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# DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

EUMENIDES, OF ÆSCHYLUS;

WITH

THE GREEK TEXT

AND

CRITICAL REMARKS.

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FROM THE GERMAN OF C. O. MÜLLER.

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## P R E F A C E.

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C. O. MÜLLER'S Work on the EUMENIDES has deservedly obtained the approbation of some of the first Scholars of the day: it is an admirable specimen of the Author's searching and comprehensive spirit of enquiry, and claims the attention of every person who would fully understand the Drama of Æschylus in general, as well as have a thorough perception of the peculiar beauties and train of ideas which characterise the Tragedy of the Eumenides. It was this desire on the part of the Author that gave rise to the following Essays, and induced him to compose the metrical version of the Play which accompanies his edition of the Greek text. His translation, which he tells us is the fruit of long and frequent study, is generally acknowledged to be a very excellent piece of composition, embodying the full spirit as well as sense of the original. The text is here prefixed, as an indispensable accompaniment to the Dissertations, and the necessary explanations respecting it are given in the Critical Annotations at p. 37 sqq. It will be found to be highly emended; and the arrangement of the Choral Odes, as also the Author's exposition on this subject in the first Dissertation are particularly deserving of attention.

With respect to the Dissertations, which constitute the principal part of the present publication, we cannot do better than state the Author's views in his own words, as contained in his Preface. He says:



“As a Translation necessarily implies interpretation, the Author did not deem it so essential to facilitate the understanding of the Play by the aid of detached notes, as to treat in a connected form of the subjects most materially involved in the right comprehension of the entire composition, in order to place the reader in a position to regard the Tragedy no longer as the airy production of a strange world and foreign views, but in the light of an object invested with present life and reality. To this end it appeared requisite, in the first place, as far as we are able at the present day, to exhibit the Tragedy as it was represented upon the Athenian Stage, so as to draw from what we read the image and counterpart of that which the Athenians beheld; in the next place, to describe the political, judicial, and religious institutions, relations and aims, from which the genius of Æschylus drew its materials for this production of art, as the tree derives nourishment from the parent soil; and then to consider the ideas which predominate all through the composition.

“The interpretation of an ancient work of art is in fact nothing else than the adjustment of the individual production to the collective age in which it stands and had its being. In the establishment of this adaptation, it is true, from our having in our scientific mode of proceeding to substitute notions for feelings, we are frequently obliged to explain subjects which did not present themselves in that way to the mind of the Poet, but which were concerned, nevertheless, in defining the form of his Work.

“If these disquisitions, constructed as they are for the most part out of materials hitherto but little handled, should be found more abstruse and perplexed than suits the ease of our indulged Public, it must be remembered that the

finest fruits of antiquity are those which require most thought and exertion of intellect, as they did even at the time of their production. But should the Philologists *by profession* feel inclined to make any use at all of the Work, they will find in the Index references to every passage in the Essays explanatory of single verses in the Play, and so may have the opportunity of frittering away the systematic development in a parcel of notes of the received kind. Happily, however, there is now a class of readers who put more searching questions to antiquity than can be answered by mere note-learning; and to such the present Work may perhaps afford matter for useful reflection."

These are the views pursued in the following Work; and these are the principles of Philology, which, under the auspices of such eminent scholars as Boeckh, Dissen, Welcker, and Müller, are rapidly gaining ground in Germany over the exclusive method of verbal criticism adopted by Hermann and his school. This circumstance may serve to account for the very violent spirit in which Müller's Book has been criticized by Hermann and one of his disciples. However, the Author has very ably defended himself against the attack in an Appendix, in which he has confirmed his views, and vindicated his treatment of the subject. Some few changes and additions which he has there made are introduced into the text and critical notes of the present Translation; and the supplementary articles on the Thymele and Calculus Minervæ are also taken from it.

Sufficient has been said to explain the nature and object of the present Work, and nothing further need be remarked respecting it: it is not necessary to dwell here upon its particular merits, as the Reader may best judge of these for himself. With respect to his own humble performance the



Translator has only to state, that he has endeavoured to give the sense of the original as accurately as possible, and ventures to hope that the valuable assistance he has received may recommend the Essays to that notice which they so highly deserve.

CAMBRIDGE, *April* 14, 1835.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
THE GREEK TEXT of the Eumenides, with Scenical An- notations.....	1
Critical Comments and Emendations.....	37

## EXPLANATORY DISSERTATIONS ON THE EUMENIDES.

FIRST DISSERTATION. ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PLAY.....	45
---	----

### I. THE CHORUS.

#### A. MANAGEMENT OF THE CHORUS.

<i>a. Number of Choreutæ</i> .....	47
------------------------------------	----

(§ 1) The Chorus for the Trilogy was furnished by one Choregus, and (§ 2) distributed by the Poet among the component plays.— (§ 3) Accessory Choruses.— (§ 4) Union of three Choruses at the end of the Eumenides.— (§ 5) Forty-eight the probable number of the collective Chorus: therefore (§ 6) twelve the original number of the individual Chorus.— (§§. 7, 8, 9.) This number established in the Agamemnon; but (§ 10) fifteen in the Eumenides.

<i>b. Arrangement of the Chorus</i> .....	61
---	----

(§. 11) Station of the Chorus.— (§. 12) Rank and file.— (§. 13) Regular and irregular order.

B. THE CHORAL ODES.....	64
-------------------------	----

(§. 14) Ode 1. Commatica. Paracataloge.— (§. 15) Ode 2. Chorus in double file.— (§. 16) Ode 3. Anapæsts, as a Marching-measure, as Parodos. Manner of delivering them.— (§. 17) Method of arranging the Chorus.— (§. 18) Ode 4. First Stasimon, ὕμνος δέσμιος. Accompaniment of ἀνὰ σὺν without κιθάραι.— (§. 19) Phrygian Mode, νόμος ὄρθιος.— (§. 20) Musical and rhythmical character of this Ode.—

	PAGE
(§. 21) Orchestral performance of the Stasima.—(§. 22) Ode 5. Second Stasimon.—(§. 23) Trochaic rhythm. Lydian Mode.—(§. 24) Odes 6 and 7. Commatica.—(§. 25) Odes 8, 9, 10. Third Stasimon. Anapæstic systems. Concluding Ode.	

## II. THEATRE..... 87

(§. 26) Stone Theatre at Athens.—(§. 27) The Stage represented the Pythian Temple, and the Orchestra the Front Court, in which the Prologue is spoken.—(§. 28) The sudden appearance of the Erinyes not effected by an Eccyclema, but (§. 29) by a curtain.—(§. 30) The scene shifted to Athens by turning round the Periacti.—(§. 31) Scene laid in and about the Temple of Minerva Polias to the end of the play.

## III. COSTUME..... 100

(§. 32) General character of the stage-costume.—(§. 33) Distribution of the parts in the Oresteia among three players.—(§. 34) Garb and personal appearance of the several actors.

---

## SECOND DISSERTATION. ON THE PURPORT AND COMPOSITION OF THE PLAY..... 105

### I. POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW.

#### A. INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ATHENS..... 107

(§. 35) Abasement of the Areopagus by Ephialtes.—(§. 36) Not effected at the time of the composition of the Eumenides.—(§. 37) The trial for homicide withdrawn from the Areopagus. Æschylus supports that Court in its jurisdiction.—(§. 38) The same aristocratic sentiments exhibited by the Poet in the Persæ and Septem c. Thebas. Issue of the affair.

#### B. FOREIGN RELATIONS OF ATHENS..... 116

(§. 39) League with Argos. Orestes the representative of that State.—(§. 40) The same sentiments towards Argos in the Supplices.—(§. 41) The Poet's views of domestic and foreign affairs reconciled.—(§. 42) His admonitions against civil discord and encouragement to foreign war.



## II. JUDICIAL POINT OF VIEW.

## A. AVENGING OF BLOOD, AND PURSUIT OF THE BLOOD-SHEDDER.

*a. Duty of avenging blood, at Athens and in the earlier times. . . . . 124*

(§. 43) Exclusively incumbent on the relations of the deceased, by Attic law.—(§. 44) Interference of the State in wilful murder and manslaughter, and limitation of vengeance in those cases.—(§. 45) Greater extent of vengeance and necessity of flight in the heroic Age.

*b. Duty of Orestes according to the tenor of the legend. . . . . 131*

(§. 46) Strict duty of Orestes to avenge his father.—(§. 47) Instigation to vengeance by Apollo, exhibited in the hero's companion Pylades.—(§. 48) Æschylus's views on the duty of Orestes vindicated against Euripides.—(§. 49) Vengeance of the Erinnyes upon Orestes.

*c. Position of the fugitive Homicide. . . . . 137*

(§. 50) Dread of miasma from the shedder of blood.—(§. 51) Respect and compassion (*αἰδώς*) for the blood-guilty suppliant. Meaning of *προστρόπαιος* in Æschylus.

## B. ATONEMENT AND PURIFICATION FOR BLOODGUILTINESS.

*a. In general. . . . . 141*

(§. 52) Sanction of the practice by Attic law, and greater extent of the custom in heroic times according to Homer.—(§. 53) Expiation for blood founded upon the legends of Ixion and Hercules.

*b. Difference between the rites of Atonement and those of Purification . . . . . 146*

(§. 54) Atonement; constant reference of it to the Chthonic deities.—(§. 55) Demonstrated in the Cultus of Zeus Meilichios and Laphystios as a Chthonic God, and (§. 56) in the festival of the Delphinian Apollo as having reference to a Chthonic divinity. Hence its connexion with the propitiation of the dead in the Hydrophoria.—(§. 57) Method of atonement, servitude for eight years, and (§. 58) sacrifice of an animal, especially a ram to the Chthonic Zeus. Origin of the Greek ransom (*ποινή*).—(§. 59) Purification, by the blood of expiatory sacrifices, and by water.—(§. 60) Apollo the proper God of purification.—(§. 61) Other Gods of purification, especially Dionysus.

	PAGE
<i>c. Purification of Orestes</i> .....	161
<p>(§. 62) The several places where Orestes abode during his exile and was cleansed from his guilt.—(§. 63) Orestes purified, but the Erinnyes still unpropitiated.</p>	
<p><b>C. THE COURTS FOR THE TRIAL OF BLOOD, AND THE JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.</b></p>	
<i>a. The Attic Boards of Justice and Tribunals</i> .....	166
<p>(§. 64) Historical relation between the Areopagus and the Ephetæ.—(§. 65) Separation of these Courts in the cases of wilful murder and of undesigned and justifiable (i. e. redeemable) homicide, effected by Solon's legislation.—(§. 66) A Supreme Board, formerly administering justice in five Courts (Areopagus, Palladium, Delphinium, Prytaneum, Phreatto).—(§. 67) The meaning of these localities in connexion with the Courts held there.—(§. 68) Vindication of the legend which refers the trial of Orestes to the Areopagus, and not to the Delphinium (§. 69).</p>	
<i>b. On the Judicial Proceedings in Æschylus</i> .....	176
<p>(§. 70) Minerva, as President of the Court, taking pre-cognizance of the action.—(§. 71) On the challenge of Orestes by the Erinnyes to take oath.—(§. 72) Proceedings in Court.—(§. 73) Ballot.</p>	
<b>D. THE EXEGESIS OF THE SACRED LAW</b> .....	182
<p>(§. 74) Its reference to the unwritten law; (§. 75) propagation by the Eupatridic families; (§. 76) emanation from the Cultus of Apollo, whom Æschylus introduces in the capacity of Exegetes.</p>	
<p><b>III. RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW.</b></p>	
<b>A. THE ERINNYES.</b>	
<i>a. Meaning of the term and Mythic conception of the Erinnyes</i> ...	186
<p>(§. 77) Definition of Erinnyes, and connexion with Ara.—(§. 78) Comprehension of Erinnyes as a divinity without strict personality.—(§. 79) Mythic fixation of the Erinnyes, and extension of their agency.</p>	
<i>b. Cultus of the Erinnyes and Eumenides or Semnæ</i> .....	191
<p>(§. 80) Origin of the Cultus of the Erinnyes in the religious service of Demeter-Erinnyes, or Black Demeter.—(§. 81) Demonstration of</p>	



	PAGE
Demeter-Erinnys as the predominant principle in the Theban legend, first of all in Cadmus's fight with the Dragon.—(§. 82) Œdipus a victim of Demeter-Erinnys; his grave in Bœotia.—(§. 83) Œdipus's grave at Athens and Colonus; system of religious services at Colonus.—(§. 84) The Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles.—(§. 85) Demeter-Erinnys the destroyer of Thebes by means of Adrastus.—(§. 86) Dissemination of the Cultus of Demeter-Erinnys in other quarters, and transition of it into that of the Erinnyes or Semnæ.—(§. 87) Developement of the idea of the Eumenides upon this basis.—(§. 88) The Eumenides as beneficent beings in Æschylus.	
<i>c. Religious Service of the Semnæ at Athens.....</i>	206
(§. 89) Site of their Temple; connexion of their Cultus with that of Ares; sacrifices and libations to them.	
<i>d. Æschylus's Conception of the Erinnyes and their Figure.....</i>	210
(§. 90) Opposition between the elder and younger race of Gods.—(§. 91) Union of these two systems re-established by Æschylus, in reference to the succession of the Pythian deities.—(§. 92) Æschylus's selection among the legends about the extraction of the Erinnyes.—(§. 93) His construction of the figure and appearance of the Erinnyes.	
<b>B. JUPITER SOTER.....</b>	<b>218</b>
(§. 94) The idea of Zeus Soter, as the Third, carried all through the trilogy.—(§. 95) Dissemination of this cultus, and its bearing upon the opposition between the Olympian and Chthonic deities.	
<b>IV. POETICAL COMPOSITION.....</b>	<b>224</b>
(§. 96) Tragedy as <i>κάθαρσις τῶν παθημάτων</i> , developed out of the Dionysian Cultus.—(§. 97) Train of emotions in the Agamemnon, (§. 98) the Choephoræ, (§. 99) the Eumenides.—(§. 100) Trilogic Unity. Satyric drama.	
<b>APPENDIX.</b>	
I. Calculus Minervæ.....	243
II. Thymele.....	249
<b>INDEX .....</b>	<b>257</b>



# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

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ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΠΥΘΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ.  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ.  
ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.

ΚΑΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ.  
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΩΝ.  
ΑΘΗΝΑ.

ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ.





ΠΥΘΙΑΣ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν εὐχῆ τῆδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν  
 Τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν,  
 Ἥ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἔζετο  
 Μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ  
 Λάχει, θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινὸς, 5  
 Τιτανὶς ἄλλη παῖς Χθονὸς καθέζετο  
 Φοῖβη· δίδωσι δ' ἢ γενέθλιον δόσιν  
 Φοῖβῳ. τὸ Φοῖβης δ' ὄνομ' ἔχει παρώνυμον.  
 Λιπῶν δὲ λίμνην Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,  
 Κέλσας ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τὰς Παλλάδος, 10  
 Ἐς τήνδε γαῖαν ἦλθε Παρνησοῦ θ' ἔδρας.  
 Πέμπουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα  
 Κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἥφαιστου, χθόνα  
 Ἀνήμερον τιθέντες ἡμερωμένην.  
 Μολόντα δ' αὐτὸν κάρτα τιμαλφεῖ λεῶς, 15  
 Δελφός τε χώρας τῆσδε πρυμνήτης ἀναξ.  
 Τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας φρένα,  
 Ἴζει τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις·  
 Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός.  
 Τούτους ἐν εὐχαῖς φροιμάζομαι θεούς· 20  
 Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται,

(α) The Scene is laid at *Delphi*, in the Front Court of the Pythian Temple. (See Essay i. § 27.)

Σέβω δὲ Νύμφας, ἔνθα Κωρυκίς πέτρα  
 Ζοίλη, φίλορνις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή,  
 Βρόμιος δ' ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ,  
 Εξ οὔτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν θεὸς, 25  
 Λαγὼ δίκην Πενθεῖ καταρράψας μόρον·)  
 Ἰλείστου τε πηγὰς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος  
 Ζαλοῦσα, καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία.  
 Ἐπειτα μάντις εἰς θρόνους καθιζάνω.  
 Ζαὶ νῦν τυχεῖν με τῶν πρὶν εἰσόδων μακρῶ 30  
 Ἀριστα δοῖεν· κεῖ παρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές,  
 Ἰτων πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.  
 Μαντεύομαι γὰρ, ὡς ἂν ἠγῆται θεός.—(b)

Ἡ δεινὰ λέξαι, δεινὰ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς δρακεῖν  
 Ἰάλιν μ' ἔπεμψεν ἐκ δόμων τῶν Λοξίου, 35  
 Ὡς μήτε σωκεῖν, μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάσιν·  
 Γρέχω δὲ χερσὶν, οὐ ποδωκία σκελῶν·  
 Δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν· ἀντίπαις μὲν οὔν.  
 Ἐγὼ μὲν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφῆ μυχόν·  
 Ὀρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῶ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ 40  
 Ἐδραν ἔχοντα, προστρόπαιον, αἵματι  
 Στάζοντα χεῖρας, καὶ νεοσπαδὲς ξίφος  
 Ἐχοντ', ἐλαίας θ' ὑψιγέννητον κλάδον,  
 Ἄνηναι μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον,  
 Ἀργῆτι μαλλῶ. τῆδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρῶ. 45  
 Ἰρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος  
 Ἔϋδει γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἤμενος.  
 Δῦτοι γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω·

(b) The Pythoness enters the Temple, but presently returns reporting herself by her hands against objects on either side of





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## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

Μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.  
 Ὅμως δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη.  
 Ἐλῶσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἠπείρου μακρᾶς, 75'  
 Βεβῶτ' ἀλατεὶ † τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα,  
 Ὑπέρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.  
 Καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος  
 Πόνον· μολῶν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν,  
 Ἴζου παλαιὸν ἀγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας, 80  
 Κάκειϊ δικαστὰς τῶνδε καὶ θελκτηρίους  
 Μύθους ἔχοντες, μηχανὰς εὐρήσομεν,  
 Ὡστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων.  
 Καὶ γὰρ κτανεῖν σ' ἔπεισα μητρῶον δέμας.

### ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.

Ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, οἶσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ὀδικεῖν· 85  
 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπίστα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἠμελεῖν μάθε.  
 Σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὖ φερέγγυον τὸ σόν.  
 Μέμνησο, μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.  
 Σὺ δ', αὐτάδελφον αἶμα καὶ κοινοῦ πατρὸς,  
 Ἐρμῆ, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ὦν ἐπώνυμος 90  
 Πομπαῖος ἴσθι, τόνδε ποιμαίνων ἐμὸν  
 Ἰκέτην· σέβει τοι Ζεὺς, τόδ' ἐκνέμων σέβας,  
 Ὀρμώμενον βροτοῖσιν εὐπόμπῳ τύχῃ.<sup>(d)</sup>

### ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ.

Εὐδοιτ' ἄν, ὦν καὶ καθευδουσῶν τί δεῖ;  
 Ἐγὼ δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὦδ' ἀπητιμασμένη 95  
 Ἄλλοισιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν, ὡς μὲν ἔκτανον,  
 Ὀνειδος ἐν φθιτοῖσιν οὐκ ἐκλείπεται,

(d) Exit Orestes conducted by Hermes.—Clytæmnestra's Ghost ears behind Apollo.



Αἰσchrῶς δ' ἀλῶμαι, προῦννέπω δ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι  
 Ἐχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν κείνων ὑπο·  
 Παθοῦσα δ' οὔτω δεινὰ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων, 100  
 Οὔδεις ὑπέρ μου διαμόνων μηνίεται,  
 Κατασφαγείσης πρὸς χερῶν μητροκτόνων.  
 Ὅρα δὲ πληγὰς τάσδε καρδία σέθεν·  
 Εὔδουσα γὰρ φρὴν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται,  
 Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν. 105  
 Ἡ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε  
 Χοάς τ' αἰίνους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα·  
 Καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρὸς  
 Ἐθνον ὥραν οὔδενὸς κοινήν θεῶν.  
 Καὶ πάντα ταῦτα λάξ ὀρῶ πατούμενα. 110  
 Ὁ δ' ἐξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην,  
 Καὶ ταῦτα κούφως ἐκ μέσων ἀρκυστάτων  
 Ὄρουσεν, ὑμῖν ἐγκατιλλώψας μέγα.  
 Ἀκούσαθ', ὡς ἔλεξα, τῆς ἐμῆς πέρι  
 Ψυχῆς· φρονήσατ', ᾧ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί. 115  
 Ὅναρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμνήστρα καλῶ.

ΧΟ. (Μυγμός.)

ΚΛ. Μύζοιτ' ἄν, ἄνῆρ δ' οἴχεται φεύγων πρόσω.  
 Φίλοις γὰρ εἰσιν οὐκ ἐμοῖς προσίκτορες.

ΧΟ. (Μυγμός.)

ΚΛ. Ἄγαν ὑπνώσσεις, κού κατοικτίζεις πάθος·  
 Φονεὺς δ' Ὀρέστης τῆσδε μητρὸς οἴχεται. 120

ΧΟ. (Ὦγμός.)

ΚΛ. Ὦζεις ὑπνώσσουσ'; οὐκ ἀναστήση τάχος;  
 Τί σοι πέπρακται πράγμα πλὴν τεύχειν κακά;

ΧΟ. (Ὦγμός.)

ΚΛ. Ὑπνος πόνος τε κύριοι συνωμόται

## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

Μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.  
 Ὅμως δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη.  
 Ἐλῶσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἠπείρου μακρᾶς, 75  
 Βεβῶτ' ἀλατεὶ † τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα,  
 Ὑπέρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.  
 Καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος  
 Πόνον· μολῶν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτι πτόλιν,  
 Ἴζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβῶν βρέτας, 80  
 Κάκειῃ δικαστὰς τῶνδε καὶ θελκτηρίου  
 Μύθους ἔχοντες, μηχανὰς εὐρήσομεν,  
 Ὡστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων.  
 Καὶ γὰρ κτανεῖν σ' ἔπεισα μητρῶον δέμας.

### ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ.

Ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, οἶσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ὀδικεῖν· 85  
 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπίστα, καὶ τὸ μὴ μελεῖν μάθε.  
 Σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὖ φερέγγυον τὸ σόν.  
 Π. Μέμνησο, μὴ φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας.  
 Σὺ δ', αὐτάδελφον αἶμα καὶ κοινοῦ πατρὸς,  
 Ἐρμῆ, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ὦν ἐπώνυμος 90  
 Πομπαῖος ἴσθι, τόνδε ποιμαίνων ἐμὸν  
 Ἰκέτην· σέβει τοι Ζεὺς, τόδ' ἐκνέμων σέβας,  
 Ὀρμώμενον βροτοῖσιν εὐπόμπῳ τύχῃ.<sup>(d)</sup>

### ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑΣ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ.

Εὔδοιτ' ἂν, ὡή· καὶ καθευδουσῶν τί δεῖ;  
 Ἐγὼ δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὦδ' ἀπητιμασμένη 95  
 Ἄλλοισιν ἐν νεκροῖσιν, ὡς μὲν ἔκτανον,  
 Ὀνειδος ἐν φθιτοῖσιν οὐκ ἐκλείπεται,

(d) Exit Orestes conducted by Hermes.—Clytæmnestra's Ghost appears behind Apollo.



Αἰσchrῶς δ' ἀλῶμαι, προῦννέπω δ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι  
 Ἐχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν κείνων ὑπο·  
 Παθοῦσα δ' οὔτω δεινὰ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων, 100  
 Οὔδεις ὑπέρ μου διαμόνων μηνίεται,  
 Κατασφαγείσης πρὸς χερῶν μητροκτόνων.  
 Ὅρα δὲ πληγὰς τάςδε καρδία σέθεν·  
 Εὔδουσα γὰρ φρὴν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται,  
 Ἐν ἡμέρα δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν. 105  
 Ἥ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε  
 Χοάς τ' αἰίνους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα·  
 Καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρὸς  
 Ἐθνον ὥραν οὔδενὸς κοινήν θεῶν.  
 Καὶ πάντα ταῦτα λάξ ὀρῶ πατούμενα. 110  
 Ὅ δ' ἐξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην,  
 Καὶ ταῦτα κούφως ἐκ μέσων ἀρκυστάτων  
 Ὄρουσεν, ὑμῖν ἐγκατιλλώψας μέγα.  
 Ἀκούσαθ', ὡς ἔλεξα, τῆς ἐμῆς πέρι  
 Ψυχῆς· φρονήσατ', ὧ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί. 115  
 Ὅναρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμνήστρα καλῶ.

ΧΟ. (Μυγμός.)

ΚΛ. Μύζοιτ' ἄν, ἄνῆρ δ' οἴχεται φεύγων πρόσω.  
 Φίλοις γὰρ εἰσιν οὐκ ἐμοῖς προσίκτορες.

ΧΟ. (Μυγμός.)

ΚΛ. Ἄγαν ὑπνώσσεις, κού κατοικτίζεις πάθος·  
 Φονεὺς δ' Ὀρέστης τῆσδε μητρὸς οἴχεται. 120

ΧΟ. (Ὦγμός.)

ΚΛ. Ὦζεις ὑπνώσσουσ'; οὐκ ἀναστήση τάχος;  
 Τί σοι πέπρακται πράγμα πλὴν τεύχειν κακά;

ΧΟ. (Ὦγμός.)

ΚΛ. Ὑπνος πόνος τε κύριοι συνωμόται

## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

Δεινῆς δρακαίνης ἔξεκήραναν μένος.

ΧΟ. (Μυγμὸς διπλοῦς ὀξύς.)

Φράζου· Λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε,  
λάβε, λάβε.(e)

125

ΞΛ. Ὅναρ διώκεις θῆρα, κλαγγαίνεις δ' ἄπερ  
Κύων μέριμναν οὔποτ' ἐκλιπὼν πόνου.

Τί δράς; ἀνίστω, μή σε νικάτω πόνος,  
Μηδ' ἀγνοήσης πῆμα μαλθαχθεῖσ' ὕπνω.

Ἄλγησον ἦπαρ ἐνδίκοις ὄνειδεσιν·

130

Τοῖς σώφροσιν γὰρ ἀντίκεντρα γίγνεται.

Σὺ δ' αἵματηρὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῷ,

Ἄτμῳ κατισχναίνουσα, νηδύος πυρὶ,

Ἐπου, μάραινε δευτέροις διώγμασιν.(f)

### ΧΟΡΟΥ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ.

Ἐγειρ', ἔγειρε καὶ σὺ τήνδ', ἐγὼ δὲ σέ.

135

Εὔδεις; ἀνίστω, κάπολακτίσασ' ὕπνον,

Ἰδώμεθ' εἴ τι τοῦδε φροιμίου ματᾶ.(g)

### ΚΟΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ.

#### ΧΟΡΟΣ. (h)

Ξτρ. α'. 1. Ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ, πόπαξ. ἐπάθομεν, φίλαι—

2. Ἡ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγώ—

(e) These exclamations are uttered by the *Conductress* of the Chorus, and seven other voices in rapid succession. (See Essay I. § 10.)

(f) The *Ghost* vanishes—The *Conductress* of the Chorus starts up from her seat.

(g) The *Furies* start up one after another from their seats, and range themselves upon the stage, right and left of their Leader; so that part of them stand nearer to Apollo, and part nearer to the spot where the *Ghost* appeared. The latter portion sing the *Strophes*, the former the *Antistrophes*. (Essay I. § 14.)

(h) The figures prefixed to the verses denote the distribution of the voices.



1. Ἐπάθομεν πάθος δυσαχῆς, ὦ πόποι! ἄφερτον  
κακόν. 140

2. Ἐξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν, οἴχεται δ' ὁ θήρ.

3. Ὑπνώ κρατηθεῖς ἄγραν ὤλεσα.

Αντ. α'. 4. Ἰὼ, παῖ Διός! ἐπικλοπος πέλη—

5. Νέος δὲ γραίας δαίμονας καθιππάσω— (145)

4. Τὸν ικέταν σέβων ἄθεον ἄνδρα καὶ τοκεῦσιν  
πικρόν. 145

5. Τὸν μητραλοίαν δ' ἐξέκλεψας ὦν θεός.

6. Τί τῶνδ' ἐρεῖ τις δικαίως ἔχειν;

Στρ. β'. 7, 8. Ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος ἐξ ὄνειράτων μολὸν (150)

Ἐτυψεν δίκαν διφρηλάτου

Μεσολαβεῖ κέντρῳ. 150

Ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν,

Πάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαΐου δαμίου

Βαρὺ, τὸ περίβαρυ κρύος ἔχειν. (155)

Αντ. β'. 9, 10. Τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι θεοὶ,

Κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον. 155

Φονολιβῆ θρόνον

Περὶ πόδα, περὶ κᾶρα

Πάρεστι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν προσδρακεῖν, αἱμάτων

Βλοσυρὸν ἀρόμενον ἄγος ἔχειν. (161)

Στρ. γ'. 11, 12. Ἐφεστίῳ δὲ μάντις ὦν μιάσματι 160

Μυχὸν ἔχρανας αὐτόσσυτος, αὐτόκλητος,

Παρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεια μὲν τίων,

Παλαιγενεῖς δὲ Μοίρας φθίσας. (165)

Αντ. γ'. 13, 14. Κᾶμοί τε λυπρὸς, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται,

Ὑπὸ τε γᾶν φυγῶν οὔποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται. 165

Ποτιτρόπαιος ὦν δ' ἕτερον ἐν κᾶρα

Μιάστορ' ἔστιν οὐ πάσεται.



## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

- ΛΠ. Ἐξω, κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμαίων τάχος (170)  
 Χωρεῖτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μυχῶν.  
 Μὴ καὶ λαβοῦσα πτηνὸν ἀργηστὴν ὄφιν, 170  
 Χρυσηλάτου θώμιγγος ἐξορμώμενον,  
 Ἄνῆς ὑπ' ἄλγους μέλαν' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀφρόν,  
 Ἐμοῦσα θρόμβους οὐς ἀφείλκυσας φόνου. (175)  
 Οὗτοι δόμοισι τοῖσδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει  
 Ἄλλ' οὐ καρανιστῆρες ὀφθαλμώρυχοι 175  
 Δίκαι, σφαγαί τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀποφθορᾶ  
 Παίδων κακοῦται χλοῦνις, ἠδ' ἀκρωνία  
 Λευσμὸς τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολὺν (180)  
 Ὑπὸ ράχιν παγέντες. ἄρ' ἀκούετε,  
 Οἴας ἐορτῆς ἔστ' ἀπόπτυστοι θεοῖς 180  
 Στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι; πᾶς δ' ὑψηγείται τρόπος  
 Μορφῆς. λέοντος ἄντρον αἱματορρόφου  
 Οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας εἰκὸς, οὐ χρηστηρίοις (185)  
 Ἐν τοῖσδε πλησίοισι τρίβεσθαι μύσος.  
 Χωρεῖτ' ἄνευ βοτῆρος αἰπολούμεναι. 185  
 Ποίμνης τοιαύτης δ' οὔτις εὐφιλῆς θεῶν.
- ΖΟ. Ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει.  
 Αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλη, (190)  
 Ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας, ὡς παναίτιος.
- ΛΠ. Πῶς δῆ; τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου. 190
- ΖΟ. Ἐχρησας ὥστε τὸν ξένον μητροκτονεῖν.
- ΛΠ. Ἐχρησα ποινὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πέμψαι· τί μὴν;
- ΖΟ. Κᾶπειθ' ὑπέστης αἵματος δέκτωρ νέου. (195)
- ΛΠ. Καὶ προστραπέσθαι τούσδ' ἐπέστελλον δόμους.
- ΖΟ. Καὶ τὰς προπομποὺς δῆτα τάσδε λοιδορεῖς; 195
- ΛΠ. Οὐ γὰρ δόμοισι τοῖσδε πρόσφορον μολεῖν.
- ΖΟ. Ἄλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦτο προστεταγμένον.
- ΛΠ. Τίς ἦδε τιμή; κόμπασον γέρας καλόν. (200)





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## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

Ρ. "Ανασσ' Ἀθάνα, Λοξίου κελεύσασιν  
 Ἦκω, δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα, 225  
 Οὐ προστρόπαιον, οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρα,  
 Ἄλλ' ἀμβλὺν ἤδη, προστετριμμένον τε πρὸς  
 Ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν. (230)  
 Ὅμοια χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν,  
 Σώζων ἐφετμὰς Λοξίου χρηστηρίου, 230  
 Πρόσειμι δῶμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σὸν, θεά.  
 Αὐτοῦ φυλάσσω ἀναμένω τέλος δίκης.

(χοροῦ ἐπιπάροδος.) (κ)

Ο. ΗΓ. Εἶεν τὸδ' ἐστὶ τάνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ. (235)  
 Ἐπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς.  
 Τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κύων νεβρὸν, 235  
 Πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκμαστεύσμεν.  
 Πολλοῖς δὲ μόχθοις ἀνδροκμηῆσι φυσιᾶ (239)  
 Σπλάγχνον· χθονὸς γὰρ πᾶς πεποίμανται τόπος,  
 Ὑπὲρ τε πόντον ἀπτέροις πωτήμασιν  
 Ἦλθον διώκουσ', οὐδὲν ὑστέρα νεώς. 240  
 Καὶ νῦν ὄδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶ που καταπτακῶν.

## ΚΟΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ. (ι)

Πρωτῶδ. 1, 2. Ὅσμη βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελαᾶ.  
 Ὅρα, ὄρα μάλ' αὖ· λεύσσετον παντᾶ, (245)  
 Μὴ λάθη φύγδα βὰς ὁ ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.

(κ) Enter the *Conductress* of Chorus followed by the Furies in double file: as they advance they spread themselves out towards both sides of the Orchestra.

(ι) The Furies having taken their stations opposite to one another in the Orchestra, sing the following Strophes in the responsive order denoted by the figures prefixed to the verses. The 7th and 8th voices join in v. 258, and the 9th and 10th voices in v. 261.

- Στρ. α. 3, 4. Ὅδ' αὐτέ γ' οὖν ἀλκὰν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει  
 Πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου· 246  
 Ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν. (250)
- Αντ. α. 5, 6. Τὸ δ' οὐ πάρεστιν· αἶμα μητρῶον χαμαὶ  
 Δυσαγκόμιστον, παπαῖ.  
 Τὸ διερὸν πέδῳ χύμενον οἴχεται. 250
- Στρ. β'. 7, 8. Ἄλλ' ἀντιδοῦναι δεῖ σ', ἀπὸ ζῶντος ῥοφεῖν  
 Ἐρυθρὸν ἐκ μελέων πέλανον· ἀπὸ δὲ σοῦ (255)  
 Βοσκὰν φεροίμαν πώματος τοῦ δυσπότου.  
 9, 10. Καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνας, ἀπάξομαι κάτω·  
 Ἀντιπόνους τίνεις μητροφόνας δύας. 255
- Αντ. β'. 11, 12. Ὅψει δὲ κεῖ τις ἄλλος ἤλιτεν βροτῶν,  
 Ἥ θεὸν ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν . . , (260)  
 Ἥ τοκέας φίλους,  
 Ἐχονθ' ἕκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια.
- 13, 14. Μέγας γὰρ Αἴδης ἐστὶν εὐθυνοσ βροτῶν, 260  
 Ἐνερθε χθονὸς,  
 Δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾶ φρενί. (265)
- ΟΡ. Ἐγὼ, διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖσ, ἐπίσταμαι  
 Πολλοὺς καθαρμοὺς, καὶ λέγειν ὅπου δίκη,  
 Σιγᾶν θ' ὁμοίως· ἐν δὲ τῷδε πράγματι 265  
 Φωνεῖν ἐτάχθην πρὸς σοφοῦ διδασκάλου·  
 Βρίζει γὰρ αἶμα καὶ μαραίνεται χερὸς, (270)  
 Μητροκτόνον μίασμα δ' ἐκπλυτον πέλει.  
 Ποταίνιον γὰρ ὄν πρὸς ἐστία θεοῦ,  
 Φοίβου καθαρμοῖσ ἠλάθη χοιροκτόνοισ. 270  
 Πολὺς δὲ μοι γένοιτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆσ λόγος,  
 Ὅσοισ προσῆλθον ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνουσίᾳ. (275)  
 Χρόνος καθαιρεῖ πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ.  
 Καὶ νῦν ἀφ' ἀγνοῦ στόματος εὐφήμως καλῶ



Χώρας ἀνάσσαν τῆσδ' Ἀθηναίαν, ἐμοὶ 275  
 Μολεῖν ἀρωγόν· κτήσεται δ' ἄνευ δορὸς  
 Αὐτόν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον λεῶν, (280)  
 Πιστὸν δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε σύμμαχον.  
 Ἄλλ' εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς,  
 Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου, 280  
 Τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατήρεφῆ πόδα,  
 Φίλοις ἀρήγουσ', εἴτε Φλεγραίαν πλάκα, (285)  
 Θρασὺς ταγούχος ὡς ἀνὴρ, ἐπισκοπεῖ·  
 Ἔλθοι,—κλύει δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὦν θεὸς,—  
 Ὅπως γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ λυτήριος. 285

ΧΟ. ΗΓ. Οὔτοι σ' Ἀπόλλων οὐδ' Ἀθηναίας σθένος  
 ῥύσαιτ' ἂν, ὥστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένον (290)  
 Ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' ὅπου φρενῶν,  
 Ἀναίματον βόσκημα δαιμόνων, σκιάν.  
 Οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀποπτύεις λόγους, 290  
 Ἐμοὶ τραφεῖς τε καὶ καθιερωμένος,  
 Καὶ ζῶν με δαίσεις, οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμῶ σφαγεῖς· (295)  
 Ὑμνον δ' ἀκούσῃ τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν.

## ΠΑΡΟΔΟΣ.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ. (m)

Συστ. α'. 1, 2. Ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν, ἐπεὶ Μοῦσαν  
 στυγεράν ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεδόκηκεν,  
 β'. 3, 4. Λέξαι τε λάχη τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὡς  
 ἐπινωμᾶ στάσις ἀμά, (300)  
 γ'. 5, 6. Εὐθυδίκαι θ' ἠδόμεθ' εἶναι. 296

Μεσῶδ. 7, 8. Τὸν μὲν καθαρὰς χεῖρας προνέμοντ' † οὔ-  
 τις ἀφ' ἡμῶν μῆνις ἐφέρπει,

(m) The *Conductress* ascends the steps of the Thymele: the rest of the Chorus arrange themselves in the Orchestra in the regular order, and sing the following verses.

- Ἄντ. γ'. 9, 10. Ἄσινῆς δ' αἰῶνα διοιχνεῖ. (305)  
 β'. 11, 12. Ὅστις δ' ἀλιτρῶν, ὥσπερ ὄδ' ἀνὴρ, χεῖρας  
 φονίας ἐπικρύπτει, (309)  
 α'. 13, 14. Μάρτυρες ὀρθαὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσιν παραγιγνόμεναι,  
 πρακτορες αἵματος αὐτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν. 300

· ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ. (n)

- Στρ. α'. Μᾶτερ ἅ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ μᾶτερ  
 Νύξ, ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν Ποινὰν,  
 Κλυθ'· ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἴνις μ' ἄτιμον τίθησιν,  
 Τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος πτώκα, ματρῶν ἄγνισμα  
 κύριον φόνου. (315)  
 Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ 305  
 Τόδε μέλος, παρακοπὰ, παραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς,  
 Ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐριννύων  
 Δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμικτος αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.
- Ἄντ. α'. Τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διανταία (320)  
 Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν ἐμπέδως ἔχειν, θνατῶν, 310  
 Τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι ξυμπέσωσιν μάταιοι,  
 Τοῖς ὀμαρτεῖν, ὄφρ' ἂν γὰν ὑπέλθῃ· θανῶν δ'  
 οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος.  
 Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ (325)  
 Τόδε μέλος, παρακοπὰ, παραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς,  
 Ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐριννύων 315  
 Δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμικτος αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.
- Στρ. β'. Γιγνομέναισι λάχη τάδ' ἐφ' ἀμὶν ἐκράνθη,  
 Ἄθανάτων ἀπέχειν χέρας, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ (330)  
 Συνδαίτωρ μετ' ἀκοῖνος.  
 Παλλεύκων δὲ πέπλων ἀπόμοιρος, ἄκληρος  
 ἐτύχθη. 320



Δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν

Ἄνατροπὰς, ὅταν Ἄρης τιθασὸς ὦν φίλον ἔλη. (335)

Ἐπὶ τὸν, ὦ, διόμεναι,

Κρατερόν ὄνθ' ὅμως μαυροῦμεν καμάτοισιν †.

Αντ. β'. Σπεύδομεν αἰδ' ἀφελεῖν τινὰ τὰςδε μερίμνας,

Θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς λείταις ἐπικραίνειν, 326

Μηδ' εἰς ἄγκρισιν ἔλθειν.

Ζεὺς γ' αἰμοस्ताγὲς ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας

ἼAs ἀπηξιώσατο. (345)

Μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα 330

Ἄνεκαθεν βαρυπεσῆ καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμὰν

Σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν. (350)

Στρ. γ'. Δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναί,

Τακομέναι κατὰ γᾶν μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι

Ἡμετέραις ἐφόδοις μελανείμοσιν, ὄρχησμοῖς τ'  
ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός. 335

Αντ. γ'. Πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφροσι λύμα. (355)

Τοῖον ἐπὶ κνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται,

Καὶ δνοφεράν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐδᾶται  
πολύστονος φάτις.

Στρ. δ'. Μένει γὰρ εὐμήχανοί τε καὶ τέλειοι κακῶν

τε μνήμονες σεμναί. (360)

Καὶ δυσπαρήγοροι βροτοῖς 340

ἄτιμ' ἀτίετα διόμεναι

λάχη θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' ἀνηλίῳ λάμπα, (365)

Δυσοδοπαίπαλα δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσομμάτοις ὁμῶς.

Αντ. δ'. Τίς οὖν τὰδ' οὐχ ἄζεταί τε καὶ δέδοικεν

βροτῶν, ἐμοῦ κλύων θεσμόν, 344

Τὸν μοιρόκραντον, ἐκ θεῶν (370)

δοθέντα τέλεον· ἐπὶ δέ μοι

γέρας παλαιόν ἐστίν †, οὐδ' ἀτιμίας κύρω,



Καίπερ ὑπὸ χθόνα τάξιν ἔχουσα καὶ δυσήλιον  
κνέφας.

ΑΘΗΝΑ. (ο)

- Πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνας βοήν (375)  
 Ἄπὸ Σκάμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατουμένη, 350  
 Ἦν δῆτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι,  
 Τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,  
 Ἐνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί,  
 Ἐξαίρετον δῶρημα Θησέως τόκοις. (380)  
 Ἐνθεν διώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα, 355  
 Πτερῶν ἄτερ ροιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος,  
 Πύλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζεύξασ' ὄχον  
 Καὶ νῦν δ' ὀρώσα τήνδ' ὀμιλίαν χθονός,  
 Ταρβῶ μὲν οὐδέν, θαῦμα δ' ὄμμασιν πάρα. (385)  
 Τίνες ποτ' ἐστέ; πᾶσι δ' ἐς κοινὸν λέγω. 360  
 Βρέτας τε τούμῳ τῶδ' ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ,  
 Ὑμᾶς θ' ὁμοίας οὐδενὶ σπартῶν γένει,  
 Οὔτ' ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν ὀρωμέναις,  
 Οὔτ' οὖν βροτείοις ἐμφερεῖς μορφώμασιν. (390)  
 Λέγειν δ' ἄμομφον ὄντα τοὺς πέλας κακῶς, 365  
 Πρόσω δικαίων, ἠδ' ἀποστατεῖ Θέμις.
- ΧΘ. Πεύση τὰ πάντα συντόμως, Διὸς κόρη.  
 Ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆ τέκνα.  
 Ἄρα δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαι κεκλήμεθα. (395)
- ΛΘ. Γένος μὲν οἶδα, κληδόνας τ' ἐπωνύμους. 370
- ΧΘ. Τιμὰς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύση τάχα.
- ΛΘ. Μάθοιμ' ἂν, εἰ λέγοι τις ἐμφανῆ λόγον.
- ΧΘ. Βροτοκτονοῦντας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν.
- ΛΘ. Καὶ τῷ κτανόντι ποῦ τὸ τέρμα τῆς φυγῆς; (400)
- ΧΘ. Ὅπου τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται. 375

(ο) Minerva appears in a Chariot and alights.

- ΛΘ. Ἦ καὶ τοιαύτας τῶδ' ἐπιρροίζεις φυγὰς ;  
 ΖΟ. Φονεὺς γὰρ εἶναι μητρὸς ἠξιώσατο.  
 ΛΘ. Ἄλλης ἀνάγκης οὔτινος τρέων κότον ;  
 ΖΟ. Ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κέντρον, ὡς μητροκτονεῖν ; (405)  
 ΛΘ. Δυοῖν παρόντων, ἡμισυς λόγου πάρα. 380  
 ΖΟ. Ἄλλ' ὄρκον οὐδέξαιτ' ἂν, οὐδὲ δοῦναι θέλει.  
 ΛΘ. Κλύειν δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ πράξει θέλεις.  
 ΖΟ. Πῶς δὴ, δίδαξον· τῶν σοφῶν γὰρ οὐ πένη.  
 ΛΘ. Ὅρκους τὰ μὴ δίκαια μὴ νικᾶν λέγω. (410)  
 ΖΟ. Ἄλλ' ἐξέλεγχε, κρίνε δ' εὐθείαν δίκην. 385  
 ΛΘ. Ἦ κάπ' ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἂν αἰτίας τέλος ;  
 ΖΟ. Πῶς δ' οὔ ; σέβουσαί γ' ἄξι' ἀντ' ἐπαξίων.  
 ΛΘ. Τί πρὸς τὰδ' εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξέν', ἐν μέρει θέλεις ;  
 Λέξας δὲ χώραν καὶ γένος καὶ συμφορὰς (415)  
 Τὰς σὰς, ἔπειτα τόνδ' ἀμυνάθου ψόγον· 390  
 Εἶπερ πεποιθὼς τῇ δίκῃ, βρέτας τόδε  
 Ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἐστίας ἀμῆς πέλας,  
 Σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ, ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίουτος·  
 Τούτοις ἀμείβου πᾶσιν εὐμαθὲς τί μοι. (420)  
 ΠΡ. Ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων 395  
 Τῶν σῶν ἐπῶν μέλημ' ἀφαιρήσω μέγα.  
 Οὐκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχει μύσος  
 Πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ μῆ τὸ σὸν ἐφημένη βρέτας.  
 Τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδ' ἐσοὶ λέξω μέγα· (425)  
 Ἄφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος, 400  
 Ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου  
 Σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ.  
 Πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα  
 Οἴκοισι, καὶ βοτοῖσι, καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις. (430)  
 Ταύτην μὲν οὕτω φροντίδ' ἐκποδῶν λέγω. 405





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Θεσμὸν τὸν εἰς ἅπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον.

Ἵμεῖς δὲ μαρτύριά τε καὶ τεκμήρια

Καλεῖσθ', ἀρωγὰ τῆς δίκης ὀρθώματα.

Κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα (465)

Ἦξω, διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πράγμ' ἐτητύμως, 440

Ορκον περῶντας μηδὲν ἔκδικον φράσειν.(p)

## ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Στρ. ἀ. . Νῦν καταστροφαιὶ νέων θεσμίων, εἰ κρα-  
τήσει δίκαι τε καὶ βλάβαι

Τοῦδε μητροκτόνου. (470)

Πάντας ἤδη τόδ' ἔργον εὐχερεία συναρμόσει  
βρότους.

Πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα πάθεα προσμένει  
τοκεῦσιν, μετὰ τ' αὖθις ἐν χρόνῳ. 445

Αντ. ἀ. Οὔτε γὰρ βροτοσκόπων μαινάδων τῶνδ' ἐφέρ-  
ψει κότος τις ἐργμάτων.

Πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον.

Πεύσεται δ' ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν προφωνίων τὰ τῶν  
πέλας κακὰ (480)

Λήξιν ὑπόδοσίν τε μόχθων ἄκεα δ' οὐ βέβαια,  
τλάμων δὲ μάταν παρηγορεῖ.

Στρ. β'. Μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω συμφορᾷ τετυμμένος  
τοῦτ' ἔπος θροοῦμενος 450

᾽Ω δίκαι! ὦ θρόνοι τ' Ἐριννύων!

Ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἂν πατήρ ἢ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθῆς  
οἶκτον οἰκτίσασαίτ', ἐπειδὴ πιτνεῖ δόμος Δίκας. (490)

(p) *Minerva* departs the opposite way to that she entered by.



Αντ. β. Ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὖ καὶ φρενῶν ἐπί-  
σκοπον δειμανεῖ καθήμενον.

Ξυμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει. 454

Τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν φραδαῖς† καρδίας ἂν ἀνατρέφων,  
ἢ πόλις βροτός θ', ὁμοίως ἔτ' ἂν σέβοι δίκαν;

Στρ. γ. Μήτ' ἀναρκτον οὖν βίον μήτε δεσποτού-  
μενον (500)

Αἰνέσης. Πάντι μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν·  
ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει.

Ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω· (505)

Δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως· ἐκ δ' ὑγιείας  
Φρενῶν ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος. 460

Αντ. γ. Ἐς τὸ πᾶν δέ τοι λέγω· βωμὸν αἶδεσαι Δίκας  
Μηδέ νιν κέρδος ἰδὼν ἀθέῳ ποδὶ λάξ ἀτίσης·  
ποιναὶ γὰρ ἐπέσται.

Κύριον μένει τέλος. (515)

Πρὸς τάδε τις τοκέων σέβας εὖ προτίων καὶ  
ξενοτίμους

Ἐπιστροφὰς δωμάτων αἰδόμενός τις ἔστω. 465

τρ. δ. Ἐκ τῶνδ' ἀνάγκας ἄτερ δίκαιος ὢν οὐκ ἄνολ-  
βος ἔσται, (520)

Πανώλεθρος δ' οὔποτ' ἂν γένοιτο.

Τὸν ἀντίτολμον δὲ φημι παρβάταν,

Ἄγοντα πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας,

Βιαίως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν, 470

Λαῖφος ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος θραυομένας κεραίας.

ντ. δ. Καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδὲν ἐν μέσῳ δυσπαλεῖ  
τε δίνα.

Γελαῖ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ, (530)

Τὸν οὔποτ' αὐχούντ' ἰδὼν ἀμηχάνοις



Δύαις λαπαδνόν, οὐδ' ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν. 475  
 Δί' αἰῶνος δὲ τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον  
 Ἐρματι προσβαλὼν δίκας ὤλετ' ἄκλαυστος,  
 αἴστος. (535)

## ΑΘΗΝΑ. (q)

Κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατεργάθου.  
 Ἦ τ' οὐρανοῦ διάτορος ἢ Τυρσηνικὴ  
 Σάλπιγξ, βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη, 480  
 Ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῶ.  
 Πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου, (540)  
 Σιγᾶν ἀρήγει, καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμοὺς ἐμοὺς  
 Πόλιν τε πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν αἰανῆ χρόνον,  
 Καὶ τῶνδ' ὅπως ἂν εὖ καταγνωσθῆ δίκη. (r) 485

ΧΘ. Ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, ὧν ἔχεις αὐτὸς κράτει.  
 Τί τοῦδε σοὶ μέτεστι πράγματος, λέγε. (545)

ΑΠ. Καὶ μαρτυρήσων ἦλθον.—ἔστι γὰρ δόμων  
 Ἰκέτης ὄδ' ἀνὴρ καταφυγῶν φέφέςτιος,  
 Ἐμῶν φόνου δὲ τοῦδ' ἐγὼ καθάρσιος,— 490  
 Καὶ ξυνδικήσων αὐτός· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχω  
 Τῆς τοῦδε μητρὸς τοῦ φόνου. σὺ δ' εἰσαγε (550)  
 Ὅπως τ' ἐπίστα, τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην.

ΑΘ. Ὑμῶν ὁ μῦθος—εἰσάγω δὲ τὴν δίκην—  
 Ὅ γὰρ διώκων, πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων, 495  
 Γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος.

ΧΘ. Πολλαὶ μὲν ἐσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως. (555)  
 Ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθείς.

(q) *Minerva* makes her appearance at the head of the twelve Areopagites, who take their seats in the Orchestra.

(r) *Apollo* appears on the Stage.



Τὴν μητέρ' εἶπε πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας.

ΟΡ. Ἐκτεῖνα· τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει. 500

ΧΟ. Ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων.

ΟΡ. Οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον. (560)

ΧΟ. Εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες.

ΟΡ. Λέγω. ξιφουλκῶ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρην τεμῶν.

ΧΟ. Πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπείσθης καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν; 505

ΟΡ. Τοῖς τοῦδε θεσφάτοισι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι.

ΧΟ. Ὅ μάντις ἐξηγεῖτό σοι μητροκτονεῖν; (565)

ΟΡ. Καὶ δεῦρό γ' αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην οὐ μέμφομαι.

ΧΟ. Ἄλλ' εἴ σε μάρψει ψῆφος, ἄλλ' ἐρεῖς τάχα.

ΟΡ. Πέποιθ', ἀρωγὰς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμπει πατήρ. 510

ΧΟ. Νεκροῖσι νῦν πέπεισθι μητέρα κτανῶν.

ΟΡ. Δυοῖν γὰρ εἶχε προσβολὰς μiasμάτων. (570)

ΧΟ. Πῶς δὴ; δίδαξον τοὺς δικάζοντας τάδε.

ΟΡ. Ἄνδροκτονοῦσα πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανεν.

ΧΟ. Τοὶ γὰρ σὺ μὲν ζῆς, ἡ δ' ἐλευθέρα φόνου. 515

ΟΡ. Τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἤλαυνες φυγῆ;

ΧΟ. Οὐκ ἦν ὄμαιμος φωτὸς, ὃν κατέκτανεν. (575)

ΟΡ. Ἐγὼ δὲ μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐν αἵματι;

ΧΟ. Πῶς γὰρ σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντὸς, ὦ μαιφόνε,  
Ζώνης; ἀπεύχη μητρὸς αἶμα φίλτατον; 520

ΟΡ. Ἦδη σὺ μαρτύρησον. ἐξηγοῦ δέ μοι,

Ἄπολλον, εἴ σφε σὺν δίκη κατέκτανον. (580)

Δράσαι γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα·

Ἄλλ' εἰ δικαίως, εἴτε μὴ, τῇ σῆ φρενὶ

Δοκεῖ τόδ' αἶμα, κρίνον, ὡς τούτοις φράσω. 525

ΑΠ. Λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τόνδ' Ἀθηναίας μέγαν

Θεσμὸν δικαίως, μάντις ὣν δ' οὐ ψεύσομαι, (585)

Οὐπῶποτ' εἰπὼν μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις,



## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

- Οὐκ ἀνδρὸς, οὐ γυναικὸς, οὐ πόλεως πέρι,  
 Ὅ μὴ κελεύσῃ Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατὴρ. 530  
 Τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦθ', ὅσον σθένει, μαθεῖν,  
 Βουλῇ πιφαύσκω δ' ὑμῖν ἐπισπέσθαι πατρός. (590)  
 Ὅρκος γὰρ οὔτι Ζηνὸς ἰσχύει πλέον.
- Ζεὺς, ὡς λέγεις σὺ, τόνδε χρησμὸν ὤπασε,  
 Φράζειν Ὀρέστη τῷδε, τὸν πατρός φόνον 535  
 Πράξαντα, μητρὸς μηδαμοῦ τιμὰς νέμειν;  
 Οὐ γάρ τι ταυτὸν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον θανεῖν (595)  
 Διοσδότοις σκῆπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον,  
 Καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γυναικὸς, οὔ τι θουρίοις  
 Τόξοις ἐκηβόλοισιν, ὥστ' Ἀμαζόνος, 540  
 Ἄλλ' ὡς ἀκούσῃ, Παλλὰς, οἳ τ' ἐφήμενοι  
 Ψήφῳ διαιρεῖν τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι (600)  
 Ἄπο στρατείας γὰρ μιν ἠμποληκότα  
 Τὰ πλεῖστ' ἀμείνον' εὐφροσιν δεδεγμένη  
 Δροίτη περαίνειτ' λουτρὰ, καπὶ τέρματι 545  
 Φᾶρος παρεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ' ἀτέρμονι  
 Κόπτει πεδήσασ' ἄνδρα δαιδάλω πέπλω. (605)  
 Ἄνδρὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὔτος εἴρηται μόρος  
 Τοῦ παντοσέμνου, τοῦ στρατηλάτου νεῶν.  
 Ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον, ὡς δηχθῆ λεῶς, 550  
 Ὅσπερ τέτακται τήνδε κυρῶσαι δίκην.
- Πατρός προτιμᾶ Ζεὺς μόρον, τῷ σῷ λόγῳ (610)  
 Αὐτὸς δ' ἔδησε πατέρα πρεσβύτην Κρόνον.  
 Πῶς ταῦτα τούτοις οὐκ ἐναντίως λέγεις;  
 Ὑμᾶς δ' ἀκούειν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι. 555
- ὦ παντομισῇ κνώδαλα, στύγη θεῶν,  
 Πέδας μὲν ἂν λύσειεν, ἔστι τοῦδ' ἄκος, (615)  
 Καὶ κάρτα πολλὴ μηχανὴ λυτήριος.



Ἄνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὴν αἰμ' ἀνασπάσῃ κόνις,  
Ἄπαξ θανόντος οὔτις ἐστ' ἀνάστασις. 560

Τούτων ἐπὼδὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ  
Οὐμὸς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω (620)  
Στρέφῳν τίθησιν, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

ΧΘ. Πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τοῦδ' ὑπερδικεῖς ὄρα·  
Τὸ μητρὸς αἰμ' ὄμαιμον ἐκχέας πέδῳ, 565

Ἐπειτ' ἐν Ἄργει δώματ' οἰκήσει πατρός;  
Ποίοισι βωμοῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δημίοις; (625)  
Ποία δὲ χέρνιψ φρατόρων προσδέξεται;

ΑΠ. Καὶ τοῦτο λέξω, καὶ μάθ' ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐρῶ.  
Οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένου τέκνου 570

Τοκεὺς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου·  
Τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων, ἢ δ' ἄπερ ξένῳ ξένη (630)

Ἐσωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός.  
Τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδέ σοι δείξω λόγου.

Πατὴρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἄνευ μητρὸς· πέλας 575  
Μάρτυς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός,

Οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη, (635)  
Ἄλλ' οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός.

Ἐγὼ δὲ, Παλλὰς, τ' ἄλλα θ', ὡς ἐπίσταμαι,  
Τὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν τεύξω μέγαν, 580

Καὶ τόνδ' ἔπεμψα σῶν δόμων ἐφέστιον·  
Ὅπως γένοιτο πιστὸς εἰς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου, (640)

Καὶ τόνδ' ἐπικτήσαιο σύμμαχον, θεὰ,  
Καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα, καὶ τὰδ' αἰανῶς μένοι

Στέργειν τὰ πιστὰ τῶνδε τοὺς ἐπισπόρους. 585

ΑΘ. Ἦδη κελεύω τοῦσδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν  
Ψῆφον δικαίαν, ὡς ἄλις λελεγμένων. (645)

ΧΘ. Ἦμῖν μὲν ἤδη πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος.



- Μένω δ' ἀκούσαι, πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται.
- Θ. Τί γάρ; πρὸς ὑμῶν πῶς τιθεῖσ' ἄμομφος ᾧ; 590
- Ο. Ἐκούσαθ' ᾧν ἠκούσατ', ἐν δὲ καρδία  
Ψῆφον φέροντες, ὄρκον αἰδεῖσθε, ξένοι. (650)
- Θ. Κλύοιτ' ἂν ἤδη θεσμόν, Ἀττικὸς λεῶς,  
Πρώτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ.  
Ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγείῳ στρατῶ 595  
Ἄει δικαστῶν τοῦτο βουλευτήριον,  
Πάγον γεραῖρον † τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν (655)  
Σκηνάς θ', ὅτ' ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον  
Στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλιν νεόπτολιν  
Τήνδ' ὑψίπυργον ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε, 600  
Ἄρει δ' ἔθνον, ἐνθεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος  
Πέτρα, πάγος τ' Ἄρειος· ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας (660)  
Ἄστῶν, φόβος τε συγγενῆς τὸ μὴ ἄδικεῖν  
Σχήσει, τό θ' ἡμᾶρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην ὁμῶς,  
Αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ ἄπικαινούντων νόμους· 605  
Κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι βορβόρω θ' ὕδωρ  
Λαμπρὸν μαίνων· οὐ ποθ' εὐρήσεις ποτόν. (665)  
Τὸ μήτ' ἀναρχὸν μήτε δεσποτούμενον  
Ἄστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευῶ σέβειν,  
Καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν. 610  
Τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;  
Τοιόνδε τοι ταρβοῦντες ἐνδίκως σέβας, (670)  
Ἐρυμά τε χώρας, καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον  
Ἐχοιτ' ἂν οἶον οὔτις ἀνθρώπων ἔχει  
Οὔτε Σκύθησιν, οὔτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποις. 615  
Κερδῶν ἄθικτον τοῦτο βουλευτήριον,  
Αἰδοῖον, ὀξύθυμον, εὐδόντων ὑπερ (675)  
Ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα γῆς καθίσταμαι.





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## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

- Ο. Σύ τοι παλαιὰς δαίμονας καταφθίσας  
 Οἴνω παρηπάτησας ἀρχαίας θεάς. 640  
(10th)
- Π. Σύ τοι τάχ', οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος,  
 Ἐμῆ τὸν ἰὸν οὐδὲν ἐχθροῖσιν βαρύν. (700)  
(11th)
- Ο. Ἐπεὶ καθιππάζη με πρεσβῦτιν νέος,  
 Δίκης γενέσθαι τῆσδ' ἐπήκοος μένω,  
 Ὡς ἀμφίβουλος οὔσα θυμοῦσθαι πόλει. 645  
(12th)
- Θ. Ἐμὸν τόδ' ἔργον, λαισθίαν κρίναι δίκην  
 Ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι. (705)  
 Μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶν ἢ μ' ἐγείνατο.  
 Τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν,  
 Ἄπαντι θυμῶ, κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός. 650  
 Οὔτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον,  
 Ἄνδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον. (710)  
 Νικᾶ δ' Ὀρέστης, κὰν ἰσόψηφος κριθῆ.  
 Ἐκβάλλεθ' ὡς τάχιστα τευχέων πάλους,  
 Ὅσοις δικαστῶν τοῦτ' ἐπέσταλται τέλος. 655
- Ρ. ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλον, πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται;
- Ο. ὦ Νύξ μέλαινα μήτερ, ἄρ' ὄρας τάδε; (715)
- Ρ. Νῦν ἀγχόνης μοι τέρματ', ἢ φάος βλέπειν·
- Ο. Ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔρρειν, ἢ πρόσω τιμὰς νέμειν. (ι)
- Π. Περπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένοι, 660  
 Τὸ μὴ ἴδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει.  
 Γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα, (720)  
 Πάλλουσά τ' οἶκον ψῆφος ὠρθωσεν μία.

(ι) The ballots are turned out of the Urn and counted.



- ΑΘ. Ἄνῆρ ὄδ' ἐκπέφευγεν αἵματος δίκην.  
Ἴσον γάρ ἐστι τὰρίθμημα τῶν πάλων. (u) 665
- ΟΡ. ὦ Παλλὰς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους,  
Καὶ γῆς πατρώας ἐστερημένον σύ τοι (725)  
Κατώκισάς με· καί τις Ἑλλήνων ἐρεῖ·  
Ἄργεῖος ἄνῆρ αὖθις ἐν τε χρήμασιν  
Οἰκεί πατρώοις, Παλλάδος καὶ Λοξίου 670  
Ἐκατι, καὶ τοῦ πάντα κραίνοντος τρίτου  
Σωτήῆρος, ὃς πατρῶον αἰδεσθεὶς μόρον, (730)  
Σώζει με, μητρὸς τάσδε συνδίκους ὀρῶν.  
Ἐγὼ δὲ χώρα τῆδε καὶ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ  
Τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἅπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον 675  
Ὀρκωμοτήσας, νῦν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους,  
Μήτοι τιν' ἄνδρα δεῦρο πρυμνήτην χθονὸς (735)  
Ἐλθόντ' ἐσήσειν εὖ κεκασμένον δόρυ.  
Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὄντες ἐν τάφοις τότε  
Τοῖς τὰμὰ παρβαίνουσι νῦν ὀρκώματα 680  
Ἀμηχάνοισι πράξομεν δυσπραξίας,  
Ὀδοὺς ἀθύμους καὶ παρόρνιθας πόρους (740)  
Τιθέντες, ὡς αὐτοῖσι μεταμέλη πόνος·  
Ὀρθουμένων δὲ, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος  
Τιμῶσιν αἰεὶ τήνδε συμμάχῳ δορὶ, 685  
Αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν εὐμενέστεροι.  
Καὶ χαῖρε καὶ σύ, καὶ πολιτισσοῦχος λεῶς, (745)  
Πάλαισμ' ἀφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοις,  
Σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς νικηφόρον. (v)

(u) Minerva gives her ballot in favour of Orestes.

(v) Exit Orestes.



# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

## ΚΟΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ.

1. Ἴὼ θεοὶ νεώτεροι παλαιούς νόμους 690  
Καθιππάσασθε, κάκ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου.
2. Ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἢ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος, (750)  
Ἐν γὰ τᾶδε, φεῦ, ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ,  
Ἄντιπαθῆ μεθεῖσα κραδίας σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ  
Ἄφορον ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λιχὴν ἄφυλλος, 695  
Ἄτεκνος, ᾧ δίκαια, πέδον ἐπισύμενος (755)  
Βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώρα βαλεῖ.
3. Στενάζω; τί ρέξω; γένωμαι δυσοίστα πολίταις.  
Πάθον, ἰὼ, μεγάλα τοι κόραι δυστυχεῖς Νυκτὸς  
ἀτιμοπενθεῖς. (760)
1. Ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν. 700  
Οὐ γὰρ νενίκησθ', ἀλλ' ἰσόψηφος δίκη  
Ἐξῆλθ' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἀτιμία σέθεν.  
Ἄλλ' ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια παρῆν,  
Αὐτός θ' ὁ χρήσας, αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ μαρτυρῶν, (765)  
Ὡς ταῦτ' Ὀρέστην δρῶντα μὴ βλάβας ἔχειν.  
Ἑμεῖς δὲ τῇ γῆ τῆδε μὴ βαρὺν κότον 706  
Σκήψησθε, μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μηδ' ἀκαρπῖαν  
Τεύξητ', ἀφείσαι πλευμόνων σταλάγματα,  
Βρωτῆρας αἰχμὰς σπερμάτων ἀνημέρους. (770)  
Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν πανδίκως ὑπίσχομαι, 710  
Ἐδρας τε καὶ κευθμῶνας ἐνδίκου χθονὸς  
Λιπαροθρόνοισιν ἡμένας ἐπ' ἐσχάrais  
Ἐξείν, ὑπ' ἀστῶν τῶνδε τιμαλφουμένας.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ.

1. Ἴὼ θεοὶ νεώτεροι παλαιούς νόμους



- Καθιππάσασθε, κάκ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου. 715
2. Ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἢ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος, (775)  
 Ἐν γὰρ τᾶδε, φεῦ, ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ,  
 Ἄντιπαθῆ μεθεῖσα κραδίας σταλαγμὸν χθονὶ  
 Ἄφορον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λιχὴν ἄφυλλος,  
 Ἄτεκνος, ὧ δίκαια, πέδον ἐπισύμενος (780)  
 Βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώρα βαλεῖ. 721
3. Στενάζω; τί ρέξω; γένωμαι δυσοίστα πολίταις.  
 Πάθον, ἰὼ, μεγάλα τοι κόραι δυστυχεῖς Νυκτὸς  
 ἀτιμοπενθεῖς. (785)
- ΛΘ. Οὐκ ἔστ' ἄτιμοι, μηδ' ὑπερθύμως ἄγαν  
 Θεαὶ βροτῶν στήσητε δύσκηλον χθόνα· 725  
 Καγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνὶ, καὶ, τί δεῖ λέγειν; (790)  
 Καὶ κληῖδας οἶδα δωμάτων μόνη θεῶν,  
 Ἐν ᾧ κεραυνὸς ἐστὶν ἐσφραγισμένος·  
 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ δεῖ· σὺ δ' εὐπειθῆς ἐμοὶ  
 Γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ ἔκβάλῃς ἐπὶ χθόνα 730  
 Καρπὸν, φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς. (795)  
 Κοίμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος,  
 Ὡς σεμνότιμος καὶ ξυνοικήτωρ ἐμοί·  
 Πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἀκροθίνια,  
 Θύη πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους, 735  
 Ἐχουσ' ἐς αἰεὶ τόνδ' ἐπαινέσεις λόγον. (800)

## ΚΟΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

1. Ἐμὲ παθεῖν τᾶδε.  
 Φεῦ.
2. Ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα κατὰ γᾶς οἰκεῖν ἀτίετον μῖσος.  
 Φεῦ.







## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

1. Ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε.

Φεῦ.

2. Ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα κατὰ γὰρ οἰκεῖν ἀτίετον μῖσος.

Φεῦ.

3. Πνέω τοι μένος,

4. ἅπαντά τε κότον. (835)

5. Οἶ οἶ, δᾶ, φεῦ. 770

6. Τίς μ' ὑποδύεται πλευρὰς ὀδύνα ;

7. Θυμὸν αἶε, μάτερ

Νύξ. ἀπὸ γάρ με τιμᾶν δαμιᾶν θεῶν

Δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδὲν ἦραν δόλοι. (840)

ΑΘ. Οὔτοι καμουμαί σοι λέγουσα τὰγαθὰ. 775

Ὡς μήποτ' εἶπης, πρὸς νεωτέρας ἐμοῦ

θεὸς παλαιὰ, καὶ πολιισσούχων βροτῶν,

Ἄτιμος ἔρρειν τοῦδ' ἀπόξενος πέδου.

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας, (845)

Γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον, 780

Σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν' εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,

οὐτὰν δικαίως τῆδ' ἐπιρρέποις πόλει

Μῆνίν τιν' ἢ κότον τιν', ἢ βλάβην στρατῶ.

Ἐξεστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμόρω χθονὸς (850)

εἶναι δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη. 785

ΧΟ. Ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, τίνα με φῆς ἔχειν ἔδραν ;

ΑΘ. Πάσης ἀπήμον' οἰζύος· δέχου δὲ σύ.

ΧΟ. Καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι· τίς δέ μοι τιμὴ μένει ;

ΑΘ. Ὡς μή τιν' οἶκον εὐθενεῖν ἄνευ σέθεν. (855)

ΧΟ. Σὺ τοῦτο πράξεις, ὥστ' ἐ με σθένειν τόσον ; 790

ΑΘ. Τῶ γὰρ σέβοντι συμφορὰς ὀρθώσομεν.

ΧΟ. Καί μοι προπαντὸς ἐγγύην θήσῃ χρόνου ;



- ΙΘ. Ἐξεστί γάρ μοι μὴ λέγειν ἂ μὴ τελέω.  
 ΙΟ. Θέλξειν μ' ἕοικας, καὶ μεθίσταμαι κότου. (800)  
 ΙΘ. Τοιγὰρ κατὰ χθόν' οὐσ' ἐπικτήσῃ φίλους. 795  
 ΙΟ. Τί οὖν μ' ἄνωγας τῆδ' ἐφυμνήσαι χθονί;  
 ΙΘ. Ὅποια νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα,  
 Καὶ ταῦτα γῆθεν, ἕκ τε ποντίας δρόσου,  
 Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε, κἀνέμων ἀήματα (865)  
 Εὐηλίως πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα· 800  
 Καρπὸν τε γαίας καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον,  
 Ἄστοϊσιν εὐθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ,  
 Καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν.  
 Τῶν δυσσεβούντων δ' ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις. (870)  
 Στέργω γὰρ, ἀνδρὸς φυτυποίμενος δίκην, 805  
 Τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος.  
 Τοιαῦτα σοῦστί. τῶν ἀρειφάτων δ' ἐγὼ  
 Πρεπτῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ  
 Τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν. (875)

## ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ Γ. ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΑΙΣΤΟΙ.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ.

- ἰτρ. ἀ. Δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνοικίαν οὐδ' ἀτιμάσω  
 πόλιν 810  
 Τὰν καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ παγκράτης Ἄρης τε φρούριον  
 θεῶν νέμει,  
 Ῥυσίβωμον Ἑλλάνων ἀγαλμα δαιμόνων. (880)  
 Αἶ τ' ἐγὼ κατεύχομαι, θεσπίσασα πρευμενῶς,  
 Ἐπισσύτους βίου τύχας ὄνησίμους  
 Γαίας ἐξ ἀμβρῦσαι (885)  
 Φαιδρὸν ἀλίου σέλας. 816





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ΧΟΡΟΣ.

τρ. β'. Ἀνδροκμη̄τας δ' ἀώρους ἀπεννέπω τύχας,  
 Νεανίδων τ' ἐπηράτων  
 Ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε, κύρι ἔχοντες τὰ  
 θνατῶν †, 835  
 Μοῖραι ματροκασιγνήται, (920)  
 Δαίμονες ὀρθονόμοι,  
 Παντὶ δόμῳ μετὰκοῖνοι, παντὶ χρόνῳ δ' ἐπιβριθεῖς  
 Ἐνδίκοις ὀμιλίαις,  
 Πάντα τιμιώταται θεῶν. 840

ΑΘΗΝΑ.

Μέσον σύστ. Τάδε τοι χώρα τῆ ἡμῶν προφρόνως  
 ἐπικραινομένων γάννυμαι· στέργω δ' ὄμματα  
 Πειθοῦς,  
 ὅτι μοι γλῶσσαν καὶ στόμ' ἐπωπᾶ πρὸς τάσδ'  
 ἀγρίως ἀπανηναμένας. (930)  
 ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος. νικᾶ δ' ἀγαθῶν  
 ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Αντ. β'. Τὰν δ' ἀπληστον κακῶν μήποτ' ἐν πόλει  
 στάσιν  
 Τᾶδ' ἐπεύχομαι βρέμειν. 845  
 Μηδὲ πιούσα κόνις μέλαν αἶμα πολιτᾶν δι'  
 ὄργαν  
 Ποινὰς ἀντιφόνους, ἄτας,  
 Ἄρπαλίσαι πόλεως.  
 Χάρματα δ' ἀντιδιδοῖεν κοινοφελεῖ διανοία. (940)  
 Καὶ στυγεῖν μιᾷ φρενί. 850  
 Πολλῶν γὰρ τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς ἄκος.



## ΑΘΗΝΑ.

Αντισ. β'. Ἄρα φρουῶσα γλώσσης ὁδὸν ἀγαθῆς εὐ-  
ρίσκει;

ἐκ τῶν φοβερῶν τῶνδε προσώπων μέγα κέρδος  
ὄρω τοῖσδε πολίταις.

τάσδε γὰρ εὐφρονας εὐφρονες αἰεὶ μέγα τιμῶντες  
καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν ὀρθοδίκαιον πρέψετε πάντες  
διάγοντες. 855

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Στρ. γ'. Χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἐν αἰσιμίαις πλούτου. (950)

Χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς λεῶς, ἴκταρ ἤμενοι Διὸς,

Παρθένου φίλας φίλοι, σωφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ.

Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας ἄζεται πατήρ.

## ΑΘΗΝΑ. (x)

Αντισ. α'. Χαίρετε χ' ὑμεῖς· προτέραν δέ με χρῆ  
στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσιν. 860

πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν ἴτε, καὶ σφα-  
γίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι, (960)

τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χώρας κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον  
πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη.

Ἕμεῖς δ' ἠγείσθε, πολιτισσοῦχοι, παῖδες Κραναοῦ,  
ταῖσδε μετοίκοις. (965)

εἶη δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Αντ. γ'. Χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὐτ', ἐπιδιπλοῖζω. 865

Πάντες οἱ κατὰ πόλιν, δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοὶ

(x) *Minerva* stations herself at the head of the Chorus in the Orchestra, where they are joined by the *Escort of females* with torches.



Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες. μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν  
 Εὖ σέβοντες οὔτι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου.

- ΛΘ. Αἰνῶ τε μύθους τῶνδε τῶν κατευγμάτων, (975)  
 Πέμψω τε φέγγη λαμπάδων σελασφόρων 870  
 Εἰς τοῦς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους,  
 Ξὺν προσπόλοισιν, αἶτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας  
 Τοῦμὸν δικαίως. ὄμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς  
 Θησῆδος ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν εὐκλεῆς λόχος  
 Παίδων, γυναικῶν, καὶ στόλος πρεσβυτίδων. 875  
 Φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι  
 Τιμᾶτε, καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πυρὸς,  
 Ὅπως ἂν εὐφρων ἦδ' ὀμιλία χθονὸς  
 Τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρέπη. (985)

#### ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ.

- ἰτρ. α'. Βᾶτε δόμῳ, μεγάλοι φιλότιμοι 880  
 Νυκτὸς παῖδες, ἄπαιδες, ὑπ' εὐθύφρονι πομπᾷ.  
 Εὐφαιμεῖτε δὲ, χωρίται.
- ιντ. α'. Γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισι,  
 Τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περίσεπται τετύχησθε †.  
 Εὐφαιμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμεί. 885
- ἰτρ. β'. Ἴλαοι δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονες γᾶ  
 Δεῦρ' ἴτε, σεμναὶ, πυριδάπτω  
 Λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι. καθ' ὁδὸν δ'  
 Ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς. (995)
- ιντ. β'. Σπονδαὶ δ' ἐστόπαν ἐνδαδες οἴκων. 890  
 Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς ὁ Πανόπτας  
 Οὔτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.  
 Ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.



# CRITICAL COMMENTARY.

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LIST of the Passages, where the adopted Text departs from Wellauer's Edition (1824), with Remarks in support of the Author's Readings, and References to Passages explanatory of them in the following Essays\*.

		WELLAUER.	TEXT.
V.	6.	χθονός	Χθονός.
	7.	δ ἠ	δ ἠ Old Reading.
	36.	στάσιν	βάσιν Var. in Stephan.
	54.	βίαν	λίβα Burgess, Codd. ΔΙΑ. Cf. Essays, §. 98.
	68.	Ἵπνω πεσοῦσαι	Ἵπνω· πονοῦσι† Conjecture.
	76.	Βεβῶτ' ἀν αἰεὶ	Βεβῶτ' ἀλατεῖ†
	90.	—— κάρτα δ' ὦν	κάρτα δ' ὦν
	91.	—— τόνδε	τόνδε
	92.	ἐκ νόμων	ἐκνέμων Heath.
	103.	Ἵρα	Ἵρα̃ Pauw.

\* The Author has omitted nothing in this List, except a few slight orthographical changes too trifling to notice; and even in these minor particulars he has adhered as closely as possible to Wellauer's text, as this Edition is not meant to be a new recension of the text. Such words as are received into the text without sufficient authority or external evidence have the mark † annexed to them, to shew that they are admitted only to render the text at all translateable. The smaller figures in brackets shew the number of verses according to Wellauer's Edition, the larger ones are adapted to the Author's arrangement of the text.

V. 76. I have ventured to write ΑΛΑΤΕΙ for ΑΝΑΙΕΙ. The existence of such a verbal adverb from ἀλάομαι is very possible, though it does not occur elsewhere: besides, it is certain that ἄπαξ λεγόμενα were discarded sooner and more largely from Æschylus than from any other Author. With regard to the ε in the middle syllable, I have suffered it to stand, because there are other instances where the Attic dialect has retained the ᾱ for η after λ, as in λέλακα, ἐπλετοί. Even the ἄ for η in ἐπλάκην, and other aorists of that kind, is to be accounted for by the influence of the λ, in the same manner as that in ἐβράχην is the effect of the ρ.



V. 103.	καρδίας	καρδία Pauw.
106. 107.	ἐλείξατε Χοάς τ'	ἐλείξατε Χοάς τε Hermann
112.	ἀρκυσμάτων	ἀρκυσμάτων Turnebus.
114.	Ἀκούσαθ' ὡς ἔλεξα τῆς ἐμῆς πέρι,	Ἀκούσαθ', ὡς ἔλεξα, τῆς ἐμῆς— πέρι.
121.	ᾠζεις; ὑπνώσεις;	ᾠζεις ὑπνώσσουσ'; Conject.
125.	Λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, φράζου,	Φράζου· Λάβε, λάβε, λάβε— λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε— Essays, §. 10.
132.	Οὐδ'	Σὺ δ' Pearson.
135.	Χοραγός	Χοροῦ ἠγεμών et al.
161.	αἰρούμενον	ἀρόμενον. Cf. Pindar N. vii— 59.
169.	ἐκείνου	ἔστιν οὐ Hermann.
177.	καρνηστῆρες	καρνηστῆρες Turnebus.
178.	ἀποφθοραὶ	ἀποφθορᾶ Erfurdt.
179.	κακοῦ τε	κακοῦται Id.
180.	Λευσμόν	Λευσμός Casaubon.
191.	εἰς	εἰς Canter.
202. 3. 4.	Ἀπόλλων. Χορός. Ἀπόλλων	Ἀπόλλων Stephan. &c.
202.	νοσφίση;	νοσφίση, Id.
204.	ἠρκέσω	ἀρκέσει Bothe.

V. 114. The idea is: *Περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν*, as the orators express it; and the meaning of the passage is this: 'Hear me, as you would one who pleads for his soul. In that way have I spoken, in that way hear me'. The pointing is intended to make this sense evident.

V. 179. I have here taken *χλοῦνις* (the reading of the MSS.) with Erfurdt in the sense of *viridis ætas*; and this meaning of the word is borne out by etymology, although not supported by instances. From the root *ΧΛΕ* (*χλόςος*, *χλοῦς*) comes *χλόουνης*, *exuberant*, *luxuriant*, an old epithet applied to the wild boar, and also to eunuchs, from their luxuriant fullness of form. And again, in an obscure verse in *Æsch. Edon.* (Schol. Villosis. ad Il. ix. 535) *χλόουνης* appears to have the same signification. Hence the fem. *χλοῦνις* seems to have derived the abstract signification of *vigour*.

Hermann (*de Æsch. Lycurg.* p. 9) says that *χλοῦνις* in this passage means *castratio*, but he does not enter into any explanation of the context.



	WELLAUER.	TEXT.
V. 208.	μορσίμη,	μορσίμη
209.	δίκη	Δίκη
211.	γενέσθαι	τίνεσθαι Herm.
217.	πόνον	πόνων Wakefield.
222.	κακκυνηγέτις	κὰκκυνηγετῶ Herm.
230.	καὶ πορεύμασι	καὶ πορεύμασιν
244.	Χορευταί after Vs. 244.	Χορός before V. 244, Scholl.
246.	πάντα	παντᾶ Reisig.
253.	χυμένον	χύμενον
256.	πώματος δυσπότου	π. τοῦ δυσπότου Conject.
258.	ἀντιποίνους	ἀντιπόνους Lachmann.
259.	ἄλλον	ἄλλος Heath.
260.	τιν' ἀσεβῶν	τιν' ἀσεβῶν . . . . . on account of Metre.
272. 73.	θεοῦ Φοίβου,	θεοῦ, Φοίβου
294.	καθιερωμένος;	καθιερωμένος,
301.	ἅμα	ἀμά Canter.
303.	τούς—προσνέμοντας	τόν—προσνέμοντ' † Herm.
306.	ἀνὴρ	ἄνῆρ Wakefield.
312.	ποιῶν	Ποινάν Ald.
319.	ἀφόρμικτος, αὐονά	ἀφόρμικτος αὐονά
332.	ἄμοιρος	ἀπόμοιρος Conject. cf. ἀπό- κλαρος Pind. P. V. 54.
338.	ὁμοίως	ὅμως Arnaldus.
339.	ὑφ' αἵματος νέου	καμάτοισιν † ex Conject.
340.	σπενδόμεναι δ'	σπεύδομεν αἰδ' Döderlein.
341.	ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς	ἐμαῖς λείταις

V. 341. Here again I have been under the necessity of introducing a new word. The laborious office undertaken by the Furies, who thereby render the rest of the Gods exempt from that duty, is compared by them to the *λειτουργίαι*, which were undertaken by individuals in order to afford the other citizens exemption from taxes, ἀτέλεια. Now from λαός, Att. λεώς, comes the adj. λαΐτος (whence Hesych. λαιτῶν, τῶν δημοσίων τόπων), Ionic λήϊτος (whence Herodotus calls the Achaic Town-Hall, λήϊτον), old Att. λῆτος (by the Grammarians written λῆτος), and subsequently λείτος, whence λειτουργία. From this λείτος I have here supposed the ancient use of an abstract fem. λείτη, in the sense of *munus publicum*.



	WELLAUER.	TEXT.
V. 342.	μηδ' εἰς	μηδ' εἰς
343.	Ζεὺς γὰρ αἵματοσταγὲς	Ζεὺς γ' αἵμοσταγὲς
359.	Μένει γάρ· εὐμήχανοι	Μένει γὰρ εὐμήχανοι Wakefield.
360.	δέ	τε Id.
368.	δέδοικε	δέδοικεν
371. 72.	ἔπι	ἐπὶ—ἔστιν Hermann.
373.	κυρῶ	κύρω Id.
375. 76.	βοήν, Ἄπο Σκαμάνδρου	βοήν Ἄπο Σκαμάνδρου, §. 42-ex.
392.	θέμις	θέμις.
394.	αἰανῆς	αἰανῆ vulg.
412.	ἠ	ἠ
413.	ἀξίαν τ' ἐπ' ἀξίων	ἄξι' ἀντ' ἐπαξίων Hermann.
424.	ἐφεζομένη	ἐφημένη Schütz.
439.	κρύψασα' λουτρῶν	κρύψασ', ἃ λουτρῶν Herm. Opuscc. IV. p. 339.
451.	καὶ	καὶ Heath.
—	ὄμως	έμοίς Pauw.
453.	ὄμως δ'	ὄσίως Conject. cf. §. 51.
458.	ἀμφότερα μένειν,	ἀμφότερα, μένειν Hermann.
459.	Πέμπειν δὲ δυσπήματ'	Πέμπειν τε, δυσπήμαντ' Id.
461.	ὀρκίων αἰρουμένους	ὀρκίους αἰρουμένη Pearson and Casaub.
464.	δίκης θ'	δίκης Codd.

*publicum*. I will just propose, by the bye and merely as a conjecture, the reading of ΔΗΙΤΟΡ' instead of ΜΗΤΕΡ' in the difficult passage, Agam. 1280. Δητωρ would then stand for λήτειρα, like ἴκτωρ applied by Æschylus to the Danaids, and θέλκτωρ πειθῶ in the same play, &c.

V. 343. Of the alterations which I have introduced for the purpose of restoring the metre (a dactylic order with a base), there are none that require any particular vindication. I would also propose to read γὲ for γὰρ in the Agam. (v. 1118): περιβάλοντό γ' οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας, 'at hanc amixerunt saltem dii pennigero corpore.'

V. 413. Hermann now reads σέβουσαί γ' ἀξίαν γ' ἐπαξίων, perhaps rightly: and in v. 424 he reads ἐφημένου, with Burgess, which reading certainly has much to recommend it.





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	WELLAUER.	TEXT.
V. 586.	εἶπον	εἰπὼν Conject.
603.	Δροίτη, περὼντι λου- τρα	Δροίτη περῶντι † λουτρα H. Voss.
655.	δ' Ἄρειον	γεραῖρον
680.	Αἰδουμένους τὸν ὄρκον	Αἰδουμένους τὸν ὄρκον Stanl.
687.	*Η	ἼΗ
718. 720.	Ὀρέστης. Χορὸς	Ἄπολλων Robert.
721.	Βαλοῦσα	Πάλλουσα
727.	ἄνῆρ	ἄνῆρ Porson.
736.	ἐπίσειν	ἐσήσειν Ald.
739.	δυσπραξίαις	δυσπραξίας Conject.
757. 784.	γένωμαι; δύσοιστα	γένωμαι δυσίστα
758. 785.	πολίταις πάθον	πολίταις. Πάθον
759. 786.	μεγάλᾳτοι	μεγάλα τοι ὑμῶν.
802. 833.	γᾶν	γᾶς Hertn.
803. 834.	ἀτίστον, φεῦ, μῦθος	ἀτίστον μῖσος (Ald.) φεῦ
805. 836.	οἱ οἱ,	οἱ οἱ,
823.	ἐξελοῦσ'	ἐκχολουσ' † Conject.
826.	μόλις	δόμοις s. §. 42.

V. 655. I do not take *γεραῖρον* to be the right word, but I have admitted it into the text, because the passage cannot be translated without a verb. Besides, poetical considerations, as it appears to me, require that the name of the Areopagus should not be mentioned before v. 660.

V. 721. *Πάλλειν* is the term properly used of shaking together and turning out the lots, which resemble the ballots in many respects. I have assumed here that it may stand intransitively in this sense, as it frequently does in a different application. Cf. Porson on *Orest.* 316. On the interchange of *πάλλειν* and *βάλλειν* cf. Stephan. l. v. *πάλλω*.

V. 757. It is in my opinion much harsher to supply *τί* from the preceding sentence, for the object of *γένωμαι* (besides that it does not seem to me to give a satisfactory and connected sense), than to put the conjunctive, implying determination, without a preliminary *ἄγε* or *φέρε*; a mode of expression often used by Homer, and sometimes admitted by Tragedians. I have joined *γένωμαι* to the following words, on the presumption that *Æschylus* might use *δυσόιστα* in the fem. form, for *δύσοιστος*, quite as correctly as his *πανάρκετα νόσος*, and the like; and I have chosen that form in order to give more weight to the Bacchic metre.

V. 758. The augment may be omitted in *πάθον* quite as well as in *πάθομεν*, *Chæph.* 413; and though the omission of the augment in a word of two syllables like *πάθον* is somewhat harsh, the departure from the common usage is justified in this instance by the highly excited tone of the passage.



