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THE EUMENIDES.

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AIΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ

THE 'ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ'

OF

AESCHYLUS
AIΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ

THE 'EUMENIDES'

OF

AESCHYLUS

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND

TRANSLATION

BY

A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

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PREFACE.

THE composition of this book has been extended, by interruptions arising from my health or other causes, over some fifteen years. More than once it has been brought near to completion. I hope and believe that it has gained in maturity; but it may retain some traces of discontinuity, which, if found, the facts will explain.

The books which I have most used are the editions of the play by Paley, by Mr A. Sidgwick, and by Prof. N. Wecklein, both his critical edition and that with explanatory notes.

Much is due to periodical publications, especially to papers by Dr W. Headlam. Obligations, so far as I am aware of them, are acknowledged in their place; but I am conscious of debts not traceable.

Many of my own scattered publications I have adapted or modified without notice. In particular, I have not remarked on the frequent disagreement between this book and the 'acting edition' of the play, which I made when it was performed at Cambridge in 1885. The requirements of that occasion will account for any divergence.

More perhaps than to any book, or as much, I am indebted to conversations, especially with colleagues in Trinity College or in Cambridge. I am certain, for instance, that to the late Mr R. A. Neil of Pembroke College I owe many hints and corrections, though not one can I definitely refer to him. Sir Richard Jebb also must have left traces of this kind upon my work, and others, both lost and living, whom I cannot distinguish.
One such case, however, I am bound to specify. With Miss J. E. Harrison, during the composition of her *Prolegomena to Greek Mythology* and at other times, I have so constantly discussed both her work and my own, that to disentangle her contributions, where my subject overlaps, is altogether impossible.

The commentary on the *Eumenides* by the late Prof. Blass did not become accessible till most of this book was in print. In these circumstances, proper estimation and incorporation being impossible, I have not consulted his book, but shall of course consult it carefully, if I should have an opportunity of revision. This, though unfortunate for me, is of the less importance, inasmuch as my work would in no case pretend to finality. A final 'Aeschylus' is perhaps hardly to be desired. We are at all events far from it at present. Everything in this book, especially what may be new, is propounded simply as matter for consideration.

To the scholarship and experience of Mr M. A. Bayfield, who has helped me in the reading of proofs, I owe many valuable suggestions. And once more I must repeat my acknowledgments to the staff of the University Press.

A. W. V.

*Trinity College, Cambridge,*

*January, 1908.*
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INTRODUCTION.

In turning from the Agamemnon and the Choephoroi to the third play of the Orestean trilogy, the Eumenides, exposition enters upon easier ground. Whatever be the cause and true explanation, the first two plays now present, in the story and structure, difficulties which cannot be ignored. In story and structure the third is comparatively and even positively clear. On the other hand, while the facts and conceptions actually here presented by the dramatist offer happily little occasion or room for dispute, the history of those conceptions, the enquiry into the sources of the drama, presents questions not merely difficult but, upon the existing evidence, insoluble. This enquiry therefore, which, however interesting and important in itself, is, for the reader of Aeschylus, secondary and not essential, we will sharply separate and postpone, taking first the story of Aeschylus, and adding afterwards what is necessary to be said respecting its origin or origins.

Such a separation is perhaps specially desirable in the present state of research, when, in the legitimate and successful pursuit of enquiries into the dark places of prehistoric times, we may easily forget that literary documents, which happen to serve this purpose, are not to be construed as if this had been the design of their authors. If the book of Genesis had disappeared after the seventeenth century, information about the story of the Fall, of great importance to scientific history, might probably have been obtained, by careful application of the comparative method, from Paradise Lost. But what should we make of Paradise Lost, if we were to assume that Milton understood his original as it is now interpreted by science, and that everything, of which traces may be found in the poem, was present to the mind of the poet? Very similar is the relation of Aeschylus to the extremely ancient story, which, in the Eumenides, he has used for the exposition of thoughts not ancient, but new, original, and his own. In his work, as in Milton's, science may find
traces of much which, in all probability, he did not even perceive, and in which, if he did perceive it, he certainly took no interest. All such elements we, as readers of Aeschylus, must, in the first instance, resolutely eliminate and ignore. We are to look steadily for the thought of the poet, and to interpret his play, so far as possible, solely by itself.

The Story of Aeschylus.

The Choephoroi closes in a sort of moral bankruptcy. The house of Atreus has presented in successive generations a series of terrible deeds, each provoking the next,—Atreus and Thyestes, Agamemnon Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, Aegisthus Clytaemnestra and Orestes. The last of these, the vengeance taken by Orestes upon the murderers of his father, has been accomplished not merely with the sanction, but upon the command, and even under the threats, of the Delphian Apollo. Here therefore, it might be hoped, is something final, something absolute, purely and divinely just. Yet it is not so. Though the deed of Orestes, as presented by Aeschyus, has every excuse which the poet could devise,—the mother being not only an adulteress, a traitor, and a murderer, but also, a stain scarcely less black to Greek eyes, a 'tyrant', the usurper of a throne and destroyer of a free government, and Orestes himself being the lawful and only possible deliverer of his country,—yet for all this the matricide finds it almost impossible to overcome his contrary instinct. No sooner is the thing done than his doubts return with such force as to dethrone his reason. And what is more than all, if the excuses have a superhuman sanction in the command of Delphi, so are the doubts divinely enforced by the Erinyes, the pursuers, seen (in the Choephoroi) by his eye alone, who chase him finally from the scene. 'What then', it is sadly asked, 'what after all is Orestes? Is he bringer of deliverance, or of death? And where, oh where, shall a peaceful close be found?'

The Choephoroi thus revives and emphasizes the painful question, 'the burden of the mind', propounded in the opening of the Agamemnon and familiar to earnest and resolute thinkers in all ages. Confronted constantly with cases of conduct, upon which we can give no sentence with absolute satisfaction, upon what can we repose, or how do we know that there is any right at all? 'Zeus', it is there answered, is the only means by which the burden can be put off: that is to say, in later but

1 vv. 170 foll.
not essentially different phrase, it must be by an act of faith in God. In the same spirit, but more joyously and triumphantly, the present drama solves the case of Orestes, or, to speak more properly, declares it to be solved in the sight of Eternal Justice, by conducting us to a final scene of reconciliation, in which, under the sanction of Zeus, all the parties to the divine dispute, the pursuing no less than the protecting deities, are shown to be absolutely content.

But the manner in which this conclusion is reached brings into view a new subject not less interesting to the audience, and perhaps to the dramatist, than the religious solution of the trilogy. Orestes, by direction of Apollo, repairs to Athens, and puts himself in the hands of the patron-goddess Athena. She invents for this occasion a new institution, the civic court of justice, and the method of trial by jury, the conventional basis of civic liberty and order. Upon this basis she founds the court of Areopagus, the most venerable of Athenian institutions. By a trial, conducted in Athenian form, with Athena as president and Apollo as counsel for the defence, it is decided that the defendant shall be set at liberty. The Erinyes, who are compelled to be prosecutors, reject this solution (with much reason) as arbitrary and anarchic. In their view, from an absolute point of view, it is no justice at all. But they are persuaded by Athena not only to acquiesce in the verdict, but also to accept a home in the city and the guardianship of the new institution. Thus the peace in Heaven is accompanied by a peace upon earth, and with the claims of the poet’s mystical religion are satisfied also those of Athenian patriotism.

These purposes (let us at once observe) are combined, but are not confused. Aeschylus was not so shallow in thought and feeling as to offer, by way of key to the enigma of moral responsibility, or even as an absolute decision of right in the special case, the opinion of a jury. The jury of his play, being equally divided, gives on the merits no decision at all; and the practical result, the discharge of Orestes, is allowed to appear as what in such a case it must be, a mere accident of place, form, and circumstance. What is important, and solely important, from a religious and speculative point of view, is the final acquiescence of the opposing gods, the conversion of the Erinyes; and if the reason of the solution is to be found anywhere, it must be sought in the grounds of this conversion,—a point which we will consider in its place. But, whether grounded or not grounded upon reason, the impressive and affecting harmonies of the final scene declare that a solution exists, and that, after the long agitations of the story, we may depart in peace.
The play is divided into three parts, acts, or scenes.

I. (vv. 1—234). Orestes, pursued by the Erinyes to Delphi, has received from Apollo, while the pursuers sleep, the rite of ceremonial purgation. He is dismissed by the god to accomplish a long course of persecution and wandering, which is to end in a trial at Athens. The Erinyes are roused by the ghost of Clytaemnestra, and after a furious altercation with Apollo, follow in pursuit.

II. (vv. 235—568). Orestes, after great sufferings, has arrived at Athens, where the Erinyes also immediately appear. Orestes invokes the protection of Athena, who presently arrives, and decides to remit the case to a new, but permanent, tribunal which she will establish, a jury-court of Athenian citizens. The Erinyes, over-awed, consent to be prosecutors; but when the goddess has departed to make the necessary arrangements, they vent their real feelings in a withering denunciation of the new justice and its proposed organ.

III. (vv. 569—the end). The trial (to v. 780), and the conversion of the Erinyes. The court being met under the presidency of Athena, Apollo suddenly appears as advocate and witness. The case is argued, and the jury being equally divided, the defendant (in accordance with the previous declaration of Athena in view of that possible case) is discharged. Apollo disappears, and Orestes departs for Argos. The Erinyes for some time rage implacably, but presently, being convinced by the goddess, accept the offer of an abode in Athens, which is indicated to be a certain cave-sanctuary, appropriated by tradition to deities called the Semnai Theai. After solemnly blessing the city in a series of hymns, they are conducted to the sanctuary by the goddess and the assembled citizens.

It is not necessary, even for a modern reader, that these scenes should be introduced by any prefatory exposition in detail. With such interpretation as can conveniently be given in notes, they explain themselves, and for the most part with singular clearness. Here we shall call attention only to a few particular points.

The first scene opens with a prayer for blessing by the Pythian prophetess, who is about to enter the Delphian temple for the purpose of receiving consultants. This prayer is one of the most remarkable documents concerning the history of Greek religion, which have come down to us, and strikingly illuminates the relation of Aeschylus to the popular beliefs of his time. It is severely formal, and insists chiefly on a distinction, alleged to be founded upon the history of the oracle, between possessors of the place, past or present, who receive 'petitions' (euxai), and other divinities connected with the place, who demand
rather 'mention' (Ἀνέγρετο). The apparently needless emphasis of this distinction is suspicious, the more so as on certain points the statement is expressly polemical and contradictory to some assumed opponent. The truth is that the whole is fictitious, inconsistent with the cult, the practices, and the genuine legends of Delphi. These, as ill-suited to the religious conceptions of Aeschylus, and especially to the kind of religion preached in the Eumenides, he excludes by a composition of his own, being, like his contemporary Pindar, still sufficiently interested in legends to desire their improvement. The tendency of Aeschylus was to evolve from the chaotic pantheon a virtual monotheism by the subordination of all and everything to 'Zeus', whose name is his nearest expression for what is now meant by 'God'. In the Eumenides the whole religious system, the attitude of Apollo and Athena, and above all the great peace, 'the alliance of Zeus and Fate', to which as by a climax the whole ascends, depend upon this conception and presuppose it. Manifestly it is a conception which does not favour, and never would have created, such an institution as a local oracle, nor can even be reconciled with it, except upon the condition that the wisdom there delivered shall not belong essentially to the place of consultation, but shall proceed, immediately or by a deputy, from the only source of wisdom, the supreme ruler of the world. Accordingly Aeschylus, being compelled, by prescription of legend, to find for Delphi a prominent place in his story, is above all things careful to assure us that Delphi is an oracle of this kind: it is merely a place where, by accident rather than choice, and certainly not from necessity, Apollo, through the mouth of the prophetess, 'speaks for' his father Zeus. This conception of the oracle was not novel, but it was modern; and Aeschylus evidently doubted whether it was, for his purpose, sufficiently accepted and established. And no wonder; for in fact and in history Delphi was nothing of the sort. The oracle was really based upon theories of divinity and of inspiration far more primitive and pagan than those of the poet; and its practices were not really explicable except upon those theories which he rejected. The source of inspiration was not Zeus, but a certain hole or depression in the earth; the instrument was not Apollo, but a woman, who sat in this place and thereby received became possessed by its supposed influences. As to any deeper nature, the Delphian legends recognised in the dim past, and less with general truth, the succession or conflict of several i, various, but none of them acceptable to Aeschylus. At one th itself was the oracular deity, at another the Water under the
INTRODUCTION

earth, personified by the name of Poseidon,—whose former occupation of the oracle was commemorated by an altar in the sanctuary and said to have been terminated by arrangement, Poseidon having been bought out by the grant of the island of Calaureia. Some early and heretical spiritualist seems even to have advocated the claims of the abstraction 'Themis' or 'Right'. But far more important than these, and more deeply impressed upon the cult, were the ideas connected with the name of 'Bromios' or Bacchus, an occupant never evicted, not even by Apollo himself. He shared the temple, of which one pediment presented Apollo and the other Bacchus; he shared the sacred calendar. The 'possessed' woman, whose mediation was the most remarkable feature of the oracular function, is a characteristic, generally speaking, not of Apolline religion but of Bacchic, and was probably derived from it. At Delphi, as elsewhere, the worship of Bacchus, which in its pure form was inconsistent with Greek paganism and rebellious against it, was believed, and probably with truth, to have been introduced by invasion, an invasion of spiritual rather than temporal arms, which triumphed through the conversion of the women. Between the spiritual doctrines of the Bacchant and that simple notion which placed deity in the earth, an accommodation was found by the supposition that Bacchus possessed and filled with inspiration the sacred place and mountain itself. As for Apollo, the legends, with perfect candour, gave him for what he probably was, a conquerer from the north, a martial deity, who by the might of his bow acquired the sanctuary as he acquired the country, who 'slew the snake which guarded Earth's oracle', and thenceforward, though not without some violence and bargaining, relegated Earth and all other claimants to exclusion or a subordinate place. Nor does he seem to have done this, according to the original conception, in the interest or even under the sanction of Zeus. At least, if that was so, it is hard to understand why the cult of Zeus, even when, by the efforts of Aeschylus, his predecessors, and his successors, it had become the very key-stone of the Greek pantheon, had still in the actual practices of Delphi so little prominence. The fact seems rather to be that Apollo, when he

2 Eur. Ic.
3 The object with which the name of Zeus was connected, when a place for it became necessary, seems to have been the omphalos or Holy Stone, with its mysterious eagles, which in the fifth century (if we may so far trust Aeschylus) stood in the temple, apparently in the pronaoi. This connexion accounts for the prominence given to the omphalos; our poet, from whose account it would be supposed that this was the important feature of the place also in Pindar (Pyth. 4. 3) wv attempt so to treat the omph'
THE STORY OF AESCHYLUS

xv

captured the oracle, was, for the warriors who installed him there, an independent deity, whose affiliation to Zeus, if recognised at all, was not yet of any importance.

Such was the promising material with which, at the principal sanctuary of Greek religion, harmonizers like Aeschylus had to deal. His method is bold, magnificent, and simple. Apollo, subject to Zeus, is the sole oracular deity and sole possessor; everyone else, without the least regard to fact or tradition, is ignored or thrust out. For obvious reasons he is especially anxious to eliminate Poseidon and Bacchus, and the purpose of the formal division between possessors and non-possessors of the sanctuary is simply to assert that these two were not what in fact they notoriously were. It is not surprising to see that the poet himself had some doubt as to the acceptance which he should find with the pious. As for Earth and her family, since these were deities older than Zeus, it was not impossible to give them a place, as predecessors of Apollo, provided that there was no conflict, either between themselves or with their successor, and provided also (this is the essential matter) that the soil which they convey to him shall not be represented as the source and necessary condition of the oracular function. The practice and belief of Delphi proclaimed that it was such a condition, and are on no other hypothesis intelligible. The prophetess of Aeschylus nevertheless declares the contrary, and leaves us to account as we can for the existence of herself and her seat.

Profane history, if it conflicts with the intended harmony, fares no better than sacred. The possession of the oracle had been the subject of conflicts which were by no means legendary, which, when Aeschylus was young, were within the memory of living men. It is by no accident that the ancient names of Pytho and Crisa find no place in this modern-antique picture. We see that this is no accident, when we observe the way in which the poet suggests, without asserting, that the place to which Apollo came was called Delphi; “and he was received with much honour by the people, and by Delphos, the king and governor of the land”. The people who possessed and managed the sanctuary of Pytho (not Delphi) were, as Aeschylus and everyone make Apollo secondary; there the prophetess is ‘she who sits by the golden eagles of Zeus’, and Apollo, when she prophesies, is said merely ‘not to be absent’. How little these notions were supported by the real and permanent instincts of Delphi appears when we find that in the time of Pausanias (2nd century A.D.) the omphalos is a mere curiosity, and apparently is not even within the building. The ‘tripod’ of the prophetess is never named by Aeschylus, not even in the prologue to the Eumenides, where it is not easily veiled; see v. 29. The existence of it would alone refute his representation of the oracle and its theory.

V. E.
knew, Crisaeans (not Delphians), until, in the sixth century B.C., a confederacy, of which Athens was a member, for certain pious reasons, among which the desire to imitate and rival Olympia seems to have been the most conspicuous, dispossessed the Crisaeans and destroyed their city, handing over the oracle to new managers, who, among other things, 'restored', remodelled, and practically founded the Pythian Games. Of the town and name of Delphi all that can be said with certainty is that it was not primitive; it seems to have first risen into prominence after and in connexion with this very revolution. But Aeschylus will recognise no revolutions, and carries back the Delphian name by implication to the earliest times. The place itself, though mentioned repeatedly both in this play and in the Choephoroi, he contrives never to name at all; and the name of Crisa also is avoided in the Choephoroi, not without some difficulty and consequent obscurity\(^1\), as it is here. Delos on the other hand, the religious centre in some sense of the Athenian empire, and Athens itself, assume in the primaeval antiquities of the realm of 'Delphos' an importance which appears to be wholly fictitious and partly invented by the poet himself.

These observations however in no way diminish, but rather increase, the admiration due to this prayer as a composition. Aeschylus himself is perhaps nowhere more stately, religious, and impressive.

The second speech of the prophetess, when she has entered and reissued from the temple (vv. 34—63), is designed partly to make a link with the close of the Choephoroi, by showing that Orestes has received\(^2\) from Apollo the ceremonial purgation which was promised\(^3\).

As to the scope of this rite the Eumenides is clear; it is necessary to make the homicide a safe associate for other men, and specially to admit him to contact with persons and things religious; but it effects no more, and even this effect must be proved, it would seem, if not completed, by long and expiatory wandering\(^4\). The Erinyes take no other notice of it than to taunt Apollo with the pollution which he and his house have contracted; and neither by Apollo, by Athena, nor by Orestes himself is it treated as terminating or diminishing his moral responsibility. Doubtless if we could trace back the history of the rite, we should arrive at a time when it was far more important, and the homicide, who had poisoned to himself the soil of his home with 'kindred blood', obtained all that he needed or could obtain, if he

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\(^1\) See Cho. 670 foll. and notes there.
\(^2\) See on vv. 40 foll.
\(^3\) Cho. 1036, where ἐφεστὼν and ἁρπάσθαι point to the conditions and technical name (προστρωτή) of the rite.
\(^4\) See especially vv. 284, 285.
found elsewhere a householder to re-admit him to human society. But such a view would cut away the ground from the story of Aeschylus, in which the 'purgation' is a survival and has little reality, though he seems to intimate nevertheless that it was, or ought to be, demanded as a preliminary to trial before the court of Areopagus.

Finally the prophetess describes, in order to stimulate the curiosity of the audience, the strange and enigmatical figures of the Erinyes, whom she has seen sleeping in the temple. For these an outward habit and artistic type seems to have been now first invented or fixed by the dramatist himself.

In the dismissal of Orestes by Apollo (vv. 64—93), the chief point is the indication that the wanderings and sufferings of the pursued, before he reaches Athens, are to be long and severe. Why this is to be is never explained, and perhaps might have been difficult to explain; but the fact is important to the colour of the drama, even more so than is commonly recognised. Aeschylus, it is plain, was not without apprehension that in his day the acquittal of a matricide by a criminal court, however warranted by tradition, might not, in the light of the theatre, prove a subject sympathetic to the audience. He shared in fact, though with a difference, the feelings which shape the Electra and Orestes of Euripides. He is therefore anxious that his Orestes, though finally released, shall undergo everything that is consistent with this conclusion, and in fact seems to indicate that the fugitive, when the course is at last over, reaches Athens barely alive. This however depends partly upon the interpretation and supposed action of the scene in which he arrives, and is discussed in the notes there. On the other hand, it is remarkable that, in the trial, the fact that the accused, whatever he has done, has horribly suffered, is never noticed at all. Logic demands this, for the issue is, as we shall see, whether the crime of Orestes is under any circumstances and upon any considerations remissible, the Erinyes contending that it is not. But we may doubt whether in practice even the Areopagus could or would have maintained the abstract severity of reason with which Aeschylus characteristically invests it.

The awakening of the Erinyes by the ghost of Clytaemnestra and their entrance upon the scene, though admirable in expression and

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1 vv. 441—456.
2 vv. 75—78.
3 Sophocles in his Electra defies and extrudes the difficulty, but in a manner not open to Aeschylus. He has no Areopagus to deal with, and can assume a purely ideal state of society and feeling in which Orestes is something different from an ordinary human being.
4 See especially vv. 245 foll.
5 The stage-arrangements are discussed below in a separate section on the scenery.
imaginative power, do not affect the general issue and may here be passed over. The invective of Apollo against the Erinyes (vv. 179—197) directs our attention to the antipathy between the Olympians, who are supposed to have recently acceded to power, and the older gods; an antipathy which appears also, though tempered by more self-control and (we can use no other expression) by better manners, in the first interview between the Erinyes and Athena 1, and prepares us by contrast for the harmonies of the final reconciliation. It is by no means the purpose of the play to present even Athena, much less Apollo, as perfect. They are but representatives, and imperfect, of the absent and unseen Father; and if they are not precisely human, neither are they, in the sense which the word now carries, divine. We want, and Aeschylus wanted, some distinction here, with which the later pagan daemonology, and the mediaeval, would have supplied him. But if incomplete in terms, he makes himself, by dramatic symbols, sufficiently and indeed vividly comprehensible.

The Act concludes with an altercation between Apollo and the Erinyes, which deserves particular attention as first propounding the issue between these future adversaries in the cause, a point upon which the play as a whole is clear and consistent. The opposition, as we should now describe it, is between a ‘legal’ and an ‘equitable’ view,—using these words of course in a popular not a technical sense. The Erinyes are the implacable executors of a narrow but absolute rule. They punish ‘homicides’; but homicide has for them peculiar limitations. The persons in whom they are principally interested are firstly parents (τοκεῖαι), and secondly ξένοι, hospites, those who stand to one another in the relation of hospitality as guest and host 2. These persons must be absolutely respected; impiety against these is inevitably punished both in this world and the next. It is evident that these requirements do in fact represent the minimum of personal protection with which a human society could exist, not a civic society, a city, but a rudimentary society of independent households. With the sanctity of the parent (but nothing less) household-government is possible; with that of the xenos (but nothing less) intercourse between households is however introduces an idea so foreign to the rest of the play that we can hardly believe it correct. See note there.) In vv. 356 foll. they use language which might include all members of a family, and in vv. 335 foll. terms at least as large as the βροτοκτονώτας of v. 424. See hereafter.

1 vv. 409 foll.
2 βροτοκτονώτας, v. 424.
3 vv. 270, 271 ἡ ξένη...ἡ τοκῆς φίλους, vv. 552 foll. τοκεῖων σέβας...καὶ ξένοτιμοις δομάτων ἐπιστροφᾶς. (The first passage, as commonly interpreted, would add to these the general punishment of offences against 'a god'. This
possible. There is a certain severity and simplicity in the idea, which appeals to the imagination, and justifies it for a poetical and dramatic purpose, whether it answers or not to any historical reality,—respecting which, as matter of fact, Aeschylus, who totally transfigures and misrepresents such history as was actually within his reach, cannot have been curious to enquire: history is, for him, a mere symbol of his own thoughts, a fact which we must clearly realise and steadily bear in mind. But however limited, the justice of the Erinyes is absolute, certain, and implacable: Κύριον μένει τέλος, the end is absolutely sure. To illustrate this point particularly is needless, as everything said and done by the Chorus, up to the moment of their conversion, is designed to enforce it. He that becomes liable to the vengeance of the Erinyes can never know any peace. Chased by their terrors from every human abode, he must wander and pine, till he yields to the fiends the last drop of his life-blood and is haled to fresh torments below.

Now it is upon this question, whether 'Justice' is or is not absolute and inexorable, that the Erinyes, if we look to the scope of the whole play, are seen to be at issue (always until their conversion) with the new kind of justice, the kind adapted and necessary for a civic community, which is instituted by Athena with the complicity and foreknowledge of Apollo. Aeschylus, who has an extraordinary power of striking down to the roots of things, has so dealt with his material as to expose a fundamental problem of life, one of those profound and insoluble difficulties which are the very basis of tragic thought and tragic emotion. What is the justice of a tribunal? The Erinyes object to the very notion of a tribunal, as applied to an offence within their purview. 'The thing is impossible.' A trial implies the possibility of pardon; and the admission to trial of a matricide, who is ipso facto unpardonable, is in itself an outrage. It brings 'the House of Justice' to the ground. It is to say that there are no principles at all, that 'remedy is uncertain,' mere matter of fluctuating opinion. The nature of an Athenian court, with a jury, generally a very large jury, not guided by expert direction, was specially exposed to this objection; but it can be brought to bear, by choosing suitable circumstances, against any tribunal howsoever constituted. Yet the position of the Erinyes, that some acts are absolutely unpardonable, so that no consideration of circumstances is admissible, is equally insecure; and the case of Orestes

1 v. 546. See also vv. 384 foll., and the Erinyes passim.
2 See especially vv. 258—271.
3 vv. 81, 224.
4 v. 261, the whole ode vv. 493 foll., and passim.
5 v. 519.
6 ἀκερα ὁ βέβαια, v. 509.
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aptly brings out the weakness of it. Instinct revolts against the doctrine that such a case, with all its qualifications, is determined, as the Erinyes contend, by the mere statement that the man took the life of his mother.1

This antithesis of principles, which is as disquieting and perplexing now as it was in the fifth century B.C., though we should doubtless choose a different set of facts for the illustration of it,—this, and not any mere conflict of laws, is the subject of the Eumenides. Whatever may have been the origin of the legend, we do not find in this play the precise reflexion of any temporary or historical dispute, any particular contest of positive codes. The contending powers have a strong dose of humanity, and, like other disputants, they say some things, for the purpose of the moment, to which they do not consistently adhere. Apollo, for example, when pressed and embarrassed by the shrewd fencing of his adversaries, suddenly propounds, with the audacity of an advocate, a theory of parentage and of filial obligation2 which, if true, would make every part of the Orestea incomprehensible, not excepting the conduct of Apollo himself. And similarly the Erinyes choose to assume upon occasion, that homicide is criminal only as between kindred3, although such a theory would annihilate their solemn and repeated declarations that a xenos, a guest or host, is sacred and inviolable as such. But these incidents affect the main issue not at all. To this it matters not how the Erinyes define crime or define homicide; nor does it appear that Aeschylus was at the pains to provide them with a definition. The essence of their case is this: the act of Orestes, being, upon their view and upon all views, a crime, is therefore, in their view, unpardonable. Right, they maintain, must be absolute and cannot bear exceptions. Of perfect right and eternal justice this, it would seem, should be true. And yet, if we build upon this basis, any scheme of law, any whatever, that can be shaped in human thought and stated in human words, may, by the suitable choice of a hard case, be proved liable to the reproach of Apollo, that it is not impartial but 'here exceeding scrupulous and there more indulgent in demand.'4

But yet again, if all is a question of circumstances, votes, and opinions, if any and every act is pardonable upon considerations which cannot be defined, then surely, as the Erinyes say, 'Right is a building which falls'. This, and no shallower dispute, is the issue raised by the play as a whole, and supposed to be in some way determined, for the quieting of anxious minds, when the Erinyes make peace with Athena and become patrons of the Areopagus.

1 vv. 425—430.  2 vv. 661 foll.  3 vv. 212, 608.  4 vv. 222, 223.
More especially perhaps, for reasons which will appear when we come to investigate the antecedents of the story, must we guard against supposing that, for Aeschylus, the issue is between theories of kinship, or between the claims of father and mother. The legend may have once had such a colour; but if this be so, and if (which does not appear) Aeschylus was aware of it, he has deliberately changed the colour and the significance. Whatever his Erinyes may be, they are not the advocates of the mother as against the father. In the plainest words, again and again, they tell us that both the parents, both father and mother 1 , are under their protection. Of the mother they speak more often, because it is a matricide whom they now pursue; but nowhere is there on their part a hint of any difference between the parental claims. Indeed, as Aeschylus represents the matter, the converse case, a mother avenged by her son upon a wicked father, would have raised the same issue and might have led to the same result. The attitude of Delphi, of the Erinyes, of the jury, might have been just what it is in the case of Orestes. Apollo, under duress, might then have pretended to prove that the father is no parent, and might use for this purpose the very same fallacious analogy which he actually directs against the mother 2. Only the president of the court must happen to be some one (let us say Hera, instead of Athena) with a personal prejudice caeteris paribus in favour of mothers 3. Change only this accident, by placing the trial (let us say) at Argos instead of at Athens, and the patricide might be discharged, upon an equal division of the jury, as the matricide now is, and to the equal indignation of the prosecutors; while the appeasement and conversion of these prosecutors, the crown of the Eumenides as it actually stands, might be transferred to the play so altered without the alteration of a word. So different is the problem, as viewed by Aéschylus, from a dispute about the notion of kinship and the constitution of the family. What vestiges of such a conception may remain in his treatment will come to be considered hereafter.

In the opening of the Second Act and the arrival at Athens (vv. 235 foll.), we should notice the stress which is laid upon the long agony which Orestes has suffered in the interval, and its terrible effect. Naturally this would be expressed chiefly by the action, but it is written also in the words. His pollution, he says pathetically, is 'fresh no more, but dull, ay worn withal' 4. The pursuers seem

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1 See especially vv. 516 foll.
2 vv. 661 foll.
3 See vv. 739—741.
4 v. 238.
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instantly to expect the last horrible close, when they will drain his life-blood; and they add, with fierce mockery, that exhausted as he already is, he will scarce supply the draught. Bleeding also he is, and for this reason comparable to a wounded fawn, a figure which would not be justified by the supposition. (were we at liberty to make it) that, either literally, or mystically and to the apprehension of the pursuers, he still drips with the blood of his murdered mother. And indeed this conception, though familiar by frequent repetition in commentary, and perhaps, to a modern judgment, poetical, seems little suited to the sober imagination of Attica. It is at all events not countenanced by Aeschylus, and may be exchanged without loss for the additional touch, given by a simpler interpretation, to the picture of the agonizing fugitive. That picture, we may well suppose, is not altogether imaginary. In the conditions of the ancient world, even in the fifth century, the physical sufferings of those exiled, like Orestes, 'for cause of blood', must sometimes have been dreadful beyond thought, both in the continuance and in the end; and it is likely that Aeschylus had seen wanderers dying and dead, who offered models only too apt for the atrocities of the Choephorot and the Eumenides. The state of Orestes, as shown in this scene, should not be forgotten in connexion with the question (discussed hereafter under the head of the scenery and stage-arrangements, and in the note at v. 568) what interval is to be supposed between the Second Act and the Third (the trial), how that interval is indicated, and what is supposed to happen.

The invocation of Athena by Orestes (vv. 276 foll.) first brings into view the connexion of the play with the foreign relations of Athens, then (458 B.C.) at the height of her imperial strength and expectations. In the concatenation and system of this novel power, by which autonomy, as was hoped, was to be reconciled with subordination, the poet seems to have perceived a certain analogy to that harmony of opposite principles by which he himself would resolve the eternal and celestial problem of justice. This thought emerges clearly in the ode which follows (v. 363), the 'binding spell', chanted by the Chorus over their expected victim, while the goddess is flying home from the Troad. Here Aeschylus has put forth all his strength, and the drama ascends to its full height. The theme is the absolute and unchallengeable rights of the Erinyes within their sphere, and the certainty of their execution. What is their sphere, remains, as before, not clear; but

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1 vv. 264 foll., 299 foll.
2 v. 248. As to v. 230, see note there.
3 See especially Cho. 268—295.
(doubtless with a view to the play's conclusion) their scope is expanded so as to cover at least all bloodshed, and even all wilful wrong-doing. The dramatic effects of rhythm, especially in the *ephymnia* or 'burdens', surpass perhaps even those of the *Parodos*, and are the acme of art in this kind.

Athena, having arrived, proceeds to an enquiry, and in fact, from this point to the end of the trial, acts as an Athenian magistrate (in the Areopagus, the Archon Basileus), ascertaining the existence and nature of the cause, assembling the court, and presiding there. Reasons are given elsewhere for thinking that, in the case of the Areopagus, the Archon, like Athena, selected the persons, of course Areopagites, who for the occasion should be jurors. With a view to the sequel, it should be noted that the reference to a jury, and indeed all the proceedings, take place without any real consent on the part of the pursuers, who at the first opportunity express their opinion of them with plainness and energy.

An important passage is that (vv. 473—492) in which Athena announces her intention to found the new tribunal. She here solemnly repudiates, as unfit for her nature, the function of judge in such a question. This view, which Aeschylus propounds not in obedience but in contradiction to the famous and respected religious legends of Athens, must have been consistent, in his opinion, with the part in the trial which is assigned to the goddess by himself. This has often been pointed out, but even now the force and weight of the proposition are perhaps not always sufficiently appreciated. We shall return to the subject in the proper place. The latter part of the passage (vv. 485 foll.) has been obscured, as I think, by mistakes as to the nature of the 'oaths' there mentioned, and to the assumption that we are here concerned with the oath to be taken by the jurors. Of this oath the play naturally says little, since, though a proper part of the jury-system, it has no direct bearing on the issue propounded by the poet. Sworn or unsworn, a jury is no possible instrument for the ascertainment of ultimate and eternal justice; and if, as the Athenians not unreasonably held, it is the best political instrument which man possesses, so much the more confounding is the problem which it leaves untouched. Here however all the references are to the oaths, not of the jury, but of the parties or of their prospective witnesses.

The choric ode which follows (vv. 493 foll.), though less tremendous than the 'binding chant', is most vigorous and interesting, and rises at

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1 vv. 313 foll., 337 foll.
2 See Appendix II.
3 See on vv. 490 foll., with Appendix I.
4 See below on Athena's vote.
the close to a thrilling sublimity. It is a fierce denunciation of the new law and the proposed institution, which (it is alleged) will be at once anarchic and tyrannical. The Erinyes would have found exceptions to any tribunal; but their actual criticisms are calculated for the Areopagus and its history, especially its recent history. In its limited function as a court of murder, the proper end (according to Aeschylus) of its institution, the Areopagus was popular, or at all events highly respected. But this limitation had been effected very recently, and not without violence, by a democratic revolution. Before that, the Council had claimed and exercised a general and censorial jurisdiction, which, though probably legitimate in origin, had become extremely unpopular and anachronous, and was abolished as a usurpation. The pacification and amendment, with which the play concludes, typify, among other things, this present reform, which of course like all reforms was to be the last; and the abuses of the Court must not be forgotten in considering the invective of the Erinyes. We can thus understand some connexions of thought which would otherwise seem abrupt and obscure; and we should probably see yet more points of allusion, if, instead of a bare and broken outline, we possessed a complete picture of the times.

The character and outward expression of the break between this Act and the next will be further discussed in connexion with the stage-arrangements. The Third Act, comprising the trial and pacification, continues without any break in the action from here to the end, and covers half the play. In the opening, a noticeable point is the entrance of Apollo, a delicate moment in the frame of the story, managed with excellent simplicity and power. To enhance the effect of his unexpected appearance, it is permitted to divert the course of proceeding and to precipitate the hearing of the cause (vv. 585—683), which actually precedes the inauguration of the Court (vv. 684—713). This formal irregularity, judicious and necessary, does not justify suspicion either of the scene as we have it, or of the inaugurating speech, which indeed (though some have been bold enough to impeach it) may be thought by its majesty to vindicate itself.

The argument of the cause, though it does not perfectly overcome the difficulty of presenting satisfactorily such a process between such persons, is both lively and dignified, and has some striking turns, especially the latter part, where the prosecutors encounter the roving eloquence of the defendant-deity with a shrewdness by which he is

1 v. 1001.  
2 See especially vv. 520 foll.  
3 v. 576.
both exasperated and misled. The most essential portion is that (vv. 617—642) in which Apollo (when Orestes, attempting a sort of technical defence, has inevitably failed) exposes what may be called the extenuating circumstances. The real and only question, material to the issue of the play, is whether in such a case these are admissible, and, if so, what is their weight. An English reader will observe that the procedure, in accordance with Athenian principles and feelings but in radical distinction from ours, sets no limit to the competence of a court or of a jury, which, for the nonce, has a deputed sovereignty. The issue is neither of fact nor of law, for the facts are admitted and no law is applicable. It is a question in one aspect political or diplomatic, like a case of extradition, in another purely ethical. Of course this is partly due to the abnormal and superhuman circumstances; but it is natural and normal nevertheless, from the Athenian point of view, as it would not be if transferred to our own state. No English court could be even imagined as receiving such a cause, but it would have been entertainable at Athens.

It would be interesting to know, but Aeschylus is naturally careful not to hint, by what expedient, among the many devised by Greek piety, he would have reconciled Apollo’s declaration, confirmed by something like an oath, that every word of his Oracle proceeds from Zeus, with that strictly limited estimation of a Delphic command, which is implied by the fact that the obedient servant of the Oracle obtains but a bare half of the votes. That the utterances of the Pythian prophetess were always in some way justifiable, Aeschylus seems really to have believed or tried to believe. That they might always be safely or properly acted upon by those who received them, perhaps no one believed, and certainly few or none at Athens in the fifth century. There were various and obvious ways by which a resolute spirit might escape from the dilemma, and the poet wisely leaves us to our choice.

When Apollo, at the end of his arguments, is beginning to try the effect of his influence, Athena closes the debate, and, after a solemn exhortation, directs the jury to give their votes, which is done by ballot secretly. She then, before the count, gives notice (the word is future, προσθήσομαι) that she will reckon an additional vote for herself in

1 vv. 643 foll.—The least satisfactory episode is the altercation (vv. 590 foll.) in which Orestes endeavours, without success, to give a technical form to his moral and equitable defence. Here however the dramatist, if we avail ourselves of a tradition preserved by the scholia, is seen to have strengthened the scenic effect by an impressive and pathetic interlude. See note on v. 601.

2 vv. 617 foll.

3 vv. 660—676.
favour of Orestes, and lays down that an equal division of votes will count in his favour. Her act and reasons make one of the most subtle points in the play, and are the subject of persistent dispute. A positive opinion we nevertheless must form, for nothing can be more vital to the purport and effect of the poet's work. "Here" she says—

Here is a task for me, to give discriminating sentence last. And this vote I for my part shall reckon to Orestes. For mother is there none who bore me, but the masculine, in all ways save for wedlock, I extol with all my heart, and verily am of the father. Therefore the death of a woman, who slew her husband when he came to make visitation upon his house, I will not prefer in value (to his), and Orestes wins even with equal votes¹.

What is the relation of this final statement to the vote and reasons? The two views, of which both still have defenders, are

(1) that the statement gives the effect of the vote and reasons: if the jury should prove to be equally divided, then, by the vote and for the reasons, Athena makes or will make a decision in Orestes' favour;

(2) that the vote and reasons are given by Athena as a member of the jury; if with this vote there shall be equality, then she rules, also and separately, that this equality shall count for the defendant.

My opinion in favour of the first view, now prevalent, is indicated by the punctuation of the sentence; and, to speak candidly, I do not think the point really open to doubt. The other view has no substantial evidence, contradicts an express statement of Aeschylus, and above all, would be in moral effect disastrous to his conception.

The number of jurors (proper) exhibited on the stage, even or uneven, will of course, if ascertained, be decisive. I think there are ten, or some multiple of ten²; but this is questionable and must not be pressed.

The arguments commonly alleged on this side are: (1) that the rule in case of equality, if given without reasons, has a bald and awkward effect, while there is no ground for counting the reasons twice; (2) that to place the human jurors and the goddess in opposition, they pronouncing by a majority one way (since the count shows equality) and she the other, would be disagreeable, and not suggestive of confidence in the Court, when it should not have a goddess to control it; (3) that Athena disclaims, as unfit and impossible for her, the function of a judge in the matter (v. 474), a disclaimer without meaning, if in fact she votes, like any member of the jury, upon the merits of the case. These arguments, especially the last, are

¹ vv. 737—744.
² See on vv. 686, 714 foll.
strong. But more significant, and surely decisive, is the quality of the reasons which Aeschylus assigns to the goddess as sufficient for her purpose. These reasons he must himself have thought adequate; if not, he would have provided others. Even if there existed a legendary version of the trial (which, as we shall see, is doubtful) so complete as to equip Athena with reasons for a vote, Aeschylus, to judge by the freedom with which he treats legends in general, both Athenian and others, in this play, would not have adopted those reasons unless he had approved. Are we then to understand that Athena, voting as judge upon the merits of a particular cause, is determined by a general prejudice or preference, purely personal to herself and arising out of her personal history? That in her opinion, and that of Aeschylus, any one of the Areopagites might properly have condemned or acquitted Orestes according as the accidents of his own birth, childhood, or family circumstances inclined him to father or to mother? And that a judicial sentence is matter for likes and dislikes, a choice purely arbitrary? Such, if Athena’s vote is part of the judgment, would seem to be the inevitable inference. But in fact, after her disclaimer, we are entitled and bound to assume that she will not play the part of a judge. Nor does she here. The point which she rules, as conceived by Aeschylus, is (in our language) ‘not judicial’,—a distinction fully appreciated by Aeschylus and noted by Athena herself in the play; and it is so far from requiring sound reasons, that pure chance, if there be such a thing, would be the most appropriate arbiter.

Judgment by division of a jury, the Athenian palladium, has the defect that it may fail by equality of votes. This defect is inherent in the principle, an appeal to the balance of opinion, and is only disguised or shuffled away, not really removed, by fixing an uneven number of jurors, and thus making an equal balance impossible. There is no reason for making impossible in fact a case obviously possible in principle and theory. What is to be done upon an equal division, is a purely practical question, to which the Athenians, eminently clear and logical in their ways of thinking, were content to give a conventional answer. In that case, all defendants were discharged, in honour of the patron-goddess, whose favourable vote in one such case had discharged a particular defendant, Orestes. This explanation assumes no reason and pretends no principle. It accounts for the practice merely as a fact, making it a matter of

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1 See ἑρωυ ὁκαλα in v. 677, and contrast ἐκδικω as used in v. 492.
2 Eur. Ιρ. Τ. 965, 1469.
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precedent and local tradition, an accident of Athenian history. The treatment of Aeschylus, whether devised by himself or inherited from predecessors, is consistent with this view and not less logical. Presenting the very cause which furnished the traditional example, he cannot indeed make the rule in case of equality a matter of precedent; but neither does he make it a matter of principle. In his exposition, it still appears as something extraneous to the judgment, an arbitrary decision and essentially accidental, based on motives proper neither to the cause nor even to the ruling, but to the person of the ruling authority. Athena, who has repudiated the office of judge in a blood-cause as too 'passionate' for her mind, claims this on the contrary, and with evident reference to her previous disclaimer, as 'an office for me',—ἐμὸν τὸῦ ἔργου. Why? Precisely because, being arbitrary, it involves no such agitation as her nature, she has told us, rejects. If the judicial votes should be equal, then the method, which she has instituted as the best available, will have failed, as it must conceivably fail, to give a result. The disposal of Orestes must then rest practically with herself and depend upon her free choice; and if it comes to that, if judgment is equivocal and preference must weight the scale, then the 'preference' of Athena, the child of her father, will not be for a murderess-wife as against a murdered husband. Hence is to be explained not only the personal quality of her motives, but the very form, the negative turn, of her ruling, which deprecates such a standard even in using it. If judgments are equal and some one must be preferred, then the preference, falling to Athena, will not be given to Clytemnestra,—ἐγὼ...γινακές οὐ προτεμήσω μόρον.

I hold therefore with K. O. Müller, Schoemann, Paley, Prof. Wecklein, Mr Sidgwick, and many others, that according to Aeschylus the vote of Athena makes inequality. But must we say, as some on both sides do, that she votes 'in favour of mercy', and represents the principle that divine justice inclines to spare? There may be proof, though I do not assert it, that her vote, and the consequent votes of her successors the Athenian magistrates, were by some so interpreted. But was this the view of Aeschylus? Nothing in the play suggests it; and surely the vote, if so intended, would have been so motivated and explained. To say the truth, I doubt whether, to an Athenian in the fifth century, such a conception would have commended itself, nor, if that matters, does it commend itself to me. This is no place, nor have we need, for the discussion of theology. The Divine Mercy may be a

1 v. 474.
legitimate idea; it may (though this should be proved) be an idea belonging to the age of Aeschylus; but it has really no bearing on the question, what is to be done with a defendant, about whose guilt a human jury, an ordinary human jury, is equally divided. To divine judgment the guilt or innocence of such a defendant may be supposed patent; and that judgment may be invoked with as much reason, or rather as little, on one side as the other. Nor is there any principle applicable, and the only candid answer is that of Athens in general and of Aeschylus, that a certain result follows in practice because such is the usage, and (if you ask for the beginning of that usage) because, upon the first occasion and from the accidental circumstances of that occasion, the person, who had the power, so chose and preferred.

Nor does Athena's vote (and this too is of some importance to the effect) give us any information upon the merits of the cause, or imply any inferiority of justice in the condemning jurors as compared with the absolving. It would be hard, and disagreeable, that such an imputation should be conveyed, and that Athena, having refused to direct the judgment, should reflect upon it after it has passed. But she implies no such criticism. She decides a question different in nature from that submitted to the jurors, upon grounds which the jurors could not entertain. The moral question, the question of right, remains where they leave it. By her personal favour, Orestes, who after all must either be released or not released, does in fact escape. The Erinys protest, not specifically against the act of the goddess, but against the whole proceeding, as inconsistent with the very nature of justice. Whether they protest with justice is the all-important question; and this remains to be answered in the sequel.

From Aeschylus we should naturally infer, that in his time an Areopagite jury was even in number, and that the president, the Archon Basileus, voted, but voted always, according to the precedent of Athena, for acquittal, thus securing a decision on that side in case the other votes were equally divided. Later notices\(^1\) agree with this as far as they go, by saying that the Basileus voted (καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς τῶς δικάσταις δικάζει), but are too imperfect, and too remote in date from Aeschylus, to give much or certain light upon his picture. That however is in itself clear.

An open, but unimportant, question is whether, in the dramatic action, Athena's vote is given, like those of the jurors, by an actual pebble or counter, put by her in an urn or added to a heap, or whether

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it is only signified by speech and gesture. The text does not determine; some remarks will be found in the notes.

That the vote of Athena made equality was certainly one of the variations in detail with which in course of time the legend of the trial was narrated\. But these versions no more prove the view of Aeschylus than the more numerous versions, according to which her vote made inequality. The view of Aeschylus can be ascertained only by the fair and exact construction of what is said in the play; and thus limited, the evidence appears to be all on one side. It is surely forced, for example, to cut down (with Hermann) Athena’s disclaimer of the judicial function (v. 474) to a statement that she cannot act alone. That, if meant, could have been easily expressed; but what is said is something different. The whole problem, really simple so far as Aeschylus is concerned, has been perplexed by a superabundance of learning. I have treated it at length, not because I think it doubtful; but because of its capital importance. If Aeschylus meant that Athena’s vote, as he presents it, is her sentence upon the issue before the court, as he presents it, he is not only inconsistent but surely frivolous.

It is quite another question, here as elsewhere to be kept carefully distinct, how or whence the language attributed to Athena may, if not invented by Aeschylus, have come into the story, and what bearing on the issue it may have had in some other and older version. We will take that up in its turn. It is enough for the present purpose that, for Aeschylus, what the goddess alleges is a personal inclination, a proper and sufficient motive for an act essentially arbitrary.

Over the end of the trial, the departure of Apollo, the thanks and farewell of Orestes, we need not linger. The result being foreseen, and the immediate issue, the fate of the defendant, being overshadowed and almost lost in the larger and deeper question still pending between the adverse gods, this part of the play could hardly be too brief.

1 See the examples cited by Hermann, and also those of the opposite view, in Wecklein’s note on Eum. 738. As none of them are, in my judgment, strictly relevant to our question, I purposely abstain from repeating them. How, for example, can anything be inferred about the story of Aeschylus from this (schol. on Aristid. Panath. p. 108. 10) φαίει δὲ ἀτι, τῶν ἐξ θεῶν προστιθέντων ταῖς Ἱεροπραγματευμάτεσσαι καὶ τῶν πέντε θεών ὄρεστη, μετέωραν ἐχοῦσαν τὴν ψήφον Ἀθηνᾶς ὑστατον προστιθέσαν νικήσαι αὐτῶν πεπολύτως? This author makes the jury gods,—the popular belief, but inconsistent with Aeschylus both in fact and in principle. Why then should they not be at variance on a minor point? It is however a thing remarkable in itself, that the view, by which Athena made equality, should ever have existed; for it is contrary to what would seem to have been originally the very purpose of her ‘vote’, and the cause of the legend about it. For a probable explanation see Wecklein’s note above cited.
Orestes is chiefly occupied with promises of recompense, of securing to Athens the faithful alliance of Argos—a topic of interest in the political circumstances of the time, but, as the dramatist indicates when Apollo trenches upon it in the trial, extraneous to the question of right and wrong. Upon this the late defendant can tell us nothing, and his views are immaterial. Not unworthy of passing notice is the tacit assumption, necessary to the story in the form given to it by Aeschylus, however incompatible with fact and history, that an order from the president of the Areopagus has a sort of abstract and universal validity, and will be executed in Argos as a matter of course by the political restoration of Orestes, a result which will be cited with approval (he says) by Hellenes in general. The imagination is bold for Athenian tragedy, sober in political fiction as in fiction generally, and stepping with caution beyond the limits of the actual or the possible. But the position and hopes of the Athenian empire, when the Orestea was preparing, were such as to make this conception attractive and even to some extent practical. Within the empire, the foreign effect of Athenian judgments, especially in questions of crime, must have been a cardinal point. And about the year 458 B.C. the expansion of Athens had so promising an appearance that dreams like this of Aeschylus may have visited less poetical minds.

And now, the man and the affair of the hour being dismissed, the gods, the eternal types of opposed principles, the Erinyes and Athena, are left in presence, with the court and the assembled folk for spectators, to compose their difference if they may. Athena has perforce had her way; the culprit has been tried according to her forms and released by her order; but the divine controversy remains. That justice should be unchangeable and inexorable is a proposition firm and formidable as ever; nay, if anything could seem to prove the prophecy of the Erinyes, that the ‘new institutions’ will make a moral chaos, it is this trial, of which the result is a mere accident of place. ‘Over-ridden’ and ‘robbed’, as they say truly, by younger strength, they burst into furious threats, foreshown during the course of the proceedings, to what we desire to know, but, as yet, do not.

1 See on v. 678.
2 He assumes, or seems to suggest, that Zeus is for his cause, as the cause of a father (v. 763). The Erinyes have shown the weakness of this position (v. 643). What ‘Zeus’ thinks of the matter (that is, of the Areopagus rather than of Orestes), and what (so to put it) he ought to think,—that is just

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punish with utter devastation the state which has defied them. Their
wild and broken lyrics shatter the mould which contains them, and
express the very acme of passion. That their threats are vain, that
force is with the Daughter of Zeus, 'needs not to be said', but
suggests no remedy. Yet it seems for a while that Athena has no other.
Her offer of a sanctuary at Athens, a fixed sanctuary, a local
worship, an established ritual, when it is heard, is naturally treated
as a new insult by those who long before declared that their ways
are not those of 'the gods', that their office is only to pursue, that
their home is no other than the underworld, that they have no part in
temples and do not listen to supplication. The pieties and unrivalled
destinies of Athens are displayed in vain to those who see but a 'cheat'
in the invitation to purchase a detested settlement and unsolicited
honours by the surrender of privileges ancient as time and large as
the world. Thrice the offer is patiently renewed, but without effect.
The Erinyes repeat their refusal, to make mistake impossible, without
the change of a word. And then, suddenly, all is over. Athena speaks
again. The Chorus, now calm as herself, take up her 'loathsome',
'contemptible', 'dishonourable', 'fraudulent' proposal, and promptly
accept it. Thenceforward they breathe only blessings.

Now here is a solution indeed, a solution not of any particular
casistical or judicial problem (we may notice that after the trial the
specific crime of Orestes is ignored completely), but of the universal
problem, the discordance of principles, the antithesis of Right against
Right. If the Inexorable can indeed be pacified, then there is some-
where One Right, one universal principle, something upon which 'the
fallen house of Justice' may be builded again. Let us but know why
this pacification takes place, upon what grounds and by what persuasions,
and we shall be admitted to the very secret of things. We turn to the
speech which effects all this, but—no explanation appears. At a certain
point it is assumed by Athena that the adversaries are content, as they
prove to be; it is assumed that this content proceeds from something
just said or done. And just before stands—an unfinished sentence.
Ahi if sacred Suasion be holy unto thee, the appeasement of my tongue,
and the soothing....Thou, then, wilt be like abide, or if it should be thy
will not to abide—but that is not their will. A hiatus (it would appear),
an injury singularly deplorable, has obliterated the words of the Eternal

1 v. 829.
2 vv. 840—842.
3 vv. 420 foll., v. 355, and the ὄμως δέσμος (vv. 307 foll.) passim.
4 v. 849.
5 vv. 882—892.
6 vv. 893—901.
7 v. 888; see the notes.
and the wisdom of the Most High. But never (we may hope) were they written. It is a gap which Aeschylus could no more have filled, nor would, than Dante could have told us what was the song which, on the Mount of Purgatory, hailed the forgiveness of sin and the restoration of man: “I understood it not, nor here is sung the hymn which that folk then sang.” Not Aeschylus, nor any one who had felt, like him, that ‘burden of thought’ which can be lifted away only in the name of Zeus, would pretend to tell us, what thought or thing it was, with which Athena won the Erinyes. He that would put it in words, in his own words, would not be worth our hearing.

Such a conciliation, if it is to command faith, cannot and must not be explicit. Something there must be, which by men is not understood nor even heard, some place for the miraculous, mystic, and incomprehensible. The broken grammar of the text does but indicate a silence, which we should have supposed, and supposed here, if the imperfect sentence had run to a full stop. The action offers no difficulty for those who believe that Aeschylus at any rate knew no barrier to the movements and intercourse of his performers, as this whole scene itself tends to show. It is but natural to suppose (and indeed otherwise the expostulations of Athena would appear frigid) that she has quitted her chair, and that by this time she and the Chorus are together. In this situation, nothing would be easier than to suggest that something here passes between them, not worded nor wordable at all, of which the human witnesses know and can know nothing but the effect,—the instantaneous achievement of the impossible, the appeasement of the unappeasable, the conversion of the Erinyes.

They are not bought. The poet, whose high and spiritual thoughts of the divine would with difficulty find a use for the chasm and tripod of Delphi, would not easily have imagined that a cave, or altars, or processions, or any local and limited function, however august, could purchase an alliance between Punishment and Pardon. The honours of Athens are soon accepted,—when the Erinyes entertain the offer; but the miracle is that they should entertain it; and this miracle is wrought by no bribe, but by the blessing of Zeus upon the mysterious persuasion of Athena. The acceptance of local worship, though not essential to the peace (as Athena expressly indicates), is an impressive proof of it, and the induction of the new deities a solemn and dramatic symbol.

The place, rites, and powers, which they thus acquire, are those of

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1 Io non io intesi, nè qui non si canta
L' inno che quella gente allor can-

2 *vv.* 971—974.

3 *vv.* 888 foll.
The Holy Goddesses (at Ἁγνοι Θεῖαι), primitive deities of the earth, who were worshipped at a cave by the Areopagus as givers of fertility, whether of the earth itself or of living things, and were thus specially powerful over birth\(^1\). The blessings, which in their new benignity they invoke upon land and people, take even a larger range, and cover in fact all material and moral good; but it is not always clear whether these blessings will be given by their power or procured, as is sometimes indicated\(^2\), by their influence. The distinction however is of no importance to the poetical effect, and concerns only a historical question to be touched hereafter. That the Erinyes are or now become the 'Sennai Theai', is nowhere said in terms; indeed that title does not occur in the play\(^3\). There were reasons, as we shall see, why the question of identity should be touched with caution. But at the close\(^4\), the conducting choir invokes them by this epithet, *Holy* (δεσπ' ἕρε, Ἁγνοι), and the general import of the scene is plain. Nevertheless, neither the name\(^5\) nor the dread\(^6\) of the Avengers is to be lost, though it is now Athena, not they, who magnifies these, and insists upon the gain to peace and order from the abiding presence of salutary fear\(^7\). The new denizens\(^8\) themselves also preach concord, not without allusion to the strife of factions at the date of the play and to the settlement then recent; and the citizens present testify their submission and good resolves\(^9\).

In becoming guardians of Athens, the Erinyes become of course custodians, as well as proselytes, of the new justice, of its organs, and of its procedure. A reader of the play must be sensible of this, as an element in the general effect. But it is the more remarkable to find no statement, or even suggestion, that, in their new character as 'The Holy Goddesses', they will be connected with the Athenian tribunals. Even the neighbourhood of the sanctuary to the Areopagus is not noticed, and to the Court, after the conclusion of the trial, there is no explicit allusion\(^10\). Some connexion between the Court and the Sennai Theai is demonstrable in later times, though the extent of it may not be clear; but if the connexion existed and was commonly

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1 vv. 837—839, 856—871, 895—898, 907—912, 917 foll., etc.
2 vv. 951, 961, 970.
3 Unless we introduce it by conjecture in v. 1042, where see note. The description 'the Sennai' appears to have no ancient authority.
4 v. 1042. See also v. 386 and note.
5 v. 952.
6 vv. 933 foll., 951 foll.
7 vv. 928 foll., 991 foll.
8 κατάσκος, v. 1012, 1019. For the spectacular importance of this conception, see note to v. 1029.
9 vv. 989, 990.
10 v. 913 (τῶν δικαίων τῶνδε) and v. 999 (ἡμεροι) are the nearest approaches to such allusion, but cannot be called explicit.
recognized in the time of Aeschylus, all we can say is that, somewhat strangely, he has not made use of it.

Superlatives are hazardous; but nothing in art will easily be found more beautiful, in the simple and popular sense of the word, than the closing scene of the *Eumenides*, from the conversion of the Erinyes to the exit. It is the very perfection of concord, of harmony, of solemn joy and rapturous awe, happiness that provokes no fear and fear that is no burden upon happiness, of that peace and union within and without, which the world does not offer, nay, seems to forbid, but which yet must be hoped, dreamed, supposed, believed, as an ideal possible and existing to thought and faith, if the struggle of life and travail of the creation is to have purpose and meaning,—all this enhanced by contrast with the sharp and persistent discords which precede. Even read, it is exquisitely delightful and impressive; but no book can properly represent it. Aeschylus has here found that rare thing which Racine found in *Athalie*, a moral theme essentially theatrical, which not only may be expressed by the organised action of a company, but cannot fully and naturally be expressed otherwise, so that spectacular drama, with its peculiar properties of responses, movements, choirs, processions, and the like, has all its powers and none of its faults. The religious pomp of the induction, the leading goddess, her attendants, the train of concordant citizens, the lights and offerings,—all this not only graces but is the thought and thing to be set forth.

The performance at Athens, the diapason of the *Oresteia*, must have been the crowning moment of theatrical art. Even a humble performance of the play at Cambridge in 1885¹, under all the defective conditions, left in the memory of some who saw it an impression never to be effaced.

We must conclude with a few words about the title, which, by a strange but not inexplicable exception, is in this case not deducible from the play, but an addition to it, a new point. The name 'Eumenides'—which after Aeschylus and through the effect of his work became at last so completely synonymous with 'Erinyes', that Latin poets can actually speak of an Eriny as a 'Eumenis'²—does not occur in the play as we have it. We can hardly say that it is even suggested. The final scene throws emphasis on the epithet ἐφρόμω, kindly³, and still more upon ἅμα, but these approaches are distant; we are not

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¹ With the music of Sir C. V. Stanford. Repeated in 1906.
² Whether any Greek goes as far as this, I do not know. It could not be
³ natural to a Greek ear.
⁴ V. 870, and elsewhere.
brought even as near as εὔμενης\(^1\). If therefore the title of the play comes from Aeschylus, as seems nevertheless probable\(^2\), we can only suppose that he desired so to name his converted Erinyes, but would not venture beyond a hint. Such an attitude is however perfectly intelligible, as is also the way in which he deals with the title Semnai Theai, if all this conversion and identification was a new thing, invented or first popularized by himself. We shall see hereafter that it probably was. This supposed, the process is natural.

The play demands a fusion of the Erinyes with deities domiciled within the city of Athens, which the Semnai Theai were, but the Eumenides, so far as we know, were not. One such step at once was enough. An innovator might well hesitate to challenge a theatrical audience with yet another unfamiliar conjunction. Yet just because the Chorus are first Erinyes and also, or next, Semnai Theai, neither name well sums the story of the pacification; and neither suggests it by meaning\(^3\). 'Eumenides' (εὔμενης, gracious) does, and lay not far. It was the name applied at Sicyon, at Argos, at Colonus close to Athens, and probably elsewhere, to certain deities having a strong resemblance to the Semnai Theai, three in number, primitive, benign. It is slipped in by way of title; and another step is taken towards that simplification of the divine catalogue which Aeschylus must naturally have desired.

We have indeed an ancient statement\(^4\) that the name 'Eumenides' is conferred, by Athena, in the play\(^5\). But this, a very probable error of memory, is combined with another, and indisputable, misrepresentation of the drama, and is therefore not to be trusted.

It is not confirmed, though it may partly be accounted for\(^6\), by

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1 Unless it is to be introduced by conjecture; see on v. 1041; πρεμεστης occurs in v. 934.
2 The association certainly existed not long after; the goddesses of the Orestean story are 'Eumenides' already in Euri-pides, Orest. 38 etc. On the other hand, Euripides, even in this late work (408 B.C.), treats the name as still open to criticism (Orest. l.c.): see hereafter.
3 As to the import of the epithet Σεμναί, see v. 386.
4 Harpocratinia s.v. Εὐμενίδες. Αλαχύλος ἐν Εὐμενίδας, εἷς ὁ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν Ορέστου, φησίν ὡς ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ, πραψάσα τὰς 'Ερυνίας ὡστε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐχεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ορέστην, Εὐμενίδας ὑπα-μασέως. Here, in the words πρὸς τὸν 'Ορέστην, there is at all events one error; to represent Aeschylus we should have πρὸς Εὐμενίδας τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι.
5 At least the author, it seems, must mean this, though his expression 'Aeschylus in the Eumenides says that Athena ...named' etc., does not well represent that meaning.
6 The resemblance in language, τὰς 'Ερυνίας πραψάν (πραψάσα), points to a common origin. Hermann and others would correct the summary, as well as the play, from Harpocratinia, although his statement, to be valid, must itself be corrected on another point. See on vv. 1025 foll., and supra note 4.
the summary prefixed to the play in the principal ms. and printed hereafter with the *dramatis personae*. It concludes thus: ['Ορέστης] κατῆλθεν εἰς Ἀργος. τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας πραθανες προσηγόρευσεν Εὐμενίδαις. παρ' οὐδετέρῳ κύται ἢ μυθοσοιά. This may be understood in two ways. (1) It is Orestes (this is the obvious construction) who, after his return to Argos, propitiated the Erinyes and named them accordingly. On this supposition, the writer explains the origin of the name (because it is the title of the play) according to a version which certainly existed, but without noticing that this explanation, though perhaps reconcilable with Aeschylus, is not derived from him. In a document so extremely brief, imperfect, and faulty, this appears quite possible. But (2) the same excessive concision admits the view that the writer, or the authority whom he abbreviates, really meant what seems to be the truth, that it was *Aeschylus* who made the Erinyes gentle, and, by the title of the play, conferred on them the name Eumenides. Where παρ’ οὐδετέρῳ κύται ἢ μυθοσοιά can, by convention, signify without more that ‘the plot [of Aeschylus’ play] does not occur either in [Sophocles or Euripides],’ we cannot exclude the possibility of a too ambiguous ‘he’. In either case, the summary affords no evidence for supposing that the name Eumenides, and the conferring of it, ever were found in the play itself. It is a highly significant fact that they are not.

*The Legend before Aeschylus. The innovations of Aeschylus.*

We now pass from the primary question, what are the conceptions of the dramatist, to the secondary though not immaterial question, whence did they come and upon what foundation did he build. Direct evidence upon this head, scanty for all the plays of Aeschylus, in this case fails altogether. Though the legend was doubtless old, we have no version of it, not even an outline and scarcely a fragment, which is prior to Aeschylus and certainly independent of his influence. In later versions, such influence is everywhere probable and often plainly paramount. To extract from these versions an answer to our question is so difficult, and the answer must be so uncertain, that, though the investigation is necessary and has seldom been strictly pursued, it will be treated here as briefly as possible.

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1 This is suggested by Miss Harrison.
2 Suidas, s.v. *Euménides*.
3 Note particularly the strange phrase ἦς θυσία μυθοσοιά.
4 The summary purports to be by Aristophanes the scholar of Alexandria. But one must hope that it does not fairly represent him.
5 See however the *Prolegomena to Greek Mythology* of Miss J. E. Harrison.
INTRODUCTION

Of what is commonly admitted as evidence the greater part is irrelevant and fit only to mislead. For example, Pausanias' description of the Semnai Theai and their sanctuary was written six hundred years after Aeschylus, when his play, ideas, and representations had for ages been dominant over the whole subject of the Erinyes, and had moulded countless works of literature and art. Pausanias, in this description, expressly refers to Aeschylus and to no other author; he notes, as if it were matter for surprise, that the images of the sanctuary had no terror, nothing, that is to say, of the Aeschylean type. In short, his whole treatment shows that, for him, the deities of the sanctuary were nothing else, as indeed they could be nothing else, than the deities of our play. If then we will allow such a writer to be an authority for the present purpose, if we will take it from Pausanias, as true universally and therefore before Aeschylus, that "Semnai Theai was the Athenian name for those generally called the Erinyes", our question is answered by presumption. The conceptions of Aeschylus prove at this rate their own antiquity, and we may spare enquiry.

That a legend gave the main fact, the prosecution of Orestes by the Erinyes before a tribunal at Athens and his acquittal there, might safely be inferred from the play and is beyond doubt; and we may add, as an ancient datum, that the result was decided by the vote of Athena, not only because this feature is constantly associated with the story in all forms, but because here is the most obvious and probable origin of it. The Athenian practice of acquitting in case of equality, a custom laudable but not self-justifying, was the very case for an 'aetiological' or explanatory story. But apart from this, the invention of the story was natural enough. The enterprise of Orestes against the murderers of his father, according to one version, actually started from Athens, the place of his exile 1. That he should return there, and be there called in question, was in that case obvious to suppose. 'Erinyes' were ex officio pursuers; and to make them legal 'pursuers', instead of literal, was no great stretch of imagination, and was suitable to the Athenian interest in forensic affairs. Religious or political motives, dissatisfaction with the older treatment of crime as a mere matter of 'purgation', and the desire to magnify civic law, may also have contributed to the making or the credit of the legend. At all events it existed and was well established.

But with all this, the prosecution, the acquittal, and Athena's vote, we are still a long way from the Eumenides. Equally essential and more important to the conception of Aeschylus are these propositions: (1) that the trial of Orestes was the first trial for bloodshed 2, and that

1 Hom. Od. 3. 306.
2 Eum. 68 g.
upon this occasion the Areopagus, the first court of the kind, was founded; (2) that the trial was in all respects normal, and especially the jury a normal jury, so that by this instance the competence of such a judicature was solemnly established; (3) that the 'pursuers' not only submitted to the decision but themselves became denizens of the city and defenders of the new institution. These are the piers of Aeschylus' fabric, and all indispensable; remove one of them, and the structure falls to pieces.

What reason then is there to think that these conceptions were formed or accepted before the appearance of the Eumenides? There is none. The evidence, inconclusive but not inconsiderable, is all on the other side, and indicates that all these notions, if not altogether invented, were first defined, and were established so far as they ever were established, by Aeschylus.

On the first point indeed it seems possible to have certainty. It cannot have been, before Aeschylus, an established tradition that the Areopagus was founded for the trial of Orestes, because a different legend, which held its ground in spite of Aeschylus and continued solely to possess official sanction, is shown to have been already established, when he wrote, by his own allusive attacks. In the extant Athenian oratory of the fourth century, about a hundred years after the Eumenides, we have two references1 to the sacred legends of the Areopagus, references far more weighty, upon the point of public recognition, than the literary notes and notices, mostly dateless, which make the chief part of our material. The two are closely similar, and show that at least there was a sort of canon upon the subject. Both orators place first the legend that on the Areopagus ('the Hill of Ares') Ares was tried by a jury for the slaying of Halirrhothios son of Poseidon. This is an 'aetiological' legend of the common popular type, accounting for a fact not self-explained, to wit, why the court sat in a certain place and why that place was called Areios Pagos. Both orators subjoin to this, evidently as a later incident, the trial of Orestes. Now if we follow Aeschylus, the legend which with the orators is primary and fundamental, the legend of Ares, is not

1 Demosth. (? Or. 23, p. 641, § 66 τούτο μὲν ταῦτα τῶς παλαιῶς, ὥστε ἡμῖν ἄκοιμων παραδείστω μὲν μόνον τῷ δικαστηρίῳ διακριτόν θεόν καὶ δικαίως καὶ λαβεῖν ήξεισεν καὶ δικαίως γενέσθαι διανεθεῖσιν ἅλλοισιν, ὅπερ λόγος· λαβεῖν μὲν Ποσειδῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀλίρρηθος τὸν οὐδὲν παρά Ἀρεως, δικάσαι δὲ Θηρείας καὶ Ὀρέστη αἱ διάδεκα θεοί.
merely ignored and contradicted but condemned, as upon the theological principles of Aeschylus it well might be. The abhorrence with which Athena rejects the office of judge in a cause of blood\(^1\) could not more sharply stigmatize the trial of Ares, with its jury of gods\(^2\) sitting upon a god-murderer, if it were designed for that purpose. And that it is so designed, that Aeschylus knew the story of Ares for the established foundation-legend of the court and, as such, an obstacle to the acceptance of his own version, appears when he introduces into his play an irrelevant explanation of the name Areios Pagos. His story of the foundation, whatever its moral and theological merit, has from a popular point of view the defect that it does not connect the tribunal essentially with its consecrated title ‘the Council of the Hill of Ares’. The defect is irreparable; but Aeschylus does his best to compensate for it by offering a derivation interesting to Athenian patriotism. The hill, as Athena informs us in a digression, is the place where the Amazons, defeated by Theseus, endeavoured to found a fortress rival and hostile to the Acropolis, and celebrated the worship of their god Ares\(^3\). The statement, probably his own invention, has no bearing on the play, and must be understood as a polemical and contradictory substitute for the derivation previously (and subsequently) accepted, and for the legend therewith connected\(^4\).

On the second point, the constitution of the jury, the case is scarcely less clear. Of the two orators, one, in the name of ancient tradition, expressly contradicts Aeschylus: the jury (he says) in the case of Orestes were gods. The other contradicts him by implication\(^5\). And the energy with which Aeschylus repudiates the notion of making Athena a juror has in itself a combative air, seeming to assume and almost to assert an adverse prepossession in the audience. In this point also therefore, a point vital to the conception of the play, Aeschylus appears as an inventor and innovator.

But on the third and most interesting point, the conversion of the Erinyes, the testimony of the fourth century is, as to the origin of the conception, indecisive. Here both orators are with Aeschylus, one saying plainly that “the Semnai Theai consented to dwell thereafter

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\(^1\) Eum. 474.
\(^2\) Not specified for this case by Demosthenes, but see Eur. El. 1258: ἐστιν δ’ Ἀρεῖος τις ὄχθος, οὗ πρῶτον θεὸν ἔστω ἐμπνευσάμενος ἄμετατο πέρι, Ἀμφρόθου δὲ ἐκτεῖνει ωμόφρων Ἀρης.  
\(^3\) Eum. 688.  
\(^4\) So Paley and others.  
\(^5\) Dinarch. loc. § 86 οὐδὲ [ὅσιν ὑμῖν] τοὺς θεοὺς ὁμομοιότατα περὶ ταύτης τῆς κράτεως ταῖς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν πράξεων ἐναντία τῆς ψῆφων ἐνεχεί, and here follow the examples. The reference to the oaths and votes of the jury would have no point unless the ‘proceedings of the gods’ had been conducted with juries of gods.
with the Court", the other giving to the prosecutors the significant title *Eumenides*. This part of the Aeschylean version was therefore then established. Since the intervening century gives ample time for the adoption of this incident, we cannot yet tell whether it was from Aeschylus himself, or from some earlier authority, that it came.

No earlier authority is extant. In no authority, not certainly or probably influenced by Aeschylus, is any trace of the triple identification, *Erinyes, Semnai Theai, Eumenides*, or of any part of it, now to be found. So far indeed as concerns the purely local cult of the Semnai Theai, the almost entire loss of all earlier literature belonging and relating specially to Athens makes an argument *a silentio* inapplicable. But not so with the Eumenides; these were not Athenian, nor confined, it seems, to any one place. If, before Aeschylus, they had been known as identical with the Erinyes, it is remarkable that we must descend below Aeschylus for the exchangeable use of the names, and that Aeschylus himself, for example, gives no hint of it before he puts the title upon his final play.

And when we do descend lower, the argument from silence, slightly modified, becomes strong. Whatever germs of the triple identification existed before must have been powerfully quickened by this play. At least then afterwards, and especially in later tragedy, they should put forth promptly and abundantly. But the fact is otherwise. It is but slowly, and as it were with difficulty, that the seed comes up at all. Euripides does not recognise the identification except in connexion with Orestes, that is to say, only when he is directly referring (generally for the purpose of hostile or sarcastic comment) to the doctrine assumed in Aeschylus' play¹. Sophocles, till we reach the *Oedipus at Colonus*, does not apparently notice the identification at all. Both he and Euripides, it is needless to say, refer to Erinyes or an Erinys often, but they call them Erinyes, like Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, like Aeschylus before the *Eumenides*, not Eumenides or Semnai Theai². Not till the *Oedipus at Colonus*, fifty years after the *Eumenides*, does the triple identity now appear as an accepted and general truth. There indeed it appears complete, and detached, for the first time so far as

¹ In the *Orestes* (38, 312 etc.), the *Electra* 1379, and the *Iphigenia in Tauris* 968. The name *Eumenides* seems to occur in the *Orestes* alone, where on its first appearance (e. g. 38) its kindly significance is the subject of a sneer. In the *Iphigenia* the whole story of the trial, as conceived by Aeschylus, becomes the delusion of a monomaniac; see Euripides the Rationalist, pp. 183—189.
² The occasional appearance of *σεμνας* as an epithet (e. g. *σεμνας Ερυνας*, Soph. *Ai.* 896) may possibly allude to the doctrine of Aeschylus, but is no adoption of it.
we know, from the case of Orestes. The Eumenides of Colonus, who receive the long-suffering Oedipus to his final rest, are seen to be mysteriously identical with the Avengers of his unhappy past; they are Semnai Theai, and their identity with the goddesses of the Areopagus, though not perhaps expressly asserted, is plainly suggested; and it is hinted, in perfect harmony with the spirit of the Aeschylean doctrine, that under other names the same Powers are to be recognised elsewhere\(^1\). But for how much of this should we take Sophocles to be an authority independent of Aeschylus? Surely at most for the fact that the tenants of the simple sanctuary at Colonus were and at all times had been worshipped under the name 'Eumenides'\(^2\). This was enough to justify the illustrious Coloniate in conferring upon his birth-place, together with much else which certainly or probably did not belong there, the honours, stamped as public property by fifty years' approval, of Aeschylus' triple mystery. It would be a bold inference indeed that the Coloniates knew of any such doctrine in (let us say) 460 B.C. It may be doubted whether they had much suspicion of it in the year 406.

As, before Aeschylus, there is no authority for the mystic conversion, so neither is there any plain foundation for it. Between the Eumenides and the Semnai Theai indeed, so far as we know anything about the earlier history of either, there was resemblance enough. But between these and the Erinyes, as the Erinyes figure in previous literature, there is broad unlikeness: the Erinyes are vague, figureless, numberless, homeless, essentially punitive; the Semnai Theai, and probably the Eumenides, in all respects different, local, visible, authors rather of boons than of punishment. Nor was it apparently the Athenian tradition before Aeschylus, as we shall presently see, that the Erinyes after the trial of Orestes were appeased at all, much less converted.

Was there at that time such a tradition anywhere? None, we may say, of a conversion; whether any of an appeasement, it is difficult to be sure. Six hundred years after Aeschylus there was shown to travellers, in the Peloponnesë, between Megalopolis and Messene, the place where Orestes made his peace with 'the Eumenides', who thereupon appeared to him white instead of black\(^3\). If this story, and some others resting on similar authority, were told exactly as we now read them in the days of Aeschylus, and if Aeschylus knew them, he may have received from them a hint for his own deeper treatment. But who is to assure us that the religious ideas and language of Messenia had not undergone some change in six centuries,

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1 O.C. 40 foll., 89, 458, 944—949, etc.  
2 O.C. 42.  
3 Pausanias 8. 34.
or that in this change no part is attributable to infiltration from the
catholic literature of Athens? In any case, such tales did not import
a conversion of the kind suggested by Aeschylus.

Indeed the strongest reason for believing, provisionally and until the
contrary is proved, that the mystic and miraculous conversion of
Vengeance to Grace, the sudden revelation that, in some incomprehensible way, Vengeance and Grace are the same, punishment and
prosperity parts and aspects of one Providence, was the thought,
substantially new and original, of Aeschylus himself, is its profound
unlikeness and immense superiority to the common religious products of
the Greek mind. It has the stamp of Aeschylus, perhaps the only
Greek who shows a strong genius for religious invention, not meta-
physical, or moral, or artistic, or imaginative, or ritual, or anything else
but religious. The conversion of the Erinyes is a religious idea, awful,
dark, and intensely satisfying. If Hellenic paganism had been generally
capable of such thoughts, of comprehending them even, and adopting
them when they had been invented, it might not have died when it
did. What meaning could such a thought have conveyed to a mind like
that of Herodotus or that of Pindar, men both much-worshipping in
their own ways? Sophocles of course understood it; Euripides divined
its power, and disliked it in a just proportion. Doubtless many other
Athenians were capable of it, or an Athenian would not have been
the originator. But the Athenian public dealt with it as the
public does. In the official oratory of the fourth century, as above
quoted, we find the Aeschylean account of the Semnai Theai reduced
to a thing commonplace and, except to Athenian vanity, utterly
uninteresting. The conversion of the Erinyes, torn away from all that
in Aeschylus gives it significance, is incongruously tacked to a
theology and a legend which Aeschylus contemptuously disowns. It
has become just a piece in the canonical patchwork, an object in the
mythical museum. But it is something more in Aeschylus, and that
something more is from his own brain.

It need not however and perhaps cannot easily be supposed, that
between the Erinyes and the sanctuary on the Areopagus there was,
before Aeschylus, no connexion at all. Something of this kind to work
upon was perhaps necessary to the reception, if not to the conception,
of the Eumenides. And there remains what may be a trace of it. The
Electra of Euripides, presenting the murder of Aegisthus and Clytaem-
nestra, concludes with a sketch of the future fortunes of the slayers, in
a divine and mechanical epilogue of the usual Euripidean type. There

¹ p. xxxix, note.
we are told that, when Orestes is acquitted by the Areopagus, “the strange dread goddesses, under this grievous blow, shall descend into a chasm in the ground, hard by the Hill." Now Euripides may be inventing here, or putting on a colour of his own; but that is not likely. For his very purpose in these epilogues is to make a perfunctory, pretended reconciliation between his nonconformist plays and popular tradition; and the rest of the prophecy is just common fable, with nothing of the author except the indifference with which it is related. Probably therefore the descent of the disappointed demons into 'a chasm in the ground' is really the end of the trial, the natural end, as before Aeschylus it was commonly related. It is further probable, perhaps certain, when we lay Euripides and Aeschylus together, that this chasm was located at the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai. If so, when Aeschylus conducted the Erinyes to that sanctuary as possessors, the audience was so far ready for him, that thither at least, though not as the Semnai Theai nor as friends of Athens, they were expected to go. Nor is it surprising that in time the makers of tradition should recognise the Aeschylean account of the matter as more ornamental to the city than the old one, and, without caring what Aeschylus meant or themselves meaning anything in particular, should put 'the settlement of the Semnai Theai or Eumenides', as a brilliant bit of colour, into the incongruous mosaic of official legend.

Further we must not deny, if we may not assert, that before Aeschylus there was in the popular consciousness some negative adumbration of his idea, some notion that the vast variety of local polytheism might be at bottom partly a question of names, and that, for example, powers classable as chthonian, such as were the Semnai Theai of the Areopagus, the Eumenides of Colonus, and the Erinyes of everywhere and nowhere, however different, might not be different altogether. Popular thinking is not apt to be clear either in conjunction or division. This at least should be noted, that if Aeschylus ends with union, he begins by accenting separation. The Erinyes, before he put them on the stage, were distinguished from other and from gentler beings of the nether world, but were not so monstrously and definitely unlike as he makes them. The horrid form, traits, description, action of them are all created or developed by him. It is likely that, if we could follow the conceptions of the Erinyes and the Semnai Theai back from the days of Aeschylus to their beginnings, the ghost-spirits of the earth who avenge, and the life-spirits of the earth

1 Eur. El. 1270 δειναν μὲν οὖν θεῖαι τῷδε δέχει πεπληγμέναι | πάγοιν παρ' αὐτῶν χάσμα δώονται χθονὸς.
who give increase, might come out much the same, and be seen to branch from one common base of savage imagination. It is not improbable that, with all the refining of art and speculation, something of that simplicity or confusion lived on, to predispose in a certain direction the poet, or his audience, or both. This is the line of investigation followed, with instructive results, by Miss Harrison in the Prolegomena to Greek Mythology, to which I would refer for much information which, though beyond the scope of a commentary on Aeschylus, as not demonstrably recognised by him, helps to account for his ideas historically. All men, and most of all the most original, use much which they do not know.

