

EURIPIDES

ORESTES

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With introduction and commentary by

C. W. WILLINK

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**To my wife
and family**

PREFACE

EURIPIDES' *Orestes* was arguably the best known and most durably popular of all plays by any dramatist in antiquity (though not without its detractors). In the centuries following the invention of printing it suffered an eclipse in scholarly estimation, and it has had no new English edition with commentary since 1895. Much of the play's aesthetic appeal is of a kind that was abhorrent to Victorian and sub-Victorian Hellenists; and as recently as 1930 a scholar could write: 'it is not a play that anybody can enjoy' (W. N. Bates, *Euripides*, 167). But a spate of recent studies has shown that it is again becoming recognized as a *tour de force* ranking among Euripides' most important and interesting works. The often disconcerting savours of new wine in old bottles and old wine in new bottles, so characteristic of Euripides' poetic and dramatic art, are to be experienced here both subtly and in their headiest and most disconcerting forms; and there is no lack of more directly enjoyable features. At the same time no student of European drama can afford to neglect a play which, perhaps more than any other, links the final phase of classical Greek tragedy with later theatrical developments.

The present edition has taken longer to complete than I had hoped, and it may be asked: 'Why not delay further, in order to base the commentary, not on Murray's text, but (after the pattern of G. W. Bond's *Heracles* in the Oxford series) on Dr J. Diggle's planned revision of *Euripidis Fabulae*, vol. iii?' After consultation it seemed right to proceed. There is a pressing need, not satisfied by the recent continental editions, for an up-to-date commentary; and, as to the text, a provisional discussion of numerous, often surprisingly neglected, problems could in some ways be best handled with the familiar OCT as the starting-point for some exploratory (some will think, too speculative) new suggestions. I have had the benefit of very frequent contact with Dr Diggle, so that my commentary should marry reasonably well with his text when it appears.

PREFACE

My thanks are due first to John Cordy of the Oxford University Press for steering me towards this rewarding play and for his, and his readers', unfailing patience and helpful suggestions; then to Eton College for the year's leave of absence which enabled me to get started, and to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, for generous hospitality. Sir Denys Page (D.L.P.) gave me much early encouragement, commenting in detail on my first thoughts on ll. 1-207, 957-1012; and I have been greatly helped in various ways by Professor Antony Andrewes, Godfrey Bond, Sir Kenneth Dover, Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Nicholas Richardson, Tom Stinton (T.C.W.S.), Professor Martin West (M.L.W.), Professor Ralph Winnington-Ingram and my brother Stephen Willink; above all by James Diggle (J.D.), who read the whole of, and suggested countless improvements upon, successive drafts of my manuscript. I have seldom been able to make detailed acknowledgements in the Introduction or Commentary, except in the case of *textual* suggestions received as personal communications (mostly in correspondence). For these the source is indicated by the initials listed above; e.g. M.L.W. = 'West, pers. comm.'

I had nearly finished when a copy (on microfilm) at last came to light of G. A. Longman's unpublished Oxford dissertation on ll. 1-207. I have accepted one conjecture (at 50), added some references and reformulated some arguments; but in many places where he has anticipated me or taken a (partly) different view there has not been room to do full justice to his study.

Numerous recent suggestions from M.L.W. have been gratefully incorporated or have prompted further consideration; and even more from J.D., after his re-reading of my MS in the early stages of preparing his vol. iii. To the latter also I owe information about a second-century BC Florence papyrus ('P. Flor.') for ll. 196-216, shortly to be published by R. Pintaudi in *SCO*. Three further papyri will be published in *The Oxyrynchus Papyri*, vol. liii as P. Oxy. 3716 (second/first century BC) for ll. 941-51, 973-84, P. Oxy. 3717 (second

PREFACE

century AD) for ll. 1377-96, and P. Oxy. 3718 (fifth century AD) for ll. 1407-10, 1432-41, 1621-35, 1649-62; for advance information about these I am indebted to the courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society of London, and of the editor, Professor Haslam.

Eton College
January 1985

CHARLES WILLINK

I have been able to include some Addenda, mostly prompted by further suggestions from J.D. The death of Tom Stinton this summer is a great grief to his many friends. To the acknowledgements above I must add my thanks to my colleague Stephen Spurr for help in correcting proofs and preparing indexes.

October 1985

C.W.W.

For this new impression it has been possible to correct a number of misprints and other errata, and I am most grateful for lists sent to me by Dr Diggle and Mr A. F. Garvie. There are also some Addendis addenda, prompted partly by Professor West's edition (Aris and Phillips 1987; see also his article 'Problems in Euripides' *Orestes*' in *CQ* 37 (1987), 281-93), and partly by further generous communications from J.D. of information and proposals that will appear in vol. iii of the new OCT. For the best survey of the Orestes-myth, see now Garvie's *Aeschylus Choephoroi* (Oxford 1986).

The cover-illustration is based on a wall-painting in a second-century AD house in Ephesus. The actors are depicted in postures appropriate to *Or.* 253-4.

September 1988

C.W.W.

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ABBREVIATIONS

References to ancient texts are mostly as in LSJ⁹ and to periodicals as in *L'Année philologique* (but usually only the year is given). Apart from straightforward compendia such as 'Bond on *HF* 15', the following shortened references to authors/works appear more or less frequently:

*Recent edd. of the Orestes (not a complete list)*¹

- Biehl W.B., *Euripides Orestes* (Teubner edn.), Leipzig 1975; and previously *Euripides Orestes, erklärt*, Berlin 1965.
- Chapouthier F.C. in *Euripide*, ed. L. Parmentier and H. Grégoire, vi. i (with a translation by L. Méridier), Paris 1959.
- Di B. V. Di Benedetto, *Euripidis Orestes*, Florence 1965.
- Murray G.M., *Euripidis Fabulae*, iii, Oxford 1909.
- Paley F.A.P., *Euripides*, iii, London 1860, ²1880, ³1889.
- Wecklein N.W. in *Euripidis Fabulae*, ed. R. Prinz and N.W., with an appendix of 'Coniecturae minus probabiles', Leipzig 1900; and subsequently *Euripides Orestes*, Leipzig and Berlin 1906.
- Wedd N.W., *Euripides Orestes*, Cambridge 1895.
- Weil H.W., *Sept Tragédies d'Euripide*, Paris 1868, ²1879, ³1905.

Other Works

- Adkins A.W.H.A., *Merit and Responsibility. A Study in Greek Values*, Oxford 1960.

¹ For a nearly complete list of printed edns., beginning with the Aldine Edition, Venice 1503 (1504), see Biehl, Teubner edn. xlvf. I have not seen the *edd. minn.* of G. Ammendola (Turin 1922), A. M. Scarcella (Rome 1958), and B. Manai (Naples 1968).

ABBREVIATIONS

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| Allen-Italie | J.T.A. and G.I., <i>A Concordance to Euripides</i> , Berkeley 1954, with Suppl. ed. C. Collard, Groningen 1971. |
| G. Arnott | W.G.A., 'Euripides and the Unexpected', <i>G&R</i> 20 (1973), 49-64. |
| P. Arnott | P.A., <i>Greek Scenic Conventions in the Fifth Century B.C.</i> , Oxford 1962. |
| Arrowsmith | W.A., Introd. and transl. in <i>Euripides</i> , iv, ed. D. Grene and R. Lattimore, Chicago 1958. |
| Bacon | H.H.B., <i>Barbarians in Greek Tragedy</i> , Yale 1961. |
| Biehl, <i>Tp</i> | W.B., <i>Textprobleme in Euripides' Orestes</i> , Diss. Jena/Göttingen 1955. |
| Björck | G.B., <i>Das Alpha Impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache</i> , Uppsala 1950. |
| Blaydes | F.H.M.B., <i>Adversaria critica in Euripidem</i> , Halle 1901. |
| Boulter | P.N.B., 'The theme of <i>ἀγρία</i> in Euripides' <i>Orestes</i> ', <i>Phoenix</i> 16 (1962), 102-6. |
| Breitenbach | W.B., <i>Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik</i> , Stuttgart 1934. |
| Brown | A.L.B., 'Eumenides in Greek tragedy', <i>CQ</i> n.s. 34 (1984), 260-81. |
| Bruhn | E.B. in <i>Sophocles</i> , ed. F. W. Schneidewin and A. Nauck, viii (Anhang), Berlin 1899. |
| Burkert | W.B., 'Die Absurdität der Gewalt und das Ende der Tragödie: Euripides' <i>Orestes</i> ', <i>A&A</i> 20 (1974), 97-109. |
| Burnett | A.P.B., <i>Catastrophe Survived. Euripides' Plays of Mixed Reversal</i> , Oxford 1971. |
| Conacher | D.J.C., <i>Euripidean Drama</i> , Toronto and Oxford 1967. |
| Connor | W.R.C., <i>The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens</i> , Princeton 1971. |
| Conomis | N.C.C., 'The dochmiacs of Greek |

ABBREVIATIONS

- Drama', *Hermes* 92 (1964), 23-50.
- Dale, *LM* A.M.D., *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, 2nd edn. Cambridge 1968.
- Dale, *MA*^{2,3} ead., *Metrical Analyses of Tragic Choruses*, ii, *BICS* Suppl. 21.2, 1981; iii, *BICS* Suppl. 21.3, 1983.
- Dale, *Papers* ead., *Collected Papers*, Cambridge 1969.
- Dawe R.D.D., *Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, Leiden 1973-8.
- de Romilly J. de R., 'L'assemblée du peuple dans l'*Oreste* d'Euripide', in *Stud. cl. in on. di Q. Cataudella*, i (Catania 1972), 237-51.
- Degani E.D., 'Osservazioni critico-testuali all'*Oreste* di Euripide', *BPEC* 15 (1967), 17-54.
- Descroix J.D., *Le Trimètre iambique*, Mâcon 1931.
- Dietrich B.C.D., *Death, Fate and the Gods*, London 1965.
- Diggle, *Studies* J.D., *Studies on the Text of Euripides*, Oxford 1981.
- Dionysiaca* D.: *Nine Studies in Greek Poetry by Former Pupils Presented to Sir Denys Page on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. R. D. Dawe, J. Diggle and P. E. Easterling, Cambridge 1978.
- DK H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, rev. W. Kranz, 6th edn. Berlin 1951-2.
- Dodds, *G&I* E.R.D., *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951.
- Donadi F.D., 'In margine alla follia di Oreste', *BIFG* 1 (1974), 111-27.
- Dover, *GPM* K.J.D., *Greek Popular Morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle*, Oxford 1974.
- Duchemin J.D., *L'ἀγών dans la tragédie grecque*, Paris 1968.
- Ehrenberg V.E., *The People of Aristophanes*, Oxford 1943.

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- Fraenkel, *Lyr. Dakt.* Ed. F., *Kleine Beiträge*, i (Rome 1964), 165-233 (= 'Lyrische Daktylen', *RhM* 72 (1917), 161-97, 321-52).
- Friis Johansen H.F.J., *General Reflection in Tragic Rhesis*, Copenhagen 1959.
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- Garzya A.G., *Pensiero e tecnica drammatica in Euripide*, Naples 1962.
- Goossens R.G., *Euripide et Athènes*, Brussels 1962.
- GP J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd edn. (rev. K.J.D.) Oxford 1954.
- Greenberg N.A.G., 'Euripides' *Orestes*, an interpretation', *HSPH* 66 (1962), 157-92.
- Grube C.M.A.G., *The Drama of Euripides*, London 1941.
- Guthrie, *Sophists* W.K.C.G., *The Sophists*, Cambridge 1971 (= *Hist. Gr. Phil.* III.i).
- Hourmouziades N.C.H., *Production and Imagination in Euripides*, Athens 1965.
- Itsumi K.I., 'The "Choriambic Dimeter" of Euripides', *CQ* n.s. 32 (1982), 59-74.
- Jackson J.J., *Marginalia Scaenica*, Oxford 1955.
- Jouan F.J., *Euripide et les légendes des chants cypriens des origines de la guerre de Troie à l'Illiade*, Paris 1966.
- Kaimio M.K., *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number used*, Helsinki 1970.
- Katsouris A.G.K., *Linguistic and Stylistic Characterization in Tragedy and Menander*, Ioannina 1975.

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- KB, KG R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, part i revised by F. Blass, part ii by B. Gerth, Hanover 1890-1904.
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- Knox, *W&A* B.W.M.K., *Word and Action. Essays on the Ancient Theater*, Baltimore and London 1979.
- Krieg W.K., *De Euripidis Oreste*, Diss. Halle 1934.
- Lanza D.L., 'Unità e significato dell'Oreste euripideo', *Dioniso* 35 (1961), 58-72.
- Lesky, *WS* A.L., 'Zum Orestes des Euripides', *WS* 53 (1935), 37-47 (= *Ges. Schr.* (1966), 131-8).
- Lesky, *TD* id., *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*, 3rd edn. Göttingen 1972 (tr. M. Dillon as *Greek Tragic Poetry*, Yale 1983, of which pp. 342-53 on *Or.* correspond with *TD* 458-71).
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- O. Longo O.L., 'Proposte di lettura per l'Oreste di Euripide', *Maia* 27 (1975), 265-87.
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- Ludwig W.L., *Sapheneia. Ein Beitrag zur Formkunst im Spätwerk des Euripides*, Diss. Tübingen 1954.
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- Mastrorarde D.J.M., *Contact and Discontinuity. Some*

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- Matthiessen K.M., *Studien zur Textüberlieferung der Hekabe des Euripides*, Heidelberg 1974.
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- Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* A.W.P.-C., *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, Oxford 1946.
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- Preller-Robert L.P., *Griechische Mythologie*, revised and enlarged by C.R., 4th edn. Berlin 1921-3.
- Rawson E.R., 'Aspects of Euripides' *Orestes*', *Arethusa* 5 (1972), 155-67.
- RE* *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart 1893-.
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- Strohm H.S., *Euripides. Interpretationen zur dramatischen Form*, *Zetemata* 15, Munich 1957.
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 Webster, *GTP* T.B.L.W., *Greek Theatre Production*, London 1956.
 Webster, *TE* id., *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967.
 West, *GM* M.L.W., *Greek Metre*, Oxford 1982.
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 Winnington-Ingram, *EPS* id., 'Euripides: *poietes sophos*', *Arethusa* 2 (1969), 127-42.
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 Zieliński T.Z., *Tragodumenon libri tres*, Cracow 1925.
 Zuntz, *Inquiry* G.Z., *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge 1965.

ABBREVIATIONS

Textual and other sigla

For Murray's sigla (as used in the apparatus criticus), see p. lxv; for the additional MSS, etc., referred to in the Commentary, see Introd. H (pp. lvii–lxi).

Cross references

An asterisk (*) following a numeral (or a numeral + f. or ff.) combines a reference to a passage in this play with an invitation to refer to the Commentary on that passage.

METRICAL TERMS AND SYMBOLS

- verse = *στίχος* ('line'); verse-end ('.../...' when not otherwise shown by lineation) may be in the middle of a word.
- ||, (||) period-end, probable period-end; for the criteria, cf. Stinton, *CQ* 1977, 37-41.
- | coincidence of word- and unit-end (the diaeresis may be weak).
- ' unit-end (within the verse) without word-end.
- : (:) diaeresis (diaeresis at unit-end) in str. or ant. only.
- ^ open short syllable 'in longo' at period-end (closed syllables such as -ον at period-end are long by definition; West, *GM* 8).
- A ∪-∪-∪-∪-∪-∪-; not always best described as *zan* (cf. Fraenkel, *Lyr. Dakt.* 163-7); in enoplian contexts either a twofold expansion of ∪-∪- (cf. *P* and *T* below) or a two-for-one correlate of ∪-∪-∪-∪- (∪*E*).
- ba, sp* baccheus (∪--), spondee (--).
- δ comp* 'dochmiac compound' (140-52/153-65*).
- P* × -∪∪-∪∪- (= × *D*); Hephaestion's *προσοδικὸν μέτρον*, cf. Wilamowitz, *GV* 376 ff., 391 ff.
- paroem* paroemiac; typically × *D* ×, but the same name is used for ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ -- (= *zan* \wedge) in anapaestic systems, which do not admit anceps positions.
- T* ∪∪-∪∪-∪∪-; a form of telesillean (cf. Pi. *Ol.* 9. 1) used an 'enoplian unit' (reducing, like *A* and *P*, to ×-∪-∪-). It occurs in *D/e* from Pi. *N.* 10 onwards, and is especially common in *E*. For *T*² (analogous to *D*²), see 1455-6*. The related ×-∪∪-∪∪- (*ll*), intermediate between *P* and *T*, occurs as an enoplian unit at S. *OT* 1096/1108 and elsewhere; e.g. *Hp.* 1269-70 *ἀγείς, Κύπρι, σὺν δ' ὁ ποι-κίλω-πτέρως ἀμφιβάλων* should be analysed as *ll P* (between 2δ and δ in 'enoplian dochmiacs').

INTRODUCTION

A. Prolegomena

Orestes is a play to be enjoyed. It is not 'primarily', as modern criticism expects us to recognize, 'an ironic and deeply unheroic commentary on the story of Orestes';¹ but to be approached rather as a many-faceted, highly sophisticated *tour de force* of audacious myth-invention and poetic art, instinct with the spirit of its age, by a supreme *μυθοποιός* and dramatist; strictly as a *τραγωδία* (within the conventions of that genre), but in our terms as a baroque kind of tragic-comedy or *drame noir* looking at once backward beyond Aeschylus' *Oresteia* to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and forward to the New Comedy of Menander.²

It is also, as it happens, interesting as a historical document. The dramatic festival of March 408 BC³ falls in the middle of a crucial period of Athenian history for which we have few contemporary sources of information. The narrative of Thucydides stops in 411, and there is a gap in the extant plays of Aristophanes between that year (*Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazussae*) and 405 (*Frogs*). *Or.* does something to fill that gap, one of

¹ Rawson (155) correctly enunciates the tenor of 'recent studies', which (in her view) 'have left us without much excuse for radically misunderstanding the nature of the play'. The primacy of poetic and dramatic elements (including sheer *τέχνη*) needs to be reasserted.

² As Kitto (331) well observed, 'The *Orestes* is an outstanding illustration of the Greek genius. Almost at one bound we have passed from a drama which is at least called statuesque to drama whose imaginative tumult rivals anything on the romantic stage; yet this is done with a minimum of interference with the traditional forms and with a firmness of control scarcely rivalled by Sophocles himself.' But K.'s term 'melodrama' has unfortunate associations (the more misleading in that *all* Greek tragedy emotively exploits a combination of *μέλος* and *δράμα*). Rivier's 'drame romanesque' (²134 = ¹150) is better, but not altogether happy. For the 'comic' element, see G vi below.

³ The date (archonship of Diocles) is attested by Σ on 371 (cf. Σ on 772); see further in n. 16 below.

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its facets being a degree of 'topicality' unusual in Greek tragedy. This topical element is, I believe, a reflection of, rather than a direct comment upon, tensions and motivations in contemporary Athens, and much that has been considered topical is *also* traditional (with a blend of 'old' and 'new'); but we do need some preliminary knowledge of the play's historical setting.⁴

In the debilitating war, after a period of appalling anxieties following the Sicilian disaster (413), the victory of Alcibiades, Theramenes and Thrasybulus at Cyzicus (April 410)⁵ had regained for Athens a maritime supremacy that made a majority of the *δῆμος* hopeful of repossessing the recently lost portions of her Empire. Spartan offers of peace on the basis of the *status quo* had been rejected in 410;⁶ for the moment the threat of Persian gold (necessary for the maintenance of any hostile fleet) seemed to have abated, and there were still hopes of securing Persian neutrality. The main theatre of operations was the Hellespont, Propontis and Bosphorus, with preparations currently in train for the recovery of Byzantium and Chalcedon (achieved in the summer of 408). At home, the presence of the Spartan King Agis at Deceleia was a constant vexation; but his bluff had been called in 410 when he brought his army down towards Athens and was forced to beat a hasty retreat.

Politically, however, Athens under a restored and rampant democracy was still in the immediate aftermath of the convulsions of 411-10, and sick with inter-class suspicion, private animosities, and a spate of bitter litigation in which 'a set of acrid politicians and sycophants encompassed the exile, disfranchisement, or judicial murder of many persons'.⁷ It

⁴ We await the revision of *CAH* v (which has currently reached 410, but not yet 409/8). Meanwhile W. S. Ferguson's chs. 11-12 in *CAH* v (1927, 1960), 312-52 remain useful.

⁵ For the shared battle honours, see A. Andrewes, *JHS* 1982, 15-25.

⁶ On the abortive peace-offer(s) (perhaps repeated in 408 and 406), cf. P. J. Rhodes on Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 34. 2.

⁷ Ferguson 351 (perhaps overstating somewhat the roughness of the restored democracy on the defeated oligarchs; the democrats had a case too).

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was a bad time for the noble and propertied classes, crippled by the cost of the war and now tainted with the smear not only of oligarchy but also of treason. 'Moderation' was a difficult policy to sustain: to some, *ἡσυχία* (keeping a low profile) seemed the wisest course; others were driven to such ignominious shifts as earned for Theramenes a reputation as a trimmer and turncoat (acquiescing, and even actively joining, in prosecutions of former political associates and 'friends');⁸ others of the Few were still secretly active in *ἐταιρίαι* (political clubs of sworn comrades) of the kind that had subverted the democracy in 411.⁹ It was a bad time also for 'sophism', the vaunted 'enlightenment' and superior education of the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* having acquired an association in the popular mind with all kinds of 'impiety'.¹⁰ Within the *δῆμος* there were doubtless many, especially those with their roots in the soil, who deplored the antinomian 'indiscipline' (*ἀκολασία*) both of sophistically educated young men and of 'upstart' demagogic politicians; but they were powerless to reverse the breakdown of traditional values described so graphically (in a different context, but relevantly) by Thucydides.¹¹

But this was still the Athens of Socrates (virtually certain to have been among the spectators in 408)¹² and the builders of

⁸ Theramenes: cf. Rhodes on *Ath. Pol.* 28. 5 (with Gomme-Andrewes-Dover, *Thucydides* v. 300), and W. B. Stanford on *Ar. Ran.* 540-1.

⁹ On *ἐταιρίαι/-ρίαι* and *ξυνωμοσίαι* see esp. Gomme-Andrewes-Dover 128-31. 'There is no unequivocal evidence to show when [the former word] acquired its more sinister ring at Athens. . . but *ἐταιρεία* and *τὸ ἐταιρικόν* are pervasive evils in Thucydides' analysis of stasis during the Archidamian War in iii. 82'; cf. 804-6*, 1100-30*.

¹⁰ See 4-10* (and my article in *CQ* 1983, 25-33). For the prominence of *ἀσέβεια* and cognate words in late E., see 823-4*; but note also the common use of *ἀνόσιος* (22-4*, 481*, etc.) and *ἄθεος*, with a wide range of abusive application, alongside words like *ἀνομος* and *ἀκόλαστος* (10*).

¹¹ For the relevance of Th. 3. 82 and (more generally) the contemporary political scene, cf. 1100-30*, Chapouthier 7-9, Goossens 638 ff., Connor (esp. 188-9) and the articles by Burkert, O. Longo and Rawson.

¹² An anecdote describing Socrates' applause of the opening *sententia* is attested by Cicero (*Tusc.* 4. 63) and others; cf. Webster, *TE* 264⁰.

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the Erechtheum; in which, although Euripides and Agathon soon 'departed to enjoy the bounty and grace of the court of Archelaus of Macedon, . . . Sophocles and Aristophanes remained, sure of intelligent appreciation of their matchless artistry'.¹³

We may certainly see in *Or.* a reflection (among other things) of the diverse ethos of Athens in 409/8 BC. But the biographical tradition that E. soon afterwards finally left Athens in frustration and despair is likely to be based on nothing more than the known fact (if it *was* a fact) of his ἀποδημία;¹⁴ he probably did not intend to die in Macedon. It is still fashionable to see *Or.* as the last 'disillusioned' play before his departure;¹⁵ but it was only one of three tragedies presented by him in 408, and we know virtually nothing about the others.¹⁶ If, in a sense, *Or.* has an acid flavour, it is also notably exhilarating in its intellectual appeal, accelerating pace and touches of (not entirely black) comedy. Greek religion was seldom 'optimistic', and Greeks enjoyed, even while weeping, the savage ironies of human life when artistically presented on the plane of myth.

Too much recent interpretation of Euripidean drama has been founded upon the tacit assumption that E. refashioned

¹³ Ferguson 352.

¹⁴ The biographical tradition is so suspect that there is some reason to doubt whether in fact E. ever went to Macedon; cf. M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (1981), 103.

¹⁵ Scarcella's phrase 'la testimonianza di un pessimismo senza soluzione' (272) has been echoed by several commentators.

¹⁶ It is unfortunate that the relevant part of the Aristophanic hypothesis has not survived, which might (cf. *Med.* and *Tr.*) have informed us about E.'s competitors and the other plays presented in the same year. Webster (*TE* 238 ff.) argues rather tenuously for the little-known *Auge* and *Oedipus* as the accompanying tragedies (the idea, still occasionally met with, that *Or.* was the fourth play, 'instead of a satyr-play', is without foundation; see D. F. Sutton, *RSC* 1973, 117). Conceivably the satyr-play was *Cyclops*, for the late dating of which see R. A. S. Seaford, *JHS* 1982, 161-72; echoes in *Cyc.* (identified by Seaford) of *Hec.* and *S. Phil.* are well matched in *Or.*, which has several clear echoes of *Hec.* (notably at 66, 901, 1280, 1536). For a quite different chronology from Webster's, see Bond, *Hypsipyle*, p. 144.

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the traditional myths in order to say things about the real world in which he lived. The converse is at least as likely to be true, namely that E., as *μυθοποιός* and dramatist rather than philosopher,¹⁷ exploited both the contemporary scene and what we may call 'topical *μῦθος*' (both popular and sophistic) in order to enhance, on various levels, the aesthetic appeal of his essentially mythical dramas.¹⁸ His taste for 'modernity' (doubtless shared by most of his audience) is balanced by a no less conspicuous taste for tradition and archaism.¹⁹ It is open to question how far Athenians even expected tragic poets to enlighten them about the ultimate truths of human existence. Some critics have held that tragedy is not tragedy unless something 'emerges' about the dealings of gods with men.²⁰ Tragedians were certainly looked to for new 'gnomic' formulations (on the lips of *dramatis personae* and choruses) of more or less familiar religious and ethical positions; but that is a very different matter. In general I believe that the frameworks of myth and religious belief adopted by dramatists in particular plays or trilogies (often requiring exposi-

¹⁷ Cf. Winnington-Ingram, *EPS* 127: 'It is arguable that, despite this top-dressing of philosophy, Euripides was the least philosophic of the three tragedians' (followed by an illuminating discussion of E.'s multifarious 'sophistication').

¹⁸ Cf. Fuqua¹ 4: 'The dramatist's participation in the bold intellectual experiment of the period and his effective use of the new techniques of character representation and manipulation should not be allowed to obscure either the Greeks' or Euripides' continued fascination with myth.' 1001 ff. (see Comm.) affords a characteristic example of Euripidean 'myth-enhancement', in his reformulation of a familiar 'cosmic' myth in such a way as to include new ideas (not of his own invention) without excluding more traditional ideas; and (linked with that) cf. his 'topical' reformulation of the Tantalus-myth (4-10*).

¹⁹ Cf. Webster's essay 'Euripides: traditionalist and innovator' in D. C. Allen and H. T. Rowell (eds.), *The Poetic Tradition* (Baltimore 1968), 27-45.

²⁰ Something like that seems to have been part of Dale's definition of *τραγωδία* (*Helen*, p. ix). Certainly, nothing like it was included in Aristotle's (*Poet.* 1449b). For a balanced view, apropos the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 106-7. I would agree that 'in early tragedy, at least, the parenthetic element has a real importance'; but even in Aeschylus I should be inclined to assess that importance in *aesthetic* terms.

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tion) are better regarded as premisses of the dramatic action than as emergent truths.²¹

As to *Or.*, it is a necessary premiss (in line with much earlier Greek poetry), rather than the moralizing conclusion, of this agreeably 'shocking' play that 'the human condition is such, under divine dispensation, that the most δεινά things can happen'.²² The topical enrichments of the ingenious plot then have the effect of creating not only a τραγωδία but also a 'comedy of manners'—arguably, with a cutting edge of irony amounting to 'satire', but deployed with a whimsical wit and even-handedness (embracing even the 'blameless' yeoman farmers οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σώζουσι γῆν) that suggest an absence of tendentiousness. It is a reasonable inference that E. himself had a profound sense of the true value in human life of σωφροσύνη and τὸ μέσον; but the latter is not so much a 'hidden theme' as a necessary (but barely stated) frame of reference against which the topically polarized presentation of mythical δεινά is to be viewed.²³ As we shall see, the plot would not have worked if any of its main characters had argued for, or even contemplated, a 'middle course'.

This commentary will be little concerned (and nowhere directly) with the question 'What is Euripides trying to say?'; but rather with the matters outlined in the opening paragraph of this section. The difference of approach can be simply illustrated by posing the question: 'Why are three-fifths of the play devoted to Or.'s condemnation to death for the crime of matricide?' Most commentators express or imply answers in terms of the moral and socio-political issues which they suppose E. to have been primarily concerned to

²¹ An argument which I hope to elaborate elsewhere. What 'emerges' from a Greek tragedy is not a 'message' (Lloyd-Jones rightly agrees with Dodds), but an aesthetic experience to be assessed against a background of changing values.

²² 1-3* ('can happen' should more precisely be 'can be taken on by human beings as burdens').

²³ See especially, in the 'Assembly'-narration (844-956*), on the proposal of Diomedes (898-902*).

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'explore'. My answers, without altogether denying a 'para-
netic' element, would be: primarily, (a) because the condem-
nation to death, coupled with the betrayal by Menelaus, is a
necessary premiss for the later action; (b) because it is a
mythographic innovation, and its untraditional nature
required elaboration of circumstances and personal motiva-
tions for the sake of plausibility (τὸ εἰκός); (c) because the
three-act elaboration—carefully balanced as to audience-
sympathy—is in itself productive of absorbingly interesting
and enjoyable drama.

As to the mythical background of E.'s Orestes-plays and
their literary antecedents, there is neither need nor room to
retrace here the ground covered by Denniston and Platnauer
in their Introductions to *EL* and *IT* in this series. The present
play begins with a retrospective 'exposition' (1-70*, 11 ff.*);
and its numerous literary echoes will be considered in due
course (Introd. G v; Commentary, *passim*).

B. The Primary Idea

The play ends spectacularly with all eyes on Apollo (the
god, among other things, of Enlightenment) and the para-
doxically deified Helen (1625-90*, ending . . . *σὺν Τυνδαρί-
δαις τοῖς Διὸς ὑγρᾶς / ναύταις μεδέουσα θαλάσσης*); a feature
neglected or misstated in many plot-summaries and discus-
sions, too exclusively concerned with the paradoxical fate of
the 'hero' (or 'anti-hero').²⁴ The corner-stone of the plot—
other corner-stones, however basal or prominent, are second-

²⁴ e.g. Conacher (213-24), who mentions Helen only once—in a paren-
thesis—in the first seven pages of his essay on *Or*. Summaries in which the fate
of Helen is treated as it were *en passant* have an ancient heritage (cf. Hyp. I);
so, e.g., Wedd, p. xi: '... Apollo appears and settles all difficulties by
announcing that Helen was not killed after all but transported to heaven,
that Pylades is to marry Electra and that Orestes, after temporary retirement
to Arcadia, is to return and marry Hermione. All parties accept this
arbitration and the play ends with an exhortation to peace and a prayer for victory' (my
italics).

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ary—is the frustrated *σφαγή* ('slaughter') of Helen by her nephew Orestes as the occasion of that apotheosis. We can well imagine the relish with which, having conceived that audacious new idea (probably quite soon after the *Helen*, 412 BC, in which the apotheosis, but not the occasion of it, is foreshadowed),²⁵ E. set about devising a sequence of events which might plausibly accommodate it within the framework of well-known mythical tradition, and working out a detailed dramatic and musical scenario according to the accepted conventions of *τραγωδία*. Few tragic *personae* were more familiar than 'Orestes the Matricide', who had already featured in three of E.'s plays (*An.*, *El.*, *IT*), not counting the *Telephus* (n. 35 below); and for more than fifteen years the paradoxical figure of Helen (and everything connected with the Judgement of Paris) had had a special fascination for him.²⁶ *Or.* is the play in which E. writes an appropriately paradoxical *finis* to Helen's mortal existence.

The germ of the plot may have been in E.'s mind for some years; but its detailed working-out is unlikely to have been initiated before the festival of 409 BC (whether or not E. was then a competitor). There are good reasons for supposing that even some cardinal features were not conceived by him till after the production of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* in that year. Not the least striking of the many points of contact between *Or.* and S. *Phil.* (G v, below) is the fact that these are the only two Greek tragedies known to us in which divine intervention 'from the Machine' diametrically reverses the logically developed outcome of the action on the human plane (in S.

²⁵ *Hel.* 1666-9 *ὄταν δὲ κάμψης καὶ τελευτήσης βίον, / θεὸς κεκλήσῃ καὶ Διοσκόρων μετὰ / σπονδῶν μεθέξεις ξενία τ' ἀνθρώπων πάρα / εἴξεις μεθ' ἡμῶν· Ζεὺς γὰρ ὧδε βούλεται.* *Hel.* 1655 (*ἔλθειν τ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ συνοικήσαι πόσει*) suggests that in 412 E. was still visualizing a *βίου τελευτή* for Helen at Sparta (as in the *Odyssey*).

²⁶ The first extant E. refs. to Helen are in *An.* (104, 248, 602, 680, 899); see especially Jouan 95 ff., 145 ff., Stinton, *EJP* 13-39, Vellacott 127-52, Wolff, *HSPH* 1973, 61-84. The sophistic 'Defence of Helen' by Gorgias has points of contact with *Tr.* (415 BC); cf. Guthrie, *Sophists* 192, and M. Lloyd, 'The Helen scene in Euripides' *Troades*', *CQ* 1984, 303-13.

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Phil., without the last-minute intervention of Heracles, Philoctetes and Neoptolemus would have set sail to Greece, rather than Troy, and the Trojan War would have ended differently);²⁷ a new structural idea, making possible almost any anti-traditional story-invention, which E. was more than ready to exploit.²⁸

This identification of 'the primary idea' is—let it be admitted—an unprovable hypothesis. But, if we take it as our clew when threading a path through the intricacies of the play, we shall find that everything falls into place. Everything—formal elements, themes, treatment of character, topical features, the role of the chorus—is directly or indirectly (as 'enrichment') subservient to the requirements of the plot (as outlined above and further developed as a logically and aesthetically satisfying sequence of *λόγοι*, *μέλη* and *δρώμενα* leading suspensefully to the 'given' *τέλος*). For critics, on the other hand, who look for the primary idea or 'meaning' (*a fortiori* 'message') of the play in moral or socio-political terms, the plot lacks unity and the ending of the drama is an embarrassingly absurd 'epilogue';²⁹ the play as a

²⁷ Note that in neither play is it right to speak of an *impasse* having been reached (1625–90*).

²⁸ It is, of course, possible that E. had himself already developed the 'Stop!' type of *deus*-entry (*IT, Hel.*) into a complete-reversal mechanism prior to *S. Phil.* in some non-extant play (if this is a Euripidean feature in *S. Phil.*, it would not be the only one); see in general Spira (for both S. and E.; pp. 138–45 on *Or.*) and W. Schmidt, *Der Deus ex Machina bei Euripides*, Diss. Tübingen 1963 (pp. 184–92 on *Or.*).

²⁹ For Verrall (256 ff.) the happy ending was not even part of the play as originally conceived (and perhaps privately presented). Many have followed him in so far as they regard it as some kind of concession to convention; e.g. Conacher 224: 'The epilogue . . . in which . . . the poet seems engaged in repairing the torn fabric of the myth, need not, I think, seriously affect our view of the dramatic action' (Was E. really such a bungler? And what previously untorn fabric required that Helen should mount to the stars and Orestes 'live happily ever after?'). Others contrive to see the 'absurd', 'incredible' dispositions of Apollo as deliberately calculated to leave an aftertaste of disaster and pessimism (cf. n. 15): 'The resolution . . . is so designed as to be merely an apparent resolution . . . The nightmare survives

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whole being at best 'rich and interesting but not very clearly focussed'.³⁰ And the same is true for critics, who (like Wedd) regard *Or.* as exemplifying a type of drama in which 'plot' is subordinated to 'characterization'.³¹

C. *The Construction of the Plot*

(i) Given that *Or.* was to 'kill' (and 'not kill') Helen, the time and place of the action imposed themselves. It was common knowledge that Menelaus and Helen took seven years to return from Troy to Greece and eventually reached Nauplia immediately after the deaths of Aegisthus and Clytaemestra; a coincidence heightened by Homer with the adverb *αὐτῆμαρ*,³² and which E. had himself exploited at the end of his *Electra* (his concern there being to deal tidily with the issues 'who is to bury the dead?' and 'who is to rule Argos if *Or.* himself is to dwell in exile?').³³ It would be aesthetically appropriate to begin the new play as a direct sequel—broadly—to *El.* and *Helen* (also to the *Electra* of Sophocles and the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, see below), with a dual focus on 'Orestes the Matricide' and 'The Homecoming of Menelaus'. It would also be a very proper step to reassert (against *El.* and *Hel.*) the tradition that Helen really did go to Troy; the Stesichorean 'Phantom'-idea had been fun to develop, but the standard tradition was both more convenient (simpler) and

the magic' (Arrowsmith 110). There is nothing 'incredible' in 1625 ff. *given a mythical world in which gods appear in person*. For the elements (not necessarily gloom-laden) of irony and paradox see further ad loc. For a refutation of the whole concept of a tacked-on epilogue, see D v below.

³⁰ Rawson 162.

³¹ Wedd, p. xv (cf. n. 24 above).

³² *Od.* 3. 311; only the killing of Aegisthus is described there, but Homer may well have been aware of the matricide story (cf. 30*).

³³ *El.* 1278 ff. *μητέρα δὲ τὴν σὴν ἄρτι Ναυπλίαν παρῶν / Μενέλαος . . . / Ἑλένη τε θάψει. Πρωτίως γὰρ ἐκ δόμων / ἤκει λιπούσ' Αἴγυπτον οὐδ' ἦλθεν Φρύγας* (κτλ.). The germ of the *Helen* was evidently already in E.'s mind, although *El.* is probably at least five years earlier than *Hel.*

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mythographically stronger (more paradoxical) for the new conception. It needed some audacity to contradict a memorable feature of the *Odyssey* (Helen will now vanish from the earth before reaching Sparta, as described in *Od.* 4); but rejection of the Homeric treatment of Helen's 'domestic' destiny (in itself a delightful irony) was already implicit in the 'primary idea': she could not be expected to die placidly of old age, if she was to join Heracles and the Dioscuri in Heaven.

(ii) The next step was to devise an appropriate motivation for Or.'s killing of his newly arrived aunt. It would not be satisfactory for it to be prompted merely by his traditional madness (the Furies) or merely by a desire to execute the adulterous Causer of War, though both these ideas could be included. It must have been an early decision (from which much else flowed) to invent a betrayal of Or. by his uncle. 'Betrayal' was a favourite motif in tragic plots, and Or.'s cry *οἴμοι, προδέδομαι* at 722 is especially reminiscent of *S. Phil.* 923 *ἀπόλωλα τλήμων, προδέδομαι*.³⁴ The stage could thus be set for a familiar type of 'vengeance'-action (cf. *Med.*, *Hec.*, *Ion*), to be initiated by Pylades, Or.'s traditional 'counsellor', with the proposal

Ἐλένην κτάνωμεν, Μενέλεω λύπην πικράν (1105*).

The effect of Men.'s betrayal in the first half of the play must be to reduce *τλήμων Ὀρέστης* to a state of extreme *τλημοσύνη* and recklessly vengeful desperation. Left in the lurch by his uncle (and apparently by Apollo, see below), he will plausibly be condemned to death by the Argives as a polluted matricide. Somehow it must be so contrived that between the condemnation and the carrying-out of the sentence he has an opportunity for his 'vengeance'; which can also (a new thought) be a desperate bid for 'survival' (the Argives may applaud the 'execution' of Helen and decide to crown Or. as a benefactor). The types of motivation required for such a

³⁴ These are the only occurrences in tragedy of the word *προδέδομαι* (*προδέδοσαι* *Hr.* 591, *-όμεσθα* *Ion* 808, *-οται* *IA* 1140).

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story-line were precisely those topically familiar to Athenians in 409/8 BC.

(iii) Further progressive constructional stages might be inferred by similar reasoning: notably the 'hostage' role of Hermione, who had to be included as Helen's daughter and Or.'s future wife,³⁵ and the important role of Tyndareus (at once giving Men. his principal motive for betraying Or., and enhancing the plausibility of Or.'s untraditional condemnation to death). But I proceed at once to offer a structural synopsis of the total design, to be followed by further observations.

Act One 1-315. Prelude and first ἀγών. νόσος, τλήμων Ὀρέστης, Ἐρινύες.

1-70 Prologue (Electra)—71-125 Helen, El.; Hermione to Cl.'s Tomb (L)—126-39 Hel. returns within, enter Chorus (R)—140-207 ἀμοibaion Chor., El. ('Sleep-scene')—208-10 link—211-315 Orestes, El.; El. goes within.

Ode 316-47: the Erinyes and Apollo; 'some ἀλάστωρ afflicting the Tantalid House'.

Act Two 348-806. Faithless and faithful φίλοι. ἀγώνες of words.

348-55 (anap.) enter Menelaus (?L)—356-455 Men., Or.—456-69 enter Tyndareus (L)—470-629 Tynd., Men.; Tynd., Or.—630-1 exit Tynd. (L)—632-716 Or., Men.—717-28 exit Men. (L), enter Pylades (R)—729-806 (tetram.) Pyl., Or.; exeunt (R) to the Assembly-trial.

Ode 807-43: the blood-afflicted House anciently 'pitiable'; matricide 'impious' and the worst νόσος; Or. thus culminatingly 'most τλήμων'.

³⁵ An artistic necessity. The marriage or at least betrothal of Or. and Herm. had featured in several tragedies and 'may well be derived from some epic source' (Stevens, *Andromache*, pp. 3-5). The hostage motif had featured in E.'s famous *Telephus* (in which, ironically, the hostage had been Or. himself as a baby); cf. Ar. *Ach.* 326 ff.

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Act Three 844–956. Forensic ‘life or death’ *ἀγών*.

844–65 re-enter El., enter Messenger—866–956 report of the Assembly-proceedings: Or. and El. are to die by suicide. Exit Mess.

Threnos 960–1012 (El., Ch.; El.) for the extinction of the House; the Pelopid Curse and the operation (cosmic also) of Eris.

Act Four 1013–1245. Suicide-*ἀγών* interrupted by new proposal.

1013–17 (anap.) re-enter Or. and Pyl.—1018–1152 El., Or.; Or., Pyl.—1153–4 Chor.-leader—1155–1245 three-cornered Intrigue combining ‘vengeance’ and ‘survival’ themes. Or. and Pyl. go into the Palace.

Finale 1246–1690. The *ἔσχατος ἀγών* leading *δεινῶς* to the *καταστροφή*.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|--|
| i | 1246–85 | <i>amoibaion</i> (El., Ch.); the L/R roads, with a false alarm. |
| | 1286–1310 | the ‘death of Helen’ (heard within). |
| | 1353–65 | re-enter Herm. (L); El. lures and follows her within. |
| ii | 1353–65 | <i>strophe</i> : ‘Helen justly slain’ (not everything yet <i>σαφές</i>). |
| | 1366–8 | enter a terrified Phrygian, whose sung |
| | 1369–1502 | <i>ἀγγελία</i> seems to confirm the <i>σφαγή</i> (but with a ‘vanishing’ at the climax). |
| | 1503–5 | reenter Or. in pursuit of the Phrygian; |
| | 1506–36 | Or., Phr. (tetram.); Or. returns within, Phr. exits L. |
| | 1537–48 | <i>antistrophe</i> : ‘alas! the House! the end is as god wills’. |
| iii | 1549–53 | (tetram.) re-enter Men., bent on ven- |
| | 1554–1624 | geance for Helen; Men. parleys with the conspirators (on the roof). |
| | 1625–90 | Apollo in the nick of time prevents ‘what must not be’, paradoxically reverses the |

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calamity to reconciliation and unalloyed *εὐδαιμονία*, and reveals the paradoxical apotheosis of Helen (rescued from Or.'s sword) as the foreordained *τέλος* of the whole *δεινόν* affair.

(1691–3 choral tailpiece)

Protagonist. Or. 1–806, 1013–1245, 1503–36, 1566–end, ?Mess. 850–956.

Deuteragonist. El.* 1–315, Men. 348–716, El.* 844–1352, Phr.* 1366–1536, Men. 1549–end. (*includes song.)

Tritagonist. Hel. 71–125, Tynd. 456–629, Pyl. 725–806, (?Mess. 850–956), Pyl. 1013–1245, Herm. 1311–46, Apol. 1625–end.

κωφὰ πρόσωπα. Herm. 112–25, El., Pyl., Herm. 1567–end, Hel. ?1639–end (+ attendants, etc.).

D. Further Structural Observations

(i) *καταστροφή* ('reversal') is a standard element in tragic plots, usually and most traditionally (but there are many exceptions) from 'excess of prosperity' to 'ruin'.³⁶ In *Or.* there are suspenseful ups and downs, but the overall movement is directed *deceptively* towards a simultaneous twofold 'upward reversal': in the case of Helen, from universal execration and apparent death to immortality and cult as a 'saviour of ships' (1635–7*); in the case of Or., from execrated *νόσος*, 'ruin' (954–6*) and repeatedly imminent death (188, 1068, 1618–24) to unalloyed *εὐδαιμονία* (1643–59*, 1645–7*). Both reversals are paradoxical, and the exaggerated nature of the latter (from one extreme to the other) is the mythopoetic corollary, as it were, of the cancellation of Helen's *δύσκληια* and mortality. Another corollary (affecting at once the *dramatis personae* and the contemporary audience) is the

³⁶ On that, on the opposite and on plays of mixed reversal, see esp. Burnett (pp. 183–222 on *Or.*).

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reversal from Strife (12-14*, etc.) to Peace (1683). Sharply focused antitheses had an aesthetic appeal to the Greek mind; and *Or.* is unusually rich in polarized 'oppositions' of all sorts (see further in E-F below).

(ii) The design accommodates an effectively varied sequence of familiar and less familiar types of action (including a 'sleep-scene', 'quasi-forensic dispute', 'supplication', 'messenger-speech', 'intrigue', 'suspenseful and spectacular conclusion'), linked in new ways and with several unexpected twists.³⁷

(iii) As Taplin has argued, the 'scene', typically (not invariably) demarcated by an initial entrance and a terminal exit, is the basic unit of action (sometimes including song).³⁸ In grouping scenes and musical numbers in 'acts', I imply no definition of 'act' (as opposed to 'scene') as applicable to the whole of Greek tragedy. The sequence of *ἀγῶνες* is a special feature of this superlatively well-constructed play, at once structural and thematic (38, 333; 431, 456, 491; (847), 878; 1065, 1124, 1222-3, 1244; 1291, 1342, 1537-8); cf. F i. 13 below.

(iv) Three and a half 'acts' are needed in preparation for the proposal '*Ἑλένην κτάνωμεν . . .*', with the focus on the *ἦθος* (F ii-iii below) and increasingly desperate circumstances of *τλήμων Ὀρέστης*. Inescapably *Or.*, *El.*, *Men.*, *Tynd.* and *Pyl.* occupy the foreground, and Helen can appear only at the beginning (by the clever device of bringing her to the Palace before *Men.*, 57 ff.*) and, as a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, at the end. But there is no reason to suppose that E. will have regarded that as a damaging modification of his 'primary idea' (cf. 71-125*). If Helen is allowed to drop out of mind (as well as out

³⁷ Burnett loc. cit.; Strohm's structural study of different types of action in E.'s plays broke much new ground (pp. 121-7 on *Or.*), and see also Ludwig. G. Arnott makes many illuminating points about E.'s exploitation of 'surprise' (also in *Mus. Phil. Lond.* 1978, 1-24).

³⁸ *Stageraft* 49-60; we should no longer wrestle to impose upon 5th-c. tragedy the structural classification described in Arist. *Poet.* 1452^b 14-27, which may not even be by Aristotle (*ibid.* 470-6).

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of sight) during parts of the action, that is a feature of the deliberately deceptive movement of the plot towards 'calamity'. Much the same is true of Apollo, to whom there are repeated references in Act One, fewer references in Acts Two (see 807-43*) and Three (only 954-6*), and then virtually none (only 'Απολλωνίων, of Troy, at 1388) until he appears *παρ' ἐλπίδα* in person.

(v) As to the finale, the idea that 1625 ff. is an 'epilogue' to an action which might, but for 'convention', have ended at 1624 takes no account of the numerous features *before* 1624 (most obviously the 'vanishing' at 1494-7*) which, on examination, reveal themselves as ingeniously deceptive preparations for the final surprise.³⁹ Rivier well observed that E. 'tient ici son public en haleine par les moyens du drame policier'.⁴⁰ In handling the 'frustrated killing' of Helen, E. evidently set himself to elaborate, with extraordinary complexity and theatrical skill, what could have been more straightforward. The murder could have been simply prevented by divine intervention, e.g. at the moment when Or. and Pyl. are going within (cf. *Hel.* 1642); or its accomplishment could have been 'cancelled' purely by a revelation after the event (cf. the treatment in *IT* of Artemis' rescue of Iphigenia at Aulis: all the Greeks had been 'deceived' at the time by the substitution of a hind). But something special was needed for this dramatized transition from mortality to immortality; the passing of Helen must be surpassingly paradoxical. This 'killing' will be successful, to the extent that the 'perishing' of the mortal Helen is truly established (partly by the cry *ὄλλυμαι* from within, partly by subsequent report and dialogue); and every kind of *suggestio falsi* will be employed (short of direct falsehood) to make the audience think of Helen as literally 'slaughtered'. At the same time the

³⁹ 1173-4*, 1286-1310*, 1353-65* (1353-6*, 1357-60*), 1366-1502* (1395-9*, 1491*), 1512*, 1536*, 1537-48*, 1566*, 1589-90*.

⁴⁰ Rivier¹ 142 (a passage altered in his 2nd edn.). One need not, however, be on the defensive ('Il faut convenir . . .') about one of the most important and enjoyable features in this dramatic *tour de force*.

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audience will be warned to wait for an accurate report and the evidence of autopsy (1357-60); the *ἀγγελία* of Helen's death, when it comes, will not be a straightforward spoken one, and it will culminate in a weird mention of Helen's magical disappearance just before, at or after the moment of *σφαγή* (as to which ambiguity is carefully preserved). Thus the divine revelation will be at once a cancellation of the *σφαγή* and a confirmation of a correctly reported, but at the time scarcely believed, supernatural intervention. All this needed the utmost dexterity in relation to the other plot-complications in the finale: the combination of 'vengeance' and 'survival' motives, and the further threat to the life of Hermione.

(vi) As to the timing of the action: (a) the far-reaching invention of a five-day interval between the death of Cl. and the homecoming of Men. (39-40) gives Or. time to have reached a 'necrotic' condition (84, etc.), Tynd. time to have received news of Cl.'s death and come from Sparta (470-5), the Argives time to have arranged a *κυρία ἡμέρα* for the judicial Assembly (46 ff.*), and Pyl. time to have gone home to Phocis, so as to be absent until he makes his entrance (with great effect) at 717-28*; everything thus plausibly happens during a single action-packed day. (b) 'Time' and 'action' within the day are artfully unified by the dispatch of Hermione to Cl.'s Tomb in the first scene, a mission from which she returns, suspensefully awaited, in the finale; see 1214-15*.

(vii) No less skilful is the deployment of the three actors, each of whom, in very different ways, has a most rewarding role or combination of roles. Note that the second actor sings a great deal, the others not at all (was that, perhaps, a design-requirement?). We know that the 'first actor' Hegelochus played the part of Or. in 408 BC (279*); but there must often have been occasions on the ancient stage when the senior actor in a team was the specialist singer.

(viii) The handling of the 'conspiratorial' Chorus has much in common with that in *S. El.* and *Phil.*; it is more consistently

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ancillary to the plot (including its deceptive movement, 1353-65*) than in any other Euripidean play, and much of its singing is directly dramatic; the finest musical passages are given to the second actor (see on 140-207*, 960-1012*, 1366-1502*). At the same time, however, the Chorus carries 'the major burden for the continuity of the mythological context of the play';⁴¹ see especially 807-43* and 1546-8*.

E. Scene and Scenic Handling

(i) *Stage and setting.* The action is set partly before, partly within the Palace of the Atreidae at Mycenae (or 'Argos', 46*), flexibly exploiting the conventional arrangements of the Greek theatre.⁴² For nearly half the play (1-806) the focal point of the action is Or.'s sick-bed. After Or.'s exit and return, separated by an interval which includes two odes (807-1012), the bed has been forgotten, and the later action is more straightforwardly 'before the Palace', with, for the first time, the doors, façade and roof of the *σκηνή* playing a significant part, alongside some detailed references to the interior of the Palace. We are not to infer retrospectively that Or. has lain *sub Iove* for five days outside his front door. In a real sense he is afflicted by the Furies *ἐν δόμοις* (cf. 337), though for obvious reasons we see him and his interlocutors *ἔξω*. Recognizing that, Webster (*TE* 247) says that Or. 'begins with an *ekkyklema*-scene'; but we cannot invoke a contrivance that would block the *σκηνή*-entrance at 71, 112, 125 and 315. It is instructive to compare the bedroom-scene with which Ar. *Nub.* opens,⁴³ and to contrast the elaborate verbal scene-painting of the Temple and its surroundings in

⁴¹ Fuqua¹ 77⁹⁷; contrast Verrall 216: 'Of the Chorus we need say little, and would gladly say nothing.'

⁴² On these in general see Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 1-113, P. Arnott *passim*, Taplin 434-51, Hourmouziades (for E. in particular) and S. Melchinger, *Das Theater der Tragödie*, Munich 1974; on stage door(s), see H. Petersmann, *WS* 1971, 91-109.

⁴³ Dover, *Clouds*, pp. 91-2.

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Ion. Greek audiences were not conditioned to expect illusionist treatment of the σκηνή.⁴⁴ At the same time, however, treatment of the σκηνή as Palace- or Temple-façade had tended to become more rigid in tragedy (unlike comedy),⁴⁵ and E. may have considered it necessary to effect his scene-shift (such as it is) in a negative manner, i.e. by wholly abstaining from scenic description until long after the sick-bed has been removed. So it is that the play opens with a tableau in which all our attention is focused on the sick-bed (34 ff.), even before we are told that we are in 'Argos' (46 ff.); the Palace is not mentioned until 60, and then only vaguely (without a demonstrative). For a long time thereafter the σκηνή, though conventionally referred to as δόμοι, δώματα, and providing a hidden 'within' (60, 301, etc.), will have little or no illusionist function. The visible acting-area⁴⁶ can be referred to *en passant* as 'beneath the roof' (147 f.*), as part of a flexibly-conceived ἀύλη (1277). To achieve the right effect, E. is likely to have given special consideration to the handling of the σκηνή-doors. Probably they stand open (the entrance not functioning as a front door) so long as the acting-area is notionally ὑπόστεγος; the panels, opening inwards (1561 f.*), are out of sight. They are closed for the first time at 1245 (cf. 1221*), when Or. and Pyl. go within, noisily opened again at 1366-8*, and finally locked (with invisible bars) at 1549-53 (1551*).

(ii) *Left and right*. Throughout, the Palace is thought of as threateningly encircled by the citizenry of Argos/Mycenae; as in *IA*, the unseen event-shaping environment is an integral component of the drama.⁴⁷ In accordance with that, the two lateral εἴσοδοι, collectively representing 'all directions' (67,

⁴⁴ Cf. Dale, *Papers* 119-29, 259-71.

⁴⁵ P. Arnott 117 f.

⁴⁶ I have visualized, without commitment to it, a shallow raised stage, demarcated from the ὀρχήστρα by steps (on the vexed question of the raised stage in the 5th c., see esp. Taplin 441-2). El. sits downstage in the opening tableau (1-70*).

⁴⁷ Cf. Hourmouziades 120-1.

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1266–8, 1295), are both equally available for access to/from the surrounding city (*a fortiori*, both are available for an expected arrival from the port of Nauplia, 67–8). The Palace (like the Athenian Acropolis) is as much ‘within the gates’ as the Agora (866 ff.); so too, we must presume, are the tombs of Clytaemestra and Agamemnon (94 etc., 796).⁴⁸ It would be a serious error to reconstruct the action on the assumption that ‘Town’ and ‘Harbour’ lie offstage in opposite directions (with the implication that E. assigned all but one of the lateral entrances and exits to the same, ‘Town’ and ‘Tomb’, εἴσοδος).⁴⁹ Left and right are significant rather in terms of opposition;⁵⁰ e.g. at 717–21 the faithless Menelaus exits on one side (following Tynd. ‘to the Argive assembly’, 612, 704), immediately before the faithful Pylades enters at a run on the other side (having come through the town and seen the assembling citizens, 729 ff.). The natural interpretation of 796–8 is that the Tombs of Cl. and Ag. lie in opposite lateral directions (with another symbolic opposition).⁵¹ It has been established by then that both εἴσοδοι are available for an exit to the Assembly, and Or. makes a point of exiting on the ‘paternal’ side (opposite to that taken by Tynd. and Men.). The offstage position of Cl.’s Tomb (its direction, not its distance, which is carefully left indeterminate) is the primary lateral reference-point. To it Hermione is dispatched in the first scene; from it she will return, suspensefully awaited, in the finale; and Tynd. enters from that side at 456 ff. (explicitly coming from Cl.’s Tomb and so reminding us of its

⁴⁸ For Hourmouziades (also Melchinger 267¹⁸) the Tomb of Cl. lies ‘between the Palace and the Town’; that needs qualification.

⁴⁹ The later fixed lateral conventions (‘harbour’ to the R, etc.) are certainly not applicable to the whole of 5th-c. drama (K. J. Rees, *AJPh* 1911, 377 ff.). If, as is possible, they had their genesis before the end of the century, 67–8 serves to counter any *a priori* expectation. In classical drama, ‘each play creates its own “topography”’ (Hourmouziades 129; cf. Taplin 450–1).

⁵⁰ On spatial (lateral) opposition in general, see esp. Taplin (*loc. cit.*) and Hourmouziades 128–36.

⁵¹ Here especially I differ from Hourmouziades, who infers that the tombs must be near each other.

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direction). For convenience I designate that side as L; other exits/entrances can then be assigned to L or R on that basis (and other *ad hoc* considerations). I also understand L as *spectators' left*, for reasons that are not completely arbitrary. At 1258-60 the two 'carriage-ways' are distinguished as 'sunward' and 'westward', presumably in accordance with the orientation of the open-air Theatre of Dionysus;⁵² and it seems to be the Chorus-leader who *both* undertakes to keep watch on the sunward road (to the spectators' left) *and*, still in her role as a sentry, announces the approach of Hermione at 1311. The argument is anything but watertight (e.g. there could be a changing of the guard at 1294-5*, with the Leader switching from the sunward to the westward side); but it affords a working hypothesis.

F. Themes and Characters

(i) A characteristic fusion of tradition and modernity colours both the thematic material of the play and the handling of the *dramatis personae*, which in turn are interlocked with consummate craftsmanship, in support of the primary conception (B, above). Recent studies have focused especially on the themes, commonly in search of a 'primary theme' or 'thematic line' which can be advanced as an 'interpretation'. The trouble is that there are too many claimants for primacy, and the manner in which they are interwoven makes it more profitable to regard them all as thematic strands in a rich tapestry.⁵³

(1) *Disease*.⁵⁴ This theme is enunciated at the outset (1-3*,

⁵² More exactly, the L *εἰσοδος* is eastward, the R to the south-west; the former is sufficiently 'sunward' for a morning performance. The solar indications make no dramatic point, and must therefore have been valid in real terms (it is curious that no one seems previously to have commented on the implications).

⁵³ Good discussion of several of the following themes will be found in R. Aélion, *Euripide héritier d'Eschyle*, ii, Paris 1983.

⁵⁴ Smith; for medical language in the tragedians, see also H. W. Miller, *TAPhA* 1944, 155-67 and N. E. Collinge, *BICS* 1962, 43-55.

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4-10*) and is prominent thereafter in both literal and metaphorical senses (but it may be observed that Apollo, though in general a healer, does *not* use medical imagery). The diagnostic approach to human behaviour is a familiar aspect of fifth-century *φυσιολογία*, frequent in tragedy and very prominent in E.'s contemporary Thucydides. The important tragic word *συμφορά* (2*) had a contemporary medical use. At the same time, however, the related *madness* theme has traditional 'Fury' and 'maenad' (Dionysiac) associations.⁵⁵

(2) *Savagery*.⁵⁶ The antithesis of 'bestial' (implying 'uncivilized') and 'human(e)' was a feature of contemporary thought (524*). The themes of *νόσος* and *ἀγρία* are similarly interwoven in *S. Phil.* (34*, 225-6*, etc.). Closely associated in *Or.* are *hunting* metaphors (*θήρ—θηρεύω*, etc.).

(3) That in turn interlocks with the *salvation* theme (677-9*);⁵⁷ *σωτηρία*, ever more feverishly pursued, was a topical word in the Athens of 409/8 BC. Here belong the themes of *hope* and *fear* (at the same time *terror*, 38*, is a traditional element of *Or.*'s disease), especially in relation to the polarized opposition of *life* and *death* (50 ff., etc.).

(4) *Justice* and *revenge* are a no less important element in the plot;⁵⁸ see on 1013-1245* for the interlocking of the *τιμωρία* and *σωτηρία* themes as motivations.

⁵⁵ There are several points of contact here with *HF* (140-207*) and *Ba.* (45*, 260*, 317 ff. etc.). On 'disease' and/or 'madness' as symptoms of 'pollution', see Parker, esp. 235-56.

⁵⁶ Boulter; cf. Vickers 587: 'The final insight . . . is that you or I, despite our liberal and human pretensions, might, if the appropriate pressures built up, collapse into "irrationality" and "animality", like those "lions, boars, snakes", Orestes, Pylades and Electra.' Something like that seems to be a (topically obvious) *premiss* of the drama, rather than its 'final insight'.

⁵⁷ Parry (after Krieg, Garzya and others); cf. Chapouthier 11: 'Le meurtrier abandonné des dieux, subissant parmi les hommes les conséquences de son acte, essayant de se sauver à tout prix, c'est le sujet de son *Oreste*.'

⁵⁸ Cf. Wolff 142: 'The moving force of the whole story is revenge . . . The theme of revenge makes us see Orestes' world as it claims to administer

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(5) *Friend and foe (love|hate)*.⁵⁹ Tragedy is constantly concerned with aspects of *φιλία* (a matter of obligations as much as of affections), but a special feature of *Or.* is its sharply focused antithesis between Men. and Pyl. as false and true *φίλοι* (717–28*, etc.); another is the extension of the *φιλία*-theme to include the topically-charged 'comradeship' (804–6*), the perverted *φιλία*-ideals in Act Four contrasting with the proper formulations in Act One (299–300*). *ἀμύνειν*, *ἐπίκουρος*, etc. are thematic words (211–12*, etc.); and the double sense of *κηδεύειν* is thematically exploited (795*).

(6) *Intellectual* themes, with many echoes of contemporary sophism,⁶⁰ but with a longer heritage as well: true and false *σοφία* (491*, etc.), *σύνεσις* (396*, etc.), *ἀμαθής* (417*, 695, etc.); *ὄνομα* opp. *σῶμα* (390*), opp. *ἔργον* (454–5*), 'contrary names' (546–7*); the opposition of reality and illusion (*ἀλήθεια/δόξα*) is prominent in 211–315* and again in the finale (one of E.'s favourite antitheses, as in the recent *Helen*).⁶¹

(7) *Nobility and the heroic code* are very important for the ironical treatment of *Or.*'s *ἦθος* (see below). The vendetta-ethic is an aspect of that (1101–2*); likewise the recurrent theme of *manliness* (*ἀνδρεία*), cf. 786*, with a tension between the antitheses *ἀνδρείος/δειλός* and *ἄνδρες/θήρες* (1554–5*, cf. 2 above).⁶²

justice; and, more remotely, it might make us think of the gods as they are said to show men justice.'

⁵⁹ See 454–5*. For Greenberg the key themes are *φιλία* and *σοφία* (between which the intervention of Apollo effects a paradoxical equilibrium).

⁶⁰ Cf. Reinhardt's essay on the 'Sinnenkrise' in E., with particular reference to *Or.*; also E. C. Waardenburg, *De Verwerking van het Leed bij Euripides*, Amsterdam 1966, 155–200, 249–50. On E.'s intellectual vocabulary, see especially Winnington-Ingram, *EGD* (index s. vv. 'folly', 'sense', 'understand', 'wisdom').

⁶¹ 'Illusion and seeming in every form dominate the play' (Wolff 138).

⁶² Cf. Fuqua' 68: 'In the course of the *Orestes* the potentially destructive elements of this (sc. heroic) code are explored in a fully developed social context', *Or.* being taken as 'a reply . . . directed to Sophocles' rejection (in *Phil.*) of the social context as a legitimate parameter for heroic conduct'.

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(8) *Male and female* is another fundamentally important opposition ('father/mother', Or./Helen), developed in counterpoint with the 'manly/unmanly' antithesis.⁶³

(9) *Greek and barbarian (Asiatic)* (485-6, 1110 ff., 1483 ff., etc.). The Trojan War, as the archetypal conflict between Greece and Asia (1408-10*), had a topical poignancy enhanced by contemporary naval operations in that area. At least since the 420s E. had habitually (unlike S.) used 'Phrygian' as a virtual synonym of 'Trojan' (as well as in its proper sense).⁶⁴ Phrygia being currently the satrapy of Pharnabazus, E.'s usage made it easy for pejorative language about Troy to reflect anti-*Persian* sentiment (cf. 1111*, etc.), alongside the more general 'barbarian'. Several themes come together in the *persona* of the Phrygian/Trojan Slave (1366-1502*).

(10) *Freedom and slavery* (488*, 1115, 1523, etc.); an antithesis which associates naturally both with 'Greek/barbarian' and with 'manly/unmanly'. Here also may be mentioned the prominent theme of *necessity*, associating with both *φιλία* (the ambivalence of *ἀναγκαῖος* is exploited at 229-30* and 488*) and *σοφία* (488, 715-16*).

(11) Several other oppositions are more or less important strands in the fabric: shame/shamelessness (98 ff., 459-69*, 566*, etc.); storm/calm (279, 341-4, 727-8*, etc.), with *ἡσυχία* as a related idea but with a very different flavour in different contexts (136, 698*, 1284, 1317, 1350, 1407); *μακάριος* (etc.)/*ἄθλιος* (etc.);⁶⁵ light/dark (174-9*, 243-4*, etc.); with some strong *chiaroscuro* in which black is variously associated with Night, the Furies, blood and swords (821-2*);⁶⁶ wet/dry (389*, 1689-90*); left/right, east/west (cf. E ii

⁶³ Vellacott focuses attention especially on E.'s 'irony' in relation to these antitheses.

⁶⁴ First (and there frequently) in *Andromache*. It is particularly striking that this use does not occur in either *S. El.* or *Phil.*

⁶⁵ Cf. M. McDonald, *Terms for Happiness in Euripides* (Hypomnemata 54, Göttingen 1978), 232-52.

⁶⁶ Rawson (164) aptly associates the black/white *chiaroscuro* with the lurid red (purple) of 'blood' and the flashes of 'fire', 'lightning' and 'gold'.

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above); town/country (especially in 844-956, but cf. 1269-72*); and this is by no means an exhaustive list.⁶⁷

(12) Two familiar ambivalent adjectives have a thematic prominence and frequency. Or. is traditionally *τλήμων* (35*); and both his 'pitiable misfortune' (447, 807-43*, etc.), associated with the *μακάριος/ἄθλιος* antithesis (86-7, etc.), and his 'unholy τόλμα' (827-30*, 1062-4*) are needed for the plot. The word *δεινός* is even more prominent (1-3*), appropriately to a drama at once (supernaturally and otherwise) fearsome, startling, shocking and fearfully clever.

(13) Exploitation of the various senses of *ἀγών* ('ordeal', 'torment', 'forensic dispute', 'athletic contest', etc.) is arguably the most important single device used by E. for unifying the whole *ποίημα* (D iii above). A 'triple *ἀγών*' is a knock-out contest, and there are three triads of agonistic Furies or fury-like agonists in the play (431-6*; 434*, 435*). The often associated 'running' theme contributes pace (45*, 725-6*, etc.).

(14) No less important for the plot-conception with its deceptive movement is E.'s exploitation of what we may call 'tragic premisses'. These include traditional ideas about the dealings of the gods with humanity, and the pitiable condition of men as *ἐφήμεροι* and *πολύπονοι* (1-3*, 976-81, 1012*, etc.); the aetiology of double (human and divine) determination (1-3, 974-5*, 1665, etc.);⁶⁸ the apparatus of *ἄτη* and *ἀλάστορες* (316-47*, 982-1012) and Family Curses (807-43*, 995 ff.); all of them so deployed as *apparently* to direct the

⁶⁷ The famous *Νόμος/Φύσις* antithesis (Guthrie, *Sophists* 55-134) is, one may say, constantly in the background, but scarcely amounts to a 'theme'. *φύσις* (3*, 126[-7]*) and *νόμος* (487*, etc.) are separately prominent, but nowhere expressly opposed.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 10 (etc.), and N. G. L. Hammond, 'Personal freedom and its limitations in the *Oresteia*', *JHS* 85 (1965), 42-55. Whatever may be prophetically or retrospectively revealed as part of a divine plan, human beings remain fully accountable for the consequences of their actions; and 'madness' is not an exoneration (cf. 492-3*). The famous paradoxical statement of the Chorus in *A. Ag.* that Agamemnon 'put on the harness of necessity' at Aulis is to be understood in the light of that standard Greek view.

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movement of the play to a tragically calamitous conclusion (1546-8*).

(ii) *The characters* have already been taking shape in the preceding sections, in relation to the plot and its thematic enrichment. Characterization, in the modern sense, was never the primary concern of the ancient dramatist, but ἡθοποιία was nonetheless an important part of his craft.⁶⁹ The ἦθος of a character was directly reflected in his painted mask, wig and costume, and was to a large extent 'given' by tradition in the case of famous stage *personae*.⁷⁰ The internal and external aspects of ἦθος should naturally be compatible; and, although E. was fond of dramatic actions in which famous persons behave in unfamiliar ways, he was always concerned to associate the *ad hoc* features of their ἦθος (as required by the new plot) with traditional attributes, changing only the emphasis. διάνοια (approx. 'thought') is the immediate determinant of what a character says (especially in his sententious observations), consistently—if the dramatist knows his job—both with the tradition- and plot-dictated ἦθος of the speaker (or singer) and with the logic of the situation in particular scenes.

Two notable critics in antiquity found fault with the ἡθοποιία in *Or*. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, complained of the 'villainy' of Menelaus (*πovηρία*), which he regarded as 'without necessity', i.e. as not required for the working out of the plot.⁷¹ One wonders how Aristotle could be so lacking in perception. Men.'s betrayal of *Or*. is the mainspring of the

⁶⁹ See especially Dale, *Papers* 139-55; ἦθος and διάνοια as defined by Aristotle are unsatisfactory terms, but they can be made useful by a more flexible (less exclusively ethical) definition of the former. The ἦθος of Achilles, for example, includes swiftness (including swiftness of temper) and good looks.

⁷⁰ For some nn. on costume, wigs, etc., see 223-4*, 348-51*, 456-8*, 1369-70*, 1457*, 1470*.

⁷¹ *Poet.* 1454^a and 1461^b; well countered by Verrall (287-8), except that I do not believe E. intended the audience to see Men.'s *persona* as 'vulgar'. Others, I think, have differently misstated the 'villainy' (682-716*).

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plot (C ii above)—as much so as the betrayal of Medea by Jason in *Med.*⁷² Given that, it is hard to see how E. could have made the turning-away at 716 more subtly convincing (see 348–51*, 385–447*, 682–716*). In the Second Hypothesis we find the view (likely to have been that of Aristophanes of Byzantium himself) that *Or.*, though a ‘most well-reputed’ play (εὐδοκιμώτατον), is ‘very bad in its characters; for they are all mean (φάυλοι) except Pylades’. The superficiality of this black-and-white evaluation has been justly criticized; but the writer’s exception of Pyl. (who is the proposer of murder at 1105) may serve to remind us that even a highly educated Greek could admire without qualification a viciously vengeful ‘noble friend’. The truth, surely, is that the aesthetic balance of the play requires that all the main characters should be recognized as possessing some positive and some negative qualities (not necessarily easy to distinguish: many human qualities are ambivalent). In the case of Pyl., the pernicious aspect of his loyal comradeship will have been more conspicuous in the Athens of 409/8 BC than it was for the Alexandrian scholar in his library.

There is no need here for a comprehensive survey of the *dramatis personae*, duplicating discussion in the Commentary.⁷³ In all of them we find the same blend of tradition and modernity as in other features of the play; naturally the modernity (with political and sophistic overtones) has a more topical flavour in respect of the men. It remains, however, to say something more about Orestes himself.

(iii) Recent studies have tended to overemphasize the negative features in the portrayal of *Or.*, reacting against Krieg’s valiant attempt to vindicate his whole course of action as estimable and acceptably heroic according to the different ethical standards of fifth-century Athenians. For Mullens,

⁷² The similarity between Men. and Jason was pointed out by Lanza (64). E. certainly had *Medea* in mind at *Or.* 1549 ff. (1561 f.*, 1567–75*).

⁷³ Studies not mentioned elsewhere include W. Zürcher, *Die Darstellung des Menschen im Drama des Euripides* (Basle 1947), 149–79, and Biehl’s ‘Zur Darstellung des Menschen in Euripides’ Orestes’, *Helikon* 8 (1968), 197–221.

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e.g., the portrayal was 'a pathological study of criminality' (153); for Blaiklock, 'a macabre study of heredity';⁷⁴ for Arrowsmith, 'Once shorn of his legendary aura of heroism and his justifying necessity, Orestes is revealed in action as sick, brutal, cowardly and weak.' The reaction against Krieg has gone too far. A purely pejorative view of Or. makes it impossible to enjoy or even tolerate the conclusion of the play (as Verrall discovered),⁷⁵ since the final revelation, in respect of Or., is of a noble prince exonerated and destined to live happily ever after. Some of Arrowsmith's epithets are directly open to rebuttal (Or. is *not* revealed in action as a coward; his sickness is expressly a *συμφορὰ θεήλατος*; and if, at times, he appears weak, the circumstances elaborated in Act One are such as to have unmanned any credible human being). First, however, it needs to be emphasized again that *Or.* is not primarily a character-play (though it is indeed a play with interesting characters) and that the post-matricidal career of Or. himself is only part of what the play is about. His words and actions, like those of the other *dramatis personae*, are ancillary to a complex plot which E. invented for purposes other than further comment on the traditional matricide-story. Obviously, the plot required an Orestes capable *in extremis* of a murderous assault upon Helen. E. evidently decided that it also required an Orestes personally responsible, in some measure, for the ultimately desperate circumstances which motivate the *ἔσχατος ἀγών*: self-ruined, not simply by the previous act of matricide, but by the alienating effect of his attempts to justify it. The negative features developed in accordance with those dramatic requirements (either directly, or more subtly by way of preparation) are not shirked in the Commentary.⁷⁶ If anything, they are given too much prominence: it is all too easy to lose sight of the truly

⁷⁴ E. M. Blaiklock, *The Male Characters of Euripides* (Wellington (NZ) 1952), 184.

⁷⁵ Cf. n. 29 above.

⁷⁶ See esp. 280-300*, 544-601*, 640-79*, [932-42]*, 1058-9*, 1101-2*, 1122*, 1155-76*, 1211-13*, 1235-6*, 1239-40*, 1506-36*.

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appalling circumstances which E. has been at pains to elaborate—in partly mythical terms—for more than 200 lines before Or. is even awake. Our sympathy is further aroused in 211–52, and then we see Or. pitifully tormented and crazed by the Furies (no less ‘real’ because, as in Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi*, they are seen only by him). At the beginning of the long second act he is still in a ‘necrotic’ condition, and he does not rise to his feet until assisted by Pylades at the very end of it. We are surely intended to *pity* him and to admire his spirit in extreme adversity (447*), even while we are shocked by what he has done and further upset by his alienating rhetoric (the more upsetting as it so evidently fails to achieve what he desires). As to the brutal violence in the *ἔσχατος ἀγών*, Or. bears indeed the burden of responsibility; but it should not be forgotten that the Intrigue in Act Four (initiated by Pyl.) does not begin until after we have seen Or. shockingly left in the lurch by his uncle and about to die nobly by suicide. The pressure of circumstance and the persuasion of his dearest φίλοι, the understandable desire for vengeance before death and the faint chance of *σωτηρία* thereby, then constitute an entirely convincing ‘necessity’ (ἀνάγκη) of the kind that the plot requires—including the requirement that Or. should finally be exonerated.⁷⁷ Relieved at last of the *δεινόν* burden which we have seen him shouldering (1–3*), he can believably (at least on the mythical plane, which is where the play

⁷⁷ Cf. 1330* ἀνάγκης ἐς ζυγὸν καθέσταμεν. It is incorrect (*pace* Arrowsmith) to speak of Or. as ‘shorn of his justifying necessity’. It is frequently asserted during the play, even as to the matricide (by Apollo himself: *ἐξηνάγκασα* 1664–5*). ἀνάγκη, for Greeks, was commonly a matter of subjective opinion: the individual is aware of a dilemma before ‘submitting to necessity’ (cf. A. *Ag.* 218). It is open to others to question the propriety of the decision made; and it is true that E. points out (through the mouth of Tynd.) that there *were* courses of action available to Or. other than butchering his mother by his own hand. But something (ἀρετή? an ἀλάστωρ? Apollo? a primitive ethical code?) still ‘made’ Or. act as he did, and thereby shoulder (ἄρασθαι) the burden of a *συμφορὰ θέηλατος*; a favourite type of ambivalent formulation in tragedy (1–3* and n. 68 above). For the ἀνάγκη-theme cf. also 488* and F i. 10 above.

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begins and ends) become the gentle prince that we may suppose him to have been before he was 'compelled' (1665) by Apollo to kill his mother.⁷⁸ At the same time, of course, paradox and irony commonly go hand in hand; and E. was in general fond of ambivalence. It was no part of his purpose to resolve the ambiguity of the traditional phrase *τλήμων Ὀρέστης*; rather, to reinforce it (even with overkill). The gentle prince whose actions—and even appearance—are those of a *δράκων* remains an enigma at the end of a play in which E. has confronted one mythical enigma with another (Helen), for the entertainment (not without indirect edification) of an audience sophisticated enough to enjoy irony and paradox for their own sake.

Undercutting of tragic dignity and sophism are familiar features of late-E. tragedy, and in this play they contribute as much to the overall tone of the piece (G, below) as to the characterization of Or. The motivations of all the main characters are realized, as we have seen, in partly topical terms; and both Or. and Men. (in different ways) are creatures of the fifth-century 'Enlightenment'. But one aspect of Or.'s unheroism deserves further comment. As an *εὐγενής* he pays more than lip-service to traditional glory standards of *καλόν*-valuation and to the precept 'love your friends and hurt your enemies';⁷⁹ but he also subscribes to the unheroic ethic of placing the highest value on the saving of his life.⁸⁰ The very human tension between these two ethics is plainly connected with the tension between the *τιμωρία*- and *σωτηρία*-motivations in the finale. We see Or. at his most unheroic in his supplication-speech to Men. (640-79*). Soon after that he becomes heroic with the realization that death is *ἀναγκαῖον* (755*). The plot of *Iphigenia at Aulis* was later to exploit a

⁷⁸ Cf. 459-69*, where we are afforded a glimpse of Or. before his troubles began. He has numerous positive qualities, if we are prepared to look for them.

⁷⁹ See esp. 1060-1*, 1101-2*, 1163-4*.

⁸⁰ 640-79* (645, 678-9); cf. 1522-4*, where Or. approves the *φιλοψυχία* of the Phrygian as evidence of *σύνεσις*.

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similar, but even more sharply focused progression: the heroine who at *IA* 1368 ff. is determined to die gloriously for Greece is the same girl who at 1251 ended her supplication with the ultimately unheroic γνώμη that 'it is better to live κακῶς than to die καλῶς'. Aristotle objected to the 'inconsistency' in Iph.'s volte-face;⁸¹ but there is no logical incompatibility between the positions κακῶς ζῆν κρείσσον ἢ καλῶς θανεῖν and καλῶς θανεῖν κρείσσον ἢ κακῶς θανεῖν. The most arrant coward can become a hero in the face of inevitable death. Unlike Iph., however, Or. does *not* argue that κακῶς ζῆν is better than καλῶς θανεῖν, and the σωτηρία which he pursues must always be understood as including τὸ καλόν (whether truly or perversely apprehended). The blinkered view which renders him incapable of arguing for, or even contemplating, the middle course of φυγή ('exile') is a necessary plot-feature (for the outcome of the polarized ἀγῶνες in Acts Two and Three);⁸² and it also does something, in a paradoxical way, to elevate his tragic stature and compensate for the unheroic elements in his make-up.

G. Diction and Music; Literary Echoes; 'Comic' Features

(i) Studies of Greek tragedy in translation inevitably focus disproportionate attention on only part, and perhaps a relatively small part, of the poet's creative effort (ποίησις). For the original judges the quality of the spoken and sung verse is unlikely to have been a minor consideration. We must constantly remind ourselves of the sheer craftsmanship in words required of a Greek tragedian: composition can hardly have been other than laborious, but the result was a direct source of aesthetic satisfaction to both poet and audience, sharing a common poetic heritage. Interlocking felicities of diction and sentiment could earn instant applause; and the

⁸¹ *Poet.* 1454*; cf. Conacher 262 ff.

⁸² 544-601*, 758*, 844-956*; cf. also 1600*.

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metrical intricacies of lyric composition were not then appreciated only by a few professional scholars.

(ii) *Or.*, with the posthumous *Ba.* and *IA*, exemplifies E.'s latest and 'freest' style. As is well known, E.'s prosody in the iambic trimeter of spoken dialogue, while continuing to observe rules much stricter than those observed in comedy, shows a remarkably consistent progression during his career from severity to freedom; a progression crudely expressible in gradually increasing percentages of resolved syllables, but involving also the relationship between resolution, word-end and *anceps*-syllables in word-patterns.⁸³ Here too we can observe E.'s characteristic blend of tradition and modernity, the latter naturally progressing with the advance of time. The newer rhythmic patterns often have a prosaizing effect, accommodating words and phrases hitherto alien to tragic diction.⁸⁴ At the same time, however, E. continued to exploit more antiquated types of diction (enlarging his vocabulary also with rare poetic words), either in isolation (as in the opening lines of Men.'s entry-speech at 356 ff., traditional-sounding in content, and without any resolutions) or in direct conjunction with balancing touches of modernity. Within its conventions, E.'s diction is very flexible in tone, while maintaining a tension between artificial and natural utterance.⁸⁵ Pure colloquialism is rare; more often we find vernacular idioms poeticized in some way, either by direct modification or contextually (e.g. a prosaic word used with a new construction or in a metaphorical sense). Some of the most colloquial passages come (with heightened emotion) in the archaic tetrameter-dialogue.

(iii) The musical numbers are admirably geared in *Or.* to

⁸³ See especially Zieliński 186 ff. and West, *GM* 86-8; also D. M. L. Philippides, *The Iambic Trimeter of Euripides* (New York 1981), 79-92. For metrical nn. on the trimeter-dialogue, see 2*, 19 f.*, 35*, 37*, 60*, 65*, 247-8*, 360-2*, 439*, 487*, 555*, 640-1*, 700*, 883*, 1072*, 1119*, 1623-4*, 1658-9*.

⁸⁴ An aspect studied especially by C. Prato, *Quad. Urb.* 1972, 73-113.

⁸⁵ e.g. 919*, 1176*.

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the action of the drama, and show a similar mix of old and new elements. The Chorus-entry 140-207* (untraditionally hushed) is an amoibaion moving from strict dochmiacs (not without metrical virtuosity) to late-E. 'enoplian dochmiacs'; thus looking forward both to the traditionally toned dochmiac ode 316-47* and to the numerous 'enoplian dochmiac' passages in the finale (1246 ff., 1286 ff., 1353 ff., etc.). The central ode 807-43* is in contrasting aeolo-choriambic metre (again with partly traditional, partly late-E. features), beginning however with a rhythm $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-\dots$ picked up from the dochmiacs. The splendid Lament in 960-1012* begins with archaically liturgical lyric iambs, before moving easily into late-E. iambo-trochaic monody (with lyric dactyls near the end). As a musical climax, the unique narrative aria of the Phrygian Slave (1366-1502*) brings together the iambo-trochaic and 'enoplian dochmiac' elements, while also reflecting the newly popular 'Phrygian' music of Timotheus.⁸⁶

(iv) It is reasonable to assume that the metrical and other links between these lyric pieces were reflected in the musical $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ ('modes') to which the words were set.⁸⁷ But the celebrated Musical Papyrus (a fragment dated c.200 BC containing portions of ll. 338-44 with musical notation, Michaelides 285 f.) does not tell us much, and could well be descended only from a resetting of the lyrics (or of this single ode) in the fourth or third century, not from E.'s original score.⁸⁸ A comparable musical papyrus of *IA* 1500-9 and 783-92 (perhaps a little older, from the third century, Michaelides 290) appears to come from an anthology, selectively put together for the requirements of a theatrical spectacle and

⁸⁶ On E. and Timotheus, cf. Webster, *TE* 17-19 and E. K. Borthwick, *Hermes* 1968, 69.

⁸⁷ See in general Michaelides s.v. *harmonia* (with bibl.).

⁸⁸ For the bearing of P. Vind. G 2315 on the *text* of 338-44, see ad loc. For its musical interpretation (outside the scope of this Commentary), see esp. the studies of Winnington-Ingram (*SO* 1955, 29-87 and *Lustrum* 1958, 9 ff.) and the more recent contributions of J. D. Solomon (*AJPh* 1976, 172-3, and *GRBS* 1977, 71-83).

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very possibly given new music for the purpose in accordance with contemporary taste (one thinks of eighteenth-century treatment of Shakespearian songs).⁸⁹ It is true that Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in the time of Augustus) believed that the musical tradition on which he was commenting went back to Euripides; but did he have any way of knowing? (Cf. H iv below). Confidence in his belief must be undermined by the deviant wording of both the *IA* and *Or.* musical papyri;⁹⁰ also by a metrical peculiarity in the musical articulation of *Or.* 343 (see p. 137). For what it is worth, the fragmentary tunes in both papyri appear to be consistent (one can say no more) with what is known about the 'old Phrygian' mode. Perhaps some memory of the original tunes did survive, and was then associated with a bad text of the words at a time when their colometric interpretation was only hazily understood.

(v) Literary allusions (detailed in the Commentary) constitute one of the most important strands in the fabric of the play. (a) E. was concerned, almost as a first priority, to associate his audacious new play about Orestes and Helen with established mythical and literary traditions. We are fortunate in the survival of all the most important tragedies relevant to the Orestes-myth (among which, of course, the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus claims pride of place). Links can be traced with E.'s own *Electra*, *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Helen* (plays which have survived only by a fortunate accident of transmission), and with previous characterizations of Or., Men. and Helen in *Andromache* and *Troades*; also with the

⁸⁹ P. Leid. inv. 510; G. Comotti, *Mus. Phil. Lond.* 2 (1977), 69–84.

⁹⁰ Comotti seems untroubled by P. Leid.'s text of *IA* 790–2 as restored: . . . τις α[ρα μ εμ]λοκαμου κομας ερυμα δακρυοεν / τ[αα]ς γας πατριας ολο[μενας απολωτιει], despite its weird colometry, and indeed welcomes τās γās πατριās as an improvement upon the received τανύσας πατριδος. I must content myself with observing that τās γās πατριās would be a phrase-pattern quite unparalleled in E., whereas . . . κόμας / ἔρυμα δακρυόεν τανύσας ('making taut a tearful hair-dragging') has the stamp of authenticity, in line with such late-E. poetic idiom as *Hel.* 353–6 and *Or.* 961–2*, 988–9* (ἔρυμα should of course be associated with LSJ ἔρύω (A) A. 1, cf. *Od.* 22. 187–8 ἔρυσαν . . . κουρίξ).

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Electra of Sophocles (probably a recent predecessor, still fresh in the memory).⁹¹ (b) There are numerous echoes of other plays, not or less directly concerned with the Atreid House. Among these the most important are *Medea*, *Hecuba* and *Heracles*; and, in a special category of its own, the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles (produced in the previous year).⁹² (c) Resonances from older poetry, apart from Homer, include allusions (doubtless more than we can identify) to the lost *Oresteia* of Stesichorus and the *Cypria*.⁹³ (d) There are frequent more topical echoes of sophistic thought and language, enhancing the intellectual appeal of the play. The abundance of such echoes contributes at once to the thematic enrichment of the play (F i, above) and to its overall sophistication of tone.

(vi) For some, sophistication is in itself a symptom of decadence, and certainly the golden age of Greek Tragedy was nearly at an end. Tastes had changed, and drama was moving towards a new synthesis, which would blur the hitherto sharply drawn frontier between tragedy and comedy.⁹⁴ The disparaging epithet *κωμικώτερον* was anciently applied to some of the features of *Or.* which offended purist critics;⁹⁵ but, in truth, the pervasiveness of the 'comic' element

⁹¹ I accept the dating of *S. El.* (after *E. El.*) not long before *Phil.*; cf. Webster, *G&R New Surveys* 5, 22, Winnington-Ingram, *EPS* 141⁴³ (contra Lloyd-Jones, *CR* 1969, 36-8). See 22-4*, 1286-1310* (1297-8*).

⁹² The points of contact with *S. Phil.* are too numerous to list here (see, for example, 208-10*, 211-16*, 213-14*, 217-18*, 219-20*, 225-6*, 227-8*, 229-30*, 231-2*); suffice it to say that, if one reads either play and then immediately the other, one repeatedly experiences a sense of *dejà vu*. For an interesting assessment of the relationship between the plays, see Fuqua's article in *Traditio* 1976.

⁹³ Stesichorus: 268-74*, 275-6*, 362-5*, 432*, 479-80*; cf. W. Ferrari, *Athenaeum* 1938, 1-37, Stephanopoulos 133. *Cypria*: see especially Jouan.

⁹⁴ For general studies of comic features in *E.*, see especially Knox, *W&A* 250-74, and A. Morin, 'Évolution du comique dans l'œuvre d'Euripide', *CEA* 3 (1974), 37-72. For the Euripidean legacy in Menander see Katsouris (especially for characterization) and G. Arnott, *G&R New Surveys* 9, 12-14 (with the studies cited on his p. 26).

⁹⁵ *Ηyp. II τὸ δράμα κωμικώτερον ἔχει τὴν καταστροφὴν* (which may mean no more than that the play has a happy ending, cf. *Σ* on 1691); *Σ* on 1512

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needs to be recognized throughout the play (from l. 1 onwards): in scenic handling, in topicality and in countless passages (even lyric ones) with a faintly but unmistakably 'paratragic' flavour. It needed the sureness of touch of a master craftsman to create and maintain the discordant harmony of this late 'baroque' masterpiece.

H. Manuscripts and Papyri; the Tradition in Antiquity

Pp. 1-75 of this edition reproduce Murray's text from *Euripidis Fabulae* iii, preceded by the page of sigla listing the MSS etc. referred to in his apparatus criticus. As Murray explained there, his 'codd.' (i.e. *codices*) and 'rell.' (i.e. *reliqui*) refer only to the group of six base MSS collated in detail by himself and/or his predecessors: M, A, B, V, L, P. The readings of other MSS are cited only sporadically: H, O, F, Haun., and imprecisely 'recc.' (*recentiores*), 'novicii' or 'Byzantini'.

Recent studies have variously enlarged our knowledge, not least as to the dating of MSS, and have established sounder principles upon which a future text and app. crit. of *Or.* should be based. There are five 'old' MS witnesses, in the sense 'written before AD 1204' (when Constantinople fell to the knights of the Fourth Crusade). These are M,⁹⁶ B,⁹⁷ O,⁹⁸ H (oldest of all but defective)⁹⁹ and Ga = Mt Athos, Mon.

ἀνάξια καὶ τῆς τραγωδίας καὶ τῆς Ὁρέστου συμφορᾶς τὰ λεγόμενα, Σ on 1521 ταῦτα κωμικώτερα ἐστὶ καὶ πεζά.

⁹⁶ Turyn 84-5.

⁹⁷ Turyn 87-9, J. A. Spranger, *CQ* 1939, 184-92. Turyn dates B to the 12th c. (Murray 'xii vel xiii'); others make it *earlier*.

⁹⁸ Turyn 333-5; but for the earlier date (late 12th c.), see N. G. Wilson, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 7 (1983); also D. J. Mastronarde and J. M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* (Berkeley 1983), 3, and Diggle, *CQ* 1983, 339.

⁹⁹ Turyn 86-7, Spranger, *CQ* 1938, 200-2, S. G. Daitz, *The Jerusalem Palimpsest of Euripides*, Berlin 1970; the more or less decipherable surviving portions of *Or.* are 105-213, 313-412, 565-614, 718-66, 897-946, 1152-1200, 1356-1556.

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Vatop. 36 (a twelfth-century gnomology containing among other things excerpts from eight E. plays).¹⁰⁰ In 1261 the Greeks recovered Constantinople, and all 'later' MSS are of the Palaeologan period (1260-1453) and its aftermath down to (and even after) the first printed text of *Or.* (Venice 1503/4). Only V, which may have been written as early as 1250, has an arguably intermediate status.¹⁰¹

'Later' is by no means necessarily or uniformly 'inferior'.¹⁰² There certainly existed in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries old MSS containing readings and variants other than those transmitted in M, B, O, H, Ga, and available either for more or less random transmission by copyists or for more discriminating adoption by the Palaeologan scholars of this period (Maximus Planudes, Manuel Moschopoulos, Thomas Magister, Demetrius Triclinius). It seems to have been early in that period that the so-called 'Byzantine Triad' (*Hec.*, *Or.*, *Ph.*) became a favourite transmissional unit, reflecting the established primacy of these three plays in the pre-1200 tradition (*Hec. Or. Ph.* come first, in that order, in all the 'old' witnesses except O, which has *Hec. Or. Med. Ph. . .*). 'Later' MSS containing only the Triad, in whole or part, are very numerous (upwards of 250), in comparison with those containing or including other plays of Euripides (about 30).¹⁰³ Naturally there are many more MSS of the first type, especially those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that can be safely neglected; but for the text of *Or.* (as of *Hec.* and *Ph.*) several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Triad-only MSS are on a par with A (*a fortiori* with L and P); whereas the late Hauniensis 417 really is

¹⁰⁰ Turyn 92-3, Longman, CQ 1959, 137; Ga is Matthiessen's symbol (Biehl Gv).

¹⁰¹ Turyn 90-1; cf. Matthiessen 46-7, Mastronarde-Bremer 3-4, 33.

¹⁰² Cf. R. Browning, 'Recentiores non Deteriores', *BICS* 1960, 12.

¹⁰³ Cf. Matthiessen, *GRBS* 1969, 294; 'about 30', i.e. 2 (LP, containing both Select and Alphabetic plays) + about 25 (MSS containing the plays of the Triad and other Select plays) + a small number of MSS containing only non-Triad Select plays, e.g. Laur. 31. 15 (*Hp.*, *Med.*, *Al.*, *An.*; Barret's D).

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negligible.¹⁰⁴ At the same time a clearer picture has emerged of the work of Moschopulus ('Mosch.'), Thomas ('Thom.>') and Triclinius ('Tricl.>'). It used to be thought that all MSS betraying the characteristic features of Byzantine scholarship (often perverse) could be discounted as 'interpolated'; in the few places where editors accepted or cited a 'Byzantine' reading they took it to be a happy accident or plausible conjectural alteration. It is now clear that the Palaeologan scholars also found and transmitted a small but significant number of genuinely ancient readings which would not otherwise have survived.

There are thus two classes, broadly, of later MSS: the *veteres recentiores*, similar in general character to those written before 1204; and the *Byzantini*, in which it has become possible to identify a 'Mosch.' group of MSS and a 'Thom.' group, while for 'Tricl.' the single MS T (Angelicus 14) suffices, partly written by the hand of Triclinius himself.¹⁰⁵ The *veteres recentiores* necessary for a thorough collation number about 20 (to 25);¹⁰⁶ here Matthiessen has shown that several MSS are a little older than Turyn had thought ('consequently many so-called Byzantine interpolations appear in MSS that are earlier than the grammarians themselves').¹⁰⁷ The necessary *Byzantini*, apart from T, number about 8.

No fresh collations have been made for the present edition; but I have been able to take advantage of Biehl's apparatus (incorporating the researches of Spranger, Longman, Turyn, Di B.,¹⁰⁸ Zuntz¹⁰⁹ and Biehl himself) and of further contribu-

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Diggle, *CQ* 1983, 355 (after Turyn and Wilamowitz).

¹⁰⁵ Turyn's pp. 109-13, 172-5 and 190-2 are still fundamental here.

¹⁰⁶ For details see Matthiessen 122-3 (and 10-11 for his sigla).

¹⁰⁷ Art. cit. 299-300; 'The trend in this direction seems to be strong enough to raise the question whether there were any Byzantine interpolations at all; but there remains a hard core of fifteen cases in the text of *Hecuba* where it is highly probable that a Byzantine grammarian altered the text deliberately.'

¹⁰⁸ See also his *La tradizione manoscritta euripidea*, Padua 1965 (supplemented in *Maia* 1966, 379-91).

¹⁰⁹ See also his *Opuscula Selecta*, Manchester 1972, 62-6, for cod. Rylandsianus 1689 (containing ll. 13-156, 206-375).

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tions from Matthiessen. Additional MSS mentioned in the Commentary include Va (Palatinus gr. 98, supplementing V for ll. 1205–1504), C (Taurinensis B IV 3), Mn (Monacensis 560), R (Vaticanus gr. 1135), Re (Remensis 1306), S (Salamanticus 31), Sa (Vaticanus gr. 1345), and cod. Ryl. (Rylandsianus 1689). In several places the status of a significant minority reading needs investigation (for example O's surely correct *νεώς* at 241–2*, which seems likely to turn up elsewhere). It would have been beyond the scope of this edition to have resolved all such issues; but at least attention will have been drawn to them.

(ii) Ancient scholia, denoted by the symbol Σ , are preserved in several MSS other than M, B, V(Va) and C, the only ones fully collated by Schwartz (with the sigla M, B, A and T); but here too we must wait for a fuller collation. My Σ , like Murray's, refers to Schw. i (for scholia on texts other than *Hec.*, *Or.* and *Ph.* I refer to 'Sch. . .'). Reflecting, at least in part, the commentaries of Alexandrian scholars, the scholia are often directly or indirectly important (attesting or implying particular, sometimes variant, readings, and affording evidence of ancient interpolation) or otherwise interesting (notably as to mythography, literary allusions, stage-practice and Alexandrian literary criticism).¹¹⁰

(iii) The last 75 years have greatly increased our direct knowledge through papyri (generically Π) of the tradition in antiquity. Murray knew only P. Vind. G 2315, for ll. 338–44 (the very interesting 'Musical Papyrus', see G iv above and further ad loc.) and P. Genav. inv. 91, for ll. 1062–90. These are respectively Π^6 and Π^{11} in Biehl's list, alongside $\Pi^1 = P.$ Oxy. 2455 (for Hyp. I), $\Pi^2 = P.$ Argent. W G 304–7 (for ll. 6, 9–10), $\Pi^3 = P.$ Oxy. 1616 (for 53–61, 89–97), $\Pi^4 = P.$ Columb. inv. 517 (for 205–24, 226–47), $\Pi^5 = P.$ Oxy. 2506 (for 268–9), $\Pi^7 = P.$ Oxy. 1370 (for 445–9, 469–74, 482–6, 508–12, 685–90, 723–9, 811–17, 850–4, 896–8, 907–10, 934–6, 945–8, 1247–63, 1297–1305, 1334–45, 1370–1). $\Pi^8 = P.$

¹¹⁰ Σ refers to actors at 57, 174, 268, 643, 1366–8 (Page, *Actors* 42–3).

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Cair. inv. 56 224 (for 754-64), Π^9 = P. ined. Flor. 1475 (for 867-81), Π^{10} = P. Berol. 21 180 (for 884-95, 917-27), Π^{12} = P. Ross. Georg. I 9 (for 1155-6), Π^{13} = P. Oxy. 1178 (for 1313-26, 1335-50, 1356-60), Π^{14} = P. Herc. 1012 (for 1381-5). The list continues to lengthen; and already we must add P. Berol. P 17051 and 17014 (see 316-47*) and P. Köln 252 (see 138-9*); also 'P. Flor.' and P. Oxy. 3716-18 (see Preface).

The principal effect of papyrus-finds has been to reveal the antiquity—not necessarily the truth—of many readings hitherto regarded as, or suspected of being, medieval aberrations. Less often, but not seldom, a wholly unknown reading is offered for our consideration. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that almost all plausible readings and variants in the medieval MSS, and a good many less plausible ones, are likely to have been transmitted from antiquity, in an 'entirely open' tradition 'like those of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*'.¹¹¹

(iv) As for Homer, so for the Select Plays of Euripides, Alexandrian editorial activity established what we may call a vulgate text ancestral to that of the mediaeval MSS;¹¹² but that vulgate was never completely stable, and it needed the accompanying scholia in which variants (often better readings) were recorded. It seems clear that Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 200 BC) left a durable mark on the lineation of the lyrics and (less durably) on the attribution of speakers, but the wording of the text itself was not at the same time (nor in later antiquity) subjected to systematic correction. We may well have cause to be grateful for that; but we should not regard our work as done when we have recovered (directly or by inference) the standard reading of the edited Alexandrian text. In some places it may appear that there was no single standard reading; in others, that the standard text embodied already established error (e.g. the obviously wrong *δόμους* at

¹¹¹ Matthiessen art. cit. 300; cf. Mastronarde-Bremer 74.

¹¹² For fuller accounts of the transmission of the text, see Barrett, *Hippolytos*, pp. 45-57 and (*mutatis mutandis*) P. E. Easterling, *Sophocles: Trachiniae* (Cambridge 1982), 240-7.

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337* and οὐχί at 1622*). The most troublesome types of very early corruption are interpolation¹¹³ and dislocation of line-order. For the former there is occasional evidence in the scholia (attesting the absence of suspect lines 'in some copies');¹¹⁴ but if, as seems likely, the great majority of constructively motivated interpolations were made in the fourth and third centuries BC, it is understandable that many had become too firmly established by 200 BC (*a fortiori*, later) to have been thus directly identifiable.¹¹⁵ For Ar. Byz. any tradition traceable back to (say) 350 BC—and one may doubt whether he had access to any manuscript as old as that—will have had unimpeachable authority. We know that there was a production of *Or.* at Athens in 341/0 BC (the famous actor Neoptolemus playing the name-part),¹¹⁶ and that is a plausible date for at least one generally recognized interpolation (see 902–16*). It is not too fanciful to imagine a wholly unscholarly archetype (a prompt-copy?)¹¹⁷ of about that date as having had a profound effect on the subsequent transmission. The same hypothesis is needed more definitely if we are to justify proposed transpositions of lines against an apparently unanimous 'open' tradition. Only one line-transposition (at 782–3) has been generally accepted by edd.; but even one is enough to open the door to similar, and even to more far-reaching, proposals elsewhere.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Proposed excisions are accepted or regarded as plausible at: 15, 33, 51, 71, 74, 82, 111, 127, 361, 441–2, 478, 536–7, 554, 561, 593, 602–4, 663, 677, 702–3, 848, 852, 856, 904–13, 916, 938–42, 957–9, 1024, 1049–51, 1224, 1227–30, 1394, 1556–60, 1564, 1598, 1631–2, 1691–3 (but 87, 136–9, 695, 716, 1366–8, 1384, bracketed by Murray, are defended). Further excisions are suggested at: 370, 644, 651 (J.D.), 772–3, 847, 932–7, 1081, 1315–16 (J.D.), 1347–8, 1563, 1579–84. That amounts in total to about 7% of the spoken dialogue. See also Addenda.

¹¹⁴ 957–9, 1227–30 (in effect), 1394; see Comm., also as to 1024, where Σ implies a tradition without that line.

¹¹⁵ See especially Page, *Actors* (pp. 41–55 on *Or.*) and Reeve; also R. Hamilton, *GRBS* 1974, 387–402.

¹¹⁶ *IG* II² 2320; cf. Page 41, Chapouthier 23.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Page 111.

¹¹⁸ See 257–67*, 387–90*, 412–13*, 544–50*, 579–84*, 1600–17*, 1638–42*.

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(v) *The indirect tradition*, consisting of citations and allusions to *Or.* in other ancient sources, is probably more extensive than for any other ancient drama. It was a justly popular play on the stage; it also featured in school curricula (that may be why citations are particularly numerous for the *earlier* part of the play) and was thoroughly combed by ancient grammarians and lexicographers for both typical and unusual examples of tragic diction, also by anthologists of *sententiae*. The (not very numerous) places where the indirect tradition is of real importance for the constitution of the text are noticed in the Commentary; for the rest, Biehl gives a useful survey in his 'Testimonia Selecta'. Allusions to *Or.* may of course be of other than textual interest. It is clear that already in the time of Aristotle (F ii above) and Menander *Or.* was an exceptionally well-known play; the latter modelled a Messenger-speech in his *Sikyonios* on the 'Assembly'-narration, and could probably count on audience-recognition of the direct echoes.¹¹⁹ But this is not the place to pursue further the influence of *Or.* on later literature.

Surprisingly, in view of its enduring popularity and spectacular features, *Or.* seems to have made little impression on practitioners of the visual arts. Chapouthier (27) recognizes only a single representation of *Or.* in the arms of El. (associable with *Or.* 223).¹²⁰ But he may well have been over-hasty in dismissing the numerous pictures of *Or.* confronting the Furies with a weapon on the grounds that the weapon is always a *sword*.¹²¹ Such representations may still be indirectly

¹¹⁹ Men. *Sik.* 176 ff. The speech begins ἐτύγχανον μὲν οὐ[. . .] / βαίνων (restored by Merkelbach as οὐκ ἀγρόθε πυλῶν ἔσω); 182 δημο]τικός, οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σφίζουσι γῆν echoes *Or.* 920, and 188 ff. echoes *Or.* 871 ff.; the conclusion is like the end of the other narration in *Or.* (270-1 τ[ὰ δ' ὕστερα] / οὐκέτι λέγειν ἔχοιμ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἀπέ[ρχομαι, cf. *Or.* 1498-9). *Or.* 922 is echoed by Menander in a different play (*Epir.* 910). For the intervening period cf. 285-7* (*Ar. Plut.*), 37* (*Eubulus*).

¹²⁰ A. L. Millin, *Galerie mythologique* (1811), pl. CLXX no. 621 (surprisingly cited by Chapouthier as *Mythologische Gallerie*).

¹²¹ Note that a picture of *Or.* with a bow might be merely reflecting the ancient tradition after Stesichorus. The bow in *Or.* is invisible!

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'after Euripides' (see 268–74*), though they also show that graphic art had its own conventions for the portrayal of *Agamemnonius scaenis agitated Orestes*.¹²²

¹²² See 211–315* for Virgil's phrase, also for Ovid's *Orestes ausus in arcanas poscere tela deas*.

SIGLA

M = cod. Marcianus 471	saec. xii
A = cod. Parisinus 2712	saec. xiii
B = cod. Parisinus 2713	saec. xii vel xiii
V = cod. Vaticanus 909	saec. xiii

L = cod. Laurentianus xxxii, 2	saec. xiv ineuntis
P = cod. Palatinus 287 et Laurentianus 172	saec. xiv

Π = fragmenta papyracea diversa

K = fragmentum Berolinense a Kirchhoffio editum

H = codex Hierosolymitanus xxxvi, rescriptus

Ambr. = fragmenta Ambrosiana ab Angelo Maio edita

Σ = Scholia a Schwartzio ex codicibus M B V Nap. maximam partem edita: *Σ* V, *Σ* B et similia scholia in uno tantum codice inventa

Raro citantur:

O = Laurentianus xxxi, 10, saec. xiv (?)

D = Laurentianus xxxi, 15, saec. xiv

F = Marcianus 468, saec. xiv

N = Marcianus 470, saec. xv

Nap. = Neapolitanus II F 41, saec. xv

Haun. = Hauniensis 417, saec. xv

Apogr. Paris. = apographa codicis L Parisina; quae sunt (1) cod. Parisinus 2887, 2888, saec. xvi; et (2) cod. Par. 2817, eiusdem fere aetatis

L¹ V¹ similibus designantur cuiusque codicis prima manus se ipsa corrigens vel scholia scribens; L² V² similibus secunda manus; litteris minusculis (*l*, *v*, *b*) manus recentiores correctrices

Notis codd. et rell. (= reliqui), *nullos praeter M A B V L P respeximus*
γρ. = *γράφεται*, i.e. varia lectio in libris aut scholiis memorata

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΟΡΕΣΤΟΥ

Ὀρέστης τὸν φόνου τοῦ πατρὸς μεταπορευόμενος ἀνεῖλεν Αἴγισθον
 καὶ Κλυταιμνήστραν· μητροκτονῆσαι δὲ τολμήσας παραχρῆμα τὴν
 δίκην ἴδωκεν ἔμμανῆς γενόμενος. Τυνδάρειω δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς
 ἀνηρημένης κατηγορήσαντος κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἔμελλον Ἀργεῖοι κοινὴν ψήφου
 5 ἐκφέρεισθαι περὶ τοῦ τί δεῖ παθεῖν τὸν ἀσεβήσαντα· κατὰ τύχην δὲ
 Μενέλαος ἐκ τῆς πλάνης ὑποστρέψας νυκτὸς μὲν Ἑλένην εἰσαπέστειλε,
 μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ αὐτὸς ἦλθεν. καὶ πυρκαλούμενος ὑπ' Ὀρέστου
 βοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ, ἀντιλέγοντα Τυνδάρειων μᾶλλον ἠύλαβήθη. λεχθέντων
 δὲ λόγων ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἐπηρέχθη τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκτείνειν Ὀρέστην.
 10 . . . ἐπαγγεῖλάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου προῖεσθαι. συνὼν δὲ τούτοις
 ὁ Πυλάδης, φίλος αὐτοῦ, συνεβούλευσε πρῶτον Μενελάου τιμωρίαν
 λαβεῖν Ἑλένην ἀποκτείναντας. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐλθόντες
 διεψεύσθησαν τῆς ἐλπίδος θεῶν τὴν Ἑλένην ἀρπασάντων Ἡλέκτρα
 δὲ Ἑρμόδῳ ἐπιφανεῖσαν ἴδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ταύτην
 15 φονεύειν ἔμελλον. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ Μενέλαος καὶ βλέπων ἑαυτὸν ἄμα
 γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνου στερούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπεβάλλετο τὰ βασίλεια
 πορθεῖν· οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες ὑφάψειν ἠπειλήσαν. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ Ἀπόλλων
 Ἑλένην μὲν ἴψῃσεν εἰς θεοῦ διακομίξειν, Ὀρέστην δὲ Ἑρμῳ ἐπέταξε
 λαβεῖν, Πυλάδην δὲ Ἡλέκτραν συνοικίσαι, καθαρθῆντι δὲ τὸν φόνου
 20 Ἄργους ἄρχειν. M A B V

Argumenta om. L: primum om., alterum mutilum exhibet P.
 Minutias neglecti ¹ μεταπορευόμενος καὶ ἐδικῶν F: et ἐδικῶν
 supra in margine habet B 5 τί δεῖ om. codd.: add. recc. τοὺς
 ἀσεβήσαντας M 7 sq. αὐτὸς δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν εἰσῆλθε B 10 lacunam
 indicavit Porson: supplet ex. gr. ὅς τὴν καταδίκην παρητήσατο Paley:
 ἐπαγγεῖλάμενον ἑαυτὸν B (et F) 16 ἐπεβάλλετο M: ἐπεβάλετο B:
 ὑπεβάλλετο A: ἐπέβαλε V 18 ὄρεστην M V 19 πυλάδην V
 ἠλέκτρα M V συνοικῆσαι codd.: corr. Brunck

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΤ ΎΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Ὁρέστης διὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς σφαγὴν ἄμα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρινύων δειματούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων κατακριθεὶς θανάτῳ, μέλλων φονεῖν Ἑλένην καὶ Ἐρμιόνην ἀνθ' ὧν Μενέλαος παρὼν οὐκ ἐβροίθησε, διεκωλύθη ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος. παρ' οὐδενὶ κείται ἡ μυθοποιία. 5

ἡ μὲν σκ-νῆ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν Ἀργεῖ· ὁ δὲ χορὸς συνέστηκε ἐκ γυναικῶν Ἀργείων, ἡλικιωτίδων Ἠλέκτρας, αἱ καὶ παραγίνονται ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Ὁρέστου πυνθανόμεναι συμφορᾶς. προλογίζει δὲ Ἠλέκτρα.

τὸ δράμα κομικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν καταστροφὴν. ἡ δὲ διασκευὴ τοῦ 10 δράματός ἐστι τοιαύτη· πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλεία ὑπόκειται Ὁρέστης κάμων καὶ κείμενος ὑπὸ μανίας ἐπὶ κλινιδίου, φ' προσκαθίζεται πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν Ἠλέκτρα. διαπορεῖται δὲ τί δήποτε οὐ πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καθέζεται· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μάλλον ἐδόκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν τημελείν, πλησιαιτέρον προσκαθεζομένην. ἴσκειν οὖν διὰ τὸν χορὸν ὁ ποιητῆς 15 (οὕτω) διασκευάσαι· διηγέθη γὰρ ἂν Ὁρέστης, ἄρτι καὶ μόλις καταδραθεὶς, πλησιαιτέρον αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ τὸν χορὸν γυναικῶν παρισταμένων. ἔστι δὲ ὑπονοῆσαι τοῦτο ἐξ ὧν φησιν Ἠλέκτρα· 'σίγα σίγα, λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης'. πιθανὸν οὖν ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς τοιαύτης διαθέσεως. 20

Τὸ δράμα τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς εὐδοκιμούντων, χερίστον δὲ τοῖς ἤθεσι· πλὴν γὰρ Πυλάδου πάντες φαῦλοι ἦσαν. M A B V[P]

Alterius argumenti verba Ὁρέστης . . . τὴν καταστροφὴν habet P observationibus metricis mixta: cetera om. Ordinem codicis M habes: in V scripta sunt primo ἡ μὲν σκηνῆ . . . Ἠλέκτρα, tum reliqua: in B Ὁρέστης . . . μυθοποιία et τὸ δράμα . . . διαθέσεως scholii instar in margine: in A Ὁρέστης . . . μυθοποιία omissa I Ἀριστοφάνους γραμματικοῦ ὑπόθεσις B: ἄλλως M: om. AVP 5 οὐδετέρῳ Dindorf μυθολογία M V 12 κάμων ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ κείμενος Nauck 14 γὰρ ἂν post Nauckium Wecklein: δὲ codd.: cf. ad v. 16 15 πλησιαιστερον B προσκαθεζομένη A et Thessalonicensis: οὕτως προσκαθεζομένη M B V 16 οὕτω add. Wecklein γὰρ ἂν M A B: δὲ V 17 πλησιαιστερον B: ἐγγὺς V 18 σίγα σίγα λεπτὸν M: σίγα σίγα λευκὸν B: cf. ad Or. 140 22 φαῦλοι εἰσιν Nauck

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ	ΠΤΛΑΔΗΣ
ΕΛΕΝΗ	ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΧΟΡΟΣ	ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ
ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ	ΦΡΥΞ
ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΤΥΝΔΑΡΕΩΣ	

Sic P : om. L : alium ordinem MAV :

ηλέκτρα	κυλάδης	έλενη
ήγγελος	χορός	έρμιόνη
ορέστης	φρύξ	μενέλαος
άπόλλων	τυνδάρεως	

Electrae nomen om. A

Acta anno A. C. 408 : vid. Σ ad v. 371 : iterum anno 341 : vid. CIA. ii. 973 vv. 13 et 18 παλαιά· Νεοπτόλ[εμος]·'Ορέστη Εύριπίδου : cf. ad Phoen. et Iph. Aul. initia : nonnulla interpolata videntur ab histrionibus. Codices M A B V L P : accedit vv. 338-344 Π itemque vv. 1062-1090 : raro memorantur H O F Haun. et cod. Thessalonicensis de quo egit Papageorgius in Athen. 1881. I. p. 286 sqq.

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ

Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ᾧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος
 οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ ζυμφορὰ θεήλατος,
 ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις.
 ὁ γὰρ μακάριος—κοῦκ ὀνειδίζω τύχας—
 Διὸς πεφυκώς, ὡς λέγουσι, Τάνταλος 5
 κορυφῆς ὑπερτέλλοντα δειμαίνων πέτρον
 ἀέρι ποτᾶται· καὶ τίνει ταύτην δίκην,
 ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι θεοῖς ἀνθρωπος ὦν
 κοιῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,
 ἀκόλαστον ἔσχε γλώσσαν, αἰσχίστην νόσον. 10
 οὗτος φυτεῖν Πέλοπα, τοῦ δ' Ἄτρεὺς ἔφνυ,
 ᾧ στέμματα ζήνασ' ἐπέκλωσεν θεὰ
 ἔριν, Θυέστη πόλεμον ὄντι συγγόνῳ
 θέσθαι. τί τάρρητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαι με δεῖ;
 ἔδαισε δ' οὖν νιν τέκν' ἀποκτείνας Ἄτρεὺς. 15
 Ἄτρεὺς δέ· τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ σιγῶ τύχας·
 ὁ κλειώος, εἰ δὴ κλειώος, Ἀγαμέμνων ἔφνυ
 Μενελάωσ τε Κρήσσης μητρὸς Ἀερόπης ἄπο.

Εὐριπίδου Ὀρέστης inscripta est haec fabula in M A B V: εὐριπίδου
 Ἠλέκτρα in LP, unde Electram vocat Schol. Aristidis iii. p. 603, 6
 1 Electrae notam om. M: add. M² 2 συμφορὰ θεήλατος M² B² V²
 rell. (ζυμφορὰ LP) et γρ. Σ, cum plerisque qui hunc locum citant
 scriptoribus: συμφορὰν θεήλατον M B V Σ: συμφορὰν δαιμόνιον codd.
 Dionis Chrys. iv. p. 82: cf. Stob. fl. 98, 42 3 ἀνθρώπων M et
 Lucian. Ocypr. 167: ἡ τῶν βροτῶν φύσις Σ 6 κορυφῆς] κεφαλῆς
 Dio Chrys. vi. p. 55 7 δίκην ταύτην V 12-15 delet Klinken-
 berg, v. 17 ἀναξ pro ἔφνυ scribens 13 ἔριν] γρ. Ἔρις Σ: fortasse ἀφρην,
 vv. 14, 15 deletis 15 οὖ M: οὖ B: corr. M² B² 18 μενέλαος
 ἐκ κρήσσης τε μῦθ ἀερόπης L: κρήσσης τε μενέλαος μῦθ ἀερόπης ἄπο P
 sed super μενέλαος β' super μῦθ α' scripto fortasse Μενέλαος, cf. Hel.
 131, Tro. 212, Rhés. 258

γαμέϊ δ' ὃ μὲν δὴ τὴν θεοῖς στυγουμεμένην
 Μενέλαος Ἑλένην, ὃ δὲ Κλυταιμῆστρας λέχος 20
 ἐπίσημον εἰς Ἑλληνας Ἀγαμέμνων ἀναξ·
 ᾧ παρθένοι μὲν τρεῖς ἔφθμεν ἐκ μιᾶς,
 Χρυσόθεμις Ἴφιγένειά τ' Ἡλέκτρα τ' ἐγώ,
 ἄρσην δ' Ὀρέστις, μητρὸς ἀνοσιωτάτης,
 ἢ πόσιν ἀπέρω περιβαλοῦσ' ὑφάσματι 25
 ἔκτειεν· ὦν δ' ἕκατι, παρθένῳ λέγειν
 οὐ καλόν· ἐὼ τοῦτ' ἀσαφὲς ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν.
 Φοίβου δ' ἀδικίαν μὲν τί δεῖ κατηγορεῖν;
 πείθει δ' Ὀρέστην μητέρ' ἢ σφ' ἐγέλναιο
 κτεῖναι, πρὸς οὐχ ἅπαντας εὐκλείαν φέρου. 30
 ὅμως δ' ἀπέκτειν' οὐκ ἀπειθήσας θεῶ·
 κἀγὼ μετέσχον, οἶα δὴ γυνή, φόνου.

[Πυλάδης θ', ὃς ἡμῖν συγκατείργασται τάδε.]

ἐντεῦθεν ἀγρία συντακεῖς νόσῳ [νοσεῖ]
 τλήμων Ὀρέστις ὅδε πεσὼν ἐν δεμνίοις 35
 κείται, τὸ μητρὸς δ' αἱμᾶ νιν τροχηλατεῖ
 μανίαισιν· ὀνομάζειν γὰρ αἰδοῦμαι θεᾶς
 εὐμενίδας, αἱ τόνδ' ἐξαμιλλῶνται φόβῳ.
 ἕκτον δὲ δὴ τὸδ' ἡμᾶρ ἐξ ὄτου σφαγαῖς
 θανοῦσα μήτηρ πυρὶ καθήγγισται δέμας, 40
 ὦν οὔτε σῖτα διὰ δέρης ἐδέξατο,
 οὐ λούτρ' ἔδωκε χρωτί· χλανιδίων δ' ἔσω
 κρυφθεῖς, ὅταν μὲν σῶμα κουφισθῆ νόσου,

20 μενέλαος LP: μενέλεως MABV: Ἑλένην Μενέλεως Hermann: cf. 1196 Κλυταιμῆστρας codd.: non notatur amplius 24 δ' Elmsley: τ' codd. 26 ἕκτανεν V παρθένοι LP cum Alex. Rhet. viii. p. 540 Walz. 27 ἐὼ τοῦτ'] ὦ τ in rasura scr. M² 30 φέρων M: corr. M²: φέρον certe Σ, fortasse et φέρων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπήνουν αὐτὸν οἱ δ' οὐ) 31 ἀπειθήσας MB: corr. M²: ἀπιστήσας anonymus 33 del. Herwerden 34 σῶμα συντακεῖς νόσῳ Wecklein: ἀγρία συντακεῖς νοσήματι Hirzel: maluit πεσὼν τ' v. sequenti Reiske 35 ὅδε M²: ὃ δὲ MABV: οὐδὲ L in rasura: ὅς P 38 εὐμενίδας scripsi, cf. Σ: volgo Εὐμενίδας: v. delet Nauck, omisit tum in ima pagina restituit P 39 δὲ δὴ om. L 40 πῦρ M: corr. M² καθήγγισται codd. et Σ: καθήγισται Scaliger 42 χλανιδίων P

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ξμφρων δακρῦει, ποτὲ δὲ δεμνίων ἄπο
 πηδᾶ δρομαίος, πῶλος ὡς ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ. 45
 ἔδοξε δ' Ἄργει τῶδε μῆθ' ἡμᾶς στέγαις,
 μὴ πυρὶ δέχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα
 μητροκτονούντας· κυρία δ' ἦδ' ἡμέρα,
 ἐν ἧ διοίσει ψῆφον Ἄργείων πόλις,
 εἰ χρὴ θανεῖν νῶ λευσίμῳ πετρώματι. 50
 [ἢ φάσγανον θήξαντ' ἐπ' αὐχένος βαλεῖν.]
 ἐλπίδα δὲ δῆ τιw' ἔχομεν ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν·
 ἦκει γὰρ ἐς γῆν Μενέλεως Τροίας ἄπο,
 λιμένα δὲ Ναυπλείου ἐκκληρῶν πλάτη
 ἀκταίσιν ὄρμει, δαρὸν ἐκ Τροίας χρόνον 55
 ἄλαισι πλαγχεθεῖς· τὴν δὲ δῆ πολύστονον
 Ἑλένην, φυλάξας νύκτα, μὴ τις εἰσιδὼν
 μεθ' ἡμέραν στείχουσιν, ὧν ὑπ' Ἴλιw
 παῖδες τεθνήσιν, ἐς πέτρων ἔλθη βολάς,
 προὔπεμψεν ἐς δῶμ' ἡμέτερον· ἔστιν δ' ἔσω 60
 κλαῖονσ' ἀδελφῆν συμφορὰν τε δωμάτων.
 ἔχει δὲ δῆ τιw' ἀλγέων παραψυχῆν·
 ἦν γὰρ κατ' οἴκους ἔλιφ', ὅτ' ἐς Τροίαν ἔπλει,
 παρθένου ἐμῆ τε μητρὶ παρέδωκεν τρέφειν
 Μενέλαος ἀγαγὼν Ἑρμιόνην Σπάρτης ἄπο, 65
 ταύτη γέγηθε ἀπιλήθεται κακῶν.
 βλέπω δὲ πᾶσαν εἰς ὁδόν, πότ' ὄψομαι
 Μενέλαον ἦκουθ'· ὡς τὰ γ' ἄλλ' ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦς
 ῥώμης ὀχοῦμεθ', ἦν τι μὴ κείνου πάρα
 σωθῶμεν. ἄπορον χρῆμα δυστυχῶν δόμος. 70

45 ἐπὶ Herwerden ex Athen. p. 108 B : ἀπὸ codd. et Z 46 τόδε
 M : corr. M² 46, 47 verba μῆθ' . . . δέχεσθαι om. A 47 μήτε]
 μηδὲ Eimsley (et A) 51 θήξαντ' L et Z (δικῶς τὸ θήξαντε) : θήξαντος
 M : θήξαντας M² rell. : v. del. Nauck 52 δὲ om. A δῆ om. M
 53 Μενέλαος B Τροίης L 54 Ναυπλείου AV L² : ναύπλιον
 M B L P 56 ἄλαισι B L P 58 ὀφιλίω M 59 πέτρων B :
 πετρῶν M L P ἔλθοι V 67 ἴσοδον codd. : corr. Musgrave
 69 ὀχοῦμεθ' M

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

ΕΛΕΝΗ

- ὦ παῖ Κλυταιμῆστρας τε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος,
 παρθένε μακρὸν δὴ μῆκος Ἥλέκτρα χρόνον,
 πῶς, ὦ τάλαωα, σύ τε κασίγνητός τε σὸς
 τλήμων Ὀρέστης μητρός ὄδε φονεὺς ἔχει;
 προσφθέγμασι γὰρ οὐ μαινομαι σέθεν, 75
 ἐς Φοῖβον ἀναφέρουσα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.
 καίτοι στένω γε τὸν Κλυταιμῆστρας μόρον,
 ἐμῆς ἀδελφῆς, ἦν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς Ἴλιον
 ἔπλευσ' ὅπως ἔπλευσα θεομανεῖ πότμῳ,
 οὐκ εἶδον, ἀπολειφθεῖσα δ' αἰάζω τύχας. 80
- Ηλ. Ἐλένη, τί σοι λέγοιμ' ἂν ἃ γε παροῦσ' ὄρῃς;
 [ἐν συμφοραῖσι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος δόμον]
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνπνος πάρεδρος ἀθλίῳ νεκρῷ
 —νεκρὸς γὰρ οὗτος οὐνεκα σμικρᾶς προῆς—
 θάσσω· τὰ τούτου δ' οὐκ ὀνειδίζω κακά. 85
 σὺ δ' εἰ μακαρία μακάριός θ' ὁ σὸς πόσις.
 [ἦκετον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀθλίως πεπραγότας]
- Ελ. πόσον χρόνον δ' ἐν δεμνίοις πέπτωχ' ὄδε;
 Ηλ. ἐξ οὐπερ αἶμα γενέθλιον κατήνυσεν.
 Ελ. ὦ μέλεος· ἡ τεκοῦσά θ', ὡς διώλετο. 90
 Ηλ. οὕτως ἔχει τάδ', ὥστ' ἀπείρηκεν κακοῖς.
 Ελ. πρὸς θεῶν, πίθοι' ἂν δῆτά μοι τι, παρθένε;
 Ηλ. ὡς ἄσυχολός γε συγγόνου προσεδρῖα.
 Ελ. βούλῃ τάφου μοι πρὸς κασιγνήτης μολεῖν;
 Ηλ. μητρός κελεύεις τῆς ἐμῆς; τίνος χάριν; 95

71 καγαμέμνονος codd. 74 ἔχει Heath: ἔφν codd.: v. delet Kirchhoff 79 ὅπως Σ (et B²): ὅπως δ' codd. 81 ἃ γε καὶ M A B 82 γόνων codd. et Σ (non antiquissimus): δόμον Kirchhoff: sed maluit v. delere 86 εἰ M A B L v p Σ, quo recepto v. 87 delet Wecklein: ἡ V P 1 87 ἦκετον codd. et Σ: ἦκει Eustath. II. p. 146, 12, p. 809, 36, Od. p. 1856, 14 88 δ' ἐν Musgrave, cf. 35; δὲ codd. ὄδε M: corr. M² 89 in textu omissum in margine add. M 91 ἀπείρηκεν M et Σ: ἀπείρημ' ἐν A B L P: ἀπείρηκα V 92 τι om. A 93 ὡς codd. et Σ: ὄσ' Herwerden προσεδρεῖε V 94 κασιγνήτας A B: corr. B²

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Ελ. κόμης ἀπαρχὰς καὶ χοὰς φέρουσ' ἐμάς.
 Ηλ. σοὶ δ' οὐχὶ θεμιτὸν πρὸς φίλων στείλειν τάφον;
 Ελ. δεῖξαι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι σῶμ' αἰσχύνομαι.
 Ηλ. ὄψέ γε φρονεῖς εὖ, τότε λιποῦσ' αἰσχροῦς δόμους.
 Ελ. ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας, οὐ φίλως δ' ἐμοὶ λέγεις. 100
 Ηλ. αἰδῶς δὲ δὴ τίς σ' ἐς Μυκηναίους ἔχει;
 Ελ. δέδοικα πατέρας τῶν ὑπ' Ἴλίῳ νεκρῶν.
 Ηλ. δεινὸν γάρ· Ἄργει τ' ἀναβοᾷ διὰ στόμα.
 Ελ. σύ νυν χάρι μοι τὸν φόβον λύσασα δός.
 Ηλ. οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μητρὸς ἐσβλέψαι τάφον. 105
 Ελ. αἰσχρὸν γε μέντοι προσπόλους φέρειν τάδε.
 Ηλ. τί δ' οὐχὶ θυγατρὸς Ἑρμιόνης πέμπεις δέμας;
 Ελ. ἐς ὄχλον ἔρπειω παρθένοισιν οὐ καλόν.
 Ηλ. καὶ μὴν τίνοι γ' ἂν τῇ τεθνηκυῖα τροφάς.
 Ελ. ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας, πείθομαί τέ σοι, κόρη. 110
 [καὶ πέμψομέν γε θυγατέρ'. εὖ γάρ τοι λέγεις.]
 ὦ τέκνον, ἔξελθ', Ἑρμιόνη, δόμων πάρος
 καὶ λαβὲ χοὰς τάσδ' ἐν χερσὶν κόμας τ' ἐμάς·
 ἔλθοῦσα δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλυταιμῆστρας τάφον
 μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακτος οἰνωπόν τ' ἄχνην, 115
 καὶ σῆσ' ἐπ' ἄκρου χώματος λέξον τάδε·
 Ἐλένη σ' ἀδελφῇ ταῖσδε δωρεῖται χοαῖς,
 φόβῳ προσελθεῖν μνήμα σόν, ταρβοῦσά τε
 Ἀργεῖον ὄχλον. πρευμενῆ δ' ἄνωγέ νιν
 ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοὶ καὶ πόσει γνώμην ἔχειν 120

96 ἐμάς L 97 σοὶ δ' οὐ A θεμιστὸν primitus M φίλων
 M² A B V L : φίλον M P v l 99 γε om. V 100 ὀρθῶς] σὺ δ' εὖ V
 δ' ἐμοὶ V et, ut videtur, Σ: δέ μοι rell. ὀρθῶς γε λέξασ' οὐ φίλως
 ἴμοι Porson 101 δὴ om. M A τίς] τί V: corr. v 103 τ'
 codd. et Σ: γ' Matthiac: Ἄργει καταβοᾷ Canter 104 λύσας M:
 corr. M² 107 τί δ' οὐ L 109 τεθνηκυῖα L b: τεθνηκυῖα rell.
 110 ὀρθῶς] καλῶς V 111 dittographiam del. Matthiae καὶ] ναί,
 Paley πέμψομεν M B V: πέμψομαι A L P b v θυγατέρα γ' V τοι
 om. A vv. 111, 112 paragraphi praepositi in L ut 88-110 112 πάρος
 δόμων L 115 ante γάλακτος littera erasa in M οἰνωπόν M B:
 corr. b ἄχνης V: corr. v 118 τὸ σὸν L 119 Ἀργεῖων
 M V P πρευμενῆ γρ. Σ: εὐμενῆ codd.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

τοῖν τ' ἀθλίωι τοῖνδ', οὓς ἀπώλεσεν θεός.

ἃ δ' εἰς ἀδελφὴν καιρὸς ἐκπονεῖν ἐμέ,

ἄπανθ' ὑπισχνοῦ νερετέρων δωρήματα.

ἴθ', ὦ τέκνον μοι, σπεῦδε καὶ χοῶς τάφω

δοῦπ' ὡς τάχιστα τῆς πάλιν μέμνησ' ὁδοῦ. 125

Ηλ. ὦ φύσις, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἰ κακόν,

σωτήριόν τε τοῖς καλῶς κεκτημένοις.

εἶδετε παρ' ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθρισεν τρίχας,

σφύζουσα κάλλος; ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι γυνή.

θεοὶ σε μισήσειαν, ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας 130

καὶ τόνδε πᾶσάν θ' Ἑλλάδα.

ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ·

αἰδ' αὖ πάρεισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς θρηνήμασι

φίλοι ξυμφδοί· τάχα μεταστήσουσ' ὕπνου

τόνδ' ἡσυχάζοντ', ὄμμα δ' ἐκτῆξουσ' ἐμόν

δακρυοῖς, ἀδελφὸν ὅταν ὀρώ μεμνηότα. 135

[ὦ φίλταται γυναῖκες, ἡσύχῃ ποδὶ

χωρεῖτε, μὴ ψοφεῖτε, μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος.

φιλία γὰρ ἡ σὴ πρηνεμενῆς μέν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ

τόνδ' ἐξεγεῖραι συμφορὰ γενήσεται.] 139

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σῖγα σῖγα, λεπτὸν ἔχνος ἀρβύλης [στρ. α'
τίθετε, μὴ κτυπεῖτ'.

Ηλ. ἀποπρὸ βᾶτ' ἐκεῖτ', ἀποπρὸ μοι κοίτας.

121 τοῖνδ'] τοῖντ' primitus M : τοῖντ' δ' M¹ 122 ἐμέ L O : ἐμήν P,
sed ην in rasura : ἐμήν M A B V : utrumque Σ 123 νερετέρων
μειλίγματα Wecklein, cl. Aesch. Cho. 15 127 σωτήριος V
128 ἴδετε L et Σ Aesch. Ag. 541 παρ' ἵ γὰρ Dupont ἀπέθριξε
L P et Σ Aesch. τρίχι A sed as suprascripto 130 μισήσειεν M
136-139 dittographiam secl. Wilamovitz : non noverant ii qui 140 sqq.
Electrae dabant 137 μὴ κτυπεῖτε V 140 Choro tribuunt
codd., Electrae Dionys. de comp. verb. c. 11, Diog. L. vii. 172 ; cf.
Argumentum alterum. v. 18 σῖγα σῖγα P : σῖγα σῖγα tell. λεπτὸν
M A L P Σ : λευκὸν B V γρ. Σ fortasse recte 141 τίθετε Porson :
τιθεῖτε M A B L P : ψοφεῖτε V κτυπεῖτ' Dionys l. c. : κτυπεῖτε μηδ'
ἔστω κτύπος codd. : cf. 137 : μὴ ψοφεῖτε μὴ ἔστω κτύπος Elmsley : cf. v.
antistrophicum 142 ἀπόπρο βᾶτ' V I. P Σ : ἀπο προβᾶτ' tell.

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Χο. ἰδοῦ, πειθομαι.
 Ηλ. ᾄ ᾄ σύριγγος ὅπως πνοᾷ 145
 λεπτοῦ δόνακος, ᾧ φίλα, φώνει μοι.
 Χο. ἴδ', ἀτρεμαῖον ὡς ὑπόροφον φέρω
 βοᾶν. Ηλ. ναί, οὕτως·
 κάταγε κάταγε, πρόσιθ' ἀτρέμας, ἀτρέμας ἴθι·
 λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὅ τι χρέος ἐμόλετέ ποτε. 150
 χρόνια γὰρ πεσὼν ὄδ' εὐνάζεταιται.
 Χο. πῶς ἔχει; λόγον μετάδος, ᾧ φίλα [ἀντ. α'
 τίνα τύχαν εἶπω; τίνα δὲ συμφορὰν;
 Ηλ. ἔτι μὲν ἐμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστένει. 155
 Χο. τί φῆς; ᾧ τάλας.
 Ηλ. ὀλεῖς, εἰ βλέφαρα κινήσεις
 ὕπνου γλυκυτάταν φερομένῃ χάριν.
 Χο. μέλεος ἐχθίστων θεόθεν ἐργμάτων, 160
 τάλας. Ηλ. φεῦ μόχθων.
 ἄδικος ἄδικα τότ' ἄρ' ἔλακεν ἔλακεν, ἀπό-
 φουον ὄτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι Θέμιδος ἄρ' ἐδίκασε
 φόνου ὁ Λοξίας ἐμᾶς ματέρος. 165
 Χο. ὄραῖς; ἐν πέπλοισι κινεῖ δέμας. [στρ. β'
 Ηλ. σὺ γὰρ νιν, ᾧ τάλαινα,
 θωῶξασ' ἔβαλες ἐξ ὕπνου.
 Χο. εὐδεῖν μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα.
 Ηλ. οὐκ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἀπ' οἴκων 170

145 ᾄ ᾄ V 147 ἀτρεμαῖον MBV²: ἀτρεμαῖαν M²AVLP ὁ
 ὑπόροφον primitus L: ὑπόροφον L² tell. 148 βοᾶν] βῆσιν Wecklein
 150 λόγον δ' V 153 λόγον δ' ἀπόδος A 154 Ηλ. notam
 praeef. codd., non ante 155: corr. Seidler: cf. stropham τίνα δὲ
 συμφορὰν; delet Schenkl: cf. v. 141 155 ἀνασθμαίνει Musgrave
 158 βλέφαρα] βλεφάρων suprascr. A 159 ὕπνου] ὕπνον suprascr. A
 χάριν A²: χαράν A tell. (τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ ὕπνου Σ) 160, 161 ᾧ
 μέλεος... ᾧ τάλας codd.: corr. Byzantini 161 Ηλ. notam hic
 posuit Seidler: ante v. sequentem codd. 162 ἄδικος] ἄδικος AB:
 ᾧ ἄδικος A² 165 ὁ om. LP μητέρος M V 166 Χο. om. A
 168 θωῶξασ'] γρ. ἰλάσασα Σ M (corrupte: voluit fortasse λακῆσασα)
 169 μὲν οὖν] νιν οὐκ Herwerden

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- πάλιν ἀνὰ πόδα σὸν εἰλίξεις
 μεθεμένα κτύπου;
 Χο. ὑπνώσσει. Ηλ. λέγεις εὔ.
 πότνια, πότνια νύξ,
 ὑπροδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν, 175
 ἐρεβόθεν ἴθι, μόλε' μόλε κατάπτερος
 τὸν Ἄγαμεμνόσιον ἐπὶ δόμον.
 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγέων ὑπὸ τε συμφορᾶς 180
 διοιχόμεθ', οἰχόμεθα. κτύπον ἡγάγετ'. οὐχὶ σίγα
 σίγα φυλασσομένα στόματος
 ἄνα κέλαδον ἀπὸ λέχεος ἤ- 185
 συχον ὕπνου χάρις παρέξεις, φίλα;
 Χο. θρόει τίς κακῶν τελευτὰ μένει. [ἀντ. β'
 Ηλ. θανεῖν (θανεῖν), τί δ' ἄλλο;
 οὐδὲ γὰρ πόθον ἔχει βορᾶς.
 Χο. πρόδηλος ἄρ' ὁ πότμος. 190
 Ηλ. ἐξέθυσ' ὁ Φοῖβος ἡμᾶς
 μέλεον ἀπόφονον αἶμα δοῦς
 πατροφόνου ματρός.
 Χο. δίκᾳ μέν. Ηλ. καλῶς δ' οὔ.
 ἔκανες ἔθανες, ὦ 195

171 εἰλίξεις L P 171, 172 μεθεμένα κτύπου πόδα σὸν εἰλίξεις:
 Porson 174 Choro tribuunt A B V L P: Electrae continuant M
 et Σ ὦ πότνια πότνια L 175 πολυστόνων H 179 ἀγαμεμνό-
 νιον A²: ἀγαμεμνόνειον A rell. γρ. ἐπὶ δόμων M (corrupte, puto):
 γρ. γόνον υ 181 διοιχόμεσθ' οἰχόμεσθα codd. ante κτύπον
 paragraphum habet L, Electrae notam A V B²: καὶ τοῦτο κατ' ἀναφώ-
 νησιν λέγει ἡ Ἠλέκτρα Σ M Σ B ante οὐχὶ Chori notam, ante σίγα
 Electrae M² A P: idem voluit L, sed paragraphum ante σίγα om.:
 cf. ad 174 185 διὰ στόματος L ἄνα (retro) scripsi: ἀνὰ fere
 codd.: ἀνακέλαδον uno verbo A V ἀπὸ vel ἄπο codd. et Σ: ἀποπρὸ
 Musgrave 186 χάριν fortasse Σ (τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κοίτης ὕπνου χάριν):
 χάριν codd. φίλα] ὦ φίλα codd. 188 θανεῖν bis Lachmann:
 semel codd. ἄλλο] ἄλλο γ' L B²: ἄλλο γ' εἴποις F 189 οὔτε M
 190 ἄρ' L: ἄρ' vel ἄρ rell. 191 ἐξέθυσεν φοῖβος King 193 ματῆρος
 codd. 194 δίκᾳ Triclinius ob metrum: δίκαια codd. Ηλ.] hic
 Σ (ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπομνήματι καὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἠλέκτρας): non hic sed ante
 v. sequentem codd. 195 ἔκανες ὦ θανες P

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- τεκομένα με μᾶτερ, ἀπὸ δ' ὤλεσας
πατέρα τέκνα τε τάδε σέθεν ἀφ' αἵματος·
ὀλόμεθ' ἰσυνέκνες, ὀλόμεθα. 200
σύ τε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς, τό τ' ἐμὸν οἴχεται
βίου τὸ πλέον μέρος ἐν στοναχαῖσί τε καὶ γόοισι
δάκρυσί τ' ἐννυχίοις, ἄγαμος 205
[ἐπὶ δ'] ἄτεκνος ἄτε βίωτον ἂ
μέλεος ἐς τὸν αἰὲν ἔλκω χρόνον.

- Χο. ὄρα παρούσα, παρθέν' Ἥλέκτρα, πέλας,
μὴ καταθάνῳ σε σύγγονος λέληθ' ὄδε·
οὐ γὰρ μ' ἀρέσκει τῷ λίαν παρεμμένῳ. 210

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- ὦ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον, ἐπίκουρον νόσου,
ὡς ἦδύ μοι προσήλθες—ἐν δέοντί γε.
ὦ πότνια Λήθη τῶν κακῶν, ὡς εἶ σοφῆ
καὶ τοῖσι δυστυχοῦσιν εὐκταία θεός.
πόθεν ποτ' ἦλθον δεῦρο; πῶς δ' ἀφικόμεν; 215
ἀμνημονῶ γάρ, τῶν πρὶν ἀπολειφθεῖς φρενῶν.
Ηλ. ὦ φίλταθ', ὡς μ' ἠῆφρανας εἰς ὕπνον πεσῶν.
βούλη θίγω σου κἀνακουφίσω δέμας;
Ορ. λαβοῦ λαβοῦ δῆτ', ἐκ δ' ὄμορξον ἀθλίω
στόματος ἀφρώδη πέλανον ὀμμάτων τ' ἐμῶν. 220
Ηλ. ἰδοῦ· τὸ δούλευμ' ἦδύ, κοῦκ ἀναίνομαι
ἀδέλφ' ἀδελφῆ χειρὶ θεραπεύειν μέλη.
Ορ. ὑπόβαλε πλευροῖς πλευρά, καυχμῶδη κόμην
ἄφελε προσώπου· λεπτὰ γὰρ λεύσω κόραις.

199 τε om. A L 200 ὀλόμεσθ' A ὀλόμεθ' ὀλόμεθ' ἴσων νέκνες V
201 τὸ δ' A 204 στοναχαῖσι τε καὶ γόοις A in margine; in textu
omiserat: στοναχαῖσι L γόοις codd. 205 om. P: add. ρ
206 ἐπὶ δ' L: ἐπιδ' rell.: secl. Wilamowitz, e Σ irrepsisse ratus
208 παρούσ' Ἥλέκτρα παρθένε primitus M 211 νόσον A 212 γε
codd.: τε Stob. ll. 100, 1 215 πῶς δ' πῶς L 216 aut
ante aut post τῶν πρὶν posse distingui monet Σ 217 εῖφρανας M²
218 κἀνακουφί(ζω) suprascr. A 221 τὸ βούλευμ' L 222 ἀδέλφ'
ἀδελφῶ M 223 ὑπόβαλλε A πλευρὰν A P καὶ ἀχμῶδη M:
κἀχμῶδη V 224 κόραις] νόσῳ γρ. Σ

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- Ηλ. ὦ βοστρύχων πινῶδες ἄθλιον κἀρα, 225
 ὡς ἠγρίωσαι διὰ μακρᾶς ἀλουσίας.
- Ορ. κλινόν μ' ἐς εὐνήν αὐθις· ὅταν ἀνῆ νόσος
 μανίας, ἀναρθρός εἰμι κἀσθενῶ μέλη.
- Ηλ. ἰδοῦ. φίλον τοι τῷ νοσοῦντι δέμμιον,
 ἀνιαρὸν ὄν τὸ κτῆμ', ἀναγκαῖον δ' ὄμωσ. 230
- Ορ. αὐθίς μ' ἐς ὄρθον στήσον, ἀνακύκλει δέμας·
 δυσάρεστον οἱ νοσοῦντες ἀπορίας ὕπο.
- Ηλ. ἦ κἀπὶ γαίας ἀρμόσαι πόδας θέλεις,
 χρόνιον ἴχνος θεῖς; μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ.
- Ορ. μάλιστα· δόξαν γὰρ τὸδ' ὑγείας ἔχει. 235
 κρεῖσσον δὲ τὸ δοκεῖν, κἂν ἀληθείας ἀπῆ.
- Ηλ. ἄκουε δὴ νῦν, ὦ κασίγνητον κἀρα,
 ἕως ἐώσω εὖ φρονεῖν Ἐρινύες.
- Ορ. λέξεις τι καινόν· κεῖ μὲν εὖ, χάριω φέρεις·
 εἰ δ' ἐς βλάβην τι, ἄλις ἔχω τὸ δυστυχεῖν. 240
- Ηλ. Μενέλαος ἦκει, σοῦ κασίγνητος πατρός,
 ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ δὲ σέλμαθ' ὤρμισται νεῶν.
- Ορ. πῶς εἶπας; ἦκει φῶς ἐμοῖς καὶ σοῖς κακοῖς
 ἀνὴρ ὁμογενῆς καὶ χάριτας ἔχων πατρός;
- Ηλ. ἦκει—τὸ πιστὸν τόδε λόγων ἐμῶν δέχων— 245
 Ἐλένην ἀγόμενος Τρωικῶν ἐκ τειχέων.
- Ορ. εἰ μόνος ἐσώθη, μᾶλλον ἂν ζηλωτὸς ἦν·
 εἰ δ' ἄλοχον ἀγεται, κακὸν ἔχων ἦκει μέγα.
- Ηλ. ἐπίσημον ἔτεκε Τυνδάρεως ἐς τὸν ψόγον
 γένος θυγατέρων δυσκλέες τ' ἂν Ἑλλάδα. 250

227 ὅταν Heath: ὅταν μ' codd. 228 μανίας] μανιάς legi posse
 monet Z ἐναρθρός L 229 τοι] τι V δέμνια Stob. fl. 100. 2
 230 ὄν τὸ] μὲν τὸ Stob.: τὸ A: ὄντα Hermann, δέμνια legens
 231 μ'] δ' Stob. κἀνακυκλεῖ P 232 Xo. notam praefigurant
 M B V² P: Ηλ. A L 233 Ηλ. om. V L: add. V² γαίης M V
 πόδα P 234 μεταβολὴ γὰρ V γλυκύ] ἠδὲ P 235 δὲ] γὰρ L
 238 ἐώσω εὖ M: ἐώσω σ' εὖ A: ἐώσι σ' εὖ rell.: σ' ἐώσω εὖ Brunck
 239 καὶ εἰ M V φέρει A 240 τὸ M B V: τῷ V: τοῦ A B² L P
 242 ναυπλίῳ B² V L P 244 τε καὶ A V χάριτα M πατρί P
 249 ἐπὶ ψόγῳ Wecklein (περισσὸν τὸ ἔρθρον Z M)

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- Ορ. σὺ νῦν διάφερε τῶν κακῶν· ξέσσι γὰρ
καὶ μὴ μόνον λέγ', ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνει τάδε.
- Ηλ. οἴμοι, κασίγνητ', ὄμμα σὸν ταράσσεται,
ταχὺς δὲ μετέθου λύσσαν, ἄρτι σωφρονῶν.
- Ορ. ὦ μήτερ, ἱκετεύω σε, μὴ 'πίσειέ μοι 255
τὰς αἱματωποὺς καὶ δρακοντώδεις κόρας.
αὐται γὰρ αὐται πλησίον θρώσκουσί μου.
- Ηλ. μέν', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἀτρέμα σοῖς ἐν δεμνοῖς·
ὄρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ὧν δοκεῖς σάφ' εἰδέναι.
- Ορ. ὦ Φοῖβ', ἀποκτενοῦσί μ' αἱ κυνώπιδες 260
γοργῶπες, ἐνέρων ἰέρεαι, δευαὶ θεαί.
- Ηλ. οὗτοι μεθήσω· χεῖρα δ' ἐμπλέξασ' ἐμὴν
σχῆσω σε πηδᾶν δυστυχῆ πηδήματα.
- Ορ. μέθεσ'· μί' οὔσα τῶν ἐμῶν Ἐρινύων
μέσον μ' ὀχμάξεις, ὡς βάλης ἐς Τάρταρον. 265
- Ηλ. οἱ 'γὼ τάλαια, τίν' ἐπικουρίαν λάβω,
ἐπεὶ τὸ θεῖον δυσμενὲς κεκτήμεθα;
- Ορ. δὸς τόξα μοι κερουλκά, δῶρα Λοξίου,
οἷς μ' εἶπ' Ἀπόλλων ἐξαμύνασθαι θεάς,
εἶ μ' ἐκφοβοῖεν μανιάσιν λυσσήμασιν. 270
βεβλήσεται τις θεῶν βροτησίᾳ χερῖ,
εἰ μὴ 'ξαμείψει χωρὶς ὀμμάτων ἐμῶν.
οὐκ εἰσακούετ'; οὐχ ὀρᾶθ' ἐκηβόλων
τόξων περωτὰς γλυφίδας ἐξορμωμένας;

251 σὺ νῦν codd. : σὺ τοι Plut. Mor. p. 88 C et Orion. Anth. i. 16
254 ταχὺ M²V ἀρτίως φρονῶν Diog. L. vii. p. 220 (σωφρονῶν Σ)
255 μόν V : corr. v 256 αἱματωποὺς codd. et Σ sed πους ex allis
litteris fecit M¹ : αἱματώδεις Sext. Emp. p. 299 257 del. Hartung :
post 270 trai. Elmsley : habuit Σ, et adferunt De Sublim. 15, 2 et Plut.
Mor. p. 901 A 258 ἀτρέμα L : ἀτρέμας rell. ἡς B : corr. B²
259 σάφ' ἴσθ' ὅτι Matthiae 260-265 sic disponit 264-265, 262-263,
260-261 F. Gu. Schmidt 260 κυνώπιδας primitus M : corr. M¹ 261
ἰέριαι L Σ : ἰέρεαι rell. εἰ correpto, cf. Alc. 416, Hip. 1128, &c., sed
ctiam Bac. 1114 264 μ' ἰούσα Σ alter (ἄνεσ με τῆς μανίας ἀναχωρήσασα)
266 of 'γὼ L P : οἱ ἐγὼ fere rell. 269 ἐπαμύνασθαι M : corr. M² 270
ἐκφοβεῖεν L P 271 Ηλ. et 272 Or. praef. codd. : corr. Hartung : et ante
273 personae nota erasa in M 273 εἰσακούσετ' M B V : corr. B² V²

ἄ ἄ.

τί δῆτα μέλλετ'; ἐξακρίζετ' αἰθέρα 275

πτεροῖς· τὰ Φοίβου δ' αἰτιάσθε θέσφατα.

ἕα·

τί χρῆμ' ἄλλω, πνεῦμ' ἀνεῖς ἐκ πλευμόνων ;

ποῖ ποῖ ποθ' ἠλάμεσθα δεμνίων ἄπο;

ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν' ὄρω.

σύγγουε, τί κλαίεις κρᾶτα θεῖσ' ἔσω πέπλων; 280

αἰσχύνομαί σε, μεταδιδούς πόνων ζμῶν

ὄχλου τε παρέχων παρθένω νόσοις ἐμαῖς.

μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἕκατι συντήκου κακῶν·

σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐπένευσας τὰδ', εἴργασται δ' ἐμοὶ

μητρῶον αἶμα· Λοξία δὲ μέμφομαι, 285

ὄστις μ' ἐπάρας ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον,

τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ἠῦφρανε, τῷ δ' ἔργοισιν οὐ.

οἶμαι δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν, εἰ κατ' ὄμματα

ἐξιστόρουν νῦν, μητέρ' εἰ κτεῖναι χρεῶν,

πολλὰς γενεῖου τοῦδ' ἂν ἐκτεῖναι λιτὰς 290

μήποτε τεκούσης ἐς σφαγὰς ὦσαι ξίφος,

εἰ μὴτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀναλαβεῖν ἔμελλε φῶς,

ἐγὼ θ' ὁ τλήμων τοιάδ' ἐκπλήσειν κακά.

καὶ νῦν ἀνακάλυπτ', ὦ κασιγνήτη, κάρα,

ἐκ δακρῶν τ' ἀπελθε, κεῖ μάλ' ἀθλίως 295

ἔχομεν. ὅταν δὲ τᾶμ' ἀθυμήσαντ' ἴδης,

276 θέσφατα] φάσματα A 277 πνευμόνων codd., cf. Ion. 524, 766, Her.
 1093 278 ποῖ semel A 279 αὐ om. M γαλήν' M² B¹ L P: γάλην' M :
 γαλήν' A B V: cf. Σ 280 ἠλ. praef. M² B¹ V P κλαίεις A B: corr. B²
 κρᾶ P θεῖσ' B L v: τιθεῖσ' A: θεῖς M b V P 281 Op. praef.
 B² V P σε] σοι A² 282 παρέχων om. et παρθένων scrib. P
 ἐμοῖς (sed ais suprascr.) V 283 ἠλ. et 284 Op. praef. B
 284 ἦνευσε τὰδ' Nauck δέ μοι A 286 ἐπ' ἔρας v: post hunc v.
 lacunam statuit Kirchnerhoff: ἀναπέσας εἰς ἔργον reddidit Σ 287 εὔφρανε
 M² A B ἔργοις M οὐ om. M: add. M² 289 κτεῖναι χρεῶν L:
 κτεῖναι με χρή cell. 291 μήποτε B L P Σ: μήπω M A V: μὴ τῆς
 novicii 292 εἰ] κ' εἰ M ἔμελλε M A B V L 293 ἐγὼ θ'
 novicii: ἐγὼ δ' codd. ἐκπλήσειν] ἐκπλήσσειν M: ἐκτλήσειν A¹ P²
 294 κασιγνήτη, Brunck: κασιγνήτου codd. et Σ

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σὺ μου τὸ δεινὸν καὶ διαφθαρὲν φρενῶν
 ἰσχυραῖε παραμυθοῦ θ'. ὅταν δὲ σὺ στένῃς,
 ἡμᾶς παρόντας χρῆ σε νουθετεῖν φίλα·
 ἐπικουρίαι γὰρ αἶδε τοῖς φίλοις καλά. 300

ἀλλ', ὦ τάλαινα, βᾶσα δωματίων ἔσω
 ὕπνῳ τ' ἄνπνον βλέφαρον ἐκταθείσα δός,
 σίτων τ' ὄρεξαι λουτρά τ' ἐπιβαλοῦ χροῖ.
 εἰ γὰρ προλείψεις ἢ προσεδρεῖα νόσον
 κτήσῃ τιν', οἰχόμεσθα· σὲ γὰρ ἔχω μόνην 305
 ἐπίκουρον, ἄλλων, ὡς ὕρῃς, ἔρημος ὦν.

Ηλ. οὐκ ἔστι· σὺν σοὶ καὶ θανεῖν αἰρήσομαι
 καὶ ζῆν· ἔχει γὰρ ταῦτόν· ἦν σὺ καθάνης,
 γυνὴ τί δράσω; πῶς μόνη σωθήσομαι,
 ἀνάδελφος ἀπάτωρ ἀφίλος; εἰ δὲ σοὶ δοκεῖ, 310
 δρᾶν χρῆ τάδ'. ἀλλὰ κλίνον εἰς εὐνὴν δέμας,
 καὶ μὴ τὸ ταρβοῦν κάκφοβοῦν σ' ἐκ δεμνίων
 ἄγαν ἀποδέχου, μένε δ' ἐπὶ στρωτοῦ λέχους.
 κὰν μὴ νοσῆς γάρ, ἀλλὰ δοξάζῃς νοσεῖν,
 κάματος βροτοῖσιw ἀπορία τε γίνεται. 315

Χο. αἰαί,
 δρομάδες ὦ περοφόροι
 ποτιάδες θεαί,
 ἀβάκχεντον αἰ θίασον ἐλάχετ' ἐν
 δάκρυσι καὶ γόοις, 320
 μελάγχρωτες εὐμενίδες, αἶτε τὸν

298 ἰσχυραῖε L P et γρ. M : ἰσχυραῖε B probante Porsono : ἰσχυραῖε
 M A V et γρ. Σ 302 ἐκταθείσα P 303 σίτων M B : σίτων B² rell. et, ut
 videtur, Σ : σίτων Hartung λουτρά τ' λούτρ' M ἐπιβαλοῦ χροῖ Her-
 mann : ἐπι χροῖ βάλε fere codd. (βάλλεν M, βάλεν primitus B) 304 προ-
 λείψεις μ' codd. et Σ : μ' delet Paley, cl. Hec. 438 προσεδρεῖα rec.
 νόσον primitus L 307 σοὶ καθανεῖν A V 309 σωθήσομαι V :
 corr. v post 312 spatium unius versus in A 314 νοσῆς B V L P :
 νόση A b et Callistratus apud Σ : νοσήσης M δοξάζῃς M B L P :
 δοξάζεις V : δοξάζῃ suprascr. A et Callistratus (δοξάζει in textu A)
 317 ὦ om. A 319, 320 ἐλάχετε δάκρυσι P 321 μελαγχρωτες
 codd. εὐμενίδες om. A

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τανααν αἰθέρ' ἀμπάλλεσθ', αἵματος
 τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον,
 καθικετεύομαι καθικετεύομαι,
 τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος 325
 γόνον ἔασατ' ἐκλαθέσθαι λύσσας
 μανιάδος φοιταλέου. φεῦ μόχθων,
 οἴων, ᾧ τάλας, ὀρεχθεῖς ἔρρεις,
 τρίποδος ἀπο φάτιν, ἂν ὁ Φοῖβος ἔλακε, δε-
 ξάμενος ἀνὰ δάπεδον, 330
 ἵνα μεσόμφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί.

ἰὼ Ζεῦ, [ἀντ.
 τίς ἔλεος, τίς ὄδ' ἀγών
 φόνιος ἔρχεται,
 θοάζων σε τὸν μέλεον, ᾧ δάκρυα 335
 δάκρυσι συμβάλλει
 πορεύων τις ἐς δόμον ἀλαστόρων
 ματέρος αἶμα σᾶς, ὃ σ' ἀναβακχεύει;
 ὁ μέγας ὄλβος οὐ μόνιμος ἐν βροτοῖς· 340
 κατολοφύρομαι κατολοφύρομαι. 339
 ἀνὰ δὲ λαΐφος ᾧς
 τις ἀκάτου θοᾶς τινάξας δαίμων
 κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν πόνων ὡς πόντου
 λάβροισι ὀλεθρίοισιν ἐν κύμασιν.

322 ἀμπάλλεσθ' M L (ἀνὰ τὸν αἰθέρα πάλλεσθε Σ) 323 τινύμεναι
 (bis) B² L P δίκην V φόνου B 327 μανιάδος V ρ μόχθων]
 ἐν ἄλλῃ γρ. μόχθων κακῶν A μανιάδος· φεῦ φεῦ φοιταλέων μόχθων
 Weil, sed φοιταλέου ἄ productit, ut Aesch. Prom. 598 traditur
 328 οἴν M² (ex οἴων factum: ᾧ) ὁ A B V 329 ἀπο φάτιν]
 ἀπόφατιν A B P v: ἀπόφασιν V ct supraser. B: φάτιν L ὁ Φοῖβος
 om. M A 330 ἔλακε A L: ἔλακεν ἔλακε(ν) M B V P 331 λέγων-
 ται M: corr. M² μυχοί Triclinius: μυχοί γὰς codd. 332 ᾧ
 Zeῦ King 334 φοίνιος L 335 θοάζων M ᾧ δάκρυα
 om. M: add. M² 337 δόμον Triclinius: δόμους codd. et Σ
 338 ματέρων A δ] ὄς L v et γρ. Σ 339 ante 338 habet Π:
 post 340 traī. Kirchhoff: cf. stropham 344 λαύροισι A P ὀλεθρίοισι
 A V L P ἐν] τε L

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τίνα γὰρ ἔτι πάρος οἶκον ἔτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ
θεογόνων γάμων,
τὸν ἀπὸ Ταυτάλου, σέβεσθαί με χρή;

- καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς ὄδε δὴ στείχει,
Μενέλαος ἄναξ, πολλῇ ἀβροσύνῃ
δῆλος ὀράσθαι 350
τῶν Ταυταλιδῶν ἐξ αἵματος ὦν.
ὦ χιλιόναυ στρατὸν ὀρμήσας
ἐς γῆν Ἀσίαν,
χαῖρ', εὐτυχίᾳ δ' αὐτὸς ὀμιλεῖς,
θεόθεν πράξας ἀπερ ἠῦχου. 355

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ὦ δῶμα, τῇ μὲν σ' ἠδέως προσδέρομαι
Τροίαθεν ἐλθῶν, τῇ δ' ἰδὼν καταστένω·
κύκλω γὰρ εἰλιχθεῖσαν ἀθλίως κακοῖς
οὐπώποτ' ἄλλην μᾶλλον εἶδον ἐστίν.
'Αγαμέμνονος μὲν γὰρ τύχας ἠπιστάμην 360
καὶ θάνατον, οἶφ' πρὸς δάμαρτος ὤλετο,
Μαλέα προσίσχων πρῶραν· ἐκ δὲ κυμάτων
ὁ ναυτίλοισι μάντις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι
Νηρέως προφήτης Γλαῦκος, ἀψευδῆς θεός,
ὅς μοι τόδ' εἶπεν ἐμφανῶς κατασταθεῖς· 365
Μενέλαε, κέται σὸς κασίγνητος θανῶν,

345 sq. οἶκον ἔτερον M L : οἶκον ἄλλον A : οἶκον ἄλλον ἔτερον B V P
346 τῶν M : corr. M² 347 τὸν] τῶν L μ' ἐχρῆν L 348 ὄδε
M P δὴ om. L, add. aut ipse aut corrector supra στείχει
ποδὶ P 349 ἄναξ om. codd. Dionis Chrys. ii. 42 : habuit Σ
πολλῇ recc. : πολλῇ δ' vel πολλῇ δ' M² B² rell. Σ : πολὺ δ' M B : πολὺ
δ' et πολλῇ γ' et πολὺ codd. Dionis Chrys. : ποδὸς Kirchhoff (τῇ
τρυφῇ τοῦ βαδίσματος ἢ τῆς ὕψεως Σ) 351 τοῦ Ταυταλιδῶν Dio
352 ὀρμήσας M² AV P 356 πῆ P v 357 πῆ v : ποὶ P
358 ἀθλίως M² L : ἀθλιος M : ἀθλιος rell. 360 ἐπρησθῆμην
Heimsoeth 361 ὤλεθ' ἐὰς V 362 μαλέαν primitus M
364 Γλαῦκος] μάντις M et Γλαῦκος in rasura habet B 365 τόδ'
M A V L P : τὸδ' B l fortasse ἐμφανῆς κατασταθεῖς M A B L P :
παρασταθεῖς V l

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λουτροῖσιν ἀλόχου περιπεσῶν πανυστάτοις.

δακρύων δ' ἔπλησεν ἐμέ τε καὶ ναύτας ἔμοις
πολλῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ναυπλίας ψαύω χθονός,
ἤδη δάμαρτος ἐνθάδ' ἐξορμωμένης, 370
δοκῶν Ὀρέστην παῖδα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
φίλαισι χερσὶ περιβαλεῖν καὶ μητέρα,
ὡς εὐτυχοῦντας, ἔκλυον ἀλιτύπων τινὸς
τῆς Τυνδαρείας παιδὸς ἀνοσίον φόνου.

καὶ νῦν ὅπου ἴσθιεν εἶπατ', ὦ νεάνιδες, 375
Αγαμέμνονος παῖς, ὅς τὰ δεῖν' ἔτλη κακά.

βρέφος γὰρ ἦν τότε' ἐν Κλυταιμῆστρας χερροῖν,
ὄτ' ἐξέλειπον μέλαθρον ἐς Τροίαν ἰών,
ᾧσθ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν γνωρίσαιμ' ἂν εἰσιδῶν.

Ορ. ὄδ' εἶμ' Ὀρέστης, Μενέλεως, ὃν ἱστορεῖς. 380
ἐκὼν ἐγὼ σοι τὰμὰ μνηύσω κακά.

τῶν σῶν δὲ γονάτων πρωτόλεια θιγγάνω
ικέτης, ἀφύλλου στόματος ἐξάπτωμ λιτάς·
σῶσόν μ'· ἀφίξει δ' αὐτὸς ἐς καιρὸν κακῶν.

Με. ὦ θεοί, τί λεύσσω; τίνα δέδορκα νερτέρων; 385

Ορ. εὖ γ' εἶπας· οὐ γὰρ ζῶ κακοῖς, φάος δ' ὄρω.

Με. ὡς ἠγρίωσαι πλόκαμον ἀνχμηρόν, τάλας.

Ορ. οὐχ ἡ πρόσσοψίς μ', ἀλλὰ τὰργ' αἰκίζεσθαι.

Με. δεῖνόν δὲ λεύσσεις ὀμμάτων ξηραῖς κόραις.

Ορ. τὸ σῶμα φροῦδον· τὸ δ' ὄνομα οὐ λέλοιπέ μοι. 390

Με. ὦ παρὰ λόγον μοι σὴ φανεῖσ' ἀμορφία.

367 ἀρυστάτοις Nauck 368 τε om. A 370 ἐξορμωμένοις
primus M 372 περιλαβεῖν L: cf. Σ M ἀντὶ τοῦ περιλαβεῖν
373 ἀλιτύπων codd. et Σ M Σ B: corr. Byzantini 374 παιδός]
θυγατρὸς V et γρ. M 378 ἐξέλειπον codd.: corr. Byzantini
380 ὄδ' L P A² B² v: ὄδ' M A B γρ. P (ὄδ' V) 381 μνηύσω M B L P:
σημανῶ A V: μνηύω Wecklein 383 ἀφύλλου codd. et ut videtur Σ
et Hesych. (ἀφύλλου στόματος· Εὐριπίδης Ὀρέστη): ἀφύλλους Σ V et
inde v 384 αὐτὸς ('ipse quem speravimus') codd.: αὐτὸν Schaefer
389 δεῖνόν τε L 390 ἐλλέλοιπε Wecklein: cf. Σ εἰς ὄνομα μόνον
λείπεται τὰ ἐμὰ μοι M V: με tell. 391 παρὰ λόγον fere codd.
σῆ M B: corr. B²

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- Ορ. ὄδ' εἰμὶ μητρὸς τῆς τάλαιπώρου φονεύς.
 Με. ἤκουσα, φείδου δ' ὀλιγάκις λέγειν κακά.
 Ορ. φειδόμεθ' ὁ δαίμων δ' ἐς ἐμέ πλούσιος κακῶν.
 Με. τί χρέμα πάσχεις; τίς σ' ἀπόλλυσιν νόσος; 395
 Ορ. ἡ σύνεσις, ὅτι σύννοϊδα δεῖν εἰργασμένος.
 Με. πῶς φῆς; σοφόν τοι τὸ σαφές, οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές.
 Ορ. λύπη μάλιστά γ' ἡ διαφθειρουσά με—
 Με. δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ θεός, ἀλλ' ὅμως λάσιμος.
 Ορ. μανίαι τε, μητρὸς αἵματος τιμωρίαί. 400
 Με. ἤρξω δὲ λύσσης πότε; τίς ἡμέρα τὸτ' ἦν;
 Ορ. ἐν ἧ τάλαιων μητέρ' ἐξώγκουν τάφῳ.
 Με. πότερα κατ' οἴκους ἢ προσεδρεύων πυρᾷ;
 Ορ. νυκτὸς φυλάσσων ὀστέων ἀναίρεσιν.
 Με. παρῆν τις ἄλλος, ὅς σὸν ὤρθενεν δέμας; 405
 Ορ. Πυλάδης, ὁ συνδρῶν αἷμα καὶ μητρὸς φόνου.
 Με. ἐκ φασμάτων δὲ τάδε νοσεῖς· ποίων ὕπο;
 Ορ. ἔδοξ' ἰδεῖν τρεῖς νυκτὶ προσφερεῖς κόρας.
 Με. οἶδ' ἄς ἔλεξας, ὀνομάσαι δ' οὐ βούλομαι.
 Ορ. σεμναὶ γάρ· εὐπαιδευτα δ' ἀπετρέπου λέγεω. 410
 Με. αὐταὶ σε βακχεύουσι συγγενῇ φόνου;
 Ορ. οἴμοι διωγμῶν, οἷς ἐλαύνομαι τάλας.
 Με. οὐ δεινὰ πάσχειν δεινὰ τοὺς εἰργασμένους.
 Ορ. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀναφορὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς.
 Με. μὴ θάνατον εἶπης· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ σοφόν. 415

393 ὀλιγάκις codd. et Σ (λείπει τὸ ὥστε): interpunctit Verrall
 394 εἰς ἐμέ codd.: cf. 736 395 Ὀρέστα τλήμων, τίς σ' Stob. fl.
 24. 5 (nullius momenti) σ' om. M L 397 τοί] τι M L P et
 primitus A 400 μητρὸς L P et, ni fallor, Σ: μητρὸς θ' rell.
 τιμωρίαί codd. et Σ: τιμωρία fortasse Σ B 402 τάλαιων μητρὸς
 ἐξώγκουν τάφον Σ itemque γρ. Σ. unde B¹ vel B² in textu 403 πυρᾷ]
 τάφῳ L 406 Πυλάδης γ' Kirchhoff 407 ἐκ φασμάτων] φαντα-
 σμάτων O ὕπο] τινῶν vel τάλαν Reiske 408 εἶδειξ' primitus M
 410 εὐπαιδευτα] εὐπαιδεύεται V: ἀπαιδευτα B² V² L: et εὐπαιδευτα et
 ἀπαιδευτα Σ ἀπετρέπου Hermann: ἀποτρέπου codd. et Σ (δὲ λέγειν
 ἀποτρέπου L): ἀποτρέπει Musgrave et fortasse Σ (καλῶς ποιεῖς) et cod.
 Thessalon. 411 συγγενῇ φόνον Σ (λείπει ἡ διὰ, ἢν ἢ διὰ τὸν συγ-
 γενῆ φόνον) et φόνον suprascr. M: συγγενεῖ φόνῳ codd. 415 θάνατον
 codd. et Σ μὲν om. P

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- Ορ. Φοῖβος, κελεύσας μητρὸς ἐκπράξει φόνου.
 Με. ἀμαθέστερός γ' ὦν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης.
 Ορ. δουλεύομεν θεοῖς, ὅ τι ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί.
 Με. κἄτ' οὐκ ἀμύνει Λοξίας τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς;
 Ορ. μέλλει· τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτου φύσει. 420
 Με. πόσον χρόνον δὲ μητρὸς οἴχονται πρῶαί;
 Ορ. ἔκτον τόδ' ἡμαρ· ἔτι πυρὰ θερμῆ τάφου.
 Με. ὡς ταχὺ μετῆλθόν σ' αἷμα μητέρος θεαί.
 Ορ. οὐ σοφός, ἀληθῆς δ' ἐς φίλους (ἔφυν φίλος.)
 Με. πατρὸς δὲ δῆ τι σ' ὠφελεί τιμωρία; 425
 Ορ. οὐπω· τὸ μέλλον δ' ἴσον ἀπραξία λέγω.
 Με. τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δὲ πῶς ἔχεις δράσας τάδε;
 Ορ. μισοῦμεθ' οὕτως ὥστε μὴ προσεννέπειν.
 Με. οὐδ' ἠγνισαὶ σὸν αἷμα κατὰ νόμον χεροῖν;
 Ορ. ἐκκλήσομαι γὰρ δωμάτων ὅποι μόλω. 430
 Με. τίνες πολιτῶν ἐξαμιλλῶνται σε γῆς;
 Ορ. Οἶαξ, τὸ Τροίας μῖσος ἀναφέρων πατρί.
 Με. συνῆκα· Παλαμῆδους σε τιμωρεῖ φόνου.
 Ορ. οὐ γ' οὐ μετῆν μοι· διὰ τριῶν δ' ἀπόλλυμαι.
 Με. τίς δ' ἄλλος; ἢ που τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίσθου φίλων; 435
 Ορ. οὗτοι μ' ὑβρίζουσ', ὧν πόλις τὰ νῦν κλύει.
 Με. Ἄγαμέμνονος δὲ σκῆπτρ' ἐῖ σ' ἔχειν πόλις;
 Ορ. πῶς, οὔτινες ζῆν οὐκ ἔωσ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι;

416 πατρὸς Hemsterhuys: sed cf. 1139 417 γ' om. P
 418 εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί P: εἰσὶ θεοὶ rell. et Justin. de mon. i. p. 126
 423 μητρὸς αἰ P: μητρῶν Nauck 424 ἔφυν φίλος Brunck: ἔφυν
 κακός codd.: tres versus hic quondam fuisse Op. ***** Με. *** ἐς
 φίλους ἔφυν κακός. Op. οὐ σοφός ἀλήθης δ' *** censet Kirchhoff
 425 τίς σ' M A B 429 σὸν . . . χεροῖν] σῶν . . . χερῶν suprascr.
 B (σὸν Σ) νόμον M: νόμους rell. 430 ἐκκλείομαι M B L:
 ἐγκλείομαι A P: ἐμβίλομαι sed Bal in rasura scripto V² ὅποι V:
 ὅπη rell. 431 πολιτῶν δ' B: πολιτῶν σ' Wecklein σὲ γῆς codd.
 et Σ: στέγης Wecklein: cf. 443 sq. 433 φόνος A P v 434 οὐ γ'
 οὐ L P: δ' γ' οὐ M²: οὐ γ' οὐ M B: οὐκ οὐ A δ': οὐκον V δι' ἑτέρων δ'
 Madvig Weil 435 ἦ! οὐ Paley, cf. I. T. 930 ἀπ'] ποτ' Wecklein
 436 οὐτοι M 437 σ' ἔχειν ἢ πόλις in rasura δ 438 πῶς et
 τίνες A versum om. B: corr. B²

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Με. τί δρώντες ὃ τι καὶ σαφὲς ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ἐμοί;
 Ορ. ψῆφος καθ' ἡμῶν οἴσεται τῆδ' ἡμέρα. 440
 Με. φεύγειν πόλιω τήνδ'; ἢ θανεῖν ἢ μὴ θανεῖν;
 Ορ. θανεῖν ὑπ' ἀστῶν λευσίμω πετρώματι.
 Με. κᾶτ' οὐχὶ φεύγεις γῆς ὑπερβαλῶν ὄρους;
 Ορ. κύκλω γὰρ εἰλισσόμεθα παγχάλκοις ὄπλοις.
 Με. ἰδίᾳ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἢ πρὸς Ἀργείας χερός; 445
 Ορ. πάντων πρὸς ἀστῶν, ὡς θάνω· βραχὺς λόγος.
 Με. ᾧ μέλεος, ἦκεις συμφορᾶς ἐς τοῦσχατον.
 Ορ. ἐς σὲ ἐλπίς ἡμῆ καταφυγὰς ἔχει κακῶν.
 ἀλλ' ἀθλίως πράσσοιτο εὐτυχῆς μολῶν
 μετάδος φίλοισι σοῖσι σῆς εὐπραξίας, 450
 καὶ μὴ μόνος τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβὼν ἔχε,
 ἀλλ' ἀντιλάζου καὶ πόνων ἐν τῷ μέρει,
 χάριτας πατρῶας ἐκτίνων ἐς οὓς σε δεῖ.
 ὄνομα γάρ, ἔργον δ' οὐκ ἔχουσι οἱ φίλοι
 οἱ μὴ 'πὶ ταῖσι συμφοραῖς ὄντες φίλοι. 455
 Χο. καὶ μὴν γέροντι δεῦρ' ἀμιλλᾶται ποδὶ
 ὁ Σπυρτιάτης Τυνδάρεως, μελάμπεπλος
 κουρᾷ τε θυγατρὸς πενθίμω κεκαρμένος.
 Ορ. ἀπωλόμην, Μενέλαι· Τυνδάρεως ὄδε
 στείχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ μάλιστ' αἰδῶς μ' ἔχει 460
 ἐς ὄμματ' ἔλθειν τοῖσιν ἐξειργασμένοις.
 καὶ γάρ μ' ἔθρεψε σμικρὸν ὄντα, πολλὰ δὲ
 φιλήματ' ἐξέπλησε, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
 παῖδ' ἀγκάλαισι περιφέρων, Λήδα θ' ἕμα,
- 439 ὃ τι καὶ] ἐὰν δὲ γράφεται ἢ τί, ὁ στίχος οὕτως· τί δρώντες; ἢ τί καὶ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἔχεις; Σ corrupte ἔχεις εἰπεῖν LP: εἰπεῖν ἔχεις MABV ἢ τι καὶ σαφῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχεις; Nauck 442 ἀστῶν in αὐτῶν correctum in A 443 ὑπερβάλλων AV 444 εἰλούμεσθα J. M. Gent: εἰργόμεσθα Wecklein 445 ἀργείων V γρ. χθονός ΣV 446 βραδύς primitus M 448 ἡμῆ] ἢ γ ἢ (sed γ in rasura) M 453 ἐκτίνων AVP: corr. υρ 458 τε om. AV 461 τοῖσιν ἡμαρτημένοις V 462 ἔθρεψα primitus M σμικρὸν AB L: μικρὸν tell. 463 ἐξέπλησε primitus V 464 λήδαι B

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

τιμῶντέ μ' οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἢ Διοσκόρω· 465
οἷς, ᾧ τάλαινα καρδία ψυχὴ τ' ἐμή,
ἀπέδωκ' ἀμοιβὰς οὐ καλὰς. τίνα σκότον
λάβω προσώψ; ποῖον ἐπίπροσθεν νέφος
θῶμαι, γέροντος ὀμμάτων φεύγων κόρας;

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ποῦ ποῦ θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἴδω πόσιν, 470
Μενέλαου; ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ Κλυταιμῆστρας τάφῳ
χοὰς χεόμενος ἔκλυον ὡς ἐς Ναυπλίαν
ἦκοι σὺν ἀλόχῳ πολυετῆς σεσφισμένος.
ἄγετέ με· πρὸς γὰρ δεξιᾶν αὐτοῦ θέλω
στὰς ἀσπάσασθαι, χρόνιος εἰσιδὼν φίλου. 475
Με. ᾧ πρέσβυ, χαῖρε, Ζηνὸς ὀμόλεκτρον κᾶρα.
Τυ. ᾧ χαῖρε καὶ σὺ, Μενέλεως, κῆδευμ' ἐμόν.
ἔα· τὸ μέλλον ὡς κακὸν τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι.
ὁ μητροφόντης ὄδε πρὸ δωμαίων δράκων
στίλβει νοσώδεις ἀστραπάς, στύγην' ἐμόν. 480
Μενέλαε, προσφθέγγη νιν, ἀνόσιον κᾶρα;
Με. τί γάρ; φίλου μοι πατρός ἔστω ἔκγονος.
Τυ. κείνου γὰρ ὄδε πέφυκε, τοιοῦτος γεγώς;
Με. πέφυκεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχεῖ, τιμητέος.
Τυ. βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὦν ἐν βαρβάροις. 485
Με. Ἐλληνικόν τοι τὸν ὀμόθεν τιμᾶν αἶε.
Τυ. καὶ τῶν νόμων γε μὴ πρότερον εἶναι θέλειν.
Με. πᾶν τοῦξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλόν ἔστ' ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς.
Τυ. κέκτησό νυν σὺ τοῦτ', ἐγὼ δ' οὐ κτήσομαι.

