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

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

*October 2nd, 1900.*
EDITOR'S PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

The material available for the commentary was as follows:

1) note-books and loose sheets containing notes in course of
EDITOR'S PREFACE

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

For the principles by which the translator was guided in composing his version readers must be referred to the Preface to the Book of Greek Verse (Cambridge University Press, 1907);
but I am permitted to quote the following extract from a letter written to Miss J. E. Harrison on Feb. 3rd, 1903, which has a peculiar interest as referring to the translation of the Agamemnon:

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

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

A. C. P.

23rd July 1910.
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ERRATUM

p. 181, note on l. 76 ff. for ἄπεργηρος read ἄπεργης
INTRODUCTION.

THE STORY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 See Pausan. ix. 19, 6—8.  
2 vv. 113—63.
to cut him off in the very hour of his triumph over his great rival of the East\(^1\).

For there was one person who had not sailed with the sailing of the fleet. Aegisthus\(^2\), son of Thyestes, had grown up in exile, nursing projects of revenge, and not forgetful of his unhappy father's claim to the crown. In the absence of the kings and their force, he found means of access to Clytaemnestra, herself burning to revenge the death of her daughter Iphigeneia. He obtained her love, and (more fortunate than his father) might enjoy it in peace, together with the reality, if not the semblance, of power in Argos. The adultery was not openly avowed; but enough was known for those who remained faithful to the absent king to shake their heads and hold their peace. Orestes, the lawful heir to the throne, was sent away to be brought up by Strophius of Phocis, a friend of the family\(^3\).

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

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\(^1\) vv. 194–233, 452–64, 560–71, 829–33, etc.

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

\(^3\) vv. 553–5, 871–2, 1585, 1608, 1625–7, etc.
despatch him thus entangled; while he himself, being precluded from appearing in public, should lurk in the vicinity, and, upon a signal of Clytaemnestra's action in the palace, should overpower with his partisans the following of the king, and join hands with his accomplice before the royal castle. From this stronghold he meant to govern Argos with absolute power, bribing some and coercing others. In the event the plan was much simplified by the fact that Agamemnon's fleet was utterly dispersed by a storm on the way home, so that the conqueror of Troy landed with the crew of a single ship, and fell an easy victim. The return of the king, his murder by Clytaemnestra, and the usurpation of Aegisthus, form the subject of the Agamemnon.

THE DRAMA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\text{tάχ’ εἰσόμεθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων}
\]
\[
\text{φρυκτορίῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,}
\]
\[
\text{εἰτ’ ἄν ἄληθείς εἰτ’ ὄνειράτων δίκην}
\]
\[
\text{τερπνον τόδ’ ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας.}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[1 \text{Od. 1. 35—43 and 3. 262—312.} \]

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

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

1 *Od. II. 405—53.*

2 *Od. II. 453 πάροι δὲ μὲ πέφυε καὶ αὐτῶν, and 24. 200 κουρίδοιν κτινασα πόσιν (the subject in both places is Clyt).
that Agamemnon, on his return voyage, had got safely as far as Cape Malea, assumes that his home is not at Mycenae, as in the *Iliad*, but at Sparta; therein agreeing with the view of the lyric poets, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Pindar. To suit this version we must apparently conceive of Aegisthus as a prince whose hereditary domain lies in the peninsula which terminates in Cape Malea. Agamemnon is first carried to the east coast of this territory. He escapes thence, doubles the cape, and disembarks on his own territory of Sparta. But in order to reach his inland fortress, he is still obliged to pass along the western border of Aegisthus' land, where a watchman had been stationed for a year to give notice of his progress up the valley of the Eurotas. He is directed to the castle of Aegisthus, whither Clytaemnestra had previously removed, and is treacherously murdered at a banquet.

This conception of the matter differs considerably from that of the first version, in which the centre of interest is Mycenae. The difference is not without interest, for it marks the first stage in the passage of the legend to the form in which we find it in Aeschylus. It can hardly be doubted that the second version, which places the seat of Agamemnon's rule at Sparta, is the older of the two. First, it is conformable to what we know of the earliest kingships that Agamemnon should be represented as reigning, not at Mycenae, like his father Atreus, nor at Pisa, like his grandfather Pelops, but on the other hand, like his grandfather, his father, and his brother, at the home of his wife, that is, at Sparta\(^1\). Secondly, this version presupposes an archaic state of society, in which two chieftains dwelling on adjacent territories are at feud with each other, and one may get the better of his rival by the simple device of inviting him to a banquet at his castle. The whole relation smacks of something primitive, as indeed do those portions of the *Odyssey* from which it is extracted. But even before the Trojan war, as Thucydides tells us\(^2\), this state of society had become antiquated by the growth of commerce and maritime intercourse, and the congre-

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

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

1 *Od. 3. 267.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Od. 4. 546—7.
2 Od. 3. 311. It will be remembered what use Euripides makes of this synchronism in the Orestes.
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no less than that of Agamemnon, is at Mycenae. Why else should Menelaus, sailing from Egypt, go there at all? Of course the poet does not intend this inference; everywhere else he assumes that Menelaus lives at Sparta. But, having transferred the scene of Agamemnon’s death to Mycenae, he is obliged by the sequel of this particular story to bring Menelaus thither also. Now later writers, such perhaps as Agias of Troezen (author of the *Nostis*), having to explain in detail the achievement of Orestes, could by no means give up the opportune advent of Menelaus from Egypt; and having to account for his landing at Mycenae, they would incline to assert that Mycenae was his home. Hence the two brothers would be represented, in post-Homeric versions, as reigning together at Mycenae, just as in the earliest version they had reigned together at Lacedaemon. The seat of their joint government is merely transferred by Aeschylus, in conformity with his whole design, from the locality of Mycenae to the neighbouring locality of Argos.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

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

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

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

As regards the first, the point of interest is to observe how the religious soul of Aeschylus converts to its own use a circumstance which had discouraged less elevated minds. Other writers, such as Solon, had contrasted the complacent hopes of man, his ardent pursuit of various ends, with his utter ignorance of the future and his liability to complete and unexpected disaster: 'Hazard is annexed to every work, nor does any man know, when a business is beginning, where it will end.' The purpose of Aeschylus is not to lament this inferiority of human constitution, but to justify and even applaud it. This he does by considering it in the light of a nobler object, not that of a man’s practical success, but that of his moral perfection. He regards the suffering in which the 'blind hopes' of men so often terminate as a necessary discipline of human character. Even if a man had complete foreknowledge, nothing would ensure his acting right. Laius was thrice divinely warned of the consequences of committing a certain action, but he committed it none the less. Agamemnon was divinely warned of the consequences of sacrificing his daughter, but he did not repent.

1 vv. 170—7. 2 Suppl. 97—102. 3 vv. 192—3. 4 Eum. 650—1. 5 vv. 183—8, 261—2. 6 vv. 1562—3. 7 See Solon, frag. 4. 33—70 (Bergk). 8 Theb. 745.
till it was too late. But if men will sin with their eyes open, instead of deploring the fact that a man’s aims miscarry through his ignorance of the future, we ought rather to be thankful that, when suffering comes, it operates to man’s amendment. Hence it is not as a matter of complaint, but as part of a solemn hymn of praise, that he enunciates the maxim πάθει μάθος. In some remarkable lines he touches on the stealthy and unconscious transformation of character by pain. It is an instance of the gentle but thorough process by which the Deity effects all change.

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

1 vv. 228—31.  
2 vv. 189—91.  
4 frag. 4. 17—26.  
5 frag. 4. 27—32.
his innocent children or descendants. Theories of divine justice have usually been modelled on the scheme of human justice prevailing at the time; and it is well known that in early times the unit of which the law took cognisance was not the individual, but the family. If one member of a family did wrong, he was not himself directly punished, but indirectly, as a limb of the system of blood-relationship, on which as a whole the forfeit fell. But this community of interest embraced not only the members of the family living at the time; it extended also to the dead, between whom and the living the mere fact of dissolution made no essential rupture. The ancestor who committed a crime might at any time be penalised in the person of his descendant, on whom he depended for vital nourishment and his degree of honour among the dead. If the descendants were extinguished altogether, the fate of the ancestors would be miserable indeed. It was important to perpetuate the race and to keep it clear of guilt; but once the fatal act had been committed, once the curse had been entailed, it was not felt to be unfair that the living should be involved in the punishment of the dead. The divine retribution, like the human retribution, was assessed upon the whole; and the life which was subjected to justice was that which began with the earliest forefather and terminated with the last descendant.

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

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

1 vv. 1508—9.  
2 vv. 1510—3.  
3 vv. 755—66.
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of the latter. This is why, in the forefront of his drama, he lays so much emphasis on the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. It is important to observe that this act does not take in Aeschylus, as it does in Sophocles, the form of restitution to Heaven, wiping out a previous offence. It is merely imposed on Agamemnon as the condition of completing a certain design. It is a temptation indeed, but one which might have been resisted. Agamemnon might have broken up his armament and left Troy to divine vengeance; and the poet several times hints that this would have been the proper course to adopt. But the fatal taint was in his blood, and when the temptation to iniquity came, he fell. From that moment his personal responsibility began. It was increased by his conjugal infidelities in regard to Chryseis and Cassandra, and by the bloodthirsty character of his vengeance upon Troy.

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

1 vv. 467, 1004, etc.
2 So Pind. Ol. 5. fin. μη ματεύση θεός γενέσθαι (advice to a fortunate man), etc.
3 vv. 749—54.
5 vv. 385—97.
6 vv. 474—6.
danger nothing can save a man but a naturally sober mind, 'the greatest gift of God!' A mind naturally liable to be spoiled by success is presumably the gift of God also, but the poet does not make this statement with the cheerful indifference of Homer. He loves to trace the misfortunes of a family back to some wild mental impulse in an ancestor, which brings an evil strain into the race, which entails a curse on it, which raises a supernatural avenger to see to its execution. The completion of the train of misfortunes he ascribes to divine agency. But the first inclination to sin appears to arise by itself in the man's own heart; only, like everything which a Greek could not go behind, it tends to be represented as a supernatural possessing power (παρακοτιὰ πρωτοπήμων, πρωταρχὸς ἄτη, ἀλβὸς ἄγαν παχυνθεῖς). How this power is related to the general originating power of Zeus, we are not informed. All that is said is, that Zeus sooner or later visits the wicked act with justice. Without sin there could be no justice. But why this or that individual should be destined to be the sinner, upon whom or upon whose race justice is exercised, remains a mystery.

THE CHARACTERS.

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

1 v. 919.  2 vv. 233, 1191, Theb. 756.
suspicious; but he has suffered from the insincerity of his friends abroad, and has more than a glimpse of treachery at home. He is suspicious of Heaven also, he is feebly superstitious; but he knows that he is a man, the greatest in the world, the most liable to change. He is an unfaithful husband; but the fault, even when we find it most repugnant, is relieved by our knowledge of the infidelity of his wife. In his dignity and his weakness he is every inch a king. While it is impossible to call him an amiable character, we can share in some degree the loyalty which he inspires in the simpler natures of the play, the watchman, the herald, and the elders. When we observe him moving unconsciously to his doom, above all when we see him cut off in the midst of his glory by an ignominious end, our sense of the justice of his fate leaves room for the pity which the bewildered exclamations of his faithful counsellors claim.

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

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

In the character of Aegisthus, on the other hand, all is plain. It is not in him that the curse of Thyestes reveals its mystic force. He acts through the natural motives of revenge and ambition. The circumstances of the case compel him to reach his end by treachery; and for all that is said to the contrary, it would appear that this method was itself the most congenial to his nature. By good fortune or by divine decree, he found in Clytaemnestra a nature suited to his purpose; without her he would have been nothing. His ignoble type of cunning, his absence from the scene at the supreme moment, furnish an

1 v. 1501 f.
effective contrast to the daring hypocrisy and ubiquitous supervision of the queen; as does his overbearing petulance in the hour of success to the few unimpassioned words in which she acknowledges that the work of her life is done.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Corrections due to the editor are denoted by the symbol H.]
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ
ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

'Αγαμέμνων εἰς ἵλιον ἀπίων τῇ Κλυταμήστρα, εἰ πορθήσοι τὸ ἰλιον, ὑπέσχετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἥμερας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ. ὃθεν σκοτόν ἑκάτοιον ἐπὶ μισθῶι Κλυταμήστρα, ἵνα τηρήσῃ τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὃ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλων μεταπέμπεται περὶ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα. ἔξ ὅν 5 καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνήσταται· οὔτε σανοῦντες παιανίζοντες. μετ' οὖ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγεῖται. 'Αγαμέμνων δ' ἐπὶ ἀπήγγελε ἐρρηταὶ· εἴπετο δ' αὐτῷ ἐτέρα ἀπήγγελα, ἐνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν προειρήχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταμήστρα, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμαντεύεται, πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἐσελθεῖν, τὸν ἦντης καὶ 10 τοῦ 'Αγαμέμνωνον θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ὑρέστου μητροκοτόνιαν, καὶ ἐισπηδὰ τὸς θανομένης, ῥήματα τὰ στέρματα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται ὡς ἐκπληξίν ἔχον καὶ οἰκτόν ἰκανόν. ἰδίως δὲ Δισχύλου τῶν 'Αγαμέμνωνα ἐπὶ σκηνής ἀναρέισθαι ποιεῖ, τῶν δὲ Κασάνδρας σωπήσαις θάνατον νεκρὰν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξεν, πεποιηκέν τοὺς Ἀπίσθου καὶ Κλυταμήστραν ἐκατέρους δισχυριζόμενος 15 περὶ τῆς ἀναρέσεως ἐνιακαλλω, τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναρέσει ᾩδιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς Ὑρέστου ἐξ Ὑπερών συμφοραῖς.

Ἑδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλοκλέους ὀλυμπιάδι κῇ ἦτε Β. πρῶτος Δισχύλος 'Αγαμέμνωνον, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίσυ, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικώ. ἐχορῆγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδεύς.

16 Ὑρέστου Ὁ: Θυέστου Victorius. 17 κῇ Μ: ὄγχοκαστὴ Meursius.
ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

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

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ et ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ del. Stanley.
ΦΤΛΑΞ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγήν πόνων 
φρουρᾶς ἑτείας μῆκος, ἢν κοιμώμενος 
στέγαις 'Ατρειδῶν ἁγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην, 
ἄστρων κάτωδα νυκτέρων ὀμήγαρνιν, 
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χείμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς 
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι 
ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν. 5 
καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον, 
αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέροσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτω 
ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν· ὥδε γὰρ κρατεῖ 
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζειν κέαρ. 
ἐντ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἐνδροσόν τ' ἔχω 
εὐνήν οἰνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοποῦμενην 
ἐμὴν· φόβος γὰρ ἄνθ' ὑπνον παραστατεῖ, 
τὸ μὴ βεβαιὸς βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὑπνωι— 10 
ὅταν δ' ἁείδεω ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ, 
ὑπνον τὸδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἅκος, 
κλαίω τότ' οἶκον τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων, 
οὐχ ὡς τὰ πρόσθ' ἁριστα διαπονομένου. 15 
νῦν δ' εὔτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγή πόνων 
eὐαγγέλου φανέντως ὀρφναίου πυρὸς.
Scene: The palace of Agamemnon at Argos.

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

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

Watchman.

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

So am I now

Still watching for the signal of a torch, A fiery gleam with message out of Troy— News of her fall, her capture—such the faith Held by the man's mind in a woman's heart. But while I spend This restless time of rest abroad by night, Free to the dews, unvisited by dreams,— No sleep for me, I warrant! sentry by my pillow stands Fear, and forbids The eyelid closing fast—nay, but as oft As I would medicine sleep With antidote of music,—hum a stave Or whistle,—my voice breaks, my singing turns To moaning for the fortunes of this House, Not now so admirably administered As once it was.—But now at length shine out The fire with his fair tidings in the gloom And bring me sweet release!
ἀ χαῖρε λαμπτῆρ, νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον
φάος πυφαύσκων, καὶ χορῶν καταστασιν
πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει, τῆςδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.
ιοῦ ιοῦ.

'Αγαμέμνονος γυναίκι σημαίνω τορῶς,
εὐνής ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις,
ὅλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἰπέρ Ἰλίον πόλις
ἐάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτός ἀγγέλλων πρέπει.

αὐτὸς τ' ἐγωγε φροιμιον χορεύσομαι·
τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὐ πεσόντα θήσομαι
τρὶς ἐξ βαλουσης τῆςδε μοι φρυκτωρίας.
γένοιτο δ' οὗν μολόντος εὐφιλὴ χέρα
ἀνακτὸς οἰκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί.

τὰ δ' ἀλλα σιγῶ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας
βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτὸς, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,
σαφέστατ' ἄν λέξειν· ὡς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ
μαθοῦσιν αἰῶν, κού μαθοῦσι, λήβομαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

dέκατον μὲν ἔτος τὸδ' ἐπεὶ Πριὰμου
μέγας ἀντίδικος,
Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἦδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,

dιθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκήπτρου

29 ἐπορθιάζειν f g h: ἐπορθιαζειν M.
40 Πριάμου f g h: πριὰμω M.
30 ἀγγέλλων g h: ἀγγέλων M.
Hail, O thou blessed Lantern, uttering forth
A daylight in the darkness, to be sign
For many a dance in merry Argos now!

[calling to Clytaemnestra within.

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

[Her jubilant cry is heard presently within.

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

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

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

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

CHORUS.

Now is here the tenth year
Since Priam's great accusing peer
Prince Menelaus,—and
Prince Agamemnon—brothers twain
And by divine right both to reign
τιμής, ὀχυρῶν ζεύγος Ἀτρείδαν,
στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην
τῆσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας
ήραν, στρατιῶτων ἀρωγήν,
μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἀρη,
τρόπον αἰγυπτίων, οὗτ' ἐκπατίως
ἄλγεσι, παιδῶν ὑπατηλεχέων
στροφοδινοῦνται,
πτερύγων ἐρεμοῦσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,
δημνιοτήρη
πόνον, ὄρταλίχων ὀλέσταντες: —
ὕπατοσ δ' ἄιων ἡ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἡ Παῦ ἡ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον
γόνον ὀξυβόαν
τῶνδε μετοίκων, ὑστερόποιον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν, Ἐρυνν. —
οὐτω δ', Ἀτρέως παῖδας, ὁ κρείσσων
ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρων πέμπει, ἡξενίως
Ζεὺς, πολυάνορος ἄμψε γυναικὸς
πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυνοβαρῆ
γόνατος κονίαισιν ἔρειδομένου
διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις
κάμακος θῆσιν Δαναοῖσιν
Τρωσὶ θ' ὅμοιωσ. ἔστι δ' ὁπη νῦν
ἔστιν' τελείται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·
οὖθ' ὑποκαίων οὖτ' ἐπιλείβων
ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
ἄργας ἄτενεῖς παραθέλξει.

50 ὑπατηλεχέων H.: ὑπατοὶ λεχέων M.
69 ὑποκαίων Casaubon: ὑποκλαιών
M | οὖτ' ἐπιλείβων Schuetz: οὖθ' ὑπολείβων M.
70 οὖτε δακρύων ante ἀπύρων M,
del. Bamberger.
Fast-coupled, one joint rank to share
Of throne and sceptre—since that pair
Launched from Argive land
A thousand ships in battle-train
By troops of Argos manned.

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

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

The Atridae so doth greater Lord,—
Zeus Guardian of the Stranger’s Board,—
    On Alexander send;
For one too common, each man’s woman,
Sore fatiguing bouts in common—
Down in dust the knee bowed under
And the spear-shaft knapped asunder
First before the final day—
Meaning both on Troy to lay
And Greece alike:—the matter still
Is where it is, and where Fate’s will
    Appoints it, there shall end:—
Unburnt sacrifice will spurn
All softening of a temper stern;
Both oils to pour and coals to burn
    In vain a man shall spend.
Ημεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ
tῆς τοῦ ἀρωγῆς ὑπολευφθέντες
μέμνομεν ἵσχὺν
ισόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκῆπτροις.
ὁ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων
ἐντὸς ἀνάσσων
ισόπρεσβυς, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώραι
tί θ' ὕπεργηρως, φυλλάδος ἤδη
κατακαρφομένης; τρίποδας μὲν ὀδοὺς
στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων
ὁναρ ἡμερόφαντον ἀλαίνει.
σὺ δὲ, Τυνδάρεω
θῦγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμήστρα,
tί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη,
tίνος ἀγγελίας
πειθοὶ περὶπεμπτα θυσκεῖς;
pάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,
ὑπάτων, χθονίων,
tῶν τε θυραίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων,
βωμοὶ δόρους φλέγονται;
ἀλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης
λαμπάς ἀνίσχει,
φαρμασσομένη χρύματος ἀγνοῦ
μαλακάις ἀδόλουσι παργορίαις,
pελάνωι μυχόθεν βασιλεῖωι.
tοῦτων λέξασ' ὅ τι καὶ δυνατὸν
καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν,
But we, that aged sinews made
Defaulters in the task of aid—
Here on staves at home support
Strength of such a feeble sort
As infant’s may be styled:—
The regent marrow, while his throne
Is youthful in the breast ungrown,
Is but in ancient senior’s case,—
Ares lacking from his place:
With Age then, when the green leaf seres,
How is it? Forth abroad his way
Takes he on three feet, yet appears
Wandering like a dream astray,
As weak as any child.

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

κῦριος εἴμι θροεῖν οἴδιον τέρας
αἶσιον ἀνδρῶν
ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ
θέοθεν καταπνεύει
πειθώ, μολπᾶν
ἀλκάν, σύμφυτος αἰῶν·
ὅπως Ἀχαίων

díthropouν κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἡβας
ἐὔμφρονα ταγάν,
πέμπτε σὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι
θούριος οἴνις Τενκρίδ' ἐπ' αἴαν,
oiωνὼν βασιλεὺς

βασιλεύσι νεῶν,
ὅ κελαινός, ὅ δ' ἐξόπιν ἄργαις,
φαινέτει ἵκταρ

μελάθρων, χερὸς ἐκ δορυπάλτου

παμπρέπτου ἐν ἔδραυσιν,
βοσκόμενοι λαγῶν,
ἐρικυμάτα φέρματα, γένναν,

100 sqq. totε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἁγανὴ φαῦεις | ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἀπλειστον | τὴν
θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα M: corr. H. 104 τέρας Francken: κράτος M. 107 κατα-
pνεύει (fort. ε καταπνεύει) M: καταπνεύει α Fh. 111 ἡβας Ar. Ran. 1285: ἡβαν
(corr. ex ἡβαν) M. 112—114 omiserat M, add. m. 112 ταγάν a f h: τὰν γάν m.
113 καὶ χερὶ Ar. Ran. 1288: δίκασ m. 117 ἄργαις Thiersch: ἄργιας M.
119 δορυπάλτου Turnebus. 122 φέρματα Hartung: φέρματι M.
And medicine for my thoughts declare,
That still malignant aspect wear,
Save that with radiant face benign
From altars Hope doth somewhat shine
And bids avaunt this eating care
That my soul devours.

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

ἀντ. κεδνός δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδών δύο
λήμασι, δισσοῦς
Ἄτρείδας μαχίμοις
ἐδάθα λαγοδαίτας
πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·
oúτω δ' εἴπε τεράϊζων·
"χρόνωι μὲν ἀγρεῖ
Πριάμου πόλιν ἀδε κέλευθος·
pánta δὲ πύργων
κτήνη πρόσθε τὰ δημιοπληθῆ
μοῦρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον·
oῖον μὴ τις ἄγα
θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ
προτυπεῖν στόμοιν μέγα Τροίας
στρατωθέν· οἴκτωι γὰρ ἐπί-
φθονος "Αρτεμίς ἀγνὰ
πτανοῖσιν κυσὶν πατρὸς
αὐτότοκοιν πρὸ λόχου
μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένουσιν·
στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνοιν αἰετῶν."
aĩλινον αĩλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

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

136 ἄγα Hermann: ἄτα Μ. 139 οἰκτωι Scaliger: οἰκωι Μ. 146 τόσον
f h: τόσον Μ. 147 δρόσουσι λεπτοῖς Wellauer: δρόσουσιν ἀέλπτοις Μ | λεόντων
Prevented ere the safe last course that might outrun the doom.

Let Sorrow, Sorrow, a burden sound,—
In Joy prevailing drowned!

I 2.

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

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

Let Sorrow, Sorrow, a burden sound,—
In Joy prevailing drowned!

"Yet O thou Beauteous One, for all
So tender is thy loving care
To young dew dropping weak and small
In ravenous lion's teeming lair,
πάντων τ' ἄγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
θηρῶν ὄβρυκάλοις, εἴπερ τινά,
tούτων αἴνει ἥμβολα κράναι,
δεξιὰ μὲν, κατάμομφα
δὲ [φάσματα] στροφθὼν.
ιήμον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,
μή τινας ἀντιπνόους
Δαναώις χρονίαις ἐχενηδὰς ἀπλοίας
tεῦξηι σπευδομένα θυσίαν
ἐτέραν ἄνομόν τιν', ἀδαιτον,
νεικέων τέκτονα σύμ-
φυτον, οὐ δεισήνορα. μίμνει
γὰρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος
οἰκονόμος δολία,
μυάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος."
tοιάδε Κάλχας ἔνν
μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν
μόρσιμ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὄρνίθων
ὅδιων οἰκοις βασιλείοις
tοῖς δ᾽ ὀμόφωνον
αἰλινον αἰλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ᾽ εὖ νικάτω.

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

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

II 1.

Zeus, whosoe'er indeed he be,—
   In that name so it please him hear,—
Zeus, for my help is none but he;—
Conjecture through creation free
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διὸς, εἰ τὸ μᾶταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἀχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἑπτήμως.

ἀντ. α'.
oδλὸς τις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,
παμμάχωι θράσει βρύων,
oὐδὲ λέξεται, πρὶν ὄν·
ὅσ δ' ἐπειτ' ἔφυ, τριακτηρὸς οὐχεῖται τυχών.
Ζῆνα δὲ τις προφρόνως
ἐπινικια κλάζων
teύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν.

στρ. β'.
tὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώσαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.
στάζει δ' εὖ τὴν ὑπνωι πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιυπήμων πόνος·
καὶ παρ' ἀκοντας ἡλθε σωφρονεῖν.
δαμόνων δὲ που χάρις βίαιος
σέλμα σεμνῶν ἡμένων.

ἀντ. β'.
καὶ τὸθ' ἡγεῖοιν ὁ πρέ
σβυς νεῶν Ἀχαικῶν,
μάντων οὕτω ζέγων,
ἐμπαῖοις τύχαισι συμπνέων,—
eὗτ' ἀπλοῖαί κεναγ.

175 τὸ Ραυω: τάδε Μ. 178 οὐδὸς τις Ι.: οὐδ' ὄστις Μ. 180 οὐδὲ λέξεται Η. Λ. Αhrens: οὐδὲν λέξει Μ. 187 τὸν Σχουέτζ: τὸ Μ. 192 βίαιος Τurnebus: βίαιος Μ.
I cast, and cannot find his peer;
With this strange load upon my mind
So burdening, only Zeus I find
To lift and fling it sheer.

II 2.
One was that ruled the ring of yore,—
With boisterous challenge big and blown;
Him tell we not, his date is o'er;—
Nay, the next comer is no more,—
Found his outwrestler, and was thrown:—
But Zeus, with heart and voice acclaim
Victorious his triumphal name,
And wisdom is thine own!

III 1.
Sing praise; 'Tis he hath guided, say,
Men's feet in wisdom's way,
Establishing fast Instruction's rule
That Suffering be her school:—
The heart in time of sleep renews
Aching remembrance of her bruise,
And chastening wisdom enters wills that most refuse;
Stern is the grace and forced mercy kind
By Spirits upon their awful bench assigned.

III 2.
Thus with the elder captain then:—
When all his league of men
Lay weltering in the narrow Sound
Between shores, weatherbound,
γεῖ βαρύνοντ' Ἀχαικὸς λεώς,
Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρό-
θοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις.

πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,
βροτῶν ἄλαι,

νεῶν <τε> καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς,

παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι

τρίβω κατέξαυνον ἄν-

θος 'Ἀργείων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ

πικροῦ χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ

βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν

μάντις ἐκλαγέξεν προφέρων

'Ἀρτέμιν, ὡςτε χθόνα βάκτροις

ἐπικρούσαντας 'Ατρείδας

δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν·—

ἀναξ δ' ὃ πρέσβυς τὸδ' ἐπεὶ φωνῶν·

"βαρεία μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,

βαρεία δ', εἰ

tέκνον δαίξω, δόμων ἀγαλμα,

πατρώιοις παρθενοσφάγοισιν

χέρας μιαῖνων ῥοαῖς

πέλας βωμοῦ. τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ

κακῶν; πῶς λιπόναυς γένωμαι

200 sq. παλιρρόθοις H. L. Ahrens: παλιρρόθοις M. 205 νεῶν Pauw:


μιαῖνων παρθενοσφάγοισιν | πεθροῖς πατρώιοις χέρας | βωμοῦ πέλας M: corr. H. (ῥοαῖς

Schoemann, πέλας βωμοῦ Blomfield). 222 πῶς λιπόναυς h: τί πῶς λιπόναυς M.
With body and spirit well-nigh spent,
Empty, in hard imprisonment
Amid those famed resorbing tides of Aulis pent,—
Without one doubt on prophet cast,
He bowed and drifted with the violent blast.

IV 1.

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

IV 2.

At last the elder uttered voice and cried:
"Hard cruel fate refusal! Hard and cruel
The butchery of my child, my own home's jewel!
Father's own hands at the altar crimson dyed
In young pure stricken tide!
Whichever path be taken,
'Tis evil still to choose;
What can I, left forsaken?
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδω λέπαδνον
φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν
ἀναγνωκον, ἀνίερον, τὸθεν
τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγγισ.
βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ ἀἰσχρόμητος
tάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπημων.
ἐνθα δ' ὁδι
θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποιών
πολέμων ἀρωγὰν
cαὶ προτέλεια ναὸν.

λιτᾶς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρώινος
παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶνα παρθένειον
ἐθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.
φράσοι δ' ἀόζοις πατήρ μετ' εὐχὰν
dίκαιν χιμαιρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ
πέπλουσι περιπετῆ παντὶ θυμῷ
προνοπῆ
λαβεῖν ἀέρδην, στόματος τε καλλιπρώιφον
φυλακαὶ κατασχεῖν
φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἰκοῖς,
My league how can I lose?
They press me, furious with desire
For what 'tis lawful to require,
A virgin's blood for calming-spell;—
God send it may be well!"

V 1.
But under that sore stroke
Once donned the grievous yoke
Of Need compelling, all his thought within
To another quarter veered, set full for sin
And desperate action, to the utmost stretch
Resolved. It is that foul-suggesting wretch
Distraction! With her men's hearts at first
Grow reckless, hence their fatal harms begin,
Ruinous.—Alas, he steeled him to that worst,
Slaying of his child, in sacrifice to speed
War for a woman, sanction to let ships proceed.

V 2.
Her supplications all,
Her oft appealing call
On Father, her fresh years of maidenhood,
With umpires clamouring war for nothing stood.
To his ministers her father, after prayer,
Gave the sign—bade them seize her and upbear
Above the altar,—huddling where she lay
Wrapped in her robes, aloft with courage good
Kidwise to hold her, drooping,—and to stay
Those lovely lips with forced impediment,
Bridles with dumb curb muffling utterance, to prevent
βίαι χαλινῶν τ’ ἀναύδωι μένειν
κρόκου βαφῶς δ’ ἐς πέδου χέονσα
ἐβαλλ’ ἐκαστὸν θυτήρων
ἀπ’ ὄμματος βέλει
φιλοίκτου,
πρέπουσά θ’ ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν
θέλουσ’, ἔτει πολλάκις
πατρὸς κατ’ ἀνδρῶνας εὐπραπέζους
ἐμελήψεν· ἀγναί δ’ ἀταύρωτος αὐδαὶ
πατρὸς φίλου τριτὸσπονδὸν εὔποτμον
παῖᾶνα φίλως ἑτίμα.

250

tà δ’ ἐνθεν οὐτ’ εἴδον οὐτ’ ἐννέπω ἑκναι δ’ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἀκραντοι.

260

(Δίκα δ’ τοὺς μὲν παθοῦσιν
μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπειν.
τὸ μέλλον <ὄ’>

ἔτει γένουτ’, ἀν κλύουσ’ προχαρέτων’;

265

ἰσον δὲ τῶι προστένειν.
tορὸν γὰρ ἥξει σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς.
pέλουτ δ’ ὡν τἀπὶ τούτωσιν εὔπρα-
ξίς, ὡς θέλει τὸδ’ ἄγχιστον Ἁπίας
γαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.

270

ἡκω σεβιζων σὸν, Κλυταιμνήστρα, κράτος;

δίκη γὰρ ἐστὶ φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίεων
γυναῖκ’ ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνον.

258 παίανα Enger (παίωνα Hartung): αἰώνα M. 263 δ’ add. Elmsley.
264 ἔτει γένουτ’ α’ ἤν: ἐπεγένουτ’ M. 266 σύνορθρον Wellauer: σύνορθων M | αὐγαῖς Hermann: αὐταῖς M.
VI 1.

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

VI 2.

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

[Meaning Clytaemnestra who now approaches.

Elder.

I am here, O Queen,
In deference to thy rule; when the male Prince
Hath left a vacant throne, due homage then
Belongs unto his consort.—Keep thy counsel now
σὺ δ' εἴτε κεδνον εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη
eυαγγέλουσιν ἐπίσων θυηπολείσ,
κλύομι' ἀν εὐφρων· οὔδε σιγώση φθόνος. 275

ΚΑΤΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.
eυάγγελος μὲν, ὡσπερ ἡ παροιμία,
ἐὼς γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα.
πεύση δὲ χάρμα μεῖζον ἐπίδοσ κλύειν·
Πριάμου γὰρ ἤρηκασίν 'Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.

ΧΟ. πῶς φής; πέφευγε τοῦτος εξ ἀπιστίας. 280
ΚΛ. Τροίαν 'Αχαιῶν οὖσαν· ἡ ὁρᾶς λέγω;
ΧΟ. χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη.
ΚΛ. εἴ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὠμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
ΧΟ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστὸν; ἔστι τῶνδε σοι τέκμαρ;
ΚΛ. ἔστιν· τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολῶσαντος θεοῦ. 285
ΧΟ. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθή σέβεις;
ΚΛ. οὐ δόξαν ἀν λάκομι βριζούσης φρενός.
ΧΟ. ἄλλ' ἡ σ' ἐπιανέν τις ἀπτερός φάτις;
ΚΛ. παιδὸς νέας ὡς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσου φρένας. 290
ΧΟ. ποιοῦ χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;
ΚΛ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τὸδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.
ΧΟ. καὶ τίς τὸδ' εξικοβ' ἀν ἀγγέλων τάχος;
ΚΛ. "Ηφαίστος, Ἕδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας.

φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς
ἐπεμπεπεν. Ἡδὴ μὲν πρὸς Ὑμαῖον λέπας 295
Λήμνου· μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἑκ νήσου τρίτων
'Αθωνίων αἴτιος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο,
With all good will;
But I would learn most gladly whether it be
Good news that sets afoot these offerings, or
But happy-tiding hopes.

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

H. A.
ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὠστε νωτίσαι,
ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἤδονήν
πεύκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ως τις ἡλιος,
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπάς:
ὅ δ' οὖτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὑπνώνυ
νυκώμηνος παρῆκεν ἀγγέλων μέρος:
ἐκάς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Ἐυρίπου ῥοᾶς
Μεσσαπίον φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν
οἳ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρῄγγειλαν πρόσω
γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἄψαντες πυρί.
σθένοσα λαμπτάς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρομένη,
ὑπερθορούσα πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ, δίκην
φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας
ἡγερεν ἀλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.
φάος δὲ τηλέπομιπον οὐκ ἡναίνετο
φροιρά, πλέον καῖονσα τῶν εἰρημένων.
λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργώπων ἐσκηπεῖν φάος,
ὁρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγιπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον
ὡτρυνε θεσμὸν μὴ χρονίζεσθαι πυρός.
πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαιοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει
φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ
πορθμοῦ κατόπτην πρῶν ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω
φλέγουσαν: εἰτ' ἐσκηπεῖν, εἰτ' ἀφίκετο
Ἀραχναῖον αἴτος, ἀστυείτονας σκοπᾶς:
κάπετ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκῆπτει στέγος
φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἀπαπποῦν Ἰδαίου πυρός.

298 sqq. vitiosa esse liquet. 300 πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ Ἰν: παιδίον ἡποῦ Μ.
316 χρονίζεσθαι Casaubon: χαριζεσθαι Μ. 319 κατόπτην Ἰ: κάτοπτρον Μ.
320 εἰτ' Hermann: εἰτ' Μ. 322 τόδε Ἰν: τόγε Μ.
From the island thrown in turn. Then towering high
To clear the broad sea's back, the travelling torch
Shot up to the very sky the courier flame,
In golden glory, like another Sun,
Fame to the far Makistos messaging:
Whose fiery office no defaulting sleep
Or tarrying sloth let fail; his ensign flying
Over the Sound Euripos made aware
Messapion's watchmen of his advent; they
With answering countersign, a kindled stack
Of old gray heather, passed the word along:
Which vigorous lamp with unabated force
Did shining as the bright Moon overleap
Asopus even to Cithaeron's ridge,
There to wake new dispatch; nor being aroused
That watch denied the far-sent missioner;
They burned above their bidding, and their light
Went sailing far beyond Gorgopis lake
To the heights of Aegiplanctus, urging still
No dallying in the breathless ordinance.
Whereat with liberal heart aloft they sent
Flame in a great beard streaming, that his flight
Should clean beyond the foreland pass, that looks
O'er the Saronic gulf; nor ever stooped
His pinion ere he gained our neighbouring height,
Arachnae's vigilant peak: alighting thence
Upon the Atridae's roof a gleam there came,
That Ida's fire his ancestor may claim.

1 Or 'beyond the aforesaid.'
τοιοίδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,
ἀλλος παρ’ ἄλλου διαδοχαίς πληρούμενοι.
νικᾷ δ’ ὁ πρώτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμὼν.
τέκμαρ τοιούτοι σύμβολον τέ σοι λέγω ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.
ΧΩ. θεοίς μὲν αὕτης, ὦ γύναι, προσεύξομαι:
λόγους δ’ ἀκούσαι τούσδε καποθαμάσαι
διηνεκῶς θέλωμ’ ἂν, ὡς λέγεις, πάλιν.
ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ’ ἔχουσ” ἐν ήμέραι.
οἴμαι βοήν ἄμεικτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.
ὁδος τ’ ἄλειφα τ’ ἐγχέας ταυτώι κύτε
διχοστατούντ’ ἂν οὐ φίλως προσενεποις·
καὶ τῶν ἀλότων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα
φθογγάς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς·
οῦ μὲν γὰρ ἄμφι σῶμασιν πεπτωκότες
ἀνδρῶν καστιγνήτων τε καὶ φυτάλμιοι
παίδων γέροντες οὐκέτ’ ἐξ ἐλευθέρον
dέρης ἀποιμώξουσι φυλτάτων μόρον,
tοὺς δ’ αὐτέ νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος
νήστεις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὄν ἔχει πόλις
tάσσει, πρὸς οὐδέν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον·
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκαστος ἐσπασεν τύχης πάλον,
ἐν αἰχμαλωτοῖς Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασι
ναιόσων ἀδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων
δρόσων τ’ ἀπαλλαχθέντες· ὡς δ’ εὐδαίμονες
ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαι εὐφρόνην.

324 τοιοίδε τοί μοι Schuetz: τοιοίδ’ ἐτοιμοὶ a h, τοιοίδ’ ἐτύμοι f.
331 λέγοις f h.
334 ἐγχέας Canter: ἐκχέας a f h.
339 sqq. φυταλίμων παίδες γερόντων codd.: corr. Weil.
348 ὡς δ’ εὐδαίμονες Stanley: ὡς δισδαιμονες a f h.
This was the ordering of my torchmen's race,
One from another in succession still
Supplied and plenished; and he that won
Was he _ran first_, though last in all this run.
Here is the proof and warrant of my joy,
Pass'd onward for me by my lord from Troy.

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

**CLYT.** This day the Greeks
Hold Ilium in their hand. O, well I guess
Most ill-according noise is rife within her!
Pour in the same cruse oil and vinegar,
And you shall call them quarrellers, unkind;
Thus differing as their fortunes may be heard
Cries of the vanquish'd and the vanquishers.
Vanquish'd,—upon the several corpses flung
Of children, husbands, brothers,—aged sire,
Wife, sister, from a throat no longer free
Wail for their dear ones dead. The vanquishers
Their after-battle forage
And ranging in the night sets hungry down
Before such breakfasts as the town affords,
By no nice turn of ordered billeting,
But Luck's own lottery has them lodged ere this
In captur'd homes of Troy: there now at length
Delivered from the frosts and from the dews
Of the bleak sky they shelter, and how blest
Shall sleep at ease the whole unguarded night.
ei δ' εὔσεβοῦσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς
τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἱδρύματα,
οὐ τὰν ἐλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοίεν ἄν.
ἐρως δὲ μὴ τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτη τι στρατῶι
πορθεῖν τὰ μὴ χρή κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.
δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστίμου σωτηρίας,
κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κόλον πάλιν.
θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατῶι,
εὐήγορον τὸ πῆμα τῶν ολωλότων
gένοιτ' ἄν,—εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τὺχοι κακά.
τοιαύτα τοι γυναίκας εξ' ἐμοῦ κλυεῖς.
τὸ δ' εὐ κρατοὶ, μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.
πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τὴν ὀνησιν εἰλόμην.

ΧΟ. γύναι, κατ' ἀνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.
ἐγὼ δ' ἀκοῦσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια
θεοὺς προσεπεῖν αὖ παρασκεύαζομαι.
χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἰργασται πόνων.

'Ω Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ Νῦξ φιλία,
μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα.
ἡτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες
στεγανῶν δίκτυων, ὥς μῆτε μέγαν
μὴτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τω' ὑπερτελέσαι
μέγα δουλείας
γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλῶτον.
If now they are showing reverence to the Gods
O' the fallen country and their holy shrines,
They shall not spoil then only to be spoiled:
But let no lust be falling on them first
From covetousness to plunder that they should not:—
The backward of the double course is yet
To measure; they must win safe passage home.
But let them only come without offence
Toward Heaven, the grievance of the perished well
May learn fair language,—if no sudden stroke
Of casualty befall.—These are my thoughts,
A woman's; but I pray
Good speed prevail without all counterpoise!
Great are my blessings; I would taste their joys.

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

O Zeus the king of Heaven! O Night,
With so great splendour and so bright
   Possessed, O friendly Night!
On Troy's renowned high towers was cast
Thy snare, a net so close and fast
   As neither great nor small
Should leap the immense enslaving woof:
Doom's divine drag-net, huge and proof,
   At one sweep took them all!
Δία τοῦ ξένου μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι
tὸν τάδε πράξαντ', ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρων
teίνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὡς τοῖς
μῆτε πρὸ καίροιν μὴν ὑπὲρ ἀστρῶν
βέλος ἕλιθιον σκῆψειεν.

τρ. α'.

"Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν" εἶπεῖν
πάρεστιν, τούτο τ' ἐξιχνεύσαν.
ἐπραξέν ὡς ἐκρανεν. οὐκ ἐφα τις
θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσαθαὶ μέλειν
ὁσιοι ἀθικτῶν χάρις
πατοῦθ'. δὲ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής.
πέφανται δ' ἐκτίνους'
ἀτομήτων ἁρῆ
πνεόντων μεῖζον ἡ δικαίως,
φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφευ
ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπῆ-
μαντων ὡστ' ἀπαρκεῖν
ἐν πραπίδων λαχόντα.

οὐ γάρ ἔστω ἐπαλέξις
πλοῦτον πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ
λακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας
βωμῶν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.

 Arist., ἀντ. α'.

βιᾶται δ' ἀ τάλαινα Πειθώ,
προβούλου παῖς ἀφερτος Ἀτας.

Be Lord Zeus of the Stranger's board
For author of this act adored:
His bolt on Alexander bent
Was aimed so long as neither sent
Over the stars nor early spent
To light with idle fall.

I 1.

"Struck by the hand of Zeus!" ay, truth indeed,
And traceable: 'tis the act of will decreed
And purpose. Under foot when mortals tread
Fair lovely Sanctities, the Gods, one said,
The easy Gods are careless:—'twas profane!
Here are sin's wages manifest and plain,
The sword's work on that swelled presumptuousness,
With affluent mansions teeming in excess,
Beyond Best Measure:—best, and sorrow-free,
The wise well-dowered mind's unharmed Sufficiency!
   The Rich man hath no tower,
   Whose Pride, in Surfeit's hour,
   Kicks against high-enthroned Right
   And spurns her from his sight.

I 2.

Child of designing Ate's deadly womb,
The wretch Temptation drives him to his doom.
άκος δὲ παμμάταινον· οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, πρέπει δὲ, φῶς αἰνολαμπτεῖς, σίνος· κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον τρίβων τε καὶ προσβολαῖς μελαμπαγής πέλει δικαιωθεῖς (ἐπεὶ διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὀρνιν), πόλει πρόστριμμα θείς ἀφερτον· λυτὰν δὲ ἀκούει μὲν οὕτως θεῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐπίστροφον τῶν φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαρεῖ.

οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδὰν ἤισχυνε ἐξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαίσι γυναικός.

λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστορας κλόνους λογχύμους τε καὶ ναυβάτας ὀπλισμούς, ἀγουσά τ' ἀντίφερον Ἰλίων φθοράν, βέβακεν ἐμφα διὰ πυλὰν, ἀτλητα τίλασα· πολλὰ δ' ἐστενον τάδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήταε· "ἰὼ ἤδω δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι, ἵω λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες.

πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους . . . . . ἀφημένων ἱδεῖν.

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

II 1.

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

"The Home, woe, woe, the Home! The Princes, woe!
The impress where the wedded limbs yet show!
There yonder abject sits, where all may see,
Shamed, unreviling, silent, bowed indignity:"
πόθωι δ’ ύπερποντιάς
φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἐχθεταὶ χάρις ἀνδρί,
ὅμματων δ’ ἐν ἀχηνίαις
ἐρρει πᾶσ’ Ἀφροδίτα.

ἀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες
πάρεισι δόξαι ψέφουσαι χάριν ματαιὰν.
μάταν γάρ, εὖτ’ ἂν ἔσθλά τις δοκῶν ὅραν—
παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὅψις οὐ μεθύστερον
πτεροῖς ὅπαδοῖς ὑπνοι κελεύθων.”

τὰ μὲν κατ’ ὀίκους ἐφ’ ἐστίας ἄχη
τάδ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ’ ὑπερβατῶτερα.
τὸ πάν δ’ ἀφ’ Ἐλλανος αἰας συνορμένοις
πένθει’ ἀτλησικάρδιος
dόμων ἐκάστον πρέπει.

πολλὰ γοῦν θυγγάνει πρὸς ἦπαρ.

οὕς μὲν γάρ <τις> ἐπεμψεν
οἴδειν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν

τεύχῃ καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκά-

στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.

ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ’ Ἀρης σωμάτων
καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχηι ὀδός.
Pined so with his beyond-sea dream
Afar, so lovesick he shall seem
The pale faint ghost of proud authority.

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

II 2.

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

These are the one forlorn home's miseries,
And more exceeding bitter yet than these.
And what at large for all that host of war
Far hence, the general legion sped from Hellas' shore?
Theirs in their several houses due
Is mourning and heart-broken rue—
Cause enough, sure, keen-touching to the core!
From each home once there went
A man forth: him it sent
Each knows; but what are these return?
A little dust, an urn.

III 1.

Ares, the Changer—of the Body's coin,
With scales poised—where the spears in battle join,
πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου
φίλους πέμπει βαρὺ
ψήμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-
tύνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-
ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.
στένοντι δ’ εὖ λέγοντες ἀν-
δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἱδρις,
tὸν δ’ ἐν φοναῖσ καλῶς πεσόντ’—
“ἀλλοτρίας διὰ γυναικός,”
tάδε σὺγα τις βαύζει,
ϕθονερὸν δ’ ὑπ’ ἄλγος ἔρπει
προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις.
οἱ δ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος
θῆκας Ἰλιάνδος γᾶς
εὐμορφοί κατέχουσιν: ἐξ-
θρᾶ δ’ ἐχοντας ἐκρυπεῖν.

τ. γ’

βαρεία δ’ ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότωι:
δημοκράτου δ’ ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.
μένει δ’ ἀκοῦσαι τί μου
μέριμνα νυκτηρεῖς.
tῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
ἀσκοποί θεοί, κελαι-
ναὶ δ’ Ἡρμύνες χρόνωι
τυχηρὸν ὄντ’ ἀνεν δίκας

451 εὐθέτους Auratus: εὐθέτου codd.
Oxon. 1 p. 119: διὰ f. 458 προδίκοις f.
codd. 468 ἀπόσκοποι f.
455 διὰI Hermann ex Cramer anec.
464 δημοκράτου Porson: δημοκράτου
Fined in the furnace home from Ilium sends
Dust, heavy dust and sore to weeping friends,—
A live man's worth of ash, full-measured load
In small jars' compass decently bestowed!

Then wail the sorrowing kinsmen, and belaud each man,
This for a perfect soldier, how that fell
Glorious amid the carnage, fighting well—
"For another's wife!" the growl comes low,
And sores against their Princes grow,
This process that began.
Others possess their tomb
There, in their beauty's bloom—
Troy's holders, in the land they hold
Graved, beneath hated mould!

III 2.
A people's talk is dangerous when it storms;
The effect of public curse their wrath performs.
For something cloaked within the night my mind
Stands listening:—the divine eyes are not blind
To men of blood: the man of mere success,
Luck's thriver in defect of Righteousness,
παλιντυχεῖ τριβάι βίου
tiθειό' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' αἴ-
στοις τελέθοντος οὕτως ἀλκά.
tὸ δ' ὑπερκόπτος κλύειν εὖ
βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὀσσοις
Διόθεν κάρανα.
κρίνω δ' ἀφθονον ὀλβον·
μήτ' εἰς ἀπολυτρόθης,
μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀλώς ὑπ' ἄλ-
λων βίον κατίδομι.

πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου
πόλων διήκει θοᾶ
βάξις· εἰ δ' ἐπήμυνοι,
τίς οἴδεν;—εἰ τι θείον ἐστὶ μὴ ψύθος.