	WELLAUER.	TEXT.
V. 845.	πειθοῦς	Πειθοῦς
850.	τῆδε γ' εὐμοίρου	τῆσδε γαμόρφ Dobree.
867.	βροτῶν ἐπίρρυτον,	βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον Stanl.
885.	Γαίας ἔξαμβρόσαι	Γαίας ἔξ ἀμβρῦσαι.
891.	ὁ δὲ μὴ	ὁ δὲ δὴ† Pauw.
894.	ἀπλακῆματα	ἀπλακῆματα Askew.
904.	εὐθenoῦντ' ἄγαν	εὐθenoῦντα γὰ Dobree.
906.	γόνος * *	γόνος δὲ πᾶς Conject.
911.	Ἐριννὺς	Ἐριννὺς Medic.
918. 19.	κύρι' ἔχοντες θεαί, τῶν	κύρι' ἔχοντες τὰ θνατῶν† s. §. 92.
935. 36.	πολιτᾶν, Δί' ὄργαν	πολιτᾶν δι' ὄργαν
943.	φρονοῦσι	φρονοῦσα Herm.
968.	αὐθις, ἐπιδιπλοῖζω	αὐτ', ἐπιδιπλοῖζω partly from Wellauer's Conj.
975.	δὲ	τε Herm.
978.	φρουροῦσι	φρουροῦσιν Robort.
980.	ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν, εὐκλεῆς	ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν εὐκλ.
981.	πρεσβυτίδων	πρεσβυτίδων
982.	ἑσθήμασι.	ἑσθήμασι
990.	Καὶ τιμαῖς	Τιμαῖς Herm.
—	περίσεπται, τύχα τε	περίσεπται τετύχησθε†?
996.	ἑς τὸ πᾶν	ἑστόπαν
—	ἔνδαιδες	ἔνδαδες Robort.
997.	ἀστοῖσι Ζεὺς πανόπτας.	ἀστοῖς ὁ Πανόπτας Bothe.
998.	μοῖρα τε	Μοῖρά τε

V. 891. The reading is very dubious, on account of the words wanting.







# **DISSERTATIONS**

**ON THE**

**EUMENIDES.**

---

**FIRST DISSERTATION.**

**ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PLAY.**







# I. THE CHORUS.

## A. MANAGEMENT OF THE CHORUS.

### a. *Number of the Choreutæ.*

I. **ÆSCHYLUS** having determined to present himself as a candidate for the Tragic prize at the Dionysian Festival at which he produced his play of the **EUMENIDES**, was first of all obliged, by the regulations of the Athenian Festivals, to apply to the Chief of the Nine Archons for a Chorus. He obtained one<sup>1</sup>, and we learn from the Didascalia that the Chorus assigned to him was that which a wealthy individual, Xenocles of Aphidna, had engaged, in the capacity of Choregus of his tribe, to collect, maintain during their training, and equip for the stage. He then proceeded to train<sup>2</sup> this Chorus for his *four* plays, that being the number which by established custom the Tragic Poet was required to produce on the stage at the same time; these were the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoræ*, the *Eumenides*, and the *Proteus*, a Satyric drama. The *training* was a business which the State, whose judgment in such matters could be guided only by public and ocular demonstrations, regarded as the most essential part of a Dramatic Poet's duty; and accordingly, by old-established precedent, the prize was never awarded to the Poet as such, but invariably to the *Teacher of the Chorus*<sup>3</sup>.

Now the question is, *how many* persons did Xenocles— for according to the Didascalia he was the only Choregus with whom Æschylus was concerned on this occasion— assign to our Poet for the performance of the Choral dances and Odes in this Tetralogy?

1. χορόν ἔλαβε.

2. διδάσκειν.

3. χοροῦ διδάσκαλος.



It is well known that the old Grammarians state the usual number of the Tragic Chorus, even with Æschylus, to have been fifteen (for fourteen, the number given in their statements, only means fifteen without the Leader, or else arose from an error of the Manuscripts): whereas in an ancient Life of Sophocles, as also in Suidas, we are informed that this Poet was the first who changed the number of the Chorus from twelve to fifteen. It has indeed been proposed to transpose these numbers; but such a transposition is inadmissible here for this reason, that the Grammarians, in their accounts of the arrangement and distribution of the Tragic Chorus, have regularly the number fifteen in view (as will appear further on), and in so doing must of course have had an eye much rather to the polished Drama of Sophocles and Euripides, than to the comparatively antiquated form used by Æschylus.

Now, as far as I am aware, these accounts have been universally understood to mean, that the said twelve or fifteen individuals composed the Choruses of all four plays one after another; that is to say, the Chorus of Old Men in the Agamemnon, of Female Mourners in the second play, of Furies in the third, and of Satyrs in the last. It is of importance to observe the complete falsity of this opinion, and to consider the necessity for adopting a different hypothesis.

2. What? are we told that the same persons—persons, too, of no very high attainments in art, like the principal stage-actors, but of the ordinary class, such as could not be supposed to have received more than the usual education of Athenian citizens,—were actually so well taught and so perfect in their parts, as to go through all the various figures<sup>1</sup> of those numerous long dances, all the complex systems of those many odes, which occur in the Agamemnon, the Choe-

1. σχήματα.





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by singing the closing Ode. Moreover, there is an evident congruity observable in respect to the general character, first, between the Old Men in the Agamemnon and the Areopagites, and next, between Clytæmnestra's Female-attendants, the Female-mourners, and the Female-escort of the Eumenides. All this being taken into consideration, it is by no means a far-fetched inference that we have in these instances the self-same Choreutæ under a slight change of garb. Whence it follows, that in addition to the proper Chorus of any individual drama, the one belonging to another play of the same Tetralogy frequently makes its appearance in the capacity of an accessory Chorus; and hence again, that the Chorus of one play must have been quite distinct from that of another, in respect of the persons of whom it was composed.

But there is a still stronger argument in favour of this supposition; namely, the circumstance that in the second play of this very Tetralogy we find, besides the proper Chorus, the one belonging to the third play already on the stage; and that too, not as in the above-mentioned instances under a different character and costume, but to all intents as a Chorus of Furies. This appears from a passage towards the end of the play (v. 1044), where Orestes exclaims:

δμωαὶ γυναῖκες, αἶδε Γοργόνων δίκην  
 φαιοκχίτωνες καὶ πεπλεκτανημένοι  
 πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν· οὐκ ἔτ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ.

It is true, the Choephoræ do not see the Erinnyes, or Furies, of whom Orestes speaks here; and hence it has been inferred that they did not exist at all, but in the fancy of Orestes;—a conception, which in my opinion goes near to destroy the entire poetic and religious consistency of the Trilogy. For according to Æschylus's idea the Erinnyes are as really and positively present in *this* place, where Orestes



first beholds them, as they are in *that*, where they are pursuing him to Delphi and Athens: and it would have been nothing less than wilfully annihilating all truth of the poetic picture, had the Poet begun by treating the very beings, whom he meant to produce in the sequel as corporeal and actually present,—nay, on whose real presence the whole plot of the following play depends,—in the light of a mere fancy, as the phantom of a diseased brain. Euripides, indeed, has done so, but Æschylus was of all poets the least capable of committing such a blunder.

We confidently assert that he whose eyes did not actually behold the Erinnyes on *this* occasion of their first appearance, must needs have remained blind to their presence in the sequel. It is true, the Chorus does not perceive them, but it is because they are visible only to such as have their eyes opened to the supernatural world, into which the Poet conducts us. In the third play, wherein the Erinnyes compose the Chorus, Æschylus has carefully avoided bringing characters of an ordinary stamp into communication with them. There, excepting Apollo and Minerva, the main characters in the Action, none see them but Orestes, who bears their tortures in his heart, the inspired Pythoness, and the shade of Clytæmnestra. The Areopagites and the Female-escort cannot be taken into account, since they do not properly bear a part, as *acting* characters, in the Drama of Divinities. The spectator on the contrary does and must behold the Erinnyes from their very first appearance: it is for *him* that the Poet tears away the veil from the invisible world, into which his inspired spirit has cast a profounder glance; and if its denizens be visible at all, they must be present to his view from the very commencement of their supernatural operations.

But fortunately for such as credit only what they have external evidence of, it is on record that such is the fact.



At least we are informed by Pollux<sup>1</sup> that the Erinnyes of Tragedy (and what tragedy more obviously occurs to us than this very Trilogy of Æschylus?) were raised as it were out of the infernal world through trap-doors<sup>2</sup> near the flight of steps<sup>3</sup> leading from the Orchestra to the Amphitheatre. Now the only occasion on which the Erinnyes can and must be conceived to rise out of the infernal world is at the conclusion of the Choephorœ. At the commencement of the succeeding play they have long since been in the upper world: they have already chased Orestes from his paternal house to Delphi. Consequently the statement of Pollux affords an indirect confirmation of the assertion I have advanced, that the Chorus of Erinnyes really made their appearance on the stage, besides the Chorus of Choephorœ. At the same time he furnishes an indirect explanation of the reason why the Chorus did not see them, namely, because the Chorus, as it faced the stage, had its back turned upon the doors in question. Nevertheless it is very possible that there were particular contrivances by means of which the spot on which the Erinnyes first appeared was concealed from the view of persons on the level of the Orchestra, and visible only from the elevated stations of the stage and Amphitheatre.

4. After these explanations the relation between the *accessory* Choruses (so to speak) and the *principal* Choruses in the three tragedies may be thus arranged:

	I.	II.	III.
<i>Principal Chor.</i>	Old Men.	Women.	Furies.
<i>Accessory Chor.</i>	Women from II.	Furies from III.	Old Men from I. and Women from II.

At the conclusion of the Eumenides, in order to afford the people a splendid and withal, from the contrast of the characters, expressive spectacle, all three Choruses move

1. IV. 132. cf. 121.

2. ἀναπίεσματα.

3. ἀναβαθμοί.



off from the Orchestra in the same order as they entered; the old men at the head of the procession (v. 965); then the escort of maidens, women, and aged matrons with torches and votive offerings of purple garments<sup>4</sup>; and lastly the awful figures of the Furies. The proper Chorus of the play leaves the Orchestra last of all.

From the preceding exposition we obtain this unquestionable result: the Choregus appoints the Poet a much larger Chorus than one of twelve or fifteen, and it is the Poet's business to distribute this large Chorus into Chorusses for the individual Tragedies and Satyric Drama composing the Tetralogy. Perhaps the consideration of this collective Chorus may help us to ascertain the original number of tragic Choreutæ with greater precision than has hitherto been done.

5. The *Tragic* Chorus, as we learn from Aristotle and others, was derived from the *Dithyrambic*, which we know from various sources<sup>5</sup> consisted of *fifty* persons. This being the case, it is quite natural to suppose that the Choregus furnished the same number of dancers for the Tragic Chorus, as he had previously been accustomed to provide for the Dithyrambic, and that the distribution of these fifty persons into the component Chorusses of the Tetralogy was left to the discretion of the Poet. In this case the well-known statement of Pollux, that the Chorus of Eumenides consisted of *fifty*, may still be defended, if we suppose Pollux to have misconceived something that he had learnt relative to the number of Choreutæ for the whole Tetralogy, of which number, as we have seen, at least three-fourths were on the stage at the end of the Eumenides.

Still however the number fifty requires some modification. The Dithyrambic Chorus was *Cyclic*, and sang the

4. V. 982. From this passage we may infer that the Choephoraæ were not all elderly women, although their Conductress was aged, Choeph. 169.

5. Simonid. Epigr. 58. Br.—Scholl. in Æschin. c. Tim. p. 721. R.—Tzetzes Prolegom. in Lycophron, p. 1, Pott.



Dithyramb in a circle about the Altar, passing round it first in one direction and then in the other. But the Tragic, as well as the Comic and Satyric Chorus was quadrangular, τετράγωνος<sup>1</sup>, which latter expression is clearly and definitely distinguished from the former. Now a quadrangular Chorus is one that is divided into rank (ζυγά) and file (στίχοι, ποίχοι), so as to form a quadrangle. Its number therefore must be always a composite number, as  $3 \times 4 = 12$ ;  $3 \times 5 = 15$ . But as it appears that the component numbers are never so far apart that the one is double of the other ( $3 \times 4$  or  $3 \times 5$  is the Tragic,  $4 \times 6$  the Comic Chorus), it is not probable that there should be a quadrangular Chorus of  $5 \times 10$ . If the Tragic Chorus of earlier times came on the stage as an undivided whole, it is much more credible that its number was *forty-eight*,  $6 \times 8$ . And here by the way I venture the conjecture that the singular term, στησίχορος or Master of the Chorus<sup>2</sup>, given by the Greeks to the number eight in the game of dice, may refer to the ancient custom of arranging the Chorus in eight ranks.

6. Now an equal division of this Chorus of forty-eight gives *twelve* Choreutæ for each of the four plays. Twelve therefore, recommends itself, even in this point of view, as the probable number originally employed by Æschylus. Moreover, twelve is just half the number of the Comic Chorus, for which, it seems, owing to the far less encouragement given by the State to Comedy, half as many persons were deemed sufficient, as were required for the collective Chorus of a Tragic Tetralogy. The original number of Choreutæ in each Tragedy cannot have been *fifteen*, because in that case either the collective Chorus must have extended beyond fifty, whereas its intimate connexion with the Dithy-

1. See Etym. M. s. v. Τραγωδία. Schol. Dionys. Thr. p. 746. Bekker; and Villoison's *Anecdota*, II, p. 178.

2. See Stesich. Fragm. Ed. Kleine, p. 27.



runic Chorus forbids us to suppose this; or there would be only five left for the Satyric Drama, which would be too small a number for a Festive Chorus, and far too meagre and scanty a representation of the merry crew of Bacchus, a spectacle so delightful to an audience in that early age especially.

But it will be asked, did not Æschylus unquestionably employ a Chorus of fifteen, as the old Scholiasts<sup>3</sup> have remarked with reference to the Agamemnon and Eumenides, and Hermann<sup>4</sup> has proved to the general satisfaction in respect of the former Tragedy? The fact is, we have here a remarkable instance of the force of a confident assertion; which may for a time obtain such authority, even with the most clear-sighted enquirers, that it scarcely ever occurs to any of them to doubt its truth, although all the while it may be radically false. The very passage produced in proof of *fifteen* Choreutæ furnishes conclusive evidence in favour of *twelve*, as we shall now proceed to shew.

7. The Chorus in the Agamemnon represents a Supreme Council<sup>5</sup>, left by the Prince in administration of the realm during his absence<sup>6</sup>. Suspicious of Clytæmnestra's evil disposition and deeply affected by Cassandra's predictions, this Company of Elders is filled with an anxious presentiment of the horrible event so nearly impending. On a sudden the death-cry of Agamemnon is heard from the interior of the palace (v. 1316 Well.): first of all one of the Elders draws the attention of the others to it; a second declares it is the very perpetration of the deed they dreaded; a third proposes that they should hold a consultation upon it<sup>7</sup>. Young men would instantly have hastened to the spot and forced their way in; but these old men, who with all

3. Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 586. Eumen. 575.

4. De Choro Eumen. Diss. I.

6. See v. 829. 857.

5. γερουσία.

7. κινουῦσθαι βουλευμάτων, v. 1320.



their integrity of sentiment betray throughout the Tragedy a degree of weakness and irresolution, proceed to debate on the course they ought to pursue, and the question with them is, whether they should summon the citizens to their assistance (v. 1321 sq.), or should endeavour to prevent the crime by forcing their way into the palace (v. 1323 sq.); or, lastly, as they would most probably arrive too late to prevent the deed, whether they should not rather inform against the murderer (v. 1341 sq.)<sup>1</sup> The suffrages are given in *twelve* Iambic distichs. The second proposal is carried by a considerable majority, and is confirmed by the last voter, probably the same person who moved the debate, for the offices of ἐπιψηφίζειν and ἐπικυροῦν usually fell to the same individual. The next moment the Gerontes are inside the Palace: that is, the interior of the Palace,—the Apartment containing the silver laver, the corpse of Agamemnon enveloped in the fatal garment, and Clytæmnestra still standing, with the bloody weapon in her hand, on the spot where she struck the blow<sup>1</sup>,—is wheeled upon the stage by means of the machine called ἐκκύκλημα<sup>2</sup>. The expression, ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισα, shews that Clytæmnestra, although wheeled out by means of this machinery, is still to be imagined within the apartment: of course, therefore, the Poet would have us conceive the Chorus to have forced its way in, although in fact it was still outside. Hence it is evident that the debate was over, and had been closed in due form; and hence again it follows that *all* the Elders have given their votes. For indeed, so well acquainted were the Athenians with the mode of proceeding in the debates of a Βουλῆ, that they would not have been very well satisfied, had Æschylus suffered three of the Gerontes to remain quite silent.

1. ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισα, v. 1352. Cf. v. 1451. 1520.

2. Cf. §. 28. for an account of this machine.





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at each pause one of the Areopagites rose, took a ballot from the Altar and threw it into the Urn, whereupon, as the ψῆφος δικάστικὴ struck against the vessel, the sound κόγξ, so familiar to the Athenian ear, was distinctly audible through the Theatre. That we are to reckon by the intervals between the speeches, and not by the speeches themselves, is evident from the number of the speeches being uneven, whereas the number of ballots is even: it is not till Minerva gives the casting vote that the numbers become odd, and Orestes is acquitted by a majority of one vote<sup>1</sup>.

10. There is no other play which exhibits the Chorus of *twelve* so plainly as the *Agamemnon*; for it does not by any means follow as a matter of course, that because the Chorus of twelve was certainly employed in this one instance, the same must have been the case in all the other dramas of Æschylus. It is very possible that after Sophocles had extended the number to *fifteen*, Æschylus may now and then have adopted the enlarged number. Nevertheless I think I can shew some probability of the Chorus of *twelve* having been employed in the *Persians*, the *Suppliants*, and the *Seven against Thebes*; and among the lost Tragedies of Æschylus that was beyond doubt the number of the Chorus of Titans in the *Prometheus Unbound*. In the play of the *Persians* the Chorus represents a Council of Elders, or Senate. For this we may assume twelve to be the regular number, as established in the *Agamemnon*; and the same appears admissible also in the *Antigone* of Sophocles<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, in the evocation of Darius from his grave (v. 625—658), *six* voices are distinguishable, and the like number join in singing the concluding Ode. In the *Suppliants*, we must bear in mind that each of the Danaids has a female

1. The same conclusion is drawn from this passage by Boeckh, *Corp. Inscrip.* II. p. 511.

2. On the Significance of the Chorus in the *Antigone*, cf. v. 159. 835. Boeckh on the *Antigone*, Essay I, p. 45. (German).



attendant with her<sup>3</sup> (v. 956): therefore the Chorus composed of both must contain an even number; and as the Chorus of *fourteen* appears to have been a special peculiarity in the *Suppliants* of *Euripides* (in which play there is good reason for assuming that number), we must in this instance also abide by the Chorus of *twelve*, among which number the closing Ode readily admits of being distributed. In the *Seven against Thebes* the demonstration is less concise than in the other instances: I will therefore merely state it here as my opinion, that this play ranks with those above mentioned with respect to the amount of its Chorus. But in the *Choephoræ* and the *Eumenides* the number of the Chorus is not to be inferred, as a matter of course, from that in the *Agamemnon*. Out of fifty Choreutæ *Æschylus* might allot twelve to the first play and allow fifteen for each of the two following ones, thus leaving eight for the Satyric Drama, which are not too few to form a Chorus<sup>4</sup>. Nay, in the *Eumenides*, independently of the testimony cited above (§. 6), which there is no decided reason for rejecting in this case, every thing speaks in favour of the Chorus of *fifteen*. For in such of the Choral Odes as are *Commatic* (i. e. sung by single individuals), *seven* distinct voices are frequently apparent; which number is to be accounted for by the departure of the Leader, so that seven pairs remained, among whom the several Odes had to be divided.

This must be made to appear by analysis of the several Odes: nevertheless I wish to draw attention here to one passage in the dialogue, in which this number seven very clearly presents itself, though in a way that, to our modern

3. Reisig (*Enarr. Œd. Col. v. 1308,*) failed to perceive this circumstance, owing to his not viewing the Chorus as a whole, without regard to the particular circumstances and feelings of the individuals composing it. *Elmsley* speaks most to the point on this subject in the *Class. Journal*, Vol. IX. 4. xvii. p. 56.

4. *Pausan. v. 16, 2.*



conceptions, may appear trivial. The Chorus of Erinnyes is awakened from deep sleep by the agitating presentiment that Orestes has fled from them. Half dreamingly they howl upon each other to look to and seize upon the prey. In the MSS. the verse, with the scenical annotation, runs thus:

(μυγμὸς διπλοῦς, ὀξύς.)  
 λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, φράζου.

But according to the Scholiast in v. 1, the metre of the verse was,

ῡ - υ - ῡ - υυυ υυυ υυυ υ;

for he describes it as a dimeter brachycatalectic with an hepthemimer of tribrachs. He must therefore have read it (and the inference is confirmed by the comparison of his other statements concerning the metre) thus:

μὺ μῦ· μὺ μῦ. φράζου—λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε, λάβε.

And I do not hesitate with him to depart from the MSS. in placing φράζου (*give heed!*) before λάβε (*seize him!*): the natural sense also of the following lines, in which the Erinnyes are represented as hounds yelling upon the prey, strongly recommends the transposition. But there is no reason to be seen why the ordinary course of the Iambic metre should be suspended in this verse. The tragic usage is to allow inarticulate sounds, as the μὺ μῦ, μὺ μῦ here, and only such, to stand *extra metrum*; the licence by no means extends to words of the common sort, as those which follow. We are therefore not without warrant for repeating the word λάβε seven times. Thus the Iambic verse becomes complete, and the following arrangement is obtained:



<i>Leader.</i>		φραζού.
<i>Voices</i>	2, 3.	_____λαβέ
	4, 5.	_____λαβε
	6, 7.	_____λάβε
	8, 9.	.....λαβέ
	10, 11.	_____λαβε
	12, 13.	_____λάβε
	14, 15.	_____λαβέ.

Of course this arrangement of the Poet's is not to be viewed, as we may be apt to view it, in the light of a petty and overstudied conceit, but as the substratum of a vigorous and spirited dramatic effect. Imagine a wild, fierce howl, like that of a couple of hounds in a leash trained to give tongue in a harmonizing cry, running through the whole line of Furies with great rapidity and without interrupting the beat of the verse.

*b. Arrangement of the Chorus.*

11. In place of a lengthened disquisition I shall here give, from the statements of the Grammarians on the subject, the arrangement of the Chorus of fifteen, the number of which it usually consisted in the subsequent period of dramatic art. The annexed figure exhibits the Chorus in two positions; the first, at its entrance by the side-passages of the Orchestra; the other, in its place in the centre of the Orchestra, about the Thymele. As the Thymele was derived from the Dionysian Altar around which the Cyclian Chorus executed its movements, it is natural to suppose its place to have been the centre of the Orchestra, as represented in the figure. But usually the Chorus stood nearer to the stage than to the amphitheatre<sup>1</sup>; therefore, between the Thymele and the Proscenium; and the lines

1. Schol. Aristoph. Pax. 735.



have been drawn accordingly<sup>1</sup>. The cardinal points of the heavens are assigned from the position of the Athenian Theatre on the south side of the Acropolis. They are taken into account in Soph. Ag. 874, 877, Eur. Orest. 1258.

12. The entire management of the Chorus is pervaded in a remarkable manner by its analogy to a Λόχος of soldiers drawn up in order of battle. Hence Lochos is a favourite expression of Æschylus for the Chorus; in the Agamemnon he even makes the Gerontes advance against Aegisthus with hand on sword exactly like Lochitæ. The same thing appears in the divisions of the Chorus and the various terms used to designate them. The Chorus of fifteen, in the annexed plan, enters in ranks (ζυγά) three abreast. The files of five deep are called στίχοι or στοίχοι<sup>2</sup>. Besides the entry in file we find mention made of the entry κατὰ ζυγά, i. e. in ranks of five abreast<sup>3</sup>; but this, from the import of the terms ζύγον and στίχος, cannot have been the original arrangement. The Choreutæ *ABCDE*, fronting the audience, are called ἀριστεροστάται<sup>4</sup>; whence it follows that the Chorus usually entered the Orchestra by a western door. The place of these *left-hand* men, as being most in view of the spectators, was deemed the most honourable. Among these the third, τρίτος or μέσος ἀριστεροῦ, is the principal; it is the place occupied by the Hegemon of the whole Chorus, who in the earliest times was the same individual with the Choregus who furnished and equipped it<sup>5</sup>. When the Chorus takes its station on the lines in the Orchestra, his place comes to be on the

1. In the old Theatre these lines were traced upon the floor of the Orchestra or the several ranks of the Chorus, v. Hesych. s. v. γραμμαί.

2. Pollux IV. 108. Phot. s. v. τρίτος ἀριστεροῦ, where read τριῶν ὄντων τ. καὶ πέντε ζ. 3. Pollux IV. 109.

4. Phot. Pollux. and Schol. on Aristid. Miltiades, p. 202. 7. Fr. or 535, 20. Dind. where for ΕΠΕΙΧΟΝ read ΣΤΟΙΧΟΝ.

5. Phot. and Bekk. Anecd. p. 444.



Thymele itself. In fact he must needs be elevated above the other Choreutæ to be enabled to converse over the heads of the other two ranks with the acting persons of the drama. *LMNOP* are the δεξιοστάται, right-hand men: *FGHIK* are the λαυροστάται, so called from their standing in the alley formed by the other two files. Being the least exposed to view, inasmuch as in all the evolutions of the Chorus they were covered by the other two files, they were naturally those on whom least attention and care were expended. Hesychius denotes nearly the same situation, perhaps *GHI* in particular, by the term ὑποκόλπιον τοῦ χοροῦ. The expressions πρωτοστάτης, δευτεροστάτης, &c. are not to be interpreted according to strict analogy as denoting the members of the first, second, &c. στίχοι, but must be taken to mean the first, second, &c. in each στίχος; namely, *AFL* the πρωτοστάται, *BGM* the δευτεροστάται, &c. Hence Hesychius explains the πρωτοστάτης to be the first on the wing in battle-array (παρὰ τὸ κέρας τῆς παρατάξεως). The term Coryphæus seems not always to be taken in the same sense, for in Plutarch<sup>6</sup> we find the Coryphæi as the foremost ὀπposed to the κρασπεδίται as the hindmost and most remote from them, which can scarcely denote any other than the rank *AFL* who were foremost in entering. Whereas when Posidonius in Athenæus<sup>7</sup> compares him who sits in the middle place of a ring with the Coryphæus of a Chorus, he must plainly mean the Hegemon; and this agrees with Demosthenes's<sup>8</sup> expression of a Hegemon-Coryphæus. Accordingly all five ἀριστεροστάται *ABCDE*, as being the foremost towards the audience in the stationary position of the Chorus, may be taken to be the Coryphæi. The term Coryphæus is always connected with the idea of one who stands at the head or front<sup>9</sup>. Hence to the Cory-

6. Sympos. v. 5, 1.

8. c. Mid. 533.

7. iv. 152.

9. Aristoph. Plut. 954.



phæi Aristotle<sup>1</sup> opposes the *παραστάται*, which term seems to denote any of the rear ranks in relation to the front rank.

13. Such was the proper and stated arrangement or placing of the Chorus (*στάσις*). In this order the Chorus might make its first entrance, and very often did so. But it is by no means true that it always took up its position according to this plan from the beginning of the play. On the contrary, we know that the Chorus of the *Eumenides* does not form in rank and file until it is about to sing the Binding-hymn (*ῥυμος δέσμιος*) to Mother Night. It is not possible to misunderstand the express testimony afforded by the words of the Chorus itself (*ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν*, v. 297), especially when taken in connexion with the discrepant structure of the preceding and subsequent Odes. And with this coincides the ancient account given in the *Life of Æschylus*, that the Chorus of the *Eumenides* entered *σποράδην*, *dispersedly*.

But the manner in which the Chorus of the *Eumenides* made its first entrance and executed its evolutions, until it took up a regular position, can be learned only from the construction of its Odes, which we now proceed to examine individually.

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## B. THE CHORAL ODES.

### FIRST ODE. V. 138.

14. **THERE** is this difference between the *Eumenides* and all the other Greek Tragedies we are acquainted with, that the Chorus does not enter the Theatre at the beginning of the play, but is there from the very commencement. We see the Furies at first sunk in sleep on the stage, re-

1. Politic. III. 2.





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at each pause one of the Areopagites rose, took a ballot from the Altar and threw it into the Urn, whereupon, as the ψῆφος δικαστική struck against the vessel, the sound κόγξ, so familiar to the Athenian ear, was distinctly audible through the Theatre. That we are to reckon by the intervals between the speeches, and not by the speeches themselves, is evident from the number of the speeches being uneven, whereas the number of ballots is even: it is not till Minerva gives the casting vote that the numbers become odd, and Orestes is acquitted by a majority of one vote<sup>1</sup>.

10. There is no other play which exhibits the Chorus of *twelve* so plainly as the *Agamemnon*; for it does not by any means follow as a matter of course, that because the Chorus of twelve was certainly employed in this one instance, the same must have been the case in all the other dramas of Æschylus. It is very possible that after Sophocles had extended the number to *fifteen*, Æschylus may now and then have adopted the enlarged number. Nevertheless I think I can shew some probability of the Chorus of *twelve* having been employed in the *Persians*, the *Suppliants*, and the *Seven against Thebes*; and among the lost Tragedies of Æschylus that was beyond doubt the number of the Chorus of Titans in the *Prometheus Unbound*. In the play of the *Persians* the Chorus represents a Council of Elders, or Senate. For this we may assume twelve to be the regular number, as established in the *Agamemnon*; and the same appears admissible also in the *Antigone* of Sophocles<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, in the evocation of Darius from his grave (v. 625—658), *six* voices are distinguishable, and the like number join in singing the concluding Ode. In the *Suppliants*, we must bear in mind that each of the Danaids has a female

1. The same conclusion is drawn from this passage by Boeckh, *Corp. Inscrip.* II. p. 311.

2. On the Significance of the Chorus in the *Antigone*, cf. v. 159. 835. Boeckh in the *Antigone*, Essay I, p. 45. (German).



into the dochmiac rhythm; in some cases, however, relapsing once more into Iambics. But as little can I doubt the antistrophic composition of the whole Ode, with the exception of the prelude, (*προῶδος*): the antithetical adjustment is quite perceptible in the first pair of Strophes (247—253), and we have at least a glimpse of it in the subsequent pair, (254—265). It is true we have, according to our arrangement of the text, a redundant dochmius in each division of the last Antistrophe, (*ἡ τοκέας φίλους* v. 261, and *ἔνερθε χθονός* v. 264); which seems to disturb the antistrophic equilibrium. But when I consider not only the general correspondence of parts which pervades the whole, but in particular the energetic thought flashed upon Orestes like lightning in these few redundant syllables, I find no supposition more probable than that the pair of voices which sang the correspondent portion of the Strophe fell in with the antistrophic pair at these supernumerary words, *ἡ τοκέας φίλους*, and so again at *ἔνερθε χθονός*. I know indeed that no instance has hitherto been alleged of such a blending of voices, but the same may be said of many other technical details of Greek dramatic art.

On these several assumptions the Ode may without any violence be portioned out to fourteen voices; at the same time I do not mean to deny that other views may have something to recommend them<sup>2</sup>.

2. This Ode bears some resemblance to the first section of the first *Commos* in *Soph. Œd. Col.* v. 116. It is plain that the old men engaged in the search after *Œdipus* enter *σποράδην*, and expanding themselves in two lines sing in strophe and antistrophe, but evidently in separate divisions. The first strophe and antistrophe may perhaps best be apportioned between 2 × 3, and the second pair between 3 × 4 voices, not reckoning the Anapæsts and the portions sung by *Œdipus* and *Antigone*. In the Odes of the *Œd. Col.* all is *Commatic* till the *Parodos ἐνίππου*, *ξέτε, τὰςδε χιώρας*, v. 668. Compare *ἑ. 16*.



## THIRD ODE. V. 296.

16. The moment for the Chorus to arrange itself in stated order arrives in v. 296, with the Anapæstic March.

*Anapæsts* are a metre, from their nature, adapted to accompany a firm vigorous step. The equality in respect of quantity between the Arsis and Thesis in the metre, between the stronger and the weaker portion of the rhythmical beat, gives it a staid and measured character. The reason why the arsis follows the thesis is because, by the natural law of the human pace, in advancing a step the stronger foot remains stationary in order to propel the body: when the impulse is given the foot follows after it, and does this with the more weight and force the more the body is accustomed to depend for its motion on that foot principally. For this reason the march-songs of the Greeks were in general Anapæstic; and agreeably with this arrangement it is found that wherever Anapæsts occur in Greek Tragedy, they accompany a steady pacing or march. This may be proved to be the case almost without exception<sup>1</sup>. It is in Anapæsts that the Chorus sings at its entrance, at its exit, and when it moves towards a person or accompanies him. Every where they remind us of those marches or battle-songs of the old Dorians (ἐμβατήριοι παιᾶνες), the very acclamation in which (ἐλελεῦ ἐλελεῦ<sup>2</sup>) accorded with the Anapæstic rhythm in which they were composed. In those long series of Anapæstic systems which we find at the beginning of the *Persians*, *Suppliants*, and *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, we may perhaps see

1. See Böckh on the *Antigone*, p. 46.

2. Hence ἐλελίζειν is to strike up the War-Pæan. The ἐλελεῦ, it is plain, belongs strictly speaking to the Pæan. It is, as Plutarch *Thes.* 22. says, the accompanying ὀλολυγμός. Compare Æsch. *Sept.* 250. Hence Apollo derives his name Ἐλελεύς *Macr. Sat.* 1. 17. The ἀλαλάζειν τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ comes after the ἐλελίζειν. *Xenoph. Anab.* v. 2, 14. *Comp. Hellen.* 11. 4, 17. But *Anab.* 1. 8, 18, Xenophon puts ἐλελίζειν for ἀλαλάζειν. *Comp. Demetr. de Eloc.* 98. *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 364. and *Suid.* s. v. ἐλελεῦ.



the original form of the *Parodos*, strictly so called; that is to say, of the entrance of the Chorus into the Orchestra drawn up in regular form, by rank and file. Subsequently the grand simplicity of these long marches, (which in Æschylus moreover are often very full of matter) fell into distaste. In consequence, either antistrophic odes were mixed up with the Anapæsts, as in the *Antigone*, or superseded them entirely: and from this deviation from the old procedure have arisen the difficulty and obscurity which now beset our conceptions of the *Parodos*<sup>3</sup>. At times, however, there was a recurrence to the simpler form of the elder Tragedy in this matter, as in the *Hecuba* of Euripides. The time and rate of motion observed by the Chorus in singing off these Anapæstic systems may perhaps be gathered from the circumstance that the Gerontes in the *Agamemnon* sing 118' and in the *Persians* 123 double Anapæsts in traversing the in-

3. Not, however, to such a degree as to justify Hermann in calling that a *Πάρδος* which is in reality the first stasimon. The passage of Aristot. Poet. 12, 7. *Πάρδος μὲν ἢ πρώτη λέξις ὄλου χοροῦ, στάσιμον δὲ μέλος χοροῦ τὸ ἀνευ ἀναπαίετου καὶ τροχαίου*, which Tyrwhitt on the whole understood rightly, makes it very clear that the *Parodos* was especially distinguished for the stasimon by Anapæsts and Trochees, that is, systems or longer verses of those metres. Hephæst. π. ποιημ. c. 10. p. 128. π. σημείων c. 15, 3. p. 135. Gaisf. assigns to the *Πάρδοι* the unequally measured Anapæstic systems. As instances of *Πάρδοι* I find the following adduced. Soph. Œd. Col. 668. *ἐνίππου ξένη*. El. 121. *ὦ παῖ, παῖ*. Eur. El. 167. *Ἀγαμέμνονος*. Orest. 140. *σῖγα, σῖγα λεπτόν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης* (which is remarkable). Phœniss. 210. *Τύριον οἶδμα*. See Plutarch an Seni. 3. Lysand. 15. Schol. Soph. El. ad l. Metr. Schol. Phœniss. 210. Hypoth. Æsch. Pers. In the *Prometheus* the *Parodos* lies before the Ode *στένω σε τᾶς*, which is the first stasimon, Schol. Vesp. 270. To add examples from the Comedians, Aristoph. Nub. v. 326. *ἀέναοι Νεφέλαι*, and Vesp. 230. *χώρει πρόβαιν' ἐρρωμένως* are described as *Πάρδοι*. Although these examples by no means all agree with each other, still the greater part of them serve to confirm the definition given by the Schol. Phœn. 210. *Πάρδος δὲ ἐστὶν ὠδή χοροῦ βαδίζοντος, ἀδομένη ἅμα τῇ ἐσόδῳ*. Strange, that Hermann complaining of the dearth of ancient authorities on this point, should have made so little use of those we do possess. Aristot. Poet. 12, 7. El. Doct. Metr. p. 724. As to Hermann's assertion that these Anapæsts were only spoken, not sung, I look in vain for any proof of it. The probability is that the Anapæsts of the *Parodos* were chaunted in the manner of recitative. Such a mode of delivery might with equal propriety be called by the above cited Scholiast *ὠδή*, and by Aristotle *λέξις*. In like manner the dancing paces of the *Parodos* as *ἐμβατήριοι* are to be distinguished from those which are strictly *χορευτικοί*. Comp. Athenæus i. p. 22. a.



terval from the door of the Orchestra to the Thymele, which in the Athenian Theatre must be taken at from 150 to 200 feet. The Danaids measure out the same space in 76 double Anapæsts: it is clear these young fugitives move at a swifter pace. As to the oral delivery of these Anapæsts, we may gain some conception of it by recurring to the analogy of those same Embaterian Pæans. In these the General strikes up the singing, and in some degree may be said to take the lead (*ἐξάρχει* is the expression of Xenophon and Plutarch<sup>1</sup>), but of course the whole army took part in it. In the same manner the Cretans sing the Pæan, in the Homeric Hymn, as they move in measured time from Crisa to Pytho; Apollo himself is the leader, *ἄρχει*. Indeed in the Pæan we regularly meet with an *ἐξάρχων*. If in connection with this it be observed that in these Anapæstic Chorusses we generally find *three* systems standing in a more intimate relation to each other than to the rest; and further, that in the three Tragedies now mentioned (*Persians, Suppliants, Agamemnon*), the entire mass of Anapæsts in each Parodos resolves itself into  $3 \times 3$  systems, as also that this number three pervades all the Anapæstic systems in the same tragedies, it will appear highly probable that the three protostatæ of the three files (*στοῖχοι*) were the *ἐξάρχοντες*, each of whom was accompanied by the other voices of his own *στοῖχος*, and each performing one system, so that at the end of every three systems the order commenced afresh. There is no difficulty in reconciling this view with Aristotle's definition of the Parodos ("the first speech of the *entire* Chorus"), by which I understand him to mean, in the first place, that the Parodos was sung by the Chorus as a united whole regularly drawn up in rank and file; and, secondly, that all the Choreutæ bore a part in it, not indeed simultaneously, but in an order of succession.

1. Xen. Hellen. II. 4, 17. Plut. Lyc. 22.



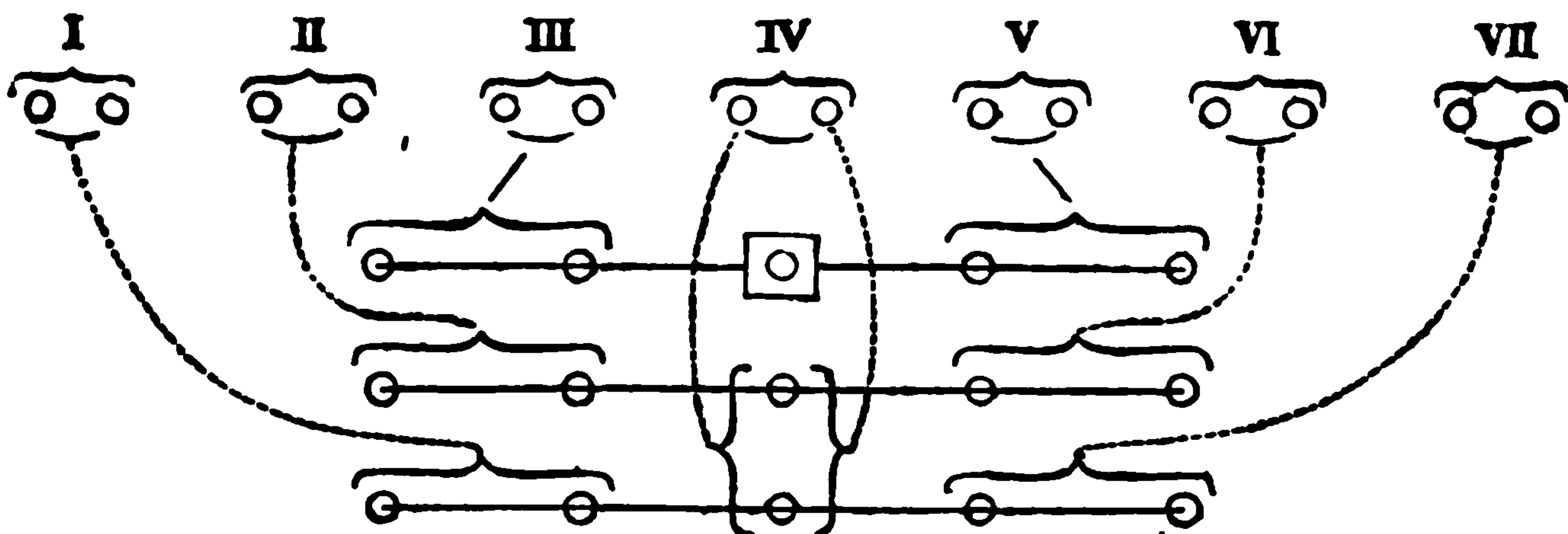
17. Now between these regular marches which accompany the *ordinary entrance* of the Chorus, and the Anapæsts now under review, there is this difference. These latter are sung by the Chorus when already in the Orchestra, and now for the first time falling into rank and file. In accordance with this object the Anapæsts themselves exhibit a peculiar structure. They resolve themselves into shorter verses, not indeed in all cases marked as such by a catalexis, but nevertheless clearly defined by other signs of a close to the verse, as well as by the order and dependence of the several portions of the sense. The separation effected upon these principles gives of its ownself seven verses of the following dimensions :

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.
pentam.	tetram.	dim.	tetram.	dim.	tetram.	hexam.
catal.	cat.	cat.	acat.	cat.	cat.	cat.

Here, in the first place, we have visibly the *antithetic* arrangement so frequently found in Anapæstic systems on the larger scale; VI. answers to II., and V. to III., and the equipoise between VII. and I. is only disturbed by the addition of a double Anapæst. At the same time the number *seven* which appears in these verses, and the strongly marked interpunction between them all makes it not only conceivable but very probable that here as before we have the fourteen Choreutæ, omitting the Hegemon, singing in pairs. And if, further, it be considered that in falling into their places on the three lines of the Orchestra, the Choreutæ of one *στοῖχος* must needs have to move through a greater space than those of the next, and these again than those of the third, and that the Ode here sung by them as they are in the act of falling in presents us with verses of three different dimensions, (2, 4, 6 metres), the following view of the evolution offers itself with some degree of evidence in its favour. Conceive the persons of the Chorus to have previously formed into one line, nearly straight, in front of the thymele and



facing the audience, the hegemon in the centre. After uttering the words *ὑμνον δ' ἀκούσῃ τόνδε δέσμον σέθεν*, the Hegemon ascends the thymele. Hereupon the Choreutæ, first those of the one side, and then those of the other, fall into their places in pairs, in an order the symmetry of which may be better exhibited by a few lines.



This leaves only one circumstance unexplained, namely, why the VII<sup>th</sup> pair sings a double Anapæst more than the I<sup>st</sup>; unless the reason is to be sought in the desire of obtaining a full and impressive close.

#### FOURTH ODE. V. 311.

We are now arrived at the first Stasimon, or Ode sung by the Chorus as a whole, and regularly drawn up in rank and file. This sublime and majestic composition beginning, *Μᾶτερ ἃ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ μᾶτερ Νύξ*, is a Hymn addressed by the Children of Night to that ancient Goddess and Primeval Maternity, and in it they proclaim at one time with passionate excitement, at another with more of a haughty confidence, their right to the person of the shedder of maternal blood. By this proclamation they would deter every child of earth, and Orestes in particular, from the vain attempt of evading the power of the Erinnyes; by it, Orestes is to be fettered as with indestructible bonds: a purpose undoubtedly symbolized to the view of the spectators by peculiar accompanying





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fied) is instigating the hero to the murder of his children. "Hercules," says the Chorus, "shall dance to the maddening flutes of Lyssa," *μανιάσιν λύσσης χορευθέντ' ἐν αὐλοῖς*, v. 874. And again says the Chorus, v. 891, *φυγῆ, τέκν', ἐξορμάτε· δάϊον τόδε, δάϊον μέλος ἐπαυλεῖται*. An Ode in the *Trachiniæ* of Sophocles, sung in the highest emotions of joy, is likewise aulodic: *αἶρομ' οἶδ' ἀπώσομαι τὸν αὐλὸν, ὦ τύραννε τᾶς ἐμᾶς φρενός* (v. 216).

19. And nothing could better accord with this aulodic character than *the musical mode* in which this *Stasimon* was composed. I am persuaded it was the *Phrygian mode*, and am not to be driven out of my persuasion by an obscure passage of Aristoxenus, who in his *Life of Sophocles* speaks of that Poet as having been the first to introduce the Phrygian mode in the Tragic Odes, but only in the *ἴδια ᾄσματα*, that is to say, Monodies (comp. *Aristot. Poet.* 12). For it is quite inconceivable that the Phrygian mode, admirably adapted as it was to Tragedy by its enthusiastic and yet solemn character, should not have passed over from the Dithyrambic Odes, to which it peculiarly belonged<sup>1</sup>, to their offspring the Tragic Odes. The following appear to me to be the principal data upon which we are to proceed in order to ascertain what kind of rhythms were usually connected with the Phrygian harmony.

(1) A Monody in the *Orestes* of Euripides, v. 1381 sqq. It is sung by a Performer whom Euripides, to gratify the effeminate taste of that already degenerate age, brings upon the stage in the character of a Phrygian Eunuch, trembling for fear. The Poet, evidently wishing to shew off this piece of musical art and let all the world know what it is meant for, makes the Phrygian himself announce that he is singing a *ἀρμάτειον μέλος βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ*. Now it can hardly be doubted but that the *Ἀρμάτειος νόμος*

1. *Aristot. Polit.* viii. 7. *Plut. Mus.* 19. *Procl. Chrestom.* p. 345.



(which was aulodic, and belonged to the enharmonic genus) was composed in the Phrygian mode: for the most competent authorities<sup>2</sup> derive it from the Phrygian musician Olympus; and though others differ as to the person of the inventor, all are agreed as to its Phrygian origin<sup>3</sup>. That it is here sung by a Phrygian, that the singer himself describes it as barbarian and ungreecian, and compares it to “a mournful song or dirge (αἴλιμος) which the barbarians with Asiatic voice utter at the death of their kings”, (v. 1392), all these circumstances indicate the Phrygian kind of music.

(2) We may claim as Phrygian the extant fragment of a Dithyramb of Pindar's. The length of the Strophes,—a symptom of the approximation, even then, to that dissolution of the antistrophic form which befel the Dithyramb at a later period, when it was altogether withdrawn from the Choruses, and given up to be performed by individual professors,—and also the multiplicity and peculiar character of the rhythms, indicate a different mode of music to any which Pindar has used in his Epinicia, in which it is well known only the Doric, Æolian and Lydian are to be traced.

(3) A passage in the first Chorus of the Bacchæ, v. 159, plainly shews it to have been an Ode sung to the flute, in the Phrygian mode.

To go no further than these examples; out of the great variety of metres which present themselves to one's notice in these Odes, what strikes us as particularly characteristic are the *Cretics*, especially the resolved Cretics or Pæons<sup>4</sup>. Let it be remembered, too, that these very rhythms are said to have found their way into the compositions of the

2. In Plat. Mus. 7.

3. Etymol. M. s. v.

4. Comp. e. g. in the Bacch. λωτὸς ὅταν εὐκέλαδος ἱερὸς ἱερὰ παίγματα βρέμῃ σύννοχα φοίτασιν εἰς ὄρος et seqq. In the most splendid passages we meet also with resolved Choriambi, as in the Pindaric Dithyramb Τὸν Βρόμιον τὸν Ἐριβόαν τε καλέσμεν γόνου ὑπάτιν μὲν πατέρων μελπόμεν.



Cretan Thaletas from the flute-music of Olympus the Phrygian<sup>1</sup>; and that a notion of *magnificence*, μεγαλοπρεπές<sup>2</sup>, was attached to these poems, above all other rhythms. Another rhythm of frequent occurrence in the above-mentioned Odes is the *Galliamb*, (a rhythm known to have originated in the hymns addressed to the Phrygian mother of the Gods<sup>3</sup>); this metre however is of a softer and less noble character than would in all places be suitable to the Phrygian mode, one of the characteristics of which is sublimity. The impetuous rhythms of the *Trochees* is also not foreign to the Phrygian style, as these examples and other authorities<sup>4</sup> shew. It is also very observable that those single feet serving to introduce or close a metrical period, which we are accustomed to call βάσεις or ἐκβάσεις, are particularly frequent in the Phrygian style, and in these Odes which we are now considering, often occur at such passages and fall upon such weighty words, that one cannot help feeling that these feet must have been delivered in a particularly solemn and slow style, and have been equal in respect of time to entire periods<sup>5</sup>.

It seems to me impossible not to recognize here the Νόμος ὀρθίος (which was sometimes joyful, sometimes mournful<sup>6</sup>, but always powerful and grand), which Herodotus and Plutarch mention in close connection with the Dithyramb, and which is known to have been used by Æschylus<sup>7</sup>. From a passage of Plutarch<sup>8</sup>, attended with some obscurities, thus much at least can be gathered: that the two feet called the *Orthios* and the *Trochæus Semantus* were

1. Hoeck Creta III. p. 355.

2. Demetr. de Elocut. 38.

3. Telestes in Athenæus XIV. 626.

4. Plutarch. Erotic. c. 16.

5. Compare, for example, in Pindar's fragment ἀχει | ται τ' ομ | φαι μελεων  
συν αυλοις, and the following verse. In the Orestes ὁ δε ξυνεργος 'αλλ' ἐπρασ'  
λων κακος | φῶκευς. φαρεα | πορφυρεα δωρα | κλυται | μνηστρα.

6. Comp. Agam. 1124.

7. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1308.

8. Mus. 28.



peculiarly apposite in the Νόμος ὄρθιος; the former is an Iambus (— ˘) the latter a Trochee (˘ —) of twelve times; and therefore reckoning as four feet. Certainly these solemn long-drawn feet<sup>9</sup>, when combined with impetuous Cretics and fleet Pæons, were much better adapted to the enthusiastic Phrygian mode, delighting as it did in wild starts and contrasts, than to the purely symmetrical flow of the Doric. It is also known that the Pæon Epibatus<sup>10</sup>; a foot counting as ten times, was used by Olympus for the Phrygian mode<sup>11</sup>. The circumstance that the Νόμος ὄρθιος was connected, not indeed necessarily, (for the Citharā is sometimes used with it) but more commonly with flute music, and the fact that the deep-toned bent αὐλός, the Phrygian horn, was particularly used with it<sup>12</sup>, well accords with the representation here given.

20. These data and inferences respecting the Phrygian mode, when applied to our Chorus, leave scarcely a doubt as to its musical character. The passages in the first Strophe, so plainly in the Orthian style,

ματῆρ ᾗ μ' ἔτικτῆς, ὦ | ματῆρ |

and Νῦξ, ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δῆδορκῶσιν | ποῖναν | :

again in the last Strophe,

μῆνεϊ γάρ εὐ | μῆχανοῖ τῆ καὶ τέλει | οἱ κακῶν  
τῆ μνημόνες | σῆμναί |

and λαχη θεων διχοστατουντ' ἀνηλιω | λάμπῃ

the Cretic periods following the former, and the turbulent Pæons at the close of the first and second Strophes—all this palpably evinces the Phrygian mode. It also appears from Euripides<sup>13</sup> and the fragments of the later Dithyramps, that repetitions of the same word and the jingle of homœo-

9. Arist. Quint. p. 38. 98.

12. Lucian Bacch. 4.

10. Id. Ibid.

13. Comp. Aristoph. Ran. 1815.

11. Plut. Mus. 33.



teleuta were particularly aimed at in Odes set to the Phrygian mode; (probably this was the case in the native songs of Phrygia). Some touch of this appears in the παρακοπή, παραφορά of our Ode. In those passages where the tone of feeling in the Erinnyes is of a more composed character, and which rather express a proud consciousness of their rightful power and dignity than a fear of its being disparaged, the rhythms (long dactylic periods with spondaic terminations and annexed trochaic closes) approximate to those used with the Doric mode: indeed it would be a probable conjecture that this Harmony here takes place of the Phrygian, were it not that the latter in many cases readily admits of very long dactylic periods<sup>1</sup>.

21 With this first Stasimon the Chorus has taken up a fixed position in the middle of the Orchestra, and now leaves this place no more until the end of the play. The notion entertained by many<sup>2</sup>, that the Chorus, in performing the Strophe and Antistrophe of an Ode, moved towards opposite ends of the Orchestra, and advanced to the left and right by turns, is palpably erroneous, for in that case the Chorus would be no στάσις (as it is often termed in the Tragedies themselves<sup>3</sup>) and its Ode no Stasimon<sup>4</sup>. There is no need to adduce a whole host of Scholiasts<sup>5</sup> to prove the fact that in a Stasimon the Chorus did not leave its place. The very name speaks for itself. Only, I think

1. So at the close of the Ode in Bacch. ἡδομένα δ' ἄρα πῶλος ὅπως ἔμα μαντήρι φορβάδι κῶλον ἄγει ταχύπουν σκιρ | τήμασι Βάκχου. That the Phrygian mode admits of long verses, formed of dactylic orders, is decidedly instanced in a Fragment of the Ὀρεστέια of Stesichorus preserved in the Schol. on Aristoph. Pax. v. 727. τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δα | μώματα καλλικόμων ὑμ | νεῖν φρύγιον μέλος ἔξευ | νόντα Ἀβρῶτε ἦρος ἐπερχομένον. Its metrical scheme is

3 (— υ υ — υ υ — —) — \* υ — \* υ — υ υ — υ υ — .

2. Hermann on Aristot. Poet. 12, 8, and Doctr. Metr. p. 727.

3. Æsch. Ag. 1115. Choeph. 111. 454.

4. στάσις μελῶν. Aristoph. Ran. 1281.

5. Scholl. Eur. Hec. 647. Aristoph. Vesp. 270. Ran. 1307. Hypoth. Æsch. Pers. Phavorinus and others.



it does not warrant the inference that the Chorus in a Stasimon was motionless as well as stationary<sup>6</sup>, for in that case the Chorus in the most and longest of the Odes sung by it would, I might almost say, renounce its very nature, *χορεύειν*. But just as the old Cyclian Chorus, as described on the shield of Achilles in the Iliad, revolved in the dance now right, now left, like a potter's wheel<sup>7</sup>; so the antistrophic movement of a Chorus is to be conceived as such that, while the *individual members* change places, the *whole* occupies one and the same portion of space. For this very reason it was that the old Masters of Tactics gave the name of "the Choral evolution" (*χόρειος ἐξελιγμός*) to that evolution of a Lochos, by which the foremost came to be hindmost, and *vice versa*, while the Lochos as a whole did not leave its place. Hence it may be inferred with a considerable degree of certainty that in the Strophe of the Choral Dance, (just as in the Lochos), the *πρωτοστάται AFL* passed in a curved line to the position *EKP*; the *δευτεροστάται BGM* to *DIO*; and at the same time the *κρασπεδίται EKP* to *AFL*, and the Choreutæ *DIO* to *BGM*; all which was reversed in the Antistrophe. The Choreutæ, who from their first occupation of the Orchestra stood face to face, *ἀντιπρόσωποι ἀλλήλοις στάντες*<sup>8</sup>, now moved to meet each other from either side, in such a way as to answer and imitate each others' movements<sup>9</sup>, at first continually approaching each other, then passing, and at last changing places. A Chorus, fixed

6. Boeckh on the Antigone, 2nd Dissertation, p. 51.

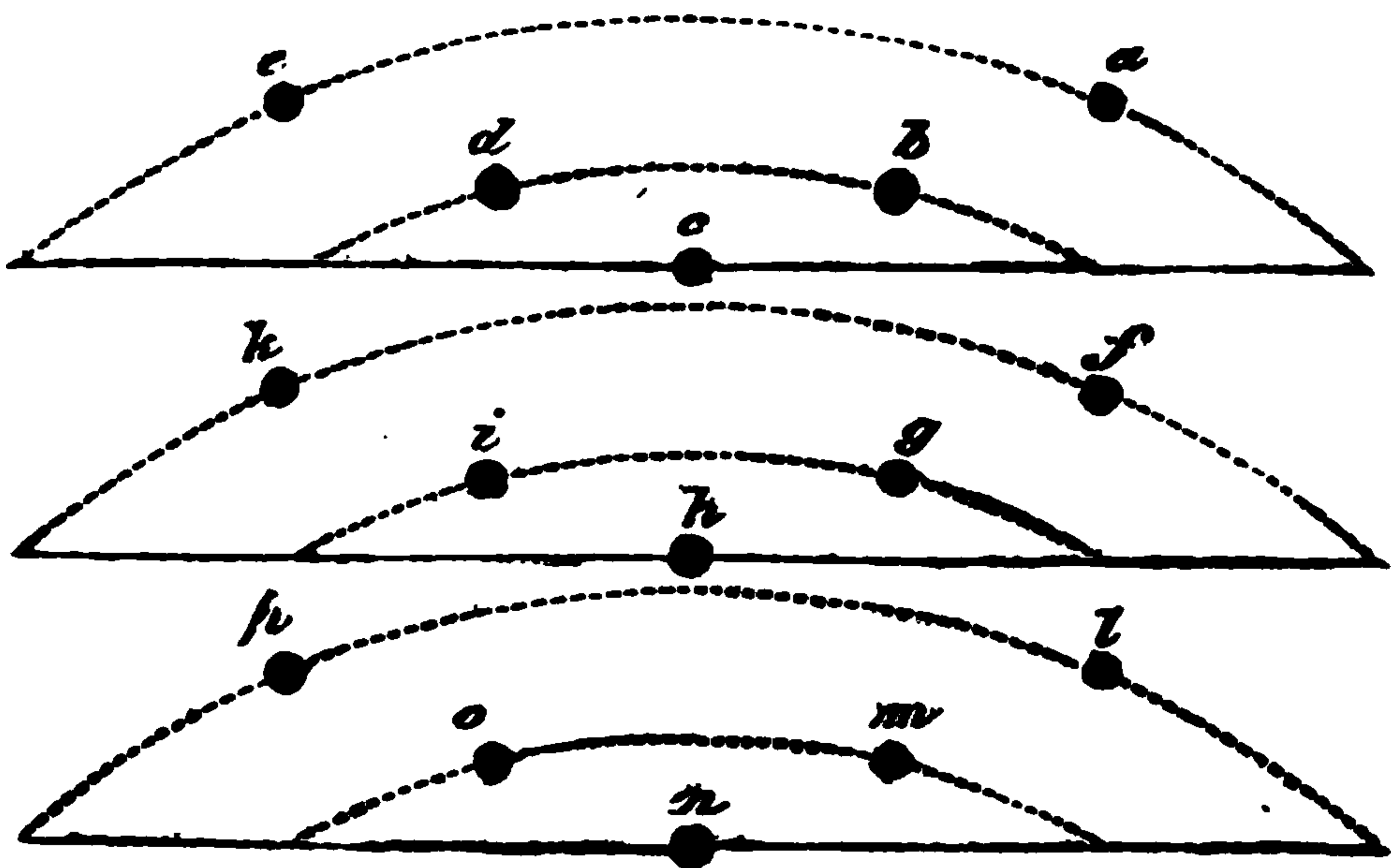
7. Π. XVIII. 599. See Mar. Victoreus, p. 2501. Putsch. Euanth. de trag. et com. 2. Etym. M. s. v. προσόδιον. Schol. Pind. Ol. p. 11. Boeckh. Schol. Eur. Hec. 647. In these testimonies we have it continually remarked that the movement which in the Strophe was towards the right, in the Antistrophe was repeated towards the left.

8. Hephæst. π. ποιημ. 14. p. 131. Comp. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 512.

9. This is the meaning of *ἀντιστοιχεῖν* in Xenoph. Anab. v. 4, 12. comp. Sympos. 2, 20. Süvern on the Knights of Aristoph. p. 102. (German). Kolster de Parabasi, p. 13.



and arrested in the first quarter of its evolution, may therefore be supposed to present an aspect such as is exhibited in the following diagram: though it should be borne in mind, that the variety and expressiveness of the movement must in part have depended on the form of the curves described by the Chorus in the process of changing places in any particular Ode, as for example in our *Hymnos Desmios*.



FIFTH ODE. V. 468.

22. The character of the second Stasimon is very simple, the rhythms consisting mostly of Trochaic orders, some short, some long, inwoven into larger metrical periods. The shortest orders look like Cretics, but the general character of the Ode and the manner of connexion make it clear that they are to be read with a pause at the end as Catalectic Trochaic dipodiæ, so that the trochaic rhythm runs uninterruptedly through the whole verse, and consequently through the greater part of the Ode. Now when one of these insulated orders ( $\frac{1}{2} \cup -$ ) ends in the middle of a word, as it is hardly to be supposed that the word should be allowed to be split in two by the intervention of the proper pause, the vacant portion of time belonging to the regular pause must of necessity have been thrown into





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23. The proper rhythmical thema of the Ode now under consideration, that with which it begins, and which is ever and anon audible throughout, is the Catalectic Trochaic tetrapodia,  $\overset{1}{-} \cup - \cup - \cup -$ , called by the Metrists *ληκύθιον*<sup>1</sup>, perhaps from the smoothness and lubricity with which it runs, like drops of oil from a flask. As for the *Musical mode*: these almost purely Trochaic Odes, in which nothing appears of the elevation and pomp of the Phrygian, were certainly almost invariably *Lydian*. The Lydian mode was tender, graceful, but apt to degenerate into laxity. This very character it was that gave the Trochaic metre the name *κόρδαξ*<sup>2</sup>, from a soft and voluptuous dance of Lydian origin<sup>3</sup>. To counteract this enervating tendency Æschylus in the third pair of Strophes intermixes long dactylic orders: the same rhythm which tranquillizes the Phrygian here dignifies the Lydian; and Æschylus with great art reserves for these dactylic passages moral sentences or *γνώμαι*, to which the solemnity of this firm and equable metre<sup>4</sup> is peculiarly adapted. On the other hand the anacrusis of Iambic dipodia, which in the last Strophe of this as of the preceding Ode, introduces the Trochaic orders, impart to this portion a more rapid and animated march, which again is most gracefully soothed down by the lovely flow of a Logæedic close, of which Æschylus is in general so fond.

1. Hephæst. 6. p. 33.—Possibly the joke in Aristophanes, *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσε*, *Ran.* 1208. foll. alludes to this. With these words Æschylus continually clips off from Euripides' trimeters precisely this lecythium ( $- \cup - \cup - \cup -$ ). The joke indeed is principally aimed at the contents of the Prologues, which begin like a story of common life; still there may be in it at the same time an allusion to something in the ancient art of versification; a jeer at the uniformity of the Cæsural pause in the Prologues of Euripides.

2. Aristot. in Quintil. ix. 4. Cic. Orat. 17.

3. Pausan. vi. 22.—Pausanias was himself a Lydian by extraction.

4. μέτρον στασιμώτατον καὶ οὐκωδέστατον. Aristot. Poet.



## SIXTH ODE, V. 748. SEVENTH ODE, V. 801.

24. In the two preceding Odes the tone of feeling in the Erinnyes was still suspensive and wavering. Now that Orestes has gained his cause in the Areopagus, it mounts once more into frantic rage: breaking off from the regular rhythms, they burst out into an Ode evidently *Commatic* in its nature, and accompanied with very wild movements, as one may see from the very metres employed. They are *dochmii*, a metre expressive, according to circumstances, either of sorrow or of joy, but almost always of violently excited feelings. Here also we have plainly an occurrence of *bacchii*, a metre seldom used in Tragedy on account of its unrhythmical character. In the first Ode not only the matter but the form in respect of the interspersed iambic verses indicates *three* voices, perhaps those of the three Protostatæ. The second Ode, which consists almost entirely of short and unconnected ejaculations of extreme fury, may be distributed among seven voices. The repetition of the same Ode indicates the dogged pertinacity with which they persist in the feelings to which they had already given vent, and of their utter heedlessness of Minerva's attempts to soothe them in her replies.

## EIGHTH (V. 876), NINTH (V. 916), TENTH (V. 950) ODES.

25. At last the goddess has succeeded in appeasing the frantic Erinnyes. Now comes the *third Stasimon* (no Tragedy of Æschylus has fewer than three), consisting of three pairs of Strophes, insulated indeed in respect of time by the intervening Anapæsts sung by Minerva, but nevertheless retaining the independent and composed character of a Stasimon, there being no reference in the Ode to the matter expressed in those Anapæsts, and the Strophes and Antistrophes following regularly in three pairs. The Ode, which



is a ὕμνος εὐκτικός, a song of blessing, is composed partly of light trochees, partly of solemn dactyls. The Molossi, γαιᾶς ἐξ ἀμβρῦσαι, πλουτόχθων Ἑρμαίαν, are to be measured dactylically ( $-\underline{\omega}- \mid -\underline{\omega}-$ ), and thus in each instance are equivalent in time to four dactyls or eight light trochees (two Lecythia); at least this is the only way in which they can be read so as to get the right impression from them.

In the intervals between these six Strophes Minerva sings five Anapæstic systems, antithetically (related one to another,) (1, 2, 3, 2, 1). These Anapæsts are so printed in the text as to give each system as a connected whole. The minor sections are not intended to represent *verses*, in the proper sense of the term, but to divide into members the matter expressed. The usual mode of division by dimeters and monometers has the effect of frittering away the majestic roll of such Anapæstic periods.

That the goddess during these Anapæsts changes her position is evident from the bearing of them. At first she addresses from the stage the Council of the Areopagites, or rather the assembled people of Athens, and, in so doing, speaks of the Eumenides in the third person. It is not until towards the end that she personally addresses the latter; then she expresses her good wishes towards them also, and makes known to them that now she will discharge the duty of escorting the terrible goddesses into their sacred Thalamos. We see plainly that Minerva has gradually descended from the stage into the Orchestra, and ends with placing herself at the head of the Chorus, to which the Areopagites also and the escort of maidens now attach themselves. To these maidens belongs *the last Ode*; short indeed, but peculiarly solemn, and (its sense rightly understood) winding up the action with a grandly simple close.





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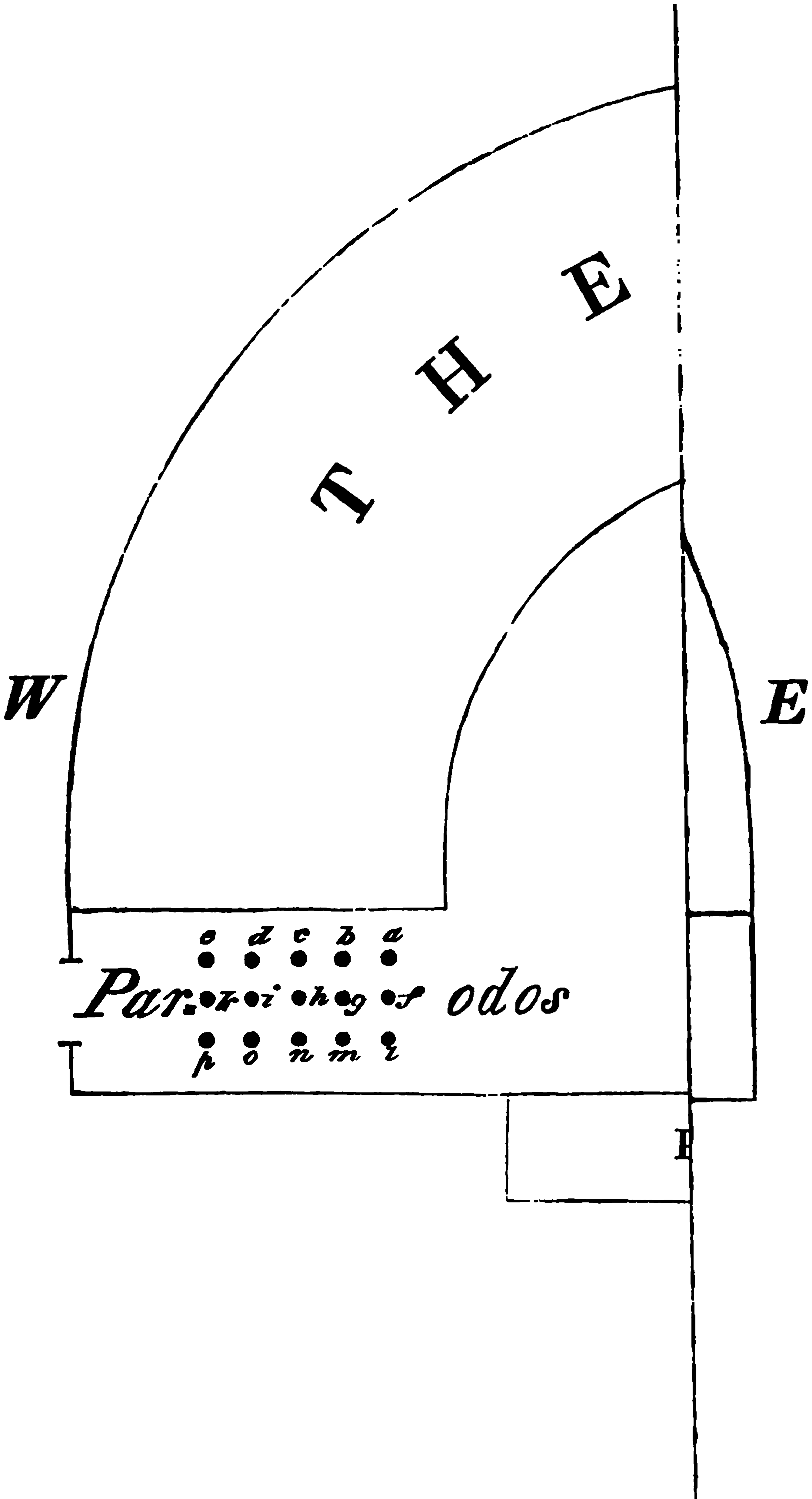
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26. THE play of the Eumenides was acted in the large stone Theatre near the Temple of Dionysus. The erection of this Theatre was commenced in Ol. 70. 1, but the building was not completed till about Ol. 100, during the financial administration of Lycurgus. But a Theatre might, in the same manner as an ancient Temple, or a Gothic Church, be used for centuries without being quite completed; and we certainly have no authority for supposing that the productions of the great tragedians still continued to be exhibited in a wooden structure, whilst even the insignificant Epidaurus had obtained from the hands of Polycleetus, a contemporary of Phidias, a magnificent Theatre of stone.

The Athenian Theatre, which was erected at the time above mentioned and had given rise to scientific investigations by the most distinguished experimental philosophers of the Periclean age, Anaxagoras and Democritus, was no doubt the original model of the Greek Theatre described by Vitruvius; and this can be proved in detail. Accordingly, for information about the general plan of the whole structure, and about the divisions of the Orchestra, Stage and Amphitheatre, and so on, we may refer our readers to the works of Genelli and other Germans, who with much taste and erudition have reduced the rules and statements of Vitruvius into a connected form. The only peculiarity in the exhibition of the Eumenides was the arrangement of the Stage (called by the Greeks Προσκήνιον and Λογείον; the term Προσκήνιον being used to denote the space in front of the σκηνή, and the term λογείον, or more anciently Ὀκρίβας, being applied to the wooden platform raised above the level of the Orchestra.)



But before we can determine the exact arrangement of the Stage on this occasion, we must first ascertain what scenes and localities were intended to be represented by the Stage, in the several parts of the Play, and by what means the Poet made his intention palpable to the spectators.

27. In the opening scene of the Play we behold the Pythoness in the open court in front of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. She is praying to the Gods of the Temple, evidently at an altar, (probably representing the "Great Altar" of Delphi<sup>1</sup>). This altar is frequently mentioned by Euripides in the *Ion*<sup>2</sup>, and we learn from him that at the altar were carved images of divinities (*ξόανα*,) which it was customary for suppliants to embrace. It appears to me a very credible supposition that these images represented the deities who had successively held possession of this sacred abode of prophecy; namely, Gaia, Themis, Phœbe, and Phœbus. I ground my opinion mainly on the expressions made use of by the Priestess herself in the Prologue. Her prayer to the four above-mentioned deities is there most pointedly distinguished from her reverential address to the others. She manifestly first of all addresses her prayer exclusively to the divinities immediately present; and after that directs her thoughts to the more remote deities, commencing with Pallas, who was worshipped under the title of *Προναία* before the precincts<sup>3</sup> of the Pythian Temple, on the road to Bœotia and Athens; then proceeding to the divinities of the Corycian Dripping Grotto<sup>4</sup>; next to the fountain-nymphs of the river Pleistus, and the fountain-god Poseidon; and lastly to the Lycorean Jove<sup>5</sup>, the God who dwells supreme on the mountain-summit Lycorea.

1. Pausan. x. 14, 4.

2. Cf. vv. 115. 1269. ff. 1418.

3. *τέμενος*.

4. Pious dedicatory inscriptions to Pan and the Nymphs are legible even now on this grotto. Cf. Boeckh *Corp. Inscr.* N. 1728.

5. *Λυκωπαῖος*, Steph. Byz.—In the beautiful Relief of Homer's Apotheosis Jupiter is represented occupying the summit of Parnassus.





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as the Pythian Apollo is designated by Plato<sup>1</sup>. But the clearest instances are to be seen in the vase-paintings<sup>2</sup>, where Orestes is exhibited, as a suppliant for protection and expiation, sitting on the Omphalus in the Temple of Apollo, exactly as described by Æschylus. On this semi-circle are to be seen stripes of various kinds, sometimes horizontal; sometimes crossing, and sometimes pendant. These I take to be bands (*infulæ*, *στέμματα*, or *ταυνίαι*), with which the navel-stone was decorated; and this explanation accords with an expression of Strabo's, *τεταυνωμένος*. These *infulæ*, composed of loose woollen threads, may, when knotted together crosswise so as to form a sort of net-work, be termed *γρῆνος* or *ἄγρηνον*, the name given to a net-like woollen covering worn by the ancient Soothsayers and Bacchanals<sup>3</sup>.

28. To return to our subject: together with this Omphalus, behind which perhaps the Tripod was also visible, as in the vase-paintings, there is seen in the Temple the following assembly: *Orestes*, sitting on the Omphalus; around him the Furies reclined on seats and fast asleep; beside him *Apollo*; in the back-ground *Hermes*. This assembly cannot be reckoned at fewer than eighteen persons. Now in what way, we ask, was this large company exhibited at once to the view of the spectators after the prologue of the Pythoness? For unquestionably it was not brought into view till after the prologue: the whole description which the Priestess gives of the hags who encompassed Orestes would be tame and frigid, if the spectators had already had a view of their figure and appearance, before the Priestess caught sight of them. The description is surely preparatory to the spectacle, not explanatory of it.

1. Polit. iv. p. 427.

2. See the Vase-painting edited with a learned explanation by Millin, and the collection in Raoul-Rochette's *Orestéide*, particularly Pl. 35.

3. See Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* p. 212, and Fr. G. Schoen, *de Personarum in Eur. Bacch. habitu*, p. 54.



There are *two* ways in which the interior of the Temple, with its assemblage of persons, might be thus suddenly disclosed to view. *One* of these methods has been already proposed by a Scholiast<sup>4</sup>, and among the Moderns by Böttiger<sup>5</sup>, (an Antiquarian of high merit for his acquaintance with the ancient stage): I mean the ἐξώστρα or ἐκκύκλημα.

Ἐξώστρα or ἐκκύκλημα (the latter expression is much more usual) denotes the *platform* or small *wooden stage*, which, in passages of the Drama where the interior of a house had to be exposed to the spectator's view, was pushed or wheeled forward<sup>6</sup> through the great portal in the stone screen (σκηνή) at the back of the stage, and afterwards wheeled back<sup>7</sup> when the interior had to be again withdrawn from view. The following decided instances of the employment of the Eccyclema occur in the old Tragedians, and may serve to shew in what cases this machinery was applicable.

(1) In the *Agamemnon* (v. 1345) there is suddenly displayed to view (evidently by means of the Eccyclema) the royal bathing apartment, with the silver laver, the corpse enveloped in the fatal garment, and Clytæmnestra, besprinkled with blood and holding in her hand the reeking weapon, still standing with haughty mien over her murdered victim.

(2) In the *Choephora* the same bathing apartment is exhibited to view (v. 967). Here likewise it is drawn out through the central door in the stage-screen; and on this occasion the Scholiasts notice the Eccyclema. Orestes is seen standing over the corpses of Clytæmnestra and Ægisthus, holding in his hands the fatal garment<sup>8</sup>.

4. In Eumen. v. 64: cf. on v. 47.

5. 'De Deo ex Machina, p. 9. Furien-maske, p. 98.

6. ἐκκυκλεῖν.

7. εἰσκυκλεῖν, Pollux iv. 128. Schol. Acharn. 407. Eustath. on Il. p. 976, 15.

8. Clytæmnestra comes out by the doorway to the right, the γυναικεῖαι πύλαι, and is led off by Orestes into the main building through the central doorway. The door to the right belongs to the second actor, who is evidently Clytæmnestra.



(3) In the *Electra* of Sophocles (v. 1450) Ægisthus orders the great gates of the palace to be thrown open, that all the Mycenæans and Argives may convince themselves with their own eyes of the death of Orestes: a covered corpse is wheeled upon the stage on an Eccyclema; Ægisthus uncovers it; it is Clytæmnestra.

(4) In the *Antigone* (1293) the corpse of Eurydice is exhibited on the stage almost immediately after we had been informed of her suicide within the palace. The Chorus notices the Eccyclema in the words: ὄραν πάρεστιν οὐ γὰρ ἐν μυχοῖς ἔτι; and the Scholia also mention it.

(5) In the *Ajax* (346), upon the earnest desire of the people of Salamis to see their lord and prince, Tecmessa throws open the tent: at the instant she draws aside the awning, Ajax (by means of an Eccyclema, which is again remarked by the Scholia) is wheeled out to view; he is seen holding a drawn sword in his hand and sprinkled with blood; surrounded by slaughtered cattle, and sunk in deep anguish.

(6) In the *Œdipus Tyrannus* (1297), the unfortunate son of Laius, his eyes pierced through and dripping with blood, his footsteps in need of a guide, becomes visible through the open gateway of the palace. He is evidently wheeled out on an Eccyclema; and Sophocles apparently overlooked that circumstance, when he afterwards makes Creon prohibit the exhibition of so horrible a spectacle to the open light of day, and orders Œdipus to be led back into the house (1429).

(7) In the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides (1030) the bars of the palace-doors are drawn back; by means of an Eccyclema we behold the hero asleep, bound hand and foot to a broken pillar, surrounded by the corpses of his wife and children, and by the fragments of shattered shafts and columns.





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to be wheeled forward at once, amounting, as we have seen, to no fewer than eighteen; whereas in none of the other instances are there more than four individuals at most; nor is the Chorus ever included. How spacious must have been the moveable stage, which was capable of exhibiting at once, in a tasteful group, Orestes on the Omphalus, the gods, and the entire Chorus! and how wide must have been the portal, which admitted of their being wheeled through!

But there are further considerations, which lead us to conclude that the Eccyclema was not employed on this occasion. We first of all saw the Pythoness in the open square in front of the Temple. We are now to view the interior of the Temple; and this (we will suppose) is to be effected by means of an Eccyclema. The floor of this moveable stage must therefore be that of the Temple, now disclosed to view. Then the Furies wake, start up, and during a Choral dance give vent to their vexation and their rage against Apollo. All this still in the Temple; for it is not till afterwards that the god commands them to quit his Sanctuary. Now to suppose that the Chorus had room on this secondary stage for those wild evolutions, is still more incredible than all the rest. Consequently the Eccyclema is not at all adequate or applicable to the case; and we must imagine rather the whole stage to represent the area of the Temple.

Thus we are reduced to the *second* supposition, which, although not borne out by any external evidence, is nevertheless attended with greater internal probability than the former hypothesis. It is namely this: that, as long as the Pythoness was speaking the prologue, the space representing the interior of the Temple (*i. e.* the *Stage*) was concealed by a curtain extending the whole length and height of the stage, like the common *Aulæum* or *Parapetasma*. The Priestess stood in the Orchestra, which represented the front-



court (the Ἀυλή) of the Pythian Temple: the altar of the Prophetic Deities stood there. We must conceive a few columns in front of the stage giving it the character of a Temple. It will be seen that this arrangement answers perfectly well for the whole play.

All the preceding elucidations are founded on the hypothesis, that after the conclusion of the prologue the interior of the Temple together with the Furies is rendered visible in some way or other. This supposition forces itself upon us as a necessary and natural one, and indeed is generally received<sup>1</sup>, except by Genelli<sup>2</sup>, who has quite a different conception of the whole scene. His idea is that the whole scene between Clytæmnestra and the Furies takes place at the back of the screen. He supposes the Adytum of the Temple to be there; and that after the Ode beginning, ἰοὺ, ἰοὺ, πόπαξ, the Furies rush one by one through the centre door upon the stage. Now there can be no doubt that the effect produced on the auditors by individual sounds and broken exclamations from the concealed interior of a tent or chamber, is very striking; but the dialogue between Clytæmnestra and the slumbering Chorus is not at all of that description; and we may be sure Æschylus was but little disposed to deprive the spectators of so striking a sight as that presented in the highly tragic figure of the royal apparition pointing to the bloody wound in her breast, and the Furies starting convulsively and fiercely in their sleep.

30. Between v. 225 and v. 226 there is a long pause. First Orestes, then the Chorus, and lastly Apollo, have each left the stage. Then all at once we are transported

1. It is also A. W. v. Schlegel's opinion. See his History of Dramatic Poetry.— Only Schlegel thinks the Furies are seen first of all, before they start up, merely through the open doors of the Temple; but this latter hypothesis cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with the arrangement of the ancient Stage, nor with the progress of the play.

2. Theater von Athen, p. 218.



from *Delphi* to *Athens*, and must fancy a long interval of time to have elapsed, during which Orestes has passed over land and sea ;—a disregard of the extrinsic unities quite in the character of the Æschylean Poetry. So in the first Act of the *Agamemnon* (v. 270), the beacon-fires announce the fall of Troy the very day it was taken; and by the commencement of the following Act, Agamemnon himself, after encountering great perils at sea, has landed on the coast of Argos. In so doing Æschylus only availed himself of the genuine license of art, which among the Greeks, in the province of Poetry as well as of Sculpture, while it was strictly observant of the internal connexion and harmony, treated space and time as very subordinate matters: It was not till a subsequent period that Tragedy stooped to do homage to a common-place illusion (*ἀπάτη*).

With regard to the shifting of scene required by the change of place, that could easily be effected without the intervention of the curtain, since we merely step out of one Temple into another: all that would be necessary was a contrivance in the centre door to make the Omphalus disappear at the instant the statue of Pallas was brought forward. Perhaps also the *Περίακτοι*<sup>1</sup> were turned round at the same time.

The *old sacred Image of Pallas*<sup>2</sup>, which Orestes embraced in obedience to Apollo's command, can be no other than the carved wooden image<sup>3</sup>, which, according to the legend, fell from heaven, and was consecrated and preserved by the Autochthones of Attica in the Temple of the Goddess of the citadel (*πολιάς*). It formed the central point of the Athenian Religion, and was the only image

1. These *Periacti* were triangular shafts placed at the angles of the stage-screen, and easily moveable about a pivot: there were different views and prospects painted on the sides of them, so that by turning round the *Periacti* the near and distant landscape (*τόπος* and *χώρα*) were changed with facility and expedition.

2. Παλαιὸν βρέτας.

3. ξόανον. Paus. I. 16, 7.





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Areopagus, and impresses on the hearts of the Athenians the sanctity of that institution.

In this way the Athenian people are irresistibly drawn into the very Drama, and are in a manner compelled to bear a part in the action. The Theatre is transformed, as by a stroke of enchantment, into the Pnyx, the Poet into a counselling and admonishing Orator, the mythic Past into the immediate Present, deciding on the weal and woe of the Future.

31. From the circumstance of Minerva's appointing the Hill of Mars as the place of sitting for the newly-instituted court (653), and her speaking of it as before the eyes of the spectators<sup>1</sup>, one might perhaps be led to infer that the scene had been again shifted. But this inference cannot be supported without considerable difficulty; and the circumstance in question is satisfactorily accounted for, if we suppose a distant prospect of the hill opposite the citadel to have been delineated on a Periactos, and that Minerva pointed to that picture. Let it be observed, that in the very same passage (658) the Athenian citadel is pointed out as before the eyes of the spectators<sup>2</sup>.

With respect to the style in which these views were executed, for instance, those of the Delphic Temple, the ancient Temple of Pallas, the Hill of Mars and the surrounding scenery, we may suppose a certain degree of optical illusion to have been attained, and the impression of reality to have been conveyed; for *Agatharchus*, the first who attained a degree of perfection in the art of scene-painting, in which scientific study contributed as much as

1. Πάγον—τόνδε, v. 655.

2. The only way in which I can understand this passage is, that the Amazons assail the new fortress (i. e. the town and citadel built by Theseus) by means of a counter-fortress on the Areopagus (like the Persians in Herodot. VIII. 52.); and in support of this sense of ἀντιπυργοῦν πόλιν, I instance the expression ἀντιάζειν τινά, 'to assail a person.'



a bold and skilful pencil, was in all probability put in requisition for this very trilogy of Æschylus. At all events the painting must have been the more accurate, as the Athenians here beheld on the stage the identical objects they were accustomed to see but a few steps distant, only under a less antique aspect. That there was no danger of the solemn and exalted impression of tragic poetry suffering from this cause, we may be sure from the enthusiasm; heightened by Faith and Fiction, with which the Greeks were wont to regard their native land and all the sacred abodes of their home. With them Reality was blended with Legend into a majestic Whole.

From this point to the end of the play the scene remains in and about the Temple of Minerva Polias. It is from thence also that the procession afterwards sets out, to conduct the Furies to their sanctuary between the citadel and Areopagus. The female attendants of the Temple form part of this procession (978).

The altar in the Orchestra, required in the first portion of the play, is also necessary in this second larger section, because it is from the altar that the Areopagites take the ballots. The images of the Delphic Deities exhibited upon it in the first part of the play might easily be removed or withdrawn by a simple contrivance from the view of the spectators.



### III. COSTUME.

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32. If we desire to form a lively and true conception of the procedure of an ancient Tragedy upon the stage, we must first divest ourselves entirely of those ideas of the characters in Grecian Mythology, which we derive from ancient works of art, and which from natural reasons are continually floating before our imagination. There is not the least comparison to be drawn between the *scenic* and the *plastic* Costume of the ancient Gods and Heroes; for, as the statements of the old Grammarians and ancient works of art, (especially the Mosaics in the Vatican) sufficiently prove, there was but one general *στολή*, or Costume for Tragedy. This was nothing more than an improvement on the gay and brilliant<sup>1</sup> apparel worn in the processions at the Dionysian Festivals, and but slight alterations were needed to adapt it to the different dramatic characters. The following parts of dress are universally reckoned in the Costume: long *χιτῶνες* of various gay colours, falling in ample folds down to the feet; very broad embroidered girdles (*μασχαλιστήρες*)<sup>2</sup>, sitting high on the breast; upper robes, frequently of purple, with gold borders and other such-like decorations; the Cothurnus; and the head-dress *ὄγκος*. As in the Dionysian ceremonies, so also in Tragedy there was but little distinction between the male and female apparel. In speaking of Heroes the Tragedians very often call their dress *πέπλος*, a garb never worn at that period by males in common life. In the ancient Mosaics one is

1. *ποικίλα* or *ἀνθινά*.

2. This girdle evidently forms part of the tragic Costume, as exhibited in the Vatican Mosaics and on the Statues of Melpomene, e. g. on the colossal figure of that Muse in the Louvre.





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## I. AGAMEMNON.

1. Πρωταγων.	Watchman, Herald, Agamemnon.
2. Δευτεραγων.	Clytæmnestra.
3. Τριταγων.	Cassandra, Ægisthus.

## II. CHOEPHORÆ.

1. Πρωταγων.	Orestes.
2. Δευτεραγων.	Clytæmnestra, Nurse (?)
3. Τριταγων.	Electra, Ægisthus, Domestic, Pylades <sup>1</sup> .

III. EUMENIDES<sup>2</sup>.

1. Πρωταγων.	Orestes.
2. Δευτεραγων.	Pythoness, Clytæmnestra, Minerva.
3. Τριταγων.	Apollo.

34. I here subjoin a description of the Costume worn by the several characters in the Eumenides: the account is drawn from general sources of information on the subject, and from particular hints furnished by the play itself.

(1) *Orestes*:—wears a long, gay-coloured tunic, and over it a chlamys, fastened by a clasp on the right shoulder: at the back of his head a Petasus suspended by a thong, the Wanderer's badge. In one hand he holds, at least at the beginning of the play, a drawn sword, in the other the *ἰκετηρία*, i. e. a long slender olive-bough with a few leaves at the end, and locks of white wool, drawn out into threads, loosely suspended about it. His hair hangs down dishevelled<sup>3</sup> over his face, and his pale emaciated countenance betokens the miseries he has endured.

1. The Domestic (v. 646) is not visible, and there is no need of a special actor for the part. As a mute character (v. 642—707) Pylades is represented by a *fourth* person; but where he afterwards comes on the stage as a speaking character, the third actor personates him,—*ἵνα μὴ ὁ λέγωσιν*, as the Scholiast remarks.

2. I think one reason why the two last plays take their names from the Chorus is, that in both of them the principal actor is Orestes. As far as we are able to ascertain, a play never had its name from any other of the *Dramatis-personæ*, but the principal one.

3. *ἀνχμώδης κόμη*, Eur. Orest. 217. 381.



(2) *Clytæmnestra*: probably in the same robe of state she wore in the preceding play, only more sombre and shadow-like. No doubt her breast is bare, and the bloody wound visible near the neck (v. 103. 562)<sup>4</sup>.

(3) *Pythoëss*: in a long dress such as was worn by Priests or Prophets, consisting chiefly in a tunic falling in straight folds<sup>5</sup>, not interrupted by a girdle. Also a laurel-wreath on her head (*μαντεία στέφη*), and a sceptre in her hand (Agam. 1238). The mask expresses age.

(4) *Minerva*: in the long *πέπλος*, with the *Ægis* and Helmet. The *Ægis* does not sit close on the breast, as usually exhibited in works of art subsequent to the age of Phidias, but is much larger and hangs over the left shoulder down the arm, as may plainly be seen on the statues of the Goddess in the earlier style<sup>6</sup>. In her passage over the sea Minerva spread her *Ægis* to the breeze like a sail (v. 382). This *Ægis*-sail however, in *Æschylus*'s bold invention, answered in a manner the purpose of wings to the steed-drawn chariot in which the Goddess is described as driving on the stage (v. 383). *Æschylus* took especial delight in introducing striking figures upon the stage; but in what way he managed such matters it would be useless to enquire further<sup>7</sup>.