465 τιμῶντες μ' V: corr. v: τιμῶν τ' ἐμ' A Διοσκόρου B²: Διοσκόρω
ω in rasura b: Διοσκόρω M 467 ἀποδέδωκ' L 472 χεόμενος M
473 ἦκει P 475 ἀσπασθαι V: ἀσπασσασθαι P χρόνιος M et
primitus B: χρόνιον Λ V L P B¹ vel B² 476 ᾧ χαῖρε πρέσβυ Porson
478 κακὸν μὴ B versus del. ἔα solo relicto Wecklein 481 ἀκά-
θαρτον κᾶρα γρ. Σ 484 μισητέος suprascr. v 485 ἐν βαρβάροις]
ἀφ' ἑλλάδος γρ. M v et Apollon. Ty. Epist. 34 486 τοι] τι A et in
rasura P 487 τὸν in τῶν correctum V 488 πᾶντ' οὐξ ἀνάγκης M
489 νῦν codd.

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- Με. ὄργῃ γὰρ ἄμα σου καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐ σοφόν. 490
- Τυ. πρὸς τόνδ' ἀγὼν τίς ἀσοφίας ἦκει πέρι;
εἰ τὰ καλὰ πᾶσι φανερὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ καλὰ,
τούτου τίς ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετ' ἀσυνειώτερος,
ὅστις τὸ μὲν δίκαιον οὐκ ἐσκέψατο
οὐδ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον; 495
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπνευσεν Ἀγαμέμνων βίου
† πηγεῖς θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπὲρ κάρα †,
αἰσχιστον ἔργου—οὐ γὰρ αἰδέσω ποτέ—
χρῆν αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι μὲν αἵματος δίκην,
500
ὅσῃαν διώκοντ', ἐκβαλεῖν τε δωμάτων
μητέρα· τὸ σῶφρόν τ' ἔλαβεν ἀντὶ συμφορᾶς
καὶ τοῦ νόμου τ' ἂν εἶχετ' εὐσεβῆς τ' ἂν ἦν.
νῦν δ' ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν δαίμον' ἦλθε μητέρι.
κακὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνδίκως ἡγούμενος,
505
αὐτὸς κακῶν μητέρ' ἐγένετο κτανῶν.
ἐρήσομαι δέ, Μενέλεως, τοσόνδε σε·
εἰ τόνδ' ἀποκτείνειεν ὁμόλεκτρος γυνή,
χῶ τοῦδε παῖς αὐτῆς ἀνταποκτενεῖ,
510
κάπειθ' ὁ κείνου γενόμενος φόνω φόνου
λύσει, πέρασ δὴ ποῖ κακῶν προβήσεται;
καλῶς ἔθεντο ταῦτα πατέρες οἱ πάλαι·
ἐς ὀμμάτων μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶω περᾶν
οὐδ' εἰς ἀπάντημ', ὅστις αἰμ' ἔχων κυροῖ,
φυγαῖσι δ' ὀσιούν, ἀνταποκτείνειεν δὲ μῆ. 515

490 τὸ om. L 491 ἀγὼν τις codd. ἀγῶνα Greg. Cor. rhet.
vii. p. 127a Walz ἀσοφίας Bothe: σοφίας codd. † et Greg. Cor.:
πρὸς τόνδε σοφίας τίς ἂν ἀγὼν ἦκοι πέρι; Porson 493 ἐγένετ' B²O:
'γένετ' P: γένετ' M A B V L: γέγονεν Nauck 497 πηγῆς A
τῆς ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς M A: πηγαῖς Schaefer, cf. codd. El. 123 ὑπὲρ] ἔπ'
ἐς Herwerden, idemque voluit v κάρα θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς πηγεῖς ὑπο
Brunck 500 χρῆν δ' V 501 διώκειν τ' M 502 ἀντὶ L P †:
ἂν τῆς M A B V I et † alter 504 μητρὶ L: corr. l 506 μητέρ'
ἐγένετο Porson: ἐγένετο μητέρα fere codd. (γένετο V: γένετο P): γέγονε
μητέρα Reisig 507 σε] γε L: σε l 511 δὴ L B²: δὲ B rell.
ποῖ] πῆ L 514 κυρεῖ ex κυροῖ ut videtur factum A L 515 ὀσιούν
M et † M: ὀσιούν VB: ὀσιούν M²A L P δ v et † ἀνταποκτείνειν VP

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

αἰεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἔμελλ' ἐνέξεσθαι φόνῳ,
 τὸ λοίσθιον μίασμα λαμβάνων χεροῖν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ μὲν γυναῖκας ἀνοσίους,
 πρώτην δὲ θυγατέρ', ἣ πόσιω κατέκτανεν
 'Ἐλένην τε, τὴν σὴν ἄλοχον, οὐποτ' αἰνέσω 520
 οὐδ' ἂν προσείποιμ'. οὐδὲ σὲ ζῆλῳ, κακῆς
 γυναικὸς ἐλθόνθ' οὐνεκ' ἐς Τροίας πέδον.
 ἀμυνῶ δ', ὅσον περ δυνατὸς εἰμι, τῷ νόμῳ,
 τὸ θηριῶδες τοῦτο καὶ μαιφόνον
 παύων, ὃ καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλεις ὄλλυσ' αἰεὶ. 525
 ἐπεὶ τίς εἶχες, ᾧ τάλας, ψυχὴν τότε,
 ὅτ' ἐξέβαλλε μαστὸν ἰκετεύουσά σε
 μήτηρ; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἰδὼν τὰ κεῖ κακά,
 δακρυόεις γέροντ' ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκτήκω τάλας.
 ἐν (δ') οὖν λόγοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὁμορροθεῖ· 530
 μισῆ γε πρὸς θεῶν καὶ τίνεις μητρὸς δίκας,
 μανίαις ἀλαίνων καὶ φόβοις. τί μαρτύρων
 ἄλλων ἀκούειν δεῖ μ', εἰ γ' εἰσορᾶν πάρα;
 ὡς οὖν ἂν εἰδῆς, Μενέλεως, τοῖσι θεοῖς
 μὴ πρᾶσσ' ἐναντί', ὠφελεῖν τοῦτον θέλων, 535
 ἕα δ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν καταφονευθῆναι πέτροις,
 ἢ μὴ 'πίβαινε Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονός.
 θυγάτηρ δ' ἐμὴ Θανοῦσ' ἐπραξεν ἐνδίκαι·
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς τοῦδ' εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὴν θανεῖν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ τᾶλλα μακάριος πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ, 540
 πλὴν ἐς θυγατέρας· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶ.

516 ἔμελλ' ἐνέξεσθαι V : ἔμελλεν ἔξεσθαι rell. φόνῳ M B L P :
 φόνου A V B² 517 χεροῖν V L P : χερὸς M A B 519 ἢ M B
 (ἢ M²) κατέκτανεν M V 520 τε] δὲ L 522 ἐλθόντ' οὐνεκ'
 M (sic) : οὐνεκ' ἐλθόντ' L ἐς hic A V 523 ἀμύνω codd.
 527 ἐξέβαλε L 530 δ' οὖν Hermann : οὖν codd. : γ' οὖν Schaefer
 531 γε om. P : σὺ recc. : τε Porson 532 καὶ om L : add. l
 535 τούτων M : corr. M² 536 sq. cf. 625 sq. : 537 del. Hermann :
 etiam 536 del. Brunck, sed cf. 564 537 πίβαινε M 538 ἐνδίκαι
 sed κα in rasura M² : ἐνδίκως Kirchhoff 539 ἦν εἰκὸς L αὐτὴν
 om. P

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Χο. ζηλωτὸς ὄστις εὐτύχησεν ἐς τέκνα
καὶ μὴ 'πισήμους συμφορὰς ἐκτήσατο.
- Οο. ᾧ γέρον, ἐγὼ τοι πρὸς σὲ δειμαίνω λέγειν,
ὅπου σὲ μέλλω σὴν τε λυπήσειν φρένα. 545
ἐγῶδ', ἀνόσιός εἰμι μητέρα κτανῶν,
ὄσιος δέ γ' ἕτερον ὄνομα, τιμωρῶν πατρί.
ἀπελθέτω δὴ τοῖς λόγοισιν ἐκποδῶν
τὸ γήρας ἡμῖν τὸ σόν, ὃ μ' ἐκπλήσσει λόγου,
καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν εἶμι· νῦν δὲ σὴν ταρβῶ τρίχα. 550
τί χρῆν με δρᾶσαι; δύο γὰρ ἀντίθετες δυοῖν·
πατήρ μὲν ἐφύτευσέν με, σὴ δ' ἔτικτε παῖς,
τὸ σπέρμ' ἄρουρα παραλαβοῦσ' ἄλλου πάρα·
ἄνευ δὲ πατρὸς τέκνον οὐκ εἶη ποτ' ἄν.
ἐλογισάμην οὖν τῷ γένους ἀρχηγέτη 555
μᾶλλον με φῦναι τῆς ὑποστάσης τροφάς.
ἢ σὴ δὲ θυγάτηρ—μητέρ' αἰδοῦμαι λέγειν—
ἰδίοισιν ἕμεναίοισι κοῦχί σῶφροσιν
ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἦει λέκτρ'· ἐμαυτόν, ἦν λέγω
κακῶς ἐκείνην, ἐξερωῶ λέξω δ' ὅμως. 560
Αἴγισθος ἦν ὁ κρυπτὸς ἐν δόμοις πόσις.
τοῦτου κατέκτειν', ἐπὶ δ' ἔθυσα μητέρα,
ἀνόσια μὲν δρῶν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρῶν πατρί.
ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἀπειλεῖς ὡς πετρωθῆναί με χρῆ,
ἄκουσον ὡς ἄπασαν Ἑλλάδ' ὠφελῶ. 565
εἰ γὰρ γυναῖκες ἐς τόδ' ἤξουσιν θράσους,
ἄνδρας φουεύειν, καταφυγὰς ποιούμεναι
ἐς τέκνα, μαστοῖς τὸν ἔλεον θηρώμεναι,

542 εὐτύχησεν BV: εὐτύχηκεν M 542, 543 Diogeni (leg. Dicaeogeni) tribuit Stob. fl. 75, 10 legens ἐν τέκνοισι | καὶ μὴ 'πισήμοις συμφοραῖς ὠδύρετο 545 ὅπου γε μέλλω σὴν τι Musgrave λυπήσαι V 546 ἐγῶδ' Hermann: ἐγὼ δ' codd.: mavult 546 sq. post 550 traicerc Hartung 547 δ' ἕτερον M V 551 δυοῖν· λόγῳ Nauck 556 μᾶλλον με φῦναι Verrall: μᾶλλον μ' ἀμύναι (vel ἀμύναι) A B V: μᾶλλον ἀμύναι (vel ἀμύναι) M L P: κάλλιον ἀμυνεῖν Kirchhoff 559 εἴη P 561 δ) οἱ Nauck 564 χρῆ] δεῖ V L 566 ἤκουσι V θράσους BV: corr. b

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

παρ' οὐδὲν αὐταῖς ἦν ἂν ὀλλύναι πόσεισ
 ἐπίκλημ' ἐχούσαισ ὃ τι τύχοι. δράσασ δ' ἐγὼ 570
 δεῖν', ὡσ σὺ κομπεῖσ, τόνδ' ἔπαυσα τὸν νόμον.
 μισῶν δὲ μητέρ' ἐνδίκωσ ἀπώλεσα,
 ἦτισ μεθ' ὄπλων ἄνδρ' ἀπόντ' ἐκ δωμάτων
 πάσῃσ ὑπὲρ γῆσ 'Ελλάδοσ στρατηλάτην
 προὔδωκε κοῦκ ἔσψασ' ἀκήρατον λέχοσ· 575
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἄμαρτοῦσ' ἦσθετ', οὐχ αὐτῇ δίκην
 ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ', ὡσ μὴ δίκην δοίῃ πόσει,
 ἐζημίωσε πατέρα κἀπέκτειν' ἐμόν.
 πρὸσ θεῶν—ἐν οὐ καλῶ μὲν ἐμνήσθην θεῶν,
 φόνον δικάζων· εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰ μητέροσ 580
 σιγῶν ἐπήνουν, τί μ' ἂν ἔδρασ' ὁ καθθανών;
 οὐκ ἂν με μισῶν ἀνεχόρευ' Ἐρινύσιν;
 ἦ μητρὶ μὲν πάρεισι σύμμαχοι θεαί,
 τῶ δ' οὐ πάρεισι, μᾶλλον ἠδίκημένψ;
 σύ τοι φυτεύσασ θυγατέρ', ὦ γέρον, κακὴν 585
 ἀπώλεσάσ με· διὰ τὸ γὰρ κείνησ θράσοσ
 πατρὸσ στερηθεῖσ ἐγενόμην μητροκτόνοσ.
 ὄρασ, Ὀδυσσέωσ ἄλοχον οὐ κατέκτανε
 Τηλέμαχοσ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπεγάμει πόσει πόσιν,
 μένει δ' ἐν οἴκοισ ὑγιέσ εὐνατήριον. 590
 ὄρασ δ' Ἄπόλλων', ὃσ μεσομφάλουσ ἔδρασ
 ναίων βροτοῖσι στόμα νέμει σαφέστατον,
 ᾗ πειθόμεσθα πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν κείνοσ λέγῃ
 τούτψ πιθόμενοσ τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἔκτανον.

569 παρ'] παρδ' M ἦν ἂν αὐταῖσ V 573 ἀπόντα δωμάτων H
 574 γῆν M 575 ἔσπασεν codd 576 οὐκ αὐτῇ M 579 ἐν
 οὐ! οὐκ ἐν P 580 ματέροσ M A 581 δ] οὐ M² 585 τοι
 om. M γέρον primitus P 586 τὸ γὰρ recc. : γὰρ τὸ codd.
 588-590 del. Dindorf: citat Clem. Alex. Paed. 3, p. 279 588 οὐκ
 ἔκτανε P 589 πόσιν π'σει V 590 εὐναστήριον codd.
 591 δ' om. M P Ἄπόλλων' M² A B L P: Ἄπόλλων M V 592 ναίει
 βροτοῖσιν εἰσ στόμα νέμων σαφέστατα Clem. Alex. Prot. p. 65 corrupte
 593 πειθόμεθα M ἐκείνοσ P λέγει L: corr. I versum om.
 Clemens, del. Nauck 594 τούτψ] κείνψ Clemens πειθόμενοσ
 codd. et Clemens

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- ἐκείνον ἡγείσθ' ἀνόσιον καὶ κτείνετε· 595
 ἐκείνος ἤμαρτ', οὐκ ἐγώ. τί χρῆν με δρᾶν;
 ἢ οὐκ ἀξιοχρεως ὁ θεὸς ἀναφέροντί μοι
 μίασμα λῦσαι; ποῖ τις οὖν ἔτ' ἂν φύγοι,
 εἰ μὴ ὁ κελεύσας ῥύσεται με μὴ θανεῖν;
 ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν οὐκ εὖ μὴ λέγ' εἴργασται τάδε, 600
 ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς δράσασιν οὐκ εὐδαιμόνως.
 γάμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὖ καθεστᾶσιν βροτῶν,
 μακάριος αἰὼν· οἷς δὲ μὴ πίπτουσιν εὖ,
 τά τ' ἔνδον εἰσὶ τά τε θύραζε δυστυχεῖς.
 Χο. αἰεὶ γυναιῖκες ἐμποδῶν ταῖς συμφοραῖς 605
 ἔφυσαν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τὸ δυστυχεστέρον.
 Τυ. ἐπεὶ θρασύνη κούχ ὑποστέλλη λόγῳ,
 οὕτω δ' ἀμείβη μ' ὥστε μ' ἀλγήσαι φρένα,
 μᾶλλον μ' ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ σὸν ἐξελθεῖν φόνον·
 καλὸν πάρεργον δ' αὐτὸ θήσομαι πόνων 610
 ὦν εἴνεκ' ἦλθον θυγατρὶ κοσμήσων τάφον.
 μολῶν γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλητον Ἀργείων ὄχλον
 ἐκούσαν οὐχ ἐκούσαν ἐπισείσω πόλιω
 σοὶ σῆ τ' ἀδελφῆ, λεύσιμον δοῦναι δίκην.
 μᾶλλον δ' ἐκείνη σοῦ θανεῖν ἔστ' ἀξία, 615
 ἢ τῆ τεκούσῃ σ' ἠγρίωσ', ἐς οὓς ἀεὶ
 πέμπουσα μύθους ἐπὶ τὸ δυσμενέστερον,
 οὐεῖρατ' ἀγγέλλουσα τὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος,
 καὶ τοῦθ'—ὃ μισήσειαν—Αἰγίσθου λέχος—
 οἱ νέρτεροι θεοί· καὶ γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ἦν πικρόν· 620

595 κτείνετε Clemens 596 χρῆν BP: χρῆ MV: χρῆ AL:
 cf. 551 597 ἦ] εἰ M² 598 πῆ τις ἔτ' ἂν φύγη L: οὖν suprascr. l
 602 ὅσοι L 603 συμπίπτουσιν V: πίπτουσιν codex A Stobaei
 fl. 69. 13 604 δυστυχή L 606 εἰς τὸ V δυσχερίστερον
 recs.: δυστυχεστάτων Stob. fl. 73. 34 609 ἀνάξεις M ABVL Σ
 (παρορμήσεις): ἀνάψεις P εἰς σὸν V ἐλθεῖν H 611 εἴνεκ'
 V: οὐνεκ' rell. θυγατρὸς suprascr. B² 612 ὄχλον] χορὸν L
 613 οὐχ ἐκούσαν Canter: οὐκ ἀκούσαν codd. ἀνασείσω V γρ. A:
 ἐκπέσω A 615 θανεῖν ἐπαξία Elmsley 616 σ' om. L: add. l
 618 ἀπαγγέλλουσα M et Σ (κατὰ κοινοῦ τὸ ἀπαγγέλλουσα: fortasse
 ὑνιρ' ἀπαγγέλλουσα) 620 πικρά Paley

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

ἕως ὑφήψε δῶμ' ἀνηφαίστω πυρί.

Μενέλαε, σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω δράσω τε πρός·

εἰ τοῦμόν ἔχθος ἐναριθμῆ κηδός τ' ἐμόν,

μὴ τῷδ' ἀμύνειν φόνον ἐναντίον θεοῖς·

ἕα δ' ὑπ' ἀστών καταφονευθῆναι πέτροις, 625

ἢ μὴ 'πίβαινε Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονός.

τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι, μηδὲ δυσσεβεῖς

ἔλη, παρώσας εὐσεβεστέρους φίλους·

ἡμᾶς δ' ἀπ' οἴκων ἄγετε τῶνδε, πρόσπολοι.

Ορ. στεῖχ', ὡς ἀθορύβως οὐπιῶν ἡμῖν λόγος 630

πρὸς τόνδ' ἴκηται, γῆρας ἀποφυγῶν τὸ σόν.

Μενέλαε, ποῖ σὸν πόδ' ἐπὶ συννοίᾳ κυκλείς,

διπλῆς μερίμνης διπτύχους ἰὼν ὁδοῦς;

Με. ἔασον· ἐν ἐμαυτῷ τι συννοούμενος 635

ὅποι τράπωμαι τῆς τύχης ἀμηχανῶ.

Ορ. μὴ νυν πέραινε τὴν δόκησιν, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦς

λόγους ἀκούσας πρόσθε, βουλεύου τότε.

Με. λέγ'· εὐ γὰρ εἶπας· ἔστι δ' οὐ σιγῆ λόγου

κρείσσων γένοιτ' ἂν. ἔστι δ' οὐ σιγῆς λόγος.

Ορ. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἦδη. τὰ μακρὰ τῶν σμικρῶν λόγων 640

ἐπίπροσθὲν ἔστι καὶ σαφῆ μᾶλλον κλύειν.

ἐμοὶ σὺ τῶν σῶν, Μενέλεως, μηδὲν δίδου,

ἂ δ' ἔλαβες ἀπόδος πατρός ἐμοῦ λαβῶν πάρα.

—οὐ χρήματ' εἶπον· χρήματ', ἦν ψυχὴν ἐμὴν

σφύσης, ἄπερ μοι φίλτατ' ἔστι τῶν ἐμῶν.— 645

ἀδικῶ· λαβεῖν χρή μ' ἀντὶ τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ

ἀδικόν τι παρὰ σοῦ· καὶ γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων πατήρ

622 δὲ om. A 624 ἄμυνε Wecklein 625 sq. cf. 536 sq. :
 625 del. Kayser 629 ἡμεῖς L : ἡμᾶς I ἐπ' οἴκων ἄγεται τῶνδε
 πρόσπολος M : πρόσπολοι M² 630 οὐπιῶν V 632 ποῖ σόν] ποίᾳ
 Wecklein κυκλοῖς primitus A et suprascr. V : κινεῖς L 635 ὅποι
 L P : ὅπη I rell. 636 μὴ νυν codd. (μὴ νυν Σ) 638 ἔστιν
 οὐ Kirchhoff ἔστι δ' οὐ σιγῆ λόγου in rasura M σιγῆς
 λόγος A 639 κρείττον P σιγῆ M : σιγῆς M² σιγῆ
 λόγου A 640 ἔνιοι ἀθετοῦσι τοῦτον καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς στίχον· οὐκ ἔχουσι
 γὰρ τὸν Εὐριπίδειον χαρακτῆρα Σ

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ἀδίκως ἀθροίσας Ἑλλάδ' ἦλθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον,
 οὐκ ἐξαμαρτῶν αὐτός, ἀλλ' ἀμαρτίαν
 τῆς σῆς γυναικὸς ἀδικίαν τ' ἰώμενος. 650
 ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἡμῖν ἀνθ' ἐνὸς δοῦναί σε χρῆ.
 ἀπέδοτο δ', ὡς χρῆ τοῖς φίλοισι τοὺς φίλους,
 τὸ σῶμ' ἀληθῶς, σοὶ παρ' ἀσπίδ' ἐκπονῶν,
 ὅπως σὺ τὴν σὴν ἀπολάβοις ξυνάρορον.
 ἀπότεισον οὖν μοι ταῦτό τοῦτ' ἐκεῖ λαβῶν, 655
 μίαν πονήσας ἡμέραν, ἡμῶν ὑπερ
 σωτήριος στάς, μὴ δέκ' ἐκπλήσας ἔτη.
 ἃ δ' Αὐλῖς ἔλαβε σφάγι' ἐμῆς ὁμοσπόρου,
 ἐῷ σ' ἔχειν ταῦθ'. Ἑρμιόνην μὴ κτεῖνε σύ.
 δεῖ γὰρ σ' ἐμοῦ πράσσοντος ὡς πράσσω τὰ νῦν 660
 πλέον φέρεσθαι, κἀμὲ συγγνώμην ἔχειν.
 ψυχὴν δ' ἐμὴν δὸς τῷ ταιλαιπώρῳ πατρὶ
 κἀμῆς ἀδελφῆς, παρθένου μακρὸν χρόνον·
 θανῶν γὰρ οἶκον ὄρφανὸν λείψω πατρός.
 ἐρεῖς· ἀδύνατον. αὐτὸ τοῦτο· τοὺς φίλους 665
 ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς χρῆ τοῖς φίλοισιν ὠφελεῖν·
 ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδῷ, τί δεῖ φίλων;
 ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὠφελεῖν θέλων.
 φιλεῖν δάμαρτα πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν δοκεῖς·
 κοῦχ ὑποτρέχων σε τοῦτο θωπεῖα λέγω· 670
 ταύτης ἰκνοῦμαι σ'—ὦ μέλεος ἐμῶν κακῶν,
 ἐς οἶον ἦκω. τί δέ; ταιλαιπωρεῖν με δεῖ·
 ὑπερ γὰρ οἴκου παντὸς ἰκετεύω τάδε.

648 ὑπ'] ἐς A : εἰς V : εἰς etiam L P, sed εἰ ex v ut videtur facto : ἦλθεν Ἴλιον Lenting 651 δοῦναι] εἶναι V sed δοῦναι suprascr. χρῆν L : χρῆ I 652 ἀπέδο M 654 ἀπολάβης codd. 656 sq. μίαν πονήσας et σωτήριος στάς invicem permutat Nauck 659 ἕως M V : corr. M² v κτεῖναι M 660 δεῖ V et suprascr. B, item Aristot. Eth. Nic. x. 9, Mor. Magn. ii. 15, Plut. Mor. p. 68 E : cf. Σ δεῖ σε, φησὶν, ἐμοῦ δυστυχοῦντος κτλ. : χρῆ rell. 669 ἔλλησι πᾶσι δάμαρτα L 670 κ' M : κοῦχ M² 671 μέλεος P ἐμῶν in rasura et κακῶν e κακόν fecit v : ἐγώ, κακὸν post Porsonum Wecklein. cf. Σ, δυστυχῆς ἐγὼ εἰς τοιοῦτον κακὸν ἐλθῶν 672 δεῖ] γρ. χρῆ M

- ὦ πατὸς ὄμαιμε θεΐε, τὸν κατὰ χθονὸς
 θανόντ' ἀκούειν τάδε δόκει, ποτωμένην 675
 ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ σοῦ, καὶ λέγειν ἢ ἐγὼ λέγω,
 ταῦτ' ἔς τε δάκρυα καὶ γόους καὶ συμφοράς.
 εἶρηκα ἀπήτηκα τὴν σωτηρίαν,
 θηρῶν δ' πάντες κοῦκ ἐγὼ ζητῶ μόνος.
 Χο. καὶ γὰρ σ' ἰκνούμαι καὶ γυνή περ οὐσ' ὄμως 680
 τοῖς δεομένοισιν ὠφελεῖν· οἷός τε δ' εἶ.
 Με. Ὅρέστ', ἐγὼ τοι σὸν καταιδούμαι κάρα
 καὶ ξυμπουῆσαι σοῖς κακοῖσι βούλομαι·
 καὶ χρῆ γὰρ οὕτω τῶν ὄμαιμόνων κακὰ
 ξυνεκκομίζειν, δύναμιν ἦν διδῶ θεός, 685
 θυήσκοντα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς ἐναντίους·
 τὸ δ' αὖ δύνασθαι πρὸς θεῶν χρήζω τυχεῖν.
 ἦκω γὰρ ἀνδρῶν συμμάχων κενὸν δόρυ
 ἔχων, πόνοισι μυρίοις ἀλώμενος,
 σμικρᾷ σὺν ἀλκῇ τῶν λελειμμένων φίλων. 690
 μάχη μὲν οὖν ἂν οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθα
 Πελασγὸν Ἄργος· εἰ δὲ μαλθακοῖς λόγοις
 δυναίμεθ', ἐνταῦθ' ἐλπίδος προσήκομεν.
 σμικροῖσι μὲν γὰρ μεγάλα πῶς ἔλοι τις ἄν;
 [πόνοισιν; ἀμαθὲς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι τάδε.] 695
 ὅταν γὰρ ἡβᾷ δῆμος εἰς ὄργην πεσών,
 ὄμοιον ὥστε πῦρ κατασβέσαι λάβρον·
 εἰ δ' ἡσύχως τις αὐτὸν ἐντείνοντι μὲν

676 ἢ ἐγὼ M : ἀγὼ rell. 677 ταῦτ' codd. 678 εἶρηκ' ἀπήτηκα
 M 679 ζητῶ om. M : add. M² 680 Χο. Canter : Ηλ. codd.
 681 γρ. ὅσος τέ δ' εἶ v : voluit, puto, ὅσον τε δεῖ : τε δεῖ primitus V
 682 ἐγὼ τὸ V 683 ξυνεκκομίζειν L : συνεκκομίζειν rell. 687 τὸ
 M A B V : τοῦ L P 690 σμικρᾷ M 693 δυναίμεσθ' ἐνταῦθ' ἐλπίδος
 προσήκομεν V : fortasse ἐλπίδας προσηκέμην 694 μὲν γὰρ Brunck :
 μὲν τὰ A : μὲν γὰρ τὰ rell. 695 om. A et nisi fallor Σ antiquior :
 del. Brunck : habuit alter Σ καὶ] γὰρ καὶ M L 696 ὄργῃ δῆμος
 εἰς θυμὸν πέση Stob. fl. 46. 5 : ὄργῃ δῆμος εἰς θυμὸν πεσών Naber
 697 ὅμοιος O fortasse recte 698 τις αὐτὸν B : τις αὐτὸν M L primitus
 B : τις αὐτῷ A : τις αὐτῷ γ' P : de Vincertum : τις αὐτὸς O 698 sq.
 αὐτῷ τις ἐκτείνοντι μὲν κάλων Wecklein

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- χαλῶν ὑπέικοι καιρὸν εὐλαβοῦμενος,
 ἴσως ἂν ἐκπνεύσειεν· ἦν δ' ἀνῆ πνοάς, 700
 τύχοις ἂν αὐτοῦ βράδιῳ ὅσον θέλεις.
 ἔνεστι δ' οἶκτος, ἐνι δὲ καὶ θυμὸς μέγας,
 καραδοκοῦντι κτῆμα τιμιώτατον.
 ἐλθῶν δὲ Τυνδάρεῶν τέ σοι πειράσομαι
 πόλιν τε πείσαι τῷ λίαν χρήσθαι καλῶς. 705
 καὶ ναῦς γὰρ ἐνταθείσα πρὸς βίαν ποδὶ
 ἔβαψεν, ἔστη δ' αὐθις, ἦν χαλᾶ πόδα.
 μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἄγαν προθυμίας,
 μισοῦσι δ' ἀστοί· δεῖ δέ μ'—οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω—
 σφίξει σε σοφίᾳ, μὴ βίᾳ τῶν κρεισσόνων. 710
 ἀλκῆ δέ σ' οὐκ ἂν, ἦ σὺν δοξάζεις ἴσως,
 σφῶσαιμ' ἂν· οὐ γὰρ βράδιον λόγῃ μιᾷ
 στήσαι τροπαῖα τῶν κακῶν ἄ σοι πάρα.
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' Ἄργους γαίαν ἐς τὸ μαλθακὸν
 προσηγόμεσθα· νῦν δ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει. 715
 [δούλοισιν εἶναι τοῖς σοφοῖσι τῆς τύχης]
- Ορ. ᾧ πλὴν γυναικὸς οὐνεκα στρατηλατεῖν
 τάλλ' οὐδέν, ᾧ κάκιστε τιμωρεῖν φίλοις,
 φεύγεις ἀποστραφεῖς με, τὰ δ' Ἀγαμέμνονος 720
 φροῦδ'; ἀφίλος ἦσθ' ἄρ', ᾧ πάτερ, πρᾶσσων κακῶς.
 οἴμοι, προδέδομαι, κούκέτ' εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες,
 ὅποι τραπόμενος θάνατον Ἀργείων φύγω·
 οὗτος γὰρ ἦν μοι καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας.
 ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε φίλτατον βροτῶν 725

699 ὑπέικει L et primitus P 700 ἦν Nauck : ὅταν codd. : ὅτε
 Kirchhoff 702 ἐνεστιν οἶκτος B, fortasse recte ἔστι δὲ καὶ A
 704 τυνδάρεω VL σοί τε L ἐλθῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ Τυνδάρεων πειράσο-
 μαι X M 705 πόλιν . . . τῷ] πόλει . . . τὸ V : corr. v πείσαι]
 πείθων Weil λέϊαν M : corr. M² (μετρίως χρήσθαι τῷ λίαν reddit X)
 710 κρειττόνων L 714 γρ. καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ, Ἄργου γαίαν· Ἀριστοφάνης
 δὲ μετὰ τοῦ σ X 715 προσηγόμεσθ' ἂν Schaefer : sensus est :
 'nihilquam sane solebamus Argivos ad lenitatem adducere' 716 del.
 Dindorf 718 τᾶλλα δ' οὐδέν M L 721 ἔρ' om. V : add. v
 723 ὅποι L : ὅπη l rell. 724 σωτηρίας] τῆς συμφορᾶς Taurinensis
 et συμφορᾶς γρ. M : συμφορᾶς suprascr. v : σωτήριος F

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

Πυλάδην δρόμῳ στείχοντα Φωκέων ἄπο,
ἠδείαν ὄψιν· πιστὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἀνήρ
κρείσσων γαλήνης ναυτίλοισι εἰσορᾶν.

ΠΥΛΑΔΗΣ

- θάσσον ἢ με χρῆν προβαίνων ἰκόμην δι' ἄστεως,
σύλλογον πόλεως ἀκούσας, τὸν δ' ἰδὼν αὐτὸς σαφῶς, 730
ἐπὶ σὲ σύγγονόν τε τὴν σῆν, ὡς κτενοῦντας αὐτίκα.
τί τάδε; πῶς ἔχεις; τί πράσσεις, φίλταθ' ἠλίκων ἐμοὶ
καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγενείας; πάντα γὰρ τάδ' εἶ σύ μοι.
Ορ. οἰχόμεσθ', ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ σοι τὰμὰ δηλώσω κακά.
Πυ. συγκατασκάπτους ἂν ἡμᾶς· κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων. 735
Ορ. Μενέλεως κάκιστος ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ κασιγνήτην ἐμήν.
Πυ. εἰκότως, κακῆς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα γίνεσθαι κακόν.
Ορ. ὡσπερ οὐκ ἐλθὼν ἔμοιγε ταῦτὸν ἀπέδωκεν μολῶν.
Πυ. ἢ γὰρ ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τήνδ' ἀφιγμένος χθόνα;
Ορ. χρόνιος· ἀλλ' ὅμως τάχιστα κακὸς ἐφωράθη φίλοις. 740
Πυ. καὶ δάμαρτα τὴν κακίστην ναυστολῶν ἐλήλυθεν;
Ορ. οὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη κείνον ἐνθάδ' ἦγαγεν.
Πυ. ποῦ 'στιν ἢ πλείστους Ἀχαιῶν ὤλεσεν γυνὴ μία;
Ορ. ἐν δόμοις ἐμοῖσιν, εἰ δὴ τούσδ' ἐμοὺς καλεῖν χρεῶν.
Πυ. σὺ δὲ τίνας λόγους ἔλεξας σοῦ κασιγνήτη πατρός; 745
Ορ. μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν θανόνθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν καὶ κασιγνήτην ἐμήν.
Πυ. πρὸς θεῶν, τί πρὸς τάδ' εἶπε; τότε γὰρ εἰδέναι θέλω.
Ορ. εὐλαβεῖθ', ὃ τοῖς φίλοισι δρῶσιν οἱ κακοὶ φίλοι.
Πυ. σκῆψιν ἐς ποίαν προβαίνων; τοῦτο πάντ' ἔχω μαθῶν.
Ορ. οὗτος ἦλθ', ὃ τὰς ἀρίστας θυγατέρας σπείρας πατήρ. 750

729 ἢ Bruhn : ἢ codd. με χρῆν M : μ' ἐχρῆν rell. δι' ἄστεως
A B V L P : πρόστας M 730 τὴν δ' εἶδον primitus B τόνδ', ἰδὼν
τ' Hartung 731 κτενοῦντας primitus V 732 φίλτατ' ἠλίκων
M : φίλτατ' ἀνθρώπων omisso ἐμοὶ V 734 σοι om. L : add. I
736 εἰς ἐμὲ A B V L P : εἰς 'με M 737 εἰκότως] εἰκὸς ἦν Hermann
γενέσθαι in γίνεσθαι mutatum B 738 ὡσπερ M² 740 χρόνιος om. P
741 ναυστολήσων P 744 δόμοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν P 747 τοῦτο
γὰρ εἰδέναι ποθῶ V 748 εὐλαβεῖθ'] ἠὺλαβεῖθ' B² : εὐλαβεῖσθ'
B V : εὐλαβοῖθ' primitus P 749 ἐς hic M μαθεῖν M et suprascr.
V 750 σπείρας πατήρ] γρ. κεκτημένος Z

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Πυ. Τυνδάρειον λέγεις· ἴσως σοι θυγατέρος θυμούμενος;
 Ορ. αἰσθάνη. τὸ τοῦδε κῆδος μᾶλλον εἶλετ' ἢ πατρός.
 Πυ. κοῦκ ἐτόλμησεν πόνων σῶν ἀντιλάττειν παρών;
 Ορ. οὐ γὰρ αἰχμητῆς πέφυκεν, ἐν γυναιξί δ' ἄλκιμος.
 Πυ. ἐν κακοῖς ἄρ' εἶ μεγίστοις· καί σ' ἀναγκαῖον θανεῖν; 755
 Ορ. ψῆφον ἀμφ' ἡμῶν πολίτας ἐπὶ φόνοφ θέσθαι χρεῶν.
 Πυ. ἦ κρινεῖ τί χρῆμα; λέξον· διὰ φόβου γὰρ ἔρχομαι.
 Ορ. ἦ θανεῖν ἦ ζῆν· ὁ μῦθος οὐ μακρὸς μακρῶν πέρι.
 Πυ. φεῦγέ νυν λιπῶν μέλαθρα σὺν κασιγνήτῃ σέθεν.
 Ορ. οὐχ ὄρῃς; φυλασσόμεσθα φρουρίοισι πανταχῆ. 760
 Πυ. εἶδον ἄστεως ἀγνῖα τεύχεσιν πεφραγμένας.
 Ορ. ὥσπερ εἰ πόλις πρὸς ἐχθρῶν σῶμα πυργηρούμεθα.
 Πυ. κάμῃ νῦν ἐροῦ τί πάσχω· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς οἴχομαι.
 Ορ. πρὸς τίνας; τοῦτ' ἂν προσείη τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς κακόν.
 Πυ. Στρόφιός ἦλασέν μ' ἀπ' οἴκων φυγάδα θυμωθεὶς πατήρ.
 Ορ. ἴδιον ἢ κωνὸν πολίταις ἐπιφέρων ἐγκλημά τι; 766
 Πυ. ὅτι συνηράμην φόνου σοι μητρός, ἀνόσιον λέγων.
 Ορ. ὦ τάλας, εἰκε καὶ σέ τὰ μὰ λυπήσειν κακά.
 Πυ. οὐχὶ Μενέλεω τρόποισι χρώμεθ'· οἰστέον τάδε.
 Ορ. οὐ φοβῆή μοι σ' Ἄργος ὥσπερ κάμ' ἀποκτεῖναι θέλη; 770
 Πυ. οὐ προσήκομεν κολάζειν τοῖσδε, Φωκῆων δὲ γῆ.
 Ορ. δεῖνόν οἱ πολλοί, κακούργους ὅταν ἔχωσι προστάτας.
 Πυ. ἀλλ' ὅταν χρηστοὺς λάβωσι, χρηστὰ βουλευούσ' αἰί.
 Ορ. εἶεν. ἐς κωνὸν λέγειν χρῆ.

Πυ. τίνας ἀναγκαῖου πέρι;

751 θυγατέρας M : corr. M² : θυγατέρας τέρος in rasura scripto l :
 θυγατρὸς P 752 τὸ τοῦδε] τοῦδε L : τούτου δὲ V 755 ἄρ'] γὰρ M
 εἰ] ἢ P φθάνειν Hennig 756 ἀμφ' M B P : καθ' A V : ὑπερθ' L
 757 κρίνει M B : corr. ὁ τί λέγον χρῆμα V 758 μῦθος V P :
 μῦθος δ' M A B L 759 νῦν M μέλαθρον V 760 φρουρίοις M A
 et fortasse V ἀπανταχῆ A : πανταχοῦ V P 761 ἄστεως L :
 ἄστεος rell. ἀγνῖα A 762 ὥσπερ V πυργηρούμεθα· ἐντὸς
 ἐσμέν τῶν πύργων... γρ. δὲ πυργιούμεθα Hesychius 765 ἦλασέν L
 ἀπ' οἴκων om. V : add. v θυμωθεῖς M : corr. M² 767 σοι φόνον
 M P 770 θέλοι L b : θέλει A : γρ. βίαν M (voluit ἀποκτείνῃ βίαν)
 771 προσῆκον με V : corr. v 773 βουλευούσ' L : βουλεύουσι δὴ
 Vitelli (ἀεὶ non reddit Σ)

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

Ορ. εἰ λέγοιμ' ἀστοῖσιν ἔλθων

Πυ. ὡς ἔδρασας ἔνδικα; 775

Ορ. πατρὶ τιμωρῶν ἔμαυτοῦ;

Πυ. μὴ λάβωσί σ' ἄσμενοι.

Ορ. ἀλλ' ὑποπτήξας σιωπῇ καθάνω;

Πυ. δειλὸν τόδε.

Ορ. πῶς ἂν οὖν δρῶην;

Πυ. ἔχεις τι, ἣν μένης, σωτηρίαν;

Ορ. οὐκ ἔχω.

Πυ. μολόντι δ' ἐλπίς ἐστι σωθῆναι κακῶν;

Ορ. εἰ τύχοι, γένοιτ' ἄν.

Πυ. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο κρεῖσσον ἢ μένειν. 780

Ορ. ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἔλθω.

Πυ. θανῶν γοῦν ᾧδε κάλλιον θανῆ.

Ορ. εὖ λέγεις· φεύγω τὸ δειλὸν τῆδε.

Πυ. μάλλον ἢ μένων. 783

Ορ. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμά γ' ἐνδικόν μοι.

Πυ. τῷ Δοκεῖν εὐχου μόνον. 784

Ορ. καὶ τις ἂν γέ μ' οἰκτίσειε

Πυ. μέγα γὰρ ἡ εὐγένειά σου.

Ορ. θάνατον ἀσχάλλων πατρῶν.

Πυ. πάντα ταῦτ' ἐν ὄμμασιν. 785

Ορ. ἴτεον, ὡς ἄνανδρον ἀκλεῶς καθανεῖν.

Πυ. αἰνῶ τάδε.

Ορ. ἢ λέγωμεν οὖν ἀδελφῇ ταῦτ' ἐμῆ;

Πυ. μὴ πρὸς θεῶν.

775 ὡς ἔπραξας V L 776 τιμωρῶν primitus V τιμωρῶν γ' Kirchhoff sine interrogationis nota 777 δεῖνόν τόδε A B 778-786 Orestae notas om. L 778 οὖν ἂν A L μένης] μένης M: corr. M²: μένης L 779 μολόντα recc. ἐστὶν ἐκβῆναι V 781 θανῆ] θανεῖν L 782, 783 traī. Morell 782 πρᾶγμά γ' recc.: πρᾶγμ' codd.: πρᾶγος Weil τῷ Δοκεῖν scripsi: cf. Σ qui citat τὸ Δοκεῖν καὶ τὰν Ἀλάθειαν βιῆται: τῷ δοκεῖν L: τὸ δοκεῖν rell. et Σ: τόδε δοκεῖν Paley: τῷ ('cuidam') δοκεῖν Verrall: v. del Nauck 783 καὶ μᾶλλον A P 784 γ' ἐμ' A ἂν μ' ἐποικτίσειε Hermann ἡδύγεια B: ἡ εὐγένεια rell. σοι V 785 ἀσχάλλων codd.: corr. l ταῦθ' M 786 καθανεῖν L: τὸ καθανεῖν rell. Πυ. om. L 787 λέγομεν M

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

Ορ. δάκρυα γοῦν γένοιτ' ἄν.

Πυ. οὐκοῦν οὗτος οἰωνὸς μέγας.

Ορ. δηλαδὴ σιγαῖν ἄμεινον.

Πυ. τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ κερδανεῖς.

Ορ. κείνῳ μοι μόνον πρόσαντες.

Πυ. τί τόδε καινὸν αὐτὸ λέγεις; 790

Ορ. μὴ θεαί μ' οἴστρω κατάσχωσι.

Πυ. ἀλλὰ κηδεύσω σ' ἐγώ.

Ορ. δυσχερὲς ψαύειν νοσοῦντος ἀνδρός.

Πυ. οὐκ ἔμοιγε σοῦ.

Ορ. εὐλαβοῦ λύσσης μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐμῆς.

Πυ. τόδ' οὖν ἴτω.

Ορ. οὐκ ἄρ' ὀκνήσεις;

Πυ. ὄκνος γὰρ τοῖς φίλοις κακὸν μέγα.

Ορ. ἔρπε νυν οἶαξ ποδός μοι.

Πυ. φίλα γ' ἔχων κηδεύματα. 795

Ορ. καί με πρὸς τύμβον πόρευσον πατρός.

Πυ. ὡς τί δὴ τόδε;

Ορ. ὡς νιν ἱκετεύσω με σῶσαι.

Πυ. τό γε δίκαιον ᾧδ' ἔχει.

Ορ. μητέρος δὲ μηδ' ἴδοιμι μνήμα.

Πυ. πολεμία γὰρ ἦν.

ἀλλ' ἔπειγ', ὡς μὴ σε πρόσθε ψῆφος Ἄργείων ἔλῃ,
περιβαλὼν πλευροῖς ἐμοῖσι πλευρὰ νωχελῆ νόσφ' 800
ὡς ἐγὼ δι' ἄστεως σε, σμικρὰ φροντίζων ὄχλων,
οὐδὲν αἰσχυνηθεὶς ὀχλήσω. ποῦ γὰρ ὦν δείξω φίλος,
εἰ σε μὴ 'ν δειναῖσιν ὄντα συμφοραῖς ἐπαρκέσω;

788 γοῦν] γ' ἄν V: γὰρ anonymus 789 δὲ] γε V: γὰρ B
790 καινὸν ἀγγελεῖς recs. 791 ὄστρω P κατάσχωσιν fere codd.
(κατάσχωσι V) 795 νῦν codd. φίλ' ἔχων P 797 ἱκετεύσωμεν
σῶσαι P γε] δὲ V 798 μητρός codd. (μῆρ A) δὲ om. B, sed
in Σ lemmate idem μῆρ δὲ μηδ' habet μῆρ] μῆτ' V: μὴ εἰσίδοιμι
F. Gu. Schmidt Πυ. om. M: add. M^a 799 ἔπειγ'] ἐλ' V,
suprascr. ἔλαυνε v 800 πλευρὰ] πλευρὰν AVL νόσον mut. in
νόσφ L 801 ἄστεως L et fortasse V: ἄστεος rell. in I μικρὰ A
802 ποῦ] πῆ L 803 μὴ 'ν AP: μ' ἦν B: μὴ rell.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

Ορ. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, κτᾶσθ' ἑταίρους, μὴ τὸ συγγενὲς
μόνον·

ὡς ἀνὴρ ὅστις τρόποισι συντακῆ, θυραῖος ὦν 805
μυρίων κρείσσω ὀμαίμων ἀνδρὶ κεκτῆσθαι φίλος.

Χο. ὁ μέγας ὄλβος ἔ τ' ἀρετὰ [στρ.
μέγα φρονούσ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ
παρὰ Σιμουντίοις ὀχετοῖς

πάλιν ἀνῆλθ' ἐξ εὐτυχίας Ἀτρεΐδαις 810
πάλαι παλαιᾶς ἀπὸ συμφορᾶς δόμων,

ὁπότε χρυσείας ἔρις ἀρνὸς
ἤλυθε Τανταλίδαις,

οἰκτρότατα θοινάματα καὶ
σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων· 815

ἔθεν φύνη φόνος ἑξαμεί-

βων δι' αἵματος οὐ προλεί-
πει δισσοῖσιν Ἀτρεΐδαις.

τὸ καλὸν οὐ καλόν, τοκέων [ἀντ.
पुरιγενεῖ τεμεῖν παλάμα 820

χρᾶ μελάνδετον δὲ φύνη
ξίφος ἐς αὐγὰς ἀελίοιο δεῖξαι·

τὸ δ' εὐ κακουργεῖν ἀσέβεια ποικίλα

804 Op. om. M: add. M² 805 ὡς codd. et Σ: εἰς Paley, cl.
I. A. 1394 συντακεῖ V 806 ὀμαίμων M A B V: ὀμαιμόνων
L P b v 810 ἐς δυστυχίαν ἀρχαίαν reddit Σ, unde ἐς δυστυχίας
Bergk: sed nihil aliud habuit Σ quam codd. nisi fortasse ἐξ omissum
cum eis τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας reddit ἀτρειδῶν suprascr. B²
811 πάλαι] πάλιν Hartung 812 χρυσείας Porson: χρυσείας
M A B L P: χρυσοῦς οὐς in rasura v 813 ἔπερ ἤλυθε Hermann
Tantaldaisin L, vid. ad 825 mctrum v. antistrophico non respondet
814 οἰκτρότατ' ἐς Weil θοινήματα L et suprascr. B 815 τέκνων
L: corr. l 816 ἔθεν] om. A: ἔνθεν Triclinius ἀμείβων L
818 δισσοῖς B 819 τεκέων M B 820 τεμεῖν Porson (et sic Σ):
τέμνειν codd. παλαμία V L 821 χρᾶι ut videtur M δὲ om. A
822 ἐς hic L 823 εὐ Bothe: cf. Σ τὸ μετὰ λόγου καὶ πιθανότητος
ἐπιχειρεῖν: ad codd. et Σ alius κακουργεῖν codd. et Σ: γρ. κακούργον
Σ V Taurinensis: τὸδ' αὐ κακούργων Weil, puncto post χρᾶ non post
δεῖξαι posito ποικίλα Σ (οὐχ ἀπλή) et γρ. M: μεγάλη M: μεγάλη
rell.: μαινόλις Hermann et Porson

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

κακοφρόνων τ' ἀνδρῶν παράνοια.
 θανάτου γὰρ ἀμφὶ φόβῳ 825
 Τυνδαρίσ ἰάχησε τάλαι-
 να· Τέκνον, οὐ τολμᾷς ὄσια
 κτείνων σὰν ματέρα· μὴ πατρώ-
 αν τιμῶν χάριν ἐξανά-
 ψη δύσκλειαν ἐς αἰεὶ. 830

τίς νόσος ἦ τίνα δάκρυα καὶ
 τίς ἔλεος μείζων κατὰ γᾶν
 ἦ ματροκτόνον αἶμα χειρὶ θέσθαι;
 οἶον ἔργον τελέσας 835
 βεβάκχεται μανίαις,
 Εὐμενίσι θήραμα, φόνον
 δρομάσι δινεύων βλεφάροις,
 Ἄγαμεμόνιος παῖς.
 ᾧ μέλεος, ματρὸς ὄτε
 χρυσοπηγήτων φαρῶν 840
 μαστὸν ὑπερτέλλουτ' ἐσιδῶν
 σφάγιον ἔθετο ματέρα, πατρώ-
 ων παθέων ἀμοιβάν.

Ηλ. γυναῖκες, ἣ που τῶνδ' ἀφώρμηται δόμων
 τλήμων Ὀρέστης θεομανεῖ λύσση δαμείς; 845

Χο. ἦκιστα· πρὸς δ' Ἀργεῖον οἶχεται λεῶν,
 ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα τὸν προκείμενον πέρι
 δώσων, ἐν ᾧ ζῆν ἦ θανεῖν ὑμᾶς χρεῶν.

825 θανάτου codd. (θάνατον V: corr. v) et Σ: possis ἀμφὶ φόβῳ θανά-
 του γὰρ, cf. 813 φόνω primitus A 828 κτείνων] θρα suprascr. A
 831 καὶ] ἢ P 832 γᾶν] γῆν suprascr. B²: γαῖαν V 833 χειρὶ
 B L: χειρὶ rell. 834 οἶον οἶον M V ἔργον cx ἔργος fortasse factum
 in P 836 φόνον Wilamowitz: φόνω codd. 838 ἀγαμεμόνιος
 A: ἀγαμέμονος L et rasura facta P² 840 χρυσοπηγήτων A M² δ:
 χρυσοπηγήτων Hermann 841 ἐσιδῶν P 844 οὐ που Hermann:
 cf. I. T. 930 ἀφώρμηται V: corr. v 846 δ' om. L 848 δώσων
 fortasse sanum, cf. περιδιδόμαι: θεύσων Reiske, forma vix tragica: θευσό-
 μενος ᾧ Weil ex Chr. Pat. 416 et 442 (ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα τὸν προκείμενον πέρι
 δραμούμενον et τρέχοντος) ἡμᾶς primitus V: ὑμᾶς v: v. del. Kirhhoff

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

Ηλ. οἴμοι· τί χρῆμ' ἔδρασε; τίς δ' ἔπεισέ νιν;
 Χο. Πυλάδης· ἔοικε δ' οὐ μακρὰν ὄδ' ἄγγελος 850
 λέξειν τὰ κείθεν σοῦ κασιγνήτου πέρι.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ὦ τλήμων, ὦ δύστηνε τοῦ στρατηλάτου
 Ἄγαμέμνονος παῖ, πότνι Ἥλέκτρα, λόγους
 ἄκουσον οὓς σοι δυστυχεῖς ἦκω φέρων.

Ηλ. αἰαῖ, διοιχόμεσθα· δῆλος εἰ λόγῳ. 855
 κακῶν γὰρ ἦκεις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄγγελος.

Αγ. ψήφῳ Πελασγῶν σὸν κασίγνητον θανεῖν
 καὶ σέ, ὦ τάλαιν', ἔδοξε τῆδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Ηλ. οἴμοι· προσῆλθεν ἐλπίς, ἣν φοβουμένη
 πάλαι τὸ μέλλον ἐξετηκόμην γόοις. 860

ἀτὰρ τίς ἄγῶν, τίνας ἐν Ἀργείοις λόγοι
 καθείλον ἡμᾶς κἀπεκύρωσαν θανεῖν;
 λέγ', ὦ γεραιέ· πότερα λευσίμφ' χερὶ
 ἢ διὰ σιδήρου πνεῦμ' ἀπορρηξάι με δεῖ,
 κοινὰς ἀδελφῶ συμφορὰς κεκτημένην; 865

Αγ. ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀγρόθεν πυλῶν ἔσω
 βαίνων, πυθέσθαι δεόμενος τά τ' ἀμφὶ σοῦ
 τά τ' ἀμφ' Ὀρέστον σφῶ γὰρ εὐνοϊαν πατρὶ
 αἰέ ποτ' εἶχον, καὶ μ' ἔφερβε σὸς δόμος
 πένητα μέν, χρῆσθαι δὲ γενναῖον φίλοις. 870

ὄρῳ δ' ὄχλον στείχοντα καὶ θάσσουντ' ἄκραν,
 οὐ φασι πρῶτον Δαναὸν Αἰγύπτῳ δίκας
 διδόντ' ἀθροῖσαι λαὸν ἐς κοινὰς ἔδρας.
 ἀστῶν δὲ δὴ τιν' ἠρόμην ἄθροισμ' ἰδῶν·
 Τί καινὸν Ἀργεῖ; μῶν τι πολεμίων πάρα 875
 ἄγγελμ' ἀνεπτέρωκε Δαναῖδῶν πόλιν;

849 *ἔπειγε primitus ut videtur P* 852 *τλήμων M* 852-854 *sus-*
pecti Verrallio 853 *πότν' A* 855 *λόγους primitus L* 856 *ἔοικας*
V *ἄγγελ** M*, *corr. M²: v. del. Kirchhoff* 861 *ἀγῶν codd.*
ἐν om. A P et rasura facta B *ἀργείων AB* 864 *χρῆ V* 865 *συμ-*
φορὰς ἀδελφῶ L *κεκτημένη M* 872 *φασι] suprascr. φησι M*
 875 *τί om. M* 876 *ἀνεπτέρωσε primitus P* *πόλιν] γρ. ὄχλον M*

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ὁ δ' εἶπ'· Ὀρέστην κείνον οὐχ ὄρας πέλας
 στείχοντ', ἀγῶνα θανάσιμον δραμούμενον;
 ὀρῶ δ' ἄελπτον φάσμι, ὃ μήποτ' ὤφελον,
 Πυλάδην τε καὶ σὸν σύγγονον στείχονθ' ὁμοῦ, 880
 τὸν μὲν κατηφῆ καὶ παρειμένον νόσφ,
 τὸν δ' ὥστ' ἀδελφὸν ἴσα φίλῳ λυπούμενον,
 νόσημα κηδεύοντα παιδαγωγίᾳ.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πλήρης ἐγένετ' Ἀργείων ὄχλος,
 κῆρυξ ἀναστὰς εἶπε· Τίς χρήξει λέγειν, 885
 πότερον Ὀρέστην κατθανεῖν ἢ μὴ χρεῶν,
 μητροκτονοῦντα;

κάπὶ τῷδ' ἀνίσταται

Ταλθύβιος, ὃς σῶ πατρὶ συνεπόρθει Φρύγας.
 ἔλεξε δ', ὑπὸ τοῖς δυναμένοισιν ὦν ἀεὶ,
 διχόμυθα, πατέρα μὲν σὸν ἐκπαλούμενος, 890
 σὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπαιῶν σύγγονον, καλοὺς κακοὺς
 λόγους ἐλίσσων, ὅτι καθισταίῃ νόμους
 ἐς τοὺς τεκόντας οὐ καλοῦς· τὸ δ' ὅμμ' ἀεὶ
 παιδρωπὸν ἐδίδου τοῖσιν Αἰγίσθου φίλοις.
 τὸ γὰρ γένος τοιοῦτον· ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτυχή 895
 πηδῶσ' ἀεὶ κήρυκες· ὅδε δ' αὐτοῖς φίλος,
 ὃς ἂν δύνηται πόλεος ἐν τ' ἀρχαῖσιν ἦ.
 ἐπὶ τῷδε δ' ἠγόρευε Διομήδης ἀναξ.
 οὗτος κτανεῖν μὲν οὔτε σέ οὔτε σύγγονον
 εἶα, φυγῆ δὲ ζημιοῦντας εὖσεβεῖν. 900
 ἐπερρόθησαν δ' οἱ μὲν ὡς καλῶς λέγοι.
 οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐπήμουν.

κάπὶ τῷδ' ἀνίσταται

879 ἄελπον M φάσμι] θαύμ' V 880 δὲ καὶ L 882 φίλῳ]
 φίλον M 884 γένετ' A 888 συνεπόρθει V 889 τοῖς om. A
 δυναμένοισι P 891 καλοὺς Hartung: καλοῖς codd. 893 ἐς] εἰ M:
 εἰς M² 896 ἔδαντοῖς L 897 πόλεος M A B: πόλεως V L P b
 898 τῷδε δ'] τῷδ' L ἠγόρευσε V 899 σ' οὐδὲ M 900 εἶαι B
 901 λαοὶ δ' ἐπερρόθησαν B L, cf. Hec. 553 δ' οἱ μὲν A P M²: οἱ μὲν
 M V λέγοι] λέγει V L: corr. v 902 κάπὶ] ἐπὶ δὲ V

ἀνὴρ τις ἀθυρόγλωσσος, ἰσχύων θράσει,
 Ἄργεῖος οὐκ Ἄργεῖος, ἠναγκασμένος,
 θορύβῳ τε πῖσυνος κάμαθί παρρησίᾳ, 905
 πιθανὸς ἔτ' αὐτοὺς περιβαλεῖν κακῶ τινι·

[Ἵταν γὰρ ἡδὺς τις λόγους φρονῶν κακῶς
 πέιθη τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ πόλει κακὸν μέγα·
 ὅσοι δὲ σὺν νῶ χρηστὰ βουλευούσ' αἰί,
 κὰν μὴ παραντίκ', αὐθίς εἰσι χρήσιμοι 910
 πόλει. θεᾶσθαι δ' ὧδε χρὴ τὸν προστάτην
 ἰδούθ'. ὁμοῖον γὰρ τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεται
 τῶ τοὺς λόγους λέγοντι καὶ τιμωμένῳ.]
 ὃς εἶπ' Ὀρέστην καὶ σὲ ἀποκτεῖναι πέτροις
 βάλλοντας· ὑπὸ δ' ἔτεινε Τυνδάρεως λόγους 915
 τῶ σφῶ κατακτείνονται τοιοῦτους λέγειν.

ἄλλος δ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεγε τῶδ' ἐναντία,
 μορφῇ μὲν οὐκ εὐωπός, ἀνδρείος δ' ἀνὴρ,
 ὀλιγάκις ἄστν κάγορᾶς χραίνων κύκλον,
 αὐτουργός—οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σφύζουσι γῆν— 920
 ξυνετὸς δέ, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς λόγοις θέλων,
 ἀκέραιος, ἀνεπίπληκτον ἡσκηκῶς βλόν·
 ὃς εἶπ' Ὀρέστην παῖδα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
 στεφανοῦν, ὃς ἠθέλησε τιμωρεῖν πατρί,
 κακὴν γυναῖκα κάθειον κατακτανῶν, 925
 ἢ κεῖν' ἀφήρει, μήθ' ὀπλιζέσθαι χέρα
 μήτε στρατεύειν ἐκλιπούτα δῶματα,

905 κάμαθῆ L 906 πιθανὸς] !κανὸς Heimsoeth {ε'}] ὦστ' L
 αὐτοὺς codd. et Σ : ἀστοὺς Valckenacr 907-913 Euripideos quidem
 esse sed non hic suam scdm habere statuit Kirchhoff 907 ἡδὺς
 τοῖς codd. : corr. Musgrave 909 συνῶ M : corr. M² 912 ἰδούθ'
 suspectum ὁμοῖοισιν primitus M ut videtur 913 damnaverat Her-
 mann : habuit Σ (' nihil de re curat is qui verba facit et praemia accipit' :
 Verrall) 914 ἀποκτείνειν V : corr. v : ἀποκτενεῖν L 916 κατα-
 κτείναντι VL et sine dubio P τοιοῦτος primitus M : v. delevit
 Weil : habuit Σ 918 εὐωπός γρ. Σ 919 κάγορᾶς V : corr. v
 922 ἀκέραιον LP ἀνεπίπληκτον codd. et Σ et Chr. Pat. 394 : ἀνεπί-
 πλεκτον B² : ἀνεπίπληκτον recc., cf. Hesych. ἀνεπίπληκτον· ἄμμεκτον
 ἀκατᾶγωστον ἰσχηκῶς V 926 ὀφῆρει L χέρας V

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

εἰ τάνδον οἰκουρήμαθ' οἱ λελειμμένοι
 φθείρουσιν, ἀνδρῶν εὐνιδας λωβώμενοι.
 καὶ τοῖς γε χρηστοῖς εὖ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο. 930
 κούδεις ἔτ' εἶπε. σὸς δ' ἐπῆλθε σύγγονος,
 ἔλεξε δ'· ὦ γῆν Ἰνάχου κεκτημένοι,
 [πάλαι Πελασγοί, Δαναῖδαι δεύτερον,]
 ὑμῖν ἀμύνων οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἢ πατρὶ
 ἔκτεινα μητέρ'. εἰ γὰρ ἀρσένων φόνος 935
 ἔσται γυναιξίν ὄσιος, οὐ φθάνοιτ' ἔτ' ἂν
 θυήσκουτες, ἢ γυναιξὶ δουλεύειν χρεῶν·
 τοῦναντίου δὲ δράσατ' ἢ δράσαι χρεῶν.
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ προδοῦσα λέκτρ' ἐμοῦ πατρὸς
 τέθνηκεν· εἰ δὲ δὴ κατακτενεῖτ' ἐμέ, 940
 ὁ νόμος ἀνεῖται, κοῦ φθάνοι θυήσκων τις ἂν·
 ὡς τῆς γε τόλμης οὐ σπάνις γενήσεται.
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπειθ' ὄμιλον, εὖ δοκῶν λέγειν.
 νικᾷ δ' ἐκείνος ὁ κακὸς ἐν πλήθει λέγων,
 ὅς ἠγόρευσε σύγγονον σέ τε κτανεῖν. 945
 μόλις δ' ἔπεισε μὴ πετρουμένους θανεῖν
 τλήμων Ὀρέστης· αὐτόχειρι δὲ σφαγῆ
 ὑπέσχετ' ἐν τῆδ' ἡμέρᾳ λείψειν βίον
 σὺν σοί. πορεύει δ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλήτων ἄπο
 Ἰηλαΐδης δακρύων· σὺν δ' ὀμαρτοῦσιν φίλοι 950
 κλαίοντες, οἰκτίροντες· ἔρχεται δέ σοι
 πικρὸν θέαμα καὶ πρόσοψις ἀθλία.
 ἀλλ' εὐτρέπιζε φύσγαν' ἢ βρόχον δέρη·
 ὡς δεῖ λιπεῖν σε φέγγος· ἢ εὐγένεια δὲ

929 φθεροῦσιν Wecklein 931 κούδεις δ' V ἐπῆλθε in rasura l
 933 τινὲς ἐς τὸ πάλαι στίζουσιν Σ Δαναῖδαι δὲ recc. : δαναοὶ δὲ P :
 v. e Σ textui inductum del. Musgrave 936 φθάνοιτ' ἔτ' ἂν L P :
 φθάνοιτέ τ' ἂν A B V : φθάνοιτε τὰν M 938 δράσατ' L 940 δεῖ V :
 corr. v κατακτενεῖτε μέ V : κατακτανεῖτέ με rell. : corr. Porson
 941 ὁ om. L φθάνει V 944 λέγων] χερῶν Wecklein
 945 ἠγόρευσε V L P : ἠγόρευε M A B 946 πετρούμενος M
 953 εὐτρέπιζε M : corr. M² 954 λιπεῖν L ὡς οὐ σ' ὀρᾶν δεῖ
 φέγγος γρ. Σ ηὐγένεια fere codd. : εὐγένεια V

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- οὐδέν σ' ἐπωφέλησεν, οὐδ' ὁ Πύθιος 955
 τρίποδα καθίζων Φοῖβος, ἀλλ' ἀπώλεσεν.
 [Χο. ᾧ δυστάλαινα παρθέν', ὡς ζυνηρεφές
 πρόσωπον εἰς γῆν σὸν βαλοῦσ' ἄφθογγος εἶ,
 ὡς εἰς στεναγμοὺς καὶ γόους δραμουμένη.]
- ΙΙλ. κατάρχομαι στεναγμόν, ᾧ Πελασγία, [στρ.
 τιθεῖσα λευκὸν ὄνυχα διὰ παρηλίδων, 961
 αἱματηρὸν ἄταν,
 κτύπον τε κρατός, ὃν ἔλαχ' ἅ κατὰ χθονὸς
 νερτέρων Περσέφασσα καλλίπαις θεά.
 λαχεῖτω δὲ γὰ Κυκλωπία, 965
 σίδαρον ἐπὶ κᾶρα τιθεῖσα κούριμον,
 πῆματ' οἴκων.
 ἔλεος ἔλεος ὄδ' ἔρχεται
 τῶν θανουμένων ὑπερ,
 στρατηλατῶν Ἑλλάδος ποτ' ὄντων. 970
- βέβακε γὰρ βέβακεν, οἴχεται τέκνων [ἀντ.
 πρόπασα γέννα Πέλοπος ὅ τ' ἐπὶ μακαρίοις
 ζῆλος ὦν ποτ' οἴκοις·
 φθόνοσ νιν εἶλε θεόθεν, ἃ τε δυσμενῆς
 φοινία ψῆφος ἐν πολίταις. 975
 ἰὼ ἰὼ, πανδάκρυτ' ἐφαμέρων

956 τρίποδος V 957-959 ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ οὐ φέρονται οἱ τρεῖς στίχοι
 οὔτοι· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλε στρυγνάειν; Σ 959 ὡς εἰ M 960 Ηλ.]
 Χο. Weil στεναγμὸν recc. : στεναγμῶν codd. 961 λευκῶν
 Hartung 962 ἄτα· M : ἄταν M² 963 ἅ] ἡ L et suprascr. M²
 964 περσέφασσα L καλλίπαις] γρ. καλή παῖς Σ, v. corruptus : cf. 975 :
 pro Περσέφασσα conl. κλέμμα Weil : νερτέρων καλλίπαις ἄνασσα Heim-
 soeth 965 κυκλωπία L P 966 κᾶρα] κᾶρα A B L : κᾶρα V
 967 πῆματ' οἴκων Musgrave, cf. 978 : τῶν ἀτρειδῶν πῆματα οἴκων fere
 codd. (ἀτρειδῶν B L P : πῆματ' L P) : πῆματ' οἴκων τῶν ἀτρειδῶν recc.
 quidam : διὰ τὰ πῆματα τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν reddit Σ 968 ἔλεγος ἔλεγος
 F. Marx (ἔλεος Σ) 970 στρατηλατῶν M V : στρατηλατῶν rell.
 971 βέβακεν γὰρ L 973 ζῆλος... οἴκοις Musgrave : ζῆλωτὸς... οἴκος
 codd. et Σ 974 νιν om. V : add. v εἶλε om. L : add. l
 975 φοινία P : φοινεία V : φοινία rell. 976 ἰὼ, δ Hartung : sed
 etiam ἰὼ ἰὼ bacchium efficit

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ἔθνη πολύπουνα, λεύσσειθ', ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδας
μοῖρα βάλνει.
ἕτερα δ' ἕτερος ἀμείβεται
πήματ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ· 980
βροτῶν δ' ὁ πᾶς ἀστάθμητος αἰών.

μόλοιμι τὰν οὐρανοῦ
μέσον χθονός (τε) τεταμέναν
αἰωρήμασι πέτραν,
ἀλύσειν χρυσταίσι φερομένην δίναισι,
βῶλον ἐξ Ὀλύμπου,
ἦν' ἐν θρήνοισιν ἀναβοάσω
γέροντι πατρὶ Ταυτάλῳ 985
ὅς ἔτεκεν ἔτεκε γενέτορας ἐμέθεν δόμων,
οἱ κατεῖδον ἄτας,

ποτανὸν μὲν δίωγμα πάλων
τεθριπποβάμωνι στόλῳ Πέλοψ' ὅτε
πελάγῃσι διεδίφρυσσε, Μυρτίλου φόνον 990
δικῶν ἐς οἶδμα πόντου,

λευκοκύμοισιν
πρὸς Γεραιστίας
πουτῶν σάλων
ἦόσιν ἀρματεύσας.

ὄθεν δόμοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς 995
ἦλθ' ἀρὰ πολύστονος,

λόχευμα ποιμνίοισι Μαιάδος τόκου,

979 ἕτερος Porson: ἑτέροις codd. et Σ 981 θνητῶν δ'
V 983 τε add. Hermann: τε κρεμαμένην Wecklein (τεταμένην
etiam Σ) αἰωρήμασιν V verba τεταμένην αἰωρήμασιν πέτραν et φερο-
μένην δίναισιν βῶλον varias lectiones esse censet Wilamowitz: ambas
habuit Σ ἀλύσει (ἀλύσαισι V) χρυσταίσι codd. δίνεσι M: δίναισιν
L: δίναισι M² rell. 984 ἀμβοάσω Dindorf 985 πατέρι A B V
986 ἔτεκε semel L 988 ποτανὸν Porson: τὸ ποτανὸν codd.
γρ. πάλω B 989 τεθριπποβάμωνι M ὅπτε L² vel l 990 πελά-
γῃσι M B P: πελάγῃσι L 991 οἶδμα θαλάσσης V, sed πόντου in
margine adscr. 992 λευκοκύμοισι M V 993 γεραστίας A B
994 ἦόσιν M A B V 997 τόκου om. V: add. v. post 1000 traī.
Wecklein

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

τὸ χρυσόμαλλον ἄρνός ὀπίτ'
 ἐγένετο τέρας ὄλοον ὄλοον
 Ἄτρεός ἵπποβῶτα· 1000
 ὄθεν Ἔρις τό τε περωτὸν
 ἄλιου μετέβαλεν ἕρμα,
 τὰν πρὸς ἐσπέραν κέλευθον
 οὐρανοῦ προσαρμόσα-
 σα μονόπωλον ἐς Ἄῶ,
 ἐπαπόρου τε δράμημα Πελειάδος 1005
 εἰς ὄδον ἄλλαν Ζεὺς μεταβάλλει,
 τῶνδ' ἑ τ' ἀμείβει . . . θανάτου θανά-
 των τὰ τ' ἐπώνυμα δεῖπνα Θυέστου
 λέκτρα τε Κρήσσης Ἀερόπας δολί-
 ας δολιοῖσι γάμοις· τὰ πανύστατα δ' 1010
 εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ γενέταν ἐμὸν ἤλυθε
 δόμων πολυπόνοις ἀνάγκαις.

Χο. καὶ μὴν ὄδε σὸς σύγγονος ἔριπει
 ψήφῳ θανάτου κατακυρωθείς,
 ὄ τε πιστότατος πάντων Πυλάδης,
 ἰσάδελφος ἀνὴρ, ἰθύνων 1015
 νουσερὸν κῶλον [Ὀρέστου],

998 χρυσόμαλλον A V ὀπίτε γένετο A V L P 999 ὄλοον semel
 codd. : bis recc. 1000 Ἄτρεός Porson : ἀτρέως codd. ἵπποβῶτα
 Dindorf : ἵπποβίτα L : ἵπποβίτα rell. 1001 τό τε περωτὸν M A L P :
 τὸ τέτρωνον B et γρ. Σ : τὸ περωτὸν V 1002 ἄλιου codd.
 1003 ἐσπέραν M A V P : ἔσπερον B I. : cf. Hesych. ἔσπερον κέλευθον·
 τὴν (πρὸς vel ἐφ') ἐσπέραν ὄδον, Phot. ἔσπερον κέλευθον· ἐσπέριον, ἐπὶ
 δυσμᾶς ὄδον : unde τὰν ποθ' ἔσπερον Weil 1004 προσαρμόσασα
 V² vel v : προσαρμόσας (πρὸς ἀρμόσας A) codd. etiam v nunc tertium
 correctus : προσαρμόσας οἰόπων Weil 1005 δράμημα A B :
 δραμήματα M : δρόμημα rell. Πελειάδος Eustath. Od. p. 1713. 7 :
 πλειάδος codd. et Σ 1006 ἄλλαν M A L P 1007 videtur deesse
 nescio quid : ἀμείβονται θάνατοι Wecklein 1009 κρήσσης V
 1011 γενέταν V : γενέτην rell. ἤλυθε V fortasse recte, nisi
 ἤλυθεν οἴκων leg. 1012 δόμων σὺν L B² v πολυπόνοις B
 1013 ὄδε] ὄδε M A : ὄδε V 1015 ἐπιθύνων Elmsley : πέλας ἰθύνων
 Hermann 1016 post κῶλον add. Ὀρέστου codd. : del. Hermann :
 cf. Med. 110

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ποδὶ κηδοσύνῃ παράσειρος.

- Ηλ. οἱ ἐγὼ πρὸ τύμβου γάρ σ' ὕρῳσ' ἀναστένω,
ἀδελφέ, καὶ πάροιθε νερτέρου πυρᾶς.
οἱ ἐγὼ μάλ' αὖθις· ὡς σ' ἰδοῦσ' ἐν ὄμμασιν 1020
πανυστάτην πρόσοψιν ἐξέστην φρενῶν.
- Ορ. οὐ σῖγ' ἀφείσα τοὺς γυναικείους γόους
στέρξεις τὰ κρανθέντ'; οἰκτρὰ μὲν τάδ', ἀλλ' ὅμως
[φέρειν σ' ἀνάγκη τὰς παρεστῶσας τύχας].
- Ηλ. καὶ πῶς σιωπῶ; φέγγος εἰσορᾶν θεοῦ 1025
τόδ' οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ταλαιπῶροις μέτα.
- Ορ. σὺ μὴ μ' ἀπόκτειν'. ἄλις ὑπ' Ἀργείας χερὸς
τέθνηχ' ὁ τλήμων· τὰ δὲ παρόντ' ἔα κακά.
- Ηλ. ᾧ μέλεος ἦβης σῆς, Ὀρέστα, καὶ πότμου
θανάτου τ' ἄωρου. ζῆν ἐχρῆν σ', ὄτ' οὐκέτ' εἶ. 1030
- Ορ. μὴ πρὸς θεῶν μοι περιβάλλης ἀναυδρίαν,
ἐς δίκρυα πορθμεύουσ' ὑπομνήσει κακῶν.
- Ηλ. θανούμεθ'· οὐχ οἶόν τε μὴ στένειν κακά.
πᾶσιν γὰρ οἰκτρὸν ἢ φίλη ψυχὴ βροτοῖς.
- Ορ. τόδ' ἡμαρ ἡμῖν κύριον· δεῖ δ' ἢ βρόχους 1035
ἄπτειν κρεμαστοὺς ἢ ξίφος θήγειν χερὶ.
- Ηλ. σὺ νῦν μ', ἀδελφέ, μὴ τις Ἀργείων κτάνη
ὑβρισμα θέμενος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνου.

1018 σ' om. A 1019 νερτέρου M A B V P: νερτέρας L: νερτέρων b
1020 ὡς σ' ἰδοῦσ' ἐν Porson: ὡς ἰδοῦσά σ' ἐν M B L: ὡς ἰδοῦσά σ' V γρ.
M B: ὡς ἰδοῦσ' ἐν A P 1022 γόους γρ. M B: λόγους codd.
1023 κρανθέντ' A B M²: κραθέντ' M V I. P τὰδ' om. P 1024 ποι
habuit Σ, quiλείπει τὸ δεῖ φέρειν. τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν οἰκτρὰ μὲν ἀλλ'
ἕμως φέρε 1026 τόδ' ἢτ' Musgrave 1027 σὺ μὴ] μὴ σὺ L
ὄτ' recc. et ut videtur Σ (ἄλις ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀργείας χερὸς θάνατος): ἀπ'
codd. 1028 τλάμων L 1030 ζῆν σ' ἐχρῆν F: ζῆν σε χρῆν
Wecklein γρ. ὄτ' οὐκέτι M, et sic videtur legisse Σ (ὄτ' οὐκέτι σε
ζῆν συγχωροῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες) 1031 μοι] μου M περιβάλλεις V
ἀναυδρία M 1032 ὑπομνήσει Musgrave: ὑπόμνησιν codd. et Σ
1033 μὴ] μὴ οὐ Herwerden 1036 θίγειν M 1037 σὺ νῦν
codd. μ' om. A 1038 τὸν] τὴν Hermann γόνου] γρ. δόμον
M V Σ (ὀβτως γοῖν Καλλίστρατός φησιν Ἀριστοφάνη γράφειν) quod
in B γρ. μὴ ἐνυβρίσῃς σὺ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνῳ corrupte scriptam est,
vide apud Schwartzium

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- Ορ. ἄλις τὸ μητρὸς αἵμ' ἔχω· σὲ δ' οὐ κτενῶ,
 ἄλλ' αὐτόχειρι θυήσῃ· ὄτφ βούλη τρόφω. 1040
- Ηλ. ἔσται τὰδ'· οὐδὲν σοῦ ξίφους λελείψομαι.
 ἄλλ' ἀμφιθεῖναι σῆ δέρη θέλω χέρας.
- Ορ. τέρπου κενὴν ὄνησιω, εἰ τερπνὸν τόδε
 θανάτου πέλας βεβῶσι, περιβαλεῖν χέρας.
- Ηλ. ᾧ φίλατ', ᾧ ποθεινὸν ἤδιστόν τ' ἔχω 1045
 τῆς σῆς ἀδελφῆς ὄνομα καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν.
- Ορ. ἔκ τοι με τήξεις· καὶ σ' ἀμείψασθαι θέλω
 φιλότῃ χειρῶν. τί γὰρ ἔτ' αἰδοῦμαι τάλας;
 ᾧ στέρν' ἀδελφῆς, ᾧ φίλον πρόσπτυγμ' ἐμόν,
 τὰδ' ἀντὶ παίδων καὶ γαμηλοῦ λέχους . . . 1050
 [προσφθέγματ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖς τάλαιπύροις πάρα].
- Ηλ. φεῦ·
 πῶς ἂν ξίφος νῶ ταυτόν, εἰ θέμις, κτάνοι
 καὶ μνήμα δέξαιθ' ἐν, κέδρου τεχνάσματα;
- Ορ. ἤδιστ' ἂν εἶη ταῦθ'· ὄρῃς δὲ δὴ φίλων
 ὡς ἔσπανίσμεθ', ὥστε κοινωνεῖν τάφου. 1055
- Ηλ. οὐδ' εἴφ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μὴ θανεῖν σπουδῆν ἔχω,
 Μενέλαος ὁ κακός, ὁ προδότης τοῦμοῦ πατρός;
- Ορ. οὐδ' ὄμμ' ἔδειξεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκήπτροις ἔχω
 τὴν ἐλπιδ', εὐλαβεῖτο μὴ σφίξειω φίλους.
 ἀλλ' εἴ' ὅπως γενναῖα καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος 1060
 δράσαντε καθθανοῦμεθ' ἀξιώτατα.
 κἀγὼ μὲν εὐγένειαν ἀποδελξῶ πόλει,
 παῖσας πρὸς ἦπαρ φασγάνω· σὲ δ' αὖ χρεῶν
 ὄμοια πράσσειω τοῖς ἐμοῖς τολμήμασιν.

1039 κτανῶ codd. 1040 αὐτόχειρ V: corr. v 1047 μ' ἔτῃς
 Bothe 1048 χειρῶν A² P: χερῶν rell. 1049 πρόσπτυγμ' M
 ἐμόν] ἐμοί Nauck 1050 τιδ' M: corr. M² λέχους A
 1051 προσφθέγματ' M: corr. M² ἀμφοῖν Lobeck: ἀμφί codd.
 πάρα A I. M² ὅ v: ἔρα M B V: μέτα P γρ. M v. del. Nauck, cl. 1026
 1055 θάνοι Nauck 1059 ἠύλαβεῖτο V 1061 γρ. δεξιότατα M
 1062-1090 exstant fragmenta in Π 1062 ἀποδείξει M: corr. M²
 πόλει] γρ. πατρός M B 1064 βουλεύμασιν Π V

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Πυλάδῃ, σὺ δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ φόνου γενοῦ βραβεύς, 1065
 καὶ καθανόντων εὖ περιστείλον δέμας
 θάψον τε κοινῇ πρὸς πατρὸς τύμβον φέρων.
 καὶ χαῖρ'· ἐπ' ἔργον δ', ὡς ὄρῳ, πορεύομαι.
- Πυ. ἐπίσχεσ. ἐν μὲν πρώτῃ σοι μομφὴν ἔχω,
 εἰ ζῆν με χρῆζειν σοῦ θανόντος ἠλπισας. 1070
- Ορ. τί γὰρ προσήκει καθανεῖν σ' ἐμοῦ μέτα;
 Πυ. ἤρου; τί δὲ ζῆν σῆς ἑταιρίας ἄτερ;
 Ορ. οὐκ ἔκτανες σὴν μητέρ', ὡς ἐγὼ τάλας.
 Πυ. σὺν σοί γε κοινῇ· ταῦτ' αἰ πάσχει με δεῖ.
 Ορ. ἀπόδος τὸ σῶμα πατρί, μὴ σύνθυησκέ μοι. 1075
 σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πόλις, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι δῆ,
 καὶ δῶμα πατρὸς καὶ μέγας πλούτου λιμῆν.
 γάμων δὲ τῆς μὲν δυσπότημον τῆσδ' ἐσφάλῃς,
 ἦν σοι κατηγγύησ' ἑταιρίαν σέβων·
 σὺ δ' ἄλλο λέκτρον παιδοποίησαι λαβών, 1080
 κῆδος δὲ τοῦμὸν καὶ σὸν οὐκέτ' ἔστι δῆ.
 ἀλλ', ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄμμ' ὀμιλλας ἐμῆς,
 χαῖρ'· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο, σοὶ γε μὴν·
 οἱ γὰρ θανόντες χαρμάτων τητῶμεθα.
- Πυ. ἦ πολὺν λέλειψαι τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων. 1085
 μήθ' αἰμά μου δέξαιτο κάρπιμον πέδον,
 μὴ λαμπρὸς αἰθῆρ, εἰ σ' ἐγὼ προδοῦς ποτὶ
 ἐλευθερώσας τοῦμὸν ἀπολλίποιμι σέ.
 καὶ συγκατέκτανον γάρ, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι,

1066 καθανόντος primitus L 1067 τε] δὲ V 1068 χαῖρ'
 in rasura scr. M² πορεύομαι et in margine γρ. πορεύομαι B: potest
 fuisse πορθμεύομαι 1069 πρώτων L 1072 εἴρου primitus M
 ἑταιρείας Π A B: corr. A² B² 1073 σὴν] σὺ Hermann e cod. rec.:
 σὴν habuit X ad v. 1074 1074 ταῦτ' B: ταῖτα rell. 1075 πατρί
 codd. et Π 1076 ἔσται... ἔσται V οὐκέτι δὲ A 1078 γάμων V
 1079 ἑταιρίαν Π A et primitus B 1081 κῆδος τε Π A L P
 ἔσται V 1082 ὄμμ' Π V L: ὄνομ' rell. post h. v. spatium unius
 v. vacuum in A 1085 πολὺν M² V: πού M rell. 1086 μὴ
 σῶμά μου Jortin duce, ut putabat, X: cf. Hip. 1031 1087 μῆ]
 μήτε V: corr. v αἰθῆρ πνεῦμ', ἐγὼ εἰ Weil 1088 ἀπολλίποιμι
 M B L

- καὶ πάντ' ἐβούλευσ' ὦν σὺ νῦν τίνεις δίκας· 1090
 καὶ ξυμβαίνειν οὖν δεῖ με σοὶ καὶ τῆδ' ὄμοῦ.
 ἐμὴν γὰρ αὐτήν, ἧς (γε) λέχος ἐπήνεσα,
 κρῖνω δάμαρτα· τί γὰρ ἐρῶ κἀγὼ ποτε
 γῆν Δελφίδ' ἐλθὼν Φωκίῳ ἀκρόπολιν,
 ὃς πρὶν μὲν ὑμᾶς δυστυχεῖν φίλος παρῆ, 1095
 νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ δυστυχοῦντί σοι φίλος;
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν κάμοι μέλει
 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατανούμεθ', ἐς κοινοὺς λόγους
 ἐλθωμεν, ὡς ἂν Μενέλεως συνδυστυχῆ.
 Ορ. ὦ φίλτατ', εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο καθάνοιμ' ἰδῶν. 1100
 Πυ. πιθοῦ νυν, ἄμμειόν τε φασγάνου τομάς.
 Ορ. μὲνῶ, τὸν ἐχθρὸν εἴ τι τιμωρήσομαι.
 Πυ. σίγα νυν· ὡς γυναιξὶ πιστεύω βραχύ.
 Ορ. μηδὲν τρέσης τάσδ'· ὡς πάρεις' ἡμῖν φίλαι.
 Πυ. Ἐλένην κτάνωμεν, Μενέλεφ λύπην πικράν. 1105
 Ορ. πῶς; τὸ γὰρ ἔτοιμον ἔστιν, εἴ γ' ἔσται καλῶς.
 Πυ. σφάζαντες· ἐν δόμοις δὲ κρύπτεται σθέν.
 Ορ. μάλιστα· καὶ δὴ πάντ' ἀποσφραγίζεται.
 Πυ. ἀλλ' οὐκέθ', "Αἰδην νυμφίον κεκτημένη.
 Ορ. καὶ πῶς; ἔχει γὰρ βαρβάρους ὀπάουνας. 1110
 Πυ. τίνας; Φρυγῶν γὰρ οὐδέν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγώ.
 Ορ. οἴους ἐνόπτρων καὶ μύρων ἐπιστάτας.
 Πυ. τρυφὰς γὰρ ἦκει δεῦρ' ἔχουσα Τρωϊκάς;
 Ορ. ὥσθ' Ἐλλάς αὐτῇ σμικρὸν οἰκητήριον.

1090 νῦν om. V: add. v 1091 οὖν om. A P: add. ρ δεῖ με]
 με δεῖ V 1092 γε λέχος Parson: λέχος codd.: λέχος γ' recc.
 (λέκτρον ἢ Wilamowitz: λέχος κατήνεσα Brunck) 1093 γὰρ ἐρῶ
 κἀγὼ L: γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐρῶ καλῶν V, tum ἐγὼ del. v: γὰρ ἐρῶ καλῶν gell.
 1094 γῆν] τῆν F ἀκρόπολιν codd. 1095 παρῆν codd. 1098 ἐς
 hic M 1099 δυστυχῆ V: corr. v 1100 ἢ γὰρ P 1101 πείθου l.
 νυν L: νῦν gell. ἄμμειον M²: ἀνάμεινον M gell. 1102 τι om. L
 1103 νυν L: νῦν gell. 1104 πάρες M: πάρεϊσι M² 1106 νix
 sanus: πῶς; τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν γ' ἔτοιμον Hermann, cl. Σ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἔτοιμόν
 ἐστιν: ἔσται καλῶς apodosin·facit alter Σ 1107 δόμοισι A δὲ]
 γὰρ V: om. F 1112 οἴους M κατόπτρων Acl. H. A. vii. 25
 1113 sq. del. Bruhn 1114 αὐτῇ L μικρὸν A ἠβητήριον Naber

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Πυ. οὐδὲν τὸ δοῦλον πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοῦλον γένος. 1115
 Ορ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' ἔρξας δις θανεῖν οὐχ ἄξομαι.
 Πυ. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν, σοὶ γε τιμωρούμενος.
 Ορ. τὸ πρᾶγμα δῆλου καὶ πέραιω', ὅπως λέγεις.
 Πυ. ἔσιμεν ἐς οἴκους δῆθεν ὡς θανούμενοι.
 Ορ. ἔχω τοσοῦτον, τὰπίλοιπα δ' οὐκ ἔχω. 1120
 Πυ. γόους πρὸς αὐτὴν θησόμεσθ' ἢ πάσχομεν.
 Ορ. ὥστ' ἐκδακρῦσαι γ' ἔνδοθεν κεχαρμένην.
 Πυ. καὶ νῶν παρέσται ταῦθ' ἄπερ κείνη τότε.
 Ορ. ἔπειτ' ἀγῶνα πῶς ἀγωνιούμεθα;
 Πυ. κρύπτ' ἐν πέπλοισι τοισὶδ' ἔξομεν ξίφη. 1125
 Ορ. πρόσθεν δ' ὀπαδῶν τίς ὄλεθρος γενήσεται;
 Πυ. ἐκκλήσομεν σφᾶς ἄλλον ἄλλοσε στέγης.
 Ορ. καὶ τόν γε μὴ σιγῶντ' ἀποκτείνειω χρεῶν.
 Πυ. εἴτ' αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦργον οἷ τείνειω χρεῶν.
 Ορ. Ἐλένην φουεύειω· μαυθάνω τὸ σύμβολον. 1130
 Πυ. ἔγνωσ' ἄκουσον δ' ὡς καλῶς βουλευόμαι.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐς γυναικα σωφρονεστέραν
 ξίφος μεθεῖμεν, δυσκλεῆς ἂν ἦν φόνος·
 νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος δώσει δίκην,
 ὦν πατέρας ἔκτειν', ὦν δ' ἀπώλεσεν τέκνα, 1135
 νύμφας τ' ἔθηκεν ὄρφανὰς ξυναόρων.
 ὀλολυγμὸς ἔσται, πῦρ τ' ἀνάψουσιν θεοῖς,
 σοὶ πολλὰ κάμοι κέδν' ἀρώμενοι τυχεῖν,
 κακῆς γυναικὸς οὐνεχ' αἰμ' ἐπράξαμεν.

1116 ἔρξας L οὐχ ἄξομαι AB: οὐ χάρομαι Gell. b 1117 μὴν]
 μιν P σύ M: corr. M² 1121 γόοις V: corr. v θησόμεθ'
 AVL P 1122 ὥστε δακρῦσαι γ' L: ὥστ' ἐκδακρῦειν V: σαι suprascr.
 v: ὥστ' ἐνδακρῦσαι A ἔνδον P 1123 νω P ἄπερ V: corr. v
 (ταῦθ' ἄπερ Wecklein) 1125 τοῖσιν ἔξομεν A: τοῖσδ' ἐφέξομεν L
 1127 ἐκκλήσομεν MB: ἐκκλείσομεν AV: ἐγκλείσομεν LP ἄλλος
 ἄλλον ἐν στέγαις V 1129 αὐτὸ δηλοῖ] αὐτὸ γε A οἷ mut. in
 ἦ P verba τείνειω (κτείνειω L) χρεῶν secl. Kirchhoff: cf. 1128 fin.
 1131 δ' om. M: θ' A βουλευόμαι B: βεβούλευμαι F; unde βεβού-
 λευμαι καλῶς Hermann 1133 φόβος A 1135 δ'] τ' V
 1137 δ' ἔσται A 1139 ἐπρα...μεν V: corr. v

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

ὁ μητροφόντης δ' οὐ καλῆ ταύτην κτανών, 1142
 ἀλλ' ἀπολιπὼν τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον πεσῆ,
 Ἐλένης λεγόμενος τῆς πολυκτόνου φονεύς.
 οὐ δεῖ ποτ', οὐ δεῖ, Μενέλεων μὲν εὐτυχεῖν,
 τὸν σὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ σὲ κάδελφῆν θανεῖν,
 μητέρα τε . . . ἕω τοῦτ'· οὐ γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς λέγειν—

δόμους δ' ἔχει σοὺς δι' Ἀγαμέμνονος δόρυ 1145

λαβόντα νύμφην· μὴ γὰρ οὖν ζῶην ξι,
 ἦν μὴ 'π' ἐκείνη φάσγανον σπασώμεθα.
 ἦν δ' οὖν τὸν Ἐλένης μὴ κατάσχωμεν φόνου,
 πρήσαντες οἴκους τούσδε καθθανούμεθα. 1150

ἐνὸς γὰρ οὐ σφαλέντες ἔξομεν κλέος,
 καλῶς θανόντες ἢ καλῶς σεσφισμένοι.

Xo. πάσαις γυναιξίν ἀξία στυγεῖν ἔφθ
 ἢ Τυνδαρίσ παῖς, ἢ κατήσχυεν γένος.

Op. φεῦ·

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρεῖσσον ἢ φίλος σαφῆς, 1155

οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐ τυραννίς· ἀλόγιστον δέ τι
 τὸ πλῆθος ἀντάλλαγμα γενναίου φίλου.

σὺ γὰρ τά τ' εἰς Αἴγισθον ἐξηῦρες κακὰ
 καὶ πλησίον παρήσθα κινδύνων ἐμοί,

νῦν τ' αὖ δίδως μοι πολεμίων τιμωρίαν 1160

κούκ ἐκποδῶν εἰ . . . παύσομαι σ' αἰνῶν, ἐπεὶ

βάρος τι κὰν τῷδ' ἔστί, αἰνεῖσθαι λίαν.

ἐγὼ δὲ πάντως ἐκπνέων ψυχῆν ἐμῆν

δράσας τι χρήζω τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς θανεῖν,

1140 δ om. L: add. l 1142 γενόμενος V 1143 ποτ'] γὰρ Paley
 1144 τὸν om. L: add. l 1145 τοῦτο L 1146 δ'] τ' V 1148 'πι
 κείνη V L ('κείνη V) σπασώμεθα Kirchhoff: σπασόμεθα V: σπάσω
 μέλαν Gell. 1149 εἰ δ' οὖν P: ἦν δ' αἶ F 1154 γένος] λέχος V
 1155 σαφῆς] ἀντὶ ἀληθῆς B: γρ. καὶ ἀληθῆς M: ἀληθῆς in textu H
 1158 ἐξεῦρες codd. 1159 πρῶστα V κινδύνων ἐμοί] κακὸν
 ἐμὸν H 1160 τ'] δ' P 1161 ἐμποδῶν P, sed μ punctis
 infra positis deletiv σ'] δ' Porson (et αἰνῶν σ') 1162 κὰν
 τῷδ' codd. et X: καὶ -68' Stob. fl. 14. 6 1164 ἐμοὺς om. B:
 add. b

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- ἴν' ἀνταναλώσω μὲν οἶ με προὔδοσαν, 1165
 στένωσι δ' οἴπερ κάμ' ἔθηκαν ἄθλιον.
 Ἄγαμέμνονός τοι παῖς πέφυχ', ὃς Ἑλλάδος
 ἦρξ' ἀξιωθείς, οὐ τύρανος, ἀλλ' ὄμως
 ῥώμην θεοῦ τιw' ἔσχε· ὃν οὐ καταισχυνῶ
 δοῦλον παρασχῶν θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἔλευθέρωσ 1170
 ψυχὴν ἀφήσω, Μενέλεων δὲ τείσομαι.
 ἐνὸς γὰρ εἰ λαβοίμεθ', εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν,
 εἴ ποθεν ἄελπτος παραπέσοι σωτηρία
 κτανούσι μὴ θανούσιν· εὐχομαι τάδε.
 ὃ βούλομαι γάρ, ἡδὺν καὶ διὰ στόμα 1175
 πτηνοῖσι μύθοις ἀδαπάνως τέρψαι φρένα.
 Ηλ. ἐγώ, κασίγνητ', αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔχειν δοκῶ,
 σωτηρίαν σοὶ τῷδέ τ' ἐκ τρίτων τ' ἐμοί.
 Ορ. θεοῦ λέγεις πρόνοιαν. ἀλλὰ ποῦ τόδε;
 ἐπεὶ τὸ συνετόν γ' οἶδα σῆ ψυχῇ παρόν. 1180
 Ηλ. ἄκουε δὴ νῦν· καὶ σὺ δεῦρο νοῦν ἔχε.
 Ορ. λέγ'· ὡς τὸ μέλλειν ἀγάθ' ἔχει τιw' ἡδονήν.
 Ηλ. Ἑλένης κάτοισθα θυγατέρ'; εἰδότη' ἠρόμην.
 Ορ. οἶδ', ἦν ἔθρεψεν Ἑρμιόνην μήτηρ ἐμή.
 Ηλ. αὕτη βέβηκε πρὸς Κλυταιμίστρας τάφον. 1185
 Ορ. τί χρῆμα δράσουσ'; ὑποτίθης τίw' ἐλπίδα;
 Ηλ. χοῶς κατασπέισουσ' ὑπὲρ μητρὸς τάφω.
 Ορ. καὶ δὴ τί μοι τοῦτ' εἶπας ἐς σωτηρίαν;
 Ηλ. ξυλλάβεθ' ὄμηρον τήνδ', ὅταν στείχη πάλιν.

1165 ἀνταναλώσω μὲν A v: ἀνταναλώσομεν V rell. sed ἀντανέλωμεν
 reddidit Σ M 1169 ἔσχεον codd. (ἔσχον H): unde οὐ om. Porson
 (οὐ habuit Σ) 1172 v. delet, φεῦ eius loco scribit, Bruhn
 1174 κτανούσιν οὐ V I fortasse εὐχαι μὲν τάδε 1175 οὐ βούλομαι
 alter Σ, alter cum codd. congruit 1176 τέρψω (τερψαι v) φρένας V
 1178 τῷδέ γ' V τὲ τρίτον ἐμοί A: τε τρίτον τ' ἐμοί L P
 1179 λέγοις A 1180 παρών P 1181 δὴ νῦν codd.
 1182 μέλλειν λέγειν L² P 1184 ἐμοί P 1186 ὑποτίθης P I:
 ὑποτίθεις B V L²: ὑποτίθεις M²: ὑποτίθεις M L: ὑποτιθέσθα A 1187
 κατασπέισασ' V τάφω A B P: τάφου M V: τάφον L 1188 εἶπες
 A L v 1189 ξυλλάβεθ' L: συλλάβεθ' rell.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- Ορ. τίνος τόδ' εἶπας φάρμακον τρισσοῖς φίλοις; 1190
 Ηλ. Ἐλένης θανούσης, ἦν τι Μενελεύς σε δρᾶ
 ἢ τόνδε κάμέ—πᾶν γὰρ ἐν φίλον τόδε—
 λέγ' ὡς φονεύσεις Ἑρμιόνην· ξίφος δὲ χρῆ
 δέρη πρὸς αὐτῇ παρθένου σπάσαντ' ἔχειν.
 κὰν μὲν σε σφίξῃ μὴ θανεῖν χρήζων κόρην 1195
 Ἐλένης Μενέλεως πτώμ' ἰδὼν ἐν αἵματι,
 μέθες πεπᾶσθαι πατρὶ παρθένου δέμας·
 ἦν δ' ὀδυθύμου μὴ κρατῶν φρονήματος
 κτείνῃ σε, καὶ σὺ σφάζε παρθένου δέρην.
 καὶ νῦν δοκῶ, τὸ πρῶτον ἦν πολὺς παρῆ, 1200
 χρόνῳ μαλάξειν σπλάγχνον· οὔτε γὰρ θρασὺς
 οὔτ' ἄλκιμος πέφυκε. τήνδ' ἡμῖν ἔχω
 σωτηρίας ἔπαλξιν. εἴρηται λόγος.
- Ορ. ὦ τὰς φρένας μὲν ἄρσενας κεκτημένη,
 τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐν γυναιξὶ θηλείαις πρέπον, 1205
 ὡς ἀξία ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν ἔφυς.
 Πυλάδῃ, τοιαύτης ἄρ' ἁμαρτήσῃ τάλας
 γυναικὸς ἢ ζῶν μακάριον κτήσῃ λέχος.
- Πυ. εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο, Φωκέων δ' ἔλθοι πόλιν
 καλοῦσιν ὕμεναλοισιν ἀξιουμένη. 1210
- Ορ. ἦξει δ' ἐς οἴκους Ἑρμιόνη τίνος χρόνου;
 ὡς τᾶλλα γ' εἶπας, εἶπερ εὐτυχήσομεν,
 κάλλισθ', ἐλόντες σκύμνον ἀνοσίου πατρός.
- Ηλ. καὶ δὴ πέλας νῦν δωμάτων εἶναι δοκῶ·

1190 τίνος M: τίν' δὲ M² (voluit τ(δὲ)) εἶπες L 1192 πᾶν
 γὰρ ἐν φίλον M B V: πᾶν γὰρ ἐν φίλοις in margine B: πᾶν γὰρ ἐν
 φίλοις A: πᾶσι γὰρ φίλον L P (πᾶν γὰρ ἐν certe Σ: φίλον puto Σ)
 1193 φονεύσης V P 1196 Μενέλεως ἐλένης (ἐλένην primitiv M)
 codd.: τραί. Hermann: Μενέλαος ἐλένης Brubachiana: alia res est v. 20:
 versum del. Nauck 1197 πεπᾶσθαι M: corr. M² 1198 ἦν δ'
 κὰν δ' V: corr. v 1199 σφάζε P 1200 παρῆ] παρῆν B: βῆν Nauck
 ἦν πολλὸς ἔλθῃ Σ) 1201 μαλάξει M A 1204 ἄρσενος l et Stob.
 fl. 67. 7 post v. 1204 evulsis foliis octo periere vv. 1205-1505 in V
 1207 ἔρ' vel ἄρ codd. 1208 om. P: add. ρ ἢ M: β vel ἡ
 M² A B L P 1213 κάλλιστ' M A L

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- τοῦ γὰρ χρόνου τὸ μῆκος αὐτὸ συντρέχει. 1215
 Ορ. καλῶς· σὺ μὲν νῦν, σύγγον' Ἥλέκτρα, δόμων
 πάρος μένουσα παρθένου δέχου πόδα,
 φύλασσε δ' ἦν τις, πρὶν τελευτηθῆι φόνος,
 ἢ ζύμμαχος τις ἢ κασιγνητος πατρός,
 ἐλθὼν ἐς οἴκους φθῆι, γέγωνέ τ' ἐς δόμους, 1220
 ἢ σανίδα παίσασ' ἢ λόγους πέμψασ' ἔσω·
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἔσω στείχοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσχατον
 ἀγῶν' ὀπλιζόμεσθα φασγάνῳ χέρας,
 [Πυλάδῃ· σὺ γὰρ δὴ συμπονεῖς ἐμοὶ πόνουσ.]
 ὦ δῶμα ναίων νυκτὸς ὀρφναίας πάτερ, 1225
 καλεῖ σ' Ὀρέστης παῖς σὸς ἐπίκουρον μολεῖν
 τοῖς δεομένοισι. διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάσχω τάλας
 ἀδίκως· προδέδομαι δ' ὑπὸ κασιγνήτου σέθεν,
 δίκαια πράξας· οὐ θέλω δάμαρθ' ἔλων
 κτεῖναι· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν τοῦδε συλλήπτωρ γενοῦ. 1230
 ΠΙλ. ὦ πάτερ, ἰκοῦ δῆτ', εἰ κλύεις ἔσω χθονὸς
 τέκνων καλούντων, οἱ σέθεν θνήσκουσ' ὑπερ.
 Πυ. ὦ συγγένεια πατρός ἐμοῦ, κάμας λιτάς,
 Ἄγαμέμνον, εἰσάκουσον· ἔκσωσον τέκνα.
 Ορ. ἔκτετα μητέρα . . . Ηλ. ἠψάμην δ' ἐγὼ ξίφους . . .
 Πυ. ἐγὼ δ' ἔπεβούλευσα† κἀπέλυσ' ὄκνου . . . 1236
 Ορ. σοί, πάτερ, ἀρήγων. Ηλ. οὐδ' ἐγὼ προὔδικά σε.
 Πυ. οὐκ οὖν δνείδῃ τάδε κλύων ῥύση τέκνα;

1215 αὐτῆ L 1216 μὲν νῦν codd. 1219 del. Herwerden
 1220 τ' δ' B ἐν δόμοις M L et fortasse Σ: ἐκ δόμων primitus A
 1221 σανίδας A B L 1223 ὀπλιζόμεσθα A: ὀπλιζόμεθα M: ὀπλιζώ-
 μεθα P 1223, 1224 in verso ordine leguntur in F: 1224 del. Hermann
 1226 καλῶ Cobet 1227-1230 ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ φέρονται οἱ τοι
 οἱ δ' Ἰαμβοί, [καὶ] ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ Σ ad v. 1229 1231 εἰ κλύεις] ἐγκλύεις L
 1232 θνήσκουσ' hic M 1233 καὶ ἐμαῖς (ἐμαῖς M) λιτάς M L
 1234 ἀκουσον P 1235 μητέρα (sic) M L P Ηλ. M²: Πυ. M
 reil. 1236 Πυ. M²: Ηλ. M reil. δ' ἐπεβούλευσα M A L P:
 fortasse δὲ προεβούλευσα: δ' ἐπεκέλευσα B: δὲ γ' ἐπεκέλευσα Porson:
 δ' ἐπενεκέλευσα Nauck, cf. El. 1224: cf. Σ δ' ἐστι: συνήνεσα τῷ φόμῳ
 1237 Ηλ.] Πυ. L 1238 Πυ.] Ορ. L ῥύσαι L P (et sic Σ: cf.
 I. A. 528)

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- Ορ. δακρύοις κατασπένδω σε. Ηλ. ἐγὼ δ' οἴκτοισί γε.
 Πν. παύσασθε, καὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἐξορμώμεθα. 1240
 εἶπερ γὰρ εἴσω γῆς ἀκοντίζουσ' ἀραί,
 κλύει. σὺ δ', ὦ Ζεῦ πρόγονε καὶ Δίκης σέβας,
 δότ' εὐτυχῆσαι τῷδ' ἐμοί τε τῆδέ τε·
 τρισσοῖς φίλοις γὰρ εἰς ἀγών, δίκη μία,
 ἧ̄ ζῆν ἅπασιν ἧ̄—θανεῖν ὀφείλεται. 1245
- Ηλ. Μυκηνίδες ὦ φίλοι, [στρ.
 τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἀργείων.
 Χο. τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν, πότνια; παραμένει
 γὰρ ἔτι σοι τόδ' ἐν Δαναϊδῶν πόλει. 1250
 Ηλ. στήθ' αἰ μὲν ὑμῶν τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη τρίβον,
 αἰ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἄλλον οἶμον ἐς φρουρὰν δόμων.
 Χο. τί δέ με τόδε χρέος ἀπύεις;
 ἐνεπέ μοι, φίλα.
 Ηλ. φόβος ἔχει με μή τις ἐπὶ δώμασι 1255
 σταθεῖς ἐπὶ φοίνιον αἶμα
 πῆματα πῆμασιν ἐξεύρη.
 Ημ. χωρεῖτ', ἐπειγώμεσθ'. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τρίβον
 τόνδ' ἐκφυλάξω, τὸν πρὸς ἡλίου βολάς.
 Ημ. καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ τόνδ', ὅς πρὸς ἐσπέραν φέρει. 1260
 Ηλ. δόχημιά νυν κόρας διάφερ' ὀμμαίων.
 Χο. ἐκεῖθεν ἐνθάδ', εἴτα παλιωσκοπιᾶν
 ἔχομεν, ὡς θροεῖς. 1265

1239 Or. et Ηλ. notas om. L: Ηλ. et Or. F. Gu. Schmidt cum 1238
 Orestii tribuit 1240 ἐξορμώμεθα M: corr. M²: ἐξομάμεθα Λ
 1241 γῆς εἴσω γῆς P 1242 Ζεῦ om. P δίκας L P: corr. P²
 1243 δὲ L 1245 aut sic distinguendus aut cum Nauckio delendus
 1246 φίλοις Hermann: cf. 1266 1247 πρῶτ' ἀνὰ Hartung (κατὰ
 etiam Σ) ἴδον L: corr. l 1251 τῆνδ' L 1254 ἐνεπε codd.
 1255 δώματι L 1256 ταθεῖς L: corr. l φόνιον codd.: corr.
 Triclinius 1258 Χο. praef. M², notam omiserat M ἐπειγώ-
 μεσθ' L: om. M A 1259 τόνδε φυλάξω L: τόνδ' ἐκφυλάσσω
 primitus A 1260 τόνδ' τὸν L 1261 Ηλ. oim. L δόχημια
 νῦν codd. 1262 Χο. praef. Wilamowitz, 1263 codd.: cf. ad 1284
 1264 εἴτα παλιωσκοπιᾶν M: εἴτα πάλιν σκοπιᾶν A B: εἴτ' ἐπ' ἄλλη
 σκοπιᾶν A² B² L P

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Ηλ. ἐλίσσετέ νυν βλέφαρα, [ἀντ.
κόραισι δίδοτε πάντα διὰ βοστρύχων.
Ημ. ὄδε τις ἐν τρίβῳ [προσέρχεται]. τίς δδ' ἄρ' ἀμ-
φὶ μέλαθρον πολεῖ σὸν ἀγρότας ἀνὴρ; 1270
Ηλ. ἀπωλόμεσθ' ἄρ', ὦ φίλαι· κεκρυμμένους
θῆρας ξιφήρεις αὐτίκ' ἐχθροῖσι φανεῖ.
Ημ. ἄφοβος ἔχε· κενός, ὦ φίλα,
στίβος ὃν οὐ δοκεῖς.
Ηλ. τί δέ; τὸ σὸν βέβαιον ἔτι μοι μένει; 1275
δὸς ἀγγελίαν ἀγαθάν τιν',
εἰ τὰδ' ἔρημα τὰ πρόσθ' αὐλάς.
Ημ. καλῶς τὰ γ' ἐνθὲνδ'. ἀλλὰ τὰπὶ σοῦ σκόπει·
ὡς οὔτις ἡμῖν Δαναϊδῶν πελάζεται.
Ημ. ἐς ταῦτ' ἤκει· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῆδ' ὄχλος. 1280
Ηλ. φέρε νυν ἐν πύλαισι ἀκοῶν βάλω.
Χο. τί μέλλεθ' οἱ κατ' οἶκον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ
σφάγια φοινίσσειν; 1285
Ηλ. οὐκ εἰσακούουσ'· ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ κακῶν.
ἄρ' ἐς τὸ κάλλος ἐκκεκώφηται ξίφη;

1266 Ηλ. om. M L ἐλίσσετε νυν codd. βλέφαρα recs.: βλέφαρον
M A B L P 1267 κόρας δίδοτε Canter διὰ βοστρύχων πάντη
(πάντα L) codd. et Σ alter: trai. Triclinius; cf. Σ alterum πάντα
τόπον τῆ θεᾶ δίδοτε: διὰ βοστρύχων πάντη Dindorf. cl. Phoen. 1485
1269 post τρίβῳ glossema προσέρχεται habent codd.: cf. v. 1249:
πρόσεχε Seidler: τίς δδε Hermann: πότνια Wecklein 1271 ἀπο-
λόμειθ' M ἄρ' L: ἄρ' M B: ἄν A P κεκρυμμένους primitus M
1272 ἐχθροῖσιν M: ἐχθροῖς εἰ (ἦν A²) A L: ἐχθροῖσιν εἰ P:
ἐχθρός mut. in ἐχθροῖς B φανῆ A L et primitus B 1273 Χο.
praeef. L 1274 οὐ M B Σ: σὺ A L P 1276 τιν' Triclinius:
τινὰ μοι codd.: cf. 1256 1278 Χο. praeef. M B L: ἡμιχ. B²
ἐνθὲνδ' recs.: ἐνθεν M A B L P τὰπίσω M² B: τὰπὶ σῶ L
1279 Ηλ. praeef. L 1280 Χο. praeef. L 1281 ante v. personae
nota crasa in A νῦν codd. 1284 Χο. praeef. Wilamowitz, cf.
1262: Electrae continuant codd. sed vide ad 1286 1285 γρ.
σφαγίδα φοινίσσειν Σ 1286 Ηλ. praeef., ut videtur, M P: om.
A B L εἰσακούουσ' M² 1287 ἄρ' ἐς] ἄρ' εἰ M ἐκκεκώφηται
M A B L P γρ. Σ: ἐκκεκώφηται Clem. Strom. ii. p. 175 et γρ. Σ: ἐκ-
κεκώφωται F: ἐκκεκώφωνται Aristophanes ap. Σ et suprascr. B², cf.
Athen. v. p. 188 C πρὸς τὸ περιβόητον ἐκκεκωφώμενοι κάλλος

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- τάχα τις Ἄργείων ἔνοπλος ὀρμήσας
 ποδὶ βοηδρόμφ μέλαθρα προσμείζει. 1290
 σκέψασθέ νυν ἄμεινον· οὐχ ἔδρας ἀγών·
 ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἐνθάδ', αἱ δ' ἐκείσ' ἔλισσεται.
- Χο. ἀμείβω κέλευθον σκοποῦσα πάντη. 1295
- Ελ. (ἐνδοθεν) ἰὼ Πελασγὸν Ἄργος, ὄλλυμαι κακῶς.
 Χο. — ἠκούσαθ'; ἄνδρες χεῖρ' ἔχουσιν ἐν φόβῳ.
 — Ἐλένης τὸ κώκυμ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι.
- Ηλ. ᾧ Διός, ᾧ Διὸς ἀέναον κράτος,
 ἔλθ' ἐπικουρος ἐμοῖς φίλοισι πάντως. 1300
- Ελ. (ἐνδοθεν) Μενέλαε, θνήσκω· σὺ δὲ παρών μ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖς.
 Ηλ. φονεύετε, καίnete,
 ὄλλυτε, δίπτυχα δίστομα φάσγανα
 ἐκ χερῶς ἰέμενοι
 τὰν λιποπάτορα λιπόγαμον, ἃ 1305
 πλείστους ἔκανεν Ἑλλάνων
 δορὶ παρὰ ποταμὸν ὀλομένους,
 ὄθι δάκρυα δάκρυσιν ἔπесεν
 σιδαρέοισι βέλεσιν ἀμ-
 φι τὰς Σκαμάνδρου δίνας. 1310

1289 ἔνοπλος recc. : ἐν ὄπλοισι M A B L P 1291 σκέψασθαι M²
 νῦν L P 1295 σκοποῦσα πάντα M A B L P : σκοπεύουσ' ἀπάντα
 Nauck ex gramm. Ambros. (in Append. Lex. Vindob. p. 285, Stude-
 mund Anecdota 226) qui h. v. ut bacchiacum adfert : ibi corrupte
 σκοπεὺς ἀπατᾷ legitur 1296 πελασγῶν P 1297 Ημιχ., 1298
 Ημιχ., 1299 Ηλ. praef. Hermann : 1297 Ηλ. (ex Χο. mutatam B)
 M A B L P : 1298 nullam notam M A B L P : 1299 Ημιχ. M A B : Χο.
 P : nullam notam L 1297 ἠκούσαθ' ; οἱ ἄνδρες B² : ἠκούσατ' ἄνδρες
 M A L P 1298 κώκυσμ' P 1299 ἀέναον M B P 1300 ἐπικουρος
 M : ἐπικουρον A B L P ἐμοῖς recc. : ἐμοῖσι codd. 1301 μ' om. L
 1302 Ηλ.} Ημιχ. B καίnete M : καίνετ' L 1303 ὄλλυτε]
 ἀπόλλυτε Wecklein φάσγανα A L P : φάσγανα πέμπετε M B : γρ.
 καὶ θέινετε M 1304 χεῖρὸς P : videtur hos vv. Choro tribuisse Σ
 (ἀπλοῦστερον ὡς γυναῖκες εἶπον) 1305 eis ante v. scr. B² τὰν l :
 om. M A B L P λιποπάτορα λιπόγαμον A L λιπόγαμὸν θ' Hermann
 dochmios efficiens 1306 ἔκτανεν M L 1308 ὀλομένους P
 1309 δάκρυσιν ἔπесε M B (ἀντὶ τοῦ συνέπесε Σ) : δάκρυσι συνέπесε L :
 δάκρυσι συνέπесεν ἔπесε A P 1309 βέλεσιν L 1310 τὰς]
 τὰ M

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Χο. σιγάτε σιγάτ' ἤσθόμην κτύπου τιῶς
κέλευθον ἐσπεσόντος ἀμφὶ δώματα.
- Ηλ. ὦ φίλταται γυναῖκες, ἐς μέσον φόνου
ἦδ' Ἐρμιόνη πάρεστι· παύσωμεν βοήν.
στείχει γὰρ ἐσπεσοῦσα δικτύων βρόχους. 1315
καλὸν τὸ θήραμ', ἦν ἀλφῶ, γενήσεται.
πάλιν κατάστηθ' ἠσύχῳ μὲν ὄμματι,
χρῶς δ' ἀδήλω τῶν δεδραμένων πέρι·
κἀγὼ σκυθρωποὺς ὀμμάτων ἔξω κόρας,
ὡς δῆθεν οὐκ εἰδυῖα τὰξουργασμένα. 1320

ὦ παρθέν', ἦκεις τὸν Κλυταιμῆστρας τάφον
στέψασα καὶ σπείσασα νερτέροις χοάς;

ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ

- ἦκω, λαβοῦσα πρηνέμενιαν. ἀλλὰ μοι
φόβος τις εἰσελήλυθ', ἦντιν' ἐν δόμοις
τηλουρὸς οὔσα δωμαίων κλύω βοήν. 1325
- Ηλ. τί δ'; ἄξι' ἡμῖν τυγχάνει στεναγμάτων.
Ερ. εὐφημος ἴσθι· τί δὲ νεώτερον λέγεις;
Ηλ. θανεῖν Ὀρέστην κἀμ' ἔδοξε τῆδε γῆ.
Ερ. μὴ δῆτ', ἐμοῦ γε συγγενεῖς πεφυκότας.
Ηλ. ἄραρ'· ἀνάγκης δ' ἐς ζυγὸν καθέσταμεν. 1330
Ερ. ἦ τοῦδ' ἔκατι καὶ βοή κατὰ στέγας;
Ηλ. ἰκέτης γὰρ Ἐλένης γόνασι προσπεσῶν βοᾷ . . .
Ερ. τίς; οὐδὲν οἶδα μᾶλλον, ἦν σὺ μὴ λέγῃς.
Ηλ. τλήμων Ὀρέστης· μὴ θανεῖν, ἐμοῦ θ' ὕπερ.
Ερ. ἐπ' ἀξίοισί τ' ἄρ' ἀνευφημῆι δόμος. 1335
Ηλ. περὶ τοῦ γὰρ ἄλλου μᾶλλον ἂν φθέγγαιτό τις;

1311 Χο.] ὄλος ὁ χορός praef. A 1315 ἐσπεσοῦσα] ἐσπαισοῦσα
Wecklein, cl. Rhes. 560 1318 χρῶς A P: χρῶα M B: χρῶα vel
χρῶα L M² b δ' Porson: τ' codd. 1322 νερτέρων O 1324 ἐν
δόμοις] ἐνδοθεν Hartung 1328 καὶ μ' A 1329 ἐμοῦ M L:
ἐμοῦς A B P γε om. L: add. I 1330 ἀνάγκης εἰς A ἐς hic
L P 1332 προσπεσὼν M: corr. M² 1333 οὐδὲν] οὐ γὰρ M
ἦν μὴ σὺ L 1335 ἀξίοισι τ' ἄρ' A: ἀξίοισιν ἄρ' L B²: ἀξίοις τ' ἄρ'
P: ἀξίοισιν γὰρ M B δόμους primitus B et ut videtur M

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

ἀλλ' ἔλθῃ καὶ μετὰσχεσθε ἱκεσίας φίλοις,
σῆ μητρὶ προσπεσοῦσα τῇ μέγ' ὀλβίῳ,
Μενέλαον ἡμᾶς μὴ θανόντας εἰσιδεῖν.

ἀλλ', ὦ τραφεῖσα μητρὸς ἐν χεροῖν ἐμῆς, 1340
οἴκτιρον ἡμᾶς κάπικούφισον κακῶν.

ἴθ' εἰς ἀγῶνα δεῦρ', ἐγὼ δ' ἠγήσομαι
σωτηρίας γὰρ τέρμ' ἔχεις ἡμῖν μόνη.

Ερ. ἰδοῦ, διώκω τὸν ἐμὸν ἐς δόμους πόδα.
σώθηθ' ὄσον γε τοῦπ' ἐμέ.

Ηλ. ὦ κατὰ στέγας 1345

φίλοι ξιφήρεις, οὐχὶ συλλήψεσθ' ἄγραν;

Ερ. οἱ ἐγὼ· τίνας τοῦσδ' εἰσορῶ;

Ορ. σιγᾶν χρεῶν·

ἡμῖν γὰρ ἦκεις, οὐχὶ σοί, σωτηρία.

Ηλ. ἔχεσθ' ἔχεσθε· φάσγανον δὲ πρὸς δέρη
βάλλοντες ἠσυχάζεσθ', ὡς εἶδῃ τόδε 1350

Μενέλαος, οὐνεκ' ἄνδρας, οὐ Φρύγας κακοῦς,
εὐρῶν ἔπραξεν οἷα χρῆ πράσσειν κακοῦς.

Χο. — ἰὼ ἰὼ φίλαι, [στρ.

κτύπον ἐγείρετε, κτύπον καὶ βοᾶν
πρὸ μελάθρων, ὅπως ὁ πραχθεὶς φόνος

μὴ δεινὸν Ἀργείοισιν ἐμβάλη φόβον, 1355

βοηδρομῆσαι πρὸς δόμους τυραννικοῦς,
πρὶν ἐτύμως ἰδῶ τὸν Ἑλένας φόνον

καθαιμακτὸν ἐν δόμοις κείμενον,

ἢ καὶ λόγον τοῦ προσπόλων πυθώμεθα·

1337 καὶ om. L 1341 κάπικούφισον F 1342 ἐγὼ διηγῆσομαι Λ
1345 γε om. A ἐμέ] ἐμ' Triclinius: ἐμοὶ codd. 1346 φίλοι
ἄνδρες F 1347 οἱ . . . εἰσορῶ om. M: add. in margine Op. |
Ηλ. Lachmann 1348 ἦκεις om. M: add. M² 1349 δέρην P
1350 βάλλοντες M L: βαλόντες A B P 1352 in textu om., add. in
margine inferiore A 1353 Χο notam M, nunc erasam: om.
A B L P: vide ad 1361 1355 ἐμβάλλει M 1356 δόμους |
οἴκου A L 1359 λόγων P του] τοῦ L P et τοῦ ante v. habet A
πυθώμεθα M: corr. M²

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα συμφορᾶς, τὰ δ' οὐ σαφῶς. 1360

— διὰ δίκας ἔβα θεῶν
νέμεσις ἐς Ἑλέναν.

δακρύοισι γὰρ Ἑλλάδ' ἔπασαν ἔπλησε,
διὰ τὸν ὀλόμενον ὀλόμενον Ἴδαῖον
Πάρῳ, ὃς ἄγαγ' Ἑλλάδ' εἰς Ἴλιον. 1365

— [ἀλλὰ κτυπεῖ γὰρ κληῖθρα βασιλείων δόμων,
σιγήσατ'· ἔξω γὰρ τις ἐκβαίνει Φρυγῶν,
οὐ πειυσόμεσθα τὰν δόμοις ὅπως ἔχει.]

ΦΡΥΞ

Ἄργεῖον ξίφος ἐκ θανάτου πέφευγα
βαρβάροισι ἐν εὐμάρ- 1370

σιν, κεδρωτὰ παστᾶδων ὑπὲρ τέραμνα

Δωρικός τε τριγλύφους,

φροῦδα φροῦδα, γᾶ γᾶ,

βαρβάροισι δρασμοῖς.

αἰαῖ· 1375

πᾶ φύγω, ξέναι, πολιδν αἰθέρ' ἀμ-

πτάμενος ἢ πόντον, Ὀκεανὸς δν

ταυρόκρανος ἀγκάλαις

ἐλίσσων κυκλοῖ χθόνας;

Νο. τί δ' ἔστιν, Ἑλένης πρόσπολ'. Ἴδαῖον κᾶρα;

Φρ. Ἴλιον Ἴλιον, ὦμοι μοι, 1381

Φρύγιον ἄστν καὶ καλλίβωλον Ἴ-

1360 τὰ μὲν... τὰ δ' M (et, ni fallor, X) sed primitus τὰς... τὰς
habuit: τὰς... τὰς M² A B L P συμφορᾶς M² A B L P: om. M: corr.
Wecklein 1361 Xo. praef. M A B L P 1363 ἔπασαν A B L:
ἔπαν M: πᾶσαν M² (sic) πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδ' P 1365 ἦγαγ' L
1366-1368 non Euripidis sed histrionum esse contendit X, ἵνα μὴ
κακοπαθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων δόμων καθαλλόμενοι, cl. 1371 sq.
1366 κληῖθρα M¹ B: κλειθρα M M² A L P 1368 πειυσόμεθα L P
et fortasse M 1369 ἀργεῖον codd. 1370 βαρβάροισιν M
ἐν om. A (habuit Etym. Magn. p. 393. 18) 1371 τέραμνα A L P
1375 ξένοι suprascr. in M 1377 ὠκεανὸν L 1378 ἀγκάλαισι A¹
vel A² 1379 κυκλοῖ A L: κυκλεῖ M B P 1380 ἔστ' vel ἔσθ'
codd. 1382 καὶ M: om. A B L P καλλίβωλον M

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- das ὄρος ἱερόν, ὡς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω
 [ἀρμάτειον ἀρμάτειον μέλος]
 βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ δι' ὀρνιθόγονον 1385
 ὄμμα κυκνοπτέρου καλλοσύνας, Λήδας
 σκύμνου, δυσελένας
 δυσελένας,
 ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων
 ἐρινύν· ὄττοτοί·
 ἰαλέμων ἰαλέμων 1390
 Δαρδανία τλάμων Γανυμήδεος
 ἰπποσύνα, Διὸς εὐνέτα.
 Χο. σαφῶς λέγ' ἡμῖν αὐθ' ἕκαστα τὰν δόμοις.
 [τὰ γὰρ πρὶν οὐκ εὔγνωστα συμβαλοῦσ' ἔχω.]
 Φρ. αἴλιον αἴλιον ἀρχὰν θανάτου 1395
 βάρβαροι λέγουσιν, αἰαί,
 Ἀσιαδί φωνῆ, βασιλέων
 ὄταν αἶμα χυθῆι κατὰ γᾶν ξίφεσιν
 σιδαρείουσιν Ἄϊδα.
 ἦλθον ἐς δόμους, ἴν' αὐθ' ἔ- 1400
 καστά σοι λέγω, λέοντες
 Ἕλληνας δύο διδύμω·
 τῷ μὲν ὁ στρατηλάτας πατῆρ ἐκλήζεθ',
 ὁ δὲ παῖς Στροφίλου, κακόμητις ἀνήρ,
 οἶος Ὀδυσσεύς, σιγᾷ δύλιος,

1383 ὄς M : ὡς M² 1384 ἀρμάτειον μέλος seclusi, cf. Σ: Ἀπολλωνίος ὁ Κυρηναῖος περιγραφῆν λέγει εἶναι . . . εἰ δὲ ἦν περιγραφῆ, ἀπαξ ἂν ἐπεγράφετο: ubi v. Schwartz 1385 διὰ τὸ τὰς ὀρνιθόγονον codd.: corr. Porson 1386 κυκνοπτέρου codd.: corr. Barnes: 1387 σκύμνου recs.: σκύμνον codd. 1387 sq. δυσελένας semel F: δυσελέναν Kirchhoff 1389 ἐρινύν MB: ἐρινύν A: ἐρινύν L ὄττοτοί F 1391 τλάμων AL et primitus MB γανυμήδεος LP ἰπποσύνα codd. 1393 αὐθ' ἕκαστ' ἂν M: corr. M² 1393 sq. ἕκαστα συμβαλοῦσ' A, verbis τὰν . . . εὔγνωστα omissis 1394 ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὐ γράφεται ΣM 1398 βαλήμων Wecklein 1399 αἶδαο L 1400 eis del. Hermann senarium efficiens 1401 δῶν B 1402 ἐκλήζετο codd. 1403 κακόμητας codd.: corr. Porson ἀνήρ om. ALP 1404 et σιγᾷ εἰ σίγα (h. e. ἰσίγα) Σ

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- πιστὸς δὲ φίλοις, θρασὺς εἰς ἀλκάν, 1405
 ξυνητὸς πολέμου, φόνιός τε δράκων.
 ἔρροι τᾶς ἡσύχου
 προνοίας κακοῦργος ὦν.
 οἱ δὲ πρὸς θρόνους ἕσω
 μολόντες ἄς ἔγημ' ὁ τοξότας Πάρις
 γυναικός, ὄμμα δακρύοις 1410
 πεφυρμένοι, ταπεινοὶ
 ἕζουθ', ὁ μὲν τὸ κείθεν, ὁ δὲ
 τὸ κείθεν, ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν πεφραγμένοι.
 περὶ δὲ γόνυ χέρας ἱκεσίους ἔβαλον ἔβαλον
 Ἑλένας ἄμφω. 1415
 ἀνὰ δὲ δρομάδες ἔθορον ἔθορον
 ἀμφίπολοι Φρύγες·
 προσεῖπε δ' ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐν φόβῳ πεσών,
 μή τις εἴη δόλος.
 κἀδόκει τοῖς μὲν οὔ, 1420
 τοῖς δ' ἐς ἀρκυστάταν
 μηχανὰν ἐμπλέκει
 παῖδα τὰν Τυνδαρίδ' ὁ
 μητροφόντας δράκων.
 Χο. σὺ δ' ἦσθα ποῦ τότε; ἢ πάλαι φεύγεις φόβῳ, 1425
 Φρ. Φρυγίοις ἔτυχον Φρυγίοισι νόμοις
 παρὰ βόστρυχον αὔραν αὔραν
 Ἑλένας Ἑλένας εὐπαγεῖ
 κύκλω πτερίνῳ πρὸ παρηίδος
 αἰσσων βαρβάρους νόμοισιν. 1430

1405 θρασὺς δ' P ἐς ἀλκὴν L 1406 πολέμῳ L 1407 ἡσύχου
 Dindorf 1409 τοξότης LP 1414 χείρας M A B L P
 1415 ἔβαλλον ἔβαλλον suprascr. M 1418 πεσών ἐν φόβῳ codd. :
 traiecl 1421 ἐς om. A ἀρκυστάτην P 1423 τὰν] τὴν
 M A B L P 1424 μητροφόντης P 1425 τότε] πότ' primitus B
 1426 ἔφυγον primitus M φρυγίοις LP 1428 εὐπαγεῖ B :
 εὐπηγεῖ M A L P : εὐπαγι Hermann 1430 βαρβάροισι M A B L P
 βαρβάρους νόμοισιν] glossema seclisit Wilamowitz

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- ἃ δὲ λίνον ἠλακάτα
 δακτύλοις ἔλισσεν,
 νῆμα δ' ἴετο πέδω,
 σκύλων Φρυγίων ἐπὶ τύμβον ἀγάλ-
 ματα συστολῆσαι χρῆζουσα λίνω, 1435
 φάρεα πορφύρεα, δῶρα Κλυταιμῆστρα.
 προσεῖπεν δ' Ὀρέστας
 Λάκαιναν κόραν· ὦ
 Διὸς παῖ, θεὸς ἶχνος
 πέδω δεῦρ' ἀποστᾶσα κλισμοῦ, 1440
 Πέλοπος ἐπὶ προπάτορος ἔδραν
 παλαιᾶς ἐστίας,
 ἴν' εἰδῆς λόγους ἐμούς.—
 ἄγει δ' ἄγει νιν· ἃ δ' ἐφείπετ',
 οὐ πρόμαντις ὦν ἐμελλεν· 1445
 ὃ δὲ συνεργὸς ἄλλ' ἐπρασσ'
 ἰὼν κακὸς Φωκεύς·
 Οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ἴτ'; ἀλλ' ἀεὶ κακοὶ Φρύγες.
 ἔκλησε δ' ἄλλον ἄλλοσ' ἐν
 στέγαισι· τοὺς μὲν ἐν σταθμοῖ-
 σιν ἵππικοῖσι, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἐξ-
 ἔδραισι, τοὺς δ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐκεῖθεν [ἄλλον ἄλ- 1450
 λοσε] διαρμόσας ἀποπρὸ δεσποίνας.
 Χο. τί τοῦπὶ τῷδε συμφορᾶς ἐγίγνετο;
 Φρ. Ἴδαία μᾶτερ
 μᾶτερ ὄβριμα ὄβριμα,
- 1431 λίν' Weil 1432 ἔλισσε M A B L P 1433 νῆμα δ'
 L: νῆμαθ' A: νῆματα δ' M B P 1434 ἐπιτύμβι' Herwerden
 1435 συστολῆσαι P: στολῆσαι I 1437 προσεῖπε A B L P
 ὀρέστας P 1443 λόγους M, corr. M² 1445 ἐμελλε M: ἔμελλε
 παθεῖν L 1447 αἰεὶ M A L P 1448 ἐκλίσει M A B L P
 ἄλλοσ' ἄλλον ἐν A: ἄλλον ἄλλοσε P στέγαις codd.: στέγης recs.
 1449 ἵππικοῖσι L ἐν ἔδραισι P 1450 verba ἄλλον ἄλλοσε
 suspecta Weckleinio 1452 ἐγίγνετο L: ἐγένετο P 1453 μᾶτερ
 semel L 1454 ὄβριμα ὄβριμα L

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- αἰαὶ φονίων παθέων ἀνόμων 1455
 τε κακῶν ἄπερ ἔδρακον ἔδρακον
 ἐν δόμοις τυράννων.
 ἀμφοροφυρέων πέπλων
 ὑπὸ σκότου ξίφη σπάσα-
 ντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσ' ἐν χεροῖν
 δῖνασεν ὄμμα, μή τις παρῶν τύχοι.
 ὡς κάπροι δ' ὀρέστεροι γυ-
 ναικὸς ἀντίο σταθέντες 1460
 ἐνέπουσι· Καθθανῆ
 καθθανῆ,
 κακὸς σ' ἀποκτείνει πόσις,
 κασιγνήτου προδοῦς
 ἐν Ἄργει θανεῖν γόνον.
 ἅ δ' ἀνίαχεν ἴ- 1465
 αχεν· ὦμοι μοι.
 λευκὸν δ' ἐμβαλοῦσα πῆχυν στέρνοις
 κτύπησε κρᾶτα μέλεον
 πλαγᾶ· φυγᾶ δὲ ποδὶ τὸ χρυσεοσάνδαλον
 ἵχνος ἔφερον ἔφερον ἐς
 κόμας δὲ δακτύλους δικῶν Ὀρέστας,
 Μυκηνίδ' ἀρβύλαν προβάς, 1470
 ὦμοις ἀριστεροῖσιν ἀνακλάσας δέρην,
 παίειν λαιμῶν ἔμελ-
 λεν εἶσω μέλαν ξίφος.
 Χο. ποῦ δ' ἦτ' ἀμύνειν οἱ κατὰ στέγας Φρύγες;
- 1456 post prius ἔδρακον spatium unius v. vacuum in A δόμοισι A
 1457 ἀμφὶ ποροφυρέων codd. : corr. Radermacher 1458 ἄλλος
 ἄλλοσε post χεροῖν habent codd. : traieci ἐν] ἐκ M A : corr. M²
 1459 τύχη primitus P 1460 ἀντία P 1462 γρ. ἀποκτενεῖ M
 1465 ἅ δ' ἢ δ' suprascr. B² : ὕδ' L ἀνίαχεν ἀνίαχεν A : ἀνίαχεν
 (omisso ἴαχεν) M 1466 στέρνοις del. Wilamowitz 1467 κρᾶτα
 B, suprascr. τὸ super τα B² πλαγᾶν M² B L 1468 φυγῶι M :
 φυγῶ L : φυγᾶδι Facius 1469 ἐς hic M A B L P 1472 λαιμῶν
 M : λαιμὸν M² A B L P 1473 ποῦ δ' ἦτ' M A B L P : corr.
 Bothe

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

Φρ.

ιαχᾶ

δόμων θύρετρα καὶ σταθμούς
μοχλοῖσιν ἐκβαλόντες, ξυθ' ἐμίμνομεν,
βοηδρομοῦμεν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν στέγης, 1475

ὁ μὲν πέτρους, ὁ δ' ἀγκύλας,
ὁ δὲ ξίφος πρόκωπον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων.
ἐναντα δ' ἦλθε Πυλάδης
ἀλίαςτος, οἶος οἶος Ἔκ-
τωρ ὁ Φρύγιος ἢ τρικόρυθος Αἴας, 1480
ὃν εἶδον εἶδον ἐν πύλαις
Πριαμίσι· φασγάνων δ' ἀκμὰς
συνήψαμεν.

δὴ τότε διαπρεπεῖς τότ' ἐγένοντο Φρύγες,
ᾧσον Ἄρεως ἀλκὰν

ἦσσονες Ἑλλάδος ἐγενόμεθ' αἰχμᾶς, 1485
ὁ μὲν οἰχόμενος φυγὰς, ὁ δὲ νέκυς ὢν,
ὁ δὲ τραῦμα φέρων, ὁ δὲ λισσόμενος,
θανάτου προβολάν·

ὑπὸ σκότον δ' ἐφεύγομεν·
νεκροὶ δ' ἐπιπτον, οἳ δ' ἐμελλον, οἳ δ' ἔκειντ'.
ἔμολε δ' ἀτάλαι' Ἑρμιόνα δόμους 1490
ἐπὶ φόνῳ χαμαιπετεῖ ματρὸς, ἃ
νιν ἔτεκεν τλάμων.

ἄθυρσοι δ'

οἶά νιν δραμόντε Βάχχαι

σκύμμον ἐν χεροῖν ὀρείαν

ξυνήρπασαν· πάλιν δὲ τὰν Διὸς κόραν

- 1474 om. P: add. ρ ἐμβαλόντες M A P 1476 οἳ μὲν L
1477 χεροῖν B P: χερσῖν M A L 1478 ἐναντι L 1479 ἄλίαςτος
Wilamowitz ex Il. X 261 οἶος οἶος L 1481 πύλαισι M A B L P
πριαμίσι M B P: πριαμίσιν A L 1483 τότε δὴ τότε διαπρεπεῖς
codd.: traieci dochmios efficiens 1484 Ἄρεως M B L: ἄρεος
M² B² A P 1490 ἢ L Ἑρμιόνη L P 1491 ἔτεκε A L P
1492 δραμόντες L P 1493 συνήρπασαν M τὰς Διὸς κόρας
Paley (τὰν . . . κόραν Σ)

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- ἐπὶ σφαγὰν ἔτεινον· ἃ δ'
ἐκ θαλάμων
ἐγένετο διαπρὸ δωμαίων 1495
ἄφαντος, ᾧ Ζεῦ καὶ γὰ
καὶ φῶς καὶ νύξ,
ἦτοι φαρμάκοισιν ἦ
μάγων τέχναις ἦ θεῶν κλοπαῖς.
τὰ δ' ὕστερ' οὐκέτ' οἶδα· δρα-
πέτην γὰρ ἐξέκλεπτον ἐκ δόμων πόδα.
πολύπονα δὲ πολύπονα πάθεια 1500
Μενέλεως ἀνασχόμενος ἀνόνητον ἀ-
πὸ Τροίας ἔλαβε τὸν Ἑλένας γάμον.
Χο. καὶ μὴν ἀμείβει καινὸν ἐκ καινῶν τόδε·
ξίφηφόρον γὰρ εἰσορῶ πρὸ δωμαίων
βαίνουτ' Ὀρέστην ἐπτοημένω ποδί. 1505
Ορ. ποῦ ἴστω οὗτος ὃς πέφουγεν ἐκ δόμων τοῦμόν ξίφος;
Φρ. προσκυνῶ σ', ἀναξ, νόμοισι βαρβάροισι προσπίπτων.
Ορ. οὐκ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὰδ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἀργεῖᾳ χθονί.
Φρ. πανταχοῦ ζῆν ἠδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν τοῖς σώφροσιν.
Ορ. οὔτι που κραυγὴν ἔθηκας Μενέλεω βοηδρομεῖν; 1510
Φρ. σοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἀμύνειν· ἀξιώτερος γὰρ εἶ.
Ορ. ἐνδίκως ἢ Τυνδάρειος ἄρα παῖς διώλετο;
Φρ. ἐνδικώτατ', εἰ γε λαίμοῦς εἶχε τριπτύχους θανεῖν.
Ορ. δειλίᾳ γλώσση χαρίζη, τάνδον οὐχ οὔτω φρονῶν.
Φρ. οὐ γάρ, ἦτις Ἑλλάδ' αὐτοῖς Φρυξί διελυμήνατο; 1515
Ορ. ὄμοσον—εἰ δὲ μή, κτενῶ σε—μὴ λέγειω ἐμὴν χάριν.
1494 ἐκ θαλάμων del. Wilamowitz 1495 δὴ πρὸ L 1498 τέχ-
ναισιν recs. 1499 οὐ κάτοῖδα (κατοῖδα M) MB 1501 μενέλαος
codd. 1502 ἑλένης L 1504 γὰρ ἐκ προδωμάτων εἰσορῶ
L 1506 incipit rursus V τοῦμόν ἐκ δόμων P 1507 βαρ-
βάροις M L: βαρβαρικοῖς P προσπίπτων codd.: corr. recs.
1510 κραυγεῖν M μενέλεων H et Thessalonicensis 1511 σὺ
M: corr. M² οὖν om. L 1512 ἔρα V P ἀνάξια καὶ
τοαγφθίας καὶ τῆς Ὀρέστου συμφορᾶς τὰ λεγόμενα Σ 1514 οὕτως L
1515 αὐτοῖσι V A L P 1516 κτενῶ V: κτανῶ tell.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- Φρ. τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν κατώμοσ', ἦν ἂν εὐορκοίμ' ἐγώ.
 Ορ. ὦδε κὰν Τροία σίδηρος πᾶσι Φρυξὶν ἦν φόβος;
 Φρ. ἄπεχε φάσγανον· πέλας γὰρ δειῶν ἀνταυγεί φόνου.
 Ορ. μὴ πέτρος γένη δέδοικας ὥστε Γοργόν' εἰσιδῶν; 1520
 Φρ. μὴ μὲν οὖν νεκρός· τὸ Γοργοῦς δ' οὐ κάτοιδ' ἐγὼ κᾶρα.
 Ορ. δούλος ὦν φοβῆ τὸν "Αἰδην, ὅς σ' ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν;
 Φρ. πᾶς ἀνὴρ, κὰν δούλος ἢ τις, ἦδεται τὸ φῶς ὄρων.
 Ορ. εὐ λέγεις· σφίξει σε σύνεσις. ἀλλὰ βαῖν' ἔσω δόμων.
 Φρ. οὐκ ἄρα κτενεῖς με; Ορ. ἀφείσαι. Φρ. καλὸν
 ἔπος λέγεις τόδε. 1525
 Ορ. ἀλλὰ μεταβουλευσόμεσθα. Φρ. τοῦτο δ' οὐ καλῶς
 λέγεις.
 Ορ. μῶρος, εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι σὴν καθαϊμάξαι δέρην·
 οὔτε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας—οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιιν σύ γ' εἴ.
 τοῦ δὲ μὴ στῆσαι σε κραυγὴν οὐνεκ' ἐξηλθον δόμων·
 ὄξυ γὰρ βοῆς ἀκοῦσαν Ἄργος ἐξεγείρεται. 1530
 Μειέλεων δ' οὐ τάρβος ἡμῖν ἀναλαβεῖν ἔσω ξίφους·
 ἀλλ' ἴτω ξανθοῖς ἐπ' ὤμων βοστρύχοις γαυρούμενος·
 εἰ γὰρ Ἄργείους ἐπάξει τοῖσδε δώμασι λαβῶν,
 τὸν Ἑλένης φόνου διώκων, κἀμὲ μὴ σφίξειν θέλει
 σύγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν Πυλάδην τε τὸν τάδε ξυυδρῶντά μοι,
 παρθένου τε καὶ δάμαρτα δύο νεκρῶ κατόψεται. 1536

Χο. — ἰὼ ἰὼ τύχα, [ἀντ.
 ἕτερον εἰς ἀγῶν', ἕτερον αὖ δόμος
 φοβερὸν ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἄτρείδας πίτνει.

1517 ἂν om. V 1518 σίδαρος VP πᾶσι om. M ἰν φόβος L
 1519 γρ. ἄπαγε M 1520 εἰσιδῶν A 1522 ἀπαλλάξῃ M LP
 κακῶν] χθονός A 1523 ὄρων VP 1525 κτανεῖς LP με BVL P:
 μ' M A 1526 μεταβουλευσόμεσθα B: -μεθα rell. 1527 τλῆναι
 om. V 1528 πέφηνας V ἐν om. L P malim σύ γε
 1529 τοῦ] τοῦτο M: corr. M² (ut videtur) ἦλθον P 1531 ἔσω
 hic V ξίφος M L 1533 γὰρ] δ' ἄρ' Weil λαβῶν] μολῶν
 V: μολῶν M² 1534 σφίξειν θέλει LPB: σφίξειν θέλη MA: σώση
 θανεῖν V (sed εἰν in ras. v) γρ. M γρ. B 1535 τε om. A
 1536 δύο VL 1537 ἰὼ τύχα ἰὼ τύχα V ἕτερον ἀγῶνα V
 αὖ om. L

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- τί δρῶμεν; ἀγγέλλωμεν ἐς πόλιν τάδε;
ἢ σίγ' ἔχωμεν; ἀσφαλέστερον, φίλοι. 1540
- ἴδε πρὸς δωμάτων ἴδε προκηρύσσει
θοάξων ὄδ' αἰθέρος ἄνω καπνός.
- ἄπτουσι πεύκας, ὡς πυρῶσοντες δόμους
τοὺς Ταυταλείους, οὐδ' ἀφίστανται φόνου.
- τέλος ἔχει δαίμων βροτοῖς, 1545
τέλος ὄπα θέλη.
- μεγάλα δέ τις ἂ δύναμις †δι' ἀλαστόρων
ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε μέλαθρα τάδε δι' αἱμάτων†
διὰ τὸ Μυρτίλου πέσημ' ἐκ δίφρου.
- ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόνδε λεύσσω Μενέλεων δόμων πέλας
ὀξύπουν, ἥσθημένον που τὴν τύχην ἢ νῦν πάρα. 1550
οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοιτε κληῖθρα συμπεραίνουτες μοχλοῖς,
ᾧ κατὰ στέγας Ἀτρεΐδαι. δεινὸν εὐτυχῶν ἀνήρ
πρὸς κακῶς πράσσοντας, ὡς σὺ νῦν, Ὀρέστα, δυστυχεῖς.

- Με. ἦκω κλύων τὰ δεινὰ καὶ δραστήρια
δισσοῖν λεόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἄνδρ' αὐτῶ καλῶ. 1555
ἤκουσα γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἐμὴν ξυνάορον
ὡς οὐ τέθνηκεν, ἀλλ' ἄφαντος οἴχεται—
κενὴν ἀκούσας βάξιν, ἣν φόβῳ σφαλεῖς
ἠγγελέ μοί τις. ἀλλὰ τοῦ μητροκτόνου
τεχνάσματ' ἔστι ταῦτα καὶ πολὺς γέλως. 1560

ante 1539 et 1541 Ημυχ., ante 1549 Χο. habent codd. : notas del. Kirchhoff: paragraphos apposuitimus, sed dubitanter: cf. stropham 1533 sqq.: sed cf. etiam Σ ad 1539 μερίζεται τὴν γνώμην ὁ χορός 1539 ἀγγέλλωμεν Μ: ἀγγέλλομεν V 1540 ἔχωμεν V P ἀσφαλε-στέραν Μ Β: corr. ὁ 1541 δωμάτων Μ 1544 τὰς V φόνου] πόνου recc. : γρ. πόνου Σ Taur. 1545 βροτοῖσι vel βροτοῖσιν codd. 1546 ὄπα V: ὄπου ν θέλη Μ V: θέλει rell. 1547 μεγάλη V et suprascr. Β ἀλάστορ' Seidler, cf. 1363: versus nondum expediti 1548 ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε Β: ἔπεσεν ἔπεσε Μ V P: ἔπαισεν ἔπαισε Α Λ: et ἔπεσεν εἰ ἔπαισεν Σ 1549 πέλας] πέρος V: γρ. πέρα Μ 1550 del. Nauck 1551 Ηλ. praescr. Β² γ', tum del. ρ κλειῖθρα V A L P 1553 σὺ om. Μ 1558 καινὴν L

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- ἀνοιγέτω τις δῶμα· προσπόλοισ λέγω
 ὠθεῖν πύλας τάσδ', ὡς ἂν ἀλλὰ παῖδ' ἐμῆν
 ῥυσώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ χερῶν μαιφόνων,
 καὶ τὴν τάλαιναν ἀθλίαν δάμαρτ' ἐμὴν
 λάβωμεν, ἥ δέϊ ξυυθανεῖν ἐμῇ χερὶ
 τοὺς διολέσαντας τὴν ἐμὴν ξυυάορον. 1565
- Ορ. οὗτος σύ, κλήθρων τῶνδε μὴ ψαύσης χερί·
 Μενέλαον εἶπον, ὃς πεπύργωσαι θράσει·
 ἢ τῷδε θριγκῶ κῶτα συυθραύσω σέθεν,
 ῥήξας παλαιὰ γείσα, τεκτόνων πόνου. 1570
 μοχλοῖς δ' ἄραρε κλήθρα, σῆς βοηδρόμου
 σπουδῆς ἅ σ' εἶρξει, μὴ δόμων ἕσω περᾶν.
- Με. ἕα, τί χρήμα; λαμπάδων ὄρω σέλας,
 δόμων δ' ἐπ' ἄκρων τούσδε πυργηρουμένους,
 ξίφος δ' ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπίφρουρον δέρη. 1575
- Ορ. πότερον ἐρωτᾶν ἢ κλύειν ἐμοῦ θέλεις;
 Με. οὐδέτερ': ἀνάγκη δ', ὡς ζοικε, σου κλύειν.
 Ορ. μέλλω κτενεῖν σου θυγατέρ', εἰ βούλη μαθεῖν.
 Με. Ἐλένην φονεύσας ἐπὶ φόνη πράσσεις φόνου;
 Ορ. εἰ γὰρ κατέσχον μὴ θεῶν κλεφθεῖς ὕπο. 1580
 Με. ἀρνη κατακτᾶς κάφ' ὕβρει λέγεις τάδε;
 Ορ. λυπρὰν γε τὴν ἄρησιω· εἰ γὰρ ὠφελον . . .
 Με. τί χρῆμα δρᾶσαι; παρακαλεῖς γὰρ ἐς φόβον.
 Ορ. τὴν Ἑλλάδος μιάστορ' εἰς Ἄιδου βαλεῖν.
 Με. ἀπόδος δάμαρτος νέκυν, ὅπως χῶσω τάφω. 1585
 Ορ. θεοὺς ἀπαίτει. παῖδα δὲ κτενω σέθεν.
- 1561 δῶμα] κλειθρα V 1562 ἀλλὰ om. L 1563 χερῶν
 M L 1564-1566 suspecti Weckleinio: conveniunt uxorio homini
 1564 δάμαρ primitus M 1565 χερὶ M L: corr. M² 1567 κλειθρων
 A V L P 1569 θριγγῶ A P συυθράσω M: συυθλάσω P
 1570 πόνου B: corr. B² 1571 κλειθρα A V L P σῆς] τῆς
 Wecklein 1574 δ'] τ' V πυργηρουμένους P et primitus B V,
 cf. 762 1575 ἐπιφρούρων M: corr. M² 1577 οὐδ' ἕτερον L:
 οὐδέτερον A P 1578 κτανεῖν codd. σου] σὴν L 1579 φόνη]
 φόνου primitus V δρᾶσεις V 1583 πράξαι V 1585 νέκυν
 ὡς θάψω A τάφον O 1586 κτανῶ A L P

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

- Με. ὁ μητροφόντης ἐπὶ φόνῳ πράσσει φόνου;
 Ορ. ὁ πατὴρ ἀμύντωρ, ὃν σὺ προῦδωκας θανεῖν.
 Με. οὐκ ἤρκεσέν σοι τὸ παρὸν αἷμα μητέρος;
 Ορ. οὐκ ἂν κάμοιμι τὰς κακὰς κτείνων ἀέλ. 1590
 Με. ἦ καὶ σύ, Πυλάδῃ, τοῦδε κοινωνεῖς φόνου;
 Ορ. φησὶν σιωπῶν· ἀρκέσω δ' ἐγὼ λέγων.
 Με. ἀλλ' οὔτι χαίρων, ἦν γε μὴ φύγῃς πτεροῖς.
 Ορ. οὐ φευξόμεσθα· πυρὶ δ' ἀνάψομεν δόμους.
 Με. ἦ γὰρ πατρῶον δῶμα πορθήσεις τόδε; 1595
 Ορ. ὡς μὴ γ' ἔχῃς σύ, τήνδ' ἐπισφάξας πυρὶ.
 Με. κτεῖν'· ὡς κτανῶν γε τῶνδὲ μοι δώσεις δίκην.
 Ορ. ἔσται τάδε. Με. ἂ ἂ, μηδαμῶς δράσῃς τάδε.
 Ορ. σίγα νυν, ἀνέχου δ' ἐνδίκως πράσσων κακῶς.
 Με. ἦ γὰρ δίκαιον ζῆν σε; Ορ. καὶ κρατεῖν γε γῆς. 1600
 Με. ποίας; Ορ. ἐν Ἄργει τῶδε τῷ Πελασγικῷ.
 Με. εὐ γοῦν θίγεις ἂν χερυβίων . . . Ορ. τί δὴ γὰρ οὐ;
 Με. καὶ σφάγια πρὸ δορὸς καταβάλοις. Ορ. σὺ δ' ἂν
 καλῶς;
 Με. ἀγνὸς γὰρ εἰμι χεῖρας. Ορ. ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς φρένας.
 Με. τίς δ' ἂν προσείποι σέ; Ορ. ὅστις ἐστὶ φιλοπάτωρ.
 Με. ὅστις δὲ τιμῆ μητέρα; Ορ. εὐδαίμων ἔφν. 1606
 Με. οὐκ οὐκ σύ γε. Ορ. οὐ γὰρ ἀνδάνουσι αἱ κακαί.
 Με. ἀπαιρε θυγατρὸς φάσγανον. Ορ. ψευδῆς ἔφν.
 Με. ἀλλὰ κτενεῖς μου θυγατέρα; Ορ. οὐ ψευδῆς ἔτ' εἶ.
 Με. οἴμοι, τί δράσω; Ορ. πείθ' ἐς Ἄργείους μολῶν . . .
- 1587 πράσσει M AV primitus B et Polyaen. viii. 52: πράσσει
 LPB² 1587-1588 del. Wilamowitz 1590 κτείνων M: corr. M²
 1592 σιωπῶν primitus B 1593 φύγεις AV: φύγη B 1595 ἦ
 καὶ et ἐκπορθήσεις L 1596 ἔχοις BP: ἔχεις L πυρὶ] χερὶ L
 1597 τήνδε L 1598 τάδε ABVLP: τὰδ' M δράσεις MV: corr.
 M² 1599 νυν L: νῦν rell. 1600 γε AF: τε rell. τῆσδε γῆς A
 1602 δὴ om. P 1603 πρὸς δορὸς L: προδορὸς A καταβάλοις M
 1604 χεῖρας P 1605 δ' om. A L σέ ABVLP: σ' M
 1606 μητέρα ABVLP: μητέρ' M 1607 γε ABVLP: γ' M
 γὰρ μ' P ἀνδάνουσι μ' (sic) M² 1608 θυγατρὸς ἀπαιρεῖς Nauck
 1609 κτενεῖς A: κτανεῖς rell. θυγατέρα MABVL: θυγατέρ' P
 1610 πείθ' ἐς] πῖεσθ' M: corr. M²

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

Με. πειθῶ τίνα; Ορ. ἡμᾶς μὴ θανεῖν· αἰτοῦ πόλιον. 1611

Με. ἢ παιδά μου φονεύσετε; Ορ. ὦδ' ἔχει τάδε.

Με. ὦ τλήμον' Ἐλένη . . . Ορ. τὰμὰ δ' οὐχὶ τλήμονα;

Με. σὲ σφάγιον ἐκόμισ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν . . . Ορ. εἰ γὰρ
τόδ' ἦν.

Με. πόνους πουήσας μυρίουσ. Ορ. πλήν γ' εἰς ἐμέ. 1615

Με. πέπουθα δευά. Ορ. τότε γὰρ ἦσθ' ἀνωφελής.

Με. ἔχεις με. Ορ. σαυτὸν σύ γ' ἔλαβες κακὸς γεγώς.

ἀλλ' εἴ, ὕφαπτε δώματ', Ἡλέκτρα, τάδε·

σύ τ', ὦ φίλων μοι τῶν ἐμῶν σαφέστατε,

Πυλάδῃ, κάταίθε γείσα τειχέων τάδε. 1620

Με. ὦ γαῖα Δαναῶν ἱππίου τ' Ἄργουσ κτίται,

οὐκ εἴ' ἐνόπλῳ ποδὶ βοηδρομήσετε;

πᾶσαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ὕδε βιάζεται πόλιον

ζῆν, αἷμα μητρὸς μουσαρὸν ἐξευργασμένον.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

Μενέλαε, παῖσαι λῆμ' ἔχων τεθηγμένον· 1625

Φοῖβός σ' ὁ Λητοῦσ παῖσ ὄδ' ἐγγυὸς ὦν καλῶ·

σύ θ' ὄσ ξιφήρης τῆδ' ἐφεδρεύεις κόρη,

Ἄρεσθ', ἴν' εἰδῆσ οὐσ φέρων ἦκω λόγουσ.

Ἐλένην μὲν ἦν σὺ διολέσαι πρόθυμοσ ὦν

ἦμαρτεσ, ὄργῆν Μενέλεω ποιούμενοσ, 1630

[ἦδ' ἐστίν, ἦν ὄρατ' ἐν αἰθέροσ πτυχαῖσ,

σεσφωσμένη τε κοῦ θανοῦσα πρὸσ σέθεν.]

1611 τίνα A B V L P: τίνα M θανεῖν A: κτανεῖν rell.: punctum
addidi 1612 μου om. L φονεύσετε B V L P: φονεύετε A:
φονεύσεθ' M ὦδε γὰρ ἔχει L 1613 τλήμων M: corr. M²
1614 σὲ Canter: σοι codd. 1617 κακός] κακῶσ primitivus M L
1618 εἴ' om. M 1620 τειχέων τάδε] γρ. τεκτόνων πόνων
M: cf. 1570 1621 δαναιδῶν V P ἱππίου L P τ' om. M
1622 οὐκ εἴ' Musgrave: οὐχὶ codd. 1623 ὑμῶν Brunck: ἡμῶν
codd. 1626 φοῖβόσ σ' A δ: σ' om. rell. καῖσ σ' B P καλεῖ L
1628 Ἄρεσθ' M A V L P 1631 ἦν om. B: add. B²: ὡσ A πτυχαῖσ]
πτυχαῖσ et in margine πύλαισ M 1631 sq. suspecti Paleio specta-
culum histrioniale redolent, cf. Σ ad 57: cum νιν (1633) cf. αὐτὰ
Bac. 202: verba ἐν αἰθέροσ πτυχαῖσ ex 1636 huc relata: cf. etiam
1684 sqq. ubi nondum in caelo videtur esse Helena 1632 πρὸσ]
πολ M V

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

ἐγὼ νῦν ἐξέσφρα κατὰ φασγάνου
 τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεὶς ἤρπασ' ἐκ Διὸς πατρός.
 Ζηνὸς γὰρ οὔσαν ζῆν νῦν ἀφθιτον χρεῶν, 1635
 Κάστορί τε Πολυδεύκει τ' ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς
 σύνθακος ἔσται, ναυτίλοις σωτήριος.
 ἄλλην δὲ νύμφην ἐς δόμους κτῆσαι λαβών,
 ἐπεὶ θεοὶ τῷ τῆσδε καλλιστεύματι
 Ἕλληνας εἰς ἐν καὶ Φρύγας συνήγαγον, 1640
 θανάτους τ' ἔθηκαν, ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν χθονὸς
 ὕβρισμα θνητῶν ἀφθόνου πληρώματος.
 τὰ μὲν καθ' Ἑλένην ὧδ' ἔχει· σὲ δ' αὖ χρεῶν,
 Ὀρέστα, γαίας τῆσδ' ὑπερβαλόνθ' ὄρους
 Παρράσιον οἰκεῖν δάπεδον ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλου. 1645
 κεκλήσεται δὲ σῆς φυγῆς ἐπώνυμον
 Ἀζᾶσιω Ἀρκάσιω τ' Ὀρέστειον καλεῖν.
 ἐνθένδε δ' ἐλθὼν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν
 δίκην ὑπόσχεσ αἵματος μητροκτόνου
 Εὐμένισι τρισσαῖς· θεοὶ δέ σοι δίκης βραβηῆς 1650
 πάγοισιν ἐν Ἀρείοισιν εὐσεβεστάτην
 ψῆφον διοίσουσ', ἐνθα νικῆσαι σε χρή.
 ἐφ' ἧς δ' ἔχεις, Ὀρέστα, φάσγαγον δέρην,
 γῆμαι πέπρωταί σ' Ἑρμιόνην· ὅς δ' οἴεται
 Νεοπτόλεμος γαμεῖν νῦν, οὐ γαμεῖ ποτε. 1655
 θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ μοῖρα Δελφικῷ ξίφει,
 δίκας Ἀχιλλέως πατρός ἐξαιτοῦντά με.
 Πυλάδῃ δ' ἀδελφῆς λέκτρον, ὡς ποτ' ἦνεσας,

1633 κατὰ] καὶ ὑπὸ vel κ' ὑπὸ M A B: corr. A¹ b 1636 αἰθέρος
 etiam A πτύχαις M 1638 del. Wilamowitz, ut ἐπεὶ ad σωτήριος
 spectet 1644 ὑπερβαλόντ' ὄρους M V: corr. v 1645 παρράσιον
 M² L P (παρράσιον Σ) 1646 τεθήσεται Porson: cf. Plat. Crat.
 p. 385 A (cod. B) 1647 damnat Paley ἀζάσι τ' L 1648 δ'
 M: γ' A: τ' rell. 1649 ὑπόσχεσ A V et fortasse M: ὑπόσχεσ L:
 ὑπέξεισ B et in rasuris M² ρ 1650 βραβεῖσ codd. 1653 ἧς
 recc.: ἦ vel β codd. 1655 γαμεῖν M A: fortasse Νεοπτόλεμος,
 οὐ γαμεῖ νῦν 1656 αὐτὸν Paley et fortasse suprascr. A, nunc
 deletum 1657 ἐξαιτοῦντί A B² με] μοι B²: corr. b 1658 ὡς
 A L: φ rell. (δ V) ἦνεσ M: ἦνεσασ M²

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

- δός· ὁ δ' ἐπιὼν νιν βίωτος εὐδαίμων μένει.
 Ἄργους δ' Ὀρέστην, Μενέλεως, ἕα κρατεῦν, 1660
 ἔλθων δ' ἄνασσε Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονός,
 φερνὰς ἔχων δάμαρτος, ἥ σε μυρίοις
 πόνοις διδοῦσα δεῦρ' αἰεὶ διήνυσεν.
 τὰ πρὸς πόλιω δὲ τῷδ' ἐγὼ θήσω καλῶς,
 ὅς νιν φονεῦσαι μητέρ' ἐξηνάγκασα. 1665
- Ορ. ὦ Λοξία μαντείε, σῶν θεσπισμάτων.
 οὐ ψευδόμαντις ἦσθ' ἄρ', ἀλλ' ἐτήτυμος.
 καίτοι μ' ἐσῆι δεῖμα, μή τινος κλύω
 ἀλαστόρων δόξαιμι σὴν κλύειν ὄπα.
 ἀλλ' εὖ τελεῖται, πείσομαι δὲ σοῖς λόγοις. 1670
- ἰδοῦ, μεθίημ' Ἑρμιόνη ἀπὸ σφαγῆς,
 καὶ λέκτρ' ἐπήνεσ', ἠνίκ' ἂν διδῶ πατήρ.
 Με. ὦ Ζηνὸς Ἑλένη χαίρε παῖ· ζηλῶ δὲ σε
 θεῶν κατοικήσασαν ὄλβιον δόμον.
 Ὀρέστα, σοὶ δὲ παιδ' ἐγὼ κατεγγυῶ, 1675
 Φοίβου λέγοντος· εὐγενῆς δ' ἀπ' εὐγενοῦς
 γήμας ὄναιο καὶ σὺ χῶ διδοὺς ἐγώ.
- Απ. χωρεῖτέ νυν ἕκαστος οἱ προστάσσομεν,
 νείκας τε διαλύσθε.
- Με. πείθεσθαι χρεῶν.
- Ορ. καγὼ τοιοῦτος· σπένδομαι δὲ συμφοραῖς, 1680
 Μενέλαε, καὶ σοῖς, Λοξία, θεσπίσμασιν.
- Απ. ἴτε νυν καθ' ὁδόν, τὴν καλλίστην
 θεῶν Εἰρήνην τιμῶντες· ἐγὼ δ'
 Ἑλένην Δίοις μελάθροισι πελάσω,

1659 μένει L et Thessalonicensis: μενεῖ rell. 1660 δ'] τ' A
 1663 πόνοισι L 1666 μαντιε V punctum post θεσπισμάτων
 habet B 1669 κλύειν] κλύων L 1670 τελεῖται P τοῖς
 A B, sed σοῖς suprascr. B¹ 1671 μεθίημ' M B et primitus A
 1674 κατοικήσουσιν Weil 1677 καὶ δ M B V L P 1678 νῦν
 codd. οἷς V προτάσσομεν M 1679 νείκας M: νείκους A V L:
 νεῖκος B P: νείκη Wecklein Me.] om. M: add. M² πείθεσθε M A:
 corr. M²: πείσεσθαι P 1680 δ] om. M: add. M² 1682 νυν P:
 νῦν rell. καλλίσταν L 1683 θεῶν M B: corr. B² 1684 Δίοις
 Nauck: διόσι codd. sed o ex i factum in M πελάσω B

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ

λαμπρῶν ἄστρων πόλον ἐξανύσας, 1685
 ξυθα παρ' Ἡρα τῆ θ' Ἡρακλέους
 Ἡβη πάρεδρος θεὸς ἀνθρώποις
 ἔσται σπουδαῖς ἐντιμος αἰί,
 σὺν Τυνδαρίδαις, τοῖς Διὸς υἱοῖς,
 ναύταις μεδέουσα θαλάσσης. 1690

Χο. ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη, τὸν ἐμὸν
 βίωτον κατέχοις
 καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.

1685 λαμπρῶν AVL P ἄστρων V: corr. v 1686 τῆ δ' M
 1688 αἰεί A 1689-1690 υἱοῖς] γρ. ὑγῶς M: tum θαλάσσης] γρ.
 ὑγῶς v 1692 κατέχοις V: corr. v In fine τέλος εὐριπίδου
 ὀρίστης MB: τέλος ὀρίστου εὐριπίδου A: τέλος τοῦ δράματος τοῦ
 ὀρίστου V: τέλος εὐριπίδου ἠλέκτρας P: subscriptio crasa in L
 Subscriptum in MB: πρὸς διάφορα ἀντίγραφα: παραγέγραπται ἐκ τοῦ
 Διονυσίου ὑπομνήματος ὀλοσχερῶς καὶ τῶν μικτῶν. Cf. subscriptionem
 Medae

COMMENTARY

ACT ONE: 1-315

Prologue 1-70 (Electra)—Scene One 71-125 (Helen, El.)—link 126-39—Scene Two 140-207 (Amoibaion; Chorus, El.)—link 208-10—Scene Three 211-315 (Orestes, El.)

Orestes begins with an unusually extended introduction (Burnett 195-6; cf. Strohm 121), whose parts are carefully linked. It is not the opening monologue or following scene that 'completes the presentation of the dramatic situation' (E.'s usual procedure, Grube 69), but rather the famous sick-bed and madness scene (the Aristotelian 'first episode'), which comes after the so-called 'parodos'. It is only then that the Chorus are given an ode (the 'first stasimon'), summative in tragic terms of 'the primary *δῶν*' (316-47*, 333-4*). The entry of Menelaus then initiates 'Act Two' (cf. *Introd. D iii*).

