

AESCHYLUS EUMENIDES

EDITED BY
ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN

Professor of Greek, University of Nottingham

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PREFACE

Some fifteen years ago Mrs (now Professor) Pat Easterling invited me to give a lecture in a series on 'the literary criticism of Greek drama', and I chose as my subject *Eumenides* 490-565. The lecture was never delivered; I entirely forgot my commitment until the morning when the lecture was scheduled to take place, and at that moment I was on a train somewhere between Oxford and Paddington. I never had a hard word from Mrs Easterling on this matter (or any other); none the less I was pleased to be given the opportunity of bringing her an atonement-offering in the form of this edition. Together with her fellow-editor of the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics Series, Professor E. J. Kenney, she has read the whole Commentary in draft, and made many suggestions for its improvement; so too has another of my former Cambridge teachers, Professor A. D. Fitton Brown of the University of Leicester. I am most grateful also for the kindness of Keith Sidwell in sharing with me some interesting and provocative ideas that forced me to think afresh about many matters connected with Orestes' trial; and for the help of all those who have assisted me in many ways during the time this edition has been in preparation. Responsibility for all opinions expressed and arguments advanced, unless otherwise ascribed, remains wholly mine.

The play here edited is not a self-contained work of art any more than is the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*, so admirably edited in this series by the late Colin Macleod. But like that book, it brings a great work of art to a conclusion that is both unexpected and utterly appropriate; and it is my ardent hope that this edition may contribute to a fuller understanding and appreciation both of a play often neglected or disparaged and above all of the *Oresteia* as a whole.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

(1) FRAGMENTS OF GREEK AUTHORS

Tragic fragments are cited from *TrGF* (see below), except in the case of Euripides who is cited from A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*² (Leipzig, 1889). Pindar and Bacchylides are cited from the editions of B. Snell revised by H. Machler (*Pindari carmina cum fragmentis, Pars II* (Leipzig, 1975); *Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig, 1970)). Other archaic and classical lyric poets, except Alcaeus and Sappho, are cited by the continuous numbering of *PMG* (see below). Fragments of Callimachus are cited from R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford, 1949–53). In all other cases, either the edition used is indicated by editor's name or abbreviation, or LSJ's method of citation is followed.

(2) ABBREVIATIONS

- Agora XVII* D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora. Volume XVII. Inscriptions: the funerary monuments* (Princeton, 1974).
- ATL* B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian tribute lists* (Cambridge, Mass./Princeton, 1939–53).
- D–K* H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁶ (rev. W. Kranz) (Berlin, 1951–2).
- FG+H* F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin/Leiden, 1923–58).
- FJW* H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *Aeschylus: the Suppliants* (Copenhagen, 1980).
- G–P* B. Gentili and C. Prato, *Poetae elegiaci: testimonia et fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1979–85).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- K–A* R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci* (Berlin, 1983–).
- K–B* R. Kühner and F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Erster Teil: Elementar- und Formenlehre*³ (Hannover, 1890–2).

- K-G R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre*³ (Hannover, 1898-1904).
- L-P E. Lobel and D. L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta* (Oxford, 1955).
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English lexicon*⁹ (Oxford, 1940) with *Supplement* ed. E. A. Barber (Oxford, 1968).
- M-W R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford, 1967).
- PMG D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962).
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*.
- TrGF B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. L. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971-).

Abbreviated titles of periodicals, where not self-explanatory, follow the practice of *L'année philologique*. Names of ancient authors and their works are generally abbreviated as in LSJ.

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References in the form 'Griffith on *Pr.* 128-92' are to the named scholar's commentary on the work cited.

Every judge who renders true and upright judgement, even for a single hour, is as meritorious in the eyes of Scripture as if he had become a partner to the Holy One, blessed be He, in the work of Creation.

RABBI HIIYA BEN RAB OF DIFTI
(Talmud Babli, *Shabbath* 10a)

One, and by no means the least important, object of punishment is to prevent, so far as possible, the victims of crime from taking matters into their own hands.

LORD LANE, Lord Chief Justice
(in *R. v. Darby*, 16 December 1986)

INTRODUCTION

1. THE LEGEND

The story presented – and probably, as we shall see, in large measure invented – by Aeschylus in *Eumenides* was blended together from two streams of legend: one telling what happened to Orestes after he killed his mother, and one explaining the origin of the Athenian council of the Areopagus and its jurisdiction over homicide.

That Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, came back from exile some years after the murder of his father, and avenged that murder by killing his mother together with her lover and accomplice Aegisthus, was one of the unalterable ‘facts’ of Greek heroic saga; even Homer, to whom the matricide is most embarrassing (since he wishes Orestes to serve as a model for Telemachus to emulate), cannot explicitly abolish it. But there seems to have been no universal tradition as to a sequel, and perhaps in the earliest times there was assumed to be no sequel except that Orestes reigned peacefully in Mycenae¹ until he died in old age.² By the sixth century, however, tales of his tribulations begin to appear or to be elaborated. In some versions, Orestes goes mad³ but is eventually cured; in others, he is pursued by his mother’s Erinyes (see §2) but is eventually set free from them. Aeschylus makes use of the madness-theme in *Ch.* 1021ff., and alludes to it in *Eu.* 329–32 = 342–5; but it is the pursuit of Orestes by the Erinyes, and the results which flow from it, that are central to his drama.

The earliest surviving evidence for this pursuit is probably a metope from the sanctuary of Hera at the mouth of the river Sele in Italy (Prag pl. 28b), datable to c. 570–50 B.C. This depicts a man defending himself with a sword against a great snake (on the Erinyes as snakes see §2) twining itself around him: he seems to be striding forward, away from the snake, but turning round to thrust at its head with his sword.

¹ On the later substitution of Sparta or Argos for Mycenae, see Prag 73–4.

² Hence in all the later accounts he is freed in the end from his tribulations and enjoys a long and secure reign (for references see A. Lesky, *RE* xviii 1007).

³ Cf. Paus. 3.22.1 (Laconia), also Ar. *Ach.* 1167–8, Σ Ar. *Av.* 712. In Paus. 7.25.7 (Achaia) and 8.34 (Arcadia) the themes of madness and of pursuit by the Erinyes are combined in local legends.

The earliest known literary treatment involving Erinyes is that by the sixth-century lyric poet Stesichorus, who may well have first brought Apollo into the story. In Euripides' *Orestes* the hero in his madness calls (268ff.) for 'my horned bow, the gift of Loxias, with which Apollo said I should defend myself against the goddesses'; he then (as he fancies) shoots at the Erinyes and drives them away. The scholia mention that in the matter of the bow Euripides is 'following Stesichorus', and a papyrus (see *PMG* 217) confirms this and quotes from Stesichorus' poem some words evidently spoken by Apollo to Orestes: 'This bow I will give [you], made by my own hands, to shoot with strength.'

Apollo must have had some strong reason for making this remarkable gift to Orestes; and it is hard to see what reason he can have had unless that, as all the tragic dramatists assume, his Delphic oracle had commanded or at least authorized Orestes' matricide. We have no information on how the aftermath of the matricide was presented in poetry between Stesichorus' time and Aeschylus';⁴ but Pindar's treatment of the Agamemnon-Orestes myth in *Pythian* 11⁵ indirectly confirms that by his time the 'Delphic connection' had become a standard feature of the story. Pindar will not allow Apollo to have been responsible for a matricide, and in narrating the myth he makes no mention of the god or of Delphi; but the connection is there all the same, mediated through Orestes' foster-father Strophius and the latter's son Pylades, who 'lived at the foot of Parnassus' (*P.* 11.36) and owned the site of the Pythian stadium (*ib.* 15).

Thus from this branch of the tradition Aeschylus inherited an Orestes who killed his mother at the command, or with the consent, of Apollo, and to whom Apollo therefore gave protection (which may or may not have been complete and permanent) when he was afterwards harried by the Erinyes.

We may now turn to the second stream of legend. The council of the Areopagus (for which see §3) appears to have had a well-established foundation-myth, which also explained the name of the hill on which it

⁴ Unless *Pi. N.* 11 belongs to this period (it has usually, on inadequate evidence, been dated *c.* 446); it provides (34-5) our earliest reference to the tale that Orestes late in life led the first Aeolian colonists across the Aegean.

⁵ *P.* 11.15-37. This ode was composed in 474, sixteen years before the *Oresteia*. See *Prag* 77-9, and E. Robbins in *Greek tragedy and its legacy: essays presented to D. J. Conacher* (1986) 4, 9-10 n. 27.

met. The god Ares, said the myth, had killed Halirrothius, the son of Poseidon, because he had raped or tried to rape Ares' daughter, and Ares had been tried for the murder on this hill by a jury of the other gods.⁶ We also hear of two other trials said to have been held there before that of Orestes.⁷ These myths do not necessarily date only from the period (after 462/1 B.C., see §§3, 6) when the trial of murder charges was almost the sole significant function that the Areopagus council possessed. Even before that time, murder trials, with their numerous special rules, procedures and rituals, must have been both the most solemn and the most obviously archaic of the council's various activities; and they also offered the readiest means of providing the council with an origin in the mythical ages, whose sagas were so full of violent deaths. How, though, did Orestes come to be associated with the Areopagus?

The earliest evidence of a link between Orestes and Athens is found in the *Odyssey* (3.307) where Orestes is said to have returned from Athens (and not, as in later accounts, from Phocis) to kill Aegisthus. The ancient Homeric commentators could throw no light on this reference, and we are no better off today. All subsequent versions of Orestes' story which bring him to Athens bring him there after the matricide. Outside Aeschylus there are two main Athenian myths about him. One told, with considerable variations of detail,⁸ how Orestes had come to Athens as a polluted fugitive, forbidden as such to speak to anyone or to share food or drink with another. It was the day of the Choes (the second day of the Dionysiac festival of the Anthesteria), and to avoid embarrassing Orestes the Athenians, or their king, ordained that all those celebrating the festival should drink from separate vessels and in silence – a practice which thenceforth became a permanent feature of the Choes feast. This tale *may* be alluded to in *Eu.* 448ff., but its first certain appearance is in Eur. *IT* (c. 414 B.C.). In any case it is unlikely that anyone would have thought of accounting thus

⁶ Cf. Eur. *El.* 1258–62, *IT* 945–6; Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 38 and 169 (= 323a F 1 and 22); Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F 3; Dem. 23.66; Din. 1.87; Aristid. *Or.* 1.46 Lenz–Behr; Paus. 1.21.4; Apollod. 3.14.2.

⁷ Of Cephalus for killing his wife Procris, and of Daedalus for killing his nephew Talos (Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 169 = 323a F 22; cf. Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90 F 25).

⁸ Eur. *IT* 947–60; Phanodemus, *FGrH* 325 F 11; Plu. *Mor.* 613b, 643a; Σ Ar. *Ach.* 961, *Eq.* 95.

for the rules of the Choes festival if it were not already an established mythic 'fact' that Orestes had come to Athens after his matricide; and the Choes myth is thus probably, so to speak, parasitic on the only other tale we know of that brings Orestes to Athens at that stage of his career – the tale of his being tried for murder on the Areopagus.

This tale survives in several forms, but their variations can be reduced to three basic points.

(1) Who were the accusers? Some say the Erinyes (or the Eumenides or the Σεμναὶ θεαί, see §2);⁹ others say a relative or relatives of Clytaemestra¹⁰ or Aegisthus.¹¹

(2) Who were the judges? Some say the Areopagus council itself, a human tribunal;¹² others say a jury of gods.¹³

(3) What was the result of the trial? In *Eu.* Orestes is (a) acquitted, (b) on an equal vote, (c) by the decision of Athena, (d) after Apollo has given evidence in his favour. No other source explicitly contradicts any of these points; but while virtually all mention the acquittal, and about half¹⁴ mention the equal vote, only Euripides and Aristides¹⁵ mention the role of Athena, and only Euripides¹⁶ mentions the evidence of Apollo.

In this material there are two elements that cannot derive from Aeschylus: that Orestes was prosecuted by a human accuser or accusers, and that he was tried by a jury of gods. Both can be traced back with certainty as far as the late fifth century. But can we regard both, or either, as deriving from pre-Aeschylean versions of the legend

⁹ Eur. *IT* 963, *Or.* 1649–50; Dem. 23.66; Din. 1.87; Aristid. *Or.* 1.48, 37.17 Lenz–Behr.

¹⁰ Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 169 (οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐλθόντες); *Marm. Par.* = *FGrH* 239 A 25 ([Erig]on[e], daughter of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus); Paus. 8.34.4 (Perilaus, a cousin of Clytaemestra); Dictys, *FGrH* 49 F 2 (Tyndareos and Erigone, together with Oeax the brother of Palamedes); *EM* 42.3–9 (Erigone).

¹¹ Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90 F 25.

¹² Din. l.c., and probably also Hellanicus l.c. (who speaks of 'the Athenians'). Dictys l.c. eccentrically has Menestheus as judge.

¹³ Eur. *Or.* 1650–2; Dem. 23.66 (οἱ δώδεκα θεοί), 74; Aristid. *Or.* 1.48 Lenz–Behr.

¹⁴ Eur. *El.* 1265–6, *IT* 965–6, 1470–2; Aristid. *Or.* 37.17 Lenz–Behr; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.25; Σ Lycophron 1374.

¹⁵ Eur. *IT* ll.cc.; Aristid. *Or.* 1.48, 37.17 Lenz–Behr. In addition we find in Dio Cassius (51.19.7) the phrase ψῆφος ... Ἀθηναῖς for 'casting vote'.

¹⁶ *El.* 1266–7, *IT* 965.

of Orestes' trial? Or was Jacoby¹⁷ right to believe that the whole idea of such a trial at Athens was Aeschylus' invention, and that the two discrepant elements in other accounts are later modifications?

It is perhaps more likely that Aeschylus was not the originator of the legend. The story can be seen as serving two primary purposes: to glorify Athens, by associating the city with the *dénouement* of one of the most celebrated sagas of the heroic age; and to provide a precedent from that age for the homicide jurisdiction of the Areopagus council. The first function is served equally well by all versions of the story. For the second, however, a human jury serves better than a divine one: Aeschylus has Orestes tried not merely *on the Areopagus*, but actually *by the Areopagus council*. Is it likely that the Athenians, possessing so perfect a charter-myth for their principal homicide court, would subsequently have altered it so that it served that purpose less well? If, on the other hand, there was already in existence before Aeschylus a tale of Orestes' trial, it is not surprising that that earlier version should have remained current in subsequent generations, side by side with, and sometimes conflated with, Aeschylus' own.

Before 458, then, Athenians believed that Orestes was prosecuted on the Areopagus, before a tribunal consisting of the Olympian gods, by Clytaemestra's next of kin; and that at least one other trial, and perhaps three, had been held on the Areopagus before his time.¹⁸ Aeschylus will then have made three major innovations. He made the trial of Orestes the first to be held on the Areopagus, and the occasion of the council's foundation – perhaps (cf. 682) the first trial for homicide ever to be held anywhere. He replaced the avenging kinsfolk of Clytaemestra, as prosecutors of Orestes, by her avenging Erinyes, being probably the first artist, literary or pictorial, ever to imagine these beings as anthropomorphic,¹⁹ and the first dramatist to bring them on stage. And he replaced the tribunal of Olympian gods, presided over presumably by Zeus (cf. Eur. *IT* 945–6), with a tribunal of Athenian citizens presided over by Athena.

The other two distinctive features of Orestes' trial in *Eu.* – the equality of votes resolved in Orestes' favour by Athena, and the role of Apollo as a defence witness – are also likely to be Aeschylean innovations. Apollo cannot have been a witness in a pre-Aeschylean trial in

¹⁷ *FGrH* vol. III B Suppl. pp. 24–5 (with notes).

¹⁸ Cf. A. Lesky, *RE* xviii 980–2.

¹⁹ See §2 and Prag 48–51.

which he was one of the judges; and if the motif of the equal vote already appeared in earlier versions, in which Orestes' judges were gods, one would expect at least some sources to name Zeus rather than Athena as the deity who ordained that the equal vote should count as an acquittal. Furthermore, the idea of the equal vote is so well integrated into the whole pattern of the *Oresteia*, so closely bound up with such themes as those of victory and defeat²⁰ and of the conflict between the sexes,²¹ that it is easier to suppose that Aeschylus invented it than that he found it ready to hand.

Aeschylus thus appears to have inherited two types of legend about the aftermath of Orestes' matricide: one telling how he was harried by the Erinyes and protected by Apollo, the other how he came to Athens and was tried and acquitted by the gods sitting on the Areopagus. In combining them he has made fundamental changes in both; has put them into the framework of a profound (though non-violent) conflict between different generations of gods; and by continuing his drama beyond Orestes' acquittal, has brought it into relation both with an important Athenian cult (see §2) and with the present and future welfare of the Athenian people.

2. ERINYES, EUMENIDES AND SEMNAI

The earliest known references to a deity named Erinyes are on two Linear B tablets from Knossos,²² where the name appears in the dative singular (in the forms *e-ri-nu* and *e-ri-nu-we*) in lists of recipients of offerings; but the singular form of the name, the company it keeps,²³ and the very fact of offerings being made to an Erinyes, strongly suggest that we have here an ancestor, not of the Erinyes of Homer, Hesiod and Aeschylus, but of the goddess later worshipped in Arcadia as Demeter Erinyes, consort of Poseidon and mother of the marvellous horse Arion.²⁴

²⁰ See 776-7n.

²¹ Cf. Winnington-Ingram 124-7; Goldhill 256-63; M. Gagarin, *Aeschylean drama* (1976) 103-4.

²² KN Fp 1 and V 52 + 52 bis + 8285 = 200 and 208 Ventris-Chadwick².

²³ On one of the tablets the name Erinyes follows those of Enyalios, Paiawon (the later Apollo Paeon) and Poseidon.

²⁴ Paus. 8.25.4-10; cf. Paus. 8.42.1, Lycophron 153 with Σ, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 652; see Burkert 44, 138.

The Erinyes with which we are concerned are powers of a very different kind. In early times they are only dimly personified, and their very name may be in origin a mere abstract noun meaning 'Wraths'.²⁵ But already in Homer they have a wide range of functions, all of which reappear in later literature and several of which figure in the portrayal of the Erinyes in our play.

(1) The Erinyes are most often mentioned in Homer as the embodiment of the curse of a wronged parent (*Il.* 9.454, 571; 21.412; *Od.* 2.135, 11.280). Their role as vindicators of the rights of parents is extended in *Il.* 15.204 to cover the privileges of an elder brother (Zeus), and in *Od.* 17.475-6 the hope is expressed that they will avenge an insult to a beggar (beggars being under divine protection, cf. *Od.* 6.207-8 = 14.57-8).

(2) The Erinyes punish breakers of oaths (*Il.* 19.259; cf. Hes. *Op.* 803-4, Alc. fr. 129.13ff. L-P).

(3) Once (*Il.* 19.418) the Erinyes act to correct a violation of the order of nature, when they silence Achilles' horse Xanthus who had prophesied his master's death: cf. Heraclitus fr. 94 D-K 'The sun will not overstep his measures; otherwise the Erinyes, assistants of Δίκη, will find him out.'

(4) Only once (*Il.* 9.571-2) are the Erinyes specifically associated with murder – the element most prominent in their portrayal in archaic art, where the Erinyes is regularly represented as a fearsome snake rising from the grave of the murder-victim;²⁶ and even here they are roused to action, not by the murder itself, but by a parental curse (uttered by Althaea, mother of the killer Meleager and sister of the victim).

(5) In all the above cases the Erinyes act to avenge or correct an infringement of the normal and proper order of things (δίκη); but twice in Homer their action is apparently spontaneous and unprovoked. In both these passages (*Il.* 19.87ff.; *Od.* 15.233-4) they are described as causing ἄτη, the mental blindness or delusion that leads men into disastrous acts. The only link between this and the Erinyes'

²⁵ ἐρινύς stands to Arcadian ἐρινύω 'be angry' (Paus. 8.25.6, *EM* 374.1) as ἐλινύες to ἐλινύω or ἄχυνς to ἄχυνμαι.

²⁶ Cf. Prag 48-51; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion*² (1908) 232-9; P. Zancani Montuoro and U. Zanetti-Bianco, *Heraion alla Foce del Sele* (1951-4) II 293-7.

other functions seems to be the idea that they are essentially maleficent.

While Homer thus tells us a good deal about what the Erinyes do, he says very little of what manner of beings they are; we hear only that they dwell in the nether darkness (Erebus) and have 'a merciless heart' (*Il.* 9.572, cf. 19.259 ὑπὸ γαῖαν). Of their standing epithets, ἥεροφοῖτις²⁷ and δασπλήτις,²⁸ one probably, both possibly, were already in Homer's time fossilized γλῶσσαι of no known meaning.

In Hesiod's *Theogony* the Erinyes in a sense appear twice: once under their own name, and once as the Κῆρες. The latter are in Homer spirits of evil and especially of death; in Hesiod, however, they are 'merciless punishers ... who pursue the transgressions of men and of gods,'²⁹ nor do these goddesses ever cease from their terrible anger until they repay evil vengeance to him who has erred' (*Theogony* 217, 220-2)³⁰ - a description that would perfectly suit the Erinyes of Homer and of Aeschylus. Hesiod, however, clearly distinguishes them from the Erinyes. The Erinyes are children of Earth, born from the severed genitals of Uranus (*Thg.* 180-7), and sisters of the Giants and of the nymphs called Meliae. The Keres are fatherless (*Thg.* 213) children of Night (like the Aeschylean Erinyes); they are sisters of numerous beings (*Thg.* 212-25), but their closest association is with the Moirai (Destinies, Fates) who are mentioned in the same line (217). The Keres do not appear again in Hesiod in an Erinyes-like role; in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (248-57) they appear in their Homeric guise as death-spirits, though it may be significant that they are represented as drinkers of blood (251-2), which the Erinyes never are in surviving literature before the *Oresteia*. The Erinyes themselves are mentioned twice by Hesiod apart from the account of their birth, once as guardians of the sanctity of oaths (*Op.* 803-4) and once apparently as em-

²⁷ Most likely 'walking in mist', i.e. invisible (you can never know when an Erinyes is approaching you and about to strike you with ἄτη); cf. *Il.* 19.91-4 ('Ἄτη 'descends on men's heads' with 'soft feet'), Hes. *Op.* 102-4 (diseases come to mortals 'silently, for Zeus has taken away their voice').

²⁸ Perhaps 'who comes very close' (intensive prefix δασ-, cf. δασπέταλον, plus root of πελάζω).

²⁹ The idea that the Erinyes punish gods as well as men appears also in *Thg.* 472 as well as in Homer (*Il.* 15.204, 21.412) and Heraclitus; in *Eu.* it will be applied in a novel way (see 951n. and §5 below).

³⁰ Lines 218-19 (= 905-6) are interpolated (see West ad loc.).

bodily a parental curse (*Thg.* 472, reading ἐρινῦς with West; the curse itself is recorded in *Thg.* 209–10).

There is little about Erinyes in archaic lyric,³¹ and Pindar mentions them only once, in *O.* 2.41 (performed in 476) where an Erinys sees the killing of Laius by Oedipus and proceeds to make Oedipus' sons kill each other – the first known occasion on which an Erinys is described as avenging upon a later generation a wrong done by an earlier.

Aeschylus, so far as we know – leaving aside the doubtfully authentic *Prometheus Bound* – speaks of Erinyes in only two of his works, the Theban trilogy and the *Oresteia*: there are no Erinyes in *Pers.* or *Supp.*, and no references to them in the surviving fragments of lost plays. In *Seven against Thebes* the Erinyes are treated much as in earlier poetry, being almost always identified or closely associated with the curse of Oedipus upon his sons; the only possible exception is at 574, where Amphiaraus' description of Tydeus as Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα most probably refers to his murder of two kinsmen.³²

Erinyes, then, to an educated Athenian in 458 B.C., were avengers of murder, perjury and other grave wrongs, who might exact their vengeance from the wrongdoer himself or from his descendants. They were champions of the rights of senior kinsfolk and especially of parents. They were guardians of δίκη in the broadest sense, in the natural as well as the social universe. They could be thought of as the embodiment of a curse; they could be thought of as the causers of that ruinous mental blindness called ἄρη. They were merciless and implacable, and unless specially assisted by a god (as the Stesichorean Orestes was) man was helpless against them. When they were conceived as having a bodily form, it was that of serpents; but they could sometimes be all but identified with the Keres, bloodsucking, bestial death-spirits. Up to *Eu.* 777 there is comparatively little in the Erinyes of the *Oresteia* that is not implicit in that catalogue; in particular the idea that the Erinyes deter violations of δίκη, with its paradoxical implication that though they work in horrendous and barbaric fashion yet an ordered

³¹ Alcaeus (fr. 129.13ff. L–P) prays for Pittacus to be pursued by the Erinyes of comrades whom he had betrayed in violation of a sworn covenant.

³² Cf. 572 τὸν ἀνδροφόντην with Σ, 574 πρόσπολον Φόνου; Soph. fr. 799; Eur. *Supp.* 148, fr. 558. The reference can hardly be to 'the curse of Oedipus, which Tydeus is helping to fulfil' (Hutchinson); that curse was upon Eteocles and Polyneices, not upon Adrastus and the Argives whom Tydeus' counsels are leading to disaster (573, 575).

society could not exist without them (for which see especially *Eu.* 490–565), can be traced right back to Homer.³³

It should finally be noted that to all intents and purposes the Erinyes had no cult as such. It is a waste of effort and resources to offer prayer and sacrifice to beings who are by their nature implacable.³⁴ We know only of sanctuaries of 'the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipus' founded in historical times at Sparta and Thera, in obedience to an oracle, by a clan which claimed descent from Polyneices (*Hdt.* 4.149.2); the mythical/literary inspiration of this cult is manifest. Cults of 'the Erinyes' in general seem not to exist.

At the end of *Eu.* the Erinyes undergo a transformation. It is not a total one. Even to the spectator's eye, though they are given new robes (1028–9), their 'fearsome faces' (990) remain the same, nor have they ceased to be implacable avengers of wrong (928–37, 954–5). But they are now also ready to reward and bless those who revere them and who revere δίκη; and reciprocally, the Athenians will honour them with various forms of cult (804–7, 834–6, 856–7, 1037) and will give them a permanent dwelling-place close to the Acropolis (833, 854–5, 916, 1022–6).

It has long been recognized that the cult being described is that of the Σεμναί θεαί, who were worshipped at a cave-sanctuary close to the Areopagus, on the side nearer the Acropolis;³⁵ indeed at *Eu.* 1041 the προπομποί may actually address the Erinyes as Σεμναί <θεαί> (cf. also 1027n.). From other sources we learn that the Semnai³⁶ frequently received sacrifices,³⁷ that their shrine was an especially inviolable

³³ Iris in *Il.* 15.204 warns Poseidon against disobeying Zeus with the reminder 'You know that Erinyes always follow the elder'; Telemachus in *Od.* 2.130–7 refuses to force his mother to remarry because he will suffer for it at the hands both of her father and of god 'since my mother will invoke the hateful Erinyes as she departs from the house'.

³⁴ Clytaemestra's sacrifices to the Erinyes (*Eu.* 106–9) were presumably intended not to placate them but to stir them up (against Agamemnon, in anticipation of his return from Troy?).

³⁵ Paus. 1.28.6; cf. Eur. *El.* 1270–2, *IT* 968–9, Thuc. 1.126.11, Paus. 7.25.2.

³⁶ This abbreviated designation of the goddesses, though not attested in classical Attic, has become customary in modern discussions.

³⁷ Paus. 1.28.6; there may well have been an annual festival in their honour, to judge by the fourth-century practice of electing three ἑπορτοιοί for the Semnai (*Dem.* 21.115). In *Eu.* we hear of unspecified sacrifices (1037), of offerings before marriage and childbirth (835), of processions (856), and of the anointing of sacred stones (806n.).

place of refuge for persons fleeing from enemies,³⁸ and that they were closely associated with the council of the Areopagus, being named in oaths taken before it (Din. 1.47, cf. 87) and being entitled to offerings from defendants acquitted by it (Paus. 1.28.6). Other features of their cult are deducible with high probability from *Eu.* itself, since it is fairly safe to assume that all the specific forms of worship there promised to the Erinyes were in fact regularly given to the Semnai; similarly all the functions and spheres of action (such as the promotion of fertility) which are assigned to the Erinyes in the latter part of *Eu.*, but are not typically associated with Erinyes elsewhere, were probably already linked with the Semnai in popular belief.

Aeschylus was probably the first to identify the Semnai with the Erinyes, but probably was not the first to associate them with the Areopagus council. It is hard to believe, in view of the notable conservatism of procedure before the Areopagus council and kindred tribunals compared with other Athenian lawcourts (see §3), that the naming of the Semnai in oaths, and the practice of sacrificing to them after acquittal, were innovations of the fifth century; the links between the Semnai and the council are no doubt due to their topographical proximity, and may well go back to very early times. But nothing that we know of the Semnai independently of *Eu.* suggests that they had ever been believed to perform the typical and characteristic functions of Erinyes; their own most distinctive function seems to have been to protect suppliants – which Erinyes never do.³⁹ It is thus likely that when Aeschylus identified the Semnai of the Areopagus with the Erinyes who had pursued Orestes, he was making a startling innovation. To the extent that his audience accepted the idea, it would revolutionize their understanding of the significance of both groups of deities.

Nothing has thus far been said of the name Εὐμενίδες 'the Kindly Ones', which appears commonly in literature as an alternative name for the Erinyes from the late fifth century onwards, both in connection with Orestes' trial and more generally,⁴⁰ and which has given our play its customary title. Cults of Eumenides are known from several parts of the Greek world (details in Brown (n. 40) 260–1), the most famous

³⁸ Ar. *Eq.* 1312, *Th.* 224; Thuc. 1.126.11; Paus. 7.25.1.

³⁹ Indeed in *Eu.* the Erinyes twice try to *prevent* the suppliant Orestes from gaining asylum.

⁴⁰ See A. L. Brown, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 266–7.

being at Colonus, just outside Athens. The Erinyes of Orestes' trial are several times called Eumenides in Euripides' *Orestes* (produced in 408) and in later literary texts;⁴¹ note that they do not *change* into Eumenides after the trial, but are already so called during it and even while Orestes is still at Argos. In earlier Euripidean references to Orestes' tribulations they are never called Eumenides, and Brown (n. 30) 266 is very probably right to deduce from this that the identification of the two dates from between 414 and 409; it may well have been fixed in the subsequent literary tradition by the immense popularity of *Orestes* in the fourth century.⁴²

We should not therefore expect to find the Erinyes called Eumenides in the text of our play; nor do we. Apart from the title, the name Eumenides appears only in the ancillary material in the MSS: the introductory synopsis (Hypothesis), the list of *dramatis personae*, and one scholium (on 761). It is likely that in each case (even in the Hypothesis, for which see Brown (n. 19) 267–76) the annotator has erred under the influence of the play's title. If the Erinyes were renamed at the end of *Eu.* (and they probably were), their new name was not Eumenides but Semnai.

If Aeschylus did not think of his Erinyes as (becoming) Eumenides, it will follow that the title Εὐμενίδες was not given to the play by him – any more than was the title Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας which, unlike Εὐμενίδες, is known to go back to the fifth century (Ar. *Ra.* 1021) but which likewise does not fit the text of its play, in which Thebes and the Thebans are never mentioned under those names. Perhaps the original titles of these two plays were displaced by new ones in the late fifth century; perhaps, being parts of connected tetralogies on a single legend, they had originally no separate titles of their own;⁴³ perhaps, as Brown would hold, the whole idea of a play having a fixed and significant title is anachronistic for Aeschylus' time. At any rate, the title of our play can tell us nothing about the play or its chorus.

⁴¹ Dem. 23.66; Aristid. *Or.* 37.17 Lenz–Behr.

⁴² Compare Willink on Eur. *Or.* 38, who is however unlikely to be right in holding that the identification was *first* made in *Orestes* (where it is neither emphasized nor explained).

⁴³ Cf. Hyp. *Th.* τρίτος Πολυφράσμων Λυκούργειαι τετραλογία: in this case evidently no titles were ever applied to the individual component plays.

3. THE AREOPAGUS AND HOMICIDE

The hill of the Areopagus, to the west of the Acropolis, was the meeting-place of the oldest deliberative body in the Athenian state. In the far-off past, no doubt, the kings of Athens had consulted a council of elders that met on the Areopagus; and when they were succeeded by the nine annually elected archons, these will have done likewise. In the seventh century the Areopagus council was the most important permanent organ of government. It consisted of all those who had held archonships; but since the council had the last word in determining who should be archons (cf. Arist. *Ath.* 8.2), it effectively controlled its own membership. The council is said to have 'had the duty of protecting the laws, and managed the majority and the most important of the city's affairs, with full power to inflict fines and other penalties on all offenders' (*ib.* 3.6, cf. 8.4); it probably also decided the agenda for such popular assemblies as were occasionally held.

This last function (later called *προβούλευσις*) was removed from the Areopagus council by Solon (594/3 B.C.), who instituted a new council of four hundred members for this purpose (Arist. *Ath.* 8.4, Plu. *Sol.* 19.1). In other respects, however, Solon maintained and even enhanced the council's standing within the political system: in particular, he introduced the procedure called *εἰσαγγελία*, whereby any citizen could 'bring in a report' to the council concerning an alleged serious crime against the state, upon which the council, if it saw fit, could try and punish the person(s) accused (Arist. *Ath.* 8.4). It may also have been Solon who first gave the Areopagus council jurisdiction to try cases of the wilful murder of an Athenian citizen (below, pp. 14-15).

The council of the Areopagus, like other political institutions, was not formally interfered with during the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons (546/5 to 510 B.C.); indeed Peisistratus himself once appeared before the council to stand trial for murder.⁴⁴ It also survived the reforms of Cleisthenes (508/7) and the growing tendency in the succeeding decades towards full popular control of public affairs.

By the 460s the Areopagus council was something of a constitutional anomaly: an oligarchic body, drawn from the two highest property-

⁴⁴ Arist. *Ath.* 16.8, *Pol.* 1315b21-2; Plu. *Sol.* 31.3.

classes, yet wielding very considerable power in what was otherwise a democratic state. It will still have had its ancient and ill-defined powers of criminal jurisdiction and of 'guardianship of the laws', though in practice it may have exercised them mainly in the trial of murder cases and of charges brought by εἰσαγγελία. In addition it is highly probable⁴⁵ that the Areopagus, or perhaps committees of Areopagites, conducted the examinations (εὔθυναι) of the official conduct of magistrates which were held at the end of their terms of office. Armed with these powers, the Areopagus could be a potent weapon in political conflicts, and Cimon, who dominated Athenian politics for most of this decade, may have used this weapon to drive dangerous opponents out of public life, as Themistocles had once used ostracism and as Cleon was later to use the popular courts.

The decisive attack on the Areopagus council was launched in 462/1 by Ephialtes, who carried a decree in the assembly removing from the Areopagus what were described, then or later, as the 'added powers' (ἐπιθέτα),⁴⁶ specifically no doubt its control over εὔθυναι and probably also its jurisdiction over εἰσαγγελία,⁴⁷ and leaving it with only one function of any real significance – its jurisdiction over murder, wounding and poisoning.

Although, as we have seen (above, pp. 4–5), there were probably by this time well-established accounts of homicide trials held on the Areopagus far back in the heroic age, this function of the council may well in fact have been of comparatively recent origin. Already in antiquity it was observed (Plu. *Sol.* 19.3) that the text of the homicide laws of Dracon (621/0 B.C.) made no mention of the Areopagus but spoke only of the ἐφέται; the surviving partial text of Dracon's laws as reinscribed in 409/8 (*IG* 1³ 104.11ff.) contains nothing to refute this ancient assertion. In the fifth and fourth centuries, homicide jurisdic-

⁴⁵ No source explicitly states that the Areopagus was ever responsible for εὔθυναι, but as 'guardian of the laws', with unlimited punitive powers, it was the natural body to perform this function, and most recent scholars are agreed that it must have done so: see R. Sealey, *C.Ph.* 59 (1964) 18–20; Rhodes 316–18; L. A. Jones, *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987) 59; E. M. Carawan, *G.R.B.S.* 28 (1987) 167–208.

⁴⁶ Arist. *Ath.* 25.2; cf. Lys. ap. Harp. s.v. ἐπιθέτους ἑορτάς = fr. 178 Sauppe.

⁴⁷ Pace Jones (n. 2) 76, Ephialtes is not likely to have left the Areopagus with this wide-ranging judicial power, which could very easily have been employed against him personally.

tion was divided between the Areopagus and the ἐφέται:⁴⁸ the Areopagus tried those accused of having wilfully and with their own hands murdered an Athenian citizen,⁴⁹ the ἐφέται tried almost all other homicide cases. It has been persuasively argued⁵⁰ that this pattern, combined with the apparent absence of the Areopagus from Dracon's code, indicates that when homicide first became justiciable at Athens⁵¹ all trials for it were held before the ἐφέται, and that it was only at a later date that the Areopagus acquired jurisdiction over one class of killing. We cannot tell for certain when this transfer was made, though Gagarin (n.48) 137 has plausibly argued that it was made by Solon.

Whether held on the Areopagus or before the ἐφέται, trials for homicide were conducted on notably different lines from cases in the ordinary jury-courts (δικαστήρια). Homicide cases still continued to be treated as private lawsuits: by the fifth century, prosecutions for most serious offences could be brought not merely by the injured person but by any citizen who wished (ὁ βουλόμενος), but a prosecution for homicide was still invariably brought by the kinsmen of the victim.⁵² The trial was preceded by elaborate preliminaries both ritual and legal, extending over a period of several months.⁵³ The procedure at the trial itself was much stricter and more solemn than in the ordinary courts; its most notable feature was the series of awe-inspiring oaths taken by prosecutor and defendant 'standing on the severed parts of a boar and a ram and a bull' and also by all their witnesses, invoking utter

⁴⁸ On the ἐφέται (literally 'referees') see MacDowell 48-57; Rhodes 646-8; M. Gagarin, *Dracon and early Athenian homicide law* (1981) 132-6; R. Sealey, *C.Ph.* 78 (1983) 294-6. They numbered fifty-one, and had to be at least fifty years old; it is not clear whether they were chosen from among the Areopagites or whether others were eligible too.

⁴⁹ Even within this class of cases some were tried by the ἐφέται, viz. (i) those in which the defendant pleaded a lawful excuse for the killing (Arist. *Ath.* 57.3; cf. Dem. 23.51-60, 74), (ii) those in which the defendant was a man already in exile for another homicide (Arist. *ibid.*; Dem. 23.77-9), and (iii) those in which the victim was himself an exiled manslayer (Dem. 23.37 = *IG* 1³ 104.26-9).

⁵⁰ Sealey (n.48) 285-7; cf. Gagarin (n.48) 125-32 who reaches the same conclusion by a different route.

⁵¹ Primitively, as in Homer, homicide was a purely private matter between the killer and the victim's relatives, normally resolved either by the relatives accepting material compensation or by the killer going into exile; see Gagarin (n.48) 5-21.

⁵² See M. Gagarin, *G.R.B.S.* 20 (1979) 301-23.

⁵³ See MacDowell 12-27, 34-7.

destruction on the swearer 'and his kin and his house' if he should perjure himself.⁵⁴ Moreover, the witnesses apparently had to swear, not merely that their evidence was true, but also that the defendant was guilty or innocent (as the case might be)⁵⁵ – a requirement that must have debarred many perfectly honest witnesses from testifying at all, and which presumably comes down from a time when judges decided a man's fate more on the number and standing of those who were ready to swear in his favour or against him than on the probative value of their evidence.

As in all Athenian trials, the verdict was decided by the judges voting by ballot without discussion, and a simple majority sufficed to convict; an equality of votes counted as an acquittal. The penalty was death for the wilful murder of an Athenian citizen;⁵⁶ for 'unintentional' homicide it was exile, until such time as the dead person's relatives were unanimously willing to pardon the killer (*IG* 1³ 104.11ff.).

The trial of Orestes in *Eu.* is conducted much less formally than a real trial before the Areopagus council would be; in some respects, indeed, it is less formal even than ordinary trials before popular juries (as in the latitude allowed to the Erinyes in interrupting Apollo's defence speech). There is mention of an oath taken by the judges (483, 680, 710), but judicial oaths were not peculiar to the Areopagus or to homicide trials, and there is no indication that the parties or witnesses in Orestes' trial are required to take any oath – indeed we hear specifically (429) that Orestes will *not* be swearing to his innocence. Nor is the case decided strictly according to Athenian law, which would not have accepted a plea by a self-confessed killer that he had killed 'with justice'⁵⁷ or that his victim was herself guilty of murder: rather it is

⁵⁴ Cf. Dem. 23.67–9; Antiphon 1.8, 1.28, 5.12, 6.16; Lys. 10.11; Isoc. 18.56; Aeschines 2.87; [Dem.] 59.10. See MacDowell 80–90.

⁵⁵ Cf. Lys. 4.4, where a defendant, accused before the Areopagus of wounding with intent to murder, claims that he and the prosecutor were on friendly terms at the time of the alleged assault, but explains that he cannot bring witnesses to prove this 'because they have not taken oath concerning the charge which I am contesting'.

⁵⁶ Dem. 21.43; cf. Antiphon 2b.9, Lys. 1.50, Dem. 23.69.

⁵⁷ Cf. 468, 609–15. The law was μήτε δικαίως μήτε ἀδικίως ἀποκτείνειν (Antiphon 3b.9, 3c.7, 4b.3, 4d.8). The killing of Clytaemestra did not fall into any of the specific categories of homicide recognized by Athenian law as non-punishable (see n. 49(i) above).

treated as a matter 'concerning which there are no laws', to be judged (in the words of the Athenian juror's oath) γνώμηι τῇι δίκαιοιτάτηι (see 483, 674–5nn.). All in all, the proceedings at Orestes' trial are not presented as differing in essentials from what might happen in an ordinary court trying an ordinary charge; and while the council is called a βουλευτήριον (570, 684, 704), its members are called δικάσται (483, 684, 743) – the standard appellation for jurors in ordinary courts, but not one normally used in addressing the Areopagus.⁵⁸ The behaviour of Athena and the jurors at Orestes' trial provides a model, not only for the few hundred Athenians who were or might become Areopagites, but for all who would ever sit on juries – which meant virtually every citizen man and boy in Aeschylus' audience.

4. THE LIFE AND WORK OF AESCHYLUS⁵⁹

The following events in Aeschylus' life are datable with fair assurance:

- ?525/4⁶⁰ Born, probably at Eleusis (in which deme his family was registered in 508/7 (T 1.1; 8; 98.3; cf. *Ar. Ra.* 886–7)); son of Euphion (T 1.1–2; 2.1; 162.1).
- ?499 First dramatic production, at age of 25 (T 2.4), in the 70th Olympiad (T 52).
- 490 Fought at Marathon (T 1.10; 11–13; 54; 162.3–4), where his brother Cynegeirus was killed (T 16 = Hdt. 6.114 and many later sources).
- 484 First victory in the tragic competition (T 54a).
- 480 Took part in battle of Salamis (T 14 = Ion of Chios, *FGrH* 392 F 7).
- ?476/5 Visited Sicily at invitation of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and produced *Aetnaeae* in honour of the new city of Aetna which Hieron was then founding (T 1.33–4).⁶¹

⁵⁸ In surviving speeches composed for delivery before the Areopagus council (Lys. 3, 4, 7) the form of address used is always ὦ βουλή.

⁵⁹ In this section the initial T refers to the *Testimonia vitae atque artis* in *TrGF* III (1985) 31–108.

⁶⁰ The date depends on Aeschylus' age at death, which is variously given as 58 (T 2.9), 63 or 65 (T 1.50), and 69 (T 3, cf. T 11). Only the last figure, however, is consistent with the evidence about Aeschylus' first production.

⁶¹ It is possible, however, that *Aetnaeae* was produced on Aeschylus' visit of c. 470, and that there was no earlier visit to Sicily.

- 472 Won first prize with *Phineus*, *Persae*, *Glaucus Potnieus* and *Prometheus* (*Pyrkaeus*); the production was financed by Pericles, then aged about twenty-three (T 55).
- c. 470 Visited Sicily and produced *Persae* at Syracuse (T 1.68–9; 56).
- 468 Defeated by Sophocles (T 57).
- 467 Won first prize with *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes* and *Sphinx* (T 58).
- ?463⁶² Won first prize with *Suppliants*, *Egyptians*, *Danaids* and *Amy-mone*; Sophocles was placed second (T 70).
- 458 Won first prize for the thirteenth and last time (T 1.51)⁶³ with *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, *Eumenides* and *Proteus* (T 65).
- 458/7 Left Athens for Sicily (cf. T 1.35–6).
- 456/5 Died at Gela (T 3; 4; 162).

The number of plays ascribed to Aeschylus in antiquity cannot be precisely determined but was probably between seventy and ninety (cf. T 1.50; 2.6–7; 78). Today seven of these survive complete or nearly so – the first three plays of the production of 458 (constituting the *Oresteia*), three single plays from earlier productions (*Persae*, *Seven against Thebes*, *Suppliants*), and *Prometheus Bound* which is of doubtful authenticity,⁶⁴ though many of its ideas, if not its craftsmanship, are strongly reminiscent of Aeschylus' late works.⁶⁵

Two sons of Aeschylus, Euphorion and Euæon, became tragic dramatists in their own right; while Philocles, the son of Aeschylus' sister, was later to win first prize against Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and to be the founder of a theatrical dynasty that lasted for a century.⁶⁶

⁶² A date in the period 466–459 is virtually certain, and 463 the most probable: see A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplikes: play and trilogy* (1969) 1–28; FJW 1 21–5.

⁶³ T 2.7 gives the number of victories as twenty-eight; this presumably includes victories gained when Aeschylus' plays were restaged after his death (cf. T 1.51–2; 71–7).

⁶⁴ See M. Griffith, *The authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (1977); also Griffith, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 282–91.

⁶⁵ See C. J. Herington, *The author of the Prometheus Bound* (1970).

⁶⁶ For stemma see *TrGF* 1 (1971) no. 12 (Euphorion). The last datable production by a member of the family is a victory by Astydamas II in 340 (*IG* II² 2318.314; 2320.20–2).

5. JUSTICE AND THE GODS

Perhaps the most ubiquitous thematic idea in the *Oresteia* is that of justice (δίκη) – justice as righteousness and justice as punishment; and in questions of justice, the poet at every stage involves the gods. The theme is introduced early in *Ag.* (40–71), where we hear of two acts of justice/punishment, one serving to illustrate the other: the punishment of the Trojans for the crime of Paris, and the punishment of those who robbed the eagles⁶⁷ of their nestlings. In what is said about these, principles are laid down which also govern all the other acts of justice/punishment of which we hear in *Agamemnon*.

Firstly, although ‘the issue between the Atreidae and the house of Priam is repeatedly described in legal language’,⁶⁸ this language is all metaphorical: in reality justice/punishment in *Ag.* invariably consists in the taking of violent revenge by the injured party or his/her representative. Secondly, these violent acts of justice are accomplished under the auspices of Zeus (*Ag.* 56–67, 355–69, 525–6, 581–2, 748, 973–4, 1485–8) and through the medium of the Erinyes (*Ag.* 59, 462–8, 749, 992, 1119, 1186–93, 1433, 1580–1). Thirdly, this justice is inexorable: no prayer, no sacrifice, no repentance can avert it (*Ag.* 69–71, 396, 1168–71, 1246–50). Fourthly, it strikes at the innocent almost as much as at the guilty: Greeks as well as Trojans die in the war to punish Paris (*Ag.* 63–7, cf. 432–55, 517, 568–71), and Iphigenia had to die before it could begin, while later we hear of the appalling butchery of the children of Thyestes which was Atreus’ revenge upon their father. And partly because of this, every act of justice/punishment is also in itself a crime requiring to be punished in its turn: in such a world there can be no security for any human being.⁶⁹ And Zeus is the cause of all this (*Ag.* 1485–8, cf. 1563–4).

The only hope of better things comes from some words in the so-called ‘hymn to Zeus’ (*Ag.* 173–8): Ζῆνα ... τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὀδώσαντα, τὸν ‘πάθει μάθος’ | θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν. The phrase πάθει μάθος might in principle refer either to one who learns, too late, from his own suffering or to one who takes warning by the suffering of others. Only

⁶⁷ Cf. P. E. Easterling, *Papers given at a colloquium ... in honour of R. P. Winnington-Ingram* (1987) 56.

⁶⁸ Lloyd-Jones on *Ag.* 40; cf. *Ag.* 534–7, 812–17.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Ag.* 1327–30, 1338–42.

in the latter sense can such 'learning' truly be said to 'put men on the road to wisdom' (φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὀδῶσαι). But no important character who appears, or whose story is recalled, in *Agamemnon* does take warning by the sufferings of others: all follow in their predecessors' footsteps, and inevitably meet the same fate. None has the least doubt that when one is wronged, one should take wrathful and violent revenge – and, having done that, hope for the best,⁷⁰ a hope bound to be vain. Two separate chains of vindictive justice, originating respectively from the abduction of Helen and the seduction of Atreus' wife by Thyestes, lead to the murder of Agamemnon, and a further act of vengeance for that murder is already foreseen (*Ag.* 1279–85, 1318–19, 1535–6, 1646–8, 1667–9).

It is Electra who gives the first indications of a new approach. In her prayer at Agamemnon's tomb, she petitions separately for the return of Orestes and for the coming of an avenger,⁷¹ as if she thought it would be best for Agamemnon's murder to be punished by an independent third party; and she hesitates (*Ch.* 120) as to whether the avenger should be δικηφόρος or δικάστης, *vindex* or *iudex*. As the world stands, the prayer is vain, the hesitation fruitless: the avenger can only come from within the family and can only act by deception and violence. His position is made even more tragic because, unlike all his predecessors, he has no guilty motives, and above all because he must kill his mother, an act which he himself terms τὸ μὴ χρεῶν (*Ch.* 930) even as he performs it.

Orestes has acted; and in accordance with the law δρᾶσαντα παθεῖν, the law of Zeus and Dike,⁷² he must now suffer at the hands of his mother's Erinyes – though had he *not* acted, he would just as surely have suffered at the hands of his *father's* Erinyes. At one moment, indeed, he envisages a judicial trial, as his sister tentatively did before him; but for him, as for her, that option is not open – or so everything in the trilogy so far has led us to suppose.

Then we suddenly learn something that changes the situation fundamentally:⁷³ Apollo has promised Orestes πράξαντα μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκτός

⁷⁰ Cf. *Ag.* 217 εὖ γὰρ εἶη, 854 (Agamemnon), 1568–76 (Clytaemestra), 1638–42 (Aegisthus).

⁷¹ Cf. *B.I.C.S.* 27 (1980) 65–6.

⁷² *Ag.* 1563–4 (Zeus), *Ch.* 309–14 (Dike); cf. *Ag.* 532–3, 1527–9, *Ch.* 930. In *Eu.* the principle is applied to reciprocity in *good* treatment (cf. 413, 435, 725–6, 868, 984–6, 992nn.).

⁷³ Cf. *B.I.C.S.* 27 (1980) 65–6.

αἰτίας κακῆς εἶναι (*Ch.* 1030–2), or, otherwise put, δράσαντα μὴ παθεῖν. And presently we are told that the words of Apollo are in effect the words of Zeus (*Eu.* 19). Yet the Erinyes still pursue Orestes relentlessly, and Apollo, while he can hamper them in their pursuit, apparently cannot himself give Orestes total and final deliverance. It would seem that the law which was going to abide ‘while Zeus abode on his throne’ (*Ag.* 1563) has been set aside by Zeus himself; and that the Erinyes are in effect defying, for the moment successfully, the will of the supreme god.

Thus in *Eumenides* older and younger gods, old and new laws, come into conflict. The older gods are represented in the play by the Erinyes, behind whom loom their sisters the Moirai (173, 334–5, 392, 723–8, 1046); the younger gods are represented by Apollo, who claims to be the spokesman of Zeus. The old law is that formerly championed by Zeus: he who has acted (in this case, Orestes) must suffer – and at the hands of the Erinyes. It is at first less clear what the new law is. At some moments (e.g. 619–21) Apollo seems to be saying: he who has acted must suffer – unless Zeus orders otherwise. These two positions cannot be rationally reconciled; but a solution becomes possible when first Apollo (81–3, 224) and then the Erinyes too (433–5) agree to submit the dispute to be determined judicially, both of them, and also Orestes (468–9), accepting Athena as judge.

Athena, however, refuses to judge the case herself because mortals will be gravely affected by the decision and must therefore share in making it. And so she introduces a new kind of δίκη, a prototype and model for the future: δίκη meaning trial by the judgement of one’s peers. For Athena, then, the new law of δίκη reads: he who has acted must suffer – provided that a court of upright judges is convinced that he justly deserves to suffer.

This new δίκη contrasts in many ways with δίκη as it operated in *Agamemnon*. First and foremost, it satisfies the two aspirations expressed by Electra early in *Choephori*: punishment for wrongs done is to be inflicted, not by the person wronged or his/her representative, but by an independent authority; and this authority is to act not as δικηφόρος but as δικαστής, not taking vengeance in a spirit of wrathful fury but hearing the arguments on both sides and then coming to a rational decision. Punishment, moreover, will no longer envelop the innocent along with the guilty; and the agent of punishment, acting now not

from guilty motives (like Clytaemestra or Aegisthus) or even for personal though honest reasons (like Orestes) but purely as an impartial minister of Justice, will no longer himself be a criminal to be punished, so that δίκη will not take the form of an unending cycle of vengeance but will be final and permanent (τέλειος),⁷⁴ confirming instead of undermining the stability of society.

Two things will remain unchanged. The new administrators of δίκη, like the old, must be immune to bribery;⁷⁵ and the new system, like the old, will operate under the ultimate control of Zeus, acting now, however, not through the Erinyes but through human judges, who are held firmly to the path of justice by means of the judicial oath (cf. 483, 674–5nn.), and whose intelligence will see through the clevernesses, obfuscations and irrelevancies of the contending parties to the fundamental truth of the matter at issue (cf. 566–777n.). Such a system can offer justice as nearly perfect as human beings can provide.

But being human, it can never be *wholly* perfect. The old δίκη may have been indiscriminate and have lacked finality, but it was at any rate sure: sooner or later, every wrongdoer got retribution upon his head, unless (as perhaps in the case of Atreus) it was reserved for his descendants. That no human lawcourt can achieve. The Erinyes had claimed (316–20) that they avenged those crimes whose perpetrators might otherwise have succeeded in ‘concealing their bloody hands’; the fear they inspire is essential to an ordered society (490–529). Athena agrees that τὸ δαιμόν must not be wholly banished from the πόλις (697–700); in its immediate context this refers to the awe-inspiring institution of the Areopagus, but Athena may well also already be envisaging the incorporation in the body politic of those even more effective inspirers of terror, the Erinyes themselves.

This, at any rate, she succeeds in achieving – and thus those deities who most vehemently protested against the new form of δίκη become themselves its ultimate guardians, now with the power and the will to bless the righteous as well as to curse the wicked, in their new identity as Semnai Theai.

But it is not only the Erinyes who are transformed within the trilogy; there is also a transformation in Zeus.⁷⁶ It is Zeus, we are told, who presides over the catastrophes of the first play (above, p. 19); it is Zeus,

⁷⁴ Cf. 28, 214, 243, 320nn.; also 83n. on the phrase ἐς τὸ πᾶν.

⁷⁵ Cf. 704 κερδῶν ἄθικτον, and see p. 19 above.

⁷⁶ Cf. Kitto 68–86.

we are told, who authorizes Apollo's intervention to protect Orestes from the Erinyes (above, p. 21); it is Zeus, we are told, in whose name and with whose aid Athena achieves the final reconciliation (cf. 850, 973). Zeus is presented first, with great emphasis, as the guarantor of the law δράσαντα παθεῖν, and then as sanctioning, at the risk of civil war among the gods, a violation of that law. In the first play the Erinyes are agents and emissaries of Zeus and the Olympians,⁷⁷ and there is no trace of any difference of opinion between them; in the third play the Erinyes and the 'younger gods' are at daggers drawn – and it is certainly not the Erinyes who have changed. Is there any alternative to supposing that there has been a change in Zeus?⁷⁸

Zeus, it will be recalled, 'put mortals on the road to wisdom, and laid down the law πάθει μάθος' (*Ag.* 176–8). It is not stated that the law πάθει μάθος applied only to mortals; and there is no reason why it should be so restricted, once we rid ourselves of the anachronistic conviction that gods are of necessity eternal and immutable. The gods of traditional Greek belief were neither: they were conceived and born, passed through infancy and childhood, came to maturity and (in most cases) produced children. And they developed mentally as well as physically: repeatedly in *Prometheus Bound*⁷⁹ the tyrannical behaviour of Zeus is explained, and sometimes excused, by the fact that he is *young* and new to power. He is young in *Agamemnon* too – a vigorous and victorious wrestler (*Ag.* 168–75); Apollo is a wrestler also (*Ag.* 1206), a young lover whose anger flames as hot as his passion. Both may have much to learn; and by Zeus's own law, they must learn it by hard experience. Zeus will find that the inexorable working of his other law, δράσαντα παθεῖν, threatens to lead, through the matricide of Orestes, not only to the destruction of a morally innocent person (that would be

⁷⁷ Cf. *Ag.* 55–9 Ἀπόλλων ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς ... πέμπει ... Ἑρινύν, 747–9 συμένα ... πομπῇ Διὸς ξενίου νυμφόκλαυτος Ἑρινύς.

⁷⁸ The once-popular interpretation of *Ag.* 176–8, according to which Zeus intends all along to introduce a higher conception of justice once man, schooled by experience, is ready to accept it, cannot be maintained: if Zeus was from the first so benevolent and so wise, why did he, through Apollo, compel the morally innocent Orestes to kill his mother, rather than fulfilling the virtuous prayers of Electra?

⁷⁹ *Pr.* 35, 96, 148–51, 228–9 ('as soon as he sat on his father's throne ...'), 310, 389, 439, 942, 955, 960. At the beginning of the sequel, *Prometheus Unbound*, a change in Zeus is already apparent: the Titans imprisoned in Tartarus (cf. *Pr.* 219–21, also 152) have now been released.

nothing new), but also to the destruction of a royal house under Zeus's own patronage,⁸⁰ and to the ruin⁸¹ of a πόλις (Argos) which, unlike Troy before it, has not as a community done anything wrong. Zeus will not allow this to happen. This δράσας shall not suffer, no matter how much the Erinyes insist that he shall. Orestes is saved; but in the process another innocent πόλις, Athens, comes to be threatened with ruin – and Zeus 'learns' some more. Apollo, that vehement hater of the Erinyes and all they stand for, fades out; Athena, the conciliator, takes his place as the representative of Zeus; and a mature humanity (cf. 1000 σωφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ) joins the matured gods in operating a system of justice that satisfies the legitimate aspirations of all.

This depiction of an evolving divinity and an evolving divine justice is itself almost unique in serious Greek literature, the Prometheus plays offering the only real parallel.⁸² But a series of passages spread out through *Eumenides* imply an idea more startling still: that the gods are in some measure *responsible* to mortals and have obligations towards them, and that they stand to suffer if they break these obligations. Apollo says he will protect Orestes because the wrath of a betrayed suppliant 'is to be feared by mortals *and by gods*' (233–4). Athena is reluctant either to condemn or to acquit Orestes on her own responsibility, because in either case *she will incur wrath* (see 480–1n.) – the wrath of Orestes if she spurns him, or the wrath of the Athenian people whom the Erinyes will harm (cf. 476–9) if she spurns *them*. Orestes describes Zeus as 'having *felt shame*' (αἰδέσθεις 760) over Agamemnon's death, as if Zeus by allowing Agamemnon to be killed had failed in an obligation of honour towards him. Athena urges the Erinyes, 'being *goddesses*, not to put a blight upon *mortals*' land' (824–5), implying that it is improper for divinities to injure mortals unjustly. Later she tells her people that the Erinyes have great power 'among *the immortals*,

⁸⁰ Cf. *Ag.* 43–4, 677–8, *Ch.* 246–63.

⁸¹ Having already experienced the τυραννίς of Aegisthus and Clytaemestra (cf. *Ag.* 1355, 1365, 1633, *Ch.* 302–4, 973) and been 'liberated' from it by Orestes (cf. *Ch.* 1046), Argos sees him at once depart again into exile and is left without a ruler in a state of ἀναρχία (cf. *Eu.* 526–8, 696–7).

⁸² Though the germ of the idea no doubt derives from the myths which recounted a succession of conflicts among the gods leading ultimately to a stable universe ruled by Zeus (as in Hesiod's *Theogony*). Neither Hesiod nor anyone else, however, imagines the gods as developing over time a greater concern for the welfare of mortals.

among those under the earth, and among men' (950-3) – implying that they punish gods as readily as mortals. And lastly, and most astonishingly of all, the Erinyes tell the Athenians (1002) that 'the Father *reveres* (ἄζειται) you', using a verb whose proper application is to the reverence of mortals for gods or for the sacred.⁸³

Ideas of this kind can be paralleled only in Old Comedy, where in Aristophanes' *Peace* and *Plutus* we find men attempting, with success, to call the gods to account for their misgovernment of the universe.⁸⁴ In *Eumenides* the gods are never *actually* called to account; but they are conscious that they *might* be if they act unjustly towards mortals – and therefore they do not so act. The power of fear (above, p. 22) is as effective in holding gods to their duty as in holding mortals to theirs. The Erinyes, once the agents of the gods for causing indiscriminate havoc among mortals, become (among other things) the guarantee that the gods themselves will 'pay due reverence' to the rights and dignity of mortal humanity.

6. A PLAY FOR ITS DAY

Fifth-century Athenian tragedy was always capable of alluding to, and commenting upon, specific events that had happened, or were happening, or were expected to happen, in the 'real' world outside the theatre. To be sure, Phrynichus' *Capture of Miletus* in 493 is the only complete play known to have been written around an event of immediate topicality, but in the 470s both Phrynichus and Aeschylus successfully dramatized the then recent conflict between Greeks and Persians; and although after that time tragedy for many years invariably drew its plots from the sagas of the heroic age, there remained the possibility of indirect comment on contemporary events. Euripides in 415 makes the Trojan women descant at considerable length (*Tr.* 220-9) on the possibility that they might find themselves transported as slaves to the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy (none of which was

⁸³ Cf. 389, *Supp.* 652-3, *Il.* 1.211, Jebb on Soph. *OT* 155, and see Goldhill 278.

⁸⁴ Normally in tragedy any such attempt amounts to ὕβρις and results in disaster, as when Neoptolemus goes to Delphi to seek satisfaction from Apollo for Achilles' death (*Eur. Andr.* 52-3) and later, despite repenting of his folly and attempting to propitiate the god, is murdered at the sanctuary by Orestes and the Delphians aided at the decisive moment by Apollo (*Andr.* 1147-9).

founded till centuries after the traditional date of the fall of Troy), with no discernible purpose except to remind his audience of the manly prowess of the inhabitants of those regions⁸⁵ – to which the Athenians were contemplating the despatch of a great expedition of conquest, being assured by such men as Alcibiades (cf. Thuc. 6.17.2–6) that the Sicilian states were incapable of putting up a fight. And in Sophocles' last play, *Oedipus at Colonus*, the hero is made to utter a prophecy of Athenian victory over Thebes which – had the play been produced, as was presumably intended, in 405 – would have been interpreted by every spectator as referring to the desperate struggle in which a beleaguered Athens was then engaged, in which Thebes was among her bitterest enemies.⁸⁶ But of all surviving tragedies it is *Eumenides* that has the closest connections with the internal and external affairs of the Athenian people at the time when the play was being written and produced.⁸⁷

Their situation was full of hopes and dangers, both at home and abroad, all of which had stemmed ultimately from the political and diplomatic revolution which had taken place in 462/1. For nearly a decade before then Athenian politics had been dominated by Cimon, whose foreign policy had been firmly based on friendship with Sparta. This policy broke down when an Athenian force under Cimon's command, sent at the Spartans' request to help suppress a revolt in Messenia, was dismissed from the campaign and told to go home, ostensibly because their special skills were no longer needed, but really (or so the Athenians thought) because they were suspected of sympathizing more with the rebels than with the Spartans.⁸⁸ Considering this treatment an indignity, the Athenian assembly promptly withdrew from their twenty-year-old alliance with Sparta, and made new alliances with Sparta's traditional enemy, Argos, and also with Thessaly (Thuc. 1.102.4). At the first opportunity, too, Cimon himself was

⁸⁵ Cf. *Tr.* 223 στεφάνοις ἀρετᾶς, 229 εὐανδρον ... γᾶν. There is no such praise of the men of Thessaly (214–17) or even of Athens (208–9, 218–19).

⁸⁶ The prophecy is that Theban blood will flow in a battle fought at the burial-place of Oedipus (*OC* 409–11, 616–23). Neither in myth nor in history had a Theban army ever penetrated so near to Athens as Colonus; but in the circumstances of 406/5 this was by no means inconceivable.

⁸⁷ On all the matters discussed below, see Dover 232–7, Podlecki 74–100, and for a more sceptical view Macleod 124–31.

⁸⁸ Thuc. 1.102.1–3; cf. Plu. *Cim.* 16.7–10, 17.3, Ar. *Lys.* 1137–44.

banished for ten years by ostracism, and at about the same time Ephialtes proposed and carried a measure drastically reducing the powers of the council of the Areopagus which Cimon may have used to underpin his ascendancy (above, p. 14). Henceforth Athens was a democracy in the most absolute sense, unlimited legislative power being vested in the assembly of all citizen men, unappealable judicial power in the popular courts (δικαστήρια) whose jurors were chosen by lot from among all citizen men over thirty who wished to serve.

Shortly after this, Ephialtes died one night, suddenly and unexpectedly, in circumstances which convinced most people that he had been murdered.⁸⁹ According to the *Athenaion Politeia* the murderer was a foreigner, Aristodicus of Tanagra; he may indeed have been convicted of the crime, but many seem to have thought that he was really acting on behalf of others, for Antiphon, who was alive at the time, says that the *murderers* of Ephialtes were never discovered. Popular suspicion will certainly have fallen on the opponents of the new régime. It matters little whether or not this suspicion was justified; what is important is that virtually all democrats in 458 must have believed implicitly that their leader had been murdered by diehard enemies of his and their cause – and that these men were still walking free in the city.

But they made no attempt to take the law into their own hands. Instead, under the leadership now of Pericles, they continued the process of democratizing the political institutions of Athens from top to bottom. The sovereign control of the people in assembly over policy *decisions* was already established; it remained, however, to secure, so far as possible, popular control over the preliminary *formulation* of policy, for which the Council of Five Hundred⁹⁰ was largely responsible, and also over its subsequent *execution* by the Council and the various boards of magistrates. The method adopted was to institute the payment of salaries out of public funds to councillors and magistrates, and of a daily fee to the jurors of the δικαστήρια (cf. Arist. *Ath.* 24.3, 27.3): by the former, poorer men would to some extent be encouraged to seek appointment (by lot) to the Council and the magistracies; by the latter, it could be ensured that magistrates accused of corruption or

⁸⁹ Antiphon 5.68; Arist. *Ath.* 25.4; Diod. 11.77.6; Plu. *Per.* 10.8.

⁹⁰ Consisting of annually chosen representatives of the 139 districts (demes) of Attica, all male citizens over thirty being eligible; not to be confused with the council of the Areopagus.

maladministration would be tried by a tribunal in which supporters of the new order predominated. Even the Areopagus council was in some measure democratized: the property qualification for the nine archons, who would join the Areopagus council at the end of their year of office, was substantially lowered in or about 457 (Arist. *Ath.* 26.2) and eventually came to be disregarded altogether.

During the same few years Athens began to pursue a foreign policy of remarkable audacity. Having already, by her alliance with Argos, ranged herself among the opponents of Sparta, she proceeded to make a further alliance with Megara, which had just seceded from the Peloponnesian League and was actually at war with Corinth, its second most powerful member (Thuc. 1.103.4); about the same time⁹¹ she gave offence both to Sparta and to Corinth by capturing Naupactus at the neck of the Corinthian Gulf and settling there the survivors of the Messenian rebels (Thuc. 1.103.1-3).

By 459⁹² Athens was thus committed to a war with Corinth which was almost bound to become – if indeed it had not become already⁹³ – a war against the entire Peloponnesian League under Spartan leadership; and in this war it was Athens that first took the offensive both by land and by sea (Thuc. 1.105.1). At the same time she was also fighting Aegina, and at one moment, when her main army was engaged in the siege of Aegina town, she had to send a scratch force of under- and over-age soldiers to defend Megara against a Corinthian invasion – which they successfully did (Thuc. 1.105.2-106). And even that was not enough for the Athenians. They were still, as they had been since 480, at war with Persia, and in this same year an expedition of two hundred Athenian and allied ships was sent to Cyprus; but on an appeal for aid coming from Egypt, much of which had revolted against

⁹¹ Reading in Thuc. 1.103.1 ἔκτωι ἔτει for the manuscripts' δεκάτῳ ἔτει, which would put the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus several years later in 456/5; Thucydides' remark that the Athenians acted κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων (1.103.3) would be pointless if the action occurred at a time when Athens and Sparta were already at war.

⁹² All the campaigns mentioned in this paragraph were fought in the same year (cf. *IG* 1² 929), which began either in spring 460 (so *ATL* III (1950) 174) or in spring 459 (so D. M. Lewis in *Classical contributions: studies in honour of Malcolm Francis McGregor* (1981) 71-8 at p. 77).

⁹³ See G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The origins of the Peloponnesian War* (1972) 187-8 (holding that Sparta was involved from the start); contra, A. J. Holladay, *J.H.S.* 97 (1977) 54-63, and Lewis (n. 92).

Persian rule, the expedition was diverted to that country, and soon Athenian troops were laying siege to the 'White Castle' in the ancient city of Memphis (Thuc. 1.104).

Such was the first year of what is now usually called the First Peloponnesian War. Its completion will have been marked, perhaps only a few weeks before the *Oresteia* was performed,⁹⁴ by a state funeral in the Cerameicus for those who had fallen in the various campaigns. A surviving inscription (IG 1² 929) lists 177 members of the tribe Erechtheis 'who died in the war, in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, at Halieis, at Aegina, at Megara, in the same year'; this will represent one-tenth of the year's total citizen death-roll.

But if there were perils abroad, there were also perils at home. Whether or not it was true that Ephialtes had been murdered by irreconcilable opponents of the new political order, events were soon to prove that such a group existed and were prepared to go to any lengths to re-establish their ascendancy. Either in 458 or in 457 these Athenian oligarchs were encouraging the Peloponnesian army, at that time in Boeotia, to invade Attica in the hope that the democracy might be overthrown before the Long Walls, then under construction, could be completed.⁹⁵ The plan miscarried, because the democrats got wind of it and marched out to confront the Peloponnesians at Tanagra; the Spartans and their allies, though victorious in the ensuing battle, suffered heavy casualties and afterwards merely went home, leaving the Athenian democrats free to make themselves masters of most of central Greece (Thuc. 1.107.5-108.3). But no one could say that the Athenian 'Right' had not done their best to bring about the defeat and humiliation of their own city. On the 'Left', too, there will surely have been those who talked of taking violent and indiscriminate revenge on the murderers of Ephialtes. Never between 508/7 and 411 was Athens in more danger of plunging into a bloody civil conflict (στάσις). In the spring of 458 she was at a crossroads of her history, from which she might go on to greatness or to ruin.

⁹⁴ It seems likely that the state funeral of war-dead was held in the winter or early spring: see Thuc. 2.34.1; 2.47.1; D. W. Bradeen, *C.Q.* 19 (1969) 154-6; G. Bartolini, *Iperide* (1977) 89; N. Loraux, *L'invention d'Athènes* (1981) 38.

⁹⁵ Thuc. 1.107.4. The completion of the Long Walls would in effect convert Athens from an inland to a coastal city, and make her impregnable so long as she had command of the sea and was prepared to abandon rural Attica to an enemy.

Many of the anxieties of the day are reflected, in a general way, all through the *Oresteia*, notably in the presentation of the domestic and external politics of Argos in the first play.⁹⁶ In the third, however, Aeschylus goes much further, and once Athens has become the scene of action we repeatedly find clear allusions to matters of a highly topical nature, to an extent quite unparalleled in anything else we know of Greek tragedy.

(1) *The Argive alliance*. Three times in the play (289–91, 669–73, 762–74) Athena and the Athenian people are promised, by Orestes or Apollo, that in return for favourable treatment of Orestes they will gain Argos as an ally (σύμμαχος) for ever; just before his final exit, Orestes takes oath that he, in his posthumous capacity as a hero, will ensure that the Argives faithfully abide by this alliance. Thus the political and military alignment of Athens and Argos – which was hardly three years old – is presented as having been continuous since the heroic age, and the Athenians are offered the strongest of assurances that they can rely implicitly on Argive fidelity. It is taken for granted that the alliance is a great and unmixed blessing for Athens; a proposition with which not all Athenians would necessarily have agreed.

(2) *War*. Orestes (776–7) and Athena (913–15, 1009), in wishing good fortune upon Athens, both give prominence to the blessing of victory in war; and the Erinyes name Athena, Zeus and Ares as the principal divine patrons of Athens (916–19). But what is most strikingly indicative of the attitude of many Athenians – and presumably of Aeschylus – at this time is Athena's extraordinary blessing on her people in 864: 'may you have external war, and plenty of it'. The multiple conflicts in which Athens was currently engaged, far from being a grievous burden, are presented as a divine boon enabling Athenians to win glory for themselves and their city (cf. 865 εὐκλείας, 914 πρεπτῶν ἁγώνων); and special, if indirect, reference is made to the most distant and perilous of these conflicts, the campaign in Egypt (see 292–6n.).⁹⁷

(3) *Civil strife* is vehemently deprecated both by Athena (858–66) and by the Erinyes (976–87), who also both warn (526–8, 696–7)

⁹⁶ For example in the doubts of the chorus whether the Trojan War was justified or worth while (e.g. *Ag.* 799–804), in fears of popular unrest or a *coup d'état* at Argos (*Ag.* 445–60, 807–9, 844–50, 883–5, 1354–5, 1365), and in the portrayal of Aegisthus as a τύραννος with his personal bodyguard of δορυφόροι.

⁹⁷ Cf. also 399–402, 919–21nn.

against the opposite evils of anarchy and despotism to which civil strife so often leads. One passage (980-3) suggests that it is especially to be feared that στάσις may arise from political murders (such as that of Ephialtes?) leading to retaliation and counter-retaliation and ultimately to 'the city's ruin'.

(4) *The Areopagus council*. A trial before the Areopagus council is the centrepiece of the whole play; and when the trial is over the councillors remain on stage until they depart in the concluding procession. In the course of the trial (693-5) Athena gives advice 'to my citizens for the future' (707-8) which evidently has some bearing on recent or projected changes in the powers or composition of the Areopagus council, but which cannot now, and perhaps could not even in 458, be unambiguously interpreted (see 693-5n.).

Do these allusions disclose any definite political attitude on the part of the author? In this regard we must distinguish between the views actually held at the time by Aeschylus the Athenian citizen, and the directions in which Aeschylus the dramatist may have sought to influence the views of his public.

There can be no doubt that Aeschylus was personally a strong supporter of the Argive alliance and of the adventurous foreign policy pursued since 462/1: there can be no other explanation of the *three* emphatic references to the alliance⁹⁸ and of the assumption in 864 that war is a blessing. That he was in this respect a supporter of Ephialtes and Pericles rather than of Cimon does not necessarily entail that he also strongly supported radical democracy at home; but there is some evidence of 'leftward' leanings in his earlier career,⁹⁹ and an interesting ambiguity in Athena's speech at the trial (see 690-2n.) seems to convey a warning to the Areopagites not to pervert justice lest they incur the anger of the people.

As regards the ideas that Aeschylus was seeking to impress on his public, there seems to be a distinction between the external and the domestic sphere. He has no hesitation in avowing his support for the war policy and the Argive alliance: Athens is embattled on many fronts, her young men's lives (and perhaps, pending completion of the

⁹⁸ Cf. de Ste Croix (n. 93) 183-4.

⁹⁹ In *Persae* (for which Pericles was *choregos*) the one individual Greek who is mentioned (though not by name) is Themistocles (353ff.); in *Suppliants* Argos is emphatically presented as a democracy (600-24, 699).

Long Walls, her very survival) in danger, and the proponents of war feel entitled (as always in such circumstances) to the support of every loyal citizen. On the home front it is otherwise. Nowhere in *Eu.* is there an avowedly partisan utterance relating to domestic Athenian politics. Athena's advice about the Areopagus is wrapped in ambiguities. Anarchy and despotism are deprecated, but not defined; to many oligarchs democracy was tantamount to anarchy,¹⁰⁰ to many democrats any attempt to obstruct or reverse the radical programme could be labelled as τυραννίς.¹⁰¹ In the internal affairs of Athens Aeschylus in this play publicly espouses one principle only: the vital importance of avoiding anything that might lead to civil conflict. Thus, whatever the private views of the author may have been, the public message of the play, so far as it concerns the city's current affairs, was one for which he could with much show of reason ask for the endorsement of every Athenian of good will: in brief, unity and victory.

7. PRODUCTION AND STAGING

At the time when the *Oresteia* was produced, the Theatre of Dionysus appears to have had the following configuration:

(1) A dance-floor (ὀρχήστρα), on which the chorus performed. To the northward of this sat the audience; to east and west were side-passages (εἴσοδοι)¹⁰² by which both the chorus and the principals could enter and leave the acting area. There appears to have been an outcrop of rock, of considerable size, near the eastern side-passage;¹⁰³ use is made of this rock, in one way or another, in every other certainly genuine Aeschylean play that survives,¹⁰⁴ and in *Eu.* it may have facilitated the staging of the ghost-scene (cf. 94-139n.).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Ag.* 883 δημόθρους ἀναρχία, [X.] *Ath.* 1.4-9, Plato *Rep.* 557a-558c, 562b-563e.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Ar. V.* 417, 463-507, *Lys.* 616-25, Thuc. 6.60.1.

¹⁰² Cf. *Ar. Nu.* 326, *Av.* 296, fr. 403 K-A.

¹⁰³ See N. G. L. Hammond, *G.R.B.S.* 13 (1972) 406-41; S. Melchinger, *Das Theater der Tragödie* (1974) 20-5, 82-111; Taplin 448-9 (who thinks the rock had been levelled by 458); M. L. West, *J.H.S.* 99 (1979) 135.

¹⁰⁴ See Hammond (n. 103) 417-22 (*Supp.* and *Th.*), 423-5 (*Pers.*), 436-7 (*Ch.*) - though his suggestion (440-1) that the rock was used to represent the Areopagus in *Eu.* is unacceptable (the trial is held *on* the Areopagus, not adjacent to it). In *Ag.* the rock seems to represent a sanctuary of the ἀγώνιοι θεοί (*Ag.* 513-14, cf. *Supp.* 189).

(2) A background building, later called the σκίνη. There is no sign of the existence of such a building in *Pers.*,¹⁰⁵ *Th.* or *Supp.*; but as the palace of the Atreidae it plays a vital role in *Ag.* and the latter part of *Ch.* From these plays we can infer that the *skene* had at least two doors facing on to the acting area¹⁰⁶ and that its roof was accessible to the performers (*Ag.* 11ff.). In *Eu.* the *skene* represents first the temple of Apollo at Delphi, then (perhaps: see 235–98n.) the temple of Athena Polias at Athens; in the second half of the play, as in the first half of *Ch.*, the *skene* is ignored. Nothing in the *Oresteia* clearly indicates whether there was yet a raised platform in front of the *skene*.

(3) In each play of the *Oresteia* there is evidence that the device later called the ἐκκύκλημα was used to reveal a tableau: in *Ag.* Clytaemestra standing over the bodies of Agamemnon and Cassandra; in *Ch.* Orestes standing over the bodies of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus; in *Eu.* Orestes as a suppliant in the temple at Delphi, beset by the sleeping Erinyes (see 64–93n.).¹⁰⁷ The ἐκκύκλημα seems to have been simply a wheeled platform which could be rolled out of the central door of the *skene*.

(4) The flying-machine (μηχανή or κράδη), a crane on which an actor could be hoisted onstage from behind the *skene* and thus make an ‘airborne’ entry, may have been used for staging the entrance of Athena; see 404–5n.

Like *Ag.* and *Ch.*, but unlike Aeschylus’ earlier plays,¹⁰⁸ *Eu.* requires three actors. One of these must have played Orestes throughout, another Apollo; the remaining actor will have taken the parts of the Pythia, the ghost of Clytaemestra, and Athena. We cannot tell which role (or set of roles) Aeschylus considered the most important (and perhaps played himself);¹⁰⁹ but it is very tempting to see the most demanding and rewarding group of parts, taking the *Oresteia* as a

¹⁰⁵ The στέγος ἀρχαῖον of *Pers.* 141 will have been left to the imagination; see Taplin 453–4.

¹⁰⁶ See Garvie xlvii–lii, who gives references to earlier discussions.

¹⁰⁷ It may have been used again to bring on the image of Athena Polias (see 235–98n.). The ἐκκύκλημα is (hesitantly) denied to Aeschylus by Taplin 325–7, 357–8, 365–74, 443; but on *Ag.* and *Ch.* see Garvie lii–liii.

¹⁰⁸ The ending of *Th.*, which in its present form requires three actors, has been altered and expanded by later producers; see Taplin 169–91 and Hutchinson on *Th.* 861–74, 996–7, 1005–78.

¹⁰⁹ Sophocles was the first tragic dramatist who did not act in his own plays (*Vita Sophoclis* (Sophocles T 1.21–2 Radt)).

whole, as being the combination of Clytaemestra who dominates the beginning of the trilogy, Athena who dominates the end, and Electra who has a memorable emotional scene at Agamemnon's tomb in the middle play.

In addition to the main chorus of Erinyes (twelve in number)¹¹⁰ there is also a subsidiary chorus, apparently consisting of Athenian women and girls forming the staff of the temple of Athena Polias, headed by her priestess (see 1021-47n.); these enter at or about 1003, bringing with them the appurtenances of the final procession, and as it leaves the theatre they sing the concluding song (1032-47). Additional non-speaking performers take the parts of the eleven Areopagite jurors (on their number see 711-53n.), of a herald, and of a trumpeter (see 567-9n.); all these enter with or after Athena at 566 and remain onstage to the end of the play. Finally, in a manner unique in Greek tragedy, the audience – that is, the Athenian people – are made to feel a part of the drama (see 566, 997, 1039nn.), and the last voices they hear in it are their own (see 1047n.).

For the distinctive costumes of the Pythia, the chorus, the ghost of Clytaemestra and Athena, see 1-63, 52, 55, 64-93, 94-139, 397-489nn. Several other characters, speaking and non-speaking, will be immediately recognizable by their clothing or accessories – Apollo with his bow and quiver; the herald with his staff (κηρύκειον); the trumpeter; the priestess of Athena and her assistants, who may have worn vestments appropriate to the procession at the Panathenaea (cf. 1021-47, 1028, 1031nn.). Just before the procession begins the Erinyes, now to be the Semnai Theai, are draped in the purple robes worn at the Panathenaea by μέτοικοι (see 1028n.). Other stage-properties include those required for the tableau of Orestes and the Erinyes in the ἄδυστον at Delphi (as described in 39-47); the wooden image of Athena Polias (see 80, 235-98nn.); the paraphernalia of the trial-scene (see 566-84n.); and, for the final procession, torches (cf. 1005, 1022, 1029, 1041-2) and at least one sacrificial animal, probably a black cow (see 1006n.).

¹¹⁰ Not fifteen, despite Taplin 323 n. 3; see 142n.

8. THE TEXT¹¹¹

Eumenides is preserved in manuscripts of two classes. The tenth-century¹¹² Medicean manuscript (M) contains the whole of the play; a number of later MSS are direct or indirect copies of it, and sometimes one of these will hit by conjecture on a good reading (cf. 356, 696). The other class comprises four MSS (GFETr) which seem to represent successive stages in the editorial work of the fourteenth-century scholar Demetrius Triclinius, and one of which (Tr) was actually written by him: they all omit 582–644 and 778–807, and E also omits 681–718 and 983–end. The text of this family is on the whole inferior to M's; in about a dozen places (e.g. 230, 658, 939) it preserves a true reading which M has corrupted, but these errors of M's are almost all superficial, so that Triclinius' ultimate source, while certainly not M itself, must have been closely akin to M. In his usual fashion he has introduced several metrical conjectures in the lyric passages (e.g. at 526, 529, 560).

The ancient and medieval annotations (scholia) on *Eu.* are preserved mainly in M and its copies, though up to line 223 many are also found in Triclinian MSS. Though impressive neither in quantity nor in quality, they do in many places (e.g. 54, 96, 277, 598, 663, 861) preserve or imply a reading superior to that found in the poetic text of the MSS. The person who wrote the scholia in M also revised the text, probably by reference to the exemplar from which it had been copied, and several times (e.g. 211, 608) he has restored the true reading. In addition to the 'old' scholia, GFETr also contain a corpus of metrical scholia not found in M and probably composed by Triclinius.¹¹³

¹¹¹ On the textual tradition of Aeschylus see A. Turyn, *The manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Aeschylus* (1943); Fraenkel I 1–33; R. D. Dawe, *The collation and investigation of manuscripts of Aeschylus* (1964), especially ch. 9; A. Wartelle, *Histoire du texte d'Eschyle dans l'antiquité* (1971); Page v–x; Garvie liv–lx (on M and its copies). The scholia on *Eu.* are edited by O. L. Smith in *Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia: Pars I* (1976) 42–65, 90–4, 207–18; their textual tradition is discussed in his introduction (vii–xv). On the work of Triclinius see O. L. Smith, *Studies in the scholia on Aeschylus I: the recensions of Demetrius Triclinius* (1975).

¹¹² See A. Diller in *Serta Turyniana: studies ... in honor of Alexander Turyn* (1974) 514–24, esp. 522.

¹¹³ See Smith, *Scholia* (n. III) xi–xii; Smith, *Studies* (n. III) ch. 2.

Comparatively few passages of *Eu.* are cited by other ancient writers, and (with one possible exception at 727) they provide us with no good readings unknown to the medieval tradition. Thus the textual transmission of this play appears to have run for many centuries in a narrow channel; and while there is little deep corruption, there are also few passages where we have at our disposal variant readings that seem likely to descend from antiquity. In most places in *Eu.* where the text is in doubt, it is not a question of choosing among variants, but of a single transmitted reading which can only be accepted or emended.

The apparatus criticus of this edition is designed to give the necessary information about the witnesses to, and selected proposals for the improvement of, the text in those places where there is significant uncertainty about it. It thus does not include passages where a divergence in the medieval tradition is manifestly due to a simple error in one of its two branches, the other having preserved the truth; nor, except for special reasons, does it include minor details of orthography.

SIGLA

M	Laurentianus XXXII 9 saec. x
G	Venetus gr. 616 saec. xiv
F	Laurentianus XXXI 8 saec. xiv
E	Salmanticensis Bibl. Univ. 233 saec. xv
Tr	Neapolitanus II F 31 saec. xiv a Demetrio Triclinio scriptus
<i>t</i>	consensus codicum GFETr (vel GFTr ubi deest E)
<i>t'</i>	<i>t</i> excepto G ^{ac} vel F ^{ac} vel E ^{ac} separatim laudato
Guelf.	Guelferbytanus Gudianus gr. 88 saec. xv (codicis M apographum)
Ald.	editio princeps Aldina (Venetiis a. 1518)
Σ	scholium vel scholia
ⁱ Σ	lectio quam videtur ante oculos habuisse scholii auctor
*	littera erasa

Sigla superscripta:

2	manus secunda
σ	manus eius qui scholia exscripsit
ac	ante correctionem
pc	post correctionem
s	supra lineam
γρ	varia lectio cum nota γρ(ἀφεται) vel sim.