4. Ὀρθοστάδιος.—Perhaps she also wore the *ἄγρηνον* mentioned above, §. 27.

5. A trait in the legend, preserved alike in Poetry and Art, represents *Clytæmnestra* extending her breast to her son as he is about to murder her. (Choeph. 883. cf. 524. Eur. Or. 520. 852. El. 1215. Euphor. Fragm. 51. M. and the Vatican Relievo explained by *Heeren*.)

6. For instance, the *Æginetic* and *Herculean* Statues (*Millingen Anct. Uned. Monuments*, Ser. II. pl. 7. Compare *Raoul-Rochette Orestéide*, pl. 35, p. 119.) and the Athenian Terra Cotta in Bröndsted, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, Liv. II. pl. 42. p. 170.

7. Nevertheless I will just remark that the idea expressed in *κατηρεφῆ πόδα* (v. 284.) was no doubt visibly manifested. In the ancient *ἄρμα* the Charioteer stood in a stooping posture, as shewn in numerous specimens of Ancient Sculpture: so that with female Charioteers the dress falls over the feet. (See, for instance, *Stuart's Antiquities of Athens*, vol. II. ch. I. pl. 20.) On the contrary, when combating on foot, *Pallas* plants her left leg straight in advance, *τίθησιν ὀρθὸν πόδα*, as exhibited on the *Panathenaic Vases*.



(5) *Apollo*: in a long gay-striped tunic with sleeves, and a light mantle hanging from the shoulders down the back. This dress formed part of the Pythian Costume worn by the Citharœdi in the Delphic Games. In the first scene he holds a bow in his left hand.

(6) *Hermes*: a mute character, but certainly not invisible, as many suppose. The Chlamys and Petasus, like Orestes; and a herald's staff in his hand.

The Costume of the *Chorus* need not be described here, as we shall have occasion to speak of it by and by in our enquiry into the meaning of the Chorus: and besides, *Böttiger* has investigated the subject very fully in his learned Dissertation on the "Mask of the Furies".





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# I. POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW.

## A. STATE OF AFFAIRS AT ATHENS.

35. OF all the ancient Tragedies extant, there is none in which the Mythic and the Political, the development of an occurrence in the Heroic Age and the reference to circumstances and events in contemporary public life, are so intimately blended as in the *Eumenides*. Not only is the mythological texture of the play pervaded by political allusions, as it were fine threads discernible only by the more scrutinizing eye, but the whole treatment of the Mythos withal so turns upon political Institutions deemed of paramount importance in those times, that by yielding oneself up to the impression of the Poem, one may for a while fancy the populace assembled in the Theatre to be an *Ecclesia* convened for the purpose of deliberating on matters of state and law. The speech in which Minerva inaugurates the Council of Areopagus is at the same time a popular harangue, a *δημηγορία*, clearly pervaded by a design of inculcating upon the people that they should leave the Areopagus in possession of its ancient well-founded privileges, and warning them against innovations which must inevitably issue in unbridled democracy.

The *Areopagus*, although no longer an exclusive corporation of caste, now that every Athenian citizen had become eligible to the office of Archon, and Archon to that of Areopagite, was nevertheless of momentous importance to the aristocracy at that æra of rampant democracy; and that on many accounts. The office was for life; the members few in number; the Council had lost little of its vast influence; it maintained within itself a high tone of sentiment, which



doubtless the elder and aristocratic members imparted to the new comers elected on the reformed constitution, but only after full and unrestrained examination by the existing bench: above all, the great mass of the Demos had been trained from their earliest years to stand in awe of this body, and despite of their own propensities continued so to do. Thus it acted as a check upon the schemes of a policy tending in every direction to seduce the Athenians from the course of hereditary customs into a temper till then unknown to them; a lust of power, pomp, and pre-eminence; the effect of which was to make the Orator, who could sway and agitate an Ecclesia at will by the force of his imagination, the only real power in the State, before which all established authority sank into insignificance. *This* was the spirit of the policy pursued by Pericles and his partizans. One of these was Ephialtes, a man who has been unfairly represented as a mere vulgar tool of that great character, whereas we are authorized to conceive of him as an eminent, and (faction apart) irreproachable Statesman and military Commander<sup>1</sup>. This Ephialtes, son of Sophonides, it was, who at that time moved in the Ecclesia a psephism by which (as Aristotle observes<sup>2</sup>) the constitution of the Areopagus was mutilated, the influence of the Council weakened (so says Diodorus, xi. 77.) and its famous hereditary usages annihilated. According to Plutarch's more distinct account<sup>3</sup>, by this psephism the Areopagus was deprived of its power and of all its judicial cognizance, some few cases only excepted; and, to conclude with Cicero's<sup>4</sup> representation of the affair, by the destruction of the Areopagus all authority was vested solely in the Ecclesia, and the State was bereft of that which

1. The character of Ephialtes is vindicated by Wachsmuth in his *Grecian Antiqq.* II. p. 60. (German.)

2. *Polit.* II. 9, and similarly *Pausan.* I. 29. 5.

3. *Pericl.* 7. 9. *Cim.* 15. Cf. *Reip. ger. Præc.* 10. 15.

4. *de Republ.* I. 27.





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indication of no slight anxiety, but then it is attended with an expression of confident reliance on the ultimate triumph of the righteous cause. This is surely not the tone of a defeated man, driven off the field, too, before ever he could battle for his political aims with the weapons of poetry. As the action of the tragedy advances, the Poet's confidence appears to rise, and Minerva's noble expression,

— ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε

Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος· νικᾷ δ' ἀγαθῶν ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός,

though it more immediately applies to the suit between the Eumenides and Apollo then before her, is evidently pointed at the contentions existing in the Athenian Ecclesia in the Poet's own times.

Ephialtes certainly did not attain his object in *one* Ecclesia. The question may possibly have been adjourned; or, if we suppose citizens to have come forward previous to the voting, and bound themselves over to indict Ephialtes for an unconstitutional measure (παρὰ νόμων γράφεσθαι), the motion may have been postponed for a longer period; nay, strictly speaking, it was not allowable for such a change in the Constitution to be brought into operation by a mere decree of the people (ψήφισμα); for that purpose a law (νόμος) was requisite, which demanded much more extensive preliminaries. It is not possible perhaps at the present day to come to any accurate decision on this point, since we do not know to what extent the proceedings in these matters, which we learn from the Orators, are applicable to the time of Pericles: but thus much, it appears, is certain, that the motion had not come to a final issue at the date of the acting of this tragedy. For in it the Poet speaks in such

the Erinnyes. The irregular construction in the second verse (καὶ τῶν δ' ὅπως, κ. τ. λ.) presents no difficulty. In the first member the main idea lies in πόλις, in the second it is contained in μάθειν.



a tone of triumphant confidence concerning the Areopagus, as could not have been grounded on a forlorn hope that the psephism might yet be thrown out, or (even if it had passed) that the law might be repealed by impeaching the mover of it.

This period must be regarded as the Epoch in which the opposite parties, after a long fostering of mutual hatred, strained their powers on either side to the utmost, and tried every possible means to turn the scale of victory in their own favour; as a crisis in which the political ulcer came to a head, and discharged the morbid matter which had been so long gathering. Little as we are acquainted with the internal history of Athens at this period, the little we do know of it directly implies such party-strifes running to the very highest. The movements against the Areopagus are beginning: Cimon returns from Laconia with the Athenian army, which fancies itself contemptuously rejected and deeply aggrieved by the Spartans: under such untoward circumstances Cimon, the aristocrat and friend of the Spartans, has but little influence with the people; they even carry their resentment against Sparta so far as to dissolve the long-established confederacy with that State, and immediately form a league with her hereditary enemies, the Argives and the Thessalians; Cimon himself is expelled by ostracism, probably at the very time when the degradation of the Areopagus was resolved upon: the Spartans, however, defeat the Athenian army in a pitched battle at Tanagra, and the oligarchic party, being again elevated by that victory, has recourse even to treacherous means in its endeavours to overthrow the democracy. The nocturnal assassination of Ephialtes seems to have some connexion with these machinations: however, the actual perpetrators of the deed were never detected; just as though the very Furies had felt themselves disparaged by the degradation of the Areopagus,



and therefore wreaked their vengeance on the author of the insult done to their dignity.

The *Chronology* of this period is very difficult to settle by reason of the great confusion in Diodorus. (See Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* p. 259). The following Table is drawn up from Thucydides, Plutarch, and Diodorus: such of the data as are certain are printed in *Italics*.

Ol.	
78, 4.	<i>Beginning of the Helots' Rebellion</i> (in the first year of the Thasian War.)
79, 2.	Reduction of Thasos by Cimon.
—, 3.	Cimon in Laconia. <i>Beginning of the Egyptian War.</i>
80, 1.	Dismissal of the Athenians from Laconia.
—, 2.	Rupture between Athens and Sparta; and league with Argos.
—, —.	<i>Party-strifes respecting the Areopagus. The Eumenides of Æschylus acted.</i>
—, 3.	Ostracism of Cimon. War with the Peloponnesian naval-powers.
—, 4.	<i>Battle of Tanagra.</i> Oligarchic intrigues.
81, 1.	Annihilation of the Athenian power in Ægypt. (Death of Æschylus.)
—, 2.	Transportation of the Helots to Naupactus under the command of Tolmides.
	Continuation of the War with the Peloponnesians.
—, 4.	Recall of Cimon; and his negotiations at Sparta.
82, 2.	<i>Five years' truce</i> <sup>1</sup> .

37. It still remains for us to ascertain the *extent* and *nature* of the privileges withdrawn from the Areopagus. On the first point, and especially with respect to the period at which the Areopagus recovered the whole or the greater part of its lost privileges, the most careful investigations have lately been instituted; and the results of those enquiries are in my opinion conclusive, as far as our subject

1. *Obs.* Clinton adopts the statement of Plutarch (Cim. 16, 17.) who says that the Athenians *twice* assisted the Lacedemonians: but this is nothing more than a repetition of the same occurrence, as plainly appears from the account in Thucyd. i. 102. Plutarch's narration (Cim. 15.) that, at the time of the revolution brought about by Ephialtes, Cimon *πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐξέπλευσε*, cannot have anything to do with the expedition to Laconia, but is to be referred perhaps to his participation in the Ægyptian war. However, in the whole of his account, Plutarch is far from clear and accurate.





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council (v. 640, 654, 674), whereby no doubt he means to vindicate its claim to consult, as it had hitherto done, for the preservation of good morals<sup>1</sup>, as well as on dangers menacing the constitution and the public safety; and in calling that council “a watchful safeguard under which the State might sleep securely” (v. 675), he distinctly implies his opinion that it is desirable the Areopagus should maintain a continued superintendance, and not merely interfere as a tribunal in cases where it might be called upon to decide. But the whole scope of the play is to exhibit the Areopagus in its highest dignity and sanctity, as a conscientious criminal court, entrusted of old by the national Goddess herself with the important charge of putting a termination to a long series of troubles and miseries.

38. Such were the political principles pursued by Æschylus in this business, and such we find him maintaining throughout life. As an Athenian citizen and a patriot, Æschylus on every occasion recommends to his fellow-citizens temperance and moderation in their enjoyment of democratic liberty, and in their ambitious schemes against the rest of Greece. Æschylus was a zealous partizan of Aristides, and opponent of Themistocles, those two statesmen being then opposed to each other in a similar way to that in which Cimon and Pericles were afterwards. As early as Ol. 76, 4, in which year the *Persæ* was acted, we find evident symptoms of this partiality; the share Aristides had in the victory of Salamis, the massacre of the Persians at Psyttalia undertaken and executed by him, is dwelt upon by

1. In the early times the Areopagus exercised a moral superintendance in the manner of the Spartan *Γερουσία*, and after the time of Demetrius Phalereus it was re-invested with that authority in conjunction with *Γυναικονόμοι*, *Σωφρονισταί*, and other Boards of Inspection; but how much of that prerogative it retained in the time of Ephialtes is a very difficult question: we can only assume it in general as a very probable case that the democracy, which even then was powerful and throughout Greece a decided enemy to such controul, had left but little of it remaining.



our Poet with delight (v. 439, sqq.) in comparison with the exploits of Themistocles, whereas Herodotus's account of the affair (VIII. 95) implies that it nowise deserved to have so great a stress laid upon it. Again, in the same play it is said (v. 341) that *men* are the safeguard of a city, and not *walls* (ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἔρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές), a sentiment which stands in opposition to the opinion of Themistocles, whose schemes required that Athens, and especially the Peiræus, should be fortified in the strongest manner possible. But the Poet's political bias is still more clearly marked in the *Seven against Thebes*, which was acted it is true after the Persæ<sup>2</sup>, but still during the lifetime of Aristides, probably about Ol. 77. It is well-known that the beautiful verses on the wise and virtuous Amphiaraus were universally applied by the audience to Aristides<sup>3</sup>, and there is not a doubt that in this animated and glowing portrait Æschylus was inwardly elevated by the thought of that "just" man. Now Amphiaraus is placed among a set of overbearing, boastful, and ambitious men, and exhibited as the only excellent character of them all, one whose heart gives birth to honest desires and resolutions, and whose wont is to utter what is right or hold his peace (v. 601). But even this virtuous man cannot escape ruin, inasmuch as he is leagued with such a worthless set and has for his fellow-citizens a race of men who hate the stranger and despise the Gods,

— Συμπολίτης

ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσι (v. 587).

Such, no doubt, in Æschylus's view was the station then occupied by Aristides in juxtaposition with the grasping and unconscientious party of Themistocles, whose projects obviously extended to the subjugation of the rest of

2. Vid. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. v. 1048.

3. Plut. Aristid. 3. Ἀποφθέγμ. βασιλ. p. 116. Hutten.



Greece. And in this same play the observation that the people on having escaped from great troubles is difficult to manage (v. 1035), is borrowed from the history of those times, when the Athenian populace, full of pride and insolence on the score of their achievements against the Persians, clamorously demanded new privileges and liberties, a partial concession of which even Aristides considered to be rendered expedient by the spirit of the age.

But if the political bent pursued by Æschylus all his life was such as we find it in his defence of the Areopagus in the *Eumenides*, we may readily conceive how fruitless his exertions must have appeared to him, and how sorely his heart must have been filled with vexation and sorrow, when, after all, the demolition of the authority of the Areopagus was accomplished, and that unlimited extension given to the democracy, which he had regarded with so much alarm. It is very probable that (as hinted in an old Epigram<sup>1</sup>) in order to shun the ill will of his fellow-citizens as well as his own mortified feelings, he retired immediately after the victory of the adverse party to Sicily, where he died at Gela, in Ol. 81, 1, three years after the exhibition of the *Orestea*.

#### B. EXTERNAL RELATIONS.

39. The political part of this Tragedy, however, refers not only to revolutionary attempts at home, but also to foreign relations of the State.

A short time previous to the composition and exhibition of this drama, Athens had dissolved the somewhat unnatural league with Sparta, and had formed an intimate confederacy with the *Thessalians*, their former Allies, whose cavalry served admirably to complete the Athenian force, and with *Argos*,

1. Τίς φθόνος ἀστῶν Θησείδας ἀγαθῶν ἔγκοτος αἰὲν ἔχει;





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and that Argos and Mycenæ not only were distinct states in the mythic age, but existed as such even in historical times, until a very few years before the *Oresteia* was exhibited, when the Argives succeeded in taking the Cyclopean walls of Mycenæ, and reduced the real city of Orestes to a heap of ruins. But then the very fact that Mycenæ no longer existed enabled Poets, who delighted in connecting the realities of the Present with the reminiscences of the Past, to substitute Argos in the place of Mycenæ. Indeed the Argives along with their conquest of Mycenæ had, so to speak, won the mythic and heroic splendour and glory of that famous city: and moreover the indefinite use of the word Argos by the earliest Poets, sometimes in the extended, and at other times in a more limited sense, contributed its share to the transfer. In fact *Æschylus* is in this particular the most consistent of the Tragedians; in his extant tragedies he never mentions the name of Mycenæ, but in the spirit of mythic fiction concentrates upon Argos all the dignity and splendour of the old legends; whereas the other two Tragedians are more lax in this respect, making Argos and Mycenæ sometimes distinct and sometimes identical<sup>1</sup>.

40. In these sentiments towards Argos our Poet shews himself very consistent, inasmuch as on other occasions also he appears to have been favourably disposed towards that State, and an advocate for an alliance with it. In the *Suppliants* the Argives are highly commended for having afforded refuge to the persecuted Danaids; and in long benedictory Odes we find the wish expressed that their city might be stormed by no enemy, devastated by no famine nor plague, unsettled by no internal broils. The reference to contemporary relations is expressed yet more plainly in the following prayers (679. sqq.), that the Demos, in whose hands was vested the chief authority

1. Cf. Passow in Wachsmuth's *Athenæum*, III, ii, p. 192. Dissen on Pindar *Nem.* x, Introduction.



over the city, might in conjunction with a prudent right-spirited Magistracy, protect the dignity of all to whom dignity was due, and render to all foreign States, without harm, whatever was right, on the faith of international agreements, rather than have recourse to war<sup>2</sup>. Although this passage contains no definite reference to an Alliance of War, still it is evident that the play was written at a time when the Athenians were favourably disposed towards the Argives, and regarded the liberty of the people in that State as a support of their own republican Constitution: it is true, no league was as yet formed with them, but the compacts made for the mutual adjustment of lawsuits shew that it was in contemplation. Such, in all probability, was the state of public feeling at Athens as early as the end of Ol. 79, when Cimon succeeded, although not without considerable difficulty, in his desire to be sent with an army to the aid of the Spartans<sup>3</sup>. It was at this period (Ol. 79. 3.), that Athens first carried the war with the Persians into Egypt, and those very conclusive arguments adduced to shew how little Greeks need dread a contest with Egyptians, (v. 742. and 931. papyrus-fruit and barley-wine would never stand against wheat-bread and the juice of the grape), must have told admirably upon the war-loving Athenians, who were soon to come to blows with that nation on the banks of the Nile. In this way we arrive with others<sup>4</sup> at the conclusion that the Trilogy to which the *Suppliants* belonged was exhibited only a few years previous to the *Oresteia*; and if there is an apparent objection to this in the circumstance of there being *three* Actors throughout in

2. The above translation rests upon some conjectural emendations in the 4th Strophe, which is rather perplexed:

Φυλάσσοι τιμίοισι τιμὰς  
τὸ δῆμιον, τὸ πτόλιον κρατύνει,  
προμαθεὺς τ' εὐθύμητις ἀρχά·  
ξένοισί τ' εὐξυμβόλους, πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη, δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων δίδοιεν.

3. Plut. Cim. 16.

4. See particularly Boeckh *Trag. Princ.* p. 54. Also Haupt. *Æsch. Suppl.* c. 7.



the *Orestea*, whereas in the *Suppliants* there are only *two* (one acting the characters of Danaus and the Herald, the other personating the King), the only inference deducible from that circumstance is, that Æschylus did not follow the example of Sophocles in the constant adoption of a *third* Actor till quite at the end of his career.

41. This friendly feeling towards Argos, which had so much influence on the dramatic compositions of Æschylus in the 79th and 80th Olympiads, may perhaps subject our Poet to another charge from those who expect to find in him a decided political bias, a thorough-going party-spirit. For in fact the Alliance then formed between Athens and Argos was neither more nor less than a manœuvre of the party whose aim was to disengage Athens from the Peloponnese, (to the entire abandonment of the Confederacy which the independent states of Greece had formed between themselves for the purpose of repelling the aggressions of Persian power), and to constitute her Mistress of the seas, islands, and maritime cities of Asia: and this very same party it was which overthrew all the bulwarks and defences of the Old Constitution, in order to allow of their hurrying along the Demos, in the bold imaginative flights of their Orators and Leaders, to the execution of those daring schemes. Now here is Æschylus, a man of aristocratic sentiments, labouring upon Cimon's principles for the preservation of the Areopagus, and yet running counter to Cimon's aims by eulogizing the league with Argos. If this procedure be alleged against Æschylus as an inconsistency, it is sufficient to reply that, correct as may be this representation of the connexion between the domestic and foreign policy of the Athenians of those times, it by no means follows that Æschylus was bound to attach himself to a party exclusively, and thereby run into extremes unworthy of an enlarged mind. As a moderate man he might be of opinion that Athens was compelled by the general aspect of her position to disengage





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the attainment of glorious and honourable conquest<sup>1</sup>, that the city might never lack either provisions or men, as the means of defeating her enemies: but the award of victory to her citizens in the strife of war is a boon which she, the warlike heroic Goddess, is resolved to retain in her own gift. The citizens are told to turn all their feelings of enmity in one and the same direction, on the ground that "unanimity even in hatred" relieves mortals from many miseries (v. 942). And again, at the conclusion of the blessings it is intimated in few but emphatic words, that every boon sent up by the Eumenides is to aid the city in conquest. Indeed, the idea of conquest forms the setting in which the Ode is enclosed, and thus considered it aptly introduces a Triumphal Ode, such as could not fail to effect every Athenian heart. *Conquest* then, be it over Greek or Barbarian, Conquest both by sea and by land, gained by the exertion of all their powers, great as ever city has summoned up, *this* is the idea which Æschylus dwells upon in his endeavours to divert the Athenian citizens, engaged at that very time in the fiercest heats of contention, from the obstinate schemes of their several parties. And how strenuous the efforts of the Athenians for conquest were at that period, is evidenced by a record as unassuming as it is striking and imposing, namely in an obituary inscription of an Attic tribe, belonging to the very next year, Ol. 80, 3. It runs thus: "Of the Erechthean tribe these fell in battle,—in *Cyprus*, in *Ægypt*, in *Phœnicia*, in *Halicæ* (the Argolic), in *Ægina*, at *Megara*,—the same year."

---

We will close this Section with the mention of a political allusion, which does not so materially pervade the entire com-

1. Ὀρωτα βίαντι μὴ κἀκῆς ἐπίσταται. Certainly no one who has entered into the train of ideas will entertain a thought (as Hermann does) that the passage requires *βίαντι*.



position as the preceding. In v. 375 sqq. Minerva says, she heard the voice of Orestes from afar at the banks of the Scamander, where she had *forestalled foreign usurpation by taking possession of* the country assigned as a meed of honour to the Athenians and to herself by the Allied Greeks before Troy. This is obviously the meaning of *καταφθατουμένη*; not simply=*κατακτωμένη*, as Hesychius explains it, but=*φθάρουσα κατακτωμένη*. It is well known, that from the time of Phryno and Pittacus the Athenians were engaged in a dispute with the Lesbians respecting the Coast of Troas round Sigeum. Both parties attested their claims to it by mythic arguments; the Lesbians asserting their ancient right to the whole of that coast on the ground of their descent from the Pelopid Achæans (cf. Scholl. a. l. and Strabo, XIII. p. 509), whilst the Athenians founded their claims to it on the extensive worship of Minerva in that district, especially the Temple Glaucopeum at Sigeum. From this historical fact Æschylus has drawn the very ingenious fiction of Minerva betaking herself to that coast shortly after the Trojan War, for the purpose of taking formal possession of the region assigned as a *γέρας* to the Thesidæ and at the same time dedicated to her; thus establishing her claim to it and preventing all foreign encroachment on her rights.



## II. LEGAL AND JUDICIAL RELATIONS.

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### A. AVENGING OF BLOOD, AND PURSUIT OF THE MURDERER.

#### a. *Duty of avenging blood, at Athens and in the earlier Times.*

43. THE SACRED DUTY of avenging blood, recognised by the earliest customs and national laws of the East as well as the West, formed at Athens the basis of a great portion of the penal code. Even at the period when personal affronts against an Athenian were in most cases indictable by any of his fellow-citizens as outrages upon the public peace and safety of the commonwealth, the prosecution for murder devolved exclusively upon the relatives of the deceased; not as though homicide were no violation of the peace nor dangerous to the security of the State, but because the avenging of it was deemed a sacred office, which could no more be taken out of the hands of the relatives than that of burying the dead or the right of succession to his patrimony. The words of the law<sup>1</sup> are to the following effect:

“The kinsmen of the deceased, within the degree of  
“first-cousins (inclusive), shall issue a proclamation in the  
“market-place, charging the homicide to hold aloof from the  
“altars and temples in the city, as also from all assem-  
“blies in the exercise of religious rites: and they shall be  
“supported in the prosecution by the sons of the first-cou-

1. Demosth. c. Macart. 1069. There is clearly a distinction here between ἀνεψιῶν παῖδες, *consobrinorum filii*, and ἀνεψιάδοι, *sobrini*, though these expressions may otherwise from their nature be used in either sense. See Bunsen, Platner, and Klenze, on this law.





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44. Thus the idea of *vengeance* as a *claim due to the murdered kinsman* was nothing strange to the Greeks even in the time of Æschylus, but was still entwined in the most intimate union with all that was deemed sacred and venerable. The only distinction between the earlier and the later times was, that the state had now assumed the office of mediator, and as such, upon the application of the relatives, it either took the charge of inflicting vengeance entirely off their hands, or else assigned certain means and limits for its execution. It is true, the avenger<sup>1</sup>, even in Athens, began with issuing in person a public and solemn notice charging the homicide to hold aloof from market-place and altars (*προαγορεύει εἶργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων*), but after that he was required to lay a formal indictment, first before the proper authorities for previous investigation, and then before the Areopagus or the Ephetæ, according to the nature of the case: if the action was for wilful and malicious murder, it was brought into the former court; if for manslaughter or for excusable homicide, into the courts of the Ephetæ. In either case the defendant was at liberty to take to flight before sentence was passed; no one was allowed to hinder him. None but the parricide was prohibited from flight, and such an one was instantly arrested. It is on this law that Euripides has founded his representation in the *Orestes* (v. 438, 507). If the accused was convicted of *wilful murder* and still remained in the country, he fell under sentence of the law: his execution was the business of the state, and the prosecutor might witness it<sup>2</sup>. Draco's *Θεσμοί* recognised nothing less than capital punishment in such cases; and on this point they were still valid.

1. Ἀνδρηλάτης, Eum. 212. Agam. 1393, 1568. sqq. Sept. 619. Soph. Œd. T. 100. Hesych. s. v. ἀνδρειάτης, which Küster has properly corrected ἀνδρηλάτης.

2. Dem. c. Aristocr. 642. This passage proves that in the disputed passages, c. Pantaen. 983. c. Nausim. 991, the question is about φόνος ἀκούσιος.



{ If the criminal had evaded the sentence of the Areopagus by flight, he was never allowed to return home again (*φεύγει ἀειφυγίαν*): even on occasions of danger and emergency at Athens, when the return of exiles and of such as had forfeited their civil rights and dignity was sanctioned by extraordinary measures, an exception was invariably made against the criminals condemned by the Areopagus (*οἱ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φεύγοντες*). }

When a verdict of *manslaughter* was returned, it was allowable for the prosecutor and the accused to enter into a compromise on the spot, if they pleased; but in the regular mode of proceeding the convict quitted his country by a certain road at a certain time (*ἐξῆλθε*), and remained absent until one of the relatives of the deceased took compassion on him (*αἰδέσσηται τις τῶν ἐν γένει τοῦ πεπονητότος*), and made reconciliation with and for him; whereupon he was permitted to return home under certain prescribed forms, and after the due performance of sacrifices and rites of purification he was at liberty to dwell once more in his native land. In particular cases, however, the pursuit of vengeance still went on; for instance, when a person convicted of wilful murder or of manslaughter (this is the legal sense of *ἀνδροφόνος*) remained in the country contrary to law. Maltreatment of such an one, or extortion of money from him, was prohibited as infamous and accompanied by a penalty of double the sum exacted<sup>3</sup>; but the avenger was at liberty to strike the offender dead upon the spot, or to arrest him and commit him to prison (*ἀπάγειν*). Draco thought fit to make a special enactment, that any person meeting a murderer where he had no right to be and informing against him or haling him before the magistrates, thereby causing him to be executed, was in no wise to be held chargeable with his death. But a murderer who kept

3. c. Aristocr. 629.



beyond the Attic frontiers, and held aloof from Amphictyonic Games and from Sacrifices, as also from the frontier-towns, and in short from all places where he would be likely to meet with his countrymen, was by law not liable to prosecution; and if in such case the avenger put him to death, the avenger himself was deemed a murderer. So in the case of manslaughter the pursuit of vengeance ceased upon the compromise between the parties. This took place between the slayer and the father, brothers, and sons of the slain, upon condition that none of them objected to it<sup>1</sup>: if there were no such relatives living, the compromise was accepted on the approbation of ten members of the Phratria, elected by the Ephetæ who had returned the verdict. But how the case stood when the reconciliation was not granted by the relatives or by the Phratores,—whether the criminal was for ever debarred from his home, or whether after a certain lapse of time the relatives were compelled to accept of a compromise, these are questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered for want of evidence. Plato, whose scheme of criminal laws is in the main based on the same principles as the Attic code, and like that sets out from the duty of avenging blood, (the postponement or neglect of it giving rise, in his opinion, to miasma or pollution<sup>2</sup>,) fixes the term of exile in the case of manslaughter at one year<sup>3</sup>.

45. There are some points in this disquisition which unavoidably remain obscure and doubtful, but the general principles upon which the prosecution for homicide was conducted at Athens are clear and characteristic. No doubt these prin-

1. V. Dem. c. Macart. 1069, and Reiske's interpretation of the words πάντας (αἰδέσασθαι), ἢ τὸν κωλύοντα κρατεῖν.

2. Legg. ix. p. 871.

3. Ib. p. 865. In cases of manslaughter exile for a limited term was usual in the rest of Greece, if not at Athens. This is proved by the peculiar term ἀπεινιατισμός and ἀπεινιαύτησις frequently applied in that sense by Plato (cf. Timæus Lex. Plat. p. 39. R.) The expression was certainly not invented by him. See also Hesych. Suid. and Etym. M. s. v. and Eur. Hippol. 34. c. Scholl.





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selves. There can hardly have existed at that early period any marked line of distinction between wilful murder and manslaughter, when even in Plato's view of the subject it is not clearly defined. No doubt it was left to the feelings of the relatives to determine the degree of heinousness attaching to the act, and whether satisfaction should be accepted or not: and in the investigation of this matter we may be sure the distinction (one of great moment in the popular morality of the Greeks) between *ἄτη*, a momentary bewilderment which makes a man forget himself for the instant, and *ὑβρις*, an insolent disregard of other persons' rights, was taken mainly into account. In some cases the penalty of exile was remitted upon payment of a considerable sum of money to the relatives (Il. ix. 632. cf. xxiv. 48), as it was at Athens when the reconciliation of the parties immediately followed the commission of the act. The State took no concern whatever in the business; it interfered only when a dispute arose respecting the payment of the ransom after it had been agreed upon; in which case the question was decided by the Court of Princes and Elders (Il. xviii. 499). From this one might be led to suppose that in those heroic times, under the rule of *ἀνακτες*, the homicide of high and powerful family would extort a compromise or resist expulsion from his country by force of arms, and so bring on civil war. But of such proceedings there is no trace to be found, and hence we see that public opinion and private feelings were quite as efficacious in instigating the criminal to flight, as the menacing vengeance of the relatives (Od. xxiii. 119). From mythological narratives we learn that Princes also fled their country upon having committed homicide on any of their subjects<sup>1</sup>, or even in the case of manslaughter where pardon had been granted them at the hands of the relatives<sup>2</sup>. It was as though for a time the

1. Paus. i. 22. 2.

2. Apollod. ii. 7, 6.



very dead himself thrust the shedder of his blood out of the familiar circle of life; a notion which Plato<sup>3</sup> calls a *very old Mythus*. On that account it was the practice at Athens for a blood-guilty person, who was not or could not be pursued by an avenger, to abstain from entering holy places and public assemblies, and to regard himself, until his purification, in the light of a polluted person<sup>4</sup>. It was more particularly the *Phratria*, a family community on an enlarged scale and held together by religious rites, that was offended by the presence of a manslayer: they not only took vengeance upon any member of another *Phratria* who had slain one of their own body, but also never failed to expel from among themselves any member who lay under the pollution of blood. So the Erinyes say of Orestes (v. 625):

Ποίοισι βωμοῖς χρωμένος τοῖς δημίοις;  
Ποία δὲ χέρνιψ φρατόρων προσδέξεται;

The antiquity of these rites is evinced by a passage in Homer (Il. ix. 64), where Nestor in his admonitions against civil war says,

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,  
ὅς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου, ὀκρυόεντος.

In fact, when we consider the matter, every wilful murder is a breach of the peace, and the work of Ἄρης ἐμφύλιος.

#### b. *Duty of Orestes according to the Legend.*

46. Clytæmnestra has murdered her husband. Now by the law, as it existed both in the historical and heroic age, she is expected at least to flee from her home and shun the altars of her country. And in fact that is the sentence

3. Legg. ix. p. 865.

4. Antiph. Chor. 4. Cf. Herod. 87.



pronounced upon her by the Council of Elders in the Agamemnon. But having the support of Ægisthus she fancies herself as superior to the laws of the State as she is insensible to the reproaches of conscience. The reason why the Erinnyes forbear to drive her out of the land<sup>1</sup> is, when we look to the principle of the matter, no other than her having contrived to pacify her conscience with a sophistry of the passions, which we find exhibited with great psychological skill even by Æschylus<sup>2</sup>.

Agamemnon's natural Avenger is his son Orestes; it is his bounden duty to take vengeance; the ghost of his murdered father and the Delphic God demand it of him. The strictness of the obligation and the infamy attending the neglect of it are very emphatically dwelt upon by Æschylus in Apollo's admonitions and menaces to Orestes, which the Poet makes the latter recount in the following passage (Choeph. v. 267—294)<sup>3</sup>:

Οὔτοι προδώσει Λοξίου μεγασθενῆς  
 Χρησμός, κελεύων τόνδε κίνδυνον περᾶν,  
 Κάξορθιάζων πολλὰ, καὶ δυσχειμέρους  
 Ἄτας ὑφ' ἧπαρ θερμόν ἐξαυδόμενος, 270  
 Εἰ μὴ μέτειμι τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους,  
 Τρόπον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνταποκτεῖναι λέγων,  
 Ἀποχρημάτοισι ζημίαις ταυρούμενον,  
 Αὐτὸν δ' ἔφασκε τῇ φίλῃ ψυχῇ τάδε  
 Τίσειν μ' ἔχοντα πολλὰ δυστερπῆ κακά. 275  
 Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα

1. Eum. 574.

2. Agam. 1347.

3. It is only necessary to observe on this passage, that in v. 273 the *χρήματα* are opposed to the person (*αὐτὸς τῇ ψυχῇ*). The loss of the *χρήματα* follows from Apollo's injunction to the people to offer the produce of the earth (*τὰ ἐκ γῆς*) as *μειλίγματα* to hostile divinities. Then in v. 292 I read *τοῦ τε* instead of *οὔτε*, and construe thus: *μῆνιν ἀπείργειν βωμῶν*,—namely (*ὡς*) *δέχεσθαι τινα αὐτοὺς εἰς βωμούς*,—*τοῦ τε συλλύειν τινα αὐτοῖς*. *Συλλύειν τινὶ* stands for *σύν τινι καταλύειν*, as in Pindar *λύσις* for *κατάλυσις*.





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him. The very name of Pylades is probably in reference to the Πυλαία, or Amphictyonic Assembly held at Delphi, of which on that account Pylades is said to have been the founder<sup>1</sup>.

This feature of the old legend was perfectly clear to Æschylus, however lost sight of by later poets; nay, in the *Choephoræ* he has managed to impress it on the thoughtful spectator with great spirit and depth of significance. Pylades is a mute character. Once and once only does he break silence. It is at the very moment when Orestes is almost overcome by his mother's agonizing entreaties, and hesitates to commit the bloody act; whereupon Pylades exclaims,

Ποῦ δῆτα λοιπὰ Λοξίου μαντεύματα  
τὰ πυθόχρηστα, πιστὰ δ' εὐορκώματα;  
ἅπαντας ἐχθροὺς τῶν θεῶν ἠγοῦ πλέον<sup>2</sup>.

*Choeph.* 887 sqq.

It is evident that Pylades is introduced here, not on the score of his far-famed league of friendship with the hero of the play<sup>3</sup>, but as a monitor from Apollo; and on that very account he does not appear in the *Eumenides*, because Apollo there comes forward in person as Orestes' conductor. This fine connexion Euripides, though he also makes Pylades a Delphian (*Orest.* v. 1092), destroys by banishing him from his country after the bloody end of Clytæmnestra (v. 755). Sophocles on the contrary has preserved in addition an unquestionable feature of the old legend. He makes the bearer of the feigned intelligence of Orestes' death profess to come from *Phanoteus* the Phocian, a war-friend (δορύξενος) of Clytæmnestra (*El.* 45, 670). Now this Phanoteus or Panopeus is no other than a hostile bro-

1. Agathon Schol. *Trach.* 639.

2. Cf. sup. §. 33.

3. Westrick, *de Æsch. Choeph.* p. 191, holds this opinion.



ther of Crisus<sup>4</sup>, and the hoary-headed sovereign of the city bearing the same name which, according to the local traditions, was the resort of all the giants and warriors who hated Apollo; as Tityus, Autolycus, Phorbas, and the Phlegyans. This Phanoteus therefore is the natural ally of Clytæmnestra, while all who desire to see the house of Agamemnon re-established by a righteous infliction of vengeance on his murderers look for support, as Electra does, to Strophius the Crisæan. For the rest, it is pretty clear that Homer's silence about Orestes' residence at Crisa<sup>5</sup> proves nothing against the antiquity of the legend, for no one would think of taking Pylades for a character of later invention<sup>6</sup>.

48. But notwithstanding such motives to vengeance, it would, according to Grecian conceptions, have been impious in Orestes to have pursued his mother, had she taken to flight; whereas, daring as she did to sacrifice at the public altars, it was justifiable in the eye of the law, even of historical times, to put her to death on the spot. Nay, this summary vengeance in her case was absolutely necessary, seeing that recourse could be had to no higher powers for her punishment, herself and Ægisthus being supreme. Euripides indeed, who in his criticism of the earlier Poets attacks even the very fable, and ventures to cast the imputation of impiety on the accredited oracular behests of the Gods, asserts more than once<sup>7</sup> that Orestes ought to have brought his mother to public trial and expelled her from the palace: to which mode of proceeding Æschylus would probably have replied, that on the strength of Ægisthus' countenance and support she had already set all law

4. Paus. II. 29, 4. et al.

5. Od. III. 307. *vulg.*

6. In Pacuvius it was Pylades who conducted Orestes into the Delphic Temple for harbour and protection against the Erinnyes (Servius ad Æn. IV. 473.) It is very remarkable also that in the legend of Aristodemus's death the sons of Pylades and the God Apollo are placed on an equality.

7. Orest. 492.



at defiance, and had long since abandoned all thoughts of expiating her crime by flight. Æschylus therefore, retaining as he did so much deeper an impression of the sacred duty of "blood for blood," makes Orestes declare that, though he cannot but admit having violated a mother's rights, (for otherwise his mother's Erinnyes could not have persecuted him), still he never repented of the deed: *καὶ δεῦρό γ' αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην οὐ μέμφομαι*, he exclaims before the Areopagus (v. 566). Euripides on the contrary exhibits Orestes as the remorseful sinner condemning his own deed as needless and impious; in his soft-heartedness he thinks that even his father, could he have been asked, would have bid him spare the murderess (Or. 283); nay, he apprehends in Apollo the voice of a spirit of evil (*ἀλάστωρ*) come to destroy mankind (v. 1685): expressions of a weakly humanity derived not from depth but from shallowness of feeling, and calculated to undermine the main pillars of Grecian religion and civil order. And yet even Euripides admits the hereditary duty of vengeance. His Ægisthus takes care not to marry Electra to a man of rank and power, lest the fruit of such a marriage should yet rouse the dormant spirit of vengeance<sup>1</sup>.

49. So much for the vengeance wreaked *by* Orestes. Now with respect to the vengeance directed *against* Orestes, either legend, or else the endeavours of mythologists to supply its deficiency, invented all sorts of persons who might lawfully undertake and execute that duty; as for instance, Clytæmnestra's father Tyndareus, or her cousin Perilaus, or Ægisthus' daughter Erigone<sup>2</sup>. Æschylus, however<sup>3</sup>, recognises only the Erinnyes as the pursuers of Orestes; and

1. El. 28. 30. 269. Cf. Soph. El. 964.

2. Eurip. Orest. Fragm. Accii Erigon. Paus. VIII. 34. Tzetz. in Lycophr. 1374. Etym. M. p. 42. Natal. Com. Myth. ix. 2. Creuzer, Meletem. i. p. 82.

3. And also Hellanicus, Frag. 98. St.





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ition against his addressing a word to any man is always .main characteristic in his treatment<sup>1</sup>.

A fragment of one of Euripides' plays<sup>2</sup> has the words: Ἰσιγῆς; μῶν φόνον τιν' εἰργάσω; and in another play of the same Poet we find Orestes recounting his reception at Athens in the following terms:

ἔλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖσε, πρῶτα μὲν μ' οὐδεὶς ξένων  
 ἐκῶν ἔδεξαθ', ὡς θεοῖς στυγούμενον·  
 οἳ δ' ἔσχον αἰδῶ, ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι  
 παρέσχον, οἴκων ὄντες ἐν ταύτῳ στέγει,  
 σιγῇ δ' ἔτεκτῆναντ' ἀπόφθεγκτον μ', ὅπως  
 δαίτῳσ γενοίμην πώματός τ' αὐτῶν δίχα. κ. τ. λ.

*Iph. T.* v. 947, sqq. (Dind.)

a legend which at Athens, according to the testimony of Euripides and others, was brought into connexion with the origin of the convivial usages at the festival of the Choës<sup>3</sup>.

51. *On the other hand*, however, the fugitive homicide was the object of a certain peculiar *awe*, such as the principles of humanity among the ancient Greeks required to be shewn to every needy and distressed person without making enquiry about the cause of his distress. The blood-guilty fugitive every where appeared as an *ικέτης*, one that demands protection; nay, it is probable that in the early times the term *ικέτης* was applied particularly to a person in that situation. As such he was entitled to a hospitable reception, as far as that was compatible with the feelings of dread above mentioned<sup>4</sup>. He was to be treated with *αἰδώς*, a term of the earlier Greek ethics which cannot be fully rendered in our language; the notions of awe and compas-

1. Eumen. 268. 426. Apollon. Rh. iv. 693. Amphis in Athen. vi. 224 ε. Alexis x. 421 ε.

2. Schol. Eum. 272.

3. Athen. x. p. 437. Schol. Acharn. 960.

4. Il. xvi. 574. Hes. Scutum Herc. 85.



sion are combined in it. It was the duty of every one *αἰδεῖσθαι τὸν ξένον, τὸν ἰκέτην*. The same word, *αἰδεῖσθαι*, was used to denote the feeling with which the avenger pardons the object of his pursuit, and in the language of Attic law the term was retained in the sense of making reconciliation after manslaughter. This strangely-mingled state of feeling is very deeply marked in a passage of the Iliad, where the feelings excited in Achilles by the sudden entrance of old Priam are compared to it:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄτη πυκινὴ λάβῃ, ὅστ' ἐνὶ πατρὶ  
 φῶτα κατακτείνας ἄλλων ἐξίκετο δῆμον  
 ἄνδρὸς ἐς ἄγνίτεω, θάμβος<sup>5</sup> δ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντας,  
 ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς θάμβησεν, ἰδὼν Πρίαμον θεοειδέα. xxiv. 480.

This very instructive passage shews at once that the very act of *expiation* or *purification* makes a most material change in the situation and treatment of the *ἰκέτης*. The fugitive manslayer leaves the house of his *ἄγνίτης* quite a different person from what he was when he entered it. This change is also made a very prominent feature in our play; and herein the term *προστρόπαιος* occupies a very important place. *Προστρόπαιος* in its proper signification means, like *ἰκέτης*, *one that applies to another, one who begs for reception*<sup>6</sup>: *προστροπή* therefore denotes the act of *humble entreaty*<sup>7</sup>.

5. It is quite clear that the reading *ἄνδρὸς ἐς ἀφνειοῦ*, given in our texts, is not the original one. The old Scholiasts read *ἄνδρὸς ἐς ἈΓΝΙΤΕΩ*, as plainly appears from their interpretations; *ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγνισουτα, and, τὸν δὲ καθαίροντα καὶ ἀγνίτην εἶλεγον*. That they do not merely draw this conclusion from the homicide's entering the house, is proved by their noticing what they take to be an anachronism in the passage, inferring it from the circumstance that Homer nowhere else makes such express mention of the *ἀγνίτης*. They compare with it the passage *λαχε σάλπιγγε*, on account of the anachronistic mention of the trumpet. Perhaps this may have been one cause of the corruption of the text by the Alexandrine Grammarians. It seems, *ἀφνειοῦ* is also the reading of the Ægyptian MS., on which see *Philol. Museum*, i. p. 183. On *ἀγνίτης* see Hesych. s. v. Perhaps it ought to be substituted for *ἀγίτης* in Bekker's Anecd. p. 338.

6. Agam. 1569. Suppl. 357. Soph. Œd. Col. 1309, &c.

7. Choeph. 21. 83. Pers. 216.



But these terms are generally coupled with the notion of a fugitive homicide not yet cleansed from his blood-guiltiness; and hence *προστρόπαιος* takes the meaning of *homo piacularis*<sup>1</sup>. In the *Eumenides* however, *προστρόπαιος* is mostly used in the quite peculiar sense of a *suppliant for expiation*, 'one laying claim to purification'<sup>2</sup>. Such was Orestes at Delphi, where he received expiation: at Athens, although indeed a suppliant of the Goddess, an *ικέτης* (v. 452), he is no longer a *προστρόπαιος*; he is now at liberty to associate with his fellow-men without bringing a curse upon them (v. 229, 275); he is allowed to enter temples and embrace the statues of Gods without causing pollution (*μύσος*); he may freely open his lips and hold converse with men and Gods<sup>3</sup>.

These considerations having led us to observe the importance attached to the expiation of blood-guiltiness in the composition we are considering, we cannot do otherwise than insert in these Essays a discussion on this difficult point in the moral history of the earlier Greeks, which modern controversies have as yet by no means entirely elucidated.

1. *Eum.* 168. *Choeph.* 285. Hence *αὐτοῦ προστρόπαιος* in *Æschin. π. παραπρ.* §. 158 *Bekk.* means, 'One who brings a curse upon himself.'

2. *Eum.* 225. 228. 423. Similarly *προστράπεσθαι*, 196; *προστροπή*, 688.

3. This is the meaning of v. 451, sqq. (as emended in the text.) The main idea is: 'I, Pallas, am bound to receive both of you, both Orestes and the Erinnyes. You, Orestes, have a claim to my protection in *other* respects; but *now* in particular, since you are come purified, *ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνουσία*, to my sanctuary, I accept you as one to whom my city by all *jus sacrum* (*ὀσίως*) can attach no censure. But the Erinnyes also, their office being to pursue the shedder of blood, may not lightly be dismissed.' *Κατηρτυκῶς*, which *Hesych.* interprets *τελειώσας*, denotes 'a person who has duly performed every thing,' 'attended to all observances;' and to this same matter I would refer *ἄρμενα παρέχειν, ἢ δίκη ἔσθ' ἰκέτησι*, *Hes. Scut. Herc.* 85.





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be said to have “flown from the hand rather than to have been thrust or hurled” (*magis fugit quam jecit*)<sup>1</sup>; indeed the Pontifex Mucius Scævola gave it as his judgment that no wilful offence admitted of expiation<sup>2</sup>.

The manners and usages of that age which is represented in the *heroic* mythology make, as we have before observed, no such positive distinctions; the feelings, it is probable, appreciated the merits of the individual case more safely and exactly. Moreover the homicidal acts of such times fall under the category of acts committed upon sudden excitement of mind, voluntarily indeed, but not properly speaking, of design aforethought; and these according to Plato are to be distinguished from involuntary acts, but yet border close upon them, and are to be treated after the same analogy<sup>3</sup>. These were the very acts which the religious psychology of the ancient Greeks ascribed to the Ate, which confounds the mind and betrays the man into deeds of which in his sober senses he is heartily sorry; hence the Ate has in its train the *Litæ*, the humble prayers of repentance, which must make good, before Gods and men, whatever has been done amiss<sup>4</sup>. For every evil-doer (so we find it even in Homer) has to appease the *Gods* as well as men; and it is very clear that in an age in which even “beggars come from Jupiter<sup>5</sup>,” the slaying of a *ξένος*, or a fellow-citizen within the peace, was not a matter that the Gods would regard with indifference. But then the heroic mythology and epic poetry, from its nature, cannot be expected to deal so much in the situation of the manslayer who stays at home or may return thither, as in that of the man who is obliged to flee his country, to wander about over the earth, seeking in other lands some hereditary *Xenos* or related Hero who shall receive him into his house, and give him

1. Cicero Top. 17. Festus, s. v. *subici*.

2. Varro L. L. vi. 4. Macrob. Sat. i. 16.

3. Plato Legg. ix. 867.

4. Il. ix. 502.

5. Od. xiv. 57.



back, a cleansed man, to the society of his fellow-men. Such cases undoubtedly occurred even in historic times, though more rarely; the well-known story of Cræsus and Adrastus in Herodotus is an instance: but these wanderings of exiled manslaughterers in quest of expiation were of more frequent occurrence and of more important aspect in a period when order and government were as yet unsettled, and the Mythologists are rich in narratives of heroes who, driven from their home by reason of some unfortunate act, were received by other heroes and obtained expiation at their hands. Homer in such cases (if we except only the new-discovered passage, as it may be called, Il. xxiv. 482.) speaks only of the reception of the suppliant manslayer, without any express mention of expiation: whence ancient Grammarians as well as modern scholars<sup>6</sup> have inferred that in Homer the manslayer pays a fine or goes into exile, but has no purification to undergo. To me on the contrary there is nothing surprising in the omission of such mention; the Poet's hearers would understand as a matter of course that the fugitive manslayer seeking admission into a strange house must propitiate the incensed Gods by certain ceremonies, before he could become a member of the family. I am persuaded that when Homer says, "He came as Hiketes to Peleus," (Il. xvi. 574.) his contemporaries as immediately connected with the term the idea of a request for purification as the Athenians did with Æschylus's word Προστροπῆαιος, before explained. It were much to be wished indeed that the grounds were once well ascertained—grounds subsisting perhaps only in the feelings, but not the less sure on that account—in which those old Poets proceeded in their poetical creations, when out of innumerable features presented by the old legends of the various Grecian tribes they educed, by selection and elaboration of some in preference to others, that

<sup>6</sup> Schel. Il. xi. 518.—Lobeck, Aglaophamus, p. 300. 967. Hoeck Kreta, iii. p. 268.



well harmonized spectacle of one uniform race of heroes in all the simple grandeur of its life and doings. The wandering sons of chieftains who find admission into the houses of foreign chieftains, with whose sons they become the play-fellows and brothers-in-arms, are a very important feature of epic poetry in its delineation of that age; that the act of their admission was connected with certain circumstances and ceremonies was the less needful to be expressed, as none of these acts are narrated in detail.

53. Legends preserved by the clans of northern Greece, and stamped, as it seems to me, with evident marks of high antiquity, represent Ixion, the Phlegyan chieftain, leader of a clan as hostile to the Dorians as it was to the Pythian sanctuary, as the first example of an expiation from blood-guiltiness, but withal repaid by him with ingratitude. Ixion in slaying the father of his bride is the first among men that has shed kindred blood<sup>1</sup>. Then wild frenzy seizes him; he wanders like Cain, on whose forehead Jehovah has set a mark; none either of Gods or men will give him expiation<sup>2</sup>, until Jupiter himself at last takes compassion upon him and cleanses him. But unmindful of the sacred obligation which binds the expiated to the expiator<sup>3</sup>, he stretches forth his audacious arms even towards Juno. That Ixion's request for expiation forms the nucleus of the legend concerning him is indicated by the very name, which probably is identical with Hiketes<sup>4</sup>. Even Æschylus takes this view of the legend; he wrought it out in a Trilogy of which the "Perrhæbian Women" and "Ixion" were component parts; with what views and in what spirit, may be gathered from the Eumenides, in which Orestes is first addressed by Pallas

1. ἐμφύλιον αἷμα πρῶτιστος ἐπέμιξε θνατοῖς. Pindar. Pyth. II. 32.

2. Pherecydes, Fragm. 69.

3. Comp. Apollodor. III. 13, 3.

4. Ἰξίων from ἴκω, formed as Ἰασίων, Πεισίων, Πραξίων, Ἀξίων. The disappearance of the spiritus asper may be explained; compare ἴκταρ. For this very satisfactory explanation of the name we are indebted to Welcker, Trilogie, p. 549.





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b. *Difference between Hilasmoi and Katharmoi, viz. Ceremonies of Atonement or Expiation, and Ceremonies of Lustration or Purification.*

54. It is not possible to study attentively the religious ceremonies of Grecian Antiquity without arriving again and again at a persuasion that the worship of the dead, from which that of the Heroes, a more elevated class of the dead, takes its origin, is marked with an expiatory character, and is designed to propitiate the gloomy powers of the infernal world, standing in hostile opposition to life in general. Libations of water, mixtures with honey (*μελίκρατα*), which always express a purpose of propitiating (*μειλίσσειν*), victims cut in pieces and burnt, either most part or entire, are alike usual both in the worship of the dead and in rites of expiation; even the term applied to the sacrifices for the dead and the heroes (*ἐναγίζειν*<sup>1</sup>) points very plainly to atonement and purification.

On the other hand, it is in the highest degree probable that all expiatory ceremonies were originally designed for the deities of the Earth and Infernal World, the Chthonian and Katachthonian Powers, and *only this* world of Gods was deemed to require propitiation, at least in stated solemnities. It is true, hilastic ceremonies also occur in connexion with the Gods who bear rule in the bright upper world, the Gods of Olympus, as Jupiter and Apollo; but, upon closer inspection, it seems to me beyond doubt that it was to deities and dæmonic beings of the infernal world

1. To the theme, 'ΑΓ, Lat. SAC, SANCT, belong ἅγιος, ἀγίζω, ἐν—ἐφ—ἀφ—καθαγίζω, ἀγίτης, ἀγιστεύω, also ἄγος or ἄγος (fear, or that which is to be feared), ἐναγής, εὐαγής, παναγής, also ἄζω (formed from 'ΑΓ as ῥέζω from 'ΡΕΓ). As this ἄζειν denotes the reverence of that which is holy as well as dread of that which is wicked and polluting, so this double reference pervades all these words. Comp. Hanovii Exercit. Crit. p. 11.



that the propitiatory cultus properly and immediately appertained.

55. In the first place, as regards the often mentioned Zeus Meilichios, propitiatory Zeus: this Deity, in the cultus of the Attic gens Phytalidæ, stood in combination with Demeter; which circumstance of itself carries one to a Zeus Chthonios or Hades<sup>2</sup>. With this accords the circumstance that in the Attic cultus of Meilichian Zeus, the victims sacrificed were swine, the animals devoted to the Earth-Mother Demeter, and moreover as holocausts, just as was the practice in the service of Infernal Zeus<sup>3</sup>: in this way Xenophon on his return from Asia propitiated the God according to the rites of his country<sup>4</sup>. Moreover the sacrifices to Meilichian Zeus were held by night<sup>5</sup>; and at Olympia a Zeus Chthonios stood near to a Zeus Katharsios, which again closely coheres with Zeus Meilichios<sup>6</sup>. Near akin to the Meilichios is undoubtedly the Zeus Laphystios of the old Minyæ, to the cultus of which God the mythi concerning the family of Athamas and the Argonautic expedition are so closely attached, that it is only from it they can be derived and explained. Zeus Laphystios is a grasping and devouring Power, a god of vengeance and death<sup>7</sup>; his significant victim, the ram, often meets us again in offerings to the dead and in evocations of the Manes, even in the *Odyssey*. But what is most remarkable is, that the fleece of this propitiatory victim, which the terrified Phrixos had suspended in the grove of Ares in a distant land, must be fetched back as a holy thing, while at the same time

2. Pausan. i. 37, 2. 3. Comp. Plut. Thes. 12.

3. See on Virg. *Æn.* v. 253.

4. Anab. vii. 8, 4. 5. and Schneid. ad l.

5. Pausan. x. 38, 4.

6. Pausan. v. 14, 6.

7. The name *Λαφύστιος* is undoubtedly derived from the theme *ΛΑΒ*, *ΔΑΦ* (in *ἀμφιλαφής*, *λάφυρον*), as is also *λαβρός*, which in signification is much related. Thus both explanations of the ancients are admissible, "the devourer" and the "putter to flight."



the soul of Phrixos must be brought home by means of an Anaclesis<sup>1</sup>, a ceremony derived from ancient times: for this procedure evidently is most closely connected with the circumstance that in the Attic service of propitiation for blood the fleece of the ram sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios, the Διὸς κώδιον<sup>2</sup>, formed one of the principal means of atonement and purification (§. 59). Of a kindred nature was undoubtedly the cultus of Ζεὺς Φύξιος (Zeus of Flight), to whom Pausanias the Spartan sacrificed, in order to propitiate the soul of a girl whom he had killed.

56. In Jupiter, the different, nay opposite sides of the world meet together, as in a culminating point; although, as to the predominant conception, a God of Heaven and of the Upper World, he appears in many of the more obscure and mystical kinds of worship as an Infernal God, and therefore requiring to be propitiated. These opposite aspects recede further apart in *Apollo*, who is altogether a bright and pure God, manifesting himself in light and order. Yet even in the service of this God (not to mention the Hyacinthia) there is one festival of a clearly propitiatory character, the *Delphinia*, at which Theseus was said to have presented himself in the temple of Apollo Delphinios with *seven* boys and *seven* girls, in order to propitiate him; which ceremony was observed even in later times<sup>3</sup>: so in

1. Pindar. Pyth. iv. 159, and interpp.

2. The same Dioskodion also occurs in expiatory solemnities relative to the seasons; for this was the name given to the skin of the victim sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios, with which were performed the καθαρμοὶ (called Πομπαιᾶ or Διοπομπαιᾶ, Eustath. Od. xxii. p. 1935, 8. R.) at the end of Mæmacterion (the Month of Storms): these καθαρμοὶ plainly refer to the approaching storms of winter, which they were intended to propitiate. That the Διοσκώδια were also used in Scirophorion (at the time of the summer solstice), tallies with the circumstance that the worshippers who sacrificed to Zeus Actæus on Mount Pelion at the beginning of the canicular days, girded themselves with fresh fleeces of rams, (Dicæarch. Pelion). Here again are the old expiatory usages, by which Jupiter as God of the hot weather is to be propitiated. See the rest concerning the Διὸς κώδιον (on which Polemo wrote) in Lobeck, Aglaopham. p. 183 sq.

3. See esp. Plut. Thes. 18,





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where with shorn heads and black clothes they were to appease the children of Medea by penitential offerings and mournful hymns<sup>1</sup>: now these children of Medea are either themselves infernal powers, which is indicated by the name of one of them, Mermeros (the Dreadful<sup>2</sup>); or, to forbear at present a deeper investigation of the origin of this Mythus, at least they are infernal spirits and objects of alarm to the upper world. As the servitude of Apollo begins with the slaying of the Python, as the service of the fourteen Athenian children commences with the Delphinia; so the residence of the fourteen Corinthian children in the temple is a periodic servitude, and therefore called ἀπειναντισμός<sup>3</sup>. In Ægina the festival *Hydrophoria* was held during the Delphinian month, as it was at Athens in Anthesterion, the month appointed in the Attic Calendar for the worship of the dead. It may be more conveniently proved in detail upon some other occasion, that these Hydrophoria in Greece were generally vernal solemnities, at which water was poured into chasms, especially such as, according to the old legends, the earth-born brood of dragons proceeded from; the water was a mortuary and propitiatory offering for the death-gods overpowered by the energy of spring. On the one hand these water-pourings related, as one sees from the tenor of the legends, to the running off into these chasms of the unfertilising swamps left by the wintry torrents (ἄντλος,

1. Parmenisc. ap. Schol. Med. 273. Pausan. II. 3, 6. Philostrate. Her. 19, 14, Jætulicius in the Palatine Anthol. VII. 354.

2. In Apollodor. and Pausan. II. 3, 6. The hideous shape of a woman on the grave of these children, called Δεῖμα or Δειμώ, is probably the Μορμὴ γυνὴ Κορινθία of the Schol. Aristid. p. 18. Frommel. Those children and this Mormo kill little children.

3. Hence it seems very probable that Androgeos, Eurygyes, Minotauros, who are propitiated by the fourteen Attic boys, are obscured forms of the monster hostile to Apollo. The *tithes of men* were undoubtedly sent as a peace-offering to the Chthonian Dæmon overcome by Apollo. The Thessalians dedicated the like to Apollo Καταιβάτης, which I take to be, as Adolph Schöll (de Orig. Græci Dramatis, p. 59) has with great penetration remarked, the God descending into the infernal world.



πλημμυρίς): on the other hand the pouring of water into trenches was conceived as a bath for the dead, (χθόνιον λουτρόν, ἀπόνυμμα), and was in Greece a widely diffused ceremony of the worship paid to the dead. Now if these Hydrophoria came to be connected with the Delphinia, it is plain they must have belonged to the propitiatory ceremonies paid to the earth-dragon, which is said to have had its den in a cave of the Temple of Earth, in the low bottom of Delphi beside the source of the Styx<sup>4</sup>.

Thus, then, in the cultus of Apollo also it appears that the hilastic ceremonies of the Grecian religion were not originally addressed to the serene Olympian Gods of the upper world, but to dæmons belonging to a dark world and state of nature, repressed indeed, but still objects of terror.

Now as regards the customary expiation for blood, there can be no doubt that in this case the soul of the slain, which itself is now a Chthonian Dæmon, the resentment (the Erinyes) of this soul, and in fine the powers of the infernal world (Zeus Meilichios himself being one of them), are the beings to be propitiated<sup>5</sup>.

57. But if we enquire what, in the belief of the primeval times of Greece, were the *means of propitiation*, we shall find that the ceremonies of the various descriptions of cultus of which we have been speaking, taken in connexion with what we already know concerning the specific propitiation for blood, afford very complete information. Universally they are based upon the idea that the manslayer, nay in particular cases (as in the Theban Mythus of Menœceus) his whole race also, must atone for the guilt

4. It was this fountain (of which also Plutarch speaks, de Pyth. Or. 17), and not, as is commonly supposed, the Castalian, that the Pythian Dragon, guardian of the old Earth-Oracle, kept watch over. Here must have been the ζῆθεα ἀντρος ἀδαιεντος, Eurip. Phœn. 230. The fountain probably bore the name Delphusa, (Steph. Byz. s. v. Δελφοί), with reference to the guardian Delphine: from this also the name Delphi seems to be derived.

5. See especially Apollon. Argon. iv. 709. 714.



of blood with their own life. But the life is, so to speak, redeemed or bought off by vicarial substitution in various ways. And first by the servitude of the slayer. The slayer gives up himself, his liberty and free agency, as a satisfaction for the blood he has shed. Thus Cadmus serves Ares, as the father of the slain dragon, for a period of eight years: so Apollo, the same period, for the slaying of the Python. Apollo, as is now I suppose generally understood, serves the *Gods of the infernal world*, the unconquerable Hades (*Ἅδης*<sup>1</sup>) and Hecate of Pheræ: the original legend without doubt made the bright God, to whom the gloom of the subterranean world is an utter abomination, descend bodily into the realm of shades. This legend is known to the *Iliad*, but in a form already divested of much of its original significance, and transmitted to the Homeric age through the various remodellings it underwent in the heroic mythology. The great Hesiodic Poem, a composition formed out of very diversified materials, the *Eoiai*, gave the legend at great length in the *Katalogos* of the *Leucippidæ*<sup>2</sup>, connecting it with the mythi of *Æsculapius*; a process in which the original coherency of the religious legend was lost, but still the servitude in atonement for blood kept its place. As in so many other particulars, so in this also, Hercules bears a marked resemblance

1. In addition to what is noticed in my *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, p. 306, compare the poetical designation of Hecate, *Ἄδμητρου κόρη*, in Hesych. s. v. Hermes (Chthonios) as a God of Pheræ, also occurs in Callimach. Frag. 117. Bentr. The legends of Apollo's descent into Hades were used by Euhemerus after his fashion. Minuc. Felix C. 21, 2.

2. The following passages supply the most convenient materials for the construction of this portion of the *Ἡοῖαι*. Schol. Tzet. on Theog. 142. comp. with Apollod. III. 10, 3. Pausan. II. 26, 3. Schol. Eurip. Alcest. 1. Athenagor. Leg. 25, 7. p. 116. Oxf. comp. Servius on *Æn.* VII. 761. Perhaps also the verse in Plutarch Amator. 17. *Ἄδμητῳ πάρα θητεῦσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν*, of which Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 139. S. 383. P. belongs to this Poem. The *Katalogos* of the *Leucippidæ* was at variance with that of the *Koronis* concerning the extraction of *Æsculapius*. Hence the doubts of the former's genuineness, in Pausan. II. 265, 5. Comp. Schol. Pind. Pyth. III. 14.





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manner, may originally have had reference to the worship of the dead, since at Athens the ninth day after interment (*τὰ ἔνατα, novendialia*<sup>1</sup>) was a solemn day of expiation; and as the same usage was observed at Rome, it was probably of very ancient origin. One of the expanded forms of these Enata was the expiatory festival at Lemnos, at which offerings without fire were presented to the dead, and the island was considered impure and desecrated until on the ninth day a ship sent to Delos brought back pure fire; at that moment, as they expressed themselves, "new life" began in Lemnos<sup>2</sup>.

58. This is one of the ways in which the soul of the slain, which properly demands life for life, may be appeased; namely, by servitude. In this the Greeks saw an actual atonement; even Hercules (in Sophocles *Trach.* 258) is ἀγνός, set free by atonement, by the bondage he has submitted to; and the fearful malady, which according to a very ancient fiction had fallen upon him, departs from him in consequence<sup>3</sup>. The other mode consists in the substitution of a victim, symbolically denoting the surrender of the man's own life: a significance which resides in the very first origin of sacrifice, and which manifests itself with the greatest clearness in the sacrificial procedures used with oath-takings or covenants; in which the slaying and dismembering of the victim<sup>4</sup> has always been understood as a symbol of the fate which shall overtake the perjured. But in expiations for blood we find among the old Greeks the widely diffused rite whereby the *ram* represents the human being; as the goat among the Jews, so the ram among

1. *Τὰ ἔνατα*, often in the Oratt. See Schömann on Isæus, p. 219. Virg. *Geo.* iv. 544. *Æn.* v. 64, 762. Proclus on Timæus, p. 45. Thrice nine days was the duration of the Idæan funeral-feast of Jupiter in Crete, Porphy. *Vit. Pythag.* §. 17. The *ἔνατα* after death correspond with the Amphidromia after birth.

2. Welcker, *Prometh.* 247.

3. Apollodor. ii. 6, 2.

4. *Fœdus icere, ὄρκια τέμνειν.*



the Greeks and the kindred Italic races was the principal peace-offering. The very ancient Minyan legends concerning the Athamantidæ, which have been so profoundly investigated in recent times, turn entirely upon the human sacrifice demanded by the wrathful Zeus Laphystios, and the ram substituted in its place. A ram is the principal offering at all oracles of the dead<sup>5</sup>, the ceremonies of which closely agree with those of expiation for blood; their object usually was to pacify the souls beneath the earth. Black rams and sheep were the customary sacrifices to the dead in Greece<sup>6</sup>. Now it was a very ancient Roman usage, and as we are told upon the occasion, an Athenian usage also, that in a case of unintentional homicide (*si telum fugit magis quam jecit*) a ram, as a vicarial substitute for the head of the slain, was given (*aries subjiciebatur*)<sup>7</sup> to the Agnati or ἀγχιστεῖς, on whom the duty of avenging blood immediately devolved. This was one of the peace-offerings on the return of the homicide, which are denoted by the term ὀσιοῦσθαι, and are distinguished from the καθαίρεσθαι, the rites of purification<sup>8</sup>. “For the head of the slain,” say our

5. Odyss. x. 527. Pausan. i. 34, 3. ix. 39, 4.

6. A black ram at the funeral sacrifice of Pelops, Pausan. v. 13, 2. Black sheep, in Eurip. El. 92, 516. comp. 326. Black and white sheep were the Areopagitic peace offerings appointed by Epimenides, Diog. Laert. i. 110. In the Cretan Mysteries, which referred to Zeus Chthonios, black sheepskins were worn. A black lamb in Canidia's evocations of the dead, Horat. Sat. i. 8.

7. See Cicero Top. 17. Cincius and Antistius ap. Fest. s. v. *subici*, p. 265 and 267. Lindem. Servius ad Ecl. 4, 43, with Huschke's true emendation, *pro capite occisi agnatis ejus*, and ad Georg. iii. 387. Comp. Abegg *de Antiquiss. Rom. jure crimin.* p. 47.

8. In Demosth. c. Aristocr. p. 644. θῦσαι is plainly equivalent to ὀσιοῦσθαι and opposed to καθαίρεσθαι. Compare with it ἀφοσιοῦσθαι, to appease a person, to make atonement to a person. Plat. Euthyphr. p. 4. Phæd. p. 61. Isæus, Apollod. §. 38. Demosth. c. Euerg. p. 1161. To the ἀφοσιοῦσθαι of the dead belongs the ancient singular practice of ἀκρωτηριάζειν, μασχαλίσματα or ἀπάργματα of the corpse of the slain man, well enough known from Æschylus, Sophocles (El. 437. and Hermann), Apollonius, and the Grammarians. The leading of an army betwixt the slaughtered limbs of victims occurs as a Grecian custom, Apollod. iii. 13, 7, and Persian, Herod. vii. 39. That ὀσιοῦσθαι (Xen. Hell. iii. 3, 1. L. Dindorf.) and ἀφοσιοῦσθαι are also used of funeral solemnities, arises from the circumstance that there was at bottom of such solemnities an idea of expiation.



authorities; for which we would put, "the head of the slayer." For, as is shewn by the legends concerning the race of Athamas, which was preserved from the sacrificial death by the substitution of a ram, this animal as a sin-offering takes the place of man even in cases where there was no slain to be appeased. Besides, it would be very strange if the slain, whose Erinnys is the chief thing to be pacified, received a brute-victim as the vicarial representative of his own life. On the contrary it is clear the ram was given for the man's life, precisely as in the usage before explained the ransom paid over to the family of the slain, as the price of the slayer, represented the slayer. In the olden times both kinds of expiation coincided not only in the idea but also in the outward act; for cattle represented money, and therefore the man who expiated an act of bloodshed by the surrender and repurchase of his own person would at the same time bring together a certain number of rams and other victims as peace-offerings to the slain.

Here, I think, we have clearly ascertained the origin of the *πουνή*, *price of blood*, (afterwards *ὑποφόνια*) which occurs even in Homer. Although this consisted, as early as the Homeric age, in talents of gold, it is distinguished from every other species of indemnification and penalty (*τιμὴ*) by a peculiar term, *πουνή*. The *πουνή* of the slain man is his *Were*, his *Werigelt*, according to the expression of our German forefathers. Now it seems to me to accord but little with the spirit of the most ancient times to suppose that the blood-avenging family bartered with the slayer, and for a weight of gold, such as contented their rapacity, allowed him to remain in the land. Undoubtedly the desire of increased wealth may have early acted in this direction also; in more ancient times, after a simple and sincere manner, and without violence to the natural feelings; in an age possessed of more refined sentiments the Attic laws utterly





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dead, the Enchytristriæ, are actively engaged in this rite; they received the swine's blood in vessels and poured it over the culprit<sup>1</sup>. In this procedure the person to be purified stood on the fleece of the ram sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios<sup>2</sup>, that primeval symbol of expiation and redemption from divine wrath (§. 55.); the washed-off blood was then collected in the fleece and from that poured out<sup>3</sup>. The fundamental idea on which all this rests is the endeavour to bring the individual, to whom the expiation is administered, into the closest possible contact and most intimate connexion with the victim which is his vicarial representative; for the same reason the parties concerned in oaths and covenants solemnized with sacrifice stood on the limbs of the dismembered victim, the type of what their fate should be if they violated their pledges, dipped their hands into the bason of blood, and perhaps, when the oath was peculiarly terrific, tasted a little of the blood.

Besides the blood, water was used, which as a means of purification also entered into the ordinary sacrifices to the dead (§. 56.) It is Achelous, the mighty river, (whose name in fact denotes *water*), that purifies Alcmaeon from the stain of his mother's blood<sup>4</sup>; in the case of Orestes also the streams of water wherewith he was purified are often mentioned<sup>5</sup>; in particular, the oracle is said to have directed him to the seven rivers of Rhegium. The water with which the offender had been purified, called the *Aponimma*, was poured out in some appointed spot<sup>6</sup>; from the lustral water so poured

1. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 301. comp. Lobeck Aglappham. p. 682.

2. Hesych. s. v. Διὸς κώδιον Phrynichus in Bekker Anecd. p. 7.

3. This is evidently the meaning of ἀποδιομπεῖσθαι as a rite of κάθαρσις. See Timæus Lex. Plat. s. v. and Ruhnken *ad l.* Phrynich. s. v. in Bekker, Anecd. p. 7. Of the passages from Plato, Legg. ix. 877 refers specially to the expiation for blood; and the Scholl. on the Cratylus and on Legg. ix. p. 120, 14, Bekk. appropriate the ἀποδιομπήσεις to the cultus of Ζεὺς προστρόπαιος.

4. Apollod. iii. 7, 5. comp. 15, 8. 5. Eum. 430. comp. Pausan. ii. 31, 11.

6. Athen. ix. p. 410. Eustath. on Od. i. 137. p. 1401. R., comp. Apollon. Rh. iv. 710.



out (λύματα), after Orestes's purification at Trœzen, a laurel, we are told, sprung up: a miracle which some have thought to find pictured on an ancient vase<sup>7</sup>.

60. Now that we have thus distinguished between the two ceremonies, the belief on which they are grounded presents itself clearly to view and in a connection which is interwoven in the fundamental ideas of all Grecian religion.

The beings to be propitiated are the Powers of the infernal world, the *Chthonian divinities*, the Erinnyes, the Manes of the slain.

*Jupiter* presides over the whole: he is both a celestial and also a Chthonian God. As Meilichios he must be propitiated. He becomes a purifying God, Katharsios, partly as he is an incensed Meilichios, partly as God of the house and of such as come to it in the character of suppliants (Zeus Herkeios, Ephestios, Xenios, Hikesios<sup>8</sup>). In Solon's Laws also Jupiter, as a God of solemn oaths and covenants, was named Hikesios, Katharsios, and Exakesterios<sup>9</sup>. As protector and receiver of Prostropæi he is himself named Προστρόπαιος<sup>10</sup>.

But after all, the proper God of purification, according to the ancient institution of Themis, is Phœbus-Apollo, the radiant God, who teaches to overcome the terrors of a dark world by heroic strife or rites of averruncation; he, whose festivals in all parts of Greece are connected with purifications of men and countries; who in the mythi belonging to his worship himself submits to expiation and purification;

7. Laborde, *Vases de Lamberg*, pl. 14.

8. Comp. Herodot. i. 44.

9. Pollux VIII. 142. comp. Eur. Herc. F. 925.

10. As προστρόπαιος, therefore, denotes both him who προστρέπεται, and him to whom a person προστρέπεται; so the words formed from ἴκω have the same twofold signification. Not only the suppliants are ἰκέται, ἰκτορες (hence ἰκτορεύειν Sophocle. ap. Hesych.) ἀφίκτορες, but Jupiter also is ἰκτωρ, or ἰκτηρ, ἀφίκτωρ, Æsch. Suppl. i. 474. Hence I explain Eumen. 118. *My enemies have found προσίκτορας*, i. e. Gods who protect them as προσίκτορας. Moschion (ap. Arsen. p. 363. Walz.) calls the staff of the hiketes borne by Orestes, προσίκτην θάλλον.



whose ancient pæans, or religious hymns, were originally without doubt propitiatory chaunts. He exterminates the monster, the swarming brood of dragons sent up by the powers of the earth and subterranean world in their wrath because of ancient guilt<sup>1</sup>, banishes contagion and pestilence, the hostile operations of the same Gods, and brings order, light and welfare in their stead. To him his priestess justly leaves it to purify his own temple; as Iatromantis and portent-seer he can expound the presence of these terrific beings and do away the curse which evoked them; as Katharsios he can remove the pollution they have occasioned, vv. 62, 63; a combination of notions which, although differently expressed in the earlier poetry, is as old as the Apollinary cultus itself.

61. We do not mean to deny that other divinities also administer purification, of which probably Hermes and Athena are instances in the old heroic poem, the *Danais*<sup>2</sup>: but we maintain that in no other cultus does purification form so momentous a feature, so integral a portion of the religious system, as in that of Apollo. Achilles makes a voyage from Troy to Lesbos, as Arctinus (in Proclus) relates, in order to be purified, at a distance from the camp, in the temple of Apollo, Diana and Latona, from the blood of a fellow-combatant. It is a fine trait in the legend of Hercules, that the hero, when seeking to be purified from the blood of Iphitus, after being refused his request by the Pylian Neleus is entertained and actually purified by Deiphobus of Amyclæ<sup>3</sup>. Here Amyclæ, as sacred to Apollo, is clearly indicated as the place where from the time of the heroes a suppliant for purification found a peculiarly kind reception.

1. Comp. on Eumen. 62. the beautiful passage Suppl. 265. concerning Apis. Apis (i. e. Ἦπις, Ἠπιος) is the son of Apollo; he comes from northern Greece and purifies Peloponnese. As he, an *ιατρόμαντις*, exterminates the *κνώδαλα βροτοφθόρα*, the *δράκων ὄμιλος*, so the Pythoness will have Apollo, as Iatromantis, to destroy those *κνώδαλα*, the Erinnyes.

2. Apollod. II. 1, 5.

3. Apollod. II. 6, 2.





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real historical facts. However, the glory of having cleansed Orestes from his guilt was claimed by several other temples, especially by such as were consecrated to Apollo; in the same way as the tale of his persecution was repeated in different temples of the Erinnyes. Thus (1) Orestes is said to have spent the period of his exile among the Azani in *Parrhasia*, a district of Arcadia, and the natives derived the term *Oresteum* from his name<sup>1</sup>. In this district, which abounded in very ancient temples of the Earth-goddesses, there was shewn, as late as the time of Pausanias a temple to the mad Goddesses (*Maniæ*), not far from the site which Megalopolis subsequently occupied: here it was that Orestes was seized with madness, and in his delirium bit off one of his fingers, to which there was a monument erected (*Δακτύλου μνημα*): further on was a spot called *Ἄκη*, where the Goddesses are said to have presented themselves to him under the aspect of white deities, and had a temple, as *Eumenides*. It is related that Orestes offered *ἐναγίσματα* to the black Erinnyes, and *θυσίαι* to the white. Sacrifices were offered to the Charites in conjunction with these deities. (2) Upon the overthrow of Mycenæ by the Argives in Ol. 97, a portion of the Myceneans fled to *Cerynea* in Achaia, and, as usually happens in such cases, carried with them their forms of worship and the legends connected with them. Hence arose the report that in *Cerynea* there was a temple built and consecrated by Orestes to the *Eumenides*, who made every offender mad<sup>2</sup>: Orestes is said to have converted them from Erinnyes into *Eumenides* by holocausts of black sheep, as related in the legend transferred from Mycenæ to *Cerynea*<sup>3</sup>. (3) The rites of purification are said to have been performed upon Orestes at *Troexen* (celebrated as

1. Eurip. *Orest.* 1663. Tzetz. *Lyc.* 1374.

2. Paus. VII. 25, 4.

3. There is not a doubt that in the Schol. *Œd.* C. 42, instead of *ἐν Καρυνία*, the reading of the Cod. Laurent., and changed into *ἐν Καρυνία*, *ἐν Καρύα* (by the *σοφίστατος* Triclin.) we ought to read *Κερυνεία*.



a place of expiation for blood) by nine men in front of the temples of Apollo and Artemis<sup>4</sup>. (4) The inhabitants of *Rhegium*, who derived their origin partly from Chalcis and partly from Messenia, and called themselves sacred colonists of Apollo, also claimed for themselves and their seven rivers the honour of having performed the ceremony<sup>5</sup>.

These, and perhaps also the tradition that Argos, in the country of the Macedonian Orestæ, was founded by Orestes in the course of his wanderings<sup>6</sup>, were probably the legends which Æschylus had before him. No doubt the Greeks, in conveying their mythi to all parts of the ancient world, added to those legends fictions of various kinds, resting most of them upon mere etymology; for instance, the Cappadocian mountain Amanon was marked as the place of liberation from madness; Comana, as the spot where the hair was shorn, and so on<sup>7</sup>. Æschylus also goes upon the supposition of several acts of purification having been performed upon Orestes, the first and principal of them at Delphi, very shortly after the commission of the deed<sup>8</sup>; but there is an evident allusion to several in the passage,

Πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα  
οἴκοισι, καὶ βοτοῖσι καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις.

v. 429. Cf. 229. 275.

*Before* other temples, he says, because an unhallowed person was not admitted into the abodes of Gods or men.

4. Paus. II. 31, 7, 10. Cf. I. 22, 2.

5. The Rhegian legend is discussed by Fr. W. Schneidewin in a learned treatise, *Diana Phacelitis et Orestes apud Rheginos et Siculos*, Gott. 1832. From the Messenian colony the Rhegians derived the Cultus of the Orthic or Tauric Artemis; but this must even then have been connected in Laconia with the legend of Orestes in the form we find it subsequently.

6. The passages from Strabo and others may be found in Raoul-Rochette, *Hist. de l'Etablissement des Col. Gr.* V. II. p. 451.

7. Raoul-Roch. lb. IV. p. 399. There was however in Cappadocia a family of priests called *Orestiadæ*, as appears from an inscription found in the Catacombs of Thebes. *Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Literat.* V. II. 1.

8. Choeph. 1031. Eum. 272.



Hence Orestes' dwelling-place at Troezen stood in front of the temple of Apollo, and the trials for blood at Athens were held not *in*, but *near* the Delphinium, Prytaneum, &c. In the long interval of time which must be imagined between v. 225 and 226, Orestes visits even remote countries beyond the seas (77. 241.): probably the reference is to Rhegium, although the Rhegian legend places the arrival of Orestes after his Tauric wanderings. The Tauric voyage of Orestes, as also the return of Iphigenia with him, is entirely omitted by Æschylus, as foreign to the development of his plot: the manner in which Euripides and others connected it with the legend of the Areopagus is a question which does not fall within the compass of our present enquiry. But that a considerable period of time had elapsed between his sojourn at Delphi and arrival at Athens, our Poet himself intimates to his audience, where he says that besides the purifications and intercourse with mankind the very lapse of time must have removed all stain from Orestes (276).

63. A greater difficulty may appear to lie in the circumstance that, although the purification of Orestes restores him without spot or stain to the intercourse with men and Gods, it does not rid him of the *Erinnyes*, nor even diminish the bitterness of their resentment against him. This difficulty cannot perhaps be satisfactorily cleared up in any other way than by the distinction we have above drawn between expiation and purification for blood. Orestes is no longer a polluted person, and therefore no longer an outcast from society: he now appears internally also more tranquillized than at the conclusion of the *Choephoræ*; he has no stain of blood upon his hand or upon his conscience. But the resentment of his mother's manes, of the infernal powers, the *Erinnyes*, is not yet removed; it is for the Gods to rescue Orestes from that by a formal trial. Fundamentally, indeed, the two considerations, which Æschylus here sepa-





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C. COURTS FOR THE TRIAL OF HOMICIDE, AND THE  
JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

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*a. The Attic Courts and Tribunals.*

64. WE will begin this Section, as we did that on the Avenging of blood and pursuit of the bloodshedder, by giving a concise description of the institutions of *historical* times, with which we are better acquainted; and then go back to the more obscure regions of the *earlier* ages.

By Solon's Code the judicial cognizance in cases of blood was committed to two Boards or Colleges, the *Areopagus* and the *Ephetæ*. The Areopagus, or, more correctly speaking, the Council on the hill of Ares (*ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή*), consisted of such as had held the dignity of Archon, and whose conduct in that station had been irreproachable. According to Solon's regulation none but the rich could fill the office of Archon, and those only by election; but after the time of Aristides every Athenian was eligible to it by the falling of the lot. The Areopagus was intended for the supreme court in cases of homicide, being charged with the decision in actions for *wilful* murder (*φόνος ἐκούσιος* or *ἐκ προνοίας*), as also for malicious attempt to kill, by maiming, poison, and arson.

The Ephetæ were fifty-one men, above fifty years of age, of noble family (*ἀριστίνδην*) and eligible only on the ground of irreproachable character. They sat as a collective body in one or other of the four several courts of justice<sup>1</sup>. In

1. Hence they are called in Photius *περιούστες*. In Suidas, Zonaras and the Scholia on Dem. c. Aristocr. p. 98 R this expression, from a misconception of the abbreviation π', has been changed into *ὀγδοήκοντα ὄντες*.



cases of manslaughter they held their sittings at the Palladium; in cases of justifiable homicide, (such as killing another in self-defence, taking the life of an adulterer in vindication of family honour, killing a tyrant, a thief, or robber, and also manslaughter in the gymnastic games), they met at the Delphinium. Sometimes their sittings were held at the Prytaneum, where by a singular old custom judgment was passed on the instruments of murder in cases where the perpetrator of the act was either not forthcoming or not detected. Lastly, when a person who had gone into temporary exile for manslaughter was indicted for murder, they held trial upon him at Phreatto or Zea<sup>2</sup>. In this particular case the defendant pleaded his cause on board-ship, being prohibited from landing by the vengeance awaiting blood: if condemned, his ἀπειλαυτισμός was commuted to banishment for life (§. 44).

65. Now if it be asked why Solon committed the cognizance of wilful murder, and of the last specified kinds of homicide, to different Judges, we may first of all confidently answer thus much, that it was not because that separation had been customary in Greece from the earliest times. For not to take into account the very slight distinction that was made in the earlier times between wilful murder and manslaughter (§. 52), there is not a trace to be found in all Greece of such a separation of courts, and it must be admitted that in practice it would necessarily give rise to many inconveniences and circuitous procedures. The nature of the case as well as all historical analogy oblige us to assume that in the first instance, even in Attica, the same authorities (although perhaps at different tribunals) investigated the degree

2. These are undoubtedly identical. Phreatto was the name given to a spot of ground, ἑξέσθην τοῦ Περραιῶς (Helladius in Phot. Myriob. p. 535 Bek.); Zea was the most inland and northern of the three havens at the Peiræus, but so situated that at one spot it was separated from an outer bay only by a narrow tongue of land: it was on this the court of justice stood. See Stuart's or Kruse's plan, Pl. 111. §. 3. In Wachsmuth's Antiqq. 111. p. 320, a slight correction is needed.



of heinousness attaching to an act of blood, and determined whether it ought to be punished with death (which in the eye of the Greek was deemed nearly equivalent to exile for life), or whether it might be atoned for by temporary exile; in the latter case the criminal received expiation upon his return home. These last words contain the reason why the court of Ephetæ was separated from the Areopagus, and we need take but one step more to arrive at the conclusion that this separation could only have been brought about by Solon. It is namely this: The atonement for blood and purification of the bloodshedder came under the sacred law of Athens (the *ἱερὰ καὶ ὄσια*), which remained in the hands of the old nobility even after they had lost their political authority (the proofs of this will be given in the following Section on the Exegetæ): so that the administration of the rites of expiation could not be taken away from the old aristocracy of Athens, even when the constitution underwent in other respects a complete change. None but an aristocratic court was competent to grant permission of expiation for homicide, and to preside over the rites of expiation and cleansing from bloodguiltiness. Accordingly that court must have retained the right of decision in actions for manslaughter, in which the temporary flight was followed by expiation; and also in cases of justifiable homicide, in which the individual was not required to flee his country<sup>1</sup>, but was obliged to obtain purification from the stain of blood, at least in certain cases<sup>2</sup>. Moreover they continued to have the cognizance in cases where manslaughter was followed by wilful murder, it being then a question whether expiation were still admissible or not. And

1. He was said to commit the act *νηποιεῖ*, Dem. c. Aristocr. p. 637, 639. Killing of a *μοίχος* was deemed *νόφονος*: Lys. de Eratosth. Cæd. §. 30.

2. This is seen quite clearly by comparing the law in Demosthenes with Plato, Legg. IX. p. 865: *εἴ τις ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ ἄθλοις δημοσίοις ἀκων—ἀπέκτεινε—καθαρθεῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθέντα περὶ τούτων νόμον ἔστω καθαρός*. This applies to the cases in which vengeance was not allowed. On the other cases Plato's expression (IX. p. 874) is not quite definite.





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These circumstances also lead us to infer the early existence of a Senate at Athens, invested, like the Spartan Gerusia, with the jurisdiction in cases of homicide, and encroaching upon the office of avenging blood, as far as the views of the age, resting as they did upon a religious basis, allowed such interference. This council, which also watched over the preservation of morals and good order, and no doubt had in the first instance great administrative power, obtained from its cognizance of actions for homicide the title of Ephetæ (*Ἐφέται*)<sup>1</sup>, a term more correctly derivable from the granting a license to avenge blood, than from the applying for the license, inasmuch as every thing in this branch of the judicature depended upon the extent of vengeance granted to the relatives of the deceased upon the shedder of his blood. This title occurred so frequently in Draco's laws, that it gave rise to the opinion which we find in Pollux, that Draco instituted the college of Ephetæ.

On these grounds we deem the separation into different courts to be of later date and to have arisen out of the political views of after-times. On the other hand, we hold the distinction of different tribunals for different degrees and kinds of crimes and guilt to be of very ancient origin, inasmuch as the choice of these tribunals is connected with religious notions, which existed at the period of the very formation of the Grecian cultus, but afterwards sank into obscurity and oblivion. It is worth while to pursue this subject somewhat further.

