Aeschylus

Eumenides

With Introduction and Notes

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Second Edition

Part I.—Introduction and Text

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PREFACE.

This play is edited on the same scale as my Agamemnon and Choephoroi. The division into two volumes has been adopted in compliance with a suggestion made to the publishers by the Committee of the Headmasters’ Conference.

The list of editions consulted or quoted will be found on p. 29. Many of these have contributed emendations or suggestions of permanent value, though most of them are superseded as commentaries. Those which I have studied most carefully are Hermann, Paley, Müller, Hartung, Weil, and Wecklein. The last named editor has accomplished a most laborious and invaluable work in collecting and sifting all the emendations worth recording: and his edition will be henceforth indispensable to the close student of Aeschylus.

In the Introduction I have endeavoured to give in a clear and compressed form such information as is needful not merely for the thorough mastery of the play as a piece of ancient literature, but also for the due appreciation of it as an imaginative drama. There is perhaps no play, at all equal to the Eumenides in the judgment of an instructed reader, which loses so much from lack of the due instruction.

A. S.

OXFORD, 1887.

In the second edition I have corrected some errors: and made a few slight changes and additions to the notes, suggested chiefly by Wecklein’s Orestie, Leipzig, 1888.

A. S.

OXFORD, 1895.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE ORESTEIA.

The Eumenides is the third of the three plays which Aeschylus wrote on the same story, and which constituted each as it were one act of a great drama. Such sets of plays were called trilogies, and according to the ordinary theory were acted on the same occasion, and were usually followed by a fourth play of a lighter cast (called Satyric dramas, from the Satyr or attendant of Dionysos, which originally was a leading part in it): the whole four being called a tetralogy. The subject of the Satyric play in this instance is traditionally recorded to have been 'Proteus.' There are some difficulties in this theory of trilogies or tetralogies; but it is at least clear that the three plays in this case were all composed by the poet with reference to each other. The Agamemnon relates the return and murder of the king (the Crime); in the second play, the Choephoroi, Orestes comes back and slays his mother Klytaemnestra (the Vengeance); while in the third, the Eumenides, the matricide is released from the furies who have pursued him, and acquitted by divine interposition before the Areiopagos at Athens (the Reconciliation). About the Proteus we know nothing. The date of the Agamemnon is given as B.C. 458, and the poet won the first prize.

OUTLINE OF THE STORY OF THE ORESTEIA.

The bare outline of the story as we have it in Aeschylus is this: Agamemnon the reigning king, of the guilty house of

1 Except three fragmentary lines and a few words preserved by grammarians and scholiasts, and printed among the fragments of Aeschylus.
INTRODUCTION.

Pelopidae, had slain his daughter Iphigeneia, by divine order, to appease the angry Artemis, who was detaining wind-bound at Aulis the Greek fleet. The ships thus were able to start for Troy: they took it after ten years: Agamemnon returned with the princess and prophetess Kassandra, was received by his wife Klytaemnestra with insincere welcome. With aid of her paramour Aegisthos she kills treacherously both the king and Kassandra. (Agamemnon.)

After some years Orestes, who had been sent away as a child for safety to Phokis, returns with his friend Pylades, makes himself known to his sister Elektra, and the three contrive a plot of vengeance. Disguised as a Phokian stranger he is received by Klytaemnestra, and tells a tale of Orestes' death. She sends for Aegisthos, who enters the house and is immediately killed. Klytaemnestra is told the news: Orestes comes out and drives her in to kill her on the same spot. (Choephoroi.)

Orestes is driven forth by the Furies, and after years of wandering returns for refuge and sanctuary to the ὑπάλληλος γῆς, the sacred stone of Apollo at Delphi. The Furies pursue and fall asleep in the temple. Apollo sends Orestes escorted by Hermes to Athens, and drives the Furies from his temple. They pursue Orestes, and each side pleads before Athena: who summons the Areiopagos court to settle Orestes' guilt or innocence. Orestes is acquitted, and Athena, by fair words and promise of worship and honours, appeases the anger of the Furies, who are escorted by the Athenians and the goddess to their new shrine. (Eumenides.)

GROWTH OF THE STORY.

I. Iliad. The whole tragedy of Agamemnon is entirely unknown to the Iliad. There is no trace of the bloody deeds of the Pelopidae. Agamemnon is a great prince, the 'king of men' and leader of the host at Troy. He holds (Il. 2. 100) the sceptre made by Hephaistos for Zeus, who handed it on to Hermeias, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon. The idea is clearly of a peaceable succession, under divine recognition, of a line of mighty kings.
GROWTH OF THE STORY.

Of the murder of Iphigeneia, and the surviving daughter Elektra, there is equally no hint. Agamemnon, in the only place (II. 9. 143) where he speaks of his daughter, says, ‘I have three daughters in my well-built hall, Chrysothemis, and Laodike, and Iphianassa.’ The names are all unknown to Aeschylus.

Of Orestes the only mention is in the same passage (9. 143) where Agamemnon offering to Achilles to wed one of his daughters says, ‘I will honour him like to Orestes, my grown son who is reared in all abundance.’ Orestes is not a child, but a man, and is living as the cherished heir at home.

II. Odyssey. The germ of the tragedy appears first in the Odyssey. The differences between Aeschylus and Homer in the story of the murder of Agamemnon and the vengeance need not be fully discussed here, as they concern rather the two earlier plays; but the main points can be briefly given, as follows:

(1) The murder. In Homer it is merely a tale of savage ambition and crime: Aegisthos is a bold bandit who carries off the wife to his own house in the absence of the king, having persuaded her with some difficulty. He then watches for the return of Agamemnon, invites him to a feast, and kills him by an ambush; Klytaemnestra at the most (the versions seem slightly to differ) planning the deed.

In Aeschylus Aegisthos is a coward: Klytaemnestra a hard vindictive masculine woman who alone plots and executes the deed. And further there is a long past tale of guilt in the Family: an avenging Fate which leads them on from one sin to another: the air is full of horror and fear, violence and impending retribution. Lastly the motive is vengeance for her child's death, and jealousy of Chryseis and Kassandra: and the murder is done by stabbing him in his bath.

(2) The vengeance. In Homer the murder of Klytaemnestra is incidental to that of Aegisthos, which is treated as a natural and laudable revenge: Orestes 'gat him renown among all men' by the deed. He returns alone from Athens

They will be found treated in detail in my editions of the Agamemnon (Introd. p. x) and Choephoroi (Introd. p. viii) respectively.
to do it, and there is no mention of an elaborate plot: 'he slew the slayer,' and made a funeral feast to the Argives after.

In Aeschylus Orestes acts by divine command of Apollo: with the aid of Pylades and Elektra; concocts a skilful plot; and the murder of the mother is felt to be a dreadful deed, though Aegisthos is rightly punished.

(3) Of the subsequent pursuit by the Furies, which forms the subject of our play, there is no mention in the Odyssey.¹

III. Later Epic Poets. As far as we know, the part played by the Furies in this tragic tale is totally unknown to these later epics also.

We may just mention, however, that two of these writers, probably about the eighth century, add some not unimportant details to the earlier part of the story. Agias of Troezen in his 'Return of the Atreidae' makes Orestes return (not from Athens, as in the Odyssey) but from Strophios, king of Krisa in Phokis²: and probably the same poet is the first who brings in Pylades. Stasinos of Kypros, who wrote the Kypria, is the first who tells of the anger of Artemis, the detention at Aulis, and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. (According to Stasinos, however, Artemis saves Iphigeneia and takes her to Tauris, putting a hind in her place on the altar. This version has been followed by Euripides, in Iphigeneia in Tauris. Aeschylus adopts the simpler form in which Iphigeneia is really slain.)

IV. The Lyric Poets. We have seen that during the whole of the Epic age, down to the end of the eighth century, there is a growth in the earlier part of the Oresteian tale, but no mention of the Furies. This new element seems to be due to the Lyric poets; and marks an important stage in the moralising of the myth. In the Homeric tale the murder of Klytaemnestra is hardly more than an incidental detail in

¹ Müller, Eum. § 87, thinks it was not unknown to Homer: but only on the bold assumption that Homer's tale was unfinished, and if it had been finished it would have agreed with Euripides' version.
² This change probably indicates the protection of Apollo, as Krisa is part of the sacred precincts of Delphi.
the legitimate blood-feud of Orestes, whose vengeance is regarded as right and praiseworthy. But as time went on the savage ideas were modified: and to the poets of the seventh century the murder of a mother (as a blood relation) is a horror which requires the dreadful expiation of the Furies, even though the god Apollo has ordered the slaughter and protects the slayer.

(1) The lyric poet Stesichoros of Himera (b.c. 632–552), following another lyric poet (probably a generation earlier, of whom little is known but his name—Xanthos), wrote an Oresteia or lyric poem about Orestes. Very little remains: but from the notices of the scholiasts and the fragments they have preserved we gather that the following new features appear in the Oresteian tale: Klytaemnestra is more prominent in the story: her sin with Aegisthos is traced to the anger of Aphrodite against Tyndareus, making all his daughters unfaithful to their husbands. We have too an early version of Klytaemnestra's dream, something like the vision mentioned in the Choephoroi.

But most important of all, we learn from one note that in Stesichoros' story, Orestes receives from Apollo a bow and arrows to defend himself against the Furies. We know no more: we cannot tell how the Furies are represented; we are told nothing of any final reconciliation, as in Aeschylus: even the help of Apollo is of a crude and material kind, as compared with the more spiritual protection of his sanctuary and his influence which we have in the Eumenides. But the germ of the idea is here, of which the later poet made so large and bold a development.

(2) It is worth while adding that Pindar (522–442 b.c.) in a passing mention of Orestes, says not a word of the Furies: but, in the earlier part of the story, is the first to suggest that it was the slaughter of Iphigeneia that perhaps excited Klytaemnestra to the murder of her husband.

1 Whence probably the name was transferred to the Aeschylean drama.
INTRODUCTION.

THE PLOT OF THE EUMENIDES.

The scene is laid first at Delphi, before the temple of Apollo. The priestess comes on, and, after a short tribute to the sanctity of the place and the powers that guard it, enters the shrine. After a pause she returns horror-stricken: she has seen the fugitive Orestes taking sanctuary at the ὅμφαλος or sacred stone of the shrine, and the dreadful beings, the Furies, asleep around him. She retires in terror: the scene opens and shows the whole interior, Orestes and the Furies as described, and Apollo and Hermes standing by. [Prologue 1–63.] Apollo promises protection, and retires: Hermes leads off Orestes: and the ghost of Klytaemnestra rises, and awakes with her rebukes the slumbering Furies. She disappears, and the Chorus awake one by one, and sing first a lament for the escape of their prey; then they fiercely revile Apollo for defrauding them, and defiling his sanctuary; and at last have recourse to threats (64–177, First Epeisodion, part 1).

Apollo comes out and sternly orders them to depart: they protest with him for sheltering the guilty one; and the scene ends with defiance: the Furies threaten to pursue, Apollo promises to help, Orestes (178–234, First Epeisodion, part 2).

The scene is changed to Athens: a long interval has passed, and Orestes, hunted over land and sea, arrives in a new sanctuary, under the protection of Athena. He has hardly embraced the statue when the Chorus enter the orchestra hunting the trail (235–243, Second Epeisodion, part 1. 244–275, Parodos. 276–306, Second Epeisodion, part 2). They catch sight of him (258), and utter the most fearful threats: Orestes expresses his confidence in Apollo and Athena. The Chorus ridicule and threaten him, getting angrier as he remains silent (303): and at last sing a 'magical binding song,' which is to bring Orestes into their power: and wherein they dwell on their ancient rights, their power, and the horrors that await the guilty (307–395, First Stasimon).

Athena appears from above in the air, and makes a kind of preliminary investigation (ἀνάκρισις, see Notes): then
announces her intention of summoning special judges, which shall be henceforth a permanent court (396–489, Third Epeisodion).

The Chorus, in a grand and solemn chant, sing a lament for the overthrow of justice and wholesome terror, which will be the consequence of Apollo’s unrighteous favour to the murderer. Their office, as the awful powers of Retribution, is to keep men in the path of right by fear; and now sin will go unscathed and terrible calamities will follow (490–565, Second Stasimon).

Athena returns with the judges, Apollo as witness and advocate, and Orestes as accused. The deed is proved duly, and Apollo expounds the justice of the case, the Chorus arguing point by point. Athena then solemnly announces the procedure of the new court, and calls on the judges to vote. The votes are equal, and Orestes is accordingly acquitted. He offers his thanks to Athena and Apollo, promises eternal friendship between Athens and Argos, and goes forth. Apollo also retires (566–776, Fourth Epeisodion, part 1).

Then follows a dialogue between the Chorus and Athena: the Furies singing two choral odes (each twice repeated) expressive of anger at their humiliation, and breathing out threats against Athens: and the goddess soothing and intreating, and promising them a home and honours in her city (777–915, Fourth Epeisodion, part 1, with Third and Fourth Stasima twice repeated). At last they are appeased, accept the offer, and at Athena’s request pray for blessings on Athens. The play ends with a solemn march of Athena, judges, attendants and all present, escorting the Furies to their new home (916–1047, Exodos).

REMARKS ON THE DRAMA.

At the close of the Choephoroi, when Orestes is driven forth distraught by the ‘Gorgon shapes, dusky-robed, with snake-entwined hair,’ the Chorus asks sadly,

‘Where will it end? and how at last
Shall the power of Doom be laid to rest?’

To this question the Eumenides gives the answer, which is
two-fold. Both the terrible foreboding raised by the vision of the Furies, and the note of hope touched in the word μετακομισθέν, find in this play their fulfilment.

It would beforehand seem impossible, after the tragic human interest of the Agamemnon and Choephoroi, to end the Trilogy with anything that should not be an anticlimax. And when we are told that the hideous monsters hunt Orestes before the eyes of the audience: that Apollo and the Furies plead before the Athenian Areiopagos: that political allusions are intended to the democratic attack on the Areiopagos, and the Argive alliance: that Orestes disappears before the end, and Athena has to pacify the Furies and escort them with torches to their cave; it is hard to imagine how these unpromising elements can be united into a play which shall escape being heterogeneous or even grotesque. And yet it is not too much to say, that, so far from these perils being fatal, no ancient spectator, and no modern reader with imagination, and sufficiently instructed, could help feeling the Eumenides to be a magnificent close to even the Choephoroi and Agamemnon. It remains to indicate, however slightly, some of the points that contribute to this result.

The main point is, as we have hinted above, that we have here the drama of Completion and Reconciliation. The Agamemnon is unfinished, because the criminal wife has to be punished. The Choephoroi is unfinished, because the man who slays his mother, though ordered by a god to do it, cannot escape the Furies that attend a parent's curse. And yet if he again be slain, he suffers for obedience to Apollo, and besides the moral injustice the Family Fate (ἀλάστωρ) seems eternal. It is this, the moral problem,—part of the same absorbing question which lay behind, and formed the strongest element in the interest of, the earlier plays,—that here comes to the front, and is solved. The human interest is in a sense thrust out of sight: there is no

1 Those who wish a fuller insight are referred to Müller's great treatise on the Eumenides, which, in spite of occasional fancifulness, some rather large conclusions, and rash conjecture, remains the finest and most instructive commentary written on the play.
play of human character, no intrusion of human passions. But there is no anticlimax in this end to the Trilogy. Orestes has ceased to be an actor: but it is because he has become passive in the hands of greater powers. The stage is lifted, so to say, from earth to heaven: it is the powers of light, Apollo and Athena, who are active to protect the morally innocent against the powers of darkness, the Erinyes and the shade of Klytaemnestra, who persecute the technically guilty. The lower view, _that guilt lies in the deed_\(^1\), is embodied in the pursuing Furies: and here conflicts with the higher view that _the innocent heart must be saved_, which is embodied in the rescuing Apollo, expressly representing the will of Zeus. The gods of light fight with the gods of darkness, and overcome.

And here comes in the yet higher thought, that such a victory is not enough: the defeated powers must be appeased and reconciled as well. The Erinyes, though Orestes must be saved from their anger, are yet not evil. To fear them, to worship them, is needful for man's material welfare and still more for his moral health. The Family _Διάδοστος_ is ended; the last slayer is cleansed, and sent forth free to Argos. But the Erinyes, who attend upon the Curse, must not be left resentful against the Athenian people, who were the instruments of his acquittal; and the goddess of wisdom herself has the task of reconciling them. Thus reconciled, while the wholesome terror of them remains, they bring every blessing on the land\(^2\).

To the moral interest of the play, thus strongly sustained and brought to an impressive and triumphant close, all else is subordinate. But hardly less exciting and moving to an Athenian would be the political and patriotic interest. The gods in releasing Orestes make use of a human instrument; and Athena naturally chooses for this transcendent honour the ancient and sacred court of Areiopagos, close to her own citadel. It was the common and natural instinct of antiquity to ascribe revered institutions to a divine origin. But that

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1 This was fundamental to a Greek mind, and we cannot understand fully either the difficulty or the solution without grasping it.

2 See below, 'The Erinyes.'
tame phrase helps us very little to realise the thrill of pleasure, pride, and reverence with which the Athenians of 458 would see the actual founding, by Athena herself, of their immemorial court take place on the stage before their eyes. The whole trial of Orestes, with its deep moral issues, would be a stately copy of the ordinary sittings of the court. Athena herself presides and 'brings in the cause' (ἐἰσάγει τὴν δίκην). The 'terrible goddesses' are the accusers: the victim Orestes, whose heroic deeds and sufferings we have been watching through two plays, is the accused. Apollo is witness (μάρτυς), pleader (σύνδικος or σωφρόνος), and expounder of the law (ἐξηγητής)\(^1\). The court who vote are twelve\(^2\) Athenians, who represent the Areiopagos: and it would be especially impressive, as showing the sanctity of the occasion, that they listened and voted in silence, and perhaps even sat on a lower level\(^3\).

The pleadings of the gods, which may strike us as here and there frigid and even grotesque, would doubtless excite deep interest in an Athenian audience, in whom the love of an argument was inbred. Sophokles is full of arguments: Euripides is a byword for them: and even in Aeschylus we meet them in the most acute dramatic crises, Ag. 931, Cho. 908. Moreover it has not been sufficiently observed that the pleas are strictly in character with the parts that each god is playing\(^4\).

As to the mention of the Argive alliance (289–762), that is only in a passing allusion: it is indeed an exceedingly happy and natural touch of skill that Orestes the Argive in vowing

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\(^1\) Müller, Eum. § 74.
\(^2\) Müller makes it probable they were twelve (Eum. § 9).
\(^3\) Müller thinks they sate in the orchestra: but this involves the assumption of a raised stage, which is open to doubt.

\(^4\) Thus, Apollo, as μάρτυς, states the facts (576, 625), as σύνδικος appeals to feeling (ὡς δηθῆ λέως 638) dwelling on the greatness of the king slain (626, 637).

Again, as ἐξηγητής, he gives the technical grounds: (1) Orestes slew Klytaemnestra by Zeus' will (618, 713): (2) the mother is not the parent (658): (3) Zeus can purify Orestes as he did Ixion (718).

Athena holds the general moral ground, that the wife who basely slew her lord had to be punished (739).
eternal thanks to Athens should use words which bear a
double reference to the audience: and which dignify current
politics by linking them thus to the heroic past.
And one word about the final scene. It is impossible to
imagine a more triumphant and overpowering spectacle.
The long struggle is over: the Pelopid house, 'the human
slaughter-house and dripping floor', is cleansed at last, and
Orestes, 'the long-wept hope, heir, and deliverer', is restored
after his protracted penance to his home and kingdom at
Argos. The very scene of the terrible tragedy passes out of
sight and even out of mind: for the climax and the triumph
are reserved for 'Athena's holy hill,' whence came the help
that at last saved the victim; and it is an Athenian sanctuary
to which are escorted in honour the powers that have raged
in storm after storm against the family of Agamemnon, to
be housed and worshipped as the Kindly Goddesses, bringing
all blessings on the Athenian people. We have all the
elements of impressive and affecting interest combined.
There are few things so thrilling to a large audience as the
appeal to national pride, in giving sanctuary to a persecuted
stranger: and the Dionysiac theatre, we must never forget,
presented the unique fact of a nation gathered in one place.
Further, now that the tragedy is over, and the knot is solved,
it is Athens, in a sense, that has solved it. And the people
have reaped the benefit of their aid to the fugitive, in the
establishment of one of their most sacred institutions,
and the presence for ever of new and powerful protectors.
Lastly, the reconciliation is made visible before their eyes.
The black-robed band who have tried to force the sanctuary
of Athena, and have faced in mutual hostility the purple-
robed troop of the goddess' attendants, at last mingle with
them as friends in one stately procession, which passes amid
torch-lights and joyful song, directed by the great Pallas
herself, over the venerable hill to the ancient and sacred
cavern.

1 Ag. 1092.  2 Cho. 236.  3 Cho. 1066.
4 The Eumenides was acted at Cambridge in December 1885:
and there was but one opinion among those who saw it that this
INTRODUCTION.

ERINYES.

The name 'Erinyes' is of obscure origin, and various Greek derivations have been suggested. It is now however generally identified with the Sanskrit Saranyu, who appears in the Rig Vedas as the Dawn bringing to light the things of darkness, and is explained by the interpreters as a spirit who exposed evil deeds and things done in secret. If this etymology is correct, (though a resemblance may be traced between the spirit of light revealing dark plots and the Greek punishers of crime), the original meaning is wholly lost in Greek, and the ideas connected with the word ἐρυνὺς followed a separate line of development.

In Homer the Erinyes are a sort of personified curses\(^1\), mysterious evil powers dwelling below (their title is ἡρόφοιτες, 'haunting the dark,' II. 9. 571, 19. 87, they 'hear from Erebos,' 9. 571, and under earth punish perjurers, 19. 259), who are invoked especially by injured parents\(^2\). They also maintain the dignity of elder brothers, and Poseidon fears to disobey Zeus on this ground\(^3\). In one very curious passage (II. 19. 418) where the horse Xanthos, momentarily endowed with speech, is revealing too much, it is the Erinyes who 'check his voice;' it is apparently impious, even in a horse, to prophesy too freely. Also the Atē or blind folly which leads men astray is sent by an Eriny\(^4\). And lastly they protect the weak when insulted by the strong. Odysseus when assailed by Antinoos invokes evil on him 'if there are Gods and Erinyes of beggars\(^5\).'</p>

We see here clearly the early conception in process of being extended by mythology. They are not yet goddesses, triumphant and united march at the end was extraordinarily exciting and effective.

\(^1\) So even in Aeschylus the idea of 'curse' survives; Ἀραὶ ἐρυνὺς ὑμεῖα Eum. 417.

\(^2\) By Phoinix, because his son had anticipated him in a love affair, II. 9. 454; by Althaia, because her son slew her brother, II. 9. 571; by Epikaste, because her son had involved her in horrible sin, Od. 11. 280. So Telemachus fears Penelope will invoke them, if he sends her away to wed a suitor, Od. 2. 135.

\(^3\) II. 19. 259.

\(^4\) II. 19. 418; Od. 15. 234.

\(^5\) Od. 17. 475.
they have no worship, nor even any propitiation; they have mostly to be invoked by the injured person—parent, elder, or beggar. But the idea of the ‘power that attends the curse’ is growing into the idea of the power that punishes a wrong independently.

In the Hesiodic poems there is nothing added to the Homeric conception of the Erinyes. They attend the birth of Horkos (as the punishers of perjury)\(^1\), and their birth is traced to the drops of blood that fell on the earth when Ouranos was mutilated by Kronos—a fine imaginative presentation of the idea of the parental curse\(^2\), which appears more plainly when Zeus is born to avenge his grandfather\(^3\).

The gap between these early ideas of the Erinyes, and those which we meet in Aeschylus is immense. By the middle of the fifth century was established—when or how instituted we know not—both in Athens and the suburb Kolonos\(^4\), shrines and a worship of the Furies, whose extreme sanctity points to a long tradition. They were known by the name Σεμναί, ‘the holy ones,’ or Εὐμενίδες, ‘the kindly ones.’ It is a mistake to regard this latter name as a merely propitiatory title. They were still, no doubt, the ‘terrible goddesses who see all,’ as Sophokles calls them (O. C. 39–41); whose shrine the people passed ‘without speech or glance or utterance,’ and whose name they ‘feared to utter’ (130); but they were also, as the Eumenides shows us, beneficent powers when duly reconciled and honoured, and when their fearful wrath was not awakened by sin.

This reconciliation was bound up with the story of Orestes, and Aeschylus has given us in this play a masterly presentation of it. The Furies are goddesses of terrible aspect (O. C. 84), and Aeschylus, whose power was nowhere greater than in dealing with visions of Fear, has purposely emphasised at the beginning the horror of their office and appearance. The more awful the enraged goddesses, the more striking their appeasement. It will be worth while to review in detail the picture he gives.

In the powerful scene at the end of the Choephoroi the

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1. Works and Days, 803.
2. Theog. 185.
4. Theog. 472.
vision first appears to Orestes. They are like Gorgons, dusky-robed, snake-entwined (Cho. 1048), and blood is dripping from their eyes (1058).

Such also they appear to the Priestess at the opening of the Eumenides, like Gorgons, like wingless Harpies, black and lothly (Eum. 50), snoring, dripping loathsome ooze from their eyes (54). They dwell in Tartaros and darkness, hateful to the gods (72-3). Their office is to chase the matricides (208) or murderers generally (421) over land and sea (250) even to Hades (423). They run like hounds upon the trail (252), rejoicing in the smell of blood (254), and suck the blood of men (184) even when living (265).

Powerful as are the material horrors, it is characteristic of the poet that he brings still more impressively before us what we may call the spiritual horror of the Furies. Such are the ‘binding song’ or charm by which the victim is made theirs (305); the plagues their anger brings on the land (478), and madness on him they hunt (330). They pursue the criminal in life and after death (340); overthrow houses where there is the stain of blood (355); and ‘the glories of men waste away before their blackrobed assault’ (373).

But the poet rises higher than this. Thus far we probably have the popular idea of the Furies as it was in Aeschylus’ day, though coloured and heightened by his genius and imagination. But in the moral ideas which are interwoven, we feel the deeper insight and wider thought which are the poet’s own. The Furies are righteous (312) and the appeal to ‘the seats of the Erinyes’ is coupled with the cry to Justice, ὄ δίκα, ὄ θρόνοι τ’ Ἐρυνύων (511). In exposing hidden murder they are ‘witnesses to the dead’ (317), and they right the wronged; for if their power be overruled ‘the afflicted shall have no more a protector’ (500). Lastly, the fear they inspire is wholesome; it is a moral agent for man and city (516), and no house can prosper without them (895).

Hence finally, if rightly revered and duly appealed, they are truly ἐόφρονες, ἐμενίδες, kindly and beneficent powers. In this way we are prepared for the splendid and surprising close of the play, where these terrible goddesses join in Athena’s prayer for all blessings on the land, for fruitful crops and
trees and flocks (924), for health and wealth to the citizens (940), for long life to the men and fair marriage to the maidens (956), for peace and harmony over all (976).

It should be added that the name Eumenides does not occur in the play itself. But in the argument of the play, which is expressly ascribed to Aristophanes the grammarian (scholar and librarian of Alexandria, teacher of the great Aristarchus, fl. under Ptolemy Euergetes c. 240 B.C.) occurs a note

τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας πραύνας προσηγόρευσεν Εὐμενίδας,

which is evidently an abridged and corrupted form of a statement found in the lexicon of Harpokration (another Alexandrine scholar) as follows:—

'Aeschylus in the Eumenides, after telling of the trial of Orestes, says that Athena, soothing (πραύνασα) the Furies that they should not be angry, called them Eumenides.'

Hence Hermann (and others) not finding the name in the play, have supposed a lacuna after 1026, where a passage (they think) originally existed containing the new name. But the note may easily have arisen from the word ἐφφονας emphatically used 992, and repeated 1034, 1041. It is to the last degree unlikely that a passage so significant, containing the very name from which the play was called, should have dropped out.

THE NUMBER OF THE EUMENIDES.

In Homer the Erinyes are usually plural, with no number given and no names. The personification was only in its first stages, as we have seen above. In Aeschylus also there is no hint of names, which indeed do not appear till much later, and in any case the number of the Chorus would be decided by the traditions and the convenience of the stage.

It is disputed whether the Chorus of the Eumenides was twelve or fifteen, and the same question is raised with reference to the Agamemnon. It does not of course follow that there need have been the same number in both, but a priori it is more probable. The Schol. on Eum. 585 says expressly that the Chorus numbered fifteen; and the Schol. on Aristoph. Eq. 587 tells us that the comic Chorus was twenty-
four and the tragic fifteen, 'as in Aeschylus' Agamemnon.' On the other hand Suidas (grammarian and lexicographer of uncertain date), though he tells us (under Χορός) that the tragic Chorus was fifteen, tells us (under Σοφοκλῆς) that it at first was twelve, but Sophokles increased it to fifteen. Both these accounts are doubtless old, but it is impossible to decide the question confidently on the authority of such anonymous and fluctuating traditions.

The subject has been much discussed from the time of Müller and Hermann to the present day, and much stress has been rightly laid on the internal evidence of the plays. Unfortunately the arguments too often rest on arbitrary reconstruction of the text, which much impairs their cogency.

The most important passage, however, is Ag. 1344–1371, where fortunately the arrangement of the text and the speakers is not doubtful. Here Agamemnon's dying cries are heard twice, and the chorus say (1345) in trochaic lines:

>'The deed is done, the cry of the king shows it;
Let us take counsel for safety.'

Then follow a series of suggestions, each in couplets written in the iambic measure, which are clearly spoken by successive speakers. Of these couplets there are exactly twelve. If we accept this as proof—and it certainly seems very strong evidence—of the Chorus in Agamemnon being twelve, we may assume that it was the same number in the Eumenides\(^1\), and the opinion of scholars seems tending towards this view.

If so, then the Scholiast who said the Eumenides' Chorus was fifteen, was simply repeating (and applying specially) the general dictum that the tragic Chorus was fifteen, as was the case later, whether introduced by Sophokles or no. And as to the Schol. who expressly states that there were fifteen in Agamemnon, Hermann long ago (Opusc. de choro Eum.) pointed out with much subtlety and cogency that the man was simply inferring the number from the same passage (Ag. 1344), and

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\(^1\) Müller admits the number 12 in Agamemnon: but insists on the Eumenides Chorus being 15: though his main argument rests on a rather arbitrary allotment of the songs to seven pairs of singers.
had erroneously included the *trochaic* lines (1344–1346) as also spoken by separate members of Chorus. We may take the Chorus then as *twelve*.

It may be just worth while to add that the Areiopagitai are also doubtless twelve¹. It was a natural number; the councillors in Agamemnon are likewise twelve. The number must have been even; for Athena provides for the votes being equally divided, and in the passage (710 sqq.) where they vote there is reason for thinking (see notes) that the arrangement of the speeches of Chorus and Apollo point to twelve voters.

**AREIOPAGOS.**

The origin of the court of Areiopagos, or as the Greeks called it "Ἄρειος πάγος, ἥ ἐν Ἄρειῳ πάγῳ βουλή, or ἥ ἀνω βουλή, is lost in the midst of antiquity. Some of the popular stories Aeschylus gives us in the prologue, and another is told us by Pausanias (1. 28. 5) that Ares was here judged for the murder of Halirrhothios, son of Poseidon. Demosthenes also (Aristokr. 641) quotes this story, and adds that the *twelve Gods* here judged the issue between Orestes and the Eumenides. Though these tales are of course mere myths, the ancient murder-court, which from the earliest times sate on this hill, is no doubt connected historically with the ancient temple of the Eumenides at its foot². Further, from many references in orators, and particularly from Pausanias' statement (4. 5. 2) that before the first Messenian war (740 B.C.) the Messenians offered to refer their quarrel with Sparta to the Athenian court of Areiopagos, we infer that this extreme antiquity was the universal later belief.

In the accounts of the legislation of Draco (620 B.C.) this court is not mentioned by name, but the judges called *Ephetai*, whom Draco organised, no doubt included the Areopagites. The only change made by Solon (594 B.C.) was to provide for the regular recruiting of the Areiopagos

¹ The Schol. (on the page of M which begins with line 738) says absurdly that they were 31. —

² This connection further appears in the fact that the witnesses in trials called on the Erinyes to utterly destroy them if they spoke falsely: and that the accused, when acquitted, offered sacrifices to the same powers.
by adding to it the nine archons of each year when they retired from office.

Besides their jurisdiction in cases of homicide, the court of Areiopagos had from early times large and undefined powers, which probably included general judicial functions, control over many religious matters, inquisitorial powers to inspect the conduct of magistrates, the execution of the laws, and even private character, and vague general supervision of the social and moral condition of the people. To these, from Solon to Perikles, if not earlier, they added considerable rights over the administration of public affairs. In the stress of the Persian wars (490–478) they had special powers entrusted to them, and 'having won a high reputation therein were able,' says Aristotle¹, 'to draw tighter the rein of government.'

But the Persian wars were also the starting-point for a great democratic change, directed for more than a generation (467–428) by the greatest of Greek statesmen—Perikles. It was inevitable, in spite of its great ancient prestige and recent services, that a body with the traditions, the composition, and the censorial powers of the Areiopagos should conflict with the new popular ideas. And accordingly about 460 B.C.² Perikles and Ephialtes carried measures which practically deprived the βουλή of Areiopagos of all its administrative powers, something perhaps of its general right of interference, and most of its judicial functions. The latter were henceforth committed to the dikasteries, but the jurisdiction in cases of homicide was expressly reserved to the Areiopagos³. It appears that further, as was natural, its more formal and sacred functions, as well as its moral influence, remained till much later times; for not only would these be just the things in which the new democracy would

¹ Politics, 5. 3. 5.
² Grote, vol. v. 495, who gives evidence that this change came before the Eumenides and not after as Müller thinks (§ 36).
³ Müller (Eum. 37) and others think that the homicide cases were also withdrawn from its jurisdiction: but besides other reasons to the contrary, Demosthenes expressly says (Aristokr. 642) 'from this court alone neither tyrant nor oligarchy nor democracy has dared to withdraw its jurisdiction in trials for murder.'
neither dare nor wish to meddle, but it is difficult otherwise to explain the extreme respect with which the Areiopagos is always mentioned, down to the latest orators.