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΠΥΘΙΑ

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΕΡΙΝΥΩΝ

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ

ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ

ΠΥΘΙΑ

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇι τῇιδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
 τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν,
 ἥ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἔξετο
 μαντεῖον, ὥς λόγος τις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
 λάχει, θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός, 5
 Τιτανὶς ἄλλη παῖς Χθονὸς καθέζετο
 Φοῖβη· δίδωσιν δ' ἡ γενέθλιον δόσιν
 Φοῖβῳ, τὸ Φοῖβης δ' ὄνομ' ἔχει παρώννυμον.
 λιπὼν δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,
 κέλσας ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Παλλάδος, 10
 ἐς τήνδε γαῖαν ἦλθε Παρνησσοῦ θ' ἔδρας·
 πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβρίζουσιν μέγα
 κελυθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἥφαίστου, χθόνα
 ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.
 μολόντα δ' αὐτὸν κάρτα τιμαλφεῖ λεῶς 15
 Δελφός τε χώρας τῆσδε πρυμνήτης ἄναξ·
 τέχνης δὲ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας φρένα
 ἵζει τέταρτον τοῖσδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις·
 Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός.
 τούτους ἐν εὐχαῖς φροϊμιάζομαι θεούς. 20
 Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται.
 σέβω δὲ Νύμφας, ἔνθα Κωρυκὶς πέτρα
 κοίλη, φιλόρνις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή.
 Βρόμιος δ' ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ,
 ἐξ οὔτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν θεὸς 25

11 Παρνησσοῦ θ' Burges, cf. *Ch.* 563, 953 et *IG* II² 1258.24–5: Παρνησοῦς θ' fere *Mt*: Παρνησοῦ θ' Robortello 12 μέγαν *E^{ac}* 18 τοῖσδε *Is. Voss*: τόνδε *Mt* θρόνοις *Turnebus*: χρόνοις *Mt* 19 πατρός ... Διὸς *Macr. Sat.* 5.22.13 (qui etiam δ' omittit) 23 ἀναστροφή *Σ^M*: ἀναστροφά *M*: ἀναστροφαί *t* 24 δ' om. *M*

λαγῶ δίκην Πενθεΐ καταρράψας μόρον.
 Πλειστοῦ δὲ πηγὰς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος
 καλοῦσα καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία,
 ἔπειτα μάντις εἰς θρόνους καθίζανω.
 καὶ νῦν τυχεῖν με τῶν πρὶν εἰσόδων μακρῶι 30
 ἄριστα δοῖεν· κεῖ πάρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές,
 ἴτων πάλωι λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται·
 μαντεύομαι γὰρ ὡς ἂν ἡγήται θεός.

ἧ δεινὰ λέξαι, δεινὰ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς δρακεῖν,
 πάλιν μ' ἔπεμψεν ἐκ δόμων τῶν Λοξίου, 35
 ὡς μήτε σωκεῖν μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν στάσιν·
 τρέχω δὲ χερσίν, οὐ ποδωκείαι σκελῶν.
 δέισασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὔν.
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφῇ μυχόν·
 ὁρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῶι μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῇ 40
 ἔδραν ἔχοντα προστρόπαιον, αἵματι
 στάζοντα χεῖρας, καὶ νεοσπαδὲς ξίφος
 ἔχοντ' ἐλαίας θ' ὕψιγέννητον κλάδον
 λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἔστεμμένον,
 ἀργῆτι μαλλῶι· τῇιδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρῶ. 45
 πρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος
 εὔδει γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἡμενος.
 οὔτοι γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω·
 οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις.
 εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας 50
 δεῖπνον φερούσας· ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν
 αὗται, μέλαιναι δ', ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι,
 ῥέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλατοῖσι φυσιάμασιν,
 ἐκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλῇ λίβᾳ·
 καὶ κόσμος οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα 55

27 Πλειστοῦ Turnebus: πλείστους *Mt* δὲ Blaydes: τε *Mt* 36 τάσιν *E*^s:
 βάσιν *YPM* 37 -κείαι *GFE*: -κίαι *MT* 41 ἔδρας *t* post 49 lacunam
 statuit Wakefield 50 ἤδη *M*: εἶδον *t* 53 πλατοῖσι *Elmsley*: πλαστοῖσι *Mt*
 54 λίβα *Burges* (cf. *Σ*^{*ET*} σταλαγμόν): δία *M*: βίαν *t*

φέρειν δίκαιος οὔτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας.
 τὸ φύλον οὐκ ὅπωπα τῆσδ' ὁμιλίας,
 οὐδ' ἦτις αἶα τοῦτ' ἐπεύχεται γένος
 τρέφουσ' ἀνατεῖ μὴ μεταστένειν πόνον.
 τάντεῦθεν ἤδη τῶνδε δεσπότηι δόμων
 αὐτῷ μελέσθω Λοξίαι μεγασθενεῖ·
 ἰατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος
 καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.

60

63

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, οἶσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν·
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπίσται, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀμελεῖν μάθε.
 σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὖ φερέγγυον τὸ σόν.

85

86

87

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

οὔτοι προδώσω· διὰ τέλους δέ σοι φύλαξ,
 ἐγγὺς παρεστὼς καὶ πρόσωθ' ἀποστατῶν,
 ἐχθροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς οὐ γενήσομαι πέπων.
 καὶ νῦν ἀλούσας τάσδε τὰς μάργους ὁρᾷς·
 ὕπνῳ πεσοῦσαι δ' αἶ' κατὰπτυστοι κόραι,
 γραῖαι παλαιόπαιδες, αἷς οὐ μείγνυται
 θεῶν τις οὐδ' ἀνθρωπος οὐδὲ θήρ ποτε,
 κακῶν δ' ἑκατὶ κἀγένοντ', ἐπεὶ κακὸν
 σκότον νέμονται Τάρταρόν θ' ὑπὸ χθονός,
 μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.
 ὁμῶς δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένῃ·
 ἐλῶσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἡπείρου μακρᾶς
 †βεβῶντ'† ἂν' αἰεὶ τὴν πλανοστιβῇ χθόνα
 ὑπὲρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.
 καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος
 πόνον· μολῶν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν
 ἴζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβῶν βρέτας·

64

65

70

75

80

57 τῆς M^{ac} 59 πόνον Arnaldus: πόνων Mt 85-7 huc traduxit Burges:
 cf. etiam ad 88 65 πρόσωθ' Wakefield: πρόσω δ' Mt 66 πρέπων γρ^ΣM
 69 παλαιόπαιδες Wilamowitz: παλαιαὶ παῖδες Mt 76 βεβῶντ' M: βεβόντ' t:
 βιβῶντ' vel βεβῶτ' Stephanus: fort. βαίνοντ' vel προβῶντ' ἂν Hermann:
 ἂν Mt 77 πόντον Turnebus: πόντου Mt

κἀκεῖ δικαστὰς τῶνδε καὶ θελκτηρίους
 μύθους ἔχοντες μηχανὰς εὐρήσομεν
 ὥστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων.
 καὶ γὰρ κτανεῖν σ' ἔπεισα μητρῷον δέμας. 84
 μέμνησο, μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας· 88
 σὺ δ', αὐτάδελφον αἶμα καὶ κοινοῦ πατρός,
 Ἑρμῇ, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ὦν ἐπώνυμος 90
 πομπαῖος ἴσθι, τόνδε ποιμαίνων ἐμὸν
 ἱκέτην – σέβει τοι Ζεὺς τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας –
 ὀρμώμενον βροτοῖσιν εὐπόμπῳ τύχηι.

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ

εὖδοιτ' ἄν. ὦή. καὶ καθευδουσῶν τί δεῖ;
 ἐγὼ δ' ὕφ' ὕμῶν ὦδ' ἀπητιμασμένη 95
 ἄλλοισιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν, ὦν μὲν ἔκτανον
 ὄνειδος ἐν φθιτοῖσιν οὐκ ἐκλείπεται,
 αἰσχυρῶς δ' ἄλῶμαι. προυννέπω δ' ὕμῖν ὅτι
 ἔχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν κείνων ὕπο.
 παθοῦσα δ' οὕτω δεινὰ πρὸς τῶν φιλάτων, 100
 οὐδεὶς ὑπέρ μου δαιμόνων μηνίεται
 κατασφαγείσης πρὸς χερῶν μητροκτόνων.
 ὄρα δὲ πληγὰς τάσδε καρδίαι σέθεν.
 [εὖδουσα γὰρ φρὴν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται,
 ἐν ἡμέραι δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν.] 105
 ἢ πολλὰ μὲν δη τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε·
 χοὰς τ' αἰόινους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα,
 καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάροι πυρὸς
 ἔθυσον, ὦραν οὐδενὸς κοινήν θεῶν·
 καὶ πάντα ταῦτα λὰξ ὀρῶ πατούμενα, 110
 ὃ δ' ἐξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην,
 καὶ ταῦτα κούφως ἐκ μέσων ἀρκυστάτων

88 ante 64 transp. Maas, ante 84 Dawe 96 ὦν Tyrwhitt, cf. Σ^{ME}: ὡς Ml
 100–1 παθοῦσα δ' et οὐδεὶς M: παθοῦσά γ' et οὐδεὶς δ' t 104–5 del. Schütz
 (105 tantum Prien) 105 μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος Turnebus, cf. Σ^M: μοῖρα πρό-
 σκοπος Ml 107 νηφάλια Robortello: νιφάλια Ml 108 νυκτὶ σεμνὰ M
 110 ταῦτα πάντα E 112 ἀρκυστάτων Turnebus: ἀρκυσμάτων Ml

ᾠρουσεν, ὑμῖν ἐγκατιλλώψας μέγα.
 ἀκούσαθ', ὥς ἔλεξα τῆς ἐμῆς περὶ
 ψυχῆς· φρονήσατ', ὦ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί·
 ὄναρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμῆστρα καλῶ. 115

ΧΟΡΟΣ

(μυγμός)

Κλ. μύζοιτ' ἄν· ἀνὴρ δ' οἷχεται φεύγων πρόσω·
 †φίλοις γάρ εἰσιν οὐκ ἐμοῖς† προσίκτορες.

Χο. (μυγμός) 120

Κλ. ἄγαν ὑπνώσσεις, κοῦ κατοικτιζεις πάθος·
 φονεὺς δ' Ὀρέστης τῇσδε μητρὸς οἷχεται.

Χο. (ὠγμός)

Κλ. ὥζεις, ὑπνώσσεις· οὐκ ἀναστήσῃ τάχος;
 τί σοι πέπρωται πρᾶγμα πλὴν τεύχειν κακά; 125

Χο. (ὠγμός)

Κλ. ὕπνος πόνος τε, κύριοι συνωμόται,
 δεινῆς δρακαίνης ἐξεκῆραναν μένος.

Χο. (μυγμός διπλοῦς ὀξύς)
 λαβὲ λαβὲ λαβὲ λαβὲ· φράζου. 130

Κλ. ὄναρ διώκεις θῆρα, κλαγγαίνεις δ' ἄπερ
 κύων μέριμναν οὔποτ' ἐκλείπων φόνου.
 τί δρᾷς; ἀνίστω· μή σε νικάτω πόνος,
 μηδ' ἀγνοήσῃς πῆμα μαλθαχθεῖς ὕπνωι.
 ἄλγησον ἦπαρ ἐνδίοις ὀνειδέσιν·
 τοῖς σώφροσιν γὰρ ἀντίκεντρα γίγνεται.
 σὺ δ' αἵματηρὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῶι,
 ἄτμῳι κατισχναίνουσα, νηδύος πυρί, 135

113 ᾠρουσε δ' Groeneboom ἡμῖν GFE ἐγκατ- Turnebus: ἐκκατ-
 M^t 114 ἠκούσαθ' Pauw ὥς] ὦν Auratus 116 Κλυταιμῆστρα Σ^M
 constanter (et sic M in Ag. 84 et 258): Κλυταιμῆστρα M^t (et sic semper in Ag.
 codd. praeter M et in textu et in scholiis) 119 φίλων γάρ εἰσιν οὐ κενοὶ
 Dodds 121-3 om. M, suppl. in margine M^σ 123 ὠγμός Robortello:
 μωγμός *t* 124 κοῦκ *t* 125 πέπρωται Stanley: πέπρακται M^t 131 δ']
 θ' Scaliger 132 ἐκλείπων Blomfield: ἐκλιπών M^t φόνου Dawe: πόνου
 M^t 137 σὺ δ' Portus: οὐδ' M^t 138 κατισχναίνουσα Robortello: κατισ-
 χναίνουσα M^t

ἔπου, μάραινε δευτέροις διώγμασιν.

Χο. ἔγειρ', ἔγειρε καὶ σὺ τήνδ', ἐγὼ δὲ σέ.
εὐδεις; ἀνίστω, κάπολακτίσας ὕπνον
ἰδώμεθ' εἴ τι τοῦδε φροιμίου ματᾶι. 140

ἰοῦ ἰοῦ ποπάξ· ἐπάθομεν, φίλοι — (στρ. α
— ἥ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγώ.
— ἐπάθομεν πάθος δυσαχές, ὦ πόποι, 145
ἄφερτον κακόν.
— ἐξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν, οἴχεται δ' ὁ θήρ.
— ὕπνῳ κρατηθεῖς ἄγραν ὥλεσα.

ἰὼ παῖ Διός, ἐπίκλοπος πέληι, (ἀντ. α
νέος δὲ γραίας δαίμονας καθιππάσω 150
τὸν ἰκέταν σέβων, ἄθεον ἄνδρα καὶ
τοκεῦσιν πικρόν,
τὸν μητραλοῖαν δ' ἐξέκλεψας ὦν θεός.
τί τῶνδ' ἔρεῖ τις δικαίως ἔχειν;

ἔμοι δ' ὄνειδος ἐξ ὄνειράτων μολὼν (στρ. β
ἔτυπεν δίκαν διφρηλάτου 156
μεσολαβεῖ κέντρῳ
ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν·
πάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαΐου δαμίου 160
βαρὺ τι περίβαρυ κρύος ἔχειν·

τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί, (ἀντ. β
κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον.
φονολιβῆ θρόνον
περὶ πόδα, περὶ κᾶρα, 165

142 ἰδώμεθ' Turnebus: εἰδώμεθ' Ml 143 ποπάξ (πόπαξ) Ald.: πύπαξ M:
πυπάξ t 145 δυσαχές (-ἐς) M: δυσαχθές t: δυσакές Lindau 147 δ'] θ'
Abresch 161 τι Schütz: τὸ Ml 164 φονολιβῆ Arnaldus: φονολειβῆ Ml

πάρεστι γὰς τ' ὀμφαλὸν προσδρακεῖν αἱμάτων
βλοσυρὸν ἄρόμενον ἄγος ἔχειν.

ἔφεστίωι δὲ μάντις ὦν μιάσματι (στρ. γ
μυχὸν ἔχρανάτ' αὐτόσσυτος, αὐτόκλητος, 170
παρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεα μὲν τίων,
παλαιγενεῖς δὲ μοίρας φθίσας,

κάμοιγε λυπρός· καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται· (ἀντ. γ
ὑπὸ δὲ γὰν φυγὼν οὐποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται, 175
ποτιτρόπαιος ὦν δ' ἕτερον ἐν κάραι
μιάστορ' εἴσιν οὐ πάσεται.

Απ. ἔξω, κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμάτων τάχος
χωρεῖτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μυχῶν, 180
μὴ καὶ λαβοῦσα πτηνὸν ἀργηστὴν ὄφιν
χρυσηλάτου θώμιγγος ἐξορμώμενον
ἀνῆις ὑπ' ἄλγους μέλαν' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀφρόν,
ἔμοῦσα θρόμβους οὓς ἀφείλκυσας φόνου.
οὔτοι δόμοις σε τοῖσδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει, 185
ἀλλ' οὐ καρανιστῆρες ὀφθαλμωρύχοι
δίκαι σφαγαί τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀποφθορᾷ
παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνις, ἥδ' ἀκρωνία
λευσμὸς τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολὺν
ὑπὸ ῥάχιν παγέντεσ. ἄρ' ἀκούετε 190
οἷας ἑορτῆς ἔστ' ἀποπτύστου θεοῖς

166 τ' Wilamowitz: om. *Mt* 168 ἄρόμενον Abresch: αἰρόμενον vel αἰρόμενον
Mt 169 μάντις ὦν Schütz: μάντι σῶι *Mt* 170 μυχὸν Robortello: μυκὸν
Mt: σὸν οἶκον *t* ἔχρανάτ' *F^{ac}*: ἔχρανά τ' *Mt*: ἔχθρανάτ' *t'* 171 παρὰ νόμον
M^{Pc}: παρὰ νόμων vel παρανόμων *M^{ac}t* 174 κάμοιγε Casaubon: κάμοι τε *Mt*
175 δὲ Heyse: τε *Mt* φυγὼν Porson: φεύγων *Mt* 176 ὦν δ' Porson: δ' ὦν *Mt*
178 εἴσιν οὐ Kirchhoff: ἐκείνου *Mt* πάσεται *M^{Pc}* (littera ante σ erasa):
πάσεται (πρά- *E*) *t* 185 δόμοις σε Askew: δόμοισι *Mt* 186 οὐ Turne-
bus, καρανιστῆρες Stanley (cf. Σ^M ἀποκεφαλίζουσαι): οὐκαρνηστῆρες *Mt*: οὐκ
ἄρ' ἀνηστῆρες (sscr. ἀνυστ-) *GFTr*: οὐκ ἄρτ' νῆστῆρες *E* 187 ἀποφθορᾷ
Musgrave: ἀποφθοραί *Mt* 189 λευσμὸς Casaubon: λευσμόν *Mt* 190 ὑπὸ
ῥάχιν *E^{ac}*: ὑπόρραχιν *Mt'* 191 ἑορτῆς forma Attica, vid. Threatte 1 500:
ἑορτῆς *Mt* ἀποπτύστου Blaydes: ἀπόπτυστοι *Mt*

στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι; πᾶς δ' ὑφηγεῖται τρόπος
μορφῆς·λέοντος ἄντρον αἵματορρόφου
οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας εἰκός, οὐ χρηστηρίοις
ἐν τοῖσδε πλησίοισι τρίβεσθαι μύσος. 195
χωρεῖτ' ἄνευ βοτῆρος αἰπολούμεναι·
ποιμνης τοιαύτης δ' οὔτις εὐφιλῆς θεῶν.

Χο. ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει.
αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέληι,
ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας ὦν παναίτιος. 200

Απ. πῶς δῆ; τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου.

Χο. ἔχρησας ὥστε τὸν ξένον μητροκτονεῖν;

Απ. ἔχρησα ποινὰς τοῦ πατρὸς †πέμψαι†· τί μήν;

Χο. κᾶπιθ' ὑπέστης αἵματος δέκτωρ νέου;

Απ. καὶ προστραπέσθαι τούσδ' ἐπέστελλον δόμους. 205

Χο. καὶ τὰς προπομπούς δῆτα τάσδε λοιδορεῖς;

Απ. οὐ γὰρ δόμοισι τοῖσδε πρόσφοροι μολεῖν.

Χο. ἄλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦτο προστεταγμένον.

Απ. τίς ἦδε τιμή; κόμπασον γέρας καλόν.

Χο. τοὺς μητραλοίας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν. 210

Απ. τί γὰρ γυναικὸς ἦτις ἄνδρα νοσφίση;

Χο. οὐκ ἂν γένοιθ' ὄμαιμος αὐθέντης φόνος.

Απ. ἡ κάρτ' ἄτιμα καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν †ἠρκέσω†

Ἥρας τελείας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα·

Κύπρις δ' ἄτιμος τῷδ' ἀπέρριπται λόγῳ, 215

ὅθεν βροτοῖσι γίγνεται τὰ φίλτατα.

εὐνὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μόρσιμος

ὄρκου ὅστις μείζων, τῇ δίκῃ φρουρουμένη.

εἰ τοῖσιν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους χαλᾷς

τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ, 220

197 δ' del. Page 200 εἰς] εἰς Canter ὦν Wakefield: ὡς Mt 201 δῆ;
τοσοῦτο M: δῆτα τοῦτο t 203 πέμψαι Mt: πέμψας Heath: πᾶσαι Bigot
204 δέκτωρ M^o, cf. Σ^{ME}; δ' ἔκτωρ Mt 207 πρόσφοροι Stanley: πρόσφορον
Mt 211 τί M^o, cf. Σ^{MET}; τίς Mt 213 ἠρκέσω Mt: ἠγέσω Wilamowitz:
ἠργάσω Rutherford (εἰργ- Wordsworth): ἠνύσω Headlam 217 μόρσιμος
G^sF^sE^sTr: μόρσιμοι MGFE 219 εἰ Canter: ἡ Mt 220 τίνεσθαι Meineke:
γενέσθαι Mt

οὐ φημ' Ὀρέστην ἐνδίκως σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν.
τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα κάρτα σ' ἐνθυμουμένην,
τὰ δ' ἐμφανῶς πράσσουσιν ἡσυχαιτέρων.
δίκας δὲ Παλλας τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά.

Χο. τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον οὐ τι μὴ λείπω ποτέ. 225

Απ. σὺ δ' οὖν δίδωκε καὶ πόνον πλέω τίθου.

Χο. τιμὰς σὺ μὴ σύντεμνε τὰς ἐμὰς λόγῳ.

Απ. οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην ὥστ' ἔχειν τιμὰς σέθεν.

Χο. μέγας γὰρ ἔμπας παρ Διὸς θρόνοις λέγῃ.
ἐγὼ δ', ἄγει γὰρ αἶμα μητρώιον, δίκας 230
μέτειμι τόνδε φῶτα κάκκυνηγέσω.

Απ. ἐγὼ δ' ἄρήξω τὸν ἰκέτην τε ῥύσομαι·
δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κὰν θεοῖς πέλει
τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῶι σφ' ἐκῶν.

Ορ. ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνᾳ, Λοξίου κελεύμασιν 235

ἦκω· δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα,
οὐ προστρόπαιον οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρα,
ἀλλ' ἀμβλὺν ἤδη προστετριμμένον τε πρὸς
ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν.

ὁμοῖα χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν, 240

σώιζων ἐφετμὰς Λοξίου χρηστηρίους,
πρόσειμι δῶμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σόν, θεά.
αὐτοῦ φυλάσσω ἀναμένω τέλος δίκης.

Χο. εἶέν· τόδ' ἐστὶ τάνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ·
ἔπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς· 245
τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὥς κύων νεβρὸν
πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκματεύομεν.

221 σ' Robortello: γ' M: om. t 223 ἡσυχαιτέρων Wecklein: ἡσυχαιτέραν M^t 224 δὲ Παλλὰς Sophianus: δ' ἐπάλλας M: δ' ἐπ' ἄλλας t ἐποπτεύει t
225 λίπω Askew 226 πλέω Auratus: πλέον M^t τίθου MGFE: τίθει G^sF^sTr
229 παρὰ Porson 230 ἄγει ... μητρώιον t: ἄγειν ... μητρώων M δίκας
M: δίκης GFE: δίκη G^sF^sTr: δίκη Σ^M 231 κάκκυνηγέσω Powell: κάκκυνηγ-
έτης M: γ' ὥς κυνηγέτης t 234 εἰ προδῶι Wilamowitz (ὅς προδῶι iam
Weil): εἰ προδῶ M^t 235 κελεύμασιν E^{ac}Tr: κελεύσασιν MGFE^{pc} 241
σώιζων τ' t 243 φυλάσσω δ' Dawe 246 νεβρὸν Victorius: νεκρὸν
M^t 247 ἐκματεύομεν Dindorf: ἐκμαστεύομεν M^t

πολλοῖς δὲ μόχθοις ἀνδροκμῆσι φυσιᾷ
 σπλάγχχνον· χθονὸς γὰρ πᾶς πεποίμανται τόπος,
 ὑπὲρ τε πόντον ἀπτέροις ποτήμασιν 250
 ἦλθον διώκουσ' οὐδὲν ὑστέρα νεώς.
 καὶ νῦν ὃδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶ που καταπτακῶν·
 ὁσμή βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελαῖ.

ὄρα, ὄρα μάλ' αὖ·
 λεύσσετε πάνται, μὴ 255

λάβητι φύγδα βὰς ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.
 ὃδ' αὐτός· ἄλκὰν ἔχων
 περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου
 ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν. 260

τὸ δ' οὐ πάρεστιν. αἶμα μητρῶιον χαμαὶ
 δυσαγκόμιστον, παπαῖ,
 τὸ διερὸν πέδοι χύμενον οἴχεται.

ἄλλ' ἀντιδοῦναι δεῖ σ' ἀπὸ ζῶντος ῥοφεῖν
 ἐρυθρὸν ἐκ μελέων πελανόν· ἀπὸ δὲ σοῦ 265
 βοσκὰν φεροίμαν πώματος δυσπότου·

καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνας' ἀπάξομαι κάτω,
 ἀντίποιν' ὡς τίνης ματροφόντας δύας·
 ὄψῃ δὲ κεῖ τις ἄλλος ἤλιτεν βροτῶν
 ἢ θεὸν ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν 270

ἢ τοκέας φίλους,
 ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια.

μέγας γὰρ Ἀιδης ἐστὶν εὐθυνος βροτῶν
 ἔνερθε χθονός,
 δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾷ φρενί. 275

250 ποτήμασιν Dindorf: πωτήμασιν M^t 255 λεύσσετε Wakefield: λεύσε-
 σε**τον M: λεύσσε τὸν *t* πάνται (πάνταῖ) M^σ: πάντα M^t 256 βὰς Her-
 mann: βὰς ὁ M^t ἀτίτας M: ἀτίμας *t* 257 ὃδ' αὐτός Stanley (αὐτός iam
 Auratus): ὁ δ' αὖτε γοῦν M^t 259 περὶ βρέτει M: περιβλέπει *t* πλεχθεὶς
 M: πλαγχθεὶς *t*: πλακεὶς Heimsöeth 260 χερῶν *t*: χρεῶν ¹Σ^M (ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμῖν
 χρεωστέῃ) 262 -κόμιστον M^{Pc} Σ^M: -κόμιστρον M^{ac}_t 263 πέδοι χύμενον
 Porson: πέδῳ κεχυμένον M^t 267 ἰσχνάνας' Turnebus: ἰχνάνας' M: ἰσχά-
 νας' *t* 268 ἀντίποιν' ὡς Schütz: ἀντιποίνους M et (sscr. ἴνα) *t* τίνης *t*:
 τείνης M: τείνεις M^σ ματρο- Casaubon, -φόντας Pauw: μητροφόνας M^t
 269 δὲ κεῖ τις Schütz: δ' ἐκεῖ τίς M^t ἄλλος Heath: ἄλλον M^t

- Ορ. ἐγὼ διδάχθεις ἐν κακοῖς ἐπίσταμαι
πολλῶν τε καιροὺς καὶ λέγειν ὅπου δίκη
σιγᾶν θ' ὁμοίως· ἐν δὲ τῷιδε πράγματι
φωνεῖν ἐτάχθην πρὸς σοφοῦ διδασκάλου.
βρίζει γὰρ αἷμα καὶ μαραίνεται χερός, 280
μητροκτόνον μίασμα δ' ἔκπλυτον πέλει·
ποταίνιον γὰρ ὃν πρὸς ἐστίαι θεοῦ
Φοίβου καθαρμοῖς ἠλάθη χοιροκτόνοις.
πολὺς δέ μοι γένοιτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγος,
ὅσοις προσῆλθον ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνουσίαι. 285
[χρόνος καθαίρει πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ]
καὶ νῦν ἄφ' ἀγνοῦ στόματος εὐφήμεως καλῶ
χώρας ἄνασσαν τῆσδ' Ἀθηναίαν ἐμοὶ
μολεῖν ἄρωγόν· κτήσεται δ' ἄνευ δορὸς
αὐτόν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον λεῶν 290
πιστὸν δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε σύμμαχον.
ἀλλ' εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικῆς,
Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου,
τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῇ πόδα
φίλοις ἀρήγους', εἴτε Φλεγραίαν πλάκα 295
θρασύς ταγοῦχος ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐπισκοπεῖ,
ἔλθοι – κλύει δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὦν θεός –
ὅπως γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ λυτήριος.
- Χο. οὔτοι σ' Ἀπόλλων οὐδ' Ἀθηναίας σθένος
ῥύσαιτ' ἂν ὥστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένον 300
ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' ὅπου φρενῶν,
ἀναίματον βόσκημα δαιμόνων, σκιάν.
οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀποπτύεις λόγους,
ἐμοὶ τραφεῖς τε καὶ καθιερωμένος;
καὶ ζῶν με δαίσεις οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμῶνι σφαγείς; 305

277 πολλῶν τε καιροὺς Blass cl. Σ^M: πολλοὺς καθαρμούς Μl 286 del. Musgrave καθαίρει Stanley: καθαιρεῖ Μl γηράσκων Μ: γε διδάσκων (γε om. F^{ac}) t 292 Λιβυστικῆς Auratus: Λιβυστικοῖς Μl 298 τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ Μ 299 οὔτοι σ' Μ^{Pc}: οὔτις σ' Μ^{ac}GFTTr: οὔτις' Ε Ἀθηναίας Μ: Ἀθηναίοις GFE: Ἀθηναίης Tr 302 ἐναίματον agnoscit Σ^M σκιάν Heath: σκιά Μl 303 ἀλλ' Μ: οὐδ' t

ὕμνον δ' ἀκούσῃ τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν.

ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν, ἐπεὶ

μοῦσαν στυγερὰν

ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεδόκηκεν,

λέξαι τε λάχῃ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους

310

ὥς ἐπινωμαὶ στάσις ἀμή.

εὐθυδίκαιοι δ' οἴομεθ' εἶναι·

τὸν μὲν καθαρὰς χεῖρας προνέμοντ'

οὔτις ἐφέρειπαι μῆνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν,

ἄσινῃς δ' αἰῶνα διοιχνεῖ·

315

ὅστις δ' ἀλιτῶν ὥσπερ ὅδ' ἀνὴρ

χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει,

μάρτυρες ὀρθαὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσιν

παραγιγνόμεναι πράκτορες αἵματος

αὐτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν.

320

μᾶτερ ἅ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ

(στρ. α

μᾶτερ Νύξ, ἀλα-

οῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν

ποινάν, κλυθ'· ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἱ-

νὶς μ' ἄτιμον τίθησιν

τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος

325

πτῶκα, ματρῶιον ἄγ-

νισμα κύριον φόνου.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ

(ἐφυμν. α

τόδε μέλος, παρακοπᾶ,

306 ὕμνον MG: ὕμνων Tr: ὕπνον FE δ' om. *t* τῶνδε δεσμίων Tr 309 δε-
δόκηκεν *t* 311 ἀμή Dindorf (ἀμά iam Auratus): ἅμα *Mt* 312 εὐθυδίκαιοι
δ' Hermann: εὐθυδίκαι τ' οἶδ' (θ' οἶδ' *M*, τῇδ' *E*) *Mt* οἴομεθ' εἶναι
H. L. Ahrens: οἴμεθ' εἶναι *M*: οἶμαι θεῖναι *t* 313 τὸν ... προνέμοντ' Hermann:
τοὺς ... προνέμοντας *t*: τοὺς ... προσνέμοντας *M* 314 ἐφέρειπαι ... ἀφ' ἡμῶν
Porson: ἀφ' ἡμῶν ... ἐφέρειπαι *Mt* 316 ἀλιτῶν Auratus: ἀλιτρῶν *Mt*
323-4 ποινάν - τίθησιν om. *t* (λείπει β' Σ^{Tr}) 326 πτῶκα Sophianus: πτᾶκα
Mt 328/341 τεθυμένῳ *M* (328) MF (341): τε θυμουμένῳ Tr (341): τότε
θυμουμένῳ *t* (328) GE (341) 329 (non 342) μένος *t*

παραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς, 330
 ὕμνος ἐξ Ἑρινύων
 δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρ-
 μικτος, αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.

τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διαν- (ἀντ. α
 ταία Μοῖρ' ἐπέ- 335
 κλωσεν ἐμπέδως ἔχειν,
 θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι
 ξυμπέσωσιν μάταιοι,
 τοῖς ὁμαρτεῖν ὄφρ' ἂν
 γὰν ὑπέλθῃ· θανῶν δ'
 οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος. 340

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ (ἐφυμν. α
 τόδε μέλος, παρακοπά,
 παραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς,
 ὕμνος ἐξ Ἑρινύων
 δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρ- 345
 μικτος, αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.

γιγνομέναισι λάχη τάδ' ἐφ' ἅμιν ἐκράνθη· (στρ. β
 ἀθανάτων δ' ἀπέχειν χέρας, οὐδέ τίς ἐστι 350
 συνδαίτωρ μετὰκοινος.
 παλλεύκων δὲ πέπλων ἄκληρος ἄμοιρος ἐτύχθην
 < >.

δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν (ἐφυμν. β
 ἀνατροπὰς· ὅταν Ἄρης 355

330/343 παραφορὰ M^{Pc} (330): παράφρονα M^{act} (330) Mt (343) 330
 (non 343) φρενοδαλῆς M^{ac}, φρενοδαῆς M^σ 333/346 αὐονὰ Blaydes: αὐονὰ
 Mt 336 θνατῶν Canter: θανάτων Mt αὐτουργίαι Turnebus:
 αὐτουργίαις Mt 337 ξυμπέσωσιν Turnebus: ξύμπας ωσι(v) Mt 339
 ὑπέλθῃ t 341–6 vide ad 328–33 351 συνδαίτωρ Turnebus: συνδάτωρ
 Mt 352 ἄκληρος ἄμοιρος Blass: ἄμοιρος ἄκληρος Mt 353 lacunam statuit
 Schroeder

τιθασὸς ὦν φίλον ἔληι,
ἐπὶ τόν, ὦ, διόμεναι
κρατερόν ὄνθ' ὅμως ἄμαυ-
ροῦμεν †ύφ' αἵματος νέου†.

σπευδομένα δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τάσδε μερίμνας (ἀντ. β
θεῶν ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς μελέταις ἐπικραίνω 361
μηδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν.
Ζεὺς δ' αἰμοσταγὲς ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας 365
ἄς ἀπηξιώσατο.

δόξαι δ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναὶ (στρ. γ
τακόμεναι κατὰ γᾶς μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι
ἀμετέραις ἐφόδοις μελανείμοσιν ὀρχησ- 370
μοῖς τ' ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός·

μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα (ἐφυμν. γ
ἀνέκαθεν βαρυπετῇ
καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν,
σφαλερὰ καὶ τανυδρόμοις 375
κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν.

πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφρονι λύμαι· (ἀντ. γ
τοῖον ἐπὶ κνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπτόταται,

356 τιθασὸς Par. gr. 2286, cf. Σ^M: πίθασος Mt φίλον Turnebus: φίλος Mt
358-9 ὅμως Hermann: ὁμοίως Mt ἄμαυροῦμεν Burges: μαυροῦμεν Mt ὑφ'
M: ἐφ' t: del. Hermann νέου] κενόν Dawe 360 σπευδομένα δ' M^{ac}:
σπευδόμεναι δ' M^{pc}: σπεύδομεν αἶδ' Doederlein τάσδε Ald.: τᾶσδε Mt
361 θεῶν Hermann: θεῶν δ' Mt 362 ἐμαῖς μελέταις H. Voss: ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς Mt
ἐπικραίνω Hartung: ἐπικραίνειν Mt 363 εἰς Pauw: ἐς Mt ἔγκρισιν t
365 Ζεὺς M^{pc}: Ζεῦ M^{ac}: δ' Linwood: γὰρ M: om. t αἰμοσταγὲς Bothe:
αἵματοσταγὲς Mt 368 δ' Bergk: τ' Mt 369 γᾶς Hermann: γάν Mt
370 ἀμετέραις Dindorf: ἡμετέραις Mt 371 ἐπιφθόνοις Heath: ἐπιφόνους Mt
373 ἀνέκαθεν J. Pearson: ἄγκαθεν Mt βαρυπετῇ Blaydes: βαρυπεοῇ Mt
375 καὶ Schoemann, cf. Σ^M: om. Mt 378 τοῖον Heath: τοῖον γὰρ Mt μύ-
σους Paley

καὶ δνοφερὰν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐδᾶ-
ται πολύστονος φάτις.

380

μένει γάρ· εὐμήχανοι (στρ. δ
τε καὶ τέλειοι, κακῶν
τε μνήμονες, σεμναὶ
καὶ δυσπαρήγοροι βροτοῖς,
ἀτίετα διέπομεν λάχῃ 385
θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' ἀνηλίωι λάπαι,
δυσοδοπαίπαλα δερκομένοισι
καὶ δυσομμάτοις ὁμῶς.

τίς οὔν τάδ' οὐχ ἄζεται (ἀντ. α
τε καὶ δέδοικεν βροτῶν, 390
ἔμοῦ κλύων θεσμόν
τὸν μοιρόκραντον ἐκ θεῶν
δοθέντα τέλεον; ἔπι δέ μοι
γέρας παλαιόν, οὐδ' ἀτιμίας κυρῶ,
καίπερ ὑπὸ χθόνα τάξιν ἔχουσα 395
καὶ δυσήλιον κνέφας.

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ

πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοῇν
ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατουμένην,
ἦν δῆτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι,
τῶν αἰχμαλῶτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα, 400
ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔμοί,
ἐξαίρετον δώρημα Θησεῶς τόκοις.
ἔνθεν διώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα,
πτερῶν ἄτερ ῥοιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος·

382 τε Wakefield: δὲ M^t 385 ἀτίετα Hermann: ἀτιμ' ἀτίετα M: ἀτιμ' ἀτίετον *t* διέπομεν Heath: διόμενοι M^t 386 ἀναλίωι Dindorf λάπαι Wieseler: λαμπαί M: λαμπαί *t* 389 οὐχ ἄζεται Turnebus: οὐ χάζεται M^t 391 fort. κλυών, cf. West *B.I.C.S.* 31 (1984) 172-80 394 κύρω Hermann 396 δυσάλιον Dindorf 398 γῆν καταφθατουμένη Stanley: τὴν καταφθατουμένην M^t 402 τόκοις M: τέκνοις *t*

- [πώλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζεύξας' ὄχον] 405
 καινήν δ' ὀρώσα τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονός
 ταρβῶ μὲν οὐδέν, θαῦμα δ' ὄμμασιν πάρα.
 τίνες ποτ' ἐστέ; πᾶσι δ' ἐς κοινὸν λέγω,
 βρέτας τε τούμὸν τῷδ' ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ
 ὑμῖν θ'. ὁμοῖαι δ' οὐδενὶ σπαρτῶν γένει, 410
 οὔτ' ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν ὀρωμέναις,
 οὔτ' οὖν βροτείοις ἐμφερεῖς μορφώμασιν.
 λέγειν δ' ἄμομφον ὄντα τὸν πέλας κακῶς,
 πρόσω δικαίων ἢδ' ἀποστατεῖ θέμις.
 Χο. πεύσῃ τὰ πάντα συντόμως, Διὸς κόρη· 415
 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰαντὴ τέκνα,
 Ἄραϊ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὕπαι κεκλήμεθα.
 Αθ. γένος μὲν οἶδα κληδόνας τ' ἐπωνύμους.
 Χο. τιμάς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύσῃ τάχα.
 Αθ. μάθοιμ' ἄν, εἰ λέγοι τις ἐμφανῇ λόγον. 420
 Χο. βροτοκτονοῦντας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν.
 Αθ. καὶ τῷ κτανόντι ποῦ τὸ τέρμα τῆς φυγῆς;
 Χο. ὅπου τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται.
 Αθ. ἦ καὶ τοιαύτας τῷδ' ἐπιρροιζεῖς φυγὰς;
 Χο. φονεὺς γὰρ εἶναι μητρὸς ἡξιώσατο. 425
 Αθ. ἄρ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἦ τινος τρέων κότον;
 Χο. ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κέντρον ὥς μητροκτονεῖν;
 Αθ. δυοῖν παρόντων ἡμισυς λόγου πάρα.
 Χο. ἀλλ' ὅρκον οὐ δέξαιτ' ἄν, οὐ δοῦναι θέλοι.
 Αθ. κλύειν δίκαιος μᾶλλον ἢ πρᾶξαι θέλεις. 430

405 del. Wilamowitz 406 καινήν Canter: καὶ νῦν Mt (dein δ' om. E)
 409 ξένῳ M: στένω t 410 ὑμῖν J. Pearson: ὑμᾶς Mt ὁμοῖαι δ' Page:
 ὁμοίαις M: ὁμοίως t 411 θεαῖσι Wieseler ὀρώμεναι Page 413 ἄμομφον
 ὄντα Robortello, cf. Σ^M ἄμορφος οὔσα (sic) οὐ δυνήσῃ με ἀντιψέξαι: ἄμορφον
 ὄντα Mt τὸν Auratus: τοὺς MGFE: τοῦ Tr 414 ἢδ' F: ἢδ' MGETr
 416 αἰαντὴ M¹Σ^M: αἰαντὴς t et Tz. ad Lyc. 406 417 Ἄραϊ t: Ἀρὰ M 422 ποῦ
 τὸ Arnaldus: τοῦτο Mt φυγῆς Scaliger: σφαγῆς Mt 424 ἐπιρροιζεῖς
 Scaliger, cf. Σ^M: ἐπιρροιζεῖ M^{PC}: ἐπιρροιζεῖν M^{act} 426 ἄρ' ἐξ Blaydes, cf.
 Σ^M: ἄλλης Mt et Σ^M 465 ἦ τινος (vel ἦ τίνος) t: οὔτινος M et Σ^M 465
 428 παρόντων t λόγος t 429 θέλοι Schütz: θέλει Mt 430 κλύειν Wila-
 mowitz δίκαιος Dindorf: δικαίους M: δικαίως M^σt

- Χο. πῶς δῆ; διδάξον· τῶν σοφῶν γὰρ οὐ πένηι.
 Αθ. ὄρκοις τὰ μὴ δίκαια μὴ νικᾶν λέγω.
 Χο. ἀλλ' ἐξέλεγχε, κρῖνε δ' εὐθεΐαν δίκην.
 Αθ. ἡ κάπ' ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἂν αἰτίας τέλος;
 Χο. πῶς δ' οὐ, σέβουσαί γ' ἄξι' ἄντ' ἐπαξίων; 435
 Αθ. τί πρὸς τὰδ' εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξέν', ἐν μέρει θέλεις;
 λέξας δὲ χώραν καὶ γένος καὶ ξυμφορὰς
 τὰς σάς, ἔπειτα τῶνδ' ἀμυναθοῦ φόγον,
 εἴπερ πεποιθῶς τῇ δίκῃ βρέτας τόδε
 ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἐστίας ἐμῆς πέλας, 440
 σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος.
 τοῦτοίς ἀμείβου πᾶσιν εὐμαθὲς τί μοι.
 Ορ. ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνᾳ, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων
 τῶν σῶν ἐπῶν μέλημ' ἀφαιρήσω μέγα.
 οὐκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχων μύσος 445
 πρὸς χειρὶ τῇμῃ τὸ σὸν ἐφεζόμεν βρέτας.
 τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ λέξω μέγα·
 ἄφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος,
 ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίῳ
 σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ. 450
 πάλαί πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα
 οἴκοισι, καὶ βοτοῖσι καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις.
 ταύτην μὲν οὕτω φροντίδ' ἐκποδῶν λέγω·
 γένος δὲ τοῦμόν ὥς ἔχει πεύσῃ τάχα.
 Ἀργεῖός εἰμι, πατέρα δ' ἱστορεῖς καλῶς, 455
 Ἀγαμέμνον', ἀνδρῶν ναυβατῶν ἀρμόστορα,
 ξὺν ᾧ σὺ †Τροίαν† ἄπολιν Ἰλίου πόλιν
 ἔθηκας. ἔφθιθ' οὗτος οὐ καλῶς, μολῶν
 ἐς οἶκον· ἀλλὰ νιν κελαινόφρων ἐμή

435 σέβουσαί M: σέβομαί G^{ac}F^{ac}E^{ac}: σέβοιμέν G^{pc}F^{pc}E^{pc}Tr ἄξι' ἄντ'
 ἐπαξίων Hermann: ἄξιαν τ' ἐπαξίων (τ' ἐπ' ἄξιων GETr) Mz: ἄξιαν κάπ'
 ἄξιων Arnaldus ex Σ^M ἄξιων οὐσαν γονέων 438 τῶνδ' GFE: τόνδ' MTr
 440 ἀμῆς M 445-6 ἔχων ... ἐφεζόμενη Wieseler: ἔχει ... ἐφεζόμενη Mz
 448 ἀφθογγον M: ἀφωνον t 450 καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου Turnebus: καθαιμά-
 ξουσιν ὀθηλοῦ M: καθαιμάξουσιν ὀθνείου t βοτοῦ t 452 βοτοῖσι t
 457 Τροίαν] Τρωσίν Headlam

- μήτηρ κατέκτα ποικίλοις ἀγρεύμασιν 460
 κρύψας, ἃ λουτρῶν ἐξεμαρτύρει φόνον.
 κάγῳ κατελθών, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ φεύγων χρόνον,
 ἔκτεινα τὴν τεκοῦσαν, οὐκ ἄρνήσομαι,
 ἀντικτόνοις ποιναῖσι φιλότατου πατρός.
 καὶ τῶνδε κοινῇ Λοξίας μεταίτιος, 465
 ἄλγη προφωνῶν ἀντίκεντρα καρδίαι,
 εἰ μή τι τῶνδ' ἔρξοιμι τοὺς ἐπαιτίους.
 σὺ δ' εἰ δικαίως εἶτε μὴ κρίνον δίκην·
 πράξας γὰρ ἐν σοὶ πανταχῇ τὰδ' αἰνέσω.
 Αθ. τὸ πρᾶγμα μεῖζον, εἴ τις οἶεται τόδε 470
 βροτὸς δικάζειν· οὐδὲ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις
 φόνου διαιρεῖν ὄξυμηνίτου δίκας,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ σὺ μὲν κατηρυκῶς ὄμωσ'†
 ἱκέτης προσῆλθες καθαρὸς ἀβλαβῆς δόμοις, 474
 αὐταὶ δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέμπειλον, 476
 κἂν μὴ τύχῃσι πράγματος νικηφόρου,
 ἥχωραι† μεταῦθις ἰὸς ἐκ φρονημάτων,
 πέδοι πεσῶν ἄφερτος αἰαντὴς νόσος.
 τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰδ' ἐστίν· ἀμφοτέρα, μένειν 480
 πέμπειν τε, ἥδυσπῆματ' ἀμηχάνως ἐμοί†.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρᾶγμα δεῦρ' ἐπέσκηπεν τόδε, 482
 ὅμως ἀμόμφους ὄντας αἰροῦμαι πόλει 475
 φόνων δικαστὰς ὀρκίων αἰδουμένους 483
 θεσμόν, τὸν εἰς ἅπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ μαρτυρίά τε καὶ τεκμήρια 485

461 κρύψας· ἃ Musgrave: κρύψασα Mt λουτρὸν δ' t 465 μεταίτιος Weil:
 ἐπαίτιος Mt 467 ἔρξοιμι Headlam: ἔρξαιμι Mt 468 δ' J. Pearson: τ' Mt
 471 βροτὸς M^gt: βροτοῖς M 472 φόνου Robortello: φόνους Mt 473 ὄμωσ'
 νόμωσ E^{ac}: ἐμοῖς Pauw: πόνοις Burges 474 δόμοις GFE (corr. G^sF^s YPE)
 476 οὐκ εὐπέμπειλον M: οὐκουν εὐπεπλον t 477 κἂν μὴ τύχῃσι M. Schmidt:
 καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσαι Mt 478 χῶραι] χωρεῖ Wieseler: fort. e.g. στάζει 479
 πέδοι Dindorf: πέδω Mt αἰαντῇ t 481 τε Abresch: δὲ MGFE: δὲ-δὴ F^sE^s
 Tr δυσπῆμαντ' Scaliger, ἀμηνίτως ex Σ^M Tyrwhitt: δυσμήχανον πέμπειν τ'
 ἀμηνίτως ἐμοὶ Thomson: fort. potius πέμπειν τ' ἀμηνίτως ἐμοὶ δυσμή-
 χανα 475 post 482 transp. Lobel ἀμόμφους ὄντας Lobel: δ' ἀμομφον
 ὄντα σ' Mt 483 αἰδουμένους Conington: αἰρουμένους Mt

καλεῖσθ' ἄρωγὰ τῆς δίκης ὀρθώματα·
 κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα
 ἦξω διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πρᾶγμ' ἐτητύμως,
 ὄρκον περῶντας μηδὲν ἐκδίκους φρεσίν.

Χο. νῦν καταστροφαὶ νόμων (στρ. α
 θεσμίων, εἰ κρατή- 491
 σει δίκᾳ τε καὶ βλάβᾳ
 τοῦδε ματροκτόνου·
 πάντας ἤδη τόδ' ἔργον εὐχερεῖ-
 αι συναρμόσει βροτούς· 495
 πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότηρῳτα
 πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῦ-
 σιν μεταῦθις ἐν χρόνῳ.

οὐδὲ γὰρ βροτοσκόπων (ἀντ. α
 μαινάδων τῶνδ' ἐφέρ- 500
 ψει κότος τιν' ἐργμάτων·
 πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον.
 πεύσεται δ' ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, προφω-
 νῶν τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά,
 λῆξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε μόχθων, 505
 ἄκεά τ' οὐ βέβαια τλά-
 μων μάταν παρηγορεῖ.

μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω (στρ. β
 συμφορᾷ τετυμμένος
 τοῦτ' ἔπος θροοῦμενος, 510

486 ὀρθώματα Pauw: ὀρκώματα (-κώ- in ras. M) Mt 489 hic exhibit M, post 485 t: v. del. Headlam ὄρκων M^{ac} μηδέν' Turnebus ἐκδίκους Schütz: ἐκδικον M: ἐνδικον t: ἐνδίκους Musgrave 490 νόμων H. L. Ahrens: νέων Mt 492 τε Heath: om. Mt 493 ματροκτόνου Dindorf: μητροκτόνου Mt 494 εὐχερεῖαι Turnebus: εὐχαρίαι M: εὐχαρίαι t 499 οὐδὲ Elmsley: οὔτε Mt 501 τιν' Weil: τις Mt 505 ὑπόδοσιν M: ὑπόδυσιν GTr: ὑπόδησιν FE 506 ἄκεά τ' Schütz: ἄκετ' M: ἄκεστ' vel ἄκεστα t 507 τλάμων Schwenk: τλάμων δέ τις Mt ex scholio corrupti (παθων δέ τις μάτην incipit Σ^M)

ὦ Δίκα,
 ὦ θρόνοι τ' Ἑρινύων·
 ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἄν πατήρ
 ἦ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθῆς
 οἶκτον οἰκτίσας, ἔπει-
 δὴ πῖτνει δόμος Δίκας.

515

ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὔ
 καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον
 δεῖ μένειν καθήμενον·
 συμφέρει
 σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.
 τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἦν φάει
 καρδίαν ἠνατρέφων
 ἦ βροτὸς πόλις θ' ὁμοί-
 ως ἔτ' ἄν σέβοι Δίκαν;

(ἀντ. β

520

525

μήτ' ἀναρκτον βίον
 μήτε δεσποτούμενον
 αἰνέσεις· παντὶ μέσσω τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὥπασεν, ἄλλ' ἄλ-
 λαι δ' ἐφορεύει.
 σύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω·
 δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως,
 ἐκ δ' ὑγείας
 φρενῶν ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος
 καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.

(στρ. γ

530

535

ἔς τὸ πᾶν σοι λέγω,
 βωμὸν αἶδεσαι Δίκας,

(ἀντ. γ

511 ὦ ... ὦ Pauw: ἰὼ ... ἰὼ Mt 519 δεῖ μένειν anon.: δειμαίνειν Mt
 522-3 ἐν φάει Mt: ἐμφυῖ Thomson: ἐν φόβῳ Schütz καρδίας fort. legit
 Σ^M (λαμπρότητι ... φρενῶν) ἀνατρέφων Mt: φόβῳ τρέφων Thomson:
 ἀνὴρ τρέμων Murray (τρέμων iam Weil) 524 βροτὸς πόλις θ' Rose: πόλις
 βροτὸς θ' Mt: πόλις βροτῶν Murray 526 ἀναρκτον M: ἀνάρκητον GFE:
 ἀνάρκετον Tr: ἀνάρχητον Wieseler (cf. ad 538) 529 παντὶ Tr: ἅπαντι MGFE
 533 δυσσεβίας Tr: δυσσεβείας MGFE 538 σοι Lachmann: δέ σοι Mt

μηδέ νιν κέρδος ἰδὼν ἀθέωι ποδὶ λάξ ἀτίσηις· ποι- 540
νὰ γὰρ ἐπέσται.

κύριον μένει τέλος.

πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων σέβας εὖ προτίων 545

καὶ ξενοτίμους

ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων

αἰδόμενός τις ἔστω.

ἐκ τῶνδ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ δίκαιος ὦν (στρ. δ

οὐκ ἄνολβος ἔσται, 551

πανώλεθρος δ' οὐποτ' ἂν γένοιτο.

τὸν ἀντίτολμον δέ φαμι παρβάδαν

ἄγοντα πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας

βιαίως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν 555

λαῖφος, ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος

θραυομένας κεραίας.

καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδὲν ἐν μέσαι (ἀντ. δ

δυσπαλεῖ τε δίνει·

γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρι θερμῷ, 560

τὸν οὐποτ' αὐχοῦντ' ἰδὼν ἀμηχάνοις

δύαις λαπαδνὸν οὐδ' ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν.

δι' αἰῶνος δὲ τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον

ἔρματι προσβαλὼν Δίκας

ᾧλετ' ἄκλαυτος αἵστος. 565

Αθ. κήρυσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,

εἰς οὐρανὸν δὲ διάτορος Τυρσηνική

548 ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων Heath: δωμάτων ἐπιστροφὰς Mt 550 ἐκ τῶνδ']
ἐκὼν δ' Wieseler 552 δ' Pauw: om. Mt 553 παρβάδαν Weil, cf. Σ^M
παραβεηκότα: περαιβάδαν M: περβάδαν ι 554 ἄγοντα Müller: τὰ Mt
558 ἐν Abresch: om. Mt 559 δυσπαλεῖ τε Turnebus: δυσπαλεῖται MGFT^r:
δυσπλανεῖται E 560 θερμῷ Tr: θερμοεργῷ MFE: θυμοεργῷ G 562 λαπ-
αδνὸν Musgrave: λέπαδνον Mt 565 ἄκλαυτος Dindorf, αἵστος Hartung:
ἄκλαυτος αἵστος Mt 566 κατειργαθοῦ Porson: κατεργάθου Mt 567 εἰς
οὐρανὸν δὲ Wecklein: εἴτ' οὖν Mt: ἢ τ' οὖν M^o: εἴτ' οὐρανόνδε Tournier
διάτορος M: διάκτορος ι, dein πέλει add. F^oET^r

- σάλπιγξ βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη
 ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῶι.
 πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου 570
 σιγᾶν ἄρήγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμούς ἐμούς
 πόλιν τε πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν αἰάνῃ χρόνον
 καὶ τούσδ', ὅπως ἂν εὖ καταγνωσθῇ δίκη. —
 ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, ὦν ἔχεις αὐτὸς κράτει.
 τί τοῦδ' ἐσσι μέτεστι πράγματος; λέγε. 575
 Απ. καὶ μαρτυρήσων ἦλθον — ἔστι γὰρ νόμωι
 ἱκέτης ὁδ' ἀνὴρ καὶ δόμων ἐφέστιος
 ἐμῶν, φόνου δὲ τῶιδ' ἐγὼ καθάριστος —
 καὶ ξυνδικήσων αὐτός· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχω
 τῆς τοῦδε μητρὸς τοῦ φόνου. σὺ δ' εἴσαγε 580
 ὅπως τ' ἐπίσται τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην.
 Αθ. ὑμῶν ὁ μῦθος, εἰσάγω δὲ τὴν δίκην.
 ὁ γὰρ διώκων πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων
 γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος.
 Χο. πολλαὶ μὲν ἔσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως· 585
 ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθείς.
 τὴν μητέρ' εἶπε πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας.
 Ορ. ἔκτεινα, τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει.
 Χο. ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων.
 Ορ. οὐ κειμένωι πω τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον. 590
 Χο. εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες.
 Ορ. λέγω· ξιφουλκῶι †χειρὶ πρὸς† δέρην τεμῶν.
 Χο. πρὸς τοῦ δὲ πεισθεῖς καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν;
 Ορ. τοῖς τοῦδε θεσφάτοισι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι.
 Χο. ὁ μάντις ἐξηγεῖτό σοι μητροκτονεῖν; 595
 Ορ. καὶ δεῦρό γ' αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην οὐ μέφομαι.

573 τούσδ' Hermann: τόνδ' ME: τῶνδ' GFTr, cf. Σ^M τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν δια-
 γνωσθῇ Paley 574-5 Minervae continuavit Wieseler: choro tribuunt Ml
 576 νόμωι Schütz: δόμων Ml 577 ἀνὴρ Porson: ἀνὴρ Ml ἐφέστιος M^s:
 ἐφεστῖως M: ἐφεστῖων t 578 τῶιδ' Robertson: τοῦδ' Ml 581 τ' Her-
 mann: om. Ml **582-644 om. GFETr** 584 ὀρθῶς] fort. ὀρθός 588
 δ'] γ' Nauck 592 χειρὶ πρὸς M: χειρὶ διὰ Blaydes: δεξιᾷ Weil 593 δὲ
 πεισθεῖς Burges: δ' ἐπείσθης M

- Χο. ἀλλ' εἴ σε μάρψει ψῆφος, ἄλλ' ἔρεῖς τάχα.
 Ορ. πέποιθ'· ἄρωγὰς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμψει πατήρ.
 Χο. νεκροῖσιν νυν πέπισθι, μητέρα κτανών.
 Ορ. δυοῖν γὰρ εἶχε προσβολὰς μiasμάτων. 600
 Χο. πῶς δὴ; δίδαξον τοὺς δικάζοντας τάδε.
 Ορ. ἀνδροκτονοῦσα πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανεν.
 Χο. τί γάρ; σὺ μὲν ζῆις, ἡ δ' ἔλευθέρα φόνωι.
 Ορ. τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἤλαυνες φυγῇ;
 Χο. οὐκ ἦν ὁμαιμος φωτὸς ὃν κατέκτανεν. 605
 Ορ. ἐγὼ δὲ μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐν αἵματι;
 Χο. πῶς γάρ σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὦ μαιφόνε,
 ζώνης; ἀπεύχῃ μητρὸς αἷμα φίλτατον;
 Ορ. ἤδη σὺ μαρτύρησον, ἐξηγοῦ δέ μοι,
 Ἄπολλον, εἴ σφε σὺν δίκῃ κατέκτανον. 610
 δρᾶσαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, οὐκ ἄρνούμεθα·
 ἀλλ' εἰ δικαίως εἶτε μὴ τῇ σῇ φρενὶ
 δοκῶ, τόδ' αἷμα κρῖνον, ὥς τούτοις φράσω.
 Απ. λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τόνδ' Ἀθηναίᾱς μέγαν
 θεσμόν, 'δικαίως', μάντις ὢν δ' οὐ ψεύσομαι. 615
 οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις,
 οὐκ ἀνδρός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι,
 ὃ μὴ ἔκλευσε Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.
 τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦθ' ὅσον σθένει μαθεῖν,
 βουλῇ πιφαύσκω δ' ὑμῖν ἐπισπένεσθαι πατρός. 620
 ὄρκος γὰρ οὔτι Ζηνὸς ἰσχύει πλέον.
 Χο. Ζεὺς, ὥς λέγεις σύ, τόνδε χρησμὸν ὥπασε
 φράζειν Ὀρέσθι τῷδε, τὸν πατρὸς φόνον
 πράξαντα μητρὸς μηδαμοῦ τιμὰς νέμειν;
 Απ. οὐ γάρ τι ταυτόν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον θανεῖν 625
 διοσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον,

598 πέμψει Σ^M: πέμπει M 600 μiasμάτων Elmsley: μiasμάτων M 603 τί
 γάρ; Hermann: τοίγαρ M φόνωι Schütz: φόνου M 608 φίλτατον M^o:
 φιλτάτου M 613 δοκῶ van Herwerden: δοκεῖ M 615 ὢν δ' Canter: δ'
 ὢν M 618 ἔκλευσε Porson: κελεύσει M: κελύσαι Hermann 619 μαθεῖν]
 μάθε Blaydes 621 οὔτις Doederlein 623 τὸν M^o: τοῦ M

καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γυναικός, οὔτι θουρίοις
 τόξοις ἐκηβόλοισιν ὥστ' Ἀμαζόνος,
 ἀλλ' ὥς ἀκούσῃ, Παλλὰς, οἳ τ' ἐφήμενοι
 ψήφῳ διαιρεῖν τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι.
 ἀπὸ στρατείας γάρ νιν, ἡμποληκότα
 τὰ πλεῖστ' ἄμεινον, εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη
 < >

630

δροίτηι περῶντι λουτρά, κάπῃ τέρματι
 φᾶρος περεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ' ἀτέρμονι
 κόπτει πεδήσασ' ἄνδρα δαιδάλῳ πέπλῳ.
 ἄνδρὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὗτος εἴρηται μόρος
 τοῦ παντοσέμνου, τοῦ στρατηλάτου νεῶν
 < >

635

ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον, ὥς δηχθῇ λεώς,
 ὅσπερ τέτακται τήνδε κυρῶσαι δίκην.

Χο. πατρός προτιμαῖ Ζεὺς μόρον τῷ σῶι λόγῳ·
 αὐτὸς δ' ἔδῃσε πατέρα πρεσβύτην Κρόνον.
 πῶς ταῦτα τούτοις οὐκ ἐναντίως λέγεις;
 ὑμᾶς δ' ἀκούειν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι.

640

Απ. ὦ παντομισῇ κνώδαλα, στύγῃ θεῶν,
 πέδας μὲν ἂν λύσειεν· ἔστι τοῦδ' ἄκος
 καὶ κάρτα πολλή μηχανὴ λυτήριος·
 ἄνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὴν αἶμ' ἀνασπάσῃ κόνις
 ἅπαξ θανόντος, οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις.
 τούτων ἐπωιδὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατήρ
 οὐμός, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
 στρέφων τίθησιν οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

645

Χο. πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τοῦδ' ὑπερδικεῖς ὄρα·
 τὸ μητρὸς αἶμ' ὅμαιμον ἐκχέας πέδοι
 ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἄργει δώματ' οἰκῇσι πατρός;

650

631 νιν Porson: μιν M post 632 lacunam statuit Schütz: <λόγοις, παρέστη
 θέρμ' ἐν ἀργυρηλάτῳ> e.g. Headlam 633 δροίτη Σ^M: δροίτη M 634 παρ-
 εσκήνησεν Σ^M post 637 lacunam statuit Headlam **645 denuo incipi-**
unt GFETR 650 τε t: om. M 653 πέδοι Dindorf: πέδωι fere M

- ποίοισι βωμοῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δημίοις; 655
 ποία δὲ χέρνιψ φρατέρων προσδέξεται;
 Απ. καὶ τοῦτο λέξω, καὶ μάθ' ὥς ὀρθῶς ἔρῳ·
 οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένη τέκνου
 τοκεύς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου·
 τίκει δ' ὁ θρώϊσκων, ἡ δ' ἅπερ ξένωι ξένη 660
 ἔσωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός.
 τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδὲ σοι δείξω λόγου·
 πατήρ μὲν ἂν γείναιτ' ἄνευ μητρός· πέλας
 μάρτυς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς
 οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη, 665
 ἀλλ' οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεά.
 ἐγὼ δέ, Παλλάς, τᾶλλα θ' ὥς ἐπίσταμαι
 τὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν τεύξω μέγαν,
 καὶ τόνδ' ἔπεμψα σῶν δόμων ἐφέστιον,
 ὅπως γένοιτο πιστὸς ἐς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου, 670
 καὶ τόνδ' ἐπικτήσαιο σύμμαχον, θεά,
 καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα, καὶ τὰδ' αἰανῶς μένοι,
 στέργειν τὰ πιστὰ τῶνδε τοὺς ἐπισπόρους.
 Αθ. ἤδη κελεύω τοὺςδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν
 ψῆφον δικαίας, ὥς ἅλις λελεγμένων; 675
 Απ. ἡμῖν μὲν ἤδη πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος·
 μένω δ' ἀκοῦσαι πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται.
 Αθ. τί γάρ; πρὸς ὑμῶν πῶς τιθεῖσ' ἄμομφος ᾧ;
 Χο. ἠκούσαθ' ὧν ἠκούσατ', ἐν δὲ καρδίαι
 ψῆφον φέροντες ὄρκον αἰδεῖσθε, ξένοι. 680
 Αθ. κλύοιτ' ἂν ἤδη θεσμόν, Ἀττικὸς λεώς,
 πρῶτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ.
 ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῶι
 αἰεὶ δικαστῶν τοῦτο βουλευτήριον.

658 κεκλημένου M 660 ξένον ξένη J. Pearson 663 γείναιτ' Wieseler, cf. Σ^M γεννήσειεν: γένοιτ' Mt 665 οὐδ' οὐκ Schütz 666 θεά Weil: θεός Mt 674 κελεύσω Robortello 675 δικαίας Blomfield: δικαίαν Mt 676-7 Apollini tribuit Winnington-Ingram: choro Mt 679-80 choro tribuunt Mt: Apollini Karsten 679 ὧν M: ὡς t **681-718 om. E** 684 δικαστῶν Canter: δ' ἐκάστων M: δ' ἐκάστῳ t

πάγον δ' ἔ' Ἀρειον† τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν 685

σκηνάς θ', ὅτ' ἤλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον

στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλει νεόπτολιν

τήνδ' ὑπίπυργον ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε,

Ἄρει δ' ἔθουον, ἔνθεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος

πέτρα πάγος τ' Ἄρειος· ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας 690

ἀστῶν φόβος τε συγγενῆς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν

σχήσει τό τ' ἡμᾶρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην ὁμῶς,

αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ ἑπικαινούντων νόμους·

κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι βορβόρωι θ' ὕδωρ

λαμπρὸν μαιίνων οὐποθ' εὐρήσεις ποτόν. 695

τὸ μήτ' ἀναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον

ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευῶ σέβειν

καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν·

τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;

τοιόνδε τοι ταρβοῦντες ἐνδίκως σέβας 700

ἔρυμά τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον

ἔχοιτ' ἂν οἷον οὔτις ἀνθρώπων ἔχει,

οὔτ' ἐν Σκύθησιν οὔτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποις.

κερδῶν ἄθικτον τοῦτο βουλευτήριον,

αἰδοῖον, ὀξύθυμον, εὐδόντων ὕπερ 705

ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα γῆς καθίσταμαι.

ταύτην μὲν ἐξέτειν' ἐμοῖς παραίνεσιν

ἀστοῖσιν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν· ὀρθοῦσθαι δὲ χρή

καὶ ψῆφον αἶρειν καὶ διαγνῶναι δίκην

αἰδουμένους τὸν ὄρκον. εἴρηται λόγος. 710

Χο. καὶ μὴν βαρεῖαν τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονὸς

ζύμβουλός εἰμι μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσαι.

Απ. κᾶγωγε χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διὸς

ταρβεῖν κελεύω μὴδ' ἀκαρπῶτους κτίσαι.

685 Ἄρειον *Mt*, ex glossemate ortum ut vid.: ἔδοῦνται Weil (ἔδεῖται Wecklein)

687 πόλει *Orelli*: πόλιν *Mt* 688 τήνδ' *M*: τήν *t* 692 τό τ' *Grotius*: τόδ' *Mt*

693 ἑπικαινούντων *Stephanus*: ἑπικαινότων *Mt*: τι καινούτων *Wieseler*

694 θ'] δ' *J. Pearson* 696 μήτε *Guelf*: μὴδὲ *Mt* 703 Σκύθαισιν *Tr*

710 αἰδουμένους *Canter*: αἰδουμένοις *M*: αἰρουμένοις *t* 713 κᾶγωγε *Robortello*: κᾶγώ τε *Mt*

- Χο. ἀλλ' αἵματηρὰ πράγματ' οὐ λαχὼν σέβεις,
μαντεῖα δ' οὐκέθ' ἀγνὰ μαντεύσῃ νέμων. 715
- Απ. ἦ καὶ πατήρ τι σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων
πρωτοκτόνοισι προστροπαῖς Ἴξιονος;
- Χο. λέγεις· ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ τυχοῦσα τῆς δίκης
βαρεῖα χώραι τῇιδ' ὀμιλήσω πάλιν. 720
- Απ. ἀλλ' ἐν τε τοῖς νέοισι καὶ παλαιτέροις
θεοῖς ἄτιμος εἶ σύ· νικήσω δ' ἐγώ.
- Χο. τοιαῦτ' ἔδρασας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμοις·
Μοίρας ἔπεισας ἀφθίτους θεῖναι βροτούς.
- Απ. οὐκουν δίκαιον τὸν σέβοντ' εὐεργετεῖν,
ἄλλως τε πάντως χῶτε δεόμενος τύχοι; 725
- Χο. σύ τοι παλαιὰς δαιμονὰς καταφθίσας
οἴνῳ παρηπάτησας ἀρχαίας θεάς.
- Απ. σύ τοι τάχ' οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος
ἐμῇ τὸν ἰὸν οὐδὲν ἐχθροῖσιν βαρύν. 730
- Χο. ἐπεὶ καθιππάζῃ με πρεσβῦτιν νέος,
δίκης γενέσθαι τῇσδ' ἐπήκοος μένω,
ὥς ἀμφίβουλος οὔσα θυμοῦσθαι πόλει.
- Αθ. ἐμὸν τόδ' ἔργον, λοισθίαν κρῖναι δίκην·
ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι. 735
- μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶν ἢ μ' ἐγείνατο,
τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν,
ἅπαντι θυμῶι, κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός.
οὔτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον
ἄνδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον. 740
- νικᾷ δ' Ὀρέστης, κἂν ἰσόψηφος κριθῇ.
ἐκβάλλεθ' ὥς τάχιστα τευχέων πάλους,
ὅσοις δικαστῶν τοῦτ' ἐπέσταλται τέλος.
- Ορ. ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλων, πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται;
- Χο. ὦ Νύξ, μέλαινα μήτηρ, ἄρ' ὀρᾷς τάδε; 745

715 σέβεις] νέμεις Rauchenstein 716 νέμων Hermann: μένων Mt: μολών
Heath 719 **denuo incipit E** 727 δαιμονὰς Maas: δαίμονας Mt: διανο-
μὰς Σ E. Alc. 12 728 παρηπάτησας Mt et Σ E. Alc. 12: παρηπάφης
Davies 733 ἀμφίβουλος F: ἀμφίβολος MGETr

Ορ. νῦν ἀγχόνῃς μοι τέρματ', ἢ φάος βλέπειν.

Χο. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔρρειν, ἢ πρόσω τιμὰς νέμειν.

Απ. πεμπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένοι,
τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει.
γνώμῃς δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα,
†βαλοῦσα† δ' οἶκον ψήφος ὥρθωσεν μία.

750

Αθ. ἀνὴρ ὃδ' ἐκπέφευγεν αἵματος δίκην·
ἴσον γάρ ἐστι τὰρίθμημα τῶν πάλων.

Ορ. ὦ Παλλὰς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους,
γαίης πατρῷας ἐστερημένον σύ τοι
κατώικισάς με. καί τις Ἑλλήνων ἐρεῖ

755

“Ἀργεῖος ἀνὴρ αὔθις, ἐν τε χρήμασιν
οἰκεῖ πατρῷοις, Παλλάδος καὶ Λοξίου
ἕκατι καὶ τοῦ πάντα κραίνοντος τρίτου
Σωτῆρος· ὃς πατρῷον αἰδεσθεὶς μόρον
σώζει με, μητρὸς τάσδε συνδίκους ὁρῶν.

760

ἐγὼ δὲ χώραι τῇδε καὶ τῷ σῶι στρατῷ
τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἅπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον
ὀρκωμοτήσας νῦν ἅπειμι πρὸς δόμους,
μὴ τοί τιν' ἄνδρα δεῦρο πρυμνήτην χθονὸς
ἐλθόντ' ἐποίσειν εὖ κεκασμένον δόρυ.

765

αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὄντες ἐν τάφοις τότε
τοῖς τὰμὰ παρβαίνουσι νῦν ὀρκώματα
ἄμηχάνοισι πράξομεν δυσπραξίαις,
ὁδοὺς ἀθύμους καὶ παρόρνιας πόρους
τιθέντες, ὥς αὐτοῖσι μεταμέλῃ πόνος·
ὀρθουμένων δὲ καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος
τιμῶσιν αἰὲ τήνδε συμμαχῶι δορὶ
†αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν† εὐμενέστεροι.

770

747 γὰρ] δ' ἄρ' Schütz 750 δ' del. Rauchenstein 751 βαλοῦσα Mt: πρὸς-
όντα Blaydes: πολλοῖσι Headlam: fort. καμόντα δ' Σ^M: τ' Mt 752 ἀνὴρ
Thomson 755 γαίης Dindorf: καὶ γῆς Mt 757 ἀνὴρ Wakefield: ἀνὴρ Mt
768 παρβ- M^{Pc} G^T Tr: παραβ- M^{ac}: προβ- FE τοὺς τὰμὰ παρβαίνοντας εὐορκώ-
ματα Hartung 769 πράξομεν] φράξομεν Heath: θράξομεν Burges δυσπραξίαις]
possis e.g. δυσσημίας 771 πόνου Butler 772 ὀρθουμένοις Tr 774
αὐτοῖσιν ... ἐσμεν Mt: αὐτοῖσιν ... ἐσόμεθ' Heath: αὐτοῖς ἂν ... εἶμεν Hermann

καὶ χαῖρε καὶ σὺ καὶ πολισσοῦχος λεώς· 775
 πάλαισμ' ἄφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοις,
 σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς νικηφόρον.

- Χο. ἰὼ θεοὶ νεώτεροι, παλαιούς νόμους (στρ. α
 καθιππάσασθε κακὰ χερῶν εἰλεσθέ μου·
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἅ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος 780
 ἐν γαῖ τᾶιδε, φεῦ,
 ἰὸν ἰὸν ἀντιπεν-
 θῇ μεθεῖσα καρδίας
 σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ
 ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
 λειχὴν ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος – ὦ Δίκα Δίκα – 785
 πέδον ἐπισύμενος
 βροτοφθόρους κηλῖδας ἐν χώραι βαλεῖ.
 στενάζω· τί ρέξω;
 γελῶμαι· δύσοιστ' ἐν
 πολίταις ἔπαθον. 790
 ἰὼ μεγάλα τοι κόραι† δυστυχεῖς
 Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς.
- Αθ. ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν.
 οὐ γὰρ νενίκησθ', ἀλλ' ἰσόψηφος δίκη 795
 ἐξῆλθ' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἀτιμίαι σέθεν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια παρῆν,
 αὐτὸς θ' ὁ χρήσας αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ μαρτυρῶν
 ὡς ταῦτ' Ὀρέστην δρῶντα μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε τῇιδε γῇ βαρὺν κότον 800
 σκήψητε, μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μηδ' ἄκαρπία

778–807 om. GFETr 778–92 nisi aliter dicitur, M^t in antistropha eadem exhibent quae ex M in strophā citantur 780 ἅ Dindorf: ἡ M 782 ἀντιπενθῇ M hic: ἀντιπαθῇ M^t in 812 783–4 χθονὶ ἄφορον Turnebus: χθονιαφόρον M 785 λειχὴν Bothe: λιχὴν M ὦ Δίκα Δίκα Lachmann: ἰὼ Δίκα M 786 ἐπισύμενος M hic: ἐπεσσύμενος M^t in 816 787 βαλεῖ Turnebus: βαλεῖν M 788 στενάζω M^t in 818: στενάξω M hic 789 γελῶμαι Tyrwhitt: γένωμαι M δύσοιστ' ἐν Murray: δύσοιστα M 791 μεγάλατοι Porson: fort. legendum e.g. ἰὼ ἰὼ κόραι μεγάλα δυστυχεῖς 798 θ' δ' M^{ac} ὁ χρήσας Turnebus: ὁ θήσας M^{pc}: ὀρθήσας ut vid. M^{ac} 800 μήτε Wieseler: τε M 801 σκήψητε Elmsley: σκήψησθε M

τεύξητ' ἀφεῖσαι †δαιμόνων† σταλάγματα,
 βρωτῆρας ἄχνας σπερμάτων ἀνημέρους.
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν πανδίκως ὑπίσχομαι
 ἔδρας τε καὶ κευθμώνας †ἐνδίκου† χθονὸς
 λιπαροθρόνοισιν ἡμένας ἐπ' ἐσχάrais
 ἔξειν ὑπ' ἀστῶν τῶνδε τιμαλφουμένας.

805

Χο. ἰὼ θεοὶ νεώτεροι, παλαιοὺς νόμους (ἀντ. α

καθιππάσασθε κακὰ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου·

ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἅ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος

810

ἐν γαῖ τᾶιδε, φεῦ,

ἰὼν ἰὼν ἀντιπεν-

θῇ μεθεῖσα καρδίας

σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ

ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ

λειχὴν ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος – ὦ Δίκα Δίκα –

815

πέδον ἐπισύμενος

βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώραι βαλεῖ.

στενάζω· τί ῥέξω;

γελῶμαι· δύσοιστ' ἐν

πολίταις ἔπαθον.

820

ἰὼ †μεγάλα τοι κόραι† δυστυχεῖς

Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς.

Αθ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄτιμοι, μηδ' ὑπερθύμως ἄγαν

θεαὶ βροτῶν κτίσητε δύσκηλον χθόνα.

825

κἀγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί, καὶ – τί δεῖ λέγειν;

καὶ κληίδας οἶδα δώματος μόνη θεῶν

ἐν ᾧ κεραυνὸς ἐστὶν ἐσφραγισμένος.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ δεῖ. σὺ δ' εὐπειθής ἐμοὶ

γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ 'κβάληις ἔπη χθονί,

830

καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς.

802 δαιμόνων M: πλευμόνων Wakefield: πνευμάτων Headlam 803 ἄχνας
 Musgrave: αἰχμᾶς M 805 fort. post 806 transponendus ἐνδίκου] possis
 e.g. ἐνδοθεν **808 denuo incipiunt GFETr** 808–22 vide ad 778–92
 825 κτίσητε Linwood: στήσητε Ml 827 δώματος Casaubon: δωμάτων Ml
 829 εὐπιθής Hermann 830 ἔπη χθονί Burges: ἐπὶ χθόνα Ml

κοίμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος,
ὥς σεμνότιμος καὶ ξυνοικήτωρ ἐμοί.
πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆσδε τακροθίνια,
θῦη πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους, 835
ἔχουσ' ἐς αἰεὶ τόνδ' ἐπαινέσεις λόγον.

Χο. ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, (στρ. β
φεῦ,
ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατὰ τε γᾶν οἰκεῖν,
ἀτίετον μύσος·
φεῦ·

πνέω τοι μένος ἅπαντά τε κότον· 840
οἰοῖ δᾶ φεῦ·

τίς μ' ὑποδύεται πλευρᾶς ὀδύνα;
ἄιε, μᾶτερ Νύξ·

ἀπὸ με γὰρ τιμᾶν δαναϊᾶν θεῶν 845
δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδὲν ἦραν δόλοι.

Αθ. ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σοι· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ,
καὶ τῷ μὲν εἶ σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,
φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς. 850

ὕμεῖς δ' ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἔλθοῦσαι χθόνα
γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε. προυννέπω τάδε·
οὐπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος
ἔσται πολίταις τοῖσδε, καὶ σὺ τιμίαν
ἔδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως 855
τεύξῃ παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων
ὅσ' ἂν παρ' ἄλλων οὐποτ' ἂν σχέθοις βροτῶν.

837-47 nisi aliter dicitur, eadem in antistropha exhibent codd. quae in strophā citantur 838 τε M in 871: om. Mt hic et t in 871 839 μύσος· φεῦ Hermann: φεῦ μύσος Mt 840 μένος <θ'> Hartung 843 ὀδύνα Dale, Page: ὀδύνα (ὀδύναι GFE hic) θυμόν Mt: τίς ὀδύνα H. L. Ahrens et (ante πλευράς positum) Hermann 845 με γὰρ Heyse: γάρ με Mt δαναϊᾶν Dindorf: δαμαῖαν M^o hic (per δημοσίαν interpr. Σ^M): δαμαί*ων M hic: δαμίαν M in 878: δαμέαν t 847 δόλοι M^s Σ^M: δόλω MTr et GFE hic: δόλον GFE in 880 849 τῷ Wakefield: τοι Mt μὲν εἶ σὺ Abresch: μὲν σὺ M: γε μὴν σὺ t 857 ὅσ' ἂν H. L. Ahrens: ὅσων Mt: ὅσων Pauw

σὺ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι μὴ βάλης
 μήθ' αἵματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγχνων βλάβας
 νέων, ἰοίνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν, 860
 μήτ' ἐκζέουσ' ὥς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων
 ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσης Ἄρη
 ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.
 θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρῶν
 ἐν ᾧ τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρωσ· 865
 ἐνοικίου δ' ὄρνιθος οὐ λέγω μάχην.
 τοιαῦθ' ἐλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ,
 εὖ δρῶσαν, εὖ πάσχουσιν, εὖ τιμωμένην
 χώρας μετασχεῖν τῇσδε θεοφιλεστάτης.

- Χο. ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, (ἀντ. β
 φεῦ, 870
 ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατὰ τε γὰρ οἰκεῖν,
 ἀτίετον μῦσος·
 φεῦ·
 πνέω τοι μένος ἅπαντά τε κότον·
 οἰοῖ δ᾽ αὖ φεῦ· 875
 τίς μ' ὑποδύεται πλευρὰς ὀδύνα;
 ἄϊε, μάτερ Νύξ·
 ἀπό με γὰρ τιμᾶν δαναϊᾶν θεῶν
 δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδεν ἦραν δόλοι. 880
 Αθ. οὗτοι καμοῦμαί σοι λέγουσα τάγαθά,
 ὥς μήποτ' εἴπηις πρὸς νεωτέρας ἐμοῦ
 θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολισσούχων βροτῶν
 ἄτιμος ἔρρειν τοῦδ' ἀπόξενος πέδου.
 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας, 885
 γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτῆριον –
 σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν. εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,
 οὐκ ἂν δικαίως τῇιδ' ἐπιρρέποις πόλει

858–66 delere voluit Dindorf 860 ἰοίνοις Robortello: ἰοίνους *Mt* 861 μήτ' Dindorf: μηδ' *Mt* ἐκζέουσ' Musgrave, cf. Σ^M ἀναπτερώσασα: ἐξελοῦσ' *Mt* καρδίας Wieseler 862 ἰδρύσης Ἄρη Stephanus: ἰδρύσηι κάρη *M^{ac}*: ἰδρύσηι κάρη *M^{pc}* 865 ἐστί *M^{ac}* 870–80 vide ad 837–47

μῆνιν τιν' ἢ κότον τιν' ἢ βλάβην στρατῶι·
 ἔξεστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμόρῳι χθονὸς
 εἶναι δικαίως ἔς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένηι.

890

Χο. ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, τίνα με φῆς ἔξειν ἔδραν;

Αθ. πάσης ἀπήμον' οἰζύος· δέχου δὲ σὺ.

Χο. καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι· τίς δέ μοι τιμὴ μένει;

Αθ. ὥς μή τιν' οἶκον εὐθενεῖν ἄνευ σέθεν.

895

Χο. σὺ τοῦτο πράξεις, ὥστε με σθένειν τόσον;

Αθ. τῶι γὰρ σέβοντι συμφορὰς ὀρθώσομεν.

Χο. καὶ μοι πρόπαντος ἐγγύην θήσῃ χρόνου;

Αθ. ἔξεστι γάρ μοι μὴ λέγειν ἄ μὴ τελῶ.

Χο. θέλξειν μ' ἔοικας, καὶ μεθίσταμαι κότου.

900

Αθ. τοίγαρ κατὰ χθόν' οὔσ' ἐπικτήσῃ φίλους.

Χο. τί οὖν μ' ἄνωγας τῇδ' ἐφυμνῆσαι χθονί;

Αθ. ὅποῖα νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα,

καὶ ταῦτα γῆθεν ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου

ἔξ οὐρανοῦ τε, κἀνέμων ἀήματα

905

εὐηλίως πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα,

καρπὸν τε γαίας καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον

ἄστοϊσιν εὐθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ,

καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν.

τῶν δ' εὐσεβούντων ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις·

910

στέργω γάρ, ἀνδρὸς φιτυποίμενος δίκην,

τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος.

τοιαῦτα σοῦσι· τῶν ἀρειφάτων δ' ἐγὼ

πρεπτῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὖ

τὴνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν.

915

Χο. δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν,

(στρ. α

οὐδ' ἀτιμάσω πόλιν

τὰν καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ παγκρατὴς Ἄρης

890 τῆσδε γαμόρῳι Dobree: τῇδέ γ' ἀμοίρῳι Tr: τῇδέ γ' ἀμοίρου
 MGFET^s 892 ἔξειν Elmsley: ἔχειν M^t 895 εὐθενεῖν Scaliger: εὐσθενεῖν M^t
 896 ὥστ' ἐμέ Blaydes 907 βοτῶν Stanley: βροτῶν M^t 908 εὐθεν- M:
 εὐσθεν- ET^s: εὐσθεν- GFT^r 910 δ' εὐσεβούντων Heath: δυσσεβούντων t:
 δυσσεβούντων δ' M 914 τρεπτῶν t ἀφέξομαι Pauw οὐ om. t

τε φρούριον θεῶν νέμει,
 ῥυσίβωμον Ἑλλά- 920
 νων ἄγαλμα δαιμόνων·
 ἅιτ' ἐγὼ κατεύχομαι
 θεσπίσασα πρευμαίνῳς
 ἐπισσύτους βίου τύχας ὀνησίμους
 γαίας ἐξαμβρῦσαι 925
 φαιδρὸν ἀλίου σέλας.

Αθ. τὰδ' ἐγὼ προφρόνως τοῖσδε πολίταις
 πράσσω, μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρέστους
 δαίμονας αὐτοῦ κατανασσαμένη·
 πάντα γὰρ αὖται τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους 930
 ἔλαχον διέπειν.

ὃ γε μὴν κύρσας βαρέων τούτων
 οὐκ οἶδεν ὅθεν πληγαὶ βιότου·
 τὰ γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων ἀπλάκηματά νιν
 πρὸς τάσδ' ἀπάγει, σιγῶν δ' ὀλεθρος 935
 καὶ μέγα φωνοῦντ'
 ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς ἀμαθύνει.