The Eumenides itself supplies one reason for supposing that the identification of Erinyes and Semnai Theai was a novelty. There is no sign that the audience are in the secret beforehand. If the conversion of the pursuers had been familiar, even as a possible and alternative termination to the story, there could not have been a finer opportunity for that 'irony', those covert or involuntary forecasts, in which the Attic theatre, and Aeschylus especially, took so much delight. Apollo, Orestes, the Erinyes themselves, and above all Athena, might be expected, if we judge by the method followed in the Agamemnon, Choephoroi, Seven Against Thebes and elsewhere, to hint in various ways the nature of the foreknown conclusion. But nothing of the kind is to be found. In the case of Athena particularly, it is made clear that, according to the conception of Aeschylus, she does not foresee the relations which, by the will of the supreme powers, are to be established between Athens and its formidable visitors. The conversion, when it comes, comes, for anything that appears in the play, as a complete and universal surprise. Probably therefore it was a surprise; probably both dramatist and audience here enjoyed an effect less common in the conditions of the earlier Attic stage, but not less valuable, than satisfied anticipation.

However we cannot be sure. The only sure ground for asserting that the conversion of the Erinyes was not known before Aeschylus would be an argument a silentio, based upon a large mass of contemporary or earlier Athenian literature. We have almost none. But seeing how the indications lie, we must at all events not decide the other way.

1 Chapter v, pp. 163 foll., especially pp. 213 foll. 'The Ker as Erinys',
2 vv. 479 foll.
INTRODUCTION

The legal issue in and before Aeschylus. Father and Mother.

If the antecedents of the Eumenides are on the religious side partly uncertain, so also, and more so, is the legal side. Of the source, if source there was, from which Aeschylus took the details of the forensic argument, we know nothing. We do not even know, and must not assume, that before this play the legend of Orestes' trial had even been developed in such a shape as to require the production of arguments. As a mythical precedent for the rule about equality of votes (and this seems to be the only known legal use of it), it may have existed for ages without any such development; and the arguments, for anything which can be proved to the contrary, may be the invention of the poet, guided by such notions of law as he had or could pick up.

What is certain is that in the law of the matter, the law proper, he took little interest. The ultimate issue of his play is not legal, but religious; and if he commends (as he does) the method of trial by jury as an engine of politics, he shows not less clearly, what as a fact is plainly true, that even after such a decision, we may be as far as ever from a revelation of right: For this purpose the instrument is inefficient, and the true judgment, the divine and ultimate judgment, will remain in suspense.

To this end it matters almost nothing, upon what statements of the case the court pronounces its ambiguous and unsatisfactory verdict. It matters nothing that, as before remarked, the prosecutors, in different parts of the play, assume, respecting the limits of punishable homicide, views which are not compatible; or again, that the question of the validity of the oracular command, though it is a main point in the defence, and though the jury must be supposed to disagree about it, is not argued, unless contradiction is argument, at all1. The whole debate, though adequate and effective for the poet's purpose, is curt, superficial, and without pretence to accuracy.

On law therefore, and the history of law, the Eumenides is but a dubious authority; and the reader or expositor of Aeschylus as such is not bound, or perhaps entitled, to consider the play from this point of view. There is however one aspect upon which we must touch, if only by way of caution. It has been alleged, sometimes that the Eumenides exhibits a contest between an older system of kinship through the mother and a later system of kinship through the father, sometimes that it retains the traces of such a contest. The former

1 See vv. 618—627.
statement, as we have seen\(^1\), is indefensible; the Erinyes, whatever they may have been once, are not in Aeschylus the defenders of maternal rights, either solely, or preferentially as compared with the paternal. The latter statement has some appearance of truth.

Much indeed of what has been cited for it is irrelevant. It is nothing to the purpose that the Erinyes insist upon the guilt of matricide. Such is the case in question; and the frequency of reference to it implies neither exclusion nor partiality. The admissible evidence for an opposition between paternal and maternal rights reduces itself, upon inspection, to two passages: (1) the final argument of Apollo, that, as the earth is not the parent of the seed which grows in it, so the mother is no parent of the child\(^2\); and (2) the preference of the male side declared by Athena as the motive of her casting-vote\(^3\). It may well be thought that, though Aeschylus himself does not present the case of Orestes as turning upon adverse views of parentage, these passages were suggested to him by some version or tradition which did. But even here the ground is not very safe; to suppose an external source is not necessary, the context, properly considered, supplying in each instance sufficient reason for the invention.

Of Athena’s vote we have spoken before\(^4\). What is expressed by this, according to the scheme of Aeschylus, is no legal or moral theory, but a personal preference, a personal partiality for fathers. To find a motive for such partiality in Athena, it was scarcely necessary to consult authorities, even if (which, let it be said once more, we do not know) the arguments in the case, and among them those of Athena, had ever before been stated.

Nor did Aeschylus need the pressure of authority for placing, as he places it, the theory of Apollo on the nature of parentage. We must observe, first, that the god-advocate does not produce this theory until (\textit{salva reverentia}) he is driven to it\(^5\); his spontaneous defence ignores it completely; and secondly, that it is not produced upon the main issue, but upon an objection ingeniously raised by the prosecutors, that Orestes, even if formally acquitted, will be incapable of rehabilitation, because he cannot be restored to Argos\(^6\). The first fact goes with other signs\(^7\) to show that Aeschylus held the theory to be, as it is, extravagant and fallacious. It is the sort of argument which illustrates this or like cases, but do not touch the present question.

\(^1\) pp. xviii—xxi.
\(^2\) v. 661.
\(^3\) v. 732. See also vv. 643 foll., 762 foll., with the notes. Vv. 603—606 may imply knowledge of some arguments on
\(^4\) pp. xxv—xxx.
\(^5\) See on vv. 643—659.
\(^6\) \textit{ibid.}
\(^7\) See notes \textit{ad loc.}
the sarcasm of Mephistopheles, that man uses reason for the increase of folly. For Aeschylus, it seems to mark, as Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf suggests, the extreme of what a pleader, with his back to the wall, might be found to say. To introduce it for dramatic colour in this way, the dramatist need not have been prompted by any tradition about the legal issue of the trial. It would be enough that he had heard of such a theory, which is not unlikely, as it seems to have been held in Egypt\(^1\), and has since been advanced at divers times and by sundry sapient persons down to the eighteenth century and James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. If we suppose that Aeschylus knew it to have been used in an Athenian court, then, following his indications, we should also suppose it used as by Apollo, that is to say, on the question, not whether a certain homicide should be condemned or absolved, but whether the abolition of a homicide properly carried with it the admission of him to such local rites and privileges as those of a deme or phratry. Such questions may well have arisen and been contested bitterly, if not within Attica, yet within the Athenian empire, in cases where defendants, like Orestes, were of foreign domicile. Whether the abolition of an Athenian jury bound a religious brotherhood in Naxos or Mytilene to admit a member who, according to the law of that association, was tainted with 'kindred blood', is the sort of question which the quasi-imperial posture and ambition of Athens was certain to raise. It is also the sort of question in which a theory destructive of parentage,—for it is equally destructive, if admitted at all, of parentage on both sides, at all events as importing connexion by 'blood', and may be applied to either at pleasure\(^2\),—however extravagant, might be practically useful; because, if the disproof of kinship was unreal, so also, in the case of the religious 'brotherhoods', the ancient tribes, phratries, demes and the like, was the kinship which ex hypothesi was to be disproved. The descent of the members from a common ancestor (father or mother, as the case might be) was commonly a fiction. And the adoption of a convenient pretence, to meet a pretence which has become inconvenient, is a not unfrequent incident in the development of law. But that the relationship between mother and child, and the obligation founded upon it, was or ever had been

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\(^1\) Dr Headlam (Class. Rev. XII. 248), citing Diod. Sic. I. 80.

\(^2\) It is in this respect like all arguments, if they deserve the name, which rest upon the assumption of a false analogy. If we are to assume that a plant has 'blood', how does it appear that the 'blood' of a plant is derived solely from the seed, and not rather solely from the earth?—Euripides assigns the theory (plainly as absurd) to the perverse 'Orestes' of his play so called.
generally denied, at Athens, at Delphi, or elsewhere—this, though it may be true, is more than we could infer from Aeschylus.

The general question, whether the Erinyes ever had been associated specially with the mother, is beyond our present limits. The evidence is slight and insufficient for a positive conclusion. Nor must we be positive about Aeschylus, except so far as this, that he did not definitely recognise the case of Orestes as turning, or having been supposed to turn, upon theories of kinship. He does not adopt this view; he does not reject or avoid it, like the Delphian legends of which he disapproved, or the legends about the origin of the Areopagus. He is neutral about it, or rather null; and his reader, if he pleases, may take the same line.

The Politics of the Play.

This topic, though not unimportant, is everywhere secondary and subordinate. It is clear from the tone of the final scene, and is generally recognised, that Aeschylus did not intend at least to appear as a partisan, that he supposed himself to be a peacemaker, and to have advanced only what would be generally approved. He justifies trial by jury; he extols the Areopagus as a court of crime; he leaves room, but in vague terms, for a larger execution of its 'vigilant protection.' On the other hand, he reprobrates 'tyranny' and 'encroachment', and implies that the excellent institution of Athena had suffered abuses. He is an ardent patriot, who greatly admires the energy of Athens, and sympathizes with her imperial mission, provided always that this does not imply arrogance or violence. He is for the middle way, 'neither tyranny nor anarchy', and above all things preaches respect for the law and internal concord, to which, as a final object-lesson, the whole play leads up. All this is edifying, though vague, and corresponds to what we may suppose to have been the sentiments of moderate persons in the year of the play (458 B.C.), on the morrow or in the midst (the dates and details are not precisely known) of the kolonovis or curtailing of construction, than corresponds to the position of the Areopagus after the democratic constitution had been fully developed.

1 See Deecke, in Roscher's Lexicon of Gr. and Rom. Mythology, s.v. Erinys, p. 1321, where the matter is stated with caution.
2 For possible traces of legal discussion about the case of Orestes, or of like cases, see on vv. 603—611.
3 See v. 708, and the whole foundation-speech of Athena. The language used is wider, or admits at least a wider construction, than corresponds to the position of the Areopagus after the democratic constitution had been fully developed.
4 See vv. 520—568, and the closely connected vv. 693—702.
6 vv. 860 foll., 977 foll. and the finale passim.
the Areopagus, the reduction of the ancient Council from a censorial function, extended after the Persian wars so as almost to embrace the whole government, down to limited competence as a judicial tribunal. It corresponds also to the moment when the expansion of Athens had perhaps the brightest prospects. But the attitude of the poet is not that of a practical politician. Religion, always first with him, in the *Eumenides* covers the whole field.

The external relations of Athens, and the importance attached about this time to the recently-formed alliance between the city and Argos\(^1\), account for certain passages\(^2\), not otherwise relevant and perhaps not very happily conceived, in which it is suggested that, by the trial and discharge of Orestes, Argos is laid under a permanent obligation to Athens, or that at all events, with Orestes, the Argive 'hero', as a friend, hostility from Argos to Athens is not to be feared. The impression conveyed is that the solidarity of the alliance was for the moment a subject rather of anxiety than of confidence\(^3\). The history of the period is too little known to afford more than a general explanation of these allusions, which however are of no importance to the total effect. That they are, strictly speaking, irrelevant to the issue, is indicated by Aeschylus himself\(^4\).

More important, as well as more relevant, is the suggestion, which engraves itself naturally and almost necessarily upon the ancient legend as modified by Aeschylus, that decrees of the Areopagus, and by implication, those of Athenian courts generally, had or should have a sort of universal validity, and be operative everywhere\(^5\). In the legendary version, when the acquittal of Orestes was entirely the work of gods, and the trial altogether of an extraordinary and superhuman character, the competence of the tribunal did not come into question. Aeschylus, by making the jury Athenian citizens and the whole proceeding, so far as possible, ordinary, necessarily raises the question of competence; and by assuming that it is decided in favour of Athens, he falls in with a tendency of the first importance to the imperial ambitions of the city.

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\(^2\) vv. 289 foll., 670 foll., 765 foll. The last passage differs somewhat in substance and tone from the others, and doubts have been raised upon it, but see the notes.
\(^3\) See especially vv. 765 foll.
\(^4\) vv. 677, 678.
\(^5\) vv. 757 foll.
The Divisions of the Play. Time. Scenery.

In structure and division the Eumenides, though simple in itself, is among Greek plays remarkable. The conventional division, established for tragedy when fully developed, into prologos, parodos, certain epeisodia, and exodos, marked off by movements or stationary songs of the Chorus, has in this case little or no application. There are two breaks\(^1\), and two only, in the action, dividing the play into three Acts. One of these breaks certainly, the other probably\(^2\), is marked by an 'empty stage' (that is, an exit of all the performers), by a change in the imaginary place of action, and by some change at least, whether we suppose it small or great, in the actual scenic representation\(^3\). The stasima, the great choric odes, are also two\(^4\). The second of these coincides with, or rather immediately precedes, the second break in the action; but the first, the ἕμων δέσμιος, does not coincide with the first break, and, regard being had to the circumstances, can scarcely be said to break or suspend the action at all; it is merely a part of the scene in which it occurs.

The place of action is in Act I. at Delphi, before the temple of Apollo, but within the sacred precincts.\(^5\) In Act II. it is at a sanctuary in Athens, exhibiting an altar, 'house', and ancient image of Pallas Athena.\(^6\) In Act III. it is, I think (though this is disputed), on the Areopagus, at the place where the Court regularly sat.\(^7\)

Between Act I. and Act II. take place the wanderings of Orestes, hunted by the Erinyes, from his leaving Delphi to his reaching Athens. The references to these\(^8\) show that they are supposed to extend over a wide space and long time, including voyages by sea, but give no description or limit, unless we so understand the statement they have covered 'every region of the earth'.\(^9\) Between Act II. and Act III. occurs whatever must or may be supposed to take place

1 v. 234, v. 568.
2 The question is discussed upon vv. 568, 569. See Appendix I.
3 This sentence applies, in my opinion, also to the Choephoroi (see the Introduction to that play) where however the division is more difficult and uncertain.
4 v. 307, v. 493.
5 Hence ἡξω τῶν δεδυμάτων in v. 179, where δύματα means the whole oracular sanctuary. See on this and other points The Relative Position of Actors and Chorus in the Greek Theatre of the V. Century B.C. (John Pickard), American Journal of Philology, Vol. xiv. p. 208.
6 Commonly supposed hitherto to be the ancient temple on the Acropolis. But see note to vv. 79, 80, and Appendix I. to vv. 568, 569.
7 See Appendix I. to vv. 568, 569.
8 vv. 75—77, 239—243, 249—251, 276—286, 454.
9 v. 249.
between the declaration of Athena, that the cause shall be tried by a jury, and the actual assembling of the court,—an indefinite interval, but naturally neither very long nor very short. Since the scene is cleared (see above), the imagination of the audience is left perfectly free in estimating the interval supposed.

When from the imaginary scene we pass to the actual representation, we can say little that is certain. Two things, however, seem clear. First, the scenery was simple; the remarkable absence of all local allusions is so far conclusive. Secondly, a scenic change of some sort took place at each division. Act I., upon the assumption respecting the conduct of the action which seems most probable (see below), requires only a temple-front, or something which may be taken for such. In Act II. the things visible are the altar, house, and image of Pallas Athena; and the image must be accessible, since Orestes is directed to embrace it, and is actually found by the Erinyes in that attitude. Some change from the arrangements of Act I., not necessarily great, is required, and could be easily made while the scene was empty. So also between Act II. and Act III. The representation of the place of trial, however symbolic and rudimentary, would require some new arrangements, if it were only seats for the judges and a table or altar with urns for the voting. This strengthens, and decisively, the other reasons for thinking that between these two Acts also the scene was empty.

Of machinery there is no certain trace. A scholiast at εν. 64 seems to suggest that Apollo then 'appears' above the temple, and states that simultaneously 'the turning of machinery' exhibits the group in the interior, Orestes surrounded by the Erinyes. I agree with those who reject this. The latter statement would indeed be impossible, if it refers to the ρυτόλημα, and if, as has commonly been thought, the ρυτόλημα was a platform run out through one of the entrances in the back-scene. No such platform could contain the supposed group, thirteen figures (at least) and the ρυτόλημα. It has however recently been suggested, with much probability, that the ρυτόλημα was a semi-

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1 εν. 258—260; see also εν. 80, 240—
243, 412, 442, 448.
2 ενιφεντες Απόλλων συμβουλεύεις Ορέστη καταλιπείς μὲν τὸ μαντεῖον φυγεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἄθηνας. καὶ δευτέρα δὲ γίνεται φαντασία. στραφέτα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἐνθέλω ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς θηκέι. καὶ γίνεται ὁπιν τραγική ὁ μὲν ἔφος ἐμμαγεμένον ἐτι καθέων ὁρέστη, αὐτὶ δὲ κύκλῳ φτοῦρον οἴνου.
3 See Pickard, American Journal of Philology, xiv. 208.
4 Use of the ρυτόλημα is supposed in the Αγαμέμνων (1371) and Χοεφωρί (971), but is not certain; see notes there.
5 By Mr Charles Oxon, Hermathena xii. p. 132.
circular platform attached at the back to a portion of the back-scene, and revolving, together with it, about a pivot. Such a platform might perhaps give sufficient space to be used here; and the scholium, if worthy of trust, proves that at some time the scene was so exhibited. But it may still be held that such was not the arrangement of Aeschylus. The effect of the entrance of the Chorus (at v. 140) would be spoiled, as I think, by such a previous exhibition, whether we suppose or not that the eccylema was withdrawn again before that point. At all events the Aeschylean text admits the view that all the personages of Act I. enter by one of the usual ways, the Prophetess, on her first appearance, by one of the parodoi, the others, including the ghost of Clytaemnestra, from the temple.

The question whether Athena, at her entrance in Act II., has a visible car (Ὀχυρα), or a car at all, is discussed in the notes to vv. 400—408. I incline to the opinion that at all events none is visible.

There is no internal evidence of a 'stage', that is, for the elevation of any part of the acting-place above the level of the orchestra. If there was any, it must, as appears everywhere and especially in the first and last Acts, have been of such elevation only, and so arranged, as to afford perfectly easy passage to and from the orchestra.

The Dramatis Personae.

As in the other plays of the trilogy, so in this, the simplicity of material setting contrasts forcibly with the abundance of human assistants, the only kind of pomp which Aeschylus could freely command. Like the Agamemnon and Choephoroi, the Eumenides concludes with a crowded scene of great animation, and the textual evidence for the crowd and its component parts is more explicit than in the other plays. Three 'actors', in the limited sense, are required. The list of parts given in the Medicean ms. is for this play, as for the others, incomplete. A passage in the finale, which has consequently been found inexplicable, indicates that here also, as we should expect, Aeschylus has used his full strength for the conclusion, and that the two actors released by the retirement of Apollo and Orestes come on again in the character of citizens. These should be added to the Prophetess, Apollo, Orestes, the ghost of Clytaemnestra, and Athena.

1 It should be remembered that we know nothing of the author and his qualifications or sources of information.

2 See on v. 569, and the Third Act passim.

3 See below, immediately before the text.

4 vv. 989, 990. Cp. Ag. 1522, 1650, Cho. 1041, 1049, etc. The parallel with the Eumenides is particularly close in the Choephoroi.
The Agamemnon, as I hold, has two distinct troops of singers or choreutae¹; so probably has the Choephoroi²; and so has the Eumenides. The principal Chorus are the Erinyes, the secondary³ are persons (προτομυτοί) in the procession which escorts the Erinyes in the final exit. The number of these last is indeterminate, and that of the Erinyes is not certain. A scholium to v. 588, where they call themselves 'many', makes them fifteen⁴. This however may be based on nothing more than the author's knowledge that such was the regular number of the tragic chorus when fully developed; and the same statement is elsewhere made about the Agamemnon, where nevertheless the principal Chorus was almost certainly twelve⁵. We must not however presume that the number was the same in all three plays. There is a possible reason why the Eumenides should have had additional choreutae, and precisely three such. The Eumenides were a trinity⁶. The Semnai Theai, originally perhaps two, became a trinity⁷, probably had become a trinity before Aeschylus⁸, and were represented like the Eumenides by three images. The Erinyes, before this play, were unnumbered, or rather there were innumerable Erinyes⁹. There was therefore no difficulty in bringing upon the stage any number, twelve or fifteen. But there was a difficulty, a great difficulty, in suggesting identity between this multitude and the respective trinities. A group of three principal or leading Erinyes¹⁰, made prominent by being an addition to the Chorus as it had appeared in the previous two plays, would aid the connexion, both for eye and mind, and would suggest, what Aeschylus evidently believed and meant, that the individual characteristics of these and all divinities, their number, figures and so forth, are mere symbols, signs for expressing an unknown Reality, 'whose pleasure it is to be called Zeus'¹¹. However

¹ See on Ag. 363 etc.
² See on Cho. 583, 649 etc.
³ vv. 1033 foll.; see notes from v. 1004 to the end.
⁴ τούτο οὖν πρὸς τὰς πρεῖς (the three Erinyes of later literature), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χορὸν, εἰ' γὰρ ἐκεῖνον. As to the text here, and its bearing on the question, see the note.
⁵ See on Ag. 1347.
⁶ See the representation of them found at Argos, J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to Greek Mythology, p. 255, and note the importance of the number three in the rites of Colonus, Soph. O.C. 479, 483.
⁷ Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 242.
⁸ Probably, because the threefold identification assumed by Aeschylus, difficult enough in any case, could scarcely have been attempted, if even the Eumenides and the Semnai Theai had presented so plain a difference as that of number.
⁹ The first hint of 'the three Furies' seems to be Eur. Iph. Tauv. 285—290, and the first definite mention, Eur. Orest. 1650 Ἐμενίδες τρίασσας, both passages pointing directly to the story of Orestes as exhibited in our play.
¹⁰ For possible traces of such a group see the two 'parodii', or entrances of the Chorus, vv. 140 foll., vv. 244—255.
¹¹ Ag. 170, where see the context.
this may be, the poet’s mysticism was over the heads of his average fellow-countrymen, then and for long after; and one practical result of the *Eumenides*, preposterous but inevitable, was to aid in producing the pedantic triplexity of ‘Allecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera’.

The ‘mute persons’ and ‘supers’ (in modern phrase) are of great importance. That the ‘Hermes’ addressed at v. 89 actually appears is not clear; the effect would perhaps be better otherwise. But in the Third Act there is a literal crowd of assistants, including the most important ‘mutes’ of extant Greek drama (excepting the champions in the *Seven against Thebes*), the jury of the Areopagus. Their number is even; I believe it to be ten (or some multiple of ten), but this is not certain, and nothing of importance turns upon it. The herald, who introduces the Court and prepares for the singularly impressive entrance of Apollo, is also a prominent figure; and probably, from the nature of the case, there are other apparitors, who do not happen to be singled out. But beyond these, and most important, is the ‘multitude’, the folk of Athens assembled to witness the great ‘first judgment’ and receive the instructions of the Foundress. This people, the symbol of a disciplined humanity, ‘virtuous at last’, is the object upon which the vast and mysterious lights of the *Oresteia* finally converge, and it is they who have the last word and the last act.

The Text.

The text of this play requires little particular remark. The *Codex Mediceus* (M), the primary authority for the text of Aeschylus, contains the whole play. Wherever the text here printed departs from the letters of the ms., the variation, if it seems to be of the least possible moment (and sometimes, to illustrate the ms. spelling, even where it is of no moment), is indicated by printing the substituted letters in a different type; and the reading of the ms. is given below. In this record, and in quotations from the scholia to the ms., I follow the critical edition of Wecklein (Berlin 1885), as also, unless the contrary appears, in the names cited for the authorship of particular corrections. The reading of later mss., one or more, is indicated (by *rec.* or *recc.*) only when that reading is adopted, as a correction, in preference to that of M.

The ms. text, as a whole, is good. There are in this play many

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1 See above, on Athena’s vote.
2 See on v. 687, vv. 714 foll.
3 v. 569 foll.
4 v. 569 and the final scene *passim*.
5 v. 1001.
INTRODUCTION

signs of careful, and also scrupulous, correction, including an abundance of ‘queries’. That the scholars, who supervised the production, were imperfect in information, is sometimes only too evident; but evidently they did their best to preserve the tradition, which ought to be regarded as of great weight. In the 63 verses of the prologue, if we ignore a few irregularities of spelling (such as λέξος for λόγος in v. 46), there is, in my judgment, but one place (vv. 40, 41) where the reading of M should be disputed, and even here the case against it is not absolutely clear. Alterations have indeed been made by editors in several other places; but all these changes are dubious, and some of them unfortunate.

If the average condition of the play does not reach this level, yet neither does it fall much below, except in the last 23 verses, where the haste of some copyist, or (perhaps more probably) some damage to the end of a roll, has produced irreparable injuries.

In admitting conjectural emendations, I have adopted, as in other plays, a somewhat severe standard, which I will briefly explain.

I. There are certain confusions which, in favouring circumstances, occur in the ms. so often, that, where such conditions occur, the tradition must be taken as simply ambiguous, equally valid for the reading actually presented or for one slightly different. Thus in v. 965 παντί δύμω μέγα κονοι (M), it would be vain to plead the authority of the ms. against the correction of Turnebus, μετάκοινοι. Apparent confusions of τ and ρ, and of μεγα in particular with μετα, are numerous enough to show that, in an uncommon word, such as μετάκοινοι, the choice of the copyist would be quite uncertain. This is no reason indeed for changing μέγα, but μετα-, if better, as none will doubt, is equally entitled to the support of tradition. For another example see v. 913. The range of such doubts is not very large, and must not be exaggerated. For example, in v. 911, we cannot say that τῶν δυσεβοῦντων δ’ (M) is equally valid in favour of the conjecture τῶν δ’ εὐσεβοῦντων. The supposed error is not improbable, and the conjecture may be right, as I think it is; but the choice, in point of traditional authority, is by no means indifferent. Still less so is it, for instance, in v. 11: erroneous substitutions of θ for θ may indeed be found in the ms.; but confusion in this matter does not nearly approach the point of indifference, and, in the particular circumstances, would be most unlikely.

II. Even where the ms. is not, in the sense just defined, ambiguous, conjectural changes, slight, probable, and properly notified as such, may be admitted to the text, if the traditional reading is
linguistically (or rhythmically) impossible, if it has no sense (or no metre) at all. But this licence should be construed strictly. In the state of our knowledge, it cannot be safely extended to cases of aesthetic, as distinct from linguistic objection, where the sense of the traditional reading is, to our estimate, not satisfactory. For example, in v. 911, the ms. gives

τῶν δυσεβεῖντων ἐκφορωτέρα πέλους,

which the writer, whether poet or editor, evidently took to mean, ‘May you rather remove (destroy) the wicked’. Now such a use of ἐκφορος (commonly productive) is unexampled, forced, and, as some have observed, peculiarly unsuitable to the context (see note). And it will be avoided, if we accept from Heath the change of τῶν δυσεβεῖντων ἐκ into τῶν ἐς εὐεβεῖντων,—‘May you be more productive of the good’. This observation, and some other not impossible suggestions, go far to invalidate the ms. reading, as evidence that Aeschylus used ἐκφορος here in the bold and apparently perverse way which it assumes. Should we then be justified in admitting Heath’s correction, or some other, to the text? I think not. Strange as the given expression would be, we cannot say that it would be unintelligible. The ms. reading is not, properly speaking, nonsense. And as to its propriety, in the first place, we cannot, with our limited materials, be absolutely sure that it was even linguistically improper, or that, if it was so, Aeschylus had not reason for choosing, with a view to some literary allusion, a term not linguistically proper. Such phenomena, certified beyond doubt, occur in modern composers. And further, be it assumed that there was no justification, but that the given expression would have appeared to Phrynichus or Sophocles as unfortunate as it did to Heath, and does (I admit) to me. What then? The greatest composers, the greatest poets, do not, as a fact, always abstain from unfortunate or perverse licences of language. Milton, Pope, Shelley, Tennyson,—in any of these, or perhaps in any remarkable writer of English, may be found expressions not a few, which no one, except the author, would have approved or permitted. It is proper indeed, in such a case, that a commentary should give the reader full notice of the objections to which the tradition is apparently liable,—a requirement which, as a recent critic remarks, has hardly been satisfied, for the most part, in the case of v. 911. But beyond this we cannot safely go.

The tendency however, not in this place but generally, has been to go farther. The readings now commonly adopted depart from the ms. in very many places where the ms. is defensible, in not a few where it is clearly right. This occurs chiefly in the case of ‘obvious corrections’,
made when Aeschylus was first studied in the West, and repeated since, as may be suspected, without much, if any, reconsideration. It is not easy—I speak for myself—even to realise that a very familiar reading has no traditional authority, still less easy to put it aside and to review the case without prejudice. But this should be done. There is no reason (I submit), and never was any, to suppose that in vv. 11 Aeschylus wrote what is now universally printed. And similar instances may be found throughout.

But although the ms. may deserve a more invariable and uniform consideration than it is apt to receive, I would say here, once for all, that, by retaining its reading in my text, I do not always, or even generally, mean that the reading is, in my opinion, certain; or even that no other doubts upon it could reasonably be entertained, than those which are noticed in the commentary. I mean only that the tradition appears to me in that place as well warranted as usual, or as ever. I will give one instance of the sort of doubt which, though not baseless, may legitimately and, as I think, should be ignored. In vv. 44, 45, the emblematic olive-bough of a suppliant is described as

\[ \lambda \eta v i \ \mu e g i s t o w \ \sigma o f r o n o s \ \varepsilon \sigma t e m m \epsilon \nu o n, \]  
\[ \alpha r g \gamma i \tau i \ \mu a l l \phi \ \tau \iota \theta e \ \gamma a p \ \tau r a n \iota o s \ \epsilon r o. \]  

About the meaning of this, especially the last clause, I, like others, am uncertain. But the late Dr Rutherford, than whom none had better right to an opinion, proposed (Classical Review 11. 291) to cut away the ground of speculation, by reducing the two verses to one:

\[ \alpha r g \gamma i \tau i \ \lambda \eta v i \ \sigma o f r o n o s \ \varepsilon \sigma t e m m \epsilon \nu o n. \]  

The rest of the ms. text he supposed to consist of glosses, interpretations (\( \mu a l l \phi \) on \( \lambda \eta v i \), for instance), trimmed and filled up so as to make out metre. Now this, I admit, is possible. But the mere possibility surely does not add anything substantial to the general, abstract doubt, which we must feel about a text, having such a history as that of Aeschylus, wherever we find it hard, and which we might feel, not less warrantably, where we find it easy. Anywhere and everywhere, not least where it looks simplest, it may have undergone some such complicated remodelling, part injury and part restoration, as is here suggested. We are not therefore bound, nor even logically entitled, to apply such treatment to a particular passage, which, for anything that appears, might be transparent, if we had a little more knowledge of its subject. And under this category fall the vast majority of conjectures. They have, or may have, a use in exhibiting some point of difficulty. But for the constitution of the text, they ought not, we may hold, to be
entertained. Either they are founded upon suspicions not really justifi-
able, or (a not less common case) they assume in the ms. errors possible
no doubt, but not, in any proper and distinctive sense, probable. They
signify only that the particular sentence, like any other sentence of
Aeschylus, may conceivably have been depraved beyond our means
of tracing and restoration. Such, for example, is the most familiar
conjectural version of vv. 448, 449:

οὐκ έἰμι προστρόταιος, οὐδ ἔχων μύσος
πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ μὴ το σὸν ἐφεξόμενη βρέτας.

The ms. has

οὐκ ἐξελὶ προστρόταιος, οὐδ' ἔχει μύσος
πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ μὴ το σὸν ἐφεξομένη βρέτας.

By no process deserving to be called probable, as distinct from merely
possible, could this arise out of the conjectural version, which, though
not disprovable, is nevertheless not to be entertained.

At the other end of the scale stand a certain number of 'obvious'
corrections, which it is not worth while to dispute, although, to a strict
judgment, the tradition would not appear absolutely impossible. For
example, in vv. 217, 218 the ms. has

ἐὖνη γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μόρσιμοι
ὄρκου ἑστὶ μείζων τῇ δίκῃ φρονομένη.

It is obvious to conjecture either μόρσιμος (as the copyists of two
later mss.) or μορσίμος (Hartung), and we may best follow convention
in adopting μόρσιμος. But there would be little ground for surprise,
if in the autograph of Aeschylus, could we obtain it, we found exactly
what is offered by M. The subject of the sentence may be regarded
indifferently as singular or as plural; and a fluctuation between the two
numbers, though offensive to scientific grammar, is an irregularity of
that kind which, in English writers of repute, may be found not rarely
down to, at least, the age of Dryden. Questions similar, but more
worth discussion, occur, for example, in v. 621 and vv. 770—774.

In four places (I think only four) I have changed the letters of the
ms. upon my own conjecture: vv. 224, 390, 448, 913. In all these,
except the last, the ms. reading is universally condemned; in the last
it has been doubted, but, for the most part, allowed to pass.

Once or twice (555, 556, 947), where the text seems to be literally
defective, where something is lost, I have suggested supplements upon
the only method which may be called strictly probable, the repetition
of letters.
INTRODUCTION

In a few others (e.g. 133, 277, 687) I suggest changes in the accentuation, the division of the words, or the like. But in these the tradition is not authoritative; and they stand upon the same footing as an interpretation. The same principle applies, but ambiguously, to v. 570.

Far more often I retain the ms. reading, sometimes with confidence, sometimes provisionally, where it is commonly changed. Indeed no small part of my commentary might be described as 'considerations in favour of M'. This, I hope, can at all events do no harm.

Of a spurious verse or verses there is no certain example; one I think probable (v. 449); see also vv. 286, 765 foll., 860 foll. Loss of a verse or verses must probably be assumed at v. 1029, but the loss may be small.

The scholia to this play (I mean those of M), though miscellaneous and various in value, are, on the whole, uncommonly sensible and learned, as well as uncommonly full, presenting in both respects a remarkable contrast to those (for example) upon the Choephoroi. Evidently the Eumenides, as might be expected from its contents, was specially attractive to the ancient scholars. I regret that the form of this book prevents me from appending the scholia to the text. To print them as a supplement, since they are easily accessible elsewhere, seemed useless. It has been my intention to notice them, wherever, in my judgment, they should affect the reading or interpretation; but doubtless, in this matter, there will be found oversights and defects. For example, in the note to v. 54 (now beyond correction) I should have cited the scholium, οὶν αἷμαπιάν, which, since the writer must have read or assumed in the text a word which he took to be acc. fem. sing., may be held to support the conjecture λίβα. The inference would not indeed be justified; since the commentator may just as well have guessed (or have known as a fact) that δία was singular and feminine, though I should rather suppose it to be plural and neuter. And on the other hand, if the words on which he comments were δυσφυλή λίβα, we might well ask why he should connect them, as he does, with blood. But for connecting δία with blood, he might find plausible authority in the Eumenides itself (v. 263 τὸ διερῶν); and indeed that word, or some of this class, may actually have acquired such an association, and the commentator, if the note is ancient and of good origin, may have known this for a fact. The note therefore, as between the readings, is indifferent, or favours, if either, that of the ms. But it should have been cited.

In general, nothing is so difficult as to deal surely, or even fairly, with the evidence of the scholia. They admit no uniform measure.
THE TEXT

Bits of sound learning and information stand side by side with ridiculous shots; and sometimes, in the state of the tradition, we can hardly judge concerning a given note, whether it is a wild interpretation of the existing text, or a sound interpretation of some other. The tendency has been, I think, rather to over-value the scholia as compared with the text, for a reason which I have noted before: the foolish scholia, though numerous and conspicuous, get little attention, even from editors, and naturally are hardly ever cited. Thus there arises a sort of presumption, not justified by the facts, that a scholiast must be writing with some reason and discretion. Much speculation, for instance, has been spent on the note ἀν ἐνόρκους δικαστάς, as testimony against the soundness of the text to which it is appended,

   v. 486 φόνων δικαστάς ὀρκίων αἱρομένους...

But however plain it may be that, upon this text, no one ought to have propounded such a guess, yet if we have studied the scholia as a whole, we shall easily suppose, that upon this very text it may have been in fact propounded: see, for instance, the note to v. 488. In such a case, interpretation of the text takes, at most, a slight increase of uncertainty,—no great matter where, as the most expert will best understand, almost every assertion is provisional, and subject to the enlargement of our scanty and difficult evidence.
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΤ ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

'Ορέστης ἐν Δελφοῖς περιεχόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑρμίων βουλῆς Ἀπώλλωνος παρεγέντο εἰς Ἀθήνας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἦς βουλῆ νικήσας κατήλθεν εἰς Ἄργος. τὰς δὲ Ἑρμίων πραξάς προσηγάρευσεν Εὐμενίδας. παρ' συνεδερίφοντι κείται ἡ μυθοποιία.

ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΠΥΘΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ.
ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝ.
ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.
ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΟΛΩΝ.
ΧΩΡΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΩΝ.
ἈΘΗΝΑ.
ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ
For the situation and scenic conditions see the Introduction.

1—33. The Pythia, or prophetess of Delphi, is about to enter the temple as usual for the reception of those consulting the oracle (see vv. 30—33 and the prologue to Euripides’ Ion), and invokes upon her entrance the blessing of the Delphian gods. These are divided into two classes, first (1—19) the former and present possessors of the sanctuary, who have the honour of ‘prayer’, and secondly (20—29) those less directly connected with it, to whom belongs rather ‘mention’ (εὐχαίρη, λόγοι, vv. 20, 21). The reason and significance of this distinction, and the bearing of the whole on the drama, have been considered in the Introduction. The chief point, for Aeschylus, is that both series lead, as a climax, to Zeus (vv. 19, 28).

1. εὐχαίρη strictly instrumental, ‘by thus invoking first’.—θεάν both with πρῶτον and πρεσβείω: Gaia, by being put first of the deities, receives precedence over them.

2. τὴν πρωτόμαντιν: because first prophetess, both generally and at Delphi in particular. The hollow (γυαλῶν) or depression in the earth, over which the temple was built, the tripod was placed, and the prophetess sat, was, according to the primitive conception, the source and cause of the oracular inspiration. Such however is not the conception of Aeschylus; see v. 17.—ἐκ δὲ τῆς and after her.—Θεάν. The selection of ‘Right’ ‘Law’ or ‘Justice’ as patron of the oracle was probably in the first instance an independent myth, representing a higher and more spiritual view of the oracular function than the attribution of its origin to Earth. Later reconcilers invented links between the two, either of relationship (as here, Hesiod Theog. 135, etc.) or, as speculation became more subtle, of
EUMENIDES.

ACT I.

The scene is before the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

Enter the Pythian Prophetess.

The Prophetess. First for my prayer: whereby I give precedence among gods to the first giver of oracles, Earth; and after her to Themis, who came second to this oracular seat, her mother's, with good right; and at the third succession, with consent of Themis and without violence to any, one
by Euripides (Iph. T. i249 foll.), and, according to a schol. here (Πίναρος φησι πρὸς βιαν κρατήσας Πυθοῦς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα διὸ καὶ ταπταρώσαί αὐτὸν ἔχητε ἡ Γῆ), had, even in the days of Aeschylus, the grave authority of Pindar. 7, 8. ἡ: demonstrative, she: so placed (as in ἤ δὲ ἦ she said) only here; elsewhere only in the connexion ἤ δὲ ἦ γάρ, καὶ ἦ (Wecklein). The use is archaistic, and as such suitable to the sacred style.—According to Hesiod (Theog. 403) Phoebe was mother of Leto, and therefore grandmother of Phoebus. Since an Athenian boy was commonly named from his grandfather, the relationship is probably suggested here; but it is not desirable to make this more explicit by changing Φοίβης (as some do) to τῇ δή γνωρίσμενον. This expedient of the 'birth-gift', when we remember that it was probably new and certainly not an established belief, is sufficiently hazardous to be left in some obscurity.—δώρῳ, as a gift, in apposition to εἰ (איה), the oracle. Presents were customary at Athenian birth-festivals, but the suggestion here seems rather to be that of a provision or settlement made upon the birth of an heir.—παρώνυμον, 'in a similar (imitated) form'.—Phoebus.

9—14. The journey by way of Athens is assumed, by a schol. here, to be invented by the poet, and probably was so, as no coeval or older testimony for it appears. Even Herodotus (6. 34) who speaks of ‘the sacred way through Phocis and Boeotia’, implies rather that it did not extend to Athens (note ἐκτράπωντας εἰς ‘Ἄθριφων’) than that it did. It may be doubted whether any very ancient legend connected Delos and Delphi at all; the notion of combining and reconciling the legends of different sanctuaries belongs to an order of ideas which hardly became important before the middle of the sixth century B.C. and the beginnings of history. The Homeric 'Hymn to Apollo', in its present form a work of about that date, makes the connexion, but not by way of Attica. For the purpose of this play, an early and intimate union between Athens and Delphi, however little warranted by history, is essential.—Even Aeschylus himself, it should be noted, rather suggests, than positively asserts, that Athens was the landing-place of Apollo. The account ultimately established placed 'the sacred harbour called the Delphinion' in the territory of Oropus, in the neighbourhood of the temple called 'the Delion' (Delium), which appears to have commemorated the journey (Strabo 9, p. 403). This account seems to have had the best authority even in the fifth century, being implied in the version attributed by a schol. here to Pindar, that the god arrived 'from Tanagra' (see a map). Since the
Titan-born, she too Earth's child, took the seat,—Phoebe, who gave it for a birth-gift to Phoebus, bearing her name to him derived. He, leaving the pool and crag of Delos, put in to the haven-shores of Pallas, and came to this land, his own Parnasian seat; him with great worship did the road-makers bring upon his way, the servants of Hephaistos, turning the wildness of the land to gentleness; he, at his coming, had high honour

Athenians always claimed and generally held Oropus, as a part of Attica, it is covered by the notably vague expression 'haven-shores of Pallas,' nor is this ambiguity likely to be accidental. The poet, for good reasons, prefers not to be explicit.

9. The water and rock-ridge of Delos. The water is the famous προξενίζησε Μυμη (Herod. 2. 170, Eur. Ἰφ. Ταιτ. 1104 etc.), an oval basin associated with the birth of the god. The χώρασ appears to be the island itself, or possibly the hill Cythnus; the word is evidently used as specially appropriate and distinctive, though the reason is not now ascertainable. The suggestion of a schol., that it is depreciatory, and signifies τὸ ἀντιλ ὡν χώριον, does not seem to suit the tone of the speaker, or the Athenian sentiment about Delos.

11. παρνήσιον τ' ἔδρας η θέρμος σεσύνιον τ' ἔδρας: his home on Parnassus, his bourn 'from the isle.' The reading of the ms. is right in respect of the letters, and, had it not been right, could hardly have come into existence. The accentuation παρνήσιον arises merely from confusion with a (correct) explanation, Παρ-νήσιον,—'meaning of Parnassus.' The point is, to explain the name Παρνήσιος, after the fashion beloved by Greek religion and especially by oracles, as foreshewing divinely the destiny of the mountain to receive Apollo πάρ νήσου or παρὰ τῆς νῆσου, that is, from the natal island of Delos. Such a confirmation was particularly desirable for a legend open, like that connecting Delos and Delphi, to many objections. The interpretation put upon the assumed adjective, παράγγειον, is somewhat strained; but this might be expected in such a device. Compare the exposition of the name 'Helena' in the Αγαμημόν (692), that of 'Pleistos' infra 27, and many others. Whether Aeschylus is here original, or follows authority, we cannot say.—A schol. to v. 22 (ὁ Παρνήσιος) somewhat strengthens the ms., by suggesting that the actual name of the mountain was not in the text.—Παρνησίου θ' Robortello, and modern texts.

12. τίμησιν δ' αυτόν...καλοίτα δ' αυτόν.... The use of αὐτός, where superfluous, is exceptional in Aeschylus; and a parallel to this, two instances close together and so placed as to catch the ear, will hardly be found. A certain emphasis must be intended, as if each place in succession recognised him, Apollo, for the rightful claimant of service.

13. κελευτότατοι. On the λεπό ὄνος, here supposed to be made for the coming of the god, see above on v. 9. The road-making is the sign of improved civilisation, as indicated in v. 14, 'turning the savagery of the land to gentleness.'—παῖδες Ἡφαιστοῦ: the servants (not 'sons' or 'children') of Hephaistos (the patron of crafts in general and popular in this aspect at Athens) are the artisans or engineers, as such, ('Leute mit Äxten' Wecklein). The meaning is simply that a road was made.—A schol. here interprets 'sons of Hephaistos' as the Athenians, which may be justified by a somewhat obscure genealogy, but seems artificial and unnecessary.—ὅταν τίμησιν (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) εἰς Δελφούς κελεύειν, προερχόμεθα ἑκείνες τελείας ὑπὶ διμερῶσας τὴν γῆν, schol. If this custom is as old as Aeschylus, he doubtless had it in view, but the text does not require or prove it.
16. Δελφὸς. The name of this eponymous personage suggests, and is meant to suggest, that the χώρα was already called Δελφοί, when Apollo came. For the importance of this innuendo, and the reason for putting it in this covert way, see the Introduction.

17—19. This purely spiritual view of inspiration, though necessary to the feelings and theological system of the poet, obviously cuts away the basis of ideas for a local oracle such as Delphi, with its inspiration from a spot of ground and its recipient prophetess. The reference to Zeus seems to be now found first in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo 132, χρήσεν δ' ἀνθρώπωσι δώς θηρετέα βουλήν, but in connexion with Delos, not with Delphi. Delos, which we may suspect not to have been originally, as it never was principally, oracular in function, was a more open field for an improved conception. Here the notion is tacked on, as best may be, by help of the suggestion or assumption (not true, contrast v. 29) that it was Apollo himself who sat in the seat and delivered the revelation. As a fact, the worship of Zeus, the key-stone and essence of religion according to Aeschylus, was at Delphi of remarkably small importance or prominence, even when, as in the fifth century, the filial dependence of Apollo was universally accepted. See further the Introduction.—τέχνης...ἐύθεν: the construction of the genitive follows the analogy of ἐμπευρος or ἐμπέλεως.—κτίσας: τούθας.—νῦν is principal object both to κτίσας and ἤτει, φέρει a secondary limiting accusative joined to κτίσας only, cf. ν. 88 μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.—τόνδε marks that we have reached the end of the series, as in Theb. 618 τῶν ἐβδομῶν δὴ τόνδε ἐρ' ἐβδομαίς πύλαις | λέω. 'Fourth and present' (Paley) is right, except that it rather suggests others to follow, which τόνδε does not. We have no exact equivalent in English, but it is natural to Greek and should not be suspected.—τέταρτον...ἐν χρόνοις, Δίος...δὲ...πατρός: 'fourth in date, but speaking for Zeus his father'. These phrases are closely connected and antithetical, as if we had τέταρτον μὲν...προφητήν δὲ..., for which the actual form is a variation. The point, vital to the poet, though unreconcilable with the true and primitive theory of the Delphian oracle and indeed with the very existence of such a sanctuary, is that the wisdom of the oracle is not derived from or dependent on the place, a notion no more tolerable to the elevated and quasi-monothestic paganism of Aeschylus than to Christianity itself. By deducing Apollo's right of property in the soil, he fears, very naturally, that, even with every precaution, he may seem to leave this notion subsisting, and accordingly he emphatically and explicitly denies it. Though Apollo is only fourth possessor, it is not through the genealogical and chronological series that he comes by his wisdom; that comes direct from Zeus (we must say 'God' if we would have the idea), his father. See further the Introduction.—ἐν χρόνοις literally 'in the periods of time', i.e.
from the people of this place, and from Delphos, the lord and governor thereof. With divination Zeus did inspire his heart, and set him in the chair as prophet now in reckoning of times the fourth, but speaking, as Loxias, on behalf of Zeus, his sire.

These are the gods who receive my opening prayer. In mention, first comes Pallas Pronaia; and with her I honour the nymphs of that place where is the Corycian rock, hollow,
The invasion of the whole region, Phocis as well as Boeotia, by Bacchus, may be dated by the death of Pentheus as its chief and decisive incident.—This verse has no caesura either in the 3rd foot or the 4th, a phenomenon which (except in parts of the Persae, 468—474 and 483—517, where, doubtless for some reason, it is common) is extremely rare in Aeschylus, and probably always due to some literary influence not now traceable. *Supp.* 920 ἐξεῖν ἐκείνῃ οὕτως ἀποστάσει κόμης and *P. V.* 667 οὐκ οὐδὲ δίπως ὁμοῦ ἀποστῆσαι μὲ κρῆ suggest a common origin by their resemblance (οὕτως απτ., οὐδὲ απτ.). In so careful a composition as this prologue, fortuitous irregularity is scarcely conceivable; perhaps the line is a quotation from some earlier dramatic or other poet. Such quotation would suit well with a 'reminiscence' (οὐδὲ ἀμημονῶ).—πλήστων...κράτος: 'and the full-fed (Pleistos-) fountains and Poseidon's power (which feeds them'). This, the primitive reading of Μ, is right, and is supported by the parallel in ν. 11. Here it is the name of the Delphian stream Pleistos, which is mystically and etymologically interpreted, as signifying in itself that the place, by the blessing of the gods, is rich in water. For the form πλήστως (or perhaps rather πλήστος) filled, a passive adj. of two terminations, cf. πλήσ-μη the filling, rising of a stream in Hesiod, fr. 25 ἐν πλήσματι βιόποτε ποταμῶν, cited by L. and Sc. s.v. πλῆσμα; and see also πληρ-μη, πιευμή et al.; the whole class of words is frequently so applied. Whether we write πλήστων or πλήστως (see the ms.) is in the circumstances indifferent, and the pronunciation must have been nearly the same.—Πλειστός, modern texts.—Πνευμήν. As to the real part of this deity in Delphi, see the Introduction; Aeschylus narrows it, as he does that of Bacchus, necessarily and deliberately.

30—32. 'And now may they bless the going-in more than ever before to me and to all those who, from the cities of Hellas, are admitted, as the custom is, by permission of the lot.' ἐ...τῷς...τῶν;
beloved of birds, and haunt of beings divine;—Bromios possesses the region, as I do not forget, since the day when, as a god, he brought his army of Bacchanals, and contrived for Pentheus the death of a hunted hare;—and also the full founts of Pleistos I invoke, with Poseidon's might, and, crown of all, Zeus the Supreme;—then I take, as prophetess, my place and seat.

And this time may they bless the going-in much more than ever before, both to me and to all from Hellas who are admitted, as the custom is, by fall of the lot; for I give response according as the god may lead. (She enters the temple and almost immediately returns.)

...Verily things dreadful to tell, dreadful for eyes to behold, have sent me back from the house of Loxias,—so dreadful that

whosoever are to go in, a relative clause of which the tacit antecedent is an accusative (ektéivous) coupled by kal to me. For the exceptional use of the imperative in such a clause, cf. the conversational formulae oioθ' δ δρασον; 'do you know what you have to do?' etc., preserved in tragedy. The full sense is 'any of whom των (εικαρων) let them come is said'. For other examples more or less similar in poetry and prose, e.g. Plato, Laws 935 E θ' εξετασ και μη, τοιον νομοθετησμενα 'let us determine to whom it is to be permitted', see Kriger, Greek Grammar § 307; notes 5 and 6, Gildersleeve, Syntax of Classical Greek § 422. That ει των των, like οιοθ' δ δρασον, is a fixed formula, probably sacred and Delphian, or closely imitated from such, is indicated not only by the syntax, but by the peculiar form of the 3 pers. plural των (common λων and later λωσων), which arrests the ear.—I suggest this as the best explanation of the grammar. If των be the principal verb, the clause ει παρ' Ελληνων τυντες must be complete in itself. We have then a choice of unsatisfactory suppositions: (1) the verb must be supplied, which the verb required (παρεκτη, not εικαρ) hardly can be; or (2) παρ' (sic, i.e. παρα) must be read as a verb (Abresch and others), in which case the elision of it, apart from other doubts, is unusual and unpleasing; or (3) we must emend more boldly, as el των 'Ελληνων παρα (Burges and others). All these interpretations suggest the possibility that there may be no consultants, an hypothesis not favourable to the dignity of the oracle. On the other hand, the distinction, suggested by ει των των, between those who will and will not now be admitted, is favourable to that dignity, as implying numbers, and a choice on the part of the god; the lot might exclude some, at any rate for this particular day; and indeed it is obvious that the lot not only determined precedence, but also served, when necessary, as the instrument of an indispensable precedence. The ballots for certain advantages in modern clubs offer a humble analogy.—παρ' 'Ελληνων, properly 'from Hellenic places', suggests primarily public emissaries, but does not exclude private enquirers. That Hellas only is noticed, whereas in the time of Aeschylus the area of Delphian influence had long been wider, is perhaps to be explained as a natural and instinctive archaism.

33. She enters the temple and almost immediately re-appears, exhibiting extreme astonishment and horror.
AIZXYLOY

... pollution had be... either 4°... 41.

Upon suppliant Aeschylus... wool, conjecture... 66iru... eirv... saw an i.e. sitting however this... 41... man... mentioned koi... explains. abominable... served, of... homicide, &KTalveiv, in... The... rather be... antiquity... move oiiKir... lit. according was'... 36. 36. 38.

... uncertain; either 'move: my standing', i.e. move from my place, or 'move my stature', i.e. walk erect, or again 'lift my stature', i.e. keep erect, is possible. The schol. (κοινφίζειν, σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ γαμφάν καὶ ἀπάτησις πτώσις) and Hesychius (μετεφυλίζειν) point rather to move as the meaning of ἀκταίνειν, which may be supported by derivation from the stem of ἄγαν, through ἀκτίς move'd; cf. the Latin ago. If ὁκέτ' ἀκταίνω was used by Aeschylus for ὁκέτει δύναμις ὄρθῳν ἐμαυτήν (Bekker, Anacdotae p. 23, 12 cited by Wecklein), the word must have also meant lift; but the citation looks like a loose reminiscence of this passage.—βάσων is mentioned as a conjecture in M, 'but notas having any authority. With στάσω to be accounted for, βάσων is not very probable.—πὴρ' ἔτ' (for μῆτ' μ' Weil), 'so that I had not strength even to... is an apparent improvement; but the foundation is too unsure to be touched.

37. She crawled away upon hands and knees. We need not however assume, with a schol., that she enters the scene in this attitude.

38. “... according to Diod. xvi. 26, the prophetesses were originally young women; but after the seduction of one, it was decided to admit only women over fifty. Aeschylus transfers to antiquity the use of later times” (Wecklein). The text however, it should be observed, does not necessarily imply any rule.

39. τολυστεφη: 'covered with στέμ-ματα', the bands of wool, or rather skeins tied at intervals, which were the sign of sacred, and especially of oracular, things and persons. They are worn for example by Cassandra in the Agamemnon (μαυρεία περὶ δόρῳ στέφη 1264).—μυχόν: the interior chamber of the temple, where was, inter alia, the tripod: to this the prophetess was going, when in the outer chamber (δρονασ), where apparently in the fifth century stood the Holy Stone (δυφαλός), she saw Orestes and the Erinyes.

40—45. Upon the Holy Stone sat a man, by whom, many signs, appeared to be a homicide, and to be receiving purgation there as a προστρόπατων or petitioner for purgation.—ὄρος...χέρας. First, I saw upon the omphalos, polluted by his sitting there, a suppliant for purgation, from whose hands the blood dripped thereon.—ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ is to be taken both with ἄνδρα, the man being (seated) on the stone, and also with στάσων, the blood dripping from his hands upon it.—θεομυστέ(?) The Stone had itself become 'abominable', like the homicide for whose purgation it served, the very essence of the rite (for which see references below) being that the 'pollution' was transferred to, or shared by, the house and hearth of the purgator, on to which it was washed off.—ἐδραν ἐχοῦτα (?:) προστρόπατον: lit. 'as bearing the sitting (on it) of a suppliant for purgation', in apposition to θεομυστέ, which it explains. The phrase ἐδραν ἐχεῖν means usually to sit, but the
I had no strength nor moved as I stood, but ran with speed of my hands instead of the leg and foot; for an old woman scared is nought, nay, even as a child.

As I went towards the inner place, with fillets all bedecked, I saw upon the Centre-Stone, horribly polluted by the sitting there of such a suppliant, a man whose hands dripped with blood upon it, and who held a new-drawn sword and a high-grown

sense here given to it is legitimate, and is made clear by the context. ἔξοντα has a strong force, implying a burden, something sustained unwillingly.—προστρέπτων has a special and technical sense, derived from προστρέπτης, the application of a homicide for purging, and secondarily, the rite itself by which purgation was conferred; see references below.—The readings of Μ, θεομυνη (that is, θεομυνε) and ἔξοντα, are not to be lightly dismissed. The common reading, established upon the evidence of the later mss. before the general superiority of Μ was recognised, is ἄνδρα θεομυνη ἐδραν ἔξοντα προστρέπτων, a man abominable, sitting there for the purpose of purgation. This is simpler, but less vividly expresses the point, which is, that the place itself, the omphalos and the sanctuary, has incurred the pollution. But the two accusatives should perhaps be accepted.—Ἀματι: that is, the blood of the ceremony of religious purification, which Apollo has performed upon him. See Cho. 1032—1037 and notes there, and the sequel here passim, especially vv. 233—234, 280—283, 451—455, 581. That the purgation of Orestes was performed at the omphalos, and so as to stain it, appears in vv. 164—171; and we should naturally suppose, that it has already been performed before the commencement of the action; indeed there is no time afterwards. It is from this principally, the blood streaming from the hands, that the prophetess infers the man to be one who has committed homicide and is receiving purgation. The blood is that of the animal used for the purpose of the rite.—The supposition that the 'blood' here meant is that of Orestes' victims, Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, killed some days before and a hundred miles away, is unnecessary, and (as I think) erroneous. It is not only impossible in fact (which might signify little), but so palpably false as to defy the imagination. It also seems to imply, what is apparently unacceptable and not true, that Orestes, in the final scene of the Choephoroi, appears 'dripping' with blood. These however are doubtful questions; it is sufficient to say, that, even if the blood of Clytaemnestra were on Orestes' hands, it could not be seen by the prophetess, because it would be hidden by that of the purgatory animal.—καὶ νεαράτις κ.τ.λ.: 'holding a fresh-drawn sword and a bough of olive' etc. In pursuance of the view that the 'blood' is that of Clytaemnestra, it has been further supposed that the sword is that of the murder, which, like the hands, shows marks of the murder, and is blood-stained with recent use. But νεαράτις (νεαρτὶ ἐπιστρεφόντων schol.), so far from asserting this, seems to imply the contrary. 'New-drawn' is not 'newly used', but 'fresh from the sheath'. It suggests a clean sword, and as to use, implies, if anything, that the weapon is new and has not been used at all. To find the notion of blood and staining, the word must be changed (νεωταϊνας Burges). In Euripides The Rationalist p. 185, I assumed this conjecture, but we should seek rather another explanation. Now Orestes, having received the ceremonial rite, is about to set forth on the expiatory wanderings mentioned in vv. 74 foll.
Apollo said new a lyevuTrov 45 of; but es natural acting it is he be w. prima blood-

The interpreted. it present finding put and interprets not 'high-
or master great xo<r. con-

him his dependent must sending-forth. should his his bore rite, appropriate holder' both of the spectacle o-iraSU 235 also grown that question of case oiraSU 235 that significant, the man as well upon bands upon it whiteness, can and will be particularly clear, because, in her hasty glance, the object specially caught her eye, and because in itself it was, to a religious mind, an acceptable and reassuring sign. This appears to be a sufficient explanation, though possibly more may be meant.—

Wecklein supposes that by aryhti malla she interprets lype, as a rare and Athena in vv. 442 foll.), is acting as purgator, thereby taking the blood-
pollution actually and visibly upon his own house. Hence also δεσπότη δόμων below (v. 60); Apollo is 'master of the house'; he is acting according to his pleasure, and the consequences can and must be left to him. The god is not at the moment present, for which, if the question occurred to the spectators (as it would not), reasons are easily supposable.—Μεγάτω σωφρόνοι seem to be pointedly contrasted (Wecklein); great size is prima facie not σωφρόν, which imports rather moderation; but in a thing which, like the στέμμα of the suppliant, itself expresses humility, dependence, and depreciation, the larger the emblem, the more the σωφρόσυνη. However, any explanation of these details must be given with reserve.—τίθε γάρ τρανός ἐρώ for so I will (or can) describe it clearly. This (subject still to reserve) is most simply taken as meaning, that, about the στέμμα, its size and whiteness, she can and will be interpreted. From the whole spectacle the prophetess infers the fact, that the man is a homicide, to whom Apollo, incredible as it appears (note theomvns, and compare the attitude of

235 foll., 284 foll., etc., as completing his purgation. The sword and olive-
branch should signify this condition, and should belong to the preparations for the sending-forth. Since such a wanderer, in the days when the purgation was a reality, must have been in much peril, at once dependent on good reception and uncertain of finding it, it is natural to put in his hands the emblems and instruments both of appeal and defence. From νεο-
σπαδις we should infer that the 'house-
holder' who conferred the rite (in this case Apollo) either cleansed the weapon of the recipient, or (more probably) gave him a new one, either action being an appropriate symbol of the situation. The suppliant who had not yet received the rite, but was seeking it, of course also bore the bough, as Orestes did (Cho. 1033); but this does not affect the present question; and it is worth notice, that in that place nothing is said of the sword. The details, that the branch is 'high-
grown' or taken from high upon the tree, and the woollen bands upon it con-
nspiciously large and white, are probably also significant, but apparently cannot now be interpreted. From the whole
branch of olive, decently wreathed with wool-band very large,—white flock; for so will I plainly say. And in front of this man a wondrous band of women sat asleep upon the chairs...Not women sure, but Gorgons I call them,...nor yet to Gorgon forms can I liken them—.... I have seen erewhile in picture creatures that bore away the banquet of Phineus.... Nay, but these here are wingless in form,... But, for blackness, they are utterly
technical term; and he cites Théb. 476, where a metaphor is somewhat similarly explained, ἄλω δὲ πολλὴν, ἀστίδος κύλλων λέγει. This may be right; but it would not be very dramatic.

46–59. The Erinys, whom she saw sleeping round the omphalos, are described so as to excite the interest of the spectators in their future appearance. The exhibition of the Erinys upon the stage was a novelty, nor was any visible form for them apparently yet fixed in literature or art. Accordingly the dramatist prepares the way for his conception, indicating that it is derived from familiar types of monsters (Gorgons, Harpies, and the like), but is more human (γυναῖκας), not having, for example, the grotesque mouth, tongue, and tusks of the Gorgon, nor (this is particularly noticed) the wings of the Harpy. See further Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (J. E. Harrison) p. 223.

47. θρόνοὺς: the seats which commonly served for those consulting the god.

50–54. ξίδον. The absence of copula marks a pause before this. Then she develops further her new suggestion.—Φυλός...φερόσας: ‘(creatures) in a picture carrying off the food of Phineus’, i.e. the Harpies; appointed to punish Phineus by starvation, snatching away or fouling his food, whenever he attempted to eat. She speaks as if she did not at the instant recall the name; such a device, to diversify and animate a discussion which runs the risk of being frigid, seems natural, and, though irregular, should not be suspected for an error.—ἀπτεροὶ...ела. Speaking as if to herself, she rapidly debates the resemblance to Harpies ἄρο and contra; note the curt clauses, and the conjunctions, ‘and yet—but—but—but’. That they have no wings is against the identification; so is the fact that they were asleep, since the Harpies were, by their very office and nature, perpetually vigilant. On the other hand, the ‘dark hue and foul favour’ and the ‘odious distillation’ were traits of the Harpy.—ρέγκαντι δὲ κ.τ.λ.: ‘But they snored fiercely, and with no pretence.’ οὐ πλαστοῖοι φυσίμασίν; literally ‘with no feigned paintings’ (see πλαστός, πλάσσω). Objections to this reading seem to depend on the assumption that the purpose is merely to describe the invaders as dreadful. But the prophetess, whose function here is to stimulate the imagination of the audience, is not only horrified, but also curious; and she is discussing, without result, her own conjecture. The point here is, that these strange beings were really and undoubtedly asleep (by the sound of their tremendous breathing), and therefore were not exactly Harpies. Harpies might have feigned sleep, but these did not feign. Probably there is an allusion to some representation of the Harpies, as feigning sleep, in literature or art; but I cannot discover it.—οὐ πλαστοῖο (Elmsley) is technically little less probable than the reading of M, such forms being frequently confused; the sense (not approachable, terrible) is less pointed. Moreover ἄπλαστος (q.v.) is not exactly equivalent to οὐ πλαστός, and it is not surprising that the positive πλαστός seems to be without extant example.
άργκοντι δ' οὐ πλαστοίοι φυσιάμασιν,…
εκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβοντι δυσφιλή δία.—
καὶ κόσμος οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα
φέρειν δίκαιοι οὔτ' ἐσ ἀνθρώπων στέγασ.—
τὸ φύλον οὐκ ὅπωσα τῆς δ' ὁμιλίας,
οὐδ' ἤτις αἰα τοῦτ' ἐπείχεται γένος
τρέφουσι' ἀνατεί μὴ μεταστένευν πόνον.

55
τάντεβεν ἦδη τῶνδε δεσπότη δόμων
αὐτῷ μελέσιοι Λοξία μεγασθένει.

ιατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκότος
καὶ τούτων ἁλλοις ὁμόματων καθάρσιος.

ΑΠΟΔΑΩΝ.

οὔτοι προδώσω· διὰ τέλους δ' σοι φύλαξ
ἐγγύς παρεστώς, καὶ πρόσω δ' ἀποστατῶν,
ἐχθροῦσι τοὺς σοὶς οὐ γενήσομαι πέτων,
καὶ νῦν ἁλοῦσας τάσδε τὰς μάργους ὁρᾶσ.

60

53. ἥτ (ὗτεί) in the margin. 57. φύλον. φύλον m. 59. πόλων m.

54. διὰ (neuter plural of sing. διόν ?),
drops, moisture, from the root of δι-ἐροῦ, ἐρεῖλ, ὑπέρ, δι-ἀλω, moisten, perhaps also of δυσφίλω (ποταμός), though this can be otherwise interpreted.—κάπα (Burges and modern texts) might doubtless have been corrupted to κίλια by confusion of Κ and Κ (though not easily, with λεβονι in the context to explain and protect it), and might be accepted, if δίλα were disproved. But there is no reason for suspecting δίλα, since the required sense is justified by etymology. We might have presumed that a substantive or substantives from this root once existed, even if we did not find one, as here we do.

55, 56. καὶ κοσμικὸς κ.τ.λ.: not to be connected closely with what precedes. The question of personality is dismissed, after a slight pause, for a new subject.—
The costume was invented by Aeschylus himself; the chief feature was the snakes in the hair, and perhaps elsewhere; borrowed from the Gorgons. The dress was long, but girt up for running, the colours apparently black and dark red. This last quality, from the general prevalence of white in Greek costume and specially in connexion with religion (see below μv. 353 foll.), would have a more startling effect than we easily realise. For later theatrical commentators cite Strabo 3, p. 175; Diogenes Laertius 6. 102.—οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν κ.τ.λ. 'not fit to be carried to the images of the holy gods nor into the houses of men', i.e. to be worn on any occasion, sacred or profane.—πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα φέρειν may suggest a reference to the 'carrying' of raiment (for example, the ἰέματα of Athena at Athens) to statues (ἀγάλματα) which were decorated with it; and some,
loathsome in favour.... And again, they snore, with no feigned blasts of the breath.... And their eyes shed loathly drops——. Their apparel too....it is not fit to be carried to images of gods, nor into chambers of men——. The breed of these visitors have I never seen, nor know any land which boasts to rear this kind, and not to suffer for it and to repent the pains.

For what is to come, to Him I here leave it, who is master of this house, the mighty Loxias himself: revealer of remedies he is, and judge of prodigies, and houses of others he knoweth to purge. (Exit.—Enter, from the temple, APOLLO and ORESTES.)

Apollo. Be sure I will not prove false, but watch over thee to the end; near I shall be to thee, ay, even when far away; and to thy foes I will not be soft.

For the present, thou see'st, these ravening creatures are

perhaps rightly, would understand φέρεω carry, for the first part of the phrase, in this sense. The transition to that of wear, necessary in the second part (φέρεων ἐστὶν αὐτρύπων στέγας), is quite conceivable. But on the other hand, such a reference to the dressing of images would be somewhat irrelevant, since the action of the Erinyes suggests no such use; what they have done is to carry the dress on themselves, to wear it, into a sacred place, and it is against this that the protest seems to be directed. It is better therefore to take φέρεω as a poetical equivalent to φορέω (wear) throughout; carry to the images is 'wear in approaching the images', in πρόσοδον (processions) and other ritual. Nevertheless the use of θεῶν αὐτρύπατα (adorned gods), instead of θεῶν, may imply as contrast between the divine robes and those of the Erinyes.

57—59. φιλον, in modern phrase 'species'.—μιλής: abstract for concrete, μιλεῖτες εἰσιτε, as in v. 409.—οὗτος ἄρτις κ.τ.λ. 'nor (know) a land that boasts such an offspring reared with impunity and with travail not repented.' There is a slight but natural transition of thought from 'such creatures are not produced anywhere' to 'they must destroy any place where they are produced'. The more general verb, know, have experience of, is to be supplied from the more definite ὑπωτα. 64. Exit the Prophetess. For a short interval the scene is empty.—Apollo and Orestes enter: on the question whether they are accompanied by Hermes, as a mute personage, see v. 89.—As to what change of scene (if any) was made here, see the Introduction. It seems most probable that the two actors simply enter from the temple.

65. Near at hand, but moreover (at hand) even when I am far away. This means that έγγος περατός covers even (kal) the case πρόσω ἀποστατῶν, by virtue of the divine power and the miraculous range of the divine perceptions (v. 297, 400). This point is marked here, to prepare the way for the effective and instantaneous response and appearance of Apollo at v. 576, where see note. —The difficulties raised as to the use of καὶ...δὲ seem to ignore the corrective purpose of the addition. Hence καὶ πρόσω γε (Hermann) and other suggestions. But the conjunctions are correct, and the use somewhat similar to Ρ. V. 1004...τοῦτο ἄμοιν...ἐξήλθον: καὶ σὲ δ' ἐν τῷτοις λέγω. 67. viv, for the present, see v. 74.—άλοιπος: beaten, i.e. overcome, stopped. —τάσει. He points within.
And sunk in sleep the loathly maids...are ranging the darkness of Tartarus' pit, realm abhorred by mortals and by gods above. The 'sleep' of beings who are native to the lower world, but are for the present moment in this, is conceived by the poet on the analogy of accepted doctrines respecting sleep in general. In human sleep or trance, the soul, free or partly free from the body, can visit regions and receive impressions from which it is commonly debarred; and in particular it is then uncommonly near to the powers of darkness. Hence the phenomena of dreams, visions, and above all ghosts (see Thesp. 370, inf. 104). Similarly the spiritual being of the Erinyes is now disjoined from their sleeping forms, and has passed into the dark world, but with this grim difference, that, whereas to creatures of light that world is repellent, and to mortals even formidable as savouring of death (v. 73), to the Erinyes it is a place of pure refreshment, and they are (as Apollo conceives) now pursuing there their accustomed prey (see v. 349, and note μάργους ravening in v. 67). The conception is important, as obliterating the touch of weakness, which their sleep in itself might imply. For the sake of his dramatic situation, the poet has allowed the Erinyes to sleep; but this very sleep is other than ours, and is itself a horror.—νέμονται, range, like beasts of prey; Eur. El. 1163 ὅρελα τις ὁ νέαμ ὁργήων ὄροσα χειμομένα.—See also next note. 69—71. Grey, olden maids, with whom never match god, nor human creature, nor monster; but because of the evil (only) they even came to be,—only because evil came. The parenthesis, developing κατάπτυστοι, expresses partly the physical loathing of the beautiful Olympian for what is hideous, partly such repugnance as men feel towards the executioner (see vv. 185 foll.). The 'sleeping maids' suggests a contrasted sentiment.—θηρ. Wecklein points out that this word, in the language of antique poetry, includes Centaurs, Satyrs and the like (Soph. Trach. 1096, 556, 568 etc.), and appositely quotes Suppl. io10 θηρες δε κηραινοι και βροται, τι μήν.—ἐπὶ κακὸν (ἐγένετο), supplied from ἐγένοντο. Cf. Thuc. 6. 79 δεν ὥτ᾽ ᾿Αλλων (ἀδικωταί), καὶ μὴ αὐτοὶ ῥαπτερ νῦν τοῦς πέλας ἄδικοις, Eur. Or. 644 χρήματι, ἣν ψυχῆν εἶναι σῶματι, (ὁποίας), and inf. 140 ἐγὼ δε σε (ἐγένον). See also on Thesp. 2, inf. 355. Such ellipses are in Greek not uncommon, and often, as in the first two examples cited, are used with a freedom startling to us, who are accustomed to the habit of a language almost without inflexions. The present case however is simple and natural enough.—κακῶν is (I think) masculine, sinners, rather than neuter, sins. The
overcome. Fallen on sleep, these loathly virgins—grey, ancient maids, with whom never mingles god, nor man, nor monster; who only for the evil, only because evil was, were e'en created—are taking their range of darkness and the nether deep, which men do abhor and the gods that dwell on high.

Nevertheless fly thou on, and relax not; for they will chase thee even through the far continent, over land, ever land, for thy wandering foot to pace, and beyond sea and cities islanded. And

latter idea (sin) is expressed by ἱκακόν.—The Erinyes were created solely to punish crime, and partake of the evil which produced them. The thought is somewhat similar to Milton's "Created evil, for evil only good". —This passage (68—73) has been hitherto punctuated without a parenthesis, and with a full stop at ποτε. But (1) the sentence ἄνω...ποτε has then no verb: hence παρείναι (for πενόυων, Wecklein) and other changes: (2) there is no correct sequence of thought in ἱκακόν ἐκατι καγένοντο, ἐπει κακοῦ σεκόντον ἰμαύναι: 'to inhabit evil darkness' is no proof that the inhabitant was 'created for evil's sake': and (3) the passage as a whole is not properly adapted to the context: δῆμος in v. 74 takes up νῦν in v. 67, which connexion is perceptible if (but hardly unless) the sentence beginning at v. 67 is continued down to v. 73.

75. καλ: even (not both).

76. Literally, striding up over the land for thy wandering foot.—βεθώνα, as from the intransitive present βέθω, an archaic form occurring in Homer and Pindar. The conjecture (Stephanus) is perhaps right, but βεθώνα must not be thought impossible. The formation of a present tense by combination of present inflexion with perfect stem is seen in κεκληγέντες (Homer), ἐρρηγοτητι (Hesiod) etc.; see Curtius, Greek Verb p. 393 (Eng. transl.); and from βεθώνα (with βεθώνα) it appears that the process occurred with this particular stem. In sense βεθώνα followed its stem, not its termination, counting as the feminine of βέθω, but its existence seems to imply that of βεθών as an archaic present (continuous); nor have we evidence to determine how far it was (in archaic literature) common, or by what circumstances such a writer as Aeschylus might be justified in retaining it.—ἀὐ, ἀδ, Hermann.—The position of ἀει should not raise difficulty; it is not a licence but a poetic device, necessary to the intended effect. The word ever, and the description over the land (as before), are used to express sympathy with the wanderer, as he sees the horizon still rise before him. The passage cited by Hermann, Plato Laws 832 C ἐκόνων γὰρ ἐκόνων ὄννεμα, ἀλλ' ἐκόνων ἑκόνων ἄρετε εἰν ἀει τιν βία (by shifting superiority of force) illustrates the grammatical principle, but has a different colour.

77. πόντον Turnebus.—περιμφότας: islanded. For the fem. termination, contrary to the normal treatment of compounds, cf. Pers. 590 Δαντός περικλύσταρασ (Paley), Hom. Hymn. Αἴολ. 251 ἀμφρότας κατὰ νῆσους (Wecklein).
The retention of the archaic irregularity is probably due in most cases to some literary association. —As to the length and extent of Orestes' wanderings see vv. 249, 284. They were no doubt suggested (as Paley remarks) by the appearance of legends connected with him in different places. From a dramatic and moral point of view, they are important to this play, as constituting a real, and not merely ceremonial, expiration of his act: if he is finally released, he attains to this only through intense suffering (see the scene commencing at v. 235). There is moreover, let us carefully observe, nothing to show that the
καὶ μὴ πρόκαμεν τόνδε βουκολούμενος πόνον: μολὼν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλων ἵζου παλαιὸν ἀγκαθε憎 λαβὼν βρέτας.
κάκεὶ δικαστὰς τόνδε καὶ θελχηρίους μῦθοις ἔχοντες μηχανὰς εὐρήκομεν, ἀφ' ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν σὲ τώνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων. καὶ γὰρ κτανεὶν σ' ἔπεισα μητρῳὸν δέμας.

ORESTHΣ.

ἀναξ Ἀπόλλων, οὐσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἄδικεῖν. εἰτε δ' ἐπίστα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀμελεῖν μάθειν: σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὐθεῖα ἐν σῶν.

ΑΠ. μέμνησο, μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.

σὺ δ', αὐτάδελφον αἴμα καὶ κοινὸν πατρός, Ἐρμή, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ἂν ἐπόνυμος πομπαῖος ἴσθι, τόνδε πομαίνων ἐμὸν ἰκέτην—σέβει τοι Zeus τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας—

ὁμομέμενον βροτοῖσιν εὐπόμπην τύχῃ.

prolongation of the penitential wandering is due to the Erinyes. Until he is discharged from them, by the act of Athena and the Areopagus, they haunt and torment him; but that he shall not seek Athens at once must be a condition imposed by some other power, and is attributable under the circumstances only to Zeus and Apollo, of whose will we are to suppose that Orestes has already been informed at length.

78. μὴ πρόκαμεν, i.e. bear up until the end.—τόνδε βουκολούμενος πόνον: lit. ‘ruminating this toil’, chewing it repeatedly after the manner of the ox. Like rumination, the destined suffering will be slow, long, and profitable: this seems to be the point of the comparison, which partly resembles Ag. 674 ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσαν νέον πάθος, cited by Paley. βουκολούμενος is (I think) middle (not passive) and differs from βουκόλων in suggesting that the act is for the benefit of the ‘ruminator’. But the acc. πόνον does not exclude the possibility of a passive, ‘being fed with this toil’.—Some interpret by ‘driven like a herd’; but a pasturing herd is not driven, or at least not violently.

79. ποτὶ. For this form in the iambic dialogue Wecklein cites Soph. Tract. 1214 ποτιφαίων.

80. βρέτας. This is commonly supposed to be the ancient wooden image of Athena preserved on the Athenian acropolis, and rescued at the time of the Persian sack (v. 1025). But the identification depends on the assumption that the place where Orestes takes sanctuary, the scene of the ‘Second Act’ (vv. 235—368), is the Acropolis, of which there is no proof in the text. Prof. Ridgeway has recently suggested that the sanctuary meant is the place of the murder-court known as ἐπὶ Παλλάδιῳ. So far as I see, this is quite possible, and it suits perhaps better with
be not weary to chew upon this toil, till thou come to Pallas' burgh. There take sanctuary, embracing her ancient image. And there, with judges to try this matter, and speech to soothe, we will find means to rid thee of these pains for ever; for it was by my counsel that thou didst take thy mother's life.

**Orestes.** Lord Apollo, the way of right thou knowest; which knowing, study likewise the way of heedfulness; for the power to serve, thy power is good warranty.

**Apollo.** Remember that. Let not fear overcome thy wit. And thou, (to Hermes, present but unseen) my very brother, born of my father's blood, guard him, and, as thou art god of leading, be all that thy name imports in shepherding the suppliant (forasmuch as the outlaw thus consecrate hath regard from Zeus) whom now I send forth with prospering commendation unto mankind.

(Exit Orestes. Apollo re-enters the temple; the Ghost of Clytaemnestra appears.)

The very slight depiction of the locality, somewhat strange if the Acropolis is intended. As to the scene of the trial, 'Act III.', see the Appendix to v. 569 and the Introduction.

85—87. For the performance of a duty three things are required, the knowledge of it, the will, and the power. Apollo has shown that he knows his obligation, and, his power being unquestionable, nothing is wanted but perseverance. The form of expression suggests a reference to some current text or school-maxim (such as "Duty learnt, the next lesson is to mind it" etc.). Note particularly the word μάθε, which is scarcely suitable to the relations between the present speakers. Delphi was an eminent patron of moral proverbs, and this one may well have been Delphian.—ποιον εἴσαγων, together, to do right.—φέρεγγυνον: assuring, lit. 'warranty-bringing'.

88. μνήμησις: bear (it) in mind, i.e. Apollo's power.

89. This invocation does not prove that Hermes appears on the stage, or is supposed present and visible to Orestes. It would not prove this, even if the formal apostrophe was addressed to a mortal (see on Ag. 83), much less in the case of a god. Apollo calls on 'Hermes the Conductor', as a mortal would do, to bless the departing; but naturally his invocation is to be deemed more effective. Since Hermes is not seen, so far as appears, in company with Orestes hereafter, dramatic effect and propriety seem rather to indicate that he is not here seen, than that he is.—αὐτάδελφον: my very brother. The stress laid upon the completeness of the kinship by the common father (the mothers, Leto and Maia, being different) is appropriate to the case of Orestes, as representing the claims of paternity; see the argument from generation, vv. 660 foll.