Aeschylus, with his conservative and oligarchical instincts, would naturally be opposed to these, as to the other changes introduced by Perikles. But nevertheless the common view that the Eumenides was a 'protest' against them, is over-stated and misleading. Whether as poet, moralist, or artist, Aeschylus would certainly have felt it beneath him to descend into the political fray from the heights where he lived, and to make a grand imaginative drama end in a partisan appeal. The strongest thing he says is (690) 'the reverence of the citizens, and fear shall restrain them from wrong by day and night, unless they themselves make new laws; whose mingles bright water with mire and foul influx shall not find drink;' and this need not be more than a warning against democratic excess, which would be likely to end in the destruction of the Areiopagos. What the emphasis is laid on all through is the judicial powers in murder cases, like that of Orestes; and these are just what were not touched. The same is true of the phrases to describe the βουλή: 'a defence of the land, . . . a council un bribed, reverent, swift to wrath, a watchful guardian of a sleeping state' (701). This may refer, not only to the judicial functions, but partly to the general moral influence of the Areiopagos, and much of this doubtless survived the revolution. Aeschylus is really pleading as usual for moderation, 'neither licence nor tyranny;' as Athena and the Chorus both urge (526, 696), for 'God has given victory to the mean' (530). The same spirit finds expression in his repeated fear of civil strife (862, 980), a fear which was not needless, as the murder of Ephialtes the reformer shortly proved. The note of the Eumenides is harmony and reconciliation, and so far as the poet touches politics at all, it is in this wise and patriotic spirit.

The Manuscripts.

The following is a brief account of the MSS. which contain the Eumenides, and which fall naturally into two groups:—
A. Medicean Group.

1. M., far the oldest and most important, the Medicean, in the Laurentian library at Florence, written on parchment about the beginning of the eleventh century\(^1\). A copy of this, keeping the pages, the lines, and the spacing of the letters, was prepared by Merkel, and published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1871.

2. G., Guelferbytanus, at Wolfenbüttel, written on paper in the fifteenth century. It is (in this play, as in Agam. and Cho.) merely a copy of M, and is badly and ignorantly copied. It contains nearly all the mistakes of M and many more of its own.

3. Ma., Marcianus, once in the monastery of San Marco, now in the Laurentian library at Florence, written on paper in the fifteenth century; also merely a copy of M.

4. P., Parisiensis, in the library of Paris, on paper, in the fifteenth century. Very like the Medicean, and probably derived from it\(^2\).

5. A., Augustanus, now in the library of Munich, on paper, sixteenth century. It contains the Eumenides only from line 576 to the end. It is exceedingly like the Med., has scholia entirely extracted from it, and is no doubt derived from it.

The above form what we may call the Medicean group. The last four probably cannot be regarded as having any authority other than what they derive from M. Their differences from M may pretty confidently be set down to error, or conjecture, or both.

B. The Venetian Group.

6. V., Venetus, in the library of S. Mark at Venice, on

\(^1\) The same MS. contains, besides Aeschylus, all the extant tragedies of Sophocles, and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. The Sophocles has been published (by the Hellenic Society, 1885) in photographic fac-simile, with a careful palaeographical criticism by Mr. E. M. Thompson, Keeper of MSS., and Egerton Librarian in the British Museum. The date given above is assigned by Mr. Thompson on grounds of handwriting.

\(^2\) Moritz Haupt, in the preface to Hermann's Aeschylus, ed. 1852, thinks a few of its variations from M are due to emendation, the rest to carelessness.
parchment, thirteenth \(^1\) century. It has two considerable omissions, viz. 582–642, and 794–823. The first must be due to defect in the MS. from which it was copied (whether its immediate predecessor or a more remote one); the second may be merely a slip, due to the repetition of the Chorus.

7. Fl., *Florentinus*, in the Laurentian library at Florence, on paper, fourteenth century. It has the same omissions as V.

8. Fa., *Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the museum at Naples, on paper, fourteenth century. This also has the same omissions as V., Fl., and contains the recension of Demetrius Triclinius, a scholar and grammarian of the fourteenth century, who was unfortunately very ignorant of the metres of tragedy, and very rash in conjecture. Some think this MS. not only contains his text, but was written by his hand.

These three are obviously from a common origin, as the omissions are enough to show; moreover the great mass of variations from M are common to the three. The exact relation of this group to the Medicean is not certain, but the authorities tend to agree in believing that they are founded upon M, and have not independent authority. There is strong evidence for this view, see Appendix.

If this view is correct, the conclusion would be that the only real MS. authority for the *Eumenides* is M, and the variant readings of the other MSS. would be reduced from traditions to conjectural emendations or errors. I have, however, thought it more satisfactory to give the facts.

**THE SCHOLIA.**

Reference is made in both critical and explanatory notes to the Scholia, and it will be convenient to explain briefly both what they are and in what way they are valuable.

In the Medicean MS. by the side of the texts are written comments in Greek, called *Scholia*. They are in a small but clear hand, partly in capitals (half-uncial), while the text itself is written in cursive, that is in a running hand, in small letters, two or more letters being often closely connected and slightly contracted. The Scholia are by a different hand to that which wrote the text, and the authorities are agreed that

\(^1\) Fifteenth century according to Wecklein.
they are mostly written, at the same time as the text, by the διορθωτής or scholar who corrected the errors made in the text by the professional scribe. Their value consists, both for text and comment, in their age. Their explanations are often wrong, but they not unfrequently contain valuable information dating back to many centuries before our earliest MS. For textual criticism they are occasionally a great help, as they sometimes explain a different text to that which is by their side in the MS., and so may furnish evidence of an older and truer reading than the MS. itself. In any case they are always worth considering.

There is no very striking instance of this in the Eumenides,—such as is the passage quoted in my edition of Choephoroi (Cho. 262)—but we may give two or three examples of minor corrections made from the Scholia.

In 96 MSS. read ὡς μὲν ἐκτανοῦ: but the Schol. explains ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐφόνευσα Ἀγαμέμνονα, meaning 'for my murder of Agamemnon,' and pointing to the true reading δὲν, though the Schol. took this clumsily as neut. plur. instead of naturally as masc.

Again 598 MSS. read ... πέμπτει πατήρ: the Schol. has βοθοῦς κάμοι πέμπτει ὁ πατήρ, a note which makes it probable that the older reading was πέμπτει. Also in 519 MSS. read δειμαίνει: Schol. says οὐκ ἀπείναι δεῖ, whence it was easy to restore δεῖ μένειν.

The fullest examination of the Medicean Scholia is that which has been made by J. J. Frey (Bonn, 1857). He points out that (1) they are mutilated: (2) they are from different hands (in many cases we have two, sometimes even three or four different explanations given without reference to each other): (3) that there are two main classes, those notes which quote, and those which do not quote, the words they are commenting on: and (4) that the latter are much the older and more valuable.

His general conclusion is that the best of these Scholia contain, along with other matter, fragments of learning about Aeschylus which can be traced back to the early Alexandrine scholars, and even with some probability to Didymus (called, from his extraordinary capacity for work, by the elegant
name of Χαλκέντερος, or 'Copper-guts'), a great Alexandrine scholar of the first century B.C., of the school of Aristarchus.

It is plain, even allowing for the uncertainty of conjectures, that the evidence of readings contained in the Scholia may be centuries older than the MS. itself.

**THE EDITIONS.**

The following is a list of the principal editors and correctors whose work has contributed to the gradual improvement of the text of the Eumenides, and the elucidation of the play itself: those who have been consulted or quoted are given with the abbreviations used:—

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INTRODUCTION.

The last editor has in one respect superseded all the others, as he has given an exhaustive list of emendations, putting the 'certain' ones into the text, and the 'most probable' at the foot of the text, and the rest into an appendix.

Besides these the following names of scholars are quoted for emendations or useful comment:—

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THE TEXT.

In the text I have given, at the foot of the pages, the MS. readings of all the doubtful places, wherever one or all the MSS. are wrong, except where the correction is obvious and certain: and even here in any case where anybody could attach any importance to the variation.

The notation is as follows:—

Where the reading adopted occurs in a MS. the variations are given below, but there is no mark in the text. Thus line 22, text βρόμος ἔχει: Crit. note δ’ ἔχει V. Fl. Fa. text M., i.e. the Venetian, Florentine, and Farnese read δ’ ἔχει, the Medicean has ἔχει only.

Where the reading adopted is conjectural, it is marked with * in the text, the MS. readings given below, and the name of the corrector. Thus line 27, text *Πλείστοι τε πηγάς: Crit. note πλείστως MSS. corr. Turn., i.e. the MSS. have all πλείστως which Turnebus corrected to Πλείστοι.

Where neither MSS. nor proposed corrections are satisfactory, the passage is marked with †: thus lines 352, 364, 387, 635, etc.
TRANSLATIONS.

I have consulted three translations, Mr. E. D. A. Morshead's, Miss A. Swanwick's, and Mr. Verrall's (prepared for the Cambridge representation in 1885). I have also to acknowledge Mr. G. C. Warr's 'Story of Orestes' which the author kindly sent me, and which contains some of the Choruses well translated.
ΕΤΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.
ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΠΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΣ.
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ.
ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.
ΚΑΤΑΙΜΗΝΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ.
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΕΤΜΕΝΙΔΩΝ.
ΑΘΗΝΑ.
ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ.
ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

ΠΤΩΙΑΣ.

Πρώτον μὲν εὐχῇ τήδε πρεσβεῖω θεῶν
tὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαίαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμων,
ἡ δὲ τὸ μετρὸς δευτέρα τὸς ἔξετο
μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
λάχει, θελοῦσις, οὐδὲ πρὸς βιαν τινὸς,
Τιτανίς ἀλλὰ παῖς χθονὸς καθέξετο.
Φοῖβη· ὤδωσι δ' ἢ γενέθλιον δόσιν
Φοῖβω· τὸ Φοῖβης δ' ὄνομ· ἔχει παράνυμον.
λιπὼν δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,
κέλσας ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Πάλλαδος,
ἐς τήνδε γαίαν ἠλθεὶ Παρνησσοῦ θ' ἔδρας.
πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα
κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες 'Ηφαίστου, χθόνα
ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἥμερωμένην.
μολόντα δ' αὐτὸν κάρτα τιμαλφεὶ λεώς,
Δελφὸς τε χώρας τήσδε πρωμήτης ἁναξ.
tέχνης δ' ἐν Ζεὺς ἐνθεόν κτίσεως φρένα,
ἴξει τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις.
Διὸς προφῆτης δ' ἐστὶ Λυκίας πατρός.
τοῦτος ἐν εὐχαίς φρομμιάζομαι θεοῦς.
Παλλᾶς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται.
σέβω δὲ νύμφας, ἔνθα Κωρυκίς πέτρα

18. χρόνως MSS. corr. Turn.

C 2
κοιλη, φίλομοις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή.
Βρόμιος ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἀμνησμοῖ, 25
ἔξι οὗτα Βάκχαι έστρατήγησεν θεὸς,
λαγὼ δίκην Πενθέι καταράψας μόρον
* Πλειστοῦ τε πηγᾶς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος
καλότσα, καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία.
ἔπειτα μάντις εἰς θρόνους καθιζάω.
καὶ νῦν τυχεὶν με τῶν πρὶν εἰσόδῳ μακρῷ
ἄριστα δοῦνει· κεὶ παρ’ Ἐλλήνων τινές,
Ἱτων πάλῳ λαχῶντες, ὡς νομίζεται·
μαντεύομαι γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἡγήται θεὸς.

ἡ δεινὰ λέξαι, δεινὰ δ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς δρακεῖν
πάλιν μ’ ἐπεμψεν ἐκ δόμων τῶν Λοξίου,
ὡς μὴτε σωκεῖν μὴτε μ’ ἀκταίνειν * βάσιν
τρέχω δὲ χερσίν, οὐ ποδώκλα σκελῶν
δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὖν.
ἔγω μὲν ἔρτω πρὸς πολυστεφῆ μυχόν.
ὅρῳ δ’ ἐπ’ ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ
ἐδραν ἔχοντα προστρόπαιον, αἴματι
στάξουτα χεῖρας, καὶ νεοσπαθῆς ἔχοντ’,
ἔλαλας θ’ υψιγεννητον κλάδου
λήμει μεγάστροι σωφρόνως ἐστεμένουν,
ἀργήτι μαλλῳ. τῇδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρῶ.
πρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρος τοῦθε θαυμαστός λόχος
εὐθεὶς γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἦμενος.
οὕτω γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ Γοργώνας λέγω.

23. ἀναστροφά M. G. -φαί V. Fl. Fa. text Schol. 24. δ’ ἔχει
V. Fl. Fa. text M. 27. πλείστους MSS. corr. Turn. 32. ἵππα
Fl. Fa. text M. G. V. 36. στάσιν MSS. βάσιν superscr. M. G.
40. θεομυσῆ G. V. Fa. text M. 41. ἐδραν Fl. Fa. ἔχοντι M. G. P.
text V. Fl. Fa. 42. νεοσπαθῆς V. Fl. Fa. 44. λίμει V. Fl. Fa.
46. δὲ τ’ M. G.
ΕΤΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

οὗτος αὕτε Ποργελίωσιν εἰκάσω τύποις·
eidōν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας
δείπνουν φερούσας· ἀπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν
αὐταῖ, μέλαιναι δ' ἐσ τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι·
ῥέγκουσι δ' οὐ * πλατόισι φυσιάμασιν·
ἐκ δ' ὅμματων λείβουσι δυσφιλῆ * λίβα·
καὶ κόσμος οὗτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα
φέρειν δίκαιος, οὕτ' ἐσ ἀνθρώπων στέγας.
tὸ φῦλον οὐκ ὀπωσδ' ὁμιλλᾶς,
οὐδ' ἦτις αἷα τούτ' ἐπεὐχεταί γένος
τρέφοντ' ἀνατί μὴ μεταστένειν πόνον.
tάυτεθεν ἦδη τῶνδε δεσπότη δόμων
αὐτῷ μελέσθω Λοξία μεγασθεῖν.
ιατρόμαντις δ' ἑστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος,
cαὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅμως καθάρσιος.

ΑΠΟΔΛΩΝ.

οὗτοι προδώσω· διὰ τέλους δὲ σοι φύλαξ
ἐγγὺς παρεστῶς, καὶ πρόσω δ' ἀποστατῶν
ἐχθροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς οὐ γενήσομαι πέπων.
καὶ νῦν ἁλούσας τάσδε τὰς μάργους ὅρασ·
ὑπηρ ψευδοῦσι δ' αἱ κατάπτυστοι κόραι,
γραίαι, παλαιαὶ παῖδες, αἰς οὐ μὴ γυναῖ
θεῶν τις, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπος, οὐδὲ θὴρ ποτε·
κακῶν δ' ἐκατι κάγενοντ'· ἐπεὶ κακὸν
σκότον νέμονται, Τάρταρον θ' ὑπὸ χθωνός,
μισήματ' ἀνθρῶν καὶ θεῶν 'Ολυμπίων.
δόμως δὲ φεύγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη.
ἐλάωσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἥπειρον μακρᾶς.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

*βιβῶντ' ἀν' ἄει τὴν πλανοστιβὴ χθόνα, ὑπέρ τε *πόντου καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.
καὶ μὴ πρόκαμψε τόνδε βουκολούμενος
πόνον· μολὼν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν
ἤως παλαιὸν ἀγκαθεν λαβῶν βρέτας.’
κάκει δικαστὰς τῶν δὲ καὶ θελκτηρίους
μύθον έχουτε μηχανὰς εὐρήσομεν,
ὅς τ᾽ ἐσ τὸ πᾶν σε τῶν ἀπάλλαξαι πόνων.
καὶ γὰρ κτανείν σ’ ἔπεισα μητρόφοιν δέμας.

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.

ἀναξ ὉApolloν, οἴσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ‘δικεῖν
ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπίστα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ‘μελείν μάθει.
σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὖ φερέγγυν τὸ σῶν.

ΑΠ. μέμνησο, μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.
σὺ δ’, αυτάδελφον αἴμα καὶ κοινόν πατρός,
‘Ερμῆ, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ’ ὧν ἐπάνυμος,
πομπαίος Ισθι, τόν δε ποιμαίνων ἐμὸν
ἰκέτην. σέβει τοι Ζεὺς τὸν ἑκνόμων σέβας,
ὄρμωμεν βροτοίς εὐπόμπῳ τύχῃ.

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ.

ἐνδοιτ’ ἄν, ὦν, καὶ καθευδουσῶν τι δεῖ;
ἐγὼ δ’ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν δὸ ἀπτημασμένη
ἀλλοισιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν, ὡς μὲν ἐκτανοῦ
ὀνείδος ἐν φθοιρὸς σκότας ἐκκείπεται,
ἀλοχρῶς δ’ ἀλώμαι προούπνεώ δ’ ὑμῶν ὅτι
ἔχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν κείμων ὑπὸ.

76. βεβῶντ’ ἀν M. G. P. βεβῶντ’ ἀν V. Fl. βεβῶντ’ αἰεὶ Fa. text Η. βεβῶντ’ Steph. 77. πόντου MSS. corr. Turn. 79. first three words misplaced but corrected in M. 96. ὧς MSS. δὲ Tyrwhitt from Schol.
παθοῦσα δ' οὕτω δεινὰ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων, 100
οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ μου δαιμόνων μηνίεται,
κατασφαγείσης πρὸς χερῶν μμυροκτόνων.
* ὅρατε πληγὰς τάσδε * καρδίας ὅθεν'
εὔδοουσα γὰρ φῇν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται'
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοιρ' * ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν.
105
ἡ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε'
χοάς τ' ἀοίνους, νηφάλια μειλύματα,
καὶ νυκτίσθεμνα δείπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρὸς
ἐθνον, ὃραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν.
καὶ πάντα ταῦτα λάξ ὁρῶ πατούμενα'
110
δ' ἐξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην,
καὶ ταῦτα κούφως ἐκ μέσων * ἄρκυστάτων
ἀρτουσαθ' ὡς ἐλεξά τῆς ἐμῆς πέρι
ψυχῆς: φρονήσατ', ὡ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαλ.
115
ἐναρ γὰρ ἐμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμνήστρα καλῶ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

(Μυγμός.)

ΚΛ. μύζοιτ' ἂν, ἀνήρ δ' οἴχεται φεύγων πρόσων.
* φίλοι γὰρ εἰσιν, οὐκ ἐμοῖς * προσεικότες.

ΧΟ. (Μυγμός.)

ΚΛ. ἂγαν ὑπνώσεις, κοῦ κατοικτίζεις πάθος.
φονεύς δ' ὧρέσθησι τήσδε μηρτῶς οἴχεται.

ΧΟ. (Ὁμός.)

100. γ' for δ' V. Fl. Fa. 103. ὅρα δὲ MSS. corr. Pal. καρδία
σέθεν M. G. P. Fl. καρδία σέθεν V. Fa. corr. H. 105. μοῖρα προσκ.
MSS. corr. Turn. 107. νυφ. MSS. corr. Rob. 108. νυκτίσθεμνά
M. νυκτὶ σεμνὰ G. V. Fl. corr. Turn. 112. ἀρκουσάτων MSS.
corr. Turn. 113. ἐκκατ. MSS. corr. Turn. 118. φίλοις...
προσεικότες MSS. text Weil, see notes. 121. ἂγαν γ' V. Fl. Fa.
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

ΚΛ. ὁξεῖς; ὑπνόσσεις; σοῦ ἀναστήσει τάχος;
tί σοι * πέπρωται πράγμα πλήν τεῦχειν κακά;

125
ΧΟ. ('Ωγμός.)
ΚΛ. ὑπόνοι πόνοι τε, κύριοι ἔνωμόται,
δεινὴς δρακάνης ἐξεκήραναν μένος.

130
ΧΟ. (Μυγμός διπλῶς δξύς.)
λαβέ, λαβέ, λαβέ, λαβέ, φράζου.

ΚΛ. ὁναρ διώκεις θῆρα, κλαγγαίνεις ὰ' ἀπερ
κών μέριμναν οὐποτ' ἐκλιπῶν πόνου.
tί δρᾶς; ἀνίστω, μή σε νυκάτω πόνος,
μηδ' ἀγνοήσῃς πήμα μαλακθεῖν' ὑπνῷ.
ἀλγησον ὧπαρ ἐνδίκοις ὄνειδεσων'
τοῖς σώφροσιν γὰρ ἀντίκεντρα γίγνεται.
* σοῦ ὀ' αἰματηρῶν πνευμ', ἐπούρλησα σά τῷ,
ἀτμῷ κατασχαϊνουσα, νηδύος πυρὶ,
ἐποῦ, μάραινε δευτέροις διάγμασιν.

135
ΧΟ. ἔγειρ', ἔγειρε καὶ σὺ τήρυ', ἔγω δὲ σέ.
εὐδέεις; ἀνίστω, καπολακτίσασ' ὑπνόν,
ἰδώμεθ' εἶ τι τοῦδε φρομιλοῦ ματᾶ.

140

ιοῦ, ιοῦ, πόπαξ. ἐπάθομεν, φίλαι— στρ. α'.
ἡ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάταν ἐγώ,—
ἐπάθομεν πάθος δυσαχές, ὦ πόποι,
ἀφερτὸν κακόν.
ἐξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν οὐχεταὶ * θ' ὦ θῆρ.—
ὑπνῷ κρατηθεῖν' ἀγραν ἀλεσα.

145

ιῶ, παὶ Διός, ἐπίκλοπος τέλει— ἀντ. α'.
νέος δὲ γραίας δαλμονας καθιππάσω,—
τὸν ἱκέταν σέβων, ἄθεουν ἄνδρα καλ.

150

τοκεύσων πικρόν.
tὸν μητραλοίαν ὁ ἐξέκλεψας ὅν θεός.
tί τῶνδ᾿ ἑρεί τις δικαίως ἔχειν;

ἐμοὶ δ᾿ οὐείδος ἔξ δυνειράτων μολὸν στρ. β’. 155
ἐτυψεν δίκαιν διφρηλάτου
μεσολαβεὶ κέντρῳ
ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβὸν.
pάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαίον δαμίου
βαρύ, τὸ περίβαρυ κρύος ἔχειν.
160

τοιαῦτα δρόσων οἱ νεώτεροι θεοὶ, ἀντ. β’.
kρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον
φονολιβή θρόνον
περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα—
165
pάρεστι γὰς δμφαλὸν προσδρακεῖν αἰμάτων
βλοσυρὸν *ἀρομενον ἄγος ἔχειν.

ἐφεστὶς δὲ *μάνις ὃν μιᾶσματι
µυχὸν ἔχρανας αὐτόσσωτος, αὐτόκλητος,
170
παρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεα μὲν τίων,
pαλαιγενεῖς δὲ Μοῖρας φθίσας.

κάμοι γε λυπρός, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται, ἀντ. γ’.
ὑπὸ τε γὰς φυγῶν οὗ ποι’ ἔλευθεροῦται... 175
ΑΠ. έξω, κελεύω, τώνδε δωμάτων τάχος χωρεῖτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μνημῶν· μή καὶ λαβοῦσα πτηνὸν ἄργηστήν ὄφιν, χρυσελάτου θώμυγγος ἔξωρμωμενον, ἀνήσ ὑπ' ἄλγους μέλαν' ἄπ' ἀνθρώπων ἄφρόν, ἐμοῦσα θρόμβους οὐς ἀφελκυσας φόνου. οὗτοι δόμοισι τοίσδε χρύμπτεσθαι πρέπει· ἀλλ' * οὐ καρανιστήρες ὀφθαλμωρύχοι δίκαι, σφαγαὶ τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀποφθοραί παιδών, † κακοῦται χλούνις, ἥδ' ἀκρωνία * λευσμοὶ τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἴκτισμον πολὼν ὑπὸ τὸ ράχῳ παγέντες. ἃρ' ἀκούετε οἷας ἔφτης ἐστ' ἀποπτυστοὶ θεοὶς στεργηθ' ἔχουσαί; τὰς δ' ὑφηγεῖται τρόπος μορφῆς. λένους ἀντρον αἰματορρόφοι ὀλκείν τοιαύτας εἰκός, οὐ χρυστηροῖς ἐν τοίσδε † πλησίοις τρίβεσθαι μύσος.

ΧΟ. ἀναξ Ἀπολλοῦ, ἀντάκουσον εὖ μέρει. αὐτός σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλει, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐπραξας, * ὡν παναιτίος. 200

ΑΠ. πῶς δή; τοσοῦτο μήκος ἐκτεινον λόγου. ΧΟ. ἔχρησας ὡστε τὸν ἔξουν μητροκτονεῖν. ΑΠ. ἔχρησα ποινὰς τοῦ πατρὸς * πράξαι τ' μὴν;

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

ΧΟ. κάπειθ' ὑπέστησα αἶματος δέκτωρ νέου.
ΑΠ. καὶ προστρατέσθαι τοῦσ' ἐπέστελλον δόμους. 205
ΧΟ. καὶ τὰς προπομποὺς δὴ τᾶς τᾶς ἄλοιπες;
ΑΠ. οὐ γὰρ δόμοις τοῦσ' πρόσφορον μολεῖν.
ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἔστω ἵμιν τοῦτο προστεταγμένον.
ΑΠ. τὶς ἄρη τιμὴ; κόμπασον γέρας καλῶν.
ΧΟ. τῶν μητραλοια ἐκ δόμων ἔλαιονοιεν. 210
ΑΠ. τὶ γὰρ; γυναικὸς ἦτοι ἄνδρα νοσφίσῃ;
ΧΟ. οὐκ ἂν γένοιοθ' ὅμαιμος αὕτευνθ' φόνος.
ΑΠ. ἦ κάρτ' ἀτιμα καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν *εἰργάσω
'Ἡρας Τελείας καὶ Δίος πιστῶμαι'.
Κύπρις δ' ἀτιμος τῶδ' ἀπερριπται λόγῳ,
οθεν βροτοῦσι γίγνεται τὰ φίλτατα.
εὖν γὰρ ἄνδρι καὶ γυναικὶ μόρσιμος
δρκου ὅτι μελζων τῇ δίκῃ φρουρυμένην.
*ἔι τοίσων οὐν κτείνοσιν ἀλλήλους χαλάς,
τὸ μὴ *τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ,
οὐ φημ' Ὀρέστην *σ' ἐνδίκως ἀνδρηλατείν.
τὰ μεν γὰρ οἶδα κάρτα σ' ἐνθυμουμένην,
τὰ δ' ἐμφανῶς πράσσουσαν ἱσχαιτέραν.
δίκας δὲ Παλλᾶς τὼν' ἐποπτεύεις θέα.
ΧΟ. τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνου οὖ τι μὴ λίπω ποτέ. 225
ΑΠ. οὐ δ' οὖν δἰωκε, καὶ πόνου *πλέω τίθου.
ΧΟ. τιμᾶς οὖ μὴ ξύνεις τὰς ἐμᾶς λόγοις.
ΑΠ. οὐδ' ἂν δεχολήμνι ὅστ' ἔχεις τιμᾶς σέθεν.
ΧΟ. μέγας γὰρ ἑμπας πάρ Δίως θρόνοις λέγει·
ἐγὼ δ’, ἄγει γὰρ αἶμα μητρφὸν, δίκας 230
μέτεμι τόυδε φῶτα *κάκκυνηγετῶ.
ΑΠ. ἐγὼ δ’ ἀρήξω, τὸν ἴκετην τε ἰόσομαι·
δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς καὶ θεοῖς πέλει
τοῦ προστροπαλοῦ μῆνις, εἰ προδῶ σφ’ ἐκὼν.
ΟΡ. ἄνασσ’ Ἀθάνα, Δοξίου κελέσμασιν 235
ἡκω, δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα,
οὐ προστρόπαιον, οὐδ’ ἀφοιβαντὼν χέρα,
ἀλλ’ ἀμβλὺν ἡδη, προστετριμμένον τε πρὸς
ἄλλοις οἶκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν.
ὁμοία χέρσου καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν, 240
σφίζων ἑφετμᾶς Δοξίου χρηστὴρίους
πρόσεμι δῶμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σῶν, θεὰ.
αὐτοῦ φυλάσσων ἀναμενῶ τέλος δίκης.

ΧΟ. ἐλευ’ τὸδ’ ἐστὶ τάυδρος ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ’
ἐποῦν δὲ μηυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτον φραδαῖς. 245
tετραματισμένον γὰρ ὦς κόῦν νεβρόν,
πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκματεύμεν.
πολλοῖς δὲ μόχθοις ἀνδροκμῆς φυσία
σπλάγχνου χθόνος γὰρ πᾶς πεποίμανται τόπος,
ὑπὲρ τε πόντου ἀπέτερος ποτήριας 250
ἡλθον διάκοου’, οὐδὲν υστέρα νεώς.
καὶ νῦν ὅδ’ ἐνθάδ’ ἐστὶ που καταπτακών
ὀσμῇ βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελὰ.

όρα, ορὰ μάλ’ αὐ, λεύσει *τε πάντα μῆ 255
λάθη φύγαδα βᾶς ματροφόνον ἀτίτασ.
ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

δ' αὐτῇ γ' οὖν ἀλκάν ἔχων
περὶ βρετεις θεῶς ἀμβρώτου
ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν.

τὸ δ' οὖ πάρεστιν αἷμα ματρῆσαι χαμαί
δυσαγκόμιστον, παταῖ·
τὸ διερὸν πέδοι χύμενον οἰχεῖται.

ἀλλ' αὐτιδοῦναι δεῖ σ' ἀπὸ ἔνωτος ῥοφεῖν
ἐρυθρὸν ἐκ μελῶν πέλανον ἀπὸ δὲ σοῦ

φεροῦμεν βοσκαν πῶματος δυσπότον·
καὶ ἔνωτα σ' ἱσχυνάσαι ἀπάξομαι κάτω,

*ἀντιπολὺ ὡς τύχης ματροφόνον δύας.

ὁψεὶ δὲ κεῖ τις ἄλλος ἦλιτευ βροτῶν
ἡ θεῶν ἢ ἐξεν τιν' ἀσεβῶν

ἡ τοκέας φίλους,

ἔχουσθ' ἐκαστὸν τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια.

μέγας γὰρ Ἀιδῆς ἐστίν εὐθυνὸς βροτῶν
ἐνερεῖς χθονός,

δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπῇ φρενί.

ΟΡ. ἐγὼ διδαχθεῖς ἐν κακοῖς ἐπίσταμαι
πολλοὺς καθαρμοὺς, καὶ λέγειν ὅπου δίκη,

σιγὰν θ' ὅμοιοις ἐν δὲ τῷ δε πράγματι
φωνεῖν ἑταχθὲν πρὸς σοφοῦ διδασκάλου·

βριζεὶ γὰρ αἷμα καὶ μαραίνεται χερός,

μητροκτόνον μᾶσμα δ' ἐκπληθον πέλει·

ποταίμιον γὰρ δὲν πρὸς ἐστὶα βεῦν

Φοίβου καθαρμοῖς ἥλαθη χοιροκτόνοις.

πολὺς δὲ μοι γένοιτ' ἀν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγος,

262. θυσαγόμοντρον V. Fl. Fa. 263. τὸδ' ἱερὸν V. Fl. Fa.

πέδων κεχυμένων MSS. corr. Pors. 265. μελῶν MSS. I give μελῶν.

265. κεχυμένων MSS. corr. Pors. 266. βοσκαν MSS. corr. Wellauer. 268. ἀντιπολύς MSS. corr. Schütz. tείνεις or-ης M. G. tύχης Fl. Fa.V. ματροφῶν MSS.

corr. Cas. 275. τῇ φρ. V. Fl. Fa
όσοις προσήλθον ἀβλαβεὶ ξυνουσία.

[χρόνος καθαρεῖ πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ.] καὶ νῦν ἂφ’ ἀγνοῦ στόματος εὐφήμως καλῶ χῶρας ἀνασσαν τῆς Ἀθηναίαν ἔμοι μολεῶν ἄρωγόν κτῆσται δ’ Ἰλευν δορὸς αὐτὸν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀργείον λεῶν, πιστὸν δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε σύμμαχον. ἀλλ’ εἴτε χῶρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυκοῖς, Τρίτωνος ἅμφι χεῖμα γενεθλίου πόρου, τίθεσιν ὅρθον ἡ κατηρεφή πόδα φίλοις ἄρηγοι’, εἴτε Φλεγραῖαν πλάκα, θρασὺς ταγοῦχος ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐπισκοπεῖ, ἐλθοί,—κλύει δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὧν θεὸς,— ὅπως γένοιτο τῶν’ ἐμοὶ λυτηρίοι.

ΧΟ. οὔτοι σ’ Ἀπόλλων οὔδ’ Ἀθηναίας σθένος ῥύσατ’ ἂν, ὡστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένου ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθῶθ’ ὅπου φρενῶν, ἀναλαματο βόσκημα δαμόνων, *σκιάν. οὔδ’ ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀποπτύεις λόγους, ἐμοὶ τραφεῖς τε καὶ καθιερωμένοι; καὶ ζῶν μὲ δαίσεις, οὔδε πρὸς βωμῷ σφαγείς’ θυμοῦ δ’ ἀκούσει τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν.

ἀγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἀψωμεν, ἐπεὶ μοῦσαν στυγερὰν ἀποφαινεσθαι δεδόκηκεν, λέξαι τε λάχη τὰ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἐπινωμὰ στάσις ἀμα’

286. Probably spurious, see notes. V. Fl. Fa. read γε διδάσκων.
* εὐθυδίκαιοι δ' οἴομεθ' εἶναι.
* τὸν μὲν καθαρὰς χείρας * προνέμοντ' ὁστὶς ἐφέρπει μῆνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν,
ἀσινής δ' αἰῶνα διοιχεῖ·
ὁστὶς δ' ἀλιτῶν, ὡσπερ ὃδ' ἀνήρ,
χείρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει,
μάρτυρες ὅρθαι τοῖς θανάσιμω
παραγιγνόμεναι πράκτορες αἴματος
αὐτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν.

μάτερ ἡ μ' ἐτικτες, ὡ μάτερ
Νῦξ, ἀλαοίσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν
ποιών, κλῦθ' ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἴ
νίς μ' ἀτμον τίθεσιν,
τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος
πτώκα, ματρεῖον ἄγ-
νυσμα κύριον φόνο.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ
τῶδε μέλος, παρακοπά,
παραφορὰ φρευδαλής,
ἐμνοσ εἴξ Ἐρινύων,
δέσμιος φρευῶν, ἀφρο-
μικτος, αὐνὰ βροτοῖς.

τούτῳ γὰρ λάχος διανταία

312. εὐθυδίκαι θ' οἴθ' οἴομεθ' Μ. εὐθ. θ' οίδοίομεθ' G. εὐθ. τ' οἴθ' οίμαι
θείναι V. Fl. Fa. οἴομεθ' H. L. Ahrens. εὐθυδίκαιοι H. 313. τοὺς
... προσνέμοντας M. G. προνέμοντας V. Fl. Fa. corr. H. 314.
MSS. read ὁστὶς ἀφ' ἡμῶν μῆνις ἐφέρπει, leaving open vowel at end,
Pors. 322. ἀλαοίς or -οίσιν most MSS. text Pal. 324. omit
V. Fl. Fa. 328. τότε θυμένιον Fl. τότε θυμομένιον V. Fa. 329.
μοίρ' ἐπέκλωσεν ἔμπεδος ἔχειν, *θνατῶν τοῖσιν * αὐτουργίαι
ξυμπέσωσιν μάταιοι,
τοῖς ὁμαρτεῖν, ὄφρ' ἀν
γὰν ὑπέλθῃ θανῶν δ' ous ἄγαν ἐλεύθεροι.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ
tόδε μέλος, παρακόπα,
pαραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς,
ήμως εξ Ἐρμῶν,
dέσμιον φρενόν, ἀφόρ-
μικτος, αὐθένα βροτοῖς.