Χο. δειδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέοι βλάβα — (ἀντ. α
 τὰν ἑμὰν χάριν λέγω —
 φλογμοὺς ὀματοστερεῖς φυτῶν, 940

τὸ μὴ περᾶν ὄρον τόπων·
 μηδ' ἄκαρπος αἶα-
 νὴς ἐφερπέτω νόσος,
 μῆλ' αὖτ' εὐθενοῦντα Πάν
 ξύν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις
 τρέφοι χρόνῳ τεταγμένοι· γόνος <δ' αἶ> 945

919 νέμει M: νόμον t: νόμων E^s 924 βίου ME: βίους GFT^r τύχας MF^{ac}:
 om. GF^{pc}ET^r, responsionis gratia (cf. 945), ut docet Σ^F 925 ἐξαμβρῦσαι
 Pauw: ἐξαμβρόσαι M: ἐξαμυρόσαι t 932 ὃ γε μὴν Linwood: ὃ δὲ μὴ M^t
 βαρέων H. L. Ahrens 934 ἀπλάκηματά Pauw: ἀμπλακήματά M: ἀμαρ-
 τήματα t νιν om. t 935 δ' Musgrave: om. M^t 939-40 φλογμοὺς
 Wilamowitz: φλογμός GFE: φλογμός τ' Tr: φλοιγμός M ὀματοστερεῖς Wil-
 amowitz: ὀματοστερής M^t 943 εὐθενοῦντα Πάν Meineke: εὐθενοῦντ' (-θην-
 t) ἄγαν M^t: εὐθενοῦντα γὰ Dobree 945 <δ' αἶ> Musgrave: om. M^t: <δὲ
 γὰς> Hermann

πλουτόχθων ἔρμαϊαν
 δαιμόνων δόσιν τῖνοι.

- Αθ. ἦ τάδ' ἀκούετε, πόλεως φρούριον,
 οἷ' ἐπικραίνει;
 μέγα γὰρ δύναται πότνι' Ἑρινὺς 950
 παρά τ' ἀθανάτοισ τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
 περί τ' ἀνθρώπων φανέρ' ὥς τελέως
 διαπράσσουσιν, τοῖς μὲν αἰοιδάς,
 τοῖς δ' αὖ δακρύων
 βίον ἀμβλωπὸν παρέχουσαι. 955

- Χο. ἀνδροκμήτας δ' ἄω- (στρ. β)
 ρους ἀπεννέπω τύχας·
 νεανίδων δ' ἐπηράτων
 ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε ἥκυρι' ἔχοντες 960
 θεαὶ τῶν† Μοῖραι
 ματροκασιγνήται,
 δαίμονες ὀρθονόμοι,
 παντὶ δόμῳ μετάκοινοι,
 παντὶ χρόνῳ δ' ἐπιβριθεῖς, 965
 ἐνδίκῳις ὁμιλίαις
 πάντῃ τιμιώταται θεῶν.

- Αθ. τάδε τοι χώραι τῇμῃ προφρόνως
 ἐπικραينوμένων
 γάνυμαι. στέργω δ' ὄμματα Πειθοῦς 970
 ὅτι μοι γλῶσσαν καὶ στόμ' ἐπώπα
 πρὸς τάσδ' ἀγρίως ἀπανηναμένας.
 ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος,
 νικᾷ δ' ἀγαθῶν
 ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός. 975

947 τῖνοι Schömann: τίοι M^t 948 ἀκούεις Meineke 952 φανέρ' ὥς Mein-
 eke: φανερώς M^t 954 δακρύων Tr: κρύων MGFE 956 ἄωροις GFE
 958 δ' Blaydes: τ' M^t 960 κύρι' M^{PC}: κ*ρι' M^{ac}: κύριες t: κύρος Heyse ἔχου-
 σαι J. Pearson 961 θεαὶ τῶν M^t: θεαὶ τ' ὦ Hermann: θεῶν ὦ Petersmann:
 θεοὶ καὶ Butler 964 μετάκοινοι Turnebus: μεγάκοινοι t: μέγα κοινοὶ M
 967 πάντῃ Canter: πάντα MGFE: πάντων Tr 970 ὄμματα M: ὀμματι t:
 ὀμμα τὸ West 971 ἐπώπα Schütz: ἐποπταῖ M: ἐποπταῖ t

- Χο. τὰν δ' ἄπληστον κακῶν (ἀντ. β)
μήποτ' ἐν πόλει στάσιν
τᾷδ' ἐπεύχομαι βρέμειν,
μηδὲ πιούσα κόνις μέλαν αἷμα πολιτᾶν 980
δι' ὀργὰν ποινᾶς
ἀντιφόνους ἄτας
ἄρπαλίσαι πόλεως·
χάρματα δ' ἀντιδιδόειν
κοινοφιλεῖ διανοίαι 985
καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾷ φρενί·
πολλῶν γὰρ τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος.
- Αθ. ἄρα φρονοῦσιν γλώσσης ἀγαθῆς
ὁδὸν εὐρίσκειν;
ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσώπων 990
μέγα κέρδος ὁρῶ τοῖσδε πολίταις·
τάσδε γὰρ εὐφρονας εὐφρονες αἶι
μέγα τιμῶντες καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν
ὀρθοδίκαιον
πρέψετε πάντως διάγοντες. 995
- Χο. χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἐν αἰσιμίαισι πλούτου, (στρ. γ)
χαίρετ', ἄστικὸς λεώς,
ἴκταρ ἤμενοι Διὸς
παρθένου φίλας φίλοι,
σωφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ· 1000
Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς
ὄντας ἄζεται πατήρ.
- Αθ. χαίρετε χυμεῖς· προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρή
στεῖχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσιν
πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν. 1005
ἴτε καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν

981 ποινὰς M 983-1047 om. E 985 κοινοφιλεῖ Hermann: κοινοφελεῖ M:
κοινωφελεῖ M^σ 989 εὐρίσκειν Pauw: εὐρίσκει M^σ 995 πάντως G: πάντες
MFT^σ 996 χαίρετε χαίρετ' Turnebus: χαίρετ' M^σ 997 Ἀττικὸς Erotianus
998 ἡμένας Bothe 999 παρθένου Robortello: παρθένους MF: παρθένους GT^σ
1003 χυμεῖς M: δ' ὑμεῖς l 1005 προπομπῶν Bentley: προπομπὸν M^σ

κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν
 χώρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον
 πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκηι.
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἡγείσθε, πολισσοῦχοι
 παῖδες Κραναοῦ, ταῖσδε μετοίκους·
 εἴη δ' ἀγαθῶν
 ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις.

1010

Χο. χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖθις, ἐπανδιπλοίζω,
 πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν
 δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοί·
 Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμον-
 τες μετοικίαν τ' ἐμὴν
 εὐσεβοῦντες οὐτὶ μέμ-
 ψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου.

(ἀντ. γ

1015

Αθ. αἰνῶ τε μύθους τῶνδε τῶν κατευγμάτων
 πέμψω τε φέγγει λαμπάδων σελασφόρων
 εἰς τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους
 ξὺν προσπόλοισιν αἶτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας
 τοῦμόν, δικαίως· ὄμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς
 Θησῆιδος ἐξήκοιτ' ἄν, εὐκλεὲς λόχος

1020

1025

< >
 παίδων, γυναικῶν, καὶ στόλος πρεσβυτίδων
 < >
 φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι
 τιμᾶτε, κᾶιτα φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πυρός,
 ὅπως ἂν εὐφρων ᾗδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς
 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρέπηι.

1030

1010 ὑμεῖς Tr: ἡμεῖς MGF 1011 μετοίκους Turnebus: μέτοικοι Ml 1014 ἐπαν-
 διπλοίζω Hermann: ἐπιδιπλοίζω MGF: διπλοίζω Tr qui etiam verba δ' αὖθις
 omittit 1018 τ' Murray: δ' Ml 1021 τε Hermann: δὲ Ml 1023 κατὰ
 Burges 1026 ἐξήκοιτ' ἄν Sommerstein (ἐξήκουσιν Blaydes): ἐξήκοιτ' ἄν Ml:
 ἐξήκοισθ' ἄν Brown post 1026 lacunam statuit Brown, post 1027 Hermann;
 v. 1027 aut fragmentum est superstes loci alioquin perditum aut, ut censet Brown,
 interpolatori debetur 1028 ἐνδυτοῦς Murray 1029 κᾶιτα Sommerstein:
 καὶ τὸ Ml πυρός] πάρος Headlam

ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ

†βᾶτ' ἐν δόμῳ† μεγάλοι φιλότιμοι (στρ. α
 Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες, ὕπ' εὐφροني πομπᾷ.
 εὐφραμεῖτε δέ, χωρίται. 1035

γᾶς ὑπὸ κέυθεσιν ὠγυγίοισιν (ἀντ. α
 τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περισέπτα τύχοιτε.
 εὐφραμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμεί.

ἴλαοι δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονες γᾶι (στρ. β
 δεῦρ' ἴτε, Σεμναὶ <θεαί>, πυριδάπτῳ 1041
 λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν.
 ὀλολύξατέ νυν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

σπονδαὶ δ' †ἔς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἴκων† (ἀντ. β
 Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς· Ζεὺς παντόπτας 1045
 οὔτῳ Μοῖρᾶ τε συγκατέβα.
 ὀλολύξατέ νυν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

1032 βᾶτ' ἐν δόμῳ *Mt*: βᾶτε δόμῳ Wellauer: βᾶτε νόμῳ Merkel: βᾶθ' ὁδόν, ὦ
 Headlam 1034 εὐφροني Burney: εὐθύφροني (-φρῖ F) *Mt* 1035 χωρίται
 Hermann: χωρεῖτε *Mt* 1037 τιμαῖς Hermann: καὶ τιμαῖς *Mt* 1038 περί-
 σεπτα Hermann, τύχοιτε Wakefield: περισέπται τύχαι τε *Mt* 1041 <θεαί>
 Hartung: om. *Mt*: <σύν> Hermann: <ταῖ> Weil 1042 ὁδόν Boissonade:
 ὁδόν δ' *Mt* 1044 ita *Mt* (nisi quod ἔνδαδες *t*): σπονδαὶ δ' εἰσόπιν (Linwood)
 ἔνδομετοικεῖν Headlam (μετοικ- iam Wilamowitz): fort. σπονδαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀεὶ σε
 μετοικεῖν

COMMENTARY

The scene (until 234) is before the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This is the first explicit change of location in the *Oresteia*: in *Ag.* and *Ch.* the *skene* represented the palace of the Atreidae at Argos. It would be a simple matter to indicate the change by removing the altar of Apollo Agyieus (*Ag.* 1081) and the pillar of Hermès (*Ag.* 515, *Ch.* 1), both of which regularly stood before dwelling-houses, and replacing them perhaps with models of the great tripods that stood in front of the Delphic temple (cf. *h. Ap.* 443).

1-63

The Pythia (the priestess who is the oracular mouthpiece of Apollo) prays to the gods of Delphi, announces that the oracle is open for consultation, and goes into the temple. A moment later she comes out again, her dignity overcome by terror at the sight she has seen: a man with bloody hands, seated as a suppliant at the navel-stone, and a company of indescribably loathsome female beings asleep on seats around him. She then departs: only Apollo himself will be able to protect the purity of his house against these intruders.

In structure this scene resembles the prologues of *Ag.* and *Ch.* All three open with a prayer; and midway in all three, the speaker sees an unexpected sight which changes his/her mood (in *Ag.* the beacon announcing the fall of Troy; in *Ch.* women approaching in mourning garb).

The opening prayer contrasts sharply with the ending of *Ch.*, in which Orestes flees in terror from Argos, hounded by the fearsome Erinyes whom only he can see, and the chorus wonder whether to call him a saviour or a destroyer and doubt if the tale of disaster will ever end. Even the protective power of Apollo seems less than certain to avail: when the chorus try to reassure Orestes that Apollo will save him, his only reply is ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐχ ὀρᾶτε τὰσδ' [the Erinyes], ἐγὼ δ' ὀρῶ (*Ch.* 1061). At Delphi, on the other hand, all seems dignified and orderly. Nor is there any trace of disharmony between different groups of gods, such as is implied by a situation in which the Erinyes are pursuing a man whom Apollo has promised to protect; indeed Aesch. alters established myth (5-8) to obviate any suggestion of such disharmony. All the more devastating then is the impact on the Pythia's secure world of the divine conflict now in being.

The Pythia is an old woman, but wears the dress of a young maiden (Diod. 16.26.6; cf. 38n.). Its whiteness makes a further contrast with *Ch.*, which visually was dominated by the black clothes of the chorus (*Ch.* 11), and also with the dark-clothed Erinyes whom we shall soon see.

1 *πρεσβεύω* 'I give precedence to': cf. 21, *Ch.* 631.

2 *πρωτόμαντιν*: more probably 'the first oracular deity <at Delphi>' than 'the first to prophesy <anywhere>': it is the sequence of possessors of the Delphic shrine that is significant for this prayer (cf. *δευτέρα* 3, *τρίτωι* 4). For Earth as the first possessor of Delphi cf. Paus. 10.5.5; there was an oracle of Earth at Aegeira in Achaea (Plin. *HN* 28.147), and there was said to have once been one at Olympia (Paus. 5.14.10).

ἐκ δὲ τῆς 'and <born> from her', 'and next, her daughter'.

Θέμιν: *θέμις* can mean 'oracle' (e.g. *Od.* 16.403) and *θεμιστεύειν* 'give an oracle' (e.g. Eur. *Ion* 371); and Themis seems to have been thought of as an oracular goddess independently of Delphic tradition (in *Pr.* Themis imparts knowledge of the future to her son Prometheus). At Delphi she was often regarded as the direct predecessor of Apollo (cf. Eur. *IT* 1259-69). Traditionally she was a child of Heaven (Uranus) and Earth (Hes. *Thg.* 135), though in *Pr.* 209-10 she is identified with Earth.

4 λόγος τις may refer to sacred legends promulgated by Delphi itself; if so, the allusion serves to give an air of authority to the whole account, including the anti-traditional elements in 5-8.

4-5 λάχει: usually 'something allotted', but here apparently 'allotment <of functions to gods>'; the successive allotments may be envisaged as being performed by Moira (cf. 334-5, 347-8) or by Uranus, Cronus and Zeus (D. S. Robertson, *C.R.* 55 (1941) 69-70).

θελοῦσης sc. *Θέμιδος*.

οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός is in syntax and sense a blend of *οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν* 'and not by force' and *οὐδὲ βίαι τινός* 'and not against anyone's will'; it marks an explicit rejection of the dominant tradition according to which Apollo took possession of Delphi by force from a chthonic precursor, either a serpent (*h. Ap.* 300-74) or a goddess, Earth or Themis (e.g. Pi. fr. 55, Eur. *IT* 1234-83). Aesch.'s version is so well adapted to this play that it is likely to be his own creation (cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood in J. Bremmer ed., *Interpretations of Greek mythology* (1987) 231). It fits well with the tone of this prayer as a whole; looks forward to the

later reconciliation between the chthonic and Olympian powers; and contrasts sharply with the violent overthrows of Uranus and Cronus mentioned in *Ag.* 168-75. Zeus's predecessors were there spoken of as utterly gone, and their very names were suppressed; here Apollo's priestess not only makes honourable mention of *his* predecessors but actually prays to them (1, 20).

6 Τιτανίς: all the children of Uranus and Earth were called 'Titans' (*Hes. Thg.* 133ff., 207).

Χθονός = Γαίας: cf. *Pr.* 205.

7 Φοίβη 'the Bright One' is named in *Hes. Thg.* 136 as one of the children of Uranus and Earth; by her brother Coeus she became mother of Leto, the mother of Apollo (*ib.* 404-8). She is not elsewhere associated with Delphi, and Aesch. seems to have inserted her into the succession so as to avoid having to posit a *direct* peaceful transfer of the oracle from Themis to Apollo, who traditionally had expelled Themis or Earth by force (4-5n.); instead the transfer takes place in two natural-seeming stages, from sister to sister and from grandmother to grandson.

γενέθλιον δόσιν 'as a birthday gift'. Apollo's birthday was the seventh day of the Delphian month Bysius (approximately February); this was also in early times the only day in the year on which the Delphic oracle could be consulted (*Plu. Mor.* 292e-f), and hence, mythically speaking, 'must have been' the day on which Apollo came into possession of the oracle and delivered his first responses.

8 The implication is that Apollo took the additional name of Phoebus in honour of his grandmother and in gratitude for her splendid gift.

παρώνυμον 'as a by-name': cf. Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 25.

9 λίμνην refers to the Round Pool (τροχοειδῆς λίμνη) north of Apollo's temple on Delos; beside this pool he was said to have been born (*Thgn.* 7).

Δηλίαν should be taken ('ἀπὸ κοινού') with both nouns.

χοιράδα 'rocky isle', possibly a term traditionally applied to Delos (cf. *Δηλίοι τε χοιράδες Eur. Tr.* 89).

10 ἀκτὰς ... Παλλάδος i.e. the coast of Attica. The more common tradition about Apollo's journey to Delphi had him land in Boeotia, either at Mount Messapium (*h. Ap.* 223) or at Delium in the territory of Tanagra (*Pi. fr.* 286); the Athenians, however, believed he landed in

Attica and travelled 'along the road by which the Athenians now send their sacred embassy to the Pythian festival' (Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F 31b).

Παλλάδος: the first mention of Athena in the whole trilogy.

11 Παρνησσού θ' ἔδρας 'and his abode at <Mount> Parnassus', on whose slopes Delphi lies.

12 πέμπουσι 'escort': thus the play begins, as it will end, with Athenians providing a welcoming escort to a god or gods en route to a new home.

13 κελευθοποιοί 'road-makers', the road they made being that referred to by Ephorus (10n.). The making of the road provides an αἴτιον for an Athenian custom mentioned by the scholia: when a sacred delegation went to Delphi, it was preceded on the road by men carrying axes ὡς διημερεύσοντες τὴν γῆν.

παῖδες Ἥφαιστου: the Athenians, whose first king Erichthonius was fathered by Hephaestus (737n.).

13-14 χθόνα ... ἡμερωμένην: the coming of Apollo coincides with the advance of civilization; later he will claim to be the champion of civilization against the barbaric Erinyes (185-95).

14 is the first of six three-word trimeters in *Eu.*; cf. 182, 626, 718, 769, 1028, and see M. Griffith, *The authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (1977) 91-2.

15 τιμαλφεῖ: on the theme of τιμή see 95n.

16 Δελφός: eponym and mythical founder of the Delphian people. He is sometimes called son of Apollo (so Paus. 10.6.3-4), sometimes of Poseidon (so the scholia, citing Epaphroditus' commentary on Callimachus' *Aetia*); the latter filiation, as the less obvious, is probably the earlier, and here Delphus is clearly *older* than Apollo.

πρυμνήτης lit. '<man> at the stern', hence 'steersman'; applied here and at 765, via the common 'ship-of-state' metaphor, to the ruler of a people.

17 τέχνης sc. μαντικῆς.

ἐνθεον 'inspired'; lit. 'having a god within him', so perhaps infelicitously used here of one who is himself a god.

κτίσας 'making, rendering', a sense of κτίζω almost confined to Aesch. (e.g. 714, *Ch.* 1060).

φρένα acc. of respect.

18 τοῖσδε ... θρόνοις refers to the sacred tripod in the inner chamber of the temple, on which the Pythia sat (cf. Eur. *Ion* 91) to deliver

Apollo's responses. It does not follow from τοῖσδε that the tripod is visible: a gesture towards the temple would be enough to justify the demonstrative.

19 Note the word-order, at once 'nested' and 'chiastic': the name and description of Zeus enclose the description and name of Apollo which in turn enclose the verb.

προφήτης 'spokesman'. All the oracular responses of Apollo, then, have the backing of Zeus (cf. 616-18, 713, *h. Ap.* 132, Aesch. fr. 86). Thus in effect it was Zeus who commanded Orestes to kill his father's murderers and Zeus who promised him protection if he did so (*Ch.* 1029-39).

δ': for the late placement of δέ, common in Aesch., cf. 21, 68, 176, 197, 281, and see Denniston 187-9.

Λοξίας is a common (and metrically convenient) poetic name for Apollo; here, after προφήτης, there may be a hint at a fancied derivation from λέγω.

πατρός: the prayer which began with a Delphic succession that descended to Apollo in the female line ends with the play's first mention of paternity, whose rights and claims Apollo will champion: cf. Goldhill 209.

20 cf. 1. Aesch. often ends a speech or major section of a speech with an echo of its opening ('ring-composition'): cf. 185 ~ 195; *Ag.* 1 ~ 19, 810-11 ~ 829, 1577-81 ~ 1611; *Ch.* 2 ~ 19, 554-5 ~ 579-82, 742-3 ~ 765.

21 προναία 'before the temple', Athena's title at Delphi. Her temple, about a mile east of Apollo's, would seem to an approaching traveller to be standing directly in front of the greater building. Athena's prominent placing here suits her role in the play but may also reflect actual Delphic practice; cf. Aeschines 3.108-11 and *IG* II² 1126.35.

ἐν λόγοις is evidently in contrast with ἐν εὐχαῖς (20), marking a distinction between the mantic deities (Apollo and his predecessors), to whom the Pythia 'prays', and the other deities of Delphi with whom she has no direct cultic connection and of whom she merely 'makes <honourable> mention'.

22-8 The order in which the deities are mentioned seems almost random, except that Zeus Teleios, god of finality (28n.), fittingly comes last. No distinction is made between Olympian gods (Dionysus, Poseidon, Zeus) and the more archaic nature-powers (the cave-

nymphs, the river-god Pleistus); as in the succession-legend (1-8), the impression is given that there is no conflict between different classes and generations of gods.

22-3 The Corycian cave is high up on Mount Parnassus above Delphi. Like many a cave from Ithaca (*Od.* 13.103-4) to Attica (*Men. Dysc.* 2), it was sacred to the Nymphs: cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1127, *Call. fr.* 75.56, *Paus.* 10.32.7. See *L'antre corycien* (*B.C.H. Suppl.* 7 (1981), 9 (1984)).

ἐνθα: fully expressed, the construction would be <τὰς> νύμφας <αἱ εἰσιν> ἐνθα <ἐστὶν ἡ> Κ. πέτρα.

πέτρα κοίλη 'cave in the rocks'.

ἀναστροφῇ 'haunt'; cf. *LSJ* ἀναστρέφω B.ii.1.

24 Βρόμιος 'the Noisy One', a common poetic title for Dionysus, who was worshipped with drums and with ecstatic cries, and who had associations with the bellowing bull and the roaring lion. Dionysus was thought to reside at Delphi during the three winter months when Apollo was away visiting the Hyperboreans; and in alternate years a women's festival with maenadic rites was held in his honour on the heights of Parnassus.

δ' is omitted by M, but asyndeton seems out of place in this formal religious utterance. For a first-foot anapaest coextensive with a word cf. 92, 474, 577.

25-6 Myth told that Dionysus' first attempt to establish his worship in Greece was at Thebes, his birthplace. King Pentheus tried to suppress the new cult, but Dionysus caused Pentheus to be torn in pieces on Mount Cithaeron (S. of Thebes) by a band of maenads led by his own mother. Aesch. wrote a trilogy on the story, and it has been immortalized by Euripides' *Bacchae*. The present passage does not imply (as the scholia suppose) that Aesch. here envisaged Pentheus as having been killed on Parnassus: the Pythia is not saying *why* Dionysus is worshipped at Delphi, but *how long* he has been worshipped there (viz. ever since he first entered Greece). In the Pentheus-trilogy itself Aesch. put the murder on Cithaeron.

ἐστρατήγησεν: cf. *Eur. Ba.* 52 ξυνάψω μαινάσι στρατηλατῶν.

26 is the only trimeter in *Eu.* that has neither a normal caesura nor (like 444 and 484) an elision at its midpoint. Such lines are not uncommon in some of Aesch.'s earlier plays (there are seven in *Pers.* 465-519 alone); *Ag.* has two (943, 1256), *Ch.* two or three (150, 493?, 883).

λαγὼ δίκην recalls the omen of Aulis (*Ag.* 108-37) in which a preg-

nant hare was torn apart (as Pentheus was) and eaten by two eagles; that omen led to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, killed (like Pentheus) by her parent. Pentheus' brutal death has no connection with Delphi, and strikes a discordant note in a prayer which otherwise speaks only of harmony and peace. Is it a reminder, just before we encounter the horrendous and bloodthirsty Erinyes, that there is violence and blood in the history of the Olympian gods as well, or a foreshadowing of the plight of Orestes, the hunted beast (111, 147-8, 231, 246) fleeing the deadly pursuit not of his mother but of his mother's 'wrathful hounds' (*Ch.* 924, 1054)?* These functions need not exclude each other.

δίκη 'in the manner of' occurs 23 times in the *Oresteia* against three times in the rest of the Aeschylean corpus. This is surely connected with the thematic importance of δίκη 'justice' in this trilogy. See Goldhill 101-2.

καταρράψας 'stitching over' Pentheus, i.e. devising against him; cf. *Ag.* 1604 τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς. Stitching half-suggests the idea of a net, which has been one of the leading images of the *Oresteia*; see 112n.

27 Πλειστοῦ: the Pleistus is the river which flows in the gorge below Delphi.

δέ: τε (MSS) might be defended by the near-parallel of *Ag.* 513; but whereas *Ag.* 513-17 merely continues the series of invocations begun at 508, the present sentence is grammatically centred not on the invocations of 27-8 but on the announcement in 29 that the speaker is ready to enter the temple; thus it marks a new stage in the proceedings and should be introduced by an adversative rather than a continuative particle.

πηγᾶς 'stream', not 'spring(s)' (the sources of the Pleistus are a considerable distance from Delphi); cf. *Pers.* 311, *Th.* 273.

Ποσειδῶνος κράτος: Poseidon had an altar within the temple of Apollo (Paus. 10.24.4), and it was said that he had once shared the oracle with Earth (Paus. 10.5.6). The periphrasis 'the power of Poseidon' for 'powerful Poseidon' is of epic origin (cf. ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο *Od.* 8.2) and much affected by Aesch. (299, *Ch.* 893, *Th.* 448).

28 τέλειον: τέλος and its derivatives are keywords of the *Oresteia*, in the senses of fulfilment, finality and perfection - goals sought after by many characters in *Ag.* and *Ch.* but never attained (cf. S. D. Goldhill,

* I owe this suggestion to a student, J. J. Levinson.

J.H.S. 104 (1984) 169-76). Zeus's cult-title *Teleios*, 'He who fulfils <prayer>' (cf. *Ag.* 973), may suggest that he has the power to open the way to this goal, but it remains unclear whether and how he will do so. Cf. *Intr.* §5.

29 μάντις εἰς θρόνους: cf. μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις 18. As Apollo speaks for Zeus, so the Pythia speaks for Apollo. Cf. *Ag.* 1275 (Cassandra speaking) ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμέ.

καθίζάνω is future in sense, 'I am now going to sit', since her tripod-seat is within the inner chamber (ἄδυτον) of the temple and therefore offstage. Cf. Aeschines 2.183 μικρὰ δ' <ἔτι> εἰπὼν ἤδη καταβαίνω 'I will say a little more and then step down'.

The Pythia now moves towards the temple. At the door she turns, utters a final prayer, and calls on any who wish to enter and enquire of the god.

30-1 To become the inspired vehicle of Apollo's utterances was a dangerous act; *Plu. Mor.* 438a-c recounts an occasion when the Pythia, having gone in to prophesy reluctantly after the preliminary sacrifice had augured ill, became seemingly possessed by an evil spirit, rushed screaming from the tripod, threw herself to the floor, and died a few days later.

τυχεῖν ... ἄριστα 'to meet with the best fortune'. It is not clear whether ἄριστα is a neuter plural adjective (cf. 856-7, *Ch.* 711 τυγχάνειν τὰ πρόσφορα) or an adverb (in which case the construction would be unique, 'a kind of superlative of εὐτυχεῖν' (Rose)).

τῶν πρὶν εἰσόδων: gen. of comparison, 'surpassing my previous entries', governed by a superlative as in *Ar. Ra.* 763 τὸν ἄριστον ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συντέχνων, *Thuc.* 1.1.1 πόλεμον ... ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.

δοῖεν: the understood subject is 'the gods I have named'.

31 πάρ' = πάρεσιν.

Ἑλλήνων: Delphi was primarily – though (in historical times) not exclusively – an oracle for Greeks: cf. *h. Ap.* 247-53, *Eur. Ion* 92.

32 ἴτων: this form of the 3rd pl. imperative of εἶμι occurs only here; other attested Attic forms are ἰόντων (*Thuc.* 4.118.7 citing a state document) and ἴτωσαν (first in *Eur. IT* 1480).

πάλωι λαχόντες: enquirers drew lots for the order in which they would consult the oracle (cf. *Eur. Ion* 908); only those who had been granted the right of automatic precedence (προμαντεία) were exempt.

33 *μαντεύομαι* ... *θεός* echoes *θεῶν* ... *πρωτόμαντιν* (1-2): cf. 20n.

The Pythia enters the temple. The audience may now be expecting Orestes to appear; instead the Pythia herself re-enters, after a short interval during which the acting area is empty: a sequence without parallel in surviving Greek tragedy (Taplin 362), though in comedy cf. *Ar. Ec.* 729/30 (see *B.I.C.S.* 31 (1984) 144), *Men. Dysc.* 908/9. And when the Pythia reappears, she is crawling on hands and knees like a baby (37-8); she has beheld within a sight so terrifying as to have utterly unnerved her, both mentally and physically. The only comparable moment in extant Greek drama is *Eur. Hec.* 1056ff., when the blinded Polymestor enters *τετράποδος βάσιν θηρὸς ὀρεστέρου τιθέμενος*.

34 *δεινά*: the Pythia's terror reintroduces the theme of fear, which has appeared frequently from *Ag.* 14 onwards, e.g. in the mounting apprehension of the Argive elders for Agamemnon's safety, in the people's dread of the tyrant Aegisthus (*Ch.* 58-9), in Clytaemestra's alarming dream (*Ch.* 35, 524, 547), in the terrors with which Orestes is threatened if he fails to avenge his father (*Ch.* 269-97), and most recently in the appearance of the Erinyes to Orestes, which terrified him almost out of his mind. In that scene, and throughout *Eu.*, the Erinyes may be said to personify Fear. But as *Eu.* proceeds, fear, like many other thematic concepts of the trilogy, and like the Erinyes themselves, will be viewed in a less wholly negative light, and spoken of as a bulwark of *δίκη* (517ff., 698ff.) and even a guarantee of prosperity (990ff.).

36 *ὥς* = *ὥστε* 'with the result that', a usage which in Attic is almost confined to tragedy; Aesch. has it some 20 times (cf. 427, 895).

σωκεῖν 'have strength', found only here and at *Soph. El.* 119.

μ' is subject of both infinitives (*ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*: 9n.).

ἄκταινεν στάσιν 'stand erect', cf. *Plato Lg.* 672c *ὅταν ἄκταινώσῃ ἑαυτὸ* 'when it raises itself to its feet'. The variant *βάσιν* may be ancient (though, *pace* Page, *EM* s.v. *ἄκταινεν* is not a witness to it), but is inferior since it anticipates the point, and so weakens the effect, of 37.

37 *ποδωκείαι σκελῶν*: not tautologous, since the literal meaning of *ποδ-* is no longer felt: cf. *Th.* 623 *ποδῶκες ὄμμα*, *Ch.* 576.

38 'An old woman when she's frightened is nothing – or rather, is just like a child.' This recalls the proverb *δὺς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες* (cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1417) and the reflections of the elders in *Ag.* 74-82. The idea that

age and youth are not so different as they seem has resurfaced since in various remarks about the older learning from the younger (*Ag.* 584, 1619ff.; *Ch.* 171); it will be much more prominent in *Eu.* with its conflict between the venerable Erinyes and the young Apollo, so different outwardly but alike in their intransigence, followed by a reconciliation between the older and younger gods in which each group learns from the other. See Lebeck 17-20.

μέν οὖν 'or rather', correcting an expression that was not vivid enough (Denniston 478-9).

At some point the Pythia must rise to her feet, and as 39 marks a transition to more coherent and organized utterance she probably does so now. It is more likely that she rises on her own than that she is helped up by assistants: her committal of the safety of Apollo's house into the god's own hands (60-3) would lose much of its effect if other mortals, stronger and more capable than she, were on stage with her.

39 πολυστεφῇ 'hung with many fillets' or bands of wool (στέμματα or ταινία). There is frequent mention of στέμματα in connection with the prophetic chamber (ἄδυτον) at Delphi (e.g. *Eur. Ion* 1310, *Ar. Pl.* 39); in a fourth-century vase painting showing Orestes at Delphi (Trendall-Webster p. 47 no. III.1.11 = Prag pl. 33a) the ἄδυτον contains a laurel-tree whose branches are wound and hung with fillets.

μυχόν 'the inner chamber', i.e. the ἄδυτον.

40-5 Now the audience learn why they have not seen Orestes arriving at the temple: he was already there, in the ἄδυτον itself, before the action of *Eu.* began – but even into that sanctum the Erinyes followed him.

40 ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ: the 'navel' (ὀμφαλός) was a sacred stone that stood in the ἄδυτον and was said to mark the centre of the earth. In art Orestes is sometimes shown sitting on the stone, sometimes next to it; the text here is ambiguous, since ἐπὶ + dat. can correspond to 'at' as well as 'on' (cf. 806, *Supp.* 694), but in any case, as a suppliant, Orestes must be in physical contact with the sacred object (cf. J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 93 (1973) 75-8) – and therefore, being polluted himself, he must be polluting it.

μέν is answered by δέ in 46.

θεομυσῇ 'polluted in the eyes of the gods', because bloodstained (41-3).

41 ἔδραν ἔχοντα προστρόπαιον 'seated in the manner of a suppliant

for purification' (on προστρόπαιος see Parker 108). By the time he reaches Athens, Orestes is προστρόπαιος no longer (237).

41-3 αἷματι ... ἔχοντ': the blood on Orestes' hands is that of Clytaemestra, and his sword is called νεοσπαδές 'recently drawn', i.e. 'recently used', because it too is still bloodstained: 'this vividly presents the killer fresh from the murder' (scholia). To complain that this is unrealistic is to forget a fundamental principle of the trilogy thus far, viz. that the taint of blood can *never* be washed off the guilty hand (*Ch.* 66-74, cf. 520-1). Even when Orestes comes to Athens, claiming he is no longer polluted (237, 280-7, 445-52), the Erinyes are still tracking him by the drip of blood (247, 253; cf. 317).

στάζοντα χεῖρας 'his hands dripping' (lit. 'dripping in respect of the hands').

43-5 Orestes bears (in his left hand: cf. *Supp.* 193) the insignia of the suppliant, an olive branch wreathed with wool (cf. *Ch.* 1035).

ὑψιγέννητον 'grown tall': for γεννᾶν in the sense 'grow' cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1077. A suppliant would naturally wish to approach a god with a tall and handsome bough: in *Supp.* 346, 354-5 the Danaids' suppliant-branches 'shade' the altars and images of the gods (cf. also *Ach. Tat.* 4.13.1-2).

λήναι: λῆνος '(piece of) wool' is attested only here in Attic.

μεγίστωι: a long band of wool to go with the tall bough.

σωφρόνως suggests that, polluted though he is, Orestes does belong to civilized humanity: he supplicates in the proper manner and with due reverence, like a σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ (441).

ἀργῇτι μαλλῶι: the rare word λῆνος is 'glossed' in apposition by a phrase consisting of two somewhat more familiar words: cf. *Th.* 489 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω, FJW on *Supp.* 21.

τῇδε 'by speaking thus', i.e. by saying ἀργῇτι μαλλῶι.

τρανώς ἐρῶ 'I shall prove to have spoken clearly', i.e. 'I shall be clearly understood'; on this use of the future tense see S. L. Radt, *Scholia: Studia ... D. Holwerda oblata* (1985) 111-12, who compares *Soph. OC* 628, *Ar. Nu.* 261, *Av.* 1340, *Ra.* 843, *Ec.* 568.

46-59 The Pythia's vivid description of the Erinyes, with its echoes of *Ch.* 1048ff. (48, 52, 54nn.), makes it clear that what Orestes saw then was no hallucination, and prepares for the moment when the audience will see them too: cf. A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 103 (1983) 23.

47 εὔδει: cf. 67, 705-6nn. For the moment the audience may well be

mystified that Clytaemestra's ἔγκοτοι κύνες, having run their quarry to earth, should then have fallen asleep. At the very end of *Ch.* the chorus despairingly asked ποῖ καταλήξει μετακοιμισθὲν μένος ἄτης; and now the Erinyes, the embodiments of ἄτη (cf. 376; *Ag.* 643/5, 1119/24, 1190/2, 1433; *Ch.* 402-4), are κεκοιμισμένοι.

ἐν θρόνοισιν 'on chairs' (nothing to do with the θρόνοι of 18 and 29).

48-53 The Pythia struggles to describe adequately the beings she has seen. She is the last of several characters who find difficulty in framing utterances appropriate to the situation (cf. *Ag.* 783-7, 1232-6; *Ch.* 87-99, 315-18, 418, 997-1004; Lebeck 103-4).

48 Γοργόνας because they have hideous faces and snakes for hair. Orestes had made the same comparison (*Ch.* 1048-50); but the Pythia on reflection decides it is not quite accurate. Aesch. seems to have been the first to envisage the Erinyes as anthropomorphic beings rather than as serpents (Intr. §2); they are similarly depicted in several vase paintings of the mid fifth century (Prag pls. 30-32).

49 τύποις 'forms'.

There may, as Wakefield suggested, be a line missing after 49. The transition from the Gorgons to the Harpies is rather abrupt, and the latter are not named; furthermore, the crucial point that the Harpies are winged, and so cannot be identical with the beings in the temple, is only implied and not stated. The scholia, too, seem *prima facie* to be explaining a fuller text than we possess: M's note is ἀλλ' οὐδ' Ἀρπυίας αὐτὰς λέγω· εἶδον γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐν γραφῇ πτερωτάς - whence Schütz conjectured, for the missing line, <ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν Ἀρπυίαισι· τὰς γὰρ εὐπτέρους>. On the other hand the transmitted text is quite intelligible; its abruptness and vagueness give an appropriate impression of the speaker groping to describe the almost indescribable.

50-1 refer to the Harpies, hideous beings represented in fifth-century art as winged women (see Trendall-Webster 58-61 nos. III.1.24-6). They figured in legend chiefly in the story of Phineus, a Thracian king whom they persecuted by snatching away his food (Aesch. fr. 258) until they were driven away or killed by the Argonauts Zetes and Calais. Aesch. had dramatized the story in a play produced, with *Persians*, in 472.

γεγραμμένας 'female beings in a painting' (and therefore less frightening than if seen in the flesh).

φερούσας 'carrying off'.

51 ἄπτεροι: the Erinyes do have wings in some of the post-*Oresteia* vase paintings (48n.) and in Eur. *IT* 289, *Or.* 317; but 'in a tragedy they could hardly appear winged as a chorus' (Groeneboom).

ἰδεῖν epexegetic infinitive, 'to look at', 'in appearance'.

52 μέλαινα: the Erinyes are dressed in black or dark grey (370, *Ch.* 1049), and this passage suggests that their faces (i.e. masks) are also dark; cf. *Ag.* 462-3 κελαιναί, Eur. *El.* 1345 χρώτα κελαιναί, *Or.* 321, 408. They are further associated with darkness as the children of Night (321-2 etc.) and dwellers in the gloom (72, 386, 396). Contrast the whiteness of Orestes' suppliant-wreath (45) and of the Pythia's robe.

ἐς τὸ πᾶν 'in every way', 'utterly'; see also 83n.

βδελύκτροποι: a unique and expressive form, by haplology for *βδελυκτότροποι 'nauseating in their habits'. The root βδελυ- is otherwise attested only once in serious poetry: Aesch. fr. 137 (Achilles speaking of Patroclus' corpse) καὶ μὴν, φιλῶ γάρ, ἄβδελυκτ' ἔμοι τάδε.

53-4 ῥέγκουσι: another word normally considered below the dignity of tragedy (it is found only at [Eur.] *Rh.* 785, with reference to horses).

οὐ πλατοῖσι 'unapproachable', i.e. so horrific or disgusting that no one will come near them. The adjective πλατός is known otherwise only from a gloss in Photius, but ἄπλατος is common in poetry and often becomes ἀπλαστος in MSS as οὐ πλατοῖσι has become οὐ πλαστοῖσι here.

δυσφιλή λίβα: in fact blood (*Ch.* 1058). The dripping of blood and other liquids to the ground is a major motif in the trilogy, running from *Ag.* 12 (dew) right through to *Eu.* 980; see Lebeck 80-91.

55 κόσμος i.e. their dark clothing (52n.); such a colour would normally be worn only in sign of mourning, and would be very inauspicious to wear when entering a temple. Some of the post-*Oresteia* vases (48n.) show Erinyes dressed in light, flimsy, short-skirted chitons, their colour represented by vertical line-shading: such a garb would suit well with Aesch.'s presentation of the Erinyes as hunters and chasers.

55-6 Apollo (69-70) and more gently Athena (411-12) will likewise say that the Erinyes stand outside both human and divine society.

57 τὸ φύλον ... τῆσδ' ὁμιλίας 'the race to which this company belongs'.

58-9 The expression is condensed to the extent of producing a slight zeugma, for strictly the indirect question requires οἶδα, not ὅπωπα, as

its governing verb: 'neither <do I know> what land boasts that it rears this breed without harm <to itself> and that it does not lament in retrospect the labour <of rearing them>', i.e. I don't know in what land these beings were bred, but surely its inhabitants must regret having allowed them to grow to maturity. For the idea of a nursling becoming a terror to those who reared it, cf. *Ag.* 717-36, *Ch.* 524-50, 896ff., 928.

μή (rather than οὐ) is regular with the infinitive after such verbs of asseveration as ὁμνυμι and μαρτυρέω, but does not seem to be attested elsewhere with (ἐπ-)εὔχομαι in the sense 'claim' or 'boast'.

61 Λοξίαι μεγασθενεί: cf. *Ch.* 269-70 Λοξίου μεγασθενῆς χρησμός. Orestes too expresses confidence in Apollo's σθένης (87), and Apollo does in fact drive the Erinyes from his temple by the threat of force (cf. 179-84); but σθένης proves unable to tame them permanently (cf. 299f.).

62-3 Since Apollo gives expert advice to others on how to avoid or remove plague, pollution, etc., he should surely be able to remove the polluting Erinyes from his own house. Line 63 will also make us think of the House of Atreus, polluted by many murders and still awaiting final cleansing (*Ch.* 966-8), just when its representative Orestes is about to appear.

ιατρόμαντις 'seer and healer', properly one who gives prophetic advice on the cause and cure of diseases (Parker 209). Apollo is called ιατρός καὶ μάντις in *Ar. Pl.* 11.

τερασκόπος properly 'observer and interpreter of omens', but in practice almost a synonym of μάντις: cf. *Ag.* 978, 1440, *Ch.* 551.

καθάριστος: on Apollo's role as a prime authority in matters concerning pollution and its removal, see R. R. Dyer, *J.H.S.* 89 (1969) 40-51.

The Pythia leaves by one of the side-passages.

64-93

We are shown the interior of the temple, with the scene the Pythia has described. Orestes asks Apollo to protect him; Apollo promises to do so, but tells Orestes he has long wanderings before him until he comes to Athens, where 'judges and words that charm' will give him final release from his troubles. Hermes will protect him on his journey.

In this scene Apollo confirms and renews the promise which he first made at the time when he ordered Orestes to slay his father's murderers (cf. *Ch.* 1029-32). But the protection he offers is far from perfect.

He can put the Erinyes temporarily to sleep, but he cannot prevent them from waking and continuing their pursuit; nor does he even, as in Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (Intr. §1), give Orestes a bow to ward them off. Orestes will arrive at Athens clear of pollution (237n.) but still a hotly pursued fugitive; it will be Athena, not Apollo, that brings the chase to an end.

The ἐκκύκλημα (see Intr. §7) is rolled out of the central door, displaying the interior of the temple with the scene described by the Pythia. Orestes is sitting on the floor of the platform, close to and touching the navel-stone (40n.), sword in one hand, suppliant-branch in the other. In front of him (πρόσθεν 46) are at least three chairs (cf. 140) on which Erinyes sit slumped in sleep; the audience can see their dark clothing (52n., 55n.) and the snakes twined in their hair and/or around their arms (*Ch.* 1049–50; cf. Prag pls. 30–33), but not their faces or the full horror of their appearance.

For Apollo's entry, see 64n.; for the question whether Hermes is present, see 89–93n.

Taplin 365–74 argues that the ἐκκύκλημα is not used in this scene, that no Erinyes are visible to the audience now or until 140, and that 'Apollo and Orestes simply entered from the door on foot'. But he fails to show how the ghost-scene (94–139) could be convincingly staged with no Erinyes visible: some at least of the chorus must have been on stage by 94, and since they are asleep they cannot have entered otherwise than on the ἐκκύκλημα. Moreover, the sight of Orestes protected by Apollo and *not* beset by the Erinyes would anticlimactically dispel the tension created by the Pythia's description of the scene within the temple (cf. A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 102 (1982) 26–7).

85–7 These lines have here been transposed, following Burges, to the start of the scene. They are an appeal for protection, and convey a certain note of reproach; they are therefore utterly out of place after the promises that Apollo will be διὰ τέλους φύλαξ (64) and will secure for Orestes complete ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων (83). If these promises still left Orestes uncertain of Apollo's support, it would take more than Apollo says in 88–93 to reassure him. The request and complaint belong *before* the promises. Apollo had previously told Orestes (*Ch.* 1030–2) that if he carried out the command to kill Clytaemestra and Aegisthus he would not be punished: evidently then Apollo realized that punishment would be unjust (85). The question now is whether he is suffi-

ently concerned for Orestes' sake (86) to translate his promise into reality against the opposition of the Erinyes. He has the power to do so, or so Orestes believes (87); will he use it? Apollo appears in response to his prayer (64n.) and at once gives Orestes the assurance he so badly needs, continuing with detailed predictions and instructions and ending with further reassurances (82–3, 89–93). Presumably Orestes' lines fell out of the text and were later written in at the foot of a column.

85 τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν: whether Orestes acted justly in killing his mother, and whether Apollo acted justly in protecting him, are crucial issues in the play: cf. 154, 163, 221, 224, 312, 468, 491, 610ff., 725. Beyond this, δίκη is a major theme of the entire trilogy (Intr. §5). For the synizesis in μὴ ἀδικεῖν (and μὴ ἀμελεῖν 86) cf. 691, *Ch.* 918–19.

86 ἐπίσται sc. τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν.

87 The construction is τὸ σὸν σθένος <ἐστὶ> φερέγγυόν <με> εὖ ποιεῖν 'your strength is amply sufficient to help me'.

64 Out of the darkness of the *skene* interior, Apollo appears on the rear of the ἐκκύκλημα platform. This treatment of Apollo's entry (P. E. Easterling *ap.* A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 102 (1982) 29) is the simplest and most effective: first we see what the Pythia saw – Orestes the suppliant and the sleeping Erinyes – and then Orestes' prayer is answered by the epiphany of Apollo, whom (as Brown loc. cit. notes) the Pythia did not mention having seen. The sequence is 'mirrored' later when Orestes at Athens, again a suppliant touching an object of great sanctity, again beset by the Erinyes, prays for the aid of Athena (287–98); but it is long before Athena comes (397). Brown's own view is that Apollo here appears on the *skene* roof; but this might be confusing, given that Orestes and the Erinyes have to be imagined as being *inside* the temple and that Apollo himself resides in it (35, 60; cf. 282–3 πρὸς ἐστίαι θεοῦ Φοῖβου).

οὔτοι προδώσω: cf. *Ch.* 269 οὔτοι προδώσει – but those words were followed by a catalogue of dire threats unrelieved by any promise of protection (*B.I.C.S.* 27 (1980) 65–6). This time it is different.

διὰ τέλους: 28n.

65 Apollo will not always be physically at Orestes' side (though he is during the trial-scene), but even when he is far away he will still be actively protecting Orestes, for a god's power is not diminished by distance (cf. 297, 397).

καὶ πρόσωθ': καὶ πρόσω δ' (MSS) is defended by D. Sansone,

Hermes 112 (1984) 6-7; but (i) Aesch. elsewhere uses καὶ ... δέ only at the beginning of a sentence (*Pers.* 153, 261, 546; *Ch.* 879; *Pr.* 973; fr. 43.1), (ii) πρόσωθε, though not attested elsewhere, is adequately paralleled by ἔσωθε (*Ch.* 800; Eur. *Heracl.* 42).

66 πέπων 'soft, mild', cf. *Ag.* 1365.

67 καί: the connection of thought is 'I have promised not to be gentle to your enemies in future, and as you see I am not being gentle with them now'. This implies that it is Apollo who has brought sleep upon the Erinyes to facilitate Orestes' escape (cf. 147-53).

ἀλούσας 'caught, trapped': thus the *hunters* have been successfully *hunted* - though this success will be only temporary.

μάργους: the Erinyes look like mad creatures, and they drive their victims mad (329f.); but when they speak for themselves they will prove to be in most respects quite rational, and much of what Apollo says about them may well seem attributable to prejudice.

68 ὕπνῳ may depend on πεσοῦσαι or on ἀλούσας: in the text the former has been preferred because πεσοῦσαι probably stands more in need of specification. Cf. *Pi. I.* 4.25 ἐν ὕπνῳ γὰρ πέσεν.

πεσοῦσαι might be thought to be functioning as a finite verb; but probably the sentence is side-tracked by the elaborate digression in 69-73, and the main verb never comes: cf. *Ag.* 12-15, 184ff., 638-43, 1270-6 (where see Fraenkel). But for the digression the sentence might have ended '... will not be able to prevent you from escaping' or the like.

δ': 19n.

κατάπτυστοι κόραι: oxymoronic, since κόραι would normally imply youth, beauty and innocence. Nothing qualifies the Erinyes to be called κόραι except their virginity.

69 γραῖαι παλαιόπαιδες 'old women who might still be called girls'; for the redundant repetition of the notion 'old' cf. *Th.* 533 ἀνδρόπαις ἀνήρ 'a man who might still be called a boy'; for the paradox cf. 38n. γραῖαι παλαιαὶ παῖδες (MSS) will not do: if γραῖαι is a noun (cf. *Soph. Tr.* 870) either it or παῖδες is left asymmetrically lacking an epithet; if γραῖαι is an adjective (cf. 150) either κόραι or παῖδες will have an epithet too many.

μείγνυται 'holds any intercourse' whether social (cf. 55-6) or sexual. The latter sense cannot but be present after κόραι and -παιδες: Apollo implies that the Erinyes' appearance and behaviour are so hideous that no male would come near them.

70 οὐδὲ θήρ: Apollo's disgust even exceeds the Pythia's (55-6).

71 κακῶν δ' ἕκατι κἀγένοντ': cf. 125; but this opinion will prove a gross oversimplification, and in the end the Erinyes will become a force for good (988-95, 1007-9, 1030-1, 1040). The point of καί is that the Erinyes are evil not only now but always, 'even from their birth'.

72 Τάρταρον: the lowest depths of the nether world, far below the realm of Hades.

δ' couples two descriptions of the same region: cf. Denniston 502 (*e*).

73 μισήματ' 'objects of loathing to ...': cf. *Th.* 186 σωφρόνων μισήματα. Apollo repeats this characterization of the Erinyes at 644.

Ὀλυμπίων may suggest (inadvertently on Apollo's part) that there are *non*-Olympian gods who do *not* hate the Erinyes, and so there prove to be: their mother Night (322n.), their sisters the Moirai (335, 392, 723-8, 962n.), Dike (511, 516, 539, 785) and Hades (273-5).

74 ὅμως δέ: although your pursuers are for the moment asleep and powerless.

μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένηι: as Apollo has promised not to be 'soft' (= gentle) to Orestes' enemies (66), so Orestes himself must not be 'soft' (= weak) if he is to endure the long wanderings foretold in 75-7.

75 καί casts emphasis on the following phrase (cf. Denniston 317-20); tr. 'right over the expanse of the mainland'.

76 †βεβῶντ'† is a non-existent form, and Stephanus' βιβῶντ' is not a satisfactory correction: βιβάω and βίβημι are elsewhere used only to describe *gait*, and always accompanied by an adverb of manner (e.g. μακρά, κοῦφα, ὕψι). Possibly we should read βαίνοντ' or προβῶντ' (cf. Cratin. fr. 133 K-A προβῶντες) 'going ever (αἰεὶ) forward'.

ἀν' 'over, through', cf. *Supp.* 549-50 περᾶι δὲ ... Λύδια ... ἀν [= ἀνὰ] γύαλα. For the separation of the preposition from its case cf. *Pi. O.* 1.17 παίζομεν φίλαν ... ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν, *Plato Lg.* 832c σύν αἰεὶ τινι βίαι.

τὴν πλανοστιβῇ χθόνα 'the earth you tread in your wanderings' (Lloyd-Jones): this is the boldest of several -στιβῆς compounds used by Aesch., cf. *Ch.* 768 μονοστιβῆ, *Pers.* 126 πεδοστιβῆς, *Supp.* 1000, *Th.* 859 ἀστιβῆ.

77 πόλεις 'lands, states', cf. *Pers.* 511, 946, *Eur. Ion* 294, *Ar. Pax* 251.

78 πρόκαμνε: the force of προ- is 'before you have reached your goal'.

βουκολούμενος is middle, 'caring for, devoting yourself to'; cf. (in

the active) Ar. V. 10. But the participle is also capable of being taken as passive, hinting at a promise that Orestes will be cared for or shepherded on his wanderings, a promise made explicit in 89-93 (cf. 91 ποιμαίνων, 196).

79 πόνον: it will be the last of his labours (cf. 83).

ποτί (= πρὸς) is a form which in literary Greek belongs essentially to epic and lyric. The tragedians use it fairly freely in lyrics (e.g. 176, Ag. 725), but in iambics it appears only here and (as a prefix) at Soph. Tr. 1214.

πόλιν: this variant of πόλις is used by Aesch. (and Euripides) in lyrics and iambics alike. We cannot tell whether 'the πόλις of Pallas' is here Athens or more specifically the Acropolis (which Athenians commonly called just πόλις (Thuc. 2.15.6; cf. πόλει 687)); elsewhere in Aesch., however, the phrase means 'Athens' (1017, Pers. 347).

80 ἵζου sc. as a suppliant.

παλαιὸν ... βρέτας: the olive-wood image of Athena Polias, housed in the temple which she had from early times shared with Erechtheus (cf. 855n.) on the Acropolis (to be distinguished from the late fifth-century temple now called the Erechtheum). On the nature and history of this image see J. H. Kroll, *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982) 65-76 and pl. 11.

ἀγκαθεν λαβών: cf. περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεῖς 259. Once again (cf. 40n.) the matricide's hands will be touching an object of the utmost sanctity.

81-3 Apollo leaves much obscure (e.g. there is no indication that Orestes' judges will be mortal (see Intr. §1)), but three things are clear: that Orestes will be saved by persuasion (θελκτηρίους μύθους), not by force or miracle; that the long sequence of violence and counter-violence will be broken, and the Erinyes somehow be made to submit to a judicial process; and that Orestes' 'release from toil' will be final and permanent (ἐξ τὸ πᾶν).

81 τῶνδε probably neuter, 'of these matters'.

81-2 θελκτηρίους μύθους 'words to charm <the jurors>'. In fact Apollo's arguments at the trial will prove less than spell-binding; it will be Athena's softer persuasion that charms away the wrath of the Erinyes (cf. γλώσσης ἐμῆς ... θελκτήριον 886, θέλξιν μ' ἔοικας 900).

82 μηχανάς: in Ag. and Ch. μηχανή and its derivatives were used mainly of criminal plotting (Ag. 1127, 1253, 1582, 1609; Ch. 221, 981) and its negative cognates ἀμήχανος, ἀμηχανῶ, δυσμηχανῶ of the

helplessness of the well-meaning faced with what they do not understand or cannot control (*Ag.* 1113, 1177, 1360, 1530, *Ch.* 407). In *Eu.*, on the other hand, μηχανή will be associated with release from evil (cf. 646) and ἀμήχανος with the helplessness of the wrongdoer caught in the toils of justice (561, 769).

εὐρήσομεν: the context suggests that Apollo's 'we' means 'I' (cf. 451, 611, 767n., 897) and that he is saying in effect 'since I put you in this peril (84) I will get you out of it'. But in the event Orestes' liberation will be the work not of one god but of three, Athena, Apollo and Zeus (757-60).

83 ἐς τὸ πᾶν: Aesch. uses this phrase seven times in *Eu.*, thrice in the rest of the *Oresteia*, and (so far as we know) nowhere else. In *Eu.* it repeatedly (291, 401, 670, 891) connotes that finality, permanence, perfection (τὸ τέλειον) which is one of the great hopes of the trilogy (28n.).

τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων recalls *Ag.* 1 θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων. That prayer, in varying words, has been voiced by many characters in *Ag.* and *Ch.*; but never till now has any god taken heed of it.

84 ἔπεισα: on πειθῶ in the trilogy see 885n. Apollo's 'persuasion' of Orestes was effected by a mixture of promises and threats, the latter predominating (*Ch.* 269-97, 1029-33); contrast Athena's persuasion of the Erinyes (794-900) in which among many promises there is only one implied threat (826-9).

μητρῶιον δέμας means no more than μητέρα, but perhaps adds dignity and solemnity to the utterance.

88-93 Apollo again exhorts Orestes to be of good courage (cf. 74, 78), and bids Hermes 'shepherd' him on his wanderings.

88 should be taken closely with what follows ('I urge you not to be overcome by fear, and <to show my words are not empty> I instruct Hermes to watch over you'). Maas suggested transposing 88 to precede 64, but this would weaken the opening of Apollo's speech and blur the echo of *Ch.* 269; Dawe 187 proposed placing 88 between 83 and 84, but 84 is a far better explanation (γάρ) of a promise to help Orestes (81-3) than of an admonition to him not to despair (88).

μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας: contrast *Ch.* 1023-4 φέρουσι γὰρ νικῶμενον | φρένες δύσαρκτοι, πρὸς δὲ καρδίαι φόβος κτλ.; and see 34n. The double acc. σε ... φρένας is an example of the 'whole and part' con-

struction; cf. 843, *Pers.* 161 καὶ με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντὶς 'and anxiety tears my heart', *Supp.* 379.

89-93 It has generally been assumed that Hermes is present to receive these instructions, and then leaves with Orestes. But, as has been seen by Lloyd-Jones and by Taplin 364-5, there is no need for Hermes to be present, since κλύει καὶ πρόσωθεν ὦν θεός (297); nor is Orestes in fact accompanied on his wanderings by Hermes' physical presence (else where is Hermes in 235ff.?) but rather by his protective power; nor did Hermes have any traditional connection with Delphi that would account for his being present, unsummoned, within Apollo's temple there.

89 Apollo and Hermes were both sons of Zeus, by different mothers (Leto and Maia respectively). They are thus, by normal reckoning, half-brothers; but to Apollo, who claims there is no blood-tie between mother and child (658ff.), Hermes counts as his full brother – indeed for him the phrases ἀντάδελφον αἶμα and (παῖς) κοινοῦ πατρός are synonymous. The Erinyes, in contrast, ask for the assistance of the Moirai as their ματροκασιγνήται (961-2).

90-1 Ἑρμῇ, φύλασσε: Hermes, who has often aided Orestes before (cf. *Ch.* 1-2, 124, 583-4 (with Garvie's note), 727, 812-18), will now do so again.

ἐπώνυμος 'true to your title' of πομπαῖος; cf. *Th.* 8-9 ὦν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει i.e. 'from which may Zeus the Defender defend Thebes'.

πομπαῖος: Hermes was so called as the protector of travellers (*Eur. Med.* 759) and the god who escorted souls to Hades (*Soph. Aj.* 832).

ποιμαίνων: 78n., 249n.

92 σέβει: it is not often in Greek tragedy that a god is said to σέβειν a mortal (outside *Eu.* perhaps only in *Eur. Hipp.* 896). The word may thus foreshadow the idea of gods' being answerable to men (*Intr.* §5).

τόδ' ἐκνόμων σέβας lit. 'this respect-worthiness of strangers', i.e. 'strangers such as this man, who are entitled to respect'; for the periphrasis cf. 545, 885, *Pr.* 1092. ἐκνομος is found, in classical Greek, only here and at *Ag.* 1473 (where it means 'tuneless'), and its exact meaning here is uncertain; the scholia assume that it means ἰκέτης, probably a mere guess based on the context. It is best connected with νομός 'dwelling' (so Rose) and taken to mean 'person away from home, stranger, wanderer'; cf. ἐννομος 'inhabitant' (*Supp.* 565). Orestes is thus said here

to be under the protection of Zeus in his capacity as ξένιος (cf. *Ag.* 61, 362, 748) as well as ἱκέσιος (cf. *Supp.* 347, 616).

93 'who is sped on his way to men with the fortune of a good escort', i.e. 'who is blessed with a good escort as he starts on his journey back to human society'.

ὁρμώμενον agrees with ἱκέτην (σέβει-σέβας being parenthetical); if we took the participle with σέβας (with no punctuation at the end of 92) Apollo would be saying that Zeus protects the ἔκνομος only when, or because, the latter is properly escorted (i.e. very rarely).

βροτοῖσιν: a dat. of 'motion towards' is rare with non-compound verbs (K-G I 406), but its use here may have been encouraged by the analogy (i) of verbs like πέμπω which imply directed motion, (ii) of ἐφορμάω (cf. Aesch. fr. 132c.7 χεῖρ' ἐφορμήσω δορί). Orestes, as a polluted killer, has been an outcast from human society; but soon he will be purified and restored to human converse (284-5, cf. 473-4).

Orestes leaves. Apollo goes inside (to reappear at 179).

94-139

The ghost of Clytaemestra appears, and in a dream upbraids the Erinyes for allowing Orestes to escape while they sleep. They stir, make noises in their slumber, and dream of hunting down a beast (which represents Orestes); the ghost continues to urge them to awake and chase their real quarry. As the first of them begins to wake, the ghost departs.

This scene is in a sense antistrophic to the preceding one. Orestes has moved his divine champion to action; now Clytaemestra moves hers. But the two scenes contrast sharply. Orestes is the killer, Clytaemestra the victim; Apollo is a power of light, the Erinyes of darkness; and whereas Orestes had to say very little and was answered with ample assurances, here Clytaemestra does all the talking and the Erinyes make no answer at all.

It is not clear how the ghost's appearance was staged. The actor may simply have come on from one of the side-passages; or he may have come up from 'underground', perhaps through a trapdoor in the wooden stage-platform in front of the *skene* (N. G. L. Hammond, *G.R.B.S.* 13 (1972) 439 n. 96; cf. Taplin 447-8), perhaps from a hole cut in the outcrop of rock which in the early theatre stood near the eastern edge of the orchestra (M. L. West, *J.H.S.* 99 (1979) 135; cf. Hammond op. cit. 406-29). Less probably the actor emerged from

concealment on or behind the *ekkyklema*. The suggestion of R. C. Flickinger, *C.J.* 34 (1939) 357-9, that the ghost was not seen at all but only heard, is unacceptable in view of 103 and of the speaker's tardiness in identifying herself (116); cf. A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 102 (1982) 27.

Clytaemestra probably appears wearing the same clothes she wore in *Ch.*, but with rents and bloodstains where Orestes' sword pierced her (103).

Two other ghosts appear in extant tragedies: Darius (summoned from below to advise and predict) in *Pers.* 681-842, and Polydorus in the prologue of Eur. *Hec.* For evidence of similar scenes in lost plays see Taplin 447.

94-9 The opening of Clytaemestra's appeal to the Erinyes is markedly similar to the opening of the speech of Patroclus' ghost to Achilles in *Il.* 23.69-74: there is the same reproach of the addressee for sleeping (Patroclus' first word is εὔδεις) and neglecting the speaker's interests, the same complaint that the speaker is suffering dishonour among the dead (98 echoes Patroclus' ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ἀλάλημαι).

94 εὔδοιτ' ἄν: a sarcastic request, 'do please sleep on'.

ὦή calling attention, 'hey!' 'ahoy!', cf. Eur. *IT* 1304, *Ph.* 1067-9, *X. Cyn.* 6.19.

καί in a question that is also a scornful retort (Denniston 309-11). Here the retort is not to a verbal utterance but to the Erinyes' snores (53) which proclaim them fast asleep.

95-8 The excited and indignant Clytaemestra loses track of her syntax, as she does again in 100-2. The 1st-person verb to which ἐγώ looks forward never appears, and at 97 a new subject (δνειδος) emerges instead. The muddle is comparable to some perpetrated by Agamemnon's herald, who, when his emotions were engaged, could hardly utter a sentence of any complexity without an anacoluthon (cf. *Ag.* 555-7, 563-7, 638-45, 646-9).

95 ὕφ' ὑμῶν 'thanks to you', i.e. as a result of your failure to avenge me.

ἀπητημασμένη: τιμή and the lack of it are crucial notions in the trilogy and especially in *Eu.* The Erinyes accuse Apollo of depriving them of their long-established τιμή (227, 324, 747) and abetting Orestes in his denial of all τιμή to his mother (622-4); Apollo in turn accuses them of regarding the marriage relationship as ἄτιμον (213-15). After Orestes' acquittal the Erinyes complain bitterly that

they have suffered further ἀτιμία until Athena promises them new τιμί at Athens (78on.). Clytaemestra, however, has no just cause to complain if she is ἄτιμος in Hades: it is the natural sequel (δράσαντα παθεῖν *Ch.* 313) to her own ἀτίμωσις of Agamemnon (*Ch.* 96, 434-5, 443, 485) and his children (*Ch.* 408, 445).

96 νεκροῖσιν 'the <spirits of the> dead' as in *Ch.* 129, *Pers.* 610, *Od.* 11.34.

ὧν ... ἔκτανον 'of those whom I killed' (subjective gen. depending on ὄνειδος): the spirits of Agamemnon and Cassandra, it seems, constantly tax Clytaemestra with their murder, and spread the ill fame of it among the inhabitants of Hades (cf. *Od.* 11.409-56; 24.96-7, 199-202).

97 οὐκ ἐκλείπεται 'is not desisted from', i.e. 'is voiced incessantly': for this sense of ἐκλείπω cf. 132, *Eur. Hipp.* 52, *Ph.* 1635.

98 αἰσχροῦς δ' ἄλωμαι: cf. *Il.* 23.74 (94-9n.).

99 ἔχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν 'I am severely blamed.'

100-2 exhibits not only anacoluthon (a nom. participle left hanging, as in 95), but also redundancy: 102 is a restatement of 100 in more specific terms. Cf. 95-8n.

100 παθοῦσα 'although I have suffered'.

τῶν φιλτάτων: a 'generalizing' plural ('my nearest kin' Lloyd-Jones), not to be taken as implying that Electra shares the guilt: Electra ceased to exist, dramatically speaking, after *Ch.* 584 (Taplin 340).

102 κατασφαγείσης: σφάζειν means properly 'cut the throat' of a sacrificial victim. By means of this verb or of θύειν almost every killing in the trilogy is pictured as a sacrificial slaughter, whether by its perpetrator seeking to portray it as justified and necessary (e.g. *Ag.* 214, *Ch.* 904) or by others to emphasize the innocence of the victim or the bestiality of the act (e.g. *Ag.* 1096, *Ch.* 242). See F. I. Zeitlin, *T.A.P.A.* 96 (1965) 463-508.

103 Clytaemestra displays her wounds (that is, the bloodstained rents in her garment) – an action that recalls how Orestes, after killing her, publicly displayed the robe, still bloodstained, which she had used to entrap Agamemnon when she murdered him (*Ch.* 980-1017).

ὄρα ... σέθεν: singular because she wants her words to strike home to each individual hearer. In the calmer passage 106ff. she reverts to the plural, but from 121 onwards she uses only singulars.

καρδίαί σέθεν: effectively 'in your mind's eye', whereby even a

sleeper can 'see'. Cf. 135-6, 155-61, on the Erinyes' internal, visceral perception of what Clytaemestra is trying to convey to them; also *Ag.* 179-80, 975ff., on the heart's ability to perceive the truth even against the will of its owner or while he sleeps.

104-5 are interpolated from another play: the point they make – that mortals can see the future (n.b. ἀπρόσκοπος) only in dreams – is completely out of place here, since the Erinyes are not mortals and are not being invited to see the future. Line 104 by itself might be acceptable, but the couplet as a whole makes an antithesis too elegant to have come into being by accident; besides, the general reflection in 104 does not suit the present speech, in which Clytaemestra does not elsewhere deviate for a moment from her own plight and her demand for action. The couplet was added as an illustration of ὄρα ... καρδίαι σέθεν (103).

106-10 Clytaemestra reminds the Erinyes of the many offerings she has made to them, and complains that these have been contemptuously ignored; for such reminders cf. *Ch.* 255, *Il.* 1.39-41.

106 μὲν δή: the two particles do not cohere: μὲν introduces the first limb of a contrast, being answered by καί 110 (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1/3, *Tr.* 689/691), while δή emphasizes πολλά.

ἐλείξατε: a verb more suited to beasts than to gods, and especially to three beasts to whom the Erinyes have been or will be compared – lions (193-4, cf. *Ag.* 827-8), dogs (129-32; *Ch.* 924, 1054) and snakes (128).

107-8 χοάς 'drink-offerings' poured out to chthonic deities or (as in *Χοηφόροι*) to the dead.

τ' ... καί 'both ... and'.

δοίνους: wine was a common component of χοαί (cf. e.g. *Eur. IT* 164), but the Erinyes, like the Eumenides of Colonus (*Soph. OC* 469, 481) and many other deities (see A. Henrichs, *H.S.C.P.* 87 (1983) 96-7), receive 'wineless' drink-offerings of water and honey.

νηφάλια μειλίγματα in sense virtually repeats χοάς δοίνους. νηφάλιος was essentially a sacral word 'applied to any aspect of wineless rituals, or to any object ... that pertained to them' (Henrichs op. cit. 91-2). For μειλίγματα 'appeasement-offerings' used of χοαί cf. *Ch.* 15.

νυκτίσεμνα: 'nocturnal and awesome', and all the more awesome for being nocturnal (cf. *Eur. Ba.* 486 σεμνότητ' ἔχει σκότος).

δείπν': i.e. solid food, probably honey-cakes (*Call. fr.* 681).

ἑσχάrai πyρός 'a hearth where there was fire'. Offerings to the chthonic gods were generally made not on a raised altar (βωμός) but at a dug-out hearth in the ground.

109 ἔθyον: a mild zeugma (cf. 58-9n.), since θύειν is not used of making drink-offerings (*pace* LSJ who mistakenly cite *Od.* 14.446, 15.260), for which the proper verbs are χεῖν, σπένδειν, λείβειν.

ῶραν 'at a time', cf. *Eur. Ba.* 723-4, *Hdt.* 2.2.2.

κοινήν 'shared by'.

θεῶν i.e. the Olympian gods (for other chthonic gods besides the Erinyes were worshipped at night); cf. 191, 386, 644, 845, *Eur. Hec.* 2.

110 λάξ ... πατούμενα: the ideas of kicking and trampling have recurred often, usually in relation to the contemptuous spurning of what ought to be sacred: cf. *Ag.* 372, 383, 1193; *Ch.* 643; *Eu.* 542. Twice the theme has been presented visually on stage, when Agamemnon trod on the precious purple cloth (*Ag.* 906-65) and when Cassandra trampled on her prophetic vestments and insignia (*Ag.* 1264ff.). Presently the Erinyes will be claiming that they and their rights have been trampled on by the younger gods (150, 731, 779).

111 νεβροῦ: the Erinyes are hounds, Orestes their quarry: cf. 129-32, 147-8, 231, 246.

112 καὶ ταῦτα 'and what is more'. Only here is καὶ ταῦτα in this familiar usage (LSJ οὗτος C.viii.2) followed by a finite verb (ῶρουσεν); regular grammar would require ὀρούσας. The anomaly could be avoided by putting a strong stop after κούφως (so H. Lloyd-Jones, *C.R.* 26 (1976) 8), or by punctuating at the end of 112 and reading ῶρουσε δ' in 113 (so Groeneboom); but in either case κούφως is unnaturally sundered from ῶρουσεν, which it suits far better in sense than it does οἴχεται. It seems therefore that Clytaemestra has muddled her syntax again (cf. 95-8, 100-2).

ἄρκυστάων: on the recurrent image of the hunting-net, first introduced at *Ag.* 357ff., see Lebeck 63-8. It too has twice been presented visually on stage, when the net-like robe used in Agamemnon's murder was seen in *Ag.* 1372ff. and again in *Cho.* 980ff. Here, for the first time, the net has failed to entrap its victim: Orestes, unlike the Trojans (*Ag.* 358-61) and Agamemnon (*Ag.* 1375-6), has leapt clear of it.

113 ὑμῖν ἐγκατιλλώψας 'making mocking eyes at you'. Derivatives of the adjective ἰλλός (properly 'squinting') are used to refer to a variety of distortions of the eyes - winking (*Od.* 18.11), peering intently

at an object (Aesch. fr. 226), amorous ogling (Philem. fr. 124.4), and, as here, mocking glances (Ap. Rh. 1.486, 3.791, 4.389). For the prefix cf. ἐγγεῖλναι 'laugh at' and ἐγχαΰσκειν 'grin mockingly at'.

114 ἀκούσαθ' has been suspected, coming so near the end of the speech; but this speech is tantamount to a prayer, and a prayer may end with a plea to the power(s) addressed to 'hearken' to words already spoken (cf. *Ch.* 459, 476, 508; *Th.* 171; *Supp.* 175).

ὥς ἔλεξα 'for I have spoken'.

114-15 τῆς ἐμῆς περὶ ψυχῆς plays on two senses of ψυχή. Normally, to speak or run or fight περὶ ψυχῆς meant to do so 'for one's life, with one's life at stake' (e.g. *Il.* 22.161; *Od.* 22.245; Eur. *Hel.* 946). And it is indeed of vital concern to Clytaemestra that she should induce the Erinyes to act; only, since she is dead, she has not been speaking 'for my life' but 'for <the welfare of> my spirit' (also ψυχή).

115 κατὰ χθονός = χθόνια.

11 ὄναρ: in *Ch.* Clytaemestra herself experienced a disturbing dream arising from the anger of the dead (*Ch.* 32-43, 523-50). For the adverbial use of ὄναρ ('in a dream') cf. 131, *Dem.* 19.275.

117 It is Clytaemestra's name that evokes the first response from the sleepers: a whining sound through almost closed lips (μῦ μῦ, whence derive μύζειν and μυγμός: cf. Ar. *Th.* 231). The sound is one often made by sleepers when they first stir. The note μυγμός is a παρεπιγραφή or ancient 'stage-direction': such directions inserted in dramatic texts are rare, and their authenticity is often open to doubt (see O. P. Taplin, *P.C.P.S.* 23 (1977) 121-32), but the five in this scene are virtually guaranteed genuine by the fact that the last of them, μυγμός διπλοῦς ὀξύς (129), is not deducible from or even suggested by anything in the spoken words of the text.

118 μύζοιτ' ἄν: cf. 94 εὔδοιτ' ἄν.

119 has never been satisfactorily interpreted or emended. E. R. Dodds, *C.Q.* 3 (1953) 18-19, pointed out that προσίκτορες is most unlikely to be corrupt and most unlikely to mean anything but 'suppliants' (cf. 441), and diffidently proposed φίλων γὰρ εἰσιν οὐ κενοὶ προσίκτορες 'for suppliants are not devoid of friends' (viz. Zeus, Apollo and Hermes): for the theme of friendlessness cf. *Ag.* 1429, *Ch.* 295, 695, 717, all relating to Clytaemestra or Orestes.

121 ὑπνώσσεις: henceforward Clytaemestra consistently uses the 2nd-person singular (103n.).

πάθος sc. ἑμόν.

122 τῆσδε, as often, refers to the speaker: cf. 206, 365, 500.

123 The Erinyes, still asleep, now cry out ὦ (hence the 'stage-direction' ὠγμός).

125 πέπρωται 'has been assigned by destiny' (cf. *Pr.* 519, 815, Aesch. fr. 199.3): so the Erinyes themselves insist that their functions were given them long ago by Μοῖρα (334f., 392f.; cf. 349). πέπρακται (MSS) is due to anticipation of πράγμα.

τεύχειν κακά: 71η.

127-8 Clytaemestra now tries to goad the Erinyes into waking by taunting them with the suggestion that they have become tired and feeble; and she succeeds at least in making them sleep more lightly and dream more vividly.

κύριοι: either (i) 'having effective power', i.e. together strong enough to defeat you (cf. Thuc. 4.20.2 καταλύσεως ... ὑμεῖς το πλέον κύριοί ἐστε 'your voice is the more decisive as regards ending the war', Plato *Smp.* 180b) or (ii) 'fitting, well-matched' (cf. 327, Plato *Smp.* 218d); (i) is preferable since it adds force to Clytaemestra's taunt that the Erinyes have grown feeble, and would be echoed by her exhortation to them in 133-4 not to be 'conquered' by πόνος or 'softened' by ὕπνος.

δρακαίνης: the Erinyes had traditionally been depicted in art as serpents (Intr. §2). In the *Oresteia* thus far, the snake has symbolized the underhand, guileful destroyer, first Clytaemestra (*Ch.* 249, 991-6) and then Orestes (*Ch.* 527-50, 928); now the same image is applied to Orestes' would-be destroyers.

ἐξεκῆρᾶναν 'have successfully (ἐξ-) tried to damage, have sapped'.

129 The Erinyes again utter a whine, but now it is much louder, high-pitched (ὄξύς) and repeated (διπλοῦς). It recalls the baying of hounds on a scent; and as 130 shows, they are indeed dreaming of the chase.

130 λαβέ λαβέ λαβέ λαβέ φράζου: probably not the calls of huntsmen, but the vocalizations of hounds on the trail, made articulate and meaningful. The rapid, repeated λαβέ suggests the panting of the hounds as they pursue their quarry, eager to 'get him'; then suddenly the leader gives a loud double bark, interpreted linguistically as φράζου 'see!' (cf. *Il.* 10.339, 23.450; Eur. *Hec.* 546), as she gets her first view of the beast.

131 ὄναρ διώκεις θήρα: since Clytaemestra is herself a figure of the Erinyes' dreams (116), there is a paradox here: it is as if the Erinyes were experiencing, *simultaneously*, an objectively real dream in which Clytaemestra upbraided them for their failure to pursue Orestes, and a subjective fantasy-dream in which they imagined themselves actually pursuing him. Cf. A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 103 (1983) 30-1.

132 μέριμναν οὐποτ' ἐκλείπων 'never ceasing from thoughts of'.

φόνου 'blood': the Erinyes will track Orestes by the scent of blood (246-7, 253), and they are also drinkers of blood (183-4, 264-7, 302, *Ag.* 1188-9, *Ch.* 577-8; cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 248-57, describing the Keres, on whom see Intr. §2). πόνου (MSS) would have to mean 'your work, your job', i.e. the chase; but Aesch. does not elsewhere use πόνος without some suggestion of toil or trouble, and it is preferable to assume a very simple corruption (assimilation to πόνος directly below).

133-4 μή σε νικάτω πόνος: cf. 88 μή φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.

πόνος ... ὕπνωι: cf. 127-8n.

πήμα: either 'my suffering' (cf. 95-103, 121 πάθος) or 'the hurt done to you' by Orestes' escape (cf. 143-8).

μαλθαχθεῖς: again she echoes Apollo's words to Orestes (74 μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένῃ).

135 ἄλγησον ἥπαρ 'feel a stab of pain [n.b. aorist] in your liver'; and with such pain the Erinyes are duly stricken (155-9), pain which they rightly ascribe to ὄνειδος ἐξ ὀνειράτων μολόν. For the liver as the seat of the feelings cf. *Ag.* 432, 792, *Soph. Aj.* 938, *Eur. Hipp.* 1070.

136 The subject is ἔνδικα ὀνειδή.

ἀντίκεντρα 'like goads', cf. ἀντίπαις 38, ἀντίδουλος 'like a slave' *Ch.* 135. The Erinyes will speak of themselves as being stricken μεσολαβεῖ κέντρῳ (157).

137-9 tells us how the Erinyes destroy their victim: by draining him of blood (κατισχναίνουσα 'drying him up') so that he withers and dies like a parched plant (cf. μάραινε). Some passages (132n.) speak of their sucking or drinking his blood, but here the desiccation of the victim is ascribed rather to their fiery breath. The metaphors from plant life foreshadow the Erinyes' later threats to blight the plant life of Attica (476-9, 782-7, 801-3), which in the end, however, Athena persuades them to bless, praying for gentle breezes rather than parching, scorching winds (905-7, 938-42).

αἵματηρὸν πνεῦμ': the Erinyes' breath reeks of the blood on which they feed. Cf. *Ag.* 1309 where Cassandra perceives the palace as 'breathing blood-dripping murder'.

ἐπουρίσασα τῷ 'blowing after him' like a wind astern (οὔρος); Orestes will run before this wind, but (so Clytaemestra hopes) to no avail. For Aesch.'s fairly free use of the article as pronoun, cf. 174, 338, 357, *Ag.* 7, 397, *Th.* 197, 912, *Supp.* 1047.

νηδύος πυρί: for the association of breath with the abdomen compare the view of Diog. Apoll. A19 D-K = Thphr. *Sens.* 44-5 that inspired air goes to all parts of the body, but in birds most of it remains περὶ τὴν κοιλίαν. Casual observation of human breathing, too, would suggest that inhalation distended the abdomen at least as much as the chest.

δευτέροις διώγμασιν: they have already pursued him from Argos to Delphi. Aesch. often ends a trimeter with a -μα abstract noun in the plural, sometimes, as here, with little or no trace of a plural sense: cf. 235, 250, 460, 593, 717, 768.

At this moment one of the Erinyes awakes, whereupon the ghost disappears, presumably by the same way that she entered (94-139n.).

140-78

The Erinyes express in song and dance their horror at the escape of Orestes and their disgust with Apollo for permitting it and for allowing his sanctuary to be defiled by the presence of a murderer.

140 The leader awakes her neighbour, and asks her in turn to wake another.

ἐγὼ δὲ σέ: English would prefer subordination ('as I do you').

141 The Erinyes addressed in 140 may have stirred, but has not woken; so the leader again endeavours to rouse her.

ἀπολακτίσας: a Greek may 'kick away' sleep or distress (cf. Thgn. 1337) where an English speaker would 'shake' it off. Possibly the speaker here suits the action to the word and kicks out with one foot: cf. 110, 370nn.

142 ἰδόμεθ': for this plural verb used of the action of two or more persons, following a singular participle referring to one of them, cf. *Ar. Av.* 200-2 ἀνεγείρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀηδόνα, καλοῦμεν αὐτούς, *Soph. Ph.* 645 χωρῶμεν ἐνδοθεν λαβῶν.

φρομίου: the dream was a prelude to, or foretaste of, the coming discovery that Orestes has indeed escaped.

ματᾶι 'is idle, is wide of the mark'.

The leader and those with her stand up and look about them. Seeing that Orestes is really gone, they cry out in horror, and the remaining Erinyes come out of the *skene* door 'one by one or in small disordered groups' (O. P. Taplin, *Greek tragedy in action* (1978) 127), until (perhaps by 154) a full chorus of twelve has formed in the orchestra. (That the Aeschylean chorus numbered twelve is proved by *Ag.* 1348-71 with its twelve couplets, in the last of which the leader sums up the debate which he had proposed at 1347. Taplin 323 n. 3, following N. G. L. Hammond, *G.R.B.S.* 13 (1972) 419 n. 58, argues for a chorus of fifteen in *Ag.*, the other three being assigned lines 1344/6/7; but 1347 is as much the utterance of a 'chairman' as 1370-1 and cannot be allotted to a different speaker.)

143-78 The chorus's song is in a mixed iambic-dochmiac metre. The same combination is found in 254-75, 778-87, *Ag.* 1136-77, *Th.* 78-180; it indicates (as dochmiacs usually do) extreme emotion. For detailed metrical analysis see Appendix.

A scholium on 144 says that the disjointed utterances of the first strophe are to be assigned to various individual choreutae, and this is the best explanation for the way in which what appears to be a continuous sentence in 143 + 145 (ἐπάθομεν, φίλοι, ἐπάθομεν πάθος κτλ.) is interrupted by the grammatically unrelated exclamation 144. Possibly in 143-8 the dochmiacs belong to the leader, the two iambic lines to another voice, while the syntactically and logically smoother anti-strophe, and all that follows, are sung by the whole chorus. For other possible arrangements see W. C. Scott, *A.J.Ph.* 105 (1984) 158-62.

143 ποπάξ occurs only here and is evidently an expression of horrified astonishment, an intensified form of πόποι (145n.). Interjections in -άξ belong to a highly colloquial register of speech; they are frequent in comedy (e.g. *Ar. Ach.* 64, *Th.* 45) but none occurs in serious poetry except here. The MS reading πυπάξ seems to be due to confusion with πυππάξ which is an exclamation of delighted admiration (e.g. *Plato Euthd.* 303A).

143-5 ἐπάθομεν ... παθοῦσα ... ἐπάθομεν πάθος: the repetition emphasizes the idea of victimhood and recalls the principles δρᾶσαντα παθεῖν (*Ch.* 313) and πάθει μάθος (*Ag.* 177); see Intr. §5.

144 'So much I have suffered, and for nothing!' For the exclamatory participle cf. *Ag.* 1269 ἰδοὺ δ', Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμέ.

145 *δυσαχές* 'wretchedly painful'. Lindau's *δυσάκēs* 'hard to heal', though known only from Hesychius, is a tempting conjecture because of the frequency of medical language and imagery in the trilogy (503-7nn.); but *δυσαχές* is supported by the parallel compound *δυσ-αλγής* (*Ag.* 1165).

πόποι, in contrast with *ποπόξ* (143), occurs *only* in serious poetry, mainly epic and lyric. Aesch. uses it to indicate shock or distress (*Ag.* 1072, 1100; *Ch.* 405; *Pers.* 550, 731, 852).

146 *ἄφερτον* 'unbearable' seems to be a word coined for use in the *Oresteia*: it occurs nine times in the trilogy and nowhere else in extant Greek literature.

147 Cf. 111-13 and (for *οἷχεται*) 118, 122.

πέπτωκεν 'has slipped, has escaped': cf. Thuc. 6.95.2 *οἱ μὲν ξυν-ελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἐξέπεσον Ἀθήναζε*.

150 The Erinyes constantly insist that the younger gods do not give them the respect to which their seniority entitles them. Twice again in this connection (731, 779) they will use the rare verb *καθιππάζεσθαι* 'ride down, ride roughshod over', a variant on the theme of kicking and trampling (110n.). In the end Athena will win them over by, among other things, showing proper deference to her elders (848-9, 882-4). On the theme of age and youth cf. 38n.

151-2 The Erinyes object to the Olympians' rule that the suppliant must unconditionally be respected even if, like Orestes or Ixion (441, 717-8), he is a murderer - a principle that had deep roots in Greek society (see J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 93 (1973) 74-103). They consider that a suppliant should have no rights if he has violated the gods' laws (*ἄθεον*) or assaulted a parent (*τοκεῦσιν πικρόν*), ignoring the fact that Orestes killed his mother at a god's command and in defence of the *τιμή* of his other parent (and, as Goldhill 216 notes, that *Clytaemestra* had been *πικρά* to *him* (*Ch.* 234)).

σέβων: 92n.

153 *μητραλοῖαν*: *μητραλοῖας* normally in Attic means one who *strikes* his mother (cf. Lys. 10.8, Plato *Phd.* 114a, *Lg.* 881a); but here (cf. 210-12) it is evidently a synonym of *μητροκτόνος* - a sense not otherwise attested until Roman times.

ἐξέκλεψας ὦν θεός: cf. *παῖ Διός ἐπικλοπος* 149. The participle is concessive (100n.): a god surely ought not to be a thief. The younger gods are similarly accused of theft and trickery in 325, 728, 845-7.

154 They simply cannot conceive that anyone could call Apollo's (or Orestes') action δίκαιον; but in due course Apollo will accept the challenge (λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ... 'δικαίως' 614-15).

155-8 Cf. 135-6.

δίκαν διφρηλάτου: the Erinyes, who in 150 were being trampled by horses, are now themselves imaged as horses. Orestes was a racehorse in *Ch.* 794-9, a charioteer in *Ch.* 1022-3.

μεσολαβεί 'gripped in the middle'; for a charioteer holding a goad in this way, see H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (1972) fig. 66. The goad was an alternative to the more usual whip.

ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν: λοβός, properly the caudate process at the rear of the liver, here seems to denote the liver as a whole. The φρένες are associated with the liver in *Od.* 9.301 ὅθι φρένες ἦπαρ ἔχουσι and *Soph. Tr.* 931 πλευράν ὑφ' ἦπαρ καὶ φρένας πεπληγμένην: we should not expect to find anatomical precision in the poets' use of φρένες (see S. Ireland and F. L. D. Steel, *Glotta* 53 (1975) 183-95), but the concept seems to be that of a wall of tissue enclosing most of the vital organs of the trunk. From the later fifth century, medical and scientific writers applied the term to the diaphragm (e.g. *Hp. VM* 22, *Morb. Sacr.* 20).

159-61 πάρεστι ... ἔχειν 'I can feel.'

μαστίκτορος δαΐου δαμίου (n.b. assonance) 'of the violent public scourger': the Erinyes compare their pain to that of a criminal undergoing a flogging.

βαρύ τι περίβαρυ κρύος: in β. τὸ π. κ. (MSS) the article is wrongly placed; in β. π. τὸ κ. (Wilamowitz) the exact responsion of word-lengths between strophe and antistrophe (164-8n.) is disrupted.

κρύος: the liver (or heart, or soul) is often in Aesch. 'chilled' by fear or grief (*Ch.* 83, 271-2; *Th.* 834); here and in the corrupt *Pr.* 691-3 (†πῆματα λύματα δείματ' ἀμφήκει κέντρῳ ψύχειν ψυχὰν ἐμάν†) this idea seems to be blended with that of the scourge or goad. *Tr.* 'icy sting'.

162 τοιαῦτα has explanatory force: the actions of the younger gods are the cause of the Erinyes' pain. Cf. *Soph. Tr.* 46-7 κᾶστιν τι δεινὸν πῆμα τοιαύτην ἐμοὶ δέλτον λιπῶν ἔστειχε, *Aj.* 218, *OC* 947. Elsewhere Aesch. makes similar use of τοῖος (378, *Pers.* 606).

163 κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν 'ruling with absolute power'.

δίκας πλέον 'beyond what is rightly theirs', the opposite of δίκης ἐπιδευές (*Il.* 19.180). This complaint that the younger gods have acted *ultra vires* is repeated in 208, 227, 321-96, 715.

164-8 'I can see that the seat is dripping with gore from head to foot, and that the navel of earth has gained for its own a horrible pollution of blood.' The Erinyes again accuse Apollo of causing the pollution of his own sanctuary at 204 and 716; he retorts that *they* are polluting it (194-5).

The strophic responson with 157-61 is unusually far-reaching; not only the metrical structure but also the placing of word-breaks is identical in strophe and antistrophe (except that twice a long word in one stanza answers to two or three shorter words in the other), and there are several close phonetic or syntactic echoes (-λαβεῖ ~ -λιβῆ: ὑπὸ φρένας ὑπὸ λοβόν ~ περὶ πόδα περὶ κάρα: πάρεστι μαστ- ~ πάρ-εστι γὰς τ': κρύος ἔχειν ~ ἄγος ἔχειν).

φονολιβῆ: 53-4n.

θρόνον i.e. the tripod (18n.).

περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα 'from bottom to top', i.e. 'all over'.

γὰς ... ὀμφαλόν: 40n.

βλοσυρόν lit. 'bristly', here 'fearsome' (cf. Latin *horridus*); cf. *Supp.* 833 βλοσυρόφρονα, *Il.* 11.36 Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις.

ἀρόμενον is aorist participle of ἄρνυμαι: its subject is γὰς ὀμφαλόν, its object βλοσυρόν ἄγος αἱμάτων.

ἔχειν is a 'final-consecutive' infinitive (Schwyzer-Debrunner II 362-5): the navel-stone has acquired pollution 'to keep', 'as a possession', 'for its own'.

169 ἐφεστίω 'at his own hearth', 'in his own house'.

μάντις ὢν 'although he has prophetic power' (and might therefore be supposed to be especially wise).

170 μυχόν: 39n.

ἐχράνατ' (-το): middle because Apollo's act has (in the Erinyes' view) rebounded on himself - he has polluted *his own* shrine. Not ἔχρανας (Turnebus): οὐκ ἐκλύσεται (174) shows that Apollo is not here being apostrophized.

αὐτόσαυτος αὐτόκλητος 'himself setting <the pollution> in motion, himself inviting it in'; the two adjectives make better sense if taken as 'active' rather than 'passive' (cf. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 677-9, 882-4, 1345-6) - Apollo was not 'invited, summoned' by himself or anyone else to pollute the temple, rather he invited Orestes to enter it while under pollution.

171 παρὰ νόμον θεῶν must be taken with *both* limbs of the μέν/δέ

antithesis: to 'honour what is mortal' is not in itself 'against the law of the gods', but it becomes so (the Erinyes claim) if it involves ignoring the 'ancient dispensations'. Cf. *Pr.* 29-30 θεὸς θεῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑποπτήσσω χόλον | βροτοῖσι τιμὰς ὥπασας πέρα δίκης.

173 μοίρας 'dispensations' rather than Μοίρας 'Dispensers, Fates'; cf. 727 παλαιὰς δαιμονὰς καταφθίσας. But παλαιγενεῖς, lit. 'born long ago', does give these μοῖραι a slight tincture of personality, and prepares for the introduction of the Moirai as personal deities in 723-8 and 961-7 (cf. also 334-5nn.).

174 κάμοιγε λυπρός 'and offensive to me'. If we punctuate as in the text, the main break in grammar and sense follows instead of coinciding with the break between stanzas (cf. *Ag.* 238; *Supp.* 582, 1068-9); it is also, however, possible to punctuate heavily after φθίσας, in which case λυπρός alone must mean '⟨he is⟩ offensive' (cf. 207 οὐ γὰρ ... πρόσφοροι '⟨you are⟩ not fit', 340).

175-8 For the insistence that the sinner's punishment continues even in the underworld cf. 267ff., 339f., *Supp.* 413-16. Note that all this chorus's first four songs end with mention of the underworld or of darkness (cf. 273f., 395f., 565 ὅστις, 792 = 822 Νυκτός).

ποτιτρόπαιος: cf. 41n. and (for ποτι-) 79n., *Supp.* 362. Here it means in effect 'still unpurified'.

ἕτερον ... πάσεται 'he will go where he will get another avenger on his head', viz. to the underworld; the 'other avenger' is the god Hades (273), elsewhere called 'the second Zeus' (*Supp.* 231), 'the chthonic Zeus' (Aesch. fr. 273a.9, cf. *Ag.* 1386-7) and 'the god of destruction' (*Supp.* 414).

ἐν κάραι is to be understood in terms of the idiom whereby a man is said to bear troubles, curses, guilt, etc., 'on his head'; cf. Hdt. 1. 155.3 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω, Soph. *OC* 564, Dem. 18.294.

πάσεται: the only attestation of the future of this verb, whose commonest tense is the perfect πέπαμαι (e.g. *Ag.* 835, *Ch.* 191). Curiously enough the satyr-play *Proteus*, which followed *Eu.*, provides the only Attic attestation of the aorist ἐπασάμην (Aesch. fr. 215 ἐπάσω).

179-234

Apollo angrily and contemptuously orders the Erinyes to quit his sanctuary. They demand a hearing first, and accuse him of condoning Orestes' matricide; he in return accuses them of condoning Clytaemes-

tra's murder of her husband. The Erinyes depart, vowing again to hound Orestes to his destruction, and Apollo reasserts his determination to defend him. So ends the Delphic portion of the play.

179 Apollo reappears in the same place as before, but now bow in hand and ready to shoot. His peremptory *ἔξω* 'Out!' sets his tone for the whole scene; over against his arrogant contempt, the Erinyes' manner is made to seem reasonable, even if the substance of what they say does not.

181-4 In Stesichorus' *Oresteia* Apollo gave Orestes a bow to defend himself against the Erinyes (Intr. §1); Aesch. makes Apollo threaten to use his own bow to defend his own sanctuary against them.

181 *καί* in negative final clauses adds emphasis and vividness to the danger apprehended or warned of (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 13; Denniston 298).

λαβοῦσα 'receiving' (i.e. being wounded by).

πηνὸν ἀργηστήν ὄφιν 'a winged flashing snake', a 'kenning' for an arrow, which flies like a bird and bites like a snake; cf. *Pers.* 577-8 ἀναύδων παίδων τᾶς ἀμιάντου (fish), *Supp.* 134-5 λινορραφῆς ... δόμος (ship). On the symbolism of snakes in the trilogy see 127-8n.

182 *χρυσηλάτου θώμιγγος*: cf. Soph. *OT* 204 χρυσοστροφῶν ἀπ' ἀγκυλᾶν, Pi. *O.* 14.10-11 χρυσότοξον ... Ἀπόλλωνα.

183-4 The Erinyes drain the blood of their victims (132n.); Apollo gloatingly imagines their coughing it up when wounded by his arrows.

μέλαν ... *ἀφρόν*: foam, whether of the sea or of saliva, is normally white, but the foam of vomited blood will be black. Aesch. can speak of blood either as 'black', like Homer (980, *Ag.* 1020) or as 'red' (265, *Ch.* 24).

ἔμοῦσα: *ἔμειν* is found in tragedy only here and at 730; cf. 52, 53-4nn.

185 is virtually repeated in 194-5 ('ring-composition': 20n.).

186-90 The Erinyes do not belong (says Apollo) at Delphi or anywhere else in the civilized Greek world; their proper place is among the cruel executions, tortures and mutilations practised by 'barbarians'. Most of the cruelties listed were (believed to be) practised by the Persians, and unknown or very rare among Greeks; all of them involve the shedding of blood.

οὐ sc. *εἰσι*.

καρανιστήρες ... σφαγαί τε 'head-chopping, eye-gouging judgments and slaughters', i.e. 'the passing and carrying-out of sentences of blinding and beheading'. Beheading was a regular Persian method of

capital punishment (cf. *Pers.* 369-71, Hdt. 7.35.3, X. *An.* 2.6.1); it was not used by Greeks. A case of eye-gouging is related from Thrace by Hdt. 8.116; for blinding as a Persian punishment cf. X. *An.* 1.9.13.

σπέρματος ... ἀποφθορᾷ i.e. by castration. As the victims are boys, castration is here being thought of not as a punishment but as a means of securing a supply of eunuchs. Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, once tried to have 300 Corcyrean boys castrated, but he had to have it done at Sardis (Hdt. 3.48); the general Greek detestation of the practice is well illustrated by the story of Hermotimus and Panionius (Hdt. 8.104-6).

χλοῦνις occurs only here. It is evidently connected with the Homeric epithet χλοῦνης used of a boar (*Il.* 9.539); in Aesch. fr. 62 χλοῦνης seems to mean 'eunuch', but here the context requires that χλοῦνις mean something like 'masculinity'.

ἦδ' 'and' occurs a dozen times in *Pers.*, five or six times elsewhere in Aesch.; Soph. and Eur. hardly use it at all.

ἀκρωνία sc. ἐστί. The noun is a hapax; it no doubt means mutilation of the extremities (ἄκρα) of the body (hands, feet, nose, ears), another punishment which fifth-century Greeks associated with the Persians (Hdt. 3.69.5, 3.118.2, 3.154-5, 9.112.1; X. *An.* 1.9.13), though in the *Odyssey* it is inflicted on the traitor Melanthius (22.474-7).

λευσμός: it is at first sight surprising to find stoning thus sandwiched among the tortures of oriental monarchs: stoning was familiar to Greeks, in particular as an expression of popular fury against those who had done great wrong to a whole people. Cf. *Ag.* 1615-16; *Th.* 199; Aesch. fr. 132c.1-2; Soph. *Aj.* 253-5, *Ant.* 36; *Il.* 3.56-7; Ar. *Ach.* 280-325; Hdt. 5.38.1, 9.5.2-3. Typically stoning was the outcome not of a judicial trial but of an explosion of spontaneous wrath, and this makes it appropriate to associate it with the Erinyes, those 'hounds of wrath' (*Ch.* 924; cf. *Ag.* 1117-20).

μύζουσιν ... παγέντες: execution by impalement, i.e. driving a sharp stake through the body from near the base of the spine (cf. ὑπὸ ῥάχιν), a method commonly used by the Persians and called by Greeks ἀνασταύρωσις, ἀνασκολοπισμός, or ἀνασχινδύλευσις. Cf. Eur. *IT* 1430; [Eur.] *Rh.* 514-15; Hdt. 1.128.2, 3.159.1, 4.43.6; Thuc. 1.110.3; Plato *Grg.* 473c, *Rep.* 362a.

μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολὺν 'moan with long and piteous cries'.

ὑπὸ ῥάχιν: in ordinary Attic ῥ- was pronounced as a double conso-

nant, and accordingly in the dialogue of drama the final syllable of a preceding word is normally scanned long even if it ends in a short vowel. For an apparent exception see 232n.

191-2 ἐορτῆς: festivals imply sacrifices, and the 'sacrifices' in which the Erinyes delight are of the kinds just described; cf. 102n.

ἔστ' ... στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι 'you have a fondness for'; for the construction of εἰμί + participle cf. 549; *Ag.* 671, 1050-1, 1179; *Ch.* 136, 239, 696.

ἀποπτύστου: cf. 68 κατάπτυστοι.

θεοῖς sc. Ὀλυμπίοις (cf. 73, 109n.); so again 197.

ὀφηγείται 'indicates as much'.

193 λέοντος: throughout the *Oresteia* the lion has been an ambivalent symbol, now a beast of nobility and fierce power (*Ag.* 1259, *Ch.* 938), now a murderous creature revelling in bloodshed (*Ag.* 727ff., 827f., 1224, 1258). Here on its last appearance it is degraded to the level of a fiend that, like the Erinyes, is fit only for the darkness (note ἄντρον). See B. M. W. Knox, *C.Ph.* 47 (1952) 17-25 = *Word and action* (1979) 27-38.

195 πλησίοις τρίβεσθαι μύσος 'to rub off pollution on to those near you'. Apollo here and at 207 ignores the fact that when the Erinyes entered the temple it was already polluted by the presence of Orestes.

196 ἄνευ βοτῆρος αἰπολούμεναι 'wandering like a herd with no herdsman' (cf. 78n., 91, 249); the image of a herd or flock is continued in ποίμνης.

198 ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει: the Erinyes' demand for a hearing is wholly justified; yet later they will try to deny one to Orestes (cf. 26of., 425-9).

199-224 This brief debate is a notable step in the transition from violent to non-violent methods of pursuing disputes. Through *Ag.* and most of *Ch.* the only method used was bloodshed, usually preceded by deception. In *Ch.* 904-30, for the first time, enemies argued out their cases frankly face to face; but violence still came in the end. Here again enemies argue face to face, but this time they part without violence: Apollo entered brandishing his bow, but he does not use it. It remains to find a way of settling the issue in dispute and reconciling the defeated party to the verdict; that will be Athena's task. Cf. 415-35n.

199 τούτων: the defilement of the temple.

οὐ μεταίτιος: the negation is focused on μετ-. Apollo is not *jointly* responsible for the pollution, he is *solely* responsible (παναίτιος 200), having brought about both the matricide itself (202) and the coming of the killer to Delphi (204). Cf. 465n.

200 εἰς τὸ πᾶν ‘entirely’, ‘from first to last’. Canter’s εἰς ‘on your own’ is tempting, but one is loth to emend away ἐ(1)ς τὸ πᾶν in the *Oresteia* without necessity (83n.).

ὦν παναίτιος: ὥς παναίτιος (MSS) would have to mean ‘because you are π.’ (cf. 833, FJW on *Supp.* 402–3) or ‘considering that you are π.’ (cf. Soph. *OT* 1118), neither of which is appropriate here.

201 τοσούτο μήκος ἔκτεινον λόγου lit. ‘extend this much length of speech’, i.e. ‘say this much and no more’.

202 ὥστε here simply introduces a dependent infinitive, without any notion either of comparison or of consequence: see LSJ ὥστε B.1.i.

τὸν ξένον: as an Argive, Orestes is a ξένος ‘foreigner’ at Delphi, as later at Athens (409, 436); but juxtaposed to μητροκτονεῖν, the word may recall how Orestes treacherously accepted the hospitality of Clytaemestra and took advantage of his status as ξένος ‘guest’ to kill her and Aegisthus: cf. *Ch.* 656, 657, 662, 668, 674, 700–6, 730. The Erinyes claim jurisdiction over abuse of hospitality (270, 546–7).

203 †πέμψαι† can hardly be sound. Elsewhere in the *Oresteia* when πέμπειν is used of sending or bringing vengeance or help, the subject is always a superhuman power (cf. 598, *Ag.* 59, 748, *Ch.* 477); nor is there any parallel for ποινὰς (etc.) πέμπειν being said of the avenger himself. If we read πράξαι (Bigot), Apollo avoids a direct answer, saying instead ‘I responded that he should exact vengeance for his father.’ If we read πέμψας (Heath), he admits that he did advise matricide and explains why: ‘Yes, I did give that response, thereby sending <to his family and city> vengeance for his father’ (cf. *Ch.* 935–6 ἔμολε ... Πριαμίδαις ... ποινά). This is consistent with other related uses of πέμπειν in the trilogy (see above) and with Apollo’s explicit acceptance of responsibility for the matricide at 84 and 579–80; and a copyist might very well write πέμψαι for πέμψας thinking (perhaps subconsciously) that an infinitive was required after ἔχρησα.

τί μῆν; seems to mean basically ‘what else?’ and (like ‘what else?’ in colloquial English) it eventually came to be a strongly affirmative expression, ‘obviously’, ‘naturally’, ‘of course’ (cf. *Ag.* 672, *Supp.* 999, *Plato Rep.* 410a and often).

204 ὑπέστης 'you offered yourself as', cf. Dem. 21.69 χορηγὸς ὑπέστην 'I volunteered to be choregos'.

αἵματος δέκτωρ νέου i.e. one who would receive into his house a killer with fresh blood on his hands.

205 προστράπεσθαι 'to approach as a προστρόπαιος' (41n.).

206 The point is: you have no right to complain that we are polluting your sanctuary, when you allowed and indeed instructed (ἐπέστελλον) Orestes to come to it in a polluted state.

προπομπούς is grimly euphemistic: the Erinyes have been 'escorting' Orestes only as hounds escort a hare. Contrast πομπάιος (91) of Hermes. The play will end with the Erinyes themselves being escorted by friendly προπομποί (1005) to their new home in Athens.

τάσδε = ἡμᾶς, cf. 122.

207 δόμοισι τοῖσδε is governed by πρόσφοροι (not by μολεῖν, which may govern a dat. of a person (e.g. 155, 288-9) but not of a place); μολεῖν is a final-consecutive infinitive (164-8n.), hence lit. '<yes,> for <you are> not fit for this house for coming <to it>'.

πρόσφοροι sc. ἔστε (174n.).

208 προστεταγμένον: as Apollo is the agent of Zeus (19), so the Erinyes are carrying out a task assigned to them, as we later learn, by Moira (334-5, 347-8, 392).

209 τιμή ... γέρας καλόν: sarcastic; in Apollo's eyes the Erinyes are utterly ἄτιμοι (722) and nothing about them is in the least καλόν.

210 The first, and most restrictive, of several statements of the scope of the Erinyes' activities: cf. 269ff., 334ff., 354ff., 421, 490-548, 604-5, 930-1, and (last and most inclusive) 950ff. They tend to define their functions more narrowly when arguing directly with Apollo or Orestes than on other occasions.

μητραλοίας: 153n.

211 corresponds to Orestes' question at 604 (τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἤλαυνες φυγῇ;) and receives the same answer. Goldhill 91 compares Clytaemestra's complaint (*Ag.* 1412-21) that the Elders are judging her murder of Agamemnon more harshly than his of Iphigeneia.

τί γὰρ γυναικός ...; 'and what about a woman ...?'; cf. *Soph. El.* 317 τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῆς; and *Plato Grg.* 509d, *Phd.* 78d, *Rep.* 459b, and for the use of γὰρ in such 'supplementary questions' cf. 678, *Ag.* 630, 634 (Denniston 81-5).

νοσφίσσι: νοσφίζειν, elsewhere 'remove' or 'deprive', is used to mean 'kill' (deprive of life) only by Aesch. (*Ch.* 438, 491; *Th.* 982).

212 is evidently seen by the Erinyes as a complete and satisfactory answer: anything outside their assigned sphere is no concern of theirs.

δμαιμος: later Orestes implicitly, and Apollo explicitly, will argue that the mother herself is not δμαιμος with her child (606, 658-66).

αὐθέντης has sometimes a generic sense, 'murderer' (cf. αὐτοάντας *Soph. OT* 107), and sometimes a specific sense in which 'X is αὐθέντης to Y if he has killed one of Y's kin' (Parker 122; cf. *Eur. Andr.* 172, *Hdt.* 1.117.3, *Ant.* 5.11, *Thuc.* 3.58.5). Here (cf. *Ag.* 1573) an αὐθέντης φόνος is a murder of one's own kin, one that makes the killer, in Parker's sense, αὐθέντης *to himself*.

213-23 When the Erinyes disclaim interest in the murder of a husband, Apollo is given an opening to expatiate on the solemnity and sanctity of marriage, and can thus evade the question whether he was justified in condoning matricide, and point out that the Erinyes, while jealously defending their own τιμαί, ignore the τιμαί of Zeus, Hera and Aphrodite.

213 παρ' οὐδέν ἡρκέσω†: the meaning required is 'you have considered of no account', and ἡρκέσω (from ἠρκέω) cannot bear that meaning. Of emendations, ἡργάσω (Rutherford) has no classical parallel in the required sense (which would be close to that of κατέστησας); ἡνύσω (Headlam) is supported by *Soph. OT* 166, but the verb there is active (ἡνύσατε), not middle; ἡγέσω (Wilamowitz) would be a unique variant of ἡγήσω (*Ch.* 905), though a conceivable one given the analogy of ἡγεμών, κυνηγέτης, etc. (cf. 231n.).

214 τελείας: Hera bore this title as goddess of marriage (Aesch. fr. 383; *Pi. N.* 10.18; *Ar. Th.* 973; cf. 835 γαμηλίου τέλους); Zeus is τέλειος in other and broader senses too (28n.).

πιστώματα: used of the pledges of marriage in *Ag.* 878; in *Ag.* 606 Clytaemestra spoke of herself as γυναικα πιστήν. But those pledges were broken on both sides: Agamemnon took Cassandra as his πιστή ξύνευνος (*Ag.* 1442) and Clytaemestra exchanged πιστώματα with Aegisthus to kill her husband (*Ch.* 977-9).

215 Κύπρις: the usual name in tragic iambs for Aphrodite.

ἄτιμος ... ἀπέρριπται 'is cast away in degradation'.

216 ὄθεν = ἄφ' ἧς.

τὰ φίλτατα 'what they hold most dear' (Lloyd-Jones), almost 'their

closest relationships'; Apollo thus denies the claim of Clytaemestra (100) and the Erinyes (608) that the closest *φιλία* is that between mother and child.

217 μόρσιμος probably implies (i) that marriage is the natural destiny of men and women (*Supp.* 1048, cf. Aesch. fr. 13) and/or (ii) that a well-matched marriage is as it were predestined by Moira, or as the modern proverb has it 'made in heaven' (cf. *Od.* 16.392 γήμαιθ' ὅς κε πλεῖστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι); the marriages of deities are sometimes spoken of as being blessed by the Moirai in person (e.g. *Pi.* fr. 30, *Ar. Av.* 1731-6). It also serves to distinguish legitimate marriage from other kinds of sexual pairing (εὐνή) which entail no such solemn obligations – such as the relationship between Clytaemestra and Aegisthus.

218 ὄρκου 'στί μείζων: commonly an oath is regarded as the 'greatest', i.e. the most binding and sacred, of pledges (the adjective μέγας has an affinity for ὄρκος: cf. *Ag.* 1290, *Il.* 9.132, 15.37-8); but according to Apollo the πιστώματα of marriage are more sacred still. Clytaemestra and Aegisthus set the latter at naught when they swore to kill Agamemnon and to die together (*Ch.* 977-9). At Orestes' trial Apollo will again assert that the binding power of an oath is not absolute (621); but cf. *Ch.* 901 where an oath associated with Apollo (whether pledged by him to Orestes or vice versa: see Garvie ad loc.) is held to bind Orestes to matricide. It is not only the Erinyes who can be inconsistent. See J. H. Kells, *C.Ph.* 56 (1961) 169-73, and Conacher 145-7.

219 τοῖσιν ... κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους: if τοῖσιν is here a pronoun (137-9n.), its antecedent is ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί (217); if it is the ordinary definite article, we must understand the phrase, in this context, to mean '⟨spouses⟩ who kill each other'.

220 τὸ μή = ὥστε μή, cf. 691, 940, *Ag.* 15, 569, 1171.

τίνεσθαι 'punish', cf. *Ch.* 18.

ἐποπτεύειν is used nine times in the *Oresteia*, always of gods or spirits casting their eyes on the doings or sufferings of mortals, whether as impartial judges (224, *Ch.* 985), protecting powers (*Ch.* 1, 489, 583), gloating persecutors (*Ag.* 1270) or, as here, detectors and punishers of wrongdoing.

221 ἀνδρηλατεῖν 'drive from his home' picks up ἐλαύνομεν (210).

222 τὰ μὲν 'the one set of matters', viz. violations of a mother's rights.

ἐνθυμουμένην 'taking to heart'.

223 'But in relation to the other set of matters' (viz. violations of the marriage-bond) '⟨I see⟩ that you are blatantly acting in a gentler way.'

224 This is the first indication that Athena will preside over Orestes' trial (probably an innovation by Aesch., see Intr. §1).

δίκας 'a trial', cf. 682, *Supp.* 231, Thuc. 7.18.2 ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων 'when the Athenians challenged them to go to arbitration'.

ἐποπτεύσει: the repetition (cf. 220) may draw attention to the contrast between the Erinyes, who 'watch over' crimes in order to inflict wrathful punishment, and Athena who will 'watch over' a dispute in order to settle it judicially.

225 Apollo's argument is simply ignored, as if the Erinyes were deaf to reason.

οὐ τι μὴ λείπω 'there is no chance at all of my leaving (him) alone': the Erinyes are still like κύων μέριμναν οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείπων φόνου (132).

226 δ' οὖν is 'permissive' (Denniston 466) and, as often in this use, contemptuous: 'all right then', 'very well then'.

δῶκε καὶ πόνον πλέω τίθου is in effect a prediction: if you go on pursuing Orestes, you will make yourselves (n.b. middle voice) more trouble, in addition to the πόνος you have already experienced (127, 133). The prediction is duly fulfilled: cf. 248 πολλοῖς ... μόχθοις.

228 Apollo pretends to think he is being accused of slighting the Erinyes' privileges because he is jealous of them, and with biting contempt he replies that in fact he wouldn't have such 'privileges' at any price.

οὐδ' '⟨so far am I from envying you that⟩ I wouldn't even ...'

δεχοίμην 'consent to receive', cf. 236, *Ch.* 294, *Il.* 18.115; the construction is οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην ⟨τὰς⟩ τιμὰς σέθεν ὥστε ἔχειν ⟨αὐτάς⟩.

229 The chorus-leader retorts (in effect) 'You don't need our privileges, being so highly privileged anyway (ἔμπας).'

πάρ: only here in tragic iambs (if the MSS can be trusted) does a case-governing preposition (as distinct from a prefix) undergo apocope (in lyrics cf. *Pers.* 566, *Supp.* 350, 550, 553, *Soph. Tr.* 636). We are not, however, justified in 'normalizing' the text here, in view of the scantiness of our evidence and the possibility that in some passages copyists may have officiously 'restored' a 'missing' vowel.

λέγει insinuates that Apollo's 'greatness' may be more a matter of reputation than of reality.

230-1 ἄγει γὰρ αἶμα μητρῶιον: cf. 132n. The 'hounds' (cf. κάκκυνηγέσω) follow where the trail of blood 'leads' them.

δικας μέτειμι τόνδε φῶτα 'shall pursue this man to punish him'; for the double acc. cf. Eur. *Ba.* 345-6, 516-17. Note that δίκας, which for Apollo and Athena (224) means 'trial', for the Erinyes means 'vengeance'; in the language of *Ch.* 120, they are not δικασταί but δικηφόροι.

κάκκυνηγέσω: cf. Soph. fr. 314.50 κυνηγ[έ]σω, 314.81 ἐκκυνηγέσαι.

The chorus go out, following Orestes' trail. For an exit and subsequent re-entry by the chorus cf. Soph. *Aj.* 814-66 (where there is also, as here, a change of dramatic locale); Eur. *Alc.* 746-861, *Hel.* 385-515; [Eur.] *Rh.* 564-675; Ar. *Ec.* 310-478; and possibly *Pr.* 283-397 (on which see Griffith on *Pr.* 128-92; Taplin 256-62; M. L. West, *J.H.S.* 99 (1979) 138-9).

232 τὸν ἰκέτην is almost tantamount to ὅτε ἰκέτην ὄντα.

τε ῥύσομαι: to avoid a breach of Porson's Law, ῥ- must exceptionally (cf. 186-90n.) be treated here as a single consonant. In tragic dialogue, except in *Pr.* (713, 992), ῥ- is so treated *only* in the non-Attic verb ῥύσομαι (Soph. *OT* 72, Eur. *Ba.* 1338); this correlation suggests that the anomaly is not due to scribal error but reflects fifth-century practice. See also 788n.

233-4 On the implications of this passage for the relationship between gods and mortals see Intr. §5.

δεινὴ ... ἐν 'terrible among', i.e. 'to be feared by'.

εἰ takes a subjunctive as in *Ag.* 1328, 1338, 1340; *Pers.* 791; *Supp.* 92.

προδῶι is better than προδῶ, since ἐν βροτοῖσι κὰν θεοῖς shows that Apollo is speaking *generally* of those who fail to protect suppliants, not *specifically* of himself and Orestes. The unexpressed subject is readily identifiable from the context as 'the person supplicated'; cf. *Ag.* 392, *Ch.* 313, *Pers.* 822, Fraenkel on *Ag.* 71.

σφ' 'him'; cf. *Ag.* 1642, *Eu.* 610 ('her'), *Supp.* 507 ('them').

Apollo's last words at Delphi echo his first, οὔτοι προδῶσω (64): 'ring-composition' (19n.) on a larger scale.

Apollo exits, probably into the *skene*. One might think that 232 points rather to an exit in the wake of the chorus; but (i) Apollo's

protective power does not depend on physical proximity (65), (ii) Orestes is in any case being guarded by Hermes (89-93), and (iii) such a departure might leave the audience expecting *Apollo's* early arrival at Athens instead of anxiously awaiting, with Orestes, the arrival of *Athena*. If instead Apollo now withdraws into his own 'house', it will suggest that his personal role in the action is over, and his sudden appearance at 574 will come as a total surprise.

The *ekkyklema* is now withdrawn into the *skene*; or, if it is to be used again in the next scene (235-98n.), the properties standing on the platform (the Erinyes' chairs and the navel-stone: 64-93n.) will have to be removed.

235-98

The scene changes to Athens. After long wanderings, Orestes arrives, and clasps the ancient image of Athena Polias in supplication. The Erinyes enter in pursuit, see Orestes, and sing confidently of the terrible punishment which they are sure he will suffer both on earth and in Hades. Orestes with at least equal confidence utters a calm and well-structured prayer to Athena to come to his aid, in which are introduced for the first time ideas directly relevant to the affairs of Athens in 458 B.C. (Intr. §6).

If one has to specify where the action is located from 235 to the end of the play, one cannot say anything more precise than 'Athens'. In the present scene we must be on the Acropolis, in fact *inside* the temple of Athena Polias where the παλαιὸν βρέτας (80) was housed. But the trial-scene takes place on the Areopagus (685ff.), and yet Orestes and the Erinyes have not left the acting area, and Athena when she leaves indicates that she will come back to the same place (ἤξω 488). There is no difficulty about such a change of imaginary location, occurring at no precise moment; see Taplin 103-7, 338-40, 390-1.

Where in the acting area is the βρέτας placed? Probably near the *skene*, in view of δῶμα καὶ βρέτας (242); perhaps, to give the impression of being within the temple, the *ekkyklema* may have been used again (this would strengthen the visual parallelism of Orestes' two supplications). Taplin 386 n. 1 argues that since in 307-96 'the chorus surely dance *round* Orestes' it is likely that 'the statue was somewhere in the orchestra'; but nothing in the Binding Song in fact indicates explicitly that Orestes is physically surrounded (even the preposition *περί* never appears). If, too, the βρέτας is placed near the *skene*, it can easily fade

into the background when no longer relevant to the action (or be removed by the withdrawal of the *ekkyklema*).

Orestes enters by one of the side-passages; it is not clear whether he is again carrying a suppliant-branch (43-5). He stands before the image of Athena (242n.) and addresses the goddess.

235 Ἀθᾶνα: in Aesch.'s time the standard Attic form of Athena's name was Ἀθηναία (cf. 289, 299); the contracted Ἀθηνᾶ is rare in inscriptions, of any type, until after 370 B.C. (Threatte I 271-4), and is found only once (Ar. *Pax* 218) in fifth-century drama. For a short form of the goddess's name tragedy has to choose between Homeric Ἀθήνη and the Ἀθᾶνα of choral lyric; and in accordance with its usual practice regarding non-Attic words, it prefers the latter (cf. G. J. Björck, *Das Alpha impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache* (1950) 133-5, 222-4).

236 ἀλάστορα must here be intended by Orestes to mean 'suppliant': cf. Ἀλάστορος, a title of Zeus in his role as protector of suppliants (Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 175), employed in cult at Thasos (C. Rolley, *B.C.H.* 89 (1965) 453-6) and mentioned by Aesch. in *Ixion* (Aesch. fr. 92a). But the word cannot be uttered, especially in the *Oresteia*, without calling to the hearer's mind its other, more common meanings, 'spirit of vengeance' (*Ag.* 1501, 1508; *Pers.* 354) and 'accursed villain' (*Soph. Aj.* 373; *Dem.* 18.296, 19.305; *Men. Pk.* 986). Orestes is both of these: like Helen (*Ag.* 737-49) and Clytaemestra (*Ag.* 1497ff.) he has acted as the embodiment of divine vengeance for past wrongdoing, and in that capacity he has committed one of the most atrocious crimes known to man, and yet he has been instructed to present himself to Athena as a suppliant and implore her favour.

237 οὐ προστρόπαιον: when he left Delphi Orestes was still a προστρόπαιος 'suppliant seeking purification' (234); but now he claims to be clean of pollution (οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρα). How has he been cleansed? Lines 238-9 and 280 suggest a gradual process, the pollution being 'worn away' by his long wanderings; but 282-3 and 448-52 imply a formal ritual of purification - though they are inconsistent as to whether this was performed once, at Delphi (282-3n.), or several times at different places (451-2). This confusion is too complex to be accidental, and cannot be obviated by any simple remedy (such as deletion of 282-3, suggested by A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 102 (1982) 32); its explanation is rather that Aesch. 'wants the supplication at Delphi, but he also wants the salutary suffering of Orestes' wanderings'

(Taplin 383), and so creates the vague impression that both are somehow necessary for Orestes' cleansing. See also G. G. Dyer, *J.H.S.* 89 (1969) 38-56, and Parker 386-8.

οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρα lit. 'nor uncleansed as regards my hand', i.e. 'but with my hand cleansed'.

238 ἀμβλύν 'blunted, weakened', and **προσσετριμμένον** 'worn away', both refer logically to the blood-taint, but are here transferred to be associated grammatically with the person who bears the taint, thus serving to suggest that Orestes himself is worn out by his wanderings.

πρός is adverbial ('also'); cf. *Ch.* 301, *Pr.* 73, Aesch. fr. 146a.

239 lit. 'by other houses and journeyings of mortals', i.e. 'by travelling with, and coming under the roofs of, other people', the adjective ἄλλος being transferred, as often (326-7n.), from the dependent gen. to the noun governing it. These human contacts are themselves evidence that Orestes is no longer unclean and will not pollute Athena's temple: cf. 284-5, Antiphon 5.82-4. They also indicate to the audience that a considerable time - months rather than days - has elapsed since he left Delphi.

240 ὁμοῖα is here an adverb, 'alike'; cf. Soph. fr. 563, Eur. *Ph.* 169.

χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν: cf. 75-7.

241 ἐφετμὰς Λοξίου χρηστηρίους: viz. the instructions given in 74-80.

242 πρόσειμι (from εἶμι) is present in meaning (cf. εἶς' *Th.* 373). Note how 241-2 'rings' with 235-6 Λοξίου κελεύμασιν ἤκω (20n.), marking out 235-42 (rather than 235-43) as a complete unit. There is thus a break between 242 and 243, and hence it is probably at this point that Orestes clasps the image of Athena in supplication (cf. 80, 259): in 242 he is still 'approaching', in 243 he is already 'waiting'.

243 φυλάσσω 'keeping watch, waiting' for Athena to come to his aid; cf. *Ag.* 8 φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον. There may also be a suggestion that Orestes is in some sense 'guarding' the image itself; cf. 440 βρέτας τόδε ἦσαι φυλάσσω, also 1024-5 (of Athena's cultic household) προσπόλοισιν αἶτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας τοῦμόν. The idea of Orestes guarding the image would be reinforced by the stage-picture, which shows him physically clasping it in his arms as if protecting it from the Erinyes, who in their inhuman appearance, savage character and wild dancing (370-6nn.) seem hostile to all the values of a civilized community for which Athena stands.

τέλος δίκης unites the ideas of finality (28n.) and justice or judgement (Intr. §5): Orestes seeks from Athena a *judgement* that will *end* his ordeal ὥστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ... ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων (83).

Orestes sits silent and expectant, clasping the image of Athena and waiting for her to appear in response to his prayer. She does not; instead his tormentors at last catch up with him and seem to have him in their power.

The chorus-leader enters, from the same direction from which Orestes came; she casts about like a hound that has lost the scent of its quarry. Then she picks up the trail (244) and calls out to her comrades (245), who join her in the orchestra.

244 εἶέν 'good', 'all right', implying that 'the speaker is ready to proceed to ... the next step' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 297); here the next step is the final hunting down of Orestes, made possible by the re-discovery of his trail.

245 μηνυτήρος ἀφθέγκτου: cf. *Supp.* 180 κόνιν, ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ, *Th.* 82, Aesch. fr. 78a.20, Eur. *Hipp.* 1076-7, Thgn. 549.

246 νεβρόν: cf. 111-13; but the fawn has not after all got clear away - he has been hampered by his 'wound', i.e. the blood which, to the Erinyes' perception, still drips from his hands.

247 αἶμα καὶ σταλαγμόν 'the drip of blood' (hendiadys). Cf. 53-4n. **ἐκματεύομεν**: ἐκμαστεύομεν (MSS) *might* be sound; but whereas Pindar and Euripides certainly used both ματεύω and μαστεύω, in Aesch. and Sophocles only the former is guaranteed by metre (*Ag.* 1094; *Ch.* 330, 892; Soph. *OT* 1052). See Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1099.

248-9 ἀνδροκμήσι 'that would exhaust a mortal' may be designedly paradoxical; for whereas the immortal Erinyes are puffing and panting (φυσίαι σπλάγχχνον), the mortal fugitive Orestes betrays no sign of physical exhaustion in his calm utterances, long sentences and mostly end-stopped lines. Orestes, protected by Hermes the god of guile and bafflement (cf. *Ch.* 812-18), has suffered less than his pursuers.

σπλάγχχνον can denote any major internal organ; here evidently the lungs.

χθονὸς ... πόντον: cf. 75-7, 240.

πεποίμανται 'has been traversed by our flock' (cf. G. Giangrande, *C.R.* 18 (1968) 351); but the Erinyes have been a flock without a ποιμήν (cf. 196-7) whereas Orestes has been 'shepherded' by Hermes (91).

250-1 The couplet describing the toils and troubles of the chase over

land is now balanced by one telling of an easy and effortless pursuit over water. However hard they have been made to struggle, the Erinyes are still immensely powerful and dangerous: as Apollo could not put them permanently to sleep, so Hermes cannot permanently frustrate their pursuit.

ἀπτέροις ποτήμασιν ἦλθον διώκουσ': cf. 403-4 διώκουσ' ἦλθον ... πτερῶν ἄτερ. On the Erinyes' winglessness, 51n.

οὐδὲν ὑστέρα ('slower') **νεώς**: ships are typically thought of as 'swift' not only in Homer (νῆα θοήν, etc.) but also in tragedy (*Supp.* 734 νῆες ... ὠκύπτεροι; *Soph. Aj.* 710, *Ph.* 516f.).

252 **που** 'somewhere' (for ἐνθάδε ... **που** cf. *Ar. Av.* 1184-5 ἐνταῦθα που ἦδη 'στίν). The scent of blood indicates that Orestes is close by, but the speaker cannot yet see him.

καταπακῶν 'cowering' like a frightened fawn (246) or perhaps a hunted hare (πτᾶξ, πτώξ: cf. 326 and 26n.).

253 προσγελαῖ 'greet, welcomes', lit. 'smiles on'. To the Erinyes the scent of human blood is as delightful as the face of a friend.

By now the whole chorus are in the orchestra, and they look anxiously round in search of Orestes; at 257 they see him.

The metre of 254-75, like that of 143-78, is a mixture of iambic and dochmiac. All or part of the song may be sung by the chorus in sections rather than as a united body (cf. 143-78n.); in particular 254-6 ('look everywhere for him') and 257-60 ('here he is') could well be assigned to different individuals or groups (see W. C. Scott, *A.J.Ph.* 105 (1984) 162-4).

256 ἀτίτας 'who has not paid the price', 'unpunished', from τίνω.

257 The text is tentative. Neither γοῦν (αὐτε γοῦν MSS) nor οὔν (αὐτος οὔν Auratus) has any apparent function, and Stanley's deletion leaves good sense and metre (see Appendix).

ὅδ' αὐτός 'here's the very man', 'here he actually is', cf. *Th.* 372.

ἄλκάν 'sanctuary' as in *Supp.* 352, 731, 832.

259 **περὶ ... πλεχθεῖς** is equivalent to περιπλεχθεῖς 'embracing'; for such survivals of the old independent status of what in classical prose were verbal prefixes, cf. 348, 357, 378, 434, *Ag.* 1559 περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα. The phenomenon is generally, though misleadingly, called 'tnesis' ('cutting' of one word into two).

260 χερῶν 'his <bloody> hands' (cf. 42, 237, 280, 317, 446) and/or

'his act of violence' (cf. *Od.* 20.181, 267 and the Athenian legal term ἄρχειν χειρῶν ἀδίκων 'to strike the first blow' (e.g. *Dem.* 47.47)). The ancient variant χρεῶν 'for what he owes', implied by the scholium in *M*, is superficially attractive; but the idea of debt is not prominent in the language or imagery of the *Oresteia*.

261 οὐ πάρεστιν 'is impossible'.

αἶμα μητρῶιον: cf. 230. In *Ag.* (1019ff.) and *Ch.* (66-74) it was bloodshed in general that was described as irrevocable and irremediable; the Erinyes, who are pursuing Orestes but did not pursue Clytaemestra, must be more specific (cf. 210ff.).

262 δυσσαγκόμιστον: δυσ- here implies not so much difficulty as impossibility, cf. 264-6, 789-90nn., *Ag.* 1103 δυσίατον, 1360 δυσμηχανῶ.

παπαῖ in tragedy is always an exclamation of grief or distress (*Ag.* 114, 1256; *Pers.* 1031-2; *Soph. Ph.* 745ff., 895; *Eur. HF* 1120); here it expresses grief and horror at the thought of a mother's life being irrevocably extinguished by her son.

263 τό is relative, 'which': τ- pronouns (τόν, τῶνπερ, etc.) are found as relatives nearly 30 times in *Aesch.* (cf. 336, 484, 918).

διερὸν ... χύμενον redundantly and vividly bring before the mind's eye the flow of liquid, fresh blood (cf. 53-4n.).

οἴχεται: soaked up by the earth as in 647, 980, *Ch.* 66.

264-6 ἀντιδοῦναι ... πελανόν: the construction is δεῖ σε ἀντιδοῦναι <ἡμῖν> ἐκ <τῶν σῶν> μελέων ἐρυθρὸν πελανὸν <ὥστε> ῥοφεῖν ἀπὸ <σοῦ> ζῶντος.

ζῶντος: cf. ζῶντα 267, ζῶν 305.

ῥοφεῖν is the everyday Attic verb for consuming thick liquids such as soups and broths (*Ar. Eq.* 360, *V.* 812). It is found in serious poetry only here and at *Soph. Tr.* 1055 (though cf. αἵματορρόφος 193, *Soph.* fr. 743).

ἐρυθρόν: ἐρυθρός is found nowhere else in tragedy, except in the geographical name ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα (*Aesch.* fr. 192.1-2); perhaps it was avoided as having ribald associations (cf. *Ar. Ach.* 787, *Nu.* 539). Its use here, like that of ῥοφεῖν, may thus indicate a lowering of the stylistic level.

πελανόν means a thick liquid (cf. *Ag.* 96, *Ch.* 92), and here suggests half-clotted blood: cf. 184 θρόμβους, *Pers.* 816 πελανὸς αἵματοσφαγής.

φεροίμαν: the optative suggests eager expectation (rather than any doubt of success).

δυσπότου: undrinkable (262n.) for mortals, but for the Erinyes a staple diet (cf. βοσκάν).

267-8 We have heard before (175-8) that Orestes' punishment will *continue* after his death; these lines almost imply that his real punishment will only *begin* then, the draining of the living man's blood being a mere preliminary.

ἀπάξομαι suggests the Athenian procedure of ἀπαγωγή, whereby someone caught in the act of committing certain serious crimes could be arrested by any citizen and brought before the Eleven, who could execute him forthwith if he admitted his guilt (Harrison II 222-9; M. H. Hansen, *Apagoge, endeixis and ephegesis against kakourgoi, atimoi and pheugontes* (1976)). The allusion is particularly apposite because ἀπαγωγή was applicable to persons who entered a sacred place when under the pollution of homicide (cf. Dem. 23.80). In Orestes' case the 'magistrate' before whom he will be brought is the god Hades (273-5).

ἀντίποιν' ὥς: ἀντιποίνους MSS, but a conjunction is needed; ἵνα (inserted after ἀντιποίνους by Triclinius, before it by Abresch) hardly ever introduces a final clause in Aesch. (only *Th.* 215 plus *Pr.* 61) whereas ὥς (with or without ἄν) does so over 30 times. For the adverbial use of ἀντίποινα ('in requital') cf. ἄποινα in *Ag.* 1420, *Pers.* 808, *Eur. Alc.* 7.

τίνης ματροφόντας echoes ματροφόνος ἀτίτας (256): the matricide who has not paid his penalty will be made to pay it. It is not clear whether ματροφόντας is nom. sing. or acc. pl.; if the latter, the epithet has been transferred from the sufferer to his sufferings (see Garvie on *Ch.* 88, 185-6, 250-1, 260-3, 583-4).

269-72 When Orestes comes to the place of punishment in the underworld, he will see there, undergoing torment, all who have violated the three great 'unwritten laws' - to respect the gods, to respect host and guest, and to respect one's parents (cf. *Supp.* 701-9, *Ar. Ra.* 145-50). The Erinyes do not expressly say that it is *their* duty to enforce the first two of these laws as well as the third, but they traditionally punished perjury (see Intr. §2) and in *Ag.* 748-9 they are sent to punish Paris for his abuse of Menelaus' hospitality; cf. too 151 ἄθεον, 202n. As always they ignore the fact that had Orestes refused to kill his mother he would have been offending his father and Apollo.

κέϊ τις: εἴ τις is equivalent to ὅστις, cf. *Ch.* 668 λέγοιτ' ἄν εἴ τι δεῖ.

ἤλιτεν: ἄλιταίνω is a very strong word for 'sin, transgress', and its

derivative ἀλιτήριος 'accursed sinner' became a term of political abuse (Eup. fr. 103 K-A; Lys. 13.79; Dem. 19.226).

ἀσεβῶν: the transitive use of this verb is rare, but cf. Lys. 2.7 ἡγησάμενοι ... τοὺς ἄνω θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖσθαι (passive).

τοκέας φίλους begs two questions so far as Orestes is concerned: not only did he kill one parent for the sake of the other (151-2n.), but his mother had never treated him as a φίλος (*Ch.* 234, 913-15).

τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια '⟨sufferings⟩ matching what justice requires', cf. Dem. 14.27 οὐτ' ... ἄξια τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα 'and the money would not be enough to pay for the war'.

273-5 For this picture of Hades administering justice in the underworld, see 175-8n. Later this role was transferred to Minos, Rhadamanthys and Aeacus (Plato *Ap.* 41a, *Grg.* 523e-524a; Dem. 18.127).

εὐθυνος, like ἀπάξομαι (267), may allude to a procedure of Athenian law, the audit (εὐθυναί) of a magistrate's conduct in office at the end of his term. Part of the process was in the hands of officials called εὐθυνοί (And. 1.78; Arist. *Ath.* 48.4; see Harrison II 30). Just as office-holders are accountable for their conduct in office, so every man is accountable for his conduct in life. Zeus as chastiser of the arrogant is called εὐθυνος βαρὺς in *Pers.* 828.

Δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπῶι φρενί: i.e. Hades sees all the deeds of men on earth, remembers them perfectly (for the image of memory as a writing-tablet cf. *Ch.* 450, *Pr.* 789) and punishes the guilty after death. For ἐπωπῶι cf. 220n. on ἐποπτεύσει. This role of 'recording angel' is taken in a papyrus fragment (Aesch. fr. 281a.19-23) by Dike, who writes men's sins 'on the tablet of Zeus' which is opened and read on a man's day of destiny.

276-85 As in 237-9 and 443-52, Orestes begins by assuring Athena that he is no longer polluted and therefore (448n.) can break silence without bringing pollution on those to whom he speaks.

276 διδαχθεῖς ἐν κακοῖς: cf. *Ag.* 177 πάθει μάθος. Until now in the trilogy mortals have learned wisdom, if at all, only from the sufferings of others: Orestes has been the first to learn from his own.

277 πολλῶν τε καιρὸς 'the right time for many things'. These 'many things' are not specified, but simply provide a background for what follows: cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1508-9 πολλῶν οὐνεκα, μάλιστα δ' εἰδὼς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἡδίκουν. The MS reading πολλοὺς καθαρμούς is unsatisfactory because a καθαρμός is a means of purifying what is polluted (283, *Ch.*

968, *Th.* 738): speech is forbidden to a polluted homicide not because silence will help purify him, but because if he speaks it may pollute others, and its prohibition is therefore not a καθαρός. The scholia offer two explanations of the sentence; the second of these makes no mention of καθαροί and ends ἐπίσταμαι καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ λαλεῖν ὅπου δεῖ, ἑκατέρου καιρὸν γινώσκων, which strongly suggests that its author read καιρούς; καθαρούς may have got into the text here from 283. For the sense cf. *Ch.* 582 σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια, *Th.* 1, *Supp.* 446.

καὶ 'and in particular', cf. the common ἄλλως τε καὶ ... (473).

ὅπου 'in what circumstances', cf. *Ch.* 582 (above).

279 ἐτάχθην 'I was ordered, instructed', cf. *Supp.* 504, *Eur. Alc.* 49.

σοφοῦ διδασκάλου: Apollo, who is traditionally called σοφός (cf. *Eur. Andr.* 1165, *El.* 1246, *Ar. Pl.* 11).

280 βρίζει ... καὶ μαραίνεται: cf. 237-8n.

χερός 'from my hand' (ablative gen.).

281 μητροκτόνον μίasma: the epithet is transferred from the polluted person to his pollution (267-8n.).

ἐκπλυτον: 'washed out' (as Plato *Lg.* 872e) rather than 'capable of being washed out' (as Plato *Rep.* 429e); Orestes has to show, not that his pollution *can be* removed, but that it *has been*. His claim is in any case in sharp conflict with the assumption, hitherto unquestioned, that *nothing* can remove the taint of bloodshed (41-3n.).

282-3 For the seeming inconsistency between this and other passages as to how and when Orestes was purified, see 237n.

ποταίνιον ... ὅν 'when it was fresh', cf. *Ch.* 1055 ποταίνιον γὰρ αἱμά σοι χεροῖν ἔτι, and contrast *Ch.* 67 φόνος πέπηγεν οὐ διαρρῦδαν, 1012-13. More ordinary stains too are most easily removed when fresh.

πρὸς ἐστίαί θεοῦ Φοίβου must refer to the sacred hearth (see 439-41n.) at Delphi (cf. *Soph. OT* 965, *Eur. Ion* 462); to take it as referring to 'some other unspecified sanctuary' (G. G. Dyer, *J.H.S.* 89 (1969) 55) would leave the audience wondering (i) which sanctuary was meant and (ii) why Apollo made no mention of it in his instructions to Orestes in 74ff.

καθαροῖς ... χοιροκτόνοις: the priest held a young pig over the head of the person to be purified and cut its throat so that the blood dripped on the man's head and hands. Cf. *Aesch. fr.* 327; *A.R.* 4.698-717; and see Burkert 80-1, Parker 370-4.

ἡλάθη 'was driven out': ἐλαύνω rather than ἐξελαύνω is the term for driving out a pollution, cf. *Ch.* 967-8, *Soph. OT* 98, *Thuc.* 1.126.2.

285 ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνουσίαι 'in meetings that have done them no harm'. That Orestes has met and spoken to many people, who have not suffered as a result, is good evidence that he is no longer polluted (239n.).

286 is rhetorically disastrous and must be deleted. Orestes has made three points, each more cogent than the last: (i) his pollution is by now old and faded (280; but has it wholly vanished?); (ii) he has undergone a purification rite (281-3; but has it been effective?); (iii) he has had social contact with many people and they have come to no harm. With this his case is complete, and he can confidently claim (287) to be free of all taint: he would certainly not wish to hark back now, as 286 does, to the first and weakest of his arguments. The line, moreover, has no grammatical connection with its context. Just conceivably it might originally have been an alternative version of 280 (cf. K. J. Dover, *I.C.S.* 2 (1977) 150-6); but more probably it is a parallel passage that has migrated from the margin to the text.

287 καὶ νῦν: passing to the speaker's main business, as in *Ag.* 598, *Th.* 191.

εὐφήμως: the notion of εὐφημία 'auspicious speech' was a recurrent one in *Ag.* (28, 596, 636, 1247). Soon, however, events became so grim that it was impossible to speak about them εὐφήμως (cf. 48-53n.) except in order to deceive (cf. *Ch.* 581-2). Now it appears that this dark period may be at an end. Cf. 1035n.

288 ἀνασσαν: Athena is so called primarily as the divine *patron* of Athens, but the word also suggests that she is the city's *ruler*. In this play, unlike all other surviving tragedies set in Athens, the Athenians seem to have no king, and the function which would naturally be the king's (and which in Aeschylus' own time belonged to the βασιλεύς) of organizing and presiding over a homicide trial is assumed by Athena herself, who also takes possession of territory on the city's behalf (398-402) and commits the city to honouring the Erinyes (834-6, 854-7); she, too, takes the decision to accept the plea of the suppliant, a decision which in other Athenian suppliant-plays (*Eur. Heracl.*, *Supp.*; *Soph. OC*) falls to the king. Two reasons can be discerned for the suppression in *Eu.* of the Athenian kingship. Firstly, as Professor Fitton Brown has observed, once Aesch. had decided to involve both

Athena and Apollo in person in Orestes' trial, an Athenian king became dramatically redundant. Secondly, and more fundamentally, the audience are to be made to feel, as strongly as possible, that the Athenians of the play are the same people as themselves, and that the advice given to the Athenians by Athena and the chorus within the play (526ff., 681ff., 858ff., 927ff.) is meant for them too; and to this end heroic Athens, like fifth-century Athens, is made to consist only of Athena and a citizen-body who are no man's subjects (cf. *Pers.* 242).

289-96 On the topical relevance of this passage in 458 B.C. see Intr. §6.

289-91 ἄνευ δορός: Aesch.'s audience might be reminded, by contrast, of states such as Naxos and Thasos, which had revolted from the Athenian alliance and had had to be forced to rejoin (Thuc. 1.98.4, 100-1).

αὐτόν (sc. ἐμέ, cf. *Il.* 24.503): Orestes will be the ally of Athens in his posthumous capacity as a hero (cf. 767-74).

καὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον λεών: cf. 762 where Orestes swears fidelity to the *land and people* of Athens.

πιστόν: cf. 670, 673.

ἐς τὸ πᾶν 'for ever' (83n.); cf. 670, 672 αἰανῶς, 763 εἰς ἅπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον.

292-6 When a worshipper calls on a god to come to him, he often mentions places where the god is likely to be at the time, such as famous seats of the god's worship or places associated with notable events in the god's life; cf. *Il.* 16.514-16, Eur. *Ba.* 556-75, Ar. *Nu.* 270-3.

χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικῆς: for the periphrasis cf. *Pers.* 447 πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων, 796, *Supp.* 237, *Ag.* 190-1. 'Libya' was the Greek name for the continent of Africa (Hdt. 4.42-3). An audience who have just been reminded, by the mention of an Athenian-Argive alliance, of the great war in which their country is engaged, and who then hear mention of Athena helping her φίλοι in Africa, are bound to think of the vast Athenian and allied expeditionary force which in 458 B.C. was operating in Egypt (Intr. §6).

Τρίτωνος: Athena's epithet Τριτογένεια (*Il.* 4.515 etc.) was early explained by a story that she was born on the banks of a river in 'Libya' called the Triton (Hes. fr. dub. 343.9-12 M-W); significantly

for the martial colouring of the present passage, she was born as a fully-armed warrior (*h. Hom.* 28.3-6, cf. Stesich. *PMG* 233) and her natal cry was a battle-cry (Pi. *O.* 7.37). There were different traditions about the location of the river Triton and of the 'Tritonian lake' into which it flowed: Pi. *P.* 4.20-1 puts the lake in Cyrenaica, but Hdt. 4.178-80 seems to identify it with the Lesser Syrtis (the Gulf of Gabes) off southern Tunisia.

χεῦμα ... πόρου: cf. *Supp.* 1020 χεῦμ' Ἑρασίου, Eur. *Hel.* 1304.

τίθησιν ὀρθον ἢ κατηρεφῇ πόδα: this puzzling phrase has been explained by E. K. Borthwick, *Hermes* 97 (1969) 385-90, as referring to movements in hoplite fighting and/or in the armed 'Pyrrhic dance' performed at the Panathenaic festival. A soldier moved with 'straight leg' when marching rapidly forward unopposed; he moved with 'covered leg' when advancing cautiously under attack, using his shield to protect his body and legs as fully as possible; cf. *Il.* 13.157-8 with scholia. Athena is thus presented as fighting at the side of her φίλοι when they are carrying all before them and also when they are hard pressed.

φίλοις: cf. 911-12, 999.

Φλεγραίαν πλάκα: the plain of Phlegra was on Pallene, the most westerly of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice that stretch out into the N.W. Aegean. It was the scene of the battle of the Gods and Giants (Pi. *N.* 1.67-8; Ar. *Av.* 824-5; Apollod. 1.6.1-2) in which Athena killed Enceladus (Eur. *Ion* 206-11). Here there seems to be no topical allusion (no other source speaks of fighting in Chalcidice in 460-58). Phlegra is probably named as being the most northerly place associated in story with Athena, as the Triton is the most southerly (so Macleod 125; cf. Ar. *Nu.* 270-3 with its mention of distant places to the north, west, south and east).

θρασύς ταγοῦχος ὡς ἀνὴρ: note that in 296-8 six adjectives, participles or predicate nouns describe Athena, and all are *masculine* in form. There is no violation of grammatical rules; in the present phrase, for instance, θρασύς ταγοῦχος ἀνὴρ is *formally* not a description of Athena but of an imaginary (male) general whom she is said to resemble. The *effect*, however, is to reinforce the martial presentation of Athena in this speech, and the impression of her masculinity will be further strengthened when she arrives on stage in armour (397-489n.) and later when she votes to acquit Orestes because the murder of a

man is more serious than that of a woman, adding τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα ... ἅπαντι θυμῶι (737-8). As a 'masculine female' Athena resembles Clytaemestra of the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ (*Ag.* 11); but she will use both her masculinity and her femininity not to subvert the πόλις but to strengthen and unify it. See *B.I.C.S.* 27 (1980) 72; Petrounias 206-7; Winnington-Ingram 101-31.

297 'A god' (any god, hence masculine; cf. above) 'can hear even when far away': cf. 397 πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα, Sappho fr. 1.6-7 L-P.

πρόσωθεν is here used of 'place where' rather than 'place whence'; similarly ἄνωθεν *Ag.* 871, 875, *Ch.* 834, ἔνδοθεν *Ch.* 835, ἐγγύθεν *Ch.* 852, etc.

298 γένοιτο: one would expect γένηται, but in poetry the verb of a final clause may be 'attracted' into the optative mood if the governing verb is optative (here ἔλθοι): cf. *Od.* 14.407-8, *Thgn.* 885-6, *Soph. Aj.* 1217-22.

τῶνδ' may be neuter ('from these troubles') or feminine ('from these persecutors').

λυτήριος is a two-termination adjective: cf. 646 μηχανή λυτήριος, *Supp.* 1072, *Soph. El.* 635; but once again it *sounds* masculine.

There is a short pause as Orestes once again (243n.) waits expectantly for Athena to appear, and once again she does not come.

299-396

With Athena apparently failing to answer Orestes' prayer, the chorus confidently reaffirm that his destruction is inevitable, and sing over him what they call a ὕμνος δέσμιος (306), a 'binding-song', weaving about him, as it were, an invisible net to put him in their power, drive him out of his mind (329-32) and destroy him (333, 358-9, 368-80); their song is accompanied by some furious dancing (370-6nn.), but it has no visible effect on Orestes, who remains silently clasping the image of Athena. During this song the audience also learn more about the Erinyes' power, their functions and their relationship with the Olympians.

299 οὔτοι was also the first word that Orestes heard in response to his appeal to Apollo (64); but this time the reply is that of an enemy.

Ἀθηναίης σθένης recalls (i) expressions such as Αἰγίσθου βία = 'powerful Aegisthus' (*Ch.* 893; cf. *Th.* 569, 571, 577), themselves modelled on epic formulae like βίη Ἡρακλεΐη (*Il.* 2.658), and (ii) the σθένης of Apollo mentioned in 61 and 87.

300-1 *μή οὐ* replaces *μή*, as often, after a negated governing verb: see Weir Smyth² §§2744ff., 2759d.

παρημελημένον ἔρρειν 'wander neglected' as a polluted outcast; for ἔρρειν used of banishment cf. 884. Apollo had threatened Orestes with this very fate if he did *not* kill his father's murderers (*Ch.* 286-96).

τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' *δπου φρενῶν* (sc. *ἔστι*) 'not finding out where in the mind joy lies', i.e. forgetting what it means to be happy: cf. 423, *Soph. OC* 1217-18. The verb *χαίρειν* was used a dozen times in *Ag.* (mostly of joy that was wicked or illusory or both) but has not appeared at all since *Ag.* 1394. Cf. 775n.

302 ἀναίματον βόσκημα δαιμόνων = *δαίμονας* (i.e. *ἡμᾶς*, cf. 264-7) *βόσκοντα ὥστε ἀναίματον γενέσθαι*.

σκιάν: withered (137-9n.) to a shadow of his former self.

The speaker pauses, but Orestes remains silent and motionless: he knows when it is right to speak *and* when to be silent (277-8), and throughout the play he never speaks to the Erinyes except at his trial when it is unavoidable (see 585-608n.).

303 οὐδ' 'not even'.

ἀποπτύεις 'spit out', i.e. show contempt for; cf. *Soph. fr.* 678. Orestes, like Apollo (191, cf. 68), treats the Erinyes as ἀπότηυστοι.

304-5 Orestes is spoken of like a choice animal specially fattened with a view to being sacrificed and eaten. Here the motif of 'the corrupted sacrifice' (Zeitlin (102n.)) reappears in a gruesome form, with the 'meal' *preceding* the slaughter.

καὶ ζῶν 'even while you live'.

306 δέσμιον is antithetical to *λυτήριος* (298); Orestes has asked Athena to come and set him free, but the Erinyes mean to bind him more tightly.

σέθεν is objective gen. (*δέσμιον σέθεν* = *ὦι σε δήσομεν*); cf. *Ch.* 820 *δωμάτων λυτήριον*.

307-20 Chanting in anapaests, the chorus regroup themselves in the formation in which they will dance and sing the ensuing ode.

307 καί implies 'we have expressed our thoughts and feelings in words; let us now express them in dance also'.

χορὸν ἄψωμεν 'let us join in dance', cf. *Ch.* 866-8 *πάλην ... ἄψει* 'to join in a wrestling-bout'. The choice of verb *may* indicate that the dance is to be a circular one with joining of hands, cf. *Ar. Th.* 954-5 *κοῦφα ποσὶν ἄγ' εἰς κύκλον, χεὶρὶ σύναπτε χεῖρα*. The (late) authorities all

assert that dramatic choruses performed in rectangular, not circular, formation (see Pickard-Cambridge² 239-42), but there is evidence for the occasional use of circular dances both in tragedy (Aesch. fr. 379; Eur. *IA* 1480-1) and in comedy (Ar. *Th.* 662, 954, 968).

308 στυγεράν 'horrifying' rather than 'hateful', cf. στύγος 'horror' *Ag.* 1308, 'horrific act' *Ch.* 991.

309 ἀποφαίνεσθαι: middle; English renders the nuance best by saying 'to display our ...' instead of 'to display a ...'

δεδόκηκεν 'we have decided', cf. ἔδοξε in state decrees (and in *Supp.* 605).

310-11 λάχη ... ἐπινωμῶι 'apportions lots', cf. *Th.* 727. In context this refers only to the punishment of homicide (316-20), but it is vague enough to be capable of a far wider application; cf. 930-1 πάντα ... τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἔλαχον διέπειν.

στάσις 'band, company', cf. *Ag.* 1117, *Ch.* 114, 458.

ἀμή is more likely to be the true reading than ἀμά, since lyric $\bar{\alpha}$ is not normally used in recitative anapaests.

312 οἴόμεθ' may seem curiously diffident for so important an assertion by the Erinyes about themselves; but their point is 'we punish the guilty and spare the innocent (313-20) and we are baffled to understand how anyone could in good faith regard that as unjust'. Cf. 154 τί τῶνδ' ἔρεϊ τις δικαίως ἔχειν; and 431 where the Erinyes profess to find Athena's distinction between κλύειν δίκαιος and πράξαι <δίκαια> too subtle for them to understand.

313-20, as the asyndeton shows, 'expands and explains' 312 (cf. Garvie on *Ch.* 693-6).

313 προνέμουντ' 'who puts forward, presents, displays', in contrast to the polluted man who 'conceals' his hands (317).

314 The MSS read οὔτις ἄφ' ἡμῶν μῆνις ἐφέρει: the objection to this order is that it involves a hiatus (ἐφέρει | ἀσινήs) within a recitative anapaestic period, which would be extremely abnormal.

315 ἀσινήs 'unharmd'. Contrast *Ag.* 1341-2 where it is strongly implied, and *Ch.* 1018-20 where it is asserted, that no mortal's life is wholly ἀσινήs. The Erinyes themselves will later threaten innocent Athenians with their wrath (711ff., 778ff.).

317 χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει: the Erinyes reject Orestes' claim (280-7) that he is now cleansed; in their eyes he is still an unclean killer trying to conceal his uncleanness.

318-20 μάρτυρες: for the notion of the witness (whether divine, human or inanimate) who establishes the guilt of a murderer, cf. 461, *Ag.* 1317, *Ch.* 1010.

ὄρθαί 'upright, honest', cf. 312 εὐθυδίκαιοι.

παραγινόμεναι 'being present to support': the victim is imagined as himself indicting his murderer, and the Erinyes support him with their testimony.

αἵματος 'of bloodshed', cf. 613, 752, *Ag.* 1338, *Ch.* 932.

αὐτῷ 'against him' (the killer), a dat. of 'disadvantage'.

τελέως 'with final authority', cf. 953: there is no appeal against the Erinyes' sentence. But in a deeper sense the justice they offer can never be final; cf. 28n. and *Intr.* §5.

ἐφάνημεν: aorist (sometimes called gnomic) of an action that has occurred regularly in the past and may be expected to occur regularly in the future (Weir Smyth² §1931).

321-96 This song contains four strophic pairs, the first and last iambo-trochaic, the middle two dactylic (except for their final cola, <353> = 367 and 371 = 380, where a lekythion recalls the dominant rhythm of the song). After each half of the first strophic pair, and between the halves of the second and third, a so-called ἐφύμνιον is added; the ephymnia are dominated by the 'fourth paeon' (resolved cretic) ◡◡◡-, whose repetition gives the effect of an incantation, and 372-6 (see nn.) suggests that they were accompanied by violent, leaping dance-movements. The last strophic pair (381-96) has no ephymnia and a much smoother rhythm, with no syncopation at all after the first three cola, as the Erinyes assert their awesome power and dignity.

Ephymnia occur in six other passages in surviving Aeschylean plays (cf. too Aesch. fr. 204b.6-8 = 15-17); they range from a short invocation, or even a mere interjection (*Pers.* 652 = 657, 664 = 671) to stanzas equalling or exceeding in length the strophes to which they are attached (*Ag.* 1489-96 = 1513-20, 1538-50). The ephymnion is sometimes repeated after the antistrophe, sometimes not (in which case it is often called a mesode), and the two patterns may appear successively in the same lyric complex, as here and in *Ag.* 1481-1566.

For detailed metrical analysis see Appendix.

321 μᾶτερ: it is appropriate that the Erinyes, who in this play are champions of a mother's rights, should call on their mother to witness

their plight (cf. 745, 844 = 876); indeed we are never told who their father is, or whether they have one at all (cf. 657-66n. (4)).

ἄ μ' ἔτικτες: contrast Apollo's assertion (658-61) that the 'so-called mother' is not a τοκεύς and that the verb τίκτειν can properly be used only of the father.

322 Νύξ: Aesch. is evidently identifying the Erinyes with the Hesiodic Κῆρες (Hes. *Thg.* 217-22; cf. Intr. §2), daughters of Night, and thus can associate them closely with the idea of darkness (cf. 72, 175-8n., 386). Night herself was one of the most ancient of divine powers, a child of Chaos the oldest of all (Hes. *Thg.* 123).

ἄλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν is echoed by *δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσσομμάτοις* (387-8). Here 'the blind and the seeing' means 'the dead and the living'; compare the common poetic use of φάος βλέπειν, or simply βλέπειν, in the sense 'be alive' (746; *Ag.* 677, 1646; Garvie on *Ch.* 844).

On the metrical analysis here adopted, the second syllable of ἄλαοῖσι must be long. The only parallel for this is the Homeric μάντιος ἄλᾱοῦ (*Od.* 10.493, 12.267), which is likely to have been Aesch.'s model for the lengthening.

323-4 ποινάν 'a goddess of vengeance', cf. *Ch.* 936, 947.

ὁ Λατοῦς ... ἱνίς: Apollo too is identified by reference to his mother rather than his father (contrast 149).

ἄτιμον: 95n.

326-7 πτώκα 'hare'; cf. 252n. Earlier the Erinyes had pictured Orestes as a hunted fawn (246, cf. 111); 'hare' reminds us of the omen of Aulis (cf. *Ag.* 137 πτάκα θυομένοισιν - that hare was another 'sacrificial' victim, see next n.) and of the terrible death of Pentheus (26n.).

ματρῶιον ἄγνισμα κύριον φόνου 'a proper sacrifice (304-5n.) to cleanse a mother's murder', with a play on two senses of ἀγνίζω, 'sacrifice' (cf. Eur. *IT* 705) and 'cleanse': the pollution of human blood can be cleansed (so the Erinyes claim) only by the bloody 'sacrifice' of another human victim. The epithet ματρῶιον is transferred (267-8n.) from the dependent gen. φόνου to the noun on which it depends; cf. *Ag.* 1509-10 ὁμοσπόροις ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων, Soph. *Ant.* 793-4 νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον, and see K-G I 263 Anm. 2.

329 τόδε μέλος 'this is our song'.

παρακοπά 'mental derangement, insanity': one of the Erinyes' methods of torment is to drive their victim mad. In *Ch.* 1021ff. Orestes

had indeed seemed to be on the verge of losing his reason; but he has shown, and will show, no sign of succumbing to madness in *this* play.

331-3 ὕμνος ... δέσμιος: 299-396n., 306.

ἀφόρμικτος implies 'sorrowful', since lyre music was associated with joyful occasions. Cf. *Ag.* 990-1 τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ... θρήνον Ἐρινύος, *Supp.* 681 ἄχορον ἀκίθαριν δακρυογόνον Ἄρη.

αὐονά (not αὐονά, cf. καθαυανεί Archil. fr. 107, ἀφαιανθήσομαι *Ar. Ec.* 146) 'dryness, drying-up': the effect is placed in apposition to the cause (ὕμνος), cf. *Il.* 4.155 θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκι' ἔταμνον 'the covenant I swore was <the cause of> death to you'. The Erinyes are again envisaged as draining or drying or withering their victims (137-9n.).

334-5 The Erinyes' functions were assigned to them in perpetuity (ἐμπέδως) by Moira, which is here half personified (cf. 173n.) by being said to spin a thread of destiny (see on ἐπέκλωσεν).

λάχος 'lot, allotted function', cf. 347 and ἔλαχον 931.

διανταία seems originally to mean 'going straight through and out at the other side'; elsewhere in Aesch. (*Ch.* 184, 640; *Th.* 895) it is used of actual or metaphorical wounds. Here it perhaps means 'death-dealing'; it may be relevant that in *Ag.* 1535-6 and *Ch.* 647 Moira (or the synonymous Αἴσα) is spoken of as a smith who makes or sharpens a killing sword.

ἐπέκλωσεν 'spun for <us>'; for the imaging of destiny as a thread spun by the gods or the Moirai cf. *Il.* 24.525, *Od.* 7.197-8, Callinus fr. 1.9 West.

ἐμπέδως ἔχειν '(so as) to be permanent', a final-consecutive infinitive (164-8n.).

336-7 θνατῶν τοῖσιν ... ξυμπέσωσιν 'to those of mankind to whom there happen ...': the antecedent of the relative τοῖσιν (cf. 263n.) is τοῖς (338), and a more prosaic construction would be ὁμαρτεῖν ἐκείνοις τῶν θνητῶν οἷς ἂν αὐτουργίαι ξυμπέσωσιν. For the omission of ἂν in an indefinite relative clause cf. 661, *Th.* 257.

αὐτουργίαι ... μάταιοι is ambiguous. M glosses αὐτουργίαις (sic) as αὐτοφονίαις 'murder of kinsfolk', and other passages in the ode (326-7, 354-6) do indicate that the Erinyes are here claiming this as their special province (cf. 210-12nn.). This is not, however, the natural meaning of αὐτουργία. An αὐτουργός is one who does something in person and not by proxy, whether it be to put out his eyes (*Soph. Ant.* 52), to cultivate his land (*Eur. Or.* 920), or to teach himself philosophy

(X. *Smph.* 1.5); hence an αὐτουργία is any act personally performed, and αὐτουργίαί μάταιοι will be 'acts of wanton wickedness' (cf. *Ag.* 1662, *Ch.* 82). Thus this phrase, while in one sense fully consistent with the idea that the Erinyes concern themselves exclusively with a narrow range of offences, in another anticipates the much wider jurisdiction which they will later claim (517ff.) and which Athena will finally speak of them as exercising (930-1, 950ff.).

ξυμπέσωσιν 'happen to, befall' is surprising in that it seems to portray the sinner as a patient rather than an agent; and yet that is highly appropriate to Orestes, who killed his mother because Apollo, and the circumstances in which he found himself, left him no tolerable alternative (cf. *Ch.* 269-305, 900-2, 924-5). In the eyes of the Erinyes no such consideration can make him any less guilty (426-32).

338 ὁμαρτεῖν 'keep company with, dog the footsteps of', cf. *Pr.* 678.

339-40 ὑπέλθῃ 'he goes below': the chorus were previously thinking of sinners in general and spoke of them in the plural, but now they focus on a particular victim. For the shift of number cf. 377n., Plato *Prt.* 319d τούτοις οὐδείς ... ἐπιπλήττει ... ὅτι οὐδαμόθεν μαθὼν ... συμβουλευεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ, *Ar. V.* 564-5.

θανὼν δ' / οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος: for the assertion cf. 175-8n., for the ellipse of ἔστι cf. 174n., 207. 'Not too free' is an ironical understatement ('meiosis') for 'not free at all': cf. *Soph. OC* 144 where the blind wanderer Oedipus says he is οὐ πάνυ μοίρας εὐδαιμονίσαι πρώτης.

347-8 γιγνομένοισι 'at our birth' and therefore long before Zeus and the Olympians existed.

ἐφ' ἁμὶν ἐκράνθη = ἐπεκράνθη ἡμῖν 'were decreed (assigned) to us' (by Moira, cf. 334-5); for the 'tnesis' cf. 259n. The trochaic forms ἁμὶν (ἡμῖν) and ὑμῖν, common in Sophocles, are not certainly found elsewhere in Aesch., but ἡμῖν is probable at *Pr.* 821 (see Griffith ad loc.). Fraenkel III 826 describes ἁμὶν in this dactylic context as a 'prosodic Homerism' like ἐπὶ κνέφας 378 and δῦσοδοπαίπαλα 387: cf. *Il.* 17.415, 417.

349 ἀθανάτων: this adjective and its derivatives invariably have ᾱ in drama (cf. 951, *Ch.* 619, *Ar. Av.* 1224).

ἀπέχειν χέρας sc. ἐπεκράνθη ἡμῖν. To keep one's hands off a person normally means to refrain from violence against him (cf. *Supp.* 755-6, Plato *Smph.* 213d λαιδορεῖται τε καὶ τῷ χεῖρε μόγις ἀπέχεται), and here

contrast with the description of how the Erinyes punish mortals (334–46) suggests at first hearing that the meaning is ‘not to wish the gods’. Only as the sentence proceeds further does it become clear that the phrase should rather be understood as ‘to have no contact with the gods’. We know (69–70, 185, 195; cf. presently 365–7, 371) that the Olympians regard the Erinyes as polluted and shun all contact with them; evidently this attitude is in full accord with Moira, and the Erinyes do not object to it – but they will not tolerate interference with their own *λάχη*.

350–1 The separation between Olympians and Erinyes is so complete that there is not even a *third* party who feasts with both.

352 *παλλεύκων ... πέπλων*: white garments were worn at joyfull occasions such as weddings (Eur. *Alc.* 923), black garments were a sign of mourning; so to have ‘no part or lot in all-white robes’ means to have nothing to do with any kind of rejoicing. So Jocasta, her husband blinded and one of her sons in exile, was ἀπενπλος φαρέων λευκῶν (Eur. *Ph.* 324). The run of thought is slightly obscured by the lacuna after 352, but may possibly be ‘we keep away from the feasting of the gods (349–51), and we also keep away from <human> rejoicing (352–<3>); the houses we do visit are those where kinsfolk slay one another (354–6)’.

ἄκληρος ἄμοιρος is the most satisfactory correction of the unmetri-

cal MS reading *ἄμοιρος ἄκληρος*. Of the alternatives, *ἀπόμοιρος* (Müller) loses the effect of the repetition of the same prefix (cf. 329–30, 565, 785), while *ἄμορος καὶ ἄκληρος* (Davies) sacrifices the asyndeton usual in such pairings and introduces a word not otherwise found in Aesch.

τύχθην here means virtually ‘I am’; cf. *Supp.* 87 *Διὸς ἥμερος οὐκ ἡράτος ἐτύχθη*.

353 At the end of the strophe a lekythion (—ο—ο—ο—) has been added, as respension proves (cf. 367). Groeneboom, modifying a proposal of Schroeder, suggested <εὐφρόνων θ’ ὁμιλιᾶν>; but there is something to be said (352n.) for a supplement that includes *βροτῶν*.

354–5 *δωμάτων ... ἀνατροπάς* ‘the overthrow of houses’, the disruption of families by intestine violence, as exemplified by the long, bloody history of the house of Atreus. By punishing those who perpetrate such violence the Erinyes, or so they will later claim, guarantee the stability of the *δόμος Δίκας* (516) and the rights of parent, host and guest

35–8); but at present they emphasize the punishment itself rather than any beneficial consequences it may have.

355–6 Ἄρης / τιθασὸς ὦν ‘violence nurtured in the home’ (Lloyd-Jones): τιθασός properly means ‘tame, domesticated’, of an animal; for the use of Ἄρης to mean ‘violence’ (whether military or not) cf. 862, 461. The phrase may well hark back to the fable told in *Ag.* 7–36: a man reared a lion-cub in his house; when small, the animal was a delightful pet, but ‘in time it revealed the character inherited from its parents’ and wrought havoc among the man’s flocks of sheep. **φίλον**: here specifically a member of the family (but are all kinsfolk always φίλοι? cf. 269–72n.).

ἔλθῃ ‘kills’, as often in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 4.457).

357 ἐπὶ ... διέμηναι: tmesis (259n.), cf. LSJ Supp. s.v. ἐπιδίωμα.

κτόν: the murderer.

ὦ in mid-sentence (or at the end of a short sentence) in tragic lyric normally expresses a strong access of emotion, whether joy (*Ch.* 942; *Tr.* 335, *Ba.* 590) or distress (*Eur. Hipp.* 362, 669, *Supp.* 807); here it seems to express the joy of the chase.

358–9 The text is very uncertain, and with no strophic responsion we cannot be sure of the metre. Judging by the analogy of the other hymnia, 358 is probably either a lekythion (cf. 332) or a syncopated iambic dimeter (— — — — —; cf. 375) and 359 either a lekythion (cf. 332) or a pherecratean (— × — — —; cf. 376). The first stumbling-block is ὁμοίως ‘in the same way’, which makes no sense here and is no doubt a corruption of ὁμως ‘nevertheless’ (the participle ὄντα has concessive force, ‘even though he be’; the Erinyes frequently insist that they can bring low even the most powerful of mortals, cf. 368–9, 373–65, 934–7n.). We are then forced on metrical grounds to emend μαυροῦμεν to ἀμαυροῦμεν; both verbs mean ‘make faint, cause to disappear’, and here ‘enfeeble’ him who was once κρατερός (cf. *Ag.* 462–6 οἰνύες ... τυχηρὸν ὄντ’ ἄνευ δίκας ... τιθεῖσ’ ἀμαυρόν). The words which follow seem to mean ‘by reason of fresh blood’ (i.e. the blood the man has shed), but their metrical form is implausible in this context and they are almost certainly corrupt. The metre could be cured by deleting ὕψ’, but that leaves αἵματος νέου as a kind of causal genitive that is hard to parallel closely. It is tempting therefore with Dawe 187 to read (ἄ)μαυροῦμεν αἵματος κενόν ‘we enfeeble him <till he is> drained of blood’, the adjective κενόν being ‘proleptic’ (cf. *Soph. Ant.*

791-2 αὐ καὶ δικάων ἀδίκους φρένας παρασπᾶις 'you warp the minds of the just <so that they become> unjust'; for the sense cf. 302 ἀναίματον.

360-4 'Being eager to relieve everyone of this concern, I bring it about by my efforts that the gods have immunity <from it> so that they do not even have to go to a preliminary hearing'; the Erinyes claim to be doing the Olympians a favour by relieving them of the unpleasant duty of punishing murder within the family. In view of the state of the text, however, this interpretation can only be provisional.

In the MSS the sentence lacks a main verb; this might be supplied in two ways. (1) Redivide the opening syllables as σπεύδομεν αἶδ' (Doederlein) 'we here are eager'; but ὅδε = 'I' *unsupported by a noun or adjective* (contrast 122, 206, 365, 500) is so rare (nowhere else in Aesch., in Soph. only *Tr.* 305, 1013) that it should not be introduced by conjecture. (2) Assume that ἐπικραίνειν is a corruption of ἐπικραίνω (Hartung) under the influence of ἐλθεῖν below; we must then begin the sentence with σπευδομένα δ' (M^{ac}) and also delete the δ' which in the MSS follows θεῶν. (2) has been commended by A. L. Brown, *J.H.S.* 103 (1983) 27 n. 71, and is adopted here.

τινα is probably equivalent here to πάντα τινά: cf. Hdt. 7.237.3 κακολογίης περί τῆς ἐς Δημόρητον ... ἔχεσθαι τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω, *Ar. Nu.* 1491-2, *Ra.* 628-9. Alternatively it may be a thinly veiled reference to Zeus (cf. *Ch.* 102 where τινός means in effect 'of Clytaemestra or Aegisthus').

τάσδε (acc. pl.) rather than τᾷσδε (gen. sing.). The construction of ἀφελεῖν with double acc. can be paralleled by Soph. *Ph.* 933 τὸν βίον με μὴ ἀφέλῃς; for the construction with acc. of person and gen. of thing there is nothing closer than X. *Cyn.* 6.4 ἀφαιρῶνται τὰς ... κύνας τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὸν λαγῶ where the verb is middle not active.

ἀτέλειαν: ordinarily a quasi-legal term meaning immunity from some civic duty such as military service, the payment of taxes, or the performance of 'liturgies'; here it denotes immunity from the duty to judge and to punish.

ἐμαῖς μελέταις 'by my efforts' (for this sense of μελέτη cf. Hes. *Op.* 380, *Emp.* fr. 131.2 D-K, *Eur. Med.* 1099). 'Prayers' (ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς MSS) would be irrelevant here.

ἐπικραίνω 'I bring about, I cause there to be': cf. *Ag.* 744 ἐπέκραναν δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς, *Supp.* 689-90.

μηδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν: the infinitive is best taken, with Groeneboom, as consecutive (164-8n.), with 'the gods' as understood subject. An ἄγκρισις (in prose ἀνάκρισις: cf. 229n.) is properly a preliminary hearing of a lawsuit or prosecution by the magistrate who would later preside over the trial: the examination of Orestes and the Erinyes by Athena in 408-89 has many of the features of an ἀνάκρισις. The Erinyes assert that thanks to their 'efforts' the gods have no need even (note μηδ') to hold such a preliminary enquiry into cases of kindred-murder, much less an actual trial (cf. 260-1). Athena will take a different view.

365-7 Not only are the Erinyes themselves happy with the well-established division of labour between them and the Olympians; the Olympians too, they say, have hitherto been equally happy to leave the Erinyes and their activities severely alone.

δ': a connective is necessary, but M's γάρ violates strophic responson (cf. 352); it probably originates from a gloss on δ' (cf. W. Headlam, *On editing Aeschylus* (1891) 119-20).

ἔθνος τόδε 'our tribe': cf. 122n.

λέσχας ἄς 'his converse, his company'; cf. *Ch.* 665-6 αἰδώς γὰρ ἐν λέσχαισιν (Emperius: λεχθεῖσιν M) οὗς ἐπαργέμους λόγους τίθησιν, *Soph. OC* 167. The sense 'council' (cf. *Soph. Ant.* 161) is unlikely here; a divine 'council' would naturally be thought of as including (as normally in Homer) only the dozen or so greatest gods, so there would be nothing remarkable in the Erinyes' being excluded from it. For the possessive adjective ἄς cf. *Th.* 640-1 λιτῶν τῶν ὦν, *Soph. OT* 1248.

ἀπηξιώσατο 'has held unworthy of', 'has debarred as unworthy from'; the root of the verb echoes ἀξιόμισον just before: since in the eyes of Zeus the Erinyes are 'worthy to be hated', they evidently cannot be 'worthy of his converse'. The daughter of Zeus, however, will before long be conversing with them, and they in return will respect her ἄξι' ἀντ' ἐπαξίων (435).

368-80 pick up the assertion of 358-9 that even the most proud and powerful of men will be brought low if the Erinyes attack him, and proceed to describe graphically (in dance as well as by words) the process and its effects.

368 δόξαι: here a person's opinion of himself, rather than others' opinion of him.

ὑπ' αἰθέρι 'under heaven', i.e. during life.

369 κατὰ γᾶς is necessary: κατὰ γᾶν (MSS) would mean 'on earth', whereas the meaning required is 'under earth' in contrast with ὑπ' αἰθέρι. Note the implication that the sinner's worst sufferings are those which come after death (175-8, 267-75, 339-40).