90—93. κάρα with ποιμανταὶ λόθι: ἄν ἐπόνυμος τὴν ποιμαντὴν: be conspicuously the 'Conductor' that thou art called. It is perhaps also possible to take together κάρα ἐπόνυμος λόθι, 'be conspicuously what thy name signifies, that is to say ποιμαντή', as in Theb. 645 ἐπόνυμος κάρα, Πολυνεκεί λέγει, but then the participle (ἤν) would be otiose and scarcely correct. The order of the words

2—2
is equally right in either case.—ιμον ἱκέτης: in the technical sense as an accepted προστράτευοι, a criminal receiving purgation.—σέβει...σέβας: this reverend character in the outcast is respected (sanctioned) by Zeus. Apollo reminds Hermes, that the validity of purgation, and the bond thereby created between the giver and receiver of purgation, are sanctioned by their common father Zeus, who had himself set a precedent in the leading case of the homicide Ixion; see νο. 444, 720.—ἐκνόμων: persons who for blood-guilt have been put beyond the pale of laws; so Hermann, citing the schol. τὸ τῶν ἱκετῶν σέβισα καὶ δέημα οῦ μόνον τιμᾶ Ζεὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σέβει, ἥτινα αὐτῷ ὀρμώμενον προσηκούσῃ τῶν, and Suidas ἐκνόμους παρανόμους.—ὁρμώμενον κ. τ. λ.: setting forth (or more exactly ‘being set forth’) with fair commendation to mankind. The description is attached to ἱκέτης, and refers to the particular case of Orestes and to the present moment, the appeal to Zeus being parenthetic.—βροτοῖς: dative ‘ethical’ or ‘of relation’ depending generally upon the whole conception ὀρμώμενον...τῷ...—εὔνυχει τῷ...—If ὀρμώμενον κ. τ. λ. be taken with σέβας, it seems to limit, and limit inappropriately, the bearing of the statement Ζεὺς σέβει. There is no reason to think that the validity or sanctity of purgation depended on the proper ‘sending forth’ of the person purged, or that, as a rule, he would be ‘sent forth’ at all.

94. Orestes departs, Apollo retires within the temple; the ghost of Clytemnestra appears. As to the manner of the entrance, see Introduction. It seems probable that, in the time of Aeschylus, the ghost simply entered from the temple (or possibly from the side, by the πώρος), and spoke from the door of the temple to the Erinyes within.

95—99. I, thus slighted by you among other dead, although my repute for murder cases not among the perished, and (even for that) I wonder in disgrace, yet tell you plainly that the chief of my reproach proceeds from those (other dead, who are avenged while I am not). She bears in the other world a double reproach, both as a murderer and as a neglected victim of murder. First, even there, ἐν φθορίοισι, where all are dead, it is still a brand of disgrace to have taken.
Clytaemnestra (at the door, to the Erinyes within). Would you sleep? Oh, shame! And if ye sleep, what serve you? I, whom compared with other dead ye thus disregard, declare to you, that, albeit my reproach as murderess cleaves to me yet in the world of the perished, it is by those others that I am most beshamed. Wronged so fouly by my nearest kin, no power is wroth on my behalf, though slaughtered by matricidal hands... But see these wounds,...see with thy soul,—even as in men the mind asleep is illumined with eyes, and foresees the destiny which by day they cannot see.

away life; the grim suggestion, that the murderess had hoped otherwise, is in the poet's most poignant style. This however is not the complaint which she lays before the Erinyes, because they could not remedy it. But her worst disgrace (μεγίστη ατία) is due to their neglect, and for this she comes to them.—

Δίλαοσιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν: 'among', i.e. as compared with others, whom the Erinyes have avenged (Paley).—ός μὲν κ.τ.λ.: answered by προφετεύοντα δι κ.τ.λ. The preceding δὲ (in αἰτήσεις δὲ) marks a subordinate antithesis contained within the protasis or μὲν-clause itself; 'the reproach (of murderess) is not dropped, but makes me a disgraced wanderer'.—

μεγίστην: the full force of this superlative (greatest, not merely great) is important, and is in fact the key to the sentence.—κείσων ἦν: not the dead in general, but the δίλαο δικρός, the avenged, with whose case hers is unfavourably contrasted. The phrase does not imply that these alone feel or express contempt on this ground, but that they are the source and cause of the contempt.—ύπερ ὅν ἐφοίνισα 'Αγαμέμνονα, ἀτίσατε, καὶ οἱ ἕμε ψυχοῦσαι οὐκ ἀτίσασθαι, schol. to v. 95. Here, ύπερ ὅν...ἀτίσασθαι is a comment on ὅτι ἤμεν, 'you, on whose behalf (because avenging Iphigenia) I killed Agamemnon, have rejected me', while οἱ...ἀτίσασθαι refers to δίλαοιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν, which words the commentator referred to Agamemnon, or rather to an 'Agamemnon-party' among the dead, in accordance with another note on v. 99, σφαγεία αἰτίων ὑπ’ αἰτίων, τῶν περὶ Αγαμέμνονα. He took the meaning to be that the husband, having avenged himself through Orestes, has escaped the dishonour to which the unavenged wife is still subject. This is not perfectly correct, the limitation of the οὐκ ἀτίσασθαι to Agamemnon being needless and not to the point; but nothing can be inferred from the notes to the prejudice of the traditional text.—The word νεκροῖσιν has been suspected, as possibly due to an interpretation of φιλοῖσιν, but, as I think, without reason.—The remainder of the schol. (παθευτικὰ δὲ ταῦτα. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἐναγείρω καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ὑπὸ νεκρῶν ἀτίσασθαι λεγόντως ἢγεται παθευτικῶς) explains very fairly the separate point of the οὕτως ἐν φιλοῖσιν. —On the slight anacoluthon, see next note.

100—101. παθοῦσα...μον. For the change in the form of the sentence see insf. 480. The sequence in vv. 95 foll. ἐγὼ...ἀπηγμασμένη...οὕτως οὐκ ἐκλείπεται is not exactly comparable, because there the intended construction, though suspended by the clause with μὲν and the answering words προφετεύοντα δ’ ἤμεν δι, is really carried out correctly by ἐχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν.

103. δρα...σίθεν. For greater emphasis, she speaks as if to one in particular.—καρδιὰ σίθεν, with that inner sense, which is active when the eye is closed; see the next lines.

104, 105. For the mind asleep is
lightened with eyes, whereas in daylight men's destiny is beyond their foresight: as we should put it, 'Asleep men foresee the future, which awake they cannot foresee.' For this doctrine Hermann (after Stanley) quotes Cic. de Divinatione 1. 30, 'cum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate et a contagione corporis, tum meminit praeteritorum, praeuenta cer nit, futura providet; inaeat enim corpus dormientis ut mortui, viget autem et vivit animus.' See also Pind. frag. 108 εἴθει δὲ πρασάνητων μελῶν ἐνάπ εὔθυντεσσων ἐν πολλοῖς ὀνειροῖς δείκνυσι τερπνῶν ἐφήμισθαι χαλέπων τε κρίσιν, Xen. Cyrr. 8. 7. 21, etc. (Wecklein).

The two verses, which are probably in substance, if not in terms, a quotation from some ancient text, bear upon the present case by analogy: 'what is true of mankind ordinarily is true a fortiori of supernatural beings' (Paley): the mental sense in these may be supposed to be enlarged during sleep, as that of human beings is, though of course not exactly in the same way.—ἀπρόσκοπος passive, unforeseen, not to be foreseen (Paley).—μοῖρα ἀπρόσκοπος Turnebus, from schol. ἣ τής φρενός μοῖρα οὗ προορά ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. But this note gives no support to the substitution (Hermann and others) of φρενός for βροτών. The phrase ἣ τής φρενός μοῖρα, perhaps originally an independent gloss, signifies, that in μοῖρα βροτῶν, wrongly taken by the commentator to mean 'that part of man', the 'part' intended is 'the mental part', so that μοῖρα (βροτῶν) would be here equivalent to ἡ φρήν. The gloss would convey nothing, if φρενόν were in the text. Moreover, since to the case of the Erinyes the statement is not directly applicable, without βροτῶν its bearing could hardly be understood. And on the other hand μοῖρα φρενόν, in the sense 'nature of the mind', would form an expression wanting authority. Paley's defence of βροτῶν seems to be sound.

106. τῶν ἐμῶν: propitiations offered to the Erinyes by Clytemnestra, as murderess, during her life.—ἐλέειζα anticipates the comparison, pursued in the sequel, to hounds.

107. νηφάλια Robortello.—τε may be taken either (1) as joining χαός to πολλά, 'many an offering and in particular your wineless libations', or (2) as coupling the sentence χαός...θεών to the preceding: in that case, from θεών, adapted to δείπνα, we take the general notion 'I offered' as applicable to χαός. I prefer (with Wecklein) the first.—ἐλονοὺς. οίνοι γάρ οὗ ἀπένειθαι Ἐρμήνου σχολ. See Soph. O.C. 100, 469, 481, where water and honey (but not wine) are prescribed as an offering to the 'Eumenides' of Colonos. It is to be noted that the scholia, both here and at v. 109 (ἐν γάρ τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ μόνας Ἐρμήνου ἀπάρχοντα.—ὅτι ταῦτας μόνας ἐν νυκτὶ θόουσαν), may be invented from the text, and give no trustworthy
Verily oft indeed did ye lap of my offerings, libations not of wine, but sober, to propitiate you, and feasts in the solemn darkness, ritual of no god but you, which I would sacrifice upon the place of burning. And all this, I see, is trampled under foot. The man hath gone, escaped like a fawn out of the snare, ay, lightly leaped out of the midst, making at you the mouth of great mockery.

Oh, hear me plead for my life! Oh, wake to consciousness,

information, either about the times of the annotators, or about that of Aeschylus. Nor does the text prove, that any such worship of the Erinyes, as Aeschylus here describes, was sanctioned by custom or regularly practised by honest people. It suggests rather, I think, the fantastic ritual of guilt and terror. The doctrine of Aeschylus in this play is, that the Erinyes could in no way be propitiated; crime, where they recognise it, they pursue inexorably. Why they did not pursue Clytaemnestra, they explain in vv. 212, 603.—ἐπὶ ἐχάρα πέρος: upon the fire-place, i.e. that of her own house. The point is added partly for picturesque- ness, but chiefly to mark privacy and secrecy.—ὁπαν. For the acc. cf. Eur. Bacch. 723 αi δὲ τὴν τεταγμένην | ὅπαν ἐκλὼν θόρουν ἐς βασιλεύματα, said of the Bacchanals, commencing their morning-rite. That in either place the word marks the point of time (at), is improbable, as there is no authority for such a use. Here it is possible to suppose that the case denotes duration. But this is not satisfactory, and in the Bacchae it is not admissible, for the rite of the Bacchans is only commencing, and is not continued for 'the appointed space of time'; but soon interrupted by an attack upon them. On the other hand the coincidence of the grammatical peculiarity, in the same word ὅπαν, and in similar references to a peculiar ritual, suggests that both passages should have a common explanation. Moreover it should be noticed, that if ὅπαν here is referred merely to time, whether point or duration, the description 'not shared by any other god' is untrue. Night was the time actually preferred for the rites of Bacchus for example (Eur. Bacch. 486 νῦκτορ τὰ πολλὰ), a fact not easily to be forgotten or overlooked. These things together suggest, that ὅπαν, in connexion with the more punctilious and severe rituals (especially the Bacchic), had already passed from the sense 'proper time (for a function)' to that of function, rite proper to a particular time. The present Christian usage (Hours, i.e. offices of a special worship) supplies at least an illustration, and may well be, like much else in Christian language and symbolism, an actual descendant. In both passages, the sense 'function, office' brings the case within the ordinary use of the accusative, as a description of the whole action, and it fits well with Nonnus 16. 158 καὶ τότε Βασσαρίδεσσι. χορωτίδες ἀλφὸν ὅπαν (cited by Tyrrell on Bacch. L.c.). It will also justly οὐδὲν κακὸν θεόν: for the rite of Clytaemnestra, with its 'food served on the hearth-fire', differed from bacchanalia totally, and the poet leaves us free to invest it in fancy with any peculiarities which we think suitable. From the bacchanalia he borrows only the mystic circumstance of darkness and, apparently, the term ὅπαν.

112. ταῦτα: adverbial acc., herein, 'in doing this', Anglice 'ay, and hath sprung' etc.—ἀφκυκτάτων Turnebus.

113. ἐγκατέλλασσας Turnebus; ἔκακος, ἐγκατέλλασσα schol.: εύ in such compounds answers to the English at.

114. ὅσ: because, for (not how).—"περὶ ψυχῆς as in Hom. Od. 9. 423 πάντας τε δόλους καὶ μήτιν ὅφανον | ὅσ τε
ψυχῆς: φρονήσατ', ὃ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαὶ
ὅπαρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὑών Κλυταιμήστρα καλῶ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

(μυγμῶς)

ΚΑ. μύοιτ' ἀν, ἀνὴρ δ' οἶχεται φεύγων πρόσω:
† φίλοις γὰρ εἰσών οὐκ ἐμοῖς προσικτορες.

ΧΟ. (μυγμῶς)

ΚΑ. ἀγαν ὑπνόσεις κοῦ κατοικτίζεις πάθος:
φωεύς δ' Ὀρέστης τῇσδε μητρὸς οἶχεται.

ΧΟ. (ἄγμως)

ΚΑ. ὡξεις, ὑπνόσεις: οὐκ ἀναστήσει τάχος;
τι σοι πέπρακται πράγμα πλῆν τεύχειν κακά; 125

ΧΟ. (ἄγμως)

ΚΑ. ὑπνόσ πόνος τε, κύριοι συννωμόται,
ἀεινης δρακαίνης ἐξεκήραναν μένος.

ΧΟ. (μυγμῶς διπλοῦς ὅξυς)

λαβὲ λαβὲ λαβὲ λαβὲ,—φράζοιν.

116. κλυταιμήστρα.

perὶ ψυχῆς, Eur. Hec. 946 τοὺς δὲ Μενελεῶν
ποθῷ λόγους ἄκουσαι τίνας εἰρεὶ ψυχῆς
τέρμ., and in expressions like μάχεσθαι,
θεῖν, τρέχειν περὶ ψυχῆς, ὑ περὶ ψυχῆς
ἀγῶν (Soph. El. 1492), but here rather in
the metaphorical sense 'I am desperately
in earnest'." Wecklein.—φρονήσατε:
note the tense, 'become conscious',
'take φρόνημα'; in the sense of Cho. 322
φρόνημα τοῦ θεάντος οὐ δαμάζει περὶς
γράνως. The invocation ὃ κατὰ χθονὸς
θεαί, goddesses of the nether world, is
selected with reference to the summons
φρονήσατε, since it is into that world that
their separated consciousness (φρόνημα)
has passed; see on vv. 72, 73.—Mr
Edwin Abbott has directed my attention
to the fact, that, as a general rule, though
with some exceptions (as v. 71), Aeschylus
avoids the termination of the iambic
senarius with two oxytone dissyllables
(as χθονὸς θεαι). The comparative fre-
cuency of the double dissyllable with
other accentuations (as in ἐμῆς περὶ ν.
114) indicates that the avoidance is in-
tentional. But the preposition and case
(as κατὰ χθονὸς) appears to be a standing
exception, possibly because such a phrase
was not really pronounced as a double
oxytone: and the present instance would
fall within the same principle. The point,
which requires to be treated in connexion
with other phenomena, is of interest as
going to show that in tragic recitation the
tonic accent was not without effect.

116. 'At present (νῦν) my summons
comes to you (only) as a dream', i.e. the
summons has no substantial effect upon
the real chase of Orestes, though (as the
sequel shows) it starts the sleepers upon
an imaginary chase.—δινα: cf. 131.—
The name, reserved till now, comes in
with startling and imperious effect.—
Κλυταιμήστρα Μ, here only, elsewhere as
in text.

117. The terms μυγμῶς and ὅγμως are
ye goddesses of the deep; for now the call of Clytaemnestra comes to you but as a dream. *(The Erinyes make a sound of whining.)*

Ah, ye may whine; but the man is gone, far on his flight. For 'the suppliant' hath friends, and friends that serve (?). *(The whining is heard again.)*

Too much thou slumberest, and pityest not the wrong, though Orestes, murderer of me his mother, is fled. *(A sound as of barking.)*

Thou bayest—slumbering! Rise up, oh, quickly rise. What work hast thou wrought, save to make mischief? *(The barking is heard again.)*

Sleep and labour, licensed conspirators, have spoiled the fell serpent of her force. *(Two sharp howls are heard; then the voices of the Erinyes crying confusedly Catch...catch, catch... catch...; then a single voice, saying, Look out!)*

derived respectively, through μῆδοι and ἀκός, from the sounds μῦ and κό, the first being, as it were, a *whimper* or *whine* (cf. v. 189), the second, like the ἄδ ἄδ of Aristophanes, a sort of bark. The directions (παρεπιγραφαί) probably represent tradition rather than the hand of the author; but are suggested necessarily or naturally by the text.

119. No explanation of this verse seems possible, and no correction has been suggested, which is simple enough to command confidence. That of Hermann φίλοι γάρ εἰσιν, ὅπις ἐμοὶ, προσικτορες, 'my kinsman (Orestes) has protectors, and I have none', is objectionable both in the want of ἐμοίς, and in the rendering of προσικτορες: for that προσικτωρ (comer) could describe the person protecting a suppliant as well as the suppliant himself, is not proved either by the natural application of the epithet προσικτωραῖος (lit. concerned with supplication) to both suppliant and protector, nor by the title Ζεὺς Ἀπλετωρ (Suppl. 1), which admits of a different explanation. By combining suggestions from Burges (προσικτορος) and Wieseler (οὐ κενοίς) we might obtain a good sense: φίλοι γάρ εἰσιν, ὅπις κενοί, προσικτορες, 'for there are those who befriend the suppliant, and not useless friends (like mine)'. The reading of Weil, φιλοι γάρ εἰσιν ὅπις ἐμοίς προσικτωρες 'for he has friends, not like mine', is possible, though, since the emphasis here should be on he, the omission of the pronoun (ἐκεῖνον) is dubious. But this also is too far from the tradition to be trusted.

127. κύριοι συναρμόται: 'authorised' or 'licensed conspirators'. The forced term, like the ironical δεωίς, expresses indignation and contempt; *conspiracy* and τὸ κύριον (legitimate authority) are natural enemies; but here Sleep and Toil, since they work unresisted, are like conspirators approved by the government.

128. ἔξσπηραν: 'have robbed the formidable snake of her spoiled power', lit. 'have spoiled it out' of her. The appellation ἀρχάως is probably intended chiefly as a symbol of 'chthonian' character, the snake being a normal representative of spirits and other beings of the underworld. But it also points to the serpentine attributes or insignia devised for the Erinyes by Aeschylus,—snakes in the hair, as girdles, etc.

130. λαβὲ catch!—φράξου: look out! 'have a care'.—Cries of the chase.
ΚΑ. ὄναρ διώκεις θήρα, κλαγγάνεις δ' ἀπερκύων μέριμναν οὐποτ’ ἐκλίπων πόνου.

τί δρᾶς; ἀνίστω, μὴ σὲ νικάτω πόνος,

μηδ’ ἀγνοήσῃς πῆμα μαλθαχθείσ’ ὕπνῳ.

άλγησον ἦπαρ ἐνδύκως ὀνείδεσιν.

τοῖς σώφροσιν γὰρ ἀντίκεντρα γίγνεται.

†οῦδ’ αἴματηρῶν πνεῦμ’ ἐπουρύσασα τῷ,

ἀτμὸ κατισχαίνουσα, νηδύος πυρί.

ἐπον, μάραυε δευτέρους διώγμασιν.

ΧΟ. ἐγείρ’, ἐγείρε καὶ σὺ τὴνδ’, ἐγώ δὲ σέ.

131. κλαγγάνεις. 132. μὴ σε. 133. γίγνεται. 134. κατισχαίνουσα.

131. ὄναρ: emphatic; ‘you pursue the dream-quarry instead of the real’. See on v. 116.—κλαγγάνεις: Wakefield, on the analogy of λαγχάνω, φυγάνω, θηγάνω, τυγχάνω etc.

132. Between ἐκλίπων (Μ) and ἐκλείπων (Blomfield) the authority of the ms. is nothing, and both are admissible. With the aorist the description must be generic, ‘like the dog, whose eager brain never quits the chase’; with the present, it is, or may be, individual and particular, ‘like a dog, still in fancy cleaving to his sport’: the present is the more picturesque.—οὕποτε, that is, not even in sleep.—πῶνον: in the special sense of exercise, athletic practice: cf. πονεῖν and πονείδοθα to train (intransitive), be trained.

133. τί δρᾶσ; not ‘what are you about?’ but ‘what are you effecting’? i.e. you are effecting nothing: cf. ἀγ. 1352 ψηφίζωμαι τί δρᾶν (to do something), and the adj. δραστήρως effective. Possible also is τί δρᾶσ; (Hermann) ‘are you effecting anything’?—μὴ σὲ νικάτω πόνος, lit. ‘let not your sport be defeating you (yourself)’ instead of the prey: that is, ‘quit this dream-chase, in which you run only to your own loss, and spend your eagerness in breaking the strength of your quarry’.

That the negative and emphasis fall on the pronoun σε appears from the repetition of πῶνος, which is weak unless it refers in-
tentionally to πῶνος (see on v. 132): hence the conjectures πῶμος (Wakefield), κότος (Halm). The accentuation of Μ is mistaken. To the emphatic σε answers (if it is right, see note there) the emphatic τῷ (the fugitive) in v. 137. For the metaphor νῆκη, applied to the hunting-down of a quarry, see Eur. Bacch. 1200—σὺν νικηφόροι...ἀγραν.

134. πῆμα: hurt, or harm, which you are incurring.

136. ἀντίκεντρα: ‘equal to (sharp as) a goad’.

137. For ὄδ’, σοῦ δ(ε) was proposed by Musgrave: cf. σοδῆθε Theb. 31, and Hesych. σοῦ· τὸ, τρέχει, ὁρμα.—σοῦ δ(ε) Pearson, with comma at πωπ, ‘do thou rather follow’. This is in itself admissible, but less likely to have been corrupted.—αἴματηρῶν κ.τ.λ.: ‘having set fairly after you fugitive thy blood-laden breath’, i.e. ‘having got well upon his track’. For αἴματηρῶν see v. 184.—τῷ: demonstrative (?), for ἐκλίνυ, ‘you fugitive’, explained by gesture.—I have no confidence in any proposed reading of this verse. The abrupt effect of the pronoun τῷ, though perhaps justified by the energy of the passage, is not above suspicion, and strengthens the doubt raised by οὖδέ. Possibly something is lost between v. 137 and v. 138, completing the sense ‘you have not yet even got fairly on to the quarry’: πῶ (for τῷ)
In dreams thou pursuest the quarry, giving tongue like the hound that never quits to think of his sport. What dost thou so? Arise! Let not thy sport defeat thyself; nor in weakness of sleep forget to feel a hurt. Thy heart should ache with just reproach, which to virtue is sharp as any goad. But speed (\?); set fair after yon fugitive thy blood-laden breath, and with fiery vapour of thy belly make him lean. After him! And with the second chase, oh wither him up. (The Ghost disappears. The Chorus of Erinyes begin to wake, and come, as they wake, from within the temple.)

First Eriny (in the doorway, speaking to another, and pointing towards a third). Awake her! Waken thou her; and

was proposed by Butler. The schol., ἑφορμήσασα τῷ Ὀρέστῃ, seems to ignore τῷ, but may be punctuated (Bothe), so as to confirm it—ἐφορμήσασα τῷ Ὀρέστῃ.

184. ἀτμῷ...πτῷ: metaphorical merely, for breath heated with the chase: a breath literally 'of fire' would not accord with the Aeschylean conception of the Erinyes. But the expression probably helped (with αἴματηρον πνεῦμα) to suggest the extravagant and grotesque phrase, which Euripides, by way of caricature, puts into the mouth of Orestes when, in the delusion of madness, he describes one of his imaginary Erinyes as 'blowing fire and blood from her skirts', ἐκ χητῶν τῷ πνεύμα καὶ φύον (Iph. T. 288); see Euripides the Rationalist, p. 184.—κατισχυνόνου; Robortello.

140. The Leader appears in the doorway, speaking as if to a second Eriny, whom she has just aroused, and bidding her arouse a third (τῇθε) to whom she points. At the same moment the figure of Clytemnestra rushes off (by the parados), as if calling them on to the pursuit. After v. 142 the Erinyes, having observed the abandoned omophalos, come, one after another, from within. Whether the choric passage, vv. 143—178, or any part of it, was sung during this entrance, or whether, on the other hand, the entrance was accompanied only by music, and the singing commenced only when the complete Chorus had entered the orchestra, it seems impossible to say. The words (for example vv. 143, 144) indicate clearly a division between voices: κομματικῶς έκκατον κατ’ ἱδιαν προερευνητέων· αἱ γάρ διακοσμάτων πρόσφοροι τοῖς πάθεσιν, schol. But no distribution can be made with certainty.—ἐγὼ δέ σε: 'and I (will waken) you'. She turns towards the other side, and makes as if she awakened a sleeper there. This seems better, both in sense and action, than Paley's 'as I rouse you'.—ἀπολακτίσασα...διώμεθα, cf. Aristoph. Birds 203 ἀνεγείρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνδόνα καὶ καλοῦσ᾽ατρούς (Wecklein).— 'Let us see whether in this beginning there is perchance a failure', i.e. 'whether our pursuit, so far, has missed its purpose'. τὸδε φρομῖον, 'this commencement' or 'first movement', may have either of two meanings, (1) the chase from Argos to Delphi, which now, by the escape of Orestes, is disappointed and must be recommenced, or (2) the chase which they have made in their dream, or rather in the process of waking (vv. 117—139); in the first moment of complete return to day they do not fully realise that the dream-chase was not real. I prefer the second interpretation. In either case the expression φρομῖον is relative to the 'second pursuit' of v. 139, as if the speaker, in the moment of waking, fixes upon the last words of the ghost, and
draws from them a suspicion of what has happened, which she hastens to verify. The term προμιον, which Aeschylus employs freely (see Ag. 820, 1215), is metaphorical merely, and though appropriate, in its sense of 'prelude, first movement of a tune', to the proceedings of a chorus, does not here (I think) refer to any performance on the stage, unless the dream-chase can be so called.—The prevalent view (Paley, Wecklein) refers προμιον τόδε, taken literally, to the following στροφας, regarded as a prelude to the further pursuit; but (1) the exclamations of v. 143 appear to mark the discovery that Orestes is gone, which must not therefore be assumed as certain in the previous verse, and (2) the question εἰ ματᾶ cannot, it seems, be applied to the ode without some forced interpretation:

"Let us see, she says, whether we can induce Apollo to give Orestes up" (Paley); "The ode is to serve as a mere prelude, a temporary manifestation of what their rage can effect" (Wecklein). The first question for the awakened pursuers is, naturally, what has happened during their sleep, and ιδώμεθα can scarcely refer to anything but this.—ιδώμεθα' Turnebus.

144. A second voice interrupts.

147. He has slipped out of the net, and the quarry is gone. The subject of πέπτωκεν is understood. By changing δ' to θ' (Abresch), so that ο θηρ is the subject of both verbs, the sentence is made smoother, but less dramatic.

150. νόιο: both in his youthful figure and as one of the νεωτέρας θεοί (v. 162), the dynasty of Zeus. For the
I (turning to another) will waken thee. Sleepest thou? Rise up, spurn slumber away, and let us see if in our first move hath been found a fault... (Perceiving that Orestes is gone, she utters a cry of astonishment and rage, and rushes out as if looking for him; the rest follow, with like exclamations):

Ah!...Soho!...Oh sisters, we have suffered...Ay, much have I undergone, and all for nought, if — ...Hurt, wound, and pain... oh shame!...intolerable!...He hath slipped the net, and the quarry is gone away! Sleep mastered me, and I lost the prey.

Ah, Son of Zeus, a thief thou art, and thy youth hath ridden proud over powers of eld, doing respect to yon suppliant, a godless man, a child unkind; the slayer of a mother thou, a god, hast stolen away! Who will find justice here?

For me, it is the reproach that came in dream which, like a charioteer with hand on the midst of his goad, hath struck into

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legendary succession, and the poet's view of it, see Ag. 178 foll. The Erinyes represent the elder powers both personally and also morally, in their rigid but narrow justice of the family (see v. 152), for which the new gods are about to substitute the larger and more equitable justice of the state. See particularly the ode beginning at v. 493; but this conception runs throughout the play and is in fact the basis of it.

152. τοκεσθαι τιμωρόν: cruel to his parent. τοκεσθαι is plural according to rule, because, though the mother only is in question, it is in her character as parent, not as an individual.

154. τόσ (M) gives a double interrogative τι...τισ; equivalent to ὀδεῖς ὀδὴν... This is not inconceivable, but τισ (generally read) is better; and see τόσ (M), for τισ, in v. 4 and elsewhere.

155. Another voice: 'What I feel most keenly is the reproach which has been cast on us.' ἀμολ...μολόν: 'the reproach passed upon me by the voice of my dream' (Clytaemnestra).—οὐκεῖος... 

The assonance, though it does not represent any point of sense, is doubtless intentional and characteristic; cf. δαίλον δαμίνων in v. 160. Wecklein, who points it out, also calls attention to the close resemblance of sound, which indeed cannot escape notice, between the strophe and the antistrophe. The result of this, combined with the metrical or rhythmical effects (see Appendix II.), is an astonishing vigour of emphasis. The accumulation of such devices is not specially Hellenic, still less Attic; and critics of the Euripidean age would probably have held, that the whole passage appealed too much to the ear, and too little to the intelligence. But it is marvellously impressive in its way.— On the general use of assonant correspondences in strophe, see examples collected by Mr C. Brennan, Classical Review, vol. xx. p. 339.—apyev...λοβόν. 'The reproach has wounded my heart like the driver's goad': a reminiscence from the dream, v. 136.—μησολάβητ: 'gripped in the middle' for a firmer hold.—ὑπὸ ἀφέναι. Between metaphor and fact, the speaker is driven to a half-conscious extravagance.
πάρεστι μαστίκτορος
δαίον δαμίου
βαρὺ τὸ περὶ βαρυν κρύος ἐχειν.—
tοιαύτα δρῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί,
κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον.
φωνολιβηθρόνον,
περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα,
pάρεστι γὰς ὁμφαλὸν
προσδρακεῖν αἰμάτων
βλαστυρῶν ἀρόμενον ἄγος ἐχειν.
ἐφεστίω δὲ μάντις ὃ μᾶσματι
μυχὸν ἑχράνατ' αὐτο-
tόσσοντος, αὐτόκλητος,
pαρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεα μὲν τίνων,
pαλαγενεῖς δὲ μοῖρας φθίσασ.

164. φωνολειβήθ. 167. προσδρακήθος altered to προσδρακεῖν. 168. αρόμενον.
169. μάντι σῷ. 170. μυχὸν ἑχράνα τ'.

In a theological view, from the ground taken by Aeschylus, the controversy is of supreme importance. It is precisely because, in the Olympian system as he conceives and represents it, there is but one absolute authority, with diverse representatives and dependencies but no fundamental partition, that this system is morally superior to those which preceded it, and signifies the achievement of order. It is the lesson of the play, that this moral supremacy imposes itself by its intrinsic virtue even upon powers infringed, and therefore disposed to rebellion.—παρὰ τὸ δικαῖον τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες, schol., not exact, but right in the main.—For the connexion of thought between this v. and the next, see vv. 577, 618.
163. 'With gore from head to foot is flecked yon seat, the earth-stone, and hath taken, as must be seen, a grim defilement of blood that stays on it.'—θρόνον: in apposition to ὁμφαλὸν. The word, which in English seems superfluous, expresses in Greek the precise
my bosom, into my heart. The doomster’s cruel scourge, the sore, sore ache of it, I must feel and bear!

Such things do these younger gods, who will have more than right, who will have all. (They gather towards the temple, taunting the god within.) Flowing with gore from head to foot, the seat, the Earth-Stone, hath taken, as must be seen, a grim defilement of blood that abides on it.

The prophet, himself defiling his home, hath fouled his secret place, by none impelled or invited but himself. Defying law divine, he respecteth the cause of man, but ancient apportionment he hath done away!

cause of the pollution; the stone is ‘blood-stained as a seat’, because, that is, a murderer has sat upon it.—τὸν θρόνον, οὗ ὁ ἡρακλῆς καθήσθω, schol., rightly.—The change of voices (and of construction) supposed by Paley and others between ν. 165 and ν. 166 is not absolutely necessary unless θρόνον be altered to θρόμμαν, as to which see below. But such an interruption is in itself suitable to the wording, and accords with the (probable) change of voices at ν. 159.—διμαθέων: see ν. 40.—ἐξείν: consecutive, depending on ἀρμένων ἔγος, ‘having taken pollution to keep’. It is possible also to make ἀρμένων ἐκεῖν, as compound perfect in the infinitive (to have taken on), depend as a whole upon προσδρακεῖν: but the participial construction προσδρακεῖν τὸν διμαθέων ἀρμένων is more regular, and a consecutive use of ἐκεῖν answers better to ν. 161.—On the metre (θρόνον ν. 164 compared with κέντρον ν. 157) see Appendix II. θρόμμαν Wakefield, whence φανελθῇ θρόμμαν (genitive analogous to construction of πλήμα) flecked with gouts of blood (Bamberger), φανελθῇ θρόμμα Keyser. But no change is required.—πάρεστι...προσδρακεῖν: the infinitive clause is the subject of πάρεστι: lit. ‘to contemplate is present’. The analogy of πάρεστι in the corresponding ν. 159, and the sense of προσδρακεῖν (look at, not see), show the meaning to be not merely that the stone is visibly stained, but that henceforth Apollo, in his oracular seat, ‘has before his eyes’ a polluted sanctuary; see the following lines, which pursue the same thought, and ν. 719 ματεία δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἀγα ματείευς. The subject of προσδρακεῖν (Apollo) is supplied from οἱ νεότεροι θεοί.—ἀρμένων Abresch.

169–173. ‘The prophet-god, himself defacing his home’, etc. ἐφιστεῖ...ὄ μάντιστι: domestica sua pollutione, ‘by defacement of his own, done upon his hearth’. For the point of ἐφίστos see ν. 580: it refers to the act of ceremonial purgation, in which the house and hearth was an essential instrument.—The reading μάντις Ὠ (Merkel) is preferable to μάντι, σφ (M) not only as permitting the retention of ἐχανασ (Turnebus), but also because of the form in which the whole concluding passage is cast: see the notes on νν. 174 foll.: μάντις Ὁ (Heimsoeth) is also acceptable, but less warranted, and less forcible. By entertaining and purging the murderer, Apollo has made the pollution itself his own; he has taken the guilt upon himself, and thus now is an offence in his own sanctuary.—μάντις, with contemptuous emphasis; he might at least have foreseen the result of his own act.—μυχὸν (Robortello): that is, properly speaking, the μυχὸς ἁθων (Cho. 954), the hole in the earth, with a chamber built over it, which was the original nucleus of the Delphian sanctuary and the place where the deity, in the person of the Pythia, sat
kámoi te λυπρός, καὶ τὸν οὖκ ἐκλύσεται, ἀντ. γ' 175
υπὸ τε γὰν φυγῶν
οὔποτ' ἑλευθεροῦται,
potitropaios δ' ὁν ἐτερον ἐν κάρα
μᾶστορ' ἐκ κείνου πάσεται.

ΑΠ. ἔξω, κελεῦω, τῶνδε δωμάτων τάχος
χωρεῖτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μυχῶν,
175. φηγὼν. 178. ἐκείνου. πάσεται altered to πάσεται.

And responded. The Erinyes suppose Apollo to be now, as in fact he is, somewhere in this inner place, and they vent their rage by speaking, as the popular phrase is, at him, that is, of him, but so that he shall hear. It is this which explains the sequel.—On the ‘chasm’ at Delphi, and on the earlier and later beliefs respecting it, see a full and interesting article by A. P. Oppé (Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxiv. 214). I should concede to the author that there was, possibly or probably, nothing like a ‘cavern’ there; the Greek imagination in such matters was extremely vigorous. On the other hand, the language of Aeschylus here (see next note) and in the Choephoroi (i.e.) shows, I think, clearly that the place was supposed to communicate with the subterranean world. Nor do I see reason to doubt, though it is not provable, that in, and long before, the time of Aeschylus, such communication was believed, as in later times, to be a condition of the oracular power.—αὐτόκλητος: not bidden by any other. —παρὰ νόμον κ.τ.λ.: see on v. 162.—βρότεα: βρότεα (πράγματα). —μοῖρας, divisions, should perhaps not have a capital letter, since, notwithstanding παλαιγενεῖς, the reference is not so much to the Μοῖρας, the mythical persons, as to the established partition and distribution of the world, the conception out of which their personality was developed.

174—178. And not only is he detested by me, but he hath also this criminal, whom he shall not loose. He flies to earth, but there is no escape for him. He hath opened his door to guilt, and wretch after wretch upon his shoulders he shall have. The harm, they say, which the oracle must sustain, is only beginning. If, in the new order of things, the possessor of Delphi is a receiver of murderers, there will be no end to Orestes and the trouble of him. The sacred hollow (v. 170), to which the deity has retired, will be no refuge from those who will certainly follow so attractive a precedent, and Apollo will soon have another Orestes at the omphalos.—ἐμοὶ τε λυπρός (ὑστεριν), καὶ κ.τ.λ.: in addition to the enmity of the older gods, which Apollo has earned, he must expect other trouble as the natural sequel of the patronage extended to Orestes. The former καὶ (in κάμοι) couples the whole paragraph to the preceding.—γε (for τε) Casaubon, but the text seems right; ἐμοὶ λυπρὸς ἑτερίς has no separate emphasis.—τὸν: γον (μανοί), Orestes: demonstrative accompanied by a gesture.—ἐκλύσεται: he shall loose off. Two meanings are possible, (1) shall deliver from us, the middle voice then expressing only, as in P.V. 251, Suppl. 1976, the interest of the releaser in the released; and (2) shall loose from himself, shake off, get quit of. We shall say most truly, that the phrase is projected in the first sense, but taken up by the sequel in the second.—ὑπὸ τε γὰν...ἐλευθεροῦτα: the subject here and throughout is still Apollo, but the language
He hath our hate; and, moreover, his criminal he shall not loose. Though he fly to earth, there is no freedom for him. A patron of guilt he is; and wretch after wretch he shall have upon his head! (They are pressing into the temple, but are suddenly driven back by Apollo.)

Apollo. Out, I command you, quick out of this house depart, and rid of your presence the sanctuary of prophecy,—ay, thou,

used is intentionally such as would apply also to Orestes. It is the very point of this denunciation, that the deity, having identified himself with the criminal, shares his guilt and uncleanness. Moreover, the Erinyes are in doubt, as yet, whether Apollo has not conveyed Orestes along with him into the depth of his sanctuary. It is not until vv. 226 (and 230) that, assured that he has fled, they strike upon the new trail.—This clause is antithetic to the following (ποιτρόπως δὲ κ.τ.λ.), not to the preceding; τε therefore (not δὲ as some would read) is the right conjunction.—ποιτρόπως: in its widest sense, 'a party to the rite of ποιτροπή'; both the parties to purgation, the purger and the purged, are ποιτρόπως. ἐν κάρῃ: primarily metaphorical, as of a burden taken upon the head and shoulders, but also adapted, with sarcasm, to the situation, the god below, the refugees above. ἔτερον...ἐκ κέλυο: a second...after (in succession to) that one (Orestes), with suggestion of a future series.——We should not assume that ὅπο γὰρ φεύγων refers here to the death of the criminal. The words themselves do not naturally import this. In ν. 340, where the language is in some respects similar, ἐπὶ ὑπελθεῖν is used for 'to die'; but it is the context there, which requires and furnishes this interpretation. Here it is not suggested, and, if imported, it creates insuperable difficulties. To suppose a change of subject between ἐκλείστηκα and ἐλευθερώταται is not easy; and the last clause, ποιτρόπως...πάλαιτα, if we take the criminal to be the subject of it, is unintelligible and incorrigible. Even if a punishing deity could be called μῦστορ, which is not proved by the passages cited (see L. and Sc. s.v.), there is still no point in ἔτερος μῦστορ: in both worlds the pursuit and torture of the damned is the function of the same power, the Erinyes themselves.—ἐκ κέλυον. This reading (for the ms. ἐκέλυον) is confirmed by the second paraphrase in the schol., of ἐλευθερώταται...ὡς κατὰ τὸν δίκαι ἡμῶν, ὁσίοτατον, his posterity shall be punished by us. This commentator took together ποιτρόπως ὡς ἐκ κέλυον the criminal descended from him, and supposed a reference to the doctrine of hereditary guilt, as laid down in νν. 933—938. For the metre see Appendix II. The reading was long ago suggested (by Bothe) but has received little attention, because on the prevalent assumption that the subject of the clause is the criminal, ἐκ κέλυον is not explicable.—φεύγων, and ποιτρόπως ὡς δ', Porson, for syllabic correspondence of metre, but see Appendix II. The aorist φεύγων is perhaps the preferable tense, though φέυγων (trying to escape) is admissible.

179. Here the Chorus, or some of them, probably make as though to enter the temple again and search it further, but are met by Apollo, bearing his bow, and driving them away. Nevertheless ὁμάδων probably signifies the whole sanctuary, including the precinct, where the Chorus are now supposed to be, rather than the temple strictly.

179, 180. τάχος adverbial acc., with speed.—δωμάτων...μυχών: the temple and its chambers with their appurtenance, the precinct.
μὴ καὶ λαβόντας πτηνὸν ἄργηστὴν ὅφιν, κρυστάλλως ἡμίγυς ἐξορμώμενον, ἀνής ύπ' ἄλγος μελαν' ἀπ' ἄνθρωπων ἄφρον, ἐμοῦσα θρόμβους οὓς ἀφελλυκαίες φόνου. οὕτω δόμοισι τοῖς χρυστοπεσθαί πρέπει: ἀλλ' οὐ καραννιστῆρες ὀφθαλμωρύχοι δίκαι σφαγάί τε, στέρματος τ' ἀποφοραῖ παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνες, ἦδ' ἀκρανία λευσμός τε, καὶ μύζουσι αὐκτισμὸν πολύν ὑπὸ ράχιν παγέντες. ἃρ' ἀκούετε οιάς ἑορτῆς ἐστὶ ἀπόστυπουσὶ θεοῖς στεργηθ' ἐξουσία: πᾶς δ' ύψηγεῖται τρόπος μορφῆς. λέοντος ἀντρον αἱματορρόφου

183. μέλαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἀπ' ἄλων μ. (v for original a). 186. οὐ καραννιστῆρες ὀφθαλμωρύχοι τόχοι
187. ἀποφοραῖ. 189. λευσμόν. 190. τ' ὀπράχων.

181. 'Lest thou shouldst e'en receive a snake, winged and wind-swift'; the metaphorical description of the arrow is so turned as to reflect by contrast upon the serpents which they themselves bear as part of them.—λαβόντα: turning to one of them.

182. The 'gold-wrought string' is suggested (Wecklein) by the standing epithet of Apollo χρυσότοκος, derived from the gliding of the bow in representations of him, but would seem to signify something more definite, perhaps a bow-string in which the overlaying wire was of gold. Many such may probably have been seen among the spoils of the Persians.

183. μέλαν ἀπ' ἄνθρωπων ἄφρον (?): 'spume red from human beings,' i.e. reddened with the blood sucked from human beings (see vv. 264—265); red quaere. The schol. rather impeaches than confirms the reading: τὸ αἷμα μελαν' ἄφρον ἔπει, οὐ δήποτε τὸ ἔμφυτον αὐτῶν ἀναμονεῖ γάρ οἱ θεοὶ ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπ' ἄνθρωπων ἠθροισμένον, ὦ τοίνυπ τροφῆς χρωμάτων αὐτῶν. The commentator's difficulty, about divine beings having blood, would probably not have troubled the poet; but if the text had ἀπ' ἄνθρωπων, his doubt could not easily arise, and we may suspect on the contrary that αὐτῶν (i.e. ἄνθρωπων) in M is due to the note.—ἕντρων (Wecklein) points to a possible sense. Note however, that ἀφελλυκαῖς in ν. 184 rather suggests some previous mention of the victims. Whichever view be taken, the word must remain uncertain; possibly it should be one not now extant.

186 foll. οὐ Tumebus.—'But (ye should go) where (there are) bloody punishments, heading, gouging of the eyes, and where' etc.: i.e. to places savage and barbarous in their customs. The poet is probably thinking particularly of the Persians and their usages.—δικαίος σφαγαίτε: 'things which are punishments and also bloody outrages'.—καραννιστήρες (Stanley): adjective, parallel to ὀφθαλμωρύχοι. —στέρματος ... χλοῦνες: i.e. 'where castration is in vogue'.—ἀποφορά. Musgrave. If this is right, as it seems to be, we may assume that χλοῦνες, for Aeschylus, signified virility, and may compare Hom. II. 9. 539 χλοῖνην σῶν
lest thou e'en receive the winged shining snake which is ready to speed from my golden string, and vent for pain the dark spume from...(?), vomiting the gowts which from slaughter thou hast sucked. This dwelling is no fit place for you to approach, but rather some place of murderous punishments, lopping of heads, gouging of eyes, where boys are maimed and the virile seed destroyed, where men are quartered and stoned, or long and piteously moan upon the impaling stake. Do ye hear? Such is the feast, for desire whereof ye are to the gods abominable. And all your form and fashion doth point thereto; in a blood-

ἀγριων, taking for χλοιωνς the alternative interpretation entire.—ἤδε is used by Aeschylus almost exclusively in catalogues of names, titles, etc., in the Persae thus frequently. Here the long string of copulae makes a variety desirable, though the example must not be reckoned as certain. ἦ ῥ(ε), 'and where (there is)...', is possible, and would clear the construction.—ἀκρωνια: some species of torture, perhaps ἀκρωπαρμάδος, dismemberment, from ἀκρα extremities, though the formation is unusual.—λευσμός Casaubon. The corruption λευσμον, due to the division of the sense according to the verses, seems to have contributed to produce the errors of the scholia: see below. λευσμόν is not unconstruable, as obj. to μῆλον, coupled (by ἡδονην) to ὀκτισμόν, and leaving τε to couple the sentences. But such an arrangement would be uncouth, and ἦ ῥ ἀκρωνια, as a clause by itself, is not harmonious. —The obscurity arising from the unique words, χλοιωνς and ἀκρωνια, is increased by doubts affecting the cognate χλοιωνς, and by a medley in the schol., χλοιως ἀκρωνια. ἡ ἀκμαια ἀποκοπη. παρὰ τῇν χλοϊν ' ἐτει χλοιωνς ὣ σοι, καπρολ δὲ συγκες ἐλαυχιζεται, διὰ τοῦτο τῇν ἀποκοπὴν συκήν εἰπε, οὐκ ἀδρωπίνην, —ἡ ἐκτομὴ μαρίων. —κακων ἀθροισις, ἢ λυθοβολας (?). 'Πρωδιανος δὲ τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἀδρωμα. Nothing can be inferred from this, except perhaps that the ancient commentators had no light to give. For discussions of the scholia and of the problem generally, see Hermann, Paley, Rutherford (Class. Rev. 11. 291), Dr Headlam (Class. Rev. XIX. 396). The last concludes as I do, reserving the doubt that χλοιως may be an adjective (see the scholia), in which case something, after this word, must be lost. If the ms. text is, as seems probable, substantially right, all is clear, so far as Aeschylus is concerned, except the precise species of torture signified by ἀκρωνια. If it is deeply injured (as is possible), there are no sound materials with which to mend it. In the final gloss, κακων ἀθροισις κ.τ.λ., interpretations of ἀκρωνια (ἀθροισις?) and λευσμον (λυθοβολας) seem to be combined. Moreover, the interpretation ἀθροισις for ἀκρωνια may be due to misunderstanding of a primitive note, κακων ἀθροισις a catalogue of pains (Davies), intended not for any particular word, but for the whole passage; as to this, however, see Headlam, l.c. 189. μῆλους...πολὺν: 'well most pitiably'.

190. ὑπόρραχιν (M) or ὑπὸ ῥάχιν. Either is possible (Wecklein).—παγέντες: insolated.

191, 192. οἶας ἐφρήσ...στέργηθρα ἱπποκαι, together: literally 'for finding charms in what manner of feast, ye are detested by the gods'.

192. ὑφηγεῖται: 'your appearance suggests' your inner nature.

194. τοιᾶτα: 'such (as the lion)', i.e. ἀλματορίφους, drinkers of blood themselves; see v. 184.
...among gen. lit. to seek...}

194. 195. And not, in this place of sacred consultation, to spread infection by your touch. πλησίωσι τρίβεσθαι μύσος: literally 'to rub. off pollution upon your neighbours'; μύσος προστρίβεσθαι schol. rightly; the dative case πλησίωσι (of the person affected) is constructed, in the archaic fashion of poetry, with the simple verb, as it would be in prose with the more precise compound; cf. στρατοῦ in Theb. 117. The mutual action of rubbing is properly described by the middle voice. The text should not be suspected. The phrase τρίβεσθαι μύσος requires some remoter object, and none is better than πλησίωσι. It was because of the inevitable contact among a crowd of worshippers that the presence of the polluted in a sanctuary was especially to be deprecated. The suggested corrections proceed generally on the assumption that we should seek an epithet for χρηστήριος (πλουσιός, Πυθεώς, etc.). On the other hand πλησίωσι itself, taken (as Hermann) with χρηστήριος, would be pointless. The Chorus are still in, not near, the oracular sanctuary.

196. Go feed, without shepherd to pasture you: the god is thinking of himself in his pastoral character as Nomios (Paley, Wecklein).

197. With a flock like you, it is no agreeable spectacle. ποίμνης τοιαύτης (οὐσία): gen. absolute, 'the flock being such': the position of ὅδε throws the two words together and serves to mark this construction.—οὖσι εὐφιλῆς θεῶν (ἐστι): the subject, 'the feeding, pasturing', is supplied from the sense of the preceding χωρεῖτε αὐτολούμενοι. The negative expression ὅσον εὐφιλῆς τις is ironically moderate and equivalent to 'the most disgusting', δυσφιλῆς τίς in v. 54.—θεῶν, partitive gen., depends on τις: lit. 'among sights'. To watch and contemplate his flock, as it feeds, is the characteristic pleasure of the herdsman, but to see the Erinyes feed is anything but a delight,—would be horrible. Compare v. 184.—θέα Burges. This change of case is not necessary, but Burges was right in seeking here θέα sight, not θέα god. Assuming θέα, the verse has been rendered 'of such a flock no god would willingly be herdsman'. But (1) the use of εὐφιλῆς for ἐκόλουθος, ἀδήμος, ἱβος, is not proved, nor (I think) probable; (2) to restrict οὖσι no one by the addition of θεῶν (no god) not only weakens the expression, but suggests that others, human beings for instance, might like the task; (3) the natural, if not necessary, mood for the verb would be the potential (ἐν εἶνα βοηθῷ), but this cannot legitimately be supplied.

200. ἔσ: Canter.—ἀς παναίτιος: 'in
gorged lion’s cave such mates should dwell, not spread the contagion of your neighbourhood in this oracular place. Go! without shepherd feed. No pleasant thing to see is the pasture of such a flock!

*The Leader of the Erinys.* Lord Apollo, hear thou in turn our answer.

Thyself of this art cause, not in part but sole,—doer of all and all to blame.

*Ap.* How so? Thou mayst speak so far as to answer that.

*Erin.* Thine oracle gave such command that the guest became matricide.

*Ap.* I commanded (and what then?) to conduct the avenging of his sire.

such a way as to be responsible for all. — ὁ Wakefield.

201. τοσοῦτο: cf. P. V. 827 τοσοῦτο μὲν τούτο φρονμον λέγω, where τοσοῦτον, the normal ‘Attic’ form, is inadmissible. On the whole question see Dindorf Lexicon Aeschylenum, s. v. τοσοῦτος.—τοσοῦτον rec.—‘I will hear thee on this point, but this only.’

202. τὸν Ἑφύον: ‘the entertained guest’, pointing to the fact that Orestes achieved the death of his mother and her paramour only by a treacherous deception upon their hospitality, so that his deed was a breach of both the supreme obligations, that of the parent and that of the host (inf. vv. 548 foll.). His character as Ἑφύος is perpetually noted in the Choephori (558, 560, 573, 653, 664, 696, 706, 726 (where he is ἄνηρ ὁ Ἑφύος), etc.; and this unhappy aggravation of horror causes searchings of conscience even among his supporters (ib. 624 foll.).—ὁ Ἑστε . . ἔπραξεν ᾧττροκτόνευ is to be distinguished from the simple ἔπραξεν ᾧττροκτόνευ: it would not have been exactly true to say that the oracle commanded the commission of the murder by the guest, since the stratagem of Orestes, at least in its details, was not dictated by Apollo: see on Cho. 558 foll. But it was the result, and the foreseen result, of Apollo’s command.—As the λέγεις of Apollo, Orestes might also be called Ἑφύος in relation to him; see the converse λέγεις for ‘one seeking hospitality’ in Cho. 567; nor is this suggestion excluded by the other. But the other is chiefly in view.

203. Π. gave command to avenge the father by arms, literally ‘to send and conduct an (expedition for the) avenging of the father’. τοῦτος is a brachylogy. The word πέμψα is chosen (1) to shift the principal part from Orestes to the Delphian representatives of the god, especially Pylades, who received the command as well as Orestes (Cho. 899—900), and who actually conducted him throughout to the accomplishment; and (2) because the term has military associations and suggests an operation of legitimate war. In this light the enterprise appears as an ‘expedition’ sent by Delphi against the enemies of the god; and the personal relations of Orestes the instrument, his fraud and crime as denounced in the preceding verse, are mere natural incidents of the campaign.—The objections taken to πέμψα (with conjectures πράξα, κλέψα, etc.) assume that the term used should be exactly appropriate to the personal action of Orestes. But it suits the case and speaker, that the part of the matricide should be as much as possible effaced; and the subject of πέμψα is left in an advantageous obscurity. Probably
the objections are also connected with the more than dubious supposition, that, according to Aeschylus, the punishment of Clytaemnestra is accomplished by Orestes with the assistance of Pylades alone. The whole enterprise, as described in the Choephoroi, including the surprise of the castle and guard, might well be called a πομπή, or expedition, by those predisposed to that view of it (see on Cho. 581, 582, 649, 709, etc.).—τιμήν; What then? i.e. naturally, of course. 204. ‘Thou didst take it upon thee to receive him fresh from the bloody deed!’

205. προστρατεύθαι...τοῦ...δόμον, ‘to come for purgation to this house’. προστρατεύθαι refers to the technical sense of προστρατή, προστράτωσ; see v. 448, etc. As to the essential connexion of this office with the house (δόμος, οἶκος) and the householder, see vv. 455, 579, etc.; and for Apollo’s command see Cho. 1036.

206. προσπομποῦς: with irony, in reference to the pursuit. ‘Thou wouldst have him come to the sanctuary, and yet receivest ill us who sped him on his way.’ The force of προ- is here temporal, ‘who conducted him forwardly’ and so brought him here sooner than he would have come otherwise. In v. 1006 (see v. 1004) it is local, ‘an escort preceding’.

207. οὐ...δόμων: ‘because this house admits not your coming’. The dat. depends on πρόσφορον, suitable. The conjecture πρόσφορον (ἐστε), Stanley, is acceptable, but not necessary.

208. Nay, this belongs to us, is our duty. Note the emphasis on ἔστι, here practically equivalent to εἶπον.—τοῦτο: τὸ μολέαν ἀλλ’ δόμον to enter houses; see the preceding verse, and the explanation in v. 210. Apollo insists that the character of his house, as a sanctuary, proves their pursuit improper; they, inverting the argument, maintain that, since it is their special office to ‘chase’ such criminals ‘out of houses’, the ‘house’, which harboured one, is no sanctuary as against them.—Paley explains τοῦτο by τὸ προπέμπειν, in the sense to pursue, supplied from προσπομποῦς in v. 206. But this is remote; and moreover the point, as appears by the sequence of δόμον—δόμοι—δόμων, turns upon the ‘house’.

209. κόμπασον: set forth, like a herald proclaiming a personage by his style: see on Theb. 525 ἄκμπαστος.—γέρας καλὸν: ironically.

210. ἐκ δόμων: from houses, dwelling-places in general; not ‘from their houses’ (Paley). Haunted by the Erinyes, the criminal was to be debarred for life from all domestic association. See vv. 424 foll., and Cho. 282, 294.—The parents, not the mother only, were protected by the Erinyes according to Aeschylus (vv. 516, 548); but the mother is specified here and in some other places, because such is the present case.

211. How then do you deal with wives who slay their husbands? The pronoun
Erin. And next didst offer thyself for receiver of that fresh blood!

Ap. And charged him to seek purgation at this very house.

Erin. And then upbraiest us, who brought him upon his way!

Ap. Because it fits not this house that ye should come there.

Erin. Nay, but we are so charged.

Ap. What office is this? Proclaim the noble privilege.

Erin. Sinners against motherhood we drive from houses forth.

Ap. And what do ye to a wife who slays her husband?

Erin. Such murder will not come to the shedding of her own blood.

πi-stands for a verb (see Ag. 79, 926); or we may say, that the general idea of action is supplied from the verb ἐμαυτοῦμεν.
—ἡγισ, as virtually plural, is allowed with a plural antecedent. Wecklein refers to Soph. El. 1606, Ai. 760, Eur. Het. 359 δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν φρένας | τίχωνι ἄν δοσις ἄργων μ' ἀνήστατι, Med. 320, etc.
—The subj., without ἄν, in a generic description, is archaic, but in tragedy not uncommon.—γυναῖκας (Paley) should perhaps be accepted. If we retain γυναῖκας, we should punctuate thus: πι γάφ; γυναῖκας, ἡγισ ἄνδρα νοσφορή...The reply will then interrupt the question, completing the understood purport of it, so that the genitive will depend upon φόνος: nor is this improbable. What then? (The deed) of a wife, who slays her husband...Will be no kin-murder.

—Other suggestions are (1) to supply from μητρόπως the general idea ‘murderer’; ‘how do you treat the murderer of a wife, who’ etc.; but this is too difficult; and (2) to take γυναῖκας with πι, ‘What in the case of...’ etc.; but no parallel example seems to be found.

212. ‘In that case it would not be the slayer’s own blood that was shed,’ ὡς δὲ γένους. The φόνος would not become, i.e. come to or amount to, διαμοῖος φόνος: it would not reach the qualification διαμοῖος, necessary (according to the present argument) to bring in the Erinyes.—It should however be carefully noted, that this restriction of the Erinyes’ function is not maintained by Aeschylus thoroughly and consistently. See vv. 313 foll., 424, and vv. 269 foll., 548 foll., where it is implied that they regard the tie of hospitality as sacred, and the breach of it criminal, as well as the bond and violation of parentage. Here (and also in v. 603) they assume the limitation for the purpose of the moment, arguing sophistically and rhetorically, as Apollo himself does at the trial. For the purpose of Aeschylus in this play, the truly important character of the Erinyes is to maintain the necessary fixity and certainty of punishment (where crime is found) against the uncertain equity patronised by Athena and embodied in the Areopagus. For this purpose, it matters not what acts, other than that of Orestes, they would admit into their definition of crime; nor has Aeschylus taken any pains to determine their definition. The limitation of murder to the shedding of kindred blood (according to various conceptions of kindred) was a view which had had authority, and the Erinyes of Aeschylus adopt it, when it suits them, but generally disregard it. See further the Introduction.—αὐτὴν ἔχεινα
may be either (1) part of the subject, 
adéßëtvns ðvòns the deed of murder, or perhaps also (2) part of the predicate, kin-
slaying, a repetition and equivalent of ómauos. The second is generally sup-
ported, but it is open to the objection that in Ag. 1572 ἀλλὰν γενέαν τρίβης 
θανάτουs adéßëtvns, the only other example of adéßëtvns in Aeschylus, it is so applied, 
by Clytemnestra herself, as to include by implication her slaying of Agamemnon, 
the very instance which it is here supposed to exclude: his death is one of those 'self-
originated (by the γενέα). Moreover, since adéßëtvns (adrózevns) was certainly used (see L. and Sc. s.v.) of murder in 
general, without regard to the relation-
ship of the parties, it would scarcely be a convenient term to mark a distinction 
based upon this relationship. Nor is there apparently any case in which it does 
clearly mean kin-slaying; in Eur. H. 
F. 839, for instance, though kin-slaying 
is admissible, murderous is sufficient. 
Strictly speaking, it means self-origin-
atng or self-originated: an adéßëtvns 
ðvòns is not a slaying done by a man 
upon himself, or upon his kin as part of 
himself, but simply a slaying of which 
some one is the originating author, which 
is caused by the own act of some one, 
i.e. a murderer; and an adéßëtvns properly 
meant simply an original doer, though by 
association the word became almost re-
stricted to the author of a slaying, a 
murderer. Cf. Jebb on Soph. Anl. 57:

of this whole class of words, àιτοσαφας, àιτοκτόνος, àιτόχειαπ, etc., he remarks that 
‘the compound merely expresses that the 
deed is done with one’s own hand, im-
plying that such a use of one’s own hand 
is unnatural.’ See further below on 
άιτουργίας ν. 337. The strictly limited 
sense kin-slaying, necessary here if the 
word is to be predicate and equivalent to 
ómauos, could have been acquired only by 
confusion of thought; and though such 
confusion is quite possible, it does not 
appear to be proved. The act of 
Clytemnestra was an adéßëtvns ðvòns in 
the full sense of the words, nor is the 
speaker concerned to deny this; but it 
was not within the ban of the Erinyes 
as they here allege, because the victim 
was not ómauos. 

215. ἀτιμα: adverbial (with dis-
honor) rather than adjectival (contemned), 
as appears from the junction to παρ’ 
οὔδεν with no respect, literally ‘at 
nothing’, i.e. on the footing, level or 
estimate of nothing; cf. Ag. 239 παρ’ 
οὔδεν θεντό ‘they reckoned at nought’— 
ἀπέκλεω: a difficult word, and perhaps 
erroneous, though none of the proposed 
corrections are satisfactory: in ἧκε σου 
(Hermann), ‘amount to nothing in your 
judgment’, the imperfect tense is ob-
jectionable and not appropriate: ἄπεκλεω 
(Musgrave), ‘have availed nothing’, gives 
a wrong sense; the essential σου, in your 
judgment, should not be left to implica-
tion; Ἰδέων (Wellauer) will hardly con-
Art. A slighting party indeed, and a contemptuous, thou
makest against theot-plight, the crown of Hera and of Zeus!
And the Queen of Love by this plea is slighted off, source of
man's dearest joys. For the sharing of the bed between husband
and wife is, in strength of right, a guard stronger than oath. If
then to murder between these thou art thus indolent, if 'it
doth not come to' so much as an angry regard, then this I say,—

γαμήλιων τέλος (v. 838), and the espousals are προτέλεια, Ag. 65.

217. μόρμυροι, the reading of Μ, points to a confusion between μόρμυρος
(superscr. in rec. r.) and μορμύριος (Hartung). In either case, the sense is that
marriage unites the destinies of man and wife, with special reference to the funda-
mental meaning of μόρια, part or share. Cf. Aesch. frag. 12 (Weckl.) οι μὲν
γαμίμαθαι μόριαν, γαμεῖν δ' ἐνοί. For the personified Μόρα: as patrons of
marriage, see v. 962.

218. τὴ δίκη φρουρομένη: being guarded by a stronger right, literally 'it
is mightier in being guarded by its right'.

Note the article, which is necessary to the
meaning, as generally in Aeschylus,
when used at all; a prose-writer would
have said τῇ δίκῃ φρουρομένη μείζον, and
in fact the Aeschylean phrase is a brachy-
logy for this.—The rendering 'guarded by
Justice'; the personified abstraction, would
suggest, what cannot be meant, that an
oath is not so guarded.

219—221. d Canter.—'If then to
them (husband or wife), when either slays
the other, you concede that 'it does not
come to' so much as an angry regard,
then I say...' etc.—τοινη demonstrative.

—κτελεόντως καλλίλους, though verbally
open to the misinterpretation 'when each
slays the other', is practically clear, and
should not be suspected.—τὸ μὴ...κότυ:
literally 'this indulgence', that there does
not result (from the deed) even the re-
garding (the deed) with wrath'. Gram-
matically, μὴ ἐποτέεθεν is the subject of γενέθθαι.
Paley is right in defending γενέθθαι, and in his analysis of the con-
This, defends your calm of regard correctly, the scarcely two hundred... by the several deny this exclude five. your... the only the i.e. over... marginal... regarded... But not as the making the ironically twenty; (emphasis)... though making the decision... the Erinyes, and will hold that, in the present instance, it is the act of the wife that is unpardonable, and the act of the son that is pardonable. dikas has an emphasis. By such fixed and arbitrary limits as the Erinyes favour, the dikas tòvde (moral rights of the particular case) are put out of sight.—špallass: contrariwise, reversely. The common reading here, dikas de Pàllàs, is open to grave objections, both technical and literary. (1) Μ has δ' špallass with τῇ (i.e. quaerē) in the margin; the blindness, which, given the letters špallass, could not find in them the words de Pàllàs, is more than can be proved against the ancient editors of Aeschylus, and particularly those of the Eumenides, where the scholia are above the average: the division of the letters shows that, when they were first so divided, the word was plainly not Pàllàs, and the marginal...
thou hast no right to pursue Orestes. For it is plain, I trow, that thou punishest here with much anger, and there with more of calm! (The Erinyes begin to move.) But the rights of the matter, to the eye of the goddess, will lie the other way.

Erinyes (going). Yon man will I never, never quit.

Ap. Pursue him then, and fill up the measure of thy toil.

Erin. My privilege! Think not by an ill word to make it less.

Ap. I would not take it to keep,—thy privilege!

Erin. No! Without privilege, thou hast high rank by the throne of Zeus. But for me, (casting about) led by a mother's

doubt indicates that the true word was probably not common. (2) Still stronger is the literary objection: it would surely be unnatural, that a reference to 'Pallas', ἵππος nominis, in this connexion should not awake the curiosity of the pursuers. The design of a reference to Athena is at present a secret between the god and the fugitive. Why should he thus reveal it to the Erinyes, and how does it pass without notice? But remove the name, and there is nothing to arrest notice; the sentence, half-heard and in the last word scarcely heard, is not intelligible, except with knowledge of the plan to which Apollo refers; and the course of the scene is therefore natural.

225. λίπω (Porson): quit.
226. τὸν ἐπάλεον τίθουσι is disputable.
(1) We may refer πλέων to πλέον full: And fill up the measure of thy toil: the expression, suggesting an imposed task, would suit not ill the tone of the speaker. As to the form, it does not seem possible to say whether Aeschylus would have been restricted everywhere to the normal Attic πλέων, πλέω, or whether generally, or in a particular phrase, there would be open to him, as an alternative, the Ionic (Herodotean) πλέος, πλέον: on such a point the MSS. give no information, since for Aeschylus the long and short o were probably indistinguishable. In Eur. Ion 603 (see my note) πλέον occurs where, as I think, the meaning full is required, and the same question therefore arises as to the form. (2) We may refer πλέον to πλέω υπερ: And so increase thy toil, 'make it more'. The nenter πλέον (instead of the masc. πλέω) is perhaps admissible, as πλέων τίθεον, to increase, might conceivably have coalesced into a fixed phrase, though we should expect rather πλέω (Auratus) concordant with πόνον. To read πλέω is unsatisfactory, as it would hardly have been corrupted to πλέον. On the whole I prefer the first interpretation.

227. 'Seek not by a word to abridge what is my privilege,' i.e. 'Our privilege shall be fully executed, though you please to call it a weariness.' The λόγος is the term πόνος.

228. οὔδ...ἐκείνοι: 'I would not even accept on condition of keeping...', i.e. I would not have as a gift.

229. ἐπιχειρεῖ: in any case; 'Without my privilege, or any separate and independent privilege, you stand high in the court of Zeus.' The expression reflects, in half-contempt, upon the concentrated subordination of the new hierarchy: see above on vv. 162—173.

230, 231. ἀγεῖ ἀλμα μητρὸν must not be limited, or even referred, to that blood of Clytaemnestra, which the murderer may have once had upon him. However completely that stain might be purged, physically or ceremonially, the man must bear with him 'the blood of his mother', so long as he himself lives.
This, his own blood which is also hers, is the scent by which the avengers follow him. See further on vv. 244, 253.—δίκας μέτεμψε τόνδε. The two possible accusatives, that of the direct object (τόνδε) and the 'inner' or 'adverbial' which describes the action (δίκας), are combined, as in Eur. Bacch. 345 τῆς σῆς δ' ἀνδρα τῶν διδάσκαλων δίκην μέτεμψι.—κάκκυνγητής... (or perhaps καὶ κυνηγήτης, but the preposition, leader off, has point). The translation will show how I would explain this (the ms.) reading. At such a point, the most stately composer might surely feel, that a broken sentence was admissible, and even indispensable.—If κάκκυνγητίς (Erfurdt and modern texts) is right, the change from μέτεμψι (future) to ἱκκυνγητῶ must be explained (as Wecklein) by the action accompanying the last word; 'and thus I set upon his track'.

234. τοῦ προστραταίου μήνυς, wrath excited by and on behalf of the suppliants: ἱκτήσι and προστραταῖοι are here synonyms; see on v. 205.—εἴ προσδό σφ᾽ ἐκὼν. Two points are to be noted in this construction. (1) The subj. with εἴ: the limits of this 'epic' archaism in Attic tragedy, and particularly in dialogue, are not easily defined, and we can scarcely expect always to ascertain or feel the justifying cause; but in maxims and expressions of a proverbial cast, archaisms of all kinds are to be expected and are actually found: in this respect, the present example is parallel to Soph. Ant. 710 ἀλλ' ἄδρα, κεῖ τιν ὅ σοφός, τὸ μανθάνειν | πῦλλ' ἀδηχρὸν οὖθεν: it seems therefore that εἴ τις προσδό σφ᾽ ἐκών would certainly be defensible. And (2) the hypothesis in the first person is here used as an equivalent for the general hypothesis; if I abandon means if one abandons, the maxim being cast in the form of advice given by the moralist to himself: this, though not usual apparently in Greek, is familiar elsewhere, and not a ground for suspicion.—δις προσδό Weil, Wecklein; and (as an alternative) Paley, 'the wrath for the suppliants; against whosoever betrays...' etc. see v. 211. But after all, this is irregular still by the 'Attic' standard, and in the same way, though not exactly to the same extent, as the traditional text: ὅ τις προσδό ἢ δις ἢ προσδό are the forms of classical rule. We are safer therefore in standing by what we find.—Note however that the general hypothesis is distinguishable for this purpose from a particular hypothesis present or future. Whether Aeschylus, or the tragedians, extended the licence to this last, and with what limit, will be more conveniently considered on Pers. 793 μὴ | εἴ στράτευμα πλείον ἢ τὸ Μῆδωκον.—σφῆ: not 'Orestes', but the προστραταίοι as such.—Here Apollo retires, and the stage is left empty. Between this 'Act' and the next we have to suppose (1) a long interval of time for the appointed wanderings of Orestes (vv. 75, 249, 249,
blood, I will pursue justice upon yon wight (striking the trail)...
And as leader of the hounds......(She rushes off, in the direction
taken by Orestes, and the rest, in full cry, rush after.)

Apollo. And for me, I will succour and save my suppliant.
For dreaded among men, and among gods, is the wrath for such
an appellant, if by my consent betrayed. 

[Exit.

ACT II.

The scene is at Athens, before a shrine and ancient image
of Pallas Athena. Enter ORESTES, weary to death.

Orestes. O Lady Athena, by Loxias' command am I come
hither. Graciously receive a wanderer, who comes...not needing
purgation, nor with hand unpurified. Nay, I have put off the

284), ending with his arrival at Athens ;
(2) the transference of the scene to a place
in Athens (commonly supposed to be the Acropolis, but see on v. 80)
before a shrine and image (v. 242) of
Athena. On the question whether any
change, and what, was made in the actual
decoration, see the Introduction.—Prof.
Seymour (Class. Rev. viii. 438) would
compress the action of the whole Orestean
into about ten days, and maintains, as
part of this view, that no long interval
occurs here, but Orestes and the Erinyes
pass, with little or no delay, from Delphi
to Athens. If this was the intention, the
language used by all speakers about the
journey (see passages above cited) is
strange, if not incomprehensible. See
further on vv. 401, 461.

236. ἀλάστορα: in its proper sense,
the wanderer (ἀλάσμα), as Wecklein
notes. It imports (by usage) the obli-
gatory wandering of one who has shed
blood, but scarcely admits moral guilt.
Even from a ceremonial and religious
point of view, he is, as he proceeds to
explain, now pure.

237. οὐ προστρόταυον: 'not a peti-
tioner for purification', which has already
been bestowed by Apollo, and innocent association
with mankind: vv. 281 foll., 446 foll.—
ἀφολοβαντον: ἀκάθαρτον schol.—χέρα:
acc. of the part affected, 'unpurged in
hand'.

238. ἄμβλην...προστρημένον. 'I
have put off the freshness (of my deed),
ay, worn it away, upon other dwelling-
places and travelled paths among man-
kind.' The epithets dulled and worn are
transferred from the sin (if that term may
be used) to the sinner, not merely as a
figure of poetry, but to suggest the
physical suffering which he has himself
undergone in his pilgrimage. That he
has suffered severely, and reaches Athens
only in the last stage of exhaustion, is
important to remember, both for the ex-
planation and dramatic effect of points in
the present scene and for the moral doc-
trine of the play as a whole. It would be
further expressed by the performance of
the actor.—πρός may be taken in two
ways, (1) as a repetition of the com-
pounded preposition in προστρημένον,
and as governing the datives which follow,
(2) adverbially in the sense of παντοτέ,
as in P.V. 73 ἡ μὴν κελεύω κατιδίωξεν
γε πρός, inf. 593. As προστρημένα is
a stronger term, in the suggestion of
personal suffering, than ἄμβλης, the
climax is appropriate. Nor is it any
āllouσιν οἶκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν.— 240
όμοια χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν
σάρξων ἐφετάς Λοξίου χρηστηριῶν,
πρόσεμι δώμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σῶν, θεά.—
αὐτοῦ φιλάσσων άναμένω τέλος δίκης.

ΧΩ. εἶνεν· τόδε ἐστὶ τάνδρος ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ.
ἔποιον δὲ μηνυτήρος ἀφθέγκτον φραδαίς.
τετραματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κύων νεβρὸν
πρὸς αἶμα καὶ στάλαγμόν ἐκμαστεύομεν.
πολλοὶς δὲ μόχθοις ἀνδροκμῆσι φυσία:

239. πορεύμασι. 240. νεκρῶν.

objection, considering the style of Aeschylus, that to use the word so in this connexion suggests a sort of equivocation upon its two meanings. On the other hand, to neglect the division of the verses so completely as to put it between preposition and case, though it is done several times by Sophocles (O. T. 555, Phil. 626, O.C. 495 are cited by Wecklein), is less likely in Aeschylus. I prefer therefore the second interpretation.—ἀμβλῶς...προστετριμμένος Prien, Paley, and others, but see next note.

240—243. Alike in every passage of land and sea having been obedient to the oracular command of Loxias, (so now) I will approach the shrine and thy very image, goddess.—Here watching I await the final trial. The complete break of continuity, marked by the absence of any copula, at v. 240, and again at v. 243, is intentional, and corresponds to stages in the action. The very stress which Orestes lays on his purity reveals his fear that he may even now be repelled; and at the last moment he hesitates to approach the shrine and lay hands on the image. This hesitation is represented by the break before v. 240. He encourages himself however (vv. 240—242) by the reflexion that the command of Apollo, in obedience to which he has performed his wanderings and has been brought to the destined city, extended expressly to the act from which he shrinks (v. 80), and resolves therefore to venture on it. Between v. 242 and v. 243 he actually does so, v. 243 being spoken after he has taken his place in sanctuary. With proper stage-directions, the distribution of the sentences would appear natural and necessary.—It seems therefore a mistake to obliterate these divisions partially by making one clause (with ἀμβλῶς and προστετριμμένος) of vv. 238—242 ἀλλὰ ἀμβλῶς...πρόσεμι δώμα κ.τ.λ.; and the more so, as the break between v. 243 and v. 244 remains, and loses its point.—όμοια leads up to the point that his action now will be guided by Apollo, as it has been everywhere hitherto.—σύμβων: continuous time, including both past and present.—πρόσεμι: from εἰμι, and with the usual future sense.—τόθε δίκης: the trial which, according to Apollo's promise (v. 81), is to end his troubles. δίκης is gen. of equivalent or definition.—ἀναμενώ Stanley, ἄμμενω Dindorf, perhaps rightly.

244. The Chorus enter irregularly, as in pursuit. Vv. 244—253 belong to the Leader. As to the following lyrical passage (vv. 254—275), which is not strophic, we can determine only that it is divided between different voices, and
freshness of my offence, ay, worn it away, upon other dwelling-places and travelled paths of men.... Alike in every passage of land and sea have I been obedient to the oracular hest of Loxias, ...and obedient now, I will approach thy house,...and thine image, goddess (He sits, embracing the image).... Here do I watch and await the end, the trial that is to be.

(Enter the Erinyes, as in pursuit, two first, then another, then the rest.)

'The Leader. Dost see? (pointing to the ground). Here is a plain sign of the man; so follow the unspoken witness, which it tells. For as a hound the wounded fawn, so by the dropping blood do we search him out. Many, and to a mortal deadly,

apparently in seven parts. The opening words of the Leader show that one at least enters with the Leader; see also on v. 255.—τὸδὲ: a drop of blood upon the ground; see the following lines. It is generally assumed, that this blood is that of the mother, which, to the eye of the avengers, still drips from the matricide, or from his sword. But surely in the circumstances, and after the language just before used by Orestes (vv. 237—239), the extravagance of this conception, which is admitted (ὅρα δὲ μὴ ἐκβάλει τὴν πιστὶν κ.τ.λ. schol.), would exceed the limits of the sublime, and must spoil the picture. Can any parallel case be cited from Greek poetry, or from any artist of approved imagination? Further, if it be defensible in itself, it would still seem inconsistent with the context. To such a conception, the simile of the wounded fawn would be irrelevant, since a wounded fawn does not drip with the blood of its victim, but with its own. We should infer, that here also the blood is that of the pursued, of Orestes himself, as it naturally may be. It is not strange, and it is a circumstance of pathos, that after travels so prolonged and so cruel the very steps of the fugitive should be bloody. Nor is this all: the phenomena of internal bleeding and the dripping of blood from the mouth, as marks of extreme physical exhaustion, as well as of certain wasting diseases, must have been familiar to the Greeks; and it seems clear from vv. 248, 249, taken in connexion with the context, that the poet, following probably tradition as to the effect of the Erinyes’ pursuit, has invested his Orestes with such traits. See further on vv. 264 foll. The fact thus indicated, that the strength of the tormented wanderer has barely carried him to the final refuge, is much to the purpose of the tragedy. As to ἕγει ἀλη ἀμπρόσιον (v. 230) see note there. Neither that passage, nor this, nor any in the play, seems to support the view that the matricide is supposed by Aeschylus to drip for ever with the blood of his mother.

246, 247. Like a wounded fawn, that is, bleeding, helpless, and soon to be pulled down. They believe their last horrible triumph (see v. 264 foll.) to be very near, as in fact it would have been, but for the interference of Athena and Apollo.—πρὸς: by, according to; Wecklein compares Ag. 344 πρὸς ὀδὴν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον.—Dindorf, here and generally, substitutes ματέω ω for ματστέω: but the latter form (cf. μαστὴρ) is possible, and not disproved, I think, by the fact that ματστέο is admissible.

248. Many, and to a mortal deadly, have been the toils of the panting breast. This explains the foregoing: it is the ‘killing’ labour, again and again repeated, which accounts for the blood-
σπλάγχνον. χθονός γὰρ πᾶς πεποίημαται τόπος, ὑπέρ τε πόντων ἀπτέρως πωτήμασιν ἥλθον διώκοντι, οὐδὲν υστέρα νεώς.

καὶ νῦν ὦτ ἐνθάδ’ ἐστὶ ποιν καταπτακόων ὁμη βροτεῖων αἰμάτων με προσγελά.— ὁρά, ὁρά μάλ’ αὖ, λεώστησεν πάντα, μὴ λάβῃ φύλα βᾶς ὁ ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.— ὦτ αὔτε γοῦν ἀλκαν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει πλεξθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν.—

250. καὶ νῦν ὦτ ἐνθάδ’ ἐστὶ ποιν καταπτακόων ὁμη βροτεῖων αἰμάτων με προσγελά.— ὁρά, ὁρά μάλ’ αὖ, λεώστησεν πάντα, μὴ λάβῃ φύλα βᾶς ὁ ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.— ὦτ αὔτε γοῦν ἀλκαν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει πλεξθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν.—

255. λεώσει (letters erased) τοῦ. 256. φυγάδα. φυγάδα. 258. αὔτε γ’ ὁν.

track of the sinking fugitive. In ἀνθρωκην, man-killing, ἀνή, as frequently in poetry, has the significance of ἀνθρωπος or ἀνθρος, a human being. So also inf. 957, and so also, but with a glance at ἀνήρ husband, in Cho. 888 ἀνθρωκηνα τέλεκαν. The odd-looking scholium μεγαλοκμησων is, I believe, genuine and uncorrupt; the commentator would explain ἀνθρωκην μόχρος (by reference to the division, familiar to Greek athletes, between ‘men’ and ‘boys’) as ‘a race severe enough to kill one full-grown (μέγας)’; the idea, though here far-fetched, is not irrational, and indeed we may well suppose that somewhere else the word actually occurred in this sense.—The ‘labour’ and the ‘panting breast’ are applicable both to pursued and pursuers; for since the Erinyes could sleep, they may also pant; but ἀνθρωκην points specially to the distress of the pursued: thus the sentence makes a transition between what precedes and what follows.—The schol. τὸ ἡμέτερον σπλάγχνον is therefore wrong, in so far as it excludes the pursued; the ambiguity, which the note would remove, is tolerable only because both the possible references are actually in view. If τὸ ἡμέτερον only were meant, we should require φυσικ ἡμῶν σπλάγχνον, and even then, the sentence would lack connexion with the foregoing. But it is the error there, as to the significance of the blood, which makes difficulty here; and vice versa, a fair interpretation here confirms the better explanation there.