1-70. *The opening tableau.* The play begins with El. and the sleeping Or. already in position (cf. P. Arnott 129, Taplin 135-6; Vellacott's initial entry-business is misconceived). Like the prologists of *Held.*, *An.*, *Su.*, *HF* and *Hel.*, El. speaks from where she sits—where she is still sitting when she says to Helen *πάρεδρος . . . θέσσω* at 83-5. According to the Second Hypothesis, Or. is lying on a pallet up against the Palace with El. sitting near his feet, and the writer conjectures that the poet arranged things thus (not, as might have seemed more natural, with El. by Or.'s head) in order that at 140 ff. El. might prevent the Chorus approaching too close to the sleeper. A more immediate reason for El.'s relatively downstage position is that she is looking *πάσαν εἰς ὄδόν* to observe Menelaus' approach (67-8). The upstage position of the bed is sufficiently focal in the shallow acting-area (for the handling of which see *Introd. E i*). [*Hyp. II . . . πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλεία ὑπόκειται . . . προσκαθέζεται πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν* (perhaps we should read *προκαθέζεται*). This part of *Hyp. II* may not be by Ar. Byz., but it is likely to be from a pre-Didyman source (cf. Page, *Actors* 109-11 on the dating of scholia relating to stage-practice). V. Longo (*Dioniso* 1967, 390-7), showing that the position of El. by Or.'s feet works well in 140-207, argues for the survival of an *authentic* written 'stage-direction', but that is on general grounds unlikely (see Taplin, *PCPhS* 1977, 121-32); it suffices to suppose that some time-hallowed written evidence of histrionic practice survived from the fourth century (*Introd. H iv*). Note that *Hyp. II* is almost certainly wrong in assigning 140 *σίγα σίγα . . .* to El. (p. 105).]

The opening monologue is a distinctive feature of E.'s dramatic method (see esp. Grube 63-8, and Barrett, Kannicht, Collard on the prologues of *Hp.*,

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Hel., *Su.*); convenient in the first instance for a programmatic function (which includes the enunciation of premisses and themes, not merely the giving of information), while admitting subtleties of tone and dramatic forecast (both true and misdirecting) and consistent, despite the formal artificiality, with a measure of character-presentation. El.'s exposition appears to follow a standard pattern, proceeding by way of genealogy to an economical statement of the situation at the opening of the drama, and becoming progressively more dramatic in the expression of hopes and fears. But there are some unusual features; especially in the first ten lines, in which a somewhat enigmatic blend of traditional and topical ideas and language sets the tone of E.'s most sophisticated play and enunciates some of its themes.

1-3. 'No tongue can tell of a malady or god-imposed affliction too dire for the (audacious) nature of man to shoulder.' Few tragedies open with a *sententia* (*Hcl.*, *Sitheneboea*, *S. Tra.*), and none with such a complex theme-announcement. (a) The sentiment is traditionally 'tragic' in focusing attention on the *δεινόν* character of human *πάθη* (Intro. F i. 14; cf. also *h. Apoll.* 190 ff. for *ἀνθρώπων τλημοσύνη* as a perennial poetic theme); at the same time the reflective hyperbole warns us, in a manner consistent with irony, to expect the presentation of an extravagantly *δεινόν* 'myth'. (b) The formulation leads directly to the thematic metaphor of *νόσος* (Intro. F i. 1), with a modern flavour in the partly philosophical language ('physiological', cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 1-3). The immediate case in point is the shocking *νόσος* and bizarrely terrifying punishment of Tantalus the Blasphemer (4-10*); then, after tracing and exhibiting the present *δεινὰ πάθη* of Tantalus' descendants, the play will proceed from Or.'s matricidal sickness (seemingly the ultimate human *νόσος*, 831-3) to further shocking events. The many-faceted meaning of 1-3 depends (untranslatably) on the wide range of *δεινόν* in poetical and vernacular use: not simply 'terrible' (though related to *δέος*, cf. 'awful' and Fr. *formidable*), but more generally 'impressive in arousing fear and/or amazement in the mind of the hearer/spectator'. For the senses 'shocking', 'amazing', cf. *Ba.* 642 *πέπονθα δεινὰ* (where Pentheus appears to be more angry and bewildered than frightened), 667 (the same association with *θαῦμα* as *IA* 1538), 971 *δεινὰ πάθη* (an ambiguity), *S. Ant.* 332-3 *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοῦδέν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει*. This primary theme-word occurs 17 times in *Or.* (Intro. F i. 12).

1-2. There is a choice of reading in 2 (nom. or acc.): either 'There is no *ἔπος* so *δεινόν* to utter, or *πάθος* or . . .' or 'It is not possible to *εἰπεῖν* any so *δεινόν ἔπος* or *πάθος* or . . .' (either way *ᾧδε* follows the emphasized adj., cf. *Ba.* 1036, *S. El.* 1081). The former is in line with a familiar E. mannerism (*οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν* with appositive nom.): 1155, *Hec.* 956, *An.* 986, *Hel.* 1618, fr. 358, etc. But *Σ* assures us that the nom. here is an 'ignorant' misquotation (*οἱ δὲ ἀγνοοῦντες* . . .); and, if that is true, the normalizing corruption of acc. to nom. is easily explained. It is worth observing that none of the parallels

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- cited for *οὐκ ἔστιν* (. . .) *οὐδέν* . . . features an inf. in the phrasing, for which one might rather compare *Su.* 775-7 (*τοῦτο . . . οὐκ ἔστι . . . λαβεῖν*, followed by appos. acc.). But the authority of *Σ* is not decisive. The acc. variant must be very ancient, but it could have arisen simply because *ἔπος*, when associated with *εἰπεῖν*, is usually acc. For the force of *ἔπος* here (at once 'word, utterance' and 'thing denoted by utterance') and its pairing with *πάθος*, cf. *A. Pers.* 173-4 *μή σε δις φράσαι* (-σειν Elms.) *μήτ' ἔπος μήτ' ἔργον*. Such pleonastic idiom emphasizes the spoken word.
2. *οὐδὲ πάθος*: an unusual (late-style) split resolution; cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 192 and 285, C. Prato, *Quad. Urb.* 1972, 82¹, West, *GM* 86. *συμφορὰ* (in various senses, sometimes ambivalent) is another important theme-word: cf. 61, 139, 154, 314-15*, 414*, 447, 502, 811 (812*), etc. *συμφοραὶ θεήλατοι* are not simply 'misfortunes'; cf. *An.* 851, where the reference is especially to the kind of 'affliction' (of the mind) that causes human beings to 'err'. [Longman argued for *ξυμφ-* here. Elsewhere in the play the MSS attest *σύν* and *συμφορὰ* overwhelmingly; but there is some or good support for *ξ-* 17 times in other compounds. The (unusual) support for *ξυμφορὰ(ν)* here deserves respect, the older form giving a more traditionally gnomic tone to the phrasing.]
3. *ἤσ οὐκ ἔν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος* . . . : sc. 'if the gods willed' or simply *εἰ τύχοι* 'in certain circumstances'. *Το ἄρασθαι* a burden is to 'shoulder, undertake' it, cf. *Hec.* 105 *ἀγγελίας βάρος ἀραμένη*. The common rendering 'endure' is at best misleading (the vb being aorist, and not synonymous with *πάθει*). Here the implicit 'medical' metaphor looks forward to *νόσον* 10, but the point is by no means simply 'passive' (cf. also 767* *συνηράμην φόνον*). Tragic audiences were familiar with the paradoxical concept of a *δεινὸν πάθος* that is at once *θεήλατον* and culpably 'taken upon himself' by an audacious human agent, humanly (perhaps 'madly') motivated; cf., as a *locus classicus*, *A. Ag.* 218 ff. (842-3*, and *Introd.* nn. 68 and 77). The possibility of 'blame' is clear from the case of Tantalus (*El.* herself abstaining from reproach, 4*); and there is a connection of thought between 1-3 and the recurrent phrase *τλήμων Ὀρέστης* (35*). 'Matricide' *par excellence* is a *δεινὸν ἔπος*, at once *ἔργον* and *πάθος* (cf. *El.* 1226 *δεινότατον παθέων ἔρεξα*). *ἀνθρώπου φύσις*: a familiar phrase (*Hec.* 296, *Ion* 1004, frs. 170, 834) taken from the language of natural philosophy (cf. Diogenes of Apollonia A4, Democritus A33, Prodicus B4); but note that the *φύσις*-point, as in 126[-7]*, comes in an otherwise 'traditional' sentiment. The 'shocked' and 'pitying' view of human *φύσις* in relation to *τὸ θεῖον* is a 'tragic premiss' (*Introd.* A, F i. 14) which runs counter to the 'atheistic' enthronement of *physis* by the *φυσικοί*.
- 4-10. *Tantalus*. E. had a penchant for genealogy in his prologues, but the treatment of the progenitor here is more than usually elaborate (contrast *IT* 1 *Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος ἐς Πίσαν μολών* . . .). T. is at once (a) a traditionally 'tragic' paradigm of spectacularly ruined human felicity, and (b) a more topical 'emblem' (O. Longo 280³, 285⁸) of supremely shocking

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spoken hubris; on both levels he exemplifies the complex of ideas wryly enunciated in 1-3. As to (a), the *locus classicus* is Pindar *Ol.* 1. 54 ff., reminiscent of Aeschylus in its reference to *κόπος* and *ἄτη*. It was a tragic commonplace that misfortune is more impressive when it follows unusually good fortune (e.g. Oedipus, *S. OT* 1524 ff.), and the idea that T.'s career ominously foreshadows the tragic *πάθη* of his descendants seems already implicit in *A. Ag.* 1469 (the only reference to him in the *Oresteia*); cf. *El.* 1176, *Hel.* 856. As to (b), it can be inferred that recently current Athenian 'myth' (*μῦθος*) connected the name of T. with 'blasphemous *sophism*', and in particular with the type of *ἀσέβεια* concerning τὰ μετέωρα satirized by Aristophanes as 'the ultimate audacity' (*Nub.* 375, cf. 1506-9 at the end of the play). See my 'Prodikos, "meteorosophists" and the "Tantalos"-paradigm' in *CQ* n.s. 33 [1983], 25-33, for a fuller discussion of some issues here summarily treated. Later writers (Sch. *Pi. Ol.* 1. 57, Diog. Laert. 2. 8, Eust. *Comm. Od.* 1700. 60) attest a tradition that it was Tantalus, not Anaxagoras, who first called the sun a 'fiery rock', and that it was for that offence that Zeus suspended the terrifying rock eternally above his head. Exactly what was current myth in 408 BC, and from what source or sources, can only be guessed at; but there were several grounds on which a comparison could have been made between the 'arch-sinner' of mythology, famous also as the uniquely wealthy 'parasite' of the Olympian gods, and the arch-purveyors of new-fangled cosmology. Among these the prosperous Prodicus of Ceos—ironically referred to as 'Tantalus' by Plato's Socrates in *Protagoras* 315C—currently enjoyed a unique notoriety (*Nub.* 361, *Av.* 692). A natural connection of thought associated the archetypal god-defiers of myth (also Prometheus, Sisyphus, Ixion) with topical 'sophism', in variously admiring, pejorative or equivocal ways. Here the allusive topicality of the myth-formulation, echoing popular sentiment against sophisticated *ἀσέβεια*, but with a wryly ironical tone and repeated 'disclaimers' in 4, 5 and 8, gives an extra facet to the emblematic progenitor of τλήμων 'Ορέστης; it also looks forward to 982 ff., where (again allusively) the new 'cosmologized' character of T.'s rock is exploited in *song*; an excellent example of E.'s taste for sophisticated 'myth-enhancement' (Introd. n. 18), combining 'old' and 'new' elements in a formulation that embraces both.

4. ὁ μακάριος: T. was proverbially rich, his name associated with τάλαντα (Anacr. 355 Page, Pl. *Euthyphr.* 11D, etc.); cf. ὁ μέγας ἄλβος 340, 807 (after *Pi. Ol.* 1. 56). μακάριος ('enviously fortunate') is enunciated, not without irony, as a theme-word (cf. 86, 540, 972, 1208; Introd. F i. 11); the play impressively exploits extremes of good and bad fortune (ending paradoxically with unalloyed happiness). κοῦκ ὀνειδίζω τύχας: i.e. the τύχαι (both the νόσος and the δίκη) may be αἰσχραί, but the speaker's intention in rehearsing them is not ὀνειδιστικόν. The parenthetic 'disclaimer' (cf. 85*) has a forensic colour (like *Hel.* 393 καὶ τόδ' οὐ κόμπω λέγω), and is appropriate to one 'publicly' (26-7*) describing the shameful career of a revered ancestor.

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5. **Διὸς πεφυκώς**: a 'grandiose' lineage (cf. *Hp.* 534 *Ἐρως ὁ Διὸς παῖς*), which here enhances T.'s fall from grace. *πεφυκώς* is less precise than *παῖς* (cf. *Ion* 292); T. may well have had no canonical parentage in the fifth century (*Σ* reports his parents as Tmolus, the gold-bearing mountain near Sardis, and the nymph Pluto, a transparent personification). **ὡς λέγουσι**: a 'traditional' touch, not, in itself, displaying scepticism, cf. *HF* 26, A. *Eum.* 4, S. *Ant.* 823 ff. *ἤκουσα δὴ . . . ὡς φάτις ἀνδρῶν* (the myth of T.'s daughter Niobe); Bond on *Hyps.* 1 iii 18 ff., Stinton, *PCPhS* 1976, 60 ff.
6. **κορυφῆς . . . πέτρον**: the 'suspended rock' myth was familiar especially from the lyric poets (Archil. 91 West, Alcm. 79 Page, Alcae. Z42 L.-P., Pi. *Ol.* 1. 57-8, *Isth.* 8. 10-11); originally perhaps as an allegory of the instability of *δῶλος* in this world (cf. the Sword of Damocles). The very different 'tantalizing' punishment-myth of *Od.* 11: 582-92 reappears in literature only at a later period (e.g. *AP* xvi 89, *Ov. Met.* 4. 458-9, 10. 41-2), though the painter Polygnotus had already combined the disparate elements in the fifth century (Paus. 10. 31. 12); *Lucr.* 3. 980-1 (referring only to the rock) is evidently indebted to E. Within the traditional picture, the vb **ὑπερέλλοντα** strikes the first less traditional note; cf. *Phaethon* 6 *θερμὴ δ' ἀνακτος φλόξ ὑπερέλλουσα γῆς* for its common application to the movement of heavenly bodies (esp. the sun).
7. **ἀέρι ποτᾶται**: the reported *μῦθος* is 'opprobrious' (4, 10). The uncanonical 'flying in air', unexplained by edd., is rejected altogether by V. J. Rosivach (*Maia* 1977-8, 77-9); but the argument ('the rock . . . should be stationary above T.'s head') that leads him to the conjecture *δεῖ* (*iam* Wakefield) *πτοεῖται* neglects 982-4, where *ὑπερέλλοντα* is elaborated as 'swinging to and fro on golden chains midway between Heaven and Earth'; and the text is supported by Nonnus' phrase *Τάνταλον ἠεροφοίτην* (*D.* 18. 32, cf. 35. 296), presumably inspired by this passage. As suggested in *CQ* (art. cit. 32 with n. 47): (a) the new 'cosmologized' view of the rock *requires* that T. should be *μετέωρος* and in motion, in order that his head may remain constantly beneath it; (b) he is like the 'meteorosophist' satirized in *Ar. Nub.* 225, 1503 as 'walking on air and contemplating/contemplating the sun'; a memorable image (cf. Pl. *Apol.* 18B), *generically* applicable as a stock reproach against 'sophistic blasphemers' (not only Socrates). For the opprobrious Attic use of 'fly', cf. *Ba.* 332 *πέτη τε καὶ φρονῶν οὐδὲν φρονεῖς*. For *ἀήρ* where *αἰθήρ* might have been expected, cf. West, *Balkan & Asia Minor Studies* 8 (1982), 5-6.
- 8-9. **ὡς μὲν λέγουσιν**: 'so they say' (*μὲν solitarium*, *GP* 381); cf. 5*, but the repetition of the conventional disclaimer here has a decidedly ironical flavour. **θεοῖς** (emphatically placed) construes with both **κοινῆς** (cf. 766, *Hec.* 793) and **ἀξίωμ'** . . . *ἴσον* ('honourific status equal to that of the gods'). **ἀνθρώπος ὢν**: insisting on T.'s humanity (in some accounts he is virtually an immortal, cf. S. *Ant.* 834), and connected in thought with *ἀνθρώπου φύσις* 3; for the 'polarizing' juxtaposition of **θεοῖς** and *ἀνθρωπιός*, cf. 271, 1687. **τραπέζης**: mention of the 'table' might well put the listener in mind

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of T.'s traditional bloody *deed* (cf. *IT* 387), but 10 at once cancels that expectation; for T. as the archetypal 'parasite', cf. Nicolaus Com. fr. 1.

10. ἀκόλαστον . . . γλώσσαν: an unexpected climax (as the sole cause of T.'s punishment). T.'s *garrula lingua* became canonical in later treatments of the myth—Or. was a very well-known play—variously explained or left unexplained (art. cit. 32⁴). ἀκόλαστος was a standard abusive word on the lips of those who adhered to traditional ideas of 'discipline' (Ar. *Nub.* 1348; cf. ἀκολασταίνειν Av. 1227). ἔσχε, following ἔχων 9, is the sort of casual repetition that E. was not careful to avoid (cf. *El.* 40; Diggle, *Studies* 66–7). αἰσχίστην νόσον: the acc. is appositional to the whole of ἀκ- ἔσχε γλ- (a 'non-integral' int. acc.; Barrett on *Hp.* 752–7, Diggle in *Dionysiaca*, 171–2), cf. 727 ἠδεῖαν ὄψιν, 1105 λύπην πικράν. As the keyword (of 1–10) νόσον is effectively terminal, its flexible meaning thematically exploited for the link between Or. and his newly topical progenitor. A 'madly' blasphemous god-defier could be said to νοσεῖν (*Ba.* 327); and, conversely, the Chorus will associate Or.'s 'extreme νόσος' (against a background of ancestral θοινάματα καὶ σφάγια) with 'mad sophistic impiety' (819 ff., 831 ff.). For the collocation with αἰσχίστην, cf. A. *PV* 685–6 (νόσημα).
- 11 ff. Decharme complained that everyone knew these boringly elementary particulars; but the very fact that the Atreid saga had so often been treated (with many variations) made it desirable to summarize what is directly relevant, while linearly connecting Tantalus with Or. (and other descendants) and enunciating the important 'Discord'-theme. Norwood, by contrast, approved *El.*'s 'insistent coyness' as making this exposition less mechanical than some. Note the use of *praeteritio* at 14 f. and 26 f.
- 12–14. With the usual reading: 'for whom the goddess (Fate, Clotho) spun discord, (namely, or so as), to make war on . . .'. Di B. rightly prefers θεά/*Eris* (Σ), comparing *IT* 35–6 θεά/*Αρτεμις*. The simpler construction is then like *Od.* 1. 17 τῷ οἱ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι (cited by Σ to show that such spinning is not confined to the *Μοῖραι*; cf. Dietrich 292–4). In 1001 ff. deified Discord is again the subject (effecting the solar μεταβολή normally attributed to Zeus); a multivalent concept, not only the traditional Causer of War (*Hes. Op.* 14, *Il.* 11. 73 ff., etc.) as the agent of Zeus (*A. Sept.* 428–9) especially between kindred (*Ph.* 798), but also with a new primordial role in fifth-century thought (1001–2*). On *Eris* in E. (esp. late E.), see J. R. Wilson, *G&R* 1979, 7–20. 'Discord' in the prologue (and again later) is antithetic to 'Peace' at the end of the play. [U. Hübner (*Philologus* 1980, 185–6) weakly proposes ἔρον instead. It was not the function of *Μοῖρα* to spin 'passionate desire'.]
12. στέμματα ξήνας' ἐπέκλωσεν: not (with mere prolixity) describing the operation of Fate, but elaborating the Fate-like operation of *Eris*. στέμματα are 'tufts of wool' (Sch. S. *OT* 3), here unusually = ἔρια as the raw material from which threads are made (cf. ἔρια ξαίνειν *Od.* 22. 423, Ar. *Lys.* 536). For the scansion ἐπέκλωσεν (with epic precedent), cf. ἀπέθρισεν 128; Diggle, *PCPhS* 1969, 43–4.

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- 13 f. πόλεμον . . . θέσθαι: a common type of periphrasis, cf. 833, 842, 1038, 1121, Elmsley on *Held.* 22.
- 14-[15]-16. τί . . . δει; cf. 28 f.*, *Ph.* 43 τί τὰκτὸς τῶν κακῶν με δεῖ λέγειν; *S. Phil.* 11-12 ταῦτα μὲν τί δεῖ λέγειν; (Stevens on *An.* 765, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 598). ἀναμετρήσασθαι: 'retrace, rehearse' (with a 'mathematical' metaphor), cf. *Ion* 250. σιγῶ: cf. *Held.* 952, *El.* 1246, *IT* 37, *A. Ag.* 36. The implied reference of both τᾶρρητ' and τὰς ἐν μέσῳ τύχας is simply to the τύχαι which are 'cried aloud' as δόμων ἄται in 988-1010; 15, rightly deleted by Di B., obscures the sense of ἐν μέσῳ (suggesting the Banquet as the terminus post quem), and the triple naming of Atreus is a clumsiness alien to E.'s crisp style in genealogical narrative (cf. *IT* 3-4); moreover δ' οὖν in this usage has no tragic parallel (*GP* 463). No doubt the interpolator could not endure that the famous Banquet should go unmentioned (in preparation for 814-15, 1008), overlooking that E. had not thought it necessary to mention the killing of Myrtilus (in preparation for 988 ff., 1548). For a similar instance of interpolation in a prologue spoiling a *praetertitio*, cf. *IT* 38-9(-41) (Stinton, *JHS* 1977, 149-51).
17. εἰ δὴ κλεινός: cf. 744, *Hel.* 952 εἰ καλὸν τόδε, *S. Tra.* 26-7 τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς . . . καλῶς, εἰ δὴ καλῶς (*GP* 224). We may take it that El. is reflecting bitterly on the ignominious sequel of Agamemnon's glorious achievements; but sceptical questioning of traditional glory standards is characteristic of late E. (e.g. *Hel.* 1151 ff.).
18. Μενέλεως: here trisyllabic, cf. *IT* 357, Kannicht on *Hel.* 131; the form Μενέλας (conj. Murray) is proper to lyric (1500-2*). Κρήσιος . . . Ἀερόπης: cf. 1009, and Jebb on *S. Aj.* 1295 ff. Mythical Cretan ladies were especially vulnerable to the power of Aphrodite, and Aërope was notorious, not only for her adultery with Thyestes. E.'s *Cressae* (438 BC) had developed the story of how Aërope, found sleeping with a slave by her father Catreus, was sent for execution to Nauplius, king of Euboea, but was spared by him, and later married Pleisthenes, son of Atreus (Webster, *TE* 37-9). For the simpler Atreid genealogy here, cf. *Hel.* 390-2; for the longer one (which made the Atreidae sons of Aërope but grandsons of Atreus, or otherwise Πλεισθενίδαι), see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1569.
- 19 f. ὁ μὲν δὴ . . . Μενέλαος Ἐλένην: note the idiomatically interlaced word-order. [Not Ἐλένην Μενέλεως (Hermann); cf. 1195-6*. That most MSS have -λεως here is not surprising after Μενέλεως 18.] τὴν θεοῖς στυγούμηνην: cf. *Trag. adesp.* 194 (589*); θεοῖς ἐχθρός, θεοστυγής etc. were damnatory expressions that had almost (not quite, cf. 130, 531, 619-20) lost their literal meaning. We are not to assume that El.'s hostile view of Helen is the only possible or right one (cf. 71-125*); at the same time it is not simply subjective, general execration of Helen being a fundamental dramatic premiss (Introd. C i-ii). The rhythm of 20 (initial υ υ - and two resolved *principes*) is like 310, 647, 1057, [1228], 1332; cf. also 65, and 247-8*.
- 20-1. Κλυταιμῆστρας λέχος ἐπίσημον: sc. γαμεί, cf. *IT* 538 λέκτρ' ἔγημε, etc.

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- (an idiomatic extension peculiar to E., as Di B. points out). ἐπίσημον (see 249-50*) is used sarcastically: the λέχος may have been 'glorious' for Ag. at the time (cf. *HF* 68, *El.* 936), but it and its consequences for Ag. were later to become 'notorious'. -μήστρα: see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 84; the -μήστρα form seems to be due to mistaken (scarcely pre-Byzantine) name-etymology, perhaps suggested by passages like this one and *IT* 208. εἰς Ἐλλήνας: 'in the eyes of', cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 778-9; πρὸς is similarly used (30, *Hr.* 408, etc.).
- 22-4. The Homeric trio (*Il.* 9. 145, 287) had been Chrysothemis, Laodice and Iphianassa. Another tradition spoke of four daughters (Jebb on *S. El.* 158), whereas Hesiod gives only Iphimede and Electra (fr. 23a. 15-16 M.-W.; cf. Jouan 265'). The mention of Chrysothemis here (not in *El.*) is consistent with the view that the *S. El.* had been produced quite recently (Introd. n. 91); but cf. also Leda's τρεῖς παρθένοι (including a similarly irrelevant Φοῖβη) at *IA* 49-50; such triads are frequent both in folktale and in traditional poetic genealogies. ἐκ μιᾶς . . . μητρὸς: cf. *IT* 497, *Ph.* 156; the long separation of μητρὸς from ἐκ μιᾶς and the addition of ἀνοσιωτάτης (strongly damnatory, cf. *Ph.* 493) give freshness to a well-worn turn of phrase.
24. Read ἄρσην τ' (not δ' Elms.): μέν . . . τε as 1317-18, *Ph.* 55-7, etc. (*GP* 374-5).
25. περιβαλὼν: cf. 372, 800, [906], 1031, 1044; a favourite vb with many extensions in E. (K. H. Lee, *AJPh* 1971, 315, W. Ritchie in *Dionysiaca*, 188), here in a phrase patterned like A. *Ch.* 576 ποδώκει περιβαλὼν χαλκείματι. ἀπειρῶ . . . ὑφάσματι: traditional words, cf. A. *Ag.* 1382 ἀπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον and *Ch.* 1015 ὑφασμα; similarly at *El.* 154 the 'net' image is reminiscent of *Ag.* 1115. A.'s ἀπειρον seems to mean 'inextricable' (a sense which Fraenkel derived from ancient misunderstanding of δεσμοὶ ἀπείρονες *Od.* 8. 340), but the overtones for E. may have included both 'large' ('boundless') and 'circular' (cf. LSJ ἀπείρων (B) 3, ἀτέρμων (B) 3).
- 26-7. As already in 4*, *El.* comes close to directly treating the spectators as an 'audience' (cf. 128-9*), using locutions appropriate to public utterance. ὦν δ' ἔκατι . . . : Cl. had had more than one motive (cf. *El.* 1011-50); but *El.*'s 'maidenly' reticence rhetorically serves to focus attention (without actually mentioning it) on the well-known adulterous liaison with Aegisthus (cf. 557-61, 619, *IT* 926-7). παρθένω: for the dat., cf. 108, *IT* 927 οὐδὲ σοὶ κλύει καλόν; for the rather different force of the variant -ον (no less grammatical, but inferior here), cf. 106. ἐὼ τοῦτ' ἀσαφές . . . : 'I leave that cryptic for (with regard to) consideration in public.' ἀσαφής occurs here only in E., but is associated with αἰνικτός 'riddling' in *S. OT* 439. ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν: there may be an echo of the philosophical sense 'to discuss (an issue)' (as opposed to private meditation); but the inf. phrase can hardly be directly dependent on ἐὼ here ('I refrain from discussing . . .'), despite the similar-looking ἀφείσαν ἐν κοινῷ ζῆτεῖν in Arist. *Metaph.* 987^b14. Such a use of ἐὼ + inf. would be unique in tragedy, and is made the more unlikely by the intervening ἀσαφές. σκοπεῖν (with a visual metaphor complementing

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- λέγειν 26) is best taken as exegetic, after the analogy of more straightforward expressions like σαφή . . . κλύειν 641.
- 28 f. The wide range of τῖ θεῖ . . . ; ('one must not', 'it's no use') lent itself to the type of *praeteritio* in which a speaker hints at something while posing as creditably reticent; cf. the use with ἄρητα in 14. Accusations of divine ἄδικία (as of ἄμαθία, 417*) always had a somewhat risqué flavour, and were typically used by E. as exemplifying how 'men tend to form hasty and ill-considered opinions about the gods' (Bond, *Heracles* xxi); cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 151-5. The repeated accusations of Apollo in the first part of *Or.* are an integral feature of the plot (Introd. Div). [One feature of the text is open to question: one might have expected El. to say Φοῖβος δ'—ἀδικίαν μὲν τί δέϊ κατηγορεῖν; / πείθει δ' . . . , with a self-interruption like 579-80 πρὸς θεῶν—ἐν οὐ καλῶ μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ δὴ . . . and El. 1245-6 Φοῖβος δέ, Φοῖβος—ἀλλ' ἀναξ γάρ ἐστ' ἔμός, / σιγῶ σοφὸς δ' ὦν οὐκ ἔχρησέ σοι σοφά. To correct Φοῖβου to Φοῖβος would not be arbitrary (a likely enough error in an unpunctuated tradition). The new subject is then naturally introduced in the nom., and the μὲν/δέ sequence also takes a more natural shape (for κατηγορεῖν with the gen. understood, cf. *Held.* 418). Wedd compared *Held.* 718-19 for the 'disjunctive turn of phrase' (Ζεὺς ἐξ ἔμοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἀκούσεται κακῶς / εἰ δ' ἐστὶν ὄσιος αὐτὸς ὄθεν εἰς ἐμέ). But there is no case-shift there (with a new narrative subject enunciated in the gen. and a word-order suggesting that gen. Φοῖβου will be common to both clauses); nor is there a τί δέϊ . . . ; question (of the type that one expects to be parenthetical).]
29. πείθει: cf. 31*, 416* (κελεύσας). μητέρ' ἢ σφ' ἔγνίνατο: a common type of pleonasm (emphasizing the motherhood); cf. 196, 1491, *El.* 964, 1184, 1212, *IA* 1074-5, *S. El.* 261, etc. (Bruhn 119-20).
30. The earliest reference to the matricide is Hes. fr. 23a. 30 M.-W. (cf. Stephanopoulos 133). εὐκλειαν φέρον: appositive ('a thing bringing . . .'), cf. 624(?), Collard on *Su.* 1070 (KG i 285). πρὸς (20-1*) οὐχ ἄπαντας: cf. ἐν οὐ καλῶ 579*, ἐν οὐ πλούτοισι *An.* 211. Contrast the Homeric view (*Od.* 1. 298-9) that Orestes κλέος ἔλλαβε . . . πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων by killing Aegisthus (Cl. dies, but it is not stated how; perhaps Homer thought of her death, or wished it to be thought of, as a *suicide*, cf. 576-7*). Those who applaud *Or.*'s killing of Cl. are at best a minority (923-30), and one may well hear the wry sense 'scarcely anyone' (litotes). [Longman argued for εὐκλειαν φέρον; but it does not appear that *Apollo* has been widely criticized in Argos. The Chorus have evidently heard about *Apollo*'s role (160), but it is not they who say καλῶς δ' οὐ at 194; as for Tyndareus and the Argive λέως, the Delphic command is either unknown to them or completely irrelevant.]
31. οὐκ ἀπειθήσας θεῶ: ἀπειθεῖν occurs here only in E., no doubt preferred to the usual ἀπιστεῖν (e.g. *Ion* 557) as the exact antonym of πείθεσθαι (the point being simply that *Or.* ἐπίθετο); cf. *A. Ag.* 206 τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι, and *ibid.* 1049 πείθοι' ἂν εἰ πείθοι: ἀπειθοῖς δ' ἴσως (similarly ἀπειθήσας occurs in tragedy only at *S.* fr. 50 Radt and ἀπειθεῖν at *Phil.* 1447). πείθεσθαι means simply 'to

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comply' in a broad sense (with either a command or a recommendation). Note that El. does not say 'compelled by the god'. On the human plane, Or.'s 'compliance' was a matter of conscious and voluntary decision, cf. 280-300* (284-5*, 288-9), 329-31* (δεξάμενος), 555 ff. (ἄλογισμῶν), 579-99 (581-2*, 593-4*), etc. The idea of 'compulsion' is reserved for the concluding 'revelations' (1665).

32. οἶα δὴ γυνή: perhaps simply in accordance with the conventional view of female inferiority ('depreciatory', *GP* 221), but cf. *An.* 911, where the reference is to feminine scheming and ruthlessness. For the nature of El.'s participation, cf. 284-5, 615-21, 1235-6*.

[33]. Del. Herwerden (*Mnemosyne* 1855, 359), cf. Page, *Actors* 48; a typical fussy interpolation 'for completeness' (like 15 and 663). 405-6 will be an entirely sufficient preparation for Pyl.'s entry at 725 (why invite speculation earlier?), even as 249 will be soon enough for the first mention of Tyndareus. [There is nothing wrong in itself with the tacking-on of another subject (Di B. compares *Hel.* 412-13 ἐφ' ἧς ἐσώθην μόλις ἀνεπίστω τύχη, / 'Ἐλένη τε, Τροίαις ἦν ἀποσπάσας ἔχω); but δε ἡμῖν συγκατείργασται τάδε is frigidly redundant, μετέσχε φόνου being already suppliable.]

34. ἐντεῦθεν: at the end of the chain of causation; cf. *Hp.* 38 ἐνταῦθα δὴ, *IT* 35 ἴδεν, *IA* 80 τοῦντεῦθεν οὖν. ἀγρίε συντακεῖς νόσφ νοσεῖ: the repetition of νοσ- is appropriately emphatic, and the pleonastic idiom with modal dat. (39-40*) is supported by *Siheneboea* 6 τοῖαδε Προῖτος γῆς ἀναξ νόσφ νοσεῖ, *A.* *PV* 384, *S. Tra.* 544; cf. also *Phil.* 173 νοσεῖ . . . νόσον ἀγρίαν (and *ibid.* 265-7; acc. and dat. can be equivalent in such expressions, *KG* i 308). The 'savagery' of Or.'s disease is another important theme, cf. 226 etc. (Intro. F i. 2). συντακεῖς is 'wasted' (συν- intensive), and νόσφ is probably to be taken ἀπό κοινού; cf. *Su.* 1105-6 δαιτίαις ἐμὸν δέμας γεραίον συντακεῖς ἀποφθέρω, and 283*, 805*, *Med.* 25, 689, *Su.* 1029, *El.* 240 for the flexible metaph. uses from the root sense 'melt' (also ἐκτῆκω 134* etc.).

35. τλήμων Ὀρέστης: the epithet, cognate with τλήναι (cf. τάλας, ταλαίπωρος and the epic πολύτλας), is very commonly applied in tragedy to both doers and sufferers of δεινά (1-3*), variously 'pitying' or 'shocked' in tone, or both at once, or simply as 'an objective description of a condition of wretchedness' (Winnington-Ingram, *EBD* 1363). As recurrently applied to Or. (74, 293, 845, 947, 1334; *El.* 850, *A. Ch.* 933, *S. El.* 602; Intro. F i. 12) it has a thematic force hard to render consistently; cf. also 852 (applied to El.), 1391 (to Troy), 1493 (to Cl.), 1613 (to Helen). †δδε (ὁ δὲ) πεσών ἐν δειμνίοις † / κείται: we need coordination somewhere if we have kept νοσεῖ in 34; but δδε is indispensable (with a gesture), cf. Collard on *Su.* 21-2, *S. Aj.* 898-9 Αἴας δ' ὄδδ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως νεοσφαγῆς / κείται, etc. It is possible to write πεσών <τ> (Reiske) or πεσών <δ> (Matthiae) or πεσών <τε> (Longman, deleting ἐν) or πεσών <δέ>; but one expects the demonstrative to go with κείται, as in the parallels, rather than with ἐντεῦθεν . . . νοσεῖ . . . Ὀρέστης. The answer may lie partly in transposition: δδε (δὲ) δειμνίοις πεσών / κείται (cf. δειμνίοις πέπτωχ' ὄδε, without ἐν, in 88*). πεσών

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(έν) will have been put before *δεμνίοις* when *δε* had dropped out between *δε* and *δεμ*. [A syntactical division at . . . *δεε, πεσών* . . . is not *metrically* objectionable; cf. 63, 401, 549, 1076, 1585 ('bisected trimeter', T. D. Goodell, *CPh* 1906, 145-66; punctuation after resolved third *princeps*, West, *GM* 87³).]

36. *τροχηλαταί*: cf. *El.* 1252-3 *Κῆρὲς σ' . . . τροχηλατήσουσ' ἔμμανῆ πλανώμενον*, *IT* 82-3 *τροχλάτου μανίας*. The 'galloping chariot-team' image is developed in 255, 321-3*. For the 'blood' as the agent, cf. 433* and Bond on *HF* 1052. See Addendis Addenda.

37. *μανίαισιν*: as often (527-8*), the overlapping word carries rhetorical emphasis, here putting us in mind of the Furies as 'Maniai' (an attested cult-title: Dietrich 107-8, Brown 262¹³) without actual use of an onomastic word; cf. 400*, 532, 835. *El.* might have said *ἐρινύσιν* (cf. 581-2*), but refrains from 'naming' the *ἀνώνυμοι θεαί* (*IT* 944) with a conventional *αἰδώς*; cf. 409, 579*. *ὀνομάζειν γάρ* . . . : for the rhythm cf. 284, 298, 433, 500, 552, 558, 634, etc. and the analogous $\omega - - \iota \cup -$ at line-end (e.g. 64 *παρέδωκεν τρέφειν*). Resolution before long anceps, accommodating $\cup \cup - -$ words, is a feature of *E.*'s later style (Introd. G ii; Zieliński 192-3). The paratragic *ὀνομάζειν γὰρ αἰδοῦμαι θεάν* in Eubulus fr. 64 K. (c. 350 BC?) is doubtless a parody of this passage, cf. fr. 75 K. (45* below) and Introd. n. 119.

38. The repeated use of the cult-name *Εὐμενίδες* in reference to the Erinyes, *Or.*'s traditional pursuers, is a noteworthy feature of this play. In *IT* (c. 414 BC) the pursuers had been *Ἐρινύες* (or *ἐρινύες*) nine times, never *Εὐμενίδες*; and indeed the latter name occurs elsewhere in tragedy only in *S. OC* (42, 486), synonymous in that play with *Semnai Theai* but not, or scarcely, with *Erinyes* (Brown 276-81; my qualification 'scarcely' is suggested by the epithet *πάνθ' ὀρώσας* in *OC* 42, cf. *Aj.* 836-7). 'To the mind of a fifth-century Athenian, Eumenides and *Semnai Theai* would have been creatures of local cult and popular belief, while *Erinyes* would have been mainly, if not exclusively, creatures of myth and literature' (Brown 265). Brown argues persuasively against the view of Hermann and others that the *Erinyes* had been renamed *Eumenides* in a lacuna near the end of the *Oresteia*, and suggests that the original title of *A. Eum.* may have been *Ἐρινύες* (ibid. 267-76). Even if *E.* did have some kind of Aeschylean precedent, the name *Eumenides* will have belonged to the final part of the story only, not to the goddesses while engaged in their terrifying pursuit. It is barely possible (as Brown suggests) that *E.* was influenced by an identification made in some lost work between *IT* and *Or.* But the chances are that when he makes the Chorus address the *Erinyes* as 'black *Eumenides*' at 321, in conjunction with other epithets identifying the addressees as *Erinyes*, he is doing something at once novel and characteristic of late-fifth-century syncretism (for which cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 120-34 and other discussions cited by Brown, 266¹³). Thereafter, justified by 321, *Εὐμενίδας θήραμα* at 836 is intelligibly equivalent to *Ἐρινύος θήραμα* (again

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on the lips of the Chorus); and *Εὐμενίαί τρισαΐς* at 1650 (on the lips of Apollo) will be equivalent to *ταῖς τρισὶν Ἐρινύσιν* (for the number, see 408*). The widespread use of the name *Eumenides* for the Furies in later literature (including the name applied in later antiquity to the last play of the *Oresteia*) is likely to be a consequence of the enduring popularity and influence of our play.

Prologues have an expository function, and the anticipatory mention of *Εὐμενίδες* here (in the new sense, applied to Or.'s tormenters) might be compared with the mention *en passant* of Rhea at *Ba.* 59. But it seems incredible that E. should have thought it appropriate to introduce this untraditional *ὄνομα* (unquestionably a proper name; Murray's *εὐμ-* is a subterfuge) in the context of a sentence 'not naming' the goddesses who are tormenting Or. Brown (after *Σ*) argues that 'what Electra is avoiding is the true name of the Erinyes—the name which properly belongs to them, fully evokes their horrific nature, and is therefore of ill omen'. But there is no evidence for *θεαὶ Εὐμενίδες* as an established euphemism; and the explanation is at variance at once with the phrasing (nothing in the text corresponds with Brown's 'true') and with the use of *Εὐμενίδες* at 321, 836, 1650 as an *ὄνομα* no less 'true' (though untraditional). Brown finds nothing worse in El.'s language here than 'a purely formal and trivial inconsistency', and he compares the 'worse inconsistency' at *IT* 941 ff. where the Furies are 'Erinyes' (or 'erinyes') and 'the nameless goddesses' within the space of four lines. But there is no rhetorical point about 'naming/not naming' in Orestes' narrative there. Unlike *Εὐμενίδες*, *ἐρινύς -ύες* was an ordinary noun (like *δλάστωρ -ορες*) as well as a 'name'; and in a very real sense 'Eumenides' is more, not less, onomastic than 'erinyes' (cf. 268 *τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρινύων*, 337*, 434*, 581–2*, 1388–9*).

Di B. follows Nauck in deleting 38 as an explanatory interpolation. Brown objects that 'Electra needs to specify *what* goddesses she will not name', but there is not much force in that argument (the phrasing of 36* and 37* can scarcely be said to leave us in doubt as to what *θεαὶ* she has in mind). I would argue rather that *ἐξαμιλλῶνται* is a *vox Euripidea* (see below) and an appropriate *ἀγών*-word (Introd. D iii, F i. 13), and that the point about 'terror' is indispensable as the only explicit reference in the prologue to that thematically important aspect of Or.'s *νόσος* (cf. 261, 270, 312, 532; Introd. F i. 3). It follows that we should obelize †*Εὐμενίδας*† and postulate (with Dindorf) that the unwanted name has been substituted for a less onomastic designation (a hypothesis quite as credible as the interpolation of a whole line); cf. the interpolation of *Περόφασσα* in 963–4*. Dindorf's *θεὰς δεινώπας* will do well enough (cf. S. *OC* 84); but Stadtmüller's *θεὰς ποτινάδας* (*Bayr. Bl. f. Gymn.-W.* 1905, 25 ff.) is several degrees better, (a) as a phrase likelier to have generated *θ- Εὐμ-* as an easier alternative, (b) as picking up the idea of 'madness' and looking forward to the designation *ποτινάδες θεαὶ* at 317–18* (implying *σεμναὶ καὶ λυσσάδες*). Another more fanciful possibility would be *βακχιάδας* (a natural formation, though not

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attested before Nonnus and Agathias), in a play which repeatedly uses βακχ- words in connection with Or.'s madness (338, 423, etc.; cf. *HF* 966, 1086).

αὶ τόνδ' ἐξαμιλλῶνται . . . : the clause should, I think, be completed by φόβον, not φόβω. The διωγμός of the Furies (cf. 412*) is an 'active' φόβος (*HF* 871, Diggle, *Studies* 54), and here 'an ἀγών of terror'; τόνδ' . . . φόβον is int. acc. defining the 'agonistic action', cf. exactly *Hec.* 271 τόνδ' ἀμιλλῶμαι λόγον, *An.* 336-7 τόνδ' ἀγωνιεῖ φόνον, *Hel.* 165 ποῖον ἀμιλλαθῶ γόνου; (and *ibid.* 546 δρεγμα δεινὸν ἡμιλλημένην, 1386-7 τεθρίππους . . . ἀμίλλας ἐξαμιλληθεῖς). The wrong φόβω is an error similar to those in 411* and 836 (both φόνω for φόνον, due to misunderstanding of characteristically Euripidean idiom). The correction (a) gives more point to the demonstrative (τόνδε 'him' is slightly odd so soon after the unemphatic *ων* in 36); (b) spares us the nonce-interpretation (LSJ 'drive out of his wits') of a properly intransitive vb. ἐξαμιλλᾶσθαι (recurring at 431*) is simply an intensive form of ἀμιλλᾶσθαι (ἐκ-, cf. 191*); both are characteristic of E., the compound virtually confined to him (neither occurs in A. or S.); cf. his ἐξαγωνίζεσθαι at *HF* 155 (abs., with instrumental dat.). [*At Hyps.* fr. 764 (Bond p. 57) ἐξαμιλλῆσαι κόρας means 'agonistically exert (i.e. cast) your eyes'; an exquisite late-E. expression associable with the commonplace ὄμμα βαλεῖν (1281-2*), perhaps implying a discus-metaphor. The other two E. occurrences of ἐξαμιλ- are: *Hel.* 1471-3 ὄν, ἐξαμιλλησάμενος / ἴτροχῶ τέρμονι δίσκου†, / ἔκανε Φοῖβος . . . (obelized by Diggle in *Dionysiacs*, 173); and *Cyc.* 627-8 εἶπ' ἄν ὄμματος / ὄψις Κύκλωπος ἐξαμιλληθῆ πυρὶ (if sound, 'has done battle with the fire'; surely not 'is rooted out by', as LSJ; ἀμιλληθῆναι is always elsewhere active in force). I hope to discuss these passages further elsewhere.]

39-40. 'Sixth day': cf. 422. Or.'s fast has lasted twice as long as Phaedra's in *Hr.* (for others, see Page on *Med.* 24); cf. also *Hec.* 32 τριταῖον ἦδη φέγγος and *A. Ag.* 1 ff. for the indication of recent time-lapse (Taplin 276). In *Od.* 3. 311, Menelaus had arrived αὐτῆμαρ (on the very day of Aegisthus' death; *Introd.* C i, D vi). σφαγαῖς θανούσα: 'by slaughter' (with sacrificial overtones); the pl. (as in 291) is a literary elegance, cf. 56 ἀλαισι πλαγχθεῖς, 448 καταφυγᾶς, 551 φυγαῖσι, etc. The dat. is modal (as often, with a vb of kindred meaning, as 34*, 56, 1369-74 πέφευγα . . . δραμοῖς), cf. 883 κηδεύοντα παιδαγωγία, *El.* 181 δάκρυσι νυχέω, etc. (KG i 435); but no hard line can be drawn between modal, 'instrumental-comitative' and 'causal' uses (210*, 532 μανίας ἀλαίνων καὶ φόβοις, 689 πόνοισι . . . ἀλώμενος, 1012 ἀνάγκαις, etc.); e.g. at *Su.* 150 ἀραῖς πατρώαις is 'causal' (Collard), but answers the question τίνη τρόπῳ Θήβας λιπών (sc. ἦλθεν); καθήγγισται: for the funerary use of 'purify', cf. Collard on *Su.* 1211-12. [But Scaliger's καθήγγισται could be right; cf. *S. Ant.* 1081, where Dawe accepts the minority reading καθήγγισαν, and Parker 328-9.]

41-2. ὡν: 'in which time', as though after 'five days' rather than 'sixth day'; cf. 438, 920, 1135 (KG i 55). οὐτε . . . οὐδ': cf. 47, 1086-7 ('almost confined to

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- serious poetry', *GP* 510; Bruhn 105-6). *λοῦτ' ἔδωκε χρωτί*: contrast *Hel.* 1383-4 *λουτροῖς χροά ἔδωκε*; a favourite type of 'invertible' idiom, cf. 302-3, 1267, 1662-3, Kannicht on *Hel.* 868-70. *χλανιδίων*: properly a diminutive (a class of words rare in tragedy, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 5¹¹).
- 43-4. *κουφισθῆ*: + gen., as *Hel.* 40; a medical word (*S. Phil.* 735, H. W. Miller, *TAPhA* 1944, 161), intelligently associated by Σ with *ἄχθος* 3. *πὸτὲ δέ*: cf. *πὸτὲ μὲν Ph.* 401. *θεμίων ἄπο*: 'at a distance from' (opp. *χλανιδίων ἔσω*), not 'leaps from his bed'; cf. *ἀπὸ λέχεος* 183-6*.
45. *πηδῶ*: regularly used of 'maenads', cf. 263, *Ion* 717, *Ba.* 307, etc. *δρομαῖος*: another maenadic word, cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 543-5; 'running, racing' is a recurrent theme (Introd. F i. 13), here linked also in thought with the chariot- and *ἀγών*-metaphors (36-7, 38). *πῶλος ὡς ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ*: 'like a colt (loosed) from beneath the yoke'; the same comparison as *Ba.* 166, 1056 (though the maenads are there *happily* ecstatic), and a familiar phrase in that sense (*S. fr.* 444.4 R., Eubulus fr. 75.6 K.), elliptical like *ταῦρος ὡς ἐς ἐμβολήν HF* 869 (for further exx. see Bond on *HF* 510, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1316). *ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ* (*λύειν*) is standard idiom, cf. *Il.* 8. 543, 24. 576. [Herwerden's correction of *ἀπό* is certain (*Mnemosyne* 1877, 33), despite Fraenkel; see Barrett in R. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (1974), 217, and Hunter on Eubul. loc. cit. *ἀπό* and *ὑπό* were very often confused (cf. 926, 1027, 1633); the error here (particularly easy after *θεμίων ἄπο*) has the wrong effect of directly comparing the *bed* with a yoke (cf. 229 f.).]
- 46 ff. *ἔδοξε* . . . : formulaic for a 'decree', cf. 858, 1328, *A. Su.* 601, 605. In contemporary Athens such a provisional decree, with a *κυρία ἡμέρα* to follow, would be a matter for the *βουλή*. E. tacitly leaves it open to his audience to imagine analogous constitutional procedures in ancient 'Argos', while laying the emphasis in archaically traditional terms on the 'pollution' aspect of the decree (nothing is said here about the 'house-arrest' aspect, cf. 444). The formulaic language of 46-8, reminiscent of *S. OT* 238 ff. (*μήτ' ἐσδέχεσθαι μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα, / μήτ' ἐν θεῶν εὐχαίαι μηδὲ θύμασιν / κοινὸν ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε χέρμβας νέμειν / ὡθεῖν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων πάντας* . . .) is in some features apter to the sentencing of an 'outcast' (cf. 512-17*) than to a provisional decree pending trial; but we are scarcely aware of inconsistencies in the theatre.
46. *Ἄργει τῶδ'*: the first note of locale (Introd. E i). Mycenae had been 'Argos' throughout the *Oresteia* (at that time Argos, an ally of Athens, had recently (467-6 BC) conquered and destroyed Mycenae). But the epic tradition could not be permanently suppressed, and in subsequent tragedy 'Argos (Argive)' and 'Mycenae(an)' became treated as virtually synonymous (cf. *Μυκηναίους* 101, etc.; Bond on *HF* 15, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 24, C. W. Macleod, *JHS* 1982, 126-7). *στέγαις*: 'in their houses'; Or. and El. are not debarred from their own house (cf. 301).
47. *μή* (for *μήτε*): 41-2*. *πυρρί*: i.e. *ἑστία*, cf. 429*. *μήτε* (better *μηδὲ*) *προσφωνεῖν τινα*: *this* ban (cf. also *IT* 951) may have been obeyed hitherto,

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but henceforth it is almost completely ignored (75-6*, 52ff.*). The sequence *μήτε . . . μή . . . μήτε* lacks parallel; in *GP* 510-11 this passage is associated with *A. PV* 479, but the truth there is *οὔτε . . . οὐ . . . οὐδέ* (for which see *GP* 193). *μηδέ* (*A.* conj. Elms.) should be accepted; the corruption to *μήτε* may be due to false reminiscence of *μήτε προσφωνεῖν* in *Hp.* 648 and *S. OT* 238 (in neither of which is there a preceding *μή*).

48-9. *κυρία*: cf. *Al.* 105 *τόδε κύριον ἤμαρ*, *A. Su.* 732, *Hdt.* 5. 50, etc. *διοῖσαι ψῆφον*: will give its (divided) votes'; cf. 1652, *Hdt.* 4. 138.

50[-1]. *εἰ χρῆ θανεῖν νῶ . . .*: but Longman's *κτανεῖν* is right, I think (a common corruption, cf. 1611*; *Dawe* i 236); partly because *ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν* (52) follows better after *κτανεῖν* (at the same time the nearby *θανεῖν* will have encouraged the error); but mainly because 51 means, in effect, 'or to execute us with whetted sword' (*ποι* 'or to commit suicide with the sword', with *θήσαντε* dual; *φάσγ- ἐπ' αὐχ- βαλεῖν* is a grotesquely unsuitable phrase for suicide, even if the 'suicide' alternative were appropriate here). *λευσίμῳ πετρώματι*: an elevated pleonasm, cf. [442], *λ- χερὶ* 863, *λ- δίκη* 614, *Held.* 60, *Ba.* 356, *Fraenkel* on *A. Ag.* 1616 *δημορριφεῖς . . . λευσίμου ἀράς*. This exceptional form of execution (properly a ritual atonement in which the whole community takes part without individual contact with the polluted, execrated victim) is frequently alluded to in tragedy; it also had a new topicality as 'lynch-law' (cf. 59) at a time of greatly increased civic violence (*Introd. A.*; cf. *Burkert* 107, *O. Longo* 281-2, and, in general, *H. Hirsch*, 'Die Strafe der Steinigung', *Abh. Sachs. Akad. d. W.* 1909 (repr. *Darmstadt* 1967), 226-66, *Parker* 194-6).

51 del. *Herwerden* (*Mnemosyne* 1855, 359). Longman demurred, arguing that *El.* must be convinced that the Argives mean to kill her and *Or.* in one way or another (cf. 859-65), in order that intervention by *Menelaus* may appear as the only hope. But we cannot tolerate misstatement as to the *ψῆφος*, which will be primarily on the issue *θανεῖν ἢ μὴ θανεῖν* ([441-2], 757-8, 884-7). That *Men.* is the only hope is clear enough from 52 and 68-70. *θήσαντ(α)*: sc. *τινά* (the anonymous functionary concerned), cf. 314-15*, 706-7*; the construction is otherwise like 1194* (*χρῆ δὲ ξίφος*) / . . . *σπάσαστ' ἔχειν* (*ξίφος θῆγειν*, cf. 1035-6*). *ἐπ' αὐχένος βαλεῖν*: a blameless phrase, cf. 302-3* *ἐπὶ χροὸς βαλοῦ*, *Su.* 286-7 *ἐπ' ὀμμάτων φάρη βαλοῦσα*, and (for swords as 'missiles') 1132-3*, 1302-4*. Thus understood, 51 is a much better line than some have thought (given *κτανεῖν* in the preceding line), and it may well come from a reputable source. But it must be right to go straight from 50 to 52; and it may be observed that the corruption of *κτανεῖν* to *θανεῖν* in 50 is likelier to have occurred in a tradition without 51.

52. *δὲ δὴ* again, cf. 39, 56, 62, 101 (*GP* 259); an 'insistent' feature of *El.*'s *façon de parler* (11 ff.*); often associated with *indef. τῖς* or *τίς* (62, 425, 874; 101) emphasized by the preceding *δὴ* (*GP* 212f.). *ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν*: cf. *HF* 326 (after *οὐ γὰρ ἀλκὴν ἔχομεν*); for the redundant *ὥστε* after *ἐλπῖς*, cf. *S. OC* 386 (*KG* ii 6, *Bruhn* 69).

54. *λιμένα . . . ἐκπληρῶν*: sophisticated idiom, at once 'spatially occupying'

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(cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 1569–71) and with the implication ‘terminally’ (lit. ‘fulfilling’) like *ἐξανύσας* 1685; cf. *S. El.* 708 *δέκατον ἐκπληρῶν ὄχον*, where the tenth chariot is also the last in the list. The phrasing should not be taken here as implying several ships (cf. 241–2*). In the recent *Helen*, Menelaus had had only one (stolen) ship for the last stage of his *νόστος*, and had been reduced to one ship before that (*Hel.* 409). *πλάτη*: properly ‘oar-blade’; here, as often, ‘oarge’.

55. *ἀκταῖσιν*: local dat., cf. *Hp.* 760 (KG i 442).

56. *ἄλαισι*: modal dat. (39–40*), reinforcing the idea of absence from home; cf. *Med.* 1285 *ἐξέπεμψε δωμάτων ἄλη* (v. l. *ἄλαις*). For Men.’s long wanderings, cf. *πολυετής* 473, *ἑπτὰ . . . ἐτῶν Hel.* 112; *Od.* 4. 83–5, 351 ff. *τὴν δὲ δῆ . . .*: Musgrave’s *πολυκτόνον* should probably be accepted; a recurrent theme, cf. 1142 *Ἑλένης . . . τῆς πολυκτόνου*, also 102, 743, 1135–6, 1306 (after *Hel.* 198, etc.). *πολύστονος* is applied to grief-causing *δαίμονες* (*Ἄρα* 996, *Ἐρινύς Su.* 835, *Λύσσα HF* 880, *Σφίγγ Ph.* 1022, *Ἐρις Il.* 11. 73), but not elsewhere pejoratively to a human being; the natural sense, thus, is ‘much lamented’ (*A. Sept.* 845) or ‘much-lamenting’ (cf. *Med.* 204). True, *Helen* has famously been a cause of much lamentation (1363), like *Troy* (*S. Phil.* 1346), but that is a less likely (ambiguous) point here, immediately before the mention of *Helen*’s personal grief (which could indeed be the cause of the error). Elsewhere *πολύστονος* occurs as an error for *πολύστονος*: 1012, *S. El.* 1275, *A. Sept.* 1000.

57 ff. *φυλάξας νύκτα*: ‘having waited for night’, cf. 404, *Th.* 2. 3 (LSJ *φυλάσσω* B. 2. b). The prior nocturnal dispatch of *Helen* is a neat preparation, plausibly motivated, for the important early scene with *Helen* before Men.’s arrival. [A scholion tells us that some actors in antiquity perverted it in order to make *Helen* enter impressively with the spoils of *Troy*. That has generally been taken as implying an interpolated procession before l. 1 (*Wilamowitz, Herakles* i 153⁶², *Page, Actors* 41, *P. Arnott* 122, *Taplin* 77). But would Σ have complained in that case about chronological impropriety? Anything before l. 1 could be considered consistent with ‘night’, the drama proper thus beginning at dawn (like *El.*, *IA*). It seems at least as likely that an enterprising producer made a spectacular feature of *Helen*’s entry (as from *Nauplia*) at l. 71—either in defiance conflict with 57–61 or perhaps with some cutting or other alteration of *El.*’s exposition; cf. on 370* below.]

58. *ὧν*: ‘of those whose . . .’ (depending on *τις*).

59. *ἐς πέτρων ἔλθη βολάς*: in an act. sense, as *ἐς μάχην ἐλθεῖν Ba.* 636 (= *μάχεσθαι*), *ἐς οἶκτον ἦλθες Tr.* 60 (= *ῥκτισσας*). Note that *Helen* and *El.* are both in fear of stoning.

60. *ἡμέτερον ἔστιν ὄ*: for the rhythm with – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ after the caesura, cf. 244, 487, 671, *IA* 49; characteristic of *E.*’s later style (*Zieliński* 160, 170–3, 192). *ἔσω*: i.e. simply within the *σκηνή*, thought of as an enclosed part of the palace (*Introd.* E i).

61. We should probably read *συμφοράς* with *P. Oxy.* 1616 and some later

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- MSS (Zuntz, *Inquiry* 155 and *Opuscula Selecta* (1972), 64). The sing. is blameless in itself (cf. Elmsley on *Med.* 34), especially if taken as equivalent to νόσον; but the pl. is in line with similar expressions elsewhere (e.g. πάματ' οίκων 967). Biehl argues that Helen is concerned with only one συμφορά, her sister's death, but cf. 73, 90, 121 (71-125*).
- 62-6. The lodging of Hermione with her aunt for the duration of the war is probably an *ad hoc* invention (to account for her presence in Argos); Tyndareus and Leda were usually regarded as *in loco parentis* (Stevens, *Andromache*, p. 4, Jouan 162-3, Stephanopoulos 160). 66 reuses a line from *Hec.* (279), cf. 1280*, and 63 is almost as closely modelled on *El.* 14.
65. Ἑρμιόνην: for the name included within the rel. clause, cf. 1184, 1654-5, *Hp.* 101, *Il.* 3. 123-4, etc. (KG ii 419); the 'anapaest' — — is a licence tolerated in proper names (West, *GM* 81-2), cf. 1314*.
- 67-70. *El.*'s concluding words at once complete her explanation of the opening *tableau* (1-70*) and emphasize the 'hope' (52 ff.) whose frustration (72-4*) is a fundamental feature of the plot (Introd. C ii, etc.).
67. πᾶσαν εἰς ὀδόν: with reference especially to the two εἰσοδοί (Introd. E ii). Markland's εἰς ὀδόν <εἰ> ποτ' is plausible (so Longman); the expression βλέπω . . . πότε . . . is odd (though cf. 763*).
69. ὀχρούμεθα: cf. *Ar. Eq.* 1244 λεπτή τις ἐλπίς ἐστ' ἐφ' ἧς ὀχρούμεθα. The 'slender hope' there and the 'weak strength' here (cf. *Held.* 648-9) may be thought of as anchors; but at *Pl. Phd.* 85D the metaphor is of being 'afloat, buoyed up' ὡσερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας (cf. *S. Ant.* 189-90, ναῶν ἐπόχους *A. Pers.* 54).
70. ἀπορον χρῆμα δυστυχῶν δόμος: cf. 1552 δεινὸν ἐντυχῶν ἀνὴρ, *El.* 236, 352 ἀσθενῆς (leg. ἀσθενέδς?) φεύγων ἀνὴρ. A standard type of sententious idiom (231-2*); χρῆμα, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 20-1, Friis-Johansen 154, 155¹⁵. The 'conclusive reflection' here is notably crisp. ἀπορον follows aptly the somewhat blurred nautical image, and for the ἀπορία σωτηρίας theme cf. Bond on *HF* 54. δόμος: the sense οἶκος (cf. Lat. *domus*) is a characteristic feature of tragic diction; LSJ s.v. II.
- 71-125. Unexpectedly Helen comes from the σκηνή behind *El.* while the latter is looking in every other direction for the coming of Menelaus (on *E.*'s penchant for 'surprise' entrance-technique, see Taplin 11-12). She probably enters *without attendants* (106*), bearing in her own hands the tomb-offerings of κόμαι and χοαί (96*). This 'second scene' (a feature of all *E.*'s prologues except in *Su.* and *Ba.*, Grube 68-71) has a far-reaching plot-function in the unattended dispatch of Hermione to Cl.'s tomb (1311-52*). But the brief 'paradoxical' exhibition of Helen's φύσις (126 ff.), in confrontation with *El.*'s ill-concealed hatred (19, 130-1), is admirable as such; and we need to see her, since her role 'is from beginning to end at the centre of the drama' (Vellacott 60; Introd. B, D iv). In this intimate 'domestic' scene Helen comports herself with an amiable, gentle graciousness reflecting the Epic tradition (indeed the very brevity of this direct view of one so much talked about is 'Iliadic' in technique, by contrast with the prolonged exposure given to the non-Iliadic Helen in *Hel.*). This is the

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traditional Helen (129 *ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλα γυνή*), familiar from the charmingly ironical presentations in *Il.* 3. 121–244 and *Od.* 4. 120 ff.; cf. F. Will, 'Remarks on counterpoint characterization in Euripides', *CJ* 55 (1960), 338–44 (an article cited but misreported by Burnett, 200 n.). The primary characteristics of the Iliadic Helen are an unexpected *αἰδώς* and *φιλία*, as in her opening words to Priam: *αἰδοῖός τέ μοι ἔσσι, φίλε ἑκυρέ, δεινός τε* (*Il.* 3. 172). *αἰδώς* and *φιλία* are similarly prominent in this scene, motivating the greater part of Helen's words and actions. But she is also appropriately *ἄβουλος* (variously 'thoughtless', 'illogical', 'inconstant of purpose'): her original 'plan' involves asking her 'maiden' niece to perform a variously inappropriate task (93, 97, 108*); she raises a 'proper' objection to the dispatch of Hermione (108), but is easily persuaded in accordance with her desire; and, although she sends off Hermione with suitably maternal parting words, it does not occur to her to see that she is attended by the available *πρόσωποι*. This *ἄβουλία* was well-conceived as a third 'character-trait' (a matter partly of *ἦθος*, partly of *διάνοια*), both in dramatic terms (as capable of exhibition in speech and action, and as antithetic to El.'s 'masculine mind') and in relation to Helen's famous misconduct (79). It should not blind us to her positive qualities: it is important that we should *like* Helen, whatever view we take of her calamitous career, that we may be the more shocked by the murderous violence surrounding and directed against her; cf. E.'s (less traditional) presentation of an 'amiable' Clytaemestra in *El.*—as amiable, at least, and as maternally pitiable as the facts permitted. True, she displays *ἄβροσύνη* (evidenced only by El.'s inevitably hostile outburst after Helen's departure, but to be recognized as a 'thematic' trait, as also of Men.; 348–55*); but this no more damns her totally than squalor commends El.

71–80. Though unannounced, Helen does not identify herself till 77–80, and then only by implication; cf. *El.* 54–62.

71–2. An unusually elaborate two-line address, with a further voc. (*ὦ τάλαινα*) to follow in 73. 71 may well be an interpolation (del. M. W. Haslam, *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox* (1979), 100); the probable or possible parallels include *Med.* 1121–2 (1121 om. BOD, del. Lenting), *Tr.* 634–5 (del. Dindorf), *Hec.* 953 (del. Nauck), *Ph.* 1–2 (om. Π, del. Haslam), 291–2 (om. Π, del. Haslam), *Rh.* 388 (susp. Diggle). Without 71, 72 is like *Ph.* 88 *ὦ κλεινὸν οἴκοις Ἀντιγόνη θάλος πατρί* (name + associated phrase making a statement about the person addressed). Without 74 also (see below), 72–3 is Helen's opening distich, followed by another distich (75–6) and a four-line sentence (77–80). *παρθένε* . . . : the emphasis on 'long length of time' (with phrasing like A. *PV* 1020) may suggest a certain tactlessness; but there is no reason to suppose, with Σ, that Helen speaks *ὑβρίζουσα*. The 'pitying' point, as in S. *El.* 962, seems already to imply the name-etymology *Ἠλέκτρα* / *ἤλεκτρος* (cf. Et. *Mag.* s.v. *Ἠλέκτρα*).

75[–4]. Heath's *ἔχει* for *ἔφω* is necessary if 74 is to be defended; but deletion of

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74 is better (Kirchhoff, Paley, Di B.). The long separation of πῶς from ἐχει is awkward; likewise the prolixity of κασίγνητος σὸς τλήμων Ὀρέστης μητρὸς ὄδε φονεύς as a second subject. There is, admittedly, no exact parallel for the verbless question (sc. ἐχέτε) if 74 is removed; but *Cyc.* 206 and *An.* 548 afford sufficient support. Note that, without 74, Helen does not refer to Or. with a demonstrative ὄδε. That is probably right, since El. draws Helen's attention to Or. as 'visible' in 81 ff., after which Helen will refer to him as ὄδε in 88. [B has a gloss ἐχέτε on 73 and σῶσις written above ὄδε in 74, in accordance with an interpretation found also in *Σ.* Longman, after Porson, defended 74 with ὄς φονεύς ἔφυ. But (a) the verbless πῶς . . . is acceptable as a colloquialism in a short sentence, but very unlikely in a verbose one; (b) Or. can scarcely be said to φύναι a φονεύς (I can find no parallel in tragedy nearer than *A. Pers.* 157, where θεοὺ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφους is a flattering hyperbole.)] See Addendis Addenda.

- 75-6. προσφθέγγασιν . . . σέθεν: obj. gen., cf. *HF* 1219, *El.* 1333 (KG i 336). The γάρ is perhaps accompanied by an ambiguous gesture (cf. *GP* 61 'connexion of thought sometimes lacking in logical precision'): either 'for (I feel sorry for you and) . . .' or '(wonder not at my speaking to you) for . . .'. Helen's view of the pollution has been understood as sophistic (Adkins 105); it might also be considered simplistic (even if Or. is to be wholly exonerated, he remains a matricide and polluted as such according to the normal view; cf. Parker 311). But no contrasting justification will be offered by the friendly Chorus for their disregard of the decree μὴ προσφωμεῖν τινα (47). For the 'god-blaming', cf. *Il.* 3. 164 (Priam to Helen) οὐ τί μοι αἰτίη ἔσσι, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν. ἀναφέρουσα: 'referring' (in a legal sense), cf. 414*, 432, 597. τὴν ἁμαρτίαν: 'the fault, wrong action'; a flexible word (variously reflecting ethical and pragmatic modes of valuation), cf. 576, 596, 649, 1207, 1630 (see J. M. Bremer, *Hamartia* (1968) and S. Saïd, *La Faute tragique* (1978); also Stinton, *CQ* 1975, 221-54).

77. καίτοι . . . γε: *Al.* 648, *Hp.* 1297, *Su.* 486, *El.* 1080 (*GP* 564).

78-9. ἐπεὶ . . . : 'since the time when . . .', cf. Elmsley on *Med.* 26. ἐπλευσ' ὅπως ἐπλευσα: 'I sailed as I did'; a common turn of phrase, usually euphemistic, cf. 660, Denniston on *El.* 1141, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1171, H. W. Johnstone, *Glotta* 1980, 19-62. Helen apologizes for her conduct as caused by a πότμος 'of divine madness' (in effect as a συμφορὰ θεήλατος, 1-2*), using a word applicable to Or. also (θεομανεῖ, cf. 845). Note the tradition-reasserting contradiction of *Helen* (and of *El.* 1281-3; *Introd.* C i); cf. 128-9*.

80. ἀπολειφθεῖσα: i.e. στερηθεῖσα, cf. 216, *Tr.* 603, Elmsley on *Med.* 35. τύχας: i.e. 'her grievous death', cf. 360.

81-7. 'Why should I describe to you what you can see for yourself? Here am I, sleeplessly attending a virtual corpse . . . And (by contrast) σου . . .'. There is a well-characterized double antithesis: (a) between 'I' and 'you', (b) between 'I and Or.' (paired as ἄθλιοι) and 'you and Men.' (paired as μακάριοι). For the important μακάριος/ἄθλιος contrast, cf. 4*, 348-55*, 449

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ἀθλίως πρᾶσσουσιν εὐτυχῆς μολών, 1552–3, etc. 82 can certainly be spared; but 87 is indispensable.

- 81[–2]. To integrate 82 properly in the sentence it would be necessary to write αἷς for ἄ γε (v.l. ἄ γε καί); αἷς ἐν συμφοραῖς = τὰς συμφορὰς ἐν αἷς (cf. 1409 δς . . . γυναικός, *Ap.* 91–2, etc.; *KG* ii 417, *Bruhn* 53). But the result is somewhat contorted. As a lame, partly formulaic extension of sense already complete, 82 is in the same vein as 74. [It remains uncertain how the interpolator intended 82 to be construed (objective to λέγοιμ' ἄν or to ὄρας?) and whether he intended γόνον or δόμον (the former gives a standard formula for 'Orestes', cf. 325–6, 1037–8*, *IT* 1416; the latter is a plausible but scarcely necessary conjecture; cf. 179*, where γόνον appears as a variant for δόμον).]
84. Parenthetic, 'for he is a corpse in respect of slight breath' (i.e. slightness of breath); for the exaggerated use of νεκρός (of a colloquial kind; *Stevens, Coll. Expt.* 12), cf. 200* *Ισονέκυες*, 201–3*, *HF* 454, *S. Phil.* 1018 ἐν ζώσιν νεκρόν; for the force of οὐνεκα here, cf. *Kannicht* on *Hel.* 885–6. [A line much emended, most recently by R. D. Broadhead (*Tragicæ* (1968), 169; rightly defended by *Stevens, JHS* 1971, 147).]
85. τὰ τούτου δ' οὐκ ὄνειδίζω κακά: another parenthesis (not the antithesis to ἐγὼ μὲν). *El.* has enlarged upon what is prima facie αἰσχρόν, and 'rhetorically' disclaims an ὄνειδιστικόν intention (as in 4*).
- 86–7. Read: σὺ δ' ἢ (not εἶ) μακαρία μακαρίος θ' ὁ σὸς πόσις / ἤκετον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀθλίως πεπραγότας. Much confusion has resulted from the mistaken idea that, in the phrase μακάριος ὁ σὸς πόσις, the adjective must be predicative and ἐστί understood. That that is not so is clear from *El.* 1006 μακαρίας τῆς σῆς χερσός, *Ap.* 98 στερρόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν δαίμον', *A. Ch.* 496 φίλτατον τὸ σὸν κᾶρα; in such poetical phrase-patterns the adj. may be merely emphatic. So here 'you the fortunate one' (quasi-titular, like 1338 τῇ μέγ' ὀλβία, 293 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τλήμων) and 'your fortunate husband' are acceptably paired as subjects of the dual vb ἤκετον. [V's τε for θ' ὁ (unreported in *Murray's* app. crit.) may seem easier but deserves no credence. Most MSS have σὺ δ' εἶ, but σὺ δ' ἢ is superior prima facie (comparison with *Ba.* 1242 merely helps to explain the widespread preference for εἶ). Σ behaves oddly, at once objecting to the copula as 'superfluous' (πλεονάζει) and specifying a stop (στιγμῆ) after πόσις. The commentator who originally specified the στιγμή (tolerating the resultant asyndeton) must have wished to understand εἶ; if εἶ had actually been in his text, ἤκετον would have self-evidently been a fresh sentence-opening. *Wecklein's* excision of 87 was misconceived (despite *Page's* support in *Actors* 52), and there is no case worth rebutting for other proposals. But there is another variant that deserves consideration: the Eustathian ἤκεις for ἤκετον (*Comm. Il.* 146. 12, 809. 36, *Od.* 1856. 14), accepted by *Porson*. μακάριος . . . πόσις (between commas) is then either a parenthesis, with μακάριος predicative, or (better) an interposed second subject as in the parallel cited by *Porson*: fr. 812. 4–5 κἀγὼ γὰρ οὕτως, χῶστις ἐστ' ἀνήρ

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- σοφός, / λογίζομαι (Stob.-εται) τάληθές. For reversion to the main idea after a parenthetical addition, cf. also Diggle, *ICS* 1981, 92. A possible argument in favour of ἤκεις is that it is Helen only, not Helen and Men., whose coming ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀθλίως πεπραγότας is resented by El. The preposition ἐπί is consistent with an implied accusation that Helen has come in an unfriendly way to gloat. But the case for ἤκεις is scarcely strong enough.]
88. 'How long has he been lying abed?' Recent edd. rightly accept δὲ δεμνίσις (cf. 35*, and West, *GM* 83¹); for the local dat. (7, 103, etc.), cf. *El.* 763 κείμενον πέδω. πέπτωχ': i.e. πεισὼν κείται, cf. 152.
89. αἶμα γενέθλιον κατήνυσεν: exquisite phrasing for φόνον μητρὸς (ἐξ)-ἐπραξεν (cf. 416*); γενέθλιος 'parental', as *A. Ch.* 912.
90. '... and (wretched) his mother for the manner of her death'. ὡς is at once causal (almost = ὅτι οὕτως, *KG* ii 370-1) and modal exclamatory ('how'), cf. 130 f.*. οἶος is the commonest rel. in this type of idiom (Barrett on *Hr.* 877-80, Stinton, *JHS* 1977, 145), cf. *Al.* 258 ὦ δυσδαίμων (or better δυσδαίμων' dual?), οἶα πάσχομεν.
91. A summative line, before the change of topic. τὰδ' and κακοῖς (causal dat.) have much the same comprehensive reference. ἀπείρηκεν: cf. *Hr.* 1353, *Hec.* 942 ἀπείπον ἄλγει.
92. 'Would you do something for me?' Cf. *Il.* 14. 190 ἢ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο; *Ar. Nub.* 87 τί οὖν πίθωμαι δῆτά σοι; πρὸς θεῶν (cf. 579*) and δῆτα (*GP* 271) both serve to emphasize the strength of Helen's desire. παρθένη: cf. 72, 108*.
93. The interpretation 'Yes, for I have no leisure' is clearly nonsense. ('Know) that ...' is better, but ὡς ... γε always implies agreement with what precedes, and assent if what precedes is a question. Herwerden's δσ' is doubtless right (*Mnemosyne* 1877, 33): '(I can agree to your request) in so far, at least, as lack of leisure permits'—said, perhaps, with a certain sarcasm (it is impolitic to give offence by an outright refusal). προσεδρία: causal dat., cf. 91, 210*, etc. [οἶ' (Stevens, *CR* 1968, 156) is no better, and less likely. The exx. of ὡς ... γε in *GP* 143 are somewhat heterogeneous; Denniston was content to treat this as an idiom that became 'stereotyped' in E. and Ar. without distinguishing 'causal' and 'asseverative' uses (clear or possible exx. of the latter include *Su.* 294, *Ion* 935, *Ba.* 1272, *S. Phil.* 117, 812, *Ar. Pax* 942; for asseverative ὡς without γε, see 423*, 1114*). But it should be noted that the vb is always finite. Following δσ' we can understand <οἶσα>; following ὡς the copula must be <εἰμί> (or <εἶσι>, if we changed προσεδρία to the nom.)]
94. Helen hears only the 'assent', as one not to be put off by what is merely implied. τάφον ... πρὸς κασιγνήτης: like *HF* 527 ὄχλιω τ' ἐν ἀνδράν, *An.* 511 μαστοῖς ματέρος ἀμφὶ σᾶς, *Od.* 16. 407 δόμον εἰς Ὀδυσῆος, etc. (Bruhn 92); the preposition attaches to the attributive gen. as to an epithet, and exx. with disyllabic preposition should not be regarded as 'anastrophe' (as by Platnauer on *IT* 1460, Collard on *Su.* 271).
95. Sc. πρὸς τάφον μολεῖν.

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96. **ἀπαρχάς**: properly *primitiae* (first-fruits); of hair for the dead, cf. *Ph.* 1525, Denniston on *El.* 91 *πρὸς τάφον μολῶν . . . κόμης ἀπηρξάμενη. χοῶς ἐμάς*: 115*. Helen is herself carrying a lock of hair (already cut indoors, 128-9*) and a libation-vessel, for a mission to be performed by a single unattended person (106*). 96 is at once the answer to *τίνας χάριν*; and the continuation of 94 (what Helen would have said in any case, had she not been 'interrupted' in a manner typical of stichomythia); cf. 398-400, 414-16, 736-8, 756-8, 1185-7, 1332-4, [1582-4]. There is much to be said for putting *no* punctuation at the end of the 'interrupted' line in such places (cf. Mastronarde 56-8).
97. 'Should you not go yourself?' **οὐχὶ θεμιστόν**: cf. *S. OT* 993 *οὐ θεμιστόν* (s.v.l.; Dawe i 250). **φίλων**: 'of a loved one'; such pls. for sing. usually, as here, imply a general premiss; cf. 819 *τοκέων. φιλία* (Introd. F i. 5) was a matter as much of obligations as of affection.
- 98 ff. Helen is conscious of having left home **αἰσχροῦς**, and consequently feels **αἰδώς** 'shame' (cf. Adkins 167); one element in that is physical fear (98, 102), but we need not deny her proper feelings of self-reproach (cf. *Il.* 3. 180 *δαῖρ' αὐτ' ἐμός ἔσκε κυνώπιδος*). El. herself allows 'shame' to be the proper state of mind for Helen (**φρονεῖς εὐ**). Cf. Or.'s *αἰσχύνομαι* to El. at 281, and further on 396* for the concept of 'remorse'.
100. Punctuate **ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας' οὐ φίλως δέ μοι λέγεις**. Helen candidly accepts the 'rightness' of El.'s censure (without the more positive approbation of *καλῶς*, cf. *S. Phil.* 341); and then mildly protests at her 'unkindness'; **φίλως** 'in the manner to be expected of a φίλος' (97*), as in *Hp.* 597 (the only other occurrence of this advb in E.), *S. El.* 1471. Not (in one breath) 'you speak rightly, but you speak *unwelcomely to me*' (with an apparently lame repetition of 'speak'); a misinterpretation that has prompted several bad conjectures.
101. **δὲ δὴ**: 52*. Both the particle **δὴ** and the postponement of the interrog. (cf. 28, 309, 401, 427, 694, 745, 749, ?766, 1182, 1186, 1211, 1425, 1611; G. Thomson, *CQ* 1939, 147-52) lay stress on the theme-word **αἰδώς**.
103. The *paradosis* means 'Yes, (they, the fathers, are) a fearsome thing, and you are shouted in Argos'; what we need is 'Yes, for you are fearsomely shouted . . .'. Canter's *καταβοῆ* gets rid of the otherwise unwelcome **τε** and gives the latter sense straightforwardly (*κατα-* 'against'). But corruption of *κατα-* to *τ'* *ἀνα-* is harder to account for than corruption of **γ'** (Matthiae) to **τ'**; and **τε** is in place: whether or not Helen is right to fear (reprisals from) 'fathers of those who died at Troy', her *infamy on the lips of Argives* (of which El. has personal knowledge) is indeed such as to cause **δέος. δεινόν**: for the adverbial use with a vb of loud utterance, cf. *Med.* 1184 (*στανάσασ*), *An.* 1148 (*ἐφθίγαστο*). **γάρ**: assentient, cf. 410, etc. (*GP* 73-4). **Ἄργει**: local dat., cf. 875. **ἀναβοῆ**: 'you are (i.e. your name is) shouted'; the use of *ἀναβοῆν* has been questioned, but there is no need for a nonce-interpretation 'shout against'. A person can be 'shouted' for either good or ill (good, cf. *Hdt.* 6. 131 *ἐβώσθησαν ἀνά τὴν Ἑλλάδα*); but, for a woman, the

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- ideal was not even to be *spoken* of among men (cf. the view of Pericles in Th. 2. 45. 2). Since *ἀναβοᾶν* is virtually synonymous with *ἰαχεῖν*, *Hel.* 1147 is a clear precedent: *ἰαχήθης* (Herm.) καθ' Ἑλλαντίαν (also of Helen); and for the trans. sense 'shout concerning' cf. also *Hel.* 190 Πανὸς ἀναβοᾶ γάμοις. The adverbial *δεινόν* makes the preverb *κατα-* even less necessary. διὰ στόμα: cf. 1175, *A. Sept.* 51; as often, the pleonasm reinforces the point. [Elliptical *δεινόν γάρ* is possible in itself, cf. 410 *σεμναὶ γάρ*, *Med.* 44, *IT* 539 (*GP* 87); Reeve (i 262) suggests *δεινοὶ γάρ*, but for the n. sing. as substantival predicate cf. 231–2*, etc. Ἄργει δ' . . . would then be better than Ἄργει τ' . . ., but the truth surely lies elsewhere.]
104. *σύ νυν χάριν . . . δός*: cf. 302 (. . . ἐκταθείσα δός), *Hel.* 940 δός τὴν χάριν μοι. τὸν φόβον λύσσα: cf. *A. Sept.* 270 λύσσα . . . φόβον; here 'coincident' with the aor. imperat. as in *Hp.* 289–90 ἡδίων γενοῦ στυγνὴν ὀφρὺν λύσσα (see Barrett).
105. Cf. Or.'s reluctance to view Cl.'s tomb at 798; the phrasing is like *Ba.* 836 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλον ἐνδύναί στόλον.
106. It 'would not look well' for a *servant* (pl., cf. *φίλων* 97) to bear the offerings (to the tomb). Evidently Helen is herself carrying the *χοαὶ* and *κόμαι* (so Arrowsmith), and not contemplating a mission by a celebrant with acolytes (who might properly do the 'carrying'). 106 is at once a cue for 107 and an 'explanation' (with dramatic sleight of hand, cf. 771*) of Helen's action, in preparation for the unattended mission of Hermione. We shall hear more about Helen's *πρόσωποι* (1110 ff., 1380, etc.); they are *de trop* (here) for the action and best kept out of sight (*contra* Stanley-Porter 81). Note that an unattended Helen is a much 'homelier' figure, and the issue is of some importance for assessing the intended effect of the scene on the audience (certainly an impressive Phrygian-style retinue would be an unwarranted interpolation: El. might have been expected to pass adverse comment on *that* at 128 ff.).
107. 'Then why not send Hermione?' *δέμας*: the periphrasis (cf. 1197, 1216–17*) alludes to the 'physical person', aptly here in relation to *σῶμα* 98.
108. A conventional sentiment, cf. *Held.* 43–4, etc. (Dover, *GPM* 98, Walcot 91), here strikingly *ἄβουλον* in that Helen has twice referred to El. herself as a *παρθένος* (72, 92).
109. *καὶ μὴν . . . γέ*: a contrary consideration, cf. *Al.* 1099, etc. (*GP* 357).
- 110–11. *ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας*: V has *καλῶς* here, which Longman favoured, arguing that *ὀρθῶς* could be a false echo of 110. It could be so; but turns of phrase are elsewhere repeated in the interests of characterization (cf. 520*). *πείθομαί τέ σοι, κόρη*: with a reversal of the *πειθῶ* in 92. 111 ('and I will send my daughter . . .') is superfluous and partly repetitive, and may have been added either by someone looking for a *καί* . . . continuation of *πείθομαί τε* . . . (*τε* prospective; there is nothing amiss with the asyndeton thus, cf. *Ba.* 953) or to give Helen another line while she moves to summon Hermione. [Mastrorarde (28⁹⁹) prefers the variant *πέμψομαι* 'I shall send for' and suggests that 111 was written to suit the summons of Herm. by an

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attendant; for *πέμπεσθαι* 'summon' cf. *HF* 1421, *Hec.* 977, *IA* 1356, *S. OC* 602. But corruption of *πέμφομεν* to *-ομαι* is likelier here, after *πειθομαι* (cf. Diggle, *CQ* 1983, 350). V's other variant *θυγατέρα γ'* appropriately enough stresses the noun, but *γε θυγατέρ'* is a likelier rhythm (with resolution at the beginning of the word.)

112 ff. ὦ τέκνον, ἔξελθ' . . . / καὶ λαβέ . . . : the instructions follow the summons almost in the same breath (contrast the elaborate summons of Andromache by her mother at *Hec.* 171 ff.). One factor justifying the unusual technique is that the *σκηνή* has not been identified as the Palace-façade; the setting is still that of Or.'s 'sick-bed', with the doors of the *σκηνή* probably standing open (Intro. E i). Helen is merely summoning Herm. from a concealed part of the Palace (with *δόμων πάρος* to be understood in a purely theatrical sense, cf. *ἔσω* 60*). Another factor is that Herm. is a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* in this scene, and the language used for her summons is similar to what would be appropriate for a mere attendant. It is doubtful whether Herm. at once obeys the command *λαβέ ἐν χερσίν*. Between 113 and 123 Helen gives detailed instructions as to the ritual (a traditional feature in tragedy, cf. *A. Pers.* 611 ff., *S. OC* 469 ff.; Stinton, *JHS* 1976, 139, on *Tr.* 685), and probably demonstrates (at the stage altar?) how Herm. is to perform it at the offstage tomb.

114. ἀμφί: 'to', cf. *HF* 984, etc. (KG i 490-1).

115. μελίκρατ' . . . : the phrasing reflects *Od.* 10. 519 *πρῶτα μελικρήτω, μετέπειτα δὲ ἠδέϊ οἴνω*, modified in accordance with the combination of all three elements (*dramatis causa*, 96*) in one vessel; for the standard wine, milk and honey, cf. *IT* 163-5 (P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (1920), 149). οἰνωπόν: cf. *Hygs.* 64. 111 (*βότρυν*); E. was notably fond of *-ωπός* and *-ώδης* words (255-6*, etc.). ἄχνην: 'froth', cf. Borthwick, *JHS* 1976, 6; similar *χοαί* are described as a *πελανός* (219-20*) at *A. Ch.* 92.

116. στάσ' ἐπ' ἄκρου χώματος: cf. *Hec.* 524, where Neoptolemus is said to have mounted Achilles' tomb with Polyxena, and *A. Ch.* 4 *τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθω*. [Schumacher's *ἀπ' ἄκρου*, revived by Degani (citing *Ph.* 1223, *Tr.* 523, *V. Aen.* 5. 44), is refuted by Di B. in *Maia* 1968, 156; there is no question here of haranguing an assembly from a high place.]

117. δωρεΐτα: with acc. pers. (like Lat. *donare*), cf. *A. PV* 778 (KG i 295).

118 f. φέβω προσελθῆν: cf. *IT* 1342, *πόθω θανεῖν An.* 824 (KG ii 6-8). Helen then explains that fear, and we should accept Benedict's *ταρβούσά γε Ἀργείων ὄχλον* (*Obs. ad Eur. Hec. et Or.* (1824), 27). *τε* wrongly implies that the 'tomb' and the 'crowd' are separate deterrents; for the correct *γε*, cf. *HF* 755-6 *ἀντίποινα δ' ἐκτίνων / τόλμα, διδούς γε τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην* (*GP* 139), and Diggle, *ICS* 1981, 88, on similar errors at *Al.* 847, *Hec.* 615, 1176, *Held.* 794, *Ba.* 816.

119. πρηνεμένη: a purely tragic word, especially Aeschylean (not in *S.*, occasional in *E.*), in three senses associable with the root *πρᾶος* 'placid': (a) 'mild, gracious', of persons (inc. gods), = *ἰλεως*; (b) 'calmly benign', of *τύχαι* (almost 'happy'); (c) 'placating', especially of *χοαί*. Often nearly

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synonymous in signif. (a) with the common *εὐμενής*, by which it was liable to be replaced, metre permitting (as, certainly, in *A. Pers.* 609 *παιδὸς πατρὶ πρηνεμεῖς*, v. l. *πατρὶ παιδὸς εὐμενεῖς*; at *Phaethon* 269 there is an uncertain choice, see Diggle, between *εἶτε πρηνεμεῖς* and *εἶητ' εὐμενεῖς*). *πρηνεμενῆ* is doubtless right here, with its Aeschylean colour and in a context of placatory *χοαί*; the more so as *Herm.* will return at 1323 'having (duly) obtained *πρηνεμενεία*' (the noun occurs there only). Not even Helen can expect *Cl.* to be positively *εὐμενής* towards her murderers. [Di B. continues (in *Maia* 1968, against Degani) to prefer *εὐμενῆ*, leaning mainly on a supposed echo of *S. El.* 453 (neglecting that there the prayer is to Agamemnon, for positive aid, that *εὐμενῆ* is there required by metre, and that *πρηνεμ-* does not occur in *S.*); also falsely suggesting (after Chantraine) that *πρηνεμ-* was a mere synonym of *εὐμ-*, used only when required by metre (neglecting, e.g., *Tr.* 739).]

ἄνωγα: this form of the imperat. appears to have the pres. force *πέιθε, κέλευε, ἐπώτρυνε* (cf. the epic *ἐπώτρυνω καὶ ἄνωγα*), whereas the usual *ἄνωχθι* (*Al.* 1044, *HF* 241, *Phaethon* 246) is aoristic, = *κέλευσον*.

120. *πῶσαι*: i.e. Menelaus.

121. *οὓς ἀπώλεσεν θεός*: 'god-blaming' again (cf. 75-6*), but also with a thematic use of *ἀπολλύναι*, the god being Apollo (cf. 954-6*).

122. *καιρός* (*ἔστι*): both 'it is proper' and 'it is opportune', cf. *Med.* 80, *An.* 131, *El.* 997, *Ion* 1552, *IA* 325. *ἐκπονεῖν*: 'to perform by labour'; a favourite vb (Bremer, *CQ* 1972, 236-40), usually (as here) with an idea of 'completeness'. Note the delicate irony: the labour that we have seen Helen performing is not very exacting, and *καιρός* commonly implies 'neither too much nor too little' (Barrett on *Hp.* 386-7, J. R. Wilson, *Glotta* 1980, 177 ff.). *ἐμέ* (s.v.l.): simply 'me (*qua* sister)'; not 'me in person' (opp. *Herm.*, as Helen's agent); Helen certainly sees herself as currently *πонуόσα*, and all the 'promised givings' (among them the *δῶρα* described in 1426-36*) as to be delivered to the tomb vicariously. On balance the variant *ἐμήν* seems preferable, (a) as not open to misinterpretation, (b) as less obvious (no acc. pers. is needed, but one could well have been mistakenly looked for; there is less reason for corruption the other way). The two paraphrases in *Σ* suggest that both *ἐμέ* and *ἐμήν* are ancient readings (*Σ**, as Biehl points out, clearly attests the latter).

123. *νεπτήρων δωρηματα*: 'givings to the dead' (obj. gen., implying *δωρεῖσθαι* + acc. pers., as in 117; *KG* i 336); the semi-abstract use of verbal *-μα* nouns is characteristic of tragic diction, cf. 795, 928, 988, 1434-6*, 1642, etc. The gen. here goes unambiguously with the noun (the more normal dat., as 1436, might have been taken with *ὑπισχνού*).

124-5. A 'maternal' parting exhortation (following the hand-over of the offerings, 112 ff.*), and Helen returns within. *ἴθ' ὦ τέκνον μοι*: cf. *Al.* 313 (*KG* i 423). *τῆς πάλιν μέμνησ' ὁδοῦ*: elegant idiom, but also with a 'homely' flavour (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 495-7). *Herm.* leaves by the *Λεῖσοδος* (Introd. E ii), opposite to the one by which the Chorus will shortly enter.

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126-39. A link-passage between Helen's exit and the entry of the Chorus. First Electra gives vent to the hatred which she has had to control (hoping for help from Men.) in Helen's presence.

126[-7]. ὦ φύσις . . . : the sight of Helen behaving like her old self (128-9*) prompts a characteristic general reflection (Friis Johansen 89). The apostrophe has a semi-personifying effect (cf. 213-14*), while delivering a direct thrust against the enthroning of Nature by the *φύσικοι* (cf. 3*). 127 then undercuts the *sententia*: the great evil among men is at the same time a potentially *σωτήριον* 'possession'. The confusion of thought, interrupting the connection between 126 and 128-9, is scarcely saved by Wecklein's *δέ* (accepted by Longman). Di B. rightly, I think, accepts Klinkenberg's excision (*De Eur. prolog.* . . ., Diss. Bonn 1881). The interpolator was presumably upset by El.'s failure to qualify her condemnation of *φύσις ἐν ἀνθρώποις*. El. is given to crisp, unconventional *sententiae* making (with exaggeration) a dramatic point; cf. 233-4*, where her sentiment *μεταβολή πάντων γλυκύ* was criticized in antiquity. The line added here may perhaps have referred, in a different context, to some quite different *κτῆμα* such as 'wealth'. [We may well, indeed, give the interpolator credit for intending *σωτήριον δέ* . . . Confusion of *τε* and *δέ* is very frequent (Diggle counts 14 instances in *Tr.*; *Studies* 59). It is surprising that Denniston could stomach this *τε* (*GP* 514).]

128-9. '(For) behold how (superficially) she has shorn her hair . . .'. Characters in tragedy appeal to the world at large (and/or imagined supernatural observers) to witness a situation and/or the truth of a proposition; they do not, unlike comic actors, directly accost the spectators in the theatre. Cf. Ed. Fraenkel, *MH* 1967, 190-2, and D. Bain, *CQ* 1975, 19-20; but in discussing this passage they did not consider the variant *ἴδετε*, which should surely be preferred to *εἶδετε* . . .; Bain compares *Ph.* 1676 *εἶδες* . . .; but in this, as in all the *exx.* of 2nd pers. questions adduced by Fraenkel, the vb is sing. (and *Ph.* 1676 is otherwise different, in stichomythia). For the imperat. of 'general address', cf. 804* *κᾶσθ' ἐταίρους*, 977-8*, *IT* 1298 *ὄρατ', ἀπιστον ὡς γυναικεῖον γένος*, *S. Aj.* 1028 *σκέψασθε, πρὸς θεῶν, τὰς τύχας δυοῖν βροτοῖν*, *El.* 1384 *ἴδεθ' ὅπου* . . . (choric). For confusion of *ἴδ-* and *εἶδ-*, cf. *HF* 131, *Ba.* 591, *IA* 592 (Elmsley on *Med.* 1219[1252], Diggle, *PCPhS* 1976, 45). *εἶδετε* could well have been mistakenly favoured in antiquity: the later histrionic tradition will not have felt any qualms about an interrog. appeal to the spectators (following interpolated stage-business with scissors?). We should then read, with Porson: *ἴδετε γὰρ* (Duport, for *παρ'*) *ἄκρας ὡς ἀπέθρισαν τρίχας*: cf. *S. El.* 449 *τεμοῦσα κρατὸς βοστρύχων ἄκρας φόβας*. True, there is no 'superficially' point in that passage; but the point is sufficiently clear here if we remove the comma after *τρίχας*: 'see how she has shorn her hair-tips' (so far conventional phrasing) 'preserving her beauty'. For *παρ' ἄκρας*, Paley compared expressions like *παρ' ὀλίγας ψηφούς* *Dem.* 24. 138, but it would be very awkward to understand *τρίχας* here when *τρίχας* is also the object;

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- others take ἀκρας as from ἀκρα, comparing κατ' ἀκρας 'utterly' and ἀπ' ἀκρας S. fr. 271. 1 R.). For ἀπᾶθρισεν (12*) cf. also *Hel.* 1188. ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι γυνή: unlike the heroine of *Helen*, who had unsparingly sacrificed her hair in (pretended) mourning. 128-9 not only proves the truth of 126 (so that the γάρ is in place); it also reasserts that this is the traditional Helen (cf. 78-9*).
- 130 f. 'May the gods hate you for having (thus) destroyed . . .': cf. *Hel.* 74-5 θεοῖσ', ὅσον μίμημ' ἔχεις / Ἑλένης, ἀποπτύσειαν ('for having such a likeness to Helen'). ὡς 'causal-exclamatory' (90*), not, as some take it, 'even as'.
- 131-5. The Chorus of Mycenaean φίλαι is seen approaching from the R. ᾧ τάλαιν' ἐγώ: rightly taken by Σ as referring to the new trouble.
- 132f. αὖ: i.e. as a further upsetting disturbance. θρηνημασι . . . ξυνοδοί: cf. *Hel.* 174, 1113, *Su.* 73; the Chorus will duly 'sing with El.'s lament' in 960 ff. (p. 240).
- 133 f. τάχα: *statim, ilico*, not *fortasse* (see Barrett on *Hp.* 181-2); cf. 1288 for the exaggerated expression of a fear as a definite expectation.
134. ἐκτιξουσ': cf. 529, 860, 1047, *Hel.* 1419 (ἐκ- intensive, 191*; τηκ- 34*).
- 136-9. 'Please approach quietly . . .; it will be ruin for me if Orestes' sleep is disturbed'. φόφος is noise in general (including speech); κτύπος is percussive noise, here of feet. Contrast *Ba.* 55-61, where Dionysus (with κτυπεῖτε) instructs the Chorus to enter *noisily* with their τύμνανα. The 'tiptoeing parodos' of *Or.* is a very unusual, perhaps unique, piece of dramaturgy, and the preparatory instruction to the Chorus is indispensable (the more so, if it is not El. who sings σίγα σίγα . . . at 140-1, see below). There are no stylistic faults, suspicion having arisen only because 136-7 anticipates 140-1, and 138-9 more distantly anticipates 158-9. That the lyrics should elaborate what has been adumbrated in 136-9 is not, in itself, surprising (cf. the parodos of *Ba.*, which elaborates 55-61). The repetition 137/141 is certainly offensive as things stand, but 141 is demonstrably corrupt, doubtless as a consequence of intrusion from 137 (perhaps for something substantially different); it is entirely appropriate that the entering Chorus should *echo* the instruction 'Please approach quietly . . .' by singing 'Sh! Sh! Tread softly . . .'. [Recent defenders of 136-9 include Longman, Biehl (*Tp* 16-17) and Mastronarde (22⁶). Wilamowitz (*Herakles* i 153⁶) took 136-9 as a 'dittography' of 140 ff. (written, if so, in accordance with the attested—probably wrong—ancient assignation of σίγα σίγα . . . to El.). Page (*Actors* 52), after Murray, argued that 'whichever gave 140-1 to Electra either did not find or did not leave 136-9 in his text', i.e. that no one could have rationally given both 136-9 and 140-1 to the same speaker (an inference doubtful in itself, even with the offensive repetition offered by our corrupt text, and certainly false if the true text of 141 was *not* offensively repetitive). There is, after all, no evidence that 136-9 were stigmatized in, or absent from, the Alexandrian edition; and it is probable that the editor himself gave σίγα σίγα . . . to El. (see below). Di B.'s acceptance of the deletion is linked with his assignation of 140-1 to El.]

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(contested below); it is then less necessary for El. to initiate the 'hushing' in speech. His further argument that lyrics never repeat the substance of previous trimeters is also relevant only if *σῖγα σῖγα* . . . is continued to El. (and even then it requires qualifying: cf., for example, *An.* 29-44 and 113 ff.)]

138-9. ἡ σή; perhaps to the Chorus-leader (cf. *Med.* 252 and *S. OT* 1115, where there is a similar shift from pl. to sing.; Kaimio 216 f.); but as in 183-6, El.'s words are still aimed at the whole Chorus, thought of as a 'corporate individual'—a characteristic artificiality (cf. 140-207*, 1246-85*, 1353-65*, 1537-48*). The *φιλία* is a group-attribute, cf. *φίλταται* 136, 1103-4*. *πρηνεινής*: 119*. ἀλλ' . . . instead of something like *ὀχληρὰ δέ* El. substitutes (with a slight anacoluthon) a stronger adversative expression (*μὲν* . . . ἀλλά, *GP* 5-6: 'the second clause states a consideration which goes some way towards invalidating the first'). *συμφορὰ*: vague 'calamity', in an exaggerated expression like *ὀλεῖς* (sc. *με*) . . . in 158-9*. [*P. Köln* 252 (*O. Musso*, *ZPE* 1982, 43-6) has . . . *μὲν* *γαλομο*]. at the end of 138, which *Musso* suggests may have been intended for . . . *μὲν*, ἀλλ' ὄμως. If ἀλλ' ὄμως were indeed attested as a variant, one might consider accepting it and bracketing 139 (cf. 1022-3[-4]*).] See *Addendis Addenda*.

140-207. *Choral entry and ἀμοιβαίον*. The fifteen Mycenaean *φίλοι* duly enter *ἡσύχως* (136-9*), in a most unusual 'tiptoeing' processional dance. The very idea of a 'hushed' choral entry has an anti-traditional piquancy (cf. the unique antistrophic entry in *Hel.*, strongly contrasting in tone, yet corresponding metrically, with a solo lament). The dominance of the monodist is also a feature characteristic of E.'s later style; his duos (whether of actor and chorus or of two actors) are often rather one-sided, and here El. has much the larger part, concluding all four stanzas with an utterance of some length. The language is at once lively and artificial, blending colloquial and poetically exquisite usages in a manner that hovers on the brink of paratragedy. Though much bears the stamp of originality, E. certainly had in mind his own previous scene in *Heracles* (*HF* 1042 ff.), where Amphitryon comes out of the house in order to silence the chorus' loud lamentations so that *Heracles* may sleep. That differs in being astrophic (less artificial, thus) and non-processional, with the chorus already in the *ὀρχήστρα*; but it has many points of similarity (*Bond* pp. 332-3), notably the phrases *σῖγα σῖγα* (140-1*, 183-6*; *HF* 1042, 1067) and *μὴ κτυπεῖτε* (141; *HF* 1048); see also 142-3*, 145-6*, 147 f.*, 148*, 158-9*, 173*, 210*, and nn. on metre. Another, more recent precedent was the sleep-scene in *S. Phil.* (158-9*, 166*, 174-9*; on sleep-scenes in general, see A. Dieterich, *RhM* 1891, 25-46). The dominant rhythm is dochmiac (especially $\cup\cup\cup\cup$); a metre which lent itself to tense and half-chanted utterance (*Dale*, *LM* 104 ff.). Aesch. had used it for the choral entry in the *Septem* and *Eumenides*, but very differently (for entries *σποράδην*; cf. *Taplin* 141-2, 372).

The assignation of parts. Symmetrical division, often intricate, is the norm

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in strophic amoibaia. Di B. (previously in *Hermes* 1961, 298–321) argues that the norm is not an absolute rule; and, placing this scene among his exceptions, he rejects at 140–1/153–4, 173/194 and 174–82/195–203 the symmetry which has been generally accepted by edd. since Seidler (*De versibus dochmiacis* (1812), 198 ff.). As to 154, 174–82 and 194, there are no good grounds for preferring asymmetry (qq.v.). As to 140–1, there is indeed a probability that Aristophanes of Byzantium himself gave *σῖγα σῖγα* . . . to El.; but it does not follow that that assignation is right (*pace* O. Musso in *Studi Ardizzoni* (1978), 609–11). It is logical that El. should initiate the ‘hushing’, but she has already done that in 136–9* (provided that we have not deleted those lines)—precisely, we may judge, in order that the amoibaion may proceed with perfect symmetry (each stanza begun by Ch. and concluded by El.). [Assignation of *σῖγα σῖγα* . . . to El. was taken for granted by Diog. Laert. (7. 172), Dion. Hal. (*de comp. verb.* xi) and the writer of Hypoth. II (in the Aristophanic tradition, 1–70*, if not entirely by Ar. Byz.); also Psellus (Musso, art. cit.). It seems clear that most, if not all, Alexandrian speaker-attributions rested on interpretation, not on authentically transmitted textual indications (Taplin, *PCPhS* 1977, 121 ff.), and here we can well understand why *all* the ‘hushing’ should have been erroneously given to El. (as 136 ff., 145–6, etc.). But note, by contrast, that Σ on *Ph.* 202 (apparently ancient) takes for granted the attribution of *σῖγα σῖγα λευκόν* (*sic*) . . . to Ch. One might have expected some comment about ancient disagreement (such as we have at *Med.* 148). A puzzling situation, but the odds are heavily in favour of symmetry here also, esp. if Di B. is wrong about the other E. passages where he denies it (he is certainly wrong about 1263–5/83–5, q.v., and his arguments are nowhere compelling). Cf. Page, *CQ* 1937, 94–9 (no exceptions to the rule of symmetry in S.; as to E., the only cases admitted by Page, in *Tr.*, disappear in Diggle’s text).]

The choral part. A modern producer might well prefer to give all or most of the choral lines to a soloist (the Leader) or to a variety of individuals. That could be right, but it is not proved by the use of the singular in 144 (*πείθομαι*), 146 (*ὦ φίλα, φώνει*), etc.; cf. 138–9*. Choral unison and address to the whole Chorus as a ‘collective individual’ are obviously more artificial, but this is a highly artificial art-form. See also on 1246–85*, 1353–65*, 1537–48*, where I argue for more choral unison than most edd. allow (if they discuss the matter); more even than Kaimio, who in general disfavours unnecessary individualization.

140–52 = 153–65

1	Ch.	- - - - - - - - - -	<i>hδ δ</i>
2		- - - - - - - - - - (II)	<i>2δ</i>
3	El.	- - - - - - - - - -	<i>2δ</i>
4	Ch.	- - - - -	<i>δ</i>
5	El.	- - - - - - - -	<i>δ comp</i>
6		- - - - - - - - - -	<i>2δ</i>

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7	Ch.	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2δ
8	El.	υ υ υ υ υ υ ()	δ
9		υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2δ
10		υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2δ
11		υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2δ

The first stanza-pair is almost pure dochmiac, with mostly exact responsion (least so in 5-6); the stanza ends with a run of six δ, whereas the rest of it is divisible into periods (speaker-change by no means guarantees period-end) 3-4 δ in length. 1. For the initial hypodochmius, with 'anaclastic' rhythm, cf. 1384, *Hp.* 852, *Ion* 799 (Conomis 31). 2. The str. is corrupt (140-1*); an emendation giving υ - x - for μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος is clearly to be desired. 5. The 'dochmiac compound' is a flexible verse made up of a δ and a shorter element preceding or following (perhaps in origin a telescoped pair of dochmii); cf. 168/89, 179/200, 1415, *Ba.* 1153 ἀναχορεύσασμεν Βάκχιον, *A. Eum.* 270 f. ἢ θεὸν ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν, etc. (Conomis 48). Here the elements are completely fused, and the analysis may be either x - - δ or δ - x -; in either case scansion of δ δ 145 as υ - is likely (cf. *HF* 1052, Conomis 27-8), though not absolutely necessary. [If δ δ is --, either υ - - δ rests on the analogy of υ - - - υ - - (Su. 622-3/30-1, *Ph.* 1026/50, *S. El.* 485/501, *OC* 1670/97, ?*A. Pers.* 281/7, *Sept.* 356/68), υ - - - υ - - (Ion 190/201) and more doubtfully υ - - - υ - - (S. *Phil.* 1134/57; str. corrupt, or write ἀμάς in 1157?), cf. Diggle, *ICS* 1981, 86; or we have in the strophe an unparalleled dochmius - - - - υ υ (for υ - - - - υ υ, cf. *S. Ant.* 1289 τί φῆς, ὦ παῖ, τίνα . . .; and for . . . - υ -, *Ion* 676/95).] 8. For the division of a δ between speakers, cf. *HF* 1061 (148*), *S. OC* 836/79. 9-11. The run of 35 short syllables is 'something of a *tour de force*' (Dale, *Papers* 48, 255); cf. *Hel.* 694 ff. ἐμὲ δὲ πᾶτριδὸς ἀπὸ <πρὸ> κᾰκὸπὸτμὸν ἀραι- / ὄν εἰβάλεθ' εἰδὸς ἀπὸ πόλεός ἀπὸ τῆ σέθεν / ὅτ' ἐμελᾰθρᾰ λέχῃ τ' ἐλιπὸν . . . (for the text, see Diggle in *Dionysiaca*, 164 ff.). Such resolved runs occur especially in the final period(s) of dochmiac systems, cf. on 1305-10, 1364/1547, 1500.

140-1. σῖγα σῖγα: 'Sh! Sh!', cf. *HF* 1068. λεπτὸν . . . τίθει: 'tread delicately' (with a metaphor 'make light shoe-prints') and, by implication, 'quietly' ('tiptoeing', cf. ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι πορθμῆτων ἰχνος *IT* 266); for λεπτός of sound (not common), cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 67 f. The variant λευκόν makes sense (with no stop after σῖγα σῖγα), but the conventionally decorative epithet goes ill here with 'boot'; for the error, cf. *Med.* 1189. ἰχνος may be either 'step(s)' (*El.* 859 θές ἐς χορόν, ὦ φίλα, ἰχνος) or 'print' (ἰχνος . . . ἀρβύλης *El.* 532, λεπτὰ ἰχνη *X. Cyn.* 5. 5). ἀρβύλας (-ης codd., corr. Björck 227, 249): properly a substantial boot (or shoe, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 944), usually noisy (1470, *Ba.* 638 ψοφεῖ γοῦν ἀρβύλη δόμου ἔσω), so that λεπτ-ἰχ- ἀρβ- is a mild oxymoron. Ancient Greek dancing, unlike modern ballet, normally made a feature of foot-noise: *IA* 1042-3 χρυσοσάνδαλον ἰχνος ἐν γὰ κρούουσαι, *HF* 1303-4, etc. †μη κτυπαίτε μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος†: the metrically unsatisfactory and impossibly repetitious words evidently owe something to the similar words in 137. What we need is something

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- (preferably scanning . . . - x - ' u u - x -) that stands in the right relationship to El.'s spoken request in 137 (now rehearsed in song as a 'reminder' to colleagues as they dance into the *δρχήστρα*); perhaps *μη κτυπεῖτε*—*μελέτω*—*κτύπους*, with a combination of emphatic cognate acc. and *διά μέσου* 'admonition' like *Ion* 1410 *παῦσαι πλέκουσα—λήφομαί σ' ἐγώ—πλοκάς* (Jacobs, see Diggle, *Studies* 115–16); *μελέτω*, cf. *Ar. Plut.* 208; for the cognate acc. without epithet, cf. also 472* (*χοάς*), *Ba.* 247 (*ὑβρεις*), *ψόφον ψοφεῖν* (LSJ); for the *διά μέσου* idiom, also KG ii 353–4 and Bruhn 98–9. But the words displaced by *μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος* may have been wholly dissimilar in appearance. [Di B. accepts *μη ψοφεῖτε, μη ἔστω κτύπος* (Elmsley on *Med.* 34); an unconvincing makeshift, since (a) *μη κτυπεῖτε* is virtually universal and supported by *HF* 1048; (b) there is nothing to be said for making 141 more like 137 (136–9*). The textual confusion must be ancient, since a tradition without the words *μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος* is attested by Dion. Hal. (loc. cit.) and P. Köln (138–9*). That cannot be the truth (note that Dionysius also has the error *λευκόν*): 154 cannot be correspondingly reduced to a single δ (Nauck's deletion of *τίνα τύχαν εἶπω; leaves συμφοράν* with no construction; Schenkl's deletion of *τίνα δὲ συμφοράν; leaves . . . κτυπεῖτ' / ἀποπρὸ . . .* with elision, in response with . . . *εἶπω; / ἔτι μὲν . . .*, with hiatus). So either *μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος* was a bad supplement (presumably in later antiquity) for a verse with too few syllables (cf. 188–9*); or an intolerably corrupt line was pruned by some ancient editor.]
- 142–3. Cf. *HF* 1047 *ἑκαστέρω πρόβατε* (there followed by *μη κτυπεῖτε*). *ἀποπρὸ . . . ἀποπρὸ . . .*: cf. 1451, *HF* 1081 *ἀποπρὸ δωμαίων*, etc.; a frequent word in E. lyric (Diggle in *Dionysiaca*, 165–6); for the epanalepsis (a kind of split anadiplosis with anaphoric effect, very common in dochmiac dimeters), cf. 323, 1353, 1537, 1541; Elmsley on *Med.* 1240 [1273], Dale, *LM* 105, Diggle, *CQ* 1984, 65.
144. The Chorus 'obey' too loudly (145–6), cf. 157. *ἰδοῦ* (221, 1344) has a colloquial flavour in response to a command (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 35), but E.'s lyrics are never merely colloquial, and *ἰδοῦ, πειθόμεαι* might be preferred here as more exquisite; cf. on 147. . . *ὤς* ('behold . . .') in 147 f.*
- 145–6. δ δ: urgent protest, as at 1598, *HF* 1052, *Hel.* 445, *S. Phil.* 1300; cf. 275–6*. 'Utter, I pray (*μοι*), like (LSJ) *ὄπως* A. 1. 4) the breath of a pipe . . .'. There is an implied contrast between the simple reed-pipe (*σύριγξ*, syn. *δόναξ, κάλαμος*); the multiple 'Pan-pipes' are usually pl. *σύριγγες* in E.'s usage) and the aulos-pipe (syn. *λαυτός*). The latter is characteristically loud and deep-toned (*βαρύβρομος Hel.* 1351, cf. *Al.* 430, *Ba.* 687); the former, though capable of imitating 'Phrygian aulos' (*IA* 577) is higher-pitched (*IA* 1036–9; cf. *σύριγγι Hel.* 1484 of a bird's whistling call). *λεπτοῦ δόνακος*: ' . . . of a delicate reed(-pipe)'. The second gen. is best taken as a 'further specification' (dependent, again, on *πνοά*, not on *σύριγγος*); *σύριγγος . . . πνοά* in itself would have been consistent with loud hissing or whistling (cf. *σύριγγός* 'catcall'); *λεπτοῦ*, of course, echoes *λεπτόν* 140–1*. A recent precedent was *S. Phil.* 213 ff., where the song of the *σύριγγ*

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is contrasted with loud shouting. Passages in which the (slender) reed-pipe is soporific include A. *PV* 575 f., *ApI* 12–13 (ascribed to Plato), *Stat. Theb.* 1. 585 (references supplied by Longman). El.'s own utterance is presumably λεπτότατον and high-pitched (174–9*), perhaps accompanied by the αὐλητής on a σύριγξ μονοκάλαμος; cf. W. Kranz, *Stasimon* (1933), 240–1, on this as an instance of the new 'mimetic' style of music, and in general Michaelides s.v. syrinx.

- 147 f. ἴδ' . . . ὤς . . . : 'behold how . . .', cf. 128, *HF* 131–2 ἴδετε, πατέρος ὡς γοργῶπες αἶδε προσφερεῖς ὀμμάτων ἀγχαί; 'behold' here of sound, like *An.* 250 ἰδοῦ (or ἰδοῦ), σιωπῶ, *S. Aj.* 870–1, etc. (Bond on *Hyps.* fr. 764). ἀτρεμαῖον . . . φέρω βοάν: cf. A. *Ch.* 581 γλώσσαν εὐφημον φέρειν, *S. Tra.* 967 ἀψοφον φέρει βᾶσιν (poetical idiom, LSJ φέρω A. 1); -αῖον, not αἰᾶν (cf. L. P. E. Parker, *CQ* 1966, 12, and, for the characteristic two-termination use, Diggle in *Dionysiaca*, 166). The oxymoron with βοή (not neutral φωνή) is of an established type, cf. *S. El.* 630 ὑπ' εὐφήμου βοῆς; for the extended use of ἀτρεμαῖος (lit. 'still') cf. also *HF* 1053–4 οὐκ ἀτρεμαῖα θρήνον αἰάξει, ὦ γέροντες; ὑπόροφον, if sound, can only mean 'indoors, beneath the roof' as a synonym of ὑπόστεγον (*S. Phil.* 34, *Tra.* 376 τίν' ἐσθδεδεγμαί πημονήν ὑπόστεγον λαθραῖον;). That is intelligible (the Chorus are by now approaching the bed again and notionally entering the 'sick-room', *Intro.* E i; *S. Tra.* 376 is an adequate parallel for the inserted predicative position); but it scarcely gives the reinforcement of sense that one expects, and Longman justly regarded Musgrave's ὑπνοφόρον as 'very tempting'. 'Soporific' is the *mot juste* in reply to 145–6 (see above, and add *S. Phil.* 18–19 for 'soporific πνοή'). [ὑπόροφον- (the vulgate spelling) is similarly obscure, and probably corrupt, in *HF* 107 (see Bond). Other interpretations of ὑπόροφον here are impossible. (a) 'as it were an indoor voice', so 'quiet' (Denniston on *El.* 1166 κλύεις ὑπόροφον βοήν;); the βοή in *El.* is a scream, and we cannot translate ὡς twice. It may be, however, that our passage was first corrupted by someone familiar with the phrase ὑπόροφον βοήν in *El.* (cf. 1235–6*, 1646–7*). (b) 'qualis est submissior calami sonus' (Porson, after Σ; so LSJ); there is no supporting evidence whatever for ὄροφος as a musical 'straw', apart from the statement of Σ that the γλωττίδες of αὐλοῖ were made from ὄροφοι (unlikely to be true; then as now the appropriate reed was the plant *Arundo donax* L.); and the compound wholly lacks analogy in the sense postulated (note that ὑπαυλος *S. Aj.* 796 has nothing to do with αὐλοῖ).]

148. ναί, οὕτως: sc. φώνει (as in *El.*'s previous instruction). Edd. rightly punctuate after οὕτως, as after μόχθων 161; the ἀντιλαβή is (inferentially) followed by a pause, before a new metrical period (cf. also 174 ff./195 ff. in the second stanza-pair; there is hiatus at 194/5). The singer needs to take a big breath here before the long run of resolved dochmii. The divided dochmius, with hiatus after ναί, follows the pattern of *HF* 1061 Χο. εὔδει; Ἀμ. ναί, εὔδει, / † ὕπνον ὕπνον† ὀλόμενον δε̄ ἔκανεν ἄλοχον, . . . [A passage which I hope to discuss elsewhere, offering a new conjecture in accordance

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- with that punctuation and colometric division; for *δλόμενος* 'damnable ruin-causing' (inapplicable to Heracles' mercifully unconscious *sleep*), cf. on 1364-5*.]
- 149-52. A tricolon of asyndetic commands increasing in length (six short syllables, then ten, then sixteen) and an associated 'explanation'.
- 149 f. *κάταγε κάταγε*: variously taken in antiquity and by edd. as 'lower your voice' or 'approach'. There are no clear parallels to settle the matter, but one can assume that in performance the meaning was clarified by an accompanying gesture. The context *prima facie* favours 'approach' before *πρόσιθ'*. . . (a further command to 'lower the voice' would be *de trop* after 145-8, and *κάτεχε* would be better for the sense 'keep it down'); *-αγε* commands normally denote movement of some kind (*ἄπαγε, πρόσ-, ὑπ-*, etc.) and *ἀναγε* would certainly be understood as a command to *ἀνάγεσθαι* 'move back' (for the act. imperat. answering to a middle indicative in such colloquial idiom cf. *παῦε, 799* ἔπειγε*, etc.; Di B. rightly compares *κατ-/ἀν-άγεσθαι* of 'entering/leaving harbour', and Σ associates the use of *κατάγεσθαι* for turning off the road into a house: *ἀφ' οὗ καὶ καταγωγὰὶ οἱ λιμένες*). At the same time the 'down' preverb is consistent with the following *ἀτρέμας* (even as *ἀνάγειν* is used of initiating *loud* song-and-dance; *Tr. 325, Ph. 1350*, etc.); and it is possible to imagine an *ambivalent* accompanying gesture, ambivalently consistent with the sentence as a whole. *πρόσιθ' ἀτρέμας ἀτρέμας ἴθι*: for the pile-up of anadiploses, cf. Dale on *Hel. 648-51*; the uncompounded *ἴθι* after *πρόσιθι* is a *σχῆμα Εὐριπίδειον* (180-2*); the chiasmic double anadiplosis is more unusual (cf. perhaps *IT 869 f. δειν' ἔτλαν, ἔτλαν δειν'*, Diggle, *PCPhS* 1976, 43).
- 150-1. 'Render your account (lit. and metaph.) as to whatever *χρέος* you have come for'. *χρέος* in normal parlance means 'debt', the senses 'need' and 'thing' (cf. *χρεία, χρήμα*) being poetical; cf. Dover on the *χρέος*-parody in *Ar. Nub. 30*. E. is unlikely to have been unaware of that ordinary sense in conjunction with *λόγον ἀπόδος*, and there is further sophistication (almost self-parody) in this expansion of the thought 'tell me why you have come'.
152. Explaining both the invitation to approach and the demand 'quietly'. *χρόνια*: 'at long last', with the aor. part. *πесών* (cf. 234, 475, *Hel. 566*, etc.; and 35, 88). The adverbial n. pl. occurs here only; E. has several hapax legomena in this idiom, cf. *φροῦδα 1373, ταπεινά 1411-13**, *σκότια Ph. 336, ἀτρεμαῖα HF 1053*, Kannicht on *Hel. 283* (KG i 310). Not 'for a long time' (Weil) with *εὐνάξεται*; there is then no logic in the γάρ; moreover the five-day bed-occupation has been intermittent (42-5). *εὐνάξεται*: 'is couched', implying (as often) 'is asleep'.
- 153-4. 'Give a share in the accounting' (reflecting *λόγον ἀπόδος 150*; cf. *IT 1029-30 δοκῶ . . . δόξης μετάδος*); the Chorus desire a two-way exchange of information. *πῶς ἔχει; . . . τίνα τύχαν εἶπω; τίνα δὲ συμφορὰν*; The symmetrical phrases are a standard kind of pleonastic elaboration (Breitenbach 232; with anaphora of *τίς*, Collard on *Su. 606-7*); at the same time the point is compound, both 'what is his condition?' and 'what (bad)

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thing has happened?' For the medical use of *συμφορά* (almost = *νόσος*), cf. 2*, 314-15*, etc. [The (symmetrical) continuation of 154 to Ch. is clearly right; for the use of *εἶπω* by the questioner, cf. *Rh.* 38-9 *τί θροεῖς; τί σε φῶ νόν ἀγγέλλειν;*]

155-6. 'He is still alive (breathing), but . . . (?) . . .'. *βραχὺ ἀναστένει* is usually understood as 'he is faintly groaning', but the text can hardly be sound. The *μέν/δέ* antithesis lacks point, and the vb, ill qualified by *βραχὺ*, is unsuited to a sleeper (*στένειν* usually 'grieve, lament'; *ἀναστένειν* properly of fully conscious, loud lamentation). *στέν-* and *σθεν-* were liable to be confused (cf. Elmsley on *Med.* 286[291]), and the right sense here would be given by *βραχὺ δ' ἀνὰ σθένος*: 'but weakly' (*ἀνὰ* as in *ἀνὰ κράτος*, LSJ *ἀνὰ C.* IV; *σθένος βραχὺ Ph.* 738), and with the implication 'not long to live' (cf. 84, *Hp.* 1246, *Ph.* 1419 *ἔτι . . . ἐμπνέων βραχὺ*). [The corruption proceeds first to *ανασθενεῖ* by false symmetry with *εμπνεεῖ* ('rhyme', cf. 159, 351), then to *ἀναστένει* as a familiar word. Musgrave's *ἀνασθμαίνει* ('he is drawing his breath in short gasps') similarly postulates an intermediate *ανασθενεῖ*.]

157. The sympathetic loud exclam. (symmetrical with 144) is now more clearly motivated. ω (Longman ω) *τάλας*: for discussions of such exclam. noms., see 1527*.

158-9. *ὀλεῖς*: cf. 138-9*, and *HF* 1052 $\delta \delta$, *διά μ' ὀλεῖτε* in a similar context. Here too the sense must be 'you will ruin/destroy me if you wake him'. Clarity might seem to require *ὀλεῖς μ'*, cf. *Ap.* 856, 920; but colloquial Attic used both *ἀπολεῖς με* and plain *ἀπολεῖς* in the same sense (cf. Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 11-12, under *ἀποκτείνειν* 'to be the death of'; and add—all with the pronoun omitted—*Cyc.* 558, *S. El.* 831, *Ar. Vesp.* 849, *Nub.* 1499, *Ecdl.* 775, *Plut.* 390, *Men. Dysk.* 412; *Hp.* 329 is probably *ὀληῖ*, not *ὀλεῖς*, see Barrett). *ὀλεῖς* (without *ἀπ-*) and *διά μ' ὀλεῖτε* are both poeticized colloquialisms. *εἰ βλέφαρα κινήσεις*: cf. *S. Phil.* 866 *κινεῖ γὰρ . . . ὄμμα; βλέφαρον* may be either 'eyelid' or 'eye' (302-3*, 837, 1266). *χάριν*: 'boon', cf. *Hyps.* 64, 63 *φῆρη χάριν*; for the use with gen., as in 186, cf. LSJ *χάρις* IV. [*χαράν* (codd.) is not impossible, but unlikely. *φερβομένω χαράν* (van Gent) is a good phrase, cf. *Med.* 826, but 'boon' is clearly better than 'joy' here. For the error (here due, perhaps, to false 'rhyme' with *γλυκυτάταν*), cf. *Ion* 751, *S. Tra.* 179 (Dawe iii 41).

160. *μέλεος* . . . *τάλας*: cf. 1029, *IT* 868 ω *μελέα δεινὰς τόλμας*, *Med.* 358, etc. The causal gen. with adjs. like *δύστηνος* (KG i 389, cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 366-7) is almost always preceded by an exclamation. Sometimes the adj. seems itself to behave as the exclam. (e.g. *Tr.* 112), but perhaps only where the speaker has exclaimed in the recent context. *ἐχθίστων θεόθεν ἔργμάτων*: i.e. Or.'s abominable 'doings' (the matricide) as having a divine genesis. The pl. *ἔργματα* is common in poetry (esp. Thgn., with a gnomic flavour); the sing. *ἔργμα* is exceedingly rare (Thgn. 464). *θεόθεν* can be used adjectivally (cf. 974-5*, *Ion* 508 *θεόθεν τέκνα*), but may also be associated with *μέλεος* in this compact expression of sympathy combined with abhorrence—an

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- ambivalent attitude towards τλήμων Ὀρέστης (35*) developed further in 327 ff. and 807-43*.
- 161-5. As in 148 ff., El. takes over and develops a compound point (lamenting the ἐργματα and developing θεόθεν in terms of Apollo's ἀδικία, cf. 28 f.*).
161. Scidler's obviously correct interpretation of the ἀντιλαβή was anticipated here by Triclinius. φεύ μόχθων: 'labours' (not, or not simply, 'troubles'), cf. 327.
- 102-5. ἄδικος ἄδικα . . . : both the god and his pronouncement, it now appears (ἄρα, GP 36), were unjust/wrong when he adjudged the matricidal φόνος on the throne of Themis (Right); a characteristically elaborate oxymoron (cf. HF 887 ff.), opening with a paregmenon like Βα. 1042 (Breitenbach 223). The Delphic god had a (normally) *propter* function as a δικαστῆς αἰματός; his 'wrongness' as to the matricide is evidenced by the persistence of Or.'s 'bloody νόσος' (cf. 280-300*). ἔλακεν (*bis*): of the oracle, cf. 330, IT 986, Ion 790; E. was especially fond of doubling tribrach vbs, cf. 330, 976, 1415, 1416, etc. ἀπόφονον . . . φόνον . . . ματέρος: the pejoratively 'negative' force of ἀπόφ- (negating the propriety of the φόνος, rather than the φόνος itself) is implicit in the context (following ἄδικος ἄδικα . . .) and confirmed by 192-3* (μέλειον ἀπόφονον αἷμα . . . ματέρος); ἀπόφονον was anciently understood as ἄτοπον (Σ). ἀπο- is equivalent to ἀ- (cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 801), and, as often, nearly equivalent here to δυο-; the pattern of the oxymoron, with ἀπόφονον . . . ματέρος framing the clause, is like HF 1133 ἀπόλεμον, ὦ παῖ, πόλεμον ἐσπευσας τέκνοις. The repetition of ἀρ(α) with ἐδίκασε is strange at first sight, but unobjectionable; this ἄρα, unlike the first, points the 'irony' of the paradox in the δυε clause, with a force like X. Cyr. 1. 6. 31 διδάσκαλος . . . ὃς ἐδίδασκειν ἄρα . . . (GP 38-9). For δικάζειν 'judge, adjudge', see Jebb on S. OT 1214 and J. H. Kells, CQ 1960, 129-34. ἐπὶ τρίποδι . . . : Pythian Apollo 'sits on a golden tripod', having supplanted Themis, daughter of Earth (956, IT 1252 ff., cf. A. Eum. 3); for the gen. Θέμιδος, cf. A. PV 18 (-7. Pi. Ol. 13. 8, -στ. Od. 2. 68, etc.; KB i 459). [ἀπόφονος occurs only here and in 192, and *ἄφονος is not attested. The word *could*, undeniably, mean 'blood (blood-pollution)less'; and, as Hermann showed (followed by Verrall, PCPhS 1897, 2), 'judged the φόνος (to be) ἀπόφονος' is intelligible in that sense. But that interpretation demands too much of the listener, and suits 192-3 less well. For a general study of expressions like μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ, see D. Fehling, Hermes 1968, 142 ff. But the evidence does not justify the conclusion (pace Bond on HF 1061) that 'the primary and dominant sense of ἀ- in such phrases is not negative but similar to that of δυο- or κακο-' (Bond's words; my italics). Interpretation must always begin from the idea of negation (especially in E., with his partiality for positive-negative combinations): e.g. at Hel. 363 δι' ἔργ' ἀνεργ' means 'on account of (adulterous) deeds not in fact done' and Hel. 690 γάμον ἀγαμον means '(my) illusory adultery with Paris' (with a similar point in 696-7). As to HF 1133, ἀπόλεμον is not simply equivalent to

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- obtained responsion (but unlikely metre) by deleting both γάρ and ὦ; to delete ὦ only (cf. 160-1 [ὦ] μέλεις . . . [ὦ] τάλας, 186 [ὦ] φίλα) gives exact symmetry with the new proposal in 188-9*.
168. **θωύξασ'**: 'with your shouting' (Σ ἀγρίως; cf. θωύσσειν of a huntsman at *Ba.* 871); the exaggerated vb has a sophisticated flavour here of poeticized colloquialism. **ἔβαλες**: Longman thought that the corrupt gloss ἐλάσσα: (sic) might imply a variant ἤλασας; an interesting suggestion, but why not ἐλασας? (cf. 200*).
169. 'Nay (μὲν οὖν *GP* 475), I took him (and still take him) to be *sleeping*'; i.e. the remark in 166 was intended as evidence of life, not of wakefulness. [There is nothing to be said for Herwerden's *νν οὐκ* (implying disbelief in what El. said at 139, 152, 157-9).]
170. The paired isometric phrases have many parallels in tragic lyric (cf. Diggle, *CR* 1968, 3-4, and on *Phaethon* 99).
171. **πάλιν ἀνά . . . εἰλίξεις** (tmesis): 'ply your (circling) steps back again'; Porson's transposition (app. crit.) is metrically unnecessary and impossibly dissociates ἀνά from its vb (for *πάλιν ἀνα-*, cf. 810; W. Jaeger, *RhM* 1957, 381-2). **ἐλίσσειν** (a favourite vb) was variously used by E. of rotary and to-and-fro movements, cf. 358, 444, 892, 1266, (1294), 1379, 1432; for the poetic application to 'feet/lcgs', as to 'oars' (*S. Aj.* 358), see LSJ *ἐλίσσω* I. 3.
172. **μεθεμένα κτύπου**: 'without foot-noise' (coloured by *πόδα* 171), cf. 136-9*, 140-1*. The Chorus presumably make some move to obey, but they will soon need to be shooed away again (183-6).
173. **ὕπνώσσει**: 'his inclination is to sleep' (i.e. not, after, all, to wake up). We need not postulate a nonce-use 'to be fast asleep' (as LSJ); that is rather an implication (cf. 152), as in *Cyc.* 454 where 'when he inclines to sleep' implies 'when he drops off'. The 'reassurance' is similar to *HF* 1071 *θάροει νύξ ἔχει βλέφαρα παιδί σῶ*, but here *ὕπνώσσει* comes before an invocation of 'Sleep-giving Night'. **λέγεις εὖ**: at once 'reassured' and 'approving' (cf. 111, 239, 783, 1524); for the sense of εὖ here (objective rather than modal), cf. 930.
- 174-9. The extravagant language of the invocation and the black 'chthonian' imagery (very different from *S. Phil.* 827 ff.) are appropriate to E.l.'s *persona*, cf. 203-7*. The advent of this Stygian Night would at once guarantee continued sleep for Or. and bring welcomingly obscuring, if not funereal, oblivion on the whole House. Ironically (also thematically) the Erinyes too, 'like Night' (408*), are 'Stygian black' (321-3*) and 'winged' (275-6*, 317). [Di B. follows Porson, Matthiae and some MSS in giving 174-82 to Ch. Apart from symmetry (p. 105), the assignation to El. is confirmed by 'we' in 180 (sc. 'the House of Agamemnon'). The retrospective argument from 183 *κτύπον ἠγάγετ'* is false (see below). According to Σ, El. sings these lines 'λεπτότατα and in the highest register'; cf. 145-6*.]
- 174-B. **Νύξ . . . Ἐρεβόθεν . . . κατάπτερος**: according to Hes. *Th.* 123 (cited by Σ) 'Night' and 'Erebus' (the Black Pit) are siblings 'out of Chaos'; cf. *ibid.* 756 for the connection with 'Sleep' (in *Cyc.* 601 Ὕπνος is *μελαίνης*

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Νυκτὸς ἑκπαίδευμα); for the personification (with *πότνια*, as 213–14*), cf. also *Andromeda* fr. 14, *El.* 54 ὦ Νύξ μέλαινα, χρυσεὶαν ἄστρον τροφέ (surely worth a capital letter), and Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 355. ὑπνοδότειρα (hapax): cf. *ὄλθο- Βα.* 419. The gen. βροτῶν depends on the compound adj., cf. *IT* 451, *Ion* 1005 (Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 437, Bruhn 143). πολυπόνων: a 'tragic' theme (Introd. F i. 14), cf. 343, 816–18*, 977, 1012, *Ph.* 157 πολυπόνω μοίρα, etc.

179. Ἀγαμεμόνιον: the usual form in lyr. (epic-toned, cf. 838, Breitenbach 205); E. has Ἀγαμεμόνειος only at *IT* 1290 (in trimeters). For the rhythm, cf. *A. PV* 117 ἱκέτὸ τέρμονϊδν | ἐπὶ πάγον.

180–6
 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγίων ὑπὸ τε συμφορᾶς
 διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθ' ᾄ,
 κτύπον ἀγάγετ', οὐχὶ σί-
 γα σίγα φυλασσομένα

185 †στόματος ανακελαδον ἀπὸ † λέχεος ἦ-
 συχον ὕπνου χάριν παρέξεις, φίλα;

180–2. The isometric ὑπὸ . . . phrases are a kind of anadiplosis (cf. 142–3, 154, 170); so too is διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθ' (a favourite σχῆμα, cf. 149, 1465, *Al.* 400 ὑπάκουσον ἄκουσον, *Hec.* 167 ἀπώλεσατ' ὠλέσατ', Elmsley on *Med.* 1215[1252], Diggle, *GRBS* 1973, 265 and *Studies* 18).

182–3. E. shifts abruptly from invoking Night and lamenting to rebuking the Chorus and shooing them away. Di B. argues that E. cannot rationally silence the Chorus if she herself has done the previous chanting; but κτύπον is naturally understood as *foot-noise* (172*), while 'keeping your mouth silent' (φυλασσομένα) need not imply immediately preceding utterance. The problem of the discontinuity is not to be solved by a speaker-change (unsymmetrical with the str.) in the middle of the dactylic sequence. The inference should be that κτύπον ἀγάγετ' alludes to (real or imagined) κτύπος by the Chorus during 180–2, causing E. to break off and protest. It requires only a different word-division (symmetrical with the phrase-pattern in the antistrophe) to introduce a protesting exclamation. [Bichl's . . . οἰχόμεθ'. *Χο.* ᾄ. *Ηλ.* κτύπον ἡγάγετ' . . . will not do, but it was a statement in the right direction.] An exclamatory sentence introduced by ᾄ or ᾄ ᾄ may take the form of a jussive admonition (as in 145–6); or it may be a statement of an upsetting circumstance (as *HF* 629 ᾄ, οἶδ' οὐκ ἀφίᾳσ) or a protesting question (as 275–6*, *A. Ag.* 1087 ᾄ, ποῖ ποτ' ἡγαγές με); Here ᾄ is followed in rapid sequence (commas suffice) by both a protesting statement and a jussive question. κτύπον ἀγάγετ': i.e. ἐκτυπήσατε (LSJ ἄγω IV. 3); ἡγάγετ' codd., corr. Lautensach (*Augm. u. Redupl.* (1899), 40); cf. Björck 167, Mastronarde, *ZPE* 1980, 25⁴².

183–6. 'Will you not *silently*, avoiding loud utterance (*lect. dub.*), at a distance from the bed afford (or make) the boon of sleep undisturbed?' Cf. *HF* 1042–3 οὐ σίγα σίγα . . . ἐάσετ' . . .; Interrog. οὐ + fut. is strongly jussive (cf. 170–2), but the addition of φίλα is courteously mollifying (for the shift from pl. to sing., cf. 138–9*). ὕπνου χάριν: 158–9*. παρέξεις: with predic. adj.

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(LSJ παρέχω V), but also as in the idiom *σιγήν παρέχειν* (S. *Tr.* 1115; *παρέχω* III). The puzzling *ανακελαδον* seems likely to conceal **ἀκέλαδον* 'shoutless'; not an attested compound, but a likely enough word, cf. *ἄφωνος, ἀναυδος, ἄψοφος, ἄκτυπος, ἀθόρυβος*, *Il.* 13. 41 *ἄβρομοι αὐίαχοι*. There are then two possible one-letter lines of emendation: (a) *στόμα τὸ σὸν ἀκέλαδον* '(guarding) that mouth of yours shoutless' (cf. *τὸ σὸν στόμα* S. *Aj.* 1147); (b) *στόματος <ι>ἀν ἀκέλαδον* '(guarding) shoutless utterance of mouth' (like 147 f. * *ἀτρεμαῖον . . . βοῶν*; for *ιά = φωνή, βοή*, cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 584-8). With either we might then accept Musgrave's *ἀπο<πρό>* (142-3*), giving in the first case pure dochmiacs in 185-6, in the second *zīa* followed by 2δ; but there is nothing inherently wrong with *ἀπό*, either in sense (LSJ *ἀπό* I. 2, Bruhn 39) or metrically (p. 113). [Murray's interpretation of *ἀνά* as 'retro' makes no sense with *φύλασσομένα*; nor can it be a parenthetic 'go back!' *Tr.* 546 *ἀνά κρότον* has been cited, but see Diggle, *Studies* 65. As to the noun **ἀνακέλαδος*, Di B. overlooks that a formation analogous to *ἀναβόαμα* would be *ἀνακέλαδμα*. There are no previous conjectures; *ἰάν* was suggested to me by T. C. W. S. after D. L. P. had approved *στόμα τὸ σὸν . . .*]

187. 'Tell me what end of ills awaits' (sc. *ὕμᾶς* or *τὸν Ἀγαμειμόνιον δόμον*). *κακῶν τελευτή*: cf. *HF* 427 (*πόνων*), *El.* 1232 *τέρμα κακῶν*, and Collard on *Su.* 369 f. (often with *ἀγών*-imagery; cf. Diggle, *PCPhS* 1976, 44).

188-9. For *El.* there is only one relevant *τελευτή*: '(His) death, of course; for he won't even take food'. *θανεῖν <νιν>*, symmetrical with *σὺ γάρ νιν* 167*, seems a more probable supplement (cf. *HF* 1182) than Lachmann's *θανεῖν <θανεῖν>*, giving clearer sense as well as balanced *bacchi*. Elliptical *τί δ' ἄλλο*; is colloquial, cf. fr. 509, *Ar. Nuib.* 1088. [Interpolations after *ἄλλο* in some MSS deserve no respect, though they may reflect *ancient* attempts to equalize the number of syllables in str. and ant.; cf. 140-1*.]

189. For the refusal to eat, cf. *Hp.* 277 (39-40*). *οὐδὲ γάρ*: the neg. counterpart of *καὶ γάρ*, and the right combination of particles for an 'additional and weighty reason' (*GP* 111, 194 ff.); but there is a metrical anomaly (p. 112), which might perhaps be removed, and the point enhanced, by writing *οὐδέ <τι> γάρ* ('at all', cf. *οὐ γάρ τι* *Al.* 210, S. *OT* 433, *Aj.* 1111, *Il.* 20. 467). - - - - - can then be analysed as *δ* *cr.* [Of other conjectures, Paley's *οὐ γάρ δὴ* is the least bad, but less suitable in sense than *οὐδὲ γάρ* (see *GP* 243).]

190. *ὁ πότμος*: 'the (aforesaid) event' (sc. *θανεῖν νιν*), cf. *Ion* 554 (804*); here virtually = *τὸ μέλλον* (which is normally *ἀδελον*, except when revealed by a god or his oracle).

191-3. The 'dying' is hyperbolically regarded as an accomplished fact (cf. 83-5, 200 ff., 386, 1018-19*, 1084); Apollo brought it to pass when he gave his 'lamentable' oracle.

191. *ἔξέθυσ'*: the same vb (= *σφάζειν*, with perversion of the ritual sense) is used at *Cyc.* 371 of what Polyphemus does to *ἰκτῆρες*. A remarkable word to use of Apollo. In general *El.*'s language is characterized by exaggerated

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- turns of phrase (cf. 168*, 234); and E. was fond of *ἐκ*- compounds, especially with intensive force (38*, 134, 219, 269, 270, 275, 290, 463, 653, 829, etc.; Bond on *HF* 18). *ὁ Φοῖβος*: cf. 329, *Ap.* 1212 *ἐστέρησ' ὁ Φοῖβος* (L; *ἐστέρησε* tell.), *IT* 711, 1128, *S. El.* 35 (Dawe i 176); the def. article seems quite likely to be genuine here (cf. also *ὁ Λοξίας* 165), despite the inexact responson (p. 112). But the scales may be tipped by Hsch. *ἐξέθυσεν ἀνειλεν* (as Kirchhoff argued); it would be a remarkable coincidence if this was *not* the passage that Hsch. had in mind (cf. *Introd.* H v).
- 192-3. *ἀπόφρονον*: cf. 162-5*. *δούς*: for *διδόναι* of an oracle, cf. *El.* 1304; conversely, *Or.* *ἐδέξατο* (329-31*). *πατροφόνου*: from *Or.*'s point of view (cf. *A. Ch.* 909, *S. Tra.* 1125, *Od.* 1. 299, 3. 307); the mention of Cl.'s crime here (unlike 162-5) provides the cue for 194.
194. *δίκαι μὲν*: the 'patricidal' Cl. certainly deserved death (cf. 538, *El.* 1189); but the *μὲν* implies a reservation (the matricidal deed remains *ἐχθιστον* and *ἀνόσιον*, cf. 160*, 819 ff., *El.* 1203). *καλῶς δ' οὖ*: with overriding force (Adkins 185), cf. *Hp.* 597 (after *φίλως*). Di B.'s argument for giving the whole of 194 to the Chorus (with the MSS, but unsymmetrically) overlooks that *δίκαι μὲν* can express a self-contained point, even while inviting a corrective responson. As in 162-5, it is El. who *directly* criticizes the god (cf. 28 f.*).
- 195-9. The address to Cl. follows a pause (marked by hiatus); cf. the change to apostrophe of Night at 174. In 191-3* it was Apollo who 'ritually slaughtered us' (implying *ἀπώλεσε*, cf. 121, 954-6); now the 'ruination' is attributed to Cl. *ἴκανες ἔθανες*: a favourite kind of jingle (cf. *Ion* 764 *ἐλαβον ἔπαθον*, *IT* 213 *ἔτεκεν ἔτρεφεν*; Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 10), also reminiscent of *A. Sept.* 962 *δορι δ' ἔκανες*.—*δορι δ' ἔθανες*, with an echo of the gnomic theme *δράσαντα παθεῖν* (cf. 413). 'You killed and were killed (*for it*)'. *τεκομένα*: 29*. *ἀπὸ δ' ὄλεσας*: the commonest kind of tmesis, cf. 219-20*, 341-4* (KG i 534-5, Bruhn 37-8). *τέκνα . . . σέθεν ἀφ' αἵματος*: 'children of your own blood', cf. *Al.* 509, 638, *HF* 844, *Hel.* 1684-5, *A. Sept.* 141.
200. *ὀλόμεθ' . . . ὀλόμεθα*: the split anadiplosis is like *Ion* 1472 *ἄλλοθεν γέγονας, ἄλλοθεν*, *S. El.* 221 *δεινοῖς ἠναγκάσθην, δεινοῖς*; for the omission of the temporal augment, cf. *ιαχ*-826*, 1465*, *ἔλισσε* 1432, *ὀλόμαν ὀλόμαν* *IT* 153 (rarer than omission of the syllabic augment, but not all that rare in E. lyric; Diggle, *Studies* 65-6). Plainly, since *δλ*- (*bis*) reflects *ὄλεσας* (*τέκνα*), the subject is 'we (Or. and I)', not 'we (you and I)' or 'all three of us'. *ἰσονέκυες*: *Or.* and *El.* are 'virtually dead', 'corpse-like' (the standard type of *ἰσο*- compound, like *ἰσάδελφος* 1015; cf. Fraenkel, also Denniston-Page, on *A. Ag.* 1470). If we wish, we can also hear the sense 'equally dead' (equally with Cl., or with each other), cf. *ἰσοδαίμων* 'equal in fortune' (*Pi. Nem.* 4. 84); but that (with a risk of ambiguity) can be no more than an overtone. [Porson *ὀλόμεθ' ὀλόμεθ' ἰσονέκυες*, with V's word order; *ὀλοῖσόνεκυ' ὀλόμεθα* gives exact responson, but is unlikely; see p. 113. Fraenkel's n. (*Agam.* iii 695*) needs correction on one point: *El.* cannot be addressing *Or.* in this sentence, following 195 ff.]

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- 201-7 ὄδε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς, τό τ' ἐμὸν οἴχεται
 βίου τὸ πλεόν μέρος· ἐν
 στοναχαῖσι δὲ καὶ γόοι-
 σι δάκρυσι τ' ἐννυχίοις
 205 †ἀγαμος [επιδ] ἀτεκνος ἀτε βίον†
 μέλεος ἐς τὸν αἰὲν ἔλκω χρόνον.

201-3. I accept Weil's ὄδε for codd. οὐ τε (P. Flor. [cu] τε). The pairing must be of Or. and El., explaining the 'we' statement in 200*. But 'you' was Cl. in 195-9(-200), and the shift to 'for you (Or.) . . .' cannot be right. ὄδε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς: for the hyperbole in respect of Or., cf. 84* νεκρὸς γὰρ οὗτος . . . The point of what follows is that El. also is virtually dead, not that more than half of her life-*span* 'has gone in nocturnal lamentation'. ἐν στοναχαῖσι . . . ἐννυχίοις belongs rather with (βίον) ἐς τὸν αἰὲν ἔλκω χρόνον (cf. Ph. 1520-3 μονάδ' αἰῶνα διάφουσα τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον ἐν λειβομένοιῃσι δάκρυσιν, *El.* 181-3, *S. El.* 164-7), and we must punctuate after μέρος, symmetrically with the strophe (182-3*). The long final sentence (203-7*) then elaborates the paradoxical 'living death' theme; cf. 386, where Or. says οὐ γὰρ ζῶ κακοῖς, φάος δ' ὀρώ. τό τ' ἐμὸν . . . τὸ πλεόν μέρος: best taken, perhaps, as 'and as to my (part) the greater part of life has gone'; cf. the adverbial use of τοῦμόν (τὸ σόν, τοῦκείνου) μέρος in *Held.* 678, *Hec.* 989, *S. Ant.* 1062 (Bruhn 150); μέρος does double duty (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ) in a sophisticated way. Alternatively, 'and my (existence) has gone as to the greater part of living' (cf. the common adverbial use of τὸ πλεον, *KG* i 315). οἴχεται: = ὄλωλε, cf. 971, οἰχόμεθ' 182, 734, οἴχομαι 763, *Med.* 226, *Hp.* 878, etc. βίου: = ζωῆς (LSJ βίος I. 2). [Porson proposed πλεόν βίον for βίου τὸ πλεόν (βίον becomes βίου το, followed by transposition); but 'my greater part of life' is not obviously better. Di B. is content to speak of 'irregularity'. Bichl alludes to the principle of 'whole and part apposition'; but would he regard τὸ πλεόν as nom. in Th. 1. 83 ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὄπλων τὸ πλεόν ἀλλὰ δαπάνης?]

203-7. ' . . . though (and on the other hand) I wretchedly drag out (a/my non-life?) life to eternity in night-shrouded keening and tears, unwed and childless'. ἐν στοναχαῖσι δὲ (codd. τε) καὶ γόοισι . . .: as often, the δὲ has a force intermediate between 'and' and 'but' (*GP* 162); continuative in respect of the lament, but with an opposition between the ideas 'virtual death' and 'continued existence' (as in 386, but the paradox is here sharpened by 'eternally'). τε and δὲ were often confused (cf. 202, 126[-7]*), and it is easy to see why τε should have prevailed over δὲ here in an unpunctuated tradition; very possibly as a contributing factor to the confusion in 206 (the misinterpretation of the syntactical structure producing an apparent need there for a coordinating 'since' or 'more-over'). δάκρυσι τ' ἐννυχίοις: cf. *El.* 141 γόους νυχίους, but the funereal associations of Night (174-9*, 1225) count for more than the literal sense here. El.'s whole existence is 'benighted' as a living death (ισόνεκτος), 'nocturnal' implying absence of φάος (light/life); ἐν . . . ἐννυχίοις ('in

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- condition' (Smith 298). *δρα . . . μή . . .*: with indic., as *Hel.* 119, *S. Phil.* 30 (KG ii 395).
210. *οὐ γὰρ μ' ἀρέσκει*: *S. Aj.* 584; *με* and *σε* (not the usual dat.) are frequent in Attic with this vb (KG i 294). *τῷ λίαν παρειμένῳ*: causal dat. (39-40*), cf. 91, 93, 118, 461, etc. (KG i 438-40); *παρειμένος* is 'relaxed, limp' (881, *HF* 1043); the abstract use of the n. participle reflects contemporary prose idiom, cf. 297, 312, 426 (Barrett on *Hφ.* 247-9); for the use of *λίαν* in a noun-phrase, cf. *IT* 721, *Ba.* 671.
- 211-315. The 'First Act' culminates in a scene anciently among the most famous in all drama, to judge from the number of citations; especially for its presentation of Or.'s madness: when Virgil referred to *Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes* (*Aen.* 4. 471) he probably had E.'s play in mind (following an allusion to the *Bacchae*), though 472-3 reflects a different (partly dramatic, partly pictorial?) tradition. Ovid certainly had *Or.* in mind at *Am.* 1. 7.9-10 (*Orestes/ausus in arcanas poscere tela deas*). With *Or.* now awake, El.'s role becomes subsidiary, and she covers her head in despairing grief from 267 to 294. First and last (211, 315) the main focus of attention is on Or.'s horrendous (*δεινόν*), yet sympathy-arousing, condition conceived as a νόσος (Introd. F i. 1); a conception which includes the canonical *μανία* and *Ἐρινύες* (and other traditional motifs) in a treatment of the myth at once humanized and sophisticated, with an up-to-date intellectual (psychological and pathological) interest. Prominent (235-6, 259) and climactic (312-13, 314-15) are lines contrasting 'reality' and 'seeming' (*δόξα*, cf. *A. Ch.* 1051); but to 'psychologize' the supernatural is by no means to deny its 'reality'. It had always been normal to think of the Furies as seen only by their crazed victim (as in *A. Ch.*; it is *Eum.* that is exceptional, see now A. L. Brown, 'The Erinyes in the *Oresteia*', *JHS* 103 (1983), 13-34); and contemporary medicine had not abandoned explanations of madness in terms of τὸ θεῖον (cf. 399*). The 'mad fit' itself, though spectacular, is quite short, and set within a context of 'mutual aid'. The theme of *ἐπικουρία* is prominent (211, 266, 300, 306), alongside *θεραπεία* and *φιλία*, and many reciprocal touches link brother and sister in a bond of sympathetic feeling. It is also within that context that *Or.* makes his first (significantly self-revealing) statements about the matricide (280-300*). The concluding business of the scene (and Act) is the skilfully managed exit of El. to rest 'within'; the second and third actors will be needed to play Menelaus and Tyndareus/Pylades in Act Two.
- 211-16. *Or.* has a 'waking speech' (cf. *S. Phil.* 867 ff. *ὃ φέγγος ὕπνου διάδοχον . . .*) of three distichs before the distichomythia begins (cf. 1018 ff.); his apostrophes of 'Sleep's balm' and 'Oblivion' echo 159 and 174-9. Weil (*REG* 1901, 21) gave 213-14 to El.; but we do not want antiphonal praise of Sleep and Oblivion here. El.'s response plainly begins at 217 *ὦ φίλταθ'* . . .
- 211-12. *φίλον . . . ἐπικουρον*: i.e. 'like a friend' as 'coming to one's aid in time of need'; a thematic association of ideas (454-5*, Introd. F i. 5).

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- θέλητρον:** 'potent drug' (typically, but not necessarily, tranquillizing: cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 1274-6); a rare equivalent (here only), like *θέλκτρον* S. *Tra.* 585, of the usual *θελκτήριοι*; *φίλτρον* and *στέργητρον* are analogous *φάρμακον*-words. *νόσου*: for the gen. *μαλί*, cf. *El.* 138, *IA* 1027. *ἡδύ*: here linked in thought with *φίλον*; cf. 217, 229-30*, 232, 234 for 'pathetic' variations on this theme. *ἐν δέοντι γει*: for the emphatically added adverb-phrase, cf. S. *OC* 1416 *στρέψαι στράτευμα' ἐς Ἄργος ὡς τάχιστα γέ* (*GP* 140); *τε* (Mosch.; Plut., Stob.) is possible, but much weaker; cf. also *Med.* 1277 *ἐν δέοντι γάρ*.
- 213-14.** Apostrophe (126-7*) and deification of abstractions (399*) are common in E.; the paradox of calling Oblivion *σοφή* is also characteristic. *ὦ πόντια . . .*: cf. *IA* 821 (*Αἰδώς*), 1136 (*Μοῖρα*); deities addressed thus are not (usually) purely *ad hoc* inventions; so, although there was no cult of 'oblivion of evils', it is probably not irrelevant that Lethe herself had a sporadic cult (*RE* xii (1925), 2141 ff.). *Λήθη τῶν κακῶν*: cf. S. *Phil.* 877-8 *τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ . . . λήθη τις*, Democr. B196 *λήθη τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν σοφή*: i.e. as a *σοφιστής* (cf. *Hp.* 921-2); and contrast the use of *ἀμαθής* in dispraising gods (417*). *εὐκταία*: reinforcing the 'deification'; cf. *Med.* 169 (*Θέμις*), A. *Sept.* 723 (*Ἐρινός*). [T.C.W.S. has suggested an alternative punctuation . . . *Λήθη, τῶν κακῶν ὡς εἰ σοφή*, but could *σοφός* + gen. mean 'skilled in treating . . .'? *Held.* 993 and A. *Su.* 453 give inadequate support.]
- 215.** The two questions mean almost the same (*πόθεν* 'how comes it that . . .?'). cf. *Ba.* 648). Asyndeton here suits both the context and the phrasing (cf. 231, 385, 395, 468, *El.* 751, S. *Phil.* 236-7, etc.), and L's *πῶς ἀφικόμεν* may well be the truth (though P. Flor. supports the majority reading); for the common corruption of asyndeton, cf. 758, and Barrett on *Hp.* 40.
- 216.** Or.'s amnesia is defined as 'being Sundered from his former *φρένες* (states of mind)', cf. *An.* 164, *Hec.* 622-3, *Ba.* 947, 1270; *ἀπολειφθεῖς* 80*. [It is tempting (with Porson) to take *ἀμνημονῶ* with *τῶν πρῖν*; but *ἀπολειφθεῖς φρενῶν* on its own could only mean 'witless, insane'. A papyrus (P. Columb. inv. 517; C. W. Keyes, *CPh* 1938, 411-13) offers a surprising variant, *ἀπολειφθ[ε]ισικακῶν*; 'bereft of cures' (*ἀκῶν*) is inept in this context, and the intended reading may have been *κακῶν* (cf. *IT* 361, *Ph.* 464). *Σ* recognizes both articulations (cf. also Renehan, *GTC* 76-7). Bichl removes the comma (Teubner edn.), postulating 'haplogly' (it would have been better to speak of an *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction: Or. is both Sundered from and forgetful of his former *φρένες*, or perhaps *κακά*).]
- 217-54.** The longest passages of distichomythia in A. and S. are respectively 20 and 26 lines (*Eum.* 711-30, cf. *Ag.* 620-35, *Ch.* 1051-64; *OT* 106-31). Extension beyond that is characteristic of late E. (cf. *Hed.* 1035-84, *Ba.* 935-62, *IA* 819-54); at the same time E. surely had A. *Ch.* in mind (*Ch.* 1051 ff. being the passage where Orestes first sees the Furies after the matricide; cf. 237-8*, 253-4*, 255-6*, 275-6*). Whether the strict two-line alternation originally went beyond 254 is controversial (257-67*).
- 217-18.** *ἡύφρανας* (or *εὕ-*, see Murray's preface to vol. iii, pp. 3-4): cf. 287,

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- Al.* 238 (paired with *λυπεῖν*), *IA* 654. The colloquial *βούλη* + subjunc. is 'intimate' in tone (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 60–1). 218 f. is strikingly reminiscent of *S. Phil.* 761 *βούλη λάβωμαι δῆτα καὶ θίγω τί σου*; As there, *θίγω* gains point from the 'untouchable' character of the *νόσος*. *κάνακουφίσω* (or *-ίζω*) *δέμας*: cf. 43–4*, and *Hp.* 1392 *κάνεκουφίσθην δέμας* (as a result of sensing Artemis' presence). [The variant *-ίζω* merits consideration for its appropriately conative force (a factitive vb, cf. Bond on *ἐξευμαρίζων HF* 18); the aor. could be due either to false symmetry (cf. 1539–40*) or to mistaken preference for a short ninth position (cf. 443, 1072*.)]
- 219–20. *λαβοῦ λαβοῦ δῆτ'*: *λαβοῦ* is equivalent to *θίγε* (*δῆτα* confirming the 'echo' of the previous speaker's word), cf. 1231 *ἰκοῦ δῆτ'* (echoing *μολεῖν*); *GP* 277. Anadiplosis is generally uncommon in trimeters, but something of a 'mannerism' of E. in the penthemimer (Stevens on *An.* 980) and rather a feature of this play (always initial and strongly emphatic): 257, 278, 470, 1143, 1311, 1349; and there are four instances in *S. Phil.* (814, 816, 1041, 1241). *ἐκ δ' ὁμορφον*: tmesis (195–9*) is likewise uncommon in tragic dialogue (L. Bergson, *RhM* 1959, 33–5), but recurs in this play at 562, 915, 1047; cf. *HF* 53, *Ph.* 876, *S. El.* 299, etc. *ἐξομόργυμι* is a *vox Euripidea* (five occurrences) for the normal *ἀπομόργυμι*. *πέλανον* (or rather *πελανόν?*): 'any thick liquid substance' (LSJ), cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 96. *ἀφρώδη*: *ἀφρός* is a constant feature of 'madness' contexts (*HF* 934, Dodds on *Ba.* 1122–3); and E. had a penchant for *-ώδης* adjs. (223, 225, 256, etc.).
- 221–2. *ἰδοῦ*: 144*. *τὸ δοῦλεμ'* *ἡδύ*: 'sweet (act of) slavery' is anything but a cliché (cf. *Ion* 128–35, but *Ion*'s servitude is to a god); a paradox, rather, which employs exaggeration in order to enhance the pathos (cf. 488* for the recurrent 'slavery' theme). *ἀδελφ' ἀδελφῆ*: the adjectival use is characteristic of tragic diction (cf. *γέροντι ποδί* 456, *γέροντ' ὀφθαλμόν* 529, *παρθένω χειρὶ Ph.* 838); likewise the paired words in different cases, cf. *Ba.* 470 *ὄρων ὄρωντα* (Bruhn 130)—a figure (paregmenon) here echoed in *Or.*'s reply.
- 223–4. *πλευροῖς πλευρά*: cf. 800, *Al.* 366–7 (burial 'side by side'), *Su.* 1021, *S. Tra.* 938. *ὑπόβαλε*: presumably *El.* is to put an arm and shoulder beneath *Or.*'s back. *αὐχμῶδη κόμην*: cf. 387 *πλόκαμον αὐχμηρον*; 'squalid' (dry, sheenless) hair is a feature of a *ξηρόν δέμας* (cf. *El.* 239), whereas *πίνος* (*-ώδης*, *-αρός*) is symptomatic of *ἀλουσία* (225–6). We can be sure that on the Hellenistic stage *Or.*'s mask was the Dirty (*πιναρός*) type described by Pollux (the features *ὀγκώδης*, *ὑποπέλιδνος*, *κατηφής*, *ξανθή κόμη* all suit him—cf. *El.* 515 for the hair colour, and *κατηφῆ* 881–3*); and a similar (but perhaps specifically Oresteian rather than generic) mask was worn by *Or.* in 408 BC (cf. Webster, *GTP* 49, Donadi 114). *λεπτά γὰρ λεύσσω* . . .: adverbial n. pl. (152*, 279*). The variant *νῶσω* is ancient (P. Colum. *νοσ* | *ωι*) and preferred by Chapouthier; but *κόραις* is probably right (for the common *λεύσσειν* etc. *κόραις*, see Diggle, *Gnomon* 1974, 747). The hair is to be moved simply because it is obstructing *Or.*'s vision (so Di B.); the

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- interpretation of *λεπτά* as *ἀσθενή* in Σ is consistent with the variant *νόσῳ*, but the *γάρ* is then less logical.
- 225–6. *ὠβοσπύρων* . . . *κάρα*: ‘head of hair’ is not a normal turn of phrase in Greek. The phrase-pattern here is akin to the elevated combination of epithet and gen. in *S. El.* 19 *μέλαινά τ’ ἄσπρων ἐκλέλοιπεν εὐφρόνη* (‘black starry night’); *KG* i 263–4. At the same time the *κάρα*-allocution reflects a familiar type of *personal* address (237, 476, 1380; Barrett on *Hp.* 651–2). *πινῶδες*: here only in tragedy (so also *αὐχμῶδη* 223), cf. *πινάραν κόμαν El.* 184. *ἄθλιον*: with an echo of Or.’s self-pitying *ἀθλίου στόματος* 219–20. *ὡς ἠγγρίωσαι*: cf. *S. Phil.* 1321 *σὺ δ’ ἠγγρίωσαι*; and *ibid.* 226 *ἀπηγγριωμένον* (of appearance). Note the subtle suggestion that Or. himself, not only his head/hair, has become *ἄγριος* (cf. 34*, 616*, and *βεβαρβάρωσαι* 485). *διὰ* . . . ‘causal-temporal’, cf. *IA* 1172 *διὰ μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας*; *ἀλουσία*, like *πινῶδης* (and *ἀφρώδης*), is a prose word attested in the medical corpus.
- 227–8. Either (a) ‘when the sickness abates from madness’ (gen. *μανίας*) or (b) ‘when the crazy sickness abates’ (adj. *μανιάς*). Neither is in itself open to objection. As to (a), E. has *ἀνιέναι* intrans. with similar gens. at *Med.* 457, *Hp.* 285, *Hyps.* 60. 47 (cf. *Ar. Ran.* 700), and parts of *μανία* eight times elsewhere at the beginning of a trimeter (as against no occurrences thus of the adj.); and Or. is certainly ‘sick’ even when not actually raving. As to (b), cf. *S. Phil.* 639 *ἐπειδὴν πνεῦμα τοῦκ πρόφρας ἀνή*, 764–5 *ἕως ἀνή τὸ πῆμα*, *Aj.* 59 *μανιάσιν νόσοις* (? like *Ba.* 1060; Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 11 and *Studies* 54); also the frequent use of *μανιάς* as an epithet of *λύσσα* (270, 326, *HF* 878, *S. fr.* 941.4 R.). Since *ἀνή* here figures the *νόσος* as a ‘storm’ (so Σ ; cf. 277*, 279, 700), it seems slightly more natural that the subject should be the ‘mad *πνεῦμα*’ itself (not the *νόσος sensu lato*); but there can be no certainty. [Little further of value emerges from Di B.’s feud with Degani (*BPEC* 1967, 24—*Maia* 1968, 158—*QJFG* 1968, 37).] *ἀναρθρος*: *ἄρθρα* can be either ‘joints’ or ‘articulated parts, limbs’; for the sense ‘utterly weak’, cf. *S. Tra.* 1103.
- 229–30. *φίλον τοι* . . . *ἀνιάρων ὄν* . . . *ἀναγκαῖον ὄ* *δμως*: the aphorism (*τοι GP* 543) that a bed is a *φίλον κτῆμα* for the sick seems straightforward; but the analytical extension of *φίλον* is more sophisticated here than in 211–12*, with elements of paradox and word-play. *ἀνιάρων* is the opposite of *ἡδύ*, but consistent with *φίλον* since (a) ‘everything *ἀναγκαῖον* is *ἀνιάρων*’ according to a traditional commonplace (Evenus fr. 8 *πάν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμα ἀνιάρων ἔφω* [= Thgn. 472, with *χρῆμα*]); (b) *ἀναγκαῖον* is not merely consistent with *φίλον*, but potentially almost synonymous (cf. LSJ *ἀναγκαῖος* II. 5). There may well be an echo of current talk about *τὸ φίλον* (i.e. *φίλοι*, *φιλία*, cf. *S. OC* 187) as an *ἀναγκαῖον κτῆμα* (cf. 488*), alongside the generally recognized gnomic echo. As to the text, something is surely amiss: ‘the thing/possession being . . .’ is impossible as apposition and scarcely more possible as an acc. absolute. Most edd. reject the def. article (Kirchhoff *τι κτῆμα*; Hermann, more awkwardly, *δέμνια . . . ὄντα . . .*); but P. Columb. also attests *τό (ανιαρων ον το[. . .])*, and there is an overlooked

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possibility: to write *δεμνίων* for *δέμνιον* and remove the comma. The pl. is otherwise likely (E. has *δέμνια* etc. 15 times, including 35, 44, 88, 278, 312 in this play; the sing. only at *Al.* 183 *πάν . . . δέμνιον* 'the whole bed'). 'Like a friend to the sick person is the possession of a bed (a bed as a thing to have) . . .'; cf. *Ion* 1618 *ἄξιον τὸ κτήμα μοι* (sc. *θρόνων παλαιῶν*), *S. Phil.* 81 *ἀλλ' ἡδὺ γάρ τι . . . ἰ. τοι, forl. τὸ κτήμα τῆς νίκης λαβεῖν*. *κτήμα* can be very like *χρῆμα* in aphorisms (70, [127], 703; cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 1152), and for analogous idiom with *χρῆμα* + gen., cf. *Ph.* 198, Stevens on *An.* 181.

231-2. A reversal of the command in 227 (reflected in reversed word-order); cf. *Hr.* 176 ff. for the inconstant desires of the sick. *ἀνακύκλει δέμας* defines the 'setting up again' (cf. *S. Phil.* 879); the 'curving upwards' is to start, presumably, at the head and shoulders (cf. *Ba.* 1066 *κυκλοῦτο δ' ὥστε τόξον*, of the downwards curving of a tree). *δυσάρεστον*: '(a thing) hard to please', n. adj. as predicate, as 234 *γλυκύ*, [772], 784, 1034, 1552 (KG i 59), equivalent to a phrase with *χρῆμα* (70*); cf. *IA* 26-7, where *δυσάρεστοι γνώμαι* are the discontents of frustrated ambition (similarly with *γλυκύ* nearby). A. had used the adj. in the sense 'implacable' (*Eum.* 928).

233-4. *ἀρμόσαι* means more than *θεῖναι*, including an idea of coordination; the phrasing may owe something to the dance (cf. 140-1*, and *AP* vii 431 *ὄπα ποδὸς ἰχνια πρᾶτον ἀρμόσαμεν* [= Simonides 124 Diehl]), though the metaphor has faded. *χρόνιον*: 152*. *μεταβολή πάντων γλυκύ*: contrast *HF* 1292 *αἱ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν* (see Bond). E was fond of paradoxes. Labouring ancient criticism of El.'s 'aphorism' (*Com. adesp.* 115, *ap. S.*, cf. *Pl. Leg.* 797D, *Arist. Rhet.* 11. 1371*) overlooked the aptness of her words in this context; the sing. *μεταβολή* makes a difference, and she naturally—if also exaggeratedly—sees the whole of *τὸ παρόν* as 'not ἡδύ'.

235-6. *μάλιστα*: colloquial, like *ἡκιστα* 846; cf. 1108*, *Hel.* 851, 1415 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 16). *δόξαν . . . τὸ δοκεῖν . . .*: the first of several variations on the theme of 'appearance' and 'reality' (Introd. F i. 6). The language here reflects the dictum of Simonides *τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν βιάται* (fr. 598 Page), updated with a use of *κρείσσον* in a sense transitional between 'stronger' and 'better' characteristic of the sophistic age (639, 710, 728, 780, 806, 1155, *Med.* 301, etc.; cf. *DK* iii 245); 'the semblance (of health) is what counts', i.e. prevails over other considerations. Protagoras, it seems, would have gone further: since 'man is the measure of all things', *τὸ δοκεῖν* is not merely *κρείσσον*, but *ἀληθές* as well (cf. *Pl. Thet.* 151E-152A, etc.).

237-8. *ἄκουε δὴ νῦν* (not *δὴ νῦν*): cf. 1181, *Ph.* 911, 1427, *Hel.* 1035, *Cyc.* 441. Note the echo (with a change to 'while you are sane') of *A. Ch.* 1026 *ἔως δ' ἔτ' ἐμφρων εἰμί, κηρύσσω φίλοις. ἔως ἔωσον*: but we need 'you'. The choice lies between *ἔως σ' ἔωσον* (Brunck) and the majority reading *ἔως ἐώσῃ σ'* (the latter supported by P. Columb.). The casual sigmatism is characteristic of E., and the assonance *ἔως ἐώσ-* is like *IT* 1339 *ἡμεν ἡμένοι* (cf. Diggle, *PCPhS* 1969, 59).

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- 239-40. *καινόν*: usually 'unwelcomely new' (cf. 790, 1503; Bond on *HF* 1118); here more neutral (though Or. is pessimistic). In 240 P. Columb. attests *εἰ δὲ* (not *δ' ἐς*) *βλάβην* . . ., which could be right (cf. Keyes, *CPh* 1938, 412); *βλάβην* antithetic to quasi-substantival *εἰδ* (173*, 667-8*; cf. *Archelaus* fr. 254 τὸ γὰρ λέγειν | εἰδ δεινὸν ἐστίν, εἰ φέροι τινα βλάβην); but the antithesis of adverb and prepositional phrase is more natural, and *IT*'s omission of a sigma could be a mere slip. We should then read: *ἄλις ἔχω τοῦ* (not τὸ) *δυστυχεῖν*: cf. *Su.* 1148, *Hel.* 1446; τὸ is not supported by 1039*, and for the error cf. 687, 782*.
- 241-2. The vulgate text surprisingly gives Men. a fleet (*νεῶν*). It is unlikely that E. intended more than one ship (54*, 688-90*), and *νεώς* (O) should be accepted. The erroneous pl. may be due simply to the associated pl. *σέλματα*, but may also reflect the ancient misconception of Men.'s return 'laden with the spoils of Troy' (57 ff.*; cf. *χιλιόναυον* 352). *σέλματα* (*νεώς*) is a common type of poetical synecdoche or periphrasis for 'oared ship' (cf. *ν-σκάφος Cys.* 467, *IT* 742, *ἐναλίαν πλάτην Hec.* 39, etc.). The ship-type envisaged is the traditional penteconter (*IT* 1124, *Il.* 16. 168-70, etc.); the *σέλματα* of such a ship (*ἑύσσελμος Il.* 2. 170, etc., *Stes.* fr. 192 Page) are its *ζυγά* 'thwarts, rowing-benches' (Hsch.): Dion. Chalc. 4. 5 *ἐρέτας ἐπὶ σέλματα πέμπει*, *Archil.* 4. 6-7 West *θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηὸς φοῖτα* (simply 'go through the ship'), *E. Cys.* 144 *ἐν σέλμασιν νεώς* (simply 'in the ship'), *Hel.* 1566 *εἰσέθεντο σέλματα* (simply 'they put into the ship'); cf. *A. Ag.* 1442 (Diggle, *CR* 1968, 3), *Pers.* 358, *Sept.* 32 (Fraenkel on *Ag.* 182 f.), *S. Ant.* 144. In the sing., *σέλμα* may denote the principal ζυγόν ('steersman's bench', extendable to 'poop'): *h. Bacch.* 47, *A. Ag.* 183, *E. Cys.* 506. [The radically different treatment of *σέλμα*-*τα* by J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams in *Greek Oared Ships* (1968) involves some implausible interpretations of the poetic locc. and neglects Dion. Chalc.]
- 243-4. *φῶς*: for the 'light' metaphor of *σωτηρία* ('hope', etc.) cf. *El.* 449, *HF* 797, *Ph.* 1281, *A. Ag.* 522, etc. (D. Tarrant, *CQ* 1960, 183). *χάριτας ἔχων πατρός*: 'in possession of favours from', so 'owing a debt of gratitude to' (cf. 453 *χάριτας πατρώας ἐκτίνων*, *Ph.* 569 *χάριτας ἐς σ' ἀνήφατο* 'put you under an obligation', and contrast *χάριν ἔχειν τινί* 'to be grateful to'); *Ba.* 236 *ὄσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων* uses a similar phrase for a very different kind of 'favours'. The participle following *ἦκει* is a favourite idiom (854, 1233, 1554, etc.; Bond on *Hyps.* 60.39 and *HF* 1163 ff.).
- 245-6. τὸ πιστόν τόδε . . . δέχου: *Σ* gives alternative explanations of the parenthesis: (a) simply = *πίστευε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις*; (b) the 'proof' follows in 246. Neither is satisfactory: (a) takes no account of τόδε: as to (b), why does *El.* merely say 'bringing Helen from Troy' with no reference to the fact that she has already conversed with Helen in the Palace? It is out of the question that Helen should appear 'on the balcony' at this moment (*pace* J. Ferguson, *A Companion to Greek Tragedy* (1972), 553, anticipated by Verrall). Perhaps the *πιστόν* is the speaker's right hand (cf. *Med.* 21-2, *Hel.* 838, *S. OC* 1632, *Phil.* 813, 942, etc.) or some asseverative gesture

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performed with it.