γεινομέναισι λάχη τάδ' ἔφ' ἀμῖν ἐκράνθη στρ. β'.
ἀθανάτων δ' ἀπέχειν χέρας, οὐδὲ τις ἐστὶ 350
ξυνδαίτωρ μετάκοινος.
παλλεύκων δὲ πέπλων ἀνέορτος ἀκληρός ἐτύχθην'
δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν
ἀνατροπᾶς, ὃταν Ἄρης 355
τιθασόν ὅν φίλον ἔλῃ'
ἐπὶ τόν, ὦ, οἰκομενι
κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ἄμως ἀμαιρ-
σώμεν ἀματοῦ νέου.

[ἀντ. β'.

σπευδόμεναι δ' ἀφελείν τινὰ τάσδε μερίμνας, 360

θεών δ' ἀτέλειαν * ἐμαῖς μελέταις ἐπικραίνειν 
μηδ' εἰς ἀγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν,— 
Ζεὺς * δ' αἷμοσταγώς ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέοχας 
ἀς ἀπηξιώσατο,— 366 
μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα 
ἀνέκαθεν βαρυπεσῆ 
καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν, 
σφαλερὰ ταυυδρόμοις * δμώς 370 
kώλα, δύσφορον * μάταν. 

δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μᾶλ' ἑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναὶ 
τακόμεναι κατὰ * γᾶς μινώθουσιν ἀτιμοὶ 
ἀμετέραις ἐφόδους μελανείμοσιν, ὀρχησ-
μοῖς τ' ἐτιφθόνοις ποδοῖς. 375

πιπτὼν δ' οὖν οἴδεν τὸδ' ὑπ' ἀφροῦν λύμα· 
ἀντ. γ' 
τοῖον ἐπὶ κλέφας ἄνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται, 
καὶ δυνοφερὰν τιν' ἀχλῦν κατὰ δῶματος αὐτᾶ-
ται πολύστονος φάτης. 380

μένει γὰρ εὐμήχανοι 
δὲ καὶ τέλειοι, κακῶν 
τε μυήμονες σεμναὶ, 
καὶ δυσπαρῆγοροι βροτοῖς, 
ἄτιμ' ἀτίετα διόμεναι 385 
λάχη θεών διχοστατοῦντ' ἀνηλίφ 
λάμπα, † δυσοδοπαῦσα 
δερκομένωσι καὶ δυσομμάτοις δμῶς.

370. δμῶς ins. Weil, see Appendix. 373. γᾶν MSS. corr. H. 
376. ἐτιφθόνοις Μ. corr. Heath. 377. οἴδε V. Fl. 378. τοῖον γὰρ 
MSS. corr. Heath. μῖσος G.
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

τίς οὖν τάδ’ οὖχ ἄξεσαι 

tε καὶ δέδοικεν βροτῶν,
ἐμοὶ κλώνω θεσμὸν
τὸν μοιρόκρατον ἐκ θεῶν
δοθέντα τέλεον; ἐπὶ δὲ μοι
γέρας παλαιῶν, οὐδ’ ἀτιμίας κυρῶ,
**καλπερ ὑπὸ χθόνα
τάξιν ἔχουσα καὶ δυσήλιον κνέφας. 400

ΑΘΗΝΑ.

πρόσωθεν ἔξηκουσα κληδόνος βοὴν
ἀπὸ Βκαμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατομένη,
ἡν δὴ Ἁχαιῶν ἀκτορέος τε καὶ πρόμοι,
τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,
ἐνεμαν αὐτόπρεμον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔμολ,
ἐξαιρετὸν δόριμα Θησέως τόκοις.

ἐνθὲν διώκουσα ἠλθὼν ἀτρυποῦ πόδα,
πτερῶν ἀτερ ροῦδουσα κόλπου αἰγόδος,
πόλεις ἀκμαίως τοῦ ἐπιζεύξασ’ ὄχον.

*καὶ οὐκ ὅ’ ὀρῶσα τήν’ ὀμιλίαν χθόνος
ταρβά μὲν οὐδὲν, θαῦμα δ’ ὀμμασίν πάρα.

τίνες ποτ’ ἐστέ; πάσι δ’ ἐσ κοιλών λέγω,
βρέτας τε τοῦμον τῷ δ’ ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ,

ὑμᾶς τ’ ὀμολας οὖνειν σπαρτῶν γένει,

οὔτ’ ἐν θεαίσα πρὸς θεῶν *ὁρμένας,
οὔτ’ οὕν βροτείως ὑμηρεῖς μορφώμασιν,—

λέγειν δ’ *ἄμομφον ὄντα τοὺς πέλας κακῶς,

πρόσω δικαλῶν, ἥδ’ ἀποστατεῖ-θέμας.

ΧΟ. πεισεὶ τὰ πάντα ἑυτόμωσ, Διὸς κόρη. 415

395. two syllables are wanting, see notes. 402. τέκνοις Fa.
Fl. V. 406. καὶ νῦν δ’ MSS. corr. Cant. 408. στένω V. Fl. Fa.
λέγω M. G. 410. ὀμιῶς V. Fl. 411. ὀρμέναις MSS. corr. Stanl.
413. ἄμομφον MSS. corr. Rob.
ΕΤΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆς τέκνα·
'Αραὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπ' αἰεὶ κεκλήμεθα.
Α. γένος μὲν οἶδα κληδόνας τ' ἐπωνύμους.
Χ. τιμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ τάς ἔμας πεύσει τάχα.
Α. μάθοιμ' ἂν, εἰ λέγοι τις ἐμφανῇ λόγον.
Χ. βροτοκτονοῦντας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν.
Α. καὶ τῷ κτανότι *ποῦ τὸ τέρμα τῆς *φυγῆς;
Χ. οὗπο τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται.
Α. ἥ καὶ τοιαύτας τῷ ἑπιρροίζεις φυγᾶς;
Χ. φονεύς γὰρ εἶναι μητρὸς ἡξιώσατο.
Α. ἄλλης ἀνάγκης οὕτως τρέων κότων;
Χ. ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κέντρου, ὡς μητροκτονεῖν;
Α. δυοὶ παρόντων, ἡμιους λόγον πάρα.
Χ. ἄλλῃ ορκον οὗ δεξαίτ' ἂν, οὗ δούναι *θέλοι.
Α. κλείων * dikaios μᾶλλον ἡ πρᾶξαι θέλεις.
Χ. πῶς δή; δίδαξον τῶν σοφῶν γὰρ οὐ πένει.
Α. ὀρκος τὰ μὴ δίκαια μὴ νικᾶν λέγω.
Χ. ἄλλῃ ἐξελεγχε, κρίνε δ' εὐθεῖαν δίκην.
Α. ἡ κατ' ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἂν αἰτίας τέλος;
Χ. πῶς δ' οὗ; σέβουσαι γ' ἄξιαν *κατ' ἄξιων.
Α. τὶ πρὸς τάδ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς ξέν', ἐν μέρει θέλεις;
λέξας δὲ χῶραν καὶ γένος καὶ ἔμμορφας
tάς σάς, ἐπειτα τόνδ' ἀμυνάθου ψόγον·
ἐπερ πεποιθῶς τῇ δίκῃ βρέτας τὸδε
ὁσαυ φυλάσσων ἑστίας ἀμῆς πέλας,
σεμνὸς προσκήπτωρ, ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίωνος.
tούτως ἀμελβοῦν πᾶσιν εὐμαθές τί μοι.

416. αἰανῆ M. G. Schol. text V. Fl. Fa. 422. τοῦτο MSS. ποῦ
tὸ Αυρατ. Tyrwh. σφαγῆς MSS. corr. Scal. 426. ἡ τινὸς V. Fl.
Fa. 429. θέλει MSS. corr. Schütz. 430. δικαίως V. Fl. δικαίως,
w superscr. M. 431. πλὴ V. Fl. 435. σέβομαι corrected to
σέβομεν V. σέβομεν Fl. Fa. t ex M. G. τ' ἐπ' ἤξιον V. corr. Arnald. 440. ἐμῆς V. Fl. Fa.
ΟΡ. ἀνασο’ Ἀθάνα, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων τῶν σων ἐπὼν μέλημ’ ἀφαιρήσω μέγα. 445
οὺκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαιος, οὐδ’ ἡ ἔχουν μύσος πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ μῇ τὸ σὸν ἀφεζόμην βρέτας.
tεκμήριον δὲ τῶυδε σοι λέξῳ μέγα’ ἀφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναίον νόμος,
ἔστ’ ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρος αἴματος καθαρσίον σφαγαί καθαμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ. 450
πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλως ταῦτ’ ἀφιερώμεθα οἴκοισι, καὶ βοτοῖς καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις.
tαύτῃ μὲν οὕτω φροντίδ’ ἐκποδῶν λέγω.
γένος δὲ τούμον ὡς ἔχει, πεύσει τάχα.
’Ἀργείδος εἰμὶ, πατέρα δ’ ἱστορεῖς καλῶς,
’Ἀγαμέμνου’, ἄνδρῶν ναυβατῶν ἀρμόστορα,
ξών ὅ σὺ Τρόιαν ἀπολιν Ἰλίου πόλιν ἔθηκας. ἔφθιο’ οὕτος οὐ καλῶς, μολὼν
ἐς οἰκον, ἀλλὰ ὑπν κελαινόφρων ἐμὴ
μήτηρ κατέκτα, ποικίλοις ἀγρεύμασιν
κρύψαο’, δ’ λουτρῶν ἔξεμαρτύρει φόνον.
καγὼ κατελθὼν, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ φεῦγων χρόνου,
ἐκτεινα τὴν τεκοῦσαν, οὐκ ἄρνήσομαι,
ἀντικόνοις ποιναίσι φιλτάτου πατρός.
καὶ τῶυδε κοινὴ Δοξίας ἐπαίτιος,
ἀληθεὶς προφωνῶν ἀντίκεντρα καρδία.
εἰ μή τι τῶν’ ἔρξαμι τοὺς ἐπαίτιους.
οὔ δ’, εἰ δικαίως εἶτε μή, κρίνον δικῆν
πράξας γὰρ ἐν σοὶ πανταχῆ τάδ’ αινέως.

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

ΑΘ. τὸ πράγμα μεῖζον, εἰ τις οἴεται τόδε 470
βροτὸς δικάζειν οὐδὲ μὴν ἔμωι θέμις
*φώνου διαρεῖν ἀδεμημότους δίκας·
ἀλλως τε καὶ σὺ μὲν κατηρτικῶς *ἐμοῖς
ικήσεις προσῆλθες καθάρος ἀβλαβής δόμοις·
*ἐγὼ δὲ ἄρμομφον δύνα σ᾽ αἱροῦμαι πόλει· 475
αὐταὶ δὲ ἔχονοι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπομπελοῦν,
καὶ μὴ τυχόνσαι πράγματος νικηφόρου,
χώρα μεταθῆς ἦδος ἐκ προνημάτων
πέδων πεσῶν ἀφετερος αἰλανής νόσος.
τοιαύτα μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἑστώς ἀμφότερα, μένειν 480
περιπετεῖν τε, δυσπήμαντ᾽ ἀμφάκανος ἐμοί.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πράγμα δειρ᾽ ἐπέσκηπεν τόδε,
φώνῳ δικαστᾷς *δρκλόνως αἱρούμενη
θεσμοὶ τῶν εἰς ἅπαντ᾽ ἐγὼ θῆσαι χρόνον.
ὑμεῖς δὲ μαρτυρία τε καὶ τεκμήρια
καλεῖσθ᾽, ἄρωγα τῆς δίκης δρκόματα·
κρίνασα δὲ Ἀστών τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα
ἡξὶ, διαρεῖν τούτο πράγμ᾽ ἐπεμέλως
ὁρκοῦ *ποροῦντος μηδὲν ἐκδικοῦ *φράσειν.

ΧΘ. νῦν καταστροφαὶ νέων ἑσομίων, ἐὰν κρατή-
σει δίκα * ὑπὲρ βλάβα
τὸ ἄρα μητροκτόνου.

471. βροτοῖς corrected to βροτὸς M. according to Weckl.
473. δῦμας MSS. corr. Pauw. 475. ἐγὼ δ᾽ Ἡρτ. δῦμας MSS.
476. εὐπεπλων V. Fl. Fa. 478. χώρας μετ᾽ αὖθιος τοι ἐμῦτας MSS.
corr. Well. 479. αἰλάνη V. Fl. 481. δὲ MSS. corr. Abr. δυσπήματ᾽
M. V. Fl. Fa. δυσπήματ᾽ G. corr. Scal. 483. δρκλόνως αἱρούμενους MSS.
text Cas. 489. περιῶντας MSS. corr. H. φρεσῖν M. G. φρεῖ Fl.
V. corr. Markland. Wakefield. whole line misplaced after 484, V. Fl.
omitted Fa. 492. τὸ Heath, MSS. omit.
πάντας ἦδη τόδε ἔργον εὐχερεῖ-α ἔνναρμόσει βροτοῦς.
pολλὰ δ’ ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα
πάθεα προσμένει τοκεύ-
σιν μεταθίς ἐν χρόνῳ.
* οὖνε γὰρ βροτοσκόπων
μανίδων τῶν ’ ἐπέρ-
ψει κότος * τιν’ ἐργαζότων,
pάντ’ ἐφήσω μόρον,
pεισται δ’ Ἀλλος Ἀλλοθεν, προφο-
νῶν τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά,
λῆξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε μόχθων’
ἀκεά τ’ οὖ βέβαια τόλ-
μων μάταν παρηγορεῖ.

μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω
ἐξωφορᾷ τετυμένωσ,
tούτ’ ἐπος θροούμενωσ,
δὲ δίκα,
δὲ θρόνοι τ’ Ἐρωτών.
tαύτα τις τάχ’ ἀν πατὴρ
ἡ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθής
οίκτον οἰκτίσατ’, ἔπει-
δὴ πίτυει δόμος δίκας.

ἔσθ’ ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν ἐν
και φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον
δεῖ μένειν καθήμενον;
ἐξωφέρει
σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.

494. εὐχαρία V. Fl. Fa. 499. ἄντε MSS. corr. Elmsl. 501. τίς
511. ἄντε MSS. corr. Pauw. 519. δειμαλνεῖ MSS. corr. H., and an
anonymous corrector in Cambridge Aldine.


τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν * δέει
cardian * ἀν ἀνατρέφων,

ἡ πόλις βρωτός θ', ὁμοί-

ως ἐτ' ἀν σέβοι δίκαιν;

μήτ' ἀνάρχετον βίον

μήτε δεσποτούμενον

αὐνέσης.

παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ἔπασεν·

ἀλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεῖει.

ξύμμετρον δ' ἐπος λέγω,

δυσσεβίας μὲν υβρίς

tέκος ὡς ἐτύμως·

ἐκ δ' ὑγεί-

ας φρενών δ' * πάμφιλος

καὶ πολύευκτος ὀλβος.

eἰ τὸ πᾶν δὲ σοι λέγω,

βωμὸν αἰθεσαι δίκας·

μηδὲ νιν

κέρδος ἱδῶν ἀθέφ ποδὶ λαξ ἀτι-

ς' ποινὰ γὰρ ἐπέσται·

κῦριον μὲνει τέλος.

πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων

σέβας εὖ προτίων,

καὶ ἕνοτι-

μους * δόμων ἐπιστροφᾶς

αλδόμενός τις ἔστω.

*ἐκὼν δ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ δίκαιος ἄν


M.G. ἀναρκτον V. Fl. ἀναρκτον Fa. 529. ἀπατεi MSS. corr.

Pauw. 531. ἄλλα ἄλλα V. Fl. Fa. 533. δυσσεβείας M.G. V. Fl.

text Fa. 536. πᾶς φίλος MSS. corr. H. 547. δαμάτων MSS.

corr. Hart. 549. ἐκ τῶν δ' MSS. corr. Wieseler.
οὐκ ἄνολοβος ἔσται· 550
παρώλεθρος δ’ οὕποτ’ ἂν γένοιτο·
τὸν ἀντίτολον δὲ φαμὶ * καὶ παραβάταν
τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ’ ἂνευ δίκας
βιαίως ἔναν χρόνῳ καθῆσειν,
λαῖφος ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος,
θραυσμένας κεραίας.
καλεῖ δ’ ἀκούοντας οὐδέν, ἐν μέσα  ἀντ. δ’.
δυσπαλεῖ τε δίνα.
γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ,
τὸν οὐποτ’ αὐχοῦντ’ ἵδιν ἀμαχάνον δύαις
καὶ λαπαδίνων, οὐδ’ ὑπερθέουντ’ ἄκραν
ὅτ’ αἰώνος δὲ, τὸν πρὶν ὀλβὸν
ἔρματι προσβαλὼν δίκας,
ὁλετ’ ἄκλαυστος, αἰστός. 565

ΑΘ. κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθον·
ἡ τ’ οὖν διάτορος * αἰθέρος Τυρσηνικὴ
σάλπιγξ, βροτέλου πνεύματος πληρομένη,
ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαίνετω στρατῷ·
πληρομένου γὰρ τοῦθε βουλευτηρίου
σιγὰν ἀρήγει, καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμοὺς ἐμοὺς
πόλιν τε πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν αἰανή χρόνον,
καὶ * τούσδε, ὅπως ἂν εὐ καταγινώσθῃ δίκη.
ΧΟ. ἀναξ * Ἀπολλον, δεν ἐχεις αὐτὸς κράτει.
τὸ τοῦτο σοι μέτεστι πράγματος, λέγε. 575

ΑΠ. καὶ μαρτυρήσων ἔλθου—ἔστι γὰρ * νόμῳ

ἐκέτης ὁδ' ἀνήρ, καὶ δόμων ἐφέστιος ἐμῶν' φόνου δὲ τοῦδ' ἐγὼ καθάρσιος——καὶ ξυνιδικήσων αὐτός' αἰτιάν ὁ ἔχω τῆς τοῦδε μητρὸς τοῦ φόνου. σὺ δ' εἰσαγε ὁπως *τ' ἐπίστα τήνδε κυρώσων δίκην.

ΑΘ. ὁμών ὁ μύθος' εἰσάγω δὲ τὴν δίκην.

ὁ γὰρ δύμκων πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος.

ΧΟ. πολλαὶ μὲν ἔσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως' ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθεὶς. τὴν μητέρ' εἰπ' πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτωνα.

ΟΡ. ἔκτεινα' τούτου δ' οὕτως ἀρνησὶς πέλει.

ΧΟ. ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἡδη τῶν τρεῖων παλαισμάτων.

ΟΡ. σὺ κειμένῳ πω τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεὶ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες.

ΟΡ. λέγω' ξυфούλκῳ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρνη τεμῶν.

ΧΟ. πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπείσθης, καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασι' τοῖς τούδε θεσφάτοις' μαρτυρεὶ δὲ μοι.

ΧΟ. ὁ μάντις εξηγεῖτο σοι μητροκτονεῖν;

ΟΡ. καὶ δειρὸ γ' ἀεί τὴν τύχην σὺ μέμφομαι.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εἰ σε μάρψῃ ψήφος, ἀλλ' ἔρεις τάχα.

ΟΡ. πέποιθε' ἀρωγάς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμψει πατήρ.

ΧΟ. νεκροῖσι νυν πέπεισθὶ μητέρα κτανῶν.

ΟΡ. δυὸν γὰρ εἰχὲ προσβολᾶς μισσαμάτων.

ΧΟ. τῶς δῆ; δεδαξὸν τοὺς δικαζόντας τάδε.

ΟΡ. ἀνδροκτονοῦσα πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανεν.

ΧΟ. τοιγὰρ σὺ μὲν ζης, ἡ δ' ἐλευθέρα *φόνω.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

ΟΡ. τι δ’ οὐκ ἕκελην ζῴσαν ἠλαυνες φυγῇ;
ΧΟ. οὐκ ἦν ὅμαιμος φωτός ὅν κατέκτανεν.
ΟΡ. ἐγὼ δὲ μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐν αἴματι;
ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ σ’ ἐθρεψεν ἐντός, ὥ μιαφονε,
ζώνης; ἀπεύχει μητρὸς αἶμα φιλτατον;
ΟΡ. ἤδη σὺ μαρτύρησον, ἔσγογο δέ μοι,
’Απολλων, εἰ σφε σὺν δίκη κατέκτανον.
ΟΡ. δράσαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα:
ἀλλ’ εἰ δικαίως εἶτε μὴ τῇ σῇ φρενὶ
dοκεῖ τόδ’ αἶμα, κρίνον, ὡς τούτοις φράσω.
ΑΠ. λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τόνδ’ Ἀθηναῖας μέγαν
θεσμόν, δικαίως, μάντις ὅν δ’ οὐ ψεύσομαι.
οὐπότοποι εἶπον μαντικοίσιν ἐν θρόνοις,
οὐκ ἀνδρός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι,
δ’ μὴ * κελεύσαι Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.
τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦθ’ δοσὺν σθένει μαθεῖν,
βουλῇ πιθανόσκω δ’ ὑμι’ ἐπισπέσθαι πατρὸς’
ορκὸς γὰρ οὕτι Ζηνὸς ἱσχυε πλεόν.
ΧΟ. Ζεὺς, ὡς λέγεις σύ, τόνδε χρησμὸν ὧπασε
φράζειν Ὀρέστη τῷ, τὸν πατρὸς φόνον
πράξαντα μητρὸς μηδαμοῦ τιμᾶς νέμειν.
ΑΠ. οὐ γὰρ τι ταύτον, ἄνδρα γενναῖον θανεῖν
διοσδότοις σκήπτροσι τιμαλφοῦμενον,
καὶ ταύτα πρὸς γυναικός, οὐ τι θουρλοῖς
tόξοις ἐκηβόλοισιν ὡστ’ Ἀμαζόνος,
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀκούσει, Παλλάς, οὐ τ’ ἐφ’ ἦμενοι
ψήφῳ διαμείρειν τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι;
ἀπὸ στρατελὰς γὰρ μην ἑμποληκότα
† τὰ πλείσθ’ ἀμείνον εὐφροσίων δεδεγμένην.

608. τὸ φιλτ. G. A. 615. δικαίας G. 618. κελεύσαι MSS. 
corr. H. 620. βουλῇ M. G. corr. Turn. 629. ἀκούσῃ MSS. 
631. μὴν MSS. corr. Pors. 632. ἀμείνον’ M.
δροίτη περῴτη λοντρά κατά τέρματι
φάρος παρεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ' ἀτέρμοισι
κόπτει πεδήσασ' ἄνδρα δαιδάλῳ πέπλῳ. τοῦ παντοσέμμου, τοῦ στρατηλάτου νεὼν
ταύτην τουαύτην εἶπον, ὡς δηχθῆ λεῖω,
δοσπερ τέτακται τήνδε κυρὼσαί δίκην.

ΧΟ. πατρός προτιμᾷ Ζεὺς μόρον, τῷ σῷ λόγῳ
αὐτὸς δ' ἐδησε πατέρα προσβύτην Κρόνον,
τῶς ταύτα τούτοις οὐκ ἐναυτίως λέγεις;
ὑμᾶς δ' ἀκούειν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι.

ΑΠ. ὃ παντομοιὴ κυῶδαλα, στύγη θεῶν,
pέδας μὲν ἄν λύσειεν, ἐστὶ τοῦδ’ ἄκος,
καί κάρτα πολλὴ μηχανὴ λυτήριος
ἀνδρός δ’ ἐπειδὰν αἱμ’ ἀναστάσῃ κόνις,
ἀπαξ θανόντος οὕτως ἐστ’ ἀνάστασις.

ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεῦγειν τοῦδ’ ὑπερδικεῖσ, δραρ
τὸ μητρὸς αἱμ’ ὄμαιον ἐκχέας πέδῳ,
ἐπείτ’ ἐν Ἀργεί δόματ’ οὐκήσει πατρός;
πολοισὶ βωμοῖς ἱρομενοὶ τοῖς δημοῖς;
πολὰ δὲ χέρνυσι φρατέρων προσδέξεται;

ΑΠ. καὶ τούτο λέξω, καὶ μᾶθ’ ὡς ὅρθως ἔρω.
σὺν ἔστι μῆτηρ ἡ κεκλημένου τέκνου
τοκεύσ, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου
τίκτει δ’ ὃ ὁ ὀρφακὼν, ἡ δ’ ἀπερ ξένῳ ξένη

644. παντοστυγή A. 645. Here V. Fl. Fa. reappear. 645. ἄς
ἄσθμαι M. A. G. text V. Fl. 656. προσδέξετε M. -άιται G.
text cet. 658. κεκλημένου M. G. κεκλημένη V. Fl. Fa.
ἐσωσεν ἔρνος, οἰσι μὴ βλάψῃ θεός.

tekmήριον δὲ τοῦδε σοι δείξω λόγου

πατὴρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνευ μητρός' πέλας

μάρτυς πάρεστι πᾶς 'Ολυμπίου Δίως,

οὐδ' ἐν σκότωι νησύος τεθραμμένη,

ἀλλ' οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός.

ἐγὼ δὲ, Παλλάς, τάλλα θ', ὡς ἐπισταμαι,

tὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν τεῦξω μέγαν,

καὶ τόνδ' ἐπεμψα· σῶν δόμων ἐφέστιον,

ὅπως γένοιτο πιστὸς εἰς τὸ πάν χρόνου,

670

καὶ τόνδ' ἐπικτήσαι σύμμαχον, θεά,

καὶ τοὺς ἐπείτα, καὶ τάδ' αλαώς μένοι

στέργειν τὰ πιστὰ τῶν τοὺς ἐπιστόρους.

ἈΘ. ἡδη κελεύω τοῦδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν

ψήφον δικαλαν', ὡς ἄλις λελεγμένων;

ΧΘ. ἡμῖν μὲν ἡδη πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος'

μένω δ' ἄκουσαι, πῶς ἄγων κριθήσεται.

ἈΘ. τί γάρ; πρὸς ὑμῶν πῶς τιθεῖσ' ἁμομφός ὡ;

ἈΠ. ἡκουσαθ' ἀν ἡκουσατ', ἐν δὲ καρδίᾳ

ψήφον φέροντες ὅρκον αἰδείσθε, ξένοι.

ἈΘ. κλύσιτ' ἂν ἡδή θεσμόν, Ἀττικὸς λεως,

πρῶτας ὅλες κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ.

ἐσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατή

ἀεὶ * δικαστῶν· τούτω· βουλευτήριον.

πάγον δ' Ἀρείου τόνδ', Ἀμαζώνων ἔδραν—

685

σκηνᾶς θ', ὅτ' ἥλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον—

στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλιν νεότερον—

ἘΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ. 61

τήνυδ' ὑψίπυργον ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε,
"Ἀρεί ὦ ἔθνος, ἑυθεν ἔστ' ἐπάνυμος...
πέτρα πάγος τ' "Ἀρείους· ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας
ἀστῶν φόβος τε ἔγγειός τὸ μὴ 'δικείν
σχέσει τὰ τ' ἡμαρ καὶ κατ' ἑυφρόνην ὀμῶς,
ἀυτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ *πικαινοῦσων νόμοισιν.
κακαῖς ἔπηροισι βορβόρφι θ' ὦδωρ
λαμπρῶν μιαίνων ὀυπόθ' εὐρήσεις ποτόν.
τὸ μὴ τ' ἀναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον
ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλεύων σέβεσθαι,
καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πὰν πόλεως ἐξω βαλείν.
τίς γάρ, δεδοικῶς μηδέν, ἐνδικος βρατῶν;
τοιόυδε τοι ταρβοῦντες ἐνδίκως σέβας,
ἔρυμα τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτηρίων
ἔχοιτ' ἀν', οἶον οὕτως ἀνθρώπων ἔχει
οὐτ' ἐν Σκύθαισι οὐτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποισ.
κερδῶν ἀθικτον τοῦτο βουλευτήριον,
αιδοίουν, ὅξυθυμοιν, εὐδότων ὑπερ—
ἔγγεργορος φρούρημα γῆς-καθίσταμαι.
ταῦτην μὲν ἐξέτειν' ἐμοῖς παραίεσιν
ἀστοίσιν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὁρθοῦσθαι δὲ χρή,
καὶ Ἐξίφον αἴρειν, καὶ διαγνώσαι δίκην,
*αιδουμένους τὸν ὅρκον. εἰρηται λόγος.

ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν βαρείαν τήνυδ' ὁμιλιάν χθόνος
ζύμβουλος εἰμι μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσαι.
ΑΠ. κάγωνε χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς τε καὶ Δίος
ταρβεῖν κελεύω, μηδ' ἀκαρπώτους κτίσαι.

Steph. 696. μήτε δεσπ. G. μηδὲ οὐ μὴ δὲ σετ. 697. σέβειν P.
σέβει το σέβειν M. G. A. σέβειν V. Fl. Fa. 702. οὐπον'
V. Fl. 706. ἐγγεργορον V. Fl. Fa. 707. ἐξαιτεῖν P. 710.
κάγω το MSS. corr. Pors.
ΧΟ. ἀλλ’ αἰματηρὰ πράγματ’ ὅπειρα λαχῶν σέβεις, 715
μαντεῖα δ’ ὦκ ἔθ’ ἀγνὰ μαντεύσει *νέμων.
ΑΠ. ἣ καὶ πατήρ τι σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων
πρωτοκόλλουσι προστοπαίς Ἰείονοις;
ΧΟ. λέγεις: ἐγὼ δέ, μὴ τυχόνσα τῆς δίκης,
βαρεῖα χώρα τῇ δ’ ὁμιλήσω πάλιν. 720
ΑΠ. ἀλλ’ ἐν τε τοῖς νέουσι καὶ παλαίτεροις
θεοῖς ἁτίμοις εὶ σὺ νικήσῃ δ’ ἐγὼ.
ΧΟ. τοιαύτ’ ἔδρασας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμοις;
Μοίρας ἐπείσας ἀφθίτονς θείαι βροτοῦς.
ΑΠ. οὐκον δίκαιον τοῦ σέβοντ’ εὐεργετεῖν,
ἀλλ’ ὁ πάντως χωτε δεόμενος τόχοι;
ΧΟ. σύ τοι παλαιὰς *διανομᾶς καταφθίσας
οἶνῳ παρηπάτησας ἀρχαίας θεᾶς. 725
ΑΠ. σύ τοι τάχ’, οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος,
ἐμεῖ τοῦ ἴδου ποιόν ἔχονεν βαρόν.
ΧΟ. ἑπεὶ καθιππάξει με προσβύτων νέοις,
δίκης γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπήκοος μένω,
ὅς ἀμπελοῦλοσ ὦσα θυμόθειασ τόλει.
ΑΘ. ἐμὸν τὸδ’ ἐργον, λοισθιάν κρῖναι δίκην
ψήφου δ’ ὁ Ὀρέστη τήν’ ἕγω προσθήσομαι. 730
μὴτηρ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστίν ἥ μ’ ἐγείνατο.
τὸ δ’ ἀρέσει αὐτῷ πάντα, πλῆν γάμου τυχεῖν,
ἀπαυὰς θυμῷ, κάρτα δ’ εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός.
οὕτω γνωσίμος σὺ προτιμήσω μόρον
ἀνδρα κτανύσσῃς δωμάτων ἐπισκοποῦν,
νικ’ δ’ ὁ Ὀρέστης, καὶ ἰσόψηφος κριθή.
ἐκβάλλεθ’ ὃς τάχιστα τευχέων πάλους,
ὅσοι δικαστῶν τούτ’ ἐπέσταλται τέλος.

716. μένων MSS. corr. H. 717. σφήλεται V. Fl. Fa. 725. οὐκοῦν
Alk. 12. 733. ἀμφίβολος MSS. corr. Turn. 743. ἢσος Fl.
ΟΡ. ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπολλον, πῶς ἀγών κριθήσεται;
ΧΟ. ὁ Νῦς μέλανα μήτερ, ἄρ' ὅρας τάδε;
ΟΡ. τῶν ἄγχωντος μοι τέρματ', ἣ φάος βλέπειν.
ΧΟ. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔρρεεν, ἡ πρόσω τιμὰς νέμειν.
ΑΠ. πεμπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένου,
τὸ μὴ 'δικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει.
γνώμης ὃ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γλυκεῖται μέγα,
βαλοῦσα τ' οἶκον ψήφος ὀρθωσεν μια.
ΑΘ. ἀνὴρ ὃ' ἐκπέφυγεν ἀλματος δίκην' 
ἐσον γὰρ ἐστὶ ταριθμημα τῶν πάλων.
ΟΡ. ὁ Παλλάς, ὁ σῶσαν τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους,
καὶ γῆς πατρφας ἐστερημένου σύ τοι
κατφκισάς με, καὶ τις Ἑλλήνων ἔρει,
'Αργείος ἀνὴρ αὐθίς, ἐν τε χρήμασιν
οἰκεὶ πατρφοῖς, Παλλάδος καὶ Λοξίου
ἐκατ', καὶ τοῦ πάντα κραίνουτος τρίτου
Σωτήρος, ὃς πατρφον αἰδεσθεὶς μόρον
σωζεῖ με, μητρὸς τάσδε συνδίκους ὅρων.
ἐγὼ δὲ χώρα τηδε καὶ τῷ σφ' στρατῷ
τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀπαυτα πλειστήρη χρόνον
ὅρκωμοτήσας τῶν ἀπεμι πρὸς δόμους,
μήτοι τῳ' ἄνδρα δεύρο προμνήτην χθονός,
ἐλθοῦτ' ἐποίεσεν εὐ κεκασμένον δόρυ.
αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὄντες ἐν τάφοις τότε
τοῖς τάμα παρβαίνουσι νῦν ὄρκωματα
ἀμηχανοὶ πράξεις δυσπραξίαις,
ὅδοις ἀθόμους καὶ παρόρυθας πόρους
τιθέντες, ὃς αὐτοὶ μεταμέλῃ πόνοις'
ὁρθομένων δέ, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος

746. MSS. give to ΧΟ. corr. Abresch. 748. ἐφούν V. 752.
δ' M. A. G. text cet. 759. τρίτον V. Fa. 760. ὁν V. Fl.
τιμῶσιν ἂεί τήνδε συμμάχῳ δορί,
αὐτοῖς ἔσμεν εὐμενέστεροι.
καὶ χαῖρε, καὶ σὺ καὶ πολιοσοῦχος λεώς'
πάλαισμ' ἄφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοις,
σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς νικηφόρον. 775

ΧΧ. ἰῳ θεοὶ νεώτεροι, παλαιῶς νόμους
καθιππάσασθε, κὰκ χερῶν εἰλεσθὲ μου.
ἐγὼ δ' ἀτιμος ἀ τάλαινα βαρύκτοσ
ἐν γῇ τάδε, φεῦ,
ἰδὼν ἰδὼν ἀντιπενθῇ
μεθείσα χαρδίας, σταλαγμὸν
χθονὶ ἄφορον' ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
λειχῆν ἄφυλλος, ἄτεκνος,
ὡ δικα, πέδου ἐπισύμενος,
βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώρᾳ * βαλεῖ
στενάζω; τί βέξω;
* γελώμαι· δύσοιστα
πολίταις ἐπαθον.

