted by Müller, 1833, just 100 years

after Pauw's edition. Müller had put the word in its right place,

άγοντα πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας,

but Weil did not know this, or he would have acknowledged it. Paley ventured at last, in his 3rd edition, 1870, to insert the word; but in Pauw's wrong place. Under the circumstances I feel justified in regarding this important emendation as appertaining in some measure to myself.

This and many other corrections of the text of the Eumenides, which I now propose, were communicated by me to Mr. Paley at the time when he was preparing his 4th edition for the press, about five years ago. I do not think he approved of any of them: they were not 100 years old, nor had they received the sanction of that wild innovator Hermann. I have freely detailed my treatment of the text before classes of pupils in former years; and have discussed particular corrections with parties of friends. these ways some of my results may be already known; but in this absence of hurry one's results have time to be well sorted, seasoned, and matured. I have not yet had occasion to revoke any correction of a text which I have made. The only one of the emendations proposed in this edition about which I retain some doubt, in spite of the evidence, is that at v. 44. I have been watching it ever since July, 1875; and have read the Lexicon of Hesychius through for the sake of that passage alone.

I have not heard of anything of any importance done for the text of the Eumenides since Weil's Persae appeared in 1867, which gave a valuable 'Addenda' of conjectures by German savants, and particularly by the very eminent and illustrious Meineke. The Franco-German war came on; and besides, Professor Weil had really done so much in the way of permanent restoration as hardly to leave it possible for another editor to arise until after some very considerable interval. I find that I have adopted,  $\mathring{a}\pi\mathring{o}$   $\gamma \nu \mathring{\omega} \mu \eta s$ , like one of Athana's Areopagites, no fewer than 45 of Weil's emendations, which appear to me to be convincing and conclusive.

Discredit is thrown upon exact and careful work, in a very regretable way, by harum-scarum attempts at imitation, such as the edition of the Agamemnon which appeared this year. Things of that kind will not be fairly allowed to prejudice the genuine critical work of Stanley, Markland, Heath, Musgrave, Tyrwhitt, Wakefield, and Elmsley, who form the true old English school. It will be

observed that I omit Bentley's name and Porson's, although I must assign three corrections of this text to the former, and fourteen to the latter, in the list which I shall presently give. Of Bentley's three, only one, προπομπῶν for προπομπὸν, v. 963, shows that he was caring about the poem. Porson's fourteen are such as γίγνεται for γίνεται, ἀνὴρ for ἀνήρ, νιν for μιν, πεύσει for πεύση, etc., things which do not affect the meaning of the text, or very slightly, and were, therefore, not deemed worthy of notice by such men as Auratus, Scaliger, Casaubon, and the rest. There is not one of all the fourteen in which Porson has shown that he was caring about the poem.

It is with much unwillingness that anything is said derogatory to the reputation of these great scholars, whom everyone delights to honour; but there is no doubt that their influence has been pernicious in proportion to its supremacy. The spectacle of a scholar of Bentley's rare talents and profound learning, being so seldom able to arrive at a true result in criticism, has led the English people to think that nothing good can be achieved. It is an a fortiori of the most vigorous and convincing kind: 'Do you suppose that you can effect anything where Bentley and Porson failed?' Mr. Paley has been encouraging this sentiment for

forty years; and now the free criticism of a Greek text is looked upon with disfavour, or rather with aversion and intolerance; so that every new editor hastens to assure his critics and readers that he has made no changes in the text except some four or five, at most, which are of no consequence whatever.

Some discrimination ought to be used. Bentley's mind was wanting in two requisites of the first importance: a sympathy with poetic sentiment and expression, and a respect for his author such as was felt by Scaliger and H. Stephens. He feels that he is Master not only of Trinity College, Cambridge, but also of all the Greek poets, and so has a poor opinion of them and their words, from first to last. Porson did not concern himself at all with the meaning. Greek books presented him with a convenient occasion for exhibiting the accuracy of his grammatical knowledge, and his acquaintance with some Greek metres. There was no ground for expecting that either could become a true critic. The one could not, because of some radical defects of mind; and the idea never occurred to the other that a Greek text is anything more than a child's exercise, from which faults in orthography have to be removed.

We envy them their superior endowments. Our

claim to some attention from our contemporaries relies on the plea that we study the poetry of Aeschylus for its own sake; to make the text sure and the meaning clear, first of all to ourselves, and then, without hesitation, to those whom we are appointed to lecture.

The seven whom I have canonized above, with (perhaps, as is supposed) less splendid talents, have done much better work. These are they who have made Greek poetry intelligible to us, and who take rank with the real critics and right honourable enlighteners such as the following, whom I choose from many: John Dorat, for France; Francis Robortello, for Italy; William Canter, for Holland; and Henry Weil, for Germany. Hermann, a genius of immense power, was struggling with a pedantic generation, and only began to be a true critic when he published his 'Supplices of Aeschylus', at the age of 78, and died. I would choose Benjamin Heath, of Exeter, to represent the English Grecians.

I agree with Hermann in his opinion that John Dorat is the most illustrious Aeschylean critic: he lived to be 80 years of age; while the most promising of all was the marvellously brilliant William Canter of Utrecht, who died in 1575, aged 33. Besides his emendations, which have, nearly every one, been adopted by every editor, William Canter is he who discovered the antistrophic correspondence of the lines in choral Henry Weil has discovered the antithetic structure of the periods in iambic systems. I am quite convinced of the reality of his discovery, but have not applied it to my own text. It seemed well to wait until the text of the Eumenides is better confirmed. Through some slight difference in writing the choruses, I have only 986 lines to Weil's 1001: the iambics are almost the same, so that his scheme of correspondence nearly applies, and need not be repeated. This antithetic structure of iambic systems seems to have been suggested to Aeschylus by the antistrophic arrangement of the chorus; to have recommended itself for the beautiful order which it introduces, and to have been confirmed in use by its great help as a mnemonic:

ON THE TEXT OF THE EUMENIDES AS IT APPEARS IN THE 'MEDICEAN' MANUSCRIPT PRESERVED IN THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY AT FLORENCE.

It is written throughout in small, *i.e.* round, letters, *literae minusculae*; no capitals occurring except a few which have been interpolated, one here and another there, mostly at the end of words. I have used R. Merkel's 'fac-simile' re-

cension, Clarendon Press, 1871, as well as those which are reported by Hermann. H. Keil shows good evidence that it was bought at Constantinople in the year 1423 A.D., from the wife of John Chrysoloras,\* by Francis Philelphus, who brought it to Italy early in 1424. The time when it was written is supposed, by those best qualified to judge (Bekker, Dindorf, Cobet), to be between 950 and 1050 A.D. As to the way in which it is written, Merkel says that 'there is nothing to be said in its praise apart from the fact that the MS is the only bit of wreckage left to tell the tale of the loss of Aeschylus'. I have often exercised my fancy in speculating on 'what sort of person was it who wrote out this Medicean relic of Aeschylus, and from what sort of a text did he copy it?' The latter part of the problem can be practically solved. He (it may have been she, in the reign of a literary empress like Eudocia, about 1060 A.D.) copied it from a text written either (1) in uncial letters, literae unciales, that is

<sup>\*</sup> Chrysoloras, John.—Died about 1462, teacher and father-in-law of Philelphus. Disciple and nephew of Manuel Chrysoloras.

Chrysoloras, Manuel.—A learned Greek, born at Constantinople about 1355; died April 15, 1415. One of the greatest contributors to the restoration of Greek literature in the West. Sent by Manuel Palaeologus to urge the Western princes to a crusade against the Turks. Remained in Italy as teacher of Greek. Buried at Constance. Probably his 'Ερωτήματα is the first Greek Grammar printed in the West, 1488.

what we call 'small' and 'capital' intermixed, in which way the Scholia are written on the margins of M; or (2) in literae quadratae, all square and angular, which we call 'capitals,' with no spaces between words. The two alternatives result in the same practical rule, viz., that proposed ways of divining the true reading of M may justly be based upon either assumption—'the prototype of M was written in round, i.e. "small," characters, with spaces between what were supposed to be the words'; or, 'the prototype of M was written in square, i.e. capital, letters, with no spaces between words'.

This copy was written by some person, probably very young, who had learned and knew his Greek letters, both round and square, and who had been made to observe the accents when learning his Greek grammar. That appears to have been the full amount of his attainments in Greek. The result of his copying was so deplorable, that the person who ought to have corrected the faults, whether he was a father, a master, or an archimandrite, preferred to evade the duty. Mss often show signs of more or less competent supervision, as at Anth. Pal. 5. 262, where there is a note on the margin:  $oi\delta \delta i \lambda \delta i \pi \epsilon i$ ,  $\pi \lambda \eta \nu \delta \tau i \delta \gamma \rho i \delta \mu \nu \rho i \delta \nu \nu \delta \nu \delta \nu \nu \delta \nu$ 

fool.' The copier of M had been ordered not to write the words continuously, but to separate them by spaces. He took this to mean 'not to write the letters continuously', so he broke them up into twos, threes, fours, &c., to present an agreeable variety of combinations, and just as fancy prompted; for he neither knew nor cared what any word was, except  $\tilde{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma\sigma$ ,  $\tilde{a}\nu\eta\rho$ , and  $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ , in which cases he gladly adopted the compendious way of writing.

I know very well that the most intelligent person can hardly copy twenty lines of poetry without making mistakes: I mean a person who knows well the meaning of what he is writing, and tries to keep his thoughts from wandering. The writer of M (or writers, for Merkel thinks there were at least two, who relieved each other alternately) was performing either a task or a penance, and had no knowledge of what he was writing; only that the quadrate or else uncial letters of his exemplar were to be rendered by small letters without any capitals, and with spaces between optional groups of them, so as not to look as if written continuously. One might also seem to detect the trade trick of some ignorant book factor or broker, at the time when spaces between words began to be fashionable.

If the illiterate copyist practises a stolid Chinese conscientiousness in making an exact representa-

tion of the original, with all its accumulation of errors, as seems to have been done in the case of our Medicean (so Hermann, Weil, and Merkel think), it is much better than that which has happened to the Farnese Ms, which Demetrius Triclinius is supposed to have written out from M, inserting his own hasty and crude corrections currente calamo. This has deprived F of nearly all of value and authority which it might have had.

If the codex Venetus (V) with Flor. and F were copied from M, and the latter did not arrive in Italy till 1424 A.D., then those three copies were taken at Constantinople, or in the Greece of that time: so that M would appear to have been a unique copy, and of great commercial value when Philelphus bought it. It escaped the Turks by just 30 years.

# THE COPIES TAKEN FROM M, WHICH CONTAIN THE EUMENIDES, THE WHOLE OR PART.

- (1). G., Guelferbytanus, of the 15th century, very carefully collated by Hermann himself. It contains the inevitable mistakes of copyists, but not corrections.
  - (2). Marcianus, practically identical with G.
- (3). Par., Parisinus, written by Janus Lascaris.\* Hermann was disposed to think it was copied from the prototype of M;

<sup>\*</sup> Lascaris, Andrew John.—Called Rhyndaconus, from Rhyndaeus in Phrygia, where he was born about 1445; died at Rome in 1535. After the destruction of the Greek empire was complete, he took refuge in Italy, and found a welcome at the court of Lorenzo de' Médicis, who twice sent him to Con-

but this conjecture has not seemed probable to others who have examined the Ms.

- (4). Aug., Augustanus. This begins at v. 526, καὶ μαρτυρήσων ἢλθον. Written in the 16th century.
- (5). V., Venetus, of the 13th century. After v. 531, ὅπως ἐπίστᾳ τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην, it goes on at v. 597, πέδας μὲν ἃν λύσειεν, the leaves being numbered as if there were no omission. Then after Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς, v. 744, it proceeds with v. 774, οὐκ ἔστ' ἄτιμοι, after the antistrophe, instead of after the strophe. This and the two following were copied from M before the loss of the 14 leaves from the Agamemnon.
- (6). Fl., or Flor., Florentinus, of the 14th century. It has the same omissions from the Eumenides as V, from which Weil thinks it may have been copied.
- (7). F., Farnesianus, of the 14th century, supposed to have been written by Demetrius Triclinius, and to present a text which has been much altered by him.

The text of M shows very numerous indubitable signs of having been tampered with, by erasures and writing of words over them, as well as by the addition of letters, during the 400 years of the Manuscript's existence in the East before it was brought to Italy. The only imaginable way in which the above seven copies can be considered to be of any critical value is in the possibility that V, for instance, was copied

stantinople, and other cities of the East, to save as many Greek Mss as possible from the Turks. Returned the second time with about 200. Lorenzo was then dead. Lascaris accepted the invitation of Charles VIII, and came to Paris as teacher of Greek towards 1500 a.d. Published his Anthologia Epigrammatum Graecorum, Libri VII, at Florence, 1494, 4to, and many other valuable editions. Taught for a long time at Florence, Rome, Venice, and Paris. Corrector of the Greek press at Florence.

before some or many of these erasures, substitutions, and interpolations, had been made in M by the Byzantine critics.

But, in point of fact, every careful editor has arrived at the conviction, and, on the completion of his work, has been full of the feeling, that the copies have been of no use, except to confirm the reading of M where it is clearly right. A few interpolated conjectures which they contain are sometimes right in small particulars; while, as an almost invariable rule, wherever the reading in M is bad, those in the copies are worse. Hermann used at first to quote the readings of all, but in his later work he ceased to do this on the ground that it is quite superfluous.

## THE SCHOLIA WRITTEN ON THE MARGINS OF THE MEDICEAN CODEX.

These are to be regarded as an old Greek prose text which has not been molested nor garbled, and which has suffered only from the many blunders and omissions of copyists, during a period of 2000 years at least. They are written in uncial letters, as explained above, and Hermann thought that they must have been entered on the margins not long after the transcription of the Med. text of Aeschylus was completed.

They contain antiquarian remarks of real value; many quotations from classical Greek authors; references to the authority of those who are still held to have been masters in the science of Grammar and the exact meaning of words; and are pervaded by a spirit of intelligence as to the meaning of the text which is singularly admirable in ages which were not profoundly critical. The creative force of the Greek poetic genius did not become torpid and fall into its iron sleep until after a lovely Indian summer of its own in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. Weil cannot be wrong in declaring that, on the whole, the authority of the Medicean Scholia is greater than that of any existing manuscript text of Aeschylus.

The further restoration of the original text of Aeschylus must be made by conjecture, starting from the Text and Scholia as contained in M; which conjecture shall trust to a complete analysis of the exigencies of the passage, as perceived by the aid of that very rare endowment, an intuitive perception of a poet's style and the course of his imaginings. This gift will have been nursed and developed by long and patient study of all the remains of Greek and Latin poetry and of most of the prose. This 'conjectural emendator' will not shrink from devoting a few months, occa-

sionally, to a long course of reading for the sake of a single difficulty in the text.

Besides the ordinary mistakes made by a copyist's *incuria* and *insipientia*, there are some which may be classified with advantage, as follows:—

- (a). Anagrammatismus, by which the proper order of the letters of a word is inverted or distorted, as if the scribe had set them down in the order in which he deciphered them, writing:
  - v. 44, μεγίστφ for γεμιστόν. νηλεῖ μεγίστφ appears to have been read at one time.
    - 255, χερών for χρεών,
    - 608, προσδέξαιτε for προσδέξεται,
    - 637, ἄρειον for ἀνιερῶ,
    - 668, μένων for νέμων. 699, νέμειν for μένειν,
    - 675, δαίμονας for διανομάς. So diamone for dianome, Pliny, Letters, 117 and 118,
    - 753, δαιμόνων for μαινάδων,
    - 894, φλοιγμὸ for φλογμοὶ. σ was added subsequently. ibid. φυτῶντὸ for ἔφοιντο,
    - . 973, εν δόμφ for δόμοι δε,
      - 983, ές τὸ πᾶν for πανετές.
- (b). Parakousma or Tautophonia, when a word dictated has been imperfectly heard by a scribe, and incorrectly written on that account:
  - v. 54, δία for λίβα,
    - 119, προσίκτορες for προσεικότες, and γάρ είσιν for πάρεισιν,
    - 167, μάντι σῷ for μάντις ὂν,
    - 196, eis for eis,
    - 272, καθαρμούς for καθ' δρμους,

393, τοῦτο for ποῦ τὸ, and τῆς σφαγῆς for τῆς φυγῆς,

423, βοτοῖσι for βροτοῖσι. 861, βροτῶν for βοτῶν,

513, λέπαδιον for λάπαδιον,

676, παρηπάτησας for παρηπάφησας,

703, βαλοῦσα for παροῦσα.

(c). Dittophanes, when a scribe has thought letters to be wrongly written twice, by διπλασιογραφία, and has wrongly set them down only once:—

v. 68, 8' ai for 8' ai8' ai,

76, the corruption arose from  $\tau'$   $\eta_{\nu}$   $\tau \eta_{\nu}$ .

308, καθαρὰς for καθαρὰς καθαρῶς,

360, the corruption arose from  $\lambda \alpha \chi \lambda \epsilon \chi$ ,

365, παλαιὸν for πάλαι παλαιόν,

908, τοῖσδ' αὖ κρύων for τοῖσδ' αὖ δακρύων.

(d). Apeirokalia, where a corrector has written a word which is intelligible to himself, in place of the poet's more exquisite word:—

v. 105, βροτῶν for φρενῶν,

125, πέπρακται for πέπρωται,

133, πόνος for κόπος,

392, βροτοκτονοῦντες for αὐτοκτονοῦντες,

429, τροίαν for πρώαν.

H. Stephens instances substitutions of this kind in porcos for procos, examinare for examinare, and adhibe for adhibe; which also introduced false quantities.

(e). Tautophanes, when the letters are the same, but ought to have been divided when written small:—

v. 118,  $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\omega$  for  $\pi\rho\delta$ s  $\tilde{\psi}$ .

- (f). Paromocodes, when the letters, whether capital, or round, are so nearly alike that a scribe easily confounds them:
  - v. 327, θανάτων for θνατών. 344, λιταίς for δίκαις.
- (g). Parorasis, where two similar passages or words occur, and the scribe has gone on with what follows the second, instead of with that which follows the first. Instances of this occur in the Eumenides at v. 800-810 and v. 946-956.

On the other hand, mistakes, from whatever source, have been removed so far, and the Medicean text of the Eumenides has been made tolerably intelligible to us, by means of three hundred and twelve\* conjectural emendations, the work of fifty-two scholars, the best in their generations, in a period of about three hundred and fifty years.

The list of emendators, and of their (now almost universally accepted) corrections, is as follows. In order that the names of these great men may not be merely so many meaningless words, I add short biographical notices, wherever they were easily procurable, up to the time of Dobree, with whom English criticism and restoration of the *Eumenides* may be said to close.

<sup>\*</sup> Exclusive, of course, of the 66 proposed by me in this edition.

'Victorius' (Pietro Vettori).—Born at Florence, July 11. 1499; died there, December 18, 1585. Studied law at Pisa, where he married Maddalena Médici. In 1598, appointed Professor of Greek and Latin at Florence, and held that office nearly 50 years. Received a collar of gold from the Duc d'Urbino; a silver vase full of gold coins from Card. Alexander Farnese; the title of Conte from Julius III; and medals were four times struck in his honour.

v. 356, μύσος (μῦσος)—700, ascription of vv.

Sophianus, Michael.—Of Greek extraction, and residing at Venice when H. Stephens visited that city in 1548.

ν. 220, δὲ Παλλὰς (δ' ἐπάλλας)--320, πτῶκα (πτάκα).

Robortello, Francesco.—Born at Udine, N. E. Italy, September 9, 1516; died at Padua, March 18, 1567. Of noble family. Studied at Bologna. Professor of Belles Lettres at Lucca, 1538; at Venice, 1549; at Padua, 1552. He died at the age of 50, not leaving funds sufficient for his funeral, but greatly regretted by his pupils; by none more than by those from Germany. His pupils had a monument erected to him in the church of Saint Antony at Padua. Not inexcusably he regarded himself as the first savant of his age, and quarrelled with his rivals Erasmus, Paul Manutius, Muretus, H. Stephens, and Sigonius. His 'Aeschylus and Scholia' was published at Venice, 1552, 2 vols. 8vo.

υ. 11, Παρνησοῦ θ΄ παρ . . . νησοῦνσθ΄)—124, ὅζεις (ὅιζεισ)—169, παρὰ νόμον (παρ αν ο΄ μ.ºν)—444, φόνου (φόνουσ)—626, κελεύσω (κελεύω)—903, οῖ' ἐπικραίνει (οῖ αἐπικρα-ν εῖ).

'Auratus' (Jean Dorat).—Born at Limoges (Haute Vienne) about 1508. Educated at the College of Limoges; then became private tutor in noble houses at Paris. His reputation as a scholar and teacher led Francis I to appoint him tutor of the Royal pages. Became Director of the College of Coqueret, where the poet Ronsard was one of his pupils. Was made Professor of Greek in the Royal College, Paris, in 1566. Charles IX gave him the title 'Poet Royal'. Du Verdier asserts that Auratus published more than 50,000 Greek and Latin verses. "No book

was written but Auratus composed a poetic eulogy of the author; no person of quality died but Auratus wrote an elegy in verse." Died at Paris, November 1, 1588.

His very valuable corrections of Greek texts are recorded on the margins of his books. Hermann preferred him to all Aeschylean critics.

γ. 222, πλέω (πλέον)—311, ἀλιτων (ἀλιτρων).

ΤRICLINIUS.— ν. 231, κελεύμασιν (κελεύσ-).

'Turnebus' (Adrien Turnèbe).—Born, 1512, at Andeley, Normandy. "Attained the first rank of learning in an age of learned men." Professor of the Greek language and Greek philosophy in the University of Paris, 1547. Superintendent of the Greek department in the King's Printing Office. Died of consumption, June 12, 1565, and was buried without any religious ceremony, by his own express command. "His was the most refined and cultivated spirit in the world", says Montaigne. Of his 'Adversaria', Baillet says, "it is hard to pronounce whether the industry or the genius of the writer is more to be admired".

ν. 27, Πλείστον (πλείστονσ)—77, πόντον (πόντον)—105, μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος (μῶιρα πρόσκοπος)—107, νηφάλια (νι φάλ ια)—108, νυκτίσεμνα (ν ν κτὸ σεμν ὰ)—112, ἀρκυστάτων (ἀρ κυσ μάτων)—113, ἐγκατιλλώψας (ἐκκατιλλώψας)—142, ἰδώμεθ' (εἰδώμεθ')—182, οὖ (ἀν)—200, δέκτωρ (δ' ἔκ τωρ); it is in the margin of M—336, συνδαίτωρ (συν δ-άτω ρ)—340, τίθασος (πίθασος)—ib., φίλον (φίλοσ)—363, οὐχ ἄζεται (ὀ υχάζ εται)—421, νεοθήλου (ν ο θήλο ν)—530, τοῦ (τοῦδε)—547, ἄλλ' (ἀλλ')—685, ἀμφίβουλος (ἀμφίβολος)—742, βαλεῖ (βαλεῖν)—745, πίθεσθε (πείθεσθε)—749, χρήσας (θήσας)—784, τῆσδε τάκρ. (τῆσ-δετ' ἀκρ.)—908, δ' αὖ δακρύων (δ' αὖ κρύων)—915, μετάκοινοι (μέγα κοινοι)—938, εὖφρονας (-άνας)—942, χαίρετ' inserted—960, εὖ σέβοντες (εὐσεβοῦντες)—969, ὑμεῖς (ἡμεῖς)—970, μετοίκοις (-οι).

'STEPHENS' (HENRI ESTIENNE).—Born at Paris, 1528; died at Lyons, 1598. Carefully trained by his father Robert; and afterwards pupil of Danès (the successor and disciple of Bude and J. Lascaris). Danès, the most eminent Hellenist of his time.

took only two private pupils; one the Second Henri, son of Francis I, king of France; the other, the second Henri Estienne -the first being the first French printer, in 1501, at Paris. Attended the lectures of Turnebus; and learned to write a beautiful hand from Ange Vergèce. At 19, after helping his father with his edition of Dionysius Halicarnassius, he travelled in Italy to visit the libraries, and practise the art of le chaseur. He was much admired at Venice by the Greek, Michael Sophianus, for the fluency with which he conversed in Modern Greek, as well as the other modern languages. Became acquainted with Annibal Caro and Paul Manutius. After collating a great many MSS in Italy, he visited England, receiving a friendly welcome from the young king, Edward VI. To the duties of commercial traveller for his father, and furthering the sale of his books, he added the research of a critical scholar, and the capacity of an accomplished savant. He travelled on horseback, reading or composing as he went.

He was the first to publish the *Agamemnon* entire. He published in all 170 editions of authors in various languages, nearly all of them annotated by himself.

His ms collations of many hundreds of Codices supplied him with the readings quoted by him. He never introduces a word unauthorised by ms without advising the reader. He was the inflexible enemy of every form of levity and dishonesty in an editor. Casaubon, his son-in-law, tried to secure his manuscripts, collations, and other papers, in the possession of Paul Stephens, son of Henry, on the death of the latter, but says that they were mostly lost or destroyed. Firmin Didot, the learned founder of the 'Didot' Library, says that Henry Stephens had lived to see his books, his manuscripts, and his house at Paris, all destroyed in an earthquake (probably the great one of 1580, April 6, 6 p.m.). Casaubon says of him, "literas, praesertim Graecas, unus omnium optime intellexit". Coraës\* says

<sup>\*</sup> Coray, Adamantius.—Born at Smyrna, April 27, 1748; died at Paris, April 6, 1833. Studied medicine at Montpellier, 1782-1788. Came to Paris, 1788. His 'Characters of Theophrastus', 1799; 'Hippocrates', 1800; 'Aethiopica of Heliodorus', 1804; 'Plutarch', 'Strabo', and many other works, raised

that "if the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* had not been made by him, it would be yet to make".

His proof-sheets were carefully revised by himself, whereas Aldus Manutius, his near contemporary, confesses that he had not time to read his at all: "ne perlegendis quidem cursim".

ν. 645, μὴ ἐπικαινούντων (μηπικαινόντων).

'Scaliger' (Joseph Justus L'Escale).—Born at Agen (Guyenne), August 4, 1540; 10th in Julius Caesar Scaliger's family of 15. Taught himself, under his father's guidance, by the age of 22, every language and science known. He then became a Calvinist. "The greatest scholar that France has produced." "All the savants of the day were at his feet." Succeeded Justus Lipsius. as Professor at Leyden, in 1593. The principal students under him were Grotius, Meursius, Rutgers, Dousa, D. Heinsius. He was persecuted by the Jesuits for the freedom of his criticisms on Canonical Books. Died January 21, 1609. "His only luxury was the being well dressed; his amusement was 'la chasse'"—probably hawking and coursing.

ν. 255, χρεῶν (χερῶν)—393, ποῦ τὸ τέρμα (τοῦτο τέρμα)—453. τε (δὲ)—635, Αἰγέως (ἀιγεώι)—849, εὐθενεῖν (ἐν σθενεῖν).

Canter, William.—Born at Utrecht. 1542; died at Louvain, May 18, 1575. Justus Lipsius said of him, "I have never seen anyone with a mind so indefatigable, so enamoured of literary work, and so capable of performing it". His 'Aeschyli Tragoediae VII' was published at Antwerp, 1580. Dying at the age of 33, he had published editions of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, with a larger proportion of permanent emendations, made by himself, than have been made by any other editor, before or since. He first made out clearly the responsion of the lines in the choral odes, and marked the corresponding lines with Roman numerals at the side of the text.

v. 196, εἶs (εἰs)—215, εἰ (ἡ)—305, ἁμά (ἄμα)—326, θνατῶν (θανάτων)—360, ἀτίετα (ἀτί εται)—377, καινὴν (καὶ τὖν)—586, καρ-

him to the position of the first Hellenist in Europe. The great restorer of the modern Greek national spirit and language.

δίας (-ίαν)—565, &ν δ' δ' δν)—636, αλελ δικαστών  $(\delta'$  έκάστων)—662, αλδουμένους (-οισ)—917, παντ $\hat{\alpha}$  (πάντα).

Casaubon, Isaac.—Born at Geneva, February 8, 1559; died at London, July 1, 1614. His family were Protestant refugees from the Dauphiné. His father returned as pastor to Crest, in that province, where the son was brought up. At 19 he was sent to the University of Geneva; and in 1582 succeeded F. Portus in the Chair of Greek there. Married Florence, eldest daughter of Henry Stephens. Professor of Greek at Montpellier; and then in the University of Paris, invited by an autograph letter from King Henry IV. Accompanied Sir H. Wotton on his return to London. King James I, while king of Scotland, had corresponded with him, and now received him with favour; obtained his full release from French citizenship from Marie de' Médicis; and employed Casaubon as his alter ego in his theological disputes. He was prebendary of Canterbury and Westminster. Buried in Westminster Abbey. Scaliger extols the profundity of his learning. Casaubon wrote commentaries on almost all the more difficult Greek and Latin authors, and had commenced one on Aeschylus. His son Méric died 1671, incumbent of Bledon, Somerset; prebendary of Canterbury, and rector of Ickam. He is the author of editions of M. Aurelius, Terence, de., de.

v. 185, λευσμός τε (λευσμό ντε)—306, δ' (τ')—453, δυσποίμαντ'
 (δ-υσπήματ')—777, δώματος (δωμάτων).

Pearson, John.—Born at Snoring, Norfolk, 1613. Took orders at Cambridge, 1639. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1662. Bishop of Chester, 1672. Died, 1686.

v. 137, σὲ δ' (σἐδ')—340, τιθασὸς (τίθασος)—349, ἀνέκαθεν (ἄγκαθεν)—140, σὲ δ' (σύτ')—142, ἤ τις (ἔιτις). Linwood, adducing the authority of Thomas Gaisford, thinks that it would not be easy to verify these corrections, commonly ascribed to Pearson: "They may be Casaubon's."

STANLEY, THOMAS.—Born at Cumberlow, Hertfordshire, 1625.
Pupil at Cambridge of Edward Fairfax, translator of Tasso.

Took his M. A. degree honoris causá, 1641. Being of independent means, he devoted himself to classical literature, and settled in London. His great work, 'Aeschyli Tragoediae VII, cum Scholiis Graecis omnibus', London and Cambridge, fol., 1663-4, has been "the great source of illustrations of Aesch. for all his successors".—Enger. Died in London, April 22, 1678, aged 53.

τ. 27, Πλειστοῦ (Πλείστου)—125, πέπρωται (πέπρακται)—182, καρανιστῆρες (καρ αιν ηστῆρ εσ)—281 olim, καθαίρει (καθαιρεῖ)—369, γῆν (τὴν)—382, ὁρωμένας (-αις)—395, ἐπιρροιζεῖς (-εῖ)—444, ὀξυμηνίτους (-ου)—861, βοτῶν (βροτῶν).

Bentley, Richard.—Born at Oulton, near Wakefield, in 1662; died, 1742. At school at Wakefield; thence to Cambridge University. Tutor to bishop of Worcester's son. His 'Letter to Dr. John Mill', 1691, and 'Eight Sermons' in refutation of Atheism, brought him into notice. Became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Ely. Published, in 1710, 'Critical Remarks on Aristophanes, and Corrections of the Fragments of Philemon and Menander'. His editions of 'Horace' and 'Paradise Lost' sufficiently prove "son peu de goût pour la poésie".

v. 369, καταφθατουμένη (-ην)—963, προπομπῶν (προπομπὸν)—966, ἀτηρὸν (ἀτήριον).

ABRESCH, FREDERIC LOUIS.—Born at Hesse-Homburg, December 29, 1699; died, 1782. Studied Classical literature at Utrecht, under Drakenborch and Duker. Rector of Middlebourg College in 1725; of Zwolle in 1741. 'Notes on Aeschylus', Middlebourg, 1743, 2 vols. 8vo; vol. 3, Zwolle, 1763; and other works.

v. 31, πάρ' (παρ')—166, ἀρόμενον (αἰρόμενον)—199, τί μήν; (τι μήν)—698, ascription of verse—852, πρόπαντος (πρὸ παντὸς).

DE PAUW, JEAN CORNEILLE.—Born at Utrecht towards the end of the 17th century. He was Canon of St. John's Church, Utrecht. Devoted his life to the study of Greek literature.

Besides his edition of Aeschylus, he published many other Classical works. Died, 1749.

v. 345, εἰς (ἐσ)—478, ὧ (ἰὼ)—491, παντὶ (ἄπαντι)—505, δ' inserted—511, θερμῷ (θερμοεργῶι).

Markland, Jeremiah.—Born at Childwall, Lancashire, October 29, 1693; died, July 7, 1776. At Christ's Hospital; then Peter's College, Cambridge. 'Critical Letter on some passages in Horace', 1723; 'Silvae of Statius', 1728—very much praised by Boissonade. His edition of the 'Suppliants of Enripides', 1763, 250 copies only, was anonymous. Son of a village clergyman.

Elmsley calls him "the model that every critic ought to imitate". Markland pronounced spurious Cic. ad Quirites post reditum; Post reditum in senatu; Pro domo sua; De haruspicum responsis; and had grave doubts about the de Oratore. "His critical restorations seem very bold and forced; but when you read his proofs, so well put forward, you generally come to regard as true that which seemed to be most unlikely; and even when you are not convinced, you are always constrained to admire the critical power and learning of the commentator."—Boissonade. Always a great invalid.

'Arnaldus' (George d'Arnaud).—Born at Francker, Friesland, Holland, September 16, 1711; died, June 1, 1740. His family were Protestant refugees from France. He studied under Wesseling and Hemsterhuys at Francker University. 'Specimen Animadversionum' (in Anacr., Callim., Aesch., Herodot., Xen., Hephaest.), Harderwyk, 1728, 8vo, when he was 17; and he died at the age of 29. He seems to have known all the Greek metres.

ν. 59, πόνον (πόνων)—163, φονολιβ $\hat{\eta}$   $(φονολειβ\hat{\eta})$ —320, ματρώρον (ματρώϊον)—393, τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς φυγ $\hat{\eta}$ ς  $(τ\hat{\eta}$ ς σφαγ $\hat{\eta}$ ς).

TYRWHITT, THOMAS.—Born, March 29, 1730, at London, where he died, August 15, 1786. At Eton; then to Oxford; graduated there, 1755, and resided till 1762. Was Under-Secretary of War, 1756; Secretary to the House of Commons, 1762; which

post he resigned in 1768 through feeble health, and devoted himself to his favourite Classical studies. Custodian of the British Museum, 1784. Exposed the spuriousness of 'Poems of T. Rowley' by Chatterton, 1777. One of the most acute and prolific of English critics. His 'Conjecturae in Aeschylum, Sophoclem, Euripidem, et Aristophanem' was printed by one of his friends, 1822.

ν. 96, ὧν (ώς)-453, ἀμηνίτως (ἀμηχάνωσ).

Musgrave, Samuel. — Born about 1730. Practised as a physician at Exeter. He wrote 'Exercitationes in Euripidem', 8vo, 1762; 'Euripidis quae extant omnia', Oxford, 4 vols. 4to, 1778. Died, July 3, 1782, in needy circumstances.

v. 183, ἀποφθορᾶ (ἀπο φθορὰι)—281 olim, rejected—433, κρύψασ', ἃ (κρύψασα)—513, λαπαδνόν (λέπαδνον).

Heath, Benjamin.—Recorder of Exeter. His work is entitled 'Notae sive Lectiones ad Tragicorum Graecorum veterum, Aeschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis, quae supersunt dramata, deperditorumque reliquias', 4to, 1762. The most able and successful of all English critics of the text of Aeschylus.

v. 264, ἄλλος (ἄλλον)—296, σκιάν (σκιά)—348, right order of verses—354, ἐπιφθόνοις (ἐπιφόνοις)—358, γὰρ rejected—384, τὸν πέλας (τοὺς πέλας).

Wakefield, Gilbert.—Born, February 22, 1756, at Nottingham; died September 9, 1801, at London. Graduated at Cambridge, 1776. Ordained, March 22, 1778: "the most disloyal act of my life was to sign the Articles". Resigned his curacy at Liverpool, and became professor in a dissenting college at Warrington. Then director of another dissenting college at Hackney, London. Published excellent editions of Horace, Virgil, Lucretius, etc.; his 'Silva Critica', 1789–95, 5 parts, 8vo. Accused of seditious writing ('Remarks on the General Orders of the Duke of York, 1797'; and 'Reply to some parts of the Bishop of Llandaff's Address'). He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and succumbed to a typhoid fever,

very shortly after his release. Upon his incarceration a subscription of £5000 was raised for his family.

v. 96, ὧν (ώς)—196, ὧν (ώς)—358, τε καὶ (δὲ καὶ).

Porson, Richard.—Born at East Ruston, Norfolk, December The son of a parish-clerk, he was sent to Eton by a gentleman living in the neighbourhood of Ruston. 1777 went to Trinity College, Cambridge. Took his degree and orders, but threw up his curacy in 1791, being unable to assent to the 39 Articles. The chair of Greek was vacant at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1792. He wrote his theme (on Euripides), as a candidate, in two days, and was elected unanimously: salary, £40 a-vear, with no room to lecture in. Some friends placed £2000 at his disposal, in the public funds, to enable him to proceed with his work. He was struck with apoplexy in a London street, and died, September 25, 1808. His 'Aeschyli Tragoediae VII' was published in 1806, 2 vols., 8vo. He was buried in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, and his monument placed between those of Newton and Bentley.

νν. 136, 314, γίγνεται (γίνεται)—172, φυγὼν (φεύγων)—221, λίπω (λείπω)—230, ἢν (εὶ)—258, χύμενον (κεχύμενον)—309, true order restored—311, 527, 709, ἁνὴρ (ἀνὴρ)—334, ἁμὶν (ἁμι ν)—493, δυσσεβίας (δυσσεβέι ασ)—515, αἴστος (ἄϊστος)—582, νιν (μιν)—867, σοὕστι (σοῦ ἀστι)—961, δ' ἐμὲ (δέ με).

Hermann, Johann Gottfreid Jakob von.—Born at Leipsic, November 28, 1772; died there, December 31, 1848. Studied at Leipsic and Jena. Made Professor of Philosophy at Leipsic, 1798; subsequently of Eloquence and Ancient Poetry. Decorated with 'the Order of Civil Merit', 1815; afterwards received a Patent of Nobility from the King. He regarded textual criticism and its immediate adjuncts as the only proper business, and the inexhaustible task, of a Greek Professor. All other things, such as archaeology and 'the science of language', are nothing to the purpose, except as casual ancillaries. He could point to Boeckh and Mueller as examples of critical power enfeebled by various distractions. He is the apostle of rigid

exclusiveness and concentration in verbal criticism. This is the most difficult of all subjects, to the proper treatment of which very few men are equal. Cases of almost portentous precocity like those of Canter and d'Arnaud are outside an average estimate. The great aesthetician John Winckelmann probably gives the general truth. Arriving at Rome in the year 1755, he says: "I find that I am the only man in Rome who possesses a critical knowledge of the Greek language. So much have we degenerated. And this is the result of education which is in the hands of the priesthood (W. was a Catholic). Mathematicians start up like mushrooms, and the plant matures, without much pains, in 25 years; whereas 50 years, or more, are requisite for the study of the Greek language." It would appear that Hermann is right.

v. 6, punct., suggested by Stanley and Wakefield—22, lacuna—105, φρενῶν (βροτῶν)—252, ὁ rejected—306, εἰθυδίκαιοι (ἐυθυ δί και θ' οἱ)—308, καθαρῶς inserted—365, κύρω (κυρῶ)—494, πάμφιλος (πᾶσι φίλος)—531, τ' inserted—553, τί γάρ; σὺ (τὸι γὰρ σὺ)—568, κελεύσαι (κελεύσει)—583, ἄμεινον (ἀμείνον')—668, νέμων (μένων)—779, εἰπιθὴς (εἰπειθὴς)—790, οἰχνεῖν (οἰκεῖν)—791, φεῦ rightly placed—889, δ' inserted—934, φρονοῦσα (-σιν)—935, εἰρίσκεις (-ει)—946, τε (δὲ)—975, χωρῖται (-εῖτε)—977, καὶ rejected.

ELMSLEY, PETER.—Born, 1773; died March, 1825. Of Westminster School, and Oxford University, where he took his M.A. in 1797. Being in easy circumstances, he devoted himself to literature, especially Greek. Resided some time at Edinburgh. Contributed to the Edinburgh Review articles on Porson's 'Hecuba', Blomfield's 'Prometheus', etc., etc. He spent the winter of 1818 at Florence, reading Mss in the Laurentian Library.

v. 53, πλατοίσι (πλαστοίσι) after Schütz's right translation— 409, ἀμυναθοῦ (ἀμυνάθου)—516, κατειργαθοῦ (κατεργάθου).

Butler, Samuel.—Born, 1774; died, Bishop of Lichfield, 1840. When a master at Shrewsbury School he was chosen by the Syndicate of Cambridge University to edit a complete

edition of the works of Aeschylus. This was published, 4 vols., 8vo, 1809–1816.

v. 616, marked the lacuna.

Dobree, Peter Paul.—Born in Guernsey, 1782. Educated by Valpy, at Reading. Entered Trinity College, Cambridge, 1800; graduated, 1804. Entrusted with the editorship of Porson's Mss, which had been purchased by Trinity College. Appointed Professor of Greek, 1823. Died, 1825. His 'Remains' were published, 1831, by his successor in the Chair of Greek at Cambridge.

τ. 804, γαμόρω (γ' ἀμό ιρου).

BLOMFIELD, CHARLES JAMES.—Born at Bury St. Edmunds, in 1786. Graduated at Cambridge. Elected Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, on the publication of his edition of the 'Prometheus Vinctus'. He published five plays of Aeschylus, separately. Made Bishop of London, 1824.

v. 305, ἀμά, after Canter's άμά.

Müller, Karl Ottfried.—Born at Brieg, in Prussian Silesia, August 21, 1797. Studied at Breslau; then at Berlin, under the celebrated Boeckh. In 1817. Professor of Ancient Classics at Breslau. 'Orchomenus and the Minyans' in 1820; then 'The Dorians'; 'History of Greek Literature'; and many other works. His 'Eumenides, with German Translation', appeared 1833. He loved to unite criticism, history, and art; and his works are as perfect in their kind as is possible. He went to Greece in 1837, and, while superintending excavations near Delphi (Castri), was seized with fever, and died there, August 1, 1840. Buried in the 'Ancient Academy' at Athens.

v. 94, punct.—346, αίμοσταγὲς (αίματοσταγὲς)—358, punct.—507, ἄγοντα (τὰ)—735, δυσοίστα (δύσοιστα).

Schoemann.—v. 243, ἀρθροκμησι (ἀνδροκμησι)—351, καὶ restored.

Вотне.—v. 67, punct.

Burges.—v. 54, λίβα (δία)—526, νόμφ (δόμων).

Boissonade, John Francis.—Born at Paris, August 12, 1774. Secretary of General Dumouriez, 1792; dismissed, 1795; restored, 1801. In 1809, appointed Professor of Greek Literature in the Academy of Paris, shortly after his retirement from a public career, when he devoted himself to Classical studies—and, in 1812, to the Chair of Greek in the College of France. 'Philostrati Heroica', 1806; 'Aristaeneti Epistolae', 1822; 'Philostrati Epistolae', 1842; the first edition of 'Babrius', in 1844, with learned Commentary and Latin version; and many other editions and essays. Contributor to the Classical Journal, with the signature B. A. P. R.—'Boissonade, a Parisian Reader'.

ν. 982, δλολύξατε (διολολύξατε).

Wieseler.—v. 365, πάλαι inserted—416, ἔχων (ἔχει)—417, ἐφεζόμην (ἐφεζομένη)—488, ἀνάρχετον (ἄναρκτον)—754, ἄχναις (αἰχμὰσ)—825. τῷ μὲν εἶ σὰ (τοι μὲν σὰ).

Schütz.—ν. 119, φίλοι (φίλοις)—167, μάντις ὧν (μάντι σῶι)—263, ἀντίποιν ὡς τίνης ματροφόνου (ἀντιποίνους τείνης μητροφόνας)—264, ὄψει δὲ κεἴ τις (ὄψει δ' ἐκεῖ, τίς)—400, θέλοι (θέλει)—475, ἄκεά τ' (ἄκετ')—553, φόν $\varphi$  (φόνου).

Wellauer.—ν. 450, χώρα μεταΐθις (χῶραι μετ' ἀῦθις)—459, θ' added—491, ἄλλ' ἄλλα (ἄλλα ἄλλαι)—809, οὐτἄν (ὅ ντ' ἄν).

Linwood.-v. 118, punct.

Donaldson.— τ. 306, εὐχόμεθ' (δ' όιμεθ).

Fritsche.—v. 475,  $\delta \epsilon$   $\tau \iota s$  rejected.

Hartung.—v. 502, δόμων (δωμάτων).

Ahrens, H. L.—v. 462, νόμων (νέων)—833, ὅσ' ἄν (ὅσην).

Rossbach and Westphal.—v. 337, παντολεύκων (παν λ έυ κων).

Ahrens, E. A. J.—v. 341,  $\epsilon \pi i \tau \delta v \delta \delta i \epsilon \mu \epsilon v \alpha i (\epsilon \pi i \tau \delta v, i \delta, \delta i \delta \mu \epsilon v \alpha i)$ .

ΗΕΙΜSΟΕΤΙΙ.—ν. 207, τί γάρ; (τί...γὰρ)—478, τ' inserted—905, θ' rejected—906, φανέρ' ὡς (φανερῶς)—977, περίσεπτα τύχαιτ' ἄν (περί σεπτα ι τύχαι τε).

ΜΕΙΝΕΚΕ.—ν. 216, τίνεσθαι (γεν έσθαι)—429, πρώην (τροίαν)—897, εὐθενοῦντα Πὰν (-τ' ἄγαν)—899, δὲ γᾶs inserted—979, εὕφρονες αῖμ (εὐθύφρονες γῆ).

Dindorf, W.—v. 29, ἐς (εἰς)—59, ἀνατὶ (ἀνατεὶ)—118, άνὴρ (ἀνὴρ)—258, 605, πέδοι (πέδοι)—707, γαίας (καὶ γῆς).

Prien.—ν. 344, δίκαις (λιταῖς).

Dindorf, L.—v. 798, δαναιᾶν (δαμίαν)—974, εὖφρονι [εἰθήφρονι].

ΗΑΙΜ.- ν. 133, κόπος (πόνος).

Cobet.—v. 675, διανομάς (δαίμονας).

Drake.—v. 343, σπευδομένα (σπευδόμεναι).

Paley.—v. 406,  $\kappa \dot{a}\pi$  ( $\tau$  '  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi$ -).

" Gothanus ".—v. 170, μοίρας (Μοίρας)—670, transp. of verses.

Weil.—v. 26, transposed—99,  $\sqrt[6]{\pi}\epsilon\rho$  ( $\sqrt[6]{\pi}\rho$ )—119,  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ s (προσίκτορες)—173,  $\mathring{ω}ν$  (δ'  $\mathring{ω}ν$ )—174,  $\mathring{ε}κ$  γένους  $(\mathring{ε}κείνου)$ —202, punct.—209, ήρκεσεν (ήρ κέσω)—217, ἐιδίκως σ' (ἐιδίκως)—237, punet.—265, ἀσεβοῦντες (ἀσεβῶν)—266, τοκῆας (τοκέας)—272, καθ' δρμους (καθαρμούς)—296, punct.—297, σὺ δ' (οὐδ')—ib., ἀποπτύσεις (ἀποπτύεις)-327, τοί νιν (τοισιν)-ib., ξυμπατώσιν (ξύμπασ ωσιν)-335, έκάς (χέρας)-338, αξμάτων (δομάτων)-344, δεῖ τελέαν έπ' (θεωνδ' ἀτέλει αν)-358, εὐμηχάνω . . . τελείω (εὐμήχανοι . . . τέλειοι)-423, βατοίσι (βοτοίσι)-445, νόμφ (ὅμως)-456, αἰδονμένους (αίρ-)-464, δίκαισιν ά (δίκα καί)-468, προσνεμεί (προσ- $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon \iota$ )—469, o $\rlap{\tilde{v}}$  $\tau \iota$  (o $\rlap{\tilde{v}}$  $\tau \epsilon$ )—471,  $\tau \iota \nu$  ( $\tau \iota \varsigma$ )—485,  $\mu \eta \delta \acute{\epsilon} \nu$  ( $\mu \eta \delta \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ )— 563, τὸ δή μοι (τόδ' αἷμα)—565, ψεύδομαι (ψεύσομαι)—572, transposition of verse—591,  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \delta' a \dot{v} (\tau a \dot{v} \tau \eta \nu)$ —628, transposition of verses—640,  $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \iota (\tau \delta \tau \epsilon)$ —644,  $\kappa \alpha \tau' (\tau \delta \delta')$ —734, transposition of verses—751, μη θυμοῦσθε restored to its place—754, βοτήρας  $(\beta \rho \omega \tau \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha s)$ —783, punct.—796,  $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\nu} \rho^{\prime} (\pi \lambda \epsilon \nu \rho \hat{\alpha} s)$ —800–810, transposed—804, 805, transposed—806, punct.—855, κατάσον (κατά  $\chi\theta$ όν')—942, ἐναισιμίαισι (ἐν αἰσ-)—943, punct.—950, punct.— 957, έπη διπλοίζω (ἐπιδιπλοίζω).

My notes are all written in English because English is more readily intelligible to students than Latin, and it is the part of a good editor to remove every bit of unnecessary obstruction to the student's progress; especially in these days of competitive examinations, for which a long course has to be read in a short time. India Civil Service class at Kingstown School, near Dublin, used to read through to me every three years (two hours a day, six days to the week, ten months to the year) what was practically the whole Corpus of Greek and Latin poetry, as well as all the chief prose works in each language: I submit that it makes a difference whether the notes read by such students are in plain English or in Latin. Some editors seem also to write their Latin purposely in an abstruse and mysterious style. No old Latin writer, not Persius nor the elder Pliny, is so hard to read as R. Merkel's Preface. If his object was to tell the reader as little as possible with the greatest possible strain upon the reader's attention, then he has succeeded to perfection.

There is no physical law as yet discovered which determines it to be κατὰ φύσιν to write critical notes in Latin. If there be the least inqualifiable mystery to the student in Latin notes,

they ought to be abandoned. Continental scholars can read English as we read their languages; but if they could not, it is quite enough for a foreign savant to see your Greek text and how you write it, with a glance at your Greek and Latin corroborations, and then he knows all you have said. An English editor's first law in such matters is his English reader's convenience.

As to the English Translation, it certainly does seem to be κατὰ φύσιν that a translation of poetry should be in a poetic form. One might as well turn Xenophon's Anabasis into verse as turn Aeschylus into prose. The best prose translations of Greek poetry that have appeared are distinctly stiff, bald, and repulsive. A second advantage of the verse form is its necessary conciseness; an almost unfair conciseness, because the Greek Iambic senarius has twelve syllables, by a physical law of harmony; while the English Iambic line, which corresponds most nearly to the Greek senarius, is a quinarius, ten syllables, with occasionally one over. The ear cannot endure more than five English Iambic feet pronounced at once without a metrical pause: it accepts six in Greek. In the same way six dactyls in Greek are intolerable unless the last is catalectic in two syllables only.

Now that the question of translation has been touched it may as well be finished off so far as this book is concerned. The literal, line-for-line, and homoeo-metrical Translation which follows cannot be fairly judged except by those who have clearly made out the Greek rhythm and metre. Those who can run off the Greek chorus, expressing the arsis and thesis without a stumble, will easily observe how the English equivalent is to be read. It was suggested by one scholar who wrote a notice of my Agamemnon that the arsis should be indicated by accents: this disfigured the page, and gave it a pedantic look. better to trust to the intelligence of my readers. In some few verses it has been possible for me to mark the arsis by an assonance which is of the nature of rhyme.

On the whole, it is enough if the Greek Text and my Translation mutually explain one another. Several Heads of Schools and Colleges have assured me of the great serviceableness of this form of translation, and have begged me 'not to alter the plan adopted in the Agamemnon'.

THE MEANING OF THE PLAY. WHAT DID AESCHY-LUS PROPOSE TO HIMSELF TO SAY IN THE EUMENIDES?

This, we may be sure, was no matter of transitory or perishable nature; such as the conservation or degradation of the court of Areopagus, or the treaty with Argos. These and some other allusions imparted an ephemeral interest to the first representation; but they do not touch the meaning of the drama. Cervantès has been censured, not without some justice, for taking as a subject with which to illustrate his genius a thing that was so soon to pass away and become almost unintelligible. Every great poem must, like Homer's and Virgil's, be a reflection of human life, thought, passion, fears, hopes, in some unchangeable form and aspect.

Aeschylus here tells the Athenian people, that when they have fairly recognised and fully accepted any physical law of society—that parricide, for instance (he was bound to take an extreme case, and pronounce his parable in about 1000 lines) is a thing inconvenient, and incompatible with the greatest amount of comfort and welfare—then, the best thing to do is to go and respectfully

bury in the nearest gully the bugbears that were imagined in benighted ages as superhuman sanctioners of that law.

That is all he says, and it is quite enough for one tragedy. The situation of these last words of a great philosopher and poet is interesting. The *Oresteia* is the only Greek trilogy which malignant influences failed to extinguish. The *Eumenides* is the only last play of a trilogy that they have allowed us to have. It is the last tragedy composed by Aeschylus, a son of Euphorion, an Athenian.

The preference which one has for Aeschylus over the two poets who mark the other two categories of thought seems capable of being accounted for thus. Euripides represents the spirits of satire, such as Lucian, Rabelais, Voltaire, and the rest, who never tire of telling us 'you men are a little breed: and we, who can see how ridiculous and how base you are, are only the finest specimens of your kind'. Sophocles has with him all those poets and thinkers who get no farther than to a profound sorrow for the life and fate of the human race, after the fashion of Heracleitus whose eyes were never dry. Aeschylus always raises the cry of 'Noël!' 'Good news!' and holds up the oriflamme of endless improvement. This was

proclaimed in allegory by Homer in his episode about Proteus and Eidothea, and echoed by Virgil in his tale of the almost accomplished bliss of Orpheus and Eurydice. Aeschylus is the poet of hope.

A great Latin writer says in some memorable sentences: 'the result of my contemplation of nature is a conviction that she is always trying to produce something perfectly good, and that nothing is impossible to her; nor is there anything which human genius cannot find out about her'. He, the elder Pliny, himself one of the martyrs of science (Aug. 25, 79 A.D., aged 56), is rather too much inclined to despond; and who is not? But he looked forward with confidence to the sure victory which will be achieved over all those evils which are called by the names of vice, crime, and disease.