249. πεποίημαται: has been quartered, ‘journeyed over’ as it were systematically, as a pasture-ground by a shepherd. It seems probable that, according to the Delphian legend, the wanderings of Orestes were to cover ‘the whole earth’, as the earth was conceived at Delphi when the legend first took shape.

250. πωτήμασι or πωτήμασι (Dindorf). The ‘epic’ form πωτάμασι seems to be not otherwise proved for tragedy. On the other hand we can hardly estimate the reasons which might justify it to Aeschylus in a particular place.

251. ὀδηγ. νεώς: keeping pace with the ship (of Orestes).

252. καταπτακόων: in covert, lying low, as an animal hunted. The usage of prose would have demanded rather a p.f. part. (καταπτακόων); but cf. the common poetical ἐνάγων for τεθηκός dead, καὶ ὁ for κεκηρύκωσ, etc.

253. Equivalent to σωμῆ γὰρ κ.τ.λ., the omission of the copula being regular in an explanation (Wecklein).—προσ-
have been the toils of the panting breast. For of earth every region hath seen our shepherding, and over sea our pursuit, with wingless flight, kept pace with the ship.

And now he is here, ...hereabouts, ...lying low. The glad smell of human blood saluteth me. (A third enters.)

Beware, and again beware; spy, both of you, everything, lest privily he escape, the matricide, unpunished.

Ay, there he is, embracing the image of the goddess immortal, and fain to commit himself for justice to her arms.

γελά: for προσαίνει (schol.) but more picturesque: 'woos me', i.e. pleases and attracts my sense.—The 'human blood', or rather 'living blood', which they now smell, is that of Orestes' own body, the blood which they hope to drink (v. 264), not that (whatever it be) which has dripped from him. The trail could not prove him to be 'somewhere near'.

255. λέωσατον: 'search both of you all around, lest...' etc. If the dual here is right, the new-comer speaks to the two that have preceded her, the speaker and the auditor of vv. 244 foll., addressing perhaps ὑπα to one, ὑπα μᾶλ' αὖ to the other, and λέωσατον to both. Nothing can be inferred from the erasure in M: such erasures occur, from the repetition of letters and other such accidents, in many places not open to suspicion. As to the metre, the cretics (—) are in themselves rhythmical, and the passage, not being strophic, demands no more. See also v. 268. Under reserve therefore, the text is left as it stands.—πάντα μ', pointing perhaps to παντα everywhere. But 'see everything' seems a possible expression for 'let nothing escape your eyes', and the short vowel is preferable in rhythm.—λέωσε τε πάντα Hermann.

257. ὁ ματροφόνος ἀτίτας: a dochmious (irregular) with an 'anacrusis' (δ), as in v. 263 κε-χιμενον ὀψεται.—ματροφόνος, without δ, here (and there χίμην) Porson, perhaps rightly.—ἀτίτας: unpunished, ἀτιμωρητός (schol.), literally 'not paying'.

258—260. 'Yes, there he is, once more finding refuge, embracing the image of the goddess immortal, and fain to commit himself for justice to her arms.'

—αὖτε: they are reminded of Delphi, and presumably of many other sanctuaries in which Orestes had found refuge for a time.—Dr Headlam (C. R. xiv. 258), remarking that we should rather expect ἀδικεῖται, proposes ἀδικεῖται τέρας ἀλήκων ἡχών Hermann; aliiter.—ὑπόδικος...γενόθαι χερών: literally 'to become justice-subject to her hands (or 'arms'), i.e. hers to be dealt with as her justice shall please. The gen. χερών depends upon the compounded preposition ὑπὸ συνέργω, or rather on the sense given by the preposition to υπόδικος: cf. ἐρώταν in v. 492. The reference of the χερώς to the goddess is determined by περὶ βρέτει πλεκθείς: by embracing the image the suppliant symbolically seems to 'put himself in the arms', or as we should say 'in the hands', of her whom it represents. As Greek poetry has the same word (χείρ) for hand and arm, whereas we sharply distinguish them, the expression is not easily transferred to English; but it is natural in itself. As to the construction therefore, I follow Paley (and others), though not in the
rendering 'put himself in our hands' (Paley), which is scarcely admitted by the words, or by the facts.—Others (followed by Wecklein) explain χρέων as a brachylogy for act of violence, 'hands' for 'handiwork', comparing αὐτόχειρ, criminal, murderer, so that υπόδικος χρέων would mean 'liable to be tried for his deed'. Such a use of χέρα, if not exampled, is possible; but we should expect, to make it intelligible, more indication from the context.—ἀνήρ ὁ ᾧς χρεωστεί, πρόσφυγι θέλει γενέσθαι τήν θέων schol., 'because of his debt to us, he would put himself in the protection of the goddess', like a Roman nasus invoking the tribunal. Following Scaliger (and others), I think that this note assumes for the text the reading υπόδικος χρέων, 'liable to justice for his debt'. The gloss of Hesychius cited by Hermann, ὑπόδικος ὑπέθυμος, (χρεώστης) ἐνοχὸς δίκης (so to be punctuated), is derived probably from this passage (with χρεών), but does not prove that, even in the opinion of the writer, υπόδικος meant χρεώστης, a debtor. Without χρεών in the text the interpretation could hardly arise. χρεών therefore seems to have been a variant here, probably a conjecture to avoid the difficulty of χρέων, which on the other hand is not easily accounted for as a conjecture, and is on this ground, as well as for the sense, to be preferred.

262. παπαί expresses indignant protest.

263. τὸ διερόν κ.τ.λ. may be taken either (1) as above (τὸ relative), 'which (or 'for it') as liquid, when shed upon earth, is gone', or (2) as an independent sentence (asyneton, see v. 253), 'for that which flows (τὸ διερόν), when shed...' etc. A similar illustration from water spilt, but differently handled, occurs in Cho. 64, 65, and see also Cho. 400, inf. 980, etc.—χύμενον Porson, perhaps rightly, from Cho. 400, but either form is correct, nor is the metre affected, as the syllable κε merely fills up the time which, without it, is filled by a pause. See on v. 257.—πέδων Porson.

264—666. This horrible conception (that the Erinys finally devoured their victim) had probably been, if it was not still in the time of Aeschylus, an article of popular belief; and indeed in primitive times the murder-branded outcast must often have died, by various forms of disease, in such a manner as might naturally suggest it. Similarly, avenging deities were supposed to inflict the cancerous diseases, which such unfortunate wretches contracted from bad and scanty food: see Cho. 64 foll., 277 foll., etc. In the present case, consumption has already furnished a hint (sv. 245 foll.), and a common end of such disease is here vividly suggested by the 'thick
But that may not be. A mother's blood, shed on the ground, is hard, oh hard indeed, to win back again; it flows, and being spilt upon earth—is lost.

Nay, thou must give me for quittance to drink from thy living body the red, rich liquid of thy veins,—though food from thee will be draught not easy to draw!

And when living I have made thee lean, I shall drag thee away below, there still to pay in pain for thy murdered mother's agony.

red drink'.—αντιδούνα k.t.l. The construction is δει σ'. αντιδούνα πέλανω ρόφεων (epexegetic inf.) ἄπω ἔσωτος, 'thou must give thick drink to drain'. ἄποι: 'for the blood which he shed'.—ἄπο δὲ σοῦ k.t.l.: '...though food from thee will be a draught hard to draw', an exulting mockery of his emaciation: cf. in v. 302 ἀνάλματος βούκημα. He is already, as it were, shrivelled and dried; it might be said of him that, like the victim of divine vengeance in Cho. 295, he will be 'mummied ere he dies', so that at the last it will be 'hard to suck from him'.—Literally, 'though from thee I shall win food consisting of a draught hard to drink'. άπο σοῦ: emphatic by position; this is essential to the point.—φέρων' ἀν Wordsworth. For φέρεω to get, win (in prose usually φέρεωθαί) see L. and Sc. s.v. If φερολμαν be read, it must be an 'epic' use, as in Homer, for φερολμαν ἄν: a future or conditional verb is necessary, since a mere wish or hope, after δει, would be an anti-climax. But this is scarcely the place for such an archaism as the pure optative with conditional sense; contrast (if it be correct) Ag. 1162, a traditional formula or proverb. For supposed examples in tragedy (but the list is both incomplete and redundant) see Kühner Greek Grammar § 395, 3.—τόματος διστυτοῦ: gen. of definition or equivalent.—L. and Sc. translate δόσιτος here (the only example given) by unpalatable. The commentaries say little, but seem to assume some such version as 'I shall get (or 'I hope to get') from thee my odious draught'. But this (1) does not suit the order of the words, and (2) gives to δόσιτος a sense unsuitable to the speaker, though in itself proper.—φερολμαν βοσκᾶν (a doximias with 'irrational' long syllable for short) Wellauer. This may be right, but see on ν. 255.

267. 'ισχυναω': Turnebus.
268. αντιτούνι(α) ώς τύνης Schütz: 'that thou mayest pay in pain for the agony of thy murdered mother'. This is the only acceptable correction offered, but not very trustworthy: a misreading of αντιτούνι ώς should have produced not αντιτολων but αντιτολων: and a final clause, proper to intentions which may conceivably fail, is not quite in tone with the rest. Better in these respects would be αντιτούνι oδ τενεις k.t.l. 'and there thou shalt still pay in pain for...'; etc., lit. 'prolong payment for...'. This also escapes the fault of seeming to suggest that his sufferings in this life are not punitive. And note that μ (the corrector of M) actually indicates εις as the final syllable. For ραδο see P.V. 840, Pers. 809 oδ σω κακων θυσων ἐπαμένει παθειν. Since the gen. αντιτολων gives no meaning, the origin of αντιτολων is then obvious.—δως may be either gen. sing. depending on αντιτολων, or acc. plural, αντιτων being then adverbial.—For μπροφώνας, if genitive, read perhaps μπροφόνον (Casaubon), but see ν. 77 and ν. 272.
269—272. ὧσεὶ δὲ κεὶ τις ἄλλος ἥλιτεν βροτῶν
ἡ θεῶν ἢ ἔνον
τιν᾽ ἀσεβῶν ἢ τοκίας φίλους,
ἐξουθ᾽ ἐκαστον τῆς δίκης ἑπάξια.—
μέγας γὰρ Ἅιδης ἐστίν εὐθυνος βροτῶν
ἐνέρθε χθονός,
δελτογράφῳ δὲ παντ᾽ ἐπωπὴ φρενί.

The ancient editors (M) apparently supposed τίς (sic) to be used for ὅστις.—
ἄλλος Heath. The ἄλλος of M (depending on ἥλιτεν) is grammatical, and
can be interpreted as 'another', 'his neighbour'. But it disturbs the con-
nection of thought.—θέαν. For the acc. depending on ἥλιτεν (as well as on ἀσεβῶ
), see Hom. Od. 4. 378 ἄναντος ἅλμετοι. This gives the sense, 'whosoever of men sins against
god, or ἔνοι, or parent'. But μικρὲς: should we not read ἢ θεῶν?—'any one,
man or more than man, who...' etc. That the Erinyes avenge offences 'against
gods' in general seems not to be the doctrine of the play. See especially the
sharp opposition of their functions to those of 'the gods' throughout the ode
307 foll. On the other hand, it is a proper and effective point, that super-
human beings, as well as human, are liable to their peculiar office in the in-
cluded cases. See further on vv. 273.—
For the inclusion, within the province of Erinyes, of offences against hospitality,
compare vv. 548 foll. These passages and others show that Aeschylus attached
no importance to such legal subtleties as

that of v. 272, where see note.—The
cases of the Titans, Prometheus, and
others, punished in Hades, would suf-
ciently justify the inclusion of θεῶν.—
tοκῆς, 'epic' form (suggested by Her-
mann), is probably right, as the rhythm
appears to be cletic: the ms. is equally
good for this or for τοκέας.—τῆς δίκης:
the justice of their case. The Attic ἂ-
here, as contrasted with βουκάν in v. 266,
and ὄς (if genitive) in v. 268 is
perhaps to be explained by the variation
between lyric metre and the iambic
of dialogue. But the evidence as to this
whole matter is insufficient for deter-
mination, nor is it likely that we could
always follow the. feelings which guided
the Attic poets, even if we were sure of
what they wrote. In such a case as the
present, the mere metre of the individual
verse can hardly have been a decisive
consideration. An artificial literary dia-
lect, such as that of the tragic chorus, is
likely to be full of inconsistencies. Com-
pare the 'Scotch' of our novelists.

273. βροτῶν is not ὄτιος, and the
addition of it somewhat strengthens the
reasons for reading ἢ θεῶν in v. 270,
where see note. The point emphasized
here, in vv. 273—275, is that the being,
All sinners shalt thou see, be they men or more than man (?), who have offended against a plighted friend or a parent dear, receiving each his merited punishment.

For there is One Mighty there, who calls men to account in the underworld; all things he doth survey, and all in memory writes.

Orestes. My own distresses have taught me the lore, in many conjunctures, to speak or to keep silence, where each is right; and in the case now present, a wise instructor bade me open my lips. For the blood slumbereth, and is fading away from my

and the responsibility, of mortals continues beyond the mortal life.

276 foll. Orestes prepares to invoke the actual presence of the goddess (v. 287). Since a polluted person was debarred, more or less completely, from intercourse with others by sight and speech, this may be taken as a trespass upon her sanctity even beyond the boldness (see v. 235 foll.) of entering the shrine and touching the image. Accordingly he encourages and justifies himself by a yet more full and emphatic assertion of his right. Long and painful experience has given him an instinct for the proprieties of his situation; and for the present case, the invocation of Athena, he has the authority of Apollo, implied in v. 81, and presumably given more expressly in previous instructions (v. 241).

276. ἐγὼ: I myself.

277. πολλοὶς καθ’ ἀρμοῦς: in many conjunctures: constr. with διδαχθέως. That ἀρμοῦς juncture (for which see L. and Sc. s.v.) was applied in antique usage to ‘time’, in a sense nearly equivalent to καιρός, is shown by the persistence of this association in the locative ἀρμοῦς, just now, just at the time, recently. Cf. the use of ἀρμοῦς, ‘it is proper, suitable to the situation’, as in Soph. Trach. 731 οὖν ἂν ἄρμος σε τὸν πλέω λόγον, etc.—πολλοὶς καθαρμοῦς (M) seems irrelevant if καθαρμοῦς be taken in the sense of purifications. Even if, which is nowhere else suggested, Orestes had learnt and practised, in the course of his wanderings, other ‘means of cleansing’ in addition to his purification by Apollo, it is plain that he does not now use or propose to use them. The suggestion of Herwerden, πολλοὶς καθαρμοῦς, is right in sense, and is confirmed, so far, by the schol., which, after a note on καθαρμοῦς in the sense of purifications, continues thus: ἄλλως: οἱ ἐναγεῖς...οὗ διδέγοντο τινι...ἐπει διὸν Ὀρέστης μέλλει διαλέγεσθαι..., ἐγώ, φησι, διδαχθέως σών κακῶς τῷ ἑμαυτῷ, καὶ οὗν διδακάλῳ χρησάμενος ταῖς ἑμαῖς συμφοραῖς, ἐπιλαμαῖ καὶ συγαν καὶ λαλεῖν ἕπον δει, ἐκατέρω καιρῷ γινώσκων. This ignores the supposed ‘purifications’, and explains (διδαχθέως) πολλοὶς καθαρμοῦς by ἐκατέρω καιρῷ γινώσκων. But it does not imply a different text from that of M: the writer took καθαρμοῦς itself (on the analogy of καθαρμοῦς) as a compound of κατα and ἄρμος, and thus interpreted διδαχθέως πολλοὶς καθαρμοῦς as ‘having learnt much about fitness of times’ (πολλοὶς καθαρμοῦ). This is not impossible, and the word may have been actually known; but the division καθ’ ἀρμοῦς seems better. See further on v. 283.—καὶ: ‘among other such things, this also’; not ‘both’.

280. χερός is in sense ‘ablative’ with μακραίνει, ‘is fading from my hand’, but is helped (grammatically) by a possible dependence on αἴμα. κακμαραίνει. Richards, perhaps rightly.
μητροκτόνων μίασμα δ' ἐκπλυτον πέλει. τοσαίνων γὰρ ὑπὸ πρῶς ἑστία τθεοῦ Φοῖβου καθαρμῶς ἡλάθῃ χοιροκτόνους. πολὺς δὲ μοι γένοιτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγος, ὅσοις προσῆλθον ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνούσια. χρόνος καθαρεῖ πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ. καὶ νῦν ἂφ' ἀγνοῦ στόματος εὐφήμοις καλῶ χώρας ἀνασσαν τῇδ' Ἀθηναίαν ἐμοὶ μολεῖν ἀρωγόν' κτήσεται δ' ἁνευ δορὸς αὐτῶν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν Ἄργειων λεῶν πιστῶν δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε σύμμαχον. ἀλλ' εἰτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Διβυστικοῖς, Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρον, τίθησιν ὀρθῶν ἢ κατηρεθὴ πόδα, φίλοις ἀρήγουσ', εἰτε Φλεγραίαν πλάκα

281. ἐκπλυτον πέλει: apparently equivalent to a passive verb, is washed away, the adj. in -τος serving, as in Latin, the function of a participle. The interpretation "is capable of being washed away" is equally admissible on the words, but not suitable to the speaker's situation.

283, 284. ἑστία: a house-hearth and householder were essential to the act; see above vv. 205 foll., and 579.—καθαρμῶς. Comparing this with v. 277, the echo of sound suggests, what is likely, that the word καθαρμός was the subject of a traditional and sacred equivocation, such as played so large a part in Greek religion, especially the Apolline: cf. v. 286. If, as is here implied (ποταίνων δ'), the cleansing ceremony must or should be performed promptly, it was obvious, for minds disposed to such observations, to suggest that this was directly shown in the name, which signified, according to its double derivation (καθαρμός καθ' ἄρων), 'a cleansing applied in time'. Apart from fancy or superstition, some doctrine of limitation, in respect of the time, within which an outcast might qualify himself by purgation for 'in-lawing' and readmission to society, would arise from practical convenience.

—χοιροκτόνως. Whether the blood of the pig was considered specially proper for the purpose, does not seem to be ascertained by evidence exactly in point. It was not necessary; see v. 453.

284, 285. The efficiency of the cleansing has been tested by experience, and confirmed by time.—πολὺς λόγος: a long story.—ὅσοι: the dative depends properly on ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνούσια: quasi ὅσοις προσῆλθον (I have visited) ὥστε ἀβλαβὴ αὐτῶς εἰναι τῇ ξυνοσίᾳ.

286. Aging time brings all that ages with it to an end: time, as it takes away all things, takes away also pollution. καθαρεῖ 'brings down', 'destroys', or rather 'brings toward destruction'. This (and not καθαρεῖ, Stanley) must be the true reading, as appears from γηράσκων ὁμοῦ: Time 'destroys' all things 'by aging along with them', or in other words 'because they age along with him', but he does not, merely for this reason, 'purge' them.—Whether the verse is
hand, and the pollution of matricide is washed off from it; for that, when yet it was fresh, at a god’s hearth, at Phoebus’ hearth, with purging swine’s blood it was expelled. Long were it for me to reckon, from the beginning, the many, who from my visit and company have taken no harm. By aging time, all things, that age with it, are done away. And now, with pure lips religiously, I invoke the Queen of this land, the Lady of Athens, to come to my aid, thereby to win without war myself, and Argos, and Argos’ people, in bounden faith to her and alliance for ever. So whether she be in the parts of Libya, beside the flow of Triton, her natal stream, there aiding a friend, with foot forthset or under cover of the robe, or whether, like manly marshal bold, she watches over Phlegra’s plain, I pray

authentic, or (Musgrave) an illustrative quotation grafted upon the text, is a more difficult question. Whoever placed it here, poet or reader, was prompted by the resemblance between καθαρίζω and καθαρεύει, and sought, in fact, this association or equivocation. What is the proper inference from this may be disputed: I think the point unlikely in a reader, and characteristic of Aeschylus, whose works, especially when he touches directly on topics of religion, abound in such points; see vv. 11, 27, 283, 491, 536, and passim. But the verse may be authentic, and yet a quotation (either in words or in substance) nevertheless; and this would best account for its detachment.

288. Ἀθηνάων. “This ancient and solemn form, which is frequent in inscriptions, generally as ἦ Ἀθηνάω with the article, down to the time of Euclides, occurs in vv. 299, 617, and in Eur. Ἰψ. Τ. 1436,” where Athena, as the goddess of Athens, announces herself by this title. “Elsewhere the tragedians by use Ἀθάνα” (Wecklein).—ἐμοί. Note the emphasis. As sovereign of the place (χώρας) she is entitled and bound to claim as hers even an Orestes.


292—295. ἐγὼ...δείγμασιν. The birth of Athena was associated with a mystical water, Triton, from which was derived, rightly or wrongly, the sacred epithet Πτερογένες. According to some, this water was the actual Πτερωνίς Λιμνη, a stream or streams with lakes, in Libya; the inhabitants of the region worshipped a goddess whom the Greeks identified with Athena (Herod. 4. 180). Here however the mythical geography, like that of Phlegra in the following lines, serves merely as an excuse to indicate, by reference to remote and opposite points, the vast area covered by the martial activity of Athens’ Queen, conterminous, in the imagination of the poet, with the sphere of her imperial ambition at the time when he was writing, the height of her power, about the year 488. And indeed, as observed by Weil, in Egypt, and thus for poetical purposes within the ‘regions of Libya’, the Athenian arms were actually engaged in supporting the revolt of the Libyan Inaros against the Persians (Thuc. 1. 104, 109). Nor would the audience forget Cyrene, to the tottering fortunes of whose tyrannical and ‘medizing’ dynasty there is apparently an allusion in Cho. 633.—χώρας is perhaps here γης, ‘the earth’; or we may regard the epithet Διβουρτυχοῖς as ‘transferred’ from χώρας, that is to say, belonging to χώρας according to our modern treatment
of epithets. On such ‘transferences’ generally, see Headlam, Class. Rev. xvi. 434. I take this opportunity of saying that my note ἁλαξαὶ κ.τ.λ. (Theb. 335) is too strongly put, though the ms. text, if right, is extremely bold.—τοκντον... πώς: she is planting a foot straight forth or overhung. It is not certain either what attitudes are indicated or what is their significance; but the prevalent opinion that κατηρεβη means ‘covered by the drapery’ can scarcely, so far, be wrong. In antithesis to this, ἄθοθὰν would naturally describe the limb advanced, as in movement, so as to be visible within or beyond the drapery (so Paley and others). The stiff manner in which, partly from simplicity and partly from hieratic tradition, a figure in motion was often represented in art (see for example Artemis in Plate xix. of Greek Vase Paintings, Harrison and McColl), may have helped to mould the expression, though it is possible that ‘lifted’, rather than ‘straightened’, was the notion meant. Nor is it unlikely that κατηρεβη suggests (Wecklein) the letting down of the robe, which for marching was girt up. A contrast between ‘standing’ and ‘sitting’ is scarcely consistent with τιθησιν πώς, applied to both positions. We may interpret therefore by ‘marching forth to her goal or planted there at rest’. It remains however to find the reasons, which led the poet to associate these postures of the goddess with the wars of Athens; but such reasons must have existed, and may easily be imagined.

295—297. Φλεγραίαν πλάκα. Phlegra, the scene of the battle between the gods and the giants, and for that reason associated with Athena, belongs properly to the geography of myth and, like Triton, was variously placed by local fancy and changing knowledge of the world. But it seems certain, though little if at all noticed in commentary, that Aeschylus here has in view the Chalcidian peninsula of Pallene, formerly Phlegra according to Herod. 7. 123, and particularly its principal city, Potidaea. The town with the whole region had been subjected by Xerxes, had recovered liberty after Salamis, and was now one of the most important among the allied and protected dependencies of Athens. Lying at the northern edge of the Athenian area, it makes a natural antithesis to Libya in the south, and completes the sweeping glance over ‘liberated Hellas’. The allusion is reinforced by ἐπισκοπεῖ, the natural word, to an Athenian ear, for the supervision of their patroness, inasmuch as the title ἐπισκοπὴ was borne (see Smith, Dict. Ant. s.v.) by the officers through whom, when necessary, the cities of the empire were actually controlled. See on ἐπισκοπὴν ν. 521. Nor is the peculiar word ταγούχος chosen at random. The Thessalians, as well as the Argives, had joined the alliance, pointed at in ν. 290, which was at this time exciting such splendid hopes. Had it been maintained, Athens, as the predominant partner, would have strengthened her hold upon the north by all the power of a Thessalian ταγη and ταγός (of which
her come,—a god hears even from far,—that deliverance from these woes she may bring to me.

Erinyes. Never shall Apollo nor Athena's might save thee from passing unregarded away,—no sense of joy in all thy soul!...(She pauses, but he does not reply). And dost thou, a

latter word ταγωνός ἀνήρ is a poetical paraphrase; and in that direction, as Aeschylus himself suggests (v. 706), there might soon have been nothing not, in some sense, Athenian within the confines of Hellenism. These imperial ambitions have a bearing on the play (see the Introduction), and this invocation is designed to express them. That, as in the case of Libya, the reference to Chalcidice is pointed at military operations of the moment, is likely enough, but not a necessary supposition. The delicate and vital interests of Athens in that region were incessantly requiring and receiving 'supervision'; and it was in the natural course of things when, a generation later, the final contest between the empire and its enemies was precipitated by a quarrel with Potidaea.—A reference to the Phlegraei campi of Campania (Paley) is hardly conceivable. This Italian version of the legend has been made familiar by the Romans, but to Aeschylus it was probably foreign, nor was Athena yet concerned with the far west.—ος θραυσμός Ἵγραμον. ἀρμόστατος δὲ ἡ εἰκών. δείται γὰρ ἐδρανοῦ βοηθὸν ('quasi fortis imperator; et convenit pretatio, cum curule opus sit auxiliatore') (schol). The note is not, I think, corrupt. The writer, a subject of the Graeco-Roman empire, wants to explain why, since the purpose, for which the goddess comes, is judicial, the terms of invocation should be military, and he does this by applying to the Athenian empire the notion of imperium familiar to himself. Athena, in constituting and directing the court from her ἐδρανοῦ (sella, chair), will be acting like a magistrate cum imperio. Probably, like many since, he took the κατηρετής ποῦς of v. 294 to indicate sitting, and he may even have noticed, as bearing on ἐνιαυκοτεὶ here, the ἐτίκαστος καθῆμενος of v. 522, which does actually refer to the officer's tribunal. However his difficulty need not be raised: the prayer relates to the general functions of the 'Empress', and not specially to the present occasion.

298. γένοιτο follows, as frequently in all styles, the mood of ἐδού, Kühner, § 399, 6b.

300. μή οὖ, regular in consecutive clauses after the negative principal sentence.

301. 'Having found no place for joy in all thy heart', literally, 'not having found out where in the heart (φερομὲν partitive gen.) joy is'; cf. v. 426.—Here a pause; Orestes makes no answer.

302. 'And dost thou, a fatting bloodless, a shadow of things which have blood, dare to answer me with silence and scorn, a victim fed and entirely consecrated for me?' The text is Wecklein's, suggested apparently by ἀσαλαμάτων βόσκημα ἐναρίμων σκῦ (Todt), and is the only conjecture which makes satisfactory sense out of the letters. The use of αὐλίων for ἀσαλαμάτων is not certified, but, with an explanatory context, not improbable.—βόσκημα: properly 'an animal fed up for sacrifice and banquet' (Paley, see v. 304): ἀσαλαμάτων is a contrasted epithet of the kind familiar to Greek poetry (v. 333). A βόσκημα should naturally be rich in blood, but not so that of the Erines: see on v. 265.—δὲ marks that ἀσαλαμάτων βόσκημα (δὲ) is an objection, a criticism upon his silence; the position of the δὲ is justified by the close antithetic connexion of ἀσαλαμάτων and βόσκημα.—βόσκημα δαμάσκων, feasting of the gods, is
possible, but weak in sense. Also the rhythm (ἀναπαυτος διασμια δαιμωνων, σκιδα), since it obliterates the caesura, would be irregular, though this might be justified.—οδι(δ) : not even.

306. ὑμὸν : pursuing the figure of a religious ceremony.—δειησιν to bind thee to the place, like a spell, but with allusion to the binding of a sacrificial victim. The (objective) gen. σέθεν depends on ὑμον δεσμων, but practically, in sense, upon the adj. only.

307—311. During this anapaestic march the Chorus take up their position for the following stasimon, which is apparently the first perfectly complete and regular movement in the play. In fact (Paley) the choreutae, who have hitherto acted with unusual liberty, here take up the more formal and disciplined manner, which belonged to them by tradition, and this adds an appropriateness to χορὸν ἄφωμεν. The anapaests correspond to the πάρος of the Supplices, Persae, Agamemnon, Choephoroi.

310. καλ χορὸν : ‘let us link a dance to accompany our hymn’.

308. στυγερὰν: horror-striking, a music to freeze the blood, according to the full sense of the word : cf. στοξις στόχες.

310. λάχη τα κατ’ ἀνθρώπους: not ‘the fates of men’ but ‘our function’ or ‘office in relation to men’, as appears from the repeated use of λάχος in the exposition which follows, vss. 335, 348, 389. This is their whole contention here, that they have a λάχος, τιμή, γέρας, μάχα, etc., a privilege wholly independent of all other authority. Hence the emphasis on λάχη in this clause : see further the next note, and contrast v. 931.—στάσις, company, with reference to the ode (στάσιων μέλος) which they are about to sing.—ἀμὴ Canter. ἀμή Wecklelin, but see on v. 443, and on v. 272.

312. ‘...and hold that we here appear as justicers absolute’, lit. ‘and hold that we here are direct in the exercise of justice’. οἴμεθ’ Ahrens. For αὐθε, which
fatling bloodless, mere shadow of that which hath blood, dost thou dare to answer me with silence and scorn, though bred and consecrate for me?...A living victim shalt thou feed me, a living sacrifice; and now shalt thou hear a hymn that shall bind thee fast.

Chorus. Come then, let us even link the dance; since our purpose is to utter a song of dread, telling how this our company portions the governance of mankind, and how we hold, that we here appear as claimants absolute.

Whosoever holds forth clean hands, no wrath from us doth

I suggest myself, see a parallel in v. 361. 

οἴς́ (M) has probably come in from a proposed correction of the fem. termination in the compound ἐλθόδεικαί: but see v. 77 etc. The sense is continued without regard to the termination (at v. 311) of the anaepastic system. In prose-style, the last clause would be subordinate, 'we so govern as to have here, we trod, an absolute claim'; but in Aeschylus the co-ordination is natural. —ἐλθόδεικαί. The full and exact sense of this word is important. It is not to be confused with ἐλθόδεικος in Ag. 758, nor does it mean simply just. It is actioius in sense, as the MS. accent, though dubious, was meant to show, and it is used with reference to the Athenian meaning of ἐλθόδεικα and ἐλθέω δίκη.

These terms were applied (see v. 436) to a forensic proceeding clear of (preliminary) objections, either because none were laid, or because they were overruled. In the like sense, the Erinyes describe themselves, with regard to all possible impediments, as 'in the present case ἐλθόδεικαί': they are prosecuting a justice, which, within its sphere, is not to be traversed. To maintain this, and to protest against the interference invoked, according to the new fashion (v. 162), by Apollo, is the purport of the following ode. Here (vov. 313—321) they sum up their principles: their function (λάχνος) is (1) strictly limited, but (2) within the limits exclusive. They meddle with nothing except blood-guilt (vov. 313—316), but where blood-guilt, as they define it, is found, they are absolute, unerring witnesses, final executors (vov. 317—321). The appeal therefore to another power is, as it were, an illegal impediment, which ought not to be entertained. Thus, with energetic point, they put, in the forms of law, their protest ab initio against 'illegal' intrusion, an attitude which they maintain throughout until the final reconciliation, and which must be carefully borne in mind.—Many put a strong stop at ἀμά, and emend v. 312 accordingly, e.g. ἐλθόδεικαος (Hermann) μαίμεθ (Wecklein) ἐλαϊ. This may be right, but the evidence is rather against it.

314. καθαρὸς, to complete the metre, Hermann; φανερός Headlam. It is difficult to choose between this and Hermann's previous suggestion, τὸν μὲν καθαρὸς χείρας πραγματος | οὕτω κ.τ.λ.: but, as he remarks, an erroneous insertion of the plural, with διαφύζει below, is not likely.—πραγματος: 'hold forth' in conscious innocence, opposed to ἐπικρύπτει in v. 318. The antithesis is unfavourable to an alternative interpretation of ἐπικρύπτει χείρας φονιας, 'does secret murder', nor does this interpretation suit the facts: the Erinyes prosecute ali murder, within the bounds of their definition, not secret murder only.

315. The change in the order of the words (Porson) corrects the hiatus ἑφερεταὶ | δαυῆς...(not admitted by the rules of the metre).
ἀσίνης δ’ αἰώνα διοιχνεῖν
ὅστις δ’ ἀλητῶν ώσπερ ὁδ’ ἀνήρ
χείρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει,
μάρτυρες ὅρθαὶ τοῖς θανόνσιν
παραγινόμενα πράκτορες αἰματος
αυτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν.

μάτερ, α’ μ’ ἔτυκτες, ὁ μάτερ
Νῦξ, ἀλαιόσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν
πουάν, κλὸθ’. 320

ὁ Δατόος γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μ’ ἀτιμον τίθησιν,
τόνδ’ ἀφαιρούμενος
πτώκα, ματρίδιον ἀ-
γνωσμα κύριον φόνου.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ
τόδε μέλος, παρακόπα,
παραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς,
ὑμνος ἐξ Ἑρμιόνων,
δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρ-
μικτος, αὖνα βροτοῖς.


316. διοιχνεῖν: for the transition to the singular see ν. 340.

317. ἀλητῶν: partitive genitive depending on ὅστις, 'if any sinner...' etc.—ἀλητῶν Auratus, Hermann, a doubtful change, and connected with misconceptions (see above on ν. 310) as to the general sense. The Erinyes claim power not over all ἀλητόι (offenders) as such, but only over a certain class of them (those guilty of blood), which class they claim as theirs entirely: ἀλητῶν therefore is to the point.—ἀνήρ Porson.

319—321. τοῖς θανόνσιν: for, i.e. in the interest of, the slain.—πράκτορες: exactors, avengers.—ἀνήρ. The emphasis thrown on the pronoun by the metre (and indeed according to Aeschylean usage by the use of ἀδότοι) is accounted for by the idea of retribution; 'as he shed the blood of the murdered, so we exact payment in blood from him'; cf. ν. 777 and see on Cho. 118.—τελέως: 'absolutely, finally', with ἐφάνημεν, rather than 'in the end' with πράκτορες. From the moment that the deed is done, we are once for all the declared avengers of it. The point, as throughout this passage, is to reject as impossible any justice or enquiry except theirs.

322—399. First Stasimon. The subject of the ode, which is all addressed obliquely to Athena (ν. 362) and her city (ν. 392), is, as announced in the anapaests, the dignity, office, and exclusive rights of the Erinyes. Its character as a ἄριστος
visit, but harmless he passeth his days. But if any sinner, like this man, hath bloody hands to cover, then as true witnesses for the slain we come, and prove to him our authority by exacting his own heart's blood.

Mother, who barest me, O Mother Night, to punish them that see and that see not, hear! For the whelp of Leto would disprivilege me, by taking from me yon cowering creature, my victim, made mine own by his mother's blood.

But over the sacrifice, this is the song we sing; wild it maketh, wood it maketh, this hymn of the Erinyes, sense-destroying, binding the senses up, life-withering music harsh and untunable.

démos, an incantation to fascinate their victim Orestes, is exhibited (Wecklein) chiefly in the burdens (epithymia) which follow the first three pairs of strophæ, and present, in their rhythm, a dramatic and astounding contrast to the measures of the strophæ themselves; see Appendix II. Indeed the expressive power of verse has perhaps never been carried higher than in this ode and the next.

322. ματρόφον...φάνου: 'devoted lawfully by his murdered mother's blood'; ἀνόητος signifies properly the savage 'taboo', and has here its full primitive sense. By his mother's blood upon him the murderer is consecrated to the avenger and forbidden to all others.—The grammatical attachment of ματρόφον to ἀνόητος, whereas it belongs, according to our rules, to φάνου, is a striking example of Greek freedom in this respect.

329—333. εἰπ τῷ τεθυμένῳ: over the 'victim', who is, as it were, already slain.

325. Δασοῦς ἦν: Leto's whelp. Apollo is the stronger beast, who would snatch away the cowering 'hare', which the Erinyes have run down. The figure is suggested by the association of Apollo (Ἀκέας) with the wolf and wolf-worship, on which see Theb. 131: ἦν properly the young of an animal, when applied metaphorically takes its colour according to the context. As suggesting strength and purity of breed, it can be used as a term of dignity; thus the king in Supp. 257 describes himself with pride as the ἦν of his ancestor Palaechthon, and Hercules is the ἦν of Zeus. But it has a contrary effect here.

326. ἀτύμον τίθησιν: 'would oust me from my privilege' (τιμή). This is the key-note.

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with hideousness of noise. It is this, not less than the primary sense, which makes αὐνάδα a fit description for the 'music of the fiends' over the victim whose life they are about to drain.

335. λάχος: predicate; 'this was assigned (σχεῖν) by the power of apportionment as our function to hold for ever'.—διανταία: 'going right through', elsewhere in Aeschylus of a piercing stroke or wound, but here simply 'thorough', in relation to the metaphor (of work) in ἐπέκλωσαι: the 'thread' was perfected, that is to say, the assignment absolute.—The schol. ἡ διαμπάξ τιμωρομένη, and the modern 'relentless, irresistible', are not quite correct; but it is possible nevertheless (as suggested by Mr Wedd) that in λάχος ἐπέκλωσεν and διανταία we have allusions to the names Lachesis, Clotho, and less precisely to Ατροφα, 'not turning'.

337—341. θανάτων τοίσιν αὐτουργίαι | ξύμπασον. 344. παράφορα 
φρενοδόλησ. 345. ὑμνος. 349. ἀμίν. 351. εἶ (in margin) m.
own strict but narrow fashion, they are made to use words which would embrace the whole field of conscience and retribution. It points the way to their place, larger because subordinate, in the better theology of the finale.—εὐμπατῶν (Weil, but referring πατῶν to the notion trample, and making further changes accordingly) 'share their πάτος', their walk, haunt, place of being and moving: see L. and Sc. s.vv. πάτος, πατῶν: wherever they go, their sin goes with them. The same metaphor is pursued in ὑματῶν, and in fact the Erinyes here visibly appear as a personification of the sin.—εὐμπένων (Turneius) is less acceptable, not only in sense, as suggesting rather accidental conjunction, but technically, as a common word and not easily missed.—For the (poetic) subj. without ἂν see v. 211.—ὑπρονόα: τις, the offender. We pass from the general law to the particular case, as in v. 317.

348. γιγνομένως: 'when we were about to come into being'. Hom.II.20.127 πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ ἄνα | γιγνομένως ἐπένρε πάνω, ὅτε μὲν τέκε μήτηρ (Wecklein).—ἀμίν Porson. The short final syllable occurs here only in Aeschylus, in Sophocles frequently, in Euripides not at all (Wecklein).

350. ἀδανάτων δὲ (ἐστι): 'and it is the part of the ἀδανάτοι...' Cf. θεῶν, at the corresponding point of the antistrophé, v. 363, similar to this in construction and sense, and suggested by it (Drake, Paley).—ἀδανάτωτα takes colour from the preceding thoughts (vvs. 337—341 ἄνατῶν...θανῶν) and signifies not merely 'those who die not', but 'those who have nought to do with death'. It is their interest (see the sequel) as well as their duty, to leave functions, intimately connected with the world of death and darkness, in the hands of those to whom that region is congenial and not repulsive (see vv. 73, 74 and infra 388 foll., 396 foll.).—ἀπέχειν χέρας: literally 'to keep their hands away (from it)', not to touch a business neither theirs nor fit for them.—ἀδανάτων δὲν ἔχειν γέρας Evers, ἀδανάτων δίχ' ἔχειν κύριαν Martin, whence others ἀδανάτων δίχ' ἔχειν γέρας 'to hold as a privilege apart from the ἀδανάτοι'. This last is admissible, though objection might be made to the curt δίχ' and the sound of δίχ' ἔχειν: but there is no need for change. The schol. μὴ πλησίασιν ἡμᾶς τοῖς θείοι seems to be merely a misinterpretation, taking ἀδανάτων with ἀπέχειν, of the traditional text.

352. συνδάπον (Turneius): properly here 'co-partner', from the primitive sense of δαλομαῖ δίδω, not sharer of a feast (L. and Sc. s.v.), though the common association of δαλομαῖ with feasting helps the transition to the next sentence.

353—355. The limitation is mutual, and on the side of the Erinyes willingly respected: they have not, and they do not choose to have, any part in the joyous splendours of the ἀδανάτοι, the temples, the festivals, and the white-robed worshippers, which belong to the gods of light, the gods properly so called. ὀδαμοὶ δυνών ἕρη καὶ ἀμενώκη καθαρά πάρεμι σχολ.—παλλάκωοι: λευκῶν, but with emphasis.—The metre of the antistrophé
μοιρὸς ἀκληρὸς ἐτύχθην,
δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν.
ἀνατροπᾶς ὅταν Ἄρης
tιβάσος ὀν φιλον ἔλη,
ἐπὶ τὸν, ὥ, διόμεναι
κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ὦμοιως
μαυροῦμεν ύφ' αἰματος νέου.
σπεύδομεν αἳδ' ἄφελεῖν
tινα τάσδε μερίμνας.
θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖ-

355. δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν (ἀμοῖρος
τυχόθηναι, ἀμοῖρος εἰσαι) : 'I was created
without part in their festivals' because it
was my choice to have none in their
dwelling-places'. For the ellipse, which
according to the habit of Greek is in such
a case regular and almost obligatory, see
examples in Kühn, Gr. Gramm. § 597,
particularly subsections (i), (k), (m), and
see on supra v. 71, Theb. 2, Ag. 796, 855,
Cho. 793, etc. No ambiguity is raised,
the supplement being both indispensable
and obvious.—

356. Πώς

357. πιθανὸς (πιθανὸς rec.)...φιλο.

360. ἀντ. β'.

361. σπεύδομεν δ' altered to σπεύδομενα δ'.

(v. 366) shows a loss here (after πέπλων),
probably caused by the fact that the
missing word repeated the sense, and
perhaps the forms, of its neighbours: ἀπόμοιοις (O. Müller) is the most prob-
able; ἀνόμοιος (Weil) has been deduced,
but not safely, from ἄργῃ in the schol.; ἄγεραστοι, ἀπόφασας, and other suggestions
are possible.—ἐτύχθην : I was made, ap-
pointed, created.

355. δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν (ἀμοῖρος
τυχόθηναι, ἀμοῖρος εἰσαι) : 'I was created
without part in their festivals' because it
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particularly subsections (i), (k), (m), and
see on supra v. 71, Theb. 2, Ag. 796, 855,
Cho. 793, etc. No ambiguity is raised,
the supplement being both indispensable
and obvious.—

356. No temple (or

357. Even sanctuary), properly belonging to the
Erinyes and bearing their name, seems to
have existed, at all events in the times of
Aeschylus; and indeed the primitive con-
ception of them, as exhibited in this play
up to the alleged transformation, was not
consistent with a fixed dwelling-place.
Their only 'home' was below (v. 420),
and their one occupation pursuit. They
could not therefore receive, in the regular
fashion of Greek gods, any worship (see
above on v. 106), and held; as they say
themselves, in some sense 'a place con-
temned' (v. 388). But to this λαχως, such
as it is, with all its rights and all its con-
tions, they hold with obstinate pride: it
was defined (they say) with their own
consent: they would not have any abode,
such as Apollo has, or Athena; and
similarly, when a settlement is hereafter
proposed to them, they reject the idea
with scorn (v. 873).—The received
punctuation here, δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν
ἀνατροπᾶς κ.τ.λ., is, I think, inadmissible.
For (1) it is beyond reasonable doubt
that vv. 356—360 to which in the ms.
there is no antistrophe are a burden or
ἐφύμνιον (Schneider), and are to be
repeated as in the text, after the anti-
strope; in the first pair of strophai, the
burden is actually written twice in the ms.,
to show the principle; in this and the
following pair, it is written, as was to be
expected, only once, with the strophe.
But the antistrophe ends (v. 368) with
a sentence complete, and to construe
with it the words ἀνατροπᾶς κ.τ.λ. is
impossible. Therefore the burden must be
here, as generally in Aeschylus, separate
in construction, and cannot begin in the
middle of a clause. This consideration
is, in my judgment, decisive; but further
(2) to begin a completely independent sen-
tence at ἐπὶ τὸν κ.τ.λ. makes the use of the
demonstrative τὸν obscure and not natural;
no part or share or portion, because of their dwelling-places I would have nought.

Whenssoever the subversive spirit of domestic hate destroys a life that should be dear, then after the destroyer hey! we follow, and whatsoever his strength, by the fresh blood upon him we wear him down.

It is zeal that brings us here, zeal to relieve another of these cares; and the Gods' part it is, to confirm the immunity we pray,

(3) it is not coherent to say, 'I have no part in festivals, for I chose the subversion of (men's) houses.' There is not, between the ideas, sufficient connexion to explain the inference; and (4) dvmάτων εἴδους ἀνατροπάς, with the emphasis, as given by the order, on dvmάτων, should mean 'I chose the subversion of houses' in preference to that of something else; but this, in the context, is not intelligible.

356. 'If ever, subverting the peace of the domestic pale, the spirit of hate destroys a life that should be dear, then after that man... etc. ἀνατροπάς (subversively) is the adverbial accusative, also called 'inner' and (not happily) 'quasi-cognate' (see Kühner Gr. Gramm. § 411, 3 b for a large collection of examples). It qualifies ἔλη, or rather the whole act τίθαις ὑν ϕίλον ἔλη, and defines this act as a subversion, contrary to nature and order. It is placed first for emphasis and to mark the point: murder within the home, and especially murder directed against domestic authority, not only 'kills' but 'subverts'; it destroys the very principle of human life (see the following stasinon, vv. 493 foll.); and that is why a special power was constituted to punish it.—A simpler construction, according to our conceptions, would be obtained by reading ἀνατροπαίς, instrumental, by subversion; but this is not necessary, nor an improvement.—"Ἀρης τίθατος ὑν: 'Ares, having been domesticated.' The expression, characteristic of primitive and savage ethics, regards hostility as the normal relation of men, but abrogated and forbidden between members of the house. 358—360. ἐπι τὸν δίδυμαι: ἐπι τοῦτον ἐπιδίδυμαι pursuing, cf. Supp. 826 μετὰ μὲ δρᾶμαν δίδυμαι.—ἐπι τὸν ἄδικον ἦμενα ('launching ourselves upon him thus,' with a movement towards Orestes) E. A. L. Ahrens, perhaps rightly, though one would fain believe that the cry (ἐ) is Aeschylean.—τὸν refers formally to 'Ares', but in sense to the domestic murderer, of whose act and spirit Ares is a symbol.—κρατερὸν...τένων: 'whatever his strength, we bring him down with the weight of his crime fresh upon him.' κρατερὸν δύνας are closely connected; literally 'likewise though strong', that is to say, his strength makes no difference. τένων: nearly equivalent to δία (by means of) in common prose, but poetically more suggestive. For ἀλμα τένω cf. v. 204.—On the metre of this burden, see App. II.

361—368. The Olympians, and in particular Athena, should gladly acquiesce in a privilege, which spares them disquiet and pollution.

361. 'We come here eager to relieve a certain one from all such care.' στευ-δομέναι αὐτῷ: Doederlein. The 'haste' and 'eagerness' refer, as αὐτός shows, to the present occasion. It is zeal, if the goddess will consider, for her own good, which brings them to her city. See above on v. 312.—τίνα. This oblique form of address (for these words are addressed to the expected Athena, as truly as if she were already present) usually conveys a menace, as in Soph. Αἰ. 1138 τούτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοῦκε ἐρχεταλ τίν., and in fact does so here. Their anger 'is visible even in the form of a friendly and respectful depreciation.'
Either (1) ‘The gods should confirm the immunity for which I appeal, and enter into no question of it’ or (2) ‘...should confirm the immunity of appeals to me, and....’ In the first, ἴματις is subjective, and ἴματις λιταις ‘to my appeal’ signifies ‘to me appealing’. In the second ἴματις is objective, and the λιται are those of sufferers who invoke the Erinys (see v. 511). It is in favour of (2) that λιταί, prayers, entreaties, is a more humble word than the speakers would be disposed to use. But in this exaggeration of respect there may be a not unsuitable touch of bitterness and irony; and on the other hand it is natural to suppose a relation, here as usual, between the ‘gods’ and the ‘prayers’, and not perhaps easy to bring suddenly into view the action of the murdered victim, who in this ode is scarcely mentioned. Adding to this that with an ‘active’ noun, like λιταί, there is always a presumption in favour of the subjective possessive as against the less common objective, we should incline rather to (1).—Headlam (Class. Rev. xvii. 386) suggests, for λιταις, the sense λειτουργός public services. This, if possible for Aeschylus, would be very appropriate.—θεών δὲ (ἐστι): ‘and it is the part of the gods...’; see on v. 350. —δηλεῖαν...ἀγκρισιν. They speak like an advocate from Chios or Samos, pleading ‘independence’ against the proposal to bring at Athens some action arising in his island. The enquiry (ἀνάκριμα, see below vv. 411 foll.), by which the magistrate in an ordinary case decided
refusing to question it. For Zeus hath rejected from his
converse, with merited loathing, this blood-bedabbled sort.

Whenceover the subversive etc.

Glory of man, ay, glory proudest beneath the sky, dissolves
into the ground, and shrinks to contempt, at the passing of our
black robes and malignant dance of our feet.

For with a leap from far, ay, far above, heavily falls the
descent of our pointed foot, our limbs that trip the longest
runner, with irresistible doom.

Falling, he knoweth this not, because of the bane in his

whether to bring it before a court, is here
(as they argue) out of place. The whole
proceeding is barred by 'privilege', and
there is nothing to be done but to con-
firm this objection.—It is grammatically
possible to join this clause closely with
the preceding, (σπεόδομον) δὲ ἐπικραίνειν
ἀντίλειαν θεών ἑμαῖς λατοῖς, but this offers
no satisfactory meaning: ἀντίλεια, im-
munity, is inapplicable to the position of
the gods in the matter, and ἐπικραίνειν to
that of the Erinyes, who never pretend
to be the superior power. Moreover τε
(rather than δὲ) would then be the con-
junction required.—εἰς Παυω, but the corre-
respondence of short and long in thes
is not uncomman.

366—368. Zeus: but see τυ. 92, 720.
The assertion, to the extent required, is
not true, but is assumed by the Erinyes,
as calculated to impress an Olympian
opponent. What is the precise position
and view of Zeus in these matters, Aes-
chylos, for good reasons, never declares,
just as he does not produce the Supreme
Father in person.—ἰὼνος τόδε: 'this kind,
sort', the Latin natio. το τῶν φοικῶν
schol.—On the metre see App. II.—
As to the insertion here of the εφημνήμιον
or burden, ἀνατροπᾶς κ.τ.λ., see on ν. 355.
369—383. From the gods they turn to
men (ἀνθρώπων). The proud citizens, as
well as their patroness, will do well to
consider, before putting themselves in the
way of the Erinyes. Here they are not
far from the sentiment of the poet himself,
whose very patriotism, in one of his

temper, must have made him regard
with anxiety some of the high-handed
proceedings of the imperial city.

369. καὶ μάλα...ἐσμεν: 'Ay, the
proudest that there are beneath the sky.'

372. ἡμετέραις ἐφόδοις: 'at our pass-
 ing over them'.

373. ἐπιφθόνου (Heath): 'bringing
jealousy, nemesis'.

374—378. ἀνέκαθεν Pearson.—μᾶλα
(with ἀνέκαθα, 'from very far above')
replics, as indicated by γὰρ οὖν, to the
preceding μᾶλα in τυ. 369. If pride is
high, for all that, vengeance, to crush it,
leaps down from far higher.—βαρυτή
Blaydes, as in προπητής, χαματιτής etc.,
perhaps rightly.—σφαλέρα ταύνθρομοι
κάλα: 'limbs that can trip the longest
runner', if escape is attempted. It seems
smoother to take καλα in apposition to
τοθὸς ἀκμῶν, than to make (as Wecklein)
σφαλέρα...καλα a parenthesis; though
certainly the apposition is loose.—On
the metre see Appendix II.

379—382. The pride, which leads a
man into transgression, also prevents him
from profiting by chastisement. His sin
is, as it were, a darkness about him, and
he seems, as men sadly say, to dwell in
a mist.—πρύτων: note the tense, 'when
he begins to fall'.—αὐκ οίδεν τόδε: he
cannot see that his disasters are the work
of irresistible nemesis, and he goes on to
his doom.—τούν (for τοὺν γὰρ, Turnebus)
'such as to have this effect'. The con-
junction, excluded by the metre, is also
contrary to the idiom in such clauses,
which, as in Latin, are regularly asyndeta. Constr. τοιον κνέφας ('as such a darkness, so darkeningly') μέσος ἐπιπέδοται ἀνδρὶ: grammatically τοιον κνέφας is in apposition to μέσος.—Rumour says, with a deep sigh, that there is, as it were (τίνα), an obscuring mist over his house.—αὐδᾶται. I think (see on Thel. 665) that this verb here is not, properly speaking, deponent; in translating into English indeed it is natural to make it so, and to personify φάτιν, but according to the Greek the φάτιν 'is spoken'. The accusative makes no difficulty; if αὐδῶμαι φάτιν ἄξλων 'I tell a rumour of a mist' is correct, which no one doubts, then φάτιν αὐδᾶται (pass.) ἄξλων, 'a rumour is told of a mist', is, by the general law of Greek, equally so. That αὐδῶμαι ἄξλων 'I tell of a mist' is correct, has yet to be proved. But the note on Thel. 665 is incorrect in denying a deponent use of αὐδῶμαι, and not exact in reference to the present example; see also on Cho. 151.—πολύστονος. This note of sympathy with the regrets of mankind over the errors of falling greatness belongs rather to the poet than to the speakers. The careers and fates of those who founded the greatness of Athens, Miltiades for example, and more recently Themistocles, had offered only too much occasion for such moralizing. That πολύστονος does indicate lament, and not merely indignation against outrage, we must assume from the general use of στέφω and its cognates.—As to the insertion here of the ἐπημνησμὸν or burden, μάλα κ.τ.λ., see on ν. 355.

384—399. The last pair of στροφαὶ have no burden, doubtless because the whole of them were sung, like the burdens,
wits. In cloud so dark doth his guilt hover over him, and rumour sighing tells how a mist, as it were, of gloom doth cover his house.

For with a leap etc.

For so it stands. Skilled to devise and sure to accomplish, and never forgetting sin, unapproachable by human plea, we do an office misprised of gods, misesteemed of them, and from them sundered by sunless mirk,—a twilight, rugged way for the seeing eye alike and for the blind.

What mortal, then, at this feels not awe and fear, hearing what legal power the gods have given and fate confirmed to us

by the full chorus instead of semichorus.

384—391. μένε: it is established, the law of their being and rights, as summed up in what follows.—εὐμερήσατο...τέλειοι: as well able as sure to accomplish our purposes.—κακῶν, evil deeds.—συμνα...βροτοῖς: ‘unbending to supplication of man’: συμνα here has no connexion with the title (v. 1042) which they are to assume after their transformation, and has a different sense (haughty, not reverend).

—άηετας Canter, διέγομεν Heath. The ms. readings αίετας and διέβομαι are probably connected in origin, arising both from a marginal α, referring to αίετα: the annotator, objecting to ἁίμα αίετα as tautologous (but see v. 354), proposed to transfer αίετα to the subject, and the annotation was applied in the right place (making αίετα), but also attached itself to the last word, making it unmetrical (διεγόμενα) and thus driving out one of its syllables. Similar phenomena occur elsewhere, see on v. 390.—διέγομεν (διω accomplish) is also possible, and perhaps more liable to be perverted, διω being rare and the false division δια-γομεν obvious. A verb is necessary, an ‘ellipse of εἴμεν’ (schol.) being indefensible.—λάχη...λάπη: ‘a function wide-sundered from the divine by a sunless mirk’. λάπη Wieseler.—θεον: the θάνατος of vv. 349 foll.—διηνισκόν λάμη: not because their dwelling-place is the underworld, though this is part of the suggestion, but because their whole relations with man are connected not, like those of the θεοι, with illumination and gladness, but with darkness and obscuration both of soul and of fortune: see the preceding strophai, and the words that follow.—δισμοσπο-παίπαλα (so to be divided) κ.τ.λ.: ‘where the seeing eye, and the darkened alike, find a rough and twilight way.’ That the power extends over living and dead (see v. 323) is part of what is conveyed by this impressive symbol, but not all. The point is, that under the malign influence of the Erinyes (see vv. 379 foll.) the living sinner walks already overcast with the same shades into which he finally passes for ever. Living and dying, he is as helpless as one who travels a difficult path at nightfall (δυσμυθ, pursuing the idea of χυλη).—I offer δυσμοσπο-παίπαλα as a restoration of the metre (see v. 398 and Appendix II.), in preference to δισμοσπο-, δισμοπο-, and other suggestions, on the ground that there is some actual evidence for it. That the word was liable to be mistaken for a compound of διω- is manifest. Hence the omission of μ. This letter a corrector noted, for re-insertion, in the margin; and thence it has been transferred to λάμη, making the MS. λάμης, an error equally natural, since there actually was such a word as λάμη (shine). For the triple compound cf. θεοσκυθρωσίς (Cho. 734), etc.

392. οὐχ ἀηετας Turnebus.
The savages fixed, literally, it assumed) is 395 which With Athena T6v...te
eov: για να καταφθατομένη, ἥν δὴν Ἀχαϊῶν ἀκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα, ἐνεμαν αὐτόπρεμον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί, ἐξαίρετον δόριμα Θησέως τόκους. 400

401. ἡν καταφθατομένην.

395. τὸν...τέλεον: 'which was finally given and confirmed to me by destiny from gods', i.e. the elder gods, whose disposition (it is assumed) the new dynasty should confirm.

396. ἡτι: i.e. (if it is right) ἡτιστι (schol.), 'it is fixed, destined for me'; see on Ag. 552. But ἡτι (Hermann) is not unlikely.

397. πάλαι παλαιὸν Wieseler, perhaps rather παλαισταλαιὸν. The re-inforcement of the idea by repetition is characteristic of the ode (παρακοπά παραφόρα, ἠμορφος ἀλάρον, ἅτιμ' ἄτιτεα).—μὲνει γέρας παλαῖν Ηρμανν.

398. With ms. reading, constr. ἐξοσα τάξιν ὑπὸ-χθονα-καὶ-διοίχηοιν-κνέφας.—But quaeae, should we not read ὑπόχθονα, adj., subterranean? This gives a simpler arrangement of words, and removes the objection, that τάξιν ὑπὸ χθονός (ὁ χθων) would be expected, rather than the accusative χθόνα.

400—402. Athena arrives, and after questioning both the parties, decides that the issue must be referred to a jury of Athenian citizens, and that the court so formed shall be a permanent institution for the future.—As to the manner of her appearance, and the means by which she is supposed to have come, see on ἔν. 406 foll.: it appears probable that she simply enters, by one of the πάροδοι, like the other personages.

401. γῆν καταφθατομένη (Stanley): 'where I was taking possession of a vacant land', literally, 'taking to myself by first occupancy': κατάφθατος (γῆ) and καταφθάτωμαi (rather than καταφθάτωμα as L. and Sc.) describe, according to etymology (φθάνων), the right of the first comer, such as the ancient Hellenic and modern European colonists claimed in countries not populated, or populated only by 'savages'. The reason why the term is applied here to the territory of Troy is that the Achaeans had utterly and literally destroyed that πᾶς, both people and city (Ag. 369 foll., 520 foll., 801 foll., etc.), so that what came to Athena by their 'gift' (see below) was the bare land, out of which (as from the stump of a felled tree, see v. 404) a new settlement might grow.—If, as is generally and (I think) rightly supposed, a lapse of something like ten years separates this scene from the end of the Trojan war, the word καταφθατομένη (φθάνω) is not
once for all? From old, old time it is our appointed privilege; our place is beneath the ground, our darkness barred from the sun, but our office above contempt.

Enter ATHENA.

Athena. A cry of appeal came to mine ear far away by Scamander, where I was taking occupancy of a vacant land, which the Achaean chiefs and leaders ‘assigned’, of their grace, to me, for a mighty share of the wealth their spear had won, in bare and full possession,—a special guerdon given to Theseus’ applicable to an ‘occupation’ so leisurely. Prof. Seymour (see on v. 234) adduces this in favour of his view that the whole action of the Orestea is brief, a few days. But the use of the word, like all this passage (see following note), is merely ironical. The title of Athena to the Troad does not, in her view, depend on ‘gift’ or ‘occupancy’ at all. Her real meaning is, that she has been just now engaged there, because the place is, and always was, one of her possessions.

402—405. ‘Which the Achaean leaders and princes, as they say, assigned, for a mighty portion of the wealth their spear had won, stock and base, entirely unto me, a gift select for the children of Theseus.’ She adopts the donors’ view of their liberality, but not without irony (δοξα). The universal recognition of her rights in the Troad, and therefore those of Athens, is carried up to the Trojan war—a respectable antiquity; but the rights themselves, according to her representation, by no means flowed from the destruction of Troy, which, considering that in the Agamemnon it is treated as an extreme wickedness and a principal cause of punishment, would have been an origin highly unsatisfactory. The citadel of Troy, with all its appurtenances, belonged to ‘Tritonian Pallas’ (Verg. Aen. 2. 226, 615), as truly as the Acropolis of Athens. And though we are doubtless to assume (with Orestes, inf. 460) that Athena permitted the punishment of the Trojans, she does not here either approve the sacrilegious destruction of the city, or derive her rights there from the destroyers. On the contrary, she comments, with some keenness, on the generosity of awarding to her (ευμω), ‘stem and all’, the bare stump of her own tree, which they had cut down. The figure νημευ αυτόπρεπον, which lends itself naturally to the double suggestion, is borrowed from the species of property chiefly important in Attica, olive-trees; and it could hardly fail, in this connexion, to remind Athenian hearers of the tree, the olive of the Acropolis, destroyed by the Persians, though marvellously afterwards resuscitated. The Persian crime and the Achaean had alike been paralleled in the trilogy, and illustrated by a figure resembling αδρπρεπον here (see on Ag. 532).—Θεσπός τόκος: ‘Akamas and Demophon, who were recognised in the Επος, but not until after Homer, as having taken part in the Trojan war. This was stated in the Ilias Μινατ of Lesches; cf. Paus. x. 25. 8’ (Wecklein). Aeschylus, we may observe, would probably have cited ‘Lesches’ as ‘Homer’; but this is no place for the Homeric question.—Successive Athenian governments had, since the early part of the sixth century, claimed or held possessions in the Troad, with the town of Sigeum; and probably they were in the hands of Athens at this time, though the schol. here says that Aeschylus is urging the recovery of them (εις το αντέχεσθαι παλιν Σηγελοι). There was a legend (Strabo 13. § 38) that Sigeum had been built with stones brought from the site of Troy: if the legend was known
at Athens and in the time of Aeschylus,

his words gain a point, since the Athenian town was thus actually the Ilian ‘tree’ raised up, and might claim the rights of the ancient capital. That the building was done (Strabo I.c.) by a citizen of Mitylene, the rival of Athens in this region, was (we may presume) not a part of the Athenian version.

406—408. No quite satisfactory explanation of this has been given, nor can I offer one. (1) The first two verses, taken alone, give the impression that the goddess flew or sailed through the air, using instead of wings the aegis, the typical mantle which she wore about her shoulders, ὡς ἀρμένῳ χρωμένη τῇ ἀλίδι (schol.). Not that this interpretation is absolutely necessary, for it depends on our presuming a connexion between without wings and making my wind-filled aegis sound (upon the air), and it is possible not to connect them. But prima facie this is the meaning: and so Hermann, with perhaps a majority. On the other hand (2) πῶλοι...δχον, with at least equal plainness, suggests prima facie a car with horses (O. Müller and others), which would dispense with the supposed use of the aegis, and make rather pointless the words _speeding an unworn foot_. If we allow, in favour of (1), that the aegis itself may be the δχον, as ‘carrying’ the goddess though she did not ride upon it, it is not easy to say what is indicated, metaphorically, by the steeds, to which the δχον is yoked; nor is there anything in the words to show that these πῶλοι are metaphorical. (The question, whether the car, if car there be, is shown to the audience, may be put aside: τῶν δε would not require this, but would be satisfied, as in Cho. 559, if Athena pointed off the stage to the place where she has just alighted.)—Emendation has not helped. Paley suggests that ν. 407 and ν. 408 are alternatives, and perhaps one of them spurious; but this, even if probable, does not clear the case. Hermann adopts κῶλασ (Wakefield), so that the aegis (as car) is yoked or bound to the ‘arms’ of the goddess (as steeds); but this is not happy. It is preferable, if we pursue this line of interpretation, to suppose that the expression πῶλοι is itself applied, metaphorically, to the arms.—πνῦους (for πῶλοι), o'dk for τοῦδ’, and other proposed changes are not entertainable.—It may be guessed that the explanation (as in ν. 294) depends upon some type, then familiar but now lost, in art or literature; but on the present
sons. Thence came I, speeding an unfretted foot, without wing, making my swollen aegis sound on the air, having yoked this carriage to steeds of prime.

And now that I see what visitors Athens hath, the sight astonishes me, though it not dismays. In wonder's name, who are ye? I ask it of all,—of him, whose place, at mine image claims me his friend, and you, not like to aught begotten of seed, not aught among all that eyes of gods behold,...nor yet resembling forms of man....But that, because one lacks beauty, his neighbour should speak him ill,—that is an equity far from the righteous mind.

evidence the language cannot, I think, be interpreted without some unprovable assumption.—ἀτρυτων recalls the goddess' title Ἀτρυτώνη (Wecklein).—κόλπον (αλβίδος), σιίμων (αεγίδος), not because the robe made a κόλπος (curse) over the bosom of the goddess, but because, in her flight, it was blown into a κόλπος, like that of a sail.

409. καὶ νῦν ἐς ὀρᾶσα is opposed to πρόσωπον ἐξηκοσά in v. 400. When she heard the cry from Athens for help, she was surprised, and, so far as such a feeling was possible to her, alarmed, lest some harm might have been done, or be done before she arrived; and now also that she is on the spot, her eyes perceive what, though it does not terrify, certainly does astonish.—καίνη Canter, but without need.—ὑμῖλαι: collective for plural, 'visitors of the land', as in vv. 714, 1031.

412. Constr. ἐφημένω βρέτας.

413. ὑμάς τε (λέγω): 'and I also mean (speak of) you'; the verb is borrowed from the preceding, with a slight change of construction.—σπαρτῶν: τῶν σπαρτῶν. 'creatures begotten'. Cf. v. 57 τὸ φύλον οὐκ ἐπισπάσα τήδε ὑμῖλας.

414, 415: '...not in that world which the eyes of gods behold, nor yet like forms of mortal kind.' The two clauses are not precisely parallel, but varied, as in κένων...ὑμᾶς τε just above. The first pursues the lead of οὐδεὶς σπαρτῶν γένει (not to any kind in the world seen by gods); the second, which in strict paral-
Michael or Raphael fulfils Milton's conception. But the theology of Athens, such as it was, pleased the Athenian prophet better at any rate than that of Delphi, which, even with the boldest remodelling, barely escapes his disapprobation.—With ἢδ (M), we must supply τοῦ τοῦ δικαίων, but, apart from any question as to the limits of ἢδε (and) in Aeschylus (see on v. 188), this produces a tautology.—τοῦ (for τοῦ) Heath.

419. αἰλᾶν: eternal, as in v. 575: they assert their divine, or at least non-mortal, quality, answering so far the question left open by Athena in vv. 414, 415.—The rendering gravis, terrible (Dindorf), is doubtful. If αἰλᾶν has any sense in Aeschylus except eternal and slight modifications of it (which is not certain), the alternative is ψευδής, miserable; but that is not applicable here. See on v. 482.

420. 'Αραί (recc.): Dirae, The Spirits of the Curse, because their power was evoked by the curse of the injured, of which indeed the Erinys was, in part, a personification. See the Introduction.—Note that their 'name at home', their divine name, as compared with Erinies (v. 332), is the more significant and explains its purport, whereas 'Ερυμένη, to the ear of the average Greek, had probably ceased to have any connotation. The latter name they here imply by contrast, and should in strictness specify, though the omission is a natural liberty of art.

421. οἶδα μὲν implies that she waits for more, noting (οἶδα) what has been told. Her calmness is far from pleasing to the interlocutor, who expected the preceding announcement to produce more impression.—κληδόνας: here in the sense of καλεῖς name, τὰ ὄνομα τὰ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀναμένει, ἡ καλεῖς. 422. Literally, 'Yes, my function—of that indeed (ὅδε) thou shalt be informed forthwith.' γε μὲν answers the hint of Athena (see preceding note). There is more to come, there is their office, which they proclaim with eager pride.

423. 'I can understand whatever is plainly told', i.e. 'If I do not receive the information forthwith (τέχα), it will be the fault of the telling.' She maintains, under courteous forms, her attitude of superiority.

424. Εκ δόμων: not 'from their homes' but 'from houses', from dwelling-places
Erinys. Thou shalt learn the whole in brief, Daughter of Zeus. For us, we are the Eternal Children of Night, the Arai, powers of the curse, so named in our home below.

Ath. Ye have told me now your birth, and the name, whereby ye are called,...

Erin. Ay, and mine office, that shalt thou learn with speed.

Ath. I can understand whatever is plainly told.

Erin. We hunt man-slayers out of dwelling-places.

Ath. And the slayer’s flight,—where is the end of it?

Erin. There, where there is no use for the word of joy.

Ath. And would thy clamour indeed pursue youn fugitive even to that?

Erin. Ay, for he dared to be his mother’s murderer.

Ath. Was there not a compelling power, whose wrath he feared?

Erin. Where is the strong spur, that should compel to such a deed?

of men generally (see v. 210). Hence the next question and answer, ‘Where is the exile to end?’ ‘To end? Only where all joy ends.’ — προτοκτονούνται: ‘destroyers of (human) life’. The largeness of the description is consistent with the language of this play generally (e.g. 317 foll., 337 foll.), and should not be abridged, out of respect to casual and inconsistent limitations, such as v. 212. The limitation αδροτοκτονούντας (wilful destroyers, as some would read here) is doubtless intended, but may be understood; μητροκτονούντας (as others) is not inadmissible, as a reference to the particular case of Orestes (see v. 210); but the more comprehensive term better fits the present situation. In v. 210, they speak to one (Apollo) who knows the story of Orestes; Athena, as yet, knows nothing of it.

425. ποιπόν Anratus.—πυγή Scaliger.

426. ‘Where where the laws allow no place for joy:’ μηδαμός may be joined either with τὸ χαλέυ or with νομίζεται. If with νομίζεται (which I prefer), it is still right that the negative should be μη, not ὅ, as in Latin the mood of the verb would be subjunctive,—‘is terminus est, ubi minus quam sit usus laetitiae’—. because the definition is in form general, marking what is to be the character of the final place.

427. ἢ καὶ emphasizes both τοιάως and τῷ δὲ.—τοιάως, such, ‘flight (exile) with no limit but that’—. ἐπιρροέως (Scaliger): ἐπιβοῦς, ‘force on him with hue and cry’.—The equity of Athena is at once revolted both by the indefinite cruelty of the punishment, and the ferocious manner of execution.

429. ‘Was there not some external power, whose wrath he feared?’ ἄλης contrasts ἀνάγχη with the δέλεα (choice v. 438) of the agent himself. To complete the grammar, supply ἐφόνευ from φωνέως ἔναι.

430. ‘Where is the spur so strong that it should compel to such a deed?’ ὃς: ἄρτε. They evade the question, not choosing to recognize the part of Apollo.
431. She turns to Orestes.—σίμων ἰόνον: ἄν ἰόνον τοῦ ἱόνον, 'one half (side) of the story.'

432. 'Nay, but the oath,—he cannot accept it, will not tender it.' Seeing that Athena is not to be overborne, the respondent now tries to put her objection to the detested ἀνάκρασις (v. 365) in a form which, as she supposes, will appeal to the legal spirit. The defendant should be challenged to 'deny the fact' on oath, as they themselves are ready, if he pleases, to assert it; if Orestes refuses, as of course he must, the case should end. The purgatory oath was an ancient Greek institution (see the Laws of Gortyn, Greek Antiquities, Gardner and Jevons, p. 571) and was used at Athens (πρόθεσις εἰς ὄρκον) in appropriate cases, murder included. To propose such an abuse or it, as the Erinyes here suggest, would probably have been too much, in the fifth century, for any Athenian. But in ruder times and places, such justice may well have been awarded to outcasts stigmatized by superstition as 'under the ban of the fiends', partly from a confused notion that they were not oathworthy. They could not be tried; they belonged to the pursuer. Even the tribunals of the Athenian empire may have heard the plea, or such like pleas, in cases coming, like that of Orestes, from abroad.

433. 'The justice you recommend prefers the name to the thing': literally, 'You would have one be just in name rather than act with justice.' The subject of δικαλος is grammatically the indefinite, 'people', in effect Athena herself. καλός: καλείν. With πράξαι supply δικαλος: cf. (πράσονναν) ἰναχαίρεν v. 293.—δικαλος m, δίκαυος Dindorf, but the reading of M is better. What προκατάλαχτος of the goddess is the implied attribution of such justice to her.

434. τῶν σοφῶν: subleties, τὰ σοφά.

435. 'My meaning is that oaths must not give victory to what is not just,' true (moral) justice depending not merely on the fact but on the circumstances. μὴ: prohibitive.—See further on v. 486.

436. 'Question (him) then, but let your justice be direct.' Εὐθύδεια (here εὐθύναι δίκην) was the position of a cause in which issue was joined directly (if we may borrow the phrase), without any preliminary objection against the admissibility or the form. It signifies therefore that the Erinyes withdraws her objection. But κρίνε δ' εὐθύναι δίκην is not a mere repetition of ἐξελέγχει. The prosecutors' conception of 'justice direct' (and fair, for the word has both meanings) is exactly contrary: in the view of the Erinyes (see v. 313) the ἀνάκρασις itself (note κρίνε) is the cavil, the unfair im-
Ath. There are two parties here, and only the one hath spoken.

Erin. Nay, but the oath! He will not take or tender it.

Ath. Thou wouldst have one be just in name instead of in deed.


Ath. I will not that an oath should give victory to wrong.

Erin. Question him then,...but let thy justice be 'direct'.

Ath. Would ye verily entrust to me the issue of the charge?

Erin. How should we not,...for respect, for thy fit nobility?

Ath. What reply, my friend, wouldst thou make in thy turn to this? But tell me first thy country, birth, and story, and then

pediment, and they call it εὐθείαν with bitterness.

437. 'Will you verily and indeed permit me to deal finally with the charge?' By taking their concession in a large sense, she assumes control, under a polite form, of the whole cause.—Constr. ἐπιτρέποντες λέγοντες.

438. πῶς δ' οὖ; 'How should we not?' 'Of course': conveniently ambiguous between 'What else could I wish?' and 'What else can I do?'. Since Athens, it is clear, will not give up Orestes untried, they bow to force majeure, and attempt to propitiate her by a personal compliment. —σέβοναι κ.τ.λ.: 'for reverence, for thy noble quality'. ἄξιον ὀφθαλμὸν γονέων (i.e. ἄξιον ἀν' ἄξιον ὀφθαλμὸν γονέων) school. The function, which Athena assumes, in summoning and presiding over the Areopagus, is that of the archon basileus (see Gilbert, Constitutional Antiquities, p. 253 Eng. transl.). Birth, as a qualification for office, had at Athens, even in the democratic age and as matter of law, a great importance. And this particular office was such in its character and association, that, so long as it was elective, good birth, and even high birth, must have been practically indispensable qualifications. The change, which exposed it, with the rest of the archonships, within certain limits to the chance of the lot, was but recent (about B.C. 487 apparently). It is therefore natural that, in introducing the first 'president of the Areopagus', Aeschylus should lay this stress upon her nobility as Δίως κόρην.—γε...γε, which in English cannot be represented without cumbrousness, emphasize the point that they admit only her personal claim: none is more worthy to be judge, if judge there must be. The repetition of γε, which was approved by Hermann, seems effective, and not unnatural, if we suppose a slight pause after σέβοναι γε. But the evidence for the second γε (the τ of the ms., pointing to γ) is not conclusive, and some would omit it.—ἄξιον ἀν' ἄξιον: 'deriving worthiness from worthy', i.e. worthy by heredity. The adj. is treated, as the schol. indicates, like a participle; see ν. 444, and on Ag. 726. The plural describes, according to rule, the worthy parent regarded as such, and does not imply, in the case of Athena, a plurality of 'ancestors' or even of 'parents'. She had of course only a father.—ἀντ' ἄξιον: Stanley, upon the suggestion of the schol.: the first letter seems to have been driven out by the writing in full of γε (now τε). The reading is not certain, but no better has been suggested, and the general sense at least seems plain.
tás σάς, ἔπειτα τόνδ' ἀμυναθοῦ ψόγον—
eipér πεπουθώς τῇ δίκῃ βρέτας τόδε
ησαί φυλάσσων ἐστιάς ἀμής πέλας,
σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἴξιονος.
tούτοις ἀμείβουν πᾶσιν εὑραθές τί μοι.

445

OP. ἀνασὸ τ' Ἀθάνα, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων
tῶν σῶν ἐπών μέλημ' ἀφαιρήσω μέγα.
οὐκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαων, οὐδ' ἐκεῖ μύσος
[πρὸς χερὶ τῇ μή τὸ σῶν ἐφεξομενὶ βρέτας].
tεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδε σοι λέξω μέγα.

450

448. προστρόπαων corrected by m. 448, 449. ἔξει...ἐφεξομενή.

441. τῶνδε (M): the present charge.
tῶνδε (of the Erinyes) the later mss.

442—444. The sense is—Provided that,
before thus committing yourself
to the protection of our sanctuary, you
have duly obtained religious purification.
The predicate of the sentence is σεμνὸς
(ὅς) προσίκτωρ—βρέτας depends on
the compound phrase ἦταν φυλάσσων,
partly on ἦταν for ἐφέσαν sit at (v. 412) and
partly on φυλάσσων in the sense of
'keep to', 'abide by', as Ἱομ. ε 208
ἐνόδε ε' αὖθι μένων παρ' ἐμοι τόδε δώμα
φυλάσσων (somewhat similar to supra
v. 243)—σεμνὸς ἐν τρόποις Ἴξιονος
together: 'respected by religion after
the custom derived from Ixion'. With σεμνὸς,
'titled to religious respect', cf. v. 92.
For the precedent of Ixion, see the schol.
here, ὃν τῶν πάρα οὐρακάθητο τῷ
ναῷ τῶν Δίας καθαρισθήσαμενος. πρῶτος
γὰρ Ἴξιὼν φῶν ταῖς ἐκκαθαρισθῇ ὑπὸ
Δίως, and infr. v. 721. Findar (Pyth. v.
32) adds the qualification that Ixion's was
the first case of kindred-murder 'with
craft' (i.e. malicious or intentional), or of
purification from such murder: ἐμφύλιον
ἀλαἱ πρῶτος ὅς ἄτερ τέχνας ἐπιμείξα
θυτοῖς. "A connection was felt between
the name Ἴξιὼν and λέξ., the root of words
of supplication; possibly even the origin
of the story is 'to be sought here'"
(Sidgwick). The myth is discussed in
an article by Cecil Smith in Classical
Review ix. 277.—The words in the schol.,
ὅν τρόπον κάκεων προσεκάθητο τῷ ναῷ
τῶν Δίας καθαρισθήσαμενος, if intended to
suggest that the present action of Orestes
is compared by Athena to that of Ixion
seeking purification, are contrary to the
sense. What Athena wishes to ascertain,
before proceeding with her investigation,
is that the appellant is already cere-
monially clean, that he does not come
for purification, but for justice; see his
reply. If he had answered otherwise,
she would, before holding further inter-
course with him (see vv. 237, 287), either
have performed the rite herself, as Apollo
did, or directed him to procure it else-
where. We may perhaps infer that,
even in the fifth century, submission to
these rites was imposed on those charged
with homicide before the Areopagus, or
at least that, in the judgment of religious
and conservative persons like Aeschylus, it
ought to have been.—ἀμής: our (not my),
for dignity, and also because the sanctuary
is that of Athens as well as of the goddess;
see on Theb. 404. ἐμής recc., and some
modern texts: for which it may be said,
that this is apparently the only example
in the tragedians of ἐμής so used (in
dialogue and in the feminine) as to
require the 'Ionic' inflexion in -η, which
is incongruous with the a in the stem
(see v. 311). On the other hand, literary
language is bound to be inconsistent in
defend thee against the present accusation;—provided always, that, with right assured, thou hast thy suppliant place and watch at this image, hard by my hearth, an appellant entitled, after the manner of Ixion, to respect. To all these questions, I pray thee, give answer plain.