ΑΘ. ἔμοι πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν'
οὐ γὰρ νενικησθ', ἀλλ' ἰσόψηφος δίκη
ἐξῆλθ' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἄτιμα σέθεν.

778–810 wanting in V. Fl. Fa. 784. χθονιαφόρων M. A.
χθονία φόρων C. 785. λαχ' MSS. 788. βαλεῖν MSS. corr.
Turn. 789. γένωμαι MSS. text Tyrwhitt. 793. πίθεσθε A.
πίθεσθαι G. text M. 796. ἄτιμας G. 798. φήςας MSS. corr.
Turn.
*ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ θυμουῦσθε, μηδὲ τῇδε γῆ
βαρῶν κότον σκῆψητε, μηδ’ ἀκαρπίαν *
tεύξῃ’, ἀφεῖσαι ἕ δαιμόνων σταλάγματα,
βρωτήρας’ αλχμᾶς σπερμάτων ἀνήμερους·
ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμίν πανδίκως ὑπίσχομαι
ἐδρας τε καὶ κευθμῶνας ἐνδίκου χθονὸς
λιπαροθρόνουσιν ἠμένας ἐπ’ ἐσχάραις
ἐξειν, ὑπ’ ἀστῶν τῶν τῶν τιμαλφουμένας.

Χ. ἰδ’ θεοὶ νεώτεροι, παλαιοῦς νόμους
καθιπάσασθε, κὰκ χερῶν εἰλεσθ’ μου.
ἐγὼ δ’ ἀτιμος ἀ τάλαινα βαρύκτοσ
ἐν γᾶ τάδε, φεῦ,
ἰδον ἰδον ἀντιπενθῇ
μεθείσα καρδίας, σταλαγμὸν
χθονὶ ἀφοροῦ’ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
λειχὴν ἀφυλλος ἄτεκνος
ὦ δίκα, πέδου ἐπισύμενος,
βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώρᾳ βαλεῖ
στενάζω; τί πέξω;
γελῶμαι δύσοιστα
πολίταις ἐπαθον
ἰδ’ μεγάλα τοι κόραι δυστυχεῖς
Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς.

Ἀ. οὐκ ἐστ’ ἀτιμοι, μηδ’ ὑπερθύμως ἀγαν
θεαὶ βροτῶν—στήσητε δύσκηλον χθόνα.
καγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί, καὶ τί δει λέγειν;

800. ὑμεῖς δὲ τε τῇδε γῆ μὴ βαρῶν κότον σκῆψησθε, μὴ θυμουῦσθε,
Weil. σκῆψηστε Elmsl. 804. πάνδικος G. 809. χερῶν εἰλετε G.
814. χθονιαφόρον M. G. V. Fl. 815. λειχὴν MSS. 816.
και κλήδας οίδα *δάματος μόνη θεών, 830
ἐν ὃ κεραυνός ἐστι ν ἐσφραγισμένος.
ἀλλ’ οὔθεν αὐτοῦ δεῖ· σοῦ δ’ εὔπειθῆς ἐμοὶ γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ ’κβάλης *ἐπὶ χθόνι καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς.
κοίμα κελαυνοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος, 835
ὅς σεμνóτημος καὶ εὐποιητῶρ ἐμοί.
πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆς’ ἐτ’ ἀκροθινία,
θύη πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους ἔχουσα’ ἐς αἰεὶ τόνδ’ ἐπαινέσεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῦ, 840
ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατά τε *γάς οἶκεῖν φεῦ, ἀτίετον μεσοῦ.
πνέω τοι μένος ἄπαντά τε κότον.

οἶοι, δὰ, φεῦ.
τίς μ’ ὑποῦται *τίς ὅδυνα πλευρᾶς;
θυμοῦ αἰε, μέτερ
Νῦς’ ἀπὸ γάρ με τι-
μᾶν *δαμαίαν θεῶν 845
dυσπάλαμοι παρ’ οὔθεν ἤραν δόλοι.

ΑΘ. ὄργας ἑωφόρω σοι; γεραυτέρα γάρ εἰ.
καὶ *τῷ μὲν εἰ σὺ κάρτ’ ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,
φρουέιν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἐδωκεν οὐ κακῶς. 850

ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἐλθόντα χθόνα

827. δαμάτων MSS. corr. Cas. 830. ἐπὶ χθόνα MSS. Text
γῆς τήσδ’ ἔρασθήσεσθε’ προύνυνέπω τάδε.
οὔπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος
ἔσται πολίταις τούσδε’ καὶ σὺ τιμάν
ἐδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις 'Ερεχθέως 855
tεύξει παρ’ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων
*δὸςων παρ’ ἄλλων οὐποτ’ ἂν σχέοις βροτῶν.
σὺ δ’ ἐν τόποισ τοῖς ἔμοισι μὴ βάλης
μηθ’ αἰματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγχνων βλάβας
νέων, ἀοίνους ἐμμανεῖς θυμάμασιν, 860
μηθ’, ἐξελοῦσ’ ὃς καρδίαν ἀλεκτρώων,
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἱδρύσης Ἀρη
ἐμφύλιον τε καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους θρασύν.
θυραῖος ἐστῶ πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρῶν,
ἐν ᾧ τίς ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρως’ 865
ἐνοικίου δ’ ὄρνιθος οὐ λέγω μάχην.
τοιαῦθ’ ἐλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ
ἐν ὁρῶσαν, εὖ πάσχουσαν, εὖ τιμωμένην,
χώρας μετασχεῖν τήσδε θεοφιλεστάτης.

ΧΟ. ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῦ, 870
ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατά τε *γάς οἴκείν
φεῦ, ἀτίετον μύσοσ.
πνέω τοι μένος ἀπαντά τε κότον.
oἰοὶ, δὰ, φεῦ.
tίς μ’ ὑποδύεσαι *τίς ὀδύνα πλευρᾶς; 875
θυμὸν ἀἱε, μάτερ
Νῦς’ ἀπὸ γὰρ με τι-
μᾶν *δαμαίαν θεῶν

857. δοῦν MSS. text Pauw and Paley. 859. θηγάνων V. Fl. Fa.
860. ἀοίνους MSS. corr. Rob. 865. ἐστι corrected to ἔσται M.
875. See 842. 879. δαμίαν M. A. G. δαμέαν V. Fl. Fa. corr. D.
δυσπάλαμοι παρ' ούθεν ἦραν δόλοι.

ΑΘ. οὗτοι καμοῦμαι σοι λέγονσα τάγαθά:

δις μήτωρ' εἴπης πρὸς νεωτέρας ἐμοῦ
θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολισσοῦχων βροτῶν
ἀτίμος ἔρρειν τοῦτ' ἀπόξενος πέδου.

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνὸν ἐστὶ σοι Πειθόνς σέβας,

γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον,

οὐ δ' οὕνει μένοις ἄν' εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,

οὔταν δικαίως τῇ δ' ἐπιρρήποις πόλει

μὴν τῷ ἡ κότον τιν' ἡ βλάβην στραταὶ.

ἐξεστὶ γάρ σοι * τῇ δ' γαμόρῳ χοινὰς

ἐλναι δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη.

ΧΩ. ἄνασσο' Ἀθάνα, τίνα με φῆς ἔχειν ἔδραν;

ΑΘ. πάσης ἀπήμον' οἴξους' δέχοι δὲ σοῦ.

ΧΩ. καλ δ' δέδεγμαι τίς δὲ μοι τιμὴ μένει;

ΑΘ. ὃς μὴν τῷ οἴκου * εὐθενεῖν θὰνει σέθεμ.

ΧΩ. οὐ τοῦτο πράξεις, ὡστε με θένειν τόσουν;

ΑΘ. τῷ γάρ σέβοντι ξυμφορᾶς ὀρθώσομεν.

ΧΩ. καὶ μοι πρόπαντός ἐγγύνη θῆσει χρόνον;

ΑΘ. ἐξεστὶ γάρ μοι μὴ λέγειν ἃ μὴ τελῶ.

ΧΩ. θέλεξεν μ' ἔοικας, καὶ μεθῖσταμαι κότον.

ΑΘ. τοιγάρ κατὰ χθόν' οὖσ' ἐπικτήσει φίλους.

ΧΩ. τὶ οὖν μ' ἀνωγας τῇ δ' ἐφυμνῆσαι χθονὶ;

ΑΘ. δοποία νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα' καὶ
tαῦτα γῆθεν, ἐκ τε ποιτίας ἄρσον,

ἐξ οὐράνου τε' κανέμοιν ἀήματα

εὔνοιψι πνεοῦτ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα·
καρπῶν τε γαλας καὶ *βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον 
ἀστοίςεν εὐθενοῦτα μη κάμων χρώφα, 
kai τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν. 
τῶν ὄσπερπουτων ὦ ἐκφραστεὰ πέλοις. 
stέργῳ γάρ, ἀνδρὸς φιτυπολμενος δίκην, 
tὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶν ἀπένθησον γένος. 
tοιαύτα σοῦστη. τῶν ἁρειφάτων ὦ ἐγὼ 
πρεπτῶν ἄγωνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ 
τήνδε ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν. 

ΧΩ. δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν, 
οὐδ’ ἀτιμάσω πόλιν, 
tὰν καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ παγκρατής 
"Ἀρης τε φρούριον θεῶν νέμει, 
ρυνθρωμον Ἐλλάνων ἄγαλμα δαμήνων" 
ἀν ἐγὼ κατεύχομαι, 
θεσπίσασα πρεμενῶς, 
ἐπισυνότους βίου τύχας ὄνοσίμους 
γαλας *ἐξαμβρῦσαι 
φαίδρον ἄλλου σέλας. 

ΑΘ. τάδ’ ἐγὼ προφράνως τοῖσδε πολίταις 
πράσσω, μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρέστους 
δαμόνας αὐτῶν κατανασσαμένη. 
πάντα γὰρ αὐταὶ τὰ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους 
ἐλαχόν διέπειν’ ὦ δὲ μὴ κύρσας 
*ιλαρῶν τούτων οὐκ οἴδειν ὅθεν 

907. βροτῶν MSS. corr. Stan. 908. εὐθενοῦτας M.G. εὐστη-
σοῦ̂στι M.A.V. Fl. τοιαύτας οὕτωι G. corr. Pors. 914. τρεπτῶν 
βίους ὄνοσίμους V. Fa. 924. ἐξαμβρῦσαι M. G. ἔξαμβρῦσαι V. Fl. 
Fa. 932. βαρέων MSS. corr. Weil.
πληγαὶ βιῶτον * προσέπαισαν.
tὰ γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων ἀπλακήματα μὺν
πρὸς τὰσον ἀπάγει, σιγῶν * ὃ ὀλέθρος
καὶ μέγα φωνοῦτ᾿ ἔχθρας ὀργαὶς ἀμαθύνει.

ΧΘ. δευδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέοι βλάβα,
τὰν ἐμὰν χάριν λέγω,
† φλογὸς τ’ ὀμματοστερῆς
φυτῶν τὸ μὴ περὰν ὄρουν τόπων,†
μηδ’ ἀκάρπος αλανῆς ἐφερπέτω νόσος,
μηδὰ τε εὐθενοῦντα * Πᾶν
ἔδω διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις
τρέφοι χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ γόνως * ὃ ἄει
πλοῦτοχθων ἐρμαλαν
dαιμόνων δόσω τιον.

ἈΘ. ἦ τάδ’ ἀκούετε, πόλεως φρούριον,
oi’ ἐπικράτει; μέγα γὰρ δύναται
πότῳ Ἕρεμος παρὰ τ’ ἀθανάτως
toῖς θ’ ὑπὸ γαῖαν, περὶ τ’ ἀνθρώπων
φανερῶς τελέως διαπράσσοσαι,
toῖς μὲν αἰοίδας, toῖσ ὃ ἄει * δακρύων
βλου ἀμβλωπόν παρέχουσαι.

ΧΘ. ἀνδροκμῆτας δ’ ἀώρ-
ους ἀπευνέπω τόχας,
νεανίδων τ’ ἐπηράτων

ἨΤΩΝ. τάδε τοι χώρα τῇ 'μη προφρόνως μεσφό.
ἐπικραυγομένων
γάνυμαι' στέργω δ' οµματα Πειθοῦς,
ὅτι μοι γλώσσαν καλ στόμ' ἐπώπι
πρὸς τάσ' ἀγρίως ἀπανημένας
ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος
νικαὶ δ' ἀγαθῶν
ἐρίς ἤµετέρα διὰ παντὸς.

ΧΟ. τὰν δ' ἀπληστον κακὸν ἀντ. β'.
µῆποτ' ἐν πόλει στάσιν
tάσ' ἐπεύχομαι βρέμεαι
µηδὲ πιοῦσα κόνις
µέλαν αἴμα πολιτῶν
δ' ὄργαν ποιῶς
ἀντιφόνους ἄτας
ἀρπαλίσαι πόλεως.
χάρματα δ' ἀντειδίδοιεν
κοινοφιλεῖ διανολά.

µεγάκουο MSS. corr. H. 967. πάντα MSS. corr. Cant. 969. 
δρµατι V. Fl. 970. ἐποπτῇ Fa. -πτας V. -πτα Fl. text M. 976. 
τάνδ' M. V. Fl. 980. μηδ' ἐπιούσα A. V. Fa. text M. 981. 
ποιῶς M. A. G. text V. Fl. Fa. 985. κοινοφιλεῖ M. A. V. Fl. 
κοινοφ. G. M. originally.
καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾷ φρενί.
pολλῶν γὰρ τόδ᾽ εὖ βροτοῖς ἄκοσ.

ΑΘ. ἀρα *φρονοῦσα γλῶσσης ἀγαθής
dὸν *εὐρίσκεις;
ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶν διε προσώπων
μέγα κέρδος ὡρῶ τοίσοδε πολλαίς.
tάσδε γὰρ εὐφρονας εὐφρονεῖς ἀεὶ
μέγα τιμῶντες, καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν
ὁρθοδόκαιον
πρέψετε πάντως διάγοντες.

ΧΘ. χαίρετε χαίρετ᾽ ἐν αἰσιμλαίοι πλοῦτον
χαίρετ᾽ ἀστικὸς λεῶς,
ἐκτὸς ἦμενοι Διός,
παρθένου φίλας φίλοι
σωφρονόντες ἐν χρόνῳ.
Παλλάδος ὑπὸ πτεροῖς
όντας ἄξεται πατήρ.

ΑΘ. χαίρετε χύμεις: προτέραν ὡς ἐμὲ χρῆ
οτεῖχεν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσαν
πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶν καὶ προπομπῶν.
ἐτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶν ὑπὸ σεμνῶν
κατὰ γῆν σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀτηρόν
χῶρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον
πέμπειν πόλεως ἐτι ὁική.

988. φρονοῦσα A. Fl. -σιν M. G. -σης V. corr. D. from old conj. of H.
989. εὐρίσκει MSS. corr. D. as before. 992. εὐφρονας M. P. G.
text V. Fl. A. 995. Text V. πάντες MSS. 996. One χαίρετε
MSS. corr. Turn. 999. παρθένους M. A. G. Fl. -νος Fa. V. corr.
Rob. Turn. 1005. προπομπῶν MSS. corr. Bentl. 1007. ἄτηρον
MSS. corr. Bentl.
*ὑμεῖς δ' ἡγείσθε, πολισσοῦχοι
παιδες Κραναοῦ, ταῖς ῥε μετοίκοις
εἰς δ' ἀγαθῶν
ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολιταῖς.

ΧΟ. χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὕθις, ἐπαυδιπλοῖς, ἀντ. γ'.
pάντες οἳ κατὰ πτόλιν,
δαιμονές τε καὶ βρωτοί,
Πάλλαδος πόλιν νέμου-
tες· μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν
εὐσεβοῦντες οὕτι μέμ-
ψεσθε συμφορᾶς βίου.

ἈΘ. αἰνῶ *τε μύθους τῶν τῶν κατευγμάτων,
pέμψω τε φέγγει λαμπάδων σελασφόρων
eἰς τοὺς ἐνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους,
ξύν προσπόλοισιν αἰτε φρούρουσιν βρέτας
tούμιν δικάλως. ὃμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς
Θησήδος ἔξικοιτ' ἄν, εὐκλεής λόχος
παίδων, γυναικῶν, καὶ στόλος πρεσβυτίδων.
φοινικόβαπτος ἔνυφτος ἐσθήμαισι.
tιμάτε, καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὅρμασθω τυρός,
ὅπως ἀν εὐφρων ἦδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς
tὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνθρωποι συμφορᾶς πρέπη.

ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ.

βάτε δόμφ, μεγάλαι φιλότιμοι ἡμεῖς

1010. ἡμεῖς MSS. corr. Turn. 1011. μέτοικοι MSS. corr. Turn.
1021. δὲ MSS. corr. H. 1026. θησήδος M. A. G. 1029. τιμάται
corrected M. A. G. 1031. εὐάνθρωποι M. G. V. 1032. ἐν δόμφ
MSS. corr. Well.
Νυκτὸς παιδεῖς [άπαιδες] ὑπ᾿ εὐφρονὶ πομπᾷ,
(ἐυφαμεῖτε δὲ, *χωρίται,) 1035

γὰς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὄγυγλοισιν,
ἀντ. α’.
tιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περὶσεπται [τύχα τε],
(ἐυφαμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμελ;) 1040

Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς Ζεὺς *δ’ πανόπτας
στρ. β’. 1045

οὐτω Μοῖρα τε συγκατέβα.
ἐλεύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολταῖς.

*† σπουδαὶ δ’ εἰσόπτων ἐνδαθές ἵτων.†
ἀντ. β’.

1034. ἰπαιδες, perhaps spurious, see notes. εὐφρονὶ MSS. text
Aeschylus

Eumenides

With Introduction and Notes

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NOTES.

[The exterior of the Shrine at Delphi (see note on 63): the priestess comes forward and speaks.]

[1-63. PROLOGUE. The priestess calls on all the gods connected with the shrine, then goes in, and returns terrified, describing the sight within, a blood-stained murderer on the central stone, and the dreadful Furies sleeping round.]

1. 1. πρεσβεὺς. 'I honour most;' the superlative sense practically contained in the word accounts for gen. θεῶν. πρεσβεὺς is rather a favourite word of Aeschylus. So line 21 Παλλᾶς πρεσβευεται, 'has chief honour,' Cho. 488 πρῶτοι τονδε πρεσβεύσω τάφον, as here, Ag. 1300 ὁ δ' ἥστατος τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβευεται, 'is first in respect of time,' Cho. 631 κακῶν πρεσβευεται, 'is first of horrors.'

1. 2. προφήτητα. The Earth was naturally regarded as 'most ancient' of gods: and prophetic, perhaps because the ancient shrines of prophecy were so often caverns or mysterious chasms (e.g. Delphic chasm, the Sibyl's cave, the cave of Trophonios, etc.). Pausanias tells us (10. 5. 5)that the Delphians affirmed their oracle to have originally belonged to the Earth. And Prom. 209 we have Γαῖα and Θέμως prophesying to Prometheus.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς, 'after her;' τῆς common Epic use of art. for demonst. frequent in Aesch., ἐκ τοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῷ, ἀ τοίσιν ἢ τοῖς, etc.

1. 3. The dramatic particle δή probably here merely anticipates ὅσ λόγος τίς.

μητρίδε, mother of Themis; not the general meaning 'Mother Earth.' It is a striking evidence of the fluctuating character of these genealogies that the poet elsewhere (Prom. 209) speaks of Earth and Themis as the same; 'one form of many names.'

Note ἤκειο with acc. Cf. Ag. 183 σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμέραν, 664 νών ἑφέκετο.

1. 5. λάχα, 'lot;' vivid poetic for 'in the third place,' 'third in order.'

θελοῦσι, οὖθε πρὸς βλαν τινός, 'with her good will, neither in despite of any.' Aeschylus uses this stately emphasis because he is
following (or inventing) a different story from what was apparently the received version: for Pindar says (quoted by Schol.) that 'Apollo by force occupied Pytho:' and Eurip. (Iph. T. 1259) says, 'Apollo came and took away Themis daughter of Earth from the divine oracles.'

But this savage and doubtless older story was not suitable to the poet's purpose: the sanctity and dignity of the oracle (ideas which are required for the plot) are averse from such violence.

1. 6. The Titans were according to the oldest story six sons and six daughters of Ouranos and Gaia: the author of the Theogony gives the list (Hes. Theog. 134), mentioning both Themis and Phoibe. According to same ancient source (Theog. 403) Phoibe (by Koios the Titan) was mother of Leto, hence grandmother of Phoibos; and so by custom gave the infant Phoibos both 'a birthday gift' (γ), and his name (8).

1. 7. ἡ, 'she.' Epic demonstrative use of ὅς, surviving in ἦ ὅς ὅς, ὅς ὅς ἰφη ('said he').

διδωτῷ, 'gives it,' the oracle.

γενέθλιον δόσιν. There were two birth-festivals at Athens—the ἀμφιδρόμα, when the infant was carried round the hearth on the seventh (or fifth day), and the δεκάτη, 'tenth-day festival,' when it was named and formally recognised by the father. On both occasions, especially the latter, presents were given.

1. 8. παρώνιμον, 'made like to hers.'

1. 9. Ἀμνη, the circular or rather oval tarn in the north of the island, often referred to by ancient writers (Eur. Ion 167, Iph. Taur. 1104, Herod. 2. 170, etc.), and apparently connected with the birth of Apollo.

χωράς, 'hog's back,' lit., i.e. 'ridge' or 'rock,' of Mount Kynthos.

1. 10. The 'ship-frequented shores of Pallas' are Attica, regarded as specially the land of Pallas Athene.

1. 11. Delphi is called 'the shrine of Parnassus' as being at the foot of that Mountain.

11. 13, 14. The Athenians are called, in Aeschylus' grand style, 'the sons of Hephaistos, hewers of the road, making tame the wild land.'

There was a 'sacred way' from Athens to Delphi, and Athenian tradition evidently affirmed that it had been made of old by Athenians for Apollo. The Schol. mentions an interesting ceremonial, plainly a survival, bearing on this tradition, that when Athens sent a mission to Delphi, the sacred ambassadors were preceded by men with axes. (The Boeotian Pindar, on the other hand, makes Apollo start from Tanagra in Boeotia, according to the Schol.).

παιδες Ὡφαιστον, because Hephaistos was father of Erichthonios, mythical king of Athens. The title is peculiarly appropriate to the 'hewers of the way,' as Hephaistos was the god who invented many of the tools and the arts of civilised life.
NOTES, II. 5–26.

1. 14. 'Making tame,' i.e. evidently clearing and settling; not only (as Schol.) 'from robbers.'

1. 16. Δελφός, the king and 'eponymous' hero of Delphians.

1. 17. κτίζω, properly 'to build,' a favourite word of Aeschylus, often used as a stately synonym for 'to make:' e.g. Pers. 289 εἰνώδας ἐκτισσαν, Cho. 1060 ἔλευθερον σε... κτίσει, Eum. 714 μηδ' ἀκαρπώτους κτίσαι.

1. 19. προφήτης, 'the spokesman,' the 'interpreter' of Zeus. So he says in a fragment (79) Zeus ἐγκαθίσει Δολία θεσπίσματα. So Verg. A. 3. 251 'Quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo Praedixit.'

1. 21. Παλλᾶς προναῖα, 'Pallas of the precincts;' the name of a temple of Athena near the great sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. It is mentioned by Herodotus in this form (προνητή) 1.92, and there exist two Delphic inscriptions containing it (ΠΡΟΝΑΙΑ): but it seems to have been afterwards corrupted into πρόνοια, the shape in which the name of Athena at Delphi appears in Demosthenes (780), Aeschines (Ctes. 69), and Pausanias (10. 8. 7). Some people suppose τῶν Delphic Athenas, προναία and πρόνοια: but this, though possible, is hardly likely. The learned Alexandrine poet Callimachus (250 B.C.) has the old form (προναιαν, quoted by Schol.).

1. 22. Κώρυκλας. The Korykian cavern was a remarkable cave high up in Parnassus, seven miles from Delphi: the cavern contains two large chambers 100 and 200 feet long respectively: it was the refuge of the Delphians in the Persian invasion (Herod. 8. 36), and more than once when their country was invaded. It was sacred to Pan and the nymphs.

1. 23. φλορις, 'loved of birds,' using the shelter for roosting and building.

ἀναστροφή, 'abode;' 'haunt.' The verb ἀναστρέφεσθαι is common for 'to be engaged in,' 'to live;' ἐν φανερῷ, ἐν Ἀργεί, ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν ξυμμαχίᾳ, etc. (versus Latin).

1. 24. Βρόμος, a common title of Bacchus. Aeschylus in glorifying Delphi fixes there the scene of the great vengeance of Bacchus on Pentheus. [Pentheus, king of Thebes, forbade and tried to prevent the worship of Bacchus; but the god drove mad with Bacchic frenzy the women, including Agave Pentheus' mother, and they tore the king in pieces.] Euripides in the Bacchae makes Kithairon (between Attica and Boeotia) the scene, and Schol. says that Aeschylus himself also follows this tradition in the lost play Ξανθριάς.

1. 25. σῶτε, Epic form of rel. common in Aeschylus. (ὥστε Pers. 297, σῶτε Eum. 1024, ἓς σῶτε Pers. 762, ἓς Cho. 615, etc.)

1. 26. λαγὸς δίκην, 'like a hare,' i.e. they tore him as dogs a hare. [Scholiast's int. 'crouching like a hare' is frigid and absurd.]

Notice absence of caesura; Ag. 943, Cho. 493.
EUMENIDES.

1. 27. Πλευτός, a small river south of Delphi: Apollonius (2. 711) speaks of 'Korykian nymphs daughters of Pleistos.'

Ποσαλύων: there was an altar of Poseidon at Delphi. [There were various old traditions about Poseidon having once possessed Delphi and exchanged it for other places, which may be connected with his worship there.]

1. 28. τέλεον, 'the fullfiller:' so Ag. 973 Ζεὺς Ζεύς τέλεει, τὰς ἔμας εὐχάς τέλει.

1. 30. Abridged, but quite intelligible, expression for 'May I find this time better response than I found in my former entrances to the shrine.'

τυχεῖν με, acc. inf. of prayer, common constr. with or without δός or δοίεν (Cho. 307, O. C. 868, etc.). For acc. ἄρστα with τυχεῖν, cf. Ag. 1228.

1. 31. πάρ', 'are here,' for παρείσων, is commonly read here. But it is more natural to take παρά as a preposition; and it is quite easy to understand 'are come.'

1. 32. ἰσαν, rare form for ἱσταν or ἱσσαν.

1. 33. μαντεῖσθαι is used both of 'prophesying' and 'consulting the god,' or 'getting a prophecy.' Here both would suit, but the former is the sense in which Aeschylus uses the word elsewhere.

ὡς ἄν, 'according as,' indef. relat. use.

[She passes into the temple, and there is a pause: then she comes out horror-stricken and half fainting.]

1. 34. δεινά is nom. λέγει and δρακεῖν epx.: inf. after the adj. 'Things terrible to tell of, terrible to behold have sent me back, etc.'

1. 36. ὡς, Epic for ὡς, common in Trag., esp. in Aeschylus (e.g. Ag. 358, 546, 575, 665, 1381).

σωκεῖν, 'to be strong.'

ἀετάλως, a unique word of which the meaning is disputed. The Schol. and old lexicons give (1) 'to uplift,' or 'be uplifted.' (2) 'to exult,' 'prance' (γαυράν), 'leap violently' (ἀεταλῶς ἔνδων). The sense however requires, not, 'I can't move violently,' but rather 'I can hardly move at all:' it is best therefore to take ἄεταλως, 'to lift.'

βάσων, 'my step:' this is a correction in the best MS., all the texts reading στάτων, (which is perhaps possible, and then 'to uplift my standing' would mean 'to stand upright;') but βάσων is easier and far more likely.

1. 37. χερσόν, 'by aid of hands:' holding on, to support her failing limbs. [Schol. actually says she comes out on all fours, τετραποδηδόνων!!]

1. 38. ἀντίκαι, rather a strange compound, the preposition ἀντι governing (so to speak) the παῖς, and not some word outside as usual.
NOTES, II. 27–50.

Aeschylus is fond of these compounds: ἀντικεντρον 136, 466, ἀντίφερον Ag. 406, ἀνθήναι ib. 443, ἀντίδουλος Cho. 135.

μὴ ὁν, corrective, as usual. ‘Nay, she is as a child.’

1. 39. The inner sanctuary of Delphi (μυχὸς) contained the statue of Apollo: the δυφαλός, see next note: the altar with the eternal fire, fed only with fir-wood; and the roof all hung with garlands (πολυστέφη). In the centre was the chasm with the tripod where the priestess sate, and inhaled the intoxicating fumes of the smoke which came up from below.

1. 40. δυφαλός, ‘navel,’ was the name given to Delphi, as the centre of the earth, and particularly (as here) to a white stone in the μυχὸς of the temple. Strabo tells us (9. 3.) that ‘an δυφαλός bound with fillets’ was shown in the temple; and Pausanias (10. 16. 3) that ‘the Delphians said their δυφαλός, which was made of white stone, was the centre of the earth, and quoted from Pindar a passage which agreed with their account.’ The δυφαλός as a round or oval object is often found on coins or vases or sculptures relating to Delphi.

Τὸ μὴ answers δὲ 1. 46.

1. 41. προστρέψαν, lit. ‘turning toward,’ hence ‘suppliant.’ The supplication might be for vengeance (as Ag. 1587, Cho. 286), or more commonly for purification, as here. Hence the word contracts another meaning, ‘guilty;’ see below ll. 234, 237.

Some take it here agreeing with ἄνδρα; but rhythm and order indicate that it goes with ἱδραν, ‘a suppliant seat;’ so Soph. O. C. 1309, π. λιτα.

11. 43–5. The olive-branch, with tufts of wool attached, was the regular sign of the suppliant: ἱερὶ ἔρωστέτοιοι κλάδοις Suppl. 23, κλάδοις κατάσκοιν δμιλον ib. 354, ἱερὴς κλάδοις ἐξεστημένοι O. T. 3.

σωφρόνως seems to mean ‘duly,’ ‘piously.’

1. 45. ‘For so will I plainly tell,’ i.e. about the suppliant there was nothing strange: the horrible and mysterious part of the sight she goes on to describe.

1. 46. λόχος, ‘troop;’ for the number of the Eumenides see Introduction.

1. 48. θηρόνως: Aeschylus describes these in the Prometheus (899) as ‘Three winged sisters with snakes for hair, loathed of men, whom no mortal shall see and live:’ and the Furies are compared to them, Cho. 1047, ‘In dusky robes and twined with many snakes, like Gorgons.’

1. 50. If this line is right the substantive is understood: ‘[Monsters]

1 In Pausanias’ time it was in the front court; but in Aeschylus’ day there is evidence it was in the μυχὸς (Müll. Eum. 27).
have I seen ere now in a picture, snatching the feast of Phineus,' i.e. the Harpies.

The *Harpiae* are in Homer simply the 'spirits of the storm' who are said to have carried off those who disappear suddenly (e.g. Od. i. 241). The story is told by later writers as follows: *Phineus*, king of Thrace, being falsely told that his sons were conspiring to corrupt their stepmother, put out their eyes. The gods in wrath blinded him, and sent loathsome monsters, the Harpies, to snatch away his banquet. The best known account is Vergil's, Aen. 3. 212.

[Herm. and others thinking the omission of the subst. too harsh, suppose a line lost; but it would be difficult to write one which would not separate δειννον too much from Φινεως. Schol. plainly had our text.]

1. 51. γε μην, 'yet,' adversative as usual: γε μεντοι, γε μεν δη (and in Homer γε μεν), also used in the same way. So σφορας γε μην εκ τησθει P. V. 871, σοι νχονυ γε μην Αγ. 1378.

1. 53. ου πλαστωσι, 'unapproachable:' for the breath was deadly with blood and fire, and withered up what it touched (138). MSS. read πλαστωσι, 'feigned:' but the other is far more forcible.

1. 55. κοσμος, 'their garb.'

ll. 57-8. i.e. 'I know not the race nor land whence this company are sprung.'

1. 59. μη μεταστεναν πονον, 'without repenting of its toil,' is an elaborate repetition and explanation of ανατυ, 'unharmed.'

[The inf. is literally the object of επενχεται: 'boasts that having reared... it does not repent,' i.e. 'boasts to rear without repenting'.]

1. 60. The horror and pollution of these monsters is too fearful: she will leave it to Apollo himself, who as 'seer' (τερασκωπος) will understand, as 'prophet-healer' (ιατρομαντος) will cure, as καθαρσιος will purify.

1. 63. [The priestess retires: the scene shifts and shews the interior of the shrine: Orestes with a bloody sword seated on the διφυλω, Apollo and Hermes standing by: the chorus of Furies asleep all about on stone seats or the floor.]

[64-178. SCENE I. Part 1. Apollo promises Orestes protection, and prophesies his wanderings; Hermes leads him away. Chorus rebuked by Klytaimnestræ's ghost awake, lament Orestes' escape, revile Apollo, and end with threats that Orestes shall not escape.]
turned round and displayed what was going on within' (Schol. Ar. Ach. 407). This would suffice for ordinary cases, as in Ach. 407, where Euripides is shewn in his study: or Ag. 1372, Cho. 973, where the slayer standing over the victims is seen. But here we have the whole interior: the ὄμφαλος, the seats, Orestes, Apollo, Hermes, and the whole chorus of Furies (twelve or fifteen, see Introduction): and it is difficult to see how they could all be got on to a moveable platform.

There is much to be said for Müller's view (Eum. 29) that here the priestess speaks the first part of her speech, l. 1–33, before the curtain, which is afterwards drawn down and reveals the adytum.

1. 64. διὰ τέλους, idiomatic expression 'for ever.'