My best acknowledgments and thanks are due to the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, for their acceptance of this work as part of their 'Series'; and particularly to Dr. John K. Ingram, who was formerly Regius Professor of Greek in the Dublin University, for most valuable counsel and suggestions when the manuscript was submitted to his judgment.

Dalysfort, Galway, May 29, 1884.

# 'ΥΠΌΘΕΣΙΣ.

' Ορέστης ἐν Δελφοῖς περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρινύων, βουλ $\hat{\eta}$  ' Απόλλωνος παρεγένετο εἰς ' Αθήνας, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ' Αθηνᾶς. ἢς βουλ $\hat{\eta}$  νικήσας κατῆλθεν εἰς ' Αργος.

Τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας πραΰνας\* προσηγόρευσεν Εὐμενίδας.

Παρ' οὐδετέρω κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία.

\* Editors have read  $\pi \rho a \bar{\nu} \nu a \sigma a$  ever since Hermann first suggested the change. But Athenè is nowhere the subject of a verb in this Argument: she nowhere calls the Furies 'Eumenides' in the play, and there is no place where we can well suppose that the word, having been used, has dropped out: it was a most important question for Aristophanes the critic, the writer of this Argument

### THE ARGUMENT.

ORESTES, when caught by the Erinnyes at Delphi, by Apollo's advice repaired to Athens, to the temple of Athenè; and, having gained the verdict in her court, was restored to his native city, Argos.

Aeschylus, having here appeased the Erinnyes, called them and the play *Eumenides*.

The story is not found in Sophocles or Euripides.

(Apieto  $\phi \alpha \overset{\rho}{\Gamma} \overset{\epsilon}{\Gamma} \overset{\epsilon}{\nu} \overset{\epsilon}{\nu} \pi \delta \theta \epsilon \text{cic}$ : Med.) to answer: 'Why did Aeschylus call this play the *Eumenides?* The Athenians styled them  $\Sigma \epsilon \mu \nu a l$ , as they are called at v. 980.' Aristophanes says: ''He could not call the play  $\Sigma \epsilon \mu \nu a l$ , which would have no appropriate meaning: whereas the Sieyonian name  $E \dot{\nu} \mu \epsilon \nu i \delta \epsilon s$  is an appropriate title.''

# Τὰ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

 $\Pi v \theta \iota \dot{a} s \pi \rho o \phi \hat{\eta} \tau \iota s.$ 

'Απόλλων.

'Ορέστης.

Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον.

Χορὸς Ἐρινύων.

'Αθάνα.

 $\Pi$ ροπομποί.

 $^{\circ}$ E $ho\mu\hat{\eta}$ s.

 $\mathbf{K}\hat{\eta}\rho v\xi$ .

Δικασταί,

### THE PERSONS WHO ACT THE PLAY.

THE PYTHONESS (priestess inspired by Apollo).

Apollo (Phoebus, Loxias).

ORESTES.

THE GHOST OF CLYTEMNESTRA.

CHORUS OF FURIES (Erinnyes, Eumenides).

Атна́ма (Pallas, Athenè, Minerva).

Persons forming the Procession (men of Athens, armed; Athenian maidens and matrons).

HERMES, a Herald, and the twelve Judges appear, but do not speak.

Athana acts the chief part. Two other actors are required to perform the parts of the Pythoness, Apollo, Orestes, and Clytemnestra's Ghost.

# ΠΡΟΦĤΤΙΣ

The temple at Delphi. The Pythoness, on her way to open the doors and enter, is rapt in pious meditation, to which she gives audible expression.

πρώτον μεν εύχη τηδε πρεσβεύω θεών την πρωτόμαντιν Γαΐαν έκ δὲ της Θέμιν, ή δη τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἔζετο μαντείον, ώς λόγος τις έν δε τῷ τρίτῳ λάχει, θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός, 5 Τιτανὶς ἄλλη, παῖς Χθονός, καθέζετο, Φοίβη δίδωσι δ' ή γενέθλιον δόσιν Φοίβω τὸ Φοίβης δ' ὄνομ' ἔχει παρώνυμον. λιπων δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα, κέλσας ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Παλλάδος 10 ές τήνδε γαΐαν ἦλθε Παρνησοῦ θ' ἔδρας. πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα κελευθοποιοί παίδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα ανήμερον τιθέντες ήμερωμένην. μολόντα δ' αὐτὸν κάρτα τιμαλφεῖ λεώς, 15

6. τι ταν \σ ἄλλ . . . πάις. Correctly, Hermann, as suggested by Stanley and Wakefield.

<sup>7.</sup> δίδωσινδ'. δίδωσι V. Fl. F.

### THE PYTHONESS

of gods who gave responses: after her,

Themis, who next (a legend says) was throned at this her mother's shrine: by lot the third, with her goodwill, with violence to none, another Titaness, Earth's child, sat here,

Phoebe: she gives it as a birthday gift to Phoebus, who assumes the name from Phoebe. He left the Delian lake and reef, and gained the ship-frequented shores of Pallas; thence came to this land and his Parnassian seat.

Hephaestus' sons, preparers of his way, accompany and highly honour him, breaking-in land unbroken. When he came, the people and this country's pilot-king

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<sup>11.</sup> παρ . . . ν ησουσθ'. Correctly, Robortello.

<sup>13.</sup> Ἡφαιστία ᾿Αθηνᾶ. Hesychius. αἰγειροτόμοι ἰθαγενεῖς τινες ᾿Αθήνησιν, ibid.

Δελφός τε χώρας τῆςδε πρυμνήτης ἄναξ.
τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας φρένα
ἴζει τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις.
Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός.
Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται

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σέβω δὲ Νύμφας, ἔνθα Κωρυκὶς πέτρα κοίλη, φίλορνις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή,

Βρόμιος ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ, ἐξ οὖτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν θεός, λαγὼ δίκην Πενθεῖ καταρράψας μόρον. τούτους ἐν εὐχαῖς φροιμιάζομαι θεούς. Πλειστοῦ τε πηγὰς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος καλοῦσα, καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία, ἔπειτα μάντις ἐς θρόνους καθιζάνω. καὶ νῦν τυχεῖν με τῶν πρὶν εἰςόδων μακρῷ ἄριστα δοῖεν· κεἰ πάρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές, ἴτων πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται, μαντεύομαι γὰρ ὡς ἄν ἡγῆται θεός.

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20. Weil marked the lacuna. The lost line would be something like (Hom. Il. 5. 828):
 άγνη Διὸς παῖς, κὰπιτάρροθος φίλοις.

22. ἀν αστρ ο φα΄. ἀναστροφαί V. Fl. F. ἀναστροφή Schol. Herm. marked the next lacuna, in which suppose a line like:

έδραν έχούσας. έν δ' ό χαρμάτων δοτηρ Βρόμιος έχει, etc.

23. So M. Βρόμιος δ' G. V. Fl. F., but the δ' was in the lost line.

Delphos, paid homage heartily. Then Zeus, making his soul instinct with godlike science, enthrones him seer the fourth; and Loxias is spokesman for the father Zeus. She too in legends holds high place, Pronaean Pallas,

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The Nymphs I worship, dwelling where is the cave Corycian, loved of birds, resort of gods,

Bromius frequents the spot, I bear it in mind, since with his Bacchae marched the god, and netted the mesh of death for Pentheus as for a hare.

These gods I first invoke in prayer, then call on Pleistus' streams, Poseidon's realm, and Zeus the perfect and most high; so on the throne take seat as seer. Now may they grant that I gain entrance most auspiciously by far of all before. If here be any Greeks, let them, as is the wont, take turns by lot and come, for, as god guides them, I divine.

<sup>25.</sup> Bromios ἐπιρράπτει δόλον also in Nonn. 42. 315.

<sup>26</sup> comes after v. 19 in the Mss. Weil placed it here out of regard to the schol. at v. 30, καλοῦσα φροιμιάζομαι. The special proem ends at v. 25. Pleistus, Poseidon, and Zeus are a sort of prescriptive corollary to the invocation proper.

<sup>27.</sup> πλείστουσ MSS. Πλείστου Turnebus. Πλειστοῦ Stanley.

<sup>29.</sup> éls Mss. és Dindorf: "Ionic and Doric writers, and Thucydides, prefer és. Tragedians write és or els before vowels to suit their metre, and és before consonants. So κάs not κels before consonants". Pref. 5th ed.

<sup>31.</sup> παρ' MSS. πάρ', i.e. πάρεισι, Abresch.

She enters and presently returns in frantic terror. η δεινα λέξαι, δεινα δ' όφθαλμοῖς δρακεῖν πάλιν μ' ἔπεμψεν ἐκ δόμων τῶν Λοξίου, 35 ώς μήτε σωκείν, μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάσιν τρέχω δὲ χερσίν, οὐ ποδωκεία σκελῶν δείσασα γὰρ γραθς οὐδέν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὖν. έγὼ μὲν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφῆ μυχόν, όρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ 40 έδραν έχοντα προςτρόπαιον, αίματι στάζοντα χείρας, καὶ νεοσπαδές ξίφος έχοντ', έλάας θ' ύψιγέννητον κλάδον λήνει γεμιστόν, σωφρόνως έστεμμένον άργητι μαλλώ, τηδε γάρ τρανώς έρω. 45 πρόσθεν δὲ τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος εύδει γυναικών έν θρόνοισιν ήμενος οὔτοι γυναῖκας ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω. οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις. είδον ποτ' ήδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας 50

<sup>36.</sup> ἀκταίνειν στάσιν, with γρ. βάσιν written above. Canter adopted βάσιν without remark: Hermann, Weil, and most Edd. prefer βάσιν. σῶκος i.q. validus. ἀκταίνειν (\*ἀκτός) agilis fieri.

<sup>37.</sup> ποδω..κίαι. ποδωκεία Fl.

<sup>41.</sup> έχοντι (acute over the χ). Corrected in V. Fl.

<sup>44.</sup> λήν ει μεγίστωι, Mss. μεγίστω G. Ald. Rob. λήνει μὲν οἰόs Valck. μεγιστοσωφρόνως Herm. λήνει μελισσῶν Bergk. λήνει μέγ' ἰερῷ Weil. I prefer my own eonjecture, γεμιστόν, although γεμίζω occurs only once in Aesch., Ag. 431. Hesychius has (besides ληνεῖ ἐρίῳ) νηλός ἔριον, ἄμεινον ληνός (sie). The scribe who wrote νήλει for λήνει was also capable of writing μέγιστον for γεμιστόν, which would be corrected to μεγίστω. If μεγίστω does not represent relies of the true word, then one might suggest λήνει κομήτην from Eur. Bacch. 1155, κισσῷ κομήτην, and Hesych., κομώσα γέμουσα. But γεμιστὸν is presumably the right word. κλάδον λήνει γεμιστὸν is like "colum lana gravem", Oy. Her. 9, 115; and the ἐπεξεργασία: κλάδον λήνει γεμιστὸν and (κλάδον)

O dread to tell of, dread for eyes to see, the sights that sent me back from Loxias' halls! so that I stand not firm, nor yet propel my footing, but run clutching with my hands, and by no speed of legs: a frightened crone is naught, or, may be, match for a child. to the much garnished shrine, and see a man abhorred by god upon the omphalos in suppliant posture; dripping at the hands with blood; one held a sword just drawn; the other, an olive's high-grown wand freighted with wool, with the white fleece devoutly garlanded: there I will speak distinctly. But before this man there sleeps, seated on thrones, a troop, a wondrous troop of women; no, not women, Gorgons I mean; nay, to Gorgonian moulds I'll not compare them. I have seen ere now

έξεστεμμένον μαλλφ, explains the τηδε γάρ τρανώς έρω.

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4.5

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Hesychius also has μέγιστος μέγας, and μεγίστην μεγάλην, but the meaning μεγάλφ is as impossible in this passage as that of μεγίστφ.

We see from vases such as the two represented opposite p. 100 in 'Le Grand Cabinet Romain', Amsterdam, 1706, that the long olive wand was stripped of its leaves and twigs, and tied at regular and short intervals with bows or knots of woollen yarn. I count 17 of these bows or knots on that part of the  $\kappa\lambda\dot{\alpha}\delta\sigma$  held by Orestes which is visible on one of these vases. Orestes shelters himself behind Hermes, who has a caduceus in the left and some kind of axe in his right hand. Hermes has turned about to confront a Fury sprouting with live snakes, and between him and her there is a fawn, see v. 111 infra. The olive wand so garnished with bows is used by the Greeks as late as 212 B.C., see Livy, 24. 30, "ramos oleae ac velamenta alia supplieum porrigentes", and ib. 25. 25, "legati eum infulis et velamentis precantes".

46. δέτ' ἀνδρ ò σ. Correctly in V. Fl.

δείπνον φερούσας ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν αὖται, μέλαιναι δ', ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι ῥέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλατοῖσι φυσιάμασιν, ἐκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλῆ λίβα. καὶ κόσμος οὖτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα φέρειν δίκαιος, οὖτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας. τὸ φῦλον οὐκ ὅπωπα τῆςδ' ὁμιλίας, οὐδ' ἤτις αἶα τοῦτ' ἐπεύχεται γένος τρέφουσ', ἀνατὶ μὴ μεταστένειν πόνον. τἀντεῦθεν ἤδη τῶνδε δεσπότη δόμων αὐτῷ μελέσθω Λοξία μεγασθενεῖ ἰατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος, καὶ τοῦσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.

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6.5

### 'Απόλλων

οὖτοι προδώσω διὰ τέλους δέ σοι φύλαξ, έγγὺς παρεστὼς καὶ πρόσω δ' ἀποστατῶν, έχθροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς οὐ γενήσομαι πέπων. καὶ νῦν ἁλούσας τάςδε τὰς μάργους ὁρậς ὕπνῳ 'πεσον δ' αἴδ' αἱ κατάπτυστοι κόραι,

- The façade of the l'emple disappears by stage. contrivance. ἀνακυκλισ-μός. The μός. The Furies are seen asleep on chairs. Orestes, fresh from the murder at Argos, kneels before Apollo; near whom is Hermes, the Great Helper.
  - 53. πλαστοΐσι. πλατοΐσι Elmsley, after Schütz's translation, "halitu eui periculosum est appropinquare".
    - 54. δυσφ ιλ ή δία. βίαν V. Fl. λίβα Burges, 'egregie' Herm.
  - 59. ἀν ατέλ. The rest ἀνατέλ. ἀνατὶ Dindorf. Then πόνων MSS. πόνον Arnaldus, which the Schol. read: τὸν (Herm. for τὸ) τῆς ἀνατροφῆς. One would have expected  $\theta \rho \epsilon \psi \alpha \sigma^2$ , but the present tense implies habit.
    - 65. δ' joins the two phrases: καλ, etiam, belongs to πρόσω. Weil quotes

the painted forms that bear away the food of Phineus; but, to look at them, unwinged are these, and black, all-execrably foul, and snore with horrid snufflings, and distil out of their eyes unlovely gouts. Their garb is fit to bear neither to graven forms of gods, nor men's abodes. This conclave's tribe never saw I, nor land that boasts unscathed to rear this brood and not beshrew its pains. For what comes next—be it his own concern to mighty Loxias this mansion's lord: physician-seer and portent-scanner is he, and for all else a cleanser of their homes.

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#### APOLLO

I'll not forsake thee; but, thy constant guard, both standing near and when removed afar, will not be gentle to thine enemies. Even now thou see'st these frenzied ones are caught: they fell asleep, these loathsome maids, these grey

Choëph. 873 καὶ μάλ' ἡβῶντος δὲ δεῖ. The immortals act alike  $\tau\eta\lambda\delta\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\dot{\nu}$ ς  $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\nu\tau\epsilon$ ς Opp.  $Hal.\ 2.\ 8.$ 

<sup>66.</sup> So Mss. The Scholium is γράφεται πρέπων οὐχ ὅμοιος αί μὲν γὰρ καθεύδουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγρήγορα. Merely worthy of record.

<sup>68.</sup> Bothe first put after  $\delta\rho\bar{q}s$  a colon that came after  $\tilde{\nu}\pi\nu\varphi$ . Then,  $\pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\nu\sigma\alpha\iota\delta$ '  $\dot{a}\iota$ . V.  $\pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\nu\mu\alpha\iota$ . Winckelmann's  $\tilde{\nu}\pi\nu\varphi$   $\pi\nu\epsilon\sigma\nu\iota$   $\delta$ ' (Choëph. 621  $\pi\nu\epsilon\sigma\nu$ ) is the best correction proposed, but is much too flat and feeble for this place. The corrupt  $\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\nu\sigma\alpha\iota$  arose, I think, after one  $\delta\alpha\iota$  had been omitted from  $\delta\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\iota$ , because of the dittophanes.

γραΐαι παλαιαὶ παίδες, αίς οὐ μίγνυται θεῶν τις οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲ θήρ ποτε. 70 κακῶν δ' ἔκατι κἀγένοντ', ἐπεὶ κακὸν σκότον νέμονται Τάρταρόν θ' ὑπὸ χθονός, μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν 'Ολυμπίων. όμως δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη. έλωσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἡπείρου μακρᾶς, 75 βεβως ἀνης τ' ην την πλανοστιβη χθόνα, ύπέρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτους πόλεις. καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος πόνον μολών δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν ίζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβών βρέτας. 80 κάκει δικαστάς τωνδε και θελκτηρίους μύθους έχοντες, μηχανάς εύρήσομεν ωστ' ές τὸ πῶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων. καὶ γὰρ κτανεῖν σ' ἔπεισα μητρῷον δέμας.

# 'Ορέστης

85

ἄναξ \*Απολλον, οἶσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπίστᾳ, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀμελεῖν μάθε· σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὖ φερέγγυον τὸ σόν.

76.  $\beta \epsilon \beta \tilde{\omega} \nu \tau' \tilde{\omega} \nu' \tilde{\omega} \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$ . The rest give variants  $\beta \epsilon \beta \delta \nu \tau'$  and  $\delta \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$ . Hermann's  $\beta \iota \beta \tilde{\omega} \nu \tau' \tilde{\omega} \nu' \tilde{\omega} \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$  has found favour with Edd., but the stately march of a Homeric hero does not suit the fugitive Orestes, and  $\beta \epsilon \beta \tilde{\omega} s$  is the Tragic form.  $\tilde{\omega} \nu \alpha \tau \tilde{\iota}$ ,  $\tilde{\omega} \lambda \alpha \tau \epsilon \tilde{\iota}$ ,  $\tilde{\omega} \nu \tilde{\omega} \gamma \tau \eta$ ,  $\tilde{\omega} \nu' \tilde{\omega} \sigma \tau \eta$ ,  $\tilde{\omega} \lambda \alpha \iota \sigma \tilde{\iota}$ ,  $\tilde{\omega} \nu \tilde{\omega} \nu \tilde{\iota}$  have been tried. Apollo says: "they will chase you over land, and if you take ship for some foreign country or island, they will still be on your track". So I read  $\beta \epsilon \beta \tilde{\omega} s \tilde{\omega} \nu \tilde{\eta} s \tau' \tilde{\eta} \nu \tau \tilde{\eta} \nu$ , etc. The corruption arose from dittophanes: one  $\tau \eta \nu$  was omitted, and then the gap was filled up without care. Virgil translates Homer's  $\tilde{\epsilon} \pi \tilde{\iota} \chi \theta \nu \nu \tilde{\iota} \beta \alpha \tilde{\iota} \nu \tilde{\iota}$  "ingrediturque solum". So here  $\tilde{s} i d s \tilde{\iota} \iota \iota s \tilde{\iota} \iota \iota s \tilde{\iota} \iota \iota \iota \iota \tau \iota \iota \iota$ , transportum, etc.

and ancient girls; with whom has intercourse no god, no, nor no man, nor ever brute. Born too they were for woe, in that they dwell in woful gloom in Tartarus under ground, to men and gods Olympian hateful things. But fly, and wax not soft: across the long mainland they'll chase thee, and, whene'er thou ceasest to tread the earth pressed by thy wandering foot, beyond the sea and cities flowed around. Tire not untimely, harried with this toil; and when to Athana's city thou art come, sit clasping in thy arms her image hoar. And there we'll get us judges of this deed, and witching words, and find the means to rid thee wholly of thy pains: 'tis just, for I, I urged thee to strike dead thy mother's form.

#### ORESTES

Thou know'st how not to wrong me, king Apollo; which since thou know'st, learn too to be not slack.

As for thy power to bless the surety's good.

For the position of  $\hbar \nu$  compare Sept. 708  $\delta$   $\mu \acute{a}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$   $\beta \acute{l}o\tau os$   $\hbar \nu$   $\tau \alpha\theta \hat{\eta}$   $\pi \rho \acute{o}\sigma\omega$ . 'Cease treading', i. e., 'leave', is as much one notion as  $\delta$   $\mu \acute{a}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$   $\beta \acute{l}o\tau os$ .  $\tau \epsilon$  is fourth word according to my correction of Anth. 5. 274:

Κρησσαν επισπέρχων ές τε δικασπολίην,

where eis o's is read.

70

75

80

77. τε-πόντου. πόντον Turnebus.

79. ποτι πτόλιν παλλάιδος with  $\alpha$  over  $\pi$  in ποτι and  $\beta'$  over that in παλλάιδος.

85. τὸ μη' ....δικεῖν, and τὸ μη' .... μελεῖν in v. 86.

#### 'Απόλλων

μέμνησο μη φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.
σὰ δ', αὐτάδελφον αἷμα καὶ κοινοῦ πατρός,
Έρμη, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ὧν ἐπώνυμος
πομπαῖος ἴσθι, τόνδε ποιμαίνων ἐμὸν
ἱκέτην. σέβει τοι Ζεὺς τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας,
ὁρμώμενον βροτοῖσιν εὐπόμπῳ τύχη.

90

Hermes departs with Orestes under his safeguard: Apollo, to an inner chamber. The Ghost of the murdered mother rises, by stage-contrivance, divanícepa. The Furies slowly awake from their heavy sleep.

## Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον

εὔδοιτ' ἄν; ὡή, καὶ καθευδουσῶν τί δεῖ; ἐγὼ δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὧδ' ἀπητιμασμένη ἄλλοισιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν, ὧν μὲν ἔκτανον ὄνειδος ἐν φθιτοῖσιν οὐκ ἐκλείπεται, αἰσχρῶς δ' ἀλῶμαι' προὐννέπω δ' ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν κείνων ὕπερ' παθοῦσα δ' οὕτω δεινὰ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων, οὐδεὶς ὑπέρ μου δαιμόνων μηνίεται κατασφαγείσης πρὸς χερῶν μητροκτόνων. ὅρα δὲ πληγὰς τάςδε καρδίᾳ σέθεν,

100

95

92. ἐκ νόμων is meant for ἐκνόμων, exlegum Diris sacratorum.

 Müller appears to be the first to put the indispensable mark of interrogation after εδδοιτ' ἄν.

96. ώ σμὲν ἔκτανον. The rest ὡς μὲν. ὧν was recovered by Tyrwhitt and Wakefield from the Scholium ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐφόνευσα ᾿Αγαμέμνονα. ὧν μὲν ἔκτανον ὕνειδος means opprobrium earum caedium quas patravi, and not "opprobrium corum quos occidi, Herm." Weil cites Ar. Ach. 677 ἀξίως ἐκείνων ὧν ἐναυμα-χήσαμεν. There is also, τὰν χάριν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων ὧν τὸν κῶρον ἔθρεψε, Leonidas, Anth. Pal. 7. 663. Clyt. means 'the bloodguiltiness of her crime against her husband and Cassandra'.

#### APOLLO

Remember! let not fear o'ercome thy wits.

And thou, true brother Hermes, from one sire with me begotten, guard, and answer well thy surname as my suppliant's guide and shepherd. This sanctity of outlaws Zeus holds sacred, which leads the way for men with omens fair.

90

95

100

#### CLYTEMNESTRA'S GHOST

Ye'd sleep? holla! what need is there of sleepers? while I of all the dead thus scorned by you—whose burning shame among the bloodless shades for skaith that I have wrought has no eclipse, I wander in my shame. I'd have ye know I charge the chief guilt of those deeds on you. And, though by those most dear so foully treated, none of the daemons waxes with for me, me butchered by those mother-murdering hands. Look with thy heart upon these stabs, for, sure,

<sup>98.</sup> Weil puts a comma after  $\pi \rho \upsilon \dot{\upsilon} \nu \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi \omega$  δ', to show that  $\dot{\upsilon} \mu \hat{\imath} \nu$  depends on  $\alpha \dot{\imath} \tau \dot{\epsilon} \chi \omega$ .

<sup>99.</sup> κέι νων ύπο (a mark like a ν over ν). The rest κείνων ὅπο. Weil reads κείνων ὅπερ propter eas caedes, which gives a good definite sense, such as is not found with ὅπο. Clyt. says that the murders she committed were entailed on her by the Furies. See vv. 173, 908. For the construction αἰτίαν ἔχειν τινί Weil refers to Prom. V. 445, μέμψιν οὕτιν' ἀνθρώποις ἔχων, Soph. Phil. 322, ἔχεις ἔγκλημ' ᾿Ατρείδαις, and similar passages.

<sup>103.</sup> καρ δί αισέθεν, i.e. καρδία σέθεν. So G. Par. Fl., καρδία in Ven. Farn. Rob. The καρδία is the eye of the soul in sleep: so Ag. 179,  $\sigma \tau \acute{a} ζει$  δ΄ έν θ΄ ὅπν $\varphi$  πρὸ καρδίαs.

εύδουσα γὰρ φρὴν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται, έν ήμέρα δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος φρενῶν. 105 η πολλά μεν δη των έμων έλείξατε, χοάς τ' ἀοίνους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα, καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δείπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρὸς έθυον, ώραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα λὰξ ὁρῶ πατούμενα. 110 ό δ' έξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην, καὶ ταῦτα κούφως ἐκ μέσων ἀρκυστάτων ἄρουσεν, ὑμῖν ἐγκατιλλώψας μέγα. ακούσαθ ως έλεξα της έμης περί ψυχης φρονήσατ', ὧ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί, 115 όναρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμνήστρα καλῶ.

## Χορός

μὺ μύ.

# Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον

μύζοιτ' ἄν; άνηρ δ' οἴχεται φεύγων, πρὸς ὧ φίλοι πάρεισιν οὐκ ἐμοῖς προςεικότες.

104. ὄμμασι.

105. μοῖρα πρόσκοπος βροτῶν Mss. Turnebus restored μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος, and Hermann φρενῶν, for βροτῶν, from the Scholium ἡ τῆς φρενὸς μοῖρα οὐ προορᾶ ἐν ἡμέρα. Weil marks a lacuna after this verse.

107, 108. νι φάλι α. νηφάλια Turnebus. νυκτό σεμν ά. νυκτίσεμνα Turnebus.

112. άρ κυσ μάτων. The rest αρκυσμάτων. αρκυστάτων Turnebus.

113. ἐκκατιλλώψασ, corrected by Turnebus, the Scholium being χλευάσας, ἐγγελάσας.

116. Κλυταιμνήστρας Ven. I think Wakefield, Schütz, and Hermann are right in making ὅναρ here a nominative in apposition, and not a mere adverb, as at v. 131: 'ego illa C. quae umbra sum et somnium'.

117. I have preferred to insert the particles representing the sounds uttered

the soul in sleep is brightened in its sight,
but the mind's state by day foreseeëth naught.
Full many of my dainties did ye lap,
sober peace-offerings, draughts not mixed with wine;
and I did burn ye feasts at the fire's hearth
in the awful night, hour common to no god:
and this I see all trampled on and spurned;
he is escaped, and, fawn-like, stole away;
yea, lightly leapt he from the very midst
of closest toils, and finely mocked at ye.
Hear how I've pleaded with ye for my life!
O think of me, ye subterranean powers!
I, Clytemnestra's dream-sprite, call ye, up!

#### CHORUS

Ugh! ugh!

105

110

115

### CLYTEMNESTRA'S GHOST

Ye'd groan? But he is fled and gone, the man with whom are friends not similar to mine.

rather than the stage-direction itself; which here is μυγμόσ, at v. 120 μ.. γμόσ, at 123 μωγμόσ, at 126 ώγμόσ, at 129 μυγμὸσ δι πλ ο̂ υσ ο΄ ξύσ. παρεπιγραφαί, even though ordained by Aesehylus, could not be counted as lines or verses in a play; but the sounds uttered by the Furies in those places are essential parts of this drama, and must be counted as lines.

118. Linwood first put the necessary mark of interrogation after  $\mu\dot{\nu}'\dot{\xi}o\iota\tau'$   $\check{\alpha}\nu$ . In v. 124, Fl. V give  $\check{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota s$ ,  $\delta\pi\nu\dot{\omega}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota s$ ; which Linwood adopts. Read  $\check{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota s$ ; also.  $\check{\alpha}\nu\dot{\eta}\rho$ .  $\check{\alpha}\nu\dot{\eta}\rho$  Dind. (?) Then  $\mathbf{\varphi}\epsilon\dot{\nu}\gamma\omega\nu$   $\pi\rho\dot{\sigma}\sigma\dot{\omega}$  as and Editors. Read, from my conjecture,  $\mathbf{\varphi}\epsilon\dot{\nu}\gamma\omega\nu$ ,  $\pi\rho\dot{\delta}s$   $\check{\phi}$ .

119. φίλοις γάρ εἰσιν Mss. and Edd. Read φίλοι (so Schütz, Herm., etc.) and πάρεισιν from my eonjecture. Then προσίκτορες. Weil προσεικότες, with admirable sagacity.

μὺ μύ.

120

Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον

ἄγαν ὑπνώσσεις, κοὐ κατοικτίζεις πάθος· φονεὺς δ' 'Ορέστης τῆςδε μητρὸς οἴχεται.

Χορός

 $\vec{\omega}$   $\vec{\omega}$ .

Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον

ώζεις; ὑπνώσσεις; οὐκ ἀναστήσει τάχος; τί σοι πέπρωται πρᾶγμα πλὴν τεύχειν κακά;

125

Χορός

 $\tilde{\omega}$   $\tilde{\omega}$ .

Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον

ὖπνος πόνος τε, κύριοι συνωμόται, δεινῆς δρακαίνης ἐξεκήραναν μένος.

Χορός

μὰ μύ, μὰ μύ, μὰ μύ, μὰ μύ. λαβέ, λαβέ, λαβέ, λαβέ· φράζου.

130

Κλυταιμνήστρας εἴδωλον

ὄναρ διώκεις θῆρα, κλαγγαίνεις δ' ἄπερ κύων μέριμναν οὖποτ' ἐκλιπὼν πόνου.

125. πέπρακται MSS. Bentley and Stanley πέπρωται, of which Linw. says "pene receperam": he keeps πέπρακται and translates: "What else has been made your business?" Aeschylus wrote his own form in τί γὰρ πέπρωται Ζηνί πλὴν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν; Prom. V. 521. The Eumenides say distinctly below, v. 339, and elsewhere, that it is to them a thing πεπρωμένον, τεύχειν κακά. Herm. and Weil also keep πέπρακται, because it seems to admit of some sort of a translation; for this is all they say, and it is not good criticism.

### CHORUS

Ugh! ugh!

Clytemnestra's ghost

Too much ye sleep and pity not my fate: he's gone! this mother's slayer—Orestes—gone!

Chorus

Oh! oh!

CLYTEMNESTRA'S GHOST

Sobbest? and dozest? Wilt not rise with speed? What dole is dealt thee but to trouble make?

CHORUS

Oh! oh!

125

130

CLYTEMNESTRA'S GHOST

Sleep and Fatigue, wonted conspirators, have paralysed the dreadful she-snake's force.

CHORUS

Ugh! ugh! ugh!

Seize, seize, seize him! Ware game!

Clytemnestra's ghost

'Tis but in dreams ye chase the brute, and yap like hound that never quits the thought of sport.

128. ἐξεκήραναν ἐξέφθειραν, Hesyeh.

130. So Mss. It would be easy to repeat  $\lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon$  as Müller proposed, so as to make either an iambic or dochmiac verse, but all the words are to be regarded simply as interjections.

131. So MSS. κλαγγάνει has been suggested without good reason, and in Soph. Fr. 782 κλαγγαίνει ought to be read. Cf. Xen. de Ven. 4. 5 (κύνες) ἐπικλαγγαίνουσαι δικαίως.

τί δρᾶς; ἀνίστω, μή σε νικάτω κόπος, μηδ' ἀγνοήσης πημα μαλθαχθεῖσ' ὕπνω. ἄλγησον ἣπαρ ἐνδίκοις ὀνείδεσιν' τοῖς σώφροσιν γὰρ ἀντίκεντρα γίγνεται. σὰ δ' αίματηρὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῷ, ἀτμῷ κατισχναίνουσα, νηδύος πυρί, ἔπου, μάραινε δευτέροις διώγμασιν.

135

## Χορός

The Ghost of Clytem-nestra sinks out of view. Parodos of the Chorus of Furies.

έγειρ', έγειρε καὶ σὺ τήνδ', ἐγὼ δέ σε· εὕδεις; ἀνίστω, κἀπολακτίσασ' ὕπνον, ἰδώμεθ' εἴ τι τοῦδε φροιμίου ματᾳ̂. (στρ. ά.)

140

ιού, ιοὺ πόπαξ· ἐπάθομεν, φίλαι—
ἢ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγώ—
ἐπάθομεν πάθος δυσαχές, ὧ πόποι,
ἄφερτον πόνον.

145

έξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν οἴχεται δ' ὁ θήρ· ὕπνφ κρατηθεῖσ' ἄγραν ἄλεσα.

133. νικάτω πόνος MSS. κόπος Halm; quite necessarily, for πόνος would elash disagreeably with the πόνου immediately above it, which rather means 'the chase' than 'fatigue'; whereas κόπος is Xenophon's favourite word for a harrier's or a hare's exhaustion: καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόπου de l'en. 5. 25; ἐπειδὰν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνες ὑπόκοποι ὧσι ibid. 'To be dead beat' is ἀποκοπῆναι Hesych. s. v. A beautiful name for a dog occurs in the famous epigram of Peisander (ab. 650 B. c.), viz. Λήθαργος, i.e. λήθαλγος, 'forgetting pain': so, λήθαργε κακῶν in Anth. 12. 30. It ought not to have been changed to Θήραγρος by the Tauchnitz editor.

135, 6. ονείδεσσιν γίνεται. γίγνεται Porson.

137.  $\delta v\delta'$ .  $\sigma v\delta'$  Pearson. Then Herm, reads  $\tau \hat{\varphi} \delta'$  at the end of the line, putting v. 139 before v. 138, without any reason; for the article is used for the personal pronoun *eleven* times in this play, where there is no dispute; and an elision is not allowed at the end of an iambic senarius unless there be so per-

What ails ye? up! let not the labour beat ye, nor mollified by sleep unlearn the crime.

Wince to the liver at my just rebukes:
them who have sense reproaches prick like goads.

Come, puffing on him thy blood-smacking breath blast with the stench and fire belched from thy maw; aye, at him! wither him with a second chase.

#### CHORUS

Wake, wake thou her as I do thee: what still asleep? get up! and, spurning off thy sleep, let's see if aught of this preamble dawdles.

I oo oo popax! we've endured, my mates—
ah me! that much endured and all in vain—
endured poignant pain, and woe, O popoe!
woe past remedy:
out of the nets the game has slipped, is gone!
o'ercome by sleep I have let go the game.

ceptible a pause in the sense in the latter half of the verse as to cause synapheia with the following verse. Add that  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\sigma\nu$  is not the ordinary imperative, but the hunter's cry to the hounds: "At him!" "fetch him!" as in Xen. de Ven. 6. 19 adt $\tilde{\phi}$   $\pi a \tilde{\iota} s!$  adt $\tilde{\iota} \pi a \tilde{\iota} s!$  adt $\tilde{\iota} \pi a \tilde{\iota} s!$  adt $\tilde{\iota} \pi a \tilde{\iota} s!$  adit $\tilde{\iota} \pi a \tilde{\iota} s!$  said to the dog, 'my boy'!

138. κατισχάινουσα, and κατισχανείσθαι Prom. V. 271 M. Correctly in copies.

142. είδώμεθ'. ἰδώμεθ' Turnebus.

143, 5. πύπαξ. δυσαχθές V. Fl. δυσαχέσ (sic).

147. of  $\chi \epsilon \tau a i$   $\theta$  Abresch; but the two ideas are quite distinct, and the prose  $\mu \epsilon \nu$  may be omitted in verse; as it is also quite regularly in prose when the resumé of a long protasis is omitted.

148, 9. κρατηθείσα. πέλη.

135

140

145

150

155

160

ίώ, παῖ Διός, ἐπίκλοπος πέλει, νέος δὲ γραίας δαίμονας καθιππάσω, τὸν ἱκέτην σέβων, ἄθεον ἄνδρα καὶ τοκεῦσιν πικρόν' τὸν μητραλοίαν δ' ἐξέκλεψας ὢν θεός. τί τῶνδ' ἐρεῖ τίς δικαίως ἔχειν;

 $(\sigma\tau\rho, \beta',)$ 

έμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος έξ ὀνειράτων μολὸν ἔτυψεν δίκαν διφρηλάτου μεσολαβεῖ κέντρω ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λόβον. πάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαΐου δαμίου βαρὺ τὸ περίβαρυ κρύος ἔχειν.

 $(\vec{a}\nu\tau.\ \beta'.)$ 

τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί, κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον φονολιβῆ θᾶκον

154. τίς δικαίως. τλε Rob. τις Edd. τί...τίς is a double question.

157. μεσολαι-εῖ. The rest, μεσολαβεῖ. Hermann's interpretation "an passive intelligi debeat de stimulo quem quis medium prehendit", has pleased the fancy of several Editors, and even Weil. Herm.'s alternative is "de stimulo in medium corpus tendente, neque stringente tantum". Both are quite wrong. κέντρον does not mean 'a goad' here (nor ever in Homer), but 'the sting of the lash of a whip', as in Silius, 4. 441, "stimulare quadrijugos flagello". The instrument used is a μάστιξ, both here and in Homer, and its lash catches the horse round the belly. δήμιος, v. 159, is not only δ τοὺς καταγνωσθέντας ἀναιρῶν, but δ ὑπηρέτης τῶν βασάνων, Hesych. s. v.

163. φονολειβή θρόνον MSS. φονολιβή Arnaldus. The line must correspond

Heigho! son of Zeus, thou a deceiver art!
young thou hast ridden down the daemons grey;
guarding the suppliant, him by god cast out,
him his mother's bane:
thou, thou a god, hast stolen from me my matricide:
who will pronounce aught of this justly done?

150

160

From dreams there came to me rebuke which smote

(as when some whipster rude the chariot drives)

with waist-gripping lash,

midriff and liver-lobe:

'tis mine to get doomster's welt, welt of weight, heavy weight,

the ruthless slashing hangman's cut.

Such things they do, these younger gods, and hold by force a throne every way unjustly won, a throne dripping gore

metrically to  $\mu \epsilon \sigma o \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon \hat{\imath}$   $\kappa \epsilon \nu \tau \rho \varphi$ . Weil is unfortunate in the example of syllabic disparity which he cites, Ag. 1103, 1110, where, on the admission of Hermann's restoration (from the Scholium) of  $\delta \rho \epsilon \gamma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$  for  $\delta \rho \epsilon \gamma \rho \mu \epsilon \nu \alpha$ , the dochmius and four cretics correspond exactly. The present passage has been made absurd and unintelligible by the adoption of Wakefield's  $\theta \rho \delta \mu \beta \sigma \nu$ .  $\theta \rho \delta \nu \sigma s$  is the regular explanation of  $\theta \delta \kappa \sigma s$  (Suidas, Hesychius, Etym. M.); the Scholiast so explains it here, giving at the same time a clear and rational account of the meaning, except that he governs  $\theta \delta \kappa \sigma \nu$  by  $\pi \delta \rho \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$   $\pi \rho \sigma s \delta \rho \alpha \kappa \epsilon \delta \nu$ : it is governed by  $\kappa \rho \alpha \tau \sigma \delta \nu \nu \tau s s$ . It was necessary to replace  $\theta \delta \kappa \sigma \nu$  in the text for its interpretation  $\theta \rho \delta \rho \sigma \nu$ , and to put a full stop at  $\kappa \delta \rho \alpha \nu$ . 164. That which has befallen the Furies themselves,  $\nu \nu$ . 159. 160,  $\pi \delta \rho \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$  . . .  $\epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ , is now finely balanced by that which has befallen Apollo and the younger gods,  $\nu \nu$ . 165, 166,  $\pi \delta \rho \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$  . . .  $\epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ .

περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα. πάρεστι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν προςδρακεῖν αἱμάτων βλοσυρον ἀρόμενον ἄγος ἔχειν.

 $(\sigma\tau\rho. \ \gamma'.)$ 

έφεστίω δέ, μάντις ὤν, μιάσματι μυχὸν ἐχράνατ' αὐτόσσυτος αὐτόκλητος. παρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεα μὲν τίων, παλαιγενείς δε μοίρας φθίσας.

170

165

 $(\dot{a}\nu\tau.\ \gamma'.)$ 

κάμοί 'στι λυπρός, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται' ύπό τε γαν φυγών οὔ ποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται: ποτιτρόπαιος ὢν ἔτερον ἐν κάρα μιάστορ' ἐκ γένους πάσεται.

'Απόλλων

Apollo returns from the inner chamber.

έξω, κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμάτων τάχος χωρείτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μυχῶν, μη καὶ λαβοῦσα πτηνὸν ἀργηστην ὄφιν

175

166. αἰρόμενον. The rest, αἰρόμενον or αἰρούμενον. Abresch, ἀρόμενον.

167. μάντι σωι. μάντις ων Schütz.

168. ἔχραν' ατ'. ἔχρανάτ' Fl. ἔχράνατ' G. These all point clearly to ἐχράνατ', for εχράνατο, 'has soiled his shrine': yet the Editors all adopt the ill-considered correction of Turnebus, έχρανας. After the end of ἀντιστρ. ά the Chorus no longer apostrophise Apollo. The Schol. took φθίσας, v. 170, for ἔφθισας, quite wrongly. Apollo is spoken of as absent in ἐκλύσεται, v. 171. They hardly expect him to appear suddenly in person, v. 175.

16). παρ αν ό μ. ον. παρὰ νόμων, the rest. παρὰ νόμον Rob.

170. So M. The Editors wrote Molpas (Herm., Dind., etc.), Weil first - molpas, after an anonymous critic had suggested that these μοίραι are the same as the διανομαί of v. 695 below.

171. κ'-ἀμοί τε. The rest, κάμοί τε. Casaubon, whom some have followed, without reflecting that γε would be otiose and odious, κάμοι γε. Hermann here, there, head and foot:

165

170

175

'tis theirs to see holy Earth's omphalos take to it and hold the awful guilt of blood.

And he, the seer, with stain upon his inmost hearth has soiled this his shrine, urged by himself, self-prompted; counter to laws divine honouring mortal things has nullified rights born long ago:

and brings me grief, but shall not ransom HIM: though fled underground never is HE delivered: from his own race shall he on his own head entail, the reprobate, a new parricide.

### Apollo

Out of these courts with speed, I bid ye, go!
depart from these prophetic shrines; lest thou
catching the white-scaled feathered snake that darts

<sup>&</sup>quot;scripsi  $\epsilon\mu oi$   $\tau\epsilon$ ," for the sake of syllabic correspondence; but the iambic verses in this choral ode do not exactly correspond. I write  $\kappa \dot{\alpha}\mu oi$  " $\sigma\tau \iota$  ( $\delta\rho\kappa o\nu$ "  $\sigma\tau \iota$  v. 214). The most emphatic form of the invective: "he is both offensive to me and shall gain nothing by offending me."

<sup>172.</sup> φεύγων. φυγών Porson.

<sup>173. 8</sup>  $\Delta \nu$ .  $\Delta \nu$  8 Herm., etc. The 8 should be omitted entirely, as Weil saw.

<sup>174.</sup> μιάστος ἐκείνου. Weil solved the meaning of the Scholium, οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δίκην ἡμῶν δώσουσιν, and wrote ἐκ γένους in the text. Hartung had conjectured ἐν γένει οτ ἐγγενῆ. πά..σεται.

<sup>176.</sup>  $d\pi a \lambda \lambda d\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon$  with a small  $\sigma$  put in the wrong place, between  $\epsilon$  and  $\sigma$ .

<sup>177, 8.</sup> With  $\lambda \alpha \beta o \hat{v} \sigma \alpha$  compare the  $\lambda \alpha \beta \hat{\epsilon}$  on slingstones.  $\theta \hat{\omega} \mu \iota \gamma \xi$  or  $\theta \hat{\omega} \mu \iota \xi$  is found in Latin thomix, cord, string. Oppian, Hal. 3. 76 has  $\theta \hat{\omega} \mu \iota \gamma \gamma \alpha \lambda \iota \nu \delta \sigma \tau \rho o \phi o \nu$ , of a fishing line.

χρυσηλάτου θώμιγγος έξορμώμενον άνης ύπ' ἄλγους μέλαν' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀφρόν, έμοῦσα θρόμβους οῦς ἀφείλκυσας φόνου. 180 οὖτοι δόμοισι τοῖςδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει, άλλ' οδ καρανιστήρες, όφθαλμώρυχοι δίκαι, σφαγαί τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀποφθορᾶ παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνις, ήδ' ἄκρων ...αί, λευσμός τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολὺν 185 ύπὸ ράχιν παγέντες. ἆρ' ἀκούετε οίας έορτης έστ', απόπτυστοι θεοίς, στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι; πᾶς δ' ὑφηγεῖται τρόπος μορφης. λέοντος ἄντρον αίματορρόφου οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας εἰκός, οὐ χρηστηρίοις 190 έν τοισίδ' ιλάοισι τρίβεσθαι μύσος. χωρείτ' ἄνευ βοτήρος αἰπολούμεναι, ποίμνης τοιαύτης οὖτις εὐφιλης θεῶν.

179.  $d\nu$   $\eta\sigma$  (with  $\iota$  written under the eire.). Then  $d\pi d\nu\omega\nu$  (with a flourish over  $\nu\omega$ ).

182. δυ καρ αιν ηστήρ εσ (with inverted eirc. under ιν). οδ Turnebus. καρανιστήρες Stanley.

183. ἀπο φθοράι. ἀποφθορᾶ Musgrave.

184. παί δων κακό υται χλ δ υνισ ήδ' ἀκρ ω νία. So the copies, with more propriety in the writing. For χλοῦνις see Appendix. The Med. Scholium on ἀκρωνία λευσμός τε (λευσμό ντε. λευσμός τε Casanbon, and so probably the Schol.) is: κακῶν ἄθροισις ἡ λιθοβολίας. Ἡρωδιανὸς δέ, τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἄθροισμα. Hesychius has: ἀκρώνια (sic)· ἀθροίσματα, παράστασις, πλῆθος, and ἀκρώνια· άθροισμός. Bekker's Ancedota, p. 372: ἀκρώνια· τὰ ἀθροίσματα καὶ ἡ ἀκμή, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλεκτον σύστημα. Etym. M., ἀκρώνα (sic: it is a slip for ἀκρώνια)· τὰ ἀθροίσματα, etc., the same as in B. A. l. c. All of these interpretations seem to me to be based on those of Herodian, the celebrated grammarian of Alexandria, and patronised by Marcus Aurelius. The corruption ἀκρώνια is thus about 1720 years old. I infer from the interpretations that Herodian derived the word from ἄκρον and ἄνια on the analogy of ἀκροθίνια. His σύστημα καὶ ἄθροισις means 'the arrange-

from string of twisted gold, may'st void for pain the red foam sucked from men, ave, vomit back the blood-clots thou hast gulped. 'Tis fit ye come not near this house, but where the dooms are dealt that strike off heads and dig out eyes; and where are cutted throats; and boyhood's bloom is marred by seed excision; where are choppings off of hands and feet; and stonings; and men moan in many a groan with stakes forced up the chine. D'ye hear for what a feast ye, loathed by gods, have cravings? every feature of your forms guides thither. Creatures such as you should dwell in some blood-swilling lion's den, and not impress your filth on these benignant shrines. Go, browse ye there, with none to tend ye, go! none of the gods is fond of such a drove.

180

185

190

ment and grouping of things for sale.' The most tempting articles were put at the top, like the most costly spoils in  $\frac{\partial \kappa \rho \rho \theta}{\partial \nu}$ . The  $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota s$ , quoted above as in Hesychius, is that which is now called 'dressing the shop front', or setting out wares to the best advantage for sale by retail. This accounts for all those interpretations.

But it cannot be doubted that Aesch. used words expressing the Persian punishment of chopping off hands and fect, of which more shall be said in my Appendix. He could not use the unwieldy words τὰ ἀκρωτήρια and ἀποκοπαί, or ἀποτομαί, and he used ἄκρα with either κοπαί or τομαί.

I suppose that the corruption  $\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\rho$   $\omega$   $\nu\ell\alpha$  (M) arose from  $\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\rho\omega\nu\dots\alpha\ell$ , where three letters were defaced before  $\alpha\ell$ . These were either  $\tau\omega$  or  $\kappa\omega\pi$ .

Hesych, and J. Poll. quote τὰ ἄκρα regularly for τὰ ἀκρωτήρια.

191. ἐντ ο ι σδε— πλ ησ ίοισ. πλησίοισι V. Fl. etc., with no sense. I read τοισίδ' ἰλάοισι. The corruption came from a scribe's writing τοῖσδε for the more rare (but equally good) form τοισίδ'. Agam. 520, φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' όμιασι. Hesych. ἴλαος ἱλαρός. Cp. 'flagitiorum vestigiis Italiam impressit' Cic. Ph. 2. 24.

193. ποίμνησ τοιαύτησ δ'. I have omitted the grammarian's δ'. The asyndeton is proper here, as at v. 189.

# Χορός

ἄναξ "Απολλον, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλει, ἀλλ' εἷς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας, ὧν παναίτιος.

195

'Απόλλων

πῶς δή; τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου.

Χορός

έχρησας ώςτε τὸν ξένον μητροκτονείν.

'Απόλλων

έχρησα ποινὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πέμψαι. τί μήν;

Χορός

κάπειθ' ὑπέστης αίματος δέκτωρ νέου.

200

' Απόλλων

καὶ προςτραπέσθαι τούςδ' ἐπέστελλον δόμους.

Χορός

καὶ τὰς προπομποὺς δῆτα τάςδε λοιδορεῖς;

'Απόλλων

οὐ γὰρ δόμοισι τοῖςδε πρόςφορον μολεῖν.

Χορός

άλλ' έστιν ήμιν τοῦτο προςτεταγμένον.

196. εls Mss. εls Cauter. Then ώς Mss. ων Wakefield.

199. τι μήν. τιμήν G. V. τί μή Fl. as Canter conjectured. Abresch τί μήν; Quid vero faciam?' seems to be more dignified than 'Quidni faciam?' πέμψαι ποινάς is like 'inferias mittes' Virg. G. 4. 545.

### CHORUS

Hear, king Apollo, in its turn our plea. Thyself art no joint agent in this deed: all-guilty, thou alone did'st do it all.

195

200

#### Apollo

How? just so far extend thy length of speech.

## CHORUS

Thou didst instruct thy guest to slay his mother.

#### APOLLO

I bade him send his sire redress: of course.

## CHORUS

And so came in to catch the fresh-spilled blood.

### APOLLO

And bade him come a suppliant to this house.

### CHORUS

And then you rail at these his retinue?

### Apollo

It is not meet that they come near this house.

## CHORUS

That is the work appointed us to do.

- 200. δ' ἔκ τωρ, with οἶμαι δέκτωρ written in the margin. Turnebus first gave δέκτωρ.
  - $202. \ \ \mbox{Weil}$  first placed the mark of interrogation.

Χορός

τοὺς μητραλοίας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν

'Απόλλων

τί γάρ; γυναῖκας ἥτις ἄνδρα νοσφίση;

Χορός

οὐκ αν γένοιθ' ὅμαιμος αὐθέντης φόνος.

' Απόλλων

ἢ κάρτ' ἄτιμα, καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἤρκεσεν

Ἡρας τελείας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα:
Κύπρις δ' ἄτιμος τῷδ' ἀπέρριπται λόγῳ

ὅθεν βροτοῖσι γίγνεται τὰ φίλτατα.

εὐνὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μόρσιμος

ὅρκου 'στὶ μείζων τῇ δίκῃ φρουρουμένη.

εἰ τοῖσιν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους χαλᾳς,

τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ,

οὕ φημ' 'Ορέστην γ' ἐνδίκως σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα κάρτα σ' ἡσυχαιτέραν,

215

210

207. τί γὰρ.. γυναικόσ. τί γὰρ G. τίς γὰρ Fl. V. Farn. All give γυναικός. Heimsoeth τί γάρ; The Scholium is τί γὰρ προστέταχθε ποιεῖν παρὰ (περὶ Herm.) ἀνδροφόνου γυναικός; a meaning which the text will not bear, but only: "Do you chase a woman who deprives a man of his wife?" I accept τί γάρ; and change γυναικός to γυναῖκας (ο to α) with the meaning: "Good; but do you chase (ἐλαύνετε) wives, if any one of them slays her husband?"

209. ἡρ κέσω. ἤρκεσεν Weil, proposed by Wellauer. ἦκέ σοι (Herm.), ἀρκέσει (Bothe), ἦλθέ σοι, ἢδέσω, etc., have also been proposed.

212. γίν εται.

#### Apollo

What honour's this? vaunt thou some noble office.

#### CHORUS

Out of their homes we chase the matricide.

### Apollo

Well, chase ye wives whoever slays her husband?

## CHORUS

That were no blood-relation's kindred-murder.

## Apollo

Most trivial, then, the pledges naught avail of Hera, wedlock's sanctioner, and Zeus; and by your word is cast out in contempt Cypris, by whom men's dearest ties are made. The bedding, fixed by fate for man and wife, in good faith guarded, is above all oaths. If then ye are lax when they kill one the other, nor punish them, nor eye with wrath, I say ye do not justly drive from home Orestes: for there I know ye far too mild, while here

205

210

215

<sup>213.</sup> μόρ σι μοι. os is written over οι in Fl. V. μόρσιμος F. Rob.

<sup>213.</sup> Aesch. nowhere mentions Cecrops, who is said to have first established monogamy at Athens, Athen. 13. 2, ἐν δ' ᾿Αθήναις πρῶτος Κέκροψ μίαν ένὶ ἔζευξεν.

<sup>215.</sup> n Mss. el Canter.

<sup>216.</sup> τὸ μὴ γεν έσθαι. τίνεσθαι Meineke (Herm., Dind., Weil, etc.).