67. The worst cases of murder were tried on the *hill of Ares*, whose temple was at the top, and that of the Erinnyes at the bottom of the hill (*infr.* §. 88). Judgment was there

1. *Ἐφέται, οἱ ἐφιασι τῷ ἀνδροφόνῳ τὸν ἀνδρηλάτην.* The explanation of *ἐφέτης* as 'a person appealed to' is not authorized by the instances of nouns in *-της* in a passive sense; as *ἀειγενέται θεοὶ* in Homer, *γενέτης* and *γενέτειρα* in the sense of son and daughter, in the Tragedians and Euphorion, *κασσοδέτας* in Pindar, *ἐνδυτήρ πέπλος* in Sophocles, &c.



held on such as had broken the peace by maliciously murdering a citizen<sup>2</sup>. The special resentment of the deceased, the Erinnys (§. 77), rested upon such an one; and to that Erinnys he was abandoned, if his guilt were clearly proved. In the Areopagus, says Euripides, the murderer must render justice to the nameless Goddesses (δίκην παρασχεῖν ταῖς ἀνόμοις θεαῖς, Iph. T. 951). The accused took oath by these Goddesses in particular<sup>3</sup>. If acquitted, he sacrificed to them in their neighbouring temple as appeased divinities<sup>4</sup>; but if condemned, he was abandoned to the Erinnys which he had invoked, and to the God of war whom he had roused. This connexion of the cultus of the Erinnyes with the court of Areopagus is also exhibited in the story of Epimenides, in which it is related that this Cretan priest, having to expiate the pollution brought upon the country by former acts of blood, let loose some black and some white sheep from the Areopagus, and sacrificed them on the spot, whither they had run, to the divinities who seemed to desire the sacrifice (τῷ προσήκουτι θεῷ), and at the same time built a temple to the venerable Goddesses or Erinnyes. In reality, however, their temple was founded unquestionably at an earlier date<sup>5</sup>. The manner in which this relation rests upon the earliest history of the Grecian cultus, I will endeavour to shew in the next section.

Actions for manslaughter were tried at the *Palladium*. The term Palladium does not mean any statue of the Goddess Pallas-Athena<sup>6</sup>, but is applied exclusively to a definite

2. Such acts were supposed to be done at the instigation of Ἄρης ἐμφύλιος, or Ἄρης τιθασός, as Æschylus calls it, Eum. 335.

3. Dinarch. c. Demosth. §. 47.

4. Paus. 1. 28, 6.

5. Lobon of Argos in Diogen. Laert. 1. 10, 112. To Epimenides is also ascribed the erection of the pillars to Ὑβρις and Ἀναιδεία on the Areopagus. Clemens Alex. Protrept. p. 22 Potter.

6. The statue of Athena Polias in the citadel was never called by the Athenians themselves Παλλάδιον, but τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν πόλει, τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος, τὸ παλαιὸν βρίτας, and in the Plynteria (the holy washing) τὸ ἕδος (τὸ ἀρχαῖον) τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Vid. Xen. Hell. 1. 1, 12. Plut. Alcib. 34. Hesych. s. v. Πραξιεργίδαι.



representation of the belligerent Pallas, to a particular form which had been made typical of that Goddess at an early date. The origin of the term must therefore be sought in the meaning of the name Pallas itself. By Palladia we must always understand figures of Pallas in a standing posture, with the Ægis, and with shield and spear advanced. At one period the Greek legends placed all such statues of Pallas in connexion with Troy: every town that possessed an old wooden image of the above description boasted of having had it from Troy, and the same origin was claimed for the Attic one in legends of various kinds, all of them however agreeing on this one point<sup>1</sup>. This Athenian Palladium was in the southern quarter of the city<sup>2</sup>, and the care of it was entrusted to the old Attic family of the Buzygi, as appears from an old legend and an inscription of later date<sup>3</sup>, coinciding with each other. Now this Trojan Palladium is connected with a tradition, first made known by Apollodorus, but unquestionably of early origin, that the Goddess Athena having killed one of her playmates, Pallas, at exercise of arms, made the Palladium in memory of her. Moreover this Trojan Palladium, (which was probably quite distinct from the statue in the citadel of Ilium, this latter being described by Homer as in a sitting posture), is said to have been placed on the hill of *Ate*<sup>4</sup>, where the abode of Cassandra was situated<sup>5</sup>: the reason for this was, because the statue owed its origin to Ate or a temporary derangement of mind. Little as this part of the mythi about Pallas has hitherto been solved, thus much at least is clear, that the Palladia in general were connected with the notion of homicide committed without

On the other hand the image in Ilium was called τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος, ὃ Παλλάδιον καλοῦσι, Appian Mithrid. c. 53. (ἔδος means here generally an ἰδρυμένον, a consecrated image as in Corp. Inscr. 491.) The image of Pallas Alalcomene is also called a Palladium.

1. Creuzer Symbol. vol. 11. p. 690 sqq. (German.)

2. Plut. Thes. 27.

3. Corp. Inscr. n. 491.

4. Apollod. 111. 12, 3.

5. Lycophr. 29.





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especially that on the axe of the Dipolia. The reason for this is perhaps to be sought in local circumstances.

The reason why the fourth, formerly the fifth, tribunal of the Ephetic Court was in Phreatto, at the Peiræus, is evident.

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68. In the poetical treatment of an ancient legend we do not require a literal agreement with a real historical state of things; the main point is that the fundamental idea be intrinsically true. In the present instance, however, any representation of the Areopagus differing from the existing state of that institution would instantly have struck every well-informed spectator, and so have materially counteracted the Poet's design of influencing his own generation and supporting this Court of Judicature against its adversaries. This would have been the case for instance, had the Areopagus been wholly an institution of Solon's, which it appears from the preceding elucidations it was not. It is true the Ephetæ, as the Eupatridic Court of expiation, strike us on the one hand rather as a remnant of the ancient Gerusia, which formerly gave judgment in all cases of homicide; but then on the other hand the Areopagus had preserved the union of Council and Court of Justice, which characterized it upon its first institution; and as it still maintained its credit, whilst the Ephetic Courts sank more and more in the public estimation, it was natural that all those old legends and mythi should be made to redound solely to the glory of the Areopagus.

Thus it appears that the legend of Orestes' acquittal by the Areopagus could not possibly be a matter of surprise to

of massacres (*σφαγεῖς*) and insurrections were tried in the Prytaneum before the βασιλεῖς (the φυλοβασιλεῖς, I suppose, who may have been identical with the Prytanes in the first instance, and subsequently had to do with the sham-trials at the Prytaneum.)



any Athenian at all conversant with history. The opinion of a modern Scholar who supposes it to have been an invention of Æschylus is perfectly untenable: besides, Hellanicus, a contemporary of Æschylus, relates that this Court awarded sentence not only to Orestes, but to many other heroes and even Gods before him. These legends Æschylus lets quite alone; the mythus of Orestes shone forth so pre-eminently, that it was even allowable, in legendary fashion, to connect the institution of the Court with this sentence, the first pronounced by it. To have assumed the Areopagus as already existing would scarcely have accorded with Æschylus's plan; he was obliged to make his poem serve for a record of the institution of this sacred and divine tribunal. Neither did his views allow him to represent the twelve Gods as the first Judges in this Court, as Demosthenes relates of them<sup>1</sup>; the citizens of Athens were to be the first invested with that important office, and must receive it from the hands of Athena. As is usually the case, there were numerous legends on this point at variance one with another; the Argives also claimed for an ancient tribunal in their city the honour of Orestes' trial (Eur. Or. 862. c. Scholl.). Nevertheless, the reputation of the Areopagus among the Greeks appears upon the whole to have had the precedence, and established the priority of the Attic legend.

69. The only circumstance one might be apt to wonder at is that, although all the above-mentioned tribunals for the trial of blood were of very early origin, the legend of Orestes was attached to the Areopagus and not to the Delphinium. The cases tried before this latter tribunal were "when a person pleaded justifiable homicide," and Demosthenes cites Orestes himself as an instance in point. Nevertheless, under the more ancient view of the case, which settles the question of cognizance not so much according to rubrics of law, as by

1. c. Aristocr. p. 641. 644.



taking into account the internal aspect of the thing done and the mental state of the doer, the Areopagus might appear more competent to decide the matter than the Delphinium. Or, to speak in the sense of earlier times, the Hill of Ares would seem a fitter tribunal than the temple of the Delphinian Apollo. The criminal brought before this tribunal is not one conscience-stricken by his act of blood; no Erinnys harasses him. For how can an Erinnys be ascribed to the nocturnal robber, or to the adulterer, seized in the very act of their offence and slain upon the spot? But Clytæmnestra, though lawfully put to death by the avenger of blood, is a mother, and as such has her Erinnyes; and there lies the significance of the Areopagus in this instance. It decides between these vengeful Goddesses and the object of their resentment; and this is proved, as we have above seen, by the locality itself, and the solemnities observed in the proceedings before the Areopagus.

*b. On the judicial Proceedings in Æschylus.*

70. Æschylus makes his Areopagus as like as possible to what it was in historical times; and whilst on the one hand the entire spectacle is marvellous and superhuman, the actors in the drama being Gods, on the other hand the whole procedure is conducted so much after the due form, and upon civic laws and customs, that the Poet's drift is at once evident, and palpably no other than that of exhibiting the existing constitution in the light of a divine providence. It is therefore worth while to take a closer view of these proceedings and of the formalities observed in them.

At Athens, and nearly everywhere in the ancient world, every Court consisting of a large body of Judges had its president (*ἡγέμων*) to investigate the cases presented to it, upon whose sanction they were brought into court. In actions





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the challenged by the challenging party; for instance, the head of his child, or such and such Gods. This is called *giving an ὄρκος*. In the next place it must be kept in view, that an oath of this kind, demanded of, or tendered to one party by the other, forms part of the evidence. For that evidence required a challenge (*πρόκλησις*) and the acceptation of it: both parties must be agreed to rest the decision of the suit on the oath of one of the two parties, before the oath could be admitted and stand as substantive evidence. The agreement and administration of the oath might take place either at the anacrisis, or in court, or quite independently of the trial; only in the latter case, the transaction had to be duly proved before it could influence the verdict. The meaning then of what the Erinnyes say is this: 'Orestes will scarcely allow us to name the oath which he shall take to attest his innocence, nor will he readily consent to let the verdict depend upon our swearing to his guilt by whatever oath he shall please to propose to us:' and they are perfectly right in their opinion. But Minerva very properly refuses to admit such a mode of decision in this case, as being a mere show of the right, by which she will not allow the wrong to gain the day.—It is evident, partly from these expressions and partly from other circumstances, that the question here is not about the oath regularly administered, independently of any proclisis, in the Court of Areopagus. This was quite a distinct thing from the other oath. On these occasions the plaintiff and defendant, standing over the dissected members (*ἐπὶ τομῶν*) of a wild-boar, a ram, and a bullock, took oath to the truth and justice of their respective causes, and in case of perjury denounced most awful curses upon themselves and all that belonged to them (*διωμοσία κατ' ἐξωλείας*)<sup>1</sup>. This oath was an indispensable preliminary in such prosecutions, and if Æschylus makes no mention of it, it is because it had no specific significance in

1, Cf. Luzac, *Exercitatt. Acad. Spec.* III. p. 175.



this particular case; just as the oath of the Areopagites to do strict justice is frequently referred to in the course of the play<sup>2</sup>, but is not actually administered in the theatre. On the other hand the *πρόκλησις*, or *provocatio ad jusjurandum* here in question, is opposed to the simple straightforward course of law, the Euthydia (*εὐθεία δίκη*, 411); for although the Euthydia is usually opposed to an exception or counter-charge, put in for the purpose of preventing the bill from being sent into court (*παραγραφή, διαμαρτυρία, ἀντιγραφή*), the term may very well be used in a wider sense, as opposed to the diversion of law from its straightforward course by a proclisis: of which indeed the very passage before us furnishes a proof.

72. Thereupon Athena convenes the Jury, 'the worthiest of her people' (*ἀστῶν τὰ βέλτατα*, v. 465)<sup>3</sup>, whom she intends in the sequel to invest in solemn form with the new office of Areopagites. The number of these men we have above settled at twelve (δ. 9); and it is not improbable that the council of the Areopagus really consisted in the first instance of that number of members<sup>4</sup>.

Athena then *introduces* the suit (*εἰσάγει*, 550, 552) as president of the court she is also *εἰσαγωγεύς*. The parties plead against each other in short and plain sentences; long speeches being against the usage of the Areopagus as well as contrary to the taste of our Poet. The only one who speaks at all at length is Apollo, and in his case it is very allowable, since he is not only advocate for Orestes, but also Exegetes, of which office I shall speak presently: as such,

2. Cf. vv. 461. 650. 680.

3. *Τὰ βέλτατα*, in a political sense, must be compared with Herodotus's *τὰ πρῶτα*. It is equivalent to the *βέλτιστοι* of Xenophon.

4. Perhaps the following conjectures may be deserving of notice. We assume that the earliest Bule, elected from the first Phyle, consisted of *twelve*. Then all four Phylæ were represented, thus giving *forty-eight* members, of whom *four* Phylasileis acted as Prytanes of the Bule: the King himself being reckoned gives *forty-nine*. The transfer of that number to the ten Phylæ gave rise to the *fifty-one* Ephetæ, in the same manner as fifty were formed out of *forty-eight* Naucrariæ. Cf. Photius s. v. *ναυκραρία*.



he expounds the nature of justifiable homicide as well as the other exculpatory circumstances to the clear comprehension of the Judges.

After the parties have done pleading, Athena fulfils the promise she had made (v. 462) by announcing the institution of the court of Areopagus (the *θεσμός*, 462, 651). The answer to the question, why this ceremony is deferred till after the pleading, is this. The Judges had hitherto listened to the dispute, like the rest of the assembled multitude, and had probably formed their own decision upon the case, but not in a judicial capacity: they are now to give their votes after serious deliberation, with a strict observance of their oath and a full sense of the importance of their office. The introduction, therefore, of the ceremony of inauguration is quite appropriate at this stage of the action. It is the central point of the composition as a political drama, in which aspect it has been above considered (§. 35 ff.).

73. We come next to the balloting which follows the inaugural address. Unless we have a clear comprehension of the manner in which this ceremony is conducted, and make an accurate distinction between two points in the action, there will be some danger of our getting a very confused notion of the whole proceeding. For nothing else assuredly but confused and ridiculous is the notion entertained by very many, that after Minerva has thrown in her ballot for Orestes, and not till then, the votes are counted and found equal, and that Orestes is acquitted on the score of this equality. The very idea of the *Calculus Minervæ*, so often mentioned by the ancients, is neither more nor less than this: *the votes are equal*, a white *ψῆφος* (for acquittal) is conceived to be added<sup>1</sup>; the accused is *imagined* to have the majority.

1. From the verdict returned for Orestes by the Areopagus Euripides deduces the principle, that in *ισοψηφία* the defendant gains the cause (El. 1277. Iph. T. 1482), and in this sense the *ψῆφος* *Ἀθηνᾶς* is often mentioned by the later orators. In the Scholia on Aristid. Panath, p. 108, 7. Dind. it is stated that the twelve Gods sat as Judges in the Areopagus, and that Athena gave the thirteenth vote.





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## D. EXEGESIS OF THE JUS SACRUM.

74. WE have still to define the nature of the office discharged by Apollo in this suit.

The Exegesis at Athens applied wholly to the *unwritten Law*, the precedents and usages handed down to posterity by oral tradition. Notwithstanding the great extension given to the written law at Athens, partly by the legislature of particular epochs, and partly by the continual additions made to it, there was still a great deal left to oral tradition with respect to religious rites and the duties to be paid to the dead, to which belonged also the avenging of blood. Now such persons as were in possession of superior information on these points, and could accurately define the right and wrong in cases of that class, were called ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων, τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων, (Exegetæ of the customs of the land, the sacred and sanctioned usages, *Interpretes religionis*.) Their office was, ἐξηγεῖσθαι, to expound this Law, *de jure sacro respondere*.

For instance, the Exegetes would be asked if a person were bound to contribute to the interment of such and such an one (Isæus de Ciron. Hæred. §. 39); and so in all cases where a person was apprehensive of omitting any honour due to the dead (Harpocr. s. v. ἐξηγητής). He was consulted when it was not known in what way the death of a slave ought to be avenged upon the author of it (Plat. Euthyph. p. 4). In such cases the Exegetæ pointed out the lawful course and gave wholesome advice. (ἐξηγοῦνται τὰ νόμιμα, παραινοῦσιν τὰ σύμφορα, Dem. c. Euerget. p. 1160.) This office of the Exegetæ clearly shews how closely the law of blood was connected at Athens with



religious rites and ordinances. Even the Areopagus had unwritten laws in its keeping (ἄγραφα νόμιμα, Dem. c. Aristocr. p. 646), although it was a fundamental principle in the jurisdiction of the Attic courts to admit none but written or statute law, and charge the right use of it upon the conscience of the Judges.

75. The Exegesis presupposes oral precepts, which in the earlier times can scarcely have been any thing else than family tradition, similar to that on which the Etruscan discipline was conducted, only that the latter was a far more laborious and extensive study than the *jus sacrum* of the Athenians. This custom of family tradition existed every where among the ancients, especially in noble families; and accordingly we find that at Athens the Eupatridæ were in the first instance the Exegetæ of the sacred law (Plut. Thes. 25); nay, even in the Roman period there were Eupatridic Exegetæ (ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν ἐξηγηταί, Corp. Inscr. n. 765). The Eupatridæ were no association or body, and it is difficult to say by whom they were nominated; perhaps by the Ephetæ elected from the old families: at all events the Ephetæ were closely connected with that ancient court. As the latter body had the power of sanctioning the expiation of blood, so the superintendence of its performance devolved upon the former (Tim. Lex. s. v. ἐξηγηταί). Hence Dorotheus, in his work on "The Hereditary Usages of the Eupatridæ," treated of the purification of suppliants, that is, homicides who had made atonement for blood<sup>1</sup>. The principal points upon which this Exegesis of the Eupatridic families turned, were the burial of the dead and the law of blood;

1. In giving this title to the work I have assumed that the reading ἐν τοῖς τῶν ΕΥΠΑΤΡΙΔΩΝ (for ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΔΩΝ) πατρίοις in Athenæus ix. 410, a, will be deemed more probable than the emendation ΦΥΤΑΛΙΔΩΝ proposed by Lobeck. For although the Phytalidæ, according to the legend of Theseus, also had the superintendence of purifications, their πάτρια could scarcely have furnished matter enough for a separate work.



whereas that of the sacerdotal families had to do rather with the particular services over which they presided. Thus the Eleusinian Eumolpidæ exercised an Exegesis of unwritten customs<sup>1</sup>, which seems to have been partly transferred by them to other hands<sup>2</sup>, and the principles of which were no doubt contained in the work on the "Traditional Customs of the Eumolpidæ" published in the time of Cicero<sup>3</sup>. The other sacerdotal families at Eleusis also had the Exegetic office in certain cases<sup>4</sup>.

76. If in this way every religious service had its own peculiar rites requiring for their performance a certain degree of information, which might be handed down by Exegesis, this was more particularly the case with the cultus of Apollo; inasmuch as it principally involved the rites of atonement and purification. As Athens derived the conditions of atonement for blood from the decrees of the Pythian God, so also the *three Exegetæ*, who presided at Athens over the purification of blood-guilty persons, were elected, or at least their election was ratified, by the Delphic Oracle (*πυθόχρηστοι*, Timæus). The office of Exegesis is quite as much Apollo's property as that of prophecy. Plato in his ideal state will have no other Exegetes consulted respecting the erection of temples and the founding of the cultus of Gods, of heroes, and of the dead, than the national God, Apollo of Delphi (Polit. iv. p. 427). But in his practical state he would have Exegetæ elected by the individual tribes, with the sanction and concurrence of the Delphian God, to expound the sacred law derived from Delphi (Legg. vi. p. 759), and to define the religious rites (Il. vi. p. 775. viii. p. 828. xii. p. 958), but especially to preside over all ceremonies of atonement and purification<sup>5</sup>.

1. Lys. adv. Andoc. §. 10.

2. ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν Plut. x. Orat. 12, p. 256 sqq. Corp. Inscr. n. 392.

3. Cf. Varro de L. L. V. §. 98.

4. Andoc. de Myst. §. 115 sq.

5. Legg. viii. p. 845. ix. p. 865. 871, 873. xi. p. 916. Cf. Ruhnken ad Timæum,





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### III. RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW.

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#### A. THE ERINNYES.

##### *a. Meaning of the Name, and Mythic conception of the Erinnyes.*

77. IN the Arcadian dialect, which undoubtedly retained many archaisms, the word ἐρινύειν, we are told, signified *to be wroth*<sup>1</sup>. But the term was certainly never used in so general a sense in the Greek language,—a language in which, the further we trace it up, the more we find of intuitive distinctness of expression for all motions, as well mental as corporeal. It will be better to give at once an accurate definition of the term ἐριννύς, or more correctly ἐρινύς<sup>2</sup>: it is the feeling of *deep offence, of bitter displeasure*, when sacred rights belonging to us are impiously violated by persons who ought most to have respected them. The earliest Greek Poets, in whom we find the idea in its most cultivated development, attribute Erinnyes more especially to the father, mother, and elder brother; these in particular entertain such feelings of resentment upon the violation of pious duties claimed by them as their natural right; for instance, when they meet with ill-treatment, or even when due respect is not paid them<sup>3</sup>. But the poor man, the beggar as well as the suppliant, being from his situation entitled to a hospitable reception in more wealthy families, if instead of that he

1. Paus. VIII. 25. 4. Etym. M. p. 374. 1.

2. Herm. ad Antigon. Ed. 3tia. Præf. p. XIX. sqq.

3. Vid. Il. XI. 204. XXI. 412. Od. XI. 279.



meet with insolent treatment, also has his Erinnyes; a trait exhibiting the humanity of the ancient Greeks in the most pleasing point of view<sup>4</sup>. Afterwards the term was used in a more restricted signification; parricide more especially calls forth an Erinnyes, and Æschylus also attributes one to the heinous crime of a man's neglecting his duty as avenger of blood<sup>5</sup>. The sensible manifestation of the Erinnyes is *Ara*<sup>6</sup>: the long-suppressed feeling of deep offence bursts forth in sudden imprecations, frequently on apparently slight provocations. For instance old Œdipus, after long endurance of extreme impiety towards himself from his sons, at last curses them when he finds they have forcibly possessed themselves of the family jewels, and when they neglect to give him the honorary portion of the sacrifice which was due to him. The Erinnyes is indeed conceivable without *Ara*, inasmuch as it admits of being stifled in the heart; but still the two notions bear so close an affinity to each other, that Æschylus seems perfectly justified in designating the Erinnyes by the title of *'Αραι*<sup>7</sup>.

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78. ONE of the distinguishing features of that ancient period, in which the Greek and other Popular Religions originated together with the Poetry which sprung up from them, was that it contemplated all intellectual life, nay, life in general, as the unintermitted working, not of individual forces and causes, but of higher supernatural agents, and viewed man for the most part merely as the focus in which those active powers were centred and manifested. That feeling of painful mortification and just resentment, originally termed *ἐρινύς*, is not merely an instigation and arousing of certain

4. Od. xvii. 475.

5. Choeph. 281. cf. 396. 641.

6. ἀρήσασθαι Ἐρινύς. Od. ii. 135. Cf. ii. ix. 454. 571.

7. Eum. 395. Cf. Sept. 70. 707. 773. 962. Klausen, Theologum, Æsch. p. 49, sq.



leities to avenge and to punish, but is rather in itself of a livine nature and of miraculous energy; it is exhibited in a manner as an act of the existence of divine beings as eternal as the laws of nature out of which that resentful feeling arose. In order to perceive the perfect identity subsisting between the resentment of offended parents and the Goddess Erinnys we need only compare with one another the expressions: τῆς μητρὸς Ἐρινύας ἕξαποτίνοισ (Il. xxι. 412), and, ἄλγεα... ὅσα τε μητρὸς Ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσιν (Od. xi. 280), and also, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐριννύων τῶν Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν (Herodot. iv. 149)<sup>1</sup>.

The Erinnys atoned for and the Erinnys that brings the mischief are undoubtedly one and the same in these expressions, and both of them, with the same verbal construction, are attributed to the individuals offended and incensed; although we modern Grammarians, on whom the capital letter at the beginning of proper names imposes the hard task of deciding on the point, suppose the existence of a Goddess only under the latter mode of expression, and under the former merely conceive the idea of a human passion. For us a chasm has disunited what was originally one and inseparable; and the difference between the mythico-poetical, and the so-called rational or philosophical view of the Universe,—a difference which at first did not exist at all, and when it had arisen was little felt and heeded by the old Epic and Lyric Poets,—makes it imperative on us, forsooth, to look well to our small letters and capitals.

Such expressions as, “the Erinnyes of the Mother,—of Laius,” serve also to shew how little the original use of the word warrants the notion of a *definite number* of Erinnyes, and how unfair it is to require of Æschylus that he should bring but three on his stage. This number can no more be

1. Compare also Æsch. Choeph. 911. 1050. Soph. Œd. C. 1299. 1434. Paus. viii. 14. 2. ix. 5. 8.





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that the Homeric conception of a spectral sham-existence held by departed heroes in the nether world, without feeling and consciousness, was not the general popular belief.

Moreover, the darkness-haunting Erinnys appears several times in Homer<sup>1</sup> as bewildering the mind and thereby driving persons into misfortune, probably because such a derangement of the mind was frequently consequent upon the consciousness of having violated the most sacred duties<sup>2</sup>. So also they are often represented by the Tragedians in the general character of retributive and harmful beings, who inflict chastisement on the criminal in every way; as, by expulsion from human society, by the pangs of conscience, and by torments in the lower world. Indeed the conception of the Erinnyes as workers of mischief is so generalized, that even persons sent apparently for the destruction of the human race, like Helen and Medea, and usually called ἀλάστορες, are also denominated Erinnyes<sup>3</sup>; and even by Æschylus presentiments of misfortune and mischief-boding strains are termed "Dirges and Pæans of the Erinnyes<sup>4</sup>."

These remarks arose out of the definition of the term Erinnys in its original meaning, and were intended to draw attention to the fact, how greatly this signification, under the shape it has assumed in Mythology, loses in internal precision in proportion to its external expansion. But this individual signification of the term does not by any means lead to a train of conceptions connected with the Erinnyes, such as are mainly required for the understanding of our tragedy; for this purpose we must trace back to its source the idea of the Erinnyes as great and venerable Goddesses (Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, as they were called at Athens<sup>5</sup>), an idea

1. Il. xix. 87. Od. xv. 234.

2. Cf. the φρενῶν Ἐρινύς. Soph. Antig. 603.

3. Agam. 729. Soph. El. 1080. Eur. Orest. 1386. Med. 1256.

4. Ag. 631. 964. cf. 1090. 1562.

5. On Σεμναὶ, as proper name of the Furies at Athens, cf. Osann *ad Philemon*. p. 162., and Meineke *ad Menandr.* p. 346, with reference to Creuzer, *Symbol.* iv. p. 327.



founded on a more extensive system of views and thoughts, and manifested in legends and religious rites and ceremonies.

*b. Cultus of the Erinnyes and Eumenides or Semnæ.*

80. The widely diffused and noted religious service of the Erinnyes or Eumenides, or *the Venerable Goddesses*, as they were usually designated at Athens, can hardly be understood, if one comprise those beings under the class of divinities attached to individual circumstances of life or states of mind (as Ate, Eris, and many others). On the contrary there are a great many traces in the worship of those deities which shew that the Erinnyes, in the system of religions that had taken root in the different districts of Greece, were neither more nor less than a particular form of the great Goddesses who rule the Earth and the lower world and send up the blessings of the year, namely *Demeter* and *Cora*. This must be understood to mean that these deities, so mild and benign on the one hand, are withal—either, in mythological connexion, by means of adverse divinities, or, in more ethic conception, by means of human crimes and misdeeds which confound the very ordinances of nature—perverted into resentful, destructive deities. In very ancient times there existed in Greece a widely-extended cultus of the *Thelpusian*, or *Tilphossian Demeter-Erinnyes*, and in the time of Pausanias it still maintained its station at Thelpusa in Arcadia, where Demeter was worshipped as the Goddess of Earth indignant against Poseidon, the God of Water, (the God who deluges the earth in winter with floods and torrents). Under the same form she was designated at Phigalia, another place in Arcadia, by the name of the *Black Goddess*. There are evident traces of this idea of the Demeter-Erinnyes to be found in various places, but the point where it appears most prominently is in the fundamental characteristics of the old



legend concerning the Cadmean Kings of Thebes, and its antiquity is evinced by the very circumstance of its being contained in those primary characteristics. I will endeavour to delineate the grand and simple features of this legend in such a way as to render them clear to the attentive reader. Recent investigations have paved the way, and scarcely any thing more is required than to combine the results already obtained, in order to recover those primeval conceptions from which a considerable portion of tragic Poetry originally emanated.

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81. THEBES, as the old legend goes, the fair city in the green, irriguous, fruitful plain, was a favourite abode of the Goddess of Earth and her daughter, but withal a memorial of her inevitable resentment when injured. Demeter and Cora, mother and daughter, founded Thebes<sup>1</sup>, Jupiter having made a present of the land to Cora on her marriage with Hades<sup>2</sup>; and they had a joint-founder in *Cadmus* (Harmonia's consort), who is now ascertained to have been regarded by the earliest Greeks as a God of form and order, a Hermes who brings harmony and consistency out of confusion. But before he could found Thebes Cadmus had to slay the *Dragon*, begotten by *Ares* the God of War with *Erinnys Tilphossa*<sup>3</sup>, *i. e.* the resentful, offended Demeter worshipped at Tilphossa; and from the sowing of this dragon's teeth springs the new Cadmean race of men.

This dragon, which is a main figure in the Theban mythology, is obviously symbolic of the rancour cherished by a gloomy power of nature. Demeter is Erinnys even before she is irritated by mankind, and, as is the case in all profound Theogonies, Evil is conceived to have had a previous existence in a higher world and a more universal

1. Eurip. Phœn. 694. Schol.

2. Euphorion in the Scholl.

3. Schol. Antig. 126.





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are largely displayed by Pindar in his second Olympian Ode, as the destiny of the race even down to the history of his own times.

82. But with *Laius* the ruling agency of Demeter-*Erinnys* begins to manifest itself more as the peculiar destiny of the Cadmean family. The original curse attaching to the race begets parricide, incest, fratricide; and the order of the physical world being turned topsy-turvy along with that of the moral world, barrenness, famine and pestilence go side by side with them. *Œdipus* is altogether a victim of *Erinnys*, born to ruin his whole race by his curse. According to the common legend he was fostered on the inhospitable mount *Cithæron*, called by *Hermesianax* the abode of the *Erinnyes*<sup>1</sup>; similarly as of *Orestes* it was told that he was born on the festival-day of Demeter-*Erinnys*<sup>2</sup>. But the end of *Œdipus*'s life was in perfect accordance with the commencement of it, the main idea in the old legend being, that the grievously afflicted *Œdipus*, after the fulfilment of his allotted doom, was to find rest in the sanctuary of Demeter-*Erinnys*, the deity who had persecuted him through life, but was now at last reconciled to him. According to the Theban legend it was the *Eteonic* Temple of Demeter (unquestionably a Demeter-*Erinnys*) that gave him shelter<sup>3</sup>; which Temple was situated by mount *Cithæron* at the southern boundary of the Theban domain. And no doubt the meaning of the oracle was, that *Œdipus* was to find a burial-place on the frontiers of the country: as a parricide it was not allowable for him to lie within the confines of his home, and yet (the reason for which will appear in the sequel) he was to be buried not far from his native land<sup>4</sup>.

1. In Ps. Plutarch *de Fluv.* 2, 3.

2. Ptolem. *Heph.* in Phot. p. 247. H.

3. Schol. *Œd.* Col. 91. The tale related there is partly fictitious, in order to account for *Œdipus*'s tomb coming into a Temple of Demeter.

4. See Soph. *Œd.* Col. 399. 785. cf. *Œd.* T. 422.



83. After the calamity and overthrow of Thebes, scattered bands of Cadmeans were the means of diffusing their native traditions, as well as those of Œdipus's burial-place, far and wide, and constantly in close connexion with the cultus of the Erinnyes. To *Attica* they were carried perhaps by the Cadmean race of the Gephyræans, who were received and naturalized there; and several traces of them existed in different parts. In the first place there was shewn in Athens itself a tomb of Œdipus in the sanctuary of the Semnæ between the Areopagus and the citadel<sup>5</sup>. In the next place we find in an Attic demus, (the *Colonus Hippius*), together with another sepulchre of Œdipus, the entire group of that cultus from which the leading ideas in the Theban mythi are derived. Here too, as at the Arcadian Thelpusa, the God of the waters, Poseidon Hippius, is worshipped in juxta-position with the Semnæ<sup>6</sup>; who beyond doubt were originally identical with Demeter and her daughter worshipped at that very same place. For whereas the legend handled by Sophocles assigns to Œdipus a resting-place in the sanctuary of the Semnæ or Eumenides at Colonus<sup>7</sup>, an Attic collector of legends<sup>8</sup> tells of his applying as a suppliant for protection to Demeter of Colonus. Euripides makes Poseidon Hippius the sheltering deity<sup>9</sup>. Opposed to Demeter Erinnyes in the service of the Colonians was probably the blooming verdant Demeter, (Εὐχλοος), whose Temple mentioned by Sophocles (1600) must be conceived in the vicinity, but on a different hill from that of Colonus. In other respects also every thing on this spot implied connexion and intercourse with the infernal world. It was an ancient notion<sup>10</sup> that the entrance to the abyss of

5. See Paus. i. 28. 7. Val. Max. v. 3. ext. 3, where the locality is clearly defined.

6. At Capua too there was an *ædes Neptuni cum Cerere Erinny*. Gruter p. 195, 16, if rightly explained by Reinesius.

7. Also according to Apollod. iii. 5, 9.

8. Androtion in Schol. Od. xi. 271.

9. Phæn. 1721.

10. Hesiod Theog. 811. Il. viii. 15.



Tartarus was enclosed with a brazen threshold, and there was shewn near Colonus, on the sacred road to Eleusis, a chasm furnished with a flight of brazen steps, called *χάλκεος οὐδός* and *χαλκόπους οδός*, which was regarded as a portal or threshold to the lower world; and through which Hades was said to have borne off Cora<sup>1</sup>. Like many other sanctuaries of Chthonic deities this too was considered as a pledge of welfare to Athens, as the basis and stay of her prosperity (*ἔρεισμι' Ἀθηνῶν*, 58). In this vicinity, according to the local tradition, it was ordained that Œdipus should close a life devoted to the Erinnyes; nay the very Erinnyes themselves are said by Euphorion to have conducted him hither along the path of destiny<sup>2</sup>. It was from that abyss, according to the Colonian legend, that the thunders of the subterranean Jove pealed forth the summons to Œdipus, whom Hermes and Cora had conducted to that spot (1548; 1590): it was there he was supposed to have departed from

1. See particularly Soph. 1589. Schol. 57. 1059. 1590. The Scholiast also takes the *κοῖλος κρατήρ*, v. 1593, for a cavern. I am of opinion it was the vessel into which Theseus and Peirithous were said to have cut the *σφάγια*, previous to their descending together into the infernal regions: perhaps too the vessel had some form of oath inscribed on it. Comp. Eurip. Suppl. 1202. Mention is made too by Pausanias of a shrine dedicated to both heroes at Colonus: and the reason why it was erected at that place was because the entrance to the subterranean world was said to be there. The observations by Reisig, *Enarr.* p. CXCIV, do not treat of the locality of Colonus: and in some other points also, even with the admirable work of that talented scholar, the topography in the Œdipus Colonus still requires more accurate investigation. With respect to the scene of the Œdipus, it is especially to be remarked that it is laid near the boundaries of the Cerameans and Colonians; on one side was seen, in the vicinity of the Academy, the Temple of Prometheus and that of Athena with the sacred olive-trees, on the other the hill of Colonus with the Temple of Poseidon; and between them the grove of the Semnæ. The *χάλκεος οὐδός* must be conceived on the further side of this grove, by which means v. 57 and 1590 may be reconciled. The *ἀντίπετρον βῆμα*, v. 192, on which Œdipus sits down, is a fence or wall about the grove resembling rough masses of rock.

2. There is no doubt that Euphorion in the passage cited by the Schol. on Œd. C. 681, had instead of *ἀργῆτα* something equivalent to *τὸν ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν*. Accordingly, with some assistance from Meineke (Fragm. 52), only taking *Εὐμενίδες* for a gloss, I would arrange the passage thus:

Πρότρο δέ μιν δασπλήτες ὀφειλομένην ἄγον οἶμον  
Γήλοφον (?) εἰς ἀργῆτα θυγατριδαί Φόρκυος  
Ἄνθεσι(?) ναρκίσσοιο ἐπιστεφές πλοκαμίδας.





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arrives, blinded and exiled, an emblem of the deepest misery, at Attica: there he finds himself unexpectedly in the grove of the Semnæ, which the God foretold him was to be the goal of all his sufferings. Although the horror that seizes on all who hear his name is near causing his immediate expulsion from the country, yet he presently meets with compassion, and the hospitable reception proffered him is an act of so much the greater generosity, as the oracles, on the strength of which he promises the Athenians increased blessings from their reception of him, exhibit but dim predictions devoid of clear and definite meaning. The action is now rapidly unfolded; mighty by virtue of the salvation he is to impart after death, secure by virtue of Athens' hospitality, he repels all the violent importunity and mean intreaties with which he is assailed by Creon of Thebes and his own son Polynices, in their efforts to secure for themselves the salvation expected from his grave. Released even in his life-time from the throng of human passions, he triumphs over those who with avaricious eagerness are bent upon winning him over to themselves, and with sublime composure and enthusiasm welcomes death, thenceforth to assume the character of a mysteriously operating divinity, producing never-failing weal to the country in which he had obtained rest and reconciliation with the Erinnyes. Thus is this tragedy the triumph of misery and suffering over human strength and arrogance, a transformation of what in human estimation seems lamentable and piteous into god-like sublimity, a mystic transfiguration of death; a tragedy wherein, moreover, every one who has any feeling for the language of the heart will recognise in many legible characters, not haply a tale foreign to the Poet, but his own

the earlier ones, since he is said to have written 32 dramas in 28 years, *up to* the Antigone, and 81 dramas in 34 years, *after* the Antigone. Arguments drawn from the form are often employed in the present day with too great confidence, as though they rested on a physical necessity.



feelings' at a period of life when he experienced much that was painful and vexatious from his immediate kindred, and was looking forward to death as a longed-for time of rest. True it is, that the composition of this tragedy deviates widely from that of all the rest, the solution, so to speak, not being at the conclusion, but pervading the whole, nearly as in the last piece of an Æschylean trilogy; yet the *Œdipus at Colonus* is nevertheless, by virtue of the dramatic expression of morally-religious ideas,—not from the merely accessory political and patriotic allusions,—a Tragedy in the highest sense of the word<sup>1</sup>.

85. Thus the Demeter-Erinnys has again received her victim *Œdipus* to her bosom: but more severe is the doom of Thebes, the city once so beloved of Gods. Against it the Goddess conducts Ἄδραστος, the Inevitable, a male personification of Adrastea-Nemesis, to whom Adrastus is said to have erected several temples. He rides the terrible Thelpusaic steed Arion<sup>2</sup>, in whose name Ares the father of the Dragon re-appears. This Arion is quite a symbolic creature connected with the cultus of the Tilphossian or Thelpusaic Demeter<sup>3</sup>. The genuine popular legend of Demeter-Erinnys herself, as Poseidon's forced bride, having given birth to it was gathered by Pausanias in Arcadian Thelpusa. The *Iliad* touches on this legend with its wonted delicacy (xxiii, 346); the *Thebaid*, which was composed not long after the Homeric age, makes Poseidon and Erinnys the parents of Arion at the Bœotian fountain Tilphossa. Later writers mostly endeavour to soften

1. Cf. §. 97. The mysticism occurring in the *Œdipus* of Æschylus (Eustatius on Arist. Eth. Nicom. iii. 2.) probably had reference to Demeter-Erinnys, who is perhaps there made more clearly prominent than in the *Eumenides*.

2. Antimachus in Paus. viii. 25, 3, 4, and Schol. in Aristoph. Comœd. Ed. Dind. Vol. iii. p. 418.

3. Adrastus, who had a Ἡρώων at Colonus, was said to have drawn up his horses there on his flight (εἶματα λυγρὰ φέρων σὺν Ἀρείονι κυανοχαίτη, *Thebais* in Paus. viii. 25, 5); and that is the reason, perhaps, why Colonus is called in the old oracle Ἰπποῖο κολωνός. (Schol. *Œd.* C. 57. 712. Etym. M. s. v. Ἰππία).



down the harshness and singularity of this legend, and ascribe the birth of Arion either to Demeter under the assumed form of an Erinnys<sup>1</sup>, or to Earth, occupying in mystic legends the place of Demeter<sup>2</sup>, or to one of the Erinnyes<sup>3</sup>. Arion is called, by the same epithet as Poseidon himself, a black-maned horse<sup>4</sup>; whence also Adrastus himself was called Kyanippus, an appellation early converted by Mythology, after its usual fashion, into a son of Adrastus. He is the fleetest of all steeds, and therefore must naturally be victorious in every race, as in the ἄγων celebrated by Adrastus and the Argives previous to the expedition in honour of the righteously-dispensing Jove (the Νέμεϊος Ζεὺς). Adrastus, the inevitable Avenger, mounted on this black-maned and fleetest of steeds and heading the expedition of the Argive army against sinful Thebes in the name and by the mandate of the guardian Goddess of Thebes, now appearing in the character of an Erinnys, is a picture of primeval antiquity drawn by a bold and grand fancy, whereas the Iliad and Odyssee are evidently the far later fruits of a much more gentle and tempered spirit.

This time, however, vengeance does not overtake the transgressors at Thebes; possibly because, as Æschylus represents it, the assailants themselves are heaven-storming boasters, and that Nemesis is sure to follow crime, though usually late; or because, as Euripides recounts unquestionably from very ancient tradition, the youth Menœceus<sup>5</sup> gave himself up a voluntary sacrifice to the Dragon, in whom the anger of Demeter-Erinnys was revived. Here we learn, that at the walls of Thebes there was a temple sacred to the Dragon, having in it a deep cavern said to have been the dragon's

1. Apollodorus, with Tzetzes.      2. Antimachus.      3. Hesych. s. v. Ἀρείων.

4. Ἀρείων κυανοχαίτης in Hes. Shield 120, and in the Thebaid.

5. Μενολκεύς is the Self-sacrificer, the Home-stayer, in opposition to those who avoid sacrifice by flight, in the Laphystian cultus. Cf. §. 55.





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Hence in later times there are only isolated traces to be found of their original identity. For instance, at Phlya, an Attic borough with ancient temples to the divinities of Earth, we find that Demeter the beneficent, Zeus the God of possession, Athena Tithrone, Cora the first-born, and the Semnæ were worshipped in conjunction. Moreover, in the sanctuary of the Semnæ at Athens the statues of these divinities were placed with those of Pluto, Hermes, and Earth, (a fact attested by Pausanias); so that here, if we take the Semnæ for Demeter and Cora, the usual circle of the Chthonic deities is complete. At Potniæ in the Theban territory, besides Demeter and Cora, who are pre-eminently called Πότνια (although Erinnys is also addressed by that title, Eum. 911), the Potniades were worshipped<sup>1</sup>; but that is the designation given by Euripides to the Erinnyes<sup>2</sup>. Moreover in the sacrificial and religious rites of the Potniæ—to give that title to the Eleusinian deities—and of the Semnæ in Attica there are several very striking points of coincidence; for instance, the Narcissus, the funeral-flower consecrated to Demeter and Cora<sup>3</sup>, forms also the garland of the Eumenides<sup>4</sup>, the granddaughters of Phorcys; and again, at Athens the Erinnyes were clothed in blood-red garments (Eum. 982), and so also at Syracuse Demeter and Cora, as Thesmophorian Goddesses, wore purple robes, which were put on by persons about to take some dreadful oath<sup>5</sup>. From the above combinations I think there can be no doubt that—although indeed of itself the Erinnys, that feeling of deep affront, is of a divine nature—the Erinnyes

1. Paus. ix. 8, 1. Porson.

2. Orest. 312. Euripides however calls the Erinnyes specially Potniades, as mad and maddening Goddesses, and in that sense the expression is frequently used by the Tragedians. This I explain from the circumstance of their having possession of the Potnian Fountain, the waters of which caused phrenzy. It is mentioned by Pausanias, and was probably celebrated in the Glaucus Potnieus.

3. Creuzer ad Plotin. de pulcr. Præpar. p. 48.

4. According to Euphorion; supr. §. 83.

5. Plut. Dio. 56. Ebert. Σικελιώων, p. 32.



first acquired a noted and extensive cultus, and altogether more reality and personality, from the conception of both the great terrestrial and infernal deities, from whom come life and prosperity as well as ruin and death to mankind, as offended and angry Beings, wherever mortal deeds have violated those sacred and eternal laws of nature.

87. The circumstance also of the Erinnyes being regarded, after the appeasement of their wrath, as benevolent, bountiful deities, cannot be perfectly understood except in this view. The name of *Eumenides*, implying the above, was strictly speaking native at Sicyon<sup>6</sup>, not at Athens, where under the title of *Semnæ* was comprised the collective being of those Goddesses. Hence it is that Æschylus, who emphatically calls them *σεμναί*<sup>7</sup>, never mentions the name of *Eumenides* so closely bearing on his subject, but particularly delights in designating the mild aspect of the Goddesses by the epithet *εὐφρονας*<sup>8</sup>, whilst succeeding Tragedians prefer using the title of *Eumenides*, which had in the meantime become more familiar, and is applied by Sophocles as a customary one to the Goddesses of Colonus<sup>9</sup>. This title of *Eumenides*, therefore, as well as that of "the White Goddesses," usual in Arcadia, (§. 62), is not, we may venture to assert, adequately explained by the meaning of the Erinnyes as above

6. Paus. ii. 11, 4. with Siebelis' Note.

7. v. 361. especially 993.

8. vv. 946. 984.

9. The Grammarians (Harpocration, Photius, Suidas, besides the argument to the *Eumenides*) state the purport of the Æschylean tragedy to be the metamorphosis of the Erinnyes into *Eumenides*. On this account an hiatus has been supposed after v. 982, and in this passage it is thought Minerva gave the Erinnyes the appellation of *Eumenides*. Of such an hiatus however there is no trace, and the insertion of the idea proposed would destroy the whole sense of the passage. But still less is it credible that Æschylus, who so frequently made use of the name of Erinnyes, should have shunned mentioning that of the *Eumenides* out of religious awe (Reisig Enarr. Œd. Col. p. 35. de part. *de* p. 124). After what has been said above, ought it not to be considered a matter of doubt, whether Æschylus himself gave the title of ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ to this third play of the *Orestea*, especially as the Chorus, from which the play still bears its name, retains the mask of the Erinnyes to the very conclusion (944), and was not, as has been supposed, metamorphosed externally into *Eumenides*.



developed; the curse of offended parents, or its equivalent, being in no way convertible by the removal of it into a benign, bountiful deity. For a satisfactory explanation of the term we must go back to the fundamental ideas in the Chthonic cultus, which represent death and ruin, as well as life and welfare, emanating from one and the same source.

The transmutation of the Erinnyes into Eumenides formed in Greece an essential appurtenance to the *legend of Orestes*. The persecution of Orestes from country to country by his Mother's Erinnyes, in the place of human vengeance, was no invention of Poet or Priest, but a Greek national tradition, which migrated betimes along with the cultus of the Erinnyes (§. 62), and could scarcely have been unknown even to Homer<sup>1</sup>. Just in the same way the metamorphosis of the Erinnyes into Eumenides was attached in the national legend, the existence of which among the Mycenæans themselves we have already shewn (§. 62), to the liberation of Orestes from blood-guiltiness; the deity who had persecuted Orestes now becomes a bounteous Being to him, and he himself is made a kind of Saint, so to speak, like Ædipus (§. 83). Æschylus has passed over in silence this reconciliation of Orestes with the Erinnyes. He contents himself with rescuing him from their power by the sentence of acquittal passed by the Areopagus, although in reality it was customary for propitiatory sacrifices to follow upon that acquittal (§. 67). Æschylus, however, does not let the wrath of the Erinnyes reach its highest pitch till after this sentence, and educes the mild nature of those divinities

1. From Od. III. 306 the incorrect inference has been drawn, that the Poet was not acquainted with the legend of the persecution of Orestes by the Erinnyes. In that passage the tale, in compliance with the enquiry of Telemachus, is continued by Nestor only down to the arrival of Menelaus at the funeral feast of Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra. Now it was at this very funeral banquet, at the nocturnal collection of the bones from the ashes of the Rogus, that the Erinnyes fell on Orestes, according to the relation of Euripides (Or. 40. 398), which is apparently derived from very ancient sources. Owing to the loss of so many old epic poems, Stesichorus (Schol. Eur. Or. 268.) is the earliest authority for the persecution of Orestes by the Erinnyes.





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were regarded also as Marriage-deities, and were invoked for the blessing of children<sup>1</sup>. At the same time they promise to prevent diminution and loss of population by civil factions and riots. But in order that all this may not be regarded as a mere flourish of words and pious wishes, Pallas herself repeatedly ascribes to the Erinnyes an actual power over these matters (855. 912)<sup>2</sup>, and expresses it as her anticipation, that on their descent into their sacred cavern they will withhold the harmful beneath the earth and send up the wholesome and profitable (961).

As this latter part of the Poem has especial reference to the Temple of the Semnæ at Athens, it will be requisite, for the understanding of it, to make a few observations on the locality and religious rites of that sanctuary.

*c. The Religious Service of the Semnæ at Athens.*

89. Athens was regarded in Greece as the proper seat of the service of the venerable Goddesses<sup>3</sup>; and in fact it seems nowhere to have attained such publicity of reputation and to have been so intimately incorporated with political institutions. One side of their Temple rested on the base of the hill of Ares<sup>4</sup>, whose cultus stood in close union with that of the Erinnyes (§. 67); a union also manifested in the Theban legend of Ares, as the husband of Demeter-Erinnys (§. 81), and no doubt founded on the earliest history of the Grecian cultus. The other side lay towards the more accessible quarter of the Acropolis, as is evident from the accounts of the massacre of the Cylonic conspi-

1. 799 and Schol. cf. Choeph. 480.

2. The expression ἐπικραίνειν used here of the Erinnyes (910. 927.) implies a persevering agency, like that ascribed to Μοῖρα, quiet in its operation but taking effect in due season: the same as κραίνειν, to resolve upon and carry an object. See particularly Prom. 510. Agam. 360. (ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανευ), Eum. 729. The oracles being withal decrees of Fate, one may say πυθόκραντα (Agam. 1228.) for πυθόχρηστα.

3. Dio Cass. LXIII. 14.

4. Meursius, *Arcopag.* c. 11.



rators at the altars of the Semnæ in their descent from the citadel. Hence Æschylus is enabled to place the Temple of the Semnæ, near the palace of Erechtheus (πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως, 837), an expression by which he designates the whole Acropolis tenanted by the earliest kings of Athens.

Besides the low hearths or fire-places (ἑσχάραις, 773. cf. 108.) in this Temple, there was a chasm<sup>5</sup> like that at Colonus, through which the Goddesses are said to have returned, after the trial of Orestes, to their subterranean abode. In all probability there were also carved wooden images of the Erinnyes here. It was for them the purple robes were designed, which were consecrated to them upon the institution of their cultus by Minerva (v. 982. cf. §. 86). In after times there was seen here<sup>6</sup> a statue of an Erinnys by Calamis, the contemporary of Phidias, in conjunction with two others by Scopas, an artist of the next generation. On this ground Polemo asserted there were at Athens three statues of the Semnæ; Phylarchus, however, who only took those by Scopas into account, spoke but of two<sup>7</sup>. According to Pausanias there was nothing of the terrific in these statues, but still they may have exhibited that mixture of pleasure and horror so profoundly expressed in the so-called Rondaninian head of Medusa.

The cultus of the Semnæ was held by the State in such high honour, that especial managers were appointed to superintend the sacrifices (ἱεροποιοί), nominated from the Athenian people by the Areopagites, as presidents of that service<sup>8</sup>. At the processions and sacrifices in honour of the Semnæ the family of the *Hesychidæ* took the lead, their name, "the quiet ones", implying the great solemnity and stillness (εὐφημία) obliged to be observed throughout

5. χάσμα, κενθμών, θάλαμοι, 772. 958. 961. 977. 989. Eur. El. 1280.

6. See Osann in the *Annali dell' Instit. di Corr. arch.* 1830, p. 149.

7. Schol. Œd. Col. 39.

8. Ulpian on Demosth. c. Mid. p. 552. R.



the service of the awful Goddesses<sup>1</sup>; for the invention of a hero Hesychus for their mythic progenitor, whose chapel was situated in the vicinity of the Temple of the Semnæ, near the Pelasgian wall of the Acropolis, does not detract from the real meaning of the name<sup>2</sup>. Æschylus makes no mention of these Hesychidæ: he puts the Areopagites at the head of the procession (964), and they are joined by the female attendants who have the care of the old image of Pallas (978). It is remarkable that we find here, as in the service at Phlya, the combination of the awful Goddesses with Minerva; whether it be founded in old systems of deities, or be attributable merely to the endeavours of the Athenians to make their tutelary Goddess the protectress of other adventitious services. This numerous train of attendants is accompanied by other women, as well as maidens and aged matrons (981). The omission of males has been objected against, but without good reason, for in this cultus females were especially employed. Thus Callimachus, in a celebrated epigram<sup>3</sup>, designates the females in the family of the Hesychidæ as those who, in the capacity of public Priestesses, offered to the Eumenides their wineless libations and sacrifices<sup>4</sup>. The sacrifices were sometimes at least performed in the night-time (108); the Erinnyes themselves are children of night: on that account the procession was by torch-light, and the torches were probably thrown together at the conclusion into the cavern; and to this action the words of Pallas probably allude:

Πέμψω τε· φέγγη λαμπάδων σελασφόρων  
εἰς τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους. v. 977.

1. Eum. 988. Œd. C. 129. 489. Schol.

2. Cf. C. L. Bossler, *de gent. et famil. Att. sacerdot.* p. 17.

3. Schol. Œd. C. 489.

4. Yet according to Philo, *quod omn. prob. liber*, §. 20, both males and females (but only *free* persons) were employed at this procession.





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*d. Æschylus's Conception of the Erinnyes, and their external Appearance.*

90. Such were the impressions, derived partly from the reading of the old Poets, and partly from the contemplation of the religious ceremonies in the Temples of the Erinnyes, which determined Æschylus's peculiar view and conceptions of those beings; they were modified however by the sentiments and belief held by Æschylus. With Demeter and Cora the Erinnyes could no longer appear to the Poet identical, since the former belong to the family of Jupiter, whilst the latter had been already appropriated by the earlier poetry to the old Titanian world: this contrast between the old Titanian empire and the Olympian Gods had been long since established by poetry, and had quite passed over into the intellectual life of the Greeks. At the same time the conception of Demeter and Cora had been moulded into such a mild and humane form, that people shunned with extreme caution all mention of a Demeter-Erinnyes except in the mysteries, whilst very numerous titles celebrated the graciousness and benignity of the Mother-Goddess.

The contrast between the *elder* and *younger race of Gods*, although not deeply rooted in the Grecian cultus, was nevertheless a notion which at that time had attained the highest significance. It rests mainly, as expressed in the contemporaries of Æschylus and in the Poet himself, on the connexion between an *absolute natural necessity* and a *free agency*. As heaven and earth and sun and moon, which also belong to the old race of Gods, manifest their agency in eternal and immutable duration, without intermission and with universal equability, so are the Erinnyes also to be regarded as a natural law of the moral world: without regard to the particular circumstances of the act,



without respect to person and situation, they fasten upon him who has torn asunder the sacred bonds of consanguinity by the commission of an outrage like that of Orestes. This mode of comprehending the Erinnyes, as it were the dark aspect of Themis, was quite in the spirit of that speculative theology in which the genius of Æschylus was so colossal. By the Erinnyes, said Pythagoras, the impure souls, separated from the pure ones, were kept in indissoluble bonds<sup>1</sup>; and if the very sun were to leave his course, said Heraclitus, the Erinnyes, the confederates of justice, would know where to find him<sup>2</sup>; for Plato tells us it is in accordance with Themis for the sun to pursue his allotted path. In answer to the question of the Oceanides, *Τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος*; Prometheus replies, *Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι μνήμονες τ' Ἐρινύες* (v. 514 sq.) Here, as also in the *Eumenides* (361) and in Sophocles (*Aj.* 1390), it is noticed as especially characteristic of the Erinnyes, that they suffer neither the laws which they maintain, nor the outrages by which they are violated, to vanish from their memory, and accordingly they visit the sins of the fathers even on the children and grandchildren (*Eum.* 894 et al.) But if in human life the Erinnyes manifests itself particularly in the conscience, and consequently, according to the temper of different individuals, must needs assume an individual form, still the ancients, in their hereditary mode of contemplation, conceive this evil conscience merely as a symptom of the power of the Erinnyes, and regard the Erinnyes herself as an exterior divinity of universal agency. The *Olympian* Gods on the contrary, related from the very first to the tribes of Greece, the protectors of divers cities and possessors of large Temples, manifoldly interwoven with a complicated history, have so many motives for favour and disfavour, inclination and aversion, and in their whole

1. Diog. Laert. viii. 32.

2. Plutarch *de exil.* 11. and *de Iside*, 48.



agency refer so much to specific individual circumstances, that they are incapable of representing those universal laws. These are manifested in them much the same as in human life, united with the most multifarious aims, which it is true are dependent on, but not produced by them. At the same time, from the very circumstance of their having a more individual, more human character, they have a nearer insight into specific circumstances; they inflect the stubborn rod of external justice, which like a physical law overtakes and smites the perpetrator, and apply it in a humane manner, according to the internal diversity of the deed. Hence with Æschylus it is their office to make ordinances and institutions, such as the Apollinic purifications and the court of Areopagus, which have the effect in certain cases of averting the naturally inexorable and irrespectivè Erinnys. Even *argumenta ad hominem*, many of which are addressed by Apollo to Minerva (such as "I will always further the interests of thy city," &c.) do not appear to Æschylus at all repugnant to the nature of those Gods. But the compromise which the Erinyes make of their resentment for the institution of their cultus is quite another matter; their cultus is a token, a pledge of the further exercise of their rights upon earth. Thus in fact Æschylus every where maintains this contrast, and he applies it not merely in this tragedy, but throughout, with that consistency which he observes on every occasion.

91. But with all this it is Æschylus's conviction, that the conflict between those ancient orders and the powers that sway the present world is merely *transient*—existing for a certain epoch, a crisis preparatory only to a higher development. With him the world of Olympian Gods is in perfect unison with the original powers, and, as it were, nothing more than an improvement upon them. If the Erinyes in their anger charge the Olympian Gods with





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lus notices this) to her sister Phœbe; but Phœbe bestowed the oracular seat as a birth-day present (*γενέθλιον δόσιον*<sup>1</sup>) on her grandson Apollo, who in consequence took the surname of Phœbus: and Phœbus now takes possession of it, setting out from his native Delian lake, (the *λίμνη τροχόεσσα*), and, after voluntary homage paid him by the inhabitants and ruler of the country, is formally inducted into possession by an escort of Athenians<sup>2</sup>, who gloried in having been the first to pave the sacred way to Pytho by felling the forests and hewing out the rocky paths.

92/ Now in the same way as Æschylus deviates here from the legends which supposed violent revolutions in the succession of the Delphic deities, so likewise with regard to the origin of the Erinnyes, he departs from the profound old legend, which makes them perpetuate the crime committed by Cronus upon his primogenitor Uranus, in order to avoid the necessity of setting down for an everlasting enmity the conflict between the old and new Gods, of which he otherwise makes such frequent mention. He contents himself with calling the Erinnyes, without mentioning their father, Daughters of *Night*<sup>3</sup>, a Goddess at once terrible and mild<sup>4</sup>, as the Erinnyes become in this drama<sup>5</sup>. This genealogy obviously answered Æschylus's views and poetical aims better than any other of the existing ones, which derived the Erinnyes from Scotus and Gaia (Sophocles),

1. *Γενέθλια*, *dies natalis*, *lustricus*, was in general the eighth day for girls, and the ninth for boys. On this day they were carried round the hearth (*ἀμφιδρόμια*), and so received a kind of fire-baptism: the children were shewn on the occasion to the elder relatives, and received presents wrapped up, called *όπτήρια*, here *γενέθλιος δόσις*; at the same time the child was named, after the grandfather in preference. Sometimes, however, the *Amphidromia* appear distinct from the *Genethlia*. See the *Interpp.* a. l., ad *Callim. Hymn. in Dian.* 74, ad *Pers.* II. 32. Phœbus's name was a *μαμμωννικόν*. *Schol. Il.* I. 43. *Hesiod in Etym. M.* p. 796.

2. *Ἡφαιστου παῖδες* (13) denotes the Athenians as descended from Erichthonius. Cf. *Hesych.* s. v. *Ἡφαιστιάδαι*.

3. *vv.* 312. 394. 715. 760. 808. 987.

4. *φιλία* *Agam.* 346. Consequently *εὐφρόνη*.

5. *εὐφρονες*, §. 87.



from Cronus and Eurynome (in a work under the name of Epimenides), from Phorcys (Euphorion), from Gaia-Eurynome (Istrus), from Acheron and Night (Eudemus), from Hades and Proserpine (Orphic Hymns), or Hades and Styx (Athenodorus and Mnaseas<sup>6</sup>). By the genealogy he has adopted our Poet brings the Erinnyes into near connexion with the *Moiræ*, who, to his way of thinking, partake with Jove of the highest dignity, the *Moiræ* being represented also in Hesiod's Theogony as Daughters of Night, and consequently invoked by the Erinnyes as their sisters by the mother's side<sup>7</sup>.

93. The *external representation* of the Goddesses is founded entirely on the fearful aspect of their ideal nature, so that even Pallas is constrained to notice the contrast between their benedictions and their hideous countenances (944). In the exterior configuration of the Erinnyes Æschylus seems to have drawn a good deal on his invention; for the earlier Poets had no definite image of these Goddesses before their eyes; and though there were in the Temple at Athens old carved images of the Semnæ, still their figures could not be adapted for dramatic purposes. And hence it is that the Pythian Priestess, after having beheld the Erinnyes, is only able to describe their forms, without being aware of

6. On these genealogies see particularly Schol. Œd. C. 42. Tzetz. Lycophr. 406. Schol. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 747. R. Apulei. de Orthogr. §. 11, p. 6. Osann. Orphic Poems place Phorcys among the Titans, and represent Eurynome as ruling with Ophioneus before Cronus.

7. This rests upon an explanation of the passage, v. 919 sqq., which assumes that it is the *Moiræ*, and not the *Horæ*, who are there spoken of. The latter do not suit the passage at all, and none but the former can fitly be called πάντα τιμώτατοι θεαί. To take ματροκασιγνήται in the sense of *Aunts* would be ridiculous; Æschylus puts it for κασιγνήται ὁμομήτριοι. Still more absurd would it be for the Erinnyes to apply that term to other Goddesses, as thus: 'Ye Goddesses, whose Aunts the *Moiræ* are.' On these considerations is grounded the constitution of the text above assumed; the words κύρι' ἔχοντες τὰ θνατῶν are to be taken as a general designation, and Μοῖραι ματροκασιγνήται as a special address to the *Moiræ*. With respect to this passage I cannot agree with Klausen, *Theologumena Æsch.* p. 45, although in other points the exposition here given has much in common with Klausen's.



the nature of the beings she had seen. Æschylus drew the form he gave to their mask partly from internal features stamped in the character of those deities, and partly from external analogy. To the latter the Pythoness herself draws our attention in the Prologue; and her expressions are obviously intended to prepare us for the appearance of the Furies, and to account in a manner for their figures. She first of all compares them to *Gorgon-images*, which were among the very earliest works of Grecian, especially of Athenian art, which can be traced as far back as the age of Cyclopi- an workmanship. From the Gorgons Æschylus borrowed the snaky hair of the Erinnyes, before mentioned in the *Choephoræ* (1045), and frequently set down as the invention of our Poet: but the Gorgons have it much earlier in works of art. Moreover, Æschylus took from the Gorgons no doubt the pendent tongue and grinning mouth, which regularly characterise the Gorgon-head in ancient works of art. We shall see what significance he gave these features in the case of the Erinnyes. But even the comparison with the Gorgons does not fully satisfy the Pythoness; she adds, "I once saw in a picture the plunderers of Phineus' meal." Here she again bethinks herself of a work of art, and in mentally recalling the sight of it she does not immediately add the name of the *Harpies*, which every one of the audience could supply of himself. The supposition of a middle species, a sort of Gorgon-Harpies<sup>1</sup>, a species totally unknown to all antiquity, appears to me an utterly unfounded idea. Without entering into the investigations of modern Archæology on the figure of the Harpies, I will merely remark here, that one of the vase-paintings in Millingen<sup>2</sup> exhibits the scene exactly as Æschylus saw it; the Harpies are there represented as old, hideous, winged female figures, dragging

1. Voss, *Mytholog. Briefe* (Letters) xxxi. p. 201.

2. *Ancient uned. Mon.* p. 1. pl. 15.





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itself. And herein the reader will do well to yield himself up entirely to the play, without applying to it the ideas of plastic art, those namely of the vase-paintings, the painters of which had rather an eye to the speeding, winged, torch-bearing Erinnyes of Euripides and the later Poets, than to the picture of them drawn by Æschylus<sup>1</sup>.

### B. JUPITER SOTER.

94. IN contradistinction from the Erinnyes, as Titanian powers exercising an external law of the moral world with the strictness of a law of nature, subsist, as we have seen, the Olympian Deities as nearer and more intimately allied to mankind, and consequently more disposed to sympathise with their cares, their troubles, and afflictions. In our Drama we have Apollo and Minerva, both of whom establish and protect the order of human society; Apollo by his surveillance over the fulfilment of vengeance upon blood-guiltiness, and by his protection of the guiltless manslayer; Minerva in her capacity of a power presiding over well-ordered civil life, public assemblies, and the Athenian Judicature. By her wise management of the case Minerva effects a double object; first the rescue of Orestes, and then the conciliation of the Erinnyes to herself and her country. The latter is represented to be the result of her eloquence and gift of persuasion, the work of Peitho<sup>2</sup> (928); herein too, she says, hath Zeus Agoræus, the Guardian of Assemblies, the Superintendent of Public Transactions, come off victorious (931). And yet Æschylus must have deemed these deities, marked

1. Cf. Böttiger, and Raoul-Rochette, *Monum. Ined.* T. I. p. 145.

2. Peitho was not merely Πάρεδρος of Aphrodite, but at Athens a political Goddess as well. Demosth. *Proem.* p. 1460.



By so much human idiosyncrasy, so universally interposing in the concerns of sublunary life, and so intimately mixed up with the proceedings of civil society, to be therefore inadequate, great and wise though they be, to terminate the conflict with those primordial powers. Throughout the *Orestea* he exhibits dimly and mysteriously in the background, but with all the more poetical effect on that very account, the idea of Zeus Soter, the *Third*, as the power that pervades the universe, and conducts the course of things, gently indeed, but eventually to the best possible issue.

Even in the *Agamemnon* (1360), Clytæmnestra, who in her blind delusion fancies she has secured her own welfare by the murder of her husband, calls the death-blow (inflicted in the third stroke) a service consecrated to subterranean Hades, the Soter of the dead: it is only to the God of death, she thinks, that Agamemnon has to look for succour. On the other hand, at the very commencement of the *Choe-phoræ*, Orestes prays at his father's tomb that Hermes may have such a share in the power of his father, the Soter Jove, as to become a Soter to *him* in his undertaking<sup>3</sup>; praying thus in the expectation that he shall be aided in the accomplishment of his vengeance by the infernal deities who are injured by Clytæmnestra, but above all by the manes of his father out of the tomb. Subsequently, in the scene of recognition between Electra and Orestes (242), the sister expresses her wish that Power (Κράτος) and Justice (Δίκη), together with the third, the supreme Jove, may aid their plans of revenge upon Clytæmnestra (242).

3. This indeed is at variance with the apparently authentic interpretation of the passage, which Aristophanes makes Æschylus himself give in the *Frogs*, 1144. According to that interpretation Hermes received the office of Chthonius as a πατρῶον γέρας, an hereditary office. On the contrary, we make this the connexion: 'Ερμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι, and thus obtain a much more appropriate idea, and withal one of great importance for the whole of the Tragedy. We appeal from the Aristophanic manes of Æschylus to the spirit of the ancient hero still breathing in his tragedies.



And after the accomplishment of the deed the Chorus says, at the conclusion of the play, that after the heinous crime of Atreus and the murder of Agamemnon a third is now come as Soter, unless it ought to be called ruin (*μόρον*); the Chorus itself being doubtful whether the series of calamities be ended or not by this deed of vengeance. Lastly, in the *Eumenides*, Orestes after his acquittal says (728—781), that his paternal house and home are at length restored to him by the gracious interference of Pallas and Apollo, and of that third, the finisher of all things, the Soter, who compassionately supported the father's rights against the mother's advocates, the *Erinnyes*, and thereby rescued a father's avenger and mother's slayer. With these allusions must be compared the references to Jove the consummator, *τέλειος*, especially the invocation to him at the conclusion of the prayer of the Pythoness in the opening scene of the *Eumenides*.

95. The conception and the cultus of Jupiter Soter, as the third, was widely diffused through Greece. Among the convivial customs of the Greeks nothing is more familiar than their three solemn draughts after meals, the first consecrated to Olympian Jove, or Jupiter as the husband of Juno, the second to the Earth and Heroes, the third to Jupiter Soter<sup>1</sup>. In this ceremony the Olympian Gods are placed in opposition to the Chthonic genii, the divinities of death and the dark side of nature, in which class the heroes are also reckoned; but Zeus Soter is conceived as a third and lord over both worlds. Precisely in the same way Æschylus makes the suppliant Danaids (24) pray to the Gods above, to the venerable Chthonic deities presiding over the grave, and to Zeus Soter the third, as guardian of the families of righteous men. At the third draught

1. Passages are to be found in *Athen.* i. p. 29 b. ii. p. 38 d. xv. 675 c. 692. sq. *Schol. Pind. Isthm.* 5. 7. *Spanheim on Aristoph. Plut.* 1176.





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was sacred to him, and that the Disoteria were performed on that day<sup>1</sup>, when we consider that the three last days but one of the month (the τετάρτη, τρίτη, and δευτέρα) were consecrated to the dead and the lower world, and on that account assigned for the execution of criminals condemned for murder<sup>2</sup>. From this it is evident that in the Attic system of Religion also, after the propitiation of adverse powers and the atonement of the particular transgressions, Zeus Soter interposes in the character of a consummating Saviour-God, in whom the opposition between the serene Gods of the world above and the gloomy powers of the realms below is equalized and tempered down into a satisfactory and calm conception of the universe<sup>3</sup>.

We have said sufficient in this place for the comprehension of Æschylus's intimations on this remarkable service. Over the conflicting powers of darkness and of light, the vindictive and the conciliatory, stands Zeus Soter in the character of the God who conducts every thing to a good issue and universally, as the third and Finisher, either adjusts the difference between two others, or completes what two others have begun. On no occasion does this Zeus exert his influence directly, like Apollo, Minerva, and the Erinnyes; but, whereas Apollo is prophet and exegetes by virtue of wisdom derived from him and Minerva is indebted to him for her sway over States and Assemblies,—nay, the very Erinnyes exercise their function in his name<sup>4</sup>,—this Zeus stands always in the back-ground, and has in reality

1. Lysias c. Euandr. §. 6. Corp. Inscript. 157. T. I. p. 252.

2. Etymol. M. p. 131. Gudian p. 70, and other Lexicogr. s. v. ἀποφράδες.

3. It was from the same association of ideas that the Generals at Arginusæ, previous to the hazardous engagement, made vows to the Semnæ and Zeus Soter as well as to Apollo, the performance of which was recommended to the people by one of them, Diomedon, previous to his execution. Diodor. XIII. 102.

4. This is the sense of the passage v. 340. Cf. Klausen *Theologum. Æsch.* p. 166 sq. and pp. 39. 66. The effect of the obscurely-intimating τῆς on the Greeks is particularly evident in Pindar Ol. II. 59.



only to settle a conflict existing within himself. For with Æschylus, as with all men of profound feeling among the Greeks from the earliest times, Jupiter is the only real God in the higher sense of the word. Although he is in the spirit of ancient Theology a generated God, arisen out of an imperfect state of things and not produced till the *third* stage of the development of nature<sup>s</sup>, still he is, at the time we are speaking of, the spirit that pervades and governs the universe. But with that genuine child-like simplicity which is not bewildered even by this conception of an universal God, nor deterred from a cordial approach to him,—a cordiality which is the most beautiful characteristic of the ancient Religion,—Æschylus conceives this omnipotent God withal quite in human-wise as a *paternal God* and therefore pre-eminently the guardian of *paternal* rights, and views in that circumstance an important and decisive motive for Jupiter's determination to rescue Orestes, as one that held the father and master of the household of higher account than the mother.

We will say no more here on this point, and purposely abstain from bringing forward this train of ideas from its delicate adumbration in the distance into a stronger and clearer light, which by sharply defining every outline might easily give an air of distortion and falsity to what, when felt in the right way, is profound and true.

s. This is the idea contained in the passage in the Agam. 162 ff, where for ΑΒΖΑΙ I would propose to read ΑΡΚΕΣΑΙ. Uranus is now powerless, and Cronus too has found in Jove his τριακτῆρ.



#### IV. POETICAL COMPOSITION.

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96. ALL the preceding discussions on the judicial, political, and religious life of the Greeks make us sensible of the preliminary notions and information requisite for a right comprehension of the drama of Æschylus. But still these expositions tend but very little to characterize the whole composition regarded as poetry, since all this might have been exhibited in a form perfectly different from tragedy.

Accordingly, in the following Essay we shall endeavour to characterize the tragedy more particularly by the train and combination of *feelings* attending its production as well as its conception. And here we are far from disallowing the position that, as the *Form* of Poetry is words, and therefore ideas and thoughts, so the Poetry itself, as a whole, is a development of *thoughts*. Unity and harmony of feelings requires also unity of thoughts. Even the *Iliad* is held together by an ethic idea; only it is what we should expect from an age living entirely by sight and sense, that this same idea is never expressed in an abstract form; the poet, however, is guided by it, as a rule in his conception and feeling of things. In *Pindar's* age the Grecian mind was already far more accustomed to abstract reflection: without question Pindar has a way of intellectualizing the perceptions immediately before him, and drawing from them a satisfactory tone of feeling, and that is, by discovering in them the expression of an universal ethic rule or absolute law<sup>1</sup>. Exactly in the same way the *Tragedians* for the

1. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this is the principle on which *Dissen* proceeds in his interpretation of Pindar.





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multuous commotions of jubilant and painful feelings, and one which on that very account stands almost isolated in the Greek forms of worship,—that of *Bacchus*. The sufferings of Dionysus<sup>1</sup> from adverse powers formed, as we learn from Herodotus's very valuable account of the Sicyonic choral tragedies, the subject of the earliest tragic play, probably first produced at the Bacchic winter-festival of the wine-presses, the Trieterides, answering to the Attic Lenææ. But as Dionysus emerges from his sufferings with renovated glory, so he likewise liberates the mind from its intoxication and bewilderment, and by the side of the Bacchic or reveling Dionysus is worshipped a Lysius, or liberator and tranquillizing God. In connexion with the Dionysian service there also existed from an early period a Catharsis, the meaning of which is, as evinced in the God himself, the restoration of the mind from a state of tumult and ecstasy to one of composure and tranquillity. There were also, besides the strains which inspired Bacchanalian phrenzy, others of a directly opposite tendency, supposed to possess a purifying and refining virtue<sup>2</sup>.

Even that earliest form of tragedy, a Choral ode, sung at the commemoration of the sufferings of the God by the Chorus, transformed by the nature of the festival into the immediate train of Dionysus, was in this sense a Catharsis, inasmuch as it liberated the mind when distressed by pity and fear from the excess of those passions, and restored it to a state of tranquillity. But tragedy continued to be so in a refined sense, when the same lively sympathy was claimed for the sufferings of other heroes; for sufferings always formed the central point, and the principal actor

1. Τὰ Διονύσου πάθη.

2. According to Plato (*Laws*, VII. p. 790.) the ἐκφρόνων βακχειῶν ἰασεις are effected by music and dancing; and Aristotle, who intended treating more at large of the κάθαρσις in his work on Poetry, ascribes to the αὐλός a purifying as well as an orgiastic virtue. *Polit.* VIII. 6. cf. 7.



was the principal sufferer. The life and vigour of representation flings the soul into a multitude of emotions, wishes and hopes, fear and hatred, compassion and grief, and these by their development one out of another in skilful succession,—not by the suppression of one emotion by another, but by the elevation and enhancement of both,—become refined and purified by their mutual action and reaction, and do not disturb, but settle the equilibrium of the soul. After vehement wishes for the success of individuals, and apprehension of dangers menacing this success, follows, mingled with intense admiration and exalted joy, the contemplation of insubvertible eternal powers emerging from apparent confusion with only the greater glory. We cannot designate this emotion in any other way than by calling it the finale of the Tragical play of feelings, and referring at the same time to the procedure of Æschylean trilogies. For the trilogies of Æschylus are pervaded by a dignified solemnization of eternal ordinances and fitnesses; whereas Sophocles, in his new constitution of Tragedy, made it his aim to obtain from the visible course of things a foundation and confirmation for the moral feelings, apprehended under a more personal and certainly a more refined conception.

97. No language can adequately express the multiplicity of emotions, on the alternations and reciprocal play of which depends the enjoyment of a work of art: we can for the most part only exhibit and impart them by corresponding series of images. Still I will endeavour to manifest in some of the main points the train of emotions that alternate through the trilogy of Æschylus, like variations in a fine piece of music.

The prevailing feelings in the opening scenes of the *Agamemnon* are victorious exultations, of a serene and magnificent kind. The author of a trilogy has this advantage over the author of a single tragedy, that he can commence



his composition with emotions of a joyous and peaceful nature, and is not obliged to hurry us forthwith into the tempest of passion. The line of beacon-fires shooting their light over from Ilium to Argos, the flames of the thank-offering on the civic altars, the gradual announcement of Troy's overthrow, and lastly the appearance of the great king himself with his trophy-bearers,—most of them occurrences striking the mind through the eye and therefore doubly impressive,—all these tend to maintain a succession of joyful and proud feelings. Along with these, however, a secret, but gradually more and more perceptible sensation of gloom begins to creep over us, and, like an internal ulcer under an external appearance of blooming health, keeps gnawing on, till at last it seizes on the whole frame. This turn is given especially to the reflections of the grave Chorus of old men in the opening Odes, whilst Agamemnon is kept entirely free from them to the very last finishing blow. The sacrifice of Iphigenia throws a shadow over the whole expedition against Troy; even in the fall of Troy the Chorus traces the marked agency of avenging Gods; and the Prince too, who has purchased victory only by the death of many of his subjects sacrificed to his ambition, labours under the resentment of the Erinnyes: at the same time the Chorus is unable to conceal its want of confidence in Clytæmnestra, and in an ominous Ode, the third, the Chorus speaks ostensibly indeed of Paris and Helen, but in such a way that our thoughts, which are already turned in this direction, necessarily recur continually to Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra. The first series of emotions is now consummated in a splendid spectacle; Agamemnon is at length prevailed on by Clytæmnestra to walk upon costly purple carpets in his way from the chariot to the palace, and thus, innocent as he is himself of this parade of barbarian pride (as in Grecian judgment it would be esteemed), he is conspicuously ad-





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variance with their own feelings and conviction of the futility of such means: readily influenced by the determination of Electra, they offer the libations in a contrary sense, and in a short impassioned Ode express their grief at the murder of Agamemnon, and their dark presentiment of approaching retribution. The continuation of this dirge is interrupted by the recognition of Orestes, first from the lock of hair and the footsteps, and then from the appearance of Orestes himself; and now the brother and sister—‘the old eagle’s orphaned progeny’—unite with the Chorus around the tomb and invoke the aid of the deceased. This long *κομμός*<sup>1</sup> wears at first the character of a *θρήνος*; it opens with the feeling of helplessness, under which the children flee for succour to their father’s grave, and hence expect protection and strength; they mourn the unworthy fate of Agamemnon, interred here not as victor in foreign parts, and still less as victor over his enemies at home. Hence that ardent thirst for vengeance in Orestes: yet he expresses no resolution of his own, but looks to Jupiter and the infernal deities for its execution; harrassed by conflicting feelings he even considers the possibility of conciliating his mother by submission, but immediately abandons this scheme as utterly futile. Then the Chorus carries on the train of thoughts with more of reflection than of passion, and Electra replies to it<sup>2</sup> with narratives detached by their metre from the rest of the

1. The concise view of the *Commos* here given is based upon the instructive Essay by *Abrers de causis quibusdam Æschyli nondum satis emendati*.

2. The very unusual antistrophic mode of dialogue between the Chorus and one of the *dramatis personæ* is easily accounted for in this instance: the parties meet in the same way as *dramatis personæ* in the regular dialogue. Electra and the Hegemon, or some other central member of the Chorus must be imagined to press in upon Orestes from either side. On the other hand, the responsive singing of *Choreutæ* between one another always rests upon the relation between the right and left side of the Chorus, analogous to the relative positions of the *Hemichoria*. This may best be gathered from *Soph. Aj.* 866 sqq. So in the second *Commos* of the *Œdipus Coloneus*, first of all one person, in answer to *Œdipus*, advances towards him and then withdraws, next two members of the Chorus on opposite



dirge and calculated to complete the first tragedy of the trilogy, the scope of which did not admit of their introduction in that place. For instance, we are now informed for the first time that at Agamemnon's burial no Argive citizen, but only the train of Trojan female slaves was allowed to follow: that on that occasion the funeral mourning was conducted by them in the Asiatic style, and in their presence the expiatory rite of cutting the extremities from the corpse<sup>3</sup> was performed by Clytæmnestra, whilst Electra, the rightful conductress of the funeral procession, was scandalously debarred and excluded from the privilege. These representations act most powerfully on Orestes; he instantly declares his determination either to have vengeance or to die in the attempt, and in conjunction with Electra and the Chorus prays for aid from the grave towards the execution of the deed, which the Chorus, concluding the whole in conformity with the rules of art, views as a necessary result of the old family destiny. Thus this elegy in lyric form is the foundation of the Orestean act of vengeance; the details and crafty mode of carrying the act into execution are then debated in dialogue. In the succeeding Choral Ode the guilt and profligacy of Clytæmnestra are again considered, and the approaching Erinnys is conceived to be the inevitable result. The design of Æschylus is to hold up to view in the strongest colours possible every incentive that urges them to take the life of Clytæmnestra. Then follows the execution of the scheme, Orestes in disguise, with the pretended ashes of his own corpse, Electra's counterfeit grief, Clytæmnestra's suppressed joy. Now prevails, as the Chorus observes, the agency of Hermes at once in the character of Chthonius and of

opposite sides sing in answer to each other. In the second portion of the last *Commos* in the same play, one of the principal members of the Chorus responds to *Antigone* just in the same way as before then, *Antigone* to *Ismene*.

3. ἀφοσίωσις, cf. §. 58. N.



Nychius, as God of the nocturnal realm of the dead, and of nocturnal fraud<sup>1</sup>. In the midst of these sensations of dread some relief is afforded by the artless lamentations of Orestes' nurse, who believes in the death of her fosterling: thereupon she fetches Ægisthus without his body-guard, by the direction of the Chorus, which in a stasimon summons all aiding Gods to the assistance of Orestes. Now whereas we only hear the death-groans of Ægisthus from the interior of the palace, it is not till after a violent scene and unavailing self-vindication, and in a manner not till after sentence pronounced on her, that Clytæmnestra is led away to execution by Orestes.

His poetical aims here obliged Æschylus again to dwell upon the bounden duty of such an act, and on the other hand to expose the atrocity of it, and exhibit in a clear point of view that it is not from any passion on his own part, but from the obligation to avenge his father and obey the behests of Apollo, that Orestes slays his mother. Thus, as the Choral Ode expresses it, justice has arrived, the house of the Atridæ is once more raised up, day once more dawns on it. Then on a sudden we are transported to the interior of the palace, and there we behold Orestes standing over the two corpses, holding forth in his hand, in ocular vindication of his deed, the treacherous bathing-garment of Agamemnon. Yet his mind, which as represented by Æschylus is naturally tender (though not in the same sense as that of Shakspeare's Hamlet), and without any desire of its own for revenge has only obeyed the dictates of duty, is now by the violence of the hitherto suppressed feelings

1. This idea was probably developed in the parts of the prologue which are lost. The passage v. 711 sqq. requires in my opinion only this alteration: ὦ πότνια χθών.....νῦν ἐπάρηξον (νῦν γὰρ ἀκμάζει Πειθῶ δολία), ξυγκαταβῆναι Χθόνιον θ' Ἑρμῆν, καὶ τὸν Νύχιον τοῖσδ' ἐφοδεῦσαι, κ.τ.λ. As Δόλιος, Hermes is Νύχιος by day also (805). I write v. 680 thus: οἱ ἐγὼ, κατ' ἄκρας ἔμπᾶς (from many analogous forms) ὡς πορθούμεθα.





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assumes, by means of the *parodos*<sup>1</sup>, a steady position, and the action is turned into a settled channel; the Chorus unfolds its ranks and encompassing Orestes as already their victim, describes with gloomy solemnity its terrible office. Minerva appears and resolves on deciding the otherwise interminable dispute by the institution of the first Court for the trial of the manslayer. The Choral Ode following this transaction we might expect to find more impassioned and furious, since the Erinnyes already speak of the annihilation of their power as a possible event; but with Æschylus, who proceeds on the principle of making the details subordinate to the main objects of tragedy, this Ode is above all others an admonition of the Erinnyes to the Athenians to recognize their influence, and the authority of strict laws and controlling powers in the state. On this account it must necessarily be solemn and composed. Then ensues the litigation between Orestes, or rather Apollo, and the Erinnyes, in which especially the higher dignity of paternal rights and the personal motives to the act are contrasted with the unconditional claim of vengeance for the blood of the mother. Then upon the

1 The late occurrence of the *Parodos* is as characteristic of this tragedy as in the *Œdipus at Colonus* (§. 16, Note). By this means a separation is made between the former portion of the tragedy in which unsettled, fluctuating movements predominate, and the latter, in which the action falls into a regular course and advances in a settled order with certain fixed resting-points (§. 14). In the *Agamemnon* the case is reversed, almost the entire second portion of the tragedy, from 940—1658, having no Stasimon, because in this instance there is no opportunity for a resting-point such as the Stasima furnish. In defining the main idea of the *Parodos* to be 'an Ode during which the Chorus gains its proper station and arranges itself on the lines in the Orchestra,' I admit that the Ancients themselves appear to have frequently confounded it with the first Ode sung by the Chorus in its regular order. Moreover, the Ode during which the Chorus takes its station is frequently followed immediately by another, after it is stationary. In such cases these Odes are separated from each other by the insertion of an Epode, as in Soph. *Ajax*, Euripides *Phœnissæ*, and *Iph. in Aul.* This Epode cannot have been sung during the movements, i. e. during the *Parodos* in the strict sense, for in Pindar the very songs that accompany marches and processions are without Epodes. In the *Agamemnon* we have Anapæsts (entry) and a dactylic pair of Strophes with an Epode (arrangement) for the *Parodos*, and then forthwith the first Stasimon. In the *Persæ*, Anapæsts (entry), Strophes consisting of Ionics with Mesode (arrangement), then the first Stasimon.



inaugural address of Minerva follows the acquittal of Orestes, and, in token of his gratitude for so great a benefit, his promise of a league with Argos: but the wrath of the Erinnyes is increased to the highest pitch by the means, and is only appeased by Minerva's eloquence, nobly composed of mildness and conscious power, and by the institution of their sacred cultus: by these means the terrible deities of the lower world, always on the understanding of their authority remaining inviolate, are converted into benevolent powers of the Attic realm. 'This compact,' as the closing sentiment expresses it, 'have Jupiter and the Moiræ made with Athens.'

There is no need of further demonstration to shew how satisfactorily throughout the whole trilogy the feelings are carried from proud exultation in victory through gloomy apprehensions and dark presentiments to the most appalling flashes of horror; then how, under the influence of nocturnal powers, after considerable fluctuation, we are led to a strangely mingled state of satisfaction and inward awe; how these elements, in a manner required beforehand by the feelings, are brought out in all their vigour and sharpness, until by the wisdom of the deities at Athens the conciliation of the conflicting powers is effected, and with it a feeling of satisfaction, not restricted merely to the individual history of Orestes.

For that the poet's object is not merely to console us in respect to Orestes, is evident from the manner of his dismissal from the stage without a Choral Ode in celebration of his destiny. The Poet seems almost to forget Orestes in the establishment of the Areopagus and the cultus of the Erinnyes, two institutions which Æschylus deems closely connected and alike momentous to the welfare of the community, as in fact they were (Cf. §. 67, 68.). But should any conceive the subject of the piece to be here sacrificed to a patriotic political



interest, he would in my opinion utterly misconceive Æschylus's principles.

*The main idea of the trilogy*,—which consists in pointing out how a curse, rooted in the human race and generating one misdeed out of another, is averted by the superior control of the saving God, in a case where only the family-destiny and no guilt of his own weighs upon the curse-possessed person ;—this idea, I say, is by no means checked in its developement by such a direction of affairs. On the contrary, the view held forth by Æschylus that it was in *Athenian* institutions that this providence of Saviour-Gods was embodied, and severity and mercy met together after the right fashion, must have made the impression the warmer and more lively on the minds of his contemporaries. In short, the political aim of the trilogy,—the inculcation of respect for the Areopagus, and generally for institutions consecrated and established for the purpose of holding unbridled licence in check,—is intimately blended with the ethico-religious idea of the whole.

Now as Æschylus generally, as in this particular instance, makes the fable subordinate to the idea, so again the delineation of character ranks with him below the developement of the fable, and, as it were, occupies the third place. No one will deny, indeed, that in the *Eumenides*, not to mention the preceding plays, the character of Orestes, in his entire devotion to his duty and calm reliance on the Gods, and that of the tutelary Goddess of Athens, in her perfect self-possession and imperturbable moderation and control of her power, are in themselves very well preserved, and that many delicate traits may be observed in them ; but still they are no more than what the tragic whole requires them to be. The delineation of character in more perfect individuality, and a deeper penetration into the human heart were reserved for Sophocles, who in pursuance of this object was frequently obliged to place the culminating point of his art at a distance from the central





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intermediate pieces<sup>1</sup>; whereas there is certainly no other piece that can be compared, in respect to the train of thoughts and feelings, with the *Eumenides*: it is the only concluding tragedy we have. The reason why, with the exception of the *Oresteia*, nothing but *second* pieces of Æschylus have been preserved, appears to be that the quiet progress and minute detail of the first pieces, as well as the tendency to mythic speculations rather than delineation of human passions in the third or concluding pieces, had less attractions for the later ages of antiquity, than the equably sustained pathos of the intermediate pieces.