Or. Lady Athena, I will begin with thy last words, and will remove a weighty scruple. I am no suppliant for purgation; and (showing his hands and pointing to the image) there is no pollution there! Of this I shall allege to thee weighty proof.

such matters, and an erroneous substitution of the rare ἄμης is not very probable.

447. μὲλημα: doubt, scruple.
448. προστρεπάμος: an applicant for purification, as in v. 237.
448, 449. ὀδὴ ἡκέτ μῦσις: 'and there is no uncleanness there',—holding forth his hands, as he says the words, and pointing to the image which he has touched. Cf. v. 313, where the innocent man is described as καθαρὰς χεῖρας προνέμων, 'one who holds forth clean hands'. For the application of the purge to the hands, see on v. 42.—πρὸς χειρὶ κ.τ.λ.: 'upon my hand, as suppliant at thine image': an explanation of ἡκέτ, added to make the text, without stage-directions, intelligible to a reader. The metre, having an anapaest in the fifth foot (as well as a rather rough dactyl in the third), shows the verse to be spurious, and probably of late origin. Moreover, though the personification of the hand is Aeschylean, the metaphor χείρ ἐποιημένη is hardly so; Aeschylus would rather have written ἐποιημένου.—For accidental confusion (Ἑξεί) of κ and χI, which is not unknown in Μ, see μεικτὴς in v. 170. Here however the change may be intentional, the author of it supposing the construction to be μῦσις ἕξει πρὸς χειρὶ, 'pollution holds to my hand'. The dropping of the κ in the dative ἐποιημένη occurs also, and is hardly more than a matter of spelling.—I offer this solution as preferable, both technically and in the resulting sense, to shaping the whole ὀδὴ...βρέτας into a sentence possible for Aeschylus. The best attempt is Wieseler's—οδὴ ἔχων μῦσας | πρὸς χειρὶ τῆς το σω ἐποιημένη βρέτας. But here neither of the supposed corruptions is probable, and the sentence drags.

450. 'And for this I shall cite you proof weighty (as the scruple itself).'
μέγα echoes μέγα in v. 447.—He refers to the evidence hereafter given by Apollo as purgator (vv. 579—581). If and so long as the Areopagus required the rites, they presumably required formal proof of it.—It is usual (Paley, Wecklein, and others) to place a colon only at μέγα, as if the τεκμήριον were contained in what immediately follows, vv. 451—455. But surely the mere statement of the defendant, or even his oath, could be no proof at all of the point, much less a weighty proof. The sentence ἀξιόθυγατον εἶναι κ.τ.λ. has no copula, not as explaining τεκμήριον, but because it is a repetition—in positive form of what is stated negatively in vv. 448—450.—It is worth notice that the procedure represented by Aeschylus entirely ignores, both on this point and otherwise, the fundamental rule of Attic law, that the ἀνάκρασις was the proper and only stage for the production of evidence. On the contrary, all evidence is expressly deferred to the trial (v. 488), including, as is here specially noticed, evidence which, we might think, if required at all, must be required at the very earliest stage. At this time, however, the jury-system was in its infancy; and it would seem that the rule, if known, was


The notion probably was that the blood of the suckling was the purest animal-essence, so to speak, nearest therefore to the life-blood which was to be washed off, and most likely to assimilate and absorb it.—πάλαι...πόρους. ‘Long ago I have been thus purged, upon the house, beast, and running stream of another.’

For πρός see προστετριμένος in v. 238. The expression is significant of the meaning and purpose, which Aeschylus, at any rate, attached to the ceremony. The blood of the slain, together with that of purification, is washed off with water of the house on to the soil (hearth) of the house, and mingled with the sources, the native earth and water, of the family life. The recipient family and community, by its head, thus expresses, in its most solemn and effective manner, its responsibility for the readmission of the received person into society. The inclusion of the animal, or its blood, among the things to which (as well as by which) the transference takes place, is intelligible. The blood, as an animal substance fed upon and derived from the recipient elements (the earth and water), is naturally adapted to permeate them.—It is possible to separate καὶ βοτοί κ. ρ. π., as instrumental, from οἶκοι: but this division obscures,
He, that hath done violence, is by law debarred from speech only until, by agency of one who hath power to purify from blood, the blood of a suckling victim be shed upon him. Long ago have I been thus made clean, upon another's house, and victim, and flowing stream.

Thus on the first point do I satisfy thee. For my birth, it shall be told thee without delay. I am of Argos; and my father, to whom thy question aptly leads, was Agamemnon, captain of naval hosts, thine own companion when thou didst take from Troja's state her city of Ilium. He, that Agamemnon, upon his coming home,...was slain dishonourably,...murdered by my

I think, the conception intended.—The schol., καὶ εἰς οἰκον. ἑλεξηδου, καὶ ὑδατων μετέλαβον, has been supposed to indicate some other text, but without reason. It explains, conjecturally and imperfectly, why the house and the water are here mentioned as instruments of the purification, as well as the animal already specified: the patient, it is suggested, was admitted to the one, and partook of the other.—Wecklein observes that νεοθήλον is probably trisyllabic (νονθήλοι), as we find in Aeschylus no clear case of a word with the quantities — — — at this place in the verse.

456. Lit., 'as to this (care), thus I argue care away': not precisely identical with ταύτην τὴν φροντίδα, although English has no exact equivalent for the distinction.

458. ιστορεῖς καλῶς: commonly rendered 'you know well', thus the authority of Pers. 457 κακῶς το μέλλον ιστορεῖν (of Xerxes, misled as to the intention of the Greeks before the battle of Salamis), and Ag. 681 εἰ τός αὐτός ἡλιον μν ιστορεῖ·βλέπωντα, 'if any sun-beam knows him to be alive'. But are these sufficient? The regular meanings of ιστορεῖν are (1) to ask, enquire, (2) to be informed by enquiry, to learn. In both citations the sense learn is appropriate, though know may be a convenient translation. They do not therefore prove that ιστορεῖν νῦν could stand for to know a person (connaître quelqu'un), a use in which the notion of enquiry, learning, altogether disappears. On the other hand, the sense ask is here suggested by the context (see vv. 440 and 457 γέροι), and gives the meaning, 'As to my father: your question (respecting my parent-age) is good', i.e., it is one which Orestes can readily and proudly answer. The turn of the phrase marks the natural reluctance with which he approaches the mention of his mother.

460. Τρολαυ...ἐθηκασ: lit., 'you made Troia into a state dis-stated of her Ilios', i.e., divested the Trojan state of its political form by the conquest of its capital. Troia has its larger sense (cf. Argos, Thebæ, Athenæ, etc.) and signifies the territory. Orestes accommodates his language to Athena's views upon the 'vacant' land, as expressed in vv. 401 foll., and appeals to her knowledge that the punishment of Troy was permitted and encouraged by her, however she might condemn the barbarity and sacrilege of the final execution.—If Τρολαυ is correct, πόλιν is part of the predicate; Τρολαυ (Bothes) makes the phrase simpler but less significant.

461—464. For the entangling bathrobe of Clytaemnestra see Ag. 1103 foll., 1379 foll.; and for the exhibition of it by Orestes as evidence, Cho. 978 foll. The allusion to the latter scene here (v. 464) is an excellent dramatic touch; for the notion of proving the notorious circumstances of the murder is there the first symptom of

V. E.
μήτηρ κατέκτα τοικίλοις ἀγρεύμασιν 
κρύψασ', ὁ λουτρῶν ἐξεμαρτύρει φόνον.
καγώ κατελθὼν, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ φεύγον χρόνον, 465
ἐκτευνα τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ὥσκ ἄρνησομαι,
ἀντικόνους πωναίσι φιλτάτον πατρός.
καὶ τῶν κουῆς Δοξίας ἐπαιτίους,
ἄλγη προφώνων ἀντίκεντρα καρδία,
εἰ μή τι τῶν ἔρξαμι τοὺς ἐπαιτίους
σὺ τ' ἐτε δικαίως εἴτε μή, κρῖνον δίκην
πρᾶξας γάρ ἐν σοι πανταχῷ τάδ' αἰνέσω.

AΘ. 
τὸ πράγμα μεῖζον εἰ τις οἰεται τόδε
βροτοῖς δικάζειν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις
φόνους διαιρέων, ὀξυμηνίτου δίκας'—

472. πανταχῇ.

a disorder in Orestes' mind, which rapidly passes into madness (see the whole passage, and especially Cho. 108); and therefore the recurrence of the thought here aptly betrays the violence of his feelings.—ἀ...φόνο: the predicate is λουτρῶν, 'which proved the φόνον to be a λουτρῶν-φόνον'. What the bath-robe specially manifested was the horrible abuse of domestic religion by the employment of a rite for the purpose of the murder; see inf. v. 636.—ἐξεμαρτύρει: 'continued to prove', 'remained to prove'.

κρύψασ' εἰ Musgrave.—Prof. Seymour (see on v. 234) objects to the implication that Athena, years after the death of Agamemnon, is still ignorant of it. But is this really implied? It is proper, in the circumstances, that Orestes should state the fact, whether known to the goddess or not; and the brevity of his recapitulation would seem rather to suppose knowledge.

467. πατρός depends on the prepositional part of ἀντικέντροις, and is a compendious term for 'the slaying of my father'.

468. ἐπαιτίους: responsible for, liable to the charge of.

469. ἀντίκεντρα καρδία: which were as goads to my resolution: see v. 136, and for the facts Cho. 268 foll.

470. τῶν (with ἐπαιτίου): the murder of Agamemnon as above described. The force of τῶν, displaced in the sentence and thus emphasized, is to oppose the authors of the original murder to the authors of the revenge (τῶν in v. 468): both pronouns would be accompanied by explanatory gestures.—ἔρξαμι τε, do the thing, is a softened expression for κτεῖναι.

471. σοτε... 'And so do thou judge' etc. I think it a mistake to replace τε by τ' (Pearson), thus cutting the sentence off from the preceding statement concerning Apollo. The two are intentionally bound together: the thought which Orestes has in his mind, but dares not fully express, is that he is ready to be judged, provided that Apollo is also called upon, as he should be, to meet the accusation. We shall see that Athena respects this condition, vv. 571 foll. To the same effect tends the subtle and Attic ambiguity of εἰ δικαίως εἴτε μή. It is true, on the one hand, that we are to supply ἔρξα, 'I did the deed'; but we cannot escape, especially if we keep τε, an inclination to supply 'he instigated
mother, black of heart, behind a veil, with cunning inveiglements, which remained to tell of his bath and her deadly work. And I, after time of exile, returned, and... took my mother's life—I shall not deny it—in punishment, in revenge for my dearest father. And for this act, Loxias with me is to answer, who spurred my resolve with threat of agonies, if I should not do the deed upon those answerable for what I have said. Whether that was right or no, be thou the judge; before thee, however I fare, I shall be content. (A pause.)

Athena. If it be thought by some that this matter is too great for mortal men to judge,—yet neither is it fit for me to give the verdict of passion upon a cause of blood,...especially

me', from the main proposition, instead of the subordinate, in the preceding sentence. And this is the intention: Orestes hints that Apollo should be a defendant, without precisely saying it.

472. πράξας...πανταχθ: 'faring in any way', i.e., however it may go with me. —in σοί: in your hands, with a glance at the legal Attic sense, 'before your tribunal'.—For the compliment to the Areopagus, Wecklein cites Lycurg. c. Leoct. § 12 τὸ ἐν 'Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ συνάθρων, δοσοῦτοι διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων δικαστηρίων, δότη τε καὶ πάρ' αὐτῶν ὑμολογείσαθαι τοῖς ἀληθομένοις δικαίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν. 473—492. Athena declares her intention to summon a jury of Athenian citizens, and to make this cause the occasion for a permanent institution.

473; 474. 'If it is thought by some that this cause is too great for mortals to judge, yet neither is it proper for me' etc. I follow Wecklein in retaining βροτός (the original reading of M) and taking οὐδὲ μὴν, yet neither, to mark the apodosis. —βροτός (m) is not really supported, as might appear, by the schol. to M, ἐπὶ τις οὐσα τὸ πράγμα τόδε βροτοῦ δικάζει, μείζον ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους οὐσα, which on the contrary requires βροτοῦ, and paraphrases μείζον βροτοῦ (too great for mortals) by μείζον ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους. The commentator, thinking himself bound to construe τὸ πράγμα...δικάζειν as a sentence complete, does so, in a fashion, by assuming an ellipse, and supplying a second οὐσα, in protasis, from οὐσα as the apodosis, and similarly βροτός from βροτοῦ. Thus he evolves the sentence εἰ τις (οὐσα) τὸ πράγμα τόδε (βροτοῦ) δικάζειν, μείζον βροτοῦ οὐσα (πράγμα δικάζειν). Neither therefore does the scholium point to ἂν for el (Stanley and others). It does however, superficially, suggest the reading βροτοῦ, and this is probably the origin of the correction by m.—With βροτοῦ the sentence, however punctuated, and whether we take εἰ or ἂν, is incorrect in language.—τοι points primarily to the Erinyes, who may well think that the impending reference to a jury exceeds (as it does) the terms of their consent (συν. 437, 438). See however the next note.

474. 475. οὐδὲ...δικασ. This proposition formally condemns the commonly accepted legend of the founding of the Areopagus, and the trial of the first cause there by a jury of gods, Athena herself being one (see vv. 685 foll., and the Introduction). That legend is incompatible with Aeschylus' play, as well as repugnant to him on religious grounds, partly here indicated. Here, where his intention to discard and contradict it first appears, he aims a first stroke at it. We may consider therefore that τοι (v. 473) includes probable objectors among the audience.
AISXYLOU

You may think’, says the author, ‘that I degrade our tribunal by making it from the first a tribunal of mere men. I reply, that your version of its origin, instead of raising the tribunal, degrades the divine nature itself. — φόνου... δίκας: to pronounce, on a (case of) murder, the sentence of keen indignation, i.e. to decide a question which, from its nature, cannot be agitated without rousing, in the mind of the judge, passions of a kind and degree not belonging to her condition. The plurals φόνου... δίκας generalise the proposition; for δίκα sentence see L. and Sc. s.v. As to the grammatical analysis of the two accusatives, it may be held either (1) that διαπείν δίκας, to give distinguishing sentence, ‘governs’ φόνου as an object, in which case the construction is parallel to Soph. El. 124 τάκεις ολυμπών Αγαμέμνων (and see Kühner Gr. Grammar § 411 3 δ), or (2) better and more simply, that δίκας stands ‘in apposition to’ the notion sentence, decision, contained in φόνου διαπείν, a brachylogy for φόνου δίκας διαπείν: cf. v. 491. — δέμαρχον: lit. ‘of one keenly angered’, ‘of an anger-moving (judge)’. It corresponds to, and is a Greek equivalent for, the modern use of a personified abstract, anger. — The schol. εφ’ οίς (in a case where) ταχέως μηνίσοντων Βραδέως, though wrong, is valuable as confirming M against proposed changes (see below). It assumes the rendering ‘to decide a murder-case, the cause of a party quickly moved to anger’, the singular δέμαρχον being supposed to represent the Erinyes as one party to the suit. It may however be accommodated to the reading δέμαρχουs by changing εφ’ οίς to εφ’ αἰσ (Linwood) i.e. εφ’ αἰσ δίκας.— The conjectures φόνου Robortello, δέμαρχον Pearson, are obvious, and simplify the construction; but they obscure the point. The passion, which makes the case unfit for Athena to judge, must be passion arising in the breast of the judge: if the anger of the parties could injure her dignity, it is as thoroughly impaired as it could be, by the part which she actually takes. But if δέμαρχον be changed, the reference to the judge becomes unrecognisable. — As to how, and how far, Aeschylus’ objection is met or evaded by his own scheme of the trial, see on vv. 737 foll.

476—484. More especially must she, if acting as a judge, be moved and perturbed, when her personal feelings and interests are strongly divided. These verses are rather thoughts, a soliloquy, than an address to the adversaries, and express, in their emphasis (vv. 476, 478) and broken form (vv. 480—482), the very agitation of spirit which the goddess desires to avoid. — εφ’ οίς... αἰσθήσεις: in brief, Orestes is so much the more acceptable of the parties, the Erinyes so much the more formidable. — κατηρτυκῶς ὄμωσ ἰδέας: lit. ‘a suppliant disciplined (perfected?) nevertheless’, i.e. ‘though a confessed criminal and fugitive, yet at all events one who has been purified and made fit for intercourse’: see vv. 441—455. The point lies in the implied contrast with his opponents, the Erinyes, who, it must be remembered, affect the goddess with an almost uncontrollable horror; see vv. 411 foll. and notes there.
since, on the one part, thou art at worst a suppliant disciplined, coming pure and harmless to the house,...at worst such an innocent associate for Athens as I rather choose ;...and these, on the other part, have a power not lightly to be softened (?) ; and if they win not victory in the cause,...on the land hereafter the poison of their pride,...plague rained upon the soil, sore and perpetual... *(She remains for a moment silent.)*

What she means here is, that even a criminal, purified, is more acceptable personally than they, and that, from this point of view, a decision, which might seem to invite their friendship to herself and Athens, would be almost impossible to her. The words, to be clear, require the accompanying action.—κατηρτυκός, as applied to animals, especially horses, signified adult; see passages cited in L. and Sc. s.v., after the commentators here. Here it must clearly mean, that Orestes has gone through the ceremony and period of expiation; but this sense may be reached in two ways. (1) We may suppose a metaphorical application of the sense adult,—mature, hence perfected. So the schol., τέλειος τὴν ἥλικιαν τούτο δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων. Or (2) the use here, and the application to animals (colts), may both be derived from the ordinary sense of κατηρτυκὼς discipline, train (see L. and Sc. s.v.), so that κατηρτυκός should strictly mean having passed the stage of discipline, disciplined, broken : in that case the sense adult would be secondary, and would scarcely bear upon the present use. The second view, which is nearly Paley’s (he translates by tamed, spirit-broken), seems preferable, and rightly deduced from Eurip. fr. 818 εἰ μὲν τὸδ ήμαρ πρῶτον ἤν κακομενον... εἰδέ σφαξαν ἣν ἂν ὁς νεῖζουσα | πᾶλων χαλινὸς ἄρην δεδεγμένον | νῦν δ’ ἀμβλῆσαι εἰμι καὶ κατηρτυκὼς κακών, compared with sup. sv. 238 foll., 276 foll.—δόμοις: generally, habitations and their inhabitants; see sv. 239, 285, 444 etc. Not ‘my temple’ only.—δοῦλος (for δόμοξ) Pauw, δοῦλος Hermann, and see Wecklein Appendix; but no change is required.—δῶμος δὲ...πόλει: ‘and I prefer thee as being, after all, a fit associate’. δόμος: parallel to δωμος in v. 476 and explained by it; whatever he may have been, he is after all ἄμοιφος πόλει, which is more than can be said for his opponents. The comparison with them is implied by αἱροῦμαι, I choose rather, prefer, and by the context. ἄμοιφον πόλει: lit. ‘un objectionable to a πόλις, to a society’. The expression is general, though she speaks as an Athenian, and has Athens specially in view.—δῶμοι, δῶμα, αἵροῦμαι, and other changes have been proposed, but the text, I believe, is sound.

479. εὐπάτημα: uncertain in derivation and meaning.—If from πέμικων (which however is open to strong objections), it may mean ‘easy to be sent away, to be dismissed’ (Lobeck, Wellauer, Hermann). ἐκοισὶ μοῖραν will then be ‘have a condition’, that is, ‘a claim to respect’ (see L. and Sc. s.v. μοῖρα).—A more probable connexion is with πέμπω, the root of πέμπων (see Headlam, Class. Rev. xvii. 286), quasi εἰπάτημαν, soft. Then μοῖραν should perhaps mean μέρος, ‘their part is not weak’, i.e. ‘they are not weak, on their part’.—The general meaning, that they are formidable, appears from what follows.

480—482. The broken construction (the ‘pendent’ nominative τυχούμαι), and the unfinished sentence, dying away into a pause of reflection (after νόσος), are designed to mark the agitation of her thoughts. To mark this is important in view of ὁδ ἐμοὶ θέμα in v. 474. Compare the perplexed pondering of the King in the Supplices (sv. 447 foll.), and the broken language of the Herald in the Agamemnon, and of the Nurse in the
Choephori.—It is just possible to construe χόρα μεταβίβας lόs as a full sentence, supplying ἐστι, 'for the land there is hereafter a venom', i.e. 'a venom to come'; but many object to this, and with reason. It does not however follow that the sentence should be completed.—lόs εἰς φρονέματαν: the venom from their pride.—πέπεμα...νόσος. See σσ. 782 foll.—αλανίς: everlasting, from which there is no recovery.—χόρα μεταβίβας Wellauer, πέδου Dindorf.

483. μένεν τάς Ερυμάς—πέπεμα αὐτάς εμέ. To accept the friendship of the Ereinyes for Athens, and to risk their hatred, appear to the goddess, at first sight, alternatives equally distressing. We should note how far from the poet is the intention to present even Athena as perfect in intelligence or foresight. She is a θεός, but she is not his God.—The peculiar rhythm (ἀμφότερα—) of this verse is apparently intended to aid the general effect of disturbance.

484. ‘An entanglement that I must not touch’; lit. ‘hard of disentanglement in a way (to a degree) impossible for me’. The impossibility lies in the unfitness (v. 474).—ἀμφότερος ἐμοι: for the adverb with dependent case, a construction favoured by Aeschylus, see Αγ. 1581, 1591, Cho. 626, 703, 735.—δυσπηματα (?). The sense required seems plain, but the word is uncertain: δυσπηματα is not derivable from any word now known (though this does not prove non-existence), and the proposed substitutes (δυσπηματα, δυσπαλματα etc.) are mostly inadmissible. δυσπήματα (Wecklein) fits the sense, but it is hard to account for the corruption of so easy a word. Possibly we should read δυσπήματα or δυσπηματα (see πην. περιως, περιωμα) ‘hard to wind off’, as a thread on the bobbin. The metaphor from the ἔργα γυναίκων would suit the speaker. The form in -ας (δυσπήματα) might be accounted for by the ν which seems to have had, to a small extent, the same effect as a κ: cf. ναμερής, νάις, ποινάρω, επικατωρ, θυνατωρ, ενδάμαιος, κυνατετής, νάις, σινάδορος, etc. in Attic poetry.—τοι Αβρεσχ.—Τω σχολ. πέπεμα αὐτάς ἀμφότερος δυσχερές ἕστιν ἐμοι, has been held to require in the text ἀμφότερος. But the meaning of the note is perhaps that, to complete the sense, this notion must be supplied (from σσ. 474, 475, where see the schol.): Athena cannot dismiss the Ereinyes without provoking their anger. ἀμφότερος, if read, should be interpreted: in connexion with the true sense of v. 475: Athena cannot disentangle the problem without temper unfit for her.

486, 487. ‘The choosing of judges to try an oath of murder shall be made by me into an ordinance,—the ordinance for all time.’ φόνων...αἰρομένους: lit. ‘(persons) being chosen judges of oaths of murder’. The participial phrase may be regarded as an approach to the Latin gerundive (see on Th. 611, Αγ. 640, Cho. 793), although, without this, it would be natural in poetry to speak of the judges, the tribunal itself, as the ‘ordinance’, or ‘institution’; so in v. 617 Apollo addresses them as ὄμας, Αθηναίας μέγαν θεσμόν. The φόνων ὀρκα, ‘oaths
relating to murder', are those of the parties and their witnesses (see νν. 489, 492), the sworn information which demands the testimony and is the matter of judgment.—αἰρομένους: passive; for similar uses of present tenses usually deponent (aorists and perfects are comparatively common), compare βιβλεύει (Homer and Thucyd.), ἱππόται and πιπράσκεσθαι (Plato and others), λυγαλεύει (Antiphon, Lysias, Xenophon), αἱρεῖσθαι itself (Aristotle, Politics), etc.; see L. and Sc. s.vv. and Kühner Gr. Grammar § 377, 46. In the case of αἱρεῖσθαι, such a use is especially easy, from the familiarity of the passive in ἔρριμα and ἔρρηθαν, the latter apparently always passive. In τὰ ὑποκήμενα καὶ πιπρασκήμενα (Plato Phaedo 69β), and ἐπὶ μᾶς ὁθ ἄπτεσα περὶ αὐτοῦ (I refused to pay seven minae for him) δεδεμένου καὶ λυγαιομένου (Antiphon 5, § 63), the context explains it. Here the facts explain it: that the judges are to be chosen (not choosers) is manifest from the situation. Whether the tense refers to the present occasion only (to be chosen now), or to this and all future occasions (chosen from time to time), depends on the question discussed at ν. 490.—θεσμὸς τῶν κ.τ.λ. It has been objected that this article with the predicate is improper, an objection which would perhaps be valid against τῶν θεσμῶν τῶν κ.τ.λ. But the predicate is θεσμῶν only, to which τῶν εἰς ἄκατα χρόνων is added as a further description, as in the translation above. The sense is, that, since in this case it is inevitable to choose a jury of Athenians, the parties having brought their case to Athens (δείπο), and Athena herself refusing to be judge, the goddess by her own act (ἐγὼ) will make, out of the occasion, an ordinance which shall be permanent.—It is commonly assumed (1) that the ὅρκα are those of the judges; a schol. (οὖν ἐνδέκους δικαστάς) points to this, but see below; (2) that αἰρομένους must be either (i) passive of αἰρέω (take), or else (ii) deponent. From (i) proceeds the conjecture ὅρκους αἰρομένους, supposed (see γνώριμον) to mean 'bound under oath', κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα and others. From (ii) proceed ὅρκους αἰρομένην, ὅρκων αἰρομένων θεύμων (quasi αἰλ. ὅρκων θεόν, reverencing the appointed oath), and many others; see Wecklein, Appendix. The simplest is (ὅρκους) αἰρομένην, choosing...judges (Casaubon), but it should rather be ὅρκους. As to the scholiast, we must remember that the ancient commentators had no scruple in assuming, where necessary, that one case was used 'for' another. The writer of οὖν ἐνδέκους δικαστάς is merely trying, on these principles, to construe ὅρκους αἰρομένους, as if it were ὅρκους αἰρομένους or the like: it means, he says, 'something like sworn'.—See also next notes.

487—489. μάρτυρὰτα κ.τ.λ.: 'proofs (τεκμήρια), supported by evidence of witnesses (μάρτυρα)'—ἄρωγα...ἀρχομάτα: sworn aids. The use of ἄρωγα, from ἄρωγον (τινά) 'to swear a witness', implies, like καλεσθε (Wecklein), a personification of the μάρτυρα. The direction is made general for the sake of resemblance to ordinary causes, but points chiefly to the evidence promised by Orestes in νν. 450 foll.—δεινές δὲ δροκοὺς αὐτοῖς αὖθισατε (do you demand oaths from them, i.e. from the judges: schol. on ν. 488). I cite this note merely to illustrate the true value of οὖν ἐνδέκους δικαστάς on ν. 486. It is somewhat misleading, though natural, to cite the scholia only where they are supposed to be right.
490—92. κρίνασα...διαρείν: ‘when I come again, I shall have selected the best of Athens to divide the cause’. διαρείν depends upon κρίνασα.—ἀδεω Auratus, I shall bring, is more explicit, but hardly necessary.—τὰ βέλτατα: τῶν βέλτιστοι. So we might say ‘the best material among the citizens’. Compare the application of the neuters in -μα (παθεμα etc.) to persons, and Pers. 1 τάδε πατά καλαί, of officials, as here.—

διαρείν τούτο πράγμα: to do this dividing of the cause, διαρείν τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτιν τὸ πράγμα. τοῦτο, like τὸ σῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο as you said, marks that διαρείν refers back (to v. 475 φόνους διαρείν). The point is, that the ‘dividing’ and decision, unfit for the goddess, will be proper for the human jurors, not only because human, but because by literal ‘division’ of votes (see on ἐπήγαγοι) various aspects can be balanced and responsibility shared. This is in fact the chief, perhaps the only, advantage of a jury. For the adversarial acc. of the neuter pronoun see Kühner Gr. Gram. § 410, note 6, § 411, note 4: e.g. Xen. Anab. 5. 7. 6 τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ἐκατατέθησα, Thuc. 6. 11 ἐπερ οἱ 'Ἐγεζαται ὑμᾶς ἐκφοβίσουν. The use of it, where (as here) the ‘direct object’ is neuter, makes an ambiguity in writing, but not in speech. On the other hand, τοῦτο, it joined with πράγμα (his cause), is superfluous.—ἐπηγαγός. On ἐτυμος, ἐπήγαγος, in Aeschylus, see vv. 499, 537, and my edition of Sept. c. Thed., App. I. It marks here, as commonly, that a word (διαρείν) is to be pressed to its full and literal force. The jury would determine the cause veritably, literally by division. As a general rule, the word points to an etymology, and probably it does so here: δικάζων (v. 486) to the Greek ear actually suggested the notion divide (διχάζειν) and was sometimes so explained. See Aristot. Eth. Nic. 5. 5. 888, 9 ὅταν ἐὰν διαφέρῃ τὸ δολο; τὸτε φασίν ἔχειν τὰ αὐτῶν, ὅταν λάβωσι τὸ τὸν. ὅτα τοῦτο καὶ ἴσον αὐτοῦ ἰσάς ὅτι ἰσάς ἄστιν, ὅπερ εἰ τις εἰςοι ἰσάς, καὶ ὅ δικαίας δικαίας. I was directed to this reference by Dr Jackson.—

δρκαν...φρεσίν: never straying in thought beyond the just limit of the oaths, i.e. confining themselves strictly to the case as sworn, and ignoring all extraneous prejudice. The gen. ἐρκαν depends upon ἐκδίκων, as in ἐκτός γῆς, δήμων and the like: μηδὲν ἐκδίκων is an adversarial acc. (like τοῦτο in v. 491), so that the whole is equivalent to περώντας μηδεμίαν πέραν ἐκδικήσας καὶ τῶν ὅρκων. The δίκη meant is rather the ‘cause’ than ‘justice’ in general; what is not within ἐκτός γῆς is not within the δίκη, is ἐκδίκων. By the ‘oaths’, as appears from the context (vv. 486, 489), is meant the content or subject-matter of the oaths, what is sworn. The masculine περώντας agrees with the sense, though not the form, of τὰ βέλτατα. —Here, as at v. 486, explanation has been embarrassed by the assumption, promoted by the schol. (see below), that the ‘oaths’ meant are those of the judges. Thus φρεσίν becomes inappropriate, since

489. In ὁρκώματα the letters κῶ are written on an erasure.
testimony and proofs, sworn aids of the cause. I, ere I come again, shall have selected of my citizens the best, to make division, true ‘division’, upon the plea, wholly confining their thoughts to the cause as it is sworn. (Exit ATHENA; ORESTES follows her. The Erinyes watch their departure with angry gestures and murmurs, then break into exclamations.)

Chorus. Now comes final ruin, even now with the new law, if the injurious plea of yon matricide is to prevail! All

the crime of a judge, who gives an unjust sentence, is not committed only or chiefly ‘in his mind’; and we demand some plainer indication connecting these δρκοι with the judges, and distinguishing them from the δρκωματα of ν. 489. Hence φράσεω (Markland, Hermann) for φρεστ. δρκον πορφυρας (Hermann), supposed (ed. quære) to mean ‘having given’, i.e. taken, ‘an oath’, and other changes; see Wecklein, Appendix. But the oaths of this passage, δρκα, δρκωματα, δρκοι, are throughout, as we should naturally suppose, the same oaths, those of the parties and their witnesses. The dicastic oath (upon which, as the dicasts are not present, it would be useless to dwell) is not pertinent to the present subject: the parties are to prepare their sworn evidence, and upon the sworn evidence judgment will be given.—The schol., δρκοι διδυτρας, does not imply a different text; the commentator guesses or assumes, seeing no other way, that πορφυρας means διδυτρας, that ‘going through an oath’ is here used for ‘giving an oath’, i.e. ‘swearing’. By δρκοις μηθεν εκδικων he understands ‘nothing unjust in the way of an oath’, ‘no unjust oath’, quasi μηθενε εκδικων δρκων. The placing of the verse (in the MSS. f and g) after ν. 488 was suggested probably by the schol. to ν. 488 in M; see note there.—As to the possible connexion between this passage and the method of forming an Areopagitic jury in historical times, see Appendix I.

493. ἕ μέν ’Δηναρά αὐτῆς εὐτρεπτοι δικασταὶ, ὅ ἐδ’ Ὀρέστης λεγετέσσαρι μένες, αἰ δὲ ’Ερυμνίας φρονουσίν αὐτῶν, schol. As to Athena, this is clearly right: she leaves the stage here, to make arrangements for the trial. Whether Orestes remains on the scene ‘in supplication’, or goes into the city, under the safeguard of the goddess, the text nowhere shows. The point may be best considered in connexion with the next scene, ν. 569.

493 foll. The Erinyes indignantly denounce the ‘new law’, which interposes a ‘trial’ between them and their due victim! If it is to prevail, parricides and such will have perfect freedom (493—501). For themselves, they will then leave mankind to their fate; and as for any substitute (such as Athena’s ‘court’), it will be utterly inefficient (502—510) without their aid (511—519), and also intolerably oppressive (520—528). Government, but not despotism, is the way to virtue and happiness (529—540). From them, the Erinyes, irreverence has its certain punishment (541—552), and voluntary obedience will as surely be rewarded (553—555), as triumphant sin will be finally overwhelmed and lost (556—568).

493—466. νῦν...θεμών. Now comes final ruin, now with the new law! The emphasis is on νῦν: the new law is a ‘subversion’ and ‘end’ (καταστροφή meaning both) in the very moment of beginning, i.e., it will never work at all.—Not exactly ‘a revolution caused by new laws’ (Paley), which would rather require μεταστροφή (Meineke): the conjectures νῶμων (Ahrens for νῶν), ἕμων κ. (Weil), assume the true meaning of καταστροφή, but are not required.—Σὺ καὶ βλάβα: the injurious plea, lit. ‘plea and injury (hurt, hindrance)’: βλάβα (see βλάτω,
πάντας ἡδή τόδε ἔργον εὐχερεί-  
α συναρμόσει βροτοῦν: 
πολλὰ δ' ἐτύμα παιδότρωτα 
πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῖ-  
οὐτε γὰρ βροτοσκόπων 
μανάδων τῶν ἐφέρ-  
ψει κότος τις ἐργμάτων,—

and n. to Theb. 183) suggests both hurt and hindrance; the proposed trial is a mischievous bar to the course of justice.—

eἰ κρατήσει does not mean ‘if the accused shall succeed in obtaining acquittal’, but ‘if the trial is to be enforced against the rights of the Erinyes’, if Athena is to have her way, now and henceforth, as to the procedure to be followed in cases of blood. The uncertainty thus introduced, the chance of escape, will produce (they say) a flood of crime.—τοῦδε does not affect the question, whether Orestes remains on the stage. In any case, he has now barely quitted it, and is still in the view of the speakers (cf. v. 503). On the other hand, it is worth remark, that the rest of the ode ignores him.—τὸ καὶ Heath, for καὶ, on metrical grounds, perhaps rightly: see App. II.

497, 498. ‘The present deed by its facility will soon unite all the world’ in parricide, will make parricides of all. εὐχέρεια, by its facility, means both that parricide is easy in itself, the victims being unsuspicous and ready to hand, and that impunity, or at least the uncertainty of punishment, will make it easy.—συναρ-  
μόσει, an expression naturally signifying order and discipline, seems to import irony.

499–501. ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα: ‘veri- 

tably παιδότρωτα’, in the whole sense of the word, see on v. 491. The sarcasm turns on the fact that παιδότρωτος meant both (1) ‘(wounds) inflicted with the point of a weapon’, from a word παίς, probably connected with παῖω, and signifying point, preserved in the gloss of Hesychius, παιδός· ἀκμής, and also (2), less naturally, ‘inflicted by a child’. For further illustrations from Aeschylus, see Verbal Equivocation in the Indices to my editions of the Septem, Agamemnon, and Choephori.—‘Real, not mere idle tales’, ἔγραμ καὶ ὅλγυρ, Paley. ‘Actual wounds, not metaphorical’, Wecklein. The first explanation seems inadmissible; we cannot suppose that parricide was ever a mere fiction. The second is possible, but assumes, for the metaphorical use of παιδότρωτον πάθος, a familiarity not easy to be supposed. My feeling is that the word ἔγραμα has, in this connexion, no natural application, and that the passage itself, apart from Aeschylean usage, would point to some linguistic artifice. The references given will confirm this, and show both the feeling of the poet with respect to such interpretations, and their association with the term ἔγραμα.—ἔγραμ-  

tοπαίδοτρωτα Headlam, Class. Rev. xv. 17. The compound would be possible and natural for Aeschylus, and should probably be read. Dr Headlam interprets by ‘wounds of ἔγραμα παῖδες’, inflicted by true, veritable children. The word can certainly mean this, but would the distinction he relevant?

502–510. οὔτε...answers to τε...in v. 509, πάντων ἐφών...μονήων being a parenthesis.—οἶδε Elmsley, οἶ τι Casanbon, but see below.—The general sense is clear: ‘For there will be no means of preventing
men forthwith will, by facility, be drawn into his crime; and often in time to come the child shall prove his mettle upon the parent's heart.

For, as from these mad watchers of mankind no anger will

or punishing the crimes, to which we, the insulted Erinyes, shall then give free scope.' But there are difficulties of detail.

503—504 offer several questions: (i) ἐφίπτει, will come upon, requires an object: cf. ἐφίπτει μὴν ἐν in v. 315, where the object is the criminal. It is usual to supply ἄτρα (ἐγκυμα τὰς χρίμες), taking ἐγκυμάτων with κότος, 'anger for the crimes'. But, with the given order of words, this is not natural; we should expect κότος τιν ἐγκυμάτων ἐφίπτει. May not the object of ἐφίπτει be ἐγκυμάτων itself? The genitive accords with the general analogy of verbs signifying to reach, come at; so ἐπιβάλλειν, ἐπιβατεῖσθαι, ἐμπατεῖσθαι, ἐφικτεῖσθαι, καθικτεῖσθαι, etc., used in this sense, take genitives (see Kühner Gr. Gram. § 416, 2 and 3). If the particular verb ἐφίπτει is not found elsewhere with the genitive, this is not a decisive objection, nor that it is found (as at v. 315) with the accusative. Other like verbs (e.g. ἐπιβαλλεῖν, ἐφικτεῖσθαι) take both cases with little difference of meaning; and many unquestionable constructions are now represented by single instances. Moreover, between assail (v. 315) and come at, reach, it is possible to draw a distinction in favour of the genitive here,—(2) τῶνθε may be taken either with μανίδων or with ἐγκυμάτων. The order favours the first, and see below. —(3) To whom does βροσουκότων μανίδων refer? A schol. says ἡμῶν δὴν ὑπὲρ, the Erinyes, and this is the established view. But it assumes a strange use of the word μανίδας. Meaning properly a mad woman (Iliad xxii. 460), it was applied, when the Bacchic religion arose, to women possessed by Bacchus. The natural supposition, that it was originally so applied in contempt, is confirmed by the fact that it retained this shade in the language of those who disliked that religion (Eur. Bacch. 224). And except, so far as this is an exception, when it describes Maenads proper, women inspired by Bacchus, it remained a term of contempt. Thus in Euripides, Hecuba applies it, with shame and distress, to the frantic Cassandra (Tro. 172, 307, 349; see 415), and Clytemnestra to Cassandra as her rival (El. 1032). Similarly, as an adj., it marks the overpowering, degrading, misleading effect of love in Soph. fr. 678, Pind. Pyth. 4. 216. Similarly in Eur. Ion 552, Xuthus significantly describes as μανίδας Βακχίων a company of Bacchants, one of whom he seduced. How then should the Erinyes of this play bestow the name, without explanation, upon themselves? How could the audience understand it? As maddening others, the Erinyes were sometimes called Madnesses, Μανίδαι (though the name is not now found in Aeschylus), but were not called, and were not, μανίδας. They were not possessed by Bacchus, or possessed at all; and if, as pursuers, they might be compared to Maenads, though the play does not anywhere else suggest the comparison, this will not account for their being so called, especially by themselves. Prima factae βροσουκότων μανίδων τῶνθε, 'these frantic beings that watch mankind', is an inventive; and so, I suspect, it is meant. It is pointed (by τῶνθε, cf. τοῦθε above) at the departing Athena, whom they call μανίδα in derision of her wisdom, and βροσουκότως in anger at the range of her supervision (v. 293, 296), the promptitude of her interposition (v. 400), and her interest in Orestes. The plural is used to include with her any one, any of the 'new gods', who may pretend to abrogate and replace the Erinyes. Criminals (they imply) will have little to fear from powers whose function, apparently,
505. and yield to all, we in turn, the prophets, to those who were, and to them [as a matter of course] the paragonei.

510. of the real destructors tetummenos, the next ones θροούμενος: the enquiring for a means to stay or diminish the trouble'.

515. for it free. — πεύσεται...λήξειν úpódoseían τε μόχθων,— άκει τ' ού βέβαια, τλάμων δέ τις [μάταν] παρηγορεῖ. 

And there is no help in the remedies which impudence comforts [in vain].’ ακεα Σχεντζ.—ού βέβαια
(κατ'/) not firm, untrustworthy.— δι abut, adversative to ού.—τλάμων. παθόν δε τις μάτην εάντων παραμυθεῖ τῇ εἰς ήμις πεπελεῖ. ή, ἐκαστὸς δὲ τῶν φονῶν παραγορηθήσεται. τλήμων γὰρ ὁ ἀναιδής: “ἡ δ' ῥάδε τλήμων”, schol. Here, in the second alternative, we seem to have a late and ignorant commentator, who misapplies earlier and better work. The absurd interpretation, ‘every impudent person (murderer) will be comforted’ (?) by the new impunity, would hardly occur to a reader capable of recalling and proving

is to protect criminals.—See further on v. 510, and at v. 569, Appendix I.

505—508. Marders to punish, there will be in abundance: that will be the Erinyes’ revenge. εφήσω: I shall loose and launch on mankind, εἰς τοὺς βρασόντος. See L. and Sc. s.v. εφήσμο. It means loose, but also more; the Erinyes could produce crime as well as set it free.— πεύσεται...λήξειν úpódoseían τε: ‘shall be enquiring for a means to stay or diminish the trouble’.—άλλος άλλοθεν: sufferers by the increase of crime will enquire of one another. προφυνων...κακά: predicting (anticipating) that others, their neighbours, will soon suffer too. —The language, λήξειν...μάχθων, is medical (Headlam, Class. Rev. xvii. 286, adducing the adj. ληξιτύρετος, and a verse from Maximus
visit the deeds,—and I shall launch death at large upon the world, till each, anticipating the next man’s fate, shall be asking, one of another, the way to end the woe or lessen it,—so also infirm are the remedies, wherewith impunity comforteth.

Nor let any, upon whom the blow has fallen, raise with loud voice the appeal to  ‘Justice and the throned Erinyes’. Thus will some father or some mother soon bemoan their altered case, now that the house of Justice is falling down.

There are times when terror is in place and the inquisitor of hearts must bide in his seat. It is good to learn wisdom by

from Sophocles (El. 275) the use of τὴν...μαθήμα...ιμπεριστήν. But the gloss and citation, ἀναιδής: “ἡ δ’ οδοὶ τὴν...μαθήμα”, are, I believe, right. τις (see on Theb. 389, 1027, and supra v. 363) is the τις of angry allusion, and points to Athena, being therefore feminine, as the quotation from Sophocles suggests. In proposing to replace the justice of the Erinyes by that of her new tribunal, she is like a quack, who dissuades the patient from a sharp and effective treatment, soothing and deluding him (παργγορεῖ) with the assurance that the nostrum will do as well. τῆμαν δὲ τις παργγορεῖ is literally ‘but that person is impudent in her comforting suggestion’. In παργγορεῖ there is generally, though not necessarily, the idea of unsound persuasion, hence ἄδολοι παργγοραί in Ag. 95. —μάταν (f). If v. 501 is, as it seems, complete, v. 510 is too long by an iambus. The remedies are to omit either (1) δὲ τις (many comm.), or (2) μάταν (Schoemann, with other changes). In favour of (2) there is some positive evidence: the second alternative in the schol., ‘every murderer will be comforted’, ignores and excludes μάταν, and so therefore, in all probability, did the text of the glossator, the citor of Sophocles (see above), a weighty authority. And on the other hand, the insertion of μάταν can be accounted for. If τῆμαν τις be rendered ‘the miserable man’, ‘the sufferer’, as by the first alternative in the scholium, and if the whole sentence, ἀκοῦ...παργγορεῖ, is taken in close connexion with vv. 506—509, to add or understand μάταν is necessary to make sense. As to this connexion in itself, it is scarcely admissible, unless for παργγορεῖ we substitute some future tense, such as ἔπρει (Martin). The future question (πειραρά) should have a future reply.—The true connexion is with vv. 502—504 (οὐτε...τε): the new gods will condone crime, and the ‘court’ is unsure; so there will be no restraint at all.

512—519. τοῦτ’ ἓνος: in this form. See on Theb. 566.—Ἀλ...ἰδ: ἃ...ὦ Παυ. See Appendix II.—ταύτα: thus, adverbial to οἴκτον ἀληθεύοντο.

520—531. Sometimes terror is good and the inquisitor of hearts must bide in his seat. It is profitable to learn wisdom (even) under constraint. But who, that never recreates his spirit in the light,—be it city, be it man—can have respect for justice any more? Not ungoverned, nor governed tyrannously—such is the life to be praised, etc.—ἐραθ’ ἔπου...: ‘There are places (and occasions) where (and when)’ ἔπου covers both its strict sense, and the looser poetical (ἐσπερε) as in v. 277.—τὸ ἐσπερον: the terrors of a punishing and constraining authority.—ἤδ’ (ἤδη), so ἤδτι Eur. Med. 89.—ἐπισκόπων. The imperial associations of the word are important (note πολις in v. 527). It was applied (see L. and Sc. s.v.) to the inspectors or intendants sent from time to time to supervise the subject-cities on behalf of Athens. It thus suggests the idea of a
power exerted on occasion and where it is required. The ‘inspector’ of hearts will not always ‘bide in his seat’, but he will bide δικαιον, δικαιον. — οἰκομενεῖ κ.τ.λ.: asyndeton, because a repetition in sense of what precedes.—δι: but, not and.—μηδέν: lit. ‘not at all’. — φαίε: metaphorical, for relief, liberty, as opposed to στίχος, confinement, constraint. Cf. Pers. 303 ἐμόις μὲν ἐπιτάξαν δικαιον φᾶς μεγα (relief from a great fear), Cho. 970 πάρα τὸ φῶς θεῶν (upon the overthrow of a tyranny).—ἀνατρέϕειν in the full sense, ‘rear up again, restore’. Cf. ἀνατρέϕεν τὸ φρόνημα, ἀνατρέϕεσαι ἐκ νόσου (L. and Sc. s.v.), and see ἀναθάλπειν, ἀναθάλπειν, ἀναθάλπειν, ἀναπλάττειν, etc.—ἀιῶνως: lit. ‘either city, and likewise a man’.—ἐρτι: after coming under such a tyranny. — The Erinyes, representing a ruder justice, have assailed the proposed institution, a permanent criminal court, as uncertain; it will not be, like themselves, inflexible in principle; it will be capable of sparing a matricide (v. 493—519). They now assail it as oppressive. — ‘Error should be applied to men and societies, as by themselves, upon definite occasion, not, as by the new justice, indefinitely and always. The subjects overshadowed by such a standing inquisition will become a sort of slaves and prisoners, broken in spirit and yet rebels at heart. True government is not despotism...’ etc. They appropriate to themselves, as argumenta ad homines, the Hellenic and Attic commonplaces on the golden mean. The argument is partly fallacious, and so intended; but it has nevertheless a grave bearing upon the scope of the play. As a matter of fact, the Areopagus had exercised, not merely the jurisdiction over specified crimes, which is illustrated by the case of Orestes, but also a general censorship (κολαξίαν καὶ ζημιοῦσα πάντας τοὺς ἄκοσμους κυρίους, Aristotle Ath. Pol. 3. 6); and this power, ‘restored’ according to tradition by Solon, was denoted by the very word which Aeschylus here uses, ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπων: τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγίτων ἔβαλε ἐπὶ τὸ νομοσφαλέως, ὅστε ὑπήρχε καὶ πρότερον ἐπίσκοπος ὦν ὑπ' ἑκατερός, καὶ τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα καθως κυρία ὀδὸν καὶ ζημιόων καὶ κολάξων κ.τ.λ., ἦδ. 8. 4. ἐπίσκοπος πάντων καὶ φθαλκά τῶν νόμων ἐκάθευς Plutarch, Solon 19; cf. the μείναν καθημένων of Aeschylus. But this censorship, extended after the Persian wars, was about this time abolished as tyrannical by a democratic revolution (Gilbert, Constitutional Antiquities, pp. 115, 137, 154 Eng. transl., Grote, Hist. Gr., see Index s.v. Areopagus). Against the Areopagus in this aspect, the argument here is by no means evidently fallacious, nor proved to be so by the play; on the contrary the very words of it are echoed by Athena herself in founding the court (v. 699).
duress. But who, that never refreshes his spirit in the light, be it city or be it man, can have respect for justice any more?

Not ungoverned, nor governed tyrannously,—such is the life to be praised. God, variable otherwise in his government, gives in all things superiority to the moderate. And a maxim of like

Thus Aeschylus, while defending the limited institution, avoids committing himself to a general conflict with the prevalent sentiment, a precaution probably essential to the success of his work.— δει μακεν 'anonymus apud Dobraeum'; οδ πανταχω το δευων ασειναι φρενων δει σχολ.—We cannot explain this passage as merely a general argument in favour of το δευων. Against this are (1) τοθ' δενο, which implies the 'not good' as well as the 'good'; (2) φει, for which Auratus, followed by modern editors generally, substituted δει; (3) ἀνατρέφων καρδιαν, which cannot signify the effect of fear; (4) μητε ἀνάρρητον κ.τ.λ., which indicates that the foregoing remarks are two-sited, criticizing, as well as defending, the principle of authority.—It is however true, that both sides of the argument have weight, the τοθ' δενο εύ as well as the τοθ' δενο νοκ ευ, and that the first is hereafter emphasized by Athena as the more important (v. 701). But that is not the present purpose of the Erinyes.—It is possible to take δενο...καθισμουν as having only one verb (δει), not two (εστι... καλ δει). Then ἐταχασαν to be part of the predicate ('as inspector'), and καλ (also, with φρενων) will mean 'of hearts, as of cities'. I prefer to supply εστι.

529. On the metre see Appendix II. 533—4. μέσον (εστι), when it is moderate. Everything (including government) attains its (το) best by moderation.— ἀλ' ἀλλα (Wellauer).—ἀλ' ἀλλα δ' εφορεύει "serves only to emphasize the principal thought, as at v. 653 τα δ' ἀλλα δ' ενω τε κ.τ.λ. To the mean God gives surely and always the preference, although generally he views (ansiekt) this thing in one way and that in another: i.e., if there is anything upon which the favourable judgment of the deity is constant, that thing is the just mean" (Wecklein).

εφορευε however seems to be rather supervises, administers (εφορευε) than views. ἀλ' ἀλλα δει is put briefly for τα δ' ἀλλα ἀλλα.—εφορευει m. But εφορευε (M) from ὄρεω is possibly what Aeschylus wrote, pronouncing it either εφορευε or εφορευει, i.e. εφορευ (schol.). These forms are not correct, but to a non-scientific ear, and for the purpose of poetry, they may be as good as πνευματες (breathing), ὄρμα (thou seest), ἀδικεί insures, and other dialectic, archaic, or pseudo-archaic forms found in the Epos and other ancient literature. Have we the means of ascertaining the limits actually felt or observed in such matters by Aeschylus in his choric language?

535—540. ξυμμετρον ετος: 'a maxim (verse) of the same measure', i.e. pointing, like the former, to το μεσον, the moderate. But this is only half the meaning. The conjunction of ετος (verse) and μετρου naturally suggests metre, and in fact the two ἐτοι, which Aeschylus has embodied, are metrically equal, (1) παντι μεχρι το κρατος θεος ύπασε, and (2) δυσεξιας θυμος (or κρος, see below) ὡς ἑτιμων τέκω, both dactylic dimeters. Apparently they come from some collection of γραμμαι, resembling 'Phocylides' or the 'Ὀμορω θηρατα cited by Pindar in Pyth. 4. 277, but drawn from lyrics and grouped by metres. ξυμμετρον is thus itself equivocal; see next note.—ὡς ἑτιμων: as the name reveals, see on νν. 491, 499. The ετυμον, or mystic equivocation indicated, turns upon κρος, meaning both σου (τέκω) and insolence. It was especially famous, and is noted by Aeschylus again in Supp. 83, as well as by other poets. See Appendix to my edition of the Seven
δυσσεβίας μὲν ὑβρίς τέκος ὅς ἐτύμως,
ἐκ δ' ὤνειας
φρενῶν ὁ πάσιν φίλος
καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.
ἐς τὸ πάν δὲ σοι λέγω:
βωμὸν αἴδεσαι δίκας,
μηδὲ νῦν
κέρδος ἴδων ἀθέω ποδὶ λὰξ ἀτι-
σης· ποινὰ γὰρ ἐπέσται.
κύριον μένει τέλος.
πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων σέβας εὖ προτίων
καὶ ἐξενοτίμους
δωμάτων ἐπιστροφᾶς
 αἰδόμενός τις ἐστώ.
ἐκ τῶν ἀνάγκας ἄτερ

540 ὄν γὰρ ἐπέσται.
dίκαιος ὄν οὐκ ἄνολβος ἐσται:
πανάλεθρος <ἀ> ύπτοτ', <ὑπτοτ'> ἄν γένοιτο.
τὸν ἀντίτολον δὲ φαμὶ <peror> περαι-
βάδαν τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἀνευ δίκης

545 στρ. δ'.
550 ἐκ τῶν ἀνάγκας ἄτερ

555 δίκαιος ὄν οὐκ ἄνολβος ἐσται.
πανάλεθρος <ἀ> ύπτοτ', <ὑπτοτ'> ἄν γένοιτο.
τὸν ἀντίτολον δὲ φαμὶ <peror> περαι-
βάδαν τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἀνευ δίκης

556 ἐκ τῶν ἀνάγκας ἄτερ

536. δυσσεβίας. 539. πάσι.

Against Thebes. As in v. 491 and sometimes elsewhere, the etymon, being familiar, is conveyed allusively, the keyword (κόρος) being left to the hearer. This is a first step to the view, which soon became prevalent, that such points are dubious both in force and taste. Aeschylus is the only serious Greek writer extant, who uses them frequently. The present instance is perhaps the strongest single testimony to the Aeschylean sense of ἔτυμος. Except for the etymon or etymology, ὃς ἐτύμως (note especially ὅς) is pointless. The proof however rests on no single instance, but on the comparison and total of them.—ἐκ δ' ὄν. φρενῶν τέκος ἔστι, τ.ε. γλυπτεραι.—

541—552. ἐς τὸ πάν: generally, universally; i.e. apart from the polemical and temporary refutation which they have given to Athena's proposal. There is no ground for suspecting ἐς τὸ πάν, as I formerly suggested.—σοι: general, 'anyone', but the personal term sharpens the note. In effect, the warning is addressed to the Athenian people.—

553 βωμὸν: base, foundation (not 'altar'); see λαξ ἄτις below, and on Ag. 394 λακτισάντι...δικας βωμὸν.—κέρδος. Orestes began (v. 289) with an appeal to Athenian interests, and the prosecutors expect, with reason (νν. 670 foll.), that this will be urged upon the jury.—

νν. βωμὸν.—πρὸς τάδε...ἔστω: 'Therefore let a man, duly putting first reverence for parents, be also a respecter of the stranger who comes with privilege to the house.'—προτίων: preferring, putting before: προτίων, προτιμῶ, with obj. acc. as here, generally (perhaps always) mark some comparison, some other object
measure it is, that insolence is the very 'child' of impiety; but from healthfulness of soul cometh what all desire and pray for,— happiness.

In all things, I say to a man, respect the sacred base of right, nor spurn it with godless and dishonouring foot, though thou see a profit thereby. For punishment shall await thee, the sure and certain end. Wherefore let each honour duly before all the sacredness of a parent, and be likewise a respecter of the stranger, the reverend guest within his gates.

He who, according to this law, is without compulsion just, shall not miss happiness, and never, never can be utterly undone. As for the bold offender, all the mass, I trow, which by transgres-

relatively postponed. The construction with the genitive (οδευν προτωμιν του =ο- δευν φροντισεων, Ag. 1672), and the absolute use, should be distinguished. Here the comparison can only be between τοκειεσ and ξενος, which indicates that καλ is also, not and. The sense confirms this. The Erinyes, as they here imply, guarded the rights both of the family and of ξενος (and Orestes is liable to them on both counts; see on Cho. 624 foll., and supra v. 202); but that 'parents come first' is just now a cardinal point for them, since Orestes is the ξενος of Athena and Athens, and is offering himself as δορ- ξενος (see v. 439 and the sequel), so that the αιιδως ξενος is likely to tell in his favour. The participial part of the sentence (τοκειων σεβ. εδ προτ.) contains, as often in Greek, the pith of it.—ξενοτιμος ἔπιστροφας: τοσ ἐπιστρεφόμενος, τιμὴν ἔχοντας ξενον. Or ξενοτιμος may be predicate, with αιιδομενος (Wecklein).

—αιδομενος τις ἐστω: not αιδειαω, but differing precisely as in English 'be a respecter of' from 'respect'. It marks a general principle, which will give way, in case of conflict, to the higher claim. Note that the presence of τις (a substantive) in the predicate distinguishes this from cases where εδωμ with participle makes a compound verb; see supra 252, and note on Cho. 136.—On the metre see Appendix II.

V. E.

553—555. εκ τῶν…ον: 'He who on these principles is without compulsion just,' i.e. who regulates justice by these principles. For εκ according to, see L. and Sc. s.v. III. 6, Kühner, Gr. Gramm. § 430, 2 f. So Demosth. 8, 8, ει εκ τολουν τα δικαια είδεται κα των ειρήνη ταφην δρικοντα, Plato, Rep. 465 b εκ των νόμων ειρήνην πρός άλληλους άξωνι, Aeschyl. frag. 233 ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγου according to the bidding (or description) of Prometheus. Akin but different is εκ τῶν (του) in consequence of, v. 787, and see Dindorf, Lex. Aeschyl. s.v. The τάδε are the foregoing doctrines, and especially the 'foundation' just mentioned, v. v. 548—552.—The emphatic εκ τῶν is here appropriate and required. The Erinyes are contending not for 'justice' in general, but for their own view of justice, as opposed to the threatened innovations of Athena and her court. We should not therefore substitute εκων δι' (Wieseler and others). See further Appendix II.—ανάγκας ἄτερ. The Erinyes do not prevent disobedience by constraint (see v. v. 520 foll.), but they punish, in certain cases, inexorably. The acquittal of a matricide will be one of these cases.—οὔτος', οὔτον': as in P. V. 715, Eur. Andr. 943. See on v. 563.

556—560. 'But as for the daring offender, he, I warrant, shall one day drop perfere all his mingled mass of
unjust encroachments, when distress descends upon his sail, and the yard is strained to breaking.'—see p...: imitated from Homeric phrases, such as θ. 212 (With my εἶνος I will not fight) τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πέρ τὸν ἀναλομᾶς, 'but as for the rest, one of them I quite accept'; Σ. 416 τὸν δ' οὗ πέρ ἔχει θάνασος ὃς κεν ἴδῃται | ἐγὼς ἵνω, 'and even he who sees it (a tree struck by lightning), if near, is surely scared.' The effect here would be to emphasize the positive assertion in contrast with the preceding negative, as in θ. 212 it emphasizes the negative in contrast to the preceding positive. As to the reading see further below.—περαμβάδαν, or rather παραμβάδαν (παραμβάταν Turneaus): literally 'transgressively,' 'by transgression' or 'encroachment' (παράβασις); cf. ἀναβάδην, καταβάδην, διαρβάδην (Aesch.) etc. The prefix περα- (=πέρα beyond) seems to be unique, and is (I presume) not scientifically correct; but the apparent analogy of παρα- (παρα-), κατα-, μετα- might suggest and explain it to the ear, and it cannot, I think, safely be declared impossible. The adv. is constructed with παντάφυτα (τὰ πολλά περαμβάδαν ἄνευ δίκης παντόφορ.), but is thrown forward, as in βροτοῖς τὸν ἄλμησιστον τάφον (ἐκ τὸν βρ. ἄλμη.). Soph. Αἰ. 1166, δ' αἰώνος ἐνφέρα 566, etc. Strictly, this position should mark an emphasis (see examples in Kühner Gr. Gramm. § 464, 2, but note the citation from Sophocles and parallels given there by Jebb), and it probably does so here.—καθήσεως: drop, let fall, as a pirate his stolen cargo into the sea, in order to lighten the labouring ship. The obj. must be τὰ πολλά κ.τ.λ. (not, unless the text is to be boldly altered, λαῖφος). Nor will this present difficulty, if it be remembered (1) that this denunciation is directed against the Areopagus, and (2) in what position the Areopagus stood, as a political institution, when this play was produced. A popular revolution (see on ν. 520 foll.) was just wrestling from it a vast, irregular and miscellaneous censorship, which, according to the reformers, the Council had usurped. In these circumstances the universal mass compounded by unjust encroachment), which 'the offender shall be forced to let fall,' is an image not hard to interpret and apply, when presented by those who have just before prophetically denounced the Areopagus as an engine of oppression.—I suggest περ as the most probable form of the syllable which (see v. 564) appears to be lost before περαμβάδαν. The similarity of the following letters, περ- (or ραρ-), would account for the loss, the more easily as such a use of the particle,
sion he hath unjustly mixed, he in due time perforce shall drop, when the yard-arm is breaking and distress lays hold on the sail.

Then, in the midst of the whirl, he calls to deaf ears and agonizes, while heaven laughs at the rash sinner, to see one, who defied fate, now broken by calamity, and powerless to top the wave. And thus, with the ship of his life-long fortune, he runs

is archaic, and therefore unfamiliar. But the suggestion cannot be proved, and other supplements, such as τοι, are admissible. To keep περαιβαίνων or παραιβαίνων seems imperative: we can hardly suppose that such a word, unique but natural, was evolved by accident. This is an objection to those conjectures (e.g. παραιβαίνω διά ροστα τολά O. Müller) which introduce a participle to govern τολά, and leave καθήσεως to govern λαώς: 'he shall let down his sail'. Moreover this sense is less appropriate to the context; when 'the yard is breaking', the 'distressed sail' often cannot be let down. In Hom. Od. 1. 72, cited for καθήναι ἱστία, the accident described is the 'reeding of the sail', a different thing.—The scholia, παραιβεθηκόντα (v. 555), πάντοθεν συννημένα (v. 557), do not necessarily presume any other text than that of M. The second may support παντόσφυτα (swift all together, Meineke), which also fits more smoothly with the adverb. But παντόσφυτα is probably right.

561—568. καλα: may be either future and particular (like καθήσεως), or present and general, painting the sequel vividly. γελᾶ and ὄλετο (v. 568) point to a present tense here. This will be certain if δυσταλέτ (cf. δυσμαχέω, δυσοδεώ, δυσπεκτώ) be a verb, struggles. It may, however, be taken as an adj., and the position of τε favours this. On the other hand μέγε δυσταλή τε is, as Paley suggests, not a very natural combination of epithets.—ἐν Abresch. τε Turrenbus.—θερμοερεύς: antique form, with lost digamma.—θερμο cod. Farn. (h), a conjecture to suit v. 555 as given by M, and perhaps right. But if θερμοερεύς were an explanatory gloss, should we not rather expect the common-place form θερ-

μοσαρχίς?—τούν οὖσιν αὐχόντα (τουσιν τι γενησθαι): 'who fancied it impossible', cf. Ag. 511, P. V. 715.—λάπαθον (Musgrave) with διάωσ, weak, broken by distresses. Prof. Tyrrell (Class. Rev. vi. 301), and others, retain λεπαθον, collar, yoke, and emend on the model of Ag. 228 ἀνάγκας ἐν λεπαθεῖν, e.g. τὸν οὖσιν 'αὐχόντα' ἄμαχαν άνευ τούτου (?) | λε-

παθον, answering metrically to v. 566 as given by the ms. But can we safely dispense ἰδων? —οὐθ…ἀκραν: and unable to ride the wave, lit. 'not over-running the top'; cf. Eur. frag. 232 οὐ γὰρ ὑπερθίνων κύματος ἀκραν | διώμαθ' ἐπὶ γὰρ τάλα ξενία, | κακῶν ἑξέσων, φεύγει ὁ δ' ὅλος, Theogn. 619 πᾶλλ' ἐν ἄμαχυκτοι κυλνόμενοι κυρίραν γὰρ πενίης οὖχ ὑπερθάμαμεν (Hermann).—

The alternative interpretation, 'not weathering the promontory', would anticipate, and thus somewhat spoil, the effect of ἔρματι προσβαλον. —δι' αἰώνος δ' τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον: τὸν δ' αἰώνος πρὶν ὄλβον, 'his hitherto perpetual prosperity', with emphasis on δι' αἰώνος: see on v. 556. So the schol. τὸν πολυχρόνον δ' ὄλβον ἐναυτῷ προσκόμνει τῇ βράχη τῆς δίκης ὄλετο. It is because he has been prosperous all his days hitherto, that the criminal is so confident (v. 564). Cf. Sph. 589 γεινατο παῖδ' ἀμερήμ, δι' αἰώνος μακρο πάνολβον, Ag. 558 τὶς δὲ πληρ θεών | ἀπαντ' ἀπίθειν τὸν δι' αἰώνοις χρόνον; Cho. 26. Soph. El. 1024. Eur. Alc. 475, etc.—An alternative is to take together δι' αἰώνοις…ολερο, he is lost 'to all time' (Paley), for ever. But (i) the use of δι' αἰώνοις, with such a verb and
tense as ὀλετα, seems to be without example and improper; it should signify continuity, as in the exx. cited: and (a) the proximity of τῶν πρώτων δήμων, with which δὴ αὐλῶν can be taken in its ordinary sense, would almost force this connexion upon a hearer.—ἀίων: ἄκος Porson; see Appendix II.

568. Here, as I think most probable, the Chorus leave the scene, their exit being accompanied by music. For a discussion of this point, and the place of action in the following scene, see Appendix I.

569. Enter a herald, Athena, the Areopagite jury (for their number see in νν. 687, 714), Orestes, and the Chorus.—κήρυσσε: supply στηρον οὐ σίγα, call (for silence); cf. Eur. Phoen. 1225 σύγκα κηρύσσει στρατό (Wecklein).—στρατόν: the folk, but with the suggestion that they are assembled and drawn up in order. This explicit reference to a crowd of Athenians, spectators of the trial, and to the action of the herald in confining them to their place and calling them to order, does not perhaps prove that any crowd, or any performers representing it, are actually visible; but it does (I think) raise a presumption that such is the case. My own belief is that in this scene, as in the final scenes of the Agamemnon and Choephoroi, we have a very large number of supernumeraries, as many as there was room for. They enter at the close of the procession, and when they have been 'ordered' by the herald, are so placed, filling the visible part of the παρώδοι, as to suggest the presence of a great multitude. Further reasons for this supposition will appear, from time to time, in the course of the scene.—κατεργάζον: Porson, Dindorf. κατεργάζον M: restrain, keep back.

570. Reading uncertain. The most attractive, because it explains the loss by similarity of letters, is one of Hermann's, διάκτωρ διάτορος. The word διάκτωρ conductor, though ill-certified, is probable, especially (cf. διάκτωρ Ἑρμῆς) in this connexion; but it is then hard to deal with ἐπὶ οὖν. Others (after Askew) hold that οὖν is the contraction for ὧπαναν, and the sense 'piercing the sky': e.g. ἔλε εἰρανὸς κ.τ.λ. Such contractions are not common in M, but see ὧπαν (apparently for ὧπαράτων) in ν. 183. The sense is good; but I have before suggested, and think still, that the addition 'filled with breath of mortal' points to the previous association of the trumpet with some god, such as 'Ερμής οὐ διάτορος κ.τ.λ., the trumpet of Eriou-
upon the reef of Justice,...and is lost...unlamented, unremembered. (Exeunt.)

ACT III.

The scene is a place of judgment at Athens, apparently the Hill of Ares or Areopagus. Enter, in procession, a Herald, the Jury of Areopagites, the Erinyes, Orestes, and Athena, followed by a crowd of Citizens, till the place is full.

Athena. Proclaim the session, Herald, and bid the folk to their place. And let the piercing Tyrrhene trumpet, the trump of Hermes (?), filled with the breath of man, utter to all the host a high-sounding cry. (Trumpet.)

For while this place of council is filling, it is profitable that there be silence, and that mine ordinance be made known, both

nios, i.e. Hermes Chthonios, the Herald of the Underworld. Since the Areopagite court, in relation to matters of blood, was itself regarded as χήνος (Soph. O. C. 947), and among those who attended its summons would be the spirits concerned in the case (v. 641), the association is natural enough. There would also be a dramatic propriety in the mention of Hermes here. To the guardianship of Hermes Orestes is committed by Apollo (v. 90), and we must suppose that, seen or unseen, he has discharged the trust. Now this trumpet summons Apollo himself (see below), and is therefore, in this aspect, the call of Hermes remitting his charge.—Τυρωματικὶ: epith. of the trumpet also in Eur. Phoen. 1377, Soph. Ai. 17. It probably marks a particular kind of trumpet, and here that form (whatever it was) which was actually employed by the Areopagus. It seems (see Jebb on Soph. l.c.) that two forms might be so distinguished. For the carrying power of the Τυρωματικὴ cf. Soph. l.c., where, probably in re-collection of the Eumenides, it is likened to a divine voice supernaturally audible. It speaks here both for Athena and for Hermes, and is heard at least as far as Delphi. This trumpet may be classed with the ‘purple carpet’ of the Agamemnon (901), as a supreme example of stage-effect.

572. στατὴρ.—A pause. Trumpet. Athena continues.

573. πληρωμένου: while it (the court) is filling. This word is open to objection, since (1) there is no apparent significance in the echo of πληρωμένη (v. 571), and (2) the instructions of the goddess (v. 574) would naturally not be given until the audience were in their places. On the other hand, proposed substitutes (κληρουμένου Burges, καθημένου Heimsoeth, ἱδρυμένου Weil) are not satisfactory. I believe that πληρωμένου is intended to surprise the ear. The court is now apparently full, complete, and everything ready for the opening. But Athena speaks as if it were still incomplete, because she knows that, for this occasion, the presence of Apollo is necessary, and that he will respond to the summons. Her expression is designed, by the poet, to awake and sustain the expectation of the theatre. See following notes.

574. ἀπειγα: συμφέρει schol., aids, is expedient.

574—576. καὶ μάθειν...Σκη: and that
what I ordain be heard both by all the city for (the purposes of) all time to come... (Apollo enters and takes his place by the side of Orestes)...and (pointing) by this deity, that sentence against him (if so it should be) may be given duly.—θεσμὸς

576. δίκη. δίκη rec. 578. τοῦδέ σου. 579. δήμων corrected to δόμων.

580. ἀνήρ. 583. τοῦδε φόνον.

virtually co-defendant (vv. 468, 582), and the court may condemn him (καταγγελεῖ ἂν ἄντι). In view of that possible result, the president of the court offers to satisfy him as to its constitution and intended procedure.—καταγγελεῖ. The subject is Apollo. For the passive, and the dative δίκη, cf. ψῆφωθα θανάτου κατακεκριμένου Eur. Andr. 496, and see καταφρονεῖθαι. The nom. δίκη (recc.) makes the sentence more regular, but less clear.—The reference of τῶνδε to Apollo, with the corresponding stage-directions, will, I hope, clear this passage. Without them, the sentence as given cannot be interpreted, and expedients are proposed (e.g. τοῦδε, ἐκ τῶνδε, διαγράφωθη) to remedy the text. To supply τῶν χρόνων with τῶνδε (the present time), and join it to τῶν αἰῶν ἁρών, leaves τ without construction.—The schol. to ν. 576 (τῶν 'Ἀρεισταγητῶν) does not assume τῶνδε in the text. It assumes and confirms τῶνδε. The commentator, seeing no other way, took θεσμὸς ἐμοῖς (my foundations), as subject (not object) of σημαίνει καί μαθεῖν, and τῶν τῆς πᾶσαν καὶ τῶνδε (θεσμῶν) as in apposition to θεσμὸς ἐμοῖς. Relying probably on the fact, that the judges are addressed (ν. 617) as ὑμᾶς τῶνδε 'Ἀθηναίαν...θεσμῶν (schol. τῶν 'Αρεισταγητῶν),
to this whole city for everlasting time...(Enter Apollo, who takes his place by the side of Orestes)...and to this deity, that sentence, if so be, against him may be fairly given. (Astonishment and great sensation.)

Erinyes. Lord Apollo, use thou thy power over that which is thine own. What share in this present matter, say, hast thou?

Apollo. I am come, first as a witness,—for mine was the house and mine the hearth which received this man as suppliant, and I am in this case the purgator of blood,—and also as myself defendant with him, having been the cause of the slaying of his mother.

Do thou (to Athena) bring this trial on. Thou, by thy skill, shalt warrant the form thereof.

Athena (to the Erinyes). The word is with you....I bring the

he explained τονθε (θησυων) by των 'Αρειωναγιωτων (θησυων). He thus reached the foregone conclusion that τονθε should mean the court, and would render the whole thus: 'My foundations, that is to say, my city as a whole and my present foundation, the Areopagites, should be silent and receive instruction.'—τονθε recce.

577. δε...κρατε: 'in what is properly yours be master' and there only, i.e. 'do not interfere with what belongs to others'.

579—581. μαρποπησων : as witness to the ceremonial purification, see vv. 450 foll. The proper witness was naturally the performer.—δωμων ἱκτης...δωμων ἀφινειας. The house and hearth were the first and essential requirements of the ceremony; vv. 169, 205, 455, etc. Qua witness, Apollo appears as the householder concerned. The repetition of δωμων signifies this, and is therefore correct.—καθαρσιας: here καθαρσια: similarly but with slight difference in v. 452.

582. ευνυδικης αυτος: 'to plead as myself defendant'.

583. των Turnebus.—σδ: to Athena. —ελαγγε: 'bring in' the cause, as magistrate (ελαγγεος) to dikastery (jury), the technical Athenian term for 'authorize the proceedings to commence'.

584. 'Let your wisdom secure the validity of the present proceeding'—to give the sense prosaically. Lit. 'As you know how (and not otherwise), make the sentence valid in this case.' See v. 576, which explains this. Apollo, waiving Athena's offer to justify the tribunal by a general exposition, applicable to this and all future cases, says that, for the validity of the procedure and sentence in this case (τηρδε), he will rely upon her prudence in directing them. His tone, here and throughout, is both deferential and peremptory, a style probably not without contemporary examples under the widening jurisdiction of the Athenian courts. So might speak the emissary from some noble of Thessaly or of the Thracian border, descendant of kings, who found himself compelled by his interests to seek law under the Acropolis from a committee of sailors and tradesmen. As a character, Apollo is the most interesting personage in the play.—No correction is needed, not even a copula (ἔσις τ' εκλειπε Hermann). At ελαγγε there is a full-stop and pause: εσις κ.τ.λ. is an afterthought, and the abruptness therefore intentional.

585. ἐγώ: to the Erinyes, 'La parole est à vous'.—ελαγγε...κερνυ. This should have come first, but, under Apollo's
precipitancy, she had almost omitted the formula.—δρα τὸ δικαιήμαν, schol. This strange note is, I believe, genuine, and not without interest as a curiosity of erudition. The writer, seeing that ἐλασάγῳ δὲ τὴν δίκην (so read) interrupts the address to the prosecutors, and not seeing that this effect is intentional, read ἐλασάγῳ (i.e. ἐλασαγάνον, deponent imperative, see ἀγάμαι, ἀγάμαι, ἀγάμαι) 'regard with reverence' (ἀγαμή, σεβασόμενος Hesych.), and took it for a warning to the leader of the Erinyes, who might certainly need one, to 'be respectful to the court' in whatever she might say. For δίκην· δικαιήμαν, see L. and Sc. s.v.

Wrong as it is, the suggestion shows learning and method, and must be very ancient, older possibly than the general establishment of accents.

588. The Leader seems here to expect that, in setting forth the prosecutors' case by means of an examination of the defendant, each member of the Chorus will have occasion to speak. It has been inferred (Wecklein) that, before the end of the examination (v. 611), all have actually spoken. But this hardly follows. If, when Orestes is driven to abandon his own defence and refer himself to Apollo (v. 612, where note ἰδῆ), the prosecutors are not exhausted, his defeat, the point of the dialogue, is the more conspicuous. As to the number of the Chorus (12 or 15), see the Introduction. The speeches here (v. 588—611) can be made 12, if v. 588—590 or 610, 611 be divided, as they may be, between two. They cannot easily be made 15. But no inference as to the number of the Chorus can safely be drawn from this.

590, 591. κατέκτωνα...ἐκτείνα. Note the change of tense (...are the murderer of ..., ...killed...). The pf. denotes a present effect of the act on Orestes' position; the aor. admits the act, but that only. Hence ὅν κείμενω πώ in v. 593.

592. τῶν τριῶν: the three falls required for a defeat in wrestling: ἀπὸ τῶν παλαίστων, οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς τριαὶ πιτόμασν ὀριζοῦσι τὴν ἤτοι...schol. Cf. Plato, Phaedr., p. 256 B, and see τρίασκεν, τρικτήρ.

593. ὅν κείμενω πώ: before (the wrestler) is down. Orestes (see above) has not allowed their point.—For the dative 'absolute' as it may be called, indicating the circumstances of an act, as the genitive indicates the origin, see Agamemnon, Appendix Z.

594—597. ὅπως κατέκταται: am-
trial on—...for at the commencement, the pursuer, speaking first, will fitly lay information of the cause.

*The Erinyes (speaking successively, one by one).* Many we are to speak, but our speech shall be brief. Sentence for sentence *(to Orestes)*, make thou alternate answer. Say first, whether or no thou art thy mother's murderer.

**Orestes.** I did the deed. Of the fact there is no denial.

**Erin.** Here is already one of the 'three falls'!

**Or.** Thou makest the boast before the foe is down.

**Erin.** Ay, but how didst thou do it? Thou must answer that.

**Or.** With my bare sword, I answer; and further, by cutting her throat!

**Erin.** But by whom wast thou persuaded, and by whose counsel?

**Or.** By the oracle of this deity, who is my witness.

**Erin.** The prophet-god instructed thee to matricide!

**Or.** Even so; and of what so far hath fallen, I have no complaint against him.

ambiguous between 'how it came that you killed her' and 'by what means you killed her', but meant of course in the first sense: 'You must at least account for the deed'.—*λέγω κ.τ.λ. : πλανάται. αἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν αἰρίαν ταύ φώνου πυθά-νουσαι, ὃς ἔριη τὸ 'πῶς;' 'ἐξιερεύσαι. ὥς τὸ "μὴ δὲ ἐμὴ λόγγα" (schol.); that is to say, the reply of Orestes is an *ignoratio elenchii*, mistaking the sense of the question. The citation (Hom. O. 41) further implies that the evasion, like that of Hera, is wilful, and this seems right. No one could seriously take the question as Orestes takes it, or suppose that what the prosecutors press for is a description of the act. *How it was done* is in this sense plainly immaterial. In short, the reply is a sort of fierce jest, not very fit for the place and presence, and for this reason grimly natural.—An oddly exact parallel to the ambiguous *διατό* occurs in Jane Austen, *Emma*, chap. 26, "Do you know how Miss Bates and her niece came here?"

"*How!* They were invited, were not they?" "Oh yes—but how they were conveyed hither?—the manner of their coming?" —*ἐξοφυλλά...τεμών* is not divided by punctuation in M. "The text can hardly be right. We expect *ἐξοφυλλάν* χείρα πρὸς δέρι βαλάνι ἢ *ἐξοφυλλά* προσβόλη δέριν τεμών" (Wecklein; see also the conjectures in his Appendix). I agree that *ἐξοφυλλά...τεμών* cannot be construed together, but would merely re-punctuate it, as above.—*πρός*: literally beside, moreover, cf. Cho. 300 καὶ πρός πιθεῖχρημάτων ἄχνεια, and notethere. 'With sword in hand! *If you want more*, by cutting her throat!' The violent curtness is a trait of defiance.—*πρός τοῦ*. They repeat their question in unmistakable form.

598. έγγεγέρτε: gave instruction, expounded your duty to that effect.—*ὁ μάντης* marks the ground of disbelief; the oracle should and must have foreseen the consequences of such an act.

599. δεύτε...δὲ: together, so far. ηδ
AIZXYLOU

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εἰ σε μάρφει ψήφος, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς τάχα. 600
ΟΡ. πέποιθ...'...

...ἀρωγᾶς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμπει πατήρ.
ΧΟ. νεκροὶς νῦν πέπεισθι μητέρα κτανῶν.
ΟΡ. δύναι γὰρ ἐλεί̣ ἐποσβολᾶς μισομάτων.
ΧΟ. τῶς δή; δίδαξον τοὺς δικαίους τάδε.