<sup>217. &#</sup>x27;Ορέστην γ' Mss., where γ' has its proper force, and is wrongly changed to σ' by Rob., Turn.. Herm. σ' was lost after ἐνδίκως. Weil.

τὰ δ' ἐμφανῶς πράσσουσαν, ἐνθυμουμένην. δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά.

220

## Χορός

τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκεῖνον οὔ τι μὴ λίπω ποτέ.

## 'Απόλλων

σὺ δ' οὖν δίωκε καὶ πόνον πλέω τίθου.

## Χορός

τιμάς σὺ μὴ σύντεμνε τὰς ἐμὰς λόγφ.

## 'Απόλλων

οὖκ ἂν δεχοίμην ὥςτ' ἔχειν τιμὰς σέθεν.

## Χορός

μέγας γὰρ ἔμπας πὰρ Διὸς θρόνοις λέγει. ἐγὰ δ', ἄγει γὰρ αῗμα μητρῷον, δίκας μέτειμι τόνδε φῶτα κἀκκυνήσομαι.

225

219, 220. v. 218 ends with ἐνθυμουμένην, and 219 with ἡσυχαιτέραν, in the Mss and Edd., and Weil gives the passage up in despair. I transpose the two words, and compare Cic. pro Cluent. e. 38: "in principem maleficii lenem, in adjutores ejus et conscios vehementissimum esse." τάδε πράσσουσαν is like πράξαντα φόνον v. 595. ἐμφανῶs is 'in visible form', 'in person'.

220, 1, 2. 8' ἐπάλλας. Sophianus corr. λείπω mss. Porson corr. πλέον mss. πλέω Auratus.

225. παρ διὸς Mss. Porson, Hermann, and others, prefer to write παρὰ. λέγηι. The rest,  $\lambda \acute{e}\gamma \eta$ .

226. Clytemnestra's ghost as the huntress, ἄγει; the Erinnyes are the harriers, ἔκκυνοι; Orestes is the hare, πτῶκα, v. 325; and μέτειμι is one of the words proper

ye claim redress in person and with rage; but goddess Pallas shall watch o'er their rights.

### CHORUS

That man I will not—no, will never quit.

220

#### Apollo

Then chase away, and aggravate thy pains.

#### CHORUS

Abridge thou not my honours by thy words.

#### Apollo

Thine honours I would not accept nor own.

#### Chorus

No doubt: thou'rt counted great near Zeus his throne:
but—for a mother's blood calls on our pack—
I'll press that mortal's doom, and run him down.

to be used of hunter or dog chasing game, J. Poll. 5. 10, 60, 85. μητρ ώ ων. μητρφον Fl. V.

227. κάκκυνηγέτης Mss. Erfurdt's κάκκυνηγετῶ, objectionable on every ground, has been adopted by Editors. I hold that Aesch. wrote κάκκυνήσομαι. Compare Xen. Ven. 3.10: φθονερῶς (certatim, 'with mutual rivalry and jealousy') δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκκυνοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ ἴχνος διὰ τέλους συμπαραφερόμεναι. Ib. 7. 10: μή, οὐκ ἐν κόσμῷ ἀεὶ τοῦτον (τὸν λαγὼ) ζητοῦσαι, τελευτῶσαι γίγνωνται ἔκκυνοι. J. Poll. 5. 65: ἔκκυνοι, ἐκκυνῶσαι, ἐκκυνεῖν. In Hesychius: ἐκκύεις ἐρεθίζεις, ἐπισείεις, read ἐκκυνεῖς. Xenophon prefers a dog that hunts by sight (like the 'grey' or 'gazehound', perhaps Oppian's ἀγασσεύς, Cyn. 1. 477), and does not worrit out the game by scent; but it is in the latter way that the Furies work, like harriers and beagles, and I have used this metaphor in v. 78. The middle form is proper here, like θηρῶμαι in Xenophon and in Aesch. Prom. V. 109.

## 'Απόλλων

The Furies epart in ursuit of the matride: Ap-llo to the dytum.

έγω δ' ἀρήξω, τὸν ἱκέτην τε ῥύσομαι. δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κἀν θεοῖσί τω τοῦ προςτροπαίου μῆνις, ἢν προδῷ σφ' ἑκών.

230

# 'Ορέστης

ἄνασσ' 'Αθάνα, Λοξίου κελεύμασιν ἤκω, δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα οὐ προςτρόπαιον οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρα, ἀλλ' ἀμβλὺν ἤδη, προςτετριμμένον τε πρὸς ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν. σώζων ἐφετμὰς Λοξίου χρηστηρίους πρόςειμι δῶμα, καὶ βρέτας τὸ σόν, θεά, αὐτοῦ φυλάσσων ἀναμένω τέλος δίκης.

235

# Χορός

εἷεν· τόδ' ἐστὶ τἀνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ· ἔπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς· τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κύων νεβρὸν

240

- 229. Θεοΐσι πέλει Μ.G. Θεοΐς, the rest. I regard the Θεοΐσι as genuine, and πέλει as spurious; and read Θεοΐσι  $\tau \varphi$ . πέλει is not wanted with δεινή, and  $\tau \varphi$  must come in the preceding clause to provide a subject for  $\pi \rho o \delta \hat{\varphi}$ , as is usual.
  - 230. εί προδώ. The rest, προδώ. ἡν Porson.
  - 231. κελεύσμασιν Mss. κελεύμασιν Triclinius.
- 234. I have put a comma at  $\eta\delta\eta$ , so that no doubt, such as Hermann felt, need be caused by the position of  $\pi\rho\delta s$  at the end of the verse. A pause in the sense makes a senarius acatalectic. See vv. 137, 113.
  - 235. After this came the verse:

**ὅμοια χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν,** 

come few ears later. The temple of Athana Polias, in the Erech-heum, on the Acro-holis, at thens. Drestes rouching, with head rect, as he lasps the

eet of the

ncient mage of he God-

less.

The Furies rush in in vild disorder.

#### Apollo

And I will help and save the suppliant:
'mong men and gods there comes on one dire wrath
for a suppliant, if one wilfully forsake him.

#### ORESTES

Athana queen, by Loxias his commands

I come: O graciously receive a wretch
who makes no first appeal with hand unpurged,
but has the edge of crime dulled, worn away
against the homes and walks of other men.
Observing Loxias his inspired behests
I come, O goddess, to thy home, and here
clasping thine image wait my trial's end.

## CHORUS

Oho! the man's indubitable trail! follow the mute informer's evidence: for as a hound a wounded fawn, so we

which I have removed to its place as v. 434. The two passages are similar, and I think the position of the line here arose from a slip of memory made by some actor when writing a copy of the play from memory. The writer of the Argument of the Rhesus says:  $\kappa al \tau \dot{a}\chi' \dot{a}\nu \tau \iota \nu \epsilon s \tau \dot{a}\nu \dot{\nu} \pi o \kappa \rho \iota \tau \dot{a}\nu \dot{\nu} \delta \iota \epsilon \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota a \kappa \dot{\sigma} \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{a} \dot{\nu} \tau \dot{\sigma} \nu$ . This must have caused many errors. For the difficulty made by the presence of the line here, see the long notes of Herm., Weil, and others.

237. Weil first put a comma instead of a full stop after  $\theta \epsilon \dot{\alpha}$ .  $\tau \delta \ \sigma \delta \nu$ , following immediately, affects  $\delta \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$  proleptically. See also v. 456,  $\delta \delta \mu \sigma i s$  for  $\delta \mu \sigma i s$   $\delta \delta \mu \sigma i s$ , and v. 280.

238. ἀναμενῶ Stanley, Herm., without due cause.

239. τ' ἀνδρὸς.

230

235

240

πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκμαστεύομεν.
πολλοῖς δὲ μόχθοις ἀρθροκμῆσι φυσιᾳ
σπλάγχνον, χθονὸς γὰρ πᾶς πεποίμανται τόπος·
ὑπέρ τε πόντον ἀπτέροις πωτήμασιν
ἢλθον διώκουσ', οὐδὲν ὑστέρα νεώς.
καὶ νῦν ὅδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστί που καταπτακών·
ὀσμὴ βροτείων αἱμάτων με προςγελᾳ.

245

# (σύστ. ά)

(α.) ὄρα ὄρα μάλ' αὖ·

(b.) λεῦσσε τὸν πανταχῆ.

250

(b'.) μὴ λάθη φύγδα βὰς

(α'.) ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.

# (σύστ. β')

- (a.) ὁ δ' αὖτέ γ' οὖν ἀλκὰν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει
- (b.) πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου
- (e.) υπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χρεών.

255

(«΄.) τὸ δ' οὐ πάρεστιν αξμα μητρῷον χαμαί,

242. Schütz, Dind., and Weil prefer to read  $\mu a \tau \epsilon \dot{\nu} o \mu \epsilon \nu$ . Herm, regards it as a question of euphony. There is no motive for altering the Ms form either here or at v. 245 (where  $\pi o \tau \dot{\eta} \mu a \sigma \iota \nu$  has been proposed), but the contrary, because that form more clearly indicates the root.

243. ἀν δρ ο κμῆσι. ἀνδροκμῆσι F. ἀνδροκμοῖσι Fl. ἀρδροκμῆσι Rob. The Erinnyes are clearly speaking of their own fatigues, not of those of Orestes, and could not call themselves ἄνδρες. The reading of Rob. suggested ὀρθροκμῆσι to Schoemann; and Heimsocth thinks that the Scholium, μεγαλοκμῆσι, is corrupted from μελεοκμῆσι, which he, the Scholiast, formed from μέλεα, 'limbs', having ἀρθρ- before him in the text. Compare γυιοβαρῆ Δgam. 63, in the same sense.

249, 270. These four systems have an internal correspondence, one line in each answering to another. Dochmii correspond only as dochmii, and not syllable for

track him by spilth and trickling drops of blood.

My heart doth gasp with much limb-wearying toil for every spot of earth hath now been grazed.

Over the sea, too, with unfeathered flight,

I came pursuing, distanced by no ship.

And now he's skulking somewhere here, I wis; it smiles at me, the smell of mortal's blood!

Look! look yet again!
spy him out everywhere!
lest the undamned matricide
slip away unperceived.

245

250

255

He's here! again with help, and clasps the form divine, the immortal maid's graven form; and would plead the cause of his great debt; but that's not feasible. His mother's blood is on the ground,

syllable. Iambic senarii do not correspond syllabically in a chorus unless the poet has chosen to make them pure, i. e. hexapodiae. I have marked the lineal correspondence in the margin.

250. λεύσσε—το νπάντα. λεῦσσε τὸν Ven. Fl. Turn. The πάντα in M probably represents πανταχ $\hat{\eta}$ , which occurs in the very close imitation by Sophocles, O. C. 117 ὅρα...λεῦσσέ νιν...πανταχ $\hat{\eta}$ ,

251. and βàs φυγàs, ibid. 378.

252. ὁ ματροφόνος Mss. ματροφόνος Herm.

253. δ δ' ἀντ-εγ'-δῦν and περιβρέ ται. Hermann, not having perceived the right responsion of these lines, turned this senarius into something else.

255. χερών Mss. χρεών Scaliger, from the Scholium: ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμῖν χρεωστεῖ.

256. So M. Herm. gives τόδ'.

(b'.)	δυσαγκόμιστον, παπαι
(c'.)	τὸ διερὸν πέδοι χύμενον οἴχεται.
	$(\sigma \acute{v} \sigma  au. \ \gamma')$
(a.)	άλλ' ἀντιδοῦναι δεῖ σ' ἀπὸ ζῶντος ῥοφεῖι

έρυθρον έκ μελέων πέλανον, ἀπὸ δὲ σοῦ (b.)

(c.) βοσκάν φέροιμ' αν, πώματός γε δυσπότου

(ε'.) καὶ ζωντά σ' ἰσχνάνασ' ἀπάξομαι κάτω

(b'.) ἀντίποιν' ώς τίνης, ματροφόνου δύας.

(α'.) ὄψει δὲ κεἴ τις ἄλλος ἤλιτεν βροτῶν,

(σύστ. δ΄)

(α.) ή θεὸν ή ξένον τιν' ἀσεβοῦντες ή

(b.) τοκηας φίλους, (e.) ἔχονθ' ἔκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια.

(c'.) μέγας γὰρ Αἴδης ἐστὶν εὖθυνος βροτῶν

(b'.) ἔνερθε χθονός,

(α'.) δελτογράφω δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾳ φρενί.

270

265

260

# 'Ορέστης

έγὼ διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖς ἐπίσταμαι, πολλούς καθ' ὄρμους, καὶ λέγειν ὅπου δίκη

258. πε-δωι κεχυμένον. πέδοι Dind. χύμενον Porson. διερόν ύγρόν, χλωρόν, ζωόν, Hesych.

260. μελέων is a dissyllable, as μέλεοι Sept. 947.

261. βο σκαν φερ ό ιμαν πώ ματοσ δυσπό του· Herm. blindly, see v. 253, φεροίμαν βοσκάν. Ι write φέροιμ' αν because φεροίμαν would be a wish, and not a threat which the Erinnyes feel quite sure of being able to execute. Then I insert  $\gamma \epsilon$ , which is required by the sense as much as by the metre.

262. ixvávaď. Corrected in Fl. V.

263. ἀντιπόινουσ τεί ν ησ μητρ ο φόνας δύ.. ασ. "Vera videtur Sehützii elegans emendatio" Herm. Schütz eorr.

264. όψει δ' έκει τί σ άλλον MSS. όψει δέ κεί τις Schütz. άλλος Heath.

and hard to get back, papae!
for the live liquor shed on the earth soaks away.

260

265

270

Thou from thy living form must give in turn to gulp from thy limbs syrup red; and I out of thee will get my aliment, i'faith a ghastly drink! and having drained thee dry in life will lead below thy crime's price to pay, woes of a matricide.

There thou shalt see whatever other man hath sinned,

and done impious deed either to god or guest, or to his parents dear, enduring each the full award that Justice deals. A Grand Controller of misdeeds of men is there, Hades, who 'neath the earth inspects every sin on his brain's tablet writ.

#### ORESTES

I, taught in my distress, at many a port of refuge, know alike where it is fit

Schütz's reading of M has all the merit of a brilliant conjecture: so Herm., Dind., Weil.

265.  $\tau(v')$  ἀσεβῶν ἢ τοκέας MSS. Wellauer saw that two syllables were wanting to the metre. Weil restores them with great acuteness, reading ἀσεβοῦντες, which is a regular syntax after εἴ τις, v. 264 (τις was the cause of the corruption ἀσεβῶν), and τοκῆας for τοκέας. Aesch. uses the Homeric form, Agam. 728, Fl. The accusatives θεόν, ξένον, τοκῆας, depend more probably on ἥλιτεν, as in Hom. and Hes., than on ἀσεβοῦντες (οὐ σέβοντες). The constr. is imitated Opp. Hal. 5. 563:

σπονδάς τ' άθανάτων καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην άλιτόντες.

272. πολλούς καθαρμούς Mss. πολλούς καθ' δρμους Weil, a welcome relief.

83

σιγάν θ' ὁμοίως ἐν δὲ τῷδε πράγματι φωνείν ετάχθην πρός σοφού διδασκάλου. βρίζει γὰρ αἷμα καὶ μαραίνεται χερός, 275 μητροκτόνον μίασμα δ' ἔκπλυτον πέλει. ποταίνιον γὰρ ὂν πρὸς ἑστία θεοῦ Φοίβου καθαρμοῖς ἠλάθη χοιροκτόνοις. πολύς δέ μοι γένοιτ' αν έξ άρχης λόγος όσοις προςηλθον άβλαβει ξυνουσία. 280 καὶ νῦν ἀφ' άγνοῦ στόματος εὐφήμως καλῶ χώρας ἄνασσαν τῆςδ' 'Αθηναίαν ἐμοὶ μολείν άρωγόν κτήσεται δ' ἄνευ δορός αὐτόν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν ᾿Αργεῖον λεὼν πιστὸν δικαίως, ές τὸ πᾶν τε σύμμαχον. 285 άλλ' εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς, Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῆ πόδα,

278. If v. 272 had not been set right, it would be necessary to obviate the tautology in καθαρμοῖς, and perhaps by the aid of Aesch. Fr. 278: πρὶν ἃν παλαγμοῖς αἴματος χοιροκτόνου.

280. After this v. used to come:

χρόνος καθαίρει πάντα γηράσκων όμοῦ,

where  $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha i \rho \epsilon i$  Mss;  $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha i \rho \epsilon i$  Stanley. But it has been seen by all editors, since Musgrave first remarked it, that the line, however good and true, has no rightful place here. It belongs to the Aesch. Fr.

286. Weil supposes this to be an allusion to the war which the Athenians were then waging in Egypt, as the allies of Inaros, king of the Libyans. Possibly; but that being a matter of very temporary interest, the allusion is really to the

to speak, where hold my peace; but in this case by a wise teacher I am bidden to speak. The blood is hushed and withered from my hand; the matricidal stain is washed away: at the God Phoebus' hearth when fresh 't was purged by expiations made with slaughtered swine. Long were the tale of those whom from the first I've visited with harmless intercourse. Now with fair words from holy lips I call Athana as my helper to appear, queen of this land; which thus, without the spear, shall win me and the Argive land and host as evermore her truly leal allies. Yea, whether upon Libyan spots of ground, near Trito's waters and her natal stream. marching she bares, or, sitting, drapes, her foot,

275

280

285

Egyptian origin of the Athana of Athens. Hespehius has:  $\mathbf{N}\eta\hat{\imath}\theta$  ' $\mathbf{A}\theta\eta\nu\hat{\alpha}$   $\pi\alpha\rho$ '  $\mathbf{A}\hat{\imath}\gamma\nu\pi\tau\hat{\imath}\hat{\iota}\hat{\iota}\hat{\iota}\hat{\iota}\hat{\iota}$ . That word is the root both of ' $\mathbf{A}\theta\hat{\eta}\nu\hat{\alpha}$  and ' $\mathbf{A}\theta\eta\nu\hat{\alpha}$ .

288. The original of this difficult verse appears to be Hom. Od. 17. 158,  $\%\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ s %  $\epsilon\rho\pi\omega\nu$  'whether sitting or walking'. Athana in repose and wearing her peptus is contrasted with Athana armed and without it. So when she arms herself to go into the midst of battle. It. 5. 734:

## πέπλον μέν κατέχευεν έανδν πατρδς ἐπ' οὔδει,

and puts on the  $\chi\iota\tau\dot{\omega}\nu$  of her father Zeus, some shirt of chain or scale armour reaching below the knee. She is only going to be the charioteer of Diomedes, and therefore puts on no greaves nor boots.  $\pi\sigma\dot{\nu}s$  means 'leg' as well as 'foot', or both together.  $\chi\epsilon\dot{\nu}p$  means 'arm' as well as 'hand', or both together. Thus the verse may be paraphrased: 'whether she is leading on some battle, girt in her father's shirt of mail, or reposes, dressed in her own  $\pi\epsilon\dot{\pi}\lambda\sigma s$ '.

In Pind. 01. 13. 72,  $\dot{\alpha}$   $\dot{\alpha}$  is said of a person who starts up from a supine to an erect posture.

φίλοις ἀρήγουσ', εἴτε Φλεγραίαν πλάκα, θρασὺς ταγοῦχος ὡς ἀνήρ, ἐπισκοπεῖ, ἔλθοι· κλύει δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὢν θεός· ὅπως γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ λυτήριος.

290

## Χορός

οὔτοι σ' ᾿Απόλλων οὐδ' ᾿Αθηναίας σθένος ρύσαιτ' αν ὤστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένον ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' ὅπου φρενῶν, ἀναίματον, βόσκημα δαιμόνων, σκιάν. σὺ δ' ἀντιφωνεῖς; ἀλλ' ἀποπτύσεις λόγους ἐμοὶ τραφείς τε καὶ καθιερωμένος καὶ ζῶν με δαίσεις, οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμῷ σφαγείς, ὅμνον δ' ἀκούσει τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν.

295

(σύστημα)

ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν ἐπεὶ
μοῦσαν στυγερὰν
ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεδόκηκεν,
λέξαι τε λάχη τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους

They marshal themselves in the

usual Tragic order, and chant, in

spasmodic steps, to the clack of castanets,

the First Stasimon of the Chorus

of Furies.

300

ώς ἐπινωμᾶ στάσις ἀμά.

305

290. She is called Φλεγραίων δλέτειρα Γιγάντων in Proclus, Hymn 32.

296. σκιά Mss. σκιάν Heath. Weil put the comma after ἀναίματον.

297. οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς Mss., and οὐδ' for ἀλλ' in V. Fl. Weil, rightly, σὺ δ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, the same change as that made by Pearson at v. 137. If the Mss had given ἀλλ' in both places. I should retain them, as presenting a forcible

aiding her favorites; or overlooks, like some bold host-commander, Phlegra's plain.

O let her come—a god hears even from far—
and my redeemer be from these my woes.

#### Chorus

No! not Apollo nor Athana's strength shall save thee, held as naught, from perishing, untaught the seat of joy within thy breast, a spectre drained of blood, the daemons' food.

Answerest again? but thou shalt loathe thy words: for me thou'rt fattened and foredoomed, and shalt, even living, feast me, at no altar slain, and hear this hymn that binds the victim, thee.

Come away, let us marshal the ranks of our choir, since such is our will to make manifest horrible music; and describe in what fashion to each son of man our band dispenses his portion.

ύποφορά with άνθυποφορά:

290

295

300

305

άλλ' ἀντιφωνεῖς ἀλλ' ἀποπτύσεις λόγους.

The restoration ἀποπτύσεις (ἀποπτύεις) is also due to Weil.

305. ἄμα MSS. "Videtur scribendum ἄμά" Canter. ἀμά Blomfield.

(ἀντισύστημα)

εὐθυδίκαιοι δ' εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι΄
τοὺς μὲν καθαρὰς
καθαρῶς χεῖρας προνέμοντας
οὕτις ἐφέρπει μῆνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν,
ἀσινὴς δ' αἰῶνα διοιχνεῖ.

310

(ἐπωδός)

ὄςτις δ' ἀλιτὼν ὥςπερ ὅδ' άνὴρ
χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει,
μάρτυρες ὀρθαὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσιν
παραγιγνόμεναι, πράκτορες αἴματος
αὐτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν.

315

(στρ. ά

μᾶτερ ἄ μ' ἔτικτες, ὧ

μᾶτερ Νύξ, ἀλαοῖσιν

καὶ δεδορκόσιν ποινάν,

κλῦθ', ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἶν
ίς μ' ἄτιμον τίθησιν,

τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος

306. ἐνθυ δί και θ' ὁι δ' όιμεθ' ἐῖναι (Merkel and Franz). εὐθυδίκαι θ' οἰδοίμεθ' εἶναι G. Rob. εὐθυδίκαι τ' οἶδ' οἷμαι θεῖναι Ven. Fl. F. εὐθυδίκαιοι Hermann, like ὀρθοδίκαιος v. 945. δ' Casaubon. Then Herm. reads ἡδόμεθ' εἶναι from conj., which Dind. and Weil adopt, with Linwood and Drake. But in this solemn exordium it is unfit that the Furies should tell us what they take pleasure in doing, which would be impertinent; and, as Paley says, ἡδόμεθ' would require οδσαι instead of εἶναι. The conjecture of H. L. Ahrens, which Paley adopts, is far worse. For their οἰδμεθ' εἶναι is opinamur esse, 'we have a notion, or a fancy, to be'. Near as it is to the reading of M, it is impossible. The official and ceremonious formula, εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι, 'we declare ourselves to be', is most suitable here. Aesch. uses it in a similar passage, Suppl. 530. Δίας τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ'

We lay claim to restore the just balance of right;
for to them who hold forth
from a clean heart hands that are cleanly
no anger proceedeth from us, and they each
make the journey of life unmolested.

310

315

But whose has simmed like this man and tries to conceal hands filthy with bloodshed, then as truthful deponents we come to the aid of the slain, and for HIM we appear, till the end is accomplished, as murder's avengers.

Mother! who didst bear me! O
mother Night! for a vengeance
both on quick and dead men's crimes,
hark thee! that Lato's brat
scorns and makes void my office:
he my prey takes away

 $\epsilon l \nu a \iota$ , also an anapaestic dimeter. Paley proposed it first, but had no faith in it. Donaldson first adopted it; Meineke has since conjectured it, but without due appreciation.

308. Herm, inserted καθαρῶs, it being evident that these three systems stand to one another as strophe, antistrophe and epodus. The omission was caused by διττοφανές.

309. ούτις ἀφ' ήμῶν μῆνις ἐφέρπει mss. Porson restored the true order, which avoids hiatus between this and v.315.

311. άλιτρῶν MSS. άλιτὼν Auratus. άνηρ MSS. άνηρ Porson.

314. παραγινόμεναι Mss. Porson corr. Hesych., πράκτορες ἀπαιτηταί.

πτῶκα, ματρῷον ἄγνισμα κύριον φόνου.
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ
τόδε μέλος, παρακοπά, παραφορά, φρενοδαλής,
ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων,
δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμικτος, αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.

(ἀντ. ά)

τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διανταία Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν ἐμπέδως ἔχειν, θνατῶν τοί νιν αὐτουργίαις

ξυμπατῶσιν μάταιοι,
τοῖς ὁμαρτεῖν ὄφρ' ἄν
γᾶν ὑπέλθη, θανὼν δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος.
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ
τόδε μέλος, παρακοπά, παραφορά, φρενοδαλής,
ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων,
δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμικτος, αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.

320. πτάκα or πτάκα Mss. πτῶκα Sophianus and Turnebus. ματρώϊον. ματρῷον Arnaldus. Hesych. has: πτῶκες δειλοί, λαγωοί, δορκάδες, ἔλαφοι, νέβροι.

325

320

330

<sup>322.</sup> φρενοδάλήs like δάλερόs from δάλόs, δαίω. See the Appendix.

<sup>326.</sup> θανάτων Mss. θνατῶν Canter.

<sup>327.</sup> τοισιν αὐτουργίαισ ξύμπασ ωσιν. The copies ξύμπας or σύμπας, &σιν or &σι. Turnebus αὐτουργίαι ξυμπέσωσιν, which has been universally accepted without due consideration: for it represents a wilful (ἐκῶν) parricide as an involuntary homicide, which is directly opposed to the doctrine of the Erinnyes. Weil conjectured τοί νιν and ξυμπατῶσιν (αὐτουργίαις is confirmed by the Scholium αὐτοφονίαις). νιν is the Moera. τοί is the relative, τοῖς in v. 328 being the demonstrative, and antecedent retracted. ξυμπατεῖν, conculcare. "nam cupide

320 takes the true ransom due for a mother's murthering.

And against him slain for his sin

flieth this hymn, idiocy-fraught, staggering thought, blasting brain, chant of the Erinnyes,

mind-enthralling, from the lyre

banished, blighter of mankind!

# 325 This the all-determining

Moera spun for our lot, a

thread to hold eternally,

namely, when reckless men

her contemn by kindred-murders.

to give chase till he race

down below, even so he's not much released when dead.

330 And against him slain for his sin

flieth this hymn, idiocy-fraught, staggering thought, blasting brain, chant of the Erinnves,

mind-enthralling, from the lyre

banished, blighter of mankind!

conculcatur nimis ante metutum'', Lucr. 5. 1139, is a favourite metaphor with Aesch.

333. Compare Orph. Lith. 582, κατάδεσμοι, ὰραί τ ὰγνάμπτοισιν Ἐρινύσι πάγχν μέλουσαι. Then, for ἀφόρμικτος, Athen. 14. 39: "Dicaearchus says in his 'Life of Hellas' that it was a custom in Greece (καθ' ὑπερβολὴν) to use castanets to keep time to dances and songs; and quotes a 'lovely' Hymn to Artemis, which speaks of its accompaniment of the 'golden-gleaming, brass-cheeked κρέμβαλα'". Hermippus mentions limpet shells, and Didymus, scallop and oyster shells, as being used ἀντὶ τῆς λύρας to mark the rhythm for dancers. Arist. Ran. 1305, makes Aesch. assign a castanet accompaniment to the lyric odes of Eur. Perhaps he forgot that Aesch. had given it to the Erinnyes.

γιγνομέναισι λάχη τάδ' ἐφ' ἁμὶν ἐκράνθη, ἀθανάτων δ' ἀπέχειν ἑκάς, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ συνδαίτωρ μετάκοινος: παντολεύκ-

335

ων δὲ πέπλων ἄμορος καὶ ἄκληρος ἐτύχθην. αἰμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν ἀποτροπάς· ὅταν Ἄρης τιθασὸς ὢν φίλον ἔλῃ, ἐπὶ τὸν ὧδ' ἰέμεναι,

340

κρατερον όντα περ, άμαυροῦμεν, αἵματος εὖνιν.

334. So M. G. γινομέναισι Ven. Fl. γεινομέναισι Herm., "cur γεινομέναισι scripserim quivis intelliget". Paley alone adopts it, abandoning the plain reading of M. Then άμιν. άμιν Porson.

335. ἀπέχειν χέρας MSS. έκάς Weil. χέρας would mean 'not lay vengeful hands on the immortals', a quite vain remark. They wish to say that it is not for them to keep company with the bright Olympians. See Proclus, Tim. 1. p. 38, χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ναίειν ἔδος. Hesychius ἕθεν ἑκάς αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς ἄπωθεν. Schol. μὴ πλησιάζειν ἡμῶς τοῖς θεοῖς.

336. συν δ-άτω ρ.. συνδαίτωρ Turnebus and Fl.

337. πανλεύκων. παλλεύκων Ven. Fl. παντολεύκων, like παντόσεμνος v. 610, etc., Rossbach and Westphal. So πάμφυρτος and παντόφυρτος, etc. Then, ἄμοιρος ἄκληρος Mss. I read ἄμορος, and insert καl from conjecture. In Soph. O. R. 248 all Mss read ἄμοιρον for ἄμορον, against the metre; and ἄμορον does not there mean 'wretched' (L. and S.) but 'communis juris expertem' (Benloew). There is ἄμορος τέκνων Eur. Med. 1395, where also the Mss prefer ἄμοιρος, not heeding the metre. Hesychius has ἄμορος ἀμέτοχος. Comp. Act. App. 8. 21 οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερls οὕτε κλῆρος. Weil's ἀνέορτος (Eur. Εί. 310 ἀνέορτος ίερῶν, καὶ χορῶν τητωμένη) is not simple enough, nor logically germane to ἄκληρος. It would mean 'not admitted to the feast, nor furnished with a ticket, κλῆρος', Ar. Ecc. 681.

338. δομάτων γὰρ. δωμάτων Turnebus, and all editors up to Weil. The 'overthrow of houses, families', etc., has nothing to do with the matter. Weil

When we were being begotten these meeds were ordained us,

335 and to withdraw far away from the deathless ones; nor is there any guest who shares in our banquet.

Robes all white

I was created to have neither portion nor lot in.

Bloodshed-banishings I chose:

whenever Strife robs of his life

340 one of his kin (he who has been

nursed in one home) at him we come

thus, and ere long, though he be strong,

waste him, reft of his life-blood.

reads  $ai\mu \acute{a}\tau \omega r$  ( $a\bar{l}\mu a$ ,  $\breve{b}\mu \mu a$ ,  $\delta \acute{a}\mu a$ ,  $\delta \acute{a}\mu a$  being often confused,  $\epsilon$ . gr.,  $Cho\ddot{c}ph$ . 126), and  $ai\mu \acute{a}\tau \omega r$  is clearly right.

339. ἀνατροπάς Mss and Edd. What does this represent? Weil compares αἶμα δρέψασθαι, Sept. 718, and would like to read some word like ἀναδροπάς. But while there is no doubt about the food of the Furies, supra, v. 260, its mention here is improper, and a more general term is required. I find this in the word ἀποτροπάς· 'I chose for my office and prerogative the prevention of a kinsman's murder; and as I have no dealings save with these bloody reprobates, I am deemed not clean enough for communion with the white-robed celestials.' τῶνδ' ἀποτροπήν, Pers. 217; ἀποτροπῆς γοῦν ἕνεκα κολάζει, Plato, Prot. 13; λυπῶν ἀποτροπάς, ibid. 36.

340. τίθασος ὢν φίλοσ. πίθασσος Fl.Ven. τίθασος Turnebus (and Par., Herm.) τίθασδος Porson. φίλον Turnebus.

341. ἐπὶ τὸ ν, 'ῶ, δι ὁ μεναι. So the copies, with unimportant variations. ἐπιτόνως διόμεναι Turnebus. ἐπὶ τόν, ὧ, διόμεναι Herm. ἐπὶ τὸν ὧδ' ἱέμεναι Ε. Α. J. Ahrens.

342. κρατερ ο ν ὅνθ' ὁ μοίωσ. μαυ ροῦμεν ὑφ' αἵ ματος ν έου. ἐφ' for ὑφ' Ven. Fl. F. νεοῦ Aldus. The corresponding verse, 351, is sound and unassailable after the admission of καl, from the Scholium. A καl was also omitted v. 337. κρατερόν περ occurs Hom. Il. 21.62; καl κρατεροί περ ἐόντες in Orph. Fr. p. 143. Thus ὁμοίως οτ ὅμως is a gloss on περ, and the metre determines the order κρατερὸν ὕντα περ.

σπευδομένα δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τᾶςδε μερίμνας δεῖ τελέαν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσι δίκαις ἐπικραίνειν, μηδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν. Ζεὺς γὰρ αίμ-

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οσταγές ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας ἃς ἀπηξιώσατο.

μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα

ἀνέκαθεν βαρυπεσῆ

καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν—

σφαλερὰ καὶ τανυδρόμοις

350

Next, ἀμαυροῦσθαι is given by all Mss at Aesch. Pers. 219. Agam. 287 may be properly written οὐδέπω 'μαυρουμένη. Aesch. uses ἀμαυρὸς four times. ὕβριν ἀμαυροῦ occurs Solon. Fr. 15. ἀμαυρῶ is the regular form. I quote Plut. An Seni, 17, for the resemblance of the meaning: τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐξημαυρωμένος

κῶλα-δύσφορον ἄταν.

δύναμιν. Hesychius has ἀμαυροῖ· ἀναιρεῖ, μαραίνει. ἀμαυροῦμεν suits the metre here, and μαυροῦμεν does not. I restore the former, and submit that there is no atom of truth in Blomfield's dictum.

Lastly, omitting  $\delta \phi$  or  $\delta \phi$ , I read  $\delta \tilde{\nu} \nu \nu$  for  $\nu \delta \nu$ , and compare Hom. Od. 9. 523:

αὶ γὰρ δὴ ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός σε δυναίμην εὖνιν ποιήσας πέμψαι δόμον "Αϊδος εἴσω,

which is the original of our passage, and expresses what the Erinnyes are striving to do to Orestes. εδνιν ἔθηκεν ὀφθαλμῶν is found Anth. Pal. 7. 372, Ovid's "luminis orbus" Met. 3. 518. Hesychius gives, εδνιν ἐστερημένον.

343.  $\sigma\pi\epsilon v \delta \delta \mu\epsilon v \alpha \iota \delta'$ .  $\sigma\pi\epsilon v \delta o \mu \epsilon v \alpha \iota \delta'$ . Then  $\tau \hat{a}\sigma \delta \epsilon$  mss, which Weil truly declares to be right, and not  $\tau \hat{a}s\delta \epsilon$  (Herm. etc.), which would imply violence in  $\hat{a}\phi\epsilon \lambda \epsilon \hat{i}\nu$ .

344. θεῶνδ' ἀτέλει αν ἐμαῖσι λιτᾶισ. So the copies, with trifling variations. I concur with Weil in his analysis and results.  $\theta$ εῶν is a gloss on  $\tau$ ινα v. 343.  $\delta$ ατελειαν represents  $\delta$ εῖ  $\tau$ ελέαν (ψη̂φον) ἐπ'. Prien had restored  $\delta$ ίκαις for λιταῖς.

Since I am busy in ridding all else of this duty, they should award a full vote in accord with my verdicts, and not call them in question; for that race.

spillers of blood and detestable men, from his converse
Zeus did excommunicate:
and from on high fiercely do I
taking my spring down on them bring
with heavy fall (and their limbs all
founder at last though they run fast)
heels of awful perdition.

Weil quotes Aeseh. Suppl. 91, κρανθή πράγμα τέλειον, and ibid. 942, μία ψήφος κέκρανται.

345. er. els Pauw.

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346. αίματοσταγές Mss. αίμοσταγές Müller. At έθνος the Scholium rightly says, τὸ τῶν φονέων.

347. I have marked a rather mysterious comment of Hesychius:  $\frac{\partial \pi \alpha \xi \iota o^2}{\partial \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \tau \hat{\theta}}$   $\frac{\partial \iota}{\partial \tau} \frac{\partial \iota}{\partial \tau} \frac{\partial \iota}{\partial \tau} \frac{\partial \iota}{\partial \tau}$ , see below, v. 360. It looks like an allusion to this passage; but may mean only 'disdain ends in rupture', the 'oderant ut fastiditi' of Tacitus.

348-351. These four verses are written after vv. 352-354 in the Mss, oùr òp $\theta$ à, in the margin of F, calling attention to the scribc's error; which was first corrected by Heath.

348. ἀλλομένα. ἀλομένα Ven. Fl., which Herm had given from conjecture. It is also a conjecture in Ven. Fl., and made to suit the metre.

349. ἄγκαθεν MSs. ἀνέκαθεν, Pearson and Herm.

350.  $\pi$ 0800 '....'v. Then  $\grave{a}\kappa\mu\acute{a}\nu$  must be a conjecture found in copies of M, since those who have given the most exact history of the text, viz. Hermann, Linwood, and Weil, say nothing about its absence from M.

351. Schoemann restored the kal, from the Scholium.

δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναὶ τακόμεναι κατὰ γᾶν μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι άμετέροις ἐφόδοις μελανείμοσιν ὀρχησμοῦς τ' ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός.

(ἀιτ. γ')

πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφρονι λύμᾳ, τοῖον ἐπὶ κνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται καὶ δνοφεράν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐδᾶται πολύστονος φάτις.

(στρ. δ')

μένει γὰρ εὐμηχάνῳ τε καὶ τελείῳ, κακῶν τε μνήμονες σεμναὶ καὶ δυσπαρήγοροι βροτοῖς, ἄτιμ' ἀτίετά τ' ἐλάχομεν λέχ-η θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' ἀναλίῳ λάμπα

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- 353. So Mss. Herm. κατὰ γᾶs. But the correlative of 'rising high in the air' is 'falling down on the ground', not under it. σεμνδς is said to be a word of bad signification, Isocr. Demon. 30: γίγνου πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὁμιλητικός, ἀλλὰ μὴ σεμνός, where Lat. Trans. "comis, non superbus". Shakspere, adopting in paraphrase a good deal of this homily of Isocrates, makes Polonius say to Laertes: "Be thou familiar but by no means vulgar."
  - 354. ήμετέροις Mss. Then, ἐπιφόνοις Mss. ἐπιφθόνοις Heath.
  - 355. λύμα. λύμα Victorius.
- 356. τοιον γάρ ἐπί Mss. Heath first removed the γάρ. Then, μῦσος Mss. μύσος Victorius.
- 357. The imagery is taken from Hom. Od. 20. 357: κακή δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς, which is said, αὐδᾶται, by Theoelymenus of the suitors. There is also Archil. Fr. 103, πολλήν κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν.
  - 358. μένει γάρ· εὐμήχανοι δὲ καὶ τέλει οι κακώ ν. Müller removed the point

And men's proud thoughts, high though they soar in the aether, down to the dust they are melted and dwindle dishonoured, through the weird might of our sable-apparelled assaults, and spiteful dancings of our foot.

355 He falls; but naught wots of his fall in his foolish wilfulness: such is the glamour with which his transgression flitteth about him; but dolorous rumour reports that murky gloom broods o'er the house.

For we with force deftly-plotting, well matured, and as dread invoice-rememberers
of crimes, not soon appeased by men,

360 did get by lot our beds unprized, unshared, apart from other gods,
in sunless mouldy waste,

after  $\gamma \lambda \rho$ , and saw that  $\mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \iota$  is a noun: the verb yields only a fatuous meaning. Then,  $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha l$  Wakefield "recte et necessario", as Herm. says, and remarks the coincidence of  $\tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha l$  occurring in exactly the same place in the antistrophic line. Weil completes the line's restoration by reading  $\epsilon \nu \mu \eta \chi \dot{\alpha} \nu \phi$  and  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \ell \phi$ .

360. ἀτιμ' ἀτί εται διομε—ναι λ άχη. So G. Par. ἀτίετον V. Fl. F. ἀτίετα Canter. Weil thinks that ἄτιμα and ἀτίετα mean the same. But ἄτιμα is 'not held in honour' as Apollo e. gr. was, who has a seat 'near the throne of Zeus'' v. 225, and who treats the Furies with contumely in that scene. ἀτίετα, on the other hand, means 'unvisited, unfrequented, unshared'. τίειν μέλος is 'to evince interest and sympathy in a song by attending and taking part in it', Agam. 705. The Furies' beds are said to be unshared, supra 69, 71.

Only the home and lair of the Furies are under ground: their official labours are carried on above, whence they hunt the guilty into the clutches of the Grand Inquisitor,  $M\acute{e}\gamma as$   $E\acute{v}\theta uvos$ , v. 268, and leave them there. When there is no par-

δυσβατοπαίπαλα δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσομμάτοις ὄμως.

 $(\dot{a}v\tau.\ \delta')$ 

τίς οὖν τάδ' οὖχ ἄζεταί τε καὶ δέδοικεν βροτῶν ἀμὸν κλύων θεσμὸν τὸν Μοιρόκραντον, ἐκ θεῶν δοθέντα τέλεον; ἔπι δέ μοι γέρας πάλαι παλαιόν, οὖδ' ἀτιμίας κύρω,

καίπερ ύπὸ χθόνα τάξιν ἔχουσα καὶ δυσάλιον κνέφας.

Athana alights from above, by stage-contrivance,

αἰώρα.

'Αθάνα

πρόσωθεν εξήκουσα κληδόνος βοήν, ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου, γὴν καταφθατουμένη ἣν δῆτ' 'Αχαιῶν ἄκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,

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ricide afoot on earth "the Furies rest upon their iron beds", the "ferrei Eumenidum thalami" of Virg. Aen. 6. 280. It is to  $\theta a \lambda d \mu o \nu s \delta \pi \delta \gamma \hat{\eta} s$  that they go to sleep at the end of this drama.

Therefore  $\lambda \dot{\alpha} \chi \eta$  in this line cannot be right. It should be  $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \chi \eta$ . The letters  $o\mu \epsilon \nu$  appear to be sound, and to represent  $\dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\alpha} \chi o\mu \epsilon \nu$ . I suppose that  $\delta i\tau \tau o\phi a\nu \dot{\epsilon} s$  led to the loss or perversion of  $\tau'$   $\dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\alpha} \chi$ .

Then, αν ηλίω λαμπαι. λαμπαὶ V. Fl. It is agreed that the account of λάμπη given in Hesych. applies to this place. It is the seum and mother which accumulate on liquid left to stand long, and the thick layer of grey dust and mould which is found in a long-neglected room. Virgil's "loca senta situ", Aen. 6. 462, 'through spots grown hoar and grey with neglect', and Homer's εὐρώεντα κέλευθα, Od. 24. 10, are very fitly quoted here.

361. δυσ ο δ ο πάι παλα. δυσόδοπαίπαλα G. δυσοπαίπαλα V. Fl. F. The Schol. says δυσπαράβατα. Hesychius, δυσπαίπαλον δύσβατον, δυσανάβατον. I have

rugged and rude to the foot for the eyelit, and for eyeless beings too.

What mortal then pays no homage, feels no fears, as he hears our solemn ordinance
by Moera sanctioned, from the gods
conferred in full? from long ago a
long-lived meed devolves on me,
and I meet no contempt,
though it is under the earth that I hold my
post, and in a sunless gloom.

#### ATHANA

From far I heard the cry of an appeal, from Xanthus, as I took that land for mine which the Greek chiefs and foremost champions gave (a goodly share of spear-won wealth) to me.

written  $\delta \nu \sigma \beta \alpha \tau \sigma \pi \alpha i \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha$  to restore the metre. The notion of  $\lambda \epsilon \chi \eta$ , cubiculu, is generalised into that of Virgil's "loca".

363. ὀυχάζετάι. οὐχ άζεται Turnebus. δέδοικε δέδοικεν Herm. Then, ἐμοῦ κλύων mss. I restore ἀμὸν because τε in the antistrophic verse becomes long before μνήμονες. See my Agam. v. 990.

364. μοιρόκραντού.

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365. Wieseler inserted πάλαι (lost by διττοφανές), referring to Eur. Or. 811, πάλαι παλαιᾶς ἀπό συμφορᾶς δόμων. Then, κυρῶ Mss. κύρω Herm. for the metre. Schütz well remarks that the Furies here speak of themselves with respect to mortal men. Apollo and the Olympian gods may contemn them, but no mortal dares.

367. δυσήλιον.

369. τὴν καταφθατουμένην Mss; the text was restored by Stanley and Bentley. Hesych, also gives the nominative, and explains by κατακτωμένη, i. e. 'securing the acquisition by entering upon occupation'.

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ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί, ἐξαίρετον δώρημα Θησέως τόκοις. ἔνθεν διώκουσ' ἢλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα, πτερῶν ἄτερ ῥοιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος, πώλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζεύξασ' ὅχον. καινὴν δ' ὁρῶσα τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονὸς ταρβῶ μὲν οὐδέν, θαῦμα δ' ὅμμασιν πάρα τίνες ποτ' ἐστέ. πᾶσι δ' ἐς κοινὸν λέγω, βρέτας τε τοὐμὸν τῷδ' ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ ὑμᾶς θ' ὁμοίας οὐδενὶ σπαρτῶν γένει οὕτ' ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν ὁρωμένας, οὕτ' οὖν βροτείοις ἐμφερεῖς μορφώμασιν. λέγειν δ' ἄμορφον ὄντα τὸν πέλας κακῶς—πρόσω δικαίων ἤδ' ἀποστατεῖ θέμις.

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372. The metaphor in αὐτόπρεμνος appears to be 'not only the fruit and produce but the tree itself', the full proprietorship with no reservation. The αὐτόρριζος of Hesych, would suggest also 'royalties, minerals', etc. 'Ἰλίεια' ἑορτὴ ἐν Ἰλίφ, 'Αθηνῶς Ἰλιάδος καὶ πομπὴ καὶ ἀγών, Hesych.

374. Athana is made to describe her passage across the Aegean as performed by means neither of a material chariot, nor of wings, nor of her aegis held out as a sail, but by her  $\gamma\nu\omega\mu\eta$ , an effort of the will. The Oceanides have wings, and Oceanus a hippocamp 'steered by his will, without a bit', in *Prom.V.*, for the sake of stage-effect. Athana uses the metaphor both of a chariot and a ship. Her will acts like a team of horses or the sails of a ship. She really moves like Puck and Ariel, and the galleys of Alcinous. The Schol. &  $\lambda\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\psi$   $\lambda\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$   $\tau\hat{\eta}$   $\alpha\hat{\iota}\gamma\hat{\iota}\delta\iota$  ought to be &s  $\lambda\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$ , etc., 'a top-sail, artemon, supparum', as I have before corrected it. Then,  $\hat{\eta}\lambda\theta...\nu$  (a dot over  $\eta$  and a circumflex between  $\lambda$  and  $\theta$ ).

377. και νῦν MSS. καινήν Canter.

378, 9. πάρ α' and ἐστὲ· Edd. πάρα and ἐστέ; Weil πάρα, and ἐστέ.

381.  $\delta\mu\hat{a}s$  is accusative after the notion of  $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\hat{\omega}$  taken out of  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega$ , v. 379. The rule may be thus formulated: when a verb which governs a certain case approximates in meaning to a verb governing another case, it is sometimes found not only with its own case but with the case of the verb to which it approximates in meaning.

TOC

the chattels and the soil, for evermore, a special gift to honour Theseus' sons.

Thence came I wingless, driver of feet untired, fluttering the full breast of my aegis-sail, and yoked this car to vigorous viewless steeds. Now seeing these my land's strange visitors I fear not, no; but wonder 's in my eyes at who ye be. To all alike I speak, both to this stranger crouching by my image, and you, unlike each race of things begotten: not seen by gods among the goddesses, nor yet resembling mortal lineaments; but from upbraiding an ill-favoured neighbour our rule of equity stands far aloof.

382. δρωμέναις MSS. δρωμένας Stanley.

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384. ἄμορφον ὅντατους. ἄμομφον Rob., which Herm. and others adopt, conceiving the meaning to be 'he who has nothing to complain of is not at liberty to find fault with others'. Weil renders it after Welcker, 'for one who is beautiful without blemish, as I am, to abuse his uncomely neighbours, is not fair'. Drake's way is: 'for his neighbours to abuse an ugly person'. Heath is tight, with Mayor, in reading τον πέλαs and translating as in my text. Elmsley notes the remarkable fact that the word ἄμομφος occurs only in the Eumenides, and twice (vv. 457, 630), without counting his abortive support of its conjectural introduction here.

385. ἡδ². ἤδ' V. F. The construction is ἥδε θέμις δικαίων ἀποστατεῖ πρόσω. We had ἀποστατῶν πρόσω above, v. 65; ἐκὰς ἀποστατεῖ Agam. 1104. The omission of τοῦ with λέγειν and of ἡ with θέμις accords with the rule frankly stated by Donaldson, that unless the presence of the article is quite necessary in Greek Tragic Iambies, it may be omitted. Compare for λέγειν . . . κακῶς, after which I put a dash to signify a break in the syntax, Sept. 681:

ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ὧδ' αὐτοκτόνος οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.

# Χορός

πεύσει τὰ πάντα συντόμως, Διὸς κόρη· ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆς τέκνα· ᾿Αραὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα.

## 'Αθάνα

γένος μεν οίδα κληδόνας τ' έπωνύμους.

# Χορός

τιμάς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύσει τάχα.

# ' Αθάνα

μάθοιμ' ἂν εἰ λέγοι τις ἐμφανῆ λόγον.

# Χορός

αὐτοκτονοῦντας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν.

386. πέυση. The copies, πεύση. At v. 390, πεύσηι.

387. ἀι-ανῆ. The Scholiast also read αἰανῆ, with interpretation σκοτεινὰ ἡ θρηνητικά. αἰανῆς V. Fl. Herm. aptly quotes Tzetzes on Lycophron, 406, κατὰ δὲ Αἰσχύλον Ἐρινύες ''Νυκτὸς αἰανῆς τέκνα'', and Soph. Δj. 672, νυκτὸς αἰανῆς κύκλος. Acsohylus seems to connect αἰανὸς with αἰεὶ and αἰάν, as do the latest philologists, in the sense of 'long-enduring, tedious, dismal', and Plautus probably was translating this word when he wrote ''noctem perpetem''. The three words quoted above from Soph. Δj. mean 'the chariot-wheel of dreary Night'. By 'tedious, dreary, dismal Night', Aeschylus means that darkness of the intellect in early ages which created such divine beings as the Moerae, and their demon-sisters, the Erinnyes.

388. ἀρ ἀδ'. Corrected in V. Fl. It seems that the 'Αραί are not only identical with the 'Ερινύες in Homer (as Il. 21. 412, Od. 11. 280), which is also adopted by Aesch. Sept. 70, 'Αρά τ' Ἑρινὺς πατρός, but their names may be identical, 'Αρὰ being the shortened Greek form of the Sanskrit Saranyû, and 'Ερινὺς the full Greek form. So the Furies say, we have two names, being called the one by mortal men, and the other by the spirits below. They give their name and address as 'Ερινύες, Νυκτὸς θυγατέρες, ὑπὸ γῆς οἰκοῦσαι, ὅπου καὶ 'Αραὶ κικλησκόμεθα. Then, ὑπαι.

390

### CHORUS

Thou shalt hear all concisely, maid of Zeus: we are the brood of dismal Night, and named 'Avengers' in our homes beneath the earth.

#### ATHANA

I have your race and title of address.

390

### CHORUS

And our prerogatives thou soon shalt know.

#### ATHANA

I should, if some one gave a plain account.

#### CHORUS

We chase from home the slayers of their kin.

Out of eleven editions which I have open, Stanley, Hermaun, Dindorf, Ahrens, and Weil write ὁπαὶ; the rest, ὅπαι.

389. That is: "I now know from your statement".

392. βρ οτο κτο νο υντασ. The copies, and all Edd., βροτοκτονοῦντας. It is impossible that the latter can be right, but rather αὐτοκτονοῦντας, which I read, and regard the other as a correction made from ἀπειροκαλία. See Soph. Ant. 56 for αὐτοκτονεῖν, said not of killing oneself but some other 'self', a near relative: also the note on v. 339 supra, and Aesch. Sept. 681, 733, 805. The βροτοκτ. of M is ἄπαξ λ., and would apply to a man who slew another in battle, against whom, Eur. Ion 381, οὐδεὶς ἐμποδών κεῖται νόμος. Virg. Aen. 10. 901, ''nullum in caede nefas''.

Homicida and pāricida are to one another as βροτοκτόνος and αὐτεκτόνος. It would be impossible to discuss the word paricida here. I can only say that the derivation from pater is inadmissible; that that from pārem caedo does not commend itself on more than one account; and that parentem eaedo, so that the ā arises from syncope, will suit all the passages if you allow—what I think could be well proved—that parens meant, quite early, 'any near relation'. Numa, the king, regarded fellow-citizens as brothers, and it was parricide for one to kill another.

### `Αθάνα

καὶ τῷ κτανόντι ποῦ τὸ τέρμα τῆς φυγῆς;

# Χορός

όπου τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται.

'Αθάνα.

ἦ καὶ τοιαύτας τῷδ' ἐπιρροιζεῖς φυγάς;

Χορός

φονεύς γὰρ εἶναι μητρὸς ηξιώσατο.

'Αθάνα

άλλης ἀνάγκης οὖτινος τρέων κότον;

Χορός

ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κέντρον ὡς μητροκτονεῖν;

'Αθάνα

δυοίν παρόντοιν ήμισυς λόγου πάρα.

Χυρός

άλλ' ὅρκον οὐ δέξαιτ' ἄν, οὐ δοῦναι θέλοι.

400

395

In Plantus, Epid. 3. 2. 13 'parenticida' seems to be regarded as the old-fashioned and vulgar (vetus et volgatum) way of pronouncing paricida; with pun on pericida.

Livy, 3. 50, calls Virginius a paricida for killing his daughter; so may we Agamemnon. Cain was a parricide; and Medea.