τίς ὥδε παιδνὸς ἡ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,
φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν
νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἐπειτ' ἀλλαγαί λόγον καμεῖν;

γυναικὸς αἰχμαῖ πρέπει
πρὸ τοῦ φανεύτος χάριν ἔνναυνέσται.

πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλος ἔρος ἐπιώμεται
tαχύτερος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον
γυναικογήρυμον ὄλλυται κλέος.

471 παλιντυχεῖ Scaliger: παλιντυχῇ (vel -η) codd.
474 ὑπερκόπτος Grotius:
ὑπερκότως codd. 476 κάρανα Tucker: κεραυνός codd. 480 ἄλλωι H.: ἄλλων
codd. 483 ἐπήμυνος Auratus: ἐπητύμως codd. 484 ἐ ἴ f, ἴ h | τι Hermann: τοι
codd. 489 γυναικὸς Scaliger: ἐν γυναικὸς codd. 491 ἔρος Blomfield:
ὁδός codd.
Doomed by the dark Avengers, wanes again at last,
Dwindling, until he fades out where the dim
Lost shadows are; and there, no help for him.—
And Fame, too loudly when she cries,
Is dangerous also; flashing eyes
Of Zeus the proud height blast.
Mine be the happy state
That moves no jealous hate;
No conquest, neither let me see
My own captivity.

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

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

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

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

[At this point there is an interval lasting some days (see Introduction, p. 9). At the opening of the new scene the Chorus are alone in the orchestra.]
τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων
φρυκτωρίων τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,
eιτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἰτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην
tερπνοῦ τοῦ ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας:
κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρῶ κατάσκιον
κλάδους ἐλάιας: μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος δυσία κόνις τάδε,
όσις οὖτ' ἀνανδος οὔτε σοι δαίων φλόγα
ὑλῆς ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῶι πυρός,
ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάζει λέγων—
tὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσ' ἀποστέργῳ λόγον:
ἐν γὰρ πρὸς εῦ φανεῖσι προσθήκη πέλοι.

κηρτε.

ιὼ πατρῶιον οὖδας 'Αργείας χθονός,
δεκάτου σε φέγγει τῶιδ' ἀφικόμην ἐτους,
πολλῶν ῥαγεισῶν ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχῶν:
οὐ γὰρ ποτ' ἦχοιν τῆιδ' ἐν 'Αργείαι κρονὶ
θανῶν μεθέξεων φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.
νῦν χαίρε μὲν χθῶν, χαίρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,
ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεύς, ὁ Πυθίως τ' ἀνάξ,
tόξους ἑάπτων μηκὴτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη·
ἀλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον τ'σθ' ἀνάρσιος:
νῦν δ' αὐτὲ σωτήρ ἵσθι καὶ παιῶνιος,
[Elder (who has been looking out over the plain towards the sea).

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

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

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

Herald.

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

Now hail to thee, O Land, and hail to thee,
Thou bright Sun, and the land’s high paramount,
Zeus; and the Lord of Pytho, blest be he,
And shoot his arrows upon us no more!
Scamander showed thee in thy wrath enough;
Preserver be thou, be thou Healer now,
άναξ Ἀπόλλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς πάντας προσαυδῶ, τῶν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον Ἐρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, ἥρως τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὑμενεῖς πάλιν στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμένον δορός. ἵω μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι, σεμνοὶ τε θάκοι, δαίμονες τ' ἀντήλιοι, εἰ ποῦ πάλαι, φαιδροῦσι τοιοῦτο ὁμμασιν δέξασθε κόσμω βασιλέα πολλῶν χρόνωι. ἥκει γὰρ υἱῶν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνητι φέρων καὶ τοῦ ὁποίον ἀπασι κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνον ἄναξ. ἀλλ' εὖ νῦν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει, Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου Δίως μακελλη, τῷ κατείργασται πέδων, καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός. τοῦτον δὲ Τροίαν περιβαλὼν ξευκτήριον ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ ἤκει, τίσορεν δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν τῶν νῦν'. Πάρισι γὰρ οὗτε συντελής πόλις ἐξεύχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον. ὧν ὑπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς, δίκην τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἡμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον αὐτόχθονον πατρῴων ἐθρισεν δόμοι, διπλὰ δ' ἔτεισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια. ΧΩ. κήρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαίρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ. ΧΗ. χαίρω· τεθναίην δ' οὐκέτι ἀντερῶθεος.
O Lord Apollo! Greeting unto you,
Ye Gods of Gathering all, with mine own patron,
Hermes, the sweet Herald, that homage hath
From heralds; and O ye Heroes in the earth,
Kind as of old you sped us, now receive
These relics of the spear....
Awake, beloved halls of royalty!
Hail to you! Hail, ye stately judgment-seats!
And hail, ye orient-facing Deities!
If e'er aforetime, O with bright eyes now
Beam after all these days upon the King!
For bringing light in darkness unto you
And all this people, Prince Agamemnon comes.
O give him welcome! 'Tis indeed his due;
He hath digged up Troy with mattock;
Yea, with the mattock of Zeus Justicer
Hath left the whole soil overturned and broke
And her seed rooted out of all the land.
So sore the yoke laid on her caitiff neck
By the elder lord Atrides, who now comes
Blest among men, the worthiest in the world
To be received with honour; for Trojan Paris
Nor all his liable city now can boast
Their trespass to outweigh their punishment:
Convicted both of rape and thievery,
He hath lost his pillage and of House been shorn
With all the land pertaining; he and his
Amerced for crime in twofold penalties!

Elder. O Herald of the Achaeans from the field,
Best greeting and all joy!
Herald. I thank you; let me die now! At God's pleasure,
I'll not oppose it longer.
ΧΟ. ἔρως πατρώιας τήσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν. 545
ΚΗ. ὥστ' ἐνδακρύεις γ' ὀμμασών χαρᾶς ὑπό.
ΧΟ. τερπνής ἀρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.
ΚΗ. πῶς δή; διδαχθεῖς τούδε δεσπόσω λόγου.
ΧΟ. τῶν ἀντερόντων ἴμέρωι πεπληγμένοι.
ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις;
ΧΟ. ὡς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός <γ'> ἀναστένειν.
ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπήν στυγοστράτωι;
ΧΟ. πάλαι τὸ συγὰν φάρμακον βλάβης ἐχω.
ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς; ἀποντών κοιράνων ἐτρεῖς τινάς;
ΧΟ. ὡς νῦν, τὸ σὸν δή, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις. 555
ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταύτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ
τὰ μὲν τις ἄν λέξειν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,
τὰ δ' αὕτε κάπιμομομα—τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν
ἀπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δ' αἰώνοις χρόνον;—
μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσαιλίας,
σπαρνᾶς παρείξεις καὶ κακοστρώτοις,—τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ήματος μέρος;†
τὰ δ' αὕτε χέρσωι καὶ προσὴν πλέον στῦγος;
εὖναι γὰρ ἡσαν δῆλων πρὸς τεῖχεσιν
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ—καπὸ γῆς λειμώναι
δρόσοι—κατεψέκαζον, ἐμπεδον σίνος,
ἐσθημάτων τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα.
χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνοι,
οἶνον παρεῖ' ἀφερτον 'Ιδαία χιών,
Elder. You have been tried
By sickness for your fatherland?

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

Elder. Then there was pleasure in the sickness.

Herald. Pleasure?

Elder. 'Twas a love returned
With love again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Herald. Ay, for it is
A brave success! Though, take the time in all,
With much to cause contentment, there were matters
Also for discontent—but Gods alone
May live unscathed of harm perpetually:—
Troth, were I to recount our miseries,
The toil, the wretched lodging—seldom respite
Snatched on a sorry couch—and all our groans
In the hour of daytime! Then again on shore;
Why there 'twas yet worse hardship; for we lay
Before the enemy's walls, and from the sky,
And from the damp fen, dews with damage dripped
Abiding, that our woolly garments made
All verminous:—or tell again of cold;
How bitter was the snow on Ida made,
ή θάλπος, εὐτε πόντος ὑν μεσημβρινᾶς κοίταις ἄκυμων νηνέμοις εὐδοι πεσῶν—
tί ταύτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος: παροίχεται δε, τοῦτο μὲν τεθυνήσων
tὸ μῆποτ' αὖθις μηδ' ἀναστήναι μέλειν.
tί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν,
tὸν ξόντα δ' ἄλγειν χρῆ τύχης παλιγκότου;
καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφορὰς καταξίω.
�新 δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ
νικάι τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει.
ὡς κομπάσαι τῶν εἰκός ἦλιον φάει
ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις:
"Τροίαιν ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος
θεοῖς λάφυρα ταύτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα
dόμων ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίων γάνος."
tοιαύτα χρῆ κλύνοντας εὐλογειν πόλιν
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς: καὶ χάρις τιμήσεται
Δίος τὸδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. νικάμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι,
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἢβαι τοῖς γέρουσιν εὐμαθεῖν:
δόμοις δὲ ταύτα καὶ Κλυταμήστραι μέλειν
εἰκός μάλιστα, σὺν δὲ πλούτιζεν ἐμε.

ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὑπο,
οτ' ἠλθ' ὁ πρώτος νύχιος ἀγγελος πυρός,
φράζων ἀλώσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.
καὶ τὶς μ' ἐνύπτων ἐπε, "φρυκτώρων δία
πεισθείσα Τροίαιν νῦν πεπορθησθαι δοκεῖς;
Killing the birds; or sweltering summer's heat,
When slumbering in his noonday drowsiness
Lay without stir the sunk unruffled sea......
What boots it to repine? The pain is past;
Unto the dead so past that no more now
They have any thought or care to rise again:—
Why make, with telling all the lost expense,
The live heart sore at Fate's malevolence?
'Adieu, cross Fortune, fare you well!' say I.
For us, the remnant of the host, our gain
Outweighs the utmost counterpoise of pain:
On Fame's wings flying over land and sea
This glorious day proud boasters we may be:
By the troops of Argos, having taken Troy,
Memorials to the Gods in thankful joy
Throughout all Greece their mansions to adorn
Were pinned these trophies from the Trojans torn.
All those that hear this blazon should applaud
The country and her captains; honour due
Being also done to Zeus, whose hand it is!
You have my tale in full.

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

[Turning to Clytaemnestra who enters.

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

CLYT. Some while since
I lifted up my jubilee, already,
When the first messenger, at night, by fire,
Told me the capture and the wrack of Troy.
They chid me then with scorn: Persuaded so
By beacons to believe that Troy is taken?
τι κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἵρεσθαι κέαρ."
λόγους τουούτως πλαγκτός οὐδὲ ἐφαινόμην.
ὀμως δ' ἔθυνον· καὶ γυναικείω νόμων ὀλολυγμοῖν ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν
ἐλασκον εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἐδραίς
θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.

καὶ νῦν τὰ μάσσω μὲν τί δεὶ σὲ μοι λέγειν;
ἀνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.
ὁπως δ' ἀριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν
σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι· τί γὰρ
γυναικε τοῦτον φέγγος ἧδιον δρακεῖν,
ἀπὸ στρατείας ἄνδρα σωσάντος θεοῦ
πύλας ἀνοίξαι; ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσιν·
ἡκειν ὁπως τάχιστο ἐράσµιον πόλει·
γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὐροὶ μολὼν
οἰαντέρ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα
ἐσθλὴν ἐκεῖνω, πολεμίαν τοὺς δύσφροσιν,
καὶ τὰλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον
οὔδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν µήκει χρόνον.

οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν, οὐδ' ἐπύψογον φάτιν,
ἄλλου πρὸς ἄνδρος µᾶλλον ἥ χαλκοῦ βαφᾶς.

KH. τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος,—τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων,
οὐκ αἰσχρός ὡς γυναικὲ γενναίαι λακεῖν;

ΧΟ. αὖτη μὲν οὖτως εἶπε, μανθάνοντι σοι,
τοροῦσιν ἐρµηνεύσων εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.
σὺ δ' εἰπε, κῆρυξ, Μενελεων δὲ πεύθομαι,
εἰ νόστιµος τε καὶ σεσωµένος πάλιν
ηξεὶ σὺν ὑµῖν, τῆς γῆς φίλον κράτος.
O the right woman's credulous heart on wings!
With such derision was I argued fool:
Yet still kept offering; and throughout the town
Aloud they shouted—after woman's use—
Their jubilant anthem, lulling in the shrines
The hunger of the spice-fed odorous flame.

So now, what need we further circumstance
From thee? The King's own mouth shall render us
The tale in full:—but I must give my own
Dear honoured lord the best and soonest welcome—
Soonest and best, for to a woman's eyes
What hour is dearer than the hour when Heaven
Hath saved her husband from the wars, and she
Unbars her gates for him?—Go bid him, then,
Come hither with all speed, the country's darling,
Come with all speed, a faithful wife to find,
Even as he left her, a true hound within,
Still to his foes a foe, to him still kind;
Alike at all parts, every whit the same,
That all this while hath never broke one seal;
Of joys from other—nay, the whispered blame—
I have no more knowledge than of plunging steel!

Exit

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

Elder. We have heard her story,—as you apprehend,
In the ear of judgment, excellent, most plausible.—
But tell me, Herald, our beloved prince
Menelaus, shall we see him safe back with you?
KH. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδὴ καλὰ
es τὸν πολὺν φίλουσι καρπούσθαι χρόνον.

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἀν εἰπὼν κεδνᾶ τάληθη τύχοις;
σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὑκρυπτα γίγνεται τάδε.

KH. ἀνήρ ἄφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαῖκοι στρατοῦ,
aὐτὸς τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. ὦ ψευδὴ λέγω.

ΧΟ. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ὁλίου,
ἡ χείμα, κοινῶν ἀχθος, ἡρπασε στρατοῦ;
KH. ἐκυροσάς ὡστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·
μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα συντόμως ἐφημίσω.

ΧΟ. πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἡ τεθνηκότος
φάτις πρὸς ἀλλων ναυτίλων εκλήζετο;
KH. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὡστ' ἀπαγγείλαι τοὺς,
πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ὁλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.

ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῷ στρατῶν
ἐλθεῖν, τελευτήσαι τε, δαμόνων κότων;

KH. εὑρῆμον ἰμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγέλων
gλώσσῃ μιαίνου· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν,
ὅταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πῆματ' ἀγγέλοι πόλει
στυγνῶι προσώπωι πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρηι,
pόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τὸ δῆμοιν τυχεῖν,

πολλοὺς δὲ τολλῶν ἐξαγιοθέντας δόμων
ἀνδρας διπλῆι μᾶστιγι την Ἀργής φίλει,
dίλογχον ἀτην, φωνίαν ξυνωρίδα,—
tοιώδε μέντοι πημάτωυς σεσαγμένων
πρέπει λέγειν παιάνα τοῦδ' Ἐρυνύων·
sωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον

Herald. I have no art to colour falsehood fair
   And lend the painting gloss for lasting wear.
Elder. O might then colour fair be joined with true!
   'Tis vain to cloke disjunction of the two.
Herald. To speak no falsehood then, the prince is vanished
   From his companions, together with his ship.
Elder. Loosing from Ilium in full sight? Or was 't
   A general storm that tore him from the rest?
Herald. You have hit the target with a perfect aim;
   And briefly phrased a long sad chronicle.
Elder. How was his name in current rumour bruited
   By the other crews? As yet alive or dead?
Herald. None can aver by knowledge, save that one
   That breeds the increase of the Earth, the Sun.
Elder. What is your story of the storm? How rose,
   And how did close, this angry visitation?
Herald. It fits not to profane with dolorous tongue
   A day of praise: that service and the Gods'
   Are twain and separate. When the messenger
   Brings gloomy visage and disastrous hap,
   An armed host's overthrow—one general wound
   Lashed on the country, and her several men
   From private home on home driven out with scourge
   By curse of Ares with his double thong
   Twinned thus for ruin and for slaughter leashed—
   When such the load upon the bearer's back,
   Why, then 'tis fitting that his anthem sound
   The Avengers' tone; but when he comes with news
ἔκοντα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὐεστοὶ πόλιν,
πῶς κεδνα τοῖς κακοὶς συμμεῖξω, λέγων
χειμῶν Ἀχαίοις οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν;
εὐνόμοσαν γάρ, οντες ἔχουσοι τὸ πρὶν,
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πῖστ’ ἐδειξάτην
φθείροντε τὸν δύστημον Ἀργείων στρατόν.
ἐν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ’ ἠφόρει κακά.
ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλαισι Θρήκιαν πνοαὶ
ήρεικον: αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βίαι
χειμῶν Τυφῶ σὺν ἡλικὶ τ’ ὀμβροκτύπωι
ὁχοντ’ ἀφαντοί, πομένος κακοὶ στρόβωι.
ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀνήλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,
ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῖς πέλαγος Αἰγαίον νεκροῖς
ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαίων ναυτικοῖς τ’ ἐρείπιοι.
ἡμὰς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ’ ἀκήρατον σκάφος
ἡτοι τις ἐξέκλεισεν ἡ ἔξσπιτα
θεός τις, οὖκ ἀνθρωπος, οὐάκος θυγών.
τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλοντ’ ἐφέξετο,
ὡς μῆτ’ ἐν ὀρμοὶ κύματος ἡλικὰ ἐχειν
μῆτ’ ἐξοκείλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.
ἐπετα δ’ Ἀιδην πύντιον πεφευγότες,
λευκὸν κατ’ ἡμαρ οὐ πεποιθότες τύχηι,
ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσων νέων πάθος,
στρατοῦ καμάντος καὶ κακῶς σπουδομένου.
καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἐμπνεὼν,
λέγουσιν ἡμὰς ὡς ὀλωλότας, τι μῆν;
ἡμεῖς τ’ ἐκεῖνως ταῦτ’ ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.
Of preservation to a country blest
With ease and welfare, how then should I mix
The good with evil, and relate a storm
That ne'er came surely but from angry Gods!

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

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

Well, they likewise now,
If any be that breathes yet, speak of us,
Doubtless, as perished, we meanwhile supposing
Them in the same case:—let us hope the best
γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα· Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μογεῖν·
ei δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἕλιον νων ἱστορεῖ
καὶ ζώντα καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναὶς Διὸς,
οὕπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλώσατι γένος,
ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἥξεων πάλιν.

tosαὐτ' ἀκούσας ἵσθι τάληθη κλύων.

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τις ποτ' ὄνομαξεν ὅδ'
es τὸ πᾶν ἑτητύμως—
μή τις ὄντων ὄνχ ὀρῶμεν προνοίαις τοῦ πεπρωμένου
γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχαι νέμων;—
tὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικηθ' Ἐλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως
ἐλένανς, ἑλανδρος, ἑλεπτολις,
ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων
προκαλυμμάτων ἐπλευσεν
Ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὖραι,
pολύανδροι

τε φεράσπιδες κυναγοὶ
κατ' ἱχνος πλατᾶν ἄφαντον
κελσάντων Σιμόντος ἀκτας ἐπ' ἀεξιφύλλους

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

[Exit.

CHORUS.

I I.

Who named her all so truly?
—Was't One beyond our vision,
By glimpse of Order fated
His happy lips who moved?—
This Prize debate-environed,
This Bride with spear to kinsman,
This Helena? Most perfect Helena?
'Twas Hell enow she proved,
When amorous from the silken-tissued
Veils before her bower emerging
Forth to Eastward sail she issued,
Spirit of Earth-born Zephyrus urging—
Forth to Eastward sail,
After her, men with ardour shipped,
Myriads of hunters, all equipped
In arms that harrier-like pursued
Fast on a printless trail of oars
Abeach on Simois' leafy shores,
Full cry, in bloody feud!
ἀντ. α'.

'Ἰλίω δὲ κήδος ὁρθόνυμον τελεσσίφρων μήνις ἤνυσεν, τραπέζας ἀτίμωσιν υστέρωι χρόνωι
καὶ ξυνεστίον Διὸς πρασοσμένα τὸ νυμφότιμον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίοντας, ὑμέναιον, ὦς τότ' ἐπέρρεσεν γαμβροῖσιν ἀείδειν. 705
μεταμανθάνονσα δ' ὑμον Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ πολύθρηνον μέγα ποὺ στένει, κυκλῆσκουσα Πάρν τὸν αἰνόλεκτον, τάμπροσθ' ὣ πολύθρηνον αἰών' ἀμφὶ πολιτὰν μέλευν αἰμ' ἀνατλάσα.

strap. β'.

ἐθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἵνα δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βοῦτας ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον, ἐν βιότον προτελείους ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον. 720

I 2.

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

II 1.

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

ἀντ. β’.
χρονισθεῖς δ’ ἀπέδειξεν ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων. χάριν
gὰρ τροφὰς ἀμείβων
μηλοφόνωσιν ἄταiros
δαίτ’ ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν.
ἀἵματι δ’ οἴκος ἐφύρη,
ἀμαχὸν ἄλγος οἰκέταις,
μέγα σῖνος πολυκτόνοι.
ἐκ θεοῦ δ’ ἱερεύς τις Ἀ.
tας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη.

οτρ. γ’.
πάραυτα δ’ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν
λέγομ’ ἀν φρονήμα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας,
ἀκασκαίον <δ’> ἀγαλμα πλούτου,
μάλθακον ὄμματων βέλος,
δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος.
παρακλίνασ’ ἐπέκρανεν
δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάσ,
δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος
συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν,
pομπάι Δίος ἑβενίου,
νῦμφοκλάντος Ἐρμύς.

726 sq. φαιδρωπὸν...σαϊνουτα Auratus: φαιδρωπὸ...σαϊνων τε codd. 728 sq. ἦθος Conington: ἦθος codd. 734 ἀμαχὸν δ’ f. 737 προσεθρέφθη Heath: προσετάφη codd. 740 δ’ add. Porson.
And ofttimes, like a nursling child,
In arms with happy love was held,
While the weak flesh, demure and bland,
With fawning wooed the fostering hand.

II 2.

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

III 1.

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

Then from that Heaven away she fell,
Transformed into a Fiend of Hell:
Launched upon Priam's house to bring
Curse with her sweet companioning;
God's Vengeance, in his conduct led
With ruth about her bridal bed
And tears for widowed wives to shed!
παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὁλβον τεκνοῦσθαι μηδ' ἀπαίδα θυήσκειν,

έκ δ' ἀγαθὰς τύχας γένει βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἶζυν.

δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ- μὶ· τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,

σφετέραι δ' εἰκότα γένναι· οἶκων γὰρ εὐθυδίκων καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεὶ.

φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτευν Ῥῤῥια μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-

ζούσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν Ῥῤῥίν τὸτ' ἢ τοθ', ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόληι βαθύσκοτον
dαίμονα τίταν ἄμαιχον, ἀπόλεμον,

ἀνιερὸν θράσος μελαί-
νας μελαθροισὶν ἄτασι,

εἰδομένῳ τοκεῦσιν.

ἄντ. δ'.

Δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνοις δἀμασιν, τὸν δ' ἐναίσιμον τίει·
tὰ χρυσόταστα δ' ἐδεθλα σὺν πῖνωι χερῶν παλιντρόποις.

ὁμμάσι λιποῦσ' ὑσια προσέφατο

dῶναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλου-

tὸν παράσημον αἰνων·
pᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμάι.

763 βαθύσκοτον (Maehly)...τίταν (Heimsoeth): νεαρὰ φάσις κότον...τε τῶν codd.
765 μελαθροισὶν f. 768 τίε βίον codd.: corr. H. L. Ahrens. 769 ἐδεθλα

Auratorus: ἐσθλᾶ codd. 770 προσέφατο Tucker: προσέβα τοῦ codd.
III 2.
There is an ancient proverb men will preach
   As framed by wisdom of old time,
That prosperous Fortune, let him only reach
   To full estate and prime,
Hath issue, dies not childless; waxen so,
Weal for his heir begets unsated Woe.

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

IV 1.
Old Insolence in the evil sort of men
Young Insolence will gender, then or then,
When dawns the appointed hour, a Fiend of gloom
   For penance, violent, unwithstood,
Flushed with such reckless Hardihood
   That sin's dark ruinous Doom
In black storm on the roof shall rage,—
   The latter offspring like his parentage.

IV 2.
But Righteousness to the upright heart inclines;
Bright beneath smoky rafters her light shines:
Gilt-spangled halls, where hands guilt-spotted are,
   Swift with averted eyes forsakes,
Thence to the pure her blessing takes,
   To that false lauded star,
The Power of Riches, will not bend,
But guideth all things to their proper end.
ἀγε δή, βασιλεὺ, Τροίας πτολίπορθ', Ἀτρέως γένεθλον,
πῶς σε προσεῖπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω
μηθ' υπεράρας μηθ' υποκάμψας
καιρὸν χάριτος;
πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι
προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.

τωὶ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν
πᾶς τις ἔτοιμος· δήγμα δὲ λύπης
οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἣπαρ προσικνεῖται·
καὶ ἕνυχαίρουσιν ὁµοιοπρεπεῖς,
ἀγέλαστά πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.

ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων,
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὀµματα φωτός,
τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας
ὑδαρεῖ σαίνει φιλότητι.

σὺ δὲ μοι τὸτε μὲν στέλλων στρατιῶν
'Ελένης ἐνεκ', οὐκ ἐπικεύσω,
κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἥσθα γεγραμμένος
οὐδ' εὐ πραπίδων οίακα νέμων,
θάρσος ἐκούσιον
ἀνδράσι θυμίσκουσι κοµίζων.

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀκρας φρένος οὐδ' ἄφιλως
<ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν>
"ἐὐφρον πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν."
[Enter Agamemnon in a four-wheeled travelling-waggon drawn by mules; followed presently by another containing, among other spoils, Cassandra; who throughout this scene and through the chorus following it continues motionless and silent but in view.

CHORUS.

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

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους
dίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταιτίονς
νόστου δικαίων θ' ὑπ' ἐπραξάμην πόλιν
Πριάμου· δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ
κλώντες ἀνδροθητάς Ἰλίου φθορὰς
ἐς αἰματηρὸν τεύχος οὐ διχορόπως
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τοι δ' ἐναντίω κύτει
ἐλπίς προσήηει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένωι.
καπνῷ δ' ἀλούσα νῦν έτ' εὔσημος πόλις.
ἀτης θύελλαι ξῶσι· συνθημέσκουσα δὲ
σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πνοᾶς.

tούτων θεοὶ χρὴ πολύμυηστον χάριν
tίνες εἰπεῖ συρπαγὰς ὑπερκότους·
ἐπραξάμεσθα καὶ γυναικὸς εἴνεκα
πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργείον δάκος,
 ὑπὸν νεοσσὸς, ἀσπιδηφόρος λεώς,
πήδημ' ὀρούμενος ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσων·
ὑπερθορῶν δὲ πῦργον ἀμηστῆς λέων
ἀδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.
Thy question in due time shall tell
Among this people which doth well
In stewardship, which errs.

**Agamemnon.**

To Argos first and to the country's Gods
Belongs my duty, that have aided me
To my return and justice we have done
Upon the town of Priam: when they heard
The unvoiced cause in heaven, with one consent
They cast into the urn of blood their votes
For perishing waste of Troy: to the other urn
Hope of the filling hand came ever nigh,—
Unfilled. The city's capture even now
Shows manifest by the smoke; death vigorous yet
In Doom's fierce hurricane\(^1\), the expiring ash
Pants forth his opulent breath in puffs of Wealth.

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

\(^1\) Or 'life smouldering yet,
In Doom's burnt sacrifice, . . . .'
θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροίμιον τόδε·
tὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ σῶν φρόνημα μέμνημαι κλύσων,
καὶ φημὶ ταῦτα καὶ συνήγορον μ᾽ ἔχεις·
παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τόδε,
φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ’ ἀνευ φθόνου σέβειν·
δύσφρων γὰρ ἵσος καρδίαν προσήμενος
ἄχθος διπλοίζει τῶι πεπαμένω νόσουν·
toῖς τ’ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πῆμασω βαρύνεται
καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει.
eἰδὼς λέγοιμ’ ἂν, εἰ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι
ὀμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἴδωλον σκιᾶς
δοκούντας εἶναι κάρτα πρεμυνεῖς ἐμοί.
μόνος δὲ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥσπερ οὐχ ἕκων ἔπλει,
ζευχθεὶς ἑτοιμὸς ἢν ἔμοι σειραφόρος·
eἰτ’ οὖν θανόντος εἰτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι
λέγω—τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοῦς,
κοινοὺς ἀγώνας θέντες εν πανηγύρει
βουλευσόμεσθα: καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον
ὄπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεὶ βουλευτέον·
ὅτω δὲ καὶ δεὶ φαρμάκων παϊωνίων,
ητοὶ κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ’ ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.
νῦν δὲ ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους
ἐλθὼν θεοῦσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,
οὕτε πρόσω πέμψαντες ᾦγαγον πάλιν.
νίκη δ’ ἐπείπερ ἔστετ’, ἐμπέδως μένου.

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

For the rest, as touching
Affairs of policy and of religion,
A congress we shall summon, and debate
In full assemblage. Our debate must be
How what is healthy may persist in health;
Where need appears of wholesome remedies,
We shall endeavour to remove the mischief
By sage employ of knife or cautery.

Now to our palace hearth and home we pass,
First to give salutation to the Gods
That sent us and returned. May Victory
Our firm adherent rest in constancy!
ΚΛ. ἄνδρες πολίται, πρέσβες Ἀργείων τόδε,
οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλάνορας τρόπους
λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει
tὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώπωσιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα
μαθοῦσ' ἐμαυτὴς δύσφορον λέξω βίον
τοσόνδ' ὀσοπερ οὕτως ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ.
tὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα
ἥσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακον,
pολλὰς κλύουσαν κληθόνας παλιγκότους·
καί τὸν μὲν ἥκειν, τὸν δ' ἐπεισφέρειν κακοῦ
κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα λάσκοντας δόμοις.
καί τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσον ἐτύχανεν
ἀνὴρ ὂδ', ὡς πρὸς οἴκον ὠχετευέτο
φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύον πλέω λέγειν.
ei δ' ἦν τεθνηκός, ὡς ἐπιλήθνον λόγοι,
τρισώματος τὰν Γηρυών ὁ δεύτερος
πολλὴν ἀνωθὲν—τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω—
χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἔξηχει λαβών,
ἀπαξ ἐκάστωι καθανὸν μορφώματι.
τοιώνδ' ἐκατι κληθόνων παλιγκότων
πολλὰς ἀνωθὲν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης
ἐλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίων λελυμένης.
ἐκ τῶνδ' τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεὶ,
ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστομάτων,
ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσας τόδε.
τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς δορύξεων
Στρωφίος ο Ἡφαίστεος, ἀμφιλεκτα πῆματα

Clytaemnestra.

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

By reason of
These cross malignant rumours, other hands
Full many a time have set my desperate neck
Free from the hanging noose, recovering mé
Against my dearest will.—Hence too it is
We see not present by our side this day
The child, Orestes, in whose person dwell
The pledges of our love; nor wonder at it;
He rests in keeping of our trusty cousin,
Strophius the Phocian, my forewarner oft
καταρράψειεν—τὸν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλίωι σέθεν κίνδυνον, εἰ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία
βουλήν καταρράψειεν, ὡστε σύγγονον
βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον.
tοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.
ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσοντοι
πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὖδ' ἔνι σταγών.
ἐν ὁψικοίτωι δ' ὄμμασιν βλάβας ἐξω,
tὰς ἀμφὶ σοὶ κλάιουσα λαμπτηρουχίας
ἀτημελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν
λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην
ῥιπαῖσθε θωύσοντος, ἀμφὶ σοὶ πάθη
ὁρῶσα πλείω τοῦ ἐξυπνιόντος χρόνου.

καταρράψειεν Scaliger: καταρρίψειεν codd. 875
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Of danger on two scores,—thy jeopardy
At Troy, and fear of popular tumult hatching
Plots in the lack of master, as 'tis common
When the man's down the more to trample on him:
Under which showing lies no trace of guile.

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

Now, after all this borne, with heart unpined
I hail my lord, safe watchdog of the fold,
Main forestay of the ship, firm-footed pillar
Bearing the roof up, sole-born child vouchsafed
To father, to the wave-tossed seaman, land!
From these my honouring words of courtesy
Envy keep far! The sorrows formerly
Are plenty we have suffered.—Now, dear my lord,
Descend,—but set not on the humble ground
Thy princely foot, this trampler upon Troy.—
Come, women, your best haste, perform your office;
Pave the triumphal path with tapestry!
εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος,
ἐς δῶμ᾽ ἀελπτον ὡς ἀν ἡγῆται δίκη.
τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα φροντίς οὐχ ὕπνωι νικωμένη
θῆσει δικαίως, σὺν θεοῖς, θυμάρμενα.

ΑΓ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμὸν φύλαξ,
ἀπουσίᾳ μὲν εἰπας εἰκότως ἐμήν.
μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ᾽ ἐναισίμως
αἰνεῖν, παρ᾽ ἄλλων χρῆ τὸδ᾽ ἐρχεσθαι γέρας.
καὶ τὰλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ
άβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,
μηδ᾽ εἰμασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
tίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖς τιμαλφεῖν χρεῶν,
ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θυντὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν
βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀνευ φόβου.
λέγω κατ᾽ ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμὲ.
χωρὶς ποδοψηστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων
κληδῶν ἀντεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν
θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον· ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρῆ
βίον τελευτήσαντ᾽ ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίληι.
εἰπον τάδ᾽ ὡς πράσσοιμι ἀν εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τὸδ᾽ εἰπέ, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην, ἐμοὶ—
ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἵσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ᾽ ἐμέ.
ΚΛ. ηὐξώ θεοῖς δείσας ἀν ὅδ᾽ ἐρξειν τάδε;
ΑΓ. εἴπερ τις εἰδὼς γ᾽ εὐ τὸδ᾽ ἐξεῖπεν τέλος.

ΚΛ. τί δ᾽ ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τάδ᾽ ἦνυσεν;

904 θυμάρμενα Η.: εἰμαρμένα codd. 921 εἰπον τάδ᾽ ὡς Weil: εἰ πάντα δ᾽ ὡς
924 ἐρξειν Η.: ἐρθεῖν codd. 925 ἐξεῖπεν Auratus: ἐξεῖπον codd.
926 δοκεῖ Stanley: δοκῆ (δοκή) codd.
Straight let a purple road be laid, and so
Let Justice lead him to his undreamed home!
The rest in fashion just with Heaven's consent
Vigilance awake shall order to content.

_Agamemnon._

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

_Clyt._ Tell me now, of your honest mind,—

_Agam._ My mind
Is fixed, and shall not shake.

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

_Agam._ Aye, had advised
Authority prescribed that holy service.

_Clyt._ So; and what think you Priamus had done
If this achievement had been his?
Α.Γ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.
Κ.Λ. μὴ νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἴδεσθης ψόγων.
Α.Γ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.
Κ.Λ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητος γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.
Α.Γ. οὔτοι γυναικὸς ἐστὶν ἱμεῖρεν μάχης.
Κ.Λ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίους γε καὶ τὸ νικάσθαι πρέπει.
Α.Γ. ἡ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δήριος τίεις;
Κ.Λ. πίθον· κρατεῖς μέντοι παρείς ἐκὼν ἐμοὶ.
Α.Γ. ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ἐμβασὶν ποδός,
καὶ τοισδέ μ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσων θεῶν
µή τις πρόσωθεν ὁμματος βάλοι φθόνος·
πολλὴ γὰρ αἰῶν ὁματοφθορέων ποσὶν
φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' υφάς.
τοῦμον μὲν οὔτω· τὴν ἕνην δὲ πρευμενῶς
τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε· τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς
θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὔμενῶς προσδέρκεται·
ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρηται ἵνῳ,
ἀυτὴ δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον
ἀνθος, στρατοῦ δύρημ', ἐμοὶ ἐννεφετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμψαι τάδε,
εἶμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.
Κ.Λ. ἐστὼν θάλασσα, τῖς δὲ νυν κατασβέσει;
τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἱσάργυρον
κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς'
Agam. Oh, he
    Had marched upon embroidered tapestry,
    I make no doubt.
Clyt. For human censure then
    Have never a scruple.
Agam. Yet the tongues of men
    Are potent.
Clyt. He that moves no jealousy
    Lies beneath envying.
Agam. 'Tis not womanly
    To thirst for contest!
Clyt. But felicity
    Is graced in being conquered.
Agam. And thine eyes,
    Do they account such 'conquest' as a prize?
Clyt. O waive the right and yield! Of your own will
    Choose to be vanquished, you are victor still.
Agam. Well, if you must, let presently be loosed
    The shoes that do the service of my feet.

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

[Showing Cassandra.]

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

[He proceeds slowly on the purple path towards the palace.]
Clyt. There is the sea—shall any stanch it up?—
    Still breeding, for its worth of silver weight,
    Abundant stain, freshly renewable,
οίκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἀναξ, ἔχειν. πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἔπισταται δόμος. πολλῶν πατησμὸν δ' εἰμάτων ἄν ηὐξάμην, δόμοισι προνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆςδε μηχανωμένην.

ρίζης γὰρ οὐσίας φυλλᾶς ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους, σκιάν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνὸς.

καὶ σονι μολόντος δωματίτων ἐστίναν, θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνει μολόν· ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς γ' ἀπ' ὁμφάκος πικρᾶς οἶνον, τότ' ἡδη ψύχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστρωφωμένου. Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τελειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τελει· μέλοι δὲ τοι σοὶ τόνπερ ἄν μέλλης τελείν.

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπεδωσ
δείμα προστατηρίουν
καρδίας τερασκόπον ποτάται,
μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἁμισθὸς ἀοῦδα,
οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας δίκαν

dυσκρίτων ὑνεράτων,
θάρσος εὐπειθὲς ιἀεί
φρενὸς φιλὸν θρόνον; χρόνος δ' ἐπεὶ
πρυμνησίδων ἐννεμβολᾶς
ψάμμᾶς ἀκτὰ παρή-
φήθεν, εὗθ' ὑπ' ὅλιον
ἀρτὸ ναυβάτας στρατός.

954 δ' εἰμάτων Canter: δειμάτων codd. 956 μηχανωμένη Abresch: μηχανω-


961 γ' ἀπ' Stanley: τὰπ' α', τ' ἀπ' α'. 963 ἐπιστρωφωμένου Victorius: ἑπιστρωφω-

μένου f, ἑπιστρωφωμένου h. 967 δεῖγμα f. 972 εὐπειθὲς Jacob: εὐπειθὲς codd. |

ζηζη Sealiger: ζηζη vel ζηζη codd. 974 ἐννεμβολᾶς Π.: ἐννεμβολῶς codd. 975 sq.

ψάμμᾶς H. (ψαμμᾶς H. L. Ahrens): ψαμμᾶς codd. | ἀκτὰ (vel ἀγὰ) H. L. Ahrens:

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

[As Agamemnon goes in.

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

[Exit.

CHORUS.

I. 1.

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

The time is past, and fully past,
    When seaward from the sandy shore
    Came following home with furrowed score
The long ropes' mooring-cast,
When from the land our gathered host
Loosed for the war and Ilium's coast.
πεύθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὄμματων
νόστον, αὐτόμαρτος ὦν;
τὸν δ' ἀνευ λύρας ὁμος ὑμνώθει 980
θρήνον Ἐρίνυος αὐτοδίδακτος ἐσώθεν
θυμός, ὡς τὸ πάν ἔχων
ἐλπίδος φίλῳ θράσος.
σπλάγχνα δ' οὕτω ματαίζει,
πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσίν τελεσφόρους 985
dίναις κυκώμενον κέαρ.
εὐχομαι δ' εἶ ἐμάς
ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν
ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.

στρ. β'.
μᾶλα γάρ τοι τὰς πολλὰς ὑγιείας 990
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ
γείτῶν ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδειν.
καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορίων
ἀνδρὸς ἐπαισεν ἀφίω
δυστυχίας πρὸς ἀφάντου ἔρμα.
καὶ πρὸ μὲν τι χρημάτων 995
κτησίων ὁκνος βαλὼν
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου—
οὐκ ἐδώ πρόπτας δόμος
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,
I 2.

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

II 1.

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

ἀντ. β.
τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ γὰν πεσὸν ἀπαξ θανάσιμον
πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν ἄμμα τίς ἂν
πάλων ἀγκαλέσσατ’ ἐπαείδων;
οὔδε τὸν ὀρθοδαχ
τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν
Ζεὺς ἀπέπανσεν ἐπ’ ἄβλαβείαι;
εἰ δὲ μη τεταγμένα
μοίρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν
ἐξήνε μὴ πλέον φέρειν,
προφθάσασα κάρδιά
γλῶσσαν ἂν τάδ’ ἐξεχεῖν;

νῦν δ’ ὑπὸ σκότωι βρέμει,
θυμαλγής τε καὶ οὔδεν ἐπελπομέ-
να ποτὲ καίριον ἐκτολυπεύσεων
ζωτυρουμένας φρενός.

Κ.Λ. εἰσῳ κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω·
ἐπεί στ’ ἐποκε Ζεὺς ἀμημίτως δόμοις
κοινωνοῦ ἐναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ
dούλων σταθείσαν κτήσιον βωμοῦ πέλας,
ἐκβαίν’ ἀπήνης τῆςδε, μηδ’ ὑπερφρόνει.
καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοι φασίν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ
πραθέντα τλήναι δουλίας μάζης βιαι.

1003 ἠλασεν Schuetz: ἠλεσεν codd. 1004 πεσὼν Auratus: πεσῶν' codd. 1009 ἀπέπανσεν Hartung: αὐτ’ ἐπαν’ codd. | ἐπ’ αἰλαβείαι f, ἐπ’ ἀβλαβείαι γε h. 1025 δουλεῖας...βιαί f (καὶ ἕνων βίγειν βιαι h).
The walls ride out the perilous day;
Largess of Heaven with ample yield
From one year's furrowing of the field
    Shall forthwith drive the fasting plague away.

II 2.
Aye, but on the earth let mortal fall
A man's red lifeblood, who shall then recall
    With art of warbling verse the life once dropt?
One there was that had that proper skill
To raise up from the dead, but hindered will
    Of Zeus the wizard stopped.
Appointed portions God-ordained
Curb each other, each refrained
From undue vantage gained;
Else to the light, outstripping tongue,
Heart of her own self all had flung,
    That now frets passioning in the dark,
Frenzied, without all hope to find
In mazes of the fevered mind
    One thread of help, one clew to reach her mark.

Enter Clytaemnestra.

Clyt. Get thee within, thou also, thou, Cassandra:
Since God hath mercifully appointed thee
To take thy place among our troop of slaves
By the altar of Possession, there to stand
Partaker in our holy laving-water,
Come step down from the wain and be not proud;
Alcmena's own son condescended once,
They say, to bondage, spite of the slave's fare.
ei δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τήσθ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης, ἀρχαίοπλοῦτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις· οἷ δ' οὔποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἡμᾶςαν καλῶς, ἀμοί τε δούλως πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην. ἔχεισ παρ' ἡμῶν οἰάπερ νομίζεται.

ΧΟ. σοὶ τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφῆ λόγον. ἐντὸς δ' ἂν οὖσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων πείθοι āν, εἰ πείθοι· ἀπειθοῦς δ' ἰσως.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδώνος δίκην ἀγνώτα φωνῆ βάρβαρον κεκτημένην, ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νων λόγων.

ΧΟ. ἐπού· τὰ λῶστα τῶν παρεστῶτων λέγει. πιθοῦ λιπούσα τόνδ' ἁμαξήρηθ' θρόνον.

ΚΑ. οὔτοι θυραίαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴν πάρα τρίβεων· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλουν ἐστηκεν ἥδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγάς πάρος, ώς οὔποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξεων χάριν. σὺ δ' εἰ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει· εἰ δ' ἄξυνήμων οὖσα μὴ δέχη λόγον, σὺ δ' ἀντί φωνῆς φραζε καρβάνων χερί.

ΧΟ. ἐρμηνεὺς εὐοικεν ἡ ἔσεν τοροῦ δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θερὸς ὡς νεαρῆτον.

ΚΑ. ἡ μαίνεται γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν, ἡτίς λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον ἤκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν, πρὶν αἰματηροῖν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος. οὐ μὴν πλέω ρίψασ' ἀτμασθήσομαι.

And should that portion be assigned by force,
At least there is much comfort in a master
Whose wealth is ancient heritage; your sudden harvesters
Are still excessive to their slaves and harsh.
Expect from us our usage customary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*She flings in.*
ΧΩ. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικίρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι·
θ', ὃ τάλανα, τόνδ' ἐρήμωσα· ὅχον,
εἰκον' ἀνάγκη τῇδε καίνισσον ζυγών. 1055

ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

στρ. α'. ὁτοτοτοῖ ποποῦ δᾶ.
ἀπολλον ἀπολλον. 1060
ΧΩ. τί ταὐτ' ἀνωτότυχας ἀμφί Λοξιόν;
οὐ γάρ τοιοῦτος ὡστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.

ἀντ. α'. ΚΑ. ὁτοτοτοῖ ποποῦ δᾶ.
ἀπολλον ἀπολλον.
ΧΩ. ἦ δ' αὕτε δυσφήμουσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ
οὐδὲν προσήκουτ' εἰν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

στρ. β'. ΚΑ. Ἀπόλλων Ἀπόλλων
ἀγνιάτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός· 1065
ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.
ΧΩ. χρῆσειν ἐοικεῖν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.
μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίαν περ ἐν φρενί.

ἀντ. β'. ΚΑ. Ἀπόλλων Ἀπόλλων
ἀγνιάτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.
ἀ ποὶ ποτ' ὡγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην;
ΧΩ. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν. εἰ σὺ μὴ τῶδ' εννοεῖς,
ἐγὼ λέγω σου· καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἔρεις ψύθη.

ΚΑ. [ἀ ἄ] 1070

Elder. And I feel rather
Pity and will not be anger'd: come, sad lady,
Leave thy carriage void; yield to necessity
And take this yoke upon thee.

I 1.

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

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

I 2.

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

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

II 1.

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

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

II 2.

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

Elder. The Atridae's; if you understand not that,
Learn it of me; you shall not find it false.
στρ. γ'. μισόθεον μὲν ὄν, πολλὰ συνύστορα
αὐτοφόνα κακὰ καὶ ἄρταμα,
ἀνδροσφαγεῖον καὶ πεδορραντήριον.
ΧΩ. ἕοικεν εὐρίς ἢ ἐξεν κυνὸς δίκην
eῖναι, ματεῦε δ' ὄν ἄνευρῆσει φόνον.

ἀντ. γ'. KA. μαρτυρίουσι γὰρ τοῦτο 'ἐπιπείθομαι'
κλαῖομενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς
ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.
ΧΩ. τὸ μὲν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν πεπνυμένοι
ήμεν, προφήτας δ' οὕτως ματεύομεν.

στρ. δ'. KA. ἰώ πόποι, τί ποτε μὴδεται;
τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα
μέγ' ἐν δόμοις τοῖσδε μὴδεται κακόν
ἀφετον φίλουσιν,
δυσίατον; ἄλκα δ' ἐκάς ἀπροστατεί.
ΧΩ. τούτων ἀδρίς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων.
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐγνών πάσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.

ἀντ. δ'. KA. ἰώ τάλανα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς;
τὸν ὁμοδήμιον πόσιν
λοιποὶσα φαίδρυνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;
τάχος γὰρ τὸδ' ἔσται,
προτείνει δὲ χείρ ἐκ
χερὸς ὀργομένα.
ΧΩ. οὕτω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἔξι αἰνιγμάτων
ἐπαργέμουι θεσφάτως ἀμηχανῶ.

1076 καὶ ἄρταμα (vel ἄρταμας) H. (κάρταμον Emperius, κάρταμα H. L. Ahrens):
kαρτάμα codd. 1077 ἀνδροσφαγεῖον Dobre (ἀνδροσφάγγον Casaubon): ἀνδρόσφαγγον M. 1079 ἄνευρῆσει Porson: ἀν εὐρήσῃ M. 1080 μαρτυρίουσα Pauw:
μαρτυρίσασ M | τοῦτο 'ἐπιπείθομαι Abresch: τοῦσδε πεπείθομαι M. 1083 τὸ μὲν H: ἧμεν ἧμην M.
III 1.

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

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

III 2.

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

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

IV 1.

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

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

IV 2.

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

Elder. Beyond me still; dark riddle enough before;
Now 'tis obscure and purblind oracle.
στρ. ε’. ΚΑ. ἐ ἐ παπαὶ παπαὶ,

τί τόδε φαίνεται;

ἡ δικτυών τι γ’ Ἀιδοὺ;

ἀλλ’ ἄρκυς ἡ ἕνωνος, ἡ ἔνωσια

φόνου. στάσις δ’ ἀκόρετος γένει

κατολολυζάτω

θύματος λευσίμου.

ΧΩ. ποίαν Ἐρμών τήνδε δόμασιν κέλη

ἔπορθιάζειν; οὐ με φαιδρύνει λόγος.

ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφής

σταγών, ἀτε καὶ δορὶ πτωσίμοις

ξυνανύτει βίον

δύντος αὐγαίς. ταχεῖ-

α δ’ ἄτα πέλει.

ἀντ. ε’. ΚΑ. ἄα, ἰδοῦ ἰδοῦ·

ἀπεχε τῆς βοῶς·

τὸν ταῦρον ἐν πέπλουσιν

μελάγκερω λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι

τύπτει· πίνει δ’ <ἐν> ἑνύδρων τεύχει.

δολοφόνου λέβη-

τος τύχαν σοι λέγω.

ΧΩ. οὐ κομπάσαμ’ ἄν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος

ἐίναι, κακῷ δὲ τῷ προσεικάζῳ τάδε.

ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἁγαθὰ φάτις

βροτοῖς τελεταῖ; κακῶν γὰρ διὰ

πολυεπίς τέχναι

θεσπιοίδον φόβον

φέροντιν μαθεῖν.

V i.

Cass. O Heavens, what should this be? Some devilish net? 5th strophe.

—But she's a net that shares the bed, that shares
Murder! Uplift, ye ravenous haunting Pack,
Your jubilant hymn for sacrifice, O damnable!

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

VI i.

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

V 2.