603. διώκω altered to δυών.

da el epl toj evw tattousw 'Aττικόι πολλάκις.
'δεύρο μέν ματόνεις δετέινει λόγων',
schol.—δεύρο...τύχην: probably to be
taken together (τὴν γε δεύρο δὲ τύχην, see
on v. 566), or else, which is in effect the
same thing, δεύρο δὲ is to be understood
again with τὴν: hence the use and ne-
necessity for the article. τὴν τύχην there-
fore is τὴν πράξευ (schol., Paley), what
hath befallen me so far, as in the parallel
P.V. 1104 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μέμφινθ' ἄγετ' προδένγ' ἐνεμέραθ' τῇ τύχῃ.
(Not 'that event', the murder.)—Note the
accus. object (as distinguished from μέμ-
φωμαν τύχην).
(Not 'that event', the murder.)—Note the
accus. object (as distinguished from μέμ-
φωμαν τύχην).

601, 602. Or. 'I trust that......(He
starts violently and gapes horror-struck;
then seems about to fly; but, glancing
behind him, slowly and painfully recovers)
...But there is aid from the grave, aid
brought by my father.'—An Erinyes.
'Trust now (if thou canst) in the dead,
after taking the life of thy mother.'—
I propose this (partly on the authority of
the scholium: see below) as a possible way
of explaining a passage, which, with the
bare text, seems to me very obscure.
Orestes, comprehending justly the threat
of torture here and hereafter (see vν.
264—275) conveyed in ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς τάχα,
begins to reply that he trusts, for life and
for death, in the divine protection which
has followed him hitherto. But at this
moment his eyes are opened, and he sees,
with his adversaries, the ghost of his
mother. It is but for a moment, and
after a struggle he casts off his horror,
reassuring himself with the thought that
seen or unseen, there must be ghosts, the
spirits of his father and other ancestors
so often invoked in the Choephoroi, on his
side as well as against him. Whether his
vision was represented scenically, whether,
that is, the theatrical Ghost (supra, v. 94)
appears here, we cannot say. A some-
what similar question arises at Cho. 1046,
where Orestes 'sees' the absent Erinyes.
That the spirits are now present, the
spectators, having witnessed the Choephoroi,
must of course suppose. It is natural,
and dramatically effective, that Orestes
should see them, as doubtless he had often
seen them before; and the acted words,
without other interpretation, would suf-
ciently explain what it is that he sees.
It is visible to him only (and to the gods;
see on v. 641), like Banquo at Macbeth's
feast. Without an interruption, and im-
plied stage-directions, I find the text
inexplicable. No authority is cited for
πενωθά used absolutely, like θαρώ, for
I am not afraid; it seems to require
an object-dative or object-clause, ex-
presse d or (as in Eur. Med. 732, 733)
supplied by the preceding context. None
is so supplied here, or, if any, it must
be Ἀπόλλωνι (from οὗ μάρτις in v. 598),
which, with ἀρωγᾶς κ.τ.λ., would suggest
that Orestes, without apparent reason,
doubts the sufficiency of Apollo's pro-
tection. And generally, this abrupt
diversion to 'the dead' is not natural,
without some occasion for it.—ἀρωγᾶς εκ
tάφου: 'support from the grave' to meet
the attack from the grave.—μέμφει: brings,
leads, conducts, as in v. 203, not 'sends'.
The spirit of the father would himself be
there for one. The pres. tense, on the
EUMENIDES

Eрин. Ah, but if sentence overtakes thee, thou wilt soon say otherwise!

Or. I trust.... (An abrupt pause. Sensation. He stands speechless, with eyes long fixed as upon some dreadful vision; then, recovering slowly, continues) But there is aid from the grave; my father brings it. (A pause.)

Eрин. In the dead trust now, if thou darest, thy slayer of thy mother! (A pause.)

Or. (speaking with difficulty). To two, that are dead, her crimes had laid her open.

Eрин. How so? Explain thy meaning to them that judge.

view here propounded, is correct and almost necessary.—νῦν: now, i.e. if after this you can’; they exult in the terror produced by the vision. The accentuation (M) is, I think, preferable to νῦν (then), though this also is admissible.—ώς οὖν ἐπιμελῇ η μὴν, οὖν βοηθοὺς κάμοι πέμψει ἥ πατήρ, schol. This (if the above be right) requires no correction either in itself (ὑμᾶς Hermann) or in the text (πέμψει Scaliger, κάμοι ἀργούς Hermann). It assumes the action, the vision of Clytaemnestra, and paraphrases accordingly. By πέμψει the paraphraser means ’will be sending’, ’must be sending’, which expresses, more prosaically and less vividly, the same thing as πέμψει in the text.—πέσουθ (Veitch), not πέπεινθι, is the form suggested by analogy, e.g. αἴδα, but τοῦθα, from ἰδα.

602. ‘Ay, unto two (such) she was liable for her guilt,’ δύον: νεκροῖν, supplied from νεκροῖ, ‘to two dead persons’ or ’extinct personalities’, as explained in v. 605. The case is dative.—ἐξεικονίσε τοποθετᾶν μασμάτων: lit. ’she offered opportunity of attack for guilt.’ The metaphor, pursuing that of ἀργοὺς πέμπειν, seems to be from the military sense of τοποθετῆσαι, assault, and τοποθύτης ἔχειν (παρέχειν) to present an approachable or assailable point, for which see L and Sc. τοποθῆλη. Clytaemnestra’s crime had ’laid her open’ to two lawful assailants, her husband and her son’s father (v. 605); and Orestes acted for these. μασμάτων is an adjectival genitive, defining the nature of the προσβολῆ.—μασμάτων Elmsley and others,—a change quite justifiable, if it helps; but it is rather an embarrassment. Two explanations are offered: (1) ’she was touched by (affected by) two stains of guilt’, where προσβολὴ is something like πρόστριμμα (Weil), and (2) ’she had two added (i.e. conjoined) stains of guilt’; so schol. (συντρίχας) and Paley. The first seems to make προσβολᾶς superfluous (since ἐξεικονισματα would mean the same), and the second strains the sense of προσβάλλειν. Though neither is impossible, it is safer to give προσβολή ἔχειν a sense, apparently the only sense, actually proved; and with this sense, μασμάτων is more clear and preferable.

—The argument is this. Orestes has admitted that he ‘killed his mother’, but not that he ’is a matricide’ (vv. 590—595). He now, after the dramatic interlude of vv. 596—602, resumes his point, and supports it by insisting that, in killing Clytaemnestra, he acted, not as her son, but as his father’s. Her life was forfeited to the dead Agamemnon, who was both her husband and Orestes’ father (v. 605). In this second capacity, Agamemnon had a right to be represented and avenged by his son, whose act was therefore not his own, but that of the husband and father. Such a distinction of personalities, though not happy or satisfactory, is the necessary
foundation of Orestes' defence, in so far as it can be presented technically and legally. His adversaries, as soon as they divide his point, presume (v. 604) that it will not favourably impress the jury, and have no difficulty in giving it a technical refutation. It is, in fact, the same plea (not improved by more subtle pretence of logic), which is advanced by Clytaemnestra (Ag. 1498 foll.): 'This deed is not mine; it is the punishing of Atreus who has assumed my person'. It is there summarily rejected. The form, which it takes here, belongs to that peculiar sort of crude metaphysics, which plays so large a part, at certain stages, in the evolution of law. Being doubtless familiar to all interested in the legendary case of Orestes, and being far from poetical, it is presented by Aeschylus with obscuring brevity. Fortunately (see next note) we have also an ancient paraphrase.

606. And so, while you are alive, she is no murderer at all!, lit. 'clear of murder'. A *reductio ad absurdum*. Orestes, for the purpose of his argument, has identified himself with his father. It was Clytaemnestra's husband who (in the person of his son) killed Clytaemnestra. 'Then,' is the reply, 'Clytaemnestra's husband *lives* in your person; and the murder of Agamemnon, which you plead in justification, will be complete...only when you are dead!' The proposition *ού μεν ἤγες* would be, in our mode of composition, subordinate.—πανοργὺς πατί, ἡ ἡμᾶς δίδακε, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δικαστὰς,—ἐμεῖς ἡκέινον ἢδικησον,—πῶς αὖν λέγεις, ἡ ἡκιστῇ με; πῶς δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων, ὅπου ἀπέθανεν ἡ τε ἀδική;—schol., rightly. The commentator uses *πανοργὺς* in a forensic sense; the request that Orestes will address himself to the court is malicious, and leads up to the refutation. The last note means, 'How can you say 'Her crime was against me', and on the other hand 'Her crime was against Agamemnon', seeing that she caused his death?" Perhaps better, ἢδικησα ἢκιστῃ...—*φοιν* (instrumental dative) Schuetz (and modern texts generally), explaining thus: 'And therefore she, as a murderess, has paid the penalty of her life, and is now cleared by having been killed, while you are alive, and have still your penalty to pay'. But the scholia, which have not been sufficiently considered, show that the text of M is at all events ancient. Nor is *ἐλευθέρα φοιν* satisfactory in itself. As to form, it should be rather *ἐλευθέρα τανῦττω*; and as to substance, the Erinyes never allow, and would not assume, that a person, liable for blood at all, would be 'released by death' (ν.ν. 667 foll., 340 ἃνων δ' ὅλην ἐλευθέρος). Nor, with *φοιν*, is the proposition deducible from the foregoing,
Or.  Her husband and my father,—these two in one act she had slain.

Erin.  We conclude then, that, since thou livest, she is free of murder still!  (A pause.)

Or.  And thou, while she lived, with thy ban why didst thou not follow her?

Erin.  She was not of one blood with the man she slew.

Or.  And I?  Am I within the blood of such a mother as mine?

Erin.  How else did she make thy body, foul villain, beneath her girdle?  Dost disclaim thine own mother's blood?  (Silence.)

Or.  (to Apollo.)  Now, now give thou thy witness; and set forth, I pray thee, Apollo, whether it was with justice that I slew her.  For the doing of the deed, as the truth is, we deny not.

however understood, and τοιγάρ therefore would be wrong; hence Hermann conjectured τι γάρ:  If we follow the argument, no alteration is wanted.

607.  'But why, while she was alive, did you not make her a hunted fugitive?' He endeavours to evade the reductio ad absurdum:  'You call it an absurd conclusion, that my mother was and is no murderess.  But why so, seeing that you yourselves have always treated her as innocent?'  This is no legitimate answer to the adversary, who is, upon the ground chosen by Orestes himself, unanswerable.  He perceives this, and tries to shift the issue.  A pause should be supposed after v. 606.—οὐκ, εἰ τέθηκεν, τὸντον αὑτὰ εἰ αὐτοῦ, τῷ ἐλικον ἐνλεκάνησα διὰ τὴν σήμερν ψηλήν ἀπόθανεν, schol. (τῷ ἐν ἐλικον M).  This, though not very well put, is right in the essential point, viz., that as against the Erinyes it may be taken that Clytaemnestra is innocent.

608.  'She was not of one blood with the man she slew,' and therefore never was blood-guilty at all.  See v. 212; where we have observed that the Erinyes of Aeschylus do not consistently adhere to this antique definition, but adopt it when it suits them.  Here the effect of it is to make a transition, from the barren logomachy which precedes, to something nearer the heart of the matter, as represented in this play.

609.  'And am I within the blood (kindred) of a mother like mine?' This should be taken as a rhetorical sentiment, signifying that Clytaemnestra had dissolved the bond by her acts, rather than an argument, involving such a theory of parentage (excluding the mother) as is afterwards propounded by Apollo (v. 660).  Note τῆς ἡμᾶς, which is necessary to the sentiment, but to the argument would be superfluous and embarrassing.  Moreover, if it were an argument, Orestes, when it is challenged, would naturally develop it, instead of appealing, ὡς ἀπορῶν (schol.) to Apollo.  The truth is, and the exclamation shows, that he is at the end of his arguments, and has come off, so far, very ill.  This is inevitable, so long as the cause is treated on any principles of strict law.  A law, rule, or definition of murder, which should formally exclude and absolute matricide, is a thing perhaps inconceivable, certainly inconceivable in the days of Aeschylus.  Apollo therefore, ignoring Orestes' lead (v. 615), prudently avoids that ground—as long as he can.

611.  ἀφείνει: disaffirm, disclaim, ἀφαγεῖ schol.
616. *δοκεῖ τόδε ἀμα (?)*. δοκῶ (Herwerden, followed by Wecklein), i.e. *εἰ δοκῶ τόδε ἀμα δικαίως (δράσαι)*, where, for ἀμα, *το do (a deed of blood)*, cf. Eur. *Or. 460 ὁ σωφρόν ἄμα καὶ μνημόνιον φῶς ἄμα*, ἢ. 484 ἔργον αὐτόν 8 ἐμαί | μητρώων ἀμα. This is the best change, if any is needed, though open to the objection that τόδε ἀμα is then superfluous. That could be met by accepting also τό δή μα κρῖνων (Weil), *this (question), I pray thee, judge*; but the total change is too large to satisfy.—Paley defends δοκεῖ, with ellipse of a passive (πεπράχθαι); Hermann gave the punctuation εἰ...δοκεῖ, τόδε ἀμα κρῖνων: but neither is acceptable.—What the text prima facie suggests is that ἀμα is the predicate, and that the adverb δικαίως is to be connected with it, thus: *εἰ τῇ σῇ φρ. τόδε δοκεῖ ἀμα (ἐδει) δικαίως*; *whether to thy mind this does or does not appear (to be) justly a ἀμα*, i.e. *a true ἀμα*, properly so called. Is this impossible? The citations from Eur. *Orestes* go to show that ἀμα was a fixed term for *a deed of blood*, as defined by primitive law, i.e. a slaying which affected the slayer with blood-guilt. Now the point, which Orestes has unsuccessfully tried to prove, is that his slaying of Clytemnestra was not in that sense a ἀμα (see especially *νν. 609, 611*). It seems therefore natural that he should remit the issue to Apollo in this form. As to the attachment of the adverb, it offers no practical difficulty, though not strictly logical, and seems not beyond the freedom of a language, which admitted, on the one hand, καλέει o', ἀνασά αὕτι τί λέγειν τὴν ἡμῶν. The former queen of Ilium (Eur. *Hea. 891*), ἡ κάρπα μάντις (truly prophetic) οὐ δειγμάτων φόβος (Cho. 928) etc., where the adverb relates formally to a substantive, and on the other hand, Μένων δῶρα ἐλέγετο τέμπεια μεγαλοπρεπῶς (Xen. *An. 1. 4. 17*), where it relates formally to a verb (as here to δοκεῖ), but really to a substantive (δῶρα). I therefore leave the text, under reserve, as it stands.

617—676. Apollo strikes a new vein. His speeches, as a whole, are designed to lead the court away from the question, whether matricide, as such, is defensible (a ground plainly disadvantageous to Orestes), to the collateral circumstances of this particular case. His points are (1) that Orestes acted under the highest authority (νν. 617—624), (2) that the murderess of Agamemnon was a wretch beyond the pale of protection (νν. 628—642), and (3) that Orestes, supported as he is, is a friend worth gaining (νν. 670—676). The Erinyes, after a vain attempt to bring him to book (νν. 625—627), assail him on his own ground with a shrewd argumentum ad deum (νν. 643—646), and dexterously avail themselves of his imprudent reply (νν. 647—654) to extract from him an opinion on the strict issue, or rather upon a part of it (νν. 655—659). That opinion (νν. 660—664) takes the form of a speculation in physiology, which certainly goes to the root of the matter, and farther; though the god, by his anxiety to give it a personal and adventitious recommendation (νν. 665—
But whether in justice it seems, or seems not, to thy mind, a deed of blood,—decide thou, that I may show it to my judges. (A pause. Apollo comes forward. Profound silence.)

Apollo. My pleading to you, Athena’s high court here, shall be just.

As prophet, I cannot deceive. Never, in my oracular seat, said I aught concerning man, or woman, or city, save as I shall be commanded by Zeus, the Olympians’ Sire. How strong a

669), seems to betray some not unreasonable doubts of its soundness and weight. The whole scene, notwithstanding the stately form in which it is cast, is extremely life-like, and probably answers nearly mutatis mutandis to forensic proceedings of the highest type in the Athens of Aeschylus.

617. οὐ μᾶς τόνδε...θεοῦν: ‘your tribunal, here instituted by Athena’. The description of the jury themselves as the θεουμένη is facilitated by the regular forensic use of ἐν ὑμῖν for ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, and the like.—λέξω...δικαίως: ‘I shall plead fairly’ or with regard to justice. He begins, like an ordinary human pleader, by disclaiming all desire to mislead the court. To us such a disclaimer might appear beneath the dignity of a god; to a Greek it would rather have appeared especially requireable from a god. It was characteristic of τὸ θεῖον to mislead; and in fact Apollo, as an advocate, is not by any means scrupulous.—Λέων Well (and Wecklein), making ‘δικαίως’, (Orestes acted justly), the reply of Apollo to ἦν δικαίως εἶναι μὴ δοκῇ δρᾶσαν σωφρά, as emended; but see note there.—μάντεις ἄν οὐ ψεύσαμαι: ‘As prophet, I cannot deceive’, i.e. ‘when I am μάντεις, and speak oracularly from my μαντείων’. In what follows the proposition is repeated, expanded, and justified.—ψεύσαμαι. For the future of general affirmation, signifying what must (or cannot) happen, see Kühner Gr. Gram. § 587 f. 2, Plato Rep. 387 D φαμέν δὲ δὴ, ὅτι ὁ ἐπικεῖσθαι ἄθρω τῷ ἐπικεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπικεῖσθαι, ὅτι τὸ τεθνάναι οὐ δεῖν θύγηται, Soph. Ant. 362 Ἀδα μὴν φεύξην οὐκ ἐπάξηται.

—If δὲ (M), which cannot be right where it stands, is simply omitted, μάντεις ἄν οὐ ψεύσαμαι is Apollo’s first point (‘the oracle of Delphi is infallible’), leading to the conclusion that Orestes’ act, having been commanded by the oracle, is beyond criticism. The pause before and after, indicated by the absence of copulae, is for solemnity. If we read μάντεις ἄν θ᾽ (Canter), the proposition must relate to λέξω...δικαίως, Apollo offering his character of μάντεις as warrant for what he shall now say to the court. This however is not easy to understand. His present function is not μαντική; and if the argument be, that because he (or his oracle) spoke truth at Delphi, therefore all he might say anywhere must be true, the inference is hard to accept, or even to follow. On the other hand, the exceptional future ψεύσαμαι might easily lead a reader to suppose a connexion with λέξω, and to insert the conjunction accordingly.

619—621. ἐπικον...δὴ μὴ κελεύειν is ungrammatical. If it must be corrected, κελεύει (Wecklein) is better than κελεύειν (archaic aor. opt.) or ’κελευesity. Yet the corruption is not very probable, since κελεύειν is not explicable as a barbarism; in grammar it must have been always conspicuously incorrect. If it be genuine, the explanation is, that the clause reverts to the general future form, which would more coherently have followed οὔ ψεύσαμαι: it is shaped to suit ὁποῖον ἐπὶ... ’I cannot say what Zeus does not command.’ The traditional text may be represented in English approximately thus: ‘I shall never be found to speak
falsely. I never said a thing which Zeus will not command.' This is incorrect, but perhaps not inconceivable.—οὗτος ἕμων μὲν Ζεὺς, ἕγετά δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν προστάχθηκα. οὐκ ἄνευ Διός οὖν τὸ γενόμενον, σχολ.
622—624. τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο: this plea, justification, viz., the appeal to Zeus. So Eur. Iph. A. 810 τὸν δὲν οὖν· δὲν δικαίων ἔμελεν χρεών, i.e. 1391 τὸ δίκαιον; τοῦτο άρα ἔχομεν τοὺς δ' αὖ ἀντιπέπεσον ἔτος; (both verses probably not by Enniipides, but that is at present immaterial); but in Eur. frag. 338 (Therse: τὸ τοῦ δικαίου ἔχομεν μέγα) τὸ δίκαιον is apparently general, justice.—μαθῆναι marks that this δίκαιον is the speaker's first point; it has no connexion with ἆς in the next verse.—μαθῆναι depends upon a supplied πιθανόν, or rather upon a projected κελεύων, which becomes πιθανόν, for increase of solemnity, in the second clause. But such an arrangement could hardly have been felt as possible, had it not been for the regular 'imperatival use' of the infinitive, i.e. the conventional ellipse of the verbum imperandi (cf. Soph. Ε. 9 φάσκων = φάσκε, and Kühner Gr. Gramm. § 474), which would have explained μαθῆναι without any following clause: to this extent the schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ "μάθε, ὥς βούλῃ" is right.—βούλῃ. The plain vocative, without ὥ, differs from the ordinary form of official address (δ' βούλῃ), but may be for that reason preferred.—βούλῃ Turnebus, i.e. βούλῃ πατρός, punctuating, as M, after πατρός. This is an almost equally legitimate interpretation of the traditional βούλῃ, since confusions of η and η are frequent; but it is not supported by the scholium, κελεύω δὲ ὄμοις πεισθῆραι τῷ βουλῇ τοῦ Διός, which does not, I think, assume a dative in the text, but supplies it from the vocative (see preceding schol. above cited). An objection to the conjecture is the unsuitable emphasis given by position to the word βούλῃ.—πιθανόν δ' ἦμι' ἐπιστεύσας: I warn you that ye follow (τι), ἀνύψω, i.e. τῷ δικαίῳ, 'conform your judgment to it'. ὅμοι: ὅμοι. Similar dialectic (and poetic) forms are used by Aeschylus and Sophocles in lyric, Theb. 141, Ant. 846, Ο. 247 (?), see Jebb. With the language of tragic dialogue it is not in keeping, but for that reason here appropriate. The whole phrase πιθανόν...ἐπιστεύσα ἦμι inconsistent with the tone of the advocate, from which the prophet easily lapses into his accustomed 'Biblical' style. Probably it follows a (dactylic) formula, πιθανόν δ' ἦμι' ἐφεσθήσας: compare the Homeric κελεύων ἦμι' ἐφεσθής (Δ 781) cited by Wecklein.—πατρός...πλεῦν; For, as an oath by my father, is it not in a manner (τι) stronger than (an oath by) Zeus? πατρός ὅρκος explains ὅσον σθένει, the subject being, as throughout, τὸ δίκαιον, Apollo's plea. When he rests his incriminated oracle upon the authority of Zeus, 'the Olympians' father' (v. 621), he assumes, he says, as strong a position, forensically, as a defendant who should take his oath of innocence with the solemn sanction of the πατρός ὅρκος, or 'oath upon his father'. It is, in Apollo's case, something even more than an oath by Zeus. For the objective gen. πατρός cf. Soph. O. T. 647 ὅρκον θεών, 'an oath by the gods', and for the oath upon the father (or other near relation) cf.
plea is here, note, Councillors; and I charge you, be led by it. An oath by my Sire,—is it not in a manner more than an oath by Zeus? (Silence. An interval.)

Erin. ‘Zeus’—to speak as thou—Zeus gave thee this oracle to declare unto this man, Orestes,—that, having taken a life for his father’s, of his mother’s price he should make no account at all?

Hom. v 339 oδ μὰ Ζην’, Άγιλας, καὶ ἀλγεὶ πατρὸς ἐμῶ, and Smith Dict. Ant. s.v. ὂρκος. Ζης is a brachylogy for Ἱηνὸς ὡρκου.—In M these sentences are punctuated thus: πατρὸς δ’ ὠμὶ ἐπιστῆθαι πατρός. ὡρκος γὰρ ὡ τι Ζηνὸς ἱσχύει πλέον. This division, mostly with the conj. τοις, has been followed in modern texts. But ὡρκος...πλέον, as a complete sentence and without note of interrogation, offers great difficulty. The scholia, in this passage full and good, are suddenly silent. Perhaps some editors daringly ejected v. 624. The explanation now current is, "For certainly an oath has not greater authority than Zeus, that is, ‘Your oath to decide according to justice must be held secondary to the revealed will of Zeus.’ This implies that legally Orestes would be condemned, but that he is morally right, because he was merely the instrument..." etc. (Paley). Such, it seems, must be the sense, with the assumed punctuation; but surely it is unnatural, that Apollo should raise this objection against himself, and suggest that the jury cannot vote for him without a species of perjury,—especially since he does not effectively answer the objection. Such a scruple, if entertainable, could not be quieted by a vague reference to the might of Zeus. But as a fact, it is nowhere suggested, and is not true, that the oath of the jury bears one way rather than the other. Apollo, who is the first to mention it (v. 683), assumes that it makes at least equally for him. On these grounds I have changed the punctuation.

625. The application of the foregoing generalities about the authority of Delphi to the particular case of Orestes, which would naturally have followed, is cut off by the adversary, who somewhat rudely reminds the orator of the point which he has to defend. Did ‘Zeus’, did the oracle say, that Orestes, in avenging his father, was to ignore altogether his relationship to his mother? It cannot be accidental that Apollo is made here, for the second time (see vv. 202, 203), to evade this plain and important question; nor is the defect supplied by the passage of the Choephoroi (v. 268 foll.), the only other evidence in the trilogy, where Orestes adduces, but does not cite, the oracular command. An injunction τοῦς ἀθρόου τῶν αἰώνων ἀνταποκρινεῖαι is far from evidently requiring, that Clytaemnestra should fall by her son’s hand, or even that she should be slain at all. The plural description of ἀθρόου denotes the responsible, one or many. If the emissaries had chosen to hold, that the ἀθροί for the death of Agamemnon lay with the seducer Aegisthus, they would not have lacked warranty; and we shall see that this view is actually here suggested. Pylades, who finally forces Orestes to the matricide, invokes the oracle (Cho. 899) but does not cite it. Evidently Aeschylus, in regard to the supposed sanction of Delphi, was not without that feeling, upon which Euripides plays with triumphant malice. Aeschylus, with all his respect for religious tradition, was willing to leave a doubt, whether the Supreme Deity had really prescribed the enactment of that appalling scene between the mother and son. Perhaps, just on this point, there had been some dreadful mistake, such as, in dealing with oracles, was only too familiar. This would not diminish the tragedy, nor the
obligation of Apollo to aid his unhappy servant.

Zeus, óσ λέγεις υывает: 'Zeus', to speak as you: i.e. if we take it from you that an oracle of Delphi does exactly represent Zeus.—τόνδε...τοῦδε: 'this command precisely to this person individually'.

παρός...νέμεω: 'that, when he had requited the murder of his father, he should treat as nothing the value of his mother'.

The terms πράσεων (lit. to exact, get in a debt), παράνοια, κυβαμοῦ νέμεω (assign no place to, count as a cipher in a calculation) are all from the language of account. πράξανα: by the slaying of Agamemnon. This (they suggest) was requital, a life for a life; Agamemnon's murder was already 'exact', and the slaying of Clytaemnestra was not the avenger's duty, but a something, or nothing, which her son chose to throw in! Did 'Zeus' command that?—We note that the prosecutors, for obvious reasons, make their allusion to the paramount as slight as their argument will permit. Apollo too (v. 628), who would fix attention solely on Clytaemnestra, is content to leave Agamemnon in the background. But both sides here have him in view.—The same conception of the 'equivalent' is used, from another point of view, by Cassandra (Ag. 1317—1325), who counts Clytaemnestra for herself and Agamemnon for Agamemnon; ἐκεῖ γὰρ γυναῖκας ἀνὴρ ἔμοι δώρῳ, ἵνα ἀνὴρ τῷ δυσδάματος ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ. Of course the first part of this reckoning, however consoling to the slave, could not be adopted before a legal tribunal, as a justification of the matricide; and Apollo accordingly (v. 628) rejects the equation of Agamemnon to Agamemnon.—Aeschylus, it will be remembered, so far follows the primitive legend, as to make Agamemnon still the first object of Orestes, and first slain; and so does Euripides, who further adapts to his own purposes the notion of 'equivalence', making Electra prove, by an elaborate and repulsive calculation, that the life of Agamemnon is separately due to herself and her brother, so that the life of Agamemnon has still to be paid for by that of Clytaemnestra (Eur. El. 1086—1096). Sophocles, in accordance with his general treatment, inverts the order of events. See the Introduction to the Choephoroi.—Some (Wecklein, Sidgwick, and apparently Paley) assume here that πράξανα and νέμεω denote actions contemporaneous, with the sense 'that in avenging his father he should disregard his mother', or 'should avenge his father without regard to his mother'. This might be expressed by πράσεων νέμεω (as Schwarz proposed to read), πράξαν νέμαντα, πράσεων νέμαντα, or perhaps by πράξανα νέμα, but not (I think) by πράξανα νέμεω. Prima facie, an aor. participle with present verb denotes an action precedent, and we need not here suppose otherwise. See also next note.

Apollo, fixing upon the suggested 'exact' of the debt, swerves off, from the dangerous ground of the oracle, to his strongest topic, a δελωσις on the murder of Agamemnon. This passage puts briefly, but very forcibly, the only
effective plea which can be made for Orestes, an appeal to the horror excited by the character and act of Clytemnestra, as a combination of the most atrocious domestic and political treason. It is scarcely a defence, and certainly not a legal defence under any conceivable system of law, for a matricide; but it is emotionally impressive (v. 641), and (with such help as it may get from the oracle) it secures half the votes.

628–633. οὐ τι ταύταν: not at all the same, i.e. far worse than, and not required by, the slaying of Aegisthus. That the comparison is with this (and not with the death of Clytemnestra) appears from καὶ ταύτα πρὸς γυναῖκας. It is not worse, and no one could think so, to be slain ‘by a woman’ (or even ‘by a wife’) than to be slain by a son. On this head, the character of the agent, a parallel between the deaths of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra would give no advantage to either side. But as between Agamemnon and Aegisthus, the point tells,—άνδρα γυναίκαν κ.τ.λ.: a gallant warrior, not a cowardly villain, a legitimate king and not a usurping tyrant.—συνεχείς τὸ ὄνομα (i.e. τιμαλφοιμένων) παρ’ Ἀλεξίλα, διὸ σκότυλα αὐτὸν Ἐπίχρωμος, schol.—ἐφήμενοι...διαρέχοντες: ‘who sit appointed to decide by division of votes.’ See on v. 491.

634–638. μν: see Theb. 440, Cho. 620, 787 (lyrics). It is not safe to substitute μν (Porson). The purpose of the passage comports well with a certain heightening of the tone, and this again with an exceptional vocabulary (cf. δίωμε, v. 623 and περαικήρωσεν below). Note also the ‘epic’ words δίωμεν, δυσδοτος, θύρμος, ἐκηβόλος, δαιδάλος, the substantival εὔφροσιν without an article, and the artificially sonorous τέρματι...ἄτερμον. Further, it is possible and probable that some celebrated description of the murder in older literature (perhaps in Stesichorus, who told the story) has had an influence.—ἀπὸ στρατείας...δεδεμένη: she had welcomed him back from a war, wherein, for loyal hearts, he had purchased advantage in the main, lit. ‘had made a bargain the-most-part-better’, in which the gain (what was better) went much beyond the loss (what was worse) and nearly to the whole transaction. βέλτιων πλείστα ἡπτυρχηκόντα ἀπὸ στρατείας schol., not quite accurately, but indicating rightly that ἀπὸ στρατείας belongs to ἡμποληκόντα as well as to δεδεμένη. The more logical expression would have been τὰ πλειόνα ἀμελώνα, but πλείστα is a natural turn of rhetoric. εὔφροσιν: τοῖς εὔφροσιν (masculine). The dative signifies both the persons interested and the persons judging, the so-called ‘commodi’ and ‘ethical’, the advantage being both gained and estimated by the εὔφροσιν. The English for has the same ambiguity.—This phrase gives just the utmost that can be said for the king as represented in the Agamemnon; and to be fully understood, it must be compared with the ‘first act’ of that play passim. See especially the contrast drawn between those pretending to be loyal (εὔφρον) and those truly such (Ag. 779, 800), to which εὔφροσιν here alludes. Agamemnon, a hard and selfish prince, comes to his death through the reckless sacrifice of lives in his ambitious war, and the hatred thereby excited among his subjects. His wife had against him an especially cruel grievance.
of this kind in the inmonilation of her daughter. The view of the εὑροσων (see the passage cited) was, that, the triumph having been won, the cost should be conditioned; and Apollo here suggests, perhaps with justice and certainly with judgment, that Clytaemnestra, if she had been an honest woman, would have taken this 'loyal' view, instead of using the disloyal, as she did, to wreak her personal vengeance.—Paley and others take εὑροσων as neuter and instrumental (with love, with loving welcome). This would be grammatical, but not practically intelligible. By primary sense, εὑροσων is an epithet of persons, and the context here does not determine otherwise. The suggestion (Schuetz), that after τ. 635 something is lost, is not disprovable, but, as I think, unnecessary.—δροῖτη... τέρματι: as in a bath he passed through his purification, at the very bourne (of his journey). The bath was preparatory to the religious ceremony which it was the duty of Agamemnon to perform on his home-coming (Ag. 842, 1021), and probably part of it. When celebrating a return, even from ordinary travel, both host and guests appear to have bathed (Plautus Rudens 150 proper viam illi sunt vocati ad prandium.—qui?—quia post cenam, credo, laetorunt heri), and after a σπατεία there was blood to be purged (cf. Soph. Ai. 654, Eur. Heracles 940). Hence περάντη, passing through, traversing, as in περάν ποταμων, the λουρά being figured as part of the journey; and hence also τέρματι, similar to τέρμα κελεύον, ἡλάγη, φωγῆ, πορείας, πλανημάτων (Aeschylus), δρόμων (Sophocles), but here absolute, end sought, as in Soph. El. 1397, Eur. Iph. T. 117, the goal, bourne, terminus of the δός implied in περάν (or, if we please, of the σπατεία). Not 'end of the bath' (τῶν λουρῶν, schol.).—τῶν τέρματι (i.e. λουρά τὰ ἐπὶ τέρματι) Fritsche; this points to the true conception and may be right.—Other domestic rites, as weddings, funerals, offerings to the dead, were also connected with λουρά, and in fact the tragedians, as is natural, seldom use the word except in a religious sense.—δροῖτη: properly instrumental 'by means of a bath', with περάντη λουρά. The bath was no ordinary instrument of religious λουρά, but may have been prescribed in this particular rite. Aeschylus uses δροῖτη, a very rare word, only of Agamemnon's bath: see Ag. 1541, Cho. 997. According to Ag. i.e. (χαμέναν) it must be, in this instance at least, a long (reclining) bath. The scholia on Cho. i.e. (δροῖτης κατασκήνωσα· παραπέτασας σοφόν—Stanley, for δροῖτη, and here [πυλεψ. τῇ ὑπὶ σοφῷ αὐτῷ γενομένη] imply that it meant also, or properly, coffin (σοφός), and suggests therefore a fatal bath. The trope would be quite Aeschylean; but the schol. weaken their authority by insisting that, by derivation, δροῖτη (or δροῖτη, see ad Cho.) should mean something wooden (παρὰ τὴν δροῖν· ξύλων γάρ αὐτοῖς, i.e. σοφός, schol. here), whereas the Aeschylean δροῖτη is expressly ἀγγυρ- τοῖχος (Ag. i.e.).—The dative περάντη (αὐτῷ) depends on περασκήνωσαν.—καὶ ἐπὶ τέρματι may be either copulative, joining ἐπὶ τέρματι to περάντη, as both.
main made profitable purchase, she received him home; then, in his passage through the bath of purification, at the end of his enterprise, she drew the tented curtain round, in the endless maze of a cunning robe she entangled him, and she hewed her husband down!

Such, as I have told it to you, was the death of that man, the majesty of the world, the emperor of the fleet. As for that woman there (pointing as if to Clytaemnestra), I have shown her marks of time, or (better) emphasizing, even. —περεσκήφωσεν: an ‘Aeolic’ form for περεσκήφων, as περέβαλλον (περέβαλ- λον) in Ag. 1144 (lyrics); see above. Wecklein retains it in both places: παρεσκήφωσεν is given by one later ms. (d). —κατασκήφωςεν Headlam, citing δρόμος κατασκήφωμα Cho. 1007, and supposing περ (περί) to have arisen, as it might, from a gloss. —She ‘drew the tenting drapery around’. φάρος, meaning in itself ‘a cloth, piece of drapery’, is here the curtain, which screened off the bath or bath-chamber, as in Soph. Τν. 916 στρώνα φάρι are bed-coverings. This curtain, mentioned also in Cho. l.c., must not be confused with the πέτλος. —ἐν δ’ ἀτέρμον...πέπλῳ: a bathing garment so made that the victim was entangled in it (πεδίσοσα) as in a maze (δωδάλω), and found no issue (ἀτέρμον): cf. Ag. 1381 (ὡς μὴ φέθγεν)...ἀτερμόν ἀμφιβληστήραν. The assonance of τέρματι...ἀτέρμον is sought for its own sake, rather than for any point (cf. Θεό. 380), but is rhetorically legitimate. The idea suggested (see preceding notes) is that having entered this ‘maze’, the home-comer missed his δούρεις, and journeyed elsewhere for ever. Compare the assonance of κέκλεφται...εὐκλείς in Cho. 320.—Acute, and worth discussion, is the suggestion (proposed in the ms.) that ἀποστρατεῖας is a compound substant., related to ἀποστρατεύεσθαι (q.v.) as ἐπιπορέα, ἐπιστατεία, ἐπογραμματεῖα to the corresponding verbs. The proposal is plainly deliberate, for the usual doubt between the spellings, -στρατίας and -στρατεῖας, is carefully marked, and if the copyist of the reading had found ἀτεῖο (sic), he would have so accented it. The word would signify the position of one ἀπόστρατος or ἀπόστρατευόμενος, the position of the στρατηγὸς parting (or, like Agamemnon, parted) from his command; and it would mark, in singularly apt accordance with language used in this connexion elsewhere, the charge which the speaker here desires to rebut. See on Ag. 1126 νεὼν ἀπαρχός, and note στρατι- λάτου νεών below. Moreover (and this was probably the reason for it) ἀποστρατεῖας, as partitive genitive with τὰ πλείστα, would add to the clearness of ἡμνοληξία ἃ πλ. ἁμεινον: ‘in his ἀποστρατεῖα’, in the winding up, so to speak, of his military enterprise, ‘he showed a large balance of purchased gain’: for a parallel see Eur. Med. 534 μείκε γε μένοι τίς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας εἶχες ἢ δέδωκας, ‘your gain in my preservation was greater than your gift’. I incline to accept this, but put in the text the usual division, as given in the scholiun.

639—642. ταύτην τοιαύτην ἐπον. ‘She there...was such as I have shown her.’ He points, with ταύτην, in the forensic manner, to the place where, as he can see, Clytaemnestra actually stands. Refer to ν. 601. The abruptness—we expect an antithesis to ἀνδρός μὲν κ.τ.λ.—is calculated, and thrilling. It is the orator’s parry, or counter-move, to the apparition of the ghost.—The conjecture τὴν δ’ αὖ (Well, Wecklein) presumes, what is true, that ταύτην requires Clytaemnestra to be present. But she is present.—λέως: οἱ δικασταί, schol., but the limitation is not quite exact. Apollo’s
rhetoric is really addressed to the general audience, the στράτος of v. 569, rather than to the judges as such. His adversaries note this, and pointedly invoke the tribunal; see on οὐμᾶς in v. 646. But it is true that, according to Athenian conception, a bench of judges represented the sovereignty of the people; Apollo avails himself of this theory, and deftly appeals to public sentiment.

643—646. The opponents, to diminish the effect of Apollo’s harangue, try another way of bringing him to the legal issue, and, like the devil, ‘quote Scripture for their purpose’. The legend of Cronus is noted by Euripides (Heracles, 1317, 1342) and by Plato (Rep. 378 a) among the disgrace of orthodox religion. Aeschylus, as one ready to worship Zeus if he could, had meditated on it anxiously and profoundly (Ag. 178 foll.). The Erinyes, like an Athenian infidel, throw it at their Olympian adversary, in the hope (note the call for attention from the jury, and refer to v. 604) of a particular reply, probably a commonplace of Athenian apologetics, which will suit them. Their ruse succeeds.—προτιμᾷ μητρὸς scho].—οὐμᾶς, and ἐγὼ, contrast the speaker’s appeal to the jury, only and as such, with the vagueness of Apollo in ὥς δῆξθι λεῖν (641), where see note. He would bring in the sentiment of the crowd; she, in a tone of protest (μαρτύρωμαι), invites to her argument the attention of the court.

647. Apollo, stung by the damaging reference to the scandals of Olympian theology, becomes angry and, in his anger, unwary.

648. πέδας...λύσειν: setters he may loose, i.e. it is supposable that he should loose them. The subject is Zeus (Paley).

—We cannot supply the subject τις, and, to make the statement general, λύσεια (Dindorf) must be read. As it stands, it is a generality, but applied to the case.—It strikes a modern reader as a grotesque defence of Zeus for his unfilial act to say ‘Setters can be undone’ (Sidgwick). It seemed, I think, grotesque, or at least superficial and inadequate, to Aeschylus. Neither his general views, nor his design here, require the supposition that Apollo was in those early days infallible as a
such as she was, to touch the hearts of that folk, which is the
instituted authority in this cause. (Stir and sound of the
crowd.)

Erin. A father's death, according to thy argument, is more
esteemed by Zeus. Yet he himself put in bonds his aged father
Kronos. How does thine argument agree with that?—You (to
the jury), you I invite, for my part, to attend here.

Apollo. Ah, ye abominable, brutish, god-detested! Fetters
He may loose; for that, there is remedy; and many, very many,
are the means of undoing what is done. But when the dust hath
swallowed the blood of mortal man, once he is dead, there is no
raising of him. Spell for this, none hath my Father made; all
else, without breath of displeasure, this way, or that again, he
doth reverse and dispose.

Erin. And how doth this plea for thy client touch him as

theologian and controversialist. Before
the date of the Eumenides, even Apollo
had probably come to deeper views; at
any rate Aeschylus had (see preceding
note), and for an adequate answer would
have referred us to 'Zeus—whosoever
he be'.

649. 'And right manifold is the
power of loosing', i.e., 'and indeed in
general, what is done can be undone'.
Not 'many ways of loosing fetters'.

650. ἀνδρός: ἄνθρωπος, a human being,
as opp. to an immortal (Cronus).

652—654. It is the will of Zeus that
death shall be the one process not re-
sversible; others he reverses, or permits
to be reversed, 'with indifference', οὐδὲν
ἀνθρώπων μένει, lit. 'without drawing
the sharp breath of anger', 'Keineswegs
infolge von Zornmut schnaubend, d. i.
nicht über die Massen aufgebracht und
unsversönlich.' (Wecklein, after Schnetz,
referring to v. 533 f.).—ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω.
I accept, under reserve, the obvious con-
jecture of the later MSS. (d, f, g) for ἄνω
καὶ κάτω (M), but am not sure that this
is not the sign of some deeper injury
affecting both verses (653 and 654). The
language is odd, though this indeed may
be due to citation or imitation of some
ancient and now unknown authority.—
The doctrine in question, that the re-
stitution of the parted life to the body is
impossible, was prevalent (see Ag. 1004)
but by no means universal among re-
ligious Greeks; nor was Delphi itself
consistent about it, as the Erinyes, in
mere malice, presently take an oppor-
tunity to recall (v. 726). The legend
of Alcestis was expressly designed to
contradict it. It is not consistent with
any secure belief in man's personal
immortality, a rising belief in the fifth
century B.C., and that which was to
prevail in the distant future. What
Aeschylus held, we are not in a position
to say; probably he trusted faintly the
larger hope.

655—657. 'How then with regard to
banishment does your plea make for your
client? Note that.' τὸ φεύγειν τοῦδ' ἐπεράκειν: 'argue for him the matter
of exile'. τὸ φεύγειν, as the order of
words shows, contains the point. Apollo,
using the accustomed symbol for the lost
life, has incautiously insistèd, that the
blood once 'swallowed by the dust' is
irrecoverable. His opponent, who was
waiting for this, triumphantly asks how
then Orestes can ever have a home?
Earth (πέδων) is for ever polluted to the matricide, and through earth all the instruments of religion, the altars, the holy water. What will be his position in Argos? That he must be for ever a fugitive, an exile, is just their contention (τον. 424 foll.), and Apollo (they imply) has proved it. For the general doctrine that earth is unclean to the shedder of blood, see Cha. 64 foll., 277 foll., and notes there. That the pollution affected the soil of the native πόλις only, and this only for a time, were practical and arbitrary modifications of the primitive idea, and led to the conventional φυγή ἐναυσία, banishment for a year (Ευρ. Ἱστ. 37). The Erinyes, at least in this extreme case, do not recognise the limitations, and we observe, that Aeschylus does not assign them to Apollo either, and in fact does not notice them at all. They would hardly commend themselves to his profound and rigorous way of thinking.—τὸ φεύγεν “expresses the result of the pleading,” i.e. that he be acquitted (schol., Paley, and others). But (1) τὸ φεύγεν is then superfluous, whereas by position it is emphatic; (2) φεύγεν, in forensic language, does not necessarily or properly mean to be acquitted (φευγέναι, φυγέω, ἀποφυγέω), but to be defendant or perhaps to make a defence: the latter (for which see Supp. 395 and Jebb on Soph. Ant. 263) is admissible here (“how you argue for him his defence”) but would be still superfluous; (3) the sense requires a reference to exile. In this lies the point of the retort.—Grammatically τὸ φεύγεν signifies no more than that φεύγεν in some way defines the scope of ὑπέρθύρειος: in what relation, whether as purpose or how otherwise, we must infer from the context.—The question πῶς κ.τ.λ. seems better taken as direct than as dependent on ὅτα.—πέθω ‘epic dative’, as usual, M; πέθων (Attic) Dindorf.—δημοῦ...φρατέρων: with allusion to the religious corporations, demes and phratries, of Attica.

660—664. Apollo, brought to bay, at last offers an argument upon the technical issue, the criminality of matricide. Generation is analogous to the sowing of plants; the father is the only
fugitive? Mark that! His mother's blood, his own, he hath spilled upon earth. And shall he then in Argos inhabit his father's house? What altar of common worship can he use? What brotherhood will admit him to holy water? (A pause.)

Ap. This, too, I will explain, and mark thou how straightforwardly. The mother of what is called her child—is no parent of it, but nurse only of the young life that is sown in her. The parent is the male, and she but a stranger, a friend, who, if fate spares his plant, preserves it till it puts forth. And I will show thee a proof of this argument. A father may become such without a mother's aid. Here at my hand is a witness, the Child of Olympian Zeus,—who, even ere she came to light,

'parent', the mother is no more ὄμαιος to the child than the ground is to the seed. As to the origin, substance, and bearing of this theory, see the Introduction. Here it will suffice to remark (1) that the speaker, who has abstained from producing it as long as he possibly can, now shows (as might be expected) little faith in its effect upon the jury, whom he does not even address (v. 660 ἐχάθεν, v. 665 σοι); (2) that he covers it as quickly as he can, sliding it from artfully into a personal compliment to the president, and thence abruptly to his peroration, which is in fact an appeal to the personal interests of the judges, an attempt to bribe the court.—οὐκ ἔστι κ.τ.λ. 'The mother of the thing called her child is no parent of it.'—ὁ θρησκόμεν: ὁ σπερματικόν schol.—ἀπερ ἔγνος ἔγνη: 'as a stranger for him (the father) a stranger': i.e. her part, as the nursing soil, does not give her any community of function with the father; she does not become a parent, as he is, any more than a nurse becomes a parent, if she successfully rears the child.—ἕμων...θεῖος: she preserves it till the putting forth, if his (hope) he not arrested by fate, lit. 'preserves it for him, (to be) a plant,—for those (that is) for whom fate stops it not'. ἔρως is predicate: the seed becomes an ἔρως when it puts forth the plant; so does the animal seed at the delivery. The antecedent to οἶκος is ἔγνος, or rather the πατὴρ which ἔγνυ implies; since this πατὴρ is typical, 'a father' for 'fathers in general', the transition to the plural offers no difficulty. Βλάψῃ in the special sense of βλάπτειν, hinder; not merely injure.—Attic prose would require οἶκον ἀν. By adding οἶκος κ.τ.λ., Apollo sharpens his point. The mother is a depository, not always safe, and that is all.

666. πατὴρ ἀν γένους (πατήρ): γεννῆσαιν schol.

667. Apollo conveniently ignores the fact, though familiar to his audience and specially interesting to himself, that, if Zeus produced Athena without mother, Hera retorted by producing without father the giant Typhaon, who was reared by the Great Serpent at Pytho (Delphi) itself (Homer Ἁμν. Απ. 305—355). If the one birth proved his theory of human generation, which it plainly does not, the other would refute it. But in truth there is here hardly the semblance of reasoning. The allusion to Pallas serves merely to hurry off the argument, and introduce the bid for interest.
668, 669. "οὐδὲ: not even, not so much as" (Wellauer, Paley). 'Whose covert even was not a womb in which she grew.' The part of the mother is in no case more than en σκότος ἑρφείων, the period of unseen growth before coming to light (μαλεών εἰς φόρα) or delivery. In the case of Pallas, even the darkness was not that of a womb, but of the father's head and mind.—Paley says 'not even nurtured', quasi οὐδὲ τεθραμμένη, which is not quite exact; otherwise both his explanation and the comparison of Thed. 1016 (where I should have referred to his note here), seem right.—Mr Sidgwick would render οὐδὲ and not, with a slight pause at παρετί—'a witness, child of Zeus (only) and not reared in the womb.' This is possible, but should rather be expressed by οὐδὲ ἡγοός..., or οὐδὲ τεθραμμένη...—ἄλλοι οἶνοι...θέσις: 'yet such a birth as no miracle could make by generation'; because she sprung forth adult and armed. Generation implies infancy; even Apollo, though his after-growth was miraculous, came an infant from his mother (Homer Ἕμνων Ἀπόλλων 116—129). But Pallas had no infancy, nor ever 'grew' in darkness; Zeus simply thought her, complete. The idea of Pallas, female, yet male-born, essentially masculine, and perpetually virgin (inf. v. 740), is a rude attempt of anthropomorphic thought to spiritualize deity by the elimination of sex. As the favourite idea, perhaps the creation, of Athens, Apollo is eager to commend it.—ἐρνος, as in v. 664, the plant, or shoot: metaphorically, the thing put forth or born. τέκοι, in the full sense, 'produce by the way of τίττεω'.

670—676. Such appeals to interest, as irrelevant and worse, the Archon Basileus would have stopped, the Areopagite being strict in such matters (Lysias 3. 46 ἐπειδὴ παρὶ νῦν οὐ νόμμων ἐστὶν ἔχων τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, id. 7. 42, Aristot. Rh. 1. 1; Well, Wecklein). But even human defendants could make a brief excursus, especially at the close; it is actually done in both the perorations cited, the rule of the court being mentioned just because it is violated. And Apollo is a defendant not easy to manage, fortunately for him; since his whole address (except vv. 660—664) is, from a legal point of view, irrelevant or evasive. What Athena can do, she does (v. 677). The practical effect of Areopagitic severity is indeed felt throughout, in the absence of those ἢθος καὶ δῆσεις, about the wrongs and sufferings of Orestes, which in any ordinary Greek court would have made the chief of his case.—σύμμαχον. For this contemporary
grew not in any womb, yet is a fairer plant than all the powers of heaven could beget.

For me, O Pallas, as in all else, with all my skill, I will make great thy burgh and host, so now I sent this man as suppliant to thy house, that he might become thy true man for all time, and thou, Goddess, gain to thy alliance him and those after him, and this abide for ever, to content in doubt the posterity of those in presence here. (Stir in the crowd. Athena rises. Silence.)

Ath. May I now take it that enough has been said, and bid the jury, justly according to their mind, forthwith to give their vote? (She turns to the Erinyes.)

alliance with Argos, and the part which Orestes was to take in securing it, see vv. 765 foll.—καλ ἄνα...ἐπιστόροις: and that this (guaranteed) might abide eternally and in such wise that, through all doubts, the posterity of these should cleave to it. στέργειν τ’ ἄφυτα κτλ.: i.e. δότε τα στέργειν ἄφυτα ὄντα. The sense of στέργειν, cleave to, approaches the common be content with (see L. and Sc. s.v.), implying not that τα στέργειν ἄφυτα is all that might be wished, but on the contrary that it is not. τε couples the adverb αλανός to the adverbial στέργειν...ἐπιστόροις.—The point, explained fully in vv. 765 foll., is that, having made sure of Orestes (τόνδε), the Athenians would be sure of the Argives (τοὺς ἔρευνα), because Argos could not war against Athens if she would, and her choice would be between the Athenian σμμαχία or none, a security amply sufficient in the circumstances contemplated by Aeschylus. Athens might feel sure therefore, whatever the appearances to the contrary, or, as is put epigrammatically, would have a surety ‘to which Athenians might cleave when it was unsure’. The existing suspicion and fear of Argos, here implied, becomes explicit in the passage cited, which shows that, notwithstanding the σμμαχία, the appearance of the Argives in Attica, as invaders, was regarded as not impossible. In both places Aeschylus endeavours to reassure his countrymen. Our knowledge of the period, a bare out-

line uncertain even in the main dates, is not sufficient to explain these feelings, but they are not surprising. The interest of the Argives was dubious, and their policy, as between Athens and Sparta, not less so.—τόνδε: the Athenians, represented by the jury and the crowd.—στέργειν τα πιστά (cods. Flor. Ven.) is simpler in appearance, but the words τα πιστά are then superfluous and ill-placed in the sentence. Moreover vv. 673—676 thus exhibit a verbose repetition, which is not in the manner of Aeschylus.

677, 678. Rightly given by Mr Sidgwick as a question, κελεῶ being subj. deliberative, Shall I now order? “It is a formal request to both sides to know if there is anything more to be said,” that is, any more argument. By Apollo rather too much has been said, as Athena hints (ὡς ἄλις λεγεμένων). He having spoken last, she offers first to the Erinyes the opportunity to reply, and to criticise his theory of generation; but they are content to let it pass,—another indication that we are not to suppose it likely, in the opinion of the poet, to produce much conviction or impression.—απὸ γνώμης...δικαίω: from their judgment...scrupulously, that is, not according to their interest or hopes, but according to their opinion of the question at issue. This also glances at Apollo’s promises. With δικαίω, ‘founded on the δική’, compare the opposite ἔδικως in v. 492.
XO. ἡμῖν μὲν ἡδή πᾶν τετοξεύται βέλος—
μένῳ δ’ ἀκοῦσαι πᾶς ἀγῶν κριθήσεται.

AΘ. τί γάρ;—πρὸς ύμῶν πῶς τιθεῖσ’ ἀμομφος ὁ;

ΑΠ. ἡκοῦσαθ’ ὥν ἡκοῦσατ’, ἐν δὲ καρδίᾳ
ψῆφων φέροντες ὅρκον αἰδεῖσθε, ξένοι.

ΑΘ. κλύοιτ’ ἀν ἡδή θεσμόν, Ἀττικὸς λεῶς,
πρῶται δίκαι κρίνοντες αἰματος χυτοῦ.
ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Ἀιγέως στρατῷ
αιεὶ δεκαστῶν τοῦτο βουλευτήριον’

682. X0. 686. αἰγέως. text rec. 687. δ’ ἐκάστων.

680. Probably toned as a warning or menace; cf. vv. 735, 736. They have
done, but—will have more to say in a
certain event.

681. τί γάρ; lit. ‘Why what?’ i.e.
Of course, quietly puts aside, as if inno-
cently meant, the threatening suggestion
of the prosecutors. It does not seem
consistent with the use of this form to
take it as part of the question following.
After this, she turns to the defendants.—
‘How in my ordering may I escape
objection on your part?’ πρὸς ύμῶν...
ἀμομφος together, i.e. ‘Have you (Apollo
and Orestes) more to say, or may I pro-
cceed to my θεσμὸς?’

682. Apollo, with graceful dexterity,
contrives to remind the juries of what,
for better or for worse, they have heard
(vv. 670—676), while at the same time
correcting his attitude by an appeal to
their consciences.

684. ἡδή forthwith, now, the time for
what was above postponed (574) having
come. λέως: the jury as representative
of the people, but also the folk assembled,
the πόλις παρα of v. 575. To them
Athena’s ordinance, concerning the future
even more than the present, is of course
addressed quite properly.

686. Αἰγέως rec. but αἰγέω (M), i.e.
Αἰγῶ (adjective), is possibly right, and
gives the same sense.

686, 687. As now, so in time to
come, this shall ever be for the host of
Aegens (the Athenians) the place where the
chosen shall meet in council, lit. ‘shall be
ever the council-place of decuriae’, if we
may borrow the parallel Roman expres-
sion.—δεκαστῶν (or -ῶν). I believe this to
be the reading slightly disguised in the δ’
ἐκάστων of M. Such a use of δεκάστων,
as the technical term for the action of the
magistrate in selecting and making up a
bench of jurymen, is required to account
for the use of it as a euphemism for cor-
rupiting a jury (see L. and Sc. s.v. and
compare the Latin decuriae, which
illustrates both senses). The briber was
told to ‘make up’ his bench by securing
a sufficient number of votes. But a
word meaning properly ‘to count by
tens’, ‘to form in decades’, could hardly
have become connected either with
bribery or with juries, except through
an official and technical application.
Whether the ‘slang’ use was known to
Aeschylus, we cannot say, the extant ex-
amples being much later; but if it was, it
would be no objection to the proper use,
any more than the parallel misapplication
of decuriae (to bribe) impeached or
affected its continued use in the proper
sense (to collect, assemble), upon which
the parody was based. It must not how-
ever be inferred that, whenever δεκάστων
was used, the selected number was
actually a multiple of ten. Terms of
number often lose their numerical force,
and δεκαστῶν might as well mean simply
chosen (jurymen) as quarter can mean
simply division. On the other hand,
Erin. For our part, all our bolts are now shot,—though I wait to hear how the issue shall be judged.

Ath. Of course.—And you (to Apollo and Orestes),—how may I order, without complaint from you?

Ap. (to the Jury). What ye have heard, ye have heard. Give, friends, your votes, and in your hearts have respect unto your oath. (A pause. Athena sits.)

Ath. The time is come for you to hear my ordinance, you people of Athens, now judges in the first trial for shedding of blood.

Hereafter, even as now, this shall be, for the folk of Aegaeus, the Council-place of the Bench from time to time.

Aeschylus apparently does present here a jury of ten or tens (see below on vv. 714–733), and perhaps this was the rule for the Areopagus in his time. The chief practical effect of such a rule would be to limit the discretion of the selecting magistrate (see on vv. 490 foll.) by requiring a minimum. If, by using δεκαστήλ, the poet means to suggest that actual decades, a number divisible by ten, were and always had been required, his suggestion is not historical, since it contradicts the approved legend that the cause of Orestes had been tried by the twelve gods (see below). But, for this reason, Aeschylus was the more likely to import the suggestion, for the legends are inconsistent with his plot, and he is careful, as we shall see (v. 688), not only to ignore, but to contradict them. Perhaps the definitely decimal practice had replaced one definitely duodecimal, just as in the political system the ten tribes of Cleisthenes replaced the ancient and duodecimal 4 φωλαί, each of 3 γέρα. But more probably the primitive usage had not been precise. In either case, we see why Aeschylus insists that it had been precise and decimal. He deals with the history of the Areopagus as with the history of Delphi, emphasizing his statement just in those points which tradition did not support. In the judicial system of the fifth century decimal numbers rule.—By the Pythagoreans, the decade, and the number 5 which divides the decade, were mystically associated with justice, through the triple resemblance of διάξειν, δεκάξειν, and διδάξειν (v. 491): see schol. to Aristotle, Metaphysics 1. 5, Berlin ed. vol. IV. p. 541 b, ἐνια δὲ φασιν ὁτι ὃς μεταξύτης δεκάδος ὄν ὃ ε' δικαστής ἐκάλετο τοῖς Πυθαγόρειοι, οἷον τις δικαστὴς ὄν. Such a conception would suit very well what Aeschylus seems to exhibit, a tribunal of ten or tens, equally divided upon the case, and it may have influenced him.—αλει δ' ἐκάστων (M), though of course wrong, is no slip. The author of it, not recognising δεκαστήλ, supposed an antithesis between Λιγγείων (μείν) στρατῷ and αλει δεκάστων: ‘the council-place for Athens (generally), and of each (jury) from time to time.’ αλει δ' ἐκάστω (i.e. ἐκάστῳ, recd.) is an attempt to improve this by giving a dative on each side of the antithesis.—Several conjectures, αλείν ἄδεκαστων (Pauw), αλεί ἄδεκαστων (Abresch), ἄσυνδεκάστων (Kirchhoff), would find here ἄδεκαστος, unabridged, not to be bried. But even if δεκάξειν in this sense were a fit term for Athena, she would surely be unhappy in thus thrusting forward this single negative praise. In v. 707 it comes in properly and is expressed in suitable language.—δικαστῶν Canter.
The sentence is projected in the form, 'This hill of Ares I therefore hereby appoint as the place of council (Βουλευτήριον)', and is in fact resumed and finished in this form at v. 707. But the historical parenthesis on the name (Ἄρηος...Ἠρείων...) is succeeded by certain encomia and precepts, introduced as prefatory to the appointment. These have their separate commencement (ἐν δὲ τῷ...), so that, for the time, the accusative πάγον remains in suspense. So (substantially) Paley, Sidgwick, and others, though we must hardly say that the accusative is forgotten. The grammar and logic of the whole speech correspond, and exhibit the rhetorical advantage of an inflected language in binding great periods together.

— The name Ἁρείων, which has been suspected here and removed by correction, is necessary, as Paley points out, to introduce the explanation of it which follows.

688—693. The common explanation of Ἁρείων πάγος, the only one which seems ever to have had any vogue, connected the name, as might be expected, with the origin of the tribunal: Ἀρεός had been the first defendant, being indicted by Poseidon for the death of his son Halirrhothios, and tried by a jury of gods. So Eurip. Εἰ. 1528 'Ἀρεώς τις ἄξιος, ὃς πρῶτον θεοὶ ἔξωτ’ ἐπὶ ψήφωσιν αἰώνας πέρι, ἔλαβον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀθρόου Ἀρής, Παυσαν. 1. 28. 5 Ἀρείων πάγος καλομένος ὑπ’ ἀρχαῖος ἀντιπάλων ἀντιπάλων ἄρη ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκθένθη...κράτησι σε καὶ ὀστεῖον ὄρεστην λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ φώστῃ τῆς μητρώς, Demosth. (7) 33. 66 ἐν μονῷ τούτῳ τῷ δικαστήριῳ δικαίος φόνον θεοὶ καὶ δύναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἄξιωσιν καὶ δικασταὶ γενότομοι..., λαβεῖν μὲν Ποσειδόν ἄντε Ἀλιρροθίου τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ Ἀρείῳ, δικάσαι δὲ ἐδοξοῦν καὶ Ὀρέστη οἱ δώδεκα θεοὶ, and Dinarch. 1. 87, both placing, like Euripides and Pausanias, the judgment of Ares first. Indeed it is plain, that the legend of Ares, if accepted at all, must be accepted for what it was, an account of the tribunal's origin. And this shows why Aeschylus dilates upon a matter which he seems to make irrelevant. To receive the Ἐμενίδες, the legend of Halirrhothios must be dismissed as false; and to give another derivation of the name Ἀρεόπαγος is to signify this in the least offensive way (see Paley's note). For the derivation given, Aeschylus seems to be the sole authority, and he may well have invented it. But the invasion of the Amazons, and their defeat by Theseus, was in itself a popular legend and became a commonplace of Athenian encomia. See also the Introduction.— κατὰ φόνον in jealousy of Theseus' own foundation, the Πελώς or Acropolis. For the Amazons as representing barbarism against Hellenism, see Isocrates 4. 68, Lysias 2. 4, etc.: Isocrates parallels them with the Persians, and a similar thought, as Paley points out, is probably suggested here, since the Persians had besieged the Acropolis from the Areopagus (Herod. 9. 27).—ἀντιπάρων τῷ τοῦ Θησέως πόλει, τῇ Ἀκρόπολει.—"Ἀρεός, as
This Hill of Ares,—whereon the Amazons pitched their tents, when, for ill-will to Theseus, they came in their hosts, and with high walls upreared this citadel, then rival and foe to his, sacrificing to Ares, whence the rock of sacrifice, and the hill, is called after his name:—

In this place, public Reverence, and the kindred Fear of doing wrong, shall restrain wrong-doing, by night even as by day,—so long as the citizens themselves shall not impair (?) the law with (?)

their 'father' and patron.—ἐπώνυμος
("Ares"): hence the rock bears his name, and the hill (is) 'the hill of Ares'. πέτρα, i.e. that which served for the Amazons' sacrifice, or upon which they erected their βωμός. This altar-stone 'of Ares' was apparently the same, or in the same place, as the βωμός which Pausanias (1. 28. 5) attributes to 'Athena Aretia', ὅπως ἀνέθηκεν ('Ὀρέστης) ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην. When the importance of Athena in relation to the tribunal had eclipsed that of Ares, his altar was transferred to her, in the usual way, by means of an epithe. The legend cited by Pausanias seems to have connected this dedication with the trial of Orestes. The reason why Aeschylus mentions the πέτρα particularly is probably that it served as a table for the voting urns and votes, and was presented symbolically in his scene. Demosthenes (18. 134) speaks of the use of an altar for this purpose as an enhancement of the solemnity, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρων τὴν ψήφον ἔπραξε (ἥ ἐξ 'Αρ. πᾶγ. βουλῆς). As a fact, it may be assumed that the court was anciantly content to assemble under the patronage of Ares, though it would not have suited Athenian conceptions in the fifth century, least of all those of Aeschylus, to admit this. And it may further be true (Wachsmuth, Gilbert; see Frazer on Pausan. i.e.) that even the connexion with Ares was an accident, the name areios pagos having really meant 'hill of cursing', from the stem of ἀρα. But its real origin is a matter upon which we have no evidence, and can hardly even guess with safety.

693—702. εὔ δὲ το: and here, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πάγῳ.—φόβος τε συγγενής τὸ μὴ ἄδικεν; and the kindred fear to do wrong. The φόβος is συγγενής to the σήμα, both personified; but probably there is also a glance at the mythological kinship of Ares and Phobos (his son in Hes. Theog. 940, and see Theb. 45 'Αρη τ’ Ἑννόο καὶ φιλαματον Φόβοι). In this way Aeschylus marks so much connexion between the tribunal and the eponym of the hill (Ares) as he thinks fit to recognise. As an instrument of religious terror, the court is fixed in a place already sacred and already associated with Phobos. The schol., ὅ δ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ γὰρ, is therefore in substance right.—τὸ μὴ ἄδικεν explains the φόβο: cf. Ag. 14 φόβος γὰρ ἄν’ ἑπνοι παρατάτει τὸ μὴ βεβαιός βλέψαρε οὐμαλῶς οὕτω, and note there. —σχέσις τοῖς: either (1) shall restrain it, i.e. τὸ ἄδικεν, crime: or (2) with the same sense, σχέσις (τὸ μὴ ἄδικεν) 'shall restrain from crime', σχέσις being then absolute, and τοῖς standing for a repetition of the preceding phrase. I prefer the first. —ὥρα ὅπως: by day and even by night. Both substantives depend on the preposition, as in Soph. O.T. 734 Δελφῶν κάτω Δαυίδ, etc.; ὥρα belongs specially to κατ' ἐθνος, 'by night in spite of the night', as the season of crime. Whether in such a case we write ὅρως (as M) or ὥρας, alike, makes little difference; but ὥρα better marks the point.—From this, and the more definite ὅπως ἐπὶ ἐνδον ἐγγυοῦς ἐγγυοῦς φιλομής (v. 708), it seems that at the date of the Eumenides the power of the Areopagus over crime, which (it must be remembered) had but recently been almost unlimited, was represented by some
AIZXYLOU

κακαίς ἐπιρροαίσι βορβόρῳ ὁ ὕδωρ
λαμπρόν μιαίνων οὐποθ᾽ εὐρήσεις ποτόν.
τὸ μὴ ἀναρχον μηδὲ δεσποτοῦμενον
ἀστοῖς περιστέλλοντι βουλεύων σέβειν,
καὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖν μὲν πάν πόλεως ἔξω βαλέιν.
τίς γὰρ δεδοικὼς μηδὲν ἐνδικος βροτῶν;
τοῦτοι τοι ταρβόντες ἐνδίκως σέβας,
ἐρμαὶ τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριοι
ἔχουσ᾽ ἀν οἶνον οὐτὶς ἀνθρώπων ἔχει
οὐτ᾽ ἐν Σκύθλαισιν οὐτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποισ.—
κερδῶν ἄλλον τοῦτο βουλεύτηριον,
αἰδοῦν, ὀξύθυμον, εὐδόντων ὑπὲρ
ἐγρηγοροῦς φρούρημα γῆς καθίσταμαι.—
ταύτην μὲν ἐξέτευ' ἐμοῖς παραίνεσσι
ἀστοῖς εἰς τὸ λοιπόν. ὁρθοῦσθαί δὲ χρῆ,

700. σέβειν. σέβειν (in margin) m. 706. σκύθλασιν. corr. rec.

watch, maintained there at all hours under
the management of the Council. It seems
in short, as Wecklein remarks, to have
then directed the 'police'. That its
judicial proceedings took place at night
(necessarily or usually) is not proved;
nor is there any sufficient indication in
the present case, though we may note
v. 748, and the torches of the final pro-
cession (1030, 1043).—τὸ τ' ἡμαρ Grotius
(and many modern texts), on the assumption
that τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν belongs primarily
to σχῆσει, so that τὸδε is unconstruable.
But neither τὸ ἡμαρ nor κατὰ τὸ ἡμαρ, for
day, seems to be the usage of Aeschylus,
or of the tragedians (at least) generally,
but κατ' ἡμαρ, καθ' ἡμέραν, as here.—πικα-
καινοντων (?). No such word is otherwise
known, nor has any etymology been
traced. μη πικαινοντων Valckenaer, μη
πικαινοντων Wakefield, μη πικαινοντων
Stephanus. The first has the advantage
of colour, the metaphor (spoiling the
taste) leading naturally to that of
the water. Possibly πικαινοντων (sic) itself is
right. We cannot be sure that there was
no such word as πικαλω, or that, if it
existed, it was not here appropriate.—
Equally difficult is the choice between
punctuating at νόμοντι, or, as Hermann,
Dr Headlam and others, at ἐπιρροαίσι,
with change of βορβόρῳ θ' to βορβόρῳ δ'.
In several collections of proverbs (see
Hermann) βορβόρῳ δδωρ κ.τ.λ. is cited
by itself, from which he infers, but not
very safely, that a sentence began at
βορβόρῳ in the original. I should prefer
the division at ἐπιρροαίσι, if it did not in-
volve a change of letter. For κακαίς κ.τ.λ.
without copula, Mr Sidgwick cites the
similar treatment of proverbs in Ag. 334
ἀξόσ τ' ἀλειφά τε κ.τ.λ. and Eur. Or. 234
μεταβολῆ πάντων γλυκό.—τὸ μὴ ἀναρχον
κ.τ.λ. For the bearing of this sentiment
on the history and position of the Are-
opagus see vv. 520—531, and notes there.
The κακαὶ ἐπιρροαὶ are the Council's 'en-
croachments'. By making Athena thus
cite the very language of the Erinies
(v. 529), the poet implies that, in their de-
nunciation of the Council, that portion,
which refers to the abuses of the institution,
ill admixture. If thou foul bright water with mire, thou wilt never win a draught.

‘Not ungoverned, nor yet governed tyrannously,—this is the rule I would have my people preserve. This I counsel them to reverence, and that fear be not altogether outcast from the city. For what mortal is righteous if he nothing fear?

Such be your reverence, such your righteous dread, and ye will have such protecting bulwark to country and town, as none of mankind has, not in Scythia nor in the parts of Pelops.

Pure from corruption, compassionate, quick to wrath, the Council here assembling I do establish, to be a vigilant guard of the land’s repose. (A pause.)

So far I have pursued the path of exhortation to my people for time to come; and now, to proceed in the straight course,

is to be accepted as right. Dramatically also, the citation is doubly effective, both as a reminder to the Erinyes of Athena’s far-reaching knowledge (for she was not present to sense when they so spoke), and as preparing the way for her eventual invitation of them to join in supporting the new foundation. It is to be established upon their own principles, in so far as these are laudable.—We must not therefore conclude (with Dindorf) that vv. 699–702, because borrowed from the Chorus, are spurious.—μὴ τε...μὴδέ...μὴτε...μὴτε rec. followed by recent editors. But there seems to be an intentional variation from the common form, analogous to the use of τε...δὲ, οὖτε...οὐδὲ (see Kühner G. G. §§ 520 n. 3, 536 g), ‘what is neither lawlessness nor yet despotism either.’—περιστέλλων: σέβας: i.e. περιστέλλων καὶ σέβεων.

703–706. τοίνυν: such as has been said, control without tyranny, subordination without servility. Whether σέβας is here the feeling or the object of it, is a question which in the Greek does not practically arise.—ἐρωμά τε χώρας: i.e. ἐρωμα χώρας τε. Strictly speaking, there is no transference of τε in such cases, but an ellipse, for ἐρωμά τε χώρας καὶ (ἐρωμα) πόλεως.—‘Not in Scythia nor the Pelo-

ponnese.’ This expression must not be taken as simply equivalent to ‘neither among Hellenes nor barbarians’, though this is part of the meaning. Had the Athenian hopes of a land-empire been realised, the Areopagus might well have become the centre of justice for a region which, northward, had no limit but that of Hellenism itself. The phrase, like those in vv. 392 foll., 400 foll., sweeps the horizon of Athenian ambition at this critical moment.

707–709. See on 688, and note the repetition of τοῦτο βουλευτήριον, to mark the connexion, from 687.—εἰδοντες...

ἐγγιγνομένω: primarily metaphorical, εἰδόντων emphasizing by contrast ἑγγιγνομένον, ‘vigilant, though others may sleep’; but see also on 695.—ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων τιμωρον, schol.; this also may perhaps be suggested.

710–713. The act of foundation and the oration thereupon, placed as it is (see on 574, 684), is a divergence (ὁ-τενα), for the sake of the future (ἐλα το λαον), from the present business. To this Athens now returns, directing the judges to vote. The antithesis μεν...δὲ suggests that ἀρδοτόντα χρη bears the exceptional, but not unnatural, sense, ‘we must (now) put ourselves straight’, i.e. ‘resume the

V. E.
καὶ ψήφον αἴρειν, καὶ διαγνώσαι δίκην 
αιδουμένως τῶν ὅρκων. εἰρήται λόγος.

ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν βαρείαν τὴν ὀμφλιάν χθονὸς 
ἐξυμβολός εἰμι μηθαμῶς ἀτμασάι.

ΑΠΙ. κάγωτε χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς τε καὶ Διὸς 
tαρβεῖν κελεύω μηδ' ἀκαρπῶτοις κτίσαι.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' αἰματηρὰ πράγματ' οὐ λαχῶν σέβεις, 
μαντεία δ' οὐκέθ' ἀγνὰ μαντεύσει μένων.

ΑΠΙ. ἢ καὶ πατήρ τι σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων 
πρωτοκόμοισι προστροπαίς Ἰξίονος;

ΧΟ. λέγεις. ἕγα δὲ μὴν τυχόνσα τῆς δίκης 
βαρεία χώρα τῇδ' ὀμπλήσω πάλιν.

ΑΠΙ. ἀλλ' ἐν τε τοὺς νέοισι, καὶ παλαιτέρους 
θεῶς ἀτιμος εἰ σύνικησω δ' ἕγων.

713. αἰδουμένως. 716. κάγω τε.

direct course'. Somewhat similar is ὄρθονεν, 'holding the true course', in 
v. 775. The unexpressed subject includes 
all concerned, Athena, the court, and 
even the cause, though αἰδουμένως τῶν 
ὅρκων, and perhaps also ψήφον αἴρειν, 
belong to the dicasts only; the thought 
becomes more definite in the process of 
expression.—'You must rise (from your 
seats)'; Paley, Wecklein. Wecklein notes 
this use of ὄρθονεν (without further 
explanation) as remarkable, though we 
could not reject it upon this ground. 
But it would lay a strange emphasis 
upon the action. Before the judges 
can take their counters from the altar, 
they must certainly stand up; but to 
mention this seems to impair the terse 
solemnity of the conclusion.—αἰδουμένως 
Canter. The dative (M) probably arose 
from the false construction αἰδουμένως 
eἰρηται λόγος, 'the dicasts have 
bidden' (see v. 683).

714—733: This dialogue accompanies 
the voting of the dicasts. The ten 
couples indicate that the number of judges 
is divisible by 10, and probably is 10, this 
number being quite sufficiently large for 
the purposes of the stage. See further 
on 687, 746.—By counting a vote for the 
triplet 734—736, and by other expedients, 
the scene may be accommodated, 
without violence, to 11 votes or to other 
numbers, but 10 is the most natural. 
The question is connected with that of 
Athena's vote, on which see v. 738 and 
the Introduction.

— The division is (I think) by separate 
urns (τεῖχην, v. 745) not by different sorts of 
ψήφοι: see on vv. 751 foll. The voting 
is secret, and the urns therefore must be 
so arranged that the voter's choice cannot 
be detected. Various arrangements are 
conceivable and admissible.

714, 715. καὶ μὴν Μάρκ!—τῇδε...
χθονὸς: ἡμᾶς τάσει ὀμιλάσας (visitors) 
τῇ τόλαι.

716, 717. ἀκαρπῶτοις κτίσαι (πούλι-
σαι): to deprive of their full effect.—
κάγωτε Porson.

718, 719. By meddlin with what is 
not his function (οὐ λαχῶν), a case of 
blood, Apollo has himself compromised 
the purity and dignity of his oracle (see 
vv. 169 foll.).—σῆμεν (if right) is similar to
let each take up his counter, and give sentence with respect unto his oath.

My say is said.

(During the ten speeches following, the judges give their votes by taking counters from an altar-table, and putting them in urns, so arranged that the result is unknown.)

1. Erin. Mark! We are visitors dangerous to your land, whom I counsel you not to slight.

2. Ap. And for my part I say, dread the oracular command, not mine alone, but of Zeus; and make it not ineffectual.

3. Erin. Nay, but now that, contrary to thine office, thou respectest the causes of murderers, impure henceforth must be the sanctuary, where thou awaitest them.

4. Ap. Hath my Father also lost at all his wisdom, because he received as suppliant the first slayer, Ixion?

5. Erin. Thou arguest! I, if I win not the judgment, will be dangerous to this land, when I visit again.

6. Ap. But to the new gods, as to the elder, thou art contemptible, and the victory will be mine.

σέβει in v. 92, and correlative to σεμνός in v. 444: 'Thou art become a respecter of the causes of murderers.' As the criminal entitled to religious acceptance is σεμνός, so the person, who receives him, purges him, and becomes responsible for him, is said σέβεων him and his cause (πράγμα). μένων (if right) should be completed by αλμαρηνα πράγματα from the preceding sentence, and points to the expectation, on which the Erinyes insist in vv. 174 foll. (where see note), that, having once undertaken this polluting function, Apollo and his oracle will not easily be rid of it: And the oracle, where thou awaitest such causes, will henceforth be impure.—νέμων (Herrmann), i.e. νέμων μανεία giving oracles, or managing the oracle, is easier, and may be right.—νέμεις (for σέβεις) you manage, Rauchenstein. This, or some change of σέβεις, seems necessary, if we assume that the present action of Apollo in the trial is the chief or sole matter in view. We might then suspect confusion between the final words of the verses. The text is questionable, but not certainly wrong.

720, 721. 'Has Zeus become fallible because he first purged a murderer, Ixion?' See on v. 444.—σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων: lit. 'does he miss his counsel' or 'purpose'?—τι, in some way, to some degree, implies that σφάλλεσθαι Αἴα is a strange conception.—προστό- τας: see v. 448 etc. The dative is causal, 'because of the (accepted) supplication'. Not 'Was Zeus mistaken in accepting...?' The argument is that, as Zeus, though a purger of murder, is still the wise governor of the world, so Apollo, though a purger, will be none the less the wise prophet.

722—725. λέγεις: More words! i.e. 'you may argue'. Not finding at the moment an effective reply, they fall back upon threats.—τῆς δικής: the sentence in my favour. Cf. vv. 576, 712.—βαρέα κ.τ.λ.: 'will be dangerous to this land when I come again'.—ἀλλά... Ἐγώ. 'If it
of divine law, he was sentenced by Zeus to a term of slavery. See the prologue to the Alcestis of Euripides. The allusion is very damaging to Apollo’s assumption of perfect harmony between himself and his father (716); and he betrays his wound (732), as the Erinyes did (722), by fury. He behaves, as at 647, like a divine confronted with an inconvenient text. The fidelity, with which Aeschylus reflects contemporary controversy, does him credit both as a dramatist and as a theologian. —τὸν σέβοντα: τὸν έλη σε ευσέβεια, ‘one that has used you piously’. —τόχοι: optative, not subjunctive, though the principal verb is present (δίκαιων ἔστι), because the general maxim, as such, has no relation to any particular time: ‘it is, and always was, just to require a benefactor, especially should he need it’.—

132

ΔΙΑΝΟΜΑΣ Cobet, from schol. to Eur. Alc. 12.—οἶνο: to which the Moirai, δόσοι, like the elder gods generally, were not accustomed. This explains abolishing ancient distribution (of functions), which however would probably gain in point, if we knew exactly the legend of the deception: the words νέμων, διάνεμων are applicable specially to the service of the

comes to force, you are, as you ever were, inferior.’—These two couplets were placed by Merkel (and Wecklein) between 733 and 734. Thus (1) λέγει is somewhat simpler: ‘so you say’, referring to οὐδὲν ἔχθροισιν βαρύν in 733; (2) πρεσβύτων νέος (734) is immediately contrasted with ἐν νέοις τε κ.τ.λ. (724); (3) 726 comes as a retort to 720, 721. In short, the whole movement is smoothed, and the reasoning is not interrupted by mere explosions of temper on the one part (722) and the other (732). But whether this is a dramatic improvement may be doubted. Mr Sidgwick retains the MS. order.