393. το υτοτέρ ματήσ σφαγής. ποῦ το τέρμα Arnaldus. της φυγής Scaliger. 394. Join το χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ. 'Fin d'aise' was the name of the condemned cell in the Donjon du Châtelet.

#### ATHANA

And where 's the end of flight for him who slew?

## CHORUS

There where the law of life is 'nowhere joy'.

#### ATHANA

Is this the sort of flight ye hound on him?

395

400

#### Chorus

He chose to be his mother's murderer.

#### ATHANA

Was there no other force whose wrath he feared?

#### CHORUS

Where is the spur would force to matricide?

### ATHANA

Two being here we now have half the story.

## CHORUS

But he'd accept no oath, nor proffer one.

395. ἐπιρροιζεῖ . . φυγάσ; ἐπιρροιζεῖs Stanley.

397. There was a Pythian oracle ἄπαντα τὰναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεόs, Plut. de Pyth. Or. 21. Then there is the Fr.13 of Simonides: ἀνάγκᾳ δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται.

399. 86 w.  $\lambda \delta \gamma o \nu$ .  $\lambda \delta \gamma o \nu$ . Ven. Fl. The articles  $\delta$  and  $\tau o \hat{\nu}$  being lawfully omitted, the reading of M remains. Weil agrees.

400.  $\theta \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \iota$  Mss.  $\theta \hat{\epsilon} \lambda o \iota$  Schütz. The force of the  $\hbar \nu$  is carried on, as usual, to the coordinate verb. The meaning is: 'he would neither swear 'I did not kill my mother' if I proposed the oath to him, nor would offer to take the oath him-

## 'Αθάνα

κλύειν δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ πρᾶξαι θέλεις;

# Χορός

πῶς δή; δίδαξον τῶν σοφῶν γὰρ οὐ πένει.

'Αθάνα

ὄρκοις τὰ μὴ δίκαια μὴ νικᾶν λέγω.

Χορός

άλλ' έξέλεγχε, κρίνε δ' εὐθείαν δίκην.

'Αθάνα

ἢ κἀπ' ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἄν αἰτίας τέλος;

405

# Χορός

πῶς δ' οὖ; σέβουσαί γ' ἀξίαν κἀπ' ἀξίων.

## ' Αθάνα

τί πρὸς τάδ' εἰπεῖν, ὧ ξέν', ἐν μέρει θέλεις; λέξας δὲ χώραν καὶ γένος καὶ ξυμφορὰς

self'. Stanley quotes Lysias, Theomn. 1. 11, δ μèν γὰρ διώκων ώς ἔκτεινε διόμνυται, ὁ δè φεύγων ώς οὐκ ἔκτεινε.

401. δικαί....σ. Herm. states the reading of M to be δικαίουs, with ω written over ου. The choice is not easy between δίκαιος and δικαίως. δίκαιος is used only of the masculine gender in Acschylus and Sophocles: it is rarely feminine in Euripides. Athana could not say δίκαιος from regard to the ἡγεμὼν χοροῦ. Ven. and Fl. give δικαίως, which must be accepted on the analogy of εὖ and κακῶς κλύειν.

This constitutes the  $\pi\rho\delta\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota s$   $\epsilon is <math>\tilde{\nu}\rho\kappa\rho\nu$  or challenge to the accused to invoke the divine curse upon himself and his family in case he falsely pleaded not guilty of the direct charge. Orestes does not accept the challenge, and so there is no

#### ATHANA

Would'st just be called rather than justly act?

#### Chorus

How so? explain: thou dost not want for wit.

#### ATHANA

I say that pleas not just win not by oaths.

## CHORUS

Then sift and judge the plaint in a full trial.

#### ATHANA

Will you entrust the arbitrament to me?

405

## CHORUS

Yes: honouring worthy parents' worthy child.

#### Athana

My friend, what would you say to this in turn? first tell us of your country, lineage,

ἀμφορκία. But Athana sees that the deed, which Orestes really did, may have been done not unjustly: so she invites the Furies to an εὐθυδικία or formal trial of the equity of the deed.

406. ἀξ ( αντ' - ἐπαξ ( ων. The Scholium is ἀξίων οὖσα γονέων, whence Stanley conjectured ἀξίων ἀπ' ἀξίων. Paley is the first to write κἀπ'. κὰξ is the usual form: compare Soph. El. 589, εὐσεβεῖς κὰξ εὐσεβῶν, id. Phil. 874, εὐγενὴς κὰξ εὐγενῶν, ibid. 384, κακίστου κὰκ κακοῦ, Ar. Eq. 336, πονηρὸς κὰκ πουηρῶν. Dind.'s defence of ἀξίαν ἐπαξίων ''dignum dignae honorem reddentes'', which might be supported by Plantus, Poen. 5. 4, ''eveniunt digna dignis'', makes the dignity of president in this trial tantamount to Λthana's personal dignity.

τὰς σάς, ἔπειτα τόνδ' ἀμυναθοῦ ψόγον εἴπερ πεποιθώς τῆ δίκη βρέτας τόδε ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἑστίας ἐμῆς πέλας, σεμνὸς προςίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος τούτοις ἀμείβου πᾶσιν εὐμαθές τι μοι.

# 410

# 'Ορέστης

ἄνασσ' 'Αθάνα, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων τῶν σῶν ἐπῶν μέλημ' ἀφαιρήσω μέγα. οὐκ εἰμὶ προςτρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχων μύσος πρὸς χειρὶ τἠμἢ τὸ σὸν ἐφεζόμην βρέτας. τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδέ σοι λέξω μέγα. ἄφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος ἔστ' ἄν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἰμάτων καθαρσίου σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ. πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερώμεθα οἴκοισι, καὶ βατοῖσι καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις,

415

420

<sup>409.</sup> ἀμυνάθου MSS. ἀμυναθοῦ Elmsley.

<sup>411.</sup> άμησ. άμης G. έμης Par. Ven. Flor.

<sup>414.</sup> Orestes objects to the comparison of his deed to the crime of Ixion—an act of righteous retribution forced on him by the gods—to the treacherous murder of a kinsman under no provocation. See Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185; Apollod. 1. 8. 2.

<sup>416.</sup> ἔχει μῦσος Mss. ἔχων Wieseler.

<sup>417.</sup> ἐφεζομένη Mss. ἐφεζόμην Wieseler.

<sup>420.</sup> αἴματος. That will mean only 'until by a man's cleansing blood'. Weil reads προσαρδμοῖς, but the word will not stand examination. The παλαγμοῖς which he quotes in Aesch. Fr. 197 would be better; and so the passage would be perfect in itself: but πρὸς ἀνδρὸς καθαρσίου must be what Aesch. gave in this plain account of the prescribed form of purification. Therefore the corruption is in αἴματος, which I suppose to have been changed (from my conjecture αἰμάτων) to make it go with καθαρσίου. It is clear that Orestes is only stating the usual form of purifica-

and your mishaps, and then repel this charge; if trusting in your right you sit and clasp our image, near our hearth, a suppliant claiming our reverence in Ixion's guise.

Give us to all of this a clear reply.

410

415

420

#### ORESTES

First, queen Athana, from thy latest words
I will remove a care of grave import.
No suppliant I; and with no stain upon
my hand I by thine image seated me.
I'll furnish thee with a strong proof of this:
the law is that a murderer should be mute
till a young suckling's throat, cut by some man
who cleanses murder-stains, has sprinkled him.
Long have I thus been sanctified at homes
of other men, by trodden and liquid paths,

tion, for he was purified at first by Apollo himself, v. 528, φόνου δὲ τοῦδ' ἐγὼ καθάρσιος,

so that Orestes is understating his case; he had stated it fully at v. 276:

μίασμα δ' ἔκπλυτον πέλει ποταίνιον γὰρ δν πρὸς ἐστίᾳ θεοῦ Φυίβου καθαρμοῖς ἡλάθη χοιροκτόνοις.

421. καθαι μάξ ο υσιν ο θηλ'ο υβοτο υ. Turnebus first deciphered the verse. 423. και βοτοῖσι Mss. βροτοῖσι Ven. If you keep βοτοῖσι, with all Editors except Weil, then you translate 'I have been sanctified in other homes, and among grazing animals', etc. Weil edits his conjecture βατοῖσι, making Orestes say that in his travels over και πεζὰ και ὑγρὰ κέλευθα, whenever he met with some καθάρσιος ἀνὴρ of high repute, he had the rite of purification renewed. Compare

ομοια γέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν. 236 ταύτην μέν οὕτω φροντίδ' έκποδων λέγω. 425 γένος δὲ τοὐμὸν ὡς ἔχει πεύσει τάχα: 'Αργείός είμι, πατέρα δ' ίστορείς καλώς, 'Αγαμέμνον', ἀνδρῶν ναυβατῶν ἁρμόστορα, σὺν ὧ σὺ πρώην ἄπολιν Ἰλίου πόλιν ἔθηκας. ἔφθιθ' οὖτος οὐ καλῶς, μολὼν 430 ές οἶκον άλλά νιν κελαινόφρων έμη μήτηρ κατέκτα, ποικίλοις άγρεύμασι κρύψασ', α λουτρων έξεμαρτύρει φόνον. κάνω κατελθών, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ φεύγων χρόνον, έκτεινα την τεκούσαν, ούκ άρνήσομαι, 435 άντικτόνοις ποιναίσι φιλτάτου πατρός. καὶ τῶνδε κοινῆ Λοξίας ἐπαίτιος άλνη προφωνών ἀντίκεντρα καρδία, εὶ μή τι τῶνδ' ἔρξαιμι τοὺς ἐπαιτίους.

Menand. Fab. Inc. 39, κὰν διελθεῖν δηλαδή διὰ θαλάσσης δέη τόπον τιν' οὖτος ἔσται μοι βατός. βατή πορεία occurs Anth. Pal. 4. 3.

After this verse I insert that which has hitherto been read as v. 236. The change of number from ἀφιερώμεθα to ἐκπερῶν is no difficulty to anyone who remembers Eur. Ion 391, κωλνόμεσθα μὴ μαθεῖν ἃ βούλομαι and the like. Martial 14. 205 speaks of himself as "nobis" and "mihi" in one distich. Nobis praesente, etc., appears to be the regular form in early Latin. I raesens from praes 'near' does not come from praesum compounded with prae 'before'.

429. ξὺν ῶ σὺ τρο ι αν. πρώην is adopted by me from Meincke's beautiful conjecture πρώαν. It is more likely that Aesch. wrote the Homeric form, and was thinking of τὸν σὺ πρώην κτεῖνας, //. 24. 500.

430. ὅυτω σ.

<sup>433.</sup> κρύψασαλουτρῶν. The copies, κρύψασα λουτρῶν. Musgrave κρύψασ', & λουτρῶν. Hermann rightly regards the tense ἐξεμαρτύρει as referring to the time immediately succeeding the murder, and quotes Choëph. 1005. See Appendix.

<sup>434,</sup> πρ δ, του. προτού Farn.

wandering alike on dry ground and on sea. 236 Thus do I speak away that care. Thou soon 425 shalt know how stands my lineage. an Argive, and thou knowest well my sire, the lord of ship-borne warriors, Agamemnon; with whom erewhile thou madest Ilion's town a town no more. When he was home returned, 430 he died not nobly: my black-hearted mother, she slew him, muffling him in pictured toils which brought clear evidence of the bath's red deed. And I, before an exile, did return, and slew my mother, I will not deny it, 435 with death avenging my dear father's death. And Loxias is joint agent in the deed, foretelling pains that pricked my heart like goads if I did naught to them who caused these woes.

437. Weil objects to the repeated use of  $\epsilon \pi a(\tau \iota os)$ , here and in v. 439. But even a poet must use legal precision when speaking of law, and it was necessary to say 'mutually chargeable' in both places. Euripides might have preferred  $\mu \epsilon \tau a(\tau \iota os)$ .

439. Herm, proposed  $\epsilon i \mu \hat{\eta} \hat{\alpha} \nu \tau \iota \delta p \hat{\omega} \nu$ . But  $\epsilon p \xi a \iota \tau \iota \tau \iota \nu \hat{\alpha}$  is euphemistic for 'to do some harm to some one'. I would correct Soph. *Phil*. 684, and corresponding line 699, as follows:

δς οὐκ ἔρξας τι τίν', οὕ τι νοσφίσας and κατευνάσειεν ἄν, εἴ τι γ' ἐμπέσοι.

The clause with  $a\nu$  is consequent on  $\epsilon i \epsilon \mu \pi \epsilon \sigma \omega$ . There was  $\delta \iota \tau \tau \sigma \phi \alpha \nu \epsilon s$  in both verses. Secondly,  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta$  does not go with  $\tau \iota$  but with  $\epsilon \pi \alpha \iota \tau \iota \omega \nu$ . This is the third instance we have had of the tendency of words in an Aeschylean senarius to anticipate their true construction. In v. 237,  $\delta \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$  anticipates  $\tau \delta \sigma \delta \nu$ . In v. 401, the word  $\delta \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \omega s$  through looking forward to  $\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \xi \alpha \iota$  is rather regardless of  $\kappa \lambda \iota \omega \epsilon \nu$ .

σὺ δ', εἰ δικαίως εἴτε μή, κρῖνον δίκην, πράξας γὰρ ἐν σοὶ πανταχῆ τάδ' αἰνέσω.

440

#### ' Αθάνα

τὸ πρᾶγμα μεῖζον ἤ τις οἴεται τόδε βροτὸς δικάζειν· οὐδὲ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις φόνου διαιρεῖν ὀξυμηνίτους δίκας· ἄλλως τε καὶ σὰ μὲν κατηρτύκως νόμω ἱκέτης προςῆλθες καθαρὸς ἀβλαβὴς δόμοις, νόμω δ' ἄμομφον ὄντα σ' αἰροῦμαι πόλει. αὖται δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέμπελον· κᾶν μὴ τύχωσι πράγματος νικηφόρου χώρα μεταῦθις ἰός, ἐκ φρονημάτων πέδοι πεσών, ἄφερτος αἰανὴ νόσος.

445

450

440. σύτ'. The rest, σύ τ'. σὺ δ' Pearson. The δικαίωs here is the critical word, decretorium. Apollo pronounces it for Orestes emphatically, v. 565.

It should be carefully observed that in  $\sigma \dot{\nu} \delta \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \rho \hat{\nu} \rho \nu \delta i \kappa \eta \nu$  Orestes begs Athana to decide the issue summarily. Her reply is: 'the ease is very serious: it will create a precedent for all future time: there must be a properly constituted court of upright jurymen: I cannot be deemed impartial, having accepted you as an unblemished citizen of Athens. The thing must be done in some unexceptionable way, which I will endeavour to devise'.

442. μείζο ν. έιτισ. ή τις Pearson.

443. βροτδ.. σδικάζειν. Dübner's recension gives 'βροτοΐς a pr. m. M.' βροτοΐς would be wrong in any case, for Athana means 'than you, Orestes, or any man, can well imagine'.

444. φόνουσ and όξυμηνίτου Mss. φόνου Robortello. ὀξυμηνίτουs Stanley; Abresch confirming the correction by the Scholium, φόνους ἐφ' οἶς ταχέως μηνίουσιν αί Ἐρινύες.

445. κατηρτυκώς ὅμως Mss. νόμφ Weil. The seribe wrote νόμως, which was corrected to ὅμως. κατηρτυκώς is intransitive when used thus metaphorically, being said properly of animals which have east their milk-teeth: so Sch. τέλειος τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων, and Hesychius, ed. Hagenau, 1521, where

Pronounce thou 'justly done' or 'not': by thine award I'll stand, and every way concur.

410

445

450

#### Athana

Greater the task than any mortal thinks, to judge this suit; nor have I right to settle murder's fierce-raging claims: the more since thou hast passed the legal age of guilt, and comest a cleansed unharmful suppliant to my home; and I by law receive thee in my state as guiltless. These, again, have rights untoward, and should they miss the victor's meed, the venom falling anon to earth from their proud wills works for this land a fatal, endless plague.

Weil and Paley only copy the incorrect form in Hermann: κατηρτυκώς: τελειώσας. κυρίως δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, ὅταν ἐκβάλη πάντας τοὺς ὀδόντας. Thence it was applied to the finishing of the period, prescribed by law, of unfitness for exercising the rights of a citizen.

447. ὅμως δ' ἄμομφον Mss and Edd. ὅμως is the exactly wrong word, and Weil's ὁμῶς is no better. Athana, stating a point of law, uses the same word as in v. 445, so I have replaced νόμφ. This appropriate legal tautology was apparent above, vv. 437, 439. Then, αἰδοῦμαι Herm., for αἰροῦμαι Mss. That would mean 'receive with grace and reverence', and is properly said of a regenerate outlaw; Hesychius, αἰδεσασθαι' τὸν ἔνοχον ὅντα φόνφ ἀκουσίφ καὶ πεφυγαδευμένον ἐφ' ὡρισμένφ χρόνφ, τούτου τελευτηκότος, ἐξιλᾶσθαι, ὡς εἰληφότα ἤδη τιμαρίαν. Herm. does not cite this, which I regret, because then his αἰδοῦμαι would by this time have been adequately considered. I am probably wrong in not adopting it.

449. κὰι μὴ τυχο υσαι Mss, Schol., Edd. The passage, however, is not such as to admit of a suspended construction, as at v. 391. There is no room here for the form of speech fit to express revulsion. The sentence does not by its length condone gross slovenliness. I find it quite necessary to write κὰν μὴ τύχωσι.

450. χώραι μετ' ἀῦθισ. Wellauer first wrote it correctly.

451. alavηs Mss. Rather alavη, because of v. 387. See v. 522.

τοιαῦτα μὲν τάδ' ἐστίν' ἀμφότερα, μένειν πέμπειν τε, δυσποίμαντ' άμηνίτως έμοί. έπεὶ δὲ πρᾶγμα δεῦρ' ἐπέσκηψεν τόδε

κρίνασ' ἀπ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα,

455

- (1.) φόνων δικαστάς, δρκίων αίδουμένους
- (2.) θεσμόν, τὸν εἰς ἄπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον.
- (3.) ύμεις δε μαρτύριά τε καὶ τεκμήρια
- (4.) καλεῖσθ' ἀρωγά, τῆς δίκης θ' ὁρκώματα. | ήξω, διαιρείν τούτο πράγμ' έτητύμως. όρκον περώντας μηδέν ἔκδικον φρεσίν.]

460

Χορός (στο. ά)

νῦν καταστροφαὶ νόμων θεσμίων,

Athana goes down to the city to select twelve of the best men as judges. Orestes keeps sanc-tuary. The

Hymn.

453. πέμπειν δὲ δ-υσπήματ', άμηχάν ωσ έμο ι. πέμπειν τε Sealiger. δυσ-Furies chant ποίμαντ' Casaubon. Then Tyrwhitt extricated ἀμηνίτωs from the Scholium, their Second πέμπειν αὐτὰς ἀμηνίτως δυσχερές ἐστιν ἐμοί.

455 foll. κρίνασα δ' MSS. No Editor has been able to see his way here. I have indicated the MS order of the lines in the left hand margin. It does not seem that there remain the elements of a true restoration, as elsewhere. The words inside square brackets are Aeschylean in the main, but marred by histrionic per-One might suppose a line such as: versions.

## ξυλλαμβάνουσα τῆ δίκη, παρέξομαι

to fill a lacuna after v. 454, but no good progress is made, the rest being intractable.

It will be observed that Athana does not select her twelve judges because of any property qualification; nor out of regard to a majority of any sort of voters; nor by ballot.

- 456. αίρουμένους Mss. αίδουμένους Weil.
- 459. θ' before δρκώματα was added by Wellauer. The δρκώματα will be the oath administered (1) to the twelve judges, that they will truly vote according to the evidence; (2) to the deponents, that they will testify only that which is a true and faithful account of the affair.
- 460. This  $\frac{\pi}{\xi}\omega$  offends those who suppose the ensuing trial to be held on the Areopagus. But Orestes cannot quit sanctuary in the temple of Athana Polias on the Acropolis. The Furies do not let him out of their sight. He has again to

Such is this case—to expel, to let ye stay and earn no wrath, each mates my shepherding. But since the suit has sped its footing hither, choosing the worthiest of my people, I will found a court for homicides, to keep holy the law of oaths and last all time.

Summon your evidence, and supporting proofs, and pleas on oath pertaining to the trial.

455

## CHORUS

Now my statutes' overthrow cometh near,

hear a chant of theirs, so solemn and impressive. It is asserted by tradition that this first trial before the court, which was to be that of the Areopagus, took place on the Acropolis. The Hill of Ares was not a part of the city of Athens at this early time. Athana points to it (either actually or to its representation in a scene-painting) at v. 637.

461. Herm. proposed πορόντας for περῶντας and, after Markland, φράσειν. Neither has the Aeschylean stamp. Weil reads ἐκδίκοις and ὅρκων. The word of opposite meaning, ἐνδίκοις, yields an equally good sense, so hopeless is the passage.

462. I find, with H. L. Ahrens, that νέων (νεών) is a corruption of νόμων. (νέων etc. plainly means 'there will be the overthrow of new statutes'). Now,

νῦν καταστροφαὶ νόμων θεσμίων

may be compared with Agam. 1008:

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων κτησίων.

Aeschylus is fond of these assonances. The antistrophe chimes in with:

ούτε γὰρ βροτοσκόπων μαινάδων.

The metres here, and Agam. 1008, are the same, and νύμοι θέσμιοι is the sister expression to  $\chi \rho \eta \mu \alpha \tau \alpha \kappa \tau \eta \sigma \iota \alpha$ .

H 2

εὶ κρατήσει δίκαισιν ἁ βλάβα τοῦδε μητροκτόνου. πάντας ἤδη τόδ' ἔργον εὐχερεία συναρμόσει βροτούς: πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα πάθεα προςνεμεῖ τοκεῦσιν μεταῦθις ἐν χρόνω.

 $(\dot{a}v\tau.\ \dot{a})$ 

οὖτι γὰρ βροτοσκόπων
μαινάδων
τῶνδ' ἐφέρψει κότος τιν' ἐργμάτων'
πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον.
πεύσεται δ' ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, προφωνῶν τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά,
λῆξιν ὑπόδοσίν τε μόχθων'
ἄκεά τ' οὐ βέβαια τλάμων μάταν παρηγορεῖ.

475

470

465

464. δί κα κὰι βλ άβα. Heath's conjecture is δίκα τε καὶ βλάβα, and so, as Weil says, 'junguntur capreae lupis'. Not that δίκα does not mean 'suit', but because it cannot mean 'suit' when closely joined with a word like βλάβα. I write δίκαισιν ἁ with Weil; and not only the fault of expression is removed, but δίκαι is a better word here than δίκα. See Suppl. 703, δίκας διδοῖεν 'submit to a judicial decision', and ibid. 733, δώσει δίκην 'will be punished'. Also δίκας κλύειν Agam. 813 'to hear a case'; δίκας ἐποπτεύσει Παλλάς, above, v. 220, 'Pallas shall watch the pleadings in the case'.

468. προςμένει Mss, with a solecism. προςνεμεί Weil. This corruption of μεν and νεμ, and of μον, νομ, ομν, ομ, is very frequent.

469. **ἀύτε.** οὔτι Weil.

if the crime wins the verdict in this suit, crime of you matricide.

465

470

475

Evermore shall this deed throughout the world knit mankind to recklessness:

many genuine woes to parents,

wounds by children dealt, this deed shall in time to come dispense.

Since for heinous deeds to none
wrath shall come,
come from us mortal-scanning frenzied maids.

I'll endorse every doom.

Then shall these crave from those, amid the sad
story of a neighbour's woes,
stoppage and surcease of troubles;
whom some wretch doth vainly soothe
with no certain remedies.

471. κό το στί σ. Weil, whom I follow, saw that ἐφέρψει requires an object, and wrote τιν.

474. So Mss. Heath proposed  $\delta\pi\delta\delta\nu\sigma'\nu$  (not without some reason, for  $\delta\pi\delta\delta\sigma\iota s$  appears only here). Herm, adopts it, says it is the reading of Ven., and that the Scholium  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\sigma\chi\dot{\eta}\nu$  recognises it. But no word could possibly be better than  $\delta\pi\delta\delta\sigma\iota s$ , the opposite of  $\epsilon\pi(\delta\sigma\sigma\iota s)$  'increase', and the metaphor may be either that of a fever or an overflowing river. The  $\lambda\dot{\eta}\xi\iota\nu$   $\delta\rho\iota\nu\sigma\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$   $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu$  of Apoll. Rh. 1. 1087 shows that the metaphor may also be that of a rising borrasca. The anticlimax is elegant 'the cessation and (or, at least) subsidence of troubles'.

475. ἄκετ' ο'υ βέβαι ατλ ά... μω ν δ ε τ'ι σ μά τανπαρ ηγορ εῖ· ἄκεά τ' Schütz. ἄκεα δ', Fritsche, is not so good. Nor would βέβαι' ό be an improvement. A bare and tame simplicity is a favourite type of beauty with the Greeks. Fritsche first rejected δέ  $\tau$ ις.

 $(\sigma \tau \rho. \beta')$ 

μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω
ξυμφορᾶ τετυμμένος,
τοῦτ' ἔπος θροούμενος,
ὧ δίκα τ', ὧ θρόνοι τ' Ἐρινύων.
ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἄν πατήρ,
ἢ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθής,
οἶκτον οἰκτίσαιτ' ἐπειδὴ πίτνει δόμος δίκας.

480

 $(\vec{a}\nu\tau. \beta')$ 

ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὖ

τις φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον

αἰνέσει καθήμενον.

συμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.

τίς δὲ μηδέν' ἐμφανῆ

485

- 478. L ω δ-ί κα. L ωθρονοιτ' ἐρι..νύων. Pauw & δίκα, & θρόνοι. Heimsoeth inserted the τ' after δίκα. I conform; but iω is often one long, and there might be hiatus after iω δίκα!
- 480. At νεοπαθής one remembers Sept. 363, καινοπήμονες δμωίδες, Hom. Od. 11. 39, παρθενικαί τ' ἀταλαί, νεοπενθέα θυμάν ἔχουσαι, Hes. Th. 98, πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέϊ θυμφ, "recens dolore et ira" (Germanicus), Tac. Ann. 1. 41, in all of which the meaning is 'with the smart of the wound still fresh' and not 'with a new pain' nor 'with pain felt for the first time'.
- 482. ἔσθ' ὅπον τὸ δει νὸν ἐῦ καὶ φρ εν ῶν ἐπί σκοπον δει μάι νει καθημ'ενον. Incessant study had convinced me that καὶ ought to be τις, and Hermann (alone) gives τις from M and copies. The gravity of the gnome (διὰ δέος δὲ μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, Thuc. 2. 37) imparts an immense interest to the passage. The direct opposite is Horace's Platonic "oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore", 'those who are really good hate sin from a passionate love of goodness'. I read τις as the result of a long analysis: Herm. reads it, being under the delusion that it is in the MSS.

The next corruption is δειμαίνει for which δειμανεί and δεί μένειν have been

Nor let any one appeal,
smitten with calamity,
giving voice to words like these:
O for Right! O for the Erinnys' reign!
Perhaps some father, or a fond
mother when her grief is young,
thus will moan, and moan again,
for the house of justice falls.

There are times when every man
well will suffer fear to sit
as his soul's strict overseer.
It is good to be virtuous by restraint.
Who that kept no manifest

proposed as corrections, but neither satisfies the passage. I throw out  $\delta\epsilon_i\mu\alpha$ , i. e.  $\delta\epsilon\hat{i}\mu\alpha$ , as being an interpretation of  $\tau\delta$   $\delta\epsilon_i\nu\delta\nu$  v. 482, and I regard  $\alpha_i\nu\epsilon_i$ , which remains, as representing  $\alpha\hat{i}\nu\epsilon'\sigma\epsilon_i$ . It is much in favour of  $\alpha\hat{i}\nu\epsilon'\sigma\epsilon_i$  that  $\alpha\hat{i}\nu\epsilon'\sigma\gamma$ s should recur, v. 490. Poets often do this. In that which is one of the loveliest passages in Virgil (Geory. 2. 475-494) we observe obstet, obstiterit; in vallibus twice; and ingenti twice. Below there is  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\sigma\nu\mu\epsilon'\nu\eta$ , v. 518, and  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\sigma\nu\mu\epsilon'\nu\sigma\nu$ , v. 520. In Agam. 1068, 1079,  $\phi\alpha\imath\delta\rho\dot{\nu}\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha$  and  $\phi\alpha\imath\delta\rho\dot{\nu}\nu\epsilon_i$ , a verb which does not occur again in the seven plays; ibid. 1076, 1102  $\dot{\alpha}\kappa\delta\rho\epsilon\tau\sigma$ s twice, and only there: there also the present  $\mu\dot{\eta}\delta\sigma\mu\alpha$  is used twice by Aesch., and not elsewhere.

485, 6.  $\tau$ (σδὲ μηδὲν ἐν φάει καρ δ—ί αν ἀν ατρ έφ ω ν. καρδίας Canter, because of φρενῶν in a Scholium. μηδέν Weil, who reads φύλακα τρέμων after καρδίας. Neither word is right, but Weil did essential service by suggesting φύλακα. The lost syllable is κύν, and Weil was wonderfully near it, for Φύλαξ and Φρουρά, our 'Watch' and 'Guard', are given by Xenophon, with forty-five others, as suitable names for dogs, de Ven. c. 7. Then ἐν φάει must be changed to ἐμφανῆ. ἀνᾶτρέφων is sound. ἐμφανῆ is opposed to 'abstract'. The Furies are κύνες and eanes (Lucan, 6. 733) from first to last, when they were 'changed to devils', as Longfellow says. For the clision (κύν') see Appendix.

480

485

καρδίας κύν' ἀνατρέφων ἢ πόλις βροτός θ' ὁμοίως ἔτ' ἄν σέβοι δίκαν ;

 $(\sigma\tau\rho. \ \gamma')$ 

μήτ' ἀνάρχετον βίον μήτε δεσποτούμενον αἰνέσης:

490

παντὶ μέσφ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν· ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει.

σύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω·

δυσσεβίας μεν ὕβρις τέκος ως ἐτύμως.

έκ δ' ύγιεί-

ας φρενῶν ὁ πάμφιλος καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.

495

 $(\vec{a}\nu\tau.~\gamma')$ 

ές τὸ πᾶν δέ σοι λέγω,

βωμὸν αἴδεσαι δίκας,

μηδέ νιν

κέρδος ιδών αθέω ποδί λάξ ατίσης ποιν-

à γὰρ ἐπέσται.

κύριον μένει τέλος.

500

487. The form  $\eta \pi \delta \lambda \iota s \beta \rho \sigma \tau \delta s \tau \epsilon$  (of which the earliest example is Hom. II. 2. 289,  $\ddot{\omega} s \tau \epsilon \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\eta} \pi a \tilde{\iota} \delta \epsilon s \nu \epsilon a \rho o l \chi \eta \rho a \tilde{\iota} \tau \epsilon \gamma \nu \nu a \tilde{\iota} \kappa \epsilon s$ , as Dind. remarked) dropped out of use in proportion as  $\dot{\eta}$  became more and more estranged from its original  $\dot{\eta}$ . 'Be it' or 'give it be, a state and an individual that we speak of'.

488. ἄναρκτον Mss. ἀνάρχετον Wieseler, formed like ἀπεύχετον Choeph. 155,

625; πολυεύχετος Hom. Ceres, 165, by the side of πολύευκτος.

491. ἄπαντι μέσω. παντί μέσω Pauw. Then ἄλλα ἄλλα'δι' ἐφ ο ρέ<sup>ν</sup>ει ἄλλ' ἄλλα Wellauer, from the Scholium ἄλλα ἄλλως ἐφορᾶ ὁ θεός. Weil ealls attention to the Scholiast's confusion of ἐφορᾶν, respicere, and ἐφορεύειν, provinciam administrare, 'be and act as an ἔφορος'. See Aesch. Suppl. 673 foll.

watch-dog of the heart would still.
either state or mortal man,
equally observe the Right?

Praise thou not a life from rule free, nor over which a king

490 domineers.

495

500

God to each middle state gave the precedence; the rest he otherwise orders.

I pronounce well measured words.

Truly impiety's child is the insolent deed;

but from the heart's

soundness springs the all-beloved,

earnestly prayed-for welfare.

Once for all I bid thee, man.

venerate the shrine of Right:

spurn it not,

lifting an impious heel when thou spiest some gain: thy judgment will follow:

an appointed end abides.

492. σύμμετρον ἔπος is 'language exactly coinciding and commensurate with the truth'. The remark applies especially to the following verse.

493. δυσσεβέι ασμέν. δυσσεβίας μὲν Porson. The gnome in its definitive expression is 'insolent and violent behaviour, ὕβρις, is really the child of disrespect for the physical laws which govern human society and hygiene'. Aeschylus always means this by his  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ , and  $\theta\epsilon\varrho$ ί, who are no more personalities than the law of gravitation or the law of scalle garrulity.

494. ὁ πᾶσι φίλος Mss. ὁ πάμφιλος is Hermann's magnificent restoration.

1499. ἀτ ίσησ. This agrist occurs Ap. Rh. 1. 615 in the form άτισσαν.

πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων σέβας εὖ προτίων καὶ ξενοτίμ-

ους δόμων ἐπιστροφὰς αἰδόμενός τις ἔστω.

 $(\sigma\tau\rho. \delta')$ 

θεῶν δ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ δίκαιος ὧν οὐκ ἄνολβος ἔσται,

πανώλεθρος δ' οὖποτ' αν γένοιτο.
τὸν ἀντίτολμον δέ φαμι παρβάδαν
ἄγοντα πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας,
βιαίως σὺν χρόνω καθήσειν
λαῖφος, ὅταν λάβη πόνος

θραυομένας κεραίας.

(ἀντ. δ')

καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδέν, ἐν μέσᾳ δυσπαλεῖ τε δίνᾳ:

510

505

502. δωμάτων. δόμων Hartung. Observe that Aesch. instances extremes, and includes all intermediate relations and duties: there are the nearest, parents; and the most remote, unknown persons in need of shelter or help. So Virgil, Georg. 1. 336, wishing to make one think of all the planets, mentions Mercury and Saturn. επιστροφαί διατριβαί, δίαιται, Hesych.

504. ἐκτῶ νδ' ἀνάγκᾶς ἄτερ. Wieseler's ἐκὰν δ' (adopted without a thought by Hermann, his followers, and most Editors, until Weil commenced the fashion of pondering on the meaning of words) is the very contrary of that which Aeschylus has to say here. I read θεῶν δ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ ' and so abiding just, and not bringing on himself the resistless force of the θεοl to correct him'. For if any man thinks he can contravene and traverse these physical laws with impunity, he is very much mistaken. It is in this way that you will understand the often recurring τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας, θεῶν ἀναγκαῖον τόδε, ἀνάγκη δαιμόνων, and the like. Oppian. Hal. 2. 7 foll. furnishes a good paraphrase:

. . . ἀναγκαίη δ' ἀτίνακτος

Wherefore let each one to parents abundantly pay homage supreme;

welcome, too, the stranger-guest's visits with reverent honour.

So from the gods' wrath exempt, abiding just,
not unblest shall man be,
and he could ne'er come to full perdition.
But he who dares brave my laws, while recklessly
he bears rich freight unjustly massed from every source,
in time. I say, shall lower perforce his
sail, when the dire distress and wreck
seize on his crashing yardarms.

Then calls he on heedless gods, and hopelessly
wrestles in mid vortex:

άλλ΄ αἰεὶ μάκαρες πανυπέρτατοι ἡνία πάντη κλίνουσ' ἦ κ' ἐθέλωσιν, δ δ' ἕσπεται ὅςτε σαόφρων, πρὶν χαλεπῆ μάστιγι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐλάηται.

Weil goes back to the old  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \tilde{\omega}\nu\delta$ ' in despair; seeing that  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa \tilde{\omega}\nu \delta$ ' was just as sure to be wrong in sense, though better metre, which is its sole recommendation. M's  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega$  probably arose from the  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega$  immediately preceding.

505. Pauw and Heath inserted  $\delta$ '.

505

506. δὲ φᾶμὶ περαι βάδαν.  $\pi \epsilon \rho \beta άδαν$  Ven. Farn.  $\pi \alpha \rho \beta άδαν$  Fl. (for  $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \delta \delta \eta \nu$  'transgressingly', and going with  $\delta \gamma \rho \nu \tau \alpha$ ). Herm. read, first  $\pi \alpha \rho \beta \delta \tau \alpha \nu$ , and then  $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \delta \tau \alpha \nu$ , neither of which is as Aeschylean as  $\pi \alpha \rho \beta \delta \delta \alpha \nu$ .

507. τὰ πολλὰ etc. Mss. Pauw (1733) proposed παντόφυρτ' ἄγοντ'; and Weil (1858) read the line as now presented. C. O. Müller gave the line in this form, ed. 1833. τὰ is a relic of ἄγοντα. Weil and Müller simply put in the right place Pauw's imperfect discovery. παντόφυρτα means 'amassed from any and every source', Horace's "congesti undique sacci", and "quocunque modo rem".

510. δ — υσπαλείται δίναι. δυσπαλεί τε δίνα Turnebus.

γελά δε δαίμων επ' ανδρὶ θερμώ,
τον οὔποτ' αὐχοῦντ' ἰδων αμηχάνοις
δύαις λαπαδνόν, οὐδ' ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν'
δι' αἰωνος δε τον πρὶν ὅλβον
ἔρματι προςβαλων δίκας
ἄλετ' ἄκλαυστος αἶστος.

515

#### Aθάνα

Athana appears, attended by the twelve judges. Apollo comes with Athana, according to his promise, v. 84.

520

511. θερ μοεργώι. θερμώ Pauw.

512. οὅποτ', and not μήποτ', because the person is quite definite, and μήποτ' would make him one of a class. αὐχοῦντ', and not αὐχήσαντα, because the word of time οὅποτ' gives to the present (not imperfect) tense the force of the present perfect: 'him, who has flattered himself that such a thing would never befall him'. Compare Eur. Heracl. 971, οὐ γάρ ποτ' ηὕχει χεῖρας Γξεσθα: σέθεν. ηὕχει ήλπιζεν Hesych.

513. λέπαδ— ν ο ν. λαπαδνόν Musgrave, Fritsche, Herm. Cp. Anth. 7. 560,

δυστλήτω πένθεϊ δαπτόμενον.

ύπερθεῖν ἄκραν, i.e. 'he, in the foundering ship, is unable to keep above water'. See the passages cited by Herm., Eur. Archel. Fr. 4.; Theognis, 619; also Lucian, Τοχανίς, 19 εὐθὺς οὖν βοῶν πνιγόμενον, καὶ μόγις ἐαυτὸν ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ κλυδῶνος.

515. ἄι στοσ. αιστος Porson, so Herm. also writes it. Dind., Weil, ἄστος. Horace's "illachrimabiles ignotique" Od. 4. 9. 26, and Homer's ἄχετ' ἄιστος, ἄπυστος, Odyss. 1. 242. "His honour he doth wholly wracke upon discredit's shelfe", Pastoralls of Julietta III. 98, where 'shelfe' means the same as ἔρμα, and Latin taenia. The Sch. has τῷ βράχει, Weil's correction. Solon prays, μηδ' ἐμοὶ ἄκλαυστος θάνατος πέλοι, Fr. 2.

a daemon smiles, scornful, on the dreadnought:
views him who ne'er recked of this devoured by woes
past help, and scudding o'er the billow's crest no more.
For all time, on the reef of justice
dashing his erst-won wealth, he's lost,
wept for by none, unheard of.

515

520

### ATHANA

516. κατερ γάθου. Editors have acquiesced in Elmsley's κατειργαθοῦ, after Porson's κατειργάθου, poet. 2 aor. Μ.

517. Let  $\tau'$  δûν, with "H. written over  $\epsilon\iota$ . Then διάτο ροσ τυρ...σηνική. I think the superscribed  $\eta$  must be right, rather than  $\epsilon \tilde{\iota}\tau'$ , or Weil's  $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau'$ . Then δûν represents a much longer word, which the "Gotha Editor", whom Weil follows, supposed to be οὐρανίζον, "which, taken with φαινέτω, ν. 519, will be equivalent to οὐρανίζέτω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν διικνείσθω, Photius, Lex. 361. 11". Much the same is found in Hesychius. Whatever the word was, it was surely one that could come after  $\eta$   $\tau'$ , and qualify διάτορος, and not φαινέτω. This would be οὐρανονδε or οὐρανοῦ πρὸ. The accent on M's δûν is startling, the circ. being always elsewhere over the  $\sigma$ .

522. The evident lacuna after this verse may have had something like:

γνώναι δίκας τοιάςδε πώς κρίνειν θέμις.

523. κὰι τὸ νδ' ὅπως ἃν ἐῦ καταγνωσθῆ δί κηι· Corrected in Fl. Ven. The Schol. on  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta$ ' is  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$  'Αρειοπαγιτ $\hat{\omega} \nu$ , which is incorrect, but confirms  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta$ '.

## Χορός

ἄναξ ᾿Απολλον, ὧν ἔχεις αὐτὸς κράτει τί τοῦδέ σοι μέτεστι πράγματος λέγε.

525

## 'Απόλλων

καὶ μαρτυρήσων ἦλθον, ἔστι γὰρ νόμω ἱκέτης ὅδ᾽ ἀνὴρ καὶ δόμων ἐφέστιος ἐμῶν, φόνου δὲ τοῦδ᾽ ἐγὼ καθάρσιος, καὶ ξυνδικήσων αὐτός αἰτίαν δ᾽ ἔχω τῆς τοῦδε μητρὸς τοῦ φόνου. σὰ δ᾽ εἴςαγε, ὅπως τ᾽ ἐπίστα τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην.

530

## ' Αθάνα

ύμῶν ὁ μῦθος, εἰςάγω δὲ τὴν δίκην<sup>.</sup> ὁ γὰρ διώκων πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων γένοιτ' ἄν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος.

# Χορός

πολλαὶ μέν ἐσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως. ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθείς. τὴν μητέρ' εἰπὲ πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας.

535

- 524. ὧν ἔχεις αὐτὸς κράτει looks like a proverb. Compare Theocr. 15. 90, πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε 'give your orders when you are master', and Soph. O. C. 839, μὴ ἀπίτασσ' & μὴ κρατεῖς.
  - 526. ἐστὶ γὰρ δημω ν. The rest, δόμων. Burges and Erfurdt, νόμφ.
  - 527. ἀνὴρ. ἀνὴρ Porson. ἐφ έστιωσ.
- 529. Drake proposed  $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \dot{\sigma} s$ . But the meaning is 'to plead on my own account, as prime mover and abetter'.
  - 530. τουδε φόνου. τοῦ Turnebus.
  - 531. δ πωσ επί στα.ι. ὅπως τ' Herm.
  - 537. Weil thinks this verse was spoken by a 2nd Erinnys, 539 by a 3rd, and

#### Chorus

Rule, king Apollo, there where thou art lord: tell us, what business hast thou in this suit?

525

530

535

#### Apollo

I come both as a witness (for by law this man is suppliant at my home and hearth, and I'm his cleanser from the stain of blood) and also as impleaded; for I bear his mother's murder's guilt. Call on the case, and find the verdict as thou can'st it best.

#### ATHANA

The word is yours. I do call on the suit. First of the two the plaintiff, leading off, will rightly be the stater of the case.

## CHORUS

Many are we, but will concisely speak.

Answer, and set in turn thy word by ours.

First, did'st thou slay thy mother? yes or no?

so on to a 12th and last at v. 557; and he thus explains in part συντόμωs, 12 once each, not 12 times each. Only 11 (evil hags who had been famous for beauty and sin) are mentioned as forming the chorus in the parody of the Eumenides by Timocles, entitled 'Ορεσταυτοκλείδηs'

περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον εὕδουσι γρᾶες, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα, Γνάθαινα, Φρύνη, Πυθιονίκη, Μυρρίνη, Χρυσίς, Κοναλλίς, Ἱερόκλεια, Λοπάδιον,

in Athen. Deipn. 13. 22. Σινώπη, mentioned with Νάννιον and Λύκα in the next sentence, was probably the 12th.

# 'Ορέστης

έκτεινα τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει.

Χορός

ξυ μεν τόδ' ήδη των τριών παλαισμάτων.

'Ορέστης

οὐ κειμένω πω τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον.

540

Χορός

εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες.

'Ορέστης

λέγω. ξιφουλκῷ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρην τεμών.

Χορός

πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπείσθης, καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν ;

'Ορέστης

τοῖς τοῦδε θεσφάτοισι μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι.

Χορός

ὁ μάντις ἐξηγεῖτό σοι μητροκτονεῖν ;

545

'Ορέστης

καὶ δεῦρό γ' ἀεὶ τὴν τύχην οὐ μέμφομαι.

Χορός

άλλ' εἴ σε μάρψει ψῆφος ἄλλ' ἐρεῖς τάχα.

539. With us, a wrestler wins who throws his man twice out of three bouts: with the Greeks, he who first won three falls.

### ORESTES

I did: there's no denial of this deed.

540

545

## CHORUS

That is one gained at once of our three bouts.

### ORESTES

That word thou vauntest o'er one not yet thrown.

#### CHORUS

Yet must thou tell us how thou killed'st her.

## ORESTES

Thus: with sword-drawing hand I gashed her neck.

## CHORUS

By whom were you induced? by whose advice?

## ORESTES

His oracles. He witnesses for me.

### CHORUS

The seer instructed you to kill your mother?

## Orestes

And hitherto I chafe not at my lot.

#### CHORUS

If the vote grips thee soon thou'lt change thy note.

547. ψῆφ ο σ. ἀλλ' ἐρ ἔι στάχα. ἄλλ' Turnebus. The Schol. on  $\tau \acute{a} \chi \alpha$  is ἀντὶ  $\tau ο \~ν$  τσως, which would require  $\tau \acute{a} \chi$ ' ἄν with opt.

# 'Ορέστης

πέποιθ' άρωγὰς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμπει πατήρ.

## Χορός

νεκροίσι νῦν πέπεισθι μητέρα κτανών.

# 'Ορέστης

δυοίν γὰρ εἶχε προςβολὰς μιασμάτων.

# Χορός

πῶς δή; δίδαξον τοὺς δικάζοντας τάδε.

# 'Ορέστης

ἀνδροκτονοῦσα πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανεν.

# Χορός

τί γάρ ; σὺ μὲν ζῆς, ἡ δ' ἐλευθέρα φόνω.

# 'Ορέστης

τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἤλαυνες φυγ $\hat{\eta}$ ;

# Χορός

οὐκ ἦν ὄμαιμος φωτὸς ὃν κατέκτανεν.

555

550

550. So M. Elmsley wrongly started μιασμάτοιν, 'a brace, pair, couple of stains', and 'a brace of groans' Agam. 1384. προςβολή and πρόςτριμμα mean 'a soil got by touching or rubbing against something foul', Agam. 391, 372.

553. τοι γὰρ σὺ. τί γάρ; σὰ Herm. Then, φόνου. φόνφ Schütz. These corrections are confirmed by the Scholia: πῶς οὖν λέγεις ὅτι ''ἢδίκησέ με'', ὅπου ζῷς (Weil inserts ὅπου ζῷς); πῶς δὲ (ἢδίκησεν) 'Αγαμέμνονα ὅπου (αὐτὴ) ἀπέθανε

#### ORESTES

I've faith; for from the tomb my sire sends help.

#### CHORUS

Put faith in dead men, thou who killed'st thy mother.

## ORESTES

She bore the stains of two polluting deeds.

## CHORUS

How so? inform the jurymen of this.

#### ORESTES

She killed her husband, and she killed my father.

## CHORUS

But then you live: she's free because you killed her.

#### ORESTES

Why did you not pursue her while she lived?

## CHORUS

She was not one by blood with him she slew.

555

διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν; The insertions ἡδίκησεν, and αὐτὴ, and διὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν for δι' αὐτήν, are my own. "She who dies pays all debts"; but Orestes is still alive.

554. The Scholiast goes on: οὐκ εἰ τέθνηκε (so Weil, after Stephanus, for τέθνηκαs) τούτου αἰτία εἶ σύ. πῶς οὐκ αὐτὴν ζῶσαν ἐδίωκες; (I read οὐκ αὐτὴν ζῶσαν for οὐκ ἀν) ὥςτε οὐδὲ ἀποθανοῦσα διὰ τὴν σὴν αἰτίαν ἀπέθανεν. The thing is well argued on both sides.

131

# 'Ορέστης

έγω δε μητρός της έμης έν αἵματι;

## Χορός

πῶς γάρ σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὧ μιαίφονε, ζώνης ; ἀπεύχει μητρὸς αῗμα φίλτατον ;

# 'Ορέστης

ήδη σὺ μαρτύρησον, ἐξηγοῦ δέ μοι,

\*Απολλον, εἴ σφε σὺν δίκη κατέκτανον'
δρᾶσαι γὰρ, ὥςπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα'
ἀλλ' εἰ δικαίως, εἴτε μή, τῆ σῆ φρενὶ
δοκεῖ, τὸ δή μοι κρῖνον, ὡς τούτοις φράσω.

## 'Απόλλων

λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τόνδ' ᾿Αθηναίας μέγαν θεσμόν, δικαίως · μάντις ὧν δ' οὐ ψεύδομαι. οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις οὐκ ἀνδρός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι, ὁ μὴ κελεύσαι Ζεὺς ᾿Ολυμπίων πατήρ. τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦθ' ὅσον σθένει μαθεῖν,

565

560

- 559. The Scholium says that this appeal to Apollo is τραγικόν καὶ πρέπον· δμοειδές δὲ τὸ πάντα λέγειν αὐτόν, 'but the regular and symmetrical way would be for him to argue the ease out himself'. I add the αὐτόν.
  - 561. ω σπέρ ἐστιν. My correction είπον seems to be quite necessary.
  - 563. δοκεί . . . τὸ δ' ἀῖ μα. τὸ δή μοι Weil: αίμα was intolerable.
  - 565. Apollo says 'δικαίως!' both as καθάρσιος and έξηγητής. He adds that he

#### ORESTES

Am I by blood related to my mother?

## CHORUS

How did she nurse thee, wretch, within her girdle? What! dost abjure a mother's blood most dear?

## ORESTES

Now do thou witness and expound for me.

Apollo, if I slew her backed by right;

for, as I said, I don't deny the deed.

Yea, 'rightly' or 'not', as to thy mind it seems.

so I may tell them, that decide for me.

## Apollo

To you, Athana's court august, I'll say,
'rightly'; and, being a seer, I speak not false.

Never did I on my prophetic throne
respecting man, woman, or state, say aught
that Zeus the Olympians' sire did not command.
I charge you learn how much this plea of right

is also Διὸς προφήτης. Next, μάντις δ' ῶν οὐ ψεύσομαι Mss. μάντις ᾶν δ' Canter. ψεύδομαι, Weil, who observes that ψεύσομαι arose out of λέξω, that δικαίως has been already said, and is no longer future; that the wrong notion about the future appears again in the κελεύσει of v. 568, and that Apollo cannot with any dignity say 'I shall prove to be right'.

568. **κελέυσει.** κελεύσαι Hermann.

560

565

569. Weil would like το μέν δικαίως τοῦθ'.

βουλη πιφαύσκω δ' ὔμμ' ἐπισπέσθαι πατρός, ὅρκος γὰρ οὖτι Ζηνὸς ἰσχύει πλέον.

570

## Χορός

ύμᾶς δ' ἀκούειν ταῦτ' ἐγὰ μαρτύρομαι'
Ζεύς, ὡς λέγεις σύ, τόνδε χρησμὸν ἄπασεν φράζειν 'Ορέστη τῷδε τὸν πατρὸς φόνον πράσσοντα μητρὸς μηδαμοῦ τιμὰς νέμειν.

575

## 'Απόλλων

οὐ γάρ τι ταὐτὸν ἄνδρα γενναῖον θανεῖν διοςδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γυναικός, οὔ τι θουρίοις τόξοις έκηβόλοισιν, ὥςτ' 'Αμάζονος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκούσει, Παλλάς, οἵ τ' ἐφήμενοι ψήφῳ διαιρεῖν τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι. ἀπὸ στρατείας γάρ νιν ἠμποληκότα

580

570. βο υλή. πι φάυσκω δ' ὕμμ' ἐπι σπέσθαι πρ-σ (a flourish over ρ). Paley very opportunely quotes Hom. Il. 11. 781, κελεύων ὅμμ' ἄμ' ἔπεσθαι.

571. The ὅρκος is that one which Orestes refused to take.

572. This verse comes after v. 595 in the MSS and Edd. Weil placed it here. Observe the retort,  $\delta\mu\hat{a}s$   $\hat{\epsilon}\gamma\hat{\omega}$   $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\hat{\nu}\rho\rho\mu\alpha\iota$ , to  $\pi\iota\rho\alpha\hat{\nu}\sigma\kappa\omega$   $\delta$ '  $\check{\nu}\mu\mu\epsilon$ , whereas after v. 595 the meaning was only 'I beg you to mark that point'.

575. πράξαντα μρσ (a flourish over  $\rho$  in μρσ). The Scholium is ἐκδικήσαντα. Suppose this to represent ἐκδικήσοντα, then we might read something more intelligible, πράξοντα. I suppose Aesch. to use the exactly right word, πράσσοντα.

has force, and follow out our Father's will.

Surely an oath hath not more power than Zeus.

570

575

580

### Chorus

And I adjure you listen well to this:

Zeus, as thou sayest, gave this response, to bid

Orestes pay his mother no due respect

when he took payment for his father's death.

## Apollo

'Tis not all one that she and a brave man, honoured with sceptre Zeus-conferred, should die; by a woman, too, and with no martial shaft that hits from far, shot by some Amazon, but as thou, Pallas, now shalt hear, and ye throned to decide upon this case by vote.

When for the most part he had earned by war

Weil correctly gathers that a lacuna of one line occurs here; which line summed up the argument, as does v. 615 in that context. It would be to this effect:

πως οὐκ ἐκείνη δυσσεβη τιμά χάριν;

which I adapt from Soph. Ant. 514.

577. The Scholium remarks the poet's partiality for the word  $\tau \iota \mu \alpha \lambda \phi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ , which he uses only here, vv. 15, 758, and Agam. 889. The Schol., therefore, records a long tradition.

582. στρ ατέί ασγαρ μι ν. νιν Porson.