- 247-8. For Or.'s reflex 'Helen-hating' reaction, cf. 19 f.*, 130 f.*. **ἄλογον ἄγετα**: normal idiom for bringing a *new* wife to one's home; cf. 1146-7, where Helen is Men.'s 'bride' (*νύμφη*). For the three resolutions in 248, cf. 19 f.*, and 597, 643, 1603, 1645 (more instances in Or. than in any other play; first at *El.* 61; Descroix 110-11, 136-7, Zieliński 165, 187).
- 249-50. The first mention of Tyndareus, traditionally as the 'father of notorious daughters' (cf. 540-1, 750; Hes. fr. 176 M.-W., Stes. fr. 223 Page, both cited by Σ). El.'s sarcastic echo of the traditional jibe has the effect of putting Or. in mind of his 'bad mother' (251), whom for the moment he had forgotten (216). **ἐπίσημον . . . ἴες τὸν ψόγον† . . . δυσκλέες τ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα**. These are the words predicatively describing the **γένος θυγατέρων** that Tynd. **ἔτεκε**. El. is speaking *ὄνειδιστικῶς* (cf. 4*, 85*); it is an *ὄνειδος* (stigma, reproach) for a man to have such daughters. Prima facie the obelized phrase contributes little (apart from the relevant word *ψόγος*), and the article is unintelligible (Σ *περισσόν*; not supportable by *El.* 1039, where *ὁ ψόγος* is clearly defined by 1035 as 'that reproach', sc. of *μωρία*). What we need is a more pointed and idiomatic qualification/definition of *ἐπίσημον* symmetrical with 'throughout Greece'. Perhaps *ἀσπῶν ψόγω* (causal dat.), with a balance between 'civil reproach' (*ψόγον . . . δημοσίων* *El.* 643, cf. *Al.* 1057) and nation-wide *δυσκλεία*; *ἀσπῶι* 442, 446, 536, 746, 844 (a word of thematic frequency, cf. *Introd.* E ii). The key word is **ἐπίσημον** (placed first in the sentence). *ἐπίσημος*, lit. 'such that there is a conspicuous (imposed) mark', as in branding and coinage, was applied by E. to (a) the imagined 'stamp' (*χαρακτήρ*) that should, but does not, reveal a man's quality, *Hec.* 379; (b) things, in general *συμφοραί* (543), that make a person marked or branded (for good or ill, usually the latter); esp. a much-talked about marital union (*εὐνή/λέχος*), 20-1*, *HF* 68, *El.* 936; *φόνος* is 'an *ἐπίσημον* thing' (both lit. and metaph.), *Ion* 983; (c) marked persons, so 'famous' or 'notorious': *Held.* 527, *Hp.* 103, *Ph.* 805 *Οἰδιπόδαν . . . περόναις ἐπίσημον* (both lit. and metaph., with causal dat.), *Ba.* 967, fr. 294.2 *τᾶπίσημα* (generalizing n. pl.); (d) traditional *exemplar*, esp. cautionary: *Held.* 906 *ἐπίσημα γάρ τοι θεὸς παραγγέλλει*. Our passage might be classified in (c) or (d), but belongs in (b) like *λέχος ἐπίσημον* in 20-1 (*γένος* semi-abstract); the *γέν-θυγ-* is a *συμφορά*/stigma 'acquired' (cf. 532-3) by 'Tynd. [Not *αὐτῷ ψόγον* (Rauchenstein), though that is better than the other published conjectures (*εἰς τε ψόγον* Lenting, *γὰρ ἐς ψόγον* Hermann, *ἐπίψογον* Paley, *εἰς γοῦν ψόγον* Scmitelos, *ἐπὶ ψόγω* Blaydes). El. could indeed have expressed her point with an int. acc. phrase and a reflexive (cf. *S. El.* 965-6, *OC* 984, *Il.* 3. 50-1, and the passages adduced by Diggle in his discussion of *Hel.* 987 in *Dionysiaca*, 170-1). But (a) such an int. acc. phrase here followed by 'and . . .' would require another int. acc. (*δυσκλείαν τ' . . .*); (b) the sentence runs awkwardly with *ἐπίσημον* (masc.) . . . *δυσκλέες* (neuter) . . .; (c) *αὐτῷ* is unneeded here (unlike *S. OC* 984, etc.), since *ἐπίσημον ἔτεκε . . .* already implies a mark incurred by the *τεκῶν*; (d)

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ἐπίσημον ψόγον is not in line with E.'s usage of either word: *ἐπίσημος* (in a bad sense) is applied, not to *ψόγος*, but to the thing or person that attracts *ψόγος*; *ψόγος* is either (usually) unqualified by an adj. or qualified as *μέγας* (*Ba.* 779), *πολύς* (*Hcl.* 846, *Su.* 565), *φαῖλος* (*Ph.* 94). To write γ' for τ' in 250 would help only as to (a) and is otherwise unappealing (frigid, if intended as exegetic).]

251-2. The logical syntax (σύ νυν... γάρ... καὶ μὴ μόνον... ἀλλὰ καὶ...) does not support Di B.'s view that 251-2 as a whole is the utterance of a man losing control of his wits. The sentiment 'make sure that you are different from αἱ κακαί' (cf. *Hr.* 649), though sour in tone, is a 'sane' enough γνώμη (expressly accepted as such by El. in 254); it is also in character (cf. 1204-5, 1589-90*). But there is an overlooked point in φρόνει: a more obvious turn of phrase would have contrasted 'saying' and 'doing', and it cannot be fortuitous that Or.'s thought is on 'bad women' (like Cl.) and *sound-mindedness* at the exact moment when his own reason totters.

253-4. *ταράσσεται*: alluding to the inner disturbance, cf. *A. Ch.* 1056 *ταραγμός ἐς φρένας πίνει*, *S. Ant.* 1095 (also the medical use of *ταράσσειν*, *τάραξις*); 'whirling eyes' are more pictorially described in 838, *HF* 932, *Ba.* 1122 f. *διαστρόφοις ὄσσοις. ταχύς*: = *ταχέως*, here only in E., but not uncommon in poetry from Homer onwards (LSJ *ταχύς* B. 4, Bruhn 5). *μετέθου λύσσαν*: 'changed to madness'; a construction found elsewhere with *μεταβάλλειν* (*IA* 343), *-εσθαι* (*Hr.* 1116), *μεθαρμόζεσθαι* (*Al.* 1157), also *ἀλλάσσειν/-εσθαι*; here only perhaps with *μετατίθεσθαι* before Pausanias 7. 26. 3 (LSJ incorrectly cite *Hdt.* 7. 18), but Monk's *μετεθέμην εὐβουλίαν* is plausible at *IA* 388. Extended use of 'change' vbs is characteristic of E. (cf. 272, 816). *ἄρτι σωφρονῶν*: or *ἄρτιως φρονῶν* (Chrysippus *ap.* DL 7. 182)? There may be little difference between *σωφρονῶν* and (εἰ) *φρονῶν*, but the former makes the preciser (more 'medical') point here, after the rather different *φρόνει τάδε* in 252.

255-6. *μὴ ἴπισαί μοι*...: the metaphor, recurring in 613-14* and parodied in comedy (Alexis fr. 3), is in the first instance of shaking the reins of a chariot-team (36*; Cl. is thought of as the 'driver'); cf. Hsch. *ἐπισειούσης-ἐπικελειομένης* (S. fr. 147 R.). There may also, the object being the Gorgon-like Furies, be an allusive reminiscence of *Il.* 4. 167, where Zeus threatens by wrathfully shaking the *aigis* (so Di B.). *τὰς αἵματωπούς καὶ δρακοντώδεις κόρας*: cf. *An.* 978 *τὰς θ' αἵματωπούς*, *HF* 882-3 *Γοργῶν... Λύσσα μαρμαρωπός*, *Ph.* 870 *αἵματωποὶ δεργμάτων διαφθοραὶ* (of the Sphinx), fr. 870 *δράκοντος αἵματωπὸν ὄμμα*. The characteristic *-ωπός* and *-ώδης* adjs. (115*, 219-20*) are effectively imprecise. In *A. Ch.* 1058 the Furies explicitly drip blood from their eyes; in *Ch.* 1049-50 they are *πεπλεκτανημέναί πυκνοὶς δράκουσιν* 'like Gorgons'; but cf. *IT* 286 *Ἄιδου δράκαιαν*, where the *δράκων*-motif has been extended into a vague description of the whole monster.

257-67. Or. has deprecated (to his mother) the onset of the Furies; he now

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'sees' them (cf. A. *Ch.* 1061 *ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐχ ὁράτε τὰσδ', ἐγὼ δ' ὄρω*) in a powerful line which breaks the pattern of the distichomythia. So, at least, if 257 is authentic and *in situ*, and there is nothing wrong with the tristich as such (Page, *Actors* 52, Dodds on *Ba.* 927-9, Denniston on *El.* 651-2). 257 is surely not to be deleted (as by Kirchhoff, Wecklein and others). But there are two anomalies in 257-67 which together suggest that we have to deal with a dislocation of line-order (not the only such place in the play; cf. *Intro.* n. 118). (a) 257-9 would be better in the sequence 258-9-7: 255-6 have left it open whether Or. is 'seeing' or merely 'fearing to see' the Furies; El. attempts to calm him by denying his visions, and Or. *counters* with 'Yes (I do see them) for (γάρ *GP* 74) here they come galloping near me . . .'. (b) 260-7 would be better in the sequence 260-1-4-5-2-3-6-7: 'O Phoebus, they will kill me, the hound-like savage-eyed priestesses of Hell! Let go of me! You are one of my Furies, clasping me about the middle to throw me into Tartarus!' 'I will not let go, but with twined arms will prevent your unhappy leaping. Alas! what help can I obtain against hostile supernatural power?' (as Or. breaks free). We then have longer (5- and 4-line) speeches from Or. and El. between perfectly regular distichomythia (to 259) and Or.'s long speech in 268 ff.; we also have *μέθες* . . . and *οὔτοι μεθήσω* . . . in the right sequence (cf. *S. Phil.* 816-17 *μέθες* . . . *οὐ φημ' ἐάσειν*, and 1301-2 *μέθες με* . . . *οὐκ ἂν μεθείην*). [New suggestions, but (a) Elmsley tried transposing 257 after 270. It is credible that 257 might have been brought forward to precede 258-9 (superficial interpretation having suggested that the explicit 'seeing' ought to come first). Ancient citations of 255-7 (*Auct. de subl.* 15. 2) and of 255-9 (*Chrysippus ap. Plut. Mor.* 900A) make accidental transposition unlikely, but they do not exclude the possibility of very early histrionic alteration. (b) Others have put 264-5 before 262-3 (*Schmidt* 264-5-2-3-0-1-6-7, *Wecklein* 260-1-6-7-4-5-2-3). *Di B.* defends the text, but does not explain how E. came to write speeches beginning *μέθες* . . . and *οὔτοι μεθήσω* . . . with the latter before the former. In the abstract, El. can, of course, say 'I won't let go' without a direct cue (cf. A. *Eum.* 64 *οὔτοι προδώσω*); and Or. can say 'let go!' as he in fact breaks free. But the combination (in that order) seems incredible; note also the *elaboration* of 'not letting go', which plainly belongs after, not before, the *unelaborated* *μέθες*. The cause of the displacement here may well be the distich-structure of 260-1-4-5 and 262-3-7-8 (cf. 71 ff., 211-18, etc.), following the long distichomythia; mechanical continuation of the paragraphoi (speaker alternation), an error of which the MSS preserve evidence at 271 and 273, will have had the absurd effect of giving *μέθες* . . . to El. and *οὔτοι μεθήσω* . . . to Or., and it is credible that some diaskauast should have sought to remedy that by reversal of the offending speeches. In this case there is nothing in Σ and no ancient citations to confirm the antiquity of the extant line-order.]

258-9. ὦ ταλαίπωρ! 'remonstrating', cf. Bond on *HF* 1233; but also 'pitying'. **σάφ' εἰδέναι** (not *ὄραν*): El. is denying the validity, not simply of Or.'s

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- current vision, but of his 'cognition' of his visions in general (cf. 312-13), in order to combat his whirling-eyed deprecation; for *εἰδέναι* 'recognize', cf. Bond on *HF* 1108.
257. αὐταὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ πλησίον: cf. *Phaethon* 217 πόσις πόσις μοι πλησίον . . . (and 219-20*). θρῦσκούσι: cf. *ἔθορον* 1416, and θρῦσκει *Ba.* 873 (of a deer).
260. κυνώιδες γοργῶνες: further traditional motifs. The Furies are *κύνες* in *A. Ch.* 924 (cf. the Fury-like bacchanals in *Ba.* 977 ἔτε θοαὶ Λύσσας κύνες . . ., and Denniston on *El.* 1252, 1342). γοργῶψ (elsewhere only at *HF* 131, *El.* 1257) is cognate with *Γοργώ* (cf. *A. Ch.* 1048; also *Ion* 210 γοργωπός, of Athena's shield, and Kannicht on *Hel.* 1315-16); at the same time there is a connection of thought with *Λύσσα* (325-7*), cf. γοργωπούς κόρας ('eyes') at *HF* 868.
261. ἐνέρων ἱέραι, δειναὶ θεαί: the combination 'priestesses . . . goddesses' has the vigour of oxymoron; while ἱέραι has added connotations of blood (*Ba.* 1114, *IT* 34 ff.; cf. *Al.* 25 ἱερῆ θανόντων, *HF* 451, *A. Ag.* 735 ἱερεύς τις Ἄρας); for the form -εαι (not -εαι), cf. also Handley on *Men. Dysk.* 496. As 'priestess-goddesses of the ἔνεροι' the Erinyes are associable with Persephone, who is νεπτέρων πότνια (963-4*; cf. 317-18*). δειναὶ has its full force here ('goddesses of Terror', 38*), even if θεαί are in general δειναί (*Il.* 18. 394, etc.).
- 264-5. Cf. *IT* 288-90, where Or.'s reported ravings more grotesquely imagine an advancing Fury bearing his petrified mother and about to cast her upon him. The mistaking of the real El. (who is in fact clasping him) is both pathologically and histrionically more convincing; likewise the fear of being cast into the Black Pit. μί' οὔσα τῶν ἑμῶν ἑρινύων (sic): cf. 38*, 434*, 581-2*. ὀχμάζεις: a vb proper to gripping a shield by its ὀχμή/ὄχανον, so more generally 'to grip fast'; *Cyc.* 484, *El.* 817, *Peirithous* 9 (Page, *Select Papyri* 122), *A. PV* 5.
- 262-3. πηδᾶν . . . πηδήματα: the commonest type of cognate acc. idiom, with an emphatic epithet (contrast 472*), cf. *Tr.* 357 γαμέϊ με δυστυχέστερον γάμον, *S. Ant.* 1201, etc. (KG i 304, Bruhn 33-4); δυστυχῆ cancels any idea of happy 'bacchic' ecstasy (cf. 45*, 319-20*).
- 266-7. El. cries out in despair, and veils herself during what follows (280*).
- 268-306. (a) 268-79 the climax of the 'mad fit' (after Or. has broken free at once from El.'s restraining clasp and from the pattern of symmetrical dialogue), ending with the successful 'chasing away' of the Furies and 'calm after the storm'; (b) 280-300 disquisition to El.; (c) 301-6 El. is urged to go within and rest.
- 268-74. There are several extant and attested 'archery'-scenes in Greek tragedy. Apollo himself had threatened the Furies with his bow in *A. Eum.*; the bow of Heracles had recently been a central feature in the plot and action of *S. Phil.*; in *Ion E.* had given lyric treatment to an archery-scene of 'bird-scaring'. τόξα (the pl. includes the arrows) were thus familiar tragic equipment, associated with some time-honoured conventions of diction

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and action. There was also an older poetic tradition to be exploited: Apollo's promise of a protective bow had been a feature of Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (as a *promise*—Stes. fr. 217 Page—we know nothing of the sequel), cf. Stephanopoulos 146; undoubtedly known to, but not taken up by, Aeschylus (probably because his Apollo was to do the protecting in person). Against that background, Or.'s demented, but successful, shooting of phantasmagoric Furies with an *invisible* 'Apollo-given' bow is to be recognized as one of the finest dramatic strokes of E.'s most spectacular play, brilliantly combining tradition and the high poetic style with audacious and histrionically effective innovation. The Stesichorean 'bow-giving' had always, in a sense, been a *metaphor* for the protection promised by Apollo; its 'reality' is of the same mythic order as that of the Furies themselves, and here rightly takes tangible form only in Or.'s demented mind. The shooting was certainly mimed without a bow in Hellenistic times; the criticism of that in Σ is not based on evidence of a different pre-Hellenistic practice, but avowedly on the precedent (with an 'actual' bow-giving) in Stesichorus. Most modern commentators have rightly sided with the actors; the minority (who include Chapouthier, Arrowsmith, Burnett, Greenberg and Donadi) should explain why such a concrete stage-property in Or.'s possession is not referred to elsewhere in the play (e.g. by Or. to Men. in 412 ff.); and cf. 286–7*. [The issue is complicated by pictorial representations of Orestes confronting the Furies with a *sword* (never with a bow); cf. Introd. H v. Did the artists simply evolve their own conventions? Or did they look to some unknown literary source other than E.? Or was it an early histrionic convention to equip Or. with a sword *in this play* and allow him to mime the shooting ('madly') with a sword in his hand? It is credible that the actors should have given Or. a sword (in preparation for his 'suicide' at 1065–8); though he should not in fact be seen armed before the finale (1222–3*).] See Addenda.

268. δός: to an imaginary 'squire'. Note that, if the bow is visible, there should be a visible donor, and there is an immediate problem. A rational request to El. comes very ill after 264–5; an illusion-destroying stage-hand would be even worse; and we are reduced to taking δός as = φέρε λάβω. κερουλά: 'such that there is horn (the horned ends of the bow) and the action ελκείν'; an adj. characteristic of the high poetic style used for Or.'s frenzied utterance (cf. 273–4*); perhaps a Sophoclean coinage (fr. 859 R., describing Τρώες), but cf. ταξουλκός A. Pers. 55 (λήμα) and 239 (αίχμη)—such a word is at least as likely to be Aeschylean.

269–70. εἶπ': jussive, cf. 914, 923, Hel. 1475, 1611, IA 358, etc.; often with pres. inf. (e.g. 924 στεφανοῦν), and the variant ἐξαμύνεσθαι (BA) is, I think, preferable here (so Porson) in conjunction with ἐκφοβοῖεν. μανιάσιν λυσοήμασιν: μανιάς 227–8*; for the fem.-form adj. with the n. noun, cf. 837, IT 1235, Kannicht on Hel. 1301. λύσσημα, here only, may be a new coinage. [P. Oxy. 2506 attests a variant οἷς εἶπ' Ἀπόλλων μ'. . ., as conjectured by Hartung; the mobility of μ' is similar to that of σ' in 237–8*.]

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271. **βεβλησεται τις**: 'menacing' idiom, cf. *Hp.* 1086 *καλιων τις . . . τεθίζεται* (fut. perf., *A. Ag.* 1279; indef. *τις*, *An.* 577, 716, Bond on *HF* 747 f.). **θεων βροτησις**: cf. 8, *An.* 1255, *Ba.* 4; *βροτήσις* is rare before E. (*Hes.*, *Alcm.*, *Pind.*).
272. **(ἐ)ξαμείψει**: here 'go out, depart' (contrast 816–18*), as a characteristic extension (191*, 253–4*) of a very ancient 'pass' sense of *ἀμείβειν* (see LSJ), in a context reminiscent of *A. Eum.* 180 *ἀπαλλάσσεσθε . . . μυχών*.
- 273–4. The Aeschylean echoes continue in **οὐκ εισακούετ;** (*Eum.* 190 *ἀρ' ἀκούετε . . .*); **ἐξαρρωμένας** (*Eum.* 182) and **ἐκηβόλων τόξων** (*Eum.* 628); the properly 'Apolline' epithet (*Il.* 1. 14, etc.) was variously extended to other gods (Zeus, Artemis) and 'far-striking' weapons (cf. *HF* 472, *Ion* 213, *S. fr.* 401 R.). Note that Or. claims to be actually shooting, whereas Apollo in *Eum.* had merely threatened (with a tangible bow); **οὐχ ὄραθ'** . . .; dementedly calls attention to *invisible* 'flying arrows' (cf. 760*). **πτερωτὰς γλυφίδας**: lit. 'fletched notches' (*Il.* 4. 122 *ἔλκε δ' ὀμοῦ γλυφίδας τε λαβῶν καὶ νεύρα βόεια*); the high-poetic synecdoche is like that in *Eum.* 182 (*χρυσηλάτου θώμιγγος*).
- 275–6. **ἃ δ' τί δῆτα μέλλετ'**; 'remonstrating' (cf. 145–6*, *Al.* 28–9 *ἃ δ' τί σὺ πρὸς μελάθροισ;*), before 'shooing away' (cf. 182–3*); in *A. Ch.* 1048 Or. had exclaimed *ἃ δ* in cowering terror. As often, E.'s dramatic technique is at once traditional and anti-traditional (Or. puts the Furies to flight instead of being put to flight by them). For the 'impatient' idiom *τί μέλλετε*; (here with a paratactic imperative), cf. 1284, *Hel.* 1593, *Ph.* 1146, *Ba.* 1351, etc. (Elmsley on *Med.* 1209–10[1242–3]). **ἐξακρίζετ' αἰθέρα πτεροῖς**: the 'wings' (cf. *πτεροφόροι* 317) are traditional, though non-Aeschylean (*A.* had made the Erinyes *ἄπτεροι* in *Eum.*, perhaps simply for practical reasons); Stesichorus' Furies are likely to have been winged (*Σ*, ut vid., cf. Dietrich 143^o, 147). The 'aether-mounting' is in the first instance a mode of 'out-of-this-world departure' (cf. *Ion* 797–8 *ἀν' ὑγρὸν ἀμπταῖν αἰθέρα πόρρω γαί-|ας Ἑλλανίας . . .*), but it is linked in thought with the following clause about 'blaming Apollo' (a comma suffices after *πτεροῖς*), and developed further as 'sky-galloping' in 321–3*. **ἐξακρίζειν** occurs here only, rightly explained by *Σ* (*εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ αἰθέρος πέτεσθε*), Dodds on *Ba.* 677–8 (*ὑπεξ-*, intrans.); probably not 'skim the upper air' (as LSJ). In itself *ἀκρίζειν* is a vb of flexible meaning ('go on tiptoe' in fr. 570, according to Hsch.; in *A. Ch.* 932–3 *πολλῶν αἰμάτων ἐπήκρισεν τλήμων Ὀρέστης* there is a 'culmination' point, cf. 831 ff.*). **τὰ Φαίβου δ'** . . .: cf. of the Furies' inculcation of Apollo in *Eum.* 199–200.
- 277–9. Cf. the return to rationality of Phaedra at *Hp.* 239 ff. and of Heracles at *HF* 1089 ff. (Spitzbarth 93–4).
277. **ἔα**: the colloquial exclam. of sudden awareness is frequently extra-metric in E. (unlike A. and S.; Page on *Med.* 1004, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 33). The formulaic expression **ἔα τί χρήμα**; is always elsewhere elliptical (1573, *Hp.* 905, *An.* 896, *Su.* 92, *HF* 525, *Peirithous* 16, *A. PV* 298), and usually followed by a *statement* of the circumstance that has prompted the exclam. (typically

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'I see . . .'). So here we should punctuate: τί χρήμ'; ἀλύω, πνεύμ' ἀνείς ἐκ πνευμόνων' (cf. 672 τί δέ; ταλαιπωρεῖν με δεῖ); ἀλύω 'I am wandering, bewildered', as *S. Phil.* 174. *Hp.* 1182 (τί ταῦτ' ἀλύω; πειστέον πατρός λόγους) is different, both in context and in the addition of ταῦτα. Or. finds himself literally 'out of breath'; but the πνεῦμα is also the manic 'tempest' (cf. 227-8*), and Or. is not so much 'panting' as 'gasping' (with empty lungs). A medical treatise alludes to the expulsion of air from the lungs at the moment of recovery from a fit (*Hipp. περί φασῶν* 14; Smith 295). [*πνευμόνων* (codd.) has been recently defended (Degani, Bond on *HF* 1093); with Di B., I see no likelihood of 'etymologizing word-play' (fecbly jejune) in this context.]

278. ποῖ ποῖ: the repetition need only be emphatic (219-20*, *IT* 1435), with the *p*-alliteration in support (cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 268); but a 'breathless' effect is also appropriate here, as in 470; for the 'whither' point, cf. also *Hp.* 240 ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην γνώμης ἀγαθῆς;

279. ἐκ 'after, as a change from' (LSJ ἐκ II. 2), cf. ἐκ χείματος *A. Ag.* 901. γαλήν' ὄρω: probably a substantival use of the adj. (cf. 728 for 'seeing a calm') rather than adverbial (as 224 λεπτὰ λεύσσω); for the psychological use of 'calm' imagery, cf. Bond on *Hyps.* 113 and *HF* 1049. This line gained instant notoriety from the out-of-breath delivery of the protagonist Hegelochus, who was understood as 'seeing a weasel (γαλή) out of the waves'—providing a jest not only for Ar. (*Ran.* 303-4) but also for the comedians Strattis (frs. 1 and 60) and Sannyrion (fr. 8). All these mention Hegelochus by name, so presumably there really was some reprehensible fault in his delivery, not merely a parodiable feature in E.'s line (for the phonetic implications, see P. Von der Mühl, *Ausg. Kl. Schr.* (1976), 413-14, and Daitz, *CQ* 1983, 294-5).

280-300. A passage important as ἠθοποιία (Introd. F ii-iii), including as it does Or.'s first rational statements about the matricide (285-93) in intimate conversation with El. Significantly, the main theme is παραμυθία, to which 285-93 is tangential (294*). First and last the emphasis is on confronting τὰ νῦν κακά, with much affecting fraternal φιλία and some αἰδώς, but with little suggestion of 'remorse' (contrast Heracles in *HF* 1146 ff., Oedipus in *S. OT* 1182 ff.), an aspect of the matter touched on later (396*). Or. properly assumes responsibility for the matricide (in order to lift that burden from El.), but immediately blames Apollo—not, be it noted, for commanding him to kill his mother, but for failing in respect of 'deeds' after inciting him to commit the 'most unholy' crime. A legitimate complaint (cf. Apollo's steadfast βοήθεια in *A. Eum.*); but the statement that Apollo had pleased Or. with his words (ἠδῆφρανε 287) throws a revealing light on Or.'s readiness to commit crimes of violence, given the appropriate ἐλπίς; likewise the purely pragmatic grounds on which he imagines that his father would have dissuaded him (292-3).

280. Cf. 266-7*, *IA* 1122-3; such veiling typically expresses a combination of grief and αἰδώς (*Hp.* 243-6; F. L. Shisler, *AJP* 1945, 381, 385).

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- 281-2. Or. himself feels shame for involving his maiden sister in his *πόνοι* and upsetting her by his *νόσοι* (the *πόνοι* and the *νόσοι* together make up Or.'s *κακά*, cf. 91). *αισχύνομαί σοι*: but the variant *σοι* seems better, with *μεταδιδούς* immediately following; for *αισχύνομαι* abs., cf. *El.* 900 and perhaps *Ion* 934 (*σ'* del. Dobree). *ἄχλον . . . παρέχων*: a colloquial expression first in *Hdt.*, cf. *Med.* 337, *Hel.* 439 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 56); *παρθένοι* should in general be protected from *ἄχλος* (cf. 108*).
283. 'Don't waste away (or dissolve in grief) on account of (the) *κακά* that are properly *mine*'. *συντήκου*: cf. *συντακέις* 34*, but here the *συν-* also suggests *communiter* (cf. 805).
- 284-5. 'For, although you gave an assenting nod, the deed of matricide was done by me' (dat. of agent). *ἐπένευσας τάδ'*: sc. *κακά*; Paley's *ἐπεκέλευσας [τάδ']* is unnecessary—the criticized *τάδε* appropriately focuses attention on *τὰ νῦν κακά*, cf. *Ba.* 1349 *πάλαι τάδε Ζεὺς οὐμὸς ἐπένευσεν πατήρ*. *El.*'s 'nod' brings upon her some responsibility for all that has ensued; but Or.'s was the hand that struck (cf. 1235-6*), and neither he nor *El.* could have envisaged the present consequences in the light of Apollo's deceiving oracle.
- 285-7. *Cl. Σ οὐ σοὶ μέμφομαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ὅτι πείσας με μητέρα φονεύσαι οὐ βοηθεῖ*. The 'blaming of Apollo' develops out of *παραμυθία*, and leads into a tangential reflection (288-93*). *Λοξία δὲ μέμφομαι, ὅστις . . .*: cf. *Ar. Plut.* 8-10 *τῷ δὲ Λοξία . . . μέμψιν δικαίαν μέμφομαι ταύτην, ὅτι . . .* For this 'indicting' use of *ὅστις*, cf. 494, 573 (KG ii 399, Friis Johansen 126^{no}).
- 286-7. The double acc. with *ἐπάρως* (*με, ἔργον*) is unparalleled and has been justly suspected; the normal construction (in the relevant sense, LSJ *ἐπαίρω* II) is *ἐπαίρει τινα* + inf. (fr. 293 *τιμῆ σ' ἐπαίρει τῶν πέλας μείζον φρονεῖν*) or simply with acc. pers. (*S. OT* 1328). Expressions like *κελεύειν τί τινα* with a neuter pronoun (KG i 311) are not sufficiently analogous. After Hermann (<*δράσαι*> *λόγοις* . . .), I should suggest the substitution of *τελεῖν* for *τοῖς μὲν*; cf. 834 *ὅσον ἔργον τελέσας, A. Sept.* 692-3 *ἔξοτρύνει . . . τελεῖν*. For the interpolation of *μὲν* in an antithesis, cf. *Hr.* 597. [The text can be emended, in principle, in two other ways: (a) lacuna after 286 (Kirchhoff); (b) alteration of 286: Nauck *ὄς δρᾶν μ' . . .*; Wecklein *ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνοσιώτατα* (after Musgr. *ἔργμ' ἐπ' ἀνοσιώτατον*; *ἔργμα* sing. is very unlikely, 160*); J.D. suggests *ἀνοσι[ωτατον] <τελεῖν>*.]
- λόγοις . . . ἔργοισιν*: sometimes 'in theory . . . in fact' (cf. Denniston on *El.* 47), but here certainly 'with words . . . with deeds . . .'. For the antithesis without *τοῖς μὲν* (if that be the right line of emendation), cf. *An.* 264-5 *λόγους κρύψω, τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτὸ σημαίνει τάχα*, fr. 360.13 *λόγῳ πολίτης ἐστὶ, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὐ*. Apollo has failed to give any 'actual' *βοήθεια* (cf. 414-20); an accusation that must finally exclude the presence on the stage of a 'real' Apolline bow (268-74*).
- 288-93. An elaboration of the thought 'if only I had not paid such heed to

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Apollo's words, but to what my dead father might have said (given knowledge of the future)'.

- 288-9.** εἰ . . . ἐξιστόρου: 'if I had been consulting'; μητέρ' εἰ κτείναι . . .: implying the question actually put by Or. to the Oracle. There is no good reason for preferring χρεῶν to με χρή; L's variant may be due to contamination with ἀποκτείνειν χρεῶν 1128. κατ' ὄμματα: 'coram', more often sing. (*An.* 1064, 1117, *El.* 910, *Ba.* 469); cf. ἐν ὄμμασιν 785 (?).
- 290.** Various gen. uses converge in γενείου: objective (as *Su.* 262 λιταῖ θεῶν), of what is touched in supplication (as *Il.* 9. 451 λισσέσκετο γούνων, cf. 382-3*) and of what is 'shot at' (cf. *IT* 362-3 γενείου χείρας ἐξηκόντισα γονάτων τε); and κτείναι includes several senses, either directly or as overtones: 'stretch out the hands' (LSJ s.v. I), 'prolong speech' (II), 'exert' (III). A complex use of language, not to be suspected, as by Herwerden, for the casual assonance with εἰ κτείναι 289 (cf. 237-8* and 1129*; also 915[-16]*).
- 291.** μήποτε . . .: probably the reading of a new papyrus (.) κουρης; P. Berol., see p. 137); cf. *Ph.* 776 μήποτε ταφήναι. The variant μήπω (a simple lipography before τε-) deserves no credence. [For a rejection everywhere of the supposed 'nowise' sense of οὐπω/μήπω, see Stevens, *AJPPh* 1950, 290-5; though see also Dawc, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (1964), 122-3.] τεκοῦσης: 'of a mother' (generalizing); cf. *A. Eum.* 513-14 πατήρ ἢ τεκοῦσα 'a father or a mother' (KG i 608-9).
- 292-3.** The emphasis is entirely on the experienced effects of the matricide, not to its ethical wrongness. Read ἐγὼ δ' (not θ') ὁ τλήμων: μήτε sufficiently brackets the two phrases, and the δέ then adds a note of opposition (*GP* 511, Bruhn 105); contrast ἐγὼ θ' ὁ τλήμων *Ba.* 1354 in a straightforward enumeration (for the self-pitying idiom, cf. ἀ μέλεος 206-7*; τλήμων 35*). ἐκπλήσειν: a favourite word (462-5*); the combination of aor. and fut. inf. with μέλλειν is unusual (cf. KG i 178).
- 294.** καὶ νῦν + imperative (cf. 375, *Hel.* 736) here reverts to the main theme of παραμυθία (283 ff.). ἀνακάλυπτ': intrans. (KG i 95), if we keep ὦ κασιγνητον κάρα (cf. 237). But Brunck's ὦ κασιγνήτη, κάρα is surely right, like *HF* 1226 ἐκκάλυψον . . . κάρα. This is not the place for a κάρα-allocation.
- 296.** τᾶμί: almost 'me' ('my behaviour', etc.), cf. 1613 τᾶμά δ' οὐχὶ τλήμονα; ('my situation'; Stevens on *An.* 235); the n. sing. is similarly used (201-3*, 1088, 1275, *Hel.* 893, etc.).
- 297.** τὸ δεινὸν καὶ διαφθαρέν φρενῶν: 'my irrational terror'; cf. *Hr.* 322 τὸ δεινὸν τοῦθ' ὅ σ' ἐξαιρεί θανείν, and (for the phrase-pattern) 210*, 312*, *Al.* 797 τοῦ νῦν σκυθρωποῦ καὶ ξυνηστῶτος φρενῶν. διαφθείρεσθαι is applicable to any deterioration from 'sound-mindedness' (*Hr.* 1008, etc.).
- 298.** ἰσχναινε: here only and *IA* 694 (συν-) in E.; properly 'reduce a swelling', so at once 'deflate' (as *A. PV* 380) and 'cure' (with conative force). The 'therapy' which *El.* is to give has a repressive quality, as we have seen.
- 299-300.** Correspondingly it is right for Or. to νουθετεῖν (and ἰσχναινε)

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- excessive lamentation on El.'s part, such reciprocal *ἐπικουραία* being proper for φίλοι. These expressions of the true duty of friendship contrast sharply with the false *φιλία*-ideals expressed later in the play (Introd. F i. 5).
301. El. is to go 'within'; Or. is to remain 'outside', accessible to visitors. The scenic implications of that are left vague (see Introd. E i).
- 302-3. Elevated language (with epic precedent) for the humdrum actions of sleeping, eating and bathing. *βλέφαρον*: cf. 158-9*, 1266; 'rarely in sing.' (LSJ, citing this passage), but in fact common in E. (16 times, mostly lyr., e.g. *Ion* 205 πάντα τοι βλ-διώκω; in trimeters, *Ph.* 543, *Cyc.* 673 (a special case); in tetrameters, *IA* 321). For the use of *διδόναι* in such invertible expressions ('eyes to sleep', 'sleep to eyes'), cf. 41-2* (*λουτρά* . . . *χρωτί*). *ἐκταθείσα*: cf. *S. Phil.* 857 ἐκτέταται. *σίτων τ' ὄρεξαι*: simply 'and take food' (*σίτα* pl., cf. 41), lit. 'stretch out (your hand) for food' (the sense 'desire' is secondary, cf. Lat. *appetere*). E. used the act. where 'hand' is expressed (*Med.* 902, *Hclid.* 844, *Ph.* 103, 1710); deponent forms, where the vb is intrans. (or governing only an int. acc., as *Hel.* 353, see 961-2*), and it may then govern either a gen. (as here, 328, *Ion* 842, *Hel.* 1238, fr. 240) or an inf. (*HF* 16). *λουτρά τ' . . .*: the choice is then very close between *ἐπιβαλοῦ χρόσ* (*Hermann*) and *ἐπι χροός βαλοῦ* (*Triclinius*, *Porson*; so *Di B.*, with a further discussion in *Maia* 1968, 161-3); the latter is perhaps the more exquisite idiom (cf. [51], *Su.* 286-7), and *ceteris paribus* can claim priority.
- 304-6. 'For if you *fail me, desert me . . .*': cf. *Hp.* 1456 μή νυν προδώς με, *IA* 1466 μή με προλίπης. Or.'s point should not be weakened by deleting μ' after *προλείψεις* (*Paley*, *Murray*, *Biehl*); 'if you *saint*' may seem a more straightforward alternative to 'or catch some contagion', but the logic of El.'s reply is much more important (307*). Or.'s implicit fear is that El. may die before him, either by a voluntary death (including suicide) or by any kind of νόσος (including κάματος) induced by over-zealous nursing (*προσεδρεία*, as 93). For the perf. with fut. perf. force following εἰ + fut., cf. 940-1, *El.* 686-7 εἰ . . . πτώμα θανάσιμον πεσῆ, τέθηκα, *S. Phil.* 75-6 εἰ με . . . αἰσθήσεται, δλωλα (*KG* i 150). [My attention has been drawn to *Al.* 391 (*προλείπεις* L, *προλείπεις* με *rell.*). But the sense here is closer to *Al.* 386 ἀπωλόμην ἄρ', εἰ με δὴ λείψεις, γύναι.]
- 307-10. Notably eloquent lines, with unusually enjambed rhythms and affecting simplicity enhancing the effect of the culminating a-privative tricolon in 310. The situation recalls that of Or. and Pyl. in *IT* 684 ff. (cf. on 1069 ff. below); and cf. *S. El.* 1168-9 καὶ νῦν ποθῶ / τοῦ σοῦ θανοῦσα μὴ ἀπολείεσθαι τάφος.
307. οὐκ ἔστι: sc. ὅπως προλείψω σε. σὺν σοί (very emphatic) . . .: El. cannot guarantee that she will not 'sicken' (or 'faint'); but she can and does assert her will to live so long as Or. is alive, as also her intention of dying when he dies (if necessary, one may suppose, by suicide).
308. ἔχει γὰρ ταῦτόν: 'for *they* (θανεῖν, ζῆν) involve the same thing (i.e. the need to be with you)'; LSJ ἔχω A. I. 11, cf. 1182, *An.* 244 αἰσχύνην ἔχει (with n. pl. subject), *HF* 165, *Kannicht* on *Hel.* 93. ἐς ταῦτό χωρεῖ is a similar idiom

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(*Hel.* 758–9), but that would not be synonymous here (the *effects* of living and dying are obviously different).

309. *γυνή τί δράσῃ;* a good instance of postponed interrogative (101*), here for the strong emphasis on *γυνή*.

310. *ἀνάδελφος ἀπάτωρ ἀφίλος*: a tricolon like *Il.* 9. 63 *ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιτος ἀνέσιος* and many *cx.* in tragedy (Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 412, 769; *S. Ant.* 876, *E. An.* 491, *Hec.* 669, etc.); here the third adj. generalizes the first two.

310–15. *El.* accepts *Or.*'s dismissal, but has the last word with sisterly admonitions and a concluding *sententia*.

312. A formal echo of 297* *τὸ δεινὸν καὶ διαφθαρὲν φρενῶν*, with a similar *zeugma* of *τὸ ταρβοῦν* ('passive') with *καὶ (τὸ) ἐκφοβοῦν ὃ ἐκ δεμνίων* ('active', answering to *τὸ δεινόν*).

313. *ἀποδέχου*: a prose word (only here and *Hel.* 832 in tragedy), most typically of accepting advice, information, etc. (including slanderous accusations, *Th.* 3. 3, 6. 29); a more philosophical use 'approve' (frequent in Plato) occurs already in *Democr.* B74 *ἡδὺ μηδὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἣν μὴ συμφέρῃ*. *Or.* must not be too ready to 'accept as true' what may be mere *δόκησις*.

314–15. In effect: 'for when people *think* they are ill, even when they are not, they really become ill' (the exact corollary of 235–6*). *κάματος . . . ἀπορία τε*: i.e. 'serious ill-health' (with a combination of poetical hendiadys and medical terminology). The right reading in 314 is certainly *νοσῆ . . . δοξάζῃ* (*Callistratus ap. Σ*); cf. *An.* 421–2 *οἰκτρά γὰρ τὰ δυστυχῆ / βροτοῖς ἅπασι, κἂν θυμαῖος ὦν κυρῆ* ('even if [one] is a stranger'). [The 'eclipse of *τις*' occurs esp. after *ἐάν* and *ὄταν* in gnomic contexts (cf. 706–7* *ἦν χαλᾶ πόδα*), and is widespread in early and classical Greek, even in prose (e.g. *Pl. Men.* 97A *οὐκ ἔστιν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐάν μὴ φρόνιμος ᾖ*); *KG* i 35–6, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 71. The particular species here and in *An.* 421–2, *Hec.* 1187–9 (collocation of indef. 3rd pers. sing. with *βροτοῖς/ἀνθρώποις*) exemplifies also the frequent mixture of sing. and pl. with the same reference (*KG* i 86–7); cf. also *Al.* 355–6 *ἡδὺ γὰρ φίλου κἂν νυκτὶ λεύσσειν, ὄντιν' ἂν παρῆ χρόνον (= παρῆ τις or παρώσι)*. The 2nd pers. cannot be right, alongside *βροτοῖσι*, in this concluding *sententia*; at the same time it was an 'automatic' error, following 313, for anyone ignorant of the indef. 3rd pers. idiom. The statement in *Σ* (*Καλλίστρατος . . . διδάσκει (v.l. δοκιμάζει) κτλ.*) may be taken as implying that Callistratus, a follower of Aristophanes of Byzantium, attempted to combat what was already a widespread error.]

FIRST CHORAL ODE: 316–47

Left alone with *Or.*, the Chorus sing in deprecation of the Furies' harassment and lament the deed, Oracle-inspired, which has brought about his ruin. In the antistrophe they exclaim about his grievous torment as caused by 'some *ἀλάστωρ* haunting the house' (337*) and bewail the transience of human felicity in relation to the ancient royal house which

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claims their allegiance. The essential function of the ode is not to express absolute moral judgements, but to provide an appropriately 'tragic'-toned conclusion to Act One (1-315*). Thus the Chorus begin by developing (not without new features) traditional 'Fury', 'madness' and 'Apollo' themes which they have heard enunciated by Or. and El., while expressing exclamatory sympathy (as in 140-207) in accordance with their collective *persona* as *φύλαι*; then there is a widening of perspective in 337-47, adumbrating further (no less traditional) tragic themes to be developed in their next ode (807-43*, cf. also 960-1012*, 1546-8*).

Some much-discussed musical notation is preserved in a very ancient (c. 200 BC) textually aberrant papyrus fragment containing parts of 338-44 (P. Vind. G 2315; see *Introd. G iv*). The edited Alexandrian tradition from which our MSS descend is represented by another papyrus of the sixth or seventh century AD (P. Berol. P 17051 and 17014, containing parts of 290-300, 304-9, [320-]322-30, 333-9, combined by J. Lennaerts, *Pap. Brux.* 13 (1977), 19-23).

316-31 = 332-47

1	--	<i>sp</i>
2	υ υ - υ υ -	<i>2cr</i>
3	υ υ - υ -	<i>δ</i>
4	υ - υ υ - υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>2δ</i>
5	υ υ υ - υ -	<i>δ</i>
6	υ - υ υ - υ υ υ - υ -	<i>2δ</i>
7	υ υ υ - υ υ - υ - υ υ -	<i>2δ</i>
8	υ υ υ - υ - υ υ - υ -	<i>2δ</i>
9	υ υ υ - υ - υ υ υ - υ -	<i>2δ</i>
10	υ υ υ - υ -	<i>δ</i>
11	υ υ υ - υ - υ - υ - - -	<i>2δ</i>
12	υ υ - υ - - - υ - υ - - -	<i>2δ</i>
13	υ - υ υ - υ - υ - - - ()	<i>2δ</i>
14	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ - υ -	<i>2ia</i>
15	υ υ (υ) υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>kδ(δ) δ</i>
16	υ υ υ - υ - υ - υ -	<i>2δ</i>

Dochmiacs again (cf. 140-207), with iambo-dochmiacs at the opening and close. 2-3. Cf. *HF* 743/57 (Conomis 48). 4-6. Note the unusual diaereses after four and eight syllables in 4 and 6 (υ - υ υ - | υ υ υ | ...), giving a tripartite pattern; also the responson *δάκρυσι* 320 ~ *δάκρυσι* 336. 7-8. Reading ... *δς σ' ἀναβακχεύει* in 338*, and with the line-order of the MSS and P. Berol. The period-end (with pause) before *καθικετεύομαι* ... corresponds with the hiatus ... *κατολοφύρομαι / ὁ μέγας* ... (339*). 12. Another tripartite pattern (cf. 4 and 6), like 1491 *ἐπὶ φόνῳ | χᾶμαι - πέτει | ματρὸς ᾶ*, which might be (wrongly) analysed as *cr | ia | - x -*. The musical notation of P. Vind. does in fact isolate the 'ia' *δεινῶν πόνων* (cf. Dale, *LM* 208); an iambicizing interpretation which does nothing to inspire confidence in the music's authenticity (cf. *Introd. G iv*).

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14. 'Sub-dochmiac' in the split resolutions (p. 113), and here enjambéd with the following verse. 15. If we read Φοί-/βος ἔλακεν ἔλακε . . . and ἄλ-/λον ἔτερον ἢ τόν . . . (the anadiplosis in the str. is attested by P. Berol.), we have either *zia cr* (with 'resolution before syncope', Diggle, *Studies* 18–21) or *κδ δ* ('dochmius kaibelianus', Conomis 28 ff., Dale, *LM* 115 f., West, *GM* 111); cf. (?) 1247/67, (?) *Hp.* 593 (see p. 288). It is probably wrong to omit words in order to obtain *ia δ*. But it could be right to look for –υυ in place of ἄλλον ἔτερον (thus producing 2δ), since ἔλακεν ἔλακε reduces easily to ἔλακ' ἔλακε in the str. (cf. 1547 ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε Seidler *recte*, for ἔπεσεν ἔπεσε). The overlap . . . ι – / υ υ ι . . . (on that hypothesis) is like *Eὔ-μηνίδης* 321, δῆ-ξάμενός 330. The responsion υυ υυ is unusually free (West, *GM* 110^b); cf. *Ion* 688/707 (in a cretic).
- 316–23. 'Lamenting' address to the Furies (as 'Eumenides', 38*), filling the first half of the stanza with appropriate attributes; cf. A. *Sept.* 1054 ff. φεῦ φεῦ / ὦ μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερογενεῖς / Κῆρες Ἐρινύες . . . and the impressive invocation at S. *Aj.* 835–7 καλῶ δ' ἄρωγούς τὰς αἰεὶ τε παρθένους / αἰεὶ θ' ὀρώσας πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς πάθη, / σεμνάς Ἐρινύς ταυῖποδας.
316. αἰαῖ: like A. *Sept.* 1054, but cf. also *Hel.* 191/212 (ἰὼ ἰὼ . . . and αἰαῖ αἰαῖ . . . as corresponding stanza-openings) and *HF* 1028/31 (332*). [West (*BICS* 1981, 68–9) proposes *αἰανεῖς* for the responsion with ἰὼ Ζεῦ 332, comparing A. *Eum.* 416 Νυκτὸς αἰανῆ τέκνα, and the phrase-pattern of *Hel.* 1451–2 Φοίνισσα Γιδωνιάς ὦ ταχεῖα κόπια. But (a) αἰαῖ is, in itself, metrically superior (W. gives no parallel for the proposed *mol | zcr | δ*); (b) A. *Sept.* 1054 φεῦ φεῦ . . . is supportive of αἰαῖ (even if post-Aeschylean, E. could have had that passage in mind); (c) why should not *Or.* 316–23 be 'lament' preceding the prayer (the general theme being *deprecation*, not 'invocation')?]
- 317–18. δρομάδες: cf. 45*, 257, 260*, 837. πτεροφόροι: cf. 275–6*, and *Hel.* 167–8 πτεροφόροι . . . Χθονὸς κόραι (to the Sirens). ποτνιαδες: implying both σεμναί (410*) and λυσσάδες (like the mad Potnian mares of Glaucus, cf. S. on *Ph.* 1124); cf. 38*. Though earlier attestation is lacking, the Erinyes may have been anciently ποτνιαδες as an aspect of their association with Demeter and Persephone, from whom Potniae in Boeotia took its name (cf. E. Wüst in *RE Suppl.* 8 (1956), 94–101, Dietrich 100 ff.; the Erinyes are daughters of Persephone in *h. Orph.* 29.6 and 70.3–4). At *Ba.* 664 this 'Fury' epithet is applied to human maenads (similarly as σεμναί and λυσσάδες), as the converse of the 'bacchic' language used so frequently in *Or.* (cf. *Ba.* 977; 260*).
- 319–20. ἀβάκχευτον . . . θίασον: a favourite type of oxymoron (147 f.*, 162–5*), cf. 621 ἀηφαίστω πυρί, 1492 ἄθυρσοι . . . βάκχαι (Breitenbach 236–8, Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 11–12); the Furies' 'coven' (here indefinite in number, cf. 408*) is at once like and unlike a θίασος of maenads; unlike, in that Dionysiac 'madness' was properly a joyful 'ecstasy', ἐλάχετ' i.e. as the 'portion' allotted by *Μοῖρα*, cf. 963–4*. ἐν . . . γόοις: the formulaic 'tears

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- and lamentation' are darkly 'funereal' in this context (cf. the association with 'Night' in 203-4, also *S. OT* 29-30).
- 321-3. **μεγάχρωτες**: cf. *Hec.* 1106 (of the R. Styx); -χρωσ need have no reference to skin, cf. *Ph.* 138 ἀλλόχρωσ σπλοισι, and LSJ χρωσ II. 2. **Εὐμενίδες**: see 38*. αἶτε . . . : certainly from poetic *δατε*, not 'and who'; reflecting, like *Hec.* 444-5 αὔρα . . . αἶτε . . . κομίζεις, a traditional hymnic use (which may include further predications, where 'who also . . .' makes sense, e.g. *h. Hymn.* 22.3); cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de 'τε ἐπιτικ'* (1971), 1003. ' . . . who gallop the far-spreading (or attenuated) αἰθήρ': a striking phrase. The acc. is of 'space traversed' (like 'sailing the sea', *KG* i 312-13); ἀνα- perhaps both 'up' and 'on high'. The 'aether-galloping', by no means implicit in the ancient epithet *ἡεροφοίτις* (*Il.* 9. 571, 19. 87), is complementary to the more familiar 'chthonian' attributes; a development of the idea that the Erinyes are *βροτοσκοποί* (*A. Eum.* 499) and *πάνθ' ὀρώσαι* (*S. Aj.* 836), like Zeus and the Sun (West on *Hes. Op.* 267), with a cosmic role as agents of *Δίκη*; cf. Heraclitus B94, *h. Orph.* 69. 10-11. τὸν ταναῶν αἰθέρ': cf. *πολιὸν αἰθέρ'* 1376 ('white'), *ἀν' ὑγρόν . . . αἰθέρ' Ion* 796 ('moist', extended to 'dewy' in *Ba.* 865; it is interesting that Hsch. includes *ὕγρός* among his glosses on *ταναός*). The epithet here (imitated by Menander, *Sam.* 326, in a context of tragic echoes) seems to combine old and new ideas: the sky *τέταται* (cf. *νύξ Od.* 11. 19, *ἀήρ Hes. Op.* 549, *αἴγλη S. Phil.* 831), needing 'long strides' to traverse it (cf. *τανόποδες*); but *αἰθήρ* is also 'attenuated' like *πῦρ* (cf. Empedocles B84. 5, 11; for *αἰθήρ/πῦρ* in E., cf. Diggle, *Studies* 94). The article has 'attention-focusing' force (like Lat. *ille*), cf. 974, 1001, *El.* 435, *Hel.* 1454, *Ba.* 404, 1156; a frequent use in E.'s lyrics with proper or quasi-proper names, and here reflecting his characteristic interest in *αἰθήρ/Αἰθήρ* (cf. Bond on *HF* 510). **ἀμπάλλεσθ'**: the equine metaphor (cf. *IA* 226 *παρεπάλλετο*, of Achilles 'galloping alongside' a chariot) is generally appropriate to sky-ranging deities (1003-4*, *Ion* 1151, *IT* 1138, *Ph.* 211 f., etc.) and particularly apt to the 'nightmarish' Erinyes (cf. the anciently equine Demeter-Erinyes; Dietrich 127 ff.). **αἵματος τινύμεναι δίκαν**: 'exact- ing the penalty due for bloodshed', cf. *Med.* 261 *δίκην τῶνδ' ἀντιτίσασθαι κακῶν*. *τινύμεναι φόνον* means the same (*IT* 78, *Il.* 15. 116, etc.), i.e. 'punishing/avenging blood'. Iterative pleonasm is common in dochmiacs; but this is also anaphora of a type in which one does not expect the repeated word to change its sense ('split anadiplosis', 142-3*). Wecklein was right, I think, to prefer the less obvious variant *φόνου* (sc. *δίκαν*); the second *τινύμεναι* is then simply equivalent to 'and' (so *Σ*, *τιμωρίαν λαμβάνουσαι ὑπὲρ αἵματος καὶ φόνου*).
- 324-31. The whole stanza is largely compounded of verbal echoes (like musical motifs), but especially in these lines: *έάσατ'* (238), *εὐκαθέσθαι* (231), *λύσσασ μανιάδος* (254, 270), *ὦ τάλας* (156), *φεῦ μόχθων* (161), *τρίποδος* (164), *έλακεν έλακε* (162).
324. **καθικετέσμαι** *dis*: the weighty anadiplosis (of a whole dochmius) is a special feature echoed in 339*; cf. *κάτελεῖσάτῃ dis S. fr.* 730b. 11 R. (West, *GM* 110).

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- 325-7. Cf. also *HF* 1043-4 *έλασατ' έκλαθέσθαι κακών φοιταλέου*: cf. *A. PV* 598 (likewise with long *ā*), *S. Tra.* 980 *φοιτάδα δεινήν νόσον; φοιτ(α)-* words in contexts of madness reflect an ancient ambivalence: the mad person *φοιτᾶ* (cf. *Hp.* 143, *φοιτάς Ba.* 165) under the influence of a daemonic 'visitation' (Bond on *HF* 846; note that at *Hp.* 169 the idea of beneficial visitation by the sane goddess Artemis gives a paradoxical concluding point). [For the suffix *-αλέος*, see Schwyz. i. 484. *φοιτᾶλέος* is not anomalous, from stem *φοιτα-*; rather, *φοιτᾶλέος* in later authors is a shortening influenced by words like *ἀργαλέος*. LSJ needs correction.]
328. *ἀρεχθείς*: 'having put your hand to' (302-3*); perhaps with a play on the name 'Orestes' (following *τάλας = τλήμων*). Or. is addressed in terms 'etymologically' appropriate to him, the predication taking the place of his name. E. was much given to such 'name-plays' (which had an ancient heritage, e.g. *πολυμυκτης* 'of much strife'), not seldom with a sophisticated allusiveness; cf. 72, 956, 1635 (and, in general, M. Fuochi, *SIFC* 1898, 273-318). *ἔρρεις* = *ἄλλυσαι*, cf. *Ion* 699, *Hel.* 1220.
- 329-31. In one breath, 'having accepted words oracularly uttered by Phoebus from (his sacred) tripod at the sacred floor where . . .'. *τρίποδος ἄπο* is naturally taken *ἀπό κοινοῦ*. *δεξάμενος*: cf. *δούς* 192-3*. The doubled *έλακεν έλακε* (as in 162) is attested by P. Berol., and balanced by *άλλον έτερον* (345-7*). For the 'environmental' use of *ἀνά* (the character of the locale enhancing the point, here 'paradoxical incongruity'), cf. *Ion* 1494 *ἀνά δ' ἄντρον έρημον*, *Hp.* 17, *Hel.* 180. For *δέπεδον* 'holy ground, floor' (E., not A. or S.), see Barrett on *Hp.* 230.
331. *ἵνα μεσόμφαλοι . . . μυχοί*: cf. 591, *Ion* 461-2 *Φοιβήσιος ἔνθα Γᾶς / μεσόμφαλος ἑστία*. The phrasing here hovers round the idea 'hearth', the *μυχοί* being the *penetratia* of an uniquely sacred 'house'. For Delphi as the 'central boss' (as of a circular shield, cf. 1377-9*) or alternatively 'navel' of Earth, cf. *Pi. Py.* 4. 74, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1056. *λέγονται*: i.e. *εἰσίν (ὡς λέγεται)*, implying 'famously', cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 121-2; *κλήζεσθαι* is used similarly (1402*) implying *κλέος*. [*μυχοί γᾶς* codd., corr. Triclinius (Turyn 191); Wilamowitz removed a similar gloss at *A. PV* 433.]
- 332-8. The antistrophe opens (after an exclam.) with a question which continues as a 'pitying' statement introducing an important new idea ('some *δλάστωρ*', combined with a mention of 'the House', looking forward to *οἶκον* 345). The structure is like *IA* 1036 ff. *τὴν ἄρ' . . . ἰαχάν; στ' . . .* (clearly the best punctuation there, *pace* Murray). The place for the question-mark here, likewise before a big rel. clause, is at . . . *σε τὸν μέλον;* (so Ald., Canter).
332. *ἰὼ Ζεῦ* (*ῶ* cod. Ryl., Tricl.): cf. 316*. There is a similar responson in a dochmiac context, with similar uncertainty whether to keep *ἰὼ* (scanned *ἰῶ*) at *HF* 1028 *φεῦ φεῦ / . . . ~ 1031 ἰὼ Ζεῦ / . . .* Di B. argues for the synecphonesis, comparing 976 *ἰῶ ἰῶ . . . ~ 965 ἰᾶχῆι(τω) . . .* and citing other passages where *edd.* (on his view, unnecessarily) alter *ἰὼ* to *ῶ*. But *ῶ* (codd. *ἰῶ*) is now attested in a papyrus at 976, and should be read here too.

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For the purely exclamatory idiom (not 'apostrophe'), cf. *Ph.* 1290 *ὠὸ Ζεῦ, ὠὸ Γᾶ* (there almost certainly *zba*) and *El.* 137 *ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ* (similarly preceded and followed by address to Orestes).

- 333-4. *† τίς ἔλεος, τίς δὲ ἀγὼν / φόνιος ἔρχεται . . .*; Edd. compare 832 and 968 for the strange sense of *ἔλεος* (apparently 'pitiable suffering'; properly 'pity' or 'expression of pity'); but the latter is quite different (apart from the coincidence of *δὲ ἔρχεται*), and the former much easier (see ad loc.). Some take *ὠὸ Ζεῦ, τίς ἔλεος*; as an independent sentence (so *Σ*; cf. Paley 'what pity will there be?', Wedd 'what mercy is there?'). That is certainly wrong (excluded by the anaphora with isometric phrases, if by nothing else). There is a further problem in the question as a whole, since what the Chorus want to know is not what the *ἀγὼν* troubling Or. is (they know that), but what the grievous harvest will be. [That argument I owe to J.D.; previously I had thought of getting rid of the odd *ἔλεος* by writing *τί σε δέος . . .*; (*TICEΔEOC*). The right kind of sense, I now think, would be given by something like *〈τίν' ἐς ἄχα, τίν'〉 δὲ ἀγὼν / φόνιος ἔρχεται / θοάζων σε τὸν μέλεον*; For the anaphora with *τίν'*-repeated, cf. Diggle's fine emendation at *Hr.* 826 (*τίνι λόγῳ, τάλας, τίνι τύχαν σέθεν . . .*); for the use of *ἐς* ('so as to end in'), *Ba.* 1161 . . . *ἐξεπράξατε / ἐς στόνον ἐς δάκρυα; ἄχα* 'griefs', *Med.* 205, *El.* 1192, *IT* 197, *Hel.* 364, *IA* 1334, etc. The false (*τίς*) *ἔλεος . . .* probably owes something to the superficially similar *ἔλεος ἔλεος δὲ ἔρχεται* (968), in another 'pitying' context.]

- 335-6. *θοάζων*: cf. 1542; a *vox Euripidea* in various trans. and intrans. senses related to a root sense 'ply swiftly' (Dodds on *Ba.* 65 and 219). We know that Or. is *δρομαῖος* (45*); but something like *〈ἐς ἄχα〉* in 333 would help to clarify the participle here. *ὦ δάκρυα δάκρυσι . . .*: 'tears on tears', cf. *Hel.* 195 *δάκρυα δάκρυσι μοι φέρων*; a favourite type of paregmenon, cf. 589, 764, 816, 1257, 1308, *Ph.* 1495, *S. OT* 175, *El.* 235 (KG i 444, Breitenbach 223, Kannicht on *Hel.* 366). The 'pitying' point of the figure here is that the recently witnessed visitation is a grief not to be viewed in isolation from previous griefs. *συμβάλλαι* (the subject following in 337) adds a metaphor of convergent streams (so *Σ*, citing *Il.* 4. 453), as it were made to converge upon Or. by the *ἀλάστωρ*.

- 337-8. With the traditional text, the 'tears on tears' are caused for Or. by 'some *ἀλάστωρ* bringing into the house your mother's blood, which maddens you'. But there are strong grounds for rejecting it (apart from the clumsiness of appending a big object-phrase after an interlacement of object-, vb- and subject-phrases beginning at *δάκρυα* 335): (a) the blood is already a pollution in the house, not presently being brought into it by the visitant; (b) P. Vind. has *κατολοφυρομαι ματερος [αιμα κας] / [ο c αναβ]ραχουει ο μεγας [ολβος ου] / [μουιμο]c . . .*, a sequence unintelligible unless 'your mother's blood' was the object of 'I bewail' in that ancient tradition (following clause-end at *ἀλαστόρων*). So Longman argued (*CQ* 1962, 61 ff.). [He went on less cogently to argue (a) that P. Vind must be followed because its word-order is guaranteed by the associated music (see

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further on 338 below); (b) that 337 is to be remedied by writing *πορεύων τέ σ'* . . . ('and conveying you to a/the house of *δλάστορες*'; a hypothetical periphrasis for 'hell' justly contested by Di. B.)]

337. †*πορεύων τ' τις ἐς δόμον δλάστροων*: style (the interlacement mentioned above) then favours a stop, at least a comma. What we need is an intrans. vb. I had thought of *πολεύων* (= *φοιτῶν*), when J.D. suggested *χορεύων* as an alternative. The former might well have been used (with *ἐς δόμον*) in the sense 'haunting', cf. A. *PV* 645–6 *δῆεις ἔννεχοι πωλεύμενα ἐς παρθενῶνας* and the adj. *νυκτιπόλος* (*νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων* *Ιση* 1049, *νυκτιπόλοις* . . . *βάκχαις* *ibid.* 718). (-)χορεύειν (trans. and intrans.) is used in contexts of madness (582, *HF* 871, 879, cf. 889) as a synonym of (-)βακχεύειν (338, *HF* 897, etc.), and cf. A. *Ag.* 1186 f. [*χορεύων* actually appears in *Σ*^c (Schw. i 134. 12), though perhaps as a fortuitous error.]

τις . . . *δλάστροων*: a frequent type of phrase, cf. 1668–9, *Hφ.* 820, *ΙΑ* 878, *τις θεῶν* *Hee.* 163, etc. *δλάστορες*, overlapping with *ἐρινύες* (38*), are supernatural powers, sometimes incarnate, associated with calamity, usually punitive and effecting the downfall of a House (in relation to such concepts as *ἄτη* and *νέμεσις*; see esp. Pearson on *Ph.* 1556, Bond on *HF* 1234, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1501, Dodds, *G&I* 31, 40, 186). *ἐς δόμον*: 'into the House' (70*). [The pl. *δόμους* (*δόμον* *cod.* *Ryl.*, *Tricl.*, *Σ*^{b/c}) is an ancient iambicizing error shared by P. Berol.]

338. If we now read *ματέρος αἷμα σᾶς ὅς (not δ) σ' ἀναβακχεύει*, we have at once a strong text and an explanation of the evidently ancient confusion. ' . . . who torments you with madness as to your mother's blood'; for the double acc. construction, cf. 411* *αὐταί σε βακχεύουσι συγγενή φόνον*, 423* *μετῆλθόν σ' αἷμα μητέρος θεᾶς*; for the trans. use of the vb (unlike *Ba.* 864), cf. *HF* 966, 1142, and the unique use of *ἀναχορεύειν* in 864. [J.D. suggests *ὅς σ' ἀναβ-ματ-αἷμα σᾶς* as likelier word-order. With or without that further change, the wrong word-order in P. *Vind.* can be seen as the natural consequence of a credibly ancient misinterpretation ('I bewail bewail your mother's blood which . . .', with the facile omission of a sigma). Note that the resultant transposition was not *metrically* disruptive, all the relevant *dochmii* being of the form *x ~ - x -*. If the published musical tradition began c.350 BC (see *Introd.* H iv), it is likely enough that there was some degree of 'arrangement' at that time (if not an entirely fresh musical setting); and even on the assumption that an autograph score had survived, the tune will probably have been given only once, attached to *the strophe*. By contrast, the Alexandrian recension transmitted or developed degenerate wording in 337 (*πορεύων, δόμους*), but had the right, or a more nearly right, phrase-sequence (with an improved lineation); it also preserved the true *ὅς σ'* (which remained intelligible with the true line-order) alongside the false *δ σ'*. Surprisingly, no commentator seems to have given *ὅς* the attention it merits (not even editors of P. *Vind.*, who tacitly disagree in their reconstructions at this crucial point).]

339. Murray should not have accepted the transposition 340–39–41

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(Kirchhoff), designed to produce perfect symmetry, but disrupting the connection between 340 and 341 ff. *κατολοφύρομαι κατολοφύρομαι* cannot be a mere parenthetical 'sob'. Rather, it is a weighty and pivotal verse (like *καθικετεύομαι καθικετεύομαι* 324*), at once picking up 332-8 (sc. *οε*) and introducing 340 ff. (embracing also Or.'s 'house'). (*κατ*)*ολοφύρεσθαι* was properly used of 'pitying lamentation', usually with acc. pers. It may seem strange that *κατολ-κατολ-* should come a line earlier in its stanza than *καθικ-καθικ-*; but there is compensation in that this anadiplosis corresponds with *τινύμεναι . . . τινύμεναι . . .* 323; and cf. the imperfect symmetry at *Ba.* 526-33/45-52 (with an analogous one-line shift in the structural pattern); [The transposition also introduces a minor metrical anomaly, the new hiatus *ἀναβακχεύει / ὁ μέγας* falling opposite *αἵματος / τινύμεναι* (period-end without pause, Stinton, *CQ* 1977, 50). The objections to 339-38-40 (P. Vind., Longman) are different: the asymmetry becomes more marked, and the Chorus are then 'pitying' the *μητρὸς αἶμα* itself, rather than Or. and his house (a point missed by J. G. Griffith, *JHS* 1967, 147, in contesting Di B.'s objection to the non-personal object of *κατολοφύρομαι*).]

340-7. A sequence of topoi in 'high poetical' style: 'transience of human prosperity' (Friis Johansen 161); 'storm, shipwreck' (cf. Easterling on *S. Ant.* 586 ff., another *Ἄτη* context, in *Dionysiaca* 144-5, looking back beyond Aeschylus to Solon 13. 17-25 West); 'allegiance to the ancient ruling house' (cf. *El.* 876-7, *Ion* 1058-60).

340. ὁ μέγας ἄλβος: thematic, cf. 4*, 807, *HF* 511 f.

341-4. The word-order is interlaced, for *ἀνατινάξας δὲ δαίμων τις (αὐτόν) ὥσπερ λαίφος ἀκάτου θοᾶς, κατέκλυσε (αὐτόν) ἐν λάβροις ὀλεθρίοις κύμασι δεινῶν πόνων ὥσπερ ἐν λάβρ- ὄλ- κύμ- πόντου*. The blending of image and reality has an Aeschylean flavour, cf. *Eum.* 555-7. *ἀνὰ δὲ . . . τινάξας*: cf. *Ba.* 80 *ἀνὰ . . . τινάσσων (θύρσον)*, here = *θραύσας* (cf. *Rh.* 323); for the *imesis*, cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 81 (the remarkably wide separation here is a feature of the interlacement). *τις . . . δαίμων*: echoing *τις . . . ἀλαστόρων* 337 (cf. *Hec.* 163-4 *τις θεῶν ἢ δαίμων*, Diggle, *PCPhS* 1969, 45); *τις* naturally takes the advanced/included position in the word-order proper to an enclitic pronoun. *ἀκάτου θοᾶς*: 'pinnacle', cf. *Hec.* 446, *Tr.* 1100, *Phaethon* 79, with epic colour in the ornamental adj. (Breitenbach 272). *δεινῶν πόνων*: thematic, cf. 1-3*, *πολυπόνων βροτῶν* 174-8*, *δειναίων . . . συμφοραῖς* 803, 816-18*, *δόμων πολυπόνων* 1012, etc.; note also how the interlacement brings together *πόνων* and *πόντου*, surely not a fortuitous assonance (cf. M. W. Silk, *Interaction in Poetic Imagery* (1974), 173-93). *λάβροις*: a traditional 'storm' adj., cf. 697 (of violent fire), *HF* 253, 861; the two reinforcing epithets in 344 are stylistically like those in 327.

345-7. *τίνα γὰρ ἔτι . . . σέβασθαι με χρῆ;* Such questions with *ἔτι* are equivalent to statements with *οὐκέτι*, cf. *S. Ant.* 922 f. *τί χρῆ με τῆν δούστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι βλέπειν;* (*Ant.* 1296 *τίς ἄρα τίς με πότμος ἔτι περιμένει;* is different, the context showing *ἔτι* to be equivalent to *πρόσσει*, *etiam*). But the

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implication here is absurd: 'hitherto it has been right to honour other houses rather than that of Tantalus.' $\epsilon\tau\iota$ is not merely an unwanted addition to the question 'What house rather than . . . is it right for me to honour?', but ruinous to its logic. I include $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in the obeli for two reasons: (a) though acceptably explained by Σ ('I lament . . . for . . .'), it is not the obviously right connective following 341-4; (b) it is hard to emend $\epsilon\tau\iota$ without emending $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ as well (Brunck's * $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$, supposedly = $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$, is too unlikely for consideration). The right sense would be given by $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$. . .; which could have been corrupted by way of $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ δ' $\epsilon\tau\iota$. . .; $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$: 'rather, sooner' (LSJ s.v. A. 6), a rare epic-lyric equivalent of $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ in that sense; cf. *Med.* 650, *IT* 656 (the sense in the latter is both 'prios' and 'potius', *pace* Platnauer). The royal house descended from Tantalus and the gods ranks first in order of precedence. $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ ($\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$) ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$)†: $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ is a standard kind of pleonasm (Collard on *Su.* 573; Diggle, *Gnomon* 1974, 747 and *Studies* 14 f.). But the odd behaviour of the MSS just at the point where the metre is open to question (p. 138) must give one pause. I suspect that E. may have written $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ here, as in *Ion* 607. The corruption (perhaps variously to $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$) can be explained by the following η . The sense will have seemed to be 'other than' to anyone who overlooked that η can depend on $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. *S. El.* 82-3 $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ η $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\Lambda\omicron\zeta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta'$ $\epsilon\rho\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$, and *KG* ii 301 ff., esp. 305 on *Med.* loc. cit.). $\theta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$: 'such that there is divine descent'; Tantalus was himself $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (5*, *S. Ant.* 834); he also married Dione, a daughter of Atlas (Σ).

ACT TWO: 348-806

An exceptionally long spoken sequence, which combines c. 370 trimeters (surpassed in extant tragedy only by *Hel.* 698-1106) with a further c. 85 tetrameters. There are four scenes, demarcated by entrances and exits: 356 (enter Men.)-455, 470 (enter Tynd.)-629 (exit Tynd.), 632-716 (exit Men.), 729 (enter Pyl.)-806. 348-55 introduces Men. in anapaests; 456-69, 630-1 and 717-28 are different types of 'link-passage' (cf. 126-39, 208-10). Central (scenes 2-3) is the formal contest of speeches between Or. and Tynd., and Or.'s abortive appeal to Men.; a compound $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ handled with consummate mastery of dramatic form (Collard, *G&R* 1975, 61, 69 ff.), while suspensefully fulfilling the essential plot-requirement that the appeal to Men. should 'shockingly' fail (Introd. C ii). Before and after the $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ we have substantial scenes (Or. and Men., with a long and intricate stichomythia; Or. and Pyl. in pacy tetrameters) of effectively contrasting character. Throughout the Act, Orestes the Matricide (392) provides a fixed focus for the tense interplay of ideas and personalities, remaining in his sick-bed until he finally leaves it with Pyl.'s help to go to the Argive Assembly.

348-55. A mere approach-announcement would be unusual, following a

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strophic ode (R. Hamilton, *HSPH* 1978, 69). Here we have also a 'salutation' like *El.* 994-7 (cf. Taplin 73, 287); and, as in 456-8*, the Chorus-leader enunciates important themes. Men.'s 'royalty' is emphasized (a matter of status, rather than clearly defined power); he is also hailed as *ἀβρός* and *εὐτυχῶν* (two features which associate him with Helen and distance him from both Or. and Tynd.); a marked contrast with Men.'s entry 'in rags' in *Hel.*

348-51. *καὶ μὴν . . . ὅδε δὴ . . .*: formulaic, cf. *Su.* 980 (Diggle, *Studies* 26-7). The text is corrupt in 349: *πολλῇ ἀβροσύνῃ* is not an acceptable syncopesis; while *πολὸν δ' . . .* is unidiomatic (*πολὸν δῆλος* is ill-supported by *Hel.* 161 *διαφόρως πολὺ*, an easy extension from *πολὸν διαφέρειν*). We should, I think, read *πολὺς ἀβροσύνη*, followed by a comma. For *πολύς* 'high and mighty', cf. 1200 *ἦν πολὺς παρῆ* (likewise of Men.), and other passages cited by Barrett on *Hr.* 1, notably *μέγας καὶ πολὺς* Hdt. 7. 14 and Ar. *Av.* 488 (respectively of Xerxes and of the crested Persian Bird); for the construction with dat., cf. *Tt.* 674 *πλούτῳ τε κἀνδρεία μέγαν*, *Su.* 608 *εὐτυχία λαμπρόν* (KG i 439-40). A similar use of *πολύς* seems to have been corrupted at *IA* 952 *ἦ Σίπυλος ἔσται †πόλις†* (*πολύς* Musgrave). *ἀβροσύνη* is 'delicacy, refinement, luxury' (cf. Xenophanes B3 *ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελῆς παρὰ Λυδῶν*; W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 1962, 392-3); and it is the Croesus-like combination of 'felicitous royalty' and *ἀβροσύνη* (with 'Asiatic' connections) that makes Men. 'visibly Tantalid' (cf. 4-10*). As he grandly advances, Men. may be visibly *ἀβροβάτης* (cf. *Tt.* 821, A. *Pers.* 1073), with a partly or wholly Phrygian-style retinue; more certainly he has *ἀβροσύνη* of hair (387*, 1532) and apparel. For the Chorus, the 'Tantalid' features are a matter for reverence (cf. 345-7). For the Athenian audience, the 'luxury' will have been a more questionable merit, but not such as immediately to alienate them from Men., any more than from the 'Lydian' and *ἀβρός* Dionysus in *Ba.* (*vis-à-vis* the puritanical Pentheus). Athenians could accept praise of themselves as *ἀβρώς βαίνοντες* (*Med.* 830); and one may think of the resplendent figure of Alcibiades, shortly (the following year) to be welcomed home from triumphs in Asia. But, undeniably, *ἀβροσύνη* in a man is consistent with the *μαλακία* that Men. will reveal.

350-1. *δράσθαι*: epexegetic, cf. *Ba.* 1019 (KG ii 15). *τῶν Τανταλιδῶν . . .*: the less obvious *τοῦ* (Dio, also Sch.' *Od.* 4. 95) seems likely to be right (for the phrase-pattern, cf. 1494*), but not the Doricized *Τανταλιδῶν*.

352-5. Men.'s 'consorting with *εὐτυχία*' is thematic, especially in contrast with Or. (cf. 1552-3); but the exaggerated *μακαρισμός* (as in *El.* 988-97) is also ominous of *δυστυχία* to come. *χιλιόναυον*: cf. An. 106, *IT* 141, *Rh.* 262, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 45; the famous 'thousand' reduces the total of 1,186 ships in the Iliadic Catalogue (rounded up to 1,200 in Th. 1. 10). *χαῖρ'*: with the common play on the lit. meaning 'be glad, happy', cf. 1083-4, *Hec.* 426-7, *Ph.* 618, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 251 ff. *αὐτός*: perhaps both 'as the prime exemplar' (of *εὐτυχία*) and 'with no need of good wishes from me'. *θεόθεν*: cf. 160*.

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- 356-79. 356-9: Men. 'addresses the house' (cf. *HF* 523-4, *A. Ag.* 810 ff.) with mixed feelings of joy and grief. 360-74: 'explanatory monologue' (cf. *Hel.* 386 ff., also *Ba.* 215 ff. where Pentheus long delays his observation of Teiresias and Cadmus; Mastronarde 26). 375-9: 'request to the Chorus for information' (cf. *Ph.* 277 ff.; Taplin 86). An overtly conventional entry-speech; but the traditional-sounding narrative in 360-74 has a very surprising climax. Men. reveals that he had already received supernatural intelligence of Ag.'s death during his voyage to Greece, but had reached Nauplia still thinking to find Cl. and Or. *εὐτυχοῦντας* and to embrace them. The expectation is intelligible if at that stage Men. knew only that Ag. was dead; it is absurd (whether Men. is an honourable man or a villain, if he also knew that Ag. had been murdered by Cl. We cannot plausibly account for such an absurdity as a 'false note' designed to give a clue to Men.'s 'falsity of character'; for E. cannot have intended to suggest that Men. (the epitome of σοφία) is an idiot. We should therefore, with Degani (28-30, and *QJFG* 1968, 46-8) and Reeve (iii 155), accept Dindorf's deletion of 361, without which the passage makes excellent sense. The subtler 'character' points that then emerge from the speech are: (a) that Men. is a man primarily concerned with polarized 'pleasure/pain' ('joy/grief') and 'good/bad fortune'; (b) the griefs/*δυστυχίαι* that matter to him are the already lamented death of Ag. and the currently appalling murder of Cl., Helen's sister; (iii) Men. has presumably heard (at Nauplia) *why* Or. killed Cl., but that aspect of the matter is, for the moment, an irrelevance (as for Helen in 71-125), to be considered only after Or.'s claim at 416 to have acted in obedience to Apollo's oracle; cf. 425*.
- 356-7. ὃ δῶμα: the Palace of the Atreidae is still Men.'s 'home' in a sense, despite 63-5. τῆ μὲν . . . τῆ δ' . . .: adverbial (modal), cf. (?) *Ph.* 1478-9 (also ἡ μὲν . . . ἡ δέ . . . *Tr.* 831).
- 358-9. κύκλω . . . εἰλιχθεῖσαν: 'encircled', cf. 444; a characteristic locution (Pearson on *Ph.* 710 f., Bond on *Hyps.* 1 ii 27), perhaps developed from κύκλω ἐλίσσειν of choric movement (cf. *IT* 1103, *Ph.* 234-6, *IA* 1055; 171*). ἀθλίως: scarcely, if at all, better than ἀθλίους in sense (for the latter, cf. *Tr.* 489 ἀθλίων κακῶν; *Ph.* 1639 is probably ἀθλιοι (Barnes) κακοῖς); but corruption is more likely to have proceeded towards ἀθλίους.
- 360-[1]-2. 'I was (already) aware of Agamemnon's (unhappy) death, while (still) approaching Cape Malea; for . . .'. The main emphasis is on the name, antithetic to Ὀρέστην παιδα . . . καὶ μητέρα (371-2), μὲν looking forward to the δέ in 369; for the caesura before γάρ, cf. 912, *Hec.* 736, *Hel.* 1178 (Descroix 286; Diggle, *Studies* 9). ἠπιστάμην: imperf. in force (not 'learnt'). τύχας: euphemistic for a lamented death, cf. 80*. Μαλέα: the traditional (often stormy) 'first sight of Greece' for warriors returning from Troy to the Peloponnese (*Cyc.* 18, *Hel.* 1132; *Od.* 3. 287). For Men.'s ignorance of Ag.'s death till this late stage of his νόστος, cf. the absence (surely not fortuitous) of any reference to Ag. and Cl. in *Hel.*; in the *Odyssey* Men. had learnt something (but not everything) from Proteus in the isle of

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- Pharos. The interpolator doubtless intended 361 (see 356-79*) as a 'clarification' (πρὸς σαφήνειαν), cf. 370*.
- 362-5. ἐκ δὲ κυμάτων . . . : the δὲ is epexegetic (GP 169), introducing a parenthetic explanation. E. is not here following the best known (Odyssean) story; the 'prophetic sea-god Glaucus' nonetheless has a traditional air and may be another feature taken from Stesichorus (268-74*, 275-6*, 432*); for the complex mythological associations of Glaucus, cf. the frs. of Aesch.'s lost *Γλαῦκος Πόντιος* and *Γλαῦκος Ποτειεύς*, DS 4. 48. 6, Sch. Pl. *Rep.* 611C, *Ov. Met.* 13. 906 ff. (*RE* vii (1910), 1408-13). ὁ ναυτίλοισι μάντις: cf. *Hec.* 1267 ὁ Θρηξί μάντις (KG i 428). ἐμφανῶς κατασταθείς: cf. *Hdt.* 7. 29 ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστάς; like *S. Tra.* 608 φανερός ἐμφανῶς (s.v.l.) σταθείς, but appropriately here with the colourless καθίστασθαι (only the upper half of Gl. may have been visible ἐκ κυμάτων); the variant παρασταθείς reflects the epic εἶπε παραστάς.
- 366-7. κείται . . . θανάω: the clear statement of Ag.'s τύχαι which Men. thereafter 'knew'. λουτροῖσιν . . . πανυστάτοις: a riddling ('oracular') γρίφος which Men. had no reason to interpret as 'slain by his wife', implying that only for those already familiar with the story: Ag. died in his bath, and (as it were simultaneously) received there his wife's funeral ablutions, cf. Denniston on *El.* 157. περιπεσών: especially of bad τύχαι (*Hec.* 498, fr. 460 ἀτη), but not necessarily of violent death. All Men. could certainly infer from Glaucus' words (which E. has gone out of his way to give *verbatim*) was that Cl. had survived her husband.
369. πολλῶν: for the enjambment (with strong emphasis on the overlapping word), cf. 527-8*. Ναυπλίας: cf. *Hel.* 1586 (which refutes the common interpretation that Men. had altered course to Nauplia); ψαύω χθονός, cf. *Hel.* 522, *A. Ch.* 182 (likewise of homecoming).
- [370]. Another inorganic line, awkwardly disrupting the clause 'But when I reached Nauplia, expecting . . .' (forcing us to take δοκῶν . . . with ἐκλυον . . . 373-4); moreover the extra temporal point is quite uncalled-for (the fact that Men. got the news from sailors suggests that he got it the moment he reached Nauplia). It looks as if someone thought to enhance the *recentness* of the news, while including an unnecessary reminder of Helen's movement (one thinks of the actors who in the Prologue, 57 ff.*, made a spectacular and *more recent* feature of Helen's arrival from Nauplia); feeling also, perhaps, that the uxorious Men. ought to mention Helen in his entry speech.
- 371-3. φίλαιοι: at once 'meis' (cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 199) and = φίλαις (LSJ φίλος II. 1). περιβαλεῖν (25*, 800*): fut. inf. (cf. 1527*).
- 373-4. Cf. *El.* 452-3 ἐκλυόν τινος ἐν λιμένει | Ναυπλίους βεβῶτος. ἀλιτύπων (Mosch.): i.e. mariners as 'beaters of the sea' (cf. the epic πολὴν ἄλα τύπτου ἐρετμοῖς), from ἀλιτύπος (like δροτύπος *A. Sept.* 86), not ἀλίτυπος 'sea-beaten' (as *A. Pers.* 945). ἀνόσιον φόνον: cf. ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον 286; Men. is certainly referring (*pace* Degani) to the matricide, not to Cl.'s bloody deed (nor yet ambivalently to both φόνοι), as the continuation confirms.

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- 375-6. *ὠνεάνιδες*: cf. *Ph.* 302, *Ba.* 1079, *IA* 1467. *εἴπατ'*: leading vbs like *λέγω*, *οἶδα* are often placed between parts of the subordinate clause, cf. 600, *Held.* 719, *IT* 1072-3, *S. OT* 1251 (KG ii 599, Bruhn 98). *δς τὰ θεῖν' ἔτλη κακά*: a straightforward reference to the (aforesaid) 'shocking matricide'; *ἔτλη* 'brought himself to perform' (not, in this context, 'suffered'; for *τλήναι δεῖνά* cf. *IT* 868-9; *τὰ δεῖνά* *ibid.* 924, 1366 etc., Bruhn 50). It is in character, as *Σ* observes, that Men. does not say something like *δς ἤμυνε τῷ πατρί*; but his emotional reaction is scarcely the direct indication of *πονηρία* for which *Σ* takes it, by no means excluding the possibility of sympathy with the *τλήμων* agent (cf. 35*).
- 377-9. The 'inability to recognize' (confirming the lapse of some seventeen years) is reminiscent of *El.* 283, even as 378 is like *El.* 14. For the very common duplication of *δν* in 379, cf. 714-15*, Barret on *Hp.* 270, *S. OT* 339, etc. (Bruhn 65). [*ἐξέλειπον* Mosch.; Turyn 110.]
- 380-4. Or.'s first appeal (cf. 448-55*). Without seeing Or. in his sick-bed, Men. must have come within 'touching' range, with his back turned to Or. as he addresses the Chorus; an effective combination of the traditional mechanics of supplication (J. Gould, *JHS* 1973, 74-103) with the surprise effect of an intervention from behind (cf. 71).
380. *δν ἰστοροῖς*: 'inquire about'; normally a thing, but cf. *Tr.* 262, Jebb on *S. OT* 1150, 1156.
381. *ἐκὼν ἐγὼ σοι . . .*: Or. paradoxically volunteers to 'lay information' (*μηρύειν*) against himself; for the false variant *σημανῶ*, cf. *Ph.* 1218.
- 382-3. Exquisite, and otherwise difficult, language for the supplication-topos (cf. 290*). *πρωτόλεια* (int. acc.) *θιγγάνω*: the general sense 'as the first act of my supplication' is clear enough; it is less clear what, if any, contribution *-λεια* makes to the meaning. The word occurs here first, and next in Lycophron. The interpretation *ἀπάργματα* (Hsch.) enhances the religious nature of Or.'s act, as to which there may also be a resonance from *προτέλεια* 'preliminary rite(s)' (*IA* 433, 718; Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 65, 226). But Or. might also be meaning that he is 'claiming his rightful first portion' (like the lion in Aesop's fable); and there may well be a sophisticated double point, with another *γρίφος* to follow.
383. ' . . . as a suppliant, attaching (to your knees, cf. *IA* 1216) prayers of a leafless mouth'. *ἀφύλλου*: because Or.'s prayerful mouth is unsupported by the sacred bough customarily borne by *ικέται* (*Σ*, citing *Il.* 1. 14; cf. Friis Johansen-Whittle on *A. Su.* 656-7 *ὑποσκίων ἐκ στομάτων*, Jebb on *S. OT* 3); but the variant *ἀφύλλους* (*Σ'*) could well be right, giving a pattern like *Ion* 959 *οἰκτρὰ πολλὰ στόματος ἐκβαλοῦσ' ἔπη*.
384. *σῶσόν μ'*: cf. *IT* 1084, *Hel.* 900, 956 and *ῥῶσαι με* in similar supplications at *An.* 575, *Hyps.* 60.28. *ἀφίξαι δ' . . . ἐς καιρόν . . .*: cf. *Hyps.* 60. 27 *καιρόν γὰρ ἤκεις τοῖς ἔμοισιν ἐν κακοῖς*. But, as Jackson argued (*MS* 190), *κακῶν* should be taken as governed by *σῶσαι μ'* here (across a parenthesis), rather than with *καιρόν* (for which there is no satisfactory parallel); for the *διὰ μέσου* parenthesis, cf. *Al.* 1085 *χρόνος μαλάξει, νῦν δ' ἔθ' ἡβάσκει, κακόν*, etc.

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- (Bruhn 98-9). We should also probably accept *αὐτόν* (Schaefer), in line with S. *Aj.* 1168 *καὶ μὴν ἐς αὐτόν καιρὸν οἶδε πηλοῖοι*, though *αὐτός* is defensible in itself ('the very man', sc. to save me).
- 385-447.** The goal of this stichomythia, among the most 'intellectual' and intellectually demanding in Greek tragedy, is the *pitying* conclusion *ὦ μέλεος, ἦκεις συμφορᾶς ἐς τοῦσχατον* (447) as the cue for Or.'s second appeal. Men. is shocked by Or.'s deed (376) and appearance, but properly concerned to determine the full extent of his troubles, in terms both of his 'disease' and of his political peril. His attitude is apparently sympathetic and rationally inquisitorial ('doctor-like', cf. 399), and he displays tolerant moderation and *σοφία* in the face of some patience-testing sophistry (quibbling, rather in the manner of Hamlet) from his nephew. Only perhaps in retrospect are we aware of the subtly 'negative' touches (423/4*, 425*) in line with Men.'s later conduct.
- 385-6.** *ὦ θεοί:* cf. *Al.* 1123, *Hel.* 71, 569 *ὦ φωσφόρ' Ἐκάτη, πέμπε φάσματ' εὐμενῆ*. The reaction of superstitious fear, as to a ghost, is caused here by Or.'s 'necrotic' appearance (83-4, 188-9, 223-6). An Athenian might (comically) react in a similar way to an unkempt, 'half-dead'-looking intellectual (cf. *Ar. Nub.* 184 ff., 504). Or. answers *σοφῶς*, and the exchanges proceed with some highly characteristic word-play. Or. is at once 'not alive' and 'alive', cf. 203-7*; a 'favourite kind of riddle' (Dale on *Hel.* 138, cf. *Ar. Ach.* 396).
- 387-90.** The line-order is questionable: 389 ('fearsome glance', 'parched eyes') seems to belong *before* 388 ('Not Sight/Vision but Deeds disfigure me'); the latter comes much less well as a riposte to 387 ('squalid hair'). Interchange of 388 and 390 seems to give the right sequence of exclamations and ripostes.
- 387.** Men. exclaims (again) about the *ἀγρία* (225-6*) of Or.'s 'squalidly dry' hair (so unlike his own, 348-51*) and his 'wretchedness'.
- 390.** Or. ripostes (again) with another favourite kind of riddle (balancing 386): 'My *σῶμα* is *φρούδον*, but not my *ὄνομα*' (sc. *τλήμων Ὀρέστης*). For this antithesis, cf. *Ion* 1277-8, *IT* 504, Kannicht on *Hel.* 588 *τοῦνομα γένοιτ' ἂν πολλαχού, τὸ σῶμα δ' οὐ*. Here *σῶμα* virtually = *εἶδος* (cf. Dale on *Hel.* 297). The reading *λέλοιπέ μοι* is defensible if *τὸ ὄνομα* is analogous to *τὸ κακοτυχές* (cf. *HF* 133); but the more natural analogy is with the *ψυχή* which has not left Or., and *με* is likelier to be right (so both Di B. and Biehl); cf. also *Hel.* 577 *τὸ σῶμ' ὁμοιον, τὸ δὲ σαφές μ' ἀποστρεπεῖ* (Paley γ' ἀποστρεπεῖ).
- 389.** *δεινὸν δὲ λεύσσεις . . .*: continuative (of the exclam. in 387), following closer observation. *ὀμμάτων ξηραῖς κόραις*: the 'dry' eyes are an aspect of Or.'s wasted and fearsomely 'necrotic' appearance (not, as many have taken it, a symptom of 'madness'); disfiguringly 'parched', even as his hair is *αὐχημρός* (cf. *ξηρόν* of Electra's wasted body in *El.* 239). *αυαλέος* is used similarly (of skin, *Hes. Op.* 588; of the mouth, *Call. Cer.* 6; of the eyes, *AP* v. 280); cf. also Hippon A 11 (DK i 386) *ὅταν μὲν οὖν οἰκείως ἔχη ἢ τοιαύτη*

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- ύγρότης, ύγαινει τὸ ζῶον, ὅταν δὲ ἀποξηρανθῆ, ἀναισθητεῖ δὲ τὸ ζῶον καὶ ἀποθνήσκει (κτλ.). The 'moist/dry' contrast between Men. and Or. is thematic; cf. LSJ *ύγρός* II (often nearly equivalent to *ἄβρός*). *ὀμμάτων κῶραι* are simply 'eyes' (cf. 469, 1261, 1319. Wilamowitz on *HF* 1111), variously as facial features and as organs of vision.
388. A compound play on different senses of *πρόσοψις* (cf. 952, 1021, *An.* 685, *Hel.* 636) and *ἔργα* (287*); the article in *ἡ πρόσοψις* is quasi-personifying ('Vision'), cf. 396* *ἡ σύνεσις* (sc. *ἀπόλλυσι*). *αἰκίζεταί*: 'disfigures', both lit. (cf. *An.* 828 *σῶμα σὸν καταικιζῆ*); and metaph. Note that the disfiguring *ἔργα* are now defined by Or. in his next riposte (392).
- 391-2. *παρὰ λόγον*: 'paradoxically', cf. *Ba.* 940. *ἄμορφος* in ordinary parlance = *δύσμορφος* (*Hel.* 554, 1204; Thgn. 1021, Hdt. 1. 196); but *ἄμορφία* is also a philosophical word in the sense 'formlessness' (Pythag. B14; cf. *ἄμορφος* Emped. (?) B154, Democr. B300.18), and that which is 'without form' does not normally *φαίνεται*.
392. *ἔἰμι*: i.e. 'here I really am' (write a comma), *δύσμορφος* as a *matricide*. *τῆς ταλαιπῶρας*: cf. 35*, 401; here almost formulaic, but pointed in that the *ταλαιπωρία* of the victim enhances the *δυσμορφία* of her slayer.
393. Men. feels that reticence would be more seemly. *ἤκουσα*: i.e. 'you don't need to tell me that', cf. *HF* 1230, *Ion* 1327, *IT* 813; not 'I hear and understand' (for which the idiom is *συνῆκα*, 433*). *φείδου* *ῥ* . . . : 'be sparing, so as to utter bad things few times'. *δλιγάκις* (919*) *λέγειν κακά*, if sound, is final-consecutive (*Σ* *λείπει τὸ ὥστε*); cf. Antiph. 5. 32 *ἴσως ἀν . . . ἀπετρέπετο μηδὲν κατ' ἑμοῦ καταψεύδεσθαι* (410*) and perhaps A. *Su.* 205-6 *φυλάξομαι δὲ τάσδε μεμνήσθαι . . . ἐφετμάς* (but see Friis Johansen-Whittle). [Murray's unnatural punctuation follows Verrall. If any conjecture is considered, let it be Kνίcala's *λέγων* (the participle, as often, carrying the main weight of the sentence, cf. 1164, etc.).]
394. *φειδόμεθ'*: at once assentient to *φείδου* (sc. *κακῶν λόγων*) and antithetic to *πλούσιος κακῶν* (sc. *ἔργων* or *τυχῶν*). *ὁ δαίμων*: 'my fortune' (504*), personified for the antithesis between 'niggardly' and 'wealthy' (for the metaphor, cf. *θησαυρός κακῶν Ion* 923). *ἔς ἑμέ*: (Porson, cf. 736): not *ἔς με* or *εἰς με* (Elmsley, *Mus. Crit. Cantab.* 1826, 275); prepositions are not followed by enclitic pronouns (KB i 347).
395. Men. asks about Or.'s 'sickness' (expecting some physical explanation of his wasted condition).
396. A much-cited and -discussed line (see V. A. Rodgers, *GRBS* 1969, 241-54, with bibl.; also A. Cancrini, *Syneidesis* (1970), 61 ff.). Remorseful distress (as in *Ba.* 1259-60 *φρονήσασαι μὲν οἱ' ἐδράσατε, ἀλόγησεν ἄλογος δεινόν*) is a state of mind that combines 'thinking' (at least as 'awareness') and 'feeling' in such a way as to make it hard to draw a line between reason and non-rational emotion. *συν-* compounds are regularly used for inward mental activity (*συννοεῖν -εἶσθαι* of meditation, *συνειδέσθαι* of 'conscientia'), almost necessarily with an emotional component ([Pl.] *def.* 415E *σύννοια· διάνοια μετὰ λύπης ἀνευ λόγου*). The later fifth century saw an increase in

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such expressions; not because 'remorse' suddenly appeared as a new mental state, but because more intellectual language about emotional states of mind reflected 'a growing awareness of the inner self, and an increasingly subtle psychological analysis' (Rodgers). *σύννοια δαίον' εἰργασμένος* had become ordinary Attic idiom (cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 477) expressing 'conscientia mali' (not to be equated with 'conscience') with an emotional term 'shocking things'; for more abstract expressions, cf. *An.* 805-6 *συννοία . . . ὅσον δέδρακεν ἔργον*, and *Democr.* B297 *συνειδήσει τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ κακοπραγμοσύνης* (of the state of mind that torments with fear and misery people who believe in an afterlife). Here E. (through the mouth of Or.) focuses attention on the *paradoxical* fusion of reason, emotion and unreason (*σύνεσις . . . λύπη . . . μανία*) in Or.'s 'unhealthy' state(s) of mind; he also indulges in sophisticated word-play (*σύνεσις . . . σύννοια*, implying *συνείδησις*), with an echo of the sophisticated view that *συνείδησις* may be *πολέμιον τῷ συνειδότι* (*Antiph.* 5. 93). *σύνεσις* (the article has almost the effect of giving 'Awareness' a capital letter, cf. 388, 678) is properly a *desirable* faculty or mental state (often equivalent to *νοῦς*, sometimes to *ἐπιστήμη* or *αἴσθησις* as *Democr.* A135, B181; Wilamowitz and Bond on *HF* 655), without which one is *ἀσύνετος* (492-3*). It is more important to appreciate the paradoxical use of language and interplay of themes than to ask whether Or. is 'truly remorseful' in the sense 'repentant'. As to that, however, he does not use the vb *μεταγινώσκειν* or related words (cf. *S. Phil.* 1270); and even in his 'sane' moments (as 280-300*) we feel that he would do the same thing again, given the appropriate *ἐλπίς*. His apologia to Tyndareus is notably 'unrepentant' (through cf. also 459-69*).

397. Men. is puzzled: he had been thinking of physical ruin, and it is contrary to ordinary notions of *τὸ εὖ φρονεῖν* to regard self-awareness as a *νόσος* (cf. the Delphic precept *γνώθι σεαυτόν*). *σοφόν τοι τὸ σαφές*: demands for *σαφήνεια* (cf. 439, 641, *Hel.* 796, *IA* 400) are sometimes little more than a device of stichomythia; here, however, enhanced by the *σοφόν/σαφές* word-play (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1434). In using sophistic language (Bond on *HF* 55), Men. is speaking *ad hominem*; but it is apt to his own 'enlightened' *persona* as well (cf. 415, 417*, 488, 695, 716). *οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές*: the 'pleonastic negative converse' (a common idiom for emphasis, cf. 613-14*; Bruhn 118-19) became something of a mannerism in late E., cf. *IA* 93, 916.
398. *λύπη μάλιστα γ'* . . . : i.e. 'grief/pain' is the *best approximation*—not yet a complete definition, since a further subject is added in 400 (96*).
399. Men.'s recognition of *λύπη* (or *Λύπη*) as a *δεινή* (261*) but curable 'goddess' is in line with E.'s fondness for deifying abstractions (Kannicht on *Hel.* 559-60), but also with ancient notions of *νόσος*-causing divinities; 'Aphrodite' can be (or cause) a similar *νόσος* of the mind (*Hp.* 764-6, etc.), and it was natural for Greeks, with their medicine still partly religious in its preconceptions, to deify aspects of the irrational in man (Dodds, *G&I* 66, etc.). For the monosyllabic *θεός*, cf. *HF* 347 (Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 31 ff.).
400. *μανίας*: cf. 37*. *τιμωρία* (codd.): the nom. pl. is less natural than *τιμωρία*

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- (Wecklein) or *τιμωρία* (Blaydes, cf. *IA* 397); but the right correction is surely *τιμωρίαν* (J.D.) as an appositive int. acc. (cf. 10*, 843 *ἀμοιβάν*, *HF* 169 *δίκτην*, 226 *ἀμοιβάς*, *A. Ag.* 226, 1420, *S. El.* 564, etc.; Diggle, *PCPhS* 1982, 59–60, and in *Dionysiaca* 171–2); for the corruption, perhaps first to dat. sing. -ια(ι), cf. 38*, 410*.
401. 'On what day did it begin?' Cf. 35*, 101*.
402. A single day sufficed for the compound ritual of 'burning and burial' (combinable and almost interchangeable ideas, cf. *πυρά* . . . *τάφου* 422, *Al.* 608 *τάφον τε καὶ πυράν*). *τάλαιναν*: cf. *ταλαιπώρου* 392*. *μητέρ' ἐξώγκουν* *τάφω*: more exquisite than the variant *ταλαίνης μητρὸς ἐξώγκουν τάφον*; cf. 1585, *Ion* 388 ('inverted expression', 302–3*).
403. 'Where?'
404. Or. was by the pyre, 'waiting for (57*) the gathering up of the bones (for burial)'; *ἀναίρεσις* (only here and *Su.* 18 in tragedy) usually refers to the gathering up of those slain in battle. Or.'s personal burial of Cl. (contradicting *El.* 1277 ff., *Introd. Ci*) is an effective enhancement of the myth. *νυκτός* is suspect, and there is much to be said for Wecklein's *ἐκτός* (*JKPh Suppl.* 9 (1877–8), 178)—directly answering the question, followed by added detail (cf. 406, 432, etc.); another possibility is Schmidt's *νέκυος* (*KS* 249). It is very odd that the *ἡμέρα* (401–2) of the burial process should suddenly become *νύξ* at a point in the middle of the ritual; and nothing else in the play makes the original or subsequent visitations of the Furies nocturnal. The error here is associable with the attested ancient misinterpretation of 408*. See *Addendis Addenda*.
405. 'Were you alone?' *ὄρθευαν*: i.e. *ἐθέραιπεν* (so Hsch.) as a *φίλος*, but also with the lit. senses 'recte dirigebat' and 'erigebat', cf. *ὀρθός*, *ὀρθόω*; *ὀρθεύω* occurs here only, cf. Collard on *διορθεύω* (also hapax) at *Su.* 417. The use of the vb here looks forward to the action of Pylades in 795 ff., 883.
406. Or.'s affirmative reply should probably begin with *Πυλάδης* <γ> (Kirchhoff); cf. *GP* 130–1. *συνδρών αἶμα* (cf. 284–5, 1139, 1235–6*, 1624) may, but need not, include the killing of Aegisthus. *καὶ μητρὸς φόνον* is 'appositional-exegetic', cf. [361], *HF* 15, *Ba.* 919 (*GP* 291). We are not told how soon after Cl.'s funeral Pyl. went home to Phocis (see 717–28*).
407. 'What kind of apparitions are causally involved in your sickness?' Men. can reasonably assume that the *λύσσα* has involved some kind of 'apparitions'; but Murray's punctuation as statement + question is less natural than a whole-line question of the deferred-interrogative type (101*). The problem of the two prepositions (*ἐκ* . . . *ὑπο*) is best solved by accepting the variant *φαντασμάτων* (Mosch.), with Porson, Weil, and Chapouthier. [Di B. corrects Murray's apparatus as to O, but does not correct the issue 'how likely is *φαντασμάτων* to be a Moschopulean conjecture?' *φάσμα* is by far the commoner word in tragedy, and the grammatical problem of *ἐκ φασμάτων* was not of a kind likely to trouble a Byzantine scholar. The 'parallel' *S. Tra.* 1160 *πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδένης θανεῖν ὑπο* is frail support for *ἐκ* . . . *ὑπο* here (see Jebb, and Dawe iii 96–7).

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- For the error, cf. *Hec.* 704 (φ(άντ)ασμα Matthiae) and *A. Sept.* 710 (ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων, corrupted by way of ἐν- φασμάτων to φασμάτων ἐνυπνίων). Jackson's ὕπαρ for ὕπο (*MS* 104) was more ingenious than convincing. The context makes it superfluous for Men. to spell out that he is not interested in 'sleep-apparitions'; and ὕπαρ goes ill with νοσεῖς ἐκ . . . (rather than with a vb of 'sceing').]
408. ἔδοξ' ἰδεῖν: still referring to the ἀρχὴ λύσεως (401). τρεῖς: a canonical number (Allecto, Tisiphone, Megaera; *h. Oroph.* 69.3), though apparently only two in Homer (Dietrich 233 ff.) and sometimes much more numerous (as the Chorus in *A. Eum.*, and cf. *IT* 970 ff.). In 319–20* the number was indefinite (for the θίασος-image); 'three' is repeated at 1650 (τρισαῖς). There is a purpose in the 'triad' point, see further on 434–5 below. νυκτὶ (or Νυκτὶ) προσφερεῖς κόρας: 'maidens resembling Night' (174–9*); Σ compares *Il.* 1. 47 νυκτὶ ἐοικώς (a more figurative 'blackness', of Apollo descending from Olympus in wrath). Not 'three similar maidens in the night', a recent and also ancient misinterpretation (implied in *Hsch.* προσφερεῖς κόρας· ὁμοίας ἀλλήλων κόρας); cf. 404*.
409. Men. is reluctant to 'name' the Erinyes; cf. 37*, 579*.
410. σεμναί: allusive to the familiar title Σεμναὶ θεαί (Dietrich 98 ff.). εὐπαίδευτα: adverbial n. pl. (152*) of an adj. otherwise only in prose (*Thales ap. DL* 1. 37, *Hipp. Art.* 43); cf. *IA* 561 ff. for the (conventional, but also topically controversial) connection between αἰδώς and 'good παιδεία'. ἀπετρέπτου (a certain correction) λέγειν: cf. Dem. 1434 (*Prooem.* 23) οὐκ ἀποτρέψομαι λέγειν; the inf. without μή is directly objective, cf. ἀποτρέπεται + acc. rei, and contrast *Antiph.* 5. 32 (393*).
411. A statement (so Di B.), not a question. Men. gives his 'diagnosis' according to the accepted view of this 'affliction' (συμφορὰς 414*); cf. *IT* 934, *A. Ch.* 1056. συγγενῆ φόνον: cf. Collard on *Su.* 148. Murray rightly accepted the harder double acc. construction attested by Σ; cf. 338* ματέρος αἷμα σὰς δὲ σ' ἀναβακχεύει, and further on 423* μετῆλθόν σ' αἷμα μητέρος. Here, as in 338, the polluting 'blood' is not simply the cause of the punitive 'madness', but also its essence. For the corruption of the int. acc. to dat., cf. 38*, (?)412*, (?)433*, 836–7*.
- 412–13. See 423/4* below, where it is suggested that these two lines may belong after 423. They fit unexceptionably after 411, but they are not needed here, between 411 αὐταὶ σε βακχεύουσι συγγενῆ φόνον and 414 ff. ἀλλ' . . . ἀναφορὰ τῆς συμφορὰς . . . Φοῖβος . . . (see below).
412. διωγμῶν (exclam. gen., cf. 161) . . . ἐλαύνομαι: both lit. and fig. (423*). οἷς: οὖς (int. acc.) would seem more stylish, and could well have been corrupted (cf. 411*).
413. οὐ δεινά . . . : '(It is) not surprising that . . .'; for the n. pl. predic. adj., cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 269. . . πάσχειν δεινὰ τοὺς (δεινά) εἰργασμένους: for the ellipse, cf. 559–60*. The conventional δράσαντα παθεῖν sentiment (195–9*, *S. fr.* 962 R. εἰ δεῖν' ἔδρασας, δεινὰ καὶ πάσχειν σε δεῖ) is here expressed with sophisticated irony (and a thematic play on the flexible sense of δεινός, 1–3*).

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- 414-16.** ἀλλ' . . . Φοῖβος . . . : antithetic to αἶται 411 (more directly so with 412-13* out of the way). But Or.'s split sentence (96*), beginning ambiguously, invites a 'misunderstanding'. A frequent device in E. dialogue (to be distinguished from the type of 'non-understanding' that prompts a demand for clarification), variously exploited; cf. 169*, 1073*, 1263-5*, 1269-72*, 1526*; *Al.* 48 ff., *IT* 252-6, 1209-10, *Hp.* 274-9 (*CQ* 1968, 39), *Hel.* 455-8 (Mastronarde 87), etc.
- 414.** ἀναφορά + gen.: this could mean 'a way out from, or retrieval of'; cf. Dem. 18. 219 ὑπέλειπε . . . ἐαυτῷ . . . ἀναφορᾶν, Plu. *Phoc.* 2. 4 ἀναφορὰν ἀμαρτήματος (ἔχειν). But ἀναφορά was especially a legal/financial word in the sense 'recourse' or 'referral of αἰτία' (see LSJ); cf. 76, 432, 597 (ἀναφέρειν). τῆς συμφορᾶς: i.e. τῆς νόσου (the polluting and maddening συγγενῆς φόνος, 411, which, for the play on different senses of ἀναφορά, is also an ἀμαρτία); cf. 1-2*, 78-9*, 153-4*, 502*.
- 415.** Men. misunderstands the kind of 'recourse' to which Or. is referring. 'Death' may well be the τελευτή κακῶν envisaged (cf. 187-8), possibly by suicide, and he protests 'sensibly' like Theseus to Heracles in *HF* 1247-8 (see Bond). τοῦτο μὲν γάρ: cf. *IT* 501, τοῦτο μὲν S. *Phil.* 981, and similar uses of μὲν γέ (*GP* 159-60, 381). οὐ σοφόν: an 'enlightened' value-judgement, cf. 397*.
- 416.** Φοῖβος κελεύσας . . . : continuing the syntax of 414. Since Apollo is not himself a 'referral', but rather the target of it (cf. 76), it seems best (a) to postulate that ἀναφορά could also mean 'plea in referral', (b) to take Φοῖβ-κελ- (without the comma) as equivalent to τὸ Φοῖβον κελεύσαι (like 'Caesar dead' for 'Caesar's death'; cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 1016-20). κελεύειν here, not πείθειν (as 31*, etc.), since the more imperative vb strengthens the plea; cf. 599. μητρός ἐκπράξει φόνον: 'execute the killing of . . .'; like *IA* 512 (θυγατρὸς ἐκπ-φόν-), but here of vengeful πράξις as in *A. Ag.* 582. πατρός (Hemsterhuys), with ἐκπράξει 'to avenge', would make Men.'s riposte in 417 less 'reasonable'.
- 417.** ἀμαθέστερος ('somewhat, or too, unlearned'), underlined by γ', has an ironical flavour, but Or. can accept Men.'s comment as at least partially in line with his own thinking about the matricide (285 ff.). It should certainly not be taken as implying disbelief in the oracular command (cf. Helen's position at 76, 121). At *El.* 971 Orestes himself had exclaimed ὦ Φοῖβε, πολλήν γ' ἀμαθίαν ἐθέσπισας; 'ignorant of τὸ καλὸν and δίκη' here also echoes 28 f.*, 162-5*, 194*. ἀμαθία had become a stock reproach of gods in tragedy, especially (with oxymoron) of Apollo who was traditionally σοφός (*El.* 1246, *An.* 1165; cf. also *HF* 347, where Amphitryon says that Zeus is 'ἀμαθής or not just' in the light of his apparent failure to help his φίλοι). Here the topos is exploited in a new way, characterizing the σοφία of the speaker (cf. 415, 488, 490, 695), and suggesting (again) that Men. doubts Or.'s 'wisdom', as well as Apollo's.
- 418.** A striking line. δουλεύομεν θεοῖς . . . : appealing at once to 'piety' (cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 366, *Ion* 182) and to human helplessness under divine

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- 'despotism'. *ὅ τι ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοί*: a traditional type of phrase, consistent with piety (cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 160 *Ζεὺς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν* . . ., Dodds on *Ba.* 894 *ὅ τι ποτ' ἄρα τὸ δαιμόνιον*), and here reinforcing Or.'s plea (sc. 'without questioning the morality of their commands'); for the 'bitter' tone, cf. *HF* 1263 f. *Ζεὺς δ', ὅστις ὁ Ζεὺς, πολέμιόν μ' ἐγένετο* / *Ἥρα*.
419. κἄτ': colloquial in 'surprised, indignant or sarcastic questions' (*GP* 311, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 47); here with 'ironical surprise' at the paradox of Apollo's inaction (in the light of what Or. has said). *ἀμύνει*: cf. 523 (*τῷ νόμῳ*), 556* (*πατρί*, etc.). *τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς*: i.e. *σοὶ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντι*; cf. 211 *ἐπίκουρον νόσου*, 683 *ξυμπονήσαι σοῖς κακοῖσι*.
420. *μέλλει*: i.e. 'Not yet' (cf. 426*), lit. both 'is about to' (with the implication 'not presently helping') and 'is delaying'; for the twin senses, cf. *Cresphontes* fr. 451. *τοιούτον*: i.e. *μέλλον* (in both senses). Again Or.'s theology has a sophistic flavour (bitterly toned), though consistent with traditional piety (cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 882-7 for the theme 'slow but sure' in reference to divine action).
- 421-3. In 401 Men. asked 'when did the madness begin?' to which the answer was 'on the day of Cl.'s burial'. At that point in his interrogation Men. saw no pressing need to pose the further question 'how long ago was that?' Or.'s replies diverted him to other matters of interest. But now the issue of time has again become relevant (following 420*); clearly Men. poses the question in 421 in order to point a contrast, with his next utterance, between the dilatoriness of Apollo and the speed of the Furies.
421. *πνοαί*: 'life', cf. *A. PV* 800; for the pl., also *ἀνῆ πνοάς* 700*.
422. *ἔκτον* . . . : cf. 39. The continuation *ἔτι πῦρά θερμῆ τάφου* shows that Or., like Men., is regarding the time-lapse as a *short* one.
423. *ὡς ταχύ* . . . : the usual interpretation of this as an exclamation (as though Or. has said something unexpected) makes Men. sound oddly disingenuous (see 421-3* above). Rather, he is agreeing with Or. as to the shortness of the time-lapse and *affirming* that the reason for the Furies' relative speed of action is their proper function in 'pursuing blood (-δίκη)', especially that of a mother. For *ὡς* 'know that' (affirming a point consistent with what has just been said), cf. 737*, 1114*, Diggle, *Studies* 88. *μετῆλθόν σ' αἷμα*: cf. 411*, *Al.* 733 *σ' ἀδελφῆς αἷμα τιμωρήσεται*, etc. (*KG* i 327, Elmsley on *Held.* 852), Collard on *Su.* 148). *αἷμα* in such idioms is metonymically equivalent to *αἵματος δίκην*, and *μετελθεῖν* (*δίκην, φόνον* etc.) is synonymous with *διώκειν* (500-1*, 1534; LSJ *μετέρχομαι* IV. 2).
- 423/4. At this point there is a serious dislocation in the text. 424 is evidently corrupt, but however it is emended it does not seem to follow well on the heels of 423. There may be a lacuna; but there is another possibility, namely that lines 412-13 belong here, rather than after 411. Men. has now established, with Or.'s ready agreement, (a) that *συγγενῆς φόνος* is the explanation of the Furies' 'maddening' assault (395-411), (b) that the *μητρὸς αἷμα* is the explanation also of the speed of the goddesses' 'prosecution', evidently overriding Or.'s reliance on Apollo (414-23). Or.

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is appropriately reduced to lamentation: οἶμοι διωγμῶν οἷς (or οὐς?) ἐλαύνομαι, τάλως, with διωγμῶν directly picking up the 'pursuit, prosecution' point in 423*. And now, rather than earlier, Men. delivers himself of the gnomic observation: οὐ δεινὰ πάσχειν δεινὰ τοὺς εἰργασμένους (the more nettling, after Or. has explained about Apollo). The very similarity between 411 and 423 is sufficient to account for the transfer of 412-13 so as to follow the wrong 'cue'; as we saw, 412-13 fit satisfactorily between 411 and 414; but they are certainly not needed there. What is so far only a possibility may become a probability if we find that the transposition 423-412-413-424 enables us to solve the problem of 424.

424. †οὐ σοφός, ἀληθῆς δ' ἐς φίλους ἔφους κακός†: Brunck's . . . ἔφουν (φίλος) gives an acceptable line, which now follows acceptably (in reply to 413). But it is very hard to explain why φίλος should have been corrupted to κακός; and there are other less concrete objections. It is one thing for Or. to admit that he may not have acted wisely; quite another to make him say οὐ σοφός ἔφουν. Further, we scarcely want such an admission of 'unwisdom' before Men.'s next question (425*): 'And/but as to your father, is avenging him benefiting you at all?' I think it likelier (after Jackson, see below) that 424 conceals a gnomic retort (appropriately *ad hominem*): 'Not truly wise is the person who is κακός ἐς φίλους.' Very little emendation is required to produce that sense: οὐ σοφός ἀληθῶς (ἀληθῶς iam Paley, but with a different articulation) ἐς φίλους ὁ φύς κακός. For the form of predication, cf. *Al.* 802 οὐ βίος ἀληθῶς ὁ βίος (ἀληθῶς like the sophistic ὁρθῶς, cf. Bond on *HF* 56); ἐς φίλους . . . κακός, cf. *Med.* 84 κακός γ' ὤν ἐς φίλους ἀλίσκεται. Can one justify ὁ φύς in the sense ὅς ἔφου (= ἐστί)? ὁ φύς occurs at *Ph.* 19 with a different sense (in a genealogy), which may seem discouraging. But a Sophoclean fragment has οἱ φύντες in the required sense: οὐδεὶς ἐχθρὸς οὔτε φύεται / πρὸς χρήμαθ' οἱ τε φύντες (= δυντες φύσει) ἀρουῦνται στυγεῖν (*S. fr.* 88. 4-5 R.). That is sufficient to confirm what one might have expected a priori: that φύς, as the participle of ἔφου and φύναι, was available for use with the same range of meaning, and that ὁ φύς is straightforwardly equivalent to ὅς ἔφου. The primary cause of the corruption, on that hypothesis, is the easy error εφου for οφου (ε/ο, cf. 410). Further corruption then produced not only ἀληθῆς δ' for ἀληθῶς, but also the weird Mosch. variant εἰπῶν κακῶς (*Turyn* 110); the latter suggests that the line was at some stage (probably a late stage) taken as referring to Apollo. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that a *sententia* beginning οὐ σοφός (sc. ἐστί) . . . pairs well with a *sententia* beginning οὐ δεινὰ (sc. ἐστί) . . . [Jackson (*MS* 57-8) argued convincingly against Murray's text, impugning both the sequence of thought (423/4) and the arbitrariness of Brunck's φίλος. His proposal (Or. κἀγὼ μετῆλθον ἄλλο σὺν τάχει τινί.) / *Me.* οὐ σοφός, ἀληθῆς δ' ἐς φίλους ἔφους <κακός. / Or. οὐ σοφὸν ἂν εἴποιμι ὅς φίλους ἔφου> κακός was a refinement of Kirchhoff's idea of a compound lacuna. West (*BICS* 1981, 69) rightly echoes Jackson's arguments against Brunck and Murray, but his own proposal is strangely unconvincing: 424, with the ending altered to ἔφου θεός, is made to follow

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- 417, and the six good intervening lines which have become *de trop* are explained as a not properly integrated 'expansion' by E. himself.]
425. Men.'s σοφία is of the kind that evaluates even 'father-avenging' in terms of '(political) advantage' (note that his next question is about the city). πατρός δὲ δὴ . . . : the δὴ emphasizes both πατρός and the following τῆ (but we should write τῆ before δ' enclitic); cf. 52*. [This seems to be the only place in E. where indef. (rather than interrog.) τῆ follows δὲ δὴ in a question; but the interpretation is certain (pace Barrett on *Hp.* 722; likewise in *GP* 259 this line is mistakenly classified with exx. of interrog. τῆ). 'Not yet' is no answer to 'What help is vengeance?']
426. 'Not yet; and "not yet" is equivalent to "not at all"; lit. 'futurity/delaying (420*) is equivalent to absence of πράξις. τὸ μέλλον: in a sophisticated sense, cf. 1182*, Th. 1. 84 τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον (210*). In normal parlance τὸ μέλλον is simply 'the future' (478). For similar playing on the 'non-presence' of 'tomorrow', cf. Martial 5. 58. ἀπραξία: here first, formed like δυσπραξία (and gaining some colour from that); next in Pl. *Sph.* 262C as 'non-action' and Aeschin. 1. 188 as 'non-achievement' (for the flexible sense of ἀπρακτος, cf. Barrett, *Hippolytos* pp. 289-90).
427. τὰ πρὸς πόλιν δέ . . . : cf. Hdt. 4. 117 τὰ περὶ γάμων δέ . . . , etc. (*GP* 186, Diggle, *Studies* 79).
428. οὕτως ὥστε: 'ita ut' (formulaic), not 'adeo . . . ut'; cf. *Tr.* 910, S. *Tr.* 1126. μὴ προσενέπειν: the understood subject may be either τινά (KG i 35) or τοὺς πολίτας (from πόλιν 427, cf. 438*). Or. disregards the female Chorus (whose talk with El. was while he slept); cf. 75-6*.
429. 'And you are still polluted?' ἤγνισαι: passive, with retained acc., cf. 40, 762 (KG i 326). σὸν αἶμα . . . χερῶν: better than σὸν . . . χερῶν (or Palsy's σαῖν . . . χερῶν); cf. Bond on *HF* 468 πεδία τὰμὰ γῆς, 876 σὸν ἄνθος πόλεος (scarcely 'enallage', where there is a natural compendium). κατὰ νόμον: i.e. the epic/tragic 'custom', whereby pollution can be purged (usually after flight to another land) at the hearth of a friendly host; cf. 47 πυρὶ δέχεσθαι, and *HF* 1323-5 where Theseus offers to give Heracles a new home in Athens, χέρας σὰς ἀγνίσας μιάσματος (Dodds, *G&I* 35 ff., Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 70 ff., Parker 134-5, 375-92). Fifth-century Athenian 'law' involved ἐξηγηταί acting with reference to Delphi (MacDowell, *Law* 192-3). [For the majority reading νόμους, cf. the wrong δόμους for δόμον at 337.]
430. 'I am debarred from whatever house I may go to' (paraphrasing the decree, 46 ff.*, not implying that Or. has gone the rounds). For the poetical omission of ἄν with the subjunc., cf. 805 (δοῖς), 1218* (πρίν), 1545; KG ii 444. δωμάτων, between ἐκκληῖομαι and ὅποι, may be taken with both (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ); for the gen. with ὅποι (defining the destination, 1127*), cf. *Hp.* 1248, where ὅπη appears as a variant. 'Whithersoever' seems clearly right here (against recent edd.); the modal-local idiom with 'turn' (634-5*) and 'flee' (598-9*) is essentially different. [Corruption from -πη(ι) to -ποι is in general commoner than the reverse; but *Hp.* 1248 is an instance of 'itacistic' corruption the other way, see Barrett.]

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431-6. Another difficult but important passage; deleted by Robert (*Bild und Lied* (1881) 240-1) and at first by Di B. (*SCO* 1961, 129-31), but the anomalies are surely due to corruption. The recurrent *ἀγών*-metaphor reappears in 431 with an echo of *ἐξαμιλλῶνται* 38: just as the three Furies (408) are 'agonists of φόβος', so here we have an analogous *ἀμιλλα*, similarly 'triple ruinous' (434) and 'blood-avenging' (433), but on the political plane.

431. †*τίνες πολιτῶν* (δ') *ἐξαμιλλῶνται σε γῆς*† The nonce interpretation 'drive out' (Σ) is hard to accept. (*ἐξ*)*αμιλλᾶσθαι*, properly intrans., can govern an abstract or concrete-for-abstract acc. in the sense 'exert', but like (*ἐξ*)*αγωνίζεσθαι* should govern the *dative* of the person against whom a *ἀμιλλα* is directed (see 38*). Further, Men. is asking the wrong question, unless there is a lacuna before 432. Oeax, as the prime fomenter of 'hatred' (*μισούμεθ'* 428, *μίσος* 432), must be regarded by Or. as a leading advocate of the *λεύσιμος δίκη* (50, 442, etc.), in revenge for the stoning of Palamedes (433); so that the question to which Or. addresses himself in 432 cannot have been 'Which citizens are trying to exile you?' [Wecklein's σ' . . . *στέγης* still has the unlikely sense and construction of *ἐξαμιλλ-* with acc. pers., and the answer to the question 'Which citizens are (thus) excluding you from their houses?' (assuming that W.'s wording could mean that) would be 'All of them' (cf. 430), not 'Oeax . . .']

The sense to be looked for (between 427-30 and 432 ff.) must be something like 'Who (as the ringleaders) are actively fomenting this hatred among the citizens?' That sense might idiomatically (in line with 38 . . . *τόνδ' ἐξαμιλλῶνται φόβον*) be expressed by: *τίνες πόλει τὸδ' ἐξαμιλλῶνται στύγος*; (*πόλει* 'for the city/citizens', cf. *στάσις πολίταις An.* 475; *στύγος*, variously 'hatred' and 'hateful thing', is a word especially characteristic of the *Oresteia*). But conjecture on such lines is at best somewhat speculative. [For the reading *πολιτῶν δ'*, see now Matthiessen 63²⁵.]

432. Oeax and Palamedes were sons of Nauplius and grandsons of Poseidon (cf. *IA* 198-9). E.'s *Palamedes* (415 BC; see R. Scodel, *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides* (1980), 43-63) had developed the post-Homeric story of Palamedes' stoning by the Greeks at Troy on a false charge of treason framed by Odysseus (in revenge for which Nauplius, informed by Oeax, attempted to wreck the returning Greek ships; *Hel.* 1126-31); we know also that Palamedes, and very possibly Oeax, had been mentioned in Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (fr. 213 Page; Jouan 353; Stephanopoulos 154). *τὸ Τροίας μίσος*: a pregnant phrase; not simply '(Oe.)s hatred of Troy', but alluding to a more widespread 'odium in respect of Troy' (cf. *A. Ag.* 445-51, etc.) which Oe. has been exploiting (one may think of 'Sicily' as a topical analogy; cf. *Th.* 8. 1. 1); the object of *ἀναφέρων* (cf. 76, 414, 597) has also to be understood as an *αἰτία* 'referable' to Ag.

433. Men. perceptively 'understands'; *συνῆκα*, cf. *An.* 919, *El.* 260, *Cyc.* 447, etc. (KG i 163). *Παλαμῆδους σε τιμωρεῖ* . . .: the only parallels cited for *τιμωρεῖν* (act.) + acc. pers. in the sense 'punish, take vengeance on' are S.

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OT 107 and 140; and in neither of these is there a second acc. or a causal gen. Apart from that consideration, *φόνου* is the easy reading, *φόνου* (Canter) an arguable improvement, cf. 411*, *Cyc.* 695. But the nom. *φόνος* also is well attested (V·APCO, *Lex. Vind.*, Thom.), and was accepted as 'optimum' by Porson. Oeax (not mentioned again) can be allowed to drop into the background; and for the actively vengeful blood, cf. 36*, *HF* 966 *οὐ τί που φόνος α' ἐβάκχευσεν νεκρῶν;*

434. οὐ γ' οὐ μετήν μοι: assenting, with a plea of non-involvement in *that φόνος*. διὰ τριῶν δ' ἀπόλλυμαι: sc. φόνων (or αἰτιῶν 'causes'). The 'triple ruination' is a decisive knock-out, even as three falls defeat a wrestler (a familiar topos in *ἀγών*-metaphors, cf. A. *Eum.* 589, etc.; Fraenkel on *Ag.* 171). Or. is alluding to the *μητρὸς αἶμα*, the *φόνος* of Palamedes and a *third φόνος* yet to be mentioned. An ancient interpretation which took *τριῶν* as a reference to the *Ἐρινύες* (Σ) was not wholly wrong: the present triad is indeed *analogous* to 'three erinyes'; cf. *Tr.* 457, where Cassandra describes herself as *μίαν τριῶν ἐρινύων* (38*), the other two being Aegisthus and Clytaemestra (Diggle, *Studies* 62); also A. *Ch.* 577-8, where the death of Aegisthus is a 'third drink of blood' for the Erinys. [The wrestling allusion was seen by Brunck (cf. Stevens, *CR* 1968, 156), and Paley recognized the double point (though his unsatisfactory trio was Apollo/Oeax/Aegisthus; Hermann had more correctly named Cl./Oe./Aig.). In general edd. have failed to appreciate that *διὰ τριῶν* refers in the first instance to three *causes* of ruination (with an overtone 'in three bouts'), rather than directly to three *persons*. Σ records other ancient misinterpretations: *Ag./Diomedes/Odyseus* (Callistratus); the citizens/Oeax/Aegisthus; *σύμεις/λόπη/μηνία*. Lax interpretation should not be made a reason for emending *τριῶν*.]

435. τίς δ' ἄλλος; either 'Who else (sc. *ἐξαμιλλᾶται* . . .)?' or 'What other (third) *φόνος*?' The interpretation may depend on the reading in 431 and 433, unless the elliptical question is intended to be ambivalent. ἢ που † αὐγίσθου φίλων; the text cannot (*pace* Di B.) be supported by phrases like *οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος* (a formula, without the added *φίλοι*, for a philosopher's disciples, not attested before Lucian and Plutarch). Men. is proceeding with another intelligent inference (433*, ἢ που 844-5*) from what Or. has said. 'Aeg.'s *φίλοι* (a faction to be mentioned again at 894) are not merely 'other antagonistic citizens'; the killing of Aeg. is also *the third αἰτία* of Or.'s threefold (political) 'ruination'. There are various imaginable lines of emendation, mostly arbitrary (Wecklein's *τῶν ποτ'* and Heimsoeth's *τινες ἀπ'* were weak makeshifts). The present argument suggests quite strongly that *τῶν* may conceal <τρι>τον 'thirdly', cf. *Hel.* 1417). No other change is needed (though *ὅπ'* could be right), cf. 1027-8* *ἄλις ἀπ' Ἀργείας χερὸς / τέθνηχ' ὁ τλήμων*. It is natural enough after the advb *τρίτον*—despite the intervening *τίς δ' ἄλλος*;—to understand *ἀπόλλυσαι* from *διὰ τριῶν ἀπόλλυμαι*. The 'three' theme, allusively enunciated, is well worth repeating in order to clarify the point; cf. also *ἐκ τρίτων* 1178, *τρισοῖς φίλοις* 1190 and 1244-5*, emphasizing the triadic character of the

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- Fury-like ἀγωνισταί who dominate the second half of the play (Introd. F i. 13).
436. ὑβρίζουσ': of both speech and action, cf. the 'hubristic' behaviour of Aegisthus towards the dead Ag. in *El.* 326-31. On ὑβρις (a concept resisting legal definition) in Athenian socio-political life and thought, cf. MacDowell, *G&R* 1976, 14-31.
437. σκῆπτρ': Men.'s question implies recognition of Or. as Ag.'s natural heir; back-inferences from 1058-9* as to Men.'s motive are illegitimate.
438. πῶς, οἵτινες . . . ; elliptical, cf. πῶς γάρ; (implying οὐδαμῶς, as the opposite of πῶς γάρ οὐ;), and *S. Phil.* 1386 πῶς, ὅς γε . . . ; οἵτινες 'seeing that they . . .', as though after πολίτας rather than πόλιω (cf. 41-2*, 731*).
439. ὅ τι καὶ . . . (s.v.l.): limiting the information demanded to matters about which Or. has definite knowledge (καί 'actually' after a rel., *GP* 321-2); cf. *Ion* 232 πάντα θεᾶσθ', ὅ τι καὶ θέμις. σαφές 'reliable, sure', cf. 592*. σαφῶς λέγειν is standard idiom for 'to speak clearly', but σαφές is proper in expressions like οὐδὲν ἔχω σαφές λέγειν. For the rhythm of the line, characteristic of late E. dialogue, cf. *Ba.* 480, *IA* 468. [The unmetrical alternative in Σ (ἤ τί καὶ σαφές εἰπεῖν ἔχεις;) probably implies an ancient variant with σαφῶς and possibly ἤ τι . . . ; (Nauck) or εἰ τι . . . (Lenting). The truth should not be looked for in what is likely to have begun as a banalization producing a more straightforward 12-syll. line. But ἐμοί is indeed somewhat superfluous (not included in Σ's paraphrase), and ὅ τι seems to refer at once to action and to knowledge. I suspect that the original line ran τί δρῶντες; ὅ τι καὶ σαφές ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, <λέγε>.]
440. 'We shall be condemned today.' ψῆφος . . . οἴσεται: with passive force, cf. 516 ἐνέξεσθαι (*KG* i 114-16, Bruhn 56). καθ' ἡμῶν: 'against us' (unlike ἀμφ' ἡμῶν 756). The condemnation is implicitly 'to death', following 438-9. Or. is not here concerned with alternatives (whether acquittal or alternative modes of execution); contrast the use of the compound vb διοίσει at 49 and διοίσουσ' at 1652.
- [441-2]. Del. Weil. Men.'s question is both unintelligent and ill-expressed. A vote for 'exile' is not to be contemplated after 438-40, and φεύγειν tiresomely anticipates 443 φεύγεις in a different sense. ἢ μὴ θανάιν is mere verbiage. 442 is a better line in itself, but it does not answer 441 with the logical precision that one expects from E. (it seems rather to follow as a continuation of 440), and we can well do without the mention of 'stoning' here (cf. 758*); the more so, since *El.* at 863-4 envisages 'death by steel' as an alternative possibility. The interpolator, probably influenced by the similarity of 756 ff., mistakenly thought that 440 needed clarifying.
443. 'Then why not flee across the frontier (before the trial)?' κῆρ': 'surprised'; cf. 419*. 'Flight to another land' was the standard epic procedure for homicides (429*); Men.'s question also has a topical ring (cf. Introd. A). ὑπερβάλλειν is a common vb in E. for 'crossing, passing beyond' (1370-2*); with the aor. -βαλῶν (as in 1644) Men. is expressing surprise that Or. has not already fled, but -βάλλων (VA) could well be right: 'why

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- do you not flee (by) crossing . . .?' (so Brunck, Matthiae, Dindorf; an aor. participle cannot be coincident with pres. indic.). For corruption of βαλλ to βαλ, cf. 527, *Hp.* 924, *An.* 1180, *Al.* 1077.
444. 'We are encircled', cf. 358-9*, *Ph.* 711. παγχάλκοις ὄπλοις: cf. *Ph.* 1242; the 'impressive' epithet alludes to the bronze hoplite 'panoply'; used to describe a helmet at *Od.* 18. 378, but more often applied to shields in tragedy (e.g. *A. Sept.* 591).
445. Ἀργείας χερσός: cf. *El.* 629 οὐδαίς παρῆν Ἀργείος, οἰκεία δὲ χεῖρ ('manus'); an extension (peculiar to E.) of a common military use of χεῖρ with adjs. of degree, e.g. πολλῆ χειρὶ *Hdt.* 1. 174, *Th.* 3. 96. The same phrase in 1027 has a rather different force.
446. βραχύς λόγος: equivalent to the longer expression in 758, cf. ἀπλοῦς λόγος *Hel.* 979, ἀπλοῦς δὲ μῦθος *Archelaus* fr. 27. 1, *A. Ch.* 554 (Bruhn 153-4).
447. The 'pitying' (but not directly *helpful*) conclusion to which the whole inquisition has tended. 'Extremity of συμφορά' (2*, etc.) implies 'need of φίλοι' (cf. *Held.* 304-5), and so gives Or. a perfect cue.
- 448-55. Or.'s second appeal (cf. 380-4). 448 at once concludes the stichomythia and initiates the βῆσις (cf. 491*, 640-1, 1131, 1240, *Ph.* 930, etc.). The structure suggests the προοίμιον of what might have developed into a *long* speech; Or. gets only so far (as it were) before the 'surprise' arrival of Tyndareus, whose intervention dramatically alters the situation before the themes enunciated here are developed in 640 ff.
448. A sophisticated blend of 'my hope is in you' (cf. *An.* 409), 'I have you as refuge' (cf. *Su.* 267) and 'I have recourse to you' (cf. 567*). καταφυγός: more exquisite here than the sing. (39-40*), and also more impressive-sounding. κακῶν: for the gen., cf. 211, 722-4*, and Barrett on *Hp.* 715-16.
- 449-50. Echoing the μακάριος/ἄθλιος contrast (81-7*), before introducing the appeal to φιλία. φίλοισι: cf. 97*, *A. Ag.* 1235-6 (with Fraenkel's n.), etc.
- 451-3. In effect: 'do not be the sole possessor of the good (εὐπραξία) which you owe to others, but take your share of πόννοι (at once *troubles* and *trouble taken for others*) by discharging in the proper quarter (εἰς φίλους) what you owe to my father' (cf. 243-4*). The repetitions of 'give' and 'take' stress the idea of 'repayment' (cf. 643, etc.). τὸ χρηστόν: cf. *Hec.* 1227, *Su.* 199. ἀπολαβῶν ἔχε: not a compendium; each word has its full force, cf. 1194. For the double sense of πόνων, cf. *Hel.* 716-17, 1678-9; many gnomic passages stress the connection between ἀρετή and 'labours', e.g. *Held.* 625 ἄδ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων, *Archelaus* frs. 236-8, etc. (Bond on *HF* 355-8). ἀντιλάζυμαι, here with imperat. in -ου as from -ομαι, is a vox *Euripidea*, cf. 753, *IA* 1109, etc. (Elmsley on *Med.* 1185[1216]).
- 454-5. Thematically important lines (cf. *Introd.* F i 5-6). It was a commonplace that an ἀνὴρ δυστυχῆς lacks φίλοι (*Med.* 561, *El.* 605, *Ph.* 403, *Thgn.* 209, etc.; Bond on *HF* 57-9); the 'true φίλος' (ἀρθῶς φίλος, *HF* 56, 1223-5, etc.) is the one whose help in need can be relied on (like Theseus and Pylades), especially if he is *able* to help (*IA* 347-8 . . . βέβαιον εἶναι τότε μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις | ἦνικ' ὠφελεῖν μάλιστα δυνατός ἐστιν εὐτυχῶν, cf. 665-

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8*, 680-1*, 802-6, 1093-7, etc.). *ὄνομα . . . ἔργον*: cf. *Tr.* 1233 *ὄνομα ἔχουσα, τάρτα δ' οὐ* (Kannicht, *Helena* i 58), *Hr.* 501-2 *κρείσσον δὲ τοῦργον . . . ἢ τοῦνομα*, *Al.* 339 *λόγω . . . / οὐκ ἔργω φίλοι. φίλοι (bis)*: the repetition of *φίλ-* at line-end is pointed, with a clausular effect (like a rhymed couplet in Shakespeare), cf. 662-[3-]4, 706-7, 1351-2; but the phrasing *οἱ φίλοι / οἱ . . . φίλοι* is surely false. The *sententia* concerns 'φίλοι who are not φίλοι to their φίλοι when they (the latter) are in trouble'; a triple expression in which one term is understood (like 413* *οὐ δεινὰ πάσχειν δεινὰ τοῦς (δεινὰ) εἰργασμένους*, which also exemplifies E.'s penchant for positive-negative combinations). The oblique case is essential here in conjunction with (ἐ)πὶ ταῖσι *συμφοραῖς* (sc. *αὐτῶν*, not referring to the subject); and we must write *οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς φίλοις / οἱ μὴ . . . ὄντες φίλοι*. The polyptoton is of a standard type, and the varied terminal inflexions are like 662 f. and 706 f. [*οἱ μὴ . . .* (after *φίλοις*) naturally implies *οἱ φίλοι οἱ μὴ . . .* (like 424* *ἐς φίλους δ' φῶς κακός*, implying 'the (φίλος) who is bad to φίλοι'). Corruption was thus almost inevitable (simplifying and 'clarifying', but also weakening, the expression of a quotable *γνώμη*). Matthiae corrected a rather similar *φίλοι* for *φίλοις* at *HF* 305 (also at line-end). My conjecture is a refinement of Schmidt's diagnostic *ἔχουσι τῶν φίλων* (*KS* 352), neglected by later edd.]

456-69. Tyndareus is seen in the distance approaching from the direction of Cl.'s Tomb (L, *Introd.* E ii). The reaction provoked by the approach-announcement, obviously not to be heard by the entering character, is a procedure repeated in 1311 ff. (cf. *Taplin* 73, 297).

456-8. As in 348 ff., the announcement is also a crisp 'character'-outline. Tynd. is combative, elderly and in mourning, his black attire and shorn grey hair in sharp contrast with Men.'s *ἀβροσύνη*; and he is 'the Spartan', with all the associations that the word *Σπαρτιάτης* had for the Athenian audience. One may think of an elderly King Archidamus, as portrayed by Thucydides in the Plataean affair, projected back into the Heroic Age. *γέροντι . . . ποδί*: hypallage, cf. 221-2*, 1499, 1505; with *ἀμιλλᾶσθαι* E. could alternatively have used acc. *πόδα* (38*, cf. 1470*). There is a suggestion of 'foot-race' idiom (aptly to the *ἀγών*-theme), *γέροντι* pointing the metaphor with oxymoron. *μελάμπεπλος* (sc. *ὤν*, *KG* ii 103): cf. *Al.* 427, 819 (also of Death, *Al.* 843, and of Night, *Ion* 1150). *θυγατρός*: probably causal gen. (751*) in a phrase equivalent to *πενθικῶς ἔχων*; it is less natural to take it as directly 'objective' with *πενθίμῳ* (Bichl).

459-69. Or.'s reaction of 'shame' is developed at some length. In conjunction with the memory of Tynd.'s former affectionate behaviour, it throws into strong relief the shamelessness and detestation that will be displayed in the following scene. Tynd. is by no means simply the embodiment of all that is hostile to Or. (his main function in the plot), but the grandfather to whom Or. owes much *φιλία*, and with whom we are to have a good deal of sympathy.

459-61. *ἀπωλόμην*: cf. *Al.* 391, *HF* 1130, etc.; distress was commonly

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- expressed in terms of 'ruin'. αἰδώς μ' ἔχει . . . : cf. *Hec.* 970 ff. (the inability to face someone there caused by *δυστυχία*). τοῖσιν ἐξαιργασμένοις: causal dat. (210*, *Hel.* 79, Th. 3. 98 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, etc.), with an echo of 396, 413.
- 462-5. καὶ γάρ: 'for indeed, in fact' (*GP* 108-9). συμκρὸν δυν': 'sentimental' references to childhood, and also the presentation of children on the stage, are frequent in E. (cf. *Tr.* 1182 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* iv 348); μικρ-, rather than μικρ-, see Diggle, *Gnomon* 1975, 289-90, and *Studies* 50. φιλήματα: 'signs/acts of φιλία' (not simply 'kisses'), cf. Wilamowitz on *Ion* 519. ἐξέπλησαι: 'fully performed'; a favourite vb, cf. 293, 657, *Hec.* 1270, *IT* 90, *Ion* 1108 and esp. *Hel.* 734-5 πολλά . . . μοχθήματ' ἐξέπλησας. One of the φιλήματα is then described: 'carrying me around in his arms (as) "Agamemnon's son"' (a use of the def. article like *Ba.* 1145-6). Λήδα θ' ἄμα, / τιμῶντε . . . ; for the tacking-on of a new subject, with a shift from sing. to dual or pl., cf. *Med.* 734-5, *IT* 3-4, *Ion* 64-5. Διοσκόρω: thought of as Tynd.'s and Leda's own sons (cf. *Hel.* 137), but given the title that more honorifically makes them 'sons of Zeus' (cf. *Hel.* 220-1, 284); for the titles juxtaposed, cf. 1689-90*.
- 466-9. ὦ . . . καρδιά . . . : an old formula of self-address (Page on *Med.* 1056, Webster, *JHS* 1957, 150) has here become a mere exclam. without a 2nd pers. vb. οἷς . . . οὐ καλὰς: cf. Thgn. 1263 ὦ παῖ, δς εἰ ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν. For the desire of an ashamed person to become invisible, cf. 280*; the combination of that with traditional 'darkness' and 'cloud' motifs seems directly modelled on *HF* 1159, 1216 (see Bond).
- 470-629. A clearly-structured scene: 470-90 preliminary sparring between Men. and Tynd.; 491-543 'prosecuting' ῥήσις of Tynd. (+ choral distich); 544-606 'defensive' ῥήσις of Or. (+ choral distich); 607-29 Tynd. departs in anger. But an important element of the plot has been obscured by the interpolation of 536-7 (anticipating 625-6). Tynd.'s initial position is that Or. must be treated as an 'outcast', in accordance with the 'holy' law prohibiting the shedding of blood for blood. It is only after Or.'s offensive apologia that Tynd., by now in a furious rage, declares his intention of doing his best to see that Or. is stoned to death and threatens to debar Men. from Sparta if he does anything to frustrate that; a dynamic handling of the plot (complex, as will be shown, in detail), such that Or. himself contributes, as at his Assembly-trial, to the ruin of his cause.
- F. Will makes some pertinent observations as to the *persona* of Tynd. in *Symb. Osf.* 1961, 96-9; not seen before (so far as we know) on the tragic stage, he is one of E.'s most interesting third-actor characters. But his 'prosecuting' role is in itself harmonious with the alternative tradition that Orestes was prosecuted at his Areopagus trial by Tyndareus and Erigone (F. Jacoby, *FGH* IIIb (Suppl.) ii. 48^a, Brown, *JHS* 1983, 33^a).
- 470-5. Tynd. enters with at least two attendants (474, 629). His brief entry-monologue conventionally expresses his desire 'to see Menelaus and embrace him', as an explanation of his entry, while also accounting for his

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- presence in the vicinity (*Ἐδοικονομήτως*); cf. *HF* 1163-8, etc. (Mastro-narde 25). See *Addendis Addenda*.
470. *πού πού*: emphatic (*IT* 1435); also perhaps 'breathless' (278*), as at *El.* 487 (another entering Old Man).
472. *χούς χάμενος*: the less common type of cognate acc. idiom without epithet, cf. 140-1*, 1124 *ἀγώνα πώς ἀγωνιούμεθα*; The idioms tend to be formulaic (e.g. *λόγους λέγειν*, with a pejorative force); *χοὴν χεῖσθαι* is epic (*Od.* 10. 518, 11. 26; also *Hdt.* 7. 43).
473. *πολυετής*: like *χρόνιος* 475, cf. *Hel.* 651. Read *σεσωμένος* (or *-σφι-*), see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 618.
- 474-5. *ἀγετέ με*: not necessarily implying a need for human support (cf. *Ba.* 1381, *IA* 1475); Tynd. probably has a stick (cf. *HF* 108, *Ion* 743, etc.). *πρὸς γὰρ δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ θέλω στάς ἀσπάσασθαι*: 'for I wish to approach (*προσίστασθαι*) his right hand and clasp it'; for this *φίλημα* (463*) of greeting or farewell, cf. *Med.* 1070 *δὸτ' ἀσπάσασθαι μητρὶ δεξιὰν χεῖρα*, *Ion* 519. *χρόνιος*: for the nom., cf. 485, 740, *Ion* 403, etc.; but *El.* 1308 *χροϊάν σ' εἰσιδῶν* affords good support for the acc. variant.
- 476-90(-91). *Stichomythia*, briefly interrupted by monologue as Tynd. catches sight of Or. and breaks away with an abrupt change of mood. Men. coolly defends his posture towards Or., plainly suggesting (and so Tynd. understands him) that at this stage he is minded to help his nephew, though he remains uncommitted to active *ἐπικουρία*.
476. *ὁμόλεκτρον*: adj. 'co-husband' (contrast the simpler 'bed-sharing' sense in 508), like (*Διὸς*) *σύλλεκτρος*, *σύγγαμος* and *ὁμόγαμος* of *Amphitryon* in *HF* 1, 149, 339; *κάρρα*: cf. 225-6*, 481*, 1380.
477. *ὦ χάρει καὶ σύ*: cf. *Med.* 665, *Hb.* 1440, (1453) (*CQ* 1968, 43). *κῆδευμ' ἔμὸν*: for the form of address with a *-μα* noun, cf. *Ion* 747-8 *γυναῖκες . . . δούλευμα πιστόν*, *S. OT* 85, etc. (*KG* i 10-11, Bruhn 139); *κῆδεύειν τινί* (unlike *κῆδεύειν τινά*, 791, 795*) is to be an 'in-law' (*El.* 47).
478. *ἔα*: 277*. The rest of the line was rightly excised by Wecklein (cf. Fraenkel, *Agam.* iii 580). It is not wholly incept, and may owe something to a different Euripidean context (*μὴ εἶδ-*, cf. *ἡ εἶδ- IT* 1048); but there is no parallel for such a second (sententious) exclam. intervening between *ἔα* and its explanation.
- 479-80. Cf. Men.'s reaction with *δεινὸν λεύσσεις* at his first sight of Or. (389*). *δράκων* may echo *A. Ch.* 527, 549, but cf. also *Stes. fr.* 219 Page (Stephanopoulos 133); for its abusive use as a 'monster' word, cf. 1406, 1424, Dodds on *Ba.* 537-41, Owen on *Ion* 1262-3; it seems to be cognate with *δέρκομαι δρακεῖν* (LSJ) and associates naturally with the idea 'terrible eyes'; cf. *fr.* 870 (255-6*), *Hyps.* 1 ii 26, *Ion* loc. cit. *στίλβει . . . ἀστραπάς*: cf. *Bacchyl.* 18(17). 54-6 *ὀμμάτων στίλβειν ἄπο . . . φλόγα*; 'lightning', as *S. fr.* 474 R., *Ar. Ach.* 566 (*KG* i 309). *νοσώδεις*: Or.'s very glances are 'polluting, destructive' (cf. Collard on *Su.* 423-5). *στούγημ' ἔμὸν*: another rare, perhaps new word, cf. 269-70*, *μίσημα Hb.* 407; the similarity with *κῆδευμ' ἔμὸν* 477 is perhaps fortuitous.

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481. **Μενέλαε . . . ἀνόσιον κάρα:** the appositive phrase is generally taken as acc. (so also Barrett on *Hr.* 651–2). There is no parallel in E. for such an apposition to *νιν* or *αὐτόν*, whereas *κάρα*-phrases are very commonly appositive to a voc. Tynd.'s question is rhetorical—he has no doubt of Men.'s 'profane' conduct in addressing Or. (in defiance of the Argive 'law'), and berates him with the appropriate (very strong) epithet; cf. *Hr.* 651 ὦ κακὸν κάρα, *Tr.* 1024 ὦ κατὰπτυστον κάρα. Or. (for very different reasons) will call Men. ἀνόσιος at 1213*.
482. **τί γάρ** (sc. ἄλλο); cf. *Su.* 51, *Pl. Rep.* 392D, etc.
483. **γάρ:** 'what!', cf. 1113, *An.* 590, etc. Both Men. and Tynd. ask a question which 'throws doubt on the grounds of the previous speaker's words' (*GP* 85 and 77). For the common theme that children are, or ought to be, like their parents (with many variations), cf. *Tr.* 766 ff., *Ba.* 538 ff., 988–90. Tynd. has a high regard for Ag. (cf. 463–4).
484. Men. insists that it is an obligation to 'honour' *δυστυχοῦντας φίλους*; an appropriate ambiguity (repeated in 486), since *τιμᾶν* may include active 'help' (*A. Eum.* 772–3 *πόλιν . . . συμμάχῳ δορί*, *Od.* 20. 129 *ξείνον*); but in the first instance Men. is simply justifying his *φίλια προσφθέγματα*.
485. **βεβαρβάρωσαι . . .** the vb occurs here only in E. (in tragedy elsewhere only *S. Ant.* 1002 *βεβαρβαρωμένῳ* of the twittering of birds); Men. has 'lost all contact with Greek values by his long sojourn *ἐν βαρβάροις*'; the 'un-Greek' qualities may include *ἀβροσύνη* (348–51*), but are primarily wrong attitudes to *νόμος* (or lack of proper *νόμοι*), cf. *An.* 243, Collard on *Su.* 429 ff. (with Addenda), *Hdt.* 7. 104, *Th.* 2. 37; Dover, *GP* 85 ff. Men. is abused in terms applicable to a Pausanias or a Themistocles (cf. *Th.* 1. 128–38); the former's career was a particularly cautionary *exemplum* to Spartans.
486. **τὸν δμόθεν** (sc. *πεφύκοτα*): cf. *IA* 501, *S. El.* 156. **ἀει** commonly reinforces a *sententia*, cf. 605, [773], *Su.* 341, *Ba.* 881.
487. To aspire to be *τῶν νόμων . . . πρότερον* (= *κρείσσονα*) was to flout the first principle of Greek law, cf. *Ba.* 890–2; it was equally objectionable 'to dwell *θύραζε τῶν νόμων*' (*Ba.* 331). For the late-E. rhythm of *μη πρότερον εἶναι* (on the way to *IA* 523 *πὺς ὑπολάβοιμ' ἄν*), cf. 60*.
488. 'Everything that results from necessity/compulsion is servile, according to sensible/enlightened opinion'. Men. appeals to 'freedom' (cf. *IA* 330 *σὸς δὲ δούλος οὐκ ἔφην*) with an aphorism that resolves the conflict between 486 and 487 by implying that *no maxim* (other than the enthronement of *σοφία*) has universally binding validity for free men. *πάν τούτῃ ἀνάγκης*: i.e. *πάν ἀναγκαῖον χρήμα* (traditionally *ἀνηρόν*, 229–30*); *ἐξ ἀνάγκης*, cf. *S. Phil.* 73. Commentators have disputed whether Men. is alluding to the *ἀνάγκη* of law (cf. *Hec.* 847 *καὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας οἱ νόμοι διώρισαν*) or of kinship (cf. *Antiph.* B64 *αἱ νέαι φιλίαι ἀναγκαῖαι μὲν, αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ ἀναγκαιότεραι*); a sterile dispute, since the point is explicitly comprehensive (*πάν*). In context, 488 is at once an apparent rebuttal of Tynd.'s *γνώμη* (the old man naturally looks no further than the implied claim to be above the law) and

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an ambiguity leaving it open whether Men. means to be bound by the claims of *either νόμος or φιλία*. Ironically, yet consistently, Men. will in due course claim to be acting *σοφῶς* in submitting as a 'slave' to the *ἀνάγκη* of *τύχη* (715–16*). **δοῦλον:** adj. (= *δούλιον*); a favourite E. usage, cf. *τὸ δούλον* 1115*, *ΙΑ* 1401, *Ιον* 556, 983, *Hel.* 276 *τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ πάντα δούλα πλὴν ἑνός*. For the recurrent *δούλος/ἐλεύθερος* and 'necessity' themes, cf. also 221, 418, 937, 1088, 1170, 1522–3; 715, 755, 774, 1012, 1330, 1577, 1665.

489. τοῦτ': i.e. *ταύτην τὴν γνώμην*. Tynd. stands by the orthodox view of *Νόμος* as consistent with *ἐλευθερία*. **κἀκτησο . . . οὐ:** an elevated equivalent of *αὐτὸς ἔχε* (*Cyc.* 270); E. used *κεκτηῖσθαι* like *ἔχειν* in various extensions of idiom, cf. 865, *Sm.* 217, *Hb.* 414. **ἐγὼ δ' οὐ κτήσομαι** ('I won't accept it') then follows in accordance with the positive/negative antithesis.

490. A double debating thrust (**ἄμα**) at Tynd.'s strong emotion as inimical to 'reason' and at the 'bigotry' of old age; cf. Duchemin 206. Here Men.'s habitual *οὐ σοφόν* (415*) neatly provides the cue for Tynd.'s invective against Or.'s *ἀσοφία*.

491–541. E. was a master both of standard 'forensic' conventions and of their flexible deployment in accordance with plot, situation (including number of speakers involved) and individual character. Whereas Or. will direct his reply to Tynd. in 544–601*, Tynd.'s speech is addressed to Men. except (with sudden and powerful effect) at the climax of his argument in 526 ff.*. He takes his cue directly from the preceding stichomythia, and dispenses with the usual preamble (cf. Duchemin 168, 169*). Three lines suffice to enunciate his theme: that the *ἀγών* has to do with *δοσοφία*, and that Or. is uniquely *ἀσύνετος* in respect of *τὰ καλά* and *τὰ μὴ καλά*. The whole of 494–533 develops that theme, beginning as an indictment with *δοσις* . . . and a primary focus on 'justice' and 'universal Greek law'; passing to an invective against *τὸ θηριώδες καὶ μαιφόνον* (answering to *τὰ μὴ καλά*) as exemplified by Or.'s unfeeling butchery of his suppliant mother; and culminating in the 'self-sufficient proof' (Or.'s visibly god-sent madness). The speech ends with the inference which Men. is to draw from the argument (*οὖν* 534), a quiet summation (538–9) and a concluding distich on the theme of Tynd.'s *δυσδαμονία* as 'father of bad daughters' (540–1).

With 536–7* out of the way, it can be seen how artfully the speech as a whole is contrived so as to satisfy two plot-requirements that might have seemed incompatible. On the one hand, Tynd. must appear to Or. as the very embodiment of hostility and hatred, to whom he will respond as to a death-demanding prosecutor (564*). On the other hand, Tynd.'s position must be consistent with his *becoming* a death-demanding prosecutor only in the light of Or.'s 'infuriating' defence (470–629*). That is why Tynd. is made to imply, with the strongest possible invective, that Or. deserves the same fate as his mother (504, 538–9) within the context of a view of 'ancestral νόμος' that prohibits *ἀναποκτείνειν* and prescribes 'outcast' treatment (which might or might not include 'stoning') in cases of homicide. The inconsistencies and ambiguities, natural to an angry old

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man, are exactly calculated; at the same time Tynd.'s somewhat muddle-headed championing of 'common Hellenic law' suits his *persona* as a Spartan king.

491. *πρὸς τόνδ' ἄγών τις* (&σοφίας ἦκει πέρι (colon or full-stop): so Bothe (cf. R. Shillito, *Trans. Camb. Ph. Soc.* 1, 75, Winnington-Ingram, *BICS* 1969, 53-4); Murray's *τις* . . .; was an aberration (implying *denial* of the *ἄγών* against Or.). *πρὸς τόνδ'*: emphatic (sc. *οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ*). *πρὸς* . . . ἦκει: implying 'pertinet ad', like *προσῆκει* + dat. (cf. *Med.* 252 *οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς πρὸς σέ καμ' ἦκει λόγος*), but also lit. 'has come against' (cf. *Held.* 116-17 *πρὸς τοῦτον ἄγών δρα τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου / μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη*); 491 has the double function of retorting to 490 (concluding the *stichomythia*, as 448) and initiating the *ῥήσις*. The variant *κείται* (Matthiessen 57) is scarcely inferior, cf. *Hec.* 292, *Ion* 756, *S. Aj.* 936, and is likely to be ancient. *ἄγών* . . . *ἄσοφίας* . . . *πέρι*: the opposite of the usual 'mastermind' contest (*ἄγών σοφίας*, *Ar. Ran.* 883; *πέρι*, cf. [847-8]*), and with an echo of judicial idiom (*δίκη ἄσεβείας*, etc.). *ἄσοφος* (*El.* 1302, Thgn., Pi.), *ἀμαθής* and *ἀσύνετος* were similarly used in ethical condemnation; unlike the common *ἀμαθία*, *ἄσοφία* does not occur elsewhere before Plutarch and Lucian, but E. had recently used (coined?) the words *συνασοφεῖν* and *ἀσυνεσία* (*Ph.* 394, 1727; *ἄξυνεσία* also *Archelaus* fr. 31. 2). The indef. *τις* has a 'moderating' effect (cf. [1167-9*]), as though Tynd. were apologizing for his 'clever' language; perhaps also with ironical *meiosis*. [Porson's *πρὸς τόνδε σοφίας τις ἂν ἄγών ἦκει πέρι*; involves too much alteration, and is otherwise inferior. As Fraenkel observed (to Di B.), one expects a *statement* introducing the *ῥήσις*.]
- 492-3. Pleas of 'intellectual deficiency' are advanced by modern advocates in *defence* of their clients. Their habitual use by prosecutors is one of the most striking differences in Athenian forensic practice (cf. Dover, *GPM* 146-50). *ἀσυνετώτερος*: a characteristic adj. in E.'s later plays: *Ion* (1), *Hel.* (1), *Ph.* (3), *Or.* (1), *IA* (5); for the comparative, cf. fr. 645. 5. Or.'s total lack of *σύνεσις* (396*) is proved by his inability to distinguish between opposites that are 'manifest to all (normal persons)'; cf. Men.'s (milder) criticism of Apollo in 417*. For Tynd. there is a clearcut opposition between *τὸ δίκαιον / δσιον / νόμιμον* ('aesthetically' apprehended as *καλῶς*) and the opposite (cf. *Ba.* 995 *ἄθεον ἄνομον ἄδικον*). The question-mark is better placed at the end of 493 than at 495.
494. *ὅστις τὸ μὲν δίκαιον οὐκ ἐσκέπαστο* . . .: beginning the 'indictment' (285-7*) with what Or. *failed* to do (*μὲν* inceptive); for the turn of phrase, cf. *IA* 674 *χρη' τό γ' εὐσεβές σκοπεῖν*.
495. *οὐδ'* . . .: continuative and expegetic of 494 (*not* balancing *μὲν*; antithetic *μὲν* . . . *οὐδέ*, *GP* 191, does not occur in E.). The concept of 'common (unwritten) Hellenic law(s)' was frequently appealed to by orators, cf. *Su.* 311, 429 ff., 526, Th. 3. 59 (Stinton in Collard's *Supplices* p. 441); the opposite (pejorative) expression is *ἴδιοι νόμοι* (cf. 487*, 558-9*). *ἦλθεν ἐπί*: metaph. 'consulted', like *ἐπαλθεῖν* (*Su.* 155, *Hel.* 165); cf. 609*.
- 496-506. 'Or. should have acted *δοσίως* and expelled his (undeniably guilty)

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mother; as it is, he has shown himself even worse than her and has brought upon himself the same fate'. Tynd.'s argument has been called 'anachronistic' and 'futile', on the grounds that fifth-century legal processes did not exist in the heroic age. But the phrasing of 500-1 (seriously misrepresented in Arrowsmith's translation) is appropriately 'timeless', with no more than an overtone of contemporary terminology. According to a credibly primitive view of νόμος ('custom' as well as 'law') Or. could certainly (after killing Aegisthus) have made his mother an 'outcast' (with 'stoning' as a likely concomitant δίκη), abstaining from the ἀνομιον, ἀνόσιον act of matricide. There is a distortion, indeed, in the telescoped sequence of events: the omission (here) of any mention of Aegisthus and of the necessary time-lapse between Ag.'s death and Or.'s retributive action. As to that, (a) the matters omitted do not affect the immediate argument; (b) the focus on Ag.'s death (rather than 'after Aeg.'s death') economically allows Tynd. to condemn his daughter too, with an air of impartiality; (c) the issue of 'tyrannicide' is quite deliberately excluded (by E.) on both sides of the argument. The issue is 'matricide' (cf. 886 f.); and nothing must be allowed to diminish Tynd.'s absolute condemnation of φόνος.

496. ἐπεί: 'circumstantial', not purely temporal. ἐξέπνευσεν . . . βίον: cf. 1163, HF 980, Hel. 142, etc.

497. The sense must be 'smitten on (as to) the head (implying 'mortally') by my daughter'. Brunck's κάρα θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς πληγῆς ὕπο is a satisfactory line, but the reshuffle is too arbitrary (the compound error unexplained). Accepting the likelihood of terminal ὕπο, I should prefer πληγῆς θυγατρὸς (κράτα) τῆς ἐμῆς ὕπο [κάρα]; cf. Med. 1125-6 δλωλεν . . . φαρμάκων τῶν σὸν ὕπο, and (for the inserted position of 'head') Med. 1387 Ἄργους κάρα σὸν λειψάνῳ πεπληγμένος (not κάρα σὸν Ἄργους . . .). [Other theoretical lines of emendation: (a) πληγαῖς . . . (cf. Denniston on El. 123); but αἰσχιστον ἔργον 498 follows much more naturally after the participle πληγῆς, and ὑπὲρ κάρα is otherwise unacceptable. (b) ὕπ' <υ- >; but Meineke's ἐς κάρα is unidiomatic, and we cannot well get rid of 'head' altogether. (c) ὑπαί Tricl., accepted by Di B. (= ὕπο); but it is incredible that E. should have preferred that in ordinary dialogue to terminal ὕπο. The sole attestation of ὑπαί in E. is at El. 1188 (at period-end in lyric, and very possibly an error for ὕπο); and S. has it only once (El. 711 χαλκῆς ὑπαί σάλπιγγος) in a messenger-speech with epic colour. It remains possible, however, that ὑπαί is not simply Triclinian, but had entered the tradition as an alternative rectification of ὕπο, after 'head' had been moved to the end of the line.]

498 f. Absurdly, there is no '499' or '719' in the now universal (Dindorfian) numeration of the text. Our '348-806' was rationally '348-804' in the edd. of Barnes (1694), King (1726), Morell (1748) and Beck (1778). It had previously been '348-806' in the edd. of Portus and Stephanus, because of Canter's wrong lineation (presenting a trimeter as two short lines) at 439 and 646. Musgrave (1778) reintroduced the wrong '348-806', but with the

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numeration-errors at 439 and 719. No one before Dindorf had miscounted at 499. Kirchoff tried to put things right, but Nauck followed Dindorf and has been followed by subsequent edd. (Cf. Biehl, Teubner edn. xl; others offer neither comment nor explanation to the reader, who might suppose something to have been excised in these places).

500-1. *χρῆν αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι μὲν . . .*: i.e. *χρῆν μὲν . . .*, answered by *νῦν δ' . . .* 504; for the late position of *μὲν*, cf. *Ag. Plut.* 1120 *πρότερον γὰρ εἶχον μὲν . . .* (*GP* 372). This should not have been mistaken as an instance of *μὲν . . . τε. αἵματος δίκην δόσιαν*: 'a holy blood-penalty'; the usual comma after *δίκην* is very bad (*Or. did* 'impose a blood-penalty!'). *διώκοντ'*: 'prosecuting (it)', sc. *αἴμ- δίκ- δόσιαν* (*ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*), cf. 322-3 *αἵματος τινύμεναι δίκαν*, 412*, 1534 *τὸν Ἑλένης φόνον διώκων*. The technical sense of *διώκειν* derives from the ancient idea of lit. 'pursuit', even as 'the homicide suit at Athens derived historically from the family blood-feud, and retained many of its features' (Kells, *CQ* 1966, 52*). *ἐκβαλεῖν τε δωμάτων*: expegetic, like 495, not the second (or first, *hysteron proteron*) of a sequence of actions; Tynd.'s whole emphasis is on 'expulsion' (cf. 515 *φυγαῖσι δ' ὀσειοῦν*), though his words are consistent with the likely stoning of such an 'outcast' wife.

502. 'He would have got *τὸ σῶφρον* instead of *συμφορά*, and would have been adhering to both *νόμος* and piety'. But the *ἄν* cannot be 'understood' with *ἔλαβεν* from the following line, and we must accept Bergk's easy correction *ἔλαβ' ἄν* (an unexceptionable elision, see Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 161, and *Studies* 100). Expressions like *τὸ σῶφρον λαβεῖν* (*κτῆσασθαι*) reflect the common view of virtues (*ἀρεταί*) and the opposite as facets of *εὐκλεία* and *δυσκλεία*; thus at 782 *φεύγω τὸ δειλὸν τῆδε, τὸ δειλὸν* implies 'the imputation of cowardice'. For the force of *τὸ σῶφρον* here, cf. exactly *Hel.* 932 *πάλι μ' ἀνάξουσ' ἐς τὸ σῶφρον*; also *Med.* 218, *IT* 676, *Ion* 600, *Hel.* 272, *S. Ant.* 924, *Aj.* 75, etc. (Bruhn 116). For the strong sense of *συμφορά* (including 'calamitous blood-pollution'), cf. 414*, and Jebb on *S. OT* 99. [The alternative reading . . . *ἔλαβεν ἄν τῆς συμφορᾶς* is supposed to mean something like 'he would have acted *σωφρόνως* in respect of what had happened, in his difficult situation'; Di B. interprets thus, but does not give a convincing explanation of the gen.] See *Addendis Addenda*.

504. *νῦν δ' . . .*: 'But as it is . . .'. *ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν δαίμον*: cf. *Cyc.* 110, fr. 1073.2 (*δαίμων* non-personal 'fate', cf. 394, 667, Stevens on *An.* 98, Franke on *A. Ag.* 1341 f.). *μητέρι*: with *τὸν αὐτόν*, cf. *El.* 320 *ἐς ταῦτα . . . πατρί*, *ibid.* 297, *Al.* 1062, *An.* 657, *IT* 1047, *Cyc.* 638, *S. Ant.* 644 (KG i 411-12).

506. *αὐτὸς κακίων μητέρ' ἐγένετο κτανών*: Porson rightly restored the rare (so corruptible) A-B-A-B interlacement of main clause and participial phrase (cf. Elmsley on *Med.* 460-1[473-4], Stinton, *PCPhS* 1975, 84-5). Here *μητέρα* is emphasized by advancement (*μητέρ' ἐγένετο* standing economically for *μητρὸς ἐγένετο μητέρα*), while *κτανών* remains in the terminal position favoured by *υ-* participles: so also 749 *τοῦτο πάντ' ἔχω μαθών*, 1080 . . . *λαβών*, 1100 . . . *ιδών* (and more elaborately *Rh.* 573 "Φοῖβον"

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Δόλωνος ὄδα σύμβολον κλύων). 1633-4 *κάπο φασγάνου / τοῦ σοῦ κελυσοθείς ἤρπασ' ἐκ Διὸς πατρός* is similar, but with the participle coming first in the divided phrase.

- 507-11. The classic argument against vendetta-killing (cf. *El.* 1093 ff., *S. El.* 580 ff.; also inter-city bloodshed, *Hel.* 1155-7); but Tynd. rather absurdly elaborates the topos in such a way as to contemplate a son killing his father to avenge his grandmother, 'and so on'. E. used (and varied) *topoi* not only for their own sake, but for illuminating the *ἦθος* and *διάνοια* of his characters (cf. 108, 704-7; *Introd.* F ii).
508. *τόνδ'*: perhaps with a gesture towards an imaginary person ('indefinite' ὄδε, Von der Mühl, *MH* 1966, 190-1); but Tynd.'s logic is quite equal to beginning with Or. himself, slain (at some undefined future date) by a hypothetical wife.
- 509-11. Having begun hypothetically with the optative, Tynd. proceeds to contemplate the future more definitely with indic. vbs; cf. 566-71*, and *KG* ii 480.
510. *φόνω φόνον*: cf. *IT* 1223-4 φ-φ-ἐκνήψω, *HF* 40 (σβέσαι), and contrast the 'tears on tears' type of *paregmenon* (335-6*).
511. *λύσαι*: cf. 597-8*; here the vb is ironically used. *πέρασ δὴ ποῖ* . . . ; a mixture of 'where will the limit be?' and 'whither will the *κακά* advance?' *προβήσεται*: cf. 749*, *Med.* 1117, *Hp.* 342.
- 512-17. The laws of Draco to check vendetta-killing had recently been reinscribed in the Agora; but we should not suppose that Tynd. is simply giving a résumé of them (cf. MacDowell, *Law* 42-7). His emphasis on 'holy φύγη' is on one level 'Homeric' (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* iv 349), on another 'Pythian' in respect of blood-pollution, like *S. OT* 238 ff. (46 ff.*, 515*); a view of 'ancestral laws' based largely on tragic precedents, with *ad hoc* phrasing (*argumenti causa*, 491-541*, for the ambivalence of 'outcast' treatment).
515. *φυγαίσι δ' ὀμοιοῦν*: as in *S. OT* 241 (*ὠθεῖν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων*), a positive 'commanded' is to be supplied from the previous vb of prohibition; cf. 601, 900, *Ph.* 1217-18, *Il.* 5. 819-21 (*KG* ii 566-7, Bruhn 115). For the force of *ὀμοιοῦν*, 'which conveys the idea of restoring religious normality', see Parker 121, 330.
516. *ἐνέξεσθαι*: with pass. force (440*), cf. *A. Su.* 169; a rare vb in E. (*IA* 527). *εἰς*: more definite perhaps, certainly crisper, than the usual *εἰς τῆς* (*LSJ* *εἰς* 4).
517. *χεροῖν* or *χερός*? The latter is more exquisite, and preferred by Di B.; the former is commended, but by no means guaranteed, by 429, *IT* 1047, *HF* 1324 (if L is wrong here, it may well be wrong elsewhere). *λοίσθιον*: 'latest', here of an 'unending' series of evils; perhaps, but not necessarily, with the implication 'worst' (*HF* 1279, Page on *Med.* 1105).
518. *ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ μὲν* . . . : clear rhetorical structure (cf. *Hp.* 1016 *ἐγὼ δ' ἀγῶνας μὲν* . . .), but still equivocal as to the capital charge facing Or. *μισῶ μὲν* . . . is balanced by *ἀμυνῶ δ'* . . . 523 after an elaboration (partly

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- parenthetic) of the *μέν*-clause; Tynd. is at once *conceding* the gross misconduct of his daughters (followed by 'but...') and *asserting* his consistent 'hatred' of τὸ ἀνόσιον ('... and...'); a feature hard to reproduce in translation. The rhetorically moralizing use of *μισῶ* is especially common in E. ἀνοσίους: this and φιλοπάτωρ 1605 are the only 'paemonic' trimeter-endings in *Or.* (characteristic of late E.; Zieliński 174, 191).
520. οὐποτ' ἀνέσω: cf. 499; the repetition is 'in character', cf. 4/85 (El.), 100/110 (Hel.), 415/490 (Men.), 551/596, [936/941] (*Or.*).
521. οὐδ' ἂν προσείποιμ': another 'character' touch, coming thus immediately before Tynd.'s address to *Or.* οὐδέ ἐσέζηλῶ: sarcastically implying οὐκ ἐπαίνῳ, cf. Th. 5. 105 ὑμῶν οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον.
524. τὸ θηριώδες: a recurrent and topical theme (Intro. F i. 2); the adj. is standard for the 'feral' life of men before laws were instituted (Democ. B5, Crit. B25, 2; Collard on *Su.* 201-2); for the abstract neuter (first at *Tr.* 671, of a colt's untamed nature), cf. also Pl. *Cra.* 394E. μαιφόνον: always in Homer an epithet of Ares, later more generally 'murderous', usually with direct reference to blood-pollution.
525. παύων, δ...: cf. 678-9*, where *Or.* ends his speech to *Men.* with θηρῶν, δ... ('a thing which'). καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν: an artificial phrase, as pl. of the formula καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν (*A. Eum.* 993), with γῆν necessarily retained in the sing.
- 526 ff. Tynd. has already strained his interpretation of pollution-law by remaining *within sight* of *Or.* (479-80, 513-14); cf. *Hp.* 946 (Parker 313). Hitherto we may suppose him to have studiously avoided looking at *Or.* after the initial encounter. But now he suddenly rounds on him with direct address. The well-characterized 'contradiction' (cf. 481, 521*) is an effective dramatic stroke, and gives a new and unconventional bite to the otherwise routine use of the 2nd pers. sing. for the prosecuting argument 'how could you bring yourself to do such an appalling thing?'
526. ἐπεὶ...: i.e. '(I am right in abominating τὸ θηριώδες / μαιφόνον, in the context of *Or.*'s lack of σύνεσις), for...'. ψυχῆν: at once 'heart' and 'feeling' (Webster, *JHS* 1957, 150), cf. *Or.*'s pairing of καρδία and ψυχῆ at 466, and Philolaus B13 καρδία ψυχῆς καὶ αἰσθήσιος (ἀρχά).
- 527-8. For the enjambment, with strong emphasis here on μήτηρ, cf. Collard on *Su.* 11-16. μαστόν: the showing of the breast *ad misericordiam* was a traditional motif (Denniston on *El.* 1206) going back to Homer (*Il.* 22. 79-83) and memorably employed in *A. Ch.* 896-8. The sing. is normal in this topos (568* is exceptional), reflecting the epic μαζός. ἐγὼ μὲν...: cf. *Hel.* 496 (*GP* 381-2).
529. ἐκτιήκω: cf. 134*.
- 530-3. A 'conclusive' 4-line argument (not the second half of an 8-line argument, as Murray's paragraphing might suggest); for the 'no need of other witnesses', cf. *Hp.* 971-2. The argument from *Or.*'s visible madness (Adkins 139) reflects the common use of 'god-hated' in damnatory language (19 f.*).