ἄτιμοι: the epithet is transferred (267-8n.) from the conceited sinners to their conceit; similarly μελανείμοσιν (370) and ἐπιφθόνοις (371) describe the Erinyes themselves rather than their 'attacks' or 'dances'.

370 μελανείμοσιν: cf. 52, 55nn. From here to 376 the words seem to carry indications of the choreography (note ὀρχησμοῖς): here one may picture the circle of dancers (307n.) closing in on their imaginary victim (ἐφόδοις) and flapping their dark garments with sinister effect (μελανείμοσιν).

371 ἐπιφθόνοις 'angry', cf. *Ag.* 134.

ποδός: πούς is often used redundantly in tragedy (cf. *Pers.* 516, Aesch. fr. 332 δῖωκε ... ποδί, *Soph. El.* 456), but it is not necessarily redundant here. We know that *kicking* movements were a feature of early tragic dancing (cf. *Ar. V.* 1490-2, 1524-5 with MacDowell's notes), and it may be that we have here another verbal indication of the choreography and that the thematic notion of kicking or trampling (110n.) is once again given visible expression.

372-6 Here again the words may indicate the dance-movements. First the dancers leap high (μάλα ... ἀλομένα) and come down hard (βαρυπετῇ καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν) as if stamping the life out of their victim (a further variant on the trampling theme); evil fate is often spoken of as 'leaping upon' a person, cf. *Pers.* 515-16, *Soph. Ant.* 1345-7, *OT* 263, 1300-2, 1311. After this they may perhaps extend a leg as if to trip up a runner (σφαλερὰ καὶ τανυδρόμοις κῶλα).

373 ἀνέκαθεν: ἄγκαθεν (MSS) is inappropriate both metrically (321-96n.) and in sense, and ἀνάκαθεν (J. Pearson) cannot be shown to have existed; see R. Renchan, *C.R.* 20 (1970) 125-7.

βαρυπετῇ 'dropping heavily'. The MSS have βαρυπεσῇ, but this would be an unparalleled formation: cf. εὐπετής, περιπετής, χαμαιπετής, etc.

374 ποδὸς ἀκμάν: a periphrasis for πόδα, cf. *Soph. OT* 1034 διατόρους ποδοῖν ἀκμάς.

375-6 σφαλερὰ ... κῶλα is in apposition to ποδὸς ἀκμάν: σφαλερά, usually 'slippery, dangerous, unreliable', here bears the more physical meaning 'capable of tripping up'.

καί: the metrical pattern (321–96n.) makes it virtually certain that a monosyllable has been lost, and **καί** gives good sense and may have been read by the author of one (incorrect) explanation given in the scholia (**καί τοῖς τανυδρομοῖς γίνεται σφαλερὰ τὰ κῶλα διὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἄτην δύσφορον ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ· οἶον, καὶ οἱ ταχυδρομοὶ (sic) οὐ δύνανται με ἐκφυγεῖν**).

τανυδρομοῖς occurs only here (though the Erinyes themselves are **τανύποδες** in Soph. *Aj.* 837): **τανυ-** means ‘long, extended’, and the adjective evokes the picture of a runner ‘at full stretch’ (LSJ).

δύσφορον ἄταν: effect in apposition to **cause** (331–3n.).

δύσφορον is virtually a synonym of **ἄφερτον** (146n.); cf. 262n.

ἄταν ‘ruin’, as normally in Aesch.

377 πίπτων δ’ οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ’ ‘but as he falls, he does not know this’, viz. that his fall is caused by the Erinyes; cf. 933 οὐκ οἶδεν ὅθεν πληγαὶ βióτου. For the shift from the plurals **ἀνδρῶν** (368) and **τανυδρομοῖς** (375) to the singular subject here, cf. 339–40n.

ἄφρονι λύμαι ‘the injury that has taken away his wits’: the Erinyes have driven him mad (cf. 329–30). The epithet is transferred from the afflicted man to his affliction (cf. 267–8n.).

378 ‘Such is the dark cloud of pollution that hovers over the man.’

ἐπὶ ... πεπóταται: ‘tmesis’ (259n.).

ἐπὶ κνέφας: another ‘prosodic Homerism’ (347–8n.). In tragedy, the sequence of a voiceless stop consonant (**π τ κ φ θ χ**) and a liquid or nasal (**λ ρ μ ν**) at the *beginning of a word* does not normally ‘make position’: this passage is the only certain exception in Aesch. (*Pers.* 782 νέος ἐὼν νέα φρονεῖ may be corrupt), but there are some 20 *prima facie* cases in Sophocles and Euripides (collected by Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 760).

μύσος, if sound, is in apposition to **κνέφας**: the darkness that hovers over the man is his pollution. But **μύσους** (Paley) may well be right.

379–80 αὐδάται is probably middle rather than passive (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 772, *Ph.* 130), and the sentence means ‘And a voice full of grief speaks of a murky mist over his house’. Apparently the victim has now perished; the ‘voice’ is that of his dependants, whose house has lost its master (cf. *Ch.* 49–53).

381 μένει ‘it stands fast, it abides unchanging’ – ‘it’, as the rest of the strophe shows, being the role of the Erinyes as implacable avengers. The *permanence* of the laws of Dike has often been emphasized in the trilogy (cf. especially *Ag.* 1563–4 μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς

παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα, θέσμιον γάρ), and in 335 we heard that the Erinyes' functions were assigned to them ἐμπέδως ἔχειν. So too when the Erinyes' θεσμός (391) is supplemented by the new θεσμός of the Areopagus, this also is declared permanent and not to be changed (484, 571-2, 683-4, 693-5). The transmitted text is so appropriate, as well as so impressive in its 'lapidary brevity' (Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1563), that emendation is quite uncalled for.

εὐμήχανοι 'resourceful'; in contrast their victims are ἀμήχανοι 'helpless' (561). Cf. 82n.

382 τε: this conjecture creates an asyndeton after μένει γάρ, justified by the fact that the rest of the strophe serves to expand and explain that laconic expression (313-20n.); δέ (MSS) would misleadingly suggest that the chorus were passing on to a new point.

τέλειοι: cf. 28n., 318-20n. The adjective may be of two terminations as here (cf. *Ag.* 1432) or of three (cf. 214, *Supp.* 739).

383 τε: if the responsion is strict (as it is almost everywhere else in this ode), τε must be scanned short before initial μν-. Initial μν- similarly fails to 'make position' in Eur. *IA* 68, 847 and very occasionally in other poetry, and internal -μν- is probably thus treated in *Pers.* 287 and possibly in *Ag.* 990; see West 18.

μνήμονες: regardless of how much time has elapsed since a wrong was done, the Erinyes remember it and will punish it: cf. *Pr.* 516 μνήμονές τ' Ἐρινύες, *Ag.* 59-60, *Ch.* 648-52, and (of other avengers) *Ag.* 155, *Ch.* 491-2.

σεμναί 'awesome': contrast 368 where, used of mortals, it means 'proud' and hints that the pride is unwarranted. At the end of *Eu.* the Erinyes become the Σεμναί θεαί of Athenian cult (see Intr. §2); but if, as is likely, the identification of these goddesses with the Erinyes was a novelty, we cannot regard σεμναί here as an 'allusion' to the Erinyes' future role but, at most, as foreshadowing it.

384 δυσπαρήγοροι: angry deities bent on vengeance cannot be appeased by any prayer or sacrifice (cf. *Ag.* 69-71).

βροτοῖς: perhaps though an immortal might be able to appease them? So it will prove.

385-6 This passage as transmitted is two syllables longer than 393-4 which should respond to it: the simplest remedy is to delete ἄτιμ' as a marginal gloss or variant for ἀτίετα that has intruded into the text.

ἀτίετα: i.e. despised by the Olympians (cf. 365-7).

διέπομεν λάχη: cf. 931 ἔλαχον διέπειν, *Pers.* 105. The MS reading διόμενοι leaves the sentence without a verb and is also in itself bad in sense, for δίομαι and διώκω, unlike διέπω and unlike English ‘pursue’, are not attested in the sense of carrying on an occupation.

ἀνηλίωι λάπαι: in the underworld, which was proverbially sunless (cf. 396; in *Ar. Ra.* 454–5 the sun shines only for the μυσταί) and full of slime (*Ar. Ra.* 145, 273; Plato *Phd.* 69c, *Rep.* 363d). There is no need to ‘correct’ ἀνηλίωι into ἀναλίωι: compounds of ἥλιος several times retain η in tragic lyrics (396, *Ch.* 51, *Soph. OC* 676, *Eur. Andr.* 534), see Björck (235n.) 165.

λάπαι (cf. *Diph. fr.* 17.15 K–A where λάπης is guaranteed by metre) is preferable on metrical grounds to the MSS’ spelling λάμπαι: λάμπαι would disrupt the impressively smooth iambic flow of 384–6 and would also force us to read in 394 κύρω, a form nowhere securely attested in the Aeschylean corpus, instead of κυρῶ which is metrically guaranteed in nine places (*Ch.* 214, 714; *Pers.* 503, 598; *Th.* 23, 401; *Supp.* 58; *Pr.* 70, 330).

387–8 δῦσοδοπαίπαλα: yet another ‘prosodic Homerism’ (347–8n., cf. 378) in a dactylic colon, modelled on the common Homeric practice of lengthening short syllables in words that would otherwise be metrically refractory. This audacious compound evokes the picture of a traveller painfully struggling along a difficult (δύσοδος) and rocky (παιπαλόεις) mountain road: such is the journey of life (and afterlife) for those who incur the Erinyes’ wrath. Grammatically the adjective depends on λάχη, but the four intervening words lead the hearer’s mind away from the abstraction of the Erinyes’ ‘allotted functions’ towards the idea of a dank, god-forsaken region in which they exercise those functions.

δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσομμάτοις: cf. 322n.: here again the primary meaning is ‘the living and the dead’, but the phrase also carries on the image of the mountain road: that a blind man should stumble is nothing surprising, but the paths engineered by the Erinyes are hard even for the clear-sighted to walk on safely.

ὁμῶς ‘alike’ (cf. 692); distinguish from ὅμως ‘nevertheless’ (74, 358).

389–90 οὐχ ἄζεται: not οὐ χάζεται ‘does not recoil’ (MSS), for χάζομαι is not a transitive verb and is nowhere securely attested in tragedy.

δέδοικεν: cf. 34n.; we are now moving towards the idea of fear as a

restraining influence on the prospective wrongdoer, an idea made explicit in 517-25.

391 ἐμοῦ: governed by κλύων, not θεσμόν (otherwise we should have had ἐμόν).

θεσμόν: θεσμός differs from νόμος mainly in its connotations and associations, which suggest the ideas of antiquity and sanctity. In particular the oldest written laws of the Athenians, the homicide laws of Dracon, were often referred to as θεσμοί (cf. And. 1.81, Arist. *Ath.* 7.1), whereas Solon's laws were called νόμοι. The Erinyes' age-old θεσμός is at least very closely related to the θέσμιον of Zeus that prescribed παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα (*Ag.* 1564). Presently Athena will lay down a new θεσμός (484, 571, 615), embodied in the Areopagus council; the Erinyes will at first see this θεσμός as destructive of their own (cf. 490-3), but eventually Athena will persuade them that the two can coexist in harmony.

393 δοθέντα 'conceded, allowed', not 'given', for the Erinyes claim to have had their τιμαί and λάχῃ since before the younger gods were born: their point here is that the Olympians have not till now disputed their entitlement to these rights. For the use of δίδωμι where A, having acquired power over B, graciously allows B to keep what B already possesses, cf. Ar. *Av.* 1633 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἦραν παραδίδωμι τῷ Δί.

τέλεον: cf. 320.

ἐπι ... μοι = ἔπεστί μοι 'I have', cf. *Od.* 11.367 σοὶ δ' ἐπι μὲν μορφῇ ἐπέων 'you have the gift of graceful speech'.

394 echoes, in a very different tone, Apollo's sarcastic words of 209 τίς ἦδε τιμή; κόμπασον γέρας καλόν.

οὐδ' ἀτιμίας κυρῶ 'nor am I treated with dishonour' (cf. Hdt. 7.158.4 ἀτιμίας δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας) sounds paradoxical after 323-4 and 385 ἀτίετα, but the point is 'there are *some* who honour me', viz. mortals (389-90).

395-6 The ode that began with Mother Night (321-2) ends with the nether darkness that even the sun cannot penetrate: cf. 175-8n.

καὶ δυσήλιον κνέφας is closely echoed phonetically in 926 φαίδρον ἁλίου σέλας - but the meanings differ *toto caelo*.

δυσήλιον is virtually equivalent to ἀνήλιον (cf. 386); see 262n. It is the fifth δυσ- compound in the last 21 lines of the ode, and its placing in the antistrophe matches that of δυσομμάτοις (388) in the strophe.

397-489

Athena arrives in answer to Orestes' call. The Erinyes and Orestes both explain to her why they have come to Athens, and both ask her to judge the issue in dispute between them. Athena is reluctant to decide the case on her own, because whichever way her decision goes the consequences for the Athenian people may be grave (476-81); instead she announces her intention of having it tried by a jury of selected Athenian citizens. She goes off to choose the judges and swear them in (483n.).

On the manner of Athena's entry see 404-5n. It is likely that she appears as the warrior goddess, in gleaming bronze armour. Orestes in his prayer (292-6) had envisaged her as engaged in warlike activity, and she has in fact come from taking possession of her share of the territorial spoils of war (398-402); later, too, while asking the placated Erinyes to bless the Athenians in all other respects, she promises herself to bless them with victory in war (913-15; cf. also 864). In addition, at the moment of her entry, the very brightness of the armour would make an effective contrast with the dark garments of the Erinyes, with the *δυσήλιον κνέφας* of which they have just been singing, and more broadly with the whole dark history of unending murder and counter-murder which Athena is destined to bring to an end. Athena must also be wearing her aegis (404-5n.).

397 ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ: cf. 235n.

πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα: cf. 297.

399-402 This passage is clearly (at least in part) aetiological, justifying the right of fifth-century Athens to rule the territory in question. Since antiquity (cf. Σ^M) it has been taken to refer to Sigeum, a fortress near the site of Troy where there was a temple of Athena (Hdt. 5.95.1). There had been conflicts between Athens and Mytilene over the possession of Sigeum during the sixth century (Hdt. 5.94-5); in 510 it was occupied by the Peisistratidae on their expulsion from Athens (Hdt. 5.65.3), and they must subsequently have held it as tributaries of the Persian king. In 465/4 Athenians were involved in fighting at Sigeum (*Agora* xvii 1.32 and 119; see D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 321-8); from the 450s at least Sigeum was a member of the Athenian alliance, and in 451/0 her people were praised for their devotion to Athenian interests and promised protection against all enemies by land (*IG* I³ 17). But Sigeum was not, strictly speaking, an Athenian possession at any time after 510; that Athena here does claim

it for Athens 'in perpetuity' may well indicate that Athenians were already in 458 beginning to look on their 'alliance' as an empire which they ruled. If so, this passage would be the earliest contemporary evidence for such an attitude; in inscriptions the tell-tale phrase 'the cities over which the Athenians have power' appears first (mainly as a restoration, though a probable one) in *IG* 1³ 19 (c. 450/49). And although Athens had long laid specific claim to Sigeum on the basis of her participation in the Trojan War (Hdt. 5.94.2), our passage need not refer to Sigeum *exclusively*: *λάχος μέγα* (400) indeed suggests a much larger, and undefined, area of Asiatic territory – it might even be taken to include *all* the πόλεις in Asia that Athens did in fact control in the early 450s.

What though is the *dramatic* relevance of this passage? Chiefly, perhaps, that it sets the tone for Athena's whole role in the play, throughout which she has constantly at heart the interests and the glory of her people; it also continues the idea (contrasting with much that was said and implied in *Ag.*) that the conquest of Troy was a wholly creditable exploit, and adds that it was an *Athenian* exploit (cf. Macleod 125). The note of hope for, and pride in, Athenian success in war will be sounded many times again (cf. *Intr.* §6).

401 ἔνειμαν 'had allotted' immediately after the capture of Troy.

αὐτόπρεμνον: properly 'stump and all, root and branch', used of the uprooting of trees in a flood (*Soph. Ant.* 714); here in the more general sense 'entirely and absolutely, without reservation'.

ἐς τὸ πᾶν 'for ever' (83n.).

402 ἐξαίρετον δῶρημα: the same two words appear in Agamemnon's reference to the prize (Cassandra) awarded to him on the same occasion (*Ag.* 954-5).

Θησέως τόκοις probably denotes the Athenians; for similar sobriquets cf. 13, 683, 1011, 1025-6, 1045. The names Ἀθηναῖοι and Ἀθηναῖοι are entirely avoided in this play (contrast *Pers.* where they occur in all nine times). The actual sons of Theseus, Acamas and Demophon, though not mentioned in the *Iliad*, did take part in the Trojan War according to the cyclic epics (*Ilias Parva* fr. 18; *Iliou Persis* fr. 3 and 4) and the later tragedians (*Soph. Ph.* 562; *Eur. Hec.* 123-9, *Tr.* 31, *IA* 247-9); but a reference to them here would involve a needless inconcinnity, since in the rest of the play their existence is wholly ignored and the city has no ruler but Athena (288n.). Cf. Macleod 125.

403 διώκουσ' ... πόδα: a poetic phrase for rapid movement on foot (cf. *Th.* 371, *Eur. Or.* 1344).

ἄτρυτον 'unwearied' recalls Athena's title Ἀτρυτώνη (*Il.* 2.157 etc.) which was thought, perhaps rightly, to be derived from this adjective.

404-5 These two lines cannot stand together. 405, with its deictic τόνδ', implies that Athena has entered in a horse-drawn vehicle, like Atossa at *Pers.* 155, Pelasgus at *Supp.* 234 and Agamemnon at *Ag.* 783 (see Taplin 75-8, 200-2, 304); 404 on the other hand implies that she has travelled from the Troad under her own power. Since the phraseology of 403 is not apt to describe travel in a vehicle (see 403n.), Wilamowitz was right to reject 405; it was probably written to replace 404 by a later producer who wanted to give Athena a spectacular chariot-borne entry (cf. Taplin 77).

How then did Athena arrive on the scene in the original production? Taplin 390 draws attention to the parallel between 403-4 and 250-1 ἀπτέροις ποτήμασιν ἦλθον διώκουσ', and argues that there is no more reason to suppose that Athena arrives on the μηχανή (flying-machine) than there is to suppose the Erinyes do: '404 does not say that she flew but that she came without wings; πεπερῶν ἄτερ simply explains how she came miraculously over the sea ... Over land Athena travelled at superhuman speed on foot, as she says in 403.' There is not, however, in the text any such distinction between sea and land sections of Athena's journey (whereas such a distinction *is* made in 75-7 and 240 as well as 249-51); 403-4 (note ἔνθεν ... ἦλθον) describes one continuous journey from the Troad to Athens by the same means of locomotion, and such a journey can only have been through the air. At the very least therefore it is impossible to exclude the supposition that Athena is brought on by means of the μηχανή. That this device existed in the last years of Aeschylus' life is made highly probable by the statement of Pollux (4.130) that the γέρανος 'is used by Eos when she takes away the corpse of Memnon', a reference which fits no known play except Aeschylus' *Psychostasia*: for even if the statement itself is a commentator's deduction from the text of the play or a reflection of later stage practice, there remains the positive assertion that in this play Eos came and took away Memnon's body, and it is hard to see how such a scene could have been staged except by the use of the μηχανή.

ῥοιβδοῦσα '(noisily) flapping': cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1004 πεπερῶν ... ῥοῖβδος.

αἰγίδος: Athena's 'aegis' is represented in art as a garment (now short, now long, and often scaly) fringed with tassels or with snakes, either worn over the shoulders or hung over the left arm. Here it is apparently rather long and looser than usual, since the κόλπος of a garment is the fold that hangs down and conceals the belt or girdle at the waist.

406 Up to this point Athena has been speaking at the audience in an 'entrance-monologue' (D. Bain, *Actors and audience* (1977) 68-70). Now she turns to Orestes and the Erinyes.

ὀμιλίαν χθονός: equivalent to ὀμιλούσας χθονί 'visitors to this land'. This phrase is used later by the Erinyes (711, 720) in threats of a hostile visitation and then again by Athena (1030) referring to their new status as permanent and beneficent μέτοικοι at Athens.

407-12 Unlike the Pythia (34ff.), Athena is not frightened by the Erinyes; but she is just as sure (cf. 48-59) that they resemble nothing in heaven or earth.

408 πᾶσι δ' ἐς κοινὸν λέγω: an early indication of Athena's impartiality between Orestes and the Erinyes, which contrasts sharply with Apollo's attitude.

410 A difficult passage textually. After 408-9 ('I speak to all of you alike, both to this stranger ...') ὑμῖν θ', not ὑμᾶς θ' (MSS), is necessary; yet ἐμφερεῖς (412) shows that the adjectival phrase describing the Erinyes, which ends in 412, must be nom. or acc., not dat. Hence the first word of that phrase (ὁμοίως or ὁμοίως MSS) cannot be made to agree with ὑμῖν but must be the opening of a new sentence; and only the nom. ὁμοῖαι (sc. ἔστε, cf. 174n., 207, 340) can provide that sentence with any syntactic construction.

σπαρτῶν 'of begotten beings'. She means merely 'of living beings' (whether divine, human or animal), but she speaks more truly than she knows: the Erinyes have no begetter, no father (657-66n. (4)).

411 ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν ὄρωμέναις 'among those goddesses who are beheld by the <Olympian> gods' (these latter never see the Erinyes, cf. 69-73, 350-1, 365-7, 386).

412 Logically the sentence should have continued οὐτ' ἐν βροτοῖσι, but by a mild anacoluthon Athena continues as if she had begun οὐκ ἔστέ οὔτε θεαῖς ὁμοῖαι ...

οὐτ' οὖν 'nor on the other hand': cf. *Ag.* 359, 473, Denniston 419-20.

413 Athena checks herself, realizing that she risks being unnecessarily and improperly rude to her visitors: note that she here condemns the very kind of behaviour displayed earlier by Apollo. It is wrong, she says, 'to speak ill of another when he has given no offence': for the first time in the trilogy the principle δράσαντα παθεῖν (*Ch.* 313) is explicitly extended to require *non*-injury as well as injury to be reciprocated (μὴ δράσαντα μὴ παθεῖν, as it were).

ἄμομφον: ἄμορφον (MSS) is due merely to the 'after-image' in a copyist's mind of μορφώμασιν just before. The corruption has also invaded Σ^M (see app. crit.), but ἀντιψέξαι shows that the original scholiast had something about 'blame' in his text.

τὸν πέλας: the transmitted text is τοὺς πέλας, which would require us either to read ἄμόμφους ὄντας or else to understand ἄμομφον in an otherwise unattested 'active' sense ('having no fault to find'). It is preferable to change τοὺς to the singular τόν: the corruption will have been due to a conscious or subconscious assumption that a plural was required here because the Erinyes are a plurality.

414 To speak injuriously of another without provocation 'is a long way from what is right, and propriety keeps far from it'.

ἦδ': cf. 186-90n. Most MSS write ἦδ': this would give the sense 'this θέμις (custom?) stands far away from what is right', but θέμις is never used to refer to a practice which the speaker condemns as wrong.

ἀποστατεῖ: here almost 'rejects, finds repugnant': cf. Aesch. fr. 301 ἀπάτης δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ θεός.

415-35 is the second of three stichomythic arguments about Orestes' guilt (cf. 198-212, 585-608). All three begin with three lines from the chorus-leader; all but this one end in deadlock and hostility.

415 συντόμως occurs also in 585 (cf. previous note).

Διὸς κόρη: Apollo could be called son of Zeus (149) or of Leto (323-4); but just as the children of Night (416) have no father, so Athena is a daughter of Zeus who has no mother (663-6, 736).

416 αἰανῆ: nom. pl. neut. of αἰανής; αἰανῆς (*t*) would be gen. sing. fem. of *αἰανός, an adjective which is probably a *vox nihili* (see M. L. West, *B.I.C.S.* 28 (1981) 77 n. 19). The meaning of αἰανής (if it can be said to have a definable 'meaning' at all rather than a fluctuating set of semantic associations; see M. S. Silk, *C.Q.* 33 (1983) 304, 314-15) varies between 'eternal' as if from αἰεῖ or αἰών (so 572, 672) and 'sorrowful, grievous' as if from αἰαῖ or αἰάζειν (so 479, 942): here

'eternal' is more appropriate to the context, since the speaker would wish to make it clear at the outset that she and her sisters are divinities, but the word inevitably also brings to mind the Erinyes' immense power to do harm.

417 Ἀραί: on the Erinyes as embodied curses see Intr. §2 and cf. *Th.* 70 Ἀρά τ' Ἐρινύς πατρός. We find a plurality of personified Ἀραί in *Ch.* 406 and *Th.* 954. Here the audience will recall the curse of the House of Atreus (*Ag.* 1601, *Ch.* 692) and the mother's curse resting on Orestes (*Ch.* 912).

ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὕπαι: in the end the Erinyes will be offered, and will accept, a new 'home beneath the earth' in Athens itself.

418 μέν implies 'but I should like to be told more' (cf. Denniston 380).

οἶδα 'I now know' (clearly not 'I already know', in view of 408-12).

ἐπωνύμους: this adjective in Aesch. always implies that a name is *significant* in relation either to the nature or behaviour of its bearer (cf. 90, *Th.* 9, 658) or to the reason for its bestowal (cf. 689, *Supp.* 252). Here the name Ἀραί itself declares the Erinyes' essential nature.

421 βροτοκτονούντας is substituted for τοὺς μητραλοίας in a line otherwise identical with 210.

423 Cf. 301.

μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται 'is in no circumstances customary', a grim understatement for 'is completely unknown': for μηδαμοῦ/οὐδαμοῦ 'in no circumstances' cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1007, *Plato Prt.* 324e, *Smp.* 184e. μη- is used rather than οὐ- either to make the relative clause generic (cf. 899, *Ag.* 342) or to add emphasis to the negation (cf. *Pr.* 938 ἐμοὶ δ' ἔλασσον Ζηνὸς ἢ μηδὲν μέλει, *Soph. Aj.* loc. cit., *Ph.* 253, 415).

424 'Is it into that same sort of flight that you are harrying this man?'

ἐπιρροιζεῖς: despite Wilamowitz on Eur. *HF* 860, it is hard to make any clear semantic distinction between ῥοῖβδος and ῥοῖζος (with their respective derivatives), the basic meaning of both being apparently 'rushing noise'. The rushing here is that of a pack of hounds in full cry (cf. 111-13, 129-32, 230-1, 246-7); cf. Eur. *HF* 870 + 860 (for the transposition see J. Jackson, *Marginalia scaenica* (1955) 13-17) Κῆρας (= Ἐρινύας, cf. 322n.) ἀνακαλῶ ... ἐπιρροιβδεῖν ὁμαρτεῖν θ' ὥς κυνηγέτηι κύνας. To 'rush flight upon (ἐπι-)' Orestes is to rush, harry or hound him into flight.

425 ἤξιώσατο 'saw fit, thought himself entitled'.

426-7 Athena's first thought, on learning of the crime, is to ask whether there were mitigating circumstances; but for the Erinyes no circumstances can mitigate matricide.

ἀρ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης: this or something like it seems to have been read by the scholiast who wrote μή ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο πεποίηκεν;

ἦ τινος, not ἦ τίνος: to ask 'whose wrath was he afraid of?' would presuppose that he was in fact afraid of someone's wrath, something that Athena does not yet know.

γάρ, as often (e.g. 425), explains the speaker's assent or dissent, the assent or dissent itself being left to be understood; in the present case the understood response to Athena's question is not so much 'no' as 'what an absurd idea!'

ὥς = ὥστε (36n.)

428-32 Having learned what the accusation is, Athena is about to ask Orestes what defence he is putting forward. The Erinyes try to stop her, claiming that no defence can be valid except a sworn denial of the killing (which Orestes of course cannot offer); Athena courteously but firmly rejects this argument.

428 'Though two <parties> are here, <only> half of the argument is before me.' The scholia aptly cite the maxim μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης ([Hes.] fr. 338 M-W; cf. Ar. V. 725-6).

ἥμισυς λόγου: for the construction cf. Ag. 1300 ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται (and Fraenkel ad loc.), Thuc. 8.8.3 τὰς ἡμισείας τῶν νεῶν.

429 At the opening of an Athenian homicide trial, the accuser had to make oath that the defendant had committed the homicide, the defendant (normally) that he had not (see Intr. §3). If either party refused to swear, he automatically lost the case. Here Orestes clearly cannot swear that he did not kill his mother; the Erinyes claim that this automatically proves him guilty and punishable, without there being any room for argument (cf. λόγου 428) about compulsion or justification.

οὐ δέξαιτ' ἂν 'would not accept' were we to offer to swear to his guilt; δοῦναι = 'offer' his own oath of denial.

θέλοι: ἂν must be understood from the previous ἂν (see Goodwin MT 74). The MSS have θέλει, which would only be appropriate if Orestes had *already* been asked to take an oath and had refused.

430 Contrast *Th.* 592 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει.

κλύειν 'to be reputed'; the aorist κλυεῖν (see 391 app. crit.) though possible is not necessary, despite πράξει, since whereas a just *action* would be something done on a particular occasion, a *reputation* for justice would be enjoyed, if at all, over an extended period.

δίκαιος: feminine, cf. Eur. *Herac.* 901, *IT* 1202.

πράξει sc. δίκαια.

431 τῶν σοφῶν γὰρ οὐ πένηι: cf. 312n.

432 For the insistence that the claims of δίκη outweigh those of an oath cf. 217-18. The judges of Athena's own new court will take an oath to judge in accordance with δίκη (cf. 483n., 489, 674-5n.); Apollo will assert that even this oath is outweighed by the authority of Zeus (621), but Athena, while not directly controverting this, reminds the judges, as her last word before they vote, that they should respect their oath (710).

433 ἐξέλεγχε 'discover the truth accurately', cf. Pi. *O.* 10.53-5 ὃ τ' ἐξελέγχων μόνος ἀλάθειαν ἐπήτυμον Χρόνος.

εὐθεῖαν δίκην recalls the Erinyes' self-characterization as εὐθυδίκαιοι (312); but they now seem ready to accept δίκη in the sense of judgement (not vengeance) at the hands of a third party (cf. Intr. §5). The verb κρίνω, used here for the first time in *Eu.* (it will appear eight times more between now and 744), in a sense marks the transition: Orestes is no longer in danger of being hounded to death ἄκριτος. Cf. Goldhill 235.

434 κάπ' ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἄν = κάπιτρέποιτ' ἄν ἐμοὶ (tmesis, cf. 259n.).

αἰτίας τέλος recalls Orestes' hope for τέλος δίκης (243). By accepting Athena as judge the Erinyes are implicitly abandoning their own claim to 'final' authority over such malefactors as Orestes (cf. 320, 393).

435 σέβουσαί γ' ἄξι' ἀντ' ἐπαξίων 'if we are to pay you deserved respect in return for the deserving respect <you have paid to us>': like Athena (413n.), the Erinyes apply the principle δρᾶσαντα παθεῖν to good as well as bad treatment. Apollo's contempt earned their angry defiance: Athena's courtesy has earned their co-operation. The text of the MSS, ἄξιαν τ' ἐπαξίων (*vel sim.*), results from an error in word-division; it seems to have spawned an ancient variant, for the scholium in M, ἄξιων οὔσαν γονέων, shows that there once existed a reading ἄξιαν κάπ' ἄξιων (conj. Arnaldus). This text, giving the sense 'since we respect you as being worthy and of worthy parents', has found favour

with many editors, but it is quite unacceptable: whatever may be the reason for the Erinyes' acceptance of Athena as judge, it certainly cannot be because of her parentage, since it is precisely with her father Zeus and his spokesman (cf. 19) Apollo that they are at variance (149, 162, 229); at 641 they will mention in Athena's presence a serious crime committed by Zeus against his own father. See Kitto 62–3.

438 τῶνδ': feminine ('of these goddesses'). The variant τόνδ' (MTr) would give equally acceptable sense, but is the easier of the two readings to explain as a corruption of the other (by assimilation of τῶνδ' ... φόγον to τόνδ' ... φόγον).

439–41 The conditional clause depends on τῶνδ' ἄμυναθοῦ φόγον: Orestes is asked to defend himself against the Erinyes' accusation if he has come trusting in the justice of his cause, i.e. if he has a serious defence to put forward. Some editors (e.g. Thomson, Page) put the stronger punctuation before rather than after this clause, and so attach it to 442; but this would make Athena's request for factual information (437), as well as her request for a defence, conditional on Orestes' having a serious case to argue (since 442 asks for an answer to *all* the questions put), whereas in 408–9 and 436 there was no suggestion of any such condition being imposed; moreover an asyndeton at 439 would be harsher than one at 442 (cf. 442n.).

εἴπερ 'if it is really the case that'.

πεποιθώς τῇ δίκῃ is placed first in the protasis because it represents the crux of the matter: has Orestes a just (or at least arguable) claim to the protection he seeks?

φυλάσσω: cf. 243n.

ἑστίας: a suppliant coming to a human dwelling often sits at the hearth (e.g. *Ag.* 1587; *Od.* 7.153; cf. J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 93 (1973) 97–8), and ἐφέστιος can be a virtual synonym of ἱκέτης (*Supp.* 365, Hdt. 1.35.3). In connection with a god ἑστία can mean 'altar' (e.g. *Th.* 275); but it can also refer to a sacred hearth within a temple, particularly that at Delphi (see Garvie on *Ch.* 1038–9), and that sense is more appropriate here: it would be unnatural to speak of Orestes as being 'near' Athena's altar of sacrifice, which like all such altars stood in the open air *before* her temple. Compare the phrase δόμων ἐφέστιος (577, 669) which is used of Orestes' supplications both at Delphi and at Athens, and implies that at Athens as at Delphi the 'hearth' was within the 'house'.

σεμνός 'deserving respect' like the σέβας which Orestes as a suppliant has already received from Zeus and Apollo (92, 151).

ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίωνος: Ixion, who had murdered his father-in-law Eioneus (Diod. 4.69.3-4; Σ Pi. P. 2.40; Σ A.R. 3.62), supplicated Zeus for purification and was granted it. In 717-18 Apollo cites this as a precedent for his own protection of Orestes. He does not mention that Ixion proved unworthy of Zeus's clemency (717-18n.).

442 τούτοις ... πᾶσιν: referring to the four questions implied in 437-8 (what is your country? what is your family? what troubles have befallen you? can you rebut the accusation made against you?). For the asyndeton cf. 20 and see Denniston xlv (ii).

443-52 As in 237-9 and 276-85, Orestes begins by assuring Athena that he is free from pollution. The 'anxiety' (μέλημα) evidenced by Athena's 'last words' relates to the possibility that Orestes might be a polluted suppliant (προστρόπαιος 445, cf. 41, 237nn.) as Ixion was.

447-52 Fully expressed, the argument would be this: 'a man under blood-pollution is forbidden to speak until he has been purified <and it is dangerous for anyone else to converse with him>; I have been purified <and have since conversed with many people without this causing them any harm>' (cf. 284-5).

448 For this law cf. Eur. fr. 1008 τί σιγᾶς; μῶν φόνον τιν' ἡργάσω; and Eur. HF 1218-19, IT 951 (Orestes at Athens, see Intr. §1), Or. 75; Arist. Po. 1460a32.

449-50 αἵματος καθαρσίου 'who can cleanse blood-pollution' (agreeing with ἀνδρός) rather than 'of blood that purifies' (depending on σφαγαί), since (i) ἀνδρός badly needs a qualifying phrase, (ii) καθάρσιος elsewhere in Eu. (63, 578) describes the agent rather than the instrument of purification, (iii) the other interpretation, as Professor Easterling points out, would leave us with a nominal phrase containing two genitives (αἵματος and βοτοῦ) whose relation to each other and to σφαγαί would be obscure.

αἵματος ... καθαιμάξωσι: as in Ch. 400-74, the pollution of blood can only be cured by the shedding of further blood; but at least now the new blood is not human and so does not create fresh pollution.

νεοθήλου βοτοῦ viz. a sucking-pig (282-3n.). The slaughter of young creatures to no good end was a prominent theme early in the trilogy (Ag. 49-54, 119-20, 134-6, 205-47 esp. 232 δίκην χιμαίρας); now such slaughter is serving a constructive purpose. The adjective

νεόθηλος is not otherwise attested but is paralleled by ἄθηλος, εὐθηλος, etc. For the theme of suckling cf. *Ag.* 142, 718-19; *Ch.* 530-3, 545-6, 749-62, 896-8, 928.

451-2 πρὸς ἄλλοις ... οἴκοις implies *more than one* performance of a purification rite (as the plural βοτοῖσι confirms) and hence at least one purification elsewhere than at Delphi (cf. 237, 282-3nn.). The οἶκοι may be temples and/or palaces and/or private houses, for purification could be performed not only by a priest but by any head of a household (cf. Parker 375-92). The preposition πρὸς 'near, before' suggests that the rite would be carried out (as one might expect, seeing that it involved an animal sacrifice) not in the 'house' itself but at an altar adjacent to it.

ταῦτ': internal acc. ('in this way').

ἀφιέρωμεθα (perfect passive): 'I have been made ἱερός.' This would normally mean 'I have been consecrated' (perhaps as a sacrificial victim, cf. 304); but ἱερός can also mean 'ritually pure' (*Soph. OC* 287).

καὶ ... καὶ 'both ... and'.

ῥυτοῖς πόροις 'flowing streams'. The use of water in purification rites was common (see Parker 226-7); for the combination of blood and water cf. *FGrH* 356 F 1 'Take water and cleanse <him>: wash the blood off the person being cleansed', *Paus.* 5.16.8.

453 ἐκποδὼν λέγω sc. εἶναι.

454-68 Having proved himself free of pollution, Orestes proceeds to state his χώραν καὶ γένος καὶ συμφοράς (437).

454 ὥς ἔχει = ὅ τι ἔστι, cf. 154 δικάϊως ἔχειν = δίκαιον εἶναι.

455 Ἀργεῖός εἰμι: but only after his acquittal will he become an Argive again in the full sense, able to enter into his own inheritance and to take part in the civic and religious activities of his πόλις (cf. 654-6, 757-8).

ἱστορεῖς καλῶς: probably 'you know well' (cf. *Pers.* 454 κακῶς το μέλλον ἱστορῶν 'foreseeing the future badly'), a statement for which 454-68 furnishes justification; possibly 'you do well to ask about', almost 'I'm glad you asked about' (cf. *Ch.* 678 ἐξιστορήσας ... ὁδὸν 'after asking me where I was going').

456-8 Orestes is plainly proud of being Agamemnon's son, and proud also of Agamemnon's destruction of Troy. In *Ag.* this was presented as being of questionable value; the Argive elders thought the war should never have been undertaken (*Ag.* 799-804), and the vic-

tory was sullied by such stains as the destruction of the Trojan sanctuaries (*Ag.* 527) and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Agamemnon himself was portrayed as a weak character, in will-power the inferior of a woman (esp. *Ag.* 914-57). But after his death his faults are largely forgotten except by Clytaemestra: as early as *Ag.* 1545-8 he is a 'god-like man' who has done 'great deeds', and in *Ch.* he is remembered as a legitimate and revered king, unlike the cowardly tyrant Aegisthus. Nevertheless the audience will not have entirely forgotten the darker side of Agamemnon's victory: Apollo with prudent vagueness will speak of him as ἡμποληκότα τὰ πλεῖστ' ἄμεινον (631-2).

Ξὺν ᾧ σύ: Orestes tactfully gives Athena the main credit for the capture of Troy (cf. *Il.* 15.70-1, *Eur. Tr.* 72); she had inspired Epeius to build the Wooden Horse (*Od.* 8.493; cf. Proclus in Homer OCT v 107). Agamemnon in *Ag.* 810-13 had seemed to be taking the main credit for himself (θεοὺς ... τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταίτιους νόστου δικαίων θ' ὦν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν Πριάμου: see Denniston-Page ad loc.).

†Τροίαν† can hardly be right with Ἰλίου πόλιν following; and since it may have intruded into the text from a gloss or paraphrase, the true reading may well be irrecoverable.

ἄπολιν ... ἔθηκας: i.e. destroyed utterly; cf. *Pers.* 680 νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες of the fleet destroyed at Salamis.

459 ἀλλά picks up οὐ καλῶς ('his death was not a glorious one; on the contrary ...').

κελαινόφρων: elsewhere in Aesch. the φρήν (or σπλάγχνα or καρδία) is described as 'black' when someone is in a state of terrified apprehension (*Pers.* 114-15, *Supp.* 785, *Ch.* 412-14); but this is not appropriate here, and κελαινο- must be understood as 'evil', cf. *Soph. Aj.* 954-6 ἧ ῥα κελαινώπαν θυμὸν ἐφυβρίζει πολύτλας ἀνὴρ. The epithet associates Clytaemestra with the κελαιναὶ Ἐρινύες (*Ag.* 462-3; cf. 52n.) whose agent and partner she was in the killing of Agamemnon (cf. *Ag.* 1433, 1580-2).

460-1 ποικίλοις ἀγρεύμασιν / κρύψας': when Agamemnon returned to his palace, Clytaemestra attended him at his bath and then invited him to put on a richly worked robe of many colours; this robe was a trap (hence it is often spoken of, as here, as a net or hunting device: cf. *Ag.* 1115, 1382, *Ch.* 999-1000, and see 112n.). The exact nature of the trap is nowhere made clear by the tragedians, but a calyx-krater of the early 460s now in Boston (Prag pl. 3) shows Aga-

memnon enveloped from head to foot in a 'garment' of fine material with no holes for head or arms, and this seems to be what Aesch. is visualizing (cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.23); at 634 and *Ag.* 1382 he calls the robe 'endless', i.e. impossible to emerge from. Her victim being thus trussed up, Clytaemestra despatched him with two strokes (*Ag.* 1384). The audience have seen the robe in *Ag.* 1372ff., with Agamemnon's body still inside it (cf. *Ag.* 1492, 1580-1), and in *Ch.* 980ff.

λουτρῶν ... φόνον 'the murder in the bath'; for this use of the gen. cf. Thuc. 3.114.1 μετὰ τὴν τῆς Αἰτωλίας ξυμφορὰν 'after the disaster in Aetolia'.

ἐξεμαρτύρει: imperfect because the reference is to the time when Orestes displayed the robe in *Ch.*: its rents and stains then 'bore witness' (cf. *Ch.* 1010-11 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι φᾶρος τόδ') that it had indeed been used to commit a murder. Orestes makes a point of mentioning this now because his own plea of justifiable homicide (468) depends crucially on there being proof that Clytaemestra did murder Agamemnon.

462 πρὸ τοῦ 'before then' as in Hdt. 5.83.1, Plato *Smp.* 173a; in *Ag.* 1203, on the other hand, it is 'before now'.

φεύγων 'having been in exile'; had a finite verb been used, it would have been imperfect (ἔφευγον):

463-4 ἔκτεινα τὴν τεκοῦσαν: Orestes neither denies the act nor seeks to hide it behind euphemistic phrases, here or at 588. Before the deed he had spoken of it in vague terms, referring to his prospective victims in the plural (*Ch.* 273, 304, 385, 556-7) and never using the word μήτηρ or τεκοῦσα until the climactic moment of decision (*Ch.* 899); but since then he has regularly called the act by its true name (*Ch.* 988-9, 1027; *Eu.* 281).

οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι: Apollo, however, *will* deny it – by denying that the mother is τεκοῦσα of 'her' child (657-66).

ἀντικτόνοις ποιναῖσι lit. 'in counter-killing vengeance', i.e. 'to avenge (my father) by killing his killer'.

φιλάτου may well seem to beg the question whether Orestes should not have regarded his mother also as φιλάτη (cf. 608); but see 269-72n.

465 κοινῇ ... μεταίτιος: it is paradoxical that Orestes thus accepts partial responsibility for his mother's death when his accusers had insisted (199-200) that Apollo bore sole responsibility. Contrast *Ag.*

1497-1508 where Clytaemestra tries to disclaim all responsibility for Agamemnon's murder, while the chorus insist that she is at least partly responsible. In view of the relationship between this passage and 199-200 Weil's conjecture μεταίτιος is highly probable: ἐπαίτιος (MSS) will have been due to anticipation of 467.

466 ἄλγη: specified in *Ch.* 269-96.

ἀντίκεντρα 'goad-like', like the pains which Clytaemestra's ghost inflicted on the Erinyes (136n., 157). The rhetorical question ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κέντρον ὡς μητροκτονεῖν; (427) here unexpectedly finds an answer.

καρδίαι: in contexts like this 'heart' is evidently interchangeable with 'liver' (135, 158n., *Ch.* 272).

467 εἰ μὴ τι ... ἔρξοιμι 'if I did not do something to' (i.e. kill; cf. the common παθεῖν τι = ἀποθανεῖν). Apollo's words would have been εἰ μὴ τι ἔρξεις: for the change to future optative in the indirect report of a past utterance cf. *Soph. Aj.* 312-13 τὰ δεῖν' ἐπηπείλησ' ἔπη, εἰ μὴ φανοίην ... The aorist optative ἔρξοιμι (MSS) would imply that Apollo's words were ἐὰν μὴ τι ἔρξης: elsewhere, however, in future conditionals conveying a threat Aesch. invariably uses εἰ + future (597; *Ch.* 273, 571-6; *Th.* 196-9; *Supp.* 461-5, 903-4), not ἐὰν + subjunctive.

τῶνδ' is best taken with τοὺς ἐπαίτιους ('those responsible for these things', viz. Agamemnon's murder). To take it as partitive, depending on τι ('if I did not do one of these things' or 'something of the kind', cf. *Ag.* 1059, *Soph. El.* 389), is unsatisfactory, given the vital importance to Orestes of establishing that there was *no* way in which he could satisfy Apollo and avoid the threatened ἄλγη except by killing his mother.

468 Orestes states plainly the point at issue - was his killing of Clytaemestra justified? - and like the Erinyes (cf. 433 κρῖνε ... δίκην) invites Athena to give judgement.

δ': the MSS have τ', but an adversative particle is clearly required as Orestes turns from his account of himself and his past to his request for action.

εἰ δικαίως εἴτε μὴ sc. ἔκτεινα (465-7 being treated as a parenthesis). For εἰ(τε) ... εἴτε introducing an alternative indirect question cf. 612-13, *Ch.* 768.

δικαίως briefly yet fully expresses Orestes' defence to the charge of matricide; cf. 612, 615, *Ch.* 988, 1027. In classical times a killer wishing

to plead 'justifiable homicide' would not say that he acted *δικαίως* but rather *ἐννόμως* (Dem. 23.74) or *κατὰ τοὺς νόμους* (Arist. *Ath.* 57.3); and whether or not the law *μήτε δικάως μήτε ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνειν* (Antiphon 3b. 9, 4b. 3) actually formed part of the Athenian code, it is certain that avenging the death of one's father (or anyone else) was *not* in fifth-century Athens a lawful excuse for homicide: the duty of vengeance in such circumstances was to be discharged not by taking the law into one's own hands but by bringing a prosecution. This option, however, had not been available to Orestes, and he could reasonably claim that if his act of matricide was held to be *δίκαιον* he should not be punished for it.

469 'However I fare at your hands, I shall be content with the outcome': Orestes declares (as the Erinyes have not) that he is prepared to accept Athena's decision as binding even if it goes against him.

ἐν σοί: either (i) 'at your hands', with *ἐν* 'indicating the person responsible' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 324, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 519, *OT* 314), or (ii) 'in your judgement' (cf. Soph. *OT* 677, *OC* 1214 *σκαιοσύναν φυλάσσων ἐν ἐμοὶ κατὰδῆλος ἔσται* 'in my judgement he will plainly be cherishing folly').

πανταχῇ 'in any way whatever'; *πράξας πανταχῇ* virtually = *ὅππῃ ἂν πράξω*, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 634 *ἢ σοὶ μὲν ἡμεῖς πανταχῇ δρῶντες φίλοι*; 'or am I your friend no matter what I do?'

τάδ' refers to the notion 'your treatment of me' extracted from the preceding words.

αἰνέσω: the verb need not imply enthusiasm, cf. *Supp.* 903-4 where the Herald threatens to drag the Danaids off by force, ripping their garments if necessary, *εἰ μή τις ἐς ναῦν εἰσιν αἰνέσας τάδε!*

Both sides have now invited Athena to judge the dispute between them, and one might expect her to give forthwith her decision and the reasons for it; but instead she proceeds to give reasons for *not* coming to a decision herself. While accepting that the matter is too weighty to be judged by mortals alone (470-1) she is also reluctant to judge it herself because, whatever her verdict, she must either wrong the suppliant Orestes (473-4) or offend the Erinyes with disastrous results for Attica (476-9), so that in either event there will be 'wrath' directed against her personally (480-1). It appears that for all her wisdom (cf. 431) Athena is baffled, caught in a dilemma not unlike that of Orestes

(who was bound to incur the wrath of the Erinyes whether he did or did not avenge his father, cf. *Ch.* 924-5) or of the Argive king in *Supp.* 438-77.

470 *μείζον* 'too great', cf. Thuc. 4.115.3 τὸ δὲ οἴκημα λαβὸν μείζον ἄχθος ἐξαπίνης κατερράγη, Weir Smyth² §1082c.

οἶεται 'thinks fit to ...', cf. Plato *La.* 200b μετὰ Δάμωνος, οὐ σύ που οἶει καταγεῶν.

471-2 does not mean that it is wrong (in general) for Athena to judge cases of homicide, but that it is wrong (in particular) for her to take it on herself to judge *this* case, for reasons to be explained in 473-81.

διαρεῖν 'give a decision upon', cf. 488, 630.

ὀξύμηνίτου 'which involves sharp anger' (cf. 480-1n.). To judge *any* case of homicide is a heavy responsibility; but the *present* case is exceptional because both parties can and do honestly believe themselves to be in the right, and *any* verdict is therefore bound to enrage one or the other side with an acute sense of justified grievance.

473-4 Four reasons why Orestes deserves favourable treatment and would have every right to feel aggrieved if slighted.

ἄλλως τε καί is here virtually a conjunction ('especially as'); cf. *Pers.* 689-90.

κατηρτυκώς: the scholia say this means τέλειος, and Hesychius adds 'properly of animals when they have cast all their (sc. milk) teeth'; another lexicographer cites Euripides (fr. 41) for this meaning. Wherever we have a context, however, we find that *κατηρτυκώς* and *καταρτύων*, when intransitive, mean 'tamed, disciplined, broken in', either of horses or metaphorically of human beings (Eur. fr. 821.5; Philostr. *VA* 5.33, 7.23 (pp. 191.10, 278.13-14 Kayser)); Athena's point is thus that whatever Orestes may have done in the past, he will not be refractory or vicious henceforth if properly treated (cf. ἀβλαβής 474). The word may further convey the idea of being exhausted by struggles (it is coupled with ἀμβλύς (cf. 238) in Eur. fr. 821.5), like a horse which submits to bit and bridle after long and fierce resistance. For metaphors from the breaking-in of horses cf. *Ag.* 1066-7, 1640-1.

†*ῥῶμω*†: this gives poor sense ('even though you are *κατηρτυκώς*? - but there is no *contrast* between Orestes' being 'tamed' and his being a pure suppliant), and corruption is likely. Pauw's *ἐμοῖς* would be un-

comfortably far away from δόμοις, and πόνους (Burges) is worth considering (cf. 79, 83, 276n.).

ικέτης: and therefore entitled to succour.

ἀβλαβής: because he is (i) κατηρτυκώς (not vicious) and (ii) καθαρός (not polluted).

δόμοις: better taken with προσήλθες than with ἀβλαβής.

476-9 If it is dangerous to slight Orestes, it is perhaps even more so to offend the Erinyes; for though they cannot harm Athena directly, they can inflict terrible damage on her land and people.

μοῖραν 'allotted function'.

εὐπέπελον (found only here) is glossed by Σ as εὐπαράτητον, εὐχερῇ, εὐάρεστον: i.e. the opposite of δυσπέμφελος. The context, however, suggests that Aesch. is associating the word with πέμπω (cf. 481, Ag. 1189-90 κῶμος ... δύσπεμπτος ἔξω ... Ἐρινύων) and making it mean 'easy to dismiss'.

καὶν μὴ τύχῳσι: καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσαι (MSS) would have to be taken as a dangling nom. participle (cf. 95, 100); but one hardly expects Athena to lose control of her syntax like Agamemnon's plebeian herald or Clytaemestra's angry ghost, and there is no sign that she does so elsewhere.

πράγματος 'outcome', a sense in which πράξις is more usual (cf. Ag. 255, Ch. 814).

†χῶραι† (nom. pl.) gives no construction, and χῶραι (dat. sing.) would leave the sentence implausibly verbless. Wieseler's χωρεῖ could be right, but the MS reading may have originated as a gloss on πέδῳ (479) that ousted some quite different verb from the text, perhaps στάζει (cf. 42, 783 σταλαγμόν, Ch. 1058; on the theme of dripping liquids see 53-4n.).

ἰός: the Erinyes will poison the Attic soil, causing plants, animals and women to be barren (785) and spreading deadly pestilence (787).

ἐκ φρονημάτων: elsewhere liquids drip from the Erinyes' eyes (54, Ch. 1058) or from their hearts (782), or a fiery breath comes from their bellies (138), and here too therefore we might expect their poison to originate in some physical organ, e.g. ἐκ φρενῶν (cf. 158n.); instead, however, it is said, with a bold mixture of the physical and the psychological, to come 'from their (sc. outraged) pride'.

ἄφερτος: cf. 146n., 783-4 σταλαγμόν χθονὶ ἄφορον.

αἰανής: cf. 416n.; here the meaning 'grievous' is probably uppermost.

480-1 Athena sums up her dilemma.

μένειν πέμπειν τε '⟨for you⟩ to remain and ⟨for me⟩ to send ⟨you⟩ away'. Despite Σ (πέμπειν αὐτός), it is Orestes who is understood as subject of μένειν and object of πέμπειν: he is the suppliant and the accused, and it is his fate that Athena has to decide: will she grant him her protection and allow him to *remain*, or will she *dismiss* him, abandoning him to become the Erinyes' prey? Cf. Soph. *OC* 79-80 οἶδε γὰρ κρινοῦσί γε | εἰ χρή σε μῖμνειν ἢ πορεύεσθαι πάλιν. The question whether *the Erinyes* are to 'remain' in Athens will not be raised until 711; cf. 778-891n.

†δυσπήματ' ἀμηχάνως ἐμοί† makes neither metre nor sense, but luckily we have a scholium which plainly was written to explain a different text: πέμπειν αὐτὸς ἀμηνίτως δυσχερές ἐστιν ἐμοί, whence we can confidently restore ἀμηνίτως to the text (cf. *Ag.* 649, *Supp.* 975: here ἀμηνίτως would 'ring' with δῆμηνίτου 472, framing the exposition of the dilemma): ἀμηνίτως ἐμοί = ὥστε μηδένα μηνίειν ἐμοί (cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 649). We are then left with the problem of emending δυσπήματ'. Simplest is δυσπήμαντ' (Scaliger), but Athena would not find it *painful* to act ἀμηνίτως: the context requires her, rather, to say that she will find it *difficult* to avoid incurring μῆνις. Of adjectives meaning 'difficult', δυσμήχανος belongs to a word-family much used in the trilogy (82n.) and would also help to account for the MS reading ἀμηχάνως; but its introduction would require a change in the word-order, e.g. πέμπειν τ' ἀμηνίτως ἐμοί δυσμήχανα. The sense in any case is '(Both to let you remain and to send you away,) without my incurring wrath, are difficult'. To condemn Orestes will expose Athena to the wrath of the rejected suppliant (cf. 233-4); to acquit him will expose her to the wrath of the Erinyes – and also of the Athenian people (see *Intr.* §5).

482-9 Athena's solution of the dilemma: since the issue is too great to be judged by mortals, yet also of too grave consequence to be judged by Athena alone, she will judge it *together with* her people by establishing and presiding over a judicial tribunal – the first of its kind in Athens and maybe in the world (682n.).

482 δεῦρ' ἐπέσκηψεν 'has fallen upon us here'; the more prosaic equivalent of ἐπέσκηψεν would be ἐνέπεσεν, and it may be significant

that ἐπιπίπτω can be used of a dispute 'falling to be decided' by a particular tribunal (Arist. *Pol.* 1300b34-5, Plu. *Sol.* 18.3 τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν διαφόρων ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς).

475 Lobel's transposition solves two serious problems. Standing after 474, in the form ὁμῶς δ' ἄμομφον ὄντα σ' αἰροῦμαι πόλει, the line was an embarrassment: (i) it broke up the μέν/δέ antithesis between 473-4 and 476-9, (ii) Orestes' blamelessness and acceptability at Athens are not in contrast (as ὁμῶς would imply) but in harmony with what was said about him in 473-4, (iii) in any case he has not asked to be accepted as a citizen of Athens - he is an Argive (290, 455) and his desire is to return to Argos vindicated and with full rights (754-64). Meanwhile 483-4 lacked a main verb, and it was hard to supply one by emendation; generally (following Linwood) a lacuna was assumed before 483. The transposition into this lacuna of 475 supplies precisely the verb that is needed.

ὁμῶς: i.e. notwithstanding the dangers previously mentioned.

ἄμόμφους ὄντας will have been changed to ἄμομφον ὄντα σ' (MSS) after the line was displaced. The phrase is admirably suited to the members of the Areopagus council, for the most stringent precautions were taken to preserve the integrity and irreproachability of this body. All members of it had passed a severe scrutiny (δοκιμασία) of their public and personal lives before taking office as archons (cf. Lys. 26.11-12, Arist. *Ath.* 55.2-5) and another a year later before 'going up to the Areopagus' (cf. Dem. 24.22, Arist. *Ath.* 60.3); thereafter, besides the periodical audit (εὔθυναί) to which all office-holders were subject, they were liable to be punished by their fellow-Areopagites for any kind of improper or disreputable behaviour (cf. Aeschines 3.20, Hyp. fr. 138 Kenyon, Plu. *Mor.* 348b). See MacDowell 39-41.

αἰροῦμαι: present with future sense; cf. 507, *Pers.* 584-9. This use of the present normally serves to make a prediction rather than to state an intention as here, but cf. Dem. 19.32, Aeschines 2.183 καταβαίνω.

483 ὀρκίῳ is governed by θεσμόν. The reference is not to oaths taken by parties or witnesses in the case but to the oath of the Areopagite judges (cf. 489, 680, 710); the relevant clauses of this no doubt resembled the oath taken by ordinary dicasts, who swore to vote according to the laws or, where the laws gave no guidance, according to the most just opinion (Dem. 20.118, 23.96; cf. 674-5n.), to take no

bribe (cf. 704), and (probably) not to be moved by gratitude or hostility (cf. Dem. 57.63). See Bonner and Smith II 152-6.

αἰδουμένων: cf. 680, 710.

484 θεσμόν: see 391n.

τόν 'which' (263n.).

εἰς ἅπαντ' ... χρόνον: cf. 83n., 381n.

485-6 Before she goes to select and swear in her jury, Athena asks the parties to prepare their respective cases for trial.

καλεῖσθ': a slight zeugma, since one 'summons' witnesses but not arguments or proofs.

ἄρωγὰ τῆς δίκης ὀρθώματα 'as supporting props for your case', i.e. 'to bolster your case and help it stand up'. The MSS have ὀρκώματα 'oaths' (cf. 768); but in the actual trial Orestes and the Erinyes take no oath before presenting their arguments, nor Apollo before giving evidence, and ὀρκώματα is likely to be a corruption due to the mention of oaths in 483 and 489. Pauw's conjecture introduces a word not otherwise attested, but Plato uses ἐπανάρθωμα in a rather similar sense (*Prt.* 340a τὸ ὑπὲρ Σιμωνίδου ἐπανάρθωμα 'the task of proving Simonides right', *Tht.* 183a).

487 κρίνασα ... τὰ βέλτατα: this supremely important trial demands the ablest judges that can be found in the city. There is no need to import into these words a political significance (e.g. opposition to the selection of archons, and hence of Areopagites, by lot): cf. Macleod 127.

τὰ βέλτατα 'all that is best': cf. *Ch.* 407 Ἀτρεΐδαν τὰ λοιπὰ 'what is left of the house of Atreus' (= Orestes and Electra), *Pers.* 1-2, 681, *Eur. Med.* 916-17.

488 ἦξω 'I shall come back' helps to obscure the shift of imaginary location from Acropolis to Areopagus; see 235-98n.

διαρρεῖν echoes 472. The infinitive is one of purpose (cf. Goodwin 308-9) after κρίνασα (cf. *Pers.* 5-7 οὓς ... Ἐρέξης ... εἶλετο χώρας ἐφορεύειν, Plato *Ap.* 28e οἱ ἄρχοντες ... οὓς ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἄρχειν μου); its subject is ἀσπῶν τὰ βέλτατα. If 489 were deleted (see below) it would also be possible to attach the infinitive to ἦξω and make Athena its subject (cf. *Eur. IA* 678 χώρει δὲ μελάθρων ἐντὸς ὀφθῆναι κόραις, *Od.* 14.496-7).

489 is by many editors deleted, transposed, or regarded as out of place, without good reason; for its misplacement in the MSS other

than M is hardly proof that it is wrongly placed where M presents it. The line has been suspect largely because it was felt that 488 'must be the last line of the speech' (Thomson); but if the main focus of interest in 487-8 is on the Areopagites rather than on Athena (cf. 488n.), 489 will fall naturally into place as the conclusion of Athena's brief characterization of her proposed tribunal, expanding the point made by ἐτητύμως 'truly, rightly' and re-emphasizing the sanctity of the judicial oath (cf. 483), which Athena likewise chooses to mention last of all in her charge to the jury at the trial (710).

περῶντας 'transgressing, violating', cf. Aesch. fr. 22 τῶι περῶντι τὴν θέμιν. The participle is masculine because the Areopagites are men, despite the neuter gender of τὰ βέλτατα: cf. *Ch.* 893 φίλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βία, Weir Smyth² §1013-14.

ἐκδίκους: with this emendation (Schütz: ἐκδικον M) the logical structure of the phrase is 'not violating-their-oath-with-unjust-mind'; with ἐνδίκους (Musgrave: ἐνδικον *l*) it would be 'not-violating-their-oath with just mind'. There is little to choose in sense, but corruption of ἐκδικ- to the commoner ἐνδικ- is more likely than the reverse (it has occurred in M at *Ch.* 996 and in many MSS at *Th.* 607). As to the ending, the acc. sing. might be possible if used proleptically ('not violating their oath <so as to make it> unjust': cf. 358-9n.), but Aesch. will hardly have risked confusing the hearer by placing ἐκδικον next to μηδέν when its grammatical connection was with ὄρκον.

Athena goes out by one of the side-passages; the chorus remain, as does Orestes (see Taplin 391-2).

490-565

The chorus warn all and sundry of the horrific consequences that will result from Orestes' acquittal. Murder, especially of parents, will become commonplace, and the victims will beg in vain for the Erinyes to aid or avenge them. Such a state of moral and social chaos can be avoided only by recognizing the importance of Fear to a stable society: only then will men act as the chorus now enjoin them to act - revering justice, respecting the rights of parent, host and guest, and avoiding anarchy and despotism. Those who do act thus will prosper in security; those who defy justice will be destroyed.

The chorus here present themselves under an aspect that differs from anything we have heard from them before. They are no longer hounds chasing a fawn (246) or bloodsucking demons encircling a

sacrificial victim; they are now the embodiments of Justice, voicing moral sentiments that are both familiar and acceptable to the audience and some of which will presently be echoed almost word for word by Athena herself (cf. 690-9). Ever since his first appearance in the trilogy, the sympathies of the audience have been consistently and strongly with Orestes. Before the issues are at last heard and judged by Athena's court, it is as well that we should be reminded that there is another side to the case. For whatever reason, with whatever justification, Orestes *has* killed his mother; and it is vital for human civilization that such acts should never come to be accepted as normal. Otherwise, unrestrained licence (εὐχέρεια 494) will end by depriving both the individual and the community of all freedom and all security: the individual's life will not be safe even from those closest to him, while the community will sink into anarchy or despotism. The court that is shortly to sit in judgement will be deciding more than the fate of Orestes: it will be deciding the future of human society.

Nevertheless, hints of the darker side of the Erinyes' personality are not absent (quite apart from their unchangingly hideous appearance). They 'laugh' (560) at the unavailing struggles of their victims; and we may note that the predicted epidemic of unavenged murder is envisaged, not as the automatic and inexorable consequence of Orestes' acquittal itself, but as resulting from the Erinyes' own *refusal* to continue punishing the guilty (499-501, 508-12) if they are cheated of this particular prey. They will protect justice and punish injustice among men – but only if men accept *their* decisions as to what is just and what unjust. Otherwise they will be content to let the house of Justice fall (516).

The dominant metrical pattern throughout the ode is a combination of lekythia with syncopated iambo-trochaic rhythms, recalling some of the weightiest choral passages in *Ag.* (160-257, 367-488, 681-5 = 699-704, 763-82, 975-1000, 1008-17 = 1025-34) and *Ch.* (405-65, 585-652, 783-837) and thus linking the Erinyes' words back to earlier events in the trilogy, from the sacrifice of Iphigeneia to the murder of Clytaemestra. Cf. Scott 125-7. For detailed metrical analysis see Appendix.

490-3 καταστροφὰὶ νόμων θεσπίων 'the overthrow of ordained laws'. The MSS have κ. νέων θ. which might mean 'the overthrow of new institutions' (i.e. of Athena's new court) or 'an outcome involving

new laws'; but neither of these interpretations is convincing. Against the latter, the introduction of new θέσμια is not *contingent upon* Orestes' victory but a necessary *precondition* of it. Against the former, a warning of the possible collapse of a *new* institution would fit neither with the general attitude of the Erinyes towards the old and the new, nor with what follows in this ode. The Erinyes have consistently upheld the ancient, eternal laws of which they are the enforcers, and condemned innovations that infringe these laws (150, 163, 171-2, 227, 334-67, 391-4); and it is precisely these ancient laws, in particular the law under which they punish the murderers of parents, which are now, they assert, in danger (494-516). With Ahrens' νόμων θεσμίων cf. Arist. *Ath.* 16.10 νόμος ... ἣν ὅδε· θέσμια τάδε Ἀθηναίων ἐστὶ καὶ πάτρια ...; it makes 490-3 'ring' with 514-16 (overthrow of the established laws → plea of the matricide ~ plea of the mother-victim → overthrow of the house of Justice).

δίκα τε καὶ βλάβη 'damaging (dangerous) plea', a hendiadys.

τοῦδε: the only direct reference to Orestes in the ode.

494-5 τόδ' ἔργον: Orestes' acquittal.

εὐχεραῖαι συναρμόσει 'will unite ... in freedom from inhibitions': εὐχεραῖαι is the behaviour of a εὐχερής, of someone, that is, who is ready and happy to do things which 'normal' people find highly objectionable, from eating unappetizing food (X. *Lac.* 2.5, cf. Plato *Rep.* 475c) or associating with physically repulsive persons (Soph. *Ph.* 519, Aristophan fr. 12.5 K-A) to committing grave crimes (Plato *Rep.* 392a) such as homicide and cannibalism (Arist. *Pol.* 1338b19-21). See M. Leumann, *Philologus* 96 (1944) 161-9.

496-8 ἔτυμα 'real'; the implication is 'do not suppose that we are trying to scare you with imaginary horrors that will never come to pass': cf. *Od.* 3.241 κείνῳ δ' οὐκέτι νόστος ἐτήτυμος 'his return is now no more than a fantasy'.

παιδότηρῳ 'involving wounds inflicted by their children'.

προσμένει 'are in store for, are destined to befall', taking a dat. as μένει does when used in this sense in 894.

499-501 'For no one will be assailed by wrath arising from such deeds, not even the wrath of us wild beings who watch all that mortals do.' The Erinyes previously asserted (313f.) that their wrath did not assail the innocent: now they threaten that if the court decides against them, they will refuse to punish even the guilty, so that men may learn

by experience how indispensable to society is the fear which they inspire.

βροτοσκόπων: the Erinyes 'watch' men's deeds in order to punish them when they do wrong (cf. 220n., 273-5n.); and the fear they inspire watches over men's hearts (φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον 518) to restrain them from wrongdoing in the first place.

μαινάδων: the Erinyes resemble Dionysiac maenads in their wild appearance, their violent dancing (370-6nn.) and their mercilessness towards those who offend them (cf. 25-6; Eur. *Ba.* 734-64, 1078-1136).

τῶνδ' should probably be taken with **μαινάδων** rather than ἐργμάτων: **μαινάδων** stands more in need of clarification by a demonstrative, since while it is an apt term to describe the Erinyes (see previous note) it is not *normally* used of them; ἐργμάτων alone, on the other hand, will readily be understood as meaning 'the deeds just mentioned'. For τῶνδ' = ἡμῶν see 122n.

τιν': τις MSS; but ἐφέρπει badly needs an object (cf. 313f.), and after κότος the corruption would be easy.

502 πάντ' 'every kind of'.

ἐφήσω sc. τοκεύσιν (497-8, cf. 513-14), 'I will unleash upon them'.

503-7 As one victim after another is struck down, the bewildered survivors will search in every direction for a method of restoring order and security, but in vain.

πέυσεται 'will inquire after'.

προφωνῶν 'proclaiming, declaring publicly', cf. *Pers.* 363, *Soph. El.* 109.

τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά 'the evils that have befallen their neighbours'. One might have expected, with Page, that people would be said to complain of their *own* sufferings; but the picture here is of a *community* infested by an epidemic of murder within families, where the surviving members are searching far and wide for a remedy and are desperate enough to be willing to make known the crimes of their fellow-citizens to the ends of the earth.

λήξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε μόχθων: nearly equivalent to ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων (cf. 83n.). The two nouns in -σις have the air of technical terms, possibly from medicine (cf. καταλῆξαι *Ag.* 1479, referring apparently to the healing of a wound, and the later medical terms ληξιπύρετος, ληξιφάρμακον). On -σις nouns in fifth-century Greek see E. W. Handley, *Eranos* 51 (1953) 129-42.

ἄκκα: the imagery of sickness and healing has recurred throughout the trilogy, and thus far the attempted cures have nearly always, as here, been unsuccessful, often leading only to worse suffering: cf. *Ag.* 16-19, 92-9, 387, 848-50, 1001-4, 1101-3, 1169-70, 1198-9, 1248, 1479-80, *Ch.* 68-72, 279-96, 469-74, 539.

παρηγορεῖ is future in sense (the 'prophetic' present tense), cf. 475n. The meaning might in principle be (i) 'will recommend' or (ii) 'will offer as consolation' or (iii) 'will apply to soothe the ailment': (iii) is probably best, since it keeps up the medical metaphor (see LSJ *παρηγορικός* II) and avoids introducing a second person to whom the recommendation or consolation is given.

508-12 τις ... ξυμφορᾷ τετυμμένος: now the chorus picture an actual parent-victim (cf. 513-14) vainly invoking their aid in a dying curse (417n.).

θρόνοι ... Ἐρινύων: i.e. 'Erinyes of august power'; cf. *Th.* 409-10 τὸν Αἰσχύνης θρόνον τιμῶντα.

513-16 ταῦτα ... οἶκτον οἰκτίσαι: either (i) 'lament this lament' (viz. that quoted in 511-12), a syntactic blend (4-5n.) of ταῦτα οἰκτίσαιο and τοῦτον οἶκτον οἰκτίσαιο, or (ii) 'lament a lament for this' (viz. for the uselessness of invoking the Erinyes; for the double acc. cf. *Ar. Av.* 210-12 ὕμνων οὐς ... θρηνεῖς ... Ἴτυν). For the juxtaposition of the cognate verb and noun (*figura etymologica*) cf. 54, 145, 658-9, *Ag.* 52, *Ch.* 423.

πίτνει: again probably future in sense (cf. 503-7n.); the Erinyes are still warning of what *will* happen, not complaining of what *is* happening. These punishers of 'the overthrow of houses' (354-5) will in the last resort, if balked of their prey, themselves overthrow even that edifice of Justice of which they proudly claim to be the upholders (εὐθυδίκαιοι 312).

517-25 Why will the Erinyes' abandonment of their functions spell an end of all order and security in the world? Because a certain measure of fear, that fear which the Erinyes inspire and indeed personify (34n.), is essential to a law-abiding society.

517 ἔσθ' ὅπου 'there is a place' (in the human soul and in human society) 'where ...'. The pithy and weighty γνώμη is made more starkly emphatic by asyndeton: cf. 520, 526, 528, 538, 544, *Ag.* 367-9, *Supp.* 86-7, 100-1, 437, *Pers.* 347.

518-19 evokes the picture of Fear watching a man's thoughts and

actions like an overseer sitting watching workmen at their tasks, ready to warn or chastise at any failure of duty. Cf. *Ag.* 13-15 where the Watchman speaks of Fear standing beside him to see that he does not sleep.

520-1 *ξυμφέρει* 'it is beneficial' not only to the community but to the potential wrongdoer himself, whom Fear will preserve from the terrible consequences that might otherwise have fallen upon him.

σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει: cf. *Ag.* 180-1 καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἤλθε σωφρονεῖν, 1425, 1620-3: another form of the principle πάθει μάθος (276n.)

ὑπὸ στένει 'under pressure of distress': cf. 377 ὑπ' ἄφρονι λύμαι, *Ch.* 28 ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν.

522-5 Despite probable corruption, the general sense is clear: 'what man or city would revere Justice, if not disciplined by Fear?'

μηδέν 'not at all' (μη- because the participial phrase has conditional force): as in 517 (ἔσθ' ὅπου) the phraseology implies that while Fear must have *some* place in men's hearts it is not necessary that Fear should *dominate* their lives. Athena takes the same view (698-9).

†*ἐν φάει*† *καρδίαν* †*ἀνατρέφων*† is almost certainly corrupt: (i) *ἐν φάει* can be assigned no relevant meaning; (ii) *ἀνατρέφω* elsewhere in pre-Hellenistic Greek means only 'restore to health and strength'; (iii) metre here would require the abnormal syllable-division *ἀνατ.ρέφων*, splitting a consonant-cluster which after the prefix *ἀνα-* is quasi-initial (leaving aside *Pr.*, Aesch. does this only in *ἀποτρέπω*, *ἀποτροπή* (*Pers.* 217, *Supp.* 880) and in a 'Homerism' at 378); (iv) there is no mention of the crucial notion of Fear. M's gloss *λαμπρότητι, ὀρθότητι φρενῶν*, may imply a reading *καρδίας*: but this would deprive *-τρέφων* of an object, and the gloss may well be an attempt to explain *φάει* alone. It is probably safe to accept *καρδίαν -τρέφων* as sound (cf. *Ch.* 26-7 *ἰνυμοῖσι βόσκεται κέαρ*): no man will revere Justice if he does not to some extent 'nourish his heart <on fear>'. Then either (*ἐν φάει* or *ἀνα-* or both must have replaced some dative-case expression meaning 'fear': hence perhaps *ἐν φόβῳ* (Schütz) *καρδίαν ἀνὴρ* (Murray) *τρέφων* - which however requires the further change *βροτῶν* [θ'] in 524 - or better, with Thomson, *ἐμφυεῖ καρδίαν φόβῳ τρέφων* (cf. 691 *φόβος ... συγγενής* in a context that contains other echoes of this passage).

†*ἡ βροτὸς πόλις θ'*†: for the abnormal *ἡ ... τε* cf. *Il.* 2.289, X. *HG* 6.3.6. The MSS place *πόλις* before *βροτὸς*, but (i) one would then expect *-τρέφουσ'* not *-τρέφων*, (ii) *φρενῶν* 518 and *καρδίαν* 522 show

that the chorus have primarily had the individual in mind, and mention the city now as an afterthought. The issue of justice in the city (on which see Macleod 133-44) is here raised for the first time in *Eu*.

ὁμοίως: probably to be taken with what precedes ('individual or city, it makes no difference': cf. 240, 278, 388, 692), possibly with what follows ('would reverence Justice to the same extent' sc. as if he/it were under the influence of Fear).

Δίκαν: until now, *δίκη* on the lips of the Erinyes has referred either to retributive justice (e.g. 230, 511) or to their rights *vis-à-vis* the Olympians (e.g. 154, 163) or to judicial pleas or procedures (260, 433, 492); but here (and in 539, 554) it denotes 'the principles of just conduct'.

526-8 The chorus are still nominally addressing humanity in general, but their use of the 2nd-person αἰνέσεις (cf. 538 σοί, 542 ἀτίσεις) gives the impression of a specific appeal to each individual human being; and since throughout this ode, theatrically speaking, they are no doubt singing straight at the audience, every spectator will feel himself individually addressed, as much as when Athena in 681ff. gives similar advice 'to my citizens for the future' (707-8). Aesch. here stretches to the limit the convention (D. M. Bain, *C.Q.* 25 (1975) 13-25; Taplin 130-2) whereby in tragedy the *dramatis personae* do not explicitly address the audience.

μήτ' ἀναρκτον βίον μήτε δεσποτούμενον: cf. 696-7, Sol. fr. 6.1-2. Despite the symmetrical phrasing of the injunction, the chorus are mainly concerned (as Athena will be) to warn against anarchy, whose terrors they have portrayed in 494-516.

ἀναρκτον is *prima facie* a syllable short compared with the antistrophe (538), and ἀνάρχετον (Wieseler) would be parallel to ἀπείχετον (*Ch.* 155, 625); but more probably it is 538 that should be emended (see 538-42n.).

529-30 The emphasis is on the first clause: divine government follows different principles in different spheres, but in all alike the rule holds that the mean is best. For this rule cf. Thgn. 335, Phocylides fr. 12 G-P; in the form μηδὲν ἄγαν (cf. *Supp.* 1061, Eur. *Hipp.* 265) it was said to have been inscribed at Delphi by the Seven Sages (Plato *Prt.* 343a-b).

τὸ κράτος ... ὥπασεν 'has given superiority'.

θεός refers, as often, not to any particular god but to a vague impersonal concept of divine power.

ἐφορεύει 'supervises, governs'.

531-2 ξύμμετρον ... ἔπος 'a word that fits together <with what I have just said>'; the 'word' is the antithesis 533-7, which is here presented as being almost a corollary of the principle παντὶ μέσσω τὸ κράτος.

533-7 echoes the thought of *Ag.* 750-82: ὕβρις (with its ruinous consequences) is the offspring (not of wealth but) of wickedness; he who keeps his mental and moral balance, and respects justice, will find that his prosperity is secure. In the remainder of the ode these ideas will be expounded more fully (the consequences of justice, 545-52; of injustice, 553-65).

δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος: proverbially, ὕβρις (wanton and contemptuous disregard for the rights or dignity of others) was the child of κόρος (surfeit): cf. *Thgn.* 749-51, *Eur.* fr. 437, 438, *Arist.* fr. 57. Solon, however (fr. 6.3-4 West), had already amended the proverb, saying that κόρος begets ὕβρις only in those ὁπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ. Here the Erinyes, like the Elders in *Ag.* 757-66, reject it altogether: the true parent of ὕβρις, they assert, is δυσσεβία, which, in the light of what follows, must mean the character or attitude of mind that refuses to be bound by the constraints of the human condition or the social order and is ready to 'kick away the altar of Dike' (539-41). Such a man will be left with no defence against the temptations of κόρος (cf. *Ag.* 381-4).

ὡς ἐτύμως 'in reality', whatever the proverb may say; Plato several times (*Cri.* 46d, 48c; *Ly.* 216c, 219d; *Prt.* 343d) uses ὡς ἀληθῶς to contrast a statement put forward as true with a rejected alternative which may or may not be explicitly mentioned.

ὕγιείας φρενῶν: here virtually equivalent to σωφροσύνης: similarly in *Pers.* 750-1 and *Eur. Ba.* 947-8 gross impiety is seen as evidence of a diseased mind. A 'mentally healthy' man or community will have no need of the ἄκεα οὐ βέβαια which the sick society of 503-7 was so desperately seeking.

ὄλβος: cf. 551, 563. In some contexts ὄλβος may have sinister connotations, suggesting the sort of prosperity that can arouse human or divine resentment (*Ag.* 753, 837; *Th.* 770); and in 563 ὄλβος proves to be no protection to the wicked. Here therefore ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος may mean not so much 'prosperity, which is dear to all and much prayed for' as 'the kind of prosperity that is dear to all and much prayed for', viz. *enduring* prosperity.

538-42 For the image of the 'altar of Justice' cf. *Ag.* 381-4.

σοι: on the 2nd-person pronoun cf. 526-8n. The MSS have δέ σοι: the inexact responson with 526 μήτ' ἀναρκτον βίον (see 526-8n. ἀναρκτον) might be legitimate (cf. West 103-4), but asyndeton is highly characteristic of weighty utterances in this ode (517n.), and σοι may well have become δέ σοι through the tendency of scribes to favour iambic rhythms (Thomson II 200), helped out here by the letter-sequence δεσσι immediately below.

βωμόν gives strong expression to the idea of the sanctity of Justice: cf. *Ch.* 106, *Supp.* 190.

κέρδος ἰδών 'seeing <the prospect of> gain'; the phrase will be echoed in a very different context at 991 (cf. also 704).

λάξ ἀτίσης 'spurn with your foot', 'spurn and trample' (cf. 110n.).

ἐπέσται 'will be attached <as a consequence>', 'will result': contrast *Ar. Av.* 597 νυνὶ πλεῖ, κέρδος ἐπέσται.

543-4 **κύριον μένει τέλος** 'the appointed end awaits': in the end, sooner or later, there will come the κύριος ἡμέρα when θεοὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην (*Supp.* 732-3; cf. *Aesch.* fr. 281a.21-3). The idea that retribution may be delayed (μένει) but is certain to come eventually – what one might call the 'mills of God' theme – has been prominent earlier in the trilogy (*Ag.* 58-9, 126, 153, 462-6, 703, 763-7, 1378; *Ch.* 61-74, 326, 383, 464, 646-52, 935, 957), but in *Eu.* it appears only in this ode (555, 563; cf. 496-8); henceforward it will be blessings rather than curses that Time stores up to bring in due course to maturity (cf. 667-73, 762-77, 853-4, 943-5).

545-9 **πρὸς τάδε** 'in view of this', 'therefore'; cf. *Pers.* 170, *Th.* 312.

τις ... τις: for the pleonasm cf. *Eur. Andr.* 733-4 ἔστι γὰρ τις οὐ πρόσω Σπάρτης πόλις τις.

τοκέων σέβας ... καὶ ξενοτίμους ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων: two of the three great 'unwritten laws' (269-72n.); the third, to honour the gods, is implicit in 538-43 (n.b. ἀθέλωι ποδὶ).

προτίων sc. ἔστω (cf. below).

ξενοτίμους ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων: ἐπιστροφὰι δωμάτων means properly the right to move freely about a house (*Th.* 648, cf. *Ag.* 972) and hence the mastership of a household; thus the whole phrase here means 'managing a household in such a way that guests are honoured', 'the duties of a hospitable master of a house'.

αἰδόμενός ... ἔστω: for the periphrastic construction cf. 191-2n.

550-2 The promise of security for the just man recalls 313-15.

ἐκ τῶνδ' 'as a result of this', 'in this way': cf. *Ag.* 1223, 1603, *Ch.* 1056. Wieseler's conjecture ἐκὼν δ' loses more than it gains: it creates a tautology with ἀνάγκας ἄτερ, and introduces with emphasis the irrelevant and anachronistic idea that righteous living is rewarded only if it results from free choice. That ἐκ τῶνδ' does not respond precisely to καλεῖ δ' is of no importance: the first syllable of an iambic metron need not be of the same quantity in strophe and antistrophe (cf. *Ag.* 447/466, *Ch.* 43/54, *Th.* 287/304, *Supp.* 794/802).

ἀνάγκας ἄτερ: if he follows the advice of 538-49, he will not need to learn the lesson of justice through the compulsions of painful experience.

553-65 This rich and complex nautical metaphor is full of reminiscences of *Agamemnon*: the nemesis of unrighteous prosperity (*Ag.* 462-7); the overloaded ship (*Ag.* 1008-14); the storm of retribution (*Ag.* 650-70); the hidden reef (*Ag.* 1007); the man who perishes unlamented (*Ag.* 1541ff., cf. *Ch.* 429-33). It paints two word-pictures for the hearer: in the first, the storm snaps the ship's yard-arm and brings down the sail (553-7); in the second, the proud captain is struggling for his life in the water (558-62). At the end (563-5) the whole sequence of events is summed up.

553-7 τὸν ἀντίτολμον 'he who acts audaciously in opposition <to justice>'.

παρβάδαν 'by transgression', 'lawlessly': for the use of novel adverbs in -δαν (-δην) cf. *Ch.* 67 οὐ διαρρῦδαν 'so that it cannot be dissolved', Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1137.

ἄγοντα 'carrying as cargo', cf. *Od.* 1.184 and the adjectives ἱππαγωγός, σιταγωγός, etc., used of ships. The MSS have lost the first four letters of this word, possibly by haplography in the sequence ΑΓΟΝ-ΤΑΠΟΛΛΑ.

παντόφυρτ' 'in a confused medley': the cargo (i.e. the man's wealth) is a random assortment of goods, acquired without right and heaped up without organization.

βιαίως ... καθήσειν / λαῖφος does not mean that the captain will be forced by bad weather to lower sail for safety's sake; θραυομένης κεράλας makes it clear that the storm itself will bring the sail down by sheer physical force.

λάβημι 'takes hold of him'.

κεραίας 'the yard-arm', the horizontal spar attached crosswise to the mast, from which the sail was hung.

558-62 There is now no further mention of the ship; the vessel, it seems, has sunk, and the man is struggling in the water.

558-9 **καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδέν:** cf. *Ag.* 396 λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν, and contrast *Eu.* 397 ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοήν (*Orestes*' call to Athena).

ἐν μέσαι δυσπαλεῖ τε δίναι: the coupling by τε of 'two disparate qualitative epithets' (Denniston 501) is at first sight unattractive, but it can be explained on the lines indicated by Fraenkel (on *Ag.* 1653): 'the whirlpool is at its most violent in the middle, and that is where the struggle is most hopeless for the sailor'. For *δυσπαλῆς* (lit. 'hard to wrestle with') cf. *Ch.* 692 ὦ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἄρα: the wrestling theme (on which see M. Poliakoff, *A.J.P.* 101 (1980) 251-9) recurs at 589-90 and 776.

560 **γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων:** whereas in the matter of *Orestes* the *Erinyes* feel *they* are being made a laughing-stock (113, 789).

θερμῶι 'audacious' (*Th.* 603; *Ar. V.* 918, *Pl.* 415); the man's former arrogant confidence is mockingly contrasted with his present helplessness.

561-2 **οὔποτ'** sc. *δύαις ἐνέχουσθαι*: his boast was 'nothing will ever happen to me'.

ιδών: the masculine participle (cf. 297) shows that *δαίμων* refers to any god, not necessarily an *Erinyes*: Olympians too punish transgressors – and some who heard this passage may have been especially reminded of how Poseidon drowned the lesser Ajax for his impious boasts (*Od.* 4.499-511).

λαπαδνόν 'powerless', though not found elsewhere, stands to epic *ἀλαπαδνός* as its cognate *λαπάζω* (*Th.* 47, 456, 531) stands to *ἀλαπάζω*.

ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν 'surmounting the crest <of the wave>', cf. *Eur. fr.* 230 and probably *Thgn.* 619-20. The waves are too high for the exhausted survivor, and, less fortunate than *Odysseus* (*Od.* 5.319-23), he is engulfed and perishes. The phrase could also be taken as meaning 'rounding the cape', but this would imply, confusingly and improbably, that the ship was still afloat.

563-5 The whole story of the shipwreck is now summed up in three powerful cola: prosperity (563) – the decisive moment (564) – annihilation (565).