τὰ πλεῖστ' ἄμεινον, εὖφροσιν δεδεγμένη	
$\pi\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}\nu\tau$ α	
κἀπὶ τέρματι	585
δροίτης	
φᾶρος περεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ' ἀτέρμονι	
κόπτει πεδήσας ἄνδρα δαιδάλφ πέπλφ.	
ἀνδρὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὖτος εἴρηται μόρος	
τοῦ παντοσέμνου, τοῦ στρατηλάτου νεῶν	590
τὴν δ' αὖ τοιαύτην εἶπον ὡς δηχθῆ λεὼς	
ὄςπερ τέτακται τήνδε κυρῶσαι δίκην.	

## Χορός

πατρὸς προτιμᾶ Ζεὺς μόρον τῷ σῷ λόγῳ· αὐτὸς δ' ἔδησε πατέρα πρεσβύτην Κρόνον. πῶς ταῦτα τούτοις οὐκ ἐναντίως λέγεις:

595

583. ἄμείνον. ἄμείνον Hermann, i.e. βέλτιον μᾶλλον ἡ κάκιον, 'had fared in the business rather well than ill'. Dindorf first detected the lacuna which ensues. 584-586. δρόι τηπερῶντιλοντ ρὰκἀπιτέρ ματι, i.e. 'in the bath, as he was passing through the bathing-water, even at the extremity of it'. That is not

the way in which Aesehylus made Apollo express himself on this occasion. I seem to observe the remains of three verses thus:

εύφροσιν δεδεγμένη φήμαις, περώντα πορφυρόστρωτον πόρον παρήγαγ' εs μέλαθρα, κάπὶ τέρματι, δροίτης ετοιμα λούτρ' επ' άσκεύω δ' δπλων φάρος περεσκήνωσεν, etc.

 $\epsilon\pi i \; \tau \epsilon \rho u \alpha \tau \iota$  is 'at the end of the crimson-carpeted path'.

587. φ αροσ περ έσκην ω σεν. Dind.'s παρεσκήνωσεν would mean 'made a tent, or camp, beside'. The Scholium has προς την συναλιφην της περί, και την

some gains, she, greeting him with cheerful words, into the palace brought him treading a path with crimson carpeted, and, at its end, on to the bath made ready. Him, disarmed, she curtained with a shawl, and stabbed her lord, trapping him in that scrolled impervious web. Thus has the fate been told you of a man honoured by all, the warships' admiral: her too I've thus described that stung may be the men appointed to adjudge this suit.

585

590

595

#### CHORUS

Zeus honours most the father's death, thou sayest, himself who prisoned his old father Kronos: how does thy plea not contradict this fact?

συζυγίαν τοῦ βήματος, which means: "The Nota-Bene, σημείωσαι, in the margin, relates to the elision of l in περl and to the syntax of the verb". There is nothing remarkable in the συζυγία, 'conjugation', of περεσκήνωσεν, so that this very old Scholium must have meant 'syntax'. Nor is there anything peculiar in the 'syntax' φᾶρος περεσκήνωσεν, if you compare Agam. 1106:

## περέβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας,

<sup>&#</sup>x27; for the gods put on her a wing-bearing form', unless it occurred in v. 586, where I have introduced  $\epsilon \pi$ ' ἀσκεύφ δ' ὅπλων. This Acolicism περεσκήνωσεν seems to keep in countenance that other at v. 570. The Scholium ἀτραχήλφ, on ἀτέρμονι, is good, ' with no place for the head and neck to come through'.

<sup>591.</sup> τάυτηντο ι άυτην. την δ' αδ τοιαύτην Weil. Then, δ-η χθή.

<sup>595.</sup> After this line the Mss give that which Weil has shown to come after v. 571.

## 'Απόλλων

ῶ παντομισῆ κνώδαλα, στύγη θεῶν, πέδας μὲν ἄν λύσειεν· ἔστι τῶνδ' ἄκος, καὶ κάρτα πολλὴ μηχανὴ λυτήριος· ἀνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὰν αἷμ' ἀνασπάση κόνις ἄπαξ θανόντος, οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις· τούτων ἐπῳδὰς οὖκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ οὑμός, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω στρέφων τίθησιν, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

600

# Χορός

πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τόνδ' ὑπερδικεῖς ὅρα·
τὸ μητρὸς αἷμ' ὅμαιμον ἐκχέας πέδοι
ἔπειτ' ἐν "Αργει δώματ' οἰκήσει πατρός;
ποίοισι βωμοῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δημίοις;
ποία δὲ χέρνιψ φρατέρων προςδέξεται;

605

#### 'Απόλλων

καὶ τοῦτο λέξω, καὶ μάθ' ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐρῶ, οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἡ κεκλημένου τέκνου

610

<sup>597.</sup> Ausse ev. The antecedent clause, understood, is el βουληθείη, or the like.

<sup>601.</sup> ὀυ κεπόιησεπηρ (with a flourish over  $\eta$  in  $\pi \eta \rho$ ). Correctly in Ven. Fl.

<sup>602.</sup> ἄνω καὶ κάτω. Corrected in copies.

<sup>603.</sup> ο υ δ' εν ασθμάι νω μένει. Corrected in Ven. Fl.

<sup>604.</sup> The Scholium is good: "Well, that is precisely what Orestes did to his mother".

## APOLLO

O brutes abhorred by all, the gods' disgust.

he might unloose the bands: there's cure for this.

and very many a means to make atonement:

but when the dust has swallowed up the blood

of any man once dead, there's no return:

for this my father made no spells; but all

things else he turns about, and sets them up;

and sets them down, not panting in the feat.

## CHORUS

Beware then how you plead for his acquittal: who shed his mother's consanguineous blood, shall he dwell in his father's house at Argos?

What public altars shall he use? what stream that cleans his kinsmen's hands shall welcome him?

#### Apollo

That too I'll state, and mark how rightly tell: the mother is not the so-called child's begetter:

600

605

610

<sup>605.</sup> πέδωι πέδοι Dind.

<sup>608.</sup> προσδέξαιτε. Corrected in copies. The letters are written in a wrong order.

<sup>610.</sup> Ven. Fl. Farn. have  $\kappa \epsilon \kappa \lambda \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \eta$ . So Herm., Schütz, &c.; but Dind., Weil, and others keep the reading  $\kappa \epsilon \kappa \lambda \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \nu$ . This does not touch the argument, which is: 'that a  $\mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta \rho$ , as she is called. of a  $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \nu \nu \nu$ , as it is called, is not a  $\tau \rho \kappa \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu} s$ . as the father is, but a  $\tau \rho \rho \phi \dot{\delta} s$ '.

615

620

625

## 'Αθάνα

ήδη κελεύσω τούςδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν ψῆφον δικαίαν, ὡς ἄλις λελεγμένων.

- 612. Thus: the 'parents' may be styled πατέρες by courtesy, Eur. Hec. 476, etc., or patres, Ov. Met. 4. 61, but you would never style them μητέρες or matres. This seems to concede much of what Apollo alleges. Valerius Soranus calls Jupiter "progenitor genitrixque deum"; which agrees, in a way, with Moses and modern science.
  - 613. That is: ἔσωσε τούτοις ὅσων τὸ ἔρνος, etc.
- 616. Butler, Hermann, Dind., Weil and others acknowledge a lacuna after this line to justify the οὐδ' in v. 617 (which Schütz would change to οὖκ). The lost line would mean:

οὐ Κύπριδος ἐν κήποισιν ἡ γ' ἐσπαρμένη.

615

620

625

#### ATHANA

Now will I bid them from conviction give a righteous verdict, since enough is pleaded.

That lost after 618 would be one to make transition from a subject now adequately discussed:

ἀρκεῖ μέν, οἶμαι, ταῖςδε ταῦτα τῶνδ' ὅπερ.

618. Theoer. 7. 44,  $\pi \hat{\alpha} \nu \ \hat{\epsilon} \pi'$  à  $\lambda \alpha \theta \epsilon \ell \hat{\gamma} \ \pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \alpha \sigma \mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \nu \nu \hat{\epsilon} \kappa \ \Delta \iota \delta s \ \hat{\epsilon} \rho \nu \sigma s$ . Then  $\theta \epsilon \delta s \ MSS$ , i. e. 'divine person', for it could not mean 'goddess' without  $\hat{\eta}$ , or other sign of gender. Therefore I have written  $\theta \epsilon \hat{\alpha}$ . The argument here is that Athana, born without a mother, is a much superior person to all born in the usual way.

625. στέρ γειντ' ἄπι στα. Correctly in Ven. Fl. Join και (ὅπως) τάδε τὰ πιστὰ αἰανῶς μένοι (ὅςτε) τοὺς ἐπισπόρους τῶνδε (τῶν 'Αθηναίων) στέργειν.

626. κελένω Mss. κελεύσω Robortello and Weil, because κελεύω, 'I proceed to bid', is too abrupt: 'I will proceed to bid' is wanted.

### 'Απόλλων

- (4.) ἠκούσαθ' ὡς ἠκούσατ', ἐν δὲ καρδίᾳ
- (5.) ψηφον φέροντες ὅρκον αἰδεῖσθε, ξένοι.

## 'Αθάια

(3.) τί γάρ ; πρὸς ὑμῶν πῶς τιθεὶς ἄμομφος ὧ;

630

## Χορός

- (1.) ἡμῖν μὲν ἤδη πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος:
- (2.) μένω δ' ἀκοῦσαι πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται.

## 'Αθάνα

κλύοιτ' ἃν ἦδη θεσμόν, 'Αττικὸς λεώς, πρώτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἴματος χυτοῦ' ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῷ ἀεὶ δικαστῶν τοῦτο βουλευτήριον.

635

628, 9. Ven. Fl. Farn. have  $\mathring{\eta}\kappa o \acute{\upsilon} \sigma a \theta$  ás. M'âv. G âv.  $\mathring{a}v$ , 'the persons whom', is a clear request to vote out of favour. ás is better. Best of all would be of'. In v. 629 didet  $\sigma \theta a \iota$ , with  $\epsilon$  over  $a \iota$ .

These two lines come after v. 630 in the Mss, and are assigned to the Chorus by M. Weil transposed and gave them to Apollo; for Athana could not ask the question in v. 630 after the Furies had made the declaration in vv. 631, 2.

630. τίγὰρπρὸσύμῶν.

The number of judges in this court being originally 12 and a President (Ἡγεμών, Εἰςαγωγεύς), Aesch. makes Athana assume, as a thing beyond dispute, that which was doubtless inveterate custom up to the time when a democratic change made the number much larger, 51, and one yielding an absolute majority. The inveterate custom was that the President should take a ψῆφος in the same way as each of the 12, but give it as a vote only when there were 6 votes on each side: then he was

#### Apollo

Ye heard what ye did hear; and in your heart revere the oath when ye do vote, my friends.

#### ATHANA

And you? how vote for you and blameless be?

### CHORUS

Our every bolt hath now been shot. I wait to hear which way the trial will be judged.

#### ATHANA

Hear now my statute, men of Athens, ye who try this case the first of homicide: and ever henceforth for the host of Aegeus this parliament of judges shall abide.

635

always to give it in favour of the accused and on the side of mercy. Athana here prepares the Erinnyes for that contingency: they cannot object, nor do they.

One does not see, however, any very clear reason why an accused person should be acquitted when the judges' votes are equal. One would say it is absolutely as likely that he is a horrid malefactor as an innocent person. Therefore the 'inveterate custom' is made to be established by the imperious sanction of Athana, for a reason of her own in this particular case, v. 703.

633. Herm. edits his conjecture ἀστικὸs, thinking ᾿Αττικὸs too modern a word for this passage; and Acseh. uses it only here. He does not use ᾿Ακταῖοs, and the form ᾿Ακτικὸs never occurred to a Greek.

635. ἀι γεώιστρ ατῶ· αἰγέως Fl. Αἰγέως Scaliger. Αἰγεί $\varphi$  Turnebus, like Αχίλλειος.

636. ἀι εὶ δ' ἐκάστων MSS. δικαστῶν Canter. 'Parliament' by antiphrasis.

πάγον δ' άνιερῶ τόνδ', 'Αμαζόνων έδραν σκηνάς θ' ὅτ' ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ Φθόνον στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλιν νεόπτολιν τήνδ' ύψίπυργον άντεπύργωσαν πόλει, Αρει τ' ἔθυον, ἔνθεν ἐστ' ἐπώνυμος πέτρα πάγος τ' \*Αρειος: ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας άστων φόβος τε συγγενής τὸ μη άδικείν σχήσει κατ' ήμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην ὅμως, αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ ἐπικαινούντων νόμους. κακαις έπιρροαισι βορβόρω θ' ύδωρ λαμπρον μιαίνων οὖποθ' εὑρήσεις ποτόν. τὸ μήτ' ἄναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον άστοις περιστέλλουσι βουλεύω σέβειν: καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν. τίς γαρ δεδοικώς μηδέν ἔνδικος βροτών; τοιόνδε τοι ταρβοῦντες ἐνδίκως σέβας ἔρυμά τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον έχοιτ' αν οίον ούτις ανθρώπων έχει

640

645

650

637. πάγο νδ' ἄρ ει ον MSS. I conjecture ἀνιερῶ, the same letters in a slightly different order. Suidas and Hesychius both have: ἀνιερῶσαντες· ἀναθέντες. The latter also gives the passive ἀνιεροῦσθαι, of a victim consecrated for sacrifice. Dind. always writes iρός for ίερός. The word occurs, an apparent tribrach in the second place, Suppl. 248; Sept. 268; Pers. 36, 49; Agam. 70. ἀριερῶ (ἀφιερῶμεθα ν. 422) would suit in meaning, though not so well: it is used by Aesch. only there. ἄπαντα ἔχειν ἄπερ ἀνιέρωσεν Arist. Θεc. 2. 2, 'to obtain the whole of what he had dedicated'. Herm. first exposed and rejected "Αρειον. It could not come before ν. 642. Then τόνδ' (τήνδ' ν. 640) means 'yonder'. Orestes and the Furies have not stirred; and, without enchantment, the scene must still be in the temple of Athana on the Acropolis. We may well imagine that the hill of Ares was regarded as profane and hostile, as compared with Athana's πόλις, until she consecrated it.

640. πόλει is Weil's correction of τότε which has no force. πόλιν νεόπτολιν

I dedicate you hill (the seat and camp of Amazons, when with ill will to Theseus they came in war, and fenced that high-fenced town. a new town 'gainst the old, and sacrificed to Arès, whence the rock and hill are named the Areopagus) on which the people's Awe and his brother Fear shall check, alike by day and night, wrong-doing, if the people themselves admit no changes in my laws. No beverage shalt thou find if with foul sewers and mire thou stainest the pellucid stream. I charge the people cherish and revere neither a lawless nor despotic form, and not to cast all fear outside the state. for who of mortals fearing naught is just? If you do duly dread this awful court, then shall you have a bulwark of the land and city-safeguard, such as no man hath

will be the New Town fortified with a wall, πύργος (not 'tower'), over against the Old Town, the Πόλις. The western part of the northern wall of the Acropolis, called τὸ Πελασγικόν, was opposite that 'wide long chasm' in the rock, τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Σεμνῶν, at the base of the Areopagus, into which Athana conducts the Eumenides, vr. 961 foll. The valley between the two hills is narrow.

- 644. τό δ' 'ῆμαρ. τό τ' Grotius. Weil prefers κατ', as at Soph. Ελ. 259, κατ' ῆμαρ καl κατ' εὐφρόνην.
- 645. μηπικαινόντων όμουσ (with a small  $\nu$  written above before  $\delta\mu$ ). μη 'πικαινούντων Stephanus.
  - 646. So M, except βορβόρω.

640

645

- 648. μήδε for the second μήτε, which is given by G. Ven. Fl.
- 649. βουλέυω σεθεν, with σέβειν in the margin.

οὔτ' ἐν Σκύθαισιν οὖτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποις. κερδῶν ἄθικτον τοῦτο βουλευτήριον, αἰδοῖον, ὀξύθυμον, εὑδόντων ὅπερ ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα γῆς καθίσταμαι. ταύτην μὲν ἐξέτειν' ἐμοῖς παραίνεσιν ἀστοῖσιν ἐς τὸ λοιπόν. ὀρθοῦσθαι δὲ χρή, καὶ ψῆφον αἴρειν καὶ διαγνῶναι δίκην αἰδουμένους τὸν ὅρκον. εἴρηται λόγος.

660

655

## Χορός

καὶ μὴν βαρεῖαν τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονὸς ξύμβουλός εἰμι μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσαι.

655. σκύθηισιν. σκύθαισιν Farn.

656. The asyndeton seems to accord with the simple dignity of the style, and the solemnity of Athana's peroration. This κερδῶν ἄθικτον βουλευτήριον is also the grand condition of deliverance from the Erinnyes. It supplies the major of the poet's syllogism: 'Those who can procure an incorruptible court of justice, can do without Furies'. Aeschylus assumes that you can procure that court, and proceeds to rid you of the Furies. Plutarch has well remarked, Reip. Ger. 29, 'that any constitution is virtually destroyed by that citizen who first takes a bribe, or gives a vote out of favour'. That man is 'bribed' who does anything in a public capacity, or that is of a public nature, out of favour, when, without the favour, he would act differently from a sense of right.

659. έξ έστει ν'. έξέτειν' Ven.

662. αίδουμένοισ. Canter corrected it. εἴρηται λόγος probably represents εἴρηκα, like Latin 'Dixi', and 'J'ay dit'.

In the ensuing altereation, so irregular in itself and yet so regularly conducted, as the Erinnyes have the first word, v. 663, so Apollo must have the last, and say three verses corresponding to theirs, 683-685.

It is clear from v. 694,  $\tau \epsilon \nu \chi \dot{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ , that there are *two* balloting-urns. I suppose that one was placed conveniently for one half of the judges, and one for the other: they do not sit with their backs to the house. Each judge is provided with a black ball for condemnation and a white one for acquittal. He drops one of these in the urn nearest to him, when his turn comes to vote. No one knows how he votes. The place of the urn significs nothing.

The mode adopted (whatever it was) for grouping the persons on the stage, of

cither on Scythia's steppes or Pelops' soil.

This senate, out of reach of gain, revered.

and fierce in anger, I do constitute

the land's unsleeping guard o'er them who sleep.

This warning to my people I have stretched

thus far, for future time. Now must ye rise,
take up the votes, and, reverencing your oath,
give sentence in this suit. My word is said.

655

660

#### CHORUS

I also am a warner to this land by no means to contemn our fearful band.

whom the Areopagites are the most important in this tableau, made it natural that only one Erinnys should speak out of each pair.

663, 4. Erinnys. "That is your advice, Lady Athana. Mine is that they do not make light of me".

While she says this, Arcopagite 1 goes and drops a black ball in an urn.

- 665, 6. Apollo. "I advise them not to think to nullify my oracles, the will of Zeus". A. 2, a white ball.
- 667, 8. Erinnys. "As for you, you meddle in murder-suits, and give false oracles". A. 3 condemns.
  - 669, 70. Apollo. "My Father meddled too. Was He wrong?" A. 4 acquits.
- 671, 2. Erinnys. "You interfered with our sisters, the Moerae". A. 5 condemns.
- 673, 4. APOLLO. "I did what I could for my friend, in his time of need". A. 6 acquits.
  - 675, 6. Erinnys. "You hocussed the venerable Moerae". A. 7 condemns.
- 677, S. APOLLO. "And put you asleep at Delphi. You can do nothing".
  A. S acquits.
  - 679, 80. Erinnys. "So you say. This land shall see". A. 9 condemns.
  - 681, 2. Apollo. "Your time is past. 'Tis I shall win". A. 10 acquits.
  - 683, 4. Erinnys. "Insolent! I'll wait; and bless or ban". A. 11 condemns.
- (3 lines Apollo). "And I will bless, so help me Zeus and Pallas": A. 12 acquits.

## 'Απόλλων

κάγωγε χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διὸς ταρβεῖν κελεύω, μηδ' ἀκαρπώτους κτίσαι.

665

## Χορός

άλλ' αίματηρὰ πράγματ' οὐ λαχὼν σέβεις, μαντεία δ' οὐκέθ' άγνὰ μαντεύει νέμων.

### 'Απόλλων

ἢ καὶ πατήρ τι σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων πρωτοκτόνοισι προςτροπαις 'Ιξίονος;

670

## Χορός

- (5.) τοιαῦτ' ἔδρασας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμοις:
- (6.) Μοίρας ἔπεισας ἀφθίτους θεῖναι βροτούς.

### 'Απόλλων

- (7.) οὔκουν δίκαιον τὸν σέβοντ' εὐεργετεῖν,
- (8.) ἄλλως τε πάντως χὤτε δεόμενος τύχοι:

## Χορός

(9.) σύ τοι παλαιὰς διανομὰς καταφθίσας

675

(10.) οἴνω παρηπάφησας ἀρχαίας θεάς.

667. οὐ λαχὼν. See Dem. Meid. 573 for the punishment of death inflicted on an Athenian who sat as dieast, οὐ λαχών. Then, σέβεις is rightly compared in signification with τίεις, 'take part in'.

668. μαντένσ η ι μένων. I edit μαντεύει because the future tense mars all the force of the remark. Herm, changed μένων to νέμων. The reproach is very severe: "You are a mischievous and impertinent meddler in other people's business, and you do your own business vilely".

670. Next to this come, in the Mss, vv. 679-682, which were first seen to be

#### Apollo

And I, too, bid you stand in awe of mine and Zeus his oracles, nor make them fruitless.

### CHORUS

Thou with no right meddlest in murder-suits, and dost divine and give foul divinations.

### Apollo

My Father, too. went wrong in his awards on the first homicide's appeal, Ixion's?

670

### CHORUS

Such, too, thy practices in Pheres' house; thou madest the Moerae make a man immortal.

#### APOLLO

Was it not just, then, to be friend a man who honoured me; and that, when he had need?

### CHORUS

Blighting primeval dispensations, thou with wine didst hocus ancient goddesses.

out of place by the anonymous Editor whom Weil quotes as Gothanus'.

674. ἄλλω στε πάντ . . . . . - χω τε. Correctly in copies.

675. παλαιάς δαίμονας Mss. διανομάς Cobet, who found the two lines quoted with that reading in a Schol. on Eur. Ale. 12. The word διανομή is written diamone twice, Plin. Epp. 10. 117, 118, Elzevir, 1653. καταμόνας, in Hesych. s. v., ought to be κατανομάς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν ἐργατῶν εἰς χρόνον. The spiteful sigmatismus is remarkable, as in ἔσωσά σ' ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Eur. Med. 476.

676. οἴνω παρηπάτησας Mss. This is the only place quoted for the verb παρα-

### 'Απόλλων

- (11.) σύ τοι τάχ' οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος
- (12.) ἐμεῖ τὸν ἰὸν οὐδὲν ἐχθροῖσιν βαρύν.

## Χορός

- (1.) λέγεις έγὼ δὲ μὴ τυχοῦσα τῆς δίκης
- (2.) βαρεῖα χώρα τῆδ' ὁμιλήσω πάλιν.

### ' Απόλλων

- (3.) ἀλλ' ἔν τε τοῖς νέοισι καὶ παλαιτέροις
- (4.)  $\theta$ εοῖς ἄτιμος εἶ σύ $\cdot$  νικήσω δ' ἐγώ.

## Χορός

έπεὶ καθιππάζει με πρεσβῦτιν νέος, δίκης γενέσθαι τῆςδ' ἐπήκοος μένω, ὡς ἀμφίβουλος οὖσα θυμοῦσθαι πόλει.

685

680

## 'Απόλλων

 $\pi$ ατῶν, not given at all in Suidas and Hesychius. The proper verb to express mean trickery like this is  $\pi$ αραπαφίσκω, as when "Υπνος says, Il. 14. 358:

ύφρ' έτι εΰδει

Ζεύς,  $\hat{\epsilon}$ πεὶ αὐτῷ έγὼ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυψα, "Ηρη δ' ἐν φιλότητι παρή παφεν εὐνηθῆναι,

where the trickery is similar. The 1 aor. παρηπάφησε ought to be read for παρέφησε ἡπάτησε, in Hesychius: he also has παρήπαφεν ἡπάτησεν. The fut. ἀπαφήσεις, Anth. 12. 26. The epic 1 aor. of ἐξαπαφίσκω occurs Hom. Ap. 375:—

καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ Φοΐβος ᾿Απόλλων οὕνεκά μιν κρήνη καλλίρροος ἐξαπάφησεν.

#### APOLLO

Getting no sanction of thy claim, thou soon shalt void the venom which not hurts thy foes.

## CHORUS

Thou sayest so; but if I lose the suit,
I'll haunt this country to its grievous hurt.

680

685

#### Apollo

But both among the young and elder gods thou art unhonoured, and 'tis I shall win.

#### CHORUS

Since thou young god ridest down the ancient goddess, I stay to be a hearer of the sentence, between two minds, to ban or bless the land.

#### Apollo

where Apollo himself is tricked by the nymph Telphusa. Opp. Hal. 3. 94 has εξαπάφησαν.

685. ἀμφίβολος Mss. ἀμφίβουλος Turnebus.

The three verses supplying the lacuna might represent Apollo as saying:

ήδη τιν' έχρην τοὺς πάλους διασκοπεῖν και τὰς μὲν ἔρρειν, τὸν δὲ σωθηναι, θεά, Δίκης θ' ἕκατι, σοῦ τε, και Διὸς τρίτου.

Below, v. 710, Orestes duly ascribes his escape to Apollo, Pallas, and Zeus: but Apollo speaking would rely rather on his plea "δικαίως" v. 565, and say Δίκης for ξμοῦ.

## 'Αθάνα

ἐμὸν τόδ' ἔργον λοισθίαν κρῖναι δίκην, ψῆφον δ' 'Ορέστη τήνδ' ἐγὼ προςθήσομαι' μήτηρ γὰρ οὖτις ἐστὶν ἥ μ' ἐγείνατο, τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν, ἄπαντι θυμῷ, κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός. οὖτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον ἄνδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον' νικᾳ δ' 'Ορέστης κἂν ἰσόψηφος κριθῆ. ἐκβάλλεθ' ὡς τάχιστα τευχέων πάλους ὅσοις δικαστῶν τοῦτ' ἐπέσταλται τέλος.

690

695

## 'Ορέστης

ὧ Φοῖβ' "Απολλον, πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται ;

## Χορός

ἇ Νὺξ μέλαινα μῆτερ, ἆρ' ὁρậς τάδε ;

## 'Ορέστης

νῦν ἀγχόνης μοι τέρματ', ἡ φάος βλέπειν.

686. λοισθίαν (sub. ἐμὲ). Here it means 'after the twelve votes are sorted'. She holds up a white ball to view as she speaks, and, assuming her full authority as the divine founder of that court, declares: that by virtue of that vote of hers Orestes has a majority, νικᾶ, in case, κᾶν, the votes actually given are equal. She does not drop her white ball in an urn. She keeps it as a token and symbol of what shall be the rule and practice in every like case hereafter.

This is how Cicero (very clearly, pro Mil. 3) understood this matter of the 'calculus Minervae': in the same way also Stanley, Schütz, Bothe, Müller, Schömann, Weil, Paley, Drake. Müller and Schömann especially have discussed the question in an exhaustive and thorough manner.

On the other side Hermann, Dindorf, Linwood think that this first Areopagite

#### ATHANA

My part is, last of all, to judge the case.

and to Orestes I shall give this vote.

There is no mother who bore me; in all things with all my heart, except in taking wedlock,

I land the male, and am my Sire's own child.

So will I not give preference to her fate, the wife's, who slew her lord, the household's master.

Orestes wins though found with equal votes.

Now, judges, ye on whom this task is laid, cast forth with speed the ballots from the urns.

## Orestes

O Phoebus! how will it be judged, this contest?

#### CHORUS

O Night! black mother! dost behold this crisis?

#### Orestes

Strangling is now my goal, or dawn of light.

court consisted of an odd number of judges, perhaps 15; that Minerva actually gave her vote in the urn like the rest; that the votes for each side were found to be equal, and so Orestes was acquitted.

Hermann argued for his view with great vigour and even acrimony against Müller and Schömann. We have the assurance that no passage has been overlooked and no point missed, on either side. After working the arguments over with much interest and curiosity, I feel that Müller is right.

690, 3. θυμώ. νικά. κριθή.

697. μέρ, for μητερ.

690

695

698. vâu for  $\nu \hat{v} \nu$ . Abresch first gave this line to Orestes ; 697-700 being given to  $_{\epsilon \nu}^{M}$  in M.

## Χορός

ήμιν γὰρ ἔρρειν ἢ πρόσω τιμὰς μένειν.

## 'Απόλλων

πεμπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένοι, τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει γνώμης ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα, παροῦσα δ' οἶκον ψῆφος ἄρθωσεν μία.

### ' Αθάνα

ἀνὴρ ὅδ᾽ ἐκπέφευγεν αἵματος δίκην, ἴσον γάρ ἐστι τἀρίθμημα τῶν πάλων.

## 'Ορέστης

δ Παλλάς, δ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους, γαίας πατρώας ἐστερημένον σύ τοι κατώκισάς με καί τις Ἑλλήνων ἐρεῖ ᾿Αργεῖος ἀνὴρ αὖθις, ἔν τε χρήμασιν οἰκεῖ πατρώοις, Παλλάδος καὶ Λοξίου ἔκατι, καὶ τοῦ πάντα κραίνοντος τρίτου Σωτῆρος ες πατρώον αἰδεσθεὶς μόρον

710

700

<sup>699.</sup> γάρ refers to åρ' όρậς τάδε; v. 697. Understand ἀνάγκη with ἔρρειν. Then mss and Editors, τιμάς νέμειν. Their office is ποινὰς νέμειν, not τιμάς, and we must read μένειν.

<sup>700.</sup> M marks a change of speaker here by a dash at the beginning of the line. Victorius first gave the lines to Apollo.

<sup>701.</sup> in diribitione, not "in diremtione" with Lat. Fr.

<sup>702.</sup> γν  $\dot{\omega}$  μησδ' ἀπό υσησ. πῆμαγί νεται μέγα· I omit the δ' because nothing is so proper as an asyndeton in the enunciation of a gnome like this.

<sup>703.</sup> βαλο υσατ' ο ι κον. So all Editors and Weil. Aeschylus would never

#### CHORUS

We come to naught or else our rights abide.

#### Apollo

Friends, count aright the outcome of the votes, and practice no unfairness in the sorting:
a judgement absent, there ensues much woe;
and one vote present rights a house again.

#### ATHANA

He is absolved from bloodshed's penalty: the count of votes for each side is the same.

#### ORESTES

O Pallas, who hast saved my house, when I was of my native land bereft, thou hast restored me; and each Greek shall say: "Again an Argive, in his father's rich domain he dwells, by grace of Pallas, Loxias, and the all-ratifying third, the Saviour," who saves me, honouring my father's fate

represent a voting-pebble as 'setting up again a house or household by hitting it'. The true reading is  $\pi \alpha \rho o \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \delta$ '; and the metaphor in  $\pi \hat{\eta} \mu \alpha$  and  $\check{\omega} \rho \theta \omega \sigma \epsilon \nu$  that of a storm-tost ship.

700

705

<sup>704. 8</sup> γ'. 88' Ven. Fl.

<sup>706, 7. &#</sup>x27;ω σώσα, σα written over. γαίας Dind. for καὶ γῆς.

<sup>709.</sup> ἀνηρ Mss. ἀνηρ Porson.

<sup>712.</sup> Zeus had a temple, Δισωτήριον, on the Acropolis. Weil regards δρῶν as an error caused by μόρον written above it. It ought to be παρείς, 'having set aside', or the like.

σώζει με, μητρὸς τάςδε συνδίκους ὁρῶν. έγω δὲ χώρα τῆδε καὶ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἄπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον όρκωμοτήσας, νθν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους. Γμήτοι τιν' ἄνδρα δεῦρο πρυμνήτην χθονὸς έλθόντ' ἐποίσειν εὖ κεκασμένον δόρυ. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὄντες ἐν τάφοις τότε τοίς τάμα παρβαίνουσι νῦν ὁρκώματα άμηγάνοισι πράξομεν δυσπραξίαις, όδοὺς ἀθύμους καὶ παρόρνιθας πόρους τιθέντες, ως αὐτοῖσι μεταμέλη πόνος. όρθουμένων δέ, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος τιμῶσιν ἀεὶ τήνδε συμμάχω δορὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν εὐμενέστεροι.] καὶ χαῖρε, καὶ σὰ καὶ πολισσοῦχος λεώς. πάλαισμ' ἄφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοι σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς νικηφόρον.

715

720

<sup>713.</sup> Athana was also "Σώτειρα, παρὰ τοῖς Έλλησι," Hesych. s. v.

<sup>717-726.</sup> Dind. and Weil mark the interpolation from v. 719 to 726, for it seems indubitable, from the style, that there is an interpolation. I add to it vv. 717, 718, because they are too meagre, curt, and inadequate an account of the oath. The things objected to by Weil and Dind. are:  $\tau \delta \tau \epsilon$ , v. 719, the hyperbaton of  $\nu \hat{\nu} \nu$ , v. 720, the  $\pi \rho d\xi o \mu \epsilon \nu \delta \nu \sigma \pi \rho a\xi (ais, v. 721, the <math>\pi \delta \nu o s$  of v. 723,  $\delta \rho \theta o \nu \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu$  v. 724,  $\tau \iota \mu \hat{\omega} \sigma \nu \nu$  v. 725, and  $\delta \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \nu$  v. 726. It may be added that this is the only place where  $\mu \epsilon \tau a \mu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu \nu$  is found in Aesch., or  $\pi \rho \delta \sigma \sigma \epsilon \nu \nu \nu$  (the Latin faciam at eum poeniteat); the word  $\pi a \rho \delta \rho \nu \iota \theta a s$  occurs only here: it was this, perhaps, which suggested Horace, Carm. 1, 15, 5, "mala ducis avi domum", and Epod. 10, 1, "mala saluta navis

although he saw these pleaders for my mother. Now with this country and thy fighting men when I have plighted oath, to last henceforth for all surviving time, I will go home: [an oath that no man, pilot of my land, come here to brandish his well practised spear. Myself, then in the grave, will yet effect, by hampering mischances, that they rue their pains, who contravene my present oaths: will bring about for them despondent marches, and paths attended by ill-omened birds. If they uphold these oaths, and always honour Pallas her city with confederate spear I shall the kinder be to them. Farewell, thou and this state-guard host; and may it have resistless force to grapple with its foes, to bring it safety, triumph to its spear.

715

720

725

exit alite". It is possible to give a translation of the rejected lines, after making many allowances for the interpolator; but the proper emendation of spurious verses would result in new ones.

Much care was taken to exclude interpolations such as this. Lycurgus the orator passed a law enacting that well authenticated copies of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides should be preserved in the public treasury; and that it should be unlawful for any of them to be presented on the stage unless the Chief Secretary of State,  $\delta$  γραμματεύs  $\tau \hat{\eta} s$  πόλεωs, were present, with the authorized version before him, to take note of any divergence, omission, or interpolation made by the actors. This enactment, however, is one of that kind which is easily evaded and is soon set aside; and the interpolation may even have been made in the 130 years between 459 B.c. and the law of Lycurgus. Plut. Vit. Orat. Lycurgus.

728. Exous Mss. The wish is idle, addressed to Athana; suitable as expressing gratitude to Athana: therefore, Exou.

ιώ, θεοὶ νέοι, 730 παλαιούς νόμους καθιππάσασθε κάκ χερών εἴλεσθέ μου. έγω δ' ἄτιμος ά τάλαινα βαρύκοτος στενάζω; τί ρέξω; γένωμαι δυσοίστα πολίταις. 735 έν γα τάδε, φεῦ, ίὸν ἰὸν ἀντιπενθη μεθείσα καρδίας, σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λειχὴν ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος, ὧ δίκα, δίκα, 740 πέδον ἐπισύμενος βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας έν χώρα βαλεί. έπαθον, ὤ, μεγάλα τοι, κόραι δυστυχείς Νυκτός άτιμοπενθείς.

730. ἐὼ θέοι νεώτεροι. I write νέοι as a better correlative of παλαιοὺs, v. 731: because an iambic dimeter is not a fit measure in which to lead off a burst of passion, but a dochmius is; because an analysis of the metres shows that all the lines are either dochmiae or bacchiae or trimeter iambic, finishing off with one composed of a dochmius, dactyl and trochaic dipodia.

### 733. ή τάλαινα.

- 734, 5. These two verses come after v. 742 in the Mss. Weil transposed them, and restored both syntax and connexion of ideas.
- 735. δύσοιστα. δυσοίστα Müller, an Old Attie poetic form, of which there are several examples in Aeschylus. The line is bacchiae trimeter. The correct discrimination of the verses had not been made by any of my predecessors.

#### CHORUS

O ye youngster gods!

735

ye my statutes old

have ridden down and snatched them from my aged grasp.

And I all-scorned, forlorn, in this my grievous spite

but murmur? nay do-what?

Let's make us—destructful—to th' folk here!

on this country, ugh!

casting grief-avenging drops! venom! venom from our heart!

a rain noisome to

this land; whence shall come

a tetter eating buds and babes, Io for Right!

darting upon the ground,

and scatter health-destroying pest-spots on the soil.

I have endured hardships immense!

th' ill-starred girls of Night, we of unseemly sorrows.

740. λι χὴν Mss. Then ὶὼ δίκα. I write ὧ δίκα, δίκα, like ὧ πόλις, πόλις, because the verse is clearly an iambic trimeter.

742. βαλείν Mss. βαλεί Turnebus.

743. ἔπαθον ὶ ὡ μεγάλατοι. The line is either cretic or bacchiac dimeter with a resolved arsis: therefore I write ω. τοι is the enclitic particle accentuating a preceding epithet.

745, foll. It is important to observe that the Furies are not in any way cajoled by Athana. Both in οὐ νενίκησθ' and οὐκ ἔστ' ἄτιμοι infra she calls their attention to the fact that Zeus and six judges are on one side, and themselves, the Erinnyes, and six judges on the other. In such a deadlock, and when they have formally entrusted the arbitrament to her, v. 405, Athana submits that they cannot fairly object if she chooses to give her vote on her father's side.

## 'Αθάνα

ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν·
οὐ γὰρ νενίκησθ', ἀλλ' ἰσόψηφος δίκη
ἐξῆλθ' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἀτιμίᾳ σέθεν.
ἀλλ' ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια παρῆν,
αὐτός θ' ὁ χρήσας αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ μαρτυρῶν
ὡς ταῦτ' 'Ορέστην δρῶντα μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν.
ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μηδὲ τῆδε γῆ
βαρὺν κότον σκήψησθε, μηδ' ἀκαρπίαν
τεύξητ' ἀφεῖσαι μαινάδων σταλάγματα,
βοτῆρας ἄχναις σπερμάτων ἀνημέρους.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν πανδίκως ὑπίσχομαι
ἔδρας τε καὶ κευθμῶνας ἐνδίκου χθονός,
λιπαροθρόνοισιν ἡμένας ἐπ' ἐσχάραις,
ἔξειν, ὑπ' ἀστῶν τῶνδε τιμαλφουμένας.

Χορός

(ἀντ. ά)

ίώ, θεοὶ νέοι, παλαιοὺς νόμους καθιππάσασθε κἀκ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου· ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἁ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος

760

745

750

<sup>745.</sup> πείθεσθε. πίθεσθε Turnebus.

<sup>746.</sup> ε-' . . . σό ψηφοσδίκη, a reading not recorded in the editions.

<sup>749, 50.</sup> ἀυτό-σθ' ὁ... θήσασ. χρήσας Turnebus. Then, ώ ςταὐτ'.

<sup>751, 2.</sup> ὑμεῖ σ δέτε τῆιδεγῆι βαρὺν κότο ν σκήψησθε μηθυμό υσθε. The scribe omitted μὴ θυμοῦσθε by mistake, and then inserted it in a wrong place. The restoration is Weil's, after some attempts made by Hermann and others.

#### ATHANA

Yield to me not to take it angrily: 745 you are not worsted: with like votes the suit did truly issue, in no scorn of you. Clear evidence from Zeus appeared; and he who gave it also gave the oracle 750 that, this deed done, Orestes should receive no harm. Be not ye wroth, nor at the land launch your grave rancour, nor create a dearth by dropping foam-flakes from your frenzied breasts, ungentle shepherds of the sprouting seeds. I in good faith engage that ye shall have 755 dwellings and haunts beneath this righteous earth, seated at altars girdled with bright thrones,

and magnified by these my citizens.

760

#### CHORUS

O ye youngster gods!

ye my statutes old

have ridden down and snatched them from my aged grasp.

And I all-scorned, forlorn, in this my grievous spite

753. τέυξητ'. Then δαι μόνων. The corruption is an anagrammatic one for μαινάδων, a term which the Furies applied to themselves above, v. 470. The other suggestions, of which Weil's μαινολῶν is the latest I know, are such as πνευμόνων Wakef., δαΐων Herm.

754. βρω τῆρ ασ ἀιχμὰσ Mss and Schol. βοτῆρας Weil, like φιτυποιμένος below, v. 865. ἄχναις Wieseler, 'the sheaths of the young seeds'. Corrections such as these are like beautiful poems.

στενάζω; τί ῥέξω;
γένωμαι δυσοίστα πολίταις·
ἐν γᾳ τᾳδε, φεῦ,
τοῦ τον ἀντιπενθῆ μεθεῖσα καρδίας,
σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ
ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
λειχὴν ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος, ὧ δίκα, δίκα,
πέδον ἐπισύμενος
βροτοφθόρους κηλῖδας ἐν χώρᾳ βαλεῖ.
ἔπαθον, ὧ, μεγάλα τοι,
κόραι δυστυχεῖς Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς.

## ' Αθάνα

775. So M etc. Herm. quotes Soph. O.C. 1041, κύριον στήσω τέκνων. Linwood prefers κτίσητε. The Schol. δύσκηλον δυσθεράπευτον, derives it from κήλη, ramex. Weil expected a word formed from κηλίs, to mean 'contaminated', and proposed δύσκηλιν. Acsch. regarded δύσκηλοs as connected with κηλέω (whether he was wrong or right) and as the opposite of εὔκηλοs, which he uses Agam. 455, according to my conjecture εὔκαλοι. Hesych. has, εὖκαλεῖ ἀτρεμίζει. εὖκάλεια ἡσυχία. εὔκαλον ὅσιον.

but murmur? nay do—what?

Let's make us—destructful—to th' folk here!

on this country, ugh!

casting grief-avenging drops! venom! venom from our heart!

a rain noisome to

this land; whence shall come

a tetter eating buds and babes, Io for Right!

darting upon the ground,

and scatter health-destroying pest-spots on the soil.

I have endured hardships immense,

th' ill-starred girls of Night, we of unseemly sorrows.

### ATHANA

Ye are not scorned. Make not in too much wrath, ye deities, men's land disquieted

I too put faith in Zeus, and—wherefore say it?—
alone of gods I know that chamber's keys
where lies the thunder sealed and registered.
But there's no need of it. O yield to me!
and cast not on the earth from reckless tongue
the seed that makes all other seed to fail.

Supposing that Aesch. used δύσκηλος as meaning 'unquiet' then a line is lost which completed the expression of thought; and Weil's 'ratio antithetica' indicates a lacuna. The line would mean:

λιμοῦ νόσων τε προςδοκῶσαν ἐςβολάς.

- 777. δωμάτων Mss. δώματος Casaubon.
- 779. εὐπειθής Mss. εὐπιθής Hermann.

765

770

775

κοίμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος\* ώς, σεμνότιμος καὶ ξυνοικήτωρ ἐμοί, πολλης δὲ χώρας τηςδε τάκροθίνια, θύη πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους, έχουσ', ές ἀεὶ τόνδ' ἐπαινέσεις λόγον.

785

Χορός

 $(\sigma \tau \rho. \beta')$ 

έμε παθείν τάδε  $\phi \epsilon \hat{v}$ έμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατά τε γαν οἰχνεῖν.  $\phi \epsilon \hat{v}$ άτίετον μύσος. πνέω τοι μένος.

790

ἄπαντά τε κότον

οὶ οὶ δὰ Φεῦ.

795

τίς μ' ὑποδύεται πλεύρ' ὀδύνα; θυμὸν ἄϊε, μᾶτερ, ὧ

Νύξ' ἀπὸ γάρ με τιμᾶν δαναιᾶν θεῶν δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδὲν ἦραν δόλοι.

- 783. There was a full stop at  $\epsilon\mu$ ol, which Weil removed and put a comma at  $\delta s$ , joining ωs . . . ἐπαινέσεις. Perhaps ἐπαινέσει.
- 784. τῆσ-δέτ' ἀκρο θί νια. τῆςδε τὰκροθίνια Turnebus. Herm. and Weil read  $\tau \hat{\eta} s \delta$ '  $\check{\epsilon} \tau$ ' which seriously encumbers the expression.
- 790. καταγάν ο ικεί ν (κατάτεγάν in the antistrophe). οἰχνείν Hermann, which is confirmed by Athana's paraphrase, ἄτιμος ἔρρειν, v. 803. The meaning is 'go roaming vainly over the world, with no victim to chase and play the vampire on, because they are all dealt with by immaculate courts of justice heedless of my divine sanction!'

Calm the black billow's bitter energy:
most worshipful, my neighbour, thou shalt take
this empire's choicest gifts, burnt offerings made
ere children are begot, or nuptial rites
achieved, and evermore approve my words.

#### CHORUS

Me, me suffer this!

bah!

785

790

me with the thoughts of eld!

o'er earth vainly roam!

bah!

a scorned hateful thing!

I breathe furious rage.

and each form of spite.

795 Oy, oy, da, bah!

what is this smart that creeps under my ribs? O mark my wrath, mother, O

Night! for the rude-of-hand tricks of the gods have reft me of my ancient rights, setting me down for naught.

<sup>791, 2.</sup> This φεῦ comes after ἀτίετον in Mss. Hermann placed it rightly. Then μῦσοσ. μύσοs Ven. Fl.

<sup>796.</sup> ὑποδέται πλ ευ ρ ὰσ (ὑποδύεται in the antistrophe). πλεύρ' Weil. The verse is dochmiac dimeter.

<sup>797.</sup> I add the  $\delta$  to complete a dochmius: for  $\delta$  at the end of a rhythmical order, see v. 316.

<sup>798.</sup> τι μῶν (.α. over ῶ) δαμάν... ων (.αν. over ω). The antistrophe has τι μᾶν δαμί αν. δαναίᾶν L. Dindorf, which Weil adopts, comparing v. 365 and the like. A dochmiac dimeter:  $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$  is a monosyllable.

<sup>799.</sup> δόλω (with οι over ω); in the antistr., δό λω. The expression 'have hoisted,

### 'Αθάνα

οὖτοι καμοῦμαί σοι λέγουσα τἀγαθά·

ὡς μήποτ' εἴπης πρὸς νεωτέρας ἐμοῦ

θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολισσούχων βροτῶν

ἄτιμος ἔρρειν τοῦδ' ἀπόξενος πέδου.

ἔξεστι γάρ σοι τῆςδε γαμόρω χθονός

εἶναι, δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη.

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας,

γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα, καὶ θελκτήριον,

σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν' εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,

οὐτὰν δικαίως τῆδ' ἐπιρρέποις πόλει

μῆνίν τιν', ἢ κότον τιν', ἢ βλάβην στρατῷ.

## Χόρος

ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε·
 φεῦ·
 ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα,
 κατά τε γᾶν οἰχνεῖν·
 φεῦ·
 ἀτίετον μύσος·

815

800

805

810

or ousted, me, as a thing of no account, out of my ancient prerogatives' is strong and appropriate.

800-810. These eleven verses come after the antistrophe in M, a likely mistake of the scribe. Weil seems to be right in placing them here, because Athana more elearly replies to single exclamations and deprecates particular threats of the Furies, which it is more natural she should do on hearing them the first time, and make a more prolonged propitiatory appeal on the second hearing. Thus,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\dot{\alpha}$  v. 802 is the echo of  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\dot{\alpha}\phi\rho\rho\nu\alpha$  v. 789,  $\check{\alpha}\tau_{\mu}\rho_{\nu}\epsilon_{\nu}$  v. 803 of  $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}$   $\gamma\dot{\alpha}\nu$  olyvei $\nu$  v. 790,  $\mu\dot{\eta}\nu\dot{\nu}$   $\tau_{\nu}\nu$   $\dot{\eta}$   $\kappa\dot{\phi}\tau_{\nu}\nu$   $\tau_{\nu}\nu$  of  $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ 0s and  $\kappa\dot{\phi}\tau_{\nu}$ 5 vv. 793. 4. So Weil. The promise of a

#### ATHANA

I will not tire of telling thee thy gains
lest thou an ancient goddess say that, spurned
by me thy junior and this city's guards,
thou art chased a wandering outcast from this soil.
'Tis thine to have thy freehold in this land,
for ever justly honoured. If with thee
Persuasion's majesty, my tongue's caress,
is holy deemed, and keeps its charm, then stay.
If thou wilt not, then canst thou not uprightly
let any wrath, or spite, or harm weigh down
upon this city and its fighting men.

#### CHORUS

Me, me suffer this!
bah!
me with the thoughts of eld!
o'er earth vainly roam!
bah!
a scorned hateful thing!

freehold residence in Athens, v. 804, is also a direct attempt to appeare them in their anticipated  $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \gamma \hat{\alpha} \nu \ o i \chi \nu \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ .

804, 5. These came after v. 810. Weil placed them here in a more probable and intelligible connexion.

804. τη-δεγ άμό ιρουχθονοσ. της δε γαμόρφ Dobree.

806. Weil put the comma after μείλιγμα and joins άγνον . . . και θελκτήριον. Heimsoeth's μαλθακτήριον does not seem so good.

808. θέλ ησ (ει over η).

815

809. δυτ' αν. ούταν Wellauer, οὐταν Herm.

πνέω τοι μένος, ἄπαντά τε κότον οἶ οἶ δᾶ φεῦ τίς μ' ὑποδύεται πλεύρ' ὀδύνα; θυμὸν ἄϊε, μᾶτερ, ὧ Νύξ' ἀπὸ γάρ με τιμᾶν δαναιᾶν θεῶν δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδὲν ἦραν δόλοι.

820

### ' Αθάνα

όργὰς ξυνοίσω σοι, γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ, καὶ τῷ μὲν εἶ σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα' φρονεῖν δὲ κἀμοὶ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

825

ύμεις ές ἀλλόφυλον έλθοῦσαι χθόνα γῆς τῆςδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε' προὐννέπω τάδε. οὑπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος ἔσται πολίταις τοιςδε' καὶ σὰ τιμίαν ἔδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως τεύξει παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων ὄσ' ὰν παρ' ἄλλων οὖποτε σχέθοις βροτῶν. [σὰ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοις ἐμοισι μὴ βάλης

830

825. καί τοι μέν σὰ κὰρ τ'. καὶ τῷ μὲν εἶ σὰ Wieseler. The Scholium explains τῷ by διὰ τὸν χρόνον. Compare Hom. II. 19. 218, Ulysses is speaking:

. . . εγὼ δε κε σεῖο νοήματί γε προβαλοίμην πολλόν, επεὶ πρότερος γενόμην.

826. The abruptness of transition, and the want of a line to suit the exact correspondence of iambic systems induced Weil to mark a lacuna here with the mean-

I breathe furious rage, and each form of spite. Oy, oy, da, bah!

What is this smart that creeps under my ribs? O mark my wrath, mother, O

Night! for the rude-of-hand tricks of the gods have reft me of my ancient rights, setting me down for naught.

#### ATHANA

Thine anger I will bear: thou art my senior, and thereby wiser far than I; and yet to me, too, Zeus not sparingly gave wit.

If ye repair to some extraneous soil
ye will regret this land: I give ye warning.
Time flowing on shall still more glorious be
for these inhabitants. By Erechtheus' halls
thou having honoured residence shalt get,
from men and trains of women, tributes such
as thou wouldst never have from other men.
[Then fling not broadcast, thou, on my domains

ing "itaque me audi optima suadentem". The Scholium is also  $\lambda\epsilon(\pi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\ \kappa\alpha\iota)$ . The line might be:

mght be: πείθει φιλοφρονῶν τις οὐ τὰ χείρονα.

827. ὑμεῖς δ' MSS. I omit δ'. The asyndeton is better, and this may be the place to which  $\lambda \epsilon i \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \kappa a \iota$  belongs.

832. τέυ ξη.

825

830

833. 'ό σην. ὅσ' ἄν Η. L. Ahrens.

834-842. I am constrained to condemn these nine verses. They fit in nowhere.

μήθ' αίματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγχνων βλάβας νέων, ἀοίνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν·
μηδ' ἐξελοῦσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἱδρύσης ᾿Αρη ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν. θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος οὐ μόλις παρών, ἐν ῷ τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρως, ἐνοικίου δ' ὄρνιθος οὐ λέγω μάχην.] τοιαῦθ' ἐλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εὖ δρῶσαν, εὖ πάσχουσαν, εὖ τιμωμένην, χώρας μετασχεῖν τῆςδε θεοφιλεστάτης.

835

840

845

## Χορός

ἄνασσ' 'Αθάνα, τίνα με φὴς ἔχειν ἔδραν;

## 'Αθάνα

πάσης ἀπήμον' οἰζύος. δέχου δὲ σύ.

## Χορός

καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι' τίς δέ μοι τιμὴ μένει;

They teem with harsh and vulgar metaphors. They breathe no persuasion; but very much the contrary, as if one should say 'Were I in your place, this is what I would do'.

Dindorf condemned all from \$34 to \$45. He condemns so much that I did not heed him until I was convinced beyond the possibility of recantation. Verses \$43-\$45 are genuine: my translation of vv. \$34-\$42 was made at a time when I yet hoped that they might be saved.

The έν τόποισι τοις έμοισι jars with έν τοις έμοις αστοίσιν. If Horace read

thy gory grindstones, banes of youthful breasts,
maddening with passions not inspired by wine.

Nor draw the heart from fighting cocks and plant
among my citizens domestic war
with reckless internecine provocation.

Let foreign war come freely here, in which
shall be a furious passion for fair fame;
I mean no battle of the household bird.]
Such guerdons thou may'st gain from me, and as
kind doer, kindly treated, kindly honoured,
share in this land by gods most well-beloved.

## CHORUS

What sort of home shall mine be, queen Athana?

#### ATHANA

Free from the pain of every grief: accept it.

#### CHORUS

Say I accept: what dignity awaits me?

aίματηρὰs θηγάναs, so did Martial read "O tempora! O mores!" A lie is soon believed. The right word for 'drawing' a fowl is έξαιρεῖν, and that is a wrong argument in favour of έξελοῦσ'. οὐ μόλις παρὰν is Latin, non parum praesens. ἐνοίκιαι ὕρνιθες are Pliny's "villaticae alites", N. H. 23.1. As soon as the foolish favour of one's prejudice is withdrawn, these lines have nothing to make them acceptable.