Likewise with respect to the very difficult problem, by what power of imagination the extravagant humour of a Satyric play could be brought into connexion with the profound seriousness of a tragic trilogy, the *Oresteia* furnishes; in my opinion, the principal source of information, although of the annexed Satyric drama, the *Proteus*, we have only the name remaining. Our attention is very properly directed<sup>2</sup> to the circumstance of its being this very sea-god Proteus who foretold to Agamemnon's brother Menelaus his return to Argos. But together with this prophecy, the *Odyssey*<sup>3</sup> remarks that Menelaus will arrive too late to avenge his brother, and not before the burial of Ægisthus;—a remark which is expressed more plainly in another passage<sup>4</sup>, and was further developed in the Cyclian poem, the *Return of Augeas*<sup>5</sup>. And in this very way the tale is taken up by Euripides in the *Orestes*, that strange mixture of very ancient fables and very modern views. Now in the first piece of the *Oresteia*, where Agamemnon is commending Ulysses as his only faithful companion, and representing others, who seemed the best-disposed, as

1. Moreover in these pieces that stand-still in the middle, first noticed by *Heeren*, is particularly observable. This cannot be fully explained otherwise than by the connexion of the trilogy, as, for instance, the appearance of Io in the *Prometheus*.

2. Boeckh. *Trag. Princip.* p. 268.

3. Book IV. 547.

4. *Ib.* III. 311.

5. in Proclus' *Crestomathy*.



mere specious friends<sup>6</sup>, it is evident that he complains of the conduct of Menelaus in particular, who, according to Homer, separated himself at his return from Agamemnon. Thus Menelaus, who, at the period of his brother's murder and during the rule of the overbearing adulterers in the palace of the Atridæ, had in company with the beautiful Helen, the faithless author of all this distress, encountered many an adventure, and in the acquisition of wealth had roamed all along the barbarian coasts, might very well answer the purpose of a counterpiece to the faithful Orestes; he might fairly be treated by old Proteus with that calm irony which the Ancients delighted in attributing to those sage Genii, and at the same time be exposed to the waywardness and raillery of the Satyric Chorus. Whether the acquittal of Orestes was regarded as the satisfactory conclusion of the whole composition, or whether the ironical speeches of Proteus went to display the whole splendour of the house of Pelops in its perishableness, and expose the emptiness of all human grandeur, is a question which I do not pretend to determine.

6. v. 812. cf. v. 610 sqq.









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## CALCULUS MINERVÆ.

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IT was a principle laid down in the Athenian Law, that the defendant was acquitted if the votes for and against him were equal<sup>1</sup>; and the same principle held in the Roman Law-Courts.

The author of the Aristotelian Problems produces several reasons to account for this old and natural custom: *Διὰ τί ποτε, ὅταν τῷ φεύγοντι καὶ τῷ διώκοντι φαίνωνται οἱ ψῆφοι ἴσαι, ὁ φεύγων νικᾷ.* But the true reason is to be found in the peculiar spirit of the Greek nation, which in the earlier times delighted in referring all the circumstances of actual life to divine ordinances and events of the past. In the case under consideration, where the Judges themselves gave no positive decision, a benevolent Deity was imagined to interpose and give a casting vote in favour of the defendant, and a tale was invented for the purpose of accounting for that divine interposition. In other words, Minerva's ballot is neither more nor less than the mythic expression of the principle, that where Justice is undecided Mercy prevails.

This must be evident to every one who is familiar with the elements of Mythology, as understood at the present day. It may however be rendered comprehensible even to one who has not employed himself on this study, that the Calculus Minervæ is only the imaginary addition of a casting ballot in the case of *ισοψηφία*. Thus, supposing we assume the case that in the trial of Orestes Minerva gives her vote for the defendant, and so makes the numbers equal; still

<sup>1</sup>. This point is clearly and accurately stated by Schömann, in the *Att. Process*, p. 722.



Orestes would not have been acquitted by the means. For this transaction is regarded (at least by Æschylus) as the first trial for homicide, and the Erinyes fancy themselves already in possession of their prey. Consequently there cannot possibly be any reference to the practice of subsequent times, or to a general principle of leniency; and a further explanation is now required to account for the superiority of the white ballots over an equal number of black ones. If it be attempted to explain the circumstance by the superiority of the person whose vote makes the number of ballots equal, such an interpretation is merely arbitrary, as much so as it would be to imagine the addition of two votes.

Our view of the subject agrees with the most authentic testimony of the ancients. We will begin with Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1483:

— ἐκσώσασα σε  
καὶ πρὶν γ', Ἀρείοις ἐν πάγοις ψήφους ἴσας  
κρίνας', Ὀρέστα, καὶ νόμισμ' εἰς ταῦτό γε  
νικᾶν ἰσῆρεις ὅστις ἂν ψήφους λάβῃ.

Minerva plainly says here, that she rescued Orestes by deciding on the equal votes in the Areopagus, and that on that very account it continued to be a law, that when the votes were equal the defendant should be acquitted. It could not possibly occur to any Greek to take κρίνειν ψήφους ἴσας in any other sense than settling or deciding on an equality of votes. It might perhaps be proposed to understand ἴσας as the result of κρίνειν, the equality as the result of the balloting (in the sense of pronouncing the votes equal); but that would be contrary to all usage of language, as the declaring votes to be equal cannot be denoted by κρίνειν; and still more would it contradict the natural sense of the passage, since this very ψήφους ἴσας κρίνειν is adduced as a cause of the custom, νικᾶν ἰσῆρεις, &c.;





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We come next to the testimony of later authorities: on the subject. In Aristides the Rhetorician we have the following passage (Vol. i. p. 24 A. Cant.): *φεύγοντα δ' (Ὀρέστην) Ἀθήνησι δίκην ὑπ' Ἐυμενίδων, ἴσων τῶν ψήφων γενομένων, προσθεμένη τὴν παρ' αὐτῆς σώζει καὶ τοίνυν ἔτι νῦν σώζει πάντας, ἔαν ἴσαι γένωνται.* And Julian says (Or. III. p. 114 D. Spanheim): *εἴποτε τῶν δικαζόντων αἱ ψῆφοι κατ' ἴσον φαίνοντο τοῖς φεύγουσι πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιτεθεμένην τῷ τὴν δίκην ὀφλήσειν μέλλοντι, ἀπολύειν ἄμφω τῆς αἰτίας.*

These passages clearly express the same view of the subject that I have taken, namely, that Minerva's ballot was added in order to remove the *ισοψηφία*. Lucian, however, was of opinion, that Minerva's ballot was added to the white when there were more of the black ballots. (Cf. Piscatorr. c. 21. Harmonid. c. 3, fin.). But Lucian's authority is of much less weight than that of Aristides on a question of Attic Archæology. One point in which all these authors are agreed is the important position, that the Calculus Minervæ did not exist merely for the history of Orestes, but was applied in historical times also, in order to produce the same result. Now it is perfectly incredible that such a custom could have existed at Athens in historical times, as that of giving the superiority to the white ballots by the imaginary addition of Minerva's ballot, when there was one more of the black than of the white. This is in direct contradiction of the unquestionable position from which we set out: and moreover we have an instance of a person being cast by a majority of one vote against him (Dem. c. Mid. p. 538). In historical times the Athenian Courts consisted of one more than a round number; there were, for instance, 51 Ephets (Pollux, VIII. 124) and 201 or 401 Dicasts in the ten principal Courts (Pollux, VIII. 48): This arrangement arose from the desire of avoiding equality



of votes: whereas, if the intention of Minerva's ballot had been to effect *ισοψηφία*, just the contrary result would have been produced. There would have been no advantage in having 51 Ephets, if 26 condemned and 25 acquitted: this in fact would be nothing but an abuse of humanity. In mythic times, on the contrary, we must conceive the number of Judges to have consisted of an *even* number, in order to allow of *ισοψηφία*, that Minerva might have an opportunity of typifying the principle of humanity by her supernumerary ballot.

This brings us back to the procedure in the *Eumenides*, which may now be placed in the clearest point of view.

Minerva had declared at the very outset (v. 424), when Orestes petitioned her to act as Judge in his cause, that it was not *θέμις* for her *φόνου διαρπείν ὄξυμηνίτου δίκας*. Accordingly it is impossible she should subsequently act as Judge, by giving a vote previous to the decision. During the trial she is present in the character of *εἰσαγωγεὺς*, but is never addressed as Judge. That office she had decidedly declined. When the question comes to the balloting, Minerva announces the new *θέσμος*, impresses on the Athenians the dignity and sanctity of the institution, and concludes with reminding the Judges of the solemnity of their office and of the oath they have taken. After the balloting she declares her intention of giving a vote for Orestes, (because she feels more sympathy for the murdered man than for the woman); and pronounces that Orestes is to gain the cause, even should the votes be equal. Here it is obvious, that the second idea is only a conclusion drawn from the first, and that Minerva (a Goddess not unacquainted with the future) foresees the result of the balloting, and provides a means of adjusting the *ισοψηφία* by taking a ballot on her own account. Had Minerva's idea been this: 'First I will give a vote for Orestes, and then ordain that Orestes



is to be victorious in consequence of the equality of votes thereby produced;’ then in the first place this second idea must have been denoted as a new addition by the requisite particles (as καὶ μὲν), and in the next place the establishment of this νόμισμα, which Aristotle has given himself so much trouble to account for, would surely have needed a word or two in vindication. But why does not Minerva immediately put in this ballot? This question likewise is easily answered. The reason is this; because the Ἀθηναίς ψῆφος is no judicial vote: that ballot was never thrown with the rest into the urn, but was added in fancy, after the black and white ballots had been sorted and found equal. Hence it necessarily follows that Minerva cannot add her ballot, the meaning of which she had previously explained, till after those of the Judges had been counted, and it had been found that the white were equal in number to the black. Ἀνὴρ ὃδ’ ἐκπέφευγεν αἵματος δίκην· ἴσον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰριθμημα τῶν πάλων expresses the same event as present, that had been announced as future in ψῆφον δ’ Ὀρέστη τήν δ’ ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι—νικᾶ δ’ Ὀρέστης, καὶν ἰσόψηφος κριθῆ.

Now this is a sufficient motive for Orestes to extol Minerva as his Preserver, for without her decision on the ἰσοψηφία he would not have been liberated from the Erinnyes; and at the same time Minerva is enabled to console the Erinnyes (v. 762) with the assurance that they were not defeated, but that in fact the trial had ended in ἰσοψηφία, the Judges having really paired off equally, and thereby acknowledged their high consideration for the claims of the Erinnyes; it was only Minerva who, by favouring Orestes with her vote in this ἰσοψηφία of the Court, decided the cause, as also the mode of proceeding for the future in similar cases.

It appears to me, that this explanation leaves not a shadow of doubt on the subject, and places every expression of Æschylus bearing on this point in the clearest light.





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on the Thymele; that is the ὕβρις, which had befallen the Thymele.

Whilst the instrumental Music in the Greek Theatre was continually gaining the upper-hand, the Orchestra gradually underwent a different arrangement, and the Thymele received a new significance<sup>1</sup>, which must not be confounded with the original one. By this alteration the Orchestra was divided into the *κονίστρα*, a kind of arena on level ground, and a somewhat raised platform, called by some Lexicographers<sup>2</sup> Orchestra, in its limited sense, and by others Thymele. The platform lay towards the Proscenium, the *κονίστρα* towards the Amphitheatre; but the original Thymele, or Altar of Dionysus, was left standing on the line of separation between the *κονίστρα* and the Orchestra. The former of these would still serve for Choral dances, processions, &c. (unless required for sitting room), whilst the Thymele became the stage for the flute-players and other musical performers, and also for the Dancers<sup>3</sup> and Mimes. Vitruvius<sup>4</sup> observes that on this account the Greeks made a distinction between the *scenici* and the *thymelici*, the former being the tragic and comic actors who performed on the stage, the latter the rest of the performers, who exhibited their skill in the Orchestra. In Rome this distinction was unknown: there the musicians made their appearance on the stage as well as the actors, and the orchestra was entirely occupied by seats. This meaning of the Thymele and the Thymelici extends through

1. For an exact account of this cf. Suidas and the Etymol. M. s. v. σκηνή.

2. The words of Suidas run thus: Μετὰ τὴν σκηνὴν εὐθύς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ἢ ὄρχήστρα. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὁ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐφ' οὗ θεατρίζουσιν οἱ μῖμοι (whence *planipedes* according to Diomed). ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄρχήστραν βωμὸς τοῦ Διονύσου, ὃς καλεῖται θυμέλη παρὰ τὸ θύειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυμέλην ἢ κονίστρα, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ κάτω ἔδαφος τοῦ θεάτρου. Suidas gives the name of Ὀρχήστρα to that which others call θυμέλη. This is very evident from the passages where Mimes exhibit on the Thymele, and still more from the comparison with the passages in Vitruvius and Phrynichus cited further on.

3. Lucian on the Dance 76, and others.

4. V. 8.



the whole Roman period down to the Byzantine Aula<sup>5</sup>. Phrynichus<sup>6</sup> observes, that in his time Thymele was the name given to the place where the Auletæ, Citharœdi and many other musical performers presented themselves; but that in good Attic times the comic and tragic actors appeared on the Logeum, the flute-players and Chorus in the Orchestra.

The result of these investigations respecting the Thymele is, that it derived its origin from the Dionysian-Altar round which the Cyclic or Dithyrambic Chorus used to move, and therefore stood in the centre of the Orchestra; that it continued to stand, as an Altar of Dionysus, on the line of separation between the Conistra and the Thymele or Orchestra of later times, that line being in all probability the diameter of the circle describing the Orchestra. It further results, that the Chorus was not entirely on this Thymele, because a mere platform would not have allowed room for their evolutions, but formed a group round it, and that the Thymele, which could only be for the service of the Chorus, was made use of by it in some way or other. And that at least the *Hegemon* of the Chorus took his station upon it, (i. e. of course, if the Thymele was an Altar, on the steps of it), is in the highest degree probable from the circumstance, that the Hegemon was the third in the left file of Choreutæ<sup>7</sup>; but from undoubted testimony (p. 62 sq.) we know that this file was posted nearest to the Spectators: consequently, unless the Hegemon occupied an elevated position, he could not very well see over the two files between him and the Stage, and speak, as was frequently the case, as the organ of the Chorus with the persons of the Stage. Upon the same Thymele, but of course detached from the Chorus and in a less conspicuous station, stood also the Rhabdophoræ, whose office was to maintain order and quiet in the Theatre<sup>8</sup>.

5. Cf. Reiske on Constant. Porphyrog. p. 222. c. 7. (362, 1.)

6. p. 163. Lobeck. 7. The τρίτος ἀριστεροῦ. 8. Schol. Aristoph. Pax. 735.



The scanty information we possess relative to the Thymele in the early Greek Theatre may perhaps be rendered more intelligible, by deducing from the Tragedians themselves the form which the Thymele assumed according to the requirements of different dramas. The following views on the use of the Thymele, in some of Æschylus's tragedies, I offer merely as a precursory essay.

In the *Agamemnon* the Chorus enters, singing the nine Anapæstic systems (v. 40—103), in regular rank and file: the conclusion of the ode brings them in front of the stage, on which Clytæmnestra makes her appearance, and they ask her what intelligence it was that prompted her to order sacrifices on all the altars. There can be no doubt that the stage and the Orchestra exhibited the very spectacle of altars blazing with flames fed with oil (v. 94).

This is followed by an Ode of a peculiar kind, composed in solemn dactylic measure. It closes with an Epode, and no doubt was distinguished in respect to the place as well as the mode of its delivery from the following trochaic Ode (the first Stasimon). At the end of the Anapæsts the Chorus had probably turned away from the Stage towards the Theatre, and sings the Strophes as it approaches the place where it intends to take up its usual position round the Thymele. But in the proper Stasimon, the trochaic Ode consisting of five Strophes and Antistrophes, the Chorus, before relating the story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, turns to Jupiter, as the only God by whom the mind can be enlightened and directed, whether it is to abandon itself to further anxiety, or to dismiss all apprehension. This invocation to Jupiter leads us to the natural supposition, that there was a Statue of Jupiter on the altar of the Thymele. In this case the commencement of the second Stasimon with an invocation to Jupiter is doubly appropriate, as well as the general pre-





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original signification), as can be proved from Homer and Hesiod<sup>1</sup>: whence the Ancients<sup>2</sup> themselves explained the ἰγώνιοι θεοὶ of Æschylus as ἀγοραῖοι.

Taking all this into consideration, perhaps it may not appear an improbable supposition, that in the Agamemnon the Thymele was decorated and furnished with statues in imitation of the κοινοβωμία of the Argive ἀγορά. On an ample base the Altar of Jupiter, as ὕπατος, rose above all the rest: and about it were Altars of other ἀγοραῖοι or ἰγώνιοι θεοί, especially those of Apollo, Artemis, and Hermes. Even the ἡρώων θῆκαι may possibly have been exhibited, as tombs of heroes in market-places were nothing uncommon, and there was a considerable number of them in the Agora at Argos.

The arrangement of the Orchestra in the *Suppliants* is very similar to that in the Agamemnon. The Scene in the *Suppliants* is also laid at Argos, but in an open square before the city (v. 933): it is designated however as a place of public assembly (λαῶν χωρὸς, v. 954). The Danaids with the infulæ make their entrance into the Orchestra in organized ranks, singing nine Anapæstic systems, and on the summons of Old Danaus they form themselves in a group about the platform<sup>3</sup>, on which the altars of the Argive Gods of Assembly stand. From the prayers offered on this occasion<sup>4</sup> by the Danaids and their father we see that the images (βρέτεια, v. 424. 458) of Zeus, Helios, Apollo, Poseidon, who was distinguished by the τρίαινα (cf. v. 786), and Hermes, who probably held a herald's staff, stood here together as ἰγώνιοι θεοί. The Danaids take their seats at these altars, whilst Danaus stands among them

1. According to the genuine reading of Theogon. 91. See Muetzell *de Emenatione Theogon. Hesiod.* p. 338.

2. S. Scholl. on Il. 24, 1.

3. This platform or terrace is called πάγος ἀγωνίων θεῶν, v. 186. ἀνάκτων ὠνδε κοινοβωμία, v. 219. πρύμνα πόλεως, v. 340. ἰκεταδόκος σκοπή, v. 694. f. also vv. 239. 350.

4. vv. 206—218. These verses, however, require first to be arranged correctly.



on the highest step (v. 205. 475. cf. v. 694). As they start up one after another, they sing between whiles the Strophes, v. 343. 354. 365. 376. 387. 397, and the Ode, v. 413—432, (probably delivered in the commatic form): till upon the summons of the King they deposit their infulæ on the *κοινοβωμία*, and descend into the open space (*λευρὸν, βέβηλον ἄλσος*, v. 503, 4,) in front of the *κοινοβωμία*. Here they re-arrange themselves in the order of rank and file, which they had left during the first Choral Ode (v. 40—172), as that Ode broke up gradually into single voices, and all join in singing the Stasimon v. 519—594, as well as the noble benedictory Ode v. 625—690<sup>b</sup>. Afterwards, when Danaus descries from the *κοινοβωμία* the approach of the Egyptians, and is on the point of going off in quest of succour, the Chorus again breaks up its ranks and flees for harbour to the Altars<sup>c</sup>. The following songs are entirely commatic. But whilst the King rescues the Suppliants at least from the danger that immediately threatens them, the Danaids and their attendants take up their position, in a new and peculiar form of arrangement, in the public square (*λαῶν ἐν χωρῶ*) and sing the concluding Ode in alternating order.

Here then we again have a *κοινοβωμία*, which could only be in the Orchestra (unless the Chorus remained almost constantly on the Stage), and must therefore answer to the Thymele. It also follows, that in this tragedy the dancing-place of the Chorus, in its regular form, was in front of the Thymele; though that still presents no objection, why the leading person of the Chorus should not occupy her station on the platform upon which the altars of the *ἀγώνιοι θεοὶ* were raised. The altars might still be at a tolerable distance from

<sup>b</sup>. In this ode, however, the constant bipartition of the two first pairs of Strophes, compared with the burden of them, seems to denote that the first portion was sung by single voices or ranks, and only the second portion, as also the fourth pair of Strophes, by the whole Chorus.

<sup>c</sup>. Cf. particularly vv. 706. 732. 738. 795.



the dancing-place of the Chorus; as is the case in the *Seven against Thebes*, where the Chorus of Theban Maidens come in without any settled order, and throw themselves down before the altars and images of the Seven Gods of the city Thebes<sup>1</sup> (Zeus, Pallas and Poseidon, Ares and Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis); and do not sing a stasimon in regular rank and file till afterwards, when, upon the injunction of Eteocles<sup>2</sup>, they have withdrawn from the images of the Gods.

Letting alone the question, whether, in the *Choephœre* and the *Persæ*, the Thymele did not represent the tombs of Agamemnon and Darius (which is Genelli's opinion), I may make use of what I have said about the altars and images in the Orchestra, which occur in the three above-mentioned Tragedies, in further support of the view, that in the *Eumenides* the Orchestra, which represented the square in front of the Temple, had an altar with the four images of the four possessors of the Oracle, Gaïa, Themis, Phœbe, and Apollo. This arrangement is almost indispensable, because the marked contrast between the *εὐχή* to those Deities and the respectful invocation to the others, among whom is Jupiter himself, is not adequately accounted for, unless the former are actually in view as proper objects of the Cultus: and we have shewn this supposition to be quite compatible with the usual arrangement of the Theatre in *Æschylus*.

1. The inserted exclamation *ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα*, v. 137, which is quite natural coming from virgins, is carefully to be distinguished from these prayers.

2. *ἐκτός οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων*, v. 247.





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	PAGE		PAGE
<b>Æschylus Eumenides,</b>		<b>Æschylus Eumenides,</b>	
<b>explained V. 244—265</b> .....	67 sqq.	<b>explained V. 651</b> .....	180
246 .....	170	651 sqq. ....	97
250 .....	177	653..... 98. 109. 114	
268 .....	138	655 .....	98
272 .....	163	658 .....	98
273 .....	157	674. 675 .....	114
275 .....	140. 163	679 .....	181
276 .....	164	680 .....	179
279 .....	117	687 .....	145
284 .....	103 note 7	688 .....	140 note 3
296—311 .....	70 sqq.	700 sqq. ....	57
312 .....	214	705. 711, 2 .....	181
312—374 .....	74 sqq.	728 sqq. ....	220
335 .....	171 note.	729 .....	206 note.
340 .....	222 note.	734 .....	117
361 .....	203. 211	746 .....	121
375 .....	123	748—760 .....	85
382. 383 .....	103	762 .....	181
386—467 .....	177	772 .....	207
395 .....	187	773 .....	207. 209
407 .....	177	799 .....	206
411 .....	179	801—809 .....	85
419 .....	145	855 .....	206
423 .....	140	857 .....	207
426 .....	138	826. 863... 121 and note.	
427 .....	157	870 .....	205 note.
429 .....	163	884 sqq. ....	205 sq.
430 .....	158	894 .....	211
446. 449 .....	177	919 .....	215 note.
451 .....	140 note.	876—955 .....	85 sq.
452 .....	140	928. 931 .....	218
461 .....	179	932 .....	110
462 .....	109. 180	944 .....	203 note.
465 .....	179	946 .....	203
468—535 .....	82 sqq.	958 .....	207
536 .....	97	960 .....	209
540 .....	113 sq.	964 .....	208
542 .....	116 and note.	965 .....	53
550. 552 .....	179	977 .....	207. 208
565 .....	185	978 .....	99
566 .....	136	981 .....	208
574 .....	132	982 .....	53. 203 note.
579. 583, 4 .....	185	— .....	208
615 .....	213	984 .....	203
625 .....	131	986 sqq. ....	86
639 .....	117	988 .....	207
650 .....	179	993 .....	203



	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Æschylus Perrhæbides and Ixion</i> ...	144	<b>C.</b>	
— <i>Periæ</i> .....	58. 114	<i>Cadmus</i> .....	192
— <i>Prometheus</i> .....	237	<i>Calculus Minervæ</i> .....	180. 243 sqq.
— <i>Proteus</i> .....	237	<i>Χάλκεος οὐδός</i> .....	190
— <i>Supplices</i> .....	58. 118. 237	<i>Χλοῦνις</i> .....	28
— <i>V. 679</i> .....	118	<i>Catharsis, 141. 157. poetic</i> .....	225
— <i>956 sqq.</i> .....	59	<i>Ceryneæ</i> .....	162
<i>Ἄγνιτης</i> .....	138	<i>Cimon</i> .....	112
<i>Agatharchus</i> .....	98	<i>Cithæron</i> .....	194
<i>ἀγχιστίνοδην ὀμύναι</i> .....	125	<i>Chorus, responding to the dramatic</i>	
<i>Aidōs, αἰδέσασθαι</i> .....	139	<i>personæ.</i> ....	230 note.
<i>ἀλατεῖ</i> † .....	37	<i>Choregus</i> .....	47
<i>Alexandrine criticism</i> .....	139 note.	<i>Χόρειος ἐξελιγμός</i> .....	81
<i>Amyclæ</i> .....	160	<i>Chthonic divinities</i> .....	146. 209
<i>Anapæsts</i> .....	70	<i>Χθόνιον λουτρόν</i> ... ..	151
<i>Ἄνδρηλάτης</i> .....	126	<i>Clytemnestra's wound</i> .....	103
<i>Ἄνδροφόνος</i> .....	127	<i>Colonus Hippius</i> .....	195
<i>Annus magnus</i> .....	153	<i>Conjunctive expressing resolve</i> .....	42
<i>Ἀπενιαυτισμός</i> .....	150	<i>Corycian grotto</i> .....	88
<i>Apis, Iatromantis</i> .....	160	<i>Coryphæi</i> .....	63
<i>ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι</i> .....	158	<i>Cyclic Poets</i> .....	199
<i>Apollo Delphinus</i> .....	148. 173	— <i>Chorus</i> .....	54
— <i>Καθαρτής</i> .....	159	— <i>Thebais</i> .....	187
— <i>Καταιβάτης</i> .....	150	<b>D.</b>	
— <i>Exegetes</i> .....	182 sqq.	<i>Dactyls, solemn metre</i> .....	84
— <i>in the lower world</i> .....	150. 152	<i>Delphine</i> .....	149. 151
— <i>his bondage</i> .....	152	<i>Delphinium, Court of</i> ...	166. 173. 175, 6
<i>Ἀπόνιμα</i> .....	151. 158	<i>Delphic Altar</i> .....	88
<i>Arion</i> .....	199	<i>Delphusa</i> .....	151 note, 201
<i>Ares</i> .....	192	<i>Demeter-Erinnys and Εὐχλοοί</i> .....	195
<i>Areopagus</i> .....	57. 107	<i>Thesmophoros</i> .....	202
<i>ἀρήσασθαι Ἐρινῦς</i> .....	187	<i>Demosthenes c. Macart. p. 1069</i> .....	124.
<i>Argos</i> .....	116	128	
<i>Aries subjicitur</i> .....	155	— <i>c. Pantænet. 983</i> .....	126
<i>Aristides</i> .....	115	<i>Dionysus, πάθη of</i> .....	226
<i>Aristotle's definition of Tragedy</i> .....	225	<i>Dionysian costume</i> .....	100
<i>Ἀρμάτειος νόμος</i> .....	76	— <i>purifications</i> .....	161
<i>Ate</i> .....	130	<i>Διοπομπαῖα</i> .....	148 note, 158
<i>Ate's Hill</i> .....	172	<i>Διὸς κώδιον</i> .....	148. 158
<i>Athamantidæ</i> .....	137	<i>Disoteria</i> .....	222
<i>Athens</i> .....	218	<i>Dithyrambic Chorus</i> .....	53
— <i>Polias</i> .....	208	<i>Dochmii</i> .....	85
— <i>image of</i> .....	96	<i>Dorotheus Εὐπατριδῶν πάτρια</i> 183 note.	
<i>Avenging of blood</i> .....	124 sqq.	<i>Dragon of Thebes</i> .....	192. 200
<i>Aulæum</i> .....	94	<i>Draco</i> .....	169. 170
<i>Aulodic songs</i> .....	75	<i>Dual</i> .....	68
<i>ἀφοσιοῦσθαι</i> .....	155 and note.		



- |   | PAGE      |   | PAGE      |
|---|-----------|---|-----------|
| <b>E.</b>                                   |           |   |           |
| <b>Eccyclema</b> .....                      | 56. 91    | <b>Hesychidæ</b> .....                        | 207       |
| <b>Ἐλελεῦ, ἐλελίξειν</b> .....              | 70        | <b>Hesychius vindicated</b> .....             | 221 note. |
| <b>Ἐμβατήριοι Παιᾶνες</b> .....             | 70 sq.    | <b>Homer, II. ix. 64 explained</b> .....      | 131       |
| <b>ἐναγίζειν</b> .....                      | 146 note. | ———— <b>xxiv. 432 restored</b> .....          | 138       |
| <b>Ἐνατὰ</b> .....                          | 154       | ———— <b>Od. III. 306 explained, 204 note.</b> |           |
| <b>Enchytristria</b> .....                  | 158       | ———— <b>xxiii. 119</b> .....                  | 130       |
| <b>Ephetae, 166. ἐφότης</b> .....           | 170       | <b>Homeric treatment of legends..</b> ..      | 143       |
| <b>Ephialtes, 108. death of</b> .....       | 111       | ———— <b>infernal world</b> .....              | 179       |
| <b>ἐπικραίνειν</b> .....                    | 206 note. | <b>Hydrophoria</b> .....                      | 150       |
| <b>Eriphthegmatic verses</b> .....          | 75        | <b>I.</b>                                     |           |
| <b>Erode</b> .....                          | 234 note. | <b>Ἴκετήρια</b> .....                         | 102       |
| <b>Eros</b> .....                           | 225       | <b>Ἴκτωρ</b> .....                            | 159 note. |
| <b>Erigone of Accius</b> .....              | 136       | <b>Ἴκέτης</b> .....                           | 138 sq.   |
| <b>Erinyes 151. 159. 164. 171. 186 sqq.</b> | 206       | <b>Ixion</b> .....                            | 144       |
| <b>ἐρινύειν</b> .....                       | 186       | <b>Incantations</b> .....                     | 75        |
| <b>Eteonus</b> .....                        | 194       | <b>Jupiter, see Zeus.</b>                     |           |
| <b>εὐθεΐα δίκη</b> .....                    | 179       | <b>K.</b>                                     |           |
| <b>Eumenides</b> .....                      | 203       | <b>Κατηρτυκῶς</b> .....                       | 140 note. |
| <b>Eumolpidæ, exegesis of</b> .....         | 184       | <b>Κομμοί, κομματικά</b> .....                | 65        |
| <b>Eupatridæ, jus sacrum</b> .....          | 168. 182  | <b>L.</b>                                     |           |
| <b>Euphorion verb</b> .....                 | 196       | <b>Λείτη</b> .....                            | 39        |
| <b>Ἐυφρόνη</b> .....                        | 214       | <b>Λήϊτον</b> .....                           | 137       |
| <b>Euripides, his treatment of legends</b>  | 135       | <b>Lemnian festival of atonement</b> .....    | 154       |
| ———— <b>Orestes</b> .....                   | 76        | <b>Lesbians</b> .....                         | 123       |
| ———— <b>Supplices</b> .....                 | 59        | <b>Ληκύθιον</b> ..                            | 84 note.  |
| <b>Expiation at Rome</b> .....              | 141       | <b>Λίται</b> .....                            | 142       |
| <b>G.</b>                                   |           | <b>Lydian mode</b> .....                      | 84        |
| <b>Γενέθλια</b> .....                       | 214 note. | <b>M.</b>                                     |           |
| <b>Γενέσια</b> .....                        | 205       | <b>Mæmacteria</b> .....                       | 148       |
| <b>Gorgons</b> .....                        | 216       | <b>Μασχαλιστήρ</b> .....                      | 100       |
| <b>Γρήνος</b> .....                         | 90. 102   | <b>Medea's children</b> .....                 | 150       |
| <b>Grecian humanity in the early times</b>  | 142. 186  | <b>Menelaus</b> .....                         | 239       |
| <b>H.</b>                                   |           | <b>Menæceus</b> .....                         | 200       |
| <b>Harpies</b> .....                        | 216       | <b>Mermeros</b> .....                         | 150       |
| <b>Hegemon</b> .....                        | 62        | <b>Μητρὸς Ἐρινύες</b> .....                   | 188       |
| <b>Hercules</b> .....                       | 145       | <b>Minerva; see Athena.</b>                   |           |
| <b>Hermes Νύχιος</b> .....                  | 231, 2    | <b>Minotaur</b> .....                         | 150 note. |
| ———— <b>Soter</b> .....                     | 219       | <b>Mormo</b> .....                            | 150 note. |
| <b>Herald in Theatre</b> .....              | 97        | <b>Mycenæ</b> .....                           | 118       |
| <b>Hesiod Κατάλογοι</b> .....               | 145       | <b>Mythic view</b> .....                      | 187       |
| ———— <b>Leucippidæ</b> .....                | 153       | <b>N.</b>                                     |           |
| ———— <b>Scutum</b> .....                    | 140       | <b>Narcissus</b> .....                        | 202       |
| ———— <b>Theogony, V. 472</b> .....          | 189       | <b>Night</b> .....                            | 214       |
| ———— <b>V. 795</b> .....                    | 153       | <b>Nouns in της pass.</b> .....               | 170 note. |
|   |           | <b>Nyctëis</b> .....                          | 193       |





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## ERRATA.

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PAGE	ERROR	CORRECTION
11, V. 266	ἰτάχθην	ἰτάχθην.
18, V. 441	Ὀρκον	Ἄρκον.
19, V. 462	<i>after ἀτίσης put a colon.</i>	
20, V. 480	πνεῦματος	πνεύματος.
—, V. 492	σύ	σύ.
21, V. 520	αἷμα	αἷμα.
23, V. 564	ὑπερδικεις	ὑπερδικεῖς.
27, V. 678	ἐσήσειν	ἐσήσειν.
28, V. 703	Διός	Διός.
29, V. 715	εἰλεσθή	εἴλεσθέ.
32, V. 812	Αἱ	Ἄι.
36, V. 871	τοῦς	τούς.
—, V. 885	Εὐφამεῖτε	Εὐφამεῖτε.
74, line 13 from bottom,	prefix 18.	
86, line 9,	<i>read</i> antithetically related to one another.	
97, Note 5,	βουλευτικόν	βουλευτικόν.
114, line 1,	640	540.
139, Note 3,	ἀγνίσοντα	ἀγνίσοντα.
140, Note 2,	προστράπεσθαι	προστράπεσθαι.
226, Note 1,	Διονύσου	Διονύσου.
248, line 19,	τήν ὀ	τήνδ'.



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1



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Ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς τοῦ Αἰσχύλου τραγωδίας  
ἢ ἐπιγράφεται

Εὐμενίδες.

---

Ἄορέστης ἐν Δελφοῖς περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐριννύων βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος παρεγένετο εἰς Ἀθήνας, εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἧς βουλῇ νικήσας κατήλθεν εἰς Ἄργος. Τὰς δὲ Ἐριννύας πρᾶΰνας προσηγόρευσεν Εὐμενίδας. Παρ' οὐδετέρῳ κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιΐα.

Harrocration v. Εὐμενίδες: Αἰσχύλος ἐν Εὐμενίσειν, εἰπὼν τὰ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν Ἄορέστου, φησὶν ὡς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πρᾶΰνασα τὰς Ἐριννύας, ὥστε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Ἄορέστην, Εὐμενίδας ὠνόμασεν· εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς, Ἀληκτώ, Μέγαιρα, καὶ Τισιφόνη.

Idem tradunt Suidas et Photius. Hisce auctoribus in argumento πρᾶΰνασα scribi vult Hermannus in dissertatione de Choro Eumenidum.



p. XI. ubi addit: „Nihil ergo aliud relictum est, quam ut eum locum, in quo Furias Eumenidum nomen accepisse poeta dixerat, librario- rum negligentia, vel codicum tristi fortuna interiisse statuamus.“ Post v. 932. aliqua exci- disse putat cum virorum et juvenum mentio desideretur, et h. l. procul dubio interiisse, ad quae Grammaticorum verba citata referenda sint. Quoad virorum et juvenum mentionem, Her- mannus aperte fallitur, Aeschylo nonnisi de fe- minis loquente, verbis enim:

*ξὺν προσπόλοισιν, αἴτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας  
τοῦ μὲν δικαίως.*

epegesin addit:

*ὄμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς  
Θησίδος ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν, εὐκλεῆς λόχος  
παίδων, γυναικῶν, καὶ στόλος πρεσβυτίδων.*

Virorum supra mentionem fecerat. Restat Gram- maticorum auctoritas, qui, si cum Hermanno in argumento *πραῦνασα* legeretur, in eo con- sentiunt, Palladem Furias Eumenidas alloqui, sed scholia vetera in excerptis, quae Suidas, Harpocratio etc. consarcinaverunt, tam mutila, et omittendo contrahendoque depravata sunt, ut cautissime adhibenda sint. In Scholiis veteribus forsitan traditum erat, Furias a Pallade placatas inde ab Orestis iudicio Eumenidas appellatas esse.





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Θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἑμαῖσι λιταῖς ἐπικραίνειν,  
μηδ' ἐς ἄγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν.

Ζεὺς γὰρ αἵματοσταγές  
ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας  
ᾶς ἀπιξιώσατό. 355

μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα \*ἄγκαθεν βαρύπεσῆ  
καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν, σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις  
κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν. \*ἀνέκαθεν

στρ. γ. δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναί.

τακόμεναι κατὰ γᾶν μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι 340

ἡμετέραις ἐφόδοις μελανείμοσιν, ὄρχησμοῖς  
τ' ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός.

ἀντ. γ. πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφρονι λύμα.

τοῖον[γὰρ] ἐπικνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται,  
καὶ θυοφεράν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐ-  
δάται πολύστονος φάτις.

στρ. δ'. μένει γὰρ εὐμήχανοι 345

τε καὶ τέλειοι, κακῶν

τε μνήμονες, σεμναὶ

καὶ δυσπαρήγοροι βροτοῖς,

ἄτιμ' ἀτίετα διόμεναι

λάχη, Θεῶν διχостаτοῦντ' 350

ἀνηλίῳ λάμπα,

δυσοδοπαίπαλα

δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσομμάτοις ὁμῶς

ἀντ. δ'. τίς οὖν τάδ' οὐχ ἄζεταιί

τε καὶ δέδοικεν βροτῶν, 355



ἔμοῦ κλύων θεσμόν  
 τὸν μοιρόκραντον, ἐκ θεῶν  
 δοθέντα τέλεον; ἐπὶ δέ μοι  
 γέρας πάλαιόν (ἔστιν) οὐδ'  
 ἀτιμίας κύρω 360  
 καίπερ ὑπὸ χθόνα  
 τάξιν ἔχουσα καὶ δυσήλιον κνέφας.

Α Θ Η Ν Η . Χ Ο Ρ Ο Σ . Ο Ρ Ε Σ Τ Η Σ .

Ἄ θ ῆ ν η

Πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοήν,  
 ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου \*τὴν καταφθατουμένη [ν], \*γῆν 363  
 ἦν δῆτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι,  
 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,  
 ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί,  
 ἐξαίρετον δώρημα Θησέως τόκοις  
 ἔνθεν διώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα,  
 πτερῶν ἄτερ ροιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος, 370  
 πώλοις ἀκμαίοις τόνδ' ἐπιζεύξασ' ὄχον  
 καὶ νῦν δ' ὄρῳσα τήνδ' ὀμιλίαν χθονός,  
 ταρβῶ μὲν οὐδέν, θαῦμα δ' ὀμμασιν πάρα.  
 τίνες ποτ' ἐστέ; πᾶσι δ' ἐς κοινὸν λέγω  
 βρέτας τε τοῦμόν τῶδ' ἐφημένῳ ξένῳ, 375



Sed forma diversa nescio quo modo propossit, numerum diversum fuisse. Immo, quod de numero chororum Tragicorum qui fuerit in his temporibus, nihil certi traditum sit, id verè probabile videatur, ubi Chori primae partes essent, quindecim personas Chorum non satis splendidum ad deum celebrandum fecisse, nihil certius est, quam e numero Chori Dithyrambici, de Choro Tragico colligere. Non enim sine causa Chorum Dithyrambicum ita institutum fuisse, quisque sibi persuasum habebit, qui meminerit, in iis, quas ad Deos spectant, numeros non pro lubitè inventos esse. Choros Dithyrambicos et Tragicos cognatissimos fuisse, non est quod moneamus, ita ut omnium verisimillimum sit, Chorum Tragicum paulatim minutum esse, forsitan ne primae ejus, quas haberet partes, excolendae Tragoediae obstarent.

Furias in priore Eumenidum editione, quam Boeckhius finxit, facibus instructas fuisse, e Scholio ad Aristophanis Plut. v. 423. colligi non posse, rectè observat Hermannus dissert. II. p. VI. Si tamen putat, veri simile esse, quum Aeschylus Olymp. LXXX. 2. Furias deduci cum facibus ad sedes suas fecisset, visas esse faces multum conferre ad splendorem et terrorem Chori, ideoque postea Furiis addi solitas esse, id omnino





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Ἄθηνη

ἢ καὶ ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἂν αἰτίας τέλος; 400

Χορός

πῶς δ' οὐ; σέβουσαι γ' ἄξιαν (τ') ἐπαξίων.

Ἄθηνη

τί πρὸς τὰδ' εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξέν', ἐν μέρει θέλεις;  
λέξας δὲ χώραν καὶ γένος καὶ ξυμφορὰς  
τὰς σάς, ἔπειτα τόνδ' ἀμυνάδου ψόγον.  
εἶπερ πεποιθὼς τῇ δίκῃ βρέτας τόδε 405  
ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἐστίας ἀμῆς πέλας,  
σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος,  
τούτοις ἀμείβου πᾶσιν εὐμαθές τί μοι.

Ὀρέστης

ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων  
τῶν σῶν ἐπῶν μέλημ' ἀφαιρήσω μέγα. 410  
οὐκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχει μύσος  
πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ τὸ σὸν \* ἐφεζομένη βρέτας.  
τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδ' ἐσοὶ λέξω μέγα. \* ἐφημένη  
ἀφρογγὸν εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος,  
ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου 415  
σφραγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ.  
πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα  
οἴκοισι, καὶ βοτοῖσι, καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις.  
ταύτην μὲν οὕτω φροντίδ' ἐκποδῶν λέγω.



τούτοις πᾶσι περὶ Δημητῆρος λέγων, τῶν μυστικω-  
 τέρων περιεργότερον ἀπτεσθαι ἔοικε. λέγει δὲ καὶ  
 περὶ Αἰσχύλου καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῷ  
 πρώτῳ περὶ Ὀμήρου, ὡς κινδυνεύοντος ἐπὶ σκηνῆς  
 ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν μυστικῶν περιφέρειν (προ-  
 φέρειν) τινὰ δοκεῖν, εἰ μὴ προαισθόμενος κατέ-  
 φυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διονύσου βωμόν. καὶ τῶν Ἀρεο-  
 παγιτῶν αὐτὸν παραιτησαμένων, ὡς ὀφείλοντα  
 κριθῆναι πρῶτον, ἐδόκει ὑπαχθῆναι εἰς δικαστή-  
 ριον καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν, αὐτῶν τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφέν-  
 των μάλιστα διὰ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ  
 ἐπὶ Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ  
 Κυνέγειρος ἀπέκόπη τὰς χεῖρας, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλὰ  
 τραχεῖς ἀνηνέχθη φοράδην μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις  
 καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ τῷ  
 τάφῳ. Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. II. p. 587.  
 ὡς Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστήρια ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐξειπὼν, ἐν  
 Ἄρεϊ πάγῳ κριθεῖς, οὕτως ἀφείδῃ, ἐπιδείξας ἑαυ-  
 τὸν μὴ μεμνημένον. Hisce omnibus probari vi-  
 detur, Aeschylum propter evulgata arcana my-  
 steriorum accusatum esse et in Siciliam migrasse  
 sive ob hanc accusationem sive, quod se victum  
 esse, moleste ferret. Hermannus immemor  
 tales narrationes saepissime depravari, ut argu-  
 mentum verum sit, tempora et loca mutantur,  
 eas inter se conciliare studet, veri simile judi-  
 cans, et propter Eumenides Aeschylo diem dictum



esse. „Nam quum fieri non potuerit, inquit, quin insolens ille numerus Furiarum statim ut visus est, omnes adverteret: quid mirum, si obtrectatores Aeschyli, quum etiam victorem eum pronunciari viderent, apertam impietatem vociferantes, tumultum in theatro concitarunt; moniti autem, ut lege agerent, mox impietatis reum egerunt? Ita recte dixerit Aelianus, *ἐκρίνετο ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τινὶ δράματι.*“ Id nemo historiae Graecorum peritus Hermanno concedet, Athenienses Aeschylum victorem pronuntiasse, si adeo innovasset in religione, ut non dico, verbis, quod minus spectatores advertisset, sed ipsas personas introducens, sacra offenderet. Sed sunt merae conjecturae Hermanni multis locis ipsorum Tragicorum refellendae. Loquuntur enim modo de una Furia, modo de tribus, modo de permultis. Vide quae notavimus ad Septem c. Thebas V. 70. Choephor. V. 989. Furias Clytaemnestrae memorat Pausanias Boeotic. VIII. 34. 2. Laji et Oedipodis ibid. IX. 5. 8. unde patet, Graecos et alias Furias praeter tres Eumenidas statuuisse (Schol. ad Sophocl. Oedip. Colon. 39. *Φύλαρχός φησι δύο αὐτὰς εἶναι, τὰ τῶν Ἀθηνησιν ἀγάλματα δύο. Πολέμων δὲ τρεῖς αὐτὰς φησι.*) Haec nimis dubiam reddunt Hermanni conjecturam, e numero Furiarum argumentum





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ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Πυθίας προφήτις

Ἀπόλλων

Ὀρέστης

Κλυταιμνήστρας εἰδωλον

Χορὸς Εὐμενίδων

Ἀθηναῖ

Ἑρμῆς

Δικασταί.

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ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΤ

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Ε Τ Μ Ε Ν Ι Δ Ε Σ

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Δελφός τε χώρας τῆσδε προμνήτης ἀνάξ.  
 τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας φρένα  
 ἴζει τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις,  
 Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός.  
 τούτους ἐν εὐχαῖς φροιμάζομαι θεούς.  
 Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται.  
 σέβω δὲ νύμφας, ἔνθα Κωρυκὶς πέτρα  
 κοίλη, φίλορnis, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή.  
 Βρόμιος δ' ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἀμνημονῶ,  
 ἐξ οὔτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν θεός,  
 λαγῶ δίκην Πενθεῖ κατὰρράψας μόρον·  
 Πλείστου τε πηγάς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος  
 καλοῦσα, καὶ τέλειον ὑψιστον Δία.  
 ἔπειτα μάντις εἰς θρόνους καδιζάνω.  
 καὶ νῦν τυχεῖν με τῶν πρὶν εἰσόδων μακρῶ  
 ἄριστα δοῖεν κεῖ παρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές,  
 ἴτων πάλω λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.  
 μαντεύομαι γάρ, ὡς ἂν ἱγῆται θεός. —  
 ἢ δεινὰ λέξαι, δεινὰ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς δρακεῖν  
 πάλιν μ' ἐπεμψεν ἐκ δόμων τῶν Λοξίου,  
 ὡς μήτε σωκεῖν, μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάσιν·  
 τρέχω δὲ χερσίν, οὐ ποδωκία σκελῶν·  
 δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς, οὐδέν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὖν.  
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφῆ μυχόν·  
 ὄρω δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῶ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσοῦ  
 ἔδραν ἔχοντα, προστρόπαιον, αἵματι  
 στάζοντα χεῖρας, καὶ νεοσπαδὲς ξίφος





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ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ. ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ. ΕΡΜΗΣ.  
ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Ἀπόλλων

Οὔτοι προδώσω. διὰ τέλους δέ σοι φύλαξ  
ἐγγύς παρεστώς, καὶ πρόσω δ' ἀποστατῶν, 65  
ἐχθροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς οὐ γενήσομαι πεπών.

καὶ νῦν ἀλούσας τάςδε τὰς μάργους ὄρᾱς  
ὑπνώ· πεσοῦσαι δ' αἰ κατάπτυστοι κόραι,  
γραῖαι [,] παλαιαὶ παῖδες, αἷς οὐ μίγνυται  
θεῶν τις, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐδέ θῆρ ποτε· 70

κακῶν δ' ἕκατι κἀγένοντ'. ἐπεὶ κακὸν  
σκότον νέμονται, Τάρταρόν θ' ὑπὸ χθονός,  
μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

ὅμως δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη.  
ἐλῶσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἠπείρου μακρᾶς, 75

βεβῶτ' ἀνατεῖ τὴν πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα,  
ὑπὲρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.

καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος  
πόνον. μολῶν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν,  
ἴζου παλαιὸν ἀγκαθεὺν λαβὼν βρέτας. 80

κἀκεῖ δικαστὰς τῶνδε καὶ θελκτηρίους  
μύθους ἔχοντες, μηχανὰς εὐρήσομεν,

ὥστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων.  
καὶ γὰρ κτανεῖν σ' ἔπεισα μητρῷον δέμας.

Ὀρέστης

ἀναξ Ἄπολλον, οἶσθα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν· 85



ἔχοντ', ἐλαίας δ' ὑψιγέννητον κλάδον,  
λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον,  
ἔργῃτι μαλλῶ. τῆδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρῶ. 45  
πρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος  
εὐδὲι γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἤμενος·  
οὔτοι γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω.  
οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις

· · · · ·  
εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας 50  
δεῖπνον φερούσας· ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν  
αὐται, μέλαιναι δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι  
ρέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλαστοῖσι φυσιάμασιν,  
ἐκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλῆ βίαν·  
καὶ κόσμος οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγαλμάτα 55  
φέρειν δίκαιος, οὔτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας.  
τὸ φῦλον οὐκ ὅπωπα τῆσδ' ὀμιλίας,  
οὐδ' ἦτις αἶα τοῦτ' ἐπεύχεται γένος  
τρέφουσ' ἀνατεῖ μὴ μεταστένειν πόνων.  
τάντεῦθεν ἤδη τῶνδε δεσπότη δόμων 60  
αὐτῶ μελέσθω Λοξία μεγασθενεῖ.  
ἰατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος,  
καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δωμάτων καθάρσιος.

---



εὐδουσα γὰρ φρήν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται,  
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν.

ἢ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε  
χρᾶς τ' αἰίνους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα,  
καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρα πυρὸς  
ἔθυον ὄραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν.

καὶ πάντα ταῦτα λάξ ὄρῳ πατούμενα. 110

ὁ δ' ἐξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην,  
καὶ ταῦτα κούφως ἐκ μέσων \*ἀρκυστάτων \*ἀρκυσμάτων  
ὠρουσεν, ὑμῖν ἐγκατιλλώψας μέγα.

ἀκούσαθ' ὧν ἔλεξα τῆς ἐμῆς πέρι  
ψυχῆς, φρονήσατ', ὧ κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί. 115

ὄναρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμνήστρα καλῶ.

### Χ ο ρ ό ς

(μυγμός)

### Κ λ υ τ α ι μ ν ή σ τ ρ α

μύζοιτ' ἄν, ἄνῆρ δ' οἴχεται φεύγων πρόσω.  
φίλοις γὰρ εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐμοῖς προσίκτορες.

### Χ ο ρ ό ς

(μυγμός)

### Κ λ υ τ α ι μ ν ή σ τ ρ α

ἀγαν ὑπνώσσεις, κοῦ κατοικτίζεις πάθος  
φρονεὺς δ' Ὀρέστης τῆςδε μητρὸς οἴχεται. 120





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Χορός

ἔγειρ', ἔγειρε καὶ σὺ τήνδ', ἐγὼ δέ σε. 155  
 εὐδεις; ἀνίστω, κάπολακτίσασ' ὕπνον,  
 ἰδώμεθ', εἴ τι τοῦδε φροίμιου ματᾶ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ (Haecce non omnia ab omnibus simul  
 cantata sed partem inter singulas distribuendam,  
 esse bene monet scholiastes.)

στρ. α' Ἰού, ἰού, πόπαξ,  
 ἐπάθομεν, φίλαι·  
 ἦ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγώ·  
 ἐπάθομεν πάθος δυσαχθές, [ὦ] πόποι,  
 ἄφερτον κακόν 140  
 ἐξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν, οἴχεται δ' ὁ θῆρ.  
 ὕπνω κρατηθεῖσ' ἄγραν ὠλεσα.

ἀντ. α' ἰὼ παῖ Διός,  
 ἐπίκλοπος πέλει,  
 νέος δὲ γραιίας δαιμονας καθιππάσω, 145  
 τὸν ἰκέταν σέβων ἄθεον ἄνδρα, καὶ  
 τοκεῦσιν πικρόν.  
 τὸν μητραλοίαν δ' ἐξέκλεψας ὦν θεός.  
 τί τῶνδ' ἐρεῖ τις δικαίως ἔχειν;



στρ. β' ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος ἐξ ὄνειράτων μολόν, 150  
ἔτυψεν δίκαν διφρηλάτου,  
μεσολαβεῖ κέντρον,  
ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν.

· πάρεστι μαστίκτορος δαΐου δαμίου  
βαρύ, τὸ περιβαρὺ κρύος ἔχειν. 155

ἀντ. β' τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί,  
κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον.

φονολιβῆ θρόνον  
περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα  
πάρεστι, γᾶς ὀμφαλόν, προςδρακεῖν  
αἱμάτων 160

· βλοσυρὸν ἀράμενον ἄγος ἔχειν.

στρ. γ' ἐφεστίω δέ, μάντις ὦν, μιάσματι  
μυχὸν ἔχρανας [τ'] αὐτόσσυτος, αὐτό-  
κλητος,

\*παρὰ νόμον θεῶν βρότεια μὲν τίων, παρὰ νόμον  
παλαιγενεῖς δὲ Μοίρας φθίσας, 165

ντ. γ' καί μοι τε λυπρὸς, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται·  
ὑπὸ τε γᾶν φυγῶν οὐποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται.

ποτιτρόπαιος ὦν δ' ἕτερον ἐν κάρᾳ  
μιάστορ' \*ἐκείνου πάσεται \*ἔστιν οἶ





ὁ γὰρ διώκων, πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων,  
γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος. 51

Χοροός

πολλὰ μὲν ἐσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως·  
ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθεῖς.  
τὴν μητέρ' εἶπέ πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας.

Ὀρέσσης

ἔκτεινα· τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει.

Χοροός

ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων. 52

Ὀρέσσης

οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον.

Χοροός

εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ', ὅπως κατέκτανες.

Ὀρέσσης

λέξω. ξιφουλκῶ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρην τεμών.

Χοροός

πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπείσθης καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν;

Ὀρέσσης

τοῖς τοῦδε θεσφάτοισι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι. 5





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Ἄπολλων

τί γάρ; γυναικός, ἥτις ἄνδρα νοσφίση . . .

Χορός

οὐκ ἂν γένοιθ' ὄμαιμος αὐθέντης φόνος.

Ἄπολλων

ἦ κάρτ' ἄτιμα, καὶ παρ' οὐδέν \*ἤρκεσω \*ἤρκεσ' ἂν  
Ἕρας τελείας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα. 205

Κύπρις δ' ἄτιμος τῷδ' ἀπέρριπται λόγῳ,  
ὄθεν βροτοῖσι γίγνεται τὰ φίλτατα,  
εὐνή γάρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μόρσιμος,  
ὄρκου ἔστι \*μείζων τῇ δίκῃ φρουρουμένη. \*μείζον'  
\*ἦ τοῖσιν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους χαλαῖς, \*εἰ 210  
τὸ μὴ γένεσθαι, μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ,  
οὐ φημὶ Ὀρέστην σ' ἐνδίκως ἀνδρηλατεῖν  
τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα κάρτα σ' ἐνδυμουμένην,  
τὰ δ' ἐμφανῶς πράσσουσαν ἠσυχαιτέραν.  
δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά. 215

Χορός

τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον αὐτίμη μὴ λίπω ποτέ.

Ἄπολλων

σὺ δ' οὖν δίωκε, καὶ πόνον \*πλέον τίθου. \*πλέω

Χορός

τιμὰς σὺ μὴ σύντεμνε τὰς ἐμὰς λόγῳ.



Ἄπολλων

οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην ὥστ' ἔχειν τιμὰς σέθεν.

Χορός

μέγας γὰρ ἐμπὰς παρ Διὸς θρόνοις λέγει. 220

ἤγ' ὃ — ἄγει γὰρ αἶμα μητρώιον δίκας —

πέπειμι τόνδε φῶτα † καὶ κυνηγέτις.

Ἄπολλων

ἤγ' ὃ ἀρήξω, τὸν ἰκέτην τε ρύσομαι.

Μανὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι καὶ θεοῖς πέλει

τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῶ σφ' ἐκῶν. 225

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ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ. ΧΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΩΝ.

Ὀρέστης

Ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, Λοξίου κελεύσασιν

ἔγω, δέχου δὲ πρηνεμένῳς ἀλάστορα,

οὐ προστρόπαιον, οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρρα,

ἀλλ' ἀμβλὺν ἤδη, προστρετιμμένον τε πρὸς

ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις καὶ πορεύμασιν βροτῶν. 250

ἄμοια χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν,

κόζων ἐφετμὰς Λοξίου χρηστηρίους,

ἔφροσιμι δῶμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σόν, θεά.

ἔκτοῦ φυλάσσω ἀναμένω τέλος δίκης.

Χορός

ἴεν· τόδ' ἐστὶ τάνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ. 255



ἔπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς.  
τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κύων νεβρόν,  
πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκμαστεύομεν.  
πολλοῖς δὲ μόχθοις ἀνδροκμηῖσι φυσιᾶ  
σπλάγχνον· χθονὸς γὰρ πᾶς πεποίμανται τόπος, 240  
ὑπὲρ τε πόντον ἀπτέροις πωτήμασιν  
ἦλθον διώκουσ' οὐδὲν ὑστέρᾳ νεώς.

καὶ νῦν ὄδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶ που καταπτακῶν.

\*ὄσμη βροτείων αἱμάτων με πρὸς γελᾶ. \*ὄσμη

ὄρα, ὄρα μάλ' αὖ

λεῦσσε τὸν πάντα, μὴ λάθῃ φύγδα βᾶς [ὄ]

ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.

στρ. ὄδ' αὖτε γ' οὐκ, ἀλκὰν ἔχων, περὶ βρέτει

πλεχθεῖς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου,

ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν

ἀντ. τὸ δ' οὐ πάρεστιν αἷμα ματρῶν χαμαί· 250

δυσᾶγκόμιστον., παπαῖ,

τὸ διερὸν πέδῳ [κε] χύμενον οἴχεται.

ἀλλ' ἀντιδοῦναι δεῖ σ', ἀπὸ ζῶντος ῥοφεῖν

ἐρύθρον ἐκ μελέων πέλανον. ἀπὸ δὲ σοί

βοσκὰν φεροίμαν πώματος δυσπότου 251

καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνας ἀπάξομαι κάτω,

\*ἀντιποίνους τίνης \*\*ματροφόνας δύας. \*ἀντίποιν' ὦ

ὄψει δὲ, κεῖ τις ἄλλον ἤλιτεν βροτῶν \*\*ματροφόνοι

ἢ θεόν, ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν, ἢ τοκῆας φίλους

ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια. 260

μέγας γὰρ Ἄιδης ἐστὶν εὐδυνος βροτῶν





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Χορός.

οὔτοι σ' Ἀπόλλων οὐδ' Ἀθηναίας σθένος  
ρύσαιτ' ἄν, ὥστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένον  
ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' ὅπου φρενῶν,  
ἀναίματον βόσκημα δαιμόνων \*σκία 290 \*σκία  
οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀποπτύεις λόγους,  
ἔμοι τραφεῖς τε καὶ καθιερωμένος.

καὶ ζῶν με δαίσεις, οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμῶ σφαγεῖς,  
ὑμνον δ' ἀκούσει τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν.

ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορόν ἄψωμεν, ἐπεὶ 295

Μοῦσαν στυγεράν  
ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεδόκηκεν,  
λέξαι τε λάχη τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους  
ὡς ἐπινωμᾶ στάσις ἀμά.

εὐθυδίκαι θ' ἠδόμεθ' εἶναι. 300

\* τοὺς μὲν καθαρὰς χεῖρας \*\* προσνέμοντας \* τὸν  
οὔτις ἀφ' ἡμῶν μῆνις ἐφέρειν, \*\* προνέμοντ'  
ἄσινῆς δ' αἰῶνα διοιχνεῖ.

ὅστις δ' ἀλιτρῶν, ὥσπερ ὁδ' ἀνὴρ,  
χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει, 305

μάρτυρες ὄρθαὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσιν  
παραγιγνόμεναι, πράκτορες αἵματος  
αὐτῶ τελέως ἐφάνημεν.

στρ. ἀ. Μᾶτερ, ἃ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ μᾶτερ  
Νύξ, ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν 310

ποινάν, κλυθ'. ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἴνις μ' ἀτι-  
μον τίθησιν,



τόνδ' ἀφαιρούμενος πτώκα, ματρώιον ἀ-  
γνισμα κύριον φόνου.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ τόδε μέλος παρακοπά,  
παραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς, ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐριννύων,  
δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμικτος, αὐονὰ βροτοῖς.

ντ. α. τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διανταία 315

Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν ἐμπέδως ἔχειν,  
θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι ξυμπέσωσιν  
μάταιοι

τοῖς ὀμαρτεῖν, ὄφρ' ἂν γὰν ὑπέλθῃ θανῶν  
δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ τόδε μέλος παρακοπά, πα-  
ραφορὰ φρενοδαλῆς, ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐριννύων,  
δέσμιος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμικτος, αὐονὰ βρο-  
τοῖς, 320

τρ. β'. γιγνομέναισι λάχη τάδ' ἐφ' ἅμιν ἐκράνθη,  
ἀθανάτων δ' ἀπέχειν χέρας, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ  
συνδαίτωρ μετὰκοινος.

(τῶν δὲ) παλλεύκων [δὲ] πέπλων

(αἰέν) ἄμοιρος ἀκληρος ἐτύχθηκ. 325

δωμάτων γὰρ εἰλόμαν

ἀνατροπὰς, ὅταν Ἄρης, τιθασὸς ὢν, φί-  
λον ἔλῃ

ἐπὶ τὸν, ὃ διόμεναι κρατερόν ὄνθ' ὅμως

μαυροῦμεν \*ὑφ' αἵματος νέου \*νέον αἶμα

ντ. β'. σπευδόμεναι δ' ἀφελεῖν τινὰ τάςδε με-  
ρίμνας, 330



θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἑμαῖσι λιταῖς ἐπικραίνειν,  
μηδ' ἐς ἀγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν.

Ζεὺς γὰρ αἵματοσταγὲς  
ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας  
ἄς ἀπιξιώσατό. 355

μάλα γὰρ οὖν ἀλομένα \*ἀγκαθεν βαρῦπεσῆ  
καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν, σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις  
κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν. \*ἀνέκαθεν

στρ. γ. δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναί.  
τακόμεναι κατὰ γᾶν μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι 340  
ἡμετέραις ἐφόδοις μελανείμοσιν, ὄρχησμοῖς  
τ' ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός.

ἀντ. γ. πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφροσι λύμα.  
τοῖον[γὰρ] ἐπικνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται,  
καὶ διοφερὰν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐ-  
δάται πολύστονος φάτις.

στρ. δ'. μένει γὰρ εὐμήχανοι 345

τε καὶ τέλειοι, κακῶν

τε μνήμονες, σεμναὶ

καὶ δυσπαρήγοροι βροτοῖς,

ἄτιμ' ἀτίετα διόμεναι

λάχη, θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' 350

ἀνηλίῳ λάμπα,

δυσοδοπαίπαλα

δερκομένοισι καὶ δυσομμάτοις ὁμῶς

ἀντ. δ'. τίς οὖν τὰδ' οὐχ ἄζεταιί

τε καὶ δέδοικεν βροτῶν, 355





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ὕμᾱς θ', ὁμοίας οὐδενὶ σπαρτῶν γένει,  
 οὐτ' ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν \*ὄρωμέναις, \*ὄρωμένας  
 οὐτ' οὖν βροτείοις ἐμφερεῖς μορφάμασιν.  
 λέγειν δ' ἄμορφον ὄντα \*τοὺς πέλας κακῶς \*τὸν  
 πρόσω δικαίων, ἢδ' ἀποστατεῖ θεμῖς. 380

Χ ο ρ ό ς

πεύσει τὰ πάντα συντόμως, Διὸς κόρη.  
 ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆ τέκνα,  
 Ἄραϊ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαι κεκλήμεθα.

Ἄ θ ή ν η

γένος μὲν οἶδα, κληδόνας τ' ἐπωνύμους.

Χ ο ρ ό σ

τιμάς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύσει τάχα. 385

Ἄ θ ή κ η

μάθοιμ' ἄν, εἰ λέγοι τις ἐμφανῆ λόγον.

Χ ο ρ ό ς

βροτοκτονοῦντας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν.

Ἄ θ ή ν η

καὶ τῷ κτανόντι \*τοῦτο τέρμα τῆς \*\*σφαγῆς;  
 \*ποῦ τὸ \*\*φυγῆς

Χ ο ρ ό ς

ὅπου τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται.



Ἄθηνη

ἢ καὶ τοιαύτας τῶδ' ἐπιβροίζεῖ(ς) φυγὰς ; 390

Χορός

φονεὺς γὰρ εἶναι μητρὸς ἠξιώσατο.

Ἄθηνη

ἄλλης ἀνάγκης οὐ τινος τρέων κόταν ;

Χορός

ποῦ γὰρ τοσοῦτο κέντρον, ὡς μητροκτονεῖν ;

Ἄθηνη

δυοῖν παρόντων ἡμῖσιν λόγος πάρα.

Χορός

ἄλλ' ὄρκον οὐδέξαιτ' ἄν, οὐ δοῦναι θέλει 395

Ἄθηνη

κλύειν δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ πράξαι θέλεις.

Χορός

πῶς δὴ ; δίδαξον. τῶν σοφῶν γὰρ οὐ πένει.

Ἄθηνη

ὄρκοις τὰ μὴ δίκαια μὴ νικᾶν λέγω.

Χορός

ἄλλ' ἐξέλεγχε, κρίνε δ' εὐθεΐαν δίκην.



Ἄ θ ἦ ν η

ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τρέποιτ' ἂν αἰτίας τέλος; 400

Χ ο ρ ό ς

πῶς δ' οὐ; σέβουσαι γ' ἀξίαν (τ') ἐπαξίων.

Ἄ θ ἦ ν η

τί πρὸς τὰδ' εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξέν', ἐν μέρει θελεις;  
λέξας δὲ χώραν καὶ γένος καὶ ξυμφορὰς  
τὰς σάς, ἔπειτα τόνδ' ἀμυνάθου ψόγον.  
εἶπερ πεποιθὼς τῇ δίκῃ βρέτας τόδε 405  
ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἐστίας ἀμῆς πέλας,  
σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος,  
τούτοις ἀμείβου πᾶσιν εὐμαθές τί μοι.

Ὀ ρ έ σ τ η ς

ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑστάτων  
τῶν σῶν ἐπῶν μέλημ' ἀφαιρήσω μέγα. 410  
οὐκ εἰμὶ προστρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχει μύσος  
πρὸς χειρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ τὸ σὸν \* ἐφεζομένη βρέτας.  
τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδέ σοι λέξω μέγα. \* ἐφημένη  
ἄφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος,  
ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου 415  
σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ.  
πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα  
οἴκοισι, καὶ βοτοῖσι, καὶ ῥυτοῖς πόροις.  
ταύτην μὲν οὕτω φροντίδ' ἐκποδῶν λέγω.





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πέδω πεσὼν ἄφερτος αἰανῆς νόσος. 445  
 τοιαῦτα μὲν τάδ' ἐστίν· ἀμφότερα, μένειν,  
 πέμπειν τε, δυσπήμα(ν)τ' ἀμηχάνως ἐμοί.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρᾶγμα δεῦρ' ἐπέσκηψεν τόδε,  
 φόνων δικαστὰς \* ὀρκίων αἴρουμένους \* ὀρκίους αἴρου-  
 θεσμὸν τὸν εἰς ἅπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον. 450 μένη  
 ὑμεῖς· δὲ μαρτύριά τε καὶ τεκμήρια  
 καλεῖσθ', ἀρωγὰ τῆς δίκης ὀρκώματα.  
 κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα  
 ἤξω, διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πρᾶγμ' ἐτητύμως,  
 ὄρκον περῶντας \* μηδὲν ἔκδικον φρεσίν. 455 \* μηδέν'

Χ Ο Ρ Ο Σ . Ο Ρ Ε Σ Τ Η Σ .

Χ ο ρ ό ς .

στρ. α. Νῦν καταστροφὰὶ νέων  
 θεσμίων, εἰ κρατήσῃ δίκη (τε) καὶ βλάβη  
 τοῦδε μητροκτόνου.  
 πάντας ἤδη τόδ' ἔργον εὐχερείᾳ συναρμόσει  
 βροτούς  
 πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα 460  
 πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῦσιν, \* μέτα τ' αὐθις  
 ἐν χρόνῳ. \* μεταῦθις  
 ἀντ. α. οὔτε γὰρ βροτοσκόπων



μαινάδων τῶνδ' ἐφέρψει κότος τις ἐργμάτων.  
πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον.

πεύσεται. δ' ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, προφωνῶν τὰ  
τῶν πέλας κακά, 465

λῆξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε μόχθων

\*οὔκέτ' οὐ βέβαια· τλάμων [δέ τις] μάταν  
παρηγορεῖ. \*ἄκεά τ'

στρ. β'. μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω ξυμφορᾷ τετυμμένος ;  
τοῦτ' ἔπος θροοῦμενος,

\*ἰὼ δίκαια \*\*ἰὼ θρόνοι τ' Ἐριννύων 470 \*ῶ \*\*ῶ

ταῦτά τις τάχ' ἂν πατήρ, ἢ τεκοῦσα νεοπαθῆς  
οἴκτον οἰκτίσαιτ' ἐπειδὴ πιτνεῖ δόμος δίκαιας.

ἀντ. β'. ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὐκαὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον  
\*δειμαίνει καθήμενον. \*δειμανεῖ

ξυμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει. 475

τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν φάει καρδίαν\* ἀνατρέφων  
\*ἀναστρέφων

ἢ πόλις βροτός θ' ὁμοίως ἔτ' ἂν σέβοι δίκαιαν ;

στρ. γ'. μήτ' ἀναρκτον [οὖν] βίον μήτε δεσποτούμενον  
αἰνέσης.

παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασεν, ἀλλ'  
ἄλλα ἐφορεύει. 480

ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω,

δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως ἐκ  
δ' ὑγείας

φρενῶν ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.

ἀντ. γ'. εἰς τὸ πᾶν δέ τοι λέγω βωμὸν αἰδέσαι  
δίκαιας



μηδέ νιν . 485

κέρδος ἰδὼν ἀθέω ποδὶ λάξ ἀτίσης· ποινα  
γὰρ ἐπέσται,

κύριον μένει τέλος.

πρὸς τὰδε τις τοκέων σέβας εὖ προτίων,  
καὶ ξενοτίμους

δωμάτων<sup>2</sup> ἐπιστροφᾶς<sup>1</sup> αἰδόμενός τις ἔστω.

στρ. δ'. ἐκ τῶνδ', ἀνάγκας ἄτερ δίκαιος ὢν, οὐκ  
ἀνολβος ἔσται. 490

πανώλεθρος [δ'] οὐ ποτ' ἂν γένοιτο.

τὸν ἀντίτολμον δὲ φημι \*παραιβάδαν, \*παρ-  
βάταν

τὰ πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄγοντ' ἄνευ δίκας  
βιαίως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν,

λαῖφος ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος, θραυομένας κεραίας.

ἀντ. δ'. καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδὲν [έν] μέσῃ δυσ-  
παλεῖ τε δίνα. 496

γελᾷ δ' ὁ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ,

τὸν οὐ ποτ' αὐχοῦντ' ἰδὼν ἀμηχάνοις

\*δύαις, λέπαδνον οὐδ' ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν

δι' αἰῶνος δὲ τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον 500 ἄδύας  
λεπάδνοις

ἔρματι προσβαλὼν δίκας ὄλετ' ἄκλαυστος,

\*ἄϊστος.

\*αἴστος





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ὁ γὰρ διώκων, πρότερος ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγων,  
γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς πράγματος διδάσκαλος. 52

Χορός

πολλὰ μὲν ἐσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως·  
ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθεῖς.  
τὴν μητέρ' εἶπέ πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας.

Ὁρέσσης

ἔκτεινα· τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει.

Χορός

ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων. 53

Ὁρέσσης

οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον.

Χορός

εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ', ὅπως κατέκτανες.

Ὁρέσσης

λέξω. ξιφουλκῶ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρην τεμών.

Χορός

πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπείσθης καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν;

Ὁρέσσης

τοῖς τοῦδε θεςφάτοισι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι. 54



Χορός

Μάντις ἐξηγεῖτό σοι μητροκτονεῖν;

Ὀρέστης

καὶ δεῦρό γ' αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην οὐ μέμφομαι.

Χορός

ἀλλ' εἴ σε μάρψει ψῆφος, ἄλλ' ἐρίεις τάχα.

Ὀρέστης

πέποιθ', ἀρωγὰς δ' ἐκ τάφου πέμπει πατήρ.

Χορός

νεκροῖσι νῦν πέποιθε μήτέρα κτανῶν.

555

Ὀρέστης

δυοῖν γὰρ εἶχε προσβολὰς μiasμάτων

Χορός

πῶς δὴ; δίδαξον τοὺς δικάζοντας τάδε.

Ὀρέστης

ἀνδροκτονοῦσα πατέρ' ἐμὸν κατέκτανεν,

Χορός

τοὶ γὰρ σὺ μὲν ζῆς, ἢ δ' ἐλευθέρα φόνου.

Ὀρέστης

τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἤλαυνες φυγῆ;

540



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

51

Χορός

πολλὰ μὲν ἔσμεν, λέξομεν δὲ συντόμως  
ἔπος δ' ἀμείβου πρὸς ἔπος ἐν μέρει τιθεῖς.  
τὴν μητέρ' εἶπέ πρῶτον εἰ κατέκτονας.

Ὀρέσσης

ἔκτεινα· τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει.

Χορός

ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων.

52

Ὀρέσσης

οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον.

Χορός

εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ', ὅπως κατέκτανες.

Ὀρέσσης

λέξω. ξιφουλκῶ χειρὶ πρὸς δέρην τεμών.

Χορός

πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐπείσθης καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν;

Ὀρέσσης

τοῖς τοῦδε δεσφάτοισι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι.

53





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Χορός

οὐκ ἦν ὄμαιμος φωτός, ὃν κατέκτανεν.

Ὀρέσσης

ἐγὼ δὲ μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐν αἵματι;

Χορός

πῶς γάρ σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὦ μαιφόνε,  
ζώνης; ἀπεύχει μητρὸς αἷμα φίλτατον;

Ὀρέσσης

ἤδη σὺ μαρτύρησον· ἐξηγοῦ δέ μοι, 545  
Ἄπόλλων, εἰ σφε σὺν δίκη κατέκτανον.  
δραῖσαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα·  
ἀλλ' εἰ δικαίως, εἴτε μή, τῇ σῆ φρενὶ  
δοκεῖ τόδ' αἷμα, κρῖνον, ὡς τούτοις φράσω.

Ἄπολλων

λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τόνδ' Ἀθηναίας μέγαν 550  
θεσμὸν δικαίως, μάντις ὢν δ' οὐ ψεύσομαι.  
οὐ πώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις  
οὐκ ἀνδρός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι,  
δὲ μὴ ἕκελεύσει Ζεὺς, Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.  
τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦθ', ὅσον σθένει, μαθεῖν, 555  
βουλῇ πιφάυσκω δ' ὑμῖν ἐπίσπεσθαι πατρός,  
ὄρκος γὰρ οὔτι Ζηνὸς ἰσχύει πλέον.

Χορός

Ζεὺς, ὡς λέγεις σύ, τόνδε χρησμὸν ὠπασεν,



φράζειν Ὀρέστη τῷδε, τὸν πατρὸς φόνον 56  
πράξαντα, μητρὸς μηδαμοῦ τιμὰς νέμειν;

· Ἀ π ὅ λ λ ω ν

οὐ γάρ τι ταυτόν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον θανεῖν, —  
διοσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον,  
καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γυναικός, οὔτι θουρίοις  
τόξοις ἐκηβόλοισιν, ὥστ' Ἀμαζόνος. 56

ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκούσῃ Παλλάς, οἳ τ' ἐφήμενοι  
ψήφῳ διαιρεῖν τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι.  
ἀπὸ στρατείας γάρ μιν, ἤμποληκότα  
τὰ πλεῖστ' ἀμείνον' εὐφροσιν, ὑεδεγμένη  
δροίτη, περῶντι λουτρά, καὶ πὶ τέρματι 57  
φᾶρος παρεσκήνωσεν, ἐν δ' ἀτέρμονι  
κόπτει πεδῆσασ' ἄνδρα δαιδάλω πέπλω.  
ἄνδρὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὔτος εἴρηται μόρος,  
τοῦ παντοσέμνου, τοῦ στρατηλάτου νεῶν.  
ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον, ὡς δηχθῆ ἰεός,  
ὅσπερ τέτακται τήνδε κυρᾶσαι δίκην. 57

Χ ο ρ ό ς

πατρὸς προτιμᾷ Ζεὺς μόρον τῷ σῷ λόγῳ  
αὐτὸς δ' ἔδησε πατέρα πρεσβύτην Κρόνον.  
πῶς ταῦτα τούτοις οὐκ ἐναντίως λέγεις;  
ὑμᾶς δ' ἀκούειν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι.

· Ἀ π ὅ λ λ ω ν

ὦ παντομοσῆ κνώδαλα, στύγη θεῶν, 58



πέδας μὲν ἂν λύσειεν ἔστι τοῦδ' ἄκος,  
καὶ κάρτα πολλὴ μηχανὴ λυτήριος.

ἄνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὴν αἶμ' ἀνασπάσῃ κόνις,  
ἅπαξ θανόντος οὔτις ἐστ' ἀνάστασις.

τούτων ἐπρωδὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ  
οὔμῶς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω  
στρέφῶν τίθεισιν, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

585

### Χορός

πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τοῦδ' ὑπερδικεῖς, ὄρα·  
τὸ μητρὸς αἶμ' ὄμαιμον ἐκχέας πέδῳ,  
ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἄργει δῶματ' οἰκήσει πατρός;  
ποίοισι βωμοῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δημίοις;  
ποία δὲ χέρνιψ φρατόρων προσδέξεται;

590

### Ἀπόλλων

καὶ τοῦτο λέξω, καὶ μάθ' ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐρῶ.  
οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένου τέκνου  
τοκεύς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου  
τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων, ἢ δ', ἅπερ ξένῳ ξένη,  
ἔσωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός.

595

τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδέ σοι δείξω λόγου.  
πατὴρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἄνευ μητρὸς(·) πέλας[.]  
μαρτύς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός,  
οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τετραμμένη,  
ἀλλ' οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός.  
ἐγὼ δέ, Παλλάς, τᾶλλα θ', ὡς ἐπίσταμαι,

600





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πέδας μὲν ἂν λύσειεν ἔστι τοῦδ' ἄκος,  
καὶ κάρτα πολλὴ μηχανὴ λυτήριος.

ἄνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὴν αἶμ' ἀνασπάσῃ κόνις,  
ἅπαξ θανόντος οὔτις ἐστ' ἀνάστασις.

τούτων ἐπιδὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ

585

οὔμους, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω  
στρέφων τίθεισιν, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

### Χορός

πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τοῦδ' ὑπερδικεῖς, ὄρα·

τὸ μητρὸς αἶμ' ὄμαιμον ἐκχέας πέδῳ,

ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἄργει δῶματ' οἰκήσει πατρός;

590

ποίοισι βωμοῖς χρώμενος τοῖς δημίοις;

ποία δὲ χέρνιψ φρατόρων προσδέξεται;

### Ἀπόλλων

καὶ τοῦτο λέξω, καὶ μάθ' ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐρῶ.

οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένου τέκνου

τοκεύς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου

595

τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων, ἢ δ', ἅπερ ξένῳ ξένη,

ἔσωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβῃ θεός.

τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδέ σοι δείξω λόγου.

πατὴρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἄνευ μητρὸς(·) πέλας[.]

μαρτύς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός,

600

οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη,

ἀλλ' οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός.

ἐγὼ δέ, Παλλάς, τᾶλλα θ', ὡς ἐπίσταμαι,



τὸ σὸν πόλισμα καὶ στρατὸν τεύξω μέγαν,  
καὶ τόνδ' ἔπεμψα σῶν δόμων ἐφέστιον, 605  
ὅπως γένοιτο πιστὸς εἰς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου,  
καὶ τόνδ' ἐπικτήσαιο σύμμαχον, θεά,  
καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα. - καὶ τὰδ' αἰανῶς μένοι,  
στέργειν τὰ πιστὰ τῶνδε τοὺς ἐπισπόρους.

' Α Θ ἦ ν η

ἤδη κελεύω τοὺςδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν 610  
ψῆφον δικαίαν, ὡς ἄλις λελεγμένων.

Χ ο ρ ό ς

ἡμῖν μὲν ἤδη πᾶν τετόξευται βέλος.  
μένω δ' ἀκοῦσαι, πῶς ἀγὼν κριθήσεται.

' Α Θ ἦ ν η

τί γάρ; πρὸς ὑμῶν πῶς τιθεῖσ' ἄμομφος ὦ;

Χ ο ρ ό ς

ἠκούσαθ' ὧν ἠκούσατ', ἐν δὲ καρδίᾳ, 615  
ψῆφον φέροντες, ὄρκον αἰδεῖσθε ξένοι.

' Α Θ ἦ ν η

κλύοιτ' ἂν ἤδη δεσμὸν, Ἀττικὸς λεώς,  
πρώτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ.  
ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν \*Αἰγέῳ στρατῷ •Αἰγέως  
αἰεὶ \*δ' ἐκάστων τοῦτο βουλευτήριον. 620 •δικαστῶν  
πάγον δ' Ἄρειον τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν  
σκηνάς θ', ὅτ' ἦλθον Θησέως κατὰ φθόγον



στρατηλατοῦσαι, καὶ πόλιν νεόπολιν  
τὴνδ' ὑψίπυργον ἀντεπύργωσαν τότε,  
Ἄρει δ' ἔθρονον, ἐνθεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος· 625  
πέτρα, πάγος τ' Ἄρειος ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας  
ἀστῶν, φόβος τε συγγενῆς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν  
σχήσει τὸ δ' ἡμᾶρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην ὁμῶς,  
αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ\* ἐπικαινόντων νόμους, ἐπικαινόντων  
κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι, βορβόρω δ' ὕδωρ 630  
λαμπρὸν μαιίνων, οὐποδ' εὐρήσεις ποζόν.  
τὸ μὴτ' ἀναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον  
ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευῶ σέβειν,  
καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν.  
τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἐνδίκος βροτῶν; 635  
τοιόνδε τοι τάρβοῦντες ἐνδίκως σέβας  
ἔρυμά τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον  
ἔχοιτ' ἄν, οἷον οὔτις ἀνθρώπων ἔχει,  
οὔτ' ἐν Σκύθῃσιν, οὔτε Πέλοπος ἐν τόποις.  
κερδῶν ἀδικτον τοῦτο βουλευτήριον 640  
αἰδοῖον, ὀξύθυμον, εὐδόντων ὑπερ  
ἐγρηγορὸς φροῦρημα γῆς καθίσταμαι.  
ταύτην μὲν ἐξέτειν' ἐμοῖς παραίνεσιν  
ἀστοῖσιν εἰς τὸ λοιπόν. ὀρθοῦσθαι δὲ χρεῖ,  
καὶ ψῆφον αἶρειν, καὶ διαγνῶναι δίκην, 645  
αἰδουμένοις τὸν ὄρκον. εἰρηται λόγος.

### Χ ο ρ ό ς

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





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Ἄπολλων

σύ τοι τάχ', οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος, 665  
ἐμεῖ τὸν ἰὸν οὐδὲν ἐχθροῖσιν βαρύν.

Χορός

ἐπεὶ καθιππάζει με πρεσβῦτιν νέος,  
δίκης γενέσθαι τῆσδ' ἐπήκοος μένω,  
ὡς ἀμφίβουλος οὔσα θυμοῦσθαι πόλει.

Ἄθνη

ἐμὸν τόδ' ἔργον, λισσθίαν κρίναι δίκην. 670

ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι.  
μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστίν, ἢ μ' ἐγείνατο.

τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν,  
ἅπαντι θυμῷ, κάρτα δ' εἰμι τοῦ πατρός.

οὔτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον 675

ἄνδρα κτανούσης δωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον.

νικᾷ δ' Ὀρέστης, καὶ ἰσόψηφος κριθῆ.

ἐκβάλλεθ' ὡς τάχιστα τευχέων πάλους,  
ὅσοις δικαστῶν τοῦτ' ἐπέσταλται τέλος.

Ὀρέστης

ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλον, πῶς ἄγων κριθήσεται; 680

Χορός

ὦ Νυξ μέλαινα, μητέρα, ἀθ' ὄρας τάδε;

(Ὀρέστης)

νῦν ἀγχόνης μοι πέρματ', ἢ φάος βλέπειν



Χοροῖς

ἤμῃν γὰρ ἔρρειν, ἢ πρόσω τιμᾶς νέμειν.

Ἀπόλλων

πεμπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένοι,  
τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει.

685

γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα,  
βαλοῦσα τ' οἶκον ψῆφος ὄρθωσεν μία.

Ἀθήνη

ἄνηρ δ' ἐκπέφευγεν αἵματος δίκην.  
ἴσον γὰρ ἔστι τὰρίθμημα τῶν πάλων.

Ὀρέστης

ὦ Παλλὰς, ὦ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους,  
καὶ γῆς πατρώιας ἐστερημένον σὺ τοι  
κατώκισάς με· καὶ τις Ἑλλήνων ἔρει,

690

Ἄργεϊος ἄνηρ αὐθις ἐν τε χρήμασιν

οἰκεῖ πατρώιοις, Παλλάδος καὶ Λοξίου

ἔκατι, καὶ τοῦ πάντα κραίνοντος τρίτου

695

σωτῆρος, ὃς πατρώιον αἰδεσθεῖς μόρον

σώζει με, μητρὸς τάςδε συνδίκους ὄρων.

ἐγὼ δὲ χώρα τῆδε, καὶ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ

τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἅπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον

ὀρκωμοτήσας νῦν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους,

700

μήτοι τιν' ἄνδρα δεῦρο πρυμνήτην χθονὸς

ἔλθόντ' ἐποίσειν εὐκεκασμένον δόρυ.

αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὄντες ἐν τάφοις τότε



τοῖς τ' ἅμ' ἀπαρβαίνουσι νῦν ὄρκώματα,  
 ἀμηχάνοισι πράξομεν δυσπραξίαις, 705  
 ὁδοὺς ἀθύμους καὶ παρόρνιθας πόρους  
 τιθέντες, ὡς αὐτοῖσι μεταμέλη πόνος  
 ὀρθουμένων δέ, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Παλλάδος  
 τιμῶσιν αἰεὶ τήνδε συμμάχῳ δορί,  
 αὐτοῖσιν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν εὐμενέστεροι. 710  
 καὶ χαῖρε καὶ σὺ, καὶ πολιτισσοῦχος λεώς,  
 πάλαισμι' ἀφυκτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔχοις,  
 σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς νικηφόρον.

Χ ο ρ ο ς

στρ. Ἰὼ θεοὶ νεώτεροι, παλαιοὺς νόμους  
 καθιππάσασθε, καὶ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου. 715  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἢ τάλαινα βαρύνκοτος  
 ἐν γὰρ τὰδε, φεῦ,  
 ἰού, ἰού, ἀντιπαθῆ μεθεῖσα καρδίας  
 σταλαγμὸν χθονί  
 ἄφορον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ 720  
 λιχὴν ἀφυλλος, ἄτεκνος, ὦ δίκαια, πέδον  
 ἐπισύμενος  
 βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώρα βαλεῖν.  
 στενάζω; τί ρέξω; γένωμαι; δύσροιστα  
 παλίτταις ἔπαθον, ἰώ, μεγάλα τοι κόραι  
 δυστυχεῖς  
 Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς. 725

Ἄ θ ἦ ν ἦ

ἐμοὶ πίδεσθε, μὴ βαρυστόνως φέρειν.





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πολίταις ἔπαθον ἰώ, μεγάλα τοι κόραι δυσ-  
 τυχεῖς 750

Νεκτὸς ἀτιμοπενθεῖς.

Ἄ θ ἦ ν η

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀτιμοί, μηδ' ὑπερθύμως ἄγαν  
 θεαὶ βροτῶν στήσητε δύσκηλον χθόνα.  
 καὶ γὰρ πέποιθα Ζηνί, καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν;  
 καὶ κλήιδας οἶδα δωμάτων μόνη θεῶν, 755

ἐν ᾧ κεραυνὸς ἐστὶν ἐσφραγισμένος·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ δεῖ. σὺ δ' εὐπειθῆς ἐμοὶ  
 γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ ἐκβάλης ἐπὶ χθόνα  
 καρπὸν, φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς.

κοίμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος, 760  
 ὡς σεμνότιμος καὶ ξυνοικήτωρ ἐμοί·  
 πολλῆς δὲ χώρας τῆςδε τ' ἀκροθίνια (,)

\*θύη [ , ] πρὸ παιδῶν καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους, \*θύη  
 ἔχουσ' ἐς αἰεὶ τόνδ' ἐπαινέσεις λόγον.

Χ ο ρ ό ς

στρ. Ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῦ, 765

ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα  
 κατὰ γᾶν οἰκεῖν, ἀτίετον [φεῦ] μύσος.  
 πνέω τοι μένος,  
 ἅπαντά τε κότον.

οἶ, οἶ, δᾶ, φεῦ, 770  
 τίς μ' ὑποδύεται πλευράς \*ὀδύνα; \*ὠδύνα  
 θυμὸν αἶε μάτερ



Νύξ. ἀπὸ γάρ με τιμᾶν δαίμιαν θεῶν  
δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδέν ἦσαν δόλοι.

Ἄ θ ἦ ν . η

ὄργας ξυνοίσω σοι. γεραιτέρα γάρ εἶ. 775

καίτοι γε μὲν σὺ κάρτε' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,

φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

ὕμεις δ' ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἐλθοῦσαι χθόνα,

γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε προὔννεπω τάδε.