Cass. Ah ware, beware, away! Keep clear of the Cow! 5th antistrophe.
The Bull . . . in cloak . . . with horned engine, see,
Felled! In a vessel of water prone he falls . . . .
This is the tale of a Caldron's murderous treachery!

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

VI 2.

But when from divinations ever hath come
One message of good?
'Tis matter of evil still, some lesson of fear
Is ever the drift of all their multitudinous words.
σπ. Ἔ. ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας
κακόποτοι τύχαι—
tὸ γάρ ἐμὸν θροῦν
πάθος ἐπεγχῦδαν—
ποῦ δὴ μὲ δεύρο τὴν τάλαναν ἡγαγες;
oὔδεν ποτὲ ἐὶ μὴ ἐξουθανουμένην. τὶ γάρ;

XO. φρενομανής τις εἰ θεοφόρητος, ἀμφίφεῖ δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς
νόμον ἄνομον, οἷὰ τις ξονθὰ ἀκόρητος βοᾶς, φεῦ,
tαλαίνας φρεσίν
'Ἰτυν 'Ιτυν στένουσο' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς ἀγνίων βίον.

ἀντ. Ἔ. ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λυγείας
μόρον ἄγδόνος:
περέβαλὸν γέ οἴ
πτεροφόρον δέμας,
θεοὶ γλυκῦν τ' αἰώνα κλαυμάτων ἀτερήμοι ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκη εὔδορί.

XO. πόθεν ἐπισυστοὺς θεοφόρους ἐχεῖς
ματαῖους δύος,
tὰ δ' ἐπίροσβα δυσφάτω κλαγγαὶ
μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὑρθίους ἐν νόμοις;
πόθεν ὀροὺς ἐχεῖς θεοποιήσιας ὅδοι κακορρήμονας;

Cass. O sorrowful doom of me—
   Aye, me, for the bowl I crown
   With mine own fate—Ah whither hast brought me, then,
   Only to share, yes, only to share in death!

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

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

Chorus. These wild and passionate throes,
   Whence rush they on thee thronging?
   Such terrors wherefore shape in uncouth dismal song,
   Yet clarion-high? What is it guides thy boding lips
   On their ill-uttering path?
στρ. ζ' ΚΑ. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι
φίλων. ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν
tότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰώνας τάλαν
ηνύτωμαν τροφαίς.

νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτῶν τε κἀχερουσίους
ὁξθοὺς έοικα θεσπώιδησεν τάχα.

XO. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἔφημίσω;
νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι.
πέπληγμα δ' ἀπερ δάκει φοινίω
δυσαλγεί τύχαι μυνρὰ θρεομένας,
θραύματ' ἔμοι κλέων.

ἀντ. ζ'. ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὄλομενας
τὸ πᾶν. ἰὼ πρόπυργοι ψυχαὶ πατρῶς
πολυκανέοις βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'
οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν

τὸ μὴ <οὐκ ἔχειν> πόλιν μὲν ὄσπερ οὖν ἔχει· 1170
ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπελῶ βόλωι

XO. ἐπόμενα προτέρως τάδ' ἐφημίσω,
καὶ τίς σε κακοφρονῶν τίθη-
σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίττων
μελίζεων πάθῃ γοερὰ θανατοφόρα.

τέρμα δ' ἀμηχανῶ.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων
ἔσται δεδορκὼς νεογνάμου νυμφῆς δίκην,
Cass. O bridal, bridal of Paris, ruin of home! Scamander river whereof my people drank! By thy dear beaches once was I nursed and throve, but now My place of prophecy is like to be Cocytus and the shores of Acheron.

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

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

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

Cass. No more now with a newly-wedded bride's Dim vision from a veil shall peep my oracle—
λαμπρός δ' ἔοικεν ἥλιον πρὸς ἀντολᾶς πνέων ἔσαίξεων, ὡστε κύματος δίκην
κλύζειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦτο πήματος πολὺ
μείζον φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.
καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμως ἵνος κακῶν
ῥυμηλατούσῃ τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων.
τὴν γὰρ στέγην τὴν δ' οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς
ἔχουσον οὐκ εὐφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.
καὶ μὴν πεπωκὼς γ', ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,
βρότειον αἰμα κώμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,
δύσπεμπτος ἐξω, συγγόνων Ἐρμύων.
ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὑμνον δόμασων προσήμεναι
πρωτάρχον ἄτην· ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν
εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ, τῶν πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.
ἡμαρτον, ἢ θηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὡς;
ἡ ψευδόμαντις εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων;
ἐκμαρτύρησον προμόσας τὸ μ' εἴδεναι
λόγωι παλαιὰς τῶν ἀμαρτίας δόμων.
ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκου πῆγμα γενναίως παγεν
παιώνιον γένοιτο; θαυμάζω δὲ σοι,
πὸντον πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν
κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάτεις.
ΚΑ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῶι ἐπέστησεν τέλει.
ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἰμέρωι πεπληγμένοις;
ΚΑ. προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἢν ἐμοὶ λέγεων τάδε.
ΧΟ. ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις ἐν πράσσων πλέον.

1180 ἔσαίξεων Bothe: ἐς ηζέων codd. 1181 κλύζεων Auratus: κλύεων codd.
1193 θηρῶ Canter: τηρώ codd., κυρὼ H. L. Ahrens. 1197 ὄρκου πῆγμα Auratus:
δρκος πῆγμα codd. 1202, 1203 inverso ordine praebent codd., transposuit
Hermann.
I feel the spirit
Upon me rushing, like a mighty wind
To the sunrise blowing clear: now presently
Rolled up against the orient light shall wash
Disaster huger far! I'll monish you
No more in riddles; come, attest me, run
My pace now while I scent the traces out
Of acts done long ago.

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

Elder. Nay,
   Let oath be ne'er so well and truly plighted,
   It cannot medicine:—but I marvel at thee,
   To have lived thy life beyond the seas, and yet
   Of alien people to speak sure as though
Thou hadst been a witness present.

Cass. It was the seer
   Apollo made me mistress of this power.
Elder. His Godhead smitten with love?
Cass. I was ashamed,
   The time was, to speak of it.
Elder. Aye, brighter days
   Make daintier niceness ever.
ΚΑ. ἀλλ' ἐὰν παλαιστής κάρτ' ἔμοι πνέων χάριν.

XO. ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἡλθέτην νόμωι;

ΚΑ. ἐνιαυσίας Ἀδιαν ἐφευσάμην.

XO. ἣδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἡρημενή;

ΚΑ. ἣδη πολίταις πάντ' έθέστιζον πάθη.

XO. πῶς δὴ ἀνατος ἡσθα Λοξίου κότωι;

ΚΑ. ἐπείθων οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὡς τάδ' ἦμπλακον.

XO. ἡμῶν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖσ.

ΚΑ. ἱου ἱοῦ, ὡ ὡ κακά.

υπ' αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας τόνος στροβεῖ ταράσσων φρομίωις ....

δράτε τοῦσδε τοὺς δόμοις εἵμημένους νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖσ μορφώμασιν;

παίδες, θανόντες ὀσπερεὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων, χείρας κρεών πλήθοντες, οίκείας βορᾶς,

σὺν ἐντέρους τε σπλάγχν', ἑποϊκτιστον γέμος,

πρέπουσ' ἐχοντες, ὡν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.

ἐκ τῶνδε ποινάς φημὶ βουλεύειν τινὰ

λέοντ' ἀναλκυν ἐν λέχει στρωφάμενον,

οἰκουρόν, ὁμια, τῶι μολόντι δεσπότῃ

ἐμῶι' φέρεων γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ξυγών.  

νεῶν τ' ἀπαρχὸς Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης

οὐκ οἶδεν οία γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς

λέξασα κάκτεινασα ψαίδρόνους, δίκην

ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῆ τύχηι.
AGAMEMNON

Cass. O but he strove 
    Ardent with favour for me. 
Elder. And so in course 
    Came you to the act of kind? 
Cass. I did consent 
    With Loxias, and then failed him. 
Elder. Being possessed 
    Already with divining spirit? 
Cass. Already 
    I showed my own folk all that should befall them. 
Elder. Yet without suffering from Apollo's wrath? 
Cass. After that sin I never might have credit. 
Elder. Thy art seems credible enough to us. 

Cassandra moaning. 

Oh, oh, oh, my pain . . . . again comes on me 
The agony of clear vision, racks me at first 
With dizzying whirl . . . . anguish . . . . 

    There, see now 
Those yonder, seated at the House . . . . young forms 
Like phantoms of a dream . . . . children, as 'twere, 
Slain by their own kindred . . . . their hands filled 
With flesh, familiar meat . . . . aye, they show now 
Visible,—the inward parts, a rueful burden, 
Tasted of by their father! 

For these things 
Vengeance is plotted by a faint soft Lion, 
Wallowing the while in bed,—forsooth to keep it 
Warm and safe against the Master's coming! 
My master—the slave's yoke must be endured. 
    High admiral, proud vanquisher of Troy, 
He dreams not, he, 
After the fawning speeches long drawn out 
By lecherous hound's false tongue, what act it is 
With smiling Ate's treachery she designs
τοιάδε τόλμα· θῆλυς ἀρσενος φονεύσ ἔστων. τί νυν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὰς δάκος τύχοιμ’ ἂν· ἀμφίσβεβανν; ἢ Σκύλλαν τινὰ οἶκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτῖλων βλάβην; θύουσαν "Αἰδοὺ μητέρ’ ἄσσονδὸν τ’ Ἄρη φίλους πνέουσαν—ός δ’ ἐπωλολύξατο, ἢ παντότολμος, ὦσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῆ· δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστίμωι σωτηρίαι.

καὶ τῶν ὁμοιον εἰ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ; τὸ μέλλον ἥξει. καὶ σὺ μ’ ἐν τάχει παρῶν ἄγαν ἀληθομαντιν οἰκτίρας ἐρείς.

ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαίτα παιδείων κρεῖν ἔσσικα καὶ πέφρικα, καὶ φόβος μ’ ἔχει κλύουντ’ ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα·
τὰ δ’ ἀλλ’ ἄκοισας ἐκ δρόμου πεσῶν τρέχω.

ΚΑ. Ἀγαμεμνονός σε φημ’ ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον.

ΧΟ. εὐφήμον, ὡ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόρα.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ’ οὐτὶ παιῶν τώδε’ ἐπιστατεῖ λόγωι.

ΧΟ. οὐκ, εἰπέρ ἔσται γ’· ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.

ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχης, τοῖς δ’ ἀποκτείνειν μέλει.

ΧΟ. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρός τοῦτ’ ἄγος πορσύνεται;

ΚΑ. ἢ κάρτα …… παρεκόπτης χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.

ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελοῦντος οὐ ἔσσικα μηχανή.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ’ Ἐλλήν’ ἐπίσταμαι φάτων.

For deed in cursed hour! Such monstrous doing,—
The female slayer of the male! What beast
Most loathsome shall I call her? *Amphisbaena*?
—Or rather *Scylla*, dweller in the rocks,
Housed there for seaman's ruin! A Mother wild
With Hell's own bacchanal rage, whose heart breathes war
To the death against her own! With jubilant cry
The monster, how she shouted, as men's triumph
Shouts when the battle breaks,—while safe return
Would seem her gladness . . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Cass.** Yet am I well instructed in the tongue
Of Hellas,—all too well.
ΧΩ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα· δυσμαθὴ δὲ ὁμως.
ΚΑ. παπαῖ, οἶνον τὸ πῦρ· ἔπερχεται δὲ μοι.
 ὅτοτοι, Δύκει Ἄπολλον, οἱ ἐγὼ ἐγὼ.
αὕτη δίποις λέανα συγκοιμωμένη
λύκω λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπονσία
κτενεὶ με τὴν τάλανων· ὥς δὲ φάρμακον
τεύχουσα κάμου μισθὸν ἐνθήσει κότῳ
ἐπεύχεται, θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον,
ἐμῆς ἀγωνῆς ἀντιτείσασθαι φόνον.

τὸ δὴ τοῦ ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἐχὼ τάδε,
καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεία περὶ δέρη στέφη;
σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.

ἐτ' ἐσ' φθόρον πέσουτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἀμ' ἔφομαι.

ἐλλην των ἄτης ἀντ' ἐμοὺ πλουτίζετε.

ἰδοὺ δ' Ἄπολλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἔμε
χρηστηρίαν ἐθητ', ἐποπτεύσας δὲ με
καν τοίς κόσμοις καταγελωμένη μετὰ
φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην—
καλουμένη δὲ "φοιτᾶς," ὡς ἀγύρτρια
πτωχός, τάλανα, λιμοθυνή, ἴμεσχόμην—
καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντων ἐκπράξας ἔμε
ἀπήγαγε' ἐς τοιάδε θανασίμους τούχας.

βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίζησουν μένει,
θερμὸν κοπέντος φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.

οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοι γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήζομεν,

ξει ὡρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὐ τυμάρος,
μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινᾶτωρ πατρός.  

1254 δυσμαθή Stephanus: δυσπαθή codd. 1257 δίποις Victorius: δίπλας

1260 ενθήσεων (ν finali post adscripto) h | ποτῶι Auratus. 1266 ἐγὼ δ'
Heath, ἀμ' ἔφομαι Hermann: ἀγαθὸ δ' ἀμείφωμαι codd., πεσόντα θ' ὧδ' ἀμείφωμαι
Verrall. 1276 ἀντεπίζησου codd. 1277 θερμῶν Schuetz: θερμὼ codd. |

κοπέντος H.: κοπέσσας codd.
Elder. Why, so are the oracles
From Pytho, yet they are hard enough withal.

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

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

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

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

So:
Lie there; go to perdition,—I shall follow:
Endow some other with your fatal Wealth!
—Why, 'tis Apollo that himself now strips
My prophet's raiment off—that even in this,
His livery, let his eyes behold me laughed,
By friends and foes indifferently, to scorn:
—I suffered, like a vagrant mountebank,
Like some poor starveling wretch, the name of Wanderer,—
And now the Seer hath made a seer of me
To bring me to this bloody end! Here waits,
Here for my father's altar waits a block,
Hot with the red stream from another's neck.

Yet shall we fall
Not unavenged of Heaven, for there shall come
A Champion of our cause, an Offspring born
To Mother's death and Father's recompense;
φυγας δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος κάτεισιν, άτας τάσδε θρυγκώσων φίλοις· ὁμῶμοι τι γὰρ ὥρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας, ἄγειειν νυν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός.

τί δὴ τ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ὧδ' ἀναστένω; ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἰδον Ἰλιον πόλιν πράξασαν ὃς ἔπραξεν, οὐ δ' εἰλον πόλιν οὕτως ἀπαλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει, ιοῦσα πράξω, τλῆσομαι τὸ καθανεῖν.

'Αιδον πύλας δ' ιάσδ' ἐγὼ προσενέπω· ἐπεύχομαι δ' καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν, ὃς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθυνησίμων ἀπορρυνέτων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

ΧΟ. ὃ πολλὰ μὲν τάλανα, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφὴ γύναι, μακρὰν ἔπευνας. εἰ δ' ἐπητύμως μόρον τῶν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, τῶς θεηλάτου βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς;

ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλυξις, οὔ, ξένοι, χρόνωι πλέω.

ΧΟ. ὃ δ' ὦστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται.

ΚΑ. ἤκει τόδ' ἡμαρ' σμικρά κερδανῶ φυγη. Άλλ' ἵσθι τλῆμων οὖν' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.

ΚΑ. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.

ΧΟ. Άλλ' εὐκλεώς τοι καθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶι.

ΚΑ. ἰ'ω πάτερ σοῦ σῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.

1283 post 1289 habent codd., huc transtulit Hermann | ἀραρε γὰρ ὥρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας Cramer Anecd. Οἷον 1 p. 88. 1285 κάτοικτος Scaliger: κάτοικος codd.
1287 εἴλον Musgrave: εἴχον codd. 1290 τάσδ' ἐγὼ Auratus: τὰς λέγω codd.
1294 δὲ σοφὴ f g. 1304 σῶν Auratus: τῶν codd.
An exile and a stranger from the land,
A wanderer shall return
To set the last crown on this pile of doom:
In Heaven above there is a great oath sworn
His father's outstretched corpse shall bring him home.

Why stand I then lamenting? Once I have seen
My town of Ilium in her present case,
While those that led her captive, under God's
High judgment, so come off,—I will go too
Forthwith and face my fortune—to my death.

[She goes up to the palace-gates.

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

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

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

Elder. Yet latest is the best.

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

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

Cass. Those are terms
Bright fortune never hears.

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

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

[In entering the palace-doors she suddenly recoils with horror.}
ΧΟ. τί δ’ ἐστὶ χρῆμα; τίς σ’ ἀποστρέφει φόβος; 1305
ΚΑ. φεῦ φεῦ.
ΧΟ. τί τούτ’ ἐφευξας; εἰ τί μὴ φρενῶν στῦνος.
ΚΑ. φόνον δόμοι πνεύσων αἰματοσταγὴ.
ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς; τὸδ’ ὄξει θυμάτων ἐφεστῶν.
ΚΑ. ὁμοίως ἄτρος ὡστερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει.
ΧΟ. οὔ Σύριον ἁγιαίσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.
ΚΑ. ἀλλ’ εἰμὶ κἂν δόμοις κωκύσουσ’ ἐμὴν Ἀγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν ἀρκεῖτο βίοσ.
iω ἔνοι,
οὖτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὅρνις φόβωι ἄλλως. θανοῦση μαρτυρεῖτε μοι τόδε, ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ θάνη, ἀνήρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς πέσηνἐπιζευγοῦμαι ταῦτα δ’ ὡς θανομένη.
ΧΟ. ὁ τιθήμων, οἰκτίρω σε θεσφάτον μόρον.
ΚΑ. ἀπαξ ἐτ’ εἰπεῖν ῥήσων ἡ θρήνον θέλω ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτὴς. ἥλιω δ’ ἐπεύχομαι πρὸς ὑστατὸν φῶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς τιμαόρουσ ἐχθροὺς φόνευσιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς τίνειν ὅμοι, δούλης θανοῦσῃς, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος.
ΧΟ. ἰῶ βρότεια πράγματ’ εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν σκιά τις ἀν πρέψειεν εἰ δὲ δυστυχοῖ, βολαῖς ύγρώσωσιν ὁπόγγος ὁλεσεν γραφὴν καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτίρω πολὺ.

1316 ἀλλὰς Hermann: ἀλλ’ ὡς codd. 1322 ἱλίον Jacob. 1324 ἐχθροῦς...
Elder. What is the matter? what is it affrights thee?
Cass. Faugh, faugh!
Elder. Faugh, faugh? Wherefore so?
   Unless it be some sickening in the spirit.
Cass. Blood! the air is full of weltering blood!
Elder. Nay, nay; it is nothing but the smell of sacrifice
   Offering upon the hearth.
Cass. 'Tis such a reek
   As issues from a tomb.
Elder. Well, truly that
   Were most un-Syrian odour.
Cass. I will go in
   To finish there my wailing for my own
   And Agamemnon's fate: life, content me!
—O think not, sirs,
I am as a bird that startles at a bush
In idle terror: when I am dead, confirm me,
When for this woman here a woman dies,
And slain a man for man ill-mated lies:—
I crave this of you as at point of death.
Elder. Poor soul, with death foreknown, I pity thee.
Cass. Yet once more will I speak, one speech, or dirge
   Over my own death:—O thou Sun in heaven,
I pray to thee, before thy latest light,
That, when my champion comes, my enemies
May pay the same time then for murdering this
Poor slave, an easy victim!
   [She passes into the palace.]

Elder. O sad vanity
   Of human fortunes! Their best happiness
Faint as a pencil'd shadow; once unhappy,—
Dashed with a wet sponge at a sweep clean out!
This, to my thinking, pitiable far more.
τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφυ
πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ’
oūτις ἀπειπῶν εἴργει μελάθρων,
"μηκέτ’ ἐσέλθης," τάδε φωνῶν.
καὶ τώιδε πόλιν μὲν ἔλειν ἔδοσαν
μάκαρες Πριάμου·
θεστίμητοι δ’ οἴκαδ’ ἰκάνει·
νῦν δ’ εἰ προτέρων αἱμ’ ἀποτείσει
καὶ τοίσι θανοῦσι θανῶν ἄλλων
ποινὰς θανάτων ἐπικρανεῖ,
τίς ἄν ἔξευξαίτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ
δαίμονι φύναι τάδ’ ἀκοῦον;

ΑΓ. ὡμοὶ, πέπληγμαι καιρῖαν πληγὴν ἔσω.
ΧΩ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν ἀντεῖ καιρίως οὐκασμένος;
ΑΓ. ὡμοὶ μάλ’ αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.
ΧΩ. τούργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγμασιν·
ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ’ εὖ πως ἁσφαλὴ Βουλεύματα. 1346
α’. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,
πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ’ ἀστοίς κηρύσσειν βοήν.
β’. ἐμοὶ δ’ ὅπως τάχιστα γ’ ἔμπεσείν δοκεῖ
καὶ πράγμ’ ἐλέγχειν σὺν νεορρύτωι ξίφει. 1350
γ’. κἀγὼ τοῦτον γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὄν
ψηφίζομαι τι δρᾶν· τὸ μή μέλλειν δ’ ἀκμή.
δ’. δρᾶν πάρεστι· φρομμαίζονται γὰρ ὡς
τυραννίδος σημεῖα πρᾶσσοντες πόλει.

1331 βροτοῖς Pauw: βροτοῖς codd. 1333 μηκέτ’ ἐσέλθης Hermann: μηκέτι
d’ εἰσέλθης codd. 1339 fort. ἐπικράνειν. 1340 ἔξευξαίτο Schneidewin:
edξαίτο codd. 1346 εὖ Donaldson: ἄν codd.
CHORUS.

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

AGAMEMNON within the palace.

O I am hurt! wounded, a mortal wound.

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

AGAM. O God! wounded again, another.

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

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

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

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

FOURTH. 'Tis gross and palpable; their opening act
Shows ominous of usurping tyranny.
ε. χρονίζομεν γάρ: οὖ τῇς Μελλούς κλέος πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερί.

ζ'. οὖκ οἶδα βουλής ἡστινος τυχῶν λέγω. τοῦ δρώντος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ βουλεύσαι πέρι.

ζ'. καγὼ τουσώτος εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ λόγουι τὸν θανόντα' ἀνιστάναι πάλιν.

η'. ἦ καὶ βίων τείνοντες ὁδ' ὑπείξομεν δόμων κατασχυντήρου τοῦσ' ἡγούμενοι;

θ'. ἀλλ' οὖκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ καθαυνεὶν κρατεῖν πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος.

ι'. ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρος ὡς ὅλωλότοις;

ια'. σάφ' εἰδότας χρῆ τῶνδε θυμοῦσθαι πέρι̇ τὸ γὰρ τοπάξεων τοῦ σάφ' εἴδεναι δίχα.

ιβ'. ταῦτην ἐπαγωγὴν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι, τρανῶς Ἀτρείδην εἰδεναι κυροῦνθ' ὀπως.

ΚΛ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων τάναντι εἰπεῖν οὖκ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι.

πως γὰρ τις ἔχειρόις ἔχειρα πορσύνων, φίλοις δοκοῦσιν εἰναι, πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον φράζεις ὑψος κρείσσον ἐκπηδήματος;

ἔπει δ' ἀγων ὁδ' οὖκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι νείκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρώνωι γε μὴν ἐστηκα δ' ἐνθ' ἐπαίστ' ἐπ' ἔξειργασμένοις.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CLYT. All my politic speeches heretofore
Shall nowise make me blush now to confess
The truth and contrary:—how else indeed
When studying hate's act for a hated foe
Supposed friend—how else pitch the toils of Doom
To a height beyond o'erleaping? 'Twas not sudden;
For me, 'twas but
The test and trial of an ancient feud,
Long thought on, and at last in time arrived:—
I stand here now triumphant, where I struck!
And so contrived it also—I'll avow it—
ὡς μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἄμυνεσθαι μόρον. ἄπειρον ἀμφὶ βληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων, περιστιχίζων, πλοῦτον εἴματος κακῶν. παῖω δὲ νῦν δις· καὶ δυνῶν οἱμόγμασιν μεθήκεν αὐτοῦ κόλα· καὶ πεπτωκότι τρίτην ἐπειδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς Δίὸς νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκταίαν χάριν. οὐτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὦρμαίνει πεσών· κάκφυσιῶν ὄξειαν αἴματος σφαγῆν βάλλει μ᾽ ἐρεμυήν ψακάδι φουνίας δρόσουν, χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἡ διοσδότωι γάνει σπόρητος κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν. 

ὡς δὲν ἐχόντων, πρέσβεοι Ἀργείων τόδε, χαίρουτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίρουτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι. εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὡστὶ ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῶι, τάδ' ἄν δικαίως ἦν, ύπερδίκως μὲν οὖν· τοσώνδε κρατήρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν οδε πλήσας ἄραιων αὐτὸς ἐκπίεσε μολῶν.

ΧΟ. θαυμάζομέν σου γλῶσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος, ήτις τοιώνδ' ἐπ' ἄνδρι κομπάζεις λόγον.

ΚΑ. πειρασθέ μου γυναικὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος· ἐγώ δ' ἀπερέστωι καρδίαι πρὸς εἴδότας λέγω—σὺ δ' αἰνεῖς εἴτε με ψέγεων θέλεις ὄμοιον—οὕτος ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς πόσις, νεκρὸς δὲ τήςδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς ἔργον, δικαίας τέκτωνος. τάδ' δὲν ἐχει.
As neither should he scape me nor resist:
I wreathe'd around him, like a fishing-net,
Swathing in a blind maze,—deadly Wealth of robe,—
And struck two blows; and with a groan for each
His limbs beneath him slacked; and as he lay,
I gave him yet a third, for grace of prayer
To God Safe-keeper—of the dead below.
With that he lay still, panting his own life out:
And as the gory jets he blasted forth,
Rain of the sanguine drench bespattered me,
Rejoicing, as in balm of heaven rejoices
Cornland when the teeming ear gives birth!

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

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

CLYT. You practise on me
As I were a thoughtless woman:
With heart unshook I tell you what you know,—
And praise me or dispraise me as you please,
'Tis all one,—this is Agamemnon; my
Husband; a corpse; the work of this right hand,
Whose workmanship was just. That is the case.
στ. ΧΟ. τί κακόν, ὁ γύναι,
χθονοτρεφές ἐδανὸν ἢ ποτὸν
πασαμένα ρυτᾶς ἐξ ἄλος ὠρμενον
τὸδ’ ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ’ ἀράς;
ἀπεδικες, ἀπέταμες—ἀπόπολις δ’ ἐση—
μύσος ὀβριμομ ἀστοῖς.

ΚΛ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγήν ἐμοὶ
καὶ μύσος ἀστῶν δημοθρόους τ’ ἔχειν ἅρας,
οὐδὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῶι ἐναντίον φέρων·
ὁς ὑπ’ ἀρνημωμ, ὦσπερεὶ βοτοῦ μόρον,
μήλων φλεόντων, εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,
ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ
ώδιν’, ἑπωιδὸν Θρηκικών ἀμάτων.
οὐ τούτον ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἱερὰ χρῆν σ’ ἀνδρηλατεῖν,
μιαματῶν ἀπο’; ἐπήκοος δ’ ἐμὸν
ἐργων δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἰ. λέγω δὲ σοι
tοιαύτ’ ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς παρεσκευασμένης
ἐκ τῶν ὄρμων, χειρὶ νικήσατ’ ἐμοὶ
ἀρχεῖν· εὰν δὲ τοῦπταλιν κραίνῃ θεος,
γνώσῃ διδαχθεῖς ὁψ’ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

ἀν. ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἰ,
περίφροναὶ δ’ ἐλακες. ὦσπερ οὖν
φονολιβεὶ τὺχαί φρῆν ἐπιμαίνεται,
λῖπος ἐπ’ ὄμματων αἵματος εὗ πρέπειν·
ἀτίετον ἐτι σὲ χρῆ στερομέναν φίλον
τύμμα τύμματι τείσατι.

1408 ρυτᾶς: Stanley: τοῖς vel ρυτᾶς codd. | ὠρμενον Abresch: ὠρμενον (ὁρ- h) codd. 1410 ἀπόταλος Seidler: ἀπόλας codd. 1411 ὀβριμων codd. 1414 τότ’
I. Voss: τά’d’ codd. 1418 ἀμάτων Canter: τε λημμάτων codd. 1419 χρῆν
Porson: χρῆ codd. 1429 πρέπειν E. Α. I. Ahrens: πρέπει codd. 1431 τύμματι
I. Voss: τύμμα codd.
AGAMEMNON

CHORUS clamouring.

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

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

CHORUS.

Lofty in arrogant vaunt as wicked of spirit!
Mind being then so mad with shedding of gore,
On the eye should answering gore in a blood-fleck show;
Disgraced, abhorred, unowned, thou hast yet thy doom in store,
To pay with blow for a blow!
ΚΑ. καὶ τῆν ἄκοψις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμων
μᾶ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην,
"Ἀτην Ἐρινών θ', αἰσι τόνδ' ἐσφαξ' ἐγώ,
οὐ μοι Φόβου μελαθρὸν Ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖ,
ἐὼς ἂν αἰθη πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίασ ἐμῆς
Ἀὔγισθος, ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εὗ φρονῶν ἐμοί.
οὗτος γὰρ ἠμῶν ἁσπὶς οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους.
κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆςδε λυμαντήριος,
Χρυσηνίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ'. 'Ιλίωι,
ἡ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ήδε καὶ τερασκότος,
καὶ κοινόλεκτος τοῦδε θεσφατηλόγος
πιστὴ ἐυνευνος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων
ἰσοτριβής.—Ἀτμα δ' οὐκ ἐπράξάτην.
ὅ μὲν γὰρ οὐτως. ἦ δὲ τοι, κύκνου δίκην
τῶν ύστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμων γόνων,
κεῖται, φιλήτωρ τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, χλιδήν.

στρ. α'. ΧΟ. φεῦ, τίς ἢν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος,
μηδὲ δεμνιστήρης,
μόλοι τῶν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ὀμιλεῖν
Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὑπ'νου, δαμέντος
φυλακος εὑμενεστάτου,
τολλὰ τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί:
πρὸς γυναῖκός δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.

1432 fort. ἀκούσῃ γ'. 1435 εἰμὶς Porson: εἰμάς codd. 1444 ἰσοτριβής
Pauw: ἰσοτριβής codd. 1447 φιλήτωρ ἦ. 1448 χλιδὴν Auratus: χλιδῆς codd.
1451 ὀμιλεῖν H.: ἐν ἡμῖν codd. 1453 καὶ post εὑμενεστάτων habent codd.,
delevit Franz.
Clyt. Hear then the sanction of my solemn oath:—
By Justice, taken in fulness for my child,
By Ate, and Erinys, unto whom
I slew that sacrifice, in the House of Fear
My spirit sets no foot! so long as fire
Is kindled on my hearth by my good friend
Aegisthus, true and kind as heretofore:
Him find we no slight shield of confidence.
Low lies the wronger of his wedded wife,
Solace of every Chryseid under Troy,—
With her, his bondservant and soothsayer,
His fortune-telling concubine, his true
Bedfellow, practised equally with him
In lore of the bench on shipboard.—But the pair
Have got their merits: his condition, thus;
While she, after her swan's last dying wail,
This lover of him, lies there; to me this slight
Side-morsel to the wedded feast, this toy,
To me brings only the dear sweet of triumph!

Chorus.
I 1.
O for a Fate might bring me swift,
Without sore-agonizing pain
Or lingering bed, her blessed gift
Of sleep, that world-without-end sleep,
Converse with me still to keep,
That would not wake again!
My kind Protector, he that bore
In woman's cause a toil so sore,
By woman's hand extinguished!
ιὼ <ιὼ> παράνους 'Ελένα
μία τάς πολλάς, τάς πάνν πολλάς
ψυχὰς ὅλεσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίαν.

νῦν δὲ τελεῖαν πολύμναστὸν ἐπηνθισώ
δι' αἷμ' ἀνυπτον, εἰ τις ἃν ποτ', ἕν δόμοις
ἐρις ἐρίδματος, ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.

ΚΛ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοίραν ἐπεύχου
tούσδε βαρυνθεῖς.

μὴ δ' εἰς 'Ελένην κότον ἐκτρέψης,
ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὡς μία πολλῶν
ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὅλεσασ'
ἀξύστατον ἀλγος ἐπραξεν.

ἀντ. α'. ΧΟ. δαίμον, ὦς ἐμπίνεις δώμασι καὶ διψύ-

κράτος <τ'> ἴσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν
καρδιώδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις.

ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαι
κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖσ' ἐννόμως
ὑμνοῦ ὑμεῖν ἐπεύχεται ... .

ΚΛ. νῦν ἄφθωσας στόματος γνώμην,

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

Clytaemnestra.

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

Chorus.

I 2.

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

Clytaemnestra.

Ah, now you set your verdict right;—
The Spirit of all our race indite,
    So gross with o'ergrown flesh!
ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἴματολοιχὸς
νειριτροφεῖται, πρὶν καταλήξαι
τὸ παλαίων ἄχος, νέος ἵχαρ.

στρ. B. ΧΩ. ἦ μέγαν οἶκοις τοῦσδε
δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς,
φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αὖν ἀτηράσ
τύχας ἀκορέστου:
ιὼ ἤ, διὰ Διὸς
παναίτιον πανεργέτα.
τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;
τί τῶν οὐθεόκραυτον ἔστιν;
ιὼ ἰὼ βασιλεὺ βασιλεῦ,
πῶς σε δακρύσω;
φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;
κεῖσα δ' ἀράχνης ἐν υφάσματι τῶν ἀσεβεῖ θανάτωι βίον ἐκπνέων.
ὁμοί μοι κοίταν ταύτι ἀνελεύθερον
δολίως μόρωι δαμεῖς
ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμωι βελέμνωι.

ΚΛ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τὸδ τοῦργον ἐμόν;
μηδ' ἐπιλεξθῆς
Ἄγαμεμνονιν εἶναι μ' ἀλοχον.
φανταξόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ
τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμὺς ἀλάστωρ
Ἄτρεως χαλεποῦ θουνατήρος
tοῦδ' ἀπέτεισεν
tελεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσασ.

1480 νειριτροφεῖται H.: νείρει τρέφεται codd.
1481 ἵχαρ H.: ἵχωρ codd.
1482 τοῦσδε corruptum.
1487 πανεργάταν fg.
'Tis he still fosters in the maw
This bloodthirst hungering for the raw,
With lickerish craving, ere last bite
Have well ceased aching, fresh!

CHORUS.

II 1.

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

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

CLYTAEMNESTRA.

Suppose you it was mine, this act?
Conceive not e'en that here in fact
'Tis Agamemnon's wife you see!
Mere semblance of her, she:
The fierce ancestral Ghost of him
That Atreus made a feast so grim
Hath made this man the price;
Heaped him this man upon his own
Young firstlings offered yet ungrown,
Full perfect sacrifice!
ἀντ. β. ΧΟ. ὡς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ

tοῦδε φόνον τίς ὁ μαρτυρῆσων;
πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-
πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.

βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις
ἐπιρροαῖον αἰμάτων
μέλας Ἀρης, ὅποι δίκας προβαίνων
πάχναι κουροβόρῳ, παρέξει.

ὶ ὑ ὑ βασιλεὺ βασιλεῦ,

πῶς σε δακρύσω;

φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἴπω;

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

ὡμοί μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον
dολίω μόρῳ δαμείς

ἐκ χερῶς ἀμφιτόμω βελέμνωι.

ΚΛ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως δολίαν ἄτην

οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ';

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἄρεθέν,

πολυκλαύτην ἰφιγένειαν,

ἀξιά δράσας ἀξια πάσχων

μηδὲν ἐν Ἁλὸν μεγαλαυχεῖτω,

ἐιφοδηλήτωι

θανάτῳ τείσας ἄπερ ἱρξεν.

CHORUS.

II 2.

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

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

CLYTAEMNESTRA.

Of treachery! Dealt not he then too
   This House a treacherous blow?
But what he wrought that branch that grew
   From me, that he made grow,
My sore-wept own beloved maid,
With equal penance hath he paid;
Slain for it even as he slew,
   He need not boast below!
στρ. γ'. ΧΩ. ἀμηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖσι
εὐπάλαμον μέριμναν,
ὀπαὶ τράπωμαι, πίτυντος σίκου.
δέδουκα δ' ὁμβροῦ κτύπον δομοσφαλῆ
tὸν αἰματηρὸν· ψεκᾶς δὲ λήγει.
Δίκαι δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πράγμα θῆγεται βλάβης
πρὸς ἄλλας θηγάναισι μοῖρα.

ιὼ γὰ γὰ, εἴθε μ' ἐδέξω,
πρὶν τὸν ἐπίδειν ἀργυροτοῖχου
dροΐτης κατέχοντα χαμεύνην.
tὸς ὁ θάψων νιν; τὸς ὁ θρηνησὼν;
ἡ σὺ τὸδ' ἔρξαι τλήσῃ, κτείνασ' ἄνδρα
tὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκωκύσαι
ψυχὴ τ' ἄχαριν χάριν ἄντ' ἔργων
μεγάλων ἄδικως ἐπικρᾶναι;
tὸς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος αἴνος ἐπ' ἄνδρὶ θείω
σὺν δακρύοις ιάπτων
ἀλαθείαι φρενῶν πονήσει;

Κ.Λ. οὐ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημ' ἀλέγειν
τούτοις πρὸς ἦμῶν
κάτπεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν—
oὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἔξ οἴκων,
Chorus.

III i.

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

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

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

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

Clytaemnestra.

That care is no concern for thee;
Beneath our hand he fell,
Down beneath us lay dead; and we
Beneath will speed him well:—
But not with household from his gates
To wail behind his bier—
ἀλλ" Ἰφιγένεια νῦν ἀσπασίως
θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρή;
πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὁκύπορον
πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων
περὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

ἀντ. γ'. ΧΟ. ὦνείδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὦνείδους,
δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖναι.
φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.
μένει δὲ μίμουντος ἐν θρόνωι Διὸς
παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ.
τὶς ἄν γονᾶν ἀραῖον ἐκβάλοι δόμων;
κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄται.

ΚΛ. ἐς τὸνδ' ἐνέβης ἦν ἀληθεία
χρησμόν. ἕγω δ' οὖν
ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενίδων
ὀρκοὺς θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,
δύστλητα περ ὄνθ', ὅ δὲ λοιπὸν, ἵντ'
ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἀλλὴν γενεὰν
τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν.
κτεάνων τε μέρος
βαιῶν ἐχούση ταπεινωρές ἐμοίγ
ἀλληλοφόνους
μανίας μελαθρῶν ἀφελοῦσην.

1554 Ἰφιγένεια νῦν Auratus: Ἰφιγένειαιν ὑν codd.
1558 φιλήσει Stanley: φιλήση codd.
1562 θρόνωi Schuetz: χρόνω (χρόνωι) codd.
1564 ἀραῖον Hermann: ρόω codd.
1565 πρὸς ἄται Blomfield: προσάψαι codd.
1566 ἐνέβης Canter: ἐνέβη codd.
1574 πανεπαρκὲς ἐμοιγ' H.: παν ἀπόχρη μοι δ' codd.
His daughter at the Doleful Straits
Below stands waiting near:
Her love, her duty she shall bring,
Her arms about his neck shall fling.
And kiss her Father dear!

CHORUS.

III 2.

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

CLYTAEMNESTRA.

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

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

οι φέγγοις εὐφρον ἥμερας δικηφόρουν.

φαίνην ἄν ἡδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους

θεοὺς ἀνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἅγη,

ιδὼν ύφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἐρυμύων

tὸν ἀνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοῖ,

χερὸς πατρώιας ἐκτίνοντα μηχανάς.

’Ατρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆς δι γῆς, τούτου πατήρ,

πατέρα Θεόστην τὸν ἐμὸν, ὡς τορῶν φράσαι,

αὐτοῦ δ’ ἀδελφόν, ἀμφιλεκτὸς ἂν κράτει,

ἡμυρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεως τε καὶ δόμων.

καὶ προστρόπαιοι ἐστίας μολὼν τάλων

τλήμων Θεόστης μοἱραν ηὗρετ’ ἀσφαλῆ,

τὸ μὴ θανῶν πατρώιν αἰμαξαί πέδον

αὐτοῦ. ξένια δὲ τοῦτο δύσθεος πατήρ

’Ατρεὺς, προθύμων μᾶλλον ἡ φίλως, πατρὶ

τῶμῶν, κρεουργὸν ἡμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγεν

δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαίτα παιδείων κρεῶν.

τὰ μὲν ποδήρῃ καὶ χερῶν ἀκροὺς κτένας

. . . . .

ἔθρυπτ᾽ ἀνωθεν ἀνδρακάς καθήμενος

ἀσημ’: δ’ δ’ αὐτῶν αὐτίκ’ ἀγνοίαι λαβῶν

ἐσθει βοραν ἄσωτον ὡς ὀραίς γένει.

κάπετ’ ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον ὦ καταίσιον

ὡμομενον, ἀμπιπτει δ’ ἀπὸ σφαιγήν ἔρων,

μόρον δ’ ἀφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται,

1600

1579 ἀγη Aureatus: ἀχη codd. 1585 αὐτοῦ δ’ Elmsley: αὐτοῦ τ’ codd.
Post 1594 lacunam indicavit Hermann. 1596 ἀσημ’
δ’ Dindorf: ἄσημα δ’ codd. 1599 ἀμπιπτει Canter: ἀν’ πιπτει codd. | σφαιγήν
Auratus: σφαγῆς codd.
[Enter Aegisthus attended by a body-guard of spearmen.]

AEGISTHUS.

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

Atreus was his father, reigning here
In Argos; and his right being questioned by
Thyestes—understand,
My father and his brother—he drove out
Thyestes from the house and from the land.
Returning then
Suppliant in sacred form petitionary,
Safety so far did poor Thyestes find
As not to perish there upon the spot
And spill his life-blood where his fathers trod:
But mark what entertainment this dead man's
Ungodly father makes the sacred guest;
With welcoming
Most hearty but scarce kind, feigning a day
Of cheer and sacrifice and flesh-killing,
He served a feast up of his children's flesh.
The foot-parts and the fringes of the hands
He kept aside concealed; the rest in messes
Gave him to eat, obscure; he straightway took of it
Unwitting, and made banquet, as you see,
Most thriftless for this House! Then being aware
Of that enormous deed, he groaned, he reeled
Backward, spewing up the butchery, and invoked
An awful doom upon the House of Pelops,
λάκτισμα δείπνου ἕυνδίκως τῖθεις ἀραί, οὔτως ὀλέσθαι πάν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος. ἐκ τῶνδε σοι πεσόντα τόνδ᾽ ἰδεῖν πάρα, κἀγὼ δίκαιος τούδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς· τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ᾽ ἐπὶ δῦ ἄθλιων πατρί· συνεξελαύνει τυπὴν ὄντ᾽ ἐν σπαργάνοις· τραφέντα δ᾽ αὖθις ἡ δίκη κατήγαγεν. καὶ τούδε τάνδρος ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὁν, πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανῆν δυσβουλίας. οὔτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ καθανεῖν ἐμοὶ, ἰδόντα τούτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσιν.

ΧΟ. Δύνισθ᾽, υβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω. σοῦ δ᾽ ἀνδρὰ τῶνδε φῆς ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν, μόνος δ᾽ ἔποικτον τῶνδε βουλεύσαι φόνον; οὔ φημ᾽ ἀλύειν ἐν δίκη τὸ σὸν κάρα δημορρίφεις, σάφ᾽ ἵσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς.

Λ. σοῦ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέραι προσήμενος κώπης, κρατοῦντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῳδὸς; γνώσηι γέρων ὁν ὃς διδάσκεσθαι βαρυ τῷ τηλικοῦτῳ σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένου. δεσμὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας αὐτε νῆστιδες δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν iατρομάντεις. οὐχ ὀραῖς ὀρῶν τάδε; πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ πταίσας μογῆς.

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

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

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

ELDER. Vile woman, thou to deal with soldiers thus
Come newly from the field! Home-keeping, and
Dishonouring the man's bed, to plot this death
Against a man and captain of the war!
ΑΙ. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ την κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγεύη.
'Ὀρφεὶ δὲ γλώσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν έχεις·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶι,
σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας νηπίους ὅλαγμασιν
ἄξη· κρατηθεὶς δ' ἠμερώτερος φανῇ.

ΧΟ. ὡς δὴ σύ μοι τύμηνος 'Ἀργείων ἔση,
ὅς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῶι ἐβούλευσας μόρον,
δράσαι τὸ δ' ἔργον οὐκ ἐτῆς αὐτοκτόνως;

ΑΙ. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἢν σαφῶς·
ἐγὼ δὲ ὑποττὸς ἔχθρος ἑ παλαγεύης.—
ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι
ἀρχεῖν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα
ζεύξω βαρείας—οὕτι μὴ σειραφόρον
κριθώντα πῶλον. ἄλλ' ὦ δυσφιλεῖ σκότωι
λμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.

ΧΟ. τὶ δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡμάριζες, ἀλλὰ νῦν γυνῆ,
χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων,
ἐκτευ'; Ὀρέστης ἀρά που βλέπει φάος,
ὀπως κατελθὼν δεύρο πρεμυμεῖ τόχη
ἀμφοῖν γέννηται τῶιδε παγκρατῆς φονεύς.

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἔπει δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδεν καὶ λέγειν, γνώση τάχα—
εἰα δὴ, φίλοι λοχίται, τοῦργον οὐχ ἐκάς τόδε.

ΧΟ. εἰα δὴ, ἔξιφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.
ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ μὴν πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίορομαι θανεῖν.
ΧΟ. δεχομένους λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τόχην δ' αἱρούμεθα.
AEGISTH. Progenitors of tears are these words too:—
The very counter thine to Orpheus’ tongue!
He with his ravishing voice did all things hale;
Thou, with a foolish yelp exasperating,
Shalt see thyself
Haled, and thine own breast by compulsion tamed.
ELDER. Thou to be despot over Argive men!
When after plotting murder of this one
Thou durst not venture thine own hand to do it.
AEGISTH. The cozening clearly was the woman’s part;
I was a suspect foe hereditary.
—However,
With help of this man’s treasure I will essay
To rule here, and the disobedient colt
With heavy yoke will break—no courser running
In traces, crammed with corn! ’tis hunger lodged
In loathsome darkness that shall humble his flesh.
ELDER. Ah, why then didst thou with a craven’s heart
Not slay the man thyself, but take a woman,
Stain to her country and her country’s Gods,
To do the killing? O doth somewhere look
Orestes on the light, that Fortune’s grace
May give him good speed home again to be
Victorious executioner of these both!
AEGISTH. O well then, sirrah,
If thus you mean with act and word, you soon shall under-
stand—
What ho! my trusty men-at-arms! Your work lies here
to hand.

[The Guard advance.
ELDER. What ho! let each his sword well-gripped be now
prepared to ply.
AEGISTH. Well, I too with my sword well-gripped will not
refuse to die.
ELDER. To die! An omen! Be it so; content, content, am I.
KL. μηδαμῶς, ὃ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα δράσωμεν κακά, ἄλλα καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμήσαι πολλά, δύστημον θέρος. 1655 πημονής δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει μηδὲν ἡματωμένοις. στείχετ' αἰδοῖοι γέροντες πρὸς δόμους, πεπρωμένοις, πρὶν παθεῖν, εἰξαντες ώραι· χρῆν τάδ' ώς ἐπράξαμεν. εἰ δὲ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶν' ἄλις, ἀδεχοίμεθ' ἂν, δαίμονος χηλῆ βαρεῖα δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. 1660 ὡδ' ἔχει λόγοι γυναικός, εἰ τις ἄξιοι μαθεῖν.

AI. ἄλλα τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλώσσαν δῶ' ἀπανθίσαι κάκβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους, σώφρονοι γνώμης θ' ἁμαρτεῖν τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀ<μνου-μένους>.

XO. οὐκ ἄν Ἀργεῖων τὸδ' εὖ, φῶτα προσταῖνεν κακὸν.

AI. ἄλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν υστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτειμ' ἐτε. 1666 XO. οὐκ, ἔαν δαίμων Ὄρεστῃν δεὐρ' ἀπευθύνῃ μολεῖν. AI. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἀνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.

XO. πρᾶσσε, παινοῦ, μιαῖνω τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ πάρα. AI. ᾧσθι μοι δῶσων ἀπονά τῆςδε μωρίας χρόνων. 1670 XO. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὁστε θηλείας πέλας.

KL. μὴ προτιμήσῃς ματαίων τῶν' ὑλαματῶν· ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωματῶν καλῶς.
Clytaemnestra, *interposing*.

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

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

Betimes, before you suffer; Fate's executor were we.

But should this heavy chastening prove enough, we will submit,

So hard by our familiar Spirit with his fierce talon smit:

A woman's counsel here you have, will any stoop to it.

Aegisthus, *fuming still*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Will be the masters in this House, and our dispose will do.
The Watchman has been watching for the greater part of a whole year—not longer, because according to God’s prophecy through Calchas Troy was only to fall in the tenth year and not before: see Homer B 329. The ἀστέρες are of course the constellations whose risings and settings were the signs of seasons (P. V. 473 ff. ἀντολάς ἐγὼ ἀστρων ἑδείξα τὰς τε δυσκρίτους δύσεις), and the Watchman has had time to learn the signs of Winter or Storm-season—the same word expresses both in Greek—for it is now past the autumnal equinox, the time when χειμέριαι δύνουσι Πελειάδες (Hes. fr. 44), and the setting of the Pleiades proverbially marked the season most dangerous of all at sea. In this allusion therefore an ominous note is heard at once; and presently confirmed, for the capture, as we are duly informed in v. 817, has taken place 'about the sinking of the Pleiades,' and Agamemnon has set sail for home immediately, committing the rash act against which Neoptolemus in Quint. 7. 298–311 is expressly warned by Lycomedes. His rashness was followed by the disastrous storm in the Aegaean.—The construction ἦταν φθίνωσιν in v. 7 is idiomatic for watching, observing, marking (φιλάττειν, τηρεῖν) the time when; Herodas 3. 55 is an example, νοεῖνθ’ ὄπιμος παγνύν ἁγινήτε. Dem. 4. 31 Φιλέτανος φυλάξας τοὺς ἐπησίας ἡ τῶν χειμῶνα ἐπεχειρεὶ ἠνίκ’ ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφικεσθαι.—ὑνάστασις is an astrological word: see Proclus on Plat. Rep. in Schoell and Studemund Anecdota ii. p. 26; in sense, synonymous with more familiar terms such as κρατήτωρ, δεσπόζειν, οἰκοδεσποτεῖν, tyrannus Hesperias Capricorni undae (Hor. C. ii. 17. 19).