<sup>846.</sup> φησ. Perhaps έξειν would be better here.

<sup>848.</sup> τί σδέμο ι τι μή μέν ει. One would expect τίνα δ' έμολ τιμήν νεμείς;

### 'Αθάνα

ώς μή τιν' οἶκον εὐθενεῖν ἄνευ σέθεν.

## Χορός

σὺ τοῦτο πράξεις ὥστ' ἐμὲ σθένειν τόσον;

850

'Αθάνα

τῷ γὰρ σέβοντι συμφορὰς ὀρθώσομεν.

Χορός

καί μοι πρόπαντος έγγύην θήσει χρόνου;

'Αθάνα

έξεστι γάρ μοι μὴ λέγειν ἃ μὴ τελῶ.

Χορός

θέλγειν μ' ἔοικας καὶ μεθιστάναι κότου.

#### 'Αθάνα

τοίγαρ κατάσον οὓς ἐπικτήσει φίλους.

<sup>849.</sup> ἐυ σθενεῖν. εὐθενεῖν Scaliger.

<sup>852.</sup> προ παντό σ. πρόπαντος Abresch, for πρό παντός written up to his time.

<sup>853.</sup> ἔνεστι, Meineke, is not as good as ἔξεστι.

<sup>854.</sup> θέλξειν and μεθίσταμαι Mss and Edd. But it is much more likely that Aeschylus wrote θέλγειν and μεθιστάναι, which I edit.

<sup>855.</sup> τοι γὰρ καταχθόν' ὁ ῦσ' ἐπι κτηση. κατὰ χθόν' οὖσ' means 'being some-

#### ATHANA

That not one household thrive where thou art not.

#### CHORUS

will you effect that I have all this power?

#### ATHANA

I will steer straight thy worshipper's affairs.

#### CHORUS

And give me surety for all future time?

#### ATHANA

What I will not perform I need not promise.

#### CHORUS

You seem to charm and move me from my wrath.

## ATHANA

Then bless with spells the friends whom you will gain.

855

where about in the world'. ἐφυμνῆσαι v. 856 (compare Hesych. ἐφυμνεῖς: ἐπάδεις, Σοφοκλῆς) suggested to Weil κατᾶσον which he puts forward rather diffidently, but no word could suit better. Hesychius gives, κατῆσαι, i.e. κατᾶσαι κατακηλῆσαι, and κατησάτην κατεκηλησάτην. The meaning is: 'Tranquillise the fears of your displeasure which are now entertained by those who are to be your friends, by invoking blessings upon them'. The reader will call to mind δύσκηλον, v. 775.

## Χορός

# τί οὖν μ' ἄνωγας τῆδ' ἐφυμνῆσαι χθονί;

## 'Αθάνα

όποια νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα, καὶ ταῦτα· γῆθεν ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε κἀνέμων ἀήματα εὐηλίως πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα· καρπόν τε γαίας καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον ἀστοισιν εὐθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ, καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν· τῶν δ' εὐσεβούντων εὐφορωτέρα πέλοι· στέργω γάρ, ἀνδρὸς φιτυποιμένος δίκην, τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος. τοιαῦτα σοὔστι. τῶν ἀρειφάτων δ' ἐγὼ πρεπτῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν.

860

865

857. Athana being asked by the Eumenides what tokens of good-will they can offer in sign of submission says: 'Let them be such as accord with the absence of all ill-will which marks my victory over you: bless my people in the salubrity of their climate, the fertility of their soil, their cattle, the healthiness of their children, the good behaviour of the great majority of the citizens: I will be answerable myself for their victory in war'.

The other interpretation 'such things as have no evil results when victory is won' (Weil) will not bear examination and reflection. It seems to have taken rise out of the expunged verses, 834-842.

- 861. βροτῶν MSS. βοτῶν Stanley.
- 862. ευ θεν ο υντασ (a dot on σ).
- 864. τῶν δυσσεβό υντων δ' ἐκ φορωτέρα πέλοισ. The δ' is omitted in Ven. Fl. Farn. Herm. keeps πέλοις, and those who follow him are content with the meaning 'but may you be rather a carter-out of the impious, as weeds and

#### CHORUS

What do you bid me conjure for this land?

860

865

#### ATHANA

Such things as suit a victory not ungentle, even these: that both from earth and dew marine, that both from sky and winds fair breezes breathe through genial sunshine and pervade the land: that copious produce from the earth and herds may never fail to flourish for this people; with healthy growth of human seed, but more prolific in law-fearing men; for I, like him who shepherds garden-plants, would have this breed of righteous men exempt from ill. Such boons are thine. From bloody pageantries of battle I'll not brook they not ennoble throughout the world this city paramount.

superfluous plants'. I think  $\delta' \epsilon i \sigma \epsilon \beta o \delta \nu \tau \omega \nu$  was corrupted into  $\delta \nu \sigma \sigma \epsilon \beta o \delta \nu \tau \omega \nu$ : then, naturally,  $\epsilon i \phi o \rho \omega \tau \epsilon \rho a$  into  $\epsilon k \phi o \rho \omega \tau \epsilon \rho a$  lest Athana might wish Athens to be more prolific in wicked men than good. Then  $\delta'$  was inserted: I ascribe its omission in the best copies to the fact that a later hand has often made additions in M of single letters, as here of  $\delta'$ , and s in  $\pi \epsilon \lambda o i s$ , and after the copies were made.  $\epsilon i \sigma \epsilon \beta o \delta \nu \tau \epsilon s$  does not mean 'god-fearing' but 'righteously-acting'. Neither Aeschylus nor Aristotle ever expected all the people in a state would be good, or any one of them perfectly so: only that a majority would be well-conducted.

867.  $\sigma$ -ỏ v $\sigma$ τι.  $\sigma$ οῦ ' $\sigma$ τι Ven. Fl. Aug.  $\sigma$ οὕ $\sigma$ τι Porson. 'These are things for thee to give.'

The Eumenides endeavour heartily to carry out Athana's desire, repeating her words or using their equivalents;  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}\rho\rho\nu\tau\sigma\nu$ , v. 861, suggests  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\sigma\hat{\nu}\tau\sigma\nu$ s v. 877, (for which Meineke need not have proposed  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\iota\rho\rho\hat{\nu}\tau\sigma\nu$ s); the  $\hat{\epsilon}\nu\eta\lambda\hat{\iota}\omega$ s of v. 860, the  $\phi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\hat{\nu}\nu$   $\hat{\alpha}\lambda\hat{\iota}\sigma$   $\hat{\nu}$   $\hat{\nu$ 

 $(\sigma \tau \rho. \ a')$ 

Athenian citizens in war-attire rank themselves at the sides of the stage.

δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν,
οὐδ' ἀτιμάσω πόλιν,
τὰν καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ παγκρατὴς Ἦρης τε
φρούριον θεῶν νέμει,
ρυσίβωμον Ἑλλάνων ἄγαλμα δαιμόνων.
ἄτ' ἐγὼ κατεύχομαι,
θεσπίσασα πρευμενῶς:
ἐπισσύτους βίου τύχας ὀνησίμους
γαίας ἐξαμπρεύσει
φαιδρὸν ἀλίου σέλας.

877. ulov for Blov.

878.  $\xi\xi$  αμβρ  $\delta$  σαι M, G.  $\xi\xi$ αμῦρ $\delta$ σαι Ven. Flor. Farn. Four long syllables are required, for the penult of  $\xi\rho\mu\alpha i\alpha\nu$ , below, could not be shortened by Aesch. Pauw proposed  $\xi\xi\alpha\mu\beta\rho\hat{\nu}\sigma\alpha\iota$ . The aor. of  $\beta\rho\dot{\nu}\omega$  is unknown; the quantity of the  $\nu$  is assumed without warrant; the verb is intransitive. Much the same is the case with  $\xi\xi\alpha\mu\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$ , 'fling out by violent agitation', or, 'extract by fermentation'; it has no aor., and, if it had, the  $\alpha$  would be short. Meineke has thought of  $\gamma\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\dot{s}$   $\xi\xi$   $\dot{\alpha}\mu\beta\rho\dot{\nu}\xi\alpha\iota$  or else  $\dot{\delta}\mu\beta\rho\hat{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota$ . The  $\dot{\xi}\xi\alpha\mu\pi\rho\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  which I read from conj. satisfies the metre and makes the right sense: 'no miasma, no malaria shall the sun's heat draw up from the earth, but only those exhalations which are favourable conditions and circumstances,  $\tau\dot{\nu}\chi\alpha s$ , of life'.

ἄμπρον is 'a rope or trace, used in place of a carriage-pole in drawing loads'. Hesych.  $\tau \delta$  τεταμένον σχοινίον  $\delta$  έχρῶντο ἀντὶ ῥυμοῦ. ἀμπρεύειν is 'to haul by means of such a rope, so that the ploughing oxen are attached tandem-fashion'. Hesych. explains ἀμπρεύειν' προτονίζειν (haul a jib-sail up the πρότονος), ἕλκειν, ἁμαξηλατεῖν. In Callim. Fr. 234 and Lycoph. 635 ἀμπρεύειν βίον is 'drag out a miserable existence'. ἔξαμπρον is 'the rope of a windlass for drawing things out of a deep place'. (Gloss. Philox. had better have explained protelum by ἄμπρον than by ἔξαμπρον). Ar. Lys. 281:

χώπως έξαμπρεύσομεν τοῦτ' ἄνευ κανθηλίου

is 'haul it up by the έξαμπρον without a windlass'. In Arist. Hist. An. 24. 2, a

#### CHORUS

Residence I with Pallas will accept,
nor will slight the city where
even Zeus, lord of all, and Arès dwell, a
fortress for celestials,
guarding Grecian altars, pride of Greek divinities.

Now for her I offer prayer,
and benignantly foretell:
the sun's gay splendour shall draw up from earth,
in full streams, effluences
teeming with delight to life.

superannuated mule insists upon  $\sigma \nu \nu \alpha \mu \pi \rho \epsilon \dot{\nu} \omega \nu$  with the other mules, i. e. on being tackled onto the rope by which blocks of stone were hauled along.

The "protelo trini boves unum aratrum ducent" of Cato, Non. 363. 10 is: 'three oxen arranged tandem-fashion and pulling at one rope are the complement for each plough'. Dr. J. K. Ingram takes it as formed of pro-tend-lum, so as to mean 'the instrument or implement stretched in front'. Ter., Lucr., and Catull. derive it from telum, 'missile weapon'. "Protelare dictis" Ter. Ph. 1. 4. 35 is ἀκροβολίζεσθαι, 'receive with a volley'. In Lucr. 4. 191 "protelo stimulatur" and ibid. 2. 531 "protelo plagarum", with Catull. 56. 7, "protelo cecidi", the etymology imagined by those poets is clearly indicated.

"On croit que la cause de ce mauvais air vient de ce que tout le terroir des environs d'Alexandrette est fort marécageux; et que les vapeurs que le Soleil en éleve, causent cette incommodité à ceux qui s'y arrêtent."—Le Bruyn, Voyages, vol. ii. p. 473.

# 'Αθάνα

(σύστ. α')

τάδ' ἐγὼ προφρόνως τοῖςδε πολίταις
πράσσω, μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρέστους
δαίμονας αὐτοῦ κατανασσομένη'
πάντα γὰρ αὖται τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους
ἔλαχον διέπειν'
ὁ δέ πη κύρσας ᾿Αρέων τούτων
σὐκ οἶδεν ὅθεν
πληγαὶ βιότου . . . .
τὰ γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων ἀπλακήματά νιν
πρὸς τάςδ' ἀπάγει' σιγῶν δ' ὅλεθρος
καὶ μέγα φωνοῦντ'
890

Χορός

 $(\dot{a}v\tau.\ \dot{a})$ 

δενδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέοι βλάβα· τὰν ἐμὰν χάριν λέγω·

έχθραις όργαις άμαθύνει.

883. av o vor (a flourish over vo).

885-887. As this first system of anapaests spoken by Athana corresponds to the last, vv. 961-972, also spoken by her, we know that these three lines, 885, 6, 7, are a dimeter, a monometer, and a paroemiae. Four syllables are wanting in M, which gives:—

ο δε μη κύρ σασ βαρ έω ντό υτων, ο υ κό î δεν ő θενπληγαι βι ό του

and Herm. supplied  $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \pi \alpha i \sigma \alpha \nu$  without any adequate analysis of the passage. Changes of  $\pi \eta$  for  $\mu \dot{\eta}$ ,  $\pi \lambda \eta \gamma \dot{\alpha}$ s for  $\pi \lambda \eta \gamma \alpha l$ , with  $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \sigma \nu \rho \epsilon \nu$  to complete the paroemiae, seemed to me, for some time, sufficient, the meaning being quite clear. But

#### ATHANA

These are the things which I gladly procure for this people, by giving a domicile here to these daemons august and so hard to appears:

for to them is allotted the charge to control

all human affairs;

885

890

and, perhaps, he who meets these Avengers, at times

does not know from what source

the scourges of life have assailed him.

'Tis the sins of his forefathers lead him away to these judges; and deadly doom, mutely pronounced, with implacable ire

into dust crushes even a big boaster.

#### CHORUS

May no blight, devastating fruit-trees, breathe (not for my delight, I mean):

βαρέων cannot possibly be right; and the things proposed, βαρεῶν Franz, πραῶν Schütz, iλαρῶν Weil, etc., do not seem to proceed from full consideration. I think βαρεων is accounted for by supposing Aesch. to have adopted the Homeric dialectic form 'Αρεων, from Π. 9. 566:

## έξ ἀρέων μητρός κεχολωμένος,

which  $d\rho al$  result in the rousing of the  $\tilde{\eta}\epsilon\rho o\phi o\tilde{\iota}\tau\iota s$  ' $E\rho\iota\nu\dot{\iota}s$ , *ibid.* 571. Then  $\nu\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\tilde{\eta}\lambda\theta o\nu$ , or Hermann's  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tilde{\pi}\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$ , or the like, may be supplied to complete the imperfect verse 887. See a fuller account in the Appendix.

889. Hermann inserted δ' after σιγών.

179

N 2

φλογμοί τ' όμματοστερεῖς ὕφοιντο μὴ περᾶν ὅρον τόπων μηδ' ἄκαρπος αἰανὴς ἐφερπέτω νόσος μῆλά τ' εὐθενοῦντα Πὰν ξὺν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις τρέφοι χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ γόνος δὲ Γᾶς Πλουτόχθων Ἑρμαίαν δαιμόνων δόσιν τίοι.

895

900

'Αθάνα

(σύστ. β')

ἢ τάδ' ἀκούετε, πόλεως φρούριον,
οἷ' ἐπικραίνει;
μέγα γὰρ δύναται πότνι' Ἐρινὺς
παρά τ' ἀθανάτοις τοῖς ὑπὸ γαίᾳ.

905

894. φλοιγμόσ ὁ μματο στερης φυτῶν τὸ. The σ in φλοιγμόσ was added by a later hand: φλογμοι remains by anagrammatism. Then, τ' is given in Fl. δμματοστερης was introduced to suit φλοιγμός. φυτῶντὸ by anagr. becomes του Weil had proposed του το. The meaning will be like Paus. 10. 17. 6: τὸν Ζέφυρον και Βορέαν κωλύεσθαι νομίζουσι μη ἄχρι τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐξικνεῖσθαι.

897. ἐνθεν δ νντ' ἄγαν. εὐθενοῦντα Πὰν Meineke. Aesch. is fond of mentioning Pan (Pers. 441; Agam. 56), who had endeared himself to the Athenians in the Persian war. Dobree's γā is wrong, because the peculiar gift of Earth is mentioned v. 899 foll. Pausanias says, 1. 28. 4, "As you descend from the Acropolis, just under the Propylaea there is a spring of water and a grotto, where is a holy place dedicated to Apollo and Pan", and he then tells the story of Pan's appearing to Phidippides as he passed the mountain of the Virgin, between Arcadia and Argolis, and saying, ὡς εὕνους Αθηναίοις εἴη, καὶ ὕτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἥξοι συμμαχήσων. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταὑτη τῆ ἀγγελία τετίμηται.

898. ξυν δι πλ οι σ ἐνβρ ὑ οισ. Corrected in Fl. Callim. Hymn. Ap. 54, ἡ δέ κε μουνοτόκος διδυματόκος αίψα γένοιτο.

899. τρ εφ οι χρόνωι. τεταγμέν ω γο ν ο σ, with two syllables wanting, which Meineke supplies as in my text, except that I prefer Γαs to γαs. Strabo uses

hot blasts, killing buds, stop short, nor trespass
o'er the frontier of this land:
no distemper doleful, killing produce, here approach;
but let Pan the thriving flocks
(each with younglings twain) increase
in season due; and let the Earth's own breed from rich
deep soil, with lucky find
ratify the daemons' gift.

895

900

905

#### ATHANA

Hear ye these things, ye the city's defenders, how she ordains them? for the Lady Erinnys possesses much power among the immortals who dwell underground:

γεννῶν of the earth producing precious metals; and of Attica he says, 3. p. 198, Teubn.: οὐ γὰρ πλουσία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποπλουσία ἡ χώρα, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον οὐχ ὁ Αἴδης ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεῖ. Rabelais, 3. 3, speaks of "Dis, le père aux escutz".

900. πλουτό χθων έρ μάι αν. I write these with capitals (comp. Ἐνοσίχθων) because of the direct allusion to the deities. Literally: 'and may the Plutochthonian progeny of Earth ratify the Hermaean gift of the daemons'. Earth the begetter, Plutus the guarder, and Hermes the Good Helper in the search for precious metals, are here grouped together as a trio who guarantee that the promised gift of mineral wealth shall not be invalid. Pausanias found their statues in the sanctuary of the Awful Goddesses at the foot of the Areopagus, 1. 28. 6, κεῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα.

903. δι αέπι κρα-ν εί. Correctly in Turn. and Rob.

905. τοι σθ' Mss. Heimsoeth removed the θ'. Then, γαΐαν Mss. This probably represents γαία, which I prefer. These deities are called θεοι οι ὑπόγαιοι by Pausanias in the passage cited: it reads as if statues of them were there as well as those already mentioned: ὅσα ἄλλα ἀνάκειται (ἀγάλματα) θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων.

περί τ' ἀνθρώπων φανέρ' ώς τελέως διαπράσσουσιν τοῖς μὲν ἀοιδάς, τοῖς δ' αὖ δακρύων βίον ἀμβλωπὸν παρέχουσιν.

> Χορός (στρ. β΄)

ἀνδροκμῆτας δ' ἀώρ-

-

910

915

ους ἀπεννέπω τύχας·
νεανίδων τ' ἐπηράτων
ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε, κύρι' ἔχουσαι
θεαὶ τῶν, Μοῖραι,
ματροκασιγνῆται, δαίμονες ὀρθονόμοι,
παντὶ δόμφ μετάκοινοι,

παντὶ χρόνῳ δ' ἐπιβριθεῖς ἐνδίκοις ὁμιλίαις, παντᾶ τιμιώταται θεῶν.

'Αθάνα

(μέσον σύστ.)

τάδε τοι χώρα τἠμῆ προφρόνως ἐπικραινομένων

906. φαν ερώσ. φανέρ ώς Meineke.

908. τοισδ' ἀῦ κρύων MSS. Turnebus corrected the error from διττυφανές.

909. παρέχουσαι Mss. and Edd. A slovenly ending, and M goes on without a stop. Read παρέχουσιν.

910. See the scolion Athen. 15, 50, in the Appendix.

911. νεα- in νεανίδων is one long; ἀντὶ μιᾶs in the margin of F.

912, 913. κυ.. ρί ἔχον τεσ θεὰι τῶν, μο ῖ ραι The Editors have kept ἔχοντες, although it cannot be anything but a scribe's blunder for ἔχουσαι. They have changed τῶν, 'them' or 'over these things'; but it seems to be exactly right in sense and metre.

-51

and 'tis clear with respect to mankind that they make, with an issue complete, glad carols for these, but to others dispense a life that is purblind with weeping.

## Chorus

All mishaps whence men die
ere their time I interdict.

To their lovely maidens grant
lives that win husbands, ye deities holding the sway o'er
these things, O Moerae!
sisters of mine by one womb, daemons who regulate Right,
living as part of each household,

bearing in each generation rule with righteous intercourse, eachwhere most adored of deities,

910

915

## ATHANA

I rejoice that ye heartily sanction and seal these boons for my land;

- 914. δρθονόμοι. Herm. preferred δρθόνομοι. Each gives a good sense.
- . 915. μέγα κοινοι. Turnebus μετάκοινοι. So Oppian, Hal. 2. 680, says of the time of Marcus Aurelius:
  - . . . νῦν γάρ σε, Δίκη, θρέπτειρα πολήων, γιγνώσκω μερόπεσσι συνέστιον ἢδὲ σύνοικον.
- 917. πάντα Mss. παντα Canter. The word 'eachwhere' occurs in the Earl of Surrey's Translation of Virg. Aen. 2. 799, "from eachwhere flock together", and in other books of that time.

γάνυμαι, στέργω δ' ὅμματα Πειθοῦς, ὅτι μοι γλῶσσαν καὶ στόμ' ἐπωπᾳ πρὸς τάςδ' ἀγρίως ἀπανηναμένας ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος, νικᾳ δ' ἀγαθῶν ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός.

920

925

Χορός

(ἀντ. β΄)

τὰν δ' ἄπληστον κακῶν

μήποτ' ἐν πόλει στάσιν

τῷδ' ἐπεύχομαι βρέμειν.

μηδὲ πιοῦσα κόνις μέλαν αἷμα πολιτῶν
δι' ὀργὰν ποινὰς
ἀντιφόνους ἄτας ἁρπαλίσαι πόλεως.

χάρματα δ' ἀντιδιδοῖεν

κοινοφιλεῖ διανοίᾳ,

καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾳ φρενί,

πολλῶν γὰρ τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος.

930

'Αθάνα

(ἀντισύστ. β')

ἆρα φρονοῦσα γλώσσης ἀγαθῆς ὁδὸν εὑρίσκεις;

935

921.  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\omega$   $\pi$ ā. Perhaps  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\omega$  $\pi$ a, because of  $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\rho$ á $\tau\eta$  $\sigma$  $\epsilon$ , v. 923; Athana seems to allude to those pleas of hers which were so long without avail.

923. 'Αγοραίου Διδς βωμδς 'Αθήνησι Hesych.

925. 'My effort to obtain good things (for Athens)'.

920

and I look to the eyes of Persuasion with love, for she kindly looks down on my words and my lips when I pray, though they rudely rejected my prayer: but Zeus Agoraeus prevailed, and our strife to obtain for our friends all good things has wholly succeeded.

925

#### Chorus

Next I pray never may
faction thunder in this state,
faction never gorged with woes:
nor let the dust having drunk the red blood of the people,
in wrath greedily
swallow reprisals of blood, ruin and death to the land.
Joys let them tender for joys, with
spirit of mutual likings,
nurse dislikes with one accord;
here lies cure for many human ills.

#### ATHANA

Art thou not by thy wit now finding the track of a tongue that is kind?

935

930

<sup>929.</sup>  $\pi oi \nu ds$  is much better than the  $\pi oi \nu ds$  adopted by some Editors.

<sup>930.</sup> άρπαλίζομαι ἀσμένως δέχομαι Hesych. Here it is 1 aor. act. opt.

<sup>934.</sup> ἄρ ὰφρονουσιν. ἆρα φρονουσα Herm., and ευρίσκειs for ευρίσκει in v. 935. Musgrave had proposed φρονουσαι and ευρίσκουσ'.

έκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσώπων μέγα κέρδος ὁρῶ τοῖςδε πολίταις: τάςδε γὰρ εὖφρονας εὖφρονες ἀεὶ μέγα τιμῶντες, γαῖαν καὶ πόλιν ὀρθοδίκαιον πρέψετε πάντως διάγοντες.

940

Χορός (στρ. γ')

χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἐναισιμίαισι πλούτου·
χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς λεὼς
ἴκταρ ἤμενοι Διὸς
παρθένου, φίλοι φίλας,
εὐφρονοῦντες εὖφρονι·
Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς
ὄντας ἄζεται πατήρ.

945

# 'Αθάνα

αἰνῶ τε μύθους τῶνδε τῶν κατευγμάτων, πέμψω τε φέγγει λαμπάδων σελασφόρων

936.  $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\dot{\omega}$   $\pi\omega\nu$ . We infer from this that the Eumenides kept the same dreadful-looking masks and garb to the end of the play: but Pausanias says, 1. 28. 6, that there was nothing  $\phi\sigma\beta\epsilon\rho\delta\nu$  about the statues of the  $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\alpha$ l which he saw in their holy place under the Areopagus.

938. ἐυφράνασ ἐύφρον εσ. εὔφρονας Turnebus.

940. καὶ γῆν. A common error for γαῖαν. The first καὶ is inept. For a similar construction with διάγειν, Weil compares Isoer. Nicoel. 41, χρὴ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντας τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πειρᾶσθαι διάγειν.

941. πάντεσ. πάντως Ven., Bothe.

942. χάιρετ' ἐν αισιμίαισ. Turnebus added χαίρετ' from the antistrophic verse. ἐναισιμίαισι, formed from ἐναίσιμος, was first edited by Weil in place of ἐν αἰσιμίαισι, Edd., Hesychius giving ἐναισιμία διοσημία.

From these terrible Features I see that much gain will come to this people:—who, if ye delight in these deities ever delighting in you, and ye honour them much, well known shall ye be as maintaining a land and a city of perfect uprightness.

Chorus

Joy to you, joy from these omens of wealth and welfare!
joy! ye natives of the place
dwelling by the Maid of Zeus!
dear to her as she to you,
her delight as she is yours!
covered by Athana's wings
you the Father reverences.

#### ATHANA

I laud the terms of these fair orisons, and by the splendour-bearing flambeaux' beams

944. φίλασ φιλοι σω φρονο υντεσ έν χρ ό νωι This being an echo of εὔφρονας εὔφρονες, v. 938, it was not difficult to see that the true reading is what I have given. I afterwards found that Weil had thought of εὖφρονοῦντες εὔφροσιν (Persac. App. pub. six years after his Eumenides) which cannot be right. Then it was necessary to read φίλοι φίλας. Now we see how σωφρ arose from σευφρ, and χρόνφ was introduced to make sense with σωφρονοῦντες. The pleasant combination φίλος φίλου is not rare, as e.gr. Eur. Suppl. 1163, φίλον φίλας ἄγαλμα μητρός. Weil first punctuated this correctly as above. There had been a stop at Διός, which made things absurd.

946. alva 8è mss. Te Hermann.

It was necessary to make an innovation here: this iambic system, vv. 946-956, comes in the Mss and Edd. after the last words of the Eumenides, v. 960.

187

940

945

ές τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους ξὺν προσπόλοισιν, αἴτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας τοὐμόν, δικαίως. ὄμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς Θησῆδος ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν, εὐκλεὴς λόχος παίδων, γυναικῶν, καὶ στόλος πρεσβυτίδων. φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασιν.

950

τιμᾶτε, καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὁρμάσθω πυρός,

The scribe, hurrying eagerly to his " $\sigma \nu \nu \Theta \epsilon \hat{\varphi} \tau \epsilon \lambda \sigma s$ ", went on after the second  $\chi \alpha \ell \rho \epsilon \tau \epsilon$ ,  $\chi \alpha \ell \rho \epsilon \tau \epsilon$ , v. 957, instead of after the first, v. 942.

The first strange thing was that these iambies should be inserted in the midst of the systems of anapaestic lines, the measure for the march of the procession from the Erechtheum to the foot of the Hill of Ares. Then you find Athana announcing that she is about to begin the march at v. 961, and giving the actual words of the order to march at v. 969,  $\delta\mu\epsilon\hat{i}s$   $\delta'$   $\dot{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\hat{i}\sigma\theta\epsilon$ ,  $\pi o\lambda i\sigma\sigmao\hat{v}\chi oi$   $\pi a\hat{i}\delta\epsilon$ s  $K\rho a\nu ao\hat{v}$ . Her farewell words to her people are very appropriate,  $\epsilon\hat{i}\eta$   $\delta'$   $\dot{\alpha}\gamma a\theta\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\dot{\alpha}\gamma a\theta\dot{\eta}$   $\delta i\dot{\alpha}\nu oi$   $\pi o\lambda i\tau ais$ .

The last words of the Eumenides v. 959, μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν εὖ σέβοντες οὔτι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου, are also an appropriate farewell-blessing. They were prompted by Athana's words, as has been so frequent in this long concluding dialogue, v. 956, τὸ λοιπὸν εὐἀνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρέπη, which, also, are not suitable words to be Athana's last. Their word ἔπη, v. 957, is the echo of Athana's μύθους v. 946, and their μετοικίαν ἐμὴν, v. 959, of her τόπους, v. 948.

Athana's parting words to the Eumenides begin at  $\chi \alpha i \rho \epsilon \tau \epsilon \chi i \mu \epsilon i s$ , v. 961, when she advertises them of the start immediately about to ensue.

The iambics only announce the beginning of the end, with a general notice and description of the intended procession. The actual exit of all the actors is given in vv. 961-972. The last verses of the play, 973-986, are a hymn chanted by a choir (probably of maidens dedicated to Athana's worship, the  $\tilde{a}\rho\rho\eta\phi\delta\rho\sigma\iota$ , Weil) which choir forms a part of the pageant.

The only objection to this new arrangement of the lines is that the ἀντισύστημα ά, corresponding to vv. 880-891, is detached from the rest, in an unusual manner, by the iambics. But the poet was bound to give some quiet account of the approaching march, which could not well be done in lyric verse, and this ἀντισύστημα ά seems fitly to conclude all that comes after the announcement by the Erinnyes that they are appeased, v. 870, as it was σύστημα ά which commenced the whole.

949. ξυμπροσπόλοισιν.

950. Weil put the comma before δικαίωs, to separate it from φρουροῦσιν, and

will to the nether world, rooms under ground, in due state bring you, with processionists, my image-guardians. The flower shall come of this Theseïd land, a glorious troop of maidens, matrons, and of ancient dames a host, in special garments, scarlet-dyed.

950

show honour: let the flare of fire dart forth,

make it qualify the whole sentence, meaning 'as is due to your dignity'.

953. I agree with Herm. that ἐνδύομαι is said of dress put on when one is going out to appear in public; on a great occasion, suitable dress; according to rank and office. Müller shows that scarlet was the colour worn in worshipping the Σεμναί. It has been retained by Cardinals, Grand Inquisitors, and Doctors of Laws.

954. Hermann marks a lacuna before v. 953, Weil before 952, but says one line is wanted somewhere here. The former wants one to contain the word εὐμενίδες, which Athana was supposed to have used at the end of this play, see Argument, by Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas; who were, probably, all copying the same inaccurate tradition. The Furies were not called Εὐμενίδες at Athens, but Σεμναί, Eumenides was their name at Sicyon. It is quite enough to give occasion to that tradition that Athana calls them εὔφρονες, v. 938, and the Choir (perhaps the verses were ascribed to Athana) call them σεμναί, v. 980. This is Müller's account, in which I concur. He adds that the play came to be called 'Eumenides' in some way inscrutable to us. See above, pp. 44, 45. Weil wishes for a line to suit his 'ratio antithetica' of iambic systems, and thinks that εὐμενίδες must certainly have occurred. He inserts it in v. 983. I find the τιμάτε of v. 954 to be abrupt, and would suppose a line to account for the χωρίται of v. 975, and the πανδαμὶ of v. 978, such as:

## ύμεις δ' έπευφημούντες έρπούσαις, φίλοι,

'and you, my people, observing silence, and raising the shout of praise at the right moments, as we march along, do honour to the occasion; light up the bright torches, which will henceforth be carried in honour of our  $\Sigma \in \mu \nu a$  from year to year'. Aeschylus does not think fit to go into details about the libations without wine, the bunches of daffodils,  $\nu \acute{a}\rho \kappa \iota \sigma \sigma \iota$ , and the victims, ewes in young, and white doves. For the retinue, we may compare Ovid, Fast. 4. 295, "procedunt pariter matres, nataeque nurusque, quaeque colunt sancta virginitate focos"; Boccacio, Ninfale d' Ameto, p. 49, Venice, 1586, "le vergine, le matrone, e l'antiche madri con risplendente pompa ornatissime".

όπως ἃν εὔφρων ἥδ' ὁμιλία χθονὸς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρέπη.

955

Χορός

 $(\vec{a}\nu\tau.\ \gamma')$ 

χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖθις, ἔπη διπλοίζω, πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν

δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοί,

Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντ-

ες· μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν εὖ σέβοντες οὔτι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου.

960

'Αθάνα

(ἀντισύστ. ά)

χαίρετε χὖμεῖς προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρὴ στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσαν. πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν κατὰ γᾶς σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χώρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη.

965

956. ἐυ άν δρ οι σ-ιν. εὐάνδροισ: Flor. This phrase is explained by vv. 863, 4, and the reply of the Eumenides. It includes the birth and training of brave men, and the opportunities afforded them for distinguished or heroic action.

<sup>957.</sup> ἐπι δι πλοί ζω. ἔπη διπλοίζω Weil, i.e. ' I repeat, χαίρετε, χαίρετε'.

<sup>960.</sup> ἐυ σεβο υντεσ. σέβοντες Turnebus.

<sup>961.</sup> δέ-με-χ-ρη. δ' έμε Porson, for δέ με Edd.

that ever more this land's kind denizens be famed for giving chances to brave men.

955

960

965

#### CHORUS

Joy to you! joy yet again! I repeat the omens:
joy to all throughout the state,
deities and mortal men,
who in Pallas' city dwell;
and my new abode if ye
duly honour, ye shall not
chide the accidents of life.

#### ATHANA

Joy also to you! and farewell! for I now
to show you your chambers must march on in front.
Follow the holy light of this escort,
and with blood from these victims piously slain
sinking under the earth
keep down under ground that which is baneful,
but the gainful send up
for the triumph transcendent of Athens.

963. πρόπομπον Mss. προπομπῶν Bentley.

966. ἀτήριον Mss. ἀτηρὸν Bentley. The sense is the same as at Pers. 223:

ἐσθλὰ πέμπειν γῆς ἔνερθεν ἐς φάος, τἄμπαλιν δὲ τῶνδε γαίας κάτοχ' ἀμαυροῦσθαι σκότφ.

That is, ἔχετε κατὰ χώρας, 'keep under ground everything causing fever, ague, distemper', etc.

ύμεις δ' ἡγεισθε, πολισσούχοι παιδες Κραναού, ταιςδε μετοίκοις· εἴη δ' ἀγαθών ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις.

970

The Procession leaves for the Holy Place of the Eumenides. First, the Athenian warriors holding lighted torches then, Atha-na followed by the Eumenides; the maidens, chanting; the matrons; and the ancient

dames.

Προπομποί

(στρ. α')

βᾶτε δόμονδε, φίλας ἐρίτιμοι Νυκτὸς παίδες ἄπαιδες, ὑπ' εὖφρονι πομπᾳ̂. εὐφαμεῖτε δέ, χωρῖται.

(ἀντ. α')

γας ύπο κεύθεσιν ώγυγίοισιν τιμαις και θυσίαις περίσεπτα τύχοιτ' αν. εὐφαμειτε δε πανδαμί.

 $(\sigma\tau\rho. \beta')$ 

ϊλαοι δὲ καὶ εὖφρονες αἴᾳ δεῦρ' ἴτε, σεμναί, τᾳ πυριδάπτῳ λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν. ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

980

975

969, 970. ἡμεῖs and μέτοικοι Mss. Turnebus corrected. Wieseler well compares Ar. Ran. 1530, where the Chorus conduct Aeschylus to the world below, with holy torches lighted, and themselves singing snatches from his μέλη:

. . . δότε, δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ γαῖαν, τῆ τε πόλει μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὰς διανοίας.

973.  $\beta \delta \tau' \stackrel{i}{\epsilon} \nu \delta \delta \mu \omega \iota \mu \epsilon \gamma \delta \lambda \alpha \iota \phi \iota \lambda \delta \tau \iota \mu o \iota$ . Superficial remedies have been tried with no better result than  $\beta \delta \tau' \stackrel{i}{\epsilon} \kappa \delta \delta \mu \omega \nu$  Turnebus, and  $\beta \delta \tau \epsilon \delta \delta \mu \omega \psi$  Wellauer. A deeper analysis shows that we ought to read  $\beta \delta \tau \epsilon \delta \delta \mu \omega \delta \epsilon$  by anagrammatismus, the scribe having written down the letters in any order according as he deciphered them. For the rhythm compare v. 969. Then,  $\mu \epsilon \gamma \delta \lambda \alpha \iota$  is a gloss on  $\epsilon \rho (\tau \iota \mu o \iota)$ , and  $\phi (\lambda o - \cot \sin s)$  the epithet  $\phi (\lambda \alpha s)$ , which is so much wanted for  $N \nu \kappa \tau \delta s$ , hitherto called  $\alpha \delta \iota \nu \gamma \delta \tau$  in this play, but now properly  $\phi (\lambda \tau)$ , as she is  $\phi \iota \lambda \delta \iota \omega \nu \kappa \delta \sigma \mu \omega \nu \kappa \delta \sigma \mu \omega \nu$ 

Forward! ye civic guards, children of Cranaüs:
lead on the new residents: grateful and kind
be the feelings of all
my people because of these blessings.

970

975

980

A CHOIR OF MAIDENS IN THE PROCESSION.

Start for your home, ye of Night the belovèd worshipful children unchildlike, in joyous procession.

(Be solemnly mute, good people!)

Down in earth's caverns primeval assume your tributes of high adoration in worship and victims.

(Be solemnly mute the whole nation!)

Placid, kindly disposed to this country, come ye this way, ye holy ones, cheered by flambeau, that feast of the flame, as ye go.

(Raise the shout of assent to our anthems!)

κτεάτειρα Agam. 355. φιλότιμοι is fully condemned by its incompatible meaning; while ἐρίτιμοι is said in obedience to τιμᾶτε, v. 954, and εδ σέβοντες, v. 960.

974. εὐθύφρονι Mss. εὕφρονι L. Dindorf. It is quite proper that the epithet  $\mathring{a}\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon s$  should be used, because the contrast was great between the  $\mathring{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\eta}ρατοι \nu \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\delta\epsilon s$ , the maidens, and the  $\phiοβερ\grave{\alpha}$   $\piρ\acute{\delta}σωπα$  of the Erinnyes, which the Eumenides retain.

975. χωρ εί τε. χωρίται Hermann.

977. κὰι τι μᾶι σκὰι θυσί αι σ πε | ρι σέπτα ιτύχαι τε. Herm, removed the first και. Heimsoeth's περίσεπτα τύχοιτ' ἄν satisfies sense and metre: one would have liked something more simple.

979. ἐυθύφρονεσ γᾶ ι. εὔφρονες αἴα Meineke. See αῖα in an iambic senarius, above, v. 60.

982. δι όλολυξ ατε. όλολύξατε Boissonade. It is written correctly, v. 986.

193

N

(ἀντ. β')

σπονδὰν πανετὲς δᾳδάς τ' οἴσει Παλλάδος ἄστυ. Ζεὺς παντόπτας οὕτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα. ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

985

983.  $\sigma\pi\sigma\nu$  δὰι δ' ἐστὸ πᾶν ἔν δαι δεσ ὅ ι κων. Here again the corruptions are profound, and I ascribe them to the same cause as at v. 973. ἐστὸ πᾶν is the scribe's anagrammatic way of putting down  $\pi \alpha \nu \epsilon \tau \dot{\epsilon} s$ . οἴκων is a confusion of  $\kappa$  and  $\iota \sigma$ , not very rare; the  $\nu$  has been added by an interpolator. The rest resolves itself into  $\sigma\pi \sigma \nu \delta \dot{\alpha} \nu$  and δᾶδάs τ'.

 $\sigma$ πονδή is not used elsewhere by Aeschylus except Supplices, 982.  $\sigma$ πονδάν 'a libation' is proper here, and not  $\sigma$ πονδάς 'covenant'.

Pausanias says, 2. 22. 4: "when you have come from Sicyon about two miles, as it seemed to me, on the left hand after you cross the Asopus, there is a grove of holm-oaks και ναὸς  $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ , &ς 'Αθηναῖοι Σεμνάς, Σικυώνιοι δὲ Εὐμενίδας ὀνομάζουσι·κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἡμέρα μιᾳ σφισιν ἄγουσι θύοντες πρόβατα

Yearly the city of Pallas shall bring you drink-offering and torches. Herein the omniscient Zeus and the Moera together agree.

985

(Raise the shout of assent to our anthems!)

έγκύμονα, μελικράτφ δὲ σπονδῆ καὶ ἄνθεσι ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν ''.

984. ἀστο ι σι ζὲυσ-παν τό πτας, and to the same effect Aug. G. Ven. Flor. Farn. Rob. ἀστοῖσι was made out of ἄστν in order to go with what follows. Reading ἄστν, I also put a full stop. The last sentence means much the same as Hor. Carm. Sacc. 73:

"haec Jovem sentire deosque eunctos spem bonam certamque domum reporto."

Hermann and Edd. prefer to read Zeòs  $\delta$   $\pi \alpha \nu \delta \pi \tau \alpha s$ . But Suppl. 139 gives Zeus as  $\pi \alpha \tau \eta \rho$   $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \delta \pi \tau \alpha s$  without the article (Herm., Weil) and  $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \delta \pi \tau \alpha s$  makes a more solemn ending.

+ + 'EYMENÍAEC 'AI C XÝ A O Y CY N  $\Theta \omega$ T  $\epsilon$ A O  $\sigma$ .

195

N 2

# CRITICAL ADDENDA.

A Long and quite unexpected delay in the printing of these sheets enables me to give a list of readings adopted by Professor Weil in the Teubner edition of Aeschylus, revised by him and published last year. These readings are interesting, as being deviations from his own text published in 1861, and as representing how much German scholars have done for the *Eumenides* in twenty-four years.

I accept Kirchhoff's correction of v. 132, ἐκλείπων for ἐκλιπών, and I regard all the other readings, which I had not already made out myself, as being of importance only because Professor Weil has allowed them to appear in the Teubner text.

February 23, 1885.

- 8.  $\tau \dot{\eta} \theta \eta s$  Weil, for  $\phi o i \beta \eta s$ .
- 18.  $\tau o \hat{i} \sigma \delta \epsilon$  Kirchhoff, for  $\tau \acute{o} r \delta \epsilon$ . In this line M has  $\chi \rho \acute{o} r \circ i \sigma$  for  $\theta \rho \acute{o} r \circ i \sigma$  Turnebus.
  - 31. κεΐ τις Έλλήνων πάρα Weil.
  - 33. μαντεύσομαι Kirchhoff.
  - 36. μή με σωκείν μηδ' ἔτ' Weil.
  - 46. λέχος Μ, λόχος Fl.
  - 85-87 Kirchhoff would place before v. 64.

#### CRITICAL ADDENDA.

- 68. "Perhaps, πεδῶνται" Weil.
- 132. ἐκλείπων Kirchhoff.
- 163. "φονολιβεῖ θάκω nescio quis".
- 167. μαντικόν Weil.
- 168. (μυ κὸν M is omitted in my note).
- 174. ¿low of Kirchhoff.
- 184. ἀκρωνίαν (λευσμόν τε) Heimsoeth.
- 203. πρόςφοροι Prien.
- 216. τὸ μὴ ἀντρέπεσθαι Kirchhoff. (μὴ μέλεσθαι Heimsoeth).
- 218. old ov Weil.
- 230. δς προδώ Weil.
- 434. (olim) 236. ὅμως δὲ Weil.
- 238. ἀμμενῶ Dind.
- 261. φεροίμαν έγω Weil.
- 306. εὐχόμεθ' είναι Donaldson.
- 316. ἀμαυροῖσι Weil.
- 322. φρενοπλανής Weil (οίμαι φρενοδαής Μ, sec. man.).
- 331. (παράφρονα Med.).
- 335.  $\gamma \epsilon \rho a s$  Evers (for  $\chi \epsilon \rho a s$ ).
- 343. σπεύδομεν αΐδ' Doederlein.
- 347. After Merkel, inserts as a refrain. ephymnium, 339–342 ἀνατροπὰς—αἴματος νέου.
- 354. Again following Merkel, inserts the refrain, μάλα γὰρ οἶν—ἄταν, 348-351, after v. 354, and a second time after 357.
  - 361. δυσποδοπαίπαλα Weil.
  - 447. αίδοῦμαι Hermann.
  - 448. εὐπέμφελον Herwerden.
  - 507. Weil appropriates Mueller's ἄγοντα.
  - 526, 7. δόμων Med. corr.; then,  $\mu\nu\chi\hat{\omega}\nu$  H. L. Ahrens.
  - 564, 5. λέξαι Weil—δικαιῶ Weil—and ψεύσομαι Μ.
  - 587. παρεσκήνωσεν Fl.
  - 618. "Perhaps  $\theta \epsilon \acute{a}$ " Weil.

#### CRITICAL ADDENDA.

- 619-625. Suspects to have been added after the death of Aeschylus.
  - 627. Note of interrogation after λελεγμένων Kirchhoff.
- 637. "Interpretamentum "Αρειον" (which W. brackets) "expulisse videtur verbum a quo pendebat πάγον".
  - 644. τό τ' ημαρ Grotius.
  - 665. κάγώ τε Μ. κάγωγε Robortello.
  - 737. M has  $\dot{a}\nu\tau\iota \pi a\theta\hat{\eta}$ , v. 766.
  - 738. χθονὶ φθοράν Heimsoeth.
  - 751. ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμεῖτε τῆδε γῆ βαρὺν κότον Weil.
  - 752. σκέψασθε, μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μηδ' ἀκαρπίαν Weil.
  - 754. Ascribes  $\tilde{a}\chi vas$  to Musgrave; reads  $\beta \rho \omega \tau \hat{\eta} \rho as$ .
  - 790. yas Herm. olkelv Med.
  - 825. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν σὲ Weil.
  - 863. σωτηρία Weil.
- 885.  $\delta \gamma \epsilon \mu \hat{\eta} \nu$  Herwerden.  $\beta \alpha \rho \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$  Weil, which had been long ago proposed and rejected.
- 888. ( $\dot{a}\mu\pi\lambda a\kappa \dot{\eta}\mu a\tau a$  is the reading in M. Pauw made the correction).
  - 931. κοινωφελεί Μ. κοινοφιλεί Hermann.
  - 934. Weil reads φρονοῦσι and εὐρίσκειν;
  - 942. ἐν αἰσιμίαισι.
  - 943. Wieseler removed the comma after  $\Delta \omega$ s.
- 944. παρθένου Robortello. παρθένους Μ. Then Weil actually reads σωφρονοῦντες ἔμφρονος.
- 953. Marks a lacuna of two lines after this verse, and supposes it to have contained the word Εὐμενίδες.
  - 966. χώρα Paley.
  - 973. Reads βατε δόμφ.
  - 975. εὐφαμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμί Schwenck.
  - 977. περίσεπτ' ἴν' ἔχητε Weil.
  - 983. Prints the reading of M and pronounces it corrupt.
  - 985. Musgrave put a full stop after  $d\sigma \tau o \hat{s}$ .

# APPENDIX.

2. The first who gave responses. This should be understood in no mystical sense, but as stating the true answers given by Earth to an enquiring and observant race; in matters such as the choice and cultivation of proper food; the quality of plants; dwellings adapted to the climate and the change of seasons; and the like.

The mystical meaning would be like what the Heliconian Sibyl said of herself: 'that even when dead she would not cease to give divinations; for her soul, mingling with the air, would always be borne about in the form of prophecies mysteriously delivered in articulate speech' (like those of Aius Locutius) 'and that grass and trees would grow from her body transformed in the earth, on which conscerated animals would feed, and derive all sorts of colours, forms, and qualities in their inwards,  $\sigma\pi\lambda\dot{a}\gamma\chi\nu a$ , whence men should get prognostications of things to come'. She still exists, by her own account, as 'the Face in the Moon revolving round the Earth'. Plut. de Pyth. Or. 9.

- 5. With violence to none. The Scholium is: "Pindar adopted a different tradition; to the effect that Apollo mastered Pytho by force, and therefore Earth sought to hurl him into Tartarus".
- 6.  $\pi a \hat{i} \hat{s} \times \theta o \nu \delta \hat{s}$ ,  $\Phi o i \beta \eta$ . Hesychius has:  $\Gamma a \iota \eta^i \hat{b} \hat{a}^i \quad \tau \hat{\eta} \nu \quad \Phi o i \beta \eta \nu$ , 'Aντίμαχος. [Antimachus—second in the Alexandrine canon of epic poets, and preferred to Homer by the emperor Hadrian. Enamoured of *Lyde*. Called  $\sigma \omega \phi \rho \omega \nu$ , Anth. 12. 16. Fl. ab. 400 B. c. at Claros, territory of Colophon].
- 9. He left the Delian lake and reef. The lake in Delos was called, so Schol., ή Στρογγύλη, 'The Round,' with epithets τροχοειδής, τροχόεσσα, περιηγής in Hdt. and Callim. [So the island Stromboli in the

Lipari group was called  $\Sigma \tau \rho o \gamma \gamma \acute{\nu} \lambda \eta$  from its round shape, Corn. Sever. Actna, 431:

insula cui nomen facies dedit ipsa Rotundae.]

The lake is now an oval basin to the N. of the island, about 100 yards across at its greatest diameter. Pliny, N. H. 4. 12, describes the isle as being 5 miles in circumference. The town was on the west side, at the foot of the bare granite rock of Cynthus, which is from 400 to 500 feet high—an imposing object in so small an island. Delos had a little river Inopus, said to rise and fall with the Nile. There is no palm-tree there at present, but Cicero, Legg. 1. 1, says that the Delians were still showing in his time the tall and slender one which Homer's Ulysses admired so much, and to which he compared Nausicaa's graceful form, Od. 6. 163: ως σε, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε  $\tau \epsilon \theta \eta \pi a' \tau \epsilon$ . Pliny says, N. H. 16. 44, that the palm-tree under which Apollo was born at Delos was still to be seen, "palma Deli ab ejusdem dei (Apollinis) aetate conspicitur". A thing much harder to believe (but which is, nevertheless, even now most confidently asserted and believed) is that the plane-tree in the island of Cos, under which Hippocrates, 460-357 B.C., used to receive patients, diagnose and prescribe for their ailments, is still alive, and may be seen, its branches supported by pillars of masonry. Cos is not volcanic as Chios is.

Delos is said by Pausanias to be  $\Delta\eta\lambda$ ίων γε εἴνεκα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων, in his time. Travellers have long described it as deserted and abandoned; except, in the daytime, by a few shepherds who rent the pasture for a few crowns a year. The marble fragments of temples and statues were long ago sent in ship-loads to Venice or Constantinople.

This most interesting spot of ground is now called *Dhiles*, as also is the isle of Rhenea, about half a mile to the west. In this narrow strait lies 'the Delian reef',  $\chi o\iota \rho \acute{a}s$  or 'Hog's Back', Virgil's 'Dorsum', which Euripides, Tro. 89 prefers to call  $\chi o\iota \rho \acute{a}\delta \epsilon s$ , since they are two. They are now called by the name 'Rematiari', 'the Sunken or Flooded ones', from  $\acute{\rho} \epsilon \hat{\nu} \mu a$ . Aeschylus, Cicero, and Pliny speak of what they had visited and seen.

18. "Those who imagined that Apollo and the Sun are one and the same divinity, justly dedicated the oracle at Delphi to him and Earth". Plut. de Def. Orac. 43.

21. The care Corycian. Pausanias, 10. 33. 2, after describing three of the most remarkable natural caverns and grottos to be found elsewhere, declares the Corycian to be the greatest and most sightworthy of all, in either Greece or foreign lands. It is now called Σαρανταύλι, 'the Cavern of the 40 Chambers', where 40 seems only to mean a large, or possible, number. It is about 7 miles from Delphi as you go on foot to Parnassus. The principal chamber is said by Leake to be more than 200 feet long and 40 feet high in the middle, agreeing with Pausanias, who says that the height was in proportion to the length. The next chamber is nearly 100 feet long. See Smith's Dict. Geog. s. v. Delphi.

All such spacious grottos were sacred to the Nymphs. Longus, Past. 1. 4, seems to have this verse in view:  $N \nu \mu \phi \hat{\omega} \nu \ \tilde{a} \nu \tau \rho \rho \nu \ \tilde{\eta} \nu$ ,  $\pi \dot{\epsilon} \tau \rho \alpha \ \mu \epsilon \gamma \dot{a} \lambda \eta$ ,  $\tau \dot{a} \ \tilde{\epsilon} \nu \delta o \theta \epsilon \nu \kappa o \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \eta$ .

- ib. Loved of birds. For shelter in inclement weather, and to birds of passage in winter.
- **25.** Bromius seems to be pictured, in the word  $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \rho \rho \dot{\alpha} \psi \alpha s$ , as netting, or knotting, as it used to be called, with a mesh,  $m \dot{e} c h e$ , and shuttle, navette, the reticulated snare in which the hare Pentheus is to be eaught.  $\dot{\rho} \dot{\alpha} \pi \tau \omega$  will refer to the fastening ( $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha}$ , firmly) of the knots, noeuds, of each mesh, macula, muille.

This verse is one of three which occur in Aeschylus, and can be easily remembered as exceptions to the rule of modulating the Tragic senarius by some caesura; the other two being Agam. 943:

πιθοῦ κράτος μέντοι πάρες γ' έκων ἐμοί,

and Prom. V. 640:

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀπιστῆσαί με χρή.

The poet thus avoids the appearance of a too abject subservience to the conditions of harmony.

- 27. Etym. M. s. v. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων λέγεται Πλειστός, ὀξυτόνως. Ἡρωδιανὸς δέ, ἐν Τῆ Καθόλου, Πλεῖστος βαρύνει. The Ἡ καθ' Θλου or Καθολικὴ Προσωδία, or Μεγάλη Προσωδία, is the title of Herodian's great work, in 20 books, on accent and quantity.
- 29. ή Πυθία is ή λεγομένη συμπροφητεύειν Θέμιδος άξία, Plut. de Hdt. Malign. 23.

32. The entrance of enquirers in turns decided by lot (dice) is stated in an intentionally obscure passage of Plut. de EI apud Delphos, 16. (He concludes that the EI means  $\epsilon \tilde{i}$  'Thou art'; cf. "every man that cometh to Him must confess that He is"; after rejecting several solutions proposed.)