1. 65. If MSS. καὶ πρὸσω δὲ is right, it means 'and even when far away,' i.e. 'I will watch over you when near, and even when afar, and I will punish your foes.'

This makes good sense and need not be altered, though καὶ πρὸσω γε Blom. is possibly right.

1. 68. ὑπὸ πεσοῦσα, 'prostrate in sleep' [they lie]: πεσοῦσα used rather loosely for the perfect, like θανῶτες for τεθνηκότες. But the construction is rather harsh, with a strained tense and no verb: and not improbably πεσοῦσα is corrupt for some verb. The best suggestion is Weil's πεδῶντα: (others πρέπουσα, πέλουσα: παρείνται Weckl.).

1. 69. μηγυνταί, 'consorts.' γρααι, παλαιαὶ παῖδες, 'old, wrinkled maidens;' a bold and contemptuous oxymoron to express loathing.

1. 76. The least alteration of MSS. is to read βῆβῶντ’ ἀν’ ἀεὶ τίν π. χ., 'ever pacing the travelled earth.' This involves the displacement of the preposition ἀνα by ἀεὶ, a very rare and harsh licence: H. P. quote Plato σὺν ἁεὶ τινὶ βία, but ἀεὶ τινι is far less harsh an interruption than ἁεὶ alone. [This we shall see if we try it in English, 'rule with always some violence,' is-less impossible than 'walk over always the earth.'] A better example is Laws 797 D ἐν ὑς ἐποὶ εἰπεῖν οὐ τοῖς μὲν τοῖς δ’ οὐ.

The conjectures are very numerous but do not convince: ἀνάγκη Musgr. is perhaps the best: or to read περίωντα δ’ ἁεὶ with Weil and Weckl. I leave the ἁεὶ ἁεὶ, as it is perhaps barely possible.

The Homerie βῆβῶντ’ (used also by Pindar) is a better correction than βῆβωντ’, as nearer the MSS. and more likely to have been corrupted.


1 ἀνάτει Turn., ἀνίαq Fritzsche, ἡωντα δ’ ἁεὶ Weil, ἀνίαq Wies., ἁ’ ἀστη Don., and others worse.
1. 78. Βουκολούμενος (mid. as Schol. interprets), 'tending,' i.e. 'brooding over;' a bold metaphor characteristic of the poet.

1. 80. ἄγκαθεν, 'in thy arms;' from ἄγκη, 'the bent arm;' like the Homeric ἄγκας ἔλειν or ἔχειν, 'to take in the arms:' cf. Ag. 3.

1. 81. θελκτηρίους, 'persuasive,' to the judges of the Areopagos.

1. 86. 'Learn also to take heed,' though to our ears it sounds too bold to be said to a god, is not so meant in the Greek, nor does Apollo so take it: it is simply 'forget me not, O god.' Notice ἐπίστα α contracted for ἐπιστάσαι; so we find δόνη.

1. 87. 'Thy strength is warrant thou wilt aid me;' taking eu πουεῖν together.

1. 88. σε φρένας, the acc. of whole and part, common from Homer down: like Τρόας τρόμος αἰνός ὑπῆλθε γυνὰ ἔκαστον; τὸν βάλε κνήμην; and μέθε με προς θεῶν χειρα etc.

1. 90. κάρτα δ' δὲν ἐπώνυμος, 'true to thy name, give guidance:' the title πομπαῖος meaning 'the guider.'

1. 92-3. 'Zeus reveres this sanctity of outlaws, which comes to men from the fortune of fair escort;' a rather obscure expression, but explained by the context: Zeus reveres the claim which outlaws have (on the pity of men), a claim which springs from the (divine) power which guides them: i.e. 'Orestes, though an outlaw, will find pity since thou wilt guide him. [Wecklein reads τὸ κηρύκων (for τὸ δ' ἐκ.), of Hermes: certainly much simpler, though perhaps unnecessary.]

[Apoll o retires; Hermes leads Orestes out; the stage is empty. Then from below the ghost of Klytaimnestra rises.]

11. 95-102. This sentence is written with an effective vehemence which is very dramatic: the broken and rough grammar being exactly imitative of strongly excited speech.

The drift is: 'I, thus dishonoured by you [the negligent Furies], among the dead below am constantly reproached for my deeds—wandering in disgrace and blamed by all—but for my sufferings no god takes heed.'

Thus the antithesis to δὲν μὲν ἐκτατον is really παθοῦσα δ' (100) and ἀλοχρῶς δ' ἀλώμαι answers ὅπως ἐκλείπεται. Note the double break of construction: (1) the intrusion of ὅπως ἐκλείπεται with a new subject between ἐγὼ and ἀλώμαι: (2) the entire anacoluthon παθοῦσα δ' without verb followed by οὕδεις μψλεται. For the latter compare Ag. 1008 ὅνων βαλὼν ... ὅπως ἐνυδόμοι, Cho. 521 πάντα ἐκέλα ... μάθην δ' μόχθος, and Eur. Cycl. 331, Hipp. 24, Iph. Taur. 947, etc. See 478.

1. 100. πρός, common poetic use for ἐνό of agent: Cho. 133, 346, etc. So ἐκ, παρά, and ἐπώ are poetically used. So below l. 102.

1. 103. The MSS. read ὅρα δὲ πηγᾶς τάδε καρδία σέθεν, 'behold
these wounds with thy heart,' the use of καρδιὰ being at first sight supported by what follows 'for the mind sees in sleep.' But Aeschylus always uses καρδία (as we do 'heart') of emotion not of intelligence: 'grief,' 'anxiety,' 'care,' 'fear,' 'wrath,' 'courage,' 'favour,' 'desire'—never of 'perception.' So I take Canter's καρδίας ἐθέν adopted by Dind. Pal. Herm. Paley is further no doubt right in reading δράτε: the plural is wanted: the asyndeton improves the sense, being more passionate: and the singular clearly arose from σίθεν.

'Behold these wounds in my heart, from whence they came;' a fierce reminder of their duty to hunt Orestes, and a far finer sense than the MSS. reading.

1. 104. δημασιν λαμπρύνεται, stately Aeschylean for 'is clear-sighted.'

1. 105. μοῖρος ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν, 'tis the lot of mortals to be blind.' Others take it 'the lot of men cannot be foretold:' but the sense of the other is better, the antithesis is more pointed, ('seeing in sleep, blind in the day,') and ἀπρόσκοπος is more naturally active.

[The Schol. says ἕς τῆς φρενὸς μοῖρα, whence H. and others read φρενὸν for βροτῶν: but the Schol. is only (rather stupidly) explaining μοῖρα in connection with the φρήν of the last line: it proves nothing about the reading: φρήν and φρενὸν would be very flat repetition.]

1. 107. 'Wineless libations, sober cheer:' poetic amplification. The Ἐρινύες had no wine in their offerings: νήφαν δοῦνος Ο. C. 100, μηδὲ προσφέρειν μέθυ ib. 481. So again 1. 860 δοῦνος θυμάσι.

1. 109. δραν, the acc. is best explained as a kind of loose apposition to νυκτίσεμα δεῖνα: the apposition really being to the part of the expression which contains the notion of night.

The Erinys alone had midnight sacrifices.

1. 112. καλταῦτα, usually with participle: here loosely but naturally with principal verb. The fact is, the ἄρωσεν is grammatically needless ('he is gone like a fawn, and that too from the very midst of the snare'), but is redundantly added, picking up and further emphasizing οἶχεται.

1. 113. ἐγκατελλάψας, a strange word, which occurs again Aesch. Sisyphe. (Frag. 211) meaning 'mock.' We find also καταλάμπτω, ἐνιλαλῶν: the derivation seems to be ἅλλω, 'twist,' ὅω-, 'face': hence 'to leer,' 'to sneer,' and so 'to scoff.'

1. 114. τῆς ἐμῆς περὶ ψυχῆς, 'for dear life.' a proverbial expression as in English (rather strange in the mouth of a ghost), meaning that the issue is of the last importance to her.

1. 116. οὖν, might be nom., 'I, a dream,' like Ag. 82 οὖν ἡμερόφαστον ἄλαιει (so Schütz, Wakef. H. Pal.). But it is rather more naturally taken acc. 'in a dream,' as 1. 131.
EUMENIDES.

[The Furies begin to groan and mutter and move uneasily in their sleep.]

1. 119. The MSS. read φίλοις γὰρ εἶσαι οὐκ ἐμοὶς προσκυτορεῖς, which makes no sense, since it could only be translated 'for there are protectors for friends who are not mine,' an obscure and impossible expression for 'my enemies have gods to help them.' Herm.'s correction οὐκ ἐμοὶ is neat and simple: 'my friends have helpers: I have none:' and P. D. adopt it.

But it is not really satisfactory: φίλοι without article or possessive is very harsh, and even the use of the word at all is unnatural (not at all like line 108): and προσκυτωρ, though supported by Ζεὺς ἀφίκτωρ (Supp. 1), is suspicious.

I prefer on the whole Weil's φιλοι γὰρ εἶσαι, οὐκ ἐμοὶς προσεικότες 'for he has friends, not like to mine,' an effective taunt simply expressed.

1. 122. Notice the ironic elaborate plainness of this line, as of an angry person who cannot make herself understood.

1. 125. If we keep the MSS. πεπρακται, we can only construe (with Paley) this line 'What hast thou accomplished save to work me harm?' i.e. 'you are appointed to avenge me, and by negligence you have only done harm, in letting Orestes escape.'

The Schol. however paraphrases τι μέλλεις τὸ σὺν ἔργον ἀνύειν ('why delay to do your duty?'), clearly understanding the text 'what business is yours save to do harm (to Orestes)?' Herm. followed by Weil tries to get this sense out of πεπρακται, 'quid tibi agitur:' but the tense makes it impossible. If we accept the meaning of the Schol. we must read with Bentley [Stanl. Butl. Hart.] πεπρωτα or with Wakef. τέτακται. I have taken πεπρωτα. The scornful summons 'What is your business but mischief?' is more characteristic of Klytaimnestra and more effective than a complaint.

1. 127. κύροις ἔνωμοτα, 'fit conspirators:' a bold and characteristic image. κύροις means 'rightful:' sleep and weariness naturally act together. For the figure cp. Ag. 650 ἔνωμοσαι γάρ, δότες ἔχθισσαι τὸ πρὶν Πύρ καὶ θάλασσα.

1. 129. [Mutterings redoubled and louder] 'Seize him, seize him ... give heed!' The muttering and restless movements and slow awakening with fierce cries are finely dramatic: Aeschylus is unmatched in producing these effects of suspense and terror. [Müller ingeniously suggests that it should be read φράζου, followed by λαβέ seven times repeated, as φράζου, 'mark him,' more naturally comes first: the iambic metrical system is preserved: and the leader would then say φράζου, and each of the seven pairs λαβέ. We have however (see p. 23) preferred the view that the chorus was 12, not 15.]
NOTES, ll. 119–160.

1. 131. The dreams of animals are noticed by Theocr. (21. 44), Lucret. (4. 989), and Aristotle (Hist. An. 4. 10).
1. 134. μηδ’ ἀνανομησαι τῆμα, ‘forget not my wrong.’
1. 136. ἀντίκεντρα, ‘like spurs;’ see l. 38.
1. 137. τῷ, ‘on him.’ Epic use of article as demonstr. frequent in Aeschylus: see ll. 174, 340, 462, 484.
Notice the powerful and imaginative phrasing, ‘waft a bloody breath,’ ‘shrivel with vapour,’ ‘wither with pursuit.’

[The ghost of Klytaimnestra disappears below; the Chorus gradually awake, the leader rousing the others.]

1. 142. ‘Let us see if this prelude is vain,’ rather obscure, but φροιμον τόδε most naturally refers to the song they are going to sing, a song of lament at the escape, and chiding and reproach to Apollo.

λάθος, the middle, is an Epic use, common in Tragg. Note the loose but natural grammar κακολακτίσαν (sing.), λαθομεθ’ (plur.). So exactly Aristoph. Aves 203, ἔμβας... ἐς τὴν λόχαμ... καλούμεν.

1. 144. This line is out of agreement; and generally the character of the first stanzas is that the lines are very disjointed: the true explanation being no doubt that the song is alternately taken up by one and another of the Furies, to give the dramatic effect of their excitement and anger. So the Schol. says κομματιῶν ἐκαστὸν κατ’ Ἰδιαν προφερετέον ‘each bit must be delivered separately by a single voice.’

It is not worth while to attempt (as Herm. does) to distribute the parts exactly, as there is no evidence.

1. 146. ὅθρι, ‘our prey.’

1. 150. νέος... γραίας, simply ‘young’ and ‘old.’ This complaint that Apollo as one of the younger race has overridden the Furies who are ‘elder’ goddesses constantly recurs through the play, 163, 731, 778, 838, 845; see Introduction.

καθαπάξομαι, a bold picturesque word for ‘trample down,’ so 731, 779.
1. 151. τοκεθοῦν, generalising plural, ‘to his mother,’ as the sense requires.

1. 154. τῶνδε, ‘your acts,’ insulting the old goddesses, and protecting the impious suppliant.

1. 158. μασωλαβεῖ, another tersely vivid word: the goad ‘grasped by the middle’ to give the blow force.

1. 160. ‘Tis come, I feel it, the sore, sore chill of the cruel scourger’s blow.’

Σόμοις μαστικώρ is the ‘public scourger’: a bold image for Klytaimnestra’s taunts.
EUMENIDES.

1. 163. The MSS. read—

κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκαι πλέον
φονολῆθη θρόνον [MSS. φονολῆθη, clearly an error]
περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα
πάρεστι γὰς ὃμφαλον κ.τ.λ.

This stopping must be wrong, as the construction is very clumsy with θρόνον in apposition to ὃμφαλον, and the strophe which is very parallel in sound and structure makes it practically certain that the stop is at κάρα. We then have two alternatives:

(1) To keep θρόνον, changing stop from πλέον to κάρα:

'Verning utterly beyond the right
A throne dripping blood
From feet to head:
We may see the Earth's navel, etc.'

[φονολῆθη θρόνον is a regular dochmiac, and may rightly correspond to μεσολαβεῖ κέντρον where the long κεν- is an irrational syllable. So for example O. T. 1315 δύσοφριστὼν οὖν corresponds to 1323 τούφλων κηδεμών.

Even if syllabic correspondence were required, we might easily correct to θρᾶν Ahrens, θάνωn Rauchenstein: but there is no need.]

(2) To read with Herm. and others after Wakefield θρόμβον, and suppose the second and third lines interjectory, by another speaker: κρατοῦντες intransitive:

'Verning utterly beyond the right:—
A blood-dripping clot
Around his feet, about his head—
We may see, etc.'

The two lines would then be a vivid and bold picture of angry horror at the soul stain on the god's shrine: 'such are the doings of the young gods' as the ancient Furies dramatically exclaim.

On the whole I prefer (1) which keeps the MS. reading, certainly also read (though misunderstood) by the Schol. who says, τὸν θρόνον οὖν Ὁρέστης καθῆτο πάρεστιν ὃμφαν φονολῆθη. It was not the seat of Orestes but the seat of Apollo.

1. 167. ἀρώμενον, 'that has taken upon it;' βλοσυρόν ἄγος αἰμάτων, 'a fell pollution of blood.' For ὃμφαλον see line 40.

1. 169. μάντις ἄν, i. e. 'though a seer,' and thus the last who should have allowed pollution.

1. 170. αὐτόσοντος, αὐτόκλητος, 'at thine own bidding, at thine own summons;' the repetition of similar words is noticeable all through this chorus; a rhetorical turn due to the strength of their wrath and passion. So περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα—βαρὺ περὶ βαρύ—δατον δαμῖν, etc.

1. 172. 'And crushing the ancient Fates.' The Schol. followed by
Pal. and others, understands this of themselves, the Furies being identified for the moment with the Fates. So Eurip. Elect. 1252 says of Orestes—

δεινα δὲ Κήρες σ’ αἱ κυνώπιδες θεαὶ

τροχηλατήσοντ’ ἐμμανὴ πλανάμενον.

But it is very difficult to believe that Aeschylus who makes the Furies call upon the Fates (961) as 'our own sisters, righteous goddesses,' and speak of them as apart from themselves (724), should here put one for the other. It is better to consider (with Dind. Linw. Weil) that the allusion is here, as more fully explained below (724), to Apollo having allowed the Fates to be robbed by the rescue of Alkestis from death. This explains the κἀμοι γε next line, 'To us too' the Furies, as well as to the Fates; and also l. 175 'He if he fly beneath the earth shall never be set free,' as Alkestis was set free by Herakles who wrestled with death and recovered her.

It remains however an unusually obscure allusion, and hence one cannot feel confident.

1. 174. τὸν, Orestes: for Epic form cp. 137, 357.
1. 177. MSS. read μᾶστρων ἵκεινον πᾶσται: corrupt, neither metre nor sense. The Schol. say, 'Being defiled he shall receive on his head another avenger, and his descendants shall pay us the penalty.' The words italicised clearly point to some correction like ἐγγέει or ἐν γέει (Hart.) or ἐν γένου (Weil). I have taken the former, 'being guilty of blood he shall find, smiting his head, another avenger of his kindred:' i.e. the blood feud shall be continued: Klytaimnestra smote Agamemnon: Orestes smote Klytaimnestra; another shall strike him and the feud be carried on.

μᾶστρων, properly 'one who pollutes,' used for 'an avenger' Soph. El. 603 (of Orestes), Eur. Med. 1371.

[Enter from the inner shrine Apollo, who sternly addresses the Furies.]

[179–234. SCENE I, Part 2. Apollo orders Furies to depart: they plead with him, that he is sheltering the guilty. He replies that Klytaimnestra was also guilty. The Chorus defy him, and threaten Orestes. Apollo promises to aid him.]

1. 181. 'A winged glancing snake,' a bold and splendid image for an arrow.
1. 183. 'The black foam sucked from men,' is explained in the next line.
1. 186. καρανιστήρες ὄφθαλμωρυχος δίκαι, 'dooms that shear off the head and tear out the eyes.' The horror is intensified both by
the extraordinary weight and force of the lines, and by the abstract: the Furies are banished to a land of ghastly things.

For the masc. form καρακυστήρ with fem. word δικη compare σωρή τύχη Ag. 664, λαμπάς πορευνή ib. 287, θέλωρ πιθώ Suppl. 1040, παραψυχόμεια πράκτορες below 319, βρωτήρας αίχμας 803.

1. 188. A corrupt and difficult line: MSS. read—

... σπέρματός τ' ἀποθοραν
paidan kakaoutai χλούνας ἢδ' ἀκανθία.

The explanation turns on the meaning of χλούνας. (1) One of the Schol. understands it to mean 'castration:' and this is supported by Aristotle (Hist. An. 6. 28), who says distinctly τῶν δὲ ἄρρενων καὶ ἄγριων οἱ τομαὶ μείζους γίγνονται καὶ χαλεπώτεροι, ὅπερ καὶ Ὄμηρος ἐποίησεν (II. 9. 539), ὸμήκεν ἐπὶ χλούνην σῶν ἄγριων: which proves that Arist. took χλούνης = τομίας: Eustathius (772), who quotes the authority of Aeschylus, Aelian, and Aristotle for this int.: and Aeschylus himself, who (Frag. 62) has χλούνης apparently meaning 'eunuch;' but (2) others reply that Homer cannot have meant a σῶς τομία but the opposite: and hence χλούνας = 'virility.' These retain κακοῦται and read ἀποθοραν, translating 'and by the destruction of the seed the virility of boys is ruined.' So Dind. Pal. Weil.

In favour of (1) is the very strong evidence of Aristotle, backed by Schol. and Eustathius, and further the run of the lines, which consists of a heap of abstract nouns which would be very harshly broken by a finished sentence. We must therefore assume κακοῦται corrupt: though no satisfactory emendation has been suggested.

We may add that those who support (2) assume that Aeschylus must have used the word in the Homeric sense: but it is quite possible that he may have misused an old word, and made the same mistake as Aristotle: and the evidence of Frag. 62 confirms this.

1. 189. μύζουσιν οἴκτωσμόν πολύν, 'make sore and piteous moaning,' a terribly graphic expression for the slow torture of impalement.

1. 191. ἐσφυγθα: 'what manner of feast it is ye love, loathed of the gods' [lit. 'what . . . loving, ye are loathed . . .'].

1. 192. ὑφηγεῖται, lit. 'leads to it:' i. e. 'shews it.'

1. 195. πλησίον, 'close at hand,' seems rather a feeble word and is perhaps corrupt: though none of the suggestions (πλονίονα Pauw., πανθύσιον Mein., Πυθίουσι Mart., and many others worse) are convincing: Πυθίουσι perhaps the best.

πρίθεσθαι μῦσα, 'rub off their foul pollution,' a forcible and contemptuous phrase.

1. 196. Observe the fine sudden figure, after his manner: 'Begone, ye flock without a shepherd: no god loves such a herd.'

1. 200. MSS. read els τὸ πᾶν, the copyists having fallen into the
common Aeschylean phrase, here very flat and inappropriate: Canter's εἰς τὸ πάν makes it at once forcible and right.

1. 201. τοσοῦτο, i.e. as to explain.

1. 202. Note the idiomatic use of ὡστε instead of simple acc. and infin. So Thuc. i. 119 δειθέντες ὡστε ψηφίσασθαι, 5. 17 ψηφισμένων ὡστε καταλύεσθαι, Eur. Hipp. 1327 ἡθελ' ὡστε γίνεσθαι, Soph. Phil. 656 ἄρ' ἐστιν ὡστε... λαβεῖν.

1. 203. πρᾶξαι, 'to exact,' plainly the right word here: MSS. read πέμαται, 'to send,' which is explained as meaning 'to Agamemnon:' but that would surely require τῷ πατρὶ.

τι μήν; lit. 'what then?' i.e. 'why not?' So, e.g. Plat. Theaet. 145 ἢ ωχ ἄπειρ οἱ ἑπιστήμονες ταῦτα καὶ σοφοί; (answer) τι μήν;

1. 204. 'To welcome blood new-shed' is a bold and vivid phrase for 'received the murderer red-handed.'

1. 206. Certainly to be written a question.

1. 209. κόμπασον γέρας καλὸν, ironical: 'go boast thy glorious office!'

1. 211. ξῖνε νοσφίσῃ, a woman 'who slays:' the subjunctive indefinite, because, as frequently, the special case is (rhetorically) put in general terms. The absence of ἄν is Epic usage, common in Trag. and found even in Attic prose, οὗ βραχείς ἀρκόσι Thuc. 4. 17, οἶτινες νομίζώσι 4. 18, ὡ μὴ Plat. Phaedr. 247 B.

1. 212. αὐθέντης φῶνος, 'the murder of a kinsman;' the most fearful pollution according to the Greek view: so much so that a sharp distinction was drawn (as here) between the murder of a husband (not an ἄμαμος) and the murder of a mother.

1. 213. I take the best suggestion, εἰργάσω (Wordsw.), out of many for the corrupt MSS. reading ἦρκεσσω. It must be some word with simple meaning, like 'thou hast made despised and dishonoured' (lit. 'of no value'), to suit both ἄτιμα and ἐρπῷ σοῦ.

1. 214. The Marriage of Zeus and Hera was the λεπός γάμος, the 'sacred ' or ideal marriage: and Ἡρα was called Τελεία, 'the Accomplisher,' as marriage was a τέλος or 'accomplished rite.'

1. 217. 'For marriage ordained by Fate for man and woman is stronger than an Oath, and guarded by Justice.' These fine lines containing an ideal of marriage as an indissoluble bond under the highest sanctions seem in advance of ordinary Greek thought and feeling on the subject; but we must remember that Aeschylus belongs to the older school, and one of the charges against the younger poets was that they lowered the ideal of marriage: and further that the immense care of the Athenian

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1 ἡκέ σοι Ἡ., ἦρκεσσ εν Musgr. Weil., ἦρμοσ Μerk., ἦδεσσ Well., Hart. ἀρκέσει Bothe; these are the better ones.
law for *legitimacy*, and the excessive seclusion of women, point in the same direction. [Weck. reads κτίνουσι συλλέκτρων: ingenious.]

1. 220. MSS. read τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι, which must be wrong. The neatest emendation is Meineke’s (adopted by Hart. Weil. Dind.) τίνεσθαι, ‘to punish,’ which I have taken. The word is usually employed of the *injured man* punishing the wrong-doer, and means properly ‘to get payment’ (middle): but it is not a great stretch to use it of the Furies who are personally interested in the penalty, and may be said ‘to get payment.’

Of the other numerous corrections only Wakefield’s *μέλεσθαι* need be mentioned.

ἐποπτεύειν, ‘look down on them’: the proper word for a god’s visitation or guidance: *nai* ο’ ἐποπτεύων θέος Cho. 1063, θεούς ἀνοδεύειν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχη Ag. 1579, πατρῷ ἐποπτεύων κράτη Cho. 1, etc.

1. 222. ἐνθυμουμένην, ‘taking to heart.’

1. 223. πράσσουσαν ἰσχυαίτεραν, ‘more remiss in act,’ the adj. by a common poetic variation for adv. with verb. Somewhat similarly in prose σχολαίος, χρόνιος, ἀσμενός, etc., are used adverbially.

1. 224. δίκας ἐποπτεύει, ‘shall watch the pleadings,’ i.e. ‘direct the trial.’ δίκαι plural is usually ‘pleas of right,’ not ‘vengeance.’ So δίκας κλήνεται Ag. 813, ‘hearing the cause.’ κραίνετε δίκας Cho. 462, ὅστάτας δίκας Suppl. 230, ‘the last trial.’

1. 226. δ’ οὖν, ‘well then,’ impatient and contemptuous. So Prom. 935 δ’ οὖν πολείτω.

τίθου (‘put or make for yourself,’ middle), ‘get.’

πλέω must be read for MSS. πλέων. In Ag. 1299 we have the opposite blunder of the copyist, χρόνων πλέω for χρόνον πλέω: mistakes constantly arising from terminations being erroneously assimilated.

1. 227. The Chorus understand Apollo to threaten, and they proudly defend their privileges.

1. 228. ἢστε, 202.

1. 229. No need to alter πάρ into παρά (Porson): both the rhythm and the Epic use are like Aeschylus.

1. 230. δίκας μέτειμι τόνδε, i.e. ‘I will sue for justice on him;’ δίκας being a rather strange sort of internal acc., the δίκας or ‘pleadings’ shewing the nature of the pursuit; see line 224. The phrase implies that the Eumenides are going to submit to a trial: δίκην μέτειμι τόνδε would mean simply ‘I will visit vengeance on his head.’

μέτειμι and μεταλθεῖν are used with three kinds of accusatives, the trial or vengeance, the crime, and the criminal. Here we have trial and criminal: μετήλθον σ’ αἷμα Eur. Or. 423 (crime and criminal): so ἀρσαγάς μετήλθετ’ Ἰλίου πόλιν Eur. Cycl. 280: Ag. 1666 (criminal only), Cho. 996 (crime only).
NOTES, ll. 217-245.

1. 234. εἰ προδώ, Epic use of εἰ with subj. So εἰ καραθη πράγμα Suppl. 91, μηδε εἰ στράτευμα πλείον τ' Pers. 791, εἰ μη τοιον τύχη Suppl. 400. [Apollo retires: and the Chorus leave the stage. Then the scene is changed to Athens: the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis: Orestes enters and kneels as a suppliant before the statue of Athena in the front.]

This change of scene, being from one temple to another, would only require the alteration of the side scenes or περὶκατοι. These were prismatic or three-sided scenes which were turned round to exhibit different surroundings: rather a primitive device. The altar and temple would remain; only the statues would have to be changed (242).


1. 237. προστρέπαων, 'guilty' here: see note on l. 41. ἀφοβαστων, 'uncleansed,' from φοβός, 'bright' (of course here with reference to the god). [Theocr. uses φοιβάω, 'to cleanse,' later writers φοιβάω: and φοιβαίων is found in lexicographers.]

1. 238. Orestes by a bold figure is said to be 'blunted and worn away,' when what the poet really means is that the guilt is blunted and worn. In English we must say so.

πρὸς, the light ending, where the sentence is broken in the most closely bound phrase, is rare in Aeschylus, though common enough in Sophocles: e.g. ἣ κατείχε τὸν ἔνεντι: ἐδώ δὲ τοι ἔληφθη: τὸ γάρ πράγμα οὖν ἔδρασα: εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ φανείτε: παλαιάτες τε καί πληγέντες: all from Antigone. But there is no reason to suspect it.

1. 240. The sentence begins very abruptly without connecting particle, so that many suspect corruption, and some (Frien. Pal.) attempt to cure it by reading 1. 238 ἀλλ' ἀμβλώς Ὑδη, προστρεπτριμένοι τε and destroying stop at βροτῆν. Others make other alterations. But the antithesis οὐ προστρεπαίων... ἀλλ' ἀμβλώς is very harsh: and the sentence inordinately long. The abruptness of δρομα χέρσον κ.τ.λ. does not seem impossible in the worn-out wanderer passionately seeking sanctuary. We have it again l. 242.

[Orestes sinks down clasping the base of the statue. Enter the Chorus hunting the trail.]

[244-275. PARODOS. Chorus: Where can he be? we have searched land and sea: I scent the trail—Lo there is he clasping the image, hoping Athena's help! No! we shall suck his blood and drag him down, as he deserves.]

1. 245. 'The voiceless informer' is of course the blood, which mysteriously continues to drop wherever he goes. The Scholiast, not a
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highly poetical person, remarks on the 'tragic improbability' of blood yet dropping from the sword of a man who had come from Argos to Delphi and from Delphi to Athens.

1. 248. φυσικός σπλάγχνος, 'my heart gasps,' loaded and emphatic diction.

Androskomēn has nothing to do with Orestes (as H. Mors.): it is simply, as Schol. understands it, 'right wearisome.'

1. 250. ἀπτήρος: the Eumenides were not winged, l. 51.

1. 254. προσγελά, 'delights': the bold figure not Aeschylean specially, but belonging to the Greek idiom: so σὲ τὰ φυτὰ προσγελάσεται Ar. Pax 600. It is exactly the Lat. adideo.

1. 256. ἀνήρ, 'unpunished:' lit. 'unpaying' (act.) as Aeschylus always uses τίνω of the culprit who pays penalty. [The word seems used in pass. sense Ag. 72.]

[There is no antistrophe to guide us here, and there are several minor variations of the MSS.: the metre, however, seems mainly dochmiac, and I have taken Hermann's emendations, which are the simplest: see crit. notes.]

1. 259. πλεξθέλα, 'twined,' a strong word, describing Orestes' despairing clasp of the image.

ll. 258–260. The difficulty here is removed if we see that the emphasis (as so often in Greek) is on the participles.

The Chorus just catch sight of him and cry:

'But he again with sure defence,
And clasping the image of the immortal goddess,
Would fain take his trial for the deeds of his hands...'

i. e. 'Here he is I see, clasping the statue, and hoping to be tried under the goddess' protection; but it may not be, etc.' The trial is the necessary way to safety, and the Furies try to prevent it.

[Schol. has a strange note, ἄνθρωπον ἦμων κρεβατεῖ προσφέρει θέλει γενέσθαι τῆς θεοῦ, 'for what he owes to us he wishes to become suppliant of the goddess,' which looks as if he read χρεῶν, 'to answer for his debts,' and so Scaliger reads (followed by H. Linw. Hart. Weil. Wakef.). But χρεῶν is a finer expression, and we may take the Medicean MS. against an inference from an obscure and prosaic note.]

ll. 261–263. This is best taken as two sentences (with M.), the idea being repeated, as commonly in all poetry, in two forms. The sense and language are then very fine:

'It may not be: a mother's blood upon the earth
None can restore: alas!

The drops once shed upon the ground are lost!'

The sentiment may be called the keynote of the three dramas; it is true of Iphigeneia τὸ δέ ἐπὶ γὰν πεσὼν ἀπαξ θανάτου... μελαν αἴμα τίς ἄν
NOTES, II. 245–280.

πάλιν ἀγκάλεσαι ἐπαείδων; (Ag. 1019), and is the real basis of all the forebodings in the midst of the king’s triumphal return: it is true of Agamemnon, τι γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἰματος πέδωι; (Cho. 48), and νόμος... φωνας σταγόνας χυμένας ἐς γὰν ἄλλο προσαυτέιν αἴμα (ib. 400), and there it is the ground of the confident hope of vengeance; and it is true here of Orestes. See again below l. 647.

Notice Epic syncope δυσαγκόμαστον for δυσανάκομ-: the poetic use χαμάλ for χαματ δν, and Epic passive form χόμενος, cf. Cho. 401.

1. 264. ῥοφέων, epexegetic ‘for us to drink.’
1. 265. Generally read μελών: better μελόν, as an iambus is wanted for metre.
1. 268. I take the best correction, the nearest to the MSS. and the best sense, ἀντίστρων ὁ τίμας ματροφόνου δίων, ‘that thou may’st pay the full penalty for thy murdered mother’s woe:’ the adj. ματροφόνου used with poetic elasticity, which is particularly noticeable in these compound adjectives.
1. 270. τιν’ ἀσεβῶν is perhaps incomplete, as coming between two dochmiacis it probably should be one itself. The neatest suggestion for completing it is Hermann’s τιν’ οὐκ ἐσεβαῖν. But in the uncertainty of the metre I have left the reading as the MSS. have it, especially as τιν’ ἀσεβῶν is a resolved cretic, and we have creticas introduced ll. 262, 266.

II. 273–275. ‘For Hades under the earth is a mighty controller of men, and watches all with his recording heart.’ This conception of the Justice and Moral supremacy of the powers below is very fine, and noticeable as being rather unusual. The Powers below are often spoken of as terrible, and unforgetting, and so forth; but here the tone is higher. See Introduction.

[276–306. Scene II, Part 2. Orestes calls on Athena, claiming to be now purified, to help him wheresoe’er she be. The Chorus reply defiantly that neither Apollo nor Athena will help, and sing the binding song.]

1. 277. καὶ λέγειν, i.e. ‘and I know where it is right to speak.’ The double construction of ἐπισταμαι is perhaps a little harsh, but there is no reason to suspect it.

The Schol. tells us that an ἐπαγγέλθας (or person under a curse) might not go near anyone or look at or speak to him till purified. So Aeschylus himself below l. 448. But the purification is complete l. 445; and he has been ordered by the god l. 279; and therefore he may speak l. 287.

1. 280. In the fine figurative style of Aeschylus the blood-stain ‘slumbers and withers.’
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1. 284. i.e. 'it would be long to tell from the beginning.' έξ ἄρχης is by a slight stretch of usage, used closely with λόγος, equivalent to το έξ ἄρχης λέγειν.

1. 285. ἀβλαβεῖ, 'harmless;' proving that he was purified.