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530. ἐν τοῦντ' λόγοισι τοῖς ἑμοῖς ὁμορροθεῖ: 'therefore' is surely wrong (*pace* Di B.; *GP* affords no support for a merely resumptive use of οὖν without any inferential force, as to which 534 is obviously different). But neither δ' οὖν ('well, anyway') nor γοῦν ('at least') seems quite right (weakening the force of what should be a rhetorical climax; cf. *Med.* 585 ἐν γὰρ ἔκτενεῖ σ' ἔπος, where the 'single knock-out argument' is anything but 'one word at least'). ἐν δέ . . . is common where there is a simple progressive-corrective sequence of thought (as *Med.* 1105, *Hp.* 919). Here, however, we want a climactic asyndeton like *Su.* 594 ἐν δεῖ μόνον μοι . . ., *HF* 1386 ἐν μοί τι, *Θησεύ.* σύγκαμ' . . ., *IA* 1249 ἐν συντεμοῦσα πάντα νικήσω λόγον (λέγων England). Read, therefore, ἐν σὺν λόγοισι . . . (an easy confusion of O and C); for the combination with ὁμορροθεῖ, cf. the very common combination of συν- (or σύν) with ὁμοῦ or ἅμα (*Diggle, Studies* 39). ὁμορροθεῖν is an uncommon word, elsewhere used absolutely (cf. *S. Ant.* 536, fr. 489 R.), like ἐπιρροθεῖν (901-2*); 'ρόθος and its cognates properly describe movement accompanied by noise' (*Diggle on Phaethon* 80).

531. μητρὸς: i.e. μητρὸς φόνου, cf. 1657, *S. El.* 33-4 ὅτι τρώπῃ πατρὸς δίκας ἀροίμην (*Dawe* i 176).

532. μανίαις . . . φόβοις: 37*, 38*, 39-40*.

534-5. ὡς οὖν ἂν εἰδῆς: cf. *A. Ch.* 1021 ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εἰδῆτ'. ἢ' εἰδῆς and ὡς/ἵνα μάθης are 'didactic' formulae, the more elliptical ones having the more colloquial ring (c.g. *An.* 589, *S. Phil.* 989); for the 'admonitory' use before an imperative, cf. *Tr.* 1029-30 *Μενέλα'*, ἢ' εἰδῆς οἱ τελευτήσω λόγον, στεφάνωσον . . . τοῖσιν θεοῖς μὴ πρᾶσσ' ἐναντί' . . .: 'do not act in opposition to the gods, in your (natural) desire to help Or.'. Contrast the more specific prohibition in 624 (μὴ τῷδ' ἀμύνην φόνον . . .). Here the logic of Tynd.'s argument is (more mildly) that Men. will be at fault only if he attempts to frustrate the 'ancestral laws' as to 'holy φυγαί'.

[536-7]. *Del. Brunck.* These lines are *in situ* at 625-6*, and ruinously *de trop* here (470-629*, 491-541*), notwithstanding what Or. says at 564* (of which we shall have more to say *ad loc.*). In particular, note (a) the otherwise temperate and 'sorrowing' conclusion of Tynd.'s speech (538-9, 540-1), in keeping with his mild admonition to Men. in 534-5; (b) the mild reaction of the Chorus-leader (542-3), who would surely have deprecated the extreme penalty, if, in a sudden access of fury, Tynd. had introduced a demand for that in his ἐπιλογος; (c) the behaviour of Σ (with an excursus on *Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονός* at 626, not at 537). [Repeated lines in E., *a fortiori* pairs of lines, necessarily come under suspicion (*Page, Actors* 103-5; the survey by P. W. Harsh, *Hermes* 1937, 435-49, is too conservative). The repeated couplets in *Med.* 923-4/1006-7, 1062-3/1240-1, *Held.* 97-8/221-2 all, in different ways, betray the hand of an interpolator; some single-line repetitions within a play may be authentic, but most, if not all, are false (the case of *Med.* 41 = 356*Σ = 380 is particularly instructive). Burnett (206) is among the few commentators to have followed Brunck. Other proposed excisions are all motivated by the mistaken desire to save 536 *in*

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- situ* because of 564 (which is rather the cause of the interpolation): 625-6 del. Schenkl; 537 and 625 del. Wilamowitz; 537 (only) del. Hermann, Di B.; 625 (only) del. Kayser, Biehl, Degani.]
- 538-9. A 'temperate' summation, not so different from the position of the Chorus at *El.* 1169-71, 1185-9, 1218-20. At the same time, however, if Cl. 'died justly', it follows that Or. 'justly' faces *the same fate* (cf. 504), and that Tynd. is not (after all) *excluding* the justice of capital punishment (despite 515). Again, the ambivalence is exactly calculated.
- 540-1. Tynd.'s final thought is not directed against Or., but at his own parental misfortune (with an echo of 249-50* and of the recurrent *μακάριος*-theme).
- 542-3. A low-key, 'neutral' observation (formally balanced by 605-6*), in which the Chorus-leader simply generalizes Tynd.'s concluding sentiment. *ζηλωτός*: cf. 247, 521, 972-3; (δ) *πισήμους συμφοράς*: 249-50*.
- 544-601[-4]. Or. defends himself in fully 'forensic' style (cf. Stevens on *An.* 184 ff.), including a 7-line *προοίμιον* and a comprehensive range of defensive and offensive arguments (Duchemin 169^o, 197^o, 199ⁱ, 211ⁱ, 214ⁱ). As directed to Tynd., the apologia is ill-judged in both tone and content, eristic argument getting the better of *αἰδώς*, *φιλία* and ordinary commonsense. No wonder the old man reacts as he does in 607-29 (as the plot requires). If Or. had limited himself to a prayer for 'flight' (*φύγη*), in particular to Delphi, it is hard to see what arguments Tynd. could have employed against such a plea from 'Agamemnon's son' (463-4), in the light of his declared position as to pollution-law (515) and his lack of concern to avenge his daughter's 'just death' (538). In the interests of his plot, E. brilliantly exploits the convention whereby in such *δῶν*-disputes speakers habitually argue, not with any genuine attempt to persuade their immediate opponent, but with a rhetorical display of debating-points as to a wider imagined audience. Here (a) there is an actual audience in the persons of Men. (still uncommitted) and the Chorus; (b) Or. understandably mistakes the tenor of Tynd.'s hostile invective, associating *his* 'hatred' (480, 518) with that of the Argives who are demanding his execution by stoning (431-6*), and consequently replies to Tynd. as to 'the spokesman for the prosecution' (564*). (c) We are to remember Or.'s apologia here when we come to the report of his Assembly-trial: as argued there, his speech at [932-42]* is an interpolation. As elsewhere, 'Or.'s blinkered polarization of 'friend and foe', of 'vindication and condemnation' and of 'life and death' excludes contemplation of any *μέσον* (cf. 581-2*; *Introd.* F iii). The structure of the speech is: 544-50 *προοίμιον*; 551-63 the rationale of Or.'s act in terms of kinship (with an element of *narratio*); 564-99 *ἀπολογία* to the capital charge, with a focus successively on *νόμος*, *δικη*, *τὸ θεῖον*, and including some *κατηγορία* (shifting the blame); 600-1[-4] concluding distich on the theme of *δυσδαιμονία* (cf. 540-1).
- 544-50. 'Hesitant' speech-openings are a standard rhetorical device; here, however, the *captatio benevolentiae* is vitiated by the declared expectation of

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vexing the person addressed (directly suggesting the wider imagined audience). Note the artificial ring-structure, beginning and ending with the same posture of *αἰδώς* (cf. 460): 544–5 (pause), 546–7 (pause), 548–50. [Hartung transposed 546–7 after 550, plausibly: the first section of the apologia then begins and ends with the *δοῖος/ἀνόδοιος* theme (down to 563), and 546–7 is directly followed by the dilemma *τί χρῆν με δρᾶσαι*; . . . (551–3); moreover *ἐγὼ δ'* . . . can then stand in 546, beginning the speech proper, cf. *Ph.* 473, etc. (*GP* 170–1). But (given *ἐγὼ δ'*) the lines fit well enough *in situ*: 546 is then a justification of Or.'s hesitant start, and the contrary consideration in 547 encourages him to proceed (548–50).]

544. *πρὸς σέ* . . . *λέγειν*: *πρὸς* is simply 'addressing' (cf. *An.* 364 *ἀγαν ἐλεξας ὡς γυνή πρὸς ἄρσενος*), but *λέγειν πρὸς τινα* is commonly used with the implication 'speak out': *Al.* 1008 (with *λευθέρας*), *El.* 300 *χρῆ δὲ πρὸς φίλον λέγειν*, *Ba.* 775 f., etc.

545. 'You and your mind' is ill supported by passages like *S. Aj.* 1147 *σὲ καὶ τὸ σὸν λάβρον στόμα* (Bruhn 139–40), in which the adj. makes a big rhetorical difference. The true reading is surely *σπου γέ* (*Lex. Vind.*, *Mn^{ac}*) *μέλλω σὴν τι* (Musgrave) *λοπήσειν φρένα*. Or.'s point is ' . . . (placed as I am) in a situation in which I am going (inevitably, if I speak out) to cause you some distress'. *γέ* (exegetical) and *τι* have merit both separately and in combination. [Paley deleted 545, but Or. needs to explain why he is 'afraid to address' his grandfather. The latter's old age (*γέρον* 544, *τρίχα* 550) is not, in itself, a sufficient explanation; nor (if we have kept 546–7 *in situ*) is Or.'s awareness of pollution.]

546–7. 'I am well aware that I am unholy as a matricide—though *holy* indeed as a father-avenger'. *ἐγὼ δ'*: cf. *IT* 852, *Med.* 39, *Pho.* 716, (*σάφ'*) *οἶδ' ἐγὼ Med.* 948, 963, 1066, *Held.* 717. The progression *ἐγὼ τοι* . . . *ἐγὼ δ'* . . . is intolerable (though see 544–50* above). In this *προσίμιον* Or. is concerned to present himself as neither *ἀναιδής* nor *ἀσύνετος* (cf. 492–3), and it will be no part of his defence to deny the *μίασμα*. *δοῖος δέ γ'* . . . : for the force of the particles (following a colon or dash, for preference; *GP* 155), cf. *IA* 392 *ἡ δέ γ'* *Ἐλπίς, οἶμαι μὲν, θεός. ἕτερον ὄνομα*: 'by a different designation', an extension of the standard use of *ὄνομα* (like *ὀνόματι*) with proper names. Making play with 'contrary names' for the same thing was a feature of contemporary sophism; cf. *Antiope* fr. 21 Kambitsis *ἐκ παντός ἄν τις πράγματος δισσοῶν λόγων / ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός* (Guthrie, *Sophists* 316).

548–9. *δή*: if sound, with a force equivalent to *ἄγε* (*GP* 216–18); but this colloquial use with imperatives is very uncommon in tragedy, and Paley's *δέ* is likely to be right. *ἐκποδών*: cf. *Med.* 1222. *λόγοισιν* . . . *ἡμῖν*: for the two dats., cf. *Hel.* 82. *ἐκπλήσσει λόγου*: cf. *IT* 240, 773, 912.

550. *νῦν δέ* . . . : 'though at this moment . . .'. *τρίχα*: i.e. 'grey hair'.

551–6. The 'logic' (555) of 'filial duty'. The genetic argument for the primacy of the father is offensive to present-day ideas, but it was traditional (alongside the idea of birth *μητρὸς ἀπ' αἵματος*, 195–9*) and in accordance

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- with a widely-held view of procreation (e.g. Anaxagoras A107 *ap. Arist. gen. anim.* 4. 1. 763^b, and the Egyptians according to Diod. 1. 80; C. J. Herington, *JHS* 1967, 81³¹); in tragedy, cf. A. *Sept.* 754 (σπείρας ἄρουραν), S. *OT* 1211, 1257, E. *Ph.* 18, but above all the direct precedent in A. *Eum.* 658–9, where the same argument had been put forward by Apollo. E. had every reason to put it into Or.'s mouth (cf. 581–2*) and to give it initial prominence, so phrased as to be λυπηρόν to Tynd. with the repeated emphasis on 'your daughter' (cf. σύ τοι φυτεύσας . . . 585–7*).
- 551–3. τί χρῆν με δρᾶσαι; a question repeated later (596). Or. nowhere directly confronts the answer that Tynd. has already given (500 ff.). δύο γὰρ ἀντρίθες δυοῖν: on one side of the 'double antithesis' is the *father* who has sown the seed; on the other, the *mother* (in this case 'your daughter') who has received it like a sown field. παρ' ἄλλου underlines the secondary nature of her role.
- [554]. An inorganic line, rightly deleted by Nauck, Paley and Reeve (iii 155 f.), which contributes nothing to, indeed gratuitously weakens, Or.'s argument for the *primacy* of the father. The 'necessary role' of the father merely establishes his *equal* importance. [Paley also excised 555–6, but the statement of the mother's secondary role in 552–3 must be followed by the inference as to *action* which Or. drew from his understanding of the biological facts.]
555. ἄλογισάμην οὖν . . . : a prosaic vb (metrically noteworthy, cf. 597 ἢ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως); but E.'s idiom is habitually exquisite, not straightforwardly prosaic, when he uses vernacular words. λογίζεσθαι is properly 'to employ rational calculation' (so *IA* 386 τὸ λελογισμένον παρείς). The sense here (with inf. ἀμύναι, 556*) is 'I resolved by calculation', by analogy with ἐβουλευσάμην ('. . . by deliberation'); an extension at once natural (cf. *KG* ii 6–8, and Eng. 'reckon to') and in E.'s manner, with a close enough parallel at *IA* 922–3 λελογισμένοι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦδ' εἰσὶν βροτῶν / ὀρθῶς διαζήν τὸν βίον γνώμης μετὰ τῷ γένους ἀρχηγέτῃ: '(to) the initiator of (my) γένος'; in the sense 'family' the γένος includes El., but 'birth' is the better interpretation here; it is 'by γένος' (in that sense) that Or. is titularly ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνος ἀρχηγέτης 'primary causer of', as in *El.* 890–1 θεοὺς μὲν ἡγοῦ πρώτον, Ἡλέκτρα, τύχης / ἀρχηγέτας τῆσδ'. The implication τῷ πατρὶ is given here by the context (552–3); in a different context ἀρχηγέτης γένους might refer to a much remoter ancestor.
556. ἴμᾶλλον ἄμύναι: ἀμύναι governing the dat. in 555 is likely to be sound (cf. 419*, 523, 934, 1588, ἀμύνων πατρὶ *El.* 976), and μᾶλλον μ' was doubtless a desperate attempt to save the metre (like Bichl's μᾶλλον γ). Verrall's μᾶλλον με φῦναι is quite impossible (the dat. and gen. phrases with it unintelligible), as Wilamowitz argued (*Kl. Schr.* iv 351–2). But the word we want in place of μᾶλλον is not κάλλιον, but ἀμελῶν: 'taking no account . . . of her who had (merely) undertaken nurture (of the seed and foetus)'; ἀμελεῖν, cf. (as the converse) S. *El.* 342 κείνου (sc. πατρός) λελησθαι, τῆς δὲ τικτούσης μέλειν. That gives us for the first time an acceptable

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construction for the gen. phrase, with a crisscross hyperbaton, splitting the participial phrase, exactly like 1634 (see 506*; and cf. also *IT* 678-9 *δέξω . . . προδοῦς σεσῶσθαί σ'* (Elmsley, for *σε σῶζεσθ'*) *αὐτὸς εἰς οἶκους μόνος*). *τῆς ὑποστάσεως τροφίας*: as the aor. of *ὑφίστασθαι*, *ὑποστῆναι* properly has a force intermediate between active and passive; for the sense 'undertake', cf. *Su.* 189 (*πόνον*). For the mother as 'nurse' of the sown seed, cf. *A. Eum.* 659 *τροφός . . . κύματος νεοσπόρου*; after birth, of course, the father also *τρέφει*. [Wilam. *κάλλιον ἀμύναι*, but the scansion *καλλίον* is not supportable by any certain parallel in tragic trimeters (Diggle, *Studies* 29-30), the ellipse of *εἶναι* is awkward, and the harsh *comparatio* (*τῆς = ἢ τῆ*) is also logically false, since the problem facing Or. was not 'which parent am I to ἀμύνειν?', but rather 'which parent's claims am I to disregard?' Kirchhoff's *κάλλιον ἀμυνεῖν* is metrically superior, but scarcely less awkward.]

- 557 ff. 'Moreover in this instance the mother (your daughter) was an adulteress'.
- 558-9. *ἰδίωσιν . . . κοῦχί σὺ φροσιν*: cf. 495*. Cl. had acted in culpably selfish *ἀνοία* (cf. *Hec.* 641); for a woman to arrange her own marriage was in itself scandalous, *a fortiori* such ironically termed *ὑμέναιοι*. [Schmidt (*KS* 353) was dissatisfied with *ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἦει λέκτρ'*, and suggested *εἰς ἄλλ' ἐσῆει* (better *δύσανδρ' ἐσῆει?*). The text may, of course, be sound, with the whole emphasis on the pejorative words in 558; but *ἀνδρὸς* ('man, husband') does seem a little feeble, esp. as Aegisthus was commonly regarded as 'womanish' (cf. 589*, and Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1625 ff).]
- 559-60. *ἐμαυτὸν . . . ἐξερῶ*: cf. *Hec.* 736 *ἐμαυτὴν γὰρ λέγω, λέγουσα σέ*; the second *κακῶς* is understood, a common type of *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* brachylogy, cf. 413, *Med.* 1302, etc. (Bond on *HF* 283, *KG* ii 564). The adultery of the mother brings general disgrace on the whole family, with the possible slur of bastardy even for true-born sons.
561. *Αἰγισθος . . .*: cf. 496-506*. The definite article with *κρυπτὸς πόσις* is hard to interpret, and either Nauck's *οἱ* should be accepted (= *αὐτῆ*, cf. Denniston on *El.* 924) or the line should be deleted (Reeve³ 156).
- 562-3. Or.'s argument here is that, after the (unexceptionable) killing of the *κρυπτὸς πόσις*, the slaying of the *guiltier* party to the *γάμος* (557 ff., cf. 588-90) followed *a fortiori*, if he was to avenge his father. He has not yet dwell on the fact that the adulteress was also a *murderess* (567, 569, 578). *ἐπι δ' ἔθυσσα*: cf. *A. Ag.* 1504 (tmesis, 219-20*); the 'sacrificial' overtone here gives an oxymoron before *ἀνόσια. μὲν . . . ἀλλά*: 138-9*.
- 564 ff. Or. confronts the argument that his (admittedly *ἀνόσιον*) action deserves the death-penalty with a counter-argument that he is a public benefactor; cf. the similar extreme views in the Assembly Debate (844-956*).
564. *ἐφ' οἷς δ' . . .*: best taken (with Wedd) as *ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐφ' οἷς . . .* (as *Held.* 135; not *ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοῖς δ'*, as *An.* 821; *LSJ* *ἐπί* B. III. 1); the implied antecedent ('the alleged misdeeds') is the second object of *ὠφελῶ* 565, cf. *An.* 680-1

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- '*Ἐλένη . . . τοῦτο πάσαν ὠφέλησεν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπειλεῖς . . .*: Or. is attributing to Tynd. a threat which Tynd. has not in fact uttered (except in the interpolated lines of his *ἐπίλογος*, 536-7*). As argued above, Or. *mistakenly* associates Tynd. with his death-demanding prosecutors; he is quite capable of attributing to Tynd. words not actually uttered by him (cf. 571*). I suspect, however, that E. wrote, not *ἀπειλεῖς*, but more subtly *ἀπειλεῖθ'* ('you and people like you'); cf. the 2nd pers. plurals at 595 *ἐκείνον ἡγεῖσθ' ἀνόσιον καὶ κτείνετε* at the corresponding point in Or.'s *ἐπίλογος* (returning to the threatened death-penalty). Early corruption of *ἀπειλεῖθ'* to *-εῖς* (almost inevitable before *ἄκουσον* 565) will have prompted the interpolation of 536-7; conversely, the easy correction should remove any residual reluctance to excise 536-7. *ἀπειλοῦσ'* is another possibility.
565. *ἄπασαν Ἑλλάδα*: cf. 1363*; here retorting to *κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον* 495-566-71. Or. ingeniously counters both the *ποιὶ προβήσεται*; argument (511) and the argument that he ought to have been moved to pity by his mother's *μαστός* (526 ff.), echoing Tynd.'s use of the vb *παύω* (525) and pointedly ending with *νόμον* (ironically used). The cold-blooded rhetoric (esp. 567-8) is skilful, but unlikely to have enhanced the Athenian audience's sympathy; the weakness of the argument, of course, is that the 'outcast' treatment prescribed by Tynd. would have been adequately deterrent.
566. *εἰ . . . ἤξουσιν*: i.e. *εἰ μέλλουσιν ἤξειν* (569*). *ἐς τὸδ' . . . θράσους*: cf. *Med.* 56 f. *ἐς τοῦτ' . . . ἀλγηδόνος ὠσθ'* . . . (Diggle, *GRBS* 1973, 267-8); (bad) *θράσος* is the positive aspect of 'shamelessness' (Aeschin. 1. 189 *ἀναίθεια καὶ θράσος*); an important theme-word, cf. 586, 607, 903, 1568.
567. *καταφυγὰς ποιοῦμεναι*: i.e. *καταφεύγουσαι*, cf. 448, 1630.
568. Participles are often asyndetically combined (cf. 655-7; KG ii 103-4, Pearson on *Hel.* 597); the homoeoteleuton has a rhetorical ring here. *μαστοῖς*: the pl. is abnormal in this topos (527-8*), and has a 'scornful' force; likewise the def. article in *τὸν ἕλεον θηρώμεναι* (Di B. compares S. *El.* 302 *ὁ σὺν γυναιξὶ τὰς μάχας ποιοῦμενος*).
569. *ἦν ἄν*: the shift from *εἰ* + fut. to imperf. + *ἄν* is a rare mixture (KG ii 468), but quite logical ('if they are going to . . ., it would even now be . . .'); cf. *Hr.* 459-61 *χρῆν σ' . . . εἰ μὴ τοῦσδε γε στέρξεις νόμους. ἔσται* would, of course, be inconsistent with Or.'s claim to have already 'stopped' that *νόμος. παρ' οὐδέν*: cf. *IT* 732; such 'valuation' idioms (LSJ *παρά* C. I. 8; Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 220 f.) are to be distinguished from *παρ' οὐδέν/ὀδλίγον* (etc.) with *ἐλθεῖν* 'to come within an acc' (*παρά* C. III. 5. b).
570. *ἐπίκλημ'*: virtually 'grievance', with a legal flavour (S. *OT* 227, 529; X. *Oec.* 11. 4, etc.); cf. LSJ *ἐπικαλέω* IV, also *ἐγκλημα* (766). *ᾧ τι τυχόν*: 'qualecumque' (LSJ *τυγχάνω* A. 3), a vernacular usage not found in A. or S.; cf. *Hr.* 929 *ὅπως ἐτύγχανεν*. For Cl.'s not inconsiderable 'grievance', cf. *El.* 1011-50.
571. *δαίν'*, *ὡς σὺ κομπεῖς*: eristic (cf. *Rh.* 438, 876); also unreasonable, since (a) Tynd. did not use the expression *δαίνά* (though he might well have, cf. Men. at 376); (b) Or. has used it against himself (396)

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- 572-8. Or. moves from νόμος to 'justice', still in relation to the capital charge and his defence of 'public good'.
572. ἐνδίκως: cf. 505, 538, 782, 1599, *El.* 1050; it was 'in accordance with δίκη' that Or. 'hated' and 'destroyed' his mother (the advb is naturally taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ); μισῶν, cf. 518.
- 573 ff. ἦτις . . . : turning the tables (cf. 494*, *El.* 1069) with a capital indictment against Cl., who (a) committed adultery while her husband was away at the war, as supreme commander of the Greek army, (b) killed him on his return home, rather than taking her own life. A strong argument (cf. 923-30), though ill calculated to impress Tynd., who has allowed that Cl. deserved to die.
- 576-7. The focus on 'awareness of error' (75-6*) rather than 'sense of pollution' or 'fear of discovery' is a characteristically intellectual view of 'remorse' (396*). οὐχ αὐτῇ δίκην ἐπέθηκεν: the audience might think of such famous suicides as Phaedra. The echo of 500 (ἐπιθεῖναι . . . δίκην) indirectly supports Or.'s claim that the matricide was a legitimate 'execution'.
578. ἔχμιώσαε . . . : ironically, Cl. had 'inflicted a death-penalty' (the interlaced word-order closely pairs the vbs) on Ag. rather than on herself; she was thus doubly deserving of the penalty which she herself had determined.
- 579-84. Prompted by a suggestion from J.D., I transpose these lines after 585-90, rather than excising 585-90 with Reeve (iii 156 f.). 585 ff. follows naturally on the heels of 572-8; whereas, as things stand, (a) the transition from 584 to 585 is very abrupt; (b) 585-90 interrupt the natural connection of thought between 579-84 (the Erinyes) and 591 ff. (Apollo).
- 585-7. σύ τοι φυτεύσας . . . : Or. infuriatingly blames his grandfather, *en passant*. The shift from ἀπολογία to κατηγορία might be taken as the beginning of the ἐπιλογος (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 1415^a 28); but the thought flows smoothly from 572-8, with the emphasis still on Cl.'s θράσος as the real ἀρχὴ κακῶν. For the reproach aimed at the parent (traditional as to Tynd., cf. 249-50*), Σ aptly compares the blaming of Zeus at *Il.* 5. 875. διὰ τὸ γὰρ κείνης θράσος: Canter's correction of διὰ γὰρ τὸ . . . ; it is the alternative correction διὰ τὸ κείνης γὰρ . . . that appears in some late (Triclinian) MSS. See Addendis Addenda.
- 588-90. There is nothing wrong with the diction of these widely impugned lines. The argument may seem frigid, but that may well be what E. intended (Or.'s rhetoric elsewhere has a chilly ring); it is at least logical (with a connection of thought between 590 and 575), and it has excellent antecedents: cf. *Od.* 11. 444-6, where Agamemnon contrasts the virtuous Penelope with his own wife, and *Od.* 1. 298 ff., where the example of Orestes is set before Telemachus. [Di B. follows Dindorf; cf. Fraenkel, *Agam.* iii 814^a and *Kl. Beitr.* i 419 (also *Zu den Phoenissen* 55), Page, *Actors* 53, and Reeve. My defence follows that of Biehl (with some additions); and see

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- also M. S. Mirto, *ASNP* 1980, 383-402. If this is an unusually stylish interpolation, it is certainly a very early one.]
588. ὄρῆς: best punctuated as a one-word question (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 36-7), like the ex. cited by Diggle in *Studies* 12 (to which he tells me he would add *Ba.* 319). Or. is drawing Tynd.'s attention to a *present fact* (Penelope's survival and preservation of her chastity); the return of Odysseus still lies in the future. οὐ κατέκτανεν: perhaps we should change -κταν- to -κτον- (perfect) for the present point (also perhaps ἐπεγάμει to ἐπιγαμεί in 589), consistently with μένει 590.
589. οὐ γὰρ ἐπεγάμει πόσει πόσιν: 'for (unlike Cl., 558-9*, and Helen) she did not (does not?) go around taking new husbands'. For the ironical use of act. γαμείν of a woman, cf. *Med.* 606 μῶν γαμοῦσα καὶ προδοῦσα σέ; (the same kind of *negative point*), and *Trag. adesp.* 194 ἐγάμησεν Ἑλένη τὸν θεοῖς στυγούμενον (implying both the 'unwomanliness' of Helen and the 'effeminacy' of her paramour); similarly an 'unmanly' man may be said to γαμείσθαι or *pubere* (*Anacr.* 424 Page; *Martial* 8. 12. 2). ἐπεγάμει (cf. *Al.* 305) is doubly pejorative here, with the paregmenon 'husband on husband' as a retort to φόβω φόνον 510* (cf. also 1587*).
590. ὄγιές: 'chaste'; a characteristic use, cf. *An.* 448, 952, *Ba.* 262. εὐνατήριον: i.e. 'wife' (metonymic, like εὐνή, λέχος, λέκτρα), lit. 'bedchamber'; cf. the nearly contemporary *Antiopē* 48. 101-2 Kamb. δ δ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν κάλλιστον εὐνα[υ]στήριον, | τὴν Ταντάλον παιδ' (sc. λήψεται), and the similar 'repersonalized' use of βουλευτήριον (*An.* 446, *A. Sept.* 575; Kannicht on *Hel.* 171-4). [Kambitsis defends εὐναστ-, as from εὐνάζω; but in cognate words (a) only εὐνατ- occurs in tragic lyric (except for εὐνάτρας, 1392*); (b) in dialogue εὐνητ- occurs (*HF* 27, 97, *A. Pers.* 157, *S. Tra.* 922), but probably in error (cf. εὐνατ- *A. Pers.* 160; Björck 245); (c) εὐναστ- is attested *only* in the word εὐνασθήριον here and *S. Tra.* 918, as against εὐνατήριον *A. Pers.* 160 (setting on one side the otherwise misspelt *Antiopē* loc. cit.); (d) *S. Tra.* 918 must surely be harmonized with *Tra.* 922. It is therefore more reasonable to fault the transmission than to suppose that E. alone, and in this word only, departed from tragic precedent.]
- 579-84. Or. knows that he is ἀνόσιος (546-7*) and apparently 'god-hated' because of his god-sent madness (530-3*); against that he can only argue (a) that he would have been no less god-hated if he had *not* avenged his father, (b) 'refer the ἀμαρτία' to Apollo (591 ff., which now follows directly). Note the tricolon of rhetorical questions, elaborating argument (a); a feature that recurs in 596-9, elaborating (b).
579. πρὸς θεῶν: the protestation (before a question, cf. 92, 747, *El.* 364, *Ion* 265, *Hel.* 660) neatly introduces the arguments concerning the gods. ἐν οὐ καλῶ μὲν . . . : cf. the colloquial ἐν καλῶ (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 28), and *Ba.* 1287 ἐν οὐ καιρῶ (30*). For the sentence-structure (μὲν/δέ following a dash), cf. 12 f.*. ἐμνήσθηθαι θεῶν: the θεοί that Or. has in mind as οὐ καλῶν for him to mention can only be the gods who appear to have condemned him (cf. 530-3), and in particular the Ἐρινύες whom he is about to specify;

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hence the expression of αἰδώς, cf. 37*, 409-10. In general it was a forensic commonplace, requiring no apology, for litigants to appeal to the gods; and it will not be ἐν οὐ καλῶ when Or. mentions Apollo.

580. †φόνον δικάζων†: unacceptable, since Or. is neither 'judging' nor 'adjudging' φόνος. Kells (162-5*) shows that the text cannot mean 'when on trial for murder' (Σ, edd.). Di B. thinks that E. may have had A. *Eum.* 470-2 in mind, but fails to show that 'judging murder' makes appropriate sense on Or.'s lips; it is scarcely relevant (*pace* Kells) that the ἄρχων βασιλεύς removed his sacred wreath when presiding over a homicide trial. It is not clear what Weil intended his suggested δικάιων to mean, or what parallels he was relying on. What we need, I think, is θεῶν/φόνου δικαστῶν as a periphrasis implying τῶν Ἐρινύων in this context; cf. 321-3*, and *HF* 1150 τέκνοις δικαστῆς αἵματος γενήσομαι (Heracles will suicidally act as a blood-avenging ἐρινύς for his children). At A. *Eum.* 483 the φόνων δικασταί are the jurors.

581-2. In A. *Ch.* 283-4 Apollo himself had threatend 'other onsets of ἐρινύες proceeding (τελομένης) from paternal blood'; a threat confirmed in *Ch.* 1029-33 and *Eum.* 465-7. E. has somewhat weakened that argument here by not explicitly attributing it to Apollo (cf. 551-6*); and there is an obvious falsity in the dilemma: despite what Tynd. has said, Or. still sees no middle course between killing Cl. and 'silently approving' her crimes. ἀνεχόρευ': uniquely here with the trans. sense 'madden' (LSJ needs correction), like ἀναβακχεύει 338*. ἐρινύσιν: I prefer ἐρ- to Ἐρ- here, and often elsewhere (cf. 38*). Or.'s argument is reminiscent also of *Od.* 2. 134-6, where Telemachus retorts that, if he sent away his mother, he would be in danger of divine punishment from her 'curses' (στυγερὰς ἀρήσεται ἐρινύς). The idea of 'paternal ἐρινύες' (as in *Ph.* 624) is no less ancient: *Il.* 9. 454, cf. Dietrich 237-8, Parker 196.

583-4. πάρεισι σύμμαχοι: thematic language (like ἀμύνειν, ἐπικουρεῖν, etc.), cf. 753*. θεαί: or θεοί (Barrett *ap.* Reeve iii 157⁶)? A very plausible suggestion if 583-4 were originally followed by 591 ff.

585-90. See above.

591-9. Another argument that builds up (like 579-84) to a tricolon of rhetorical questions, this time as the peroration. In 'referring the ἄμαρτία and μίαισμα' to Apollo, Or. is no longer, as in 565 ff., claiming to have acted 'well'. Naturally his defence is inconsistent, as he exploits every possible argument (short of denying the μίαισμα, which his σύνεσις forbids).

591. ὄρῆς (ῆ) . . . : ὄρῆς + acc. as a formula for introducing a παράδειγμα (cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 337 ὄρῆς τὸν Ἀκτέωνος ἄθλιον μόρον, Friis Johansen 50-4) is always elsewhere asyndetic. With 591 now following 584, no connective is needed, so read ὄρῆς Ἀπόλλων, ὅς . . . (with M and P), or better Ἀπόλλω γ' with an appropriate emphasis. The only other instance of the non-Attic acc. Ἀπόλλωνα in tragedy is doubtful (*S. Tra.* 209; see Stinton, *BICS* 1975, 90). [M.L.W. ὄρῆς δ' Ἀπόλλω γ', Hermann ὄρῆς Ἀπόλλω δ'; but we do not want δέ. Wecklein ὄρῆς, Ἀπόλλων ὅς . . . (with an anacoluthon like 1629-

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- 30*); but this detached *ὄρα*s (better *ὄρα*s; cf. 588*) refers to a visible object or 'un fatto presente' (Di B.); the rel. clause is present in reference, but not the statement *τούτῳ πιθόμενος . . . ἔκτανον* in 594.]
592. *στόμα νέμει σαφέστατον*: cf. A. fr. 350. 5 τὸ Φοῖβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα; νέμει lit. 'dispense', cf. *El.* 1169, *IT* 1255, A. *Eum.* 716. *σαφής* may or may not mean 'true' (cf. *Hel.* 21, 308-10); for the sense 'surest' here, cf. 439*, Barrett on *Hp.* 346, Diggle on *Phaethon* 62.
- [593]. A clumsily superfluous line, whether taken with 591-2 or with 594 (the emphatic *καίνοις* is a particular awkwardness, before *τούτῳ . . . ἐκείνοις . . . ἐκαίνοις . . .*). Its omission by Clement is not, in itself, a weighty consideration, but most recent edd. rightly accept Nauck's excision.
- 595-6. *ἐκαίνοις . . . ἐκαίνοις*: for this anaphora cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 242-3. *ἡγείσθ' . . . κτείνατε*: pl., cf. 564*; the 'absurd' argument that Or.'s enemies 'should be killing Apollo' is a well-characterized rhetorical exaggeration, which at the same time brings Or. back to the theme of the threatened death-penalty. *τί-χρῆν με δρᾶν*; cf. 551.
- 597-8. *ἢ οὐκ ἀξιοχρεῶς . . .*; another 'prosaic' word (here only in tragedy) and harsh rhythm (cf. 555*). *ἀξιοχρεῶς* sometimes means little more than *ἄξιος*, but it is properly a legal-financial word (cf. *Ar. Eccl.* 1065); so here Or. is thinking of Apollo as one who can (or should) be trusted to repay a debt. *ἀναφέρειν* (414*) likewise has both legal and financial uses; and *λύειν*, like *solvere*, was used both of debt-payment and of release from pollution (cf. 511; A. *Ch.* 48, 805, etc.).
- 598-9. 'What escape can there be for anyone, if he (this most reliable of gods) does not save me from death after ordering me (to do the deed)?' *πῆ* (L πῆ) or *ποι*? We surely want 'how?' not 'whither?' here (unlike 430*); Or. is not thinking of Apollo or Delphi as a haven. Cf. 1375 *πῆ φύγω . . .*; (with 'modes' of escape) and *Hp.* 877 (see Barrett), also *Hp.* 673 *πῆ ποτ' ἐξελύξω τύχας*; and what appears to be the standard idiom with 'turn' (634-5*). *ἂ μὴ [ὄ] κελεύσας*: not *πέισας* here, cf. 416*. Porson's treatment of the abnormal synecphonesis has been strangely neglected; the subject is 'in the vb'. [The nearest analogies for monosyllabic *μὴ ὄ* are perhaps *μὴ ὄτ'* in Pindar and *μὴ ἡμείς* in *Ar.*; there is nothing truly comparable in tragedy (see KB i 228-9), *pace* West (*GM* 13); cf. *JHS* 1984, 227. Herwerden's deletion of 599 was crude surgery, damaging to the rhetoric (the *a-b-c* questions, with *c* the longest, as in 581-4).]
- 600-1. *ἀλλ'* . . . : moving away from *κατηγορία*, Or. lays the final (quieter) emphasis, not on the badness of the deed (as to which he has been laying the blame on others), but on the *δυσδαιμονία* of its (blameless) perpetrator. It is easy to get the emphasis wrong: both Way ('Nay, say not thou that this was not well done, Albeit untowardly for me, the doer') and Arrowsmith ('Let no man say that what we did was wrong . . .') make it sound as if Or. is asserting, after all, that things have been done positively 'well'. The *μέν/δέ* antithesis is of the same negative/positive type as that in 513 ff. (*ἐς ὀμμάτων μὲν ὄψιν οὐκ εἶων περᾶν . . . φυγαῖσι δ' ὀσίου*), equivalent to *μὴ*

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λέγε ὡς κακῶς εἰργασται τάδε, ἀλλὰ <λέγε ὡς εἰργασται> ἡμῖν τοῖς δράσασσι δυσδαιμόνως. οὐκ εὖ . . . οὐκ εὐδαιμόνως: E. was notably fond of οὐκ εὐ-compendia (Bond on *HF* 1284); here at once framing the antithetic couplet and formally balancing the end of Tynd.'s speech (541 . . . τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶ), like *El.* 1096 (. . . καὶ τὰδ' ἐνδικα) in reply to 1050 (. . . ἐνδικῶς). μὴ λέγῃ: inserted within the governed clause, cf. 375-6* (as in 513, the neg. main vb necessarily comes after the μέν).

601. ἡμῖν: ambivalently 'by me/us' (with εἰργασται understood) and 'for me/us' (with οὐκ εὐδαιμόνως); a natural ambivalence in Greek, cf. 1647*, and Hdt. 1. 112. 3. οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται.

[602-4]. Del. Herwerden (*Adnot. crit.* (1874), 439). It should be clear already that the speech ends at 601; the inappropriate content of 602-4 (as, very similarly, of *El.* 1097-9) provides confirmation. The topos about 'unhappy marriages' may well be Euripidean, but it belongs in a different context. Tynd. has lamented his parental (not his conjugal) misfortune; Or. is concerned with *filial* misfortune. μακάριος αἰών: sc. αὐτοῖς (of both sexes); for the syntax, cf. KG ii 402. τὰ τ' ἐνδον . . . τὰ τε θύραζε: i.e. 'comprehensively' (a standard type of 'polar antithesis', cf. Bruhn 134-5, KG ii 587-8). [Deleters include Fraenkel (588-90*), Longman, *CR* 1958, 122, Burnett, *CPh* 1961, 48, and Di B.; *contra* (unconvincingly) Biehl, Griffith, *JHS* 1967, 147, Degani 39, J. Baumert, *ENIOI AΘETOYZIN* (Diss. Tübingen 1968), 27 ff. *El.* 1097-9 are certainly an interpolation (see Denniston), belonging, according to Stobaeus, to E.'s *Cressae*; but I see no good reason for Nauck's further excision of 1100-1. That choral distich with its neutral ('eirenic') sentiment, is apt in much the same way as *Or.* 605-6 (see below); it is also easier to see why *El.* 1097-9 were interpolated (like *Or.* 602-4), if 1100-1 were already in the text.]

605-6. The 'banality' of such choral distichs has often been remarked upon; but we may suppose E. to have given some thought to the selection and phrasing of the γνώμη to be expressed. Here 605-6 formally balances 542-3 (συμφορὰς 542, συμφοραῖς 605), as 600-1 balances 540-1, and is eirenic in tone while avoiding any kind of judgement on the immediate issue. It is common ground (the only common ground) between Tynd. and Or. that *women* (whether as daughters, wives or mothers) are in some measure to blame for the present regrettable state of affairs; and animadversions upon 'the disagreeable involvement of women in the affairs of men' had a long heritage in Greek gnomic thought; cf. Walcot 91, Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species: Semonides on Women* (1957), 25 ff. αἰεὶ: 486*. γυναῖκες . . . ἀνδρῶν: 'women . . . men' (no doubt the interpolator of 602-4 took the narrower point 'wives . . . husbands'). ταῖς συμφοραῖς: in the neutral sense 'what happens to men, their circumstances' (LSJ *συμφορὰ* II. 1), cf. A. *Eum.* 1020 συμφορὰς βίου. ἐμποδῶν: simply 'involved in' (opp. ἐκποδῶν), with no idea here of 'obstructing' (except indirectly as obstacles in the way of 'happiness'). πρὸς τὸ . . . : adverbial, cf. *πρὸς βίαν* 706, *πρὸς τὸ βίαιον* A. *Ag.* 130, *πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν* *PV* 212, *πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον* *Ar. Ran.* 539. The

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terminal advb phrase here (conveying the main point of the predication) is formally like Or.'s terminal *οὐκ εὐδαιμόνως* 601; but the right reading is probably *δυσχερέστερον*, not *δυστυχ-*. The sentiment is like *Ion* 398 *τὰ γὰρ γυναικῶν δυσχερῆ πρὸς ἄρσενας*, more 'moderately' expressed ('somewhat disagreeably', cf. 417*). The wrong *-τυχ-* probably entered the tradition after the interpolation of 602-4 (. . . *δυστυχεῖς*). [H. Dietz (*Philologus* 1969, 270-2) leans vainly on the *δυστυχ-* repetition as an argument against Zuntz (*Philologus* 1960, 140 ff. and *Inquiry* 152-3). Z. compares *Tr.* 357, *Ph.* 390, *Hp.* 484 for the error. Di B. and Biehl adhere to *-τυχ-*, the former arguing that *δυσχερέστερον* (Thom.) is simply a rectification of *δυσχερέστατον* (cod. Laur. conv. sopp. 71, with a Mosch. paraphrase ending . . . *δυσκολώτατον*, Sch. Dind. ii 166. 9-20), and that Mosch. had invented *δυσχερέστατον* to suit an idiosyncratic interpretation. It is much likelier that Mosch. interpreted as he did in response to *δυσχερέστατον* in some older MS; he surely did not invent *-τατον* (cf. Stob.), and he probably did not invent *-χερ-* either.]

607-29. Tynd.'s anger has been inflamed by the *θράσος* cf. Or.'s speech. As a result, he now intends actively to promote the stoning of Or. by the Argives; and of El. too, whom he regards as even more blameworthy. Under threat of debarment from Spartan soil, Men. is to do nothing to save them from execution. And Tynd. departs at once, without waiting for a reply.

607. *θρασύνη*: i.e. 'display lack of *αἰδώς*' (566*, 903*), cf. *Hec.* 1183, 1286 *θραυστομεῖ* (LSJ *θρασύω* II. 2; cf. also *A. Ag.* 222, the active there associated with *δυσσεβή, ἀναγνον, ἀνίερον, παντότολμον*). *κοῦχ ὑποστέλλη λόγῳ*: a metaphor from 'shortening sail' (Pi. *Isth.* 2. 40 *ὑπέστειλ' ἰστίου*), like *Ba.* 668-9 *θέλω δ' ἀκούσαι, πότρά σοι παρρησία / φράσω τὰ κείθεν ἢ λόγον στείλωμεθα. ὑποστέλλεσθαι* occurs here only in tragedy.

609. Read *ἀνάψεις* (P, Mosch.; Zuntz, *Inquiry* 155), not *ἀνάξεις* (the same error as at *Med.* 107, Diggle, *CQ* 1984, 53); or perhaps *ἀνάπτεις* (Herwerden, *Mil. Graux* 190; for confusion of *απτ* and *αψ*, cf. *Med.* 1232), but for the projection of the present emotion into the future, cf. the common use of *βουλήσομαι* (Bruhn 61). [M.L.W. quite plausibly suggests *ἀνάξεις* 'you set me boiling' (the unusual trans. sense is in E.'s manner, cf. *ἀναβακχεύει* 338, *ἀνεχόρευ* 582); but there is no sufficient reason for dissatisfaction with *ἀνάψεις*.] *ἐπι . . . ἐξελεῖν*: cf. the technical sense of *ἐπεξελεῖν* (*φόνον*, *Antiph.* 2. a. 2; Kells, *CQ* 1966, 52¹); the poetical splitting of the compound is like *ἦλθεν ἐπι* for *ἐπήλθε* in 495.

610. *καλὸν πάρεργον*: a mild oxymoron, since *πάρεργα* (Bond on *HF* 1340) are usually of negative value; for the use here, cf. *Hel.* 925. *αὐτὸ θήσομαι*: 'I shall reckon it as', cf. *Med.* 532.

611. Read *οὐνεκ'*, not *εἵνεκ'*; cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 453-6.

612. *ἐκκλητον . . . δχλον*: perhaps a novel locution, suggesting a similarity between the 'called-out' Argives and the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* (cf. 949 *ἐκκλήτων ἄπο*); *ἐκκλητος* is otherwise a prose word with specialized uses (see LSJ).

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- 613-14. Earlier edd. (before Elmsley on *Held.* 852) wrongly punctuated after *πόλιν*. For the acc. and dat. with *ἑπισείω*, cf. 255-6*. Note that the same metaphor is used of the city as was used of the Furies (cf. 431-6*); the citizens are thought of as already 'straining at the leash', and there is no good reason for altering *ἑκοῦσαν οὐκ ἄκουσαν* (a standard idiom, cf. *Held.* 531, *An.* 357, *S. OT* 1230, *Phil.* 771; 397*). *ἑκὼν οὐχ ἑκὼν* is not in fact Greek idiom for 'willy-nilly', but rather an oxymoron (*IT* 512) meaning 'at once willingly and unwillingly' (819 ff.*). Degani reasonably dismisses the paraphrase in *Σ* (. . . καὶ μὴ βουλομένους) as mere misinterpretation. *δοῦναι δίκην*: '(so as) to pay the penalty'; final-consec., cf. 393(?), 1356 (similarly following a dative), 1624. See *Addendis Addenda*.
615. *ἔστ' ἄξια* (not *ἑπαξία* Elms.): cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 246.
616. *τῆ τεκοῦσῃ σ' ἠγρίωσ'*: a crisp neologism; *ἀγριῶν* (factive), cf. 225-6*, *ἔξηγρίωσαν Ph.* 876; the dat. has the force normal with *ἀγριαίνειν* intrans. (cf. *Pl. Smp.* 173D).
617. *πέμπουσα μύθους*: *πέμπειν*, of utterance, implies more 'transmission' than *ίέναι* (*LSJ* *πέμπω* II. 3; cf. 1221, and add also *A. Pers.* 940); *μῦθοι* often has a pejorative colour (not only in terms of 'truth' and 'falseness'), e.g. *An.* 744. *ἐπὶ τὸ δυσμενέστερον*: 'so as to increase ill-will'; cf. 1141, *Hdt.* 3. 71.3 *ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον* (with a stronger 'progressive' implication than similar idioms with *πρός*, 605-6*).
- 618-20. The general sense, in conjunction with 617, ought to be something like 'scandalously stirring up trouble by transmitting/publishing inflammatory μῦθοι about Ag.'s dishonour (etc.) and Cl.'s damnable adultery with Aeg.'; in Tynd.'s opinion El. should have eirenically preserved a womanly reticence (*αἰδώς*) about such unpleasantnesses.
618. †*δνειράτ' † ἀγγέλλουσα τὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος*: E. cannot have intended the inept sense 'announcing her dreams of Ag.', but there is no better interpretation of the text. *ἀγγέλλειν* is (in itself) a feeble word for a pejorative point; and there is nothing about inflammatory 'dream-reporting' in *El.*, a play which does none the less include an important 'inciting' *ἀγγελία* by El. at 300-38. Commentators vainly allude to Cl.'s famous dream (*A. Ch.* 523 ff., *S. El.* 410 ff., *Stes. fr.* 219 Page); we cannot here understand 'Clytaemestra's' from the article *τά*. Paley dealt with the problem too drastically by deleting 618 (619 cannot well follow 617, and the interpolation is unexplained). The word we want is, not *δνειράτ'*, but *δνειδος* ('publishing as a scandal/reproach τὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος and . . .'), cf. *δνειδίξειν* 4*, 85*, and *An.* 1241-2 *Δελφοῖς δνειδος ὡς ἀπαγγέλλῃ τάφος / φόνον βίαιον τῆς Ὀρεστιάδας χερσός* (no comma after *δνειδος*; the sense is 'that his tomb may report as a perpetual reproach to Delphi . . .'). The phrase *τὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος* (cf. 720-1*), here embraces both 'Ag.'s situation' (as a dishonoured corpse) and his claims on his φίλοι. *δνειδος ἀγγέλλ-* follows naturally after *μύθους* (cf. *Il.* 21. 393 *δνειδειον φάτο μύθον*); for the recitation of *δνειδη* as an incitement to action, cf. also 1237-8*. [The corruption is plausible: (a) for confusion of δ and ρ, cf. Elmsley on *Held.* 38; (b) there is a

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- variant ἀπαγγέλλουσα (a natural compound with *δνειδος*, cf. *An.* 1241), and suprascribed *απ* could have helped to generate *-ατ'*. J. D. draws my attention to the silence about dreams in *Σ*, where the gloss τὴν μοιχείαν λέγει (Schw. i 160. 11) seems to refer to something in 618 (cf. 160. 18 τὸ λέχος καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν).] See Addendis Addenda.
- 619-20. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ μισήσαιαν Αἰγίσθου λέχος / οἱ νέρτεροι θεοί: another 'scandal' (*δνειδος*) which should not have been 'published' (cf. *κρυπτός ἐν δόμοις πόσις* 561). Tynd. adds his own imprecation (cf. 130 f.*) to the mention of Cl.'s adultery, with an interlaced word-order (*Αἰγ- λέχ-* taken within the rel. clause, KG ii 417; Murray's dashes are *de trop*); *νέρτεροι*, because both parties to the *λέχος* are dead. ἐνθάδ': 'in this world', cf. *Hel.* 1422. πικρόν: i.e. θεοὶς ἐχθρόν (19 f.*).
621. ἔως ὑφήψε δῶμ' ἀνηφαίστω πυρί: a striking line, with effective assonances (otherwise reminiscent of *Med.* 378), from which Verrall took the title of his essay 'A Fire from Hell'. El.'s 'incendiary' behaviour is thematically connected both with the present 'kindling' of Tynd.'s fury (*ἀνάψεις* 609) and with the 'palace-burning' climax of the plot (1618, etc.); for the 'fire' theme, cf. also 697, 820, 1150. 'With fire *not of the Fire-god*' (the big epithet occurs here only) is an oxymoron at once of the 'figurative' type (like 319-20* ἀβάκχευτον . . . θίασον, fr. 595 αἰδοῦς ἀχαλκεύτοισιν ἔζευκται πέδαις), implying 'unreal' fire like *S. El.* 888 ἀνεικάστω πυρί, and of the 'condemnatory' type, with the implication 'godless' (cf. *μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ*, etc.). For 'Hφαίστος' 'fire', cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 274-85 (*Δημήτηρ* 'grain, bread', *Διώνυσος* 'wine', cf. 625-6 (*Ἀγελῶς* 'water')).
622. Μενέλαε, σοὶ δέ . . .: the usual idiom (*GP* 189) for a changed direction of address; typically clearcut in E.'s three-person scenes, cf. 1065. δρᾶσω τε πρὸς: semi-parenthetic (the force of *τάδε λέγω* continues). For the strong sense of *δρᾶν* (here nearly abs., sc. *τὰ λεγόμενα*), cf. 1061, 1164, etc.; typically of 'purposive action' (Bond on *HF* 75). For *πρὸς* 'as well', cf. *An.* 375, *Ph.* 610, *A. Eum.* 238 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 57).
623. ἐναριθμῆ: middle (here only), sc. 'for yourself'; not simply (as LSJ) by analogy with ἐν ἀριθμῶ ποιεῖσθαι. κῆδος ἐμόν: 'my connection (as your father-in-law)', cf. 477, 752, 1081; Tynd. implies that Men. has no position in Sparta *suo iure* (626, 1058-9*).
624. Cf. 534-5*. μὴ τῶδ' ἀμύνειν φόνον . . .: the 'jussive inf.' is a rarity in tragedy, but the preceding *λέγω* makes a difference here (Diggle, *Studies* 10-11); ἐναντίον θεοῖς: either directly adverbial or (after a comma) appositive 'a thing . . .' (cf. 30*). There is nothing definitely wrong with that, but there is much to be said for Broadhead's μὴ τῶδ' ἀμύνων φόνον ἐναντιοῦ θεοῖς (*CQ* 1950, 122); ἐναντιοῦ = πρᾶσσε ἐναντία (reflecting 535).
- 625-6. Lines anticipated at [536-7]*, and clearly belonging here, not there. Tynd.'s 'choice-compelling' parting threat is the dynamically developed conclusion of 470-629*, leading directly to the presentation of Men.'s 'dilemma'.
625. ἔα δ' . . .: 'do nothing to prevent' (stronger than Eng. 'allow').

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626. ἢ . . . : 'or else' (threatening), cf. 1569, 1612, *HF* 1055, *Ph.* 593.
- 627-8. τοσαύτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι: at once 'that's all I have to say' and 'mark my words'; a neat, perhaps new, combination ('conclusive', 678-9*, 1203*; 'didactic', 534-5*). For the gnomic theme of 'choosing the right φίλοι', Di B. compares *Il.* 10. 235; παρώσας: cf. *An.* 30, *El.* 1037, *S. Tra.* 358.
629. δγανε . . . πρόσπολοι: cf. 474 (470-5*).
- 630-1. An economical link, combining a brief 'address to Tynd.'s departing back' (cf. Taplin 221-2) with a forward-looking reference to the next scene. στείχ': a poetical 'Go thou!', very differently toned from Hippolytus' στείχε to Artemis at *Hr.* 1440. ἀθορύβως: here first, cf. 1176* ἀδασάνως. ἴκηται . . . ἀποφυγών: semi-personifying the λόγος, cf. *Tr.* 909, etc. οὐπιών: E. was notably fond of ἐπιών, sometimes lit. (*Ion* 323), more often 'future, forthcoming' (1659, *IA* 651, etc.); here both, in accordance with the semi-personification.
- 632-716. The third scene begins with a brief distichomythia, focusing attention on Men.'s 'crisis of indecision', a frequent theme in contexts of ἰκεσία (Gould, *JHS* 1973, 83, 85²³), as a cue for Or.'s third (*long*) appeal. His speech (640-79) and Men.'s reply (682-716) are separated by another distich from the Chorus-leader (680-1).
- 632-3. ποῖ: 'whither' implying 'why', cf. 278; not τῶ (Nauck, = τίνι), since Men. refers to 'some σύννοια' in his reply. συννοία: 'troubled inner thought' (396*). πῶς . . . κυκλαίς, / διπλῆς μερίμνης διπτύχους ἰὼν ὁδοῦς: for the ambivalently 'circling' and 'to and fro' movement, cf. 892, 984, 1266. The 'twofold' words are characteristic (διπλοῦς 31 times in E., διπτύχος 17 times); often duplicated as here, cf. 1303, 1401 (Diggle, *JCS* 1977, 124); the expression for 'dilemma' is like *An.* 480 διδύμα γνώμα.
- 634-5. Men.'s first reaction is that he wishes to be left alone with 'some' private problem; the indef. τι is a subtly negative touch (comparable with Men.'s more striking reticence as to Tynd.'s threat in his reply to Or.'s appeal). 'I am at a loss *which way* I should turn in respect of what has happened'; Di B. rightly reads ὅπη here and in 723, cf. *Hyps.* 1 iv 18-19 ἀπορίαν ἔχων ὅπη τράπηται, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1532; see also 430*, 598-9*. τῆς τύχης: extended part. gen. (with modal-local ὅπη), cf. KG i 340-1, Bruhn 22-3, Diggle, *Studies* 34-5; the def. article is unusual, but cf. *Hel.* 857 τῆς τύχης γὰρ ὡδ' ἔχω, *S. Phil.* 899 ἐνθάδ' ἤδη τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους κυρῶ.
- 636-7. δόκησιν: here 'process of thinking, deciding', a sense not recognized by LSJ; E. was fond of the word (as of δόξα) in various senses, including 'reputation' (Stevens on *An.* 696) and 'illusion' (*Hel.* 119). '. . . but (*first*) hear what I have to say, and (only) then do your deliberating; as often (1150, 1164, etc.) the aor. part. bears the main emphasis.
- 638-9. '. . . though silence may sometimes be better (sc. for decision-making) than talk, sometimes talk (may be) better than silence'. Biehl gives the right punctuation (comma, not full-stop, after γένοιτ' ἄν); for the rhetorical figure, cf. 742*, *IA* 1406 ζηλώ δέ σου μὲν Ἑλλάδ', Ἑλλάδος δέ σέ, *S. Phil.* 115. Here the μὲν is to be supplied (as often, 286-7*). Kirchhoff's εστιν οὐδ' (for

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the first *ἔστι δ' οὐδ*) is plausible, giving an asyndeton like that in 640; but for the 'neutral' *δέ* (almost = *γάρ*), cf. 538, 1529*. Men.'s language is artificial, but scarcely the directly negative character-indication for which Dj. B. takes it (cf. 385-447*); suspensefully appropriate, rather, to Men.'s indecision and to the pattern of distichomythia, and balanced by Or.'s no less sophistically artificial speech-opening (640-1).

640-79. Or.'s third, *long* appeal to Men. follows an established *ἰκεσία*-form, for which cf. Collard on *Su.* 162-92. The first two lines cohere with the preceding distichomythia (cf. *Su.* 162; 448-55*). The rest of the *προοίμιον* (642-5) then enunciates the main themes, followed by arguments (646-51, 652-7, 658-64) as to the 'repayment' which Or. is entitled to claim as Ag.'s son. In 665-8 Or. briefly raises and dismisses the objection 'impossible'. In 669-73 and 674-6 he directly 'supplicates', invoking first Helen, then his father's ghost. 677-9 are the quieter formal conclusion. But within the orthodox form there are several shocks to orthodox sentiment and perversions of tragic norms. Or.'s posture is expressly 'unheroic' in the central value placed upon the saving of his own life (644-5, 678-9); his ethic of 'pursuing *σωτηρία*' (as opposed to *ἀρετή*, etc.) is like that of the common soldier in *S. Ant.* 439-40 (*τὰλλα πάνθ' ἤσσω λαβεῖν / ἐμοὶ πέφυκε τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας*); cf. 1522-4, where Or. applauds the *φιλοβυχία* of the Phrygian as a proof of *σύνεσις*. This *ἥθος*-trait is associated with other 'negative' features in line with those displayed in Or.'s apologia to Tynd.: egotism, sophism, exaggerated language, callousness and blinkered extremism (notably in his failure even to consider practical courses of action in 665-8). Plain common sense might have suggested that Or.'s best chance of 'saving his life' lies in *φυγή*, which Men. could do something to secure in a perfectly legal way by agreeing to act as his advocate; but Or. can visualize only *ἄδικον* action on his behalf. The idea that an effective speech in the Argive assembly might do him some good does not occur to him till later (774 ff.). The 'negative' features in the characterization of Or. here have a definite place in the plot (Intro. F iii): it was not E.'s intention that Or. and Men. should emerge from this scene respectively as hero and villain—rather, we are already being prepared for the 'shocking' conduct of the young conspirators in pursuit of *σωτηρία* and *τιμωρία*. At the same time we may recognize an *ad hominem* element in the arguments which Or. deploys.

640-1. Not only is *λόγος* better than *αἰγὴ* (638), but 'long (speeches) are better than short (ones)'; an appropriately 'sophistic' *exordium* (cf. *Ph.* 453 *βραδεῖς δὲ μῦθοι πλείστον ἀνύουσι σοφόν (σοφοῖς West)*), in relation both to the preceding exchanges and to Or.'s previous *short* appeals (382-4, 448-55), which have evidently been insufficiently persuasive. In other contexts E. characters often echo the plain man's preference for simplicity and brevity (e.g. *Ph.* 469-70, 494-6). *λέγοιμι' ἔν . . .*: inceptive, cf. *El.* 1060, *Su.* 465, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 838. *ἐπίπροσθεον*: cf. 468, *Su.* 514; weak position (short before *πρ.*, *τρ.*, etc.) is uncommon in an initial anapaest; cf. *Ba.* 700,

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- IA* 921 (Zieliński 203). σαφή μᾶλλον κλύειν: both 'clearer' and 'more convincing', cf. 397*, 592*. [The evidence that some ancient critics athetized 640-1 as 'not having the Euripidean *χαρακτήρ*' (Σ) is of interest mainly for the history of literary criticism (cf. Ritchie, *The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides*, 13); Page (*Actors* 43) came too close to treating this ἀθέτησις on a par with such *objective* evidence of interpolation as Σ affords at 957-9*.]
- 642-5. Or. is not asking for something belonging to Men. (cf. 658 ff.); he is only reclaiming a debt as his father's heir (cf. 453); a debt (not of money), which can be discharged by the saving of Or.'s life, his dearest possession.
643. εἰ δ' ἔλαβες ἀπόδος πατρός ἐμοῦ λαβῶν πάρα: thrustful phrasing (λαβ- . . . λαβ- emphasizing the indebtedness), to which the resolved rhythm (247-8*) makes an effective contribution; cf. *S. Phil.* 932 ἀπόδος, ἰκνούμαι σ', ἀπόδος, ἰκετεύω, τέκνον.
- 644[4]-5. '—not *money*-debts, I mean; (you will be saving) the dearest of my possessions, if you save my life'. There are analogies for such an ellipse of the main vb (KG ii 574-5); but the combination of that with (a) a very harsh asyndeton, (b) a changed sense of *χρήματα* not elucidated until the rel. clause is added, produces an improbable awkwardness of expression. According to Σ on 643 the actor playing Men. raised a dismissive hand, provoking Or.'s assurance that he was not asking for money; so it is possible that the desire for such a dramatic gesture prompted a histrionic interpolation; possible also (as J.D. suggests) that the ancient athetesis attached in Σ to 640-1 really belongs here. Against that, however, it is appropriate that the *προοίμιον* should include the point about 'saving what is dearest to Or.' (viz. his life); cf. 662, 678-9 (and *Introd.* F iii); for 'life' as τὰ φίλτατα, cf. *Hp.* 965, *Al.* 340-1 οὐ δ' ἀντιδοῦσα τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ φίλτατα / ψυχῆς ἔσωσης. I suspect therefore that 644-5 as transmitted is a histrionic expansion of a one-line original: 645 can directly follow 642-3 if we change *σώσης* to *σώσας*, or better *σώσας γ'* (epexegetic, *GP* 139). We can still visualise a gesture from Men. before *σώσας γ'* . . ., while recognizing that an actor could have wished to elaborate the implied point about 'ψυχὴ rather than *χρήματα*'. [644-5 del. Wecklein; but more delicate surgery seems appropriate, as in 67[7]-8-9 below.]
- 646-51. 'ἀδικία for ἀδικία': Or. argues sophistically like the "Ἄδικος Λόγος in *Ar. Nub.*; cf. *Ph.* 524-5 εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρῆ, τυραννίδος πέρι / κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τὰλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῶν, and *S. Phil.* 83-4 νῦν δ' εἰς ἀναίδες ἡμέρας μέρος βραχὺ / δός μοι σεαυτόν. The ἀδικία of Ag. is usually understood as his sacrifice of Iphigenia (cf. 658), but that point is not spelt out here; Burnett (207) rightly, I think, takes it as implying an adverse judgement on the *casus belli* (cf. 521-2, *A. Ag.* 225-7).
648. ἤλθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον: cf. *Il.* 2. 216 (etc.), *Pi. Nem.* 3. 60 ὑπὸ Τροίαν; a phrase here only (surprisingly) in tragedy, unlike ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ (58, 102, *An.* 1182, *A. Ag.* 860, etc.). Ἐλλάδ': i.e. τοὺς Ἕλληνας, cf. 1365, *An.* 653.
649. ἀμαρτίαν: connected in thought with Or.'s own ἀμαρτία (75-6*, 596).

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650. *ῥόμενος*: a thematic metaphor; Men. is now to become, as it were, the *ἰατρός* of Or.'s *νόσος*.
651. *ἐν μὲν* . . . : Or. scores up his first point before proceeding to his next; the continued *narratio*-form and 'repayment' imagery make it preferable to punctuate 651 as parenthetical. [Unless, as J.D. suggests, we delete the line as awkwardly interrupting a sequence of thought adequately summed up by *ἀπότεισον κτλ.* in 655 ff.]
- 652-7. '*πόνος* for *πόνος*': cf. 451-3*.
653. *ἀληθῶς*: i.e. as a true *φίλος*, not in name only (454-5*). *ἐκπονῶν*: 122*; cf. *Hel.* 734-5 for the combination with *παρ' ἄσπιδα* and a dat. pronoun.
654. *ἀπολάβοις*: the more natural opt. has some MS authority (Monac. gr. 500). *ξυνάρορον*: a *vox Euripidea* in the substantival sense 'spouse' (occurring twelve times).
- 656-7. ' . . . toiling for (*just*) one day, standing by us to save us, not for ten long years': for the *asyndetic* participles (there is no case for Nauck's transposition), cf. 568*; *σνάς* is connected in thought with *παρ' ἄσπιδα* 653 (cf. on *παρών* 753*).
- 658-64. 'A life saved—necessary for the survival of Ag.'s *οἶκος*—as a small return for the daughter's life which was sacrificed for your sake at Aulis' (Murray's full-stops in 659 and 661 should be lightened to colons). The climactic third argument is a powerful one, but its force is undercut by the patronizing tone of 659 and the vile suggestion in 660-1 that, in different circumstances, Or. would have been happy to see the score levelled by the killing of Hermione by her father (an implication relevant to the later conduct of the conspirators). There is an echo of the argument that Herm., not Iph., should have been the victim at Aulis, cf. *S. El.* 539 ff. and (later) *IA* 1201.
660. *δεῖ γάρ* . . . : Murray's apparatus is garbled (cf. Renehan, *GTC* 129 ff.); it is at 667, not 660, that *χρή* is the majority reading (as to which the scholion cited, which does indeed belong to 660, is irrelevant). Or. regards it as regrettably 'necessary', cf. 672. *πράσσοντος ὡς πράσσω*: cf. 78-9*, *IT* 692.
661. *πλέον φέρεσθαι*: 'to do better than me' (metaph., as in a division of spoils), cf. *Hec.* 308, *Ph.* 509-10. *κάμει συγγνώμην ἔχειν* (there is a misprint in Murray's text): 'and I must be forgiving'. [I do not understand Bond's inclusion of this passage, in his n. on *HF* 709, as an instance of *constructio ad sensum*; he seems to have taken *ἐμέ* as the *object* of *συγ- ἔχειν*.]
- 662[-3]-4. The argument is both more exact (*ἐμὴν* . . . *θανῶν γάρ* . . .) and more in character without the jejune phrased mention of El. (an addition 'for completeness' comparable with [33]* and [1535]*). Without 663 (del. Paley, also Di B.) 662-4 is a distich which both concludes the third argument and rounds off the whole argumentation (as initiated in 642-5*); cf. 454-5* and 706-7* for the clausal effect of the chiming . . . *πατρὶ / . . . πατρός*. As Fraenkel observed (to Di B.), the interpolation could have been suggested by 746; it could also have been intended to mitigate Or.'s upsetting 'egotism'.

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- 665-8. ἑρσις: for the formula of procatlepsis, cf. *Ph.* 561 (Friis Johansen 99¹⁴⁸). Or. makes no attempt to rebut the objection ἀδύνατον by reasoned argument; it suffices (for him) that no true φίλος has a right to say 'I cannot' (cf. 454-5*).
665. αὐτὸ τοῦτο: 'that's just it' (a colloquialism, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 27); cf. τοῦτ' ἐκείνο 804*.
- 667-8. Cf. *HF* 1338-9 (del. Nauck), which seems to be an imitation of this sentiment. εὐ διδῶ: cf. Collard on *Su.* 463-4 διδῶ καλῶς; εὐ may have begun as a noun (Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 121). τί δεῖ φίλων; or χρῆ (pler. codd., see 660*)? Porson easily demonstrated the normality of δεῖ (cf. Renehan loc. cit.); but it remains barely possible that E. here exquisitely preferred a rare epic-toned idiom for the sake of variation and as suiting the χρεία-theme; cf. 671*, and *Hec.* 976 τίς χρεία σ' ἐμοῦ; (an ellipse reflecting epic idiom with χρέω).
- 669-73. A perversion of the standard procedure in which a suppliant invokes what is most φίλον to, or held most sacred by, the person supplicated (cf. *Med.* 324, *IA* 909, 1233-4, *S. Aj.* 587-8), often with a combination of 'physical' and 'figurative' elements (Gould, *JHS* 1973, 77). By his 'reluctance' to supplicate πρὸς Ἑλένης, Or. foolishly spoils the force of his ἰκεσία, while convicting himself of the unheroic 'fawning' which he lamentingly attempts to disclaim.
670. ὑποτρέχω: here first in a pejorative sense (LSJ ὑποτρέχω V), which may be related to a very ancient idea of physical 'insinuation' in contexts of ἰκεσία (*ὑπέδραμε Il.* 21. 68; Gould art. cit. 80). At *IA* 631 ὑποδραμουσά σε means 'cutting in before you' (cf. *ὑποθέω*).
- 671-3. Bain (*Actors and Audience* (1977), 44-6) compares *An.* 394 ff. for the soliloquy in mid-appeal, differentiating this as a rare type of 'aside' which 'must not be heard by the interlocutor'. But Or. stops short—just—of saying anything *directly* offensive; and 'the depths to which he has sunk' are rhetorically evidential of his extreme need.
671. ταύτης ἰκνοῦμαι σ': the omission of πρὸς is an epicism (KG i 349) rare in tragedy. ὦ μέλεος ἐγώ, κακόν / ἐς οἶον ἦκω (Wecklein, after Porson): this reading is implied by Σ, and clearly right. κακόν is needed with οἶον (cf. *An.* 126, 1173), and the same corruption of ἐγώ to ἐμῶν has occurred at *Ph.* 1551 and *Hel.* 676 (Diggle in *Dionysiaca*, 162-3).
672. τί δεῖ; with a shrug (*GP* 176), cf. 1326, *Hec.* 1256; the correct punctuation (again implied by Σ) should be credited to Lenting. ταιλαιπωρεῖν με δεῖ: like a stalwart soldier, cf. *Th.* 1. 99.
- 674-6. Or. culminatingly invokes the ψυχή of his dead father: Men. is to imagine Ag. as both 'listening beneath the earth' and 'speaking while hovering overhead'—an extravagant mixture of ideas (for them separately, cf. 1241*; *Hec.* 1 ff., *Il.* 23. 68 ff.); and that is not all, for Ag. is also to be imagined as speaking Or.'s words. The strained language and imagery are in line with the general tenor of Or.'s rhetoric. This sentence clearly ends at . . . καὶ λέγειν ἀγῶ λέγω. To include 677 with 674-6, whether with ταῦτ'

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(as Nauck) or with ταῦτ' (Kirchhoff, Wecklein, Murray), is unconvincing in itself (as a weak, barely intelligible appendage to completed sense); and there can be no doubt of the intended coherence of ταῦτ' . . . with εἶρηκα . . . (so Page, *Actors* 53, who, however, followed Paley in excising the whole of 677-9, neglecting the indispensable features).

677-9 †[ταῦτ' ἐς τε δάκρυα καὶ γόους καὶ συμφοράς]†
 εἶρηκα κάπητηκα, τὴν σωτηρίαν
 θηρών, ὃ πάντες κοῦκ ἐγὼ ζῆτῶ μόνος.

The rhetorical conclusion combines 'summation' with 'justification'. For Or., ἡ σωτηρία ('Salvation', cf. 396*) is the *summum bonum* to be 'hunted' (cf. the ethical use of θηρεύειν in *Ba.* 1006, *IA* 568); the θηρ- metaphor has a special (thematic) place here (Introd. F i. 2-3). This is also the first occurrence in the play of the important noun σωτηρία (also 724, 778, 1173, 1178, 1188, 1203, 1343).

[677]. Deletion is probably the right remedy (Biehl, *Tr* 43-4; Di B.). It is credible that someone should have added ταῦτα . . . before εἶρηκα . . . (cf. *S. El.* 73 εἶρηκα μὲν νυν ταῦτα); but the rest makes so little sense that it is likely also to be corrupt. Perhaps the writer intended the sense 'at once οἰκτρῶς (cf. 1032 ἐς δάκρυα; δάκρυα καὶ γόους as a compendium, cf. 320, *Tr.* 315-16, *IT* 860) and συμφορῶς' (i.e. εἰδ, *commode*). It is easy enough to write καὶ συμφορῶς or κἀς σύμφορα; but the line remains unlikely to be Euripidean.

678-9. εἶρηκα κάπητηκα: this may be the first occurrence of εἶρηκα (abs.) as a formula like Lat. *dixi*; it recurs in Men. *Epitr.* 352. For similar crisp formulae at the end of a speech, cf. 1203* εἶρηται λόγος, etc. The paired and chiming ἀπήτηκα (unreasonably stigmatized by Page as a perfect of αἰτέω 'dubious . . . in fifth century', cf. *Ἡοκηκα* 922, etc.) economically defines the speech as an ἀπαίτησις 'demand for repayment'. τὴν σωτηρίαν / θηρών, ὃ . . . : the right punctuation was given by Barnes and Porson, but by no subsequent ed.; cf. 524-5 τὸ θηριώδες . . . / παύων, ὃ . . ., *Hel.* 1686-7 . . . εὐγενεστάτης / γνώμης, ὃ πολλαῖς ἐν γυναιξίν οὐκ ἐνι (similarly clausal), and *S. OT* 541-2 . . . τυραννίδα / θηρῶν, ὃ πλήθει χρημασίῃ θ' ἀλίσκεται (δ' 'a thing which'; Bruhn 12, *KG* i 56).

680-1. The Chorus-leader adds her appeal, as in *Su.* 193-4, *IA* 1209-10, with a conventional feminine αἰδώς (cf. 32*, 605-6*). οἴσῃ τε δ' εἰ: her faith in Men.'s character and belief in his ability to help contribute to the surprise-effect of Men.'s response.

682-716. Men.'s primary function in the plot is to 'betray' Or., thereby establishing a plausible motive for the later vengeance-action against Helen (Introd. C ii). The 'turning away' of the 'false φίλος' (vividly enacted, 717-28*) is 'shocking', both as such and as a dramatic surprise (following, as Burnett shows, a build-up to a supplication which, according to tragic precedent, would normally have led to the suppliant's deliverance). But how culpable, exactly, is Men.'s conduct? Very different views

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have been taken. On the one hand, Vellacott (67-8) attempts a complete vindication of Men. (misinterpreting the sequence of 'turning away' followed by abuse), like Kitto (349), who opined that Men. makes 'the only possible reply'. By contrast, Winnington-Ingram (*EPS* 134) sees Men. as 'a cold calculating sophistical politician who would like the throne for himself' (an illegitimate back-inference from 1058-9* and 1660*), and Burnett (186, 206) similarly exaggerates the 'villainy' (neglecting the clear explanation of Men.'s conduct given at 752-4). Given that the 'turning away' was to be a cardinal feature of the plot, there were various ways in which E. could have handled the speech preceding it. Men. could have argued (like Tynd.) that Or.'s appalling crime deserved punishment according to the law, and that he (Men.) could not reasonably be asked to act *δδίκως*, especially as Or. had made matters worse by his offensiveness to Tynd.; and he might have argued thus either as an honourable man or as an out-and-out hypocrite. Or he could have made an explicitly 'villainous' speech (blatantly declaring a desire to see Or. dead for the sake of personal ambition). We should not complain because E. rejected both the 'virtuous' and the 'villainous' postures in favour of something more subtle (requiring us to attend closely to a blend of self-revealing candour and disingenuousness), according to a *persona* in line at once with a traditional 'negative' view of Menelaus (whose 'heroism' had always been somewhat suspect, cf. *Il.* 17. 588 *μαλθακός ἀίχμητής*) and with the topical analogy of political 'trimmers' like Theramenes (691-3*, 887-907*; *Introd.* A). Men. would really like to help Or., for kinship-ties mean much more to him than 'justice' (of which he makes no mention, from start to finish); but he 'cannot', partly because he lacks military and political muscle (a lack which we may understand him as exaggerating because of personal *μαλακία*), partly because he is not prepared to jeopardize his position as Tynd.'s son-in-law (in the new situation that has arisen as a result of the previous scene; 470-629*, 476-90*, 625-6*). The structure of the act has made it clear enough that the latter is Men.'s main reason for 'turning away', and we are soon to be reminded of that motive (752). Men. is honest enough to mention Tynd. in his speech (704); but he is disingenuous in not referring to Tynd.'s *threat* (cf. 634-5*) and in dilating instead upon the need for canny handling of the *δήμος*; also in saying that he 'will try to persuade Tynd. and the city . . .', when (as his own imagery and the event make clear) he has no intention of personally confronting the angry citizens. For the disingenuousness and associated 'hollow' tone, cf. *An.* 729-46 ('lines . . . halting in manner and unconvincing in matter', Stevens), and the characterization of Jason in *Med.* (*Introd.* F ii). E. knew how to make a character 'false' without making him tell lies.

The structure of the speech is: 682-90 protestations of (a) desire to fight on Or.'s side, (b) inability to do so; 691-707 'Therefore (*οὖν*) not by battle, but by soft words . . .' (Men. enunciates his *μαλθακόν* policy and his intention, which amounts to no more than a hope of mollifying Tynd.);

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- 708-16 concluding 'justifications' (γάρ), ending on the negative note of 'wise submission to τύχη'. Interpolation has been suspected at several places, but for the most part on insufficient grounds. It is of course possible that E. wrote a much shorter 'turning-away' speech which was later inflated; but taking bits out in order to leave the supposed 'core' is a process like peeling an onion, and the speech is scarcely if at all longer than we might expect from E. himself at this point.
- 682-90.** Men. begins by recognizing the validity of Or.'s claim for help. Then 687-90 (τὸ δ' αὖ . . .) moves on to the contrary consideration of 'lack of δύναμις'. The usual punctuation distorts that with a colon before 687 and a too heavy full-stop after it.
- 682. καταιδούμαι:** the proper attitude of mind (cf. τιμᾶν 484*, 486) towards a suppliant and/or φίλος, cf. *Med.* 326, *Held.* 101, *IA* 380, etc. [*IA* 380 is corrupt; perhaps the original was something like *ὡς ἀδελφὸν ὄντα· χρηστοῦ γ' ἀνδρὸς αἰδεῖσθαι φίλους* (cf. *Stob.*, and *KG* i 374 n. 2).]
- 683. σοῖς κακοῖσι:** i.e. σοὶ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντι, cf. 419*. βούλομαι: not βουλοίμην ἄν. Men. begins (deceptively) as if he is going to accede to Or.'s demands.
- 684-6.** The orthodox sentiment 'for it is right to help δμαίμονες if one can' (cf. 454-5*, *IA* 347-8) is elaborated in a manner that suits what Men. is going to say next. Implicit also is the point 'even as my brother helped me (being able to do so) in my need'. οὕτω: i.e. *ξυμπονοῦντα τῶν δμαίμόνων*: the extension of the pl. δμαίμονες to include 'brother's son(s)' is unexceptionable in a context of 'fraternal obligation'. δμαίμ- is normally used only of the closest degree of 'consanguinity', but S. had used the comparative δμαίμονέστερος at *Ant.* 486; cf. also 806*. κακὰ ξυνεκκομίζειν: cf. *Hp.* 465 (*Κύπριν*), *El.* 73 (*πόνους*); a vb characteristic of E., cf. *ἐκπονεῖν* (653*). The ἐκ- preverb here suits Men.'s distortion of orthodox sentiment: the obligation to help should not depend on prospects of *success*. δύναμιν ἦν διδῶ θεός: Men. exploits the ambivalence of 'power' (the obligation should be to help 'to the best of one's ability'); his qualification of the gnomic obligation also has a speciously 'pious' flavour (cf. 687 πρὸς θεῶν, 708 ὁ θεός). θνήσκοντα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς ἐναντίους: defining the help envisaged in terms of the battlefield (cf. μάχη 691). θν- καὶ κτ- is a mild heteron proteron (the two processes can be contemporaneous), cf. *V. Aen.* 2. 353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus*; also a rhetorical 'polar' expression (which should imply πάντως, but the qualification in 685 has undercut that in advance). [686 del. Hermann, but there are no very tangible grounds for suspicion; Reeve's further excision of 684-5 (iii 157) is surely misconceived.]
- 687.** The variant τοῦ should be preferred; cf. *Hel.* 402-3 *χρήζων . . . οὐκ ἀξιοῦμαι τοῦδε πρὸς θεῶν τυχεῖν* (a good instance of similar language used by the same character in different plays). τυγχάνω + acc. is quite frequent with neuter adjs. and pronouns (*KG* i 350), but not otherwise (701* is different, and in *S. Ant.* 778 τὸ μὴ θανεῖν is influenced by *αἰτουμένη*, see Jebb). δ' αὖ: progressive (in that this verse expresses a further wish), but

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mainly adversative 'on the other hand' (LSJ *ad* II. 2); cf. 1643. *δύνασθαι*: with the same ambivalence as *δύναμιν* 685; for the abs. sense 'have power', cf. 895-7*.

688-90. It is probably true that Men. has returned home with only a single ship (54*, 241-2*); he is exaggerating, not wholly inventing, his martial weakness. *συμμάχων κενόν δόρυ*: it seems more natural to take *δόρυ* in its normal sense 'spear' (cf. *λόγῃ μιᾷ* 712; for *κενός* 'carens', cf. S. *Aj.* 986-7) than as 'ship' (Wilamowitz on *HF* 1193) without the support of other nautical words; but possibly both exaggerated points are intended. *πόνιοι μυριοί ἀλώμενος*: Men. is still (as it were) an *ἀσθενής φεύγων ἀνὴρ* (cf. *El.* 352); the *ἄλαι* (56*) and *μυριοί πόνιοι* confirm his weakness without detracting from his 'heroic ἀρετή' (451-3*); for the dat., cf. 39-40*.

691-3. The *μέν/δέ* opposes 'battle' and 'soft words', with *οὖν* 'therefore' (not *μέν οὖν* adversative, as Biehl). *Πελασγόν Ἄργος*: the epithet 'Pelag(i)an', with substantival *Πελασγία* (sc. γῆ), implies the tradition of Pelasgus as eponymous first king of the Argolid (another tradition looked further back to Inachus), cf. [932-3]*. In references to 'Argos/Mycenae' (46*) it has a 'grandiose' effect (especially frequent in this play, cf. also 857, 960, 1247, 1296, 1601), reflecting the epic *Πελασγικόν Ἄργος* (*Il.* 2. 681). For the transference of 'Pelasgian' from the Thessalian origin of the Dorian peoples, cf. Wilamowitz on *HF* 464, Collard on *Su.* 367-8 (but *Πελασγία* there is probably *ποι* 'the Peloponnese'. *Πελασγία καὶ κατ' Ἄργος* is simply a poetical hendiadys = *κατὰ Πελασγόν Ἄργος*). *εἰ δὲ . . . δύναίμεθ' . . .* 'but if we were able (to prevail) by soft words—that is our hope now'. The mild anacoluthon (with ellipse of the true apodosis, something like *καλῶς ἂν εἴη*) is like 1173-4* *<κ>εἰ ποθεν ἀελπτος παραπέσοι σωτηρία / κτανούσι μὴ θανούσιν—εὐχομαι τόδε*. [The syntax of passages like *Απ.* 119 ff. *ἔμολον . . . εἰ . . . δύναίμαν . . .* is very different, with *εἰ* 'in case' (KG ii 534 f.) following a statement of purposive action.] *μαλθακοῖς λόγοις*: cf. *Med.* 316, 776, S. *Phil.* 629; here Men.'s recourse to 'soft words' is analogous to the 'policy' ironically admired in *Ar. Ran.* 538-41 *τὸ δὲ μεταστρέφεσθαι / πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον / δεξιῶ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστι / καὶ φύσει Θηραμένους. ἐνταῦθ' ἄλπιδος προ(σ)ήκομεν*: for the idiom (with partitive gen., 634-5*), cf. A. *Ch.* 891 *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ τοῦδ' ἀφικόμεν κακοῦ*. But the personal use of *προσῆκειν* = *ἀφικέσθαι* is rare, and of literal 'arrival' when it does occur (S. *El.* 1142, *Phil.* 229, *OC* 35); *προήκομεν* (V) is rightly favoured by Barrett (on *Hr.* 493-7; cf. 714-15* below), *pro-* conveying the extra point that 'softness' is abnormal policy (cf. *προβαίνων* 511, 749), necessitated by abnormal circumstances.

694-5. As things stand, Men. implies a need for 'great exertions', inconsistently with 696 ff. But the popular remedy of deleting 695 is unlikely to be right, since (a) *σμικροῖσι μὲν . . .* still lacks a proper antithesis (Di B. and Biehl follow Wilamowitz in accepting Barnes' *σμικροῖσι γὰρ τὰ . . .*, but that does not account for the MSS' *μέν*); (b) the sequel (*ὅταν γὰρ ἤβῃ . . .*) logically explains, not the impossibility of *σμικροῖς* (*τὰ*) *μεγάλα αἰρεῖν*, but rather the

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futility of *πόνοι* in the prevailing circumstances; (c) an unintelligent interpolator might have added *πόνοιον* to give *σμικροῖσι* a noun, but 695* as a whole is a good line, unlikely to have been composed by someone insensitive to the tenor of Men.'s argument. Objections (a) and (b) apply also to emendations (otherwise unconvincing) of *πόνοιον* to a word meaning 'resources'. Reeve (iii 157) approves Weil's deletion of both lines (*RPh* 1894, 208). That is more plausible, since 696 ff. can follow 691-3, and 694-5 could be an intrusive 'parallel passage' (from a context in which *μέν* made sense). But 695 in itself looks like the right antecedent to 696 ff. (see (b) above): we expect Men. to develop, in the middle of his speech, the *πόνος*-theme in the sense in which it has been used by Or. (653, 656) and by himself in his *προοίμιον* (683). We must therefore try to save 695, which can be done by postulating the loss of a line after 694 (a 2-line loss in A, which omits 695), e.g.:

σμικροῖσι μὲν γὰρ μέγαρα πῶς ἔλοι τις ἄν;
 694a <ποίοις δὲ τάνικητα νικήσαιμεν ἄν>
 πόνοιον; ἀμαθῆς καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι τάδε·

There are now two reasons for the abnormal policy just enunciated: the first is a 'mathematical' confirmation of the inefficacy of 'small' *vis-à-vis* 'great' (echoing *σμικρῶ* 690); the second moves on to new ground, arguing the futility of *πόνοι* (*however great*) against what is invincible (the invincibility explained in 696-7); for the 'folly' of aspiring to conquer the unconquerable, cf. *Ba.* 1000-1 (as elsewhere, cf. 684-6*, Men. exploits pious-sounding language; for the rhetorical use of *ποῖος*, cf. *Hp.* 960 *ποιοὶ γὰρ ὄρκοι κρείσσονες . . .*). The early loss of such a line (in an unpunctuated tradition), with both homoearcton and homoeoteleuton, is easily explained.

694. In effect: 'one cannot take aces with deuces'. *ἔλοι*: either 'win/achieve' or 'overcome'; a frequent ambivalence (LSJ *αἰρέω* A. II. 3). (*τὰ*) *μέγαρα*: semi-abstract 'great things' (which may include persons), cf. *Alcmaeon* fr. 80 *τὰ μ-μ-καὶ πάσχει κακά. γὰρ* seems slightly better than the def. article here, for the balance between the n. adjs. and for the causal connection of thought. [But if 694-5 are bracketed, A's *μὲν τὰ* should be preferred; the balance is then between *τὰ μέγαρα* and *σμικροῖς πόνοις*.]
695. *πόνοιον*: the theme-word is now appropriately emphasized by the over-lapping enjambment, cf. 527-8*. *ἀμαθῆς . . .*: cf. also *Tr.* 964-5 *εἰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κρατεῖν / βούλη, τὸ χρῆζειν ἀμαθῆς ἐστὶ σου τόδε*. For Men.'s 'intellectual' argumentation, cf. 397*, 417*.
- 696-703. 'For an angry *δῆμος* is like a violent fire that has to be given its head until it subsides; the right policy is *ἡσυχία, εὐλάβεια, παραδοκεῖν*'; a topically charged political manifesto, using commonly 'suspect' terms (cf. Collard on *Su.* 324-5, Bond on *HF* 166). The argument follows logically (now) from 694-5; at the same time we have an explanation both of 691-2 (*μάχην*

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μὲν οὖν ἂν οὐχ . . .) and of the policy and 'hope' outlined in 692-3 (701 τύχοις ἂν αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως . . ., sc. μαλθακοῖς λόγοις).

696. ἤβη: 'is vigorous' (implying νεανικῶς, cf. Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 50); *Al.* 1085 ἤβάσκει κακόν, A. fr. 357 ὑψηλὸν ἤβήσασα (of a fire). δῆμος: here only in the play, but surely needed. Reeve approves (without discussion) Nauck's θυμός, which at first sight seems plausible (cf. Stob.'s variant with εἰς θυμὸν πέση, and Men. γν. μον. 112 Jaekel βλάπτει τὸν ἄνδρα θυμὸς εἰς ὄργην πεσών). But can we understand τῶν πολιτῶν (*vel sim.*) from the context? And are we to understand αὐτοῦ in 701 as τοῦ θυμοῦ?

697. ὁμοῖον ὥστε (cf. A. *Ag.* 1311, S. *Ant.* 586) πῦρ κατασβέσαι λάβρον: elliptical language (with a colloquial flavour?), sc. '(to prevail over it) is like (similarly impossible to) extinguishing a violent fire'; the subject of the comparison (κατασβέσαι τὴν ὄργην αὐτοῦ) is understood, partly from 696, partly ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from the other half of the comparison. λάβρον (341-4*) enhances the 'fire' simile with 'storm' overtones; the δῆμος/πῦρ is thought of as 'breathing/blowing'.

698. ἡσυχῆς: the ἡσυχία-theme takes many forms in this play (cf. 1283-5, 1350, 1407; Intro. A, F i. 11). αὐτὸν ἐντείνοντι μὲν: i.e. ἐντεινομένῳ μὲν (τῷ δήμῳ, ὡς περ λάβρῳ πυρὶ); the μὲν looks forward to 'but when it subsides . . .' (700); for ἐντείνειν ἑαυτὸν = ἐντεινεσθαι, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 795 f. (LSJ ἐντείνω II). [A vexed line, cf. Prinz-Wecklein and Blaydes, but the text seems sound (apart from the inevitable αὐτ- in most MSS). (a) ἡσυχος Heath (predicative), argued for by Elmsley (on *Held.* 7); but ἡσυχός τις would be misunderstood here (we certainly need the sense ἡσυχῆς τις). (b) αὐτῷ τις Brunck, Wecklein; quite plausible, but unnecessary; αὐτὸν properly emphasizes the self-straining of the δῆμος (the point here, by contrast with 706-7*). (c) Other conjectures prematurely introduce navigational imagery (in conflict with 697), with the insidious substitution of κάλων for χαλῶν in 699 (and further changes necessitated by that). ἐκτείνειν κάλων (the only relevant idiom) is 'to go full speed ahead by letting out every reef' (LSJ s.v. κάλω). Men. is certainly not commending *that* as his ἡσυχον policy; the δῆμος, on the other hand, is a λάβρον πῦρ in this sentence, not a ship's crew.]

699. χαλῶν: cf. 706-7*; for the abs. sense 'give way to' + dat. (with a vague or faded metaphor), cf. *Hec.* 403 χάλα τοκεῦσιν, A. *Eum.* 219, etc.; the reinforcement of ὑπείκοι is not merely pleonastic, since it adds a 'gnomic' colour to the negative policy Men. is advocating. καιρόν: combining, as often (122*), the ideas 'right time' and 'right measure' (μῆ ἄγαν), again with a gnomic flavour. εὐλαβοῦμενος: i.e. εἰς φυλάσσω; εὐλαβεῖσθαι is usually abs. or with acc. *malī* (cf. 748, 793, 1059).

700. ἴσως ἂν ἐκπνεύσαι(εν): an ambiguous vb in the abstract (contrast S. *Aj.* 1148 σμικροῦ νέφους . . . ἐκπνεύσας μέγας χειμῶν); but the sense 'expire' here (at once clarified) is in line with 496 (βίον), 1163 (ψυχὴν), S. *Aj.* 1026 (abs.). The simplest correction of the MSS' -σειεν' δταν δ' . . . is to accept the elision ἐκπνεύσαι' (Duport; also attested in cod. M of Stobaeus), with Di

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- B. and Biehl; there are many parallels for the 'bisection' thus of the trimeter (e.g. 1079, 1187; West, *GM* 83). Elided -εε occurs in epic (KB i 235), and the rule prohibiting it in tragedy may be as false as that prohibiting elisions such as εἶχ' ἄν (502*). But either Nauck's ἦν or Kirchrhoff's ὄτε could be right: ἦν is often virtually = ὄταν, e.g. *Hec.* 586, *Al.* 671, *Hp.* 571; and for ὄτε + subjunc. without ἄν cf. KG ii 449-50. ἄνη πνοάς: 'abates', cf. 227-8*, 277; LSJ ἀνίημι II. 7. b. The acc. pl. is a stylistic elegance (cf. καταφυγὰς 448*), which may also imply multiplicity of wind(s).
701. τύχοις ἄν αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως ὅσον θέλεις: for the indic. θέλεις with ὅσον, cf. *Ion* 428 ὅσον δὲ χρήζει . . . δέξομαι, and for the idiom with gen. pers., *Med.* 259 τοσοῦτον οὖν σου τυγχάνειν βουλήσομαι. Cobet's οἴου idiomatically gives the sense 'find it as you wish' (cf. *Hel.* 1300 ἡμῶν τυγχάνων οἴων σε χροῖ); but 'get from it' goes better with 'easily'. For acc. (not assimilated gen.) relatives following τυγχάνειν 'obtain', cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 47.
- 702-3. Oddly woolly language; perhaps rightly deleted by Hartung and Reeve (iii 157), but not inappropriate to the characterization of Men. Athenians were familiar with hollow professions of lip-service towards the δῆμος from politicians with no real regard for democratic processes. οἰκτος 'compassion' is (from Men.'s point of view) what Or. needs to 'obtain' from the δῆμος. ἔνεστι . . . ἐνι δέ . . . is rhetorical anaphora (708-9*), not antithesis; so θυμὸς μέγας must be another positive attribute here, though at *Archelaus* 31 (257). I it means '(dangerous) arrogance'. καταδοκῶντι: a frequent vb in E. (not in A. or S.); often neutral in colour, but vox propria for 'awaiting the outcome of a battle before deciding which side to join' (*Hdt.* 7. 163, 8. 67). κτήμα τιμιώτατον is something of a cliché (cf. *S. Ant.* 702, and 229-30*; Herwerden' χρῆμα is scarcely an improvement); here picking up the idea of 'obtaining' in 701*. For the three-word line, cf. 883*.
- 704-7. 'I shall go and try on your behalf to persuade Tyndareus and the city to exercise moderation; for a ship (also) capsizes when put forcibly under strain by a (too taut) sheet, but rights itself again when the sheet is slackened'. As often, the gnomic distich concludes a 'paragraph' and is used to illuminate the speaker's thinking (γνώμη). The effect here is to undercut the specious intention which Men. has just enunciated. Men. means (sincerely, we may suppose) to attempt to mollify Tynd.; but he is contemplating only the single exercise of πειθῶ, the hope being that the 'ship' (πόλις) will right itself if not put under the extra strain of Tynd.'s violent urging (612-14). Men. will presumably exit at 716 on the same side as Tynd. (I, *Intro.* E ii) and can be imagined as catching him up; when Men. fails to appear at the Assembly-trial (931*, 1056-9), we naturally infer the obduracy of Tynd. (confirmed at 915 f.).
- 704-5. The variant ἐλλῶν δ' ἐγὼ σοὶ Τυνδάρων πειράσομαι (C), slightly debased in M (and Σ) with γάρ for δέ, gives a likelier rhythm, with both the name and σοὶ better placed in the line; moreover the first τε is superfluous, whereas ἐγὼ is really needed for the transition to Men.'s own intention. τῷ λίαν χρῆσθαι καλῶς: lit. 'to manage well the (quality that they have) in

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excess', i.e. *δργή*; cf. *Hp.* 1035 and *An.* 242, in both of which *χρησθαι καλῶς* is used of managing a quality of one's own (in one, *σωφροσύνη*; in the other, 'sexuality'); *τὸ λίαν*, cf. *Hp.* 264, *An.* 866, *Hec.* 591, *Ph.* 584. [Not *πείσας* (Hermann) or *πειθῶν* (Weil): 'I shall try, after/by persuading . . . , (myself) to *χρησθαι τῷ λίαν καλῶς*'. *πειθῶν* is better than *πείσας* (with conative force, and coincident with the pres. inf. *χρησθαι*), but the sentence runs very awkwardly (with 'persuading' immediately before, but not governing, an inf. phrase); and, since *τῷ λίαν* can only be the excessive *δργή* of Tyndareus and the city (or *δῆμος*) in this sentence, 'I shall try to *χρησθαι καλῶς* . . .' is not in line with the parallels. Against Hermann (followed by Di B.) see also A. S. F. Gow, *CQ* 1916, 80-1 (who, however, mistakenly wished to excise 706-7) and Degani 43-4.]

706-7. *καὶ ναῦς γάρ* . . . : the hoary 'Ship of State' topos (cf. Collard on *Su.* 267-9a) duly picks up the *ἐντείνειν/χαλᾶν* contrast in 698-9, but there is no actual repetition of imagery; the *πόλις*-ship' is sufficiently distinct from the *δῆμος*-fire/storm' (the one 'strained', the other 'self-straining'). *ἐνταυθίσα* . . . *ποδί*: an extension of idiom; in the first instance it is the *πούς* that is 'strained', cf. *τεῖναι πόδα* *S. Ant.* 715 f. *πρὸς βίαν*: 605-6*. *ἔβαψεν*: gnomic aor.; the intrans. sense 'capsize' appears here first, apt, like *ἔστη*, to the personification of the 'ship'. *ἦν χαλᾶ πόδα*: the unexpressed agent is 'the person concerned' (cf. 50[-1]*, 314-15*). Notice again the period-concluding effect of the chiming . . . *ποδί* / . . . *πόδα* (454-5, 662[-3]-4, 1351-2). [706-7 del. Gow (704-5*), and Reeve. But Men.'s speech is otherwise repetitious (cf. 711-13*); and a certain wooliness of logic is appropriate to one arguing a weak position. Deletion of 706-7 has the bad effect of bringing 708 (*μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἄγαν προθυμίας*) directly after . . . *τῷ λίαν χρησθαι καλῶς*, with the false implication that *τῷ λίαν* 705 refers to 'excessive zeal' rather than 'excessive *δργή*'.].

708-16. The pause after 707 is confirmed by the structure of 708 ff. 708-13 is a 6-line (3 + 3) reasoned justification of Men.'s policy as a whole (again a colon suffices at the end of 710, as of 705); then 714-16 is a further 'concluding justification'. In neither 708 nor 714 is the *γάρ* directly exegetic of the preceding statement (itself introduced by *γάρ*), but implies '(This is my policy and thus I have spoken) for . . .'; cf. 1151-2*. The multiplicity of *γάρ*s in itself suits a man making excuses, but there is more to it than that. 708-13 is structured as a concluding paragraph, followed after another pause by an *addendum*. The extra terminal justification, directly associable with Men.'s 'turning away', is indispensable (*pace* Reeve) for its thematic content and self-revealingly negative effect (undercutting the specious reasoning of 708-13).

708-9. *μισεῖ* . . . *μισοῦσι δ'* . . . : rhetorical anaphora without *μέν*, cf. 702, 1135, *Ph.* 563-4 (*GP* 163); *μισεῖν* 518*. Men. exploits in first religious (cf. *Hel.* 903), then political terms, an orthodox argument against extremism; *μηδὲν ἄγαν* was, of course, a god-given (Apolline) maxim. *τὰς ἄγαν προθυμίας*: 'excessive displays of zeal'; the implication as to Men.'s

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intention is disgraceful—he implies that ‘moderate’ zeal is the *most* that he can properly be expected to show on behalf of his brother’s son, and in the event he will show no zeal at all.

709–10. δαί δέ μ’ . . . : i.e. ‘I have to save you (if at all) by σοφία, not βία . . .’; οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω: ‘I speak nothing but the truth’, cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 1106; in fact Men. is being speciously ambiguous. μή βίᾳ τῶν κραισσόνων: privately, Men. means ‘not against the will of Tynd.’ (τῶν κρ- alluding to the κῆδος which is his overriding concern); overtly, he means ‘by vain violence against people/things that are stronger’ (the point developed epexegetically in 711–13); for the idiom, cf. *S. Ant.* 79 βία πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἔφυν ἀμήχανος.

711–13. ἀλκῆ . . . : cf. 690. The concluding periods are reinforcing reminders of points made earlier (similarly τὸ μαλθακόν 714 reflects μαλθακοῖς λόγοις 692). τροπαία: for τροπαῖον (-α) ἰσῳάται (-ασθαι) + gen., cf. Stevens on *Ap.* 694, 763. [The repetitiousness of 711–13 unnecessarily troubled Wecklein.]

714–16. οὐ γάρ ποτ’ ἴταργου(ς) γαιαν† ἐς τὸ μαλθακόν
 προ[σ]ηγόμεσθα· νῦν δ’ ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
 δούλοισιν εἶναι τοῖς σοφοῖσι τῆς τύχης.

Murray’s deletion of 716 (Dindorf had excised 714–16) was at once arbitrary and not remedial. The point about ‘never courting the land of Argos to softness’ remains ill-fitting and barely intelligible, with or without Schaefer’s *ἄν* (not surprisingly, paraphrases have varied widely, and are uniformly unconvincing). There is room for only one μαλθακόν in this context, viz. the ‘soft’ posture/policy of Men. himself (cf. 691–3*). The right approach, after Hermann, must be to recognize νῦν δ’ . . . τύχης as blameless (715–16*) and 714–15 as seriously corrupt. The rhetorical pattern is reminiscent of the end of the Nurse’s speech in *Hp.* 493–7 *εἰ μὲν γάρ . . . / οὐκ ἄν ποτ’ . . . / προσῆγον ἄν σε δεῦρο (προῆγον Scäliger, Barrett): νῦν δ’ ἀγῶν μέγας / σωῶσαι βίον σόν, κοῦκ ἐπίφθονον τόδε.* Both speakers are justifying σωτηρία-programmes (cf. 709–10*) and are concerned to emphasize that they would never normally move (be moved) in the direction imposed by present necessity; at the same time, of course, their programmes differ as diametrically as ‘active’ differs from ‘passive’. [Di B. follows Murray. Defenders of 716 include Wilamowitz (*Kl. Schr.* iv. 355’), Pohlenz (ii 171), Chapouthier, Braunlich (*AJPh* 1962, 410), Biehl, Degani and Erbse. Hermann proposed Ἄργου γ’ ἔνεκ’ ἄν, which at least gets rid of the unwanted acc. (enabling us to take ἐς τὸ μ-πρ- as like *Hel.* 991 ἐς τὸ θῆλυ τρεπόμενος) while restoring ἄν. No one, I think, has hitherto questioned the truth of Ἄργου(ς) (read, according to Σ, by Ar. Byz., but not certainly by anyone before him).]

714–15. The *vb* should probably be προηγόμεσθα, not προσ- (cf. 691–3*, Barrett on *Hp.* loc. cit.), the general sense to be looked for being something like: ‘For I would never . . . (without good reasons?) . . . be (thus abnormally) being induced to softness; but as things are . . .’. The corrupt γαιαν seems not unlikely to be an ancient ‘rectification’ of γεαν, i.e. γ’ ἄν. What then of

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αργου? No commentator seems to have paid much attention to the variant *αργου* (Σ), which must have been strongly attested in antiquity (otherwise it would simply have been discounted as a casual error). Suppose we write: οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἄν ἐς τὸ μαλθακὸν / προηγόμεθα. Not much is then needed to give the appropriate sense 'never idly would I be (thus) driven to τὸ μ-...'. Either ἐξ ἀργου or ἐκ τάργου would seem possible adverbial phrases (cf. S. *OT* 287 οὐκ ἐν ἀργοῖς 'not ineffectually'), of a type frequent in contemporary prose (e.g. Th. 1. 34 ἐκ τοῦ εὐθότου, 4. 36 ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς, 6. 73 ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς, 7. 57. 7 ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς; LSJ ἐκ II. 8). ἀργός (ἀ-εργός) is the *mot juste* in this context (cf. *Oedipus* fr. 552. 4 τὸ δ' ἡσυχαιὸν ἀργόν); a pejorative term against which Men. naturally wishes to defend himself (cf. Phaedra's dissociation of herself from those who fail ἀργίας ὑπο in *Hr.* 381-3; *CQ* 1968, 14). As with Or.'s disclaimer of 'fawning' in 669-73*, the effect is the opposite of the intention (*qui s'excuse s'accuse*). For the pattern with γ' ἄν following the emphatic word at the hephthemimeral caesura, cf. S. *Ant.* 502; see also *GP* 116-17 (emphatic γε after γάρ, S. *Tra.* 945, *OC* 79; after a neg., *IA* 900, Pl. *Grg.* 515B ἀλλ' οὐ φιλονικία γ' ἐρωτῶ). [If it were not for the ancient evidence for *αργου*, one might consider οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἀργία γ' ἄν... as an alternative, with modal dat.]

715-16. '... but the present situation is such as to oblige an intelligent man to be subservient to the force of circumstances'. ἀναγκαιῶς ἔχει... + inf., cf. *Ph.* 358-9 ἀλλ' ἄν- ἔχει / πατρίδος ἐρᾶν ἅπαντας, *Hdt.* 8. 140 ἄν- ἔχει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα. The same phrase (with ἀλλ') is used absolutely at *Hel.* 512, but is similarly followed by a speech-concluding point about the σοφία of recognizing the power of ἀνάγκη. τοῖς σοφοῖσι: generalizing; Men. naturally wishes to suggest that *all* σοφοί would take the same view of the present τύχη (cf. Or.'s πάντες κοῦκ ἐγὼ... μόνος at 679). δοῦλοισιν εἶναι... τῆς τύχης: cf. *Su.* 167 ἀνάγκη συμφοραῖς εἴκειν ἐμαῖς, *HF* 1357 νῦν δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ τύχῃ δουλευτέον; if Heracles himself can use such an expression, how much more so can Menelaus! (There is no reason, with Pohlenz, to speak of 'Selbstpersiflage'; Men., to his discredit, is entirely serious, and the irony is E.'s). The concluding combination of the σοφ-, ἀναγκ- and δουλ- themes is exactly right (cf. 488*); likewise the implied intention of *not doing anything* (cf. Wilamowitz 'er wird gar nichts tun'), perhaps not even making the further attempt to persuade Tynd. (704-7*).

717-28. The end of Men.'s ῥήσις is not followed by a choral distich like 542-3, 605-6, 680-1, for the speaker exits ('turning away'). Instead we have a link-passage: 717-21 invective aimed at Men.'s departing back (cf. 630-1*); 722-4 despairing lamentation; 725-8 approach of Pylades, the 'faithful friend'. Men. exits L (following Tynd.), Pyl. enters R (Intro. E ii). The sharply focused sequence gives an effect of maximum contrast between Men. (οἶστος 724) and Pyl. (τόνδε 725), and of peripetia in the action of the drama (cf. Ludwig 71-2). The surprise-effect of Pyl.'s entry is enhanced by the audience's expectation of an early end to the episode after

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- the exit of Men., and of an ode following Or.'s 'dereliction' (cf. Burnett 186, Taplin 11). E.'s innovation in sending Pyl. back to Phocis after the killing of Aeg. and Cl. (406*) was necessary for this effect; similarly, the motive for his return from Phocis (765) is relevant only to this scene (cf. 1075*).
- 717-18.** Cf. Pelcus' extended abuse of Men. in *An.* 590-641 (beginning *οὐ γὰρ μετ' ἀνδρῶν* . . .; and ending *οὐ δ' οὐδὲν εἶ*). *πλὴν* . . . *στρατηλατεῖν* (-*τῶν* Zucker *ap. Biehl*): 'except as to . . .', cf. *Hec.* 356 *ἴση θεοῖσι πλὴν τὸ καθθανεῖν μόνον*; *πλὴν* . . . *τᾶλλα* . . ., cf. *Hyps.* 60. 11. *κάκιστε τιμωρεῖν*: another 'specifying' inf. (870*), cf. *Od.* 8. 123 *θέλει ὄχ' ἄριστος* (KG ii 10).
- 719.** A ghost line, sec 498 f.*.
- 720-1.** *τὰ δ' Ἀγαμέμνωνος* . . . : i.e. his claims upon his φίλοι, cf. 618*, *Hel.* 1421 *τὰ τῶν θανόντων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλως πόνος. φροῦδ'*: a forceful enjambment, cf. 527-8*, with sense-pause before resolved 2nd position (1106, 1659*). *ἄφιλος ἦσθ' ἄρ'* . . . : in 'realizing' Ag.'s 'lack of φίλοι', Or. is again (cf. 674-6*) identifying his own *δυσπραξία* with his father's; for the idiom with *ἄρα*, cf. 1667, Elmsley on *Held.* 65 (*GP* 36, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 62-3).
- 722-4.** The new 'betrayal' theme is combined with the final frustration of the 'hope' (52) of 'sanctuary' (448, 567) and 'salvation' (677-9*).
- 722.** *προδεδόμαι*: cf. *S. Phil.* 923 (Intro. C ii).
- 723.** Again *ὄπη* should be preferred (634-5*). *θάνατον Ἀργείων*: gen. of source (KG i 332-3); cf., conversely, 1369-70*.
- 724.** *καταφυγῆ σωτηρίας*: a thematic phrase (448, 567; 677-9*), cf. *IA* 911 *1977, 291*, Taplin 148); for gen. *σωτηρίας* with other nouns, cf. 1203 (*ἱπαλξίς*), 1343 (*τέρμα*), *Ph.* 893 (*φάρμακον*), *Hel.* 1055 (*ἄκος*), *HF* 54 (*ἀπορία*), *A. Sept.* 209 (*μηχανή*); KG i 335-6.
- 725-6.** *ἄλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε* . . . : formulaic, cf. *HF* 138-9, etc. (Diggle, *ZPE* 1977, 291, Taplin 148); *τόνδε* is more than usually pointed here (opp. *οὗτος* 724). *δρόμῳ στείχοντα*: the 'running' entry 'fosters a sense of urgency and heightens excitement' (Taplin 147). *Φωκίων ἄπο*: 1094*.
- 727-8.** *ἠδεῖαν ὄψιν*: 'appositive' int. acc., cf. 10*, 961-2*, 1021, 1105, *Ba.* 1232 *λεύσσω γὰρ αὐτήν, ὄψιν οὐκ εὐδαίμονα* (KG i 284). *γαλήνης*: with an echo of 279*, and also of the 'storm'/'sailing' imagery in 698 ff., 706-7; cf. *An.* 891-2, *A. Ag.* 900-1.
- 729-806.** *Or.* has more trochaic tetrameters (114) than any other extant tragedy except *IA* (209), but *Ion* follows not far behind (84, distributed as in *Or.* among three scenes). Probably the only constant element in E.'s use of the metre (from *HF* onwards) is acceleration of pace; for the examples vary from two lines (*Ph.* 1308-9, probably spurious) to over eighty (*IA* 317-75 + 378-401), and may consist predominantly of rapid dialogue (as here) or of *ῥήσις* (even pure *ῥήσις*, *Tr.* 444-61). This scene is characteristic (a) in the change to trochaics as the climax of an act; cf. *IT* 1203-33, *Ion* 1606-22 (play-ending), *Hel.* 1621-41 (preceding the *deus ex machina*), *Ph.* 588-637; (b) in the 'entry in haste', cf. 1506 ff., 1549-53, *Ion* 1250 ff., *IA* 1338 ff.; (c) in the passing from stichomythia into *ἀντιλαβή* (774-98*). See,

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in general, Krieg, *Philologus* 1936, 42-51, M. Imhof, *MH* 1956, 125-43, T. Drew-Bear, *AJP* 1968, 385-405, Bond on *HF* 855 ff.

729. *θάσσον . . . προβαίνων*: Pyl.'s opening words may follow a few seconds' pause in which he draws breath; as he says, he has 'gone beyond proper limits of speed', cf. 749* (*προβ-* here perhaps both lit. and metaph.), *Hp.* 1323 *θάσσον ἢ σ' ἐχρῆν*, *S. El.* 872 *τὸ κόσμιον μεθείσα*, *OC* 890 *θάσσον ἢ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποδός*. There is little to be said for Battier's (and Bruhn's) unnatural *θάσσον ἢ . . .* (presumably intended to mean 'rather fast, as was right'). As between *μ' ἐχρῆν* and *με χρῆν*, Barrett (on *Hp.* 1072-3) argues a preference for the former in E. and comedy, for the latter in A. and S.; see also Kannicht on *Hel.* 80.

730. *†τόν δ' ἰδών†*: supposedly = *ἰδὼν δ' αὐτόν*; but no parallel is cited for a continuative use of *τόν δέ . . .* (cf. *ὁ δέ . . .*, *οἱ δέ . . .*, etc.) referring again to the same person/thing in the same case. H. Cron's *δντ' ἰδὼν τ'* (*Grat.-Schr. G. Curtius* (1874), 273-4) was a step in the right direction; *δντα* is otherwise desirable (though perhaps not strictly necessary) for the sense 'hearing that there was a *σύλλογος* . . . (cf. *Hel.* 878-9, *IA* 1545); for the articulation of the tetrameter thus, with main pause one syllable after the diacresis, cf. 1527*, 1553, *Tr.* 451, *Ion* 559, 1619, *IA* 904. But I should prefer *δντ'*, *ἰδὼν δ'* (the same letters as *τονδιδων*). The 'autopsy' point is properly parenthetic in the sentence-structure (before 731*); *δὲ αὐτός*, cf. 354, (384), *Ph.* 1452, *Ba.* 174, *IA* 585-6. [Cron's τ' (or *ἀκούσας τ' . . . ἰδὼν τ' . . .*) would be better only if the sentence ended at *σαφῶς*. For other combinations of 'hearing' and 'autopsy', cf. Diggle, *GRBS* 1973, 262, on *Sn.* 684.]

731. *ἐπὶ σέ . . .*: the sentence continues after the parenthesis (730*), cf. 246, 1434, etc. *ὡς κτενοῦντας*: a *constructio ad sensum*, as though after *τοὺς πολίτας συλλεγομένους*, cf. 438*. Herwerden was mistaken in ejecting 731 in order that Pyl. might enter not knowing the purpose of the *σύλλογος*. What Pyl. says at 755 and 757 is irrelevant to this issue; for, with or without 731 in the text, after 746 (*μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν θανάθ' ὑπ' ἀσπῶν καὶ κασιγνήτην ἐμήν*) Pyl. certainly knows that a dangerously large number of *ἀσπῶί* are threatening the lives of Or. and El., and there is no good reason why he should not tell Or. (and us), on entering, that he knows that much already. That he *does* know it is clear from the following dialogue: Or. begins with *οἰχόμιστα* . . . (734), the explanation of which is Men.'s basely negative conduct (736, 738), evidently in failing to save Or. Pyl.'s failure to ask 'from what peril?' proves that he knows *that* already; 746 would in any case be an odd way of conveying essential information. 731 is indeed an inorganic line which spells out what could have been left implicit. But it is a good line, both the continuation after parenthesis and the *constructio ad sensum* being in E.'s manner.

732. The rapid questions are all colloquialisms, cf. *Ba.* 645, *Ar. Ach.* 753, *Eq.* 7 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 31, 57, 41).

733. *συγγενείας*: i.e. *συγγενῶν*, cf. 1233-4*; Pyl. is at once a cousin (first and/

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- or second) and *ισάδελφος* (882, 1015); in 804-6 he is contrasted (not inconsistently) with Or.'s *ἄμαιμοι*.
734. *ὡς . . . δηλώσω*: like *ἵνα μάθῃς*, etc. (534-5*).
735. *συγκατασκάπτους ἂν ἤμῃς*: *κατασκάπτειν* is properly used of destroying cities (*Tr.* 1263, etc.); the exaggerated metaphor (more natural at *Ph.* 884) is in character; *συγ-* may perhaps have some intensive force (cf. 34, 1569, *Ba.* 633), but its chief function is to link with *κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων*: among the most widely quoted of all tragic aphorisms, cf. *Men. fr.* 10 Koerte, *Pl. Rep.* 424A, etc. (Degani 19⁶, Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (1976), 106).
736. Better punctuated, I think, as another sentence-opening, continued in 738 after a parenthetical comment (cf. 96*, 756-8). *ἐς ἐμέ*: cf. 394* (and 786, 1524 for resolution at this point in the tetrameter).
737. *εἰκότως . . .*: 'naturally, not surprisingly' (cf. *IA* 457), '<for it is natural> that the husband of a bad woman should prove bad.' A remarkable brachylogy. Di B. compares the colloquial *ἐδ' γ' ὄτι . . .*, but there is no real analogy there; the constructions are quite different. Kirchhoff's *εἰκός, ὡς . . .* (also England, *PCPhS* 1886, 23) will not do: the sentence runs very awkwardly, with *(αὐτόν)* to be supplied. The text may be sound (it is at least vigorous), but J.D. suggests a neat emendation: *ὡς* ('know that', cf. 423*, *Su.* 1056, etc.) *κακῆς γυναικὸς εἰκὸς ἄνδρα γίγνεσθαι κακόν*. *εἰκος* after *γυναικος* would be particularly vulnerable to displacement; then *εἰκοσως* understandably became *εἰκότως*.
738. *ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔλθῶν . . . ταύτων*: 'the same as if he had not come'; cf. *Tr.* 641 *ὁμοίως ὡσπερ οὐκ ἰδοῦσα φῶς*. *ἕμοιγε*: emphatic: whatever 'repayment' *Men.* has made has been to *others*.
739. *ἢ γὰρ . . .*: 'surprised', cf. 1595, 1600 (*GP* 284-5).
740. *ἐφωράθη*: like *εὐρέθη* (sc. *ὦν*, cf. *S. Phil.* 452), but with a metaphor apt to *Men.*'s failure to repay his debt (see LSJ).
741. 'And what of *Helen*?' *ναυστολῶν*: for the rare trans. use, cf. *Hec.* 1259-60, *Pi. Nem.* 6. 32.
742. Like *Aegisthus*, *Men.* is 'married to his wife, not vice versa'; cf. 588-90*, *El.* 931 *ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὐχὶ τῶνδρός ἢ γυνῆ* (for such reciprocal inversion of case-endings, cf. 638-9*); for the brachylogy (*οὐκ ἐκείνός <ἐκείνην>*), cf. 413, 559-60.
743. Cf. 1135-6, *Hel.* 73-4, etc.; *πλειστούς . . . μία*: a favourite kind of reinforcement, cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1455.
744. *εἰ δὴ*: 17*.
- 745-55. A dextrous recapitulation (assisted by Pyl.'s 'perceptiveness') of the preceding scenes.
746. *μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν*: approaching the sense *μὴ περιμεδεῖν* (KG ii 55), cf. 1339 (*εἶσ-*), *Hyps.* 60. 16, *Med.* 712 (*εἶσ-*).
747. *τόδε γὰρ εἰδέναί θέλω*: a common type of 'padding' in stichomythia, but the formula can be pointed (like Eng. 'that's what I'd like to know').
748. *εὐλαβεῖθ'*: 699*.

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749. **προβαίνων**: pejorative (of advancing beyond proper limits), cf. 511, *S. An.* 853 *προβάς ἐπ' ἔσχατον θράσους. τοῦτο πάντ' ἔχω μαθών*: like *S. An.* 498 *τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀπαντ' ἔχω* (pres. for fut., Bruhn 57–8), but with a hyperbaton like 1100 (506*). The question asked in 749 is not directly answered till the second half of 752 (cf. Mastronarde 44³⁰).
750. **οὗτος ἦλθ'** . . . : a colloquially pejorative 'this', cf. *S. El.* 301 (LSJ *οὗτος* C. I. 3). **ὁ τὰς ἀρίστας θυγατέρας σπείρας** (v.l. *σπείρων*) **πατήρ**: cf. 249–50*, *Ba.* 1234 *ἀρ-θυγ-σπείρας*; for the sarcastic use of *ἀγαθός*, cf. *S. An.* 275, *Phil.* 873. The choice between *σπείρας* and the Mosch. variant *σπείρων* (*Turyn* 110) is similar to that in *IA* 71–2 *ἐλθών . . . ὁ τὰς θεὰς κρίνας ὄδ'* (*L. κρίνων* Clem. Al.); 'this notorious judger of the goddesses'. If the less obvious *κρίνων* is right in *IA* 72, *σπείρων* will be right here. The other coincidences (*ἦλθ-ἔλθ-*, the scornful 'this' and the object with def. article *τὰς*) are such as to put it beyond doubt that whoever wrote *IA* 71–2 was familiar with *Or.* 750. But of course the aor. participle may be right in both places. As Hermann put it, 'praeferram *σπείρων*, si ἀρίστας sine articulo positum esset. Nunc distincte Helena et Clytaemnestra significantur'. [I adhere (cf. *CQ* 1971, 343–64) to the view that *IA* 71–2 and its context were written by E.]
751. **ἴσως . . . θυμούμενος**: probably not interrogative (an abnormal use of *ἴσως*, thus, as Di B. points out); *Pyl.* cooperates with intelligent 'inferences' (cf. 755*). **θυγατέρος**: causal gen., cf. 458, *Od.* 1. 69 *Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται* (KG i 388–9).
752. **αἰσθάνη**: cf. *ἔγνωσ* 1131, *ξυνήκας* A. *Su.* 467 (433*). **τὸ τοῦδε κῆδος μάλλον . . . ἢ πατρός**: a mild zeugma (or brachylogy for something like *<τὰ> πατρός*), since *κῆδος* properly denotes the 'in-law' relationship. 752–4 has the important function of clarifying for the audience what Men.'s specious excuses in 682–716* had attempted to disguise.
753. **ἀντιλάζυσθαι**: cf. 452. **παρών**: in the strong sense 'praesens', as very often in contexts of aiding a friend and/or standing firm against the enemy (like *παραστάς*, 656–7*); cf. 1095 *φίλος παρή*, 1159 *παρήσθα*, 1301*, *Hr.* 1242 *σώσαι παρών*, *An.* 80 *ὥστε μ' ὠφελεῖν παρών*, *Hyps.* 60.52 *οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἐς τόδ' ὄμ' ἄν ἐβλεψας παρών*, *S. Phil.* 373, 1405; not, weakly, 'when he *did* come', as Di B. takes it, after Bond on *Hyps.* loc. cit.
754. **οὐ γὰρ αἰχμητής . . .**: i.e. 'not one to stand his ground in battle' (cf. 656–7*), and with an echo of *Il.* 17. 588 *μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής*; the spear is the 'true Greek' weapon (cf. 1485). **ἐν γυναιξί δ' ἄλκιμος**: a jibe implying both that Men. is 'a grim warrior (only) when his opponent is a woman' (cf. Stevens on *An.* 458) and that he is an effeminate ladies' man like Aegisthus (cf. *S. El.* 302). There is dramatic irony in that *Or.* and *Pyl.* themselves 'display their *ἀλκή* among women' (and effeminate slaves).
755. **ἐν κακοῖς δ' εἰ μεγίστοις**: since M and H have *γάρ*, there *may* be a case for *γ' ἄρ'* here (cf. J. C. B. Lowe, *Glotta* 1973, 34–64, who, however, overlooked this passage). **καὶ δ' ἀναγκαῖον θανεῖν**: in a sense it does follow syllogistically that death is *ἀναγκαῖον* ('in Men. lay the only *ἐλπίς*; Men. has

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- reneged; so . . .'); for the use of *ἀνάγκη*-*αἶος* of *logical* 'necessity', cf. Melissos B1 *εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πρὶν γενέσθαι εἶναι μηδέν*, etc. (DK iii 44; LSJ cite nothing before Aristotle). Later the recognition that death is *ἀναγκαῖον* is an important feature of the plot (Introd. F iii). But it is premature here (cf. 757) for Pyl. to commit himself to more than the statement in the first half of the line; the interrogative turn given by Murray to the second half provides a more natural cue for what follows. Where *καί* introduces a question, 'it is often difficult to determine . . . whether *καί* is copulative or adverbial' (GP 311); so here we may interpret: '(and) does it also/actually follow that you must die?'
- 756-62. Cf. 440-[1-2]-6, of which there are several echoes in this exchange. But the cue is different here ('is your death inevitable?' rather than 'what are the citizens doing that amounts to "not letting you live"').
756. 'We are to be tried for murder.' *ψῆφον . . . ἐπὶ φόνοψ*: the phrasing reflects the voting-procedure at Athenian murder-trials with large juries representative of the *δῆμος*.
757. *ἢ κρινεῖ τί χρῆμα*; the colourless *τί χρῆμα* is equivalent to *τίνα κρίσιν* (*κρινεῖ* 'will decide', cf. *Ph.* 1662 *ἔκριν' ὁ δαίμων, παρθέν', οὐχ ἄ σοι δοκεῖ*). Pyl. is interested in the *sentence* to be feared. He could assume from what he knows already (731*) that condemnation will mean a death-sentence; but it is natural enough for him to 'fear' that (rather than to assume it). *διὰ φόβου γάρ . . .*: *ἔχω* is commoner in idioms of emotion, cf. *Hec.* 851, etc. (KG i 482-3); for *ἔρχομαι*, cf. *Ph.* 384.
758. The *ψῆφος* will be on the straightforward issue 'life or death' (cf. 50[-1]*, 884-7*). The alternative *ἢ ζῆν* here, though not at first considered as a real possibility, none the less admits a ray of hope absent from the earlier scene (440 ff.). *ὁ μῦθος οὐ μακρὸς μακρῶν πέρι*: cf. 446* *βραχὺς λόγος. μακρῶν πέρι* implies that Or. is aware of further issues relevant to the *κρίσις* (e.g. alternative modes of execution, cf. [441-2]*), which might be decided by secondary *ψῆφοι* (cf. 946-9*). But he is interested only in the main issue.
760. *οὐχ ὄρας*; calling attention to what Pyl. has presumably seen; as the continuation makes clear, no guards are visible to the audience. *φυλασσόμεσθα φρουροῖσιν*: cf. *Su.* 103, *Hyfs.* 20/21. 12 *φυλάσσειται γῆ φρουροῖσιν ἐν κύκλῳ*.
761. *ταύχασιν*: i.e. *ὀπίταις*, cf. 444*. *πεφραγμένας*: 'fenced'; but *πεφραγ-* (Dindorf) is the correct form for fifth-century literary Attic, see Barrett on *Hp.* 657.
- 762 'We have (fig.) walls about our person, like a beleaguered city.' *πυργηρούμεθα*: a rare Aesch. vb (*Sept.* 22, 184), previously used by E. in the Theban context of *Ph.* 1087, and recurring in 1574 below. *σῶμα*: acc. 'retained' with pass. vb; *πυργηροῦσιν ἡμᾶς σῶμα* would be a double acc. of the 'whole and part' type (1527*). See Addendis Addenda.
763. 'Now ask me (too) how I am.' But Herwerden's *ὄρα* for *ἔρου* (*RPh* 1878, 26) gives a more adult turn of phrase ('have regard to . . .') and more point to the *καί*. For the corruption, cf. *IT* 516 *τοῦθ' ὄρα* Jacobs, *τοῦθ' ἔρα* L. The

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closest parallels admittedly have a rel. rather than an interrog. word: *Hp.* 1395 ὁρῶς με . . . ὡς ἔχω, *Med.* 404 ὁρῶς ἃ πάσχεις; (cf. *Ba.* 500). But ὁρῶν can be followed by an ind. question in the sense 'consider' (*S. Phil.* 589, 833, etc.). Di. B. cites *Ph.* 383-6 in support of ἐροῦ, but the position is quite different where 'Ask!' follows in reply to an expression of reluctance to ask (for which cf. also *Hec.* 238).

764. τοῦτ' ἄν προσείη . . . : cf. the similar idiom in 735 (in reply to οἰχόμεσθα), a reciprocal use of language like many in 211-315 between Or. and El.; but, whereas Pyl. emphasized 'community', Or.'s reaction is more egotistic (keeping his own *κακά* in the foreground, cf. 734, 768), with a point like 240 ἄλις ἔχω τοῦ δυστυχεῖν. *κακοῖς κακόν*: 335-6*.

765. Στρόφιος: cf. 1094*, 1233-4*.

766. κοινόν πολιταῖς: both σὺν πολιταῖς (cf. 8-9*) and δημόσιον (opp. ἴδιον). ἐπιφέρων: cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1253, *Hdt.* 1. 138. ἔγκλημα: cf. *S. Phil.* 323 (570*). Biehl, after Hermann, writes . . . τί; (an extreme instance of deferred interrog., 101*). Or. does indeed answer the question 'what ἔγκλημα?' The line as a whole should then be punctuated ἴδιον, ἢ κοινόν πολιταῖς, ἐπιφέρων ἔγκλημα τί;

767. συνηράμην: 'jointly undertook', cf. *Rh.* 495 (δόρυ), *Th.* 2. 71 (κίνδυνον); but ἀρεσθαι φόνον implies pollution, cf. *Med.* 852 ('take upon oneself', 3*). ἀνόσιον may agree with either φόνον (cf. 374) or with με understood from 765 (cf. 546); I prefer the latter (cf. also 481*).

768. ἔοικε: for the use with fut. inf., cf. Elmsley on *Med.* 1200-1 [1231-2].

771. Pyl. is genuinely ready to share all *λόπα* as a true φίλος, including death (cf. 1091); why then does he not express that further readiness in response to Or.'s question? For two reasons, perhaps: (a) to characterize Pyl. as naïvely negligent of peril for himself; (b) as a subtle preparation for the Assembly-scene, meeting in advance the question 'why do not the citizens take cognizance also of Pyl.'s criminal action?' This is dramatic sleight of hand (cf. 106*); the idea that a Greek could be punished only by his own city bears no relation to real Greek life. οὐ προσήκομεν: for the personal use (= 'pertinemus'), cf. Collard on *Su.* 472b. Φωκίων . . . γῆ: cf. *El.* 18, Φ-χθονί *IT* 677 (1094*).

[772-3]. Pyl.'s 'pro-democratic' sentiment in 773 is surely too inept to be tolerated; and suspicion is enhanced by the similar phrasing in the interpolated lines [909-11]* (*χρηστά βουλευόουσι δέει*). The 'point' and 'counterpoint' might be in place in a debate between speakers of opposite political persuasions; but Pyl.'s attitude to the δῆμος is elsewhere the same as Or.'s (cf. 775-6*). Or the lines could have been written for a single speaker. I suspect that they were added here (perhaps very anciently, cf. 902-16*) because of the apparent suitability of 772; borrowed by the interpolator, rather than composed *ad hoc*. 773 has come under attack before (Herwerden, *RPh* 1894, 79: 'languidum hercle responsum'), but no one seems hitherto to have suggested excision. δεινόν οἱ πολλοί: cf. 231-2*, 1552, *IA* 1357 τὸ πολὺ γὰρ δεινόν κακόν, *Hec.* 257 τοῖα πολλοῖς (the nom. οἱ

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- πολλοί occurs here only in E.). **κακούργους . . . προστάτας**: cf. Collard on *Su.* 243 γλώσσαις πονηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι. **χρηστούς**: 909-11*. **λάβωσι**: exactly the same word recurs at 776 in a different sense (another suspicious feature). **ἀί**: 486*. There is no case for emending *βουλευούσα* **ἀεί** in order to make 773 less inept on Pyl.'s lips (-ουσι δὴ Vitelli, -οιεν ἄν Wecklein); it remains inept, and there is nothing wrong with *ἀεί per se*.
- 774-98**. Divided tetrameters, cf. 1525-6, *Ion* 530-62 (the longest example), *ibid.* 1255-8, 1616-18, *IT* 1203-21, *Hel.* 1630-9, *Ph.* 603-24, *IA* 1341-68. With one exception (*IT*), all these passages are both preceded by undivided tetrameters and followed by further undivided lines before the tetrameter-scene ends. The rapid nature of such dialogue is confirmed by elisions (791, 1525, *Ion* 531, *Ph.* 606, 623, *IA* 1354, 1359) and by the frequency of syntactical continuity (either between speakers or by the same speaker across an intervention; cf. Dale on *Hel.* 1631-4).
- 774. εἰέν**: coming to practical considerations, cf. Denniston on *El.* 596 (Dawe i 130, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 34). **ἐς κοινὸν λέγειν χρή**: Pyl. naturally understands Or. as meaning 'we must confer' (cf. *IT* 673, *HF* 85-6 ἦντιν' οὖν γνώμην ἔχεις ἰλέγ' ἐς τὸ κοινόν, μὴ θανεῖν ἔτοιμον ἦ); but Or.'s continuation suggests that he may already be thinking of 'speaking in public' (cf. *Pl.* 1222). **τίνος ἀναγκαίου πέρι**; 'death' is the primary ἀναγκαῖον (755*); but perhaps Or. has some other ἀναγκαῖον in mind (e.g. *φιλία*, 488*).
- 775-6. εἰ . . . ; 'what if . . . ?'** cf. *Ph.* 724; also *An.* 845, *Ph.* 1684 (ἀλλ' εἰ . . .). The peculiarity here is that an intervention (with *ὡς ἔδρασας . . .*) is substituted for a straightforward continuation (with *ὡς ἔδρασα . . .*). The force of *εἰ . . .*; certainly continues into the first half of 776 (Kirchhoff's γε is misplaced for an affirmation), and dots should be substituted for Murray's question-mark at the end of 775. For the cooperative syntax, cf. Mastronarde 54⁶. Pyl.'s role is not simply to express his own thoughts, but to assist Or. in giving voice to *his*. **μὴ λάβωσι δ' ὄσμενοι**: an ironical meiosis (sc. *καὶ καλάζωσι*); cf. *Al.* 315-16, *HF* 1399, *El.* 260 for the 'apprehensive' *μὴ* + subjunc. construction (KG ii 124). Brunck proposed *μὴ* <οὐ>, which gives a likelier point (with a different kind of irony in the vb *λάβωσι*): 'they may not give you a warm welcome/embrace' (like a long-lost son; cf. *Hel.* 627 ἔλαβον ἀσμένα πόσον ἐμόν). The same corruption may have occurred in 1033-4*.
- 776. ὑποπτῆξας**: 'cowering', cf. *Hel.* 1203, *S. Aj.* 171 τάχ' ἄν . . . σιγῇ πτήξειαν.
- 778. πῶς ἄν οὖν δρῶν**; i.e. 'act positively (*δρᾶν* opp. *πάσχειν*); for the deliberative question with *ἄν* + opt. (nearly = fut. indic.), cf. *Il.* 19. 90 ἀλλὰ τί κεν βέξαιμι; (KG i 234-5).
- 779. ἐλπῖς . . . σωθῆναι**: cf. *Al.* 146, Elmsley on *Med.* 750[767].
- 780. εἰ τύχοι, γένοιτ' ἄν**: noncommittal; cf. ἦν τύχη 'perhaps' *Ph.* 765 (*Pl. Crat.* 430E, *Hipp. min.* 367A; LSJ *τυγχάνω* A. I. 3. a). οὐκ οὖν . . . μένειν; probably another question (not οὐκ οὖν, though cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 331-2).

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Recent edd. adhere to the οὐκοῦν-statement, but need to defend that position (see *GP* 274, 436).

- 781.** 'Shall I go then?' The correct interrogative punctuation is here clear-cut (ἀλλὰ δῆτα *GP* 273-4). θανάτων γούν . . . : 'at the worst . . .' (*GP* 453). κάλλιον θανάη: the alternative being δειλόν (777); cf. 1151-2*, and Adkins 158.
- 783, 782.** τὸ δειλόν: cf. 502*. Plainly 783 must follow 781, and 782 is related in thought to 784-5 (as gleams of hope and as 'further considerations', both introduced by καί . . . γε). Most edd. accept Morell's transposition (782 del. Nauck, post 785 traī. Weil).
- 782.** τὸ πρῶγμα: 'my cause', embracing both Or.'s past action (cf. 572 ff., 775) and his present 'business' with the Assembly. Pyl. with appropriate sophistry (in line with Or.'s thought) comments that 'the appearance' or 'opinion' (of justice) is what counts. Lenting's correction τοῦ δοκεῖν ἔχου μόνον restores natural Greek (see Jackson *MS* 77-8). Σ again aptly cites Simon. 93 τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ τὰν δάθειαν βιάται (cf. 235-6*). ἔχου + gen. combines the senses 'cleave to', 'be zealous for', 'depend on' (LSJ *ἔχω* C. I. 2, 4), cf. fr. 409. 2 ἐλπίδος κενῆς ἔχου, Pl. *Leg.* 709C ἀληθείας ἔχεσθαι. For the corruption, cf. 240, 687 (τό/τοῦ) and *Hclid.* 498 (κἀχόμεσθα Elms., κἐχόμεσθα LP). Biehl follows Murray (τῷ Δοκεῖν εὐχου . . .), comparing *Ph.* 782-3; but the 'deification' of τὸ δοκεῖν is too terse and cryptic. Di B. prefers Paley's relatively feeble τὸδε δοκεῖν εὐχου . . . (with misconceived arguments against Jackson; the sense that he rejects is just what is needed, and the correction has more than sufficient palaeographic plausibility).
- 784.** καὶ τις ἄν γέ μ' οἰκτίσειε: cf. *Ph.* 1215 οὐκ (v.l. οὐκ) ἄν γε λέξαιμ'. Hermann's ἄν μ' ἐπ- is a small change only (ἐποικτίσει-, cf. S. *OT* 1296), but καί . . . γε is appropriate again, as in 782 (τις emphatic, 'And somebody might . . .'). μέγα: 'a weighty consideration in your favour' (231-2*); for the idea that noble sufferers excite greater pity, cf. 814-15*, *Hp.* 1464-6 (1691-3*).
- 785.** ἀσχάλλων: 'aegre ferens', here only with acc.; usually intrans., whether abs. (S. *OT* 937) or with causal gen. (epic) or with dat. (*IA* 920, A. *PV* 764). ἐν ὄμμασι: cf. A. *Pers.* 604; but (with Wecklein) one might have expected ἐν ἐλπίσιν here (cf. *El.* 352), since hypothetical thoughts and emotions in other people's minds can scarcely be described, even in exaggerated metaphor, as 'in view' (as 'death' is in view, παρ' ὄμμα, at *Su.* 484). ἐν εὐχμασίω ('prayers') would be a smaller change, but I cannot offer a parallel.
- 786.** The decision is taken and 'approved'. ἀνανδρον: 'unmanly', among the most feared reproaches (Dover, *GPM* 100); cf. ἀνανδρίαν 1031, and *Introd.* F i. 7-8, G ii. ἀκλειώς: cf. 1151-2*.
- 787.** ἦ . . . οὖν: a rare combination (*GP* 285), here as in *Su.* 574 similar in force to μῶν (μῆ οὖν; cf. also the Platonic δρ' οὖν, *GP* 50). Or. is hoping for, and duly receives, the answer 'no'.
- 788.** 'There would certainly be (inauspicious) tears'; a *pro tanto* argument (γούν *GP* 452-3). οὐκοῦν οὕτως οἰωνός μέγας; again (780*) the interrog.

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- interpretation is to be preferred. But it is hard to understand μέγας as κακός (cf. *Hel.* 1051 κακός μὲν ὄρνις, *IA* 1347) or οἰωνός μέγας as 'a weighty deterrent consideration', and I should accept Reiske's μέλας (cf. Schmidt, *KS* 357 f.): 'black bird (bird-omen)'. 'Black' (opp. φῶς, etc.; 243-4*) is a recurrent theme, funereally associated with 'tears' at 203-7*, 320-1 (cf. also 457, 821-2*, 1147-8*; *Introd.* F i. 11). For the error, cf. (?) *Med.* 109 (μεγαλόσπλαγχνος codd., μελανό- Herwerden).
789. δηλαδῆ: 'obviously', a colloquialism only here, *IA* 1366 and *S. OT* 1501 in tragedy (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 46). τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ κερδανεῖς: 'and you will profit by/in the (saving of) time'; so, rightly, Di B., after Hermann (not 'but you will profit by the delay', as *S*). But there is textual uncertainty as to δέ (γε V, γάρ BO and others; Matthiessen 63²⁵). γε could be right (so Lenting); but there is something to be said for Herwerden's τε (*RPh* 1894, 79), cf. *HF* 603-4 πάντα σοι γενήσεται / τῆ τ' ἀσφαλείᾳ κερδανεῖς; as elsewhere, (e.g. 775-6) Pyl. then uses syntax that continues Or.'s thought, and cf. 1173-4* for the argument 'and (as a bonus) . . .'
790. κείνο . . .; cf. ἐκείνο . . .; twice at *IA* 516, 522 in a similar raising of objections (Mastronarde 38⁶). πρόσαντες: cf. Elmsley on *Med.* 375[381]. καινόν αὐ λέγεις: cf. 239, *Antiope* 48.61 Kamb., Elmsley on *Med.* 688[705].
791. κατὰσχῶσ': 'grip, dominate' (like *δαμείς* 845), cf. *Hr.* 27-8 κατέσχετο ἔρωτι δεινῷ (with pass. force), *Ba.* 1124. κηδεύσω: cf. 795*. Pyl.'s 'tending' of Or. is reminiscent of El.'s in 218 ff.
792. οὐκ ἔμοιγε σοῦ: cf. 221 τὸ δούλευμα ἡδύ.
793. εὐλάβεια (699*), for Pyl., has no place in friendship. 'Never mind about that (the risk of my sharing your νόσος by contagion)!' The pollution might or might not be transmitted (cf. Parker 129⁹⁸, 309). ἔγω may be either dismissive or challenging (or both), cf. 1532, Elmsley on *Med.* 780[798], Barrett on *Hr.* 1007-8, Kannicht on *Hel.* 1278; since 'therefore' does not make sense, the right articulation of the idiom is probably τὸ δ' οὖν ἴτω (Paley, W. Headlam, *CR* 1901, 101), cf. *S. OT* 669; for 'defiant' δ' οὖν in response to a warning or threat, cf. also *An.* 258, *HF* 726. The demonstrative use of initial τό (also *S. Tra.* 1172, etc.; *KG* i 584) is like that of τό (Diggle, *Studies* 6). Denniston (*GP* 426) implausibly suggested that 'therefore . . .' follows from Pyl.'s previous comment (the intervening words being ignored); εὐλαβοῦ . . . is too important to be 'ignored' (both thematically, and as a warning about contagion).
794. ἔκνος is likewise to be eschewed; cf. 1236, *S. Phil.* 887. Hereabouts Or. finally (with Pyl.'s assistance) leaves the sick-bed which, apart from the mad fit in 268 ff., he has occupied since the beginning of the play. Pyl.'s role in helping him is like, and indeed modelled on, that of Theseus in *HF* 1398 ff. (see Bond ad loc.); the professions and demonstrations of 'true φίλια' are similar, though more staccato here and more exaggerated.
795. ἔρπε νυν . . .: cf. *Med.* 403 ἔρπ' ἐς τὸ δεινόν: νῦν ἀγὼν εὐψυχίας. οἰαξ ποδός: a bold phrase, but with an exact metaphor; Pyl. is to 'steer' Or.'s feet (πούς, as often, = ἔχνος or βάσις); at the same time Or. retains the role of

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- οἰακονόμος (deciding which way to go, 796 ff.), the 'steering-oar' serving also as a physical support. φίλα γ' ἔχων κηδεύματα: thematic language, with a characteristic -ματα word ('tendings', cf. 791; 123*). The repeated emphasis on this sense of κηδεύειν, by contrast with the κηδος/κηδεύμα of the 'false φίλος' Menelaus (477*, 623, 752), is surely calculated; cf. also 883, 1017, [1081].
- 796-8. The opposition between the paternal and maternal tombs corresponds with the lateral opposition of L and R εἰσοδοί (Introd. E ii), cf. the opposed L exit of Men. and R entry of Pyl. in 717-28*. Cl.'s tomb lies offstage L (a direction now associated also with Tynd. and Men.); the R εἰσοδος symbolizes the 'friendly' and 'paternal' direction in which Or. now wishes to set off on his way to the Assembly-ἀγών.
796. ὡς τί δὴ τόδε; a modified colloquialism (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 29, cf. *GP* 211, Elmsley on *Med.* 665[682]); ὡς τί . . . may be either like ἴνα τί; (with a subjunc. understood) or 'causal' (cf. *IT* 557 ὡς τί δὴ θέλων); the addition of τόδε (sc. εἰπας) to the common ὡς τί δὴ; is unusual, but cf. 790 τί τόδε . . .; and *Ph.* 621 ὡς τί μ' ἱστορεῖς τόδε;
797. Cf. 1225 ff. (before another ἀγών) for the σωτηρία-supplication as a just claim upon the dead Agamemnon.
798. μητέρος δὲ μηδ' ἴδοιμι . . .: there is little point in, and a lack of parallels for, this μηδὲ, and Schmidt's μὴ 'σίδοιμι (*KS* 358), or μὴ εἰσ-, is surely right (echoing El.'s οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μητρός ἐσβλέψαι τάφον at 105); for the prodelision (or syncopphesis of μὴ + εἰσ-), cf. *El.* 961 μὴ 'σίδη νεκρὸν (μ' εἰσῖδη L in textu), *A. Sept.* 208. πολεμία: opp. φίλι(α)ος, cf. *Hec.* 848, *S. Phil.* 1302.
- 799-803. As in 1240 ff. (*Πυλ.* παύσασθε . . .), Pyl. has a short summative ῥήσις; unlike there, Or. has the last word (804-6).
799. ἀλλ' . . .: cf. 1618 ἀλλ' εἶα . . . at a similar change from ἀντιλαβή to undivided lines and from discussion to action. ἔπειγ': lit. 'spur on', cf. *S. El.* 1435; such intrans. uses are especially frequent in the imperative (as παύε); *KG* i 95. It is Pyl.'s role to be intolerant of delay (cf. 789, 794*, 1240). ἔλη: both 'convict' and 'destroy', cf. 862, 974-5*.
800. περιβαλὼν πλευροῖς . . . πλευρά: cf. 25*, 223-4*, *IA* 632 πρὸς στέρνα πατρὸς στέρνα τὰμὰ περιβαλῶ (a similar extension from χεῖράς τινα, or χερσὶ τινα cf. 372, περιβαλεῖν). The emphasized physical bond between Or. and Pyl. reflects the bond between Or. and El. νωχελή: 'feeble'; a rare word, cf. *Telephus* 149. 19, *S. fr.* 142. 19 R., νωχελή *Il.* 19. 411.
802. ὀχῆσω: the vehicular metaphor reflects οἶαξ 795; for the interchangeable imagery of ships and cars, cf. 988-9*; cf. also the extended vehicular metaphor of human support at *HF* 119-25. ποῦ γὰρ ὦν δεῖξω . . .: cf. *IA* 406 δεῖξεις δὲ ποῦ μοι πατρὸς ἐκ ταύτου γεγώς; (Elmsley on *Med.* 535[548]). φίλος: i.e. 'your friend' (with σοι understood from σε . . . ὀχῆσω).
803. εἰ σε μὴ . . . ὄντα . . . ἐπαρκέσω: ὠφέλειν can take acc. or dat. (425, 535, 565, 1301; 666, 681), but this acc. with ἐπαρκεῖν is without parallel (cf. *Hec.* 985 φίλοις, etc.). Elmsley (on *Held.* 8 and 807) implausibly postulated

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ellipse of a word like *ἰδῶν* or *εὐρών*. Reeve (i 260^b) suggests substituting *εὐρών* for *ὄντα* (the supposition then would be that *ὄντα* is a gloss). Prompted by J.D. I prefer Blaydes' *εἴ τι μὴ 'ν δειναῖσιν ὄντι συμφοραῖς ἐπαρκέσω* (with *σοι* still understood, as in 802); it is easy to see why a 2nd pers. pronoun should have been interpolated. *τι* enhances the sense: 'if at all I fail . . .'. *φιλία*, for Pyl., demands *total* commitment. (*ἐν δειναῖσιν . . . συμφοραῖς*: cf. 1-3*, 341-4*, 447, etc. See Addendis Addenda.)

804-6. 'A conclusive reflection isolated as a tiny speech on its own' (Friis Johansen 156), introducing the important new theme of 'comradeship' (cf. 1072, 1079); a topical theme, cf. Antiphon 2. δ. 9 *τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἐταιρίζειν συμφέρει* (Introd. A, F i. 5; O. Longo 267 ff.). Recent political upheavals had shown that *ἐταιρίαί*, especially of confederate young nobles, could be pernicious, as well as admirable. [804-6 del. Reeve¹, but the lines are too good to lose. There is indeed a metrical anomaly in 804, but there is nothing wrong with *ὁμαίμων* 806.]

804. *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο κτᾶσθ' ἐταίρους . . .* cf. *Ion* 554 *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν'* (also in tetrameters, see below); a colloquialism (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 31-2, Bruhn 97-8) similar to Eng. 'That's it!' The reference of the demonstratives is sometimes explained (fully or partially) by an asyndetic statement before the speaker proceeds to what follows from the 'correspondence' to which he has drawn attention: *Med.* 98-100 *τόδ' ἐκεῖνο, φίλοι παῖδες: μήτηρ | κινεῖ κραδίαν, κινεῖ δὲ γόλον | στείχετε θάσσον δώματος εἴσω, Hel.* 622-4 *τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνο: ξυμβεβᾶσιν οἱ λόγοι | οἱ τῆσδ' ἀληθεῖς (s.v.l.): ὡ ποθεῖσιν ἡμέρα, | ἦ σ' εἰς ἑμὰς ἔδωκεν ὠλένας λαβεῖν*. Here the thought is more staccato, the (self-evident) point being that Pyl. is expressing and demonstrating a 'true *φιλία*' corresponding with Or.'s earlier definitions (454-5*, 665 f. *ἀπὸ τοῦτο . . .*, etc.). Then the fact that Pyl.'s *φιλία* is that of a comrade (*συγγενής*, indeed), not a natural brother, prompts the gnomic-hortatory continuation 'Get ye comrades (as *φίλοι*), not kindred only! . . .'. For the pl. imperat. of 'general address', cf. 128-9*, 976 f.* *ἰὼ ὦ . . . λεύσσεθ'*. . . Murray's punctuation wrongly treats the *γνώμη* as a 'quotation' appositive to *ἐκεῖνο*, inconsistently with the parallels. [In *Ion* 554-5 Diggle reads *Ιω. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἰν' ἐσπάρημεν Σο. ὁ πότμος ἐξηῦρεν, τέκνον. | Ιω. πῶς δ' ἀφικόμεσθα ναοῦς*; (rightly accepting Dobree's punctuation of 554; *ἐκεῖν' ἰν' iam Elmsley, ἐκεῖ νῦν L*). Given the colon before 'the place of my conception . . .', I should prefer *ἰν' ἐσπάρη(ν) μὲν*. *Ion* already has in mind the unsolved problem in 555, and is not simply explaining *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο*. For *ἐξηῦρεν* devised', cf. 1255-7*; ὁ πότμος 190*.]

Metrically, *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο*: | *κτᾶσθ' ἐταίρους* infringes 'Havet's Bridge'; cf. P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones (1966), 33-5, 71, and West, *GM* 92. If we discount *IA* 1391 *τί τὸ δίκαιον † . . . †* (otherwise impossible, lacking caesura), the nearest tragic parallels (infringements in comedy are irrelevant) are: *Ion* 514 *ἐν δόμοις ἔστ' (ἔτ' Cobet), | ὦ ξεν' οὐπῶ . . . 517 ὦ τέκνον, χαῖρ' | ἦ γὰρ ἀρχή . . . 557 τῷ θεῷ γούν | οὐκ ἀπισταῖν . . . 560 ἦ θίγω δῆθ' | ὅς μ' ἔφυσας; 1253 ποῖ φύγω δῆτ'; | ἐκ γὰρ οἰκῶν . . . IA 383 οὐκ*

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ἔχοιμ' ἄν | σοι παρασχεῖν . . . , 908 ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης | γοῦν ταλαίνης . . . , 1339 τόν
 τε τῆς θεᾶς | παῖδα, τέκνον, 1375 καθθανεῖν μὲν | μοι δέδοκται, A. Ag. 1652
 ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ | μὴν πρόκωπος (s.v.l.; μ- κ- Porson, cf. 1549-50*). In all these
 there is either a monosyllable in the fourth position or a postpositive
 monosyllable in the fifth (or both); but several (notably *Ion* 557) have a
 pattern suggesting a greater tolerance of articulation after -υ- . . . in
 the tetrameter (esp. when a monosyllable follows) than of . . .
 -υ- - ! - υ - in the trimeter. It may be fortuitous that there is no exact
 tragic parallel. [Emendation can be considered. Maas rejected ἐκθησθ' as
 'not giving the right sense'; but κέκτησθε would make sense (cf. *Erechtheus* fr.
 362. 18 f. φίλους . . . κέκτησο). The objection is rather to ἐκτ- for κεκτ-
 in tragedy (cf. M. Griffith, *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (1977), 197; KB
 ii 467-8, M. Meier-Brügge, *Glotta* 1978, 224-36), and in particular to
 ἐκτσο -σθε as unattested forms of the perf. imperat. Alternatively we need
 something to fill the gap in τοῦτ' ἐκείν'. <-> κτᾶσθ' ἑταίρους. ὦ (or ὦ)
 would be a trivial correction (cf. 182-3*), and an exclam. continuation
 after τοῦτ' ἐκείνο is not inappropriate (cf. *Hel.* 623); but Fraenkel's exx. of
 ὦ + imperat. (on A. Ag. 22) include nothing really similar.]

μη τὸ συγγενὲς μόνον: economical language, τὸ σ- (a) implying
 συγγενεῖς (balancing ἑταίρους) as abstract for concrete, (b) properly
 abstract, implying 'the (φιλία) of blood-relations'. The formulation is
 consistent with the fact that Pyl. is a συγγενὴς ἑταῖρος (733, 1233); his
 ἑταιρεία is regarded as more important (cf. 1079).

805. ὡς ἀνήρ . . . : causal or asseverative? If ὡς is sound, we seem to need ὡς
 ἀνήρ <γ> . . . for clarity and emphasis (ὡς . . . γε 'causal-admonitory' after
 imperat. or equivalent, cf. [942], 1597). But εἰς (Herwerden, *RPh* 1894, 79,
 after Paley) is likely, in line with *IA* 1394 εἰς γ' (s.v.l.) ἀνήρ κρείσσων
 γυναικῶν μυρίων ὄραν φάος. 'One man who is ὀμότροπος, even though
 θυραῖος, (is worth more as a φίλος than . . .)'. The question then is, do we
 want asyndeton or εἰς δ' ἀνήρ . . . ? The latter, I think (as conj. by Murray in
IA 1394), since 'one . . .' is not a straightforward epexegetis of the pl.
 ἑταίρους. ὅστις τρόποισι συντακῆ; indef., cf. εἰς τις (516*); no ἄν, cf. 430*
 (ὅποι) and KG ii 426; for συντήκεσθαι (34*, 283*) of sympathetic
 relationship ('coalesce'), cf. Collard on *Su.* 1028-30. θυραῖος ὦ: opp.
 οἰκείος, cf. *An.* 422 κἂν θ- ὦν κυρῆ, Barrett on *Hr.* 395-7. Pyl. is in the
 relevant category as belonging to a different οἶκος (and πόλις), cf. 765*,
 1076-7*, etc.

806. μυρίων κρείσσων ὁμαίμων ἀνδρῶν κεκτῆσθαι φίλος: lit. '(is) a better φίλος
 for a man to have than an indefinitely large number of persons of the closest
 degree of consanguinity.' The hyperbole (as in *IA* 1394) is both rhetorically
 appropriate and in character. ὁμαίμος is normally 'brother' or 'sister'; but
 the synonymy with ἀδελφός -ή is not total (one can say ὁμαιμονέστερος, *S.*
Ant. 486) and the pl. is inherently less precise than the sing. But indeed Or.
 is thinking of 'brothers': it is 'fraternal' φιλία which has been found wanting
 (cf. 684-6*). κρείσσων: cf. 235-6*, 728, etc. κεκτῆσθαι: reflecting κτᾶσθ'

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804 (ring-structure): cf. *Ba.* 1343 *σύμμαχον κεκτημένοι*, *IA* 404 (*φίλους*), *Erechtheus* fr. 362 (804*), etc. *φίλος*: effectively terminal. For the sentiment and phrasing, cf. also 1155-7*, and *S. Phil.* 672-3 *δοσις γὰρ εὐδράν εὐπαθῶν ἐπίσταται, / παντός γένουτ' ἄν κτήματος κρείσσων φίλος*. If 806 is a conscious echo of *Phil.* 673, that in itself is a pointer to authenticity (cf. *Introd.* B, C ii, G v with n. 92).

SECOND CHORAL ODE: 807-43

A sombre triadic ode crowns the first half of the play, after the action centred upon Or. in his sick-bed. The exit of Or. to his *ἀγών* in the Assembly has left the stage empty for the first time, and an ode of some weight is to be expected after such a long sequence of spoken scenes. The central theme is naturally *τλήμων Ὀρέστης* (ambivalent, as we have seen) with particular reference to the matricide-issue concurrently being judged by the Argives; an issue now to be presented without reference to Apollo (an important structural feature of the play, cf. *Introd.* D iv). The three stanzas, variously aetiological, moralizing and emotional, express related lyric movements of thought determined partly by that shift of attention and by the *persona* of this Chorus (which must at least end by 'sympathizing' with Or., since it will later be an active partisan); partly by tragic precedents, the thematic material of the play and idiosyncrasies of a formal character (notably a taste for paradox/oxymoron and particular rhythms and turns of phrase). The strophe (807-18) has the important function of linking the themes adumbrated in the previous ode ('some *ἀλάστωρ* afflicting the House' and 'the transience of *μέγας ὄλβος*') with the full development of the *ἔρις* and *ἄρα* themes in the next ode (995-1012, cf. 12-14*, 1546-8*). The Chorus carry 'the main burden for the continuity of the mythical context of the play' (Fuqua 779; *Introd.* D viii); and it was a well-established convention to enunciate an ancient curse (sometimes quite late in a tragedy), accounting for the *δεινὰ πάθη* in view, so that they need not be attributed solely to individual *ἀμαρτία* or solely to the blind cruelty of the gods (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 104-28). The antistrophe (819-30) makes an apparently fresh start, denouncing in the strongest terms the view of those who can see anything *καλόν* in an act of matricide. At first sight there is little direct connection of thought between str. and ant.; but there is a balance between (a) the ideas 'reversal of fortune' and 'reversal of values' (both traditional *Ἄτη*-themes; for 'mistaking bad as good', cf. Easterling in *Dionysiaca*, 153 ff., on *S. Ant.* 620-4); (b) the patronymics 'Atreid' and 'Tyndarid' (the latter associated with 'mother'). The condemnatory terms 'impiety', 'madness', following a direct echo of the *Choephoroi* (821-2*), are as Aeschylean as the theme of 'Atreid *φόνος*'; at the same time there are also overtones of topical protest against 'sophism' (819 ff.*, 823-4*), even as 807 ff.* have a topical resonance. The epode (831-43) then pulls things together, with an essentially summative

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function: in effect, 'Orestes is thus in every sense, and culminatingly, *τλημονέστατος*'.

807-18 = 819-30

1	υ υ υ ι - υ - υ υ -	<i>gl</i> "
2	υ υ υ - ! υ - υ υ -	<i>gl</i> "
3	υ υ υ - υ - υ υ -	<i>gl</i> "
4	υ υ υ - - - υ υ - ! υ - -	<i>gl</i> " <i>ia</i> ^
5	υ - υ - ' - ! υ υ - ' υ - υ -	<i>ia</i> } <i>ch ia</i>
6	υ υ υ - υ - ! υ υ -	<i>gl</i> " }
7	υ ι υ - x ι - υ υ - (corrupt in str.)	<i>gl</i> "
8	- υ υ - ' - υ υ - !	<i>ia ch</i>
9	υ ι υ ! - - - ! υ υ - ()	<i>gl</i> "
10	υ - υ - υ υ ! - υ -	x <i>gl</i> }
11	- ! υ - υ υ ! - υ -	<i>gl</i> }
12	- ! - - υ υ - -	<i>ph</i>

Typical late-E. aeolo-choriambic (cf. esp. *Hel.* 1301 ff., 1451 ff., *IA* 543 ff.; Wilamowitz, *GV* 210 ff.). The metrical pattern, confirmed by the phrasing, is 1-4 (||), 5, 6-7, 8-9, 10-12; but nowhere is there a strong pause with sentence-end in both str. and ant., and the whole stanza is virtually a single 'system'. The taut pattern is spoiled by a gross inequality of responsion in 7, where the str. has *-νός ηλύθη Ταντάλιδαίς*, the ant. *-α· θανάτου γάρ ἀμφι δόβω*. 1-3. The *wilamowitzianus* (*gl*" or 'chor. dim.') is basically $\circ \circ - x - \text{---}$ (Itsumi 60 ff.). The tribach form of the aeolic *basis* (variously equivalent to $- \text{---}$ or ---) is especially characteristic of late E. (as *Hel.* 1304-5/22-3, *IA* 547-8, 550-2). Note that the opening rhythm $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ here accommodates a dochmiac phrase in both stanzas (*δ μέγας ὄλβος ἄ . . .*, reflecting 340 *δ μέγας ὄλβος οὐ . . .*, and *τὸ καλὸν οὐ καλὸν . . .*). 4. Or ^ *ia hag*; cf. *Hp.* 553/63, *El.* 736/46, *Ion* 1052/65 (and the 'sapphic hendecasyllable'). 5. Cf. *El.* 181-2/204-5 (Itsumi 67); the diaeresis after $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (as also in 843 below, *Med.* 431/9) is a kind of 'dovetailing' (see below). 6-9. Two distichs, enjambed with an overlapping short syllable in 813/25 and 827; a common type of bonding in other metres (p. 113), rare in aeolic, but cf. *Med.* 649 ff. *ἀμείραν τανδ' ἔξανυσσ- / σα· μὸχθων δ' οὐκ ἀλλὸς ὑπερ- / θέν η̄ . . .* ~ 660 ff. *μη φίλους τῖμάν καθάραι / ἀνοίξαντᾶ κληῖδᾶ φρέων / . . .* (Itsumi 73). As to the flawed responsion in 7, it is the 'hemiepes' (in itself unexceptionable), not the *gl*" (shaped like 827), that here looks out of place in the pattern, and a new conjecture for *ηλύθη* is suggested below (813*, 825*). 8. Or *gl*"; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$. . . is ambivalent, but *ia ch* is the more natural analysis in 826 (without split resolution); $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$. . . (Itsumi 62¹⁰) is common in E.'s iambs, and for *ia ch* in similar contexts (as *Ph.* 236) see Itsumi 66-7. 10-12. 'Dovetailing' (one-syllable word-overlap) is especially common in sequences like *gl* } *gl* } *ph* (*Hp.* 764-6, *IA* 543-5/58-60, etc.; West, *GM* 60, 117); for the verse $x - x - \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (West, *GM* 66²⁰), rare enough to need no separate name, cf. *Hp.* 525/35, *Ba.* 877/97 (a 'dragged' form), *S. Phil.* 141/56.

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- 807 ff.** An unusually constructed sentence: subject (807-9), aorist predicate (810); then, in a fresh metrical period, adverbial determination (when, from what cause). There is a paradox, in that the 'going back from good fortune' is unexpectedly determined as having occurred *before* the glory described in 807-9 (with the implication that the Atreid House is to be thought of as *at once* *δλβιος* and *δυστυχής*). At the same time, however, another point may be intended by the deferment of *Ἀτρείδαις* and *πάλαι* κτλ.: the big subject-phrase has a gnomic ring, as though introducing a paradigm of the general truth that *μέγας δλβος* is *οὐ μόνιμος* (cf. 340 ff.) and that *μέγα φρονεῖν* is perilous; a *γνώμη* applicable to Athens herself in 409/8 BC (Introd. A).
- 807.** *δλβος* may be either *πλούτος* or *εὐτυχία* (the one normally implying the other); the Atreid *μέγας δλβος* is both 'Tantalid' (4*, Pi. *Ol.* 1. 56) and 'Mycenaean' (cf. *Il.* 7. 180, 11. 46). *ἄ τ' ἀρετά:* 'excellence' (esp. martial prowess) in the traditional 'competitive' sense (Adkins 34-5, etc.).
- 808.** *μέγα φρονούσ'*: cf. *Il.* 11. 296 *αὐτὸς δ' ἐν πρώτοισι μέγα φρονέων ἐβεβήκει* (of Hector, displaying his pre-eminent *ἀρετή*); *το φρονεῖν μέγα* might excite admiration, but normal Greek sentiment regarded it as dangerous. For the bold personification of the *ἀρετή* (and *δλβος*) as *μέγα φρονούσα*, cf. *Ph.* 672-3 *σιδαρόφρων φόνος*, fr. 303 *ὑπέρφρονα δλβου* (Breitenbach 171).
- 809.** *παρὰ Σιμουνητοῖς ὀχετοῖς:* like *Hel.* 250 *παρὰ Σ-ροαῖσι* (*An.* 1183, *Hec.* 642, *El.* 441, *Tr.* 810, 1116, *IA* 751, 767); a traditional way of referring to Troy (*Il.* 4. 475, 5. 774, *Stes.* S89. 6 Page). *ὀχετοί* (again in *IA* 767) are properly artificial conduits or irrigation channels, but for the vague sense 'stream' (lit. or metaph. = *ροή*), cf. Pi. *Ol.* 5. 13, 10. 37, and Collard on *Su.* 1111.
- 810.** *πάλιν ἀνήλθ'* . . . : 'went back again from (pure) good fortune; a commonplace (cf. *Su.* 608-9 *τὸν εὐτυχία λαμπρὸν ἂν τις αἰροῖ μοῖρα πάλιν*), possibly with a faded metaphor of *stream-reversal* (cf. *Med.* 410 *ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί*, *El.* 1155 *παλίρρους*, etc.); but the 'reversal' in this case was not immediately to the opposite of *μέγας δλβος*. *ἐξ εὐτυχίας* is consistent with that (i.e. with a changed course *towards* total *δυστυχία*). *πάλιν ἀνελθεῖν* is a natural, if uncommon, combination (171*); elsewhere in E. with reference to speech (*Ion* 933, *Ph.* 1207), but cf. *ἀψ/αυτῆς ἀνερχομένου* *Il.* 4. 392, *Od.* 1. 317. The point of *ἐξ* . . . has been widely misinterpreted (cf. Murray's app. crit.). *Ἀτρείδαις:* 'the House of Atreus'; cf. *El.* 712 *Ἀτρείδαν . . . οἴκου* (*Ἄτρ-* including Atreus himself).
- 811 ff.** *πάλαι παλαιῶς ἀπὸ συμφορᾶς δόμων, / δπότα . . .:* declaring the antiquity both of the 'reversal' and of its cause (cf. *A. Ag.* 1377-8); the detail of the latter remains to be elaborated in the next ode (where the *δραι* witnessed by the House begin with Pelops' drowning of Myrtilus). The parenymon of cognate advb and adj. is like *Il.* 7. 39 *οἴθεν οἶος* and 16. 776 *καίτο μέγας μεγαλωστί* (except that here the adj. is derived from the advb, not vice versa). *πάλαι* should not be taken as simply intensifying the adj. (as

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though the 'going back' were recent and only the cause ancient). The paradoxical point of the stanza is that *δυστυχία* ('eristic' and 'bloody'), alongside 'great *ἄλβος*', have continuously afflicted the House *ever since* the ancient dispute over the Lamb (816 ff. *ἔθεν . . . οὐ προλείπει . . .*). [The same argument disposes of Hartung's *πάλιν παλαιάς* (tolerable indeed, if taken as merely anaphoric, but too likely to be misunderstood as 'iterum').]

812. *χρυσέας* (not *χρυσείας*) *ἔρις ἄρνός*: 'discord concerning the Golden Lamb', cf. *Hel.* 100 *ἔριων ἔριν*, *IA* 183-4 *ἔριν μορφᾶς*, *S. Aj.* 1239-40 *ἔριων ἀγῶνας*, etc. For the legend, cf. 995-1000, and Denniston on *El.* 699-746. Elsewhere *Ἔρις* is personified as a 'daimonic' concept (12-14*, 1001-2*); here *ἔρις* is more like a *νόσος* (a *συμφορὰ θεήλατος*, indeed, cf. 2*), with symptoms analogous to the *νόσος* of matricide (842-3*). [*χρυσείος* is not a tragic form; for Attic poets the choice in lyric (wide enough) was between contracted *χρυσῆος*, *χρυσ(ε)α* and uncontracted *χρυσῆός*, *χρυσῆα*.]
813. *ἤλυθε ἑ Τανταλίδαις*: a blameless vb in itself (cf. 996 *ἤλθ' ἀρά*), and a form common in E. (1011); but ordinary enough to be an error for something more *recherché* (perhaps *influenced* by 996 and 1011; more probably in antiquity, because of the poetical form and plausible rhythm). Responson (see below, and 825*) requires *ὅποτε χρυσέας ἔρις ἀρ- / νόσ* (∪∪ - ×) *Τανταλίδαις*. I suggest *ἐτεβάλει* (from *θάλλω/τέθηλα* 'flourish'), with imperf. force; cf. *Ph.* 811 f. *δυσδαίμων δ' ἔρις ἄλλα θάλλει* (sc. *Καθμείσις*) of the analogous (but present) discord between Oedipus' sons (816-18*), also *A. Su.* 105 *τεθαλώς*, and *S. Phil.* 258-9 *δαί τέθηλε* (of the hero's *νόσος*; just the right metaphorical colour in our context); the pluperf. occurs at *Od.* 5. 69 (*τεθήλε*). Corruption to *ἤλυθε* could well have followed a prior corruption to *ἔθηλε*. [Hermann led the way in attempts to emend *ἤλυθε*, considering two quite different lines of attack: (a) *ὑπερ* or *ἐνεκ'* *ἤλθε*; (b) substitution of a trans. vb such as *ἐπόρευσε* or *ἐπέκρανε* (getting rid of the apposition). Di B. is content with Wilamowitz's *ἤλυθε(ν)*; but the responson ∪∞∪∞ . . . is an unparalleled irregularity (Itsumi 67), not to be endured in such an otherwise careful pattern (even ∪∞ - × . . . would be unlikely as the only unmatched resolution; by contrast, the admissibility of unequal *anceps* before the choriamb needs to be clearly recognized).]
- 814-15. *οἰκτρότατα* . . .: both 'shocked' and 'pitying', cf. *Med.* 647. *Θοιάματα καὶ σφάγια*: appositive to *ἔρις*; cf. 1007-10*, where there is also a similar *hysteron proteron*. Atreus slaughtered his brother Thyestes' children and served them to him for dinner. *γενναίων τεκέων*: almost 'royal', as an aggravating feature (cf. the Princes in the Tower); also perhaps with an overtone *ἐγγενῶν* ('schema etymologicum'), cf. *γέννα Πέλοπος* 972.
- 816-18. *ἔθεν . . . οὐ προλείπει*: both 'from which cause . . .' and 'since when . . .'; cf. *S. El.* 508-15 *εὔτε γὰρ . . . οὐ τί πω / ἔλιπεν ἐκ τοῦδ' οἴκου / πολύπονος αἰκεία* (s.v.l.). *φόνῳ φόνος*: despite the apparent parallel at *Ph.* 1495 (see below), I believe that we should write *πόνῳ πόνος* ('trouble on

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trouble'), cf. S. *Aj.* 866 πόνος πόνω πόνον φέρει, and *TrGF adesp.* 7. 2-3 πόνω πόνος . . . ἀλλάσσοισα. δι' αἵματος (cf. 154-7*, *Ph.* 20), expressing the currency-medium (as it were) of the perpetual 'exchange', is futilely tautologous following φόν- φόν-; and the πολυπονία, as well as the 'bloodiness', of the House is a recurrent 'tragic' theme (cf. 341-4*, 1012*; *Intro.* F i. 14). For ἀμειβ- expressions with paired words, cf. 979-80*, 1007-10*, 1503, (?) *Med.* 1266-7, etc. (Diggle, *CQ* 1984, 63); the paregmenon here, as in *adesp.* 7, is best taken like δάκρυα δάκρυσι 335-6*, *Hel.* 195, 366, etc. (the dat. *noi* governed by the vb). The preverb in ἐξαιβίβων (contrast 272*) is simply intensifying; a typical E. use of ἐκ- (38*, 191*), reflected in ἐξανάψη 829. δισσοίσιον Ἄτρεΐδαις: 'the twofold House of Atreus' (cf. 810*, *A. Ag.* 1469 διφύνοισι Τανταλίδαισι), including the latest generation (969-70*) and with a connection of thought between δισσοίσιον and ἔρις. The formulation embraces the new discord between Or. and Men., soon to become 'bloody'. [For the frequent confusion of φόν- and πόν-, cf. 1543-4*, etc. (Dawe i 127, Bond on *HF* 1279; and add *El.* 100, Kells, *CQ* 1966, 51). The error here could be due either to the adjacent αἵματος (in a generally 'bloody' context) or to reminiscence of 510 f. (φόνω φόνον λύσει). The same paregmenon (φόνω φόνος codd.) should, I think, be similarly corrected at *Ph.* 1495, for similar reasons: αἵματι recurs (twice) in the same sentence, and it is a πολύπονος μοῖρα (*Ph.* 157) that has 'ruined the House of Oedipus' (similarly in a context of ἔρις, 813*). Other candidates for correction include *HF* 1005 (ὅς νιν φόνου μαργώντος ἔσχε κὰς ὕπνον / καθῆκε (πόνου 'labour' before 'sleep').]