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

8. καὶ νῦν answers to μὲν in v. 1, which is itself intended to qualify φθορᾶς ἔτειας μήκος: as throughout the year...so now. Similarly inf. 592 ἀνωλόλιξα μὲν πάλαι (for πάλαι μὲν ἀνωλόλιξα)...603 καὶ νῦν, Thed. 21 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δ’ ἡμαρ (for καὶ νῦν ἐς μὲν τὸ δ’ ἡμαρ) εὑ ῥέτει θεός· νῦν δὲ
For so a woman’s manlike spirit is sanguine to expect. 


12 ff. οὔτ’ ἀν δὲ is resumed by οὖν δ’ (16) after the interruption caused by the explanatory γὰρ-clause. For similar instances of a resumptive δὲ cf. Cho. 988, 1024, Plat. Apol. 34 D ἐν δῷ τις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐξελ,—οὐκ ἀξίω μὲν γὰρ ἐγώγε—ἐν δ’ οὖν κ.τ.λ., Gorg. 480 ἐνάν μόνον μὴ αὐτὸς ἀδικήται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχροτοι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὔλαβητον· ἐνάν δὲ ἄλλων ἀδικήτι ὁ ἔχρος... Pausan. v. 25. 8, 9 τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑκτορὶ κληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν οὖν ὡκτῷ, τὸν γὰρ ἐνατον... τῶν δὲ ὀκτῶ τούτων κ.τ.λ.

15. τὸ μη...συμβαλεῖν depends on φόβος παραστατεῖ—a favourite construction in Aeschylus. Cf. Pers. 294 υπερβάλλει γὰρ ἢδε σύμφορα τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ’ ἐρωτήσαι πάθη, P. V. 891 μίαν δὲ παῖδιν ἰμερὸς θέλει τὸ μὴ κτείναι σύνενον.


27. εὔνης ἐπανετελεσαν is a reverent phrase, suggested by a comparison with the rising of the sun or stars. Lucian i. 474 applies it in the same way to a great man dawning on the clients waiting in his ante-chambers till he rises: ὃ δὲ μοῦς ἀν ποτὲ ἄνατελάς αὐτοῖς πορφυροῖς τῆς ἤ περίχρυσος ἢ διαποκίλες· εὐδαίμονας ὤμετο καὶ μακαρίους ἀποφαινὲν τοὺς προσεπώντας ἢν τὸ στῆθος ἢ τὴν δεξίαν προτεῖνων δούῃ καταφελεῖν. In the Bacchae 747 a messenger wishes to say ‘the flesh was torn from their limbs before you could wink’ (πρὶν μῦςα, πρὶν καταμύςαε), but feeling this is too familiar to a king, he turns it θάσσον δὲ διεφφορούντο σαρκὸς ένυπτα ἢ σῦ εὔναψαις βλέφαρα βασιλείαις κόραις ’than you could close your eyelids on your royal eyes.’ οὖθ’ εἰ θραπτίδων οἰκον νέμων, applied by the Chorus to the King in v. 793, is another such respectful phrase.
28. ὀδολυγμός is the ‘lulu’, ‘ullaloo’, familiar to us now from Africa, the shrill cry of women either for joy and triumph, or in sorrow and mourning. For its association with the παιάν cf. Bacchyl. xvi. 124 ff. ἀγλαώθρυντοι τε κούραι σὲν εὐθείας νεικιώτων ὀδολυγμα...χίθοι δ’ εγγύθεν νέου παιάνεσαν, Aesch. Theb. 254 ὀδολυγμόν ἤρον εὐμενῆ παιώνασον. For the dative λαμπαδί cf. Eur. I. A. 1467 ύμείς δ’ ἑπενθη-μὲσατ’, ὃ νεάνιδες, παιάνα τίμημί συμφορά.  

32 f. τὰ δεσποτῶν...φρυκτωρίας. The metaphor is taken from the game of πεσσοί, Tables or Backgammon, in which the moves of the pieces were determined or limited by the throws (βάλλειν, βὸλος), or falls (πίπτειν, πτώσεις) of the dice. τίθεσθαι is applied to the skill of the player, whose opportunities are so conditioned: cf. Soph. fr. 861 στέργειν τα τάκτεσύντα καὶ θέσθαι πρέπει | σοφῶν κυβερνήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στένειν τύχην. Plat. Rep. 604 C ὥσπερ εἶν πτώσει κυβον, πρὸς τὰ τε-πτοκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτὸν πράγματα. This is referred to by Plut. Mor. 467 A where he says κυβελάι γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν βίον ἀπείκαισεν, ἐν ὦ καὶ βάλλειν δεῖ τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ βαλόντα χρήσαται καλῶς τοὺς πεσσούς. Stob. Flor. 124. 41 πεπεία τινι ἔσκειν ὃ βίος, καὶ δεῖ, ὥσπερ ψήφον τινα, τίθεσθαι τα συμβαίνον. ὃ ψήφον ἔστιν ἀνωθεν βαλλεῖν, οὖδ’ ἀναθέσατο τὴν ψήφον (‘to make another throw or withdraw the move’). [Plat.] Hipparch. 229 ε ὥσπερ πεπείων, ἔθελω σοι ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀναθέσατο ὄτι βοιόλε τῶν εἰρημένων. Plut. Pyrrh. 26 ὥθεν ἀπείκαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ ’Αντίγονος κυβερνή-νηλα βάλλοντι καὶ καλά, χρήσαται δὲ οὐκ ἐπαταμένων τοῖς πεσσούσι. Hor. C. i. 9. 14 quem sors dierum cunque dabit, lucro appone. Hence expressions like Dem. 23. 134 πρός τὸ καλῶς ἔχον τίθεσθαι, Eur. fr. 287 ἀλλ’ ὀντυγχάνων τα πράγματ’ ὀρθῶς ἀν τιθή, πράσσει καλῶς. But that εὖ belongs to πεσσοτά is shown by Eur. Or. 603, El. 1101, etc.  


48. κλάζοντες introduces the following simile: Hom. Π 428 οὗ δ’ ὥστ’ αἰγυπτιών γαμμώνχυς ἀγκυλοχείλαι τέτρημεν ἐφ’ ψηλῆς μεγάλα κλάζοντε μάχονται, Hes. Scut. 405, Eur. Tro. 146 μάτηρ δ’ ὥσεὶ τις πταιότις κλαγών ὀρνισμ. ὄτως ἐξήρασε.  

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

It is in the manner of Aeschylus, then, to choose an epithet which will bear out his comparison. Now eagles and vultures were notoriously remote and solitary; so of course, from the nature of their high degree, were Kings—all Kings, though the more ἀπρόσιτοι they were, the more marked was the resemblance: Horapoll. Hieroglyph. ii. 56 βασιλέα ὑδαίζοντα καὶ μή ἑλεούντα ἐν τοῖς πταίσμασι βουλόμενοι. σημηνα, ἅταν ἰωγραφοῖσιν. οὔτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμιοι τόποις ἔχει τὴν νεοσιαν καὶ ὕπνηλότερος πάντων τῶν πτερείων ὑπταται.  

50. ἀλγεγι παῖδων ὑπατηλεχέων, 'in exceeding anguish for their lofty-cradled children.' As you could say ἀλγεὺς τινος (infra. 576, Eur. Hec. 1256), so you could say ἀλγος τινος: Pers. 837, Eur. Hel. 202, Suppl. 807, 1117 παῖδων ὑπὸ πένθους, Phoen. 1578 ἄχει δὲ τέκνων.—Mr Housman (Journ. Phil. xvi. 247) first pointed out that ὑπατοι λεχέων (see cr. n.) could not mean 'high above their eyries.' ὑπατος means ὕψιστος, and is always a superlative: ὑπατε κρεώντων Hom. Θ 31, σὸν δὲ κράτοσ πάντων ἐθ' ὑπατον Theogn. 376, θεῶν ὑπατον Ap. Rhod. iv. 140, Δία τὸν πάντων ὑπατων, hymn. ap. Aristid. i. 452, ὑπατον παῖδων Pind. P. x. 9. The genitive is of the partitive nature, as in ἀντίς τις, της μημάτη ἄσπιδος Hom. Ζ 118, τὸν δ' ὑπατον εὐρεν ὄμυλον ἑσταταὶ Ν 459, οίκοσ ὑστατον νεὼς Aesch. Suppl. 725, δ' ὑστατος γε τοῦ χρόνου infra. 1299, ἐσχάτη χθονος P. V. 872, ηδή γαρ ἐόραι Ζεῦς ἐν ἑσχάτη θεῶν; Soph. fr. 821: so ὑπατος τέ χοίρας Ζεὺς infra. 514 means 'supreme in the land,' as Pind. O. xiii. 24 ὑπατ' εὑρισκόσαν Ὀλυμπίας, and in Tim. Locr. 100 λας τᾶλα μέρεα ὑπηρετεῖν τούτωι καθάπερ ὑπατοι τῷ σκάνεος ἅπαντος, translate it as you may, it will be seen that ὑπατοι is still superlative, and τῷ σκάνεος a partitive genitive; and this is the sense which is impossible in ὑπατοι λεχέων. I believe that the MS. reading is the corruption of a compound, to be added to the many adjectives in -λεχέως, as πρωτολεχέως, μονο-, κοινο-, αινο-, δεσι-, ἀπερο-, ευ-, ιππο-, όρει-, γη-, χαμαι-. The formation would first be ὑπατολεχέως, and in Epic the
λ might merely be doubled in pronunciation, as πολύλλιστος Hom., μονόλλικος Arat. 1124; but the usual plan for metrical purposes or for euphony was to substitute η for ο, as θανατηφόρος, αἰματηφόρος, θεσφατη- λόγος, ἐλαφηβόλος, πολεμηδόκος, ἕνερδόκος, γλαυκητήρος, ὄμφαλητόμος, νεόφατος, νεβθαλής, and countless others, to which I will only add ὀφινησσώθη from the Inscriptions of Cos, p. 113. The whole subject is treated with his unique learning by Lobeck, Phryn. p. 633–713.

55. εἰ τις Ἀπόλλων would be easier to support than the MS. η τις: see on 149, 1461.—For τις (‘Apollo, it may be’) cf. Antiphanes fr. 129 (ii. 63 K.) θαλάττιον μὲν οὐτος οὐδὲν ἐσθίει | πλὴν τῶν παρὰ γῇν, γόγγρον τὰν ἧ νάρκην ταν ἧ κτῆ,. Alexis fr. 108 (ii. 334 K.) ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐρῶ νῦσ... τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, Ὁινοτέων τις ἤ Μάρων τις ἤ Κάπηλος η <τις> Τιμοκλῆς, Lucian iii. p. 14 ἀλλ’ εἰ τις ἤ Τιτυός, ἢ Ἡρωτός, ἢ Ἐφιάλτης, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνους, ii. p. 60 μὴ πρὸς ἐν μέρος ὅρατο...εἰ μὴ Βρασίδας τις εἰς προπηθῶν ἡ Δημοσθένης ἄνακόττων τῆν ἐπίβασιν.

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

70. ἀπτῆρον ἵερον. ἄπτερα, far from being abnormal, were a distinct class of offerings, roughly parallel with τηρεῖ and λοὶβαί, but not needing dedication by fire, as when in an ordinary sacrifice the worshipper shared his meal with the gods. They might be offered to the Olympians as a means of propitiation; but as a rule these deities were invited to fire-sacrifices. The mistake of the Rhodians in Pind. O. vii. 88 was that they established a worship of Athena with ἄπτερα, whereas, being an Olympian, she should have been honoured with fire. The regular offerings to the subterranean powers were ἄπτερα, partly because intended to sink into the earth instead of ascending to Heaven, and partly because their worship in general involves propitiation rather than communion. The scholiast rightly recognises the customary character of such offerings: τῶν θυσιῶν τῶν Μούρων καὶ τῶν Ἐρωκινῶν, ὂ καὶ νηφάλια καλεῖται. So Eur. fr. 904 mentions the offering of θυσίαιν ἀπτῆραν παγκαρπεῖς to a deity who may be either Zeus or Hades: Ζεὺς εἰς Ἀδής ὄνομαζόμενος στέργεις. Other instances of ἄπτερα, given in Gardner and Jevons’ Manual of Antiquities, p. 238, are coins, locks of hair, horses driven into the sea and so forth. Of course neither the kindling of fire nor the pouring of libations would make ἄπτερα effective; and the Chorus cannot mean by ὑποκαίων and ἐπιλείβων (Apoll. Rhod. i. 1132 πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χριστής ἀποστρέφει ἐρώμας | Ἀισυνόθες γουνάζετ’ επιλείβων ἱεροῖσαι | αἰθομένοις) that somebody might seek so to appease divine anger.
aroused by another regular kind. It is clearly their intention to express that by no sort of offering, neither by ἐμπύρα nor by λοιβαι nor by ἀπυρα will anyone appease the stubborn anger of Zeus (or of Μοῖρα Διός implied in τὸ περιρρομένον, which comes to the same thing), whose intention is to cause many woes to Greeks and Trojans alike. Thus, 'the stern temper of unburnt sacrifices' represents the fixed mood of Fate, in relation to which all sacrifice is useless: Verg. Aen. vi. 376 desine fate detim lecti sperare precando. Moschion fr. 2 (F. T. G. p. 812) ὃ καὶ θεῶν κρατοῦσα καὶ θυντῶν μόνη | μοῖρ, ὃ λιταῖς ἁτρεπτε (see Class. Rev. xviii. p. 430) δυστήνων βροτῶν, | πάντωλυ ἀνάγκη. Manetho p. 92 Koechly τίπτε μάτην, ἀνθρωπε, θυμολέεις μακάρεσσιν; | τίπτε μάτην τρισέλκτος ἀν' οὐρανόν ἤλυθε κνίσα; | ὢσχεο, ὃ γὰρ ὑνειαρ ἐν ἀθανάτου θυηλαίς (ἐν ἀθανάτου θυηλῆς). | ὃ γὰρ τις δύναται γένεσιν μετατρεψείς ἐν ἄνθρωπ.; | ἢ' ἀμα νυκτάριος συγγίγεσται ἀνθρωποίσιν, | εἴθ' τε Μοιραίων εἰλίσσεται ἀμφί μύτουσιν, | κλωσμασιν ἄρρηκτουσι σιδηρείουσι τ' ἀτράκτους.

71. παραθέλει without τις is strange: perhaps we should read παραθέλεις.

72. ἀτίται means 'insolvent,' 'defaulters,' 'bankrupt,' unable to pay the debt of military service to the State (χρέως τὸ δε Θεμ. 20). Hesych. ἀτίτην: ἀπορον. ἀτιμον. τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα ἀποτίσαι, and τίται: εὔποροι, 'men of means.'

76 ff. ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μνελὸς στέρνων ἐντὸς ἀνάσσων ισόπρεσβυσ... τί θ' ὑπεργήρως; ...παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἀρελῶν: as the marrow in its nonage is as feeble and unfit for war as in old age, so conversely in extreme old age it is as feeble and unwarlike as a child's,—a pathetic expansion of the saying δὶς παιδες οἱ γέρουντες, 'old age is second childhood.' The marrow is the measure of the whole bodily vigour: in fact a familiar name for it was αἰών, 'the life,' as in Pind. fr. 111 αἰών δὲ δὲ ὀστέων ἐγκαίθη. ἀνάσσων is appropriate to the marrow, regent in its frame of bone and dominating vital functions (Tim. Locr. 100 α, Plat. Tim. 73 b), and should not be changed to ἀνάσσαν, shooting up like a beanstalk! See also Plin. N. H. xi. 37, 67.—These lines prepare us for the βοωλαί γερῶντον which we find instead of ἐργα at the crisis. Euripides would have apologised at the crisis itself.

79. τί θ' ὑπεργήρως; κτέ. For the question cf. Pind. P. viii. 95 ἐπάμεροι τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὖ τίς; σκιώς ὃπαρ ἀνθρωπός.

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

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

96. βασιλείων. The appellation ‘royal’ often connotes choiceness of quality: Athen. 64 b (βολβοί) οἱ βασιλικοὶ λεγόμενοι, οἱ καὶ κρείσσονες τῶν ἄλλων εἰσί, id. 54 b, 76 f.


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

101 ff. See cr. n. The words, I think, were transposed to show the construction, i.e. in order to bring ἐκ θυσιῶν—ἀγανά φαίνουσα’ together, and τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα was an explanation of τὴν θημοβόρον φροντίδα. In reading φαίνουσα’ I follow i and Triclinius. ἀγανά φαίνονσα is like Theocr. ii. το ἄλλα Σελάνα, φαῖνε καλόν: so now the reason is apparent why we find ἀγανά, not ἀγανη: it was not feminine but neuter plural.

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

108. πειθώ should possibly be πειθοῖ (Heller), ‘inspires me by divine impulse with puissance in song.’ The general sense is ‘though I am now too weak to fight, I am still strong enough to sing,’ as the old shepherd says in A. P. vi. 73 εἰσετί γὰρ σύμφερει μελίσσωπαι, εἰσετί φωνὰ ἄτρομος εἰ̂ τρομερῶι σώματι ναιεται. The passage has echoes of Pind. Ο. i. 104—112, and seems to me to be itself echoed in Eur. Phaethon fr. 774. 44 κοσμὸν δ᾽ ὑμεναίων δεσποσύνων | ἐμὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀγε καὶ ἔρως | ὑμενείν: δημοσίων γὰρ ἀνάκτων | ἐναιμερίᾳ προστιοῦσαι | μολπάν ἰθρασος αἴρονα’ | ἐτὶ χάρμασιν (as I emend χάρματ’).

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

121 ff. The kings subduing Troy with her teeming multitude inside are typified by eagles. Aeschylus, I suspect, was thinking of that remarkable passage—Hesiodic or Orphic in character rather than Ionic—about Ἄτη and the Δισταῖ: Hom. I 505 ἢ δ᾽ Ἄτη σθεναρῆ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, ὁνεκα πᾶσας πολλῶν ὑπεκτροβείει, φθανεὶ δὲ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ᾽ αἰῶν βλάπτουσον ἄνθρώπους, with βλαφθεῖς in 512. So inf. 406, when Ἄτη
has her way, ἐλεύθερον ἀκοὐσὶν οὖδεὶς θεών. For the significance of βλαβέντα λουθιόν δρόμων, 'prevented from her final course,' as applied to the hare, see Platt in Class. Rev. xi. p. 94. For the accusative after ἄσκομενοι cf. Eur. Med. 826 φερβόμενοι κλεινοτάτων σοφίαν, Cratinus (i. 57 K.) ap. Athen. 99 f. ἔσθε πανημέριοι χορταζόμενοι γάλα λευκόν. The order of the words (λαγών...γένναν), common in Latin, is rare in Greek, although Lucian has it.

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125 f. The principle that in Greek the emphatic words are placed first, and the unemphatic follow after, is the key to the understanding of this sentence. All critics have assumed that λήμασι διεσούσι go together; then, seeing that διεσούσι is unsuitable, some have substituted other words, as Lobeck πιστούσι, Dindorf ἵσους. The truth is that the words which go together are δύο λήμασι: 'seeing the twain warrior sons of Atreus two in temper.' What enables the sage prophet to identify the pair of eagles with the pair of princes is that the birds are royal warriors, but one κελανός and the other ἐξότων ἄργα— in common language μελανότεος and πτέραργος (Arist. 618 b 18). These represent characters which correspond to those of Agamemnon and Menelaus. The taunt of spiritlessness or κακία so often aimed at Menelaus (largely based, one may suppose, on the lost Epic and Lyric literature) seems to be hinted at in v. 420—424; οὗ γὰρ εἰκός, says Pindar fr. 81, τῶν ἐόντων ἀρπαζόμενων παρὰ θ' ἑστία, καθήσασι καὶ κακόν ἔμεν. Menelaus is called by Apollo in the guise of Asiades (Hom. P 588) μαλακὸς ἀλχημητής, and of him Orestes says (Eur. Or. 754) οὗ γὰρ αἰχμητὴς πέφυκεν, ἐν γυναιξὶ δ' ἄλκιμος, Electra (Or. 1201) οὔτε γὰρ θρασύς οὔτ' ἄλκιμος πέφυκεν, Helen (Colluthus 314) οἶσθα γὰρ ὦς Μενέλαος ἀνάλκιδος ἐστὶ γενέθλης. Add Quint. vi. 30—43. διεσοί Ἀτρεῦδαι is the common phrase, Eur. Hec. 510, Or. 818, Soph. Ai. 57, 947, and similarly 390, 960, Phil. 793, 1024, supr. 43.

131. ἄγρα recalls the ἄγρα of the eagles.

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

136 ff. οὖν μῆ...κυνέφαση means μονὸν φράξεσθαι or φυλακτέων μῆ... and this is the saving clause which it appears from some amusing parodies was proper to a prophecy: A. P. xi. 163 a wrestler, a pentathlete, and a runner come to find out from a μάντις which will win. 'πάντες' ἐφη 'νικάτε μονὸν μῆ τις σὲ παρέλθη, καὶ σὲ κατατρέψη, καὶ σὲ παρατροχάσῃ.' In xi. 365 a farmer consults an astrologer on his prospects. 'If it rains enough,' is the response, 'and not too much, and the furrows are not spoilt by frost, nor young shoots crushed by hail, nor the crop devoured by deer, and nothing else unfavourable befalls
from earth or air, I foretell you a good harvest—μοῦνας δείοντι τὰς ἀκρίδας.'—στόμιον ... στρατοθέν, 'the great embattled bit that should hold the mouth of Troy.' στρ. is an epithet 'limiting' the metaphor. προτυπόν, as by lightning.


143. θυμόνουσιν glances at Iphigeneia.

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

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

149. ὀβρικάλοις, εἴπερ τινά: see crit. n. 'Consent to ratify, if ever any, the portents of these fowls.' The alteration involves the writing of ὈΒΡΙΚΑΛΟΙΣΤΙΝΑ for ὈΒΡΙΚΑΛΟΙΣΤΕΡΠΙΝΑ, by which means we obtain the usual formula of invocation, justifying (as in no other way it can be justified) the emphatic place of τούτων, and abolishing the superfluous and inappropriate τερπία which had been already bracketed by Paley. The form of appeal is 'if ever before, so now,' that is 'no occasion was ever more urgent than the present'; e.g. Dem. 32. 3 δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν πάντων, εἴπερ ἄλλων τινες πάσοτε πράγματι τὸν νῦν προσέχετε, καὶ τούτων προσέχειν: Isae. 8. 5 εἰ τινί νῦν καὶ ἄλλη πάσοτε δίκη προσέχετε τὸν νῦν, δέομαι ὑμῶν καὶ τάυτη προσέχειν ὠμοίως: for other examples see Blomfield on inf. 503 (525 W.) εἰ τοῦ πάλαι, φαινόει οὗτοι ὄμματι δέξασθε, 'with bright eyes now,' Blaydes on Ar. Nub. 356, Thesm. 1157, Leaf on Hom. Ω 704, Stat. Achill. 1. 509 si quando, auidissimus hauri.

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

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

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

I70 ff. How could Agamemnon, so plainly warned, commit this fatal crime? Because he is an example of the general law laid down by Zeus that man shall learn wisdom, not by foresight or prophetic admonition, but after the event by experience and reflexion on his own past actions. Experience teaches by memory revisiting us in dreams or by unnoticed working.

I75. μάται, ‘causeless,’ ‘unaccountable,’ ‘unwarranted.’ μάται, as often, is used like the adjective μάταιος.

I78. οὐλὸς τις: see cr. n. I am aware that οὐσίς may be argued for, but probability is very much against it, and when we find the sentence beginning with οὐδὲ οὐσίς, suspicion is considerably increased. For what is certain is that οὐδὲ οὐσίς πάροιθεν or οὐδὲ οὐσίς πάροιθεν could only mean ‘not even he that was great aforetime,’ the stress being on πάροιθεν. That is pointless here. The only plausible conjecture I have seen is οὐδὲ οὐσίς (Pauw). For ΟΥΛΟΚΤΙΚ Ι write ΟΥΛΟΚΤΙΚ, ‘a violent one was great of old, swelling with boisterous puissance.’ The metaphor throughout is of a combat—τριακτήρος and παρμάχω, a word which it will be seen in the Thesaurus was properly used of the pancratist. οὐλὸς, the epithet applied by Homer to Ares and Achilles, is eminently suitable to this turbulent swasher.


I81. τριακτήρος: an allusion to the myth, probably of Orphic origin, of the wrestling-match between Cronos and Zeus at Olympia. Pausanias, in his account of Olympia (v. 7. 10) refers to it: “Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronos himself; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronos.” See also viii. 2. 2.

I85. τέφεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν is the opposite of ἀμαρτήσεται φρενῶν.

I86 ff. It was in this way, I believe, that Prometheus became reconciled to Zeus. For the proverb Instruction by Suffering see Hom. P 32 μεχθῖν δέ τε νήπιος ἐγνω, Hes. Ὠρ. 218 παθῶν δέ τε νήπιος ἐγνω, Hdt. i. 207 τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα εἶναι ἀχάριτα μαθήματα ἐγεγόνει, Plat. Symp. 222 β κατὰ τὴν παραμιᾶν ὥσπερ νήπιον παθόντα γνώναι.
NOTES

189 ff. ἐν θ’ ὑπνω...καὶ is an instance of the common idiom, according to which τε...καὶ serve rather to subordinate than to coordinate: ‘when...then...’ Cf. Soph. fr. 234. 5 ἐὰν ἦμαρ αὐτὲς μέσον ὀμφακός τύπον, καὶ καλύπτατι τε καποτερκούτα βάτρας, ‘and as it declines the grape reddens.’ Antig. 1186. Hdt. iv. 181, 199, ii. 93, vi. 41 Stein. Xen. Anab. iv. 2. 12, vii. 4. 12, Ἐγ. 5. 10 οὐ φθάνει τε εξαγόμενος ὁ ὑππός καὶ... Aristid. i. 492, 511. Lucian ii. 584. Timocles (Ath. 407 d) καὶ ταῖστα τε ἐφίρητο (Porson for εἴρηται) καὶ... Heliod. viii. 8, ν. 18 ἀλλ’ ἄμ’ ἦλιος τε ἀνύσχε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγκυραν καθίσεν. Plat. Phaedr. 254 β καὶ πρὸς τ’ αὐτῶι ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τὴν ὀψιν κτε.—στάμε is rightly explained by Dr Verrall: ‘The admonitory recollection of experience is compared to a wound which long afterwards will ache at times and even break out again, reminding the sufferer of the original hurt.’ I cannot go with him further in his reading and explanation; but the root of the idea is a sore that oozes, bleeds, breaks out again. And ἐν ὑπνω is a most important part of it. Bodily disease may be unfelt in the activity of day, but will disturb the sick man’s rest upon his bed: Dio Chrys. ii. p. 169 R. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσημα οὐδὲν ὄντως ἀναίσθητον τοὺς ἔχονταν ὀς μηδέποτε βλάψαι μηδὲ ἐμποδοῦν γενέσθαι μηδεμίας πράξεως, ἀλλὰ κάθε ἑγαργωροτε καὶ βαδίζοντε μη σφύδρα ἐνοχλημ. εἰς γε τὴν κοίτην ἀπήγαγε καὶ διασταὶ καὶ διαφύγει τὸν ὑπνόν. And as it is with bodily diseases, so it is with the sufferings of a wounded spirit, which are eloquently described by Achilles Tatius i. 6 ὡς δ’ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον παρῆλθον, ἐνθὰ μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἢν, οὖν ὑπνον τυχεῖν ἡδυνάμην. ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τάλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα ἐν νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπανάσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ ἑρεθίζει τὰς ἀλληγρόνως: ὅταν γὰρ ἀναίσθητα τὸ σώμα, τότε σχολαζε τὸ ἐλκος νοσεῖν τα δε τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα μη κινούμενον τοῦ σώματος πολὺ μᾶλλον ὄντων. ἐν ἡμέρα μὲν γὰρ ὀδηγοῦν τότε ταλαγόνους περιεργίας ἐπικονίζει τῆς νόσου τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἀντιπεριάγοντα τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· εἰάν δ’ ἡσυχία τὸ σώμα πενθηθη, καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται· πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέσσερα κοιμώμενα· τοῖς πενθουσίν αἱ λύπατ, τοῖς μεριμνῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κινδυνεύονσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἔρωτι τὸ πῦρ. Conscience also ‘chastens in the night-season,’ as they say in the Old Testament, from which many illustrations could be drawn; the best, perhaps, are Job 33. 14. For God speaketh once, yea twice, in a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction, that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man; he keepeth back man from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword. He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones: and so on; such act of God is a χάρις βίας—whom he loveth he chasteneth—to make man repent.
and deliver his soul from going into the pit: 5. 17 Happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty: for he maketh sore, and bindeth up: he woundeth, and his hands make whole. Psalm 16. 7 I will bless the Lord who hath given me counsel: yea, my reins instruct me in the night seasons. συμφέρει, as we are told in the Eumenides v. 523, σωφρονεὶν ὑπὸ στένει, under the deterrent influence of fear; and when fear was sent divinely to a man, it was commonly in the time of rest upon his bed, in dreams (Job 4. 1—12, 30. 15—17, Wisdom of Solomon 17 and 18. 17—19); and such fears, in the Greek view, came by the agency of δαιμόνια, black spirits (e.g. Cho. 282—8): thus were theologised the twinges of a guilty conscience, which Plato in Rep. 330 d—e describes as torturing a man upon his death-bed with the fear of Hell, and causing him to start up, like a frightened child, from sleep: he had ridiculed such myths before, but now they rack him with the apprehension that they may be true—whether it be merely from the weakness of old age, or because he really sees those terrors plainer, being nearer to them. It was in dream that the divine part of us waked and saw; εὐδείς δὲ, says Pindar in fr. 231, προσοντων μελέων, it lies dormant while the limbs are active, but becomes prophetic while we are asleep. Aeschylus can hardly not have shared in the Pythagorean doctrine, and must, I think, include allusion to it here; it is his brevity in allusion to familiar doctrine that makes his lyrics difficult. μνησιτήμων, like μνησιστέφανον ἁγών in Pindar, means 'putting in mind of suffering,' and could mean both 'reminding of the past' and 'warning of the future.'—πρὸ καρδίας is 'at the seat of consciousness,' cf. 967, Cho. 390, Eum. 103.

192 f. δαιμόνων δὲ ποιν χάρις κ.τ.λ. The particles δὲ ποιν ('and I suppose,' P. V. 848, Plat. Phaedr. 270 e, Legg. 650 b) are often used of some presumption that may be entertained about divinities. See Pers. 726 γνώμης δὲ ποιν τις δαιμόνων ἐξωήσατο. Bacchyl. v. 91 τὰ δὲ ποιν Παλλαδι ξανθαί μέλει. Plat. Rep. 517 δὲ ποιν οἶδεν εἶ ἀληθῆς ὑστα τυχχαί. Soph. Ai. 489 θεοῖς γὰρ ὃς ἐδοξεί ποιν.—It might, however, be suggested that the purpose of the lines is to contrast the gentle and spiritual mode of correction existing under the reign of Zeus with the turbulent rule of Ouranos and Cronos. For how, the poet would then conclude, should man be grateful to and adore a deity who ruled the world by main force? Thus, with ποιν and βιαῖως retained, 'whereas where is there any joy of deities who sit upon their awful seat violently?'

194. καὶ τότε means 'so it was then,' as καὶ νῦν means 'so it is on this occasion'; in other words, both phrases are employed to mark a particular example of a general principle: Pind. P. iii. 29 κλέπτει τέ
Agamemnon acted hastily, yielding without critical enquiry (παθὼν ἐγὼ gives the contrast to μάντιν ψέων), and so is described as ἐμπαιών τύχαισι συμπνέων, ‘letting his spirit yield to violent circumstance,’ which is the same thing as φρενὸς πνεῶν δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν in v. 229.

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

211. προφέρων: cf. inf. 955 δόμουσι προφεξθέντος εἰν χρυστηρίωσ.

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

219. παρώνων κ.τ.λ. See cr. n. The reading of the MS. arises through τὸ ἔξης, i.e. the tendency of the scribes to simplify the order of the words, with ἐδὲθροι substituted for ῥοῖς.

228 ff. ἰπεῖ δ’ ἀνάγκας ἐδι λέπαδὸν...τὸν το παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγω: once he had persuaded himself that he was yielding to Necessity, from that point he abandoned himself in desperation and resolved to stick at nothing. This was a familiar idea, that ἀνάγκη (of poverty or love, for instance) drives a man to do or suffer anything: Theognis 195 ἰπεῖ κρατερὴ μιν ἀνάγκη ἡντει, ἦ τ’ ἄνδρὸς τςθμονα θηκε νόν. 384 πεινήν μητέρ’ ἀμηχανίης ἔλαβον, τὰ δίκαια φιλεύντες, ἦ τ’ ἄνδρῶν παράγει θυμον ἐς ἀμπλακίην, βλάπτουν’ ἐν στήθεσιν φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης: τολμᾶ δ’ ὦν ἐθέλων αἰσχρα πολλὰ φέρειν, χρησμοῦντη ἐκών, ἦ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδάσκει, πευδέα τ’ ἐξαπάτας τ’ ὑπολείμας τ’ ἐρίδας, ἄνδρα καὶ ὦν ἐθέλοντα. Antiphon 121. 12, P. V. 16, Sappho 2. 17. Hence πάντολμος became a regular epithet of ἀνάγκη: A. P. ix. 11 πάντα δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπιδέξει πικρὴ πάντολμος ἀνάγκη. xvi. 15. 7 ἀσχήμων ἐνδει καὶ ἀ πάντολμος ἀνάγκα. *Moschion, Telephus fr. 2 N. 8 καὶ θεών κρατοῦσα καὶ ςντόν μόνα Μοῦρ’, ὦ λυται ἀρπεστε δυσεύον βροτῶν πάντολμοι ἀνάγκης, στυγνὸν ἦ καὶ αἰχήνων ἰμών ἐρείδες τῆς ἀτρείας ζηγοῦν. The parenthesis βροτῶν θρασίνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητος τάλαινα παρακοφί πρωτοπήμων describes the process by which ἀνάγκη produces this state of mind: he is at his wits’ end; ἀμηχανίη drives him to distraction (παρακοφί), βλάπτουν’ ἐν στήθεσιν φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, as Theognis says; he abandons the restraint (ἀναφροσύνη) which had hitherto kept him in check, and gives himself up wholly to θράσος, the spirit of bad audacity, bold recklessness and sin. Ἀνάγκη, therefore, acts in the
same way as Ἀτη βλαψίφρων, who makes a man φρενοβλαβητὶ and leads him astray into ἀνιερὸν θράσος (v. 764).

The words δυσσεβῆ, ἀναγνον, ἀνιερὸν mean ‘wicked,’ ‘sinful against God’: ἀναγνοσ or δύσαγνοσ always means ‘polluted’ by sacrilege or bloodshed.

When used in a bad sense, τόλμα is much the same as θράσος, and expresses ‘criminal wickedness’ or ‘crime’ in general; and παντότολμος or πάντολμος is the strongest term of condemnation that can be applied to man or woman, ‘ready to commit any crime without restraint of conscience.’ This is the meaning of ὑπέρτολμον φρονήμα and παντόλμους ἔρωτας in Cho. 591, 595 and ἄτολμον ἢ ἢ 628 is the opposite. τλάν and τλήμων are sometimes used to the same effect, as τλάμων καὶ πανούργων χειρὶ in Cho. 383: just as ἄτολμητων in v. 385 implies a ‘wicked sin,’ so ἄτλητα τλάσα in v. 417 means in English ‘committing a crime.’ Similarly ἔτλα in v. 234 is equivalent to ἐτόλμητεν in the sense indicated.

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

232. See cr. n. The copyist assumed that γὰρ must be the second word, and therefore punctuated after βροτοῦ, the explanation offered in the schol. being δ’ ἔγνω πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τολμὰν. It was probably another groping at a sense that produced the reading of M. Similarly, the right reading (Heath) in Eur. H. F. 1126 is ἀρκεῖ σωπη γὰρ μαθεῖν δ’ βούλομαι; but γὰρ was assumed to be the second word; a stop accordingly was placed after ἀρκεῖ, and then to get a sense the δ’ was changed to οὐ: so that we find ἀρκεῖ: σωπη (or σαπη) γὰρ μαθεῖν οὐ βούλομαι.

237. προτέλεα. It is possible that, as in Eur. I. A. 433 Ἀρτέμιδι προτελέζοντι τὴν νεάνιδα, there is an allusion to the pretended marriage with Achilles.

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

243. περιτετη: the adj. is passive corresponding to περιβάλλω τινά πέπλοις. ‘Where she lay, wrapt in her robes.’

246. φυλακάι. If the MS. reading is kept, it should be treated as subject to κατασχέιν. In Eur. Tŋ. 194 τῶν παρὰ προβύρως φυλακάι κατέχονσι the sense is ‘to keep watch.’ Cf. Pind. P. iv. 75 τῶν μονοκρήπτιδα πάντως ἐν φυλακάι σχεθέμεν μεγάλαι.

257 f. πριτσόστονδον...παιάν. Cf. Harmodius ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν νομίμων, ar. Athen. iv. 149 c μετά δὲ τὸ δείπνον σπονδὸς ἐποιούντο...ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν παιὰν ἀδεται.
265. ἦσον. So Eur. Or. 426 τὸ μέλλον δ’ ἦσον ἀπεραξαία λέγω.—τὸ δὲ προκλὺνει added by m to 263 was a gloss on this word.

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

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

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

276. εὕαγγελος μὲν. The tenor of the answer with its repetition of εὔαγγελος from the previous speech corresponds exactly to Supp. 381 ἀγος μὲν..."μὰν ἀφήγεαν...


283. εὖ γὰρ φρονοῦντος δύμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. For an explanation of the full force contained in these words we must look to the records of Physiognomy. In that science, so much studied in the East, it is the eyes that give the most important signs and are the windows of the soul: Script. Physiogn. i. p. 305 Foerster τὰ δὲ πολλά τῶν σημείων καὶ τὰ σύνολα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐνδυναμοῖ καὶ ὡσπερ διὰ πυλῶν τούτων ἡ ψυχὴ διαφαίνεται. ib. ii. 17, 409. I Samuel 16. 7 ‘for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the eyes,’ that is, ‘the heart.’ Leon. Tar. A. P. vii. 661 φυσιγνώμων ἀ σοφιστῆς, δεινὸς ἀπ’ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ τὸ νόμμα μαθεῖν. Eur. Med. 215. There are other passages in this play which are explained by the same notion; see notes on 786 and 1427: κατηγορεῖ, ‘to argue,’ ‘prove,’ belongs to the physiognomical vocabulary (see Foerster’s Index ii. p. 394—5), having been used, doubtless, by old Ionic writers on the subject and retained as technical; hence it appears in other writers often when they speak of what is indicated, whether good or evil, by such outward signs. See Eur. fr. 690 τὸ γ’ εἴδες αὐτὸ σοῦ κατηγορεῖ σιγώντος ὡς εἶπ’ ἀν... Philostr. Imag. 29 ὡκύτημα κατηγορεῖ τῷ κυνός, Vit. Soph. i. 17 πειθῶ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός (ii. p. 19 and p. 380 Kayser), Heroic. p. 393 = 698, Aelian N. A. i. 5, Heliod. iii. 5, Plut. Mor. 695 δ, Schol. Theb. 109: there are also some examples in the Dictionaries which should be classed under this head.

287. λάκομι is Karsten’s correction of the MS. λάβομι, which cannot bear the sense attributed to it here—‘I would not accept the mere fancy of a slumbering mind’; that would be οὐδ’ ἃν δεχοίμην δῶξαν εὐδούνης φρενὸς. But δῶξαν λαβεῖν is used only in the following senses: (1) to get reputation, with or without an epithet, or with a genitive repu-
In his favourite a varied winged, Od.

It conception

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implied seems the Ath.

thing her as hidden occurs father, '?

state Od.
The Bacchyl.

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288. The old men assume that she has only ordinary woman's reasons, dream or rumour, as in Eur. Hel. 1190 πότερον ἐννύχως πε- 

πεισμένη στένεις ὑπερήφανη ἑ φάτιν τιν ὀίκαθεν κλύνοσα:-ἐπιανεν is a

heightened synonym of ἐθρεφέν: Bacchyl. iii. 67 ὡς μὴ φθόνω πιαί-

netai, Plut. Mor. 516 D ἡ ψυχῇ...βόσκουσα καὶ πιαίνουσα το κακόπθε. Similar is the use of αὐξεῖν: Ath. 782 d αὐξεῖ γὰρ καὶ τρέφει μεγαλύνει τε 

τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ ἐν τοῖς ποτῶις διατριβή. Pind. N. iii. 58 εὖ ἀρρένουσι πάσι 

θυμον αὐξεῖν, Bacchyl. i. 52 ἠθέλει δ' αὐξεῖν φρένας ἄνδρος (sc. πλοῦτος). So ἀπίδι τρέφεσθαι is varied by βόσκεσθαι, σιτείσθαι (inf. 1668), φέρ-

βεσθαι: see Class. Rev. xv. p. 102.—ἀπτερός φάτις, of which fantastic explanations have been given, means a winged, or metaphorically a wing-swift rumour. Φήμη, fama, was a thing that flew: Hdt. ix. 100, 101, Telestes (Ath. 616 f), Orph. Arg. 596 ; fama uolat. It should be observed that when the phrase τὴν δ' ἀπτερός ἐπλετο μῆδος occurs in the Odyssey, it seems always to denote a certain obscurity in the speaker's words, which causes them to fall short of the hearer's intelligence. Thus in Od. 17. 57, when Penelope has questioned Telemachus about the result of his voyage to Pylus, and Telemachus, who has just recognised his father at the swineherd's hut and been commanded to keep silence, has made an evasive reply, the meaning is that the full intention of his speech was hidden from her. In Od. 19. 29 Telemachus makes no direct answer to Eurycleia's question about the torch-bearer who would be required, and it is implied that his words had a hidden import in reference to his father which failed to reach her. In Od. 21. 386 Eurycleia failed to understand that the slaying of the suitors was implied in the speech of the swineherd. In Od. 22. 398 Eurycleia, when invited to enter, beholds to her joyful amazement the bloody corpses of the suitors lying on the ground.

However this may be, the old poetical word ἀπτερός was used by later writers of things which though wingless are swift as with wings, wing-swift, like the Flying Dutchman. And in this sense ἀπτέρωι τάχει was a favourite phrase (fully illustrated by Nauck, F. T. C. 9 p. 922): we find πτηνῷ τάχει sometimes used instead. In the same sense—the usual explanation of the grammarians is ταχέως or αἰφνιδίως—was used the adverb ἀπτέρως, or ἀπτερῶς (lengthened like ἀψοφέως for the
purpose of dactylic verse). άπτερος or άπτέρως should probably be read in P. V. 707: see Journ. Phil. xx. p. 296, where further illustrations are quoted.

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

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

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

316. μή χρονῖςεσθάι: see cr. n. So in 1670 χρόνου and χάριν are confused.

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

319. κατόπτην: see cr. n. This is the form which analogy supports: cf. fr. 304 τοῦτον δ' ἐποτήν ἔσποτα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν, sup. 299 πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος, Ατ. Απ. 57 τῶν πότην λύχνων. See also Stat. Silv. ii. 2. 3 celsa Dicarchei speculatrix nulla profundi. In Theb. 631 cod. Viteb. has ἄνδρα τευχιστῶν for ἄνδρα τευχηστήν, and in Anacreont. 40. 10 φθόνον οὐκ οἶδα δαίκτον Pauw restored δαίκτην.

320. ἐσκηψεν: tum demum terrae incubuit cum ad Arachnaeum montem venit.


322. ἐσ τὸδε: see cr. n. In Eum. 755 M has ὅγε where ὅδε is preserved by the other copies, and in Soph. O. C. 860 F has τὸν ἥγε for τὸν ὅδε.

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

331. ὁς λέγεις, 'your version of this tale': see cr. n. Perhaps we should read ἐως λέγως (the optative following θέλωμι ἄν), as ἐως ἄν is now read for ὁς ἄν in Soph. Phil. 1330, Αἰ. 1117, O. C. 1361: this would be 'so long as you should speak.' For the optative see Goodw. M. T. § 531, who quotes Plat. Theaet. 155 a.
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335. οὐ φίλωs might appear to belong to προσενέτοις (Soph. El. 1471 προσηγορεῖν φίλωs, O. C. 758 τήν τὴν πόλιν φίλωs εἰπών, Eur. Hipp. 793 εἰπρόνωs προσενέτεις), but sense requires that it should be joined to διχοστατόντε 'unfriendly separated.' Many editors accept Auratus' διχοστατόντε 'an, οὐ φίλω 'separated, and not friends,' which may well be right.

348. ἀπαλλαχθέντες is corrupted to ἀπαλλαγέντες fh. So for κρυφθεῖς we get κρυφθεῖς and even κρυφθεῖς. See also on 737.— ως δ' εὐδαίμονες, 'and how blest!' exclamatory, as in 1235 ως δ' ἐπικολούθησατο. This use of ως and ὁς, in combination with δε, is very common in Greek verse, but sometimes escapes critics because Greek does not use the note of exclamation. Cf. Ar. Eq. 269 ως δ' ἀλαζών, ως δ' μάσθης, Dem. 21. 209 τὸν δὲ βάσκανον, τὸν δὲ ὅλεθρον, τοῦτον δὲ ὄβριζεν ἀναπνείν δὲ, Lucian i. 552 ὅσον δὲ καὶ ἀποπνεύ μύρων, ως δὲ καὶ σφαλερὸν βαδίζει. So the text is quite sound in Eur. Supp. 901 πολλοὺς δ' ἐραστάς κατό θηλείων ὁσα ἔχων, ἐφρούρει μηδὲν ἑξαμαρτάνειν, where Canter conjectured ἔσας, which would be correct if instead of πολλοὺς α definite number had been named. Liban. iv. 116. 11 μετὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς πολέμους, μετὰ τὰς πολλὰς μάχας καὶ ἀριστείας καὶ τρόπαια, καὶ θάλατταν ὄσι, 'and all that sea!' Tzetzes, Chil. vii. 39 ἵππων τέ τοῖς ἀρδεύμασι τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἑραίνας ἀλλὰ τε πώσα βάρβαρα δράσας εἰς ἐπιπλήξεις. Damoxenus fr. 3 (iii. 353 K.) ἡ δ' εὐφυμία τῷ τ' ήθος ἡ τάξες θ' ὄση.

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

χαλκεάν δ' οὐκ ἐστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος, οὐδὲ συλάτας μελίφρων ὄπνοι απὸ βλεφάρων ἀμίωσ ὃς βάλπει κέαρ.

Polyb. iii. 433, Schweighäuser δεῖν ἀναμισθήναι τοὺς συνεόρους διότι κοιμομένους τὸν ὄρθρον ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ διεγείρουσιν αἱ σάλπιγγες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ ὀρνιθες, a saying quoted by Plut. Nic. 9. So αὐφαλακτον = 'without a watch to keep.'

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

352. οὗ τὰν ἐλοντες αὐθίς ἀνθραλοὶν ἀν: the combination is proverbial. Zenob. i. 35, Diogen. i. 33 αἰρούντες ἱηρήμεσθα, Suid. s.v. αἰρήσω τάχα, Ael. N. H. i. 29 αἰρεῖ τοὺς ὄρνιθαθίας ἱηρημένη, Opp. Hal. ii. 133 ὀλλύμενοι δ' ὀλέκουσι καὶ οὗς πέφυνοι φονής, Xen. Cyr. vi. 3. 20 εἰ οἱ κυκλούμενοι

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kuklōthēien, A. P. ix. 14 ἐὰν ὁ ἄλοι, Soph. O. C. 1025 ἔχων ἔχει, καὶ ἐὰν ἐὰν θηρῶν ἡ τύχη: such phrases for 'the biter bit,' 'turning the tables,' or 'catching a Tartar' are favourite in Greek and Latin.

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

357 ff. θεοῖς δ’ ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,
εὐήγορον τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων
γένοιτ' ἀν,—εἰ πρόσπαιμ μὴ τύχοι κακά.

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

'ἄλλοτριάς δωι γυναικός,'
τάδε στιγμά τις βατίζει,
φθονερόν ὅ ὑπ' ἄλγος ἐρπεῖ
προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις.

βαρεία δ’ ἀστῶν φατίς σὺν κότω,
δημοκράτων δ’ ἀράς τίνει χρέος.

However, as Clytaemnestra anticipates, this bitter feeling has abated by the time the King arrives; εὐφρον τῶν εὐ τελέσασιν is the note of his reception, 'good ends make all amends' (v. 797).

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

It is for the sake of this that she selects the word εὐήγορον (Eubul. Ὀδ. 1), a synonym of εὐήημον, as εὐαγορία (Callim. Lau. Pall. 139)
of εὐφημία. She anticipates her own long-drawn smiling welcome and laudation, εὐφροσύνα δέξεται λόγοι, inf. 1227 οία γλώσσα...λέξεις κακτείνασα φαιδρόνους...τεύχεται; which is what the Chorus hint to Agamemnon in 779—800, and what he understands, 821—831. The MS. reading is supposed to mean 'And (even) if they came without offence towards Heaven, (yet) the soreness of the slain might become wide-awake, even supposing no sudden accident befel them'; except that ἐγγύορος γένοιτ' ἀν is usually slurred over and taken as though it were ἐγγύορος εἴν, 'would be on the watch.' But some word of favourable sense appears to be demanded by the order of the words. ἐπήγορον...γένοιτ' ἀν, if we read it, would be 'might turn accuser'; the φθορεὺρον ἄλγος of the Argives on account of their bereavements (457) might give its discontentment voice; but my objection to that sense is still the same, that the Greek should then have been εἰ δὲ καὶ θεοὶ ἀναμπλάκητος μόλοι στρατός, ἀλλὰ τῶν γ᾽ ὀλολότων ἐπήγορον (οὐ ἐγγύορος) γένοιτ' ἀν τὸ πῆμα.—The last clause is added like an afterthought, correcting a too confident expression, as Hom. A 60, Soph. O. Π. 969, O. C. 1450, Trach. 586.

361. τὸ δ᾽ εὖ κρατοῖν: Supp. 985 εἰ ἀν τὰ λῶτα, Dem. 4. 51 νικών δ' ὅ τι πάσιν ψιν μέλλει συνοίσεων.