1. 286. I agree with Musgr. Herm. Hart. Dind. Weil. etc., that this line is spurious. It is clearly a proverbial line about the destructiveness of time; and even if we alter καθαυρεῖ to καθαυρεῖ with Stanl. Pal. etc. Aeschylus could not have said (l. 283) that Orestes was cleansed by sacrifice, and then abruptly (l. 286), 'Time cleanses all.'

1. 290. αὐτόν, 'myself;' the 'me' is not wanted after emphatic ἐνοι l. 288. The reference to the treaty formed 459 B.C. (the year before the play) between Athens and Argos against Sparta is obvious. See Introduction.

1. 293. Τρίτων was in the stories of Athena a Libyan lake from which she was supposed to have sprung; afterwards identified with the large salt lake in the south of Tunis.

The story very likely arose out of the obscure Homeric epithet for Athena, Τριτογένεα, which perhaps meant 'born of the water,' and anyhow was not clearly understood by the later Greeks.

1. 294. 'Whether with upright step or covered foot;' whether standing as in the ordinary statues or 'covering her feet,' i.e. sitting. Pal. quotes Strabo (13. 1) as saying 'In many of the ancient images of Athena she is represented as sitting.'

This seems the best interpretation of an obscure passage.

Weil suggests the allusion is to the Athenian war in Egypt, in support of the Libyan chieftain Inaros, who had rebelled against Persia; a large Athenian fleet was sent out in 460, two years before this play. This explains φίλας ἄργιγουμεν.

1. 295. 'The Phlegrean plain' is the narrow promontory of Pallene in Chalkidike, north east of Greece. The story was that the gods here fought the giants; a story as old as Pindar (Nem. 1. 100), in which fight we gather that the warrior goddess Athena marshalled the hosts.

The name 'Phlegrean plain' was afterwards given to the volcanic coast of Campania, which some strangely have supposed to be meant here.

1. 298. γένοντο, regular sequence after έλθων. In English we say 'May she come;' and therefore naturally have the primary sequence, 'that she may prove.'

1. 301. ἐπού φρεων, 'where in the heart it lies.'

1. 302. 'A bloodless victim' she calls Orestes, consistently with the threat (ll. 264 and 267), 'I will drain thee dry and carry thee below.' δαμολόνας is 'the powers below,' i.e. both the Furies who will drink his blood and Hades (l. 274) who ordains and directs the vengeance.
σκάν, ‘a shadow,’ not a ghost, for he was to be carried off below yet living (l. 267): but all the vigour sucked out of him with his blood. [Schol. reads σκά with MSS., and takes it voc. Unlikely.]

[307–395. First Stasimon. ‘We are just and only pursue the guilty. Mother Night, hear! Apollo wrongs us (307–333). Fate bids us pursue the wicked, even after death (334–346). We are dark powers: apart from the gods: our lot is to ruin wicked houses (347–359). We relieve the gods of this: and chase and catch even the swift. The proud are brought low: they know not till the woe comes (360–380). We are unforgettable, implacable, terrible; men must fear and honour us, though we be Powers of Darkness’ (381–396).]

1. 303. Orestes maintains a patient and scornful silence: which rouses the Chorus to still greater fury. There would be a dramatic pause before this line; then the furious threat l. 305. There is no need to divide the speech between different speakers, as Hartung, Paley, and others, following M. G.

1. 306. ὑμον δισμον σέθεν, ‘the song that binds thee,’ the choric song acting as an infernal spell to make Orestes their prey: and perhaps accompanied by mysterious ‘binding’ gestures.

1. 309. δεδοκηκεν, ‘tis our resolve,’ poetic form for regular διδοκται.

1. 310. λάχη might be the ‘office of the Furies,’ as Cho. 360: but with ἔπινομαι it makes better sense to refer it to ἀνθρώποι. ‘How our troop assigns the lots of men.’

στάσις, as Choeph. 114, 458.

1. 313. I take Hermann’s original correction προνεμοντα, ‘that puts forth’ for all to see: opposed to the action of the guilty man who ‘hides’ (l. 317) his bloody hands.

1. 314. I take Hermann’s corr. εὐθυδικαίον (justified by ὅρθοδικαίοι l. 994) and H. L. Ahrens’ ὀλόμεθα’.

1. 319. πράκτορες, ‘avengers,’ from πράσσειν in the special sense ‘to exact a debt.’ So τὸν πατρὸς φόνον πράξαντα l. 624, χερὶ πράκτορι Ag. ΙΙΙ.

For the masc. form πράκτορ with fem. substantive cf. line 186.

1. 320. τελέως, ‘unsafingly:’ it goes with παραγιγ. πρακ. and expresses the persistent and complete vengeance.

1. 322. ἀλαοτι καὶ δεδορκόσιν, ‘the sightless and the seeing,’ i.e. the ‘dead and the living.’ So δερκομένοις καὶ δυσομάτωι l. 388.

1. 326. ματρόφον ἄγνισμα κύριον φόνον, ‘rightful atonement for a mother’s blood;’ ματρόφον poetically transferred from φόνον to ἄγνισμα, as the thought comes naturally in that order ‘expiation for a mother . . . for her blood.’
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ll. 329–332. In the refrain note the effect of the accumulated adjectives and nouns describing the charm:

‘Over the victim this is our song—
A frenzy, a maddening distraction,—
A chant of the Furies
Untuned to the lyre, a spell to chain the soul,
blighting the life of man.’

αὐνῶν is also found (Simon. Iamb. vii. 20) in the sense of ‘cry;’ [from root αὐ, ‘shout’] and it may be so taken here by joining it with ἄφρομκτος, ‘a cry unmusical to men;’ but the other sense from αὐαίνω, ‘to wither or waste,’ is more forcible, and so the Schol. Med. takes it: ὀ ἠραίων τοὺς βροτοὺς.


This is far more Aeschylean and forcible than the common rendering ‘all pervading’ (Lin. Pal. Hart. Mors. etc., following Schol.).

ll. 336–340. Taking the old corrections of the corrupt text, which are much the simplest and best, we get a good sense:

‘To those mortals who light upon sinful deeds of blood,
To cling to them, until
He [the guilty man] pass beneath the earth:
And [even] in death he is not over-free.’

ξυμπέσωσιν is suspected by some edd.: why, they ask, should Furies pursue those whom murder ‘falls in with,’ i.e. who are accidentally guilty of murder?

But the fact is that, all through these lines there is an intentional use of mild terms, giving (as so often) the effect of the deadliest irony, and suggesting the grim exultant ferocity of the Furies. Thus, besides ξυμπέσωσι, ‘befall,’ for a deliberate murder, we have μάταιοι (lit. ‘vain,’ ‘foolish,’) for wicked: διαμαρτίν (lit. ‘to attend on’), for the relentless pursuit of the Furies: ὄρι άγαν ἀνευθέρος meaning he is never quit of us.

Note the Epic usages: (1) τοῖν for relative, so, e.g. Ag. 526, 642, Cho. 604, Eum. 918, Theb. 519, etc.: (2) ξυμπέσωσιν, indef. subj. with no ὁ attached to the relative,—both common survivals in tragedy: and (3) δύφα δώ for ‘until.’

1. 347. λάχη here, as l. 334, ‘office.’
ἐκράνθη, ‘assigned’: so Suppl. 943 ψήφος κέκρανται, ‘fixed,’ ‘settled.’
1. 350. ἄθανάτων δὲ ἀντέχειν χέρας, ‘but from the immortals to keep away.’ The ἄθανάτων δὲ is opposed to the θνατῶν of the previous stanza l. 336. Their ‘office’ is to pursue the guilty man, but they have nothing to do with gods.
NOTES, ll. 332–359.

1. 352. This line does not correspond to the antistrophic line, 

Zevis γὰρ αἱματοσταγές δειγμον ἔθνος τὸδε λέσχας,

but both make good sense, and there is no specially suspicious word in either. Under these circumstances it is quite easy to make them correspond in numerous different ways, by changing one, or the other, or both. But the best correction is to read ἀνέφορον for ἄμοιρον here, and in the antistrophe to read δ' αἱματοσταγές for γὰρ αἵματοσταγές.

'In pure white robes I have no festal part.'

The Eumenides as neither and evil powers had 'no lot nor part' in the festivals of gods where white robes were worn: they were μελαινεμονες, 'black-robed,' l. 376, μέλαιναι, l. 52, φαιοχίτωνες, 'dusky in garb,' Cho. 1048, as became daughters of Night.

1. 355. 'Whenever the Wargod is tamed and slays a friend,' an imaginative phrase, obscure from its very boldness: he means 'when Strife in the house sheds a kinsman's blood.'

1. 357. διόμεναι, Epic word, 'pursuing.' Homer has it always transitive: here it seems best to take it intrans. with prep. 'pursuing after him.' [It might be tmesis for ἐπιδιόμεναι: but δ' makes this less likely. Perhaps E. A. Ahrens' δδ' δέμεναι, which is certainly very ingenious, is the true reading.]

τόν, Epic demonstr. use. [Others read ἐπιτόνως: but Schol. had our reading, for he remarks on the position of δ'.]

ll. 358, 9 are read in the MSS.:

κρατερόν δεθ' δομῶς
μαυροῦμεν ὕφ' [οτ εφ'] αἰματος νέου,

and in the antistrophoe:

σφαλερά τανυφόμοις
κώλα δύσφορον ἤταν.

The best emendation seems to be Weil's:

κρατερόν δεθ' δομός ἀμαυροῦμεν αἰματος νέου,

and in the antistrophoe:

σφαλερά τανυφόμοις δομός
κώλα, δύσφορον μάταν.

The meaning of the passage before us will then be:

'After him pursuing,
Mighty though he be, we waste him away
For the new deed of blood.'

The genitive will then be a genitive of the cause (like ὑπάγεις τοῦδ' οἴκ ἄλλεις Soph. El. 627, 'for this daring thou shalt not escape') or perhaps the more special gen. of the charge (like ἄλλων κλοπῆς, ἰδίων φόνου, etc.).

For a fuller discussion see Appendix.
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ll. 360–6. Again an obscure passage. MSS. read:

σπευδόμεναι δ' ἀφελείν τινά τάσσει μερίμνας
θεὼν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαίσι λιταίς ἐπικραίνειν
μήδ' ἐς ἀγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν.
Zeus γὰρ αἰματοσταγῆς ἄξιόμωσιν ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας
ἀς ἀπηγούσατο.

And then should follow what has got displaced in the MSS.:

μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα, κ.τ.λ.

Where the general drift seems to be: '[I pursue the guilty] and am eager to relieve another (the gods) of this charge, and set the gods free, and prevent the crime from coming to trial—for Zeus has banished the guilty from his sight, etc.'

This seems to make a fair sense, and it is best with most editors to suppose the nom. pendens σπευδόμεναι to be taken up again by μάλα γὰρ οὖν, so that the sentence is only grammatically completed when we reach καταφέρω.

[This anacoluthon is rather harsh: Wecklein and Kirchhoff take Döderlein's suggestion σπευδόμεν αἰῶ, 'we here are eager.' But the phrase is then abrupt and unnatural.]

The points that remain are:

(1) 362 ἐμαίσι λιταίς, which, if right, must be referred to the prayer of the Eumenides to Apollo not to interfere. But the passage is too general to refer specially to Orestes, though he is of course in their minds. So that perhaps ἐμαίσι μελέτας is better, 'and by my labour to set the gods free' (lit. 'to bring about the freedom or immunity of the gods,' i.e. freedom from the duty of punishing the criminal).

(2) 363 μηδ' εἰς ἀγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν: i.e. to take the guilty into my own hands and prevent the matter from being tried by the gods;—the very thing they feared was going to be done with Orestes. ἀγκρισις or ἀνάκρισις is the technical term for the preliminary investigation by a magistrate.

(3) 'Bloody hateful race,' i.e. as Schol. explains, 'the race of murderers:' the whole passage from l. 348 being a general description of the office of the Furies and their relation to the gods.

[Her. P. and others refer ἔθνος to Furies: but they would hardly call themselves ἄξιόμωσον.]

The whole passage may then be translated as follows:

'And eager to lighten another of this charge,
And by our care to set free the gods,
And that [it] come not to trial:
For with this bloody hateful troop
Zeus deigns not to commune.'
NOTES, II. 360–385.

1. 367. μάλα with ἄλομενα:
   ‘For mightily indeed leaping from on high
   I bring down the weighty power of my foot—
   Limbs which trip even the swiftest runner,—
   A toil intolerable.’

The emendation adopted.[ὅμος inserted and μάταν, see above l. 359] is almost necessary to give the right sense, ‘even though they fly swiftly.’

1. 373. ὦν αἰθέρι, ‘beneath the sky,’ i.e. when they are living on earth.
1. 374. κατὰ γᾶν, ‘on earth,’ is the MS. reading: but as Hermann said, the sense ‘below the earth,’ κατὰ γᾶς, is required in antithesis to ὦν αἰθέρι. The same mistake occurs again II. 838, 871.

1. 375, 6. Bold and imaginative expressions:
   ‘Before our black-robed assault,
   And the vengeful measures of our foot;’
   i.e. [their human glories come to naught] when we the Furies attack them and weave these magic dances which make them our captive (as we are doing to Orestes).

1. 376. After this line in the MSS. comes μάλα γὰρ οὖν . . . μάταν (II. 367–371). It is possible that the words are repeated as a refrain both here and after l. 380.

1. 377. ‘And though he falls, he knows not this in his witless ruin:’ λυμή is the destruction which attacks his mind, and blinds him to the threatening evil; τὸδὲ is best taken (not of the fall as many edd., which would be simply Πινταν οὐκ οἴδεν, but) of the presence and power of the Furies.

1. 378. κνέφας is in apposition to μῦσος, and is predicative: we should say, ‘So dark a cloud of pollution hovereth over him.’
   ἴντι, Epic adverbial use (tmesis) of the preposition, going with the verb.

1. 379, 80. Again a highly imaginative and picturesque phrase which needs no alteration:
   ‘And the voice of many a groan
   Proclams against the house a mist of gloom.’

The groans of the past victims are heard as it were making a horror of gloom about the house of wickedness.

1. 381. μενε γὰρ, ‘for the law abides;’ so μιμει Ag. 1563. But it is obscure and abrupt: and possibly corrupted.
1. 382. The verb λομέν is easily understood:
   ‘Crafty are we, and unfailing to accomplish.’

1. 385 sqq.:
   ‘Speeding to do our office dishonoured, and unregarded,
   Far apart from gods
   Where no sunlight shines,—pathless and rugged alike
   For the sightless and the seeing;’
i.e. our pursuit which brings misery on living and dead alike: according to the oft-repeated idea that _even in death_ the victim escapes not from the Furies: ὑπὸ τε γὰρ φυγὼν ὦ ποτ’ ἐλευθεροῦται 1. 175, θανὼν δ’ οὐκ ἀγαν ἐλεύθερος 1. 346. The sentence has no verb, and διόμεναι is rather a strange word (though the English ‘to pursue’ a task or charge exactly illustrates it): hence Heath ingeniously suggested διέσωμεν. But διόμενα was read by Schol. and the MS. may stand.

1. 387. ἀνηλίκω τάμπη, lit. ‘in sunless light,’ an oxymoron, meaning ‘in a light which is no light,’ ‘where no sunlight shines.’

[Others translate λάμπη, ‘filth,’ ‘mould,’ for there is a very late word λάμπη, ‘scum,’ and Dind. adopts Wieseler’s conj. λάπα in the same sense. But the strain of meaning is very harsh, and the word in the last degree unlikely.]

*δυσοδοποιίταλα* is suspicious, as the metaphor is rather harsh (though perhaps continued from διόμεναι): the metre does not correspond with the antistrophe (καίσθηρ ὑπὸ χθόνα); and the _double_ compound with _δυσ-_ is unusual, indeed unique.

There are many suggestions to cure the metrical fault, _δυσπορσε_, _δυσποθε_, _δυσμολο_, _δυσβατοσε_, etc. But it is best to leave it.

1. 388. Compare ἀλαοῖς καὶ δεδορκόσαι l. 322.

1. 393. διδέντα τέλεσον, adj. used proleptically, ‘granted for sure accomplishment.’

II. 394, 395. Two syllables are wanting to make the metre correspond: and they are usually supplied among the iambics of l. 394, with adoption of Hermann’s _κτρω_ for _κυρω_; but possibly l. 394 is all right, and the loss is in l. 395.

[Enter Athena from above in the air.]

[396–489. SCENE III. Athena comes, and seeing the chorus questions them. They reply that Orestes is a murderer. Athena bids him tell the tale. He pleads that he is purified, and narrates the divine order, and the murder. Athena says she will not decide, but gather a court of judges to try the case.]

1. 398. γῆν καταφθατουμένη. Some further alter γῆν into γῆς, and translate ‘hastening from;’ but ‘the land of Scamander’ would be a strange expression, and a much fuller and better sense is gained by translating κατ., ‘occupying,’ ‘hasting to claim’ the land. (So Hesych. who has καταφθατουμένη, κατακτουμένη.)

The Schol. tells us there was a reference here to a dispute between Athens and Mitylene for Sigeum in the Troad, settled in favour of M. by single combat. According to Herodotus (5. 95) the dispute was an old one: the struggle began about 606, and was settled by mediation of
Periander, who gave Sigeum to Athens. But evidently the dispute went on: for Herodotus tells us in the same chapter that Peisistratos (presumably about 550 B.C.) conquered Sigeum. It is quite in Aeschylus' manner to refer to this event in a bold and imaginative way, by making the land 'given to Athena as choice offering of the spoil by the chiefs of Achaioi.' There was a temple of Athena on the promontory.

1. 401. αὐτόπρεπος, bold metaphor, 'root and branch,' i.e. 'utterly,' 'land and all therein.'

1. 402. ἐξαποτέτον: it was a custom, from Homer's time, to take out of the spoil a special gift for kings (or, as here, gods). So Homer frequently γέρας ἐξελον ὑλῆς Ἀχαιῶν. So Thucydides tells us at the destruction of Mitylene (3. 30) the Athenians made 3000 holdings of the land, and 300 of these τοῖς θεοῖς ἵπποις ἐξελον.

1. 404. 'Flapping the fold of my aegis in wingless flight, a splendid and picturesque line: the goddess needing no wing to fly, the aegis serves her as a wing, and is accompanied with the βοῖβδος or 'whirring' noise of wings.

The ἄλυς was the wonderful shield of Zeus 'gleaming and fringed, that Hephastos made' (and therefore metal), Iliad 15. 307: 'it was tasselled, crowned about with Terror, and Strife, and Might, and fearful Fray is therein, and the dread monster's Gorgon head,' Iliad 5. 738. Athena wears it also, as well as Zeus, in Homer. The word probably meant 'storm' or 'rushing' originally (ἄλυ- ὄσσω): but later it was conceived as a 'goatskin' (ἄλυ), and so here has a κόλπος or 'fold.'

1. 405. 'Yoking to this car my lusty steeds:' if we understand this (with Schol.) literally, as though she came in the air on a car drawn by steeds, the phrase ἄρτυρον τόδα, and the previous line, seem to lose their point. Wakef. (followed by H. Hart. Schöm. and others) read κόλπος, 'legs,' a most clumsy emendation, and quite inappropriate to ἐπικείμενος δοχεῖαν. You can't talk of 'yoking a car on your legs.' It is better to take it metaphorically: the δοχεῖα is the aegis, the πῶλαi are the winds. So exactly Aristophanes calls Athena ἄλυθος ἱμικχος Clouds 602.

1. 410. ὑμᾶς θ', the construction is irregular but natural: she means, 'and you [I call] like to no race begotten, etc.' (or perhaps even a stronger verb of abuse is meant to finish the sentence): but she checks herself 1. 413.

1. 413. The MSS. reading ἄμορφον (retained by Dind. Weck. and read by Schol.) is translated, 'For neighbours to revile a hideous monster is far from justice,' which is rather crude and inappropriate; and ὥτα, idiomatic with the subject, is hardly grammar when it constitutes the object. Robortelli's ἄμορφον makes excellent sense: 'but for one who is not aggrieved (lit. who has no wrong to complain of) to revile others is unjust.'
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(This is confirmed by l. 678, where Ven. reads again ἀμορφος for ἀμορφος.)

1. 414. ἄποστατει θέμα, 'Right holds aloof,' stately phrase for 'it is wrong.'

1. 416. It is doubtful whether to read αλανή (from αλανής) or αλανής (from αλανός). M. G. and Schol. read here αλανή (agreeing with τέκνα) and αλανής is the ordinary form used elsewhere by Aeschylus, αλανή χρόνων l. 572, αλανή νόσοι ll. 479, 941. On the other hand, Hesychius (Alexandrine grammarian and lexicographer, 4th century, A.D.) quotes a form αλανός, usually read in Soph. El. 506 οὐκελεῖς αλανή. In Soph. Aias 672 there is the same doubt as here, whether to read νυκτὸς αλανής κύκλος, or αλανής. But both there and here it is rather more natural to have adj. agreeing with νυκτός: and here particularly: accordingly I take αλανής, the reading of Fl. Fa. Ven.

As to the meaning: the word certainly sometimes means 'eternal' (αλανή χρόνων l. 572, αλανός μένοι l. 672): but it also is used in the sense of 'grievous,' 'terrible,' (αλανής κόρος, αλανής κέντρον Pind., αλανής δείπνου Archil.). Either sense will suit here: perhaps 'eternal' is the most impressive.

1. 417. εν οἴκοις γῆς υπαί, not for τοῖς γῆς υπαί, but 'in our home, beneath the earth,' both phrases going with verb κεκλημένα.

1. 418. ἐπωνύμους, not in its usual sense 'called after;' but simply 'the names men call you by.'

1. 419. γε μὲν δὴ, adversative as usual. 'My office, however, thou shalt learn.' So Ag. 661, 887, 1213.

1. 420. 'I might learn, if one would show a plain tale;' a touch of ironic scorn for the dark hints of the Chorus.

1. 423. μοθομοῦ: the μή generalises as usual: 'Some place where joy is all unknown;' the Chorus mean 'in Hades:' but the indefinite or generic way of putting it is quite idiomatic and more imaginative and impressive. μοθομοῦ νομίζειν, lit. 'is held of no account.'

1. 424. ἐπαρροξίον, 'to clamour after,' of noisy and terrifying pursuit: 'To such a flight do ye hound him on?'


1. 426. i.e. 'Did he not do it, fearing the wrath of some other power?' Apollo is meant; only instead of naming him, she uses the vaguer word ἀνάγκη.

There is no need to alter the line: the Schol. quotes and explains it thus.

1. 427. ὡς often used for ὡστε in poetry: Epic usage.

1. 428. 'There are two suitors here, and we have heard but half the pleas,' i.e. we must wait till we have heard both sides. The reading of
NOTES, II. 413-442.

M. ἡμισὶς λόγον is regular Attic use (as well as λόγος): τῇ ἡμισὶς τῇ γῆς Thuc., δὲ ἡμῖς τοῦ ἀρχιμοῦ Plat.

1. 429 (The correction θέλη for ἥθελε is almost necessary, as otherwise it would seem as if the proposal had been made to Orestes.) The reference in this line, ‘he would take no oath, nor challenge us to swear,’ is to the custom of the ἀνάκρισις or preliminary investigation of causes at Athens, before a magistrate: at this all the evidence was produced; and the first thing was for the injured party to swear (προωμοσία) he had suffered, the defendant to swear (ἀθωμοσία) he was innocent.

These oaths, say the Chorus, are impossible here: Orestes will not deny his guilt: he will neither ask us to swear (δολω) nor swear when we ask him (δέκασθα). The whole of this passage is intended to correspond in a general way to the ἀνάκρισις: after hearing the preliminary statement of either party, Athena refers the whole case to the formal judgment of the Areiopagos.

1. 430. ‘The name of Just, not Justice, is thy desire,’ δίκαια being easily supplied with πρᾶξι. She means: ‘just forms, rather than justice.’

1. 431. σοφῶν, ‘subtlely.’

1. 432. ‘I say that injustice must not prevail by oaths,’ i.e. the issue must not be settled by oaths, but by the real justice of the case. Practically, Athena admits that Orestes cannot swear his innocence, but pleads that in this exceptional case it must not go against him for that: the true issue (ἐθνοθικFAULT) must be tried; see next note.

1. 433. εὐθείαν δίκαια, poet. for εὐθυθικία, the regular legal term for the ‘real issue’ opposed to some side question.

1. 434. ἐπὶ ... τρέπου’, ‘entrust,’ more frequently in the compound ἐπιτρέπω. The separate form (tmesis) is found in poetry, e.g. Ant. 1107 μηδ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλουσιν τρέπε.

τέλος, the final settlement, ‘the decision.’ Somewhat similar is Ag. 934 ἐφιεῖν τέλος.

1. 435. καπ’ ἄξιον (Arnald’s correction, adopted by Paley, must be right), ‘a worthy child of worthy sire,’ i.e. a great goddess, and daughter of Zeus. So Schol. ἄξιον ὄσαν γονέων. [Other corrections numerous, but all less simple and natural.]

1. 441. Ixion killed Deioneus, his mother’s father, by treachery at a banquet by preparing a pit into which he fell. Pindar says (Pyth. 2. 31) that ‘he was the first of men to shed kindred blood.’ When all shunned him for the guilt, Zeus took pity on him and purified him.

Of course a connection was felt between the name Ἰξίων and ἱκ-, the root of the words of ‘supplication’: possibly even the origin of the story is to be sought there.

1. 442. τούτος πάσων, neut. ‘to all this,’ i.e. the accusation of the Eumenides.
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1. 445. MSS. read ἰχεῖ μύσος, and ἐφεζόμενη, which has neither sense nor metre. ἐφημίνου and ἐφημένη have been suggested; but no tolerable construction has been made of the line.

I follow Weil. Kirch. Weckl. in adopting Wieseler's far better emendation ἰχων... ἐφεζόμην: the corruption of ἐφεζόμην entailed that of the other.

'Nor with pollution on my hand did I fall suppliant before thy image.'

ll. 449, 450. 'Till by the hand of the purifier of murder the blood of the slain suckling besprinkle him.'

The form of purification was with water and the blood of a pig, which was commonly used at Athens in such καθάρσεις: e.g. in purifying the space where the public meetings were held: [ἐντὸς τοῦ καθάρματος Αρ. Ach. 44.]

1. 452. οἰκοσί is governed by πρὸς: the other datives are instrumental. πόρος, 'stream,' is frequent in Aeschylus.

1. 453. ἐκποδῶν λέγω, 'I speak away' the misgiving: rather bold use of the words, but unmistakeable.

1. 457. The order is Τροίαν ἢλιον πόλιν ἀπολύσεις. The Schol. remarks on the skill of Orestes in conciliating Athena by reminding her of the former bond between her and Agamemnon.

1. 460. ποικίλοις, 'crafty.' ἦσαν.

1. 461. 'That bare witness to the murder in the bath:' for Klytaimnistra had cast the robe about Agamemnon like a net (ἄφρευμα) in the bath and stabbed him; and Orestes (Choeph. 980) had held up the bloody robe before the Chorus as a proof and reminder of her deed.

1. 466. The terrible penalties threatened if the avenger neglected his duty are given in a fine passage, Choeph. 271–296.

ἀντίκεντρα, 'like a spur,' see ll. 38, 136.

1. 469. πράξας πανταχῇ, idiomastic use for 'howsoe'er I fare.' So Antig. 634 πανταχῇ δρώντες φίλοι, 'howsoc'er we act, we are dear.'

ἐν σοὶ commonly 'in thy power' with the verb 'to be:' ἐν τῷ δαίμονι O. T. 1443, ἐν σοὶ ἐκφέν ib. 314, ἐν θεῷ τὸ τέλος ἢν Dem. 292. Here it has rather a different shade of meaning, 'at thy hands,' 'under thy rule.'

1. 470. 'The matter is too hard, if any mortal thinks to judge it;' this, the translation of the MSS. reading, εἰ τις, makes very good sense: μείζον is used for μείζον ἡ ἄστε δικάσειν, which is easily supplied. The Schol. also takes it so, apparently. It must be referred, not to a mortal,—not even to a god: but to a divinely appointed solemn court of judges.

[Others read ἢ τις, 'harder (than any mortal thinks) to judge:' which is rather flat sense. The Schol. plainly read εἰ, not ἢ. The confusion of εἰ and ἢ is very common in the MSS. of Aeschylus.]
NOTES, II. 445-484.

1. 472. δευμήνιτος is used in a slightly predicative sense, 'to decide with swift vengeance the issues of murder:' it is the decision which brings the vengeance.

1. 473. ἄλλως τε καὶ σὺ, 'especially since thou,' the causal conjunction being omitted by a looseness due to Aeschylus' bold brevity. Literally it is 'Both on other grounds [this is so] and [chiefly as] thou hast come.'

κατηρτυκός, a hard word. καταρρίω is to 'fit,' 'train,' 'finish,' and this perf. is used intrasitively, in a kind of technical sense, of animals, 'mature,' 'complete' (so Schol. and Hesych. say), hence it is here metaphorical, of the suppliant; 'with all due rites performed.' [In a similar metaphor Euripides (Frag. 39) uses the phrase κατηρτυκός τὰν ὁμών, which has been misunderstood from not observing the context. 'Had I been new to trouble I should have resisted, like a colt newly bridled: but now I am spent (ἄμβλος) and well trained in toils,' i.e. broken in, the phrase continuing the metaphor of the colt.]

1. 474. ἀβλαβής, 'harmless,' as 1. 285.

1. 475. MSS. read ἅμως δ': but the adversative 'nevertheless' seems out of place, and there is no sense in saying 'You are now pure, nevertheless I receive you:' moreover the strongly emphatic σὺ μὲν requires a personal antithesis. Accordingly I follow Hartung in reading ἔγω δέ.

ἀλφυμα τολε, 'I take thee, welcome thee in my city.'

1. 476. μοίραν οὐκ ευπέμπελον, lit. 'an office hard to banish,' i.e. 'such is their office, they are hard to banish;' the rights which the appointment of the gods has given them makes it hard for me to deal harshly with them.

1. 478. χώρα, put first to emphasise what is affected, is in sense dependent on ἀφετος αλανής νόσος.

The construction μὴ τυχοῦσα ... ἵς πεων νόσος is the not uncommon anacoluthon called nominativus pendens: compare Ag. 1008 ὅνως βαλόν ... οὐκ ἐδώ κόμος, Thes. 681 δἀνατος ὅπι αὐτοκτόνος οὐκ ἐστι γῆρας τοῦθε, Cho. 530 πάντα γάρ τις ἱκάλας ... μότην ὁ μόχθος. So Cho. 791, Soph. O. C. 1150.

φρονημάτων, 'wrath.'

11. 480, 1. ἀμφήτερα ... ἐμοὶ, 'to let them stay, to drive them forth, both are a peril and a perplexity to me.' The change of subject with the inf. ('that they should stay, that I should drive') is much less harsh in Greek: the inf. expresses the simple verbal idea, and the subject need not be consciously supplied.

1. 482. δεύρ' ἵπποκηπέν, 'has fallen to me,' i.e. to arrange.

11. 483, 4. The general sense of these lines is plain: but the MS. reading requires to be altered, and the original text must remain
uncertain: I have taken Casaubon’s ὅρκιον ἀπομώνη as the least
alteration on the whole: ‘I shall choose judges of murder bound by
oaths, and appoint them as an ordinance for ever.’ τὸν then agrees
with θεσμόν, ‘an ordinance that which [shall be] for all time.’ But
Wecklein’s φανιν δικ. ὅρκιον ἀπομονεύον θεσμόν, is ingenious.]

1. 486. ἄρωγα . . . ὅρκωματα, apposition to μαρτύρια: ‘Summon
evidence and proof, sworn testimony in aid of justice.’ The Scholiast
says ὅρκιον αὑτοὺς ἀλήσατε, misunderstanding apparently ὅρκωματα
to refer to the judges’ oath, whereas it is best to refer it to the oath
of witnesses. There is no need to insert θ’ before ὅρκωματα, as
H. Weil.

1. 487. τὰ βελτάτα, abstract collective for τῶν βελτίστον. So τάδε
μὲν Περσ. Pars. 1, τὰ πρῶτα τῆς μοχθρίας Ar. Ran. 421.

1. 488. διαρεῖν is epexegetic or consec. inf., ‘that they should decide,’
the subject being carried on in sense from τὰ βελτάτα, becoming
(naturally) masc. in the participle, next line.

1. 489. The MSS. ὅρκιον περὶῶντας μὴδὲν ἐκδικὸν φρεσίν is obviously
corrupt: and I take the easiest correction which gives any natural
sense, πορῶντας (Herm.) and φράσειν (Markland)—

‘Swearing an oath to utter naught unjust.’
πορῶντας will then be poetic equivalent for the ordinary διδώντας
(or rather δόντας) by which the Schol. interprets it.

Both errors are of the kind due to the text being dictated and misheard.
[The line is misplaced by V. Fl. after 1. 484, and omitted by Fa.,
and hence some have thought it spurious. But its very corruption
is in favour of its genuineness.]

[Athena retires into the temple.]

[II. 490–565. SECOND STASIMON. If Orestes goes unscathed, many
a crime shall follow: let not the victims then call on our help. Fear
should be somewhere enthroned in the State: and all excess, of license
or tyranny, is evil. Those who reverence right shall live: the wicked
shall perish in the storm; he shall call and none shall hear: he shall be
lost for ever.]

1. 490. ‘Now shall come changes to new laws;’ rather an unusual
use of the gen., though possible: we have (Thucyd, 6. 18) μεταβολὴ
ἀπαγμοσύνης, ‘change to timid policy,’ in a very similar use. [The
best alteration is νόμων θεσμῶν τ’ (L. Schmidt): but it is not so
forcible as the text, and not necessary.]

1. 491. δίκα τε καὶ βλάβα, ‘the cause and the wrong:’ the strong
contradiction in terms (oxymoron), which comes out in the Greek
more than in the English, is intentional and effective: Orestes’ δίκα
was ἄδικος and βλαβερά in the eyes of the Eumenides.
NOTES, ll. 486–521.

1. 494. 'Hereafter this deed shall set all men's hand to license,' is the meaning: literally it is, 'shall join all mortals to readiness (of sin).'' The commentators aptly quote Plat. Rep. 391 Ε πολλὴν εὐχέρειαν πονηρίας.

1. 496. παιδότρωτα πάθεα, 'woful wounds dealt by a child,' 'woes from the murderous hands of children.'

ll. 499–502.

'And,—for not even from the Furies that watch mankind
Shall wrath for these deeds
Come upon any man—
I will let loose all murder upon them;'

reading οὐδὲ for οὗτε, with most edd., and τιν' for τις with Weil, μανάδων is subjective gen., τῶν έργάτων objective, both after κότος.

The γάρ gives the reason for ἐφησω; which is common enough when ἄλλα precedes, but unusual (as here) with no such connection.

ll. 503–7. 'And one man shall ask of another
As he tells of his neighbours' woes,
That trouble may cease and be diminished:
And the hapless man gives comfort in vain,
Speaking of cures that profit not.'