The Pythoness was wont to make responses without any question asked, because the god "understands the prayer of the dumb, and hears although no one has spoken", Plut. de Garr. 20:  $\mathring{\eta}$   $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$   $\gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho$   $\Pi \nu \theta \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$   $\kappa \alpha \grave{\epsilon} \pi \rho \grave{\epsilon} \ \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omega \tau \acute{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \omega s$   $\alpha \mathring{\nu} \theta \omega \rho \grave{\epsilon} \chi \rho \eta \sigma \mu o \nu s$   $\epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \omega \theta \acute{\epsilon} \tau \nu \nu a s$   $\epsilon \acute{\kappa} \phi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \epsilon \nu \nu$ .  $\delta \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho$   $\theta \acute{\epsilon} o s$   $\mathring{\phi}$   $\lambda a \tau \rho \epsilon \acute{\nu} \epsilon \nu$ 

καὶ κωφοῦ ξυνίησι, καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούει.

- 38.  $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu$  où corrects the hasty où  $\delta \hat{\epsilon} \nu$ , and brings the truth to its exact dimensions.
- 40.  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi'$   $\dot{\delta}\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\hat{\phi}$   $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ . Delphi itself was called  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ s  $\dot{\delta}\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\hat{\delta}$ s, as marking the middle point of the habitable world between East and West. Strabo, 9. 6, says 'also of Hellas between North and South'. Hesychius mentions Paphos also as being called  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ s  $\dot{\delta}\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\hat{\delta}$ s. Epimenides is said (Plut. de Def. Orac. 1) to have questioned the proper application of the word to any place on a sphere. Two philosophers and travellers who take part in that dialogue are thought by Plut. to illustrate the old myth about the eagles. One of them started from Britain, the other from the country of the Troglodytae, below Berenice (mod. Suakim), and they happened to meet at Delphi at the same time.

Strabo, l.e., adds: δείκνυται καὶ ὀμφαλός τις ἐν τῷ ναῷ τεταινιωμένος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ αἱ δύο εἰκόνες τοῦ μύθον, "There is an 'Omphalos' shown in the Grand Saloon (ναός, σηκός, cella) of the temple, tied round with ribbons and woollen yarn; and upon it are figures of the two eagles mentioned in the tradition". In vases it appears as a conical stone (probably of a phallie nature and origin), and Orestes is represented as seated upon it. Müller refers the reader to plate 35 in Raoul Rochette's Oresteïde, and to a learned explanation of a vase-painting edited by Millin, which I have not been able to consult.

42. Delphi is distant about 70 miles, in a straight line, from Argos. Orestes must be supposed to have fled in one course to some place where he could take ship across the Crissaean gulf. 'Sword

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just drawn' means that he had not sheathed it in the transit from Argos, nor had time to wash away the blood-stains.

- 67. Disgust is shown by the τάςδε τὰς μαργούς and the αίδ' αἰ κατάπτυστοι. He is the God of Light and Gladness: they are the obscene and hideous daughters of Night and Horror.
  - 78. βουκολούμενος, 'driven like eattle by drovers'.
- **80.** Plutarch, who was likely to know, says, Fr. 10: ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος (ξόανον) ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἱδρυθέν, ὁ μέχρι νῦν ᾿Αθηναῖοι διαφυλάττουσιν.
- 89. Έρμῆς, called Σῶκος 'the Mighty', his planet-star being Σεχές in the Babylonian tongue; Έριούνιος 'the Great Helper'; 'Ακάκητα 'he who conducts you without harm', 'the Safe-Conductor'. His analogue in the Roman Catholic scheme is the Archangel Michael.
- 103. The 'mentis oculi', Cic. Or. 29, never close. Aelian, V. H. 3. 11, says: "The Peripatetics make the soul coil itself up in the region of the breast by night, and then become μαντικωτέρα", imbued with more than human intelligence.
  - 114. ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Εκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο. Ιλ. 22. 161.
- 153. This lyric senarius is represented by a senarius also in the English translation; and this liberty has been taken in the choral odes which follow, wherever it helped the full expression.
- 157. Elsewhere, in six places, Acschylus means 'a goad' by κέντρον, such as was used by the drivers of bullocks and cows. After he has said διφρηλάτου, however, κέντρον can only mean μάστιξ, which he makes quite clear by saying μαστίκτορος, v. 159.

Κέντρον occurs only twice in Homer: Il. 23. 387, where it is the same thing as the μάστιγα of ib. v. 383; Tydides has a μάστιξ, ib. 430. The other place is 23. 430, where it must also mean a μάστιξ.

In 11. 5. 478 Hera lashes, with a whip, horses which are  $\kappa \epsilon \nu \tau \rho \eta \nu \epsilon \kappa \epsilon as$ , 'submitting to the spur of the lash', in v. 752.

Hesychius gives: κέντρον δόρυ, μάστιξ. The Etym. M. has: κεντρηνεκέας τοις κέντροις. ὅ ἐστι ταις μάστιξι, εἴκοντας. and under κεντρότυπον μαστιγίαν.

The  $\delta \iota \pi \lambda o \hat{i}_s$   $\kappa \acute{e}\nu \tau \rho o \iota \sigma \iota$  of Soph. O. R. 809 means a whip with two lashes, of which see an example under the word flagellum, in Smith's Dict. Antiq. This will be the same as the  $\delta \iota \pi \lambda \hat{\eta}$   $\mu \acute{a}\sigma \tau \iota \xi$  of Aesch. Agam. 642, and  $\delta \acute{v}o$   $\kappa \acute{e}\nu \tau \rho a$  are simply 'two lashes'.

This passage is imitated by Soph. Ant. 1272, foll:

έν δ' έμῷ κάρᾳ θεὸς τότ' ἄρα τότε μέγα βάρος μ' ἔχων ἔπαισεν, ἐν δ' ἔσεισεν ἀγρίοις όδοῖς—

"the god, like a charioteer, let drive at my head with a very heavy lash; and, shaking the reins, urged me on to wild racings", etc.

172. Though fled underground never is he delivered. Aeschylus here allows the Furies to put forward their own creed, and that which was the belief of all the baser sort of heathens, as to a state of punishment and torture of the soul after death.

Plato does not venture to propose to the more intelligent portion of his countrymen any alternative except that of everlasting unconsciousness, or else, everlasting conversation with Orpheus, Musaeus, and innumerable others of both sexes, Apol. e. 33; for the Orphic doctrine given in Phaedo, c. 13, is only a piece of rhetoric, and Dantesque absurdity. Virgil makes Aeneas and the Sibyl leave the world of disembodied souls by the ivory gates: that is the same as saying: 'All this about Erebus and Elysium is very pretty and interesting as a picture for the fancy; but it is not true, you know'. To the average Greek the only heaven of heavens was such as that won by the 192 Athenians who fell at Marathon, and had their names and their fathers', and their native hamlets' names inscribed on the ten pillars of their tribes that were raised upon the field of battle. For those who had no such glorious chance or lot, there was the satisfaction of leaving behind them the reputation of having been good and honourable citizens, and worthy sons of their native country. The Orphic heaven was a μέθη αἰώνιος, one everlasting wine or beer bibbing Walhalla.

182.  $\delta\phi\theta a\lambda\mu\omega\rho\nu\chi o\iota$ . 'They deprive of sight those Royal Prinees who are not to reign, in the following way. The king gives a written order to the nearest person in attendance (for in Persia there is no executioner by profession) to go and take out the eyes of such and such a child. He goes to the door of the women's apartment, where the

child is kept, and says that he comes in the king's name to speak to the young Prince for his good. The order is taken in: its meaning is well understood, and eauses tears and screams; but the women are bound to let the child go. The eunuchs bring him out to the messenger, who throws them the written order. Then sitting down on the ground he lays the child at its length on his knees, with its face turned up, and holds its head with his left arm. With one hand he draws back the eyelid, and with the other, holding his dagger by the point, he digs out the eyeballs whole, without disfiguring them, just as you might the kernel of a nut. He puts them in a cloth and carries them to the king. Meanwhile the child is taken back to the scraglio, where they stanch his wounds as well as they can'. Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin: Amsterdam, 1711; vol. 11., p. 214.

'The punishment of perjurers and false witnesses is to pour molten lead into their mouths . . . . . Pickpockets are branded in the forehead with hot iron. House-breakers and coiners have the hand chopped off. . . . . The most common kind of capital punishment is to cut open the belly from right to left through the navel. . . . . The other kinds of punishment are impalement; chopping off the feet, letting the person die by the haemorrhage; building the condemned up to the chin between four walls, a fine cement being plastered in where the stones touch the neck: this, drying, stops the respiration, and the victim dies raving mad': ibid. pp. 301, 302. 'Ganching' is when a criminal is taken to the top of a tower, from the sides of which long keen blades project horizontally, and is thrown down on them.

A short passage from Cesare Cantù's Margherita Pusterla, Milano, 1845, will sufficiently indicate the practice in the Italy of the 14th century: 'Many had lost an eye or a hand, because they had undergone the penalty imposed by the laws of Milan for theft; the loss of an eye for the first offence, the chopping off of a hand for the second, the gibbet for the third', p. 488.

The above are but a very small sample of the sufferings which men have inflicted on one another, and on women and children. Civilised Europe is in every degree as guilty as the Persia of Zoroaster and Mahomet. Some form of fanaticism has been the cause of the worst brutalities:

<sup>&</sup>quot;man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn".

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It may well be said that 'man's most cruel miseries are devised and perpetrated by himself', "homini plurima ex homine sunt mala": Pliny, N. H. vII. proëm.

184. παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνις. Aeschylus uses χλούνης in Fr. 60 (Herm.):—

ΑΓΓ. μακροσκελής μέν. ΛΥΚ. ἆρα μη χλούνης τις ην;

which Hermann translates:

NUNC. Praelonga certe crura. Lycurg. Num locusta erat?

where one does not see whether he meant a grasshopper or a lobster by his locusta. Locusta (Span. langosta, Eng. lobster) means the shell-fish in Plaut. Men. 5. 5. 24, with allusion to the lobster's hard, protruding eyes, by firmly pressing which you make him let go the grip of his claw. The conjecture that  $\chi\lambda o\acute{\nu}\nu\eta s$  there means  $\gamma\acute{\nu}\nu s$   $\tau \iota \mathring{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}-\delta\omega\nu$  has nothing to support it: Hermann failed to see the meaning. The play must have been a Satyric Drama; and when the Messenger tells Lycurgus that Dionysus had long legs, the king, with allusion to the god's amatory disposition, asks  $\mathring{a}\rho a \ \mu \mathring{\eta} \ \chi\lambda o\acute{\nu}\nu\eta s \ \tau \iota s \ \mathring{\eta}\nu$ ; which Plautus would probably have rendered by:

## N. Crus procerum. L. Numquid et par testium proceritas?

Dionysus was called ἐνορχὴs in Samos. The wild boar, σύαγρος, was also called ὀσχέδωρος, Athen. 9. 64. 65, that is, μακρῷ or μεγάλῳ ὀσχέφ δεδωρημένος. It is also called ἀσχέδωρος, just as ἄστακος, the Greek name of the 'lobster', is also spelled ὅστακος, Hesych. ε. ν. That species of the palm-tree which was called σύαγρος was remarkable for the fact that its pomum or 'date', with its lignum or 'stone' ("hoc est semen ejus"), was "grande, durum, horridum". The propagating power of this wild-boar palm-tree's lignum was so great, that Pliny says it was from this that the bird phoenix was named, so as "emori ac renasci ex scipso". Pliny, N. H. 13. 4, also speaks of the "flos et lanugo" of male palm-trees, and says that the sterile sort were called spadones.

The modern names for χλούνης or σύαγρος, cignale, cinghiale, sanglier, are from Latin singularis, because he feeds alone, except in breeding-time (Aristarchus took χλούνης to mean μόνιος, singu-

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laris). Then he is pre-eminent for amorous fury, Opp. Cyn. 3. 367, 372:

θηλυτέρη δ' ἀλίαστος ἐφορμαίνων ἀλάληται καὶ μάλ' ἐρωμανέων σφριγάα . . . καὶ χόλος ἀμφὶ γάμοισι πολὺ πλέον ἠέπερ αἰδώς.

A three-year-old wild boar is ragot in Fr., in Eng. a 'hog-steer'.

The above remarks suffice to show how wide of the mark were Aristotle, Aelian, and Eustathius in taking  $\chi\lambda o\acute{\nu}\eta$ s to mean  $\sigma\hat{\nu}s$   $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\tau o\mu\acute{a}s$ , the Latin maialis, from which the Span. jabali is perhaps derived by inversion of the letters mai.

It seems to me probable that Aeschylus regarded  $\chi\lambda o\acute{\nu}\eta$ s as combining the notions of  $\chi\lambda o\grave{\eta}$  and  $\epsilon\grave{\nu}\nu\acute{\eta}$ , the former in the sense of pubes, the signs of puberty, and the latter in that of concubitus cum femina, which is its proper meaning. Homer says  $\theta a\lambda\epsilon\rho\grave{\delta}s$   $\pi a\rho\acute{a}\kappa o\iota\tau\iota s$  of Hector, Il. 6. 430, and  $\theta a\lambda\epsilon\rho\grave{\delta}s$  of Nausicaa's marriage, Od. 6. 66, the word meaning the same as  $\chi\lambda o\epsilon\rho\acute{o}s$ ,  $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{o}s$ .

Thus  $\chi\lambda o\hat{\nu}\nu$ s means pubertas, as Weil saw, who is followed by Paley in a very useful note.  $\chi\lambda o\hat{\nu}\eta$ s is aper masculissimus, as Weil says, with the collateral notion of 'most furious, raging'.

Plutarch denies that the castration of boys was learned by the Persians from the Greeks, de Herod. Malign. 13.

- 191. In the sense of 'imparting, attributing, or imputing' τρίβεσθαι, not τρίβειν, is used, as: ἄγος προςτέτριπται, 'he has attributed the guilt'; προστριβόμενος τοὖνειδος, 'imputing the disgrace'.
- 208. οὐκ ἂν γένοιθ' ὅμαιμος αἰθέντης φόνος. They regard their position as unassailable, on the strength of the old belief:

δειναί γάρ κατά γαΐαν Έρινύες είσι τοκήων-

parenticide being regarded as the most unnatural of crimes. Apollo replies to the effect that that is an antiquated and erroneous notion; for that πάντες ἄνθρωποι πρεσβυτάτην νομίζουσι πασῶν τὴν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς φιλίαν, 'all men regard the love of husband and wife as taking precedence of all other affections', Musonius (under Nero, Vespasian, etc.) in Stob. Flor. 67. 20; ib. 67. 21, πρώτη καὶ στοιχειωδεστάτη τῶν κοινωνιῶν ἡ κατὰ τὸν γάμον, 'the first and most elementary of all fellowships is marriage'.

213, 14. εὐνὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μόρσιμος ὅρκου 'στι μείζων τῆ δίκη φρουρουμένη. The words μόρσιμος, etc., from Aeschylus can only mean, that monogamy for the purpose of the procreation of legitimate

children, so paramount a matter in Athenian, Roman, and indeed all duly civilised countries, is a physical law of the human race, and that a faithful observance of the conjoint  $\epsilon \dot{\nu}\nu\dot{\gamma}$  is a thing of more account than a promise made at some solemnisation of the holy rite, which is only a  $\ddot{o}\rho\kappa$  or sacramentum.

But this is wholly irrelevant, however true: it is no answer at all, when the Furies have urged "Orestes killed his mother: she killed one who was only her husband", to reply, "the marriage relation, faithfully observed, is greater than an oath". The right answer would be, "the holy marriage relation is more important and binding than is the filial one", more important, politically speaking; and more binding, because by marriage the filial relation becomes obscured and in many respects inoperative, for:

"a son is a son till he gets him a wife".

This would agree with the terms in which monogamy is said to have been first instituted, Gen. 2. 24, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife". This right answer cannot be got from our text; nor does the text seem capable of emendation in the right direction by means of some such word as τόκου or οἴκου in place of ὄρκου.

It will not suit the passage to suppose Apollo to mean 'that which we Olympians regard as  $\mu \epsilon \gamma \iota \sigma \tau os$   $\delta \epsilon \iota \nu o \tau a \tau os$   $\tau \epsilon$ ,' and it happens that when Herè took that oath to her husband, Hom. Il. 15. 37, it was true only in a literal form, and she had a mental reservation: "I swear by Styx that I did not tell Sleep to do it—but I knew very well that he would understand that to be part of the bargain". Alas, poor Styx!

The Athenian  $\xi\phi\eta\beta$ os took no oath to love, cherish, and obey his father and mother, Stob. 43. 48; but it has always been regarded as indispensable that a wife should be docile. Hes. Op. 697, iva  $\eta\theta\epsilon\alpha$   $\kappa\epsilon\delta v\alpha$   $\delta\iota\delta\dot{\alpha}\xi\eta$ s—that she should be  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\circ\dot{\eta}\theta\eta$ s  $\kappa\alpha$   $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\theta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ , on which point Socrates fully agrees with Ischomachus, Xen. Oec. 7. 10; and it is still required, and stated to be according to divine ordinance, that a bride should "give her troth", that she will "love, cherish, and obey" her husband.

Are, then, the two lines interpolated? Now that everything has been pleaded in their behalf without any success, we should have to come to the conclusion that they are, but for a suggestion of Weil's

to which I gave too little heed when writing the critical note, because of the meaning which he attached to the lost line. He says that the ratio antithetica shows that there is a lacuna of one line after v. 208, of which the meaning was: "itaque nostrum non est eam persequi". That could be fully inferred from v. 208, and there was no occasion to say it. But supposing the line to have been like:

ώς δ' οὐ κτανών παῖς μητέρ' ὅρκον ὀμνύτω,

'let Orestes take an oath that he, her child, did not kill his mother', then it may be seen why Apollo says ὅρκου in v. 214. The meaning will now be: 'Clytemnestra, with only two factitious or sentimental grievances, violated the prime law of society, and then murdered the man against whom she had sinned. Orestes, under the greatest provocation, violated an inferior law; and is less criminal than his mother, although he cannot sucar that he did not kill her'.

228. Compare *Choëph*. 1064 according to my correction (pub. 1862):

(καί σε) θεδς φυλάσσοι καλ ρύοιτο συμφορᾶς

where a codex of Rob. gave καὶ ῥύοισι συμφοράς. M gives:

θεδ σ φ υλάσσοι. και ρίοι σ-ι συμφορᾶ σ.

The καιρίοισι συμφοραῖς, which is universally read, is not translatable: opposite meanings are given by editors:  $\phi$ υλάσσω τε ρύομαί τε is a regular form in Homer: λέγειν τὰ καίρια or its equivalent, and καιρία πληγη are the only ways in which Aesch. uses καίριος.

280. As an illustration of Eur. Andr. 638:

νόθοι τε πολλοί γνησίων αμείνονες

we may call to mind Philip Falconbridge in King John, who says:

"I would not be 'sir Nob' (nobilis) in any case".

But perhaps the verse, χρόνος καθαίρει πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ, is not as good as it has been thought to be. The extinction of a crime by oblivion is compared with Time's increase in age: whereas 'Time' simply continues, without any old age or growing decrepitude; being 'the soul of the universe' according to Pythagoras.

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306. εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι. The corruption seems to have been caused by a gloss, οἰόμεθ', written by some one who did not well understand the meaning of εὐχόμεθ', taken from Homer's εὖχομαι εἶναι. These old Furies use the old phrase in its old-fashioned meaning. When strangers met one another in Homerie times, and had any occasion to converse, it was regarded as a breach of good manners for one to ask the other who he really was. The interlocutor might have, like Ulysses, some very good and proper reasons for giving a false account. So εὖχομαι εἶναι meant 'I give myself out to be', and it is always implied that the statement is true only if there is no motive for disguise. After mutual confidence and intimacy, in some degree, have been established, and one thinks he may fairly ask the other for a true account about something, then the formula is:

## άλλ' άγε μοι τόδε είπε και άτρεκέως κατάλεξον,

- 'But come, tell me this, and relate me each point  $(\kappa a \tau \grave{a})$  truly'; after which request a falsehood was deemed a lie, and no longer excusable. Much the same thing is practically in vogue now.
- 316. The pathos is very observable in Mâtep å  $\mu$ ' έτικτες. The tense of έτικτες reminds the mother of the moment and the agony of the birth. Anth. 7. 531,  $\mu$ άτηρ å σ' έτεκεν.
- 322. As to the quantity of the penult in  $\phi \rho \epsilon \nu o \delta a \lambda \dot{\eta} s$ , the question is: 'which has the best effect on a correct ear in this particular line, whether,  $\phi \phi \phi \not = \not = 0$ , or  $\phi \phi \not = \not = 0$ ?' In the latter case the rhythmical anceps, marked  $\times$ , will be like the penult of a seazontic Iambic senarius, or a dochmiac foot of which the penult is a syllable long metrically, but having the thesis, i.e. anceps.

The reasons why it must remain a matter for individual taste and preference are: that Plutarch, who was profoundly learned in Greek philosophy, and quotes Empedoeles hundreds of times, ascribes to him, *Sympos.* iv. p. 265, Tauchn. ed.:

ώς γλυκὺ μὲν ἐπὶ γλυκὺ μάρπτε, πικρὸν δ' ἐπὶ πικρὸν ὅρουσεν, ὀξὺ δ' ἐπ' ὀξὺ ἔβη, δαλερὸν δαλεροῦ λαβέτω,

which is given by Macrobius (Sat. vii. 5, Gronovius Jac. 1692), who wrote more than 300 years after Plutarch, as

ως γλυκὸ μὲν γλυκὸ μάρπτε, πικρὸν δ' ἐπὶ πικρὸν ὅρουσεν, ὁξὸ δ' ἐπ' ὀξὸ ἔβη, θερμὸν δ' ἐποχεύετο θερμῷ, where  $\theta \epsilon \rho \mu \partial \nu$  δ' ἐποχεύετο  $\theta \epsilon \rho \mu \hat{\varphi}$  cannot be admitted as genuine, but only as a restoration of the verse by the help of glosses. Empedocles formed his word δἄλερός, 'hot', from δαίω through δᾶλός. He probably thought that it was much the same as  $\phi a \nu \epsilon \rho \delta s$ , 'bright', by the side of  $\phi \bar{\alpha} \nu \delta s$ , 'bright', and  $\phi \bar{\alpha} \nu \delta s$ , 'torch'; as ἀδρᾶνης from  $\delta \rho \bar{\alpha} \omega s$ ; τἄγοῦχος from τᾶγη΄; τιθασὸς from τίτθη; μαλακὸς from βλᾶξ. He is rather impatient of control in these matters. If empyréan will not suit, he says empyrean, rather than lose a word so graphic. δαλερὸς unites the two ideas of heat and steady light, for expressing which  $\theta \epsilon \rho \mu \delta s$  and  $\phi \lambda \delta \rho \epsilon \rho \delta s$ , etc., are quite unsuited. See also that line of his, Athen. 3. 30:

# ὄστρεια συμμεμυκότα τὰ διελεῖν μὲν ἔστι χαλεπά, καταφαγεῖν δ' εὐμαρέα,

where he chose to say εὐμαρέα rather than the less musical καταφαγείν δ' ἐστ' εὐμαρῆ.

Plutarch, who records, de Pyth. Orac. 8, 'Αριστοτέλης μὲν οὖν μόνον Ομηρον ἔλεγε κινούμενα ποιεῖν ὀνόματα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, remarks of Empedocles, Symposiaca, 5. 2, "that he was wont to make his subject splendid with the most comely and prepossessing epithets, not only for the sake of the beautiful word-painting, καλλιγραφία, as it were with flowery colours, but he makes each of them a representative of some real attribute or faculty; thus, 'the blood-replenished liver', 'the cloud-gathering air', 'the soul-investing earth' (of the human body)''; πολυαίματον ἡπαρ—νεφεληγερέτης ἀήρ—ἀμφιβρότη χθών'.

A more probable correction of our Fr, would be:

# δαλερόν δαλερφ δ' ἐπόχευεν,

and it is the active,  $\epsilon \pi o \chi \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma a \iota$ , in Ar. Gen. An. 2. 5. 6, the only place where the verb is quoted.

Aeschylus,  $\pi o \lambda \hat{v} \chi \rho \acute{o} rov \acute{e} \nu \Sigma \iota \kappa \epsilon \lambda \acute{a} \delta \iota \alpha \tau \rho \acute{u} \nu \alpha s$ , and being of much the same mind in philosophy as Empedocles, came to use his words and his way of sounding them: the two greatest geniuses then living, and with the strongest intellects in unison, they must have been very much in company; for who would not rather talk with Empedocles than with Pindar, Simonides (Aeschylus wrote his own epitaph), Bacchylides, Xenophanes, Epicharmus?

Perhaps it is to this intimacy with the staunch republican Empedocles that we must refer the warning of Aesch. below, v. 489:  $\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\sigma\tau\dot{\nu}\dot{\mu}\epsilon\nu\dot{\nu}\nu$  ( $\beta\dot{\nu}$ ) alvé $\sigma\eta$ s, which seems quite superfluous, unless we remember that Aeschylus had lately been with Empedocles, and at the court of Hiero; for the Athenians of that time were in no need of any such admonition.

In Choëph. 804, foll. :--

τὸ δὲ καλῶς κτίμενον ὧ μέγα ναίων,

Aesch. clearly indicated that the penult is anceps, by repeating the same rhythm in the next line.

I prefer  $\phi \rho \epsilon \nu o \delta \tilde{a} \lambda \tilde{\eta}$ s here, because the long thesis seems to tend to deaden the animation of the rhythm. So thinks Weil. See pp. 197, 227.

325. Since a Moera spins a thread of fate for the Furies, the Moerae must be much elder sisters, and born in a remoter night.

 $\delta$ ιανταία is properly said of a thrust,  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\dot{\eta}$ , given straight in front and going right through.

- **334.**  $\epsilon \phi$  belongs to  $\epsilon \kappa \rho \acute{a} \nu \theta \eta$ , not to  $\delta \mu i \nu$ . Hesych.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \kappa \rho a \nu \epsilon \nu$   $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota$ .
- 335.  $\partial \theta a \nu a \tau \omega \nu$  must here mean the *other* deathless ones who dwell above ground, on Olympus.
- 342. εὖνιν was corrupted to νέον by an imperfect anagrammatismus: a perfect one is to be found in nesi for sine, Fest. p. 165 ed. Müll. The reading of the Aldine ed., which here is νεοῦ, often gives a hint of the true, for some unknown reason.
- 343. τᾶςδε μερίμνας. The difference between τάσδε and τᾶσδε ἀφελεῖν is thus explained by Manuel Moschopulus, circ. 1300 A.D.: οἶον, ἀφήρημαι λόγων, ἀφήρημαι παιδείας ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ εἶχον, τὸν λόγον φημὶ καὶ τὴν παιδείαν. δυνατὸν δέ μοι ἦν κτήσασθαι, καὶ διότι ἤμέλησα οὐκ ἔλαβον εἰς τοιαῦτα οὖν συντάσσεται γενικῆ, ὡς προείπομεν. ὅταν δὲ ἔχω τι καὶ στερηθῶ τούτον, τότε τὸ ἀφήρημαι συντακτέον αἰτιατικῆ. Therefore τᾶςδε is right here.
- 351. Hesych. 8. v.: Καμπεσίγουνος (like ὧλεσίοικος, said of her, Sept. 720). ή Έρινὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάμπτειν τὰ γόνατα τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων.
- **360**. λάμπq. The actual words of Hesychius are: λάμπ $\eta$  τὸν παχὸν ἀφρὸν τὸν ἐπιπολάζοντα τῷ οἴν $\varphi$  φασίν ('mother'). λαπτής

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- (sic) λαπτὴν ἔλεγον τὸν παχὰν ἀφρὸν τὸν ἐπιπολάζοντα τῷ οἴνῷ πηλώδη· ἄλλοι, βόρβορον ἔλην (also 'mother')· ἄλλοι, τὸν περὶ τῆ ἄλμη (salt incrustation) ἐφιστάμενον ἐν ταῖς λίμναις (seum)· οἱ δὲ, τὸν περὶ τοῦ γαλακτὸς ὑμενώδη πηλόν (cream). λέμφος· ὁ μυξώδης καὶ μάταιος (Fr. morveux; Span. moquifero; Ital. moccicoso). Plut. adv. Stoicos says that gnats and mosquitos delight in λάμπη καὶ ὅξει, 'the mother and fungus on sour wine'.
- **369.** Hesych. gives καταφατουμένη (sie)· κατακτωμένη, κυρίως δὲ τὸ ἐκ προκαταλήψεως, 'securing the possession; properly, by precedence in occupation'.
- 372. πρέμνα τὰ ἰσχυρὰ στελέχη τῶν κατα βλαστημάτων, Hesych. Read τῶν δένδρων καὶ βλαστημάτων.
- 381, note. Also, a verb which governs two cases may take one of them in one part of a sentence and the other in another.
- 391. Observe the intense love of the Greeks for clearness, exactness, and due brevity in speech.
- 392. The corruption was introduced by some actor who was unaware of that meaning of airòs in composition; and the corruption had become inveterate when M was transcribed.
- 419.  $\pi a \lambda a \mu \nu a \hat{i} o s$ . Usually connected with  $\pi a \lambda \acute{a} \mu \eta$ , as in M. Moschop. s. v., δ οἰκείαις χερσὶ φόνον ἐργασάμενος, like αὐτόχειρ. The connexion with  $\pi a \lambda \acute{a} \sigma \sigma \omega$ ,  $\pi a \lambda a \gamma \mu \delta s$ , 'defilement by spots of blood', seems possible. The αὐτοέντης, Soph. O. R. 107, etc., points to ἔντεα, the 'actual wielder of the weapon'; whereas αὐθέντης, supra v. 208, seems to point to θείνω, 'the actual striker of the blow'.
- 433. That is: "When I had summoned the Argive people to give them the true account of what I had done (Choëph. 973–1062), there also was the shawl (which I displayed), testifying clearly, after 8 years, by its stains and rents, to the crime of my mother and her paramour. The peculiar use of  $\epsilon \kappa \mu a \rho \tau \nu \rho \epsilon \bar{\nu} \nu$  to express 'evidence given by the dying' ( $\epsilon \kappa$ ,  $\epsilon \xi \omega$  = outside of the court), or 'found to have been left behind by the dead', or 'sent from a great distance', is appropriate here; so also if the  $\epsilon \kappa$  signified only 'distinctly and clearly'. But the meaning is also that of the  $\epsilon \kappa$  in  $\epsilon \xi \alpha \gamma \epsilon \lambda \delta \omega$  and  $\epsilon \xi \alpha \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \omega$ , 'brought clear evidence out of the palace after a long time'.

The verb occurs once in Homer, Il. 5. 390,  $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \kappa a \lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} s$  Ή $\epsilon \rho \iota \beta \rho \iota a$  'E $\rho \mu \dot{\epsilon} \dot{q}$   $\dot{\epsilon} \dot{\xi} \dot{\eta} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon}$ , i. e. 'brought word out of the house to Hermes that Ares was imprisoned within'.

442. Athana says much the same thing in Aesch. Suppl. 397, οὖκ εὖκριτον τὸ κρῦμα.

448. οὖκ εὖπέμπελον. Cf. Hesych. δυσπέμπελος ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς θαλάττης, ἡ δυσχείμερος καὶ τραχεῖα καὶ ταραχώδης περὶ δὲ τοῦ κολυμβητοῦ, δυσάρεστος. The latter seems to be said of a diver for purple-oysters, πορφυρεύς, or of a sponge-hunter, σπογγοθήρας, ἀρνευτήρ, urinator, as 'hard to please', not only as to weather, but also as to the absence of the much-dreaded monsters of the deep, described in Opp. Hal. etc. πέμφελα· δύσκολα, τραχέα, Hesych.

485. The corrections here are  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\dot{\nu}$  (Weil),  $\kappa\sigma\rho\deltai\alpha$ s (Canter),  $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\nu\hat{\eta}$  and  $\kappa\dot{\nu}\nu$ . A curious theory has been broached, that a pyrrhie word, such as  $\phi\lambda\delta\gamma\alpha$ ,  $\chi\theta\delta\nu\alpha$ ,  $\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\dot{\alpha}$ , which is a noun or an adjective, very rarely suffers clision in Greek Tragedy.

There are over 160 fair instances of the clision in the 33 tragedies and fragments, and, a priori, one can conceive no reason (as the meaning of the word, and its case, remain quite clear after the clision) why it should not be made. Everything else in Greek Prosody has a raison  $d^{\gamma} \hat{e}tre$ . See infr., p. 237, for the faintness of  $\theta \lambda \hat{u}\psi s$ .

But on applying the test of experiment, it will be found that those who have published Greek verses of late years, and written a hundred-fold more, have also very rarely had occasion to make this elision. I have  $\phi\rho\ell\nu$  twice and  $\kappa\delta\kappa$  once among 297 Greek verses in the *Dublin Translations*. The punctuation seems to make no difference: as, e.g., Eur. Heracl. 939:

# τέρψαι θέλοντες την φρέν'. ἐκ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦς.

The restriction was not suggested by the Homeric poems, which have  $\kappa \acute{a} \kappa'$ , adj. or subst., 15 times;  $\kappa \acute{v} v'$  twice,  $\kappa \acute{v} v a$  in full only thrice;  $\phi \rho \acute{e} v'$  thrice;  $\phi \lambda \acute{o} \gamma'$ , etc.

'The watch-dog over the passions' was  $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\nu\eta$ s at Athens in the Areopagus, where everyone could see the seats of unwrought stone on which the silent judges sat when trying the accused. The judges were  $\sigma\iota\omega\pi\hat{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon$ s  $\kappa\alpha\tau$ '  $\dot{a}\nu\dot{a}\gamma\kappa\eta\nu$ , 'not allowed to speak'.

In the same way every court-house and county gaol, every cathe-

dral, church, and chapel in the land, is a 'manifest watch-dog of the heart'.

Except for a comical and almost amiable impudence, every poet, except Shakspeare (and Goethe, Dr. J. K. Ingram) from Homer down, regards the dog with affection, and uses the word as one of specially good signification. Gordon Cumming says that even in a wild state the dog has little fear of man or hostility towards him. Clytemnestra ealls herself 'a brave watch-dog of the house', δωμάτων κύνα ἐσθλήν, Agam. 607; and speaks of Agamemnon as σταθμῶν κύνα, ib. 902, 'a watch-dog of the folds'. Lucretius habitually speaks of dogs with tenderness: 'consueta domi catulorum blanda propago', 4, 994, where 'blanda' means 'good-tempered and affectionate', as in 5, 1065, 'at catulos blande quum lingua lambere tentant'; and again, 'levisomna canum fido cum pectore corda', 'the light-sleeping wits of the dogs with their faithful affection'. Cf. Evander's custodes canes, Virg. Aen. 8. 462. Charles Nodier says: "Je vous réponds que la plus grande preuve des justes vengeances de Dieu contre notre folle espèce, c'est la brièveté de la vie du chien".

Virgil repeats Hesiod's precept (καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα κομεῖν, μὴ φείδεο σίτου, 'keep thou also a dog with sharp teeth: give him plenty of food') in the words 'nee tibi cura canum fuerit postrema sed . . . pasce sero pingui', 'nor let thy latest care be about thy dogs: feed them with rich whey'. D. Heinsius observes that in the λόγια the  $\Delta$ αίμονες were called κύνες, as being the watchers over men's conduct when the superior gods had left the world. Lycophron calls diviners 'Απόλλωνος κύνας. In Choëph. 924, 1054, the Furies are μητρὸς ἔγκοτοι κύνες, 'dogs enraged against a trespasser'; they are βίου κύνες, 'watchers of man's life and ways', in Anth. 7. 437.

No one will rightly appreciate the lines lower down,

κερδών ἄθικτον τοῦτο βουλευτήριον, αἰδοῖον, ὀξύθυμον, εύδόντων ὅπερ ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα γῆς,

unless he observes that Athana's Court of Areopagus is compared to a 'watch-dog' over the heart and passions of the Athenian people. A dog is κερδῶν ἄθικτος, 'projectum non odoratur cibum', Hor. Epod. 6. 10; he is αἰδοῖος, 'worthy of respect and kind regard', as in the precepts of Hesiod and Virgil; he is ἀξύθυμος, or, as Proclus says in his Comm. on the passage in Hesiod, δάκνειν ἕτοιμος, ὀξνόδους, δηκτι-

κός, εἰς τὸ ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς κλέπτας; he is eminently 'a watchful guard o'er them who sleep', because of τὸ φυλακτικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσποτον, Sch. Agam. 3, and Livy, 5. 47, 'sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus'; Lucr. l. c. 'levisomna canum fido cum pectore corda': Aesch. Sept. 621, ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν, 'a stranger-hating doorkeeper'.

It was necessary to make some remarks like the above, because the emendation  $\kappa \dot{v} \dot{v}$  is startling to a mind unprepared.

It is strange that Aeschylus, who died about 120 years before Epicurus was born, should supply by anticipation that which is lacking in the account of Epicurean doctrines as given by Lucretius, viz. principles of morality; the answers to the questions: What is right? wrong? just? unjust? Perhaps Epicurus had not discovered them, any more than he had those other things (hinted at in the word  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \gamma \kappa \lambda \iota \sigma \iota s$ ) which helped the gases and molecules to form his universe, such as electricity, magnetism, rotary motion, churning motion, chemical action, and all those agents which are still unknown. The 6th Book of the de Rerum Natura is, no doubt, unfinished; but the verses, 6. 92, 3:

'tu mihi supremae praescripta ad candida calcis currenti spatium praemonstra, callida Musa',

show that another 200 lines would probably have made the intended work complete.

Aeschylus saw that the conditions of a good state of society are φύσει before they become θέσει and νόμφ. You find them out as you find out any other natural law; then you give them a written form by legislation, and enforce obedience by penalties. The criminal impulse that is not cheeked by these must be erushed as you crush a caterpillar that was eating into the heart of your rose; it must be exterminated like the sewage-gas that was destroying the health of your children. Men and women become bad through some evil conditions of birth and breeding: when they have become so, then, as Thucydides says, 'if the heart is fully set on doing something wicked, there is not any hindrance to be had, either by the law's strong hand or any other terror'. H. de Balzae: "les hommes, race impure, dont avec Dieu, l'enfer, le bourreau et les gendarmes, on parvient à peine à comprimer les détestables instincts". Remove the evil conditions of birth and breeding as much as possible; if you cannot, 'continuo culpam ferro compesce'.

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A man deserves no praise for being a good citizen, save in relation to the bad citizens. He does that which is the condition of human existence. Those who really merit praise and glory are they:

> '... ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi; quique pii vates, et Phoebo digna locuti; inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes; quique sui memores alios fecere merendo'.

507. παντόφυρτ'. Compare Eur. Ino, Fr. 12, πάντοθεν θηρώμενοι σύμμικτα, μὴ δίκαια καὶ δίκαι' ὅμως, which is said of collectors of wealth. The first meaning of φύρειν appears to be, not 'mix' nor 'defile' but, 'earry for the purpose of adding to something else'. One cannot but think of German führen and Fuhr, ferre and fur, φέρειν and φῶρ. 'To pile on' is the meaning which suits most of the passages; 'to mix' is a quite secondary meaning. Probably no better origin can be found for γέφυρα, whose dialectic form βεφύρα disposes one to regard it as a reduplicate formation from φύρειν. So γέφυρα will be an embankment made by repeated pilings-on of material.

 $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \delta \phi \nu \rho \tau a$  is one of those words which give so much effect to the verse of Aeschylus; so complete in meaning and yet so concise. Southey gives the name of 'Sir Ralph the Rover' to his reckless and dreadnaught buccancer, who, "now grown rich with plundered store", will get no farther on his homeward cruise than to the grave of the Inch Cape bell. In the Rhone, not far from Avignon (Avenio), there is le Rocher de la Justice.

**513.** ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν. Understand ἄλα or θάλασσαν with ἄκραν. Homer says θέεν and θέονσα of a ship scudding before the breeze. Hermann's citation of Theogn. 619 is too like this passage to be omitted:

πόλλ' εν αμηχανίησι κυλίνδομαι αχνύμενος κηρ, άκρην γαρ πενίης οὐκ ὑπερεδράμομεν.

- 559. ἐξηγοῦ δέ μοι. Orestes calls upon Apollo to give testimony for him; just as an ἐξηγητὴς or 'expounder of religious duty' might be called upon by any accused person to testify that he, the expounder, had given such and such advice, or that religion required such a course of action. So Müller.
- **610.** οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ τοκεύς, τροφός δέ. Add that frères means 'brother and sister'; and that liberi is said of a single son or daughter, A. Gell. 2. 13.

The father stands to the mother in the relation of  $Oi\rho a\nu \delta s$  to  $\Gamma a \hat{i} a$ , of the Divine Word to Chaos, as a god or creator to inanimate atoms; in short, as the Platonic  $\epsilon \tilde{i} \delta \eta$  to  $\tilde{i} \lambda \eta$ , the latter being  $oi \delta \nu \tau \iota \theta \dot{\eta} \nu \eta \kappa a \hat{i} \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \mu a \gamma \epsilon \hat{i} \delta \nu$  (something fit for receiving the impression of a seal, and preserving it)  $\kappa a \hat{i} \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta \rho$ . Plut. de Plac. Phil. 1.  $\theta'$ .

Be it remembered also that Epicurus, the last Greek philosopher who founded a sect, imagines the human race to have been originally produced without the help of the female, Lucr. 5. 799, foll.

Pythagoras, Archytas, Plato, Xenocrates, Dicacarchus (Censorinus, de Die Nat. 2, 3) are not so hardy in that way; an equally hardy one pleases them better. "They say: 'the human race has always existed: you will never find out which was first produced, the hen or the egg."

643. ἴνα περ Δέος ἔνθα καὶ Αἰδώς. Also where there is ἔρως and φιλία, as in Phaedra's case, there are αἰδώς and δέος. How much the lover fears from the idol of his fancy, ἀνάθημα μερίμνης, Anth. 5. 227; and what an ineffable delight he takes in his loving reverence and worship for the object; so much that Plut. Libr. Perd. Fr. 4, says πλείστον αἰδοῦς ἔρωτι δικαίω μέτεστιν. Therefore the αἰδὼς in Eur. Hipp. 385:

μακραί τε λέσχαι καὶ σχολή, τερπνὸν κακόν, αἰδώς τε,

is placed there with exact propriety.

- 648. τὸ καλῶς ἀρχομένους παρασχεῖν is the proper task of political science, πολιτικής παιδείας ἔργον, Plut. Reip. Ger. 21.
- 667. οὐ λαχών. See Dem. Meid. 573, καὶ τέθνηκεν άλοὺς παρ' ὑμιν· καίτοι τοῦτο τὸ λῆμμα (3 obols) δι' ἔνδειαν, οὐ δι' ὕβριν, λαμβάνειν ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκείνος.
  - **675**. διανομάς καταφθίσας. In Agam. 1454 :

## πρός γυναικός δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον

we ought to read  $\delta\pi\epsilon\psi\dot{\nu}\chi\eta$   $\beta\acute{\iota}o\nu$ . Hesychius quotes  $\delta\pi\epsilon\psi\dot{\nu}\chi\eta$  from the Cercyon of Aeschylus, and  $\delta\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$  is a bad gloss upon it in the Agamemnon.

693. καν  $l\sigma \dot{\phi} \eta \phi os \kappa \rho \iota \theta \hat{\eta}$ . A majority of one would have been a perfectly valid majority, such as would admit of no doubt or cavil.

άκούω γὰρ αὐτὸν (Euaeon) ἔγωγε μιᾳ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφω, Dem. Meid. 538. Oppianicus was effectually condemned by the lowest possible majority, two out of thirty-two judices, of whom five voted non liquet, Cic. pro A. Cluent. p. 18, Ramsay's ed.

Besides the 'variatis hominum sententiis', Cicero has 'in eo variari inter eos et dubitari videtur', Fin. 5. 5. 12. He seems to confound rărius, 'speekled', Gk. βαλιὸς, from βάλλω, 'to sprinkle drops of a different colour as painters do', with rārus, of uncertain derivation, but meaning 'that proceeds to an equal distance in two divergent directions'. Vara is 'a trestle', from the divergence of its legs. Varus is 'knock-kneed', Gk. βλαισός, γονυκρότος, Hesych., opposed to valgus and vatius, Gk. ραιβός, which mean 'bow-legged'. Labda the mother of Cypselus was 'knock-kneed'; her legs made a Greek lambda. Thus Cic.'s 'variatis sententiis' means 'diverged to an equal extent' and not merely 'diverged'.

In the same way a ploughman, unless he bends forward in driving a plough, praevaricatur, 'cuts a furrow which is varus to the previous one', Pliny, N. H. 18. 19, who adds, "inde translatum hoe nomen in forum", and said of an advocate who, having been bought over by the opposite side, brings a charge in such a way as that the accused may be acquitted, or defends a client so that he may be condemned.

I observe that delirus and delirare are still derived from "de lira", Lewis and Short's Diet. The proper derivation was given in my Choëphoroe (1862), p. 94. Firstly, lira does not mean 'a furrow', but along with scamnum, porca, porculetum, it means the 'ridge', 'land', 'balk', 'mound', which is thrown up between two furrows. Sulcus is the one Latin word for the one English 'furrow'. Secondly, "liroe, liroe", is the Latin transcription of  $\lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o \iota$ ,  $\lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o \iota$ , Plaut. Poen. 1. 1. 9. Thirdly, the Latin de in composition is, in this sense, the regular equivalent and representative of Gr.  $\pi a \rho a - \iota$ . Therefore delirus and delirare are the Latin formations to express  $\pi a \rho \acute{a} \lambda \eta \rho o \iota$  and  $\pi a \rho a - \iota$   $\lambda \eta \rho e \iota \nu$ .

717-726. It is hardly probable that the Chief Secretary actually performed the duties of a prompter or souffleur,  $\dot{v}\pi \sigma \beta \sigma \lambda \epsilon \dot{v}$ s, monitor.

778. ἐσφραγισμένος. Every article of value, every present, and consignment of tribute that was deposited in the Γάζα or 'Royal Treasury' of a Persian king was 'sealed and registered'. See Chardin's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 264, 4to ed.

#### APPENDIX.

- 782. κοίμα κελαινοῦ. An evident allusion to the supposed action of the bile in exciting anger, which Carneades tried to 'calm' by doses of hellebore when he was replying to the vexatious objections of his philosophical opponents, A. Gell. 17. 15: "responsurus Zenoni", Plin. N. H. 25. 5.
- 831. πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως. The "Ἐρεχθεὺς Ποσειδὼν ἐν Ἀθήraις" of Hesychius, who does not give the name Ἐριχθόνιος, which is probably a variation of the same word, would seem to make it an equivalent of Ἐνοσίχθων and Ἐννοσίγαιος, through some such root as ἐρέχθω, ἐρείκω, ῥοχθέω, ῥόχθος.
- 834.  $\mu \dot{\eta} \beta \dot{a} \lambda \eta s$ . So Alecto says, Virg. Aen. 7. 551, "spargam arma per agros".
- 841. δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρως. Plut. de Hdt. Malign. 39: αἱ Κορίνθιαι γυναίκες εὕξαντο τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ δαιμονίαν εὐχήν, ἔρωτα τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν θεὸν (᾿Αφροδίτην). The exact meaning of ἔρως is recognized in the following words: σιωπῶ γὰρ τὸ πῶσαν δρμὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἔρωτα καλεῖσθαι, Philodem. de Musica, Kemke ed. p. 81.
- 853. That is: 'No power could force me to make the promise: I make it freely, and will perform it'.
- 878. Protelo in Catullus, 56. 7, is a wrong reading. It ought to be pro telo. Hence may have come that meaning of telum in Martial, the Priapeia, and Justin.
  - 885. δ δέ  $\pi\eta$  κύρσας. I should prefer to read:

ό δέ πη κύρσας ποτ' 'Αρῶν τούτων οὐκ οἶδεν ἴσως πληγαὶ βιότου πόθεν ἦλθον,

'and, at times  $(\pi \sigma \tau \tilde{\epsilon})$ , a man who has in some way  $(\pi \eta)$  met these Avengers does not perhaps  $(\tilde{\iota}\sigma\omega s)$  know whence the stripes have come'. There is no doubt at all that the sins of the forefathers are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation in the form of scrofula, gout, idiocy, insanity, and numberless other forms of congenital evil, besides poverty with all its miseries, and disgrace. Acschylus would not regard these entailed miseries in any Oriental spirit;

but rather as the result of an unhappy interference by man, through his vice or recklessness, with certain physical laws of production whose natural bent was to work beneficently. Euripides, especially, derided the doctrine that it is the gods who visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, saying: 'if those persons who actually committed the sins have been punished for them, there is no occasion to punish their innocent offspring: it is not just to punish even the same guilty person twice for the same crime. Again, if they have not been punished. and no atonement has been made by the guilty, it must have happened so because the gods were careless, and let slip the opportunity for righteous vengeance, and then it is too late; they could not think of exacting redress from the innocent, and atoning for their own tardiness by acts of flagrant injustice', Plut. de Sera Num. Vind. 12. Iamblichus says of Pythagoras, de Vita Pyth. 218: τὸ κάλλιστον πάντων ἐπέδειξεν ὅτι οί θεοὶ τῶν κακῶν εἰσιν ἀναίτιοι, καὶ ὅτι νόσοι καὶ ὅσα πάθη σώματος ἀκολασίας ἐστὶ σπέρματα. This, so far as it is mystical, is erroneous and misleading: the Greek  $\theta \epsilon o i$  represent physical laws.

**891.** ἀμαθύνει· ἄμαθον ποιεῖ, ἀφανίζει καὶ φθείρει, Hesych.; but perhaps from ἀμᾶν.

926.

Παλλὰς Τριτογένει', ἄνασσ' 'Αθηνᾶ, ὀρθοῦ τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας, ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων καὶ θανάτων ὰώρων, σύ τε καὶ πατήρ.

So Pindar in Plut. de Exilio, ὅθεν ἀδάκρυς (so I read for ἄδρυς), πενθέων δ' οὐκ ἔλαχον, οὐδὲ στάσεων.

984. Zeès παντόπτας. 'The wife, mother, and sister of the murdered man pierced the pinioned murderer with poniards, and catching his blood in saucers, they all put some of it to their lips to stanch the thirst for vengeance, which no offer of compensation had been able to slake . . . . When punishment is inflicted in this way, the servants of the judge bring the criminal before him with his hands tied; and the judge says to the parties aggrieved: "I deliver to you your murderer, in accordance with the law; pay yourselves for the blood that has been spilled; but know that God observes everything and is merciful". Chardin, vol. 2, p. 300.

# ON METRES.

Natural affinity of Greek and English rhythms. It is desirable that this portion of a student's work in connexion with Greek Tragedy should be kept to its own subordinate dimensions and described according to its original simplicity. The effect of introducing a host of technical terms and symbols, with vulgar fractions, musical notes, and geometrical diagrams, is this: that students of the usual undergraduate age are thereby unduly puzzled, mystified and distracted. The superfluity of purely conjectural refinements disposes them to regard the science of metrification with a contumacious aversion; and justly so, if an intelligent appreciation of metres in Greek requires to be made so much more difficult than that of the same in English. Nearly all the Greek rhythms are to be found in old English songs, ballads, and nursery rhymes—the Saturnian, the Choriambic, the Dochmiac, the Ionic a minore, the Bacchiac, and nearly all varieties of Dactylic, Trochaic and Anapaestic rhythms; and even an unlearned reader, such as a farm-labourer, has little difficulty in assigning to each its proper elocution. To adduce examples of these rhythms from their homely and almost comical surroundings, is to give a ludicrous tone to that which is really a grave discussion, a serious attempt to make the subject manageable by the student. True dignity does not depend entirely upon making solemn faces, assuming majestic attitudes, and writing in an ultra-genteel style. It is better that the English equivalents should be given, when so much has been done quite recently to make the study of metres insufferable and impracticable even to an earnest inquirer.

Initial axiom or postulate.

First of all the ground has to be cleared by a brief statement of the elements of metrical combinations, and even before that by the restoration of an axiom as old as Aristophanes the son of Philippus of the

tribe Pandionis. This axiom has been maintained by most of the ancient writers on metrics; it has been impugned by exponents of the science of music; it is: that 'the musical element' must be peremptorily rejected and for ever discarded from the consideration of metres. Self-evidently so: it is a thing quite distinct from them, and made up after them; they have no regard for the subsequent melody. It happens that a poet's words—when by metre\* a regular succession of long and short syllables has taken a form suitable to the expression of the verse-accent or arsis—are easily set to some sort of music; as, for instance, Greek Iambie trimeters suit the air of 'Dream Faces'; but when Aeschylus put together the words:

# χθονδς μέν είς τηλουρδυ ήκομεν πέδον,

he was not thinking of that or any other air. Many different melodies may be made to suit the same set of verses. Byron and Moore performed with success the converse feat of writing verses to suit certain melodies; but this is not the natural order, and poets seldom succeed except when they are free from the trammels of any special occasion or any artificial restriction.

The impossibility of comparing metres and music was pointed out Radical disby the old writers on metre, and thus in the words of one of the between clearest of them, Marius Victorinus (cont. with St. Augustine), Lib. 1, Metre; and Music. de mensura longarum et brevium Syllabarum: "The difference is not small between metricians and musical scientists, because of the spaces of time which are attached by them, respectively, to the syllables of words; for writers on music allege that long syllables are not all equally long, nor all short ones equally short; whereas with a metrician there are only two times," the one that which is spent in pronouncing the syllable  $\mu\eta$ -, and the other that in which the syllable  $-\nu i\nu$ , before a vowel, is pronounced. These subserve the verse-accent, or arsis, and the same two material elements appear as  $\mu \eta''$  and  $-\nu i\nu$ . That is the poet's whole and sole stock-in-trade; with the one reservation, that in Greek and Latin the absence of the verse accent, which is called thesis, or 'depression of the voice', comes sometimes on a long syllable like μη-: so μή- becomes something more than ντν and

<sup>\*</sup> The word metre is also used in another sense as the standard of measurement of a verse. The standard is two metrical feet for iambies, trochaics, and anapaesties; one for all other rhythms.

less than  $\mu\eta''$ . This never makes any difficulty: it allows the poet to introduce a greater variety of words into his rhythms, and to give a little more time and weight to a syllable which has not the verse-accent or arsis. The  $\mu\eta'$ - element is really not of much account, but allowing it to stand in: then, as we do not know how long it takes to say  $-\nu\iota\nu$ , coming before  $\check{a}\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon$ , let it be called x: it has been agreed that  $\mu\eta''$ - is twice the length of  $\nu\iota\nu$  whatever that may be. Thus the two time-elements of metre are x and 2x, with an extra-metrical time between them, viz.,  $\mu\dot{\eta}$ -, something between the unknown and twice the unknown; which is introduced by the poet for poetical reasons, and with no regard at all for the musical score; that has to arrange itself as best it can. Music masters are not well-advised if they expect that none but their pupils will be able to read a Greek chorus: on the contrary, a knowledge of music can never be of use to a Greek scholar in any practical way.