οὐπιρρέων γάρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος 780

ἔσται πολίταις τοῖσδε. καὶ σὺ τιμίαν

ἔδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως

τεύξει παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων. στόλων,

ὄσσην παρ' ἄλλων οὔποτ' ἂν σχεδοῖς βροτῶν.

σὺ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι μὴ βάλῃς 785

μῆθ' αἱματηρᾶς θηγάκας, σπλάγχχνων βλάβας

νέων, αἰοίνοις φεμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν

μηδ' ἐξελοῦσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων,

ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσης Ἄρη.

ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν. 790

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρών,

ἐν ᾧ τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρωσ'

ἐνοικίου δ' ὄρνιθος οὐ λέγω μάχην.

τοιαῦθ' ἐλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ,

εὐ δρῶσαν, εὐ πάσχουσαν, εὐ τιμωμένην 795

χώρας μετασχεῖν τῆσδε θεοφιλεστάτης.

Χ ο ρ ό ς :

ἀντ. Ἐμέ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῶ,



ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα  
κατὰ γᾶν οἰκεῖν, ἀτίετον [φεῦ] μύσος.  
πνέω τοι μένος, 800  
ἅπαντά τε κότον  
οἶ, οἶ, δᾶ, φεῦ,  
τίς μ' ὑποῦέεται πλευράς \*ὀδύνα; \*ἔδύνα  
θυμὸν ἄϊε, μάτερ  
Νύξ· ἀπὸ γάρ με τιμᾶν δαμιᾶν θεῶν 805  
δυσπάλαμοι παρ' οὐδὲν ἦραν δόλοι.

Ἄ θ ἦ ν η

οὔτοι καμοῦμαί σοι λέγουσα τὰγαθά·  
ὥς μήποτ' εἰπῆς, πρὸς νεωτέρας ἐμοῦ  
θεὸς παλαιὰ καὶ πολιισούχων βροτῶν  
ἄτιμος ἔρρειν, τοῦδ' ἀπόξενος πέδου. 810  
ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας,  
γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον,  
σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν· εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,  
οὐκ ἂν δικαίως τῆδ' ἐπιρρέποις πόλει  
μῆνίν τιν', ἢ κότον τιν', ἢ βλάβην στρατῶ. 815  
ἔξεστι γάρ σοι τῆδέ γ' εὐμοίρου χθονὸς  
εἶναι δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη.

Χ ο ρ ό ς

ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, τίνα με φῆς ἔχειν ἔδραν;

Ἄ θ ἦ ν η

πάσης ἀπήμον' οἰζύος· δέχου δὲ σύ.





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καὶ ταῦτα γῆθεν, ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου, 830  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε, καὶ ἀνέμων ἀήματα  
 εὐηλίως πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα·  
 καρπὸν τε γαίας καὶ \*βροτῶν ἐπίρρυτον 840  
 ἀστοῖσιν εὐθεγοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνον,  
 καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν. 855  
 τῶν δυσσεβούντων δ' ἐκφορωτέρα πέλοις.  
 στέργω γάρ, ἀνδρὸς φυτυποιμένος δίκην,  
 τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος.  
 τοιαῦτα σοῦ ἐστὶ. τῶν ἀρειφάτων δ' ἐγὼ  
 πρεπτῶν ἀγῶνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ 840  
 τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν.

### Χ ο ρ ό ς

στρ. α'. δέξομαι Παλλάδος ξυνδοικίαν, οὐδ' ἀτιμάσω  
 πόλιν  
 τὰν καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ παγκρατῆς Ἄρης τε φρού-  
 ριον θεῶν νέμει,  
 ῥυσίβωμον Ἑλλάνων ἄγαλμα δαιμόνων,  
 ᾧ τ' ἐγὼ κατεύχομαι θεσπίσασα πνευμε-  
 νῶς, 845  
 ἐπισσύτους βίου τύχας ὀνησίμους  
 γαίας ἐξαμβρῦσαι φαιδρὸν ἀλίου σέλας.

### Ἄ θ ῆ ν η

(στρ. ἀναπ. α'.) τάδ' ἐγὼ προφρόνως τοῖςδε πολίταις  
 πράσσω, μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρέστους  
 δαίμονας αὐτοῦ κατανασσαμένη. 850



πάντα γὰρ αὐταὶ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἔλαχον  
διέπειν.

ὁ δὲ μὴ κύρσας βαρέων τούτων,  
οὐκ οἶδεν ὄθεν

· πληγαὶ βιότου. . . . . 855

τὰ γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων ἀπλακίματά νιν  
πρὸς τὰςδ' ἀπάγει, σιγῶν (δ') ὄλεθρος  
καὶ μέγα φωνοῦντ'  
ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς ἀμαθύνει.

### Χ ο ρ ό ς

ντ. α. δενδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέοι βλάβα, τὰν ἐμὰν  
χάριν λέγω, 860

φλογμός τ' ὀμματοστερῆς φυτῶν, τὸ μὴ  
περᾶν ὄρον τόπων,

μηδ' ἀκαρπος αἰανῆς ἐφερπέτω νόσος,  
μῆλά τ' εὐθενοῦντ' ἄγαν ξὺν δίπλοισ(ιν)

ἐμβρύοις

τρέφοι χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ . . . γόνος

πλουτόχθων ἐρμαίαν δαιμόνων δόσιν τίοι. 865

### ' Α θ ή ν η

ιεσ.) ἦ τὰδ' ἀκούετε, πόλεως φρούριον,

οἷ' ἐπικραίνει; μέγα γὰρ δύναται

πότνι' Ἐριννὺς παρά τ' ἀθανάτοις,

τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν, περί τ' ἀνθρώπων

φανερῶς τελέως διαπράσσουσιν

870



τοῖς μὲν αἰοιδάς, τοῖς δ' αὖ δακρύων  
βίον ἀμβλωπὸν παρέχουσαι.

Χ ο ρ ό ς

στρ. β'. ἀνδροκμη̄τας δ' ἀώρους ἀπεννέπω τύχας,  
νεανίδων τ' ἐπηράτων  
ἀνδροτυχεῖς βιότους δότε, κύρι' ἔχοντες 875  
θεαί, τῶν Μοῖραι ματροκασιγνήται, δαί-  
μονες ὀρθονόμοι,  
παντὶ δόμῳ μετάκοινοι,  
παντὶ χρόνῳ δ' ἐπιβριθεῖς  
ἐνδίκοις ὀμιλίαις,  
παντᾶ τιμιώταται θεῶν. 880

Ἄ θ ἦ ν η

[στρ. ἀναπ. β'] τάδε τοι χώρα τῇ ἐμῇ προσφρόνως  
ἐπικραινομένων  
γάνυμαι. στέργω δ' ὄμματα Πειθοῦς,  
ὅτι μοι γλῶσσαν καὶ στόμ' ἐπωπᾶ  
πρὸς τάςδ' ἀγρίως ἀπανηναμένας 885  
ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος,  
νικᾶ δ' ἀγαθῶν  
ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός.

Χ ο ρ ό ς

ἀντ. β'. τὰν δ' ἀπληστον κακῶν μήποτ' ἐν πόλει  
στάσιν





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στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσιν. 910

πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν

ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν

κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι,

τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χώρας κατέχειν,

τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον 915

πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκη.

ἤμεῖς δ' ἠγεῖσθε, πολιτισσοῦχοι

παῖδες Κραναοῦ, ταῖςδε μετοίκοις.

εἶη δ' ἀγαθῶν

ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις. 920

### Χορός.

ἀντ. γ. χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ' αὖθις [αὖ,] (ἐπιδι-  
πλοῖζω,)

πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν δαίμονές τε, καὶ βροτοὶ

Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες μετοικίαν δ' ἐμὴν

εὐσέβοντες, οὔτι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου.

### Ἄθλη

αἰνῶ δὲ μύθους τῶνδε τῶν κατευγμάτων, 925

πέμψω τε φέγγη λαμπάδων σελασφόρων

εἰς τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους,

ξὺν προσπόλοισιν, αἶτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας

τοῦμὸν δικαίως. ὄμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς

Θησηίδος ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν, εὐκλεῆς λόχος 930

παίδων, γυναικῶν, καὶ στόλος πρεσβυτίδων.



φοινηκοβάπτοις ἐνδντοῖς ἐσθήμασιν  
τιμᾶτε, καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πυρός,  
ὅπως ἂν εὐφρων ἢδ' ὀμιλία χθονός,  
τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδρῳσι συμφοραῖς πρέπη. 935

Π ρ ό π ο μ π ο ι

στρ. α. \*Βάτ' ἐκ δύμων, μεγάλοι φιλότιμοι \*βᾶτε  
δόμον

Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες, ὑπ' εὐθύφρονι πομπᾷ.  
εὐφαιμεῖτε δέ [πανδαμεί,] (χωρεῖτε)

ἀντ. α. γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισιν  
(καὶ) τιμαῖς καὶ θυσίαις περίσεπται ἔτύχατε 940  
εὐφαιμεῖτε δέ πανδαμεί.

στρ. β. ἴλαοι δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονες γᾶ  
δεῦρ' ἴτε, σεμναί, [καὶ] πυριδάπτω  
λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι, καθ' ὁδὸν δ'  
ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς. 945

ἀντ. β. σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἴκων.  
Παλλάδος ἀστοῖσ(ι) Ζεὺς [ὁ] πανόπτας  
οὔτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.  
ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.









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fragm. p. 424. ed. Ernest.) Τὸ μητρόσ. Ἡ τῆς κοι-  
νῆς μητρὸς πάντων, ἢ τῆς Θέμιδος. Λάχει. κλήρω.  
Γενέθλιον δόσιν. Ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὀπτήριον [,] θεασα-  
μένη τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἑαυτῆς Λητοῦς παῖδα δέδωκε συγ-  
γενικὴν δόσιν. (Cf. Intpp. ad Callim. hymn. in Dian.  
74.) Ὅνομ' ἔχει. Ἀπόδειξις αὕτη τῆς δωρεᾶς οὐκ  
ἀχάριστος. Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα. Τὴν Κύνθον. Διὰ  
δὲ τοῦ χοιράδα, σχεδὸν τὴν αἰτίαν φησὶ δι' ἣν ἀπέλιπεν  
Ἀπόλλων, ἐκκλίνων τὸ εἰς τὸ χωρίον. (Homer.  
hymn. in Apoll. 70 seqq.) Ἄλλως· Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα,  
(Κοιλάδα legi vult Wakefield)· τὴν Ἰστρογγύλην. (Hanc  
vocem frequentat Lycophron)

V. 11. Ἐς τήνδε γαῖαν. Χαριζόμενος Ἀθη-  
ναίοις, (populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas.)  
καταχθῆναί φησιν ἐκεῖσε Ἀπόλλωνα, κα' κεῖθεν τὴν περι-  
πομπὴν αὐτῷ εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος, (fragm. incert.  
CXLVII ed. Heyn.) ἐκ Τανάγρας τῆς Βοιωτίας. Παῖ-  
δες Ἡφαίστου. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Θησεὺς γὰρ τὴν  
ὁδὸν ἐκάθηρε τῶν ληστῶν· καὶ ὅταν πέμπωσιν εἰς Δελ-  
φοὺς θεωρίδα, προέρχονται ἔχοντες πελέκεις, ὡς διημε-  
ρώσοντες τὴν γῆν. (Cf. Intpp. ad Callim. hymn. in Del.  
314. Plutarch. Thes. C. 23.) [Τιμαλφεῖ. Ἡν τιμαῖ.  
β.] Δελφός τε. Καὶ ὁ Δελφὸς λεῶς, ὅς ἐστι τῆς χώ-  
ρας ἄναξ καὶ κυβερνήτης.\*) Κτίσας, ἰδίωμα  
δὲ τοῦτο Αἰσχύλου \*\*).

\*) Male. Veteres enim nomina gentium personis tribuere soliti  
erant, quas sibi finxerant, ut inde nomina gentium dedu-  
cerent. Ceterum, quae de Delphis tradita sunt, pertrac-  
taturis praecipue perpendendum Mnaseam tradere, τοὺς  
Ἵπερβορείους Δελφοὺς λεγέσθαι.

\*\*\*) Infra 650. Choeph. ed. nov. 338. 461. 992. Suppl. ed.  
Schuetz. 138. 169. 437. 636. 1073. Prom. 815. Pers. 287.



V. 20. [Τούτους ἐνεύχαϊς. Τοῦτο φησὶν ἐπεὶ δραματικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ποίησις, εἰ δὲ ἦν διηγηματικὴ, εἶπεν ἄν ὁ ποιητὴς, ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, εἰς θρόνον ἐκαθέζετο. β.] Παλλὰς. Χ' ἢ Παλλὰς, Δελφοὶ νιν ὄθ' ἰδρύνοντο προναίην. Καλλίμαχος. (Fragm. p. 521. ed. Ernest.) Κορυκὶς πέτρα. Ὁ Παρνασσός. [Ἐνθα Κ. π. Πέτραν φησὶ κοίλην τὸν Παρνασσόν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι. β.] Παλλὰς. χ' ἢ Παλλὰς, Δελφοὶ νιν ὄθ' ἰδρύνοντο προναίην. Καλλίμαχος, (Fragm. p. 521. ed. Ernest.) Κορυκὶς πέτρα. Ὁ Παρνασσός. [Ἐνθα. Κ. π. Πέτραν φησὶ κοίλην τὸν Παρνασσόν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι δὲ κοῖλον ὄρος λέγεται ἐκεῖ ἀναστρέφεισθαι τοὺς δαίμονας, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄοικον εἶναι. β.] Βρόμιος δ' ἔχει τ. χ. διὸ εἶπε, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή. Λαγῶ δίκηην. Λαγωῦ δίκη καταπτήξαντι, καὶ μὴ ἀνδισταμένῳ. Πενθεῖ. Νῦν φησὶν ἐν Παρνασσῷ εἶναι τὰ κατὰ Πενθεῖα. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ξανθρίαις, ἐν Κιθαιρῶνι. [Λαγῶ δ. Ἦγουν λαγοὶ δειλοὶ εἰσιν, φησὶν οὖν αὐτὸν λαγωῦ δίκην ὑποπτήξοντα μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν αὐτῷ. β.] Καλοῦσα. Καλοῦσα φροιμάζομαι. Ἐπειτα μάντις. Τοῦτό φησὶν ἐπεὶ δραματικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ποίησις. Εἰ δὲ ἦν διηγηματικὴ, εἶπεν ἄν ὁ ποιητὴς, ταῦτα εἰποῦσα εἰς θρόνον ἐκαθέζετο.

V. 30. Τῶν πρὸ νηϊείσ. Τὴν Πυθῶ τὴν πρῶην Ποσειδῶνος), ὑπὲρ ἧς Καλαυρείαν ἐδέξατο. Καλλίμαχος, Μέσφα Καλαυρείης ἦλθεν ἐς ἀντίδοσιν. (Fragm. p. 521.

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Sophocles Antig. 1101. Trach. 898. Euripid, Supplic. 620. 790. τιθῆναι. hoc sensu frequentat Euripides.

\*) Ex aqua scil. vaticinia ibi edebantur. Πλούταχος λέγειν Lycophron τὸν χρησμοδίσχην Delphicum appellat, „ὅτι ἐν τῷ τρίποδι χείρ ἦν μίγα, ὅθ' ἐν τῷ καπινομένῳ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Αἴθου ἀνήρχοντο, ἅπις ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐσαφηνίζει". Tzetz.



Vide ibi intpp.) Ἴτων. Ἴτωσαν. Ἀττικώτερον Πάλιν μ' ἐπεμψεν. Παρ' ὀλίγον ἔρημος ἢ σκηνή γίνεται. Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ χορός πᾶ πάρεστιν, ἢ τε ἰέρεια εἰςῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναόν. [Ἡ δεινὰ λ. Τὰ δεινὰ φησιν ἐξέπεμψέ με τοῦ μαντείου, ἰδοῦσα γὰρ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τῆς (τὰς) Ἐριννῶς κοιμώμενας, ἔξειμι τεταραγμένη. β.] Σωκεῖν. Κουφίζειν. Σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ γανριᾶν καὶ ἀτάκτως πηδᾶν. Ἄλλως· σωκεῖν διὰ τὸ γῆρας. Δείσασα γὰρ. Τὰ δεινὰ δείσασα[ν] ἐξέπεμψέ με τοῦ μαντείου. Ἰδοῦσα γὰρ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τὰς Ἐριννῶας κοιμώμενας, ἔξειμι τεταραγμένη τετραποδηδὸν ἐκ τοῦ νεώ.

V. 40. [Ὀρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖ. (Sic.) Ἐμφατικῶς παρίστησεν τὸν νεοστί (l. νεωστί) ἀυθεντικότη, (l. ἀυθεντηκότη) οἰονεὶ (l. οἰονεὶ) τὸν φονεύσαντα, ἀυθέντης γὰρ λέγεται ὁ φονευτής. Πρὸς τρόπαιον. ἰκετεύοντα. β.] Πρὸς τρόπαιον. Ἰκέτην. Στάζοντα χειρᾶς. Ἐμφατικῶς τοῦτο νεωστί ἀυθεντηκότη παρίστησε. Νεοσπαδὲς. Νεωστί ἐσπασμένον. Ἀργῆτι μαλλῶ. Εἰώθασιν ὅταν ἀσαφές τι εἴπωσιν οἱ ποιηταί, ἐπεκδιδάσκειν αὐτό. Ὅμηρος, (Il. V. 586.) Κύμβαχος ἐν κονίῃσιν, ἐπὶ βρεχμόν τε καὶ ὄμους.

[Ἀργῆτι. Λευκῶ. β.] Εὐθεὶ γυναικῶν. Ἐπὶ σκηνης φαίνεται τὸ μαντεῖον. Ἡ δὲ προφήτις πρόεισιν ἐπικλήσεις, ὡς ἔθος, τῶν θεῶν ποιησομένη· ἀπροόπτως τε ἰδοῦσα τὰς Ἐριννῶας κύκλω τοῦ Ὀρέστου καθευθούσας, πάντα μηνύει τοῖς θεαταῖς· οὐκ (l. οὐχ) ὡς διηγουμένη τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν, τοῦτο γὰρ νεωτερικὸν Εὐριπίδειον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως, τὰ θορυβήσαντα αὐτὴν καταμηνύουσα φιλοτέχνως. Τὰ δὲ πρῶτα, εὐχαὶ καὶ ἐπικλήσεις θεῶν, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν εὐφημοτέρων ἄρξηται ἢ προφήτις. Οἰκονομικῶς δὲ(,) οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ διώκεται Ὀρέ-





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Καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις. Πόσῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἰδίων; Οὗτοι προδώσω. Ἐπιφανεῖς Ἀπόλλων συμβουλεύει Ὀρέστη καταλιπεῖν μὲν τὸ μαντεῖον, φυγεῖν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας. Καὶ δευτέρα δὲ γίνεται φαντασία. Στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἐνδηλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει. Καὶ γίνεται ὄψις τραγική· τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἠμαγμένον ἔτι κατέχων Ὀρέστης· αἱ δὲ, κύκλῳ φρουροῦσαι αὐτόν. Ἄλλως οὗτοι προδώσω. πρὸς Ὀρέστην φησὶν. Ἀπέστη γὰρ ἡ ἰέρεια. Οὐ γενήσομαι πεπών. Γράφεται πρέπων.\*)

V. 69. Γραῖαι, παλαιαὶ παῖδες. Παλαιαὶ γὰρ παῖδες, διὰ τὸ νέον. ἢ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγαμοὶ καὶ παρθένοι εἰσὶ. Το ἀλλόκοτον δὲ φῆς φύσεως διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τραγικώτερον διασύρει, Κακῶν δ' ἕκατι. Ἐνεκα τοῦ κακοποιεῖν. Ἐλῶσι. Ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἐλάσσωσι [Ἐλῶσι. Ἐλασσωσιν. β.] Βουκολούμενος. Περιέπων. [Βουκολούμαι[εν]ος. Περιέπων, ἐνεργῶν. β.] Ἀγκαθεν. Ταῖς ἀγκάλαις. [Ἀγκαθεν. Ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις. β.] Ἐπίστα. Ἐπίστασαι. [Μὴ ἀδικεῖν. Συνίζησις, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ, μὴ ἀμελεῖν. β.] Σθένος δὲ. τὸ δὲ σὸν σθένος ἀσφαλές ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ εἶποιεῖν.

V. 90. Ἐπώνυμος. Ὀδῖος γὰρ ὁ θεός.\*) [Πομπαιῖος. Ὀδῖος γὰρ ὁ θεός. Ποιμαίνων. Φυλάσσων.

\*) Male. Soph. Oed. C. 437. χρόνῳ δ' ὅτ' ἤδη πᾶς ὁ μόχθος ἦν πίπων. Vide Musgrav. ad h. l. Agam. 1366 Πειραιτέρα γὰρ μῆτρα τῆς τυραννίδος Fragm. Phryg. apud Athen. et Eustath.: Ἀγῆς δ' ἐκείνος ἦν περαιτέρος μορῶν. Adde Blomf. Gloss. ad Agam. 1336. Infra 74. μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένῃ. Eadem metaphora alio sensu, Agam. 1641. ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ

Λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἱποψεται.

\*) Sept. c. Theb. 8. sq. ὦν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήσιος Ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει. Vox Aeschylō frequentata, ut index docet. In Sophoclis Tragoediis superstitionibus non eodem, quo hic, exstat sensu.



β.] (Notus est usus τοῦ, ποιμήν.) Σέβει τοι Ζεὺς. Τὸ τῶν ἱκετῶν σέβισμα καὶ δέημα οὐ μόνον τιμᾶ δ' Ζεὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σέβει, ὄρων αὐτὸ ὀρμώμενον προσηκούσῃ τέχῃ. [Σέβει τοι. Τοῦτο διὰ μέσον. β.]

V. 95. Ἐγὼ δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν. Λείπει εἰμί. \*) Ἐπερ ὦν ἐφόνευσα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἀπίσασθε, καὶ οἱ ἐμέ φονεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀτιμάζονται. Παιδευτικά δὲ ταῦτα. Τὸ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ νεκρῶν ἀτιμάζεσθαι, ἱκανῶς ἔχεται παιδεύσεως. Ὁ μὲν Ὀρέστis φουγῆ οἴχεται Ἀθήναζε πυθόμενος· αἱ δὲ Ἐριννύες μόναι καθεύδουσιν ἐπὶ πόνον ἴσως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τοῦ τραγωδοποιοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύσαντος, ἵνα διὰ τούτου ἐμφαίνη τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν καὶ χαλεπὸν. Πῶς δὲ διεγείρονται; Οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος, οὐδὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῃ φαντασίᾳ. Ἐφίσταται γὰρ τὸ εἶδωλον Κλυταιμνήστρας, καὶ μεμψάμενον ἀνεγείρει. Ὡστε ποικίλαις φαντασίαις πεπικνωται. [Ἀλ(λ)ῶμαι. Πλανῶμαι. β.] Ἐχω μεγίστην. Καὶ σφαγεῖσα αἰτιῶμαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα. [Ἐχω μεγίστην αἰτίαν. Σφαγεῖση, (ἰ. σφαγεῖσα) φησὶν, αἰτιῶμαι παρ' ἐκείνων, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀρέστου τοῦ ἡμετέρου υἱοῦ ἀνῆρέθην. β.]

V. 101. [Μηνίεται. Ὀργίζεται. β.] Ἐδδουσα γὰρ φρήν. Ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν ὁ νοῦς ἀκριβέστερον ὄρα, μὴ παραπλανώμενος τῇ θείᾳ. \*\*) Τραγικώτερον δὲ, τὸ εἶδωλον Κλυταιμνήστρας σώζει τὴν σφαγὴν. Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρα. Ἡ τῆς φρενὸς μοῖρα οὐ προοραῖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. (Male. ἀπρόσκοπος, passive intelligendum est et

\*) Ellipsis rarior, de qua vide Heindorf, ad Plat. Phædr. §. 69. et Jacobs. Anthol. tom. III. p. 301. Valckenar. ad Phoeniss. 976. Elmsl. ad Med. 597.

\*\*) Bene ut Stanl. Cicer. de divinac. I. 30. Aristot. περὶ τῆς κατ' ὑπὸν μοιτικῆς. 2. Aelian V. H. III. 11. Jamblich. Pythag. 15



μοῖρα βροτῶν, *fatum significat.*) **Νηφάλια.** Οἶνος γὰρ οὐ σπένδεται Ἐριννύσιν. Ἐθρον ἔραν. Ὄραν ἐν ἧ οὐδεὶς τῶν θεῶν ἐκοινώνει τῆς θυσίας ὑμῖν. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ, μόναις Ἐριννύσιν ἀπάρχονται. Οὐδεὶς κοινὴν θεῶν. Ὅτι ταύταις μόναις ἐν νυκτὶ θύουσιν.

V. 110. Ὁρῶ πατῦμένα. Ἀνατετραμμένα. β] Ὁ δ' ἐξαλύξας οἴχεται νεβροῦ δίκην. Διὰ τὸ πεφευγέναι ἐκ τοῦ νεώ. [Ἐξαλύξας. Ἐκφυγῶν. Ἀρ- κυσμάτων. Δικτύων. β.] Ἐγκατιλλώψας μέγα. Χλευάσας. Διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐρεθίζει αὐτάς. Μυγμός. Παρεπιγραφή. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὃ φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς, (II. IV. 20.) αἱ δ' ἐπέμυξαν. (Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη. Cf. Bekker. Anecd. II. p. 807) Τὸ δὲ ἐγείρεσθαι τὰς παρειμένας ὑπνῶ, οὐ πιθανόν. Κατὰ βραχὺ οὖν ἐκ προσβάσεως τὴν ἔγερσιν ποιήσονται.

V. 120. [Φονεὺς δ' Ὁρέστης. Ὁ μὲν Ὁρέστης, φησὶν, οἴχεται Ἀθήναζε πυθόμενος, αἱ δὲ Ἐριννύες μόναι καθεύδουσιν, ὑπὸ πόνου ἴσως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τοῦ Τραγωδοποιοῦ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύσαντος, ἵνα διὰ τοῦτο ἐμφανὲς γένηται τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν καὶ χαλεπόν. β.] Ὄζεις. Ὄς παρὰ τὸ αἶ, αἶ, αιάζειν· οὕτω παρὰ τὸ ὦ, ὦ, ὦζειν. Τί σοι. Τί οὖν μέλλεις τὸ σὸν ἔργον ἀνύειν; Συνωμόται. Συνωμοσίαν ποιήσαντες, κατεκοίμισαν ὑμᾶς. Ἐξεκήραναν. Παρείλοντο. Λάβε, λάβε. Ὀνειροπο-

\* ) Aeschyl. Suppl. 999. sq.

Τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς.

Θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοὶ τί μιν.

In Sophoclis Tragoediis superstitibus haec vox, nisi fallor, non exstat. Euripides notione τῶν: φροτιζέειν adhibuit. Photius: Κηραίνει, τηκεῖ; πρὸς φθορὰν ἄγει. Unum a κῆρ, alterum a κῆρ deducendum est.





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ἔχοντες. [Πλέον. Ἵπὲρ τὸ δίκαιον. Θρόνον. Τὸν θρόνον αὖ Ὀρέστης καθῆστο, πάρεστιν ὄρῃν φονολειβῆ ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς ὄλον. Τὸ δὲ γᾶς ὀμφαλόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, τὸ ἐν Πυθοῖ. Διὰ δὲ τούτων, ἀποσκευάζειν δοκοῦσι τῆς ἐπικαρρίας Ὀρέστου τὸν θεόν. Προςδρακεῖν αἱμάτων. Λείπει ὁ, καὶ, ὥστε τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν (l. ὀμφαλόν. Eadem permutatio supra V. 40. β.) ἔχει αἱμάτων ἄγος ἐπαίροντα.

V. 163. Αὐτόκλητος. Αὐτὸς αὐτὸν (l. αὐτὸν) καλέσας ἐπὶ τῷ μίαναι τὸν ναόν. [Παρά νόμων. Ἐξωνόμων. Τίων. Τιμῶν. Παλαιγενεῖς. Ἡμᾶς δηλονότι ὄσον τὸ ἐπί σοι ἀναιρήσας καὶ φονεύσας. β.] Φθίσας. Ἡμᾶς, ὄσον ἐπί σοι. [Ἵπαί τε γᾶν. Ἵπὸ γῆν. Ποτιτρόπαιος. Προςτρόπαιος, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἐναγῆς. Ἐτερον ἐν κάρᾳ. Ὡν ἐναγῆς ἐν τῷ κάρᾳ ἑαυτοῦ ἕτερον μιάστορα λήψεται, καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δίκας ἡμῖν δώσουσιν.

V. 171. [Χωρεῖτε. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς πᾶσας ὁ λόγος, ἐξῆς δὲ πρὸς πᾶσας (ἰσὺο μίαν) ἀποδίδοται. Πτηνόον. Ταχύν. Ἀργηστήν. Λευκόν. Ὀφιν. Βέλος. β.] Ἀργηστήν ὄφιν. Τραγικώτερον ὄφιν εἶπε τὸ βέλος, διὰ τὸν ἰόν\*\*) πτηνὸν δὲ, διὰ τὸ ἐπτερωσθαι. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, πρὸς πᾶσας ὁ λόγος· πρὸς μίαν δὲ ἐκάστην νῦν. Θώμιγγος. Νευρᾶς.\*\*\*) Ἀνθρώπων ἄφρον. Τὸ αἶμα, μέλανα ἄφρον εἶπεν. Οὐδήπου τὸ ἔμφυτον αὐτῶν, ἀναιμόνες γάρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἠθροισμένον ὡς τούτῳ τροφῇ χρωμένων αὐτῶν. Θρόμβους. Τὰς πήξεις τοῦ αἵματος. Καρανηστή-

\*) Suppl. 896 de homine. Μαιμᾶ πέλας δίπους ἔφισ.

\*\*\*) Schol. ad Pers. 459 ed. Stanl, Θωμιγξ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ λεπτότατος σχοῖνος. Μεταφορικῶς δὲ εἰταυθα λέγει τὴν νευρὰν τοῦ τόξου. Θώμιγγος, νευρᾶς. ibid. Schol. β.



φες. Αἰ ἀποκεφαλίζουσαι. Χλοῦνις. Ἡ ἀκμαία ἀποκοπή, παρὰ τὴν χλόην. Ἡ ἐπεὶ χλοῦνις ὁ σῦς, κάπροι δὲ συνεχῶς εὐνουχίζονται. διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀποκοπὴν συϊκὴν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην. Ἀκρωνία. Ἐκτομὴ μορίων. (De naso, auribus etc. mutilandis intelligendum est.)

V. 180. Λευσμόν. Κακῶν ἄθροισιν ἢ λιθοβολίαν. Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ, τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἄθροισμα. Ἐπὸ ράχιν. Ἐνθα ἀνασκοποῦνται. Ἐορτῆς. Εἰρωνικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ, διατριβῆς. Τρόπος μορφῆς. Ἀντὶ τοῦ, διὰ τῆς μορφῆς ἰμῶν ἢ κακία τῶν τρόπων ὑμῶν διαδίδονται. Τρίβειν μύσος. Προστρίβειν. Ἄνευ βοτῆρος. Μόλαι, ὡς ἀνήμερα θηρία.

V. 190. Αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων. Οὐκ ἐπικοινωνῶν τῇ αἰτία, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός σὺ αἴτιος. Ἐχρησα. Ὡστε δέξασθαι τὸν φονέα. [Προστραπέσθαι. Προσελθεῖν. Ἐπέστειλλον. Ἐκέλευσα αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰς (δὲ) προπομπούς. Τοῦτο κατ' ἀκισμὸν εἴρηται, ὃ φασιν ἰδίωμα, τὰς διωκτρίδας προπομπούς εἰποῦσαι; ἀκίζειν γὰρ φασὶ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰδιωματεύεσθαι καὶ σεμνολογεῖν. Μολεῖν. Ἰμᾶς δηλονότι. β.] Τὰς προπομπούς. Ἡδικεύσαντο, τὰς διωκτρίδας προπομπούς εἰποῦσαι.

V. 202. Τί γὰρ γυναικός. Τὶ προστέταχθε ποιεῖν παρὰ ἀνδροφόνου γυναικός; Αὐθέντης. Ὁ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος φόνος οὐκ ἦν αὐθέντης, ὃ ἐστὶ, μιᾶρός.\*) Ἡσυχαιτέραν. Δολιωτέραν. [Ἡσυχαιτέραν. Δολιωτέραν. Λέγη. Ὀνομάζη. β.]

\*) Αὐτός in hujusmodi Compositis et consanguinitatem significat. Agamem. 1574. ed. Schütz, ἄλλην γυναῖκα Τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθιγταίσι. Cf. exempla, quae congressimus ad Sept. e. Theb. 655. Soph. Electr. 372. Τοῖς αὐτέατην non intelligen-



V. 221. Αἷμα μητρώιον. Ἡ δίκη τοῦ μητρῷου αἵματος. Μῆνις. Μῆ τοι τὶ θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι.\*) Προστρόπαιον. ἀκάδαρτον. Προστρετριμμένον Κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντα.\*\*) Ἄλλοισιν οἴκοις. Ἄλλοις προστριψάμενον τὸ μῦθος.

V. 236. Φραδαῖς. Ταῖς ἐννοίαις. (Choeph. 886. ed. nov. Θεόδεν εἶ φραδαῖσιν ἑρμημένος.) Τετραυματισμένον. Ὡς αὐτόχρημα αἵματος ὄντος Ὀρέστου, καὶ μαιίνοντας τὴν γῆν ἕς ἐφάψηται. Τὸ μὲν ἀπορρεῖν

dum de consanguinitate. Lycophron, Cassandr. 440. αὐτοκτόνοις σφαγαῖσι de mutua caede Mopsi et Amphilochi. ibid. 437. 438. Ἡμος ξυναίμους πατρὸς αἰ νυκτὸς κόραι Πρὸς αὐτοφόντου στρῆνον ἕπλισαν μέρου. ibid. 1446 αὐθαίμων ἐμὸς Consanguineus meus. Huc quodammodo pertinent: αὐτακασίγητος αὐθαίματος, ἀντανίψιος. etc.

\*) Choeph. 282 sq. ed. nov. Βαμῶν τ' ἀπειργεῖν εὐχ δρωμένην πατρὸς Μῆνιν. Supplic. 173 sq. ed. Schütz. Ἰοῦς ἰὰ Μῆνις μάλιστα ἐκ θεῶν. Iliad. IX. 502 sqq.

Καὶ γάρ τε Λιταί εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο,  
 αἰ ρά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι.  
 Ὃς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς, ἄσσην ἰούσας,  
 τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὄνησαν, καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐξαμένοιο  
 ὃς δὲ κ' ἀνήνηται, καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποείπη,  
 λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταίγε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι,  
 τῷ Ἄτην ἄμ' ἐπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίση.

Graecos, imprimis poetas diis sensum et sermonem hominum tribuere, satis notum, quod et l. n. factum.

\*\*) Vide, quae conguessimus ad Choeph. 328 sqq. 707. Agam. 1573 sq. ἄλλη γενεὰν Τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθίνταισιν. 1053 sqq. Οὔτοι θυραῖαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα Τρίβειν. Quorum hoc aliter dictum videtur. Supra 186.





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V. 250. Οὐ πάρεστιν. Οὐ πάρεστιν αὐτῷ νικῆσαι ἡμᾶς. Δυσαγκόμιστον. Τὸ ἀπαξ χυθὲν αἷμα, δυσίατον. Τὸ διερὸν. Πᾶν διερὸν ἐκκεχυμένον εἰς τὴν γῆν, δυσαγκόμιστον. Τοιοῦτο οὖν καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Ἐλλως διερὸν, τὸ βρέξαν τὴν γῆν. Ροφεῖν. Καταπίνειν.\*\*) Πέλανον. Θρόμβον αἵματος.

V. 261. Εὔθυνος. Δικαστής. Δελτογράφω. Ἐφορᾷ δὲ πάντα, ἀναγραφόμενος αὐτὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ δέλτῳ\*\*) [Ἐγὼ, διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖς. Εἰσθεσις διπλῆς μερικῆς δύο περιόδων. Οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι λά. Ὦν τελευταῖος, ἄγνον δ' ἀκούσῃ τόνδε δέσμιον σέθεν.] Βρίζει. Κοιμᾶται.\*\*\*) Ἐκπλυτον. Ἐκκεκαθαρμένον.

V. 273. Ἀβλαβεῖ ξυνουσία. Ἐβλάπτοντο γὰρ οἱ μύσαροι (l. μύσαροις v. Pors. Advers. p. 140.) ξυντυγχάνοντες. Αὐτόν τε. Λεῖπει, ἐμέ. Odyss. X. 27. αὐτῶν γὰρ ἀπωλόμεθ' ἀφραδίῃσιν). Καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον λεῶν. Ὡς τότε συμμαχοῦντων Ἀργείων Ἀθηναίοις. Τρίτωνος. Ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο οἶεται αὐτὴν Τρι-

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parandum. Aristoph. Pac. 601. φυτὰ προσγελάσεται σε. Horat. Od. lib. II, IV. 13. Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes Angulus ridet.

\*) Sophocl. Trach. 1054 sq. πνεύμονός τ' ἀρτηρίας ῥοφεῖ ξυνοικοῦν Schol. P. ἐκπίνει.

\*\*) Supplic. 182. Αἰνῶ, φυλάξαι τᾶμ' ἔπη δελτουμένας. Schol. Δελ. Ἀπογραφομένας. Prometh. 788. πολυδονον πλανη φράσω, Ἦν ἐγγεγράφου σὺ μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν. ubi vide Blonfield. Glossar. et Ernest. ad Callim. h. in Cer. 57.

\*\*\* Metaphora non rara, Soph. Philoct. 650 Κοιμῶ τὸδ' ἔλκος Agam. 353. Ἐγρήγορον τὸ πῆμα. Eur. Electr. 41. εὔδοντα φέρον.



γογένειαν. [καλεῖσθαι] [Τίθησιν ὄρθον. Καταβάλλει γὰρ ἢ ὄρθοι. β.] Θρασὺς ταγοῦχος. Ως θρασὺς ἡγεμών. Ἀρμόττουσα δὲ ἡ εὐχή· δεῖται γὰρ Ἰφρανοῦς βοτθοῦ. Ὅπως γένοιτο. Τὸ ἐξῆς, ἔλθοι, ὅπως γένοιτο.

I V. 290. Ἀναίματον. Ὁ μὴδὲ αἷμα σχήσων ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ γενησόμενος σκιά· ροφήσομεν γὰρ σου τὸ αἷμα. Ἡ ἐναίματον, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ζῶντά σε νεκρὸν ποιήσομεν. (Male.) Οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς. Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη. Ἡ, ἀντὶ τοῦ, οὐδὲ ἀντιφωνήσεις μοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλομένου λαλεῖν, τὸ φθέγμα σου δεθήσεται.

V. 295. Ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν. Ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων ἀναπαιστικῶν ἰε. Ὡν τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἦτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ πενθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ μονόμετρα.] Μουσαν στυγέραν. Ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῶ). Λάχη. Τοὺς κλήρους ἡμῶν. Ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δὲ τὸ, δεδόκηκε. Δεδόκηκεν ἡμῖν λέξαι τίνα τρόπον τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους λάχη ἐφοδεύομεν. Ἐπινωμάστασις. Ἐπισκοπεῖ·) Στασίς δὲ τὸ σύστημα.

V. 305. Χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει. Τὸν πρόγονον κρύψαι θέλει. Τοῖσι θανοῦσι. Τοῖς ἀναι-

) Sept. c. Theb. 851. Τὸν δυσκίλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἐριωνέες. Ibidem 852 sq. Ἄϊδα τ' Ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμίλπει. et alia hujusmodi exstant.

β) Hom. hymn. in Cerer. 374. Ἀμφὶ ἰωμήσας ubi Matthiae in Animadversionibus praeter Sept. c. Theb. 25. ἐν αἰσὶ ἰωγμῶν, καὶ φρεσὶν citat. Oed. T. 300. ὃ πάντα ἰωμῶν, Τειρεσίᾳ, δαδακτά τε, κ. τ. λ. ubi vid. Musgrav. Odysse, XII. 255. XVIII. 216. XX. 257. Herodot. IV. 128. ἰωμοῦτες οὐκ εἶτα ἀναίσομεναι. Hes. Scut. Herc. 462. δουρατι ἰωμήσας ἰ. ε. σκοπήσας, τιτυσπέμους. Phoeniss. 1250 sq. ἐμπύρους τ' αἰκμὰς Ρήξιν τ' ἐὼμον.



θεδεῖσι [Μᾶτερ, ἃ μ' ἔτικτες. Ἡ μονοτροφικὴ αὕτη περίοδος κώλων ἐστὶ χοριαμβικῶν κδ'. Ὦν τὰ μὲν εἶσιν ἡμιόλια· τὰ δὲ δίμετρα καταληκτικὰ καὶ ἀκατάληκτα· τὰ δὲ, τρίμετρα. Ὦν τελευταῖον, — μικτος, αὔων βροτούς.] Μᾶτερ. Ἐπεὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς Ὀρέστου ἀγωνίζονται, οἰκείως τὴν μητέρα ἑαυτῶν ὀνομάζουσι (Vereor, ne nimis λεπτολογῆ Grammaticus, hujus notae auctor.) Καλ δεδορκόσι. Ζῶσι καὶ θανοῦσιν ἔκδικον.\*) Ματρῶιον ἀγνισμα. Τὸν τῷ ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ ἀφαγνιοῦντα τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρὸς. Ἀγνισμα δέ τινες εὐφήμως, τὸ μόλυσμα.\*\*\*) [Ματρῶιον. Μητρῶιον ἐστὶ δὲ συνίζησις. β.] Φρενοδαλῖς. Παρακίνησις τοῦ (τῶν) φρενῶν. Ὑμνος ἐξ. Ἐπὶ Ὀρέστη δὲ μέλλοντι θύεσθαι, λεχθήσεται ὕμνος ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ ἱερείῳ. Παρακόπα, ἤγουν, ὅς αὐτοῦ τὰς φρένας παρακόψει.\*\*\*)

V. 314. Δέσμιος φρενῶν. Ὁ δεσμεῦων αὐτοῦ τὰς φρένας. Ἀφόρμικτος. Οὐ γὰρ σὺν ὀργανικοῖς μουσικοῖς γίνεται οὗτος ὁ ὕμνος. Αὔων βροτούς. Ο ξηραίνων τοὺς βροτούς. Διανταία. Ἡ διαμπάξ

\*) Βλέπειν de vita saepissime dici, satis notum est.

\*) Supplic. 229 sqq.

Ὁρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φαγῶν,  
Πῶς δ' ἂν καμῶν ἀκουσαν ἀκοντος πάρα  
Ἀγνὸς γένοιτ' ἂν;

Soph. Trach. 258. ἀλλ' ὄθ' ἀγνὸς ἦν de Hercule dictum, postquam caedem Iphiti expiaverat.

\*\*\*) Agam. 227. Αἰσχρομήτης παρακοπά. 228. παρακοπά προσηπῶν. Παρακόπτω et προκόπτω comparanda sunt cum προτύπτω progredior. Ὑπέροπος minime huc pertinet, sed a substantivo κόπος pro κόμπος formatum est, cujusmodi et alia Adjectiva exstant. e. c. ὑπερήνωρ, ὑπέροθυμος, ὑπέροθιος, ὑπέρομορος etc. Qui ὑπέροπος ubique scribendum putant, obliti





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χειν. Ἰ Μὴ πλησιάζειν ἡμᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς. Παλλεύκων.  
 Οὐδαμοῦ ὅπου ἐορτὴ καὶ ἀμπεχόνῃ καθαρά, πάρειμι.  
 Ὅταν Ἄρης. Ὅταν τις ἐχθρὸς συγγενῆς ὦν τὸν  
 συγγενῆ φονεύσῃ. Πίδασος. Οἰκεῖος, φίλος. Ἐπὶ  
 τὸν, ὦ. Διὰ μέσου τῶ, ὦ. Αἷματος νέου. Διὰ  
 τὸ νέον αἷμα τοῦ νεωστὶ εἰργασμένου.

V. 331. Ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς. Εὐχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς  
 τελέσαι μὲν τὸ βούλημα, καὶ μὴ εἰς μάχην μοι ἐλθεῖν.  
 (Explicatio non probabilis) Ἐθνος τόδε. Τὸ τῶν  
 φορέων. Κατὰ γὰρ μινύθουσιν. Καὶ τοὺς ὑψη-  
 λούς· καθαιρούμεν. Τανυδρομοῖς. Τοῖς τανυδρο-  
 μοῖς αὐτῶν κώλοις ἐπάγουσα τὰ ἀφαλερά μου κῶλα.\*)  
 Ἡ ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς, καὶ τοῖς τανυδρομοῖς γίνεται σφα-  
 λερά τὰ κῶλα, διὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐτοῖς ἀτην δύσφορον  
 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Οἶον, καὶ ταχύδρομοι οὐ δύνανται με ἐκφυ-  
 γεῖν. (Τανυδρομοῖς. Cf. Soph. Aiac. 837. σεμνάς Ἐριν-  
 νῆς τανύποδας.)

V. 342. Πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδε. Περιφρονῶν  
 (παραφρονῶν cōnj. Stanl.) γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοῦ  
 κακοῦ. Κνέφας. Σκότος φρενῶν. Τὸ μῦσος κνέφας  
 εἶρηκε. Πολύστονος φάτις. Κακὴ δὲ φήμη περὶ  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴκου λέγεται. Εὐμήχανοι. Δείπει τὸ, ἐσ-  
 μέν. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ εὐμήχανοί ἐσμεν, ἐπιτελεστικά, καὶ τῶν  
 κακῶν μνήμονες. Δυσπαρήγοροι. Οὐ ταχέως παρηγορού-  
 μεναι ὑπὸ βροτῶν. Λάχη θεῶν. Ἀφορισμένα τῶν θεῶν

Μόριμον λάχος πιμπλάτων

Χεροῖν πεισίβροτόν τε βῆκτρον.

Supra 315. Infra 350.

\*) Recte. Dictum pro υποσκειλίζω τοὺς τανυδρομούς. Eubulus de  
 vino: υποσκειλίζει ῥαστα τοὺς πεπωκotas. Et σφάλλειν saepius  
 occurrit. Vide Spanhem. not. ad Sophocli, Aiac. 452 apud  
 Osann. dissert. de Soph. Ajace pag. 108.



τῷ προσόντι αὐτοῖς σκότει. "Ἄλλως μετερχόμεναι λάχην  
ἔπερ οὐ τιμώμεθα ὑπὸ θεῶν. (Ἰσο ἀτιμώμεθα). Δυσοδο-  
παίπαλα, Δυσπαράβαντα καὶ τραχέα ζῶσι καὶ τοῖς θνήσ-  
κοῦσι. Τὸν μοιρόκραντον. Τὸν ὑπὸ μοιρῶν καὶ  
θεῶν τετελεσμένον. (Choerh. 583. μοιρόκραντον ἡμαρ.)  
Ἐπὶ δέ μοι. Ἐπεστι.

V. 336 [Πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα. Εἰσθεσίς δι-  
πλῆς μονοστροφικῆς συνεχοῦς. Οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν  
ιαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ρβ'. Ὦν τελευταῖος,  
Ὅρκον περῶντας μηδὲν ἐκδικον φρεσίν.] Πρόσωθεν  
ἐξήκουσα. Ἐπὶ ὀχήματος ἔρχεται. Ἀπὸ Σκαμάν-  
δρου. Μιτυληναῖοι ἐμάχοντο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους περὶ  
πόλεως Σιγείου· ἔδοξεν οὖν μονομαχίᾳ λῦσαι τὸν πό-  
λεμον· καὶ ὑπὲρ μὲν Μιτυληναίων ἐπολέμει Πιττακὸς,  
ἔπερ δὲ Ἀθηναίων, Φρύνων. Ἡττηθέντος δὲ Φρύνωνος  
διελύθη τὰ τῆς μάχης. Ἔοικεν οὖν παρορμαῖν Ἀθηναί-  
ους ὁ Αἰσχύλος εἰς τὸ ἀντέχεσθαι πάλιν Σιγείου,  
λέγων τὴν θεὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐληλυθέναι.\*) Καταφθα-  
τουμένην. Καταφθάνουσαν.

V. 370. Κόλπον αἰγίδος. Ὡς ἀρμένῳ χρωμένη  
τῇ αἰγίδι. Σπαρτῶν γένει. Τῶν σπειρομένων.  
Ἄμορφον. Ἄμορφος οὔσα, οὐ δυνήσῃ με ἐφ' οἷς

\*) Eorum, quae ad rempublicam spectabant, mentionem non  
semel fieri in Tragoediis Graecorum, notum est: Schol.  
ad Soph. Oed. Col. 457. ταῦτα δὲ εἰκὸς ποιητικώτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Σοφοκλείους πιπλάσθαι ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλαχού  
δὲ οἱ τραγικοὶ Χαρίζονται ταῖς πατρίσιν ἔνια. neque talia vitu-  
peranda videntur, dummodo ne nimis evagentur poetae, id  
quod ab Euripide pessime factum vide-mus in Andromacha  
446sqg. Neque locus V. 586 sqg. habet, quo se commendet.



εἶπον ἀντιψέξαι. (Explicatio minime probanda. Sensus est: aliquem ob deformitatem conviciari injustum est.) Αἰανῆ. Σκοτεινά. Ἡ θρηνητικὰ, καὶ αἰάζειν ποιοῦντα.\*) Ἐπωνύμους. Τὰ ἐπωνύμα οἷς καλεῖσθαι. Ὀπουν. Ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ.

V. 390. Ἐπιρροίσει. Ἐπιβοᾶς, ἐπιβάλλεις. Ἀλλης ἀνάγκης. Ἐν ἐρωτήσει, μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο πεποίηκε; Δυοῖν παρόντων. Ἰμῖν μὲν, κατηγορεῖν ἐκείνῳ δὲ, ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης πρὶν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης. Ἄλλως δυοῖν, σοῦ καὶ Ὀρέστου (Recte). Ἄλλ' ὄρκον οὐδέξαιτ' ἄν. Μὴ πρότεινε αὐτῷ ὄρκον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θέλει νικᾶν. Οὕτως, φησὶ, φανερόν ἐστι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν, ὡς μήτε αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ὁμόσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτος, μήτε θέλειν ἡμᾶς ὄρκον αἰτῆσαι, εἰ δικαίως αὐτὸν κολάζομεν.\*\*)

Ὀρκοὶς τὰ μὴ δίκαια. Οὐκ ὀφείλει ὁ ἀδικῶν ὄρκον φεύγειν τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐπισηκῆσει γάρ.

V. 401. Ἐπαξίων. Ἀξίων οὔσαν γονέων.\*\*\*) Ὠόγον. Ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἔγκλημα. Πρὸς ἰκτωρ. Ὀν τρόπον κάκεινος προσεκάθητο τῷ ναῶ τοῦ Διὸς καθαρισθόμενος. Πρῶτος γὰρ Ἰξίων, φόνον ποιήσας, ἐκαθαρίσθη ὑπὸ Διός.\*\*\*) Ἀμείβου. Ἀποκρίνου μοι

\*) Soph. Ajax. 672. νυκτὸς ἀ'ανῆς κύκλος ubi Hermannus αἰανῆς edidit, majorem auctoritatem secutus. Exempla hujus vocis vide apud Blomfieldum in not. ad Pers. 935.

\*\*) Cf. Bekker. Anecd. I. p. 239. v. Διωμοσία p. 186. v. Διωμοσία καὶ Ἀνωμοσία. Harpocrat. v. Ἀνωμοσία et Διωμοσία.

\*\*\*) Male. ἀξία ἰσαξίων pleonastice dictum, digna cui digna obtingant, pro, omnino digna.

\*\*\*\*) Schol. ad Pindar. Pyth. II. 71. (39. ed. Boekh. quem consule) τοῦ δὲ μυσσοῦς μηδενὸς καθαρίζοντος τὸν Ἰξίωνα, ἀποστρα-





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Διὰ τούτων φιλοποιεῖται τὴν θεόν. Κελαινόφρων. Δολιόφρων.\*) Ποικίλοις ἀγρευμάσι. Τῷ πέπλῳ.\*\*)

V. 427. Λουτρῶν ἐξεμαρτύρει. Ἐκήρυττε τὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐπιχύσεως τῶν λουτρῶν γερόμενον αὐτῷ φόνον. Λέγεται γὰρ μετὰ τὸ φονεῦσαι, γυμνὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ δεῖξαι τοῖς πολίταις \*\*). Καὶ τῶνδε κοινῆ. Πάντων. Τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὸ, Ἄλλης ἀνάγκης οὔτινος τρέων κότον; Τὰ δ' αἰνέσω. Τὰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν κρίσιν ἀποβαίνοντα, ὅποια ἂν ᾖ, ἐπαινέσω.

V. 436. Εἴ τις οἶεται. Εἴ τις οἶεται τὸ πρᾶγμα τόδε βροτὸς δικάζειν, μείζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους οἶεται. (Explicandum, τὸ πρᾶγμα μείζον ἢ τις αἶεται, εἴ τις οἶεται τόδε πρᾶγμα δικάζειν.) Ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ φόνων δικάζειν, οὐχ ὅσιον. Ὁ ξυμμίτου δίκας. Φόνους ἐφ' οἷς ταχέως μηνίσουσιν Ἐριννύες. Κατηρυκῶς. Τέλειος τὴν ἡλικίαν. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων. Ἀβλαβῆς δόμοις. Διὰ τούτου ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ χρηστὰς ὑποτίθησιν.

V. 441. Αἰροῦμαι πόλει. Δέχομαι ἐν τῇ πόλει. Οὐκ εὐπέμπελον. (Εὐπέμπ.) Εὐπαραίτητον, εὐχερῆ, εὐάρεστον. Δυσάρεστοι φύσει εἰσὶν αὐταί.\*\*\*) Τυχοῦσαι Ἄντὶ τοῦ, τυχουσῶν.

\*) Haec explicatio non satis accurata est, cf. infra 758.  
κοῖμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος.

\*\*) Choeph. 930.

Ἄγρευμα θηρῶν, ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον  
Δροίτης κατασκήνωμα, δίκτυον μὲν οὖν,  
Ἄρκυν δ' ἂν εἴποις καὶ ποδιστῆρας πέπλους.

Adde Agam. 1383 sqq.

\*\*\*) Agamemnonem caesum in scena spectatoribus visum esse patet ex Agamem. 1405 sq. 1415. 1434. 1473 sqq. et aliis locis.

\*\*\*\*) Etym. M. Δυσπέμφελος, δυσάρεστος, δυσπειθής, δυσκίνητος, χα-



V. 747. Πέμπειν δὲ. Πέμπειν αὐτὰς ἀμνη-  
 ρος, δυσχερές ἐστιν ἐμοί. Ἐπέσκηψεν τόδε, Ὡς  
 κριτὸς ἐπῆλθεν. (Tragicis hanc vocem frequentant).  
 ἄφρων, δικαστὰς. Οἶον ἐνόρκους, δικαστὰς ἐγώ  
 ἴσσω. Ἐγὼ θῆσω χρόνον. Διετέλεσε γὰρ τὸ Ἄρει  
 κρητικῶν συνέδριον., (Eκ iudicium civium juratorum  
 κρητικῶν). Ἔμεις δὲ μαρτύρια. Ἔμεις δὲ ὄρ-  
 ρος αὐτὸν αἰτήσατε. Ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα, ἢ τὰ  
 ἄλτιστα. [τὰ βέλτατα. Ἦγον βέλτιστα. β.] Ὁρ-  
 ρον περῶντας. Ὁρκον, διδόντας.

V. 456. [Νῦν καταστροφαιῶν. Ὁ παρῶν,  
 ὁρὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων χοριαμβικῶν οβ'. Ὁρὸς  
 ἔστιν ἡμίολια, τὰ δὲ, δίμετρα, καταληκτικὰ καὶ ἀκα-  
 τάληκτα καὶ βραχυατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ, τρίμετρα κατα-  
 λεκτικὰ καὶ ἀκατάληκτα καὶ βραχυατάληκτα. Ὁρ-  
 ρεῖται, Ὁρὸς ἀκλαυστος, ἄϊστος.] Νῦν κατα-  
 στροφαιῶν Ἄθηνᾶ ἀπῆλθεν εὐτρεπίσαι δικαστὰς, Ὁρ-

ἄφρων, ἀμνηρὸς. Ἐ: δὲ σε κεντὸς δυσπείλου ἡμερος αἰετῆ.  
 (Hesiod. Ἐργ. κ. Ἠμ. 722.) = εἴρηται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν δυσ-  
 πεπώντων σιτίων. Iliad. XVI. 748 εἰ καὶ δυσπείλος εἶν.  
 Πέμπιλος bis occurrit in Lycophronis Cassandra 682.

Καὶ νεκρόμαντιν πέμπτελον διζήσεται  
 et 826.

Καὶ πέμπτελον γραῶν μαρμαρομένην δέμας.  
 Quod Grammatici de senectute intelligunt, περὶ τὸ ἄφρων  
 πέμπτελον πρὸς τὸν Αἴθην. Cf. Etym. M. et Lex. Gud. Quae  
 explicatio ex versibus allatis petita videtur, nulloque modo  
 ἀσπίθει. Lycophronem vero verba, quorum sensum non  
 περὶ νεκρῶν, male adhibuisse, valde probabile est. Vide  
 quae Tzetze adnotavit ad v. 855. Ἀπῆλθεν originem ducere  
 videtur, ὡς εἰρηλός, δυσπείλος a πείλω, babilis a verbo  
 habere.



δὲ Ὀρέστης ἰκτεύων μένει. Αἶ δὲ Ἐριννύες φρουροῦσιν αὐτόν. Μέλος δὲ οἰκεῖον ἄδουσι τῇ ἑαυτῶν προαιρέσει Ἡδὴ τόδ' ἔργον. Τὸ μητροκτονεῖν. Βροτοσκοπέων τούτους βροτούς σκοπούντων. Μαινάδων. Ἡμῶν δηλονότι.

V. 464. Πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον. Οὐκέτι τινὰ μὲν ἔννομον ἠγήσομαι μόρον, τινὰ δὲ οὐ· ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐφήσω μόρον, ὅπως τις βούλεται ἀναιρεῖν. Οὐ τιμωρήσω τι ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ σύγχωρήσω ἀλλήλους ἀναιρεῖν. Πέσεται δ' ἄλλος. Ἀεὶ τῶν ἀλλήλων ἀκούσονται, καὶ οὐ γίνεται κακῶν ἀνάπανσις. Τπόδοσιν. Διαδοχὴν μάταιαν παρηγορεῖ. Παθῶν δέ τις, μάτην ἑαυτὸν παραμυθεῖται τῇ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλπίδι. Ἡ, ἕκαστος δὲ τι φονέων παρηγορηθήσεται. Τλήμων γὰρ ὁ ἀναιδής \*). Ὁ δὲ ἐλπίων. (Sensus h. l. est: Alii ab aliis a peccatis afflictis mala proferentes, remedia aerumnarum quaerent, impotes autem consilii frustra eos consolari studebunt).

Vers. 468. Κικλησκέτω. Ἡμᾶς δηλονότι τὸ ὀδυμένος. Θροῶν. Ταῦτά τις. Ἀναιρούμενός' πτῆρ ἢ μήτηρ ὑπὸ παιδός. Πιτυεῖ δόμος δίκαια. Ἐπειδήπερ ὄλωλε τὸ δίκαιον. \*\*).

V. 473. Τὸ δεινόν. Οὐ πανταχῇ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπὶ ναι φρενῶν δεῖ. Σωφρονεῖν. Ὡστε καθήμενον (καὶ ὑπὸ στένει σωφρονεῖν. Ὡς εἰ ἔλεγον, ὑπὸ τῷ δει

\*) Choeph. 370. Βροτῶν τλήμονι καὶ παῖδός γε Χειρί.

\*\*\*) Simill' modo Choeph. 612. Δίκας δ' ἐρείσεται πύθμην. Ag. mem. 390. Κακτίσαντι μέγαν δίκας βῶμον. infra 484. βῶμον αἰδέσαι δίκας. Quodammodo huc pertinet Pers. 161.

Μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κονίσας οὐδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδῶν Ὀλβον κ. τ. λ.





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τοῦ, ταπεινωθήσεσθαι. Πόνος. Ἀτυχία. Ἀκούον-  
τας οὐδέν. Τοὺς θεούς.

V. 497. Γελᾷ. Γελᾷ, φησὶν, ὁ δαίμων ἐπὶ τῷ  
ἀδίκως (ἀδίκῳ Stanl. corrig.) πάσχοντι τὸν μηδέποτε  
προσδοκῆσαντα τιμωρεῖσθαι ἰδὼν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ δῦν ὑπε-  
ζευγμένον καὶ χαλινωθέντα. Τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ λέπαδ-  
νον. [Θερμῶ. Θερμουργῶ. β.]<sup>\*</sup>). Τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον.  
Τὸν πολυχρόνιον δὲ ὄλβον ἑαυτοῦ προσκρούσας τῷ βρα-  
χεῖ (l. βράχει) τῆς δίκης ὤλετο.

V. 502. [Κήρυσσε, Κήρυξ. Εἰςθεαίς διπλῆς κα-  
θόλου. Οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατά-  
ληκτοι ρμθ'. Ὦν τελευταῖος, Σωτήριόν τε καὶ δορὸς  
νικηφόρον]. Κήρυσσε. Κληρώσασα Ἀθηνᾶ τοὺς ἀρί-  
στους, ἄγει δικάσοντας. Καθισάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ  
στάσα, κελεύει διὰ τῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος σιω-

<sup>\*</sup>) Recte. Sept. c. Theb. 588. Ναύτησι θερμοῖς. Schol. διαπύροις  
εἰς κακίαν, πρὸς τὴν κακίαν θερμοῖς. Ἰστίον δὲ ὅτι πολλή ἐστιν  
ἡ διαφορὰ τοῦ διαλελυμένου καὶ τοῦ συνθέτου — θερμὸν ἔργον  
διαλελυμένως, τὸ ἀκαίδές καὶ θρασύ. θερμουργὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ, ἐν συν-  
θέσει, ὁ θαρράλειος καὶ μὴ ψυχρὸς εἰς ἔργον. Eadem profert  
Eustath. ad Il. II. p. 201. Sed haecce ab explicatione loci,  
ubi θερμουργὸς bono sensu legebatur, originem ducere et  
a Grammaticis male intellecta, quasi de voce universe  
dicta recepta esse, non est, quod dubitemus. Choeph. 936.  
Πολλὰ θερμαῖνοι φρονί. Euripides in Medea dixerat: ὦ θερ-  
μόβουλον σπλάγχχνον, quod Aristophanes deridet Acharn. 119.  
ed. Lips. ὦ θερμόβουλον πρῶκτόν ἐξυρημίει. Aristoph. Plut.  
415. ὦ θερμὸν ἔργον κἀνόσιον, καὶ παράνομον. Thesmoph. 742.  
Soph. Trach. 1046. ὦ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θερμὴ καὶ λόγῳ, κακὴ καὶ  
χερσὶ καὶ νωτοῖσι μοχθήσας ἐγὼ i. e. periculosa. Cf. Ast. ad  
Plat. Polit. p. 410 sq. Cur Photii: θερμός· θρασύς ad Ari-  
stophan. Vesp. 913. θερμός γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲν ἥττον τῆς φακῆς,  
referat Schow. non assequor.



την γενέσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἀρκοῦντος μόνου τοῦ κήρυκος. Ὅρα  
 ἢ πῶς τὰ νέων ἤδη ἀναχρονίζει. (Cf. Markland. ad  
 [rh. p. 125). Ἄ γὰρ νῦν γίνεται; ταῦτα τὴν Ἀθηναῖν  
 ἰσθήγαγε λέγουσαν. Ἐχρῶντο γὰρ τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀνείρ-  
 ρειν τὸ πλῆθος θέλοντες \*). Κατεργάθου. Κάτεχε,  
 κάλυε.

¶ V. 507. Ἀρήγει. Συμφέρει. Αἰανῆ. Διηνεκῆ.  
 παρὰ τὸ αἰεῖ. Καὶ τῶνδ' ὄπως. Τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν.  
 Ὡν ἔχεις. Ὡν ἐκληρώθης, δηλονότι μαντείων. Πα-  
 ραφανέντος δ' Ἀπόλλωνος, ταῦτά φησιν. Καὶ μαρ-  
 τυρήσων. Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναγής· ἐκάθηρα γὰρ αὐτόν.  
 Καὶ ξυνδικήσων. Σύνδικοι λέγονται οἷς ἴσον μέ-  
 τιστιν ἐν τῇ δίκῃ τῆς αἰτίας. Ἰμῶν. Τῶν Ἐριννόων.  
 Εἰςάγω δὲ τὴν δίκην. Ὅρα τὸ δικαστήριον. Ὁ  
 γὰρ διώκων. Ὁ κατηγορῶν. Πολλαὶ μὲν ἔσμεν.  
 Τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τὰς τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χορόν. ἢ γὰρ  
 ἦσαν \*\*).

\*) Origo hujus vocis, quam Grammatici sibi finxerunt, tam ri-  
 dicula et jocosa est, ut digna sit, quae legatur. Lexi-  
 codian. Σάλπιγγξ, παρὰ τὸ σαλπίζω· τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ σίλας καὶ  
 τὸ ἐπίζω· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι μῆκεν σάλπιγγι κρημνίσαι, πολέμιον πι-  
 ριστοιχησάτων ἄφιν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, διὰ φλογὸς καὶ καπνοῦ  
 τοὺς ἐπικουρούς ἐκέλου. Etym. M. Σάλπιγγξ Ἀθηναῖς· διὰ τὸ  
 πρῶτον αὐτὴν εὐρεῖν σάλπιγγα, καὶ ἰδρύσασθαι σάλπιγγος Ἀθη-  
 ναῖς ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀργεῖ. Veram originem a voce al, ducit, unde  
 et alia verba sonum significantia formata sunt, e. c. καλῖα,  
 ἦρ, ἦπχ, κελαδεῖν, Gall, Gellen, Hallen, Schallen,  
 ἀλαλάζω, Heulen, ἦῆηη, ὀλολόζειν, γῆγ, Lallen, ἦπ,  
 ἦηρ, ἦηρ, laetan, Anglosax. calumniari, quod et ipsum  
 hinc originem ducit, cal—umniari, κλίω, laut, Anglosax.  
 hlud, lod, clod, chlod, inclitus, κλοτός. ululare, Eule,  
 Wellen etc.

\*\*) Πολλὰ et Chorum e tribus constantem de se dicere potuisse  
 credit Blomfieldus, et cum eo credat Judaens Apella.



V. 522. Ἐπος δ' ἀμείβου. Ῥητορικῶς πυνθάνονται. Εἰ μὲν ὁμολογοίη, ἐπεύθυνος ἔσται· εἰ δὲ ἀρνοῖτο, ἐλεγχθήσεται. Καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις. (Il. IX. 338.) Τί δὲ λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀτρείδης διὰ γυναῖκα, Τριῶν παλαισμάτων. Ἐκπέπτωκας. Ἡ μεταφορὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιόντων, οἳ ἐπὶ τοῖς τρισὶ πτώμασιν ὀρίζουσι τὴν ἥτταν\*) Ἐιφουλακῶ χειρὶ. Πλανᾶται. Αἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ φόνου πυνθάνονται· ὁ δὲ, πρὸς τὸ πῶς, ξίφει, φησί. Ὡς τὸ, (Il. XV. 41) μὴ δι' ἐμὴν ἰότητα.

V. 532. Καὶ δεῦρό γ' αἰεὶ. Ἐως δεῦρο. Τὸ, αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ, ἔως, τάττουσιν Ἀστικοὶ πολλάκις. Δεῦρο μὲν μοι τόνδ' αἰεὶ τείνει λόγον\*\*). Τάχα. Ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἴσως. Πέμπει πατήρ. Ὡς ὑμῖν ἐπεμψεν ἡ μήτηρ, οὕτω βοηθοὺς καί μοι πέμψει ὁ πατήρ. Προςβολάς. Συντυχίας. Δίδαξον τοὺς δικάζοντας. Πανούργως φησὶ, μὴ ἡμᾶς δίδασκε, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δικαστάς. (Grammaticus λεπτολογεῖ.) Ἀνδροκτονοῦσα. Ἐμὲ καί κεῖνον ἠδίκησεν. (Virum occidit, quod unum est facinus, et patrem quidem meum, alterum facinus).

V. 539. Τοὶ γὰρ σὺ μὲν. Πῶς οὖν λέγεις ὅτι ἠδίκησέ με; Πῶς δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα, ὅπου ἀπέθανε δι' αὐ-

\*) Orest. 424. διὰ τριῶν δ' ἀπόλλυμαι. Agam. 175. Ὅς δ' ἔπιπ' ἔφου, τριακτῆρος οἴχεται τυχαν. Choeph. 327. Οὐκ ἀτρίακτος ἄτα.

\*\*) Cf. Valckenaer. ad Phoeniss. 1215. Porson. ad Orest. 1679. Bekker. Anecd. I. 185. Δεῦρο: πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ χρόνου τάσσουσι τὸ δεῦρο, αἱ ῥήτορες δὲ ἐπὶ τόπου αἰεὶ. p. 241. ἔνιοι τὸ δεῦρο ἐπὶ χρόνου τετάχθαι καμίζουσιν, αἱ ῥήτορες δὲ ἐπὶ τόπου πάντες αὐτῷ χροῶνται. Cf. Etym. M. Schol. ad Eurip. Med. 665. ed. Matth. Boekh. de Plat. Min. p. 102.





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origines et veram legimus. Choerh. 930 sq. ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον Δροίτης κατασκήνωμα. Agam. 1540. Ἄφγυροτοίχου Δροίτας νῦν κατέχοντα χαμεύναν. Lycophr. Cassandr. 1108. Ἐγὼ δὲ δροίτης ἀγχι κείσομαι πέδῳ) Παρεσκήνησεν. Πρὸς τὴν συναλοιφὴν τῆς περὶ, καὶ τὴν συζυγίαν τοῦ ῥήματος. (Vide Agam. vs. paullo ante allatum.) Ἀτέρμονι. Ἀτραχήλῳ \*). Ταύτην τοιαύτην. Τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν. Λεώς. Οἱ δικασταί. Πατρὸς προτιμᾶ. Ὡς λέγεις οὖν, πατέρα προτιμᾶ μητρὸς ὁ Ζεὺς.

V. 578. Πῶς ταῦτα. Οὐ τὸν Δία προέθετο κακῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὡς ψευδάμενον βούλεται ἐλέγξει. Ἰμᾶς. Ὡς κριταί. Πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν. Ἐκ τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπολογίας κατακρίνουσιν Ὀρέστην. Εἰ γὰρ τὸν φονέα οὐχ οἶόν τε τὸν φόνον ἀνοκαλέσασθαι, πῶς Ὀρέστης φονεύσας ἐλευθερωθήσεται; Ὅρα. Σκόπει πῶς δικαιοῖς Ὀρέστην φεύγειν. Κύματος. Κυήματος \*\*). Ὁ θρώσκων. Ὁ σπερ-

\*) Eurip. Hec. 905 sq. Χρυσίαν ἰσώπτερον λεύσσουσι ἀτέρμονας εἰς αἰγὰς. Schol. Ἀτισμ. περιφειῖς τούτων γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τέρμα τὰ γὰρ κυκλοτερεῖ τέρματα οὐκ ἔχει, λέγει δὲ λεύσσουσι εἰς κυκλοτερεῖς αἰγὰς, τουτέστι τὰς τέλους μὴ ἔχουσας τούτων γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τέρμα. — Ἀτισμ. κυκλοτερεῖς, μὴ τέλους, ὡς κυκλοτερεῖς, ἔχουσας, ἀτελειώτους.

\*\*) Choerh. 119 sq.

Καὶ γαῖαν αὐτὴν, ἣ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται,  
Θρέψασά τ' αὖθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει.

Sed haec aliter dicta puto, si quidem l. n. κυμ. pro κυημ. dictum; vide quae ibi notavi. Jacobs. ad Leonid. Anthol. VI. 200 κῦμ' ἐλόχισσε τέκνον praeter locum Choerh. citat Nicand. Ther. 135. βαρύθει ὑπὸ κύματος, sed pro Choerphoris aptius citasset Eumenidum versum, κῦμα enim ibi non



αίνων. Ἦδ' ἀπερξένφ. Ὡς παρακαταθήκη. Πα-  
 ῖηρ μὲν δ' ν γένοιτο. Γεννήσειεν \*).

V. 603. Ἐγὼ δὲ, Παλλάς. Ὡ Παλλάς. Ὡς  
 πείσταμαι. Ὅσον δύναμαι. Τάδ' αἰανῶς. Δι' αἰῶ-  
 ρς. Ἐπισπόρους. Ἀπογόνους. Ἀπὸ γνωμῆς.  
 ) δοκιμάζεται. Τί γάρ; πρὸς ὑμῶν. Τί τιθεῖσα,  
 ἐμψιν παρ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπομενῶ; Φθόνον. Μῆνιν.  
 Ἰσόπτολιν. Τὸν Ἀρειον πάγον ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ἑστρα-  
 τιοπέδουσαν. Σημείωσαι ὅτι πρώτη ἐπὶ Ὀρέστη γέγονε  
 ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ \*\*).

κύμα significare, probat vs. Γῆ πάντα τίχτει, καὶ πάλιν κο-  
 μίζετα, et Cicero de natura Deorum II. 26. quia et reci-  
 dant omnia in terras, et orientur e terris. Neque tamen  
 l. π. κύματος ἰσοσπέρου pro κυμα. νισ. accipio, sed periphra-  
 sis τοῦ: σπέρματος mihi videtur. Eurip. fragm. Alop. apud  
 Eustath. p. 656. ed. Rom. γόμενσαι κύματος ἰσοσπέρου.

\*) Pallas, lunae Dea, unde epitheton γλαυκῶπις, (occurrit γλαυ-  
 κῶπις μῆνη, Ὠπικ epitheton Ἀρτέμιδος) cum Ἀθήνη appellatur,  
 a Diana non differt, matremque habet Latonam. Ἀθήνη enim  
 pro θῆνη, i. e. Diana, μ-ήνη. ἴνας. annus. ΠΥ. Sed res  
 mythologicae Welckero explicandae sunt, quia luce clarius  
 docebit, Palladem et Artemin unam eandemque esse  
 Deam.

\*\*) Etym. M. Ἀρειος πάγος. Δικαστήριον Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλούμε-  
 νον καὶ οἱ δικασταί, Ἀρειοπαγίται· πρώτη γὰρ κρίσις ἐκεῖ ἐγί-  
 νητο ἀφ' Ἀφρώποις. ἢ ὅτι αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἑστρα-  
 τύνοντο, Ἀρειος οὖσαι, ἢ ὅτι ἐν πάγῳ ἴσθι καὶ ἐν ὕψει τὸ δικα-  
 στήριον. Ἀρειος δὲ, ἐπὶ τὰ φοινικά· δικάζει δὲ ὁ Ἄρης, ἐπὶ τὸν  
 φόνον· πάγος δὲ ὁ λόφος. ἢ ὅτι ἔπηξεν τὸ δόρυ ἐκεῖ ὁ Ἄρης, Πο-  
 σιδῶνος κατηγορησάντος διὰ τὸν φόνον τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀλιρεθίου,  
 ὅτι ἀπίκτινεν αὐτὸν Ἄρης, βιασάμενος Ἀλκίππην τὴν θυγατέρα  
 Ἄρειος καὶ Ἀγρᾶου τῆς Κίρκρας θυγατρὸς, ὡς φησὶ Ἑλλάνι-  
 κος ὁ πρῶτος. Vide notam Sturzii. Etym. Gud. Aeschylum  
 respicit.



V. 626. Ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας. Ὁ, δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ, γάρ. Μὴ ἀδικεῖν. Συνίζησις. Βουλευέω. Συμβουλεύω τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολίταις δημοκρατεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐπὶ φόβον δὲ μὴ εἶναι. (Sic?) Εὐδόντων ὑπερ. Τῶν ἀποθανόντων. (Male.) Προστροπαῖς Ἰξίονος. Καθάρας τὸν πρωτομυσῆ Ἰξίονα. Ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ τυχοῦσα Ἐπ' ἀπειλὰς τρέπονται, ἀφεῖσαι τὴν δικαιολογίαν. Ἐμῆ τὸν ἰδὺν. Ἐκβάλλεις τὴν ὕργην, οὐδὲν δυναμένη βλάψαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Καθιππάζη. Κατατρέχεις \*). Ὡς ἀμφίβουλος. Ἀμφιβάλλουσα. Τέως γὰρ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ἔχω τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι.

V. 671. Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ προςθήσομαι. Ἐγὼ προσθήσω τὴν ἐσχάτην ψῆφον. Ἡ δτι ἂν ἴσαι γένωνται, νικᾷ ὁ κατηγορούμενος. Ὅσοις δικαστῶν. Ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν λ' καὶ εἰς. Νῦν ἀγχόνης μοι. Νῦν μοι ζωὴ ἢ θανάτου τέλος. Ἡ πρόσω τιμάς. Ἡ τὰς πρόην ἔχειν τιμάς. Ἐν διαίρεσει. Διακρίσει τῶν λευκῶν καὶ μελαινῶν. Γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης. Γνώμης, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ψήφου. (Male). Ὁ τρόπος συνεκδοχῆ, ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγουμένου τὸ ἀκόλουθον. Τὸν γὰρ μέλλοντα βάλλειν ψῆφον δεῖ πρῶτον ἐν γνώμῃ γενέσθαι. Βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον. Ἡ ψῆφος δὲ βαλεῖν τε καὶ ὀρθεῖν οἶκον δύναται.

V. 689. Ἴσον γὰρ ἐστί. Καὶ ἴσαι δὲ γένωνται αἱ ψῆφοι, ὁ κατηγορούμενος νικᾷ. Τὰς δε συνδίκοις. Τὰς συνηγόρους Εὐμενίδας. Πρυμνήτην. Κυβερνήτην.

\*) Vide infra 715. Tryphiodor. 174. ἤδη Τρωῖον ἄστν καθιππιόουσι 'Αχαιοί, ubi hanc locutionem illustrarunt Merrickius et Wernickius, Aeschylum non omittentes. Etym. Gud. V. ἵταζω. — παρὰ τὸ ἵππω ἵππιζω, lege ἵππάζω.





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ἔστ' ἀσιμοί. Εἰςθεοὶς διπλῆς ἀμοιβαίας καὶ μονο-  
 στροφικᾶς ἔχουσα τὰς περιόδους. Εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ  
 μὲν κῶλα, ἀντισπαστικά· τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου προσώπου,  
 ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι τρίμετροι. Τῆς πρώτης οὖν περιόδου  
 στίχοι εἰσὶν ιγ'.] Δύς κηλον. Δυσθεράπεντον. (εὐκηλος,  
 vocem ejusdem originis, nusquam, nisi fallor, pro  
 ἀθεράπεντος offendit). Καρπὸν φέροντα. Τὸν πάντα  
 ποιοῦντα κακῶς πράττειν. Κοίμα. Κοίμιζε \*).  
 Πικρὸν μένος. Τὸν θυμόν.

V. 759. Ὡς σεμνότιμος. Λείπει, ἔσομένη. Τά-  
 κροθίνια. Ὡς προτέλεια θυόντων Ἀθήνησι ταῖς Ἐ-  
 φινύσι. Γαμηλίου τέλος. Τοῦ γάμου \*\*). [Ἐμὲ  
 παθεῖν τάδε, φεῦ. Ἡ στροφή αὕτη τοῦ χοροῦ,  
 κῶλων ἐστὶν ἀντισπαστικῶν διμέτρων βραχυκαταλήκτων  
 καὶ καταληκτικῶν καὶ πενθημιμερῶν καὶ μονομέτρων καὶ  
 τρίμέτρων ια'. 796. Ἐμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῦ. Ἡ  
 μεσοδικὴ αὕτη ἀντιστροφή κῶλων ἐστὶν ἀντισπαστικῶν  
 ια'. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐστὶ κῶλα α' καὶ ἐν τῇ στροφῇ εἴρηκεν.]

V. 766. Ἀτίετον. Ἀνεκδίκητον, τιμωρεῖσθαι  
 μὴ δυναμένην. Τὸ δὲ φεῦ, διὰ μέσου ἀναφωνεῖ. Πνέω  
 τοι μένος. Ὀργὴν καὶ ἀπάντα κότον πνέω. Δᾶ,  
 ὦ γῆ; Δωρικῶς. Ὄθεν καὶ Δαμάτηρ. Δαμίαν. Τὴν

\*) Sept. c. Theb. 3. βλίφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ἔπιπρ. Schol. μὴ κ., ἀνε-  
 παύων, ἀλλὰ εὐφροσίζων. Agam. 1248. Εὐφροσιον, ὦ τάλαρα,  
 κοιμησον στόμα. Soph. Philoct. 650. κοιμῶ τὸδ' ἔλκος. Schol.  
 κατακοιμίζω, πρᾶύνω. Eadem metaphora Oed. Col. 510. δι-  
 κὸν μὲν, τὸ πάλας κείμενον ἤδη κακόν, ὦ ξεῖν', ἐπιγυίρειν. Vid.  
 supra 268

\*\*) Soph. Antig. 1240. τὰ νυμφικὰ τέλη, Schol. Τούς γὰρ γα-  
 μῶντας, τελείους ἰκάλουσθαι. Satis nota Ἡρα τελεία.



δημοσίαν. Ἦσαν δόλοι. Οἱ δόλοι γὰρ τῶν θεῶν  
ὡς οὐδὲν παρῆραν με τῶν δημοσίων τιμῶν \*).

† V. 774. Εὐνοίω. Φέρουσα σοὶ τὰς ἑργάς. Σο-  
φωτέρη. Διὰ τὸν χρόνον. Ἐλθοῦσαι χθόνα.  
Λεῖπει δ, καὶ. Γῆς τῆςδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε. Ἀντί-  
τοῦ, μεγάλοι ἔσονται Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῆς  
ἐξ αὐτῶν τιμῆς. Θηγάνας — νέων. Τὰς ἀναλισκούσας  
τὰ νέα \*\*). Θυμώμασι. Ὀργαῖς. Ὅτι καὶ οἰνωθέντες  
τρόπον τινὰ γίνονται ἔμμανεῖς \*\*\*). Ἐξελοῦσα. Ἀνα-  
πτέρωσα. Μάχιμον γὰρ τὸ ὄρνειον τῶν τε ἄλλων

\*) Callimach. hymn. in Cereg. 43. sq.

Ἀντίκα Νικίππα, τὰν οἱ πόλις ἀρήτιραν  
Δαμοσίαν ἔστασαν, κ. τ. λ.

\*\*) Θνητῶν metaphorice occurrere, notum est. Cf. Valckenaer.  
ad Hippol. 689. Οὗτος γὰρ, ἰσχυρὴ συνηθαιμένη φράσις, qua  
nota Blomfieldus ad Sept. c. Th. 712. melius uti potuisset,  
quam factum est ab eo. Adde quae notavimus ad S. c.  
Th. 684.

\*\*\*) Θυμώμασι. Haec forma Tragici tumoris quid habet. Sic  
Sept. c. Th. 254. Ἑλληνικὸν ἰόμισμα θυμώματι βούης, pro  
ἰόμις, modus, voce hac in re frequentatissima. Suppl. 1002.  
Καρπύματα. Choeph. 849. πιστὰ εὐορχήματα. 935.  
τῶδ' ἴ' ἂν δολύματι πολλοὺς ἀναιεῖν. Agam. 1353. Καγὼ  
τοιούτου γιῶματος κεισπὸς εἶμι. Eumenid. 505. οὐπρὸς  
γῆρυμα. Choeph. 595. δυσφιλὲς γαμήλευμα. Prometheus.  
90. γέλασμα 964. Ταιῖθι εὐφροσύμασι. Sept. c.  
Theb. 651. Οὐτ' ἐν γυνίου ξυλλογῇ τριχάματος. Supplic.  
993. πολλοῖσιν ἄλλοις σωφρονίσμασιν πατρῶν. Choeph.  
240. πρὸςφίρειν σικνημάσιν. 931. κατασκήνωμα. 257. ὑπερ-  
μασι. S. c. Th. 397. sq. σκαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀδρῶν, ἵδη Ἄρης  
ἔφρατο. Ρίζωμ' ἀπῖται. ibid. 39. πύλας πυργωμάτων. 286.  
μὲ προδῶς πυργώματα. 449. ἰσβάλοι πυργωμάτων. 392.  
προστάτην πυλωμάτων. 784. ἢ ἐξ πυλωμάτων. 871. ἰμο-  
σπλάγγιον πλευρωμάτων. Choeph. 649. λῆβτος πλευ-  
ρωμάτων. et sic apud Aeschylum μόρφωμα παύματα, ἄφρονα  
πέπλωμα ἔκρωμα, πύκνωμα, ρύσασμα, ἰρῆσμα, πῶσασμα  
πίστομα et alia.



ζῶων τὸ συγγενὲς αἰδουμένων, μόνος οὐ φείδεται. Οὐ μὲν οὖν μόλις παρών. Οὐ μακρὰν.

V. 792. Ἐνοικίον δ' ὄρνιθος. Τῶν ἐνοικούντων πολιτῶν. Ὅ ἐστιν, ὁμόφυλον πόλεμον. [Ὅ ὅτι οἰκαμοῦμαι. Εἷςθεσις διπλῆς συνεχοῦς μερικῆς. Οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι λέ. Ὡν τελευταῖον (-ος) Τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν.] Πρὸς νεωτέρας. Τὸ ἐξῆς, πρὸς νεωτέρας ἐμοῦ, καὶ πολιτισσοῦχων βροτῶν, θεὸς παλαιὰ ἄτιμος ἔρρειν. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν. Εἰ πείθῃ τῷ μιλίγματι τῆς ἐμῆς γλώττης, παράμεινον, καὶ τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἀγαθῶν μεταλάμβανε· εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθῃ, ἴσθι μὴ βλάβασα πόλιν.

V. 842. [Δέξομαι Παιλλάδος. Εἷςθεσις διπλῆς ἐν ἐκθέσει τοῦ δράματος, ἀμοιβαίας τὰς περιόδους ἔχουσα. Εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ κῶλα, χοριαμβικά· τὰ δὲ, τοῦ ἑτέρου προσώπου, ἀναπαιστικά. Εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς πρώτης ταύτης· στροφῆς κῶλα, χοριαμβικά ὅμοια τοῖς προρηθειῖσιν· ἰα'. V. 848. Τὰ δ' ἐγὼ προφρόνως. Τὰ κῶλα ταῦτα ἀναπαιστικά ἐστι δίμετρα καὶ μονόμετρα ἰα'. V. 859. Ἄνδρ' ὀπῆμων δέ. Τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ταῦτα κῶλα, χοριαμβικά ἐστι ἰα', ὅμοια καὶ ἰσόμετρα τοῖς ἄνω. Ἔστι δὲ ἀντιστροφή τῆς ἄνω στροφῆς.]

V. 864. Γόνος. Τὰ σπέρματα. Πλουτόχθων. Ὅ ἐκ γῆς πλουτίζων καρπός. [Ἡ τὰ δ' ἀκ' οὐ ετε. Τὰ κῶλα ταῦτα ἀναπαιστικά ἐστι δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικά ζ'. Ἄνδρος κμητας. Στροφή ἑτέρα. Τὰ δὲ κῶλά εἰσι χοριαμβικά ὅμοια τοῖς ῥηθειῖσι ιβ'. Τὰ δὲ τοῖς χῶρά. Τὰ κῶλα ταῦτα ἀναπαιστικά εἰσι δίμετρα καὶ μονόμετρα η'. Τὰ δ' ἀπλιστόν κ' ἀκῶν. Ἀντιστροφή τῆς ἄνω στροφῆς. Τὰ δὲ κῶλά εἰσι χοριαμβικά ὅμοια ιβ'. Ἄρα φρονούση. Τὰ κῶλα ταῦτα ἀναπαι-





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**N O T A E**  
**I N**  
**E U M E N I D A S.**

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**V. 1.** Τῆ τε Ald.

**V. 2.** Harpocraton: Θεμιστεύειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ  
ρησμοφδεῖν. Λυσίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀμβλώσεως, εἰ  
νήσιος. ὅτι δὲ γέγονε τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Θέμιν ἐσχηκέναι  
τοτὲ τὸ μαντεῖον πρὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου, (ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλ-  
ωνος Photius male.) Διοχόλος ἀρχόμενος εἰς Εὐμε-  
νίδων φησὶν. Aeschylus mythologiam pressius secu-  
us est quam Euripides in cantu Chori Iphig. Taur.  
201 sqq. ubi omnia pro lubitu suo adornavit. Ortum  
et progressum hujus fabulae, et omnium, quae ad  
facula spectant Welckerus doctrina antiquitatum  
mnibus longe antecellens, accurate aliquando expo-  
set. Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. 123 sq.

οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα θήσατο μήτηρ,  
ἀλλὰ Θέμις νίκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἱρατεινῆν  
ἀθανάτησιν χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο

huc an huc pertineant, non liquet.



V. 3. ἢ Ald. V. 4. τίς Akl.

V. 6. Τιτανίς ἄλλη, π. Sic interpungunt Wakefield. Hermann. et Bothe, quibus adsentitur Schuetz. in notis, nec non Stanl. in curis secundis. Ambas filias Terrae appellat Aeschylus; volueritne utramque Titanidem nominare, licet potuisset, interpunctores mecum nesciunt. Pausan. Laconic. III. 16. ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς (Ἰλαίραν καὶ Φοίβην) Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. — καθέζεται Rob.

V. 7. δίδωσιν δ' ἢ Ald. Turn. Vict. Cant. Stanl. δ' ἢ Rob. δίδωσιν ἢ Glasg. δίδωσι δ' ἢ Schuetz. Herm. Bothe. ἢ Dorvill. Vann. Crit. p. 70. Abresch. animadv. ad h. l. Recte. Articulus cum vi demonstrandi apud Tragicos saepius occurrit. Supra 2. τῆς. Infra 132. αἱματηρὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῷ. Sept. c. Th. 17. ἢ γὰρ νέους—ἐθρέψατο. Supplic. 360. τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις. Oed. C. 1699. ὅποτε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον. Cf. Brunck. ad Oed. T. 1082. Seidler. ad Eurip. Iphig. Taur. 764. Monk. ad Hippolyt. 280. ad Alcest. 274. Qui vero accentu addendo proficere putant, falluntur, quippe qui grammaticae quidem, sed ἀπροσδιόνυσον agant. καὶ ἢ pro καὶ ἢδὲ Long. Pastoral. p. 78. lin. 12. Schaeferus exhibuit — γενενέθλιον Rob.