726—731. The Erinyes resume, and with better success, the contest of wit. This is not the first ease in which Apollo has meddled beyond his sphere (τοιαυτ’ ἔδρασαν). He did so when by vile means (731) he got the Moirai, goddesses of the elder generation, to infringe the law of death, by suffering Admetus, son of Pheres, to purchase remission of his own fate by substituting another. His wife Alcestis consented to die in his place. Apollo’s motive was gratitude to Admetus (728) for having treated him kindly when, for a previous interference with the course
7. Erin. Even such a part didst thou play in Pheres’ house, persuading the Moirai to release a mortal from death!

8. Ap. Is it not then always just to repay regard with kindness, especially when the friend entreats?

9. Erin. Thou, thou it was, who, abolishing old division, didst deceive with wine those ancient powers.

10. Ap. Thou, thou anon, not winning the final award, wilt vomit the venom of thy not dangerous enmity.

(Here the voting is ended.)

Erin. Since thy young violence over-rides our age, to hear that award is the thing for which I wait, as in doubt suspending my wrath against the town.

(Athena rises from her seat.)

Ath. Here is a task for me,—to make difference in the last resort. (She raises her arm, with a gest of command.) And

Table. It would seem also that Apollo was treacherous as a host, which would sharpen the retort (στὸ τοῦ) upon his claim to ‘piety’ and ‘justice’.

732. ὀκ...τόλος: losing the issue of the justice (sentence) here.—ἐμεῖ τῶν λῶν: will vomit the poison (cf. v. 785). I fear that this also (ἐμεῖ) is an allusion to the effect of the wine upon the sober Moirai, as related by the schools of Homer and Hesiod. A disputant galled is little restrained by decency.

736. ὄμφιβολος (Turrebus)...θυμούσις: ‘in doubtful mind to be angry’, i.e. in suspense whether to be angry or not.

737—746. Athena declares that, should the votes of the dicasts be equally divided, a vote from her, as president, shall be counted to Orestes, and he shall be acquitted. Such was the Athenian rule, supposed to be founded upon the precedent of Orestes’ case. See Eur. Iph. T. 965, 1472, μπάκα λήφθη δότις ἐς ψήφους λάβη.—From the course of the scene, it seems probable that Athena does not actually place a ψήφος in the urn either here or at all, but signifies her conditional vote by ‘holding up a white pebble’ (so Mr Sidgwick), or perhaps simply by extending over Orestes, as it were, her protective arm. Such an attitude, if famous, as we may well suppose, would help to explain the odd expression of Euripides (Iph. T. 965), who makes Orestes say, ‘The votes being equal, difference in my favour was made by Pallas with her arm’, ἐν αὐτῇ ἴδιος ἑπεράτωσεν Πάλλας ἄνειρ. A direct allusion to a scenic effect in the Eumenides is quite probable in the Iphigenia. See also supra 210.—For further consideration of this subject, and of the important question, how Athena’s vote and her alleged reasons for it (v. 739—743) are related to the meaning of the play as a whole, see the Introduction. The vote is (in modern language) not judicial; it merely determines (by arbitrary choice) the practical question necessarily raised by the non-decision of the court.

737. ἐμὸν τὸδ’ ἐργον: ‘Here is a part for me...’. She takes up the last words ὄμφιβολος...πόλει, which naturally suggest the thought, that, after the voting, Athens may still be found to have pronounced no decision (see 798). To determine what shall then be done is a part which the goddess accepts, though she
ψῆφον δ' ὶρέστῃ τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθῆσομαι. 
μήτηρ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἦ μ' ἐγείνατο, 
τὸ δ' ἀρσεν αἰῶν πάντα, πλὴν γὰρν τυχεῖν, 740
ἀπαντὶ θυμῷ, κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός. 
οὕτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον 
ἀνδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον. 

νυκα' δ' ὶρέστης, κάν ίσοψηφος κριθῇ.— 
ἐκβάλλεθ' ὡς τάχιστα τευχεόν πάλους, 745
ὅσοι δικαστῶν τοὺ' ἐπέσταται τέλος.

OR. ὦ Φοίβ ὶπολλον, πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται; 
ΧΟ. ὦ Νῦξ μέλαινα μήτερ, ἃρ' ὅρφες τάδε; 
ΟΡ. νῦν ἀγχώνης μοι τέρματ', ἥ φάος βλέπειν. 
ΧΟ. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔρρεν, ἥ πρόσω τιμᾶς νέμειν. 750
ΑΠ. πειμάτερ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψῆφων, ἕνοι, 
τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαίρεσει. 

749. ναῦ (for νῦν).

has rejected (474) that of a judge. See 
the Introduction.—κρίνων: to give a 
distinguishing sentence 
in the last resort'.—κρίνα: to divide, distinguish.—προσθήσο-
μαι: I shall (if necessary) reckon in ad-
tion. Note the middle voice; προσθήσω 
(schol.) would be less appropriate. 
739—743. πλὴν...τυχεῖν: except for 
wedlock'; the infinitive (of purpose) 
depends on αἰῶν.—κάρτα...πατρός: not 
merely 'on the father's side' (πρὸς τοῦ 
πατρός), but of the father, 'my father's 
daughter specially and altogether', and 
therefore on the father's side. Weicklein 
refers to Eur. El. 933, Soph. El. 365, 
frag. 148 (where, with reference to the 
regular Athenian manner of naming, 
'son or daughter of [the father]', to 
be called the mother's child is treated 
as a reproach). Athena is the supreme 
case for the better way.—οὗτο: accord-
ingly.—προτιμήσω, in the full sense: 
'I shall not value the death of the wife 
more highly than that of the husband'. 
The future corresponds to that of προσθή-
σομαι. If the judges give no decision on 
the question of right, and therefore there 
must be partiality or preference in the 
practical result, her preference will be not 
for the wife as against the husband. The 
negative turn of the sentence is significant. 
See the Introduction.—ἐπίσκοπο-
νον: 'in the act of visiting his household'. 
For the Athenian conception of an ἐπίσκο-
πος or Visitor, see on v. 512; and for the 
application of it to Agamemnon, returning 
to do justice on Clytaemnestra and others, 
see Agam. 798 foll., 835 foll., 905, etc. 
The description points to the wife's 
treason, and must not be weakened or 
generalised into that of governor. 
744. κάν: in case of equality as well 
as (καλ) of superiority.—It is possible to 
take this verse as a separate ruling, not 
grounded on the reasons preceding. But 
see the Introduction. 
745. 746. ὁσος indicates that some 
regular number of dicasts, such as 2 of 
the 10, acted as tellers.—τὸλος, office.— 
During vv. 747—754 the votes are counted. 
748. See on v. 695.
this, my vote, I shall reckon to Orestes. For mother is there none who bare me, but in all things, save to be wed, I yield with whole heart praise to the masculine, and am verily of the father’s side. Therefore I shall not prefer in value the death of a woman, who slew her man, the lawful overseer of the house; but Orestes, even with equal votes, hath the victory.

Put forth from the urns with speed the votes cast therein, you of the jury on whom this office is laid.

(Here the votes are counted.)

Or. Ah, Phoebus Apollo, how will the judgment go?

Erin. Ah, Night, dark Mother, dost thou behold these things?

Or. Now come I to the goal,—life, or the halter!

Erin. And we to honour prolonged, or utter loss!

Ap. O reckon aright, my friends, the votes put forth, observing in the division to do no wrong. A judgment missed

749, 750. ἀγχόνης...βλέπειν...ἐρρεῖν
...νέμειν all depend on τέρματα ἐστι, ‘it is the goal for...’, i.e. these are the results or issues now depending.—ἀγχόνης: the halter, i.e. suicide, the familiar use and significance of the instrument at Athens: Soph. O. T. 1374, Eur. Bacch. 246, etc.—γορ, indeed (allegedly Wecklein), expresses that for them, as for Orestes, the alternative is tremendous.

751—754. Though περιτάξειν can mean merely ἄρθρωμα (cf. quarter for part), we may note that, according to Aeschylus (see above vv. 687, etc.), the votes of the court must be divisible by fives.—ἐκβολᾶς ψήφου: ἐκβαλλόμενα τὰς ψήφους, the ‘pebbles’ taken from the respective urns.
—ἐν διαίρεσι: ‘be scrupulously honest in the distinction’, i.e. in the process of ascertaining the division, not miscounting, or transferring a pebble, or practising other devices probably sometimes suspected.—διακρίσει τῶν λευκῶν καὶ μελανῶν schol., and so Mr Sidgwick, on the ground that διαίρεσι must be strictly the ‘parting’ of the votes, the act of separating them, and therefore “the voting was by black and white pebbles, which was the commonest method at Athens. In this system there were two καδίσκοι or urns, one called κόρος or the ‘decisive’ one, the other ἄκρος: each voter had a black and a white pebble; his vote was counted according as the pebble he dropped into the κόρος was white or black...The second or ‘inoperative’ urn was to get rid of the other pebble, that there might be no clue to the way he had voted.” I agree that διαίρεσι might suggest this, but the plural τερχέων in v. 745 is against it. The essential purpose of the κόρος and the ἄκρος was that the contents of one urn only, the κόρος, should be ‘turned out’ for inspection. The plural ἐκβολὰς also points the same way, though this might doubtless refer to the plurality of ψήφου, or even describe one act of ἐκβολή. I think the division here meant is by urns, not by colours, and so Dr Wecklein, who notes that the division by urns is mentioned in the Agamemnon (806, ἀλματηρὸν τεῖχος the urn for death). The absence of any reference in the scene to the black and white is perhaps also not insignificant. If διαίρεσι must be pressed,
may it not refer to the separation into fovees (πευκάτεσις)? Some such formal division is the best and usual way of securing an accurate count, and may have been imperative by custom.

753. 754. γνώμης: ἀντὶ τοῦ ψῆφου schol., 'by the absence of a judgment', i.e. a vote.—Note however that naturally, and in almost any context, the verse would mean 'by lack of judgment great mischief comes'. We may suspect that it was in this sense proverbial, and that the application of it here is an artificial point.—βαλοῦσα...μᾶ: and the stroke of a single pebble sets a house upright, i.e. one vote may save a man's all. The words are probably right; but it is not easy to divine how such an expression arose. The figure of a house 'set up' by a pebble 'hitting it' seems not merely 'sudden and bold' (Sidgwick) but extravagant. Mr Sidgwick's translation, 'the cast of one pebble saves the house', expunges the metaphor, and in effect makes βαλοῦσα intransitive (fall). But, by the arrangement of the words, βαλοῦσα should here be transitive, with οἶκον for object; and this, with the apparent connection of metaphor between βαλοῦσα and ὄρθωσιν, is what requires explanation. Possibly the case is similar to that of the preceding verse: βαλοῦσα ψῆφος suggests a sling, and would stand most naturally in such a phrase as βαλοῦσα ὀπλήτηρν ψῆφος ἐστρωσεν μία, 'the stroke of one pebble can bring down a full-armed man'. If there were such a saying, this, as an imitation of it, would have an intelligible, though artificial, point. Or perhaps the phrase alludes to the rules and language of some game: ψῆφοι were employed in many.—To omit the verse (Mr Macnaghten) would remove, but scarcely solve, the difficulty. If here interpolated, it must still have, or have had, a meaning.—The proposed corrections, παροθα, πάλλουσα, σφάλλουσα, et c., are not satisfactory.

755. The numbers are apparently reported by the tellers to the president. If Athena gives an actual ψῆφος, it is here; but see on v. 737.

756. The announcement of the result would be followed by a 'sensation', for which the crowded scene (see on v. 569) afforded ample means, a varied demonstration of gestures, movements, and cries. During this, Apollo (as I conceive) retires; the attention of the audience being fixed on others, and especially on Orestes and the Erinyes, his exit would be imperceptible, and would have the effect of a disappearance. He never speaks or is addressed again, and the
does mighty hurt, and by stroke of one pebble a house is set upright.

(The count is reported to Athena, who declares the verdict.)

Ath. This man—is acquitted of murder. For the numbers of the casts are equal. (Great and prolonged sensation, during which Apollo departs unperceived.)

Or. O Pallas, O Saviour of my house,...To the fatherland, whence I was shut out, to that then also thou hast restored me; and it shall be said in Hellas, 'The man is Argive again, and master in the estate of his fathers,'...thanks to Pallas, and to Loxias, and to Him that ordaineth all, Saviour and Third; who,

allusion in v. 761 is just sufficient to let the audience mark that he is gone.—Others suppose him to depart with Orestes at v. 780. No supposition can be proved, and each must judge for himself. To me it appears, that to dismiss the god in that way would be undignified, and that, unless he made a stately and solemn departure, after taking leave of Athena (which the text excludes), the disappearance was the only, and far better, alternative.

758. καὶ γῆς κ.τ.λ. The acquittal not only ‘saves the house’ in the person of the heir, but also restores to him his citizenship in Argos, whither he can now return. The change to γαίας (Dindorf and others) is, I think, mistaken. There is reason for distinguishing and emphasizing the point, that a judgment of the Areopagus, and the command of the president, will be received in a foreign state. The legend of Orestes probably assumed this; but in the legend the judgment was that of gods, a thing above ordinary rule. With Aeschylus, it becomes in all respects regular, a complete legal and political precedent. Such a sentence as he represents, resting ultimately on the fact that a jury of Athenians was divided equally, cannot have had any direct effect in Argos, either in the fifth century or at any time. But in the actual circumstances of the growing Athenian empire, the foreign validity of Athenian judgments, especially in matters of personal status, must have been a question of the highest importance; and an Athenian audience would receive complacently the suggestion, that acquittal by the Areopagus would or should be effective everywhere,—if in Argos, then a fortiori in Samos.

761. πατρίδος. The quotation, if it is to be marked off at all, must end here; the following words express the gratitude of Orestes rather than the judgment of the τέσσερα, so that Παλλάδος...ἐκατ’ belongs not exactly to οἴκει, but to the substance of the whole statement καὶ γῆς...πατρίδος, ‘I shall be restored to Argos’. That ὅσ...πρόν belongs to Orestes, not the τέσσερα, is shown by μέ. But the truth is that the thought and sentence glide, naturally and dramatically, from one person to the other, and strict punctuation can scarcely be applied.

763. σωτήρ (Δίὸς): for the special association of τρίτος with Zeus Soter, see Suppl. 26, Ag. 257. But such emphasis on the third was a Greek habit much used in drama, and has an effect something like our ‘not forgetting’, ‘last but not least’. Weckle in compares Soph. Oed. Col. 8, 331, Ai. 1174, En. Hipp. 1404, Menand. sent. 231 ἐναλοσσα καὶ πύρ καὶ γυνὴ τρίτων κακήν.
σφεί με μητρός τάσσει συνδικέως ὄρνων.  

έγώ δὲ χώρα τῇδε καὶ τῷ σφι στρατῷ 

to λοιπὸν εἰς ἀπαντα πλευστήρη χρόνων 

ὄρκωστήγας νῦν ἀπεμι πρὸς δόμους, 

μήτε τιν' ἄνδρα δεύρο πρωσέτην χθονὸς 

ἐλθὼν' ἐποίησεν εἴ κεκασμένον ὄρνων. 

αὐτὸι γὰρ ἡμείς ὁντες ἐν τάφοις τότε 

τοῖς τάμα παρβαίνουσι νῦν ὄρκώματα 

ἀμηχάνουσι πράξεων δυσπραξίας, 

ὄδοὺς ἄθυμους καὶ παρόρνηθες πόρους 

τιθέντες, ὡς αὐτοίς μεταμέλη πόνος... 

ὁρθομένων δὲ καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος 

τιμῶσιν ἀεὶ τῇδε συμμάχῳ ὑπερὶ 

αὐτοῖς ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν εὐμενέστεροι.

764. σφεί.  771. παρβαίνουσι (εις περατο έτος τοι.)  772. ἀμηχάνουσ. text recce.

764. ὄρνων is suspected. If it is right (as I think), μητρὸς συνδικέως goes with it as predicate, 'seeing in the Erinyes codefendants with my mother', regarding them as co-defendants and representatives of her guilt; συνδικέως, συνδικέω, belonged properly, though not invariably, to the defence (v. 582). The only strong plea of Orestes is that of ν. 461, 630, etc., that the real criminal is Clytaemnestra, and the prosecutors should be defendants. The meaning here is that the judgment (for which Orestes naturally assumes the highest sanction) has adopted that view.—If πατρίφων and μητρός were taken generally, the suggestion would be that Zeus has preferred the cause of the father, as such, to that of the mother; and, though this is not the view commended by Aeschylus, his language here, as elsewhere, may have been influenced by it as an element of the tradition. See the Introduction.—*passels (Wecklein), στυγῶν, κρατῶν are proposed.

765—777. The Argives shall never invade Attica; Orestes himself, from his grave, as an Argive θῶος, will thwart any such attempt, and reward them for amity and alliance with Athens. This 'alliance' alludes to that actually subsisting at the date of the play (see the Introduction). The emphatic protest against 'invasion', and the suspicion implied, is not explained by the contemporary history, as we know it; and on this ground ν. 765—777 were regarded by Dindorf as an interpolation belonging to the time of the Peloponnesian war. But see on ν. 674—676.

766. πλευστήρη: unique and uncertain. It is commonly taken as acc. sing. masc., with χρόνον: but Prof. Bury (Class. Rev. viii. 301) points out, that it gives a smoother construction, if taken as acc. neut. plural, depending on ὄρκωστήγας, ὄρκωστήγας πλευστήρη το λοιπὸν εἰς ἀπαντα χρόνων, 'having sworn oaths which shall be authoritative for all time to come '. This sense fits with πλευστήρης (Cho. 1027, where see note), meaning apparently 'I aver, cite as an authority'. Prof. Bury would derive it from 'a common use of πλείστος as signifying widely spread, generally received, in vogue.' Whatever be the derivation, he seems to be right as to the
in pity of my father's fate, hath saved me, because, in these my pursuers, he sees the defenders of my mother's guilt.

And I, now going to my home, leave solemn oath with Athens and thy men of arms, an oath of assurance (?) for all time hereafter, that never any governor of Argos shall come hither, to raise against Athens the martial spear. For we ourselves, who then shall be in our grave, will make sorry the transgressors of this my oath, by desperate misadventures,—crossing with dismay their marches and with ill omen their passages, that they themselves may repent of their enterprise. While the straight course is kept, while they still requite this city of Pallas by joining their arms with hers, we unto them are the more favourable.

sense, and I follow him, under reserve. — Taken as epithet of χήρων and as a term of quantity, πλειονήρη would seem rather to abridge than confirm ἀπαντα, since πλεῖστος means most. Such renderings as 'all the fulness of time' are hardly legitimate.

769. εἴ κεκαργμένον. Such a merely decorative 'Epic' epithet is unusual in Aeschylus; but, as a phrase of antique and therefore religious flavour, it is in place here.

770—774 are not perfect in grammar. The form projected seems to be πράξομεν ὡστε τοῖς παραβαίνοντιν αὐτοῖς μεταμέλειν τῷ πόνῳ, 'I will bring it about that the transgressors themselves shall repent of their enterprise'; but eventually the clause ὡστε...πόνος is accommodated, as final, to ὡστε...τιθέντες, 'thwarting their march, that they may themselves repent...'. Thus πράξομεν is left incomplete, the construction πράξομεν ὡστε μεταμελή (eícèmèn ut poenitiat) being inadmissible. Or, to put the same thing otherwise, there is an ellipse, at the end of the period, of ὡστε μεταμέλειν. The irregularity is possibly intentional, to express excitement (see 482, 759 ff.), like the bolder irregularities of the Herald in the Agamemnon (556 ff.). — The schol. (τιμωροφομεθα) refers πράξομεν to πράσσειν exact (punishment); but this does not help.—τάμα νῦν ὀρκώματα together.

δυσπραξίας, instrumental, by means of misfortunes. The artificial assonance, with difference of sense, in πράξομεν δυσπραξίας, is characteristic (see on ν. 160, 637) and confirms the reading πράξομεν. Characteristic, too, is the echoing emphasis on the pronouns, αὐτός ἡμέας...αὐτοῖς, ...αὐτοῖς ἡμέας.—δόους... τιθέντες: discouraging their marches and thwarting with omens their passages. τόρον: passing of streams and other boundaries, for which the consultation of omens was especially necessary.—τὸν τάμα παραβιάνοντα...πράξομεν Wecklein (πράξομεν Burges), transferring 772 to follow 774. Many other changes have been proposed, but the text, I believe, is sound, though not smooth. An expressive and threatening gesture, after ν. 774, would be more effective than any additional words.

775—777. ὄρθομένων: neuter, 'while things go straight', while the true course is kept, cf. ν. 711. 'While their oath is respected' is the sense, but we must not supply ὄρκῳμάς, because ὄρθον ὄρκῳμα would be rather to 'give' a true oath than to 'keep' one: πράγματον (Sidgwick) is a better supplement, but, properly speaking, there is no subject, ὄρθομένων being a passive impersonal.—τιμῶν: pay, require, reward.—αὐτοῖς ἡμέας. 'While they behave well to Athens, I shall be the more gracious to them'.
καὶ χαίρε, καὶ σὺ καὶ πολισσοῦχος λεώς
πάλαισμ᾽ ἀφικτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχουσι, 780
σωτηρίων τε καὶ δορᾶς νικηφόρον.

ΧΟ. ἵδι θεοὶ νεῶτεροι πάλαισιν νόμους
καθισπάσασθε.—κὰκ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου… —
ἐγὼ δ’, ἀτμος ἡ τάλαινα, βαρύκοτος,—
ἐν γά τιδε,—φεῖ,—
ίδι ἰδὼν ἀντιπενθῇ μεθέισα καρδίας
σταλαγμὸν χθονί—
ἀφορον: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
λειχήν ἄφιλλος, ἀτεκνος,—
ἵδι δίκαι,—πέδον ἐπισύμενος
βροτοθήρους κηλίδας ἐν χώρᾳ βαλεῖν… — 790

787. χθονιαφόρον.
788. λυχήν.

The emphasis on the pronouns brings out and clinches the purpose of the whole. Cf. P.V. 372 ἐξ ὁμάτων δ’ ἢστραπτε γοργώπων σέλας (Τυφών), ὅτε τὴν Δόξα τυραννίδ.’ ἐκπέρωσι βίας’ ἀλλ’ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνός ἁγρυπνὸν βέλος, καταβάτης κεπανίος ἐκπέρωσι φλόγα, ὅτε αὐτῶν ἐξέπληξε τῶν ὑψηφίων Κομπασσάτων κ.τ.λ. : ‘Even while he meditated to conquer, with the lightning of his eyes, the kingdom of Zeus, the bolt of Zeus descended on him, and put an end to his ambition.’ Such a use of αὐτός is characteristic of Aeschylus, who seldom employs it when there is not emphasis, preferring νῦν, σφε or (most commonly) the ellipse of the pronoun. Cf. ἱππαρκα σφ. 11—15.—If change is to be made, αὑτοὶ σφῆν ἡμεῖς, suggested to me by a friend, is preferable to any other.—οὐμεν. The ‘anticipatory present’ of prophecy. He speaks as for all time.

778—780. ἀφικτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις
together, a wrestling-grip which your
foes cannot escape.—δορᾶς νικηφόρον:
‘victory-winning of war’, i.e. winning
victory therefrom.—Exit Orestes.

781—the end. The Erinyes are pacified and established at Athens. On the scheme

of the scene and its relation to the play, see the Introduction.

781—796. This passage, as given in M and here, presents not a single sentence (except τι βέλος) complete in construction. It is possible that this is the effect of some local injury. By supposing that something is lost after 782, that in 786—787 there should be a verb (σταλάξων) with other changes, Wecklein),

that βαλεῖν in 790 should be βαλεῖ (Turnebus), and that some connexion should be made in 792—793 (where see notes), we may restore syntax. But
that which the MS. offers, a series of broken outcries, intelligible but not con- struable, is surely more appropriate in the situation. The distribution must in that case be conjectural, but it is possible to give each of 15 choristes a voice; in the conclusion, ἴδι μεγάλα κ.τ.λ., all are probably united. For other divisions (all of which however assume an emended syntax) see Wecklein’s Appendix. The metre fluctuates between iambic (ὃ δέοι νεῶτερα) or trochaic (ὃν ὄν ἀντιπενθῆ) and dochmiac (παλαιῶς νόμους), with an effective invasion of the bacchius (—from, here a sort of unfinished dochmius) in 791—793,
And so farewell. Mayst thou, and may the people of thy city, find, for those who wrestle against you, a throw inevitable, to keep you safe and win the triumphs of war. (Exit.)

Erinyes (in a wild confusion of voices, following, crossing, mingling, and united). Ha!...Younger gods, ye have ridden down old laws, and out of my hands have taken...But I dishonoured, I miserable, sore in wrath, upon this land...O rage!...Venom, ay, venom of punishment, discharging from my heart, in drops unto the soil...Intolerable! And therefrom a tetter, blasting bole and birth,...Ha, ha! Revenge!...Spreading quick over the earth, till the land be dashed with life-destroying before the final outburst.—We see that it is the safe departure of their destined prey which rouses the Erinyes from their astounded silence.

781. εἴλεθε τὴν ἀγραν, τὸν φυγάδα: cf. v. 325 τῶν ἀφαρωθυμενος πτωκα. The omission of the object, though perhaps not impossible, would be harsh; but in fact the voice is choked by anger, or the second breaks in, as at some of the subsequent divisions. There is a crescendo of violence throughout.

784. ἐν γάρ may be loosely constructed with μεθοῦρα, but it is truer to say that the projected verb (e.g., will make havoc) never comes.

785. οὖν ἀντιπενθῆ: the poison of avenging grief, lit. 'making grief for grief'. The wrath of their hearts is figured as an actual venom, which, spilt upon the earth, takes from it the powers of life. Since the Septem Theai (see hereafter) give fertility, so also, as Erinyes, they can prevent it. The physical effect possibly represents some popular explanation of real phenomena; see on vv. 804 foll.

787. σταλαμυνὸν χθονὶ—ἀφοροῖ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κ.π.λ. The dropping whereof is to the earth—Intolerable; and therefrom etc. The seventh voice, like the fourth and sixth, takes up (in ἀφοροῖ) the sentence left by the preceding voice, but instantly, leaving ἀφοροῖ as an exclamation, starts a fresh sentence, which in its turn is pursued to v. 790, but never finished.—That there is a change of voice, between χθονὶ and ἀφοροῖ, is strongly indicated by the harsh hiatus of vowels. / 788—790. 'A canker deadly to leaf and fruit...rushing over the soil, till the face of earth is dashed with life-destroying blots...'.—ἀτεκνον might refer metaphorically to the plant, but glances also at the consequence to animal life, which, not nourished, cannot bear. Similarly, βρόδος in βρογοθόροις covers all things mortal, plants, beasts, and men, but points particularly to the last.—ὡ δικα: O revenge!, a parenthetical exclamation.—βαλεῖν: an inf. of sequence, depending on ἐπιοῦμενος, 'spreading...to put blots...', i.e. spreading fast, from the points where the mischief begins, so as to make broad stains of destruction; the figure is taken from the progress of malignant disease.—βαλεῖ (Tuirnebus) gives a complete sentence; but it is better to suppose an interruption.

791—793. The succession of cries becomes still more rapid and confused, mere ejaculatory words, as of several speaking together, so that, though the effect is right, and the drift clear enough, construction is scarcely to be attempted. We may compare, in principle, the broken and unconstructable sentences of the Herald in the Agamemnon (556 foll.), the Nurse in the Choephoroi (745 foll.), and the mad Orestes in the latter play (995 foll.). See also the Parodos of the Septem
στενάξω; — τί βέξω; —
γένωμαι; — δύσοιστα —
pολίταις — ἐπαθον —
iδω μεγάλα τοι
kόραι δυστυχεῖσ.
Νυκτὸς ἀτμοπενθεῖσ.

ἈΘ. ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστῶνς φέρειν.
οὐ γὰρ νεκρηκθῆσθ'. ἀλλ' ἵσοψηφος δίκη
ἐξήλθ' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἁτμώμα σέθεν,
ἀλλ' ἐκ Δίως γὰρ λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια παρῆν,
αὐτὸς θ' ὁ χρῆσας αὐτὸς ἢν ὁ μαρτυρῶν,
ός ταῦτ' Ὀρέστῃν δρώντα μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν.

797. παθέσθε. 801. θ' on erasure of ὅ'—οὐθῆσας by correction, apparently from ὀδηγοῦσα.

(78 foll.). Aeschylus, with all his stateliness, is less academic than either of his great successors, and bolder at fit places, in imitating the actual phenomena of passionate speech.—στενάξω; subj. 'Am I to lament (and not act)?'. The sense is rather suggested than expressed by the exclamation.—...γένωμαι; ἵε τί γένωμαι;
What is to become of me? the ejaculation overlapping, as it were, the preceding τί βέξω:. The explanation of the schol. ("ἡ τί γένωμαι;—the conjunction ἡ being omitted") is substantially right, though not (as it is meant) a formal justification of the grammar.—δύσοιστα—
pολίταις— ἐπαθον...
Insufferable!...Το Αθήνα!, i.e., 'Our injuries are insufferable, and so will those of Athens be',—if we must translate the half-heard fragments into sentences: cf. ἀντιπενθῇ, ἄφορον above.—
dυσοίστα (fem. sing.) O. Müller, perhaps rightly; but the metrical division justifies the 'short for long', and in sense the neuter seems better.—ἐπαθον...Ἰω μεγάλα (ἐπάθομεν) κ.τ.λ. I am wronged...Ἀκ
dερφύ (are we wronged), etc.—ὑπὸ τῶν
pολιτῶν ἐπαθον. έμετρ' ἀθρίσα τὸν τιμωράν
tεχνεύω. εἰτὸς γὰρ "δύσοιστα ἐπαθον"
ἐπήγαγεν "πολίταις", ὥα ἡ πολίταις
dύσοιστα ὄντα; "The expression of pain (δύσοιστα ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπαθον) is
artificially combined with that of resent-
ment (δύσοιστα ὄντα πολίταις)" : schol.
If we add that the combination is presumably produced by a succession of voices, this note is right, and shows, like that on γένωμαι, that the ancient commentators had a sound, though imperfect, tradition about the peculiar nature of this passage.—Note that at ἐπαθον ἰω there is a rhythmical break.
The long syllable required to complete the rhythm —— (e.g. ἐπαθον ἰω) is lopped off, as it were, by the breaking in of the final voice or voices in unison...This is no doubt a very bold and exceptional treatment of music, but it seems here more than justifiable. Somewhat similar is the cutting short of λειτὶν ἀφυλλὸς ἀτέκνος...
(the commencement of an iambic senarius) by ἰω...ἐπισιμονος (two dochmii, ἰω = ——). These, and all the phenomena, have one and the same cause, the repre-
sentation, in musical and choric form, of a furious crowd.—For attempts to restore these verses, on the supposition that they should present continuous sense and metre, see Weckleins Appendix.
blots...(with increasing tumult). Shall I lament?...What shall I do?...become?...Hard, hard!...To Athens!...My wrongs!...(all together) Oh, great indeed the wrongs of the hapless Daughters of Night, dishonoured and distressed!

Ath. (coming down towards them). Let me persuade to patience your sore lament. Ye are not vanquished. No! Equal in votes the sentence was, falling so honestly, not for contempt of thee, but because there was presented testimony that shone with the light of Zeus, given by the very god who himself gave the oracle, to the effect that Orestes by this deed should not take

797. It is supposed by some (Wecklein) that the parts of Athena in this scene, as well as those of the Chorus, originally exhibited strophic correspondence, and that therefore this speech and 850 foll. should be reduced, and 882 foll. should be augmented, to 13 lines, the actual length of 827 foll. See on 803, 860 foll., 887. Except as to v. 887, the questions raised are of little importance. On the whole, I think that the case is not made out; Mr Sidgwick appears to be of the same opinion.—πίθευσις Turnebus.

798—802. Since the prosecutors obtained half the votes, they are 'not defeated'; and the votes for Orestes implied no contempt of them, but an honest belief (Δληθώς) that he was justified, or excused, by the oracle. Thus against the jury, and therefore against Athens, they have no complaint. Two distinguishable points, λένθα, εξήθα, and εξήθα, Δληθώς, are combined in one statement.—"You had half the votes, and therefore no defeat; but that Orestes should be released by my vote was necessary, because..." (Wecklein). The words may certainly be so understood, but μαρτύρια points rather to the jury; and as to the motives of Athena, contrast vv. 739 foll., where Apollo and the oracle are not mentioned. Here Athena, judiciously though not without a certain sophistry, ignores her executive act, and treats the question as lying now simply between the Erinyes and Athens.—I place accordingly (as Sidgwick and others) no full stop at oèθεν. The causal sentence, παράγαρ..., stands in antithesis to the causal dative Δρυλα, and the two together explain Δληθώς, honestly.—The 'witness from Zeus', so called purposely but with some exaggeration, is Apollo's evidence as to the oracle in vv. 617—624. The acquitting jurors (this is the point) took the oracle bona fide as representative of Zeus and decisive; and that impression was the more natural, when the 'splendour' or 'dazzling effect' of the testimony was enhanced by the appearance of the oracular deity in person. That the oracle did in fact give the mind, the whole mind, of Zeus, is not asserted by Athena, or by Aeschylus anywhere. If so, neither she nor he could have said anything for the jurors who condemned. Nor need we suppose that this account of the motives for acquittal is complete. Athena naturally insists on the dignity of Apollo and the oracle, but the rhetoric and pathos of vv. 628—642 seem quite as likely to have carried the votes, and possibly the poet thought so.—ός...

εξαντληθείς to the result that the obedience of Orestes should not injure him, pointing, that is, to this conclusion. ος: i.e. ὁτε... ὥρασεν Turnebus, et plerique. Technically (see critical note) θρησκεία (Merkel) is slightly more probable; but we must then read αὑτοῖς θρησκεία...μαρτύρια, as a parenthesis, and not (as Merkel) αὑτὸς θ' ὥρασεν, objectionable in metre.—The repetition of αὑτός is for emphasis.
803, 804. 

υμεῖς δὲ τῷ γὰρ τῆς μὴ βαρῶν

Τυρνέβος, σκήψησθε Emlsley; ali alt. The exact reading cannot be determined, but the commonly received suggestions of Turnebus and Emlsley are as probable as any. The use of the middle σκήψησθε as a variation for σκήψησθε (make to alight, for yourselves—in your interest), though it would be irregular, is perhaps not impossible. But the termination -σθε may be an involuntary anticipation of θυμοῦσθε.—Omission of τε...σκήψησθε (Wecklein), or of some other words, has been proposed, in order to shorten the speech by one verse; see on v. 797.

805, 806. δαίμονων σταλάγματα: angel-drops, ghost-drops, fairy-drops—but no modern English word represents the vagueness of δαίμονες. It must not be assumed that this expression is incorrect. If certain phenomena of blight or other devastation were superstitionally attributed to a poison distilled by offended supernatural beings (see above v. 785), δαίμονων σταλάγματα may well have been a general name for such poison. We need not suppose that originally the operation was restricted to the Erinyes (or the Semnai Theai), though indeed originally the conception of ἔρνυτες appears to have been little more precise than that of δαίμονες itself: see on Cho. 282 foll.—The proposed corrections mostly seek in δαίμονων some part of the body (e.g. throat) from which the drops are to come: πλευράνων, καρδίων, λαιμάτων, λαγμάτων, λαμβάνων. But some of these words are fictitious or doubtful, nor does such particularity seem appropriate.—βρωτῆρας...ἀνημέρους: the ungentle sharpness whereof devoureth the seed. Take βρωτῆρας (adj. to αἰχμάς) ἄπεριμάτων together. αἰχμή, commonly point, has here the larger sense ‘sharp thing’.—Others construe ἄπεριμάτων ἀνημέρους together, ‘ungentle and seedless (barren) ’or ‘ungentle in respect of seed’, i.e. destructive to it, nor is this wrong. But the instances of genitives with the negative or privative adj. do not exhibit any precise parallel, and we may doubt whether ἄπεριμάτων ἀνημέρους could have stood in this sense alone. The whole βρωτῆρας...ἀνημέρους justifies itself to the ear, but scarcely admits of grammatical distribution.

807—810. She offers them a cave-sanctuary (that of the Semnai Theai below the Areopagus; see the Introduction).—ἔρος τε καὶ κευθύνας: a cavern-abode, but, as
hurt. And you, hurl not the weight of your wrath upon Attica; be not indifferent, nor make barrenness, by shedding the fairy-drops, whose sharpness doth ungently devour the seed. For I unto you do promise sacredly, that in sacred ground ye shall have a cavern-seat, where on altars rich ye shall sit enthroned, by these our citizens worshipped and dignified.

Erinyes (as before). Ha!...Younger gods, ye have ridden down old laws, and out of my hands have taken...But I dishonoured, I miserable, sore in wrath, upon this land...

tε καὶ marks, each aspect is important. Being a κευθμός, the place will suit them as χθωνιά, denizens of the underworld (the Ταυράον μελαβαθῆς κευθμῶν: see 420 and P. V. 233): with that it was probably supposed to communicate (see 1037), though there is now no trace of an internal opening, and little of a cave. But it will also be ἡ θέα, an abode and seat upon earth, where they will receive regular worship. The play throughout assumes that this is new to them, a sign of their reconciliation with the upper gods and with humanity.—τὴνίκου χθωνίας: of legal ground, i.e. 'your especial property'. λιπαρόθρόνοις...ἰσχάραις. Either (1) altar-stones, λιπαραί (fat, shining) with the offerings of oil poured upon them: so O. Mäller, Wecklein and others, citing Lucian Alexander p. 238, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς θείους πάνω ποσιῶν καὶ ἀλλόκοτα περὶ αὐτῶν πεπιστευκώς, καὶ εἴ μόνον ἀλληλομενὸν που λίθων ἢ ἑστεφωμενὸν θεά-σαιον, προσπίπτων εἴθε καὶ προσκυνοῦν, Theophrastus Char. περὶ δειναίδων. 17, καὶ τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τρίχοις παρὼν ἐκ τῆς ληθόθου ἑλαου καταχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσῶν καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, etc. Or (2) shining seats, i.e. 'splendid' marble seats. I incline to (1). Mr Sidgwick rejects it on the ground that 'the regular libations to the Eumenides were honey and water, fully detailed in Soph. O. C. 470—481.' But the ritual of the Areopagus-cave may have differed from that of Colonus, even if the Semnai Theai, before Aeschylus, were identified with the Eumenides (see the Introduction). The use of oil in chthonian offerings was common. The citation from Theophrastus points to this association for the word λιπαράς, and a definite reference to offerings suits the context here. Both Lucian and Theophrastus treat such worship as generally of a low type; but that is far from proving that it was not the ritual of the Semnai Theai in the age of Aeschylus. Nor, because the ἱσχάραι are the 'seats' of the deities, can we infer that no offerings are to be poured on them; for there is little doubt that the image on the βωμός merely figured the deity, who had been primitively supposed to place himself unseen on the stone, and receive the libations really given, according to a still earlier conception, to the sacred stone itself. We might decide the question more easily, if we knew what was the condition of the sanctuary at the date of this play, whether there were then images of the Semnai Theai there, and how they were represented. But this is uncertain. See further on v. 837.

—The δείνον ἐπὶ ἱσχάρας πυρός, offered by Clytaemnestra to the Erinyes (v. 108), certainly mean more than honey and water, probably more than oil; but (see note there) it is not clear that his rite is supposed to follow any approved use, still less that it is appropriate to the Semnai Theai and their sanctuary.

811—826. The Erinyes repeat their invective, ἵππος verbis. The offer of the goddess they do not notice, and apparently have not even heard.
815. 

820. 

825. 

830. 

835. 

The reading and interpretation are uncertain: στάσις χθόνα has no clear sense, though perhaps it might conceivably mean 'to stay the land', i.e. 'stop' it from bearing; nor has δύσκηλον. Even if we assume for δύσκηλον the meaning hard to charm (κηλέω) and so incurable (δυσερέπαντον schol.), we cannot join στάσης δύσκηλον, with the sense 'make incurable'; for, though τίθημι is regularly so used, ἔτημι apparently is not. Nor can δύσκηλος (for δυσκηλίστος) be inferred from κηλεόω; rather, as others suppose, δύσκηλος, if a real word, should be the opposite, by false analogy, of ευκηλος (calm of temper, properly ηκηλος), and should mean peevish, spiteful, or the like; but then it can scarcely apply to χθόνα.—Perhaps in ἄγαν (or ἄγην, but see on Ag. 1178) we should find the substantive ἄγη σπίτε (cf. Ag. 136 ἄγα θεόθεν σπίτε of gods, and see L. and Sc. s.v.), as there seems no reason to suppose that the word was confined to lyrics; στάσις ἄγην, for 'to feel high indignation', is defended by the analogy of λατάναι ὄργην, χόλω etc. (see L. and Sc. s.v. λατήμι). δύσκηλον (spiteful) will then belong to ἄγην, but we should require the dative χθόνα, as in ὄργησσαί τίνι, θυμοῦσαι τίνι, etc. Being divine, let not your spite rage too angrily (ὑπερθύμος) against a land of men (Attica). The antithesis θεῖος βροτῶν brings out the force
O rage!...Venom, ay, venom of punishment, discharging from my heart, in drops unto the soil...Intolerable! And therefrom a tetter, blasting bole and birth,...Ha, ha! Revenge!...Spreading quick over the earth, till the land be dashed with life-destroying blots...(with increasing tumult) Shall I lament?...What shall I do?...become?...Hard, hard!...To Athens!...My wrongs!...(all together) Oh, great indeed the wrongs of the hapless Daughters of Night, dishonoured and distressed!

Aith. Dishonoured ye are not; nor should ye, being goddesses, let your wrath rise to peevish spite (?) against a city of men. Moreover I am strong in Zeus,—and what need to say it?—and know, I only among gods, the keys of the chamber, wherein the thunder is sealed up. But there is no need of that. Rather do thou listen to me, and fling not upon earth the fruit of a wild tongue, whereof is born universal ill-success. Oh, sink in slumber

of the protest, and justifies the separation of δροτόν from χθονί.—Other suggestions are (1) κτήσης (make) Linwood, but see above as to the assumed sense of δισκήλος: (2) δισκήλον φρένα Schmidt: (δισκήλον χάλων Wecklein), ‘unrestrained (ημός μουσί) human anger’, from a corrupt and obscure gloss in Hesychius, δισκήλον ἀφήμα δυσκοίλιατον.

829. κάγω. She also could, if necessary, bring force, superior force.—πτέρωθα Ζην: if the Erinys are the daughters of Night (829), she is the daughter of Zeus.

830. δώρατος Casanbon, perhaps rightly; but δωράτων is possible, depending not on κλήδας but (as partitive) on υν ὁ, quasi κλήδας ἐκείνων τῶν δωράτων ἐν ὧ κ.τ.λ.,—‘how to open the particular chamber in which...’

832. αὐτοῦ: properly ‘there is no need for that’, for ‘the thing itself’; it is enough to name it. As commonly in Aeschylus, αὐτός gives an emphasis.

833, 834. Cast not on the ground the wild tongue’s fruit, which produces the ruin of all,—the fruit becoming seed and producing another fruit in turn. πάντα...καλὸς depends as substantive on φέροντα.—ἐπὶ χθονί Buges, followed by Wecklein, Sidgwick (1899), and others: καρπὸν is then object to φέροντα (neuter plural), and χθονί will be constructed with φέροντα (καρπὸν), not with ἐκβάλλειν. But this is disadvantageous to the rhythm, and the pregnant terseness of the traditional text seems more Aeschylean than the grammatical simplicity of the other. See also next note.

835. Lit. ‘make the bitter force of that black ‘concept’ sleep’; but we have no poetical word exactly equivalent to κῦμα here. It is used very nearly as in Cho. 128 γαῖαν αὐτήν, ὧ τά σώμα τίκτεται, | ἤθελασα τ’ αὖθις τῶν κῦμα λαμβάνει, and pursues, with slight modification, the preceding metaphor. The κῦμα is the seed of rage, ‘conceived’ in the mind as in a soil, which must not be suffered to grow, to produce fruit, and to shed it, but should ‘fall asleep’, as a seed which decays. See also κῦματος νεοστάρου, σφρ. 663.—That this, and not the secondary (though common) meaning wave, is intended, I think certain. As the passage from the Choephoroi shows, the sense concept (κῦμα) could not in this context escape the ear, so that, if wave be meant at all, there is a play on the word, which, though Aeschylean enough, can hardly be made out, because the idea wave is not sufficiently indicated.
there is nothing in the context which points to it.—The asyndeton, as in Aeschylus and in Greek often, signifies a repetition of the foregoing thought.

836. σεμνότιμος points to the title (Semnai Theai) under which they are to become ευνουκτορες. Note also that ευνουκτορ and χώρας (837) lead back the thought to the real ‘soil’ (Attica), by which the preceding metaphor was suggested.

837. ὡς προτελεία θυντον Ἀθηναίοι ταῖς Ἐρυνοὶς: τέλος δὲ οὐ γὰρ, scho!. προτελεία are rites preliminary to marriage. The Semnai Theai were supposed (see the sequel) to give every kind of fertility. What offerings were made is not specified, but since they were ἀκροθίνια of Attica, it may be supposed that oil was or had been an important part of them. This may throw light on v. 809.—By Ἐρυνοὶ the schol. means Σεμναὶ Θεᾶς, assuming, like Pausanias and late writers generally, the Aeschylean identification; see the Introduction.—ἐτύν, with ἐπαινέσεις: for all this; ‘you will be pleased, though you may not now think it’.

840—849. On the metre see Appendix II. The rhythm is dochmias, thrice interrupted by φεῦ; the insertion of this (842) within the foot or bar (ἀττετον μῦσος) is extremely violent (hence φεῦ, ἀττετον μῦσος Weill), but cannot be safely rejected. Doubtless this strophe, like vv. 781 foll., is distributed between different voices, as the interjections especially indicate. A distribution between 15 is easily made, but nothing certain can be determined.

840—842. I to submit to this I, that is, to accept a fixed habituation among men, further explained by κατὰ γὰρ οἰκεῖον, i.e. κατοικεῖν γὰρ, ‘to settle in a place’ or ‘in the place, in Attica’: γῆ has its local and political sense; not ‘earth’ generally. ἀττετον μῦσος: a thought contemptible and abhorred, in apposition to κατὰ γὰρ οἰκεῖον. See on vv. 335—355. The whole notion of a dwelling-place and local cult on earth is (according to Aeschylus) alien from their primitive way of thinking (παλαιόφρονα). They will have nothing of any such pact, no mutual commerce with mankind whatever. They are no θεοί (contrast v. 848
the bitter bane of that black seed, as one high-honoured of me, as a partner of my home. When the prime offerings of this wide Attica, sacrifice for children and the marriage-rite, shall be thine for ever, then, if not now, thou wilt commend this offer.

_Erinies (as before)._ I to submit to this, oh shame! To change my ancient mind! I, to be resident...Scorn on the abhorred thought! My spirit is all fury and rage. Oh horrible, oh vile! Ah, what an anguish thrills my breast! Hark to my indignation, O Mother Night! For a crafty trick of gods had well-nigh wrenched me from my immemorial (?) honours.

with v. 828), to be propitiated forsooth with gifts.—We must on no account substitute κατὰ γὰς οἶκεων or κατὰ γὰς ὀλχεῖων (Hermann). The Erinyes have always had 'a home underground' (v. 420 οἶκον γῆς ὑπα), nor is it this which they contemn.

844. Ὀἴ: exclamation of horror; origin unknown. See Ag. 1057.

846. τίς ὀδῶνα πλευρά; Hermann. See Appendix II.

848. ἀπὸ...ηραν: ἀτῆραν ἀπὸ...'removed me from...'-δαμαῖαν: an unknown word, and probably erroneous. δαμαῖαν ancient (L. Dindorf) suits the sense very well, but not so well the rhythm, which points rather (if we may assume that the scansion of θεῶν is disyllabic, - - ) to the quantities - - - . The conjecture δαμαῖαν (Schuetz), from δήμος, introduces political associations, here specially inappropriate. No quite satisfactory suggestion has been made.—συνταλαμοι...δόλοι: εὐελ craft, παλάμη repeating the significance of δόλοι. This language is extremely interesting and significant. The Erinyes term Athena's offer a 'trick', conceiving that the local cult, if accepted, would annul their general powers, which, however limited in scope, are universal in application. They are asked, as they think, to become divinities of Athens and nothing more; and, not unnaturally, they regard the proposal with scorn. Athena treats this view as a prejudice, subtle (σοφοτέρα 851) but antiquated (γεραπέτα 850). The truth is rather, that it was, in Aeschylus' day, and in Hellas, the very latest novelty, and has ever since waged war in Europe, with varying success, against religious observances of the political type which Aeschylus loved and wished to save. It was the philosophers, the thinkers, who were beginning to disengage the conception of deity from connexion with places and cults, and to challenge paganism on this ground. It is Aeschylus, no less than his Athena, who is pleased to mark as narrow and retrograde, a thing to be treated by larger minds with tolerant condescension, the notion that a sacred person is abridged in function by having a favoured and particular sanctuary.—παρ' οἴδεν: 'as of no account' (Sidgwick), 'so dass ich gleich nichts bin' (Wecklein), and others generally. For the sense of παρ' οἴδεν, lit. 'at nothing', cf. Soph. O. T. 983 ταῦτα ἤτα παρ' οἴδεν ἐστι ής, to whom these things are of no account, and L. and Sc. s.v. παρά, C 5. But the construction of παρ' οἴδεν as a proleptic adjective, quasi ὡς τε παρ' οἴδεν εἶναι, is strange, and not warranted by παρ. 213 ἄτημα καὶ παρ' οἴδεν ἤκεισαι...πιστώματα. However that passage be read or interpreted, the presence of the word ἄτημα makes, for this purpose, a great difference. Nor is it clear why the Erinyes should say that the 'trick' (Athena's proposal) has actually effected what, by rejecting it, they can still prevent.—Another meaning of παρ' οἴδεν is all but, lit. 'within (a mere) nothing'; cf. Aeschin. 3. 258 παρ' οἴδεν
ΑΘ. ὁργᾷς ἑυνοίσω σοι: γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἰ.
καίτοι <τὸ> μὲν σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς. ἔδωκεν οὖ κακῶς.

μέν ἡλιόν ἀποκτείνας, ἑξεκηρύξαν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ κακὼς.
It should be considered, whether παρ’ οἴδην ἢραν is not a brachylogy for παρ’ οἴδην ἢλιόν ἢρα, ‘it had all but dispossessed me’; though exceptional, this construction is more natural than the other. The sense will then be, that the offer, being on the face of it specious, might have ruined them, if they had not seen through it. The exaggerated expression would be a natural note of anger.

850—852. ὁργᾷς ἑυνοίσω σοι: ‘I will humour you, will bear your mood sympathetically’. For the sense of ὁργαῖ see on Eur. Med. 121, and for συμφέρων cf. i. 13 πάντα συμφέροντα (complying) ἰάσον.—καίτοι, and yet, belongs to φρονεῖν κάμοι κ.τ.λ., the clause with μὲν being concessive (though).—τὸ μὲν (rather than τοῦ μὲν, Hermann): in the one way. Like the common τοῦτο μὲν in prose, it signifies little more than μὲν simply.—καὶ τῷ μὲν εἰ σὺ (Wakefield, Ahresch, and others), ‘and thereby (sc. τῷ γεραιτέρα εὐναί) you are wiser’, is a little less probable technically, and rather too much narrows the sense. The schol. however has διὰ τῶν χρώμων, which perhaps assumes τῷ.—For σοφωτέρα, which has been suspected, see preceding note. Their objection, she says, not without irony, is too subtle for her comprehension.

853. ὁ ἀλλόφυλον ἠλθοῦσαι χήνα, not merely equivalent to εἰ ἄλληρ...χήνα, means ‘if ye pass into the people of another place’, i.e. adopt another city. The Erinyes have no such thought; but Athena prudently shifts the ground, avoiding the discussion of their theology. Hence the somewhat abrupt transition, which has been supposed to indicate a lacuna.

855. The glory of this people will grow with growing time: lit. ‘the in-flow of time will be more glorious (than that to which it flows)’, each age more glorious than the preceding time to which it is added. Not simply ‘the future will be more glorious than this present’.

857. πρὸς δόμους Ἐρεχθέως: by the house of Erechtheus, i.e. ‘under the Acropolis’, the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai being on that side of the Areopagus.—On the history of the buildings upon the Acropolis, connected with Erechtheus and Athena, and the difficult question, to what building, if any actually in existence, δόμου Ἐρεχθέως would refer at the date of this play, see Miss Harrison in Mythology etc. of Ancient Attica, and Dr Frazer’s edition of Pausanias (Indices s.v. Erechtheum). The
Aeth. I will bear with thy humours; for thou art elder. And yet, if one way thou, doubtless, art more subtle than I, to me too Zeus hath given no foolish wit.

As for you, if you go to land of other folk, you will regret this Athens, I warn you that. For with on-flowing time, more honour still shall flow to her citizens. And thou, seated honourably by Erechtheus' house, shalt receive from men and from women, coming in procession to thee, honours greater than thou couldst get from all the world besides.

Existing Erechtheum was not yet built, perhaps not projected; but there had been (at all events) a 'house of Erechtheus' (Hom. Od. 7. 78), and the Persian devastation might here naturally be ignored. Indeed the reference is rather to the Acropolis itself, as the 'home' or 'castle' of the ancient kings, than to any structure upon it.

858. ἄνδρων (στόλων) καὶ γυναικέων στολῶν: processions of men and of women; for στόλος, see v. 1028.

859. δόσιν (τιμήν): such honour as...

The prevalent view, that δόσιν is unconstructable, does not allow for the Greek habit of ellipse, and the manner in which the intended τιμή is fixed upon the ear and the mind by the context. Not only does the whole altercation turn on this word (783, 813 ἄτιμος, 796, 826 ἄτιμοντευθεῖ, 848 ἄτιμον, and, on the other side, 789 οὐκ ἄτιμον, 810 τιμολογοῦμενας, 827 οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄτιμον, 837 σεμφώνετοι), but these sentences especially do so (855 τιμωστέρος, 856 τιμῶν). The Erinyes protest against the loss of their τιμαί, and Athena's reply is that they will gain on the contrary the ever-growing τιμή of Athens. In these circumstances, there is no practical obscurity in δόσιν (τιμήν), although the substantive, in the singular, has not actually occurred in the context. — On the other hand δῶσιν (Pauw), ἢς τείχει τοσοῦτον δοσ... with attrac-

tion of the relative, so collides with the other genitives, ἄνδρων...στολῶν, ἀλλων...βραδὶν, as to be scarcely intelligible. δῶσιν (Weil) avoids this objection; but it is not clear that an anticipatory δῶσιν is admissible; with δῶσιν we should expect a clause like δῶσιν τιμήσῃ. It has also been suggested (Dindorf), that something, containing an antecedent for δόσιν, has been lost after v. 858; this is possible, but the text should not be suspected.

860—868. 'Athens will give you worship enough; let it be hoped that you (οὐς) will inspire your worshippers happily, with courage in just defence, but not with that ungovernable and suicidal fierceness which you seem to favour.' This is the connexion of thought. The power of the Semnai Theai over marriage and birth (838, 858, 896, etc.) might be supposed, and probably was supposed, to make them specially efficacious in determining the character of the young (νέον). It may even be gathered that there were some current notions on this subject, particularly among the lower populace, of which Aeschylus did not altogether approve. After all, Zeus and Athena, not the Semnai Theai, are the deities to whom he points.—These lines (860—868) are certainly something of a digression, a meditation of the goddess, addressed rather to the audience than the Erinyes; but there is no sure ground for ejecting them and thus reducing the speech to 13 verses (see on v. 797). Ἕν. 866 foll. are admirable, and if those preceding are hyper-Aeschylean, we may argue from that either way.

860—865. 'Do not stimulate Athenian youth to bloodshed, or put in Athenian hearts the spirit of civil war'. —The form of the period is slightly irregular; to μὴρε...θρήνας should respond another
σὺ δὲ ἐν τόπους τοῖς ἐμοῖς μὴ βάλῃς 860
μὴθ' αἰματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγχνων βλάβας
νέων, ἀοίνως ἐμμαίεις θυμάμασιν,
μὴτ' ἐξελοῦσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτρόν
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῦσιν ἱδρύσης, ἄρη
ἐμφύλιον τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.

865

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρὸν
ἐν ὃ τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὔκλειας ἔρως,
ἐνοικίον ὃ ὀρνιθὸς οὐ λέγει μάχην.

τοιαύθ' ἐλέοσαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ,
ἐν ὃρωσαν, εἰ πᾶσχοισαν, εἰ τιμωμένην
χώρας μετασχέων τῆς ἐθικὸς θεοφιλεστάτης.

862. ἀνίσονος. 863. μὴθ'. 864. ἱδρύσῃ κάρῃ (changed to κάρα).

object to βάλῃς, e.g. μήτε ἄρη ἐμφύλιον,
instead of which we have a fresh verb,
ἵππωσις. Cf. P. V. 185 foll. (Wecklein).—
ἐν τόπους...θηγάνας: lit. ‘in a place
belonging to me put not sharpeners to
blood’; the ‘place’ or ‘ground’ is at
once Athens (metaphorically) and the
hearts of the Athenians (literally).—
αἰματηρὰς: epithet from the effect, as
ἐμμαίεις below, and αἰματηράν (τείχος)
urn of death in Ag. 806, but simpler,
since the ‘whetstone’ is often stained.—
σπλάγχνων...θυμάμασιν: marring the
breast (temper) of youth, and madden-
ing with worse rage than any wine. ἐμμα-
ίεις: see above. δόλος (Robortello):
‘not wine (yet like it)’, a favourite use
of such negative epithets.—μήτε...θρασύ
take not, to put in my citizens, the heart,
as it were, of the cock, war against him
and courage against one another. The
notion, which Aeschylus treats as meta-
phor (ὅσ), that man was made up of
elements from animals, was adopted
literally in some legends of the creation:
see Horace, Od. 1. 12. 20 ἐνθομάκχος ἀτ' ἀλέκτωρ.—ἀρη. Cf. Ag. 78
"Ἀρης δ' οὖν ἐνὶ χώρᾳ (in the young child
‘Ares is not yet at his post’), where how-
ever the psychology is different, and Ares
more of a proper name. Where, as here,
it is absolutely non-personal, should we
not avoid the misleading capital, as it is
now common in Latin to distinguish
Mars and mars? —μὴτ’ Dindorf.—
ἱδρύσῃ "Ἀρη Stephanus. The error of
M seems to have arisen from the con-
fusion of ic (ι) and κ (κ).—ἐξελοῦσα,
And thou, never must thou sow within my bounds those sharp incentives to blood, furious as drunkenness with the wine of rage, which mar the bosom of youth, nor take, to put in my citizens, heart of the cock, home-courage, bold against his kind. Warfare abroad let them seek,—not difficult to find, whenever there shall be a mighty passion for renown. Fight of the fowl within the yard I reckon nought.

Such is the choice now opened to thee by me, in kindness done and received, in honour fairly paid, to have thy part in this most heaven-favoured place.

"which has been immensely emended, is no doubt right" (Sidgwick, after Paley). έκθέουσα (Musgrave), έξεδοντα, έκχλουσα, έχολοσθα, etc. The schol. ἀναπτερωθασα may be merely a guess, a loose and false interpretation of έξεδοθα, based, if it has any base, on some confusion between έξαιρω and έξαλω. The schol. on θυγά

νας νέων (τὰς ἀναλυκόσας τὰ νέα) is equally loose and false, yet no one rejects θυγάνας. The defence of the ms. may perhaps be fortified by the parallel of the 'Promethean' psychology, which is ad

duced above.

866—808. Abroad be their warring; and easily they may have it, whenever there shall be a mighty passion for renown. As for the fowl that fights in his yard, I make no account of his fighting.—οὗ μᾶλις παρὼν is a supplementary remark (Nebenbemerkung, Wecklein) but not exactly a parenthesis. It is closely connected with ἐν ὀ. κ. τ. λ., and should be so punctuated.—ἐν ὀ.: in the temporal sense, quasi ἐν ὀ. (χρόνῳ), though such a supplement is not scientifically correct. The moment that the passion for fame is felt, exists at all, it may be satisfied in legitimate fighting against the enemies of Athens. This was certainly true in 458 B.C. There is an interesting parallel in the close of Edie Ochiltree's rebuke to the duellists (Scott, The Antiquary): The French will be o'er to hARRY US one of these days, and ye'll have fighting enough. The remonstrance seems to point at quarrels between rival families, chiefs, and the like, rather than at political faction in the proper sense. The social and personal incidents of the time are almost unknown to us; but we may well suppose that the predecessors of Midias gave not less trouble to the makers of Athens than the duellists to Richelieu.—Paley seems right in not referring ἐν ὀ. to πόλεμος. He supplies ἔκεινῳ: coming without stint (see below) to him who shall feel etc. This is possible, but (I think) unnecessarily difficult.—οὐ λέγω: I do not reckon. A martial spirit is valuable only so far as it is directed against the enemy; what spends itself within, is, in the eye of the State, mere waste and worse; it does not count. The contrary opinion, that τὸ μάχημα deserves public encouragement per se, has been always common enough; the history of duelling again offers illustration.—"I do not advise, or bid, is a μέλων for I forbid" Sidgwick, rejecting rightly the comparison of Soph. Ελ. 466 et δ' ἐπεστὶ νέμεσις, οὐ λέγω (if the word is inadvertent, be it unsaid, or retracted). But could λέγω bid take as object such a subst. as μάχημα?—A very different sentiment is given, if (with many) we join οὗ μᾶλις παρὼν with ἔτετο, and let there be plenty of it, justifying ὡ for μη by close connexion with μᾶλις. But this does not fairly render either μᾶλις or παρὼν. Ag. 1066, where (see note) οὗ μᾶλις means 'more than just enough', is not parallel.

869—871. She resumes her expostulation, from ν. 859, where see note.
XL. εμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῦ,
ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατὰ τε γὰν οἰκεῖν,
ἀτίτευν,—φεῦ,—μῦσος.—
πνέω τοι μένος ἀπαντά τε κότον.—
οἴ, οἴ, δὰ, φεῦ.—
τίς μ’ ὑποδύεται
πλευρᾶς ὄδυνα;—
θυμὸν ἂιε, μᾶτερ
Νῦξ. ἀπὸ γάρ με τιμᾶν τοὺς τέχνων
derπάλαμοι παρ’ οὐδὲν ἦραν δόλοι.

ἈΘ. οὐτοί καμοῦμαι σοι λέγουσα τάγαθα,
ὡς μὴποτ’ εἴτης πρὸς νεωτέρας· ἐμὸν
θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολυστούχων βροτῶν
ἀτύμον ἔρρω τοῦδ’ ἀπόξενος πέδου.

ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἄγνων ἑστὶ σοι Πειθοῦσε σέβας,
γλῶσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον……

...οὐ δ’ οὖν μένοις ἄν. εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλοις μένειν,

888. θέλεις.—ei superscr. (i.e. θέλεις) m.

873 foll. See on 840 foll.
882—892. This speech, the crisis of the whole drama, and the abrupt and total change which it appears to effect in the attitude of the Chorus, are fully discussed in the Introduction. As to the mere interpretation of the words, the only question (but that is not unimportant) is whether εἰ μὲν…μένοις οὖν (886 foll.) should be construed as one sentence, continuous and complete: ‘if you regard persuasion, then remain’. Those who so take it (e.g. Hermann, and Dindorf Lex. Aesch.) assume that δ’ οὖν marks the apodosis of the conditional sentence, as δὲ does frequently in Homer, and also, but less frequently, in later authors. In my note to Ag. 1045 (1st edition), this passage was cited on that assumption, but, as I now think, wrongly. For (1) in such cases there is regularly, if not always, a concessive force in the conditional clause, and the apodosis expresses, not the natural and immediate consequence of the condition, but something which, that being so or so supposed, is possible nevertheless. So in Ag. Lc. (if the δὲ there is apodotic at all, but see note in 2nd edition), and Herod. 3. 68, εἰ μὴ αὐτῇ Σμερ-δουν…γνωσκείς, οὐ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πόθεν, ‘if you do not know Smerdis yourself, you may at any rate ask Atossa….’ All the examples cited by Kühner (Gr. Gr. §533, 1 δ) are of this kind, and the antithetic conjunction (δὲ) has then a reason, which it has not in a case, like the present, of direct consequence. It is not clear that, in direct consequence, Aeschylus at all events would have admitted even δὲ. (2) Of an apodotic δ’ οὖν no example is cited; if it occurs, it should be, to judge by the ordinary use of this combination, where, after a long or complicated protasis, the main thought is resumed, with a certain
Erinyes (as before). I to submit to this, Oh shame! To change my ancient mind! I, to be resident...Scorn on the abhorred thought! My spirit is all fury and rage. Oh horrible, oh vile! Ah, what an anguish thrills my breast! Hark to my indignation, O Mother Night! For a crafty trick of gods had well-nigh wrenched me from my immemorial (?) honours.

Athena (coming close). I am not to be wearied of pleading with thee what is good, that thou mayst never say that thou, goddess and ancient, wast by me thy younger, and by Athens' mortal inhabitants, dismissed with dishonour, inhospitably, from our soil. (She is now in the midst of them, and speaks as for them alone.)

Ah, if sacred Suasion be holy unto thee, the appeasement of my tongue, and the soothing...(Her voice ceases to be heard, and for a while she seems to commute with them in silence. They become suddenly calm, and show in their behaviour a great awe.)

...So then, thou wilt belike abide; and if it should be thy will

interruption; but this again is not the present case. (3) Admitting the use as possible, we have no ground to suppose it here, for the prima facie appearance, that the argument is unfinished, is confirmed by the requirements of the situation.—We should therefore adopt the alternative (Butler, Wecklein), that νν. 886, 887 are, in grammar, not complete.—But it is a distinct question, whether they should be completed, that is to say, whether the text is defective. As the translation will show, I think not. The apodosis (never completed) begins probably at γλώσση (see below). We cannot say, and are not meant to know, exactly in what form it proceeds. It is shaped so as to suggest that some very powerful persuasion is to be used. The obvious doubt, whether θελετήριον is a substantive, or an epithet to some substantive which is to follow, is probably left open intentionally, and is reproduced in the translation. Δ' οὖν has its ordinary force, marking resumption, after the interval. The emphasis on σῷ signifies that the Erinyes themselves will probably now wish to stay. But whether they stay or go—which is not, and never was, the essential matter—they have been satisfied; the divine controversy is over, the discord mystically solved. See further the Introduction.—As this point is of special interest, I give all the critical suggestions mentioned by Wecklein, who himself (see on ν. 797) assumes after 886 the loss of two verses. 886. ἐστὶ μοι Paley. 887. γλώσση τ' ἐμή οὐ γλώσσης δ' ἐμής (or a lacina before ν. 887) Butler. γλώσσης δ' ἐμής μελιγμα' ἄκος θελετήριον Merkel, γλώσσης τ' ἐμής μελιγμα σοῦ (or soi) θελετήριον Paley, γλώσσης τ' ἐμής μελιγμα καταθελετήριον L. Schmidt, μελιγμα μαλθετήριον Heimsoeth, Wecklein, 886, 887. άργυν εκτεσθ...μελιγμα σοι Th. Heyse. 887 foll. γλώσσης τ'... ἄλθει, μένοις ἐν Hartung. 888. σὺ τοι μένοις Rauchenstein.

884. Θεός. See ν. 828, and νν. 848, 849 (note).
886. If sacred persuasion is holy to you, i.e. if you are accessible to persuasion at all.
887. Whether this is part of the protasis, in apposition to Πεθών σέβας, or of
an unfinished apodosis, cannot perhaps be certainly determined, and is of little moment; but it is more natural to take Ἰεθοὶς σέβας as general in sense (persuasion, not my persuasion), and therefore to treat γλώσσαι ἑμῶς κ.τ.λ. as the commencement of the apodosis.

888. On the view which I take of the situation, θλος, though you should be unwilling, is preferable to θλεις, if you are...: Athena would scarcely now put the supposition of their unwillingness in so positive a form. The ms. reading (see above) is practically equivocal.

891, 892. δικαίως (with ἔξτη... ἐκτις) ἐπεξερούν, justly, without any infringement of justice: έστι τό παύν τιμωμένη, with perfect rights. This is no mere verbiage or repetition: the complete means, not that Athena has made an offer, but that the Erinyes can entertain it, consistently with their principles and their rights. Hitherto they have fiercely maintained the contrary; now, as immediately appears, they are convinced. Why and how, we have considered in the Introduction.—γαμόρῳ Dobree. I place in the text this pretty and generally accepted conjecture, but am by no means sure that it is right. The τῆθεγ' (i.e. τὴθέγ' γ') of the ms. is much to the purpose, meaning so at all events, in this way at all events, that is to say, on the principles, and in virtue of the mystery, which Athena has disclosed to them. If we retain it, we should probably read, for ἄμιλον, ἐμοῖρον (ἐμοῖρον) or ἐμοῖρῳ (ἐμοῖρῳ), after suggestions of Hermann and Schütz.

893—916. The Erinyes (or rather now the Σεμναί Θεαί) accept the offered sanctuary; they are invited to bless Attica as their new dwelling-place. On the general effect of the dialogue, see the Introduction.

893. τίνα...ἐξει; not ‘What place?’, but, as the reply shows, ‘What manner of settlement?’ The question expresses the astonishment of their new sensations.—Ἐλμς Elmsley.

894. τάς...οἶκος: absolutely without hurt or grief, i.e. a settlement so given and accepted, that no one is wounded.
not to abide, thou mayst not rightfully turn upon Athens any manner of wrath or anger whatsoever, or hurt to her people. For it is possible for thee rightfully to be a portioner in the land, with honours all entire.

_The Leader of the Erinys._ O Lady Athena, what sayest thou of this proffered habitation?

_Ath._ That utterly griefless, harmless it shall be. Accept it thou.

_Erin._ Suppose it then accepted, and what are my destined powers?

_Ath._ That without thee no family shall have increase.

_Erin._ Thou wilt effect this, wilt give me such might as that?

_Ath._ Ay, for we will prosper the fortunes of him that honoureth thee.

_Erin._ And wilt thou give me warranty for all time forth?

_Ath._ Free am I not to promise what I shall not perform.

_Erin._ Thou wilt soothe me sure; my anger is going from me.

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and nothing injured, all claims and feelings satisfied. The point is the same as that of vv. 891, 892, but put, better and more truly, so as to include all parties. —For the construction see v. 353.

895. _Suppose me to have accepted,... then...._ See on Cho. 563. —_τιμή:_ privilege, office, special function, in the same sense in which a magistracy is a _τιμή_. The word, with its various senses, is hardly worked in this scene, and serves to cover or bridge the chasm which, as Aeschylus well knew, we have to cross. The question has already in effect been answered (vv. 837, 858), but the Ereinyes would not then listen.

896. _δι: _δοτε, such (a function) that no household (family) shall prosper without you, as givers of fertility and especially of children (838). See also vv. 908 foll., 945, 957 foll.—_εὐθείως_ Scaliger. The word (see vv. 909, 945, and the article in L. and Sc.) was especially associated with vigour and fertility of life.

898. _συμφορᾶς._ Respectis versibus, qui proxime supra citantur, patet (opinor) id vocabulum sic in hac re a religiosis fuisse usurpatum, a volgo praecipue τῶν Σεμωνῶν Θεῶν studioso, ut _coitus_ significaret. Quid enim sit _συμφόρω_ γινακί, quis possit hic non reminisci? Poeta, si vellet ignorare, aliter loqui debuit. Sed non voluit, nec ausus est; verum crassiorem antiquitatis sermonem feliciter ita mitigando servavit, ut latior sensus (res, eventus) quodammodo insinuaretur.

901. _I think thou wilt win me; I am parting with my angry mood._ θέλειν. The future does not mean that they expect further persuasion, but that the end is visible, and may as well come at once. It is in fact manifestly reached already, this brief debate being no more than a sort of self-propitiation, the converts' formal and decent farewell to their former state of mind.
902, 903. Therefore thou dwelling in our land shalt gain new love (?). kata χθόν oósa: 'as inhabitant of Athens'; but the text can hardly be right. The metre, though not Aeschylean in elision of a substantive with quantities — (see on Ag. 898 and inf. 972), may be defended by regarding the phrase kata χθόνα as making, for rhetorical purposes, a single 'word'; but neither oósa nor kata χθόνα expresses naturally the sense which it thus has to bear.—κατάχθων oósa would partly meet the objection, but the compound adj. does not seem to occur, and, if it did, should rather mean καταχθονικός subter- ranean, which is not the point.—κατά-
σον, oóσ κ.τ.λ. Well, from Hesych. κατάχθαι (i.e. κατάχθαι) κατακηλήσαι. Then thou must win with a spell those whose love thou art to gain, leading naturally to the question τι...έφυμνησαι: (What charm do you bid me chant...?). The acceptors being now not only willing but eager, Athena, with a touch of gentle reproach, invites them to efface their former threats by blessing and propitiating Athens. I believe this to be right. The change is less bold than it appears: from καταίκων to κατα κόν is a common slip (see v. 864), and the next step would be obvious.—τι oóv as in Pers. 789, Sept. 192, 691, Suppl. 310 (Wecklein). See Jebb on Soph. Phil. 100. τι μ’ oóv άνωγας Porson.

904. ‘Let your blessings be universal as the benefit of the victory’, lit. ‘(Sing) such (good spell) as regards a victory without evil’. έπισκόπα regardant to, i.e. ‘proper in consideration of...’. For the construction see Soph. Αί. 976 άγίς τινάδ’ έπισκόπον μέλος, and Cho. 136, where however (see note) the sense is distinguishable.—νικης μή κακής, i.e. a victory where none has lost. It is in the nature of a victory to imply defeat, and therefore to be, for some one, κακόν. But not so here; the present reconciliation means no defeat of the prosecutors, or of those jurors (not to be forgotten) who voted for them, or of any one. All is good.—Others take έπισκόπα as ‘having for their object’, and νικης μή κακής as the future victory of Athens over external foes, not her own citizens, referring to v. 866. But that topic is not here relevant, nor sufficiently indicated.—The reference to this passage in my note to Cho. Lc. is, in the words ‘the object sought’, not accurate.—ςικής Hermann, but see on Ag. 1377.
Ath. Win therefore, with chanted spell (?), them whose love thou art to gain.

Erin. What blessings then upon Athens is my song to call?

Ath. All blessings proper to a victory wherein is no hurt; blessing from earth, and from waters of the deep, and from the sky likewise spirits of winds, whose breath shall move in sunlight over the land; fruit of the soil, and of living creatures, inflowing to her citizens with increase which time shall never tire; and to the seed of man a safe deliverance. Yet favour thou more the birth of the virtuous kind (?); for I love, even as one that nurseth plants, the sort which from these, the righteous, hath taken graft.

905. 'Ay, (invoke on Athens) blessings from every element, earth and water, air and sun.' ταύτα, like ὅποια, is still governed by ἐφώμηνον, the reply to ν. 903, and so, with a slight change in the form, is ἄμαρτα ἐπιστέλχειν..., 'pray' (pray) that breath may move...': lit. 'and from sky and winds (invoke good, invoking) breath to move...'. The appearance of irregularity arises from the peculiarly Attic habit of ellipse, by which a dominant word or concept, such as ἐφώμηνον here, can be supplied, with tacit grammatical modification, as the period proceeds. The signification of ταύτα, i.e. ἀγαθά, is given by μὴ κακῆς.—Or we may make ἄμαρτον ἄμαρτα obj. to ἐφώμηνον, and ἐπιστέλχειν 'epexegetically' (so as to move...).—πωτίλι ἀράσον waters of the deep; ἀράς, as often, is water in general; πωτίλι is used rather typically than with actual reference to 'the sea', though we need not therefore forget that Athens was maritime. So Poseidon is ποτίλιον and ποτομέδιον, not as limited to the sea, but as the god of water.—εὐράλιον completes, though without formality, the reference to the 'four elements', to be taken in a popular, not philosophic, sense.—Note here (νν. 904—908) the sudden and strong emphasis on the metrical division between the verses, syllaba anecta thrice, and violent hiatus twice in succession (ἀράσον | ἑς, ἄμαρτα | ἑς-), contrasting the rest of the speech, or any average passage of Aeschylus. The delivery is broken by solemn and emotional pauses.

908. ὑπὸν Stanley.

910. σωτηρίαν revert to the substantial construction with ἐφώμηνον; see above.

911—913. (Preserve, that is, the good human seeds), but of the impious rather get rid (?); for I love, as doth a gardener, the sort that is grafted from these, the just. For the idea that the Semnai Theai, as governing birth, govern character and the improvement of the race, and for the transition or suspension of the thought, between the material and the merely figurative notion of σωτηρία, see νν. 860 follow, where however the application of these ideas is somewhat different.—τῶν δυσσεβευόντων ἐκφοροτέρα πελάς (MS): 'be you rather a destroyer of the bad', a 'taker away' (?). The required sense is clear, but the words difficult and suspicious. Not only is there apparently no proof that ἐκφέρεω, ἐκφορά, ἐκφορος and the cognates, were used with any such meaning (the association of ἐκφορά, carrying out, with funerals is irrelevant and inapplicable), but ἐκφέρεω actually is used, in a similar connection, with just the contrary meaning, 'to produce, bear, bring
into existence', as the earth its plants, and animals their offspring. See Plato Rep. 461 c 
commonly μέν μη' είς φύς ἑκάτεραν κύρια μηδὲ 
Common, not more destructive) more somewhat would (i) the blessing, we 
grafting, least a but bring the 
animals' difference more to other i,pl<rTri...A'/iiJi,'riTpos 
put should rather'"; and also see generally are production 
the same, less (Wellauer), and some other similar but less plausible suggestions, meet the case partly, but not altogether. — In the Class. Rev. xvii. 286 Dr Headlam supports 
now D' eiserebounov almost exactly as I do. 
The conjecture has been so little noticed, that, till I read Dr Headlam, I was not aware that it had been propounded. My argument for it was written many years ago.—τὸ...γένος: 'the plants of the 
good', the offspring of virtuous stocks, but more exactly, 'the sort grafted from (ἀπ'-ἐνθετον) the good', because the improvements of the φυτοτμην are most commonly obtained by grafting, to which ἐνθεθμος, ἐνθεσι (see L. and Sc. s. vv.) seem to have been specially applied.
The extant examples of the limited sense are rare and late, but this may well be accidental. The general sense implant (here sufficient) is common. Observe that, in the old alphabet (not yet obsolete in the time of Aeschylus), the words ἀπενθητος—ἀπενθετος were graphically indistinguishable, both ἀπενθετος. It is for this reason that I venture to put ἀπενθετον in the text: it is but one way of interpreting the ms. Wecklein, suggesting ἀπανθησιων γάνος, remarks truly that "we expect an expression borrowed from gardening".—τῶν may merely refer to τῶν εἰσερεβοντων (see above), but probably marks that τῶν δικαίων is explained by a gesture indicating the Areopagites, as types of ἀστων τά βελτίατα (490)—ἀπενθητον, unmourned, or unmournful, seems impossible. If retained, it must, in spite of the order, be taken predicatively with στέρω, 'I cherish the good sort (and keep them) untroubled (by the bad)'. But (i) ἀπενθητος could not mean untroubled in the sense demanded (ἀπέ- 
μακτος): contrast ἀπένθητη φρειν Ag. 886, and see note there; it would at least require some supplementary explanation, which however (2) can be got only by joining τῶν (i.e. τῶν δυσεφεβουντων) with ἀπενθητον, 'unvexed by these (the bad)'.
this has been suggested, but the division of τῶν δικαίων τῶνδε into opposites is impracticable, since the article τῶν draws
Such is thy part; and for the trials, the fit trials, of grim war, I will not let them fail to glorify this city among men with public victory.

**Chorus.** I will accept a dwelling with Pallas, nor scorn the citadel which She, with Zeus Almighty and with Ares, holds for a

τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτής ἀποδειχθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶν ἀνάβλοστοι

laχυρόν: Ἀλεξίλος ἐν Νεασκόνω, but one would like to see the context.—For πρεπτῶν another possible meaning is conspicuous (i.e. glorious?), but this gives less point. In this scene of concord, any praise of fighting requires a cautious touch, and the qualification πρεπτῶν (proper) is to the purpose.—οὐκ ἀνέβαλοι.

The negative turn points at and rejects the idea that the ἄσθέβεια and δικαίωσις, essential to the members of a true πόλις, are inconsistent with the deadliest and most triumphant fighting, when patriotism (ἡγώ) demands it. Here (as in νν. 860 foll.) the language seems to have a critical and corrective purpose, connected with the worship of the Σεμναί Θεαῖ, which we imperfectly understand. It will be observed that, in the blessings which follow, war is never mentioned. The view of Aeschylus seems to be, that the Σεμναί Θεαῖ had nothing, at least directly, to do with it.

917—1021. The new goddesses bless the city in accordance with the foregoing prayer, Athena assenting, and in her turn noting (931 foll., 956, 991 foll.) that, in their new part, they have not lost their salutary function of inspiring awe.

919. καὶ ἄλλα, 'with Pallas' (of course not καὶ ἀλλ', both...and).—Δῆς: with reference to the Areopagus. It should be remembered that originally the Ἀκρόπολις (in a somewhat extended sense), to which the Areopagus, a spur of the hill, might be regarded as an appendage, had been itself the πόλις, and never lost that name (Thucyd. 2. 15). It is even doubtful whether the πόλις proper, the fortified area, received any further extension till after the Persian wars and shortly before the date of this play. The language here is not precisely or definitely archaic, but is

V. E.
conceived naturally from the antique point of view.—To add the name of Zeus would be, for Aeschylus, imperative, and is justified (v. 1002) by his relation to Pallas. We need not therefore here suppose in this name any local reference, and may decline the difficult question, whether such a reference is possible. See on v. 999.