There is a grandeur and impressiveness of gloomy prophecy which almost remind one of the Hebrew prophets or poets of the Old Testament.

ll. 508–15. In this fine stanza the Erinyes speak as the Powers of Justice which the gods have overthrown: 'The afflicted shall call upon us, but we will not hear' is what, in effect, they say.

1. 516. 'Somewhere should fear abide enthroned, watching the heart
of man; 'tis well to be chastened with suffering.'

The doctrine that suffering brings wisdom is a favourite Aeschylean maxim, τῶν πάθεων μάθος δέντα κυρίως ἔχειν Αγ. 177.

ll. 521 sqq. The MSS. read:

τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν φάει
καρδίαν ἄνατρέφων
ἥ πόλις, κ.τ.λ.

The general sense is plain: 'who, if he have nought to fear will any longer be just?' But the text as it stands is corrupt, and as it is easy to rewrite the two lines to give the right sense, there are a vast number of suggestions, none convincing ;—

(1) Some (Pal. Well. others) retain the first line and read καρδίας: 'who, if he cherish no [fear] in the gaiety of his heart . . .,' but it is hardly credible that the principal idea, 'fear' should be understood from the last stanza: and therefore—
EUMENIDES.

(a) The best emendation (without too much alteration) is the old one of Auratus (Herm. Weckl. Schütz. D.)—

τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν δειν
καρδίαν ἀνατρέφον, κ.τ.λ.

'who, if he do not train his heart in fear, etc. . . .' 

There is a further question whether we should keep l. 522 καρδί- | ἀν
ἀ- | νατρε- | φῶν or make the correspondence with l. 512 exact, by inserting ἀν; καρδ- | ἀν ἀν | ἀνατρε- | φῶν. It is perhaps better to insert the ἀν: though the thrice repeated syllable -αν- is a little rough.

l. 524. ἦ . . . τε is irregular: 'whether city or man' we must say in English.

l. 526. ἀνάρχετον (read for metre's sake), like ἀνεύχετον Cho. 625.

l. 529. παντὶ μέσῳ, 'ever to the mean' god gives success: a common Greek maxim: so Ag. 378 ἔστω δ' ἀνήματον δωτ' ἀναρκεῖν, ib. 466 τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπτως εὐ κλέειν βαρδ. . . . κράω δ' ἀφθονον ὀλβον, etc., the idea being that excess was dangerous: so Eur. Fr. So τὰ μείζω τῶν μέσων τικτει νόσους.

l. 530. ἐφορεύει, 'directs.'

l. 531. ἐφύμμεστον seems best taken as 'timely,' 'fitting:' a rather fanciful way of saying 'wise.' [Others take it 'in accord with this,' i.e. with the doctrine of moderation: which is a possible meaning and may be defended: only the main point of all this chorus is the need of repressing crime and licence, and the doctrine of moderation is rather a digression.]

l. 534. This notion, that crime leads to new crime, is familiar from the Agamemnon: τὸ δυσσεβίς γὰρ ἔργον μετὰ μὲν πλέονα τικτει l. 759, ὑβρις παλαίω νεάζοναν ὑβριν τικτει l. 763.

l. 536. I take H.'s correction παμφιλος for πᾶσι φίλος and Hartung's δόμων for δωμάτων l. 547: the alternative (to read πᾶσων, and change the order of δωμάτων ἔμποροφᾶς) really alters the text as much, and produces a less likely metre.

l. 538. έσ τὸ πᾶν, 'for what'er befall;' i.e. as the first and greatest rule of life.

l. 541. κύριον μένει τόλος, 'the appointed end abideth:' only an impressive way of saying that good and evil alike shall meet their deserts.

l. 546. ἔνοντιμον δόμων ἐμποροφᾶς, κ.τ.λ., literally, ['let him revere] guest-honouring visits of the house:' a characteristically elaborated expression for 'hospitable welcome.'

l. 551. οὐκ ἄνολβος ἔσται, understatement such as is natural and common in Greek, 'shall not fail to prosper.'

l. 553. 4. If the reading is right, the acc. τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ is
NOTES, II. 524-570.

governed by the verbal idea in παραβιάταν: 'The man who dares to resist and commits all manner of transgressions, swerving from Right:' such accusatives after verbals are rather in the manner of Aeschylus: θυμοβόρον φρένα Αγ. 103, πολλά ονιστόρα ib. 1090, ἀπορα πόρμος Prom. 904, κόσι προσπομπός Cho. 23, ἀπότροπον ἄγος ib. 155. (So Schol.) Of the corrections proposed Pauw's is the best ... παντόφυρτ' ἄγοντ' ἄνευ (reading παραβιάταν for καὶ παραβιάταν), 'bringing much confusion:' but though the grammar is smoother, the sense is weaker.

1. 555. βιασώ, 'perforce,' i.e. the storm shall compel him.
καθήσαν, 'shall lower sail,' i.e. shall be made humble and submissive; so υφέσθαι is used Ar. Ran. 1220 υφεσθαυ μοι δοκεῖ, Soph. El. 335 πλεὶν υφειμήν δοκεῖ. [It is far better to make καθήσεων absolute, and make λαΐφος governed by λάβη, than with H. to write καθήσειν λαΐφος, ὅταν λάβη, κ.τ.λ. The metaphor is then more gradually and naturally introduced: the rhythm is more effective: and also the Schol. clearly takes καθήσεων by itself, for he explains it ταπεινωθῆσαν. Such curtailments are common in technical expressions, e.g. in English, 'luff,' 'put about,' 'lower away.]

1. 556. πόνος, 'trouble,' a word suggestive from its mildness: he means the hurricane.

1. 559. δυσπαλεῖ, taken by some as a verb (Pal. Verrall): but the adj. δυσπαλής is used by Pindar, while the verb is unknown. The sense is equally good, if we take it adj., and the run of the sentence more easy.

1. 560. θερμά, 'headstrong,' 'rash,' as often in Greek.
1. 561. τὸν οὐτοὺς αὐχοῦντ', 'who boasted he ne'er [should suffer'], 'boasted it ne'er should be,' the negative used just as in ὅϑ φημι, οὐκ ἀν φέτο, οὐκ ἀξιόν, etc. οὐ οὐτός ἐλπίσοντες, Agam. 1044.

1. 565. 'Wrecking his happiness on the reef of justice:' the fine metaphor is kept up to the end.

[II. 566-776. SCENE IV, Part I. Athena returns with the Areiopagites, Apollo, and Orestes. The deed is proved, Apollo expounds the justice of the case, and it is argued out. Athena presides, and calls for a vote. The votes are equal, Orestes is acquitted. He gives thanks and retires. Apollo also goes out.]

1. 576. The difficulty is to fill up the gap in the MS. line here, ἦς τὸν διάτορον Τυρατηκ. Schoolfield conjectured οὖν to be a corruption (from contraction) of οὐρανοῦ, and Paley suggested the reading οὖν ἦς διάτορος οὐρανοῦ. [Better Weckl. οἷς οὐρανοῦ δὲ δ. τ.]
'But as there is a gap in 3 MSS. after διάτορος, it is better to take a suggestion of Emper's διάτορος αἰθήρος, or Ahrens' διάτορος ἀέρος, supposing the gen. lost owing to its similarity to the termination of διάτορος.
EUMENIDES.

The 'Tyrrenian' trumpet, because the Tyrrenians or Etruscans were from very early times celebrated as workers in bronze: in poetry the adj. seems specially given to the trumpet: thus Eur. Phoen. 1.377 Τυρρηνικής ἀλλινγγος ἡχός, Soph. Ai. 1.17 καύδανος ὁς Τυρρηνικής, Verg. Aen. 8.506 'Τυρρηνιουσκε τουτε... clangor.'

The anachronism (noticed by the Scholiast) is of a kind common enough.

1. 571. ἄργου, 'it helps,' i.e. 'tis good.'
1. 573. The MSS. read τῶνθ or τῶνθ: the pronoun must be plural, for it must mean the Areopagitae (as Schol. explains it): to take it singular for Orestes makes no real sense with the rest of the line.

The gen. is the difficulty, and perhaps points to a lost line as H. Weil. think: but on the whole it is best to read τῶνθ and to suppose τῶνθ a blunder possibly due to καταγωγοθή, which in another sense ('to decide against') often takes gen.

1. 574. ἐν ἄξεσ αὐτὸς κράτει, 'rule thou thine own domain,' like the proverbial τὴν σευτον πάτει, i.e. 'mind your own business.'
1. 576. MSS. end the line δόμων, which with δόμων next line is intolerable. I take νόμω, correction of Erf. and Burgess, and approved by H.

1. 579. σόνθικος is 'an advocate.' Apollo says he will be Orestes' advocate, as he is responsible for the murder.
1. 581. κυροῦν, usually 'to confirm,' here in the rather unusual sense of 'to settle,' as below again 1. 639.

1. 589. 'This is already one of the three wrestling-falls,' alluding to the custom of deciding the wrestling combat by three falls: when a man was defeated thrice, he was beaten. So διὰ τρίων ἀνάλυμαν Eur. Or. 4.34, and the word τριμαχήρ Ag. 171 for 'a conqueror,' lit. 'one who throws thrice.'
1. 591. γε μέντοι, as usual, adversative, 'however.'
1. 592. No need to alter λέγω (M. P. A.) into λέγω. The vivid present is natural enough.

1. 593. πρὸς τοῦ, 'by whom,' common variation in poetry for ἐπί. So we find ἐκ, ἄπο, πορά, with gen. of agent. See 100.
1. 596. The γε, as usual, assenting and adding a further point: 'ay, and till now I do not complain of my lot:' i.e. not literally that he had not suffered, but that Apollo had helped him.
1. 599. πέπεισθε, exceptional reduplicated aorist imperative with intransitive meaning: 'trust now in the dead.' The form somewhat resembles the Epic κέκληθε, τέτλαθε, and κέκραχθε (Ach. 335); but has the heavier stem-form.

The Chorus speak of course with bitter irony.

38
NOTES, II. 571–625.

1. 600. Schol. takes προσβολάς as 'the meeting' of two pollutions, but there is no need to take it as different from its ordinary meaning, a 'putting' or 'rubbing' or 'striking' of one thing against another: the pollutions strike her, not each other. So it is used, Ag. 391, of 'rubbing' metal against a touchstone: Cho. 283 of 'attacks' of Furies—

'Ay, for a double stain fell on her.'

1. 603. The δὲ-clause contains the real predicate as often; the μὲν-clause points the antithesis: 'Therefore while thou livest [unpurged] she is free by her death.'

1. 605. An extreme instance of the sharp distinction felt (1. 212) by the Greeks between murdering a blood-relation and an outsider. The wife not being a blood-relation was, according to the doctrine of the Eumenides here put forward, not liable to their pursuit for slaying her husband. The doctrine however fluctuates: in Cho. 923–4 Klyt. tries to deter Orestes by the threat that her Furies (Ἰγκότως κύρας) will pursue him if he slays her, but he replies τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ πῶς φύγω παρέλε τάδε; and in Sophokles, Elektra 112, the daughter prays the 'dread divine Erinyes' to avenge her father's murder; and the Chorus (490) prophesy that 'with the tramp of many feet, and the might of many hands, the brazenfooted Erinyes shall come.'

1. 606. The bearing of this question is explained below 1. 660, when Apollo lays down the principle that the real parent is the father.

1. 611. ἐπερ ἵστιν, i. e. 'as done it is."

1. 615. θεσπόν, 'ordinance,' means here (as in 1. 484) the court of Areeopagos; and so the Scholiast explains it. It is therefore in opposition to ἤμας.

1. 618. μὴ generic, with the indef. opt. καλεύσαι: 'nothing which Zeus bade not,' nothing save what Zeus bade.

1. 620. πιθανόντω, 'I bid;' nearly all the words of speaking can be so used, λέγω, εἴπον, etc. The displacement of the δὲ is common.

ὑμε, Aeolic form of ἤμας found several times in Homer. So ἀμα (ἥμι) Theb. 156, ἀμε Antig. 846, both however in lyric passages.

[There is no need of alterations, as Hartung thinks.]

1. 621. i.e. follow Zeus' will [even if you think it unjust]: for no oath [such as you swore, 1. 489, to do justice] is stronger than Zeus.

1. 624. πράξαντα, prop. 'exact,' a favourite word of Aeschylus, often for 'avenging:' ἀτίμων πρασσομένα, 'avenging the dishonour,' Ag. 705, χερὶ πράκτορι ib. 111. See Eum. 319.

1. 625. Here and 1. 657 Apollo acts in the character of the Ιηνηθῆς or expounder of the law, usually consulted about ancient or sacred customs. See Introd. p. 16.
EUMENIDES.

I. 626. Schol. tells us that Epicharmos (comic poet 540–450, who knew Aeschylus and lived with him some time at the court of Hiero) criticised him for his fondness for this word τυμαλφεῖν.

I. 628. ὅστις, Epic, common in Trag. for ὃς.

II. 631–5. A passage of well-known difficulty. The MSS. reading (with slight corrections, see critical notes) is substantially the following:

ἀπὸ στρατειὰς γὰρ νῦν ἡμιποληκότα
tὰ πλεῖστ' ἄμεινον εὐφροσὺν δεδεμένη
δροΐτη περῶντι λουτρὰ κάπι τέρματι
φάρος παρεσκήνωσεν, ἐν ὦ ἀτέρμονι
κόπτει πεθήσαο' ἄνδρα δαιδάλῳ πέπλῳ

which it is possible to translate, as follows:

'For him from the wars (returning) having dealt
In most things prosperously, she welcomed with kindly words,
And over the bath, as he stepped from the water, and on the edge,
She threw a cloak for covering, and entangling her lord
In a broidered robe inextricable, she smote him ...'

This makes good sense, and is in substance no doubt what the poet meant. But several things are at least suspicious: ἡμιποληκότα τὰ πλεῖστ' ἄμεινον is a harsh phrase, even if we justify the rather flat τὰ πλεῖστα and the comparative ἄμεινον by supposing an intentional understatement: εὐφροσὺν without substantive is very harsh, and is hardly supported by the Homeric κερτομόσιον and μεϊλχιοσιον which are special idioms: δροΐτη governed by παρεσκήνωσε, and λουτρὰ separate from it, is clumsy: κάπι τέρματι is not smooth, and is suspiciously like ἀτέρμον in the line below: finally most of the MSS. and Schol. read παρεσκήνωσεν, for παρεσ-, unexampled in Attic.

Corruption is almost certain: but as sense can be made, and no suggestions are really satisfactory¹, it is best to leave it.

I. 638. ταύτην, Klytalmnestra.
I. 640. προτιμᾷ, 'most regards: i.e. counts it of more importance, as a more heinous sin, to slay him.
I. 643. ὤμας, the judges, as the Scholiast says.
I. 645. ἄν λύσειν, quite general, 'fetters may be loosed: ' not 'Zens' only, but anyone, may loose them.
I. 647. For this sentiment, the keynote of the three plays, see 1. 261.

¹ Hartung, Wakefield, Burgess rewrite the passage: Paley reads ἄμι αὖνο for ἄμεινον, harsh in itself, and leaving ἡμιποληκότα untranslatable; Bothe and Butler ἄ θρασύν for εὐφροσύν, ingenious, but rather too strong: H. Schütz, Linwood, Rauchenstein suppose a lacuna. Wellauer says 'procul dubio corrupta.' Weckl. also leaves a lacuna.
NOTES, II. 626–665.

It strikes a modern reader as a grotesque defence of Zeus for his unfilial act, to say ‘Fetters can be undone.’

1. 649. ἐπιφάνεις. So Ag. 1019, ‘The black blood once fallen on the earth who can call back with charms?’

1. 650. ‘All else he turns about, setting them high or low’ as he will.

1. 652. ‘Beware how thou pleadest for him, that he be acquitted,’ the τὸ φεῦγεν being a kind of consecutive infinitive, giving the desired result of the pleading.

1. 653. τὸ μητρὸς αἷμα δομινον, ‘his mother’s kindred blood,’ the attribute μητρὸς δομινον being divided, as often.

1. 656. The Phratriai or ‘clans’ were originally sub-divisions of the four old Ionic Tribes into which Athenians were grouped. There were twelve phratries, and they were based on a real or supposed kinship. The annual clan festival was the ‘Apatouria’ (festival of those who had the same father, ἀ-πατοῦριον). And the ‘purification with water’ (χρυσή) was the common preliminary to these, as to all rites in temples or household gatherings: the bloodguilty being naturally excluded from all.

1. 658. The Med. reads κεκλημένου, while Ven. Flor. Farn. read κεκλημένη. Both make sense:

(1) κεκλημένου: ‘the mother of the so-called child is not the parent.’

(2) κεκλημένη: ‘the so-called mother is not the parent of the child.’

But it is obvious that τέκνου and τοκεύς are opposed, the sense required being ‘it is called her τέκνον, but she is not the τοκεύς really:’ and therefore it is best to take (1), the Medicean reading κεκλημένου.

1. 659. κύμα, from κυ-, which has the ideas of ‘bulging,’ ‘swelling,’ ‘containing;’ hence κύμα is ‘the young in the womb,’ more commonly κύμα. So Cho. 121.

1. 660. ὁ θρόσκων, ‘he who begets,’ ‘the male.’ The strange doctrine is that the father who begets is the real parent (τιναίει), the mother a ‘stranger,’ εἶνη, who only ‘cherishes the child for another.’

1. 661. σινι κύρι βλάψει θέος, ‘save what the god blights,’ i.e. ‘except the god blight it,’ the plural relative after ἑρνος being a natural laxity of grammar.

[The indef. subj. without ἄν is an Epic use, common in Tragedy. Note also ἐσωσεν gnomic aor.]

1. 665. οῦθ’ has troubled editors: H. Butl. (Dind. Weil, etc.) suppose a line fallen out: Schütz reads οὐκ. I do not see that alteration is necessary if a slight pause is made at πάρεστι:

‘Close at hand

There is a witness, daughter of Olympian Zeus,—
And not nursed in the darkness of the womb,
But such a sprout,’ etc.

41
[No sense can be got by taking οὐδὲ, 'not even,' as Pal. following Wel-lander.] The 'and' couples the explanatory clause, as τε in Ag. 1526.

1. 667. τάλλα θ' answers to καὶ τόνδ' ἐπεμψα. τάλλα is expanded into τὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν.

1. 673. 'That their posterity should cherish this faithful bond:' the emphasis of this wish for permanence is really a political allusion. Not long before the date of the play (which is generally put at 458 B.C.) the Argives had become allied with Athens. The picture of Orestes the Argive, fleeing for refuge to Athens, had therefore a significance from a political point of view, which is of course only lightly touched, but is not lost sight of. See below l. 765, and Introduction.

1. 674. ἀπὸ γνώμης, 'from his judgment' (gen. of the source), i.e. 'according to his judgment.' Somewhat similar are τλήμαν οὖσ' ἀνειρόλομον φρενός Ag. 1302, ἀπὸ γλάσσης, 'by word of mouth,' ἀπὶ βίσεως, 'at sight.'

1. 675. The sense is improved by marking this line as interrogative. Athena first asks the Furies whether they are willing to have the voting, and then the other side, Apollo and Orestes. Both express satisfaction, and then she gives her final address and orders them to vote. Κελεῖτω will then be subj. delib. 'Shall I now order?' etc. It is a formal request to both sides to know if there is anything more to be said: no doubt a copy of the usual proceeding on the part of the presiding judge at an Areopagite trial.

1. 678. τίθειν, 'ordering.' Athena addresses Apollo and Orestes, but Apollo replies to the judges.

1. 681. Athena having formally to address the court, takes this opportunity of solemnly instituting the Areiopagos for ever. [Kirch. Weckl. etc. transfer this speech to 573; but the close of the speech shows that it comes just before the voting.]

1. 683. The names Αἰγεύς, Θησεύς, Αμαζόνες, are brought in to emphasize the antiquity and glory of this Athenian institution.

1. 685. Ἀμαξόνων ἱδραν. One of the exploits of Theseus was an attack on the warrior women, called Amazons, when he carried off their queen Antiope. In revenge the Amazons invaded Attica, and were not defeated till they had reached the centre of Athens itself.

The grammar is broken, and the provisional accusative πάνον ἃ 'Ἀρείου τόνδ' in the course of the long sentence is forgotten; there is nothing to govern it. So O. T. 449. But it may be that Ἀρείον is a gloss, which has ousted the verb: so Weil reads ἔδωνται, Weckl. ἐδείται.

1. 686. κατὰ φθόνον, 'in hate,' 'spite,' slightly strained use.

1. 687. τὸλν ἑντολὴν πτῶν' ἀντεπώργωσαν, 'raised this new city rampart against' the old: i.e. fortified the Areiopagos against the Akropolis.

42
NOTES, ll. 667–706.

1. 690. το, 'it,' Epic use of article as pronoun, common in Aeschylus.
1. 691. φόβος το ευγγενής, 'and fear his kinsman.' Aeschylus is fond of such sudden personifications. So Ag. 494 he still more quaintly calls dust 'the neighbour brother of clay,' κάσις πηλοῦ εύνουρος.
1. 692. σχήμε, 'shall restrain them.'
1. 693. I take the simplest alteration, ἐπικαινοῦντων for 'πικαινοῦντων' of MSS., and leave the stop at νόμως.

[Others (H. D. Hart.) run on the sense to ἐπιρροαίσι, to avoid leaving l. 694 unconnected; but the rhythm is easier if we end at l. 693 after the long passage: κακ. εἰ. goes better with what follows than with ἐπικαινοῦντων: and as to the want of connexion, we have a similar instance in Ag. 322 δόξο τ' ἀλειφά τ' ἐγχέας ταῦτα κούει ..., Eur. Or. 232 μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκὸ ... In all three cases, a proverb is quoted in support of what goes before.]

1. 696. Same sentiment l. 526.
1. 697. περιστέλλοις, lit. 'wrapping round,' i.e. 'protecting,' 'maintaining.' Aeschylus protests against 'the despot' (who was no longer formidable) and 'anarchy,' i.e. he recommends oligarchy under the usual pretext of moderation.

ll. 698, 699. The same sentiment as the Furies had expressed before, l. 516, that Fear is necessary to the moral order of men and states, is here adopted by Athena.

1. 700. 'Such majesty if ye justly revere ye shall find,' etc.: by τοιῶν θεός she means the reverend court of Areiopagos.
1. 703. 'Neither among the Scythians, nor the lands of Pelops, a stately expression for neither in Greece (the Peloponnesus standing for Greece) nor in the distant barbarous countries. So (H. quotes) Soph. O. C. 695 'neither in Asian land, nor the Dorian isle of Pelops.'
1. 704. κερδῶν ἀθικόν, 'incorruptible.' The gen. belongs to a special (though common) class of usages with negative adjectives, e.g. ἄλωσε ἄτη Soph. El. 990, ἀφύησες κοινμάτων Ai. 321, ἀσκεύος ἀσπίδων El. 36; a combination of gen. of reference and gen. of separation.
1. 705. δέιδωμοι, 'quick to wrath:' a tribunal that delays not to punish. The fine expression that follows, 'a wakeful guardian of the land on behalf of them that sleep,' has been misunderstood [by Schol. and others]: it is simply an imaginative description of an ever-vigilant tribunal, always watchful even when those it defends slumber.

1. 706. φρονήμα, 'guardian:' for this verbal suffix used actively compare γυναῖκες ὑμὺν δοῦλευμα Ant. 756.

[During the following dialogue the seated judges in turn arise slowly and solemnly, and take their pebbles and drop them into the two urns (τευχλέων 1. 742).]
EUMENIDES.

1. 711. βαρείαν τὴν, ὑμιλίαν χθονός, 'these dread visitants of the land.' χθονός somewhat loosely but naturally after ὑμιλίαν.

The Chorus' language is mild: but the threat is none the less effective.

1. 714. ἀκαρπότοι. The notion is often found in the ancient poets that the will of destiny or the gods could be thwarted by man's perverseness: thus in Homer people act or suffer ἔπος μήτρας: and in Vergil the 'fates' of one side conflict with the 'fates' of the other.

1. 715. 'Thou hast respect to deeds of blood—not thine office,' meaning that he protects the murderer, and so interferes with the functions of other deities, viz. themselves.

1. 716. 'No longer from a pure oracle shalt thou prophesy.' We must read νέμων for the awkward μένων of MSS. with H. D. Hart. Kirch. Weck., etc.; νέμων will then govern μαντεία. The word ἀρνά is much more applicable to μαντεία in the sense of 'shrine' than in the sense of 'prediction.'

1. 718. For Ἐφίδον see note on 1. 441. The argument is, Did not Zeus succeed in purifying a murderer who was a suppliant once before, viz. Ixion?

προστροφαῖς, 'in the supplication. Dat. of occasion, used by poets, e.g. νόστοις, 'at his return,' Soph. El. 194: τόκοις, 'in child bearing,' O. T. 172: λόγοις τοιοῦτοις, 'at such talk,' Antig. 691. It is obviously closely allied to dat. of time, of respect, and of cause.

1. 719. μη τυχοῦσα, of course conditional: 'if I do not ...'

1. 720. ὑμιλήσω, 'will haunt,' 'will visit.'

1. 723. Phereas was father of Admetos: and the reference is to the famous and beautiful story of Alkestis, in Euripides' version as follows:—Apollo having served in the house of Admetos, by order of Zeus, and being well treated, repaid his debt by begging off Admetos' life from the Fates, on condition of his finding a substitute. After trying all his friends he found none but Alkestis, his wife, ready to die for him. See 1. 172, note.

1. 724. ἐπιθεσις. Euripides says (Alk. 12) that Apollo 'cheated' (δολώσας) the Fates; and (l. 728) Aeschylus tells us it was by making them drunk. The crude barbarism of the tale points to its great age.

1. 725. σέβοντι, 'pious.' Euripides (Alk. 10) calls Admetos similarly δοσιν ἀρρ.

1. 726. τύχα. The common use is to employ the opt. in past general conditions, the subjunctive where the verb, as here (ἐστι understood with δικαίων), is primary.

But it is a special idiom to employ the optative in maxims and other statements of a universal character, where the verb is to apply to all time: or to put it otherwise where the idea of time is absent. Thus
NOTES, II. 711–741.

Soph. O. T. 315 ἀνδρὰ δ’ ὄφελέιν ἄφ’ ἰδίῳ τε καὶ δύνασθο κάλλιστον πόνων, ib. 979 ἐκή κράτιστον καὶ ὅπως δύνασθο τις. So Ant. 666, Trach. 93, Ai. 521, 1344. So Thuc. i. 120 σωφρόνων ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦντο ἁσυχάζειν.

1. 727. διανομάς, ‘ordinances’: the MSS. have δαιμονός, but the Scholiast on Alkestis 12 quotes the line with διανομάς; and this certain emendation was thence made by Cobet. δαιμονός was suggested by θέας in the next line.

1. 729. σὺ τοι is scornfully repeated. οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος, ‘failing to win thy cause’ is the general sense. τέλος literally means ‘the decision,’ as in l. 243; and ‘having the decision’ means ‘winning it.’

1. 730. ἡμέρα is future.

1. 731. καθυπτάζει, characteristic vigorous figure, ‘override,’ i.e. ‘overbear.’

1. 733. ἄμφηβουλος οὖσα, ‘doubtful,’ ‘undecided.’

1. 734. λουθλαν κρινάει δίκην, ‘to give the last judgment,’ i.e. ‘vote;’ δίκη in a slight but natural strain of meaning.

1. 735. [Here Athena holds up a white pebble.]

1. 738. εὐμή τοῦ πατρός, extended use of the gen. of possessor: ‘I am for the father,’ ‘on the father’s side,’ which would ordinarily be πρὸς τοῦ πατρός.

1. 741. ‘Thus Orestes wins, even if the votes,’ etc. The regular rule of the Athenian dicasteries: it is part of the poet’s purpose to represent the court and all its customs as of ancient and divine institution.

[The question has been much discussed whether Athena’s vote is counted among the ballots, or is the casting vote; some even maintaining that she does not vote at all.

At first sight it would appear that Athena votes (l. 735), that the votes are counted (l. 742), and that with Athena’s the votes are equal.

But this would make the court an odd number: the majority in the judges against Orestes; and Athena interfering to turn a majority into a minority:—all of which are very unlikely, and spoil the impressive symbolism of the vote of the goddess. This, as Müller (Eum. Append.) has pointed out, is as follows: The human justice is divided about the cause: the guilt of Orestes, the guilt of Klyt. balance: it is the goddess who gives the casting vote. Thus the rule that ‘equal votes acquit’ is finely and imaginatively explained: when the earthly ψήφοι are equal there is an unseen and divine vote for mercy.

This could easily and simply be brought out in the action: the other judges get up and drop their pebbles in, Athena holds hers in her hand until the counting.]
EUMENIDES.

1. 742. πάλος, 'lots,' only an imaginative word for the pebbles: so much turned on the decision.

1. 743. [Here two judges rise and turn out the votes.]

II. 744, 745. The cries of suspense on either side are significantly addressed to Apollo, God of Light (φωτός), and Night, mother of the Furies.

1. 746. ἀγχώνης τέμματι, 'death by the noose,' the most miserable death; the form of tragic suicide adopted by women when all is lost, e.g. Iokaste (O. T. 1264), Antigone (Ant. 1221), Phaidra (Hipp. 777). Helena however (Eur. Hel. 300) says: 'Tis best to die: but how to die nobly? Hanging in mid-air is unseemly—'tis held shameful even among slaves.' ἀγχώνη is consequently proverbial for the last and worst suffering: κρείσσον ἀγχώνης O. T. 1374, ἀγχώνης τέλος Heracl. 246, ταύτα δὴ ὀνεὶ ἀγχώνη; Ach. 125.

ἀγχώνη is gen. of description or equivalence, like the Homeric τέλος θανάτου.

1. 747. γὰρ explains their cry l. 745: 'For 'tis ours to be lost, or yet more honoured.'

1. 748. πεμπάξω, from πέμπε (old form of πέντε), means 'to count' on the five fingers.

1. 749. διαίρέσει, the 'parting' of the votes. This word shews that the voting was (as Schol. says) by black and white pebbles, which was the commonest method at Athens. In this system there were two κάδισοι or urns, one called κύριος or the 'decisive' one, the other ἄκυρος: each voter had a black and a white pebble; his vote was counted, according as the pebble he dropped into the κύριος was white or black, for acquittal or condemnation. 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.

Another method was by an urn of acquittal, and an urn of condemnation: but this would require only counting, no διαίρεσις.

II. 750, 1. 'If a vote fail, great sorrow comes: the cast of one pebble saves the house;' a picturesque and rather loaded way of saying 'one vote either way makes the difference between ruin and salvation.'

The picturesque word βαλόωσα, as though the saving pebble 'touched' or 'struck' the house is quite in Aeschylus' vein of sudden and bold metaphor.

ἀπθώσεν, gnomic aor.

[Others following Schol. take the last line 'overthrows and uplifts the house,' but the expression is very harsh for this].

1. 753. [As she speaks, she adds her white pebble to the votes of acquittal.]
1. 757. 'The man is an Argive again.'
1. 759. ἔκατο, 'by grace of,' the older Epic use of the word, always with God's name, 'by will or aid of,' like Δίως ἔκατο. So Cho. 214. 436. τοῦ πάντας κραῖνωντος is of course Zeus Soter. ὄμως ἔκατο
1. 761. ὅποι seems rather weak: Weckl. reads παρεσ.
1. 763. ἀναπατήρη κρόνον, a stately expression, 'all the fulness of time.'
1. 765. The oath that no Argive king shall ever bring an army against Athens of course refers to the recent treaty, see note l. 673.
1. 766. κεκαμάνον, Epic word, 'arrayed.'
1. 767. 'Being then in the grave,' the τότε referring to any future time when the friendly Argives should become foes, and 'lead the arrayed spears' against Athens.
1. 768. νῦν is part of the attribute: τάμα νῦν ὄρκυμα, 'my present oaths;' the attribute may be always so divided. See note on l. 653.
Notice the Epic syncope of παρά in παρβαἴνουσιν.
1. 769. πράξομεν, 'we will so deal;' ὡς ... μεταμέλῃ, 'that they may repent:' the παρβαίνουσι depending on the general sense. But the expression is harsh, and perhaps corrupt.
1. 770. 'Giving them marches of despair and ways of evil augury;' this fine line a fuller explanation of ἁμηχανοί συσπραξίων.
1. 772. ὄρθουμόνων might refer to the oaths, 'if they are kept,' as the Schol. seems to mean [γενουμένων, which is prob. corrupt for γενομένων], but is probably vaguer, 'if all be well.' The change to dat. τιμῶν is a little loose in structure: but not so unnatural here where the subject is changed.

The whole passage ll. 767–774 is suspected by Dind., but the diction is mostly very Aeschylean, such lines as 768 and 770 particularly: the only noticeable things being the obscurity of πράξομεν and the somewhat superfluous αὐτοίςαυτοῖς. But there is certainly no ground for rejecting the passage.
1. 775. πολιοτόχος (like πολιοῦχος) is regularly used of gods, Theb. 69, 185, Ag. 338, but in this play it is used three times (ll. 775, 883, 1010), of men, 'citizens.'
1. 776. ἀφυκτον with πολέμοια, 'a struggle wherefrom thy foes ne'er shall escape.'

[Orestes and Apollo go out: the Areopagites remain seated, Athena in the midst.]

[ll. 778–792. THIRD STASIMON. Ye younger gods, ye have trampled on the ancient laws. From my wrath a blight shall come on the land. Alas, we are mocked and dishonoured.]

ll. 778–807. Wanting in V. Fl. Va. It is clear that it is not this
refrain but the second repetition (ll. 808–822) that V. Fl. Fa. copied, as they follow M. G. in reading erroneously ἀντιπαθή l. 812, and ἐπεσόμενος l. 816, whereas M. G. have the correct forms in the first refrain.

1. 779. εἰλεσθε, i.e. ‘you have stolen him,’ Orestes my prey.

1. 781. ἐν γὰ τῦθε, ‘upon this land:’ it seems from l. 800 as if it was meant to be taken here with βαρύκορος, ‘falling on this land with grievous wrath.’ The ἐν is the Epic use with verbs of motion like ἐν στῆθεσιν ὀρῶσας: cf. πίταν ἐν δίμασι Cho. 36, φέροντα ἐν ἡμῖν Ag. 1450, and again below ἐν χώρᾳ βαλεῖ l. 787.

1. 782. ἀντιπαθή, ‘woe for woe.’ So the gloss in the Med. rightly explains, δομία δρόντα οίς πέπουσα.

1. 783. The participle μεθέσθα has no verb: the verb, as happens occasionally in these long broken sentences, is deferred and finally appears in a different form l. 789.

ll. 785–7. ‘A leafless childless blight—ah! justice!—speeding o’er the land shall scatter on the ground the deadly plague-spots.’