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

365. θεοὺς προσεπεῖν αὐτοπαρασκενάζομαι: so Ar. Au. 226 οὐτοψ μελωδεῖν αὐτοπαρασκενάζεται, Thesm. 99 σίγα. μελωδεῖν αὐτοπαρασκενάζεται. They never said θεοὺς εἰ προσεπεῖν, but used the verb alone, προσεπεῖν, προσανδάν, προσφονεῖν, προσεπεῖν, προσαγορεύειν. Observe that in Soph. Trach. 229 ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἐγμοθε', εἰ δὲ προσφονοῦμέθα there is a special reason for the addition of the adverb. In Eur. Η.Ε. 599 Paley was wrong in taking καλῶς with πρόσεπε.

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

374 ff. Νὰ τοι ξένων: 'It is Zeus Hospitable, I say, who is the author of this act; if the vengeance has been long in coming, let that cause no doubt; it has only been deferred in order that the stroke might fall the surer.' Such is the connexion with the following lyric, where the sentiment is taken up and developed: ἐπραξεν ὡς ἐκράνεων. There is a strong stress on Δία τοι as there is with σοῦ τοι, σὺ τοι, which is only one case of a more general use. τοι makes an appeal to the knowledge or conscience of the hearer and so is often used in assertion, as σὺν τοι in negation, to lay stress upon the word it goes with. Examples are inf. 913, 1031, 1039, Cho. 913, Supp. 375, 545, Eum. 758,
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Soph. El. 582, 624, 773, Phil. 1095, Pind. P. v. 122: so in ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοι ‘this is the reason,’ inf. 867, 1603, Cho. 1054.

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

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

747 καὶ γὰρ διώλυοι· ἀντίποια δὲ ἐκτίνων τόλμα, διδοὺς γε τών δεδραμένων δίκην.—
τίς θεοῖς ἀνομία χραιῶν θυρτός ὡν
ἀφρονα λόγον οὐρανίων μακάρων
κατέβαλ’ ὡς ἄρ’ οὐ σθένουσιν θεοὶ;—
γέροντες, οὐκέτ’ ἐστι δυσσεβής ἀνήρ.

773 θεοὶ θεοὶ τῶν ἀδίκων
μέλουσι καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἐπάιεν.
ὁ χρυσός ἄ τ’ εἰτυχία
φρενών βροτοὺς ἐξαγεται
δίνασιν ἄδικον ἐφέλκων,
but Justice shatters them in time.

802 πιστόν μοι τὸ παλαιόν ἕδη
λέχος, ὃ Ζεῦ, τὸ σὸν οὐκ
ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι φάνθη,
λαμπρὰν ὃ ἐδείξ’ ὁ χρόνος
τὰν Ἡρακλέος ἀλκᾶν.

809 κρείσσων μοι τύραννος ἔφυς
ἡ δυσγένει’ ἀνάκτων,
ἀ νῦν ἑσορῶντι φαίνει
ξυφηφόρων ἐς ἀγώνων
ἀμμλίαν εἰ τὸ δίκαιον
θεοῖς ἐτ’ ἀρέσκει.

‘The base-born usurper affords manifest proof, when you regard the issue of the contest, that Righteousness is still pleasing in the sight of Heaven.’
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Blomfield pointed out that πλαγών ἠχοῦσιν must be taken together: but few have heeded. πληγήν, ἐλκος (Herod. iv. 60), τραύμα, ἐχεῖν are regular expressions for ‘to be wounded,’ ἐχεῖν serving to form a passive as in αἰτίων ἠχο, etc. εἰπεῖν πάρεστιν is ‘that judgment may be pronounced indeed’; as in ᾿Εὐθ. 906 παρέστι δ’ εἰπεῖν ἐπ’ ἀθλίωσιν ὡς ἐφαρτή... and Philemon, fr. 108 ‘καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτων λέγειν.’—For ἐχλεῦσαι cf. Supp. 89 Δῶς ἵμερος όυκ εὐθήρατος ἐπίγηθη.

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

385 f. The MS. reading (see cr. n.) is meaningless. We can quickly clear the ground; for a little reflection will admit what Karsten and Weil have pointed out, that there is no place here either for ἐγκύνωσι or for Ἀρη πνεύμντων: Paris, who is the sinner (v. 409), has paid for his sin in his own person; and the subject of the passage is the retribution following sin that comes through a spirit made insolent with riches; whereas Ἀρη πνεύμντων μείζον ὡς δικαίως would condemn him for a spirit over-bellicose! Hartung’s reading therefore, ἐκτίνουσα τόλμα τῶν Ἀρη πνεύμντων κτι., besides giving an unparalleled caesura, is untenable for sense: nevertheless the chief part of the credit is due to him for ἐκτίνουσα. For ἀνομία I merely restore ἀνομία, havoc, destruction by the sword, a word used by Aeschylus in Supp. 86. No accusative is now required with ἐκτίνουσα, because ἀνομία is itself the penalty—a turn of phrase exactly paralleled in v. 1512 Ἀρης δίκαιος πάχυνε κοινοβορόων παρέξει. There is the same conception in 760—6 (δαίμονα τίταν) and in Cho. 643 (τίνει νύμφας).

389 ff. ὑπέρ τοῦ βέλτιστον, i.e. ‘beyond due Measure’ (ὑπέρ τὸ μέτρον). But it is not necessary to read with Weil μέτρον τὸ βέλτιστον, though that is in any case the meaning: see Parvem. ii. p. 80—2 Leutsch, for the proverb πάντων μέτρον ἄριστον, Lucian i. 756, and Aristotle, Index s.v. μέσον for βέλτιστον. The reference to Troy is illustrated by Homer N 621 Τρῳδες υπερφιάλοι, Bacchyl. xii. 158 ἢ μεγάλαις ἐλπίδων πνεύματος ὑπερφιάλοι...Τρῳδες ἵππευται. In the following words the definition of τὸ μέτρον is laid down as ‘Sufficiency, clear of harm, with an ample endowment of understanding (σύνεσις),’ as Pythagoras μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον according to Empedocles (fr. 129, 2 Diels); or ‘sufficiency for one well-endowed with sense.’ ἀπήματον ἀπαρκεῖν means ἐχεῖν ὅσον ἀποξην ἀβλαβός (Theognis 1153), as ἐξαρκέων κτεάτεσσι
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in Pind. O. v. 24, ζώειν τ' ἀπ' οἴκειων ἔχει Bacchyl. i. 57, Solon 5. ι δήμωι μέν γάρ ἐδώκα τόσον κράτος, ὡσον ἐπαρκεῖ.

395. εἰς αφάνειαν: that is ὅταν τὴν δίκην τις αφαινήσῃ. Cf. Trag. fr. in Stob. Ecd. i. 3. 45 (fr. adesp. 418 N.) ἀφρονες δ' ὁπόσοι τοῦ δίκαιουν ἄγουν' ὑπὸ ταῦ ἀδίκους βιστασαί αἳ αφανές. Max. Τyr. 31. 2 ὁμολογίαν εἶναι δεὶ ἐργαὶ καὶ λόγου, καὶ μητὲ τὰ ἐργά εἰς αφανείαι κοιμιδῆ ἐξενεληφθαί κτὲ.

396. βιάται δ' ἀ-τάλανα Παθώ: [for the significance of Persuasion in connexion with ἱβρις, ἄτη, and ἐλπίς, see Cambridge Preadlections, see, p. 115 ff.]

397. The reading of the MS. (see cr. n.) is not a metrical line at all, apart from strophic corroboration. προβούλον παῖς (Hartung) is right: Soph. fr. 533 παιδώματιδες ἄται, Cho. 645 τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει δόμοις αἰμάτων παλαιτέρων τίνες μέν τόν κρόνον κλωτα βασισόφρων Ἐρινός, like Hecate in Macbeth, 'the close contriver of all harms.' προβούλον παῖς was probably the first stage in the error.

398 f. ἀκός recalls Hesiod's νύκεστον ἄσσημα quoted on v. 469.—σύνος, mischief, is a synonym of ἄτη or βλάβη: for Ἀτη βλάπτουσ᾽ ἀνθρώπους see Hom. I 505, T 91.

404. ποτανῶν δρνων is an allusion to ἐλπίς: πηνας διώκει, ὥ τέκνον, τὰς ἐλπίδας Eur. fr. 271. In Soph. Ant. 615 ἐλπίς is ἀ πολύπλαγκτος. Hope of wrongful gain, Ambition, is a stage on the road to ruin: Thuc. iii. 45 ἢ τε ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντὶ πλείοντα βλάπτουσι, ν. 103 ἐλπίς δὲ, κινδύνων παραμυθίων οὕσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὕτη καὶ βλάψη, οὐ καθελε: τοὺς δὲ ἐς ἀπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρρητοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἀμα τε γεγωνόκεσται σφαλέντων, καὶ εἰν ὅτι ἐς φυλάξεται τις αὕτη γνωρισθέρεσαν, οὐκ ἐλλειπεί. Plut. Pyrrh. 26 οὗτο μὲν ἐξέσεως τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν οὗ Ἡρός ἐλπίδων, νομοθέτει ἀ ταῖς πράξεις ἐκτάτο ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀπολλύναι, δὲ ἔρωτα τῶν ἀπόντων οὐδέν εἰς ὃ δὲ θέσθαι τῶν ὑπάρχοντων φθάσας. Pind. P. iii. 19 ἀλλάτω ἰ ἤρατο τῶν ἀπείρων· οίᾳ καὶ πολλοῖ πάθον· ἢ ἐς δὲ φίλον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ματαιότατον, ἢ στις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ τόρμος, | μεταμορφών θηρεύον ἀκράντων ἐλπίσεων. ἢ ἐς χει τουατάν μεγάλαν αὖταν | καλλίπεπλων λήμα Κορωνίδος. Thuc. iv. 17 μὴ παθεῖν ὅπερ οἱ ἁθόσο τι σαιδων λαμβάνετε τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀεὶ γὰρ τὸν πλέον ἐλπίδι ὀρέγονται διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἄδοκήτως εὐτυχήσησα.
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grief of the deserted husband. These revelations they convey in
guarded language like the Chorus in the Choephoroi, 45—82, not
mentioning names, but saying πρόμοι, ἀφημένων, ὑπερποντιᾶς, ἀνδρί, τις. For πρ. with the genitive cf. Athen. 187 b, ὁ Ἑπίκουρος ἀπαντᾷ εἰσήγαγε
προφήτας ἀτόμων.
421. See cr. nn. The reading of the MSS. is neither sense nor
metre: with σιγαὶ ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους Hermann restored both. The
corruption was introduced by some scribe who failed to perceive the
construction of πάρεστιν ἢδεν—thought that it required a nominative.
Just the same thing happened in Eur. Ττν. 36 τὴν δ' ἄθλαιν τῆν εἰ τις
eἰσοράν θέλει, πάρεστιν, Ἑκάβην κειμένην πυλῶν πάρος: where inferior
MSS. give πάρεστιν Ἑκάβη κειμένη. What ἀδικτος should be is uncertain.
ἀφημένων, 'sitting apart': of Achilles sulking in his tent in Hom. ο 106
ὁ δ' ἀφήμενος οὐκ ἄλεγιζε οἷδ' ὄθεται (with which Leaf compares Θ 207,
Λ 81). Add Hdt. iv. 66 ἦττομομένου ἀποκατάται. Mourners are
constantly said to sit moping, e.g. Hom. κ 497, § 41, π 145, Epictet.
ii. 16. 33 κλαύσει καθήμενος ὡς τὰ παιδία; so ii. 24. 25 τί οὖν ἐκεῖνον
( Achilles) ἀφελεῖ ταῦτα, ὡσ τα καθήμενοι κλαίται διὰ τὸ κορασίδων; iii. 13. 9
μέλῳ καθήμενος κλαίειν, ὡσ μόνον ἀπελεύθην καὶ ἔρημος; iii. 24. 8
ἀν δὲ τις ἀποδήμηση τῶν συνήθων, καθήμενοι κλαίωμεν; see καθῆμαι in
Upton's index. So 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept,
remembering Zion.'
424. δόξη. Attic puts δόξειεν ἄν where the Ionic writers say ἔρεις or
the like: so Herodas, e.g. iv. 31.
427. ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχνίας ἔρρει πάν' Ἀφροδίτα is precisely like an
Orphic line quoted by Lobeck, Aglaophamus, π. 951 χειρῶν δ' ἀλλυμένων
ἔρρεν πολυεργός Ἀθήνη, 'with the destruction of hands, Athena, the
goddess of handicraft, was clean gone': and so all spirit of love, love-
sense, is departed in the lack of eyes, which are the channels of desire
(ἐμερος), and were created, according to Empedocles, by Aphrodite
(frs. 86, 87 Diels).
429. πειθήμονες of the MSS. is contrary to the sense: πειθήμονες
Housman ('si dicerentur πειθήμονες, intelligerem' Karsten) rightly:
ν. 286 ὄνειρον φάσματ εὔπιθη. Tryphiod. 456 (Aphrodite) προσέφη
πειθήμονι φωνή.
431. This line has caused much trouble because the sentence has
no finite verb; yet δοκῶν ὃρα, the most plausible of the conjectures,
cannot be right, because Greek never said δοκῶν ὃρα, always δοκῶ
ὁράν. The verb is in fact omitted, with dramatic effect: 'For oft, as
dreaming that he beholds his joy, he would embrace.' This is quite
common in Greek writing: Semon. Amorg. 7. 110 κεχηρότος γὰρ ἄνδρός—
oi δὲ γεῖτονες χαίρουσ' ὁρῶντες, Philem. 126 μῦς λενκός, ὡσ τὸ ἀντι τις—
And fancies fond with gaudy shapes possess
As thick and numberless
As the gay motes that people the sunbeams,
Or likest hovering dreams,
The fickle pensioners of Morpheus' train.

It is an extremely easy alteration, and so would be ὁ πολύφατος τ᾽ ἰγὼν βροτῶν in Theb. 759, if not in Pind. fr. 75: cf. P. xi. 47. Hom. β 50 and the oracle in Hdt v. 78.—ὑπερβατόν in Aesch. fr. 99. 21 may be for ὑπέρφατον or ὑπέρβατον.

The private grief of Menelaus while he sat at home we pass now to the general multitude at large, the warriors across the sea at Troy and their kinsmen, whom they left at home in Greece: what of the warriors? In their homes too the due and fitting behaviour towards them is mourning. πρέπει governs the dative συνορμένος: for a victor, acclamation is the proper tribute, Pind. N. iii. 67 βοῶν δὲ νικαφόρων σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδαι πρέπει; the proper tribute to the dead is (also praise, but in the shape of) regretful lamentation. And γοῦν depends on πρέπει: well, they may, there is reason enough, surely, why their houses should behave so.

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

ovdeimias tolmyas ennoian ekovn). The MSS. give πένθεια τλησικάρδιος, the opposite of the sense, and a contradiction in terms: P.V. 169 τίς ὃδε τλησικάρδιος θεών ὅτων τάδ’ ἐπιχαρή; τίς οὐ συνασχαλάι κακοίς τεοίοι; ‘who is so hard-hearted as to feel no grief or indignation?’ But Hesychius also records τλασίφρωνα: ὑπομονητικῶν, ‘patient,’ ‘long-suffering,’ ‘stout-hearted.’ Hom. I 3 πένθει δ’ ἀτλητῶν βεβολήατο (Τ 367 ἀτλητῶν ἄχος, Apoll. Rhod. ii. 858 κήδοις), E 382 τέτλαθι...καὶ ἀνάχειο κηδομένη περ, Y 18 τέτλαθι δη, κραδη· καὶ κ strtok ποτ’ ἐτλης, Ω 48 ἀλλ’ ἥ τι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενοι μεθέχεκα τλητῶν γὰρ μοιραῖ θυμον θέταν ἀνθρώποισι. inf. 886 τλᾶσ’ ἀπενθήτω φρεν. A.P. vii. 335 τλῆβε πένθος, εὐνασον. Archilochus 9. 5—10 ending τλῆτε, γυνακείον πένθος ἀπωσάμενοι.

443. τεόχη may mean ‘arms.’

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

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

επεὶ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀκτὰς ἡλύθον Σκαμανδρίων, ἐθνησικόν, οὐ γῆς ὄρι ἀποστεροῦμενοι οὐδ’ ὑψιτουργόν πατριώτι, οὐδ’ Ἀρης ἔλοι, οὐ παῖδας ἔδων, οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χερόν πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν, ἐν ἔνει δὲ γῆ ἐνεῖκα τα δ’ ὀίκων τοίσδ’ ὀμοὶ ἐγίνετο. χύραι τ’ ἐθνησικόν, οὐ δ’ ἀπαιδεὺ ἐν δόμῳ ἀλλως τέκν’ ἐκθρέφαντες, οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφοις ἐσθ’ ὥστε αὐτῶν αἷμα γῆ ὑδρήσεται.

The consequence of discontent at home formed the subject of well-known stories referred to by Plat. Legg. 682 δ: οὐκούν ἐν τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ, οὕτω δεκέτε, ἐν τῷ Ἰλιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, τὰ τῶν πολιορκοῦντων ἀκάστων οἰκιο κακὰ πολλὰ ἐξεινθαίο γιγνόμενα περὶ τὰς στάσεις τῶν νεῶν, οὐ καὶ ἀφικομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τε καὶ οἰκίαις οὐ καλῶς οὐδ’ ἐν δοκῇ ὑπεδέζωντο, ἀλλ’ ὡστε τανάτους τε καὶ σφαγάς καὶ φυγὰς γενέσθαι παμπόλλας;
461 εὔμορφοι. So Homer X 370 (the Greeks gathering round the corpse of Hector) οἱ καὶ θηρισάντο φύην καὶ εἰδὸς ἀγητόν Ἐκτόρος.

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

464. δημοκράτων: popular indignation is as effectual as a curse officially pronounced (Dem. 18. 130 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅν ἔτυχεν ἤρ, ἀλλ' ὦς ὁ δήμος καταράται, id. 19. 70): it may lead to a rising and the stoning of its object.—χρόνος anything required; in prose confined to a debt of money, but in poetry any function, service, obligation. ἀπαιτεῖν is to demand, τίνευ to fulfil the requirement.

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

and again 282:

δο δὲ καὶ μαρτυρήσωιν ἐκών ἐπίορκον ὀμόσας
ψεύσται, ἐν δὲ δίκην βλάψας νῆκεστον ἀσθῆ, οὕτως δὲ τ' ἀμαυρότερη γενεὶ μετάπισθε λέλεκται·
ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐφήλων γενεὶ μετάπισθέν ἀμέλειν.

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

476. κάφανα. The construction of the sentence corresponds to Athen. 523 b ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενοι πυρὶ καὶ χαλκῷ.

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

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

484. αὶ τι...φθός is added as an afterthought: see on 359.

487 ff. The phrases of the Chorus are mockingly borrowed from the fire, πυρωθέντα καρδίαν and in 491 πυθανός ήγαν ὁ θήλος ἕρως ἐπινέμεται —for there were two things ἐπινέμεσθαι was so commonly applied to that the original metaphor from grazing cattle was forgotten in their case and became appropriated to themselves,—the ravages of fire or of disease (Thuc. ii. 54, 58). There is a playful application of the word in Plut. Mor. 415 οἶος τίν Στουκήν ἐκτύρωσιν ὄσπερ τα Ἡρακλείτου καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἐπη οὐτό καὶ τα Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτυσαν: and what the Elders mean (with an undercurrent of allusion to her amorous intrigue and protestations) is that a woman is ready to accept good news upon the slightest warrant (quo numorem reconciliations afficeret, acciperetque Agrippina, facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia, Tac. Ann. xiv. 4), without waiting for proof visible and palpable, πρὸς τοῦ φανείτο: such premature rejoicing is presently apt to be extinct as the fire among the thorns.—The MS. reading ἕρως ἐπινέμεται cannot be interpreted as 'the boundaries of a woman's mind are encroached upon' (ἐπινέμεται passive). To cross a limit was ὑπερβαίνειν (ὑπερτηθαν, ὑπερθορεῖν ὅρον: but no Greek ever said ἐπινεμεσθαι ὅρον.—For the general sense cf. Plut. Artax. 28 καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἵσως, το Σοφάκλεων, 'ταχειά πειθω τῶν κακῶν ὀδοπορεῖ:' (fr. 714) λεία γάρ τις η πορεία καὶ κατάντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλόμενον. For χάριν ἔνεισα, 'to yield assent to pleasure,' cf. Pind. P. iv. 139 ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὡκύτεραι κέρδος αἰνήσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλων.

NOTES

σπουδή προσιών οὔτος ἑστιν; ἦ ποῦ τι ἐκ γῆς νεώτερον ἀπαγγέλλεις. ΕΡΜ. ἤπερμεγα, ὃ Ζεῦ, καὶ μυρίας τῆς σπουδῆς δεόμενον.

501. σοι. The dative belongs to both clauses, and must be taken after σημανεῖ. Cf. Eurip. 36 ὥς μῆτε σωκέω μῆτε μ’ ἀκταίνειν βάσιν, Theb. 651, Soph. Ὀ.Τ. 1455.

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

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

510. βαγεσθῶν: hopes were anchors or cables to a Greek: Eur. Hel. 277 ἀγκυρα δ’ ἦ μοι τῶν τύχας ὧν οὖν, πόσων ποθ’ ὧν καὶ μ’ ἀπαλλάξεις κακῶν, οὗτος τέθνηκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ’ ἐστι δή. Heliod. v. 19 Χαρίκλεια μοι βίος ἦν, ἐλπίς καὶ διάδοχοι τοῦ γένους. Χαρίκλεια μόνη παραψυχή καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀγκύρα. καὶ ταύτῃ ὑπετέμετο καὶ παρήγγεικεν ὅτι ποτ’ ἐστι τὸ εἰληχῦς με δαιμόνιον. For βαγεσθῶν cf. σρημ ahrumpere (Tac. Ann. iv. 50 etc.).

516. ἥθες (see cr. n.) was perhaps an explanation of a false reading ἤσθα.

518. ἄγωνιῶς: gods of assembly, as in Supp. 195, where Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, and Hermes are subsequently singled out for mention: so ib. 248. Probably they were the twelve chief gods of the tribes who worshipped at the games. As gods of meeting they are also ἄγοραῖοι: Schol. Hom. Ω i παρὰ δὲ Βοωτώς ἄγων ἡ ἄγορα… ὅθεν καὶ ἄγωνιῶς θεοῖς Διαχύλοις τοὺς ἄγοραῖος.


525. εἰ ποῦ, ‘if perchance’ (ῥυτα)…. Cf. Ar. Ἐγ. 347 εἰ ποῦ δικίδων εἶπας εἰ κατὰ ἕξους μετοίκουν, Supp. 405 εἰ ποῦ τι μῆ ότων τύχου. The prayer is of the same form as Hom. Ε 116 εἰ ποτὲ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέοντα παρέστης δηνίων ἐν πολέμου, νῦν αὕτ’ ἐμὲ φιλία, Ἀθηνᾶ. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 757 νῦν, εἰ ποτ’ ἐμάς ἐτέλεσας ἐφετήρας, εἰ δ’ ἄγε. Sappho i. 5 ἀλλὰ τυῖδ’ ἐλθ’, ἀπόστα κατέρωστα… ἕκλυνε. 25 ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν. Αρ. Αἰ. 405 ὑπάκουσον, εἴπερ ποτότ’ ἀνθρώπων τινι. We expect καὶ νῦν, but that is here expressed by τοσίδε, which has been a great puzzle to critics: ‘with bright eyes now.’ Else we should only have had τοῦτον (which
530 ff. There are certain images in Isaiah which this passage recalls: 14. 23 ‘I will sweep it (Babylon) with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.’ 30. 28 The breath of the Lord shall reach ‘to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity.’ Aeschylus in his characteristic way sustains his image. In the MSS. however it is interrupted by a line interpolated from the margin (Pers. 813) βωμοί δ’ αἰστοι δαμόνων θ’ ἱδρύματα, which had been quoted to illustrate the devastation of the land. In the Persae the verse is spoken by the ghost of King Darius, who has been raised from the dead to give advice to the Persians after their defeat at Salamis: on being informed of Xerxes’ expedition he condemns it, and prophesies the crowning disaster of Plataea, v. 809

οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὑψιστ’ ἐπαμένει παθεῖν, ὑβρείς ἄποινα καθέων φρονημάτων: οὐ γὰρ μολάντες Ἐλλαδ’ οὐθ’ θεῶν βρέτη ἠδοντο συλλαν οὐδὲ πυρπράναι νεώς, βωμοί δ’ αἰστοι, δαμόνων θ’ ἱδρύματα πρὸρρετά φύρδην ἐξανέστραται βάθρων. τογάρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα πάσχοντι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοινότω κακῶν κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ’ ἀλλ’ ἐτ’ ἐκπινοῦσαι.

There in store abides
The crown of all their ills, in recompense
For their presumptuous and ungodly sin,
That in the land of Hellas made no conscience
Either to spoil the images of the gods
Or burn the temples; the altars are clean gone,
The shrines of deities torn up by the roots
And overturned and swept from their foundations.

Therefore for their ill-doing, ills no less
They have in suffering, and yet more shall have;
The fount of sorrow is not stanched yet
But still comes welling forth.

That is his denunciation of those barbarous and irreligious acts of desecration which Herodotus records (viii. 33, 53, 109, ix. 42) and which had impressed the Greek imagination with such deep and lasting horror (see e.g. Isocr. 4. 155). The passage in the Persae must have been familiar to all that heard the Agamemnon, and the acts themselves—including the burning of the temples on the Acropolis at Athens—must have been within the memory of many. Is it conceivable that Aeschylus before this audience, or any Greek at any
time, could have put this statement as a proud boast in the mouth of a religious herald? See also Eur. Hec. 802—5.

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

Quint. xiii. 432 speaks of the fire raging round: ὅμω θαλάμῳ μέλαθρα, καταίθετο δ' ἀσπετός ἄκη Πέργαμον ἀμφ' ἐρατήν περὶ θ' ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος νην τε ζάθεων Τριτονίδος ἀμφὶ τε βωμόν Ἑρκείων: θάλαμοι δὲ κατεπρήθοντ' ἐρατεινοί νιώνον Πράμους. τόλης δ' ἀμαβυνέτο πᾶσα: and in Seneca, Agam. 653 the Chorus lament templas deos super usta suos. But this is nowhere mentioned as having brought them retribution; and indeed for the Greeks to commit this act deliberately would have been impossible; there was no religious enmity; the Trojan gods were their gods. This is quite a different matter from the particular acts of sacrilege that were committed by individuals:

Eur. Tro. 15 Poseidon complains ἄρμα δ' ἀλη καὶ θεῶν ἀνάκτορα φόνων καταρρέει: πρὸς δὲ κρηπίδων βάθροις πέπτωκε Πράμος: and in describing the massacre Tryphiodorus 598 says: οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπω eἰχὼν ἀθεσμοτάτης ὑπὸ ῥιτῆς, ἀθανάτων δ' ἔχρων ἀπεθανάτικα οὐμαί βομοὺς. οἰκτρότατοι δὲ γέροντες ἀμυτομάτως φόνοιν οὐδ' ὅρθοι κτεόντο, χαμαὶ δ' ἱκτήσια γυά τε νεωμένιοι πολιοῦσι κατεκάλυντο καρήσαν.

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


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

544. The form τεθνᾶναι was long ago rejected by Hermann. Against all such conjectures as retain τεθνᾶναι οὐκ ἀντερῷ it is sufficient to point out that ἀντιλέγον θανεὶν could not possibly mean 'I refuse to die'; still less could ἀντιλέγον τεθνᾶναι. Hartung's χαίρω. θανεὶν ἃν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῷ θεοίς would mean 'I will not urge against the gods that I would die'; and Kayser's χαίρω. θανεὶν δὲ μ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῷ θεοίς 'I will not urge against the gods that I died.' The only conjecture that approaches the meaning aimed at is Schneidewin's χαίρω. τὸ τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῷ θεοίς, if rendered, 'as to dying, I will no more oppose the gods.' The general idea is doubtless the same as that in Hom. η 225 (first cited by Butler) ὁς κ' ἐμὲ τὸν δυστηρὸν ἐμῆς ἐπιβήτητε πάτρης | καὶ τελα ἀβόντα. ἰδοὺτα με καὶ λίποι αἴων | κτήσῃ ἐμῆν δρᾶσας τε καὶ ὑψερφέας μέγα δῶμα. Add h. Aphrod. 154 βουλοῦμεν κεν ἑοτά, γὰναι εἰκών θείσων, σὴς εὐής ἐπιβάς, δύναι δόμον Λῖδος εἶσο. Aesch. Cho. 437
Callim. fr. 219 τεθθαίνην ὅτε ἐκεῖνον ἀποτελεσάσα τυθοῦμαι. Eur. El. 281 θάνωμι μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπισφάξας ἐμήν. Or. 1116 καὶ μὴν τόδε ἔρεας δίς θανείν οὐχ ἄρμα. Musaeus 79 αἰτίκα τεθθαίνην λεχζων ἐπιβήμενος Ἠροῦς. Plat. Αριτ. 28 D, Synes. Εἰριτ. 107, Plut. Μορ. 1094 A οὖν εὐεὐτό τις ἐμπληθείς οὖν ἡ περιπάτων βασιλικῶν εἴθος ἀποθανεῖν, Aristid. i. p. 709. 20 Dind., inf. 1610. Cic. 2 Phil. 119 mihi uero, patres conscripi, iam etiam optanda mors est, perfundo rebus iis, etc. Guided by these passages I read as in the text. Cf. Othello ii. i. 187 If it were now to die, 'Twere now to be most happy; for I fear, My soul hath her content so absolute That not another comfort like to this | Succeeds in unknown fate.

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

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

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


561. παρείκες (from παρείκω as εἶξις from εἰκω), 'opportunities,' or 'relaxations.' See cr. n. The schol. has στανίους. καὶ τοῦτον γάρ οὖ συνεχώς ἀπηλαίομεν.—κακοκοκερατῶσ: Chionides ἦροες fr. 1 (i. 4 K.) πολλοὶς ἑώδικα καὶ κατὰ σὲ νεανίας φρουροῦνται ἄτεχνως (? ἀτενὲς K.) καὶ σάμακι κοιμομένους.

562 is corrupt. For οὐ λαχάντες, οὐ λάχου τις might be suggested. Margoliouth's ἀσχάλλοντας would require a second negative.

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

565. δι. For the corruption into γάρ see Porson on Med. 34, 1083, On editing Aeschylus, p. 119.—The words καπνὸ...δρόσου are parenthetic, which accounts for the gender of τιθέντες (Verrall). Cf. 616 f. οὖν οἶδα τέρψιν—οὖν ἐπιψογον φάτιν—ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς.

566 f. 'Causing mildew and making the hair or wool of our garments verminous,' ἐνθηροῦσα,—for θηρίον was applied in more or less humorous horror to the smallest creatures. No one who has served a campaign—in South Africa or elsewhere—will dispute the truth of the description. Plut. Μορ. 352 f, speaking of the linen garments
worn by the Egyptian priests, remarks that linen is ἕκιστα φθειροποιῶν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

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

дрόσοι κατεψέκαζον, ἐμπεδὸν σίνος ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα,

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

600 ἐγὼ δ' τὸ τλάμων παλαιός ἄφ' ὥν χρόνος Ἰδαία μέμνων λειμών ἀπονα μηνῶν ἀνήρθμος αἰὲν εὐνῶμαι.

1206 κείμαι δ' ἀμέριμνοις οὔτως ἄι πυκνοῖς ὀρώσοις τεγὼμενοι κόμις, λυγρᾶς μνήματα Τροίας.

577. The sense is ἔρρετ' αὖτα A. P. v. 72, ualete curae. χαίρειν καταξιώ is merely one of the many variations of the phrase χαίρειν λέγω or κελεύω, which meant 'I say to you χαίρε, 'I bid you hail,' or 'I bid farewell to you,' 'I say good-bye to you.' Instead of these words poetical or humorous language indulged in a great variety of substitutes: χαίρε προσεῖται Kaibel, Ἐριγ. 256. προσεῖται χαίρειν 781. αὐδήσαντες χαίρειν 205. ἔννεπτε χαίρειν 103. ἐνέπτοι κλαίειν μακρά Αρχεστράτος (Ath. 117 a). χαίρειν προννέπτω Soph. Τραχ. 227. χαίρειν ἐφιμει Aι. 112. ἀρτι δὲ χαίρειν τούτα τεοίς προθύρωις ἐπιτέλλομαι Θεοσκ. xix. 26. ἀείσας χαίρειν Kaibel, Ἐριγ. 237. χαίρειν κελεύων πολλά Αρ. Αχ. 200. πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας: ἀποσταξάμενοι Hesych. μακρὰ χαίρειν λέγων Lucian ii. 614, ἐν i. 714, φράσαντες ii. 820. ἐρρόσθαυ λέγων Antiphanes 88. ἐρρόσθαυ φράσας πολλὰ Dem. 19. 248, Lucian ii. 861. κλαίειν ἀνώγα Ευρ. Σύλ. 340, 701. κλαίειν ἀγορεύω Plat. Com. 173. οἶσαζεν παραγγείλαντες Lucian i. 422.

583. θεοι...τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα: Soph. fr. 871 νη τοῖς ἐν 'Ἀργεῖ καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεοῖς.

585. ἑλάγειν: see on 350.

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

591. σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμὲ: Cho. 820 πλεῖ τάδ' εὐ' ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος αὐξαται τὸδ'. ἄτα δ' ἀποστατεῖ φιλων.

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

602. κοιμάωντες perhaps means 'extinguishing with wine at the end of the rite.'


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

616 f. ἄλλοι πρὸς ἀνάβας belongs to τέρψιν and has no connexion with the intervening words οὐδ’ ἐπίφυοι φάτιν. So Theogn. 461 μή ποτ’ ἐπ’ ἀπρήκτουσι νόσον ἔχει, μηδὲ μενοῦν, χρήμασι, τών ἄνως γίνεται οὐδεμαί. [For fuller discussions of this idiom, which Bergk (P. L. G. ii. p. 159) unnecessarily doubts, see Tyrrell in C. R. ii. p. 140 f., Kaibel on Soph. El. 1358 (p. 279')].—It is most natural to understand χαλκοῦ βαφᾶς (with the schol.) as poetical for σιδήρου βαφᾶς, which is often mentioned, the tempering of iron, to harden it or to soften it. The illustration is chosen of course for the double meaning.

618 ff. The MS. gives 618—9 to the Herald; most critics follow Hermann now in giving them to Clytaemnestra; Dr Verrall thinks they are spoken by a 'Conspirator.' Many commentators render τοιόδ’ ο’ κόμπος, 'talis guidem sui iactatio,' 'a boast like this,' 'that sort of boast,' as though it were τοιόδε κόμπος; but it can only mean 'such is the boast,' and unless it is corrupt—which is improbable, for corruption would rather be the other way—our explanation must allow it its due meaning.

μανθάνω means inel lego, 'I see,' 'I understand,' 'I take your meaning'; μανθάνεις, 'do you see?' Examples are abundant in Comedy and Plato; Eur. Or. 1129 ΠΥ. ἐπ’ αὑτό δηλοί τούργον οῖ τεύνει χρεών. ΟΡ. Ἑλείνην φονεύειν μανθάνω τὸ σύμβολον. ΠΥ. ἑγνώς. Αρ.Ραν. 64 Δ1. ἄρ’ ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές, ἡ τέρας φράσοι; ΗΡ. μή δήτα περὶ ἐννοού γε’ πάνι γὰρ μανθάνω. And μανθάνεις accordingly means 'you understand,' rem tenes, as Lucian i. 564 ΑΓΟ. οὕκοιν...δῆλον ὅτι μόνος ὁ σπουδαῖος μωσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἄρτητη λήψεται; ΧΡΥΣ. μανθάνεις. This is implied by a participle in Cho. 112 ΗΛ. ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοί τὰρ ἐπειδὴξωμα τάδε; ΧΟ. αὕτη σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνονα' ἡδή φράσαι, i.e. μανθάνεις: and the same is implied here by μανθάνοντι σοι: 'Her speech is thus, as you understand.' The person

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addressed, therefore, must have shown the Elder that he understands; and it follows that the previous remark cannot have been made by Clytaemnestra: seeing no reason to believe in Dr Verrall's Conspirator, I conclude that the MS. is right in assigning 618—9 to the Herald. \\
αιτή μὲν οὕτως εἶπε is a formula dismissing her case, as 941 τοῦ μὲν οὕτω, Eur. 556, Theb. 409, 1003, Supp. 513; they jot in μανθάνοντι σου, and add a plainer explanation in the following line, of which the natural interpretation is 'in the judgment of good critics—those who can read between the lines—only very specious words.' Then σιδ' εἶπε, κῆρος, is the antithesis to αἰτή μὲν οὕτως, 'now for your story further.' λακεῖν is an invidious word; it means 'to scream' or 'cry aloud without reserve or self-control' (ἀνειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων ματήματα Theb. 169, Supp. 884); it is used contemptuously by Clytaemnestra of the bawling news-bringers in 856, and her γυναικεῖων νόμων ὀλολυγμον ἔλασκον in 601 is a retort, quoting the contemptuous judgments passed on her supposed impetuous behaviour; in 1427 περὶ φροντων ἔλακε is used of her by the Chorus (as κομπάζεις in 1399) to rebuke her vaunting menaces, but a woman of her character would never, I think, apply it to herself: see n. on 287. — But the most important phrase is ὡς γυναικ Γενναία in which ὡς after an adjective should have a limiting or qualifying force; not, as Peile takes it, 'particularly for a noble lady,' but 'for such a person as a noble lady,' 'considering that a noble lady is the speaker.' Examples are familiar, as Soph. O. T. 1118 πιστὸς ὡς νομεῖς ἀνήρ, 'trusty as any, in his shepherd's place,' O. C. 20 μακρὰν γὰρ ὡς γέροντι προστάλη μόνον, 'a long way for an old man,' Ai. 395 ἔρεβοι ὡς φανερότατον, ὡς ἐμοὶ, Plat. Sophist. 226 C ταχεῖαν, ὡς ἐμοί, σκέψιν ἐπικτάτεις, 'a rapid process of thought for such as I am,' Parmen. 136 D πολλ' ἔργον προσ- \\ntάτεις ὡς τηλίκωδε, Dio Chrys. ii. p. 267 R. ὅρμων < μὲν > καὶ δόλων ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολὺ δὲ ἀπέχουσα τῆς νῦν κακοπεθείας, Thuc. v. 43 ἕλκια \\nμὲν ἐπὶ τότε ὧν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλη πόλει, iv. 84 ἦν δὲ φῶνε ἀδύνατος, ὡς \\nΛακεδαιμόνιον, εἰπεῖν. The meaning then should be that such unabashed avowals, though brim-full of truth, are surely inauspicious, unbecoming a true gentlewoman. If the punctuation is made interrogative, this is exactly what the Herald says.—The Chorus are well aware of Clytaemnestra's hypocrisy; therefore I do not think 618—9 would be said by one of them; but the Herald, who knows nothing, is surprised and unfavourably impressed, thinking that noble ladies do not usually proclaim their fidelity and affection in such terms (cf. Plut. Mor. 768 B ἢ δὲ γενναία γνώ \\nη πρὸς ἄνδρα νόμιμον συγκαθεῖσα δ' ἠρωτος ἀρκτῶν ἄν ὑπομείνειε καὶ \\nδρακόντων περιβολαὶ μᾶλλον ἡ ψαυτοὶ ἄνδρος ἀλλοτρίων καὶ συγκατάκλισιον); \\nthinking perhaps that there is some indecency in her saying 'that I may give my honoured lord the best and soonest welcome—for to a woman's
eyes what hour is dearer than \( \frac{\text{από στρατείας ἀνδρι, σώσαντος θεοῦ, πῦλας ἀνοίξαι}}{v. 608 f.} \) where see n.? ’ Clytaemnestra here of course is merely overacting; but in Sophocles her true behaviour is such that Electra refuses her the character of γενναία γυνή: \( El. 287 \) αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ λόγους γενναία γυνὴ φωνοῦσα τοιαύτα ἐξονειδίζει κακά ὃ δύσθεν μήτημα, σοι μόνην πατήρ τέθηκεν; κτὲ. It is true that Sir R. Jebb renders, ‘this woman, in professions so noble’; but I incline to the other interpretation, ‘this so-called noble lady,’ as in Eur. \( El. 326 \) Aegisthus is to Electra τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὃ κλεινός, ὃ λέγουσιν. \( Or. 17 \) ὃ κλεινός, εἰ δὴ κλεινός, Ἀγαμέμνων.

623. σεσωμένος. [In support of this form Wecklein, \( Curae εφιγρ. \) p. 60 quotes Photius, p. 507, 22 σέσωτα καὶ σεσωμένος οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἱεροῦ...οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι σέσωσαι, and Suid. s.v. σέσωτα, and concludes ‘librarios peccauisse addendo το ex posteriorie dicendi consuetudine.’]

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

641 ff. εὐφημὸν ἠμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλων γλώσση μαίνειν. χωρίς ἡ τιμή θεῶν...(653) τῶς κεδας τοῖς κακοίς συμμελέω; These are all religious phrases. In the \( Ion 1017 \) Creusa has two drugs with different virtues, one wholesome and the other—venom from the Gorgon’s serpents—deadly, and is asked εἰς ἐν δὲ καθαίρετ' αὐτῶν ἡ χωρίς φέρεις; She replies χωρίς: κακώ γὰρ ἐσθλὸν ἀλλὰ συμμελέγεται. See further Paley’s note on \( Ion 246 \), and compare Plat. \( Legg. 800 \) β—Ε, Plut. \( Aem. Paul. \) 35 τὴν ὀμότητα τῆς τύχης, ὃς ὁμιλήσατο πένθος τοσοῦτον εἰς οἰκίαν ζῆλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ θνατῶν γέμουσαν εἰςάγουσα καὶ καταμηνύουσαν θῆμον καὶ δύκρα παιασίν ἐπινικίως καὶ θριάμβοισ. The words χωρίς ἡ τιμή θεῶν are a brief proverbial expression of familiar doctrine—‘that ceremony is apart from the Gods of Heaven’: see Plat. \( Legg. 828 \) c ἓν ὅ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὅσων σὺ θεοῦς οὐφανίως ἐπομονεστέον καὶ τὸ τῶν τούτωσ ἐπομενῶν οὐ ἐξεμεικτέον, ἀλλὰ χωριστέον κτέ., \( Tim. 69 \) δ σεβόμενοι μαίνειν τὸ θεῶν, ὁ τι μὴ πᾶσα ἴνα ἀνάγκη, χωρίς εκεῖνον κατοικίζοντον εἰς ἀλλὴν τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμον τὸ θυτήν, Plut. \( Mon. 361 \) Β θεοὶ καὶ ἀθάναται are often used in discrimination from the χθονίων δαίμονες: Apollodor. i. 33 Wagner, Persephone was compelled to remain the third part of the year μετὰ Πλούτωνος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς: frequently by Aeschylus in the \( Eumenides, 109, 352, 363, 414, \) who have λάχη θεῶν διοχοστατοῦντα 389. But each form of worship is fitting in its proper place, and πρέπει is the word habitually used: the true paean should be sung at banquets, ἀνδρεῖων παρὰ δαιτυμόνεσι πρέπει παῦνα κατάρχειν Allman fr. 22; praise and honour are the fitting tributes (πρέπει) to a
conqueror or benefactor, *sup.* 437, 529, Pind. fr. 121, *O.* ii. 50, iii. 9, *P.* v. 43, *N.* iii. 67 βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρως σὺν Ἀριστοκλείων πρέπει: praise also is the fitting memorial of the dead, only in their case it takes the form of lamentation—πρέπει λέγειν παιῶν τῶν Ἑρωνών.

645 ff. ‘News of the double wound inflicted by the double scourge that Ares uses—one the general public wound felt by the whole country, the other that felt severely by each home in private for the loss of a loved man.’ The notion of a wound suggests a scourge; the notion of a scourge leads Aeschylus to conceive these lost men as driven out from their houses *banned and excommunicate* beneath the curse of War; because polluted men banned by the people’s excommunication were expelled ἀγγλάτων μάστιγι as Lycophron calls it, v. 436, which would seem to have been the original reading in *Cho.* 288 διώκεσθαι πόλεως | ἄγγλατων μάστιγι λυμανθέν δέμας where the MS. has χαλκηλάτων πλάστιγγι. This one may suppose was the reason why Christ used a *scourge* in driving out the money-changers from the Temple (John 2, 15) as defilers and polluters of it. See also *Cho.* 374 ἀλλὰ διπλῆς γὰρ τῇδὲ μαράγγης | δοῦναν ἵκνεται: τῶν μὲν ἁρωγοί | κατὰ γῆς ἡδη: τῶν δὲ κρατουότων | χέρες οὐχ ὅσια, where, as in the present passage, the two lashes are the clauses marked by μὲν and δέ. Both passages have been misinterpreted, but would not have been if critics had remembered that when the items signified by Greek words meaning *two* or *double* are specifically named, it was regular to indicate them by the particles μὲν and δέ, or *τε* and *τε*, or *τε* and *καί*; examples near at hand are v. 337, 826, 872, *Supp.* 1020, Pers. 168, Theb. 769, Eur. *Andr.* 516. Here, instead of preceding as is usual, the word διπλῇ follows the two items, as in Pind. *N.* v. 52, Eur. *Supp.* 332, Soph. *El.* 1078, A. *P.* ix. 40. 5, Ov. *Trist.* iii. 8. 33. δίλογχων ἄτην and φανῖν προφορίδα introduce new metaphors, and δίλογχων no more refers to the μάστιξ than προφορίδα: it is derived from the common practice of carrying a pair of spears.

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

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

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

661. σὺν ζάλη τ’ ὁμβροκτύπως. In descriptions of storms at sea.
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667 f. ήτοι τις εξέκλεψεν ή ἔξιτήσατο, κτέ. ‘We were either spirited away θεών κλοπαίς (Eur. Or. 1.497) or saved by the intercession of some divinity who begged us off,’ ἔξιτήσατο, as Apollo, for example, ἔξιτήσατο Αἴδηρην from the Fates, schol. Eur. Αἰ. 12. παῦροι δὲ φύγον μόρον οὐς ἐσάωσεν ή θέου καὶ δαίμων, says Quintus of this, xiv. 627. Gods often save from shipwreck: Apoll. Rhod. iii. 323 θεῶς δὲ τις ἄμμες ἐσάωσεν, 328 Ζηρός νόσος ἢ τις αἰσθά. iv. 930 Thetis steers the Argo between the Shifting Rocks, ἥ δ’ ὑπεθεὶν πέτρυγος βύγε πηδαλίου. Val. Flacc. ii. 48. Ach. Tat. iii. 5 δαίμων τις ἄγαθος περιέσσεσθαι ήμιν τῆς πρώιμας μέρος. Lucian i. 652 sailors narrate τοὺς Διοσκοῦρους ἐπιμακρο-μένους ἢ τὸν ἄλλον ἐκ μυχανής θεῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ καρχισκοῦ καθεξόμενον ἢ πρὸς τοῦς πηδαλίους ἔστωσα καὶ πρὸς τινα ἡμῖν μαλακῶν ἀπευθύνοντα τὴν ναῦν.

670. ἐν ὄρμοι refers to the danger of a rising swell when the ship is at anchor. Cf. Su.pr. 774 οὐδ’ ἐν ἀγκυρωχίας θαρεώνυμα ναὴν ποιμένες παρατικά, ἄλλος τε καὶ μολόντες ἀλίμονοι χθόνα ἐς νυκτ’, Su.pr. 203 πνειῳ δύορμοι. Such was the position of the Athenians at Pylos: Thuc. iv. 26 τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχονσόν ὄρμον…οἵ δὲ μετέωροι ὄρμοιο…μᾶιον γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τρυίρων ἐλάμβανον, ὅπωτε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἰπ’ ἀπορον γὰρ ἐγίγνετο περιορμένη. The correction ἄρμωι should mean in compagibus—in the seams or frame of the ship. But that would be ἐν ὄρμοι.

676 ff. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνον: he endeavours to suggest grounds for hoping the best. The connexion of thought is as follows:—‘All we know for certain is that Menelaus and the rest have disappeared; but after all, we do not know that they have perished: we conjecture it; but they, no doubt—if there are any among them that survive—are now conjecturing the same of us; and it is possible that our conjecture may be equally mistaken. So we need not quite despair. Let us hope for the best in a bad business. For the truth is you must expect that Menelaus is most probably in great distress; but still, wherever he may be, if only he is alive, there is some hope yet that he may manage to get home again.’—γένοιτο δ’ ὃς ἄρσατα: ‘as well as may be.’—πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλιστα is opposed to εἷς δ’ οὖν (‘if, however’) in the same way as the ordinary phrase μάλιστα μέν may be followed by ἐπείται (e.g. Heliod. i. 15 μάλιστα μέν εἰκὼς σχολάσεσθαι τὸν ἔρωτα: εἷς δ’ ἐναπομείνειν,…), πρῶτον being neuter and adverbial: Plut. Mor. 574 E μάλιστα μέν καὶ πρῶτον,…δεύτερον δὲ.… Isaeus ii. 20 μάλιστα μέν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρμῆς ἐπείταις, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ.… So Iamb. ii. 416. Diog. Laert. ix. 66 διαγωνίζεσθαι δ’ ὃς οἶνον τε πρῶτον μέν τοῖς ἑργοῖς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἶ δὲ μή, τῶι λόγωι. ‘Though your
first and chiefest expectation—the great probability—must that he is in sore straits, still there is some hope.' Aristid. i. 810 μάλιστα μὲν δὴ καὶ πρῶτον..., ἐτὶ δὲ. Hdt. ii. 59 μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότασα..., δεύτερα.... πρῶτον might also be masculine, although that is less likely here: Ath. 524 δ. μάλιστα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον. Plat. Amat. 136 δ. μὴ μοι, εἶπον ἐγώ, ἀμφισέρους λέγε, ἀλλ' ὁπὸτερον μάλλον τε καὶ πρῶτερον. οὔδεις ἂν, ἐφι, τοῦτο γ' ἀμφισηθήσετειν, ὡς οὐχί τὸν ιατρὸν καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτερον. Dio Chrys. i. 180 πρῶτω καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶι.—οὖν merely adds emphasis to the other particles it is combined with: O. T. 834 ἡμῖν μὲν, διναξ, ταῦτ' ὁκνηρ'. ἔως δ' ἂν οὖν πρὸς τὸν παρόντος ἐκμάθησι, ἐξ' ἐλπίδα, 'but still have hope.' δ' οὖν is a more emphatic δέ. εἰ δ' οὖν is the same as εἰ δέ, but a little stronger. It introduces the alternative, to which πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλιστα is opposed.—μυγείν: see cr. n. Tzetz. Anthelom. 140 κείνοι γὰρ τε μέγα πέλαγος Τύρων περόντες | ἀστυ Τρώων ἴδων, ὅλων λυκάβαντα μογείντες.

696. Ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὕραι: the reason for this epithet is to suggest that Zephyrus, the Spring-wind, lent his influence as the wind of Love; because according to one legend the father of 'Eros was Ζεφύρος γίγας: Lydus de mens. p. 117, de ostent. p. 282 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Τύχη εὔφοροι (νύχοντο) Σωφροσύνη τε καὶ 'Ερωτι, ὅν οἱ μυθικοὶ Ζεφύρου τοῦ γίγαντος εἶναι παίδα ἄξιονσιν, ὡς φορεῖν Εὐρυτος ὁ Δακεδαμίνος ὁ μελπομενός· ἀρ-χεται δὲ οὕτως: ἀγλαομενεῖς 'Ερως.' See Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. iii. p. 639. [Alcaeus fr. 13 calls Eros δεινότατον θεόν <τὸν> γάνατ' εἰπέδιλλος Ἰρις χρυσοκόμαι Ζεφύρῳ μυγείσα.]

697. πολέανδροι: she is always πολυάνωρ γυνῆ (v. 62), but the swarms of men in hot quest now are in a different temper. 702 ff. κῆδος ὀρθώνυμον τελεσσίφρων μήνις ἤνευε (that is, ἐτέλεσεν, ἐτελείωσεν, ἐξεπράξεν): 'thought-executing Wrath brought the κῆδος to fulfilment in the true meaning of the term,' as Antig. 1178 ὁ μάντι, τοῦτος ὡς ἄρ' ὄρθον ἤνευε. Cf. O. C. 454 παλαίφαθ' ἀμοὶ Φοῖβος ἤνευν ποτε, O. T. 166 ἤνευσ' ἐκτοπιάν φλόγα, Hom. τ. 567 ο' ἰ' ἐγ' ἐγν' κραίνουσιν, Theb. 870 ἀληθῆ...ἐπέκρανεν. This transformation is the subject of the following passage to v. 717, which describes how the Doom of Ζεις ζένιος was at last effected, how Helen παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανεν γάμου πικρᾶς τελευτᾶς, and how joy was changed to sorrow. κῆδος means both 'relationship by marriage' and 'mourning' (the due office of relations); and there is no single word in English that will cover the two senses. Cf. Eur. Andr. 103 Ἰλιών αἰτεουόν Πάρις οὔ γάμον ἀλλὰ τιν' ἀταν ἄγαγετ' ἐναίαν ἐς θαλάμους 'Ελέναι. The MS. reading κῆδος ἤλασε would mean 'drove away,' 'dispelled,' as in Orph. hymn. 73. 7 πολύστονα κῆδε' ἐλάσσα. In Eur. Herac. 788 Reiske substituted δίηνυσεν for διήλασεν.
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707 f. τὸ νυμφότημον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίόντας: Troy, in the person of the bridegroom’s kinsmen (γαμβροί), to whom fell the singing of the wedding-chorus, honoured (that is, celebrated, as εὔπορον παῖάνα φίλος ἐτύμα in v. 258) the Hymenaeus sung in honour of the guilty bride and bridegroom, slighting and dishonouring thereby the Stranger’s Table. But if it was all joy and merry-making then, it is all sorrow now and lamentation; ὑμέναις has been changed to θρήνοι.—That being an εὐφήμος ὄμοιος changed to a δυσφήμος, it is very likely that ἐκφάτως is a mistake for ἐυφάτως meaning εὐφήμος, as δυσφάτων κλαγγαί in v. 1150 means δυσφήμων. If ἐκφάτως is sound, it means, it means ‘outspokenly,’ in loud and bold avowal. The sentence is turned artificially in order to make all these antithetical points in a brief compass with the telling words in telling places. The change of the ὑμέναις to the θρήνοι was a commonplace: Eur. Alc. 922 νῦν δ’ ὑμεναιών γόος ἀντίπαλος, Soph. O. T. 420 ff. βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς...οταν καταστύθη τὸν ὑμέναις, οὐν δόμοις ἅψορρον εἰσέπλευσας, εὐπλοίας τυχών.

712. γεραῖα, i.e. all too late: ins. 1425 γνώσις διδάσχεις ὅψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονείν. It must be joined with μεταμαθάνουσα (cf. δυσμαθής).

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

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

724 ff. πολέα δ’ ἐσχ’ ἐν ἀγκάλαις...φαλαρωτὸς πολὺ χεῖρα σαίνων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις (see cr. n.) could only mean, as Dr Verrall takes it, the young lion ‘got many a thing, when embraced it wooed the hand with radiant visage under stress of appetite’; but as ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχειν
was the regular phrase for holding a child or a pet-creature in one's arms, I incline to read with Auratus what I have translated, φαίδρωπόν ποτε χείρα σαίνοντα γαστρός ἀνάγκαις. Which we take of these two readings matters little, but if we read σαίνοντα we must also read φαίδρωπον—whether masculine or neuter used adverbially with σαίνοντα—because both these words belong to the description of the lion-cub. The point is that he, or Helen whom he typifies, began by fawning with a smile like treacherous Ἄτε, who σαίνει φιλόφρον or φαίδρονος as I shall show on v. 1226. This is clear when we compare the corresponding final lines of the antistrophe, ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις 'Ατας δόμους προσεθρέφθη.

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

731. μηλοφόνουσιν ἄτας. As a point is elsewhere reinforced by the insistent repetition of a word, by πολύθρηνον for example in vv. 713, 715, and by ἄτας following ἄτας in v. 736, so, when the comparison is expounded, the conclusion is that Helen proved a νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς (748). 'This recalls the language of Soph. fr. 519 ἣ δ' ἄρ' ἐν σκότω λήθουσα μὲ ἑσταύ' Ἐρινύς. For the words cf. Pers. 655 οὕτε γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλλυν πολεμοθάρωσιν ἄτας.

737. προσεθρέφθη: see cr. n. In Eur. Hec. 600 for θρεπθήναι L. has τραφήναι: and in MSS. generally the heavier first aorist forms tend to be wrongly ousted by the weaker second aorists (On editing Aeschylus, p. 104 ff.).—ἐκ θεοῦ = θεόθεν, 'by the will of the gods' (Thèb. 311 ὑπ' ἄνδρος 'Αχαιῶν θεόθεν περιθομέναι). So Thèb. 23 καλῶς τὰ πλεῖω πόλεμος ἐκ θεοῦ κυρεί, and see the examples quoted in On editing Aeschylus, p. 107.

739. φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας: the idea this would suggest is smiling and seductive Calm, who tempts men to embark, but in seeming innocence treacherously lures them to disaster,—just as Ἁτη does, whose wrath is elsewhere likened to a storm (v. 810). A. P. vii. 668 οὔδ' εἰ μοι γελόσια καταστρέφει γαλάνη κύματα,...νησβάτην μ' ὀφεσθε. Lucian iii. 197 ὅτι μὲν γάρ καὶ η ὀλίσσα καμιῶν προκαλέσσατι καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπισυνάσσαται ἐν γαλάνην φανείσα, ὅστε, κἂν μὴ εἰπώ· ὅτε εἰ καὶ παυτάτασιν ὑπειρώτης καὶ ἄπειρόπλους τίς εἰς, πάντως ἄν ἐθελήσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἑρβήναι καὶ περιπλέειναι καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποστάσα. Lucret. ii. 556: wrecks are a warning to mankind
and again, v. 1004

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

Meleager, A. P. v. 156:

ά φίλερως χαροπόις Ἀσκληπιάς οίδα Γαληνής
όμμασι συμπείθει πάντας ἐρωτοπλοῦτι.

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

Simonides quoted by Plut. Mor. 798 d (where I adopt Hermann's παρεπείσαν for the MS. παρῆσαν):

λενκάς καθ' ὑπείρθε γαλάνας
εὐπρόσωποι σφας παρέπεισαν ἐρωτε ναις
κλαδὸς χαραξιπόντου δαιμονίαν ἐν ὑβρίν,

the result of which is διέθρος or ἀτη.

γαληνή calm and γέλως smile are in fact the same in origin, γαληνής and γέλως merely different forms of the same word: γελανώσας θυμοῖ Bacchyl. v. 80, διαγαληνίσας πρόσωπον Ar. Eg. 646, γαληνοῦ μειδιάματος Themist. 282 λ, μειδία τῆς θαλάσσης γαληνώσης χαριστέρων Alciphr. iii. 1. Aristotle, Physiogn. p. 811 b 37 οἱ κύνες ἐπειδὰν θωπεύωσι, γαληνὲς το πρόσωπον ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἦ τε συνεφής ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐμφαίνει ἦ τε γαληνὴ κολακείαν, ἦ μέσῃ ἄν τούτων ἐξις εὐρυμόστως ἔχοι. Philostratus, Imag. ii. 1 says of the ἐμνήστριαι singing before Aphrodite that their gestures prove that they have risen from the sea, τὸ μειδίαμα δ' αὐτῶν γαληνής ἐστὶν αἰγύμνα.

740. ἄκασκαίον δ' ἀγαλμα πλούτου, 'a jewel in the crown of Wealth.' In P. V. 482 he applies the phrase to horses, bred by the wealthy for the race-course, ἵππους, ἀγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλοῦτου χλώδης, 'the lustre of luxurious affluence'; and Meredith in Beauchamp's Career c. 15, doubtless with both these passages in mind, very happily makes a double application of it: 'As the yacht, so the mistress: things of wealth, owing their graces to wealth, devoting them to wealth—splendid achievements of art both!...Did Beauchamp at all desire to have those idly lovely adornments of riches, the Yacht and the Lady, swept away?' Thucyd. vi. 41 speaks of ἵππους καὶ ὑπελαυνόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἶς ὁ πόλεμος ἄγαλλεται, 'all the pride and pomp of war,' and in Philostr. Heroic. p. 791 Ajax, for his strength and beauty, is called ἀγαλμα πολέμου. In Thuc. ii. 44 Pericles asks the Athenians to regard their houses and their lands as κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλωπισμα πλούτου, the mere pleasure

This passage affords a remarkable instance of a common formula of description, in which the details are accumulated without any connecting particles. The mannerism has been imitated by Milton, Paradise Regained ii. 156 More like to goddesses | Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet | Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues | Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild | And sweet allayed, yet terrible to approach | Skilled to retire, and in retiring draw | Hearts after them, tangled in amorous nets. So Ach. Tat. i. 3 ἐφίσταται δὲ μου γυνὴ φοβερὰ καὶ μεγάλη, τὸ πρόσωπον ἀγρίᾳ, ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν αἵματι, βλαυραὶ παρεῖαι, ὅφεις αἱ κάμαι· ἄρπην ἐκράτει τῇ δεξιᾷ, διὰδα τῇ λαιᾷ. i. 4 τοιαύτην εἴδον ἐγὼ ποτ’ ἔπι ταῦρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνην· ὀμμα γοργὸν ἐν ήρόνῃ· κόμη ξαθῆ, τὸ ξανθὸν ώσιν· ὄφρος μέλαια, τὸ μέλαν ἄκρατον· λευκὴ παρεῖαι· τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφανίσσω τε καὶ ἐμμείτο πορφυρὰν, οἷαν εἰς τὸν ἐλέφαντα Λυδία βάπτετε γυνῆ· τὸ στόμα ρόδων ἄθως ἦν, ὅταν ἄρχηται τὸ ρόδον ἀνοίγει τῶν φύλλων τὰ χείλη. ὡς δ’ εἴδον, εὐθὺς ἀπολόλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὃδέτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρέει· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὀδὸς ἐρωτικῶι τραύματι. viii. 12 παρθένος ἦν ἐυειδής, ὄνομα 'Ροδώτης, κυνηγῶν ἐρώτα καὶ θήρας· πάδες ταχεῖς, εὐστόχιοι χεῖρες, ζωὴν καὶ μίτρα καὶ ἀνεξομφανεῖς εἰς γόνον χιτῶν, καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρας κοιμᾶ τριχῶν. Antiphanes 'Αρτ. Ἰτ. 33 (i. 23 K.) Α. ὁ ταῖν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ’ ἐστιν οὕτως; Ο. γέρων; B. ἀπ’ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως 'Ελληνικός· λευκὴ χλανῆς, φαινός χιτωνίσκος καλός, πιλιδὼν ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμὸς βακτηρία, βεβαια τράπεζα—τί μακρὰ δὲι λέγειν; δόλος | αὐτὴν ὄραν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν δοκο. Ter. Phorm. 104 uidemus: urgo pulchra: et quo magis diceres, | nil aderat adiumenti ad pulchritudinem: | capillus passus, nudus pes, ipsa horrida, lacrumae, uestitus lurpis. Aesch. Theb. 611 ἔφοντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα θ’ ἠβοσάν φιέε, ποδικεῖς ὀμμα, χείρα δ’ οὐ βραδύνεται. Eus. Supp. 867 φίλοις τ’ ἀληθῆ ἦν φίλος παρούσι τε καὶ μὴ παρούσαι· ὅν ἀρμόδιος οὐ πολίς; | φαινότες ἥθος, εὐπροσήγουρον στόμα, | ἄκρουτον οὐδέν οὔτ’ ἐσι οἰκέτας ἔχων | οὔτ’ ἐσι πολίτας. ib. 904 οὐκ ἐν λόγοις ἦν λαμπρός ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀστιδί | δεινὸς σοφοτῆς πολλ’ τ’ ἐξευνὸν σοφά | γινόμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Μελεάγρων λελειμένος | ἵσοι παρέχεις ὄνομα διὰ τέχνης δορός, | εἰρὼν ἀκριβῆ μουσικήν ἐν ἀστιδί | φιλότημον ἤθος πλούσιον, φρόνημα δὲ | ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς, οἰχ’ τοῖς λόγοις ἔχων. Verg. Aen. xi. 338 largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello | dextera, consiliiis habitus non futilis auctor, | seditione potens. So in Aesch.
Supp. 577. ἐστορώντες δυσχερές μειζόμενον, τὰ μὲν βοῶς, τὰ δὲ αὖ γυναικὸς, he might have said τὰ μὲν βοῶν, τὰ δὲ γυναῖκα or τὰ μὲν βοῶς ἔχουσαν, τὰ δὲ γυναικός, but it was as easy and more elegant to introduce τὰ μὲν βοῶς without construction. The earliest example is Semonid. Amorg. 7. 71 τὴν δ’ ἐκ πιθήκου· τοῦτο δὴ διακριθὼν | Ζεὺς ἀνθράσιν μέγιστον ὅπασον κακόν. | αἰσχυστὰ μὲν πρόσωπα· τοιαύτη γυνή | εἶσαι δὲ ἀστεοὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γέλως. | ἐπ’ αὐχένα βραχεία, κενεῖται μόγις, | ἄπνυγος, αὐτόκολος. In this passage the word κενεῖται enables me to see that the Physiognomic writers were the source from which this manner of description was derived.

748. ἐμφάκλαυτος Ἐρμῖνος. So in describing Hecuba’s dream of the birth of Paris, Pind. fr. Paean. viii. 30 (Ox. Pap. v. p. 65) ἔδοξε δὲ τεκεῖν πυρρόφων Ἐρμῖνον. According to Stasinus, the author of the Cypria, Helen was the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis: Athen. viii. 334 c, d, Eratosth. Catast. 25.

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

761. ἐν κακοῖς. There are two forms of the proverb. Solon fr. 7 has τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὑβριν, ὅταν πολῖς ὄλβος ἔπηται ἄνθρωπωσιν ὡσοι μὴ νόσος ἀρτίος ἦ, but in Theogn. 153 the lines are altered to τίκτει τοι κόρος ὑβριν, ὅταν κακὼ ὄλβος ἔπηται ἄνθρωπως, καὶ ὅτωι μὴ νόσος ἀρτίος ἦ.

762. The correction βαβύκοσον (see cr. n.) implies the common confusion of φ and β (cf. 436, 770) and of σ and θ. Somewhat similar is Bentley’s τηλίσκοσον for τῆθε σκοπῶν in Soph. fr. 314.

771 f. δύναμιν οὐ σέβονα πλούτου παράσημον αἰνώ. The best illustration is Plat. Legg. 870 a—c. The coining of money often marked the first assumption of absolute power.—When Bacchylides ix. 49 says ὀδα καὶ πλούτου μεγάλων δύνασιν ἀ καὶ τὸν ἄχρειον τίθης χρηστῶν—τι μακρών γλώσσαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω ἐκτὸς ὀδόν; I suppose that a passage on the
power of wealth must have followed in the poem of Solon (fr. 13) part of which (v. 33 sqq.) he has been paraphrasing for his young Athenian. The examples of παντοιον ερωτε became a commonplace; see Hor. C. i. 3 sqq. with Orelli-Hirschfelder’s note on v. 18.

774 ff. In this address to Agamemnon the Chorus have two objects: first, as representatives of the people, to assure him of a favourable reception; secondly, to warn him of Clytaemnestra’s insincerity and unfaithful stewardship. The latter object they attain by using phrases which appear to point at her obliquely: 784 ἐνυχαίρωσιν ὁμοίοπροσείς, 788 δοκοῦντ' εὔφρονος ἐκ διαιοίας, 796 οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρεινός οὐδ' ἀσφίλως and 799 τὸν ἀκαίρως οἰκουροῦτα. Agamemnon, when he refers to their welcome (v. 821 ff.) replies in the same manner (v. 831), showing that he fully understands them.

777. Cf. Eur. I. A. 977 πῶς αὖν σ' ἐπαινέσαιμι μῆ λίων λόγους, μηδ' ἐνδεῖς τοῦθ’ ἀπολέσαιμι τὴν χάριν;—καιρὸν χάριτος = ‘the due measure of thy content.’

779. τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, or τὸ δοκεῖν εὖνοι as read by Weil. The latter phrase is used by Lucian iii. 274 where he is reminding Samippus, who had wished to be a king, what the drawbacks of the position would have been: ἐπιβουλαί μυρία καὶ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν συνώτων καὶ μῦτος καὶ κολακεία, φιλος ἐς οὐδείς ἀληθής, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δέος ἀπαντες ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα εὖνοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι.

780. δῆγμα...λυπης, pang of grief, resembles 742 δηξίθυμον ἐρωτος ἄνθος, 1472 καρδιοδηκτον, Soph. fr. 757 ἐρωτος δήγμα. The metaphorical use of δάκνω, as applied to pain, grief, annoyance and the like, is very common: see the examples collected in On editing Aeschylus, p. 102. δάκνω, δήγμα are merely equivalent to λυπῶ, λυπη, the words regularly given as their synonyms in lexicons and scholia. δήγμα λυπης is a periphrasis for λυπη just as δήγμα ἐρωτος (quoted above) is a periphrasis for ἐρως. The same MS. error (see cr. n.) is found in Lucian i. 24 οὕτε κίνησις ὁμοία πρόσεται οὕτε ψυχῆς δείγμα τι, ἀλλὰ τέρψις ἀλλος καὶ πακώδα τὸ πράγμα, where Cobet (V. L. p. 142) shows that δήγμα is to be read.

784 ff. Two things indicate that at least a line—probably a paroemiac—is missing, the metrical hiatus between βαλξόμενοι and ὅστε, and the sense; for ἐνυχαίρωσιν, if taken as a verb ‘they sympathise in gladness,’ is not true; they only feign to sympathise; it is the dative, ‘in the guise of sympathisers,’ Lucian i. 838 προστόμε τον ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ βαλμάξοναι ἐώκεσαν (see for the idiom Cobet, N. L., p. 341), and the verb followed in the missing line. The purport almost certainly was ‘they smile a forced smile only with the lips; but their eyes betray them’: Heliod. ii. 19 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐμεδίασεν ὀλίγου καὶ
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νέας γυναικὸς οὐ μὲ μη λάθη φλέγων
ὀφθαλμῶς ἄτρος ἤ ἐγευμένη
ἐχον δὲ τούτων θυμών ἰππογνώμων...

which, as I learn from Burton, is the regular metaphor in Arabic; *firāsah*, their word for physiognomy, means properly ‘skill in judging the points of a mare (*faras*),’ an eye for horseflesh: and the metaphor in Greek was derived, I suppose, from a common Oriental source. In that science, as I have shown in the note on v. 283, it was the *eye* that told the truth.—όδαρει, ‘watery,’ is the opposite of ἀκράτως, ‘neat’ or ‘undiluted’ as applied to wine and metaphorically ‘absolute,’ ‘unmitigated.’ Ar. Pol. ii. 4, p. 1262 b 614 ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον ἦδαρη γένοσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν τοιαύτην (i.e. of women and children), καὶ ἦκιστα λέγει τὸν ἐμόν ἦ νίκον πατέρα ἥ πατέρα νίκον. For the description of the false friend cf. Max. Tyr. vii. 7 τὸ δὲ ἐδώλων αὐτοῦ πρόχειρον καὶ παντοδαπόν, κολάκων ἅμοι καὶ θίκωσι, σεσπερότων καὶ σαινόντων, καὶ ἐπ’ ἄκρα τῇ γλώττῃ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐχόντων· οὐχ ὑπ’ εὐνοίας ἀγωγέων κτὲ.

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

794 f. θάρσος ἐκούστων ἀνδράσι θυμισκοσι κομίζων, ‘in seeking to recover a consenting wanton by means of the lives of men.’ *κομίζειν* is used of the quest for Helen by Pind. O. xiii. 59 τοι μὲν γένει φίλων σὺν Ἀτρέως Ἑλέναν κομίζοντες, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ πάμπαν εἰργοτες, and N. vii. 28 ἐκαθὼν Μενέλαι δύμαρτα κομίσαι καὶ in the *Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. i., p. 3 (fr. 1, 1) ὃ φανείς χάρμα μοι φίλον ὥστε μ’ ἡγάσας ὡστε δόρατι πολεμωτὶ τῶν Φρυγῶν πόλιν ἐπορθεῖς μόνα τάμα κομίσαι θέλων λέχεια πάλιν εἰς πάτραν.—θάρσος ἐκούστων is, as Dr Verrall takes it, a description of Helen herself, rather than ‘the willing wantonness of Helen,’ as
Weil explained it: θράσος is used in a personal sense in Theb. 172 κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ (γυνῆ) οὔχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος (ἐστί), Eur. Andr. 261 ὁ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος, and many other neuter words like στύγος, μίσος, ἐλέγχος, οὐνεῖδος, μάσμα, ἀλήμα, παπτάλμα, παροφώνημα (v. 1448) were used to describe persons not only in addressing them but in speaking of them (Class. Rev. xiv. p. 117).

This view of Helen’s conduct would be familiar to a Greek audience so that they would not experience the least difficulty in understanding what was meant, especially after the introduction of Helen’s name in v. 791. Stesichorus (before his Recantation) had declared that ‘Ἐλένη ἐκοῦσα ἀπῆρε (Bergk, p. 215); and her conduct was a ground of discontentment both at home and in the camp. It was bad enough that men’s blood should be shed for a woman’s sake at all (sup. 62, cf. Supp. 486), especially when that woman was another’s wife (sup. 455, Achilles in Hom. A 154, I 327, 339); but for a woman who went off with her lover of her own accord (see also Eur. Andr. 592 ff.), this was indeed a thing intolerable. Herodotus i. 4 presents the Asiatic view of this very matter; when women were carried off, it was folly to make exertions for revenge, δὴ λα γὰρ δὴ ὡς, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλοῦντο, οὐκ ἄν ἡρπάξων.

796 f. If ἀφίλως is sound, a supplement such as ἐστιν ἐπατεῖν seems to be required. A short line was often written at the side and afterwards omitted. ἐπιλέγειν is to pronounce a judgment, censure, eulogy or epitaph: Plut. Mor. 704 εἰ ταύτας μόναις τὸ ‘καλὸν’ ἐπιλέγεσθαι. Arist. 1323 b 11 εἰ δὲι καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ ‘καλὸν’ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ‘χρήσιμον’. Philem. 128 καλὸν τὸ θυμίσκειν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τούτωι λέγειν. Theb. 906 πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ’ ἄλλους ὡς... sup. 379.—ἐφρον means pleasant, agreeable, welcome, = σαΐνει, προογελάζει, arriedet: as in 1577, Supp. 19, 383, 543, 983, Pind. O. ii. 49, N. vii. 67. For the sentiment see Cope on Ar. Rhet. i. 11. 8.

800. οἰκουροῦντα. If nothing else had told Agamemnon that the Chorus are alluding to Clytaemnestra, this word could not fail to tell him. οἰκουρεῖν, to keep house, was the duty of the faithful housewife. Eur. Hec. 1177 κτενεῖς νῦν ἡ τοῦ ἄλοχος, οἰκουρός πικρά. Or. 928 εἰ τάνδον οἰκουρήμαθ’ οἱ λελεμμένοι φθείρονσιν, ἀνδρῶν ἐνίδος λοβόμενοι. Lycothr. 1107 λατρεῖν λειψίς εἰσεδοῦν’ οἰκουρίαν. Liban. iv. 115: Agamemnon on departing for the Trojan expedition is supposed to have charged his wife in these terms:—ὅ μὲν πλούς, ὦ γύναι, μακρός, αἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐλπίδες ἀδηλοῦ: δεὶ γὰρ, ἥν δὲν, πάντα παθέναι ὅπως σωφρονῶσιν ἡμῖν αἱ γυναικεῖς. ταυτὶ σοὶ παρακατατημέναι τὰ παιδία. οἰκουρεῖ, καὶ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκίας ἐσο πιστή καὶ μείνοι ἀτύντι πάλιν γυνῆ καὶ τοῖς πιατὶ μήτηρ, καὶ πατήρ ἄντ’ ἐμοῦ. ἄσως ἐπανῆξε καὶ ἐπανε-σομαί σε τῆς οἰκουρίας.
NOTES

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


807 f. τῷ δὲ ἐναντίω κύτε έλπίς προσήμει χερός οὐ πληρομένων. The other urn saw Hope of the hand which was to drop a vote in it continually coming nigh, but never saw it quite arrive: for when a hope arrived, it was a hope realised: Eur. Or. 859 οἱμοί: προσήλθεν ἑλπίς ἦν φοβουμένη...Herc. Fur. 771 δοκήματων ἐκτὸς ἠλθεν ἑλπίς. Hopes far from realisation were called μακραί ἑλπίδες, distant hopes; when realised, or nearly, they were ἑλπίδες παρούσαι: Cho. 694 νῦν δ᾽ ἦπερ ἦν δόμωσι βακχείαι κακής ιατρὸς ἑλπίς, ἦν παροῦσαν ἐγγράφειν.

809. κατνώ θ' ἀλοῦσα κτ.: ‘the capture of the city now remains still manifest by the smoke.’ Dio Chrys. i. p. 72 R. καὶ νῦν ἐτι τοῦτο δραί, Menander fr. 113 (iii. 34 K.) καὶ νῦν ἐτι ἀπούητα πάμπολλ' ἐστὶν ἦμων.

810. See cr. n. If Hermann’s reading is taken, Troy with all her insolent wealth—is conceived as a burnt sacrifice to "Ἀτη (inf. 1434, Thelb. 938 ἐστακε δ' Ἀτας τροπαίων ἐν πύλαις). Helen, who fired Troy (Achill. Tat. i. 8 τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἐλέγχος τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνήψε κατὰ τῆς Τροιᾶς ἄλλο πῦρ), has been already likened to a sacrificial minister of "Ἀτη in v. 736. ἰῆρ, which appears in ἐστραφεῖν, is a proper word of fire in Greek as uiucere and uiuus are in Latin: Eur. Bacch. 8, Ar. Lys. 306, ἀνθρακι ζωντι Arat. 1041. ‘The wind fans the flame into life, which is contrasted with the dying ash: Quint. iii. 712 ff. Cf. Hom. μ 68 πυρὸς τ' ἀλούσοι θὺκλαῖαι.

812. πολύμνηστον χάριν. Max. Tyr. xxx. 4 speaks of Pausanias and Lysander sacrificing or dedicating a tithe of their spoils.

826. Tzetzes on Lycophr. 354 pointed out that πεπαμενος should be written with a single μ. τῷ πεπαμένῳ is the Aeschylean substitute where poetry would generally give τῷ κεκτημένῳ, proce τοί ἔχοντε.

829 ff. By the vague δοκούντας, ‘certain ones in appearance,’ he conveys to them that he is quite aware of Clytaemnestra’s insincerity; and then, as though he were thinking only of the Greeks at Troy, continues with μόνος δ’ ὘δυσεύς, just as they had continued with σὺ δέ μοι in v. 790.—ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον here means the mirror which ὀμιλία, con- suetudo, converse or conversation, association, companionship, familiarity, holds up, the glass in which the associate’s true character is shown: κατοπτρῳ μὲν ἐρμανιζεται τύπος τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ σώματος, ὀμιλίαις δὲ καὶ λόγοι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄφος χαρακτηρίζεται Stobaeus, Flor. iv. p. 430, Gaisford. ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἑσόπτροις ὑ τῆς ὀφεως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις ὑ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρακτηρ βλέπεται is the form in Antonius and Maximus. Eur.
NOTES

El. 383 οὐ μὴ ἀφρονήσεθ', οἱ κενῶν δοξασμάτων | πλήρεις πλανᾶσθε, τῆς δ' ὀμιλίας βροτοῖς | κρίνειτε καὶ τοὺς ἄθεσιν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς; Ἀινάρ. 683 ἡ δ' ὀμιλία | πάντων βροτοῖς γίγνεται διδάσκαλος. Aesch. Supp. 1004 ἀγνωθ' ὦμιλον ὃς ἐλέγχεσθαι χρόνωι. In Plut. Mor. 53 a the flatterer is compared to a mirror, which only reflects foreign images: -δίκην κατόπτρον, παθὼν θυνεώς καὶ βύων καὶ κινημάτων εἰκόνας ἀναδεχόμενον. But that is a different comparison. It is certain that ὀμιλία does not mean friendship (φίλια), nor is κατόπτρον ever used of a mere reflexion (σκιά or εἴδωλον). See fr. 393 κατόπτρον εἴδους χαλκὸς ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ, Eur. Hipp. 428 κακοὺς δὲ θυντῶν ἐξέφην', ὅταν τύχῃ, προθεῖς κατόπτρον ὦστε παρθένωι νέαι χρόνοι.

835. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς θεοὺς. This use of τὰ πρόσ, 'with regard to,' is not of the commonest and occurs chiefly with θεοὺς and πόλων: Soph. Phil. 1441 εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς, O. C. 617 τὰ πρὸς σέ, Trach. 879 σχελήσω τὰ πρόσ γε πρᾶξεν (Hermann), Eur. Or. 427 τὰ πρὸσ πόλων δὲ πῶς ἔχεις; 1664 τὰ πρὸς πόλων δὲ τῶι ἐγὼ θησὶ καλῶς, Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 11, Dem. 3. 26, Aeschin. 3. 120. In later prose the idiom is employed freely.

841. See cr. n. and for the form of expression cf. Soph. Phil. 765 τὸ πῆμα τούτῳ τῆς νόσου τὸ νῦν παρόν, Ai. 363 τὸ πῆμα τῆς ἀτής, Apoll. Rhod. iv. 4 ἀτης πῆμα δυστέμερον.

845. νίκη δ'.... But in his contest presently with Clytaemnestra (v. 933) he quickly yields the victory to her, and before long her triumph is complete.

855 f. Ford, The Broken Heart v. 3

When one news straight came huddling on another
Of death! and death! and death!

In κακοὶ κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα she means him to understand disasters happening to him, his wounds or death; she herself has in mind ἀραία κακά (v. 1396) inflicted by Agamemnon on his wife at home, the slaughter of her child (τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων v. 358) and his unfaithfulness (v. 1440).

859. τέτρηται, which H. L. Ahrens gave for the MS. τέτρωσατι, is the right verb; a net is not full of wounds, but of holes: δικτύων πολυτρήτου Babr. iv. 4.

860. εἰ δ' ἵν τεθνηκώς.... A shade of intonation in the Greek as in the English would make a wish of this, 'If only he had been killed!' and I fancy this is the suggestion, that he deserved to die three times over, ἄξιος τρὶς τεθνών in the common phrase: Eur. Or. 1512 ΟΡ. ἐνδίκως ὅ τινιάρειος ἄρα παῖς διώκετο; | ΦΡ. ἐνδικώτατ', εἰ γε λαμοὺς εἶχε πεπτυχούς θανεῖν like some three-headed monster.

The 'coverlet' of earth or stones was a familiar metaphor from
Homer downwards: Ι 57 η τε κεν ηδη λαίνον ἐσσο χετώνα κακων ἕνεξ' ὦσσα ἔφρυμα. See the passages collected by Blomfield.

868. ἐκ τῶντι τοι. The real reason of course was that she might carry on her intrigue with Aegisthus undisturbed; that was the 'price' for which she 'sold' Orestes, Cho. 132 πεπραμένοι γὰρ νῦν ἐς τως ἀλώμεθα πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης, ἀνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο Αἴγισθον, ib. 914.

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

ἄμφιλεκτα πήματα. Two things might happen: Agamemnon first might fall at Troy; and then the people might revolt and frame a plot to murder the young heir, and so destroy the dynasty entirely. Lucian's Tyrannicide ii. 151, who has killed the tyrant's son, argues that τὸ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον οὐ φνυγ', οἴδε δευτέρα ἐπιαναστάσεως ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ παντελῆς καθαίρεσις, καὶ πανολθερία παντὸς τοῦ γένους, καὶ ριζόθεν τὸ δεινὸν ἄπαν ἐκκεκομημένον.—For βουλὴν καταρράψεις cf. Alexis ii. 329 κ. (Athen. 568 a) ράπτουσι δὲ | πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλάς. Λελ. Ν. Α. vii. 10 ἐπιβουλαῖς ράπτοτες (v.1. ρίπτοτες), Ευμ. 26 καταρράψας μόρον, inf. 1604 φόνου ᾠῳδεῖς. Similarly ράπτειν is combined with κακά, φόνον, θάνατον: add the compounds δολορράφος, μηχανορράφος, δικορράφος. Βουλὴν καταρράψειν could not mean 'hazard a plot,' because Greek said ἄναρρίπτειν, or ἀναβάλλειν, κύβον βάλον or κύνδυνον, never καταρρίπτειν. If, on the other hand, the meaning were 'overthrow the Council,' we should at least have had τὴν βουλὴν, but Tragedy never uses this technical Athenian term to describe a body of councillors in the heroic age. Observe moreover that she is speaking of a danger to Orestes' life.

880 ff. I take it that Clytaemnestra here is feigning just what Imogen says honestly in Cymbeline iii. 4. 38

False to his bed! What is it to be false?
To lie in watch there, and to think on him?
To weep 'twixt clock and clock? if sleep charge nature,
To break it with a fearful dream of him,
And cry myself awake?

Night after night, she means, the lamp has been burning in her chamber and she waiting to receive him there, and weeping because he, like a faithless lover, never heeded it: Anth. Pal. v. 190. 3

άρα γε τὴν φιλάσωτον ἐτ' ἐν κοίταισιν ᾧρήσω
ἀγρυπνον, λύχνῳ πόλλα' ἀποδαμένην ἕν
(ἀποδυνομένην Jacobs, ἀποκλαμομένην Huschke)

H. A.
Ah, shall I find the unthrift still awake
And sorrowing to her lamp for my dear sake?

ib. 279, 263, 150. Plut. Mor. 759 f Λαύς τίς Ἑ Γναθάνιον ἑφέστησεν δαίωνα λαμπτήρων σέλας έκδεκμένη. But in truth the lamp has been alight in expectation of Aegisthus, or in Aegisthus' company, for the lamp was always witness, Heliod. i. 12, Anth. Pal. v. 4, 5, 7, 8, 128, 165, 166—in Lucian i. 648 it is cited as a witness, and in amatory language plays a part as a sentimental symbol: lovers, says Plut. Mor. 513 f, καν μη πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, πρὸς ἄρρωχα περί αὐτῶν διαλέγονται, ὁ φιλτάτη γλάνη, καὶ Ἡ Ἁκτίς θεών σ' ένόμισεν, εὑρισκόμενον λύβνε, a saying Aesopiates alludes to in A. P. v. 7 λύξεν, ον δ', εἳ θεός εἰ, τὴν δολήν ἀτάμνον. And if a gnat's least whining woke her in alarm, it was alarm about Aegisthus; that is why in 881 and 884 she repeats the ἀμφι σοί, which for that reason I have thought should be a little stressed.

In the ears of the audience the words τοῦ έμνευόντος would suggest another bed-fellow than the time she speaks of. For θλάβας (or θλάβην) ἐχεῖν, to suffer injury, see Ennius. 802 ὥς ταῦτ' ὁρεστὴν δρώυτα μη θλάβας ἐχεῖν, Soph. Ap. 1325 τί γὰρ σ' ἐδρώμενη, ὡστε καὶ θλάβην ἐχεῖν; schol. Eur. Or. 542 on μη πισόμουσ' φανερὰς θλάβας έλαβε, schol. Flor. on Ag. 72 θλάβην ἐχοντες ἀπὸ (l. for ἀντι) τοῦ γῆρως.

887 ff. These are familiar examples of a single ἐλπίς, a saving hope or stay, existing or afforded, to rely upon: but critics since Blomfield have been offended by the καὶ in v. 890; and rightly, on their view of the construction: some therefore would read γαῖναν for καὶ γῆν, while others take the καὶ to begin a new series of comparisons. Yet καὶ γῆν I am sure is sound, for μονογενεῖς τέκνον πατρὶ (παρ' ἐλπίδα φανείν) καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα is the meaning. So Pindar O. x. 86 speaks of his late-appearing ode as coming dearly welcomed like a long-desired child granted to a father late in life: τα παρ' εὐκλείη Δήρκαι χρόνοι μὲν φαίνει ἀλλ' ὅτε παῖς ἐξ ἄλοχον πατρὶ ποιεῖτο ἑκατέρας το πάλαν ἔδρη. Liban. iv. 651. 10 πόσους ἐπιδείξω σοι τὸν πολιτῶν γυναῖκας μὲν αὐτῶν ἑχοντας ἐχεῖν πατέρας δ' οὐ κεκλημένους, ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐγχατόν ἐρήμως ἢκουτας καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πράγματος προσαφηρημένους; ὅπον ἑγὼ μὲν σοι ταῦτα πειθομαι γύναιον δὲ ἐνδον ἡ παιδεῖ δὲ μηδαμῆ φαίνωνται, . . . Hom. H. Dem. 219 παῖδα δὲ μοι τρέφει τόνδε, τὸν ὑψίγονον καὶ ἀελπτόν ὁποσάν ἀδαίνατον.

παρ' ἐλπίδα with its double meaning (vv. 278, 1042) comes with telling irony at the end: but the effect of it is weakened by three lines which follow in the MSS., and which I have omitted, believing them to have been merely an illustration quoted in the margin (see cr. n.).
Fair is the clear day viewed after the storm, Spring-water to the parching wayfarer, Dear the deliverance from all hard constraints.

That is the construction of them, as in Theognis 255 κάλλιστον τὸ δικαίοτατον, λῶστον δ' ψυχαίνειν, πράγμα δὲ τερπνότατον τοῦ τις ἐραί τὸ τυχεῖν, Soph. fr. 329 κάλλιστόν ἐστι τοῦδ' ἐπεφυκέναι, λῶστον δὲ τὸ ζήν ἁνοσὸν, ἕδωστον δ' ὅτι πάρεστι λήψις ὅν ἐραί καθ' ἥμεραν, A. P. v. 169 ἢδον θέρους διψᾶντες χιων στότον, ἢδον δὲ ναύταις ἐκ χειμώνος ἐδεῖν εἰάρων στέφανον, ἔδωστον δ' ὅποταν κρύψῃ μᾶς τοὺς φιλέοντας χλαίνα και αἰνηταί Κόπρις ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων,—this epigram repeating the same commonplace.

I need only add Eur. Andr. 870 ὁ ναυτήλους κείματος λιμὴν φανείς and Or. 719 ἢδειαν ὄφεις πιστὸν ἐν κακοῖς ἂν ἄρη κρείσσων γαλήνης ναυτίλους εἰσορᾶν to show that κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσίδειν ἐκ χείματος would be little more than tautology with γῆν φανείς ναυτίλοις. Besides, τουτοῦδε τοί νῦν ἄξιον προσφέρειμαι should follow the προσφέρειμα immediately.

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

905 ff. Agamemnon answers coldly, and θομάτων ἔμων φῦλαξ would have made another woman wince. His first remark is a severe snub, and his next, that praise should come from others, is at least ambiguous.


917. This line was explained by Blass Mélanges Henri Weil, 1898, p. 13: to walk merely over ποδούφρατρα would be ἀνεπίθυβων; but it would have a very different sound if rumour said that he had walked upon τὰ πακίλα, which belong to the service of the gods. Cf. Damascius ap. Suid. s.v. χωρίς τὰ Μυσῶν...χωρίς γὰρ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁράματα, οὔτε ἤττων ή τὰ λεγόμενα Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν. So χωρίς is predicative, followed by τε καὶ, in Soph. O. C. 808, Plat. Prot. 336 B.

918 f. τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν θεοῦ μέγαστον διῶρον: Eur. Med. 635 στέργοι δὲ με σωφροσύνα, δόρρημα κάλλιστον θεῶν. In the allusion to felicity (διβίσια) which follows there appears to be a side-reference to the proverbial Theb. 612 θεοῦ δὲ διῶρον ἐστίν εὕτυχειν βροτοῖς, Chlo. 57 τὸ δ' εὕτυχεῖν, τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεῶς τε καὶ θεῶ πλέον. Jebb on Soph. O. Ι. 1529 remarks that this is the first allusion in literature to the famous adage attributed to Solon. Cf. Dio Chrys. xxviii. 13 (ii. 535 R.) ὡστὶς δὲ τοῖς μεγάστοις ἀγαθοῖς συναπέρχεται τὰ ἀριστα πράξας, οὗτος εὐδαιμονεστατα πελευταί.

921. See cr. n. The reading of the MSS. could only mean ‘if it is the case that (supposing certain conditions) I should act’ (or ‘fare’)
'in all things thus, I have no misgivings.' This can hardly be called a meaning; nor is ὡς so used in Tragedy. Cf. Supp. 403 εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρῶ, οὐκ ἀνέν δήμου τάδε πράξαιμ' ἂν. Cho. 684 τοσαῦτω ἀκούσας εἶπον. Eurip. 641 τὴν δ' αὖ τωαύτην εἶπον.

922. καὶ μὴ τὸδ' εἶπε... ἔμω is the preface to a question: Hdt. vii. 47, Ar. Nub. 500, 748, Thesm. 740, Plut. 902, Plat. Cratyl. 385 B, Rep. 351 D, Lucian i. 297. Everyday language would say καὶ μὴ τὸδ' εἰπέ. Tragic style habitually uses ἔγω, σὺ superfluously: if emphasis were desired it would have been secured by the position of the word, καὶ μὴν ἔρω τὸδ' εἶπέ. Nevertheless in the use of ἔγω, ἔροι, ἐμὲ at the end of three successive lines we hear an undertone of strife between two wills. Thus, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην is interposed, as in the following examples: Soph. Ant. 446 σὺ δ' εἰπέ μοι, μὴ μήκος ἀλλὰ συντόμως, ἤδησθα...; Trach. 1117, Eur. Med. 768 μὴ πρὸς ἱδονήν, supr. 515, 897, Theb. 266 μὴ φιλοστόνως. Ar. fr. 473 καὶ κρίνων αὐτῇ μὴ μετ' ὀξυρεγμάς. Plat. Com. 86 (Ath. 110 d) καὶ᾽ ἄρτους... ἤκε πράμας, μὴ τῶν καθαρύλλων (where μὴ shows ἤκε to mean 'return'—it is often used in the imperative—not, as the editors take it, 'he came back'). εἰπέν παρὰ γνώμην is 'to speak contrary to one's own γνώμη, deliberate opinion, conviction, advised judgement.' Cf. Thuc. vi. 9 οὕτω ἐν τοῖς προτέρωι χρόνωι... ἐπον παρὰ γνώμην οὕτω νῦν, iii. 42 οὕτω γὰρ ἦκιστα ἄν παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγων. Plut. Mor. 986 έ ἔγω δ' ἐκστήσομαι ἄνω, μὴ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρόι δοκῆ ἱρατίζομεν διᾶλεγον, 'against his conviction, to please me.' Dem. 1451. τῷ χαρίζονται τι παρὰ γνώμην opposed to τὰ δοκούντα μοι βέλτιστα παρακεῖν. Plut. Phoc. 9 έμε... λέγειν το μὴ δεῖ παρὰ γνώμην οὐκ ἀναγκάσετε. Tid. Gracch. 2 οὕτω καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐν τῶι λέγειν ἐκφέρομεν ἢ' ἄργης... βλασφεμεῖν. Philop. 6 οὕτω παρὰ γνώμην βιασθεῖν εἰς χείρας ἐδείξαιν. So παρὰ δοξαν οτ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἰπέν: Plat. Laches 178 οὐκ ἄν εἴπον οὐ νοοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ... ἀλλὰ λέγουσι παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δοξαν. Rep. 346 ά εἴπε τοσόνδε εἰπέ· οὐχὶ φαμεν... καὶ ὁ μακάρις μη παρὰ δοξαν ἀποκρίνουν. Gorg. 500 οὕτω παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀποκρίνου. 495 ά εἴπερ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐρείς. In Eur. Med. 577 ὅροις δ' ἐμοιγε, κεὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρό, δοκεῖς προδοῦς σήν ἄλοχον οὐ δικαία δρᾶν the meaning is 'unadvisedly,' as in Thuc. i. 70 παρὰ γνώμην κωδικεύεται, Soph. Trach. 389 οὕκ ἀπὸ γνώμης λέγεις. Liban. i. 291 προήκατο ρήμα παρὰ γνώμῃ, κελεύοντος τοῦ θυμοῦ, ι.ς ὄργῃ βιασθὲν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη φρενὼν Soph. O. T. 524, 'more upon humour than advised respect.' Philoct. 1191 XO. τι βέβουτες ἀλλοκτονοι γνώμαι τῶν πάροι, ὃν προφαίρεις; Φιλ. οὕτοι νεμεσθήνα τάλνυ την χειρεριων λύπην καὶ παρὰ νοτὴν θροειν. 'Contrary to my opinion' would be παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν, as Eur. I. A. 502 ότι παρὰ γνώμην ἐμίν ὑπεθηκας ὅρθως τοὺς λόγους, where the sense is 'expectation,' as in Aesch. Supp. 463 γένοιτο δ' εὖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν, Eur. H. F. 594 μη παρὰ γνώμην πέσης.
924. ἐρέω: see cr. n. εὐχομαι in the sense 'I vow that I will' always takes the future. Greek never said ἡπξο ἐρέω ἂν for 'you vowed that you would,' and ἡπξο ἐρέω could only mean 'you vowed that you were performing.'—ἐρέω was probably the alteration of a scribe who thought that ἂν and ἐρέω belonged together. The editors strangely imagine that ὦν ἐρέω τάδε means 'to refrain from treading on dyed robes'; having forgotten that when you made a vow to the gods you did not say οὐ θῶςω, 'save me, and I will—not sacrifice!' Vows were made in times of fear or danger (Plat. Legg. 909 e, Anth. Pal. ix. 7); you said, Deliver me from this danger, and I vow to sacrifice so much. Similarly in v. 954 Clytaemnestra says πολλῶν πατησίδων εἰμίτων ἂν ἡπξάμην, 'I would readily have vowed the sacrifice of many robes to ransom Agamemnon's life.'—Agamemnon would have obeyed Calchas as he had done in the matter of Iphigeneia.

925. 'Yes, supposing the authority on ritual (the priest, εὖ εἰδὼς μαντεύμουνεις Hom. β 170: cf. Z 438) had prescribed (πιθαύσκων εἶπε or ἔγγριστο) this holy service' (τόδε τέλος, which now has a proper sense).—ἐξειπόν of the MSS. is the alteration of a scribe who mistook the construction of εἴπερ τις.—If εἴπερ τις had really meant 'if anyone ever did,' we should have had no γε with εἰδὼς εὖ: yet γε must be genuine, for it was never inserted by scribes except metri gratia: εἴπερ ...γε is siquidem; in answer to a question, 'yes; that is, if... ' (O.T. 369).

933. ἥ καὶ σὺ is τιν quoque, and could not mean anything else.

934. See cr. n. and cf. Soph. Αἰ. 1353 κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φίλων νικώμενος. In v. 932 Clyt. has forced him to accept the ominous 'felicitation' of v. 919 (see Solon in Hdt. i. 32), and now contrives to make him yield of his own accord (ἐκόω).

935. ὑπαί τις...λύοις: Hom. ε 496 ἀλλὰ τις εἳ εἴπειν Ἁτρεΐδη Ἀγαμέμνονι.

938. πρόσωπεν marks the connexion with θεῶν: Eum. 297 κλείς δὲ καὶ πρόσωπεν ἂν θεὸς, ib. 400 πρόσωπεν εὖκουσα, Cho. 690, Blomf. on P. V. 320.

939 f. πολλή γὰρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσίν φθείροντα πλούτον ἀγρυφόνητους θ' ψάξ: this is the scruple that Clytaemnestra scornfully replies to in v. 949 ff. δωματοφθορεῖν is a synonym of the usual word οἰκοφθορεῖν, to squander one's substance, ruin one's estate by spendthrift prodigality. ὁλεσίωκος and ἀπωλεσίωκος were used humorously in the same sense.

941. τοῦτων μὲν οὔτω: so Max. Tyr. xxii. 3 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ταῦτη ἔχει: ὁτί δὲ καὶ περὶ υμᾶς κτὲ. Lucian ii. 729 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰκανοῖς: τὰ Πυθαγόρου δὲ ἡδη λέγε, ii. 872. Either τοῦτων μὲν ἄλις or ταῦτα μὲν οὔτω would be Greek, but not τοῦτων μὲν οὔτω (see cr. n.).

944. She, therefore, being a delicately-nurtured princess, will feel
the condition of slavery with peculiar keenness. At the same time Agamemnon wishes to convey that she has only been assigned to him according to the common practice as the choicest flower of all the spoil, and that he has no personal interest in her beyond that. A comma is substituted for the full-stop which is commonly but wrongly placed at the end of v. 944. The formula πάντες (or οίδεις)...αὕτη δὲ is extremely common. The predicate comes first in Greek, and the stress here is on πολλῶν χρημάτων ἔξωρετον αἴθως.