Boeckh schedules  $\underline{\mathscr{L}}$  and  $\underline{\mathscr{L}}$  as being to each other as  $\frac{12}{7} + \frac{9}{7}$  are to 2+1. The true account is that  $\underline{\mathscr{L}}$  is  $\tilde{a}\lambda \circ \gamma \circ s$ , *irrationalis*, and that it has no recognizable or expressible proportion to x and 2x.

Compare these two with the almost infinite varieties of change in music, within the same limits of time.\* Metre and music have time in common as lines have extension, but they are incommensurables. Metre is the side of a square; music is the diagonal of that square. Metre is Mr. John Jarndyce; Music is Mr. Horace Skimpole. Music goes to prose as well as to verse: the rhythm of prose is a thing of the haziest and most indeterminable character: it pleases the writer, but he knows not what it is: 'tis folly to inquire.

Boeckh says of these encroachments made by an utterly licentious element upon the  $\kappa \acute{o}\sigma \mu os$  of metre: "Let us pay our thanks, then, to those ancients who, keeping in view the simplicity and clearness of

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Another characteristic of Chopin's music is the uneven time. It is all intended to be played in tempo rubato—a good deal of give and take is allowed, a good deal of playing with the time, so to speak". An old Greek metrician would call this ἀνάκλασις and ἐπίκλασις. To play with the time in this way is not easy, for "it is impossible to lay down a set of hard-and-fast rules for playing Chopin. The Chopin-player is born, not made". Once for all, there is no playing with the time in Greek and Latin metres. (The parts within inverted commas are quoted from Household Words, Dec. 20, 1884.)

rhythms, condemned utterly this contamination with the license of music". It was left for the people of his own time, he says, and we may add for two generations since Boeckh's time, to repeat the sin with aggravations, 'to care, suo jure, for harmony more than for rhythm, and to have as their sociam peccati Ecclesiam jam inde ab Augustini aetate'.

Suppose that one does not know the original air that used to be sung to the old Hunting Song, beginning:-

> "When the morn stands on tip toe 'twixt mountain and sky how sweet 'tis to follow the hounds in full cry! When the bright-sparkling dewdrops the meadows adorn how sweet 'tis to follow the echoing horn!",

it is of no use to speculate on the way in which each of those syllables was treated and manipulated in the music. Since there must be rests for voice and ear in both reading and singing, you would guess that rests in the music occurred at 'toe', 'sky', 'follow', 'ery', and so on, and there you would stop. If Greek verses of that rhythm occurred in a play, the Editor's work would be done with respect to them as soon as he had called them anapaestic dimeters: it is no business of his to suggest that the singer pronounced 'tis' 'it is', 'horn' 'horr-orr-orn', 'mountain', 'mou-ou-ountain', 'hounds' 'hounnnnds', etc., etc.

The usual prose accents marked on Greek words are left out of Prose acaccount in classical Greek verses. They did not exist in the classical marked on period. The Greeks pronounced their words according to the quantity words. of the syllables, in monotone; giving emphasis to a word by means of particles,  $\delta \hat{\eta}$ ,  $\tau o \iota$ ,  $\pi \epsilon \rho$ ,  $\gamma \epsilon$ , etc. Thus the language was peculiarly suited for receiving any rhythmical stamp at the poet's will. In the dactylic hexameters of Virgil and Ovid, etc., the arsis of the fifth daetyl must be a syllable accented in prose. There is not even that one restriction in Greek: the student must regard the accents as representing nothing, or as being all wiped out.

Arsis, apous, is the sublatio vocis or raising of the voice in expressing Definition rhythm: it is naturally placed on a long syllable, or two short ones arsis, thesis, pronounced together. Thesis,  $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \iota s$ , is the positio vocis, the lower tone metric, on those syllables, usually short, which have not the arsis. Metre is the regular succession of long and short syllables arranged for the ex-

rhythm, order, system.

pression of rhythm. Rhythm is the regular succession of arsis and thesis in a verse, so arranged by the poet for the suitable expression of his thought. Arsis is usually marked ("); thesis ('). (4) means that a long syllable has taken the place of two short ones with thesis;  $(\underline{\times})$ , the mark for a rhythmical anceps, means that the place of a short syllable in thesis has been given by the poet to a long one, for the sake of a graver and slower effect. It is convenient to mark the concluding syllable of a verse, called common, thus (+). The Latin word ordo 'row', 'order', is applied to feet of the same kind occurring one after another in a verse; and even a single foot of a dominant type, such as a dactyl, is called ordo dactylicus simplex. A system, σύστημα, is the same as our stanza of a certain number of similar verses.

Three sub-divisions of cording to old tradition, perhaps re-ducible to treo.

Rhythms are distinguished as impar, par, and sescuplus or sesquirhythm, ac- alter. A rhythm is called impar when the arsis has two morae or times (w), and the thesis one (v), as in trochaic and iambic verses, either  $\underline{\mathscr{U}}$   $\circ$  and  $\overset{"}{\circ}$   $\circ$ , or  $\circ$   $\underline{\mathscr{U}}$  and  $\circ$   $\overset{"}{\circ}$ , and their equivalents.

> It is called par when arsis and thesis have an equal number of times, as in dactylic and anapaestic verses; as, for dactylic, " or " or " for anapaestic, & #, or \( \psi \) #, or \( \psi \), or \( \psi \).

> A rhythm was called sescuplus or sesquialter when composed of feet in which arsis and thesis are to one another as one to one and a-half, such as the bacchius, βάκχειος, & " Δ, and the ionic a minore & " Δ, with its variation for effect,  $\omega \, \underline{\hspace{1pt} \hspace{1pt} \hspace{1pt} \hspace{1pt} \hspace{1pt}}^{\times}$ , at the poet's discretion. It is for the sake of these two feet that this third species of rhythm sescuplus s. sesquialter is retained, and it seems to me to be not worth while to retain it. The occurrence of a succession of those combinations is really very rare, as Prom. V. 115:

a succession of four bacchii. Or, Pers. 65:

a succession of three ionics a minore. The Greek poets found that a succession of anacrusis and base in the two forms  $\circ \mid \underline{u} \times$ , and  $\otimes \mid \underline{u} \times$ had a good effect, sometimes, in a verse, and they used them as such. It is much the same with the remaining three feet (for we have now come to the end of them), the choriambus, the cretic, and the dochmius. They found that a trochee or chore, xopeios (dancing foot), followed by an iambus, " o o ", had a good effect when inserted before the daetyls in logaoedic rhythms: also that the first three syllables of a trochaic dipodia, " " (which from frequent use, and from orders being composed of them, acquired a separate name as the cretic foot, movs Κρητικός), were useful as an ending of dochmiae and logacedic verses; thirdly, that a succession of *iambus* and *cretic*,  $\circ \underline{\mathcal{L}} \mid \underline{\mathcal{L}} \circ \underline{\mathcal{L}}$ , pronounced together as one foot is well suited for use in the expression of bursts of passion, or the utterance of poignant grief. As a combination of which orders were made, this was called a dochmius, and is of about the length proper for what Appuleius, M. 5. 166, calls, 'tertiata verba', and the Scholiast on Eur. Hipp. 198, κομματικαὶ διάνοιαι. The person represented is unable to utter more than three or four words at a time, because of involuntary sobs and a choking sensation in the throat. The dochmius is wonderfully retentive of audible existence in nearly every metrical form phonetically equivalent, in that rhythm, to-

A cretic with its first arsis resolved, \(\tilde{\pi}\) \(\tilde{\pi}\), used to be called a This occurs in orders such as Eum. 322:—

where -δα- may be short, as is shown in the Appendix; but Weil suggests φρενοπλανής, and Herwerden φρενομανής, not thinking it credible that Aeschylus introduced the rhythmic anceps,  $\times$ , in that line. seems to be introduced, Choëph. 806, 7; but the two lines are in a μεσωδός, and are very corrupt.

There is nothing mysterious about the evolution of Greek metres. The evo-As long ago as 1868 I published the following account of it, which Greek indeed was tolerably self-evident: it is more particular, but practically the Homeric the same as that given by Marius Victorinus, l. Iv., as I have dis-hexameter covered since. "Modern languages seem to be capable, as a rule,

of only one rhythm, that which is called 'impar', the iambie or trochaic. This is the rhythm observed by a man with a wooden leg: the Greek admits that of a horse at full gallop, the dactylic, which easily suggested the anapaestic. The Greeks began with 'rhythmus par' in the dactylic form with a trochaic clausula; then the penthemimer in the hexameter suggested to Callinus the two penthemimers in the second line of elegiac verse. From the trochaic clausula sprang their 'rhythmus impar' and trochaic metre; and the anacrusis turned trochaic orders into iambic in the hands of Archilochus. choriambus, which so often strikes the ear without actually occurring in Epic poetry, was found to produce a great improvement when placed before the dactyls in composite verses of dactylic and trochaic orders, or logacedic lines. Then came the hemiolian\* rhythm, when it was seen that a succession of trochaic dipodias catalectic, or cretics, sounded well; or a series of anacrusis and base, otherwise called bacchius, or syncopated iambic dipodia ".

The words of Vict. are: "Namque Archilochum ferunt (quem parentem artis Musicae juxta multiformem metrorum seriem diversamque progeniem omnis aetas canit) acceptum ab his qui ante se inspexerant summatimque tractaverant Dactylicum, quod est omnium caput ac principium, per abjectiones detractionesque vertisse, etc."

It might have been expected that Greek versification would start from the Saturnian or nursery-rhyme metre, as in many other nations; but this metre does not really appear till the time of Sappho, Anaereon, and Hipponax; and, as a matter of fact, the earliest Greek poetry is written in the dactylic hexameter catalectic, that is, a verse composed of four dactylic feet, a dactyl, and a trochee as an ending or *clausula*. The Roman savant, M. Ter. Varro, observed that this verse divides itself into two parts—the first five half feet or penthemimer, and the rest: that is, *five halves* and *seven halves*, which, he said, must depend on some mathematical principle or physical law: "geometrica quadam ratione", A. Gell. XVII. 14.

There being given, then, the first two lines of the Iliad, it is not

<sup>\*</sup> I now think that the name and species  $\beta \nu \theta \mu \delta s$   $\hat{\eta} \mu \iota \delta \lambda \iota \sigma s$  s. sescuplus s. sesquialter may be abolished, as being made to suit only the bacchius and the ionic a minore, which, when they occur in orders, are called with sufficient scientific precision 'a succession of anacrusis and base repeated'. On no account can a cretic or paeonic rhythm be called hemiolian.

difficult to see how the other Greek metres were evolved. Either Archilochus or Callinus perceived that if the penthemimer were repeated:

μηνιν άειδε θεά, μηνιν άειδε θεά,

a new type of verse would appear, suited to elegiac subjects; and so the dactylic pentameter was made, and the Elegiac couplet.

The Adonius at the end of the Dactylic hexameter:

followed by the choriambus ουλομενην was well qualified to suggest the Alcaic, Sapphic and Asclepiad forms, of which Latin examples will be most familiar. By doubling both the dactyl and the trochee we get:

flumină | constite | rint ăcuto |.

The first two lines of the Alcaic stanza consist of the same elements varied:

vi | dēs ŭt ālta | stēt nīvě | cāndīdum,

anacrusis, trochaic dipodia, dactyl, trochaic dipodia catalectic. The third line in the Aleaic stanza is formed of anacrusis and two trochaic dipodias. It was once quite absurdly made out to be iambic.

The close relation between the hendecasyllabic Alcaic line, given above, and the minor Sapphic has been long observed: if the vi- be taken from vides and put after candidum there appears a dactyl between two trochaic dipodias:

jām sătīs tērr | īs nĭvĭs | ātquĕ dīrae,

which, with its proper modulation by caesura, is the minor Sapphic verse.

The major Sapphic verse differs from this in having a choriambus before the dactyl:

tē děōs ō | rō sÿbarı̃n | cūr prope | rēs amando.

The minor Asclepial verse inserts a choriambus after a base before a dactyl with cretic clausula:

maēcē | nās ătāvīs | ēdītě | rēgībus.

The major Asclepiad inserts two choriambi:

tū nē | quāesĭĕrīs | scīrĕ nĕfās | qūem mĭhĭ | quēm tĭbī.

The trochaic order having been extended, it was found that a tetrameter catalectic, consisting of two parts, one a trochaic dimeter and the other a trochaic dimeter catalectic, was undoubtedly a form predestined by the gods:

> $\bar{\epsilon}_i \bar{a} \ \delta \bar{\eta}, \ \phi \bar{i} \ | \ \lambda o \bar{i} \ \lambda \delta \chi \bar{i} \tau a i, \ || \ \tau o \bar{v} \rho \gamma \delta \nu \ o \bar{v} \chi \ \bar{\epsilon} \ | \ \kappa \bar{a} s \ \tau \delta \delta \bar{\epsilon}^{\dagger} \ ||$ better twenty | years of europe || than a cycle | of cathay | if you are waking | call me early | call me early | mother dear.

Next, if the cretic εία δη be removed from the commencement of the Greek trochaic tetrameter, as quoted above, there remains a perfect Iambic trimeter catalectic, or senarius:

φἴλοῖ λὄχῖ | τὰι, τοῦργὄν οῦχ | ἔκᾶς τὄδέ.

The iambus had actually occurred in the -μενην of οὐλομένην. discovery of this ever memorable Iambic senarius, and virtually of the metres called Alcaic and Sapphie, is ascribed by Horace and old tradition to one whom we know, from a few fragments, to have been a poet of the very highest rank, Archilochus of Paros. He probably discovered also the Elegiac couplet.

Verses in which the rhythm is not complete until that which What are έπωδοι or cpodes, i.e., is usually a somewhat shorter order or rerse has followed a longer one, are called ἐπωδοί, and ἐπωδά, epodes, thus:

sốl vitur | aeris hi | ems grá | tã vice | | veris et favoni,

ductylic tetrameter, and three trochees pronounced together; which latter form proved to be so good a clausula that it was called by a name of its own, Ithyphallic. Add to coodes, Hor. Od. iv. 7:

> dīff ug | ērē ni | vēs rēdē | ūnt j um | grāmina | cāmpis ārbori | būsque co | mae,

a dactylic hexameter completed by a dactylic penthemimer.

rhythms?

All the odes in Horace's 'Epodes' are really epodes except the last, which is composed entirely in iambic trimeters, one after another, κατὰ στίχον, in an unvaried row.

All of these *epodic* forms were invented by Archilochus.

This sketch of the way in which Greek metres were derived from the dactylic hexameter will be complete enough for my purpose when I have remarked that the *unapaestic tetrameter catalectic* is made by prefixing a choriambus such as οὐλομένην to a daetylic line such as the second of the Iliad:

οὐλομέ | νην οὐ | λομένην |  $\hat{\eta}$  μυ | ρί' 'Αχαι | οῖς ἄλγ |  $\epsilon$ '  $\check{\epsilon}\theta\eta$  |  $\kappa\epsilon$ , which is almost exactly like Ar. Ach. 678, etc.:

εἰ δέ τις, | ὑμᾶς | ὑποθω | πεύσας, | λιπαρὰς | καλέσει | εν ἀθήνας.

As in poems themselves so in the verses of which they are com- Definition posed, the beginnings and endings require a careful treatment; the of caesura middles are diversified in an agreeable way by caesura, diaeresis, and diaeresis variously placed pauses in the sense. Caesura is where the conclusion pause. of a foot, or dipodia (i.e. two feet pronounced together | # 4 # 4 | not " o | " - | ) cuts off one syllable or two at the end of a word, as:

unde si Par | cae prohi | bent iniquae fluměn ět rēg | nātă pě | tām Lăconi,

where -cae and -nata are the caesural syllables after the conclusion of the trochaic dipodias. The effect of caesura is to blend words more closely into one verse. Diaeresis is when the foot and the word end together, as in:

> ví | des út alta || stet níve | candidum née | prätă cănis | albicant pruinis:

diaeresis occurs after 'alta' and 'canis', and the effect is to make a slight break or metrical pause in the verse. Some metres require caesura, some diaeresis, for their proper modulation. The pauses in the sense are indicated by the usual marks of punctuation: a good poet will always give an agreeable variety to their position. Milton's verses are the best model in this important matter. Addison seems to have been the first to detect this material cause of the charm of the verses in Paradise Lost:—the constantly varied pause in the sense.

The beginnings of verses which occur one after another, all of the The beginsame metre, κατὰ στίχον, such as the Dactylic Hexameter, Iambic κατὰ στίχον Trimeter, Trochaic Tetrameter, require no remark: there is a certain verses. number of the feet admitted by that metre, with modulation in the three ways mentioned above, as:

ζεῦ, τόδ | ής μέδε | ών, πείθ | ήνορά |, δεύτερον υία,

four complete dactylic feet; caesura of -ηs and -ων; diacresis, here called 'bucolic', because of its frequency in bucolic poems, after -ήνορα;

#### ON METRES.

and the three commas. Then comes the ending δεὖτἔρον | νῗα. of which the first foot must (except for a liberty, rarely taken, on the poet's own responsibility) be a dactyl, and the last must be a trochee, as marked above.

The endings of verses.

All verses, properly so called, end with a metrical pause which is indicated by the seeming omission of part of the foot proper to the metre; and since there is a pause, it matters not whether the last syllable, here -a, is long or short. The pause is the same whether it be long or short.

Cases in which the catalexis, or pause at the end of each verse. nearly evanésces.

So with *Iambic Trimeters*, they all end with a metrical pause and the syllable which is called *common*, because it is immaterial whether its quantity is long or short. All, I say, except, again, for a liberty taken on the poet's own responsibility, as in Soph. O. R. 332:

έγω ούτ' έμαυτον ούτε σ' άλγυνω. τί ταῦτ'

a liberty very rarely taken, and only when there has been a considerable pause in the sense in the latter part of the line.

An Iambic Trimeter has a fainter metrical pause also at the end out of regard to the same pause in the sense, in lines like Aesch. Eum. 118, 234:

μύζοιτ' άν; άνηρ δ' οίχεται φεύγων, πρός φ

and

άλλ' άμβλὺν ήδη, προςτετριμμένον τε πρός

and others in the same way. Something similar occurs in 'The Dragon of Wantley':

but first he went new armour to

bespeak at sheffield town.

Nothing more need be said about endings. They must leave a pleasing effect upon the ear. They are very frequently the Adonius, " oo | " +; the Ithyphallie (three trochees pronounced together, hence its special name),  $\underline{u} \circ \underline{u} \circ \underline{u} + ;$  or, a Trochaic Dimeter Catalectie, " " " | " " +.

The beginnings of definition of the term anacrusis.

The beginnings of Lyric verses are often made with what Hermann lyric verses: first called anacrusis, frem ἀνακρούω, 'I strike up', as if it were the first note struck with the 'rod' ράβδος, pecten 'comb', or thumb "pollice", upon the harp, before the regular metre begins. Thus in Soph. Ant. 781 foll:-

$$\dot{\xi} \mid \rho \ddot{\bar{\omega}} s \ \dot{\bar{\alpha}} \nu \bar{\bar{\iota}} \mid \kappa \dot{\bar{\alpha}} \tau \dot{\bar{\xi}} \ \mu \dot{\bar{\alpha}} \mid \chi \dot{\bar{\alpha}} \nu,$$

etc., which is logacedic (i.e. consisting of dactylic and trochaic orders), you read anacrusis, trochaic dipodia catalectic, daetyl, and a monosyllabic clausula. The anacrusis may be either  $\checkmark$ , or  $\checkmark$ , or  $\Hooklossim$ , the latter as in an Anacreontic line:

anacrusis and Ithyphallic.

Or the regular rhythm may be introduced by what the ancients Definition of the metrical called a base, Báois, as if it were the first two steps taken before the term base. regular rhythm of the dance began. Starting from ", the base took freely the forms # 4, and \(\varphi\) 4, more rarely \(\varphi\) \(\times\). Boeckh objects to calling an initial  $\checkmark$  " a base. Call it, then, an iambus taking the place of a base, as in :-

**δμοῖ | οῖ τὄκϵῦσιν.** 

The anacrusis may precede the base; the base may be doubled; and, as a verse often consists of two rhythmical orders, the second order may begin with a base in the middle of a verse.

The iambus in place of a base coming before a trochaic order gave Unprofitrise to the notion of a foot called antispast, which together with the able technicalities things called brachyeatalectic, hypercatalectic, epitrite, paeon, molossos, been abanantibacchius, amphimacer, amphibrach, ionic a majore; and, I think, rhythmus sescuplus, or sesquialter, have been translated to the limbo of abortive fancies, and now are, each of them, 'tam mortuus quam Ancus', as dead as Queen Anne. The credit of having exploded the greater part of this ματαιοτεχνία belongs to Boeckh.

The usual way of explaining the words  $\sigma\tau\rho\phi\phi\dot{\eta}$ ,  $\dot{a}\nu\tau\iota\sigma\tau\rho\phi\dot{\eta}$ , and Conjectural ἐπφδός is much the same as that of le prédicateur à Rome, described by tions of Mdme. de Stael in her Corinne, l. 10, c. 2: "Sa chaire est une assez of the terms longue tribune, qu'il parcourt d'un bout à l'autre avec autant d'agita- antistrophe, and epodos.

the movements of a Greek Chorus on the δρχήστρα.

as applied to tion que de regularité. Il ne manque jamais de partir au commencement d'une phrase, et de revenir à la fin, comme le balancier d'une pendule". This has always seemed to me to be not easy to realize in the case of a Greek chorus.\* It seems as if they must have been allowed to reach the places marked for them on the boards of the ορχήστρα, to trig their trigs on the part of the stage occupied exclusively by the χορευταί, as the σκηνή was by the ὑποκριταί. The altar,  $\theta \nu \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta$ , was in the centre of the  $\delta \rho \chi \dot{\eta} \sigma \tau \rho a$ , and around this the chorus is said to have made its marches, counter-marches, and halts, according to the programme designed and prescribed by the poet.

> The Tragic chorus is said to have been square, τετράγωνος, and the comic κύκλιος or κυκλικός. This must refer to the figure described by their march; for it is impossible to imagine choristers formed into a ring, and at the same time marching and dancing. are to suppose that the Tragic chorus described a square as they went round the  $\theta v \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta$ . This must have been a very awkward and ungainly figure to execute; and Athenaeus, 5. 10, says that the Lacedemonians preferred the square, but the Athenians the circular Victorinus, Book 1, ch. 'de Strophe et Antistrophe et Epodo', says, "the ancients used to chant the praises of their gods composed in hymns, 'carminibus', as they marched in procession round their altars: they went the first round, 'ambitum', from right to left, and ealled it  $\sigma\tau\rho\phi\dot{\gamma}$ " (that is, wheeling from right to left from their places in front of the altar). "The first round, 'orbe', being completed, they made another, wheeling from left to right, and called it 'antistrophus'. Coming back to their original station in front, they sang the ἐπωδός". This also explains the necessity of reversing the direction, and gives a reason for the  $d\nu\tau\iota\sigma\tau\rho\circ\phi\dot{\eta}$ . Upon this foundation all the various movements and stations of the chorus may be explained. But one account is intelligible to one person, and another to another: all accounts are only hypotheses severally supported by questionable traditions.

<sup>\*</sup> χορδs is probably the same word as ὅρχος, 'a row of dancers in a round dance', and δρχέομαι, the same as χορεύω, χορεύσομαι; except that δρχέομαι, like Ital. danzare, may be said of one dancer, while χορεύω is only said of a 'round' dance, Ital. ballare, Eng. 'ball'.

There is probably no metre, properly so called, to be found in any On early language except Greek, and the exact imitations of Greek attempted English by Cicero, Lucretius, and Catullus, which culminate in the nearly per-called. fect forms attained by Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan. The attempt at imitation really began much earlier, even with Plautus; but Horace does not think that the verses of Plautus and Ennius are near enough to the Greek types to deserve notice on the score of metre. He is right; but this is no disparagement of their poetry: it is only the same as saying that their verses are rhythmical, not metrical.

There are long and short syllables in English; but it cannot be said that there is metre, in the strict sense, when it is the habit of English poetry to sacrifice metre at every occasion, and content itself with any combination of syllables which leaves the rhythm perceptible.\* Thus, in pieces where the poets have striven their utmost to have a regular and equable metre, such as "Go, lovely rose", and "The curfew tolls the knell of parting day", the deviations are very many. In the former, the metrical value of "small is", "bid her", "suffer", is trochaic; that of "-ty from", and "to be" is pyrrhic | o o | for neither from, nor be (in "to be desired"), can be long in those positions. The charm and elegance of the Elegy arise very much from the accuracy of the rhythm. Still, in the first 19 stanzas, there are 45 violations of metre, i. e. the putting of the arsis of the iambus on a short or unaccented syllable, and the putting of the thesis on a long or accented one. The quick recurrence of perfectly wellmodulated lines conceals these roughnesses. The worst place occurs exactly where Dr. S. Johnson begins to praise this matchless ode: "yet even these bones". It is indispensable that -en should be elearly pronounced; and so an amphibrach occurs here for an iambus. The word "these" is both long and has the emphasis. It is only necessary that the word "bones" should be distinctly heard, like any short and unaccented syllable; so that there is here either a dactylic spondee, or else that foot which is also most antagonistic to the iambus, i. e. the trochee.

Lord Byron (one of the most conscientious and skilful, as well as most inventive of rhythms, among English poets) thinks rhythm

<sup>\*</sup> Rhyme (ryme, rime) is of use to signalise a modern rhythm, and to render less necessary to the reader that coaching in the rhythms, by the poet or dramatic manager, which must have been indispensable for a Greek or Latin player.

so supreme that he does not refrain from ending an iambic line thus: . . . . . spir | its, the | signifi | cant eye,

and beginning one thus:

almost | like a | reality. . . . .

In the same way "the beau | tifullest maid" takes the place of two anapaests in a verse to be quoted below, and "scupper-holes" that of a trochee. Beware of saying 'scupproles'. It is evident that anything like Greek or Graeco-Latin metre is not to be looked for in English poetry. There is metre only in the same way as it exists in Plautus.

In each of these—English, and early Latin poets before the exact Greek imitators came in (Ovid's iambics in his Medea being true to Greek metre according to Porson's rules)—it is enough if the rhythmical accent or arsis has tolerably fair play in a verse, so as to fall occasionally upon a long syllable, or else one which has the accent in speaking it; and sufficiently often to enable a clever elocutionist to express the rhythm while pronouncing the line. And here it should be remembered (1) that the conventional Latin accent was an important factor in the formation of the verse, just as in English, and as it is not in Greek, nor in the exact Graeco-Latin imitations, with one exception mentioned p. 225; (2) that many syllables in Latin words, which we call 'long by position', were pronounced as short. con- and in- were short in composition before any consonant except f aud s: Cic. in A. Gell. 2. 17.

The two conditions or rules, of Plautiné versification.

The occasional fall of the arsis on a long syllable or else one which had the accent in ordinary Latin conversation being the first condiand English tion of Plautine versification, the second and last is, that the penultimate syllable of the verse should be short in an iambic senarius, in a trochaic tetrameter catalectic, and an iambic tetrameter acatalectic; that it should be long in a trochaic tetrameter acatalectic and in an iambic tetrameter catalectic: and so for the few other forms of Plautine and Terentian verse. The number of syllables must also be neither too few nor too many: a senarius must be fairly capable of being pronounced with three beats, as Horace calls them, and no more; but Shakspeare thought little of this: a tetrameter must have its four, and no more.

There is little more to be said about English, and Latin Comic, Synaloepha, "metres"—the gross misnomer! But certain foolish inventions of Hiatus, grammarians and writers on Metres must be pointed out. An actor Crasis, are did not dare to clip or slur any syllables on the Athenian or Roman influences in stages any more than actors do now on those of Paris or London. nunciation. The end of that verse was not allowed to be given as γαλήν' ὁρῶ which could not be well distinguished from γαλην δρω—it had to be given so as to be much the same as γαληνὰ ὁρῶ. Practically, synaloepha and ecthlipsis did not exist; but the syllables in question may have had a somewhat fainter sound which yet was distinctly audible, and its omission instantly condemned. It is absurd to print omnibu' rebus, Lucret. 1, 159, Munro, as if the s was not sounded at all; and so in similar cases. Say "omnibus rebus". So in Virgil's (perhaps rough copy) "monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens" there must really be no clipping allowed. The expression of hiatus was so far from being forbidden, that it was imperatively exacted. The Latin actors did not say ted amari; they said "te amari", just as an English reader is bound to say "the inevitable hour" and not thinevitable nor thic inevitable. They did not say vluptas, etc., but "voluptas", and we do not say the echwing horn, but "the echoing horn". The rhythm was strong enough to carry them through, without any such hideous and intolerable vulgarity as that imagined by grammarians, and not even yet exploded.

I trust the above account may commend itself as being rational and true to facts; but it is hardly to be expected that scholars will fall in with it all at once. However, the thing must come to that in the end, and then he will have least to recant about "Plautine metres and feet" who has said least about them. They are not reducible to anything like the Greek paradigms.

The English Dactylic Hexameter Catalcetic rhythm after being on English rather persistently tried with little success, as well as the Pentameter, which illusby Elizabethan poets (see beginning of Book 3 of the Countess of and Graeco-Pembroke's Arcadia) is happily familiar to English readers of the metres. beautiful poem 'Evangeline'. Every one can repeat long stretches of these lovely verses, and it is not needful to quote any.

The reason why the Pentameter could not be naturalised appears

to be found in the fewness of dissyllabic iambic words which are apt to come at the end of a verse; for a monosyllabic ending is fatal; and

while the pen | tameter | aye | falleth in | melody | back,

is pure doggrel. But some of Sir P. Sidney's have a more Archilochian ring:

εί κετν | ου κεφά | λην || και χαρί | εντά μελη gives an a | dieu to the | world || as to his | only de | light locked in her | loving em | brace || let me for | ever a | bide.

Some dactylies are not easily distinguished from anapaestics, as might be expected; thus:

gif | ever I | have a man | blew eap for | me,

which is scanned, anacrusis, dactyl, cretic clausula, and dactyl with monosyllabic ending.

The English language is even richer than the Latin in *dactylic* varieties; thus *Eum.* 395, a dactylic tetrameter catalectic:

καῖπἔρ τι πό χθονά | τάξιν ἔ | χοῦσα

has its counterpart in

knów yé thể | land where thể | cypress and | myrtle

and such metrical memories as

άλλά κά | κώς άφι | εί κράτε | ρον

or else:

rings on her | fingers and | bells on her | toes she shall have | music wher | ever she | goes,

probably suggested to Lord Byron,

warriors and | chiefs, should the | shaft or the | sword,

and seven following lines, which he tried to make pure dactylic trimeters with monosyllabic ending; but the essentially iambic nature of English words and sentences compelled him to use the anacrusis in the last verse,

or | kingly the | death that a | waits us to | day.

It is so with the other modern languages: they are iambic: the ad-

#### ON METRES.

mission or omission of the anacrusis is optional according to the poet's convenience, as in Milton's l'Allegro and il Penseroso, etc., etc.

An interesting variety of daetylic rhythm is found in:

lero | lero | lillibul | lero, || lero | lero | bullen a | la,

which is properly scanned as base, base, dactyl, trochaic clausula, then base, base, dactyl, monosyllabic clausula.

The earliest Saturnian verse in Greek appears to be a Fr. of Hipponax (flor. circ. 550 B.c.); and Terentianus Maurus, de Metris (circ. 400 A.D.) asserts the Greek origin of the metre:

" sed est origo Graeca: nostrique mox poetae rudem sonum secuti, ut quaeque res ferebat, sic disparis figurae versus vagos locabant''

and Marius Victorinus, 1. 3: "cui prisea apud Latinos aetas, tanquam Italo et indigenae, Saturnio sive Faunio nomen dedit; sed falluntur: a Graecis enim varie et multiformiter (like our own) inductus est, nec tantum a Comicis sed etiam a Tragicis". The earliest Greek specimen is pure:

εί | μοι γένοιτο | παρθένος || κα | λή τε καὶ τέρεινα,

anacrusis, trochaic dimeter catalectic, anacrusis, ithyphallic; where the anacruses,  $\epsilon \tilde{\iota}$  and  $\kappa a$ -, are removable and replaceable at pleasure. The line is exactly translated, in the selfsame metre, in a form which has come down by tradition, and is heard in most schools. But when a New England nurse sings to a babe her Saturnians:

- (thě) Yānkěe Dōodlě | cāme tổ tōwn | (ŭp)ôn ă littlě pōny,
- (he) stuck a feather | in his cap | (and) called it macaroni

she does as she likes in keeping or omitting the anacrusis. So also does the English nurse:

- (thě) King wás în his | counting house | (ă-) counting out his money,
- (the) Queen was in the | breakfast-room || (a-) eating bread and honev.

Lord Macaulay, I believe, first made the suggestive remark (Preface to Lays of Ancient Rome) that 'Sing a song of Sixpence' is Saturnian.

This being the regular measure for nursery rhymes in most nations, it might seem fair to imagine that it was also the first in Hellas; but, as a matter of fact, the Dactylic Hexameter Catalectic comes first. The Adenius  $-\delta\epsilon\omega''$  A' $\chi\dot{\iota}$  |  $\lambda\dot{\eta}'\dot{o}s$  | or  $\dot{a}''\mu\beta\rho\dot{o}\tau'$  A' |  $\theta\ddot{a}''\nu\dot{a}$  is very common in familiar English forms, as:

little jack | hörner little miss | prinder sat in a | corner, sat on a | cinder.

"eating a | christmas pie", and "warming her | poor cold toes", are a dactyl with cretic clausula.

The choriambus claims the next place in order of seniority. It occurs in the old English logacedic which follows, and is to be read as anacrusis, Adonius, cretic, choriambic dimeter, dactylic trimeter, and monosyllabic clausula, the whole forming one verse or 'rhythmical sentence'. This is signified by the 2nd and 3rd lines beginning in:\*

ánd | thís is the | way the | lady rides, jickety jog, | jickety jog | , jickety | jickety | jickety | jog.

Also in choruses like:

raderer two, | raderer te, raderer, | raderer, | tan do re,

in a ballad of the Elizabethan era: choriambic dimeter, dactylic dimeter, trochaic dipodia catalectic as clausula.

The Ode on the death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, has a choriambus, dactyl, and monosyllabic clausula, followed by a verse composed of anacrusis, cretic dimeter, dactyl and monosyllabic clausula:

> Trolle on away, | trolle on a | waye, Synge | heave and howe | rombelowe | trolle on a | waye.

The cretic dimeter is introduced by E. A. Poe after an anapaestic dimeter:

from a wild | weird clime | thát li | éth sublime out of Space | —out of Time |.

The Glyconic and the Pherecratic are not choriambic, but consist, respectively, of a base, dactyl, and cretic clausula, and a base, dactyl, and

\* Some Editors, e. gr. Mr. Paley and Mr. Jebb, prefer not to indicate thus distinctly the orders and verses.

trochaic clausula: thus, Aesch. Ag. 383:

This form of verse is a favorite one with Aeschylus, and it eaught the attention of Catullus so much that he tried it in his 17th ode:

The usual Horatian form, with a spondaic base, is used, Eur. Ph. 212, 13:

$$\ddot{\tilde{\iota}}\pi\pi\epsilon\tilde{\tilde{v}} \mid \sigma\tilde{\tilde{u}}\nu\tau\check{o}s \ \ \dot{\tilde{\epsilon}}\nu \mid o\tilde{\tilde{v}}\rho\check{\tilde{u}}\nu\tilde{\tilde{\psi}} \ , \\ \kappa\tilde{\tilde{u}}\lambda\lambda\tilde{\tilde{\tilde{\iota}}}\sigma \mid \tau\tilde{\tilde{o}}\nu \ \kappa\check{\tilde{\epsilon}}\lambda\check{\tilde{u}} \mid \delta\tilde{\tilde{\eta}}\mu\check{\tilde{u}}.$$

They occur in the old English carol:

The English dochmius does not admit of all those variations, p. 227, and seems to be confined to comic contexts, as in Aristophanes, etc.; it is followed by an Ithyphallic (see p. 230), in:

A resolution of the first arsis occurs in the second of the two following dochmii:

cross patch | draw the latch | sit by the | door and spin:

the "take a cup and | sip it up | and call the neighbours in", which follows, is trochaic dimeter catalectic followed by an iambic tripodia.

Cretics occur very distinctly in the ballad 'on the Sea-Fight off Cape la Hogue, in the year 1692'. Lines 1, 3, 5, 7 are cretic dimeters:

"föllow me | and you'll see |
that the battle | will be soon begun ".
"whilst a flood | all of blood |
filled the scupp'r holes | of the Royal Sun".
"now they cry, | run or die. |
British colours | rid the vanquished main".
"now we sing | bless the king, |
let us drink to | every English tar".

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The trochaic dimeter catalectic occurs often, as Aesch. Ag. 1011, 13:

ουκ εδυ προ | πας δομος |
ουδ' εποντι | σε σκαφος.
"twinkle, twinkle, | little star; |
how I wonder | what you are".
"pity me since | she's no more, |
beauteous maid of | Aghavore".

The ithyphallic becomes a complete verse in:

bắbý bắbý bűnting, ||
fáther's gốne á- | hűnting, ||
tó gét a litt | lé rấb | bit's skin,
tó wrấp the bắ | bý bűnting in,

two ithyphallies and two iambic dimeters.

It is pleasant to find that tetrastrophic systems of the *anapaestic dimeter* are well approved in English:

τὰ γὰρ ἐκ | προτέρων | ἀπλακή | ματά νιν |
the assy | rian came down | like the wolf | on the fold, |
and his co | horts were gleam | ing in pur | ple and gold.

The following forms occur in the Ballad of 'The Red Crosse Knighte':

let the mass | bee sung | and the bells | bee rung. and the mass | sall be sung | and the bells | sall be rung. let the min | strills sing, | and the bells | yring.

'Fair Susan of Somersetshire' was

thể beau | tiful'st crea | ture that e | ver was seen.

The ionic a minore is found in choruses, e.gr.:

cárry máy row | rick á ráre row | clim á clásha | mích á mól a | míngo,

two ionic a minore dimeters with trochaic clausula.

#### ON METRES.

The ionic a minore tetrameter of Horace, Od. 3. 12:

miserarum est | neque amori | dare ludum | neque dulci |

is found in such lines as:

for the meetings | and the greetings, | the surprises, | the embraces |

with an occasional trochaic dipodia as usual:

for the smiles that | brighten sadness | and the hopes that | grow to gladness. | Argosy, Dec. 1884.

The bacchius occurs in each stanza of an old Scottish ballad entitled 'The Vision', in the dimeter form:

throch feidom | our freedom | . quhat romans | or no mans | ,

and so in the more recent:

but true men | like you men | .

The paroemiae (παρουμία, 'proverb': it often expresses general truths) is rather common in English lyrics. In one of Byron's pieces entitled 'Stanzas to Augusta', it alternates with an anapaestic tripodia, and only anapaests are admitted:

in the de | sert a foun | tain is spring | ing, in the wide | waste there still | is a tree | , and a bird | in the sol | itude sing | ing, which speaks | to my spi | rit of thee |.

John Leech's paroemiacs are more exactly in Greek form:

th ế're was | an old girl | in kilken | ny, not the old | est who lived | there by ma | ny, shế said: | there's no soul, | in this low | irish hole, whose opin | ion i va | lue one pen | ny.

The 3rd verse is an anapaestic dimeter.

He imitates Byron's anapaestic tripodias in:

th c'y say | thát in hấp | pý jápan |
mén áre frée | tổ béliếve | whát they cấn | ;
b ử t if | they côme preach- |
ing, ánd teách | ing, ánd screéch | ing,
they áre sênt | ôff tổ jail | in á văn | .
dôn't you wish | this wás hấp | pý jápan?

I would call the verse which separates the two couples of anapaestic tripodias a paroemiacus major, from its having one foot more than the Greek paroemiac. The latter is formed of two anapaestic feet, an anapaest, and a syllable over, either a long or a short one, which may end with either a vowel or a consonant, because there is always a pause there. It is futile and misleading to surmise that that syllable is a fragment of a fourth anapaest, and that the pause is one of so many morae, or single times. That is all surplusage and flimsy speculation. The important thing to know is, that an anapaestic line, so formed, was judged by Greek poets to be an indispensable ending for their systems of anapaestic dimeters. The poet's intention was to write a paroemiac and nothing else. Boeckh says of the terms brachycatalectic and hypercatalectic "Nego ejusmodi versus reperiri". "Ut brachycatalectica ita hypercatalectica ratio prorsus mihi absurda videtur".

## THE METRES USED IN THE EUMENIDES.

Vv. 1-142 (144, counting the two lost after v. 20 and v. 22) Iambic Trimeters Catalectic or Iambic Senarii, with six verses 117, 120, 123, 126, 129, 130, consisting of interjections. As 120 balances 117; and 126, 123; so it is probable that 129 and 130 are two iambic dimeters balancing each other; and 130 may be more correctly written:

λαβέ, λαβέ, λαβέ, φράζου λαβέ.

Taking in the two verses lost, Weil marks five iambic systems from v. 1 to 33 (35 in all):

8. 8. 3. 8. 8,

and five from v. 34 to 63:

5. 7. 7. 5 (one lost).

From v. 64 to 93:

3. 4. 3. 4. 3. 4. 3,

with a clausula of 6 (88-93).

From 94 to 116:

6. 3. 3. 6 (one lost). 3. 3.

From 117 to 142:

3. 3. 3. 2. 2. 2. 3. 3.

## Parodos (στρ. α΄, ἀντ. α΄).\*

143, 149, dochmiae dimeters:

144, 150, iambic senarii.

145, 151, dochmiac dimeters, as above.

146, 152, dochmiac monometers.

<sup>\*</sup> It was not necessary to mark the rhythm by the signs of arsis(") and thesis("), because a syllable here marked ( $\_$ ) always has the arsis; and one marked ( $\bigcirc$ ) or ( $\stackrel{\times}{\sim}$ ) always has the thesis.

#### THE METRES USED

147, 153, iambie senarii.

148, 154, iambic monometer, cretic dimeter:

# στρ. β', ἀντ. β'.

155, 161, iambic senarii.

156, 162, dochmiac monometer, iambic dimeter:

157, 163, dochmiae monometers:

158, 164, dochmiac monometers:

Weil prefers to take this as an iambic tripodia:

159, 165, iambie monometer, cretic trimeter:

160, 166, iambie dimeters:

167, 171, iambic senarii.

168, 172, dochmius, dactyl, trochaic dipodia:

169, 173, dochmiac dimeters:

170, 174, iambic monometer, dochmius:

### First Episode.

175-248, iambic senarii.

Weil, reading ἆρ' ἀκούετε; τοίας (vv. 186, 187), divides 175–193 into:

#### IN THE EUMENIDES.

and from 194 to 230, into:

From 231 to 248 (not transposing  $\delta\mu\omega\alpha$   $\chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\omega$ , etc., and supposing a verse to be lost after it) Weil makes out:

According to my text, the systems will be:

the first 8 telling what Orestes has been doing, etc., the 2 announcing his discovery, the second 8 telling what the Furies have been doing, etc.

# Epiparodos. Parodos resumed.

σύστ. α΄.

249, 252, dochmiac monometers:

250, 251, cretic dimeters:

σύστ. β΄.

253, 256, iambic senarii.

254, 257, iambic monometer, cretic:

255, 258, dochmiac dimeters:

σύστ. γ΄.

259, 264, iambic senarii.

260, 263, dochmiac dimeters:

261, 262, iambic senarii.

#### THE METRES USED

## σύστ. δ΄.

265, 270, dochmiac dimeters:

266, 269, dochmiac monometers.

267, 268, iambic senarii.

271-300, iambic senarii, which divide themselves into:

4. 4. 2. 5. 5. 2. 4. 4.

# First Stasimon (301-367).

## σύστημα, άντισύστημα.

301, 304, 306, 309, anapaestic dimeters.

302, 307, anapaestic monometers.

303, 305, 308, 310, paroemiacs.

## ἐπωδός,

311, 313, 314, anapaestic dimeters.

312, 315, paroemiacs.

## στρ. α΄, ἀντ. α΄.

316, 325, trochaic dimeter catalectic, Pherecratic:

317, 326, trochaic dimeter catalectic (penult anceps):

$$- \cup - \cup [- \times -]$$
.

318, 327, cretic trimeter, trochaic dipodia:

319, 328, cretic dimeter:

320, 329, cretic dimeter, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

321, 330, cretic (paconic) dimeter:

#### IN THE EUMENIDES.

322, 331, eretic (paeonie) tetrameter (perhaps penult anceps):

323, 332, trochaic dimeter catalectic: see above.

324, 333, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

# στρ. $\beta'$ , ἀντ. $\beta'$ .

334, 335, 343, 344. dactylic pentameters catalectic:

336, 345, Pherecratics.

337, 346, cretic, dactylic pentameter catalectic:

338, 347, trochaic dimeters catalectic.

339, 340, 341, 348, 349, 350, cretic (paeonic) dimeters:

342, 351, cretic (paeonic) dimeter with a Pherecratic as clausula.

## στρ. γ΄, ἀντ. γ̈.

352, 355, base, base, dactylic trimeter catalectic ::

353, 356, dactylic pentameters catalectic.

354, 357, dactylic pentameter catalectic, with trochaic dimeter catalectic as clausula.

### στρ. δ΄, ἀντ. δ΄.

358, 363, iambic monometer, trochaic monometer, cretic dimeter, iambic tripodia:

$$\cup - \cup - || - \cup - \cup || - \cup - || - \cup - || \times - || \cup - || \times - ||$$

359, 364, iambic dimeters.

360, 365, anaerusis, trochaic dimeter, trochaic dimeter catalectic: iambic tripodia:

### THE METRES USED

361, 366, dactylic tetrameter catalectie:

362, 367, trochaic dimeters catalectic.

### Second Episode.

368-461, iambic senarii, which Weil divides into (368-385):

386-441:--

Athana's speech resolves itself in my text into two parts: the first 10 lines stating the difficulties of the case, 442-451; the second 10 expounding the remedy which she proposes, 452-461.

### Second Stasimon.

στρ. α΄, ἀντ. α΄.

462, 469, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

463, 470, trochaic dipodia catalectic or cretic. (That these single cretics, vv. 463, 470, 490, 498, constitute each a verse is seen from the δεσποτούμενον of v. 489.)

464, 471, cretic, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

465, 472, cretic dimeter.

466, 473, cretic, two trochaic dimeters catalectic:

467, 474, trochaic dimeters (resolved arsis in 2nd place):

468, 475, two trochaic dimeters catalectic (1st arsis resolved):

### IN THE EUMENIDES.

## στρ. β΄, ἀντ. β΄.

476, 482, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

477, 483, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

478, 484, cretic, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

479, 485, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

480, 486, trochaic dimeter catalectic (3rd arsis resolved):

481, 487, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

## στρ γ΄, ἀντ. γ΄.

488, 489, 496, 497, trochaic dimeters catalectic.

490, 498, cretic: see v. 463.

491, 499, dactylic pentameter catalectic, Adonius:

492, 500, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

493, 501, dactylic tetrameter, monosyllabic clausula:

494, 502, choriambus, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

495, 503, dactyl, trochaic dipodia:

## στρ. δ΄, ἀντ. δ΄.

504, 510, iambic dipodia, trochaic dimeter catalectic, Ithyphallic:

505, 511, iambie dipodia, Ithyphallic:

506, 512, iambic dipodia, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

507, 513, *iambie senarius* (pure, called *hexapodia*, imitated by Catullus, 4; Horace, *Epod.* 16):

### THE METRES USED

508, 514, anacrusis, base, Ithyphallic:

509, 515, Adonius, cretic, dactyl, trochaic dipodia:

### Third Episode.

516-729, iambic senarii, which Weil arranges thus:— 516-523:

4. 5 (one lost.)

524-531:

2. 3. 3.

532-563:

3. 2. **3**. 3. 5. 5. 3. 3. 2. 3.

564-625:

5. 3. 5 (one lost). 6. 6 (one lost). 4. 3. 5. 3. 5. 6. 6 (two lost). 4 (all lost).

Weil rejects 619-625. The antithetic correspondence of iambic systems is not manifest here.

626-632:

4. 3.

633-662:

4. 4. 4. 3. 4. 4. 3. 4.

663 - 705:

12 (4. 4. 4. the last 4 lost). 12 (4. 4. 4.) 12 (6. 6.) 12 (6. 6.)

This division suits Weil's text, supposing four lines to be lost.

706-729 and 946-956. Weil counts these as distinct and different systems; but the word  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\rho\eta$ , v. 715, has long seemed to me to be suspicious. Now that a further argument appears to me in the responsion of this speech of Orestes to Athana's, 946-956 (much in the same way as 880-891 correspond to the far-away 961-972), I propose also to include vv. 714, 715, 716 in the interpolation; and I regard the apparent abruptness, spoken of on p. 189, of  $\tau\iota\mu\hat{a}\tau\epsilon$ , v. 954, as resulting from a legitimate and forcible asyndeton. Thus the two speeches will be:

### Commol (4)

# and a Fourth Episode, consisting of Athana's propitiatory appeals (4) alternating, 730-845.

στρ. α΄, άντ. α΄.

730, 731, 759, 760, dochmiae monometers ( $\theta \epsilon o i$  is one long).

732, 733, 761, 762, iambic senarii.

734, 763, bacchiac dimeter:

$$\cup - \times | \cup - + |$$
.

735, 764, bacchiac trimcter:

736, 765, dochmiac monometer.

737, 766, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

738, 739, 767, 768, dochmiac monometer.

740, 769, iambic senarii.

741, 770, dochmiac monometer:

742, 771, iambic senarii.

743, 772, bacchiae dimeter (arsis resolved):

744, 773, dochmius, dactyl, trochaic dipodia:

745-758, and 774-786, iambic senarii:

# στρ. β΄, ἀντ. β΄.

787, 811, dochmiac monometer.

788, 791, 812, 815, interjection fulfilling the part of a verse.

789, 813, dochmiac monometer:

### THE METRES USED

790, 814, dochmiac monometer:

792, 793, 794, 816, 817, 818, dochmiac monometer.

795, 819, four interjections, fulfilling the part of a verse.

796, 820, dochmiac dimeter:

797, 821, dochmiac monometer:

798, 799, 822, 823, dochmiac dimeter:

800-810, and 824-845, iambic senarii:

14 (4. 2. 5. 3 lost.) 14 (4, one lost. 2. 5. 3.) 9 are interpolated.

846-857, incl., and 858-869:

The monostichia, 846-857, also divides itself into 3. 3. 3. 3, if regard be had to the meaning.

\$70-986, Exodos, those parts of a drama which belong to the exit of the actors and chorus.

870-879, and 892-901:

870, 892, cretic, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

871, 893, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

872, 894, base, trochaic dimeter:

873, 895, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

874, 896, Ithyphallic, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

### IN THE EUMENIDES.

875, 876, 897, 898, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

877, 899, iambie senarii (pure, hexapodiae).

878, 900, cretic dimeter, with long theses:

879, 901, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

## σύστ. α΄, ἀντισύστ. α΄.

880-891, and 961-972:

880-883, 961-964, anapacstic dimeters.

884, 886, 890, 965, 967, 971, anapaestic monometers.

887, 891, 968, 972, paroemiacs.

888, 889, 969, 970, anapaestic dimeters.

## σύστ. β΄, ἀντισύστ. β΄.

902-909, and 934-941:

902, 904-906, 908, 934, 936-938, 940, anapaestic dimeters.

903, 907, 935, 939, anapaestic monometers.

909, 941, paroemiacs.

## στρ. β΄, ἀντ. β΄.

910-917, and 926-933:

910, 926, cretic dimeter, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

911, 927, trochaic dimeter catalectic ( $\epsilon \alpha$ , a diphthong).

912, 928, dactylic pentameter catalectic.

913, 929, dochmiac monometer:

914, 930, two dactylic penthemimers:

915, 931, two dactylic trimeters catalectic:

916, 932, trochaic dimeter catalectic.

917, 933, base, trochaic dimeter catalectic:

### THE METRES USED IN THE EUMENIDES.

### μέσον σύστημα.

918-925:

918, 920-923, anapaestic dimeters.

919, 924, anapaestic monometers.

925, paroemiac.

942-945, and 957-960:

942, 957, dactylic trimeter, trochaic dipodia:

943, 958, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

944, 959, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

945, 960, two trochaic dimeters catalectic.

## Προσόδιον μέλος:

the Hymn chanted by the Maids of Athens as they march with the Procession to the Holy Place of the Eumenides, at the foot of the Hill called Arcopagus.

973-986:

973, 976, dactylic tetrameter catalectic:

974, 977, dactylic pentameter catalectic:

975, 978, dactylic trimeter, monosyllabic clausula.

## στρ. β΄, ἀντ. β΄.

979, 980, 983, 984, anapaestic dimeters.

981, 985, dactylic trimeter, monosyllabic clausula:

\_ 😎 | \_ υ υ | \_ υ υ | \_ | . πεύκα has been proposed for λαμπάδι.

982, 986, paroemiacs.

THE END.

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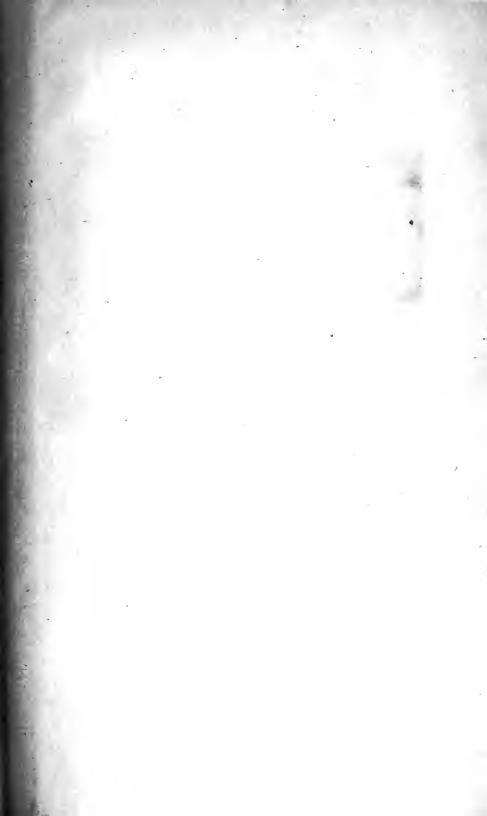
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