1. 789. MSS. read:

στενάζω; τί βέβο,

γίνωμαι δύσοιστα

πολιτῶς ἐπαθον.

Perhaps the best emendation is γελώμαι, ‘I am mocked,’ a natural exclamation, as Antig. 838 ὅμοι γελώμαι. [This is adopted by H. D. Hart, etc.]

δύσοιστα πολιτῶς ἐπαθον, ‘Grievous to the city shall be my wrongs,’ i.e. the city shall pay for my ill-treatment. This is the Scholiast’s explanation, and perhaps the best.

[ll. 793–915. SCENE IV, Part 2 (broken by the stasima). Athena addresses the chorus between each song, soothes and entreats them, and promises them a home and honour in Athens. At last they yield.]

1. 796. ἀληθῶς, ‘truly:’ i.e. there was no fraud or evil intent, but the honest decision.

1. 797. ἄλλα ... γὰρ, elliptical as usual, the ellipse easily supplied ‘but (you lost) for there was witness,’ etc.

1. 799. ὡς, regular poetic use for ὡστε.

1. 800. The MSS. show signs of a confusion of order, and I take Weil’s correction as the most natural restoration.

ll. 800–802. Athena soothes them, and persuades them not to execute the threats, ll. 780–782.

1. 802. δαμόνων σταλάγματα, if right, must mean ‘immortal’ venom: the word δαμόνων emphasising the supernatural and terrible power of the blighting drops. The word has been much emended, the best suggestion being Wakefield’s πλευρών or λαμάτων: for, as Hartung
NOTES, II. 779–835.

says, the expressions in this speech are largely determined by the Chorus, and the corresponding phrase is (I. 784) καρδίας σταλαγμῶν.

1. 803. ‘Corroding stings, devastating the seed;’ a fine characteristic line. It is best thus to make the gen. dependent on ἀνεμέρους: the latter word meaning ‘wild,’ ‘waste,’ and here, by a common stretch of usage, applied not to the ἄλχαμας but to their effects.

For the masc. form βωτήρας with fem. ἄλχαμας compare τύχη σωτήρν
Ag. 664, O. T. 80: see note on l. 186.

1. 804. ὑπόσχομαι, ‘promise,’ for the common form ὑποσχνύμαι, somewhat as οἶχομαι ὀίχνεον, ἕθω λαυθάνω, φεύγω φυγγάνω, πεῦθομαι πνεῦνομαι.

[Heath, followed by Herm. Schöm., read ἤδικον: but the MSS. gen. is finer: Athens, as the Athenians were fond of boasting, was the ‘righteous’ land: so O. C. 1006 εἴ τις γῆ θεός ἐπισταται τιμαίς σεβίζειν, ἢδε τοῦθεν ὑπερφέρει. So again below l. 869, 920.

1. 805. κενθύμων, ‘cavern,’ ‘grot.’ There is a chasm or hole in the rock, with a dark spring of water, on the N. E. side of the Areiopagos. This is no doubt the place commonly referred to as the κενθύμων or θάλαμοι (l. 1004) of the Eumenides: and explains the phrases κατὰ γάς συμεναι (l. 1007), τὸν ἐνερθεν καὶ κατὰ χθόνος τόπον (l. 1023), γὰς ὑπὸ κενθύσει (l. 1036).

The clearest reference is Eurip. Elektr. 1270, where he speaks of the Eum., defeated in this trial of Orestes, as ‘entering a chasm of the earth close by the hill itself:

δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεὰ τρόοι ἄχει πεπληγμέναι
πάγων παρ’ αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθόνος.

1. 806. λιπαροθρόνοις, ‘with shining seats’ [not with oil as Müller, etc., for the regular libations to the Eumenides were honey and water, fully detailed in Soph. O. C. 470–481], but merely ‘bright’ or ‘splendid’ marble seats for the great goddesses.

1. 825. δύσειλον, lit. ‘hard to charm:’ i.e. ‘past cure,’ as Schol. δυσεθέραπευτον.

1. 826. The Chorus had called on justice: Athena replies ‘I too have trust in Zeus:’ though her appeal is rather to threat of force.

1. 829. MSS. give εὐπεθής here and Ag. 274, Cho. 259, etc. The form seems the regular one, and there is no need to alter to εὐπέθης.

1. 831. The MS. reading will hardly stand. I adopt (with Weckl.) Burges’ correction: ‘Utter not words which bring the land this fruit, that in all things she fare ill.’

1. 832. ‘The black billow’s bitter violence;’ a splendidly imaginative phrase for the fury of the Eumenides.

1. 835. The προτέλεια or marriage offerings made by the bride’s family were offered to various gods, Hera, Artemis, the Fates, and
here the Furies, no doubt to propitiate: and we gather that similar offerings were made at birth of children.

πρό, is 'for.'

1. 838. παλαιόφρονα, 'of ancient wisdom,' Aeschylean compound, applied Suppl. 593 to Zeus.

κατά τε γᾶς is the best emendation. The indignity which the Furies complain of is being banished to this κενθμάν, 'to dwell beneath the earth.'

1. 839. In the MSS. φεῦ comes before μῦσος, which breaks the doximiac foot and is impossible, though the Scholiast seems to have read it there.

It does not matter whether we put it before the line, or after, or suppress it. I follow Weil in reading it before.

1. 841. δᾶ is Doric form of γῆ. So Ag. 1072 ὅποτ' πόσοι δᾶ.

1. 845. I adopt (with Franz, Lin. P. Weil, Weck.) L. Dindorf's brilliant conjecture τμᾶν δαμαῖν, 'ancient honours,' for the meaningless δαμαῖον of MSS.

'The gods' unconquerable wiles have left me from my ancient honours as of no account.'

ἀπό is separated from the verb αἴρω and draws near to the substantive, as in Epic: one of the forms of the so-called Tmesis. In prose it would be ἀπῆραν. The verb simply means 'carry off,' 'take away.'

1. 848. συμφέρω, here used in the rather unusual sense of 'endure,' 'not resent:' the English idiom (which in meaning exactly suits this place), 'I will bear with thy wrath,' is only superficially similar.

Somewhat like this use is πάντα συμφέρουσ' ἱάσοι Eur. Med. 13, συμφέρειν τοῖς κρείσσοι ('comply') Soph. El. 1465, οὔδέπορ' εὐφραν-θήσαται ἄνηρ ἐὰν μὴ τῇ γνωμᾷ συμφέρῃ ('agree.') Ar. Lys. 166: the metaphor being [Verrall, Eur. Med. l. c.] probably of a yoke-fellow pulling with, and not against, one.

1. 849. I take Wieseler's excellent emendation καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐλ ὅν, i.e. 'and by that (old age) you are far wiser,' age and wisdom being naturally united. So the Scholiast explains the line διὰ τὸν χρῶνον, i.e. 'wiser by lapse of time.'

1. 851. ἐλθοῦσαι, conditional, 'if you go.'

1. 855. δῆμοις Ἑρεχθέως, the Erechtheum or great temple of Erechtheus (famous mythical hero-king of Athens), stood on the Akropolis.

1. 857. δοσῶν, 'such honour as.' Pauw's and Paley's emendation of δόσην MSS., a reading which will not construe, and is due probably to an attempt to alter the awkward collocation of genitives. The gen. δοσῶν is attracted to the case governed by τεῦξει.

1. 860. ἄοινοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμόμασιν, 'raging with fury not of wine,' but implanted by the Eumenides. This highly Aeschylean phrase
does not agree with νίον, as in sense it should but with characteristic boldness is transferred to θηγάνας ἀλμαρηπάς, 'the whetstones of bloodshed,' as he calls the frenzy of the Furies, by another bold and imaginative figure.

άοίνος is specially appropriate to the Furies, as they were goddesses who tasted no wine, l. 107.

1. 861. ἐξεθοῦσα, which has been immensely emended, is no doubt right: the idea is simply 'as though taking out the heart from fighting cocks and planting it in the citizens, establish civil war,' etc. (the cock being the pugnacious bird who will fight with his own kin, and so an emblem of civil strife): only the rapidity of Aeschylus's style makes him compress the two last clauses into one.

For the domestic broils of the cock see line 866: and Pindar, Ol. 12. 20 ἐνδομάχαι ἄλειτωρ.

1. 864. οὐ μόλις παρών (lit. 'coming not stintedly'), 'no scanty store:' i.e. for foreign warfare, let us have plenty of it: but not civil dissension. So οὐ μόλις ἀπόλεσας Ag. 1082.

1. 866. The sense is 'of home birds' battle I will have nought.' οὐ λέγω, lit. 'I do not advise, or bid,' is a μελώσις for 'I forbid.' [The passage in Soph. El. 1466 which comm. quote is different.]

τὰ γάρ 1. 869. θεοφιλεστάτης, see 1. 805.

τῆς 1. 883. πολισσούχοι, see note on 1. 775.

1. 886. 'The soothing and spell of my tongue' is in apposition to the 'Majesty of Persuasion,' Πειθοῦσ σέβας. The whole sentence is in the imaginative grandiloquent style, and simply means 'if I can persuade you.'

1. 887. οὔ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν, dramatic [if I persuade you], 'well then, abide.' [The δέ in apodosis is originally Epic usage, common in the Poets: so Ag. 1061 εἰ δέ μη δέχει λόγον, οὔ δ' ἀντί φωνῆς, κ.τ.λ.]

1. 890. γαμόρφ: Doric form for γεώμορος.

1. 892. The change from lyrics to iambic dialogue on the part of the Chorus marks the progress of persuasion. They have left off mere lamentation and resentment, and begin to consider the offer.

ἐχεῖν, 'I have,' vivid use of present, for 'I am to have.'

1. 893. ἀπτῆμον' οἴζουσ, gen. after neg. adj., a common use: a combination perhaps of gen. of reference with gen. of emptiness or separation. So ἀπαγγέλλω πυρός Ag. 311, ἀμήντων θεῶν ib. 649, ἀσκεον ἄσπιδων Soph. El. 36, ἀφόρητος κακυμάτων Ai. 321, etc.

1. 894. καὶ δὴ δὴδεγμα, lit. 'there now, I have received,' dramatic particles used idiomatically when a case is put or supposed, 'suppose I have accepted,' 'say now, I consent:' so καὶ δὴ . . . οὖνις ἄν δέχεσθαι Cho. 565, καὶ δὴ τεθνάσοι Eur. Med. 386, καὶ δὴ παραικεῖν Hel. 1059.

1. 895. ἀν for ὅστε, as often, see 36.
EUMENIDES.

1. 897. ἐυμφοράς, 'the fortunes,' used neutrally, without a bad meaning. 'γάρ is 'yes, for,' as often in dialogue. So 1. 899.

1. 899. 'It is open to me not to say,' 'I have no need to say.'

1. 901. Weil ingeniously proposes κατάσκον οὖς for κατὰ χθόνι οὖς', 'charm with a song those whose love thou shalt win,' which leads up to the question in the next line. But the MSS. reading will stand; the gist of these lines being as follows (ll. 898–903):

Cho. 'Will you promise it for ever?'

Ath. 'My word is enough.'

Cho. 'I think I will yield.'

Ath. 'Then you will be loved.'

Cho. [now appeared] 'What blessings do you bid me pray for?'

1. 902. To avoid the hiatus we could read (with Porson) τί μ' οὖν; but MSS. all give τί οὖν; here, and Pers. 787, Theb. 704, 208: τί εἰπας; Trach. 1203, τί 'Αιδού Ἀγ. 1115, τί εἴστη; Pers. 693: and the licence with τί is quite intelligible.

1. 903. ἐπισκόπος, 'such as look to,' 'hath regard to,' no dishonourable victory; a vivid word for 'befit.' The word is similarly used Cho. 126 εἰχᾶς πατρόφων δωμάτων ἐπισκόπους, Aias 976 ἄγας τῆς ἑνδ. ἐπισκόπους μέλος.

The νίκη is explained by ll. 864–6: he means victory over foes, not in civil broils: and the next line extends it to all sort of prosperity.

ll. 904–6. 'Ay, and that from earth, and watery sea, and heaven [all be blest], and gentle gales with fair sunshine blowing may pass o'er the land.' The rapidity in this fine and poetic passage again rather obscures the grammar, though not the sense: the fact is, he was going to say '[and pray] that from earth, sea, sky, and winds [all may prosper]:' but the clause about 'the winds' is specially developed, and the sentence ends differently from what was intended.

1. 907. ἐπίρρυτον, 'abundantly,' predicative adj.

1. 910. 'But the impious be more ready to weed out;' the metaphor of ἐκφορος, 'carrying away,' is probably from gardening, as the next line explains.

1. 912. ἀπείνητον, predicative.

1. 913. σοῦστρι, the regular crisis for σόλ ηστὶ.

τῶν ἄρειφατων ... πόλιν, 'and in the glorious strife of war I shall not suffer but that my city shall be honoured among men as victorious.'

The gen. ἄγωνων is gen. of respect, put provisionally at the beginning and depending ultimately on ἄρειφατων.

Note τιμάω, active according to Greek idiom: they say, 'I shall not allow but that [people] shall honour my city:' we say, 'I shall not allow my city to be unhonoured.'
NOTES, ll. 897–933.

[916–end. EXODOS. The Chorus, appeased, pray for blessings of all kinds on the land and people of Athens: the train of Athena’s attendants, led by the goddess, escort the Furies to their new home.]

1. 916. Παλλάδος ἔνυκταν, i.e. ‘to dwell with Pallas.’
1. 918. Αρης is specially mentioned, no doubt because of the Areiopagos, the scene of the latter half of the play.
11. 919, 920. There is a fine boldness about the expressions which Aeschylus uses for Athens, ‘the fortress of the gods . . ., the glory of the Powers of Greece, the saviour of their altars;’ an imaginative rendering of the favourite idea of ‘the piety’ of Athens ll. 805, 869.
11. 924–6. This prayer closely follows Athena’s suggestion ll. 906–8, ‘that the bright sunshine make to blossom up from the earth the blessings of life in plenty.’
ἐπισωτόρος (lit. ‘rushing on,’ used of the ‘springs of tears,’ Ag. 887, and of ‘the throes of vain sorrow,’ Ag. 1150) corresponds to ἐπιψωτόρον l. 907.
1. 924. ἐκαμβύροσα (from ἐκαμβύρω used transitively) is Pauw’s probable correction of the meaningless readings of MSS. It is adopted by H. Weil, Lin., Schütz. Well.
1. 929. κατανασσαμένη, middle, ‘housing in my city.’
11. 932, 933. The MSS. read
οδε οδεν οδεν πληγαλ βιότον.
Now τούτων here must refer to the Furies, as αὕται above and τάσε below: and consequently βαπέων must be wrong, as (1) it is the wrong gender: (2) even if we suppose (with D.) a fem. form βαρέων, it clearly is the wrong sense. What Aeschylus means to say is, ‘He who incurs the wrath of the Furies meets with unexpected calamity: the sins of his fathers bring him into their power.’

We must therefore take some emendation like Ἰλαρόν (Weil.), χαροπών (Weck.), τόνδη εθνενών (Hart.): of which I have preferred the former. βαρέων will perhaps have arisen from confusion of β- and ἱ-: or perhaps from a gloss. Another question arises about the metre. Hermann, followed by most edd. (Lachm. Franz. Pal. Hart. Merkel. Weil.), has assumed that Athena’s anapaestic stanzas, which alternate with the lyrics, correspond. There are five such stanzas: the three middle ones (at ll. 949, 968, 988) are all the same length: and the first and the last would be exactly equal, if after βιότον we read some words like προσέκατουραν (H.). The practice is not uniform: thus in the Choephoroi the anapaestic alternating stanzas do not correspond, though roughly about the same length: on the other hand in Aghamemnon (ll. 1448–1577) the anapaests do correspond.
It is on the whole more probable that the latter is the case here: and I have accordingly adopted H.'s προσέπαιμαν.

The sense then is, 'He who finds them not propitious is stricken with calamities he knows not whence:' and μη ἰλαρόν κύρος is really a euphemism for 'offended.'

l. 935. Note the effective antithesis between the 'silence' of the ruin and the 'loud boasts' of the unfortunate man.

l. 939. χάριν, 'boon,' 'blessing.'

l. 940. Corrupt. Some of the commentators (H, Schütz. D. Pal.) try to translate it as it stands: 'Let a blight killing the germs of plants [come not near] to prevent them passing their bounds,' i.e. to prevent them growing: surely an impossible interpretation: a plant does not 'pass its bounds' by growing.

The general sense is plain, 'No blight come near'; and perhaps we might accept Wecklein's very ingenious λουσάν for τῶπον: '... killing the buds of plants that they pass not the bounds of their husks.' But the sentence is still awkward, with no verb. The other emendations proposed are not convincing.

l. 944. MSS. read εἴθθεονῆς ἄγαν. Most edd. take Dobree's εἴθθεονητα γά, but Meineke's suggestion Πᾶν is nearer to MSS. and rather more likely.

l. 945. γόνος δ' αἱ πλοῦτοχθον, 'and ever may the earth's rich produce...'. The bold compound πλοῦτοχθον is very Aeschylean. The reference is not (as H. P.) to precious metals, of which Athena (whom the Chorus closely follows in their prayers) had made no mention, and to which γόνος would not be so suitable; but simply to the 'produce' in the ordinary sense.

By δῶν τιοι they clearly mean that out of their abundance they are to give thank-offerings to the bounteous gods.

l. 947. ἐρμάω, for Hermes was the god of good luck (from Homer downwards, Ἐρμειάς ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὀμάσαε II. 14. 491): and a 'windfall' or 'godsend' was called ἐρμάων.

l. 950. ἐπικραίνει, 'brings to pass,' vivid use of present, of a thing now promised.

l. 953. διαπράσσουσι, intrans. 'plain and full is their accomplishment.'

l. 954. βλεν ἄμβλωπον παρέχοντα, 'a life dimmed with tears,' a beautifully vivid metaphor. δακρύων is gen. of respect after adj. ἄμβλωπον.

l. 956. ἀνδροκήμης, lit. 'bringing weariness to men,' here a euphemism for 'deadly,' is a favourite word of Aeschylus, being found with μόχθος (above I. 248), and τέλεκος (Cho. 889), and λυγός (Suppl. 680) in the same sense as here.
l. 960. κύρια, 'the rightful power;' the gods they appeal to being such powers as Ζεὺς τέλειος, Ἡρα, Ἀφροδίτη. See above l. 214.

l. 962. μητροκασαγνήτας, 'sisters by one mother,' because the Fates (like the Furies l. 322) were daughters of Night (Hes. Theog. 217 καὶ Μοῖρας καὶ Κήρας ἐγείνατο).

l. 963. ὁρθόνομοι [not ὁρθόνομοι from νόμος], the MSS. reading, from νέμω, 'assigning what is due.'

l. 964. ἐπιβρέθη, lit. 'weighing down upon,' 'falling heavily on:' i.e. 'grievous.'

l. 965. διμίλιας, 'visitations.'

l. 970. στέργω, 'I bless.'

l. 971. ἐπωπᾶω is properly 'to look down on,' 'watch,' 'behold,' 'descry:' so Cho. 603, Eum. 275, but, like the commoner ἐπωπεῖω, is used regularly of gods or supernatural powers, and gets the meaning 'to guard, guide, direct:' see note on l. 220.

l. 973. ἄγορας, 'God of the gathering,' was a name given to Zeus and other gods (Hermes, Ar. Eq. 297, Artemis and Athena, Paus. 3. 11. 9) as protectors of the city life of which the natural centre was the ἄγορα or 'gathering place' (Agam. 90). But as the ἄγορα was also the place for speech (ἄγορειω, κατηγορέω, etc.) the name here implies 'god of speech.'

l. 974. 'And our strife for blessings is victorious for ever.' 'We have before had an ἐπισ καθή, a hostile strife: henceforward it will be an ἐπισ ἄραθων, a friendly rivalry to do good! and the victory, νίκη, shall be with both; we shall always succeed.'

l. 981. ποινᾶς ἀντιφόνονος ἄτας, 'the murderous woes of vengeance,' 'the woes of murderous requital;' a very Aeschylean phrase, and more natural on the whole than the Med. reading ποινᾶς, which would make ἄτας gen.: for in any case it is certainly right to take these three words together. [H. P. and others take δι' ὀργὰν ποινᾶς, 'from desire of vengeance,' weaker meaning and more strained usage.]

ll. 985-7. 'And may they give joy for joy, with one heart of love, and to hate with one soul.' An imaginative way of saying, 'May they live in happiness that comes from harmony, having the same friends and foes.' The latter phrase is the well-known Greek formula in making alliances.

l. 987. MSS. read φρονοῦσαι and ἐφρίσκει, no sense. I have adopted the original suggestion of Hermann, accepted by D. Weil. φρονοῦσα and ἐφρίσκες. 'Dost thou then wisely find the path of good words?' i.e. 'Are you then come to a better mind, blessing instead of cursing?'

The first two lines are addressed to the Furies: the two next are a reflection: and then she turns to the citizens.

l. 992. εὐφρονας, 'kindly,' a reference to their name Ἐμυνίδες.
EUMENIDES.

II. 993 sqq. Taking πάντως, the reading of Ven., for the flat πάντες, there is no need to alter further.

'Guiding your land and city in all righteousness, ye shall be glorious.' ὀρθοδίκαιον is predicable. The use of διάγενεν is a little strange: but it is not a great extension of its ordinary usage with βιότον, αἶμα, etc. We may compare χρόνος διήγεται μ' Soph. El. 789, διήγεται ὕμας ἐν πάσι τοῖς κατὰ βίον . . . Dem. 255. 11: and particularly πόλεις ἐν ὑμοίρα διαγένει Isocr. 35 B. [Paley takes πρέπει active: but it is very common and always intrans. in Aeschylus.]

1. 996. αἰσιμαίοι, 'blessings,' from αἰσιμος, 'right,' 'meet,' 'good,' lit. 'that which is one's share or lot,' from αἰσα (strong form from ἵος).

1. 998. 'Seated near to Zeus;' fine and simple metaphor for the 'righteous' people specially under divine protection. Hermann quotes Aesch. Niobe, frag. 146 οἱ θεῶν ἀγχώσαροι οἱ Ζηνὸς ἔγγος of the half-divine heroes: and Plat. Phileb. 16 C οἱ παλαιοὶ, κρείττονες ἥμων καὶ ἐγνυτέρω θεῶν οἰκούντες.

1. 1000. 'Wise at last,' i.e. having made your peace with us. This is the simplest interpretation, and there is no ground for suspecting the reading.

1. 1006. ὑπὸ of accompaniment, 'with,' a special idiom either gen. or dat.: καταδίκωμεν οὕς ὑπὸ κλαυσμοῖν Ag. 1554, εἴπτων ὑπὸ Suppl. 238, μαρτύρων ὑπὸ ib. 934, ὑπὸ πομπαῖς Pers. 58, and below l. 1034.

1. 1007. See note on l. 805.

1. 1008. κατέκαυν, 'check: the genitives χώρας and πόλεως are best taken as possessives after the substantival neuter adjectives τὸ ἄτηρόν and τὸ περδαλέον.

1. 1010. πολιοσοῦχοι, see note on l. 775.

1. 1011. μετοίκζοι, 'newcomers;' the μέτοικοι at Athens being the resident aliens, the word is admirably fit for the Eumenides who were foes, but are newly settled at Athens as friendly powers.

Κρανάδ: the word means 'rocky' and was a favourite name of Athens, Κραναδίος or Κραναῖοι, from Pindar's time down (Ol. 7. 151): here it denotes a mythical king or founder, naturally derived from the common title.

1. 1024. βρέθας τοῦμιν, an earlier statue than the great Athena Parthenos of Pheidias; for the Parthenon was not completed till 438. Athena's attendants must be supposed to join this escort on the Areiopagos.

1. 1025. ὄμμα, idiomatic metaphor for 'delight,' 'hope,' 'comfort,' somewhat as we say 'the flower,' using a different metaphor. The 'eye' is chosen as the most precious and beautiful: so ὄμμα γὰρ ὄμμων νομίζω δεσπότου παρουσίαν Pers. 169, σὲβειν ὄμματον ὑπὲρτερον

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NOTES, ll. 993–1046.

Theb. 530, ὀψαλμὸς ὅικων Cho. 934, ὀψαλμὸς Σεκέλιας Pind. Ol. 2 18, etc.

1. 1036. Theseus, mythical king of Athens; Theseidae, common poetic name for ‘Athenian.’

1. 1037. Athena had promised them (l. 856) honour from men (ἂνδρῶν) and women. Hence some (H. D. Weil.) have supposed a lacuna here; and others (Hart. Meinek.) alter παιδῶν into ἄνδρῶν.

There is not enough ground for either. The people on the stage, whether men, or youths, or boys, evidently represent the whole city, as we see from ll. 1010, 1015. Others again think the propompoi are all women, and take παιδῶν as ‘girls;’ but πολισσοῦχοι παῖδες cannot be female inhabitants only.

As to the question of the name Ἐδμενίδης, which is one of Hermann’s arguments, see Introduction, p. 21.

1. 1038. The purple robe was no doubt to add to the magnificence and solemnity of the occasion.

1. 1031. εὐάνδροις συμφέρασι πρέπη, ‘may shine forth with prosperous blessings,’ rather emphatic and unusual phraseology.

1. 1033. βάτε δῶμε, ‘pass into your home,’ Epic use of the dat. local after verb of motion, e.g. πεδίῳ πέσε (ll. 5. 82), κυνή βάλε (7. 187).

1. 1034. παῖδες ἄναδες, the MSS. reading, could hardly mean ‘childless children,’ which seems pointless: it might mean ‘evil children,’ like ναίς ἄνας: but the real objection to any such word as ἄναδες is that here the words in which the Chorus are addressed are specially reverent and honourable. It is best to reject it: and then we get rid also of τῷχῳ τε, meaningless and unmetrical, at the end of l. 1037.

1. 1036. ἀγνύγλωσσον, a strange word of obscure origin, meaning ‘ancient.’

1. 1040. εὑρίσκονες, ‘righteously minded,’ something like the Homeric αἰσθανεὶς ἔδω, which is also used of persons well disposed. [Of the suggested alterations Hartung’s εὑρίσκονες ἄστωι is the best; but there is no need to alter.]

1. 1041. Hermann’s ἦν is wanted for sense as well as metre: else it would mean ‘rejoicing in the torch,’ which is a much poorer meaning.

1. 1044. This line is thoroughly corrupt and it is hopeless to attempt to restore it with any confidence: I take Linwood’s conjecture (adopted by H. P. and others), which is ingenious enough: Hermann translates, ‘Let Peace follow with the light of the torch;’ or σπονδάλ may be quite simply ‘libations,’ the natural sign of reconciliation and joy.

1. 1046. συγκατάσκο, ‘has come down to aid,’ the metaphor being taken from the ‘lists’ or the ‘contest,’ as in Cho. 727.
APPENDICES.

I.

LINES 358–9, and 369–70.

In the MSS. we have 358–9 κρατερῶν ὧνθ’ ὄμολας
μαυρώμεν ὦφ’ (or ἐφ’) αἴματος νέον,
and 369–70 σφαλερὰ ταυτόρμοιοι
κῶλα δύσφορον ἄταν.

As usual, where metrical correspondence so completely fails that even the metrical scheme is uncertain, there is a vast mass of suggestions, most of which are too far from the original either in metre or letters to have a chance of being acceptable, to say nothing of their intrinsic infelicity.

The Schol. on 358 says διὰ τὸ νέον αἷμα. τοῦ νεωστὶ εἰργασμένου ὑπ’ αἰτίαν. This goes far to prove that he read αἴματος νέου (whether with or without ὑπό) and explained it ‘by reason of the new deed of blood,’ i.e. Orestes’ murder of his mother.

On 369 the Schol. clearly has the MSS. reading, but he gives two interpretations, one making κῶλα apposition to ποθὸν ἀκμᾶν (as is no doubt right), and the other making the last two lines a new sentence.

The two best suggestions are Weil’s, which I have adopted in the text, and Paley’s.

1. Paley reads 358 κρατερῶν ὧνθ’ *περ’ ὄμοιος
μαυρώμεν *νέον αἷμα [from an old suggestion of Hermann’s],

and 369 σφαλερὰ *καὶ ταυτόρμοιοι
κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν.

Understanding the first passage thus: ‘[Pursuing after him] though he be mighty, we waste away the new blood stain,’ i.e. we persecute him till in time the murder stain grows faint, as Orestes says (ἅμελὶν ἡδη 238, and βρίζει γὰρ αἷμα καὶ μαραντεῖαι 280).

This makes a fairly good sense, but is open to the following objections:—

(1) That the MS. reading ὦφ’ αἴματος νέον and the Schol. are completely unaccounted for. One hardly sees how νέον αἷμα could have got so corrupted.

(2) That the Furies would certainly not say that they ‘wore away’ the stain of blood, though Orestes might naturally use such a
plea. The very point of the Furies' exultation all through is that there is no expiation, even in Hades: 'though he fly under the earth he never is free' 175: 'in death he is not over free' 346: and their office is 'a rugged path for dead and living alike' 387.

2. Weil's reading 358 κρατερῶν δύνα' δρῶσ διαυρούμεν αἵματος νέον,
369 σφαλεῖτα τανυδρόμοις *δρῶσ
κῶλα δύσφορον *μάταν,

has these advantages on the other hand:

(1) The gen. αἵματος is kept; and the Scholiast's note is accounted for: indeed, better accounted for than if the MSS. ἐνό were retained, as then there would be no need of a comment on so easy a phrase.

(2) δρῶσ in 362 is better than καῖ, as it would easily drop out after -όμοις of the word before.

(3) μάταν is a very easy alteration, since the previous word δύσφορον ends in -ν.

(4) The trochaic metre is peculiarly characteristic of this scheme; see lines 331, 332, 333, 354, 366, 376, 380, 388, 396.

Of the other suggestions perhaps the best is one of that usually reckless emendator Burges, who reads μανρούμεν νέαμον, 'we waste him away stained with new blood.' This would account for the first Schol. But there is no trace of the word νέαμον.

II.

The relation of the Medicean Group of MSS. to the Venetian Group.

The question whether the three MSS. which are called above the Venetian group, i.e. Flo. Farn. Ven. (see Introduction, p. 26) have authority independent of the Medicean is obviously important for the purposes of text criticism. We will call the Medicean M, and the Venetian group FFV.

It is clear that there are four cases of error which bear upon the argument:

(1) Where FFV have the same corruption as M.

(2) Where FFV differ from M and both are wrong.

(3) Where M is right and FFV wrong.

(4) Where M is wrong and FFV right.

It is also clear that if FFV have independent authority, i.e. if they do not spring either from M or a not remote ancestor of M, we should expect to find (4) relatively considerable. If (4) were found to con-
APPENDICES.

sist of a few trivial cases, and (1) were numerous and important, then the conclusion would be that FFV were not independent, but that the better readings were due to emendation.

That the fact is so is tolerably clear from the following tables:—

(1) M wrong, FFV wrong: error the same.

18. χρόνοις 27. πλείστους 59. πόνων 105. μοίρα προσ.
137. οὖν 142. εἰδώμεθ' 176. δ' ὄν 177. ἐκεῖνον 189.
λευσμών 200. εἰς... ἂς 213. ἡρκέσω 220. γενέσθαι 316.
ἀλητῶν 336. θανάτων... αὐτοργύλαις 422. τοῦτο... σφαγῆς
429. θέλει 446. ἐφεζωμένη 461. κρύφασα 472. φόνους...-τον
473. ὄμως 481. δυσπήματ' 483. ὄρκαν αἱρουμένους 489.
περώνας κ.τ.λ. 536. πᾶσι χίλοις 550. ἐκ τῶν' 557. δυσπα-
λείται 576. δῶμων 580. τόδε 684. δ' ἐκάστων 727.
δάμων 733. ἀμβίβαλος 812. ἀντιπαθής 816. ἐπέσυμμενος
838. κατὰ γάν 907. βροτῶν 954. κρύπων 960. τῶν 964.
μεγάλοιν 967. πάντα 1007. ἀθρόμον 1010. ἡμεῖς 1011.
μέτοικοι 1034. εὐθύφρονι.

(2) M wrong, FFV wrong: errors different.

M.  FFV.
23. ἀναστροφά  ἀναστροφάι
54. δία  βίαι
186. οὐ καρανιστῆρες  οὐκ ἄρ' ἀνιστῆρες
312. οἴδ' οἵμεθ' εἶναι  οἴδ' οἴμαι θείναι
424. ἐπιρροιςεῖ  ἐπιρροισεῖν
450. νοθήλου βοτοῦ  ὄθνειον βροτοῦ
552. περιβάδαν  παρβάδαν
710. αἰδομένων  αἱρουμένων
845. δαμαλῶν  δαμέαν
871. τε γάν  γάν
877. δαμίαν  δαμέαν
878. δόλω  δόλον
908. εἰθενοῦντας  εἰςθενοῦντα
925. ἐξαμβρόσαι  ἐξαμβρύσαοι
934. ἀμπλακήματα  ἀμαρθήματα
942. εἰθενοῦντ' ἄγαν  εὖθαν.
1026. θρησίδος  θρησίδου.

(3) M right, FFV wrong.

FFV read: 58. ἕτη γαῖα 100. παθούσα γ' 170. σὸν οἶκον
201. δὴ τοῦτο 222. οὖντο 232. ἀρ' ἤξω 256. ἀτίμας 262.
θυσαγκ. 286. μὲ διδάσκον 329. μένος 396. τάξιν γ' 407.
στένω 426. ή τίνος 431. πέλη 435. σέβομαι corrected to
σέβοιμεν V σέβοιμεθ' FF. 458. ἔφθηθ' 495. εὐχαρίτ' 577.
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658. κεκλημένη 678. δὲ 688. τὴν 706. ἐγρήγορον
717. σφήλετα 846. δόλῳ 859. θηγάνων 881. καλοῦμαι
888. ἐπιρρέειν 910. δὲ omit 914. τρεπτῶν 919. νόμον
959. βίοτον 971. ἐσπεττό (-âs, -â).

(4) M wrong: FFV right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>FFV</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>FFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>224. ὁ ἐπάλλασ</td>
<td>δὲ Παλλάς</td>
<td>683. ἀλγέφ</td>
<td>Αλγέως</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268. τείνεις</td>
<td>τίνης</td>
<td>950. ἐπικρανεῖ</td>
<td>ἐπικρανεῖ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>458. οὐτος</td>
<td>οὗτος</td>
<td>981. ποινᾶς</td>
<td>ποινᾶς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673. τ’ ἀπιστα</td>
<td>τὰ πιστὰ</td>
<td>988. ἄρα</td>
<td>ἄρα.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the number and character of the errors in (1) and the very obvious and trifling corrections in (4) we should infer that FFV were not independent of M: while (2) and (3) would show that FFV were rather carelessly copied and unskilfully emended.

The evidence is of the same character in the other plays: but the Eumenides alone is sufficient to make the conclusion highly probable.
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