819 ff. The Chorus assail as 'wicked, crazy, impious double-talk' (823-4*) the view that the manifestly οὐ καλόν action of parent-killing (cf. 492-3) can be simultaneously regarded as καλόν. That is certainly polemic against the kind of arguments deployed by Or. in 565 ff.; but they are not denying that Or. was in an impossible situation. Their pitying grief (831 ff.) is enhanced rather than diminished by the reflection that his action cannot properly be admired by a right-thinking person.

In detail the text and interpretation of 819-24 are controversial. With the usual punctuation, 819-22 is a complete but bafflingly illogical sentence, consisting of a self-contradictory statement ('τὸ καλόν is not καλόν') supposedly elucidated by the inf. phrases 'to cleave the flesh of parents . . . and to display the murder-weapon to the sun'. *Ba.* 395-6 τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία, / τό τε μὴ θνατὰ φρονεῖν is cited as a comparable 'paradox'; but it is not denied there (how could it be?) that τὸ σοφόν is σοφόν, and there is no difficulty in either the logic or the syntax. No help is afforded by passages in which τὸ καλόν denotes what is 'fair-seeming, admired, applauded' (εὐπρεπές) rather than absolutely 'good': *Hp.* 382-3 ἡδονὴν προθέτες ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἄλλην τιν' (*CQ* 1968, 14), *IA* 21 τοῦτο δὲ γ' ἐστὶν τὸ καλὸν σφαλερόν (*CQ* 1971, 353), *Hel.* 952-3. The interpretation 'τὸ εὐπρεπές . . . namely to kill parents' is absurd, and renderings such as 'Heroic action is not fine, when it involves . . .' are merely wishful. Better

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might be 'The (predication) "καλὸν to kill parents . . ." is not καλόν'. That gives the right kind of construction to the *infs.* But we cannot attach them to the first καλόν across the intervening οὐ καλόν. [Faciūs' οὐ καλόν οὐ καλόν . . . gives a straightforward sentence, but the respension ωω-ωω-ωω can be paralleled only by *IA* 733-4/64-5 (doubtfully Euripidean). There are no other published conjectures for 819.]

Then there is a further problem in 823 f. († τὸ δ' αὖ (εὖ) κακουργεῖν (-ου) † . . . παράνοια). Is this a new ('further') reflection? Or is it a continuation of the thought expressed in 819-22?

With a different punctuation (no comma before τοκέων, comma after δείξαι), the whole of 819-24 becomes (like 807 ff. in the strophe) a single sentence with a big subject-phrase: 'The (predication) "καλὸν οὐ καλόν to kill parents . . .", this (τόδ' Weil) . . . (is) ἀσέβεια ποικίλη and . . . παράνοια.' It is natural, if not inevitable, to understand καλόν οὐ καλόν as a syntactical unit '(at once) καλόν (and) not καλόν', like [904]* 'Ἀργεῖος οὐκ Ἀργεῖος, 891-2* καλοὺς κακοὺς λόγους, *IT* 512 οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐκὼν, *El.* 1230 φίλα τε καὶ φίλα, *Ar. Ach.* 296 οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον. In that sense καλόν οὐ καλόν is sophistic idiom of a kind well established in Athenian speech by 409/8 BC. The *inf.* phrases then have a natural construction, and there is a direct connection of thought between the sophistic καλόν οὐ καλόν in 819 and ποικίλα in 823 (see below). The Chorus are not polemizing against the obvious madness of those who simply regard murder of a parent as καλόν, but rather against the kind of ποικίλον and διχόμυθον (890*) argument that exploits δισσοὶ λόγοι (like Or.'s δνόσιος . . . δσιος δέ γ' ἔτερον ὄνομα in 546-7*). [I follow Weil as to the punctuation . . . δείξαι, / τόδ' . . . But he took τὸ καλόν οὐ καλόν, τοκέων . . . τέμνειν χροά and μελάνδετον δέ . . . δείξαι, / τόδ' . . . παράνοια as separate sentences.]

819. τό: the n. sing. def. article may be prefixed to 'any word or expression which itself is made the subject of thought' (LSJ δ, ἡ, τό B. I. 5), cf. X. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 21 τὸ ἐὰν μένητε παρ' ἐμοί, ἀποδώσω. The length of the expression introduced here by τό is extraordinary, but *Hr.* 265 τὸ "μηδέν ἄγαν" shows that such a use of τό is not alien to E. lyric; and, even as the Athenian ear could distinguish between τὸ μηδέν and τὸ "μηδέν . . .", so it could distinguish between τὸ καλόν and τὸ "καλόν . . .". It should not be forgotten that E. was able to instruct his singers in how the words were to be articulated. καλόν οὐ καλόν: see above, and Breitenbach 238 for other lyric exx. of positive-negative juxtaposition (including the γάμος οὐ γάμος ἀλλά . . . type: *Hec.* 948, *Hel.* 1134, *Ph.* 1495). τοκέων: 'of a parent' (pl. for sing., cf. 97*), initially placed in the *inf.* phrase (and thus suppliable with φόνω 821).

820. πυριγενεῖ . . . παλάμη: παλάμη passes from concrete 'hand' to abstract 'violence' or 'trickery' (cf. παλαμναῖος 'murderer'; Stevens on *An.* 1027). πυριγενής 'fire-generated' is applicable to forged steel (*Hr.* 1223), but also thematically applicable to murderous violence (cf. 621* for the 'fire' theme; πῦρ also means 'fever', and cf. *El.* 1183). τέμνειν . . . χροά is epic (*Il.*

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13. 501, 16. 761). [Porson's *τεμείν* may be right, but it is not needed for the metre. An aor. inf. follows (*δείξει*), but the mixture is possible (cf. 292-3); and the Chorus are generalizing (pl. *τοκέων*), even while thinking of the particular case, cf. *IA* 1015 *ἐκέτευ' ἐκείνον . . . μὴ κτείνειν τέκνα*.]
- 821-2.** ' . . . and to display the sword black-adorned with (their) blood to the *αὐγαί* of the Sun'; cf. *A. Ch.* 983-90, where Orestes had made just such a shocking display of his matricidal deed, that the Sun might witness its justice. Normal sentiment (as Aesch. was of course well aware) was that the sun's rays, or the eyes of the all-seeing Sun, should be protected from such polluting sights (*S. OT* 1425-7; cf. Platnauer on *IT* 1207). *μελάνδετον* . . . *ξίφος*: cf. *Ph.* 1091; the epithet originally referred to workmanship (*Il.* 15. 713 *φάσγανα καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα*; H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950), 276); but 'black' was a traditional epithet of both swords (*Hes. Op.* 151, Bond on *HF* 780) and blood (*Il.* 4. 149, etc.), and E. was fond of the double point (cf. Dale and Kannicht on *Hel.* 1656), as also of *chiaroscuro* (*μελαν-, αὐγός*: cf. 321-2, *Tr.* 549). *αὐγός*: 'Bright rays, bright eyes' (or simply 'brilliance', poetic pl.); a frequent ambivalence, cf. *Hec.* 926 (of a circular mirror), *HF* 132 *δμμάτων αὐγαί*, Kamerbeek on *S. Aj.* 70. *Ἀελίοιο*: for the gen. form (quite frequent in E. lyric, see Page on *Med.* 135, Barrett on *Hp.* 850. The connective *δέ* in 821 was rightly, I think, corrected to *τε* by Blaydes; the infs. are closely paired, with *τοκέων* common to both phrases, and the first place for a comma is after *δείξει*).
- 823-4.** *† τὸ δ' αὖ (Σ εἰδ') κακουργεῖν (-ον)† . . .*: we now need *τὸ δ'* (Weil), following a comma after *δείξει* and picking up the original *τό . . .* in 819; we also need *κακούργων* (Weil), giving a phrase-pattern with two gen. pls. like *Ba.* 400-1 *μαιομένων οἶδε τρόποι καὶ κακοβούλων παρ' ἔμοιγε φωτῶν* (for *κακούργων . . . ἀνδρῶν*, cf. also *El.* 219, *Ion* 832, *Antiope* 31.2 Kamb.). It is less clear whether *αὖ* can stand, or whether we should accept Herwerden's *τὸ δ' οὐ κακούργων . . . παράνοια*; (*Mél. Graux* 191). The latter is a plausible type of interrogative idiom (*S. OC* 883 *δρ' οὐχ ὕβρις τάδε*; *ibid.* 1729, *Ar. Nuθ.* 1299, *Ach.* 125; KG i 67), and there is a possible parallel for the corruption of *οὐ* to *αὖ* at *S. Aj.* 871 (Dawe i 155). But may not *αὖ* do, with the force 'on the contrary'? At first sight that is the force in *El.* 50-3 *δοῖς δέ μ' εἶναι φησι μῦρον . . . ἴστω καὶ τὸς αὖ τοιοῦτος ὤν*; but the point there is also 'progressive' (*καὶ τὸς . . . τοιοῦτος*), not simply contradictory, as it is also in passages like *Held.* 552 *δδ' αὖ λόγος σοι τοῦ πρὶν εὐγενέστερος*, *IA* 402 *αἰδ' αὖ διάφοροι τῶν πάρος λελεγμένων*. Any suggestion of 'this further . . .' is intolerable here, and I should follow Herwerden. [The readings *τὸ δ' αὖ κακουργεῖν* and *τὸ δ' εἰδ' κακουργεῖν* are both impossible for reasons other than inconsistency with the present interpretation. The former can only (ineptly) mean 'And/but *wrongdoing* on the other hand (as opposed to *τὸ καλόν*) is . . . *παράνοια*' (the idea that *αὖ κακουργεῖν* can mean 'retaliation' is both false in itself and unproductive of plausible sense). The natural meaning of *εἰδ' κακουργεῖν* would be 'rightly to do something *κακόν*' (c.g. in the hurting of an enemy). So far as we know, no Greek before

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Socrates pronounced a general condemnation of retaliatory or otherwise 'good' *κακουργία*, let alone in such extreme terms.]

ἀσέβεια: a topically emotive word (it is noteworthy that in E. the words *ἀσέβεια*, *ἀσεβείν*, *ἀσεβής*, *ἀσεπτος* occur only in his latest plays: here, *Hel.* 542, *Ba.* 476, 490, 502, 890, *IA* 1092, *Antiope* 48. 58 Kamb.). Athenians had become all too familiar with 'impious' argumentation associated with violent *κακουργία* (Introd. A). At the same time the condemnatory language used by the Chorus here ('impious', 'wrong-minded', 'mad') echo the terms used by the Chorus in A. *Ag.* 219 ff., reflecting upon Ag.'s 'Ατη-afflicted state of mind at Aulis. **ποικίλα:** 'double-speaking, sophistic'; the uncommon pejorative sense (opp. 'plain, straightforward', *Σοῦχ ἀπλή*) is like the sometimes pejorative use of *σοφός* (e.g. *Ba.* 655); cf. *An.* [937] *σοφῶν πανούργων ποικίλων λαλημάτων* (*leg.* *λαλήματα?* but the line remains otiose), *Ph.* 469-70 *ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφην, / κοῦ ποικίλων δεῖ τᾶνδιχ' ἔρμηνευμάτων*, *S. OC* 762; it is *vox propria* of Odysseus (1403 f.*), admired in epic as *ποικιλομήτης*, but reviled in tragedy as *ποικίλος* (*IA* 526) and *ποικιλόφρων* (*Hec.* 131), cf. *S. Phil.* 130. **κακοφρόνων:** cf. *Held.* 372, *Su.* 744, A. *Ag.* 100, *S. Ant.* 1104, *Pi.* fr. 211 (*strongly* pejorative, *like* *κακοβούλων Ba.* 400, not as LSJ). **παράνοια:** cf. A. *Sept.* 756 (*lyr.*); the cognate *παρανοεῖν* occurs at *IA* 838. [The unmetrical *μεγάλη* is an inaccurate gloss; *μαινόλις* (Hermann and Porson) has received more favour than it merits (Paley, Weil, Herwerden, Wecklein).]

825. θανάτου γάρ . . . : the probative connection of thought is not simply that Cl. screamed (right-thinking) words in *terror*, but that the imminence of appalling *death* gave her loud admonition an 'oracular' validity. **ἀμφι φόβῳ:** cf. *ἀμφί τάρβει* A. *Ch.* 547. [Attempts to emend . . . *πᾶρᾶνοι-* / *ἄ- θανάτου γάρ ἀμφί φόβῳ* so as to match . . . *ἐρίς ἄρ-* / *νός ἤλυθῆ Τανταλίδαις* are misdirected (for the metrical pattern, see p. 214). Murray's transposition *ἀμφί φόβῳ θανάτου γάρ* gives responsion with *ἤλυθε Τανταλίδαις*, but then 812-13/824-5 becomes $\cup\cup-x\cup\cup--||-\cup\cup-\cup\cup--||$ (an unlikely sequence: *hi* || *D* - ||, with hiatus at the end of 824). Substitutions of a \cup word for *θανάτου* are no better (Dindorf's *τοῦθε* is the least arbitrary, but it is impossibly obscure); the notion that *θανάτου* was added in explanation of *φόβῳ* does not explain why it should have displaced the word before *γάρ* (we might rather have expected to find it at the end of the line, like the glosses *γὰς* in 331 and *τῶν Ἀτρείδων* in 967).]

826. ἰάχησε: *ι-* (no augment), cf. 200*, 1465* (*ἄ δ ἀνᾶχῆν ἰᾶχῆν . . .*); *ἰᾶ-*, as also at *El.* 1150 *ἰάχησε δὲ στέγα* (the *ι-* there *anceps*), contrast *ἰάχηθησ* (probably) at *Hel.* 1147. For this vb introducing direct speech, cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 82.

827-30. Cl.'s admonition (artificially elaborating the simpler appeal in *El.* 1165 *ὦ τέκνα, πρὸς θεῶν, μὴ κτάνητε μητέρα*) is phrased in accordance with the argument of 819-24, in such a way as to give a chiasmic structure to the stanza. Or.'s *τόλμα* is 'unholy' (cf. *ἀσέβεια* 825; *ἀνόσιος* 286, 374, 546, etc.); then the warning against perpetual *δύσκληια* reflects *οὐ καλόν* (819).

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οὐ . . . δαία: i.e. ἀνάσια (a mild hyperbaton). τολμῆς: cf. 1062-4*, Introd. F i. 12. τιμῶν: cf. 484*, 486. πατρώων . . . χάριν: 'homage due to (a/your) father', cf. 243-4*, 453, *Med.* 439 ὄρκων χάρις (LSJ χάρις V). ἐξανάψη: probably an E. coinage (*IT* 1351, 1408, *Antigone* P. Oxy. 3317); the metaphorical 'attach δύσκλητα to yourself' reflects the epic μῶμων ἀνάψη (*Od.* 2. 86). [Triclinius' conjecture τίνων for τιμῶν (reported by King from the scholia in Barocc. 74) is plausible, cf. 453 χάριτας πατρώας ἐκτίνων (243-4*); Tricl.'s motive may have been primarily metrical, but τίνων undeniably gives excellent sense.]

831-43. *Epode*

1	— — — — — — — — — —	<i>D'</i> (gl, gl')
2	— — — — — — — — — —	gl''
3	— — — — — — — — — —	gl ia [^]
4	— — — — — — — — — —	^ ia ch
5	— — — — — — — — — —	^ gl''
6	— — — — — — — — — —	ia ch
7	— — — — — — — — — —	gl''
8	— — — — — — — — — — ()	r
9	— — — — — — — — — —	zch
10	— — — — — — — — — —	gl''
11	— — — — — — — — — —	gl''
12	— — — — — — — — — —	ia ia f
13	— — — — — — — — — —	ar (ch ia [^])

Similar cola to those in 807-30, but with some subtle variations of rhythm in the tripartite pattern (1-3; 4-8; 9-13). 1. As *Ba.* 116/31, *IA* 210(?), 588, 1041/63; arguably, in context, a late form of gl'', cf. 10-11 below, also — — — — — — — — — — at *El.* 439/49, *Ba.* 115/30, and — — — — — — — — — — at *IA* 168/89). Less probably (with δᾶκρυα) either — — — — — — — — — — (Dale, *MA**) or — — — — — — — — — —, as a gl form like *IT* 1092, 1098, *IA* 169, 210(?), 759. 3. 'Phalaecean hendecasyllable'; like 810/23, but with gl for gl''. 4-5. 'Acephalous' cola, cf. *Hel.* 1340-1/56-7 (Itsumi 66-7) and *Ion* 493, etc. (Itsumi 62). 6-7. As 814-15 (str./ant. 8-9, p. 215). The reizianum continues the double-short rhythm of the ch in 7 (so that 7-8 is nearly a dactylic hexameter). 9. Reading . . . ματρός ὄτ' ἐ<κ> (839-41*); for the zch opening to the final period, cf. *IT* 435/52. [ματέρος ὄτε (anon. *ap.* Prinz-Wecklein) gives an unusual resolution of the last syllable of a choriamb at verse-end. Neither ὄτ'ε (period-end) nor lengthening of ε before χρ is likely (*pace* Stinton, *JHS* 1976, 126).] 10-11. Related to both 1 (see above) and 9; — — — — — — — — — — is a frequent gl'' form in *IA* (556/71, 574, 576, 764-5), previously rare (*Ba.* 410, ?*Su.* 999/1022, *S. Aj.* 702/15); cf. West, *GM* 116, Itsumi 64, 67-8. It takes little, indeed to regularize 840 (scan χρῦσέδ-, or accept Hermann's χρῦσέδ-, cf. 1478*); but Hennig's ἰδῶν for εἰσιδῶν in 841 gives a less likely gl' (here only in the ode). 12-13. A self-contained resolved ia (two tribrach words) precedes the clausular sequence ia f ar. The ia — — — — — is frequent at the beginning of a verse (814/26, 836,

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21431, *Su.* 1162, *Tr.* 324 (monometer), 640), much rarer in mid period (where long anceps tends to be eschewed, especially in resolved and/or syncopated verses). The pattern here is rather like *Su.* 1156-7 (~ 1162-4, likewise stanza-ending): δῦοι δ' ἀχῆ, | ματρὶ τ' ἐλίπεν | σὲ τ' οὐπὸτ' ἀλ·γῆ
 πᾶτρῳά λῆψαι (ia | zia | ith). The sequence -υυυ-'-ιυυ-υ-- is metrically summative, cf. *str./ant.* 4, 5, 8 and ep. 6. [Of other arrangements, Bichl's . . . ματῆρᾶ πᾶ- / τρωῶν . . . gives an apparently unparallelled ending *gl' / hag* (though cf. *Ba.* 875-6/95-6, which is *zia / hag*); Wilamowitz's . . . ματῆρᾶ πᾶτρι- / ὠν . . . (accepted by Isumi) is open to the same objection as . . . ματῆρὸς στέ / . . . in 9.]

831 ff. The conclusion that follows from 807-18 and 819-30 is that Or. has an unrivalled claim to his proper epithet *τλήμων* (in every sense of the word, 35*); a traditional point, cf. *A. Ch.* 932-3 πολλῶν αἰμάτων ἐπήκρισεν (275-6*) *τλήμων* Ὀρέστης. A general reflection (Friis Johansen 161, 167) is followed by detailed (summative) specification of the case in point.

831-3. τίς νόσος, ἢ τίνα δάκρυα καὶ / τίς ἔλεος μεῖζων κατὰ γᾶν, / ἢ . . .; the alternative 'or what greater tears and pity' is inserted (with a kind of zeugma) into the question 'what νόσος is (*worse, greater*) than matricide?' There is no need to give ἔλεος (or δάκρυα) the nonce sense 'object of compassion' (as LSJ). The structure is strikingly like *Ba.* 877-80 (= 897-900) τί τὸ σοφόν, ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον / παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς, / ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς / τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν; where the point is simply 'what is *more* σοφόν or *more* καλόν (as a god-given boon) than to hold the upper hand over one's foes?' In our passage μεῖζων is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; in *Ba.* something like μάλλον (or κρείσσω) is to be supplied in respect of τὸ σοφόν; in both it is the alternative question that includes the comparative word. In general Greek was able to supply a comparative word before ἢ if the comparative point is otherwise clear (KG ii 303 n. 2). [I no longer, as in *CQ* 1966, 229-31, question the text of *Ba.* 877/97 (for the metre of which see p. 215 above); for the interpretation of the controversial τί τὸ σοφόν; see now M. Cropp, *BICS* 1981, 38-42.]

833. ματροκτόνον . . . θέσθαι: periphrastic, in such a way as to emphasize the blood-pollution; for the phrasing, cf. (variously) 13-14, 842, 1649, *Hel.* 154, *Ba.* 139, 837, *A. Eum.* 281 μητροκτόνον μίasma, *S. OC* 542-4 ἔθου φόνον . . . πατρός.

834-8. A patterned sequence ending with the subject 'Agamemnon's son'; cf. *Hr.* 534 . . . / Ἔρως δ' Διὸς παῖς (likewise a *reizianum*), *Ion* 1089, Kannicht on *Hel.* 1117-21; the epic colour of the adj. Ἀγαμεμόνιος (179*, *An.* 1034, etc.) is here reinforced by the cadence rhythm.

834. οἶον ἔργον τελείσας . . .: at once echoing 286-7 (ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον <τελεῖν>) and 327-8 (φεῦ μόχθων, οἶων . . .) and introducing the 'specification', cf. *Hr.* 532 οἶον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας . . .

835. βεβάκχεται μανίαις: cf. 37*, 338*, 532, etc.

836-7. Εὐμένιαι θήραμα, φόνον / δρομάσι δινεύων βλεφάροις: it is because Or. is 'hunted by the Furies' (see 38*) that he 'whirls blood with racing

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- eyes'; the characteristic *-μα* noun does the job of a passive participle (cf. *λόχευμα* 997*), with *Εὐμενίσι* almost dat. of agent (by extension from the type of dat. *commodi* in *Il.* 5. 488 *ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένηθε*, *A. Sept.* 1014 *ἀρπαγὴν κυσίη; KG* i 429). Or. is *αἱματωπός* (*φόνον βλέπων*) as a 'sick' polluted murderer (cf. 480), both 'red eyes' and 'whirling eyes' being marks of madness (253-4*, Dods on *Ba.* 236 and 1122-3). *δρομασί . . . βλεφάροις*; 269-70*; 'racing' stands for 'crazy' by a bold hypallage (Or. is himself *δρομαίος*, 45*); *βλέφαρα* 'eyes', 158-9*. [*φόνω* is defended by Degani as causal with *Εὐμ- θήρμα*, and by Biehl as loosely causal with 837 as well (*ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*). However it is taken (cf. also A. Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne* 1962, 21), the extra dat. is clumsy; moreover without 'blood' as the object of *δινεύων* we should surely have expected *βλέφαρα*, not *-οις* (cf. 1459); 'roaming with running eyes' is an unlikely phrase. The error was an easy one after *φόνω* 816, 821 and *φόβω* 825, and cf. 38*, 411*.]
- 839-43. The final focus is on the *ἔργον* itself (giving 834-43 a ring-structure), combining reminiscence of 527-8*, 566 ff. (*μαστόν*), of the 'mother/father' opposition (562-3, 828) and of the *ἀμοιβή*-theme (816-18), with 'pitying' emphasis on Or.'s 'wretchedness' (*μέλεος* 90, 160, 335).
- 839-41. *ματρὸς δὲ ἔκ* / *χρυσοσηνήτων φαρῶν . . .* for 'out from' (alongside 'up', as *Il.* 22. 80 *μαζὸν ἀνέσχε*), cf. 527 *ἐξέβαλλε μαστόν*, *El.* 1206 *ἔξω πέπλων; ὑπερέτλειν ἐκ*, *Ph.* 1007. *χρυσοσηνήτος* (here first) is a characteristic word-formation (cf. *εὐπηγος IT* 814, *πολύπηγος El.* 191, *χρυσοκόλλητος Ph.* 2; Diggle on *Phaethon* 263, Breitenbach 64-6, 87); the 'gold' of Cl.'s robe—perhaps brocade, perhaps imprecisely conceived (*πήνη* is properly 'thread on the bobbin, woof')—is a queenly feature, not merely picturesque but enhancing the horror of the event (like Iphigenia's saffron robe in *A. Ag.* 239). [*δὲ ἔκ*: for the error, cf. *δὲ ἔκ* at 990-1*.]
- 842-3. *σφάγιον ἴθεο*: i.e. *ἔθυσε* (cf. 562), the periphrasis governing an object, cf. 859-60, 1038, 1069, 1121, *El.* 165, *S. Tra.* 996 (*KG* i 322-3); with an echo both of *θέσθαι* 833 and of 815 (the ancestral *σφάγια* of Atreus). Similarly *ἀμοιβάν* reflects *ἑξαμείβων* 816, in a wry phrase reminiscent of *A. Ag.* 226 *γυναικοποιῶν πολέμων ἀρωγάν* ('appositive' int. acc., as 10*, 1105, etc.); *Ag.* had been similarly *τλήμων* in performing a 'crazy' and 'unholy' *θυσία* (prompted by oracular *πειθῶ*).

ACT THREE: 844-956

Self-contained *ἀγγελία*-scenes are especially characteristic of E. (cf. Collard on *Su.* 634-777). One function of the 'Messenger-speech' here is to announce the verdict of the Argive assembly to El. and the Chorus in advance of Or.'s return with Pyl. (cf. *El.* 761-858), thus providing dramatic space for the magnificent Lament that follows (960-1012*); it is salutary, as a corrective to the usual exclusive focus on the dialogue, to think of the action as organized in such a way as to provide cues and themes for the odes). Another function, as a legacy from the epic tradition of poetic

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narrative, is to entertain and stir emotions of various kinds. Debates are a prominent feature of the Iliad, and both Assembly- and trial-proceedings were a matter of personal concern to every Athenian citizen. Ancient and modern are skilfully blended (e.g. 919*), both in diction and in the overtones of the contemporary Athenian social and political background.

In considering the outcome of this offstage *ἀγών* (878*), it is important to distinguish between the condemnation and the sentence. As to the 'life or death' issue, any element of 'surprise' comes at the beginning of the scene (852-60), so that we attend to the narrative in the knowledge that Or. and El. are going to be condemned to death; and this knowledge comes less as a surprise than as a 'shock' for which we (like El. herself, 859-60) have been fully prepared. The matter that is held in suspense is how the death-sentence is to be carried out (863-5*), and with that the question 'are we going to see Or. again?' Hitherto the mode of execution envisaged has invariably been *stoning* (50[-1]*, [442], 564, 614, 625), and that is confirmed at 914-15; so that the actual verdict of 'suicide at the Palace with El.' (946-9) really does come as an unexpected (though artfully prepared) development. This, not simply the death-*ψήφος*, is the essential premiss for the later action. The other essential premiss is that Men. should have completed his 'betrayal' by failure to speak in Or.'s defence (cf. 682-716*, 1056-9).

These 'plot'-considerations are paramount (Introd. C ii). But we are also invited to focus attention on the proceedings themselves as an explanation of why and how the Argives decide upon 'death' (861-2). For the narrator, the condemnation is tragically 'pitiable' (the right posture in relation to the following lament) and diametrically 'wrong' as a verdict. But are we intended to share his view of the matter, as Di. B. appears to assume? We cannot but accept the facts reported by the *ἄγγελος* as correct; but we are not committed to the same acceptance of his subjective interpretation of the facts, coloured as it is by the declared prejudices of an elderly and politically naïve rustic loyal to the House of Agamemnon (866-83*). The view of the 'admired' *ἀδρουπυός* (that Or. should be acquitted *cum laude*) is as repugnant—in the light of Act Two (and 819 ff.*)—as the opposite view (that Or. should be stoned to death). It follows, surely, that the right-thinking spectator was intended to recognize the view of Diomedes (that Or. should be *exiled*) as the proper 'middle course'; cf. 887-930*, 898-902*. E.'s primary concern was that the 'necessary' outcome of the trial (the untraditional suicide-sentence required by his plot) should be at once mythically acceptable (on the plane of poetic legend) and credible to his audience in the light of their personal experience of political and forensic decision-making. He was not directly concerned with political satire or propaganda; but he did see in the contemporary political scene features that could be exploited for his dramatic and mythopoetic purpose. Or. is condemned to death (and the 'proper' outcome of *φυγή* excluded) partly because of a polarization of extremist views analogous to that which

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- was currently militating against politics of the centre (Introd. A), partly because, at the moment when the issue appears to be in the balance, Menelaus fails to appear for the defence and Or.'s own apologia 'did not persuade the assembly' (943). It is scarcely surprising that those condemning an act of matricide should have outnumbered those prepared to applaud it, when these are the terms in which the issue has been presented.
- 844-58.** Paley produced distichomythia by deleting 848 (after Kirckhoff) and 852, and supposing a line to have been lost after 849; but there is no reason to expect such extreme formalism in the preliminary dialogue before an *ἀγγελία*-speech (cf. *Ph.* 1067-89, 1335-55). The integrity of 847-8 and 852-6 are separate issues.
- 844-5.** γυναικες, ἢ που . . . ? 'Can it be that . . . ?' A common type of scene-opening with a question to the chorus; usually by a newcomer from the side (e.g. *Al.* 476-7, *Med.* 1293-5). Here it might seem that El. should first register Or.'s absence and then ask her 'presumptive' question, but the stage-technique implied by the phrasing is not simply naturalistic; rather, the 'surprised' realization of Or.'s departure and the suggested explanation of it are artificially combined. The range of ἢ που (cf. 435) extends from open-minded to surprised or ironical interrogation according to the context, overlapping in colloquial use with οὐ που and even μή που; cf. Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 24. There is no need here for Hermann's more directly 'incredulous' οὐ που . . . ; [There is often a critical choice, with evidence of ancient uncertainty and Triclinian bias towards ἢ που (Zuntz, *Inquiry* 196 n.); but Page drew too arbitrary a line in his note on *Med.* 695 (cf. *Med.* 1308, where the 'sarcasm' of ἢ που is scarcely 'open-minded'); *pace* Diggle (*Studies* 58), I see no need for οὐ που at *Tr.* 59.]
- 846.** ἦκιστα· πρὸς δ' Ἀργείων οἴχεται λεών: ἦκιστα, cf. 235-6*; λεῶν 'assembled people'. The Chorus-leader first emphatically counters the suggestion of 'madness' (845b), then says where Or. has gone.
- [847-8].** ἀγῶνα . . . δῶσων is unintelligible (it is irrelevant, *pace* Murray, that ψυχῆς περιδωσόμενος would be idiomatic Greek for 'to hazard his life'); but no emendation of 848 can remedy the lame superfluity of the rel. clause (cf. [33]). 846-7[-8], however, is not a satisfactory sentence. 846 is equivalent to τὸν προκείμενον περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα (not, as Di B. perversely takes it, περὶ τὸν προκείμενον ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα); a quite different type of acc. phrase (with def. article) from those governed by a vb of 'going' in *S. Tra.* 159 πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξιών, 506 ἐξήλθον ἀεθλ' ἀγώνων, *HF* 662, 1102, etc. (KG i 307, Bruhn 35), even if we could regard πρὸς Ἀργείων οἴχεται λεῶν as equivalent to a simple 'he has gone (forth)'. It follows that to save 847 we must either emend it or visualize the loss of a line after it. It is not worth the effort. The Chorus-leader has already said enough to provide the right cue for 849*; and the terseness (thus) of 846 is in line with that of 850 (where the reply 'Pylades' is unsupported by any explanation of Pyl.'s presence and persuasion). There is no more need here than in [441-2] to labour the 'life or death' point; and 847-8 as a whole is an unwanted anticipation of 878*.

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The elements of which 847 is composed are ordinary enough: *ἀγώνες* are routinely described as *προκειμένοι* (LSJ *πρόκειμαι* 3. b), and such a formulaic line could have been already available in some other play; or it could have been cobbled together by someone familiar with *Ph.* 780 *ἀγώνα τὸν προκειμένον δορός* and 1330 *ἀγώνα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς*. The larger excision proposed is at least consistent with the absence of ancient scholia on either line; and it is further beneficial in that the Chorus-leader's next utterance is a distich ending with *πέρι* (850–1). [Since *Chr. Pat.* has 847 twice, followed the first time by *δραμούμενον, καθ' ὃν θανεῖν ἐστὶ κρίσις* (416), the second time by *τρέχοντος, ὡς ζῶντ' ἢ θανόντα νῦν ἴδοις* (442), it is likely that 847 was more anciently established in the text than 848. Probably 847 was added first (a ready-made line?), with the intention of expanding and clarifying 846b; then the loose construction of the acc. prompted a variety of further one-line additions, all more or less unsatisfactory. The ineptness of *δώσω* where *ἀγώνα* so obviously needs to be followed by a vb of 'running' (as in *Chr. Pat.* 415 f., 441 f.) lends colour to Reiske's emendation *θεύσω*; a form possible in later Greek (Lyc. 1119), but not in classical tragedy. Other emendations of *δώσω* are all unappealing: *δύσω* Canter, *δραμεῖν* Heimsoth, *δραμῶν* Hartung, *εἰσιῶν* Schmidt; *θευσόμενος* ὡς Weil, *δυσόμενος* ὡς Blaydes, *δραμεῖν / θέλων* Brunck. Emendations intended to improve the sentence 846–7[–8] are scarcely more plausible: *προκειμένον τ' ἐπι* Kirchhoff, *ἀγῶνος τοῦ προκειμένου χάριν olim* Wecklein. There are indeed several other possibilities if *πέρι* can be spared (e.g. <δραμεῖν>); but it probably cannot, in the standard expression 'ἀγῶν for ψυχῆ' (with or without a word of 'running'; cf. also *S. El.* 1492, *Ar. Vesp.* 375–6, *Il.* 22. 161, *Hdt.* 8. 74. 1, 9. 37. 2, *Pl. Thl.* 172C). The only residual possibility is to write *ψυχῆς* (<τ') *ἀγώνα* (sc. *πρός*).]

849. οἴμοι, τί χρῆμ' ἔδρασε; τίς δ' ἐπεισέ νιν; El. reacts first to the statement in 846b (a reaction the more natural if the Chorus-leader has not appended an explanation) and then to the implication of 846a (sc. 'if, as you say, he was not induced by madness'). The Chorus-leader then deals first with the second question, leaving the other question to be answered by the approaching Messenger. For such chiasmic patterns in the handling of questions and answers, cf. Mastronarde 39–42.

850–1. οὐ μακράν: 'soon', cf. *Tr.* 460, but also perhaps 'not lengthily' (cf. *Hel.* 1017); the expectation that the ἄγγελος will unburden himself 'shortly' (in both senses) is borne out (857–8), his long *βῆσις* following in response to a request for detail (the usual procedure, cf. *Hp.* 1173 ff., *Hel.* 1526 ff.). τὰ καίθην: a frequent 'attraction' with place-adverbs, cf. *Ba.* 669 (KG i 547).

[852]. Del. Paley; cf. Page, *Actors* 54, and Haslam (71–2*). The allocation is clumsily long, especially for such a short speech; at the same time the 'pitying' exordium is just the kind of thing that actors might have added to heighten the emotional effect. For the repetitive ὦ τλήμων ὦ δύστηνε, cf. *τάλαιναν ἀθλίαν* in [1563–4]*.

853–4. πότνι: respectful (= *δέσποινα*), cf. 1249, *El.* 487, Bond on *Hyps.* 60. 5.

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- 'Hear the unhappy words I bring': formulaic language, cf. 1628, *S. Phil.* 1267 λόγους δ' ἀκούσον οὖς ἡκω φέρων (245-6*).
- 855[-6]. αἰαῖ, διοιχόμεσθα . . . : cf. *Ph.* 1336 Κρ. οἰχόμεσθ' οὐκ εὐπρόσώποις φροίμοις ἀρχῆ λόγου (in reply to *Αγγ.* ὦ τάλας ἐγώ, τίν' εἶπω μῦθον ἢ τίνας λόγους;). The second half of *El.*'s 2-line reply here is plainly superfluous, even foolish (after the ἀγγελος has said λόγους . . . δυστυχεῖς), and was rightly deleted by Brunck (before Kirchhoff). Either 856 was added as an explanation (for the feeble-minded) of δῆλος εἰ λόγῳ. Or perhaps it has a dittographic origin: with κακῶν ἄρ' . . . (or γ' ἄρ' cf. 755*) 856 might have been intended as an *alternative* to 855. The position at *Ph.* 1072-4[-5] is rather similar, cf. Page, *Actors* 24.
- 857-60. *El.*'s 'grievous expectation' is at once confirmed.
- 857-8. ψήφῳ Πελασγῶν: cf. *Hec.* 195-6 Ἀργεῖων δόξαι ψήφῳ (ἔδοξε 46, 1328; *Πελασγ.* 691-3*).
- 859-60. προσήλθεν ἐλπίς: cf. *IA* 784-5 μήτ' ἐμοί . . . ἐλπίς ἀδε ποτ' ἔλθοι ('calamity', proleptically conceived as an 'expectation'). πάλαι τὸ μέλλον ἐξετηκόμην γόοις: 'the future (calamity)' is governed κατὰ σύνεσιν by a phrase equivalent to 'I had anciently been lamenting'; cf. 842-3*, Dodds on *Ba.* 1288 λέγ', ὡς τὸ μέλλον καρδιά πῆδημ' ἔχει; ἐκτῆκειν 134*.
- 861-5. *El.*'s questions are natural enough (scarcely 'à la limite du vraisemblable', de Romilly); they are also indications to the audience as to the matters on which they are to focus attention.
- 861-2. τίς ἀγῶν: sc. ἦν, cf. *S. Ichn.* fr. 314. 120 R. τίς ὁ τρόχος τοῦ τάγματος; τίς . . . : epexegetic asyndeton (215*, 385, etc.) with anaphora. καθέλιον: cf. 799*, *S. Ant.* 275. κάπεκύρωσαν θαναίν': more technically 'ratified' (cf. *S. El.* 793), with a final-consec. inf.; cf. also κατακυρωθεῖς 1014*.
- 863-5. 'Am I to die with my brother by stoning or by the sword?' The further question is unusual (861-2 providing a sufficient cue for the narration, cf. *Ph.* 1354-5). The point is not simply 'pathetic' (Di B.), but to signal in advance the possibility of a mode of execution other than stoning; an artful preparation for the surprise at the end of the speech. 'Suicide' (not directly contemplated) is included within a more general idea of 'death by steel'. The periphrastic phrasing is elevated: λυσίμῳ χειρῖ, cf. 50[-1]*; πνεῦμ' ἀπορρήξαι 'to die abruptly', cf. *A. Pers.* 507; κοινάς, with dat., cf. 8-9*; συμφοράς, cf. 2*, 61, etc.; κεκτημένην, cf. *Tr.* 737, *IT* 1317, etc. (489*).
- 866-83. 'Setting the scene', with an explanation of the narrator's involvement. He is of a familiar 'feudal' type—conventional, indeed, but in *E.* (as also in *Ar.*) apparent appeals to conservative sentiment are not seldom touched with irony, or outright caricature, in respect of old men with 'rustic' and 'old-fashioned' values; cf. Dover, *Clouds* pp. lix ff. and *GPM* 113, Ehrenberg 56 ff.
866. ἐτύγχανον . . . : i.e. the speaker had a reason unconnected with the assembly for coming into the city from the country; like the αὐτομργός in 917 ff., he is not a regular attender of debates. For the echo in *Men. Sik.* 176, see *Introd.* n. 119.

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869. ἀεί ποτ': 'always in the old days'.
870. γενναῖον: cf. 1157 γενναίου φίλου, and Denniston on *El.* 253; though poor, the speaker is metaphorically 'noble in his treatment of (loyalty to) φίλοι'. χρῆσθαι: LSJ χρῶμαι IV; for the 'specifying' inf., cf. 717, 921, S. fr. 524.7 R. εἰδ φρονεῖν σοφώτερος, Pl. *Grg.* 479C πιθανώτατοι λέγειν.
- 871-3. θάσσον' ἄκραν: a standard poetical acc. with vbs of 'sitting', cf. 956, *An.* 117, *Ion* 91 (KG i 314). Since 'Argos' is also 'Mycenae' (46*), the actual Argive topography will have counted for less than the fact that the Athenian Pnyx is an ἄκρα near the West Gate in the Wall of Themistocles. The location is then defined in *mythological* terms which serve to authenticate E.'s innovation in putting Or. to a public 'assembly-trial' at Argos. Aegyptus himself had come to Argos (according to a non-Aeschylean tradition traceable to Phrynichus; Winnington-Ingram, *JHS* 1961, 148) either with his fifty sons or subsequently, in order to avenge the murder of them, all but Lynceus, by the daughters of Danaus (a legend touched on also in E.'s *Archelaus*); Danaus was minded to give battle, but Lynceus had prevailed in propounding a peaceful arbitration before the Argive ἄριστοι (Σ). δίκας διδόν': either 'making amends' or 'granting arbitration' (*A. Su.* 703; LSJ δίκη IV. 3).
874. ἀστῶν δὲ δή τιν': 52*; the speaker emphasizes that he himself is not a 'townsman'.
- 875-6. Reminiscent of *Od.* 2. 30-1 (cit. Lenting). Ἄργε: 103*. ἀνεπτέρωκε: a frequent metaphor of strong emotion (Collard on *Su.* 89-91); cf. *Hel.* 633, *A. Ch.* 227. Δαναϊδῶν (1249-50*): associating the contemporary polis with the ancestral Danaus (872).
878. ἀγῶνα . . . δραμούμενον: cf. [847-8]*, *At.* 489, *El.* 883-4, *IA* 1455, etc. (Introd. D iii, F i. 13).
- 881-3. Or. is 'downcast' and 'limp' (210*); Pyl. is still supporting him 'like a brother' with truly 'sharing' φιλία (cf. 800*, 802*, 1014-15). In epic, κατηγοῆς and cognate words are always associated with 'shame'; so for the narrator Or.'s 'dejection' represents the effect of κακά upon a noble youth. Elsewhere in E. the 'downcast' eyes of shame and grief are scarcely to be distinguished (*Med.* 1012, *Held.* 633).
883. An 'impressive' three-word line (W. B. Stanford, *CR* 1940, 8-10, Bond on *HF* 218, M. Marcovich, *Three-Word Trimeter in Greek Tragedy* (1984), 125); cf. 703, 1061, 1210. κηδεύοντα: 795*. παιδαγωγία: modal dat. (39-40*); the same metaphor as *Ba.* 193 (where Dodds cites also *Held.* 729).
- 884-7. The proceedings begin. πλήρης: vox propria for the fully assembled ἐκκλησία or βουλή. 885 similarly has a formulaic ring (cf. *Su.* 438-9); in the Athenian ἐκκλησία the formula was τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; (*Ar. Ach.* 45, *Ecd.* 130, etc.). 'Life or death' is the first issue to be decided (cf. 758*); other issues are secondary ('life' is not necessarily the same as 'acquittal', as Diomedes argues).
- 887-930. There are two pairs of speakers ('and no one else', 931*) before Or.: two famous names from the Iliadic tradition and two anonymous

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- contrasting non-noble types of citizen (cf. Walcot 38). It is noteworthy that this foursome does not include a preponderance of the committed enemies we have been led to expect (427-46, 722-4, 731). We hear no more of Oeax (432-3), and the *Αγισθου φίλοι* remain in the background, despite 436. The selection and sequence of the speakers make it very clear that 'exile' is the rational middle course. Diomedes explicitly proposes the moderate, 'lawful' and 'holy' penalty to which Talthybius' diverse arguments have pointed the way; then the extremes (stoning, crowning) propounded by the second pair of speakers are 'oppositely' immoderate (*ἐναντία* 917). But that straightforward structure is presented through the distorting lens of the narrator's *persona*: his loyalty to the House of Agememnon is such that he has praise only for the *fourth* speaker, though his respect for 'king Diomedes' limits his criticism to the ambiguous *οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐπήρουν* (902).
- 887-97.** *Talthybius*. A famous epic worthy (*Il.* 1. 320, etc.), who had been sympathetically treated by E. in *Hec.* and *Tr.* (notwithstanding the *ex parte* abuse of heralds at *Tr.* 424-6); as the faithful servant of the old Argive dynasty, he appears on archaic Attic vases depicting the vengeance of Orestes (L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* (1921), 327; cf. also *Hdt.* 7. 134-7). The passages cited by Collard on *Su.* 426 do not prove that E. himself detested all *κῆρυκες* as 'lackeys' and 'smart speakers'; and the narrator's well-portrayed political *naïveté* and prejudice forbid us to assume that his maligning of T. is to be accepted uncritically as fair comment. T.'s reported points (praise of Ag., disapproval of matricide) are unexceptionable. A bad construction is put on his glances towards the *φίλοι* of Aegisthus; but, objectively, T. is open to criticism only for his *non-committal* posture (as to the motion *θανεῖν ἢ μὴ θανεῖν*); and he has prepared the way for Diomedes' positive proposal. That is consistent with the view (Goossens 642, Wolff 133, Rawson 161) that T.'s posture is analogous to that of Theramenes in Athenian politics, who was abused as a 'trimmer' (*Ar. Ran.* 533-41) and as acquiescing in prosecutions of his friends (*Lys.* 13. 67).
- 888.** *Φρύγας*: see *Introd.* F i. 9.
- 890.** *διχόμυθα*: here only in tragedy, and perhaps a new coinage (for the songs ascribed by LSJ to Solon and Pittacus, see Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* nos. 522 and 524); the strict sense is 'diversa loquens', though the narrator of course intends the pejorative point 'double-speaking'; cf. on *ποικίλα* 823-4*. *ἐκπαγλούμενος*: a very strong epic-toned word (*Tr.* 929, *Hec.* 1157, *A. Ch.* 217; *Hdt.*); plainly, not *all* T.'s words and actions were motivated by subservient flattery of Aegisthus' party.
- 891-2.** *οὐκ ἐπαινῶν*: 'dispraising', cf. 902 (521*). *καλοῦς κακοῦς λόγους ἐλίσσων*: 'whirling to-and-fro (Hsch. *πλέκων, ψευδόμενος, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας λέγων*) words at once fair-seeming and bad'; the idiom, with Hartung's good correction of *καλοῖς*, is like *IT* 559, *IA* 378 (cf. 819 ff.* *καλὸν οὐ καλόν*, and Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1272). The pejorative metaphor (cf. *ἐλικτά Απ.* 448) may be of either 'weaving' (cf. *Tr.* 200 *κερκίδα δινέουσα*) or 'spinning' (cf. 1431-3*).

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893. ἐς τοὺς τεκόντας: 'in respect of parents'.

894. The pejorative use of φαίδρωπὸν (cf. ὄμμα φαίδρων *Med.* 1043) to describe the eye of a 'flatterer' reflects *A. Ag.* 725, where the 'bright-eyed' lion-cub looking for titbits is a potential monster not to be trusted. ἰδίδου: cf. 1266-8*.

895-7. The generic abuse of κήρυκες reflects a widespread Greek prejudice against 'spokesmen' as having forfeited the respect due to those who speak their own mind; but Greek sentiment about heralds was in fact mixed (they were also Διὶ φίλοι), and there were various kinds (cf. Goossens 516-19). ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτυχή πηδῶσ' ἀεὶ: idiom reflecting the proverbial idea of 'making for the safe side of a ship' (the standard accusation against 'trimmers': cf. fr. 89 ἐς τὸν εὐτυχή χωροῦντα τοῖχον, *Ar. Ran.* 536 μετακυλίνδεν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν εὐ πράττοντα τοῖχον); here simply 'to (the side of) the successful man'; for the sarcastic use of πηδᾶν, cf. *Tr.* 67 πηδᾶς ἄλλοτ' εἰς ἄλλους τρόπους. Di B. implies that τοῖχον is to be 'understood' here, but offers no parallel for the ellipse. δεῖ δὲ δύνηται: 'has power' (687*), as in the vernacular expression of δυνάμειοι (*Th.* 6. 39, etc.). πόλειος: rightly taken by Porson as partitive (= ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν); cf. τῆς . . . πόλεως *Ap.* 873, *S. Aj.* 1175 (στρατοῦ), *OT* 236 (γῆς). [895-7 del. Dindorf; the lines can certainly be spared, but they are in E.'s manner, and it is hard to visualize a more appropriate context for them.]

898-902. *Diomedes.* If Talthylbius was an unexpected first speaker, *Διομήδης ἀναξ* is even more unexpected as the second, reminding us that this plenary Argive assembly is an artificial construct, not to be interpreted simply as a classical ἐκκλησία projected back into the Heroic Age, but modelled also upon Iliadic debates (cf. 871-3*, 902-16*, 919*). As the lord of 'Argos, Tiryns and Epidaurus' (*Il.* 2. 559 ff.) Diomedes is plausibly imaginable as involved in these novel proceedings, though no one (so far as we know) had previously brought him into relationship with the 'Argos/Mycenae' of the Orestes saga; cf. *Su.* 901-8 for his father Tydeus as one of the Argive 'Seven' (there treated as 'citizens'). His titular kingship is here rather a matter of epic-heroic stature than political power (cf. 349 *Μενέλαος ἀναξ*). The proposal of 'exile', with language echoing that of Tyndareus' first speech (512-15), is the key to the whole narrative: it accords with tradition (the familiar wanderings of Or. between the matricide and the trial at Athens), while satisfying at once 'law' and 'piety', at once the less extreme opponents of Or. and Or.'s own desire for life; obvious good sense, put into the mouth of a respected and (presumably) unprejudiced hero, and not surprisingly followed by loud applause (901). Others 'did not approve', but we have no reason to regard these as a majority; moreover these 'others' are presumably split between those desiring death and those, like the narrator and the αὐτουργός, desiring complete acquittal (Di B. misstates that).

898. ἡγόρευε: imperfects like ἔλεγε commonly (not only in poetry) hover between inceptive and aoristic force; cf. W. B. Sidgwick, *CQ* 1940, 119-20.

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899-900. For the construction (. . . μέν οὐ . . . , . . . δέ . . . with ἐκέλευε to be understood), cf. 515*, 600-1*.

901-2. ἐπερρόθησαν: 'roared in response'; elsewhere in E. of approbation (*Hec.* 553, *Ph.* 1238), but the noise can be adverse (*S. Tra.* 264, cf. ἐρρόθουον *Ant.* 259, 290). So here οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐπήνουν is equivalent to οἱ δ' (ἐπερρόθησαν) οὐκ ἐπαινούντες (with a slight anacoluthon of a common type; cf. *GP* 369 n., Bruhn 106-8). [Porson λαοὶ δ' ἐπερρόθησαν [οἱ μὲν] . . . : but the pl. λαοὶ does not suit this context, and the hypermetric variant is certainly due to contamination with *Hec.* 553; a good instance of an important category of corruptions, cf. 1236, 1646.]

902-16. *The mob-orator.* The many topical elements in the context support the universal view of commentators (from antiquity onwards) that the description of this speaker is coloured by sentiment hostile to Cleophon. But the view needs qualifying. (a) The satire (such as it is) is generic rather than specific (cf. B. Baldwin, *Acta Classica* 1974, 35-47; canards concerning 'irregular citizenship' were routine slander, and it now appears that Cleophon's father, like Cleon's, had been a strategos). (b) The 'type' is also very ancient; cf. the Homeric Thersites, abused in *Il.* 2. 246 as ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ ἔων ἀγορητής, and alluded to in *S. Phil.* 442 ff. It is that epic precedent that enables such a speaker to follow 'king Diomedes' in the debate with no sense of incongruity; that, and the epic-toned formulaic repetition of *καπὶ τῷδ' ἀνίσταται* . . . (cf. 887). (c) His character as a 'demagogic προστάτης' has been grossly inflated by interpolation (see below). In *IT* 275 (ἄλλος δέ τις μάταιος, ἀνομίᾳ θρασύς) and *Ba.* 717 (καί τις πλάνης κατ' ἄστυ καὶ τριβῶν λόγων) similar types are expeditiously introduced; and economical phrasing here would be in harmony with the economical treatment of his speech (merely the demand for death by stoning, with no reported argumentation). The 'bad demagogue' is indeed an Euripidean theme (*Su.* 243; Odysseus in *IA*); but 'tyrants' and 'demagogues' were themes much favoured also by interpolators in tragedy (see D. Kovacs, *GRBS* 1982, 31-50). Hatred of Cleophon was still a live issue in the fourth century, cf. Aeschin. 2. 76; and the known production of *Or.* in 341/0 BC (only two years, as Di B. points out, after the *falsa legatio* prosecution) may have been the occasion for this and perhaps other interpolations (Introd. H iv).

903. ἀνὴρ τις ἀθυρόγλωσσος: a triple compound like the epic ἀκριτόμυθος (see above), with a recent precedent at *S. Phil.* 188 (ἀθυρόστομος, of Echo). The syllable -ογλ- is probably long (cf. διὰ γλώσσης *An.* 95, *Su.* 112, etc.; KB i 306), not short (as *A. Pers.* 591 ἐπὶ γλώσσα, *Ag.* 1629 δὲ γλώσσαν). ἀθυρος is lit. 'doorless'; for the application to excessive speech, cf. Simon. 541. 2 Page ἀθυρον στόμα, Thgn. 421, *Ar. Ran.* 838. ἰσχύων θράσαι: the 'strength in θράσος' (cf. *A. Ag.* 169) here suggests at once personal ἀναίδεια (566*) and political 'muscle'; cf. *IT* 275 ἀνομίᾳ θρασύς, *S. fr.* 724. 2 R. γλώσση θρασεῖς, *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 28. 4 οἱ μάλιστα βουλόμενοι θρασύνεσθαι (607*) καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς.

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[904-13]. Del. Hartung (1849); previously only 904 and 913 had come under suspicion (Beck and Valckenaer; Hermann). Kirchhoff (1855) has received too much credit for excising 907-13, and Dindorf for subsequently excising 906-13. The status of 904 and 905 is indeed more arguable than that of 906 and 907-13; but all ten lines can certainly be spared, with advantage.

[904]. Ἀργείος οὐκ Ἀργείος: the sort of positive-negative juxtaposition for which E. was notorious (cf. 819 ff*, Ar. Ach. 396), and yet not quite like any of the cited E. exx.; the sense in which this 'Argive' is 'not Argive' is too cryptic. If this is a jibe about 'false citizenship', why is the point not made clearer? Or is the speaker 'no true Argive' because he has been suborned by the non-Argive Tyndareus? ἠναγκασμένους: much emended, but the chances are that the writer intended the sense 'suborned' (cf. Ba. 469 *πότερα δὲ νύκτωρ (σ') ἢ κατ' ὄμμ' ἠνάγκασεν*); Di B., after Reiske and Hermann, explains it as = ἐσβεβιασμένος (cf. Σ νόθος), citing Ar. Av. 32 *ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀστὸς ἐσβιάζεται*; but ἀναγκάζομαι unlike βιάζομαι, is never a middle deponent. [Conjectures with ἠκασμένους (Headlam ἀλλ' . . ., Goodwin ἦν . . ., Herwerden ἐξ-) are very feeble; Musgrave's ἠγκωνισμένους (understood as 'cubitos utrinque protendens') was at least vivid; Jackson's ἦν δ' Ἀρκὰς γένος was merely ingenious (*pace* Griffith, *JHS* 1967, 147; as Di B. points out, ἦν is the wrong tense). At one time I thought that ἠναγκασμένους ('suborned') might be tolerable if immediately followed by 914 f. (with the explanation mentioning Tynd.); but it is not worth fighting to save 904 at the expense of 905. I follow Hartung (and the earlier critics of 904), but with the qualification that interpolation following 903 may have proceeded piecemeal.]

[905]. A good line in itself, very possibly from a reputable source, but rendered suspect by its context (between 904 and 906-13); and it adds nothing of value to what has already been said in 903 (*ἀθυρολόγισσος, ἰαχύων θράσει*). *θορύβῳ τε πίσυυος*: for *θόρυβος* of 'noisy and conscienceless advocacy', cf. Collard on *Su.* 160; *θορυβεῖν* is also standard for 'interrupt noisily', and in general it is on 'tumultus' that mob-orators 'rely'; *πίσυυος*, elsewhere in E. only at *Su.* 121. *κάμαθει παρηγοία*: *ἀμαθής* is a word prominent in attacks on Cleon (Ar. *Eq.* 193, etc.); *παρηγοία*, here in a pejorative sense not cited by LSJ before Pl. and Isocr., but not in itself impossible in a late fifth-century tragedy (symptomatic of the reaction against democratic values in the closing years of the Peloponnesian War).

[906]. *πιθανός* (uncomfortably near the cognate *πίσυυος*) occurs elsewhere in E. only in fr. 396. 2 (*πιθανά*); *ἔν'* is barely intelligible as 'aliquando' (presumably the intended sense); *αὐτούς* is plainly feeble (though here Valckenaer's *ἀστούς* is a likely correction). The line as a whole, with its point about 'some evil' feared as the consequence of 'demagogic persuasion' has an air of prophecy written after the event, and coheres closely with 907 ff. (*ἔσαν γὰρ* . . .). [See also Page, *Actors* 54, and Di Benedetto, *SCÖ* 1961, 134-6. For confusion of *ἀστός* and *αὐτός*, cf. Diggle on *Phaethon*

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- 113 f. (*ἀστ-* is not the reading of H here; Daitz corrects Spranger).]
- [907-13]. A digression quite unendurable before *ὅς εἶπ'* . . . 914 f.* The weak style and sense of 911-13 are such that the passage can hardly be an integral importation from another E. play (as Kirchhoff thought), though it may contain some fifth-century material. Goossens (655¹⁷) suggested a 'pamphleteering' source, comparing Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 28. 4.
- [907-8]. *ἡδύς τις* (Musgrave): a likely correction, since these are otherwise lines of good quality. *κακὸν μέγα*: cf. 126, 248, 794, *Med.* 330, 1331, *Hp.* 627, *Tr.* 719, *Ph.* 388, fr. 403, etc.
- [909-11]. 772-3* are suspect verses on the same theme, with the same phrase *χρηστὰ βουλευούσ' αἰεί*; cf. *Su.* 438-9 *πόλει χρηστόν τι βούλευμι* for the traditional phraseology of what the good citizen was expected to contribute (see Collard). *χρηστός, ἀχρεῖος* etc. duly acquired a sloganizing flavour in political diatribes (cf. *χρήσιμος πολίτης* Eupolis fr. 118; Connor 88², 189, etc.).
- [911-13]. Near-gibberish, defying satisfactory interpretation. Something may well be corrupt, but there is no secure basis for conjecture. There is nothing definitely wrong with 'and one must view the *προστάτης* thus' (probably the intended sense, so Paley; cf. *Hp.* 379 *τῆδ' ἀθρητέον τόδε*, fr. 548 *νοῦν χρῆ θεᾶσθαι*; not, as Σ, *τὸν πρ-* as subject of *θεᾶσθαι*). Then (presumably): 'for the matter (i.e. the need to consider the long-term interests of the city) is the same for him as for others'. But (a) *ἰδόνθ'* is the worst kind of pleonasm (with a second successive enjambment); (b) it is impossible to be sure whether 913 was intended to denote *one* person (the *προστάτης* as 'honoured speaker', with an implied 'as for others'), or *two* (with ellipse of the second *τῶ*, cf. A. *Ag.* 324, etc.).
- 914 f. *ὅς εἶπ'* . . . : balanced by *ὅς εἶπ'* . . . in 923 below (there preceded by a longer description of the speaker, and followed by a correspondingly longer reported speech); *εἶπε* = *ἐκέλευσε*, cf. 269, 923. Note that the narrator gives no details of the arguments deployed by this speaker, despite the epithet *ἀθροῦργωσσοῦς* (immediately preceding, in 903). The natural implication is that his prosecuting *λόγοι* were similar to those that we have already heard from Tynd. in Act Two; an implication immediately confirmed by the narrator.
- 915[-16]. *ὕπὸ δ' ἔτεινε Τυνδάρῳ λόγους*: we do not ask how the narrator knows about Tynd.'s role; someone could have told him, but for the 'messenger-speech convention' (Biehl, *Tr* 56²) cf. 1425*. For the pejorative force of *ὕπὸ* . . . *ἔτεινε*, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 657 *ὑποτεινῶν μισθούς*. The tmesis (219-20*) here has the effect of 'analysing' the compound, giving full value both to the pejorative preverb and to *ἔτεινε* (in more than one metaph. sense, cf. on *ἐκτείνειν λιτάς* 290*); the tense may be either imperf. or aor. with pluperf. force, like *ἠγόρευσε* 945*). 916 (del. Weil, Biehl) is then a clumsy addition: at once tiresomely repetitive (so soon after *ὅς εἶπ'* . . . *ἀποκτείνειν*) and illogical (the short demand reported in 914 f. can scarcely be referred to as *τοιούτους λόγους*). As Weil saw, without *τοιούτους, λόγους* 915 can refer to

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the *unreported* but implied prosecuting arguments. [Biehl further draws attention to Σ, which in part at least (*pace* Murray) implies a text without 916: *ὑπὸ δ' ἔτεινε Τυνδάρεως λόγους: ὑπέβαλλε δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Τυνδάρεως τοιοῦτους λόγους λέγειν, ὑμᾶς φονευθῆναι. ἢ οὕτως: ὑπέβαλλεν ὁ Τυνδάρεως τοῖς καθ' ὑμῶν ποιουμένοις τὸν λόγον.* The alternatives appear to be alternative paraphrases of (*unqualified*) λόγους, with different interpretations of the (*implied*) dative; and 916 is either derived from Σ' or reflects the same misinterpretation.]

917–30. *The honest small-holder.* His reported speech of eight lines is preceded by an effusive eulogy of this speaker's good sense (*σύνεσις*) and simple virtue. The proposal to 'garland' Or. is, of course, to be recognized as an *extreme* position, taking no account of his deed as *matricide*; at the same time the supporting argument is certainly intended to be understood as a persuasive one, at least counterbalancing the previous demand for death; approved by the *χρηστοί* (930), and apparently bringing the proceedings to a halt (931). There is thus a tension between our feeling that Or. ought now to stand a good chance of acquittal (at worst, exile) and our knowledge that he is going to be condemned to death (857–8).

918. The *δυσμορφία* + *ἀνδρεία* of the speaker distances him at once from nobly-born *καλοκαγαθοί* ('beauty' was traditionally, and probably in fact, an upper-class attribute) and from the fashionable elegance of the city-dweller (thought of as less 'manly'). *εὐωπός* (here and *Ion* 1611) is a variant of *εὐώψ* (*S. Ant.* 530, *OT* 189); cf. the epic *εὐώπις* of women, and many similar compounds in E. (115*).

919. A characteristic late-E. blend, with elusive irony, of ancient and modern diction and ideas. *ὀλιγάκις* is a prosaic word, only here and 393* in tragedy. *χραίνων*: ironically 'contaminating' (the normal sense of the word); but we may suppose that the narrator intends a non-pejorative sense 'colouring', cf. *Held.* 915 *Ἦβας χροίζει λέχος*, *Il.* 4. 141 *μῆνη* (of colouring ivory with purple), Achaeus fr. 27. 3 *χραίνοντες οὐραίοισιν εὐδίαν δλός*; in A. fr. 327 *χράνη* even means 'purify'. *ἀγορᾶς* . . . *κύκλον*: not (or not simply) alluding to the fifth-century market-place; 'the circle of the *ἀγορά*' (cognate with *ἀγορος* and *ἀγορεύειν*) is another epic touch, cf. *Il.* 18. 504.

920. (*ἀνήρ* . . .) *αὐτουργός*: a word here only in E., despite the *Αὐτουργός* (traditionally so named) in the cast of *El.* The essential meaning is not 'owning one's own farm' (as Di B.), but 'working the land in person' (possibly with no slave-assistance at all); cf. Ehrenberg 135–6. *ὅπερ καὶ μόνον σφύζουσι γῆν* (*οἶπερ*, cf. 41–2*, *Hel.* 440 *Ἑλλήν . . . οἶσαν; καὶ 'incidentally, by the way'*): a well-characterized parenthesis, exaggerating (with *μόνοι*) a view with which E. may otherwise have had some sympathy; cf. Collard on *Su.* 238–45, where (according to Theseus) it is the section of the citizen-body intermediate between the *δελιοί* and the *σπανάζοντες βίου* which *σφύζει πόλεις*. A 'media classe' (Di B.), but not 'middle class' (which might be taken as implying 'not working-class'). As a representative

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- clement within the *πλήθος, αὐτουργοί* were emphatically 'working men', typically (as non-townsmen) adhering to traditional values; *κόσμοι* (*Su.* 245) and *χρήσιμοι*, not *ἀκόλαστοι* and *ἀχρείοι*, according to the 'orthodox' sentiment characteristic also of the comedians (for Menander's citation of 920, see *Introd.* H v).
- 921-2. At first sight, especially with Murray's text and punctuation, 922 oddly reverts to two 'ethical' points after 921 has moved away (with *δέ*, the only coordination in an otherwise asyndetic sequence) to 'intellect' and 'keenness to join in the debate'. At one time I suspected the line-order (Herwerden even deleted 921). I now think it sound: 921 counters any suggestion in 918-20 that the speaker may be ill-qualified to participate in debates; then 922 'conclusively' (with rhetorically doubled epithets) affirms his 'irreproachable life'.
921. *ξυνητός δὲ χωρεῖν ὁμοσε τοῖς λόγοις θέλων*: Di B. rightly, I think, removes the usual comma after *δέ*; the infinitive is then *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, cf. 668 *ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὠφελεῖν θέλων* (*θέλων* = *ἐὰν/ῶταν θέλη*; *συνετός* + inf., cf. 870*); *τοῖς λόγοις* 'debates' (in general), not 'this debate'. For *σύνεσις* as the appropriate faculty, cf. 1180; the use of the theme-word here is touched with unconscious irony (cf. 492-3*). *ὁμοσε*: here only in tragedy; a vernacular expression with *ἔναι* for 'coming to grips (with)', cf. *Ar. Ecc.* 863, *Pl. Euthd.* 294D *ὁμοσε ἔναι τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν*.
922. We should read *ἀκέραιον* (not -ος) *ἀνεπίπληκτον ἡσκηκῶς βίον*. *ἀκέραιον* ('integrum') . . . *βίον* is like *Hel.* 48 *ἀκ- . . . λέχος* (framing the line); the doubled epithets here (like *Hec.* 416 *ἀνυμφος ἀνυμέναιος*, *ibid.* 30, 714, *Hp.* 1028, *S. Phil.* 186, etc.; 206-7*, 310*) are confirmed by the imitation in *Men. Epitr.* 910 *ἀκέραιος ἀνεπίπληκτος . . . τῷ βίῳ* (on the way to Horace's 'Integer vitae . . .'). *ἀνεπίπληκτον*: 'such that there is no reproving'; here only in tragedy (in comedy, also *Eup.* 397). *ἡσκηκῶς*: cf. *Su.* 872 (*χρηστότητα*). [The nom. *ἀκέραιος* (necessarily followed by a comma) has been variously interpreted: usually in a moral sense (sc. *κακῶν*, cf. *Hp.* 949 *σώφρων καὶ κ- ἀκήρατος*), but R. Velardi (*Quad. Urb.* 1983, 79-86) looks for a chauvinistic political point (in effect sc. *γένει*) comparing *Ph.* 942-3 *σὺ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἡμῖν λοιπὸς εἰ σπαρτῶν γένους / ἀκέραιος, ἐκ τε μητρὸς ἀρσένων τ' ἄπο*. The parallels merely confirm that *ἀκέραιος* and *ἀκήρατος* are words needing contextual clarification. The reading -ον -ον (LP) is further supported by *Hsch.* *ἀκέραιον ἀνεπίπληκτον καθαρόν ἀκακόν* (cf. B. Marsullo, *QJFG* 1968, 78 ff.) and *Chr. Pat.* 395. It seems to be mere inertia that has kept *ἀκέραιος* in the vulgate text: few edd. even comment on the variants *here*, devoting attention rather to the obviously inferior *ἀνεπίπληκτον* (for which see *Turyn* 111).]
923. *ὅς εἶπ'* . . . : 914 f.*.
924. *στεφανοῦν*: honorary wreaths were a familiar reward for public benefactors (LSJ *στέφανος* 2. b); cf. *Tr.* 937. A noteworthy recent instance was the *στεφάνωσις* of the murderer of Phrynichus (cf. *Burkert* 107).

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925. **ἄθεον**: i.e. *ἄνομον, ἀνόσιον*, cf. *Ba.* 995 (492-3*), *El.* 745-6 (Cl. had 'forgotten the gods' in killing Ag.).
- 926-9. Or.'s action has restored what Cl.'s action had threatened: the willingness of citizens to leave their homes on campaigns, for fear of their wives' infidelity (and worse); her exemplary execution (also that of the stay-at-home Aegisthus) had been necessary to restore respect for the sanctity of marriage. A topically emotive argument: many of the audience in 408 BC faced prolonged absence from home during the coming campaigning season. A traditional argument too: cf. Fraenkel on *οἰκουροῦντα* A. *Ag.* 809, *οἰκουρός* *ibid.* 1626.
926. **καὶν'**: probably singular (the usual anticipatory idiom, 790*), *μήτε . . . μήτε . . .* expressing a single concept. **ἀφήρει**: imperf. (of uncompleted action), but otherwise like *Hp.* 1308-9 οὐδ' . . . ὄρκων ἀφείλε πίστιν. *ἀφήρει* (L), less aptly here, would imply covert and/or gradual action (LSJ *ὑφαιρέω* II. 2). **μήθ'** . . . : instead of τὸ ἀπλῆζεσθαι κτλ. (appositive to *καὶνός*) we have the construction usual with vbs of preventing.
- 928-9. **οἰκουρήματα** are abstract 'housekeepings' (cf. 123*; *Hp.* 787, *Hcl.* 700), and **φθείρουσιν** (better *φθερούουσιν*, Wecklein; *ei*+fut. as 566, 599, 935-6, 940, etc.) has its proper sense 'destroy'. To 'destroy a man's housekeepings within' implies the corruption of his *οἰκουρός γυνή*, but that does not make *οἰκουρήματα* synonymous with *γυναίκες*; if it did, **ἀνδρῶν εὐνιδας λαβόμενοι** would be mere tautology.
930. **τοῖς γε χρηστοῖς**: i.e. 'conservatives' like the narrator and the *αὐτουργός* themselves (cf. [909-11]*, 920*), but also with some social connotation like *boni* in Cicero. **εὐ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο**: the ambiguity of *εὐ* (*καλῶς*) *λέγειν* as between *manner* and *matter* is a common theme in E.; the narrator here naturally intends the more substantial sense of *εὐ* (cf. 173).
931. **κούδεις ἔτ' εἶπε**: despite 930, the issue is in the balance (poised between extremes) and the moment is ripe for a *moderate* speech for the defence; or, if we pursue the topical analogy, for a moderate politician to make a bid for the middle ground (cf. Connor 189). But no one comes forward (if we are expecting Men. to speak, cf. 704-5, this is the moment when his absence is first indicated). **σὸς δ' ἐπῆλθε σύγγονος**: *ἐπι-*, perhaps in the 'theatral' sense of 'coming on to the stage' (or 'into view'); but with a suggestion also of 'additionally'; cf. *Ph.* 417 *κἄτ' ἐπῆλθεν ἄλλος αὐτοῦ γυγάς* (Nauck, for *κἄτ' ἄ γ' ἦλθεν*).
- [932-42]. Or.'s speech is the only one reported in *oratio recta*, and it has therefore to be understood as *ipsisima verba*. There are several puzzling features in it. The latter part (938-42) was deleted by Wecklein (938-41 susp. Weil) as repetitious (especially 936/941) and containing awkward logic at 938 (*δράσαστ'*); an excision endorsed by Reeve (iii 158-9). But there are weaknesses in 932-7 also; and, for better or worse, the composition appears to be stylistically uniform. For worse, I think; and I venture to suggest that *the whole* may be an interpolation. (a) Excision of 932-42 leaves no awkward gap: 931 *σὸς δ' ἐπῆλθε σύγγονος*, / 943 *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπειθ' ὄμιλον, εὐ*

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- δοκῶν λέγειν*. When no account is given of the content of Or.'s apologia, we naturally infer that he delivered something like the apologia we have already heard from him in 544-601* (even as we infer from 914* that the prosecutor rehearsed Tynd.'s arguments); and we can understand why it was insufficiently persuasive, since 544-601 had an alienating effect. (b) We no longer have to wonder at the sheer inadequacy of Or.'s apologia at his trial (without even a mention of Apollo); an inadequacy the more marked if it is halved in length and reduced to virtually a single (muddled) argument. (c) The longer interpolation is at least as easy to explain: the lack of a speech following 931 was in itself a reason for composing one.
- [932-3]. 933 is usually deleted as a later addition. <δὲ> δευτέρων restores the metre, but 'secondly' is silly (Σ reports that Danaus was the *third* ruler of Argos, after Inachus and Pelasgus). But the position changes if we contemplate δ' ἐφ' ὑστέρων as a possible emendation ('in later times', cf. *Il.* 5. 637 ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων). The same early interpolator could well have written the whole allocution, thinking of the many other references to 'Pelasgian' and 'Danaan' in this play, and perhaps with a reminiscence of *Archelaus* 1(228). 7-8 Πελασιώτας δ' ὀνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν / Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἄν' Ἑλλάδα.
- [935-7]. The logical apodosis to 'if killing of men is to be holy for women' should be 'you will all be in danger of being killed'. Instead we have 'hurry up and die, or it is necessary to be slaves to women'. The language is as odd as the logic: οὐ φθάνοι' ἔσ' ἄν is properly a jussive idiom (cf. 1551, *Al.* 662, Elmsley on *Hclid.* 721; KG ii 66, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 24-5), and presumably that was the writer's intention here, with ἢ . . . χρωῶν as tantamount to another sarcastic command. But it is hard to believe that E. wrote this.
- [938]. 'And you will be *doing* the opposite of what you ought to do'. Presumably, 'if you condemn me'. But it is hard to extract that protasis from what has gone before; and if we do so extract it, we do not want 'if you condemn me' in the following lines. Moreover the repetition of . . . χρωῶν is tiresome. But the idiom is sound enough: cf *Ar. Plut.* 14 τούναντιον δρῶν ἢ προσῆκ' αὐτῷ ποιεῖν.
- [940]. Di B. prefers the unemphatic μὲ (with an opposition simply between 'condemn' and 'acquit'); but there is surely also an opposition of persons ('As things are, the adulteress is dead . . .'), cf. 1075*.
- [941]. ἀνείται: Hsch. ἀπολέλυται (perf. for fut. perf., 304-6*); cf. Lat. *remittere*. κοῦ φθάνοι θνήσκων τις ἄν: here apparently with the non-jussive force 'and one might as well be dead'.
- [942]. τόλμησις: for the pejorative use in referring to feminine *audacia*, cf. *Hp.* 414. οὐ σπᾶνις: sarcastic, cf. *IA* 1163.
943. See above ([932-42]*). εὐ δοκῶν λέγειν: like the *αὐτουργός* (cf. 930), but the narrator is here speaking for himself only.
944. Wecklein's ἐν πλῆθει χρωῶν (for λέγων) is palmary, with reference to the *χειροτονία* (cf. 1027). We are surely not meant to visualize further speaking by the same *ρήτωρ*. The vote was necessarily on the simple issue *θανεῖν ἢ μὴ*

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θανεῖν (886). We should have been informed of the fact if anyone had argued that a vote at this stage for *μη θανεῖν* was consistent with either acquittal or condemnation to exile—an issue which could be decided by a further ballot.

945. *ηγόρευσε*: the aor. is probably right here (with pluperf. force, KG i 169), cf. 915[-16]*. [*Contra* Prato, *Stud. Urb.* 1965, 176-7; *ηγόρευσε* 898 does not confirm the imperf. here—it accounts, rather, for the variants.]

946-9. The next step also is narrated expeditiously, leaving dextrously vague the procedure whereby Or. obtained remission of stoning, on condition that he and El. should commit suicide before the end of the day. *Assembly-procedure* would require a further A-or-B proposition to be debated and voted upon (cf. 758*). No such debate is described, and there is a suggestion (not to be pressed too closely) of the *trial-procedure* whereby, in certain categories of *ἀγών*, condemnation was followed by a further vote between harsher and milder penalties proposed by prosecution and defence (cf. MacDowell, *Law* 253 ff.).

946. *μόλις δ' ἔπεισε μή . . .*: 'prevailed so as not to die by stoning'; the nom. sing. *πετρούμενος* (conj. Elmsley on *Held.* 60), attested by M and also by P. Oxy. 1370 (Prato, *SIFC* 1964, 50-1), is surely right: not simply because the nom. is more idiomatic, but because the pl. spoils by anticipation the effect of *σὺν σοί* 949. For the consec.-inf. construction after *πειθεῖν*, cf. 1611*.

947. *αὐτόχειρ* . . . *σφαγή*: cf. 1040, *Ph.* 332; *αὐτόχειρ* is used also in non-suicide contexts, e.g. *El.* 1159, *IA* 873.

949. *σὺν σοί*: emphatic (cf. 307), the terminal inclusion of El. in the suicide decree further emphasized by the enjambment (cf. 527-8*).

949-52. The narrative ends with a long-range approach-announcement like *Ba.* 1144-7; here developing from the enjambed *σὺν σοί* (so that 946-52 is virtually a single period), the 'sympathetic' emphasis being on the 'bitterness' for *El.* (*σοί* 951) of the 'tearful' event and 'spectacle'. [For *Di B.*, the clause-structure suggests a *slowing-down* of the narrative; but he surely begs the question by referring to 'forti interpunzioni'.]

949. *ἐκκλητήτων*: 612*.

950. *φίλοι*: Verrall argued that there is no point in mentioning these other 'friends' (here only in the play) unless we are to see them at the beginning of the following scene; but there is no serious inconsistency in Or.'s entry at 1013-17* with Pyl. alone. The point is partly 'pathetic' (cf. the doomed Hippolytus and his sorrowing *ἡλικες* at *Hp.* 1179-80), partly 'topical' (suggesting that Or. is a member of a *ἐταιρία*; *Introd. A, F* i. 5).

951. *κλαίοντες οἰκτίροντες*: a favourite kind of asyndetic doubling; cf. Bond on *HF* 602 (*Bruhn* 86-7).

952. *πικρὸν θέαμα καὶ πρόσοψις ἀθλία*: an elevated pleonasm for emphasis (cf. 1018-19); the two phrases are virtually synonymous, with chiasmus (*πρόσοψις*, cf. 388*, 1021).

953-6. Cf. *Ph.* 1259 ff. (*ἀλλ' . . .*), *Ba.* 769 ff. (*σὺν*), *IA* 435 ff. (*ἀλλ' . . .*) for the hortatory tailpiece of the messenger-speech.

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953-4. A comma suffices after *δέρη* (Porson, Paley, Wedd.); the 4-line period is bipartite ($1\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}$). *εὐτρέπεια*: cf. *IT* 470, *IA* 437, 1111, *A. Ag.* 1651. 'Sword or noose' is formulaic in suicide contexts (Katsouris, *Dioniso* 1976, 5-36, esp. 18), cf. 1035-6, *Al.* 228-30, *An.* 811-13, 841-4, *Tr.* 1012-13, *Ion* 1064-5, *Hel.* 299-302, 353-6, *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 26; 'for the neck' goes with 'noose' only (the suicide-thrust is *ὀφ' ἤπαρ*, not *ἐπ' αὐχένος*; cf. 1035-6*, 1062-4*).

954-6. *ἡ εὐγένεια δέ* . . . : as often, the *δέ* has a neutral force following an imperative; cf. *IT* 723 *σίγα· τὰ Φοίβου δ' οὐδὲν ὠφέλει μ' ἔπη*. Both 'nobility' (cf. *Hp.* 1390) and 'oracular Apollo' have been 'ruinous' (121, 191) rather than 'beneficial, aid-bringing' (419, 425): a summative oxymoron, at once pitying and thematically ironical, with effective finality in . . . *ἀλλ' ἀπώλεσεν*. As in *IT* 975 *Φοῖβος δὲ μ' ἀπώλεσεν*, there may also be an echo of the familiar name-etymology *Ἀπόλλων / ἀπολλύειν* (Diggle on *Phaethon* 225), cf. 1635*. *τρίποδα καθίζων*: cf. 162-5*, 871-3*; M.L.W. convincingly suggests *ὁ Πύθιον* . . . , giving the epithet to *τρίποδα* rather than *Φοῖβος*.

[957-9]. A 'choral comment' absent from some texts in antiquity (Σ), and obviously *de trop* if the Chorus participates in the following lament (see below); cf. *Ph.* 1480 and *Ba.* 1153, where lyrics directly follow the messenger-speech. Conversely, we can see how the need for something like 957-9 may have arisen as a consequence of the wrong assignation of the whole lament to El. (lest the Chorus stand mute from 851 to 1013, without even the briefest commiserating reaction to the tidings of doom; it is remarkable that Murray and others could tolerate such an anomaly). (Di B. argues that the three lines could have been lost accidentally in one branch of the tradition; most other edd. since Kirchhoff have bracketed them, cf. Page, *Actors* 43, and Reeve' 254. But explanations of the interpolator's motive have been unconvincing hitherto: 'to add melodramatic touches to an appropriate background' (Page); versification of a hypothetical *παρεπιγραφή* (Bichl). As Reeve shows, E.'s other extant messenger-speeches are all followed by choral utterance, whether spoken or sung.]

[957-8]. The exclamatory sympathy and the description of El.'s attitude are apt enough in themselves (variously reminiscent of *Med.* 1005-12, which includes an interpolation at 1006-7, *Hcl.* 633, *Ion* 582, *IA* 1123; cf. also *ἀφθογγος Tr.* 695, *Ph.* 960). But *ξυνηρεφής* 'covered' is rather obscure (whether lit. 'veiled', cf. 280 and *IA* 1123, or metaph. as *Σ στυγνὸν καὶ ὡσπερ ἐστεγασμένον τοῖς κακοῖς*); it is not easy to understand *κακοῖς* or to equate *συνηρεφής* with *συννεφής*.

[959]. *ὡς . . . δραμουμένη* is odd both for the baldness of the metaphor and as an inference from the symptoms described. 959 (alone) was deleted by Herwerden (*Mél. Graux* 190); certainly this is the weakest of the three lines. Probably it contains a greater element of composition *ad hoc* (most of 957-8 having been borrowed from elsewhere in the repertoire).

THIRD ODE: 960-1012

An act-dividing *Lament for the Extinction of the Royal House of the Atreidae*, comprising a traditionally patterned strophe and antistrophe and a long solo epode in freer, more rhetorical style. In the MSS the whole ode is monody (so too, probably, in P. Oxy. 3716, which has no paragraphus at 982); but E. cannot have intended the Chorus to remain totally silent at this juncture, and there is a good case for giving 960-81 to them (Weil, Biehl; Reeve, cf. [957-9]*). The 'beginning' of the lament by Ch. is then like *An.* 1197-9 *Xo.* *δοτοτοτοί, θανόντα δεσπότην γούσι | νόμφ τῷ νεπτέρων κατάρξω.* But there are, I think, overriding arguments for an *antiphonal* arrangement of 960-81, not hitherto visualized by any commentator (see also G. Pasquali, *Athenaeum* 1930, 72 ff., C. Möller, *Vom Chorlied bei Euripides* (Diss. Göttingen 1933), 50-1, Di Benedetto, *SCO* 1961, 138-9, Degani 17). It is surely intolerable that El. should be silent throughout the ritual part of the lament (unlike Peleus in *An.* 1197 ff.), in order to enter with the exotic wish *μόλοιμι* . . . at 982. The opening *κατάρχομαι στεναγμόν* . . . here is the utterance at once of the celebrant of a ritual and of the *ἔξαρχος* of a dirge (cf. *Il.* 18. 51 *Θέτις δ' ἐξήρχε γούσι*); and both that and the metrical pattern (see below) strongly favour antiphony, for which cf. the passages cited by Collard on *Su.* 798-801 (*στεναγμόν* . . . *ἀντίφων*) and in general M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (1974), esp. 131 ff. It would be a grave impropriety here for the Chorus (or Chorus-leader) to usurp, without any comment, El.'s natural right to initiate the lament for her House, and to continue for twenty-odd verses without referring to her. Moreover we have been led to expect a concerted *θρήνος* by El.'s words in the prologue: *αἰδ' ἀπ' πάρεσι τοῖς ἔμοις θρηνήμασι | φίλοι ξυνοδοί* (132-3). El. duly 'begins' (like Hecuba in *Hec.* 684 ff. and Iphigenia in *IT* 143 ff.), loudly addressing 'ancient Argos', while performing the ritual actions of cheek-scratching and head-beating proper to the Underworld Powers. The Mycenaean Chorus take up the cry (cf. *IT* 179), continuing the *θρήνος*-ritual with the theme of hair-shearing, such general grief being due to the doomed House of the former Host-commanders of Greece. El. takes up the 'House-extinction' theme, looking back beyond Atreus to Pelops (and later Tantalus), attributing the present calamity to a combination of divine envy and a murderously hostile *δῆμος*. And the Chorus sympathetically respond with bleak reflections upon the total grievousness and unpredictability of human life. El. then sings the epode (982-1012*). Everything thus falls into place (including the interpolation of 957-9), and I see only one possible objection. This arrangement makes 960 ff. the only instance in E. of utterance by an actor (rather than the chorus) immediately following a messenger-speech. That must give one pause; but it must not, I think, deter us from accepting what otherwise looks right. A closer study of Reeve's evidence shows that there is, in fact, only one other

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instance in E. of a musical number immediately following a messenger-speech when there is an actor on the stage (*El.* 855 ff.), and that is only a short strophe. Given that this messenger-speech was to be followed by a long *θρήνος* with song for both actor and chorus, it is entirely credible that E. should have departed from the convention of immediate choral utterance following messenger-speeches. There may well have been precedents of which we are ignorant. Or perhaps it was the very unusualness of 960 ff. that caused the interpolation of preceding choral lines.

960-70 = 971-81

1	El.	υ-υ- υ-υι-!υ-υ-	<i>zia</i>
2		υ-υ-!υιυυιω'υωυ-	<i>zia</i>
3		-υ-υ!-	<i>ith</i>
4		υ-υ-!υιωυι- υ-υ-	<i>zia</i>
5		-υ- -υ!-υ-	<i>cr ith</i>
6	<Ch.>	υ-!-ι-υ-!υ-υ-	<i>ba lk</i>
7		υ-υυ!υ-υ-!υ-υ-	<i>zia</i>
8		-υ-	<i>tr</i>
9		υυ!υυ υ-υ-	<i>zia</i>
10		-υ-υ-υ-	<i>lk</i>
11		υ-υ- -υ-υ!-	<i>ia ith</i>

The lyric-iambic stanza has a liturgical character (like *An.* 1197 ff., *A. Ch.* 434 ff., etc.), with repetitively chiming periods of 6-8 metra, all but the third with ithyphallic cadences. The archaically formal rhythmic pattern provides a firm foundation for the freer (but still carefully patterned) texture of El.'s monody in 982 ff. 5. The str. has been corrupted by intrusion of the name *Περσέφασσα* (963-4*). 6. Reading *ιώ ω* (Hartung, ?*IT*) in 976 f.*. 8. For the 'rhythmic reversal', here balancing the *ith* in 3, cf. *Su.* 368/72, *S. Ant.* 364/75 (Dale, *Papers* 20, Stinton, *BICS* 1975, 96); also *S. Tra.* 498/509.

960. 'I take the lead in loud lamentation . . .': cf. *Ph.* 1350 *ἀνάγει' ἀνάγει κωκυτόν* . . . (similarly paired with 'head-beating'), *Hec.* 685 f. *αἰαί, κατάρχομαι νόμον βακχείου* (s.v.l.). Not quite 'I begin the lament', though between acc. and gen. there may be little difference; the acc. with *κατάρχεσθαι* seems to be an E. variation (cf. the pass. use in *HF* 750, 889). *ω* *Πελασγία*: cf. *Su.* 367 (691-3*, Bond on *HF* 464).

961-2. '...scratching my cheeks (in, effecting) bloody ruin'. Solon's legislation had sought, we know not how successfully, to proscribe such ritual disfigurement (Plut. *Sol.* 21-4); cf. Denniston on *El.* 146-9, Collard on *Su.* 50-1, 76-7, Kannicht on *Hel.* 372-4, 1087-9. For the cheeks as (normally) a prime seat of beauty, cf. Kells, *CQ* 1966, 53. As often in 'ritual' topoi, E.'s idiom is exquisite to the point of strain (cf. 382-3*), combining traditional motifs in new ways. *τιθείσα* here has a compound resonance (without the repetitiveness of *Hec.* 653-6 . . . *τιθεται* . . . *τιθμένα* . . .), cf. *Σ* *τὸ τιθείσα κατὰ κοινού*. Initiating a ritual hand-action, it may be compared

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with *πόδα* / *ἴχνος τιθέναι* of the dance (140-1). *τιθαῖσα . . . ὄνυχα . . . ἔταν*: the 5-metron phrase should not be interrupted with a comma; the second acc., though apparently 'appositive', should be taken as integral after the pattern of *Il.* 24. 735 *βίψει . . . λυγρόν ὄλεθρον* (see Barrett 307-8 on *Hp.* 757). The objection to the comma is that *διὰ παρηΐδων* means approximately 'modally/causally involving cheeks' and goes as closely with the following as with the preceding words ('blood-red *ἄτη* effected *cheekwise*'); cf. *Su.* 76-7 (below), *Ba.* 733 *θύροισι διὰ χειρῶν ὠπλισμένοι* ('*handwise*'), and especially *Hel.* 353 *φόνιον αἰώρημα διὰ δέρης ὀρέξομαι* (982-4*), '(in, effecting) a killing suspension *neckwise* I shall stretch forth my hand' (*ὀρέγεσθαι* sc. *χέρα*, 302-3*), where the 'action-defining' int. acc. phrase precedes the vb (cf. also 988-9*). *ἔταν* is a very strong word for 'disfigurement' (almost = *ὄλεθρον*, cf. *Ion* 1240, *IT* 226, *Tr.* 535, etc.), and Stinton, *CQ* 1975, 244, for the root sense 'hurt'), but aptly so in a context of imminent death, and introducing a theme-word (cf. 987), constantly associated with 'blood'. *λευκὸν . . . αἵματηρόν*: a favourite 'colour-contrast', cf. 992-4*, and Zuntz, *Inquiry* 66; *αἶμ-* and *φον-* (*φον-*) words commonly express 'redness', giving visual point to such 'pleonastic' expressions as *φόνιον αἶμα*. [Some associable passages are textually controversial. (a) *Hec.* 653-6 *πολιάν τ' ἐπὶ κρᾶτα* (leg. *κρατῖ?*) *μάτηρ τέκνων θανόντων* / *τίθεται χέρα, δρῦπτεται τε <δίπτυχον> παρειάν, / διαίμων ὄνυχα τιθεμένα σπαραγμοῖς* (*δίπτυχον* add. Diggle, *GRBS* 1982, 319-21); (b) *Su.* 76-8 *διὰ παρηΐδος ὄνυχα λευκὸν / αἵματοῦτε χρώτα* (leg. *χρόα?*) *φόνιον, / <αἰαί>, . . . ;* (c) *IT* 225-6 *†αἰμορράντων δυσφόρμιγγα / ξείνων* (leg. *<ξείνα> ξείνων?*) *αἰμάσσομα ἔταν βιωμός†*; (d) *Hel.* 372-4 *ἐπὶ τε κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν, / ὄνυχ' θ' ἀπαλόχροα γένυν / ἔδευσε φονίαισι πλαγαῖς* (L; see p. 253); (e) *Hel.* 1089 *παρηΐδι τ' ὄνυχα φόνιον ἐμβαλῶ χροός* (def. Kannicht). I hope to discuss a, b and c elsewhere.] See *Addendis Addenda*.

963-4. *κτύπον τε κρατός . . .*: cf. *Ph.* 1351-1 . . . *κωκυτόν, / ἐπὶ κάρᾳ τε λευκοπήχεις κτύπους* (*κάρᾳ* Blaydes, 966*). For beating the head (as opposed to the breast, *Su.* 87, 604-5, *S. El.* 90, etc.), cf. also *An.* 1210-11, *Tr.* 279; Helen beats both at 1466-7*. *ὄν ἔλαχ' . . .*: 'proper to . . .' (by *μοῖρα*); not (as Di B. suggests) referring to expressions of grief on the particular occasion of Persephone's rape; cf. 319-20*, *Ph.* 1575-6 *λοιβὰν φονίαν, ἂν ἔλαχ' Ἄιδας*. Persephone (seldom named, cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 1307 *ἀρρήτου κούρας*) is the desired recipient of Helen's dirge at *Hel.* 175-8. *ἀ κατὰ χθονὸς / νερτέρων †Περσέφασσα† καλλίπαις θεά*: Herwerden (*RPh* 1878, 27) excellently proposed *πότνα* (*πότνια* would also do) for *Περσέφασσα*, at once removing the two surplus syllables and giving *νερτέρων* a likelier construction (there is no instance in E. of *θεός* or *θεά* + gen.; *Περσὸν θεός* at *A. Pers.* 643 is rather different). Kore is Queen of the Underworld and *καλὴ παῖς Δήμητρος*. *νερτέρων πότνα* is like '*Οἴα πότνα θεῶν* *Ba.* 370 (cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 258 *τὰν ἐρώτων . . . πότνιαν . . . Ἀφροδίταν*); *πότνα καλλίπαις* like *πότνη* *εὐπάρθενη* *Ba.* 520 (for the sense of the compound adjs., see Bond on *HF* 689); and *καλλίπαις θεά* like *κουροτρόφον θεῶν* *Ba.* 420. The

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- designation *πότν(ι)α* is especially apt to Kore (as also to Demeter), cf. 317–18*, Pi. fr. 37. [The saving remedy has been surprisingly neglected (superior at once to Weil's *κλέμμα* and to Heimsoeth's *νερτέρων καλλιπαις ἀνασσα*, which edd. continue to rehearse as though it were the best available makeshift). The error could have occurred in either of two ways: (a) as a gloss (Di B. defends *Περόφασσα* as a rare poetical form, but the name will have been sufficiently familiar from *Ph.* 684, and for poetic-toned interpolation in lyrics cf. *Hp.* 1128, 1139); (b) there could have been an ancient variant *νερτέρων πότν(ι)α Περόφασσα.*]
- 965–7. <Chorus>. 'And let the Cyclopiian land cry aloud . . . (the) woes of (the) House'. The style is antiphonal: so *τιθείσα* again, and *Κυκλωπία* ('Mycenaeian', cf. Bond on *HF* 15, 944; *El.* 1158, *IT* 845, *IA* 265, etc.) balancing *Πελασγία*. The trans. use of *ἰαχεῖν*, as of *ἀναβοᾶν* (103*) and *μέλπειν*, is a characteristic E. construction, cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 1147.
966. 'Setting steel upon head . . .'. *κούριμος* usually means 'shorn' (cf. *El.* 521, *Tr.* 279), but is better taken here as 'shearing' (*σίδαρον* . . . *κούριμον* framing the phrase; also because these heads are not yet shorn). With that interpretation, the small adjustment *ἐπὶ κάρᾳ* commends itself (cf. *An.* 1210–11 *οὐκ ἐμῷ 'πιθήσομαι κάρᾳ κτύπημα, Hel.* 372 *ἐπὶ τε κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν*), removing ambiguity. [Correction of *κάρᾳ* to dat. is generally accepted at *Hec.* 432 and *Su.* 827; it could be right at *Ph.* 1351 (963–4*), also *κρατὶ* for *κράτᾳ* at *Hec.* 653 (961–2*); though cf. West, *BICS* 1980, 12. -*ιμος* adjs. (C. Arbenz, *Diss.* Tübingen 1933) are inherently flexible, often 'active' in sense; cf. 340 *μόνιμος*, 458 *πένθιμος*, 863 *λεύσιμος* (with *χείρ*), 878 *θανάσιμος*, 1086 *κάρπιμος*; *πόμπιμος* is normally 'active' (as *Med.* 848), but capable of pass. application (Barrett on *Hp.* 578). At *El.* 148 the vulgate *χέρα τε κράτ' ἐπὶ* (or *ἐπι*) *κούριμον* / *τιθεμένα* is dubious, since L has *ἀποκούριμον*, and *χερὶ* for *χέρα* is a less arbitrary rectification of the grammar (giving a construction with *τιθεμένα* like *Hec.* 656, and more vigorous sense (*tearing* of the hair) on the reasonable assumption that *ἀπο-* can have intensifying privative force). *ἀποκούριμος* should surely be admitted (with 'dub.' indeed) to the *Lexica*; for the prefix, cf. *νόστιμος*, *ἀνόστιμος*.]
967. *πήματ' οἴκων*: the interpolated *τῶν 'Ατρειδῶν* may be either a direct gloss or an explanation of *τῶν* . . . *στρατηλατῶν* 969–70.
- 968–70. *ἔλεος ἔλεος* . . . : cf. *Ph.* 1287 *ἔλεος ἔλεος ἔμολε*. As there, the 'pitying' point properly belongs to the Chorus. [There is no need, with that assignation, for the emendation *ἔλεγος ἔλεγος*; or, alternatively, for Di B.'s absurd explanation of *ἔλεος* . . . *ἔρχεται* . . . (sung by *El.*) as describing choric action begun in a pause after 967 (as though the Chorus have come equipped with scissors).]
- 969–70. Read *ὑπέρ* . . . (in another 5-metron phrase), not the usual *ὑπερ*; *ποτ' ὄντων*, like *ὦν ποτ'* 973. The lament for the 'about-to-die former Host-commanders' (alluding to the *Atreidae* as leaders of the Panhellenic Host to Troy, cf. 574, [852], 1402) is the converse of *El.* 876–7, where the Chorus

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rejoice that 'our former dear kings' are 'about to rule again' (in the person of Or.). The fact that Menelaus is still very much alive is tacitly ignored (Men. has, of course, no son to continue the dynasty).

971-3. **βέβακε** . . . : cf. *An.* 1022, 1027, *Tr.* 289. **οἴχεται**: 201-3*. **πρόπασα γέννα**: cf. *Ph.* 624, *A. Ag.* 1011 *πρόπασ δόμος* (*πρόπασ* is a mainly tragic word). The second syllable of *γέννα* is normally, if not always, short (cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 235), and the metrical pattern strongly favours *γέννā* here. **δ' ἐπι μακαρίους**: the Pelopidae had been generally envied for (LSJ *ἐπι* B. III. 1) the *μακαριότης* of their House; **ζήλος**, the emotion felt by a man who says to another 'lucky fellow!', is also viewable objectively as a possession or attainment, cf. *Hec.* 352-3 *ζήλον οὐ σμικρὸν γάμων ἔχουσι*, and the adj. *πολύζηλος* (Bacchyl. 11(10). 63, *S. Tra.* 185); 'many Greeks regarded the envy of others with relish' (Bond on *HF* 65 f.). [Musgrave's correction of *ζηλωτός* is certain, attempts to add a syllable before *αἰματηρόν* in 962 having failed miserably; likewise his *οἴκοις* for *οἶκος* (Biehl impossibly takes *ἐπι* . . . *ζήλος* as tmesis for *ἐπιζήλος*; moreover *μακαρίους ἐπιζήλος* could only mean 'envied by μακάριοι'.)]

974-5. An easy asyndetic transition from *ζήλος* to **φθόνος**; cf. *A. Ag.* 939. **θεόθεν**: cf. *ἀγα θεόθεν Ag.* 131. **εἶλε**: both 'caught' and 'destroyed'; and, since *αἰρεῖν* (*γραφῆν, δίκην*) is to obtain a verdict for conviction, *εἶλε* goes well also with **ψήφος**; cf. 799, 862, *Held.* 941 *εἶλέ σ' ἡ Δίκη χρόνον*; The 'double determination' of cause is characteristic of tragedy. 'Divine envy' was a traditional explanation of spoilt human felicity (Hdt. 1. 32, etc.; Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 69 f., Walcot, *Envy and the Greeks* (1978), 43); the combination of that with the topical theme of a 'hostile *δῆμος*' is typical of this play. For the metaph. use of **φονία**, cf. *S. Ant.* 601 (Easterling in *Dionysiaca*, 148; I should add that the 'blood' point there, as here, is connected with the theme of *ἀτη*).

976-81. The Chorus are not simply lamenting when they develop this familiar theme; there is an implied 'non vobis solum', cf. *Al.* 889-94.

976 f. **ἰὼ ὦ** . . . (as conjectured for **ἰὼ ἰὼ** by Hartung) appears to be supported by P. Oxy. 3716. The combination is not attested elsewhere, but it is entirely natural (exclam. followed by 'general address', 128-9*). [Those who adhere to **ἰὼ ἰὼ** should scan it $\cup - -$ with Di B. (syncphonesis, cf. 332*), not $\cup \cup -$ (as 1353, 1537-8*), an unattested form of *ba*. West (*GM* 104) surprisingly accepts the irregularity *ἰαχεῖ - ἰῶ ἰῶ*, without mentioning other possibilities.]

πανδάκρυτ' . . . πολύπονα: cf. 1012*, and *Introd.* F i. 14. **ἐφ' ἀμέρων ἔθνη**: neither word is common in E. (*ἔθνος* here only, *ἐφήμερος* here only as a substantive, cf. *A. PV* 547, *Pi. Py.* 8. 95, *Ar. Av.* 687). *ἔθνη* (cf. *ε-θηρών S. Ant.* 344, *Phil.* 1147) is poetically synonymous with *φύλα*, as in *Ar. Av.* 686 *σκιοειδέα φύλ' ἀμένηνα*, used like *ἐφήμερ(ι)ος* with a 'pitying' and 'prophetic' tone; cf. also *Ph.* 130 *ἀμερίω γέννα*. The 'pitying' point of *ἐφ' ἀμέρων* is paramount; its root meaning is uncertain (whether 'creatures

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of a day' or 'creatures who can look no further than one day, subject to the changing day'; see M. W. Dickie, *JCS* 1976, 7–14).

- 977–8. *λεύσσειθ' ὡς*: cf. *λεύσσετε Ph.* 1758, [S.] *OT* 1524; *Ion* 1090 ff. *ὀράθ' . . . ὅσον . . . παρ' ἑλπίδας*: generally 'expectations', cf. *Hp.* 1120, *Hec.* 680. *μοῖρα βαιναί*: more dynamic than *ἐκβαίνει*, with a metaphor like the 'foot' of time (*Ba.* 889); *μοῖρα* is less random than *τύχη* (with which it is often paired), but similarly inscrutable to mortals. [*Ἦ μοῖραι βα[* can only be a slip (caused by the following *βαί*?).]
- 979–80. 'Woes' vary in both character and incidence against a background of mutability and long time; *ἕτερ-ἕτερ-*, cf. *Ba.* 905. With the personal subject (Porson, edd.), *ἀμείβεται* is here something like 'experiences mutably'; a credible extension, but West (*BICS* 1981, 69) plausibly proposes *ἕτερον* rather than *ἕτερος* for the MSS' *ἑτέροις*. The parallels favour keeping *πήματ'* as the subject: *Hp.* 1108 *ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἀμείβεται, | μετὰ δ' ἴσταται ἀνδράσιν αἰὼν | πολυπλάνητος αἰεὶ, Il.* 6. 339 *νίκη δ' ἐπαμείβεται ἀνδρας*, Archil. 13. 9; cf. also *Al.* 893–4 *συμφορὰ δ' ἑτέρους ἑτέρα | πιέζει φανείσα θνατῶν. ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ*: cf. *Ba.* 895, and Hdt. 1. 32. 2 (soon after *τὸ θεῖον . . . φθονερόν κτλ.*).
981. *βροτῶν δ' ὁ πᾶς . . . αἰών*: 'and/but *the whole* of human life . . .'. The *δέ* is slightly adversative ('various . . . but all . . .'; with a balance also between 'long time' and 'human life'). *ὁ πᾶς* is better than the metrical equivalents *-ε πᾶς* (O) and *ἅπας* (both of which might be misunderstood as 'every'). For the rare inserted position of the predic. adj., cf. *HF* 290 *οὐμός δ' ἀμαρτύρητος εὐκλεῆς πόσις. αἰών*: cf. *Med.* 429 (with *μακρός*). *ἀστάθμητος*: 'such that there is no calculating' (like *ἀλόγιστος*, 1155–7*), cf. Th. 3. 59, 4. 62 *τὸ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ μέλλοντος*, *Ar. Av.* 169; the usual interpretation is 'unbalanced, unstable' (LSJ; cf. Hsch. *ἀνισος*). *σταθμῶν* is properly to 'measure' or 'weigh' (by ruler or scales; cf. *Ar. Ran.* 797 *ταλάντῳ*). Planets are *ἀστέρες ἀστάθμητοι* (*Xen. Mem.* 4. 7. 5). The mathematical flavour of the adj. is in line with the cosmological features in the following monody.
- 982–1012. 'Oh that I might recount to Tantalus the sufferings of his descendants: the primal Curse incurred by Pelops, whence came Discord between Atreus and Thyestes, and the retributive sequence of deaths that has now reached its inexorable conclusion.' 'Cosmological' elaboration of that schema, prominently featuring the sun and its celebrated *μετάστασις*, has given us one of the most brilliant and characteristic specimens of E.'s later lyric style. The metre of the epode shifts easily into the syncopated iambo-trochaic, often in long periods, characteristic of late-E. monodies, with a further shift in 1001–12*.
- Despite the freer (astrophic) structure, the immense compound sentence (a syntactical *tour de force*) is carefully patterned, with predominantly catalectic iambic intermediate cadences maintaining a rhythmic link with the ithyphallic cadences of 960–81. There are also metrical links (probably reflected in the music) between this monody and that of the Phrygian in 1369–1502.

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982-4

Ηλ. μόλοιμι τὰν οὐρανοῦ	<i>ia cr </i>
μέσον χθονός τε τεταμέναν	<i>2ia </i>
αἰωρήμασιν	<i>sp cr </i>
πέτραν ἀλύσει χρυσέαις,	<i>2ia </i>
φερομένην δίναισι	<i>2tr (sync.) </i>
βῶλον ἐξ Ὀλύμπου.	<i>ith </i>

For the metre (in general), see especially Dale, *LM* 93-6 and on *Hel.* 167-251, 330-61. The long opening sentence of 12 metra (possibly a single period) swings expressively between iambic and trochaic phrase-patterns before coming to rest with iambic catalexis (like *Ph.* 1060-6, ending with ... ἀρπαγαῖσι δαιμόνων τις ἄτα). The double syncopation in the word $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ has a precedent at *Hel.* 352-3 $\bar{\phi}\bar{\delta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ / $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ $\bar{\delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\delta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\xi}\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$, which is also a precedent for the rhythm of $\bar{\phi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}$ / ... [P. Oxy. 3716 ends with $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\iota$ $\tau\alpha[\nu\dots]$ / $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\chi\theta[\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\dots]$ / $\alpha[\iota]\omega\rho\eta\mu[\alpha\sigma\iota(\nu)]$ / $\pi\dots[\dots]$ / \dots], supporting the above lineation as far as $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$. It seems likely therefore that *Π* had $\alpha\iota\omega\rho\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ (not $-\sigma\iota$), with *V* (so also *Di B.*, though he identifies $\alpha\iota\omega\rho\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ as an isolated dochmius, rather than a sync. dim.). My $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (attested, for what it is worth, in *Sch. Pi. Ol.* 1. 91 [= *Anax. A20a*]) is perhaps unnecessary, but it gives dimeters without word-overlap (cf. on 1369-74 below). I see no need for West's $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ (*BIGS* 1981, 70), which has the effect of a premature clausula (... $\omega\omega\omega$ - | - - ||). Other edd. divide after $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ (followed by $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}(\nu)\dots$), mostly treating $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ as a pherecratean (contextually less likely, and giving a period-end at an inappropriate point in the sentence). Dale (*MA³*) scans $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ as *mol ia* (an unlikely verse; for *S. Phil.* 1134/57 see p. 106 above). J.D. points out that $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\iota}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ might be analysed as *mol cr*, but I see no reason for preferring that division (now against *Π*.)

$\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\iota\dots$: E. was fond of lyric wishes for $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (1375-6*, *Hr.* 732 ff., *An.* 861 ff., *Ion* 796-8, *IT* 1138 ff., *Hel.* 1478 ff., *Ba.* 402 ff.), sometimes simply with 'escape' as the idea uppermost in the singer's mind, but usually in contexts of imminent death (variously threatened or suicidally desired), and with a mythical 'out of this world' destination associable with one of more of the $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of the (winged) $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ given by ancient poetic tradition or more recent $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$: 'beneath the Earth', '(horizontally to or beyond) the $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\gamma\alpha\iota\eta\varsigma$ ', 'the aether'. It was to the poets that Greeks looked for their ideas about the Unseen Otherworld, and conversely it was the function of poets to elaborate the $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$; the new idea of $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ to the aether is especially prominent in E. (cf. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (1950), 262-3), as an enhancement of poetic imagery, alongside more traditional ideas of 'Hades'. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\dots$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\dots$: the new cosmologized, quasi-solar character of the traditional suspended rock (4-10*, 6*) is thus consistent with the traditional location of Tantalus in Hades. The formulation of the $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ -wish here serves a double function: (a) as a particularized $\alpha\iota\theta\eta\rho$ -flight that will bring El. ('about to

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die') into contact with her progenitor—near enough, at least, for him to hear a shouted catalogue of *ἄται*; (b) as an appropriate introduction (in terms sufficiently intelligible, presumably, to the πολλοί, but to be relished fully only by the more sophisticated members of the audience) to an otherwise cosmologically elaborated epode. Logically, there is a conflict between the new-style ('Anaxagorean') solar βῶλος in 982-4 and the more traditional solar ἄρμα in 1001-2. That is doubtless why this πέτρα is not explicitly solar. At the same time the complementary mythical aspects of the sun are a central feature of the poetic *compositio*, alongside the two winged chariots (988 ff., 1001-2) aetiologically linked by *ὄθεν*. οὐρανοῦ μέσον χθονός τε: a high-flown way of saying μετέωρον, with authentic-sounding 'mythic' colour for what may well have been a novel formulation (in fr. 448 it appears that some located 'Chaos' in this limbo). μέσον + gen. means 'in the middle of' at *Rh.* 531; here 'in the middle between' (cf. μεταξύ). No precedent is cited for the sun or other celestial bodies as located 'between heaven and earth'; but that (if not 'midway') follows naturally from the idea of 'suspension'. τεταμέναν αἰωρήμασιν: i.e. ἠωρημένην, cf. *Hec.* 32 αἰωρούμενος; τέτατο *Il.* 22. 307, ταθείς *Od.* 22. 200. The φῶς τεταμένον in *Pl. Rep.* 616B is likewise vertically extended (cf. *S. Ant.* 600, and contrast *Hel.* 1673); for the modal dat., cf. 39-40*. ἀλύσσαι χρυσάϊς: 'golden chains' are proper to suspensions effected by Zeus (*Il.* 8. 19 ff., 15. 19-20), and so traditionally appropriate to T.'s rock, 'balanced' like a τάλαντον; but in sophistic (post-Anaxagorean) mythical interpretation they lent themselves to cosmological, and in particular solar, symbolism; cf. N. J. Richardson, *PCPhS* 1975, 70.

φερομέναν δίναισι: i.e. δινουμένην. δίνη and cognate words are often, like ἐλίσσειν, used of movements that are primarily 'to and fro' (1458, *IT* 6, *Tr.* 200); for the sun as δινεύων cf. *IT* 192 δινευούσας ἵπποις πταναῖς. βῶλον ἐξ Ὀλύμπου: cf. χρυσέα βῶλος of the sun in *Phaethon* fr. 783 (Diggle p. 178); βῶλος may denote any kind of 'lump of earth'—usually of fertile soil ('clod'), but for the application to a rocky mass cf. 1382-3* καλλίβωλον Ἰδας ὄρος. ἐξ Ὀλύμπου denotes the source (where else would Zeus have got it from?); for the prepositional phrase depending on the noun, cf. *Tr.* 574-6, *IT* 162, *Ion* 113-16 (Diggle, *Studies* 28-9). [One scholion, followed by most edd., awkwardly takes the sense as 'suspended . . . from the sky' (cf. οὐρανόθεν *Il.* 8. 19, but ἐξ Ὀλ- is too far here from τεταμέναν); another obscurely takes the βῶλος to be 'borne by eddies from Olympus'.]

985-7	ἴν' ἐν θρήνοισιν ἀναβοᾶσω	δα cr da
	γέροντι πατέρι Ταντάλω,	zia
	ὃς ἔτεκεν ἔτεκε γενέτορας ἐμέθεν, δόμους	zia
	ἃς κατείδον ἄτας·	ith

Probably two (not three) periods, each of five metra. The first verse, like 988, has apparent catalexis in the 3rd metron; but $\cup - \wedge - | \cup - \cup -$ within the verse or period is not uncommon in late E. (Stinton, *BICS* 1975, 92-4); cf. 1377-9*.

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985. ἴνα probably has some local force, cf. *Hp.* 733. ἀναβοάσω: a common shift from opt. to subjunc. (KG ii 387-8); El. contemplates the 'crying aloud' as a purpose more directly capable of fulfilment. The object of ἀναβοάσω (trans., cf. 103*, 965-7*) is δόμους . . . (see below). γέροντι: cf. *Od.* 11. 591. [Porson ἀναβοάσομαι ex Sch. *Ar. Plut.* 639 ἀναβοάσομαι . . . ὡς ἐν Ὁρέστῃ "ἀναβοάσομαι πατρὶ Ταντάλῳ"]; no better, and it is likely that the writer was simply misquoting (accommodating the parallel to his lemma, and omitting both ἴνα and γέροντι). I follow Di B. in preferring πατέρι to πατρὶ.].

986-7. γενέτορας ἐμέθεν: 'my forebears', cf. πόσιν ἐμέθεν *Tr.* 341 (with a similar split resolution). The MSS then have δόμων οἱ κατείδον ἄτας ('who witnessed calamities of the House'; cf. Σ κατείδον οἱ ἐμοὶ προπάτορες ἄτας ἐν δόμοις). I had accepted that, with a comma before δόμων (the usual punctuation . . . ἐμέθεν δόμων, οἱ . . . is clearly wrong); but M.L.W. has persuaded me that we need δόμους, with Madvig's ἄς (or οἴας): 'the House, what ἄται it has seen' (prolepsis, cf. D. Panhuis, *Glotta* 1984, 26-39). The structure δὲ . . . οἱ . . . is rather loose. More importantly, the subject of κατείδον must be 'the House', since what follows is a catalogue of ἄται ('bloody calamities', 961-2*) experienced partly by El.'s forebears, partly (and culminatingly) by herself and Or. Only the House has 'seen' them all (a poetic point for which M.L.W. aptly compares *S. El.* 1497-8 and *A. Ag.* 37, 1090); it is also appropriate that 'the House' should be the direct object of El.'s 'loud lament' (cf. 960-1012* above). [The corruption is easily accounted for. The construction of δόμους was far from obvious in an unpunctuated tradition; ἔτεκε . . . δόμους seemed wrong (with γενέτορας adjectival), and δόμων . . . ἄτας prima facie more natural (like 61 συμφορὰς . . . δωμάτων, 967 πῆματ' οἴκων, 1012 δόμων . . . ἀνάγκαις, etc.). But the effect of that corruption was to make the subject of κατείδον ambiguous (ἐγὼ/γενέτορας); hence the change to οἱ, in accordance with the interpretation in Σ. M.L.W. also suggests a transposition in 986, δὲ ἐμ- ἐτ- ἐτ- γεν-, to get rid of the split resolution; but J.D. points out to me that anadiploses like ἔτεκεν ἔτεκε(ν) always either fill a metron or overlap it by one syllable. As to L. Parker's ἔτεκ' ἔτεκε (*CQ* 1968, 261), the 'sub-dochmiac' rhythm of her *zia cr* (= κδ δ), with resolution before syncopation, is unsuited to this context.]

988-94	ποτανὸν μὲν δίωγμα πῶλων τεθριπποβάμονι στόλῳ Πέλοψ ὄτ' ἐ<πί> πελάγεσι διεδίφρευσε, Μυρτίλου φόνου δικῶν ἐς οὖδα πόντου, λευκοκύμοσιν πρὸς Γεραιστίαις ποντίων σάλων αἰοῖσιν ἀρματεύσας	ba cr ba zia zia zia _Λ () hδ hδ hδ —ith (zia _Λ)
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988 is like 985, but initiates a longer period. The iambs are then straightforward with either ὄτ' ἐ<πί> (Burges, *Troades* p. 148) or ὁπότε

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(Triclinius); the usual period-end after $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ is as unendurable here as in 839. 992-4 are like *Ph.* 1023-5/47-9 (— — — — — *ter*, then — — — — —). The parallel virtually guarantees $\eta\dot{\iota}\delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ (Dale, *MA*³), or $\alpha\dot{\iota}\delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$, against the usual aristophanean clausula with $\eta\delta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$; — — — — —, cf. 814/26, 836, 842 (p. 214). [The 'hypodochmii' provide a rhythmic variation (for the element or colarion — — — — —, cf. 1497*, *Al.* 218/31, *S. OT* 1208, etc.; Dale, *LM* 114); at the same time — — — — — *bis* is syllabically equal to *ith + ia* (cf. *El.* 865/79; p. 308), and — — — — — *i* — — — — — to *ith + ith*, with a kind of 'redivision' (cf. West, *GM* 73, and further on 1458-9, p. 321).] See Addenda.

The curse had its origin when Pelops drowned Myrtilus in the Myrtoan Sea while flying over the waves in his famous chariot drawn by winged steeds (cf. *Σ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀτης ἢ ἵπποδρομία Πέλοπος ἢ γενομένη διὰ τοῦ πελάγους*). The formulation of the *πρώταρχος ἀτη* is similar to *S. El.* 504 ff., except that (a) E. adds the 'Myrtoan' location (but allusively, showing that that eponymy was already current; 992-4*); (b) the primary emphasis here is on the 'winged charioteering' (associated via *ἴθεν . . . ἴθεν . . .* with the sun's winged chariot in 1001-2); an undoubtedly ancient feature of P.'s chariot (Chest of Cypselus, Paus. 5. 17. 7), but highlighted in a baroque spirit, whereas S. had merely hinted at the chariot's supernatural nature in the phrase *παγχρυσίων δίφρων*. How P. came to be crossing the Myrtoan Sea (south of Euboea) is obscure; and Myrtilus himself is a puzzling mythic figure (see Roscher iv 3315-20), with a name suggesting Asiatic or Lesbian provenance (Preller-Robert ii 1. 208, 214, J. T. Kakridis, *Hermes* 1928, 417 ff.), but with credentials also as an Arcadian cult-hero, affiliated to Hermes (Paus. 8. 14. 10, Sch. AR 1. 752). Neither here nor in *S. El.* is there any mention of the Elis-Isthmus race (from which P. and M. were returning with Hippodamia, according to the version of the myth which later became canonical, attributed to Phercydes by Sch. AR 1. 752 and Sch. *S. El.* 505 [= *FGH* 3 F 37]); and both poets may have had in mind a version of the Myrtilus-myth quite independent of it. On the separability of these stories, cf. Stinton, *PCPhS* 1976, 68-9, 86. The superiority of P.'s team was clearly, for Pindar, a sufficient explanation of his victory, and probably also for the sculptor of the Olympia pediments: the death of M. features in vase-painting only after about 400 BC. Much would be explained by the following hypothesis: P.'s magical car was not, originally, given to him *ad hoc* for his Peloponnesian *ἀγών* with Oenomaus, as Pindar tells the tale in *Ol.* 1. 87 ff. (with detail consistent with innovation), but had already served to bring him from Asia to Greece; according to that version P. will have come to Greece with the blood of Myrtilus already on his hands (cf. *S. El.* 504-5 ὦ Πέλοπος ἄ πρόσθεν πολύπονος ἵππεία, / ὡς ἐμολες αἰανῆς τᾶδε γᾶ). Then first (after Pi.) P.'s magical team became especially associated with the Oenomaus story, and subsequently (not long before *Or.*; perhaps in the *Oenomaus* of either S. or E.) the Myrtilus-myth became a feature of a new synthesis; at the same time, however, P.'s chariot-crossing of the sea remained a vivid image (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 27. 67, and Philostr. *Im.* 1. 30. 1

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where the sea crossed is the 'Aegean'). The 'sea-crossing' point has been widely misunderstood; the idea (first, perhaps, implied, but obscurely, in Apollod. *Épit.* 2. 8) that *M.* was thrown from the Geraestian cliffs may be based on a misinterpretation of this passage (suggested by the Sciron-story). Pausanias (8. 14. 11-12), who denied the Myrtoan location (firmly confining *M.* to the Peloponnese), was at least truer to tradition in drowning *M.* from a ship.

988-9. *ποτανόν μὲν . . .*: elegant syntax; the catalogue of *δῖται* begins (*μὲν* inceptive) as though continuing the construction of 985-7 (with a phrase appositive to *δῖτας*); but as the sentence develops it becomes clear that *ποτανόν δῖωγμα* is really governed as an 'integral' int. acc. (961-2*) by *διεδίφρευσε* (cf. *Andromeda* 114. 2 *ὡς μακρὸν ἔπνευμα διώκεις*); while *πῶλων* might be either subj. or obj. gen. with *δῖωγμα*, and is also (perhaps preferably) construable with *στόλω*. *δῖωγμα* here (as in *Hel.* 354 *ξίφοκτόνον δ-*) is related to LSJ *διώκω* III ('impeller', cf. 1344-5* *πόδα, Ion* 205 *βλέφαρον, Andromeda* loc. cit.), not 'pursuit' (as *Hel.* 20-1 *ὕπ' αἰετοῦ δ-φεύγων*). *τεθριπποβάμονι*: a bold triple compound (such words are rare in tragedy), cf. *τέθριππος (ὄχος) Tr.* 855, *τετραβάμοσι Hel.* 376, *ἵπποβάμονα (στρατόν) S. Tra.* 1095, *A. PV* 805; *ἀθυρόγλωσσοσ 903**. *στόλω*: a semi-abstract word of quite general application (*Σ πορεία*), but mainly nautical in E. ('voyage' or 'vessel'; *Su.* 1048, *Hec.* 1141, *IT* 10, *Hel.* 1427, *IA* 816, etc.), and so apt to this sea-crossing equipage (cf., conversely, *IT* 410 *νάϊον ὄχημα*, imaging a ship as a 'car'). [Di B. defends τὸ *πτανόν μὲν . . .* The article is appropriate enough ('that famous ride . . .') and the initial molossus is unobjectionable (1407, 1447*, 1472, *Ph.* 1021/45, *Tr.* 579-80). But the most nearly parallel int. acc. expressions do not have the article; and, if E. had wanted the article, he might have been expected to write τὸ *μὲν πτανόν . . .*]

990-1. *ἐπὶ πελάγεσι*: cf. *S. Aj.* 702 *Ἰκαρίων ὑπὲρ πελαγέων, Od.* 5. 335 *ἀλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι; IT* 425-6 *ἐπ' Ἀμφιτρίτας βοθίω δραμόντες*. Winged chariots, like ships (which are often imaged as 'winged cars'), 'run over, on' the waves. [As things stand, the dat. *πελάγεσι* has no satisfactory construction, though no one seems to have challenged its grammar (Stinton, *JHS* 1976, 127, suggests *στ' ἐν*, but on metrical grounds); Di B. applauds Klotz's rendering 'per maria' without justifying it. *στ' ἐ<πι>* (*ΠΙ* skipped before *Π*) seems as necessary for the sense as for the metre.]

διεδίφρευσε (the compound here only): 'trans-charioted' (like *διεπέρασε IT* 395, *HF* 387); see above for the suggestion that Pelops is thought of as traversing the Aegean on his way from Asia to Greece. *Μυρτίλου φόνον δικών*: cf. *S. El.* 512 *πρόρριζος ἐκριφθείς, Tra.* 357 *μίπτὸς Ἰφίτων μόρος; φόνον* 'murdered body', as in 1357, by extension from 'blood' without loss of the lit. sense (992-4*), despite the bloodless mode of death; it is this 'blood' that constitutes the first *ἀτη* witnessed by the House (986-7*). *δικών* is 'coincident', the *φόνος* occurring *en passage*; its heinousness varies in different accounts (some speak of a broken oath, in others P. is defying

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Hippodamia from attempted rape)—an aspect of no concern to El., who is lamenting 'calamities', not inculpating her forebears. *ἐς οἶδμα πόντου*: cf. *ποντισθεῖς S. El.* 508.

- 992-4. The emphasis is on the sea-waves, with another coincident aor. part. *ἀρματεύσας* (*hapax*), reminding us of the chariot; for the agglomerative style, cf. *Hr.* 752 ff. *ὦ λευκόπτερε Κρησία / πορθμῖς, ἃ διὰ πόντιον / κύμ' ἀλίκτηπον ἄλμας / ἐπόρευσας . . .* (another emotively recalled sea-passage with 'flight' imagery). *λευκοκύμοσιν πρὸς . . .*: the proximity of the coast (cf. *Μαλέα προσίσχων* 362) provides *white* waves for a characteristic pictorial point (here contrasted with *φόνον* 991, cf. 961-2*; *λευκοπήχεσι Ba.* 1206). *Γεραιωταῖς*: indirectly identifying the sea as the Myrtoan, said to have been named after Myrtilus (*Σ, Hyg. fab.* 84). There was a noteworthy cult of Poseidon at Geracstus in S. Euboea (*Strab.* 10. 1. 7); perhaps E. in *Oenomaus* had traced some connection between that cult and Poseidon's gift to Pelops of the famous chariot team. *ἠϊόσιν*: or *αἰόσιν* (*αἰόσιν O*)? In either case, surely tetrasyllabic, as elsewhere in poetry: *Tr.* 826, *Od.* 5. 156, *Pi. Isth.* 1. 33, *A. Ag.* 1158, *Tim. Pers.* 97.

995-1000	ὄθεν δόμοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἦλθ' ἀρὰ πολύστονος, λόχευμα ποιμνίοισι Μαιάδος τόκου τὸ χρυσόμαλλον ἄρνός ὀπό- τε γένητο τέρας ὄσόν 'Ατρείως < > ἱπποβότα·	zia lk zia zia zia ?zia _Λ
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The clausula . . . - - - is surely right, though Dale (*MA*) adheres to *ἱπποβότα*. The usual *Ἀτρείως* (Porson) *ἱπποβότα* might be either *ιθη* (*Ἄτρ-*) or *ατ* (*Ἄτρ-*); but the phrasing appears to be defective (999-1000*).

- 995-6. *ὄθεν . . . ἀρὰ*: cf. *Ph.* 1065-6 *ὄθεν ἐπέαυτο τάνδε γαῖαν . . . τις ἄτα*, and 1355 *ἀρᾶς . . . Οἰδίπου. πολύστονος*: cf. 56*, *Ph.* 1492; here predic. 'bringing much lamentation (to)'.
 997. As in 988 ff. (*ποτανὸν μὲν δῖωγμα . . . ὅτε . . .*), a substantival phrase with a *-μα* noun is at first heard as appositive to what precedes and is then taken up into the following 'when' clause; but there is a difference in that here *λόχευμα . . . τόκου* is nom. in apposition to *τὸ . . . τέρας* (advance apposition, cf. 1434-6* *ἀγάλματα . . . φάρεα*), not int. acc. The construction of *λόχευμα* with dat. and gen. is similar to *IT* 387 *τὰ Ταυτάδου θεοῖσιν ἐστιάματα* (cf. *Hel.* 882, *S. Tra.* 603; Bruhn 24, *KG* i 426-7); Hermes, we are to understand, 'effected the birth of' (*ἰλόχευσε*) the lamb, acting as a kind of male midwife (*λοχεύτρια*); *Ba.* 3 is rather easier, where it is the mother, rather than the child, who is *λοχευθεῖο' ἀστραπηφόρω πυρί*. Later (certainly post-Euripidean) is the degenerate use of *λόχευμα* + gen. *patris* at *IA* 285. *Μαιάδος*: = *Μαίας*, cf. *Hel.* 243 (*γόνον*), 1670 (*τόκος*), *Od.* 14. 435 (*υἱεῖ*). According to the version in *El.* 699 ff. the lamb had been brought from the Argive mountains by Pan; according to Pherecydes (*ap. Σ*) the wrath of Artemis had been incurred (cf. Preller-Robert ii 1. 294-7). The role played here by Myrtilus' father may be a new feature of the myth (see

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p. 249). It may also be relevant that Maia was the eldest of the Pleiades (cf. 1005-6). [Wecklein wished to transpose 997 to follow 1000, so as (a) to enable 998 to follow 996 more directly, (b) to give 'Ατρείος a better construction (depending on ποιμνίοισι, but with an implausibly awkward criss-cross interlacement of gens.). That can hardly be right; but it is barely possible that 997 is a trimeter added by a later hand (cf. 1005-6*, where the mention of 'Zeus' appears to be spurious).]

998-9. τὸ ('that famous') χρυσόμαλλον . . . τέρας: cf. 812*, *El.* 726, *Hyps.* 1 ii 22; the epithet describes the compendium 'Lamb-monster' (ἄρνός perhaps with conscious paronomasia following ἀρά). τέρας is especially used of monstrous births (Sphinx, Gorgon, the Bull that caused Hippolytus' death, Helen as born from an egg; cf. Stinton, *PCPhS* 1976, 76-7). ὅπότε γίνετο: the poetical unaugmented form (as in virtually all the MSS) is appropriate here, cf. 1495*, γενόμεαν *Ph.* 221, γενόμεθα *Ph.* 1716, ἔμβα τέκετο *Ph.* 649.

999-1000. δλοόν (δλοόν δλοόν R, Mn): the poorly attested anadiplosis should not be accepted. When E. doubles an adj. (a feature much rarer than the doubling of nouns and vbs) it is always at the beginning of a clause or other syntactical unit: *Hp.* 70, 830, *Hec.* 1031, [1097], *An.* 1017, *HF* 1057, *Cyc.* 69, *Tr.* 1328, *IT* 864, *Ion* 782, *IA* 1315-16, *Ba.* 1198, *Hel.* 207 (refs. communicated by J.D.). Precisely the same error (δλοόν bis) is found at *Hp.* 883. The problem then is the construction of the gen. 'Ατρείος (or 'Ατρείος). 'Destructive of Atreus' is poor sense (the ruin extended much further), and what we want is 'in the . . . of Atreus'. I had thought of 'Ατρείος <ἐν> ἱπποβῶτα ('in the house of', cf. *Al.* 761, *Hcl.* 754, *Ion* 551, *IA* 926); but there is room for a longer supplement, such as <ἀγροῖς ἐν> or <σταθμοῖς ἐν> (both suggested by J.D.); for the position of ἐν in the phrase, cf. 94*. ἀγροῖς is a word not unlikely to have dropped out next to 'Ατρείος; and it is appropriate that the animal should have been born ἐν ἀγροῖς (cf. *El.* 699 ff., esp. 703-4 Πᾶνα . . . ἀγρῶν ταμίαν). ἱπποβῶτα: reminiscent of *Il.* 2. 60 'Ατρείος . . . ἱπποδάμοιο and of 'horse-rearing Argos' (1621, *Su.* 365, *Tr.* 1087, *Il.* 2. 287); for the form (corr. Dindorf), cf. *S. Aj.* 614 οἰοβῶτας, *Phil.* 1148 οὔρεσιβῶτας.

1001-12	ὄθεν Ἐρις τό τε περρωτῶν ἀλίου μετέβαλεν ἄρμα, † τὰν πρὸς ἐσπέραν κέλευθον οὐρανοῦ προσαρμόσσα<α> <—> μονόπωλον ἐς αὐῶ, †	2tr 2tr 2tr 2tr (?) D - (?)
1005	ἐπταπόρου τε δράμημα Πλειάδος εἰς ὄδον ἄλλαν [Ζεὺς μεταβάλλει], † τῶνδέ τ' ἀμείβει † θανάτους θανά- των τὰ τ' ἐπώνυμα δειπνα Θυέστου λέκτρα τε Κρήσας Ἀερόπας δολί- ας δολίοισι γάμοις· τὰ πανύστατα δ'	D - D - ?4da } 4da 4da } 4da
1010		4da

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εἰς ἐμέ †καὶ γενέταν† ἐμόν ἤλυθε
δόμων πολυπόνους ἀνάγκαις.

4da |
δ βα |||

At *Hel.* 375–85 lyric dactyls provide a detached coda to an iambotrochaic monody. Here the plangent dactylic ‘culmination’ is more closely integrated, and terminated with a clausula of the same rhythm as *Hel.* 374. The change to double-short rhythm takes place in mid phrase, appropriately enough in a context of ‘change’; but the *reizianum* ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – does not make metrical sense following non-catalectic trochees. The above metrical interpretation gives three ‘enoplian’ cola before the runs of dactyls, providing a smooth modulation. The *σύνθετος ῥυθμός* at *πρόσαρμοσᾶσά* <—> *μόνῳπῶλόν ἐς ᾧ* is the same of that of the iambelegus (∪ ε ∪ D –), and 1005–6 is a standard enoplian dicolon like *Med.* 629–30, *Hp.* 1148. 1007–8 can be analysed as *zan | paroem*, but here too (as in 1004) other considerations point to the loss of a syllable (where Murray, after Hermann and Wilamowitz, marked a lacuna); and indeed τὰ τ’ ἐπᾶνῶμά δειπνᾶ Θυέστοῦ has the wrong diaeresis-pattern for analysis as *zan* ^ (see L. Parker, *CQ* 1958, 82–9). 1012 provides an ‘alien close’ to the dactyls (Stinton, *BICS* 1975, 85), with ‘rhythmic reversal’ (ibid. 96 ff., after Wilamowitz, *GV* 516); ambiguous here as between ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – (many parallels, e.g. *Al.* 894) and ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – (the rare *ἀναξίφορμιγγες ὕμνοι*). *Hel.* 374 (not to be emended) is similar: *ἔδυσέ φόνιαισὶ πλαγαῖς*. [Porson’s arrangement . . . ἤλυθε (V) *δόμων | πολυπόνους ἀνάγκαις* exactly matches 1010–12 with *Hel.* 383–5; but that is scarcely better.]

1001–2. *ἴθεν Ἔρις τό τε . . .* pivotal words, introducing the elaborate formulation of the two changes effected directly by Eris in the cosmos, contemporaneous with the ruinous *ἔρις* (cf. 812–15) that then appeared in the Atreid House. *Ἔρις*: cf. 12–14*; her action here in the cosmos (effecting changes more commonly attributed to Zeus) accords at once with the poetic argument and with the new cosmological view of ‘Strife’ (variously *ἔρις* and *νεῖκος*) in the physical ideas of Heraclitus and Empedocles (cf. J. S. Morrison, *PCPhS* 1970, 85 ff.). E. is poetically bringing together the threads of myth and physical speculation in the same genre as 982–4*. [For a similar (crisper) climax to a lyric aetiology, with word-play, cf. *IA* 585 ff. *ἔρωτα . . . ἔρωτι . . . | ἴθεν Ἔρις ἔριν | Ἑλλάδα σὺν δορὶ ναυσὶ τ’ ἄγει | ἔς Τροίας πέργαμα† (ἔριν, i.e. Helen herself with the ships etc. as her dowry of doom, cf. *Hel.* 243–8, *A. Ag.* 689; the sentence may perhaps have ended with something like [*Τροίας*] *περγάμων (ἔρινῦν)*, cf. 1388–9*.)]*

περωτὸν ἁλίου μετέβαλεν ἄρμα: the *μεταβολή* or the sun’s ‘winged chariot’ is causally linked with the primally disastrous ‘chariot-flight’ of Pelops (988–94 *ποτανὸν μὲν . . . ἄρματεύσας*); note also the symmetry of the phrase-pattern with 998 f. *τὸ χρυσόμαλλον ἄρμα . . . γένητο τέρας*. For ‘winged chariot’ phrases, cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 173. *μετέβαλεν* is a vague word, consistent with ‘reversal’, but consistent also with any other changes given by current *μῦθος*.

The *ἡλίου μετάστασις* was a much-rehearsed mythical event (suitable

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also for representation in tapestry, *IT* 816), integral—no doubt anciently, though attestation is lacking—to the tale of the kingship dispute between Atreus and Thyestes; see, in general, *RE* ii (1895), 2141. The story seems to have been variable in several particulars, including its moral. From one point of view the cosmic change did credit to Atreus, attesting his claim (*S.* fr. 738 R., *E.* fr. 861, *Pl. Pll.* 269A, *Apollod. epit.* 2. 12; cf. Rosivach, *CPH* 1978, 189 ff.); but it was also associable with the crimes of the Pelopidae, as a celestial reaction to either the Adultery or the Banquet (or both). The latter point is characteristic of later writers, notably Ovid, but it had been memorably developed by Sophocles, cf. *AP* ix 98 (= Gow–Page, *Garland of Philip* 3822) δειπνοῖς ἐλαθεῖς Ἀτρεὺς ἠέλιος; and in *E.*'s other extended lyric treatment (*El.* 737 ff.) the chorus voice doubts as to whether the sun's permanently altered ἔδρα (and the consequent climatic changes) can really have been a reaction to human wrongdoing. Here, though the cosmic changes are set within a catalogue of 'domestic calamities' and causally linked with them, *E.* has blurred the domestic sequence of events (1007–10*), and has rather prepared the way for a cosmological formulation, in lyric terms, of the μεταβολή itself. In so doing, we can be sure that he was mindful not only of ancient myth, but also of the speculations of contemporary φυσικοί, notably those of the Anaxagorean school. These looked back, not to reversal of the solar and stellar courses (as Plato tells the tale), but in the first instance to displacement of the celestial pole and consequent tilting of the ecliptic (Anax. A1, Archelaus A4. 4, Diog. of Apoll. A11 [= Anax. A67]). As Morrison has shown (art. cit.), *E.* must have had a μεταβολή of the ecliptic in mind in the *El.* ode, for the newly hot or hotter midday sun causing drought in the south (*El.* 733 ff.). Of more immediate interest, however, are the studies of Oenopides of Chios, a slightly younger follower of Anaxagoras, who is said to have discovered the sun's eastward path along the ecliptic in relation to the stars, and to have explicitly associated that ἐναντία περιφορά with the Banquet of Thyestes (*DK* 41 1, 7, 10). That appears to have been the theme in *E.*'s *Thyestes*, with Atreus playing the φυσιολόγος (fr. 861 δείξας γὰρ ἀστρων τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν / δῆμους τ' ἔσωσα καὶ τύραννος ἰζόμην; cf. Strab. 1. 2. 15).

Elaboration of the μετάστασις-myth to include the stars (1005–6*, cf. *El.* 727–8) may well be a specifically Euripidean contribution to its poetic treatment, otherwise appearing only in Plato; elsewhere (later, but also apparently in *S.*) the focus was more straightforwardly on the sun alone and its spectacularly altered course. There is no reason to suppose that *E.*'s thought about this myth remained constant, for new ideas were constantly appearing among the φυσικοί, inviting new poetic formulations; but we can, I think, be reasonably certain that he never regarded it as merely reporting a freakish one-day aberration. It interested him rather for its bearing on the cosmos and human life; and in one way or another he is likely always to have conceived the cosmic changes as having brought about τὸ νῦν σχῆμα (*Pl.*'s phrase), as in the *El.* ode. Here too it is the

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'calamitous', enduringly retributive aspect of the Strife-wrought *μετάστασις* that is relevant to El.'s poetic argument. For that reason, if for no other, the common interpretation of 1003-4 ('altering the sun's westward sky-path so as to set in the east') is open to question.

1003-4. The nature of the solar *μεταβολή* is defined, as it were parenthetically, in a participial phrase. Many commentators have looked for the sense 'causing the sun to set in the east'; others for the sense 'causing the sun to set in the west'. The proper conclusion is that the transmitted wording is unintelligible; and it is otherwise likely that both these interpretations are wrong (quite apart from the violence done to the Greek in order to obtain them). It is unlikely that E. would have regarded either of these as a *μεταβολή* both mythologically appropriate (in this context) and cosmologically plausible; moreover neither is consistent with a scholion likely to be ancient (Schw. i. 199. 10-12): *πιθανῶς δὲ ὁ Εὐριπίδης τὸν μῦθον προσήρμοσεν ὁ γὰρ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀποδείκνυσι τὸν ἥλιον τὴν ἐναντίαν ἰόντα πορείαν τῷ οὐρανῷ* (cf. also Sch. Arat. 300 p. 399. 20-5 Maass). Prima facie 1003-4 alludes to both 'westward' and 'eastward' motions (*πρὸς ἑσπέραν . . . ἐς δῶ*); and the chances are that the two opposite motions are thought of as *newly combined* by Eris, as an appropriately 'disharmonious' phenomenon. As we saw above, the sun's eastward (zodiacal) motion was a recent discovery, and the *ἄστρων ἐναντία ὁδός* had been alluded to by E. in *Thyestes* (apparently as a new phenomenon first pointed out by Atreus).

The sense, then, to be looked for is: 'adding its (the sun's) solitary eastward (zodiacal) sky-course to its (familiar) westward course'. The changes necessary to produce that sense are, I think, τᾶ for τάν before *πρὸς ἑσπέραν* (sc. *κελεύθω*) and either *προσαρμόσασ(α τάν) μονόπωλον ἐς δῶ* or perhaps *προσαρμόσασ(α) οἰσπόλον ἐς δῶ*. The latter has the advantage of accounting for the error in the gender of the participle, as well as giving an ithyphallic clausula. *κέλευθον οὐρανοῦ*: 'sky course' (of the sun), cf. [E.] *Ph.* 1 *οὐρανοῦ . . . ὁδόν*, A. *PV* 394 *οἶμον αἰθέρος. προσαρμόσασ(α)* (s.v.l.): the additive force of the preverb is paramount; but there is also a word-play (*ἄρμα* and *ἄρμονία*; cf. τὰν *Διὸς ἄρμονίαν* A. *PV* 551, with 'yoke' overtones); *προσαρμόζειν* is otherwise close in meaning and usage to *προσάπτειν*. *μονόπωλον* (s.v.l.): to be taken (now) with *κέλευθον*, not with *δῶ*; 'east' balancing 'west' needs no epithet, whereas either *μονόπωλος* or *οἰσπόλος* is apt to the new 'sky-course' in which the sun *alone* has an eastward (zodiacal) motion. *μονόπωλος* (here only) is a poetical formation like *μονόκωπος Hel.* 1128 ('using a single oared vessel and operating on his own', see Kannicht), *οἰδζωνος S. OT* 846 (see Jebb), *μονοψήφοισι . . . μονοσκήπτροισι A. Su.* 373-4. But *μονόπωλος* here almost inevitably also conveys the obvious sense 'single-horse(d)' (as a change from 'four-horsed' movement, and cf. *μόνιππος X. Cyr.* 6. 4. 1, etc.). Conceivably we are to understand that the horse-power required for the zodiacal *κέλευθος* is only a quarter of that needed for the diurnal course, or even that Helios performs this course on horseback (in treating a different myth, E. had

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described Helios riding a single steed in pursuit of his errant chariot; *Phaethon* 175-6). But these are unwelcome complications of what is complex enough. οἰοπόλος more straightforwardly means 'lone-faring' or 'solitary' (cf. *Il.* 13. 473, 19. 377, *Od.* 11. 574, *Pi. Py.* 4. 28; οἰοπολεῖν *Cyc.* 74, in lyric). [προσαρμόσασ' iam Paley (before ἐς μονόπωλον Ἄω). Correction of προσαρμόσας (codd.) to the feminine is, of course, essential (*pace* Biehl, who inserts a preposterous colon after ὄθεν ἔρις, understanding ἐγένετο); the error here is either cause or effect of the erroneous attribution of the μεταβολή to Zeus (see below). The variant ἕσπερον for ἑσπέραν appears to be ancient; was there perhaps an ancient misinterpretation involving the Evening Star Hesperus (cf. *Ion* 1149)? The apparent description of Ἄως as μονόπωλος has long been a stumbling-block (in conjunction with the anomalous metre). μουνο- (olim Nauck) is a form eschewed by E. (unlike S.); Gedike's κροκόπωλον and ροδόπωλον are useless. M.L.W. quite neatly suggests χιονόπωλον [ἐς] Ἄω, but it is not an ornamental phrase for 'Dawn' that we need to make sense of this sentence.]

1005-6. The effect of the change described in 1003-4 is to give the stars a course different from, and in a sense opposite to, that of the sun (cf. *Thyestes* fr. 861); but it suited E.'s purpose to leave the stellar μεταβολή imprecisely εἰς ὀδὸν ἄλλαν. The Pleiades are 'representative of the stars in general' (cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 66); but it is probably not irrelevant that they include Maia (997). ἑπταπόρου: cf. *IA* 7 (CQ 1971, 351); there was a myth telling of a reduction in number from seven to six (Hellenistic *ap. Sch. Il.* 18. 146 (= *FGH* 4 F 19a), *Sch. Arat.* 257 p. 391. 1-9 Maass), but there is nothing to suggest that E. had that in mind here. δρόμημα: the sing. (pler. codd.) is at least as appropriate as the pl. for concerted 'running' (cf. *Ba.* 872 συντείνη δρόμημα κυνῶν); the Pleiades are perpetually fleeing from the pursuit of Orion and his Dogs (cf. Kannicht on *Hel.* 1489-91). Πλειάδος: the collective sing. Πλειάς occurs here first in Attic literature, reflecting an Ionian use (*Hipp. Epid.* 1. 1; cf. *DK* i 463. 1, ii 42, 50. 27, 224. 17, 241. 35). The name is always Πλ- in E. (nine times); the Πελ- form (West on *Hes. Op.* 383-4) is certainly erroneous at *Hel.* 1489. [Ζεὺς μεταβάλλει]: del. Biehl, rightly (though mainly for the wrong reasons, since he mispunctuates 1001 and reintroduces Ζεὺς in 1007). Two very unwelcome features are removed at a stroke: the anacoluthon after Ἐρις τό τε . . . (the τε . . . τε now simply pairs the two noun objects of μετέβαλεν) and the repetition of the vb μεταβάλλειν in a different tense. Since cosmic changes were normally attributed to Zeus, it is credible that words should have been added to E.'s sentence (in conjunction with the erroneous masc. προσαρμόσας in 1003). Conclusive evidence is afforded by scholia which take 'Hermes' as the subject of ἀμείβει in 1007 (*Schw.* i. 200. 15 and 19); no rational commentator would have looked beyond 'Zeus' if he had read Ζεὺς μεταβάλλει in the preceding verse. [The excision also enables us to take a different view of the metre, keeping both δρόμημα and Πλειάδος. -ματα (M) Πλ- and -μα Πελ- (*Eustathius Od.* 1713. 7) are alternative

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dactylicizing 'improvements' (the latter giving a hexameter with 3rd foot caesura and bucolic diaeresis). Several MSS have the later *δρομ*-spelling (cf. Page on *Med.* 1180).]

1007-10. The sense to be looked for is something like: 'and here (in time and/or place) began the *ἀμοιβή* of death(s) for death(s) initiated by the Banquet of Thyestes and . . .', followed culminatingly by *τὰ πανύστατα δ'* . . . *ἤλυθε* . . . in 1010-12. †*τῶνδε τ' ἀμείβει*†: there is more amiss here than simply the loss of a syllable after *ἀμείβει*; though it is indeed likely that there were originally six syllables (-υυ-- --) before *θανάτουσ θανά- / τῶν* . . . giving dactyls symmetrical with 1009 *λέκτρα τέ Κρήσασ Αἰρόπασ δόλι- / ας* . . . First as to *τῶνδε*: this cannot be right, necessarily agreeing with *θανάτων* and referring to 'this killing (of Myrtilus)'. The long retrospect across the intervening cosmology is awkward enough; and the use of pl. *θανάτοι* in reference to a specific single death is hardly possible (cf. Diggle, *ICS* 1977, 113); above all one expects the paregmenon (*ἀμείβειν*) *θανάτους θανάτων* here to be like *Hel.* 1533 *ἔργου δ' ἔργον ἐξημείβετο*, *Il.* 11. 547 *γόνυ γουνοῖ ἀμείβων* (Diggle, *CQ* 1984, 63), of the kind in which the nouns do not denote two specific events but rather terms in a series (*A' A' A' A' . . .*) and the vb is correspondingly non-aoristic in aspect. With that in mind, my first suggestion is that *ἀμείβει* is an error for the imperf. *ἤμειβεν*. We then want -υυ in place of *τῶνδε τ'*, and a natural transition from the cosmic events to the contemporaneous events in the House of Atreus would be given by *τάνθάδε τ' ἤμειβεν θανάτους θανάτων* . . . (*τάνθάδε* substantival, like *τὰ πανύστατα* 1010, see below). [*ἤμ-* rather than *ἀμ-*, cf. Mastronarde, *ZPE* 1980, 25⁴]; but of course a Doricized *ἀμειβε(ν)* would increase the likelihood of corruption to *ἀμείβει*.]

τά τ' . . . δεῖπνα Θυέστου: the Adultery and the Banquet, paired hysteron proteron, are manifestations of *ἔρις* in the sphere of human action (cf. 812-15); and it is this compound event that initiated the *ἀμοιβή θανάτων* in the House of Atreus. *δεῖπνα* and *λέκτρα* are therefore certainly nominative, either as subjects of *ἀμείβει* (s.v.l.) or (as suggested) appositive to *τάνθάδε*. *ἐπώνυμα*: probably not with 'name-etymology', despite Σ (who associates *Θυέστης* with *θύσις*); cf. *S. El.* 283-4 *κλαίω . . . πατρός / τὴν δυστάλαιναν δαίτ' ἐπώνυμοσμένην* (referring to the 'Agamemnonia'-feast scandalously celebrated by Cl. and Aeg. as a monthly commemoration). *Ph.* 1494 is different (*ὦ Πολύνεικες, ἔφυσ ἄρ' ἐπώνυμος*), with the person described as *ἐπώνυμος* 'aptly named'. Here 'the eponymous Feast of Thyestes' merely implies the 'title' *Θυέστεια*, as a perversion of religious terminology. *λέκτρα τε . . . δολίας*: for 'Cretan Aërope', cf. 18*. *δολίοισι γάμοις*: not simply a pleonastic reinforcement, but an important part of the poetic argument; the dat. is modal-causal (39-40*), balanced by the terminal *δόμων* . . . *ἀνάγκαις* in 1012. There is an *ἀναγκαῖον* link between the primal, archetypal adultery of Aërope and that of Clytaemestra (the immediate cause of the *πῆνοι* of Or. and El.).

1010-11. *τὰ πανύστατα δ'* . . .: rightly taken by Σ as substantival (*λείπει τὸ*

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κακά), rather than adverbial with a vague 'it' (the curse?) as the subject of ἤλυθε. εἰς ἐμὲ ἔκαλ γενέταν† ἐμὸν ἤλυθε . . . : edd. seem untroubled by 'me and my father'; but the death of Ag. is anything but πανύστατον, and the context (960–1012*) absolutely requires 'me and my brother' (as in Arrowsmith's translation). γενέτης means 'son', not 'father', at *Ion* 906, but a further (ambiguous) extension to 'brother' is out of the question. κάγγενέταν would be an easy change, but ἐγγενής usually expresses a more distant relationship (typically 'cousin'). Perhaps E. wrote εἰς ἐμὲ συγγενέταν τ' ἐμὸν: cf. συγγενέτειρα 'sister' at *El.* 746 (see Denniston). [σύγγενέταν τ' (sic) could well have been 'clarified' as καὶ γενέταν, especially if the τ' dropped out. The interpolated σύν after δόμων (LB^v) could perhaps be the extruded σύγ, reentering the text; but it is probably a Thoman gloss (*Turyn* 174, *Zuntz, Inquiry* 168).]

1012. δόμων πολυπόνους ἀνάγκαις: i.e. the working-out of the Curse of Discord, through many 'troubles' of the House (341–4*, 816–18*), has had the inevitability of predestined fate; cf. 12–14* and *Ph.* 157 πολυπόνω μοίρα; for the terminal dat. phrase (modal-causal, 39–40*), cf. also 1374, *Hel.* 374, *Ph.* 225. [Pasquali's πολυπόνων ἀνάγκα removes any uncertainty as to the subject, but is otherwise less stylish.]

ACT FOUR: 1013–1245

A brilliantly-handled scene, full of bravura, which moves by deft transitions from total hopelessness, with affecting last farewells and heroic preparations for the suicide-ἀγών (1065–8*), to pursuance of a new and shocking plan (another, and 'final', ἀγών, 1222–3*). Intrigue-scenes, directed towards either vengeance or survival, had become increasingly popular in tragedy (F. Solmsen, *Kl. Schr.* (1968), 141 ff. = E.-R. Schwinge (ed.), *Euripides* (1968), 326 ff.); the combination here of 'vengeance' and 'survival' motives is more than usually intricate. First Pyl. suggests that, before they die, they can at least achieve something by murdering Helen, thereby 'gloriously' taking vengeance on Men. for his betrayal, and winning public acclaim, even (possibly) survival. Then El. has the additional idea of kidnapping Hermione and holding a sword at her throat, with the threat of killing her too if Men. does not act to save them. Or. enthusiastically accepts both proposals, with extravagant praise, and the details are worked out. The scene ends with a sinister 'liturgy' involving the shade of Agamemnon and the Justice of Zeus; then two of the three ἀγωνιστάι go within (1244–5*), while El. remains on guard with the Chorus.

Much of the effect depends upon perversion of tragic precedents and traditional values; while the new invention of a murder-plot against Helen mirrors, with hideous plausibility, the slaughter of Clytaemestra by the same murderous trio (indirectly throwing fresh light on that controversial ἀπαγή; see esp. Greenberg 160, 184–5). At the same time it is not fortuitous

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that the word *ἔταιρεία* occurs twice (1072, 1079): the perversely 'noble' viciousness in desperation of the conspirators (at once suicidally reckless and with a hope of *σωτηρία*) recalls the posture and behaviour of the oligarchic *ἔταιρίαι* in contemporary Athens (Introd. A), with a topicality that follows naturally after the Assembly-scene.

The scene falls into two parts, 1013-1154 and 1155-1245. The first, framed by the opening anapaests (1013-17) and the structurally important distich (1153-4) in which the Chorus as *φίλοι* accept complicity in the proposed murder of Helen, is further divisible into a dialogue between Or. and El. (1018-64) and a dialogue between Or. and Pyl. (1065-1152), bonded by Or.'s *βήσις* in 1058-68; a good example of E.'s normal handling of three-person scenes (cf. Strohm 43; there is nothing abnormally long, *pace* Taplin (334), in Pyl.'s silence from 1018 to 1069). The second part becomes more complex in the interlaced involvement of all three speakers from 1204 onwards (1181*).

1013-17. Or. is seen approaching, supported as before by Pyl. (881-3*); on 'entries of condemned persons', cf. Taplin 73. As usual (348-55*), the approach-announcement also focuses attention on important themes: the death-*ψήφος* and the loyal, 'brotherly' *κῆδευμα* (795*) of Pyl., with a reminder of Or.'s 'sickness'. Accompanying 'friends' were mentioned in 950*, but it is preferable to suppose that Or. has already said his goodbyes to them before re-entering the *αὐλή* (Introd. E i) in the manner described; cf. Stanley-Porter 81, 91-2. El. addresses Or. as he approaches, and he responds directly to her address (Murray's line-space is inappropriate), leaving no suitable place for a mimed dismissal of companions.

1014. *κατακυρωθεῖς*: i.e. *καταψηφισθεῖς*; here only as a vb of 'condemning' (normally 'ratify', cf. S. *Ant.* 936; 861-3*).

1015-17. *ἰσάδελφος ἀνὴρ*, / †(⋮) ἰθύνων † νοσερόν κῶλον [Ὀρέστου] / ποδί κηδοσύνῃ παράσειρος: *an/zan/zan*^ (these cola corresponding with the syntactical units). *ἰσάδελφος* (200*) and *κηδοσύνῃ* may be new coinages (Breitenbach 40, 64); *ἰσάδελφος ἀνὴρ*, cf. *κακόμητις ἀνὴρ* 1403 (also of Pyl.). For the trace-horse metaphor in *παράσειρος*, cf. Bond on *HF* 445, and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 841-2 *μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς . . . ἑτοίμος ἦν ἔμοι σειραφόρος*. The similar 'yoke' metaphor, e.g. *HF* 119-25, 1402-3, is used for more symmetrical partnerships. *Ὀρέστου* (del. Elmsley) is clumsily superfluous: the leg's owner is clear from *σὸς σύγγονος* 1013 (not to mention *νοσερόν*); and the idiom without *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτῷ* is like *Hclid.* 728 *εὐθύων πόδα*. As J.D. points out, the parallel favours Wecklein's view that the epic-lyric *ἰθύνων* is an error here for *εὐθύων* (*ἰθ-* for *εὐθ-*, cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 1223). Wecklein proposed <ἔξ>*εὐθύων* (<ἔξ- iam Elmsley) to mend the metre, but there are other possible supplements. Pronouns are unneeded (τοῦδ' Hartung, *ἰθύνων* of West, *BIGS* 1981, 70); Hermann's *πέλας* is better, but I should prefer *δεῦρ'* (omitted after *ἀνὴρ*), cf. 456, *An.* 546, etc. [Di B. should not have accepted *ἰσάδελφός ἀνὴρ ἰθύνων* as a catalectic anapaestic

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dimeter. There is no parallel for . . . | --- in non-lyric anapaests; nor is there a proper period-end with pause.]

1018 ff. The structure of the dialogue between Or. and El. reflects their earlier distichomythia scene (211 ff.); there it was Or. who began with a longer speech, comprising three distichs.

1018-21. οἱ γῶ . . . οἱ γῶ μάλ' αὐθις: cf. *Hec.* 1035-7 (with οἶμοι repeated, after the precedent of *A. Ag.* 1343-5, *Ch.* 875-6), *Med.* 1008-9, *Tr.* 628-9 (with αἰαί), *Ph.* 1067-9 (with ὠή), *S. Phil.* 792-3 (with παπαί); also *Tr.* 720-2 (οἶμοι . . . αἰαί μάλ'); Bruhn 150.

1018-19. πρὸ τύμβου . . . καὶ πόροισι . . . πυρᾶς: poetic duplication ('burial/pyre', cf. 402*); El. hyperbolically laments Or. as 'already dead' (cf. 191-3*, 1025-6, 1028 τέθνηκα, 1030 οὐκέτ' εἶ, etc.); the proleptic use of νερέτρου ('infernal') with 'pyre' seems novel. See Addendis Addenda.

1020-21. ἰδοῦσ' ἐν δμμασιν: cf. *Hp.* 1265, *S. Tra.* 241, etc.; a common pleonasm, already formulaic in Homer (*Il.* 1. 587, 18. 190). πανουσάτην πρόσοψιν: like ἠδεῖαν ὄψιν 727-8*, but the int. acc. is here 'integral' (961-2*, KG i 320). ἐξέστην φρενῶν: more definitely 'manic' than the trite Eng. idiom 'to be beside oneself' (cf. *Ba.* 359, 850).

1022-3[-4]. 'Hush your feminine wailing' (γῶους; for the error λόγους, cf. *Ph.* 1309, 1335, etc.; Diggle, *Studies* 102) 'and accept what has been decreed . . .'. The sense of ἀφείσα (sometimes 'utter', cf. *El.* 59 γόους ἀφείμ', *Hp.* 418, 991, 1324, etc.) is defined by σίγ' as 'abandoning', cf. Lat. *mittere*; παρίεμαι is more normal in that sense (as *Su.* 111 πάρας γόον). Or perhaps the whole phrase is an oxymoron like *HF* 1053-4 οὐκ ἀτρεμαῖα θρήνον ατάξερ' . . .; (147 f.*). τὰ κρανθέντ': at once a deterministic phrase for 'what has happened, the unalterable situation' (*Hp.* 868, *Ion* 77) and allusive to the Argive ψήφος (cf. *Hec.* 219). ἀλλ' ὄμως, sc. στέργειν χρῆ; cf. *Hec.* 843, *El.* 753, *IA* 904, *Ar. Ach.* 956. 1024 is a common type of interpolation ('completing' elliptical idiom). [Cf. Renehan, *GTC* 28-9, Reeve' 256. The evidence of Σ (see app. crit.) is decisive here; cf. *Ba.* 1028 = *Med.* 54; *HF* 1366 (see Bond, and 1623-4* below) and *Tr.* 367 are less probable instances.]

1025-6. καὶ πῶς . . .; objecting, cf. 1110 (*GP* 310). θεοῦ: 'the sun', cf. *Al.* 722 φίλον τὸ φέγγος τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, φίλον (Diggle on *Phaethon* 6, Collard on *Su.* 208); the divinity of the sun was a matter of current controversy (4-10*). μέγα (μέγιστοι): i.e. with other human beings; rare with inf. (*S. Ant.* 48). For the asyndetic statement following the objecting question, cf. *IA* 124-7; there is no need for Musgrave's στ' for τόδ' or μετόν for μέγα or Paley's ὡς ὄραν for εἰσορᾶν.

1027-8. 'Don't you be the death of me!'; cf. 158-9*, and Barrett on *Hp.* 1064 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 11-12); El.'s verbal 'killing' is opposed to the sufficient 'manual' death ἀπό or ὑπό the Argives (χερός implying the χειροτονία). Since ἀπ' is better attested and arguably more 'exquisite', it should probably be preferred (Braunlich, *AJPh* 1962, 405); cf. 435*. εἶα: 'say nothing about', cf. 27, 1145, *IT* 927.

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- 1029-30. ὦ μέλεος . . . ἄωρου: cf. 160*, and *Hec.* 425 ὦ τῆς ἄωρου θύγατερ ἀθλία[s] (corr. Markland) τύχης. ζῆν ἐχρῆν σ' . . . : cf. *Al.* 379 ὅτε ζῆν χρῆν μ'. [ἐχρῆν 729*; there is no need for Wecklein's ζῆν σε χρῆν (for F's reading σ' ἐχρῆν, cf. LP's obviously wrong μ' ἐχρῆν in *Al.* 379).]
- 1031-2. περιβάλλης: for the favourite vb (25*) with an abstract object, cf. *HF* 304, *Ph.* 189, *IA* 934. ἀνανδρίαν: cf. 786*, *El.* 982, etc. In 1032 I see no need to emend the text. ἐς δάκρυα: 'so as to cause, or end in, tears', cf. *Ba.* 1161-2 τὸν καλλίνικον κλεινὸν ἐξεπράξατε / ἐς γό[ν]ον (corr. Canter) ἐς δάκρυα. πορθμεύουσ' ὑπόμνησιν κακῶν: 'bringing/effecting reminiscence of evils'. πορθμεύουσα means at once φέρουσα (LSJ φέρω A. IV. 3) and ποιουμένη (ὑπόμνησιν ποιέσθαι is frequent in Th.), in a periphrasis with a close enough parallel at *IT* 1435 f. ποῖ ποῖ διωγμὸν τόνδε πορθμεύεις, ἀναξ/Θόας; (evidently overlooked by Di B.). ὑπόμνησις occurs here only in tragedy; for the cognate vb, cf. *S. Phil.* 1169-70 παλαιὸν ἀλγῆμ' ὑπέμνασας (for the topos in general, cf. Diggle, *ICS* 1977, 115-16, and *Studies* 37). The dat. μοι is of course understood from μοι 1031. [Those who write ὑπομνήσει (after Musgrave) understand με from μοι. That is easy enough, but no one has cited a parallel for πορθμεύειν τιὰ ἐς δάκρυα (or one with φέρειν or πορεύειν). J.D. reminds me of Call. *ep.* 2 (Gow-Pagc, *Hell. ep.* 1203) ἐς δέ με δάκρυ / ἤγαγεν. But (a) that is not a precedent; (b) ἄγω is a rather different type of vb.]
- 1033-4. οὐχ οἶόν τε μὴ . . . : μὴ οὐ would be normal (Herwerden, *Exerc. crit.* [1862], 190), but cf. *S. Tra.* 742. οἰκτρόν: 'a matter for lamentation' (at 231-2*), sc. 'when (about to be) lost'. ἡ φίλη ψυχῆ: cf. Or.'s φιλοψυχία at 64[4-]5*; as in her *θρήνος*, El. is thinking as much of Or.'s life as of her own.
- 1035-6. ἤμαρ . . . κύριον: cf. 48. δαί 5 ἦ . . . : for the rhythm, cf. 615* (δαί δὴ Elms. on *Med.* 326[339]; cf. *Hp.* 688, but here we need both δέ and ἦ). βρόχους . . . κρεμαστούς: cf. *Hp.* 769-70, 779, 802. ἦ ξίφος: 953-4*. θήγειν: strictly 'to whet' (so [51], *θηκτὸν ξίφος Ion* 1064), here simply 'prepare to use' (with *χερσὶ*; *not δέρη* Musgr., for a suicidal sword-thrust), as in *Tr.* 1013, equivalent to *εὐτρεπίζειν* (953).
- 1037-8. 'Do you then (kill) me lest some Argive kill (me) . . .': for the ellipse of the main vb, cf. *S. Tra.* 305, Thgn. 541-2 (KG ii 574-5). The enclitic pronoun (also ἀπὸ κοινοῦ) is naturally near the beginning of the sentence (cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 10-11). ὕβρισμα θέμενος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνον (s.v.l.): El. imagines the killer insultingly boasting (in the manner of an Aegisthus, cf. 436*, *El.* 330) of the inability of 'Agamemnon's son' to protect his womenfolk. γόνον is defensible thus; but, as in 81[-2]*, δόμον could well be right (read here, according to Callistratus *ap. S.*, by Ar. Byz. himself). For the construction of the accs. cf. 842-3*. [*IT* 930 affords a parallel for ὕβρις against a house. Hermann's τὴν . . . γόνον (accepted by Di B.) is inadequately supported by *IA* 793 τὰν κύκνου . . . γόνον in lyric (*γονάς* Bothe); there is no other attestation of γόνος fem.].
1039. Cf. *IT* 1007-8 οὐκ ἂν γενοίμην σοῦ τε καὶ μητρὸς φονεύς: / ἄλις τὸ κείνης αἷμα. The parallel confirms what might otherwise be only a plausible

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variant: ἄλις τὸ μητρόσ αἰμ' ἐγώ . . . (Mosch.; Turyh 112); ἄλις ἔχω usually governs a partitive gen. (239-40*). The question then is whether to accept ἐγὼ σέ δ', . . . (or ἐγὼ σε δ' . . .; two pronouns before δέ, cf. S. *Aj.* 116 τοῦτ' σοι δ' ἐφίεμαι; *GP* 188) or Schmidt's ἐγὼ σέ γ' . . . (*KS* 361 f.). The latter looks right (asyndeton like *IT* 1008; σέ strongly emphasized, opp. μητρόσ). [The vulgate ἔχω was an 'automatic' error (cf. S. *OT* 1061). ἐγὼ is unlikely to be a mere conjecture by Mosch.: for that, he would surely have preferred ἐγὼ δέ σ' . . . (an obvious 'rectification' in some late MSS, accepted by Matthiae).] See Addendis Addenda.

1040. αὐτόχειρι . . . τρόπῳ: 'in whatever self-acting way you please'; cf. αὐτόχειρι . . . σφαγῆ 947 and phrases like ἐκουσίῳ τρόπῳ *Med.* 751, ποιητῷ τρόπῳ *Hel.* 1547.

1041-2. 'I shall not at all be left behind by your sword', cf. 1085*; the metaphor (LSJ *λείπω* B. II. 2-3) stems anciently from racing (*Il.* 23. 407, etc.); hence of inferiority in other types of ἀγών. El. will die soon after Or. (so S); but the point is probably both temporal and qualitative. For the same word *λελείφωμαι* in the related sense 'I shall have failed', cf. *Hr.* 324 (*CQ* 1968, 39). See Addendis Addenda.

1043-4. ὄνησιν: int. acc. (cf. 1020-1), almost synonymous here with *τέρψιν*, which would be cognate acc. For τόδε followed by appositive inf., cf. 566, 1162, *Al.* 36-7, *IA* 839 (KG i 659). θανάτου πέλας βεβῶσιν: 'for people who have come near death' (βεβῶσ almost = ὦν, Bruhn 137); cf. conversely *Al.* 671 ἦν δ' ἰγγύς ἐλθῆ θάνατος, *IT* 486 Ἄιδην ἐγγύς ὄντ'.

1045-6. ὦ φίλτατ' ὦ ποθεινὸν ἡδιστόν τ' ἔχων / †τῆς σῆς ἀδελφῆς ὄνομα † καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν: 'having the sweetest name of your sister' is clearly nonsense (contrast 'sweetest to . . .' in S. *OC* 324-5), and Tyrwhitt's ὄμμα (though technically plausible, 1082*) still leaves an unintelligible text. I suggest <ἀδέλφ>, ἀδέλφῃ σώμα (<ἀδέλφ> iam Weil, Jackson). The proposed σώμα καὶ ψυχὴν gains support from an unexpected quarter: a scholion on 1192 (*Schw.* i. 209. 18-19) includes the phrase ἐν σώμα καὶ μία ψυχὴ in explaining the sentence πᾶν γὰρ ἐν φίλον τόδε. Here as there μία = μία κοινή (a sense in which εἰς can govern a dative, cf. *Ph.* 156; KG i 412). 'Body and soul' is by no means a tragic cliché, but rather has a philosophical flavour (cf. DK iii 419), alongside the appropriateness of σώμα and ψυχὴ considered separately. ποθεινόν: with little connotation of *desiderium* here; πόθος can be simply 'love' (LSJ s.v. II). ἡδιστόν τ' ἔχων . . .: probably with a conscious reminiscence of S. *El.* 1357-8 ὦ φίλταται μὲν χεῖρες, ἡδιστον δ' ἔχων / ποδοῖν ὑπηρέτημα. The false ὄνομα may owe something to reminiscence of *Ph.* 1702 ὦ φίλτατον δῆτ' ὄνομα Πολυνείκους ἐμοί. [Jackson (*MS* 142-3), after Weil (. . . ἔχων, / <ἀδέλφ>), ἀδελφῆς ὄμμα . . .] proposed ἡδιστόν τ' ἐπῶν, / <ἀδέλφ>, ἀδελφῆς ὄμμα καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν (comparing *Hel.* 1193 for the use of ἔπος with a voc.); stylish enough, but unlikely in the light of S. *El.* 1357. M.L.W. (to whom I owe the above interpretation of μίαν) suggests τῆ σῆ γ' ἀδελφῆ σώμα; a less violent change, but τῆ, σῆ and γε are all otiose. Weil's explanation of τῆς σῆς was surely correct ('je suppose

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- l'omission de ἀδέλφ' avant ἀδελφῆς et l'interpolation de τῆς σῆς'). The vocative is sheer gain, and for the paregmenon cf. 221-2*.]
- 1047-8[-51].** The distich 1047-8 responsively completes the 'manual' φίλημα (χέρας 1042, 1044, χειρῶν 1048). Then, instead of leaving his χεῖρες to speak for him, Or. continues (against the pattern of the distichomythia) for a further three lines. Reeve (iii 159) justly removes 1049-51 (1050-1 iam Oeri). 1049 could well be a Euripidean line from a different play; so, for that matter, could 1050-1 (on the lips of some ill-starred young lover or spouse). But 1050-1 are condemned here by their content, and with them out of the way the superfluity of 1049 becomes evident. [Barrett (*ap.* Reeve) prefers to save 1049 at the expense of 1047b-1048a; but such *Binneninterpolation* is much less likely, and the connection of thought between 1047a and 1048b lacks clarity.]
- 1047-8.** ἔκ τοί με τῆξεις: cf. 134*, 219-20*; but we need Bothe's μ' ἔτηξας here before καί . . . θέλω. Projection of present emotion into the future is idiomatic in itself (cf. 609*), but the point here must be that Or. has already 'melted' before he begins to speak this distich. In this context ἔκ τοί με τῆξεις is the utterance of a man still *resisting* emotional displays. ἀμείψασθαι: 'answer', normally λόγους, here with manual φιλότης; cf. 1027-8* for this trope. τί γάρ ἔτ' αἰδοῦμαι, τάλαι; For the abandonment of 'manly' αἰδώς, cf. Menelaus' enthusiastic acceptance of Helen's embrace at *Hel.* 622 ff. [A comma suffices after ἔτηξας, and a colon after χειρῶν. Murray's pointing is unnaturally heavy.]
- [1049].** ὦ φίλον πρόσπτυγμ' ἑμόν: cf. 477* (voc. κῆδευμ' ἑμόν), *Tr.* 782-3 (πρόσπτυγμα . . . μητρὸς), and Diggle, *Studies* 30-1 (no need for Nauck's ἑμοί).
- [1050-1].** The point about 'marriage' and 'children' is not in itself 'erotic' (according to Greek sentiment); but it is plainly inappropriate in this fraternal embrace. Lobeck's ἀμφοῖν (for ἀμφί) in 1051 is doubtless correct; but it is noteworthy how often interpolated lines are also corrupt (interpolated from memory rather than from a written text?). [There is nothing to be said for Nauck's deletion of 1051 only, accepted by Murray; cf. Page, *Actors* 54, Di Benedetto, *SCO* 1961, 144-6.]
- 1052-3.** πῶς ἄν . . . ; 'Oh that . . . !' a frequent type of wish in tragedy (especially in the phrase πῶς ἄν δλοίμην; *Al.* 864, *Med.* 97, *Su.* 796), cf. *Hp.* 208-9, 345, *Su.* 617, *HF* 487-8 (Bruhn 63); here as a variation of *IT* 627, where it is Orestes who says φεῦ πῶς ἄν μ' ἀδελφῆς χεῖρ περιστείλειεν ἄν; The addition of εἰ θῆμις is unusual, since the fulfilment of such wishes is usually thought of as doubtfully possible (Barrett on *Hp.* 208) rather than doubtfully 'proper'. For the single cedar-wood coffin (proper for husband and wife), cf. *Al.* 365-7. τεχνάσματα: i.e. 'made of', like τεκτόνων πόνον 1570 ('made by'); for the poetical -ματα (123*) used as pl. apposition to a sing. noun, cf. *Hp.* 11, *Ov. Met.* 15. 163 *clipeum laeuae gestamina nostrae* (Bruhn 8). τέχνασμα (directly formed from τεχνάζω) is scarcely distinguishable from the commoner τέχνημα (*IT* 1355, A., S.); previously used by Ar.