921. ῥωσίβωμον. This view of Athens, as protector of the Hellenic religions, points especially to the expulsion of the Persians (Paley, Wecklein, comparing Pers. 811 foll., Herod. 8. 109), which the Athenians in particular regarded as a punishment for their sacrilegious treatment of the Acropolis.

925. ἐπιστάτην may be compared with ἐπίπερνυν (908), but differs from it in being strictly passive rather than intransitive. The prosperity, of which the gifts of the earth are a principal part and general type, is to be ἔπεδυ (hastened), as plants are ‘sped’ from the earth by the sun.

926. ἐξαμβρόσαυ, ἐξαναβρόσαυ, the commonly accepted correction (Pauw) for ἐξαμβρόσαυ, is probably so far correct, that the word here used for make to grow was connected with βρέων ὄτα. The extension of this idea from the producing earth to the producing sun is natural; cf. ἐκφορωτέρα in v. 911. The form would be more convincing if there were evidence, of satisfactory date, for a transitive βρέων with obj. acc. As it is, ἐξαμβρόσαυ (Pearson), as from a stem βρό- related to βρό- somewhat as χω- (χώσα, χώμα) to χω-, has an equal claim, notwithstanding that no such stem is actually found.—The verb βράσων [making the aorist ἐξαμβρόσα or βράσα (see Paley)] is much less appropriate. The metre (see v. 948) favours, but does not require, a long vowel. See Appendix II.

931—938. πάντα γὰρ κ.τ.λ. relates to δυσαρέστους hard to please. Because the Erinyes have made a pact with Athena, and now appear as authors of prosperity, they have not ceased to be Erinyes and δυσαρέστους, have not forgone their hatred of wrong, or the will and power to punish. Their functions are not abridged (see v. 893) but extended, so that they now govern all life, all human experience
fortress of deity, a precious thing to protect the altars of Hellas' gods. And I on this place call down, with prayer of love, sendings of happy life beneficent, which from the soil shall burgeon beneath the bright shining of the sun.

_Ath._ This is the work of my zeal towards these my citizens; for that I won to dwell here deities great and hard to be pleased. For all estate of man belongs to their governing; though he, that hath never met the dangers thereof, knoweth not whence the (πάντα τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους), good and blessing, but evil and punishment too, and both universal. Those therefore, who hold their happiness at the will of the _Semnai Theai_, must hold it in pious fear. Throughout this scene the part of the goddess is to correct any rash misinterpretation of the thought that 'the ministers of wrath are appeased'.— _δὲ μὴ κύρας κ.τ.λ._ All are liable to the _Erinyes_, though some may forget it. The man who 'has not found life dangerous' (and therefore may flatter himself that he is innocent and safe) is in more danger than he knows. He is responsible for others. 'The sin of his fathers' may deliver him to the avengers, and by their stern execution, for all his protests, he may be crushed.— _τοῦτον_: neuter, _τὸν κατ' ἀνθρώπους_, 'the state' or 'circumstances of man', in modern language 'life'. The conditions of life are the outward fact, in and by which the power of the _Erinyes _is exercised; so that 'not having found the human (state) dangerous' means the same thing as 'not having had personal proof that the _Erinyes _are dangerous', _μὴ κύρας βαρειῶν τοῦτον_ (feminine). In a style so full of personification as that of Aeschylus (see e.g. _935_), the variation is natural; and it is more easy in Greek than in a modern language, which cannot represent _τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους_ without introducing some too definite and embarrassing substantive.—Nor need we say with Paley (whose exposition is otherwise substantially correct) that _τοῦτων _is _λαξέων _, supplied from _θαυμ_._ See further below.— _δὲν πληγαὶ βιῶν (εἰς)_: literally, 'strokes upon life from what quarters there are', _i.e._ 'from what quarters _life can be hit_'. 'what or how many dangerous quarters there are'. Not 'from what quarter _his life is hit_'. It would be untrue to say that the victim of a 'judgment' is always or generally unable to divine the cause of it. What is said, and truly said, is that the prosperous are often ignorantly blind to their danger of a 'judgment'. The phrase, though simple, cannot be verbally rendered in English, because we cannot, by the order or otherwise, effect such a connexion as 'whence-strokes', whereas in Greek _δὲν πληγαὶ_ is the obvious connexion.— _ἀπάγει _: the regular term in Attic law for _arrest _and delivery to justice. The present tense is general, meaning that arrest and punishment _do _sometimes befall _τῶν μὴ κύραντα_, the person whose experiences have not prepared him to expect it.— _στηγῶν_. In the 'Court of Life' there is no explanation, not even a sentence; the 'criminal' cries—and is crushed; and that is all.— _ἀπλακήματα_ Pauw. _S'_ Musgrave.

The words _βαρεῖων τοῦτων_ have been much disputed, but mainly upon two doubtful assumptions: (1) that _τοῦτων_, like _ἀθικ_., must not only point to the operations of the _Erinyes_ (which it does), but actually and grammatically mean _τῶν _ _Ερυνῶν_: and (2) that _μὴ κύρας _refers to the time of the punishment afterwards described, and that the sense required is 'he who experiences their _severity_ or 'does not find their _favour_'. We then want for _βαρεῖων _some fem. _adj_. meaning _kind_, _favourable_, or the like. Hence _πρῶν_, _προφήρων_, _εὐνῶν_, _Ναρῶν_, and other suggestions (see Wecklein's _Appen._

II—2
οὐκ ὦδεν ὦδεν πληγαί βιότον.
tὰ γαρ ἐκ προτέρων ἀπλακήματά νῦν
πρὸς τάσδ' ἀπάγει· συγὼν <δ>' ὀλεθρος
καὶ μέγα ϕωνοῦν'
ESPNίς ὄργανα ἀμαθύνει.

ΧΟ. δευδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνεύοι βλάβα—
τὰν ἔμαν χάριν λέγω—
φλογῖς <τ'> ὀμματοστερῆς φυτῶν, τὸ
μὴ περὰν ὄρον τόπων·
μηδ' ἄκραπος ἀλας ἑφερπτῶν νόσος, .
ἀνάλα τ' εὐθενοῦτα Πᾶν

935. ἀπλακήματα. 941. φλογῖς. φλογῖς rec. 945. εὐθενοῦτ' ἄγαν.

First Part of the Commons in the Choephorai (314—421, see note at 305), where the anapaestic passages and the lyric have a symmetry with reference to the same centre (371—378), and this centre is marked as such by not corresponding with any other part. If the like effect were intended here, the supposed centre (969 foll.) should be non-correspondent, a No. 6; as it is, the hypothesis lacks proof. Whether in ν. 934 the supplement προσέπευαν is desirable for itself, is a distinct question: I think it rather disadvantageous.

939. δευδροπήμων, with reference particularly to the olives, the most important crop of Attica—βλάβα, here probably hindrance, check, as well as harm. See νν. 495, 664 and on Ag. 123. The reference, as the antithesis of φλογῖς indicates, is to cold winds.

941. φλογῖς, scorching, may refer simply to excessive heat, and not to hot winds, since we may supply not μὴ πνεύοι, but a more general verb, μὴ γένοντο or the like. But in southern countries the hot winds are, as a fact, especially formidable, and μὴ πνεύοι is probably meant. The point is of importance to the interpretation of ν. 942—ὁμματοστερῆς φυτῶν: which robs the trees of their buds,
though in grammar the genit. depends rather on φλογώς.—Τ' Turnehus.

942. τὸ μὴ περάν ὄρον τόπων, consecutive or epexegetic, 'so as not to pass...', may be joined either (1) with ὄμματοστηρῆς or (2) with μὴ πνεύο (or μὴ γένοτο), the subject of περάν being in the first case the buds (or trees), in the second the winds (or heat). If we take (1), then τόπων is impossible and ὄρον not appropriate: 'a plant does not 'pass its bounds' by growing' (Sidgwick), nor even a bud. The correction λασών (Wecklein), 'to prevent the buds from passing the bound of their sheaths', meets this difficulty imperfectly, and seems prosaic. If we take (2), then (a), since winds can scarcely be said to have any τόπος or τῶν of their own, sense can be made only by assuming that τόπων, 'the place', means the country, Attica: 'Let ill winds not blow,...so as not to pass the bounds of the place', i.e. 'let them not invade the land'. But, apart from the dubious metaphor, the meaning put on τόπων is forced, which forbids this interpretation, and some of the proposed emendations. Or (b), referring τὸ μὴ κ.τ.λ. to μὴ πνεύο, we may still seek to correct τόπων. I formerly proposed τροπῶν (or perhaps τροπάν) change or changes, and still think it worth consideration. The word τροπή, τροπαλ, turn (see L. and Sc. s.v. τροπή III. and τροπαλα), was specially applied to changes of wind or weather. The sense will then be 'Let not the cold wind blow, nor the hot...beyond the bound of their changes', i.e. not too long, not out of their proper seasons. Such an addition, or limitation to the absolute μὴ πνεύο is not unnatural or superfluous; for the intended promise cannot be that there shall never be weather cold enough or hot enough to injure growing plants, but that it shall not last so long, or come at such times, as to have that effect. The construction of τὸ μὴ κ.τ.λ. is that usual with verbs of forbidding, preventing, etc. (Kühner Gr. Gr. § 516 b), (μὴ πνεύο)...τὸν ἀνάχρονα λέγω being equivalent in sense to 'I will forbid to blow'.—Dr Headlam has suggested φανόν τὸ μῆ...('banished so as not to pass...'), but also, more recently, that φανόν is a gloss to ὄμματοστηρῆς, explaining the special sense of ὄμματα (buds), and -το is the remains, the final syllable, of an optative.—It seems at all events certain that the text is unsound. The correction ὄμματοστηρῆς φανόν τοῦν περάν δρῶν τὸ πᾶν (Wieseler), 'Let the heat, which cuts the buds from the trees, (not come) beyond our bounds at all', is most ingenious, but assumes a more than doubtful use of τοῦν, τέμενον.

943. αἰνητή: 'everlasting, eternal', I think, as in v. 482, not 'destructive'. It qualifies, by extending, ἄκαρπος, 'disease which makes them barren for ever'. Here again (as in μὴ περάν δρῶν τροπῶν, if right) the boon promised is such as might really be hoped for. It is not conceivable that trees should not sometimes lose their fruit; the promise is that they shall not be made permanently barren. The expression is peculiarly applicable to the long-growing olive and vine. Such a limit, such preference for truth even in imagination, seems to me characteristic of the Athenian mind.

945. Πᾶν, Meineke. A reference to Pan, as god of the flock and herd, is the more appropriate in this place, be-
cause the worship of Pan on the Acropolis, a cult having, in the cave and the torch-ritual, resemblances to that of the Semnai Theai, and belonging doubtless to the same ancient stratum of religious practices, had been within recent memory instituted, or more probably revived and augmented, in honour of Marathon and the service of the god there (Herod. 6. 105).

The political aspects of that institution, as a propitiation to those classes of the people who inclined to the more ancient rites (see the commentators on Herod. Lc.), throws light upon the importance assigned in this play to the Semnai Theai, and on the significance of the present reconciliation between them and Athena.—γά Dobree.

947—949. The reference is to mines, and specially to the silver mines of Attica, a chief source of Athenian wealth both public and private. See Pers. 241 ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐκτός, θηραιών χθωνός. Hence ἔρμαιαν δαμάον δῆσουν, 'the gift of luck,' because the finding of minerals was principally such, and πλούτων, which, though it might refer to all wealth, as the gift of earth, more naturally suggests wealth underground and the metals associated with Πλούτων. γόνος: metaphorical, τὸ γεγονόμενον, pro-
duce (so Hermann, Paley, and Wecklein).

—I think further that χρόνων τεταγμένων, at the fixed time, belongs to this sentence, not the preceding, the reference (note τινά παί) being to the annual and periodic reckoning of the produce, required by the fact that the state, as owner of the mines, let them for terms, and was paid in part by a 'royalty.' See Grote Hist. Gr. II. chap. 39, vol. 3, p. 405 of the 8-vol. edition, and references there. On this supposition, the defect in the metre can be cured by repetition of letters (φτερ). The notion of τάσσεσαι, τάξει, and a χρόνος τεταγμένος, though perhaps applicable to births, is certainly not less so to dates fixed by contract and law.—It has been objected, that mineral wealth is not mentioned in the prescription of Athena (905 foll.) which the 'blessing' follows; but there is at least as much hint for it (καρπῶν γαίας 908) as for the matter of the subsequent strophe and antistrope.—If χρόνων τεταγμένων be joined to τρέφοι, we must insert (after γόνος) ἵκ γάς (Hermann), ἵκ τοις (Headlam, Class. Rev. xviii. 242), or the like.

950. πόλεως φρούρων. οὗ 'Ἀρεα-
pαγέται, schol.—ἀκούεις Meineke, χώρας Weil, to avoid the sequence of four short syllables, very rarely admitted in this
enlarge and prosper, with double fruit of the womb. And at the appointed time, may wealth from the bowels of the earth pay the good gods’ fortunate boon.

**Ath.** O, do ye understand, ye wardens of Athens, what things their voices assure? For great is the power of the mighty Erinyes alike with the deathless gods and them of the underworld; and visibly, in the world of men, they execute with full authority, making some to sing, but some to live in blinding tears.

metre, and specially noticeable to the ear in the highly finished anapaests of this scene. We may observe that they exhibit only this instance of the somewhat unpleasing combination — — — in the μετρων or pair of feet, so that this, though not dubious in itself, may strengthen suspicion here. The use of τόλεως φρονής as a personal invocation is also open to remark, though passable. The text is probably wrong, but beyond reach of correction.

951—956. ἔπικραίνει...δύναται...διαπράσασον. The sing. and plur. are used almost indifferently, as in the chorus itself the sing. (ἐμῶν 940 etc.) is plural in effect. See also ἐμὼν...μεν 679, 680, κεκλήμεθα...ἐμῶσ...ἐλαθησεν 430—424, διέπομεν...ἐμῶ 388—394, στενδόμεν...ἐμοί 361—363, and below 989, 990. — διδώσατο: not ‘the gods’, but the ὁμώραν θεόν, as having no connexion with death, opposed to οἴ νῦν γαῖαν, which means the powers of the underworld (rather than the dead), or at least includes them. See v. 350.—μέγα γὰρ...γαῖαν: for the Erinyes are mighty with the Deathless Ones as well as with Them of the underworld. This is the sole use of the name ‘Erinyes’ after the reconciliation: it is used here because necessary to the point. Their foregoing promises extend to all parts of nature, the upper world (939) as well as the lower (947), and the promises emphasize (τῶν ἐμῶν χάρων λέγω) their power in the former region. Athena remarks that they do this with authority (ἐπικραίνει), because ‘the Erinyes’ are now in league with the ἄδικαστοι as well as the others; that they should have power below is natural in itself.—περὶ τ’ ἀνθρώπων... And about the human world visibly they execute with full power. φανερὼς contrasts their manifest operations among men with their invisible, or less directly observable, operations in heaven and under the earth. The collision of adverbs φανερῶς τέλεως, though it does not obscure the thought, seems inelegant and rather surprising. φανερῶς Casaubon, ‘in the visible human world’, perhaps rightly.—περὶ δ’ ἀνθρώπων’ Hartung, not without some reason, since this last clause introduces a new sphere of thought, and rather invites the next blessing (957 foll.) than confirms that which precedes: see on v. 975. But the change is not necessary.—τέλεως both absolutely and by office, the two kindred senses of τέλεις merging. Nor is that of ῥής (marriage, v. 838) beyond view: see the sequel.—

δακρύων βλευν ἀμβλαστόν: the gen. depends in sense as much on the adj. as on the subst., a life eyes-dimmed with tears, and probably βλευν δακρύων by itself could not stand. But in grammatical analysis (if applicable) it seems that δακρύων is ‘governed’ by βλευν, rather than (as Wecklein) by ἀμβλαστόν, quasi πλήρη.— The correction δακρύων (Aldine) is acceptable, but not certain. The copyist of M (note his query) appears to have been satisfied that his original, whatever it meant, did not mean δακρύων.—ὑπὸ γαῖας (Both for ἀνθρώπων) is not required, because, the point being that the power of the Erinyes extends to both worlds, the description of the powers below is modified, as often in Greek, accordingly.
957—968. The children shall not die young, but come to maturity and marriage. ἄνδροκαμήτας ἀνδροὺς ἀπεινέπτω τύχας, νεανίδων τε ἐπηράτων ἄνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε, κύρι' ἔχοντες, θεαὶ τ' ὧ Μοῖραι ματροκασιγνήται, δαίμονες ὅρθωνόμοι, παντὶ δόμῳ μετάκομοι, παντὶ χρόνῳ δ' ἐπιβριθεῖς ἔνδικους ὑμιλίαις, πάντα τιμώταται θεῶν.

Ἀ. τάδε τοι χώρα τῇ μῆτρῃ προφρόνως ἐπικραυγομένων γάνυμαι· στέργω δ' ὁμματα Πειθοῦς, ὅτι μοι γλῶσσαν καὶ στόμ' ἑπωπᾷ πρὸς τάσσ' ἀγρίως ἀπανημένας· ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος:

962. θεαὶ τῶν. 963 foll. ἓν in margin. 965. μέγα κοινα. 968. πάντα.

ματροκασιγνήται: mother-sisters, i.e. "daughters of our mother, Night" (sup. 795 etc.). The Theogony also makes the Moirai daughters of Night (Hesiod, Th. 217) and without father (ib. 213), but gives the Erinyes a different pedigree (ib. 185). In reckoning descent and relationship by the mother, legends of the older gods probably followed the contemporary practice of their worshippers.—θεαὶ τ' ὧ Ηρμανν.—δαίμονες ...θέων. The connexion of ideas here, and the exact significance of the language, is (to us) obscure, though we may presume that, together with the obvious suggestion that the power of the Moirai is universal, there is a reference to marriage and the family, as a particular province of the Semnai Theai, and as the theme of this strophe. The expressions παντὶ δόμῳ μετάκομοι and ἔνδικοι

...
Chorus. On the young men I forbid to fall the stroke of untimely death; and that the lovely maids live to find each her man, O grant it, ye that have the power, and grant it, ye divine Moirai, our mother-sisters, deities true in appointment, by just association partners in every house, and over all seasons potent (?), everywhere richest in rights among beings divine!

Ath. Glad am I indeed for these sure promises of their zeal to my land. And thankful I am to Suasion, that her eyes were keeping watch over my tongue and lips, when we encountered their savage refusals. But might was with Zeus, with

ὅμιλος fit together well in the sense ‘having a share in every household, as lawful visitors there’; but παντι χρόνω δ' επιβραδης is dubious. Some commentators think, perhaps rightly, that επιβραδης has a bad sense (βαρός, grievous, dangerous); so Sidgwick, and Wecklein (beschwerlich, feindlich). That however is not necessary (see επιβραδης); and this would thus be the only place where the Chorus mix their blessings with hint of punishment, a theme which they now leave to Athena. Perhaps therefore weighty, powerful, important is nearer; the δι need not, though it may, mark actual contrariety. If χρόνω is right, the sense seems to be ‘mighty over every moment of time’. The point of the antithesis διω... χρόνω is not clear; hence Wecklein reads θρόνω chair, seat, which may be right, but also requires more explanation than has yet been discovered.—ὄρθονόμοι (thus accented) is ‘just in dividing’ or ‘distributing’, from νέμων, as μοίρα itself means part, division.—Probably we miss some link of association, which would make all plain.—μετάκοινοι Turnebus, πάντα Canter.

969—971. ἐπικρατομένων must apparently be a causative deponent, ἐπικρατο-μένων αὐτῶν τάδε: ‘I rejoice indeed that they assure these promises of good-will to my town’; although the evidence for a deponent (middle) κρατομέα is otherwise of slight authority. The point is, that the Erinyes or Semni Theai, as deities of the underworld, obtain the ratification (causal middle) of their promises from the other powers concerned. See on νν. 961 foll., 961.—If we take ἐπικρατομένων as passive, then τάδε γάνυμα is required to mean ‘I rejoice at this’; but it should mean rather ‘This is the joy that I have’, a different thing.—τοι: ‘of course’.

971—976. ‘I love (thank) the power of Persuasion, for that her eyes watched my tongue and lips, when I met their savage refusals.’ πρὸς τάσει depends, with some help from the verb, on γιλωσαν καὶ οἴδα, ‘my speaking to them’. She was enabled to soothe and to refrain from harshness: ἐπωπά lays stress rather on the latter. The relation of tenses, and the force of the aor. part., as distinct from ἀπανημομέναι, should be observed; the Erinyes had given an absolute refusal, when Peitho, or rather Zeus, enabled Athena to overcome (see νν. 882 foll., and the Introduction): ἐπωπά is historical present. The whole phrase, though intentionally obscure and mystical, suggests, according to the intention, that her victory was won by something other than speech; see νν. 886 foll.—οτόμ’. The elision of such a noun is noticeable in the lyrics, as well as in the iambics, of Aeschylus (see on ν. 902), but here satisfies the ear because of the close connexion between γιλωσαν καὶ οἴδα, felt, for metrical purposes, as a unit.—ἀλλά: the antithesis is to ἄγριοι ἀπανημομένες ‘savagely they refused, yet still...’—Ζεὺς ἄγοραῖος: the Supreme
νικᾶ δ’ ἄγαθῶν

ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός.

ΧΩ. τὰν δ’ ἀπληστον κακῶν

μήποτ’ ἐν πόλει στάσιν
tαδ’ ἐπεύχομαι βρέμειν.

μηδὲ πιοῦσα κόνις

μέλαν ἀίμα πολιτάν
d’ ὄργαν ποινᾶς

ἀντιφόνος άτας

ἀρπαλίσαι πόλεως.

χάρματα δ’ ἀντιδίδοιεν

κοινοφιλεῖ διαιναία,

καὶ στυγεῖν μιὰ φρενί.

πολλῶν γὰρ τὸδ’ ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος.

< Α’. > ἀρα φρονοῦσιν; < Β’. > γλώσσης ἄγαθης

όδον εὐρίσκει.

981 foll. ἔτι in margin. 986. κοινοφιλεῖ changed by m to κοινοφιλεῖ.

989. ἀρα (ἀρα m). ἀρα recc.

Power, which favours civility, reason and moderation, the qualities of the ἀγορᾶ and the πόλις, against savagery (τὸ ἄγιριον), the quality of the wild; the antithesis is aided, and perhaps suggested, by the sound. The connexion of the ἀγορᾶ with speech (ἀγορεύον) is also relevant, but secondary. The opposition of οἱ ἄγοραίοι θεός to οἱ ὄρθαι in Ag. 90 (where see note) indicates that the title Zeus Agoraioi is also appropriate to the present conciliation of all classes. The main point (for Aeschylus) is the ascription of the triumph to Zeus; see the Introduction.—There was a Zeus Agoraioi at Athens, but no local allusion seems to be meant.—νικᾶ k. τ. λ.: ‘The (true) victory is our rivalry in blessing (ἄγαθον), a rivalry of good altogether.’ See on ν. 904 νίκης μῆ κακῆς. ἄγαθῶν affects equally ἔρις and διὰ παντός. These words give the cue for the next strophe, against faction, where ἄγαθῶν is taken up antithetically by (ἀπληστον) κακῶν.

980—984. ‘Let there be no alternate massacres between party and party, each provoking the next’. μηδὲ πιοῦσα... ἀρπαλίσαι: ‘Let the dust not drink blood, and so become greedy for...’, the particip., as often, bearing the principal thought.—ποινᾶς ἀντιφόνος ἄτας (gen.)...πόλεως: the murderous revenge of an infuriated people, lit. ‘of fury in the people’: the gen. πόλεως (i.e. πολιτῶν) depends on ἄτας, though it is influenced, as an ‘ablative’, from the people, by ἀρπαλίσαι, take greedily.—ποινᾶs later mss., taking ἄτας (ruin, destruction) as acc. plur. Others would eject ποινᾶs as an interpretation of ἀντ. ἄτας.—For the rare and obscure ἀρπαλίζεις, meaning apparently, here at any rate, ‘to be glutinous for’, see on Thes. 229. For the archaic form (αι, not ειε), see Suppl. 667 foll. μῆποτε λαμάς ἀνδρῶν τάνθε πόλων κενόσαι, μηδ’ ἐπιχωρίοις <στάσεις> πτώμασιν αἰματάια πέδαν γῆς (Wecklein), a prayer, like this, and of similar import.
Zeus and Civility; and the victory is this, that we are rivals only to bless.

Chorus. May the roar of Faction, hungry for evil, never be heard in this place; nor the dust, slaked with the red blood of brethren, grow eager and greedy for brute retribution on brethren slain in revenge! But may they rejoice one another, loving with common affection, and hating as with one soul! For among men this mendeth much.

A Citizen. Is not this wisdom indeed?

Another Citizen. Their tongues are finding the good path.

985—988. ‘Let them give joy for joy in mutual and united love, and (feel) hatred with one soul.’ κοινοφαίλει Hermann: but κοινοφαίλετι, the original reading of M, is not impossible. It would be formed correctly from κοινός and ὀφέλος, and gives the sense ‘with boon of mutual service’.—On διάνων, which in Aeschylus seems always to indicate feeling between two persons (διά-, inter-), see on Theb. 816 ὀλυντό (Eteocles and Polynices) οὐκεῖ διανόω, and infra ν. 1014.—στυγεύ, substantival, depends on a verb (let them share) to be supplied from ἀντιδοτέω.

989, 990. ‘Ah, how wise they grow!’

—‘The path of kindness becomes familiar to their tongues.’ i.e., they are learning from Athena to bless and to persuade. ἄρα φρονοῦσιν; Is not this wisdom?, i.e. ‘This is a conversion indeed!’ Cf. P. V. 761 ἄρ’ ὡμν δοκεί ὧ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος ἐσ τὰ πάνθ’ ὡμόν ἵππας εἶναι; Soph. O. T. 822 ἄρ’ ἐφών κακός; and El. 614. The positive form of question in such a case usually imports irony or bitterness (see Jebb on Soph. II. cc.), and does so here; see below.—φρονοῦσιν...ἐφίλσκει (She is finding): for the change of number see on 951 foll.—A very interesting question arises here as to the distribution of parts. The ms. gives ἄρα...ἐφίλσκει; (as one sentence) to Athena. This however is rightly condemned; for (1) the supposed sentence can be construed only by taking φρονοῦσιν (i.e. τοὺς φρονοῦσι masc.) as an ethic dative, to a sound judgment, if rightly considered (see ν. 633), which, as suggesting dissentients, would here be worse than pointless; and (2) the metrical hiatus, ἐφίλσκει | ἐκ, breaking the regular continuity (synapheus) of anapaests, has thus no excuse. Various corrections have been suggested, as...φρονοῦσι...ἐφίλσκουτον',...φρονοῦσα...ἐφίλσκεις, etc. But it has not been explained (1) why the simple sentences so produced should have been corrupted, and (2) why the hiatus, if accidental and erroneous, should coincide with the absence of copula and discontinuity in sense, which also point to a fresh beginning at 991. The fact is (I believe), that we have here the same phenomenon, which has been noticed in the other two plays of the trilogy (see Ag. 363, 506, 618, etc., Cho. 1042, etc.). The ‘audience’ on the scene, the crowd (ν. 569) or some of them, are now about to act as a Second Chorus, escorting the principal Chorus to their destination (1033). The speakers here are two of them, two citizens (ροθοὶ πολίτεωι 992), who are convinced of their past errors (hence the note of bitterness) by the peaceable language and lessons of the Erinnyes, and are resolving henceforth to live in united loyalty to Athena and her new institution, a resolve which they and others probably express in some dramatic manner. If the ministers of wrath are converted into conciliators, should there not be goodwill among men? Athéné notes the effect with gladness, and recommends them to persist in following the example (ἐφίλσκεις ἐφίλσκεις 993).—This distribution is confirmed by
AΘ. ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσώπων μέγα κέρδος ὅρω τοῦδε πολίταις. τάσδε γὰρ εὐφρονας εὐφρονες αἰεὶ μέγα τιμῶντες καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν ὀρθοδίκαιον πρέψετε πάντως διάγοντες.

ΧΟ. <χαίρετε> χαίρετ' ἐν αἰσιμίαισι πλουτοῦ, στρ. γ'. χαίρετ' ἀστικός λεώς, ἵκταρ ἣμενοι Δίός, παρθένον φίλας φίλοι, σφρονοῦντες ἐν χρώνισι. Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας ἄξεται πατήρ.

AΘ. χαίρετε χύμεις: προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρή

σφρονοῦντες ἐν χρώνισι (1001), where see note.—Two of the three speaking actors were set free by the departure of Apollo and Orestes, and have since been reintroduced among the 'supers'.

991—996. φοβερῶν marks both the sternness which has been overcome, and their power to punish, if disobeyed.—προσώπων (?). προσέρχον, coming to..., Headlam (Class. Rev. xvii. 287), comparing Soph. Αἰ. 1255 καὶ σοὶ προσέρχον τοῦτ' ἐγὼ τὸ φάρμακον | ὅρῳ τάχα. τῶνδε: τῶν Ἰησοῦν. The grammar of the ms. reading, the dependence of ἐκ τῶνδε on κέρδος without a participle, is defensible (see for example πρὸς τάσδε in ν. 973); and the substitution of faces, features, for 'persons having such faces', would be rather Aeschylean. But the aesthetic objection to προσώπων is grave. Seeing that these πρόσωπα were masks, specially invented by the playwright, it would surely be audacious and perilous to challenge hostility by this pompous commendation of their effect. If Aeschylus so wrote, it must, in default of some non-apparent excuse, be reckoned as a lapse from discretion. We cannot safely change the text upon such grounds, but προσέρχον is probably right.—καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν. The distinction of these words, which are often synonymous, especially in poetry, has here a purpose, the divergent feelings and interests of 'country' and 'town' being a common source of faction, particularly when the town had taken such a prodigious development as Athens did in this age. Compare Eur. Orest. 917 foll., and the Acharnians of Aristophanes.—πάντως (MS. Ven.) rather in any case than altogether. Whatever else may come to them, they will at least have the distinction, which was indeed such in Hellas, of being a state at peace with itself.—For διάγοντες conducting, Wecklein compares Isocr. 3. 41 τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ περιβάλλει διάγεν. 997—1003. χαίρετε: both fare well and farewell. Cf. St Paul, Philipp. 4. 4. They prepare to move; from here to v. 1032 the procession is being marshalled for the exodos.—αἰσιμίαισι (Butler) πλουτοῦ:
Athen. From their fearful countenances (?) great profit comes, I see, to these my Athenians. For if, kindly as these are kindly, ye continue greatly to honour them, then, come what may, this mark shall be yours, that ye guide both country and town in the straight way of righteousness.

Chorus. Farewell, O well may ye fare, in duly divided wealth. Blessings on the folk of this city, who sit nigh Zeus, who are loved by the Virgin beloved, who are coming to wisdom at last! Ye are under Pallas' wings, and the Father regardeth you.

Athen. To you likewise blessing and farewell! (Here, under the orders of Athena, a great procession begins to form, torch-bearers, bearers of offerings, the women-guardians of the 'Bretas' (Palladium of Athens), and probably many figures and emblems familiar to the audience, but not distinguished in the text.)

fair-parted wealth, fair wealth for all and each. See atra share and alouos in fair measure. This interpretation, glancing discreetly at another source of faction, seems better, especially as the word is unique, than merely 'blessings' of wealth.—The metaphors seated near Zeus and under the wings of Pallas signify divine protection, but, in both, some more particular allusion is probable, in the first perhaps necessary, to justify the expression. ἡμένοι points most naturally to the Areopagite court, representing the people (vv. 641, 684), and therefore to the Areopagus as the place; but a neighbouring 'Zeus' cannot be identified with certainty. The Olympium of Pisistratus is much too remote. If, as is maintained by Dr Dörpfeld and others, the Δωρεάν of Thucyd. 2. 15 was in this region, W. of the Acropolis, the reference may well be to that. Possibly it is Pallas herself who is conceived as 'throned by Zeus' as his nearest and dearest, and her people with her, as sharing her place and favour. This however would almost require some antecedent representation in art.—πετόλος: perhaps the aegis, as symbol of protecting power. The comparison of it to wings, upon which she traverses the air, has been suggested by Athena herself (v. 497 πετόλων ἀτερ δύνατον κολπὸν αἰγίδοις). It seems therefore unnecessary to suppose a reference to the winged figure of Niké, as commonly associated with that of goddess. For the familiar image of a bird and its young Wecklein refers to Eur. Heraclid. 10.—ἡμένα (Bothe), genit. with παρθένοι, greatly simplifies the expression, but is for that reason a hazardous change. Nor does it remove all difficulty from the passage, which, like v. 294, seems to presume some pictorial or plastic illustration, which we do not possess.—σωφρονούντες ἐν χρόνῳ: now learning wisdom at last, referring to vv. 989—992, which explain the disputed ἐν χρόνῳ here. The poet is also thinking of his own time, and the present 'reformation', which his play in one aspect symbolizes (see on vv. 530 foll.). As a democratic improvement, it would be connected with Pallas Athena, the patron of the democracy.—παρθένοι Robortello. 1004—1014. προτεραπαραγε. She here takes her place, immediately before the Chorus (where she is joined by her attendants, v. 1025), in the procession which is forming in the orchestra and probably ends with this group as the most imposing part. Next in front is the sacrificial group (1007 foll.), and before these (ὑψέθετο 1011) the citizens generally. The attendants and the sacrificers probably become visible now for the first time; how they come to be ready,
is a question which a theatrical audience would willingly ignore; the scene has assumed throughout (see on v. 569) that the crowd comprises many not actually in view. The Areopagite jury, and their Herald, also doubtless have their place, and not improbably other figures and emblems, which the text does not notice. For the connexion of the whole with the Panathenaic procession, see below on v. 1029. The members of the procession, some or all, and certainly the leaders (1030), bear lighted torches. The procession goes out by one of the paradoi of the orchestra.—θαλάμους: the cave-sanctuary, see vv. 808 etc.—πρός: 'looking to' (Wecklein, comparing v. 247 πρός αλάμα), because the torches lead.—προπομπών (Bentley) leaders.—ἐκ...σύμεναι... Let these holy sacrifices also speed you to your nether home. The principal verb, in effect, is σύμεναι, here practically passive. The induction is to be accompanied by a sacrifice; the blood of the victim, the essence of σφαγίων, is to pass κατὰ γῆς with the powers for whom it is offered.—καὶ: as well as the torches.—τῶνστι suggests (but see on v. 496) that the intended sacrifice is visibly represented, but perhaps only by the ministers (ἰερεῖς) with their instruments. We need not necessarily suppose that an animal or animals were brought into the orchestra, though the words point to this, and, for my own part, I see no objection. There is at all events no reason to suspect the text.—τὸ μὲν...πέμπειν: 'to detain (keep below) the land's harm, and let pass (send up) her profit'. The (consecutive) infinitives κατέχειν...πέμπειν depend on the whole preceding phrase, and particularly on the idea in σφαγίων, as suggesting a prayer for the expected return. Similar prayers accompany the χοαὶ (offerings to the dead poured into the ground) in Pers. 223 αἰτοῦ...σὸν πῆθον Δαρείου...ἐσθιλα σι...πέμπειν τέκνης τε γῆς ἐνερθών ἐς φῶς | τάμπαλαν δὲ τῶνδι γαλα κάστοχα μαυρουθαί σκότων (cited by Wecklein), and Cho. 147 ἡμῶν δὲ πομπὸς Ἰσθι ὁ τῶν ἑσθλῶν ἄνω.

στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσαν
πρὸς φῶς ιερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν.

'''

3.

αγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις.

ΧΟ. χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖθις, ἕτεριδιπλῶζω,
πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλων,

4.

δαίμονες τε καὶ βροτοί,
Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες: μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν

5.

1006. προπομπῶν. 1007. ἵνα in margin. 1008. ἀτήρων.
1011. ἤμεισ. 1012. μέτουκε.
But I must go before, to show your chamber by the sacred light of these, your escort.

With victims also, this solemn sacrifice, be ye sped on your way to your nether home. Emprison there whatever may do Athens hurt; and whatever may profit her, send forth to make her victorious.

And ye, our people, children of Kranaos, be leaders to these goddesses, who are to be denizens here. And, between fellow-citizens, let there be good will toward what is good.

Chorus. Farewell and (twice be it said) again farewell, all ye in this country, deities and mortal men, who inhabit Pallas’ town.

The formula was probably connected with primitive theories respecting the physical effect of such offerings to earth, which cannot now be exactly traced.—Paley, putting a comma after ἄρε, assumes that κατέχειν...πέμπειν, coordinate, as imperatival infinitives, with ἄρε, are coupled to it by καί (‘and detain’), and others seem less distinctly to imply the same. But no example is cited. In Kühner Gr. Gram. (§ 474) there are many instances of infinitives parallel with imperatives; but in all, as might be expected, the clauses are distinct, and disjoined, as well as joined, by δὲ, e.g. Od. 16. 150 ἀλλὰ σὸ γ’ ἀγγέλας ὑπὸ κίς, μὴ δὲ καί ἄγγελος | φόδεσθαι. In Plato Rep. 580 b we have ὥθω...κρώνα (the intervening καί means, as here, also) and in Aristoph. Lekh. 1000 ἀκόστε λεύθ κατά τὰ πάρτα τοὺς χόας | πνεύμα: but neither do these justify ἄρε καὶ κατέχειν for ἄρε καὶ κατέχει, a construction which here at least we need not suppose.—χόρας: the genitive (possessive, Sidgwick) follows τὸ ἄγριόν, τὸ κεφαλέων on the analogy of ἄτην, κέρδος: somewhat similar is ν. 306 ὑμνον...δεσμον σέδεν.—χώρα. Paley.—ἄρπνον Bentley.—παίδες Κραναοῦ: the Athenians, from Kranaos a legendary king of Attica (Pausanias i. 2. 6, etc.). According to Herodotus (8. 44) the Athenians in the ‘Pelasgian’ age were themselves called Κραναοῖ. Whether the name has here any particular intention does not appear. As the adj. κραναός (see L. and Sc. s.v.) was commonly interpreted by πραξίς hard, rugged, and is actually applied to rocks, and by Aristophanes to the nettle, the goddess may here be glancing at a moral interpretation of παίδες Κραναοῦ, analogous to that of the Scotch thistle, and may be preparing the way for the recommendation of peace which follows. The sterner qualities of the nation, hitherto (978, 989, 1001) too much wasted in feuds, are softened and purified under the new dispensation.—ἐπὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.: Let fellow-citizens mutually think well of what is well, that is to say, be favourable judges of one another and of their common good. On διδασκαλία see ν. 986.—ὁμοίως and μετείκους Turnebus. See μετείκαι (1019) and note on ν. 1029. 1015—1031. ἐπιτυλωτῆς (?). M. I cannot decide between (1) ἐπὶ διπλωτῆς (Wieseler) for I repeat my blessing, (2) ἐπανεπιτυλωτῆς (Hermann) from P.V. 843 ἐπαναδιπλωτεῖ (probably ἐπανεπιτυλωτεῖ), and (3) ἐπὶ διπλωτῆς (Weil). The last however would rather suggest, by the plural ἐπί, that the whole χαλίρετα, χαλίρετα δ’ ἀδής is again to be ‘doubled’, and so Wecklein understands, though this seems unnatural. We note, in any case, that the reason for the ‘repetition’ is the reference (just renewed) to former party-divisions: the blessing of the Ἑσσαῖοι Thesai is for both sides.—The form διπλωτῆς is given here and in Ag. 826. —Sidgwick (ed. 1900) corrects it here
to διπλάσιω, but leaves it in Ag. i.e.—
ούτι μέμψεσθε: a litotes for 'ye shall
have good cause to praise...'; but, as is
commonly the case, this turn of expres-
sion has a reason: the jealousies and
discontents, which have existed, shall,
if the settlement be duly observed, exist
no more.—For the acc. συμφορας,
implying an indirect obj. μου (‘ye shall not
have to complain of the fortunes I shall
give’), see on v. 599.—εὖ σέβοντες
Turnebus, but εὔσεβοπετες (transitive) is
also possible.

1022. αἰνῶ τε (Hermann)...πέμψω τε
...: With 'amen' to these prayers, I will
conduct you. The conjunctions τε...τε...
mark the two acts as parts or aspects
of the same: the establishment of the
Semnai Theai will be the guarantee of
their promises.

1024. The effect here produced, by
sudden and severe simplicity, is possible
only to the most subtle composers.
Dante and Milton can do the like.

1025. εὖ: join with πέμψω.—βρέτας.
For this βρέτας, doubtless the ancient
wooden image of Athena Polias, kept on
the Acropolis, see Pausanias 1. 26. 6,
with Frazer's note. On the question
whether it is identical with that men-
tioned in vv. 80, 242, etc., see notes
there, and Appendix to v. 568. Its
dignity, as representing the patron-
goddess in the citadel, was as yet without
rival, since neither the statue of the
Parthenon, nor that commonly called
Promachos, had been erected. Of the
attendants here mentioned as 'watching'
or 'guarding' it, and of their functions,
nothing seems to be known; they have
been compared or identified with the
ἀρηφόροι and others, whose performance
however was different. If, as may safely
be assumed, such attendants existed in
the time of Aeschylus, it was natural to
exhibit them, on this occasion, as waiting
upon the goddess herself. It is further
disputed, whether they are, as I think
(see below), or are not identical with the
'girls, matrons, and aged women' of
v. 1028.

1026 to the end. The text, from this
point, is bad, a large proportion of the
verses being faulty or suspicious.

1026—1028 are uncertain in reading
and sense.—Two embarrassments may be
first dismissed: (i) Those who assume
(see the Introduction) that the name
Eumenides was bestowed on the god-
desses by Athena in the play, have
further assumed that she did it in this
speech, and further, that the loss of the
passage is connected with the obscurity
of these particular verses. But each of
To us, here dwelling with you, be pious, and your lot in life shall give you no discontent.

Ath. Saying 'amen' to the words of this invocation, I will guide you, by the shine of lighting torches, to your nether place, to your place beneath the ground. And with me shall go my women ministrant, who keep over my image good watch,—as their duty is, for, were it lost, the very eye of all Theseus' land would be gone (?),—a fair-famed band of maids and matrons, and of elder women a noble company,...

...with draping robes of crimson dye...

draperies are disputable, and the result is, at most, slightly to increase the uncertainty of any interpretation which may appear otherwise probable. (2) ὑπ. 1028 has been connected with the ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων promised in v. 858, but without reason: the present passage refers apparently to the present procession only, not to future worship.—The two main questions are: (1) What is the eye (i.e. most precious treasure) of all Attica? The Semnai Theai, their sanctuary, the attendants, and the βρέτας have all been suggested, and seem to exhaust the possibilities; but the expression is (in my opinion) not naturally applicable to any except the βρέτας. If we take this, we must suppose ἐξίκουρ' ἄν corrupt. (2) What is the sense of ἐξίκουρ' ἄν; would (should, may, will) reach? Who 'should arrive', and where? No quite satisfactory answer has been proposed. Dr Wecklein, for example, renders: "For, as the treasure of Attica, must their noble company (the Semnai Theai) reach (diürte gelangen)...."—here a lacuna. But the mood, whether potential or mildly jussive, is inappropriate, and so mutatis mutandis with other versions,—I formerly proposed (and J. F. Davies also had proposed before) to read and punctuate thus: ἀλή φρουροῦσα βρέτας | τοῦ ἄν (ὑπαλώς ὑμα γὰρ πᾶσις χθόνος | ὑπερήφανος ἐξίκουρ' ἄν) ἐκδείχνει λόγος | πάλων κ. τ. λ.: who guard my image (as they ought; for the very eye of Attica would be lost [if that were lost]), an honourable band of girls and matrons with company of aged women. I still think this, or something like it, most probable; but the problem is too doubtful to repay discussion.

1029. This verse, as given, and without supplement, cannot be construed either with the preceding or the following. (1) The bare dative, without ἐν or other link, cannot be attached to στόλως πρεσβυτίδων, so as to mean 'in robes'. The conjecture ἐνδυτῶν (Hartung) is a possible way of making connexion; but as to this, see below. (2) The dative goes well with τιμᾶτε (if this is right) in v. 1030, 'honour...with robes'; but we still require a direct object to τιμᾶτε, which the context does not fairly supply.—In itself, the verse may be sound; it means with robes of red (crimson) dye clothed upon (clothing) some person or persons. —It remains to ask, to whom these robes belong. On this point an entirely new light is thrown by Dr Headlam (Journ. of Hellenic Studies xxvi. 268). Crimson, as he points out, was worn in the Panatheniac procession, by the μέτοχοι, resident and privileged aliens, who took part in it: Photius—Σκάφας: ἐφέρον οἱ μέτοχοι ἐν τῷ τομή τῶν Παναθηναίων οἱ μὲν χαλκᾶς οἱ δὲ ἀργυρᾶς, κηρίως καὶ τοπάρων πηρείς, ἐνδεδυκέτες φοινίκιοις χιτώναις, and Bekker Anecd. 214. 3 ὄσπερ κάρος τοῖς μετοχοῖς χιτώνας ἐνδεδυ
τιμάται καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάςθω πυρός, ὅτες ἀν εὑρόν ἥδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδρου ἑὐμφορίας πρέπη.

ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ.

βατ' ἐντ δόμῳ μεγάλαί φιλότιμοι
Νυκτὸς παῦδες ἀπαῖδες,
ὑπ' εὐθύφρους πομπᾶς—
εὐφαμεῖτε δὲ χωρίται.

1030. Above ai in τιμάται is written e, apparently by m. 1034. ἀπαίδεος altered to ἀπαίδες. 1036. χωρίτε. 1035. στρ. a'.

that their friendship may be seen hereafter (i.e., made evident) εὐάνδρου ὑμμφορίας (instrumental) by the prospered manhood of our people; see on v. 1029; this might naturally be attributed to the favour of the goddesses who presided over the increase of the family (v. 838 and this scene passim).—The addition of ἀν to the final clause imparts, as it usually does (see on v. 576), a conditional tone, 'in order that, if they are well honoured, they may well repay'. The goddess, speaking for the people, uses the respectful language of religious hope.

1033 foll. The designation προσωποῦ (M, list of dramatis personae) or χορὸς προσωπῶν (M here χορὸς) is best. How many persons of the procession sing, and which, the text does not show. A scholiast here (αι προσωποῦ) makes the singers feminine, and apparently limits them to the attendants of v. 1025. But this proves at most only that the scene was at some time so performed, as it might be, though this does not appear to be the intention of the poet. The two bodies of singers in the Agamemnon (see the Introduction to that play) are both masculine. Those in the Choephori (if there are two, as I incline to believe) are one masculine, one feminine. But this does not affect the present question. Here

σθαὶ χρώμα ἥχυντας φωνικοῦν. Since the new goddesses are here expressly designated as Μετουκο (v. 1012, 1019), crimson robes would be the appropriate emblem of their incorporation with Athens; and it may fairly be conjectured, that such robes were, at this point, actually put upon the Chorus, for which act φωνικοβάπτος...ἐσθήμασι τιμᾶτε (τὰς μετοικους) would give the cue. Further allusions to the Panathenae may be found in εὐάνδρου (1032), εὐάνδρια being 'a means by which the leaders of the procession were chosen', in the ὀλυνθαῖ (1044), and elsewhere; see Dr Headlam's article at large. Subject to so much reserve, as is demanded by the state of the Aeschylean text, this may be confidently accepted. It is far more satisfactory than any previous suggestion.

1030. τιμᾶτε, the correction of m, is open to no other doubt than arises from the general uncertainty of the passage.—πρόβατε Paley, taking it with καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάςθω, as an order to start the procession.—πῦρ (i). τάρος, before, Headlam (Class. Rev. xvii. 287) objecting to the order of the words, which is certainly unusual.

1031, 1032. ἥδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς: αἰὲ ὀμιλοῦντα τῇ χθονί, as in v. 499, but with a different tone.—ἐὑφρων πρέπη together:
...do honour (?).

And let the fiery light set forth,—that so the good love of these, now joining themselves to Athens, may be seen henceforth in good to Athens' men.

(Here the procession begins to move, singing.)

The Escort. Pass on your way (?), exalted, rejoicing in worship, Daughters Unbegotten of Night, with escort heart-sincere,—

Good words, O ye of the land, for the sacred rite!

the natural supposition is, that every one on the scene, who could sing, did.—
The metre is dactylic, and within each strophe (excluding the burdens) continuous.

1033. βατε δομω (Wellauer) has been generally read, and δομω construed with βατε: but such a use of the 'local dative' goes beyond any example cited. Nearest perhaps is Pind. Ol. 6. 58 Ἀλφρον μέσῳ καταβάς, having descended right into Alpheus' stream; but even this is distinguishable. 'Go to your dwelling', not 'enter', seems to be demanded, but is not a legitimate rendering.—A conceivable alternative is to construe together δομω μεγαλα, 'mighty in' or 'exalted by your house', where 'house' would mean both dwelling and family. The dwelling is then not exactly the cave, but the underworld, the άκουγης όπαλ of v. 420, while the metaphorical sense family is developed in Νυκτὸς παιδες: βατε must be construed directly with γας ὑπὸ κείθεσιν. But I do not think this satisfactory.—Other suggestions are βατε δομω (Hermann), βατ' εν δόμῳ (Paley), βατ' δομο, φ (Headlam Class. Rev. xiv. 201). I prefer the last.

1034. παιδες δαιδες: commonly interpreted 'children, but not young', with reference to v. 68 αὶ κατάπτυστοι κόραι, γαῖας παλαιαῖ παιδες. Mr Sidgwick objects justly, that the expression in this sense is not reverent. In v. 68 no reverence is intended, but the contrary. He proposes (following Donaldson) to omit δαιδες, and equivalent syllables (τόχατε) in v. 1039; but this is scarcely a legitimate solution. I believe the appellation to be mystical, and comparable to Νυκτὸς αἰανῆ τέκνα, applied by the Erinyes to themselves in v. 419. Eternal child is, to common apprehension, a contradiction in terms, since a child must have a beginning; and it is in this sense that the goddesses are παιδες, yet not παιδες, children, but dateless and coeval with their mother. It should be noted that Aeschylus never gives them a father. We need hardly dwell upon or illustrate the importance of such formulae in the statement or adumbration of religious mysteries.

1035. εὐθύρων: literally 'straight-hearted', i.e. 'whole-hearted, sincere', welcome in which is no shadow of aversion or fear. That this should be changed to εὐθύρων (Burney and many others) is not probable, unless we are also to change the correlative εὐθύρωνes in v. 1041; and the double error is not easily explained. The scansion παιδες α.—παιδες ύπ' | ευ.—θυρων | ποιμη is perfectly natural, the note ευ- being prolonged so as to fill a foot; see on v. 1041. The antistrope (v. 1039) is too uncertain for inference.

1036. The burden (by another voice or voices) interrupts the sentence, commanding, in the usual form, abstention from any sounds of ill omen. Kirchhoff plausibly gives the burdens to the κηρυς.

—χωρίται (Hermann), i.e. πολίται, fellow-countrymen.
γὰς ὑπὸ κεῦθεσιν ὤγυνώσων
†καὶ τιμᾶσκαὶ θυσίαις περισσότεραι τύχαι τε. †
eὐφαμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμί.

ιλαοὶ δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονεσ γὰ
deὐπ' ἵτε, σεμναὶ, πυριδάπτῳ

λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν.

ὁλολύζατε τὸν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

σπουδαῖ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες † οἶκων
Παλλάδος ἀστοίοι Ζεὺς παντόπτας †
oὺτω Μοῖρα τε συγκατέβα.

ὁλολύζατε τὸν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

1039. ̣τ' in margin. 1043. ὀδὼν ὑ'.
into the primeval caverns of earth, high-honoured with worship and sacrifice in a happy hour (?)..

Good words, ye people all, for the sacred rite!

In kindness heart-sincere to our land, come, ye Venerable, this way, gladdened as ye go by the fire-feeding torch.

Cheer to the song, now cheer!

Peace is for ever, peace in the home (?), among the people of Pallas. Zeus All-seeing, and Moira, so assuredly have agreed.

Cheer to the song, now cheer!

_Exeunt._

(including the goddesses) for ever'.—ἐκσοπίν (Linwood) for ἔς τὸ πᾶν is possible, but must bear, as Dr Headlam observes, the sense for the future, in future. Accepting this, Dr Headlam would complete the verse by ἐνθωμένουκεῖν: a treaty is made (for us) to dwell henceforth as inmates with Pallas' citizens. He would then give the words to the principal Chorus, the goddesses. Perhaps it is more probable, as generally supposed, that all belongs to the προπομποὶ. But neither words nor distribution can be determined.—ἂντοις: Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας Musgrave, with probability.—ὁτω...ἀνυκατέβα: have so assuredly agreed, kata-denoting permanence. Note that the union of Zeus and Moira (see vv. 736—731, 961—962, etc.) signifies that reconciliation of the younger and elder deities, the peace in heaven, which, as a type and guarantee of reconciliation and peace on earth, is the principal subject of the play.—The conventional subscription of the copyist in M, Ἕμενιδες Αἰσχύλου. σὸν θεῖὸν τέλος, is more than commonly appropriate.
APPENDIX I.

A.

v. 490. κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα....

This passage raises an interesting question of Athenian history and law. Athena, whose function in the trial corresponds generally to that of the Archon Basileus, on this occasion selects the jury. Was any such power exercised in fact by her antitype? There are reasons for supposing that it was.

(1) A selection, by one process or another, must necessarily be supposed. The Council of the Areopagus, in the time of Aeschylus, consisted and had long consisted of past archons, that is to say, all such persons were capable of sitting there, and for ordinary purposes probably sat (or were absent) according to their pleasure. But for judicial purposes, to try, for example, a particular case of murder, how was the bench composed? That all the members of the Council, or even any large proportion of them, were in every such case compelled to attend, is inconceivable. An Areopagite could then have had no other regular occupation, public or private, a hypothesis not requiring disproof. Equally inconceivable is it, that attendance in such cases was left to private inclination, with the inevitable result that the bench, in any case of importance, would consist mainly of just those members who were most unfit, namely those who had an interest in the criminal, while common motives of prudence and weakness would keep the rest away. The history of the criminal jurisdiction belonging to our House of Lords, in the case of felony committed by a peer, will sufficiently answer the question whether such a tribunal would have earned, as the Areopagus did, the peculiar respect and confidence of the people at large. It would have been, by the necessity of its formation, the worst court of justice imaginable. Nor is it likely that
the selection was by any process of chance, such as rota, or lot. The whole number of Areopagites, actually available for an ordinary case and at a given time, cannot have been large; all things considered, 100 will appear a full estimate. To take from this number by chance a bench even of 10 (and this, as we shall see hereafter, seems to have been the minimum) would have been to risk intolerable scandals. Deliberate selection, exercised by a respected official responsible and punishable for any abuse of his powers, is the method which reason and probability would suggest. So far as I can discover, there is no direct testimony on the subject, unless we find it in this passage of Aeschylus. The ordinary books of reference are silent upon the question, which does not appear to have been raised.

(2) The mere fact, that Aeschylus introduces a deliberate selection, seems to warrant the conclusion that, in his time at least, it was part of the procedure. It is plainly his intention to commend the tribunal as it actually existed. It would therefore have been against his purpose, and unnecessary, to introduce the choice of Athena into his picture, if actual practice had offered no parallel to it. If an actual Areopagite tribunal in his time had been formed of all the ex-archons available and willing, or of some, but selected by chance, it would have been easy and obvious to put something analogous into the play.

For these reasons, the procedure in Aeschylus may here be taken as supplying a gap in our information, and showing that, in his time at any rate, the actual jury at a particular trial was selected from among the Areopagites by the presiding magistrate, the Archon Basileus. See further on v. 687.

B.

vv. 568, 569.

The place of the trial-scene, and the transition to this scene from the preceding.

Here is the most convenient place to discuss the question,—Where during the trial (v. 569 to the end) is the scene laid? And in particular, is it laid on the Areopagus? I hold the view,—which is assumed in the scholia, and was generally assumed (as by Paley) until recently, when the balance has been perhaps against it,—that the scene of the trial is laid on the Areopagus.

If we consider the trial-scene itself, the evidence for this view seems prima facie decisive.
For (1) Athena, in formally instituting the court (vv. 684—713), expressly directs that it shall sit on the Areopagus and implies that it is sitting there now. To understand her speech otherwise, as we find it, is by general admission impossible. The effect depends not upon any single phrase (as for example ‘this Hill of Ares’ in v. 688) which might, if necessary, be interpreted otherwise or corrected, but upon the whole gist and purport of the speech, which is to make the present occasion a precedent for the sittings of the Areopagus. If, in the important article of place, it was not to be a precedent, this exception should certainly be specified, and the reason explained; but no hint of this is found in the speech, or can be introduced into it by any moderate alteration. Accordingly the argument on this head, after some experiments, has been carried (by Wecklein) to its logical end, that the whole speech of Athena, as we have it, is out of its place and not genuine,—a corollary surely somewhat burdensome to the proposition with which it is connected.

And (2), from a time very near to that of Aeschylus, the belief, that Orestes was tried by and at the Areopagus, was established and familiar (Eurip. *Iph. T.* 961, etc.). This would indeed by no means prove that such was the representation of Aeschylus. But it does raise a presumption (which there is nothing, so far as I am aware, to rebut) that this view was already known and prevalent in his time, and that, if he had meant otherwise, he must have shown his dissent and his true intention,—just as he does state his peculiar and probably heterodox doctrine respecting the origin of the name ‘Areopagus’ (vv. 688 foll.). The absence therefore of any indication, that the place of his trial-scene is not the Areopagus, is in itself a strong ground, *prima facie*, for supposing that it is.

On the other hand, *if we assume that the place of the trial-scene is identical with that of the preceding scene, the arrival of Orestes at Athens* (vv. 235—568), it is difficult, if not impossible, to place the trial-scene on the Areopagus. The arrival-scene has but three marks of identification, an altar (*êtoria*), a ‘house’ (*déwma*), and an ancient image (*bperas*) of Pallas (v. 79) or Athena (vv. 235—242, 446 foll.). These marks may perhaps leave more than one choice open to us (see on v. 79), but they seem to exclude the Areopagus. At least I am not aware that any evidence for a *déwma* and *bperas* of the goddess on the Areopagus has been, or can be, produced. The Areopagus then will be excluded for the trial-scene also, if, but only if, we must assume that, between the two scenes, there is no imaginary change of place.

How then is this latter assumption proved? It rests entirely upon
the manner in which the action is supposed to proceed between the departure of Athena (v. 492) and the opening of the trial (v. 569). It is supposed, that both the Chorus and Orestes remain on the scene throughout, Orestes 'in supplication', the Chorus performing their ode. In that case, the spectators certainly must infer, not only that the imaginary interval is very short, but that the parties to the trial (Orestes and the Erinyes) are found where they were left. By allowing this conception of the performance (Paley, at v. 507), the case for the Areopagus as the place of the trial-scene, otherwise unimpeachable, becomes untenable, and the result is an apparent dead-lock.

But we have no authority for these stage-directions. No one is bound by the opinion of the person, unnamed and undated, who wrote the scholium to v. 493. And it is not supported by the text of Aeschylus. The directions given by Athena before her departure (vv. 488 foll.), that the parties are to 'summon their witnesses and evidence', so far from requiring that from this to the trial they are to remain in loco, would rather suggest or require that they should not. The manner in which the trial-scene opens is equally consistent (to say the least) with the supposition that Orestes and the Erinyes enter with Athena and the jury, as with the supposition that she here returns to them. Of Orestes' presence, after the departure of Athena, there is no trace. That the Chorus, after the ode, remain on the scene, the text neither asserts nor implies.

It does not indeed contain any march (in anapaests or the like) to accompany an exit; but such forms are not always found at the final exit of the play. See for example the *Suppliants* (of Aeschylus) and the *Persians*. Nor is there any such accompaniment in the only certain examples now extant, of an 'empty stage' within the play (Soph. *Ai*. 874, Eur. *Helena* 385). In the *Ajax* the Chorus apparently make their exit without accompaniment; in the *Helena*, and in the case before us, we should rather perhaps suppose an accompaniment of music. The cases in the *Choephoroi*, where the departure is disputable, need not here be discussed; but if, as I think probable, the Chorus of that play (the principal Chorus) leaves the scene, with the actors, at v. 582 (see my edition), and the secondary Chorus at v. 714, they do so without any other provision than the natural requirements of the situation. These, in the case before us, are provided by the directions of Athena above cited (vv. 488 foll.). That these directions have not their natural effect, and that the Chorus, after the ode, remain on the scene, the text, let us repeat, neither asserts nor implies.

Suppose that they do not remain, but on the contrary go away, to
prepare for the hearing, as Athena directs. The difficulty then vanishes. The scene is then empty at v. 568, and a change of place as easily made here as at v. 234. There is thus opportunity here for changing the theatrical properties, the arrangements exhibited. Some such change, some preparation for the trial, if only the placing of seats for the court, it seems necessary to suppose; and, without an 'empty stage', no change could be made conveniently. Moreover, a point of scarcely less importance, we need no longer suppose (what is not convenient to suppose) that the imaginary interval, between the second scene and the scene of the trial, is very brief. It becomes indefinite. According to legend, Orestes was in Athens for some little time before the actual trial (Eur. Iph. Taur. 947 foll.); and according to the Eumenides itself, there are things to be done (besides the selection of the jury, which ought not to be precipitate) before the court actually assembles,—for example, the formal oath to be taken by the jurors (v. 683), and other matters, which Athenian practice would suggest, but which the poet naturally leaves in obscurity. Among these suppressed details he has included, not injudiciously, the selection of the Areopagus as the place of trial, relying upon a presumption that the audience, left to themselves, would ask no reason for the selection. Such a reason Aeschylus (see on vv. 688 foll.) may not have been ready to give.

We conclude therefore, that the trial-scene is laid, as it appears to be, on the Areopagus; and further, that the stage-directions given by the schol. to v. 493 are wrong; that Orestes here goes out, under the protection of Athena, 'as for the city', and that the Chorus, after venting their indignation, also go out. The scene is then for a short time empty, as at v. 234, and at the points where the place of action is changed in the Choephori and in the Ajax of Sophocles. The imaginary interval so indicated we make as long as we think convenient (the choric ode itself would be sufficient for this, though not for the change of place), and fill with whatever proceedings we think likely to occur before the actual hearing. The Areopagite procession then enters, with Orestes and the Erinyes as part of it, and we transfer ourselves (in imagination) to the Areopagus as a matter of course.

As a matter of taste and effect, a break and pause, between the solemn climax of the ode and the pomp and stir of the procession, seems advantageous, if not indispensable. What Aeschylus needed here, and often, was a curtain; not having it, he has used his best though inadequate substitute—an empty stage.
So far I had written, and printed, before the appearance of Prof. Ridgeway’s discussion of the question in the *Classical Review* (September, 1907, vol. xxi. p. 163). Prof. Ridgeway follows recent views in laying both scenes, the arrival of Orestes and the trial, at the same place. But this place, by an entirely new departure, he takes to be that of the ancient murder-court known as ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

His elaborate and interesting argument should be read *in extenso*. I must here be content to state briefly the impression made upon my own mind. As I have already said in the note to vv. 79, 80, inserted upon an incomplete report of Prof. Ridgeway’s suggestion, I see no defect in it, and much advantage, so far as concerns the scene of the arrival. To remove this from the Acropolis, the place hitherto supposed, is highly desirable; and the place suggested by Prof. Ridgeway must have satisfied, certainly or probably, all the very meagre requirements of the Aeschylean text, so far as concerns this scene.

As to the trial-scene, I am still of the opinion above expressed. The foundation-speech of Athena (vv. 684 foll.) conveys, and must be intended to convey, the impression, that it is spoken on the Areopagus. This point however cannot with any advantage be debated. Each reader must consider for himself, whether that is in fact the impression which he receives.

But even as to the trial-scene, though I cannot follow Prof. Ridgeway altogether, I find in his statement fresh light upon the scenic treatment adopted by Aeschylus. In this treatment, whatever conclusions we base upon it, the most obvious and remarkable fact is the extreme meagreness of the place-indications, the severe and manifestly intentional abstinence from what we call ‘local colour’.

Prof. Ridgeway notes, quite truly, the absence, in the trial-scene, of any reference to the familiar characteristics of the court on the Areopagus, either in the text or in theatrical arrangements implied by the text. The ‘rock-altar’ (πέρπα) of v. 693, if we allow it for an exception, is the only one. But the remark is equally applicable to the scene, wherever we place it, and applicable with even more force to the play as a whole. Nowhere does the play exhibit descriptive touches of any sort. The sanctuary of the *Semnai Theai*, for instance, which plays so prominent a part in the *finale*, is neither pictured nor even placed. If our evidence were confined to the play, we could not guess where the sanctuary was, or in what relation it stood to the place or places where the actions pass.

Now for this abstinence and reticence on the part of the author there may have been more than one reason. Inadequacy of spectacular
machinery would be one. Another may be found in the symbolic aspect of the story, of which, after all, the true subject is not so much the justice of Athens, as justice itself. From this point of view, it might seem not desirable, even had it been practicable, to insist upon local detail. But it is at least possible that, together with these reasons for vagueness or slightness of description, we should reckon that of uncertainty or conflict in local traditions. The Areopagus, we may say with confidence, was certainly one, and the most famous, of the places in Athens which then laid claim to the trial of Orestes. But it need not have been the only one. It is quite possible that the court ἐνὶ Παλλαδὶ had pretensions, and even other places of ancient jurisdiction also. This we might say or admit, without regard to the special character of Orestes' case, or the question, to which of the courts it should have fallen according to the traditional division of competence; for we need not assume that this division was always so established and universally recognised, that no legend could conceivably ignore it.

Now if such uncertainty or conflict existed, assuredly Aeschylus had a motive for not committing himself to a decision any further than he must, and for leaving the question of localities, as far as possible, open. His play, by its very essence, involved him in so many and such vital contradictions of authority and prejudice, that he might well decline any which were avoidable. It seems to me not at all improbable, after the observations of Prof. Ridgeway, that according to some, the court ἐνὶ Παλλαδὶ had the honour of the whole story; and that in this way partly we should explain not only the place-indications, such as they are, of the arrival-scene, but the vagueness, which undoubtedly obscures, at the moment, the transition from this scene to that of the trial on the Areopagus.
APPENDIX II.

ON THE CHORIC METRES.

1. Strophe and Antistrophe.

In strophic correspondence, the Eumenides exhibits the same phenomena as the other plays of the trilogy (see Appendix II. to my editions of the Agamemnon and the Choephoroi respectively). The responsion is generally syllabic; but occasionally, less often in proportion than in the Agamemnon, such variations are permitted, as are consistent with the preservation of the rhythm. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
157. & \text{μεσολα— } | \text{βει κεν— } | \text{τρο} \\
164. & \text{φανολι— } | \text{βη θρο— } | \text{νον}.
\end{align*}
\]

The ‘ unnatural’ long syllable answers, in the place without stress, to a short; this is not uncommon.

\[
\begin{align*}
172. & \text{παρα νομον θεων} \\
177. & \text{ποτυροπαιος δ ων}.
\end{align*}
\]

Similar, if correct; but \text{ποτυροπαιος δν δ} (Porson) may be right.

\[
\begin{align*}
173. & \text{πα— } | \text{λαγε— } | \text{νεις δε} | \text{Μοι— } | \text{ρας φθι— } | \text{σας} \\
178. & \text{μυ— } | \text{αστορ } | \text{εκ κει— } | \text{νου } | \text{τασε— } | \text{ται}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{κεινον} (M) is impossible; for \text{κε} \text{κεινον} see note \textit{ad loc.} The metre offers no difficulty.

\[
\begin{align*}
353. & \text{παλλει— } | \text{κων δε πεπ— } | \text{λων ω ω} | \text{— ο α— } | \text{μωρος α— } \\
365. & \text{Ζευς γαρ } | \text{αιματ— } | \text{οσταγες } | \text{αξιο— } | \text{μισον εθν— }
\end{align*}
\]
The apparent lacuna in v. 353, though it leaves some doubt of the reading, does not affect the presumption that the first two feet of the respective verses are given correctly. The slight modification of the rhythm in v. 365, tending to throw a stress upon the word Ζέυς, and sharpening the beat, is effective, and should be accepted.

In v. 390 ἀνήλικος λάμπτα, if correct, would answer to v. 398 ἀτμίας κυρία, as it well might. But probability (see note) favours λάμπτα.

In v. 495 -σει δίκα καὶ βλάβα (\(\frac{\ddots}{\ddots}\)) is, in my opinion, admissible as a response to v. 504 -ψει κότος τις ἐργυμάτων (\(\frac{\ddots}{\ddots}\)).

But considering the alternation of rhythms in vv. 493—496 and vv. 502—505, we should perhaps accept δίκα τέ καὶ (Heath). The τέ is not otiose or objectionable here, as it is in some places, where it has been similarly introduced.

In vv. 514, 515, M gives ἴω as a monosyllable, assuming that the pronunciation of the ἴ is practically consonantal (\(\gamma\)). It is not safe to substitute ϐ.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{517. } \eta \text{ tek-} & \mid \omega \upsilon \sigma \alpha \mid \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \omega \theta - \mid \eta \\
\text{526. } \kappa \alpha \rho \delta - & \mid \alpha \nu \alpha - \mid \alpha \tau \rho \epsilon \phi - \mid \omega \nu \\
\end{align*}
\]

offers, if we assume the archaic (epic) lengthening of the second syllable in ἀνατρέφων, only a common example of the so-called 'resolution of the long syllable' (\(\omega \circ = \omega\)). This is preferable to the insertion of \(\alpha \nu\) before ἀνατρέφων, as if anticipating the subsequent \(\alpha \nu\) σέβοι, which, though grammatically justifiable, has an unpleasant and feeble effect here, the first \(\alpha \nu\) being improperly placed. The scansion \(\kappa \alpha \rho \delta - \mid \alpha \nu \mid \alpha \tau \rho \epsilon \phi - \mid \omega \nu\) is also possible.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{529. } \mu \nu \tau \alpha \nu - & \mid \alpha \rho \kappa - \mid \tau \nu \beta \iota - \mid \omega \\
\text{541. } \epsilon \sigma \tau \omega & \mid \pi \alpha \nu \delta - \mid \sigma \omega \iota \lambda e - \mid \gamma \omega .
\end{align*}
\]

See above on v. 495: ἀνάρχετον (Wieseler) is possibly right, but not demonstrably. See also on v. 539 and v. 959.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{539. } \phi \rho \epsilon \nu - & \mid \omega \nu \circ \mid \pi \alpha - \mid \sigma \nu \phi \iota - \mid \lambda o s \\
\text{551. } & \mid \delta \omega \mu \alpha \tau - \mid \omega \nu \epsilon - \mid \pi \tau \sigma \rho o - \mid \phi \alpha s
\end{align*}
\]

So these verses correspond, if the reading is right. The 'anacrusis' (\(\phi \rho \epsilon \nu\)) in v. 539 is either an irregularity or, more probably, belongs to the previous bar—ἐκ \(\delta\) νυτι—ἐι—\(\epsilon\iota\)—\(\alpha\) \(\phi \rho \epsilon \nu\)—

\[
\frac{\ddots}{\ddots} \frac{\ddots}{\ddots} \frac{\ddots}{\ddots} \frac{\ddots}{\ddots}
\]

answering to 550 καὶ ἕπε — τι— \(\mu\nu\nu\).
If this example stood alone, it would be obvious to restore syllabic correspondence by reading ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων (Heath). But in view of v. 959 and other like cases, where such restoration cannot easily be effected, it is not certain here.

In v. 553 ἐκ τῶν ἀνατιτ. and v. 561 καλεῖ the correspondence of long and short is simple, such an ‘anacrusis’ being in all metres and poets treated as common. The conjecture ἔκων (Wieseler) must stand, if at all, on other grounds; see note ad loc.

In v. 568 ἂντος, so pronounced, gives syllabic correspondence with v. 560, ἂντος rhythmical correspondence only. The ms. (ἀντος) is doubtless of no authority on the point, but ἂντος seems preferable in itself. The effect of the termination ἁκλαντὸς ἂντος is surely less fine, if the latter word be contracted.

\[
\begin{align*}
926. \quad \gamma &- \ \alpha - \ \alpha \mu \beta &- \ \sigma &- (?) \\
948. \quad \pi &- \ \tau &- \ \varepsilon &- \ \nu &- \ \varepsilon &- \ \mu &- \ \nu \\
\end{align*}
\]

This, if correct, may be explained by the correspondence of an ‘unnatural’ long to a short. But the reading ἐκαμβροσάι is improbable (see note), and, on the other hand, the second syllable of ἐρμαίαν might be abbreviated.

\[
\begin{align*}
959. \quad \nu &- \ \alpha &- \ \omega &- \ \tau &- \ \varepsilon &- \ \eta &- \ \tau &- \\
979. \quad \tau &- \ \delta &- \ \varepsilon &- \ \varkappa &- \ \mu &- \ \beta &- \ \nu &- \\
\end{align*}
\]

An interesting case. There is no sign of clerical error, and no probable way of restoring exact correspondence has been proposed. It is conceivable, but unlikely, that the first two syllables of ἐκαμβρόσαι are to be contracted to one. But see above on vv. 539—551. It is not scientifically legitimate to remove such exceptions now by one expedient and again by another. Nor do they offer real difficulty. Either the ‘anacrusis’ of v. 959 is a (not unnatural) irregularity, or it belongs musically to the last bar of the preceding verse, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἀνδρό}- & \quad \kappa &- \quad \tau &- \ \omega &- \ \rho &- \ \varepsilon &- \ \ω &- \ \σ &- \ \φ &- \\
\text{τον} &- \ \delta &- \ \π &- \ \ο &- \ \κ &- \ \α &- \ \κ &- \ \ω &- \ \μ &- \ \π &- \ \ω &- \ \σ &- \\
\end{align*}
\]

I prefer the latter supposition.
2. On the choric parts generally, and some passages in particular.

The choric portions of the Eumenides may be safely pronounced, as a whole, the finest specimens of the art, as applied to drama, which exist. Aeschylus has on this occasion secured the exceedingly rare advantage of a situation and characters really and naturally suited to the form of a dramatic chorus. Such a chorus, with all its artistic merits, is, in most cases, a purely artificial creation. The Elders of the Agamemnon are not, in their dramatic function as characters in the story, a body of persons to which choric performance, symmetrical action and chanting, is appropriate. The Maidservants of the Choephoroi, except (an important exception) when they are performing religious rites, are still less such a body. And generally speaking, in Greek tragedy, the choric type is plainly imposed on the body of choreutae by convention, and for a theatrical purpose. It does not arise naturally out of the story. Out of a merely human story, without supernatural elements, it is hardly possible (Racine's Athalie and a few other cases forbid us to make the statement universal) that a chorus should naturally arise. No doubt the convention is easily understood and accepted; but a convention, a technical requirement, it is, and, so far, disadvantageous. But in the Eumenides, the choric form is so suitable as to be almost a necessity; the Erinyes could hardly have been put on the stage in any other way; there is dramatic, and not merely theatrical, reason why such personages should act not altogether as a collection of human beings might do, and their choric function serves only to keep them at a sufficient distance from familiarity and commonplace. Yet on the other hand they can without inconvenience quit it and mix in the general action. The shade of the grotesque which properly belongs to them makes a free treatment safe. They are dignified enough to perform properly as a chorus, and not too dignified to perform otherwise. There is perhaps no other instance of an adaptation so perfect. The Ocean-nymphs in the Prometheus may be equally convenient as a choir of singers, but they offer little dramatic opportunity, and could hardly have been fitted to a play presenting ordinary conditions. In the Eumenides, Aeschylus has used to the full the opportunity which he had thus created. Elsewhere the tragic Chorus exhibits perhaps not less majesty, but nowhere else does it exhibit such a union of majesty and vigour.

The effects, though bold, are in general not complicated. We miss undoubtedly much, especially in movement and gesture, which was
important; and even the rhythm, when it is to be inferred from nothing but the words, must often be doubtful; but on the whole there is no serious difficulty. A few suggestions may be serviceable; but they are put forward as suggestions merely, which the reader will adopt or modify according to his own knowledge or taste.

The principal Parados or entry (vv. 140—178) is composed of rapid iambic senarii, several of which (140, 142, 155, 162) are purely iambic, the agitated dochmius with ‘resolved syllable’ (€- | παθ- | μεν πα- | θος), and other allied forms. Most remarkable is the second strophe and antistrophe, in which fury and impatience are represented with extraordinary force:

| μοι δ ουειδος | εξ ουειρατ- | ουν μολον |
| τυψ- | εν δικ- | αν διφρ- | ηλατ- | ουν |
| μεσοδαβ- | ει κεν- | τρφ | νπ- |
| ο φρενας | υπο λο- | βον | παρ- |
| εστι μασ- | τικτορος | δαιου | δαμου | ... βα- |
| ρυ το πε- | ριβαρυ | κρυνος εχ- | ειν |

The startling dexterity of the final rattle, with its quadruple ρ and other effects, will be best appreciated if the reader will try to make a second. Aeschylus himself could not make a perfect pair to it, though the antistrophic βλο- | συρον α- | ρομενον | αγος εχ- | ειν is very admirable.

The other strophae are similar. The effect of €κ καινου in v. 178, the reading for which the ms. evidence is almost conclusive, is undoubtedly that the close has a slackened rhythm, but this may well be intended. The singers are interrupted (by the entrance of Apollo) and the song should naturally die away.

The lyric part of the second Parados (vv. 253—275) has similar rhythms, but, as the situation requires, drops the more violent types, and has not the strophic structure. Worth note is the way in which,
by suitable treatment, the metrical elements, the iambics and dochmiius, are brought gradually up to the stateliness of

μέγας γὰρ Ἀιδης ἐστὶν εὐθυνος βροτῶν
ἐνερθε χθονός,
δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ᾽ ἐπωτᾶ φρενί,

preparing us for the tremendous δόσμος ἱμνος which presently follows.

This (vv. 322—399) for the most part cannot be mistaken. The first pair of strophæ (vv. 322—328, 335—341) has a little, the fourth pair a very little, of the urgency marked in the Parodoi, altered however (one would suppose) by a much slower time:

v. 325

τοῦδο αφαίρ— οὐμένος | πτωκα μα— τρωφον αγ—
νιφομα | κυρι— ον φον— ου

The second and third pairs are purely solemn:

γινομεν— αυσι λαχ— η ταδ εφ
αμιν ε— κραν— θη

and the like. Here, and elsewhere, a 4-time is also possible.

But most astonishing are the ephynmnia, or repeated burdens, which with rhythms wild, strange, vigorously contrasted, and yet majestic too, break into the majesty of the rolling chant, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ κ.τ.λ. (v. 329), ἀνατροπᾶς ὅταν Ἄρης κ.τ.λ. (v. 356), μάλα γὰρ σὺν ἀλομένα κ.τ.λ. (v. 374). It is not uncommon to hear these recited with a choriambic movement (− ω ω −) or something near it:

επὶ δὲ τῷ | τε θυ μεν ω

and so on. But this of course is not correct. Rather the rhythm is something like this, a drum-beat rhythm, with the principal stroke on the second bar, the fourth, and so on:

παράφορ— ω φρενο— ψα— λης
The first three lines would be given staccato and crescendo, the fourth slower, with the ordinary movement and time of the ode, and the fifth slower still. The crashing effect (see note ad loc.), imparted by the sound and sense of ἀνονά, suggests that the word should be extended, the first and third syllables being long sustained.¹

The second ἐφθυμνίον (vv. 356—360) is supposed by many to be corrupt, but this is not clear. The words and meaning are considered in the commentary. The rhythm is no doubt very unusual and irregular; but, if regard be had to the sense and circumstances, it admits an appropriate interpretation:

This, the straightforward rendering, is plainly possible, and the transition, by which (in the words κρατήραν...νέου) the drum-beat rhythm of the commencement swings into the stately roll of the strophe, though weird, is surely not ineffective.

Finer still is the third burden (vv. 374—378). As in the other two, we begin with the drum-beat and return to the general movement, but with a new and startling device:

¹ The assumption that for φρενοδόλη (if this is the word and the quantity) we require the quantities −−− (φρενομαθής, φρενοσταλής or the like) does not seem to be justified by musical considerations. The reading however is not certain.
It is usual to insert καὶ between σφαλερὰ and τανύδρομοι, so as to maintain the rhythm of the commencement; but this is not necessary, nor does it seem to be a clear improvement.

The Second Stasimon (vv. 493—568) begins in sharp agitation, and the close, though solemn, is stormy. The last pair of strophae (vv. 552—568) manifestly invite variety of treatment, with pauses, changes of time, and other such devices, which however each must imagine as he thinks best.

We need not discuss the musical aspect of the pieces in recitative, each repeated, in which the Erinyes give vent to their fury after the acquittal (vv. 781 foll., 840 foll.). Here rhythm and speech are alike in confusion, tossed between different voices, broken, entangled, elaborately lawless. The commentary on the words will sufficiently indicate what sort of music we should naturally assume; but no precise conclusion is possible. The most striking point perhaps is the re-appearance, in a new application, of the rapid triplets which are so marked a feature in this play (v. 788 πίθον ἓ-πισύμε-νος). Naturally such passages offer temptation to the corrector, and in some places, e.g.

v. 846 τίς μὲ υποδύεται
    τίς ὀδύνα πλευρᾶς; (Hermann),
a little more regularity can be made by plausible conjecture. But the gain is doubtful.

For opposite reasons, nothing need be said upon the hymns of the finale. They appeal directly to the simplest and most universal instincts of rhythmical beauty, and seem almost to make their own music.
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