V. 9. Λίμνη, lacus in insula Delo. Callimachus hymn. in Del. 261. τροχόεσσα λίμνη, quem insulae Ortygiae tribuit in hymn. in Apollin. 99. — Δηλίαν χοιράδα (κοιλιάδα Wakefieldianum ad alia Wackefeldiana ablegandum) periphrasis τοῦ: Δῆλον. Sic Agam. 119. λαγίναν γένναν. Supplic. 60. Τηρείας μήτιδος υδο. Δεραποντίδα φερνήν. Eumenid. 49. Γοργείοισιν τέποις





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μήεντα πόρον. 870. ἀλίρροντον ἄλσος. Eurip. Supplic. 1014. λαμπάσιν κεραυνίοις. et alia huiuscemodi. Troad. 89. Δῆλιοί τε χοιράδες. Cf. Spanh. ad Callimach. hymn. in Del. 268. Qui l. n. de monte Cyntho intelligunt, non probant χοιράς hoc sensu dictum esse.

V. 10. Athenae non memorantur in itinere Apollinis, quod descriptum est in Homericō hymno in Apollin. sed non mirandum, Athenienses hac fabula, quam ab Aeschylō fictam esse, non satis constat, urbem suam ornasse, quum omnes, quantum fieri potuit, fabulas ab iis arreptas videamus. Oedipus venit Athenas, Theseus Herculis gesta gerit, etc.

V. 11. πανησοῦς Ald. παρνησοῦ Rob. Herm. Pors. 2. Bothe. Vera scriptura e codicibus non erui potest, ubi modo duplicatur σ, modo semel exhibetur, saepius tamen litterae omittuntur. cf. Elmsl. ad Eurip. Med. 27. 813 etc. Boeckh. ad Pindar. Olymp. VI. 6. XI. 25. Pyth. I. 79. 81. Quae Poppo scripsit Observv. in Thucydid. p. 28, non satisfaciunt. Boeckhius Παρνασοῦ edidit Olymp. IX. 47. XIII. 102. Παρνασία Παρνασοῦ Pyth. I. 39. (vide ad Choeph. 540.) Homer. hymn. in Apoll. Hermannus edidit Κήφισσος, Κρίση, Πάρνησος et similia, Wolfius Κηφισός, Κρίση, Παρνησός, Τελφοῦσα et similia, Matthiae parum sibi constans Κηφισσόν, Τιλφοῦσα, Κρίση, Παρνησός, Κνωσσός. Ex Timaei glossa, quam recepit Photius, quum corrupta sit, nihil pro diversitate scripturae erui potest. Ephorus Cumaeus apud Strab. IX. p. 646 sq. (fragm. ed. Marx. p. 181 sq.) Παρνασίους et Παρνασόν. Consule eundem de oraculo. In Euripide Matthiae Παρνάσιος, Seidler Παρνάσιος, Hermann. Παρνασοῦ. Porson.



**Παρνασοῦ.** Dissentiunt Markland. et Seidler. ad Iphig. Taur. 1. atque Πίσσαν, quod Marklandus ferri posse iudicabat, Brunck. ad Aristophan. Ran. 1232. foedissimam mendam pronuntiat. Cf. Mueller. Geschichten Hellenischer Stämme vol. I. p. 479 sq. Hanc quaestionem lubenter relinquo Λοξίαις nostris Grammaticis, qui pro lubitu egregie dijudicant ea, quae non perspexerunt.

V. 12. Θεσπίζουσι. Ask. d. σεβίζουσι. Turn. πέμπουσι ex h. v. addere potuisset Schleusnerus Cur. noviss. in Photii Lex. p. 328.

V. 13. Κελευθοπιοί Ald. Ephorus apud Strab. IX. p. 646. Ephori fragm. ed. Marx. p. 182. περὶ τῶν Δελφῶν, οἵτινές εἰσι, διαλεγόμενος, φησὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Παρνασίους τινὰς αὐτόχθονας καλουμένους οἰκεῖν τὸν Παρνασσόν· καθ' ὃν χρόνον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, τὴν γῆν ἐπιόντα, ἡμεροῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἀνημέρων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν βίων, ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν δ' ὀρμηθέντα ἐπὶ Δελφούς, ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Πυθιάδα πέμπουσι. Pergens fabulas poeticas pedestres reddit. — παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, fabri.

V. 14. ἀνήμερόν τι θ. Ald. Sophocles (in Theseo, ut Brunck. et Boeckh. suspicantur) ὅς παρακτίαν Στείχων, ἀνημέρωσα κνωδάλων ὁδόν.

V. 15. κάρτα τιμαλφεῖ λεώς — καὶ σεβίζουσιν μέγα Rob. e vs. 12. Τημαλφεῖ Ald.

V. 16. πρυμνήτης ἀναξ. Odys. XX. 194. βασιλῆϊ ἀνακτι. Aristoph. Pac. 390. ed. Lips. ἀναξ δέσποτα Pers. 5. Orest. 338 sq. huc non trahere possumus cum Porsono, cui Schaeferus, ut videtur, adsentitur. Dissimilibus miscendis saepissime peccatur, quod in hoc



genere loquendi non semel factum : v. Schaeff. ad Longi Pastoral. p. 408. Ne comparaverim quidem Eurip. Bacch. 979. δράκοντος ὄφρος, ubi vide exempla quae attulit Musgrav.

V. 17. τέχνης ἔνδειον. Botheus τεχνῆς i. e. τεχνήεις. Pauw. conj. τέχνη. Non opus. Soph. Oed. T. 191. ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων. Electr. 36. ἄσκευον ἀσπίδων καὶ στρατοῦ. Trach. 691. ἀλαμπὲς ἡλίου. Eurip. Bacch. 40. ἀτέλειστον τῶν ἐμῶν βακχευμάτων. Ibid. 464. ἀγύμναστος λόγων. Electr. 308. ἀνέορτος ἱερῶν et alia. μακάριος τῆς τύχης, μέλεος κακῶν, τάλαινα κακῶν, λέχους ἀγνόν δέμας, σχέτλιος παθέων, et multa alia hujuscemodi paulo aliter dicta sunt. — νιν φρένα. φρονῶν Both. νιν ad ἔξει refert Schuetz, probante Butlero. Non opus. Sept. c. Theb. 819.

κακόν με καρδίαν τι περιπιτνεῖ κρύος.

ubi Brunck, cit. Soph. Oed. C. 314. Philoct. 823. 1301. Pers. 159. et alia. Valckenaer. ad Hippol. 571. τίς φοβεῖ σε φήμα, γύναι, φρένας, citat Eumenid. 88. Aeschyl. Supplic. 382. Adde Hecub. 795. ποῖ μ' ὑπεξάγεις πόδα, ubi vide Porson. Phoeniss. 41 sq. πῶλαι δέ νιν χηλαῖς τένοντας ἐξεφοίνισσον ποδῶν. Alcest. 443. πώλους σιδήρω τέμνετ' αὐχένων φόβην. Iphig. Aul. 1067. sq. σὲ δ' ἐπὶ κάρᾳ στέψουσι καλλικόμαν πλόκαμον Ἀργεῖοι. Herc. f. 383 sq. πέραν δ' ἀργυρορρύταν Ἐβρον ἐκπέρασεν ὄχθακ. Troad. 410. εἰ μὴ σ' Ἀπόλλων ἐξεβάκχευσεν φρένας. 1306 sq. μέλας γὰρ ὄσσε κατακαλύπτει θάνατος ὄσιον. Iliad. VIII, 316. Ἐκτόρα δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασεν φρένας ἠνιόχοιο. ibid. XI, 249. κρατερόν ῥά ἐ πένθας ὀφθαλμοῦς ἐκάλυψε.





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linis Λοξίου et Artemidos Λοξούς, unde Δελφοί dictus locus. Quod enim traditur, oraculum Delphicum aequè Baccho et Apollini sacrum fuisse, id e duobus illis mythis conflatum videtur.

V. 23. Ἀναστροφά. Guelph. Ald. Rob. Turn.

V. 24. Βρόμιος δ'— δ' abest Rob.

V. 25. ἐξ οὔ γε Glasg. Schuetz.

V. 26. Λέγω Guelph. — Odyss. XVI, 421 sq. Τη-  
λεμάχῳ θάνατόν τε μόρον τε ῥάπτεις. 423. κακὰ ῥάπ-  
τειν ἀλλήλοισιν. III: 118. κακὰ ῥάπτομεν. Androm. 820.  
φόνον ῥάψασα. Agam. 1604. φόνου ῥαφεύς. (Etymol.  
Gudian. Ῥάψαι, παρὰ τὸ σκευόσαι, συνθεῖναι.) Eu-  
rip. Iphig. T. 664. ῥάψαι μόρον σοι.

V. 27. Πλείστον Guelph. Ald. Rob. Stanl. sus-  
picatur Πλειστοῦ. Cf. omnino Etym. M. v. Πλειστοῖο, ubi  
traditur, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων λέγεται Πλειστός ὀξυτόνως·  
Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ καθόλου, Πλειῖστος βαρύνει. Adde  
Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. II. 711. Πλειστοῖο Callimach.  
hymn. in Del. 92.

V. 28. Comma post Δία Ald. Rob. Turn. Wake-  
field. Both. quod Pauwio Heathioque placuit.

V. 30. μακρῶν Ald. Turn.

V. 31. κείπαρ Ald. De superlativo ἀριστα cf.  
Herm. ad Vig. 718.

V. 32. πάλω. Hac de sortitione consule Spanhem.  
ad Callimach. hymn. in Apoll. 45. — Vaporibus spe-  
lunca; cui tripus impositus erat, editis inspirata va-  
ticipinabatur, unde ἐγγαστρίμυθος dicta, quod epithe-  
thon alio modo male explicaretur.

V. 34. λείξαι Ald. pro ἔλειξεν Etym. Gud. ἔλεξε  
v. ἐρώδιος. vid. et infra 106.



V. 36. σωβειν Ask. d. μήτ' ἐμακταίνειν στάσιν Ald. στάσιν et ceterae editiones ante Stanl. Huc respexerunt Phrynichus (Bekker. Anecd. I. 23.) Etymol. Magn. et Etymol. Gudian. Orion. Theb. Cf. Ruhnken. ad Timaeum. Adde Bekker. I. Anecd. 370. 373.

V. 37. ποδωκεία Aug.

V. 38. δεισασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν. Supplic. 752. γονή μονωθεῖσ' οὐδέν. Andromach. 134. τί μόχθον, οὐδέν οὔσα, μοχθεῖς — πάντα eodem modo Aeschyl. fragm. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 440. Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα, χάτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον. Cf. Porphyrii ad Varronis fragm. p. 384. ed. Bipont. μένος pro μὲν οὖν Heermann. Schuetz. Bothe. Frustra. Choeph. 929. sq.

Ἄγρευμα θηρός, ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον

Δροίτης κατασκήνωμα, δίκτυον μὲν οὖν

Agamemnon. 1396. sq.

Εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ

Τὰδ' ἂν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν.

V. 39. ἐγόμεν Ald.

V. 40. ὀμφαλῶ Ald. θεομισῆ Ask. d. Ald. θεομισεῖ Turn. Sic infra 186. Ald. μῖσος pro μύσος. it. 343. 766. Eurip. Med. 1313. μῖσος. Gregor. Naz. v. 282. μῦσος.

V. 41. ἔδραν. Ald. ἔχοντι Ask. d. Guelph. Ald. Rof.

V. 42. νεορράντη ξίφει Sophocl. Ajac. 30. 828. νεοσπάσι θαλλοῖς. Antig. 1201 sq. θαλλὸν νεοσπάδα fragm. Pastor. apud Harpocrat. v. Νάννιον. „Alii νεοσπαθῆς“ H. Steph.

V. 43. ἐλαίας δ' ὑψιγέννητον κλάδον. Ramus olivae majore jure „altinatus“ „Hochgebohren“ titulatur, quam comites nostri, in his enim oleum



perditur, quod rami arboris Minervae procreant. —  
De ramis supplicum consule Markland, ad Eurip.  
Supplic. 259. Schaefer. ad Longi Pastoral. p. 366

V. 44. *λίβει* Rob. *μὲν οἶδς* Arnald. aut Hemsterh.  
(vid. Valckenaer. ad Phoeniss. 994.) conjecit pro  
*μεγίστω*. Erfurdt. ad Soph. Trach. 678. *μακρίστῳ*,  
lana longifila. Sed *μέγας* et *πολύς* inter se com-  
mutantur, i. e. alterum ponitur, ubi alterum usita-  
tius. Cf. quae notavimus ad Sept. c. Theb. 263. Ja-  
cobs. ad Antholog. Pal. VI. 268. Heindorf. ad Plat.  
Tom. I. p. 273. Schaefer. ad Longi Pastoral. p. 352.  
Valckenaer. ad Hippol. 1. — *μεγίστω* Ald. *μεγαλιστῳ*  
Herm. — *σωφρόνως ἔστεμ*. S. c. Th. 630. *ἀγει γυνή τις*  
*σωφρόνως ἠγουμένη*. Supplic. 713. *εὐχὰς σῳφρονᾶς*. ibid.  
200 sq. sic *σεμνῶς* ibid. 194.

V. 45. *τῆδε* Ald. — Cf. ad Sept. c. Th. 474. ubi  
exemplis allatis adde carmen, quod inscribitur: *Der*  
*Hörnern Siegfried*. S. 72.

Er nahm zu seiner Hande ein'n Schild, als ein  
Scheurenthor.

Suid. v. *ὀκτώπουν*. cit. e Xantriis

— *ἐκ ποδῶν δ' ἄνω*

*ὑπέρχεται σπαραγμὸς εἰς ἄκρον κάρα*  
*κέντημα γλώσσης σκορπίου βέλος λέγω*

V. 46. *προέθεν* Rob. *τ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦ δε* Ald. *θα-*  
*μαστὸς* Rob. *θαυμαστῶν* Guelph. *θαυμαστὸν* Ald. *λέ-*  
*χος* Ask. d. Ald.

V. 47. *ἄδει* Ald.

V. 49. Post hunc versum cum Hermanno et  
Schuetzio lacunae signum posui; oratione non satis





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**Prom.** 216. adstipulatur, qui omnia miscet ἀκριτικώ-  
τάτως. cf. intpp. ad Soph. Ajax. 1227. — μετὰ στένω  
**Turn.** ὥστε non supplendum cum Stanlejo, neque  
πόνων in πόνον mutandum cum Arnaldo et Hermanno.  
**Simplex στένω Genitivum secum habet Prometh.** 397.  
στένω σε τᾶς οὐλομένας τύχας Προμηθεῦ. Eurip. Iphig.  
Aul. 359. Ἑλλάδος μάλιστα ἔγωγε τῆς ταλαιπώρου  
στένω. Late patet usus Genitivi. Eurip. Electr. 998.  
σεβίζω σε πλούτου. Phoen. 1677. αἰνῶ σε τῆς προθυμίας.  
**Troad.** 1036. κείνων καὶ τέκνων σε λίσσομαι. Alcest. 5.  
οὐ χολωθείς. **Iliad.** V. 178. ἱρῶν μηνίσας. Saepe post  
verba dicendi occurrit. Cf. Jacobs. ad Anthol. Pal.  
tom. III. 807. Horat. Od. lib. II. od. II. 4. trepidus  
aevi. Substantivum στόνος cum Genitivo Philoct. 782.  
στόνον σαντοῦ. Sic Hippolyt. 1087. οἴκτος σῆς φυγῆς etc.

V. 60. sqq. διοκότη Ald. αὐτομελέσθω Rob. —  
ιατρέμαντις. Rob. ἱατρομ. Grammatici nimis preiungunt,  
dictum enim pro ἱατρός. Agam. 1621. sqq. αἶ τε νήστι-  
δες δῶαι διδάσκειν ἐξαχόταται φρενῶν ἱατρομάντις.  
**Suppl.** 266. ἱατρόμαντις, qui 264. ἱατρός appellatur.

V. 64. Apollinis nomen abest Ald. προδόσω Ald.  
προδώσο Rob. Οὔτοι προδώσω. Choeph. 258 sq. οὔτοι  
προδώσει Λοξίου μεγασθενῆς χρησμός, ubi Wellauer.  
**Specim. Commentatt.** Aeschyl. p. 34. Aldinae lectio-  
nem οὔτι non defendere debebat. Prometh. 625. μή τοι  
ab aliis in μήτι depravatum. it. 436. ubi Blomfieldus  
μή τοι recte restituit. Cf. intpp. lectt. Phoeniss. 452. (462.  
ed. Porson.) Med. 916. (923. ed. Pors.) Blomfield. ad  
Sept. c. Theb. 222. cuius tamen canon, οὔτι senten-  
tiam nusquam inchoare, nisi sequente μή, vel ποῦ  
aut πῶς, aut cum interrogatio fiat, voculamque sem-



per interponi, falsus est cum omnibus canonibus Anglicis ἀποκρύφους. Vid. Aristoph. Pac. 316. οὔτι καὶ τῶν ἐστὶν αὐτὴν ὅστις ἐξαιρήσεται. οὔτοι significat: saue non; οὔτι: nulla in re. De fide, quae codicibus in huiusmodi rebus habenda sit, iudicium, si quid video, bonum tulit Brunckius in Addendis ad Orest. 488. quo tamen ne abutaris, cavendum est. — προδώσει. Sic Suppl. 519 ἐρημώσει.

V. 65. καὶ † πρόσω δ' Glasg. i. e. Porsonus, inimicus τοῦ: καὶ — δέ. (vide eum ad Orest. 614.) Seidleri defensione (ad Eurip. Electr. 1112.) non opus. Cf. Schaefer. ad Longi Pastoral. p. 350, qui Latinorum: et — autem comparat; Hermann. ad Viger. 847. Neque τῶ: καὶ — δέ epicis recentioribus uti licuisse statuunt ἰατρομάντις nostri τερασκόποι. Vid. Wernick. ad Tryphiodor. 29. Cf. Aristoph. Plut. 11. ἰατρὸς ὄν καὶ μάντις.

V. 66. ἐχθροῖς Ald. Γρ. πρέπιον Ask. d. (cf. Schol.)

V. 67. εἰλοῦσας Rob. ὄρας. Ald.

V. 68. πεποῦσαι δ' αἰκατόπτυστοι. Ald. πέλουσι e Valckenarii conjectura recepit Schuetz. ὄρας, ὄπνω πεισ. interpungit Böthe. πεσοῦσαι forsau pro ὄπνω πεισ. dictum, (de quo vide Merrick. ad Tryphiodor. 499.) quod e praecedente suppleri potest.

V. 69. Νυκτὸς παλαιαὶ παῖδες, Schuetz. e Valckenarii conjectura: γραιῖαι παλαιαὶ conjungit Pauv. κοραὶ γραιῖαι, Both. Comina post γραιῖαι delendum censeo, ut γραιῖαι π. ad παῖδες referatur, duo enim epitheta majorem habent vim ad rem describendam (licet hoc invenustum iudicet Porson. ad Hecub. 429. i. cautius agit Elmsl. ad Med. 816.) ideoque carmina ly-



rica, ex animo commotiore profecta, cumulatione eorum gaudent. Aeschyl. Agam. 223. sq. δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν, ἀναγνον, ἀνίερον. Suppl. 111. sq. τοιαῦτα παθεῖα μέλεα θροεμένα λέγω, λιγέα βαρέα δακρυοπετῆ, ἰή, ἰή, Ἰηλέμοισιν ἀμπροπῆ. 797. λισσὰς αἰγίλιψ ἀπρόςδεικτος οἰόφρων ἔρημὰς γυπίας πέτραί. 842. sq. πολυαίμων φόβιος Ἀποκοπὰ κρατός. Pers. 663. καινά τε νέα τ' ἄχρη. Hecub. 415. ἀνυμφος, ἀνυμέραιος. Jon. 1464. ἄπαιδες ἄτεκνοι. Cum l. n. egregie convenit Orest. v. 250 sq. αἱ κυνάπιδες γοργῶπις — δειναὶ θεαί. — μίγνυται recte de concubitu intelligunt Stanl. Pauw. Both. Graeci enim in dicendo tam parum fastidiosi, quam nostri homines in faciendo.

V. 70. ποτὲ Ald.

V. 71. κἀγερον τ' ἐπὶ Ald. ἐπὶ Guelph. Turn.

V. 74. μὴ δὲ Ald.

V. 75. ἐλῶσι Ald. Herm.

V. 76. βεβῶν τ' ἄν αἰείτην. Ald. βεβῶντ' ἄν αἰεὶ Med. Ask. d. Rob. βεβῶντ' ἄν αἰεὶ. Guelph. βεβῶντ' ἀνατελὶ Turn. Vict. Totum versum ejecit Both. Miror, quod non ejecerit totum Aeschylum, Platonis, poesis e republica sua expellentis, vestigia secutus. — πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα. Si πλανοστιβῆ Orestem dixisset, aliquantulum minus insolens esset, ut Pers. 125. πεδοστιβῆς λεώς. Suppl. 1001. καὶ κνύδαλα περοῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ. Quod idem active quater occurrit apud Euripidem. Med. 1113. Rhes. 251. 759. Helen. 1516. Semel passive: Sthenob. fragm. Il. v. 3. ὑγρὰ δὲ μήτηρ, οὐ πεδοστιβῆς τροφὸς Θάλασσα. Soph. Oed. T. 301, χθονοστιβῆ, terrestria.

V. 77. ὑπέρατε πάντων Ald. πάντου Med. Guelph.





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ibid. 455 sq. φερέγγυον ἀπείργειν (φερέγγυον φρούριμα  
S. c. Th. 434. φερεγγύοις μονομάχοισι 782 sq.)

V. 88. σε Ald. Herm.

V. 89. ἀντάδελφον αἶμα. Phoeniss. 247. κοινὸν  
αἶμα. Antig. 1. ὃ κοινὸν ἀντάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρτα.

V. 90. κάρτα Ald. — ἐπωνυμίας Aeschylus exi-  
mie gaudet, Valckenaerius cum aliis non gaudet.  
Sept. c. Theb. 8. sq. ὃν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος Ἐπώνυμος  
γένοντο Καδμείων πόλει. Hermann. κάρτα — ἴσθι in  
parenthesi posuit, quem secutus est Bothe.

V. 92. ἐκνέμων. Hermann. Schuetz. ex Heathii  
conjectura. ἐπινέμων Bothe. Defendi potest vulgata:  
Jupiter te, legitimo hocce munere, homi-  
nes comitandi, fungentem colit, ut legiti-  
mum munus dictum sit ab Apolline, ne Mercurius  
haesitet, matricidam comitari. Sed ἐκνέμων (ἐκνόμοι  
Guelph.) longe elegantius. σέβειτοι Ald. conjunctim

V. 93. ὀρμώμενον non ad σέβας referendum, sed  
ad Mercurium. εὐπόμπῳ τύχη i. e. εὐπομπείᾳ. Agam.  
1277. Δανασίμους τύχας. 1428. φονολιβεῖ τύχα. Iphig.  
Aul. 501. ἀναγκαίᾳς τύχας. Iphig. T. 759. ξενοφόνου  
τύχας.

V. 94. εἶδοιτ' Ald.

V. 95. Κλυτ. εἶδ. ante Schuetz. ita positum erat  
ut εἶδ. ante h. v. staret.

V. 96. sq. ἐν νεκροῖσιν — ἐν φθιτοῖσιν ne quem  
offendant, affero Choeph. 428. sq.

τοιαῦτ' ἀκούων ἐν φρεσὶν [σαῖσιν] γράφου  
δι' ὧτων δὲ συντέτραινε μῦθον ἢ σὺ χῶ φρε-  
νῶν βάσει.

Supplic. 674. Ζῆνα μέγαν σεβόντων, τὸν ξένιον Δ



τέρτατον, ubi loco pronominis substantivum idem  
 et aliud ejusdem significationis repetitur. Adde Phoe-  
 iss. 21. ἴσπειρεν ἡμῖν παῖδα καὶ σπείρας βρέφος. Eu-  
 r. Supplic. 67. sq. τὸν ἐμὸν παῖδα — μέλη παιδὸς ἐμοῦ.  
 ecce tamen exemplum aliquantulum differt.

† V. 98. δ' ἄλωμαι Ald. προῦνέπω. Hermann.

† V. 100. οὕτω. Ald. παθοῦσα δέ quasi supra pro  
 ; μὲν ἔκτανον dixisset κτανοῦσα μὲν.

V. 101. ἐπὲρ μοῦ Ald.

V. 102. χειρῶν Guelph. Ald.

V. 103. ὄρᾳ τε Schuetz. ὄρατε Hermann. καρδία  
 uelph. Rob. et Both. qui Pauwii conjecturam ὄρᾳ δὲ  
 ληγὰς τάςδε καρδία σέθεν recepit. ἔθεν e Canteri  
 conjectura Hermann. Schuetz.

V. 104. εἴδουσα Acl. δμμασι Guelph. Ald. Rob.  
 urn. et Wakefield., qui ν ἐφελκυστικόν ante λ ubi-  
 que in hac tragoedia omittit.

V. 105. μοῖρα πρόσκοπος. Med. Ald. Both. idque  
 Bert' Butler. e Pors. 2. μοῖρα πρόσκοπτος Rob. Hugo  
 totius vertit :

Mens intus est oculata cum somno incubat,

At de die sua facta mortales latent.

sententiae generales aut proverbialiter dicta saepius  
 omnisi ex parte ad ea, de quibus agitur, pertinent,  
 et hoc loco verba ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βρο-  
 ῶν, interdum fata hominum non providen-  
 tur, addita sunt ad sententiam inchoatam finiendam;  
 sed ad Eumenidas non spectent. Βρίζω, θεὸς παρὰ  
 ἡλίοις παρὰ τὸ βρίζειν, ὃ ἔστι καθεύδειν, βρίζω, θεὸς  
 δὲ ἐνοπνίων μαρτυρόμενος. Etymol. Magn. Adde  
 Hesych.



V. 106. ἐλέξατε Guelph.

V. 107. νιφάλια Guelph. Ald.

V. 108. νυκτὶ σεμνὰ. Guelph. Ald. Rob. Glasg  
Composita librarii saepissime diviserunt. Cf. ad Choeph.  
902. adde Supplic. 599. 686. 697. 747. 781. 806. 920.  
multa alia. — ἐσχάρα πυρὸς pro ἐσχάρα, quam I  
tionem Aeschylus non adhibuisset, si verum e  
quod putant Staulejus et Schuetzius, Eumenid  
scilicet sacrificatum fuisse sine igne. Agam. 70.  
ρων ἱερῶν egregie expeditur Humboldtus, quem sequ  
tur, licet eum non nominet, Blomfieldus. Oed. Col.  
99 sq. πρώταισιν ὑμῖν (Eumenidibus) ἀντέκυρο' (Oedip  
pus) ὀδοιπορῶν, Νήφων ἀοίνοις, ubi consule Schol.  
Adde Eustath. ad Odyss IV. p. 1493. Polluc. VI. 26.  
Phot. p. 219. ibique Schleusner. Etym. M. v. νίφα

V. 109. εἴθρον Ald. ὄραν Guelph.

V. 111. δ' ἐξαλέξας Ald. ὀδιξάλεξας. Cod. Rob.  
νεκροῦ Guelph. Turn. δίκειν Ald.

V. 112. ἀρκυσμάτων Ask. d. Guelph. Rob. ἀρκυ  
μάτων Ald. Pers. 96. sq. παράγει (scil. ἀπάτα θεοῦ) βρο  
τὸν εἰς ἀρκύστατα, Τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ δυνατὸν ἀλ  
ξαντα φυγεῖν. Agam. 1376. πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον, quem  
locum Blomfieldus vitiavit, Humboldtus bene intel  
lexit. (Orest. 1405. ἀρκύστάταν μηχανὰν Blomfieldo  
suspectum; sanos sc. dicit insanos, „daß nur er  
heiße, der Kranke, gesund“ vide Goethei carmen,  
quod inscribitur: der Chinese in Rom.) Nihilominus  
praeferrem l. n. ἀρκυσμάτων; quod codices  
nonnulli habent, cujus glossa magis solitum ἀρκυστά  
των esse potest. Aeschylus exhibet ἀνθαδία et ἀνθά  
δισμα, βέλος et βέλεμνον, βίος, βιοτή, βίοςτος, βόη,





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V. 126. ἀπερ. Ald.

V. 127. κῶων. Ald. οὐπω τ' ἐκλιπὼν Rob.

V. 129. ἀγνοήσεις Ask. d. αγνοήσης Ald. et pro  
μηδ' μὴ δ' — μαλαχθεῖσ' Rob.

V. 130. ὄνειδεσιν. Sic Guelph. Herm. Schuetz.  
ονείδεσιν. Ald. ἐν δίκους Ald.

V. 131. ἀντίκεν τραγίνεται Ald.

V. 132. σὸ δ' Pears. Glasg. Herm. ὦδ' Scaliger.  
teste Abreschio. τὸ δ' Pauv. conj. Schuetz. recepit.  
αὐ δ' Bothe. σοῦ δ' Wakefield. ἐποῦρίσασα Ald. ἐπου-  
ρήσασα Turn.

V. 133. ἀτμόν Hermann. Schuetz. κατισχάινουσα  
Ald. Eurip. Orést. 288. ἰσχναινε. Ald. ἰσχανε, alii  
ἰσχαινε, quod recepit Porson. Atticis propter sonum  
praelatum putans, comparatque ἐχθραίνω et ἐχθαίρω,  
quorum hoc Tragicis semper restituendum judicat.  
Eadem permutatio Prometh. 269. ubi vide Blomfield.  
cui nemo assentiri potest, qui Riemeri Lexico utitur,  
ubi de utraque forma bene agitur. ibid. 380. Eumenid.  
256. Sic κέρχνος, κέρχω et κέρχνω. et alia hujuscemodi.  
— νηδύος. Ald. νηδύος πυρί epexegeſis τοῦ: ἀτμῶ.

V. 135. Χόρος Ἐριννύων Ald. τὴν δ' Ald. σέ. Ald.

V. 136. εὔδεις Ald. ἀνίστω Ald. κἀπολακτίσας  
Guelph. Ald.

V. 137. εἰδόμεθ' Med. εἰδώμεθ' Ask. d. Ald. Rob.  
εἴτι Ald.

V. 140. παθοῦσα, quasi praecessisset ἔπαθον.  
εἰμὶ non supplendum.

V. 141. δυσαχῆς Rob. Both. Quum ἀχθος magis  
congruat cum πάθος non praefero δυσαχῆς. Dixisset  
forsan Aeschylus δυσπαθῆς, si metrum tulisset, sic



enim solent Tragici. Soph. Antig. 1277. πόνοι δύσ-  
πονοι 588. δύσπνοοις προαῖς. 1261. φρενῶν. δυσφρόνων.  
Pers. 572. sq. δυσβάκτον αὐδάν. Eumenid; 255. πώ-  
ματος δύσπότου. Eurip. Supplic. 961. δυσαίων βίος.  
Helen. 213. αἰὼν δυσαίων. Iphig. T. 142. sq. δυσδρη-  
νήτοις δρήνοις. Phoeniss. 1047. γάμους δυσγάμους. He-  
cub. 191. δύσφήμους φάμας. Troad. 75. δύσνοστον νό-  
στον. ἢ non semel male illatum, v. c. Soph. Oed. T.  
1329. Cf. Elmsl. ad Eurip. Med. v. 134. sq.

V. 142. ἄρῶν. Turn. vit. tyrogr.

V. 144. κρατηθεῖσα Akl. Rob. Guelph.

V. 145. πέλη Akl.

V. 146. καθισπάσω Ask. d. pro γραίας Rob.  
δραίας.

V. 147. τόκεῦσι. Victor. Stabl. Supplic. 817. σε-  
βίζου δ' ἰκέτας σέθεν.

V. 150. μολῶν Ald. — ἔτυψεν. Tryphiodor. 369. sq.  
οὐχ οὕτω Θρηῖσσαν ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσι γυναῖκα  
σήμενος ἀνδρὸς ἔτυψεν δρεμανέος Διονόσου,  
ἢ τε θεῶ πληγείσα παρήγορον ὄμμα τίταινε

V. 151. abest Ask. d.

V. 152. μεταλαβεῖ Ald.

V. 153. Post λοβόν interpuncti, majore distin-  
ctione post κέντρον sublata, idem Schuetzius olim fe-  
cit, nec non Hermannus. Libidinis, dolorum et irae  
sedes in jecore, cf. Valckenaer. ad Hippolyt. 1070.

V. 154. πάρεστιν. Victor. Stabl. δάιον Ask. d.  
Post δαμίου distinctionem recte sustulerunt Schuetz.  
Hermann. Bothe. sententiam Pauwii et Heathii  
secuti.

V. 155. τὸ ἰα τὲ mutant, βαρύ τι, Wakef. Schuetz.



Hermann. τὸ βαρὺ περ. Bothe. Vulgatae major inest vis. — περὶ βαρυκρύος. Ald. πάρεστι ἔχειν. Pers. 1042. πάρεστι μέλειν. Choeph. 400. πάρεστι σάινειν Hippol. 1016. πράσσειν πάρεστι etc.

V. 157. abest Ask. d.

V. 158. φορολιβεῖ τύχα. ante Schuetz. Agam. 1428. φορολιβεῖ τύχα. Manus caede pollutae, antequam exriatae sint, cruorem stillare, fingunt poetae. Longius progreditur Aeschylus Agamem. l. c. ὡς περ οὖν φορολιβεῖ τύχα φρῆν ἐπιμαίνεται, λίπος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος ἐμπρέπειν ἀτίετον. Sic Hermannus, quem sequitur Humboldtus. Optime. φόρος saepe significat cruorem. Vide Wernsdorf. ad Himer. Eclog. IV. 20.

V. 160. πρὸς δρακεῖν Ald. προςδρ. αιμ. abest Ask. d.

V. 161. αἰρούμιον Ald. αἰρούμενον praeter Schuetz. Hermann. Both. ὀρόμενον Canter. coniecit, Wakef. recepit. Heathio placet ἀράμενον, idem aut ἀρόμενον Abreschio. ρέόμενον proposuit Pauw. Sed ἀράμ. bene habet. Hecub. 102. ἀλλ' ἀγγελίας βάρος ἀραμένη. alii αἰρομένη. Phoeniss. 1569. pro ἀρομένα alii, αἰρομένα et ὀρομένα. Heraclid. 981. ἐγὼ δὲ νεῖκος οὐχ ἐκὼν τὸδ' ἠράμην. cf. Elmsl. Ion. 197. κοινὸς αἰρόμενος πόνους. Dawes. Miscell. crit. p. 235. dixit, sibi placere αἰράμενος. Supplic. 957. leg. πόλεμον αἰρεσθαί νεον. αἰρεῖσθαι Rob. Cf. Brunck. ad Antig. 907. Elmsley. ad Med. 825.

V. 162. ἐφεστίω. Ald. μάντι, σῶ praeter Schuetz. Hermann. Glasg. μάντις ὡ Wakefield. μάντις ὡς Bothe. μάντις ὡν, quippe quem minime deceant μιάσματα.





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meim. 650. διπλῆ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ, Δίλογγον  
 ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνορίδα. Sept. c. Theb. 474. ἄλω πολ-  
 λήν, i. e. ἀσπίδα. (Choeph. 926. μύραινά γ' εἶτ' ἔχιδν'  
 ἔφν. de reti dictum, nisi lacunam statuas post vs. τόλ-  
 μης ἑκατι. καδίκου φρονήματος. Hisce collatis cum Agam.  
 1233. sq. ed. Schuetz. lacunae signum omnino necessa-  
 rium videtur.) Agam. 133. στόμιον μέγα Τροίας στρα-  
 τευθέν. Prometh. 672. ἐπηνάγκαζέ νιν Διὸς χαλινὸς πρὸς  
 βίαν πράσσειν τάδε. 726. sq. Σαλμυθησία γνάθος, μη-  
 τρυιὰ νεῶν. 879. sq. οἴστρου δ' ἄρδεις χρεῖσι μ' ἄπυρος.  
 924. γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσον. i. e. Neptuni tridentem.  
 Agam. 132. προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας. i. e. exer-  
 citus Graecorum. Supplic. 533. τὰν μελανόζυγ' ἄταν.  
 i. e. navem. 193. κρεῖσσον δὲ πύργου βωμὸς, ἀβῆκτον  
 σάκος. 215. Ζηνὸς δῶνιν, i. e. Solem. (Niob. πυρφό-  
 ροισιν αἰετοῖς, si de fulmine intelligeretur, quod fieri  
 posse non puto, l. n. optime conveniret.) S. c. Th.  
 189. ἰππικῶν τ' ἀγρύπνων πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα, πυ-  
 ριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν. Caldero in dramate, quod inscri-  
 bitur: La vita un sueño, act. I.

O aquesta pistol, aspid  
 De metal, esculpirá  
 El veneno penetrante  
 De dos balas etc.

ἄφρις in eleganti Aristophanis versu Eccless. 904. ed.  
 Kust. non metaphoricè dictum videtur. Phoeniss. 1377.  
 πυρσὸς ὡς, Τυρσηνικῆς σάλπιγγος ἠχή.

V. 174. ἀνῆς Ald. μέλαν Rob.

V. 176. δόμοις σε Marg. Ask. Wakefield. χριμ-  
 πτεται. Guelph. Ald.

V. 177. οὐκ ἀραγήτῆρες. οὐκ καταγενηστέρες Guelph.



ob. παρανιστήρες cett. Nescio an recte. Compara ἀλφη-  
 ρίς, ἀργηστής, δερμηστής, ἐλαρηστήρ, ἐρηγηστής, ἐρηγηστής,  
 ἔρηγηστήρ, κρηστήρ, μνηστήρ, μνηστής, τευχηστής, τευχη-  
 ρήρ, ὤμηστής, ὤμηστήρ. Libros meliores non reliquendi-  
 os puto in formis de quibus non accurate statui potest.  
 hes. 813. παρανιστής μόρος. Eurip. Bacch. 949. δίκα  
 φηφόρος. λεύσιμος δίχη passim occurrit. S. c. Theb.  
 82. λευστήρα μόρον.

V. 178. sq. ἀποφθορᾶ Schuetz. ex Erfurdū con-  
 ctura (cf. ad Soph. Trach. 145.). κακοῦται χλοῦνις Ask.  
 Guelph. Rob. Schuetz. κακοῦ τελλοῦνις Ald. κακή  
 χλοῦνις Stauley. conjecit, receperunt Hermann,  
 othe. Doederlein. specim. Sophocl. p. 16. σπέρμα-  
 τιν ἀποφθοραὶ παίδων explicat: caedes parentum  
 per liberos. L. n. haecce minime conveniunt, ubi  
 nae fieri solita erant, enumerantur, neque σπέρμα  
 c pro: πατήρ, occurrit. ἤδὲ pro καὶ Atticū esse ne-  
 unt Dawesius et Valckenærias in vitis exemplis, quae  
 allegit Porsonus Advers. p. 37. ed. Lips. — λευσμός  
 larg. Ask. Casaub. (et λευσμοί conjec.) receper. Schuetz.  
 erm. Both. Wakef. probantibus Pauwio, Abreschio,  
 eathio, Stanlejo.

V. 181. ἔπαλ Marg. Ask. ὑπόφραχιν Guelph. Turn.  
 f. Dawes. Miscell. Critt. p. 160. sq. Brunck. ad Pro-  
 eth. 1031. Wernick. ad Tryphiodor. 216. 266. —  
 p' Ald.

V. 182. ἐπ' ῥτο ἴστ' Ald. ἀποπύσσει Ald.

V. 183. στέργηθ' Ald. Post ἔχουσαι interrogatio-  
 nis signum posui cum Herm Schuetz. Both. e Pau-  
 ii sententia. Nota interruptionem orationis. Sic  
 ph. Oed. T. 794. τὴν Κορινθίαν, ἀστροῖς τὸ λοιπὸν



ἐκμετρούμενος, χθονὰ ἔφευγον. *ibid.* 455. ξένῃν ἐπὶ  
 σκήπτρῳ προδεικνύς, γαῖαν ἐμπορεύσεται. *Trach.* 406.  
 δάμαρτα δ' Ἡρακλέους, εἰ μὴ κρυῶ λεύσσων μάταια,  
 δεσπότην τε τῆν ἐμὴν. *Choeph.* 871. σὺ τοι σεαυτὴν  
 οὐκ ἐγώ, κατακτενεῖς. *Eurip.* *Hecub.* 166. ὦ τλάμων,  
 ἀγῆσαι μοι, πούς. *Electr.* 1179. sq. οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οἶ-  
 κος ἀθλιώτερος τῶν Τανταλείων, οὐδ' ἔφυ ποτ', ἐκγόνων

V. 184. αἱματορόφον *Kob.*

V. 186. πλησίοις. *Guelph.* *Ald.* *πλουσίοισι.* *Both.*  
*Wakef. e Pauwii conjectura.* *Sed.* *πλησίοισι magis*  
*ad Eumenides, quam ad templum spectans, transpo-*  
*sitione poetis familiari satis firmatum, dictum enim*  
*pro πλησίας aut πλησίον. — τρίβεισθαι. cf. Schol. ad 229.*  
*Ad conjunctionem aut societatem qualemcunque si-*  
*gnificandam Graeci verbis fortioribus et insolentiori-*  
*bus saepissime usi sunt. Supra 176.*

οὔτοι δόμοισι τοῖςδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει.

(*Orest.* 919. ἄστν κἀγορᾶς χραίνων κύκλον. *Cf. Odys.*  
*II.* 50. μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες ἐπέχραον οὐκ ἐδελοῦση.)  
*Infra* 459. εὐχερῆα συναρμόσει βροτούς. *Supplic.* 165.  
 οὐ δίκαιοις Ζεὺς ἐντεύξεται λόγοις. 279. πρὸς φύσω λόγῳ.  
 499. μορφῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις. (*Oed. T.* 212. μαι-  
 νάδων ὁμόστολον.) *Agam.* 450. Πάρις οὔτε συντελής  
 πόλις. *Sophocl.* *Ajac.* 611. μανία ξύναυλος. *Philoct.* 203.  
 κτύπος φωτὸς σύντροφος. (*Cf. Electr.* 1190. *Ajac.* 639.  
*Oedip. C.* 1362. *Iphig. T.* 1087. *Aristoph.* *Av.* 329. 678.)  
*Electr.* 240. εἴ τῳ πρόςκειμαι χρηστῷ. (*Adde ibid.* 1040.  
*Antig.* 94. 485.) *Eurip.* *Orest.* 793. οστις τρόποισι συν-  
 τακῆ. 1276. ποδὶ βοηδρόμῳ μέλαθρα προσμίξει. (*Adde*  
*Soph.* *Electr.* 1485. *Pind.* *Olymp.* I. 34. 146. *Pyth.*  
*IX.* 128. *Nem.* I. 85. II. 34. *Isthm.* VII. 35. *Plat.*





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sunt; quis enim nunc ferret, τροφὸς κύματος νεοσπύρου. etc. τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων κ.τ.λ.) Agam. 795. ὄστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων. Aeschyli fragm. apud Antigou. Caryst. c. 127. θυρὸν ἵππογνώμονα. Agam. 251. ἀταύρωτος et multa alia. De ἀρότῳ παίδων non opus est, quod moneamus, licet Cieuzerus Mytholog. II. 516. hanc imaginem suo more explicaverit. Sententiose aut proverbialiter dicta e sermone vulgi petita saepe leguntur. Sic Supplic. 958. sq. ἀλλ' ἄρσενας καὶ τῆσδε γῆς οἰκήτορας Εὐρήσετ' οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ. 783. βύβλον δὲ καρπὸς οὐ κρατεῖ στάχυν. Agam. 33. τρὶς ἐξ βαλούσης τῆσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας. et multa alia.

V. 189. Pro Χορ. Ald. Εὐμ. et sic usque ad 225.

V. 190. πέλη Ald. πέλει Kob. alias semper η.

V. 191. εἷς pro εἰς Schuetz. Herm. Bothe. Wakef. e Canteri conjectura. Quum εἷς τὸ πᾶν optime dictum sit, mutatione vel facillima abstinentium. Himer. Eclog. IV. 6. τίνος τὰ τηλικαῦτα μιάσματα; οὐ σὰ πάντα; οὐ τῆ μὲν δεξιᾷ τῆ ἐμῆ, τῆ σῆ δὲ γνώμη πάντες ἀνάλωνται;

V. 192. πῶς δῆτα; τοῦτο Kob. λόγον Herm. Schuetz. Bothe.

V. 193. πέμψαι τιμὴν vulg. πέμψαι. τί μὴν; Schuetz. Herm. Pors. 2. ex Abresch. et Staul. (cur. sec.) sententia. τί μή. Both. Glasg. e Canteri conjectura. πέμψας Wakef. quod Butlero placet.

V. 195. κάπει θυ. Ald. αἵματος νέου. Hic et multis aliis locis notio caedis subintelligenda: cf. Dorvill. ad Chariton. p. 374. Jacobs, ad Tzetz. 531. — δ' ἕκταρ Ald. Guelph. δ' ἕκτωρ Kob.



V. 197. Interrogationis signum in fine h. v. ha-  
ent Ald.-Rob. Turn. Wakef.

V. 198. τάςδε pro τοῖςδε proposuit Pors. Adver-  
in. p. 110. Sed cf. 176. 185. sq. Respondent quidem,  
ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦτο προστεταγμένον, sed haec magis  
de ea, quod dixerant, se προπομπός esse, quam ad δό-  
ξαι τοῖςδε spectant. — νοσφίση Ald.

V. 203. Hunc versum post Canterum Apollini  
tribunt (excepta edit. Glasg.) signum interrogationis  
est φόνος ponentes. Apollinem, infra contendente  
aedem ad Oreste perpetratae minime δμαιοῦν et αὐ-  
θέντ' esse, haec verba Orestem graviter accusantia  
non decent. Ald. et vss. sqq. Choro tribuit.

V. 204. ἦ pro ἧ Herm. Schuetz. Both. — ἀρχέσο  
Ask. d. Casaub. teste Abreschio. ἤρξατο Ald. Schuetz.  
Ierm. ex Heathii conjectura. Optime Pers. 216. οὐ-  
τέν γάρ ἤρξει τόξα. Schol. ἐβήθει, ἀρχαῖα ἦν.

V. 206. τῷ δ' Ald. ut fere' semper ἀπέσιπται  
Ald. Hugo Grotius vertit: τῷ δ' ἄπειπται.

Hoc si probatur, ipsa sine honore est Venus,  
Quae maximas amoris illecebras habet.  
Plus namque thalami rite et uxori et viro  
Servata vincla jurejurando valent.

V. 207. γίνονται Ald. Stanl.

V. 208. μόρσιμοι. Guelph. Ald. μορσίμη. vulg.  
μόρσιμος Rob. Herm. Both. Schuetz. Pors. 2.

V. 209. ὄρκους τε Ask. d. ὄρκους τι Ald. ὄρκου τι  
Guelph. ὄρκος τις Rob. ὄρκους τι Cod. Rob. ὄρκου ὅτι  
Glasg. ὄρκου τε cett. μῆζον ex Heathii sententia Herm.  
Schuetz. Bothe. — φρουρουμένη Ald.

V. 210. εἰ Canter. conjecit, receperunt Schuetz.



Hermann. Bothe. Wakefield. probant Pauw. Abresch. Heath. Stanl. χαλαῖς Guelph. Ald. Turn.

V. 211. pro γενέσθαι Schuëtz. πένεσθαι, et sic Herm. Both. τῷ μὴ ἐνέχεσθαι proposuit Pauw. ἐνέχεσθαι Heath. probat. μὴ μέλεσθαι Wakef. post Auratum vulgatum contorte explicat Abreschius, εἰ οὖν (τοσοῦτον) χαλαῖς τοῖς κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους (ὄσπε) μηδὲ ἐποπτεύειν (σε σὺν) κότερ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι (τοῦτο, τοὺς τοιούτους φόνους) ἢ κάρτα ἀτιμα, κ. τ. λ. Probabilius esset μὴδ ἔπεισθαι. Sed forsitan γενέσθαι pro παραγενέσθαι. (Vide Brunck. indic. Sophocl. Verbum simplex pro composito) — κότερ. Pears. Casaub. teste Abreschio κάτω. ἐποπτεύειν Aeschylus frequentat. Choeph. 1. 496. 560. 917. 995. etc. Soph. Electr. 825. ἐφορᾶν sic posuit. Pind. Olymp. VII. 20. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἐποπτεύει Χάρις ἀδομελεῖ φόρμιγγι κ. τ. λ.

V. 212. Apollin. nomen praefixit Ald. οὐφῆμ' Ald. γ' pro σ'. Med Guelph. Ald. ἀνδρας κατεῖν Cod. Rob.

V. 213. κάρτασ Ald. κάρτας Guelph.

V. 214. ἔμπαλιν pro ἐμφανῶς Marg. Ask.

V. 215. Δίκας δ' ἐπ' ἄλλας. Guelph. Ald. Turn. Sic 195. δ' ἕκταρ et δ' ἕκτωρ pro δέκτωρ. — ἐποπτεύσεις Turn.

V. 216. οὐστω Ald. λῖπω pro λείπω. Marg. Ask. Schuetz. Herm. Bothe, Glasg.

V. 217. πλέω Herm. Schuetz. Both. Marg. Ask. e Pauvii sententia et ita Aurat. Sic solent Graeci. πόνων πλέον Wakef. et πόνον πλέον legi posse, monet Butlerus.

V. 219. οὐδέν Aurat.

V. 220. μέν pro γάρ Aurat. παρ' Ald. παρὰ Glasg.





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V. 227. ἤκω Hermann. δούχον Ald.

V. 228. πρὸς τρόπαιον Ald. ἀφοίβαντον. Cf. intpp. ad Callimach. hymn. in Lavacr. Pallad. v. 11. Aeschylus, Sophocles et Euripides in iis, quae supersunt, vocem: φοιβάζειν, nisi fallor, non adhibuerunt. Hesych. ἀφοίβατον, ἀκάθαρτον. Αἰσχύλος Νεανίσκοις. l. ἀφοίβαντον. De iκέταις atque ritibus purgandi vide Creuzer. Mytholog. II. p. 518. sqq. Lycophron frequentat, ubi vid. Tzetz. ad v. 731. Soph. Ajac. 352. frustra tentavit Musgrave.

V. 229. πάρος Hermann. pro τε πρὸς. Herm. sequuntur Schuetz. Bothe. probante Reisigio Conjectan. in Aristophan. p. 71. Antig. 409. sq. ἢ κατεῖχε τὸν Νέκυν. Aristoph. Ecclesiaz. 475. sq. οὐδε τὸν Δῆμον. Cf. Boeckh. ad Pind. Olymp. VI. 53. sq. ubi citat Oed. C. 495. 551. 14. Ion. ap. Athen. XI. 501. f. Huic usui non dissimilis est articuli usus in caesura pentametri et pronominis relativi atque possessivi eodem loco. Cf. Jacobs. ad Antholog. Pal. T. III. p. 535. Lobeck. ad Ajac. p. 444. Herm. Elem. metr. 119. Lachmannus in libro de Choricis systematis p. 21. explicat πρὸς: praeterea, quod cum usu loquendi parum convenit.

V. 230 πορεύμασι ante Glasg. Herm. et sequentes.

V. 232. σώζων δ' Casaub.

V. 233. Nota πρόσειμι temporis praesentis significatione cf. Hermann. de Aeschyli Danaidibus. p. VIII.

V. 235. τό δ' ἐπιτ' Ald.

V. 236. μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς. S. c. Th. 82. κόνις ἀνανδος ἄγγελος. Supplic. 183. idem. Agam. 502. sqq. idem, Theogn. 561. ignis appellatur ἄγγελος



ἄφθογγος. Hippolyt. 1074 τὸδ' ἔργον οὐ λέγον σε μηνέες  
κακόν. ubi Valckenaer. praeter l. n. citat Achill. Tat.  
V. p. 285. φιλομήλας τέχνη σιωπῶσαν εὔρηκε φωνήν.  
Cf. Jacobs. Anthol. Pal. T. III. 580. 775.

V. 237. νεκρόν. Med. Guelph. Ald. Rob. Turn.

V. 238. πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σταλαγμόν dictum pro αἵ-  
ματος σταλαγμόν. cf. Jacobs. animadv. in Eurip. p. 4.  
Fragm. apud Eustath. ad Il. T. p. 1183. (1250) πρὶν ἂν  
σταλαγμοῖς αἵματος χοιροκτόνου, ubi Porson. παλαγμοῖς  
frustra tuetur ad Orest. 909. Sic Soph. Oed. T. 1279.  
δυβρος χαλάζης αἵματος τ' ἐτέγγετο. Iliad. XIX. 214. φό-  
νος τε καὶ αἷμα. (Liv. I. 48. partemque sanguinis ac caedis  
psterinae.) Iliad. XVI. 162 eadem non dissoluta, φόνον  
αἵματος. Ante caedem expiatam manus cruore stillan-  
tes a poetis fingi, jam supra monuimus. ἀνδροκμηῆσι  
φροσιᾷ Ald. Infra 873. ἀνδροκμηῆτας τύχας. Supplic. 681.  
ἀνδροκμῆς λοιγός. Active. Choeph. 352. δορικμηῆτι λαῶ.  
Ajax. 325. βοτοῖς σιδηροκμηῆσιν. Passive. λοιγός, μόχθος  
ἀνδρῶν καμνόντων, δυσκόντων explicat Lobeck. ad  
Ajax. l. c. adsentiente Wellauero (Comment. Aeschyl.  
p. 64.)

V. 240. πᾶν Rob.

V. 241. ἀπίτροις Rob. Haec permutatio dubium  
reddit, sitne πτέρων S. c. Th. 661. inventum. Gram-  
matici, an error librarii, quem Hermannus teste Nae-  
lio ad Choerilium Samium, recepturus est. De lo-  
cutione ἀπίτροις ποτήμασιν. vide supra 236. Wernick.  
ad Tryphiodor. 85. Blomfield. Glossar. ad Agam. 81.  
Poetae Hispanici hisce inprimis delectantur. Ex innum-  
meris citare liceat unum exemplum facetissimum in it.  
nam. quod inscribitur: La vita un sueño. . b



V. 243. ἐπί Ald. καταπτακός Canter. Turn. Vict. Stanl. κατεπτακός Schuetz. Wakef. probantibus Abreschio, Heathio. κατεπταχός Casaub.

V. 244. ἐσ μὴ pro ὄσμῃ. Ald. Forsan ὄσμῃ legendum, ut in Prometh. Codicibus parum fidei habendum in hisce rebus. vid. Lobeck ad Phrynich. p. 89. Wernick, ad Tryphiodor. p. 128.

V. 245. sq. ῥέα δρα Ald. Turn. λεῦσσε τὸν Guelph. Turn. λεῦσσετον vulg. λεῦσσετε πάντα conj. Wakef. λεῦσσετε πανταχῇ λάθει φ. β. μ. α. Lachmann de Chor. system. p. 91. Dualem Abresch. defendit, putans in hac tragoedia regulam servatam esse, ut quamvis Chorus e multis constet, tamen ubique Dearum tantum habeatur ratio. Seidler. de vss. dochm. p. 43. alio modo explicari posse censet, ut scilicet duabus Furiis vigilandi negotium traditum putetur. Afferit Orest. 1251. Hippol. 577. Buttmannus Gramm. Gr. p. 348. Dualem et Pluralem antiquitus eandem formam habuisse monens, vulgatam tuetur, comparans Homerum et Pindarum. Si Boeckhius verum vidit, Pindarus exemplis eximendus. — πάντα λεῦσσετ' οὖν! Both. Duas voces a librariis conjunctas multis locis legi notum est. cf. ad Choeph. 904. et Supplic. 560. 563. 383. 533. 447. 607. 653. 687. 694. 718. 729. 730. 744. 745. 794. 850. 870. 885. 947. Aldina exemplis! abundat. Herm. δρα — μὴ in unum versum conjunxit. In prima dissertatione de Choro Eumenid. p. XV. in duos versus distribuit:

δρα, δρα μάλ' αἰδ.

λεῦσσε τὸν πάντα, μὴ. =

φουγάδα Ald. Turn. Solent librarii formas contractas





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τίνεις, ματροφόνος, δύας. quod speciem ducit e Soph. Electr. 248. ἀντιφόνους δίκας. Lachm. l. c. ἀντιπόνους, Blomfield. glossar. in Pers. 482. ἀντιποίνους τίνεις μητροφόνους δύας. — μητροφόντας conij. Pauw. ματροφόνος. Butler. Lachm. Non opus. Infra 269. μητροκτόνον μίασμα. Agam. 736. μηλοφόνους ἄταισιν. Choeph. 488. τῆς ἀνοιμώκτου τύχης. Pers. 652. πολεμοφθόροισιν ἄταις. 794. νοστήμον σωτηρίας. 915. περσονόμιον τιμῆς. Agam. 43. διδρόνου καὶ δισκήπτρου τιμῆς. 269. εὐαγγέλοισιν ἔλπίσιν. 766. καλλίπαις πότμος. 1479. ἔρως αἱματολόιχος. 1513. πάχνα κουροβόρω. 1576. ἀλληλοφόνους μανίας. Eumen. 935. εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς. Soph. Electr. 248. ἀντιφόνους δίκας. Hecub. 251. δημηγόρους τιμάς. Troad. 199. ἀρχαγούς τιμάς. Iphig. T. 53. τέγνην ξενοκτόνον. 759. ξενοφόνους τύχας. 1167. κηλὶς μητροκτόνος. Rhés. 977. παιδοποιοὶ συμφοραὶ. Pind. Olymp. VI. 102. λαοτρόφον τιμάν. Nem. X. 71. εὐάγων τιμά, et multa alia.

V. 258. δ' ἐκεῖ ante Schuetz. — ἄλλος Schuetz. Herm. Both. Glasg. Sed vulgata non abhorret ab usu Tragicorum, de iterationibus minime anxiorum. Aeschyl. Supplic 1000.

Θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοὶ τί μιν  
καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πέδοστιβῆ.

Hippol. 1266. sq. ὄρεσκόων σκυλάκων πελαγίων θ' ὅσα τε γᾶ τρέφει — ἀνδρας τε. Antig. 343. sqq. Huc quodammodo pertinet Aristoph. Plut. 81. sq.

ὧ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλον, καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες  
καὶ Ζεῦ.

Helen. 341. φάος τέθριππά τ' ἀελίου ἐς κέλευθά τ' ἀστέρων. 1501. sq. γλαυκὸν ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον κυανόχροά τε



ομάτων ῥόθια πολιὰ θαλάσσης. Antig. 851. οὐτ' ἐν βρο-  
οῖς οὐτ' ἐν νεκροῖσι Μέτοικος, οὐ ζῶσιν, οὐ θανοῦσι. —  
ροτόν Ald.

V. 259. τί τ' pro τιν' Ald. Turn. — τοκῆας Herm.  
Ichuetz. (Auratus) e certissima correctione pro τοκέας.

V. 260. ἔχοντ' Guelph. Turn. Rob. ἔχον τ' ἔκ Ald.

V. 261. sq. ἄδυσ Ald. ἔνερθεν. Herm. Schuetz.  
loth. — ἐπωπᾶ Ald. — τῆ φρενὶ Rob.

V. 266. σιγᾶν Ald. τῶδε Ald.

V. 267. φρωνεῖν Ald. φρονεῖν Turn. διδάχθην  
ιηρατ.

V. 268. Bekker Anecd. I. 35. δυσμάραντον κακόν.

V. 269. ἔκπλητον Ald.

V. 270. τοταίνιον Ald. et sic Guelph. e rasura  
το ποτ.

V. 271. καθαρμοῖς χοιροκτόνοις. Adjectivum dis-  
olvendum. vid. ad Choephor. 25. ubi Trach. 188. βουθερεῖ  
ειμῶνι male citatum est. (cf. Aeschyl. Supplic. 71. *λειλοθερῆ παρειάν.*) Aeschyl. fragm. apud Eustath. II.  
p. 1183. 17. αἵματος χοιροκτόνου. Supplic. 7. δημη-  
ᾶσιαν ψῆφον. 111. πάθεα δακρυοπετῆ. (Eurip. Supplic.  
75. *μολπὰς δακρυρῆοους*) Ion. 666. *λαιμοτόμων στα-*  
*αγμῶν.* Antig. 36. *φόνον δημόλευστον.* Trach. 609. *ἡμέρα*  
*αυροσφάγῳ.* Prometh. 860. *δηλυκτόνῳ Ἄρει.* Helen.  
474. *βούθυτον ἀμέραν* Eurip. Aug. fragm. apud Clem.  
Alex. p. 841. *σκῦλα βροτοφθόρα.* ubi vs. sq. καὶ νεκρῶν  
innino legendum. — Porci sanguine Athenis concio  
opuli lustrabatur. vide Schol. ad Aristoph. Plot. 454.  
Acharn. 44. In mysteriis immolabantur. vid. Acharn.  
37. Pac. 373. ed. Küst.

V. 273. ἄσοις Med. Ask. d. Guelph. Schütz. Herm.



Pors. 2. et Adversar. p. 140. Both. *ὅς τοις Ald. „ὄστις, an ὄσσοις?“* Stanl. cur. secund. *ὄσοις* sensus requirit. cf. supra 228. sqq. Frustra renititur Butlerus, ita explicans: Jam vero multo sermone usque a principio, hoc est ante lustrationem quamlibet, qua non egeo, libere uti licet, quippe qui huc advenerim piaculi insons, quemque adeo in societatem et commercium tuto admittas, → *ἀβλαβῆ Ask. d. Guelph.*

V. 274. *καθαίρει* legendum censet Stanl.

*χρόνος ἀναιρεῖ πάντα, καὶ λήθην ἄγει.*

Soph. Ajax. 714. *πάνθ' ὁ μέγας χρόνος μαραίνει.* Prometh. 971. *ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.* Soph. Antig. 60. sqq. *τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν — τὰν οὐδ' ὕπνος αἰρεῖ ποδ' ὁ παντογῆρας.* S. c. Th. 667. *γῆρας μιάσματος.*

V. 279. *δικαίως* hic pro *ἀληθῶς*. Et sic *πανδίκως* atque *ἐνδίκως*. Cf. Aeschyl. Supplic. 422. S. c. Th. 390. 655. Choeph. 644. etc. cf. Döderlein, specimen Sophocli. p. 79.

V. 280. *Λιβυστικῆς*. Casaub. Pears. Wakef. Schuetz. Herm. probantibus Pauwio et Butlero. Tzetz. ad Lycophron. 519. *καὶ Αἰσχύλος μυθικῶς*

*εἶτ' ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου σπόρου*

*Τρίτωνος, ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς.*

ubi Vit. 1. et Ciz. *λυβικοῖς*. Vit. 2. et 3. *λιβυστίοις*. — Vulgata l. n. bene habet. Sic Herc. f. 407. *Εὐξεινον αἶδμα λίμνας*, Troad. 1. sq. *Αἰγαῖον βάθος πόντον*, Tzetz. Antehomeric. 133,

*φεῦγον ἐπ' ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης Τύριον οἶδμα.*

Propert. I. 20. 9. *gigantea litoris ora*. Hujusmodi transpositiones frequentant poetae. Sic Iphig. T. 1237.





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V. 286. *ὅπως γένοιτο bene illustravit Herm*  
ad Ajax. 1200.

V. 288. *ῥόσαι τ' ἄν ῥους τε Ald. — παρει*  
*μένον Marg. Ask.*

V. 289. *μαθῶν θ' Rob.*

V. 290. *σκίαν ex Heathii conjectura rece*  
*Schuetz. Herm. Both. Hermann. comma posu*  
*βόσκημα, Schuetz. post δαιμόνων, probante B*  
*Botheus post ἀναιμάτον et δαιμόνων. Schuetzii*  
*punctio praeferenda.*

V. 292. *καθιστρωμένος Ald. Signum inte*  
*tionis in fine h. v. habent Herm. Both. probant*  
*lero, ne futuris opus sit in praecedente versu.*  
*praesens ita positum vim addit orationi, rem fu*  
*ut praesentem ante oculos ponens.*

V. 293. *Victor. Turn. Canter. Apollini tribu*  
*μεδαίσεις. Ald. βωμῶ Ald. βομοσφαγείς Cod. Rot*

V. 297. *δεδόκημεν Ald. Rob. δεδόκηκε f*  
*Guelph. Heath. Herm. Schuetz. Both.*

V. 298. *λάχητα Ald.*

V. 299. *ἐπὶ νομᾶ Ald. ἀμὰ pro ἄμα e C*  
*correctione Schuetz. Herm. Both. Wakef. ἄμα r*  
*Glasg. i. e. Porsonus, locum forsitan corruptum p*  
*propter duos continuos paroemiacos, quos Pau*  
*δίκαι τ' ἄρ, Heath. ὡς εὐθ. scribes ejicere coi*  
*Sed nisi alia accedant argumenta, talia notand*  
*emendanda sunt.*

V. 300. *εὐθυδίκα θ' οἱ δοιμεσθ' Ald. θ' οἱ*  
*Med. Guelph. Rob. δ' pro θ' Casaub. Pears.*  
*Stanl. cur. sec. praeferendum videtur.*

V. 301. *πρὸς νέμοντας Ald. ἔχοντας ab al*



affirmat Turn. τὸν — προνέμοντ' Hermann. quem Schuetz. secutus est. προῦχοντ' Both.

V. 302. ἐφέρπειν conjecit Wakefield. Οὔτις ἐφέρπει μῆνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν Pors. 2. ut hiatus tollatur, ob exempla tamen exceptiones corrigere, id est pro lubitu agere. Hermann. Elem. doctr. Metr. p. 372. hiatus et in systemate anapaestorum legitimo agnoscere videtur, cui tamen minus tribuerim, quippe qui hisce in rebus, ut et in aliis, potius libere vagetur, quam firmo iudicio gaudeat. Hic antistrophica restituenda et ob id hiatus defendendum esse, suspicatur, quae suspicio mihi valde suspecta est. — δ' αἰῶν ἀδιοχρεῖ Ald.

V. 304. ἀλιτῶν Schuetz. Herm. e Stanl. conjectura, quam retractat in curis secundis. Quint. Smyrn. I. 32. οὐδέ νυ ἐστὶ θεὰς ἀλιτόνθ' ὑπαλύξαι. ἀλιτῶν Aurat. Cf. Etym. M. v. ἀλιτρός. — ὅδ' ἀνήρ Wakef. Glasg. Quae Porsono de voce ἀνήρ placuerunt, satis nota sunt, oblocutus est quodammodo Lobeck. ad Ajax. 1181. Infra 693. ἀνήρ orationem non pulchram redderet.

V. 305. φονίους Ask. d.

V. 306. sq. ὀρθαίτοισι Ald. θανοῦσι Turn. Vict. Stanl. Cant. — παραγιν. Ald. Stanl. κράκτορες Ask. d. — αὐτῶ Ald.

V. 309. ἄμ' Ald. — ἔτεκες Ald. Turn. — ἀλαοῖσιν praeter Glasg. Herm. Both. Wakef. δεδοκόσι praeter Guelph. Ald. Rob. Schuetz. Herm. Glasg. Both.

V. 311. ποιναῖν praeter Ald. Rob. Herm. Schuetz. Both. Wakef. — κλυθ' ἐλατοῦς Ald. κλυθι Λατοῦ Turn. — ἀτίμον Ald. τίθησι praeter Guelph. Ald. Rob. Herm. Schuetz.



V. 312. *πτάκα* Guelph. Ald. Cod. Rob. *Voci-  
gis solitae forsā cedere debuit lectio mēme-  
nēda.* ματρῶτον ante Schuetz. Genitivum  
putant Pauw. Heath. Sic Ajax. 134. sq. τῆς ἑμ-  
Σαλαμῖνος ἔχων βάρδρον ἀγγιῶλον a quibusdam  
Sed jam supra monuimus de epithetis pluribus  
substantivo adjectis. Transpositio adjectivi frequen-  
tissima est.

V. 313. *τιωθόμενον* Rob. De quantitate cō  
Passov. dissert. de Trachin. v. 995. — *φρενοδαλῖς*  
ter Guelph. Ald. Rob. Both. post παραφορά  
delevit Hermannus, quem Schuetz. secutus est.  
φρενοδαλῆς ὕμνος conjungit Bothe. ἑρινύων Ald. Rob.  
φρενοδαλῆς, ut φρενοβλαβῆς. Prometh. 878. sq.  
γῆς μανίαι. Tryphiodor. 275. νοσπλήγισσιν  
λίγσι, si Rhodomanni conjectura vera est. Cf. intrp.

V. 314. *αβων βροτούς* praeter Med. Ask. d. Al  
Rob. Turn. Schuetz. Glasg. Herm. Bothe. Abest  
Guelph. sed in margine adscriptum. — *ἀφόρμικτος*  
Supplic. 684. λαιγός, ἀχορος ἀκίδαρις Choeph. 444  
παραμόνος ἀτης πλαγά. Agam. 989. sq. τὸν δ' ἀπὸ  
λύρας ὄμως ὕμνωδει Θρηῆνον Ἐριννύος. Iphig. T. 1  
ἀλύροις ἐλέγοις. 216. δυσφόρμιγγα ἄταν. Helen. 185. ὄ-  
δον ἄλυρον, ἔλεγον. Phoeniss. 817. ἀμουσοτάτ  
σὸν ᾠδαῖς. 1028. ἄλυρον μοῦσαν etc.

V. 316. *ἐκπέδως* Ald.

V. 317. *θνατῶν* pro θανάτων e Canteri co-  
tione receperunt Glasg. Herm. Schuetz. Both. —  
τουργίαις. Guelph. Ald. Rob. Victor. — *ξύμπας*  
Med. Ald. ξύμπασωσεν Rob. μάταιοι bene habet. G  
de stolidis, impiis, et nocentibus usurpant v





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V. 327. *ὄτ' ἄν* Rob. Wakef. — *πίθασος* Ald. Victor. *τιθασὸς* Stanl. Eadem permutatio Phot. Lex. *τιθασὸς* Gläsg. Herm. Schuetz. Both. *τίθασος* ct. cf. Porson. Adversar. p. 141. — *φίλος* Rob. ἔλη Ald.

V. 328. *ἐπιτόνωσ* Turn. Schuetz. Herm. Both. Exclamationes orationi interjectae saepe leguntur. Pers. 114. 281. 548. sq. 571: 574. sqq. 580. 973. 1067. Sept. c. Th. 125. 313. 324. 772. 874. Soph. Electr. 1262. et invocationes Deorum orationis animantiae causa interpositas legimus. Cf. Jacobs. Anthol. Pal. III. 85. 107. — *ὁμοίως* omnes praeter Glasg. Schuetz. Correxerit Arnald. — *μάρπτομεν* Schuetz. — *νέον αἷμα* Hermann. conj. et Schuetz. recepit, Butlerus hoc probans, a *διόμεναι* pendere putat, quod nullo modo fieri potest. Novum piaculum delemus dictum, pro: homicidas abducimus sub terras, ultionem petentes. Ne quis tamen putet, me *αἷμα* latiori significatione accipere, quod e. g. Soph. Electr. 1394. a nonnullis pessime factum est.

V. 330. *σπενδόμια* Ald. *σπένδομαι* Turn. Victor. τ' pro δ' coniecit Butlerus: ut, coli signo ad finem strophae praecedentis posito, haec quasi causam persecutionis ibi memoratae contineant, et hinc usque ad *ἀπηξιώσατο* quasi parenthesi includantur. — *τίνα* Ald. *Δία* pro *τινὰ* Schuetz. e Pauwii conjectura — *τᾶςδε* Rob.

V. 331. *τῶν δ' ἄτ.* Schuetz. *θεῶν τ'* mavult Butler. Herm. δ' omittit *θεῶν* ad *μερίμνας* referens. — *λαχαῖς* pro *λιταῖς* Schuetz. quod et Butler. suspicatur. *λατρίαις* Wakef. Sensus est. Quemque deorum hisce curis levare immunesque reddere stu-



**dentes, quum homines me invocandi potestatem habeant.**— ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς dictum, ut Pers. 696. ἐμὴν αἰδῶ. Agam. 232. κληθόνας πατρώιους. Odyss. XI. 202. σὸς πόθος. Oed. T. 969. τῷ ἐμῷ πόθῳ. Oed. C. 429. τοῦ ἐμοῦ πόθου. Bacch. 991. κράτος ἐμόν. Il. XXIV. 111. αἰδῶ καὶ φιλότητα τεήν. (Sic etiam. Romani. Tacit. Annal. II. 71. Si quos spes meae. Liv. II. 1. regio metu. III. 16. terror servilis.) Plat. Gorg. 486. α. εὐνοία τῇ σῆ. cf. Heinlorf.— ἐμαῖσι λιταῖς Ald.

V. 332. μὴ δ' ἐπ' ἀκροισιν Ald. ἐς ἀκροισιν Guelph. ἐπ' ἀκροισιν Turn. Victor. ἐς ἔγκρισιν Rob. ἀγχρισιν cit. H. Steph. ἐπὶ κρίσιν Pears.

V. 334. ἀξίον. Ald. — pro τόδε λέσχας alias μὲν σχάσας legere monet Turn. τόδε λέσχος Rob. — εἰς Ald. — ὑπεξιώσατο Rob.

V. 336—38. Haec post stropham sequentem legantur ante Hermannum, quem secuti sunt Schuetz. Both. Glasg. — ἀλλομένα Ald. ἀλλομένα vulg. γὰρ ἀλλομένα Rob. ἀλωμένα Glasg. ἀλμένα Both. ὀλομένα Lachmann. l. c. p. 62. ἀλομένα Herm. Schuetz. — ἀνέκαθεν Herm. Schuetz. et sic scribit Abresch. in animadv.

V. 337. ἀκμὴ periphrastice positum. Sic Bacch. 1159. χειρῶν ἀκμαῖσι. Oed. T. 1034. ποδοῖν ἀκμάς. (1243. ἀμφιδεξίοις ἀκμαῖς) Antig. 976. κερκίδων ἀκμαῖσι. — τὰν ὁδρόμοις Ald. βαρῶν πεσῆ pro βαρεῖαν.

V. 339. sq. δέξαι δ' αὐτῶν Med. ἀνδρῶ Ald. δ' e Med. praeferrém ob usum. — τ' ἀκόμεναι Guelph. Ald.

V. ἐφόδους μελανοίμοισιν Ald. Consule Potter. ad Lycophr. 1137. Nota transpositionem adjectivi. — ὄρχηθμοῖς Pears. Stanl. cur. secund. Jacobs pro ὄρχηθμῶν,



omit Anthol. Pal. VI. 33. 218. Recipere  
 ἐπι κλαυθμῶν legatur Agam. 1555. (κατα  
 τὸν 211 in trimetro occurrens huc non pe  
 rmissus partibus) — ἐπὶ φόνοις Rob. ἐπιφόρ  
 οὺς ἐπιφόρους Stanl. cur. secund. ἐπιφόβοις Wak  
 οὺς ctt. praeter Herm. Glasg. Schuetz. Both. Per  
 frequentissima.

V. 342. πίπτον Ald. οἶδε praeter Ald. Rob. Herm.  
 Schuetz. Both. Glasg.— λῦμα Ald. Turn. ἄφρονι λύμα. P  
 iiphrasis, cujusmodi jam supra attulimus. — γὰρ omit  
 tunt Herm. Schuetz. Both. Glasg., ex Heathii senten  
 tia. μῖσος Ald. μῦσος ante Canter.

V. 344. κεδνοφεράν Rob. δυοφεράντιν' ἀχλὴν Ald  
 δυοφερά τις ἀχλὺς Pears: — καταδύματος Rob. αὐδῶ  
 ται active positum ut Philoct. 852. οἶσθα γὰρ ὅν γ'  
 αὐδῶμαι, neque Prometh. 766. passive intelligendum.  
 Sic Oed. T. 1021. ὀνομάζετο, ubi vid. Brunck. et Er  
 furdt. — Infortunium noctem, statum felicem lucem  
 metaphoricè appellari notum est. — κατὰ ad δώματος  
 referendum.

V. 346. μένει γὰρ omnes praeter Herm. Schuetz.  
 Both. Wakef.

V. 347. δὲ καὶ omnes praeter Wakef. Schuetz  
 Herm. — δυς παρήγοροι Ald.

V. 349. sq. ἀτίεται Guelph. Ald. Rob. Turn. Vic  
 tor. ἄτιτα Pears. ἀτίετον memorat H. Steph. — δι  
 χοστατοῦτ' Guelph. Rob. διχοστατού τ' Ald. — λάμπα  
 Med. Ald. Rob. λάμψαι Turn. Victor. Jota adscri  
 ptum multos errores peperit. Suppl. 88. μέλαιναί ξυ  
 τύχαι pro μελαίνα ξὺν τύχα. — ἀνηλίω λάμπα poe  
 tice dictum pro ἀνήλια. (Sic fere Orest. 610. ἀνηφαίστω πρῆ





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**Eurip.** Supplic. 809. ἄλγη κακῶν. **S. c. Th.** 133. στή-  
 νων αὐτᾶς. **Pers.** 541. λέκτρων εὐνάς. **Antig.** 424. εὐνήs  
 λέχος. 1206. φωνῆs κικυμάτων. **Soph. Electr.** 88. θρή-  
 νων ᾠδάν. **Philoct.** 294. sq. γόων — ὀδυρμάτων — θρή-  
 νους. **Troad.** 514. ὕμνων ᾠδάν. 611. θρήνων τ' ὀδυρμοί.  
**Phoeniss.** 337. ἀλαλαῖσι αἰαγμάτων. **Alcest.** 467. μολπὰν  
 μελέων. **Androm.** 918. λόγους λαλημάτων. **Trach.** 20.  
 ἀγῶνα μάχης (**Virgil. Aeneid.** XII. 598. pugnae certa-  
 mine.) **Andromach.** 716. μάχης ἀγών. adde **Heraclid.**  
 793. **Ajac.** 1163. ἔριδος ἀγών. **Herc. f.** 792. ἀγόνων ἀμιλ-  
 λαν. **Med.** 178. δέμνια κοίτας. 434. κοίτας λέκτρον.  
 (**Alcest.** 944.) **Troad.** 88. πέλαγος ἄλός. **Alcest.** 607.  
 πεδίων δαπέδοις. 23. μελάθρων στέγην. **Iph. T.** 919.  
 οἴκων στέγει. 1221. μαντείας θεσφάτων. **Phoeniss.** 308.  
 βοστρύχων χαίτας πλόκαμον. **Troad.** 1172. βοστρύχων  
 πλόκαμον. **Herc. f.** 410. πέπλων φάρος. **Orest.** 1300. δι-  
 κτύων βρόχους. **Hippol.** 796. βρόχων ἀγχόνης. **Hecub.** 99.  
 λόγχης αἰχμῆ. **Helen.** 1115. δορὸς λόγχαισιν. (**Troad.**  
 1310.) **Phoeniss.** 1190. ἄρμάτων ὄχους. (**Iph. T.** 360.)  
**Eurip.** Supplic. 661. 683. ἄρμάτων ὀχήματα. **Philoct.**  
 594. ἰσχύος κράτος. (**Barlaam und Josaphat** v. 2.  
 des gewaltigen craft.) **Cyclop.** 364. θυμάτων θυσίαν.  
**Helen.** 380. ἄχρα λύπης. **Herc. f.** 852. ζωᾶς βιοτάν.  
 (Hinc defendi potest locus **Anthol. Pal.** IV. 95. ὑπὲρ  
 ζωᾶς καὶ βιοτᾶς σφετέρως, qui **Jacobsio** suspectus est.  
 αἰὼν καὶ βίος **Longin.** XXXVI. sermo et oratio **Cicero**  
 de natura Deor. I. 34.) **Iphig. A.** 227. T. 1134. ὄψιν  
 ὀμμάτων. **Trach.** 356. πόνων λατρεύματα, πέδον γᾶς  
 ubique. **Catull.** de Aty. 7. terrae sola. **Virgil. Aen.**  
 V. 422. membrorum artus. **Tacit. Annal.** II. 78. lito-  
 rum oram. **Liv.** I. 24. graminis herbam. Haecce



apposui, unde appareret, quam late hoc genus loquendi pateat.

V. 364. γῆν καταφθατομένην. Herm. Schuetz. Both. ut Stanl. Bentl. Abresch. Heath. legendum esse putant. — Supplic. 404. ἀγοὶ πρόμοι.

V. 369. Haecce offendunt interpretes nonnullos. κώλοις pro πώλοις coniecit Wakefield. ἔχον de clypeo intelligens: οὐκ ἐπιζεύξασ' Pauwio in mentem venit, (ἐπιζεύξασ Ald.) κόλπον Αἰγέως edidit Both. Aegidis opera mare trajecisse, tunc curru vectam esse, putat Abresch. πώλοις τ' suspicatur Butler.

Du machst's uns Traus,

Wir können in Ropf nicht bringen.

Quum aegis celeriter agitata alarum fere-sonum ederet, alis memoratis hoc addit ad descriptionem exornandam. Antig. 1004. πτερῶν γὰρ ῥοῖβδος οὐκ ἄσημος ἔν. — ῥοιδούσα Guelph. AlA.

V. 372. καινήν Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. e Canteri conjectura, probantibus Bentlejo, Abreschio, Butlero. Cur opus sit, τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν epitheto augere, non intelligo, ideoque nil muto, καὶ δὲ propter placitum argumentis destitutum non damnans. — τῆςδε Ask. d.

V. 373. sq. vulg. comina post πάρα, colon post ἔστέ, praeter Herm. Schuetz. Orestem ad Palladis statuam sedentem videas apud Millin. mon ant. ined. II. 49. Alde I. 29.

V. 375. sq. Constructio mutata. Cf. Lob. ad Ajac. p. 331. Antig. 860. — οὐδενὶ σπαρτῶν γένει. nulli mortalium generi. Stanl. nulli eorum qui gignuntur generi, seu deorum seu hominum similes. σπαρτῶν γένος insolenter dictum pro: βροτῶν



γένος, postea homines aliis verbis adhibitis commemorari, non est quod offendat. Vide v. 258. Forsan comparanda sunt, quae legunt Th. 507. sq.

V. 377. ὄρωμένας Herm. Schuetz. Both. Pc Stanl. conjectura, probante Butlero. Vulgata contorte explicari posset: si deae estis, non ex earum numero estis, quae inter versantur.

V. 378. sq. ἐν pro οὖν Ald. — μορφώμασι Ald. Rob. Herm. Schuetz. λέγειν sine δ' Ald. Τι ἄμορφον Rob. τὸν πέλας Herm. Both. ex Heath tentia. τὸν πέλας κακὸν Both. Non opus. Aliis ob deformitatem maledicere, injustu ἦδ' pro ἡδ' Ald. Turn.

V. 382. ἐς μὲν Ald. — αἱ εἰνῆ Ald. αἰανῆς Herm. Schuetz. Both. quod praefendum videtur doc. Violar. p. 151. (Anecd. Villois. I.) κατὰ σχύλον μόνον Ἐριννύες Νυκτὸς αἰανῆς τέκνα. Cf. ad Lycophron. 406. Lobeck. ad Ajac. 671.

V. 383. αἶρά. Ald. Rob. Turn. Victor. — εἰ Ald. — ὑπαικεκλήμεθα Ald. ὑπεκεκλήμεθα Rob. κεκλ. Turn.

V. 384. κλύδονάς τ' ἐπωνύμους Ald. κληδόν praeter Glasg.

V. 385. Eumenidum nomen pro choro p Ald. — γε μὴν Wakef. τάςδ' Arnald. τὰς τ' Al πεύση Ald. — τιμάς munus. Cf. Valckenaer. ad I 107. Seidler. ad Eurip. Electr. 988.

V. 386. sq. τίς Ald. ἐκφανῆ. Ald. Turn. — Ald. — ποῦ τὸ τέρμα τῆς φυγῆς; Herm. Schuetz.





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V. 406. sq. ἦσαι Guelph. — προτρόπαιος Rob. — ἐνι pro ἔχει Pears. μῦσος praeter Turn. Canter. Victor. Herm. Schuetz. Both. Wakef. Glasg.

V. 412. προῦχειρὶ Rob. μῆ Ald. τόσον ἐφεζομένη Ald. ἐφεζομένου Herm. ἐφημένη Schuetz. Pors. 2. Both. Elegantius legi ἐφημένου putat Butler. Hermannii vestigia secutus. Nisi elegantius, minus tamen poetice ita legeretur. Sept. c. Th. 539. χεῖρ δ' ὄρα τὸ δράσιμον

V. 413. sq. τῶν δέσοι Ald. — ἐπ' ἄν pro ἐστ' ἄν Ald. ἐπ' ἄν Turn. — καθαιμάζουσιν ὀδήλου Med. Rob. καθαιμάξουσι νοδήλου Guelph. Ald. καθαιμάξωσιν νεοδήλου Vict. καθαιμάξωσι νεοδήλους Salvin. κ. νεοδηλοῦς Herm. Schuetz. Both. ex Abreschii sententia. Haecce forma reponenda videtur, alteram metro non flagitante. Agam. 1144. ἀμφιδαλῆ βίον. Choeph. 378. ἀμφιδαλῆς. Troad. 219. εὐδαλεῖ εὐκαρπεῖα Ion. 112. νεηδαλῆς. Iphig. Aul. 186. νεοδαλεῖ. Aeschyl. fragm. incert. 32. apud Anonym. de Incr. Nili ad calcem Herod. εὐδαλῆς brevi reultima. — αἵματος σφαγαί. Trachin. 572. 717. αἶμα σφαγῶν. Rhee. 786. σφαγῆ pro αἶμα σφαγῶν. Agam. 1390. ὀξειαν αἵματος σφαγῆν. Sept. c. Theb. 678. ἀνδροκτασίαν αἵματος. αἶμα σφάζειν dicebant Graeci. Eurip. Electr. 92. πυρᾶ τ' ἐπέσφαξ' αἶμα Supplic. 1212. τρώσης φόνον. Ajax. 546. νεοσφαγῆ φόνον. Virgil. caeso sanguine. Construenda σφαγαὶ αἵματος καθαρσίον.

V. 418. sq. τόροις pro πόροις Ald. ποτοῖς conij. Wakef. Ajax. 412. πόροι ἀλίρροδοι ubi vide Musgrave. Hippol. 122. βαπτὰν κάλπισι ρυτὰν παγάν. Oed. C. 1598. ρυτῶν ἐδάτων. Agamem. 1404. sq. ρυτᾶς ἐξ ἁλός. Cf. Pausan. Corinth. 31. ταύτη Rob.



V. 421. sq. ἀργειός Ald. ιστορεῖς non quaeris, sed nosti significat. — ἀγάμεμν' Ald. ναυβατῶν Med. Guelph. et Wakef. Schuetz. Herm. Both. Glasg. ex Hemsterh. sententia ad Polluc. VII. 29. — ἔφθιδ' οὕτως. Med. Guelph. Ald. Rob. — κελαινόφρων. Cf. Lobeck. ad Ajac. 945.

V. 426. ἀγρεύμασι praeter Guelph. Ald. Rob. Herm. Schuetz. λουτρῶν, memorat H. Steph. λουτρῶν Both. e Stanleji sententia, et sic Butlejo teste Pors. δ' inserunt Schuetz. Herm. Both. auctore Scaligero. τ' Wakef. λουτρῶν lectio elegans et facilis, quae vera videtur, licet vulgata defendi possit. Agam. 1055. σφαγὰς πυρός. Haecce orationem impudentem Clytaemnestrae in Agam. respicere putat Schuetz. — καγὼ Ald.

V. 430. Soph. Electr. 248. ἀντιφόνους δίχας. Huc refert Scaliger. ad Varr. p. 178. ed. Bip. Ennii versum ex Eumenid. Nisi patrem materno sanguine exanclandó ulciscerem.

V. 431. τῶν δεχοίνῃ Ald.

V. 432. sq. ἀντίκεν τρακαρδία Ald. εἰμήτι τῷ δ' ἔρξαι μιτούς Ald.

V. 434. σὺ δ' Stanl. cur. secund. Pears. Wakef. Herm. Schuetz. Both. quod omnino probandum. — κρίνων Ald.

V. 435. παταχῇ Rob. πάνθ' ἃ γ' εἶν ἢ conj. Abresch. πάντα, καὶ τὰδ' αἰνέσω Heath. Eumium Eumenid. haecce ante oculos habuisse putat Scaliger ad Varr. p. 178. ed. Bip. —

Id ego aequum aptius fecisse me expedibo atque eloquar.



τά δ' αἰνεσσω Ald. αἰνεῖν Tragicis frequentatur. Monk. ad Hippol. 27. Alcest. 2.

V. 436. ἢ pro εἶ Pears. Stanl. cur. secund.

Both. Herm. Pors. 2. Elliptice dictum. φόνοῦ Rob. P. Stanl. cur. secund. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. W Both. — ὄξυμηνίτους Stanl. cur secund. Schuetz. H Sept. c. Theb. 709. περιθύμους κατάρας. 771. sq. κότους ἀράς. Herc. fur. 868. λυσσαδες ὠμοβρωῶτες νόδικοι δίκαι.

V. 439. ὄμως — Pauw. conj. ἐμός vel ἐμοῖς. H ὄπως, ita versum refingens: ἄλλως τε, κ' εἰ σὺ μὲν, τηρτυκῶς ὄπως. κεί Schuetz. recepit. ἐμοῖς Both.

V. 441. ὁμῶς τ' vel ὄλως. Pears. ὄλως τ' Wakef. δυνας Guelph. Ald. — αὐται pro αὐται ex Aldina cepi. — ἔχουσι Med. Rob. Tyrwhitt. — πρ' νικηφόρου. Choeph. 140. δίκη νικηφόρου. Trach σὺν κράτει νικηφόρου. Phoeniss. 781. ξὺν δίκη ν Iphig. A. 1451. sq. σωτηρίαν νικηφόρου. 1533. νικηφ δώρου. Bacch. 1152. νικηφόρον ἄγραν.

V. 444. χῶραι μετ' αὐδῖς Med. Guelph. Ald. Rob χῶραι μετ' αἴτις Ask. d. χωροῖμεν legendum et vss. 448 — 456. Choro tribuendos suspicatur Butler. non animadvertens, ut videtur, dictionem τοιαῦτα μὲν τ' ἐστίν. — φρονημάτων pro φρενῶν. cf. ad Schol. 78 et praecipue Pers. 169. Πέρσαι, γηραλέα πιστώματα πέδω Ald.

V. 447. πέμπειν τε Herm. Schuetz. Both. pro δὲ. ante Hermannum post ἐστίν et ἀμφοτέρα in punctio aberat. — δεσποῖμαντ' G. ad Marg. Ask. Askenvius. „a B. non a Grotio, ipse enim δ ποῖματ'.“ δυσμήνιτ. Marg. Ask. δυσσήματ'





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V. 457. κράσει Victor. τε auctore Heathic  
runt Wakef. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. Recte. — ε  
Ald. εὐχερία Rob.