949 ff. Clytemnestra utters not a word about Cassandra, but replies 'You talk of squandering wealth and ruining the house; surely there is the whole sea to draw from, with as good purple-fish in it as ever came out of it; purple only costs its weight in silver, and we can afford to pay for it. Besides, thank Heaven! there is a store of purple garments in the house already; we are not quite paupers; the house is surely not going to be ruined by the sacrificing of a few dyed robes.' Thus ἐστιν θάλασσα not 'there is a sea,' but 'the sea is in existence': cf. Ach. Tat. vii. 9 εἰ δὲ ταύτα γέγονεν οὖτος, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, μαθεὶν δ' ἐκεῖν ἔξεσται· ἔχετε τόν δεδεμένον· εἰσίν αἱ θεράπαιναι· ἐστιν ὁ Σωφάνεις. Alexis 15. 14 ὁ παρυχοπώλης ἐστίν· ἐλθὼν πυρθάνον (you can go and ask him whether I didn't pay him as much). Acts 19. 38 ἄγοραίοι ἀγονται, καὶ ἀνθρωποί εἰσίν· ἐγκαλεῖτοσαν ἄλληκας. Soph. O. C. 506 ἐστ' ἐποικος δὲ φράσει.—οίκος 8' ὑπάρχει κτέ. 'The house affords us store of these.' Cf. Theocr. 22. 222 λυγεών μειληγματα Μοντέρνων, οἳ αὐτα παρέχοντο καὶ ὃς ἔμοι ὀίκος ὑπάρχει, Eur. El. 359 ἕνιον κυρήσθη, οὗ ἕμος κεύθη δόμος, ἢβ. 870 φέρ' οία δὴ ἔχω καὶ δόμοι κεῖνος μον κόμης ἀγάλματ' ἐξενεγκωμαι. If any alteration is to be made, I think it should be οἴκοι, giving the construction ὑπάρχει (ἡμῖν) ἔχει τῶνδε: in that case cf. Rhes. 170 ἄλλ' ἐστ' ἐν οἴκοις· οὐ βίον σπανίζομεν, 178 καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπτούν· ἐστιν χρυσός ἐν δόμοις. Alexis 127 Α. Λαβ' ἐλθὼν σήσιμα. Β. ἄλλ' ἐστιν ἐνδον. Ar. Pac. 522 πόθεν ἀν λάβοιμι... οὐ γὰρ ἐίχον οίκοθεν.

954 ff. Perhaps the thought in her mind is 'If you sacrificed Iphigeneia to recover Helen (κομίζειν v. 795), I would have sacrificed more than a few robes to recover the life of my dear daughter!'

957 ff. These lines appropriate certain familiar Oriental images, which may be illustrated from a well-known Arabic poem1, speaking of a friend,

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

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1 Translated by Dr H. M. Posnett, Comparative Literature (1886) p. 135, a book full of interesting and fruitful ideas.
But these figures are so manipulated by Clytaemnestra as to allow herself an ironical side-reference to her real intention.

'Aye and when Zeus is maturing bitter vengeance for an unripe virgin, then there is coolness in the house! ' ὠμφαξ was used in that sense, πυρός often means 'bitter' in resentment, and Cassandra in v. 1229 foresees ὡν τεῦξεται, the deed that Clytaemnestra's workmanship designs for execution. The γε in ὅταν δὲ τεῦξη Ζεὺς γε gives a meaning intonation to the sentence. Then echoing ἀνδρὸς τελευόν—'complete' or 'perfect' of a full-grown man as being married and head of a household—she appeals to Zeus himself, as God of τέλος, consumption in all senses, to complete, fulfil, perfect her prayer.—σημαίνει μολὼν: see cr. n. 'Warmth...signifies its coming' is the literal rendering: see v. 305.

967 f. δείμα προστατήριον καρδίας στοτάται is a metaphor from wind, such as is often employed in poetry to describe emotions of the spirit: Sup. 229 φρένος πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίων, Theb. 692 ἐπεὶ δαίμονι λήματος αὐτροπαίας χρόνια μεταλλάκτως ἀν ἐλθοι θερμοπέτρωι πνεύματι: τόν δ’ ἢτι κεφ. προστατήριον καρδίας is 'set stubbornly before my consciousness,' like πάροηθεν δὲ πρώκρας δημίως ἄρται κράδιος θυρός in Cho. 390, where the preceding words τι γὰρ κεύων φρέν’  δ’ στειὸν ἐμπας στοτάται; illustrate στοτάται here. The allusion is to the phrases technically used of wind; στάσις, properly its setting in a certain quarter, ἵσταμενος, ἵσταθης, ἀντιστατεῖν: so οὐριστατάν νόμον in Cho. 817 is an allusion to the οὐρος ὠμόν. Cf. Pers. 705 ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιὸν σοὶ φρένων ἄνθισταται.—For the confusion of δείμα and δείγμα (see cr. n.) see On editing Aeschylus p. 101.

970 ff. οὐδ’ ἀποπτύσασ...θάρσος ἡχε. The construction is slightly varied from οὐδ’ ἀποπτύσασ...θαρσῶ, as in Eum. 100. Cf. Eur. Alc. 604 πρὸς δ’ ἐμᾶ φυχά τφρασος ἠσται.

973 ff. χρόνος δ’ ἐπεὶ κτέ. ‘Time has passed since the sandy shore chafed’ (or ‘grazed’ from παρ-αφάω, related to παραφάσον) ‘the cables cast out together from the stern when the sea-borne host sped for the walls of Troy.’ Cf. sup. 40 δέκατον ἢτοι τὸῦ ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀπὸ χώρας ἢραν, 437 α’ Ἔλλανος ἄσις συνορμένος, Eur. I. A. 1319 μ’ μοι ναὸν χαλκεμβόλαδων πρύμνας Αἴδις δέξασθαι τοῦσ’ εἰς ὄρμους ὀφελεῖν ἐλάτων πορσπαίαν, El. 1022 πρυμνύχων Ἀδην, Οv. Trist. iii. 9. 13 dum soluitur aggere funis, Val. Flacc. ii. 428. Thus πρυμνήσσων ξυνεμβολᾶς is equivalent to πρυμνήσσω ξυνεμβεβλημένα: Eum. 751 ἐκβολῆς ψῆφων. Some may prefer α’ γά, the alternative suggestion of Ahrens; for, though α’ γά is not glossed by α’τή, the two words appear sometimes to be confused. Thus in Pind. I. ii. 42 Νεῖλον πρὸς ακτάν Schneiderin reads αγάς and Bury αγάν from the schol. πρὸς αὐγάς: see also Jacobs Anth. xii. p. 96.
Schneidewin also restored πρὸς ἄγας in Anth. Pal. v. 82 and ἄγην in Arat. Phaen. 668. Numenius ap. Ath. 305 a ὀππότε πέτραι ἀμμωδεὶς κλύζουσι τε ἄκρη κύματος ἄγην. ψαμμᾶς is taken in preference to ψαμμῖς in view of the copious collection of adjectives belonging to this type which are brought together by Lobeck, Path. Proll. p. 442 ff.

984 ff. οπλάγχανα δ' οὕτω ματάζει, πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσίν τελεσφόρους δίναις κυκώμενον κέαρ: In simple terms the meaning is 'My heart too is beating violently, and I know its agitation is not idle but warranted by apprehensions that will surely come to pass,' as Hecuba says in Eur. Hec. 83 ἕστα τι νέον· ὥστε τι μέλος γοερὸν γοεραῖς· οὕποτ' ἐμ' φρῆν ὃς ἀλάστος φρύσει, τωρβεῖ. The metaphor is built up out of the phrase κυκώμενον κέαρ 'a troubled heart'. Archilochus 66 ζ. Tragic fragment in Clem. Alex. p. 486 οὕτω γάρ οὖτοι καὶ διὰ σπλάγχνων ἐστὶ χωροῦσι καὶ κυκώσων ἀνθρώπων κέαρ. As κυκώμενος was usually said of tossing waves, the heart dashing against the midriff (κράδια δὲ φόβων φρένα λακτίζει P. V. 881) can be spoken of as a boat tossed in swirling eddies on a troubled sea and dashed upon a shore. These considerations support the conjecture δίναις κυκώμενον (see cr. n.), as Apoll. Rhod. i. 1327 ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ δύνασι κυκώμενον ἄφρειν ὅδωρ. Plat. Cratyl. 439 C ὁσπερ εἰς τινὰ δίνην ἐμπιστώτες κυκώταν, [Arist.] Mirabil. cx. p. 46, 16 Westermann τότε δὴ πάλιν σὺν πολλοὶ μὲν βρυχθῆρυμι μεγάλαις δὲ καὶ ταχείας δίναις τὴν βάλλοντον ἀναζέιν καὶ μετεφράζεσθαι κυκώμενην ἐκ βυθῶν, where there are variants κυκλωμένην, κυκλωμένην. The same error is illustrated by Tryphiod. 325 ἱαι καὶ Ξάιθου ποταμῷ κυκλώμενον ὅδωρ, where κυκωμένον should be read (κυκλώμενον, κυκώμενον and κυκωμένον are quoted as variants), and by Nonn. Dionys. xx. 336 ἄφω δ' ἐκ σκοπέλου χύθη κυκλώμενον ὅδωρ (al. κυκώμενον). So κυκώντες (Reiske) should be restored for κυκλώντες in Polyb. xi. 29. 10. The MS. reading could not mean anything but 'circling round,' not 'eddying'; for κυκλώσθαι can only be applied to a river which encircles or to the surrounding stream of Ocean (Nonn. Dionys. i. 495 etc.).

990 ff. are corrupted, but the sense is clear; probably we should begin with μάλα τί τοι... The language recalls Solon 13. 71 ff. (=Theogn. 227 ff.) πλαύτων δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποιν...τίς ἂν κορέσειν ἄπαντας; cf. infr. 1330. The idea of Health as a Mean appears in Max. Tgr. xxxix. 2 οὐχ ἡ μὲν ὠγεία μέτρον τι ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων εὐρυμοστίας; ...ἐστιν οὖν ὅπως ποικίλον τι σοὶ ἡ ὠγεία ἐσται, καὶ παντοδαπόν, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ὑμνολογημένου;

994. It is generally agreed that something has been lost here. The supplement adopted and its insertion in this particular place are advocated on the ground that ἄδρος should not be separated far from
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πότμος, and παίεων πρός is the usage in such cases. In Aesch. fr. 99. 23 Blass restored μη πάντα παύσασε· ἐκχέω πρὸς ἔρματι, a reading which is made certain by Plat. Rep. 553 B πατισάντα ὁπερ πρὸς ἔρματι τὴν πόλει καὶ ἐκχαίναν τὰ τε αἰτοῦ καὶ αἰνῶν κτέ. Com. adesp. fr. 391, 2 (iii. 482 K.) μη πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον παίεων ἔχουσα καρδὶν ὅμολογομένου.

995 ff. ἄκνος (nearly the same as εὐλάβεια) is the opposite of θράος, and πτημόνας is a synonym of ἀτας, so that the whole means: ‘Now let but timid caution cast beforehand some of the possession overboard from the derrick of Proportion’ or ‘Due Measure, the whole fabric does not founder through being loaded with surcharge of Harm’—the Too Much that causes ἀτη. For the contrast see Plat. Defin. Θώρος ἀπροσδοκία κακῶς, Εὐλάβεια φυλακῆς κακῶς, Xen. Ages. ii. 2 θαρρῶν πλεώνα ἔθνεν ὧν ἄκνον ὑπέκτο, Thuc. ii. 40 διαφερόντως γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τόδε έχομεν, ὅστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιτεχνήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· δο τοὺς ἀλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράος, λογιμός δὲ ἄκνον φέρει: which is illustrated by Xerxes’ speech in Hdt. vii. 49—50 with θραος and άκνεύσαι opposed. ἦ δ᾽ εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ μὴν ἀγαν ἀριστον, as Plut. Camill. 6 says of believing or disbelieving miracles. Horace (C. ii. 10. 13 ff.) after the famous passage on the Golden Mean continues thus: sperat infestis, metuit seundis alteram sortem bene praeparatum pectus. The grammatical construction of the MS. reading is far from clear: πρὸ μὲν τι (see cr. n.) is probably right. μὲν marks the antithesis with v. 1004 τὸ δ᾽ ἐπί γὰν πεσόν, as in Sulp. 452 καὶ χρήμασιν μὲν...458 ὅτως δ᾽ ὁμαίμον αὕμα.—σφενδόνη, as is proved by an inscription discovered by the French at Delphi (see Wyse in Class. Rev. xiv. p. 5), was the technical term for the derrick used in discharging cargo.

1002. τε couples ἀμφιλαφής to πολλά, and καὶ must be taken with what follows (‘even from the annual ploughing of the fields’).

1007 ff. οδή is equivalent to οὐ καὶ ‘not even the one who knew...’: so 1524 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔτος = οὐ καὶ οὔτος γάρ, Soph. O. T. 325 ὡς οὖν μηγ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα πάθω = καὶ ἐγὼ μη. —In reference to the death of Asclepius the Chorus say in Eur. Alc. 124 μόνος δ᾽ ἂν εἰ φῶς τὸδ' ἵνα ὥμασιν δεδορκὸς | Ψαΐβου πάις, προλυπῶν' | ἡλθεν ἔδρας, σκοτιαῖς | "Αἰδὰ τε τῶν τοῦτος | ὁμαπέτας γὰρ ἀνίστη | πρὸν αὐτόν ἐλε Διάβολον | πλήκτρον πυρὸς κερανίων. So Pindar (P. iii. 1 ff.) says ‘I would that Cheiron, who brought up Asclepius, best of physicians, were still alive’—εἰ χρεῶν τοῦδ᾽ ἀμέτέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας κοινὸν εὐσάθαι έποσ. But Asclepius was stopped by Zeus, when he was tempted to restore the dead to life (iib. 55 ff.), as ζεύξιλυς says here, ἔπ' ἀβλαβείαι to prevent his arrangements being thwarted—or ἔπ' εὐλαβείαι (Plat. Rep. 539 c) as a precautionary measure to that end; either would do. (For a possible instance of confusion between ἀβλαβείως and εὐλαβείως see H. Herm. 83.) Apollodorus iii. 122
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says Zeus δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ λαβόντες ἀνθρωποί θεραπεύαν ταρ’ ἀυτοῦ βοηθῶν ἄλληλοις, ἐκεραίνωντεν αὐτὸν. Ov. Fast. vi. 759 Iuppiter exemplum uestitus direxit in illum fulmina. Then, according to the ancient story which he himself narrates at the beginning of the Alcestis, Apollo, in anger at the killing of his son, destroyed the Cyclopes who had forged the thunderbolt. Zeus thereupon condemned him to a year’s penal servitude in the house of Admetus son of Pheres; and while there, Apollo saved Admetus from death by tricking the Fates (Μοῖρας δολῶσας Alc. 12) whom he had made drunk with wine. In Aesch. Eum. 726 the Eumenides refer to this:

ΕΥΜ. τοιαὶ τε θρασας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμως.
Μοῖρας ἐπεισας ἀφθίτους θείαν βροτοὺς.

ΑΠ. οὗκοιν δίκαιον τὸν σέβουτ’ εὐργετεῖν ἄλλως τε πάντως χωτε δεδεμενος τύχοι;

ΕΥΜ. σύ τοι παλαιὰς διανομάς καταθύσας οἴνωι παρεπτάθησας ἀρχαίας θεᾶς.

These are the same terms in which they had reprehended the dealings of Apollo with Orestes, v. 172 f. παρ’ νόμον θεῶν βρότεα μὲν τῶν παλαιγενεῖς δὲ μοῖρας φθίσας. The Μοῖραι are personifications of these μοῖραι or διανομαί ‘apportionments’ or ‘dispensations,’ provinces allotted to the various divinities and severally administered by them. In the same play, the Eumenides complain that Athena, by her decision in the case of Orestes, is robbing them of their τιμαὶ διανομαί (848), rights assigned to them in perpetuity by Μοῖρα (335 f.). Hades has his μοῖρα: mortal men have theirs; not to live for ever, but to fall one day within the power of Death. Hippolytus therefore was restored to life Dite indignante Ov. Met. xv. 535, dis indignantibus ii. 645: at Clymenus (Hades) Clothoque dolent, haec fila reneri, hic fieri regni inura minora sui by being baffled of their prey, Fast. vi. 757. And so, as Spenser says, Faerie Queene Bk. i. v. 49:

Such wondrous science in man’s wit to reign
When Jove avised, that could the dead revive
And fates expired could renew again,

he put an end to it. The exact force of ἐπ’ ἄβλαψεαι therefore would be ‘to prevent the appointed μοῖραι being hindered by the interference of Asclepius.’ From this we conclude that there exist in the system over which Zeus presides certain ‘vested interests’ or ‘spheres of influence’ assigned by Dispensation (Μοῖρα). With a polytheistic system it is evident that they will often be in opposition; just as human destinies may be: see Conington’s note on Verg. Aen. vii. 293 fatis contraria nostris fata Phrygum. For, to take a particular instance,
there is no reconciling the interests of Ceres and of Famine, neque enim Cereremque Famemque fata coire sinunt, Ov. Met. viii. 785; or of Artemis and Aphrodite. But each must be content to abide within his own sphere and not seek to encroach upon another's, or the balance of power will be upset, which Moïra regulates, whose dispensations are upheld and administered by Zeus. There is a good illustration in Ov. Met. ix. 427, where the Gods murmur and complain that they should not be allowed to confer the gift of youth as Hebe does:

cui studiatur deus omnis habet; crescitque favore
 turbida sedition: donec suæ Iuppiter ora
 soluit, et 'O nostri si qua est reuerentia,' dixit;
'quo ruitis? tantumne aquis sibi posse uidetur
 Fata quoque ut superet? Fatis Iolus in annos
 quos egit rediit; Fatis innenescere debent
 Callirhoe geniti, non ambitione nec armis.
nos etiam, quoque hoc animo meliore feratis,
me quoque Fata regunt: quae si mutare ualorem,
 nec nostrum seri curarent Aeacæ annis,' etc.

And in Eur. Hippol. 1327 Artemis explains why she has not interfered to save her votary from the wrath of Aphrodite:

'Apollon's heart was set upon it; and in such a case we none of us offer opposition to the desire of any of our fellows: otherwise, but for fear of Zeus (who upholds this system of spheres of influence with its rule of give and take), I would never have suffered him to perish.'—For πλεον φέρειν cf. Soph. O. T. 1190 τὶς ἀνὴρ πλέον τὰς εὐδαμονίας φέρει ἡ
tosonuton ὅσον κτὲ.

1022. κτησίλου βωμοῦ, in the open court-yard in front of the palace. Athen. 189 e Ὁμήρος δὲ τὴν αὐλὴν αἰεὶ τάττει ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων τῶν, ἐνθά ἦν ὦ τῶν ἑρκείων Ζηνὸς βωμῶς.

1023. ἀπήνης: this was four-wheeled (τετράκυκλος Hom. Ω 324) and usually drawn by mules. In Eur. Etl. 998 it may be that the Trojan slaves of Clytaemnestra are in the car with her. In Tro. 573 Andromache is placed among the spoil, which is being removed in the ἀπήνη (when τετραβάμωνος ἀπήνης is used of the Wooden Horse, it is compared
to a four-wheeled carriage). It was commonly used as a travelling-carriage: Eur. I. A. 147, 618, Soph. O. T. 753, 803. So Tryphiod. 241, where the old men accompanying Priam come down from the πώλις in ἀπήναυ. It may be that Agamemnon came back in a car suited to an oriental monarch: thus the car of the King of Babylon is said to be ἀπαντὸς ἐφημαμένον, ἐγγύτατα ἀπήνης 'Ελληνικής (Walz, Rhel. Gr. i. p. 531).

1024 f. This was the Greek commonplace of consolation, that even heroes half-divine (ἡμίθεου) had not been free from human sorrows, and had submitted to the like themselves. One of the earliest examples is in the Heraclea of Panyasis (fr. 16 Kinkel):

τλή μὲν Δημήτηρ, τλή δὲ κλατός 'Αμφιγνῆς,
τλή δὲ Ποσειδάων, τλή δὲ ἀργυρότατος 'Απόλλων
ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θνητῷ θητεύμεν εἰς ἑκατον,
τλή δὲ καὶ ὀβριμάθυμος Ἀρης ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκην,

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

1034 f. Hesych. χελιδόνος δέκην: τοὺς βαρβάρους χελιδόνων ἀπεικάζοντα διὰ τὴν ἀυώθητον θάλασσα (read ἀσύνετον). Just below we have χελιδώνων μουσείων: ὁς βάρβαρα καὶ ἄσυνετα ποιοῦσαι τῶν τραγικῶν, with reference to Ar. Ran. 93. Thus βάρβαρος is practically the equivalent of ἀσύνετος, and here merely strengthens ἀγνώστα φωνῆς: Hesych. βάρβαρα: ἀσύνετα, ἀτακτα. One of the tests for admission to the Eleusinian mysteries was that the candidate should not be φωνῆς ἀξύνετος; in other words, he must be Ἐλληνα τὴν φωνήν (see Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 165).

1041. πάρος: see cr. n. πρὸς σφαγᾶς πυρὸς could only mean that fire was to cut the victims' throats or that the victims were to cut the throat of fire; and there would be no construction for the genitive ἔστιας. Musgrave's correction removes both these blemishes and gives precisely what we want: Eur. H. F. 922 ἰηρὰ μὲν ἦν πάροθεν εἰςχάρας Δίως | καβάρσι οὐκων. Ιον 376 προβορμίως σφαγαῖσι μήλων. Ἀλ. 162 πρῶθεν ἔστιας κατηχάτο. Ἀνδρ. 1112 ὣς πάρος χρηστηρίων εὖξαιτο.—πάρος usually follows its case immediately, or with a word intervening as in Trach. 724, and may surely have as much intervening as other prepositions; see Fritsche on Theocr. 16. 109: so sup. 133 πάντα δὲ πύργων κτήνη πρώσθη τῷ δημιουργῷ. There is the same corruption in Eur. Hel. 870 κρούσον δὲ πεύκην, ἢν διεξέλθω, πάρος (Reiske for πυρός), and as I believe in Eum. 1050 τιμᾶτε καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὄρμασθω πάρος (codd. πυρός).

1045. οὗ δὲ 'marks an antithesis, not of persons, but of clauses, and serves merely to emphasise the second clause': Jebb on Soph. El. 448, who quotes several parallels. Cf. Lucian ii. p. 656 οἷς ἀπαντες, ὥς Ζεῦ,
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τὴν Ἑλληνῶν φωνὴν ἐνυδασίν· ἁμείνον οὖν, οἶμαι, τῇ χεὶρι σημαίνειν καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι σιωπᾶν. [But this passage, so far from supporting the ordinary interpretation, rather favours Wecklein’s view that οὐ is addressed to the Chorus. Since, however, καρβάνω cannot be separated from χεὶρ, Prof. Mackail suggests (C. R. xix. 197) that καρβάνως χεὶρ alludes to the forcible removal of Cassandra from the car.]

1053. ἐποικυκτέρω from the Chorus strikes the note which is meant to be in our thoughts throughout this scene. It is repeated in v. 1320, and again in 1329—their last word as it is their first. Agamemnon partly brings his own doom on himself, and we are not to feel that he is altogether to be pitied; so by heightening our pity for Cassandra Aeschylus has weakened it for Agamemnon.


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

1095. λαυτροίσθαι φαιδρύνασα: Apoll. Rhod. iii. 300 αὐτόι τε λιαροῦσιν ἐφαιδρύναιτο λοετροῖς.

1103. ἢ...γε is used in a question, as in Chō. 417 τί δ’ ἂν φάντες τύχουσιν; ἢ τάπερ πάθομεν ἄχεα πρὸς γε τῶν τεκομένων; γε serves as a link with the previous question: Chō. 992 τί σοι δοκεῖ; μοίραινα γ’ εἴτ’ ἔχον’ ἐφύ...; Theb. 836 τί φῶ; τί δ’ ἄλλο γ’ ἢ πόνοι πόνων δόμων ἐφάστοιο; [Eur. Cycl. 207], Dio Chrys. ix. 20 p. 294 R. τί δέ; εἰ χωλοὶ πάντες ἢσαν οἱ τρέχοντες, ἐχρύγ χεῖ μὲγα φρονείν, ὅτι χωλοὶ χωλός ἐφηθς; Max. Tyr. xvi. 3 ἄρα γε μάθησιν (ἐσ. ὀνομάζομεν ἄτι), Ἡ Πλάτων ὀμοφώνος ἀνάμμεσιν;

1107. θῆματος λευσιῶν: ‘abominable sacrifice’—i.e. ‘stonable,’ ‘deserving stoning’ (that is ‘lynching’), as καταλεύσιμος (Suid. Phot. s.v.), ἄρασιμος, μαστιγώσιμος, ἀκούσιμος Soph. fr. 823, ἐπόψιμος O. T. 1312. See inf. 1409, 1413.


1110. κροκοβαθῆς. The hue of pallor—white in Northerners, and ashy in the Negro—is in Greeks and Indians green or yellow. Hence χλωρὸν δός was the regular expression, describing the effect of fear upon the countenance. Both in Greek and Latin paleness is spoken of as ‘greener than the grass’ (Sappho fr. 2. 14, Longus i. 17), or ‘yellow as the saffron crocus,’ or ‘as boxwood,’ or ‘as gold.’

Strictly the blood runs to the heart leaving the complexion sallow, which Aeschylus understood as well as Aristotle p. 1520 διὰ τί οἱ μὲν
NOTES

αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐρυθρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι ὁχρῶσιν, παραπλησίων τῶν παθῶν ὄντων; ὅτι τῶν μὲν αἰσχυνόμενον διαχείται τὸ αἷμα ἐκ τῆς καρδίας εἰς ἀπαντα τὰ μέρα τοῦ σώματος, ὡστε ἐπιπολάζειν τοῖς δὲ φοβηθεῖσι συντρέχει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, ὡστε ἐκλείπει τοῖς ἄλλων μερῶν. ('A true account,' says Gellius xix. 6, who quotes this, 'but why is it that fear has that effect?' a question to which fanciful answers are suggested by Macrob. vii. 11.) Cf. The Emperor of the East iv. 5. What an earthquake I feel in me! | And on a sudden my whole fabric totters; | My blood within me turns, and through my veins, | Parting with natural redness, I discern | Changed to a fatal yellow. Others prefer to explain προκοβαφής σταγών as 'the drop of red blood,' like πορφυρῶι βαφήι in Pers. 320, on the ground that the dye called saffron was made from a purple crocus and is termed ruber, rubens, punicus by the Romans. [Yet another view, that προκοβαφής σταγών is the gall, is taken by Tucker on Cho. 183.]

1111 ff. ἀτε καὶ δορὶ πτωσίμοις ξυνανύτε (whose arrival synchronises, coincides with) βίον δύντος αὐγαίς, the very pallor that is seen in wounded men when life is ending in a yellow sunset. Thus δορὶ πτωσίμος = δοριπτετής.

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

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

1131 ff. τὸ γάρ ἐμὸν θροῶ πᾶθος ἐπεγχύδαν. The parenthesis is an explanation of ταλαίνας. Hitherto she has seen Agamemnon's fate; now she sees that her own death is to be added to his. Cf. Eur. Hec. 736 ΕΚ. δύστην—ἐμαντὴν γὰρ λέγω λέγονσα σὲ—เอกβη, τί δρῶσω; Not unlike are Tro. 869, Soph. Ο. Τ. 1071, Oppian Hal. iv. 345: see also on 1225. It is evident, therefore, that θροῶ is right, and that Hermann's θροεῖς ἐπεγχέας will not stand. ἐπεγχέας, another suggestion, is not Greek. The MS. reading ἐπεγχέας is metrically impossible; but if it would only scag, we feel that it gives just the sense required. ἐπεγχύδαν—following the analogy of χύδην, καταχύδην, ἀμφιχύδην—seems to me the most probable correction, because such adverbs are commonly explained by participles, e.g. Cho. 65 οὗ διαρρῆδεν ἀντὶ τοῦ οὗ διαρρέων, Ἐμ. 556 περαβεβήκατα, Hesych. σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας: ἀγανακτῆς ἐλακτεῖς ἀγαν, schol. Lyco phr. 1425 χανδόν: χαίνοντες.

1140 f. Ἴτυν...βίον. The grammatical relation of the accusatives is not certain. A possible alternative rendering would be: 'With (cry of) 'Ityn,' 'Ityn,' plaining for a life luxuriant in misery.'
I142 f. The exclamatory accusative in Greek is almost unknown to the grammarians. It became much more common in Roman times, but was always introduced by some such word as αἰτᾷ or ἵω.

I144. περέβαλον γέ οἱ. This correction (partly anticipated by Enger) explains the origin of περέβαλοιτο, while the meaningless γάρ is an interpolation. When Sophocles uses οἱ, he also follows the practice of the lyric poets, Trach. 650 α δὲ οἱ, El. 196 οτε οἱ (Hermann for οὐ), and so does Cratinus in a burlesque lyric verse, fr. 241, "Πραν τε οἱ. In our passage γέ is equivalent to μέν, in opposition to ἐμὸν δὲ.

I146. γλυκὸν τ' αἰώνα κλαμμάτων ἀτερ. ‘A sweet life except for lamentation,’ otherwise the conditions are all pleasant. I have never been able to see that κλαμμάτων ἀτερ can have any other meaning here than that which Schneidewin also had suggested: the nightingale in Greek poetry from the earliest to the latest was the type of unconsolable lamentation. ἀτερ, like άνευ, and many other words meaning ‘without,’ ‘apart from,’ is used elsewhere in the sense ‘except.’ For the general sense cf. Aphthonius Progym. ii (Walz Rhet. Gr. i. p. 103) Niobe is speaking ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα δὸν ῥωμαί, παρὸν αἰτήσασθαι θεοὺς ἐτέραν ἀλλάξασθαι φύσιν, μίαν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων τεθέαμαι λύσιν, μεταστήναι πρὸς τὰ μὴν αἰθανούμενα: ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διδοῦκα μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φανεῖσα μεῖναι δακρύουσα. For the nightingale see Dio Chrys. ix. 19 p. 293 R. οὐκόν, ἐφή οἱ Διογένης, εἴπερ τὸ ταχύτατον εἶναι κράτιστον ἐστὶ, πολὺ βέλτιον κόρυφον εἶναι σχεδὸν ἢ ἀνθρωπὸν: ὡστε τὰς ἀρδόνας οὐδὲν τὶ δεί οἰκτίρειν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἔσκοπος, ὅτι ὑπνεῖς ἐγένοντο εἰς ἀνθρώπων, ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ μῦθον λέλεκται.

II59. There is considerable similarity to Eur. Τ�τ. 460 ff., where Cassandra says, addressing her country, her dead father and brothers: οὐ μακρὰν δὲξοσθέ μη· ήξω δ' ἐς νεκροὺς νικηφόρος | καὶ δόμους πέρσαος Ἀτρείδων, ὅν ἀπωλὼμέθο' ὑπο.

II67. πρότυργον might also mean ‘before his walls.’ Cf. Max. Τυρ. xi. 2 καὶ τῷ μὲν Πριαμῷ εἰχομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς, βοῶς καὶ ὅσον διάρκεια τῷ Δίῳ καταθύνει, ἀτελὴ τὴν εὖχην τίθησι (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς).

I170 f. See cr. nn. and cf. P. V. 950 οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταυτ' ἐπαρκέσθη τὸ μὴν οὐ πεσεῖν αἰτίως. The text was first corrupted to τὸ μὴν πόλιν μὲν ὡσπέρ οὖν ἐχοὺς ἐχειν, παθεῖν being merely an insertion to patch the metre. Constantly, finding μὴ οὐ, scribes omitted the οὐ as περισσόν (see Journ. Phil. xxiii. p. 296), and it should always be written in texts, at any rate where there is any trace of it.— ἐμπελώ βόλω describes exactly what she does in v. 1290 ff. For the metaphor, see the oracle in Hdt. i. 62 ἔρριπται δ' ὧν βόλος, τὸ δὲ δικτυν ἐκπετέσταται, θύνον μὴ ὁμόρουσιν σεληνιαῖς διὰ νυκτός, Opp. Hal. iii. 465, Cyn. iv. 141, Eur. Bacch. 847 ἄνηρ ἐς βόλον καθίσταται, Rhes. 730, Herod. vii. 75.—For θερμόνους cf. A. P. vi. 173 (of a votary of Cybele) θερμόν ἐπει λύσῃς ὁδ' ἀνέπαυσε πόδα.
The metaphor shifts by means of this word, which covers the meaning ‘fresh’ applied to wind. As πνεῦν and πνεῦμα, spirītus, meant not only wind but inspiration, the spirit of prophecy is spoken of in terms belonging to a rushing mighty wind, which will wash the unseen horror to the light, as though it were a wave rolled up against the Orient rays. The wind is ἀργετής Ζέφυρος (ἀπηλώτης).

If ηῆμα is the subject (cf. Hom. Ψ 61 ὁθὶ κύματ᾽ επ᾽ ἡμέροις κλυζεσκον), perhaps κλὺσεων may be right.—For the image Catull. lxiv. 269 is quoted: hic quālis fluctu placidum mare matutino | horrificaans Zephyrus proeluis incitat undas | Aurora exoriente nagi sub limina solis, | quae tarde primum elementi flamme pulsae | procedunt leuiterque sonant plangore cachinni, | post nento crescente magis magis increbrescent.

The κώμος, drunken well with human blood, refusing to be sent away, sit fast against the chamber singing; and their song is deadly Primal Sin (πρώταρχον ἀτην), the first act of Kin-murder when Atreus slew the children of Thyestes: Cho. 1066 παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπήρξαν μόχθωι τάλανες τε Θυέστου. For δῶμασιν προσήμεναι cf. Verg. A. vii. 342 Allecto Laurentis tecta tyrannī | celsa petit, tacitumque obsect dixit limen Amatae, iv. 471 Orestes | arma matrem et serpentibus atris | cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae. So they sit guarding the vestibule of Hell: vi. 563 (with Conington’s note), 279, 555, 574, Οv. Met. iv. 453.

ἐν μέρει δ’ ἀπέπτυσαν κτε. is part of the Image of the κώμος explained above: Jeremiah 25. 27, Lucian i. 750.—The words admit of various constructions. δυσμενεῖς may be either nominative or accusative (belonging to εἰνάς); or we might take ἀπέπτυσαν absolutely and understand the rest to mean δυσμενεῖς τῶι εἰνάς ἀδέλφου πατοῦτι.—For ἐν μέρει ‘each in turn’ cf. Cho. 331 κλῦθι νυν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐν μέρει πολυδάκρυτα πένθερ.

ἡ θηρὼς τῷ τοξότης τις ὡς; ‘Or have I brought my quarrel down?’ Greek often adds to metaphors such phrases as ὡστε τοξότης (Soph. Ant. 1084), ναυτίλων δίκην (Cho. 201), which we should not express. So Eur. Hīpp. 872 πρὸς γὰρ τινος οἴων ὡστε μάντις εἰσορῶ κακῶν.

λόγῳ παλαιάς, ‘storied’, ‘historic’: Soph. O. T. 1394 ὦ Πολυβῆ καὶ Κόρυνθε καὶ τὰ πάτρια | λόγῳ παλαιὰ δώματα (where, however, the editors of Sophocles, neglecting this parallel, connect λόγῳ with πάτρια against the natural order). Hermann and Dobree, followed by Paley and others, substituted τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι in 1195, to be joined with λόγῳ in the sense ‘that I know not merely by hearsay.’
Apart from other objections, this is contrary to the order of the words: since the point in that case would consist in λόγωι, which must have preceded εἰδέναι, i.e. τó μη λόγωι εἰδέναι. See Eur. Heracl. 5 οἴδα δὲ οὐ λόγωι μαθόν. Antiphon 5. 75 ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲν πολλῶν νεωτέρος εἰμὶ καὶ λόγωι οἴδα. λόγωι often implies ‘in word only’: Eur. fr. 57 καὶ τὸ δοῦλον οὐ λόγωι (not only in word) ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ τῇ τύχῃ. Theb. 832 ἦλθε δὲ αἰακτᾶ πίματ' οὐ λόγωι. Soph. Trach. 1046, El. 1453, Ai. 813. [For ἐκμαρτυρεῖν, which has nothing to do with the technical εἰκμαρτυρία but signifies ‘to testify openly,’ see Wyse on Isae. iii. 77.]


1205. ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιώτῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν: i.e. ‘he contended for me strenuously’ (ἐπάλαλεν as ἐβριστής). Similarly Eur. Supp. 704 λόχος δὲ ὄδύτων ὀφέος ἔξυνθομένος δεινὸς παλαιώτης ἦν. Cf. generally the speech of Lady Faulconbridge in King John i. 1. 253:

King Richard Coeur-de-lion was thy father:
By long and vehement suit I was seduced
To make room for him in my husband’s bed:
Heaven lay not my transgression to my charge!
Thou art the issue of my dear offence,
Which was so strongly urged past my defence.

So in Ovid Heroid. 5. 139 Oenone says of Apollo:

*Me fide conspicuus Troiae munitor amavit:*

ille meae spolium virginitatis habet.

id quoque lactando. rupi tamen ungue capillos
oraque sunt digitis aspera facta meis.

Oenone too, according to Ovid, received her gift of medicine from Apollo (ibid. 145).

1206. νόμωι, they say, to make it easy for her to confess what was so natural: cf. Hom. ῥήμα τριών λέξων παλαιώθαν θεσμόν ἢκοντο.—For ἠθέτην see Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 279.

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

1172.

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

1216. τοὺς δόμους ἑφημένους, ‘seated against the house’—like the Furies, who personify their vengeance (see n. on 1187 f.),—rather than ‘seated on the roof.’ She sees the figures, vague and shadowy at first; as they grow plainer, gradually she discerns the details one by one; at last they show distinct, πρέπουσι (v. 1221).

1223. λέοντ': he was a Pelopid like the rest, but ἄναλκις: see on 147.

H. A.
1224. *ómi, credo, ‘no doubt’: see on 800.


1227 ff. *οὐκ οἴδεν οια...τεύξεται. The text, which is correct except that we must read λέξασα κάκτεινα (Plat. Prot. 329 ὅσπερ τὰ χαλκία πληγέντα μακρῶν ἱχεὶ καὶ ἀποτείνει), has suffered grievous treatment at the hand of many critics. *οία is understood with λέξασα as well as with τεύξεται as though it were *οία λέξασα *οία τεύξεται. The general meaning is: — ‘He little dreams what accursed act all her protracted words of smiling blandishment are but the treacherous cloak and prelude to.’ In the speech which opens at v. 846 we have had a sample of her treacherous speech, and Agamemnon feels the hollowness enough to make the significant answer (v. 905) ἀπονεία τιν ἐπας εἰκότως ἐμῇ μάκραν γὰρ ἐξέτεινα. In the Eumenides Apollo describes her (634 ff.) — ἀπὸ στρατείας γὰρ νῦν, ἡμποληκότα | τὰ πλεῖστ᾽ ἀμενον, ἐφφροσιν δεδεμενήν | <τὰ πρῶτα μύθου, ἡ κατάπνυστος, γυνή | παρίσταντ' αὐτῷ θέρρην | ἐν ἀργυρηθῶν | δρούτη περώνει λαυρά, κἀπι τέρμαι | φάρος περεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ᾽ αὐτέρμοι | κόπτει πεδήγασ' ἀνδρα δαδάλων πέπλων. ‘After receiving him with kindly words of welcome, she stood by while he was performing his ablutions in the bath, and at the conclusion trammelled him in a cunning robe and hewed him down.’ *γλῶσσα is of course the false-speaking tongue, as in the proverbial warning against ‘the smyer with the kniy under the cloke’ attributed to Solon (fr. 42):

πευλαγμένος ἀνδρα ἐκαστον ὅρα
μή κρυπτὸν ἐχὼν ἐγχες κραδία
φαιδρῶι σε προσενέπτη προσώπωι
*γλώσσα δὲ οί διχόμυθος έκ μελαίνας φρείνος γεγωνή.

And *φαιδρόνως means ‘with smiling cheerfulness’ in her greeting (v. 525 φαιδρῶι τουσίδ᾽ ὄμμασιν δέεσοθε, Cho. 563 φαιδρίῳ φρείν̣ δέσατ' ἂν); here, like *φιλόφρων in Pers. 98 (a passage to be quoted presently), merely describing the appearance worn by simulated cheerfulness.

To flatter with such sinister intention was to behave like a κῦνων λαίθαργος, which treacherously fawns and bites at the same time; a proverbial verse said σαύνονσα δάκνεις καί κῦνων λαίθαργος εἶ (Soph. fr. 800 Nauck). This must be part of the suggestion in κῦνος here, though the epithet μυστηρία introduces another quality.

And like the treachery of a κῦνων λαίθαργος is the deceitfulness
of "Ἀτη: with smiling blandishment she lures men into her nets:

_Pers._ 94

δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ
τίς ἄνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύει;

κρατινὶ ποτι πρήδη-
ματος ἐπιτεῖος αἰνόσσον;

φιλόφρον γὰρ σαῦνο-

 BSON το πρῶτον παράγει
βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκνας ἄτας'.

And Soph. fr. 519 illustrates the same connexion of thought: η δ' ἀρ' ἐν σκότων λῃσθουσά με ἐςαυ σ' Ἐρινύς ἡδοναὶ ἐφευσμένον. In Pind. _P._ ii. 83 σαύνον ἄταν διαπλέκει the metaphor is applied to a treacherous person. And Helen too, as we have seen in the n. on 724 ff., is a minister of "Ἀτη, just as the Lion-cub that typifies her is called ἑρεύς τις Ἀτας. In the corresponding line of the previous strophe he had been described as φαιδρωσὸς, ποτὶ χείρα σαύνων τε οτ φαιδρωσόν ποτὶ χείρα σαύνοντα: that implies fawning with the fatal blandishment of Ατε, δίκην Ἀτης λαβραίων.

1233. οἴκουσαν ἐν πέτραις corresponds to Homer's Σκύλλην πετραῖν (μ. 231).

1234. θούσαν Ἀιδοῦ μητέρα is not 'Mother of Hell' or 'Dam of Death,' but 'raging, infernal, hellish mother;' exactly as Eur. _Cycl._ 396 τοῖς ἑθοστυγεῖ Ἀιδοῦ μαγείρω, Aristias _Trag._ fr. 3 μαγείριτας Ἀιδοῦ τραπεζεύς, 'damned,' 'devilish.' The genitive is equivalent to an adjective such as these, or 'deadly,' 'fatal': Eur. _Or._ 1399 ἐφεσον σιδαρέουσιν Ἀιδα, _Andr._ 1046 σταλάσσων Ἀιδα φάον. Ἐρινύως, Ἐρινύας are used just in the same way: Ach. _Tat._ v. 5 ἐδείπνησσιν δ' Τυρεῶς δείπνον Ἐρινύων 'of retribution,' 'avenging.' Both genitives serve as limiting epithets to a metaphor: δίκτυων τι Ἀιδοῦ _Ag._ 1103 = 1580 = 1611, _Soph._ _Trach._ 1051, explained by _Ai._ 1034: _Theb._ 853, _Ag._ 650, 980, _Eur._ _Supp._ 773 = _Cho._ 151, _Eur._ _Alc._ 424: βάκχας Ἀιδοῦ _Eur._ _Hec._ 1077, _H. F._ 1119, _Hipp._ 550 (Musgrave): _I. T._ 286 Ἀιδοῦ ὃρακανα, _Hec._ 483 Ἀιδα θαλάμους Εὐφρώπας θεραπναν. See also Lobeck on _Soph._ _Ai._ 802, _Blaydes_ on _Ar._ _Thesm._ 1041.

1251. παρεκόπης, in answer to the question 'by what man's hand.' Quite failing to see that τοῖς δ' in v. 1249 may refer to a woman, the chorus assume that a man is meant (as in _Soph._ _Ant._ 248 Creon, never dreaming that the culprit is Antigone, asks: τί φής; τίς ἄνδρον ἢν ὁ τολμήσας τάδε;). Cassandra's reply refers to the confession ἐκ δρόμων πεσόν τρέχω in v. 1244, which corresponds to her request at v. 1183 καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμως ἵχνος κακῶν μινηλατούση, ἀποκοπήναι τῶν ἵχνων

1 eis ἄρκνατα MSS.
was used in the same way of hounds being thrown off the trail: Bekk. Anecd. 428. 25 ἀποκοπήναι τῶν ἰχνών τὴν κύνα λέγοντι ὅταν μηκέτι εὔρισκῃ τὰ ἰχνά. Hesych. ἀποκοπήναι: ἐπὶ τῶν ἰχνεύοντων λέγεται ὅταν μὴ εὔρωσιν. The true reading is doubtful, but it is possible that the scribes have tampered with the order of the words, putting ἀρ' too soon, and that we should restore ἦ κάρτα χρημάτων ἀρα παρεκόπης ἐμῶν. Similarly in Soph. O. C. 534 σαὶ τ' εἰσ' ἠρ' ἀπόγονοι τε καὶ (Jebb) has become σαὶ τ' ἠρ' εἰσ' ὅτι σαὶ τ' ἠρ' ἀπόγονοι τε καὶ.


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

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

1266. See cr. n. If the reading is τῦόδ' ἀμείψομαι or τεσόντα θ' ὤν ἀμείψομαι, the meaning is 'thus I'll requite you.'

1269 ff. ἐποπτεύωσα...μάτην, 'having regarded me even in this raiment laughed to scorn by foes and friends alike without distinction.' The form of phrase, which from its unfamiliarity has occasioned a good deal of doubt and alteration, may be illustrated by the proverbial sayings ἐρρέω φίλοι σὺν ἐξθραί (Plut. Mor. 50 f, Macar. iv. 12), σφάλλει σὺν ἐξθροί καὶ φίλους κέρδος φέρει καὶ ἀπόλαιτο καὶ φίλος σὺν ἐξθροί (Macar. vii. 95). Bergk’s reading in Pind. P. viii. 74 πολλοὶς σοφοῖς (for σοφοῖς) δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόνον βίον κορυσσάμενον ὀρθοβούλουσι μαχαναῖς would be just such another phrase, 'is thought not only by fools but by many wise men also.' If the original had been καταγελωμένη μάτην φίλον ὑπ' ἐξθρόνον οὐ διχορρόπως μέτα, to take this for ὑπ' ἐξθρόνον would have been a natural error, and to transpose μέτα and μάτην a ready expedient for making a construction; but the MS., which throws the stress on ἐξθρόνος, has a very obvious meaning, 'laughed at now in Argos as before at Troy.' That would have been as well expressed by φίλον μέτα, ἐξθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως ὑπο.


1274. ἐκπράξας = ἀνύσας (704): postquam reddidit me uatem.
\textbf{NOTES}

1276. \textit{βωμοῦ πατρῶιν}, the altar of \textit{Zeus Ἑρκεύς} at which Priam was slain.—\textit{ἀντί}: so long as a preposition can follow its case, there is no objection to its elision or even to a pause after it. Examples in iambic verse are Eur. \textit{Bacch.} 732 \textit{θηρώμεθα} ἀνδρῶν τοῦτο ὑπ', ἀλλ' ἐπεσθὲ μοι, \textit{Tro.} 1021 καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι βαρβάρων ὑπ' ἡθελες, Ar. \textit{Lys.} 1146 (tragic style) χῶραν ἦς ὑπ' εὖ πεπόνθατε, Eur. \textit{I. A.} 967 ὃν μετ' ἐστρατεύομαι, Aesch. \textit{Supp.} 260 \textit{αἰᾶν ἦς δὲ ἀγῶς ἔρχεται} (rightly corrected for \textit{αἴδησ δάλγος}). Here \textit{αὔτι} follows its case as in Lycophr. 94 ὁστρίμων μὲν \textit{άντί,} 365 \textit{ἐνος δὲ λόβης ἀντί}, but does not suffer anastrophe.

1277. See cr. n. 'The construction cannot be \textit{kopείσης} (or \textit{kopείσαι} or \textit{kopείση}) \textit{θερμῶι} \textit{φωνίωι} \textit{πρωσφάγματι} 'butchered with a hot bloody stroke,' for two reasons; even if it were possible to speak of a \textit{hot stroke}, \textit{πρώσφαγμα} does not mean (as some have wished it to mean), a \textit{blow} or \textit{stroke}; and \textit{μένει} \textit{μὲ} \textit{kopείσαι} or \textit{kopείση} could not mean 'awaits me, \textit{about to be beheaded},' \textit{kοφθηγομένην}; it could only mean 'awaits me \textit{after I have been beheaded}.'

The construction, therefore, must in part be \textit{πρωσφάγματι} \textit{kopείσης} 'the sacrifice' or 'slaughtered body of me butchered.' The dative, then, if \textit{θερμῶι} \textit{kopείσης} \textit{φωνίω} is sound, depends on \textit{μένει}, 'a block is in store for the slaughter of me butchered'; more probably, as is generally thought, it depends either on \textit{θερμῶν} (Schuetz' conjecture), 'a block is in store for me hot with the bloody slaughter of me butchered'; or on \textit{φωνιω} (Haupt), 'a block is in store for me, bloody with the hot slaughter of me butchered.'

The difficulty is in \textit{kopείσης}. Cassandra, as a prophetess, might of course visualise a block streaming with the slaughter of herself, foreseeing the future as though it had already happened, as she does in 1080–1119. But \textit{μένει} is not the language of visualisation; it is the language merely of prediction; and my feeling is that in conjunction with \textit{μένει} we ought to have, not \textit{kopείσης}, but \textit{kοφθηγομένης}. Consider now two passages: Plut. \textit{Mor.} 597 ε τῶν Λεωντίδην ἐπέσφαξε \textit{θερμῶι} τῶι \textit{Κηφισοδότωι} 'slew Leontides while the body of Cephsiodotus was yet warm.' Philostratus \textit{Kασάνδρα, Imag.} 10, describing a picture of these very murders; after slaying Agamemnon, \textit{ἡ Κλωτσακμηστρα τὴν τοῦ Πριάμου κόρην ἀποκτεῖναι \textit{θερμῶι} τῶι πελέκει 'with her axe yet warm.' And then consider whether you would not like to read \textit{kopέντος}: either \textit{θερμῶν} \textit{kopέντοσ} \textit{φωνίωι} \textit{πρωσφάγματι} 'there waits for me a block, hot with the bloody sacrifice of a butchered man,' or \textit{θερμῶι} \textit{kopέντοσ} \textit{φωνιω} \textit{πρωσφάγματι} 'bloody with the still warm slaughter of a butchered man.' See now how well the plurals follow, \textit{τεθνηχομεν} and \textit{ἡμῶι}.