δι' αἰῶνος: to be taken with τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον, 'his former prosperity that had lasted all his life long'. For the word-order cf. Ar. *Nu.* 1055-ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν διατριβήν, Thuc. 4.20.4 ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἐνόντα ἀγαθὰ, 6.77.2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ... τὸν πάσχοντα = τὸν δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάσχοντα, K-G I 615-16. Editors have mostly joined δι' αἰῶνος ... ὤλετ', but the gap between adverbial phrase and verb is then so wide that when sung the words could hardly be understood without a (rhythmically undesirable) pause after δέ.

ὄλβον is object of προσβαλὼν.

ἔρματι: if this 'reef' is to be seen as a further detail added to the pictures already painted, its place in the story must be *between* the two 'frames' 553-7 and 558-62: first the ship loses her sail and yard, leaving her helpless; then she drifts on to the reef, strikes it and breaks up in the continuing storm, the captain being left in the predicament described in 558-62. It is also possible, however, that the 'reef' is an independent metaphor, suggested no doubt by the preceding nautical image, but not part of it.

Δίκας: appositive gen. (like e.g. ἱλίου πόλιν 457): Dike is the reef (cf. Ag. 1535-6 where Dike is the sword which Moira is whetting).

ὤλετ': the aorist expresses the certainty and completeness of destruction, as in Eur. *Tr.* 97, *Il.* 9.413.

ἄκλαυτος, ἄιστος: cf. *Il.* 6.60 ἑξαπολοῖατ' ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἄφαντοι. The form ἄκλαυτος, though often displaced by ἄκλαυστος in MS traditions, has survived in all MSS at Soph. *Ant.* 847 and is supported by the analogy of πάγκλαυτος (*Pers.* 822, *Th.* 368, Soph. *Tr.* 652) and πολὺκλαυτος (Ag. 1526, *Pers.* 674). With ἄιστος 'unseen' (for the contraction cf. Soph. *Aj.* 515 ἥιστωσας) the chorus again end their song in the realm of darkness (175-8n.) – and again, as at 179 and 397, the darkness is forthwith dispelled by the entry of an Olympian.

566-777

Athena, as she had announced she would do (482-9), convenes a court of Athenian citizens to try Orestes. Apollo presents himself as Orestes' supporter and witness. The Erinyes, as prosecutors, cross-examine Orestes on the matricide, and force him into the seemingly untenable position of having to deny that he is his mother's blood relation. He calls on Apollo to speak on his behalf. Apollo tells the court that in commanding Orestes to take vengeance he was speaking with the full authority of Zeus; reminds them of the atrocious crime which Clytae-

mestra had committed; and when challenged, repeats and justifies the claim that the mother is no blood relation to 'her' child. He ends by repeating Orestes' promise (289-91) of an eternal alliance between Argos and Athens. Athena, before calling on the jury to vote, announces that the court she has established – the court of the Areopagus – is to be a permanent institution of the Athenian state, and expounds 'to my citizens for the future' the principles on which it should operate. The jury then cast their votes, to the accompaniment of an altercation between Apollo and the chorus; Athena announces that she herself is voting for Orestes; the ballots are counted and found to be equal, which results, as Athena has already ruled, in Orestes' acquittal. Orestes, an exiled homicide no longer, thanks Athena for restoring him to his (Argive) citizenship and his property, promises yet again that Argos will always be a faithful ally to Athens (her fidelity guaranteed by his posthumous power as a cult-hero), and departs for home.

The trial is the centrepiece of the play and a turning-point of the trilogy. It shows in action the new kind of Justice (cf. *Intr.* §5) which is to replace the justice of private, instinctive, uncontrolled vengeance which has been the cause of so many disasters heretofore – the new Justice which will give men, for the first time in 'history', the assurance that they can sleep soundly at night knowing that others are watching on their behalf (705-6), and will also resolve and end the long sequence of crime that began with Thyestes and with Paris and has culminated in Orestes' being compelled to murder his mother. In the court which tries Orestes, the judges are bound by an oath; they hear both sides; the parties can call witnesses and cross-examine their opponents; the voting is by ballot, without discussion, so that each judge has to make up his own mind; the accused must be acquitted if there is no majority for conviction; and the verdict is binding on all, so that the acquitted man is secure against any further attempt at private vengeance – indeed it seems to be assumed (754-60) that the verdict of an Athenian court will automatically be accepted as binding by the Argives. Surely this is the true civilized Justice, utterly opposed to the primitive vengeance of which the bloodthirsty Erinyes were patrons.

But we have already had some indications, in the ode just ended, that the Erinyes are by no means as wholly barbaric as they had earlier seemed; and in the trial-scene too there are signs that the opposition between the two concepts of Justice is less than diametrical, and that

the new Justice is not necessarily flawless. On the first point, Athena in her 'charter' speech (690-9) closely echoes the Erinyes' own words (517-30) about the necessity of Fear and the importance of avoiding anarchy or despotism: she and they seem to be agreed about aims and to differ only about methods. Nor are her judges to wear kid gloves: the new Council must be *δξύθυμον* (705) in punishing the guilty, their anger as sharp as was the sword of the old Justice (*Ag.* 1535, *Ch.* 640) though more discriminating in taking account of justifying or mitigating circumstances (cf. 426-7n.).

Far more disturbing to a simplistic view of the new Justice are certain aspects of the defence speech of Apollo. He advises the jurors to disregard their oath (620-1); he argues away Orestes' guilt with the help of a dubious biological theory and some very partial citation of evidence bearing on it (see 657-66nn.); and he ends with what Conacher 161 rightly calls a 'patent suggestion of bribery' (667-73, cf. perhaps 704). An audience most of whom, if over the age of 30, had personal experience of jury service will have recognized in Apollo's speech most of the tricks of a pleader with a bad case. And yet Apollo wins - though only just. Aesch., it seems, does not want to pretend that the Athenian judicial system is or can be ideal. Under an adversary procedure it is inevitable that each side will present every possible argument with which it can hope to sway some of the jurors, arguments valid or fallacious, honest or deceptive. It is the jurors' business to keep their heads, to remember their oath (710), to ignore all promises of gain (704) or threats of injury, and to decide strictly in accordance with justice. And the Areopagite jury pass the test: collectively, by the equal division of their votes, they declare that in the present case there is right on both sides (cf. *Ch.* 461) and wrong on both sides. But the matter cannot be left there. There has to be a decision: Orestes must be convicted or acquitted. Athena rules that he is to be acquitted; and it is that decision that leads on to the final phase of the trilogy's action, her conciliation of the Erinyes.

566-84 *Preliminaries to the trial*

The localization of the scene at the temple of Athena Polias has now, as it were, faded out (235-98n.), and presently (685) a new location will be established on the Areopagus. The text indicates that, as we might expect, the jurors are seated during the trial, rising only to go to

the voting-urns (708-9); Athena too, whether or not she is to be regarded as a member of the jury (711-53n.), will have been seated. She at any rate must have had a chair, no doubt centrally placed; the jurors may have sat on the ground, or on the steps (if any) leading up to the *skene*, but it is perhaps more likely that as in real Athenian courts (cf. Ar. *V.* 90) benches were provided for them. There must also have been a table on which stood two voting-urns, bearing distinctive marks (perhaps letters) to show which was for condemnation and which for acquittal; since this table is the focus of the audience's attention for a considerable time (711-53) it should be prominently placed, well forward in the orchestra. All these properties (chair, benches, table and urns) will have been brought on and arranged between the end of the choral song and the entry of Athena.

Athena re-enters, accompanied by a herald (566) and a trumpeter (567-9n.) and followed by eleven (711-53n.) Athenian citizens whom she has chosen and sworn in (483, 489, 621, 680, 710) as the founder members of the Areopagus council. Since no one in the play speaks of the Areopagites as γέροντες or the like, they may well have been portrayed as men in early middle age, in marked contrast with the elderly and ineffective Argive councillors who formed the chorus of *Agamemnon*.

Athena takes her seat before speaking, and the jurors too probably sit down forthwith; the herald and trumpeter remain standing, perhaps one on each side of Athena. By the end of Athena's speech, Orestes and the chorus also have taken up the positions they will occupy throughout the trial. On the Areopagus itself, two specific rocks served as platforms for the prosecutor and for the defendant (Eur. *IT* 962, Paus. 1.28.5). In our scene, Orestes and the chorus-leader (cf. Eur. *IT* 963) will have stood in positions corresponding to those of the two rocks, probably on opposite sides of the orchestra; the chorus will have grouped themselves behind their leader.

566 κήρυσσε: no proclamation by the herald appears in the text (contrast Eur. *Phaethon* 109-18 Diggle), but it does not necessarily follow that none was made; a short call for silence (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 59, 123) might perhaps be treated as part of the 'crowd-noise' and omitted from the script. The suggestion of Taplin 393 that the 'proclamation' was perhaps effected simply by the sounding of the trumpet is unacceptable; see 567-9n.

στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ 'call the public to order': here and in 668, 683, 762, 889, and nowhere else in Aesch., στρατός denotes the citizen-body of a state *as civilians*. Thus the trilogy that began with the Argive στρατός enforcing Dike by blood and fire (στρατός occurs 14 times in *Ag.*, mostly in the Herald scene) is ending with the Athenian στρατός enforcing Dike by judgement.

Prima facie the order given to the herald implies that a 'stage-crowd', representing the Athenian people as a whole, is assembling to see and hear this trial whose outcome may so vitally affect their welfare (cf. 476–9). Taplin 394 is reluctant to 'bring on a large and marginal crowd of citizens who have no function beyond adding to the spectacle', and takes the στρατός to be the jurors; but (i) J. C. Kamerbeek, *Mnemosyne* 33 (1980) 399, points out that στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ seems to be adapted from *Il.* 18.503 κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον, where the λαός is clearly distinguished from the γέροντες who are acting as judges, (ii) it ought not to be necessary for members of the dignified Areopagus council to be brought to order by words and notes of command, (iii) in 572–3 a request for silence and attention seems to be addressed to the 'whole city' and the jurors as distinct groups (see 570–3n.). There is a third possibility: perhaps the Athenian people are represented, not by a stage-crowd, but by the audience – who, after all, *are* the Athenian people; indeed, from the point of view of the play, they are the Athenians *of the future* whom Athena thrice says she is addressing (572, 683, 707–8). This need not be regarded as a breach of the convention discussed in 526–8n.; the characters are not stepping partly out of the world of the play, rather the audience is being invited to step partly into it. Taplin 129–34, denying the occurrence of any such 'audience participation' in Greek tragedy, argues that if it did occur we should expect 'a vocative or at least a clear gesture in [the audience's] direction': here we have both the equivalent of a vocative (571–2 is tantamount to an imperative sentence σίγα, ὦ πόλις, καὶ μάθε θεσμούς ἐμούς) and the equivalent of a 'clear gesture' in the sounding of the trumpet – the only known occasion in Greek tragedy when a trumpet is sounded on stage – and the cry of the herald. The audience may be brought into the play again at its very end (1039n., 1047n.); cf. also 997n.

567–9 The order to sound the trumpet cannot be addressed to the herald: a trumpet was not part of a herald's equipment, and the

occupation of a trumpeter (σαλπικτής) was a separate and distinct one (cf. *IG* II² 1635.69 σαλπικτεῖ καὶ κήρυκι). Athena must have with her a herald and a trumpeter; having given the former his orders, she now turns to the latter.

εἰς οὐρανὸν δέ is the likeliest correction of the unmetrical εἴτ' οὖν (*vel sim.*) of the MSS; note that οὐνοσ became in Christian times a common scribal contraction for οὐρανός (on these so-called *nomina sacra* see M. L. West, *Textual criticism and editorial technique* (1973) 27–8). Tournier's εἴτ' οὐρανόνδε, while slightly closer to the MSS, puts unnecessary emphasis on temporal sequence, and introduces an adverb not otherwise attested. Cf. too 570–3n. ad fin.

διάτορος: more likely active, 'piercing, penetrating' (as in *Pr.* 181), which goes well with εἰς οὐρανόν and with 569, than passive, 'pierced' (i.e. here 'tubular') as in *Soph. OT* 1034.

Τυρσηνική: this is our earliest reference to the tradition that the trumpet was an Etruscan invention (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 17, *Eur. Heracl.* 831).

φαίνετω 'make audible, sound forth', cf. *Od.* 8.499 φαῖνε δ' αἰοιδῆν.

στρατῶι: see 566n.; but here the mention of the trumpet, normally associated with the call to battle (*Pers.* 395, *Th.* 394; in peace it was little needed, cf. *Ar. Pax* 1240–9), may hint at the word's more usual military sense.

570–3 Athena explains the reason for the instructions she has given to the herald and trumpeter: she wants the people's attention while she expounds her new θεσμοί. Yet the exposition thus prepared for is not actually given till 681–710; verbal echoes (θεσμούς 571 ~ θεσμόν 681, πόλιν ... εἰς τὸν αἰανῆ χρόνον 572 ~ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῶι αἰεί 683–4 ~ ἐμοῖς ... ἀστοῖσιν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν 707–8, καταγνωσθῆι δίκη 573 ~ διαγνῶναι δίκην 709) confirm that the speech delivered there is the one promised here. This anomaly is bound up with the problems posed by the entry of Apollo; see 574n.

πληρουμένου ... τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου: not 'while this place of deliberation is filling up' (one does not call a meeting to order, or begin a keynote speech, when one's intended audience are still making their way in) but 'now that this council (684, 704) is being convened': πληροῦν was an Athenian technical term for convening a session of a lawcourt (*Is.* 6.37; *Dem.* 24.92; *Arist. Ath.* 63.2; *IG* II² 1629.206–7 (325/4)) or of a council (*Arist. Ath.* 30.5 (κληροῦν παρ., πληροῦν Weil)). There is thus no need for emendation (κληρουμένου Burges –

but according to 487-8 Athena was to return to the scene having *already* chosen the councillors, whether by lot or otherwise).

ἀρήγει 'it is proper', cf. Pi. *P.* 2.94.

εἰς τὸν αἰανὴ χρόνον: Athena's θεσμοί will be as relevant to the Athens of 458 B.C. as to the Athens of the heroic age (cf. Intr. §6). On αἰανῇ see 416n.

τούσδ': both the form and the reference of the pronoun are uncertain. M's gloss τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν shows that τῶνδ' (GFTr), not τόνδ' (ME), is the inherited reading; but τῶνδ' yields no intelligible sense, unless we assume a lacuna, probably after 572 (Weil) – and even then καί remains hard to account for. We must therefore either accept τόνδ' as a true reading fortuitously restored in ME, or else emend to τούσδ' (Hermann) or τῶδ' (Bothe). If we read τόνδ' the reference will be to Orestes or perhaps Apollo; if τῶδ', to Orestes and the chorus-leader, who will speak for the prosecution (cf. 566-84n.); if τούσδ', either to Orestes and the chorus or else to the jurors. There can in fact be little doubt that the jurors are meant. When Athena's speech here foreshadowed comes to be delivered (681-710) it is not addressed at all to Orestes, Apollo or the Erinyes: it consists of a long address to the Athenian people, present and future, and a brief charge (708-10) to the jurors, in which διαγνῶναι δίκην (709) echoes 573. It is the court, not the litigants, that must obey certain rules and principles if justice is to be done: indeed the present trial will show that justice can be done even if the litigants are decidedly unscrupulous (566-777n.). Hence τούσδ', referring to the jurors, is probably what Aesch. wrote.

καταγνωσθῆι 'be judged' (cf. X. *Oec.* 2.18 θᾶπτον καὶ ῥᾷον καὶ κερδαλεώτερον κατέγων πρᾶττοντας, also Pi. *Paeon* 16 κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς ἀγανώτατος ἔμμεν); elsewhere in judicial contexts (Ar. *Eq.* 1360 and Antiphon 6.3 not excepted, *pace* LSJ) this verb always refers to a decision *against the accused*, but here εὔ helps to make the sense clear, and emendation is unnecessary.

By now all taking part in the trial (except Apollo) are in their places; the trumpet is now sounded, and the herald makes his proclamation. (This is done now, not after 569: one normally gives one's reasons for issuing an order *before* it is carried out.) Although Athena's instructions to the herald (566) preceded those to the trumpeter (567-9), it does not necessarily follow that the instructions were carried out in that sequence: a trumpet-blast is likely to be more effective

than a human voice in the initial task of inducing a crowd to pay attention. This is a further reason for emending M's εἶτ' in 567.

574 is the first indication that Apollo is on stage – a silent entry unique in Aesch. (though cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1, 1316). When precisely did he enter? An entry at 566 is implausible; it is hard to visualize how Apollo could have remained unnoticed by the audience while Athena was speaking, and if the audience did notice him they would wonder why Athena did not. It seems therefore that Apollo enters between 573 and 574, presumably going to stand beside Orestes (cf. 579 ξυνδικήσων), and that 574-5 is a 'direct response to his arrival' (Taplin 397).

In addition to being abnormal in itself, Apollo's entry 'diverts the entire course of the proceedings' (Taplin 401). The speech which Athena was about to make, explaining the θεσμοί of her new court, is not delivered until 681-710, when it comes in a little awkwardly: one does not establish (καθίσταται 706) and name a court of law when it has already begun to function and when a trial is in mid-course. Winnington-Ingram 148-50 well explains the effect Aesch. has produced by means of this apparent anomaly. Athena is about to proclaim the inauguration of the new Justice when with Apollo's intervention 'we ... slip back into an older world, as both parties wrangle inconclusively in terms of the blood-feud and their argumentation only serves to bring out the inherent disadvantages of the old system. It is the court and the verdict which are new, salutary and hopeful. Perhaps, then, Athena's proclamation [in 681-710] is appropriately placed ... preceding the verdict, preceding that transformation of the Erinyes to which it leads up.'

The nature of Apollo's entry, and of his equally silent and unobtrusive exit (for which see 754-77n.), also affects our perception of his own role and status in the action. In his own house at Delphi he was absolute master; at Athens he is brought on stage and taken off again like a person of no importance. Not only is he allowed neither the first word on entry nor the last on exit (on this see Taplin 205, 309-10, 346, 397), but on his arrival he is greeted with remarkable brusqueness (see below) and on his departure no one takes leave of him. This is Athena's city and Athena's court: Apollo is subordinate, and Athena at once puts him firmly in his place.

For it is certainly Athena, not the chorus-leader, who speaks 574-5: (1) ὦν ἔχεις αὐτὸς κράτει implies 'I am the ruler here'; (2) the chorus-

leader would hardly speak now, in violation of a strict order for silence, when for the rest of the trial (until the voting begins) she is noticeably on her best behaviour, more rational and more even-tempered than Apollo; (3) in any case there is no need for her to ask a question (575) to which she, unlike Athena, already knows the answer (Orestes has spoken to Athena about threats made by Apollo (465-7) but not about his promise of protection and support); (4) Apollo in 576ff. speaks courteously, as he never does to the Erinyes; (5) if Apollo were addressing the Erinyes in 576-80a, and 580b-81 were the first words spoken by him to Athena, he would surely address her by name or title rather than merely as σὺ (cf. 629, 667).

ὦν ἔχεις αὐτὸς κράτει: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1107 ὦν περ ἄρχεις ἄρχε, *OC* 839, Theoc. 15.90, in all of which someone is warned, in an unfriendly tone, against attempting to exercise authority where he has none. Athena's first words to Apollo (which incidentally are also her last) thus strike a distinctly chilly note.

575 τοῦδέ σοι not τοῦδε σοί: both the hyperbaton τοῦδε ... πράγματος and the contrast with ὦν ἔχεις αὐτός show that the emphasis is on τοῦδε ('what business have you with *this* matter?') rather than on σοι ('what business have *you* with this matter?').

λέγε: appended to a direct question like φράσον in *Pers.* 350, 717.

576-9 μαρτυρήσων: this then is what Apollo meant by saying that he would help Orestes with θελκτηρίους μύθους (81-2). Directly after the killing of Clytaemestra, Orestes had called on the Sun (*Ch.* 984-9) and the Argive people (*Ch.* 1040-1) to 'testify' that he had acted with justice; now he will have a better witness than either - a witness who speaks with the authority of Zeus.

ἔστι ... καθάριστος: Apollo gives his reason for testifying on Orestes' behalf: he is bound by an obligation arising from the mutual relationship of suppliant and purifier (the idea of mutuality is given emphasis by the two pairs of pronouns ὅδ' ... ἐμῶν and τῷτιδ' ἐγώ).

ἐφέστιος: almost a synonym of ἱκέτης (669; *Supp.* 365, 503; cf. *Ch.* 1038 ἐφ' ἐστίαν ... τραπέσθαι); the hearth was the most sacred place in a Greek house, and hence a person entering a house as a suppliant would often go to the hearth (*Ag.* 1587; *Thuc.* 1.136.3; see J. Gould, *J.H.S.* 93 (1973) 97-8).

καθάριστος: on the problems surrounding Orestes' purification see 237, 282-3, 451-2nn.

ξυνδικήσων 'to be his advocate', the normal meaning of this verb; but the emphatic αὐτός, and the ensuing avowal of responsibility for Clytaemestra's death, suggest that there is also a hint of an alternative meaning (etymologically possible, though unattested) 'to stand trial together with him' (cf. Goldhill 246). Right from the start Apollo lets the jurors understand that they cannot condemn Orestes without implicitly condemning *him* as well.

579-80 Apollo unequivocally takes responsibility for the killing of Clytaemestra: contrast his more 'hedged' avowals at 84 (ἔπεισα) and 203 (ἐχρησα).

αἰτίαν ... ἔχω 'I am responsible', cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1312.

μητρός ... φόνου: Apollo, like Orestes (463), calls the ugly deed by its name.

580-1 εἵσαγε: the technical term for a magistrate bringing a case for trial to the court over which he presided (cf. *Ant.* 6.42, *Arist. Ath.* 52.2, 56.6).

ὅπως ... ἐπίσται 'to the best of your ability (wisdom)', cf. 667.

κύρωσον 'determine', cf. 639, *Ch.* 874, *Supp.* 603. Apollo apparently assumes that Athena intends to be sole judge.

582-4 Athena does not answer Apollo; instead she declares that the case is before the court and calls on the prosecutors to speak. Since this is the first trial ever held, she also explains *why* the prosecution should have the first word.

582 ὑμῶν ὁ μῦθος 'it is for you to speak', cf. *Th.* 230-2 σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν.

εἰσάγω δὲ τὴν δίκην: pointedly complying only with the first of Apollo's two requests.

583-4 'For it is right that the prosecutor should speak first, telling the tale from the beginning, and so inform us about the case.' Such must be the meaning of the transmitted text, but the order of phrases is strange, since ὀρθῶς belongs logically with πρότερος ... λέγων yet is sandwiched within the phrase γένοιτ' ἂν ... πράγματος διδάσκαλος. Possibly we should read ὀρθός: the meaning would then be 'For the prosecutor, if he speaks first and tells the tale from the beginning, can give us proper information about the case' (lit. 'can become a proper informer of the case'; for the construction cf. *Ag.* 1604 κἀγὼ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς 'and I am a justified contriver of this killing' i.e. 'and I contrived this killing with justification').

γάρ links back to ὑμῶν ὁ μῦθος, the intervening words being treated as a parenthesis.

ὁ ... διώκων: masculine because it refers to the prosecutor in *any* trial, not just this one. The use of διώκειν (and other verbs connected with pursuit and capture, e.g. φεύγειν, ἐλεῖν, ἀλίσκεσθαι) in relation to legal proceedings is very common in Attic (cf. *Supp.* 390, *Ar. V.* 893, 899, 902, *Ant.* 5.9); here however this forensic 'pursuit' of Orestes by the Erinyes is the sequel to a literal, physical pursuit by them earlier in the play, so that the metaphor may draw attention to the way in which the institution of courts of justice turns physical into verbal conflicts.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς 'from the beginning <of the events>' (cf. 284) rather than 'at the beginning <of the proceedings>' which would be redundant after πρότερος. The phrase is regularly used by prosecutors in introducing their narrative of the facts of the case (e.g. *Lys.* 12.3, 32.3; *Isoc.* 17.3; *Dem.* 54.2), often in association with the verb διδάσκειν (cf. διδάσκαλος here).

585-608 *The case for the prosecution*

Contrary to what one might have expected after 583-4, the prosecutors do not make a set speech but cross-examine Orestes in stichomythia. Aesch. thus avoids violating a convention of his genre, for very rarely are long set speeches (ῥήσεις) put in the mouth of a chorus-leader (see A. M. Dale, *Collected papers* (1969) 210-20). The idea of a cross-examination is borrowed from the actual practice of the Athenian courts. Either the prosecutor or the defendant, at any time during his speech, could call up his opponent and put questions to him, which the opponent was bound by law to answer (*Plato Ap.* 25d, [*Dem.*] 46.10). Most such interrogations in surviving speeches are quite short (e.g. *Lys.* 12.25, 22.5; *Is.* 11.4-6), but Socrates in the *Apology* (24c-28a) puts eighteen questions to Meletus which, together with his comments on the answers, occupy about one-fifth of his whole speech. See E. M. Carawan, *G.R.B.S.* 24 (1983) 209-226.

The chorus-leader asks Orestes whether, how and by whose advice he killed his mother. She does not ask him why; that issue, crucial to his plea of justification, is raised by Orestes himself (600), but he is quickly forced into the seemingly absurd position of maintaining that he has no blood-tie with his mother, and when challenged on this he has no reply to give. Thus the play's only direct dialogue between the

Erinyes and Orestes ends in Orestes' defeat – except that he is able to call on Apollo to take over the argument on his behalf. On reminiscences of earlier stichomythiae in the play, see 415–35n.

586 ἔπος ... πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθείς 'setting word against word in your turn', i.e. answering us point by point.

587 κατέκτονas: the perfect should be given its full value, not simply 'have killed' but 'are the killer of'.

588 cf. 463, 611.

δ': when an admission is emphasized by 'I don't deny it' or the like, asyndeton is common (cf. 463, Soph. *El.* 527, Eur. *Hel.* 579) but not invariable (cf. *Ag.* 1380, Soph. *Aj.* 96, *Ant.* 443). Thus, while Nauck's conjecture γ' is attractive, the transmitted text is entitled to the benefit of the doubt.

πέλει: probably 'is possible', cf. Soph. *OT* 578 ἄρνησις οὐκ ἔνεστιν, *El.* 527.

589 τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων: a wrestling bout was won by the first contestant to throw his opponent thrice (cf. *Ag.* 173 τριακτῆρ 'conqueror', *Ch.* 339 ἀτρίακτος 'invincible'); hence the chorus-leader speaks of 'the three falls (sc. that we need for victory)'. See 558–9n.

590 Picking up the wrestling metaphor, Orestes disputes the claim that he has been 'thrown': all the prosecution have done so far is to make him admit again what he has never denied.

592 The method is that of a *sacrificial* slaughter. Human sacrificial victims were imagined as being killed with a sword rather than the μάχαιρα used for animal victims (Eur. *Hec.* 543ff., *IA* 1566); the Attic festival of the Tauropolia included a rite in which a man's neck was scratched with a sword so that blood flowed, in atonement, it was said, for the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (Eur. *IT* 1450–61). Cf. 102, 304–5nn.

†χειρὶ πρὸς† δέρην τεμών: τέμνειν, used of cutting throats, normally takes a direct object (Eur. *Supp.* 1201, *Hel.* 1584; Ar. *Av.* 1560), and πρὸς '(right) to' is the last preposition we should expect to find in such a context (contrast e.g. Eur. *Or.* 1063 πάσας πρὸς ἥπαρ of a *stabbing* wound). Nor can we invoke tmesis, since προστέμνειν means only 'cut in addition'. Possibly πρὸς has replaced another preposition (διὰ Blaydes); possibly χειρὶ is a gloss on δεξιᾷ (Weil) and πρὸς a metrical stopgap.

593 πρὸς τοῦ δὲ πεισθείς: understand κατέκτανες, the last finite verb used by the speaker. If we read with M δ' ἐπείσθης it would still be

necessary to understand κατέκτανες with τίνος βουλευμάσιν, but the intervening finite verb ἐπεισθης would make such an ellipsis hard to comprehend. It is preferable to assume a minor corruption.

βουλευμάσιν: the verb βουλεύειν is used four times in *Ag.* (1223, 1614, 1627, 1634) of Aegisthus' part in the murder of Agamemnon, which he helped to plan but left Clytaemestra to carry out. In Attic law the 'planner' of a murder was liable to the same penalty as he who carried it out with his own hands (And. 1.94); see MacDowell 60-9, 125-6.

594 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι sc. τοῦτο: not just 'he is my witness', since all present know that already (576).

595 The incredulous tone of this question is a rhetorical pretence, since the speaker knows the answer (cf. 202-3); her object is to persuade the jury that an Apollo who can command so monstrous a deed is no true μάντις (contrast 615).

ἐξηγεῖτο: a verb often used of religious experts expounding what is and what is not in accordance with divine law (cf. And. 1.115-16, Dem. 47.68-9); hence the implication of its use here is 'if you and Apollo are telling the truth, then divine law permits matricide!'

596 δεῦρο ... ἀεί 'until now', cf. Eur. *Med.* 670, *Ion* 56. He does not mean that he has enjoyed *continuous* good fortune but that, looking at the whole course of his fortunes since receiving Apollo's command, he does not regret having obeyed it.

597 μάρψει 'catches, captures', a metaphor from the chase (cf. 583-4n.) **ψήφος** 'the verdict', cf. Thuc. 3.82.8 μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως, X. *An.* 7.7.57.

ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς: i.e. τὴν τύχην μέμψῃ.

598 πέποιθ' 'I have confidence <in Apollo>', a response to the implication of 597 that the verdict will prove Apollo's advice wrong and his protection futile. Orestes then goes on (δ') to mention a second ground for confidence. Other interpretations of πέποιθα are less satisfactory: (i) an absolute usage of the verb, 'I am confident', seems not to be attested in early or classical Greek (in *Il.* 1.524 and *Od.* 13.344 ὄφρα πεποιθήεις means 'in order that you may trust me'); (ii) 'I am sure you are right' (Thomson, comparing Soph. *El.* 323) would be a damaging and unnecessary concession on Orestes' part.

ἀρωγὰς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμψει πατήρ: cf. *Ch.* 4-5, 129-48, 315-31, 376-7, 456-60, 479-509. In time to come Orestes himself ἐν τάφοις will have great power to do good or to do harm (767-74).

πέμψει (read by the scholiast) is better than **πέμπει** (M in text): the decisive moment, when the help of Agamemnon's spirit is needed, is not now, but when the jury come to vote (cf. **ψήφος** and the two future verbs in 597).

599 is a sarcastic gibe: 'only a fool would expect help from "corpses" – and after making a corpse of his mother!'

νεκροῖσι: as if Orestes expected aid to come to him from his father's dead body rather than from his spirit.

πέπισθι: from *πέ-πιθ-θι, zero-grade imperative of πέ-ποιθ-α; cf. οἶδα ~ ἴσθι, δέδοικα ~ δέδιθι.

600 Orestes seizes an opportunity to introduce his plea of justification.

γάρ '⟨yes, I killed my mother,⟩ for'.

εἶχε προσβολάς 'had the touch of', i.e. had brought herself into contact with.

601 τάδε: to be taken with **δίδαξον**, which regularly governs a double acc. (*Supp.* 1060, *Eur. Hipp.* 252).

602 The 'two pollutions' of 600 arise from a single act: Clytaemestra had murdered (i) her husband and (ii) Orestes' father.

603 The chorus-leader replies, in effect, that Clytaemestra's death has purged her of any guilt; her crimes are now irrelevant; it is only Orestes' account, as it were, that has still to be balanced. This argument is the most vulnerable the Erinyes have yet used, being open to two possible rejoinders, one of which Orestes makes (for the other, see below).

τί γάρ; 'and what about *this* point?'; see Denniston 83. M's **τοίγαρ** would make Clytaemestra's death and Orestes' survival both logical consequences of the murder of Agamemnon.

ἡ δ' ἐλευθέρα φόνωι 'and she is free ⟨from guilt⟩ by reason of ⟨her own⟩ murder'. M's **ἐλευθέρα φόνου** would in itself give passable sense, but **ζῆις** just before and **ζώσαν** below make an explicit mention necessary here of the fact that Clytaemestra is dead. Note that if the Erinyes believe that her death has freed her from guilt, then in view of 175–8, 267–8, 339–40 it must follow that they never thought her guilty of anything that mattered in the first place.

604 So after the murder of Agamemnon Clytaemestra asked the angry Elders why they had not condemned *him* for slaughtering Iphigeneia (*Ag.* 1412–21); cf. Goldhill 91.

ἐκείνην: in contrast with your treatment of me.

ἤλαυνες φυγῇ: cf. 210 ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν, 421-2, *Ch.* 1062.

605 The Erinyes give the same reply to Orestes that they gave to Apollo when challenged on the same point (212): they are concerned only with the killing of blood-kinsfolk. They have not always defined their functions so restrictively (210n.).

606 Orestes could have replied, as Apollo did (213-23), that the sanctity of marriage is no less important than that of kinship; but that is perhaps not a matter on which a mortal can speak with authority. He has no other good move available: he is forced to challenge one of two propositions which few would ordinarily question – (1) that the murder of blood-kinsfolk is particularly heinous, (2) that mother and child are blood-kin to one another. He chooses to challenge (2), as Apollo will later (657-66); but Orestes, unlike Apollo, is unable to back the challenge by argument or evidence, and a single sharp question reduces him to helplessness. At this stage the audience are not likely to find Orestes' denial of a blood-tie convincing; he himself at *Ch.* 1038 spoke of the blood he had shed as τόδ' αἷμα κοινόν (cf. 612-13n.).

607-8 πῶς γάρ σ' ἔθρεψεν: sc. εἰ μὴ τῷ αἵματι. Clytaemestra had claimed that Orestes had no right to kill her, because she had nurtured him with her milk (*Ch.* 896-8, 908, 928; cf. *Ch.* 527-33, 543-6). That, however, was not the strongest claim she could have made; after all, a child may be suckled by someone other than its mother. Now we are reminded that she had nurtured him earlier still, before birth, with her blood: a more intimate bond, a more total dependence, a more precious gift, is scarcely imaginable. It was believed that the embryo received nourishment through blood-vessels in the umbilical cord, whose origin was in the mother's heart or liver; this theory is found both in Empedocles (A79 D-K) in the mid-fifth century and later in Aristotle (*GA* 740a24-36) and doubtless reflects popular belief based on the observed presence of abundant blood in the cord when cut.

ἐντός ... ζώνης: cf. *Ch.* 992, *Eur. Hec.* 762.

ἀπεύχει 'disclaim, disown'.

φίλτατον '<which is> nearest and dearest <to your own>'. Apollo had argued (213-16) that the marriage-bond was the source of τὰ φίλτατα for mankind; but the bond of blood-nurture described here may well be thought to be closer still. And yet how much φιλία was

there in Clytaemestra's behaviour towards her son *after* his birth? Cf. 269-72, 463-4nn.

609-73 *The case for the defence*

Orestes should now make his defence speech, but he confines himself to inviting Apollo to testify whether he considers the killing of Clytaemestra to have been justified. Hereafter Orestes remains almost entirely silent until his fate has been decided. Apollo asserts emphatically that the killing was justified and had behind it the authority of Zeus (cf. 19), which he solemnly warns the jurors to respect.

At this point he is interrupted; and each of the subsequent divisions of his speech – in which he takes the part rather of an advocate (cf. 579) than of a witness – arises out of an objection raised by the chorus-leader. Such an altercation could not occur in a real homicide trial, in which the rule was that prosecutor and defendant each had two speeches delivered alternately (cf. Ant. 5.13 and the *Tetralogies* attributed to the same orator) and in which, as in all Athenian trials, it was forbidden to interrupt an opponent's speech. This departure from forensic convention makes it possible for each successive objection to Apollo's argument to be raised and answered before the next is brought up: this is the method of conversational argument rather than of formal debate, and it makes the exchanges much easier for the audience to follow and evaluate than a pair of set speeches would be.

By the same device it is also made evident how, from his opening invocation of the seemingly unassailable authority of Zeus, Apollo is gradually forced into the position of having to deny, just as Orestes did, that a mother is blood-kin to her child. The chorus-leader's first interruption (622-4) forces him to abandon his reliance on mere authority and deal with the merits of the case, emphasizing the especial heinousness of Agamemnon's murder (625-38). When the chorus-leader rejoins (640-3) that 'Zeus has little justification for being so touchy of wrong done to a father, considering what he did to his own' (Kitto 66-7), Apollo nearly loses his temper (644) and can only reply that murder is worse than imprisonment because it is irreversible. Thus he leaves himself wide open to his opponents' next thrust: if murder is the one crime that is beyond remedy, how can the murderer Orestes possibly be allowed to go free (652-6)? This argument should have been unanswerable, unless perhaps by broader considerations of

the need for humanity to escape from endless cycles of violence; but when the chorus-leader unnecessarily specifies that the blood Orestes spilt was *ῥοιμὸν*, Apollo is given an opening, and, echoing Orestes, he denies the reality of this blood-tie.

His denial is more subtle and more persuasive than that of Orestes. He distinguishes between the relationship of *nurture* (τροφή), which the Erinyes had emphasized previously (607-8), and the relationship of *generation*, claiming that while the mother nurtures, the father alone generates; and he points to Athena herself as evidence of the truth of his theory. There are in fact serious weaknesses in his argument (657-66n.), but it is good enough to carry the day, and he succeeds in silencing the Erinyes as they had silenced Orestes.

Apollo concludes his speech, as did many a pleader in the Athenian courts, by promising that he and his 'client', if the verdict goes in their favour, will do all they can to benefit the Athenian people. It may be significant that it is he, not the Erinyes, who at this stage feels that his case needs bolstering by this means: the Erinyes make no promises or threats to the court until 711.

609 ἐξηγοῦ: cf. 595n.

611 ὥσπερ ἐστίν 'as is the fact', the relative-clause counterpart to οὕτως ἐστίν. Cf. *Ag.* 1171 τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν (so rightly Triclinius; see Fraenkel ad loc.).

οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα: cf. 463, 588.

612-13 closely echoes 468 σὺ δ' εἰ δικαίως εἶτε μὴ κρίνον δίκην: but whereas that was appropriately addressed to Athena, it is at first sight surprising that Orestes should ask his own witness and advocate to *judge* his action. No doubt he hopes that Apollo's testimony will carry so much weight as virtually to decide the case; otherwise put, he asks Apollo to 'judge' his action because he hopes the jury too will accept Apollo as the proper and authoritative judge of its rightness or wrongness. The words τόδ' αἷμα κρίνον also echo, more distantly, *Ch.* 1038 (τόδ' αἷμα κοινόν): then, in the immediate aftermath of the killing, Orestes himself 'judged this blood' that he had shed, and judged it to be the same as his own - now he judges otherwise (606) and asks Apollo to confirm this judgement.

δοκῶ sc. δρᾶσαι: with δοκεῖ (M) we would have to understand, less naturally, δεδρᾶσθαι.

αἷμα 'bloodshed', cf. 752, *Supp.* 449, *Pi. P.* 2.32, *Dem.* 21.105.

ὥς τούτοις φράσω: Orestes seems to envisage resuming his speech after Apollo has given his testimony, so that he can drive it home to the jury (τούτοις) that his witness's evidence has fully validated his plea of justification; this would be in accordance with normal practice in the Athenian courts (cf. e.g. *Ant.* 6.16, *Lys.* 3.15). In fact the action is diverted from this course by the intervention of the chorus-leader at 622-4, which is addressed to, and answered by, Apollo.

614-15 λέξω ... 'δικαίως': the answer to Orestes' question (612). Not λέξω ... δικάως 'I shall speak honestly', since that would make οὐ ψεύσομαι tautological.

θεσμών: cf. 391n.; here it denotes the institution created by Athena's ordinance, rather than the ordinance itself.

μάντις ὢν: causal; a μάντις, if he is really a μάντις, never lies or errs (cf. *Th.* 24-6 ὁ μάντις φησὶν ... ἀψευδεῖ τέχνῃ, *Ag.* 249, *Aesch.* fr. 350.5-6), and the pronouncements of Delphi in particular were νημερτέα (*h. Ap.* 132, cf. *Plato Ap.* 21b).

616-18 Every response officially given by Apollo at Delphi is given on the instructions of Zeus; thus to condemn Orestes will be not only to condemn Apollo (cf. 576-9n.) but also to rebel against Zeus himself.

616 The asyndeton is justified by the fact that the previous sentence served to announce the topic of this one (Denniston xliii-xliv): 616-18 expands and expounds the bare answer δικάως. The asyndeton also adds weight and emphasis (cf. 517n.) to an assertion that stands at the heart of Apollo's case.

μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις: cf. 18n.

617 οὐ πόλεως πέρι: this claim to political infallibility, coming 'from the god who medized' (Winnington-Ingram 121), may have been sceptically received by some spectators in 458 B.C.; Orestes' judges on the other hand would have no reason not to believe it.

618 'κέλευσε (Porson), not κελεύσαι (Hermann): (1) the indicative is regular in generic relative clauses depending on a principal clause which is negative; cf. *Dem.* 18.244 οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι προεσβευτῆς ἐπέμψθη, ... ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον, and see Goodwin 206-7; (2) aorist optatives in -αι are used by *Aesch.* only in lyric (983; *Ch.* 593; *Supp.* 660, 662, 1052) and never by *Soph.*, *Eur.* or *Ar.*

619-20 Having affirmed that all his responses have the authority of Zeus behind them, Apollo argues that this fact (1) gives strong support to Orestes' plea of justification (since it would be unreasonable to con-

demn him for refusing to disobey Zeus) and (2) in any case gives *the jurors* no alternative but to acquit him if *they* are not to be seen to be disobeying Zeus.

τὸ ... δίκαιον τοῦθ' 'this plea', sc. of obedience to orders emanating from Zeus: cf. Dem. 37.59 καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτω τὸ δίκαιον (the unintentional killer's plea that he has been pardoned by the victim's family) ἐν πᾶσιν ἰσχύει, ὥστε ...

μαθεῖν: sc. πιφαύσκω ὑμῖν, cf. *Ch.* 554-5 τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω, αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμάς, gn. Against μάθε (Blaydes) note that the jury are everywhere else addressed in the 2nd *plural* (cf. ὑμῦ' 620), plural verbs being used even in conjunction with singular (collective) vocatives like λεώς (681) and φρούριον (948).

πιφαύσκω: the same verb was used at *Ch.* 279, in reference to Apollo's warning to Orestes of the terrors that awaited him if he failed to avenge his father's death.

δ': cf. 19n.; for δέ following two words that do not cohere grammatically cf. *Ag.* 745, 963, *Ch.* 761, *Th.* 199, *Supp.* 791.

ὑμῦ': i.e. ὑμῖ, an epic Aeolism (for ὑμῖν) found only here in tragic dialogue (in lyric cf. *Th.* 156 ἄμῃ, *Soph. Ant.* 846, *OC* 247).

621 ὄρκος: for the idea 'X is stronger than an oath' cf. 218n. The oath referred to here can only be that of the jurors, which Apollo therefore is in effect telling them to disregard – a shocking request, which no one would dream of making in a real Athenian trial, and which Athena will not countenance (710, cf. already 489).

οὔτι 'in no way', cf. 1019, *Ag.* 290.

622 ὥπασε sc. σοί.

624 πράξαντα 'in avenging'; cf. Aesch. fr. dub. 451k.5-6 τὴν βίαιον ἀρπαγὴν | [ῥ]γυναικὸς ἐκ]πράσσουσι Πρ[ι]αμ[ί]δην Πάριν.

μηδαμοῦ ... νέμειν 'to hold of no account', cf. *Pers.* 497-8 θεοὺς ... τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ.

τιμάς: cf. 95n.

625-30 Apollo gives four reasons, arranged to make a climax, why the killing of Agamemnon was a worse crime than that of Clytaemestra: it was the murder of a man (625), a king (626), committed by a woman (627) in a manner that added insult to injury (629-30).

625 οὐ ... ταῦτόν sc. as the killing of a mere woman: despite 624, Apollo ignores the fact that the killing of Clytaemestra was matricide. For οὐ ταῦτόν as a rejoinder in arguments cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1432, *Lys.* 496, *Ec.* 830.

626 The dignity of a king, and the sceptre which is its emblem, are the gift of Zeus: cf. *Ag.* 43-4, *Il.* 2.100-8, 2.196-7, 9.97-9.

627-8 To die by the hand of a woman, even in battle, was an indignity (cf. *Hdt.* 8.93.2, on Athenian resentment of Artemisia's participation in the battle of Salamis), but would have been preferable to what Agamemnon actually suffered.

τόξοις: the bow was the Amazons' typical weapon, cf. *Supp.* 288, *Pi.* *N.* 3.38, *Hdt.* 4.114.3, and many works of art.

ὥστ' Ἀμαζόνος 'such as <the bow> of an Amazon', 'of, let us say, an Amazon'. According to the cyclic *Aethiopis*, Penthesileia the Amazon had fought against the Greeks at Troy, killing (probably) Podarces the brother of Protesilaus (cf. *IG* xiv 1284; *Q.S.* 1.233-46) among others, before herself being killed by Achilles. We shall soon hear of the Amazons again (685-90).

629 Παλλάς: Athena is addressed as if she were one of the judges (cf. 667-73, 679-80n.). In real Athenian courts a speaker would never address the presiding magistrate(s) in this way, except for some special reason (as e.g. in *Lys.* 15.1-4 where the speaker is afraid that the generals may improperly recommend the jury to acquit). Possibly we are to understand that Apollo is still unsure precisely what Athena's function is in the trial (cf. 580-1n.); at the same time these mistakes, if mistakes they are, help to prepare the way for 734ff. when Athena votes as one of the jury (cf. 711-53n.).

ἐφήμενοι 'who are sitting with her': cf. *ἐφήμενος* 'sitting next to' in 409 and *Aesch.* fr. 154a.6.

630 διαιρεῖν τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι: infinitive of purpose (488n.). Normally *διαίρεῖν* 'decide' is transitive (cf. 488): the construction used here may be due to the analogy of the near-synonym *διαγιγνώσκειν* which can take either a direct object (e.g. 709) or *περί* (e.g. *Thuc.* 4.46.2).

631-5 It is virtually certain that a line (probably no more) has been lost after 632; this must have contained (1) a noun for *εὐφροσιν* to qualify, (2) a verb linked by *καί* (in *καπὶ τέρματι*) to *περεσκήνωσεν*. Headlam suggested *exempli gratia* <λόγοις, παρέστη θέριμ' ἐν ἀργυρηλάτῳ> (cf. *Ag.* 1539-40, *Ch.* 670) which in structure and general sense is not likely to be far from the truth.

631-2 ἀπὸ στρατείας: governed by *δεδεγμένη*.

viv can be restored with confidence (*μιν* M): *Aesch.* may have ad-

mitted the Homeric-Ionic *μιν* in lyric (where *μιν* is transmitted three times, *νιν* seven times), but it is most unlikely that he did so in dialogue (where in the six undisputed plays *νιν* is transmitted 24 times, *μιν* only here).

ἡμποληκότα / τὰ πλείστ' ἄμεινον: evaluating the Trojan enterprise as a business venture (cf. *Ar. Pax* 447-8 'if someone in the arms trade desires war ἴν' ἐμπολᾷ βέλτιον ...'), Apollo concludes, like the Herald and the Elders in *Ag.* (*Ag.* 574, 805-6), that in the end the balance was in Agamemnon's favour. But this somewhat faint praise (he does not say ἡμποληκότα τὰ πάντ' ἄριστα) will remind the audience of certain things about the expedition of which the jury are not going to be told; cf. 456-8n.

εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη ...: in *Ag.* 855-972.

633 περῶντι λουτρά 'while he had (lit. underwent) his bath', cf. *Th.* 989 οἶσθα διαπερῶν 'you know by experience', *Ch.* 270.

κάπὶ τέρματι 'and at the end' (sc. of his bath - but it was also the end of his life, cf. 746): for this use of ἐπὶ cf. *Plato Grg.* 516a ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου τοῦ Περικλέους, *Mx.* 234a φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἡγῆσι εἶναι.

634-5 περεσκήνωσεν 'spread over and about him like a tent' (or a shroud? cf. *Ch.* 998-9; R. Seaford, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 253). For the elision of περι- cf. *Ag.* 1147, *Hes. Thg.* 678, *Pi. P.* 3.52.

ἀτέρμονι ... δαιδάλῳ πέπλῳ: on the fatal garment see 460-1n.

πεδήσας 'hobbling': the robe covered Agamemnon from head to foot (*Ch.* 998 ποδένδυτον) so that he could not move: it is called πέδα 'fetters' in *Ch.* 493, 982, ποδιστήρας πέπλους in *Ch.* 1000.

636-9 The text as transmitted presents two major problems: (1) is Σ right in holding that ταύτην (638) refers to Clytaemestra? (2) why is μέν (636) not answered by any δέ or equivalent? If we answer 'yes' to (1), 638 will mean 'I have described Clyt. thus in order to inflame the jury'; but as the text stands, Apollo has not described Clyt. at all. He has described her *actions*, and has been profuse in laudatory description of *Agamemnon* (625-6, 636-7); but up to 637 he has not by a single word attempted any evaluation of Clyt. or her behaviour, and has referred to her explicitly only once, as 'a woman' (627). It appears then that we must answer 'no' to (1), take ταύτην as meaning 'this speech' (so e.g. Wilamowitz, and Fraenkel on *Ag.* 916) and seek a solution to (2). Fraenkel's solution is that 'with ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον Apollo concludes the first part of his speech' (cf. 453, *Ag.* 950, *Pr.* 500); 'Apollo intends to deal with a further point after the conclusion of this

section' but is prevented from doing so when the chorus-leader interrupts. If this were right, however, we should expect μέν, if anywhere, at 638 rather than 636; it is in fact 636-7, with its εἴρηται and its retrospective οὗτος, that is most naturally taken as summing up and concluding the 'first part' of the speech.

It follows that we must either delete 638-9 (but how and why could they have been inserted?) or, preferably, assume a lacuna, perhaps of several lines, between 637 and 638. This will have contained the second limb of the antithesis begun at 636, in the form of an emotive and hostile description of Clytaemestra (perhaps similar to *Ag.* 1231-8 and *Ch.* 991-6): Apollo's speech will thus originally have contained the same two elements (denunciation of the murder method, denunciation of the murderess) as appear in the latter part of Orestes' speech over the bodies of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus (*Ch.* 991-1004).

636-7 'rings' with 625-6, framing the section of the speech devoted to Agamemnon and the manner of his death.

παντοσέμνου: cf. *Ch.* 54-6 on the enormous σέβας which Agamemnon inspired in the Argive people.

638 δηχθῆναι 'may be stung to anger' (Lloyd-Jones), cf. *Hes. Thg.* 567: Athenian pleaders were not usually so frank about their use of emotive rhetoric.

639 τέτακται: either 'has been ordered' (279n.) or 'has been appointed' (cf. *Pers.* 298, *Soph. El.* 709).

κυρῶσαι: Apollo speaks more accurately than at 581 (580-1n.).

641 Zeus had Cronus and the Titans confined beneath the earth after defeating them in a ten-year war (*Hes. Thg.* 716-35, cf. *Il.* 8.478-81, 14.203-4). Such treatment of one's father was by all human standards utterly disgraceful: in *Ar. Nu.* 902-6 'the Worse Argument' points out that Zeus has never been punished for this action and argues that this shows there is no justice among the gods. The Erinyes here, however, are less concerned with the morality of Zeus's treatment of Cronus than with its inconsistency with his alleged solicitude for the rights of mortal fathers.

πρεσβύτην: cf. *Pr.* 220 τὸν παλαιγενῆ Κρόνον, Cratinus fr. 258 K-A πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος (χρόνος MSS); but the epithet here is more than decorative, since it makes the action of Zeus seem more shocking by suggesting (quite misleadingly) that Cronus like an old man was failing in strength when Zeus imprisoned him.

642 ταῦτα = 640; τοῦτοις = 641.

643 With Apollo momentarily unable to answer, the chorus-leader calls the special attention of the jury to the point she has made: 'I call you to witness that you hear this', i.e. 'Do not try to pretend hereafter that you did not hear it.'

644 The vulgarity of Apollo's reaction is without parallel in tragedy, and shows that the argument just raised has stung and embarrassed him. Nowhere else in tragedy are human (let alone divine) characters addressed as 'beasts' (κνώδαλα): that is the language of satyr-play (e.g. Eur. *Cyc.* 624 θῆρες) and comedy (Ar. *V.* 448 ὦ κάκιστον θηρίον, cf. *Ach.* 120, *Nu.* 1298, *Av.* 87, *Lys.* 476, *Pl.* 912, Men. *Pk.* 366). Compare too the reaction of 'the Better Argument' in Ar. *Nu.* 906–7 to his opponent's exploitation of the Zeus–Cronus myth (641n.): he calls for a basin in which to vomit.

παντομοιή ... στύγη θεῶν: cf. 73, 191, 197, 365.

645 πέδας μὲν ἂν λύσειεν: sc. Ζεύς. According to one version of the myth Zeus did in fact release Cronus and made him ruler of the Isles of the Blest: cf. Hes. *Op.* 173a–c, Pi. *O.* 2.76–7, *P.* 4.292, Griffith on *Pr. Lycomenos* fr. V–VI = Aesch. fr. 190, 192. Here, however, Apollo is not to be allowed so easy an escape from the argument of 640–3, and Aesch. instead follows the *Theogony* and Homer (cf. 641n.): Cronus and the Titans, we are to assume, are still in their subterranean prison, their release no more than a possibility.

τοῦδ': i.e. imprisonment.

ἄκος: cf. 503–7n. (ἄκεα).

646 πολλή μηχανή 'many a device', cf. Soph. fr. 412.1 πολὺς δὲ Φρυγίων τρίγωνος 'many a Phrygian harp'. On μηχανή see 82n.

647–8 Cf. 261–3, *Ag.* 1019ff., *Ch.* 66–74, all of which speak, as here, of blood being drunk up by the earth (cf. 53–4n., 980).

649 ἐπωιδάς 'healing charms', cf. *Ag.* 1019–21 θανάσιμον ... αἷμα τίς ἂν πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαιδων; and Pi. *P.* 3.51, Soph. *Aj.* 581–2, Plato *Rep.* 426b.

650–1 ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω 'this way and that', to be taken closely with στρέφων: not (as LSJ) 'upside down, topsy-turvy', since Apollo would not wish to present Zeus as a maker of chaos.

τίθησιν 'disposes, arranges'.

οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων 'without panting in the least', a vivid way of saying 'without effort'. For the idea of the *effortless* omnipotence of Zeus cf.

Supp. 96-103, Aesch. fr. 99.2-3, Xenophanes fr. 25 D-K ἀλλά' ἀπά-
νευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει.

μένει 'by his desire', to be taken with πάντα ... τίθησιν; the idea is the same as that of νόου φρενὶ in Xenophanes and φρόνημα in *Supp.* 101 - Zeus has but to will mentally that something be done, and it is done. For μένος 'desire' cf. *Supp.* 757-8 ἀνιέρωι μένει μεμαργωμένοι (of the lustful sons of Aegyptus), *Il.* 5.892, 8.361, *Od.* 14.262, and the verbs μέμονα, μενεαίνω, μενοινάω: the sense 'strength' would be inappropriate here, since the parallel passages show that the 'effortless' actions of Zeus are conceived as being done by the power of pure mind.

652 πῶς γάρ ... τοῦδ' ὑπερδικεῖς ὄρα 'now look how you are pleading for *this* man', i.e. 'in view of what you have just said about murder in trying to defend Zeus, how can you consistently defend this murderer Orestes?'

γάρ: introducing a 'supplementary question', cf. 211n.

τὸ φεύγειν = ὥστε (τόνδε) φεύγειν 'to help him establish a defence' (cf. *Supp.* 390-1 δεῖ τοί σε φεύγειν ... ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσιν κύρος οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ σοῦ). Elsewhere in Aesch. the use of article + infinitive in a consecutive sense is found only where the infinitive is negated (see 220n.), but cf. *Soph. OT* 1416-17, *El.* 1030.

653 ὁμαίμον 'which is the same as his own blood' (605-8nn.). Orestes has not only committed murder - the worst of crimes, as Apollo himself asserts; he has shed blood that is identical with his own - the worst of murders. But here the Erinyes are trying to prove more than they need to prove, and they have made a fatal error; cf. 609-73n.

654-6 If Orestes, the homicide, is allowed to return to Argos, he will pollute his house (654), the city as a whole (655), and any association he may try to join (656). One might have expected Apollo καθάρσιος (cf. 578) to rejoin that Orestes is no longer polluted (cf. 237-9, 280-5, 443-52, 474); but the Erinyes would then simply insist in reply, as they have insisted throughout, that he *is* polluted and will remain so. Apollo prefers a less obvious but more effective rejoinder.

654 δῶματ' οἰκήσει: not just 'dwell in the house of' but 'enter into the inheritance of', implying succession to Agamemnon's kingship as well as to his property (see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1010-11). To regain his father's 'house' has throughout been Orestes' ultimate aim (cf. *Ch.* 237, 480, 864-5); at 757-8 he says he has achieved it.

655-6 Cf. Dem. 20.158 χέρνιβος εἶργεσθαι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον, σπον-

δῶν, κρατήρων, ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς. Apollo had threatened Orestes with precisely similar exclusion from religious and social life if he did *not* avenge his father (*Ch.* 291-6).

655 ποίοισι βωμοῖς ... τοῖς δημίοις 'what altars - public ones, that is?' A man charged with homicide could not in practice be prevented from offering sacrifice in his own home (if he was prepared to take the risk of divine displeasure), but he could be and was forbidden to approach any public altar or sanctuary.

656 'What lustral water of a phratry will admit him?', i.e. 'What phratry will admit him to share its lustral water?'

χέρνιψ: the holy water which at sacrifices was sprinkled over the participants, the victim and the altar (cf. *Ar. Pax* 956-72, *Lys.* 1129-30, Denniston on *Eur. El.* 791ff.).

φρατέρων: members of a φρατρία, a group of families forming a religious guild within the citizen-body of a πόλις. In Homer, the man who belonged to no phratry was a social outcast (*Il.* 9.63); in classical Athens, his lack of phratry membership might be used to cast doubt on his legitimacy or his citizen status (cf. *Ar. Av.* 764-5, 1669, *Ra.* 418, *Is.* 3.75-6, 6.21-2). In effect the Erinyes are predicting that Orestes will be ἄτιμος and ἄφιλος (*Ch.* 295).

657-66 Apollo silences the Erinyes by arguing that the mother is, genetically speaking, not a parent at all to 'her' child and therefore (he tacitly implies) not ὄμαιμος to it; in support of this he cites the birth of Athena as evidence that 'a father can beget without a mother' (663). Thus he defeats the Erinyes on the same ground on which they defeated Orestes (605-8).

The theory of reproduction propounded by Apollo is very similar to that which Aristotle (*GA* 763b31-3) ascribes to 'Anaxagoras and other φυσιολόγοι' to the effect that 'the seed originates from the male, while the female provides the place (sc. in which it can develop)'; variants of this doctrine were maintained in the next generation by Hippon (38 A 13 D-K) and Diogenes of Apollonia (64 A 27 D-K). Aesch. may well have derived the theory from Anaxagoras himself (so too with his explanation of the Nile floods (*Supp.* 559, cf. *Anaxag.* 59 A 91 D-K)); the chronology of Anaxagoras' life is controversial (see Kirk-Raven-Schofield 352-5), but he was active by 467 (cf. 59 A 1 and 11 D-K) and there is fifth-century evidence that he knew Themistocles (*Stesimbrotus* ap. *Plu. Them.* 2.5), so it is arbitrary to deny that his teachings

could have been known to educated Athenians of the late 460s and early 450s.

Apollo's argument should neither be dismissed as absurd, on the basis of biological knowledge not available to Aesch., nor regarded as *the* Greek view on this subject merely because it holds a prominent place in a great Greek literary work. It is put forward, in a defence advocate's speech, in an attempt to show that the killing of Clytaemestra was not so heinous as the Erinyes have maintained; and it is successful, at least in the sense that the Erinyes can find no answer to it. It does not necessarily follow that the author intended or expected his audience to find the argument convincing; and there are several reasons for doubting whether they would have done so.

(1) Apollo does violence to the normal usage of the noun *τοκεύς*, which is most often used in the plural to refer to both parents together; and in denying that the mother *τίκτει*, he goes against the linguistic usage not only of everyday life but of the *Oresteia* itself, in which, till now, this verb has been used eight times of the mother (*Ch.* 133, 419, 527, 913, 928; *Eu.* 321, 463, 514) and only once or twice of the father (*Ch.* 690 and perhaps *Ch.* 329). On *τίκτειν* and related words in the trilogy see Lebeck 124–30.

(2) Although Athenian society was basically patriarchal and patrilineal, it nevertheless in important respects treated the bond between mother and child as closer than that between father and child: (a) adoption severed legal ties between the adoptee and his natural father but never severed his ties with his natural mother (*Is.* 7.25); (b) a half-brother and half-sister could marry if they were children of the same father, but not if they were children of the same mother; (c) if it was an atrocious act to strike one's father, it was even more so to strike one's mother (cf. *Ar. Nu.* 1443–4 with Dover's note). Apollo's own descent was described in 1–8 in wholly matrilineal terms (cf. Lebeck 207 n. 8).

(3) The claim that Athena was begotten *ἄνεν μητρός* is of dubious validity. According to Hes. *Thg.* 886–900 she was conceived in the normal way, and only later did Zeus swallow the pregnant Metis and bring forth Athena himself. Other accounts, to be sure, ignore Metis (see 736n.).

(4) In any case, if the births of Athena, Aphrodite (*Hes. Thg.* 188–200) and Erichthonius (see 737n.) were 'motherless', myth also speaks of several fatherless births: Earth gave birth partheno-

genetically to Heaven (Uranus), the Mountains and the Sea (Hes. *Thg.* 126–32), Night to many deities (ib. 211–25) including the Κῆρες whom Aesch. seems to identify with his Erinyes (Intr. §2), and Hera to Hephaestus (ib. 927–9) or Typhoeus (*h. Ap.* 332–52).

(5) Even if Apollo's argument were entirely flawless, it would not rebut the case the Erinyes have made. They never based their claim that mother and child were ὁμαῖοι upon genetic parenthood, but upon the theory that the mother nurtures the embryo with her blood (607–8n.); and so far is Apollo from refuting this theory that he implicitly accepts it by calling the mother τροφὸς ... κύματος νεοσπόρου (659).

(6) It is unlikely that the Athenian public in general would accept, as decisive evidence in a case of murder, what they would recognize (even if they did not associate it with Anaxagoras in particular) as the speculative theory of an advanced philosopher: popular prejudice against natural philosophy was powerful and long-lasting – witness e.g. the decree of the 430s directed against Anaxagoras himself (Plu. *Per.* 32), the hostility to the supposed μετεωροσοφιστής Socrates, and the ridicule of Platonic biological studies in fourth-century comedy (cf. Epicr. fr. 10 K–A) – nor is there any known case of an actual forensic argument being based on a scientific theory. This particular theory, too, was a minority view even among natural philosophers, most of whom held that both male and female contributed 'seed' essential to the process of generation (see G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, folklore and ideology* (1983) 86–111); and from the ordinary person's point of view, it was in conflict with the observable fact that physical and mental characteristics may be inherited from either parent or both, as Hermione inherited her beauty from Helen (*Od.* 4.14, cf. Hes. fr. 196.5 M–W, Sappho fr. 23.4–5 L–P) and Parthenopaeus his from Atalanta (*Th.* 532–3); cf. too *Ag.* 727–8 ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων, 771 εἰδομένας τοκεῦσιν, *Ch.* 421–2 ἄσαντος ἐκ μητρός ἐστί θυμός with Lebeck 202 n. 26.

The audience thus probably saw Apollo's argument as a clever and specious but fallacious piece of forensic pleading; and so apparently do half the all-male jury. Not so easily can motherhood be argued out of existence (cf. Winnington-Ingram 122–4; M. R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek myth* (1986) 122–3).

657 μάθ': addressed to the chorus-leader (cf. 590, 604, 644), not to

the jury (cf. 619-20n. (μαθεῖν)); so too 662 σοί. The chorus-leader has likewise been addressing Apollo directly (cf. 622, 640-2, 652).

658-9 μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένη: the language is that of a philosopher 'correcting' popular beliefs and linguistic usages: cf. Plato *Phd.* 73b ἡ καλουμένη μάθησις ἀνάμνησις ἔστιν, Democr. fr. 251 D-K.

κύματος 'embryo' (from κύω), which on the theory here presented develops directly out of the implanted male seed (cf. νεοσπόρου).

660-1 τίκτει 'is the (true) parent'.

θρώσκων: θρώσκω in its sexual sense, and its synonym θόρνυμαι, are at home in satyr-play (Aesch. fr. 15; *trag. adesp.* 619.9) and in zoology (Hdt. 3.109.1 (snakes)); so the use of θρώσκων here strikes a remarkably bestial note, especially since φύσας (cf. Ar. *V.* 1472, Lys. 10.8) or κύσας (cf. Aesch. fr. 44.4) might have been used. We are a long way here from the divinely ordained marriage-bond of which Apollo spoke so impressively in 213-23.

ἄπερ ξένωι ξένη: the embryo is, as it were, left with the mother by the father to be kept safe for him, as a man may leave his property in another's keeping to be reclaimed on demand (cf. Hdt. 6.86, Plato *Rep.* 331c-332b). Here again Apollo downgrades the marriage-bond, treating it as a mere business relationship between 'strangers'. The woman, in his view, loses all rights over 'her' child the moment it is reclaimed by the owner/father. While ξένωι ξένη thus makes good sense, it is tempting to make the sentence more relevant to the main thrust of Apollo's argument by reading ξένον ξένη (J. Pearson), making him deny any intimate bond between mother and *child*; this would also make plainer the ironic allusion to the fact that ξένοι as well as τοκῆς have divinely-guaranteed rights (269-72n., 546-7) which Orestes violated (202n.).

ἔσωσεν: 'gnomic' aorist (318-20n.).

οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός 'for those (fathers) in whose case' (dat. of disadvantage) 'god does not prevent it' (cf. *Ag.* 120, *Soph. Aj.* 455-6). Not only is the mother not the genetic parent of the child she bears; she is not even to be honoured with the credit for bringing it safely to birth. That credit belongs to 'god' (cf. 529-30n.), who preserves or destroys the foetus according as he is favourably or unfavourably disposed to the *father*.

663 μὲν conveys a mild *suggestio falsi*, since it seems to look forward to a forthcoming antithetical statement (e.g. μήτηρ δ' οὐκ ἂν τέκοι ἄνευ

πατρός) which Apollo will not be making and which, mythologically speaking, would not be true (cf. 657-66n. (4)).

665 'Who (so far from having a female parent in the genetic sense) was not even nurtured in the darkness of a womb'. On the validity of this assertion about Athena cf. 657-66n. (3), 736n.

σκότοισι νηδύος: cf. *Th.* 664 φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον. Athena has as little to do with darkness as the Erinyes have with light: cf. (for her) 397-489n. and (for them) 71-2, 175-8n., 386.

666 θεά: θεός (MSS) would hopelessly obscure the crucial point for Apollo's argument. The corruption was due to the influence of θεός 661 and Διός 664.

Apollo now turns to address Athena.

667-73 'Quite *generally* (τᾶλλα) I promise to do all I can to help Athens, and in this *particular* case I have sent you Orestes in order that there may be an eternal alliance between his city and yours' (cf. 289-91n.). The first promise is unconditional; the second can only become effective if Orestes is acquitted.

667 τᾶλλα 'in other respects', modifying μέγαν.

ὡς ἐπίσταμαι 'to the best of my ability' (cf. 581).

668 μέγαν: the first of many prophecies of Athens' future greatness; cf. 853-4, 869, 903-15, 917-20, 996, 1007-9.

669 ἐφέστιον: cf. 576-9n.

670 ἐς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου 'for the whole of time' (cf. 291, 763); for the construction cf. *Hdt.* 8.100.5 τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ πολλόν, *Plato Lg.* 718a τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου. Apollo means that even after death Orestes will continue to be a friend and benefactor of Athens in his posthumous capacity as a ἥρωας (cf. 767-74).

672 τοὺς ἔπειτα 'his posterity'.

αἰανῶς 'everlastingly': cf. 416n.

673 'That these men's descendants will be content with their sworn covenant', i.e. that the Athenians (see below) will never have cause to regret having made the alliance.

τὰ πιστά 'their sworn covenant', cf. *Ag.* 650-1 ξυνώμοσαν ... καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην, *X. Cyr.* 7.4.3 πιστὰ δ' ἡξίου γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Κᾶρας ὁμόσαι ... αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμόσαι ... The oath of alliance is sworn by Orestes at 762-6 (cf. 768).

τῶνδε depends on τοὺς ἐπισπόρους, which needs a gen. (to show whose descendants are meant) while τὰ πιστά does not; it refers not to

the Argives (only one of whom is present) but to the Areopagites as representing the Athenians (cf. 681 Ἀττικὸς λαὸς).

674-710 *The charter of the Areopagus*

Athena asks both parties whether she may now call on the jurors to vote, and both say she may. Instead of immediately doing so, however, she first delivers the speech which she had been about to begin when Apollo entered at 574 (cf. 570-3, 574nn.) containing the θεσμοί of the new Areopagus court, a speech addressed not only to the jurors trying Orestes but to the Athenians of the future (707-8), i.e. the audience (566n.).

This speech is not a 'judge's summing-up': the Athenian courts knew no such practice. Normally the jury voted, by ballot and without discussion, immediately after hearing the speeches. But on this occasion, the establishment of a new court and of a new kind of justice, it is proper that the founder and president of the court should explain the principles on which she desires that its operations should be based.

Athena begins by announcing that this, the first judicial tribunal to try a case of murder, will become a permanent institution of the Athenian state (681-4); explains the name and history of the place in which it is to sit (685-90); describes the benefits which it will confer on the city so long as the people allow it to do so (690-703); formally proclaims its establishment (704-6); and finally, returning from the Athenians of the future to the jurors trying Orestes, bids them rise and cast their votes.

It will be observed that Athena says nothing about the issues in dispute in the trial itself, except that by reaffirming the sanctity of the jurors' oath (710) she implicitly rejects Apollo's assertion (621) that the authority of Zeus must override it. Like every Athenian jury, the Areopagites must decide the issues on their own, individual by individual, guided only by their intelligence and their sense of justice (674-5).

674-5 The MS text has to be interpreted as a deliberative question ('shall I order ...?'), addressed to the prosecution and defence (or perhaps to Apollo alone); if it were declarative ('I now order ...') the jurors would have begun voting at once. An alternative would be to adopt Robortello's κελεύσω ('I shall now order ...'); but the courteous diffidence of 678 suggests that here too a question is more appropriate than a firm statement of intent.

ἀπὸ γνώμης ... δικάϊας: δικάϊαν MSS, but (1) there is an allusion to the dicastic oath to judge γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ (cf. 483n.); (2) ἀπὸ γνώμης by itself could mean 'unwisely' (Soph. *Tr.* 389).

ὥς ἅλις λελεγμένων 'on the ground that there has been sufficient argument'; for this impersonal passive gen. absolute in the plural cf. Soph. *El.* 1344 τελουμένων 'when things are (being?) completed', X. *Cyr.* 5.3.50 οὕτω προσταττομένων 'when orders are given in this way', *Vect.* 6.3 (K-G II 81).

676-80 Karsten gave 676-7 to the chorus-leader, 679-80 to Apollo; the arrangement adopted here is due to Winnington-Ingram 219-21 (= *C.R.* 49 (1935) 7-8), whose arguments may be summarized thus: (1) it is natural for Apollo, as the last speaker, to confirm first that he has finished; (2) the change from plural ἡμῖν to singular μένω is easier in his mouth, since ἡμῖν can mean 'Orestes and me'; (3) πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος is a highly appropriate metaphor for the god who threatened the Erinyes with real arrows in 181-4; (4) it should not be Apollo who reminds the jurors to honour their oath (680), because he has told them they should honour the authority of Zeus more (621); (5) ἄμοφος (678) is a word that Athena has used before (413) in connection with relations between her and the Erinyes.

677 μένω: Apollo has properly no further role to play in the trial, but he stays to hear whether he has fulfilled his promise to Orestes ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων (83) - and also to give his protégé some further aid by trying to overawe the jury with his presence as the representative of Zeus (cf. 713-14, 717).

678 γάρ: cf. 211n.

πρὸς ὑμῶν depends on ἄμοφος.

πῶς τιθεῖς' ἄμοφος ᾧ = πῶς τιθῶ ὥστε ἄμοφος εἶναι 'how shall I arrange things' (cf. *Od.* 15.180 οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεῖη) 'so as to be free from blame?'

679-80 The chorus-leader replies not to Athena but to the jury; or is she by implication including Athena among the jury (cf. 629n.)?

ἐν ... καρδίαι: to be taken with ὅρκον αἰδεῖσθε.

681 Ἀττικὸς λεώς: nom. used for voc.; this is regular with λεώς when qualified by an adjective because λεώς is of the 'Attic declension' and lacks a distinct voc. form: cf. 775, 997, Soph. *Aj.* 565, Eur. *HF* 1389.

682 πρώτας: this, then, is the first murder trial ever held (certainly

in Athens, probably in the world). Here Aesch. seems to make a radical departure from established tradition; cf. Intr. §1.

δίκας κρίνοντες 'judging between pleas' (cf. 471-2n.).

αἵματος χυτοῦ 'in a case of bloodshed', the gen. of the charge or cause of action, ubiquitous in the language of Athenian legal proceedings.

683-4 'And in the future as well the people of Aegeus will always have this council of judges.'

Αἰγέως στρατῶν: cf. 402n. Aegeus was father of Theseus and the eponym of one of the ten Cleisthenic tribes.

δικαστῶν τοῦτο βουλευτήριον: for the word-order cf. 704. The phrase well defines the post-Ephialtic Areopagus: in name a deliberative body, in fact a judicial one.

685-90 Traditionally the Areopagus derived its name from the trial of Ares (see Intr. §1); Aesch. must invent another explanation. For this he makes use of the well-known Athenian legend of the Amazon war of Theseus, on which see J. Boardman in D. C. Kurtz and B. A. Sparkes eds. *The eye of Greece* (1982) 1-28. As current in 458 the legend may have run approximately as follows: Theseus joined Heracles on an expedition to the Amazons' homeland (Themiscyra, on the south shore of the Black Sea) with the object of capturing the 'girdle of Ares' the winning of which was one of Heracles' labours. The expedition was successful, and as a prize of valour Theseus was awarded an Amazon princess (usually named as Antiope or Hippolyte) whom he took home to Athens. In an attempt to rescue her, the Amazons invaded Attica and besieged Athens (i.e. the Acropolis), but were defeated in a great battle by Theseus and the Athenians.

Aesch.'s aetiology is based on two pieces of 'data': that the Amazons camped on the hill later called the Areopagus (687-8) and that they sacrificed to Ares there (689). The idea of the Areopagus as the Amazons' camp-site was probably taken over by Aesch. rather than originated by him. The Areopagus was the obvious base from which to attack the Acropolis, and had in fact been so used by the Persians in 480 (Hdt. 8.52.1). By the fourth century, too, there existed a sanctuary called the Amazoneion on the alleged site of the Amazon camp (Diod. 4.28.2-3), and the topographical description of the Amazons' and Athenians' battle-lines by the Attidographer Cleidemus (*FGrH* 323 F 18) proves that this sanctuary was on the Areopagus. If Aesch. was the

original source for the tradition of an Areopagus camp-site, it is surprising that his aetiology for the place-name had so little influence on later writers; more likely he took the idea from some slightly earlier poem, perhaps one by Pindar (cf. *Pi. fr.* 173-6).

The sacrifice to Ares by the Amazons on the Areopagus is neither mentioned nor implied by any other author, and was probably invented by Aesch. to provide the link he needed between the Amazons and the *name* of the Areopagus. Such a sacrifice is, however, appropriate for the Amazons; for according to the Attic tradition, Ares was their father (*Lys.* 2.4; *Isoc.* 4.68), as in the cyclic *Aethiopis* (*fr.* 1) he had been the father of Penthesileia.

But it is not only to provide an aetiology that the Amazon war is mentioned here; there are deeper links with the action of the play itself. The place where Orestes is being tried for killing the woman who killed her husband and ruler is the same place where the man-shunning, man-killing Amazons tried to establish a πόλις of their own (687-8): an attempt doomed to failure, partly because the nomadic society of the Amazons (cf. *Hdt.* 4.110-16) is the very antithesis of πόλις life, partly because no true πόλις can be ruled by women (cf. *Ch.* 302-4). That failure foreshadows the failure of the Erinyes (cf. *F. I. Zeitlin, Arethusa* 11 (1978) 155). And yet there is a difference between the two contests. The Amazons had nothing to contribute to 'normal' πόλις society, and they were destroyed to the last woman (*Isoc.* 4.70). The Erinyes, as much in the choral ode 490-565 has suggested, have a great deal that they can contribute if they will; and therefore Athena and her people, far from destroying them or even driving them away, will beg them to remain in Athens and become, as μέτοικοι (cf. 1010-11n.), part of its community.

685-6 †*Ἀρειον*† is evidently a gloss which has ousted the main verb of the sentence. The least unsatisfactory conjecture is ἐδοῦνται or ἐδεῖται 'they/it will sit on' (for the transitive construction cf. 3-4, *Ag.* 982-3), though this future of ἵζομαι/ἔζομαι is very poorly attested (only *Eur. IA* 782 where ἐδεῖται is a conjecture, though a probable one (ἐσεῖται, impossibly, L)).

ἔδραν σκηνάς θ' 'abode and camping-place'.

Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον: this vague expression tends to suggest that the Amazons' motive for invading Attica was not an honourable desire for revenge, or for the rescue of a captive compatriot (685-90n.), but base

jealousy of the glory of Theseus. There certainly existed a tradition according to which the Amazon invasion was an unprovoked act of aggression (cf. *Lys.* 2.4-6).

687 στρατηλατοῦσαι: the military στρατός of the Amazons recalls the even more savage στρατός of the maenads who tore Pentheus apart (25-6) and is contrasted with the civic στρατός = λεώς of the Athenians (683, cf. 566n.).

πόλει 'over against the Acropolis' (commonly called πόλις by the Athenians: cf. *Thuc.* 2.15.6, *Ar. Lys.* 245, *IG* 1³ 4.B1, 6.C36, 17.12-13, etc.). Not πόλιν (MSS), which would leave the ἀντ- of ἀντεπύργωσαν without an object.

νεόπολιν: a noun (= νέαν πόλιν): cf. *Pi. Paean* 2.28 (Abdera speaks) νεόπολις εἰμι.

688 ὑψίπυργον 'with high walls' (πύργος in *Aesch.* normally means 'wall' rather than 'tower': cf. *Ag.* 128, 827, *Th.* 763): the Amazons fortified their camp with πύργους ὑψηλοῦς like the Greeks before Troy (*Il.* 7.338).

690-2 Athena now begins to echo the admonitions of the chorus (517-25) about the importance of Fear in ensuring that Justice is maintained. But whom precisely is she admonishing? At first sight the obvious interpretation of her words (taking ἀστῶν as subjective gen., and understanding ἀστούς as subject of τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν) is that *the citizens* will be restrained from wrongdoing by their respect for and fear of *the Areopagus court* (cf. 700). But it is equally possible to take ἀστῶν as *objective* gen. (cf. 545 τοκέων σέβας, *Supp.* 707) and understand 'the Areopagites' as subject of the infinitive; in which case the meaning will be that *the Areopagites* will be restrained from wrongdoing by their respect for and fear of *the people* – a democrat's warning to the council not to act beyond its competence (as it was alleged to have done before 462, cf. *Intr.* §3) and not to pervert justice in its role as a homicide court; and this interpretation perhaps better suits ἐν δὲ τῷι, which is most naturally understood as meaning that Respect and Fear prevent the commission of crime *on the Areopagus itself* rather than that respect and fear '⟨of those who sit⟩ on the Areopagus' prevent crime being committed elsewhere in the city. Despite the strict rules governing the admission and conduct of members of the Areopagus council (cf. 475n.), the days were not yet come when their rectitude could be taken for granted: the curtailment of the council's powers in 462/1 had been

preceded by a series of prosecutions and trials of its members (Arist. *Ath.* 25.2). The poet who could make Apollo fear the wrath of the suppliant (233-4) and Zeus stand in awe of the Athenians (1002; cf. Intr. §5) was certainly capable of warning the Areopagus to have a healthy respect for the sovereign people. He does so, however, only by means of an ambiguity which is surely deliberate, depending as it does on three separate elements of the sentence – the vagueness of ἐν δὲ τῷ, the two possible interpretations of the gen. ἄστῶν, and the failure to specify the subject of τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν (or, equivalently, the object of σχήσει). Thus the ‘radical’ and the ‘reactionary’ can both interpret Athena’s words in a manner they will find congenial. This should be borne in mind when considering the more difficult problem presented by 693-5.

σέβας ... φόβος: in *Ch.* 45-9 these were viewed as opposed to one another; but in a well-ordered society the ruling power must inspire both.

ἐγγενής ‘inborn’ (cf. *Ag.* 832, *Pi. O.* 13.13). Through the generations the Athenians will become so accustomed to respect and fear the Areopagus (and/or vice versa: see above) that what was at first an acquired characteristic will become innate and hereditary, just as in common Greek belief acquired physical characteristics could be inherited (cf. Arist. *GA* 721b29-34, 724a3-6).

τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν: see 220n.; on the synizesis cf. 85.

σχήσει ‘will hold them back, will restrain them’.

τὸ τ’ ἡμᾶρ καὶ κατ’ εὐφρόνην: the preposition is constructed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (cf. 9n.) with both nouns: cf. *Ag.* 656 χειμῶνι τυφῶ σὺν ζάλῃ τ’ ὀμβροκτύπῳ, *Soph. El.* 780 οὔτε νυκτὸς ... οὔτ’ ἔξ ἡμέρας.

693-5 is the most controversial passage in *Eumenides*; there is a judicious discussion of it in Conacher 199-204. Athena is clearly saying something of considerable importance: she reinforces the warning of 693 with a proverbial maxim that is further emphasized by asyndeton (cf. 517n.) and by the arresting earthiness of her language (βόρβορος, common in iambus and comedy, occurs only here in tragedy). The citizens of Athens (presumably ἐξ τὸ λοιπὸν) are being warned not to make damaging alterations to their νόμοι. But what νόμοι are meant, and what kinds of alterations are being deprecated?

(1) The simplest interpretation (Thomson, Lloyd-Jones) is to take νόμους as referring to the laws of Athens generally: it was a recognized

mark of a well-ordered society that it did not lightly alter its laws (cf. Thuc. 3.37.3, Dem. 24.139-43). The duty of 'protecting the laws' (νομοφυλακεῖν) against deleterious changes, which till 462/1 had belonged to the Areopagus council (see Intr. §3), now lay almost wholly with 'the citizens themselves' in assembly, and here they are being warned to exercise it with due prudence.

(2) A variant of this view (Macleod 128) would take νόμους to refer specifically to the laws on homicide. It was forbidden under severe penalties to propose any change to these laws (Dem. 23.62), and it could be asserted that they had never been altered since they were first made (Ant. 5.14).

(3) Most interpreters, however, have held that in a speech about the Areopagus court, in a sentence whose opening phrase (ἐν δὲ τῷ 690) means 'on the Areopagus', νόμους is most naturally taken to refer to laws concerned with the Areopagus council itself. But *what* changes in those laws is Athena condemning?

(a) The oldest view (e.g. Müller 115-21) is that the condemnation is of the reforms of Ephialtes: that the νόμοι referred to are those which were altered in 462/1. In favour of this view it may be noted that in 684 and 704 the Areopagus is called a βουλευτήριον, i.e. a deliberative rather than a purely judicial body; while the praise so lavishly bestowed on it might well seem excessive as applied to a body whose sole significant function was the trial of (some) cases of homicide. Indeed those who opposed Ephialtes in 462/1 probably used very similar language, as Isocrates did when in his *Areopagiticus* (c. 355) he argued for the restoration to the ancient council of its former powers (e.g. Isoc. 7.41-2, 46-7, 51, 82).

(b) But it is known (Arist. *Ath.* 25.2) that Ephialtes and his supporters claimed that the Areopagus' 'political' powers were accretions (ἐπίθετα, cf. perhaps ἐπιπροαῖσι here); they saw themselves not as innovating but as restoring the constitution to its original state, as evidenced by the myths associating the Areopagus with murder trials (see Intr. §1). It is to try a case of murder that Athena has instituted the council in *Eu.*, and she has called it a council of δικάσται (684, cf. 743). Her praise of the council is not necessarily excessive for a murder court: the most basic duty of a state is to protect the lives of its citizens, and if it fails in this duty there will be either despotism (in which the ruling individual or clique can kill with impunity) or anarchy (in which

anyone can kill with impunity). There is no reason to doubt that the reformers wished the Areopagus to remain respected and feared, so long as it confined itself to what they regarded as its proper role; and indeed thenceforth its reputation rose until it was regarded as the wisest, most impartial and most august body of persons in the Athenian state ([Lys.] 6.14; X. *Mem.* 3.5.20; Dem. 23.66; Aeschines 1.92; Lycurgus *Leocr.* 12, 52; and see 475n.). Hence Dover 232-6 argues that Athena is condemning, not the Ephialtic reforms, but the state of affairs that existed before them.

(c) It has also been suggested that Athena's words may refer to some further reform which in 458 was thought to be imminent and which Aesch. considered undesirable – perhaps the opening up of the archonship, and hence of membership of the Areopagus, to the third census class (the *zeugitai*), which was enacted during 458/7 (so E. R. Dodds, *C.Q.* 3 (1953) 19-20, cf. Conacher 203); or some further reduction in the powers of the Areopagus (cf. L. A. Jones, *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987) 53-76).

Each of these interpretations has something to be said for it, and something against. May it not be that once again (cf. 690-2n.) the poet has deliberately left his precise meaning obscure (cf. E. R. Dodds, *P.C.P.S.* 6 (1960) 21 = *The ancient concept of progress* (1973) 47-8), thus enabling both reformers and anti-reformers to feel that he is somehow on their side (cf. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893) II 341)? *Eu.* in general is not a partisan play in matters of internal Athenian politics; rather it emphasizes, especially towards the end, national unity and the avoidance of civil strife (see Intr. §6). Everybody could agree that crime must be repressed, the country defended, and anarchy and despotism avoided, and likewise that the Areopagus council must be vigilant, upright and incorruptible. These things Athena says with the utmost clarity. All else is ambiguous, and each spectator will understand it in the light of his own preconceptions.

693 *πικαινούντων* 'making innovative additions to' is the simplest correction of the meaningless *πικαινόντων* (MSS). It is true that a verb *ἐπικαινοῦν* is nowhere attested; but Thucydides (1.71.3) uses *καινοῦν* when speaking of changes in νόμιμα, and *ἐπικαινουργεῖν* is found in Democritus (fr. 191 D-K).

694 *κακαῖς ἐπιπροαῖσι βορβόρωι θ'*: a hendiadys (cf. 492), 'with foul infusions of mud'. The hendiadys could be avoided by punctuating

after instead of before *κακαῖς ἐπιπροαῖσι* (and changing *θ'* to *δ'*); but *ἐπιπροαῖσι* belongs with the metaphor of the fountain, not with the preceding sentence which is otherwise quite devoid of figurative language.

ῥδωρ 'fountain, spring': cf. *Od.* 13.109, *Pi. P.* 5.31, *Eur. Hipp.* 209, *Supp.* 619, *Hdt.* 8.22.1.

696-9 repeats almost precisely the ideas of 517-28: Athena's vision of a stable, just society is the same as the Erinyes', and this agreement on goals foreshadows their subsequent partnership.

696 'That which is neither anarchic nor despotic' means a political system which strikes the mean (cf. 529-30n.) between these extremes.

697 *περιστέλλουσι ... σέβειν* 'to maintain' (cf. *Dem.* 24.139) 'and practise reverently' (cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1612).

700 *τοιόνδε ... σέβας*: an object of reverence (cf. 92n., *Ag.* 515, *Ch.* 157) such as this council should be.

ταρβοῦντες: the participle is conditional.