V. 460. ἔτομα cūr displiceat non intelligi  
gnificat ἀληθῆ πάθεια. cf. Philoctet. 205. nisi  
accipere pro ἐτύμως παιδότητα, vel conjungere  
προσμένει. ἔτοῖμα (onj). Pears. (Casaub.) Abresch. I  
ἄτιμα Stanl. ἄτιτα (sic Both.) vel ἔτι μὲν But  
παιδότητα πάθεια. Proueth. 860. Δηλοκτόνος  
Antig. 36. φόνον δημόλειστον.

V. 461. τοκεῦσι Turn. Cant. Victor. Stan  
αἰθῆς Guelph. τοκεῦσιν μεταῦθῆς, quod conje  
Rob. τῶ μεταῦθῆς Pears. μετά γ' αἰθῆς Abresch  
ταῦθῆς Schuetz. In autistropa δὲ delendum vi

V. 462. ἢ οὔτι Pears. (Casaub.) — Μα  
Supplic. 566. θοιάδος Ἥρας. Lycophron. Cas  
143. 505. θοιάδος ἱε Helena dixit. Herc. fur. 1091  
cules propter furōrem Ἄιδου Βάκχος. Hecub. 1054  
χαις Ἄιδου de Troadibus. Quam late pateat usus  
μαινειν, videas apud Wernickium ad Tryphion  
Eurip. Orest. 401. de Furiis: αἵται σε βακχεύουσα  
γενεῖ φόνο. — ἐφέρψει. ἀφέρξει Pears. (Casaub.)  
haute, ut videtur, Stanl. cur. secund. ἐφ' ἔρψει Wal  
πότος ἐργμάτων. Sic Ajax. 41. χόλω τῶν Ἀχιλ  
ἔπλω. Genitivus duplex satis notus. Eurip. I  
531. γαίης ποδῶν ἰκμακτρον. cf. Jacobs. ad Anth  
lat. p. 1-6. --o. et quos citat, Matth. Gramm. Grae  
Schaefer. ad Sophocl. I. 228. Phoeniss. 934. Ad  
ad Platon. Polit. I. 3. p. 329.

V. 465. ἄλλοθεν Turn. — προφονεῖν τὰ  
(Casaub.) ἢ λῆξιν ἀποδοσίς τε. — λῆξις ὑπόδοσις τε



robante Abreschio. Wakef. λῆξιν ὑπόδοσιν τε Heath.  
 erui. Schuetz. ἀπόδοσιν τε Both. prouante, ut videtur,  
 taul. cur. secund. — οὐκέτ' εὖ Wakef. οὐκέτ' οὖν Both.  
 κέτ' Ask. d. Guelph. Rob. unde ἄκεια τ' οὐ βέβαια  
 erui. Schuetz. λῆξιν ἀπόδοσιν τε μόχθων — οὐκέτ'  
 ισέβεια Butler. proposuit. Sensus est: alius ab  
 lio malorum cessationem et remedia scis-  
 itabitur quaeretque sibi a proximis in-  
 dicta profereus. τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά. Antig. 10. ἐχ-  
 ρῶν κακά. Phil. 428. κείνων κάκ'. 512. sq. τὸ κείνων κακόν.  
 V. 467. τις omittunt Herui. Schuetz. uncis inclu-  
 it Glasg. e Pauwii Heathiique sententia. προσηγορεῖ  
 ον]. Wakef. τλάμονα suspicatur Butler. Sensus:  
 pse infelix (aut ob perpassiones, aut quod ipse  
 iue praesidio sit, Aeschylus eum τλάμων appellat)  
 frustra consolabitur, remedia scilicet quaeren-  
 ω. Non absurde legeretur ἄκεια δ' οὐ βέβαια τλάμων  
 ἄταν παρηγορεῖ. Sed haec non praeferenda.

V. 470. iō omnes praeter Herui. Schuetz. Both.  
 ui H. Steph. et Pauw. secuti sunt Heathio, Butlero  
 t Carolo Augusto Ludovico Federo Cele-  
 errimo Ambagiosissimo Phil. Dr. AA. LI.  
 Q. in commentatione in Agamemnonis Ae-  
 chylei Carmen Epodicum Primum, quam  
 nctoritate Amplissimi Ordinis Philo-  
 ophorum in Academia Ruperto-Carolina  
 acultatis Docendi Rite adipiscendae causa  
 cripsit. Heidelbergae: Typis Josephi Eu-  
 elmanni MDCCCXIX. p. 64. obloquentibus. ω,  
 ρ, ια et ab Atticis in unam syllabam contracta esse,  
 xemplis, de quibus nullo jure dubitaretur, probatur.



cf. Hermann. Element. Metr. Sed in interjectionibus mutandis librarii non valde cauti fuerunt. cf. Jacobs. ad Anthol. Palat. III. p. 86. 329. — ἦτε κοῦσα Ald.

V. 470. θρόνοι τ' Ἐριννύων. Cf. S. c. Theb. 394. αἰσχύνῃς θρόνον.

V. 472. οἰκτρὸν Pears. (Casaub.) (Stanl. cur secund.) ταῦτα οἰκτίσαιτ' parenthesi includens. — οἰκτίσειτ' Rob. οἶκτον Supplic. 58. ubi οἰκτρὸν delendum. 64. νέον οἶκτον suspectum, in eandem cum Bothio conjecturam incideram ductus Pindar. Olymp. V. 19. νέοικον ἔδραν. — ἐπεὶ δὴ Ald. πίτνει scribere non ausus sum, quum, quae Elmslejus ad Heraclid. 77. protulit, non satisfaciant. Cf. Hermann. ad Herc. f. 1371.

V. 473. εὖ. φεῦ Isa. Voss. τε Auratus. — δειμαίνειν. Pears. (Casaub.) δειμανεῖ. Herm. Schuetz. Wakefield. (Stanl. cur. 2.) ex Abreschii correctione, qui signum interrogandi post hoc verbum poni vult, post sequens posuit Wakef. δεῖμ' ὄνει Both. δεῖμα γ' ἐγκαθήμενον Heath.

V. 475. sq. ὑποστένει Guelph. Ald. ὑπὸ δέει Pears. (Casaub.) ὑπὸ σθένει Heath. — καρδίας Stanl. Cant. Glasg. Both. φάει in φόβῳ (probante Döderleinio in notis ad Oed. C. Act. Monac. I. 64.) postea in δέει cum Aurato mutavit Schuetz. idem μηδέν' metaphora pulchra, sed neque praecedentibus, neque sequentibus convenit, quod me movet ut φόβῳ genuinum putem. infra occurret 635. τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν; — ἀναστρέφων quod omnino praeferendum, in Aldina esse ajunt, sed non inest. Hippol. 1166. ὡς οὐκ ἐν γῆ τῆδ' ἀναστρέψοι πόδα Ἴππόλυτος. Andromach. 1196. μόνος μόνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἀναστρέφει. Hus





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mendatur, sed vestigia librorum sequi malui, quae certiora habenda sunt, quam aures nostrae aetatis, quibus Auriti nostri nimis fidere solent.

V. 482. *δισσεβείας* Rob. *δυσσεβείας* omnes praeter Herm. Glasg. Schuetz. Both. — *ἐτύμως* Ald. Himer. Eclog. XX. 6. *Δεινὴ γὰρ ἢ συνήθεια κόρον τεπεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὕβρει λυμῆναςθαι* — *ταῦτα πάντα τοῦ κόρου παίγνια*. Herodot. VI. 86. oracul. V. 4.

Ἄλλ' Ὀρκου πάϊς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος. κ. τ. λ. *ὑγισίας* Ald. *ὑγείας* Rob. — *ὄπᾶσι* Ald. *πᾶσιν* pro *πᾶσι* Heath. Herm. Schuetz. Both. Pors. 2. L. n. citat Seidler. ad Iph. Taur. 405. *γνώμα δ' οἷς μὲν ἀκαιροὺς ὄλβου, τοῖς δ' εἰς μέσον ἦκει*. Haecce neque Seidlerus, neque Hermannus recte cepisse videntur. De nimis divitiarum avidis locutus erat Euripides, tunc pergit de iis loqui, qui omnino non curant, denique ad eos transit, qui auream mediocritatem deligunt.

V. 484. sq *δέτοι* Ald. *σοι* Ask. d. Guelph. *αἰδεσται* Ald. *αἰδεῖσθαι* Turn. — *δέκας* Ald. — *μὴ δένιν* Ald. *μηδέ νιν τὴν δικὴν* Ask. d. glossa in textum recepta. — *λάξ πατήσης* conj. H. Steph. adsentiente Cantero et ita voluit Pears. (Casaub.) *ποδὶ λάξ πατήσης γρ. ἀτίσης* Med. Ask. d. Wakef. citat Odyss. XV. 45. *λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας*, idem occurrit Iliad. X. 158. Lycophron. 137. *λάξας τράπεζαν*. — *κηρίαν* Pears. (Casaub.) — *πρωτίων* Turn. — *τίς* Ald. *τοι* Butler conj.

V. 489. *δώματ' ἀνεπιστροφάς* Ald. *ἐπιστροφάς* *δωμάτων*. Wakef. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. Both. S. c. Th. 633. *πατρώων δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς*.

V. 491. *πανόλεθρος* Ald. Rob. — *δ'* inserunt Herm. Both. Glasg. Tyrwhitt. Heath. e Pauvii sententia,



γ·Wakef. Schuetz. καὶ πανώλεθρος. Auratus. παραιβάταν Turn. Pears. (Casaub.) περαιβάδαν Rob. παραιβάταν Heath. παρβάταν Herm. Schuetz. Both. παραιβάδαν ctt. παραιβάταν, vel. παραιβάτην Stanl. cur. 2. Cf. Lobeck: ad Ajac. 879. qui l. n. obiter inspexisse videtur: Hujusmodi contractiones saepius neglexerunt librarii. In Alcmane fragm. CXXVIII. invito Hephaestione p. 34. καὶ καταθνάσκει et κατατύπτεισθε retinenda esse Welckerus vidit, qui vs. 2. κατερείκεσθε scribere debebat. ἀμφέρει pro ἀναφέρει Matthiae dedit Phoeniss. 1410. Nescio an recte. 296. ἀμπέτασον scribendum, suadente metro.

V. 493. τὸν πόλλα Herm. Schuetz. παντόφορτον Guelph. Ald. Turn. ἄγοντ' inserunt Herm. Schuetz. Both. e Pauwii sententia. — βιαίῳ Turn. — λάβη Ald. νότος conj. Stanl. cur. 2. Forsan Pears. vel Casaub. conjectura.

V. 496. οὐ δὲν μέσα Ald. — δυσπαλεῖται Ald. Vict. Cant. Stanl. δίνα Ald. δυσπαλεῖ δὲ Rob. — ἐν inserunt Herm. Schuetz. Both. Pors. ex Abreschii sententia. — γελαῖ Ald. — δε δαίμων. Med. Guelph. Ald. Rob. — θερμοέργῳ Med. Ald. Rob. Turn. θερμῷ Schuetz. Herm. e Pauwii correctione.

V. 498. οὐκέτ' Herm. Schuetz. ex Heathii conjectura. — δῶας λεπάδμοις Wakef. quae conjectura et mihi in mentem venit. — λεπαίαν Schuetz. λεπαῖον Heath. — οὐδὲ Turn. Vulgo post λέπαδνον commate interpungitur, Hermannus sustulit. Agam. 222. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδου λέπαδνον. Iphig. A. 433. ἀνάγκης ζεύγματα. Orest. 1315. ἀνάγκης ζέγον. — Eurip. fragm. Archel. apud Stob. Tit. XCVI. οὐ γὰρ ἵπερθεῖν κύματος ἀκρα



δυναμέσθ', male interpretantur: fluctus dorsum.

V. 501. πρὸς βάλων Ald. — ἄλεσ' Pears. (Casaub.) Stanl. cur. 2. — αἴστος Herm. Glasg. Schuetz. Both. ἀκλαυστ' αἴστος Lachmann. de chor. syst. p. 45.

V. 502. κατειργάθου Glasg. e Wakefieldi sententia, cum hoc magis Atticum videatur, quasi Ionica dialectus e Tragicis omnino eliminanda sit.

V. 503. εἶτ' οὐάτων, Jacobus invenit, Stanlejus probat. ὄρθιον δὲ conj. Arnald. οὐρανοῦ διάκτορος (quorum hoc exstat Paris. 4.) Askew. in specimine, quod incipit 502. εἶ τ' οὐν Med. ἢ suprascripto εἰ Guelph. εἶ τ' οὐ. διάκτορος Ask. d. οὐν ἅπαντι Toup. in Suid. II. 68. ὄρθια δὲ Herm. Schuetz. — ἢ Τυρσηνική Rob. unde Wakef. ἢ τ' οὐάτων διάκτορος ἢ Τυρσηνική Butler. ἢ τ' οὐρανοῦ διάκτορος ἢ Τυρσηνική. Cf. Porson. ad Phoeniss. 1392. Lobeck. ad Ajac. 17. — Sophocl. Electr. 708. de homine, δέκατον ἐκπληρῶν ὄχον.

V. 509. sq. φαῖνε τῷ Ask. φωνεῖτω Wakef. — πληρουμένον Ald. — σιγᾶν Ald. Huc pertinet Ennii Eumenidum fragmentum a Nonio servatum:

— tacere opinio esse optimum

Ut pro viribus sapere, atque fabulari tute noverint.

V. 508. γε pro τε Pears. (Casaub.) Falkenburg. Grot. Rawlinson. non improbante Stanl. cur. 2. — τὸν ὄπως Guelph. Ald. unde Hermannus τόνδ', secutus est Schuetz. nec non Both. vulgo τῶνδ' ὄπως. — καταγνωσθῆ Ald.

V. 510. Praeconi tribuit Wakef.

V. 512. θρόνων pro δόμων Herm. Schuetz. θ' ὁμοῦς





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V. 519. δ' ἄρ Grot. Rawlinson. H. Grot. vertit:

Si dicere accusator incipiat prior,  
Intelligetur tota res ex ordine.

V. 521. Εὐμ. pro Χορ. Ald. — ἐσμέν Ald. μὲν  
pro δέ Guelph. Ald.

V. 522. ἐν μέρει ἔργον τιθεῖς Ask. d.

V. 523. εἰκατόκτονασ Ald. κατέκτεινας Rob. —  
παλαιμάτων Rob.

V. 526. κομπάζεις Ald.

V. 528. λέγω Med. Ask. d. Rob. — δούρην τε μῶν  
Ald. δείρην Turn. ξιφουλκεῖ χειρὶ, πρὸς δέρην νόμων  
Wakef. Ajax. 10. χέρας ξιφοκτόνους. Audacius Pers. 54.  
τοξουλκῶ λήματι πιστούς. Tumore superatur ab Er-  
ripide Helen. 355. sq.

φόνιον αἰώρημα διὰ δέρης ὀρέξομαι.

ἢ ξιφοκτόνον δίωγμα λαιμορύτου σφαγᾶς.

αὐτοσίδαρον ἔσω πελάσω διὰ σαρκὸς ἄμιλλαν.

V. 529. πρὸς τοῦδ' Turn. Cant. Stanl. βουλεύμασι  
omnes praeter Guelph. Ald. Rob. Herm. Schuetz.  
Signum interrogandi post ἐπίεισθης delevi. — πρὸς  
τοῦ. καὶ τίνος βουλεύμασιν pleonasmus satis frequens.  
Iphig. T. 246. sq. πῶς τρόπῳ δ' ὀποίῳ. Callimach. hymn.  
in Del. 1. τίνα χρόνον ἢ πότε. ubi vide Ernest. Choe-  
phor. 620. ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος; πόθεν; ubi vide quae no-  
tavius. Philoctet. 747. πρόχειρον πάρα χεροῖν. Jon.  
122. παναμέριος λατρεύων τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶρ.

V. 530. δέσμοι Ald. pro δέ μοι. — ἐξηγεῖτο Ald. —  
δεῦρο γ' Ald. αἰὲ Med. Ald. Rob. Glasg. Schuetz. —  
ἀλλὰ εἰς ταχα Ask. d. ἀλλ' pro ἄλλ' Ald.

V. 534. πέμψει Scal. Herm. Schuetz. Quod reci-



pere non ausus sum, propterea quod praesens saepius occurrat pro futuro.

V. 535. *νῦν* proposuit Stanl. cur. 2. *πέπεισθε* Med. Guelph. Ald. Rob. *νῦν* — *στι* Ask. d. — *κτανῶν* Ald. *πέποιθε* non confidit reddendum cum Heathio et Butlero, iudoles dialogi imperativum requirit.

V. 538. *Maritum interficiens patrem meum interfecisti.* *καμέ κτάνεν* H. Steph. *ἐμέ τε κατέκτανεν* Canter. *καμ' ἔκτανεν* Arnald. *κατέκτανεν* vel *κατέκτανε* Stanl. cur. 2. *ἄνδρα κτανούσαν πατέρ' ἐμόν, κατέκτανον.* Both. interpretans viri interfetricem, sed maritum intelligendum esse, colligitur ex Eurip. fragm. incert. B. 29. *Ἄλκμαίων. ἀνδροκτόνου γυναικὸς ὁμογενῆς ἔφους. Ἄδραστος. σὺ δ' αὐτόχειρ γε μητρὸς, ἢ σ' ἐγείνατο.* Liban. Declam. 49. p. 985. cit. Stanl. „Nisi forsan altera explicatio commendetur vs. 561. et 676.

V. 539. *τό, γὰρ σὺ μὲν ζῆς* Ald. *τὸ γὰρ* Turn. — *φόνω* Schuetz. Herm. Both. Non opus, vulgata exquisitiore euydem sensum praebente.

V. 541. *δμαιμος* Ald.

V. 542. *ἐκῆς* pro *ἐμῆς* Ald.

V. 543. *πῶς γὰρ τ'* Ald. *πῶς γ' εἴ σ'* Rob. in *er-ratis*, *πῶς γὰρ σ'* in textu. *πῶς ἢ σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὃ μαιφόνε, ζώνης, ἀπεύχρη μητρὸς αἶμα φίλτατον;* Stanl. cur. 2. *πῶς γὰρ σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὃ μαιφόνε ζώνης. ἀπεύχη μ. α. φ. et sic.* Wakef. vel *πῶς γὰρ; σ' ἔθρεψεν ἢ ἐντός.* — *σὺ γὰρ* Schuetz. Herm. Both. *πῶς γὰρ; σ' ἔθρεψεν ἐντός, ὃ μαιφόνε, ζώνης, ἀπεύχει μητρὸς αἶμα φίλτατον;* Wunderlich. observ. in Aeschylum p. 15. Sensus est: Quo modo enim mater te



in utero gestans nutrit, nisi cum sanguine suo. — Homer. hymn. in Vener. 256.

παῖδα δ' ὀπὸ ζώνῃ ἐθέμην, βροτῶ εὐνηθεῖσα.

αἷμα τὸ φίλτατον. Guelph. Ald. Rob. — ἀπεύχη Ald.

V. 546. εἰσφῆ συνδίχη Ald.

V. 547. ὧς πέρεστιν Ald.

V. 548. εἰδικαίως Ald. δίκαιον Aurat. τὸ δ' αἷμα Ald. Cf. Döderlein. specim. Sophocl. p. 28. Eurip. Orest. 274. etc.

V. 551. δικαίαισ Ald. Turn. μάντις ὧν δ' pro μάντις δ' ὧν e Causeri correctione receperunt Wakef. et sequentes. δ' abest a Turneb.

V. 554. ὁ Herm. Schuetz. κέλευσε vel κελύσει ~~coni.~~ Stanl. κελύσοι Wakef. κελύσῃ Herm. Schuetz. ~~Both.~~ Butléro probante. ἔκευσε Glasg. ex Heathii sententia. Duæ constructiones in unam contractae: οὐκ εἶπε δ' μὴ κελύσει et οὐκ εἶπον δ' μὴ ἐκέλευσε.

V. 555. σθένεις Pears. (Casaub.) τοῦδ' Herm. Both. βουλή Ald. βούλη Rob. in erratis corrigens βουλή. — τ' ὅμμ' legi posse putat Butler: δ' οὖν pro δ' ὅμμ' legi vult Heath. Dorismum damnans. — ἐπίσπασθαι Rob. minorem in fine versus distinctionem Schuétzio debemus. — Furiae iudices hortantur ut jusjurandum seruent. (infra 616. ὄρκον αἰδεῖσθε ξένοι) Apollo contra. H. Grotius vertit:

Neque enim jurata fides plus pollet Jove.

V. 558. ὅπασσ omnes praeter Herm. Schuetz. Both.

V. 562. σκηπτοῖσι Rob. — οὔτι. Ald. Cf. Choephor. 333. sq. — ἀκούσῃ Schuetz. et ita 'Bothe. verba'





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ad Clytaemnestram trahendum. ἄτην τοιαύτην conj. Stanl. cur. 2. Choro hunc et sequentem versum tribuit Bothe, qui dedit εἶπεν. Iliad. V. 493.

ὡς φάτο Σαρπηδῶν δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἐκτορι μῦθος. Cf. Valckenaer. ad Phoeniss. 386. sq. Antig. 317. ἐν τοῖσιν ὡσιν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δάκνει; Trach. 254. χ' οὕτως ἐδήχθη τοῦτο τοῦνειδος λαβών. ibid. 1117. Philoct. 378. 1358. Ajax. 1119. Pers. 843. Euripides saepius. — δειχθῆ Med. Rob. δηχθῆ Ald. — ὡς περ pro ὅσπερ Rob. V. 577. ἔδεισε Med. — τοῦτ' pro ταῦτ' Ald. Spanhem. ad Aristoph. Nub. 309. l. n. citat.

V. 580. Hujusmodi elegantias Tragoediis deesse noluerunt Graeci.

V. 581. ἄς λύσειεν Guelph. Ald. Turn. ἄν δήσειεν vel δύσειεν Wakef. πέδαις μὲν οὖν δήσει' ἄν. Schuetz πέδαις μὲν ἦν δήσειέν Both. — ἔπι pro ἔστι Ald.

V. 583. ἔπειδ' ἄν Guelph. Ald. Rob. ἀνασπάσση Ald. Comma post κόνις Herm. Schuetz. Both. vulgo post θανόντος. — ἔπ' pro ἔστ' Ald. Vide ad Choephor. 63. sqq. —

V. 585. ἐποίησε Guelph. Ald. Rob. Turn. — οὐμος Ald. τάδ' Ald. — τὲ abest a Guelph. Ald.

V. 587. ἀσθμαίνω Ald. Turn. ubi comma, quod cett. post τίθησιν ponunt, post οὐδὲν transfertur. Vide quae notavi ad S. c. Th. 368. sq. et Wellauer. Comment. Aeschyl. p. 6. qui quam indicaveram interpretationem, suam fecit.

V. 588. δ' ἄρ Pears. (Casaub.) — ὑπερδικῆς Guelph. ὑπερδοκεῖς Rob. — ὄρω Guelph. ὄρω Ald. — τὸ φεῖγειν τοῦδε i. e. ut absolvatur.

V. 589. ὄμαιμον Ald. ἐκχόας πέδω Ald. — ἔπει



τ' ἐνάργει Ald. De ἔπειτα post participiūm consule Hermannum ad Viger. p. 772.

V. 592. χέρνιξ Guelph. Ald. φρατέρων Med. Ask. d. Ald. — προσδέξετε Med. γρ. προσδέξαιτε Ask. d. προσδέξαιται Guelph. προσδέξαιτο Rob. Cf. Choephor. 280. sqq.

V. 594. κεκλημένη Schuetz. (Herm. Both. secuti sunt) ex Alcest. 648. οὐδ' ἢ τεκεῖν φάσκουσα καὶ κεκλημένη Μήτηρ μ' ἔτικτε. quae et Abreschio citata cum loco nostro non comparari possunt, Euripide scilicet loquente de matre false ita appellata, cui se sublitum esse Admetus ira agitated dicit, Aeschylo vero negante nomen: τοκεὺς matri tribuendum esse, licet partus ejus τέκνον appelletur. — τοκάς conj. Spanhem. ad Callim. hymn. in Dian. 89. νεοσπάρον Rob. — H. Grotius vertit:

Non mater illi, quem suum gnatum vocat,

Genitrix, sed altrix imbris est genitabilis.

Gignit rigator; illa velut hospes, Dei

Si cura faveat, hospitis servat genus.

Dicti hujus argumenta non levia afferam.

Sive matre, prolis aliquis est ut sit pater:

Coram ecce testis nata supremi Jovis,

Non educata ventris obscuro in specu,

Sed tanta, nulli quanta progenies Deo est.

V. 596. ὄσπερ Ask. d. — ξένον pro ξένῳ Pears. (Casaub.) — ἦσι pro οἷσι Pears. (Casaub.) εἶ τι Both. — βλάψει Ask. d. κλείψῃ conj. Pauw. Tragici frequentant βλάπτειν. Unum afferam exemplum. Ajax. 455. sq. εἰ δέ τις θεῶν βλάπτοι, φύγοιγ' εὖ χ' ὦ κακὸς τὸν κρείσσονα. — ἴστος — βλάψη Ald. — τεκμηρίος Ald. Olim



non post μητρός sed post πέλας distinguebatur, quod recentiores e Stanleji sententia correxerunt.

V. 601. οὐ γ' Pears. (Casaub.) — ἄλλοιον Guelph. ἔργος Ald. — ὅς pro ὡς Ald. ὅσ' Guelph. δι' αἰῶνος Guelph. αἰῶνος Ald. Rob. — τ' ἀπιστὰ Guelph. Ald. Rob.

V. 614. προστιθεῖσ' Pears. (Casaub.) — ἄμορφος Ald. τί γάρ; neque cum interpretibus: Quid vero, iudicium exspectas? neque cum Butlero: Quid enim exspectas? reddendum est, sed universe dictum, ut saepius occurrit: Quid vero? quomodo sententiam ferens vobis inculpata ero?

V. 615. ἤκουσα θ' ὧν ἤκουσα τ' Ald. ἐκ δὲ καρδίας Pears. (Casaub.) — αἰδεῖσθαι Med. Rob.

V. 618. πρῶτον Turn. — κρίνοντας Stanl. κρινὰ κρίναντας Meurs. Areopag. C. 9. δεσμὸν de iudicibus intelligentes. Sed δεσμὸν hic dictum ut supra 507. μαθεῖν δεσμούς ἐμούς. Sophoch. Ajax. 1104. ἀρχῆς δεσμός. fragm. Alexandr. I. οὐ γάρ τι δεσμὰ τοῖσιν ἀστίταις πρέπει. Hic versus initio corruptus videtur.

V. 619. Αἰγέω Rob. Αἰγείφ Turn. Herm. Αἰγέως Scalig. Glasg. Both. Wakef. Ἄ

V. 620. δ' ἐκάστῳ Ald. Turn. δικαστῶν Herm. Schuetz. Both: e Canteri correctione. αἰεὶ — δικαστῶν Glasg. αἰεὶν ἀδέκαστον vel αἰεὶ γ' ἀδέκαστον, vel denique ἀδεκάστων proposuit Pauw. αἰεὶ ἕδεκαστον. Abresch. αἰεὶ φ' ἐκάστων vel αἰεὶ γ' ἐκάστων Wakef.

V. 621. - Ennius Eumenid.

Areopagiticam ea de re vocant petram.

V. 622. σκηνάς τ' Turn. σπηνάς ὅτ. Ald. — πόλιν νεόπτολιν. Sic Phoeniss. 1547. πόδα τυφλόπου.





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Miscere nam qui sordidum gaudet lutum  
 Simplicibus undis, invidet potum sibi.  
 Licentiam inter atque dominatus jugum  
 Medium tenere moneo populares meos:  
 Nec quod severum est omne ab urbe expellere.  
 Nam fas quis hominum servat amoto metu.

V. 636. τοι deest Rob.— ενδίκω Ald. εν δίκαις  
 Wakef. e Pauvii sententia; sed huic mutationi obstat  
 nubes exemplorum repetitionis eorundem vocabulorum,  
 de qua supra egimus. — ανθρώπων Rob. .

V. 639. οὔτε σκόθῃσιν Ald. Turn. οὔτε σκόθοισι  
 Ask. d. pro σκόθαισι. ut videtur. Nihil neque facilius  
 neque ἀκριτικώτερον; quam fictis argumentis ubique  
 formas; aut Ionicas aut Atticas reponere, et satis in-  
 genue de hac re scripsit Astius in praefatione ad Plato-  
 nis Politiam IV. „non dum certas mihi de hac re leges  
 scripseram.“ Si οὔτε Σκ. majore librorum auctoritate  
 niteretur, ita legi posset. Sic ἀπὸ Oed. T. 734. Δελ-  
 φῶν καπὸ Δαυλίας. ἐπὶ ibid. 761. ἀγροῦς καπὶ ποιμνίων  
 νομάς (Erf. ad Antig. 367. Phoen. 284.) ἐς. Callimach.  
 hymn. in Apoll. 8. οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπήν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύ-  
 νουσθε. (Pindar. Olymp. VIII. 62.) περὶ. Iphig. T.  
 393. διατέγγει βωμοῦς καὶ περὶ κίονας. Neque solum  
 in praepositionibus, sed etiam in conjunctionibus hic  
 usus obtinuit. Sic οὐδέ. Odyss. XVII. 115. XVIII.  
 407. Ajax. 627. etc. οὔτε. Choeph. 291. Trach. 1058.  
 Olymp. XIV. 13. Pyth. III. 54. VI. 48. etc. μήτε! Phi-  
 loct. 771. εἴτε. Agam. 1404. Jacobs. ad Anthol. Pal.  
 III. p. 305. Heindorf. ad Plat. IV. 302. Eidem negli-  
 gentiae; si negligentia appellanda, debetur Herc. f.  
 630. ἔχουσιν; οἱ δ' οὔ. Cf. Xenoph. histor. Graec.



C. II. 9. Quae omnia probant legi posse οὔτε Σκόθῃσιν, non ita legi debere.

V. 640. Bene legeretur κερδῶν δ' ἄδικτον.

V. 641. Nota ὀξύθυμον Aeschylo in omnibus, quae ad rempublicam spectabant, sensum strenuum et priscam severitatem commendanti, conveniens.

V. 643. ἐξαιτεῖν Ask. d.

V. 645. ἐπὶ διαγνώσθαι Rob. — αἰδουμένους Stanl. et recentiores. Dativus puncto post ὄρκον (ὄρκον, Ald. νόμον Ask. d.) sublato non videtur deberi, sed forsan verbo in animo in locum τοῦ χρῆ substituto, quasi μέλει dixisset. Sic Oed. T. 241. ἀπανδῶ μήτε εἰσδέχεσθαι ὠθεῖν δέ, quasi praecessisset κελεύω. Hoc exemplum a loco nostro, admissa quain non nisi dubitanter protuli, explicatione, non nihil differre, non nescius sum. Significatio scilicet loquendi verbo ἀπανδῶ inest. — ὀρθοῦσθαι animis erectis esse et attentis. Sic Wakef. interpretatur adsentiente Butlero, parum apte.

V. 647. γεραία Marg. Ask. ὀμιλία. Cf. Doederlein. Specim. Sophocl. 85. — ἀκαρπώτους i. e. ἀκαίρπους. Choeph. 572. ἀπέρωτος. saepius ἀβίωτος. μελιχρότους apud Aristaeuet., epist. I. 18. cur vocabulum nihili et abhorrens ab analogia dicat Boeckhius in Commentatione de Platonis Minoe p. 140. non assequor. Latini patritus, quo Varro usus est, mellitus et alia hujuscemodi.

V. 652. ἐκὼν Aüratus, adscripsit Pears. (Casaub.) μέλων conj. Pauw. μολὼν Heath. νέμων Herm. quem secutus est Schuetz. μένων hic valet, nisi destiteris



ab hac re. Apollinem praescire *ἀγνόν* esse et ex Agamemnone discimus. Vide vs. 1070. sqq: ubi Chorus:

·τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυξας ἄμφι Λοξίου;  
οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.

et mox:

Ἡ δ' αὖτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ  
οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

V. 653. τισφάλλεται Ald. Rob. προσροπὰς Ald. προτροπαῖς Rob.

V. 656. χώρα Ald.

V. 659. Post δόμοις Schuetz. commate distinguit, Herimannus plene. — γε πείσας Wakef., τ' ἐπεισας Schuetz. Herm. — θ' εἶναι pro δεῖναι Ald.

V. 662. χ' ὥστε Guelph. Ald. Turn. χ' ὡς Rob. Signum interrogationis Wakef. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. Bothe. quod omnino requiritur. H. Grotius vertit:

An non decet juvare venerantem tui,  
Et maxime res si ejus auxilium expetit.

V. 663. δάμονας Rob. πάλαι τὰς δ. Wakef. παλαιούς δὴ νόμους Schuetz. Herm. Both. De talibus Pleonasmis jam supra egimus. Neque solum sub alio nomine eadem res repetitur. (Odys. II. 65. sq. περικτίονας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ περιναιετάουσι. Sappho: τίνα χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρόν) sed vel sub eodem nomine. Tibull. I. 58. dux pecoris hircus; duxerat hircus oves. — Iphig. A. 1490. δαίμονος θεᾶς. — ἔπνῳ Schuetz. Herm. e Stanl. conjectura, δόλῳ conj. Wakef. οἴκοι dedit Both. οἴῳ, παρὰπατήσαις ἀν' ἀρχαίους θεούς proposuit Pauw. Alcest. 12. Μοίρας δολώσας, unde nihil discimus ad Aeschylum illustrandum. Si de Furis loqueretur, ἔπνῳ emendatio esset certississima, de Parcis non nisi





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librarii. Sic apud Theocritum Idyll. XXVII, dialogus turbatus, quem sic restitendum puto:

Κ ό ρ η.

Βαλλέτω ὡς ἐθέλει, πάλιν Ἄρτεμις ἄμμιν ἀρήγει.  
Μὴ ἐπιβάλης τὰν χεῖρα·

Δ ά φ ν ι ς.

καὶ εἰσέτι χεῖλος ἀμέλξω.

Οὐ φεύγεις τὸν Ἔρωτα, τὸν οὐ φύγε παρθένος ἄλλα.

Hic ordo et sensui et distributioni versuum optime convenit.

V. 683. δ' ἀρ' Schuetz. — ἐρεῖν Guelph. ἔριν Ald. — μένειν Wakef. Schuetz. Prometh. 526. ὁ πάντα νέμων. Supplic. 673. ὡς πόλις εὔ νέμοιτό. Sophocl. Oed. T. 201. κράτη νέμων. 237. κράτη τε καὶ θρόνους νέμω. 579. γῆς ἴσον νέμων. Ajax. 1016. ὡς τὰ σὰ Κράτη θανόντος, καὶ δόμους νέμοιμι σοῦς. Anthol. Pal. IV. 324. 4. νέμεται pro μένεται bene restituit Jacobs.

V. 684. Apollinis nomen abest Ald. ψηφόον Ald. Nota ἐκβολὰς ψήφων pro ἐκβληθείσας ψήφους. — Iphig. T. 1389. κακβολὰς νεώς.

V. 686. γίνεται Ald. Stanl.

V. 687. βαλοῦσα δ' Pears. (Casaub.) probante Schuetzio. βληθεῖσά τ' Bent. Activum Attice pro Passivo positum putant Heath. Wakef. Nam vel unicum si suffragium abesset magna sequeretur reum calamitas. Unius vero etiam calculus adjectus domum servare potest. Sic Schuetz. explicat V. 686. cum ceteris interpretibus de suf-



fragiis intelligens, qui vero universe prolatus est adhortationi accuratissime agendi additus, sicuti Tragici sententias saepissime intexere solent.

V. 687. bene intellexerunt Stanl. et Abresch. quorum ille: evertit domum et restituit suffragium unum, hic: και γὰρ μία ψῆφος βαλοῦσα οἶκον και ὀρθῶσαι εἰσὶν vel δύναται h. e. ὥστε γὰρ μία ψῆφος βάλλειν, ὅττω και ὀρθῶσαι δύναται οἶκον. — ὀρθῶσαν Guelph. Ald. ὀρθῶσεν Rob. ὀρθῶσ' αὖ Heath.

V. 688. ἐκ πέφυγεν<sup>1</sup> Ald. — τ' ἀρίθμημα Ald. H. Grotius vertit:

En iste poenam caedis effugit, reus:

Nam calculorum cernimus numeros pares.

Orestem Pallade crimine liberatum videas; apud Winkelmannum monum. ined. 151.

V. 691. ὃ σῶσα Med. altero σα superscripto. Nota Sigmatismum, (de quo Pors. ad Med. 476.) quem parum curabant poetae Graeci, neque emendationibus obstare debet, quod Naekius bene vidit, scribens σῶς pro ὄς in fragm. Choeril. Sam. p. 155. cf. p. 157. Vossii. iudicium in Diario Jenensi prolatum, φρεσὶ σῆσι et similia ut absona damnantis, vereor ut probari possit, aures enim Graecorum, non tam delicatae fuisse videntur quam nonnulli putant, invitis reliquiis litterarum Graecarum.

V. 691. παρῶσ Ald. μ' ἐστειρημένον Pears. (Cassaub.) interpunctio post ἐστειρημένον vulgo abest. plene distinguit Vict. — κατῶσας Ald. κατῶσας Guelph. —

V. 693. ἀνήρ Rob. ἀνήρ Wakef. ἀνήρ Glasg. i. e. Porsonus, regulam, quam sibi invenit, secutus. ἀνήρ



Both. — *πῆμασιν* Dorvill. ad Charit. p. 197. — *πατρώοις* Ald. et mox *πατρῶν*.

V. 699. *πλεισθήρη χρόνω* Ald. *πλεισθήρη* Guelph. Turn. Hanc formam falsam esse vel e sola voce *λεσκήρης* patet. — *ὄρκαμοτησας* Rob. — *ἀπιμι* Rob. *ἔπειμι* Ask. d.

V. 702. *ἐπείσειν* Guelph. *ἐσήσειν* Ald. Turn. *ἐσολσειν* voluit Wakef. *ἐποίσεις* Ask. d. *ἐποίσειν* ctt. Lectio nem exquisitiorem praetuli cum Seidlerō ad Eur. Electr. 658. *ἐποίσειν* Homericum videtur. Eurip. Supplic. 1198.

ὁ δ' ὄρκος ἔσται, μή ποτ' Ἀργείους χθόνα  
ἔς τήνδ' ἐποίσειν πολέμιον παντευχίαν.

*εὐκεκασμένον* in unam vocem contraxi.

V. 703. *ὅμεις* Ald. *ἐντάφοις* Ald. Pluralis pro Singulari. Herodot. I. 63. *Ἀγχιμολίου ταφαί*. Cf. Schaefer. ad Longi Pastoral. p. 24. lin. 9. Jacobs. ad Anthol. Pal. III. p. 332. p. 263. Wernick. ad Tryphiodor. 80. Brunck. ad Oed. T. 366. 1403. Antig. 565. Schaefer ad Dionys. Halicarnass. p. 364. Longin. de Sublimi §. XXIII. — *παρμένουσι* Ask. d. — *ἀμηχάνοις* Guelph. Ald. — *φράξομεν* Heath. Schuetz. Comma in fine versus Hermannō debetur, Heath. Schuetz. post *ὁδοῦς* posuerunt. — *ἀτίμοις* Pears. (Casaub.) — *παρ' ὄρνιθας* Guelph. Ald. Turn. — *μεταμένη* Ald. *πόνοῦ* conj. Butler.

V. 708. *ὄρθουμένοις* Turn. Pears. (Casaub.) Heath. Wakef. Schuetz. Both. Constructiones mutatas et turbatas e scriptoribus Graecis qui tollere velit omnes, longum susciperet laborem, et qualem Hercules olim suscepit. Ut h. l. genitivus absolute positus dativum praecedat, ita dativum sequitur Odyss. IX. 255. sq.





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ἀκαρπος νόσος. (Xenoph. de Vectigal. IV. όταν τε ἀρροσήσωσι πόλεις ἢ ἀφορταῖς καρπῶν ἢ πολέμῳ). Oed. C. 1716. sq. πότμος ἔρημος, ἀπορος. Agam. 243. χαλιπῶν ἀναόδῳ μένει. Horat. Od. II. 9. 3. inaequales procellae. Tibull. II. 11. 46. securo mero, quod genus transpositionis longe patet. Quoad sententiam cf. Oed. T. 25. sqq.

V. 721. ὦ δίκα Herm. Schuetz. Both. vulgo ἰὼ, ἐπέσσυμος Ald. ἐπεσύμενος Rob. ἐπισύμενος Med. Herm. Schuetz. Both. ἐπεσύμενος ctt.

V. 722. βοτοφθόρους conj. Wakef. κλῖδας Rob. — χώρα Ald. βαλεῖ Turn. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. Pears. (Casaub.) Heath.

V. 723. στενάξω Aurat. τί ad γένωμαι Hermann. repetendum putat e praecedentibus: cf. ad Viger. 730. τί γένωμαι Hermann. in editione sua, Schuetz. γελῶμαι. Marg. Tyrwhitt. πένωμαι; Both. Reliqua sunt δέμωμαι, δάμωμαι, δέωμαι, δέρωμαι, δεσμῶμαι, ἄλωμαι, βινῶμαι, βιῶμαι, πατῶμαι, βατῶμαι, βαμβῶμαι, ubi nota μβ vocalem non producere, τιμῶμαι, χρυσῶμαι et multa alia valde probabilia. — πολίταις Both. πάθον Herm. Schuetz. πολῖται \*παθον proposuit Butler. — μεγάλατοι Ald. Glasg. μέγала cum ἔπαθον construendum, non, quod Butler. post Pauw. et Heath. vult, cum δυστυχεῖς.

V. 726. πείθεσθε Ald. Rob. πείθεσθαι Guelph. βαρυτόνοος Ald. — ἀτιμίας Ald. Turn.

V. 730. θ' ὁ θήσας Med. θ' ἠθήσας Ald. ὁ θήσας Rob.

V. 732. τε τῆδε γῆ μὴ Med. Ask. d. τε τῆδε γῆ



βαρὺν Guelph. Ald. Rob. τῇ γῆ τῆδε metrum flagitabat pro τῆδε τῇ γῆ. — σκέψασθε Turn.

V. 734. πλεμόνων e Wakefieldi conjectura Herm. Schuetz. pro δαιμόνων. δαιμονοσταλάγματα Both. δαίων conj. Pauv. λαιμάτων altera Wakefieldi conjectura, γ' αἰμόνων olim proposuit Schuetz. Aequo jure proponeretur νηδύων. Sed vulgata non sine explicatione, δαιμόνων σταλάγματα, quae scilicet vulgo δαιμόνων dicebantur. — γρ. στενάγματα Ask. d. Lusus non ingenii sed Grammatici.

V. 735. ἀόχμοὺς Scal. Spanhem. ad Callimach. hymn. in Dian. 125. non improbante Butlero. Graeci Soli, Baccho, linguae et aliis rebus βέλσα tribuunt; (Pind. Pyth. I. 8. (5) τὸν αἰχματὰν κεράννον) quid itaque sit, cur pesti tribuere nequeant, non intelligo, αἰχμάς enim paullo audacius pro usitatore βέλσα, quod omnino pro: βέλσα occurrit Pers. 237. τοξουλκὸς αἰχμή. βρωτῆρας quidem additum, quo factum ut metaphora cum re ipsa quodammodo mixta sit, cujus usus loquendi non desunt exempla Med. 1112. ναῖαν ἀπήνην. Sept. c. Th. 64. κῶμα χειρῶν. Prometh. 924. τινάκτειραν νόσον, τρίαιναν. etc. Metaphora audacior infra 785. αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας.

V. 736. πάνδικος Ald. — ἐνδίκους ex Heathii conjectura Herm. Schuetz. mutatio et levis et elegans, sed vulgata non est, cur ita displiceat, ut mutaretur. Butlerus praefert ἐνδίκου, ut vitetur sibilus, de quo Aeschylus minime sollicitus erat. Vide supra 660, 663. sq. 706. 710. etc.

V. 738. αἰσχάραις Ald.

V. 741. χειρῶν Guelph. Ald. ut supra. εἴστε Guelph.



εἶλε τέμον Ald. — τᾶδε Ald. ἰὸν ἰὸν Med. Ask. d. ἀν-  
πιπενθῆ Turn. Herm. Schuetz.

V. 745. χθόνια φόρον Ald. cf. supra 720.

V. 747. sq. cf. supra 721. sq. —

V. 749. Cf supra 723. δύποιστα Ald. — δυστυ-  
χαις Ald.

V. 751. ἀγὰν Ald. βρότον conj. Pears. (Casaub.)

V. 755. κλειδας legendum videtur. — κἀγω Ald.  
κλῆδασ Ald. — ἐν οἷς Schuetz. quod praefendum pu-  
tat Butler. Ex tot constructionibus πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον  
unam exstirpantes quid lucremur, nemo facile dixe-  
rit. Antig. 1135. Θηβαίας ἀγνιάς — τὰν. Aesch. Suppl.  
819. sq. γένος διόμενοι. Odys. I. 276. sq. ἄψ ἔτω ἐς μέ-  
γαρον πατρὸς μέγα δυναμένοιο. Οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσι.  
Antig. 1021. sq. οὐδ' ὄρνις εὐσήμους ἀπορροιβδεῖ βοάς,  
Ἄνδροφθόρον βεβρωῶτες αἵματος λίπος. Oed. Col. 1070.  
πᾶσα ἀμβασις, οἷ. Callimach. hymn. in Cerer. 101.  
βρέφος, αὐτὸν. Lavacr. Pallad. 45. sq. Ἄργος — πίνετς.  
87. τέκνον ἄλαστε. Philoct. 645. χωρῶμεν — λαβῶν.  
Agam. 120. λαγίναν γένναν βλαβέντα. Liv. II. 10. ser-  
vitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores.  
Cicero de nat. deor., II. 44. §. 114. fluminis quem ibid.  
II. 6. Cf. Davies. ad II. 44. (p. 392. ed. Creuz.) Hem-  
sterh. ad Plut. 566. Jacobs. ad Anthol. Pal. III. p. 811.  
Markland. ad Supplic. 237. et quos citat Wernsdorf.  
ad Himer. Eclog. XIII. 23. Eustath. II. σ' p. 1160.  
Odys. ζ'. p. 1557. Casaub. ad Athen. V. 3. p. 336.  
Dorvill. ad Charit. p. 244. 352. Elsner. observ. sacr.  
ad Matth. XXVIII. 19. p. 128. Anacr. od. 3. βρέφος  
— φέροντα. De usu metaphorico verbi σφαγίζειν con-  
sule Nortmox. ad Tryphiodor. 68.





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V. 767. *κατὰ γᾶν* corruptum videtur. Conjici potest *κάτω γᾶς*, vel *κάτω χθονός* quod infra occurrit, (*χθονός κάτω* pro *κατὰ χθονός* Matthiae edidit Alcest. 45. praeunte Valckenaerio ad Phoen. 1327. Nescio an recte.) vel *ἐν γᾷ τᾷδ'*. Et *φεῦ* ante *κατὰ* non male ponetur. *κατὰ γᾶς* pro *κατὰ γᾶν* ed. Monck. Alcest. 242. et Blomfield. Pers. 653. frustra. vide Eumenid. 827. *κατὰ χθόν'* οὔσα. *φεῦ* inter *οἰκεῖν* et *ἀτίετον* ponunt Herm. Schuetz. — *μῖσος* Ald. Turn. *μῦσος* Rob. Staul. — *πνέω* solum de ira occurrit Androm. 328.

V. 770. *οἰ οἰ* Ald. Bothe dochmium exhibuit bis posito *φεῦ*, neque negari potest, quod Brunckius ad Phoeniss. 1046. observavit, festinantibus librariis saepissime accidisse, ut repetitas, nullis jaliis interjectis, voces semel tantum scriberent. Sed l. n. dochmium omnino requiri, non pro certo affirmari potest.

V. 771. *πλευρᾶς* Rob. Cf. Hermann. ad Ajac. 1389. Valckenaer. ad Phoeniss. 1304. — Legerim *ᾠδύνα*, quod analogiae linguae non repugnat. (Vide *ᾠδῖν*, *ᾠδίνω*, *ᾠδυσις*, *ᾠδύσσω* ab *ᾠδύω*, *ζόη*, *ζωή*, *ᾠψ*, *ᾠψ*. *ᾠσχος*, *ᾠσχος*, et multa alia.)

V. 773. *νῆξ* Ald. *τιμῶν δαμαίαν* Ask. d. *τιμᾶν δαμαίαν* Guelph. *τιμῶν δαμαίων* Ald. Rob. *τιμᾶν δαμῖαν* est conjectura Pauwii et Stanleji. *δαμῖαν* pro *δαμῖαν* Herm. Schuetz. — *δοσπάλαλοι* Guelph. Ald. *ἤραν* Ald. *ἤξαν* conj. Wakef. *ἤρουν* vel *αἰροῦσιν*, vel *εἶλον* Butler. — *δόλω* Med. (suprascripto *ω*) Turn.

V. 775. *μὲν οἴσω σου* Pears. (Casaub.) — *γερατέρα* Ask. d.

V. 776. *καίτοι μὲν σὺ* Guelph. Ald. Rob. Turn. *καίτοι γε μὴν σὺ* Herm. Schuetz. *καίτοι γε μὴν σὺ* ctt. *καὶν εἰ γε*



μὴν σὺ Casaub. καὶ τοῦ μὲν εἰ σὺ Abresch. καὶ τῷ γε  
 μὴν σὺ Wakef. Both. totum versum ejecit. Ab Aeschilo  
 jussus abire, ignominiam ulciscitur versus poetae  
 summi abire jubens. Hermann. ad Viger. p. 841. pro-  
 posuit: καίτοι τὰ μὲν σὺ. — γάρ 'τ' pro κάρτ' Ald.  
 κάρτ' εἰγ' Turn.

V. 778. ἐλθοῦσα Rob. — ἐρασθήσεσθε Guelph.  
 ἐρασθήσεσθε; προυνέπω Ald. Herm.

V. 781. οὐ πικρέων Ald. ὁ ὑπορέων Rob. τι μώ-  
 τερος Ald.

V. 784. sq. τεύξη Ald. στόλον Guelph. Ald. — σχέ-  
 θης Ald. — βρότοις Ask. d. ὅσον vel ὄσων conj. Pauw.  
 probante Heathio.

V. 786. σὺ δ' οὖν — μὴ ἔμβάλῃς conj. Abresch.  
 ἐν τόποισι βάλῃς dictum ut S. c. Th. 56. πρὸς πύλαις  
 ἀγοῦ λόχον. 447. πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωμένα. Pind. Nem.  
 V. 76. ἐν ἀγαύεσσι πιτνῶν. Alcest. 415. ποτὶ σοῖσι πε-  
 τνῶν ἀτάρσιν. — βάλῃς Ald. — θηγάνας. Cf. Eurip.  
 Hippol. 816. κατακονὰ μὲν οὖν ἀβίωτος βίον.

V. 788. αἰίνους Guelph. Ald. Rob. ταιῶν αἰίνοις  
 conj. Rob. — ἐμμανῆς Auratus. Locus noster de ju-  
 venibus intelligendus, qui rixas sanguineas commit-  
 tunt non, quod levius esset, inter bibendum, sed fu-  
 rore acti.

V. 789. ἐξελοῦσ' Abresch. tuetur, explicans: μηδὲ  
 ἐξελοῦσα τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖς καρδίαν ἀστείαν καὶ σάφρονα  
 ἐνδρῦσης αὐτοῖς (καρδίαν) ὡς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀλεκτόρων  
 καρδία, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἄρην ἐμφύλιον. Heath. Μηδὲ ὡς  
 ἐξελοῦσα καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων ταύτην. ἰδρῦσης ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖς (forsan ut labia leporina carne gallina-  
 cea implent) δηλονότι Ἄρη ἐμφύλιον, Pauw. conj. ἐκ-



χέουσ'. Wakef. μήδε πτεροῦσ'. Schuetz, ed. ἐξόρουσ' et ita Both. Aequo jure legeretur ἐξελοῦσ'. Herm. ἐξέδουσ'. Cui adde ἐκπιοῦσ'. Contractio forsitan orationis h. l. statuenda, ut dictum sit pro ἐξελοῦσα φρένας, (Hippol. 932. ἔξεδροι φρενῶν. Orest. 1014. ἐξέστην φρενῶν.) καρδίαν ἀναπτέρωσα ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων. Sic verbum aptius de hominibus dictum et ad gallos relatum, sententia animo obversante, paucis verbis expressa. Exemplum orationis contractae uno verbo omissa exstat, Soph. Ajax. 674. sq. δεινῶν τ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε Στένοντα πόντον. ἐξελοῦσα nullo modo accipi potest latiori significatione, ut Ajax. 435. ἀριστεύσας etc. cf. ad Choeph. 693.

V. 789. ἐμοῖσιν ἀστοῖσιν Med. ἐμοῖσιν ἀντοῖσιν Guelph. Ald. Rob. ἐμοῖς ἀντοῖσιν Turn. — ἰδρύση κόρη Guelph. Ald. (ἰδρύση) Turn. ἰδρυσή βάρη Rob. ἰδρύσης Ἄρη Scal. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg. et ita conj. Canter. nec non H. Steph. — ἐλλήνους Ald. pro ἀλλήλους. Turn. ἔλληνας. — ὅς μόλις παρῆ Pears. (Casaub.) οὐ μῶλος παρῶν Wakef. Schuetz. ἢ μόλις παρῶν Herm. ὡς μόλις παρῶν vel οὐ πάλαι παρῶν vel, quod Schuetz. olim conj. οὐ πόλει παρῶν vel etiam οὐ δόμοις παρῶν proposuit Butler. Miror non proposuisse οὐ μύλη παρῶν i. e. molae pneumaticae Athenis proximae, cujus expugnationem deprecari debebat, ne cives inopia faris premerentur. Sensus, quem Schol. bene perspexit, non invito Hermanno ad Viger. 788. est: bella gerenda externa sint, non tamen longe a finibus absint, ne cives procul patria moriantur aut magis incommodis vexentur.





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ἄμοιρον χθονός Rob. τῆσδέ γ' ἔμμοιρον χθονός conj. Canter. τῆσδέ γ' εὐμοίρου χθονός Pauw. Spanh. ad Callim. hymn. in Del. 295. τῆσδέ γ' ἐν μοίρα χθονός Peais. (Casaub.) probante Butlero. τῆδ' ἐπ' εὐμοίρου χθονός Wakef. τῆδέ γ' ἔμμοιρον χθονός Hermann. Schuetz. Obelo notavit Porson. in edit. 2. τῆσδέ γ' ἔμμορον χθονός Both. Schuetzii editionem minorem secutus. Hermannii conjectura et facilis et sensum pulchrum praebet, licet Butlero minime placeat. — τιμωμένη Ald.

V. 819. ἀδείνα Ald. φῆς Guelph. Ald. Rob. ἔδραν Ald. — δεύχου pro δέχου Ald. —

V. 821. μητ' ἰν Ald. — ἀδενεῖν Rob. εὐσθενεῖν Turn. εὐθενεῖν Scal. Stanl., cur. 2. Herm. Schuetz. Wakef. Glasg. probante Heathio nec non Pauwio. Nisi mox V. 835. εὐθενοῦντα repeteretur, non mutarem εὐσθενεῖν, quod non inelegans est. Ubi de felici statu rei domesticae sermo est, εὐθενεῖν vox usitata videtur. Sic Homer. hymn. in Terram 9. sq. βροῖδε μέγ σφιν ἄρουρα φερέσβιος, ἠδὲ κατ' ἀγρούς κτήνεσιν εὐθηνεῖ, οἶκος δ' ἐπιπέπλαται ἑσθλῶν: Eurip. Cyclop. 2. εὐσθένει δέμας. qui locus vulgatae patrocinauit.

V. 824. σέβον τι συμφοραῖς Ald.

V. 825. μή μοι Ask. d. πρὸ παντός omnes praeter Schuetz. Both. qui προπαντός dederunt ex Abreschii sententia quod omnino probandum videtur. Sic Pers. 982. κακὰ πρόκακα a librariis divisum et in πρὸ κακὰ mutatum, quod eo facilius fieri potuit, quum ne nuperrimi quidem editores sensum vocis intellexerint, non videntes προ — vim vocis augere: mala magna mala. Pers. 546. πρόπασα γαῖα. Oed. T. 169. πρόπας στόλος. Oed. C. 1237. | πρόπαντα κακὰ. An



τίγ. 860. πρόπαντος πότμον. Orest. 960. πρόπασα γέννα  
Phoeniss. 624. ἔρρέτω πρόπας δόμος. 1505. ἃ δόμον Οἰ-  
δικόδα πρόπαν ἄλεσε. Lycophron. 655. πρόπαντας αἰ-  
δης ἀγρεύσεται.

V. 826. ἔξεστιν Guelph. Ald. Rob. Interroga-  
tionis signum in fine versus habet Rob. sequente Abre-  
schio. ἔξεστι γάρ μοι δὴ λέγειν ἃ μὴ τελῶ; Wakef. De  
hyperbato cousule Both. ad Antig. 187. Jacobs. ad  
Anthol. Pal. III. p. 333. Longin. §. XXII. L. n. po-  
situm, ut μὴ λέγειν et μὴ τελεῖν sibi respondeant. Ne-  
que enim soli negligentiae talia tribuenda sunt, ne-  
que a poetis admissa, ut Grammatici haberent, quo  
delectarentur.

V. 828. sq. τοιγὰρ Ald. Both. ἐπικτήση Ald. τί μ'  
οὖν ἀνωγας Porson. in edit. 2. ut regulae, quam la-  
nacaprinoſe excogitavit, satisfaciatur. Oblocutus est  
Butlerus. Markland. ad Eur. Supplic. 109. Buttman.  
Gr. Gr. p. 113. ubi bene moneatur, Porsonum Phoe-  
niss. v. 892. (ed. Pors.) corrumpere. Hermann. Elem.  
Met. 50. nescit an non satis recte excogitatum sit pla-  
citur illud; „neque exempla regulam, sed  
ratio facit“ idem ad Sophoclis Ajacem. Sed nil  
mirandum, tempora enim mutantur et nos mutamur  
in illis. — εὐφημῆσαι Ald. τῆδε φημῆσαι Turn.

V. 830. Post ὅποια libros quosdam signum in-  
terrogationis habere, adnotat H. Steph. — νείκης pro  
νίκης legi vult Hermann. ad Ajac. 976. Sed infra 915. sq.  
hoc vocabulum eadem significatione occurrit, ubi  
metrum mutationem Hermannii non fert, τὸ δὲ κερδα-  
λέον Πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκῃ. Supra 443. μὴ τυχοῦσαι  
πράγματος νικηφόρου, — ἐπίσκοπα. Sic Ajac. 976. ἄτης



τῆςδ' ἐπίσκοπον μέλος. — Non vehementer repugnabat  
Butlerus, si quis μὴ κάκῃς legeret, neque ego ve-  
hementer repugnarem, si quae sana sunt, Butlerus  
suspecta haberet.

V. 831. καὶ τᾶλλα Pears. (Casaub.) Post ἀήμι  
comma sustulit Hermannus sequente Schuetz. —  
ἠλίως Wakefieldo suspectum, quare εὐηνίως propositum  
ipse minime εὐηνίως grassatus in scriptoribus vete-  
bus. Phoeniss. 674. εὐείλοισι αἰθέρος πνοαῖς. — κα-  
μων Ald.

V. 833. βοτῶν conj. Stanl. probantibus Panvino et He-  
thio, recepp. Schuetz. Wakef. Herm. Both. Oed. T. 251.  
φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονὸς,  
φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βοσνόμοις, τόκοισί τε  
ἀγόνοις γυναικῶν.

ἐπιρρύτον Ald. — εὐθινοῦντας Guelph. Ald. εὐθινοῦ-  
τας Rob. | εὐθινοῦντα Pears. (Casaub.) Bentl. Vi-  
Lobeck. ad Phrynicum p. 466. sq.

V. 836. ἐκφοροτέρα Ald.

V. 837. Hunc et sequentem versum Choro tribuit  
Rob. φτυποιμένος Ald. Turn. Herm. Schuetz. (Both  
totum versum abire jussit) Glasg. φῦτυ, ποιμένος  
Satis notum quam late pateat usus vocis ποιμήν.

V. 839. sq. Choro tribuit hunc et sequentes ver-  
sus Ald. τοιαῦτας οὔτοι Ald. τοιαῦτά σ' οὔτοι Guelph.  
Turn. τοιαῦτα σ . . . τῶν Ask. d. τοιαῦτα σοῖσσι  
Glasg. τ. σοῦ ὅστι ctt. ἀγόνων Ald. — οὔ Ald. — τῶν  
Guelph. Ald. Turn. τιμᾶν Ald. ἀστύνικον ἀγώνων. Soph.  
Electr. 1075. πατρὸς δειλαία. Aristoph. Equit. 1075.  
μακάριε τῆς τύχης. 350. μῶρε τῆς ἀνοίας. S. c. Theb.  
ιερῶν δσσιος. Phoeniss. 1000. λέχους ἀγνόν. Orest. 1075.





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V. 847. ἐξ ἀμβρόσαι Rob. ἐξαμβλώσα Aurat. Pears. (Casaub.) ἐξαμβρόσαι Herm. Schuetz. e Pauwii correctione. ἐξαμβρόσαι vulgo. ἐξαμβρόσειν Both.

V. 849. δυσαρέτους Ald. — κατανασασμένη Ald. Porsono et Elmslejo ad Med. 840, (832. ed. Pors.) ad sentiri debemus, nisi multa alia mutare velimus.

V. 853. ὁ δὲ δὴ Pauw. ὁ δὲ μὴν Abresch. Schuetz. in ed. 1. πράων pro βαρέων Schuetz. ἀτῶν Herm. Both. pro τούτων. οὔτος Aurat. Negatio propter sequentia non retineri potest, verba enim ὁ δὲ μὴ κύρσας male cum Bothio redderentur: qui graves hasce sibi non conciliaverit. Interpretanda sunt: qui Furiarum iram non expertus est, non novit calamitates. Lacuna post βίοντος ob brevitatem suspicionem non movet, excidisse ad quae sequentia referri possent.

V. 856. ἀπλακήματα Ask. Schuetz. Herm. Glasg. pro ἀμπλακήματα, quae est forma vetustior, quam Aeschylus procul dubio non nisi metro cogente reliquit, nisi vera sunt, quae Seidlerus in libro de versibus Dochmiacis p. 25. sq. ad correptionem vocalis ante μπ defendendam protulit, cui Blomfieldus rustice non docte oblocutus est, idem male rejiciens, quae Hermannus in libro de Emendanda ratione Gramm. Graec. posuerat de voce ὄμβριμος, quam et Wernickius ad Tryphiodorum semibarbaram dicit. In re incerta rationem non certam, sed minus incertam sequi malui.

V. 857. δ' inserunt Herm. Schuetz. Both. interpolationem post ὄλεθρος e Pauwii et Heathii sententia



delentes, invito Butlero. — σιγὴν Ald. — μεγαφώνους τ' Akl. sine τ' Turn. μέγα φρονοῦντ' Pears. (Casaub.) Stanl. cur. 2.

V. 860. sq. Hisce simillima profert Chorus Supplicum in cognomine fabula vs. 662. sqq. quae omnino comparanda sunt.

V. 861. φλοιγμὸς Med. Ald. Rob. τ' abest Ald. ὄ Herm. Schuetz. Both. — τόπων pro τόπων Schuetz. τὸ μὴ πέραν ὄρον τόπων spuria judicat Butlerus. Infinitivus pro Imperativo in precibus usitatus, cuius vim articulus intendit; idem quasi dixisset, ἀπανδῶ τὸ πέραν. De usu articuli ante Infinitivum disseruit Hermannus ad Ajac. 114.

V. 862. sq. αἰανὸς Schuetz. — μάλα Schuetz. Herm. Both. — εὐσθενοῦντ' Ald. εὐθυνοῦντ' Rob. εὐθροῦντ' Pears. (Casaub.) — σὸν pro ξὸν Hermannus, ξυνοικίαν supra relinqueus. Satis bene de σὸν et ξὸν disseruit in praefatione ad Ajac. p. XVIII. — διπλοῖσιν pro διπλοῖς metro jubente ediderunt Herm. Schuetz. Both. Glasg. Wakef.

V. 864. τέκοι Aurat, Pears. (Casaub.) τεταγμῖω γόνος Ald. τεταγμένω γόνον Turn. τέταγμ γόνος πλοῦτόχθων. Sic interpungit Rob. Vulgo colon post τεταγμένω ponitur. Excidisse aliquid, metrum probare videtur, quare lacunae signum post τεταγμένω addidi, non pro certo affirmans hac sede versus omnino ponendum esse. χώρα initio vs. Herm. Schuetz. γαῖα τρέφοι Staul. conj. πέδον post τρέφοι excidisse putat Wakef.

V. 865. πλουτόχθω νερμαίαν Ald. — τίσι Ald. Rob. γόνος πλουτόχθων ipsi homines, qui terrae



divitiis fruuntur. Haec est Butleri explicatio mirifica. γ. πλ. segetes significat, item ἔρμαία δόσις, non vero cum Schuetzio intelligenda sunt: uberes terrae proventus lucrosa deorum dona pendant i. e. fructus edant; sed; honorent i. e. augeant. Sic fere Choephor. 30. sqq. φόβος ἔλακε περὶ φόβω. Helen. 312. φόβος γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεῖμα περιβαλὼν μ' ἄγει. γόνος πλουτόχθων τέιοι, sic Supplic. 903. λακίς χιτῶνος ἔργον οὐ κατοικτιεῖ.

V. 867. οἷα ἐπικρανεῖ Med. Guelph. Ald. Correxerit Pauw. quem secuti sunt Wakef. Herm. Schuetz. Both. Glasg. Signum interrogationis post ἐπικραίνει Abreschio auctore posuerunt Herm. Both. Schuetz. Wakef.

V. 868. sq. Ἐρινὺς Med. Rob. ἐρινυδς Ald. — ἀδάτοις Ask. d. — παρὰ pro περὶ Pears. (Casaub.) περὶ ἀνθρώπων absolute positum intelligi potest, relato τῷ: διαπράσσουσιν ad τοῖς sive, commate post διαπράσσουσιν posito, quod cum Hermanno et Schuetzio omisi, τοῖς ad παρέχουσαι pertinet. Sed duae constructiones mixtae videntur, περὶ ἀνθρώπων διαπράσσουσιν et τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώπων διαπράσσουσιν. Nota constructionem πρὸς τὸ ἐγνοούμενον. — διαπράσσουσι praeter Guelph. Ald. Rob. Herm. Schuetz. Both. Glasg. — φανερωῶν Pears. (Casaub.)

V. 872. δ' αὖ κρύων Med. Ask. d. Guelph. Rob. — δακρυοῖς Pears. (Casaub.)

V. 873. ἀνδρομητῆας Ald. — ἀώροις Rob. De ἀνδρομητῆτας ἀώρους τύχας vide supra ad vs. 746.

V. 875. Comma post ἔχοντες posuit Hermannus. ἔχοντας Schuetz. Both. ἔχουσαι conjecerunt Pears.





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ως φησιν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς. Vide Sophocl. fragm. incert. LXXIII. ed. Brunck. Recte intelligitur: Potens est Suada. Hunc locum a Stanlejo cur. 2. comparatum esse, nunc video.

V. 884. ἐπωπᾶ Ald. ἐπώπα Schuetz. Both, quod Butlerō melius videtur. ἀπανηναμένας Ald. — ἐκράτησεν Ask. Both. — νικᾶ Ald. νίκα Wakef. νικᾶν cum genitivo hic conjungunt Heath. Schuetz. Contentio nostra bonorum, h. e. certamen utrum plus boni Minerva an Eumenidas civitati conferant, in aeternum valebit, interpretatur Butlerus. ἀγαθῶν ἔρις νικᾶ, contentio bonorum vicit. h. e. bona consecuti sumus. Sic 919. ἀγαθῶν.

V. 889. τὸν δ' ἀπλειστον Ald. τήνδ' Turn. τάνδ' praeter Rob. Schuetz. Herm. Both. Glasg. — μήδ' pro μήποτ' Rob. — ἀπεύχομαι Ask. d. ἐπαύχομαι Rob. τᾶ δ' Ald.

V. 891. μή δ' ἐπὶ θυσιακόνας Ald. πολιτῶν Ald. Turn. — ποιναῖς Herm. Schuetz. e Pauwii sententia, satis apte, neque tamen aptius, quam ποιναῖς cujus appositio est ἀντιφόνους ἄτας. Nisi mavis explicare: mutuis caedibus poenas expetere. Sic fere Oed. C. 223. δέος ἴσχετε μηδέν, ὅσ' αὐδῶ. Orest. 1114. γόους πρὸς αὐτὴν θησόμεσθ', ἀ πάσχομεν. Androm. 103. γάμον ἠγάγετ' Ἑλέναν. Agam. 177. Ζῆνα ἐπινίκια κλάζων. Cf. Choeph. 774. Poppo. observ. critt. in Thucyd. p. 200. De optativo ἀρπαλίσαι vide Erfurdt. ad Antig. 410. (ed. min.)

V. 893. sq. ἀντιδιδοῖεν Med. Guelph. Rob. Herm. Schuetz. Wakef. Glasg. Both, ἀντιδοῖεν ctt. — κοινο-



φελει Ald. κοινοφιλει Herm. Schuetz. Both. κοινοφειλει  
ctt. H. Grof. vertit:

Pariter cives gaudia norunt,  
Pariterque odium: namque id vere  
Generi humano est insigne bonum.

V. 897. ἀρὰ Pears. (Casaub.) ἢ ῥα Wakef. ἀρα  
φρονοῦσα — εὐρίσκει Herm. Schuetz. ἀρ' εὐφροσύνη —  
εὐρίσκει Both. εὐρίσκειν legit Glasg. interpunctione  
post hanc vocem sublata. εὐρίσκει Rob. εὐρίσκει Cod.  
Rob. — φρονοῦσιν Guelph. Ald. Quum ratio, quam  
Porsonus iuuit, nimis displiceat, φρονοῦσι ad Eume-  
nides referendum puto. φρονοῦσι εὐρίσκειν ὁδὸν κ. τ. λ.

V. 900. τοῖς δὲ Ald.

V. 901. τὰς δὲ γὰρ εὐφρανας εὐφρονες αἰὲ Ald. — εὐ-  
φρόνως — αἰὲ Rob. εὐφρονας praeter Herm. Schuetz. Both.  
Glasg. De usu loquendi: εὐφρονας εὐφρονες supra di-  
ctum. — ὀρθοδίκαιοι Herm. Schuetz. — πάντως Herm.  
Schuetz. Both. Vulgata nullo jure displicente, conje-  
cturis facile caremus.

V. 905. Χαίρετε χაίρετ' Turn. Herm. Schuetz.  
Heath. — ἀζημίαις Heath. Herm. Schuetz. ἐν αἰσιμίαι-  
σιν sine πλόττου Marg. Ask. ἰραισιμίαις Ald. Turn.  
in erratis reponit Rob. ἀζημίαις. Lectio recepta longe  
exquisitior.

V. 906. ἀστικὸς Ald. Rob. Turn. Ἀστικὸς Erotian.  
h. v. citans in Lex. Hippocrat. sub v. ἰκταρ. item Both.  
— ἰκτ' ἀρ Ald — παρθένοϋς Guelph. Ald. Erotian. l. c.

V. 908. sq. δ' abest Guelph. Ald. Turn. ὀποπτε-  
ροῖς Ald. — ἀζομαι et contrarium μέμφομαι Tragicis  
frequentatur. — δ' ἐμὲ Wakef. Herm. Schuetz. Glasg.



libiti ducti. Comma post ἀποδείξουσάν habet Schi in editione minore plene distinguens post προπο Butlero probante.

V. 911. Vulgo προπομπόν contra metrum Benti. opuscc. philoll. p. 230. ed. Lips.) προπο legendum esse viderunt Benti. Staulej. Tyrwhitt. H Glasg. Wakef. προπόμων legitur apud Herim. Sch Both. — σύμμεναι Guelph. Ald. δύμεναι Turn. exquisite.

V. 914. ἀτήριον vulgo. ἀτηρόν Herim. Schuetz. Both Wakef. Tyrwhitt. Heath. Glasg. e Bentleyi correctione Forma ἀτηρός occurrit Prou. 746. Agam. 1484. phocl. Trach. 264. Philoct. 1278. Eurip. Hippol. Androm. 354. Fragm. incert. CLVIII. (ἀτήριος in phoclis et Euripidis reliquiis non exstat, nisi e B ckii conjectura incerta Antig. 4.) Aristoph. Vesp. 1 ed Kuester.

V. 917. sq. ἡμεῖς Med. (in Marg. ὑμεῖς) Ask. d. μέτοιχοι Med. Ask. d. Guelph. Ald. Rob. — ἐπιδιπλο recte damnat Pauw. e glossa ἐπιδιπλοῦζει ortum dicans, quem sequitur Piers. ad Moer. p. 275. Gla uncis inclusit ut spurium, non probante Hermanno dissertatione de versibus spuriiis apud Aeschylu p. IX. αὖ inserui, metro flagitante, γ' αὖ vel ἄρα i a Pauwio propositum esse, nunc video. — πλούτου strophā ejiciendum judicat Butlerus.

V. 924. εὐσεβοῦντες Guelph. Ald. Rob. pro εὐσεβοντες, quod vulgo legitur defendente Butlero. εἰσεβειν θεόν, et εὐσεβεῖν εἰς θεόν dictum fuisse conten Valckenaer. ad Phoeniss. 1531. ubi loci nostri me nit. — μέμψησθε Guelph.





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39. ubi vid. epod. 1490. sq. Choeph. 897. 904. Supplic. 116. 127. 139. 48. 159. 73. 890. 98. — *χαίρουσαι* Schuetz. Both. *χωρεῖτε* defendere conatur Seidler, de vss. Dochm. p. 349. alia loca citans, ubi in strophis finiendis aut inchoandis non tam grammatica quam logica ratio spectetur. Duo, quae attulit ex Hecuba exempla, 639. 923. (ed. Matth.) huc non pertinent, quum distinctione, quae nulla l. n. poni possit, excusentur. Idem dicendum de exemplis, quae attulit ad Troad. 302. Hippol. 129. codices praebent *δεσποίνας*, quod elegantius, insolentius tamen dictum facile in *δέσποιναν* depravari potuit. Hermannus Elem. Doctr. Metr. p. 435. glossam *χωρεῖτε* conjectura mutat in *χωρεῖται*. Sic e Longini verbis versum non elegantem quidem, neque ferendum, versum tamen finxit, vid. l. c. p. 679. Alterum genus glossarum poeticarum, suavissimis carminibus ansam praebentium ab Hispanis frequentatum videmus.

V. 940. *καὶ* omittunt Herm. Schuetz. — *περίσεπται τύχαι τε* Ask. d. *περίσεπτα τύχαι τε* Guelph. *περὶ σεπτὰ, τύχαστε* Ald. *περισέπτα τύχα τε* Rob. *περίσεπτα τύχαις τε* Turn. *περίσεπται τύχοιτε* Wakef. *περισέπταις τε τύχαισιν* Herm. Schuetz. Legendum videtur *περισέπταις τε τύχαισιν*, et ita Schuetz. ed. mihi probante Butlero. — *πανδαμὶ* Guelph. Ald. Blomfield. in Glossario ad S. c. Th. V. 284. hanc formam praefert, de qua egit ad Prometh. 216. Melius perspexit rem nondum ad liquidum perductam Lobeckius ad Ajac. 1214. (1227. ed. Brunck.) ubi vide Hermannum.

V. 942. sq. *ἔλαοι* Ald. — *καὶ πύριδάπτω* Herm.



Schuetz. Butlero probante. Vulgo καὶ abest. — ὀλό-  
 λύξατε Ald. — ἐπιμολπαῖς Rob. probante Pauwio.

V. 946. ἔνθα δ' ἐς Ald. Turn. ἔνθαδες Rob. —  
 ἄστοῖς Herm. Schuetz. Both. — ὁ inserunt Herm.  
 Schuetz. Both. Butlero probante. — παντόπτας Med.  
 Rob. Cf. Lobeck. ad Phrynich. p. 673.

V. 948. οὔρια pro οὔτω Herm. Schuetz. δντως  
 Both. Quum spondei dactylo oppositi exempla repe-  
 riantur, nescio quid lucratur iis tollendis, qui legem  
 metricam, qua spondeus respondet dactylo, non vio-  
 lant. Hermannus Elem. Metr. p. 326. eandem ob cau-  
 sam mutat Agam. 734. μηλοφόνοις ἄταισιν in μηλοφό-  
 ροισιν ἄγαισιν, quod Blomfieldus recepit, de quo ad-  
 huc dubitari potest. coll. vs. 741. ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις  
 ἄτας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη. Pers. 652. πολεμοφθόροισιν  
 ἄταις. S. c. Th. 299. sq. ἀνδρολέτειραν — ἄταν.

V. 948. sq. Verba οὔτω — μολπαῖς unum versum  
 efficere videntur et ita in strophæ. Hiatus exclamacione  
 excusatur, vide Seidler. de vss. dochm. p. 80. epi-  
 stol. ad Lobeck. p. 436. Quae observatio si vera est,  
 ut vera videtur, signum exclamacionis hoc loco po-  
 nere mihi liceat, ut omnes hujus editionis hiatus ex-  
 clamacione excusentur. — ! —



三





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## C.

- Constructio mutata. 562. 738.  
 — mixta. 868.  
 — πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον. 755.  
 — contracta. 554.  
 Contractio orationis. 789.  
 — vocalium. 470.

## D.

δάκνω. 574.

δέ. 811.

Delphi Hyperborei. p. 54. not. (Delphi appellati sunt ab Apollinis et Dianae cognomine δελφοί, i. e. δὲ θυμοι, quorum cultum ab Hyperboreis accepisse cuntur.)

δεῦρο. p. 80. not. 2.

Descriptio tumens. 282.

Diaeresis. 571.

δικαίως pro ἀληθῶς. 279.

δροίτη. p. 81. sq.

Dualis pro Plurali. 245. (Cf. Hermann. ad Argonaut. 823. 845. Ex qua editione multa possunt, praecipue ad sermonem epicum cognoscendum. Hermannus enim cum Wolfio poesin et monem Epicorum penitus perspexit. Matth. ad Hom. hym. in Vener. p. 424.)

δυσ- 141.

δυσπέμελος. p. 74. not. 3.

δυσπηματος. 447.

δυστυχής. 317.

## E.

ἐγγαστροίμυθος. 32.

εἰμί omissum. p. 59. not.

εἰ-ἦν. 225.

εἰς τὸ πᾶν. 191.

Enallage numeri. 318.

Exegesis. 133.

Epitheta cumulata. 69.

ἐπίσκοπος. 830.



ἐποπτεύω. 211.  
 ἐπώνυμος. p. 58. not.  
 ἐπωνυμίαι. 90.  
 ἔρδειν. p. 69. not. 2.  
 ἔτυμος. 460.  
 Exclamationes orationi interjectae, 328.  
 ἦδε. 178.

## F.

Furiae quatuor, p. 65. not. 2. (Furias sine alis in scenam produxit A. schylus. Cf. Welcker. ad calcem versionis Zoegae Anaglyph. p. 294.)

## G.

γελαῖν. p. 65. not. 4.  
 Genitivus duplex. 462.  
 — post στένω, σεβίζω etc.  
 — post χόλος, μήνις. 225. 462.  
 — post Adjectivum. 17. 839.  
 γῆρας. 274.

## H.

Hendiadys. 238.  
 Hiatus. 948.  
 Hyperbaton. 826.

## I.

ἰατρομάντις. p. 57. not.  
 Je cur sedes libidinum etc. 153.  
 ἰκέτης. 228.  
 Imagines audaces. 172.  
 Infinitivus post Adjectivum. 56.  
 — pro Imperativo. 861.  
 Interruptio orationis. 183.

## K.

καθιπτεύω. p. 84. not.  
 καὶ - δέ. 65.  
 κοιμᾶν metaphorice positum. p. 67. not. 3. p. 86. not. 1.  
 κτιζώ. p. 54. not.  
 κῆμα. p. 82. not. 2.



## M.

**Μαινάς**, 462. (Timotheus Dianam appellavit *μαινάδα*, *θνάδα φοιβάδα*, *λυσσάδα*, vid. Plutarch. de superstitione, p. 170. A. de Audiend. Poet. p. 22. A. Adde Matth. ad Homer. Hymn. in Cerer. 386. Orph. Hymn. 69. 1. *εὐάστειραι*, *λυσσίροις*. Orph. Argonaut. 971. (976.) *θυμβήτειραι*. Maenas vel de viro dixit Catull. carm. quod inscribitur: Atys. 23. ubi vid. Doering.)

**μάταιος**. 317.

**μέγας** pro *πολύς*. 44.

**Μέλαινα**. Terrae cognomen videtur. p. 53. not.

**μὲν οὖν**. 38. (Pers. 1033. ed. Blomf.)

**μέμφομαι**. 908.

**μπ**. 856.

**Metaphorae a rebus vulgaribus petitae**. 187.

**μήνις**. p. 64. not.

## N.

**νίκη**. 830.

**νικηφόρος**. 441.

**νωμάς**. p. 67. not. 2.

**Nomina gentium personis tribuunt veteres**. p. 54. n.

## O.

**ὄδμη**. 244.

**ὄρχηθμός**. 341. (Hanc formam in Aeschylo praeferendam nunc puto, mecum reputans, quam parum fidei librariis tribuenda sit in hujusmodi rebus. De hac forma vid. Valckenaer. epistol. ad Röwer. p. 300. 1, 2, 4.)

**Oppositio parum accurata**, 477. (Pers. 85 ed. Blomf. *πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας Συριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων*. 903. *πολέμοισιν ὀμαθέντες μεγάλως πλυγαῖς τε πεντιαῖσιν*. Xenoph. Histor. Graec. III. 4. *στρατιᾷ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς*. Hom. Hym. in Terram 13 sq. *παῖδες-παρθενικαί*. Hom. Hymn. in Apollin. 21. *ἤπειρον πορτιτρόφον*, Augusto Matthiae suspectum. Nisi hoc sit epitheton ornans sine respectu oppositi *νήσων*.)





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θάπτειν μόρον. 26.

Reipublicae mentionem nimiam fecerunt Tragici,  
p. 71. not. et v. 10.

Repetitio ejusdem rei sub alio nomine. 96. 258. 325.

— ejusdem vocis. 401. 512.

— pathetica. 798.

## S.

Sacra Furiarum non semper sine igne facta. 108.

Sacerdotes Furiarum. 925.

σάπιγξ. Origō hujus vocis, p. 79. not. 1.

Sigmatismus. 691.

Substantivum in Adjectivo repetitum. 622. 839.

σφαγή αίματος. 413.

σφραγίσειν. 756.

## T.

τάλας. 317.

τε - καί. 116.

τέλος. p. 86. not. 2.

Theocritus emendatus. 682.

τι γάρ. 614.

τίκτειν, metaphoricè positum. p. 77. not. 1. v. 492.

(Plutarch. de Audiend. Poet. 34. E. citat versum:

τῆς δειλίας γὰρ αἰσχρὰ γίνεται τέκνα.

Lege, quae ibidem adduntur.)

τιμαλφεῖν. p. 81. not.

τιμή, munus. 385.

τείρειν. p. 64. not.

Translatio vocabulorum. 77.

Transpositio. 186. 280. 341. 363. 719.

Τοιτοχένεια. 280.

θεμιστεύειν. 2.

θερμός. p. 78. not.

θήγειν. p. 87. not. 2.

θύμωμα et formae similes, p. 87. not. 3.

θωμιγξ. p. 62. not.

## V.

Vaticinia ex aqua. p. 55. n.

Verbis fortioribus ad conjunctionem significandum utun-  
tur Graeci. 186.



## A D D E N D A.

Doederleinius in Commentatione de Aeschyli Eumenidibus, quae prodiit Erlangae 1820, Hermanno stantienti, Aeschylum ab obtrektoribus post victoriam accusatione duplici vexatum esse, quasi in fabulis suis et novos deos introduxerit et evulgaverit mysteria, ad stipulatur, atque qui qualesve fuerint obtrektatores illi, accuratius demonstrare sibi proposuit. Sed hanc demonstrationem ei successisse, non mihi persuadere possum. Contendit enim, Aeschylum fabulam de Orestis iudicio invenisse ut iis, qui Optimatum potestati invidentes, Areopagi vim ac potentiam minuere aut omnibus aditum ad hanc dignitatem aperire vellent, obniteretur. Aeschylum metuentem, ne posterius fieret, versus 630. 1. inseruisse :

*κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι, βορβόρῳ δ' ὕδωρ  
λαμπρὸν μιάνων, οὐπόθ' εὐρήσεις ποτόν.*

Non opus est exemplis armare, quod satis notum est, Tragicos Athenas ornare studuisse, et Athenienses fabulas Graecorum ita refingere, ut decoris quid ad urbem ipsorum inde redundaret, solitos fuisse. Haec certa sunt et ad Orestis iudicium explicandum sufficientiunt, ut non sit, quod conjecturis incertis indulgeamus. Minime quidem negaverim, Aeschylum occasione oblata Areopagum quantum fieri potuit, celebrasse, ut popularibus reverentiam huius iudicii inculcasset, sed hinc ortum fabulae deducere, ingenio summi poetae parum convenit. Longius procedit Doederleinius, putans, quia tum temporis propter solas opiniones nullus civis, nisi aut malefacta sequerentur, aut nimia eius potentia securitati publicae periculosa videretur, publice palamve pelleretur, calumnia religionis uris ad-



versarios, nec immerito ab Aeschylo consiliis suis tantum timuisse nevarum rerum auctores, quippe cujus tragoediam illam palma ornavisset populus. „Haec igitur, ait, si vere disputavi, ratiocinatione quidem magis quam testimoniis nixus, Aeschylus, nobili sine dubio et ipse loco natus, ubi ordini suo insidias strui videt, primum repugnat iis armis, quibus pollet: ubi nihilo secius et Areopagus turpiter deprimitur et ipse multimodis vexatur, u'tro in Siciliam emigrat.“ Ex argumentis historicis conjecturas facere licitum est, e conjecturis autem argumenta historica invenire, id est, aedificia sine fundamentis struere.

V. 26. Schol. *λαγῶ δίκην* male explicat. Vide Zoega Anaglyph. Descript. tab. XXV. not. 3.

V. 118. Doederlein. l. c. explicat: Orestes duce Mercurio eas supplex adit, qui mihi non favent. Hanc explicationem valde contortam esse, docet nexus orationis.

V. 132. sq. Doederlein. l. c. explicat: Respirationem, fugientium laxamentum, exsiccant Furiae suo animae flatu, tanquam flamma intestina. Ut *πνεῦμα* Orestis sit anhelitus, quod mihi melius de Furiarum anhelitu dictum videtur.

V. 156. *τὸ περιβαρὺ κρῦος* Doederleinio gradatio videtur a gravibus angoribus ad ultimum illum horrorem, qui est in ipso mortis sensu. Gradatio certe inest, sed mortis notionem non video, *τὸ περιβαρὺ κρῦος* est dolor gravissimus tormentis excitatus.

V. 210. Doederlein. *ἐποπτεύεις* coniecit, et *μηδὲ* cum *εἰ* jungit. Si igitur iis, qui in conjugio alter alterum necant, indulges, ut hoc non





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V. 503. *Diversas duarum recensio-  
num lectiones negligenter conciliatas  
putat Doederlein.*

*una: κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατεργάθου!  
πληρουμένου κ. τ. λ.*

*altera: κήρυσσε κήρυξ. διάτορος  
Τυρσηνικῆ σάλπιγξ βροτείου.*

Duas fuisse recensiones, certis argumentis nondum ad liquidum perductum est, et, licet fuissent, non tamen putarem Aeschylum in altera tubam Tyrrhenicam omisisse. Ceterum haec ratio emendandi ita commoda est, ut fere omnia vitia e scriptoribus veteribus, si modo duas statuas recensiones, tollere possis.

V. 543. Jacobs, *Addit. ad Athen.* p. 158. *τις γάρ  
σε.* Doederlein vulgatam defendit, eodem modo atque ego defendi, et vel *τε* ferri posse iudicat.

V. 625. sq. C. O. Muller. *Encyclopaed. ed. Ersch  
et Gruber.* VI. 231. *ἐπώνυμος πέτρα*, *rupes Amazonum* significare putat, sed Aeschylus dixit, a Marte cognomen duxisse, ὅτι Ἄρει ἔθρον, *Hendiadys.* πέτρα πύργος τε neminem moratur *Horn. Hymn. in Apollin.* 17. *μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθρον.*

V. 839. sq. Doederlein. *genitivum ἀγώνων ex ἐντι-  
μον ποιῆσαι*, quod lateat in *τιμᾶν*, pendere putat.

V. 873. Et hinc patet quantum infortunii existima-  
verint Graeci, si quis in primae aetatis flore innuptus-  
que moretur. Quod nescio cur ad feminas solas re-  
fert Passovius in *Athenaeo ed. Gunther. et Wachsmuth*  
*Vol. II. part. II. p. 305. Cf. Sept. c. Theb. 824.*

*ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας  
ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχας;*



Sic distinguit Doederlein. et vertit:

Qui autem has non nactus est propitias, is, cum infeste urgent, ignorat unde calamitas irruat; κῦρσιν τινός cum praegnantia dictum putans, ut synonymum τυγχάνειν Supplic. 158. μὴ τυχοῦσαι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων. Interpres non vidit longe aliud quid esse τυγχάνειν θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων quam τυγχάνειν Ἐριννύων, quorum alterum felicissimum, alterum infelicissimum.

V. 883. Orph. Hymn. 68. (69. ed. Herm.) de Furis dictum:

Ἄλλ' αἰεὶ θνητῶν πάντων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα φύλα  
Ὅμμα Δίκης ἐφορᾶτε.

---

Mense Augusto 1821.





IV. lin. 3. a fine l. nonnisi cautissime.

IX. lin. 18. l. narrationum est.

V. 273. In margine l. ὄσοις. 503. obelo notand.

Signum inserendi ( ) pro signo ejiciendi [ ] male positum est V. 103 (285 verba κλύει - θεός in parentheses legenda sunt) 401. 921. 938. 940. 947. Vice versa peccatum 478. 491. 496. 881. 897. 8. 909. 921. 938. 943. 947.

In Scholiis signa contrario modo atque in textu typis expressa sunt, quod factum quia textus a pluribus correctus est.

p. 59. not. 2. l. cit. pro ut. p. 76. not. 2. ἐρείδεται pro ἐρείσεται. 83. not. 1. lin. 5. l. qui pro quia. 86. lin. 8. l. εὐθερ pro ἀθερ.