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(*Thesm.* 198), probably with tragic precedent, and recurring in [1560] below.

1054-5. For the 'σπάνιος of φίλοι', cf. *A. Pers.* 1024. But what, in this case, of Pyl. (not to mention the Chorus)? The inconsistency with 1065-7 is surely calculated. Or. is made to exaggerate the 'visible' lack of φίλοι (δράς δὲ δὴ . . .), partly as an egotistic touch (implying that he has so far given no thought to the survival of Pyl.), partly as a thematic cue for El.'s question about Men.'s betrayal of φίλια.

1056-7. οὐδ' εἰφ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ μὴ θανεῖν σπουδὴν ἔχων / Μενέλαος ὁ κακός . . .; the commas in 1056 are best removed, since ὑπὲρ σοῦ goes as closely with σπουδὴν ἔχων as with εἰπ(ε). We do not want μὴ θαν-σπ-ἔχ- isolated as a syntactical unit ('being zealous not to die', cf. *Ap.* 1050 ἐκμαθεῖν σπουδὴν ἔχων). Another way of looking at it is to regard σπουδὴν ἔχων as equivalent to an adverb 'zealously', cf. *Held.* 377 πειρῶ δὲ σώσαι (sc. ἡμᾶς) μὴ θανεῖν πρόθυμος ὢν. There is no need for Nauck's μὴ θάνης (or -οις) to make the sense clear. ὁ κακός, ὁ προδότης: for the pejorative use of the def. article, cf. 1140*.

1058-9. ἐπὶ σκήπτροις: in the first instance the σκήπτρα are Spartan (623*); but Or. can be understood as implying the more villainous motive of seeking the Argive throne as well (a plausible slur, which illuminates Or.'s thinking rather than Men.'s; cf. 682-716*, 1122*). τὴν ἐλπιδ': ἐλπίς is often neutral 'thought for the future', which may include fear (859-60*). εὐλαβεῖτο μὴ σφῆξεν φίλους: sarcastic, with the pejorative use of the vb (699*, 748) enhanced by perversion of ordinary usage (cf. 942); normally the thing avoided (inf. with or without μὴ) is something bad, as in 793, cf. *S. OT* 616 εὐλαβουμένω πεσεῖν.

1060-1. ἀλλ' εἰ(α): hortatory, like ἀγετε (etc.) with 1st pl. subjunc. (1258-60*); perhaps here only with ὅπως; cf. *Ar. Eccl.* 99 ἀλλ' ἀγεθ' ὅπως . . . δράσομεν (*KG* ii 377). γενναῖα . . . ἀξιώτατα: with δράσαντε (622*), but the word-order, while emphasizing the n. pl. adjs. (framing the clause), also makes ἀξιώτατα do double duty with καθανούμεθα (cf. *IT* 321-2 ὅπως θανούμεθα κάλλιστα). Again the heroic emphasis is on pride of lineage; the three-word line (883*) suits the bravurà of the sentiment.

1062-4. ἀποδείξω πόλει: note the political aspect (with a topical ring) of Or.'s demonstration of nobility. παῖσας (intrans.) . . . φασγάνῳ: contrast *Hel.* 983 πρὸς ἦπαρ ὤσαι . . . ξίφος, *El.* 688 παῖσω γὰρ ἦπαρ (Geel) . . . ξίφει, *S. Ant.* 1315 παῖσασ' ὑφ' ἦπαρ . . . αὐτήν; variation was naturally practised in such recurrent expressions. τολμήμασιν: of 'bold' deeds both good and bad, cf. 827, *Ph.* 1219, *Ba.* 1222, *S. Phil.* 633-4 πάντα δὲ τολμητά (*Introd.* F i. 12). The variant βουλευμάσιν, though attested in *IT*, is decidedly inferior here (for the error, cf. *Med.* 76); due, no doubt, to 1085* below (but cf. also *Med.* 769, *Hr.* 28, *Hec.* 251, 331, *Su.* 398, *El.* 1109).

1065-8. Πυλάδῃ, σὺ δ'. . .: cf. 622*. βραβεύς: properly 'one who presides over an ἀγών' (cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 230); Pyl. is to see that the rules of the bloody game are observed, like the umpire of a duel. περιστάλιον: cf. *IT*

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- 627, *Med.* 1034 *χερσὶν εὐ περιστελεῖν. καὶ χαίρ'*: as Diggle observes (*Studies* 114), the *καὶ* in this formula always links *χαίρει* with a preceding imperative. *πορεύομαι*: Or. does not have a sword with him on stage (cf. 1223), and so he makes to exit 'within' (the normal place for suicide in tragedy), expecting El. and Pyl. to follow. [1067 del. Paley; an inorganic but blameless line (for the coordination of *θάψον τε...* after *γενοῦ...καὶ...περίστειλον*, cf. *GP* 500).]
- 1069-97. In *IT* 672 ff. Pylades similarly protests his unwillingness to outlive Orestes; there, by contrast, Or. has on *his* side the argument of 'not betraying Electra' (*IT* 706, 716-17).
- 1069-70. *ἐπίσχεσις*: at once checking Or. in his exit (cf. *Ph.* 896) and initiating a new *λόγος* (cf. *El.* 962); this peripeteia (beginning with Or.'s turning to Pyl. and terse 'farewell-speech' in 1065-8) is handled with masterly economy. *ἔν...μομφὴν ἔχω* (= *μέμφομαι*, cf. *Ph.* 772-3); for the acc. governed by the compendium, cf. 842-3*, *HF* 709 *ἃ χρῆν σε μετρίως...σπουδῆν ἔχειν* (*KG* i 322-3). *μὲν πρῶτα*: the initial *ἐν* is, as usual, emphatic (530*); but here Pyl. has more than one point to make (1085*, 1098 ff.). *ἤλπισας*: 'supposed' + pres. inf., cf. *An.* 720.
1071. 'Why, what concern...?' For the surprised, dissentient *γάρ* (not here ironical), cf. 483; *GP* 77-8.
1072. *ἦρου*; cf. *ἦρου τοῦδ'*; *El.* 275. *τί δὲ ζῆν*, sc. *προσῆκει μοι. ἔταιρ(ε)ίας*: 804*; the abstract noun occurs only here, 1079 and *S. Aj.* 683 in tragedy. [*ἔταιρεί-* is better attested at *S. Aj.* 683 and read here by *Π*, we should probably recognize it (with Porson) as the preferred form at this point in the trimeter; cf. 93...*προσεδρίψ*, 304...*προσεδρείψ* (codd.) *νόσον*.]
1073. *οὐκ ἔκτανες...μητέρ'*: recent edd. rightly prefer *οὐ* to *σὴν*; Or. means 'your mother', but his ambiguous phrase allows Pyl. to misinterpret him; a characteristic twist (414-16*), a feature here being the balance between *οὐ* and *ὡς ἐγώ*. [It is curious that Jackson (*MS* 187) regarded the variant *οὐ* (*Mn*⁷⁰) as 'futile' and saw no alternative to writing *οὐν ἔμοιγε* in 1074.]
1074. Cf. *IT* 675 *κοινῇ δὲ πλεῦσας* (Elms.) *δεῖ με καὶ κοινῇ θανεῖν. σὺν σοί γε*, sc. *ἔκτεινα*: cf. 1235-6*; the *γε* is both 'affirming' and 'limiting', cf. *Ba.* 484 (*GP* 132). *κοινῇ*: reinforcing *οὐν*, as in *IA* 746-7. [An alternative punctuation before *κοινῇ* gives equally good sense, but seems slightly less natural.]
1075. Cf. *IT* 699 *ἄλλ' ἔρπε καὶ ζῆ καὶ δόμους οἶκει πατρός*; but here Or. seems to have forgotten what Pyl. said at 765. Perhaps 'thoughtlessly' (cf. 1054-5*); or perhaps the audience too are expected to have forgotten what was relevant only to that earlier scene (717-28*). It would weaken Pyl.'s 'heroism' if his arguments included a reminder that he had no home to go to. *μὴ σύνθηρσκέ μοι*: or *ἔμοι*? The rhetorical balance between the datives justifies the more emphatic pronoun, even though the main emphasis lies elsewhere; cf. [940]*. [For *ἔμοι* Biehl cites cod. Laur. plut. 32, 33, which is Matthiessen's Rf. Bothe's *πατρίδι* for *πατρί* could be right, but is hardly necessary.]
- 1076-7. Reminiscent of *Med.* 1021-3 (... *σφῶν μὲν ἔστι δὴ πόλις, καὶ*

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δῶμ' . . .), and of *A. Pers.* 250 (where the Persian Empire is a *πολύς πλοῦτου λιμῆν*; for the 'haven' metaphor, cf. Page on *Med.* 769). σοὶ μὲν . . . ἐμοὶ δ' . . .: the μὲν-clause here bears the greater weight (*GP* 370), its syntax continuing in 1076 after a subordinate (though also emphatic) 'whence . . .'; cf. 1143 ff.

1078-80. *κατεγγυᾶν* is a prose word, only here and 1675 in tragedy; *παιδοποιεῖν* also is rare in poetry (*Held.* 524; -ποιός *An.* 4, *Ph.* 338, *Rh.* 980). οὐ δ' . . . λαβῶν: 506*; Or. substitutes a command for the strict antithesis to 1078-9, which would be something like 'but another woman's (γάμοι) you may yet obtain'.

[1081]. κῆδος: 795*. οὐκέτ' ἔστι δῆ: cf. *Hec.* 683 (εἰμί), *Hp.* 778, *Hel.* 279. But this is surely a superfluous line, with a suspiciously repetitive cadence (after 1076 . . . οὐκ ἔστι δῆ), made even less welcome by the following οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔστι . . . in 1083. The variant κῆδός τε (*Π*, ALP) could be the original reading, if 1081 is an importation from a parallel passage in a different play; though cf. 127[-8]*.

1082. ὦ ποθεινόν . . .: cf. 1045-6* (Or.'s feeling towards Pyl. reflects El.'s feeling towards Or.); δμμ': not *δνομ'* (for the error, cf. *IT* 905, *IA* 354); voc. as in *Al.* 1133, *Ion* 1261, *A. Ch.* 238, *S. Aj.* 977 (there with adj. only or adj. and gen. pers., analogous to addresses with *κάρα*, while focusing attention on the *face*); here the dependent abstract gen. shows that *δμμα* has moved further from 'eye, visage', and has something of the metaph. colour of *φῶς* (*IT* 905, *A. Pers.* 169, *S. Tra.* 203; LSJ *δμμα* III).

1083. τοῦτο: i.e. τὸ χαίρειν, cf. 352-5*. γε μὴν: adversative, like *γε μέντοι*, cf. *Al.* 516, *Hp.* 1340, *El.* 754 (*GP* 348).

1084. τητῶμεθα: the 1st pers. pl. gives an unexpected twist to what, with *τητῶνται*, would be merely trite; for the hyperbole (*morituri* as already *mortui*), cf. 1018-19*.

1085. ἢ πολὺ: cf. *HF* 460, ἢ πολλὰ *Med.* 579, *Hel.* 765, etc. *ἀλευψαι*: Or. is 'outripped by' (1041-2*) and so 'ignorant of' (*Hel.* 1246) Pyl.'s ideas (*βουλευμάτων*, cf. 1131*), which are both superior (as to the impossibility of his lone survival) and further advanced (as to the second *λόγος*, 1098 ff., which 1069 has shown to be already in Pyl.'s mind). Contrast *IT* 815 *ἐγγύς τῶν ἐμῶν χρίμπτη φρενῶν* (*κάμπτη* L, corr. Wecklein).

1086-8. μήτε . . . μή . . .: cf. 41-2*, 467. For the conditionally qualified self-curse extending beyond death, cf. *Hp.* 1030-1 *καὶ μήτε πόντος μήτε γῆ δέξαιτό μου / σάρκας θανόντος, εἰ κακὸς πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ* (*CQ* 1968. 34). Here *αἱμά μου* stands for *με* (or *σῶμά μου*) and *κάρπιμον πέδον* for *γῆ* (with an overtone of fertility ritual); then 'nor the bright *αἰθῆρ*' is added as the alternative recipient of the *ψυχῆ* or *πνεῦμα* of the dead (982-4*, Collard on *Su.* 533); the omission of the second object (*με, πνεῦμά μου*) is a *zeugma*, cf. 1375-7 (there is no need for any of the more or less elaborate emendations that have been suggested).

1088. ἐλευθερώσας: cf. 488*, *HF* 1010 ('escape' as 'liberation'); τοῦμόν: i.e. ἐμέ, cf. 296* (τάμά), *Ba.* 844, *Hel.* 893. ἀπολίπομι σά: cf. 304 *εἰ γὰρ προλείψεις μ'*.

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- 1089 ff. For the argument hinging on repeated *συν-* compounds, cf. *IT* 675, 684–5, *Held.* 26–7.
- 1089–90. The force of the first *συν-* (scarcely to be distinguished from adverbial *σύν*) may continue with the uncompounded *ἑβούλευσ'*, cf. *IT* 685, *S. Ant.* 537, *Ar. Ran.* 687; but Pyl. is in a special sense the *βουλευτής* (1085, 1105*, 1131, 1158, 1235–6*).
1091. *καὶ . . . οὖν*: 'therefore also' (a seemingly natural combination, but perhaps a rarity; *GP* 445 illustrates only *καὶ . . . οὖν* 'and in fact'). *ἄμοδ*: reinforcing *συν-* (530*), while also integrating the added *καὶ τῆδ'*.
- 1092 f. *ἔμην γὰρ αὐτήν . . . κρίνω δάμαρτα* is then a parenthesis (explaining *καὶ τῆδε*, cf. 1192) to the main line of argument which is resumed in 1093; for the successive *γὰρ*-clauses where the first is parenthetical, cf. *Od.* 20. 305–6, *S. OC* 980–2 (Denniston, *CR* 1930, 215). *ἦς . . . ἐπήνεσα*: El. is 'my wife' already in Pyl.'s judgement because he has 'approvingly accepted' her hand in marriage (cf. 1672 *καὶ λέκτρ' ἐπήνεσ', ἦν(κ' ἂν διδῶ πατήρ)*). According to normal Greek sentiment, it is primarily the *κῆδος* (with the obligations of *φιλία* entailed) which Pyl. has approved, rather than El.'s personal qualities as a nubile woman; *λέχος* + gen., cf. 20–1*, 1208. The simplest metrical correction is to add *γε* (a smaller change than Brunck's *κατήνεσα* or Paley's *κατήνεσας*); but the choice is close between Porson's *ἦς* (*γε*) *λέχος* (causal-exegetic *γε* with the rel. pronoun, *GP* 123–4, 141–2) and *ἦς λέχος γ'* (cod. Lond. Arundel 522, Barnes), underlining the noun in the rel. clause ('whose hand I have accepted'; cf. *Il.* 5. 446 *Περγάμψ εἰν ἱερῆ, δθι οἱ νηός γε τέτυκτο*, *GP* 116).
1093. Read *τί γὰρ ἐρῶ καλόν* (not *κἀγώ ποτε*; cf. Bond on *HF* 578 *τί φήσομεν καλόν*; 'how shall I put a good face on it?'). It is difficult to attach any meaning to the misplaced *καὶ* in *κἀγώ*, and V's reading suggests that *ἐγώ* came in as an error for *ἐρῶ* (cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 715).
1094. *γῆν Δελφίδ'* . . . : 'Delphi' (*An.* 1167, *Ion* 5), here as the 'capitolium' of the *Φωκίων πόλις* (726, 771, 1209); cf. *An.* 999 f., where Or. speaks of his 'spear-friends in the Pythian land'. The house of Strophius the Phocian traditionally lay 'at the foot of Parnassus' (*Pi. Py.* 11. 36), near the elevated Pythian shrine. In the fifth century, Delphi was not the capital of Phocis: territorially independent, the Delphians had a unique Panhellenic status, while the Pythian shrine was also the religious centre of the Amphictyonic League (the Phocians, it would seem, looking rather to Abae as their national centre; H. W. Parke, *Greek Oracles* (1967), 65, 94). But tragedy had its own mythical topography and flexible *πόλις*-concepts (cf. 'Argos'/'Mycenae'). *ἔλθῶν* + acc. cf. 1209 (KG i 311–12). *ἀκρόπτολι*: for the poetical form, cf. *A. Sept.* 240, Page on *Med.* 641. [The variant *τῆν Δελφίδ'* . . . *ἀκρόπτολι* is possible (*Γ* and *T* were often confused in uncials), but scarcely better; likewise Paley's *Φωκίων* (<*τ*>) *ἀκρόπτολι* (a type of pairing looser than direct apposition, cf. *Ba.* 919; *GP* 502).]
- 1095–6. *δς*, like *δοσις* (285–7*), introduces the imagined indictment; the phrasing reflects *El.* 605, and cf. *HF* 1223–5, etc. (454–5*). *παρῆ*: 753*; for

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the argument against accepting 1st pers. ἦν in metrically indifferent positions, see Barrett on *Hp.* 700, Renchan *GTC* 6.

- 1097-9. Punctuate οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν κάμοι μέλει· ἐπει δέ . . . : Pyl. rejects the unthinkable (cf. 307*), that he should desert a *δυστυχῶν φίλος*; insists that the *δυστυχία* of Or. and El. (*ταῦτα*) are his concern also; and proceeds to his second *λόγος*, the need to make Men. *συνδυσχεῖν*. *ταῦτα μὲν* thus looks equally backwards (concluding the first *λόγος*, which began in 1069-70*) and forwards. A pivotal moment in the structure of the play, cf. Scarcella 266 ff. [Earlier edd. mostly put a comma after *ἔστιν* and a full-stop after *μέλει*; recent edd., like Murray, put a full-stop and a colon. The exact reference of *ταῦτα* seems to have been missed.]
- 1100-30(-1). 'A mad stichomythia . . . in which Orestes and Pylades distort the meaning of their words in a manner reminiscent of Thucydides' description in 3. 82, 4' (Schein, *WS* 1975, 62). The 'Intrigue' style is familiar, but nonetheless 'shocking' as exploited here.
1100. ὦ φίλτατ': expressing joy, cf. 1313, *El.* 229, *Cyr.* 437. εἰ γάρ . . . then explains the exclam. (whether asynchronously or with some causal force in the γάρ; cf. *GP* 92-3). τοῦτο . . . ἰδών: 749*; τοῦτο is strongly emphasized, and καθάνομι' ἰδών is equivalent to πρὶν καθαναεῖν ἰδοίμι.
- 1101-2. ἄμμεινον . . . / μενῶ . . . : for the responsive echo with uncom-pounded vb, cf. 1183-4, *Ion* 1533-4, *A. PV* 72-3, *Ar. Lys.* 850-1; for the extension of meaning from 'wait for' to 'await the proper time for', so 'defer', Wedd compared X. *Cyr.* 1. 6.10. τὸν ἐχθρόν: active hatred of one's enemies (especially vengeful) was the second law of the traditional moral code, cf. Page on *Med.* 809-10, Adkins 158, *Dover, GPM* 180-4; normally subject, of course, both to legality and to an overriding μὴ ἄγαν (cf. *HF* 585-6). For a similarly unqualified vendetta-ethic, cf. Archil. 126 West ἐν δ' ἐπίσταμαι μέγα, / τὸν κακῶς <μ> ἔρδοντα δεινοῖς ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς. Intelligent Athenians were well aware of the defects in such a moral posture; cf. Pl. *Crito* 49B (etc.) for the most complete rejection of it. [Biehl and Chapouthier rightly keep ἀνάμεινον (ἄμμ- M' only); the case for ἀμβалоῦ at *Al.* 526 is far stronger. And Murray's τε after ἄμμεινον is an error (?) for δέ (codd.).]
- 1103-4. 'No intrigue in Greek tragedy can take place without the complicity of the Chorus' (Barrett on *Hp.* 710-12, with illustration of how E. variously made a virtue of necessity). The exchange here is like S. *El.* 1203-4 ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἄν, εἰ τὸ τῶνδ' εὖνον πάρα.—ἀλλ' ἔστιν εὖνον, ὥστε πρὸς πιστὰς ἐρεῖς (in turn reminiscent of *El.* 272-3); but note the additional well-characterized 'distrust of women', overridden by considerations of *φιλία*. With the active participation of the Chorus in 1246 ff., there is little or no sense that they are *de trop*.
1105. The 'admirable friend' reveals his callous ruthlessness with shattering suddenness. Pyl.'s role as counsellor of evil is similar to that of the Old Servant in *Ion* 972 ff., who suggests that Creusa should 'punish Apollo . . .

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- kill her husband . . . at least kill the upstart son'. κτάνωμεν . . . λύπην πικράν: 'appositive' int. acc., cf. 10*, 727-8*.
1106. πῶς; cf. *Ion* 979 πῶς (sc. κτανῶ); εἰ γὰρ εἴη δυνατὸν ὡς θέλομιγ' ἄν, and contrast *IA* 874 πῶς (sc. εἰπας); ἀπέπτυσ', ὦ γεραιά, μῦθον. The tone of voice varies with the context, here 'conditional approval'. †τὸ γὰρ ἔτοιμον ἔστιν . . . †: Or. might be either approving Pyl.'s 'readiness' or expressing his own (for the latter, cf. *Tr.* 74); but neither point can be satisfactorily got from the lame text. Most conjectures throw out ἔστιν and seek to introduce τὸ ἐμόν ('I for my part'): Barthold τὸ γὰρ <ἐμόν γ'> ἔτοιμον (after Hermann), Jackson <ὡς> ἔτοιμον <τοῦμόν> (throwing out τὸ γὰρ as well, and postulating a double lipography; *MS* 236*). A simpler solution is to write ἦνεσ' for ἔστιν; cf. *IT* 1023 τὸ δὲ πρόθυμον (sc. σόν) ἦνεσα; aor. (as *IA* 874) before εἰ + fut., as in 1211-13*. For ἔτοιμος of readiness to kill, cf. the sinister ambiguity in *El.* 796; the word is also specially apt to Pyl.'s readiness to help (cf. *Hec.* 985, with φίλοις ἐπαρκείν, and *A. Ag.* 842 ἐτοιμος . . . σειραφόρος). εἴ γ' ἔσται καλῶς: 'if (provided that) the outcome will be good' (i.e. successful, cf. 1212, but also 'fine', according to the heroic καλόν-valuation); εἴ γε 'si quidem', like εἴπερ 1212, cf. *A. Ag.* 1249 εἴπερ ἔσται γε (*GP* 142); for ἔσται καλῶς, cf. *IA* 441, *Ar. Plut.* 1188; *Med.* 89 (εὖ), *Held.* 1055 (καθαρῶς); *LSJ* εἰμί C. 1. [Degani rightly resists Di B.'s alteration of εἴ γ' ἔσται καλῶς to εἴ γ' ἔσται, καλόν; but his defence of ἔστιν 'exists' overlooks the intolerable conflict with the following ἔσται. The scholia contribute nothing of value; as Paley argued, the conflicting paraphrases there are merely attempts to make sense of the text as we have it.].
1107. σφάζαντες (coincident, sc. κτάνωμεν); the same brutal, quasi-sacrificial πράξις for Helen as for Cl. (39, 291, 842). κρύπτεται: Helen is simply 'within', cf. 1271; the house κεύθει her (*Hec.* 880, *Od.* 6. 303, etc.).
1108. μάλιστα: here (unlike 235-6*) as the confirmation of a statement, cf. *IA* 364. Or. vividly imagines Helen already taking possession of his goods on Men.'s behalf (καὶ δὴ, cf. 1214; but the καὶ is here connective, see Barrett on *Hr.* 1447). ἀποσφραγίζονται: seals, not locks, were the normal safeguard against pilfering within the house (cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 223); they might also be used more extensively when the owner of the house was absent (Bond on *HF* 53, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 609). The compound ἀποσφραγ- occurs here first (ἀπο- with intensive force, as ἀποκλείω; middle 'for oneself').
1109. ἀλλ' οὐκέτι' (elliptical), cf. *El.* 577, *Hel.* 1231; Helen will soon 'have Death as her bridegroom' (instead of Men., cf. 1147); cf. *IA* 461 Ἄιδης νιν, ὡς ζοικε, νυμφεῦσαι τάχα, Bond on *HF* 481-4.
1110. καὶ πῶς; cf. 1025. ὁπάοντας: we do not ask how Or. knows about Helen's attendants; but he was awake to see whatever retinue arrived with Men. at 348 ff.
1111. As often, anti-Phrygian/Trojan sentiment reflects contemporary sentiment against Persia; cf. 485*, 1447, *IA* 1400-1 (Goossens 640, Bacon 128, 146).

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1112. οἴους . . . ἐπιστάτας: i.e. τοιούτους οἳ εἰσιν . . . ἐπιστάται, cf. Th. 7. 21 πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηροὺς οἴους καὶ Ἀθηναίους (KG ii 411); the depreciatory use seems to be colloquial, cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 970 ὁ δ' ἕτερος οἴός ἐστιν οἰκουρὸς μόνον ('merely a sort of watchdog'); ἐπιστάτας ('officers') is ironical.
1113. γάρ: 'What?' (483*), with an affectation of disgusted incredulity. The *πρυφαί* are not simply the mirrors and perfumes, but the flunkies that go with them; cf. *IA* 1049–53, where Ganymedes is Zeus's Phrygian/Trojan τρύφημα.
1114. οἰκητήριον: a rare word with philosophical colour, cf. Democr. B171, Emped. B115 (DK i 356. 30); there is no merit at all in Naber's ἡβητήριον. If ὦσθ' is sound, Helen's 'abode' now needs more than Greece to accommodate it. But ὡς 'know that . . .' would give a more probable point: Or. is not then affirming a consequence, but something that had been true of Helen even before the Trojan War, cf. *Tr.* 993 ff. ἐν . . . Ἀργεὶ σμικρ' ἐχουσα κτλ. An idiom common in E. (Elmsley on *Med.* 596[609], Stevens on *An.* 255, Diggle, *Studies* 88) and liable to misunderstanding and corruption (for confusion of ὡς and ὥστε, cf. Diggle *ibid.* 8). [Wecklein proposed ὡς, but intended as causal; Herwerden ὡς γ' (*Mnemosyne* 1903, 293); Reiske πᾶσ'.]
1115. For the sentiment, cf. the speech of Demaratus to Xerxes in Hdt. 7. 104. οὐδὲν . . . πρὸς: cf. fr. 95 δὲν ἡγύγεια πρὸς τὰ χρήματα. τὸ δοῦλον: cf. 488*, and (in general) Synodinou, esp. 33 ff.
1116. καὶ μὴν: progressive, cf. 1260 (*GP* 351–2). δις θανεῖν: cf. Pl. *Apol.* 41A πολλάκις θέλω τεθνάναι, Hor. *C.* 3. 9. 15 *bis patiar mori*. οὐχ ἄζομαι: cf. *Al.* 326, Elmsley on *Held.* 600.
1117. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν: *Hec.* 401, *An.* 256; the neg. counterpart of ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀγὼ *A. Ag.* 1652 (*GP* 342, 345).
1118. τὸ πρᾶγμα: the whole 'business', of which the ἔργον is part. πέραν' δπως λήγεις: the original πῶς still needs a full answer (1106, 1110); cf. *Med.* 701, *Ion* 362, 1348 for πέραν in stichomythia.
1119. δῆθεν ὡς: 'as though' (implying falsehood); seldom, as here, with δῆθεν first word in the phrase (contrast 1320 ὡς δῆθεν . . ., *HF* 949 κέντρον δῆθεν ὡς . . .), but cf. *A. PV* 986, *S. Tra.* 382 (*GP* 266). [εἴσομεν should perhaps be read, with Chapouthier (not εἶσ- as Wecklein, Murray, Di B., Biehl) for two reasons: (a) the short form of this preverb is exceptional before a short vowel (E. appears to have only εἰσδεῖν and related words; at *Phaethon* 258 ἀλλ' εἴσθ' ἐς οἶκον is Bekker's emendation of ἀλλ' ἐσθ' ἐς οἶκον, and the truth could be ἀλλ' εἴσθ' οἶκον); (b) in *Or.*, *Ba.*, *IA* initial -υυ is markedly more frequent than υυυ (Zieliński 187–90).]
1120. ἔχω 'understand' (LSJ *ἐχω* I. 9) is usually qualified by an advb like σαφῶς, but cf. *Al.* 51, *S. Phil.* 789 ἔχετε τὸ πρᾶγμα (Bruhn 148).
1121. ἃ πάσχομεν: 'our plight', objective to the compendium γόους . . . θη-σόμεσθ'; cf. 842, 1038.
1122. ὥστ' . . . γ': especially common in E. (*GP* 134). ἐκδακρῦσαι: *Ph.* 1344 (?), *S. Phil.* 278; here the preverb ἐκ- is directly antithetic to ἐνδοθεν. *Or.*'s

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- hostile view of Helen's *Schadenfreude* tells us nothing about *her* character (cf. 71–125*); rather, it provides a cue for Pyl.'s gloating and illuminates the *ῥῆθος* of the conspirators.
1123. 'For us *the same* as for her'. Di B. and Biehl rightly print ταῦθ' (Nauck); cf. S. *OT* 574–5 ἐγὼ δὲ σοῦ / μαθεῖν δικαίῳ ταῦθ' ἄπερ κάμου σὺ νῦν (ταῦθ' codd., corr. Brunnck). V's *ἀπερ* could be right, but two things will be the same for the conspirators as for Helen (1122).
1124. ἀγῶνα . . . ἀγωνιούμεθα: cf. *Hel.* 843 (with μέγαν), *Al.* 648, *Held.* 992, *Su.* 427, *Ion* 939; for the cognate acc. without epithet, cf. *χολὰς χεῖσθαι* 472*, but here predicative weight falls on *ἐπειτα* (almost = τὸν *ἐπειτα*) and *πῶς*.
1125. τοισίν: miming the concealment (the swords are still 'within', 1065–8*, 1222–3); for the πέπλοι (purple-bordered), cf. 1457*.
1126. 'What getting-rid of *attendants* will take place *first* (before the killing of Helen)?' πρόσθεν: temporal advb, as in 637, 799, *An.* 1193 πρόσθεν δέεσθαι, *Med.* 1016 ἄλλους κατάξω πρόσθεν, *IA* 659 ἄλλους δλεῖ πρόσθ', etc.; here emphasized by initial position, like *ἐπειτα* 1124, *εἶτα* 1129. τίς δλεθρός: Or. assumes that it will be necessary to kill *some* attendants, cf. 1128. [*Not* 'How shall we kill Helen in the presence of her attendants?' (the usual interpretation): (a) local πρόσθεν (rare with gen. *pers.*, in E. only at *Cyc.* 688) means 'ante', not vaguely 'coram'; (b) τίς . . . γενήσεται is not the same as πῶς ἂν γένοιτο; (c) 1127 then follows less logically.]
1127. ἄλλον ἄλλοσε στέγης: cf. 1448*, 1458–9* (*HF* 972, *Hel.* 128, *Ba.* 222, etc.); also 1474–5*; the gen. is partitive, as Th. 7. 51 ἄλλοσέ ποι τῆς Σικελίας (KG i 340).
1129. 'Thereafter *the deed itself* shows (will show) the way'; αὐτὸ, i.e. 'without words'; a combination of a standard kind of euphemism (*An.* 264–5 λόγους κρύψω, τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτὸ σημαίνει τάχα, *Ph.* 623, *Ba.* 976) and paradox (*Hel.* 151 πλοῦς, ὡ ξέν', αὐτὸς σημαίνει, sc. 'whither you should sail'). *ἄλλοι* may be pres. for fut. (cf. 749), but cf. S. *Aj.* 355 *ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦργον* . . ., and further on 1130*. οἱ *τείνειν* *χερών*: the same directional point as *Hel.* 151, and perhaps with a 'sailing' metaphor; in itself *τείνειν* intrans. suggests both 'tend' and 'strain', cf. variously 1494*, *Hp.* 797, *Ph.* 435, *Ba.* 936, *IA* 420, Pl. *Crito* 47C *ποῖ τείνειν*. Note the remarkable 'rhyme' with 1128 ἀποκτείνειν *χερών*; E. could be indifferent to such assonances. [It has naturally attracted some suspicion (Herwerden *τείνειν* <πρέπει>, Wecklein *τείνειν* <λόγος>); none of the homoeoteleuta cited as parallels by Di B. involves two words and four syllables. But conjecture (which might rather be aimed at 1128) can scarcely improve the sense. *τείνειν* after *κτείνειν* has a precedent at 289–90 (also 914–15), and . . . *χερών* follows . . . *χερών* at [937–8].]
1130. 'Kill Helen': Or. uninhibitedly spells out what Pyl. has implied. *μανθάνω τὸ σύμβολον*: 'I understand the sign(-post)'. Since the *ἔργον* is self-indicating (1129), the deed itself (duly defined by an inf. phrase) is the *σύμβολον* that Or. conspiratorially *μανθάνει* (= *ἐπίσταται*, cf. *Al.* 940, *Med.* 1078, *Hel.* 701, *Ba.* 1296). The neat paradoxical use of quite ordinary language has eluded commentators. The essence of a *σύμβολον* (for the

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primitive use, see Page on *Med.* 613) is that it *signifies* something, usually in terms of some 'putting together' or previously agreed 'correspondence', equivalent over most of its range to *σύνθημα* (more variously to Eng. 'token', 'sign', 'signal', 'symbol', 'clue' etc. according to the context). For the military use of *σύμβολον/σύνθημα* as 'prearranged sign' (which may take various forms), cf. *Hdt.* 8. 7; *Th.* 4. 112 and *A. Ag.* 8 ('beacon-signal'); *Rh.* 521, 572-3, 684-8 ('password'). For both words in the more general sense 'sign (of)', cf. *S. Phil.* 403, *OC* 46. [Some edd. here take 'ΕΛ-φον- as a 'watchword' that Or. first enunciates and then 'recognizes' (an odd confusion of thought). Others rightly look for the *σύμβολον* in Pyl.'s words, but are content with the feeble point 'I understand your meaning' (the 'clue' in Pyl.'s inexplicit language, according to Di B.); it is surely certain that τὸ *σύμβ-* means more than δ *λέγεις* in this context of paramilitary planning, and is linked in thought with *δηλοῖ* 1129. Burnett (216'') obscurely looks for a *religious* ('initiation') point in a phrase which she begins by associating with the world of *business*. Paley wrongly added *Rh.* 220 in support of 'watchword'; the *σύμβολον σαφές* there is the head of *Odysseus* (or *Diomedes*) as tangible proof of *Dolon's* entitlement to reward.]

- 1131-52. A skilful, tautly-structured speech: 1131 introductory line (which also ends the *stichomythia*); 1132-48 arguments for killing *Helen*: (a) *εὐκλεία* for themselves, (b) *δυστυχία* for *Men.* (cf. 1099); 1149-50 a secondary plan for effecting (b), if the murder fails; 1151-2 justification of the whole plan: certainty of 'glorious vengeance', and a chance of *σωτηρία*—first explicitly suggested in the final word *σεσωμένοι*, towards which the whole structure is directed (1147-8*).
1131. *ἔγνωσ*: cf. *El.* 617, *Ion* 1115, *αἰσθάνη* 752*. *ὡς καλῶς βουλευόμεαι*: both in general (1089-90*) and in particular (1085*, cf. *An.* 62, *IA* 1102). [Not *βεβούλευμαι καλῶς* (*Herm.*); Pyl. is propounding a plan—it is not for him to have finalized the planning; the pres. is also right for the general point.]
- 1132-3. For the mixed condition (*εἰ* + opt./imperf. with *ἄν*), cf. *X. Cyr.* 2. 1. 9, *Lys.* 10. 8 (KG ii 479); *ἦν* (*ἄν*) and *εἶην* (*ἄν*) are nearly equivalent in unfulfilled hypotheses (mixtures involving other vbs are much rarer). *ξίφος μεθείμενοι*: *μεθίεμαι* *τι εἰς τινα* is normal idiom for missiles (*Il.* 1. 48, *S. Phil.* 1300) and missile-like words; for the exquisite tragic extension to swords, cf. *El.* 1223 and the use of *βέλος* (like *βάλλειν*) for swords and axes (*S. Aj.* 658, etc.; Borthwick, *JHS* 1970, 20). *δυσκλεῆς . . . φόνος*: cf. 30*; with Pyl.'s distinction between 'glorious' and 'ill-famed' killings of women, *Weil* aptly contrasted the more proper sentiment in [V.] *Aen.* 2. 583 f., where *Aeneas*, though furiously desiring to kill *Helen*, remains aware that 'nullum memorabile nomen / feminea in poena est'.
- 1134-6. *νῦν δ'*: 'But as things are, in the actual case'; cf. 504. *ὦν*, as though after *Ἑλλήνων*; cf. 41*. *ὦν δ'*: rhetorical anaphora, 708-9* (but the variant τ' is equally good here, pairing substantival phrases); the synonymous vbs (cf. *HF* 492) are here chiasmatically balanced. *ὀρφανάς*: cf. 664 (*οἶκον*).

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1137. *δολοιγμός ἔσται*: cf. *El.* 691; *πῦρ . . . θεοῖς*: *El.* 715. For *δολοῦζειν* of 'the cry of exultation after a victory or success' (often, but not necessarily, raised at the beginning of the act of sacrifice), see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1236; the cognate *δολοιγή* has its usual sense 'well-omened loud cry of women' at *Med.* 1173 (see Page); *E.* also has *δλόλυγμα* (pl., *Hcl.* 782). The 'fire' point contributes to the tone of Pyl.'s speech (cf. 1150; 621*, 696-7), whose theme here is otherwise reminiscent of *S. El.* 975-83.
- 1138-9. *κέδν'*: i.e. *χρηστά* (Hsch. *ἀγαθά*); for the epic-toned value-word, cf. Dale on *Al.* 605. *ἀρώμενοι*: for the uncommon sense 'invoke blessings' rather than 'curse', cf. *ἀραί* 1241 (and Barrett on *Hp.* 43-6). *τυχεῖν*: probably 'befall' here (as 1326, *A. PV* 346), not 'obtain' (as 687). *αἰμ' ἐπράξαμεν*: cf. 89, 416; the same terms are used for the killing of Helen as previously for the matricide (1107*).
1140. For the pejorative 'titular' def. article, cf. 1057 *ὁ κακός*, *IA* 1354 *οἷ με τὸν γάμων ἀπεκάλουν ἡσσονα*, and Barrett on *Hp.* 589-90 (KG i 592, Bruhn 49-50); for Or.'s title *ὁ μητροφόντης*, cf. 1424, 1587, *An.* 999.
- 1141-2. *ἀπολιπὼν τοῦτ'*: 'escaping this reproach'; an unusual expression, but for 'leaving behind' *good φήμη*, cf. Critias B44. 17. *πεισῆ*: rarely of changes for the *better*, but cf. *IT* 730 *πρὸς τὸ θάρσος ἐκ φόβου π-*; as Di B. notes, *χωρήσεις* would be the normal prose idiom with *ἐπι τὸ βέλτιον* (cf. also 617*). *πολυκτόνου*: 56*.
- 1143-6. *οὐ δεῖ ποτ', οὐ δεῖ*: 219-20*. *Μενέλεων μὲν . . .*: cf. 1076-7*, and *Ion* 699-70 *νῦν δ' ἡ μὲν ἔρρει συμφοραῖς, ὁ δ' εὐτυχεῖ, πολλὸν ἰσπεσοῦσα γῆρας . . .* Here it is the *μὲν*-clause that focuses attention on the intolerable *εὐτυχία* of the *ἐχθρός*, and a longer *δέ*-clause is broken off with aposiopesis before the leading clause is resumed. *πατέρα καὶ σὲ κάδειφῆν θανεῖν / μητέρα τ'—ἔω τοῦτ'*: Pyl.'s argument is that Helen is ultimately responsible for all these deaths; but the death of Cl. is in a different category, and it is 'seemly' to say no more about that (cf. 27, 393, *IT* 927 *εἶα τὰ μητρὸς*); note how *μητέρα τε* is appended in a manner that leaves it uncertain whether Pyl. would have added another inf. (e.g. *ὑφ' ἡμῶν φονευθῆναι*), but for the aposiopesis. *δόμους δ' ἔχειν σοῦς . . .*: reverting to the subject 'Menelaus'. The argument is again economically phrased: Pyl. does not labour the point that Men. has betrayed the rightful heir (*σοῦς* is enough to remind Or. of that); his focus is rather on the (abhorred) 'bride' who will be occupying Or.'s house, with a reminder of his father's military prowess.
- 1147-8. *μὴ γάρ οὖν ζῶην ἔτι . . .*: 'may I indeed cease to live if I don't . . .'; the turn of phrase contributes subtly to the progression towards *σεσωμένοι* at the end of Pyl.'s speech. *μὴ ζῶην* is in itself a colloquialism, cf. *Su.* 454 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 17); the particles seem here to have a purely confirmatory force (οὖν as in *A. Su.* 392 *μὴ τί ποτ' οὖν γενοίμαν . . .*; γάρ as in *εἰ γάρ*, 1100*); of the other passages in *GP* 446, none is a wish; nearest, perhaps, is *S. OC* 980 *οὐ γάρ οὖν σιγήσομαι. φάσγανον . . .*: most recent edd. rightly accept *σπάσω μέλαν* (cf. *μέλαν ξίφος* 1473; 821-2*); the epithet is at once traditionally ornamental and sinister in colour ('black *death*'; 'black

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blood'; cf. *Ba.* 1065 ἐς μέλαν πέδον); though the middle of *σπάω* is epic, only the act. and pass. occur elsewhere in E. [Broadhead has abandoned his proposal *σπάσω μολών* (*CQ* 1950, 122). In *Tragicæ* 170-2 he deletes 1145-8 (1145 iam Hartung, Nauck; 1146-8 susp. Wecklein).]

1149-50. ἦν δ' οὖν . . . : cf. *Al.* 850 ἦν δ' οὖν ἀμάρτω (*GP* 465). *κατάσχωμεν*: 'achieve', as in 1580, by extension from 'get control of, master' (791*); cf. *IT* 980 ἦν γὰρ θεᾶς κατάσχωμεν βρέτας. πρήσαντες οἴκους . . . : by 'burning the Palace before we die' (for the emphasis on the participle, cf. 1100, 1164) they will at least achieve the object of spoiling Men.'s εὐτυχία; there may also be a suggestion of the fire as a splendid funeral pyre.

1151-2. '(My plan is a good one). For . . .' The causal connection (not 'Thus . . .') is with all that has gone before, as introduced by 1131*; cf. 345-7*, 708-16*. ' . . . one thing (if we follow my plan) we shall surely achieve and thereafter possess κλέος, being καλῶς dead—or καλῶς saved.' The heroic code required the εὐγενής 'either to live καλῶς or to be glorious in death' (*S. Aj.* 479-80, likewise as the climax of a speech), cf. *Cyc.* 201-2 ἀλλ' εἰ θανεῖν δεῖ, καθανούμεθ' εὐγενῶς, / ἢ ζῶντες αἶνον τὸν πάρος συσώσομεν, *S. El.* 1319-21 ὡς ἐγὼ μόνῃ / οὐκ ἂν δυοῖν ἤμαρτον· ἢ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς / ἔσωσά' ἔμαιπτήν, ἢ καλῶς ἀπωλόμην. Here, for obvious reasons, Pyl. puts the hoped-for alternative second (cf. also *Il.* 10. 174; 1244-5*), and thus ends his speech with ἢ καλῶς σεσωμένοι (-σωμ- 473*), a hope implied in 1132-42, but not there expressed in terms of σωτηρία. The reference of ἐνός is slightly blurred: either 'one of two things' (1152 as a pair like *S. El.* 1320-1) or simply 'one thing' (τὸ καλόν, καλῶς as the common factor). The alternative, without a previous ἢ, comes, syntactically, almost as an 'afterthought'; appropriately, since Pyl. envisages σωτηρία as a possible bonus to the primary, and certain, achievement of 'heroic glory'; and that is how Or. understands the plan (see below). οὐ σφαλέντες: not, of course, conditional (which would require μή); they may fall short of obtaining other good things (cf. 1078), but not of the καλόν by which they have lived hitherto and which gives lasting κλέος.

1153-4. The right gnomic point for the Chorus-leader here (cf. 605-6*), if, as the plot requires, the Chorus are not merely to acquiesce but to cooperate enthusiastically in the murderous intrigue. *κατήσχωμεν γένος*, sc. *γυναικῶν* (from *γυναίξιν* 1153); cf. *Hr.* 407-8, *Od.* 11. 432-4 (of Clytemnestra). Helen has also disgraced her 'lineage', cf. 249-50*; but it is too long since Tyndareus was mentioned for that point to be relevant here.

1155-76. Or.'s reply is symmetrical with 1131-52 both in length (it may be fortuitous that it has *exactly* the same number of lines) and in movement of thought (with a direct verbal echo in ἐνός γάρ . . . 1172): 1155-62 praise of the 'loyal friend', passing from the general to the particular; 1163-71 wholehearted acceptance of the 'vengeance' proposal (δράσας τι . . . θαυεῖν); 1172-6 the entrancing thought of σωτηρία as a possible (scarcely to be hoped for) bonus.

1155-7. A common type of general reflection (Friis Johansen 88-9, 91, Bond

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- on *HF* 1425 f.). *φῆθ*: admiring, cf. *El.* 262, *IA* 977. *κρείσσον*: 235–6*, 806*. *φίλος σαφής*: 1619, *IT* 919, Bond on *HF* 55, Dawe on *S. OT* 534–5. *πλοῦτος . . . τυραννίς*: cf. *S. OT* 380; for 'wealth and kingship' as inferior goods, cf. also *Hp.* 1010–15 (there inferior to a way of life featuring *σωφροσύνη* and *σώφρονες φίλοι*). *ἀλόγιστον δέ τι . . .*: 'and Multitude is a not-to-be-reckoned exchange-equivalent of a nobly loyal friend.' *τὸ πλήθος*: usually taken as 'the common herd'. The sentiment is indeed elitist, but for the more 'mathematical' point (refining the idea *μυρίων* in 805–6, with mercantile imagery), cf. *ἐν πλήθει χερῶν* (Wecklein) in 944*, *τὸ μήκος* 1215*, and *S. OT* 541–2 where *πλήθους καὶ φίλων* is balanced against *πλήθει χρήμασιν τ'* (hendiadys, cf. A. Allen, *Glotta* 1982, 235). *ἀλόγιστος* is a flexible word (lit. 'such that there is no reckoning', 981*), elsewhere variously 'incalculable' and 'valueless', and even 'reckless' (*Th.* 3. 82). *ἀντάλλαγμα* is properly a semi-concrete noun (occurring here only before the Septuagint), used in a sophisticated way as the inverse of *χρήμα/κτῆμα* in analogous sententiae (229–30*). *γενναίου*: 870*. [Since *ἀλόγιστον τι* can hardly be substantival here, *ἀλόγιστον δέ τοι . . .* would seem an arguable improvement (cf. *An.* 636; *GP* 552); it would not be surprising if *τοι* turned up as a variant (cf. *S. Phil.* 81). But cf. fr. 96 *σκαῖόν τι χῆμα πλοῦτος ἢ τ' ἀπειρία*.]
1158. Pyl.'s 'devising of the *κακά* in respect of Aegisthus' (vengeful 'hurt', cf. 1101–2*) sounds traditional, though in *El.* 608 ff. the planner had been the Old Retainer (Pyl. being a mute character in that play, as also in *S. El.*; as to *A. Ch.*, cf. 1235–6*). Pyl. had shown initiative in *IT* (esp. 67–115).
1159. *παρήσθα*: 'stood by', cf. 753*. *πλησίον . . . κινδύνων*: cf. *Ion* 711 *πέλας δεινῶν* (Diggle, for *δείπνων*); *πλησίον* can govern either gen. or dat.
- 1160–1. *ἐκποδῶν εἶ*: in the pejorative sense of *Al.* 634; following the present *δίδω*, *εἶ* is probably from *εἶναι* (*Med.* 1222, *Su.* 1113, *Ph.* 978), not *ἔναι* (as 1447, *Ba.* 1148–9, etc.).
- 1161–2. For the sentiment, cf. *Hclid.* 202–4, *IA* 979–80; for the phrasing, *Hclid.* 567–8 . . . *ἐπεὶ / κάμοι τὸδ' ἀσχρόν, μὴ σε κοσμεῖσθαι καλῶς*, the only other instance of *ἐπεὶ* at the end of a trimeter in *E.* *ὅπως* occurs thus half a dozen times, *ὄτι*, *ὄταν*, *ὄτω*, *ὄπου*, *ὄσοι*, *ὄσων* once each. Such enjambment is much commoner in *S.* (Denniston, *CQ* 1936, 76, *E. C. Yorke* *ibid.* 154).
- 1163–71. Or.'s rhetoric is founded upon the assumption that imminent death faces him; though the notion of *σωτηρία* as a possible bonus is already in his mind (1151–2*, 1172–6*).
- 1163–4. 'As for me, as I breathe out my life, my wish, regardless of other considerations, is to die after doing some (hurt) to my foes'; cf. 1101–2*. *πάντως*: cf. Denniston on *El.* 227. *ἐκπνέων*: cf. 496* (*βίον*). *δράσασαι . . . ἐχθρούς*: euphemistic idiom, cf. 1191, *IA* 1380, 1389.
1165. *ἀνταναλώσω*: an elevated compound (here only); *ἀναλώω* / *-ίσκω* is often 'to kill, destroy'; here Or. means to 'repay' Men.'s treachery in similarly 'destructive' coinage. [Not *-σώμεν*; synonymous mixture of 'we' and 'I' is common enough (110–11*), but the emphasis on 'I' is particularly strong

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here (*έγώ . . . έμην . . . έμούς . . . με . . . κάμει*), and the *μίν* is appropriately rhetorical; for the possible ambiguity, cf. *Hel.* 664 *άπέπτυσσά μέν . . . έσοίσσά μαι* (s.v.l.).]

1166. *στένωσι*: with the emphasis, as often (e.g. *An.* 822), on the suffering rather than the utterance of grief. *έθηκαν*: for the form, cf. 1641, *HF* 590, *Ph.* 30.
- 1167-9. Cf. 1060-1. *ήρξ' . . . έσχ'*: the aor. emphasizes the *achievement* of glorious sovereignty. *έξιωθείς*: cf. 1210*, *Hec.* 319, *El.* 1082, Elmsley on *Held.* 918. *ού τύραννος*: cf. *Hel.* 395-6 *τύραννος ούδέν προς βίαν στρατηλατών, / έκούσι δ' άρξας Έλλάδος νεανίας*. Or. is not denying that Ag. was 'king of Argos/Mycenae' (cf. 437); it is in relation to Greece that his proud status was that of an elected strategos of free men. *δύμην θεού τιν'*: 'a power comparable with that of a god' (on a par, e.g., with such royal *θεοί* as Darius and Xerxes); the indef. *τινά* (like *quandam*) moderates the hyperbole.
- 1169-71. *δούλον παρασχών θάνατον*: taken by Collard (on *Su.* 904-6) as 'giving (others by the manner of) my death (the name to call it by), servile'; that seems unnecessarily complicated; more simply, 'by offering/presenting (to the world) a *servile* death', cf. expressions like *ελευθέραν φύσιν παρέχων* (*JA* 930-1) and *παρέξω . . . δέρην εύκαρδίως* (*Hec.* 549). *ελευθέρως*: it is *δούλον* to be merely passive in death, but 'heroic' to 'relinquish life freely', cf. *Held.* 559 (*ψυχήν άφίειναι Tr.* 1135, *Hel.* 1431). *Μενέλαω δά τείσσομαι*: with a slight opposition (as the two sides of a coin); not *τε*, which would tend to apply *ελευθέρως* to both (paired and symmetrical) phrases.
- 1172-6. A controversial passage. Pyl. ended his speech with a distich beginning *ένός γάρ ού σφαλέντες . . .* (1151-2*), stressing the *καλόν* outcome which his plan guarantees (in one way or another). Or. ends *his* speech with a longer period, beginning similarly and with a similar causal connection of thought: '(I applaud your *καλόν* plan, which accords with my desire). For attainment of *one* (the primary) objective would make us fortunate (sc. as dying *gloriously avenged*); and we *might* get an unlooked-for bonus of *σωτηρία*—a delightful fancy which it costs nothing to voice'. That must be the general sense, with a stop at the end of 1172; cf. Jackson 182 (the way pointed by England, *CR* 1896, 345, and Gow, *CQ* 1916, 80-2). The passage is usually taken differently (necessarily, as the text stands), with *ένός* referring to *σωτηρία*, and the second 'if'-clause epexegetic of the first. But (a) *ένός* would then more naturally be an anticipatory *κείνου* ('that other, or second, desired objective'); (b) *λαβείσθαι* 'take hold of, grasp' is an unsuitable vb for 'obtaining' something which is thought of in the same breath as 'befalling unlooked for'; (c) the *γάρ* is illogical, unless we render 'for we should be unbelievably lucky, if . . .' (Wedd compared Ar. *Plut.* 1062, but that kind of colloquialism is quite out of place in this 'high-tragic' rhetorical context).
1172. *ένός γάρ ει λαβοίμεθ' . . .* i.e. 'For if we directly succeeded in grasping (just) *one* thing . . .' (sc. the glorious deed before death which Or. desires

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'single-mindedly', πάντως; λαβέσθαι metaph., cf. S. OC 373 ἀρχῆς λ- και κράτους τυραννικῆς; εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν: 'we could count ourselves fortunate'. For 'glorious death' as εὐτυχία, cf. Hdt. 1. 31, etc.

- 1173-4. We then need coordination (following a colon). I suggest simply: <κ>εἴ ποθεν . . . '<And> if from some source . . .' (the right connective, not εἰ δέ . . ., since the remoter contingency is thought of as additional—a bonus—not alternative); in the event, 'salvation' will duly but paradoxically come θεόθεν. δέλπτος: cf. 879, Med. 225, Ion 1441, etc. (a favourite word, also δέλπτως Al. 1160, El. 579, etc., which would give equally good sense). παραπέσοι σωτηρία: a compound here only in tragedy (prose 'fall alongside' or simply 'befall'); the proverb here exactly suits the double point 'befalling παρ' ἑλπίδα' and 'as a bonus' (ἐν παρέργῳ). κτανοῦσι μὴ θανοῦσι: 'killing without dying', contrast 686 θνήσκοντα καὶ κτείνοντα; here both participles are loosely 'coincident' with παραπέσοι as aspects of a single event; cf. Hel. 1291 ἦν δ' Ἑλλάδ' ἔλθω καὶ τύχῃ σωτηρίας. Or. then breaks off (write a dash) and substitutes εὐχομαι τάδε for the second apodosis (something like κάλλιστον ἂν εἴη) with a slight anacoluthon (cf. 691-3*), or following aposiopesis (cf. Il. 1. 580-1; LSJ εἰ B. VII. 2, KG ii 484). [Paley's καὶ ποθεν gives a direct wish. Jackson's remedy was to write . . . εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν. / <φεῦ> / εἴ ποθεν . . . (after Bruhn, who had deleted 1172 and substituted φεῦ). For καὶ 'and if', cf. 239, Hp. 1226, El. 1024 (all καὶ μὲν), S. Aj. 447, 1057 (both καὶ μὴ), Aj. 1396, Ant. 229, 234. Misunderstanding of it here as a nonsensical 'even if' may have played some part in the corruption; for a somewhat analogous confusion, cf. Diggle on Hel. 737-43 in Dionysiaca 167-8. One could, of course, contemplate a more substantial lacuna, e.g. something like . . . λαβοίμεθ', <εὐτυχῆς μόρος / γένοιτ' ἄν ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον> εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν. / εἰ . . . But there is no more need for that than for Bruhn's εὐχομαι <κανά: / ὁμως δὲ κἀνέλπιστος εὐχομαι> τάδε in 1174 (Lucubrations (1886), 287).]

- 1175-6. A resonant closing distich; problematic, however, in the construction of the words δ βούλομαι in relation to the statement ἡδύ (ἔσσι) . . . τέρψαι φρένα. The latter is of a formulaic character, cf. 1509, Al. 355-6 ἡδύ γὰρ φίλους κἀν νυκτὶ λεισάσειν, Hp. 1013, An. 404, Tr. 683, Hel. 665, IA 924, 1218, frs. 133, 529, etc.; the subject, inescapably, is the inf. phrase (νοί, as most edd., 'for what I wish, viz. σφίζεσθαι, is sweet so as to delight . . .'; otherwise impossible, since only a person can τέρψαι φρένα μύθοις). Accepting that, Di B. takes δ βούλομαι in apposition to the following statement (for which he might have cited KG i 285). But that gives a feeble point (βούλομαι, sc. τέρψαι φρένα). There can be no doubt, following εὐχομαι 1174, that βούλομαι alludes to Or.'s wish for σωτηρία (cf. 678-9*). So we have to take δ βούλομαι as loosely (very loosely) objective to the idea of 'uttering' implied in διὰ στόμα τέρψαι φρένα μύθοις. Longman desperately excised the whole distich (CR 1958, 122). But there is a further possibility: read οδ βούλομαι ('of concerning what I desire'), governed by πτηνοῖσι μύθοις. For such gens. with nouns of speech, cf. Hp. 130, 1465-6, IA 842, Od. 11. 492. The reading

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- OY . . . is, in effect, transmitted in a scholion which labours to make sense of οὐ βούλομαι (Schw. i 208. 19 ff.); and, for the error, cf. the false variants οὐ and δ in 434. καί . . . the point might be either 'even . . .' (conceding the unreality of the delightful fancy) or 'also . . .' (emphasizing the pleasure of voicing it when it costs nothing to do so). For the former, cf. *Tr.* 683 ἤδὺ δ' ἔστι καὶ δοκεῖν, Theocr. 3. 20 ἔστι καὶ ἐν κενεοῖσι φιλήμασιν ἀδέα τέρψις. But the latter is more consonant with the actual phrasing, with διὰ στόμα ('vocally', 103*) following καί as the first words of the inf. phrase. It may be, however, that both points are intended.
- 1176.** The modern ring of ἀδαπάνως 'at no expense' (here first, and rare) blends characteristically (cf. 919*) with the poetical associations of πτηνοῖσι μύθοις . . . τέρψαι φρένα (*Il.* 1. 201 etc. ἔπεα πτερόεντα, 9. 186 φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι, *Od.* 1. 107 πεσοῖσι . . . θυμὸν ἔτερπον, 23. 301 τερπέσθην μύθοις); for πτηνός with the implication 'vain' (after 1173), cf. *IT* 571 ('dreams'), *Auge* fr. 271 ('hopes').
- 1177-1203.** *El.*'s proposal to kidnap *Hermione*. A self-contained λόγος (1203), with a formulaic ending and followed by encomium, even as 1069-1155 ended with a choral distich and was followed by praise of Pyl. The surprise of *El.*'s intervention is enhanced by the lack of a choral distich balancing 1153-4. Feminine wiles play an important role in tragic intrigues; here *El.* is applauded both for her femininity and for her 'masculine mind' (1204*).
- 1177-8.** αὐτὸ τοῦτ': cf. 665*. ἐκ τρίτων 'thirdly', cf. 435*, *Pl. Grg.* 500a. The more colloquial language is appropriate to the tone of an 'intrigue' after the preceding 'heroics', as *Di B.* observes.
- 1179-80.** θεοῦ λέγεις πρόνοιαν: a compressed way of saying 'Your words ('σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν ἔχω') express superhuman foreknowledge' (or 'planning-ability'; cf. πρόνοια almost 'plan' in *Ph.* 736); an expression of marvelling incredulity. ἀλλὰ ποῦ τόδε; still sceptical (cf. *Al.* 1075), but here inviting an explanation (the previous incredulity makes a difference). *Or.* expects some sort of explanation: 'for I know you to be intelligent'; τὸ συνενδόν: i.e. σύνεσις, the proper faculty for participation in debate (cf. 921*), as a constituent of the ψυχὴ (cf. *Webster, JHS* 1957, 152).
- 1181.** καὶ σὺ: to Pyl. (the first step towards fully three-cornered dialogue). δεῦρο νοῦν ἔχε: cf. *Ion* 251, *Ph.* 360, etc. (*Diggle* on *Phaethon* 265 and *Studies* 98).
- 1182.** 'Speak: for what pleasure is there in futurity (non-presence, delaying) of good things?' The correct interrogative interpretation was given by *Lenting*, and again by *Verrall* (*PCPhS* 1897, 3), but has been strangely neglected by *edd.* *Or.* is impatient for παρόντα ἀγαθά, cf. 426* τὸ μέλλον δ' ἴσον ἀπραξίᾳ λέγω; the abstract phrase τὸ μέλλειν ἀγαθά (ἀγαθά subj. of the inf.) is more conceptual than μέλλοντα ἀγαθά, but nearly equivalent. For the position of τίνα(α) in the line, cf. 101*, 1186, 1211; following ὡς 'because', cf. *Hel.* 97 ἐπεὶ τίς σωφρονῶν τλαίη τὰδ' ἄν;
- 1183-4.** A common type of question and answer in stichomythia, cf. *Dodds* on *Ba.* 463 (*Ion* 936-8, 987-8, *Tr.* 69-70; *Al.* 523-4, *IT* 812-19, *Hel.* 794-

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- 5); for *κάτοισθα* . . .; answered by *οἷδ' . . .*, cf. 1101-2*; *εἰδότε* ἡρόμην ('of course you do', Paley) is like *Ion* 999 *τί δ' οὐ μέλλεις, γέρον; ἦν ἔθραψεν Ἑρμιόνην*: 65*; M.L.W. convincingly proposes ἦν <γ>, reinforcing the 'assent'.
- 1185-7. Better punctuated as an unfinished sentence (96*), interrupted (cf. 757, *Hel.* 826 *τί χρήμα δρᾶσαι; τίν' ὑπάγεις μ' ἐς ἐλπίδα;*) and continued with fut. participles.
1187. *χοῶς . . . τάφω*: 'to perform libations for the burial (buried person)'; cf. 124-5, *χοῶς τάφω δαύσ'*, 1322 *σπείσασα νεπτέροις χοῶς*, *Hec.* 265 *'Ἐλένην νιν αἰτεῖν χρῆν τάφω προσφάγματα*, *ibid.* 528-9 *αἶρει . . . χοῶς θανόντι πατρί* (the dat. is governed as much by *χοῶς* as by the vb). *ὑπὲρ μητρός*: 'on her mother's behalf', cf. 94-125. [Not 'over our mother's tomb' (with *τάφου*), as Di B. takes it, after Paley, Weil, Wecklein; an unstylish redundancy after *πρὸς Κλ- τάφον* (still, in effect, in the same sentence); moreover one pours *ἐπί* (471) or *κατά* *τινος* (*Ar. Eq.* 1094), and (*κατα*)*σπένδειν ὑπὲρ* *τινος* can only mean 'on behalf of'. *τάφου* might indeed be defended as governed by *κατα-* (cf. *καταχεῖν τί τινος*, *Il.* 23. 282, *Hdt.* 4. 62, *Ar. Ach.* 246, 1040); but ambiguity is against it here, and it is doubtless due to the wrong interpretation of *μητρός*.]
1188. *καὶ δὴ τί . . .*; an E. combination (*Hec.* 758, *El.* 655, *Hel.* 101; *GP* 250), equivalent to *καὶ τί δή . . .*; (cf. *GP* 211, 310) and analogous to . . . *δὲ δή τίς . . .*; (mainly E. and *Ar.*; *GP* 259). *τί μοι τοῦτ' εἶπας . . .*; a non-elliptical (thus less colloquial) version of *τί τοῦτο*; 'what's the point of that?' (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 31); *ἐς σωτηρίαν*: LSJ *eis* IV. 2.
1189. *δμηρον*: 'hostage' (as *Men.*'s daughter); but, since the emphasis has been on the fact that *Herm.* is *Helen.*'s daughter (1183) acting for her mother (1187), it may be relevant that *δμηρος* appears to have (or include) the sense 'substitute' in its other two tragic occurrences (Dale on *Al.* 870, cf. *Ba.* 293). *Or.* is entitled to wonder what *El.* is getting at.
1190. *τίνος . . . φάρμακον*: predicative, either 'to effect what (good)?' or 'to remedy what (evil)?'; cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 509-12 for a similar ambivalence. The former (cf. *φάρμακον σωτηρίας Ph.* 893) is slightly the more natural from *Or.*'s point of view (he knows the *κακά*, but not the promised *ἀγαθά*), but *El.*'s reply starts with the remediable *κακόν* 'if *Men.* tries to hurt you'. This third, climactic question is framed as a cue for *El.*'s speech; the medical metaphor is thematic, likewise *τρισοῖς φίλοις* (looking forward to 1192 and 1244-5*, cf. 435*).
1191. *ἦν τι . . . σε δρᾶ*: 1163-4*, 1199*.
1192. The parenthesis following *κάμέ* is like that following *καὶ τῆδε* in 1092 f. * *πᾶν γὰρ ἐν φίλον τόδε*: the n. demonstrative (*Σ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς*) reflects the idiomatic use of n. pl. *τάδε* for 'we' (*Med.* 139, *A. Pers.* 1, *Th.* 6. 77. 1), here attracted into the number of the complement. The expression may owe something also to philosophical language (cf. *Heraclitus* B50 *ὁμολογεῖν σοφόν ἐστιν ἐν πάντα εἶναι*).
1194. *δέρη πρὸς αὐτῇ . . . ἔχειν*: 'hold close to the neck', cf. *Cyc.* 682;

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- σπάσαντ'**, i.e. 'strictum' (Greek characteristically preferring the active form of expression); for **ἔχειν** having its full sense following an aor. partic. (not as a mere auxiliary), cf. 451.
- 1195-6.** 'And if Menelaus cooperates to save you, not wishing his daughter to die (after seeing Helen's bloody corpse) . . .'. **κἄν μὲν . . .**: cf. *Ph.* 975, *Rh.* 126, *Phaethon* 47 (**κἄν** 'and if', cf. 1173-4*). **σώζῃ**: inceptive-conative, cf. 1199*. In 1196, as in 20, Hermann's transposition *Ἐλένης Μενέλεως* should be resisted; Chapouthier alone of recent edd. gives . . . *Μενέλαος, Ἐλένης* . . . (as Triclinius, Porson, etc.). There is no good reason here for preferring the more interlaced word-order (forcing us to take 1195-6 in one breath, and tending to associate *Ἐλένης* with *κόρη*). As in 20, the wrong *-λεως* is simply due to a recent occurrence of that form (18, 1191). **Ἐλένης πτώμ' ἰδὼν ἐν αἵματι**: i.e. *Ἐλένην πεσοῦσαν . . .*, cf. *Ph.* 1697, and 1548* *πέσημ' ἐκ δίφρου*; also *A. Su.* 662 *πτώμασιν αἱματίοισι πέδον γᾶς*, and *Od.* 22. 383-4 *τοὺς δὲ ἰδεν μάλα πάντας ἐν αἵματι καὶ κονίησι | πεπτεῶτας πολλοὺς*. 1196 can perhaps be spared (del. Nauck, Reeve!); but it variously reinforces El.'s point: she is proposing an extension of Pyl.'s plan, not a substitute for it, and the sight of Helen's bloody 'fall' will make Men. take seriously the threat to kill Herm. as well. It is also appropriately shocking that El. should dwell gloatingly on the blood, in terms similar to those later used by the Chorus (1357-8).
- 1197.** **πεπᾶσθαι**: exquisite for **ἔχειν, κεκτηῖσθαι** (*An.* 641, *HF* 1426, cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 835). The alliteration is striking, probably satirical in intention and effect (not, as Σ , a word-play between *πεπᾶσθαι* and *πατρί*; the assonance extends also to *παρθένου*). **δέμας**: 'living body' (cf. 107*).
- 1198.** **ὄξυθύμου**: *Med.* 319, *Ba.* 671. **μὴ κρατῶν**: 'failing to control', cf. *ἀκρατής*.
- 1199.** **κτείνῃ**: pres. subjunc. (inceptive-conative again), cf. *δρᾶ* 1191, *σώζῃ* 1195, *IT* 920 *ὄτε πατήρ ἔκτεινέ με*, etc.
- 1200.** **ἦν πολὺς παρῆ**: not, or not simply, 'in full force' (Wedd), since the main contrast is between Men.'s initial *attitude* (Σ *ὀργή*) and the later 'softening' of his mood; rather, 'violent' (opp. *μέτριος*, cf. *Hr.* 443, *Ba.* 300, *IA* 557), as a poetical equivalent of *σοφοδρός*, but coloured also by the sense 'high and mighty' (348-51*).
- 1201.** **χρόνῳ μαλάξιν**: a proverbially coloured phrase, cf. *Al.* 381, 1085, etc. (de Romilly, *Time in Greek Tragedy* (1968), 132). The anatomical word **σπλάγχχνον** has a wide range of lit. and metaph., poetical and colloquial use; for the sense 'spleen' (like Lat. *stomachus*), cf. *Hr.* 118.
- 1202.** **οὐτ' ἄλκιμος**: cf. 754*.
- 1203.** **σωτηρίας ἔπαλξιν**: 724*; the gen. has a quite different force in *A. Ag.* 381-2 *ἔπαλξις πλοῦτου* ('protection afforded by wealth'). **εἰρηται λόγος**: *Ph.* 1012, *A. Eum.* 710; cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 582 *πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον* for these and similar formulae indicating that a speaker has said what he set out to say.

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1204. El.'s 'masculine mind' is reminiscent of her mother's *ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ* (A. Ag. 11; cf. S. fr. 943 R. *ἀνδρόφρων γυνή*).
1205. *ἐν γυναιξὶ θηλαίαις πρέπον*: both 'feminine in weakness' (*θήλυς* as *Med.* 928, S. *Tra.* 1062) and 'beautiful among women' (with reminiscence of the epic pleonasm *θηλύτεραι γυναῖκες*, *Il.* 8. 520, and the epic use of *πρέπειν* 'to be conspicuous among', as *Od.* 8. 172).
1206. *ἀξία ζῆν*: 'deserving to live' is a new point.
- 1207-8. *ἄρ'*: i.e. 'in the light of this revelation of excellence'. *τάλας*: economically implying *θανών* (*ἐὰν θάνῃς*), opp. *ζῶν* (*ἐὰν ζῆς*), while directly antithetic to *μακάριον*. 'An enviable *λέχος*', cf. 20-1*, 1210*. Of the audience, one suspects that 'few would envy Pylades his bride' (Schein; cf. Conacher 223).
1209. *Φωκίων δ' ἔλθοι πόλιν*: cf. 1094* (Pyl. may be thinking of a wedding at Delphi).
1210. *ἀξιομένη*: *Σ* *κοσμουμένη, τιμωμένη*; cf. 1168 *ἀξιοθεῖς*, A. Ag. 903. It was the prime function of wedding-hymns to celebrate the *ἀξία* of the bridal pair and to declare them *μακάριοι* 'happy, enviable', cf. *Al.* 919-21. For the bravura of the three-word line, cf. 883*.
- 1211-13. Conditionally approving ('when? for . . . if . . .') like 1106*. *τίνος χρόνου*: 'how soon?' The expression of 'time within which' (instead of a simple 'when?' as *Hel.* 540 *πόθ' ἦξεις*;) looks forward to 1215; *τίνος = πόσου*, cf. *HF* 143 *τίν' ἐς χρόνον ζητεῖτε μηκύναι βίον; ὡς τ' ἀλλὰ ὕ . . .*: 'for in other respects your suggestions are excellent, if we are successful in capturing . . .'. The main and subordinate clauses are interlaced as in S. *OT* 644-5 *ἀραῖος, εἴ σέ τι / δέδρακ', δλοίμην, ὦν ἐπαιτιᾶ με δρᾶν* (*KG* ii 599); a type of hyperbaton similar to the interlacements of main clause and participial phrase in 556* and 1634. *ἐλόντες* coheres with *εὐτυχήσομεν*, cf. *IT* 329 *εὐτύχει βαλῶν. σκύμνον*: 'animal' words for young human beings are especially characteristic of E. (cf. *πῶλος, νεοσσός*); the point of *σκύμνος* is sometimes 'leonine' (*Ap.* 1170, *Su.* 1223, *Ar. Ran.* 1431), like *ἴνις*; but here it is at once pejorative like 'whelp' (cf. 1387) and apt to the presentation of Or. as an *ἀγρεὺς* (cf. 1492-3, *Ba.* 1173-4), behaving ruthlessly towards a helpless young creature (cf. *Hec.* 205, where Polyxena uses that image of herself). *ἀνοσίου πατρός*: cf. 481*, 1604*.
- 1214-15. 'Dramatic time' was freely—usually tacitly—manipulated by Greek tragedians so as to equate the dramatic action, of whatever length, with the audience's experience of time-duration in the theatre; see, in general, Taplin 291-3. The unusual feature here is the explicit 'synchronization' of unequal dramatic times. Convention permitted E. to compress the main dramatic action (including the time needed for going to and from the Assembly and the Assembly-trial itself) so as to equal the hour or so of performance-time. 'Meanwhile' (as it were) Hermione has been engaged on a task which we may truly suppose to require about an hour. That, in itself, is a normal enough exploitation of convention in the cause of 'dramatic unity'. But it needed more audacity (*a*) to *highlight* the

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artificiality (almost challenging the spectator to notice the *incongruity* of time), (b) further to spin out the shorter action in the cause of 'suspense' (the expectation of Herm.'s imminent return is frustrated for a further 100 lines, cf. G. Arnott 52-3). For the 'highlighting' of artificial stage-conventions', cf. also 1384 f.*, 1592*, and Winnington-Ingram, *EPS* 132.

1214. **καὶ δὴ**: emphasizing what is visualized as 'actually happening', more vividly than ἤδη (1108, *Med.* 1065; *GP* 252); here in reply to a question, as *S. OC* 31 **καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν παρόντα**.
1215. 'For the *actual* time-lapse concurs' (sc. with that expectation); not 'with the length of Herm.'s *δόξ*' (*vel sim.*)—it is the contrast between 'actuality' and 'subjective opinion' that gives point to αὐτό. The metaphor in **συντρέχει** is faded, and in such expressions the 'time' phrase may be either the subject (*Hdt.* 1. 116. 1 ὁ τε χρόνος . . . τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκει συμβαίνειν) or in the dat. (*Ion* 547 τῷ χρόνῳ γε συντρέχει, sc. the hypothesis that Xuthus had fathered Ion before he met Creusa). For μήκος χρόνου, cf. 72, *A. PV* 1020, *S. Tra.* 69; the two def. articles specify the *particular* 'length of time' (in relation to *τίνος χρόνου*; 1211); the whole phrase (with αὐτό) has a somewhat philosophical (mathematical) flavour, cf. τὸ πλῆθος 1155-7*, *Antiph.* B50.2 τὸ τε μήκος τοῦ βίου ἡμέρα μίᾱ (ἔοικε). [Bichl takes αὐτό predicatively ('gerade', citing Schwyz. ii 211 Nr. 2, where the exx. are not really similar); *Di B.* compares expressions like αὐτὸ σημαίνει (again rather different, cf. 1129*).]
1216. **καλῶς**: colloquial, cf. Bond on *HF* 599 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 54).
1217. **δέχου** (not aor. **δέξαι**): inceptive, 'be ready to receive'. **παρθένου . . . πόδα**: a standard periphrasis/synecdoche for a person going or coming, cf. *Hp.* 661, *Hec.* 977, *HF* 336 (KG i 280).
1218. 'And be on guard in case . . .' (**ἦν** final, cf. Collard on *Su.* 397-8; not the usual (ὅπως) μή . . ., since El. cannot *prevent* the coming εἰς οἶκους). **πρὶν τελευτηθῆ φόνος**: inf. would have been normal for 'before the completion of the killing' (the finite construction implies 'until', normally after a neg.); the sentence is constructed as though it began with **φύλασσε μή** (Elmsley on *Med.* 215 f. [220-1]), cf. *IA* 538-40 **φύλαξον . . . ὅπως ἂν μή . . . πρὶν Ἄιδῃ παιδὲ ἔμην προσθῶ λαβῶν** (no ἂν, cf. 430*, 1357, *Al.* 849; KG ii 455).
- [1219]. *Del. Herwerden* (*Mnemosyne* 1877, 34); an inept, inorganic line. Presumably the writer intended the sense 'either Menelaus or some ally of his'; but the line actually means 'either an ally or brother of Agamemnon'. Note also that the premiss for the following amoibaion is fear of a vague 'someone' (1255-7*), who might *reveal* the deeds within to **ἐχθροί** (1272).
- 1220-1. Cf. *An.* 990 **μὴ φθῆ με** (see Stevens) **προσβάς δῶμα, IT** 1308 **πύλας ἀράξας καὶ ψόφον πέμψας ἔσω**.
1220. E. used strong and weak aor. of **φθάνω** indifferently. **γέγωνά τ' ἐς δόμους**: 'and (if that happens) audibly communicate (the matter) within . . .'; cf. *Ion* 696 **ἐς οὐδς γεγωνήσομεν**. Tragedy used forms of **γεγωνάω**, rather than epic **γέγωνα**, except in the imperative; normally of vocal sound, but the extension to a vague 'communicate audibly' is quite natural, for

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there is no inherent connotation of articulate speech (cf. the association with *σαφής* in *Hr.* 585–6; *CQ* 1968, 39). The sense of the imperative in *A. PV* 193 and *S. Phil.* 238 is *ἄγγελλε, σήμαινε* (not *βόα*). [The variant *γέγωνε δ'* . . . looks plausible after *δέχου . . . φύλασσε δ'* . . .; but the structure 'A, and/but (B + C)' is better. The variant *ἐν δόμοις* is intelligible (clarified by 1221), but *γεγωνεῖν ἐν* lacks parallel.]

1221. σανίδα: 'woodwork' (defined as 'doors' by the context, and no doubt by mime also); cf. *Al.* 967 (pl. 'tablets'), *Hel.* 1556 ('plank'). The *σκηνή*-doors may at this moment be open (Introd. E i). [Longman's excision of 1221 (*CR* 1958, 122) seems quite uncalled-for.]

1222–3. 'While *we* are to go within and arm ourselves with a sword for the ultimate ordeal'; the corollary of the instructions given to *El.* (not 'let us . . .', for *Or.* does not at once exit). *ἔσχατον:* euphemistic and double-edged; the 'final *ἀγών*' is also 'extreme' in terms of (questionably) 'heroic' *τόλμα. ὀπλιζώμεσθα . . . χέρας:* cf. 926, *Ph.* 267.

[1224]. *Del. Hermann.* The voc. is awkwardly late, and the phrasing is feeble (cf. Page, *Actors* 50); contrast *IT* 95 *σὲ δ' ἱστορῶ, | Πυλάδη—σὺ γάρ μοι τοῦδε συλλήπτωρ πόνου— | τί δρώμεν;* The pattern without a voc. addressed to *Pyl.* is like *Al.* 734 ff. *ἔρρων νυν αὐτὸς χῆ συνοικήσασά σοι . . . γηράσκει' . . . ἡμεῖς δ' . . . στείρωμεν,* where *ἡμεῖς* is 'I (and my retinue)'. But the situation is very different here, where *El.* and *Pyl.* are equal participants. What we really need is an independent line meaning 'and you, *Pyl.*, must help me in this (latter task)'. As *J.D.* points out, an appropriate sentence is transmitted nearby in interpolated lines: *σὺ δ' ἡμῖν τοῦδε συλλήπτωρ γενοῦ* (1230). Did the interpolator of 1227–30 make use of 1224 in such a way as to necessitate a new 1224? The different line-order in *F* may point to marginal transmission.

1225–40. *Or.* follows his 'battle-orders' by initiating a formal invocation of *Agamemnon*, in which the three conspirators in turn pray for 'aid' and 'salvation'; a distich each (1227–30 are an interpolation, see below), then three shared distichs (ending with *Pyl.*'s *παύσασθε . . .*). Similar 'liturgies' occur in *El.* 671 ff. and *A. Ch.* 479 ff. (before the murder of *Clytaemestra*); but note the differences in formal structure (irregular in *Ch.*, stichomythia in *El.*) and the new euphemistic focus on *ἐπικουρία* and *σωτηρία*, with no mention of the proposed vengeance-killing (except in 1227–30); for the 'invocation' themes, cf. *Bond* on *HF* 490–6, who compares also *A. Pers.* 633–80 and *S. El.* 1066–81.

1225–6. ὦ . . . ναίων . . .: liturgical idiom, cf. *El.* 677, *Ph.* 84, *Hel.* 1584–5 *ὦ ναίων ἄνα πόντιε Πόσειδον. ὀρφναίας:* an epic epithet of night (*Fraenkel* on *A. Ag.* 21); the 'night' of death (*Il.* 5, 310. etc.) is personified by *δῶμα* (write *Νυκτός*, cf. *πότνια Νύξ* 174–9*, *Νύξ Ἀΐδας τε S. Aj.* 660); cf. also *HF* 46 *χθονός (Χθονός?) μέλαιναν ὀρφνήν, HF* 353 *ἐνέρων ἐς ὀρφνάν, Hel.* 177 *μέλαθρα Νύχια. καλεῖ δ' Ὀρέστης:* for the third person, cf. *El.* 1239, *S. Aj.* 864, *Ar. Ach.* 406; but the first person was vulnerable to corruption in such places (*Kannicht* on *Hel.* 1168, *Barrett* on *Hr.* 1285), and *Cobet's* *καλῶ* is

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- surely right. As J.D. points out, it is implied by Σ^m ἀντί τοῦ καλεῖ σε. [Di B.'s argument that καλεῖ is 'più solenne' lacks any objective basis; and 1626 (where L's καλεῖ is unlikely to be right against the rest of the MSS) shows the weakness of *Hel.* 1168 as supporting evidence (see also Dale *ad loc.*.)]
- [1227–30]. Del. Nauck, Wecklein, Weil; cf. Reeve' 255¹. The arguments include: (a) the greater symmetry of the liturgy if Or. starts with a distich; (b) the close link in thought between 1225–6 and 1231–2; (c) the testimony of Σ that four lines hereabouts were absent from 'the copy' (though not from 'other copies'). ϵ could be fortuitous and α has little weight in itself (the ἐξάρχων can be allowed a longer invocation); but δ is weighty, with α and ϵ in support. Further, though recent edd. defend the lines as blameless in style and content, they are in fact open to serious objection, as adding to the invocation (with pedestrian explicitness) what is otherwise excluded from it. The murder of Helen is, of course, in everyone's mind, but elsewhere in the closing section of this scene it is referred to only with sinister euphemisms (1222–3 ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσχατον ἀγῶνα, 1240 πρὸς ἔργον). If 1227–30 are excluded, we have a fine rising sequence in the prayers from 'help' to 'save' ('Help us . . . we are dying on your account . . . save your children'); whereas, as things stand, Or. prays expressly (and solely) for help in obtaining vengeance, followed by supporting (liturgically echoing) prayers for something different from what the ἐξάρχων has enunciated. Apart from a simple desire to 'clarify' what E. had deliberately treated with euphemistic reticence, the interpolator may also have felt that Or.'s address should be *δνειδιστικόν* in preparation for *δνειδη* 1238 (hence διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάσχω τάλας ἀδίκως, anticipating 1232). τοῖς θεομένιοισι was borrowed from 681 (less happily here, and where τοῖς = ἡμῖν); and συλλήπτωρ (a good word) possibly from *IT* 95 (1224*) or *A.* Ag. 1507.
- 1231–2. ἰκοῦ δῆτ': directly echoing *μολεῖν* 1226 (cf. 219–20*). ἔσω χθονός: not the obvious κατὰ (κάτω), as 674, or ὑπό; perhaps 'epic' in flavour ('Αἶδος εἶσω *Il.* 6. 284, 22. 425), but also connected in thought with εἶσω γῆς 1241 (the sound of the prayer has to penetrate the earth). τέκνων καλοῦντων: echoing καλεῖ (or καλῶ) . . . παῖς σός 1226. οἱ σίθεν θνησκουσ' ὑπερ: for the sense-agreement of the rel. pronoun, cf. Collard on *Δυ.* 11–16 (KG i 55).
- 1233–4 συγγένεια: 'close kin', cf. 733*; for the metonymic mode of address, cf. *Ph.* 291, κῆδεμ' ἐμόν 477*. πατρός: in *IT* 918 the focus is on Pyl.'s mother (Anaxibia) as sister of the Atreidae. Σ gives that as one explanation, but also reports that Strophius was Ag.'s first cousin, his father having married Atreus' daughter Cydragora (presumably according to the longer Atreid genealogy, 18*); the source may be Pherecydes (Preller–Robert ii 3. 1304).
- 1235–6. Cf. *El.* 1221–6, where Or. and El. are appalled by what they have done; here, shockingly rather than shocked, they and Pyl. use similar language for declaring the service to Ag. which entitles them to his aid. Or. himself performed the matricide; El. and Pyl. claim shared responsibility. The right (symmetrical) sequence Or.—El.—Pyl. was restored by Weil, followed by Murray and Biehl (cf. also Krieg 78, A. Gross, *Die Stichomythia*

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- in der gr. Trag u. Kom.* (1905), 55^b, Broadhead, *Tragica* 172); other edd. and commentators adhere, on misconceived grounds, to the MSS (other than M¹). **ΗΛ. ἡψάμην δ' ἐγὼ ξίφους:** cf. *El.* 1225 ξίφους τ' ἐψηφάμαν ἄμα. A figurative insistence upon full complicity. Elsewhere in this play (32, 284, 615 ff.) El.'s direct participation in the killing is more or less explicitly denied; but edd. who object to the 'contradiction' make no allowance for the rhetoric of the situation in different contexts. Conversely, the phrasing in 406, 1074, 1089 does not necessarily imply that Pyl. also plunged his sword into Cl.'s body. Probably E. (and Greeks in general) always thought of the actual stabbing as the work of Or. alone, whatever phrasing they might use for El. and Pyl. as accomplices, instigators, etc. **Πυλ. ἐγὼ δέ <γ> ἐπεβούλευσα . . .:** abs. 'plotted', cf. S. *OT* 618; a word charged with violent overtones from contemporary Athenian politics, and exactly right for Pyl. the 'counselling' *ἐταίρος* (804-6*, 1085, 1090, 1131, 1158); for the rhythm, characteristic of late E., cf. 37*. The variant *ἐπεκέλευσα* doubtless comes from the similar ἐγὼ δέ <γ> ἐπεκέλευσά σοι at *El.* 1224 (necessarily there spoken by El., Pyl. being mute). This passage is otherwise different, in that (a) the words are addressed to Ag. (not sc. σοι), (b) they are paired with *κάπλιυσ' ὄκνου* (with which *ἐπεκέλευσα* would be tautologous). We are reminded of the striking moment at A. *Ch.* 900-2, where Pyl. speaks his only three lines in the play just before the matricide. [*<γ>* Tricl., who also found the generally accepted correction at *El.* 1224; δέ γε, cf. 1239 (*GP* 153). Recent edd. do not seem even to have contemplated the possibility that *ἐπεβούλευσα* could be the truth (despite Headlam, *CR* 1901, 101, and Krieg). For the false variant caused by contamination with another play, cf. 901-2*, 1646. As to *ὄκνου*, the gen. can stand, but to write *ὄκνον* would remove the necessity to understand a personal object; for this kind of acc. with *ἀπολύειν*, cf. Antiphon 2. a. 5 (*ὑποψίαν*), Dem. 20. 47 (*αἰσχύνην*).]
- 1237-8. ἀρήγων:** more elevated (a vb rare in prose) than *ἀμύνοιον* (419, etc.). **ὄνειδη τάδε:** cf. A. *Ch.* 495 ἀρ' ἐξεγείρη τοῖσδ' ὄνειδεῖσιν, πάτερ; Here the 'reproaches' are not so much the shameful details of Ag.'s death as the shameful plight of his avengers. For the traditional point (recitation of *ὄνειδη* as an incitement to action), cf. also 618*.
- 1239-40.** Or. and El. are prepared to continue the appeal in an orgy of tearful emotion (for the described tears on stage, cf. *Al.* 1067-8; Shisler, *AJP* 1945, 392). Pyl. is a man of action and calls a halt; cf. *El.* 684, where the Old Servant says πάντ', οἶδ', ἀκούει τάδε πατήρ: στείχειν δ' ἀκμή. **κατασπένδω:** cf. 1187; the metaphor 'libation of tears' is by no means trite (here first? cf. *Trag. adesp.* 548, Theocr. 23. 38).
- 1240-5.** 1240 is both the last line of the symmetrically patterned dialogue and the first of the act-concluding speech (climactically given to Pyl., from whom we shall hear no more).
- 1241. ἀκοντίζουσ':** for the javelin-metaphor, cf. *IT* 362 (290*), *HF* 1149, Collard on *Su.* 456; many kinds of utterance are 'shot'; to personify 'prayers' (*ἀρά* 1138-9*) as 'shooting' (penetratively, cf. 1231-2*) is

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exaggerated imagery in line with that of Or. at 674-6*. The apparent scepticism in εἴπερ . . . is not sophistic, but of a traditional kind (cf. Stinton, *PCPhS* 1976, 62-3).

1242-3. 'Zeus and Justice': cf. *Med.* 764 ὦ Ζεῦ Δίκη τε Ζηνός (likewise in a context of hideous vengeance; Lloyd-Jones, *JZ* 152). πρόγονοι: the proper designation of any god (or hero) thought of as 'ancestral' (A. fr. 273, Hdt. 4. 127); Pyl. shares the Tantalid lineage (Σ). σέβας: 'majesty', cf. *Cyc.* 580 δαιμόνων ἀγνόν σέβας, S. *Phil.* 1289 Ζηνός ὑψίστου σέβας (after A. *Su.* 85, *Eum.* 885, etc.; Bruhn 140). δότ' εὐτυχῆσαι . . . : 'grant success' (aor. inf. referring to the particular enterprise) 'to the three of us'.

1244-5. As things stand, we have two one-line sentences, of which the second seems vacuous: 'it is due to (us) all either to live or to die'. The more vacuous, since the sentiment βροτοῖς ἅπασιν κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται was a commonplace (*Al.* 782, cf. *ibid.* 419, *An.* 1272, S. *El.* 1173). Murray's attempt to enhance the point of 1245 by punctuation as *sermo fractus* is wholly unconvincing. Di B. accepts Nauck's excision of 1245, which could be right (the 'live or die' theme seems to have appealed to interpolators, cf. 441, 848). But virtually no emendation is required to produce a differently shaped, and appropriately resonant, terminal distich:

τρισοῖς φίλοις γὰρ εἰς ἄγών· δίκη μὲν
ἢ ζῆν ἅπασιν ἢ θανεῖν ὀφείλεται.

The explanatory asyndeton is unexceptionable, and the chiasmic 'Three . . . one; one . . . all' pattern is like the 'Tous pour un, un pour tous' of Dumas's Musketeers. The inclusion of δίκη μὲν ('in a single, i.e. shared, just cause') in the final sentence makes all the difference; for the combination μὲν . . . ἅπασιν, cf. *HF* 1392-3 πάντες ἐξολώλαμεν / Ἥρας μὲν πληγέντες ἄθλιοι τύχη. The two-line sentiment has something in common with *IT* 1065-6 ὁρᾶτε δ' ὡς τρεῖς μία τύχη τοὺς φιλάτους, / ἢ γῆς πατρώας νόστος ἢ θανεῖν, ἔχει, which is itself reminiscent of *Il.* 10. 173-4 νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴστανται ἀκμῆς / ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς ἢ ἐβιώναι. ὀφείλεται may be understood as referring simply to the obligations of φιλία; but there is often an ambivalence ('is owed by', 'is due to'), as in the commonplace mentioned above, and that very ambivalence is an enhancement of the meaning here (the overtone of 'claiming a debt' following a prayer to Zeus and Justice'). [τύχη μὲν would give equally good sense (τύχη μία iam Schmidt), and erroneous δίκ- for τύχ- is attested at *Hp.* 797 in some late MSS (J.D. tells me). The only other proposal appears to be Paley's ἢ ζῆν (feeble, though approved by Longman, *CR* 1958, 122).]

FINALE: 1246-1690

All that follows is a prolonged dénouement: the suspenseful presentation of the 'shocking' ἔσχατος ἀγών embarked upon by the τρισσοὶ φίλοι (with the assassination of Helen as its central feature), and the 'happy ending'

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paradoxically effected by the intervention of Apollo at the last possible moment (1625-90*; Introd. D v). There are many changes of metre, with melodramatic alternation between sung and spoken utterance. We may designate the following 'act'- and 'scene'-divisions:

Fin. i	1246-85	strophic amoibaion
	1286-1310	the (supposed) 'death of Helen'
	1311-52	the 'luring' of Hermione
Fin. ii	1353-65	choral strophe
	1366-1502	the Phrygian's sung ἀγγελία
	1503-36	tetrameter scene (Or., Phr.)
	1537-48	choral antistrophe
Fin. iii	1549-1624	the conspirators at bay (Men., Or.)
	1625-90	Apollo and the apotheosis of Helen
	(1691-3	tailpiece)

But the structure has been skilfully planned for continuous rather than 'episodic' action: Fin. i proceeds directly from Act Four with another dramatic amoibaion between El. and the Chorus (cf. 140-207); the responson of 1353-65 and 1537-48 (both dramatic in content) holds together the disparate elements of Fin. ii; and the approach-announcements play an important structural role (1311 *σιγάτε*, 1367 *σιγήσατ'*; 1503-5 balances 1366-8; 1549-53, as further tetrameters, link Fin. iii with Fin. ii). For the unifying elements in the music, see Introd. G iii.

1246-85. A stylized musical scene, in form not unlike 140-207, but now conspiratorial and paramilitary in tone and action (cf. S. El. 1398 ff., *Phil.* 135 ff.). El. directs the Chorus to keep watch on the two roads that lead to the Palace from opposite directions (the L and R *εἰσοδοί*, Introd. E ii). The Chorus-leader, mobilizing her troop, duly undertakes to watch the L ('sunward') road; and another responsible chorister undertakes to watch the R ('westward') approach. After a false alarm, probably on the Chorus-leader's side, the 'all clear' is given, and El. turns to listen at the *σκηνοῦ* doors, the Chorus sharing her impatience about the action within. The usual assignation of some utterances to hemichoria should be abandoned (on the *νότα ἡμιχόριον* as a common vice in MSS, cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 784-5). The spoken choral lines (1258-60*, 1278-80*) come better from individuals; of the sung choral lines, some might be monody (1249-50, 1253-4, 1269-70, 1273-4), but unison is no less likely (cf. on p. 105). Certainly, each stanza ends with a choral *lulle* (1263-5*, 1283-5*). It should not be insisted that the chorus splits into two clearly separated sections (1251-2*); for the Chorus as a whole makes a point of 'looking to and fro' in order to view 'everything' (1263-5*, 1266-8*; cf. also 1273-4*, 1294*).

1246-65 = 1266-85

1	El.	υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	<i>P</i>
2		υ-(υ)υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	<i>κδ(δ) δ</i>
3	Ch.	υ-υ-υ-υ- υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-	<i>2δ</i> } <i>2δ</i>
4		υ-υ-υ-υ- υ-υ-υ-υ- (II)	<i>2δ</i>

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5-6	El.	two trimeters	
7	Ch.	υ υ υ υ υ ' υ ι - υ -	zia
8		υ υ - υ - ()	δ
9	El.	υ υ - υ - ! υ ι υ - υ -	2δ
10		υ - υ - υ - υ -	P f
11		υ ι - υ - υ - υ - - - ()	P x -
12-14	Ch.	three trimeters (two speakers)	
15	El.	υ υ - υ - ! υ ι υ - υ -	2δ
16	Ch.	υ - υ - ! υ ι - υ - υ - υ -	ia P (iambel)
17		υ υ ι - υ -	δ

A characteristic 'enoplian dochmiac' pattern (see p. 112), with strict responsion and few long *incipitia*. 1. Cf. *Ph.* 119 *τίς οὐτός ὁ λευκοδόφας*; *Rh.* 895-6/906-7, etc. (a standard opening verse; 'prosodiac', Wilamowitz, *GV* 326 ff.). *φίλι(ι)αι* (Hermann) should be accepted in 1246*, with *βλέφαρον* (likelier *per se*) in 1266; the telesilleian υ-υ-υ-υ-υ is contextually less likely, and the resolution at verse-end, before syntactical break and change of metre, is definitely anomalous. 2. A metrical problem similar to that in *Hr.* 593 *τὰ κρυπτά γὰρ πέφηνε, διὰ δ' ἄλλουσαι* and *Hec.* 1084 *τέκνων ἐμῶν φύλαξ ὀλέθριον κόλταν*, both of which are emendable to 2δ (*κρύπτ' ἐκ-*, or *ἀμ-*, or *ἀνα-*, see Barrett; *τέκνων μου* Hartung). We can hardly get rid of the 'dochmius kaibelianus' everywhere (cf. on 330/46, p. 138); but 'iambicizing' errors are very frequent in the transmission of dochmiacs. 7-8. Cf. 171-2/192-3; the iam. dim. is 'sub-dochmiac' (with split resolutions). 10-11. 2P (x D x D) is a favourite verse or distich, especially as a dicolon with diaeresis after υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ (*El.* 859-60/73-4, *Tr.* 799/809, *HF* 1082-3, etc.). P x - is a verse characteristic of 'enoplian dochmiac' contexts (e.g. *An.* 841-2 *τί μοι ξιφός ἐκ χέρως ἠγρεύσω*; and *Phaethon* 270-1 *τάλαια' ἐγὼ τάλαια ποί / πόδα πτέρωεντὰ κἀταστᾶσω*), especially as here with diaeresis after the initial anceps; usually as a full 'sub-dochmiac' clausula, but a δ may follow (*Hyps.* 64.77-8, *ibid.* 87 -σαν, *ω τέκνον, ἐνθάδ' ἴδ' ἠναίων* / *μέλειόν ἐμπόλαιν*, ?*Tr.* 250-1). P f P x - occurs elsewhere at *Tr.* 266-7 (likewise following 2δ), *An.* 826-7/30-1, *HF* 1029-30/32-3, *Hyps.* 64.85-6 (see p. 113). Similarly *ia* f P x -, *T* f P x - and *A* f P x - occur as prolongations of the familiar x - υ - ' x i - υ - υ - υ - (*iambelegus*), υ - υ - υ - υ - ' υ ι - υ - υ - υ - (*Tr.* 833-4/53-4, etc.) and υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - ' υ ι - υ - υ - υ - (*Med.* 993-4/999-1000, etc.); e.g. *Ph.* 121 *παγχάλκον ἀσπίδ' ἀμφὶ βράχιόνι κομφίζων*, *Hec.* 1068-9 *ἀκῆσάι ἀκῆσάιδ' τυ- / φλόν, Ἀλιῆ, φεγγὸς ἀπαλλάξας* (following 2δ), *HF* 1018-19 *τότ' ἔμην περὶ σῶμ' ὁδ' ἄτος κἀ. ἀπι- / σὸς Ἑλλάδι τῶν Δανάου παίδων* (following 2δ). These enoplian patterns are not as well understood as they should be (several are wrongly lineated in edd.); but there is no room here for a full discussion (and of other likely instances, e.g. *IT* 884-5, 886-7, *Ion* 1499-1500). 16-17. The concluding sequence smoothly brings together the three strands in the pattern; cf. *At.* 876/94, *Ba.* 1017, 1161, 1179/95, etc., for the form of iambelegus with short *incipitia*.

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1246. φίλαι (Hermann, see above): = φίλαι, cf. *An.* 1181 ὦ φίλιον στόμα.
- 1247-8. τὰ πρῶτα: 'best, highest in rank', cf. Page on *Med.* 91; τὰ φίλτατα is used similarly of persons, e.g. *S.* *OC* 1110. κατὰ (s.v.l.) Πελασγῶν ἔδος Ἀργείων: i.e. κατ' Ἄργος, cf. *Su.* 367-8 (691-3*); but Hartung's τὰ πρῶτ' ἀνά... is likely here (giving 2δ); ἔδος (+ gen.) 'abode', cf. *A. Pers.* 890 Ἰκάρου... ἔδος, *Eum.* 685 Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν, *Il.* 5. 360 Ὀλυμπον... ἰν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστί. The poetical phrasing is elevated in style.
- 1249-50. τίνα θροαίς αὐδάν...; cf. *Hp.* 571, *Tr.* 1239. αὐδή ('utterance') commonly implies 'bidding'; so here, in conjunction with the respectful voc. πότνια (= δέσποινα, 853-4*). παραμένει γὰρ ἔτι σοι τόδ'...: τόδε can refer only to the voc. πότνια, and edd. compare *Med.* 465, *Hp.* 88, *An.* 56 f., *Hel.* 1193; but in all these (cf. also fr. 889a Snell) the point is clarified by a vb of 'naming' or 'addressing'. J.D. therefore suggests that we should read τὰδ' for τὸδ', giving a very different point: 'for we are still loyal to you in Argos' (linked in thought with 1275 τὸ σὸν βίβαιον ἔτι μοι μένει): παραμένειν + dat. pers. is an apt vb (like παρῆναι 753*) for 'standing by, not abandoning, a comrade', cf. *Il.* 11. 401-2 οὐδέ τις αὐτῷ / Ἀργείων παρέμεινεν; and for the use of n. pl. τάδε in the sense ἡμεῖς (the more appropriate here after the n. pl. in 1248), cf. Page on *Med.* 182 φίλα καὶ τὰδ' αὐδα (*A. Pers.* 1-2, *S.* *OC* 67, etc.). ἐν Δαναϊδῶν πόλει: read Δαναϊδῶν (J.D.), as in *Su.* 1150. Δαναῖδαι for 'Argives' is a vox Euripidea (Collard on *Su.* 130), with more than 30 occurrences, first at *Hec.* 503 (LSJ mentions only *Ph.* 466); for the ancestral Danaus, cf. 871-3*.
- 1251-2. Spoken trimeters for El.'s instructions. The 'roads' are thought of as extending into the ὀρχήστρα, and στήθ' αἱ μὲν ὑμῶν... αἱ δ'... can be obeyed by quite a small outward movement of the Chorus' wings. τρίβον: cf. *Su.* 987 τί ποτ' αἰθερίαν ἔστηκε πέτραν; The acc. is analogous to that with vbs of sitting (871-3*) and lying (*S. Phil.* 144-5). τρίβος and οἶμος (also στίβος 1274) are synonymous in this context, with ἀμαξήρη to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, implied in ἄλλον. οἶμος may be either m. or f. (contrast *Al.* 835 ὀρθὴν παρ' οἶμον ἦ...).
- 1253-4. με: 1249-50 and 1253-4 could be sung by the Chorus-leader only; but El. has addressed the whole Chorus, and for the 'collective singular' cf. 138-9*. ἀπύεις: cf. *Ba.* 984 ἀπύσει (abs. 'shout'). The epic ἠπύειν can also govern acc. pers. ('hail, invoke'; *Od.* 10. 83, *Pi. Py.* 10. 4; so *Tr.* 1304). The double acc. here, with τόδε χρέος equivalent to a n. pronoun (cf. 150-1*), follows the pattern of αἰτεῖν τί τινα.
- 1255-7. Presumably something like: 'I fear that someone prematurely supervening upon the bloody action in the palace may aggravate our troubles'. φόβος ἔχει με μὴ τις...: cf. *Med.* [356], *Rh.* 722, *Su.* 89, *Hyps.* 64 ii 76, fr. 605. 4... πῆματα πῆμασιν ἐξεύρη: 'may devise further woes'; cf. 335-6* (δάκρυα δάκρυσι), 1158 ἐξηγῆρες κακά, *Tr.* 764 ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξευρόντες... κακά, *Ion* 555 (804*), *Ba.* 488 κὰν ἡμέρα τό γ' αἰσχρὸν ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. The intervening words seem impossible to understand in any appropriate sense. ἐπὶ δώμασι (dat.) σταθεῖς cannot mean or imply 'coming to the house'

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- (as it is taken by Di B., after Wecklein); while *σταθείς ἐπὶ φοῖνιον αἶμα* seems to describe an intending killer visualized in the posture of one 'poised for killing' (*ἐπι* pregnant, KG i 543; cf. the frequent use of *στήναι* + *εἰς*, as *Tr.* 934 *ἐς δόρυ σταθέντες*, also *Hel.* 1582-3 *κάπι ταυρείω σφαγῇ σταθείς* after a killing). What we need, I think, is *ἐπιδῶν κάσιν / σταθέντ' . . .* 'witnessing my brother standing (poised) for killing' (with the crucial *σφαγῇ* of Helen as yet unachieved). *ΕΠΙΔΩΝΚΑΣΙΝ* could have been corrupted to *ἐπὶ δώμασι(ν)* as a result of false expectation amid so much talk of the Palace (*δωμάτων* 1214, *οἶκος . . . δόμους* 1220, *δῶμων* 1252, *μέλαθρον* 1270); *σταθέντ'* would then necessarily be changed to nom. [The only previous conjecture for *ἐπὶ δώμασι* is Weil's extraordinary *ἐπινώμασι* (sc. *ἐπινοήμασι*) *σταθείς ἐπι*. For *σταθείς* Wecklein suggested *πλαθείς*, Herwerden *συθείς*.]
- 1258-60. *χωρεῖτ', ἐπειγώμεσθα*: 1st pl. equivalent of *ἴτ'*, *ἐγκοιεύε* *HF* 521; like *ἄγετε* + 1st pl. subjunc. (1060-1*, *Il.* 9. 26 *ἀλλ' ἄγεθ'* . . . *πειθώμεθα*; KG i 219), but with a paramilitary flavour (cf. *χώρει* *Ba.* 509, etc.). For the 1st pl. command from the Coryphaeus (rare, Kaimio 172-3), cf. *Hec.* 725, *HF* 748, 761, *Antiope* 48. 18 Kamb. *πρὸς ἡλίου βολάς . . . πρὸς ἐσπέραν*: for the opposite compass-directions, cf. *S. Aj.* 805. Here respectively 'L' and 'R' (Intro. E ii).
- 1261-2. *δόχμιά νυν κόρας διάφερ' ὀμμάτων*: the whole Chorus (addressed as a 'collective individual') is to direct one eye to the left, the other to the right (as it were); *δια-* refers to the divergent directions of view (cf. *Ph.* 265-6); *δόχμια* 'athwart (the main axis of the theatre)', 'obliquely' (cf. Dale on *Al.* 575); for the adverbial n. pl., cf. *Il.* 23. 116.
- 1263-5. The Chorus interpret El.'s command dynamically, all of them looking both L and R. Read *ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδ' εἶτα πάλιν* (not *παλινοσκοπιάν*, an unattested compound, which leaves *ἐκ- ἐνθ-* with no proper construction); for the three adverbs expressing 'to and fro', cf. *Ion* 1504-5 *ἐλισσόμεσθ' ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδε δυστυχίαισιν εὐτυχίαις τε πάλιν*, *Hel.* 1141 *δεῦρο καὶ αὐθις ἐκείσε καὶ πάλιν. σκοπιάν ἔχομεν*: i.e. *σκοποῦμεν* (*οἱ σκοπεύομεν*, cf. 1295); LSJ *ἔχω* A. 8. [Some edd. divide after *πάλιν* (Seidler; so Di B.) or after *σκοπιάν*, as codd. (but *Il.* has no paragraphus there). Murray's division (after Wilamowitz) is the only one that gives correspondence with 1283-5*; it also permits a better interpretation of 1261-2 and 1266-8 (the former *not* exactly anticipating the latter).]
- 1266-8. 'Very well, then, look to and fro and view everything (both L and R) . . .'. *ἔλισσεται*, i.e. *διειρεύε* (1458-9*), cf. *HF* 868. *βλέφαρον* (not *-ρα*, p. 288): 302-3*. *κόραισι δίδοτε πάντα*: 'invertible' idiom, cf. 41-2*. But *κόρας* (Canter) with *πάντα* seems likelier (cf. 1294-5*, *Ion* 205), most MSS having *πάντη(ι)*. It also gives *σδ*, if we keep the simple *δίδοτε*, rather than writing *διάδοτε* (Canter) as in *Ph.* 1371. 'Give eye(s)' (894*) is like 'give ear' (*S. El.* 30, etc.), even as vbs of 'throwing' are used of both sight and hearing (1281-2*). *διὰ βοστρύχων*: i.e. with extreme sideways movement of the eyes. [The wrong word-order, rectified by Triclinius, is probably due to transmission of *πάντα* and *πάντη(ι)* as variants.]

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- 1269-72.** While looking L (the Chorus-leader's side, 1258-60*, 1278-60*), the Chorus see an *ἀγρότης* ('countryman' or 'hunter') on the road near the Palace; El. characteristically fears the worst. The sophisticated 'hunter' word-play (cf. Degani 51) is more important than the question whether a yokel has 'really' been glimpsed in the vicinity, or whether he is a figment of excited imagination (the emptiness of the *στίβος* in 1273-4 does not prove the latter).
- 1269.** *ᾄδει τις . . . τίς δδ' ἄρ' . . .*; 'Here's someone' (not *ᾄδει τις*, see Diggle, *Studies* 43) . . . 'who can he be . . .?', cf. *Ba.* 985-7 *τίς δδ' . . . ἔμολεν, ὦ βιάκχαι; ἐν τρίβῳ*: cf. *Ph.* 93, *IT* 67 *ᾄρα, φυλάσσου μή τις ἐν στίβῳ βροτῶν. †προσέρχεται†*: πλάθει Di B., χωρεῖ Degani (cf. *S. Phil.* 787, where *προσέρχεται* may be a gloss on *προσέρπει*, see Dawe iii 129); but the unmetrical vb is as likely to be a gloss on an elliptical (excited) sentence, if not on *πολεῖ* in the next line, and *οοοο* is to be desiderated in a stanza with such accurate respension elsewhere. *πότνια* (Wecklein) is plausibly symmetrical with *πότνια* 1249, and gives *σόν* an antecedent voc.; but Seidler's *πρόσεχε* (calling El.'s attention) has merit, and Hermann's *<τίς δδε> τίς δδ'* . . . is also stylish.
- 1270.** *πολεῖ*: i.e. *φοιτᾷ*, cf. 337*. *ἀγρότας ἀνήρ*: cf. *γαλακτοπότας ἀνήρ* *El.* 169 (LSJ *ἀνήρ* VI. 1).
- 1271-2.** With Weil, we should probably read *κεκρυμμένας* (M') *θήρας*; cf. *Hr.* 233 (*θήρας* AA; *θήρας* MBOV). Elsewhere Or. and Pyl. are variously thought of as 'hunters' and 'wild beasts', and it is not impossible that El. should refer to them as *θήρες* (for *θήρ* without pejorative connotation, cf. *Ba.* 564, 1188). But the abstract object seems clearly superior here: 'hidden (1107*, here contrasted with *φανεί*) huntings'; the intruder is a potential 'informer' (*φαίνειν* 'denounce', cf. *S. Ant.* 325, *Ar. Eq.* 300, *Ach.* 824). For the abstract phrase, *θήραι ξιφήρεις*, cf. *HF* 812 *ξιφήφόρων . . . ἀγώνων* (after *A. Ch.* 584), *HF* 1063 *τοξήρει ψαλμῶ*, *Ar. Thesm.* 889 *τυμβήρεις ἔδρας* (E. was notably fond of *-ήρης* adjs.; Breitenbach 84-7).
- 1273-4.** *ἄφοβος ἔχε*: to El. (obviously); an extension from *ἐχ' ἤσυχος* (the only vernacular use of *ἐχεν* intrans. + adj.; KG i 92, Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 34-5). *κενός . . . στίβος ἐν οὐ δοκίς* (sc. *κενόν εἶναι*): still surely to El. (though she was not the first to have that thought). [The 'alarm' could have been given by a single chorister, in which case *ὦ φίλα* 1273 could be addressed to *her*; but that gives a changed direction of address at a split resolution. The assignation to hemichoria clearly breaks down here: the 'false alarm' (1269-70) and the 'reassurance' (1273-4) cannot well be given from opposite sides of the *ὄρχήστρα*. Note also that there is more point to 1275 if 1269-70 and 1273-4 have been contradictory utterances from the *whole* Chorus.]
- 1275-7.** The Chorus have contradicted themselves without explanation; so El. asks: 'What? Can I still rely upon you (collective sing.)? Give me a proper report (*ἀγαθάν*, according to the *ἀρετή* of an *ἀγγελος*) . . .'. *τί δδ;* surprised, cf. *El.* 1008, etc. (*GP* 175; often, as here, before another

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- question). τὸ σόν: almost 'you', cf. 296*. βέβαιον is predicative, cf. *El.* 280 καὶ βέβαια τὰπὸ σοῦ; (here with dat., as *IA* 347 βέβαιον . . . τοῖς φίλοις). τὰδ . . . τὰ πρόσθ' αὐλῶς: with a comprehensive gesture; αὐλή, variously 'forecourt' and 'hall', was a usefully imprecise word (*Introd.* E i). [τιν' Tricl., τινά μοι codd. (Turyn 192); another good correction, cf. 331*.]
- 1278-80. It is naturally the Chorus-leader who speaks first again and has the two-line utterance (as in 1258-60), referring to the side from which the alarm has been falsely raised. Her first phrase is a direct reply to *El.*; she then calls for a report from her lieutenant (the speaker of 1260) as to the other approach-road; and that watcher duly gives her 'agreeing' report, addressed in the first instance as a reply to her immediate superior, but continued as a report intended to be heard by *El.* also.
- 1279-80. καλῶς τὰ γ' ἐνθένδ': sc. ἔχει (or perhaps ἐστί, cf. 1106*). ἀλλὰ ἴταπισου(-σω) ἴ σκόπει: τὰπὸ σοῦ (anon. and Hermann) is surely right, balancing τὰ ἐνθένδε. ὡς οὔτις . . .: a subordinate clause (comma after σκόπει), with ἡμῖν antithetic to σοῦ. [The 'vir doctus' in *Quarterly Review* xviii, 65, referred to by Hermann, is likely to be Elmsley. The usual τὰπὸ σοῦ is scarcely possible: there is probably no other instance of ἐπί + gen. pers. in tragedy (*IA* 902 is usually emended), and the sense would be 'have regard for your own affairs' (LSJ ἐπί A. I. 2. c). The implications of that (still addressed to *El.*?) seem absurd. The variants may well imply an ancient reading τὰ (or τὸ) ὀπίσω (τῶπίσω Wecklein); but that is not to be contemplated as an antithesis to τὰ ἐνθένδε (moreover τοῦπίσω σκοπεῖν has a temporal reference in fr. 49. 2).]
1280. A reuse of *Hec.* 748 ἐς ταῦτόν ἦκαι: καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐγὼ κλύειν (sc. βούλομαι); cf. 66 = *Hec.* 279. ἐς ταῦτόν ἦκαι: sc. μοι, cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 273 (also *El.* 787, *IA* 665, 1002). 'For there is no disturbance here either': καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ, cf. also *El.* 295, Pl. *Euthyphr.* 12A (*GP* 108-9, 197); ὄχλος (also 'crowd'), cf. 108, 282, *Ion* 635, X. *An.* 2. 5. 9 (opp. ἐρημία, in a military context).
- 1281-2. *El.* turns to listen at the (still open) σκηνή-doors. φέρε νυν . . .: cf. *Ph.* 276 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 42). ἀκοῶν βάλω: 'let me cast an ear'; a recherché expression, modelled on 'give ear' (1266-8*) and the frequent ὄμμα βαλεῖν (variously extended: *An.* 1179 f., *Ba.* 1264, *Hyps.* fr. 764); cf. *HF* 1060 φέρε πρὸς οὐς βάλω (metasis; no comma is needed, cf. *HF* 529, *Tr.* 1282, etc.).
- 1283-5. While *El.* listens, the Chorus sympathetically voice their bloodthirsty impatience for the 'sacrifice' to begin. Wilamowitz's attribution to Ch. is certain (*pace* Di B. and Biehl). Quite apart from strophic symmetry (p. 105), it is an apparent and natural rule of strophic amoibaia that speaker-change follows the end of the antistrophe; moreover for *El.* to declaim 1283-5 would be inconsistent with her declared intention of listening (unless we interpolate a pause). Biehl argues that the bloodthirstiness is improper for the Chorus. It is indeed 'shocking' (like much else in the play); but cf. 1302-10*, 1353-65. Whether we like it or not, this Chorus is as eager as the conspirators to see Helen lying in a pool of blood. τί μέλλεθ' . . .; cf. 275*. ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ: not simply 'while the coast is clear' (*Σ* ἐν ὄσῳ οὐδέτις ὄχλει); 'hushed

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silence' is also the proper background for a 'sacrifice'. [Weil unnecessarily proposed . . . *οικου; ἔθ' ἠσυχία* . . . There is no case for writing *δουχ-* (the evidence suggests that E. preferred to retain this kind of *η* in lyric, even at the cost of hybrids like *μηχανά, φήμα, ἡδονά*; cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 155-8, and Björck 368 ff.).]

1285. 'To make blood-red (961-2*) the sacrificial victim(s)' or ' . . . knife'. For the pl. *σφάγια* of a single victim, Di B. compares *Hel.* 1564; but *σφαγίδα*, attested by *Σ* as the reading of more than one ancient copy, seems likely to be the truth; a word at once rare (known elsewhere only at *El.* 811, 1142), easily corrupted to the common *σφάγια* (*Δ* omitted before *Α*) and vividly appropriate (less tritely so) for the sacrifice metaphor. Having used *σφαγίς* with sinister effect in *El.* (with obvious metaphorical reference to the accomplished slaying of Aegisthus and the imminent 'sacrifice' of Cl.), E. is more than likely to have repeated the effect here. [There is no force in Di B.'s argument that *σφαγίς* is a technical word inappropriate to this context; and a transmitted reading should not be evaluated in terms appropriate to a conjecture ('inutile').]

1286-1310. A continuation of the melodramatic 'enoplian dochmiacs', now non-strophic and with more spoken lines. After a short bridge-passage, Helen's 'dying screams' are heard from within (1296, 1301), arousing the Chorus (and El.?) to a furious concerted expression of vengeful blood-lust (1302-10). The situation is a familiar one, cf. *S. El.* 1398 ff. where Electra is on guard against Aegisthus' arrival during the murder of Clytaemestra (on 'Mord-Stichomythie' in general, see B. Seidensticker in Jens, *Bauformen* (1971), 194); also *Hp.* 565 ff., where Phaedra listens at the *σκηνή*-doors. But the uncanonical murder of Helen is a breath-taking novelty, and the later news of her survival will be no less surprising. It is likely that cries from within of *δλλυμαι* and *θνήσκω* in Greek tragedy had always previously been true indications of death (cf., for example, *Hec.* 1035, where Polymestor leaves us in no doubt that he is being blinded, not killed). E. has played fair, however: the audience will be warned by the Chorus in 1353-60 to wait for a certain report. At the same time we are meant to be deceived (Introd. D v).

The speaker-assignments need to be reconsidered. Against Hermann and all subsequent edd., I propose to assign 1289-90 to the Chorus, 1297-8 to El., 1299-1300 to Ch. (in each case with some or strong MS support). The pattern of speech and song in 1286-1301 is: El., two trimeters; Ch., two dochmiac verses (48); El., two trimeters; Ch., two bacchiac verses (46a); Helen, trimeter; El., two trimeters; Ch., two dactylic verses (see below); Helen, trimeter. As to 1302-10, the usual assignment to El. as monody cannot be right before 1311 *σιγάτε σιγάτ' . . .* (cf. 1367 *σιγήσατ'*). Di B. argues further for a *tulle* including El., since she says *παύσωμεν βοήην* at 1314. That could be right, but it is a less compelling inference. With the revised assignments of the preceding lines, the Chorus have done all the singing since 1283, and it is both natural and proper for them to conclude

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the scene on their own (voicing, indeed, sentiments shared by El.). [The only apparent parallel in E. for Di B.'s *Ηλ. Χο.* is the short hymn to Artemis in *Ηρ.* (58-61-71, assigned by Barrett to *Ἴπ. καὶ θεράποντες*. Di B. himself cites A. *Pers.* 1043, 1051 and *Ch.* 459 f., 464 f., as interpreted by Wilamowitz; but the usual *Χο.* is quite satisfactory in those passages.]

1286-7. 'They hear (you) not. Alas! have their swords been dulled in the face of Beauty?' An echo of the famous confrontation at the fall of Troy, when Helen saved herself from Men.'s vengeance by baring her breast (*Ilias parva* fr. 17, Ibycus 296 Page, Ar. *Lys.* 155-6; cf. Stevens on *An.* 629-30). **ἐκκωφῆται:** for the form *ἐκκωφέω* (later -όω), cf. Anacr. 421 Page, Ar. *Eg.* 312. *κωφός* (lit. 'hebes, obtusus') may mean, according to context, either 'blunt' or 'deaf' (also 'dumb', 'blind', 'stupid', etc.). The application to a weapon is epic (*Il.* 11. 390 *κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλιδος*), but already there the point is figurative; and here there is surely a double point ('deaf')/'blunt' following 'they hear not'. [The variant -νται (Clem. Alex.) merits attention in the light of that ('have they been made *κωφοί* as to their swords?'). It is the choice between sing. and pl. (not that between -η- and -ω-) with which the note in *Σ* is concerned, reporting the decision of Ar. Byz. in favour of the pl. (though he read -ωνται, in accordance with the normal *ἐκκωφῶω* of later Greek).]

1288-91. *Χο.* (so Va, L). The *4δ* (all *υυυυυυ*) express anxiety about Argive intervention as a natural next thought for the singers of 1283-5 (*τί μέλλεθ' οἱ κατ' οἶκον . . .*), and it is the expression of that anxiety, still directed towards the Palace, that prompts El.'s commands in 1292-3 ('Watch better than . . . Look L and R'); cf. also 1353 ff. **τάχα:** cf. 133 f. **ἔνοπλος:** Tyr. 16 B. (857 Page), S. *OT* 469, and several times in E.; this whole passage is full of poeticized military language. **ὀρμήσας** should be corrected to *ὀρμάσας*, and similarly *ὀρμήσασ'* at *Ph.* 1064, cf. *ὀρμάσω Su.* 1015 (and Björck 166). **ποδι βοηδρόμω:** cf. 1356, 1510, 1622; *βοηδρομεῖν* appears first in tragedy, especially in E.; first at *Held.* 121, according to LSJ, but add P. *Oxy.* 2256. 72. 6 (Aesch.); properly, like *βοη-θεῖν*, 'to run in response to a cry for help' (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1317, Taplin 218 ff.). **προσμίξει:** a vb frequent in prose (esp. Hdt., Th.) with dat.; here only, exquisitely, with acc. (like *δῶμα πελάζει An.* 1167; KG i 312).

1292-3. **σκέψασθέ νυν . . .** at a speaker-change (surely so, cf. 104, 251, 489, 759, 795, 1037, 1101, 1103, 1261, 1266, 1599, 1678, 1682, *El.* 567 *βλέψω νυν . . .*, *Ba.* 1279 *σκέψαι νυν ὀρθῶς . . .*, etc.). **οὐχ ἔδρας ἀγών:** cf. *Ph.* 588 *οὐ λόγων ἔθ' ἀγών*, S. *Aj.* 811 *οὐχ ἔδρας ἀκμή*, Bacchyl. fr. 15(29). *1 οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς. ἔργον* is the commonest noun in this idiom (cf. Lat. *opus est*; Barrett on *Ηρ.* 911). **ἔλισσεται:** a vb appropriate to choric manoeuvres (171*) and rapid movement (*IA* 215); but van Gent's *ἐκείσε λεύσσετε* is likely to be right, in the light of *Ion* 205 and *IA* 144-5 (cited below); also *IT* 67 (1265*). The corruption (*ελευσ* for *ελευσ*) will have been encouraged by misinterpretation (spatial division of the Chorus, 1246-85*) and false reminiscence of *ἔλισσεται* in 1266-8* (we cannot understand *βλέφαρον* here).

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- 1294-5. As in 1263-5* the corporate Chorus responds by 'keeping watch *πάντη*'. The metre is certainly to be restored as *αβα* (in pairs); a run like 1439-40 *θές ἰχνός | πέδῳ δέυρ' | ἀπόστα- 'σά κλιῶμου* (cf. also *Ion* 1446, *Ph.* 1536-7, *A. PV* 115, *S. Phil.* 396-7, etc.; Wilamowitz, *GV* 335, Dalc, *LM* 101). *ἀμείβω κέλευθον*: 'I pass along the way'; *ἀμείβειν* develops from 'pass' (272*) into a general vb of 'traversing', cf. *Ph.* 271 (middle, διὰ χθονός), 1179 (the rungs of a ladder), *IA* 144-5 *πάντη δὲ πόρον σχιστὸν ἀμείβων | λεύσσε, φυλάσσων . . .* ('when passing along a divided carriage-way'), *Bacchyl.* 18(17). 16-17 *δολιχὰν ἀμείψας . . . κέλευθον*. We should then read (after Nauck) *σκοπ(εύ)ουσα πάντα*. E. was fond of -εύω vbs (cf. 405*, 1627*), and *σκοπεύειν* (*X. Eq. Mag.* 7. 6; v.l. in *Hdt.* 1. 8) has an appropriate paramilitary colour ('act as a *σκοπέυς*'); *πάντα*, cf. *Ion* 205 *π- τοι βλέφαρον διώκω*. [Nauck *σκοπεύουσα' ἀπάντα* (*Mém. Ac. St-Petersb.* 1859, 62), but cf. 'Ἑλλάδα πάσαν (not *ἄπασαν*) in 1363*; *ἀπάντη* occurs in epic, but not in Attic poetry. The ancient attestation of bacchiac metre (see app. crit.) makes it perverse to adhere to *σκοπόουσα' πάντᾳ*. The odd sequence *zba | pe* (or *δ | ith*) would invite suspicion even without that evidence.]
1296. *ἰώ . . .*: Helen's loud 'scream for help' (cf. *Hp.* 884 *ἰὼ πόλις*) plays an important part in the following action (1324-5*, 1353-60*, 1465*). *κακῶς*: intensifying, both 'miserably' (cf. *Hel.* 714 *δύλῃται κακῶς*) and 'foully'.
- 1297-8. Two more trimeters spoken by El. (so in nearly all the MSS). It is *her* function in this context to interpret the action within (cf. *Hp.* 567 ff., *S. El.* 1406); she is the listener *ἐν πύλαις* (1281-2), while the Chorus watch the approach-roads, and she is naturally the first to react when Helen screams. *ἄνδρες*: cf. *S. El.* 1398 (similarly spoken by Electra). *χεῖρ' ἔχουσιν ἐν . . .*: cf. *Ba.* 1053. *ὡς ἀπεικάζει*: the sense 'liken' passes easily into 'presume'. *ἐπεικάζει* has been conjectured here by Wecklein and Blaydes and in *S. Tra.* 141 by Hermann. If correction be needed, I should prefer *ὡς σάφ' εἰκάζει* in both places (cf. *S. OC* 16, where *σάφ'* and *ἀπ-* are variants). The 'presumption' here is, of course, *σαφές*; at the same time the 'certain' identification of the screamer enhances the *suggestio falsi* as to her fate. [Di B.'s arguments (after Fraenkel) for giving 1297-8 to Ch. are weak. Naturally it is the Chorus who interpret the action within *when there is no actor on the stage* (as in 1541-4 below). Conversely (given the probability of speaker-change at 1299), there is nothing in the content of 1299 f. (Di B. mentions 'my φίλοι') unsuited to the Chorus.]
- 1299-1300. *Χο. ὦ Διὸς ὦ Διὸς ἀέναον κράτος . . .*: for the epithet with the elevated periphrasis (1242-3*), cf. *Pi. Ol.* 14. 12 *αἰέναον σέβοντι πατρός Ὀλυμπίου τιμάν. ἔλθ' ἐπίκουρος* (formulaic, cf. *Timoth.* 791. 204 Page) follows as though after *ὦ Ζεῦ* (cf. *Bruhn* 9-10); the variant *ἐπίκουρον* is inferior (LP; Murray's apparatus is incorrect as to A and B). *ἐμοῖσι* (sic) *φίλοισι*: i.e. Or. and his associates, as collectively involved in this *ἀγών* (1190, 1192, 1244). The Chorus (whose *φιλία* has been repeatedly affirmed: 133, 136, 138, etc.; 1104*, 1246, 1254, 1271, 1273) show their

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commitment with an echo of Pyl.'s prayer to Zeus in 1242-3. πάντως: cf. A. *Sept.* 116 ff. (with ὦ Ζεῦ... ἀρηξόν). [The metre is *4da* followed by - - - - - (Fraenkel, *Lyr. Dakt.* 167, Dale, *LM* 161); the clausular 'praxilleian' is like *Al.* 569/79, ?*Su.* 599/605, *Tr.* 1070/80, *Ion* 1075/91; and the sequence as a whole may be compared with *HF* 1196-7 οὐ τᾶν (Paley, for οὐκ ἂν) ἰδεδίης ἑτέρων | πόλυμοχθότερον πόλυπλαγκτότερον τῆ θνατῶν (also in 'enoplian dochmiacs'). Dale later (*Papers* 191', *MA*?) followed Murray in preferring . . . ἐμοῖσι φίλοισι πάντως, but this is not the place for an 'encomiologus'. If an alternative is to be considered, let it rather be . . . ἐμοῖσι φίλοις πάντως (a commoner type of clausula in enopl. dochm. contexts than . . . - - - - -); for the length - - - - - x - (*D'* x -), cf. 1465(?), *S. Tra.* 1024 τῆδέ με τῆδέ με πρόσλαβε κουφίσας (flanked by δs).]

1301. σὺ δὲ παρῶν μ' οὐκ ὠφέλεις: 'the οὐκ negatives the whole predicate παρῶν ὠφέλεις' (Wedd); cf. *An.* 80 ὥστε μ' ὠφελείν παρῶν (753*), and, for the hyperbaton of the negative, *S. El.* 1211 πρὸς δίκης γὰρ οὐ στένεις, *Aj.* 682 αἰὲν οὐ μενοῦντα, etc. (Bruhn 94).

1302-10. Further concerted choral song (perhaps as a *tutte* including *El.*, see above). The bloodthirsty violence of the Chorus and the vengeful motivation for it are in line with 1283-5*, 1357-8, 1361-5; and cf. *Ba.* 991-6, 1011-23.

1302-4. 'Slay, smite . . .!' (the object following in 1305 f.). The text is controversial: the hiatuses before ἄλλυτε and ἐκ χειρός are unendurable, and there are variants of uncertain status. The first step should probably be to bracket [φονεύετε] (Hermann, Kirchhoff, Weil; cf. Jackson, *MS* 135-7). When E. pairs synonymous vbs. asyndetically, the second is virtually always as long as or longer than the first (Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 10); and twice elsewhere in the play φονεύειν occurs as a gloss on κἀνείν (195, Schw. i 117. 20; 1306, Schw. i 215. 10; cf. also *Ph.* 44, Schw. i 254. 24). There is much then to be said for Hermann's

Χο. κἀνείτε κἀνείτε, θείνετε <θείνετε>, *4da* |

The *4da* length is plausible (like 1299), and the anadiploses suit the context (cf. 1299 ὦ Διός bis, 1303 δίπτυχα δίστομα); κἀνείτε κἀνείτε iam Triclinius, who may have had some MS evidence. κἀνείτε θείνετε is attested by Mn (first reported by Bieh); elsewhere θείνετε appears only as a variant associated with 1303 (see below). Hermann also deleted [ἄλλυτε]—rightly, I think. The *marginale* in C (γρ. καὶ θείνετε τὰ δύο, αἴτε ἄλλυτε) implies the juxtaposition θείνετε δίπτυχα (so Di B., but I do not understand why he reports C with the 'correction' τὰς δύο). Though somewhat arbitrary, excision of ἄλλυτε seems preferable to other treatments of the hiatus -ετε ὀλλυτε (Weil ἄλλυτε κἀνείτε, Wecklein <δπ>ἄλλυτε, Jackson κἀνείτον ὀλλυτον). [Link-anceps is theoretically possible: e.g. φόνευέτῃ κἀνείτῃ θεῖ-νέτ'. ὀλλυτέ . . . might be the beginning of an enoplian sequence comparable with *HF* 1082-3 διωκέτῃ φεύγέτῃ μαρ-γῶν ἀνδρ' ἐπ' ἐγερῶμένου (cf. on 182-4/203-5, p. 113); and indeed I believe elision to

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be the right treatment of . . . *φάσγανα ἐκ* . . . in 1303-4. But it is surely unwelcome (with the effect of a hiccup) in the run of imperatives.]

δίπτυχα δίστομα φάσγαν' ἐκ χειρὸς ἴμενοι, D ∪ D |

δίπτυχα δίστομα: i.e. twin swords, both double-edged; a favourite 'doubling' (cf. 632-3*). *δίστομος* may be *δίσ-*τομος rather than *δί-*στομος (see E. Coughanowr, *CQ* 1984, 235 f.). *ἐκ χειρὸς:* lit., but with overtones 'by force of hand' (Wedd) and 'at close range'; see LSJ s.v. *χείρ* II. 6. e. *ἴμενοι:* 'launching', as though the swords were missiles (an exaggeration of a standard poetic conceit, cf. 50[-1]*, 1132-3*); *ἴμενοι*, as *Ph.* 152, *Hel.* 1496 (contrast *ἴμενον* *Hp.* 1125). The transitive use of the middle (*ἔδντι τοῦ ἴντες*) is very unusual, and not recognized by LSJ; but there are analogies (LSJ s.vv. *ἀνίγημι*, *ἀφ-*, *ἐξ-*, *μεθ-*), and there may even be an exact parallel if Di B. is right in defending the transmitted reading *ἔρχος ἴμενος* in *S. fr.* 782 R. (*ἴμενον* Sylburg, Radt). Metrically, the 'choerilean' verse (dicolon) *D ∪ i D ∪ i D* is very suitable for this syntactical unit; cf. the tricolon *D ∪ i D ∪ i D* at *HF* 1199-1201, also the sequence *ada | D' ∪ i D* -- at *Ph.* 190-2 (both in enopl. doch. contexts). [The MSS have either . . . *φάσγανα | ἐκ* . . . or *φάσγανα πέμπετε | ἐκ* . . . The former is simply *scriptio plena* at colon-end; the latter surely an interpolated version (giving a construction to *φάσγανα*, with *ἴμενοι* understood as intrans.). Since M has the gloss γρ. καὶ θείνετε written above *πέμπετε*, it is likely that *πέμπετε* anciently entered the tradition in much the same way as the false variant *ἐπεμψεν* in *Ph.* 1577-8 *φάσγαγον εἴσω | σαρκὸς ἔβαψεν (ἐπεμψε iam P. Strasb. WG 307 in the 3rd c. BC);* cf. also *Hee.* [62-3] and *Su.* [275] (both including the sequence *λάβετε φέρετε πέμπετε*). Jackson more circuitously supposed *θείνετε* to conceal *τείνετε*, with *πέμπετε* as a gloss on *thai*; then, substituting dual vbs, he obtained *καίνετον ἄλλυτον (δ)*, / *δίπτυχα δίστομα φάσγανα τείνετον / ἐκ χειρὸς ἴμενοι* (better *ἴμενα?*). But we do not want such a complex clause (with finite vb and participle) separating 'slay . . .' from its object.]

1305-6 τὰν λιποπάτορα λιπογάμ<ετ>ον, ᾧ πλείστους 2δ
ἔκανεν Ἑλλάων, δ

The *λιπο-*words (Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 212) reflect Stesichorus' description of Helen and Cl. as *λιπεσάνορες* (*fr.* 223 Page); *πλείστους ἔκανεν* reflects the standard epithet *πολυκτόνος* (56*). There is more than one possible text, but restoration should certainly be aimed at obtaining 3δ. *λιποπάτορα:* if sound, making a point like Sappho *fr.* 16. 10 *κωδδ[ἐ πα]ίδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήνων πά[μπαυ] ἐμνάσθη* (D. J. Jacob, *Hellenica* 1980, 130-2); but it is a considerable extension from 'forgetting φίλοι' to a *λιπο-* word which implies that Helen was still in Tynd.'s *οἶκος* even after her marriage to Men. and the birth of a daughter. Herwerden's *λιποπάτριδα* (*Mnemosyne* 1903, 293) is appropriately 'patriotic' in sentiment, with a reminiscence of *Hel.* 694-5 (*ἐμὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἀποπρὸ . . . ἀραίων . . . ἀπὸ πόλεως ἀπὸ τε σθένε κτλ.*, see p. 106). *λιποπάτωρ* is not attested elsewhere; *λιπόπατρις* recurs in Nonnus (*D.* 1. 131). *λιπογάμ<ετ>ον:* suggested to me by M.L.W.

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(substituting one hapax for another), cf. ἀγάμετος S. fr. 970 R.; a clear improvement upon Hermann's λιπόγαμὸν(θ'), giving asyndetically paired pentasyllables. ['Father-deserting' is usually explained as alluding to the tale of Theseus' rape of the young Helen (Stes. 191 Page; Paus. 2. 22. 6, 3. 18, Plut. *Thes.* 31). The allusion is justly questioned by Jouan (156*); there is no other reference to it in E., and the context here is solely concerned with Helen's elopement to Troy (the silence of Σ supporting that obvious interpretation). λιποπάτριδα seems likely; note, however, that it is not a sufficient correction in itself. The verse τᾶν λιποπάτριδᾶ λι-πὸγαμὸν, ᾧ πλεῖστοῦς (a) includes a lengthening before mute and liquid rare in dochmiacs (Conomis 38), (b) has an overlap of a particular type (. . . ι υ ' υ υ ι . . .) that occurs only after a run of *breuia* (as 1364 διὰ τὸν δλομένον ὀ-λομένον Ἰδαῖον, *El.* 1170, *HF* 1019(?), 1212, *IT* 871, *S. OC* 1464, *Ar. Av.* 951; cf. Conomis 45, L. Parker, *CQ* 1968, 267-8). If λι-πὸγαμὸν is right, the pattern before it must be <υυ> λιποπάτ(ρ)ᾶ (or -πάτριδᾶ) . . . At one time I favoured that, since τᾶν is omitted by most MSS and could be false, and there is a υυ word that would nicely fill the gap, viz. κύνα (the classic pejorative appellation of Helen as a shameless woman; *An.* 630 πρόδοτιν . . . κύνα, cf. *Il.* 6. 344, 356). But λιπό-γαμέτων gives a likelier pattern.]

1307-10	δορὶ παρὰ ποταμὸν δλομένους, ὅθι δάκρυα δάκρυσι[ν ε]πέεο σιδαρέοις βέλεισιν ἀμφὶ τὰς Σκαμάνδρον δίνας.	2ia 2δ 2δ
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'... who perished at Troy' (cf. *Il.* 2. 161-2). For the 'river' point (here elaborated with a ring-structure framing 'tears' and 'weapons'), cf. 809*. **δάκρυα δάκρυσι**: emphasizing the compound 'grievousness' (335-6*, 1363). **πέεο**: cf. γένετο 998-9*, δίκη *Ph.* 641, τέκε *IA* 198; the readings δάκρυσι ἐπέεο (inevitably), δάκρυα συνέπεσε and δ-συνέπεσεν ἐπέεο in the MSS appear to be progressive corruptions. **σιδαρέοις** (codd. -οισι, an 'iambicizing' error) **βέλεισιν**: causal dat., cf. 1398-9 ξίφεσιν σιδαρέοισιν Ἄιδα. βέλος may be either 'spear' or 'sword' (1132-3*), and there is a connection of thought with *ἔμμενοι* 1304; Helen's 'compound death' is to match the deaths she has caused (καίνετε . . . ἄ . . . ἔκανεν). **ἀμφὶ . . . δίνας**: cf. *IT* 6 (Diggle, *Studies* 80), of the Euripus, the scene of Iphigenia's sacrifice, and *Hel.* 179 (*ὑδωρ*); rivers in general are *δινηέντες*, *ἀργυροδίνας* etc. (*Il.* 2. 753, 5. 479). [*Melre*: a persistent perversity treats *δορεῖ* (Hermann) *παρὰ πῶτάμων* as a dochmius (Schroeder, Di B., Koster, Dale), with various unconvincing analyses of the following words. The iam. dim., at least, is certain ('sub-dochmiac', p. 113, cf. also 1414, 1441, *Al.* 907/30, etc.). Of other arrangements of 1308-10, the best are Biehl's ὅθι δάκρυᾶ δάκρυσιν / ἐπέεσσι σιδαρέοισι βέλεισιν ἀμφὶ τᾶς / . . . (δ/3ia/δ) and L. Parker's (*CQ* 1968, 256) . . . δάκρυσιν / ἐπέσεν ἐπέεσσι σιδαρέοις / . . . (δ/2ia/2δ; but the anadiplosis of 'fell' seems *de trop* here, the emphasis lying elsewhere).]

1311-52. At long last (cf. 1214-15*) Hermione returns from Cl.'s tomb, entering hesitantly from the L. El. welcomes her with false words, sends her

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- into the Palace 'to assist our cause' and goes in herself after a grimly exultant *envoi*. The 'net' image is familiar in such 'luring' contexts (1315; *El.* 965, *HF* 729, *S. El.* 1476); likewise the more or less elaborate use of *double entente* (*Hec.* 1021-2, *El.* 1141, etc.). Less traditional here are the nature of the victim (innocent and affectionate) and the *contingent* death awaiting her.
- 1311-12. Presumably the Chorus-leader (still, probably, responsible for guarding the 'sunward' road; 1258-60*). **σιγάτε σιγάτ'**: 219-20*. **κτύπου τινός . . . ἐσπεσόντος**: 'the sound of *someone* having entered upon the road', cf. *S. Phil.* 205 ff. **βάλλει μ' ἐτύμα φθογγά του στίβου . . . ἔρποντος**. The double gen. is possible (cf. *Rh.* 795-6 **φασγάνου γὰρ ἡσθόμενῃ πληγῆς**), but Porson justly preferred **κτύπον** (found in some late MSS), which removes ambiguity; cf. *Hec.* 1069 f. **σίγα· κρυπτὰν βάσιν αἰσθάνομαι | τάνδε γυναικῶν**, ?*ibid.* 1114-15, *IA* 1582, *Rh.* 568. [Most edd. take *τινός* in agreement with *κτύπου* (Wedd 'a sound that fell on the path'); but *εἰσπίπτειν* means 'enter', always elsewhere in E. (11 times) with a personal subject, unlike *ἐμπίπτειν*.]
- 1313-20. *El.* sees Herm. (still off-stage) and prepares for her reception; for the gap between sight and entry, cf. 456-69*.
1314. **Ἑρμῶνῃ**: for the '2nd foot anapaest', cf. *Νεώπτολέμοσ* . . . 1655 (Diggle, *Studies* 47-8).
- [1315-16]. **ἐσπεσοῦσα** oddly treats Herm. as already in the net, in conflict with **ἦν δ' ἄλφ**. But Wecklein's *ἐσπαισοῦσα* is an unnaturally violent vb in this context (the notion of 'striking' is much more to the point in *Rh.* 560 **κρυπτόν λόγον ἐσπαισας**). J.D. suggests excision, and the lines can certainly be spared between . . . **παύσωμεν βοήν** and **πάλιν κατάστηθ'** . . . There is another probable histrionic interpolation at [1347-8]* below.
- 1317-18. **κατάστηθ'**: 'compose yourselves', cf. *A. Pers.* 295 **λέξον καταστάς**, and Page on *Med.* 1197. **ἡσύχω μὲν ὄμματι . . .**: for the 'calm eye' (or 'visage'), cf. *Tr.* 654. **χρο(ι)ε τ'** (noi δ' Pors.) **ἀδήλω**: the **μὲν . . . τε** should not be emended (cf. 24*), and **χροαί** is the preferable form (*Med.* 1168, *Ba.* 457, *Cyc.* 517, *A. PV* 23); **ἀδηλος** 'such that there is no showing'.
- 1319-20. The description of facial expression *on stage* is characteristic of E. (Spitzbarth 90). **σκυθρωπούς**: 'sullen, gloomy' (usually with grief, cf. *Ph.* 1333, sometimes with anger); a frequent word in E. (also **σκυθράζειν**, *El.* 830), first at *A. Ch.* 738 (om. LSJ); the root **σκυθρός** appears first in Menander (too vulgar, perhaps, for earlier literature). **δῆθεν**: 1119*.
- 1321-2. For the (uncommon) address to, rather than by, the entering person, cf. *IT* 1157, *Hel.* 1186 (Taplin 397). **στέψασα**: alluding to the lock of Helen's hair (96).
1323. **ἦκω . . .**: cf. 1554, *An.* 309 **ἦκω λαβῶν** (245-6*). **λαβοῦσα πρεμύνειαν**: 'having secured her non-hostility' (119*); Herm. shows naïve confidence in the efficacy of the ritual.
- 1324-5. **φόβος . . . ἦντιν' . . .**: cf. *Hec.* 185-6, *IT* 995, etc. (KG ii 397). **ἐν**

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- δόμοις:** adjectival, cf. *An.* 820-1 ἐν οἴκοις . . . ἀκούομεν βοήν. Herm. is referring to the loud shriek ἰώ (1296).
- 1326.** El. disingenuously suggests that what Herm. has heard is στεναγμός from herself and the Chorus (cf. 960 ff.). ἄξι' . . . στεναγμάτων: substantival, as the subject of τυγχάνει 'befall' (1138-9*). For τί δέ; (1275-7*) in reply to a question and followed by a statement, cf. *HF* 1232.
- 1327-30.** For the moment it seems that El. has successfully sidetracked Herm.'s question by evoking a sympathetic reaction.
- 1327.** εὐφήμος ἴσθι: 'speak no ill words', i.e. 'say not so' (cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 724). νεώτερον: a common euphemism, sometimes simply 'untoward' (*S. Phil.* 560), but properly of further evil; so here 'in addition to Cl.'s death'.
- 1328.** ἰδοξε: 46, 858.
- 1329.** μὴ δῆτ': elliptical ('deprecatory', *GP* 276), here reduced to a shocked 'Oh, no!', followed by a continuation of El.'s syntax: '. . . (that you) being my relations (should suffer such a fate). ἐμοῦ or ἐμούς? The latter (so Di B.) seems better, cf. *HF* 1154 συγγενῆς φίλος τ' ἐμός, *IT* 918 ὁμογενῆς ἐμός, *ibid.* 923 κάμους γε σωτήρ, οὐχὶ συγγενῆς μόνον. συγγενῆς + gen. (though Attic) does not occur elsewhere in tragedy; moreover the emphasis here is on the whole phrase, not on 'of me' only.
- 1330.** ἄραρ: metaph., cf. *Med.* 322, *An.* 255; for the lit. sense, cf. 1571. ἀνάγκης ὅ ἐς ζυγὸν καθέσταμεν: a familiar figure, cf. *IA* 443 ἐς ὀ' ἀνάγκης ζεύγματ' ἐμπεπτόκαμεν, *S. Phil.* 1025 ἀνάγκη ζυγεῖς, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 218; εἰς pregnant, cf. *IT* 961-2 (1255-7*). El.'s words are consistent both with 'helplessness' and with the desperate secret course of action which the conspirators regard as ἀναγκαῖον.
- 1331.** 'Is that the explanation also of the cry indoors?' Herm. persists in her (inconvenient) inquiry, but is naïvely ready to be satisfied by the unconvincing notion of Or. or vaguely 'the House' as the screamer.
- 1332-4.** Cf. 96*, 398-400, etc.; the sentence-opening, lacking a subject, is ἄσημον to Herm., cf. *Al.* 522 οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον οἶδ', ἄσημα γὰρ θροεῖς.
- 1334.** There is no need for Murray's colon before μὴ θανεῖν . . . cf. 1611 ἡμᾶς μὴ θανεῖν αἰτοῦ πόλιν, *IA* 1242-3 ἰκέτευσον . . . τὴν σὴν ἀδελφὴν μὴ θανεῖν; the inf. (or acc. + inf. phrase) is directly objective to the vb of 'imploing' (here the compendium ἰκέτης βοῶ).
- 1335.** 'So indeed (τῶρα *GP* 555) the House has justification for loud wailing'. ἀνευφημεῖ: cf. *S. Tra.* 783; usually, as here, euphemistic for κωκυτεύειν. For the wailing of the personified δόμος (70*), cf. 1474-5*; the imprecision here conveniently blurs the identity of the screamer.
- 1336-43.** El. hastens to agree (concluding the stichomythia), and proceeds to play upon Herm.'s sympathy. The repeated invitations into the house suggest that Herm. is still timidly hesitant.
- 1337.** μετᾶσχες . . . φίλοις: with an appeal to Herm.'s 'family feeling' (cf. 1329); for the construction with both gen. and dat., cf. *Held.* 683, *Hp.* 730-1, *Hel.* 1221.

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1338. τῆ μέγ' ὀλίβι: 'titular', cf. ἡ μακαρία 86; the adverbial use of μέγα is mainly poetical (KG i 25), cf. A. PV 647 ὦ μέγ' εὐδαίμων κόρη.
1339. Μενέλαον . . . μὴ . . . εἰσιδεῖν: objective to μετάσχος ἰκεσίας 1337 (1334*); εἰσιδεῖν 746*.
1340. ἀγ' (Weil, P. Oxy. 1370) seems better than δὲ (codd., P. Oxy. 1178); Prato (SIFC 1964, 52) compares *Hp.* 288, *Su.* 258. The run of the lines is different in the passages cited for repeated δὲ (HF 622-4, *Ar. Eq.* 244-6, *Vesp.* 240-5; *GP* 15).
1341. κάπικουφισον (F κάπο-): cf. 43 κονφισθῆ κακῶν, *El.* 72 μόχθου 'πικουφίζουσαν (and, for the v.l., *Hec.* 104 παθῶν ἀποκουφίζουσ').
1342. εἰς ἀγῶν': a sinister ambiguity, cf. *Ba.* 975; ἐγὼ δ' ἠγήσομαι recurs at *Ba.* 841. From Herm.'s point of view the ἀγῶν is simply the 'pleading' to Helen.
1343. σωτηρίας γὰρ τέρμ' ἔχεις ἡμῖν μόνη: cf. 724*, where Men. himself was the καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας. Here Herm. 'has the τέρμα' as δαίμων 'has the τέλος' in 1545-6*, with an ἀγῶν-metaphor (τέρμα as the 'finishing-line' in racing); cf. also 1203* σωτηρίας ἐπαλξίν, *El.* 1232 τέρμα κακῶν, *Hp.* 139-40 θανάτου . . . κέλσαι ποτὶ τέρμα, and Kannicht on *Hel.* 887-91.
- 1344-5. Herm. duly goes ἐς δόμους, with a promise of assistance. Ἰδοῦ: 144*, 221. θεῶκα . . . πῶδα: A. *Sept.* 371, *Eum.* 403 (cf. 988-9*). ὅσον γε τοῦπ' ἐμέ: 'as far as (what) rests with me'; τοῦπ' ἐμέ is adverbial acc. (*Hec.* 514, *IA* 1557, *S. Ant.* 889), not the subject of an ellipse; for the use of ὅσον before such a phrase, cf. *S. OT* 1508 πάντων ἐρήμους, πλὴν ὅσον τὸ σὸν μέρος. [ἐμ' (Tricl.) is a certain correction found also in Va (*teste* J.D.), not, as Biehl says, the original reading.]
- 1345-6. *El.*'s bidding to the (unseen) 'armed friends within' (κατὰ στήγας, cf. 1331) to 'seize the prey' confirms that Herm. had crossed the threshold.
- [1347-8]. An upsetting exchange. Edd. have disputed whether to accept the assignation of σιγῶν χρεῶν . . . to Or. or to transfer it to *El.* No one seems to have observed (a) that without 1347-8 we have an entirely normal scene-ending (1349-52*), (b) that the 'enactment' of the arrest is just the kind of thing that actors could have added. The language is no better than mediocre: the phrasing of 1347a is of a standard type, cf. *El.* 341, *Cyc.* 222; 1348 is a pedestrian repeat of 1343, illogical as to the γὰρ ('be silent, for it is to us that you bring salvation . . .') and positively silly as to οὐχὶ σοί (after Herm.'s exit-words σῶθηθ' . . .). Note that the arrest of Herm. is among the events later narrated by the Phrygian (1490 ff.): she enters the Palace while Or. and Pyl. are otherwise employed; they then run upon her like maenads seizing a wild animal. [If Or. speaks, we have either a weird jack-in-the-box appearance or an unparalleled dialogue between off-stage actors; Di B. rightly rejects both (*SCO* 1961, 151). But assignation of σιγῶν χρεῶν . . . to *El.* does not solve the problem. Either Herm. has not yet, after all, crossed the threshold, in which case *El.* has spoken 1345-6 prematurely; or Herm.'s words are heard ἐσωθεν, in which case *El.* has lost the contact with her implied in the command 'silence!'. The lack of a

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paragraphus at 1349 in P. Oxy. 1178 (Prato, *SIFC* 1964, 52-3) may indeed suggest that 1348 was written for El.]

1349-52. El.'s concluding speech now begins at 1345; the 'gloating' scene-ending, after the victim has gone within, is like *El.* 1142 ff., *HF* 726 ff.; imperative (to unseen allies), like *Ba.* 973 ff.

1349-50. ἔχεσθ' ἔχεσθε: 219-20*; now directly following 1346... οὐχὶ συλλήψεσθ' ἄγραν; φάσανον δὲ πρὸς δέρη...: cf. 1193-4 ξίφος... δέρη πρὸς αὐτῆ... ἔχειν. βάλλοντες; but aor. βαλόντες (*Π*, *ΑΠ*) is right for the sense 'set to her throat the sword, and silent wait' (Way; cf. Di Benedetto, *SCO* 1961, 151). ἡσυχάζειθ': cf. 698*, and *Introd.* F. i. 11; there is irony here in the proof of ἀνδρεία by ἡσυχία. [B's reading is variously reported: βαλόντες Murray, Chapouthier, Di B., βάλλοντες Spranger, βαλλόντες Biehl.]

1350-2. An intricate 'lesson' for Men.: (a) he, by implication, is κακός ('cowardly', 'treacherous'); (b) κακοί can expect to 'fare badly' (cf. *HF* 727-8); (c) Men. has misjudged Or. and Pyl., who are '(true) men', not κακοί ('cowardly') Asiatics. ἀνδρας... εὐρών: brachylogic, cf. *S. Phil.* 451-2 ὅταν... τοὺς θεοὺς εὐρω κακοὺς (sc. ὄντας). For the pointed repetition of κακοὺς at line-end in the terminal distich, cf. 454-5*.

El. follows Herm. into the Palace, leaving the stage empty for only the second time in the play (807-43*). The actor has to make a quick change during 1353-68 in order to reappear as the Phrygian (cf. *Taplin* 224²).

1353-65. *Choral Strophe*. The separation of strophe and antistrophe (1537-48) has more parallels in comedy than in tragedy (cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 362-72/669-79, West, *GM* 80). The nearest parallel is *S. Phil.* 391-402/507-18; there, as here, the choral stanzas symmetrically frame what comes in between, while also serving as 'act-dividers', each time at a tense juncture (like certain short astrophic lyrics considered by *Taplin* (226) after Kranz) and making an important dramatic contribution (here 'suspenseful' and partly *misleading*). Since these stanzas are also the last sung words from the Chorus (not counting 1691-3), their more poetical concluding lines also have a metrical and thematically summative function. In neither str. nor ant. (p. 336) are there sufficient grounds for dividing the Chorus (cf. *Kaimio* 114, who leaves this issue open, comparing *Med.* 1273 ff., *Hp.* 811 ff.). The trimeters might seem to suggest solo (spoken) delivery; but we can hardly give the whole of 1353-60 to one or two soloists, leaving only 1361-5 as corporate βοή, for it is the prime function of the whole str. (especially its earlier part) to provide that corporate song-and-dance; and it is essentially as *choral* song-and-dance (*fully* symmetrical) that the widely separated stanzas serve to give shape to a structure that would otherwise be hard to follow.

1353-65 = 1537-48

1	υ υ υ υ -	8
2	υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ -	28
3	υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - ()	28

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4-5	two trimeters	
6	υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - υ -	2δ
7	υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - υ -	2δ
8-9	two trimeters	
10	υ υ υ υ - υ - υ υ υ υ υ υ -	lk δ
11	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ -	A × -
12	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ -	2δ
13	υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ -	2δ

A strictly-conceived triadic (AAB) structure, with internal as well as external respiration in 2-5/6-9. The pattern of alternating dochmiacs and trimeters is like *Hp.* 817 ff. (see Barrett). The dochmiacs are more 'emotional', but the trimeters too may be half-chanted, responsive as they are in word-patterning (e.g. 1355 Ἀργείοισιν ~ 1539 ἀγγέλλωμεν) and avoidance of resolution. 10-13 are 'enoplian dochmiacs' (p. 112), recapitulating recurrent rhythms: iambo-dochmiac, double-short with prolongation (p. 288), dochmiac beginning with a run of *breuia*. 10. The *lk* is patterned like *Ph.* 120 *πρόπᾶρ ὅς ἀγείται στράτου* (likewise in enopl. dochm.); for the combination with a δ, cf. 1402*. 11. The 'rising dactylic' length υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ (‘A’, equivalent to *zan*) is another common constituent of 'enoplian dochmiacs' (*El.* 590, *Hel.* 692, etc.) like *P* and *T* (υ υ υ υ υ υ υ and υ υ υ υ υ υ υ, p. 113); and its prolonged form *A* × - behaves like *P* × - (p. 288) and *T* × - (*El.* 586, 588, *HF* 1188, *Ion* 1494, *Hyps.* 64, 94, *Hel.* 657, 680-1, etc.), occurring elsewhere in enopl. doch. contexts at 1392* *Γανυμήδεος ἱπποσύνα, Διὸς εὐνέτα* (? -άτα), *HF* 1205, *Ion* 716, 1442, *Hel.* 687, *Ph.* 184 (and I should add *Hyps.* 64. 80-2, dividing *ἄκτας βάρυβρομῶνς / ἰκόμαν ἐπὶ τ' οἰδμᾶ θάλασσιῶν, ὀρνιθῶν / ἔρῆμον κοῖταν* (ικ-, cf. *ἄλομαν IT* 153)); also in other contexts, e.g. *An.* 480/7, *El.* 167/90, *IA* 177/98; cf. Dale, *LM* 137. The str. here is defective (1363), but easily supplemented to match 1546. A pendent close is inherently less likely before a dochmiac period, and pendent link-*anceps* quite impossible (as given by the popular curtailment of *ἀλαστόρων* to *ἀλάστορ*' in 1546).

1353-60. The interwoven 'emotional' and more 'rational' points here are the Chorus' bloodthirsty desire to see Helen's corpse (cf. 1282-5, 1302 ff.), their uncertainty as to what has happened and the need to minimize the danger of premature *βοηδρομία* by the Argives (cf. 1289 ff.). As to the *κτύπος* and *βοή*, it is not spelt out why these should have the desired effect; we should probably recognize a traditional choric motif, the archetype of which was the loud dancing of the Curetes to mask the cries of the infant Zeus and prevent hostile action by Kronos (cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 120-34). The exact reasoning of the Chorus counts for less than the *suggestio falsi* in their words, as calculated (by E.) to reinforce the impression that Helen is already lying in a pool of blood while avoiding any direct falsehood (and indeed 'playing fair' with a warning to wait for a 'clear' or 'certain' report). 1353-6. *ὠ ὠ*: 1537-8*. *κτύπον . . . κτύπον* (cf. 142-3*, 1538) *καὶ βόαν*: the opposite of what was demanded in the Parodos (140-1, 147). *ἔγειρετε*: a

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- well-worn metaphor (Pi. *Py.* 9. 104, etc.); for the imperative (used like *ἀνάγετε Ph.* 1350), cf. *S. OC* 1778. *ὁ πραχθεὶς φόνος*: a temporal ambiguity; the Chorus *think* that Helen is already dead (cf. 1360), but within the *μή*-clause *πραχθεὶς* may, like *ἐμβάλλη*, refer to the future. *δεινὸν . . . φόβον*: intensifying; but *καινόν* would be a more pointed epithet (cf. 875–6). *βοηδρομήσαι* (sc. *ώστε*, 613–14*): cf. 1288–91*.
- 1357–60. *πρὶν . . . ἴδω*: no *ἄν*, cf. 1218*; E. has *ἔτυμος* four times in *lyr.*, only once in trimeters (*El.* 818). *φόνον*: ‘murdered body’ (cf. 990–1*); there is no need for *νεκρόν* (Herwerden, Nauck). *καθαίμακτόν*: ‘cruentatus’, cf. 1527* (perhaps *καθαίμακτον*, as a compound, but there are no very clear rules for the accentuation of such words; Chandler 150). The ‘bloodiness’ of the imagined killing is emphasized as in 1196. *ἢ καί*: the second alternative does not exclude the first, and is presented as an additional thought; cf. *Ion* 432 (*GP* 306). *συμφορᾶς*: in the neutral sense ‘of what has happened’ (cf. 1452); *σαφῶς* should be taken *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* (also with *τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἶδα*). Note the ambiguity: 1360 is consistent with ‘certainty as to the killing (*ὁ πραχθεὶς φόμος*), uncertainty as to the details’, in accordance with the *suggestio falsi*.
- 1361–2. ‘Justly has the (wrathful) dispensation of the gods proceeded in respect of Helen’. *θεῶν νέμεσις*: cf. *S. Phil.* 518 *τὰν θεῶν νέμεσιν ἐκφυγῶν* (the first occurrence of this phrase) and *ibid.* 601–2 *θεῶν βία καὶ νέμεσις* (Dawe iii 126–7). *νέμεσις* is a rare word in E. (*Ph.* 182, fr. 1040. 4), so that the echo of *S. Phil.* is unlikely to be fortuitous. But there was also a special connection between Helen and Nemesis (sometimes described as Helen’s mother: Cratinus *Nemesis*, cf. Chapouthier, *BCH* 1942–3, 16–21, Jouan 149, Dietrich 157–8), giving a paradoxical twist to the point about ‘divine justice’. The Chorus’ ‘judgement’ is also true in a sense of which they are as yet unaware (cf. 1639–42).
1363. *δακρύοισι γὰρ . . .*: ‘many tears’, cf. 1307–10*, *Hec.* 650–7, *Hel.* 365–74, etc.; for the dat. with ‘fill’, cf. *HF* 372–3, *A. Pers.* 133–4, etc. (KG i 355). At the end of the line the text is defective by one syllable: we need *υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-*, see above and further on 1546*. So read *Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἔπλησε (γᾶν)*, cf. *Ἑλλάδος ἐκ γᾶς IT* 448, also *Ἑλλάς(αί)* *Hp.* 537 (Hermann, Barrett) and *Hel.* 370 (Paley). [*ἔπλησε* ‘*ἄλαν*’ might also do if unequal anacp. is admissible in the penult.; *An.* 480/7 is a parallel for that as transmitted, but *Lenzing’s* *λέκτωρ* for *λέχει* is likely in 487 (see Diggle’s app. crit.). All edd., and most MSS, give *Ἑλλάδ’ ἄπασαν*, but the dactylic diaeresis should be preferred (Va, Mn), as in *An.* 487, *El.* 167, 190, *Hel.* 687, *IA* 177, 198. *ἄπας* is rare in E.’s lyrics (*Med.* 1100 *τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον*, *Ba.* 70 *στόμα τ’ εὐφύμον ἄπας ἐξοσιούσθω*), and was in general used by him simply as a metrically convenient synonym of *πᾶς*, not as a ‘stronger form’; cf. 565 *ἄπασαν Ἑλλάδ’*, 1134 *ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος*, but 131 *τόνδε πᾶσάν θ’ Ἑλλάδα* (not *τόνδ’ ἄπασαν*).]
- 1364–5. For the rhythm of 1364, cf. *El.* 1170, *HF* 1212, *IT* 871, etc. (1305–6*); also *Ba.* 995/1015 *τὸν ἄθεόν ἀνόμῳ ἀ-δικὸν Ἐχιόνος. διὰ . . .*: the Paris-

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αἴτιον (Stinton, *EJP* 2-4), here supplementing the Helen-αἴτιον (cf. 1305-6, 1385-9*). *ὀλομένον*: 'damnable ruin-causing', cf. *Il.* 1. 1-2 μῆνιν... 'Ἀχιλλῆος / οὐλομένην; the 'active' sense is probably a development from the 'damnatory' (as a pejorative use related to *δλοίτο*, cf. the colloquial Eng. 'perishing', 'perisher'); *Med.* 1253, *HF* 1061 (148*), *Hel.* 232, *Ph.* 1029. *Ἰδαίου Πάριον*: *Ap.* 706, *Hel.* 29; *Idaeus* ('the man from *Ida*') was what Paris was called when he returned to Troy as a herdsman before he was identified (*IA* 1289; Stinton 32).

1366-1502. We may be expecting an *ἐκκύκλημα*-display of Helen's corpse at this point (1357-9; cf. Burnett 191). The nameless Phrygian slave who instead (in accordance, artfully, with 1359) emerges at a run from the *σκηνή* (1366-8*) is one of E.'s most brilliant and original contributions to ancient drama. In a long and varied aria, punctuated with single trimeters from the Chorus-leader (1380*), he delivers a highly-coloured and not entirely *σαφές* account of the 'shocking' events within. This is the only anonymous singing slave in extant tragedy (apart from choruses, e.g. *Ph.*); also the only singing *ἑξάγγελος*. His staying-on for a further scene with Or. (1503-36*, defended below) confirms the unconventional nature of his role. He is indeed many-faceted, as a foreign house-slave (Athenian households had many such from Phrygia), as a representative of vanquished Troy, as a Persian-style flunkey, as a type of Asiatic 'cowardice' and as a singer of newly fashionable Phrygian music (Introd. F i, 9, G iii). The paratragic, 'anti-heroic' elements in the play reach their climax in his two scenes. But the outrageousness should not be exaggerated (as, e.g., in Burnett's description of the 'eunuch... got up to represent all the effeminacy of the East... slippered and plump and sweating with fear... who has lost the power to speak in ordinary iambs' or in Arrowsmith's travesty of a translation into pidgin-English). The 'exotic' had an established place in tragedy (see especially Bacon); the 'shocking' features (*δεινά*) are not simply exciting or comic novelties; and our ear must be attuned to high sophistication of diction and metre, employed in a constructively operatic manner. There is little or no direct *parody* of Timotheus' *Persae*, with its florid obscurities (Tim. 15/791 Page; for the points of contact, see S. E. Bassett, *CPh* 1931, 153-65). E. might indeed have accepted the word *παρωδία* as properly descriptive ('indirect song', cf. *παρωδοίς*... *αἰνύμασιν IA* 1147); but the style is E.'s own (with echoes of many older poets), polymetric but still disciplined, in accordance with a complex dramatic conception in which (as everywhere) the plot is of prime importance. E.'s choice of narrator and of an 'emotional' and *παρωδόν* (not straightforwardly *σαφές*) narrative mode is inseparable from his decision that the *deceptive* (yet true) account of Helen's 'perishing' should culminate in a cryptically described 'disappearance'; for the important element of *suggestio falsi* (as elsewhere in the finale, Introd. D v), see especially 1395-9*, 1494-7*.

1366-8. 1366 suspensefully exploits expectation ('what are the doors about to

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disclose?') and is better punctuated as a self-contained sentence followed by a slight pause for dramatic effect. If the γάρ is treated as prospective, there are two different explanations of αἰγιόσας' in quick succession, and one might rather have expected ἐξω δ' ἄρα τις . . . in 1367. ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ: i.e. 'But (I break off my song) for . . .'; a common type of ellipse (Bond on HF 138, GP 100 ff.). κτυπεῖ . . . κληῖθρα: either 'door-fastenings' or simply 'doors', cf. 1551, 1567, Hel. 859-60 κτυπεῖ δόμος κληῖθρων λυθέντων, Ion 515 f. ἀκούομεν πυλῶν δούπων, Barrett on Hp. 577-81, 808; the doors open inwards (1561 f.*). ἐμβαίνει (sc. δόμων, cf. τὰν δόμοις 1368): the Phrygian emerges (ὑπερβάλλων πύλας, ὑπερβαίνων δῶμα, cf. 1370-2*) at a run: δραμοῖς 1374, δραπέταν . . . πόδα 1499. The notorious argument in Σ (perhaps reflecting the view of Ar. Byz. himself) that he ought to enter with a spectacular leap or scramble from the σκηνή-roof, with the corollary that 1366-8 are an interpolation (presumably replacing something different, since something is needed between the choral song and the newcomer's monody), is not a necessary inference from 1369 ff. (see below). Those who draw that inference have not sufficiently considered the practicalities. A tragic actor wearing Asiatic slippers and about to sing a long and taxing aria is not a gymnast. [Evadne's death-leap in *Su.* is irrelevant, since her landing is concealed from view (Collard p. 16). The eight-foot-high σκηνή postulated by P. Arnott (accepted by West, JHS 1979, 137) is an unhappy compromise: an implausibly low stage-building, but already perilously high for a jump down on to a hard surface. Other recent deleters of 1366-8 are Bichl (*Tp* 79-81) and Reeve (i 263-4). For the defence, cf. Dale, *Papers* 126-7, Lesky, *TD* 466, Taplin 437², Walcot 31; but the explanation of ὑπερ in 1370-2 below will not be found there, but rather in Musgrave's edn. (foreshadowed in antiquity by a certain Aeschines, mentioned by Σ, who understood ὑπερ as = πρό.)

1369-74	Φρ.	'Αργεῖον ξίφος ἐκ θανάτου	D ²
		πέφενυ' ἐν βαρβάροις	ba cr
		εὐμάρισιν κεδρωτὰ	ztr (sync.)
		παστάδων ὑπερ τέραμνα	ztr
		Δωρικός τε τριγύφους	lk
		φρούδα φρούδα, Γᾶ Γᾶ,	ith
		βαρβάροις δραμοῖς	ith

An 'expressive' long opening sentence, with an early shift from (quasi-epic) double- to single-short 'running' rhythm (iambo-trochaic dimeters, with syncopation) and ending with two symmetrically-shaped catalectic verses (a double clausula, cf. 1377-9*); cf. on 982-4* above. [I follow Wilamowitz (*GV* 268²) and Dale (*MA*²) in dividing after θανάτου (cf. 831, 1381; also the sequence D² | zia at *Cyc.* 618-19). The usual division after πέφενυγὰ || gives an unwelcome pause (the 'praxilleian' - - - - - as 1300, is always, I think, a fully clausular, sentence-ending verse). One might then analyse: πέφενυγὰ βαρβάροις ἐν εὐ- / μάρισιν κεδρωτὰ πᾶ- / σταδῶν ὑπερ τέραμνὰ || Δωρικός τε τριγύφους (a more

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- natural place for a period-end than Wilam.'s at *κῆδρῶτά*, in mid phrase); but I prefer the easy adjustment (above) of codd. *πέφευγα βαρβάρους ἐν* (v. l. -οισιν), giving a straightforward run of dimeters without word-overlap. Sequences beginning with *ba cr* . . . are a recurrent feature of this aria (cf. 1411, 1417, 1442, 1448, 1464), with *mol cr* . . . as an occasional variation (1407, 1447, 1472.) See Addenda.
- 1369-70.** Ἀργίῳν: the scansion -εῖ- is likely (cf. *Hec.* 479, *Tr.* 534; KB i 246), though not necessary. πέφευγ(α): the construction with both acc. and ἐκ . . . recurs at 1506; here the entire sentence is made up of phrases cohering closely with 'I have fled/escaped'. ἐν ('wearing', cf. Bond on *HF* 677; LSJ *ἐν* A. I. 3) . . . εὐμάρισιν: Asiatic 'slippers', cf. *A. Pers.* 660; probably a foreign word.
- 1370-2.** πέφευγα . . . ὑπὲρ . . . τριγλύφους is supposedly inconsistent with the Phrygian's entry through the πύλαι (1366-8*). Dale argued for *unseen* triglyphs and an escape over the roof from one inner courtyard to another. That is an unconvincing complication, and also unnecessary. It suffices to take ὑπὲρ as 'beyond the confines of'; a rare but characteristic use, cf. *Al.* 829 τάσδ' ὑπερβαλὼν πύλας (Admetus' gates thought of as a *δρος*; 443*), *Ion* 46 ὑπὲρ . . . θυμέλας διορίσαι (βρέφος; θυμέλαι pl., vaguely 'temple' or 'precinct'), *Ion* 514 οὐπω δῶμι ὑπερβαίνει τόδε ('has not yet emerged from'), and especially *Ion* 1320-1 τρίποδα . . . λιποῦσα θρηγικοῦς τοῦσδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδῖ (θρηγικοί denoting the 'lofty, architectural masonry' of the σκηνή-façade, as *Hel.* 430-1 δῶμα περιφερὲς θρηγικοῦς τόδε | πύλας τε σεμνάς). Here 'cedar-wrought timbers of παστάδες and Doric triglyphs' is a periphrasis for the σκηνή-façade and the Palace that it represents; and the Phrygian has no more come 'over the triglyphs' than the Priestess in *Ion* has come 'over the cornice'. τέτραμνα: a *vox Euripidea*, cognate with Lat. *trabs* (cf. Barrett on *Hr.* 418). παστάδων: broadly equivalent to θαλάμων (Σ; cf. *S. Ant.* 1207, and Priam's θάλαμον . . . κέδρινον ὑπόροφον in *Il.* 24. 191-2), but there is a suggestion also of 'colonnade' (*Hdt.* 2. 148. 6, etc.; J. Roux, *REG* 1961, 28 ff., 43 ff.); for παστάδες in poetry (the pl. may well be vaguer than the sing.) add *Lyr. adesp.* S473.8 Page (*sens. incert.*); E. doubtless wanted a 'palatial' word, at once impressively and imprecisely denoting the δάμοι τυράνων (1456, etc.). τριγλύφους: a visible façade feature (cf. *IT* 113, *Ba.* 1214), probably indicated by gesture.
- 1373.** φρούδα φρούδα: an apparently unique adverbial use (unrecognized by LSJ); cf. 152*. Γᾶ Γᾶ: cf. 1496*, and *A. Ag.* 1537 ἰὼ Γᾶ Γᾶ, εἶθε μ' ἐδέξω; also Ζεῦ Ζεῦ (332*); the Asiatic naturally exclaims to the Earth-mother, rather than Zeus.
- 1374.** βαρβάροισι δρασμοῖς: modal dat. at period-end (cf. 1012*, *Ba.* 77, etc.), reflecting πέφευγα and βαρβάρους (ring-structure). The 'runaway' slave thematically depreciates himself and his 'cowardly' race (1483-7*).
- 1375-9**
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| αἰαί, πᾶ φύγω, | δ |
| ξένας; πολὶὸν ἀθέρ' ἀμπτάμενος ἦ | 2δ |
| πόντον, Ἰωκεανὸς ὄν | 2ετ |

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ταυρόκρανος ἀγκάλαις ἐλίσσων
κυκλοῖ χθόνα;

lk | ba (tr | ith) |
ia |||

Plangent dochmiacs, moving on through related cretics back to syncopated iambo-trochaic. [The rhythmic pattern of 1375-7 is different prima facie from 1370 ff., and the dochmiac analysis (with *ds* to follow in 1382 ff.) seems preferable to the usual *aiaí | cr | ia | 2cr | . . .*]

- 1375-6.** πᾶ φύγω: 598-9*. 'Aether' (275-6*, 1086-8*) contrasts sophisticatedly with 'Earth' (1373), cf. fr. 839 *Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθήρ*; it is also paired (with a *zeugma*) with 'Sea' for the alternative modes of 'out of this world' escape (for the acc. of space traversed, cf. 275-6, 321-2, Stevens on *An.* 1228). There is a kinship between such unreal escape-wishes (in themselves *δδύνατα*; 982-4*) and death-wishes (cf. *An.* 846-65); though of course this singer is tenacious of life. More often the alternatives are *ἄνω* and *ὑπὸ γῆς* (*Phaethon* 272-3, Barrett on *Hp.* 1290-3), but cf. *Ion* 1238-43 where the Chorus, having vainly wished for escape on wings or beneath the earth, add 'by swift chariot or ship' as further alternatives. *πολιόν*: another new-sounding epithet (cf. on *ταναόν* 322); but *αἰθήρ* was traditionally *λευκός* in the sense *λαμπρός* (*An.* 1228, *Od.* 6. 44-5), and for *πολιός* = *λευκός* cf. West on *Hes. Op.* 477; there may also, however, be a play on *πόλος* (associated with *αἰθήρ* in fr. 839. 10-11).
- 1377-9.** πόντον (or Πόντον): quasi-mythical (as associated with *Ἦκεανός*), cf. *Hes. Th.* 126-33; often eastward (cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 3-6), and it may be that the Phrygian's thought is oriented towards the Black Sea (cf. *An.* 861 ff.). The image of Oceanus as a primeval river encompassing the Earth is very ancient (West, *Theogony* p. 201); it is as a river that he is *ταυρόκρανος* 'bull-headed' (a new adj. formed like *ἀμφίκρανος HF* 1274), cf. *Ion* 1261, *S. Tra.* 9 ff., 507-9 (West *ibid.* 373-4). *ἀγκάλαις*: personifying, cf. *Hel.* 1062, 1436, *A. Ch.* 587. *ἐλίσσων*: at once reinforcing *κυκλοῖ* (cf. 358-9*) and alluding to the *to-and-fro* activation of the Sea by Oceanus in his Earth-enfolding embrace (cf. *IT* 6-7 *δίνας δς . . . Εὐρύπος . . . ἐλίσσων . . . ἄλα στρέφει*, and the epic *ἀψόρροος Il.* 18. 399, *Od.* 20. 65). *κυκλοῖ*: strictly, perhaps, 'makes a circle out of' (cf. *Ba.* 1066), rather than 'encircles' (which is normally middle *κυκλοῦσθαι* or *-εἶσθαι*; *IA* 773-5 *πόλιν . . . κυκλώσας* is probably not by E.); 'Earth' is imagined as a disc, cf. *Il.* 18. 607-8 and *Hes. Sc.* 314, where Oceanus provides the decoration round the rim of a shield (*κύκλος* 'shield', *Ph.* 1382). Note the cadence-rhythm . . . - - - - | - - - - ; a recurrent feature, each time with diaeresis before the terminal *ia*, emphasized as a disjunct colarion and giving a kind of double clausula: 1407, 1442, 1447, 1459, 1464, 1472, (1493). [An earlier instance at *El.* 865/79 (- - - - - | - - - - - as an extended clausula to dact.-epitir.) is usually (wrongly, I think) analysed as *zhδ*. Cf. also 985-7* (*ba ith | zia*).] See *Addendis Addenda*.
- 1380.** The first of five structural punctuations of the aria (in this, different both from *Tim. Pers.* and from conventional Messenger-speeches, and analogous rather to the 'Duo' pattern of *IT* 827-99, *Hel.* 660-97, *Hyps.* fr.