Note how the three key notions of *δίκη*, *σέβας* and *τάρβος* = *φόβος* are here brought into immediate juxtaposition and close grammatical relation. All three are essential conditions if the *σωτηρία* offered in 701-3 is to be achieved.

701 *τε* links *ἔρυμα χώρας* with *ἔρυμα* πόλεως: cf. 951 *παρά τ' ἀθανάτοισι τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν*, *Eur. Ph.* 96, *Hdt.* 1.22.1, *X. Mem.* 3.5.3 *προτρέπονται τε ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ* (sc. *προτρέπονται*) *ἄλκιμοι γενέσθαι* (Denniston 518-19).

σωτήριον qualifies *ἔρυμα*: but it is hardly a coincidence that phrases resembling *πόλεως σωτήριον* were often applied to the Areopagus council (*Lys.* 12.69; *Lycurgus Leocr.* 52; *Din.* 1.9).

703 Both the Scythians (*Aesch. fr.* 198, cf. *Σ Il.* 13.6) and the Spartans (*Hdt.* 1.65-6; *Thuc.* 1.18.1; *X. Lac.* passim) were famous for their *εὐνομία*; but the institution of the Areopagus will make it possible for the Athenians to excel them.

Σκύθησιν: the older Attic form of the 1st decl. dat. pl., found also in most MSS at *Th.* 460 and *Pr.* 727, and as a variant in several other passages (contrast 464, 694 where all MSS have -αῖσι). One cannot, however, be wholly confident that *Aesch.* used this ending: *δου-λ(ε)ῖησι*, offered by several MSS at *Th.* 75, is wrong for Attic, and the other transmitted examples too *might* be due to scribes familiar with Homeric -ησι. See Barrett on *Eur. Hipp.* 101.

Πέλοπος ἐν τόποις: i.e. ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, cf. Soph. *OC* 696–7, Eur. *Supp.* 263, Tyr. fr. 2.15 West, Bacch. 1.13–14. This is one of the earliest examples of the usage, common in the later fifth century, whereby ‘the Peloponnese’ and ‘the Peloponnesians’ are used to mean ‘Sparta (and her allies)’; this usage was apparently already so familiar as to lure Aesch. into forgetting that Argos, the foe of Sparta and ‘eternal ally’ of Athens, was also in the Peloponnese, and that Orestes was a descendant of Pelops (cf. *Ch.* 503).

704 κερδῶν: i.e. corruption.

705–6 αἰδοῖον can mean ‘reverend’ (cf. *Ag.* 600) or ‘reverent, dutiful’ (cf. *Supp.* 491, *Od.* 19.243): here both meanings have some support from the context (for the first, 700 ταραβοῦντες ... σέβας; for the second, 710 αἰδουμένους τον ὄρκον) and we may have here another deliberate ambiguity (cf. 690–2, 693–5nn.).

εὐδόντων ὑπερ ἔγρηγορός φρούρημα: much has been heard (and indeed seen: cf. 64–93n.) of sleep in the trilogy, but until now the blessings of sleep have always been flawed in one way or another. The watchmen on the palace roof (*Ag.* 12–19) and on the Euboean mountain-top (*Ag.* 290) could not sleep at all. Clytaemestra is twice, perhaps thrice, abruptly wakened (*Ag.* 27; *Ch.* 32ff., 881ff. (see Garvie on 881–2)), and she and others often find their sleep broken by disturbing thoughts and dreams (*Ag.* 179–80, 420–6, 889–94; *Ch.* 523–33; *Eu.* 94–161). We hear of soldiers sleeping in damp bivouacs (*Ag.* 559–62) or amid the chaos of a captured city (*Ag.* 334–7). When someone does fall peacefully asleep, someone else promptly takes advantage of his helplessness: Nisus is murdered (*Ch.* 612–22), Clytaemestra wakes to find Aegisthus dead (*Ch.* 885ff) and the Erinyes to find that Orestes has escaped (*Eu.* 140ff.). The only sleep that offers true peace and security is the sleep of death (*Ag.* 1451). Now at last the citizen will be able to sleep securely in his bed, knowing that the Areopagus is watching over his safety. Thus a theme that has run through the trilogy from its beginning, and been developed in many ways, has found its proper resolution.

707 ἐξέτειν: (ἐκ)τείνειν often marks ‘a period to an excursus within a rhesis, or to a whole rhesis, taken as an excursus from the plot tendency of the drama’ (A. N. Michelini, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 532); cf. *Ag.* 829, 916, Soph. *Aj.* 1040, Eur. *Med.* 1351.

708 ὀρθοῦσθαι δὲ χρή sc. τοὺς δικαστάς: this will have been made

clear in performance by Athena turning towards the jurors, having previously been speaking straight at the audience.

709 αἶρειν ‘take (to the urns)’: αἶρειν sometimes differs little in meaning from φέρειν, cf. *Il.* 6.258 ~ 264, *Eur. El.* 800, *Ar. Pax* 1 ~ 15, *Pherecr.* fr. 137.

διαγνῶναι: apparently the *vox propria* for the function of the ‘jurors’ (Areopagites or Ephetae) in homicide trials: cf. *IG* 1³ 104.11–13 (Laws of Dracon) [δ]ικάζεν δὲ τὸς βασιλέας ... τὸς δὲ ἐφέτας διαγν[δ]ν[α]ι.

710 αἰδουμένους τὸν ὄρκον: cf. 483–4, 680, and contrast 620–1.

εἴρηται λόγος: the same phrase in *Eur. Ph.* 1012, *Or.* 1203.

711–53 *The voting and the declaration of the result*

One by one, the jurors go to the urns and cast their ballots, to the metronome-like accompaniment of an altercation in couplets between Apollo and the chorus-leader. In this argument Apollo appears in a somewhat better light, and the Erinyes in a worse, than during the body of the trial. The chorus-leader, whose words contain several echoes of the Erinyes’ angry song at Delphi (143–78: cf. 716, 723–4, 727–8, 731nn.), for the first time in the trial makes threats against Athens (711f., 719f., 732f.), and wildly accuses Apollo of ‘making mortals immortal’ (724) when all he had done was to save *one* mortal from *premature* death. Apollo, on the other hand, maintains both reason and dignity much better than before, and the Erinyes can find no answer to his argument from the rights of a suppliant (717f., 725f.), which has not been heard previously during the trial.

This highly formalized scene, in which the Areopagus Council come to their decision, mirrors an earlier deliberation-scene in the trilogy, *Ag.* 1346–71, where the Argive elders debate what action, if any, to take after hearing cries which seem to verify Cassandra’s warning that Agamemnon would be murdered. That debate too is couched in a series of couplets, and every individual gives his opinion. But the differences are great. In *Ag.* no clear issue is put before the elders for decision; they are merely asked to consider ἤν πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλευμάτων ᾗ. Consequently the debate is chaotic: four different views are put forward (1348f., 1350f., 1358f., 1366f.), three of which win some support from following speakers. And although the elders all speak, they do not vote, and apparently do not regard themselves as committed to the opinions they have expressed; for while in the debate itself seven

out of twelve speakers favour decisive action to crush what they suppose to be a *coup d'état* aimed at establishing a tyranny (1348–57, 1362–5), yet the decision that emerges at the end is merely to find out whether or not Agamemnon is really dead (1371). And finally, the elders are unable to put even this decision into effect: they are forestalled by the appearance of Clytaemestra, displaying and exulting over her bloody handiwork. See further T. Gantz, *H.S.C.P.* 87 (1983) 65–86.

Here, on the other hand, the question at issue is perfectly clear: did Orestes, or did he not, kill his mother δικάως? Only two answers are possible, and every juror must decide for one or the other. The debate is conducted in strict alternation. But the jurors themselves do not speak: they only vote, and once each juror has cast his ballot it is too late for a change of mind, whatever Apollo or the chorus-leader may say thereafter. And while this debate, like the earlier one, ends with the intervention of the masculine female (cf. 292–6n.) who has dominated the play, Athena, unlike Clytaemestra, intervenes ‘not to destroy but to fulfil’: whereas Clytaemestra had made a decision ineffective, Athena ordains that apparent indecision (an equal division of votes) shall count as an effective decision (acquittal).

This intervention, while not entirely unprepared for (cf. 580–1, 629n., 679–80n.), is nevertheless a surprise: till now Athena has performed the function purely of a ‘presiding magistrate’, and we would expect that when the human jurors had finished voting she would at once order their votes to be counted. Instead she goes herself to the voting-urns, carrying a ballot-token (ψηφον ... τήνδ’ 735) like the (other) jurors, and announces that she will cast it for Orestes (on her reasons for doing so, see 736–40n.) and that an equality of votes will be tantamount to an acquittal. Only then does she order the urns to be emptied and the votes counted, a moment of high tension marked by brief, nervous comments from those whom the result will affect. The votes prove to be equal, and Athena announces Orestes’ acquittal.

The number of jurors who vote, and the precise effect of the vote of Athena, has been a much-discussed problem. Is the number of jurors even (presumably ten or twelve), so that Athena is simply exercising, as it were, a chairman’s casting vote? Or is there an odd number of human jurors (presumably eleven), which would mean that Athena *first* (in 735–40) gives her own vote as one of the jury and *then* (in 741) announces that a tie will count as a verdict in favour of the accused?

The case for the former view is presented by D. A. Hester, *A.J.Ph.* 102 (1981) 265–74 (see also Winnington-Ingram 125 n. 110 and Conacher 164–6); for the latter, by M. Gagarin, *A.J.Ph.* 96 (1975) 121–7 (see also H. D. F. Kitto, *Poiesis* (1966) 19–20). In the remainder of this note the articles by Hester and Gagarin will be referred to by author's name only.

Athena's words in 734–41 can be interpreted to suit either view. If she is the twelfth voter, 741 is a 'ruling' distinct from and additional to her announcement in 735–40 of her own vote and the reason for it; if she is the eleventh or thirteenth, 741 is a restatement of 735, justifiable on the principle of ring-composition (cf. 20n.; so Winnington-Ingram). Yet there can be no question here of deliberate ambiguity (contrast 690–2, 693–5nn.): Athena has in her hand an actual voting-token, which at some point she must physically cast for acquittal. Since the votes from the urns, when counted, prove to be equal (753), we may conclude that if Athena is the twelfth voter, she must cast her vote in the acquittal-urn at some point between 735 and 742, probably after 740 (Gagarin 124 n. 13); while if her vote is a casting vote only, she must add it to the pile of votes for acquittal after the other votes have been counted, probably as she speaks 752–3 (Hester 270). How can we determine which she does?

Two expressions in the text are *prima facie* more compatible with a vote cast in the urn than with a vote added after the count. In 735 Athena states her intention to vote for Orestes, and she states it unconditionally (Gagarin 122), whereas on the 'casting-vote' theory she would have at this stage only a conditional intention to vote (viz. if the other votes were to be equally divided). And in 753 she announces that the votes are equal with 'not the slightest suggestion ... that [her own] vote is not included in this ἴσον ἀριθμῶν' (ib. 123); moreover, she announces Orestes' acquittal first and the equality of votes afterwards, an unnatural order if at the same time she is seen adding her own vote to one of the piles so as to destroy the equality of votes and bring about the acquittal (ib. 124 n. 11). But the strongest evidence comes from the altercation 711–33, or rather from the stage-action which the text there implies.

Each of the ten couplets 711–30 presumably provides time for one juror to go to the urns, cast his vote and return to his seat: at so solemn a moment, the rhythm of the voting sequence cannot be allowed to

clash with the rhythm of the argument that accompanies it. Thus by 730 ten jurors have voted. There then follows a *triplet* spoken by the chorus-leader (731-3) which violates the symmetry of the altercation. The natural interpretation of this anomaly is that of Kitto (*Poiesis* 20): during 731-2 the eleventh juror comes forward, votes and goes back, then during 733 Athena comes forward, so that when the chorus-leader has finished speaking Athena is at the urns, voting-token in hand, ready to speak. If 731-3 covered the voting of two human jurors (so tentatively Ireland 33 n. 49), the pace would suddenly become much too fast; if it covered nothing but the movement of Athena to the urns (so Hester 270), she would have to take three times as long as the human jurors to get there. In either case the effect would be bizarre. To avoid it Aesch. would only have had to write, respectively, more or fewer lines between 730 and 734. That he wrote precisely three lines shows that he meant to have neither ten nor twelve human jurors, but eleven, with Athena as the twelfth.

The counter-arguments of substance that have been presented against this conclusion are as follows:

(1) In 795-6 'Athena, anxious to conciliate the Furies, tells them that they have not really been defeated because the votes were equal. If the votes have only been made equal by the addition of her own, she is adding insult to injury' (Thomson). This is to look at 795-6 in isolation from its context. Athena's full argument (795-9) is that the Erinyes have not been defeated and have certainly not been disgraced (cf. οὐκ ἀτιμίαι σέθεν 796) because they gained half the votes *even though* they had against them evidence originating from Zeus himself (797) confirmed at first hand by the very god who gave the oracle (798). In any case, whatever we take to be the nature of Athena's vote, her argument in 795-9 is disingenuous: she who now says οὐ γὰρ νενίκησθ', ἀλλ' ἰσόψηφος δίκη ἐξῆλθ' is the same person who previously said νικᾷ δ' Ὀρέστης, κἄν ἰσόψηφος κριθῇ (741). She can hardly expect to conciliate the Erinyes thus – and in fact she fails to do so.

(2) 'In 471-72 Athena expressly disclaimed any intention of deciding the case. Can she now vote to overrule the human jury to which she has entrusted it?' (Hester 270, following Verrall). Again the full context must be considered: 471-2 directly follows a statement by Athena that the matter is too weighty for *mortals* to judge, and the implication of the whole passage is that the case can only be properly

tried by Athena and her people *together*. And nothing has been said subsequently to cancel that implication: at no point has Athena indicated that she herself will not *take part* in judging the case, while at some points (see 629n.) other characters have spoken as if they expected that she *would* take part.

(3) 'If Athena's vote produced the tie, the human votes going against Orestes, we would expect Orestes to be indignant with the Athenians and extremely grateful to Athena; the Furies, on the other hand, would be well disposed to the Athenians and furious with Athena' (Hester 270-1). But if Athena is one of the jury, why should Orestes or the Erinyes draw distinctions between her and her human colleagues, any more than they draw distinctions between the human jurors who voted for acquittal and those who voted for conviction? In fact both sides seem to regard the verdict as that of the πόλις as a whole, of its divine and human population collectively (cf. 1015-16). Orestes is grateful to Athena (754-8) *and* to Athens (762-74), which he twice designates as Athena's city (762, 772); and his final farewell (775) is addressed to both. The Erinyes are angry with the 'younger gods' (778-9, 845-7) *and* with the citizens (789-90): true, it is only the latter that they threaten to harm, but such would have been their reaction even if the acquittal had been the work of Athena acting entirely on her own (cf. 476-9).

Athena, then, votes as one of the jury: her vote (735) brings about a tie, her ruling (741) breaks the tie. Aesch. must surely have considered the simpler and more symmetrical alternative of having an even number of jurors, so that only a single action by Athena would be required to produce an acquittal: why did he reject it? Probably not in order to have a majority of the human jurors voting against Orestes, since 'if that was a point, it should have been made openly' (Winnington-Ingram). More likely the object was precisely to be able to show the human and divine inhabitants of the πόλις acting as one body. Athena is not 'the Divine Judge, sitting apart from and above the human jury' (Kitto, *Poiesis* 21 - not expressing his own view); she is part of a jury representing gods and men, trying a dispute that involves both gods and men. If mortals and immortals act together as partners - partners almost but not quite equal - that is thoroughly in conformity with the spirit of a play which narrows to an extraordinary extent the gulf in power between men and gods (cf. Intr. §5). Unity and solidarity are

keynotes of the latter part of *Eu.*: unity between Zeus and the Moirai in the government of the universe (1045-6), between the lawcourts and the Erinyes-Semnai as enforcers of justice, between all sections of the Athenian people in avoiding civil strife and opposing external enemies (858-66, 976-87): it is fitting that at the threshold of this finale to the *Oresteia* we should see a jury representing the unity of the πόλις, a unity transcending the division between mortal and immortal, reaching a decision that in its immediate effect, especially upon the Erinyes, may seem to be divisive, but that ultimately leads to the incorporation of a new element within the united πόλις.

711 βαρείαν τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονός 'the danger of our company to your land' (Rose); cf. 406n.

714 ἀκαρπώτους: by obeying this injunction not to render Apollo's oracle metaphorically 'fruitless', the Athenians will risk making the soil of their country literally fruitless (cf. 780-7, 801-3, 831).

715 οὐ λαχών 'when that is not your allotted province'.

σέβεις, if sound, must mean 'you practise' (bloodstained activities), sc. by giving protection to the polluted Orestes; for this sense of σέβειν cf. Soph. *Ant.* 744 τὰς ἐμὰς ἀρχὰς σέβων 'exercising my own authority', Eur. fr. 814, Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1612: not 'you show respect for' since, as οὐ λαχών shows, the Erinyes' complaint is not merely of the manner in which Apollo has interfered in their sphere of authority, but of the fact that he has done so at all. To call Apollo's protection of Orestes αἵματηρὰ πράγματα may seem hyperbolic, but cf. 169-70, 200 (ἔπραξας), 204. The only alternative is to emend: νέμεις 'you are trying to administer' (Rauchenstein) would give appropriate sense, but the corruption would be hard to account for.

716 'And in future you will give your responses dwelling in an oracular shrine that is no longer clean' - because the presence of Orestes has polluted the Delphic sanctuary (cf. 164-70). Apollo, the purifier of others' houses (63), has polluted his own.

νέμων 'dwelling in': cf. 1017-18, Pi. *O.* 2.12. Either μένων 'if you stay at Delphi' (MSS) or μολών 'when you go home' (Heath) would require μαντεῖα to be taken as object of μαντεύσῃ in the sense 'responses'; and while the idea of a polluted temple is readily comprehensible, that of a polluted oracular response is not. In addition μένων would conjure up the irrelevant possibility that Apollo might establish a new, unpolluted sanctuary somewhere other than Delphi.

717-18 Apollo again invokes the authority of Zeus: in accepting the supplication of a homicide he was following the precedent set by Zeus in the case of Ixion. This argument will not be convincing to those who remember the full story of Ixion (see references cited in 439-41n.). Zeus so greatly pitied Ixion that after purifying him, he took him up to heaven to live among the gods; there, however, Ixion sinned grievously a second time by attempting to seduce Hera. Zeus frustrated his designs by sending him a cloud-phantom of Hera (by which Ixion became the father of the Centaurs) and punished him eternally by binding him to a wheel in the underworld. Thus the informed hearer might well reply to Apollo's rhetorical question with a disconcerting 'yes'; Apollo is fortunate that the weakness of this argument, like the weaknesses of 657-66, escapes the notice of his opponents.

σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων 'has been disappointed in his decision' (LSJ σφάλω III. 2): Apollo is asking, not altogether prudently (see above), for the action of Zeus to be judged by its results.

πρωτοκτόνοισι προστροπαῖς Ἰξίωνος 'when Ixion supplicated him for purification after becoming the first murderer' (strictly Ixion was the first murderer *of a kinsman*: Pi. P. 2.32). The dat. is quasi-temporal: cf. Thuc. I.128.5 τῇ προτέραι παρουσίαι 'the previous time he had been there', 2.20.1 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ (K-G I 445-6).

719 λέγεις 'so you say' (viz. that Zeus was not mistaken): the Erinyes evade a direct answer.

720 cf. 711.

πάλιν 'hereafter', cf. *Ch.* 258.

721-2 Even Apollo can hardly seriously believe that the Erinyes are despised by the older as well as the younger gods (cf. 73n.); and before long one of the younger gods too, Athena, will be offering them splendid τιμαί.

723-4 The Erinyes recall a previous occasion when Apollo had interfered with the dispensations of Moira. He had at one time had to expiate his killing of the Cyclopes by becoming a labourer in the service of Admetus son of Pheres, king of Pherae in Thessaly. As a reward for Admetus' kindly treatment of him, Apollo tricked the Moirai (cf. 727-8n.) into allowing Admetus to survive the fated day of his death, provided someone else died in his stead. Admetus' wife Alcestis volunteered to lay down her life, but was brought back from the dead by Heracles, another beneficiary of Admetus' kindness, as

later portrayed in Euripides' *Alcestis*. There was never any question of either Admetus or Alcestis being made *immortal*, and the Erinyes are as ill-advised to condemn Apollo for saving Admetus as Apollo was to commend Zeus for purifying the unworthy Ixion: but whereas they utterly failed to exploit his error, he will take full advantage of theirs (725-6).

725-6 Apollo counters the accusation against him by appealing to the very principle of justice that the Erinyes hold so dear, δρᾶσαντα παθεῖν: for this principle implies that virtue should be rewarded as well as wrongdoing punished (cf. 413, 435, 868, 984-6nn.).

δίκαιον sc. ἦν.

ἄλλως τε πάντως χῶτε 'in all circumstances and especially when'.

τύχοι: indefinite optative in past sequence.

727-8 The Erinyes simply ignore the argument of 725-6: in their eyes *nothing* can justify interference with the 'ancient allotment' either in favour of Admetus or (*a fortiori*) in favour of Orestes.

παλαιὰς δαιμονάς 'the ancient allotment' of functions to the various deities: cf. 171-3, 334ff., 715. For the rare noun δαιμονή cf. Alcman *PMG* 65 δαιμονάς τ' ἐδάσσατο and P. Maas, *Zschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 60 (1933) 285f. The scholia on Eur. *Alc.* 12 cite our passage with διανομός, but διανομή is a purely prose word.

οἶνω: a detail glossed over by Eur. *Alc.* 12, 33-4.

παρηπάτησας 'beguiled': παραπατᾶν, though found only here, is the natural Attic equivalent of the epic παραπαφίσκειν (*Il.* 14.360, etc.). We should not 'restore' the latter verb here (παρηπάφησας Davies): ἀπαφίσκειν is otherwise unknown to the dialogue of tragedy, and its aorist is properly ἤπαφον not ἤπάφησα (the latter appears *metri gratia* at *h. Ap.* 376, otherwise not before Quintus of Smyrna).

729 σύ τοι: for such 'echoing retorts' cf. [*Th.*] 1042-5, Soph. *Aj.* 1142/50, *OT* 547-52.

τάχ' 'soon'.

οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος 'when you fail to gain final victory (cf. Bacch. 11.6, Pi. *O.* 10.67) in the trial'. Contrast 719 μὴ τυχοῦσα τῆς δίκης: the Erinyes regard victory for Orestes as a possibility, Apollo (professedly) as a certainty.

730 οὐδὲν ... βαρύν: contrast βαρέϊαν 711, βαρεῖα 720. Athena had a truer appreciation of the Erinyes' power to do harm (477-9).

731 Cf. 150 νέος δὲ γράϊας δαίμονας καθιππιάσω.

732 Apollo too is staying to hear the result (677); the Erinyes, however, mean to stay permanently if the result is not to their liking (719-20).

733 ἀμφίβουλος ... θυμούσθαι 'undecided whether to be angry'. There is an echo of Athena's description of the Areopagus council as βουλευτήριον ... ὀξύθυμον (704-5): the Erinyes too have both deliberation and fierceness in their natures, though perhaps in different proportions.

Athena is now standing at the urns, holding up her voting-token.

734 λουσθίαν agrees not with δίκην but with the understood subject ἐμέ ('to be the last to give judgement').

735 προσθήσομαι 'I will cast', not 'I will add': προστίθεσθαι is a semi-technical term used of voting either in lawcourts (Dem. 57.69) or in political assemblies (Thuc. 1.40.5).

736-40 The key to understanding the reason for Athena's vote is the adverb οὕτω (739), which indicates that what is said in 739-40 follows from what was said in 736-8 (cf. *Ag.* 1610, *Soph. Ant.* 677). The structure of Athena's reasoning is therefore: 'I have no mother, am a partisan of the male in every way, and am κάρτα τοῦ πατρός (736-8); therefore I will not value the death of a woman more highly than the death at her hands of a man who was δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον (739-40); therefore I shall vote for Orestes (735).'

Now from this it may well at first sight appear that Athena is basing her decision on something little better than personal prejudice, or else on acceptance of Apollo's highly dubious argument of 657-66. But this will not account for the words δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον. These words indicate a rational basis for valuing a man's life at least as highly as a woman's: the man is the head and protector of the household (cf. *Ch.* 919, 921). In what sense does a decision in favour of Orestes, *based on those grounds*, follow from anything said in 736-8? It does not follow from Athena's having no mother, nor from her being a partisan of the male; it can only follow from her being κάρτα τοῦ πατρός, a multiply ambiguous phrase (738n.) one of whose possible meanings is 'a faithful follower of my Father' (cf. LSJ εἰμί C.ii.d). That phrase, then, is the essential part of 736-8: Athena's reason for taking the view she takes in 739-40 is that it is the view taken by Zeus.

Zeus and Athena thus hold that Orestes should not be punished for killing Clytaemestra because that act was at worst no more heinous

than Clytaemestra's own killing of her husband. The murder of Clytaemestra destroyed one person: the murder of Agamemnon jeopardized an entire οἶκος. There is no question of male or pro-male prejudice in this evaluation: it coincides with the opinions of both male and female characters earlier in the trilogy. The murder of Agamemnon was seen as catastrophic for his οἶκος both by the male chorus of *Ag.* (1532, 1533) and by the female chorus of *Ch.* (50); the latter repeatedly spoke of Clytaemestra's death as the salvation or liberation of the house (*Ch.* 471-2, 808-11, 820, 942-5, 961-4), and in their eyes the failure of Orestes' attempt would have meant the final and irremediable ruin of the οἶκος (*Ch.* 861-2, 934). Athena, 'although she recognises to the full the strength of the Erinyes' case, ... recognises too that the authority of the social order is logically prior' (Kitto 85). The crucial importance of the preservation of the οἶκος will be underlined in words spoken immediately before and immediately after the announcement of Orestes' acquittal (751, 754).

If only the last five words of 736-8 are strictly relevant to Athena's decision, why does she say so much about her partisanship for the male? Because she must take all precautions to avoid offending the Erinyes more than is inevitable (so Lloyd-Jones). Rather than assert that she believes their cause to be unjust, she makes it appear that she is constrained to vote as she does by her masculine psyche (itself the result of her motherless birth) and by filial loyalty (which might be regarded, even by the loyal child's opponents, as overriding the claims of justice: see K. J. Dover, *Greek popular morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle* (1974) 304-6); her real reason is mentioned only in two words at the very end. Any risk that the audience may take 736-7 seriously is carefully undercut by πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν (see 737n.).

In addition to motivating Athena's vote for Orestes, this passage also marks the supersession of Apollo by Athena as the representative in the play of the will and mind of Zeus. Until now Apollo has consistently claimed that his words are the words of Zeus; but the son of Zeus and Leto cannot hope to be so closely attuned to the mind of the Father as is she who is κάρτα τοῦ πατρός, and Apollo will have little more to say and will make an anonymous exit (cf. 754-77n.). It is now Athena who speaks for Zeus - Athena to whom Zeus has given wisdom (850) and access to the supreme instrument of his power (826-8), and whose triumph is the triumph of Zeus Agoraios (973).

736 Athena confirms (cf. 657-66n. (3)) that she had no mother at all, i.e. that she was the offspring of Zeus alone, born when Hephaestus (or Prometheus or another god) split the head of Zeus with an axe (Pi. *O.* 7.35-8 with Σ; cf. *Il.* 5.875, 880; Hes. *Thg.* 924; *h. Ap.* 307ff.; on artistic representations of the event, see Cook III 662-726).

737 αἰνῶ 'approve', governing both τὸ ἄρσεν and γάμου τυχεῖν.

πάντα 'in every respect'.

πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν virtually negates the two expressions of total approval of the male (πάντα ... ἅπαντι) between which it is inserted. The rejection of γάμος suggests *prima facie* antipathy to, rather than partisanship of, the opposite sex: among females consider Atalanta, the Amazons, the Danaids or indeed the Erinyes, among males Hippolytus or Melanion (Ar. *Lys.* 784-96). At Athens, too, the phrase might well evoke memories of the rather undignified tale of how Athena was once nearly compelled γάμου τυχεῖν when Hephaestus attempted to rape her (his seed fell on the earth, from which in due course was born Erichthonius the first king of Athens: Eur. fr. 925, *FGrH* 330 F 1, Σ *Il.* 2.547). Athena, whatever impression she may wish to give at this moment, is not a simplistic partisan of the male; rather 'she stands between and against the opposition' of the sexes (Goldhill 259).

738 κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός might mean (1) 'I am wholly my father's child' (cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1200-1 εἴπερ εἰ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός 'if you are really my son'); (2) 'I am wholly on the side of the father' (sc. in any dispute between a father's and a mother's rights: cf. Eur. *El.* 1103-4); (3) 'I am a faithful follower of my father' (cf. 736-40n.). All these interpretations make sense, but only (3) says something not already said in this speech.

739 γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον: contrast 640 πατρός προτιμᾷ Ζεὺς μόρον τῷ σῶι λόγῳ. Athena, unlike Apollo, does not assert that the murder of Agamemnon is *more* heinous than that of Clytaemestra, only that it is not *less* so.

After 740 Athena drops her ballot in the urn for acquittal (cf. 711-53n.).

741 provides an αἴτιον for the rule which obtained in all Athenian courts (Arist. *Ath.* 69.1) and probably throughout the Greek world (cf. Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 119, Arist. *Pr.* 951a20-952a16) that an equality of votes in a trial was treated as a verdict in favour of the defendant: cf.

Intr. §1. In 330 B.C. a tied vote resulted in the acquittal of Leocrates on a charge of treason (Aeschines 3.252).

κἂν ἰσόψηφος κριθῇ 'even if he is judged equal-voted', i.e. 'even if the judges' votes upon him are equally divided'.

742-3 In the Athenian courts of the fourth century, four tellers (οἱ ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους) were chosen by lot from the jury to distribute voting-tokens to the jurors and to count the votes when cast (Arist. *Ath.* 66.2, 68.2, 69.1; cf. *SEG* xxv 180.16-19). Our passage shows that, at least as regards the count, the practice was broadly similar in the mid-fifth century. With so small a jury as we have here, two tellers are perhaps more likely than four.

πάλους: πάλος normally means 'lot', but here and at 753 it is a metrically convenient synonym for ψήφος which also helps to prepare for a play on the name Παλλᾶς (cf. 754n.).

During 744-7 the jurors designated as tellers rise from their places, go to the urns and turn them upside down on the table, probably without as yet revealing their contents: cf. Ar. *V.* 993-4 where the urns are turned over at 993a (φέρ' ἐξεράσω) but their contents are not revealed until after 994a (δείξειν ἔοικεν).

745 The Erinyes too feel the need of a protector and supporter; having none at hand, they appeal to their mother as at 322-3.

μέλαινα μήτηρ: very close to Orestes' hostile description of *his* mother in 459-60.

746 ἀγχόνης ... τέρματ': for the periphrasis cf. the epic τέλος θανάτοιο. Since hanging was not a Greek form of capital punishment, Orestes must mean that he intends to commit *suicide* if the court finds him guilty: cf. Ar. *V.* 523, Dem. 57.70, Aeschines 3.212, Plu. *Arist.* 26.3.

φῶς: the Erinyes may love darkness (cf. 71-2, 175-8n.), but for man to be alive is 'to see the light' (cf. 322n.).

747 γάρ is difficult (Denniston 95), but δ' ἄρ' (Schütz) is not convincing (what would be the force of ἄρα?). Possibly the force of γάρ here is '<yes, this is a very important moment,> because ...' ('partial and qualified agreement', cf. Denniston 75).

ἔρρειν almost = ἀτίμοις εἶναι, cf. 884.

πρόσω 'hereafter', cf. Pi. *P.* 3.111.

νέμειν 'possess, hold, wield': cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1016, *OT* 201, 237.

The tellers now lift up the urns, revealing the two piles of votes,

which they count during 748-51 while Apollo (see below) warns them to perform this task carefully and honestly.

748-51 The speaker of these lines (it must be the same speaker throughout, for the maxims in 750-1 are the justification for the admonitions of 748-9) can only be Apollo. They cannot be given to the chorus-leader, who has no objection to causing πῆμα (750) and no interest in the preservation of οἶκοι (751, cf. 354-5, 736-40nn.). And they are far too authoritative to be spoken by the accused Orestes to his judges, especially in his highly agitated state (cf. 746n.).

748 ἐκβολὰς ψήφων = τὰς ἐκβεβλημένας ψήφους, the votes that have fallen out of the upturned urns and are now visible on the table.

740 σέβοντες 'reverently practising' (cf. 697n.).

ἐν διαιρέσει: not 'in dividing, sorting' the votes, since the votes have been emptied from separate urns and therefore need no sorting; rather 'in determining the court's decision' (cf. διαρεῖν 'decide' in 472, 488, 630).

750 γνώμης 'good judgement', cf. *Pr.* 456, Aesch. fr. 389, *Soph. Tr.* 389.

δ' should perhaps be deleted (Rauchenstein), leaving 750-1 standing in asyndeton as a weighty maxim (cf. 517n., 694).

751 †βαλοῦσα† gives no satisfactory sense if taken as transitive, and an intransitive sense 'being cast' cannot be adequately paralleled (see Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1172) and would contribute virtually nothing to the meaning of the sentence. Among conjectures, πολλοῖσι (Headlam) would imply, contrary to 682, that there have been similar trials in the past. Blaydes' πεσόντα, adopted by Thomson, has the support of *Soph. OT* 50, *OC* 395 where πεσεῖν and ὀρθός/ὀρθοῦν stand in contrast. A possible alternative is καμόντα 'afflicted': for the postulated corruption cf. (a) 881 καμοῦμαι M καλοῦμαι t, (b) *Ch.* 574 καλεῖ Dodds (καλεῖν Conradt) βαλεῖν M, *Ar. V.* 271 ἐκκαλεῖν V ἐκβαλεῖν cett.

ᾠρθωσεν (gnomic aorist, cf. 320) 'can put back on its feet', cf. *Th.* 229, *Soph. OT* 39, 46, 50, 51.

The tellers now quietly inform Athena of the result of the count, and return to their places among the jury. Athena stands up and extends her right arm towards Orestes as she proclaims his victory (cf. A. L. Boegehold, *A.J.A.* 93 (1989) 81-3).

752 ἀνὴρ: ἀνὴρ (Thomson) is possible but not provable: in the acc. Aesch. can say either ἄνδρα τόνδε (*Ag.* 896, 1613, *Th.* 647) or τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε (*Ag.* 1581, 1643).

754-77 *Orestes' farewell*

Orestes thanks Athena, together with Apollo and Zeus, for saving him and his house and restoring his rights as a citizen of Argos. He then fulfils his promise of 289-91 (cf. 669-73) by swearing (764, 768) an eternal pact of alliance and non-aggression between Argos and Athens, Argive fidelity to which he will himself guarantee in his posthumous capacity as a hero. With this he departs homeward, calling down blessings on Athena and Athens, above all that of victory in war (cf. Intr. §6). So ends, as far as this trilogy is concerned, the story of the House of Atreus: its three-generation-old curse has at last been lifted, and henceforth its heir will be able to enjoy his rightful wealth (757-8) in peace. It remains to be seen whether Athena can prevent the Eri-nyes from cursing her own city and land instead.

And what of Apollo? He was intending (cf. 677) to wait and hear the result of the trial, and his last speech (748-51) directly precedes the announcement of the result. Then he leaves, as he entered (cf. 574n.), silent and unnoticed: indeed it cannot even be determined with certainty from the text at what moment he departs (see Taplin 403-7, Winnington-Ingram 147). The content of 754-77, however, suggests that Apollo is no longer present. Orestes owes his ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων to Apollo almost as much as to Athena, yet he refers to Apollo only by a single word (758), which does not imply his presence any more than the much more generous tribute to Zeus (759-61) implies that Zeus is present; for the rest he speaks only of the relationship between (on one side) himself and Argos and (on the other) Athena and Athens. What the speech implies about Apollo is that he has ceased to be relevant (cf. 736-40n. (ad fin.)); this implication would only be obscured by his continued presence on stage.

Apollo, then, probably makes his exit as soon as the result has been announced, 'unobtrusively, his departure covered by the strong emotional tension of Orestes' speech' (Winnington-Ingram): Orestes in his elation has probably advanced to a more central position, nearer to Athena, and the eyes of the spectators will follow him.

754 Πάλλας: coming directly after πάλων, this may hint at a punning *ad hoc* etymology of the name Pallas as 'the goddess of voting': the ψῆφος μία (751) which restored the fortunes of his house was the πάλος of Pallas.

755 γαίης πατρώιας ἐστερημένον: a cliché much used by defendants in danger of exile (e.g. Lys. 7.41) or ἀτιμία (e.g. Isoc. 16.48).

756 κατώικισας 'have restored (me) to my home'.

τις Ἑλλήνων ἐρεῖ 'it will be said among the Greeks': cf. *Ag.* 449-50, *Il.* 4.176, 6.459, 7.87.

757-61 χρήμασιν ... πατρώοις: Clytaemestra and Aegisthus had usurped the inheritance that should have been Orestes' (*Ag.* 1638; *Ch.* 135, 301, 865); Orestes killed the usurpers, but was still unable to enter into the inheritance – till now.

Παλλάδος ... Σωτήρος: probably this is still part of the words of τις Ἑλλήνων (giving the sense 'Greeks will say "Thanks to Athena, Apollo and Zeus, he is restored to home and city"'); but possibly the Greeks' words end with πατρώοις and all that follows is Orestes' comment (giving the sense 'Athena, Apollo and Zeus have brought it about that Greeks will say "He is restored to home and city"'). This is weaker rhetorically (since it loses the idea of Orestes being recognized by all Greece as one who has been saved *by divine aid*), but it does get rid of the uncomfortable transition in 760 where, on the punctuation adopted in the text, a relative clause spoken by Orestes in his own name qualifies a noun forming part of the 'quoted' words of τις Ἑλλήνων.

τοῦ πάντα κραίνοντος: Zeus is πανεργέτης (*Ag.* 1486) and τέλειος (28n.; see also next note).

τρίτου Σωτήρος: the third libation after a meal was offered to Zeus Soter (*Aesch.* fr. 55.4; *Pi.* *I.* 6.7-8 with Σ (10a); *Soph.* fr. 425), with the result that the phrases τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι (*Plato Chrm.* 167a, *Phlb.* 66d) and τρίτος σωτήρ (*Plato Lg.* 692a; cf. *Supp.* 26) gained the status of idioms. The *Oresteia* contains many allusions to these phrases and to the third libation (*Ag.* 246-7 τριτόσπονδον, 1386-7; *Ch.* 244-5 τῷ τρίτῳ ... Ζηνί, 1073); note too that the title τέλειος (cf. 28n.) was sometimes applied to Zeus in connection with this same third libation (*Eur.* fr. 148; *Ar.* fr. 540 K-A; Σ *Pi.* l.c.). Now for the first time Zeus has truly shown himself worthy of being called 'the Saviour' and 'the Fulfiller, the Completer'. See P. Burian, *A.J.Ph.* 107 (1986) 332-42.

αἰδεσθεῖς 'paying regard to': note the remarkable implication that Zeus felt αἰδῶς over the death of a mortal – normally one can only say that A αἰδεῖται B if B is someone or something to which A *owes respect*. See *Intr.* §5.

σώζει: present tense used of a past occurrence whose effects continue, cf. ἐκσώζει *Soph.* *Aj.* 1128, τίκτει *Aesch.* fr. 281a.31, φονεύει

Soph. *Ant.* 1174 (K-G II 135-7). The 'ring' between σώζει here and σώσσα 754 marks off the first section of Orestes' speech.

μητρός τάσδε συνδίκους ὀρών: that this was Zeus's motive for saving Orestes is only Orestes' conjecture, and not a very good one in view of Athena's fair and courteous attitude to the Erinyes.

763 Cf. 291 ἐς τὸ πᾶν, 670 ἐς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου, 672 αἰανῶς.

πλειστήρη χρόνον: the longest imaginable time, i.e. eternity: πλειστήρης (found only here) appears to be a more emphatic alternative for πλεῖστος, cf. πλειστηρίζομαι 'I name as most important' *Ch.* 1029.

765 μή is the regular negative with infinitives giving the terms of an oath.

πρυμνήτην: see 16n.

χθονός sc. ἐμῆς.

766 ἐποίησιν 'bring against you'.

εὖ κεκασμένον 'well-equipped' (cf. Pi. *O.* 1.27, Eur. *El.* 616), implying that Argos would be capable of being a formidable enemy, and hence that it is highly desirable to have her as an ally.

δόρυ 'army' as in Eur. *Heracl.* 842, *HF* 61.

767-71 Orestes after his death will have the supernatural powers of a ἥρωας, and he promises to use them to protect Athens against any violation by Argos of her alliance. Similar promises are made to the Athenians by Eurystheus in Eur. *Heracl.* 1032-6 and by Oedipus in Soph. *OC* 574-628, 1522-35. Both these heroes had tombs in Attica itself, and hence they promise aid to Athenian arms in the event of an *actual* invasion by Heraclids (i.e. Spartans) and Thebans respectively. Orestes had no such tomb (see 767n.), and therefore he undertakes to stop any *proposed* invasion before it ever reaches the Attic border: any such Argive army will meet *en route* with omens so unfavourable (cf. παρόρνιθας) that they will become utterly dispirited (cf. ὀθύμους) and abandon the expedition. The passage distantly recalls the aid for which Orestes, with Electra and the chorus of *Ch.*, begged the shade of Agamemnon at his tomb (cf. 598n.) and, further back still, the omen which appeared at Aulis to the Greeks *en route* for Troy, an omen propitious for the success of the expedition but disastrous for Agamemnon (*Ag.* 104-59).

767 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς: Orestes has occasionally used the 1st pl. of himself before (451, 611), but in 767-74 he uses eight plural forms

(verbs, pronouns, adjectives) in as many lines; here he can fairly be said to be employing a 'plural of majesty', emphasizing the fact that he is now speaking not as a humble ex-suppliant who has just escaped conviction for murder, but as a future mighty ἥρωας and recipient of cultic worship.

ὄντες ἐν τάφοις: there were two alleged burial-places of Orestes in mainland Greece, at Tegea (Paus. 8.54.4) and at Sparta (Paus. 3.11.10, cf. Hdt. 1.67-8); neither is anywhere near any possible route from Argos to Attica. Either there was another heroön of Orestes at or near Argos, of which we have no other evidence, or else Aesch. is inventing one in order to make it possible for Orestes to give this promise: for whereas a god can act anywhere at any time (cf. 65), a ἥρωας is normally thought of as being powerful only in the place where his remains actually reside (Burkert 206).

768-71 '(For I) will, against them that violate my present oath, bring it to pass by baffling ill-success, even by visiting their marches with discouragement and their ways with evil omens, that they repent them of their enterprise' (Weir Smyth's translation, slightly adapted). This sentence has often been thought corrupt, but emendation of πράξομεν only raises fresh difficulties, since both φράξομεν (Heath) and θράξομεν (Burgess) need an object which can only be supplied by major changes in 768 or unnatural punctuation in 770. Grammatically the sentence is in fact blameless (see nn. below). If the repetition of πράξ- in two different senses is thought displeasing, attempts at removing it should concentrate not on πράξομεν but on δυσπραξίαις (one might think of e.g. δυσσημίαις); the repetition, however, may be not without point as contrasting the *success* of Orestes' intervention with the *baffle*ment of the Argives' intended treachery.

768 τοῖς ... παρβαίνουσι: dat. of disadvantage. For παρ- cf. 229n.

τάμα: the speaker lapses back into the 1st sing., as often in Soph. and Eur. (see Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 734, Bond on Eur. *HF* 858).

νῦν is quasi-adjectival, part of the noun-phrase τάμα νῦν ὀρκώματα, cf. Eur. *Andr.* 868 τὸ νῦν σου δεῖμ'.

769 ἀμηχάνουσι: cf. 82n.

πράξομεν 'will bring it about', cf. 896.

770 παρόρνιθας lit. 'contrary to the bird-signs' (παρ- as in παράνομος etc.), i.e. attended by omens presaging disaster.

771 ὥς ... μεταμέλη: for the subjunctive in 'object' clauses after

πράσσω and similar verbs cf. Thuc. 1.57.4 ἔπρασσαν ... ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται, 3.70.1, Goodwin 122-4, K-G II 372-6.

πόνος: πόνου Butler, since μεταμέλει is usually impersonal, but cf. Ar. Nu. 1114, Hdt. 6.63.2, and (with μέλει) Ag. 585, Th. 200-1, Pr. 3.

772 ὀρθουμένων sc. τῶν ὀρκωμάτων, 'if they are uprightly maintained'.

773 τιμῶσιν (dat. pl. participle) 'if they respect the rights of', 'if they honour their obligations to'.

συμμάχῳ δορί: by supplying an army (cf. 766n.) to fight alongside the Athenians – as 1,000 Argives were to do at Tanagra in 458 or 457 (Thuc. 1.107.5).

774 †αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν†: the unemphatic 3rd-person pronoun opening a trimeter, while unique in Aesch., finds parallels in Soph. Tr. 816, Ph. 277; but ἐσμεν as a 'prophetic present' is surprising when the speaker is not saying what *is destined to happen* but what *he intends to do*. Of remedies, αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθ' (Heath) is somewhat superior to αὐτοῖς ἄν ἡμεῖς εἴμεν: the latter would give still further unwanted prominence to αὐτοῖς by attaching ἄν to it, and the use of the potential optative might imply that Argive loyalty to the alliance was not to be relied on.

775 χαῖρε: this everyday word of greeting and farewell was used by several characters early in Ag. (22, 508, 538), but has not been heard since; during most of the trilogy it could truly be said that τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται (423, cf. 301). Now at last χαῖρε reappears, carrying a strong suggestion of its literal meaning 'rejoice', which will become stronger still when it is reiterated fivefold in the Erinyes' final song (996-7, 1014) to which Athena responds (1003). Cf. Petrounias 268.

πολισσοῦχος λεώς: nom. for voc., cf. 681n.

776-7 πάλαισμ' ἄφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις 'a wrestling trick (i.e. a means to success) that your enemies will be unable to escape', viz. the help of the Argives (not, as Σ, the help of Orestes: he has not undertaken to aid Athenian arms himself, only to bless the Argives if they do so). On the wrestling theme cf. 558-9n.: ἄφυκτός is used of a wrestling hold in Ar. Nu. 1047, Nicoch. fr. 16b Edmonds.

σωτήριον: as Athena has saved Orestes (754), so he hopes that in time to come his city will save hers (δράσαντα παθεῖν again: cf. 725-6n.).

δορός 'in war' (for this sense of δόρυ cf. Ag. 517, Pers. 729), adnomi-

nal gen. depending on the first component of νίκη-φόρον: for similar genitives with νίκη cf. *Ag.* 942, *Il.* 7.126, and for genitives depending on the nominal element of a compound adjective see A. C. Moorhouse, *The syntax of Sophocles* (1982) 54–5.

νικηφόρον: νίκη has long been one of ‘the false lights that illuminate the whole trilogy’ (H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek tragedy*³ (1961) 71). Victory after victory has been achieved – by Greeks over Trojans, by Clytaemestra and Aegisthus over Agamemnon, by Orestes in turn over them – but until now, all have been fatally flawed. Orestes’ victory in the trial – a victory which according to Athena (795) does not involve a defeat for his opponents – is the first *unsullied* victory in the trilogy (a νίκη μὴ κακή, cf. 903n.); and now this notion of victory, like many other thematic notions (cf. 705–6, 725–6, 832, 835, 885, 897, 904–6, 913–15, 938–41, 943–5, 973–5, 987, 990–1, 1005, 1006, 1022, 1035, 1043nn.), begins to appear in a new light. Henceforth νίκη will denote victory for Athenian arms over external enemies: this is what Orestes wishes for, Athena promises (915) and the Erinyes are instructed to secure (1009), in contrast with the earlier victories of the trilogy most of which were achieved at the expense of those who should have been φίλοι (like the empty, damaging victories of civil strife such as is deprecated in 858–66, 976–87).

Orestes departs, probably by the opposite side-passage to that by which he entered at 235: he came (after long wanderings) from Delphi, he is leaving now for Argos.

778–891

The suppliant-drama is over. The πόλις has successfully defended the suppliant Orestes against his pursuers. It would now be normal, as in *Supp.* and several later plays, for the suppliant to remain under the protection of the πόλις while his defeated persecutors withdraw. But what happens is the reverse (Taplin 407). Orestes had been a suppliant not for permission to stay in Athens, but for an acquittal that would give him the right to return to Argos; he has been granted that acquittal, and has departed. The Erinyes, on the other hand, have indicated (711, 720) that if they are defeated in the trial, *they* will remain in Athens to be a curse and blight on the land; and remain they do, deeply distressed and aggrieved, ‘breathing out threatenings and slaughter’. Thus the ending of the long story of conflict in the house of Atreus seems to have engendered a fresh and perilous conflict between

the Erinyes and the Athenian people. It falls to Athena to fight this battle on behalf of the Athenians; and she fights it solely with the weapons of persuasion.

Since the Erinyes are threatening to remain in Attica, we might expect Athena to try to persuade them to leave. But again the reverse happens (Taplin 407–8). She desires them to *stay* in Attica – but as honoured benefactors. And as the structural unit 778–891 ends, her persuasion begins to take effect.

This unit is constructed on the ‘epirrhematic’ principle, strophic lyrics from the chorus alternating with iambic speeches from an actor; cf. *Ag.* 1072ff., 1407–47, *Pers.* 256ff., *Th.* 203–44, 686–711, *Supp.* 348ff., 736ff., 866–910. The strophe and antistrophe of each pair are identical word for word: there could be no better way of indicating the stubborn resistance of the Erinyes to all persuasion. Athena’s speeches, on the other hand, show a steady increase in persuasive power. The first (794–807) consists mainly of argument and pleading, and the promise of an honoured dwelling in Athens remains rather vague. In her second speech Athena on the one hand reminds the Erinyes that she is no helpless suppliant but has force at her disposal (826–8) and on the other makes larger and more specific promises (833–6). In response to this the Erinyes at least change their tune and their dance. Athena then makes her courtesy even more studied (848–50) and her promises even more expansive, mingling them with promises of glory for Athens itself (853–4) and phrases of high patriotism (852, 869) that must have sent a thrill through many hearts in that embattled spring of 458 B.C. (see Intr. §6). And when even this proves ineffective, Athena in her final speech concentrates on demonstrating her good faith and her refusal to be provoked (881–4), and, last of all, on an appeal to the Erinyes’ sense of justice (δικαίως 888, 891); and it is at this that their resistance at last breaks down. Athena has ensured that Athens will have a future, and a future full of prosperity and glory.

778–92 = 808–22 The metre of this song is mainly iambic and dochmiac, recalling that of 143–78 (for details see Appendix); the sentiments expressed also recall that song (in particular, with 778–9 cf. 149–50, 162, 171–3). The Erinyes’ anger, however, is now directed against the citizens of Athens (790) as well as the Olympians; and whereas at Delphi they alleged that *Apollō* had defiled his sanctuary (164–70), they are now threatening *themselves* to defile the Athenians’ land.

779 καθιππάσασθε: cf. 150n., 731.

εἴλεσθε: the force of the middle voice is 'you have taken *into your own hands*'.

780-7 The sentence beginning with ἐγὼ has no finite verb: we may either suppose that the chorus lose track of their syntax under the stress of their emotion (cf. 95-8n.) or treat μεθεῖσα as an 'exclamatory participle' (cf. 144n.). The first explanation is preferable, since 784-7 shows that we have here a statement of intention rather than an exclamation.

780 ἄτιμος: see 95n. Throughout 778-891 the Erinyes insist that they are being made ἄτιμοι (792 = 822, 839 = 872, 845-7 = 878-80) and Athena affirms the contrary (796, 807, 824, 833, 854, 868, 884, 891). Only at 894 do they accept that Athena is indeed offering them τιμή, and thus become willing (δράσαντα παθεῖν) to honour the πόλις that is honouring them (οὐδ' ἄτιμάσω πόλιν 917).

781 ἐν γαῖ τᾷδε: to be taken closely with ἄτιμος (contrast 890-1 τῇσδε γαμόρῳ χθονός ... τιμωμένῃ).

782 ἀντιπενθῇ (a hapax): causing πένθος in retaliation for the πένθος inflicted on me (cf. 792 ἀτιμοπενθεῖς).

καρδίας: ablative. The poison is said to drip from the heart because it is generated by an emotion (anger) whose seat is in the heart: cf. 466, 476-9nn., and for a kindred notion *Ag.* 834 where jealousy is spoken of as δύσφρων ἰὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος.

783-4 The hiatus between dochmiac metra (χθονὶ | ἄφορον) has led many to think the text corrupt; but it is quite legitimate (see T. C. W. Stinton, *C.Q.* 27 (1977) 45-7; FJW on *Supp.* 649; West 110).

στολαγμὸν χθονί: cf. 53-4n.

ἄφορον: both 'unbearable, unendurable' (cf. 146n., 479, 789-90n.) and 'producing infertility'.

785 λειχήν: this term was applied to various kinds of moss-like growths on the ground (*Dsc.* 4.43), on plants (cf. *Thphr. CP* 5.9.10), on animals (cf. *Nic. Ther.* 945), and on the human skin (*Ch.* 281, *Thphr. Sud.* 14). Here a blighting fungal growth on the ground is meant (cf. χθονὶ ... πέδον ... χώραι).

ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος: the contamination in the soil will render barren both the plants and trees which grow from that soil, and the women (and animals) who come in contact with it: for this double barrenness cf. *Soph. OT* 25-7, 171-4, *Hdt.* 6.139.1, and contrast 907-9, *Supp.* 674-7, *Ar. Pax* 1322-5.

ὦ Δίκα Δίκα: the cry of the victim of injustice (cf. 511). Lachmann's conjecture restores an iambic rhythm to a line which in the MSS is metrically incoherent.

786 ἐπισύμενος 'sweeping over': cf. the Homeric ἐπεσσύμενος πεδί-οιο (e.g. *Il.* 14.147).

787 βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ('pollutions, miasmas') suggests that the poisoned soil will give rise to deadly diseases (cf. *Soph. OT* 27–9, 175–81, and contrast 956–7, *Supp.* 678–87); in 858ff., however, the Erinyes' poison is 'man-killing' in the sense that it warps men's *minds* and incites them to destructive civil strife.

ἐν χώραι βαλεῖ = ἐμβαλεῖ χώραι (tmesis, cf. 259n.).

788 τί ῥέξω; scans ◡—: the ρ- of ῥέζειν is never in tragedy treated as a double consonant, cf. *Ch.* 316, *Th.* 104, and see M. D. Reeve, *C.R.* 21 (1971) 325. For another such 'light' ρ- see 232n.

789–90 γελῶμαι: they who were accustomed to mock their victims (560) are now (they feel) the victims of mockery themselves. γένωμαι (MSS) makes sense only if ἔπαθον is arbitrarily deleted (Ludwig), and even then the sense is feeble (γένωμαι δυσοίστα πολίταις; 'should I make myself intolerable to the citizens?' – as if they were not already implacably resolved to do so).

δύσοισι: δύσοιστος is a near-synonym of ἀφερτος (146n.): the Erinyes, having suffered δύσοιστα at the Athenians' hands, will pay them back with an 'unendurable drip' of poison (783–4n.).

ἐν πολίταις 'before the citizen tribunal': cf. *Ant.* 6.23 προκαλούμην ... ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς, *And.* 1.17 ἡγωνίσαστο ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις Ἀθηναίων, *Dem.* 24.84 τὸν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐαλωκότα.

ἔπαθον: cf. 143–5n.

791 ἰὼ †μεγάλα τοι κόραι† δυστυχεῖς: no reading of the transmitted letters is satisfactory. (1) Taking μεγάλα τοι as two words, μεγάλα will be an adverb modifying δυστυχεῖς (cf. *Il.* 1.450, *Eur. Andr.* 189, *Ar. Ra.* 1428, *σμικρά Ag.* 1301), but τοι is out of place in an exclamation (there seems to be no instance in drama). (2) Porson read μεγάλᾱτοι 'victims of great disaster' (cf. *Pers.* 1016); but this would make δυστυχεῖς redundant, and metrically ἰὼ μεῖγᾱλᾱτοῖ would be anomalous here (the reizianum appears in dochmiac contexts only as a clausula (e.g. *Soph. Aj.* 914) or in late Euripidean actor lyrics (e.g. *IT* 894, 896)). Metre and sense would be satisfied by e.g. ἰὼ ἰὼ κόραι μεγάλα δυστυχεῖς (ἰὼ ἰὼ scanned ◡◡◡◡— (cf. 143, 254 in Appendix)).

792 ἀτιμοπενθείς: another unique compound, = πενθοῦσαι (cf. 782) διὰ τὸ ἄτιμοι εἶναι (cf. 780).

794 πίθεσθε: persuasion, along with τιμή (780n.), is to be a keynote of this scene (cf. 829, 885–6).

βαρυστόνως picks up βαρύκοτος (780) and στενάζω (788).

795–6 ἰσόψηφος ... ἐξήλθ' 'resulted in an equal vote'.

ἀληθῶς is probably best taken with ἰσόψηφος: the trial ended in a 'genuine' draw; to use a (not inappropriate) modern expression, not only the votes but also the honours were even.

οὐκ ἀτιμῖαι σέθεν: the dat. might be of cause ('not from any desire to slight you') or of attendant circumstances ('without any dishonour attaching to you', cf. Thuc. 5.13.1 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἥσσηι ἀπεληλυθόντων, 6.12.1 τῷ τοῦ πέλας κινδύνῳ 'with the risks being borne by someone else'). The latter interpretation fits rather better with what precedes, the former with what follows, and neither need be excluded, since both represent the truth as Athena sees it: the verdict of the court was *neither* in intent *nor* in actuality a slight to the Erinyes.

797 ἀλλ' ... γάρ 'on the contrary, the thing was that ...' (cf. Denniston 107): the verdict is to be accounted for, not by any contempt for the Erinyes, but by the strength of the evidence for the defence.

ἐκ Διός: cf. 19, 616–21, 713.

λαμπρά 'plain', cf. *Pr.* 833.

798 αὐτός ... αὐτός: cf. Aesch. fr. 350.7–9 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ὕμνων, αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ παρών, | αὐτὸς τάδ' εἰπών, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κτανὼν | τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν.

799 ὥς ... Ὁρέστην ... μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν: an indirect statement, governed by χρήσας (cf. *Ch.* 1030–2 χρήσαντ' ἐμοὶ πράξαντα μὲν ταῦτ' ἔκτος αἰτίας κακῆς εἶναι), ὥς being redundant like ὥστε in 202 (cf. also Soph. *OC* 385–6 ἔσχες ἐλπίδ' ὥς ἐμοῦ θεοὺς ὦραν τιν' ἔξειν; and see K–G II 357–8).

μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν 'would not suffer harm'.

This is the last reference to Orestes and the house of Atreus.

800–2 μήτε ... μὴ ... μὴδ': cf. *Pr.* 479–80 οὔτε βρώσιμον οὐ χριστὸν οὐδὲ πιστόν.

σκήψῃτε 'send down', a word often associated with evil divine visitations (cf. *Ag.* 366, *Pers.* 514, 740, *Eur. Med.* 1333).

†**δαιμόνων**† can only be understood if it is taken as equivalent to δαιμόνια, and even then would contribute little to the sense; it has

probably replaced an ablative gen. governed by ἀφεῖσαι, corresponding to καρδίας 782. The best conjectures are πλευμόνων (Wakefield) and πνευμάτων (Headlam: cf. 137-8, 840 = 873, and contrast 906, 938) on which δαιμόνων could well have been the mistaken gloss of a Christian scribe familiar with the ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα of the Gospels.

803 βρωτήρας of a 'devouring' blight, cf. *Ch.* 281 ἐξέσθοντας.

ἄχνας: αἰχμᾶς (M) gives us a metaphor which is both mixed (a 'spear' which 'eats') and strained (since a semi-liquid poison has little in common with a spear-point except that both are deadly); αὖχμούς (Scaliger) would likewise create a confused picture, of a poison that *drips* on the earth and yet makes it *dry*; ἄχνας 'froth' (Musgrave) corresponds excellently to the ever-spreading whitish fungus of 785-7.

σπερμάτων: objective gen. governed by βρωτήρας.

ἀνημέρους: the land that the Athenians made ἡμερωμένη 'tame, domesticated' (14) is threatened by an untamed and untamable blight that will destroy all their achievements.

804 πανδίκως: probably 'unreservedly' (cf. *Th.* 670, *Soph. Tr.* 1247, Hutchinson on *Th.* 171); but -δικ- will also suggest the idea that the honours being offered to the Erinyes are honours to which they are justly entitled (cf. 891).

805-7 The order of phrases is a little clumsy, ξεῖν being separated from its object ἔδρας τε καὶ κευθμώνας by the participial phrase (agreeing with the understood subject ὑμᾶς) that fills 806. It is possible therefore that 805 and 806 should be transposed: the alternative of transposing 806 and 807 would lose the effect of ending the speech on the weighty and vital word τιμαλφουμένας (cf. τιμωμένη 891).

805 ἔδρας τε καὶ κευθμώνας: hendiadys for 'an underground abode' such as befits chthonic deities.

†ἐνδίκου† would presumably imply an assurance to the Erinyes that the Athenians, being a righteous people (cf. 912), will not neglect to pay them the honours they are being promised. But coming so soon after πανδίκως, it is probably corrupt; it could have replaced e.g. ἔνδοθεν (cf. Plato *Prt.* 320d γῆς ἔνδον).

806 Since an ἑσχάρα (see 107-8n.) is not a θρόνος, the meaning must be 'sitting on gleaming thrones hard by your altars' (Lloyd-Jones: ἐπ' 'at, beside' as in *Supp.* 694).

λιπαροθρόνοισιν: the 'thrones' of the Erinyes-Semnai must have been sacred stones in their precinct which were periodically anointed

with oil. For this practice cf. Thphr. *Char.* 16.5 (with Ussher's note), Paus. 10.24.6, Burkert 72; for the use of a sacred stone as a *θρόνος* cf. *Od.* 3.406–11 where Nestor sits in state on 'polished stones ... gleaming with oil'. This picture of the Erinyes–Semnai in their future sanctuary, sitting on sacred stone *θρόνοι* next to an *ἐσχάρα*, harks back in some ways to the stage-picture of 64ff. which showed them sitting on *θρόνοι* (47) next to the sacred navel-stone (which was gleaming, they claimed, not with oil but with blood (164–8)) at the *ἐστία* of Apollo (itself sometimes called an *ἐσχάρα*, e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 1240). But at Delphi the Erinyes were unwanted invaders: at Athens they will be honoured residents.

824–36 The balance of Athena's second speech is very different from that of her first; indeed the whole essential content of 795–803 is here summed up in two lines (824–5). Her promises are both greater and more precise than those of 804–7: the Erinyes are to dwell, not merely in the Attic soil (805), but with Athena (833), and mention is made of specific sacrifices which will be offered to them (834–5). These cultic particulars may well suffice to make it clear to the audience that the Erinyes are being identified with the Athenian Semnai (cf. Intr. §2).

824 *ἄτιμοι* directly picks up *ἀτιμοπενθεῖς* (823).

μηδ' ὑπερθύμως: cf. 801 *μη θυμοῦσθε*.

825 *θεαὶ βροτῶν*: the pointed juxtaposition of the contrasting nouns suggests that the divinity of the Erinyes and the mortality of their potential victims is somehow relevant to the impropriety of their threatened action. Athena, Apollo and Zeus all have great power to help or injure mortals; but during this play they have consistently acted in such a way as to ensure that mortals are not injured unjustly. Such, they seem to believe, is the duty of a god (cf. Intr. §5). They could if they wished compel the Erinyes to follow the same principle (826–8), but prefer to persuade them to do so voluntarily.

κτίσῃτε 'make, render' (cf. 17, 714, *Ch.* 441, 1060) is a highly probable correction of *στήσῃτε* (MSS). The nearest parallel for the latter is probably Soph. *OC* 1041 *πρὶν ἂν σε τῶν σῶν κύριον στήσω τέκνων*, but there, as Groeneboom notes, *ἴστημι* is appropriate because the return of his daughters will restore Oedipus to a position of stability and security – the reverse of what the Erinyes are threatening to do.

δύσκηλον: this adjective is found only here, but would naturally be taken as the antonym of *εὐκηλος* 'calm, quiet' (*Th.* 238, 590) and

hence as meaning something like 'troubled'; in addition, the collocation βροτῶν ... δύσκηλον χθόνα recalls the βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώραι of 787 = 817 and suggests the idea of pollution or disease.

826 **κάγώ πέποιθα Ζηνί** '⟨just as you can rely on your power to poison the soil, so⟩ I too have something I can rely on: Zeus'.

καὶ – τί δεῖ λέγειν; Aposiopesis: she might have said 'and the power of Zeus is overwhelmingly superior to yours', but it is more effective to leave this to be understood.

827-8 Not only can Athena rely upon Zeus to use his power, embodied in the thunderbolt, on her behalf; she can also, if she wishes, use it herself. This is our earliest reference to Athena as having the right to use the thunderbolt, but the idea may not have been invented by Aesch.: Eur. *Tr.* 80-1 probably goes back to a source earlier than *Eu.*, since there Zeus lends the thunderbolt to Athena for use on a specific occasion, whereas here she has access to keys that enable her to take it out whenever she pleases. In Hellenistic times and later Athena/Minerva is frequently associated with the thunderbolt (see Cook III 867-73).

Athena is making a veiled threat – but unlike the Erinyes, she does not want to unveil it. It is significant that the thunderbolt is now under lock and seal (cf. 828n.), whereas early in the trilogy it was in active use (*Ag.* 470; cf. *Ag.* 651 πύρ). At that time Zeus employed the overwhelming force at his disposal with little or no restraint; now he uses it only when necessary – and this time, as Athena correctly judges, it will not be necessary.

827 δώματος: here 'chamber' rather than 'house'.

μόνη θεῶν: sc. except Zeus.

828 ἐσφραγισμένος: a chest containing valuables, a store-chamber, or even the women's quarters of a house, might have a seal placed on the lid or door as a precaution against unauthorized entry. If the seal was broken it could not be remade except by the possessor of the original signet, and hence, while sealing could not physically prevent intrusion, it did ensure that intrusion could not go undetected. Cf. Eur. *Phaethon* 221-3 Diggle; Ar. *Lys.* 1195-9, *Th.* 414-15, 424-8; Plato *Lg.* 954a-b; Thphr. *Char.* 18.4; Fraenkel on *Ag.* 609. But normally 'the seal was a substitute for the lock and key and not an additional safeguard' (Diggle on Eur. l.c., citing D.L. 4.59 as evidence); if the thunderbolt is under lock (cf. κληίδας) and seal, then it is indeed well and truly shut away!

829 **σύ:** in 794-807 (except for **σέθεν** 796) and in 824-5 Athena addressed the chorus in the plural; from here to 913 (except in 851-2) she will consistently use the singular, thus heightening the directness and intensity of her appeal (cf. 103, 526-8nn.).

830 **μὴ 'κβάληις ἔπη χθονί:** the Erinyes' blighting poison is here, it would seem, conceived as being contained in the bitter words they are uttering, in contrast with the **μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον** flowing from Athena's tongue (886). Cf. *Ag.* 1662-3 **ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἔμοι ματαίαν γλώσσαν ὦδ' ἴσπανθίσαι** **κᾶκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα.**

831 'That all fruit-bearing things should fare ill': this is the substance of the **ἔπη** which the Erinyes are being asked not to utter, **μὴ πράσσειν** corresponding to **μὴ πρασσέτω** of direct speech. There are two other possible analyses. (1) The infinitive might be taken as final-consecutive (cf. 164-8n.), giving the sense 'with the result that all fruit-bearing things fare ill'. One would, however, expect **τὸ μὴ** (cf. 220, *Ag.* 1171), especially as it is not usual for a bare final-consecutive infinitive, unsupported by either an article or **ὡς/ὥστε**, to have an expressed accusative subject. (2) Groeneboom construes **ἔπη ... καλῶς** as 'words bringing for the land the result (**καρπὸν** being metaphorical cf. 714 **ἄκαρπῶτους**) that all goes badly'; but would anyone understand **καρπὸν** metaphorically in this context, when so much has been said about the blighting of real crops (783-7 = 813-7, 801-3)?

832 The alliteration of **κ, μ, ν** reinforces the idea of soothing and calming troubled waters: the storms that have raged through the trilogy ever since the Greek fleet was detained at Aulis (e.g. *Ag.* 188-202, 624-80, 1180-3; *Ch.* 202-3, 1065-7; *Eu.* 553-65; cf. J. J. Peradotto, *A.J.Ph.* 85 (1964) 383-8) are being lulled to rest.

κελαινοῦ κύματος alludes (1) to 'the black colour of the agitated sea' (FJW on *Supp.* 785), cf. *Il.* 7.63-4, *Od.* 4.402, (2) to black gall (cf. **πικρόν**) surging near the heart of a person in an agitated state (cf. *Ch.* 183-4 **κάμοι προσέστη καρδίαι κλυδώνιον χολῆς**).

833 **ὥς** sc. **οὔσα** (not **ἐσομένη**, which could not have been omitted); the Erinyes are *already* **σεμνόντιμοι** (cf. **οὐκ ἔστ' ἄτιμοι** 824).

ξυνοικήτωρ ἔμοι: from what we have been told so far, this *might* mean no more than 'a resident in Attica'; but in fact Athena intends to make the Erinyes very near neighbours to herself (855).

834-5 **πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆσδε:** the initial placing of **πολλῆς** may give it some predicative force ('of this land, mighty as it shall be').

τὰκροθίνια is a noun (as always elsewhere), with **θύη** in apposition to it: 'the first-fruits (the choicest products) in the form of sacrifices'. These are perhaps the first pure, unflawed sacrifices (cf. 102, 304-5nn.) to be mentioned in the trilogy; in due course sacrificial animals will form part of the final procession (1006, 1021-47n.).

πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους: if **πρὸ** is to bear the same meaning with both nouns, that meaning must be 'before'. The sacrifices **πρὸ γαμηλίου τέλους** are clearly **προτέλεια**, sacrifices offered by or on behalf of maidens before their marriage (see W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng. tr. 1983) 62-3): the word **προτέλεια** appeared thrice in *Ag.* (65, 227, 720) in blood-stained contexts; in *Ch.* 486-7 Electra promised to bring an offering to her father's tomb when she married - on condition that he aided in the murder of her mother; now at last we hear of true and pure **προτέλεια** with no sinister associations. The other phrase, **πρὸ παίδων**, will then mean 'before childbirth' (cf. Eur. *El.* 625-6 'I saw Aegisthus preparing a feast in honour of the Nymphs.' - **τροφεία παίδων**, ἢ **πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου**); though in another context it might mean 'for the boon of children' (cf. Eur. *IA* 1201). Marriage and childbirth have both had perverted outcomes during the trilogy - a father has killed his daughter, a wife her husband, a son his mother - and the Erinyes have had much to do with these horrors: now they will be propitiated in advance of marriage and childbirth, and will bless their worshippers accordingly (cf. 909, 956-7). This passage is our only evidence that the Semnai received sacrifices on these occasions.

836 τόνδ' ἐπαινέσεις λόγον 'you will be grateful to me for making this offer' (cf. *Pr.* 340); later Athena for her part will express gratitude to the Erinyes for the blessings they invoke upon Athens (αἰνῶ 1021) and in due time the Athenians will feel equally grateful when these blessings are fulfilled (οὐτι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου 1019-20).

837-47 = 870-80 The chorus angrily reject Athena's offer, regarding it as no more than a crafty device (847 δόλοι) to deprive them of their ancient τιμαί (839, 845). At least, however, they have (literally) changed their tune, and there are some slight signs that they may be being persuaded despite themselves: they no longer make explicit threats to harm Attica (though a threat may still be implied in 840), and they are stricken with a mysterious pain in the sides (842) similar to that which they felt after hearing the 'just reproaches' of Clytaemestra (155-61, cf. 135-6).

The metre is often as uncertain as the text, but the most coherent analysis takes it as wholly dochmiac, punctuated by exclamations *extra metrum*. See Appendix.

837 ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε 'to think that I should be treated so!', the exclamatory infinitive (Goodwin 314), cf. *Ag.* 1662-4, *Soph. Aj.* 410-11. On παθεῖν cf. 143-5n.

838 παλαιόφρονα 'old and wise', cf. *Supp.* 361 (γεραίοφρων), 593. Athena takes the first opportunity to assure the Erinyes that she recognizes and respects their superior age and (she says) their superior wisdom (848-9).

γὰν: sc. τάνδε. The Erinyes, who had previously (711, 720) *threatened* to remain in Attica if dishonoured, are now *refusing* to remain there despite offers of honour if they do: cf. 778-891n.

839 μύσος: here seemingly 'an object of loathing' (cf. μυσάπτομαι, μύσαγμα: see FJW on *Supp.* 995); not 'pollution, polluting presence', since the Erinyes cannot suppose that Athena wants them to remain in Attica in order to pollute it.

840 πνέω: cf. 137, *Ch.* 33, 952, *Ag.* 1235-6; the verb and its cognates have also often been used of violent winds (*Ag.* 192, 654, 1181; *Ch.* 1067) and so are linked to the storm theme (cf. 832n.).

μένος: sc. ἅπαν, the adjective being construed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (cf. 9n.) with both nouns: cf. *Soph. OT* 417 μητρός τε καὶ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, *Eur. Supp.* 22-3. The Erinyes are breathing forth 'total fury and total wrath'.

842 δᾶ is a cry of distress: cf. *Ag.* 1072 (where see Fraenkel), *Pr.* 568.

843 μ' ... πλευράς: the 'whole and part' construction (cf. 88n.).

ὑποδύεται 'penetrates'.

πλευρὰς ὀδύνα: the MSS add θυμόν, which makes neither sense nor metre (unless it is treated as the opening of the next sentence and colon — but this would greatly weaken the force of the appeal αἰε μᾶτερ Νύξ) and must be deleted; perhaps it originated as a gloss on μένος or κόπον (840-1). No further change is required, for — — — can be interpreted as a resolved form of × — — which is sometimes found as a substitute for a dochmiac (cf. West 100, 111, 112); insertion of a second τίς to create a true dochmiac (πλευράς, τίς ὀδύνα H. L. Ahrens: τίς ὀδύνα πλευράς Hermann) is an unconvincing expedient, since when τίς is redundantly repeated in this way, any words intervening between the first and second τίς are normally postpositives (cf. e.g. *Soph. Aj.*

879-87 τίς ἂν δῆτά μοι, τίς ἂν φιλοπόνων ἀλιαδᾶν ... ἀπύοι;). See A. M. Dale, *B.I.C.S. Suppl.* 21.3 (1983) 27.

845-7 The construction is: (οἱ) δυσπάλαμοι δόλοι (οἱ τῶν) θεῶν με ἀπ-ῆραν (ἀπό τῶν ἐμῶν) δηναιῶν τιμῶν (ὥστε με) παρ' οὐδέν (γενέσθαι).

δυσπάλαμοι: either 'hard to handle, irresistible' (cf. *Supp.* 867 αἱ γὰρ δυσπαλάμως ὄλοιο) or possibly 'evil-contriving' (cf. *Ag.* 1609 where Aegisthus boasts of having employed πᾶσαν ... μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας against Agamemnon).

παρ' οὐδέν '⟨so as to make me⟩ of no account'; cf. *Soph. Tr.* 240-1 ἥριε τῶνδ' ἀνάστατον ... χώραν 'he was trying to take their city so that it should be sacked', 'he was trying to take and sack their city', K-G I 276.

ῆραν: to be taken closely with ἀπό (tmesis, cf. 259n.), 'have surrendered' (me from my privileges).

848-50 Athena feels it necessary to apologize (cf. 838n.) for presuming to tender advice to goddesses so much older (and therefore, she says, wiser) than herself. For the paradox of the young instructing the old cf. *Ag.* 584, 1619-23, *Ch.* 171.

848 ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σοι 'I will be indulgent towards your anger'; for this sense of ξυμφέρω (almost equivalent to συγγιγνώσκω) the nearest parallel is perhaps *Soph. OC* 641 'I give you a free choice between these two alternatives: τῇιδε γὰρ ξυνοίσομαι'.

849 τῷ: by virtue of being older.

851 ὑμεῖς: only here between 825 and 1003 are the Erinyes addressed in the plural (cf. 829n.).

852 γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε 'you will long for this land like lovers', a superb expression of what his country ideally meant to an Athenian: cf. *Ar. Nu.* 300-1 εὐανδρον γὰν Κέκροπος ... πολυήρατον, *Thuc.* 2.43.1 (Pericles) τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργωι θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς.

προυννέπω τάδε 'that (viz. ὑμεῖς - ἐρασθήσεσθε) I solemnly affirm'.

853 τιμιώτερος sc. τοῦ παρόντος ἢ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου: the Athenians of the future (i.e. the fifth century) will win even greater glory than the Athenians of (say) the days of Theseus. Such was the view of Pericles: καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε (sc. οἱ πρόγονοι) ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, κτησάμενοι ... ὅσῃν ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν (*Thuc.* 2.36.2); *Aesch.* too may have been thinking as much of Athens' acquisition of

dominion over numerous Greek states (cf. 399-402n.) as of her victories over the Persians.

855 πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως: the 'house of Erechtheus' was the temple of Athena Polias (cf. 80n.), in which also dwelt Erechtheus (*Il.* 2.547-51, *Od.* 7.81), originally perhaps a god but by the fifth century regarded as a hero, one of the succession of early Athenian kings. As γηγενής (*Hdt.* 8.55.1) he was 'the hero of Attica, personifying the identity and autochthony of its people' (Hainsworth on *Od.* loc. cit.). The vague statement that the Erinyes are to dwell 'near' his temple would in itself describe well enough the actual sanctuary of the Semnai, between the Acropolis and the Areopagus and closer to the latter, but in view of 1025-6 ὅμμα ... πάσης χθονὸς Θησῆιδος (see 1025-6n.) it seems likely that Aesch. has 'taken a slight liberty with topographical fact' (A. L. Brown, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 274) and is envisaging the cave-shrine of the Semnai as being directly below the Acropolis, in order to bring them as close as possible to Athena's own dwelling.

856 ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων: lit. 'men and processions of women', but strongly suggesting that the men too will come in procession, as at the end of the play they do (see 1021-47n.).

ὅσ': for τυγχάνειν governing the acc. of a neuter plural adjective, see 30-1n.

ἀν ... ἄν: cf. *Ag.* 340, *Pers.* 706, Barrett on *Eur. Hipp.* 270.

858-66 were inserted into this speech after the rest of the scene had been written: (1) it is surprising that Athena should ask the Erinyes not to cause civil war, when their threats have been of quite different evils (blight, sterility, disease); (2) with 858-66 included, the present speech is far longer than Athena's other speeches in this scene, whereas it is normal for speeches in epirrhematic scenes to be equal in length or nearly so; (3) τοιαῦθ' (867) links back, not to anything in 858-66, but to 854-7. Accordingly Dindorf deleted the passage, and is followed by e.g. Taplin 407 n. 1. But if the lines are not by Aesch., who wrote them and when? They were written at a time when (a) there was a serious danger of civil war and (b) an abundance of external war could be regarded as a blessing (cf. 864). Both these conditions were satisfied in 458 B.C. (see *Intr.* §6); they were never simultaneously satisfied at any later date. Hence we must accept Dodds' solution (*P.C.P.S.* 6 (1960) 23-4 = *The ancient concept of progress* (1973) 51-2): 'the poet himself ... at some moment when the threat of civil war had grown acute inserted

[858-66] into an already completed draft'. Cf. *Ar. Ra.* 76-82 (inserted after the death of Sophocles, interrupting a discussion of living poets), *Ec.* 1154-62 (inserted after the draw for the order of performance of the competing comedies).

The poet has not wholly neglected to provide verbal links between the inserted passage and the rest of the scene: 858 ἐν ... βάλλῃς ~ 787 = 817, 830; 859 βλάβας ~ 889; 860 θυμώμασιν ~ 801, 824.

It may be useful to point out that Aeschylean authorship of this passage is neither supported (Dodds) nor disconfirmed (Taplin) by the presence of mixed metaphors; there are no mixed metaphors in the passage.

858 ἐν ... βάλλῃς = ἐμβάλλῃς, cf. 259, 787nn.

858-61 μὴ βάλλῃς μὴθ' ... μὴτ': the position of βάλλῃς ought to imply that it will be the main verb of both wings of the sentence, but in fact a new verb (ἰδρύσῃς) is by a slight anacoluthon introduced in the second wing (861-3).

859 αἵματηρὰς θηγάνας 'whetstones of bloodshed', influences that sharpen in men's hearts the spirit of wrathful violence; for θήγειν = 'stimulate to wrath' cf. *Th.* 715, *Supp.* 186, *Pr.* 311.

σπλάγχχων βλάβας: the σπλάγχχνα are not here a physical organ or organs (as 249, *Ag.* 1221) but the seat of 'visceral' emotions (fear in *Ag.* 994, *Ch.* 413; here, anger, cf. *Ar. Ra.* 843 μὴ ... σπλάγχχνα θερμῆς κότῳ).

860 αἰνοῖς: when young men get drunk, rowdiness and violence are to be expected, and do little harm; the violence that is a real social danger arises from other causes, e.g. from the passion for revenge (cf. 980-3). In addition αἰνοῖς has associations (1) with the Erinyes and similar deities (cf. 107-8n.), (2) with joylessness and grief (wine is μελιθεῖς, πανσίλυπος, etc., from Homer on).

ἐμμανεῖς 'making them mad', belonging in sense to μαίνω rather than μαίνομαι, as ἀτερπής, ἐπιτερπής, εὐτερπής usually belong to τέρπω rather than τέρπομαι: cf. also the plant-name ἵππομανές 'horse-maddener' (*Theoc.* 2.48-9).

861 'Nor, making their hearts seethe like the hearts of (fighting-) cocks, ...'

ἐκζέουσ': on ἐξελοῦσ' (MSS) Page rightly comments 'non intellegitur', and the scholiast, who glosses with ἀναπτερώσασα, clearly read

something different. Musgrave's conjecture accounts excellently for both the corruption and the gloss ('causing to seethe' glossed as 'exciting'), and has the support of *Pr.* 370 ἐξαναζέσει χόλον and *Th.* 709.

ὥς should logically follow rather than precede καρδίαν: the construction of the simile would then resemble that of *Ag.* 1382-3 ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον ὥσπερ ἰχθύων περιστιχίζω. For the order found here cf. Plato *Phlb.* 61c καθάπερ ἡμῖν οἶνοχόοις τισὶ παρεστᾶσι κρῆναι.

ἀλεκτόρων: the cock was regarded as the embodiment of pugnacity ('Ἀρεως νεοττός *Ar. Av.* 835), a creature that would unhesitatingly fight even against its own father (*Ar. Nu.* 1427-9, *Av.* 757-9, 1347-52).

862 Ἄρη 'a spirit of violence' (cf. 355-6n.).

864 οὐ μόλις παρών 'presenting itself without stint', 'available in abundance' (for οὐ μόλις cf. *Ag.* 1082, *Eur. Hel.* 334): an astonishing phrase, implying a frank, unashamed, almost cheerful militarism which Athens can hardly ever have known *except* in the opening phase of the First Peloponnesian War. It is one thing to say 'may all your wars be victorious' (cf. 777, 915, 1009) or 'may all your wars be against foreign foes'; it is quite another to say 'may you have warfare in abundance', and it is extremely revealing of Athenian feelings - and Aesch.'s feelings - in 458 B.C. that this should be regarded as a blessing. The normal Greek attitude was well expressed by Herodotus 8.3.1 στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιόν ἐστι ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης: cf. also *Supp.* 663-6, 701-3, *Pi. Pae.* 9.13-15. See *Intr.* §6.

865 ἐν ᾧ '<for him> in whom'; for the omission of the antecedent (which would have been a dat. pronoun, governed by παρών) cf. *Soph. Ph.* 957 παρέξω δαῖθ' ὑφ' ὧν ἐφερβόμην, *X. Mem.* 1.2.6 διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ὧν λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν, *K-G II* 402. Young men with a 'formidable desire for glory' will have every opportunity to earn it in external war, and will have no need to seek it at the expense of their fellow-citizens. To take πόλεμος as the antecedent of ἐν ᾧ results in εὐκλείας ἔρως being oddly said to reside in a war instead of in human hearts; moreover, one would then expect ἔστω rather than ἔσται.

866 ἐνοικίου ... ὄρνιθος 'of a cock on his own midden', cf. *Ag.* 1671 κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας, *Pi. O.* 12.14-15 ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ ... ἀκλεῆς τιμά. The fighting-cock image 'rings' with 861 (cf. 20n.).

οὐ λέγω 'I make no account of' (= ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιοῦμαι, cf. *Ch.* 989 Αἰγίσθου γὰρ οὐ λέγω μόνον), dismissing the 'valour' shown in civil strife as worthy only of contempt.

867 τοιαῦθ': the honours described in 854-7 (see 858-66n.); 868-9 then follow in apposition.

868 'Well doing and well done by and well honoured'. The application of the maxim δράσαντα παθεῖν to good actions (cf. 413, 435, 725-6nn.) is here embodied in a simple but powerful rhetorical *tricolon* of 3 + 4 + 5 syllables. This line is the first definite indication that Athena hopes to turn the Erinyes ('born to do evil' according to 71 and 125) into *benefactors* of Athens.

869 θεοφιλεστάτης: cf. 911, 999, *Pers.* 347 θεοὶ πόλιν σώιζουσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς, Sol. fr. 4.1-4, Eur. fr. 330 K-A, Plato *Mx.* 237c, Isoc. 12.125, Dem. *Ep.* 4.3.

870-80 Athena's seemingly irresistible eloquence is nevertheless resisted - but for the last time.

881 τὰγαθὰ 'these benefits' (which I am offering).

882-4 Athena's offers of honours to the Erinyes are made in the joint name of herself and the Athenian people (ἐμοῦ ... καὶ πολιτισσούχων βροτῶν): the goddess of the πόλις is part of the πόλις (cf. 711-53n., end).

νεωτέρας ... παλαιά: cf. 848-50.

ἔρρειν: cf. 300-1n.

ἀπόξενος properly denotes one who is *forced* to depart (usually as an exile) from his *own* land (*Ag.* 1282, *Ch.* 1042; cf. *Soph. El.* 777, Eur. *Hec.* 1221); thus by using it here Athena is speaking as if (a) Attica were the Erinyes' true home, (b) they (rather than she) were eager that they should dwell there. She *presupposes* the propositions that she wishes to persuade them to accept.

885-91 The issue is finally presented in its simplest terms: are the Erinyes to remain or to depart? Normally, it would be for the 'resident' (here Athena) to decide whether or not a 'visitor' should be allowed to remain. This time, however, the decision is in the hands of the 'visitors' themselves: if they depart, it will be by their own will (887 θέλεις). Another decision is also in the Erinyes' hands: if they choose to leave Attica, they must decide whether to depart in peace, or whether to poison the land before they go (887-9). Athena no longer entreats them not to do the latter: she points out to them that their own

principles of justice forbid it (888-91), and it seems to be her appeal to these principles, combined with an assurance (891) that the Athenians will respect the same principles in paying honour to the Erinyes, that at last wins them over.

885 Πειθοῦς: Persuasion has been a rather sinister force through much of the trilogy (cf. Goldhill 44). In *Ag.* 385-6 Peitho was πᾶσις ἄφερτος Ἄτας, and that play contains two major examples of her deadly workings - Agamemnon persuading himself that the sacrifice of his daughter is necessary and right (*Ag.* 205-17) and Clytaemestra persuading him to walk on the precious vestments (*Ag.* 905-57). In *Ch.* 726 Peitho helps to bring about the liberation of Argos and the restoration of the legitimate royal line, but she is still δολία, and the most notable single act of πειθῶ in *Ch.* is when Pylades' few words convince the hesitating Orestes that he must kill his mother without αἰδώς (*Ch.* 899-903). Even at Orestes' trial, the persuasive words of Apollo were not without δόλος (cf. 566-777, 609-73, 631-2, 657-66, 717-18nn.). In the present scene, on the other hand, Athena's persuasion has been honest in itself and has been employed for a purpose that is unequivocally good (the well-being of the Athenian people). Thus at the end of the trilogy πειθῶ, like many other things, turns from a curse into a blessing. See R. G. A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek tragedy* (1982) 105-14.