I have little doubt about the answer,—if only it could be shown how \textit{kopέντος} came to be altered to \textit{kopείσης}. Well, it was a deliberate
alteration made by a half-intelligent corrector, who took the participle as referring to Cassandra, and therefore made it feminine. In this same play there are at least two other passages which have been subjected to precisely the same treatment: in v. 275, κλώουν ἐν εὐφρονι ἄνειος στιγώσῃ φθόνος, f and h give στιγώτι; and again in 283, εὖ γὰρ φρονόντος ὁμμα ου κατηγορέω, they give φρονοῦσης.

1286 ff. ἐπέλ τὸ πρῶτον κτέ. Now that the capture (ἴλον: cr. n.) of Troy is avenged, I go gladly to meet death. Cassandra’s speech in Eur. Tro. 353—405 is in effect an expansion of this passage, if read in connexion with ib. 455—461.

In Sen. Agam. 1005–1011 Cassandra speaks to Clytaemnестra:
‘You need not drag me to my death; I willingly—nay, gladly follow.’

But πάξιο in v. 1289 is doubtful.

1290. προερέντω: see n. on 365.


1304. ὥ πάτερ σοῦ σῶν τε γενναλῶν τέκνων is a fine answer to their empty consolations. There is a stroke remarkably like this in Marlowe’s Tragedy of Dido, ii. 2, where the queen is endeavouring to cheer Aeneas, son of Priam and Hecuba:

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

When Antigone is doomed to death, the Chorus attempt to console her with somewhat similar praise (Soph. Ant. 817 ff.); but she rejects the mockery of their words, and appeals to Thebes and Dirce (ib. 839 ff.).

1311. οὐ Σόφιον must be taken closely together, κατ’ εἰρωνείαν.
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1323 f. See cr. n. ‘I pray...that to my champions my enemies may pay for the slaying of a murdered slave.’ This is on the whole the best remedy, although φόνευσι is a strange word for tragedy to use. [See Housman in Journ. Phil. xvi. p. 210.] An alternative would be τοίς εἰμοι τιμαρώσως ἐξήρους φανείσιν τοὺς εἰμοι κτέ. Cf. Plut. Dio et Brut. comp. 5 καὶ Δίωνος μὲν τιμωρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη πεσόντος.

1325. For the loosely-added genitive, cf. Eur. El. 1105 τὸς ξένος... ἐμὸν κάρα προσώπεται μητέρα κτανόντος; Cyc. 244 πλήσουσι νηών τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ’ ἄνθρακος θερμὴν ἔδωκτο δαίτα τοῖς κρεανόμα.

1326 ff. These lines contain an Aeschylean figure developed out of the phrase σκαί τὰ θητηρία (Nauck F. T. G., p. 783, Eur. Med. 1224, Soph. Ai. 125, Ar. Au. 683 etc.), ‘All is Vanity,’ empty and unsubstantial, and not real or solid: ‘every man at his best state is altogether vanity,’ Psalms 39. 5, Soph. O.T. 1186 ff. ὥ γενεω βροτῶν, ὡς ἑρᾶς ἑσα καὶ τὸ μυθὲν ζωτὰς ἐναρμόθω. Aeschylus makes his ‘shadow’ that of σκιαγραφία, as Iamblichus, Protrept. 8 εἰ θεωρήσεις ὃν αὐγάς τὸν ἀνθρώποιον βίων: εὑρήσει γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐναι μεγάλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποι πάντα ὅτα σκιαγραφίαν κτε. πρέβεσι implies that life, even seeming most vivid, is only a pencilled sketch: cf. v. 253 πρέπονται δ’ ὡς ἐν γράφαις. I formerly preferred τέρψειν, which was proposed by an anonymous critic: pleasure of this life (τὸ τερπνὸν) is short-lived and faint like a deceptive imitation: Xen. Symp. 4. 22 ἦ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡφις εὐφραίνειν δύναται, ἢ δὲ τοῦ εἰδῶλου τέρψιν μὲν οὐ παρέχει πόθον δὲ ἐμποτεί. Cf. Ar. Poet. 6. 1450 b 1 παραπλήσιον γὰρ ἐστιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραφικῆς: ἐί γὰρ τις ἐναλείψει τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύσῃ, οῖκον ἄν ὀργίως εὐφραίνειν καὶ λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα. Stob. Flor. 14. 24 (Socrates) ἔσκεκεν ἦ κολακεῶ γραμμῆς παντολίω. διὸ τέρψιν μὲν ἔχει, χρείαν δὲ οὐδέμιαν παρέχεται. This train of thought led Greeks to the conclusion μὴ φύναι ἄριστον, and the chorus in Soph. O. C. 1211 ff. is only a versification of an ancient and familiar commonplace. Thus we have τὰ τερπνοῦτα δ’ οἶκον ἀν ἄδεως ὅποιον, and in Pind. P. viii. 88 ἐπάμεροι: τί δὲ τις, τί δ’ οὔ τις; σκιὰς ὁνὸρ ἀνθρωπὸς (an hyperbole like εἴδωλον σκιὰς, καπνὸν σκιὰ) is led up to by the reflection ἐν δ’ ὀλίγῳ τὸ τερπνόν αἰξεῖται, οὔτω δὲ καὶ πίνει χαίμαφ. Pleasure is like the grass that withereth and the flower that fadeth; τοῖς ἵκελοι πὴρευν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄνθεσιν ἦβης τερπόμεθα, Mimnermus (fr. 2) says.

εὐτυχῶντα μὲν applies to Agamennon’s fortunes, εἰ δὲ δυστυχῷ τοι Cassandra’s: κυριωτέρα δ’ ἐν οἴκτων τὰ τῆς Κασανδρῆς, says Philostratus,
Imag. Ἀσχάνδρα, and that is what Aeschylus takes care to stress. But it is hardly for Cassandra to pronounce that her own case is far more pitiable than Agamemnon’s; and I think with Weil that this final comment is as usual by the Chorus: ‘vaticinatur Cassandra, non philosophatur.’ For the opposition of the μέν- and δέ-clauses, expressing the contrast of the bad to the worse, cf. Thel. 172 κρατοῦσα μέν γὰρ ὄνδρον ὑμῖν, δεῖσσα δ’ οἰκοι καὶ πόλει πλέον κακῶν. Achill. Tat. i. 7 ἄν ὁμάδω μέν γὰρ γυνή, καὶ εὐμορφος ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀμορφῶν δυστυχότος, διπλῶν τὸ κακὸν. Lucian iii. 232 ποθεῖν μὲν οὖν καὶ νέως πατρίς· τοῖς δὲ ἴδιοι γεγραμμένοι πλεῖοι ἐγγίνεται ὁ πόθος. Chor. 740 ὅς μοι τὰ μὲν παλαιά... ἄλγυνεν ἐν στέρνοις φρένα, ἀλλ’ οὐτὶ πῶ τοιόνυμο πήρ’ ἀνεσχόμην. For the pity which is due to Cassandra cf. Antiphanes ap. Stob. Flor. 97. 1 καλῶς πένεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ πλούσιον κακῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεον τὸ δ’ ἐπιτύμησιν φέρει.

I330. ἀκάδρεστον. So it is said of Wealth in Ar. Plut. 188 ὅστις καὶ μετὸς σοῦ γέγον ὁδεῖς πότοτε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἔστι πάντων πλημμονὴ κτὲ.

I331. δακτυλοδείκτων, that is, ‘admired and gorgeous palaces,’ show places.

I333. μηκέτ’ ἐσθῆς. The entrance of Wealth into men’s houses is described in Ar. Plut. 234—244.

I339. ἐπικρανεῖ: so the MSS., and the future is the natural tense here, but it is hardly credible that it could be scanned εἰπικρανεῖ, and a paroemiac at this point is unusual. Perhaps ἐπικρανεῖν ‘should he complete....’

I340. τὸς ἄν < ὅνυ > εὐξαίτο Cantor, but the sense required is ‘who can boast that his lot is free from harm?’ (cf. Menand. 355 οὖν ἐστιν εἰσεῖν ζωῦντα ‘ταῦτα ὡς πείσομαι’). τὸς ἄν < ὅνυ > Porson, but οὖν cannot stand so in apodosi. τὸς τὰν Weil, τὸς < ποτ > ἄν E. A. Ahrens, τὸς < τὸν > ἄν Verrall, alii alia, all but Schneidewin retaining εὐξαίτο. This cannot be. τὸς ἄν εὐξαίτο; has only one meaning in Greek, ‘who would wish?’ (e.g. Antiphon 6. ἔι ἐχομένου ἄν τις ταῦτα εὐξαίτο, Dem. in Hermog. Rhet. p. 176 εἶτα ἄ διδαππός εὐξαίτο ἄν τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦτα ὑμῶν ἐνθίδευ θουύν). In ordinary language it is very common, e.g. Isocr. 3. 16 καῖτο τὸς οὖν ἄν εὐξαίτο τῶν ἐν φρονοῦντων τουαυτῆς πολιτείας μετέχειν... (where G has δέατο which is equally common, but means ‘be content to’) Ar. Ran. 283 ἐγὼ δὲ γ’ εὐξαίμην ἄν... and occurs also in Soph. fr. 327 οὐτε γὰρ γάμον, ὡ φίλας, οὔτ’ ἄν ὄλβον ἐκμετρον ἐνδον εὐξαίμαν ἔχειν. φθονεραί γὰρ ὄντι. I thought once of τοῖς ἄν αἰχύσειε, but though Hesych. gives αὐχύεω: εὐχομαι, that is the only place I have ever found it so explained, and probably the true reading is Schneidewin’s rejected εὐεὐξαίτο.

1355. Μελλούσ. The word should be written so, not μελλοῦς, to indicate that it is a personification or idealisation of a quality. These were formed in Greek as easily by a termination in ὀ as in English by a capital letter. Tryphon (Mus. Crit. i. 49), quoting this word as an example of θωματοποία κατὰ παρονομασίαν, gives ...τῆς Μελλοῦσ χάριν no doubt by defect of memory. The phrase τῆς Μελλοῦσ κλέος gives me the impression that it refers to some proverbial commendation of Deliberation, and in this I am supported by an epigram of Antiphilus A. P. xvi. 136 'Αρκεί δ' ἀ μελλήσις (Intention) ἔφα σοφός. This may have been the very proverb, from an early gnomic poet. They, the speaker ironically remarks, are paying singularly little respect to 'that same lauded name' Delay. Cf. Eur. I. T. 905 ὅπως τὸ κλεον ἀνομα τῆς σωτηρίας λαβόντες κτέ., Ov. Trist. i. 8. 15 illud amicitiae sanctum et uenerabile nomen | re tibi pro ulla est sub pedibusque iacet.

1373 f. φιλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, 'passing as beloved,' and therefore to be treated with dissimulation.—See cr. nn. The corrections assume that the scribe took ἀρκνοστατῶν to be an adjective and altered πημονῆς accordingly.

1379. I formerly punctuated after τάδε (C. R. xii. 247), joining it with ἐπραξα: but there is no need for the pronoun to be emphatic

1382. πλοῦτον ἐματος κακόν is taken to be merely a fine phrase for abundance of material; surely it implies that the silver-purchased raiment which he trampled in his pride of wealth has now itself, as it were, become the instrument of his undoing, changed into the net of Ate. See vv. 383, 940, 951, 1580.

1385 f. τρίτην ἐπενθυμωμ κτέ. The third libation was offered to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ: Aesch. fr. 55 τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος εὐκταίαν λίβα. See also note on v. 257 τριτόσπονδὸν παιάνα and cf. 650 παιάνα τὸν Ἐρχόνων. 'My third blow was added as a prayer-offering to the subterranean Zeus'—as Hades may be called, for in the Underworld his position corresponds to that of Zeus among the Olympian powers above; and so in Supp. 160 ff. the Danaids from Egypt say, 'If Zeus Petitionary will not hear our prayer, our swarthy company will perish by the noose and make their supplication to the dark Zeus of the Earth, that Zeus most Hospitable—to all that seek rest from their labours with him, who grants entertainment freely to the dead,' τὸν γάιον, τὸν πολυενώτατον Ζῆνα τὸν κεκμήκατον, where the schol. has τὸν καταχθόνιον Ἀδην.

There is something of the same irony in the words σωκαςθώ κάτω in Soph. El. 438 and σωκοντον κάτω Ai. 660: and there is a precisely similar implication in the mention of a third libation in Cho. 576
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φόνου δ’ ἐρωτός οὐχ ὑπεστανισμένη ἄκρατον άμα πίεται τρίτην πόσιν, i.e. ‘as her third and crowning draught.’

1390 f. recall Hom. Ψ 597 τοίο δέ θυμός | ἰώνθη, ός εἴ τε περὶ σταχύσεσίν ἐέρρη | ληθόν ἀλήθηκος, ὅτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι, ‘His heart was gladdened as the heart of growing corn is gladdened with the dew upon the ears when the fields are bristling’ (Leaf).

1394 ff. πρεπόντων was formerly taken as a partitive genitive with ἦν (as though = ἐν τοῖς π.) ‘had it been among things fitting,’ and Wecklein still takes it so. But Wellauer and Blomfield truly observed that in such phrases the article is used; we must have had τῶν π. Dr Verrall accordingly takes it as a genitive absolute ‘under fit circumstances, with good cause,’ interpreting ‘Could there be a fit case for a libation over the dead, justly and more than justly this would be that case.’ The natural construction, as van Heusde saw, is πρεπόντων ὑποσπένδιν, ‘to pour a libation of what is fit,’ σπένδειν being often used with a genitive, e.g. Longus ii. 31 ἑπισπεισάντες οἴνον, 22, iii. 12. Philostr. Apoll. v. 15, Epist. 39 οὐκ ὑπον σπένδοντες αὐτῶι ἄλλα δακρύων. Heliod. vii. 15 ἀποσπένδῳ τῶν ἐμαντῆς δακρύων, iv. 16. Plut. Mor. 655 ἐ Ηεροδιαν v. 5. 12. In the sense ‘it is possible to,’ ἐστιν ὡστε is common enough: sup. 389 ἐστι όň ὑπήμαντον ὡστ’ ἀπαρκεῖν εἰ πρα-πιδῶν λαχύντα, Soph. Phil. 656, Eur. Hipp. 701 ἄλλ’ ἐστι κάκ τῶν’ ὡστε σωθῆναι. ἑπισπένδειν is properly used of pouring a libation upon a sacrifice: Hdt. ii. 39 ἑπιεῖτα δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ (the altar) οἴνον κατὰ τοῦ ἤρπην ἑπιπ., as iv. 62 ἐπείαν γὰρ οἶνον ἑπιπεύχομεν κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, iv. 16, vii. 167. Nicand. Thyat. (Ath. 486 a), Plut. Rom. 4, Xen. Ephes. i. 5. Here the whole point lies in πρεπόντων, for of course, to pour libations on a corpse was to give him the due rite of burial: Anth. Append. Cougny ii. 485, Nicet. Eugen. ix. 4 το σῶμα συγκαίνοντι, Ἐλλήνων νόμων, χώσ ἑπισπεισάντες. By τάδε, which is explained by τοσοῦνδε...ἀράιων in the following lines, Clytaemnestra means that the proper libations for Agamemnon would be taken from the ἄραια κακά (that is, βλαβερά) that he has himself inflicted on his own house. Such metaphors from libations are common in later Greek and Latin; e.g. in Achilles Tatius, iii. 16, a lover about to cut his throat upon his mistress’ grave says λαβὲ όν, Λευκίππη, τὰς πρεπόνσας σοι χώσ παρ’ ἐμὸν.

1400. περάσσει κτέ. may be a reminiscence of Hector’s words to Ajax in Hom. Η 235 μὴκ τινε, ἦτο παιδὸς ἄφαντος περιήτηξε | ἦ γνωρίς, ἦ οὐκ οἶδεν πολεμιόμα ἔργα | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ εὖ οἶδα μάχας τ’ ἀνδροκτασίας τε.

1406 f. τ’ ἀκανόν...χθονοτρέφει ἑδανόν ἡ ποτόν...ἐπιτάς ἤς ἄλος ὀρμενόν; ‘what φάρμακων, solid or liquid?’ Hom. Λ 741 ἡ τόσα φάρμακα ἢδη ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεία χθῶν. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 530 φάρμαχ’ ὤσ’ ἥπειρός τε
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1409. τεδ’ ἐπέθυον θύσις δημοθρόους τ’ ἀράς; I take this to mean τὸδὲ λεύσιμον θύμα (v. 1107). Other views are that θύσις here means ‘frenzy,’ either ‘this maddened rage of thine’ or ‘this fury of the clamouring people.’

1418. See cr. n. Perhaps we should read Θηρικῶν γ’ ἀγμάτων: but τε may have been merely a metrical addition, after the corruption of Α to Λ.

1423. ἐκ τῶν ὅμοιων, ‘conditions equal.’ So Plat. Phaedr. 243 d συμβουλεύον δὲ καὶ Δυστία ὅτι τάχιστα γράφαι ὃς χρή ἐρωτῆθι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ ἐρωτήτι ἐκ τῶν ὅμοιων χαρίζεσθαι, where the phrase is equivalent to ceteris paribus.

1429. λόγος ἐπ’ ὅμματος αἰματος εὖ πρέπειν : the eye shows the heart (see nn. on 283, 784 ff., 1 Samuel 16. 7 But the Lord said unto Samuel, Look not on his countenance or on the height of his stature). Therefore bloody heart should have a bloody eye to match. The blood will come from public stoning.

1432. καὶ τὴν ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμών θύμιν can hardly be correct, for ἀκούεις would mean ‘you hear,’ ‘you have heard now’: it is after the law has been recited that the orator says ἀκούεις τὸν νόμον, and the same is the case invariably with ἀκούεις or ἀκύεις. Greek would be καὶ τὴν ἀκούον (Casaubon), as Cho. 498, or ἀκονέ γ’ (Herwerden), or as I suggest ἀκούονε γ’, Eum. 306, Soph. Ai. 1141.

1435. οὐ μοι Φόβου μελαθρών Εὐληίς ἐμπάτετε, ‘my confident spirit sets no foot within the house of Fear.’ For the metaphor cf. Ecclesiastes 7. 4 ‘The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning; but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth.’ [Quint. xiv. 168 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ποινὰ μέλας δόμοι εἶτος ἐέργει λήθης,] μελαθρὼν is used in the singular of the cave of Philoctetes (Soph. Phil. 1453), and of the temple of Artemis (Eur. I. 7. 1216). For the combination of φόβος and ἐλπίς see Thuc. vii. 61 οὗ τοῖς πρώτοις ἄγῳσι σφαλέντες ἐπεῖτα δὰ παντὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς εὐκυφοραῖς ἔχουσιν.

1437. εὖ φρονών ἐμοί ‘sympathetic’ is the nearest equivalent, as in other places, e.g. sup. 283, Cho. 770.

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

ἐγὼ δὲ δραίτης ἄγχι κείσομαι τέῳ
Χαλυβδικῶι κνῶδοιτι συντεθραυσμένη
in this sense often begins a sentence: Hom. E 467, II 541, 558, Σ 20 κείται Πάτροκλος. Thb. 779 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα. A. P. xii. 48 κείμαι. λὰ ἐπίβαίνει κατ' αὐχένος.

The antithetical sentence (shaped in the figure called Chiasmus) puts in a brief and telling way the relations of Cassandra to Agamemnon and to Clytaemnestra, and the results of them in each case: 'she was the lover of him,—and is laid low by his side; she dared to trespass on the rights of marriage that were mine,—and all that she has thereby brought to me is the delight of triumph.'

By the words φιλήτωρ τοῦδε she implies at least two things: that Cassandra had chosen to side with Agamemnon against herself; and that she now lies, as a lover should, beside him. Hereafter she herself and Aegisthhus are to fall, as Cassandra had foretold, woman for woman, man for man (v. 1317); and in Cho. 893 Orestes says to her φιλεῖς τὸν ἀνδρα; τοῦγάρ ἐν ταύτω τάφω κείσης. Perhaps by the active word she wishes to imply that the woman was the seducer; in Sen. Agam. 1001 she says:

'*at ista poenas capite persoluet suo, captiua contiunx, regii paelyx tori. trahite, ut sequatur consigem ereptum mihi,*

'that she may follow the husband she has stolen from me.' The associations of the word are likely to have lent a special sting to it; the Cretans, says Strabo 484, τὸν μὲν ἐρωμένον καλωσικλεινόν, τὸν δ' ἐραστὴν φιλήτωρα. Hesych. gives φιλήτωρ: ἐραστὴς, and Nonnus uses it as an adjective, 'loving': Dion. xxi. 27 φιλήτωρ κόλπων, Ioan. xviii. 55 ἴσθανος δ' ἀνέκοψε φιλήτωρ Πέτρων ὁινη—παροφίς οτ παροφιούμαι μεν a trivial extra morsel, Pollux x. 87 τίς δὲ παροφιδα...ἐπὶ μάζης ἢ ἐλθοῦ τινος ἢ ἐδέσματος εὐτελοῦς δ' ἔστι παροφήσασθαι, vi. 56 παροφίδα...ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτο ἐλομφ τε εἴδος, ἢ ὡς τινὲς, μάζης, ἢ παρενθήκη τις ὁφων, δ' οἱ νῦν ἂν εἴποιν παροφημάτων. And when used metaphorically they were a
synonym for a πάρεργον, as opposed to an ἔργον or σπούδασμα (Galen i. 227 ἔργον δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ σπούδασμα.... Plat. Euthydem. 273D ‘Οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῦτα σπούδασμον, ἄλλα παρέργοις αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα...’ 'Καλὸν ἂν τι τό γε ἔργον ὡμοί εἴη, εἰ τηλικά ματα πράγματα πάρεργα ὑμῖν τυχάνει ὁντα’): Sotades (Ath. 368α) παροφίς εἶναι φαίνομαι τοῖς Κρωβίλοις τούτον μασάται, παρακατευθεὶς δ’ ἐμέ. Magnes (ib. 367f) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παροφίδες. Philostr. Heroic. 284 = 662 φυτεύω δὲ αὐτὰ (these other fruits) οἶνον παροφήματα τῶν ἀμπέλων. Clem. Alex. 695 καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐφάπτεται φιλοσοφίας οία τρωγάλιον τι ἐπὶ τοῖς διεποντο παροφώμενος. Himerius Or. xiv. 24 τοὺς δὲ Πύρρωνος τρόπους καὶ τὴν ἑκείθεν ἔριν οὐχ ὡς μέγα σπούδασμα οἶνον δὲ τι παροφύμα τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας.

Metaphorically, therefore, these words mean a mere slight toy or by-play beside the serious business or main action; and thus παροφίς is applied in Aristophanes Δαιδ. fr. 236 to a married woman's lover: τάσις γυναῖκι ἐξ ἐνός γέ τοῦ τρόπου ὅστε παροφίς μοιχὸς ἐπεκεισαμένος. It is in precisely the same way that εἶνης παροφώμημα τῆς ἔμης is applied by Clytaemnestra to her husband's paramour.

The metaphorical meaning of these words has not been grasped; παροφώμημα here has hitherto been taken as though it were ἰῶμα, a seasoning to enhance the appetite, εἶνης παροφώμημα something that gives a zest and gusto to the pleasures of the bed; and the usual interpretation has represented Clytaemnestra as proclaiming to the public, 'Cassandra by her death has added a relish to the enjoyment of my commerce with Aegisthus.' How that would be possible is not easy to imagine; still less easy to imagine any woman making such a profession. ἐπάγεις is used by Pindar thus, like ἐπίδοινε: P. viii. 64 to Apollo, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόθ χαρμάτων ὡπάσας, οἴκου δὲ πρόσθεν ἀρταλεῖν δόσιν...ἐπάγεις: cf. O. ii. 10, 41, Soph. Ai. 1189. The phrase εἶνης παροφώμημα τῆς ἔμης is not the accusative and object to ἐπήγαγεν, but the nominative and subject of it—or better, perhaps, it is in apposition to the previous nominative ἢ δὲ τοῦ. It follows that the object must be χλιδῆς: see cr. n. The schol. has τὴν ἐκ περιουσίας τρυφήν, which Blomfield took to be an explanation of παροφώμημα merely. It must have included χλιδῆς, for of that word τρυφή is the grammarians’ regular equivalent (see Ruhnken Tim. 276 = 230, Moeris 408 = 370): thus (to quote passages some of which will at the same time illustrate the sense of luxuriant triumph) Aesch. Supp. 925 Εὐληκτέων ἐγχλίεις, 242 χλιωτη, schol. τρυφώντα, Cho. 137 ἐν...πόνοις χλιώσων, schol. τρυφώσων. Hesych. ἐγχλίει: ἐντρυφάι. ἐχλίει: θρούπτει, P. V. 1003 χλιδᾶν εἰκας τοῖς παροίσι πράγμασι, schol. τρυφάν, ἀνίεσθαι. Soph. Trach. 201 ὑπερχλιώντες, schol. ὑπερεπτρυφάσαντε. 1451. φέρουσ’ όμιλείν (see cr. n.) is exactly like Soph. Ai. 1201
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neίμεν ερόι τέρψιν ὀμφεῖν: cf. Pind. N. x. 72 χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις ἄνθρώπως ὀμφεῖν κρεςόννου, I. ii. 37 αἰδοίος μὲν ἦν ἀστοῖς ὀμφεῖν.

1456. παράνον. Cf. Eur. Or. 79 (Helen speaks) ἐπλευστά θεομανὲι πότμω, θεδ. 640 ὦ θεομανές...Οἰδίπον γένος, ἰθ. 741 παράνοα συνάγε
νυμφίους φρενώλεις.

1461. εῖ τις ἡν ποτ': see cr. n. 'This use of εῖ τις is not so well recognised as it should be; it means 'any that there may be,' 'some or other,' and is declarable, as in the other well-known use πλοίτων σθένουτοι εῖ τυνο. I believe it should be read with Elmsley in Soph. Ai. 179 ἣ χαλκοβόραξ εἰ τὐν ἑννάλιος μομβών ἔκων 'some complaint or other,' 'possibly,' 'perchance,' for ἡ τὐν, and in Aesch. Cho. 752 with Buttmann (Griech. Sprachl. i. 142) εἰ λιμός ἡ δαφ' εἰ τις ἥ λαμπορία ἔχει 'or thirst, may be' (like ἦν τύχη, εἰ τύχοι, τυχίν, si forte Munro on Lucr. v. 720) for ὀμη τις. Exactly similar is the use of εἰ ποθι in Ai. 885 εἰ ποθι πλαζόμενοι λεύσοσιν, and of εἰ ποθειν in Philoct. 1204 εἴφοι εἰ ποθειν ἕ γέννη ἥ βελενοι τι προπέμψατε. It should be considered whether Τρ. 705 ἕ εἰ ποτε ἐκ σοῦ γενόμενοι παῖδες ' ἴλιον πόλιν κατοικίσεων may not be explained in the same way.

1463 ff. ἐπεύχου...ἰκτρέψης: for the change from present to aorist in prohibitions cf. sup. 909 ff. For the distinction in meaning see C. R. xix. p. 30.

1465. ἤκτρέψης: for illustrations of this word see On editing Aeschylus, p. 100.

1468. δέστατον ἄγος, uinlus incompositeum, 'a hurt unhealable'; referring to their description of Helen as εἰν δώμοις ἐρίς ἐρίδματος.

1471 f. κράτος τ' ἵσοψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν κράτύνεις: Helen and Clytaemnestra are both instruments to execute the purpose of the haunting Spirit. Schol. Κλυταιμνήστραν καὶ Ἐλείνην λέγει, αἱ κατὰ φαῦλότητα ἵσα τὸς ψυχάς ἔχουσι. The infatuation of the daughters of Tyndareus was an old tradition: see Hom. Λ 436—9, Eur. Ἑ. 1062 τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἴδος αἰνον ἄξιον φέρει | Ἐλείνης τε καὶ σοῦ, δύο δ' ἐφυτε συγγόνον, | ἀμφοι ματαῖοι Κάστορος τ' οὐκ ἄξιω. | ἵ μὲν γὰρ ἄρτασθείαν ἔκωσεν ἄποφεξα, | σον δ' ἀνδρ' ἄριστον Ἑλλάδος διώξασας. Similarly in Orest. 249 ἐπίστημον ἔτεκε Τυνδάρεως εἰς τὸν ψόγον | γένος θυγατέρων δυσκλεῖς τ' ἀν' Ἐλλάδα, where we learn from the scholiast that Hesiod (fr. 117) had said that both she and Helen (and Timandra, a third sister,) had received from Aphrodite the gift of beauty but the curse of ill-fame with it; all deserted their husbands: τύσιν δὲ φιλομμειδής Ἀφροδίτη | ἱγάσθη προσιδῶσα, κακὴν δὲ σφιν ἔμμαλε φήμην, | Τιμόνδρη μὲν ἐπεῖτ' Ἐχθεμον προλοπαύοι ἐβεβηκε, | ἵκετο δ' ἐς Φυλά, φίλον μακάρεσσε θεοῦν; | ὡς δὲ Κλυταιμνήστρῃ προ- λοποῦσ' Ἀγαμήμονα διὸν | Αἰγύπτων παρέλεκτο καὶ ἐκεῖν ἠχῷον ἀκούσας. | ὡς δ' Ἐλείνη ἵσχυνε λέχος ἐνθου Μεγελαίον. This was followed by Stesichorus (fr. 26) who assigned a reason for the curse:
Nicolaus in Walz, Rhet. i. 385 makes Agamemnon, when struck down, exclaim: ὡς ἐτη δυστυχίας τῶν Ἀτρείδων κατέστη πατὴρ ὁ Τυνδάρεως ἐκατέρως γοναῖς ταῖς Ἀτρέως ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. καὶ πλεῖ μὲν δὲ Ἐλένην Μενέλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ Κλυταιμνήστραν ἀνήφημαι. Μενέλαος μὲν Ἐλένην τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀλλοτροῖ, Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ τοῦ βιών (τῶν βίων MS.) ἐμε' καὶ κακοτραγούμεν δ' ἐκατέρας ἀμφότεροι.

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

1476. νῦν in the sense of 'now at last,' and not νῦν δ' (see cr. n.), is required. Cf. Ar. Excit. 204 νῦν καλὸς ἐπηνεύεις, Plat. Gorg. 452 ε νῦν μοι δοκεῖ δηλώσαι κτέ. Similarly in Theocr. i. 132 νῦν ἢ μὲν φορέωτε βάσω several copies have νῦν δ'.

1480. νειρτροφεῖται. The MSS. reading may be, I think, a corruption of a compound νειρτροφεῖται, like σκιαστροφεῖται: cf. νυκτήγορείσθαι Theb. 29. To write it as we find it would be the natural tendency of a copyist; thus we get in MSS. ἀγεί κτήμων schol. Pind. p. 312 (fr. 82) for ἀγχίκρημον, δινάει πόλων Simonides in Plat. Prot. 346 c for δηνύττολον, κάμψει δασιον Telestes in Ath. 637 a for καμψιδιάννον; while for the strengthened form of the verb they tend to write the simple form; thus (to take a case in which this often happens) in Eur. fr. 1063. 5 for ἀναστροφωμείνη (Gesner) the MSS. of Stobaeus and Choricius vary between ἀναστροφωμείνη and ἀναστροφομείνη.

The form might also be νειρτραφεῖται, as σκιαστραφεῖται. This word too supplies an example of the tendency to break up compounds: in Stob. Flor. 97. 17 (Eur. fr. 546. 8) there is a v.l. σκιᾶ τροφοφύμενος.

1481. νόσω ἵχαρ 'fresh in appetite' (τήν ἐπιθυμίαν). ἵχαρ is to ἰχανῶ as μῆχαρ to μηχανῶ, λοφάρ to λοφάω, μῶραρ to μωράμαι, λύμαρ to λυμαίνομαι. There is no such word as ἵχαρ (Dind. Lex. Aesch.); Supp. 863 is corrupt. The intestine murders in the House that follow in such swift succession are conceived as wounds made by a devouring monster, whose thirst for blood revives again before the last wound has had time to heal. ἵχορ of the MSS. is taken to mean 'gore, bloodshed'—a sense incredible. Its proper sense is a humour, lymph, serum; never blood, that it should be extended (like αἷμα) to mean a deed of blood. And the phrase should naturally be a further account of ἐρως.
**NOTES**

1482. τοίσδε is probably a gloss: cf. 1657. Perhaps we should read ἧ μέγαν <ἡ μέγαν> οἴκους with Weil: see on 1506.


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

1508. πῶ πῶ; is Doric. Cf. πῶμαλα, not at all. [See Shilleto cr. n. to Dem. *F. L.* § 56.] πόθεν and ποὺ are used with the same force—'go to!'

1510 ff. βιάζεται δ'... The blood of the slain children of Thyestes lies congealed upon the earth (μελαμπαγές αἵμα φῶνων *Thes.* 724), demanding vengeance (τίτας φῶνας πέτηγεν οὐ διαρρόθαν *Cho.* 65), and is not to be washed away until sufficient blood of kindred has been shed by murder to atone for it: φῶνω φῶνοι λύειν is the principle. Soph. *El.* 1384 ἰδεθ' ὁπον προνεμέται | τὸ δυστέροντον αἵμα φυσῶν *Arms.* Eur. *Or.* 811 πάλαι παλαιᾶς ἀπὸ συμφορᾶς δῶμον | ὡστὸ χρυσάς | ἔρις ἀρνὸς ἡλυθε Τανταλδαί | οἰκτράτα θωνάτα καὶ | σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων | ὥθεν φῶνοι φῶνοι ἐξαμείβοι | δ' αἵματοσ οὐ προλείπετε | δυσσώιν Ἀτρέδας. *Αρχις πάχαι κουραβόρῳ (φῶνον) δίκας παρέχων, feud-murder serving as the price for bloodshed, is just like ἀρῇ ἀτολμητὸν ἐκτίνουσα in v. 385, havoc and destruction paying the penalty for sin.

1524. She takes up their words δολῶν μορωθεί, with the retort οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐς τοι δολῶν ἀτην οἴκουσιν ἐθηκ': An ellipse such as is implied here by γὰρ was often explained by scholiasts, see e.g. scholia on *P. V.* 1015, *Pers.* 237, Eur. *Or.* 794, Ar. *Nub.* 1366: and the explanation was liable to be incorporated in the text, as οὐκέτι in *Rhesus* 17. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 323, condemns Hom. κ 190 on similar grounds. So here the lines which precede οὐδὲ γάρ were a scholiast's explanation, οὔτε ἀνελεύθερον αἵμα τᾶν αὐτὸν τῶδε γενέσθαι.

1527. Porson on *Med.* 822 (826) restored πολυκλαύτην on the ground that the less common form of the feminine is liable to corruption, and that τ' was a subsequent addition. Meineke rejected τ'ν, which he thought to have been inserted with the object of avoiding a paroemiac. Errors due to the last-named cause will also be found in 87, 783 (προσεφυκνείται h), and 791.

1528. ἀξία δράσας ἀξία πάσχων corresponds to ἀξίον ἀξίον, δίκαι δίκαι, a common use. [Eur. *Sapp.* 813 σφαγέντας οὐκ ἄξιον ἄξιον ὕπ' ἀξίων, Ion 735 ἄξιον γεννητόρων ἡθη φυλάσσεις.]

1531. ἐρευν, 'what he wrought' (see cr. n.), is equally possible. Hom. Γ 351 Ζεὺς ἀνα, δός τεύσασθαι ο με πρότερος κάκ' ἐφρηγην.

1532 ff. The construction is εὐπάλαμον φροντίδος μέρυμαν στερηθείς, ἀμηχανῶ ὅπαι τράπωμαι. So Soph. *O. T.* 170 οὐδ' ἐνι φροντίδος ἔγχος ὦ
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The phrase is based upon the word ἀσταγές or ἀστακτί 'in torrents': ἀψεκαστί might have been used in the same sense.

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

ἀδίκως, dishonestly, like δίκην παράβαντες in v. 780. Cf. Schol. on Soph. El. 270 σπένδοντα λοιβάς: τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας Αἰγίσθον κατηγόρημα, εἰ σπένδει θεοῖς, ὅποι ἀδίκοις φόνοι εἴργασται.

τὸ δ' ἑπτάμβιος κτέ.: i.e. and if you do, what praise of yours could be genuine? ἴπτων is intransitive, as in Supp. 556 ἴπτει δ' Ἀτίδος δ' αἰας.—ἀνδρὶ θεῶι: Cratinus, fr. 1 (i. p. 11 K.), of Cimon, σὺν ἀνδρὶ θεώι καὶ φιλοξενωτάτω καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστωι τῶν Πανελλήνων.

πόρθημ' ἄχων. Schuetz was the first to quote in illustration of this phrase Stob. Ecl. i. 49. 50 (p. 418 Wachs.), containing an extract from Apollodorus περὶ τῶν θεῶν (F. H. G. i. p. 429) ἐκ γὰρ τοιούτων ὄρμωμεν πιθανὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐν ᾧ Αἰδον νομιζόμενος ποταμοὺς κατωνομάκασιν. 'Ἀχέροντα μὲν δὲ διὰ τὰ ἄχη, ὃς καὶ Μελανππίδης ἐν Περσεφόνη (fr. 3)

καλεῖται δ' <ἐνεκ'> ἐν κόλπους γαίας

ἄχε' εἰσιν προχέων, Ἀχέρον.
It is difficult to find a place for Pleisthenes in the genealogy Zeus, Tantalus, Pelops, Atreus, Agamemnon. Later writers, to meet the difficulty, assert that Pleisthenes was son of Atreus and father of Agamemnon, but died young, so that Agamemnon was commonly called the son of Atreus (Schol. Eur. Or. 4). There is no warrant for this in Homer, but some faint indication that Aeschylus had heard of it: see vv. 775, 1602.

1574. παναρκεῖς ἐμοιγ' is assumed to have been the original text which with ἀπόχρη superscript ultimately produced the MSS. reading. The first step was πᾶν ἀπόχρη 'μοιγ': but since πᾶν ἀπόχρη cannot be construed together, πᾶν was taken to be a predicate; and that necessitated a connecting particle in the following clause: and so we get κτεάνων τε μέρος βαιόν ἐχοῦσῃ πᾶν, ἀπόχρη μοι δ'.... The rhythm alone is enough to show that this cannot be genuine; but to confirm my view that such was supposed to be the construction, cod. f has actually that punctuation, a comma after πᾶν. I had long looked with suspicion upon ἀπόχρη, for it is a prose word, not a poetical, and neither in Epic, Lyric, nor Tragedy is ever used at all. Thus it would be a natural synonym for explanatory purposes: Moeris p. 262 οὐκ ἀπύρκει ἀντι τοῦ οὖκ ἀπέχρη, 'Αριστοφάνης Πολυνίδου. But poetry uses ἀρκῶ and compounds, verbs and adjectives, as v. 390 ἀπήματον ὡσ', ἀπαρκεῖν, Pers. 240 πλοῦτος ἐξαρκής, A. P. x. 76 πλοῦτον ἔχειν ἥθελον τῶν ἐπάρκιν, Απον. ap. Suid. Παλαμήδης: εἰ γ' μοι βίστος πανεπάρκιος. See also Chor. 68 παναρκέτας νόσοιν βρύειν. Aeschylus has also παναρκεῖς Theb. 152. The copyist, after the habit of such with unexpected compounds, made two words of it. In Iambl. Vit. Pyth. § 147 Cobet (Coll. Crit. p. 378) for τὸ λεγόμενον πᾶν ἀληθές restored παναληθές, and the tendency is seen in Theb. 709 where παναληθεῖ was the first attempt at ΠΑΝΑΛΗΘΗ. ἐρωτίζε is quite suitable: Plat. Prot. 346 ε' ἐγώ, ὁ Πιστακέ, οὐ διὰ τινὰ σε ψέω ὅτι εἰμὶ φιλόφοιτος, ἐπεὶ ἐρωτίζε ἐξαρκείς δ's... Pherecrat. 145. 17 ἄλλ' οὖν ἐρωτίζε χοῦτος ἢν ἄπωχρον ἀνήρ.—For the general sense cf. the words of Menelaus in Hom. δ 97 ὅν ὄφελον τριτάτην περ ἐχον ἐν δῶμαι μοῦραν ναιεῖν, οἰ δ' ἀνδρεῖς σοῦι ἐρμεναι.

1579. ἄγγι: 'This shows you are above, | You justicers, that these our nether crimes | So speedily can venge,' King Lear iv. 2. 79. Cf. Diogen. vi. 88 νῦν θεοί μάκαρες: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀξίων τιμωρουμένων ἐφ' οἷς ἐπραξαν.
1591. ἐποθύμως μᾶλλον ἡ φιλως: he plays bitterly on two words commonly applied to welcome, ἐποθύμως δέχεσθαι, eager, zealous, hearty, and φιλοφρόνως or φιλως, kind. Effusive rather than sincere this welcome was.

1594 f. This passage is mutilated and corrupt, but there can be little doubt what happened (see Prof. Platt’s article in Class. Rev. xi. p. 96), because the story is told elsewhere not only of Thyestes but of Tereus and of Clymenus and in Hdt. i. 119 of Harpagus, and when the details are described they are the same. The toes and fingers (and the head), which would have been recognised as human, were concealed apart (Senec. Thyest. 764, Hdt. l.c., Achill. Tat. v. 3 and 5) and afterwards displayed in proof (Zenob. ii. 234, Senec. 1038, Hygin. fab. 88, Hdt., Ach. Tat., Ov. Met. vi. 658); the rest, including the ἐντερα and σπλάγχνα (sup. 1220), was broken small (Senec. Thyest. 1059) and served as meat. The separate table made it easy for the fated guest alone to have the special mess (Hdt., cf. Ov. Met. vi. 648—50). The general shape of the sentence therefore would appear to have been something like this:

τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἀκρους κτένας
ἐκρυπτ’ ἀνευθεν, ταλλα δ’…
ἐνθρυπτ’ ἀνοικεν ἀνδράκιας καθ’ήμενος.

Cf. Ov. Met. vi. 656 ipse sedens solo Tereus sublimis autio. The kicking over of the table is also told of Tereus by Ovid in 661.

1597. ἀσωτον, spendthrift, prodigal; usually meaning one who wastes his substance in riotous living, and applied with bitter irony to the banquet of Thyestes.

1601 f. ἕνυδίκως is either simply ‘jointly, together with,’ for which sense Pind. P. 1. 1 χρυσάεα φόρμικας, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ λοπλοκώμων σύνδικον Μουσῶν κτέαν is quoted; or else ‘in support of’—so that the act is symbolic. In the latter sense it has been suggested to read σύνδικον (Karsten), as in Pind. O. ix. 98.σύνδικος δ’ αὐτῶν Ἰολάων τύμβος εἰναλία τ’ Ἑλευσίς ἀγλαίασιν.—οὔτως is part of the curse: ‘go perish…!’

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

1610. See on 544. Aristid. i. 709 Ἀκεδαμώνωι δ’ ἡδίστ’ ἀν τεβναίεν ἀπαντες, εἰ λήψοιται δίκην παρὰ Θηβαίων. Οὔτω δ’ ὄργης αὐτοῦς ἐχοντι.


1625 ff. γίναις, στ...ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ is addressed to Aegisthus. There is the same contrast in *Cho.* 624 γυνακοβούλους τε μῆτιδας φρενῶν ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ τευχεσφόρωι, which is so framed that it might include Aegisthus. See also *Enm.* 628—40. For οἰκουρός cf. Eur. Heracl. 700 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ οἰκουρόμα γίγνεται τὸδε, τοὺς μὲν μάχεσθαι τοὺς δὲ δειλία μένειν. Enger points out that Cassandra had already so described Aegisthus: *sup.* 1224.


1638. ἐκ τῶν δὲ τούδε χρημάτων... He leaves that awkward topic hastily and cuts the matter short: *Theb.* 1052 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτέ πομαί δέιμα πολιτῶν (the Chorus with reference to the burial of Polynices).—For the sense cf. Eur. *El.* 939, where Electra is addressing the corpse of Aegisthus: ἥχεις τις εἰναι τοῦτο χρῆμασι σθένων.

1640. οὕτω μὴ σειραφόρον κριθώντα πόλον. The *træger* (σειραφόρος or δεξιώσειρος) had light work, as compared with the horses running under the yoke. κριθώντα expresses the effect of his generous diet. He was called upon to make a special effort at the corners of the race-course, when he was thrown wide to the off (Soph. *El.* 721), and had to pull the chariot round on the pivot of the near wheel. Hence the metaphorical use of σειραφόρος and δεξιώσειρος of one who gives assistance in the time of need (*sup.* 833, Soph. *Ant.* 140).


1650. λοχίστα. Aegisthus is attended by λοχίστα or δρυφόροι (*Cho.* 764 f., Eur. *El.* 616), the characteristic retinue of a τύραννος.
1652. ἀλλὰ καγὼ μὴν. Porson substituted ἀλλὰ μὴν καγὼ and has been generally followed, but the change is unnecessary; for (1) a similar rhythm is found elsewhere: Eur. I. A. 908 ἀλλ᾽ ἐκλήθης γοῦν παλαινης, Ion 557 τοῖς θεοῖς γοῦν οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν, and (2) the order of the words, i.e. the occurrence of μὴν after the pronoun, is not uncommon: καγὼ μὰν κνίξω Theocr. v. 22, καὶ ἐν ἑμοὶ μὴν Plat. Legg. 644 d, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴν Eur. Hec. 401, Or. 1117, Andr. 256, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἐγὼ μέντοι πεσών γε κείσομαι Ar. Nub. 126, μὰ Δ᾽ οὖν ἐγὼ γὰρ Lys. 130.

1656. μηθὲν ἡμιστωμένοις. See cr. n.: most editors read μηθὲν αἱματωμέθα, 'let us not spill any of our blood.'

1657 f. See cr. nn. The true reading of these obscure lines I believe to be that printed in the text, or something closely resembling it. τούσδε, given by the MSS. at the end of v. 1657, was a marginal note, just as on Eur. Hipp. 1152 πρὸς δομοὺς ὑρμωμένων there is a schol. τούσδε, and on Andr. 141 ἔμοιλες οἰκοὺς, though δεισποτῶν ἐμῶν follows, a schol. eis τοὺς ἑμοὺς οἰκοὺς δηλοντί. καφρὸν was a gloss on ὡραί or ὡραν, as was first pointed out by Prof. Housman in Journ. Phil. xvi. p. 289. If ὡραν is right, it is used as καφρὸν Soph. Ai. 34, 1316, ἄφριαν Ar. Ach. 23.—For πρᾶν παθεῖν cf. Hom. P 30 ἀλλὰ σ᾽ ἐγὼ γ᾽ ἀναχωρήσαντα κελεύο ἐσ πληθνέν λέναι,...πρῶ τι κακῶν παθεῖν, Y 196, Apollonius ap. Stob. Flor. 58. 12 καλὸν πρῶτον παθεῖν διδαχθήναι πηλίκου ἐστὶν ἱστοχία, Eur. Med. 289 τοὺρ ὡν πρῶτον παθεῖν φυλάξομαι, Xen. Anab. ii. 5. 5 οἱ φοβηθέντες ἄλλης, φθάσαρ βουλόμενοι πρῶτον παθεῖν κτε.—It is Clytemnestra's plea that she was the executor of Doom, 1434, 1471 ff., 1498 ff., Cho. 909 η Μοίρα τούτων, ὃ τέκνον, παραιτία. The MSS. reading, πρῶς δομοὺς πεπρωμένους 'to your predestined houses,' is absurd. Thus χρὴν ταδ᾽ ὡς ἐπράξαμεν is 'it was fated we should act herein as we have acted.' Cf. Ter. Eun. 95 ne crucia te, obscero, anime mi, mi Phaedria. | non pot quo quemquam plus amem aut plus diligam | es feci: sed ita erat res; faciundum fuit. Eur. H. F. 311 ὁ χρὴ γὰρ οὐδὲς μὴ χρείων θῆσαι ποτέ. Ar. Ach. 540 ἐρεί τις, οὗ χρὴν: ἀλλὰ τι ἐχρὴν εἴπατε. Quint. ix. 493 (Agamemnon says to Philoctetes) μηδ᾽ ἡμῖν χόλον αἰνοὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σήμι βαλέσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ μακάρων ταῦτ᾽ ἐρέξαμεν.

1660. δαῖμονος: cf. 1568 f. The metaphor has nothing to do with the spur (πλῆκτρον) of a fighting-cock: the phrase βαρῖς δαίμων (βαρῦ-δαμονία) or βαρεία τύχη was developed into the conception of a bird of prey that souses down, or swoops down, heavily: e.g. sup. 1174, 1469, Pers. 518, Soph. Ant. 1272, 1346, O. T. 263, 1300, 1311. The same figure is made out of βαρῖς κύτως ζηνός in Supp. 654.

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

1663. δαῖμονος πειρωμένου here and in Cho. 511 means more than
'trying one's luck'; it means 'putting one's predestined fortune to the touch.' έξιστορήσας μονάν τύχης in Theb. 493 is the same thing.

1664. σώφρονος γνώμης θ' ἁμαρτείν τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀρνουμένοις, δομίνυν recusantes (Ov. Met. viii. 848): γνώμης ἁμαρτείν is 'to be ill-advised,' 'mistaken' (Hdt. i. 207, γνώμης χρήστης ix. 79, τῆς ἀριστῆς iii. 81); τεύξεται φρενῶν in 185 is the opposite, 'shall be well-advised.' 'To be well-advised or ill-advised in doing so and so' is expressed by a participle, as 183 κλάζων τεύξεται φρενῶν, 793 οὖδ' εὖ πραπιδῶν οἷα νέμων...κομίζων, Eur. Bacch. 329 τιμῶν τε Βρόμιον σωφρονεῖς, Hdt. vii. 15 οὖκ ἐφρόνεον εἶπας, i. 116 οὖκ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι μιν ἐφη ἐπιθυμέοντα.... To be metrical here, the participle must be deponent, and I know no other which will give the sense required except ἀρνουμένοις: for which see Heliod. iii. 3 ἦ ἵππος τὸν χαλιών, δὸς μὲν δεισπότην, ἰσπεῖσα. To deny their master is exactly what the Elders have been doing, 1633 etc., and that was proverbially impolitic: Walz, Rhet. Gr. i. 281, Soph. El. 394—7, 340, 1014, 1465; Eur. fr. 337, 93, 604; Hec. 404. This leads to their retort, which is the same as in Soph. El. 397 σὺ ταῦτα θωπεύ': οὖκ ἐμοίς τρόπους λέγεις, P. V. 969 σέβου, προσεύχον, θωπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἄει.

1669. Cf. Soph. El. 794 ὑβρίζε, νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυχαίνεις, Cho. 57 φοβεῖται δὲ τις: τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν, τὸδ' εὖ βροτοῦν θέος τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον, i.e. 'they (Aegisthus and Clytaemnena) may hold their reign of terror while their luck endures!'

1670. χρόνως: see cr. n. The usual idiom is διδόναι ἀποσα followed by the genitive without the addition of χάρω. For the corruption cf. 316.
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