886 μείλιγμα 'charm' was used in 107 of propitiatory offerings to the Erinyes: it is the power of persuasion that will at last propitiate them effectively.

θελκτήριον (here a noun): cf. 81-2n.

887 σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν is a rather weaker expression than we might have expected after 885-6, some of whose language (ἄγνόν ... σέβας) almost implied that to reject Athena's persuasion would be impious. This and the particle-combination δ' οὖν, which often marks a break in the thought, suggest that what Athena says here is not what she originally meant to say: she breaks off the eloquent appeal, couched in high-flown language, that was taking shape in 885-6, to say 'well, all that really matters is: please do stay'. For the use of δ' οὖν to cut short an expansive train of thought and return to what is essential, cf. *Ag.* 34, 224, 254, 1568; see Denniston 461-4.

888 ἐπιρρέποις 'let fall on', 'bring upon', cf. *Ag.* 251; a faded metaphor derived from the idea of Zeus holding the scales of destiny (cf. Thgn. 157).

890 γαμόρωι ‘a landholder’. Since only citizens of a πόλις could normally own land within its boundaries, the word suggests (like χώρας μετασχεῖν 869) that the Erinyes are to become part of the Athenian civic body (cf. *Supp.* 613 where γαμόρων clearly means ‘of the citizens’). Only at the end (1011, 1018, 1028n.) do we learn that they are to be μέτοικοι, honoured residents in the πόλις but not members of it: for if they are to retain their function of judging not only individual πολῖται but the πόλις as a whole (cf. 927–31, 992–5, 996–1000), they cannot themselves be wholly incorporated into the πόλις.

891 δικάίως: to be taken with τιμωμένῃ.

ἐς τὸ πᾶν ‘for ever’ (cf. 83n.).

τιμωμένῃ: Athena ends by insisting yet again that the Erinyes are not going to be ἄτιμοι.

There now follows a moment of silence while we wait to see whether the chorus will respond to Athena’s fourth speech with yet another lyrical outburst of rage. When instead, in speech and not song, their leader asks a question indicating constructive interest in Athena’s proposal, the last turning-point of the trilogy has been passed and its last conflict is almost at an end.

892–915

In this transitional passage, Athena first assures the Erinyes that residence in Athens will bring them security (893), honour and power (895, 897) for ever (899); at this they lay aside their wrath (900) and at once, in place of their previous threats to curse Attica, they ask what *blessings* they shall call down upon the land (902). Athena’s reply, which begins and ends with νίκη (903, 915), asks them to pray that all the powers of nature (904–6) shall cause plant life (907a), animal life (907b–8), and especially human life (909–12) always to flourish, while she herself will give Athens success in war (913–15). In the ensuing choral songs this programme is followed with some additions (see 916–1020n.).

892 ἔξαι (cf. 807) is necessary: with ἔχειν (MSS) the question might be confusingly misunderstood as referring to some *existing* abode.

893 πάσης ἀπῆμον οἰζύος: an abode ‘unpained by any distress’, i.e. free from all pain and distress.

894 καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι ‘well, suppose I do accept it’, granting a hypothesis for the sake of argument (Denniston 253).

τιμή: Athena in her reply takes this as meaning ‘function’ (cf. 209, 419).

μένει ‘lies in store’, ‘is reserved’: cf. 544, *Supp.* 435.

895 The Erinyes, whose activities hitherto have been associated with ‘the overthrow of houses’ (cf. 354–5n.), are now invited to strengthen and sustain the οἴκοι of those who revere them.

ὥς: in prose one would have said τοσαύτη τιμὴ ὥστε ...

ἄνευ σέθεν ‘without your aid’.

896 ὥστε με: or ὥστ’ ἐμέ (Blaydes), giving a contrast σύ ~ ἐμέ which would well express the Erinyes’ incredulity that *Athena* (one of the younger gods whom they see as habitually ‘riding roughshod’ over their τιμαί) should be conferring such great power on *them*.

897 συμφοράς ‘fortunes’. More often than not this word refers to misfortunes (cf. *Ag.* 18, *Ch.* 12, 30, 718, 931, *Eu.* 437, 509); even the conquest of Troy (called a συμφορά at *Ag.* 24, 325, 572) proved a dubious blessing. In *Ch.* 1064, however, the chorus-leader prayed for Orestes θεὸς φυλάσσοι καιρίοισι συμφοραῖς, and now the word reappears referring primarily to good fortune, as it will again in the last line sung by the chorus (1020) and the last line spoken by *Athena* (1031).

ὀρθώσομεν: 1st pl. for 1st sing., as is shown by πράξεις 896, θήσῃ 898. Normally the rewarding of piety, or the punishing of impiety, are matters for the particular deity concerned; but here *Athena* says that *she* will use her own power to ensure that the Erinyes are properly honoured.

899 *Athena* is not making her offer under duress: she was free not to make it, and therefore the fact that she *has* made it shows that it is genuine. Cf. *Soph. OT* 1520 ἄ μὴ φρονῶ γὰρ οὐ φιλῶ λέγειν μάτην.

ἄ is indefinite (hence μή).

τελῶ: probably future indicative (‘intend to fulfil’) rather than present subjunctive: cf. 618n.

900 θέλξιν μ’ ἔοικας: so *Athena*’s θελκτήριον (886) has been effective; and though it may be true that οὐθ’ ὑποκαίων οὐτ’ ἀπολείβων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει (*Ag.* 69–71), yet such anger *can* be charmed away by honest persuasion.

901 ἐπικτήσῃ φίλους: ἐπι- gives the meaning ‘you will acquire *new* friends’, viz. the Athenians, who will be friendly towards the Erinyes now that the latter have agreed to be friendly towards them (δράσαντα παθεῖν).

902 τί οὖν: tragedy admits hiatus in this collocation (e.g. *Supp.* 306,

Soph. *Ph.* 100, Eur. *Hec.* 820), as also in τί ἐστί (*Pers.* 693), τί εἶπας (Soph. *Tr.* 1203), and probably τί οὐ (Eur. *Ph.* 878).

ἐφθυμῆσαι 'invoke upon' (the invocation need not be in song, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1305, though in this case it will be).

903 νίκης μὴ κακῆς: a victory (cf. 777n.) that does not reflect discredit on the victor: cf. *Th.* 716 where the νίκη κακή would be a Theban victory gained under Eteocles' command but without his fighting in person as he had promised to do. Here the victory has been won by Athena and the Athenians, and it is μὴ κακή because it has not involved the other party, the Erinyes, in unjust disgrace or ἀτιμία.

ἐπίσκοπα 'appropriate to' (lit. 'hitting the target of'): cf. Soph. *Aj.* 975-6 (Teucer has just been heard crying ἰὼ μοί μοι) δοκῶ Τεύκρου κλύειν | βοῶντος ἄτης τῆσδ' ἐπίσκοπον μέλος.

904-6 The four powers of nature mentioned here – earth, sea, sky and wind – appeared together in *Ag.* 555-66, where all alike brought suffering to the Greeks encamped before Troy, and in *Ch.* 585-93 where all alike bred destruction; now all are to confer blessings on Athens, and the storm-winds that have raged through so much of the trilogy (cf. 832n.) are transformed into the soft breezes of a sunny day.

δρόσου: here simply 'waters' (LSJ δρόσος 1. 2), but the choice of word is due to the thematic importance in the trilogy of dew and other dripping liquids (cf. 53-4n.).

εὐηλῖως 'with bright sunshine'.

ἐπιστείχειν 'come to, enter', cf. Pi. *I.* 6.21.

907-9 These blessings correspond to the curses threatened in 780-7.

ἐπίρρυτον 'in an abundant stream', cf. *Ag.* 1509-10 ὁμοσπόροις ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων, Eur. *Med.* 1229, *Andr.* 349, Hdt. 9.38.2 ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες 'reinforcements are streaming into the Greek camp'.

μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ: the blessing is not merely fertility, but fertility that shall never fail: cf. 83n.

σωτηρίαν, like the preceding infinitives, depends on ἐφθυμῆσαι (902). The specific blessing meant here is probably that women shall be spared miscarriage and untimely birth (cf. 661 ἔσωσεν ἔρνος οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός).

910 τῶν δ' εὐσεβούντων: the decision between this (Heath) and τῶν δυσσεβούντων δ' (M) depends on the interpretation of ἐκφορωτέρα (see next n.).

ἐκφορωτέρα 'more productive': cf. Aesch. fr. 99.8-9 κοῦκ ἐμέμψατο τοῦ μή 'ξενεγκεῖν σπέρμα γενναῖον πατρός, Hdt. 1.193.2 καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν, Antiphon the Sophist fr. 60 D-K οἷον ἂν τις τὸ σπέρμα ἐναρόσῃ, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἔκφορα δεῖ προσδοκᾶν. The Erinyes are being asked to ensure, not only that the Athenians are fruitful and multiply, but that a high proportion of their offspring are of pious and virtuous character; for only thus can the Athenians remain an ἀπένθητον γένος as Athena desires (911-12). Many, retaining τῶν δυσσεβούντων δ', have sought to understand ἐκφορωτέρα as 'more ready to weed out'; but (i) such an interpretation finds no support in the usage of ἐκφέρειν or its derivatives until a much later period, (ii) the simile of 911 cannot be read back into 910 and in any case refers to Athena, not to the Erinyes, (iii) the request to 'weed out' the wicked would be wholly isolated in a speech which otherwise ignores the Erinyes' punitive functions and speaks only of blessings.

911 στέργω: Athena is the first and only *loving* deity in the trilogy (cf. 999 παρθένου φίλος φίλοι): in all her actions in this play she has had the welfare of Athens at heart.

φτυποίμενος: a 'shepherd of plants' is a cultivator who feels the same personal bond to each one of his plants that a shepherd feels to each animal in his flock; this would be particularly true of grape-, olive- and fig-growers, who were numerous in Attica and whom comedy normally regards as typical of the Attic peasantry (e.g. Dicaeopolis in Ar. *Ach.*, Trygaeus and the chorus in Ar. *Pax*). In *Ag.* the life of a human being, Iphigeneia, was accorded *no more* respect than that of a goat (*Ag.* 232) or a lamb (*Ag.* 1415-16) by her own father; this simile, by contrast, shows even vegetable life being accorded *no less* respect than is the flock of a good shepherd.

912 τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ... γένος 'the race to which these righteous men belong'. The 'righteous men' are the Areopagites, who are ἀστών ... τὰ βέλτατα (487); not the Athenians as a whole (or the audience), since both the request made in 910 and the warnings given in 928-37, 954-5 imply that not *all* Athenians are or will be δίκαιοι. Athena loves and protects the whole Athenian people because of the outstanding virtue of the best among them; here again there is a contrast with *Ag.*, in which the whole Trojan people was hated by the gods and destroyed because of the crime of a single Trojan, Paris (*Ag.* 60-7, 362-402, 524-37, 699-749, 812-17).

ἀπένθητον is proleptic (cf. 845-7n. (παρ' οὐδέν)), = ὥστε ἀπένθητον εἶναι.

913-15 Aesch. desires to end this speech with the blessing of victory in war (cf. 777n.), and since neither the Erinyes nor the Semnai were martial deities, he makes Athena give this blessing herself.

τοιαῦτα σοῦστι (= σοί ἐστι) 'such things are yours' (sc. to grant).

τῶν ἀρειφάτων ... ἀγώνων 'in martial struggles': for the gen. cf. 776-7n. (δορός).

πρεπτῶν 'glorious' (cf. πρέψετε 995): πρέπειν and its derivatives were used 25 times in *Ag.* and *Ch.*, usually of sights, sounds, etc., that were conspicuously evil or tragic (e.g. *Ag.* 241, 321, 389, 431, 687, 1222, 1311, 1428); since *Ch.* 664 this root has appeared only once (185) but now it reappears to announce a conspicuously glorious future for Athens.

οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ ... τιμᾶν: a person ἀνέχεται, or οὐκ ἀνέχεται, a situation that (s)he finds distressing; thus Athena is saying that it would distress her intolerably for Athens not to be a 'city of victory'. Verbs of 'enduring' (ἀνέχεσθαι, ὑπομένειν, etc.) usually govern a participle (e.g. *Ag.* 1273-4), occasionally an infinitive (Cratinus fr. 344 K-A); the article + infinitive here seems to be unique and may be due to the analogy of ἔχεσθαι (cf. Soph. *OT* 1387-8) and ἀπέχεσθαι (cf. Plato *Rep.* 354b). It must be added that while ἀνέξομαι can be defended along the above lines, ἀφέξομαι (Pauw), giving the meaning 'I will not refrain from ...', is very tempting.

ἀστύνικον: again proleptic (cf. 912n.), '〈by making her〉 victorious'. The element ἀστν- is redundant, as sometimes in ἀστυγείτων (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1161 ἀστυγείτονας πόλεις).

916-1020

The Erinyes now deliver the promised blessings upon Athens, in alternation with comments from Athena in which she emphasizes the great power they have to curse as well as to bless, warns the Athenians to give them proper honour, and celebrates her success in persuading them to accept residence in her city. The chorus's final strophe and antistrophe are each introduced by a repeated χαίρετε (996, 1014) which is both a *salvete* from these new μέτοικοι to the city that is receiving them and a *valete* from the performers of the *Oresteia* to its audience (see 997n.); in the meantime (1003-13) Athena is making arrangements for the procession that will conduct the Erinyes-Semnai

to their new home (on the composition of this procession, see 1021-47n.).

The structure of this passage is again epirrhematic, but Athena uses 'recitative' anapaests instead of spoken iambics. Rather similar is *Ag.* 1407-1576 where Clytaemestra answers the chorus's lyrics at first in iambics (until 1447) and subsequently in anapaests; but 'in the *Agamemnon* singers competed; here they complement one another' (Scott 132). Compare also *Ch.* 315-404 where the chorus-leader follows up every third lyric stanza with some comments in anapaests.

The Erinyes' song can be analysed as follows:

- (1) Introduction: I shall honour the city where Zeus and Ares dwell, the city which defends the gods and shrines of Greece (916-20).
- (2) The blessings:
 - (a) For sunshine to help the crops (921-6).
 - (b) Against damage to crops by weather or disease (938-42).
 - (c) For fertility in flock and herd (943-5).
 - (d) For the discovery of rich mineral resources (945-7).
 - (e) That men may not die prematurely (956-7) and that women may not be prevented from marrying (958-67).
 - (f) Against civil strife (976-83) and for civic concord (984-7).
- (3) Greeting and farewell to the Athenians, who
 - (a) have learned wisdom and are under the protection of Zeus and Athena (996-1002),
 - (b) will be richly rewarded if they revere the Erinyes-Scmnai (1014-20).

Of the six blessings, (2a-c) correspond fairly closely to what Athena requested in 903-8, and (2e) varies and expands her request for a blessing on human fertility (909-10). The last blessing, (2f), as the text now stands, picks up 858-66, but that passage was probably a last-minute insertion (see 858-66n.), and Aesch.'s original intention seems thus to have been that the Erinyes' prayer against civil strife should be unforeshadowed and unexpected. Also unforeshadowed is the reference to mineral resources (2d); this, unlike almost everything that Athena did mention in 903-15, has not been a recurrent theme in the trilogy, but the goddesses who are to enrich the Attic soil can hardly not be made to promise the Athenians that *θησαυρὸς χθονός* (*Pers.* 238) which was arguably the original basis of Athens' fifth-century hegemony.

The song repays comparison with the Danaids' song of blessing on Argos in *Supp.* 625–709: they have a number of elements in common, but some points are omitted from one or the other as inappropriate to the singers or the situation – thus the Danaids, fugitives from marriage, do not pray that Argive girls may find husbands, while the Erinyes do not pray that Athens may be spared external war (cf. 864n.) nor that her citizens may be wise, just and pious (cf. *Supp.* 670–3, 694–700, 704–9: the Erinyes themselves have the power to *compel* the Athenians to be just and pious).

The metre of the Erinyes' song is dominated, like that of 490–565, by the lekythion in combination with syncopated iambo-trochaic rhythms; the only major departures from this pattern are a dactylic stretch in the second strophic pair (960–5 = 980–5; cf. 529–35 = 541–7) and the praxillean (– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –) that opens the third (996 = 1014). For details see Appendix.

Each of Athena's five interventions begins with a reference to what the chorus have just been singing. After this, the first two (927–37, 948–55) concentrate on the great power of the Erinyes for good *or ill*, warning the Athenians, in effect, that the blessings they are being promised are conditional on their own conduct, and that if they anger these awesome goddesses they will pay grievously for doing so: the trilogy must not be allowed to end on a note of irresponsible euphoria. Athena next pays due tribute to the powers that granted her victory in the struggle of 778–891 – Peitho (970), Zeus Agoraios (973), and the 'good' Eris (see 974–5n.) – and then addresses the Athenians again, assuring them that precisely because the Erinyes are 'fearsome' (990) they can bring enormous benefits to Athens. Finally she invites the Erinyes to go to their new home and the Areopagites (cf. 997, 1010–11nn.) to lead them there: the Erinyes–Semnai are asked to preserve Attica from harm and bring the city gain and victory (1007–9), while the Athenians are to 'think favourably of their favours' (1012–13). The fulfilment of the latter injunction is a necessary condition for the fulfilment of the former.

916 Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν: cf. 833 ξυνοικητῶρ ἔμοι.

917 οὐδ' ἀτιμάσω πόλιν: sc. by refusing to dwell there. The Erinyes will honour the city that honours them (cf. 807, 833, 854, 868, 891: δράσαντα παθεῖν again).

918 καί: in addition to Athena.

Ἄρης: Ares is named as third Olympian patron of Athens, alongside Zeus and Athena, not because of the significance of his Athenian cult (which, except at Acharnae – for which cf. *SEG* XXI 519 and Tod *GHI* 204.1–4 – was minimal), nor because of his association with the Areopagus (which is much weaker in *Eu.* than in other accounts of the court's origin: see 682, 685–90nn.), but to symbolize Athenian excellence in war (cf. 864n.).

919–21 φρούριον θεῶν ... ῥυσίβωμον ... ἄγαλμα δαιμόνων: these phrases have little relevance to the Athens of the heroic age; Aesch.'s audience are much more likely to have thought of the Athens of their own day, which claimed to have defended, and to be taking vengeance on behalf of, the gods and their sanctuaries against the sacrilegious Persians who had looted and destroyed temples in Ionia (Hdt. 6.19.3), in the islands (Hdt. 6.96, 6.101.3), in Phocis (Hdt. 8.33), and above all in Athens itself: cf. Hdt. 8.143.2, 8.144.2. Some years later, on the proposal of Pericles, Athens invited all Greek states to send delegates to a congress to discuss *inter alia* 'the Greek sanctuaries which the barbarians had burnt' (Plu. *Per.* 17). Athens the 'protector of altars' may be contrasted, within the trilogy, with the Greeks under Agamemnon who first desecrated (rape of Cassandra, murder of Priam) and then destroyed the altars and temples of Troy (cf. *Ag.* 338–42, 527).

νέμει 'dwells in', cf. 1016–18 δαίμονες τε καὶ βροτοὶ Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες: 'regards as' (cf. 624, Soph. *El.* 150, 598) is less likely, since the opinion of that notoriously stupid god Ares (cf. *Il.* 15. 128–9, 21.410) would be far from compelling evidence of Athens' status or merits.

Ἑλλάνων: an adjective qualifying δαιμόνων, cf. *Ag.* 429 Ἑλλανος αἴας, 1254 Ἑλλην' ... φάτιν. Alternatively one might take Ἑλλάνων as a noun, and punctuate after it; but (1) this would leave the phrase ῥυσίβωμον Ἑλλάνων, describing Athens as a benefactor of the Greeks, uncomfortably sandwiched between two phrases describing her as a benefactor of the gods, (2) the marked sense-pause after the first syllable of a lekythion would be both rhythmically ugly and without parallel in some 200 lekythia in the *Oresteia*.

ἄγαλμα has its original sense, 'that in which one delights'.

922–6 'For which <city> I pray and prophesy with kind intent, that the bright light of the sun shall cause blessings beneficial to her life to burst forth in profusion from the earth.'

ἐπισσύτους 'in profusion' (lit. 'rushing') recalls ἐπίρρυτον (907).

βίου: objective gen. with ὀνησίμους, cf. *Ag.* 1156 γάμοι ... ὀλέθριοι φίλων, Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 1087-9.

ἐξαμβρῦσαι: for ἐξ-ανα-βρῦσαι, cf. 364 ἄγκρισιν.

φαιδρὸν ἁλίου σέλας: see 395-6n.

927 τάδ' is also the first significant word in Athena's next two interventions (948, 968).

προφρόνως 'with goodwill towards': in 968 Athena with the same adverb recognizes similar goodwill towards the Athenians on the Erinyes' part.

928 δυσαρέστους: 'it is partly because they are "not easily appeased" that they are desirable. They will combine promotion of the fertility, etc., of the country with stern discipline where that is necessary' (Rose).

929 αὐτοῦ 'here', cf. 243.

κατανασσαμένη 'causing to settle', from καταναίειν.

930-1 The functions of the Erinyes are here defined very broadly indeed (cf. 210, 310-11, 336-7nn.); in 950-1 they will be extended further still.

γάρ: the universality of the Erinyes' power explains and justifies the epithet μεγάλας (928).

932 γε μήν: cf. 51n. Athena is settling the Erinyes in Athens in order to benefit her people; *nevertheless* to any of them who are wicked the Erinyes will bring ruin.

κύρσας βαρέων τούτων 'who meets with their hostility'; for the construction cf. *Pi. I.* 4.48 προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν 'may we find favour with the Muses'.

βαρέων: masculine for feminine, as often with θήλυς (e.g. *Il.* 19.97; Eur. *Med.* 1084, *Ba.* 828) and occasionally with other -υς adjectives (e.g. *Od.* 4.709 πουλὺν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν, 12.369 ἡδὺς αὐτμή; see K-B 1 445 Anm. 2, Gow on [Theoc.] 20.7). Ahrens' βαρεῶν would have no secure parallel in literary Attic before Philemon (fr. 20 θρασέα γυνή).

933 Cf. 377 πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ'.

ὅθεν πληγαὶ βίотου = ὅθεν πέπληκται βίотος 'whence come the blows that fall upon his life'.

934-7 does *not* mean that the Erinyes' victims are punished for the sins of their ancestors: Athena, having saved a matricide from the Erinyes' wrath, cannot now welcome the prospect of their destroying the innocent. The victim spoken of here is an arrogant boaster (μέγα

φωνοῦντ'), the hybristic child of hybristic parents (cf. *Ag.* 761–71), whose actions display ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων (*Ag.* 727–8). It is in that sense that his ἀπλακήματα are ἐκ προτέρων: he has inherited 'not just guilt but a propensity to incur fresh guilt himself' (Garvie xxviii).

ἀπλακήματα: this variant form of the root of ἀμπλακεῖν appears to occur also in *Soph. OT* 472 (where alone some MSS have preserved it), *Eur. Alc.* 242, *IA* 124.

ἀπάγει: the man's crimes are vividly pictured as themselves 'arresting' him and haling him before the judgement-seat of the Erinyes (τάσδ') as if in the Athenian procedure of ἀπαγωγή (cf. 267–8n.).

σιγῶν δ' ὄλεθρος: destruction strikes the victim down before he even perceives that he is being pursued. For the idea of the silent destroyer cf. *Il.* 19.91–3 Ἄττη ... τῇι μὲν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες, *Hes. Op.* 102–4.

ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς: the wrath is that of the Erinyes, not (as Rose) that of the victim; he cannot be angry with his divine pursuers when he is not aware that they are pursuing him, and anger against some human enemy would here be a distracting irrelevance.

938–41 δέ: continuing the prayer from 926; cf. 956, 976.

χάριν: the only occurrence in *Eu.* of a word that appeared 25 times in *Ag.* and *Ch.*, often in sinister contexts (e.g. *Ag.* 182 δαιμόνων ... χάρις βίαιος, 417, 422, 550, 728, 1058, 1387, 1545, *Ch.* 44, 517, 834); cf. 776–7n.

φλογμούςς ὀμματοστερεῖς φυτῶν 'scorching heat that robs plants of their buds' (cf. LSJ ὀφθαλμός V). If the acc. is correct, it must be taken as object of μὴ πνέοι (cf. 840 πνέω τοι μένος, *Ag.* 1206, 1235–6, 1309, *Ch.* 33, 952, *Soph. Ant.* 1146–7 πῦρ πνειόντων ... ἄστρων): if πνέοι were intransitive and φλογμούςς merely the subject of the infinitive μὴ περᾶν, it could not stand before and outside the article + infinitive construction. The transmitted reading φλογμός ὀμματοστερεῖς can be made to give strophic responsion, and a construction of sorts, by Triclinius' insertion of τ', but μὴ before περᾶν would then be redundant: it makes good sense to say 'may the winds blow no scorching heat, so that the latter does not enter Attica', but hardly 'may there be no blasts of damaging wind or scorching heat, so that they do not enter Attica'. The former suggests that while there may be intense heat elsewhere, the winds will not blow it into Attica; the latter seems to ask for a universal ban on damaging wind or heat, and then, superfluously, to add a specific ban on their entering Attica.

τὸ μὴ περᾶν 'so that it (sc. scorching heat) does not cross'; cf. 220n. τόπων = χώρας, cf. 703, 858.

942 ἄκαρπος 'crop-destroying', cf. 785 λειχὴν ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος.

αἰανής: here clearly 'grievous', cf. 416n.

943-5 The young animals who have been a recurring theme of the trilogy (e.g. *Ag.* 49-54, 118-20, 140-3, 717-26, 1144-5; *Ch.* 247-61, 501; *Eu.* 111, 246) make a reappearance in a more auspicious context than has been usual hitherto.

Πάν: for Pan as a god of shepherds cf. *h. Hom.* 19 (esp. 5, 11, 30, 32); in art he is often accompanied by sheep as well as goats.

ξὺν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρούοις: so that the flocks and herds will multiply rapidly.

χρόνῳ τεταγμένοι: the young are not to be born premature and weak; cf. 907-9n. (σωτηρίαν).

945-7 'And may (sc. the Athenians') offspring ever have riches in their soil, and repay (sc. with sacrifices) the lucky discoveries granted them by the gods.' The word ἐρμαία, implying an unexpected stroke of good fortune or 'windfall', points to 'buried treasure' in the shape of mineral resources (which can normally only be discovered by chance) and hence, for an Athenian, to the silver mines of Laurium (cf. *Pers.* 237-8).

γόνος is likely to refer to the human population of Attica, since it is human beings who 'repay' gods for their gifts (947).

<δ' αἰ>: this supplement, while quite uncertain, is as likely as anything to be right (cf. *Supp.* 704-5 θεοὺς ... αἰεὶ τίοιεν): Hermann's <δὲ γᾶς> requires γόνος to bear a meaning ('produce') unsuited to the context (see previous n.), makes πλουτόχθων tautological, and is not necessarily supported by the scholium ὁ καρπὸς ὁ ἐκ γῆς πλουτίζων which could well have been written to explain the defective text of the MSS.

ἐρμαίαν: Hermes was the god of luck (cf. *Th.* 508); hence the noun ἔρμαιον (e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 397) and the proverb κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς 'finding's sharing' (*Men. Epit.* 284 tr. Arnott).

τίνοι: τίοι (MSS) could not mean '(re)pay', and in the sense 'honour' it would require the givers, not the gift, as object.

948 ἀκούετε: for the sequence ◡◡◡ in recitative anapaests cf. *Eur. El.* 1322-3, *Ion* 226, West 95; against ἀκούεις (Meineke) note that the Areopagites are always addressed in the 2nd pl. (cf. 619-20n.).

πόλεως φρούριον: the Areopagites (cf. 706 φρούρημα γῆς).

949 ἐπικραίνει implies that the Erinyes' blessings on Athens are more than mere wishes or prayers: they have the power (cf. 950–5) to make them effective. The subject is probably τὰδ' ('these words') rather than Ἐρινύς supplied retrospectively from 950: in tragedy, when the chorus are the understood subject of a 3rd-person verb, that verb is always plural (cf. 75, 953, 969; see Kaimio 199, 204–5).

950 Ἐρινύς: like some other divine collectivities, e.g. the Moirai (contrast 961 with 1046), the Erinyes can be referred to in the singular or plural indifferently: thus in references to a 'song of the Erinyes' we find Ἐρινύων at 331, *Ag.* 645, Ἐρινύος at *Ag.* 992.

951 ἀθανάτοισ (ᾱθ-, cf. 349n.): that even the gods may be liable to punishment by the Erinyes was not a wholly new idea (cf. *Intr.* §2), but within this play it links up with other indications that the gods are not irresponsible rulers but can be held to account for their actions towards mortals (cf. 233–4, 480–1, 760, 824–5, 1001–2; see *Intr.* §5).

τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν: the souls of the dead in Hades (cf. 175–8, 267–75, 339–40).

952–3 φανέρ' ὡς τελέως διαπράσσουσιν 'it is manifest how decisively they effect their will'; there is an echo of 319–20 πράκτορες αἵματος ... τελέως ἐφάνημεν.

953 αἰοιδάς: i.e. rejoicing, as the contrast with δακρύων shows.

954–5 δακρύων βίον ἀμβλωπόν 'a dim-sighted life of tears', i.e. a life whose sorrows make the eyes dim with tears.

956–67 Here and in 976–87 the Erinyes invoke upon Athens blessings for which men traditionally looked to Athena and Zeus (cf. *PMG* 884). There is a valuable discussion of 956–67 by H. Petersmann, *Wiener Studien* N.F. 13 (1979) 37–51.

956–7 ἀνδροκμήτας ... ἄωρους ... τύχας: misfortunes whereby men die before their time; there is a close link with what follows, since a high mortality among young men will make it hard to find husbands for young women (cf. *Ar. Lys.* 591–7).

958–9 νεανίδων (trisyllabic, as 978 shows; cf. νεανικήν *Ar. V.* 1067, νεανίων *ib.* 1070) is a subjective gen.: νεανίδων ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε = δότε τὰς νεανίδας ζῆν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τυχεῖν. This prayer may well remind the audience of young women earlier in the trilogy who were denied the right to marry, such as Iphigeneia, Cassandra and Electra.

960–1 δότε 'grant our prayer', cf. 30–1, *Ch.* 18–19.

†κύρι' ἔχοντες θεαὶ τῶν†: a very difficult passage, even after the probable correction of κύρι' (which as a quasi-substantive would be without parallel) into κύρος (Heyse) 'rightful power' (cf. *Supp.* 391). Who are these 'possessors of rightful power (sc. over marriage)'? If they are the Olympian patrons of marriage (Zeus, Hera and perhaps Aphrodite: cf. 213-16), as most recent editors have supposed (generally continuing with Hermann θεαὶ τ' ὧ Μοῖραι), then the voc. participle ἔχοντες absolutely requires the support either of a noun or of the particle ὧ (see J. A. Scott, *A.J.Ph.* 25 (1904) 81; 26 (1905) 35), neither of which is offered by the MSS. Or does the participial phrase describe the Moirai themselves (so Petersmann (956-67n.) 40)? The masculine form of ἔχοντες would not in itself be an insuperable objection to this view, since -ντ- participles can sometimes be treated as two-termination (see V. Langholf, *Hermes* 105 (1977) 290-307; H. Petersmann, *Die Sprache* 25 (1979) 144-66); but it is hard to fathom why Aesch. should have written ἔχοντες at all when he could have written ἔχουσαι, and we would still have to explain or emend θεαὶ τῶν (Wilamowitz took τῶν as pronominal, an idea rightly rejected by Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1102-50; Petersmann proposes θεῶν ὧ where the partitive θεῶν is virtually otiose). It may be best to keep the double reference *both* to the Olympian marriage-gods *and* to the Moirai (as in 213-17 (cf. 217n.), and anticipating the conjunction of Zeus and Moira in 1045-6) but provide a noun for κύρος ἔχοντες to qualify: perhaps then, with Butler, κύρος ἔχοντες θεοὶ καὶ Μοῖραι (καί = 'and especially', cf. 277n., Denniston 291-2).

962 ματροκασιγνήται: the Moirai are children of Night in Hes. *Thg.* 217 (though *ib.* 901-6 their parents are Zeus and Themis).

963 ὀρθονόμοι 'just in apportionment' (Lloyd-Jones).

964 The Moirai must be 'sharers' in every οἶκος, since the continuity of an οἶκος depends upon marriage and birth, with both of which (cf. 217, 334-5nn.) the Moirai are closely connected.

965 ἐπιβριθεῖς 'weighty' occurs only here, but the analogy of the verb ἐπιβριθεῖν suggests that this adjective, unlike βαρύς (cf. 932), might be used as readily of a potent force for good as of one for harm; cf. *Od.* 24.344 (of vines weighed down with fruit), Pi. *P.* 3.105-7 ὄλβος ... πολὺς εὖτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσας ἔπηται.

966 ἐνδίκους ὁμλίας: either (i) 'in their righteous visitations', depending on τιμώταται, or (ii) 'in favour of righteous marriages' (cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1400), depending on ἐπιβριθεῖς; (i) has the advantage over

(ii) that it allows a pause at the end of 965, leaving that colon as a self-contained sense-unit like its phonetic, grammatical and metrical twin 964. For the connection of Dike with Moira and with marriage, cf. 217-18.

967 τιμώταται 'most highly honoured', cf. Hes. *Thg.* 904. No longer do the Erinyes complain, as in 171-3 and 723-8, that Moira or the Moirai are slighted by the younger gods.

969 ἐπικραϊνομένων sc. τῶν Ἐρινύων. The gen. may be a gen. absolute (cf. Soph. *OT* 838 πεφασμένου δὲ (sc. αὐτοῦ) τίς ποθ' ἡ προθυμία;) or it may be governed by γάνυμαι on the analogy of the common gen. with ἄγαμαι.

970-1 To say 'the eyes of Peitho watched over me' is to say 'Peitho blessed and guided me': cf. *Ch.* 1, 489, 583, 1063.

στέργω ... ὅτι 'I am happy that ...': cf. Eur. fr. 912.1-3 σοὶ τῶι πάντων μεδέοντι ... Ζεὺς εἶτ' Ἀίδης ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις. The subject of the subordinate clause (ὄμματα Πειθοῦς) is 'raised' to become object of the governing clause (cf. Eur. *Med.* 248-9 λέγουσι δ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀκίνδυνον βίον ζῶμεν: see K-G II 577-9).

ὄμματα: ὄμμα τὸ M. L. West, *B.I.C.S.* 24 (1977) 101, because 'throughout Greek literature ... the regarding eye of divinity is singular, not plural'; cf. however *Ag.* 520-1 φαιδροῖσι τοῖσιδ' ὄμμασιν δέξασθε ... βασιλέα, 776-8, *Supp.* 812-13.

Πειθοῦς: cf. 885n.

ἐπώπα: imperfect rather than present (ἐπωπαῖ M), since Athena's successful persuasion and the Erinyes' 'savage refusal' both belong to the past (viz. 778-891).

973-5 Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος was patron of the ἀγορά in both its senses, 'public meeting-place' and 'public meeting'; hence his altar stood not only in the ἀγορά itself (at Athens and many other places: cf. *RE* xa 256-8) but also on the Pnyx where the Athenian ἐκκλησία met (*Σ Ar. Eq.* 410; see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 93), and he can be thought of as the patron of politicians (*Ar. Eq.* 410, 500; *Plu. Mor.* 789d). This Zeus, who triumphs by means of words, seems very different from the Zeus of *Ag.* 168-75, to whom ἐπινίκια are to be sung for his triumph in a wrestling bout (cf. τριακτῆρος 173) over his predecessor in power: cf. *Intr.* §5.

ἀγαθῶν ἔρις ἡμετέρα can be taken as meaning either (1) 'my struggle in the cause of good', referring again to 778-891 (for ἔρις used of

only one party to a dispute cf. *Supp.* 645 ἀτιμώσαντες ἔριν γυναικῶν with FJW's note), or (2) 'our rivalry in doing good', implying that henceforth Athena and the Erinyes will vie with each other in conferring blessings on the Athenians (cf. 913-15).

διὰ παντός: again emphasis is put on the *permanence* of the solution reached: cf. 28, 83nn.

976-7 ἄπληστον κακῶν ... στάσιν: the very opposite of ἀγαθῶν ἔρις (see above). The idea of insatiability, expressed by the adjective ἀκόρε(σ)τος, haunted the latter part of *Ag.*, referring either to evil and suffering (*Ag.* 756, 1116, 1143, 1184) or to good things which in excess become dangerous (*Ag.* 1001-2, 1331).

980-3 'And may the dust not drink up the dark blood of the citizens and then, out of passion for revenge, eagerly embrace the city's ruin through retaliatory murder.' In *Ch.* 400-2 it is said that the murder-victim's blood, spilt on the ground, demands (προσσιτεῖν) the shedding of other blood in requital: here similar emotions and desires are ascribed to the very dust in which that blood has been absorbed. The chain of events here deprecated, in which political strife leads to violence and counter-violence ending in the ruin of the πόλις, is not unlike what happened in Argos from the initial political dispute between Atreus and Thyestes (cf. *Ag.* 1585 ἀμφίλεκτος ὦν κράτει) to the overthrow of legitimate government by the διπλῇ τυραννίς (*Ch.* 973) of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus; in those events, however, the Erinyes were intimately involved, and it was they who were described as drinking human blood (*Ag.* 1188-9, *Ch.* 577-8). Now they deplore the vendettas which they once fostered.

πιοῦσα κόνις μέλαν αἷμα: cf. 53-4, 647-8nn.

ἄτας 'ruin', cf. 375-6n.

ἄρπαλίσαι 'embrace, welcome eagerly': cf. *Th.* 242-3 μή νυν, εἰς θνήσκοντος ἡ τετρωμένους πύθησθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἄρπαλίζετε ('greet the news'), Hsch. ἄρπαλίζομαι· ὁσμένως δέχομαι (see V. di Benedetto and F. Maltomini, *Riv. Cult. Class. e Med.* 20 (1978) 864-6). The bloodied dust, and likewise the victims' kin, are so passionately bent on vengeance that for its sake they will gladly let their whole πόλις be ruined.

984-6 χάρματα δ' ἀντιδιδόειν: may they repay good for good (cf. 413, 435, 725-6, 868nn.) rather than repaying harm for harm as occurs in στάσις.

κοινοφιλεῖ διανοοίαι / καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾷ φρενί = διανοοῦμενοι φιλεῖν κοινῇ καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾷ φρενί ‘resolved to be united in their friendship (sc. towards outsiders) and unanimous in their enmity’; there is probably an allusion to the principle τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομίζειν which was often a requirement in treaties of alliance between states (e.g. *IG* 1³ 89.28) and *a fortiori* was vital to civic peace within a state. Alternatively στυγεῖν might be taken as parallel to ἀντιδιδόειν, giving the sense ‘may they return joy for joy in a spirit of common love, and may they hate with one accord’ (Weir Smyth), with κοινοφιλεῖ referring to the mutual amity of the citizens themselves.

987 ἄκος: the first real, effective, permanent cure for man’s ills to have been mentioned in the trilogy (unless καμόντα ... ὥρθωσεν is to be restored at 751): see 503–7n.

988 ἄρα: the speaker is so confident of an affirmative answer that she does not trouble to appeal explicitly for one with ἄρ’ οὐ: cf. *Ch.* 297, *Pr.* 735–7 (see Denniston 46–7).

φρονούσιν ‘have the wisdom to ...’; so probably *Supp.* 773 φρόνει ... μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν. Like Orestes and others (cf. 276, 520–1, 1000nn.), the Erinyes, it seems, have learned by experience: the principle πάθει μάθος applies to gods as well as mortals (cf. 143–5n. and *Intr.* §5).

γλώσσης ἀγαθῆς: in contrast with the ‘savagery’ of their earlier utterances (cf. 972).

989 ὁδόν: for the metaphor of the ‘path’ of speech cf. *Ag.* 1154, *Eur. Ph.* 911, *Pi. O.* 1.110, 9.47.

990–1 That Athena foresees her people deriving great benefit from the ‘fearsome faces’ of the Erinyes is only superficially a paradox: she and the Erinyes agree (517–25, 698–9) that τὸ δεινόν is indispensable to a just (cf. ὀρθοδίκαιον 994) and successful society.

προσώπων has been doubted (προσέρπον Headlam), but the Erinyes have consistently been described as horrible *to behold* (34–59, 67–8, *Ch.* 1048–61; cf. 406–12) with particular reference to their blood-dripping eyes (54, *Ch.* 1058) and their Gorgon-like hideousness (48, *Ch.* 1048) – and this horrific sight has been before the audience for almost the whole of this play in the form of the masks worn by the chorus.

κέρδος here for the first time in the trilogy denotes true and lasting benefits (cf. 1008); till now it has been used of gains ill-gotten (541, 704; *Ag.* 342) or of dubious value (*Ag.* 574 of a victory very dearly bought, *Ch.* 825 of liberation achieved by matricide).

992 εὐφρονas εὐφρονες: for the repetition of the same word in a different case ('polyptoton') cf. 999 φίλας φίλοι, 1012-13 ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθῇ, all reflecting the principle of mutual benevolence and beneficence (cf. 725-6, 868, 901, 917nn.). The adjective εὐφρων is yet another vocabulary item (cf. 775, 913-15, 938-41nn.) reappearing at the end of *Eu.* after having been little heard during much of the trilogy (it occurred ten times up to *Ch.* 195, thereafter only at *Eu.* 632); it will recur at 1030 and 1034.

993-5 The Athenians are told that if they honour the Erinyes they will 'keep [their] land and city on the straight path of justice and be glorious (cf. 913-15n.) in every respect': righteousness is the certain result of reverence for the Erinyes, and glory the certain result of righteousness.

ὀρθοδίκαιον: cf. 312 εὐθυδίκαιοι (of the Erinyes), *Ag.* 761-2 οἴκων γὰρ εὐθυδίκων καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.

996 χαίρετε χαίρετ': see 775n.

ἐν 'amid'; χαίρειν ἐν does not have the sense of English 'rejoice in, take pleasure in' (*pace* LSJ, *Soph. Tr.* 1118-19 is not an exception; see Easterling ad loc.) which would be expressed by the plain dat. or by ἐπί.

αἰσιμίαισι πλούτου: neither αἰσιμία nor the adjective αἰσιμος is otherwise found in classical Greek, though the adjective is fairly common in Homer; but a rendering like 'the wealth which αἴσα (= μοῖρα) assigns to you', 'the wealth you deserve', suits the context well. The Athenians, σωφρονοῦντες (1000), have fully earned the material blessings which the Erinyes have invoked upon them.

997 ἀστικὸς λεώς: the Areopagites as representing the Athenian people (cf. 681n.). Note however that in comedy a chorus can take its leave of the audience with ὦ χαίρετε χαίρετ', ἄνδρες (*Ar. Pax* 1357-8); cf. 566n.

998-9 Should we punctuate after Διός? Zeus was said earlier (918-19) to dwell in Athens (cf. 919-21n.); but the resident deity of Athens is always Athena, and it is she who is said in 1001 to have the Athenians 'under her wings', a phrase reiterating the idea of intimacy implicit in ἔκταρ here. Hence 998-9 must be so construed that the Athenians are described as closely bound to Athena rather than Zeus; which involves either emending to ἡμένας (Bothe) and leaving φίλοι to support from the rear the weight of a five-word gen. phrase, or else

(preferably) taking Διὸς παρθένου together as ‘the virgin daughter of Zeus’ (cf. Bacch. 1.1–2 Snell–Maehler, Soph. fr. 804, Eur. *HF* 834, *Ph.* 159–60, Ar. *Ra.* 875).

ἦμενοι does not normally mean ‘dwell’, but the choice of verb is influenced (i) by the common use of ἔδρα in the sense ‘abode’ (cf. 805, 855, 892) and (ii) by the stage-picture which ever since 566 has shown representatives of the Athenian people literally sitting close to Athena.

φίλας φίλοι: on the juxtaposition cf. 992n.; on Athena’s love for her people cf. 911n.

1000 σωφρονοῦντες recalls the πάθει μάθος theme (see 276, 520–1, 988nn.).

ἐν χρόνῳ normally means ‘eventually, at last, in course of time’ (cf. 498, *Ag.* 857, *Ch.* 1040), but the implication that there was a time when the Athenians were *not* wise would be jarringly out of keeping with the Erinyes’ whole attitude to them since 900. Either (1) the Athenians are being contrasted not with their former selves but with the human race generally in the Erinyes’ past experience, above all the characters who appeared or were spoken of earlier in the trilogy (the Erinyes would thus in effect be saying ‘At last we have found a body of men endowed with σωφροσύνη!’) or (2) ἐν χρόνῳ here means ‘in due time, at the proper time’ (cf. perhaps Pi. fr. 33b Snell–Maehler ἐν χρόνῳ δ’ ἔγεντ’ Ἀπόλλων), i.e. *before* suffering anything untoward, unlike the νήπιοι who are incapable of learning wisdom except from painful experience (cf. Hes. *Op.* 218).

1001 ὑπὸ πτεροῖς: the Athenians are Athena’s nestlings: cf. 943–5n., Eur. *Heracl.* 10–11 τὰ κείνου τέκν’ ἔχων ὑπὸ πτεροῖς σώωζω.

1002 ἄζεται: on this extraordinary assertion that Zeus ‘stands in awe’ of the Athenians, see Intr. §5.

Hereabouts there enter (probably into the orchestra by one of the side-passages) a group of persons who bring some of the appurtenances of, and will in due course take part in, the final procession; on their identity see 1021–47n. Some of them carry torches (cf. 1005), some carry purple robes (cf. 1028), and some lead a beast or beasts for sacrifice (cf. 1006 τῶνδ’).

1004 θαλάμους: used of the abodes of chthonic deities in *Pers.* 624, Eur. *Supp.* 1022, *HF* 807.

1005 τῶνδε προπομπῶν: cf. last note but one and 1021–47n. These are the last of a long series of (προ)πέμποντες who either ‘send’ or

'escort' others upon a journey; cf. *Ag.* 60-2, 108-13, 125, 433, 748, *Ch.* 23, *Eu.* 12-14, 89-93, 206, 669. The root πεμπ- recurs at 1022 and 1034 (and, in another sense, at 1009). The MSS have τῶνδε προπομπόν, which would make sense (the torchlight itself being described as 'an escort for these <goddesses>') but would give an instance of *brevis in longo* in the middle of a recitative anapaestic system, a phenomenon otherwise found only where there is a change of speaker (*Soph. Ant.* 932, *OC* 143, *Eur. Med.* 1396).

1006 σφαγίων 'blood-sacrifice', not necessarily of more than one animal (cf. *Eur. Or.* 658, *Ar. Lys.* 204). The text does not reveal the kind of animal, but a black cow is most likely: cattle are the greatest and most solemn (cf. σεμνῶν) offering that can be made, and a black female would be the proper victim to offer to female chthonic deities (cf. *Il.* 3.103-4, *Od.* 10.527; Σ *Soph. OC* 42 reports a legend of Orestes sacrificing a black ewe to the Erinyes-Eumenides at Ceryneia in Achaëa). Thus after so many 'corrupted sacrifices' (cf. Zeitlin (102n.)) the trilogy ends with a pure and holy one.

ὑπό 'to the accompaniment of' (LSJ ὑπό A.ii.5).

1007-9 τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χώρας κατέχειν 'keep down below what would be ruinous to my country', i.e. do not let evil chthonic influences rise up from below to harm Athens and the Athenians: cf. *Pers.* 220-3 'pray to the shade of Darius ἐσθλά σοι πέμπειν τέκνωι τε γῆς ἐνερθεν ἐς φάος, τᾶμπαλιν δὲ τῶνδε γαίαι κάτοχα μαυροῦσθαι σκότῳ'. For the objective gen. in ἀτηρὸν χώρας cf. 922-6n.

κερδαλέον: cf. 990-1n.

πέμπειν 'send up', cf. 598, *Ch.* 477, *Pers.* 222, 630, 644.

πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκῃ 'so that the city may have victory' (LSJ ἐπὶ B.iii.2); the phrase echoes *Ch.* 478, 868 but the victory prayed for then was a matricidal one, whereas now it is to be the victory of a united πόλις over her many external enemies. Cf. 776-7n. and *Intr.* §6.

1010-11 This instruction is addressed to the Areopagites; cf. 997n., Taplin 411.

παῖδες Κραναοῦ: for the type of expression cf. 402n. Cranaus is a dim figure among the early kings of Athens: in later tradition (e.g. *Marm. Par.* lines 4-8, *Paus.* 1.2.6) he was the successor of Cecrops, but Isocrates (12.126) seems not to know him as such. Almost certainly he was invented to explain the poetic designation of Athens (or the Acropolis) as Κραναὰ (πόλις) (*Aesch. fr.* 371; *Soph. fr.* 883; *Pi. N.* 8.11; *Ar.*

Ach. 75, *Lys.* 481) and of the Athenians as Κραναοί (*Hdt.* 8.44, 2; *Ar. Av.* 123), derived in fact from the adjective κραναός 'rocky, rugged'.

μετοικοίς recalls ξυνοικήτωρ (833), ξυνοικίαν (916), but is a more technical term formally defining the status of the Erinyes-Semnai in Attica, neither citizens nor mere visitors but permanent residents; the term is repeated in 1018 (cf. also 1044n.), and the Erinyes' new status is visually confirmed when they are clothed in purple robes (cf. 1028n.). Their welcome as μέτοικοι to Athens contrasts with their expulsion from Delphi by Apollo (179ff.). The ending of *Eu.* implies that the status of a metic in Athens was (or ought to be) a very honourable one; most of the other evidence tells a different story, cf. D. Whitehead, *The ideology of the Athenian metic* (1977) 27-68.

1012-13 'And may the citizens think favourably of the favours' (sc. to be conferred on them by the Erinyes), or possibly (taking αγαθών as fem.) 'of those who are favourable to them'. The repetition of the adjective (cf. 992n.) again emphasizes the idea of mutuality in benevolence. For the quasi-objective gen. construction αγαθών αγαθή διάνοια 'a favourable opinion of favours' cf. *Soph. Ant.* 632-3 τελείαν ψῆφον ... τῆς μελλονύμφου 'my final decision about your betrothed', *Thuc.* 1.140.3 τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, *Weir Smyth*² §1331-2, K-G 1 335-6. There may be a reminiscence of this passage in *Ar. Ra.* 1529-30 δότε, δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ γαίας, τῇ ... πόλει μεγάλων αγαθῶν αγαθὰς ἐπινοίας.

1014 ἐπανδιπλοῖζω: for the stem cf. *Ag.* 835 ἄχθος διπλοῖζει, for the double prefix *Pr.* 817 ἐπανδίπλαζε, *Ag.* 27, *Ch.* 282, *Pers.* 359, 807, *Pr.* 605.

1016 δαίμονες τε καὶ βροτοί: the unity of the Athenian πόλις transcends the gulf between mortals and immortals (cf. 711-53n. (end)).

1017-18 Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες: the emphasis is on Παλλάδος: the protection of Athena, together with reverence for the Erinyes, will guarantee the Athenians' well-being.

μετοικίαν ... ἐμήν = ἐμὲ μετοικοῦσαν, cf. 406n.

1019-20 εὖσεβοῦντες: transitive, cf. *Ag.* 338, *Eur. Tr.* 85, *Ph.* 1321.

οὔτι μέμψεσθε: an evident understatement ('litotes') for 'you will rejoice in' or the like; conversely *Lysistrata* (*Ar. Lys.* 71) and St Paul (*I Cor.* 11.17) use οὐκ ἐπαίνῳ to express censure.

συμφοράς: see 897n.

1021-1047

Athena in a final speech describes more fully the procession in which she and the Athenian people will escort the Erinyes-Semnai to their

new home; it is likely that something has been lost from the middle of the speech (see 1027n.). Meanwhile, over the sinister dark robes worn by the Erinyes (cf. 52, 370nn.) are draped new robes of purple (1028), and as Athena finishes speaking the procession is ready to move off. As it goes, the women of the escort (see 1032–47n.) sing a hymn welcoming the Semnai to Athens, promising them honour and reverence (1037–8), asking for their goodwill in return (1040), and celebrating the concurrence of Zeus and Moira in achieving so happy an outcome for the Athenian people (1044–6). Each of the last two stanzas of the hymn ends with a loud cry of triumph (cf. 1043n., 1047), and the whole audience may be invited to join in the second cry (see 1047n.). Thus the trilogy that began with a solitary watchman, straining his eyes yearlong for the light of a distant beacon and praying for ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων, ends in a blaze of torchlight and in cries of rejoicing, as the divine powers – Zeus, Moira, the Erinyes – who for so long made human life ‘unbearable’ (cf. 146n., Intr. §5) are celebrated as the guarantors of justice and prosperity in the civilized life of the πόλις of Athens.

How is the procession composed? In addition to the Erinyes–Semnai themselves, it certainly includes Athena (cf. 1003–5) and the Areopagites (cf. 1010–11n.); and the herald and trumpeter who entered with Athena at 566 (cf. 567–9n.) must depart with the procession if they have not departed previously. But a number of other persons or groups (not necessarily all distinct) are mentioned or implied in the text.

(1) Athena in 1022–5 says that she will escort the Erinyes to their new home ξὺν προσπόλοισιν αἵτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας τοῦμόν. The plain implication of this is that these female cult-personnel of Athena Polias (on whom see 1024n.) are part of the procession. Taplin 412 suggests that they are going to ‘join the procession on its journey’ and therefore are not seen on stage (similarly A. L. Brown, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 274); but this is to posit a wholly unnecessary incongruity between what is spoken (‘I will escort you together with my servants’) and what would be seen (the Erinyes being escorted by Athena *without* her servants).

(2) Further evidence for the presence of ‘supernumeraries’ in the procession comes from the mention of various properties which must have been brought on stage between 1002 and 1028: one or more animals for sacrifice (cf. τῶνδ’ 1006), torches (1005, 1022, 1029, 1041–2)

and purple robes, which are not mentioned until 1028 but which may have been brought on earlier. All these, however, may well have been brought by the same persons who are identified in 1024 as Athena's πρόσπολοι. A public sacrifice, on so momentous an occasion as this, would naturally be performed by a major priest or priestess, and here the presence of Athena makes the priestess of Athena Polias a natural choice; she, then, no doubt in her easily-recognizable sacred vestments, may have walked beside the sacrificial animal, while an acolyte led it. The torches, according to 1005, are to be carried by the προπομποί; the text at that point does not clearly identify them and is even ambiguous as to their gender (so that Taplin 410–11, following Hermann, can propose to identify them with the Areopagites), but 1022 associates the torches closely with Athena (πέμψω) rather than with the citizens, and while she can hardly carry a torch (let alone more than one) herself the text does suggest that they will be carried by persons who in some sense represent her. As to the purple robes, if, as is likely, they represent the robes worn by μέτοικοι in the procession at the Panathenaea (see 1028n.) it would again be appropriate for them to be brought to their wearers by Athena's servants.

It is thus likely that the sacrificial victim(s), the torches and the purple robes are all brought on together, at or about 1003, by a group of women and girls who may already be identifiable by their dress as cult-servants of Athena Polias, with the priestess herself conspicuous among them; as the Areopagites are the flower of Athenian manhood (cf. 487) so these are the flower of Athenian womanhood (cf. *Ar. Lys.* 640–3 with Henderson's notes), and a trilogy which has been full of opposition and conflict between male and female at both the human and the divine level (cf. Winnington-Ingram ch. 6; M. Gagarin, *Aeschylean drama* (1976) ch. 4; Goldhill *passim*) thus ends with men and women united in honouring a united company of divine beings.

(3) Nothing has been said thus far about the 'maidens, wives and old women' mentioned in 1027. This is because the genuineness and, if genuine, the original context of 1027 are quite uncertain (see 1027n.); hence the 'maidens, wives and old women' may well either owe their presence in Athena's speech to an interpolator, or else be identical with the πρόσπολοι of 1024. Certainly we have no adequate evidence for bringing on stage a further group of women distinct from the πρόσπο-

λοι and having no apparent function except to swell the numbers of the procession.

The priestess and her assistants will have come into the acting area by one of the side-passages; since they will naturally be thought of as coming from the Acropolis, it will probably be by this same passage that the procession finally departs. Entry from the *skene* is unlikely, since it would tend to mislead the spectator into supposing that the dramatic locale had shifted back to the Acropolis.

Can we determine how the procession is arranged? It can be inferred from the text that both Athena (cf. 1003–5) and the Areopagites (cf. 1010–11) go ahead of the Erinyes–Semnai; since the Areopagites are told to ‘lead’ or ‘guide’ the Erinyes, whereas Athena merely ‘goes before’ them, it is likely that the Areopagites are immediately in front of the goddesses, and behind Athena. With Athena the torch-bearers (1005, 1022) and her other πρόσπολοι (1024) are closely associated in the text; it would be natural for this whole group to march together, the ‘queen of the land’ (288) accompanied by her cultic household, and since the procession is set in motion by an order to the torch-bearers (1029) it is likely that they were at its very head (cf. Eur. *Hel.* 865, *Ar. Pl.* 1194–5). The herald and trumpeter, being male and being functionaries attached to the Areopagus council, may have marched in front of the councillors. Thus the order of the whole procession may have been approximately as follows: (1) torch-bearers (perhaps two in number); (2) Athena; (3) priestess, with attendant(s) leading sacrificial victim(s); (4) Athena’s other cult-servants (including those who brought the robes); (5) the herald and trumpeter; (6) the Areopagites; (7) the purple-clad Erinyes–Semnai. If the Areopagites number eleven (see 711–53n.) and the πρόσπολοι roughly balance them (see 1024n.) then the procession will comprise a total of about 35 persons.

1021 αἰνῶ ‘I thank you for’, cf. 836n.

1022 πέμψω: cf. 1005n.

φέγγει λαμπάδων σελασφόρων: many times in the trilogy light has been a symbol of hope, healing, victory, release. The theme was opened in the prologue (*Ag.* 8–10, 20–30) and vividly developed in Clytaemestra’s ‘beacon-speech’ (*Ag.* 281–316); it was prominent in connection with the return of Agamemnon (cf. *Ag.* 522, 901) and the return and revenge of Orestes (cf. *Ch.* 131, 809–11, 863–4). But all these lights soon fade. Even when Orestes goes to Delphi, home of ‘the

fire-light that is called imperishable' (*Ch.* 1037), he is pursued there by those powers of darkness the Erinyes; and little is heard of the light-theme through most of *Eu.* (cf. 175-8n.) until the sun breaks through at 906 (cf. 926). Now at last the light so often spoken of and hoped for is actually seen on stage. See J. J. Peradotto, *A.J.Ph.* 85 (1964) 388-93.

1023 κάτω: κατά (Burges: cf. 115, *Ag.* 1386, *Ch.* 356, *Pers.* 689) may very well be right. Outside this passage κάτω χθονός occurs 16 times in tragedy, κάτω χθονός only twice, once in special circumstances (*Eur. Tr.* 1243, in antithesis with τᾶνω) and once as a doubtful reading (*Eur. Alc.* 45, with variants κατὰ χ. and χ. κάτω); nor does Aesch. elsewhere use κάτω as a preposition.

1024 προσπόλοισιν: the sacred household of Athena Polias included, to our knowledge: (1) the priestess; (2) two adult assistants, the κοσμῶ 'manager' and the τραπεζῶ or τραπεζοφόρος 'steward' (*Lycurgus* fr. 47 Blass; *Istros FGTH* 334 F 9); (3) some groups of girl temple-servants chosen periodically from families of the old Athenian aristocracy - two (or four) ἀρρηφόροι (*Paus.* 1.27.3, *AB* 1.446.18-22, etc.), two λουτρίδες (cf. *Ar.* fr. 849 K-A), and possibly others. These make a total of at least seven persons, roughly balancing the eleven Areopagites (cf. 711-53n.) who represent the male citizens in the procession.

φρουροῦσιν βρέτας: not as 'security guards' (such guards existed, but they were male: cf. *IG* 1³ 45.14-17, *Arist. Ath.* 24.3), but keeping a ritual night-watch (no doubt by turns) as 'ladies of the bedchamber', as it were, to 'queen' Athena. This feminine vigil is the counterpart to the civic vigilance of the male Areopagites (cf. 706, 948).

1025-6 δικαίως 'and rightly so' commenting on the whole phrase ξὺν ... τοῦμόν: it is right and proper that the Erinyes should be escorted by Athena and her servants, and she will forthwith explain why.

ὄμμα ... ἐξήκοιτ' ἄν 'for I invite you to come right to the jewel (lit. 'eye') of the whole land of Theseus', viz. the Acropolis (cf. 855n.). The 2nd-person optative with ἄν is equivalent to a mild imperative (cf. 94, 118, *Ch.* 513). The MSS' ἐξίκοιτ' could only be 3rd sing. from ἐξικνούμαι (for ἴκω is alien to tragedy); it would thus require a subject, which could only be ὄμμα or λόχος, and neither of these yields satisfactory syntax and sense. (1) With ὄμμα as subject the meaning would

have to be 'for the flower of the whole land of Theseus is going to come', referring to the women mentioned in 1027; but (a) ἐξίκοιτ' badly needs a specification of the destination, (b) the optative with ἄν is not used to express a 'simple prediction' about the future (A. L. Brown, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 273 n. 89), (c) the sentence if thus understood does not serve to explain (n.b. γάρ) anything that has gone before. (2) If λόχος is subject, with ὄμμα (= the Acropolis) as accusative of the place reached, to whom does λόχος refer? If to the women, the sentence is still open to objections (b) and (c); if to the Erinyes, the 3rd person is surprising in a speech which began with an expression of thanks to them and in which no change of addressee has yet been signalled. Hence it is likely that ἐξίκοιτ' is corrupt. Brown (op. cit. 275) conjectured ἐξίκοισθ', but ἐξήκοιτ' is nearer the paradosis, although ἐξήκειν does not seem to be used elsewhere of literal locomotion. If this analysis of 1025-6 is correct, λόχος will be in apposition to the 2nd-person subject and will denote the Erinyes, whence it follows that 1027 cannot originally have been the direct continuation of 1025-6; see 1027n.

ὄμμα: the most precious part, cf. *Ch.* 934 ὀφθαλμον οἴκων (Orestes), *Pers.* 169 ὄμμα γάρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότην παρουσίαν, *Cic. Att.* 16.6.2 *cur ocellos Italiae, villulas meas, non video?*

1027 It is virtually certain that something has been lost from the text in this part of Athena's speech: the four-word 'sentence' φοινικοβάπτοις ... τιμᾶτε has a combination of abnormal features (asyndeton; abrupt and unsignalled change of topic and of addressees; lack of an object) which cannot be convincingly accounted for on any other hypothesis. But we cannot merely posit a lacuna between 1027 and 1028. For if the interpretation of 1025-6 argued for above is right, then 1027 cannot originally have directly followed 1026 either, since 1027 describes a group or groups, not of aged virgin goddesses, but of mortal women, old and young, married and unmarried. Thus 1027 can have been neither the first nor the last of the lines that once stood between 1026 and 1028. It may be a line from the middle of the lost passage, preserved by some fortunate accident, whose context may have been concerned with the future cult of the Erinyes-Semnai (cf. 856 παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων); or it may be an interpolation, 'inserted after one or more lines following 1026 had dropped out' (and also after the corruption ἐξίκοιτ' had become established in

1026) 'by someone who felt, no doubt rightly, that λόχος required a genitive' (Brown (1025-6n.) 275). It does not seem safe to rule out either of these alternatives, and accordingly 1027 has, with some misgivings, been retained in the text of this edition.

If 1027 is a relic of the lost passage, that passage must have been fairly long, passing from the arrival of the Erinyes at the Acropolis (1025-6) to their future cult (see above) and then back to the arrangements for the procession (1028-9). If, on the other hand, 1027 is interpolated, the entire speech may have been concerned with the procession, and the lacuna may be of no more than a line or two.

On the basis of the Hypothesis to *Eu.* and of a parallel statement in Harpocration s.v. Εὐμενίδες it has been held by many that in the lost passage Athena announced that the Erinyes were henceforth to be called Eumenides. This is unlikely to be correct as it stands, since the goddesses who dwelt below the Acropolis probably were not called Eumenides at all till c. 410 BC (see Intr. §2). But while the name Εὐμενίδες can hardly have figured in Athena's speech, it does not follow that Aesch. did not make her rename the Erinyes at all. After all, the cult she is establishing was known to Aesch.'s audience as a cult not of Erinyes but of Semnai Theai; and this title seems to be used in 1041. It can hardly have been introduced there 'out of the blue': one expects some earlier mention of it, and this can only have come in the lacuna here. Since the title was familiar, and was a description rather than an appellation, no great emphasis need have been laid on its conferment, which may have consisted of no more than a bare mention of the words σεμναί θεαί: indeed, if 1027 is regarded as spurious, it is possible to construct a single-line supplement which would both effect the renaming and link 1026 to 1028 (e.g. <σεμνῶν θεῶν· ταύτας δέ, Κέρκροπος λεῶς>, though more likely two or more lines have been lost, in which something may also have been said about the significance of the purple robes (see 1028n.; the last of the missing lines may have been e.g. <ἀλλ' ὥς μετοίκους τάσδε τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς>). Compare the announcements by deities at the end of several Euripidean plays of the name by which some god or place or people will in future be known (*Eur. El.* 1275, *IT* 1453-7, *Ion* 1575-94, *Hel.* 1674, *Or.* 1647).

1028 The purple robes worn by the Erinyes-Semnai in the final procession were explained by W. Headlam, *J.H.S.* 26 (1906) 272-4, as symbolizing their status as μέτοικοι (1011, 1018); for 'in the procession

at the Panathenaea the metics carried bowls, some of bronze, others of silver, full of honeycombs and cakes, wearing purple chitons' (Photius s.v. σκάφος, referring to Menander (fr. 166 K-T)). There will be another allusion to the Panathenaea in 1031.

φοινικοβάπτοις ... ἐσθήμασι: the instrumental dat. is the same as in *Ag.* 922 θεούς τοι τοῖσδε (sc. ποικίλοις εἵμασι) τιμαλφεῖν χρεών, and this parallelism should not be destroyed by emendation; on the connection between the purple robes of the Erinyes-Semnai and the purple cloth over which Agamemnon walks into his palace, and on the thematic significance of this colour in the *Oresteia*, see R. F. Goheen, *A.J.Ph.* 76 (1955) 115-26.

ἐνδυτοῖς 'put on specially', of clothing, etc., not worn by ordinary persons or on ordinary occasions: cf. *Eur. Tr.* 257 ἐνδυτῶν στεφάνων (Cassandra's prophetic insignia), Antiphanes fr. 36, *Soph. Tr.* 674 τὸν ἐνδυτῆρα πέπλον (a festal robe).

1029 Some corruption is likely, since the position of the article in τὸ φέγγος ... πυρός is highly abnormal (see Fraenkel on *Ag.* 637): in view of *Ch.* 1037, *Ag.* 9, *Pr.* 7, *Aesch.* fr. 204b.3, 379, the corruption probably lies not in φέγγος ... πυρός but in the article, and it is perhaps best to replace καὶ τὸ by καίτα (i.e. 'and after the robes have been put on').

1030 ὁμιλία χθονός: no longer an unexpected 'visit' to Attica as in 406, nor a dangerous 'visitation' as in 711 and 720, but a permanent and beneficial co-residence.

1031 εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρόπηι 'may be glorious (cf. 913-15n.) with the good fortune (cf. 897n.) of manly excellence', i.e. may bring Athens the glorious blessing of manly vigour and prowess in her citizens - a quality on which Athenians traditionally prided themselves (*Ar. Nu.* 300, *X. Mem.* 3.3.12). The phrase also carries a further allusion to the Panathenaea (cf. 1028n.), at which there was an inter-tribal contest in εὐανδρία ([*And.*] 4.42; *IG* II² 2311.75; *Arist. Ath.* 60.3 (see Rhodes ad loc.); *Din.* fr. 16.3 Conomis; *Ath.* 13.565f), which seems to have meant mainly bodily perfection (cf. *X. Mem.* 3.3.13 σωμαίων μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ; see N. B. Crowther, *Ant. Class.* 54 (1985) 285-91).

1032-47 Who sings the final song? A note in MF says αἱ προπομποί, i.e. Athena's women cult-personnel (cf. 1021-47n.), and though this is only an inference from the text, it is probably a correct one. The song cannot be sung by the Erinyes-Semnai themselves, since it is a hymn

to them. The Areopagites are also excluded (despite Taplin 411) because, as noted by A. L. Brown, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 274 n. 91, within the framework of the drama it is only they who can be addressed as $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ (1035). Brown himself suggests assigning the song to Athena; but an actor-monody would be unique in Aesch. (outside the probably spurious *Pr.*), and an actor-monody ending a play would be unique in all tragedy so far as we know. By elimination, only the women are left; they form a secondary chorus, like the maidservants in *Supp.* 1034-61 (on whom see now Ireland 19-20).

The metrical structure of the song is partly obscured by corruption; but wherever the text is clear the metre seems to be dactylic, and probably the metre should be restored as dactylic throughout (except for the paroemiac ending each stanza). For details see Appendix. The last lyrics of the trilogy are thus in the same metre as its first lyrics (*Ag.* 104-59), cf. Scott 35.

1032 $\dagger\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\prime \epsilon\nu \delta\acute{o}\mu\omega\iota\dagger$: neither $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon \delta\acute{o}\mu\omega\iota$ (Wellauer) nor $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon \nu\acute{o}\mu\omega\iota$ (Merkel) is a convincing restoration: the former introduces a highly dubious 'dative of motion towards', and the latter leaves one wondering what $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is meant. Better is $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\prime \delta\delta\acute{o}\nu, \tilde{\omega}$ (Headlam: for the construction cf. *Ag.* 80-1 $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\delta\acute{o}\nu\varsigma \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$, *Th.* 714, *Eur. Alc.* 263, *Pi. fr.* 191).

1033 $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma \tilde{\alpha}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$: both 'children who are no children' (because they are old, cf. 69) and 'children who are childless' (because they are virgins - but also because henceforward retribution, of which they are the embodiments, will no longer itself involve crime or breed further retribution: contrast *Ag.* 758-71, *Ch.* 806). See F. I. Zeitlin, *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 159; Goldhill 281-2.

1035 As the connective $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ shows, the ritual call for silence is made by the same persons who sang 1032-4 (or possibly by a single voice from among them).

$\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\epsilon$: such an injunction to refrain from inauspicious speech (i.e. from all speech except the responses prescribed by ritual) was the normal prelude to all important religious acts: cf. Aesch. fr. 87, Soph. fr. 893, *Eur. IT* 123, *IA* 1564, *Ar. Ach.* 237, *V.* 868, *Th.* 295. The verb $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ can also mean 'utter a joyous cry', and was so used in *Ag.* 28 and 596 with reference to $\delta\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\iota$ (cf. 1043n.); but here the $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ requested in 1035 and 1039 is clearly in contrast with the $\delta\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\iota$ called for in 1043 and 1047, and silence, which early in the trilogy was

associated with those who could not speak (like the gagged Iphigeneia, *Ag.* 235-43) or dared not speak (cf. *Ag.* 36-9, 548) or did not know what to say (cf. *Ag.* 1025-34, *Ch.* 96-9; see 48-53n.), acquires a positive function as an aid to proper and pious action: the Athenians now know 'when it is right to speak and when to keep silent' (277-8, cf. *Ch.* 581-2). Cf. W. G. Thalmann, *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 98-118, 221-37. 17

χωρίται: presumably addressed to the Areopagites (cf. 1032-47n.), as the only male Athenians dramatically present.

1036 ὠγγυίοισιν 'primeval' (Weir Smyth, Lloyd-Jones), Earth being far older than mankind, the Olympians or even the Erinyes (cf. 1-2, *Hes. Thg.* 117).

1038 περίσепта τύχοιτε 'may your fortune be one that involves great reverence', i.e. may it be your fortune to be highly revered: for τυγχάνειν governing the acc. of a neuter plural adjective cf. 30-1n., 856-7.

1039 πανδαμεί is hardly appropriate if addressed only to a dozen or so Areopagites, and is therefore probably directed mainly to the audience: cf. 566, 997nn.

1040 εὐθύφρονες 'righteously minded'. This adjective occurs nowhere else, though Εὐθύφρων is fairly common as a personal name, and εὐθύς, ὀρθός and their compounds have appeared several times in the play in connection with uprightness and justice (312, 318, 433, 657, 748, 772, 963, 994). It is no accident that εὐθύφρων, with its close resemblance to εὐφρων (cf. 1030, 1034), was used here, and not e.g. ὀρθόφρων: it is by being strict in their demand for justice (εὐθύφρονες) that the Erinyes-Semnai will show their goodwill to the Athenians (be εὐφρονες), for only by revering and practising justice can Athens prosper (cf. 990-5). Added point is given to this word-play by the fact that ἴλαος and εὐφρων could be used together in prayers: cf. *Ar. Th.* 1148 ἦκετ' εὐφρονες ἴλαοι.

γαί: towards the land (and people) of Attica, cf. 706, 838.

1041-2 δεῦρ' 'this way': the singers are marching ahead of the Erinyes (cf. 1021-47n.).

Σεμναί <θεαί>: Hartung's supplement has overwhelming probability, giving these goddesses their proper Athenian name (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 1312, *Th.* 224; *Thuc.* 1.126.11; *IG* II² 112.9 (362/1); Aeschines 1.188; *Din.* 1.47); no known Athenian text names them simply as Σεμναί.

πυριδάπτω λαμπάδι 'in the torches' (the singular is collective) 'as

the fire devours them' (i.e. their wood); cf. *Pr.* 368-9 ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις ... Σικελίας ... γύας, *Il.* 23.183.

1043 ὀλολύξατέ νυν: the ὀλολυγή was a ritual or quasi-ritual cry, usually (in the *Oresteia* always) a cry of joy, primarily associated with women but not exclusive to them (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 616, 1327, *Pax* 97; *Dem.* 18.259); see L. Deubner, *Ololyge und Verwandtes* (*Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* 1941 (1)). In the *Oresteia* it has greeted the capture of Troy (*Ag.* 28, 587, 595), the murder of Agamemnon (*Ag.* 1118, cf. 1236) and the murder of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus (*Ch.* 942, cf. 386) – all triumphs that were flawed or worse. Now at last it can be raised in true and unsullied joy. See J. A. Haldane, *J.H.S.* 85 (1965) 37-8.

ἐπὶ μολπαῖς 'to crown our song'.

Here the cry of triumph is uttered, probably by the men and women of the procession together: cf. Haldane *op. cit.* 38 n. 27.

1044 The text is beyond assured restoration. A finite verb is badly needed, and ἐς τὸ πᾶν may conceal εἰσί(ν); the letters ενδαιδες which follow are probably nothing but a mechanical repetition of (σπ)ονδαιδες from the start of the line, but οἶκων might well, as Wilamowitz and Headlam saw, be a relic of some form or derivative of μέτοικος (cf. 1010-11, 1028nn.). Perhaps then σπονδαὶ δ' εἰς(ὶν) αἶε σε μετ'οικεῖν Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς 'there is a treaty-pact that you shall dwell as denizens for ever (cf. 836, 891, 898-9) among the citizens of Pallas' city': for μετοικεῖν + dat. cf. *h. Cer.* 87 τοῖς μεταναιετᾶι τῶν ἔλλαχε κοίρανος εἶναι, for the shift from 2nd pl. (δεῦρ' ἴτε ... τερπόμεναι) to 2nd sing. (σε) cf. 829n.

1045-6 There has been a 'peace treaty' (σπονδαὶ 1044) not only between the Erinyes, Athena and the Athenian people, but also between the Olympian gods under Zeus and the older power of Moira, against whom, earlier in the play, the younger gods were repeatedly accused of aggression in breach of an ancient division of functions. Now a united Athens – male and female, young and old (cf. 1024n.) – can worship a united pantheon – male and female, young and old. For a possible anticipation of this (re)union of Zeus and Moira cf. 960-1n.

παντόπας: cf. *Supp.* 139, *Soph. OC* 1085. The epithet recalls the idea of the gods who 'watch over' (ἐποπτεύουσι) the doings and sufferings of mortals (cf. 220n.).

οὕτω ... συγκατέβα 'have agreed that it should be so': cf. *Arist. Pol.* 1334b32-7 'it is important to regulate the age of marriage ἵνα συγ-

καταβαίνωσι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ διαφωνῶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἔτι δυναμένου γεννᾶν, τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, or vice versa', 1335a28–32. Despite the double subject the verb is singular, as if Zeus and Moira were not two powers but one (cf. M. Poliakoff, *A.J.Ph.* 101 (1980) 255 n. 6).

1047 The singer or singers probably here again turn to the audience (cf. 1039n.), and thus the *Oresteia* ends with a united cry of triumphant joy from over ten thousand mouths as all Athens hails the birth of a new era.

APPENDIX: LYRIC METRES

First Parodos 143–78

143–8 = 149–54 first strophe and antistrophe

143/149	υ υ υ – υ ¯ υ υ υ – υ –	2 <i>do</i> *
144/150	¯ υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ –	3 <i>ia</i>
145/151	υ υ υ – υ – υ υ υ – υ –	2 <i>do</i>
146/152	υ – – υ –	<i>do</i>
147/153	– – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ –	3 <i>ia</i>
148/154	υ – υ – – υ – – υ ¯	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i>

155–61 = 162–8 second strophe and antistrophe

155/162	υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ ¯	3 <i>ia</i>
156/163	υ – – υ – υ – υ –	<i>do ia</i>
157/164	υ υ υ – ¯ –	<i>do</i>
158/165	υ υ υ υ υ υ –	kaibelianus (see West 111)
159f./166f.	υ – υ – – υ – – υ – – υ –	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i>
161/168	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ –	2 <i>ia</i>

169–73 = 174–8 third strophe and antistrophe

169/174	υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – υ ¯	3 <i>ia</i>
170/175	υ υ υ – υ – – υ υ – υ – –	<i>do</i> + aristophanean (cf. West 113)
171f./176f.	υ υ υ – υ – υ υ υ – υ –	2 <i>do</i>
173/178		<i>ia do</i>

Second Parodos 254–75 (astrophic)

*do**
do
2 *do*

* $\iota\omicron\upsilon \iota\omicron\upsilon$ and $\delta\rho\alpha \delta\rho\alpha$ are each scanned $\upsilon \upsilon \upsilon$ – ('epic correction').

257f.	υ-υ- υ-	<i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i>
259	υυυ--- υ-υ-	2 <i>do</i>
260	υυυ-υ- υ-υ-	2 <i>do</i>
261	υ-υ- υ-υ- --υ-	3 <i>ia</i>
262	υ-υ- υ-	<i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i>
263	υυυ-υ- υυυ-υ-	2 <i>do</i>
264	--υ- --υ- --υ-	3 <i>ia</i>
265	υυυ-υ- υυυυυ-	2 <i>do</i> *
266	--υ- --υ- υ-	
267	--υ- --υ- υ-υ-	
268	-υ- -υ- -υ- -υ-	[^] <i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i>
269	--υ- υ-υ- υ-υ-	3 <i>ia</i>
270	-υυ-υ- υυυ-	<i>do cr</i>
271	-υυ-υ-	<i>do</i>
272	υ-υ- --υ- υ-υ [^]	3 <i>ia</i>
273	υ-υ- --υ- --υ-	3 <i>ia</i>
274	υ--υ-	<i>do</i>
275	-υυ-υ- υ--υ [^]	2 <i>do</i>

First Stasimon ('Binding Song') 321-96
321-7 = 334-40 first strophe and antistrophe

321/334		<i>lek</i>
322a/335a		
322b/335b	-υ-υ-υ-	
323/336		[^] <i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i> [^] <i>ia</i>
324/337		<i>tr</i> [^] <i>tr</i> (cf. West 102)
325/338	-υ- -υ-	<i>tr</i> [^] <i>tr</i> [^] (= 2. <i>cr</i>)
326/339	-υ- -υ-	<i>tr</i> [^] <i>tr</i> [^] (= 2. <i>cr</i>)
327/340	-υ-υ-υ-	<i>lek</i>

The cretics of 325f./338f. prepare the way for the resolved cretics of the ephymnium.

* μελέων is scanned as a disyllable.

328-33 = 341-6 first ephymnium

328/341	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
329/342	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
330/343	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
331/344	- υ - υ - υ -	<i>lek</i>
332/345	- υ - υ - υ -	<i>lek</i>
333/346	- υ - υ - υ -	<i>lek</i>

347-53 = 360-7 second strophe and antistrophe

347f./360	- υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ	5 <i>da</i>
349f./361f.	- υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ	5 <i>da</i>
351/363f.	- ¨ - υ υ - -	3 <i>da</i>
352/365f.	- ¨ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - -	6 <i>da</i>
<353>/367	- υ - υ - υ υ	<i>lek</i>

354-9 second ephymnium

354	- υ - υ - υ -	<i>lek</i>
355	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
356	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
357	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
358	υ υ υ - υ - υ -	<i>cr ra</i>
359	(?) - υ - υ - υ -	(?) <i>lek</i>

368-71 = 377-80 third strophe and antistrophe

368/377	- ¨ - ¨ - υ υ - υ υ - -	5 <i>da</i>
369/378	- υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - -	5 <i>da</i>
370/379	- υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ	5 <i>da</i>
371/380	- υ - υ - υ -	<i>lek</i>

372-6 third ephymnium

372	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
373	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>
374	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	2 <i>cr</i>

375	○○○- ○○○-	2 <i>cr</i>
376	-○-○○--	pherecratean

381-8 = 389-96 fourth strophe and antistrophe

381/389	○-○- -○-	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i>
382/390	○-○- -○-	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i>
383/391	○-○- --	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i> ^
384/392	--○- ○-○-	2 <i>ia</i>
385/393	○○○○○○ ○-○-	2 <i>ia</i>
386/394	○-○- ○-○- ○-○-	3 <i>ia</i>
387/395	-○○ -○○ -○○ -○	4 <i>da</i>
		(cf. Dale ² 26-7)
388/396	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>

Second Stasimon 490-565

490-8 = 499-507 first strophe and antistrophe

490/499	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
491/500	-○- -○-	^ <i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i>
492/501	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
493/502	-○- -○-	^ <i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i>
494/503	-○- -○-○-○-	^ <i>ia</i> <i>lek</i>
495/504	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
496/505	-○○○○ -○-○	2 <i>tr</i>
497/506	○○○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
498/507	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>

508-16 = 517-25 second strophe and antistrophe

508/517	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
509/518	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
510/519	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
511/520	-○-	^ <i>ia</i>
512/521	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
513/522	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
514/523	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
515/524	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>
516/525	-○-○-○-	<i>lek</i>

526-37 = 538-49 third strophe and antistrophe

526/538	- - - - -	\wedge <i>ia</i> \wedge <i>ia</i>
527/539	- - - - - ▢	<i>lek</i>
528f./540f.	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	\wedge <i>ia</i> + 5 <i>da</i>
530/542	- - - - -	2 <i>da</i>
531f./543f.	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
533f./545f.	- - - - - - - - - - -	4½ <i>da</i> (cf. Dale ² 42)
535/547	- - - - -	2 <i>da</i>
536/548	- - - - -	<i>ia</i> \wedge <i>ia</i>
537/549	- - - - -	aristophanean

550-7 = 558-65 fourth strophe and antistrophe

550/558	▢ - - - - - - - - -	<i>ia lek</i>
551/559	- - - - -	ithyphallic (= \wedge <i>ia</i> <i>ia</i> \wedge)
552/560	- - - - - ▢	<i>ia</i> \wedge <i>ia</i> <i>ia</i> \wedge
553/561	- - - - - - - - -	<i>ia lek</i>
554/562	- - - - - - - - -	3 <i>ia</i>
555/563	- - - - - - - - -	<i>ia</i> \wedge \wedge <i>ia</i> <i>ia</i> \wedge
556/564	- - - - - - - - -	<i>ch ia</i> (cf. West 100)
557/565	- - - - -	aristophanean

Songs of Rage 778-880**778-92 = 808-22 first strophe and antistrophe**

778/808	- - - - - - - - -	<i>ia ia do</i>
779/809	- - - - - - - - -	3 <i>ia</i>
780/810	- - - - - - - - -	3 <i>ia</i>
781/811	- - - - -	<i>do</i>
782a/812a	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
782b/812b	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
783/813	- - - - -	<i>do</i>
784/814	- - - - -	<i>do</i>
785/815	- - - - - - - - -	3 <i>ia</i>
786/816	- - - - -	<i>do</i>

787/817	— — — — — — — — — —	3 <i>ia</i>
788/818	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i> ^
789/819	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>ia</i> ^ <i>ia</i> ^
790/820	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>do</i>
791/821	(?) — — — — — — — — — —	(?) 2 <i>do</i>
792/822	— — — — — — — — — —	aristophanean

837-47 = 870-80 second strophe and antistrophe

837a/870a	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>do</i>
837b/870b	exclamation <i>extra metrum</i>	
838/871	— — — — — — — — — —	2 <i>do</i>
839a/872a	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>do</i>
839b/872b	exclamation <i>extra metrum</i>	
840f./873f.	— — — — — — — — — —	2 <i>do</i>
842/875	exclamation <i>extra metrum</i>	
843/876	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>do do</i> ^ (see Commentary)
844/877	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>do</i>
845/878	— — — — — — — — — —	2 <i>do</i>
846f./879f.	— — — — — — — — — —	2 <i>do</i>

Song of Blessing 916-1020

916-26 = 938-47 first strophe and antistrophe

916/938	— — — — — — — — — —	^ <i>ia lek</i>
917/939	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>lek</i>
918/940	— — — — — — — — — —	^ <i>ia</i> ^ <i>lek</i>
919/941	— — — — — — — — — —	2 <i>ia</i>
920/942a	— — — — — — — — — —	ithyphallic (= ^ <i>ia ia</i> ^)
921/942b	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>lek</i>
922/943	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>lek</i>
923/944	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>lek</i>
924/945	— — — — — — — — — —	3 <i>ia</i>
925/946	— — — — — — — — — —	kaibelianus (cf. West 100)
926/947	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>lek</i>

956-67 = 976-87 second strophe and antistrophe

956/976	- - - - -	$\wedge ia \wedge ia$
957/977	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
958/978f.	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
959f./980	- - - - - - - - - -	5 <i>da</i>
961/981	- - - - -	$ia \wedge \wedge ia \wedge$
962/982	- - - - -	hemiepes (= $2\frac{1}{2} da$)
963/983	- - - - -	hemiepes
964/984	- - - - -	3 <i>da</i>
965/985	- - - - -	3 <i>da</i>
966/986	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
967/987	- - - - -	$\wedge ia \wedge lek$

996-1002 = 1014-20 third strophe and antistrophe

996/1014	- - - - - - - - - -	praxillean
997/1015	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
998/1016	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
999/1017	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
1000/1018	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
1001/1019	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>
1002/1020	- - - - -	<i>lek</i>

Exodos 1032-47**1032-5 = 1036-9 first strophe and antistrophe**

1032/1036	- - - - - - - - - -	4 <i>da</i>
1033f./1037f.	- - - - - - - - - -	5 <i>da</i>
1035/1039	- - - - -	paroemiac*

1040-3 = 1044-7 second strophe and antistrophe

1040/1044	- - - - - - - - - -	4 <i>da</i>
1041/1045	- - - - - - - - - -	4 <i>da</i>

* Alternatively, - - - - - ||| ($3\frac{1}{2} da$, cf. 1042/1046); but it is preferable to make the call for εὐφημία parallel to the call for an ὀλολυγμός (cf. 1035n.).

Note. It will be seen that certain sequences are ambiguous; thus the unit $- \cup -$ may, according to context, be felt as iambic, trochaic or cretic. Such ambiguous sequences sometimes serve to effect transitions from one rhythm to another. In passages where such ambiguities appear particularly significant, alternative metrical analyses have been provided for the crucial lines.

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