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64); here serving both to identify the singer and to give him a twofold cue for 1381 ff. in the words Ἑλένης and Ἰδαίων. The address with κάρα has a paratragic flavour (to such an unworthy person).

1381-92	Φρ. Ἴλιον Ἴλιον, ὦμοι μοι, Φρύγιον ἄστν καὶ καλλίβωλον Ἴ- δας ὄρος ἱερὸν, ὡς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω [ἀρμάτειον ἀρμάτειον μέλος] βαρβάρῃ βοῇ	<i>D</i> × - (?) δ <i>hδ</i> 2δ [<i>hδ</i> δ] <i>hδ</i> ?
1385	διὰ † τὸ τᾶς ὀρνιθόγονον ὄμμα κυκνόπτερον καλλοσύνας †, Λήδας σκύμον Δυσσελέαν Δυσσελέαν, ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων ἐρινύν·	2δ (?) δ δ <i>cr</i> 2δ <i>da</i> ()
1390	ὄττοτοι κ' ὄττοτοι, γαλέμων ἰαλέμων Δαρδανία τλάμων, Γανυμήδεος ἵπποσύνα, Διὸς ἐνέτα.	2 <i>cr</i> (or δ) <i>zia</i> δ <i>A</i> × -

A wailing lament for 'Troy ruined by Ill-Helen's swan-begotten beauty', with an evocative fusion of 'Cyprian' song themes (Jouan 80, 146, 152, 175, 185). The metre is mainly dochmiac, with some iambic and double-short cola ('enoplian dochmiacs', p. 112). In detail there are many uncertainties, and the new evidence of P. Oxy. 3717 confirms (as Σ had implied) that the paradosis was already unsatisfactory—probably anciently corrupt—in later antiquity.

1381-3. Π: ἐλ[ι]ον ἰλιον ὦμ[ο]ι μ[ο]ι φρυγιον ἀστν / καὶ κ[α]λλίβωλον ἰδα[ι]ε[ς] [ορος ἱερὸν] / ὡς ὀλομ[ε]νον γ' ἐρεν[ω]. The standard modern colometry (as above) imposes a pattern of sorts, but its interpretation of καλλίβωλον Ἰδας as *hδ* + overlapping long anceps inspires little confidence. Hermann's Φρ-ἄστν καλλίβωλῶν <τ> Ἰδας seemed plausible as 2δ, but Π's attestation of καί is against it (moreover ὄρος . . . στένω is then an unlikely 3*cr*, inviting further adjustment). Something like ὦμοι (ἰώ, φεύ φεύ), Φρύγιον ἄσ-τῦ καὶ κἀ καλλίβω- / λὸν ὄρος ἱερὸν, ὡς | σ' ὀλόμενον στένω would give a straightforward run of 4δ; so perhaps the sentence has suffered from very early interpolation (of Ἰδας, but perhaps also in the opening allocution). [The similar ἰώ ἰώ, νιφόβωλον Φρυγῶν Φρυγῶν νόπος ὄρεά τ' Ἰδας . . . at *IA* 1283 ff. also presents metrical problems.]

Ἴλιον . . . : the verse *D* × - is appropriate enough ('ibycean') cf. 1257/77, *Tr.* 270, *A. Sept.* 222/7, etc. (Dale, *LM* 168); or the analysis might be *D'* (cf. 1369) or *paosem* (cf. 1454). καλλίβωλον: Troy is poetically 'fertile' (εὐκάρπυς γῆς *Ap.* 1045), but scarcely Mt Ida; however, the emphasis is on καλλι- (the beauty destroyed by beauty), and a βῶλος can be rocky (cf. 984). ἱερὸν: partly as explained in 1392*, but cf. also 1453-4* ('Ἰδαία μάτερ . . .').

1384. The long separation of διὰ . . . (1385) from ὀλόμενον is unwelcome; so too is the hiatus after στένω, since the construction of ἀρμ- μέλος (if sound) is like *Hec.* 685 f. κατάρχομαι νόμον βακχείον (960*). Murray's excision is supported by the omission of ἀρμ- ἀρμ- μέλος in P. *Herc.* 1012

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(a citation of this passage by Demetrius Laco; W. Crönert, *NGG* 1922, 26-7, E. Puglia, *Cron. Herc.* 1980, 32). P. Oxy. 3717 seems to have had ἀρμ- ἀρμ- μέλ- βαρβ- βοῶ *uno versu*, but only the first two words are preserved. It is not clear exactly what Apollodorus of Cyrene regarded as an intrusive *παρεπιγραφή*, since the scholion is corrupt (Schw. i 220. 22-3); but suspicion may well attach to the whole verse (including βαρβ-βοῶ). [Defences of the text (see esp. Di B., and Taplin, *PCPhS* 1977, 125) do not take sufficient account of the syntactical and metrical problems. Biehl follows Murray (but substituting <αἰαῖ> for the excised words), and Dawe accepts the *παρεπιγραφή*- explanation, citing parallels (iii 129).]

ἀρμάτειον . . . : for the doubled adj. with μέλος, cf. *HF* 894-5 δάϊον τόδε / δάϊον μέλος ἐπαυλείται. High-pitched piping seems to have been the essential feature of the ἀρμάτειος νόμος, said to have been invented either by a certain Harmateus of Boeotia (Σ) or by the Phrygian ἀλλητής Olympus (Plut. *Mor.* 335A, 1133E). Other derivations in Σ variously allude to Hector's death, to Rhea's chariot, to weddings, to the shrill sound of the ἄζονες; cf. Michaelides 126 (with bibl.). At *IA* 230 σύριγγας ἀρματειούς (of chariot wheels) there seems to be a sophisticated musical word-play (σύριγγε -ίζειν, cf. 145-6*, *IA* 576-7 βάρβαρα συρίζων, Φρυγίων / αἰδῶν Οὐλύμπου καλάμοις / μιμήματα πνεύων). βαρβάρω βοῶ: if sound, a not uncharacteristic 'highlighting' (cf. 1214-15*) of the normally tacit convention as to the language of foreigners in tragedy (Walcot 69). Note also that Asiatic speech was often compared by Greeks with the piping of birds (and vice versa, *S. Ant.* 1002), cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1050 f.; and this is a 'bird' context (1386). The modal dat. is like 1397 Ἀσιάδι φωνῶ, *Ph.* 1301 βοῶ βαρβάρω στενακτᾶν ἰαχάν (s.v.l.); but I have no confidence in it here.

1385-9. διὰ . . . ἐρινύς: διὰ + acc. (LSJ διὰ B. III) is standard for the αἴτιον of a calamity, whether personal (as 1364-5*), semi-personal (e.g. Διὸς βουλᾶς) or circumstantial (as 1548 διὰ τὸ Μυρτίλου πέσημ' ἐκ δίφρου). The αἴτιον here is like *IA* 793 ff. (διὰ σέ, τὰν κύκνου . . .), but also reminiscent of *A. Ag.* 738-49 (cloudy phrases alluding to Helen, passing through δυνα- compounds and culminating in νυμφόκλαυτος ἐρινύς). The myth of Helen's egg-birth expresses the view of her as a supernatural 'monster' (cf. 998-9*, *Hel.* 256 ff.) and divinely sent agent of doom (ἐρινύς, cf. 38*, 337*). According to some versions both Zeus and Leda/Nemesis (1361-2*) took the form of swans; but elsewhere in *E.* (*Hel.* 18 ff., *IA* 793 ff.) Zeus is the only avian parent.

1385-7. Apart from obvious slips Π attests the same impossible paradox as the MSS: δια το τας [ορ]γειθογγ[ον ομμα] / κυανοπτε[ρο]γ καλ[λοουνας] / ληθα κυ[μν]ργ[. . .]. Di B. was evidently right to resist the usual excision of τὸ τας (Porson): τὸ might have been interpolated; but how did τας (codd., Σ) become anciently established in the text before an acc. phrase? Haslam allows that Π may have had ορνειθογονου (against all the MSS and Σ), but that would give an epic correction alien to dochmiacs (see Conomis 40 f.).

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- The assumption must be, of course, that the passage is dochmiac, despite *IT*'s (otherwise irrational) lineation. One possibility may be to read *διὰ τὴ τᾶσ(δ)* ('this mistress of mine'), cf. 1380*, *Med.* 39; that provides a peg on which to hang later appositive gens., but the intervening *καλλοσύνας* makes it unlikely that the truth lies in that direction. I would venture rather to suggest that the paradoxis *ΔΙΑΤΟΤΑΣ* may conceal a paregmenon *δι*' (*ἀτοπον*) *ἀτόπας* . . . *ἀτοπος* is the mot juste for the sense 'paradoxical and monstrous' (see LSJ), and for the doubling cf. *Ion* 690 f. *ἀτοπος ἀτοπα γὰρ παραδίδωσί μοι τάδε θεοῦ φῆμα* (s.v.l.); *ἀτόπα* fem. is abnormal, but not, I think, impossible in venturesome poetic diction (cf. KB i 539-40). Such a paregmenon would serve to unify the phrase *ὄρνιθόγονον* (here only) . . . *καλλοσύνας* (cf. *Hel.* 383, etc.). But there are further problems. *ἄμμα κυκνόπτερον*: nowhere else is Helen or her 'visage' avian, even figuratively, and the whole phrase with abstract gen. is very strange (unlike 1082*, or the straightforward *Ion* 1261 *ὦ ταυρόμορφον ἄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός*). [*IT*'s *κυανο-* is as inappropriate here as it is appropriate in *An.* 862. *κυκνοπτερον* (Scaliger, see Collard, *CQ* 1974, 248) affects only the phrase-pattern, not the sense. H. Cron's *κυκνόσπορον* (better *-ου?*) gets rid of Helen's plumage and suitably—if pleonastically—emphasizes the avian *paternity* (neither *κυκνο-* compound occurs elsewhere). *ἄμμα* is not beyond suspicion. A more verbal *-ma* noun would be in place (cf. *πέσημα* 1548), and *ἄμμα* 'wisp' (cf. *Hel.* 1495) would go better with *-πτερον*. But there is room for an extra syllable (*κῦκν-* is likelier than *κῦκν-* in dochmiacs). Should one perhaps visualize something like **ῶϊσμα κυκνοσπόρου καλλοσύνας* ('egg-hatching', cf. *ὠϊζω* Hsch.)?]
- 1387.** The run of gens. is surely intolerable if we read *σκύμμον* (R, Mosch.) *Δυσελένας bis* (preceded by *καλλοσύνας*, *Λήδας* and followed by *ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων*). The acc. apposition *Λήδας σκύμμον* (σκ- 1211-13*) must be the truth (with another appos. acc. to follow in *ἐρινύν*); which makes Kirchhoff's *Δυσελέναν Δυσελέναν* inevitable. 'Ill-Helen', cf. *IA* 1315 f. *ὦ δυστάλαιν' ἐγώ, πικράν / πικράν ἰδοῦσα Δυσελέναν, Hel.* 945 *Αἰνόπαριν* (after *Δύσπαρις Il.* 3. 39, *Δύσπαριν Αἰνόπαριν Alc.* 77 Page). [*IT*'s *εἰν[μ]ογ* is 'not [ου]' (Haslam); similarly the doubtful *γ* in 1386 is 'not [ου]'. *IT* may, of course, have had *δυσελέναν -αν*, the latter part of this verse not having survived.] See Addenda.
- 1388-9.** *ξεστῶν*: 'of fine masonry', cf. *Tr.* 46 *ξεστῶν τε πύργων μ*. 'Ἀπολλωνίων: Apollo (and Poseidon) built the walls for Laomedon, cf. *An.* 1009 ff., *Hel.* 1511. *ἐρινύν*: + obj. gen. (like *Tr.* 535 *Δαρδανίας ἀταν*), imitated in [V.] *Aen.* 2. 573 and *Luc. Bell. Civ.* 10. 59. *ἐρινύν* naturally ends the long period (cf. also *S. Ant.* 603, *Tra.* 895); for the *δ ba* clausula, cf. Stinton, *BICS* 1975, 84 ff. Kirchhoff's *ἐρινύν τοτοί* (as another *δ*) is against the odds.
- 1390-1.** *ὄττοτοί*: as often, the exclam. is uncertain (codd. *ὄττοτοί*, except H* *ὄττοτοτοί*; *Π* *οττοτοτοί*). Other possibilities include *ὄτοτοτοί* (Weil) and *ὄτ(τ)οτοτοτοί* (*ia*, cf. *An.* 1197, 1200, *Tr.* 1287/94, *A. Ag.* 1072(?); Diggle, *Studies* 106). The argument against *ὄττ-* forms (Matthiae, cf. Ellendt, *Lex.*

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'dactyls' (cf. ἴλιον ἴλιον 1381) into lyric anapaests (associated with enoplian dochmiacs in Polymestor's lament, *Hec.* 1056 ff.); for the combination of anap. dim. with (x) - u - u - -, cf. *Hel.* 1120-1/35-6, *Hyps.* 1 iv 8-9, *S. El.* 199-200/219-20, Cratin, frs. 256-7 Kassel-Austin (Wilamowitz, *GV* 270').]

1395-6. αἰλιον . . . λέγουσιν: cf. αἰλιον αἰλιον εἰπέ *A. Ag.* 121 (etc.). The traditional exclamation of lament (reduplicated also in *Ph.* 1519 and *S. Aj.* 627) is perhaps non-Greek in origin, but that is *not* the point here. ἀρχᾶν θανάτω: 'at/for the death of rulers' (Kirchhoff's excellent correction of ἀρχᾶν θανάτου); ἀρχαί abstract for concrete, as *Ion* 1111, *An.* 1097, *A. Ag.* 124(?); θανάτω causal-circumstantial dat., as *El.* 149 θανάτω σῶ (Diggle, *ICS* 1977, 113-14), *A. Ch.* 53 δεσποτᾶν θανάτοισι. [Even if ἀρχᾶν θανάτου could be understood as 'beginning of death-song' (for which only *A. Pers.* 546 offers dubious support), the sense would be inferior. Di B. regards the 'beginning' point as indispensable; but the Phrygian cannot well, in the light of 1381 ff., be saying that barbarians always *begin* their laments with the word αἰλιον.]

1397. Ἀσιάδι φωνῆ: cf. 1384*, *Tim. Pers.* 147. βασιλέων: Helen is a 'royal person'; cf. λέκτρα β- *Med.* 594 ('marriage with a princess'). [Uncertain metre (as often when there is an exclam.); ε̄ ε̄ ε̄ ε̄, Ἀσιάδι | φωνῆ, βασιλέων would be a possible doch. dim. The vulgate 'iam. dim.' (Ἀσιάδι φῶ-νῆ, βασιλέων following extra-metric αἰαί) is abnormal in the long anceps before diacresis (here at a comma); see L. Parker (*CQ* 1968, 262), who suggests that Ἀσιάδι | φωνῆ | βασιλέων may be an 'anapaestic tripod', without considering the possible inclusion of αἰαί. *Tim.*'s . . . / Ἀσιάδι φωνῆ διάτορον / . . . is in a different metrical context.] See Addendis Addenda.

1398-9. σιδαρῆοισιν: with an echo of 1307-10*. Ἄιδα: a common adjectival use in poetry ('deadly'), cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1235; here reinforcing θανάτω 1395 (and the *suggestio falsi* as to Helen).

1400-7	ἦλθον ἐς δόμους, ἴν' αὐθ' ἕκαστά σοι λέγω, λέοντες Ἕλληνας δύο διδύμῳ τῶ μὲν ὁ στρατηλάτας ἐκλήζετο πατήρ ὁ δὲ παῖς Στραφίου, κακόμητις ἀνὴρ ὁλός Ὀδυσσεύς· σιγῆ δόλιος, πιστός δὲ φίλοις·	hδ zia ia sp ia (ll) lk δ (ll) an 2an 2an
1405	θρασύς εἰς ἀλκᾶν, ξυνετὸς πολέμου, φόνιός τε δράκων· ἔρροι τὰς ἡσύχου προνοίας, κακοῦργος ὦν·	an 2an 2an 2an ia (ll)

1400-1. An echo of *A. Ch.* 937-8 ἔμολε δ' ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος / διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης. 'Twin' is similarly emphasized here (cf. 632-3*). The 'lion' image (*Il.* 5. 136, etc.) can be 'admiring'; it can also be pejorative

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- (1555; cf. *Ph.* 1296 *δίδυμοι θήρες*). [This sentence divides naturally into short cola (so Biehl, except that he prints *λέοντες . . . διδύμω υπο versu*). For the *hd*, cf. 988–94* (there is no need to write, e.g., *ἄθλον <ἄθλον>*) . . . for *ia-tr* continuity). The sequence *ia sphia* (the last metron like *Tr.* 341 . . . | *πόσιν ἐμέθεν* ||) is in line with the ‘double clausula’ sentence-ends in 1369–74*, 1377–9*, 1407, etc. Others divide after *qtr* at *λέοντες*, but then ---|○○|○○ is an awkward residue (*qtr* | *mol* | *ia* is very odd; L. Parker again contemplates an unlikely ‘anapaestic tripod’, cf. 1397*.)]
- 1402.** Cf. *IT* 917 for a similar inversion of the usual *παῖς τινος κληῖσθαι*. [The MSS’ *πατήρ ἐκληῖζετο* is a possible *ia cr* ||, but disyllabic *κληῖζ-* is very unlikely (and *πατήρ ἐ-κλήζετο* scarcely less so). The usual . . . *πατήρ ἐκληῖζεθ’* / . . . gives impossible synartesis at a major sense-division between trochaic and anapaestic sequences. . . . / *πατήρ ἐκληῖζετο*: is better (a defensible *hd*); but the simple inversion *ἐκληῖζετο πατήρ* (suggested to me by J.D.) looks best: *lk* | δ , as 1361–2/1545. *πατήρ* [ἐ] *κληῖζετο* is another way of obtaining a δ ; *τῷ μὲν πατήρ ἐκληῖζεθ’* ὁ *στρατηλάτας* would give *zia*.]
- 1403–7.** The thematic phrases describing Pyl., framed between *κακ-* compounds, waver between ‘equivocal admiration’ and ‘detestation’ note. [Here too punctuation and lineation should reflect the phrasing (not especially the single *δέ* in the middle of the series of epithets). The verbless predications in 1403–6 pass into the ‘curse’ with a change of metre but without a catalectic close to the anapaests, and Murray’s full-stop is excessive. For the recurrent clausular sequence, cf. 1377–9*; here, as in 1447* and 1472, *mol* is equivalent to the *ba* in 1442, 1464 (ω – – ‘ – – –’, cf. *Ph.* 1026/50, p. 106).]
- 1403 f.** *κακόμητις* (here only, cf. *A. Pers.* 93 *δολόμητιν*) is a perversion of the epic *πολύμητις* (*Ὀδυσσεύς*). For the hostile view of Odysseus (very prominent in *E.*), cf. *S. Aj.* 379 ff., where Ajax describes him as *ἀπάντων ἀει κακῶν ὄργανον τέκνον Λαρτίου*, and *Phil.* (*hassim*).
- 1407.** ‘Curse him for . . .!’ The causal-exclamatory gen. is a very natural construction, but I know of no parallel with an optative vb of cursing (*ὡς . . .* is the normal idiom, cf. 130 f.*). *προνοίας*: cf. 1179–80*. *κακοῦργος ὤν*: cf. *El.* 953 (Kells, *CQ* 1966, 52). There are overtones of legal language (like ‘malfeasance’, ‘malice aforethought’), cf. *Pl. Leg.* 877b *ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν . . . τρώσῃ καὶ δόλῃ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν*. For *ἡσύχου* (here reflecting *σιγᾶ δόλιος*), cf. 1350*. [P. Oxy. 3716 attests the usual lineation *ἔρροι . . . / προνοίας . . . / οἱ δὲ πρὸς . . . / μολόντες . . . / γυναικός . . .* in 1407–9.]
- 1408–15** οἱ δὲ πρὸς θρόνους ἔσω
 μολόντες δὲ ἔγνημ’ ὁ το-
 ξότας Πάρις γυναικός, ὁμ-
 1410 μα δακρύοις πεφυρμένοι,
 ταπεινὸν ἔζονθ’, ὁ μὲν
 τὸ κείθεν ὁ δὲ τὸ κείθεν, ἄλ-
 λος ἄλλοθεν δεδραγμένοι,
- lk* | *gia* (||)
 (= *str*_Λ)
ba cr | *gia* (||)
 (= *ba str*_Λ)

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περὶ δὲ γόνυ χέρας ἰκεαίου 21a |
 1415 ἔβαλον ἔβαλον Ἑλένας ἀμφώ δ comp ||

As planned in 1119 ff., Or. and Pyl. approach Helen with pretended grief and grasp her knees with suppliant hands. [The *ia-tr* sequences offer choices of lineation similar to those in 982-4*, 1369-74*; 1411-13 is very similar to 1370-2 *πέφευγ' ἐν βαρβάροις* . . . *Δωρῆκᾶς τέ τριγλύφους*. Note the symmetry between *ἄμμά . . . πῆφῦρμένῳι* (||) and *ἄλλος . . . δεδραγμένῳι* (||), spoilt by the erroneous *ταπεινοί* (see below).]

1408-10. θρόνους: the picture of Helen sitting (and spinning, 1430 ff.) owes something to *Od.* 4. 121-36; cf. also *IA* 582-3 *ελεφαντοδέτων πάροι-/θεν θρόνων δς τᾶς Ἑλένας* . . . (*θρόνων* Hermann, for the unsuitable *δόμων*; a correction supported by *Al.* 946, *IA* 1174). *δς* . . . *γυναικός:* i.e. *τῆς γυναικός ἦν* . . . (81-2*). *ὁ τοξότας:* in the *Iliad*, Paris is an archer at his first appearance (3. 16) and later (8. 81-2, 11. 369-70, 505-7, 581-4), but he also fights with full heroic equipment (Lorimer, *Hom. and the Monuments* 295-6); his shooting of Achilles is traceable to the *Aethiopsis* (Proclus *Chrest.* 2). Greeks had a prejudice against the bow, despite its use by Heracles and others (cf. *HF* 160-1); and it was a commonplace to regard the Persian Wars as a clash between Grecian spear (1485) and Asiatic bow (*A. Pers.* 85, 146-9, etc.). In E., Paris is quintessentially *βάρβαρος* (*IA* 73-4, 576-8) as the Asiatic prince causative of the archetypal clash between Europe and Asia (*Tr.* 925-8). *ἄμμά δακρύοις πεφύρμένοι:* an exaggerated expression (*ἄμμά* 'visage'); cf. *Hec.* 496 *κόνει φύρουσα δύστηνον κάρα*, *Al.* 496 *αἵμασι πεφύρμενας*.

1411-13. ταπεινὴ ἕξωνθ': 'grovelled'; the sense of the vb (not confined to 'sitting') is defined by the adverbial n. pl. (152*, *φροῦδα* 1372, etc.), cf. *HF* 1214 *θάσσοοντα δυστήνους ἔδρας*. *ταπεινός* is commonly pejorative, but total self-abasement was traditionally proper in the posture adopted by a suppliant (Gould, *JHS* 1973, 94 ff.). *ταπεινοί* in the MSS (followed by an unwelcome hiatus) may be either a misinterpretation of the elided last syllable or simply a misreading of *ταπεινά*. *ὁ μὲν . . . ἄλλοθεν:* for the pleonasm, cf. 1450-1. *δεδραγμένοι* (R. Shilleto, Pearson, *CR* 1924, 68-9): 'grasping'; cf. *Tr.* 750 *τί μου δέδραξαι χερσὶ* . . .; The MSS' *πεφραγμένοι* might mean either 'armed' or 'fencing (her in)', but neither is as appropriate and the ambiguity is unendurable; there is a similar corruption at *S. Ant.* 235. [U. Hübner (*Philologus* 1980, 186-8) argues for *πεφρασμένοι* (to be understood as 'with evil intent'); but the sentence runs much better with a word that can be taken with *ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν*.]

1414-15. Developing the previous point (*δέ* expegetic); for the phrasing, cf. *Ph.* 1622 *ἐλίξας γ' ἀμφὶ σὸν χέρας γόνυ*. [The iam. dim. ('sub-dochmiac') is like 171/92 (p. 113), 1307, 1441. Then 1415 is either *cr δ* or *δ* --- (p. 106); for the clausular rhythm (certainly dochmiac, not an anap. monometer), cf. 1467 (. . . *μέλεον πλαγάν*), 1491 (. . . *ἔτεκεν τλάμων*), also *Ph.* 153 *ὄς ἐπ' ἐμὰν πόλιν ἔβα πέρσων*.]

1416-24 *ἀνά δὲ δρομάδες ἔθορον ἔθορον* 21a |

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	ἀμφίπολοι Φρύγες·	δ ()
	προσείπεν δ' ἄλλος ἄλ-	da cr §
	λον πεσῶν ἐν φόβῳ,	2cr
	μῆ τις εἶη δόλος·	2cr ()
1420	κάδδκει τοῖς μὲν οὖ,	2cr
	τοῖς δ' ἐς ἀρκυστάτων	2cr
	μηχανὰν ἐμπλέκειν	2cr
	παῖδα τὰν Τυνδαρίδ' ὁ	2cr
	ματροφόντας δράκων.	2cr

The Phrygians are alarmed, some of them suspecting a trap (as Paley observed, the grasping of the knees is a breach of Asiatic etiquette). The long run of cretics heightens the tension (cf. Tim. Pers. 117-20; Wilamowitz, *GV* 333, Dale, *LM* 99, West, *GM* 106).

1416. ἀνά 'back, in retreat', cf. 171*. *δρομάδες*: a fem.-form adj., used more freely by E. (837, *δρομάδι κώλῳ Hel.* 1301; cf. 269-70*). *ἔθορον*: 'leapt' (like frightened animals), cf. *θρόσκει Ba.* 873 (of a deer).

1417-19. *πεσῶν ἐν φόβῳ*: cf. *HF* 1090-1, ἐν ὕπνῳ Pi. *Isth.* 4. 25; more exquisite diction than the usual εἰς + acc. (as *Ph.* 69). *μῆ . . . δόλος*: cf. *Ph.* 266. [*προσείπεν O*, *προσείπεν δ'* Hartung (cf. 1437, 1448)]; there is then no need for Murray's ἐν φόβῳ πεσῶν. For the (very common) syncopated rhythm - - - | - - - . . . (the *da* here behaving as an anaclastic *cr*), cf. 965/76, 984, 988, 1370, 1411, 1442, 1464, 1492.]

1421-4. The phrasing reinforces the link between the proposed killing of Helen and the matricidal killing of her Tyndarid sister. *ἀρκυστάτων* (Blomfield) *μηχανάν*; a 'net-contrivance', cf. *Ion* 1216 πώματος . . . *μηχανάς*; *ἀρκύστατα* 'toils', as in *A. Ag.* 1375, *Eum.* 112, *S. El.* 1476. [See S. G. Kapsomenos in *Mélanges O. et M. Merlier* (1956), 283-92. Di B. argues that E. could have coined an adj. *ἀρκύστατος* by analogy with *ἀνάστατος* and *ὑπόστατος*—an imperfect analogy, and why (on that hypothesis) -*ταν* rather than -*τον*? E. surely had the tragic precedents in mind (cf. 25*), and it is perverse to resist the easy correction of a word that was evidently misunderstood as a superlative (*Σ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῃ δικτύων μηχανῇ*). For the cretic-paeonic pattern - - - | - - - in 1423, with split resolution, cf. *A. Su.* 425, *Bacchyl. fr.* 16, etc. (more frequent in comedy; West, *GM* 76, 107, Parker, *CQ* 1968, 249). *μητροφόντας* codd., *ματρο-* Dindorf.]

1425. 'Where were you then? Or had you long since fled?' *φεύγεις* 'timeless' present (cf. *KG* i 134-5). A hit at the narrator's timidity, but also playing characteristically with the convention that messengers may go beyond the limits of strict autopsy; cf. 1473*.

1426-36	Φρ. Φρυγίσις ἔτυχον Φρυγίοισι νόμοις	zan (A)
	παρὰ βόστρυχον αὔραν αὔραν	paroem
	Ἑλένας Ἑλένας εὐπαγεῖ	paroem
	κύκλω περὶνῳ πρὸ παρῆδος ἄσσων,	P da
1430	βαρβάρους νόμοισιν ἄ δ' [-ε λίνον]	lk
	ἡλάκατα δακτύλοισι ἔλισσ-	zia §

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	σε, νῆμα δ' ἔτο πῆδω,	ia cr
	σκύλων Φρυγίων ἐπὶ τύμβον ἀγάλ-	4an
1435	ματα συστολίσαι χρῆζουσα λίνω	(an A an)
	φάρεα πορφύρεα, δῶρα Κλυταίμηστρα·	2δ ()

The Asiatic punkah-fanning (cf. Ter. *Eun.* iii. 5. 47; Chapouthier *REA* 1944, 209-16) is superimposed on a traditional picture: in *Od.* 4. 121-36 Helen sits and spins attended by three maidservants. Here her task is lightened by the availability of captured rolls of purple cloth; all that is needed is some linen thread for sewing, and Cl. will have a *πέπλος* fit for a goddess.

1426-30. *ἔτυχον*: cf. *Hel.* 180. *αὔραν αὔραν*: cf. *μάτερ μάτερ* (ending a paroemiac) at 1453; the repetitions (in the parodiable new style of monody, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1352 ff.) are liltily expressive in a ring-structured sentence (the elements symmetrically disposed about Ἑλένας Ἑλένας). *εὐπαγεῖ* . . . *περίνω*: the 'feathery disc' of the *ρίπις* is 'well-fixed' to a long handle; *εὐπηγῆς* (*Od.* 21. 334, *Hipp. Mul.* 1. 47) is a rare equivalent of *εὐπηκτος*. *ἔσσω*: a favourite vb for rapid motion, usually intrans.; for the rare trans. sense 'waft', cf. (probably) *Ba.* 145-7 *ἀνέχων* / *πυρσώδη φλόγα πεύκας* / *ἐκ νάρθηκος ἀτσει* and *S. OC* 1261 *κόμη δι' αὔρας* . . . *ἔσσεται*. *βαρβάρους νόμοισιν*: not simply an otiose appendage to a sentence already complete in sense and rhythm (as such, sometimes deleted); repetitions are a feature of the aria, and here the thematic echo of the sentence-opening (like . . . *βαρβάροισι δραμοῖς* 1374*) is part of a larger metrical pattern (moving from enoplian to iambo-trochaic rhythm). [Several edd. accept Hermann's *εὐπαγι*. True, . . . *εὐπαγι κύκλω* / *πετρίνω* *πρὸ πάρηιδος ἄσων* (or *πάρηδος ἀσων*) repeats the *zan/paroem* pattern of 1426-7; but that consideration should not prevail against (a) the non-attestation of *εὐπήξ* (resting only on the analogy of *κρυσταλλοπήξ* *A. Pers.* 501); (b) the similarly-shaped pair of paroemiacs at 1453-4*. The *P ba* verse, an enoplian expansion of × - - - - -, is of a type at home in 'enoplian dochmiacs' (cf. *T ba*, *HF* 1080; *A ba*, *HF* 1197), and there is an analogous (longer) verse following anapaests in 1455-6*. Contracted and uncontracted forms of both *παρήξ* and *ἀτσω* are about equally frequent in E. lyric.] See Addenda.

1430-3. The fingers of the spinner's right hand twirl strands from the distaff into a single thread attached to the top of the pendent rotating spindle; when the latter reaches the ground, the *νῆμα* is wound on to it, and the process begins again (cf. *Hdt.* 5. 12; Fordyce on *Cat.* 64. 311 ff. [but read 'distaff' for 'spindle' in the first line of his n.]). *ἠλάκατα*: 'strands from the distaff', cf. *Od.* 6. 53, 306 *ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα*. I take *λίνον* (anticipating *λίνω* 1435) to have been added anciently by someone who mistook *ἠλακατα* as the dat. of *ἠλακάτη* (a more familiar word) and therefore needed an object for *ἔλισσε*; neither *ἠλακατ-* noun occurs elsewhere in tragedy. *δακτύλοις ἔλισσε*: cf. the parody in Ar. *Ran.* 1314, 1348; *ἐλ-* (unaugmented) for *εἰλ-*, cf. 826*. *νῆμα δ'* . . . (the reading of O

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also): parenthetic, cf. *Hec.* 920. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega$ 'to the ground', cf. 1439 ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron$: Blaydes). [The correction proposed gives straightforward dimeters ($\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$. . ., cf. 842, p. 221; for the continuation, not period-end, after *βαρβάρους νόμοισιν*, cf. 1494 . . . $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ σφαγάν | $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}$. . .). As things stand, there is no satisfactory metrical analysis (in particular, $\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ is an anomalous choriamb between $\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$ and $\delta\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$); and the bare dat. $\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ is oddly bald (also ambiguous, 'with spindle/distaff'), especially in conjunction with $\delta\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$. M.L.W. would improve the style and clarity, in line with *Od.* 4. 131, by adding an epithet ($\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho$) before $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\eta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$; that also gets rid of the choriamb, but it introduces new metrical problems. The only previous conjecture worth mentioning is Weil's $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu'$ for $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$. See *Addendis Addenda*.

1434-6. A sequence characteristic of 'enoplian dochmiacs', cf. *HF* 1206 ff. (for such 'anapaestic' sequences without diaeresis $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$, see Fraenkel, *Lyr. Dak.* 163-7). $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$: 'adornment(s)', defining $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\alpha$, cf. $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ 1052-3* (here in *advance* apposition, like $\lambda\acute{o}\chi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ 997). $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\nu$: quasi-adjectival with the verbal $-\mu\alpha$ noun; cf. 1196 $\pi\tau\acute{\omega}\mu$. . . $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$, 1548 $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta\mu'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\upsilon$, *Hel.* 96 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\xi\acute{\iota}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ (and Diggle, *Studies* 28-9). $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$: 'to make (a $\sigma\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$) by joining pieces of material' (Σ $\sigma\upsilon\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota$); probably a new compound (coined *ad hoc*), cf. $\sigma\acute{o}\delta\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, first occurring at *Hec.* 1156. $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\alpha$: cf. *Hp.* 126. Intended for the tomb of a cremated woman, they may be drapes rather than vestments (vaguely $\acute{\upsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$; so Di B., citing *Od.* 3. 274 $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\upsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\nu$ $\tau\epsilon$); but $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\alpha$ are usually $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omicron\iota$ (*El.* 191, *Hel.* 181, etc.); and cf. *IT* 1464-5 (also Th. 3. 58. 4, cited by Chapouthier).

1437-42	<i>προσείπεν δ' Ὀρέστας</i>	<i>2ba</i>
	<i>Λάκκαιναν κόραν Ὠ Διὸς παῖ,</i>	<i>3ba</i>
	<i>θῆς ἴχνος πέδω δεῦρ'</i>	<i>2ba</i>
1440	<i>ἀποστάσα κλισμοῦ</i>	<i>2ba</i>
	<i>Πέλοπος ἐπὶ προπάτορος ἔδραν</i>	<i>2ia</i>
	<i>παλαιᾶς ἐστίας, ἐν' εἰδῆς</i>	<i>ba cr ba</i>
	<i>λόγους ἐμούς.</i>	<i>ia (ll)</i>

The run of *δασσει* is like 1295 (p. 295), especially the pattern of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. . . $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\upsilon$ (a single verse in P. Oxy. 3716). 1441 is like 1414, etc.; 1442 like 1407, etc. $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\langle\nu\rangle$: corr. Matthiae (*M* 100 has $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon$). $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\iota}\chi\nu\omicron\varsigma$. . . : 'step' (140-1*). $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega$. . . $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\upsilon$: Helen has first to put her foot to the ground; cf. *Od.* 4. 136 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\upsilon$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\theta\rho\eta\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\eta\epsilon\nu$. $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ occurs here only in tragedy. $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$. . . $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$: 'to ancestral Pelops' ancient hearth-seat'; cf. Diggle on *Phaethon* 248 $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1056. The central hearth of the Palace is (overtly) a suitable place for a solemn supplication (cf. *Od.* 7. 153, Th. 1. 136); also (grimly) for the intended 'sacrifice' (*A. Ag.* 1056). 'That you may know my $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota$ ' is sinisterly vague; such ambiguities are standard in 'luring' contexts (1311-52*). $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\nu$: *II* may have had $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\nu\alpha$ (Haslam); a plausible reading, cf. *Tr.* 539.

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1443-51	ἄγει δ' ἄγει νιν ἄ δ' ἐφεί- πετ', οὐ πρόμαντις ὦν ἔμελ-	zia { zia }
1445	λεν' ὁ δὲ συνεργὸς ἄλλ' ἔπρασσ' ἰῶν κακὸς Φωκεύς· Οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ἔτ' ἄλλα, κακοὶ Φρύγες; ἐκλῆσε(ν) δ' ἄλλον ἄλλοσε στέγας, τοὺς μὲν σταθμοῖσιν ἑπικκοί- σι, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἐξέδραισι, τοὺς δ'	zia mol cr ba ia ba lk zia { zia
1450	ἐκεῖσ' ἐκειθεν, ἄλλον ἄλ- λοσε διαρμόσας ἀποπρὸ δεσποίνας.	zia zia 2δ

While Or. is leading Helen to the sacrificial hearth, Pyl. disposes of her attendants (cf. 1126-7).

1443-5. An iambic run, enjambed with trochaic word-divisions (cf. 982-4*, 1369-74*). **πρόμαντις**: 'prescient', as *An.* 1072, *Hel.* 338, *A. Ch.* 758, by extension from 'prophetic' (describing Apollo or the Pythia). **ὦν ἔμελλεν**: probably = τῶν μελλόντων; assimilation of the rel. from *nominative* to gen. is very rare (KG ii 409), but this seems to be an instance of it, like *Hdt.* i. 78. 3 οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις. It is not easy to supply *παθεῖν* (interpolated in some MSS) or *δράσειν* (as Wedd.). [According to LSJ (s.v. *μέλλω* II) an inf. *πράσσειν* or *πράξαι* is 'sometimes omitted'; but, of the two exx. cited, *Or.* 1182 (q.v.) is misinterpreted and *IA* 1117-18 (*οἶσθα γὰρ πατὴρ πάντως ἄ μέλλει*) is not the Greek of a fifth-century tragedian (see Page, *Actors* 182-3).]

1445-6. **ὁ δὲ συνεργὸς . . . Φωκεύς**: poetical phrasing (= ὁ δὲ κακὸς Φωκεύς *συνεργαζόμενος* . . .); but we need a word of *speaking* to introduce the direct speech. Something may have dropped out after *Φωκεύς*, but the weakness of *ἰῶν* 'going' suggests that that is where the fault lies; perhaps a corruption of *ἰᾶ* (183-6*) by way of *ἰωᾶ* (*ἰά* → *ἰωᾶ*, cf. *Hp.* 585). At this moment (contemporaneous with ἄ δ' ἐφείπετ') Pyl.'s cooperation in the *πράγμα* (1118*) was 'by/with loud voice' (only), *his* address to the *Φρύγες* balancing Or.'s to Helen; **ἄλλ' ἔπρασσ'** points a contrast between the 'luring' and the 'dismissal'. **κακός**: cf. 1403-7. [Other conjectures: *ἀχῶν* (Blaydes) is more arbitrary; *ἰύζων* (Wecklein) turns the seventh *ia* into a δ; Schmidt's *ἔφραζ'* for *ἔπρασσ'* was associated with further rewriting of *ἄλλ'* and *ἰῶν*.]

1447. **Οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ἔτ' . . .**; Pyl.'s language is 'domineering' (towards 'base' Trojan/Phrygian slaves and 'miserable/cowardly' barbarians, cf. *Intro.* F i. 9). The MSS have **ἄλλ' ἀεὶ κακοὶ Φρύγες**, but M.L.W. has persuaded me that the logic of that is unsatisfactory (a voc. is certainly more natural); and his suggested **ἄλλα** is convincingly supported by *Ion* 162-3 οὐκ ἄλλα . . . πόδα κινήσεις; in a comparable 'shooing away' (of birds). The revised wording appropriately echoes the cadential rhythm of Or.'s . . . *εὔστιας, ἴν' εἰδῆς / λόγους ἔμοις* (1442); a recurrent pattern (see 1377-9*; *mol cr ba* | ~ - : ~ - , as 1407, 1472). Pyl.'s command begins in the middle of a

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- metron, like Or.'s . . . κόραν' Ω | . . . (cf. *Hee.* 922 f.); corruption of αλλαι to αλλαι temptingly turned it into a self-contained trimeter. See Addenda.
- 1448.** ἄλλον ἄλλοσε στέγας (-ης S, Mn, Mosch., Tricli.; Turyn 112); the gen. sing. seems clearly right (as 1127*, 1475), as against (ἐν) στέγαισι(ι); and ἐκλησε(ν) δ' . . . is like προσείπεν δ' . . . 1417-19*, 1437. See Addenda.
- 1449-51.** σταθμοῖσιν: for the imprisonment in the 'stables', cf. *Ba.* 509-10, 618. The omission of ἐν after μέν (Aa) may be accidental, but the ἀπό κοινοῦ construction is idiomatic, cf. *IA* 1085-6 οὐ σύριγγι τραφέισαν οὐδ' ἐν ροιβδήσει βουκόλων, *S. OT* 1205, etc. (Bruhn 97). ἐξέδρασι: 'outlying apartments'; the first occurrence of a word which developed more specialised senses (see LSJ). ἄλλον ἄλλοσε διαρμόσας . . . : 'variously sundering and disposing them . . .' (following a comma, cf. 1412-13); διαρμόσας (here first; next in Polybius) should be taken as implying 'dissociation' (cf. 233-4*, 1003-4*, *IA* 1286 ἀποπρό νοσφίσας), not simply 'distribution' (as LSJ). Murray's excision of ἄλλ- ἄλλ- was unwarranted (and metrically implausible); such repetitions are a feature of this narrator's style (again with an element of ring-structure, cf. 1369-74, 1426-30). ἀποπρό: 142-3*. [An alternative analysis, reading τοὺς μὲν ἐν . . ., gives 4tr | 2tr | 2cr | δ; but the split resolution ἀλλοσε διαρμόσας (unremarkable in a δ) is of a type likelier in a run of cretics (as at 1423). The colometric issue here is like 186/207 (p. 113), where the str. has the pattern . . . ἡσυχὸν | ἰπνοῦ χάριν | πάρεξεις, φίλα.] See Addenda.
- 1452.** 'What happened next?' τί . . . συμφορᾶς: cf. *Hcl.* 1195, *S. Ant.* 1229. τοῦπι τῷδε: cf. *Hr.* 855. The imperf. ἐγίνετο invites a fully descriptive account.
- 1453-6** Φρ. Ἰδαία μάτερ μάτερ, paroem ||
 ὀβρίμα ὀβρίμα ζ' Ἄντ>αία[ι], paroem (||)
 φονίων παθέων ἀνόμων τε κακῶν zan (A) |
 ἀπερ ἔδρακον ἔδρακον ἐν δόμοις τυράννων T^o ba (||)
- 'Mother of the Gods, the lawless bloodshed I have witnessed!' The syntax is colloquial (cf. *Pl. Rep.* 509C Ἄπολλον, δαμονίας ὑπερβολῆς, *Ar. Av.* 61, *Nub.* 153; *KG* i 389); its poetic elaboration characteristically sophisticated.
- 1453-4.** The Asiatic Mountain- and Earth-mother had many names; for the apostrophe, cf. *S. Phil.* 391-2 ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μάτερ αὐτοῦ Διός. Ἰδαία: either adj. or substantive (cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1128, *Strab.* 1. 2. 38; *RE* ix (1916) 864-5). ὀβρίμα (ὄβρ): 'mighty'; the fem. form of the epic adj. occurs here only. Ἄντραία (*Hartung*, *ex S*): cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1141 (with *Sch.*); *RE* i (1894) 2339, *Roscher* i 2864; anciently explained as 'confronting in battle', but it may rather mean 'invoked in prayer' (*Hsch.* ἀντραία: ἰκέσιος, = *Aesch.* fr. 223); both senses are appropriate here. Note the chiasmic symmetry of the paired appellations (patterned like 1427-8). [After commenting on Ἰδαία and ὀβρίμα, *S* continues καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἄντραία . . . with an explanation of that title which strongly suggests that the writer or his source had ἀντραία in his text. *Hartung's* restoration (too long

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neglected) is confirmed by metrical considerations. As things stand, there is no satisfactory analysis of 1453-4. *Ἰδαῖα μᾶτερ μᾶτερ* must be a paroemiac like 1427 (for spondaic 'Klaganapäste', cf. Wilamowitz, *GV* 368; West's interpretation - *D* ∪ (*GM* 113) is unappealing, and Murray's δ / *gl* incredible). But then . . . *μᾶτερ* || *ὄβριμα* . . . is (as things stand, or with Weil's *αἰαί* <*αἰαί*>), a period-end without syntactical pause, of a kind unlikely in this metre (see Diggle, *Studies* 95-6; hiatus without sense-pause would be an equivalent anomaly). The further appellation in 1454 enables us to write a comma between symmetrical short periods.]

1455-6. *φονίων* . . . *κακῶν*: such pairs of isometric phrases are especially common in anap. dims., e.g. *Med.* 131 *ἔκλυον φωνάν, ἔκλυον δὲ βοάν* (Diggle, *CR* 1968, 3-4, and on *Phaethon* 99). *ἔδρακον* (*ἔδρ*): another epicism; augmented *δρακ-* (from *δέρομαι*) occurs here only in fifth-century poetry. [The sequence is the same as *HF* 883-4 *Νυκτὸς Γόργων ἑκάτογκεφάλῳις / ὄφειων ἰάχημῶσι ἰ Λύσῳ μᾶρμᾶρωπῶς*. The clausular verse (following *zan*) should be analysed as ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ + *ba*, cf. *Ph.* 163-4 *ἀνέμῳ κέος εἰθέ δρόμων νέφελῶς* (*A* = *zan*) | *πῶσιν ἐξάνυσσᾶμι δι' αἰθέρος* (without the clausular *ba*). *T ba* is frequent (*HF* 1080, *Ion* 1458; *Al.* 437/47, 460/70, *Hec.* 655, etc.); the enoplian expansion *T'* (∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪) is analogous to *D'* as a variant of *D*.]

1457-64	<i>ἀμφορφύρων πέπλων</i>	<i>lk</i>
	<i>ὑπὸ σκότου ξίφη σπάσαντες ἐν χερσίν,</i>	<i>zia</i>
	<i>ἄλλοσ' ἄλλοθεν</i>	<i>hδ</i>
	<i>δίησαν ὄμμα, μὴ τις</i>	<i>ia ba</i> (- <i>ith</i>)
	<i>παρῶν τύχοι</i>	<i>ia</i>
1460	<i>ὡς κάπροι δ' ὀρέστεροι</i>	<i>lk</i>
	<i>γυναικὸς ἀντίοι σταθέν-</i>	<i>zia</i>
	<i>τες ἐνέπουσι· Καθανῆ καθανῆ,</i>	<i>zia</i> <i>cr</i>
	<i>κακὸς σ' ἀποκτείνει πόσις,</i>	<i>zia</i>
	<i>καιοιγνήτου προδοῦς ἐν Ἄργει</i>	<i>ba cr</i> <i>ba</i>
	<i>θαεῖν γόνον</i>	<i>ia</i>

Two long sentences (compound periods) beginning and ending similarly, but taking different turns in the middle. [Note the symmetrical '*4tr*' patterns down to *σπάσαντες* ~ *σταθέντες*; . . . *ba* | *ia* ||, cf. 1377-9*, etc. The *hδ* is conjectural (see below); but for the 'redivided' pattern *hδ* | - *ith* as a rhythmic variation, cf. 988-94*.]

1457. 'From beneath the concealment of purple-bordered mantles . . .'. *ἀμφορφύρων*: cf. *περιπόρφυρος* (Crates Com. fr. 35 Kassel-Austin); *ἀμφι-* compounds can be flexible in meaning, but we have seen these garments. The bordered white *χλαμύς* is commonly pictured on vases, worn by heroes and Athenian youths (e.g. E. A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* (1948), pls. 75a, 76a, 82), and it is worn by Or. and Pyl. in scenes from *IT* (Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 86, 89). *σκότου*: cf. 1488, *Ph.* 1214, *Ion* 1522. [*ἀμφι πορφυρέων* codd.; *ἀμφι-* Tricl., -*πορφύρων* Radermacher (*RhM* 1902, 279).]

1458-9. The text *ἄλλος ἄλλοσε δίνασεν* gives an unlikely *brevis in longo*; it is also

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questionable in sense ('one whirled his eyes one way, the other whirled his eyes another way'; what is the 'whirling', if not to and fro as in 1263-8?). The vb should surely be δίνησ- (from δινέω). ἄλλοσ' ἄλλοθεν: cf. 1263-5* ἐκείθεν ἐνθάδ' . . . σκοπιὰν ἔχομεν, 1451 ἐκείσ' ἐκείθεν; δίνησαν ὄμμα: cf. 1266 ἔλίσσεται . . . βλέφαρον, *Il.* 17. 679-80 ὄσσε φαεινὸν πάντοσε δινεῖσθην. [Murray's transposition ἄλλος ἄλλοσ' ἐν χεροῖν wrongly associates ἄλλοσε with σπᾶσαντες. Wilamowitz's ἄλλοσ' ἄλ-λῶς δι-νᾶσέν (*GV* 270) gives a harsh rhythm and deals with only part of the problem. The error ἄλλοσε for ἄλλοθεν is readily explicable, since ἄλλον ἄλλοσε occurs repeatedly nearby (1448, 1450, cf. 1127), and a gloss ἄλλοσε (explaining ἈΛΛΟΣ) could well have been suprascribed; note that O wrongly has ἄλλον ἄλλοσε (for -οθεν) at 1475. As to δίνασεν (δίνησεν Blaydes), the sing. was a natural error following the erroneous ἄλλος; the false α in the stem, which has attracted surprisingly little comment, is like ἐξεπόνασεν *IA* 209 (*corr.* Elmsley), ἐπτοάσθης *IA* 586 (*corr.* Wilamowitz, cf. Page, *Actors* 159).] See Addenda.

1460. ὡς κάπροι δ' . . . : cf. *Ph.* 1380 κάπροι δ' ὄπως θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν for the image of savagery (epic: *Il.* 11. 414 ff.); at *Ph.* 1108 the boar is a victim of the chase. Or. and Pyl. are at once aggressive hunters and like wild beasts at bay. ὀρέστεροι: possibly playing on the name 'Orestes' (Biehl, anticipated by M. Fuochi; cf. 328*); but the 'mountain' point is routine (1493, *Hec.* 205, 1058, *Ba.* 1141; *El.* 1163, etc.).

1461. ἀντίοι + gen.: cf. *S. Aj.* 1283-4(?), *Il.* 17. 31, etc. (KG i 353).

1464. προδοῦς . . . θανείν: cf. 1588, *Al.* 659. ἐν Ἄργαί: an aggravating feature of the 'betrayal'.

1465-72	δ δ' ἀνίαχεν ἴαχεν <I>ώ μοί μοι λευκὸν δ' ἐμβαλοῦσα πῆχυν ἴστέρνοισι κτύπησε κράτα ἴ μέλεον πλαγάν φυγά<δ>ι δὲ ποδὶ τὸ χρυσεοσάνδαλον <ποδῶν> ἴχνος ἔφερον ἔφερον ἐς κόμας δὲ δα- κτύλους δικῶν Ὀρέστας,	D' -- 2δ ... δ () cr zia zia ^ zia zia mol cr ba ia
1470	Μυκηνίδ' ἀρβύλαν προβάς, ᾧμοις ἀριστεροῖσιν ἀνακλάσας δέραν, παίειν λαμῶν ἔμελλεν εἶσω μέλαν ξίφος.	

Helen screams and laments; she attempts to flee, but Or. strides forward, catches her by the hair, violently twists her head back and over to the left, and is about to cut her throat . . .

1465. ἀνίαχεν ἴαχεν: probably ∪∪-∪∪-∪, cf. 826 ἰαχῆσῃ (200*), *Al.* 400 ὑπάκουσον ἀκουσον (180-2*); for ἰαχον, cf. also *Tr.* 827 (s.v.l.), *Ar. Av.* 772 (Ellendt, *Lex. Soph.* s.v. ἰάχω; ἰαχόν is the normal epic scansion). That interpretation (with the otherwise likely <I>ώ) gives the same verse, or nearly the same, as 1300* ἐλθ' ἐπικούρος ἔμοισί φίλοισι(τ) πάντωσ. ἀνίαχω occurs here first, formed like ἀναβοάω. <I>ώ μοί μοι: cf. *Al.* 862, 893, *An.* 825, 1175, etc. The allusion here is to the 'scream for help' heard at 1296* (Ἰὼ Πελασγὸν Ἄργος; ᾧμοι μοι (codd.) may be due partly to 1381, partly

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to the 'plangent' continuation. [Biehl scans $\bar{\alpha}$ δ' ἀνιάχεν ἰάχεν as a δ; Di B. scans $\bar{\alpha}$ δ' ἀνιάχ' ἰάχεν as a lk; $\bar{\alpha}$ δ' ἀνι-ἰάχεν . . . is also possible.] See Addenda.

- 1466-7. Cf. *Ph.* 1351 ἐπι κάρα τε λευκοπήχεις κτύπους (960*, 963-4*, 966*). Degani defends the text: first Helen 'applies white forearm to breast' (with 'resoundingly' implied); then she resoundingly beats her head (with 'white forearm' understood). But ἐμβαλοῦσα is more likely to be 'coincident' ('by applying'), in which case we need 'breast and head' (paired, not disjoined), or 'breast' or 'head' alone. Deletion of στέρνοις (Wilamowitz) or κράτα leaves unsatisfactory metre and is otherwise arbitrary; there is no reason why Helen should not beat both. Wecklein suggested στέρνα/κτύπησε κράτά τε (good sense, but unsound metre). Better, giving 4δ, would be στέρνα/κτύπησε(ν και) κράτα (οἱ κτ- κάρα τε οἱ κάρα τε κτύπησε); or preferably (with dats. governed by ἐμβαλοῦσα) στέρνοις/κτύπησεν κάρα τε (οἱ κτ- και κρατί οἱ κάρα τε κτύπησε; κτύπησεν iam Hermann; κάρα/κράτα, cf. 497*). πлагάν: the harder int. acc. is doubtless right (LSJ s.v. κτυπέω, cf. 140-1*); the dat. variant is only superficially easier, and may owe something to the following φυγά; cf. also expressions like πηγὰς τύπτειν (LSJ s.v. πληγή 1). If so, we should take μέλειον with πлагάν ('piteous beating') as an int. acc. phrase like αἵματηρόν ἄταν 961-2*, cf. *Hyss.* 64 ii 87 μέλειον ἐμπολάν (μέλειος fem. 203-5*). Misconstruction of μέλειον with 'head' may well have contributed to the corruption of the latter (first, perhaps, from κάρα τε to κάρα τό); cf. also 966*.

- 1468 ff. Another metrical problem: prima facie we have φυγά δε ποδι (ia) τό χρυσέδοσανδάλον ἰχνός (D) ἐφέρεν ἐφέρεν ἐς κόμας δε (2tr) δακτύλους δίκων Ὀρέστας (2tr), Μυκηνίδ' ἀρβύλαν πρόβας (2ia) . . . The scansion of χρ-ἰχν- seems confirmed by *IA* 1042 f. (χρυσέδοσανδάλον ἰχνός ἐν γὰ κροουούσαι, probably D D), but the D (or P) element here amidst resolved ia-tr metra is very strange; and the breach of ia-tr continuity at Ὀρέστας . . . (ias following non-catalectic trs) confirms that something is amiss. And the phrasing of 1468 is otherwise suspect. Most edd. rightly look for iambs before . . . ἐφέ-ρεν ἐφέρεν ἐς | . . ., leading to iambic catalexis at . . . Ὀρέστας || (cf. 1478-80 . . . ἦ τρικώρυ-θός Ἄϊας ||); but the scansion -σαν-δάλον ἰχνός is surely impossible (an unendurably harsh split resolution, pace L. Parker, *CQ* 1968, 248). [Omission of one ἐφερεν (following . . . ἰχνός / . . . or . . . ἰ-/χνός . . .) would also lead to catalexis at Ὀρέστας, but this anadiplosis is unlikely to be false, and we are still left with the odd iambo-dactylic mixture in 1468. West's emendations of Ὀρέστας are unappealing (ὁ θήρ *BICS* 1981, 70; ὁ τοῦ στρατηλάτα pers. comm.), and seem misdirected; but he is doubtless right in rejecting the enjambed arrangement . . . Ὀρε-|στάς, Μυκηνίδ' ἀρβύλαν/πρόβας, ὠμοῖς ἀρι-/στέροισιν . . . (as proposed, in effect, by Wilamowitz, *GV* 271.)] See Addenda.

1468. φυγά(δ) (Faciis) seems necessary, if ποδι is sound; *El.* 218-19 has been compared (φυγή . . . / . . . ἐξαλύσωμεν ποδί), but the dats. there are

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- widely separated. χρυσεοσάνδαλον: the 'golden' epithet is appropriate to a Διὸς παῖς (at *IA* 1042 it is used of the Muses); and cf. Cl.'s 'gold-woven robe' (839-41*). ἴχνος: cf. 140-1*, *IT* 266 πορθμεύων ἴχνος. The suggested addition of <ποδῶν> gives a turn of phrase (including the pleonasm) like *Tr.* 332-4 πόδα σὸν / ἔλισσε τᾶδ' ἐκέισε μετ' ἐμέθεν ποδῶν / φέρουσα φιλιτάταν βᾶσιν. [Those who object to the pleonasm here may prefer to consider φονγᾶ δέ ποι... as an alternative correction of the sentence-opening. The def. article τὸ is unneeded, but scarcely objectionable. As often, χρῦσῶ- could be right (as against χρῦσῆδ-), cf. *El.* 726 χρυσεόμαλλον (χρυσῶ- Musgrave).]
1469. . . ἄφερην' ἐς κόμας δέ...: parataxis, 'was fleeing, when...'; cf. 1489 ff., 1494 f. δικῶν: 990-1*; Or.'s fingers are like 'missiles' (cf. 1132-3*, 1302-4); for the hair-seizing, cf. *Hel.* 116, *IA* 1366, *Tim. Pers.* 144.
1470. ἀρβύλαν προβάς: cf. *Ph.* 1412 προβάς δὲ κῶλον δεξιῶν; an extension from the frequent use of πόδα with βαίνειν and similar vbs, cf. *Al.* 869, *Hec.* 53; Denniston on *El.* 94, Diggle, *Studies* 37. Or.'s 'boot' (140-1*) is contrasted with Helen's 'sandals'. For the asyndetic participles, cf. 568*.
1471. ἀνακλάσας: a violent vb, here only in tragedy; cf. Theopomp. Com. fr. 54 τὸν τραχηλὸν ἀνακεκλασμένην.
1472. παῖειν... μέλαν ξίφος: cf. 1062-4*, 1147-8*. λαμῶν... εἶσω: cf. λ- διαμπάς *Ba.* 994, 1014. For the rhythm, cf. 1407, 1447.
1473. ποῦ δ' ἦτ' (Bothe, for δῆτ') ἀμύνειν...; lit. 'But where were you (so as) to defend?' implying 'But did you all do nothing when your mistress screamed for help?' Cf. Barrett on *Hr.* 294 for the infin. use (KG ii 11). κατὰ στέγας: loosely 'in the Palace' (or simply 'within', in a theatrical sense, cf. 1345), although excluded from the main δόμοι (1127, 1448-51). The Phrygian's narrative has seemed to imply autopsy; his reply to 1473 contradicts that (cf. 1425*). The reliability (σαφήμεια) of his account is thus appropriately undermined, or blurred, at the crucial moment when Helen is (seemingly) 'being killed'; cf. on p. 305. See Addendis Addenda.
- 1474-82 *Φρ.* ἰαχῆ δόμων, θύρετρα καὶ σταθμούς 2δ |
μοχλοῖσιν ἐκβαλόντες ἐνθ' ἐμίμονεν, 3ια |
1475 βοηδρομοῦμεν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν στέγας, 3ια |
ὁ μὲν πέτρους, ὁ δ' ἀγκύλας, 2ια |
ὁ δὲ ξίφος πρόκωπον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων 3ια (||)
ἔναντα δ' ἦλθ[ε Πυλάδης] 1ια (?)
ἄλ[ε]ιστος ὁλος Ἔκ- 2ια |
1480 τωρ ὁ Φρύγιος ἦ τρικρόρυθος Αἴας, 11 2ια ^ ||
ὄν εἶδον εἶδον ἐν πύλαις 2ια |
Πριαμίσι: φασγάνων δ' ἀκμάς συνήψαμεν 3ια (||)
- In response to the ἰαχῆ (1296, 1465), the slaves break out from the stables (and elsewhere, 1449-50), come running to the rescue, and are confronted by 'Iliadic' martial prowess ('like Hector or Ajax').
- 1474-5. ἰαχῆ δόμων: i.e. ἰαχοῦσι δόμοις; the dat. construes with βοηδρομοῦμεν (a schema etymologicum, cf. 1288-91*); for the ἰαχῆ of the 'house' (rather than of Helen herself), cf. 1335 ἀνευφημεί δόμος, and *El.*

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- 1150 *ἰάχησε δὲ στέγα λαίνοι τε θριγκοὶ δόμων. θύετρα καὶ σταθμούς*: 'stable doors' (hendiadys). *μοχλοῖσιν ἐκβαλόντες*: cf. *Hel.* 1044, Bond on *HF* 999; the *μοχλοί* are here 'levers, crowbars' (*Ph.* 1132, *Ba.* 348, 949, 1104, etc.), not 'locking-bars' (as in 1551, 1571, etc.). *ἄμύμονοι*: i.e. 'where we still were' (as narrated in 1448-51). *ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν στέγας*: with an effect almost of formulaic refrain (1418, 1448, 1450, 1458). [The usual interpretation takes both *ἰάχῃ* and *μοχλοῖσιν* with *ἐκβαλόντες*; but (a) that loses the important link between *ἰάχῃ* and *ἀνίαχεν ἴαχεν* 1465 (any shouting by the slaves is relatively unimportant); (b) *ἰάχῃ* (without epithet) coheres ill as a 'modal-comitative' dat. with a vb of physical action; (c) *θύρ- καὶ σταθμ-* cannot then be a hendiadys, and instead we have an unnatural *hysteron proteron* of the slaves breaking down the *δόμων θύετρα* (to get in), and then breaking down the stable(-door)s (to get out).]
- 1476-7. *ὁ μὲν πέτρους . . .*: the picture is of a motley Asiatic (Persian-style) 'army' confronting Greek martial prowess (cf. 1405, 1483-5), with a mixture of (primarily) missile-men and (some) sword-armed infantry; for the stone-throwing, cf. *IT* 318-19, 1376. *ἀγκύλας*: 'bow' (the Asiatic weapon *par excellence*, 1408-10*); cf. the epic *ἀγκύλα τόξα* and Apollo's *χρυσόστροφων ἄπ' ἀγκυλῶν βέλεια* in *S. OT* 203-5. If *ἀγκυλῶν* there means 'bow' or 'bowstring' (preferably the former, *pace* LSJ and Jebb; *χρυσόστροφος* 'with golden *στροφός*'), it is incredible that *ἀγκύλας* (without qualification) was here to be understood as 'javelin(s)'. [The root meaning of *ἀγκύλη* is approximately 'bend, crook', with many extended uses. Javelins might be termed *μεσάγκυλα* (a word variously explained) and described as *ἀγκυλητά* (*A. fr.* 16) or *ἀγκυλένδετα* (cf. *Tim. Pers.* 22-3 <*Ἄρης*> *ἀγκυλένδετος μεθίετο χερσίν*); but they were never simply *ἀγκύλας*. The interpretation 'javelins' in *Σ* is supported by speculation, not by lexicographical evidence (*τὰ ἀκόντια, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπηγκυλίσθαι* (leg. -ῆσθαι?), *ἢ διότι ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ μέσον ἀγκύλης λαμβανόμενοι ρίπτουσι*). Di B. does well to challenge that interpretation, less well to substitute 'lasso(s)' on the strength of *IT* 1408 (where the adj. *πλεκτάς* and the naval context make a big difference; the meaning there may be 'grappling hooks').]
1477. *πρόκωπον*: 'drawn', like *πρόχειρος* (with substitution of 'hilt' for 'hand', see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1651).
- 1478-9. Cf. *S. Aj.* 1283-4 *Ἐκτορος μόνος μόνου . . . ἦλθ' ἐναντίος* (or *-θεν ἀντίος*). The adverbial *ἐναντία* is poetical and rare (*Hom.*, *Pi.*, *S. Ant.* 1299). *ἀλάστος* is properly 'such that there is no abating' (*λιάζομαι*), but there seems to have been an ancient convergence with *ἀλαστος* (cognate with *ἀλάστωρ*, Barrett on *Hp.* 877-80) in the sense 'causing or involving grievous hurt'. *μάχη* and *πόλεμος* are *ἀλάστος* (*Il.* 14. 57, 20. 31); Hector is abused as *ἀλαστε* in *Il.* 22. 261. Metre favours *ἀλαστος* here (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* ii 105-6); but it still limps in 1478. The remedy, I suspect, is to eject *Πυλάδης* as a gloss on a sentence in which the subject was originally left indefinite (cf. 1491*): 'There came against us as *it were* a Hector or Ajax' (*σός*, cf. 1112*; *οί- οί-, Ion* 1471, *Hel.* 664). It is, after all, natural to suppose that Or.

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(breaking off from the ambiguously-treated σφαγή of Helen) joined Pyl. in battle against the slaves (cf. 1492-3 below, where they both run to seize Herm.; subjectless idiom here would be like *ἄθυρσοι δ' οἶα . . . βάκχαι . . . συνήρπασαν* there). [The universal *Πυλάδης* (cf. *Ἵρέστας* 1470) is consistent with that hypothesis; and I have found no other metrically acceptable remedy. *-θῆ: Πυλάδαῶς* is a most unlikely cretic; and *-θε(ν)* *Πυλάδαῶς* (Wilam.) gives an alien choriamb (we cannot treat *ἐναντα δ' ἦλθεν Πυλάδας ἀλίαςτος* as an iambo-dactylic verse, like *Phaethon* 272 *ἀν' αἰθέρ' ἦ γὰς ὑπὸ κεύθου ἄφαντον*, since *οἶος οἶος . . . Αἴας* then awkwardly becomes *ith | ia re* or *ith | zia*] with *Αἴ-ας* overlapping into 1481).] See Addenda.

1480. **τρικόρυθος**: 'triple-helmed', perhaps simply as an 'impressive' epithet, cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 123-5 (*τρικόρυθος . . . Κορύβαντες*). In the *Iliad* it is Hector who is especially characterized as *κορυθαίολος*, his Apollo-given helmet being 'three-layered' (*τρίπτυχος Il.* 11. 353), whereas Ajax is noted for his tower-like shield (*Il.* 7. 219 ff.; cf. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 181-2, 242', and Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* 232 ff., 249 f.).

1481-2. It is in *Il.* 7 that Ajax meets Hector near the gates of Troy. **Πριαμίσι**: cf. *Hel.* 1158. **συνήψαμεν**: a favourite vb (nearly 60 times in E.; only a handful of occurrences in A. and S.).

1483-7	<i>τότε δὴ τότε διαπρέπεις</i>	T
	<i>ἐγένοντ' Ἄρεος Φρύγες ὅσον ἄλκᾶν</i>	2an
1485	<i>ἦσοονες Ἑλλάδος ἐγενόμεθ' αἰχμᾶς,</i>	2an
	<i>ὁ μὲν οἰχόμενος φυγὰς, ὁ δὲ νέκυς ὤν,</i>	2an
	<i>ὁ δὲ τραῦμα φέρων,</i>	an
	<i>ὁ δὲ λισσόμενος, θανάτου προβολάν'</i>	2an ()

The Phrygians are ingloriously worsted, in a manner characteristic of their race vis-à-vis Greeks. [*Metre.* Murray's [τότε] δὴ τότε διὰ πρῆπεις | <τότ'> ἐγένοντο Φρύγες | ὅσον Ἄρεως ἄλκᾶν neatly produces dochmiacs in 1483-4, but sentence-opening δὴ is almost confined to epic (*GP* 228; in tragedy, only at *A. Sept.* 214). It should not be insisted that resolution of the favourite, often transitional, 00-00-00- ('T', see p. 113) is possible only in aeolo-choriambic contents (as at *Hyps.* 1 ii 25). διὰ πρῆπεις for 00- at verse-end is the easiest of resolutions (in a verse shaped like *Su.* 778 *τὰ μὲν εἶδ' ἄδ' δυστυχή*), and *Hel.* 1119 affords a sufficient precedent (*Λακῆδαίμωνος ἀπὸ λέχῃα*/. . ., following aeolo-chor., but initiating an enoplian period *T/A* (2an)/2ia_λ). Note also the affinity here between 00-0000... and the (rare) resolved rhythm . . . | 0000 . . . in the following anapaests (for which cf. *Hp.* 1372, *IT* 231). A different transposition remedies 1484 (where the analysis *ἐγένοντο Φρύγες ὁ-/σὸν Ἄρεως ἄλκᾶν* gives a split resolution and no metron-diaeresis); the revised (harder) word-order appropriately emphasizes *'Ἄρεος*]. See Addenda.

1483. **τότε δὴ τότε**: for the phrase-pattern, cf. *Hec.* 930 *πότε δὴ πότε*, *Hec.* 909, *El.* 727, etc. (Bond on *Hyps.* 1 iii 15, Diggle, *CQ* 1984, 65). **διαπρέπεις**: '(ingloriously) manifest', with the personal construction of δῆλος (855),

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- φανερός (KG ii 53); ironical, since διαπρητής is normally used of conspicuous ἀρετή.
1484. ὅσον: cf. *Iop* 1094-5 (ἀράθ') ὅσον εὐσεβία κρατοῦ- / μιν ἄδικον ἄροτον ἀνδρῶν. Ἄρεος . . . ἄλκάν: 'in martial prowess'; specifying acc. (with ἡσσοσες), cf. *Il.* 15. 642, *S. El.* 1023, etc. (KG i 316). Ἄρεος is the commoner gen. form in lyric.
1485. Ἑλλάδος . . . αἰχμᾶς: 'Grecian spear(-point)', gen. of comparison; for the synecdoche, cf. *Tr.* 837-8 Πριάμοιο δὲ γαίαν Ἑλλάς ὤλεσ' αἰχμᾶ. ἐγενόμεθ': casual rather than pointed repetition of a vb, cf. 10*.
- 1486-7. Reminiscent (with 1489 below) of *Hel.* 1605-6; the difference there is that the narrator is concerned to emphasize that the king's men have all done their best against impossible odds. θανάτου προβολάν: 'as a defence against death' (appositive int. acc., 1105*); for the gen., cf. *S. Aj.* 1211-13, and *Pl. Tim.* 74B πρόβλημα χεμίωνων (KG i 336).
- 1488-93
- | | | |
|------|--|--------------|
| | ὕπὸ σκότον δ' ἐφεύγομεν, | zia |
| | νεκροὶ δ' ἐπιπτον, οἱ δ' ἔμελλον, οἱ δ' ἔκειντ', | zia |
| 1490 | ἔμολε δ' ἄτάλαιν' Ἑρμιόνα δόμους | 2δ |
| | ἐπὶ φόνῳ χαμαιπετεὶ ματρὸς ἄ | 2δ |
| | νιν ἔτεκεν τλάμων· | δ () |
| | ἄθυρσοι δ' οἶά νιν | δα cr |
| | δραμόντε βάκχαι σκύμνον ἐν χεροῖν | pe hδ |
| | ὄρειαν ξυνήρπασαν· | δα ia () |

- During the rout of the Phrygians and 'on top of' the φόνος of Helen, Hermione arrives and is violently seized by the 'maenad-like' conspirators.
- 1488-91. Commas suffice, with parataxis (1469*) between the imperf. vbs and the aor. ἔμολε. The synapheia (with elision) between 1489 and 1490 suggests that the whole sequence of 51a + 5δ may be a single period. See Addenda.
1488. σκότον: 'concealment', cf. 1457, with a metaphor here that suggests hunted animals (in line with the metaphor in 1492-3, and cf. 1416*).
1489. A parenthetic elaboration of the 'rout' picture, tripartite (pres.-fut.-past) with οἱ μέν understood (cf. *HF* 636, *IT* 1350, *Hel.* 1605; KG ii 266, *Bruhn* 106); ἔμελλον, sc. πεσεῖσθαι.
1491. ἐπὶ φόνῳ . . . : an ingenious *suggestio falsi*, strongly suggesting (but not actually saying) that Helen is already lying dead/bleeding on the ground. ἐπὶ need only mean 'in circumstances involving'. Some time has elapsed since we were told that Or. was on the point of cutting Helen's throat (1472; 1473*), and his movements since then have been left vague (1478-9*). χαμαιπετεὶ: *Tr.* 507, *Cyc.* 386. ματρὸς ἄ νιν ἔτεκεν: 29*. τλάμων: 'pitying', like τάλαινα 1490, and contributing to the *suggestio falsi* (associating mother and daughter as 'victims of murderous assault').
- 1492-3. The interlaced word-order, for δραμόντε δὲ νιν συνήρπασαν, ὥσπερ ἄθυρσοι βάκχαι (δραμοῦσαι καὶ ἀρπάζουσαι) σκύμνον ὄρειαν, blends image and reality (cf. 341-4*); with a metaphorical oxymoron, Or. and Pyl. are a 'thyrsus-less thiasos' (like the Furies, 319-20*), with an implication of

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'savage frenzy'; for Herm. as a *σκόμνος*, like Polyxena in *Hec.* 205, cf. 1211-13*. Note the *murderous* nature of the image: the Phrygian has no reason for believing Herm. to be still alive (cf. 1498-9, 1554-66*). [*pe* | *hd*: cf. *Held.* 81-2/102-3, S. *OT* 1339/59, etc. (Stinton, *CR* 1965, 145-6, and *BICS* 1975, 105); West, *GM* 111]. The sequence *might* be interpreted here as *ia* | *sp* | *ia* (with 'violent' syncope); but there have been other rhythmic variations involving *hd*s (1382, 1384, 1400; cf. 1497 below), and there are dochmiacs nearby. The *ba* | *ia* clausula is then only a partial echo of the previous . . . *cr* *ba* | *ia* clausulae (1377-9*, etc.).]

1494-7	πάλιν δὲ τὰν Διὸς κόρας ἐπὶ σφαγὰν ἔτεινον· ἄ δ' 1495 ἐκ παλαμῶν γένετο διαπρὸ δωματίων ἄφαντος· ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ Φῶς καὶ Νύξ· ἦτοι φαρμάκοις, ἦ μάγων τέχναις, ἦ θεῶν κλοπαῖς·	zia zia 2δ ba 4sp (zan?) δ hd hd ()
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When Or. and Pyl. were 'energetically returning to the *σφαγή* of Helen', she (or her bleached corpse) amazingly 'vanished from their clutches', as if by magic. The skilfully ambiguous language is still consistent with an already accomplished *σφαγή* (cf. 1491*), but consistent also with the truth that Apollo will reveal in 1633-4, the saving of Helen 'from beneath Or.'s sword'. The 'vanishing' is reminiscent of the Phantom-Helen's disappearance from a cave in *Hel.* 605 ff., but very different in dramatic conception and narrative technique. The cryptic brevity of the narration at this point, delivered by a doubtfully trustworthy terrified singer, is an essential element in the plot. We are given no time for rational analysis before the narrator's concluding words and the following scene, both of which are designed to reinforce the impression that Helen has at least *perished*.

1494. One can *τείνειν σφαγὴν ἐπὶ τινά* (*Hec.* 263, *Su.* 672), but not vice versa. The idea that *ἐπὶ* (written *ἐπι*) here governs the *preceding* acc. (*κόραν* codd.) is unconvincing. Anastrophe with acc. is very rare in E. (I exclude phrases where the next word is a dependent gen., cf. 94*), and never occurs in mid sentence with another acc. noun following. We must accept *κόρας* (*τᾶς* . . . *κόρας* Rauchenstein, Paley), cf. *HF* 1001 πρὸς γέροντος ἰππεύει φόνον; but it seems better to keep *τᾶν* (a smaller change to a more corruptible text). The sense is 'to the *σφαγή* of Helen' (as opposed to that of the Phrygians and Hermione, 1492-3*); the phrase-pattern is like τοῦ Ταυταλιδῶν ἐξ αἵματος (350-1*), *Hel.* 235 τὰν ἐμὴν ἐφ' ἑστίαν. Διὸς κόρας (without *τῆς*): cf. *Hel.* 77. *ἔτεινον*: intrans., cf. 1129*. *ἄ δ'* . . . parataxis again (1469*), with synapheia between iambic and dochmiac sequences (cf. 1488-91).

1495. *ἐκ παλαμῶν* (codd. *θαλάμων*) . . . *ἄφαντος*: cf. *Hp.* 828 ἐκ χειρῶν ἄφαντος (of the 'bird-like' vanishing of Phaedra from Theseus by her suicidal 'leap'), and *Hel.* 606 ἀρθεία ἄφαντος. *παλαμαί* (820*), like 'clutches',

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combines the ideas 'hands' and 'violent design'. [*ἐκ θαλάμων* is surely false: either otiose before *δωμάτων* (if taken in a vague sense like *παστάδων* 1371) or inaccurate, since the scene is at the central *ἑστία* (1439–46); deleted also for metrical reasons by Murray (after Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* ii 105). But it is most unlikely to be a mere gloss on *διαπρὸ δωμάτων*.] *γένετο*: codd. *ἐγένετο*, cf. 998–9*, [*ἐπέσει* 1307–10*. *διαπρὸ δωμάτων*: cf. *διέκ μεγάροιο* *Od.* 10. 388, *ἀποπρὸ δωμάτων* *HF* 1081 (142–3*). The period ends with a baccheus (following dochmiacs and followed by an exclamation); cf. 1388–9* (. . . | *ἔρινόν* || *ὄττοσσι* . . .). See Addendis Addenda.

1496. Cf. *Med.* 148 *ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ φῶς*; the apostrophe of Cosmic Powers elaborates the colloquial *ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε* (Elmsley on *Med.* 1218–19[1251–2]); the addition of 'Night' here is associable with the ideas of 'disappearance' (cf. *σκότος*) and/or 'calamity' (cf. Denniston on *El.* 866–7).

1497. The Phrygian thinks first of 'black magic'. *φαρμάκοις*: i.e. 'witchcraft', of the Circaean, Thessalian kind (cf. Stevens on *An.* 32); *Σ* mentions 'Egypt', comparing *Od.* 4. 228. *μάγων τέχναις*: 'wizardry', of the Asiatic 'abracadabra' kind, cf. *IT* 1337–8 *βάρβαρα μέλη μαγεύουσα*. Not a clear-cut distinction (magic spells may combine material and verbal ingredients); but cf. also *Su.* 1110 f., where *βρωτὰ καὶ ποτὰ* and *μαγεύματα* (presumably Asiatic and incantatory) are scorned as means for extending human life. The ordinary Athenian had heard of the Persian *μάγοι* (*Hdt.* i. 132, etc.; cf. Pl. *Alcib.* 122A), but had no accurate knowledge of, still less regard for, their actual practices (on *μαγεία* in general, see *RE* xiv. i (1928) 301 ff.). *ἡ θεῶν κλοπαῖς*: as Paris, for example, had been rescued by Aphrodite in *Il.* 3. 379–82, or Iphigenia by Artemis (cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 662 f.). The true explanation is artfully introduced as a mere third possibility. [There are several possible metrical interpretations of 1497 (*φαρμάκοισιν* codd., *τέχναισιν* Mn and most edd. For *-υ-υ-* as a colarion, cf. 988–94*.)]

1498–1502	<i>τὰ δ' ὕστερ' οὐκέτ' οἶδα, δραπέταν γὰρ ἐξ- έκλεπτον ἐκ δώμων πόδα:</i>	<i>zia</i> <i>zia</i>
1500	<i>πολύπονα δὲ πολύπονα πάθεα Μενέλας ἀνασχόμενος (<υ> ἀνόνατον ἀπο- <πρὸ> Τροίας ἔλαβε τὸν Ἑλένας γάμον.</i>	<i>2δ</i> <i>2δ</i> § <i>2δ</i>

1498–9. The Phrygian 'knows no more' (like the Chorus at *A. Ag.* 248); cf. *Men. Sik.* 270–1 (Introd. n. 119). *δραπέταν* (*-την* codd., edd.): 'runaway', esp. of slaves; here first as an adj. with 'foot' (cf. 456, 1505 etc. for the hypallage), and here only in lyric. *ἔξεκλεπτον . . . πόδα*: cf. *Hyps.* 64. 79 *σὺ δ' ἐξέκλεψας πῶς πόδ' ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν*; and *S. Aj.* 248 *ποδοῖν κλοπὰν ἀρέσθαι*. [*ἐκ* is superfluous and the cadence . . . υ-υ-|υ-υ-υ would be in keeping (1377–9*); but for the *zia*, cf. 1476–7, 1481–2, 1488–9.] See Addenda.

1500–2. Cf. *Hel.* 603 *λέγω πόνους σε μύριους τλήναι μάτην* (preceding the account of the Phantom-Helen's disappearance), 707 *ἄλλως εἶχομεν πόνους*. The concluding 'moral' of the narrative here serves to confirm (truly but misleadingly) that Helen 'is no more'; the narrator believes her to be dead (cf. 1512*). *πολύπονα* (*bis*): thematic, cf. 1012*. *Μενέλας*: for

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the lyric form of the name (codd. -λαος), cf. *Tr.* 212, 1100, ?*Hel.* 1135, *Rh.* 257, *Pi. Nem.* 7. 28 (Björck 105-7, 249). **ἀνασχόμενος**: 'coincident' aor. participle; the *πόνοι* and the lack of *δνησις* are complementary aspects of the recovering of Helen from Troy. **ἀνόνατον** (-νητον codd., edd.): cf. *Hel.* 886 *ἀνοήτοις γάμοις*, fr. 386 *ἀνόνητον ἀγαλμ'* . . . οἴκοις τεκῶν, *Al.* 412 *ἀνόνατ' ἀνόνατ' ἐνούφεισας*, *Hec.* 766, *El.* 507. **ἔλαβα**: with the force *ἀνα*-, cf. 1565, *Su.* 536, 776, etc. [*Metre*: the final period begins characteristically with a dochmiac run of *brevia* (cf. 150-2/63-5, 1309, 1364/1547, *Hel.* 694, etc.). Murray's πολ- δέ πολ- πάθ- | Μένελᾶϊς ἀνασχόμενος . . . is supposed to give *zia* followed by *4δ*, but -όμενος ἀνόνητῶν *ā*- is not an acceptable dochmius (*pace* West, *GM* 109). *ἀνασχόμενος ἀνό*- would also be a unique *δ*-form (cf. Diggle, *Studies* 56). I see no escape from the inference that a word (or words) starting with a *longum* has dropped out after *ἀνασχόμενος*. Working backwards from the end, . . . ἀνόνατῶν ἀπό- (<πρό> Τροίας ἐλάβε | τὸν Ἐλένα γάμον seems the likeliest rectification there (with <ἀρ> ἀπό as a possible alternative); ἀποπρό, cf. 142-3*. For the (presumed) missing syllables before ἀνόνατον, <ἄλλως> might do (cf. *Hel.* 707); but -υ would give a smoother rhythm, perhaps <δθλον> 'prize' (cf. *Hel.* 42-3 Φρυγῶν δ' ἔς ἀλκὴν προτέθην . . . ἔθλον Ἑλλήσιν δορός). In 1500 J.D. suggests *πὸλυπῶνᾶ δὲ πᾶθῆᾶ | πὸλυπῶνᾶ* . . . (split anadiplosis, 142-3*); but I see no need for that further alteration. Anadiplosis of a proceleusmatic word is rare, but cf. 1364 διὰ τὸν δλόμενον δλόμενον . . .; the pattern πολ- δέ πολ- is like 971 βέβακε γὰρ βέβακεν, 1485* τότε δὴ τότε, *Hp.* 580 ἔνεπε δ' ἔνεπε, etc.]. See *Addenda* and *Addendis Addenda*.

1503-5. Another three-line approach-announcement (also another 'entry in haste', cf. 456 ff., 725 ff.); its formal symmetry with 1366-8 (p. 287) is pointed by **ἀμείβει** (*Σ* διαδέχεται). 'Unwelcome novelties (239-40*) succeeding novelties': for the phrasing, cf. 816-18*, 1007-10*, *Tr.* 1118-19 *καιναὶ καινῶν μεταβάλλουσαι χθονὶ συντυχίαι*, *IT* 865 *ἄλλα δ' ἔξ ἄλλων κυρεῖ. ἐπτοημένῳ ποδὶ*: hypallage (as 456, 1499-1500); Or. is himself 'on wings of strong emotion' as he enters; cf. *Ba.* 214 *ὡς ἐπτόηται: τί ποτ' ἐρεῖ νεώτερον*;

1506-36. *Tetrameter-scene* (Or., Phr.); cf. 729-806*. The issue in the lively stichomythia (1506-24) is whether Or. will prevent the fugitive from raising the alarm by instant butchery or by sending him back into the Palace; a dilemma apparently resolved by the merciful decision in 1524 (unheroically motivated: Or. recognizes in the miserable barbarian slave a *σύνεσις* and *φιλοψυχία* like his own). Then, however, with a neat dramatic twist (misunderstanding of which has caused serious confusion), Or. speaks of a *change of plan* (1526 *ἀλλὰ μεταβουλευόμεσθα*): still addressing the Phrygian he recalls his previous intention (1529) and the reason for it (1530); but he now declares that he has no fear of Men.'s coming within sword-range (with or without Argive supporters), being ready to receive him in accordance with the strategy outlined in 1191 ff.—a strategy, it is implied, which Or. had temporarily forgotten in the emotion of hot

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pursuit. Naturally this *μεταβούλευσις* at first suspends the command 'go within' (the conversation continues) and then implicitly revokes it. The Phrygian has been not merely spared (*ἀφείσαι* 1525), but permitted—indeed encouraged—to escape with his *ἀγγελία* to Men. (cf. 1554–66*), while Or. returns within.

The scene is 'unnecessary', in that the Phrygian could simply have gone on his way after 1502. But it makes an important contribution to the *suggestio falsi* as to Helen's death (1512–13, 1536) and to the anti-heroic presentation of the hero, in a drama full of 'alarms' and 'abortive actions' (a point well brought out by Burnett; cf. also Lanza, *Dioniso* 1961, 66–7, Wolff 137). The tone may be far removed from that of traditional tragedy (*Ἐ κωμικώτερον*; Introd. G vi); but *prima facie* the style is Euripidean (Webster, *TE* 250'), and the arguments that have been employed for assigning the whole scene to an interpolator are misconceived. [The arguments of A. Grüniger (Diss. Basel 1898), imperfectly rebutted by Page (*Actors* 45–8), are taken further by B. Gredley (*GRBS* 1968, 409–19) and endorsed by Reeve (i 263–4). The 'logic' of 1527 ff. and of the Phrygian's exit is crucial—as Verrall recognized (253), he must exit *away from*, not into, the Palace; but almost all edd. and comm. have the stage-direction wrong. As to the 'contradiction' between this scene (esp. 1512 and 1536) and 1580 ff., there is more to be said *ad locc.* Other points: (a) Reeve objects to the staying-on of the *ἐξάγγελος* (instead of *at once* returning into the Palace, the usual procedure); but the Phrygian has uniquely *sung* his *ἀγγελία*, and it would be at least as strange if, having sung, the actor did not remain to *speak*. (b) R. contemplates the 'perfect symmetry' of 1353–1548 if 1503–36 (and 1366–8*) are excised, overlooking the asymmetries in 1369–1502; for a structural synopsis of 1246–1693, see p. 287.]

1506. *ἐκ δόμων . . . ξίφος*: cf. 1369–70*; P's plausible variant *πέφευγε τοῦ μὲν ἐκ δόμων ξίφος* (with interlaced word-order) was preferred by Porson.

1507. *προσκυνῶ*: the regular word for oriental prostration (*Tr.* 1021, *Hdt.* 1. 119, etc.); Greek *προσκύνησις* was normally to gods, though cf. *S. OT* 327. *προσπίτνων*: for the pleonasm, cf. *Hdt.* 1. 134. 1.

1508. *τάδ' ἔστιν*: almost = *ἔσμεν* (1192*), but cf. the idiomatic use with noun complement in *An.* 168 *οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' Ἐκτωρ τάδε* (also *Cyc.* 63, 204, *Tr.* 99 f., *Hyps.* 1 ii 9).

1509. 'Unheroic', cf. 640–79*; the gnomic use of *πανταχοῦ* (cf. *An.* 241, *Hec.* 845) is here pointed by the repartee.

1510. *οὐ τί που . . .*; 'desiring, but not necessarily expecting, a negative answer' (Wedd); cf. *HF* 966, *Hel.* 95, 475, 541, *Ion* 1113 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 24). *ἰθηκας*: synonymous with *ἔστησας* in this periphrasis (cf. 1529; Bond on *HF* 590). *Μενέλαω*: oddly ambiguous, either 'shouted to Menelaus to bring help (to his wife and daughter)' or 'shouted (to the citizens) to help Men.'. The variant *Μενέλεων* is better (H, conj. Gedike); Or.'s question becomes unambiguous (in the former sense, the one we want), and the slight shift in the Phrygian's reply is quite straightforward. *βοηδρομαίει*: cf. 1288–91*.

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1511. The mendacious flattery is 'servile' (an aspect of *κακία*), while aptly providing a cue for 1512.
1512. *ὄρα* (affecting surprise); 'So in your view . . .?' *ἐνδίκως* . . . *διώλετο*: ' . . . (has) justly perished?', with a strong emphasis on the adverb, but at the same time implying that Or. himself (like the Phrygian, 1500-2*) has no doubt of the 'perishing' (a suitably vague and comprehensive word, cf. *διολέσαντας* 1566*). For the sake of the surprise dénouement, the audience are intended to share that belief, discounting the weird 'miracle' described in 1494-7* (which may, in any case, have been merely the disappearance of Helen's corpse). Humanly speaking, Helen has indeed 'perished', and only the *deus* can contradict that. But E. is everywhere careful to avoid untrue statements, while employing various kinds of *suggestio falsi* designed to confirm the impression of a successful *σφαγή*. Or.'s failure to refer to the 'vanishing' has puzzled commentators; but his reticence about the offstage miracle can be compared with that of Pentheus in *Ba.* 642 ff. For the moment (at least) we are not invited to speculate about Or.'s inner feelings concerning the disappearance of his victim; as to the 'corpse' (*νεκρός*), see further on 1536*, where the *suggestio falsi* is taken to a planned climax. [Herwerden proposed *διώλετ' ἄν* in order to make 1512 consistent with awareness of failure to kill Helen (*διώλλυτο*, suggested by West, *BICS* 1981, 70, more subtly achieves the same object); but why should Or. regard Helen as *not* having 'perished'? Others are content to regard Or. as 'mad' (as a sufficient explanation of anything that appears to contradict logic in his behaviour and utterances). But in this scene we have been told only that he is *ἐπισημμένος* (1503-5*). There can be no question here of another 'mad fit' like 255 ff. (and even there Or.'s madness 'makes sense').]
1513. 'Aye, most justly—even (even, or a *fortiori*) if she had three throats for dying' (or better ' . . . smiting'). The Phrygian's reply seems to confirm the *σφαγή*, while flatteringly suggesting a comparison with Heracles' slaying of Geryon (for Helen as a comparable 'monster', cf. 1385-7*). In the type of sentence where *εἰ γὰρ* appears to mean 'even if' (usually following a neg. and colloquial in tone, *GP* 126), the concessive force is concluded in *εἰ* (as often) while the *γὰρ* is simply emphatic; cf. the epic *εἴπερ* (*GP* 488). *θανεῖν*: cf. 1116 for the idea *πολλάκις θανεῖν*. But for that we should expect *τρίς* here, and *θενεῖν* (Schmidt, *Di B.*) is likely to be right; cf. 1302, *Held.* 271, *Il.* 20. 481, etc. [For *εἰ γὰρ* Jackson proposed *εἴθε* ('oh that . . .!'); possible, but scarcely necessary.]
1514. *δειλῆς*: causal or modal dat. (= *δειλῶς*); *γλώσση*: instrumental; a third dat. (*μοι*) is understood. *τῶνδον*: 'in thy heart' (Wedd); cf. *Ar. Lys.* 512 *τᾶνδοθεν*. For the contrast between 'tongue' and 'mind', cf. *Hp.* 612, *An.* 452; for the pejorative use of expressions like *πρὸς χάριν λέγειν* (c.g. *Hec.* 257), cf. West on *Hes. Op.* 709.
1515. Again elliptical: *οὐ γὰρ* stands for 'What, not (truly believing that she perished most justly)?' (cf. 482-3); then *ἤτις* . . . follows like *οὔτινες* . . . after *πῶς*; in 438*, cf. also 1329*. *αὐτοῖς Φρυγῆι*: i.e. 'not only the Greeks

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- but the Phrygians too'; cf. A. *PV* 220-1 *καλύπτει . . . Κρόνον αὐτοῖσι συμμάχοισι* (Elmsley on *Med.* 160-1 [163-4], Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 52-3); the dat. is 'comitative' (KG i 433).
- 1516-17. Or.'s demand for an oath provides a cue for the Phrygian's expression of *φιλοφυχία*: his *life* is what he holds dearest (cf. 644-5*). *ἦν ἄν εὐορκοῖμι ἐγὼ*: traditional idiom, cf. *Il.* 15. 36-40 *ἴστω . . . υἱώτερον λέχος . . . τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ ποτε μᾶψ δόμοισιμι*.
1518. Values have changed, but Or.'s bullying of the 'contemptible barbarian' was probably recognizable (then, as now) as behaviour characteristic of an arrogant young aristocratic 'blood'. *ὤδα*: 'sic', rather than 'adeo', i.e. *ὥσπερ νῦν σοί*. Or. probably suits action to word by intensifying the threat of his sword.
1519. *ἀνταυγαί φόνον*: 'flashes (red) murder'; cf. 479-80*, and the compound *χρυσανταυγής* *Ion* 890; *δεινόν* (with *φόνον*, not adverbial) as in *Ph.* 61.
- 1520-1. *μὴ πέτρος γένη . . . ; — μὴ μὲν οὖν νεκρός* (sc. *γένωμαι*): 'taunting' question and 'witty' answer (with assonant word-play). *ὥστε . . .*: the normal use in a comparison with an understood finite vb (*GP* 526 f.), here 'is petrified'; we have also to understand *τις* (*εἰσιδών* substantival), cf. Ruijgh (321-3*) 997. The Herodotean use of *ὥστε* + participle is quite different (= 'utpote'; *GP* 527). This seems to be the first explicit mention in literature of the 'petrifying' effect of looking upon a Gorgon, but cf. *Ph.* 455-6 *οὐ γὰρ τὸ λαϊμότμητον εἰσορᾶς κάρα / Γοργόνος*. As Katsouris points out (175), the 'Gorgon' references in *Ph.* and *Or.* may well reflect the recent *Andromeda*. The single unnamed Gorgon is Homeric (*Il.* 8. 349, 11. 36-7 *βλοσυρῶπις . . . δεινὸν δερκομένη*); for the triplicate version, cf. West. on *Hes. Th.* 274 ff. *οὐ κάτοιδ'*: whether or not the Phrygian 'knows' (he seems to take the allusion), he cares nothing for mythological fancies in a matter of life and death.
- 1522-4. Cf. *Hec.* 357 ff., where Polyxena argues that slavery is worse than death, 'heroically' ending with . . . *τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὴ καλῶς μέγας πόνος* (378). The Phrygian takes the opposite view (cf. 1509), and Or. agrees, recognizing a *σύνεσις* like his own (*Introd.* n. 80).
1523. Cf. *Philem.* 95. *ἰ καὶ δούλος ἢ τις, σάρκα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει* (*cit.* Blaydes; *Synodinou* 49 f., 107).
1525. E.'s only tetrameter with two speaker-changes, but with a recent precedent at *S. Phil.* 1407; and cf. *Al.* 391, *Hp.* 310 for similar division of a trimeter. *ἄφαισα*: cf. *Held.* 789 *ἠλευθέρωσαι*. The Phrygian is, no doubt, on the point of obeying the command *βαῖν' ἔσω δόμων* (1524), but the pace of the dialogue is such that he has not had time to rise from his prostrate position before Or. speaks again; or else, if he has risen, he again prostrates himself.
1526. *ἀλλὰ μεταβουλεύσομεθα*: Or. is *not* threatening to change his mind and kill the Phrygian, though that of course is how the Phrygian 'misunderstands' him (cf. 414-16*). Or. has finished with that issue and is thinking of something quite different, as his continuation makes clear.

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1527. **μῶρος, εἰ δοκεῖς . . .** : Σ recognizes also the articulation **μῶρος εἰ-δοκεῖς . . .**; and Porson reports a variant **μῶρος εἰ, δοκῶν . . .** (cod. Harl.). The verbless **μῶρος** is more vigorous, explained by Σ as **κατ' ἔλλειψιν** (sc. **εἰ**); cf. *Ph.* 1647 **ἄφρονά γε** (sc. **βουλεύματα**), **καὶ σὺ μῶρος ὅς ἐπιθου τάδε**, *Ba.* 665 **σοφὸς σοφὸς σὺ, πλὴν ἃ δεῖ σ' εἶναι σοφόν**. [Wecklein took **μῶρος** as exclam. nom. That may be right, cf. *Il.* 1. 231 **δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις**, *S. El.* 1209-10 **ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ σέθεν . . . εἰ . . .** But in all the tragic exx. cited by Page on *Med.* 61 **ὦ μῶρος** (otherwise different, like 157*, 160*, as non-allocutory), Diggle on *Phaethon* 240, Stevens on *An.* 71, Broadhead on *A. Pers.* 733, the adj. is preceded by **ὦ** or some other exclam. There is no support in the epic use of **σχέτλιος** etc. (KG i 46), where the idiom in allocutions is either voc. **σχέτλιε** (-ιοι) or **σχέτλιος ἔσσι** (-ιοι ἔστε), usually followed by **ὅς** or **οἷ**. Given the absence of **σὺ** here and the probable ellipse of **εἰ**, I should have expected **ὅς δοκεῖς . . .** Perhaps **ὅς** dropped out after **-ος**, and **εἰ** is an interpolation (likely enough to have been written above **μῶρος**.)]

Then Monk's neglected **δοκεῖς με τλήναι σ' ἄν** (for **σὴν**) is palmary, since (a) aor. inf. + **ἄν** is what we want ('think that I would bring myself to . . .'), cf. *Med.* 368, *Hclid.* 1039-40, *Hp.* 470, *El.* 525-6, *S. Phil.* 536-7, *OG* 748-9, etc. (KG i 240-1); (b) the double acc. **σε . . . δέτην** is appropriate poetic idiom, after the pattern of *Il.* 11. 240 **τόν δ' ἄορι πλῆξ' αὐχένα** (KG i 289), cf. 762*, 1653*. For the word-order, cf. *Al.* 1075 **σάφ' οἶδα βούλεσθαι σ' ἄν. καθαιμάξα**: 'crucentare', cf. *An.* 588, *Hec.* 1126, *IA* 311 (and 1357-60*). The caesura at **τλήναι σ' | ἄν** is weak, but cf. *A. Pers.* 703 **ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιόν | σοὶ φρονῶν ἀνθίσταται** (and the behaviour of postpositives after the caesura in the iam. trim., West, *GM* 83); the rhythm is not in essence different from 730*, *Ion* 559 **γενέσθαι | παῖς** (followed by speaker-change), *IA* 904 **δάμαρτι | σῆ**. [Monk's n. on *Al.* 285-7[275-7] includes a good general survey of **ἔτην** etc. in tragedy. **τλήναι** (without **ἄν**) is usually defended here as analogous to **ἐλπίζω λαβεῖν IT** 1016 (cf. KG i 195-6, and G. L. Cooper, *Zur syntaktischen Theorie und Textkritik der attischen Autoren* (1971), 123-44); but the evidence that **δοκῶ, οἶμα, νομίζω, φρονῶ** can behave like **ἐλπίζω** is unsatisfactory. Routine corrections of **-σαι** to **-σειν** and of **-σασθαι** to **-σεσθαι** should not be resisted, e.g. at *S. El.* 443 **δέξασθαι** (-σθαι) Heath), where there is a v.l. **δέξεται**, and at *Th.* 2. 3. 2 **ἐνόμισαν . . . κρατήσαι**, cited by Aen. Tact. with **κρατήσειν**.]

1528. **οὔτε γὰρ γυνή . . . οὐτ' . . .** : Or. might have 'brought himself' to kill the (κακός) Phrygian if he had been a woman, cf. 1590 **οὐκ ἂν κάμοιμι τὰς κακὰς κτείνων δέε**. But he is not, and there is no martial glory either in killing an unworthy opponent. I do not understand Murray's dash after **πέφυκας**. (**οὐκ**) **ἐν ἀνδράσιν** is a frequent type of reproach to men deficient in δίκη; cf. *Al.* 723 (Admetus to Pheres), *An.* 591 (Pelcus to Menelaus), *HF* 41, *IA* 945. We cannot directly infer from 1528 (as many commentators do) that the Phrygian is a eunuch.

1529. **τοῦ δὲ μὴ . . .** : the logic is straightforward if 1529-30 is understood as

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- the first part of an antithesis, cf. 638-9, *Hp.* 912-13 (*CQ* 1968, 41). This is the *original* reason why Or. came out of the Palace, to prevent *βοηδρομία*. He is now 'rethinking' (1526) that fear-motivated intention. *οὐνεκ*: for the construction with *τοῦ μή* + inf. (which can by itself express neg. purpose) cf. Th. 1. 45 (*KG* ii 42).
1530. A parenthetical justification of Or.'s previous 'fear' (round brackets would clarify the sequence of thought). *δέξυ* is probably predic. adj. (cf. *IA* 5) describing Argos when roused (opp. *βάθυμον*; LSJ *δέξυς* IV), with a complimentary topical reference to Athens' ally; cf. *Held.* 339 *ταχύς γὰρ Ἄργει πᾶς ἀνὴρ βοηδρόμιος*, and *Ph.* 717. [Weil's *ἐξηγείρετ' ἀν* is possible, but scarcely better than the text.]
- 1531-2. Or.'s new thought, boastfully expressed, is simply that Men. is (after all) welcome to come and with whatever hostile force he pleases. *ἀναλαβεῖν*: ἀνα-, because of their previous encounter. *ἔσω ξίφους*: concrete for abstract, cf. the idioms *ἐντός/ἔξω τοξεύματος* and *εἰς τόξευμα ἰλθεῖν* (*HF* 991, Th. 7. 30, X. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 23); for the transference of 'missile' phraseology to swordplay, cf. 1132-3*, 1302-4. *ἴτω*: at once 'challenging' (*Hel.* 844 *ὁ δὲ θέλων ἴτω πέλας*, *Ph.* 521) and 'dismissive' (cf. 793*). *ξανθοῖς... γαιρούμενος*: 348-51*; cf. *Archil.* 114. 1-2 *West στρατηγόν... βοστρύχουσαι γαῦρον. ἐπ' ὤμων*: adjectival (here attributive between adj. and noun as between def. article and noun), cf. *ἐξ Ὀλύμπου* 982-4*, *ἐν δόμοις* 1324-5*.
1533. 'For if (as expected) he does come against the palace with a force of Argives...'
1534. *τὸν Ἑλένης φόνον διώκων*: 'prosecuting Helen's murder' in the primitive sense of seeking blood-vengance (500-1*). *κάμῃ μή... ἄν*: 'and proves unwilling to save me' or, with the variant *σώσῃ θανεῖν*, 'and does not (in the event) save my life'. The latter should, I think, be preferred: not simply for its characteristically Euripidean idiom (as *Ph.* 600, etc.; *KG* ii 215), but in order that the 'misleading prediction' in 1536 (see below) may depend upon an *unfulfilled* contingency. For the shift from *εἰ* + indic. to *εἰ* (understood) + subjunc., Hermann compared the 'fearing' construction in *Ph.* 93-4. *σώζειν θέλει* (as Murray) is certainly wrong in temporal reference. For *εἰ* + subjunc. in poetry, see *KG* ii 474 n. 1, and Wedd's good discussion; the 'hypothetical' mood is essential here.
- [1535.] Del. Paley, plausibly (cf. [33]*, 662[-3]-4*); the addition of 'and my sister and my partner Pylades' immediately before 'both his daughter and his wife' gives a somewhat overloaded effect. But there are no definite faults. *Πυλάδῃν*, cf. *IA* 882 *Ἰφίγενεῖαν* (a licence, in names, much rarer in tetrameters than in trimeters); *τὸν... ξυνδρώντα*, cf. 406 *ὁ συνδρῶν αἶμα*. [Emendations of *Πυλάδην* are unconvincing (*φίλον* Hartmann, *τρίτον* Elmsley on *Med.* 56-7); but one might perhaps consider *τῶ... ξυνδρώντε* as giving more point to the line (for El. also as an 'active' partner, cf. 1235-6*.)]
1536. *δύο νεκρῶ κατόψεται*: cf. *Hec.* 45-6 *δυοῖν δὲ παῖδοιν δύο νεκρῶ κατόψεται | μῆτηρ, ἐμοῦ τε τῆς τε δυστήνου κόρης* (a true forecast of the *δεινόν*

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prospect in store for the mother of Polydorus, already dead, and of Polyxena, about to die); the same motif, similarly as a rhetorical climax, is here deployed as a master-stroke of *suggestio falsi*, implying without actually asserting the present condition of Helen as a *νεκρός*; cf. 84*, 857-8, 901-2, 1280* for other direct reminiscences of *Hec.* Note that (a) the prediction is here contingent upon a complex protasis, which has moved from more or less certain expectation to something more hypothetical; (b) Or. is not simply addressing the audience (or empty space) in prologue-style, but boastfully rehearsing (in the presence of the Phrygian) the future situation *as he intends that Men. should see it*. The misleading statement is thus dramatically legitimate, even if the fantastic report of Helen's 'disappearance' proves to be true. If, of course, it does not (and the Phrygian is an untrustworthy person), then Helen is indeed lying dead within, Or. will die (*ex hypothesi*), and Men. will eventually find his wife's and daughter's remains in the ashes of the Palace. If on the other hand the magical disappearance is verified, we shall be able to recognize the dramatist's skill in misleading us without ever making an untrue statement. A prediction that depends upon an unfulfilled contingency cannot be called 'untrue'. [Cf. *Ba.* 50-2; Dodds's discussion there fails to distinguish degrees of technical sophistication in E.'s use of 'false prediction'; e.g. *Hp.* 42 (see Barrett) is rather crude; *Ion* 71-3 is much more subtle, exploiting the subjunctive mood of a purpose-clause.]

It has not been the function of this scene to illuminate Or.'s 'real' state of mind concerning the killing of Helen and the present whereabouts of her corpse; rather, to deceive the audience as to these matters, for the sake of the surprise ending. But legitimacy requires that Or.'s words should in retrospect be recognized as (a) rationally intelligible, (b) consistent with the sequel. As to (a), it suffices that Or. can (indeed must) rationally believe Helen to have 'perished' (1512*) and that he may or may not have been wondering about her corpse; as to (b), see further on 1576-99*. The idea that 1536 (and the context of which it is the climax) was written by an incompetent hack who had 'forgotten' the true facts about Helen's corpse is really absurd.

1537-48. *Choral antistrophe*. The long-range resposion with 1353-65* has the effect of linking the whole of 1353-1548 as an 'act' (p. xxxvi). Apart from 807 ff., these chorus-numbers come at the only points in the play where the stage is empty of actors. 'A further *δεινός ἀγών!* What action should we take? Look, smoke! They are lighting torches to fire the palace. The end is as god wills; and mighty vengeance has come upon the Tantalid House for the death of Myrtilus'. There is nothing here calling for division of the Chorus (cf. Kaimio 112 ff.). Unison song, symmetrical with the str., is surely more effective, the more so as the choric structural link has to operate at a distance. Colons suffice at the end of 1538 and 1542 (also 1545), the dochmiac sequences being related to the more 'reasoned' trimeters that follow them (cf. *Hp.* 817 ff.). The preparations here for firing

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- the palace are important for the finale: this was to be a contingency plan if the bid for σωτηρία failed (1149-50); and it will become increasingly likely that it is to be put into effect, as the final 'tragic' destruction of the House. At the same time, 1545 τέλος έχει δαίμων . . . ὅσα θέλη is consistent with the surprise in store.
- 1537-8.** ἰὼ ἰὼ τύχα: exclam. nom. (less allocutory than the corresponding ἰὼ ἰὼ φίλαι in 1353), cf. (976 f.*), *Hr.* 818, *HF* 891, *Ion.* 1503, *Tr.* 1118, *IA* 1136, *Rh.* 731 ἰὼ ἰὼ συμφορά βαρεία Θρησκῶν. [τύχας Elmsley; but *Al.* 393 is different ('alas for my τύχα!')] and *El.* 1185 textually uncertain. For the hiatus (either at period-end or following an exclam., *Conomis* 42-3), cf. 317 f. . . θεαί, / ἀβάκχευτον . . .]
- ἔτερον . . . ἔτερον: cf. 142-3*, 1354. The phrasing 'a further fearsome δγών' is thematic, cf. 38* etc. (Intro. F i. 12-13).
- 1539-40.** A familiar type of 'negative action' (Taplin 324), cf. *Hr.* 784-5 and the elaborate choral indecision in *A. Ag.* 1346-71, and contrast *Ion* 695 ff., 756 ff. where similar deliberative questions are followed by a breach of the convention that choruses do not reveal intrigues. *Ion* 758 (εἶπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν;) supports Wecklein's correction of ἀγγέλ(λ)ωμεν to ἀγγείλωμεν. ἀσφαλέστερον: sc. 'the latter alternative', cf. *S. El.* 312 (KG ii 541 n. 3).
- 1541-2.** Another anaphora/epanalepsis (142-3*; 1353, 1537); and the urgent word θοάζων is another echo of the first choral ode (335-6*), here intrans. The smoke is likely to have been realistically produced; cf. *Ba.* 6-8, 596-9, and the 'smoke-hole' in the σκηνή exploited in *Ar. Vesp.* 140 ff. (C. W. Dearden, *The Stage of Aristophanes* (1976), 30, 155). προκηρύσσει: the preverb may have both local and temporal force (cf. *S. El.* 684, *Ant.* 34, etc.). αἰθέρος: part. gen. with ἄνω, cf. κάτω γῆς (KG i 340).
- 1543-4.** The torches are an inference (interpreting the action 'within'), to be seen later (1567-74*). οὐδ' ἀφίστανται: 'and they are still involved in'. φόνου or πόνου? The former would suit a (censorious) allusion to the threatened killing of Hermione. The latter more comprehensively and 'tragically' alludes to the 'agonistic travail' of these last representatives of the afflicted House (1012*). With Kells (*CQ* 1966, 51), I have no doubt that πόνου is right (the error, as in 816-18*, prompted by nearby mention of 'blood').
- 1545.** δαίμων: '(unspecified) Divine Power'; a more traditionally toned and poetical word than θεός in that sense, cf. 342 (with τις), *Od.* 3. 27, *Pi. Ol.* 8. 67 τύχα δαίμονος, Bacchyl. 16(15). 23 ἀμαχος δαίμων ('Destiny'), 17(16). 46 τὰ δ' ἐπιόντα δαίμων κρινεῖ. τέλος έχει . . .: both 'has (provides) the final outcome' and 'possesses authority'; cf. *Semon.* 1. 1-2 West τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς έχει βαρύκτυπος / πάντων ὄσ' ἐστὶ καὶ τίθησ' ὀκη θέλει (also *Solon* 13. 17, *Archil.* 298; West on *Hes. Op.* 669). The tragedians enjoyed exploiting the various senses of τέλος (F. M. J. Waanders, 'TEΛΟΣ in tragedy' in *Misc. Trag. in hon. J. C. Kamerbeek* (1976), 475-82): cf. esp. *A. Eum.* 729, and *Trag. adesp.* 621 Kannicht-Snell κείνος (sc. Ζεὺς) γὰρ έχει τέλος ἡδὲ καὶ ἀρχήν,

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with a double word-play. *δρα θάλη*: the subjunc. (without *άν*, cf. 430*), is less definite, but also more allusive to the *future*, than the indic. *θέλει*.

1546-8. The last sung words of the Chorus recapitulate the 'Curse'-*αἴτιον*, as though the play were indeed going to end 'tragically'. The text is controversial, but Di B. is doubtless right in taking 1547-8 as 'this house has fallen bloodily in requital for the *πέσσημα* of Myrtilus' (the primal *φόνος*, 900). That is a much better 'aetiological' point than *Σ*'s 'has fallen upon the house' (or 'smitten'). It follows that 1546 (the whole of it, see below) is a separate sentence, with 1547-8 following in epexegetic asyndeton. [*Σ* glosses the subject of *ἔπεσεν/ἔπαισεν* as *φονικὸς δαίμων*, presumably taking *ἡ δύναμις δι' ἀλαστόρων* as implying *ἀλάστορ* (of which *φονικὸς δαίμων* is a standard gloss, cf. Phot. s.v. *ἀλάστορ*). But *δύναμις* is a quality, not an agent; and attempts to improve the text in accordance with *Σ* necessitate much unconvincing rewriting, e.g. Weil's... *δύναμις· μάλ' ἀλάστορ / ἐπέπεσεν ἔπεσε μέλαθρα τὰδ' αἰμάσσω* (after Hartung and Herwerden). The asyndeton of 1547-8 following 1546 is not unlike that in *S. Tra.* 497 *μέγα τι σθένος ἂ Κύπρις· ἐκφέρεται νίκας δέλ* (for the punctuation of which see Stinton, *JHS* 1976, 136-8).]

1546. *μεγάλα δὲ τις ἂ δύναμις*...: 'and a mighty (kind of power is) the power...'; for the predication with *τις*, cf. *S. Tra.* 497 (above), *Ani.* 951 *ἀλλ' ἂ μοιριδία τις δύναισις δεινά*, *X. Mem.* 1. 3. 12 *δεινὴν τινα λέγεις δύναμιν τοῦ φιλήματος εἶναι*, *Oec.* 7. 39 *ἢ γὰρ ἐμὴ φύλακῆ... γελοία τις ἂν οἶμαι φαίνοιτο* (KG i 663). Many edd. then put a colon (sc. *τοῦ δαιμόνος*), but the universal sway (*τέλος*) of *δαίμων* has already been asserted, and 1546 must be making a *further* point. †*δι' ἀλαστόρων*†: *ἀλαστόρων* is a syllable longer than *ἔπλησε* in the strophe (1363*), but the verse *υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ* is likely (see p. 303), and a point about the power 'of *ἀλάστορες*' is what we want (cf. 337*). *δι'* has been more justly suspected, (a) because of the following... *δι' αἰμάτων / διὰ τὸ*..., (b) because *ἡ δύναμις δι' ἀλαστόρων* is bad Greek for 'the power (that operates) through *ἀλάστορες*' (phrases without def. article like *πέσσημα ἐκ δίφρου* are not parallel). The simple remedy is to write *καὶ ἀλαστόρων*: 'and mighty is the power also of *ἀλάστορες*' (sc. as well as that of *δαίμων*, the transcendent Divine Power). [I owe *καὶ* to a suggestion from M.L.W. (*καὶ ἀλάστορ*). The erroneous *δι(ἄ)* may be due to *δι' αἰμάτων* in the following line; but *κ* was liable to omission after *ι*, and correction was apt to cause confusion. I see no reason for preferring Di B.'s notion that *δι' ἀλαστόρων* is some kind of intrusive gloss. *δύναμις* could be an error for *δύνασις* (cf. the variants in *S. Ani.* 951).]

1547. *ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε* (Seidler, before Dindorf): cf. *S. Aj.* 621-2... *ἔπεσ' ἔπεσε μελέοις Ἀτρείδαις*. The 'house-ruination' point has numerous figurative precedents, notably *A. Ag.* 1532-4 *πίτνοντος οἴκου... ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῆ τὸν αἰματηρόν*, *Ch.* 263, *Eum.* 516; *Hr.* 812 *ἔπαθες εἰργάσω τοσοῦτον ὥστε τοῦσδε συγχέαι δόμους* (parallels communicated by M.L.W.). In this passage *μέλαθρα* is at once lit. (the 'building') imminently

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- threatened with destruction by fire) and metonymic for οἶκος (cf. 70*). δι' αἰμάτων: modal (LSJ διὰ A. III. c); cf. 817*, and *Ph.* 20, 1051, 1292. [ἔπεισ' ἔπεισε is not the reading of B, which has ἔπαισεν ἔπαισε with ε written above each αι (Spranger, *CQ* 1939, 192). The obviously false ἔπαισεν ἔπαισε is an understandable attempt to make sense of ἄ δύναμις . . . ἔπεισεν ἔπεισε (taken as governing μέλαθρα) without regard for metre; for the -πεισ- and -παισ- variants cf. *Rh.* 560 ([1315-16]*).]
1548. διὰ τό . . . : symmetrically with the different αἴτιον at the end of the strophe (1364-5 διὰ τὸν δλόμενον . . . Πάριν . . .). πέσημί' ἐκ δέφρου: cf. 1195-6*, 1434-6*, *IT* 1384 οὐρανοῦ πέσημα.
- 1549-1624. *Finale iii, scene one.* Men. re-enters, furiously bent on vengeance, and is about to force the Palace doors when he is stopped by Or., appearing on the roof with his hostage and the other conspirators. Acrimonious stichomythia (1576-99) ends with the 'silencing' of Men.'s initial fury; then in the ἀντιλαβή (1600-17) Or. reveals what Men. must do to save his daughter. While we are still in some doubt as to whether Men. will after all accept the unacceptable terms, Or. plays his last card, ordering El. and Pyl. to fire the Palace. This is the final moment of decision for Men.; but, instead of crying 'Stop! I will do as you demand', he appeals in rage to the city; and Apollo at once appears 'to save the situation'. A brilliantly suspenseful climax, but not without some puzzling anomalies. It will be argued that the fine edge of E.'s conception has been blunted by some interpolations and by a dislocation of line-order in 1600-17.
- 1549-53. The longer approach-announcement in tetrameters suits the climatic 'entry in haste', while also linking the new scene with the preceding tetrameter-scene. [Reeve's strictures (i 264⁶), aimed esp. at 1552-3, seem unwarranted.] See Addenda.
- 1549-50. ἀλλά μὴν καὶ . . . : a rare trochaic equivalent of the usual καὶ μὴν (*GP* 342), with a more vigorous combination of progressive and adversative force. δξύπουον (hapax): cf. δξύ 1530, ποδί 456, 1017, 1505, etc.
1551. οὐκέτ' ἄν φθάνοιτε: 'make haste', cf. [935-7]*. κλήθρα (1366-8*) συμπεραίνοντες: perhaps a neologistic phrase, not simply = συγκαλῶντες, but including an idea of 'completion'. The doors were doubtless closed when Or. re-entered the Palace at 1548; henceforth they are to be regarded as (internally) barred as well. μοχλοῖς: cf. 1571, *An.* 951, *IT* 99.
- 1552-3. Men. is to be feared as εὐτυχῶν ('prosperous'); with 'prosperity' goes strength, with poverty/δυσπραξία goes ἀσθένεια (cf. 70*, *Su.* 433 ff., etc.); a thematic contrast (352-5*).
- 1554-66. Men. tells us what he has heard and why he has come (cf. 470-5*). His first two lines, confirming 1550 (ἡσθημένον που . . .), suffice to establish that he has heard the same news as ourselves, presumably from the same source, the Phrygian fugitive (1506-36*); note the definite article (τὰ δεινά) and the phrase 'twin lions' (directly echoing 1401). The dramatic technique is like *Ba.* 1222 ἡκουσα . . . θυγατέρων τολμήματα where Cadmus has heard everything material 'about the βᾶκχαι' (I should keep βακχῶν

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πέρι in 1224), credibly from the same *ἄγγελος*. What follows is less satisfactory, first as to 1556-60* and then as to the statement of motive with which the speech ends (1562-6*); and it looks as if an original six-line entry-speech has been expanded at two points. As to Helen, it is enough that Men. believes her to have 'perished' and is determined to punish those responsible (1566; cf. 1597, etc.). As to Herm., no one seems to have wondered why Men. should assume her to be alive before (as a surprise) he sees her on the roof. The Phrygian had fled without waiting to see what happened after her brutal seizure (1490-3, 1498-9), and a report to Men. employing the imagery of 'maenads seizing their prey' will scarcely have encouraged an expectation of her survival (Men. cannot of course have advance knowledge of the 'hostage' plan). The suspect lines can be explained as misguided attempts to 'clarify' what E. had deliberately treated with cryptic reticence (cf. 1227-30*); it could be, also, that a lengthening of Men.'s entry-speech proved convenient for mounting the 'roof tableau'.

1554-5. *ἦκω κλύων*: cf. 1323*. *τὰ δεινὰ καὶ δραστήρια*: cf. 375-6*, *Ph.* 179, *δόλια καὶ δραστήρια Ion* 985; a hendiadys reflecting the common idiom *δεινὰ δρᾶν* (*δραστήριος* usually means 'energetic' of people or 'efficacious' of things, e.g. *φάρμακα*). *οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρ(ε)*: thematic (Introd. F i. 2, 7), 'unmanly' here in the sense 'inhuman'. See *Addendis Addenda*.

[1556-60]. Del. Oeri. Men. 'clarifies' his position as to the reported 'vanishing' of Helen in a passage variously confused and confusing. (a) *ἦκουσα γὰρ δῆ . . .*: this sounds like an epexegetis of *ἦκω κλύων . . .*; but one does not logically expand the statement 'I come having heard (and evidently believing) . . .' by saying 'for I have heard (incredibly) that . . .'. [Few edd. comment on the logic; Kirchoff vainly proposed *μὲν γὰρ*.] (b) Are we really to suppose that Men.'s informant had used the words *οὐ τέθνηκεν*? It is, or should be, common ground that Helen has 'perished' (1500-2*, 1512*). (c) *ταῦτα* 1560 awkwardly refers both to a 'contrivance of the matricide' (somehow getting rid of the body?) and to a disbelieved ('absurd') statement in an otherwise believed report. Is Men. allowing or denying that Helen's corpse may have disappeared? (d) The writer doubtless intended *πολύς γέλως* to refer simply to the 'absurd' statement in 1557; but he has made it sound as if Men. is also mocking the murderer's *τεχνάσματα* (a rare word, 1052-3*). In any case the expression jars, for Men. could scarcely be further from 'laughter' (cf. *Ba.* 250, *Tr.* 983, *Archil.* 172. 3-4 West; the idiom can be used in scorn rather than jest, but we cannot get rid of the sense 'laughter' altogether). Without 1556-60, Men. goes straight from his crisply sufficient opening distich to the command 'Open the doors!' It may be added (a small point in itself) that we are spared the repetition of *τὴν ἐμὴν ξυνάορον* (1556, 1566).

1561 f. *ἀνοιγέτω τις δῶμα*: conventional phrasing, for the second time (cf. 1366-8*) exploiting expectation of an *ἐκκύκλημα*-display (Taplin 443); cf. *Med.* 1314-16 *χαλάτε κληῖδας ὡς τάχιστα, πρόσωποιοι / ἐκλύεθ' ἄρμούς, ὡς*

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ἴδω διπλοῦν κακόν, | τοὺς μὲν θανόντας, τὴν δὲ τείσωμαι δίκην (the implied 'second evil' there is certainly Medea; instead of something like τὴν δὲ ἔτι ζώσαν, Jason substitutes a finite expression, cf. *GP* 369 n.). Here, as there, the avenger wishes to recover the dead before executing justice; and in both scenes the doors unexpectedly remain shut. But, whereas Jason (who has been invited by the chorus to 'open and see') directly addresses unseen attendants within (cf. *IT* 1304), Men. *proceeds* to address attendants whom he has brought with him. ὠθαῖν πύλας: the inward-opening doors (Jebb on *S. Ant.* 1186, Dale, *Papers* 104) are simply to be 'thrust'; Men. has no reason to mention unseen μοχλοί, of which he has yet to be informed (1571-2).

1562-6. ὡς ἂν ἀλλὰ παιδ' ἔμην

[ῥυσώμεθ' ἀνδρῶν ἐκ χειρῶν μαιφόνων
καὶ τὴν τάλαιναν ἀθλίαν δάμαρτ' ἔμην]
λάβωμεν, ἥ δεῖ ξυθθανεῖν ἐμῆ χειρὶ
τοὺς διολέσαντας τὴν ἐμὴν ξυνάορον.

'... that I may at any rate recover *my daughter*, with whose death must be associated the deaths of those who have *destroyed my wife*'.

1562. ὡς ἂν ἀλλὰ... : cf. *HF* 331 ὡς ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ' ἀπολάχωσ', *IA* 1239-40 ἴν' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κατανοῦσ' ἔχω σέθεν μνημεῖον (*GP* 13).

[1563-4]. Suspicion has hitherto been directed at 1564-6 (del. Wecklein; cf. Page, *Actors* 54, Biehl, *Tr* 87), on two main grounds: the extension of the purpose-clause to a length and compound form unparalleled after restrictive ἴν' ἀλλὰ... *et sim.*, and the extreme clumsiness of δάμαρτ' ἔμην... ἥ... τὴν ἐμὴν ξυνάορον. The repetitious 'my wife' can of course be paralleled (Jackson, *MS* 191, compared *Med.* 780 ff.); it is the intervening 'with whom' that produces the clumsiness (the idea that χειρὶ is the antecedent of ἥ (Wedd, Degani) can be safely disregarded). The feebleness of τάλαιναν ἀθλίαν has also been urged (less cogently, cf. A. fr. 210 δύστηνον ἀθλίαν φάβα); and Page observed that λάβωμεν 'seems to me not quite the right word' (too colourless, I suspect he meant, for a sense contrasting with ῥυσώμεθα). The remedy for all these faults should surely be to delete 1563-4. 1565-6 are objectionable only in relation to what precedes them. In themselves these two lines are the indispensable 'vengeful' climax of Men.'s speech; whereas 1563-4 are just what an interpolator might have inserted, knowing Herm. to be alive and wishing to 'clarify' Men.'s motive in harmony with that. The phrasing of 1563 (μαιφόνων probably intended to agree with ἀνδρῶν, not with the adjacent χειρῶν) is as undistinguished as that of 1564.

1565. λάβωμεν: i.e. ἀναλάβωμεν, cf. 1500-2*. The implication that Men. is thinking of Herm.'s *corpse* is at once made clear by ξυθθανεῖν (a vivid expression: vengeance is to follow so swiftly that murdered and murderers are thought of as 'dying together').

1566. διολέσαντας: the *mot juste* ('caused to perish'); Men. uses a strong vb consistent with straightforward killing (cf. 1629), but consistent also with

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the weird 'perishing' of Helen as reported (cf. *διώλετο* 1512); the ambiguity (or imprecision) is exactly calculated.

1567-75. Or. from the 'battlements' orders Men. back: the doors have been barred and Men. is within range of masonry thrown down on his head. Men. duly steps back and exclaims with surprise at the *tableau* which has taken shape on the roof; a spectacular technique similar to that in *Med.* 1314-22. [Di B. cites Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 54-6; but for better accounts of the *σκηνή*-roof in fifth-century drama, see Taplin 440-1 and Hourmouziades 29 ff.] The appearance of mortals on the upper level was rare enough in tragedy (less so in comedy, cf. Goossens 654¹⁰) to have surprise value. Herm. is probably between Or. and Pyl., threatened by two swords (cf. 1349-50); Or. can then leave her in Pyl.'s charge while he deploys both hands for the masonry-throwing threat. El. is probably there too (1618 could be addressed to her 'within', but it is hard to think of a good reason why E. should have wished her to be absent from his spectacular finale); and there may be some (two?) attendants as the torch-bearers. [The *λαμπάδες*, probably impressive *flambeaux*, are usually given to Pyl. and El. or to El. only; but the commands in 1618-20* do not have to be carried out in person, and cf. the torch-carrying procession of Theonoe and attendants at *Hel.* 865. There are plenty of cowed *Φρύγες* available to enhance the spectacle.]

1567. οὗτος σὺ: 'you there', cf. *Hec.* 1280, *Ar. Ach.* 564 (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 37).

1568. εἶπον: both specifying (like *λέγω An.* 804, 1243, etc.) and imperious (cf. *Med.* 272, etc.); Bruhn 149-50. *πεπύργωσαι θράσει*: cf. *ἰσχύων θράσει* 903*, and *HF* 238, *Rh.* 122. There is an implied opposition with the more concrete *πυργώματα* of the conspirators (1574); the metaphor also suits Men.'s 'towering' rage.

1569-70. Cf. *Ph.* 1157-8 *λᾶαν ἐμβαλὼν κάρφ / ἀμαξοπληθῆ, γείσ' ἐπάλξεν ἄπο. ἤ*: 'or else', 626*. *θριγκῶ*: 'coping-stone'; *γείσα*, cf. 1620 (almost 'roof'), *Ph.* 1180 (*γείσα τειχέων* 'parapet'). A *γείσον* is properly the projecting 'eaves' of a building (even of a wooden shed). In the pl. E. treated *θριγκοί* and *γείσα* as interchangeable in some contexts (*θριγκοὺς* 'eaves' *Ion* 172); on both words, cf. J. Jannoray, *BCH* 1940-1, 39¹. *τακτόνων πόνον*: a traditional phrase, cf. *A. fr.* 357 *ὑψηλὸν . . . τεκτ- πόν-* (of a roof destroyed by fire); but see further on 1620*.

1571-2. εἶρξει: with a double construction, cf. *Th.* 3. 6 *τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυτιληναίους*.

1573-5. *ἔα, τί χρῆμα*; 277*. *πυργηρουμένους*: 'beleaguered', cf. 762* (here more precisely *ἐπὶ πύργου*). *ἐπίφρουρον* (hapax): 'guarding over' + dat., by analogy with epic *ἐπίουρος* (*Il.* 13. 450) and *ἐπίσκοπος* (*Il.* 10. 38, etc.); cf. also *ἐφεδρεύεις* 1627*.

1576-99. The stichomythia seems to have suffered from further interpolation, though not, I think, at 1587-8 (del. Wilamowitz). 1598 is suspect (see below). Of more immediate concern are the problems in 1579-84. (a) 1579

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- (susp. Weil) is a partial doublet of 1587; if the latter is authentic, we must surely doubt whether E. would have undercut its effectiveness by anticipating more than half of it a few lines earlier (with *φον- φον- φον-* there referring to only *two φόνοι*, rather than an indefinite number as in 1587). For spurious anticipation of later phrasing, cf. [536-7]*, [1631-2]*, *Med.* [356a], etc. (b) 1583 ineptly abuses a convention of stichomythia ('timorous anticipation' interrupting, not a fear-arousing statement, but an angrily disbelieved 'wish'). (c) In these lines Or. is made to deny, not merely that he has 'killed' Helen, but even that he has 'cast her into Hades'. That surely runs counter to the dramatist's intention, since, whatever Or.'s regrets about not having had the satisfaction of spilling Helen's blood (cf. 1614*), he—and more importantly the audience—must believe her to have 'perished' (1512*); and his plan requires him to encourage, not discourage, Men. in the belief that he has truly 'killed' Helen, that Men. may take the more seriously the threat to kill Herm. (cf. 1191 ff., 1536*). That that is the true 'rhetoric of the situation' is confirmed by the *suggestio falsi* in 1586-8 and 1589-90: 1585 ff. (following smoothly after 1578) proceeds as though Or. has *not* denied the 'killing'. 1579-84 is of a piece with 1556-60 (another muddle-headed 'clarification', in this case of *Orestes'* position with regard to the 'vanishing'). The interpolations are stylistically competent (not surprisingly, if they were composed with constructive purpose at an early date); but they betray themselves in several different ways.
- 1576-8. It was 'gracious' for a *κρείσσων* person to submit to questioning (cf. *Hec.* 238, *IA* 1130); 1576 also reflects the kind of preliminary question posed by a *σοφιστής* to his pupils—it is for Men. to 'learn if he wishes'.
1577. *οὐδέτερός*: this n. pl. is usually adverbial (KG i 317), but cf. Pl. *Crito* 52A (after *δουὶν θάτερα*). Men.'s recognition of *ἀνάγκη* is thematic (cf. 488*, 715-16).
1578. *εἰ βούλη μαθεῖν*: cf. *Ph.* 118.
- [1579-84]. See above. *κατέσχον*: sc. *τὸν φόνον*, cf. 1149. *ἀρνή κατακτάς*: cf. *Al.* 1158 *οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχῶν ἀρνήσομαι* (KG ii 72). Di B. prints 1581 as a statement, but the writer probably intended an interrogative tone. *λυπρὰν γε τὴν ἀρνησιν*: E. was fond of ripostes using cognate acc. with *γε* (*GP* 134); but the def. article is a novel (unparalleled?) feature; cf. *Med.* 698 *μέγαν γ' ἔρωτα*, *Hel.* 1633 *καλὴν γε προδοσίαν*, *Ba.* 970 *τρυφὰς γε τοιαυτὰς*, *IA* 1364 *πονηρὰν γ' αἴρεσιν*; Pl. *Rep.* 567C *καλὸν γε καθαρμόν*, etc. 1583 is a routine kind of interruption in stichomythia (cf. 1185-7*, *Hel.* 826; *παρακαλεῖν δε*, cf. *IA* 497), here strangely inept (why should Men.'s posture change from 'outrage' to 'apprehension' in response to *εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον . . .*?). *τὴν . . . μιάστωρ*: *μιάστωρες* are always elsewhere masculine, whether 'avengers of blood' (*Med.* 1371) or 'polluted persons' (*El.* 683, *An.* 615), but the fem. is unobjectionable (Ernst Fraenkel, *Nomina agentis* ii (1912), 50); for the sense 'polluter of', cf. *S.* *OT* 353.
1585. Men.'s reaction to the statement 'I am going to kill your daughter'

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- (1578) is (appropriately) to begin by demanding his wife's body for burial. The threat to the living will have to be repeated twice (1586, 1596). *χώσω τάφω*: cf. 116*, 402*.
- 1586.** *θεοὺς ἀπάρται* (sc. *τὸν νέκυν*): Or. believes Helen to have 'perished', but is aware that he cannot produce the body; the 'cryptic' dismissal of Men.'s demand is just right (with 1579–84 out of the way). *παῖδα δὲ κτενῶ σέθεν*: Men. must be made to attend to the immediate threat, not to the (embarrassing) matter of Helen's corpse.
- 1587.** 'Still more killing by the matricide?' (with an affectation of incredulity). *ἐπὶ φόνῳ* . . . *φόνον*: cf. 589*, and note the ambiguity here; if Or. has killed Helen, the killing of Herm. will be his *third φόνος* (not counting that of Aegisthus); but the phrasing is consistent also with a *second φόνος*. For the triple repetition of a stem, cf. *Ba.* 955, *IA* 1182. *πράσσει*: if the 3rd pers. is right, Men. is 'soliloquizing'; but we should surely read *πράσσεις* (cf. *σοι* 1589); the erroneous 3rd pers. here (contrast *πράσσεις* in 1579) is simply due to the articulated subject *ὁ μητροφόνου*. [A very ordinary kind of corruption (cf. 1225–6* for analogous corruption from 1st pers. to 3rd); *πράσση* might seem to be a third possibility in the light of *Ph.* 1651, but only the act. is used in the sense intended by Men.]
- 1588.** The accurate riposte (accepting and returning the ambivalently compound thrust) turns on the ambiguity of *φόνον πρᾶσσειν* ('do slaughter', LSJ *πράσσω* III, 'avenge murder', *πράσσω* VI). It is likely that *γε* has dropped out (*ἀμύντωρ* <γ> Wecklein; not *ὁ πατρός* <γ> Naber, with a fragmented initial 'anapaest' (for which see Diggle, *PCPhS* 1974, 34). *ἀμύντωρ*: an epic word, here only in tragedy (cf. 556*, *ἀμύνων πατρί El.* 976). *προὔδικας θανείν*: cf. 1464. [1587–8 are justly defended (against Wilamowitz) by Biehl, *Tp* 88–91, after Krieg and others; the lines are thematically important and admirably expressed.]
- 1589–90.** A similar thrust, but this time the echo of 1039 (*ἄλις τὸ μητρός αἷμα*) ironically provides a cue for Or.'s riposte that he 'will never tire' (cf. *Ba.* 187) of killing women like Cl. and Helen (*τάς κακάς*: cf. 251–2*, 1607). Note the *suggestio falsi*, maintaining the fiction that Or. has literally 'killed' Helen. See *Addendis Addenda*.
- 1591–2.** It is natural, however vain, for Men. to appeal to Pyl., who (unlike Or. and El.) has not been condemned to death by the Argives.
- 1592.** *φησὶν οἰωπῶν*: cf. *IA* 1245 *ἰδοῦ, οἰωπῶν λίσσεται σ' ὄδ', ὃ πάτερ*. Pyl. is necessarily mute in this scene, the third actor being needed to play Apollo in 1625 ff.; but he can none the less be given a 'speaking' role of silent support. Cf. Winnington-Ingram, *EPS* 130, also Stanley-Porter 92¹⁷, and Mastronarde 93–4. The dramatic technique is certainly 'sophisticated', but I would not agree that the question to Pyl. is 'completely gratuitous'. Pyl. is an active participant, and E. is exploiting (with an effective oxymoron) the convention as to *κωφὰ πρόσωπα*, not going out of his way to 'hit at' the three-actor limitation. For E.'s taste for highlighting artificial conventions, cf. 1214–15*, 1384 f.*, 1425*.

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1593. ἄλλ' οὔτι χαίρων (sc. λέξεις): cf. S. *OT* 363 ἄλλ' οὔτι χαίρων . . . ἐρεῖς, and (for the ellipse) *Phil.* 1299 ἄλλ' οὔτι χαίρων, ἦν τὸδ' ὄρθωθῆ βέλος (Bruhn 151). ἦν γε μὴ φύγῃς πτεροῖς: cf. *Ph.* 1216 ἦν μὴ γε φεύγων ἐκφύγῃς πρὸς αἰθέρα (also 1375-6*).
- 1594-6. Or. has no intention of 'fight'. His plan (so Men. must be made to believe) is rather to perish in the blazing palace after killing Herm.
1595. ἦ γὰρ 'surprised', cf. 739*; Men. is shocked by the threat to what is also his father's house.
1596. τῆνδε: for the third time (cf. 1578, 1586) Or. draws Men.'s attention to his threatened daughter. ἐπισφάξας πυρὶ: 'additionally slaughtering as a sacrifice at (over) the fire'; ἐπισφάξω occurs first (seven times) in E., the preverb having either local or additive force, here probably both.
1597. κτεῖν' ὡς κτανόν γε . . .: seemingly heartless (thinking only of vengeance); but Men. has no cards with which to bluff more convincingly, and he is still θρασύς with rage. κτεῖνε ('be a killer!') is not intended as a specific invitation to kill Herm. (as the sequel shows); ὡς . . . γε, with admonitory (as well as causal) force, cf. [942]. τῶνδε: including Helen's death. [Burnett sees 1597 as the final illustration of Men.'s 'depraved cruelty'; Vellacott (for whom Men. can do no wrong) takes κτεῖνε as merely 'conditional imperative'. We must strike between these extremes.]
- 159[8]-19. Or. calls Men.'s bluff (affecting to accept the 'command' κτεῖνε); cf. the plan in 1198 ff. If 1598 is retained, 1599 means: 'Be silent then (if you wish me *not* to kill Herm.), and accept σωφρόνως (ἀνέχου, cf. *El.* 1320) your justly-earned δυσπραξία' (the λύπη πικρά of having lost Helen, cf. 1105). If 1598 is excised (del. J. Heiland, Nauck, Wecklein, Di B.), 1599 becomes the 'bluff-calling' line: 'Be silent then (if you wish me *to* kill Herm.) . . .', and the δυσπραξία becomes a double bereavement (cf. 1536). Excision of 1598 regularizes the stichomythia; but stylistic considerations can take us no further than the observation that 1598 is the sort of line that actors *might* have added (cf. 1347-8*). The breach of stichomythia can be paralleled (*IA* 310), and the unusual mid-line δ δ is not necessarily indicative of 'una mano inesperta' (for division of a trimeter with an exclam. after the third position, cf. *Hp.* 310, and Diggle, *Studies* 38-9). Wecklein stated that 1598 objectionably anticipates 1608, but is the anticipation objectionable? Also that *νυν* ties 1599 to 1597, not to 1598. That is not self-evident, either. It can only be the continuation that validates or invalidates those arguments; and, as things stand, 1600 is a *non sequitur* whichever way 1599 is taken. It is only the newly-proposed transposition in 1600 ff. (argued below on independent grounds) that inclines me to follow Heiland. If we restore 1608 (ἄπαιρε θυγατρὸς φάσανον . . .) as the sequel of 1599, the sequence *Men.* κτεῖν' . . . *Op.* σίγα νυν . . . *Men.* ἄπαιρε . . . becomes crisply sufficient (*Men.* 'changes his tune' with contrasting 'commands'). It may even have been *early* confusion as to 1600 ff. that prompted the interpolation of 1598.
- 1600-17. ἀντιλαβή. Much has been written about the end of this climactically suspenseful exchange: at 1617, when Men. says ἔχεις με, he appears to be

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capitulating, or about to capitulate, to Or.'s terms; but Or. none the less proceeds to give orders for the firing of the Palace. Various explanations have been given, none wholly convincing. One school of thought would excise 1618–20 (Grüniger [1506–36*]; cf. Page, *Actors* 50–1, G. A. Seeck, *Hermes* 1969, 9 ff., Reeve); but the transition from 1617 to 1621 ff. is scarcely an improvement (for that and other arguments against Grüniger, see Biehl, *Tp* 91–2). Another school sees Or. as deranged or as so overcome by 'Rachgier' that he forgets his desire for *σωτηρία* despite the capitulation (Pohlenz i 419; cf. Mullens 156, F. Daraio, *Dioniso* 1949, 97, Grube 395, Reinhardt 255, Schein 64). Others argue that Or. *disbelieves* the apparent surrender, Men. being *κακὸς γηγῶς* (Garzya 114; cf. Biehl, *Spira* 143–5, D. Ebener, *Eirene* 1966, 48); but *σαυτὸν σὺ γ' ἔλαβες* . . . does not express disbelief. Why does Or. take the very moment of apparent submission, so laboriously worked for, as his cue for desperate action? Di B. follows Lesky and others (cf. Webster, *TE* 251) in arguing that we are not to look for an explanation in 'psychological' terms—all that matters is Men.'s utter defeat followed by the Palace-burning as the spectacular cue for Apollo's entry; but it would be extraordinary if E. culminatingly lost interest in the motivations that have been so prominent hitherto (close attention to motivation being in general a feature of E. drama). Hermann postulated a lacuna after 1617. Burnett interpolates stage business which finds no reflection in the text.

It is reasonable, up to a point, to deny the capitulation (1617*); cf. Greenberg 189, Wolff 137–8); reasonable also to interpret 1618–20* as Or.'s final *gambit* (Paley, cf. Steidle 115–16, Erbse 450)—it is still open to Men. to cry 'Stop! I will do as you demand'. But the fact remains that the moment is not ripe for that gambit. Or. has only just announced his terms (1610–12), and Men. has yet to express his response to them (his remarks in 1613–17 being tangential lamentation). In short, the sequence 1610–12, 1613–17, 1618 ff. seems disappointingly bungled.

We might leave the matter there, were it not for a no less remarkable anomaly at the beginning of the *ἀντιλαβή* (to which, so far as I am aware, no one has hitherto drawn attention). When Men. says 'What! (You think it) right that you should *live*?' (*ἤ γὰρ δίκαιον ζῆν σε;*), we have an almost total *non sequitur*; for the dialogue up to this point has included no hint of Or.'s 'survival' hope. On the contrary: Or.'s current conduct must appear to Men. (in the light of the Argive decree and of *οὐ φευξόμεσθα* . . . 1594) as the preparation for a spectacularly vengeful suicide. The only thing that has held the condemned criminals back so far, it must seem to Men., is the satisfaction to be derived from seeing *him* suffer also. It is surely certain that *ἤ γὰρ δίκαιον ζῆν σε;* belongs after, not before, the enunciation of Or.'s terms in 1610–12, so that the 'surprised' question with *ζῆν σε* may express Men.'s reaction to the demand *ἡμᾶς μὴ θανεῖν αἰτοῦ πόλιω*. [It may be suggested that *δίκαιον* is linked in thought with *ἐνδίκως* 1599; that is why I say 'an almost total *non sequitur*'.]

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These are symptoms, not of incompetent composition (the quality is excellent throughout, likewise the precision of riposte within each line), but rather of a dislocated text, inviting the remedy of transposition. There are several theoretically possible rearrangements. The indivisible sequences are 1600-7 (A), 1608-9 (B), 1610-12 (C), 1613-17 (D). Transpositions that put C before A are CABD and BCAD; interpositions with that effect are DCAB and DBCA; double interpositions, CADB and BDCA. All are improvements on the text, but the first two are more readily explicable as mechanical (accidental) dislocations. Of these I prefer the sequence 1608-12/1600-7/1613-17, since 1608-9 comes better between 1599 (see above) and 1610 (οἶμοι, τί δράσω;); than between 1607 and 1613. [It may be vain to speculate about the cause of the dislocation (which might include an element of perverse rearrangement). But it could be that the trouble began with a skip from . . . ἐνδίκως πράσων κακῶς τοῖς γὰρ δίκαιον . . .; with consequent displacement of the intervening lines.] See Addenda.

1600-7. See below (after 1612).

1608. ἀπαίρει θυγατρὸς φάσγανον: contrasting sharply with κτείν' 1597. ψευδῆς ἔψυς: an indirect riposte to the imperative, probably with more than one implication: (a) in general, Men. is 'untrustworthy', so that the sword must remain at Herm.'s throat; (b) in particular, Men.'s suddenly changed position reveals him to be a 'liar'. See Addenda.

1609. Men. affects to believe that Or. will not *really* kill Herm., his form of words inviting the contrasting riposte οὐ ψευδῆς ἔστ' εἰ.

1610. οἶμοι, τί δράσω; a frequent expression of ἀπορία (cf. *S. Phil.* 969, 1350); Or. 'jumps in' (Mastronarde 85), as though the question had not been rhetorical. παῖθ' ἐς Ἀργείους μολῶν . . .: it needs to be emphasized that there is nothing *impossible* in Or.'s terms, unthinkable though their acceptance may be for Men. The idea that a reconvened Assembly might reverse a too-harsh sentence would certainly not strike an Athenian audience as absurd (cf. Th. 3. 36). Or.'s condemnation had by no means been unanimous, and the moderate proposal of φυγή had not been given a proper hearing (844-956*).

1611. ἡμᾶς μὴ θανεῖν αἰτοῦ πόλιν: Or. repeats (in effect) the main vb, rather than leaving πεῖθε to be supplied from 1610; for the construction, cf. 946, 1334*, 1337-9, *Med.* 780, 942-3, etc. [θανεῖν (A), not κτανεῖν: at once *difficilior lectio* (less obvious in grammar) and more accurate in sense (embracing the 'suicide' decree); for the corruption, cf. 50[-1]*, *An.* 810, etc. (Denniston on *El.* 685, Dawe i 236, Diggle, *Studies* 82). Di B.'s argument merely shows (what hardly needed showing) that κτανεῖν makes sense, without in any way showing it to be better. But he is right in rejecting Murray's colon before αἰτοῦ (cf. Mastronarde 59).]

1612. ἦ: 626*, 1569. See Addenda.

1600. ἦ γὰρ δίκαιον . . .; cf. *Hp.* 702. There is still a connection of thought with ἐνδίκως 1599. ζῆν σα: Or. will of course be lucky if he can survive (μῆ

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θανεῖν); the ill-timed claim to rule also (καὶ κρατεῖν γε γῆς) is a characteristically foolish piece of bravado, motivated by the thought of Men. as king (1603). Dramatically, the extra claim is important as enhancing Men.'s reasons for (positively) 'deriding' and (negatively) making no move to accept Or.'s terms.

1601. ποίας; a 'disbelieving' colloquialism (Stevens, *Coll. Expr.* 38-9, Diggle, *Studies* 50-1), usually with repetition of the noun (e.g. *Hel.* 567, *IA* 837), but cf. *Ar. Eccl.* 763 ποίοισιν (sc. νόμοις), ὡ δύστηνε; Πηλασγικῆ: the 'antique' epithet (691-3*) has a solemn flavour.

1602-4. It is truly shocking to think of Or. performing religious ceremonies requiring ritual purity: the effect would be to pollute the entire πόλις. εὖ γοῦν . . . : sarcastic, cf. *Hel.* 1227 (*GP* 455). For the combination of χέριμβες (lustral vessels) and σφάγια, cf. *El.* 792, *IT* 335, *IA* 673-5. καταβάλοις: 'perform' (either 'strike down' or 'pay'), cf. Hsch. καταβολή: θυσία, and Dodds on *Ba.* 1246. πρὸ δoroς: 'before battle'.

1604. ἀγνός . . . χεῖρας.—ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς φρένας: cf. Barrett on *Hp.* 317 χεῖρες μὲν ἀγναί, φρῆν δ' ἔχει μίαισμα τι, and Adkins 114ⁿ for the (rare) extension of 'pollution' terms to cover moral guilt incurred without positive action; also Parker 111, 323. For Men. as ἀνόσιος, cf. 481, 1213.

1605-6. The 'father/mother' opposition again, cf. 1587-8 (562-3, 796-8, 828, 842-3, etc.). εὐδαίμων ἔφυ: cf. 600-1*; it is not Or.'s fault that he was not blessed (like Telemachus, 588-90) with a virtuous mother.

1607. οὐκουν σύ γε: a sarcasm (*GP* 423) here implying the abusive colloquial use of κακοδαίμων (*Ar. Nub.* 104, etc.); the implied κακο- is picked up in Or.'s riposte, in effect: 'Agreed, for I am τλήμων as a (righteous) hater of evil women' (αἱ κακά, 1589-90*); cf. Tynd.'s sentiment μισῶ . . . γυναῖκας ἀνοσίου at 518*.

1608-12. See above (before 1600-7).

1613-16. Men. 'withdraws from contact' (cf. *Ph.* 604 ff.; Mastronarde 63); as his sentence develops, note the character-revealing progression from 'pitying Helen' to 'self-pity'. As in 1605-7, the staccato exchanges 'culminatingly' recapitulate theme after theme.

1613. Note the twofold connection of thought with 1607 (to which 1613 is now sequential). τλήμων . . . τλήμονα: 35*. τάμα: cf. 296*, *An.* 235 τάμα δ' οὐχι σῶφρονα;

1614. σοὶ σφάγιον ἐκόμισ' † ἐκ Φρυγῶν: we certainly need σε ('you, Helen'), not σοί; but Canter's σε σφάγιον . . . is not entirely satisfactory, with the pronoun unnaturally emphasized at the expense of the predicative noun. I should prefer [σοί] σφάγιον ἐκόμι(σά) σ'. [Kayser σφάγιόν γε σ' ἐκόμισ'. J.D. suggests ὡς σφάγιον ἐκόμισ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν σ' (Φρυγῶν σ' iam Blaydes).]

εἰ γὰρ τόδ' ἦν: a clever ambiguity (another 'cryptic' touch): Or. wishes that he himself had succeeded in cutting Helen's throat; but for Men.'s ears (if he is listening) Or. is referring rather to Men.'s failure to execute Helen when he recovered her from the Trojans (1286-7*).

1615. For the fruitlessness of Men.'s πόννοι, cf. 1500-2*.

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- 1616.** πέπονθα δεινά: cf. *Ba.* 642 (1-3*). τότε: i.e. 'when you failed to ωφέλειν as a φῶλος should' (454-5*, 665-6; cf. *IA* 347-8, etc.).
- 1617.** ἔχεις με: 'You have me in your grip'. Or. ripostes: 'Blame your own κακία (for the κακά from which you cannot escape)'; cf. 1350-2*. ἔλαβες at once reflects ἔχεις and (with the reflexive) implies ἐλήφθης (cf. *Hp.* 955 ἐπέι γ' ἐλήφθης). Men. has acknowledged 'defeat' (with a wrestling metaphor), but to an opponent thought of by both parties as victorious in vengeance. Some time has elapsed (now) since the disclosure and derisive reception of Or.'s terms for sparing Herm. τιμωρία has always been Or.'s primary objective (1100, 1163-4, etc.); σωτηρία merely a possible 'bonus' (1172-6) needing either obedient action from Men. (not merely a lamenting acknowledgement of δυσπραξία) or some unforeseeable chance (1173-4, 1195-6). It is still possible that Men. may cooperate as demanded (1621-4*); but he has made no move to do so, and seems to have closed his mind to Herm.'s fate in his self-pity.
- 1618-20.** ἀλλ' εἰ(α) . . . : moving from 'dialogue' to 'action' as in 799. ὕφαπτε . . . κάταιθε: the fire has to be kindled before the killing of Herm. (cf. 1594-6). Εἰ. is charged with starting it on the ground floor, Pyl. with kindling the 'roof', while Or. remains in charge of the hostage (1627, 1653, also 621*). The pres. imperatives are *inceptive* (note that Apollo will say nothing about extinguishing flames—it suffices that his entry freezes the action). See *Addenda*.
- 1620.** γαῖσα τειχέων τάδε: prima facie the variant γ- τεκτόνων πόνον is simply an intrusion from 1570; but it seems very possible that E. intended γ- τειχέων τάδε ('this parapet') at 1570, and γ- τεκτόνων πόνον ('roof') here in the 'fire' context (cf. *A. fr.* 357); we certainly do not need the repetition of τάδε at line-end (1618/20).
- 1621-4.** This (not 1618-20) is the cue for Apollo's intervention. Men. might have cried 'Stop! I will do as you demand'; instead, he appeals in rage (irrational, since no human βοήδρομία can save Herm. or the Palace) to the city. To ensure the deaths of the conspirators, he could simply have left events to take their course; but the positive reaction makes better dramatic sense. Men. was traditionally βόην ἀγαθός; and the terms of his appeal, especially the words βιάζεται ζῆν, serve to throw light on Or.'s motivation (confirming that there was more to 1618-20 than mere 'Rachgier'); naturally Men. does not mention the personal vengeance-motive. Appropriately, the action on the human plane, before its supernatural 'reversal', ends with a focus on the politically violent pursuit of σωτηρία and on the polluting matricide which (humanly speaking) deserves capital punishment. It is also appropriate that the πόλις should be represented in the concluding spectacle (cf. 1664), with hoplite armour as an enhancement; it is surely here (not earlier, as Burnett suggests) that citizens enter in support.
- 1621.** ὦ γαῖα . . . : cf. 1296* ἰὼ Πελασγὸν Ἄργος Ἰππίου: 1000*. κτίται: i.e. οἰκήτορες; a very rare word (here only in literature), more properly applied

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to the *first* occupiers and settlers of a territory ('founding fathers'); the Pindaric phrase *αὐὸς ὀρεικίτου* cited by Σ makes it likely that E. had literary precedent for the extended use, probably with 'antique' colour (equivalent to calling the Argives 'Pelasgians'). The idea (Page, *Actors* 51) that Men. may be addressing supernatural *conditores* is disproved by the wording as a whole (including the jussive idiom of 1622); the appeal to the city is of a standard type (e.g. *Hp.* 884 *ἰὼ πόλις*), exquisitely phrased.

1622. οὐκ εἴ(α) . . . ; an E. variation of *εἴα* + imperative, cf. *IT* 1423, *Hel.* 1561, 1597. The error οὐχί (corr. Musgrave) is ancient (P. Oxy. 3718). ἐνόπλιω ποδὶ βοηδρομήεσσι: cf. 1288-91*.

1623-4. πᾶσαν γὰρ . . . πόλιν . . . : emphasizing the gross illegality (as opposed to the individual vengeance aspect) of Or.'s 'violent' conduct. ἡμῶν (codd.) or ὑμῶν? There is no good reason for preferring the latter—Men. is an Argive addressing himself to 'fellow-citizens' (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *CR* 1957, 97, Braunlich, *AJPh* 1962, 411). *ἴδε βιάζεται . . . / ζῆν*: the construction was correctly explained by Wedd as a combination of *βιάζεσθαι* + acc. 'act violently against, wilfully defy' (*νόμους S. Ant.* 663, etc.), and the use with inf. 'employ force so as to' (Th. 7. 79 *ἐβιάσαντο . . . ἔλθειν*, Lys. 9. 16, X. *HC* 5. 3. 12); cf. the double acc. in *A. Sept.* 1042 *αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι γάδε*. In both final-consec. (613-14*) and double acc. expressions E. was given to using vbs with a new, sometimes strained, construction. For the sense-pause after the monosyllable ζῆν (a rarer rhythm than overrun with an emphatic disyllable, as 527-8*, or elided disyllable, as 721 *φροῦδ'*), cf. *Ph.* 491 (*δρᾶν*) and *S. El.* 340 (*ζῆν*), also 1658-9*. αἴμα: with a vb of 'doing', cf. 89, 406, 1139. *μυσαρόν*: with its full sense as adj. cognate with *μύσος* 'pollution' (cf. *σθένος -αρός*), so 'polluting' (not simply 'loathsome, abominable', as LSJ), in this context of danger to the πόλις (cf. 1602-4; the *αἴμα* is thematically *νοσῶδες*, 479-80*); a poetical word (*Med.* 1393), but also used by Ionic prose-writers (Hdt. 2. 37. 2, *ὑπομύσαρος Hipp. Epid.* 7. 92; surprisingly neglected by Parker). {Not ζῶν (Lloyd-Jones), which enfeebles both idiom and sense (Or. is breaking no law by still being alive, so long as he is dead by the end of the day). Ll-J. argues that πόλιν βιάζεται ζῆν should mean 'is constraining the city to live'. It *could*, no doubt, if that made sense, but that use of *βιάζεσθαι* + acc. + inf. is not certainly attested earlier than our passage. (*HF* 1366 *ψυχὴν βιάζου τὰμὰ συμφέρειν κακά?* But the subject of *συμφ-* is surely 'you', not 'your ψυχή'; there too the inf. is expegetic, *pace* Bond). Supporting arguments are negligible: (a) that ζῶν gives more point to πᾶσαν (untrue), (b) that the scholion διὰ τὸ ζῆν implies that its writer read ζῶν (he is as likely to have been interpreting ζῆν, forcibly as often 'understanding' a preposition). Burnett (193?) adds an argument whose logic escapes me (why should 1624 'obviously' be 'a call for the death of Orestes at the hands of someone other than Menelaus'? And why is ζῶν necessary for that interpretation?)]

1625-90. *Finale iii, scene two*. Apollo does not 'untie a knot' (according to the familiar but misleading Horatian metaphor). As in *S. Phil.* (Intro. B), the

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human *impasse* has just been resolved in the 'wrong' way, and the *deus* arrives (in the nick of time) to cancel 'what must not be'; also, *paradoxically*, to bring to pass the aesthetically (if not morally) satisfying conclusion for which the entire earlier part of the play has been devised as a preparation. As to the 'doomed' conspirators, the paradox lies not only in their survival, but in their total reversal of fortune to unalloyed *εὐδαιμονία* (as to which it is not enough to say that the 'epilogue' simply 'returns them to their place in the myth'). But the *culminating* paradox, wholly delightful in its ironical myth-fulfilment (novel, but with echoes of cult-actiology) is the apotheosis of Helen as 'saviour of ships' in association with her stelledified Brothers.

- There can be little doubt that, from the fourth century onwards, Apollo's appearance was managed by the *μηχανή* or crane, swinging him and Helen into view above the *σκηνή*. It is at least possible that in the fifth century he appeared on a higher level of the *σκηνή* itself (Pollux's *θεολογείον*?); see especially Barrett on *Hp.* 1283, Hourmouziades 146-69, Taplin 443-5 (*contra* Webster, *GTP* 11 ff.). Nothing in the text indicates that the god is to be thought of as 'flying' or 'hovering' (the proper use of the *μηχανή*); and the treatment of *Helen's* epiphany has a bearing on this issue (1631-2* may well have been interpolated in accordance with a change in stage practice). It is tempting to speculate that Helen originally entered, not *with* Apollo (as the *μηχανή*, of course, will have necessitated), but joining him later on the *θεολογείον*, as a separate theatrical stroke, her presence being first marked by the demonstrative *τῆσδε* in 1638-42* (lines which appear to have been displaced from an original position after 1663).
- 1625-8. Both *Men.* and *Or.* are to 'cease from anger'; cf. *Hel.* 1642 *ἐπίσχεσι ὀργάς*. Right from the start the emphasis is on the *σωφροσύνη* and *εἰρήνη* which Apollo has come to restore; meanwhile the action is implicitly frozen, no doubt with an imperious gesture, reflecting a familiar dramatic convention (cf. *Ion* 1553, *IT* 1435 ff., *S. Phil.* 1409; Spira 139¹⁴); one may think of the Apollo of the Olympia pediment, with his arm outstretched. *Men.* is addressed first, partly because it is *his* *ὀργή* that has most immediately prompted Apollo's intervention, partly because Apollo does not then have to turn *back* to *Or.* in order to direct towards him the first and major part of his exposition (1629-59).
1625. For *τεθηγγμένον* 'whetted', of combative *furor* or 'anger', cf. *A. Sept.* 715, *PV* 311, *S. Aj.* 584.
1626. Cf. *Hp.* 1285 *Λητούς δὲ κόρη σ' Ἄρτεμις αὐδῶ*, *Hel.* 1643-4 *δισσοὶ δέ σε Διοσκόροι καλοῦμεν* (1225-6*).
1627. *ἐφειδρεύεις*: a paramilitary word, here only in poetry, but poetically, not technically, used, like *ἐπίφρουρον* 1575 (with a metaphor that combines the ideas of 'ambush' and 'siege', cf. *El.* 216 f.).
1628. *ἴν' εἰδῆς*: 534-5*, 1442. *φάρων ἦκω*: 243-4*, 853-4*.
- 1629 ff. Exposition to *Or.* (continuing with *σύ*, the address in 1627-8) of Helen's rescue and forthcoming apotheosis, to be followed by an account of *Or.*'s own destiny (*σὲ δ' αὖ χρεῶν, Ὀρέστα . . .*).

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- 1629-30.** Ἑλένην μὲν ἦν σύ . . . : this type of rel. clause is often followed by a slight anacoluthon, the sentence-opening substantive being enunciated in the case determined by the rel. clause ('inverse attraction'), without reference to its structure in the main clause (KG ii 413-14; cf. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 1954, 157). The commonest type is that used by Virgil in *Aen.* 1. 573 (*urbem quam statuo, uestra est*), which might seem to support the authenticity of 1631-2; but 1633-4 is no less acceptable, syntactically, as a continuation. ἤμαρτες: probably 'failed (to διολέσαι)', cf. *Al.* 850 (S. Saïd, *La faute tragique* 66¹³), with ὄργην . . . ποιούμενος explaining πρόθυμος ἄν; but there is a suggestion also of 'erred'—the 'error' being an 'aberration from σωφροσύνη', understandable in a mortal ignorant of 'destiny' (τὸ χρεῶν), but none the less to be deprecated (especially by the Delphic god).
- [1631-2].** Del. Murray (after Paley, cf. Page, *Actors* 41-2, Lesky, *TD* 468); rightly, since (a) the anticipation of αἰθέρος πτυχαί (1636*) involves a confusion of thought between where Helen is now and where she will be; (b) 1632 is tautologous before 1633 f.; (c) the pl. ὄρατε consorts ill with the surrounding 2nd pers. singulars addressed to Or. As suggested above, the interpolation may reflect a changed stage-direction (Helen has been swung on with Apollo in the μηχανή, rather than following him on to the θεολογείον). [Murray commented 'spectaculum histrionale redolent', as to which there has been some confusion. It can hardly be doubted that E. intended Helen to appear (cf. 1639 τῆσδε, 1673-4, 1683 ff.); but it is unnecessary (pace Stanley-Porter and others) to defend 1631-2 in order to preserve her spectacular epiphany. The inclusion of the lines in P. Oxy. 3718 (5th c. AD) does nothing to prove them authentic.]
- 1633-4.** '(As to Helen whom . . .), I saved her from (beneath) your sword'; cf. 1494-7*. νῦν is unneeded, but quite in order (cf. S. *Tra.* 289, etc.; Bruhn 109). Kirchhoff's χυπό should be accepted (cf. *Ion* 1270); 'from beneath' seems clearly right here (cf. 1457, *An.* 441, *Il.* 17. 235, etc.; ἀπό/ὑπό 45*). καλευσθεῖς . . . ἐκ Διός: cf. *Il.* 2. 668-9, etc. (KG i 460); for the interlaced word-order (hyperbaton), cf. 506*, 556*. The mandate from Zeus puts Apollo's action beyond criticism (cf. *Ba.* 1349); it also leads by a word-play into the theme of Helen's immortality.
- 1635-7.** Helen did in fact share a cult with the Dioscuri (first attested in Pi. *Ol.* 3. 1-2); cf. *Hel.* 1666-9 (apparently alluding to the Athenian festival of the Ἀνάκεια, see Kannicht). But we know of no marine Helen-cult, and the idea that she will be ναυτίλοις σωτήριος (sharing her brothers' well-known function as marine Σωτήρη, see Kannicht on *Hel.* 1495-1511) is *ad hoc* invention: at once a sophisticated reversal of the literary tradition that saw Helen as a destroyer of ships (*A. Ag.* 689, etc.), and a 'happy' (audience-gratifying) connection of ideas, looking forward to the final (topical) *envoi* in 1682-90*.
- 1635.** The 'immortality' needs no other explanation than that Helen is daughter of 'Zeus'. Ζηνός . . . ζῆν: etymologizing, cf. 328; as with the oft-repeated play on 'Apollon' (implicit in 954-6*), the play on ZHN

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- (recurring in Pl. *Crat.* 396A) is not new here, but already implicit in *Tr.* 770.
- 1636.** ἐν αἰθέροσ πρυχαῖσ: 'in (remote) Heaven', cf. *Hel.* 605, *Ph.* 84-5 οὐρανοῦ ναίων πρυχαῖσ Ζεῦ. The periphrasis is related to similar phrases denoting the 'folds' of mountains (*An.* 1277, *HF* 240, *Ba.* 797, etc.), with 'Olympus' as the ambivalent link (*Il.* 11. 77).
- 1637.** σύνθασοσ: 'enthroned with', cf. *S. OC* 1267 (a closer parallel than *Hp.* 1093; LSJ have it wrong).
- 1638-42.** There is certainly something wrong with the unsignalled address to Men. (without a voc. or even σὺ) breaking into an exposition directed towards Or. (1629 ff.*); the impropriety is denied by Di B. (*SCO* 1961, 154-5), but he gives no sort of parallel. Wilamowitz deleted 1638, but that can hardly be right (the idea that ἐπεὶ . . . explains ναυτίλοισ σωτήριοσ is absurd); it would have been more rational to delete 1638-42, but the lines certainly look authentic. Kirchoff saw that we must either mark a lacuna before 1638 or consider transposition; but neither he nor anyone else seems to have observed that 1638-42 fits perfectly after 1663 (the right context for the marital point; also, as argued there, for the logic of ἐπεὶ . . .), and that 1643 ff. follows smoothly after 1635-7 (τὰ μὲν καθ' Ἑλένην . . . referring, not to a complete exposition of Helen's past, present and future—as to her apotheosis, more remains to be said at the very end of the play—but simply to the enunciation of τὰ χρεῶν in respect of Helen's immortality, in explanation of her 'rescue'). [Some reviser, I suspect, thought it appropriate that the sundered parts of τὰ καθ' Ἑλένην should be brought together, with scant regard for syntax or logic. The interval of about a column between 1637 and 1663 could perhaps be relevant (facilitating transposition in the written tradition); but I doubt whether accident was the original cause of this dislocation (cf. *Introd.* H iv).]
- 1643-59.** The 'ultra-happy' destiny awaiting Or. (irreconcilable in some features with his future as forecast in *An.*, *IT* and *El.*): (a) a mere one-year exile (the minimum purificatory period, as for an involuntary homicide), honorific in that an Arcadian town will be named after it; (b) unqualified 'victory' in his trial at Athens, acquitted by the most august of juridical tribunals; (c) immediate marriage to Herm. (sealing the reconciliation with Men.), with no conflict vis-à-vis Neoptolemus; (d) εὐδαιμονία (enhancing his own) for his sister and brother-in-law. The sovereignty of Argos/Mycenae remains to be explicitly settled in Or.'s favour in the address to Men. (1660 ff.).
- 1643-4.** σὲ δ' αὐ χρεῶν, Ὀρέσασ . . .: the 'turning to Or.' ('your destiny', by contrast with 'Helen's destiny') in no way requires that the immediately preceding lines should have been addressed to Men. The link with χρεῶν 1635 becomes clearer with 1638-42 out of the way; δ' αὐ, cf. 687*.
- 1645-7.** Cf. *El.* 1273-5, where it is prophesied that Or. is to dwell (for an unspecified period, seemingly till his death) 'by the river Alpheus near the Lycaean Precinct' (i.e. in Parrhasia, cf. Frazer on *Paus.* 8. 38) 'in an

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Arcadian πόλις which will be named after you'. A strong tradition already connected Or. with Arcadia and located his grave near Tegea (Paus. 2. 18. 5; 8. 5. 4, 34. 1-4, 54. 4; cf. Hdt. 1. 67-8, Str. 13. 1. 3; Asclepiades in the fourth century [*ap. Σ, FGH 12 F 25*] described Or.'s death in Arcadia from snakebite at the age of seventy). The small town of Ὀρέστ(θ)εῖον in the upper Alpheus valley on the road from Sparta to Tegea was not in Parrhasia proper (in Th. 5. 64 it is Ὀρέστθειον τῆς Μαιναλίας), but it was not too remote to be thought of as an outlying Parrhasian township (for the spelling with θ, cf. Hdt. 9. 11, Plut. *Arist.* 10. 7; Paus. gives both forms, also a third, Ὀρεσθάσιον, Frazer on 8. 44. 2). A different, very possibly older, tradition attributed its foundation to Orestheus, a son of Lycaon of Parrhasia (the founder of the Λυκαίων σήκωμα; Paus. 8. 3. 1). The apparent conflation of distinct traditions seems to owe something to Pherecydes (*FGH 3 F 135*, cited by Σ). The Παρράσιοι had been subject to Mantinea until restored to independence by Sparta in 421 BC (Th. 5. 33).

1645. Παρράσιον . . . δάπεδον: not simply the Alpheus 'plain', but with religious overtones (alluding to the Precinct, cf. 330*). ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον: cf. *Ph.* 477, 544, and Barrett on *Hr.* 37 ἐνιαυσίαν ἐκδημον αἰδέσας φυγήν.

1646-7. †κεκλήσεται . . . καλεῖν†: most edd. reject the pleonasm, either deleting 1647 (implausibly) or emending one of the vbs. Porson's τεθήσεται is probably right: cf. *Ion* 74-5 Ἴωνα δ' αὐτὸν . . . ὄνομα κεκλήσθαι θήσεται, *El.* 1268 (νόμος τεθήσεται + inf.), *Erechtheus* 65. 73-4 ὄνομα δέ κλεινὸν θήσομαι καθ' Ἑλλάδα . . . κικλήσκειν, *Archelaus* 1 (228). 7-8 ([932-3]*), *Pl. Crat.* 385A δ' ἂν θῆ καλεῖν τις ἕκαστον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκάστω ὄνομα. The phrase with ἐπώνυμον (cf. 1008*) compensates for the omission of ὄνομα here. [The argument that κεκλήσεται is supported by *El.* 1275 (ἐπώνυμος δὲ σοῦ πόλις κεκλήσεται, cf. also *HF* 1330) is easily parried: errors could well arise through contamination with parallel passages (cf. 901, 1236); and E. is as likely, a priori, to have varied as to have repeated his former phrasing, especially when elaborating in two lines what he had previously expressed in one. Other conjectures: (a) γενήσεται Paley, κεχρήσεται Di B. (the *oracle* is surely present, not future); (b) πέδον Valck., ποτε Herm., πάλιν Reiske, κλύειν Gedike (after Musgr. κεκτήσεται . . . κλύειν), πόλις Hartung (his additional alterations ἐπώνυμος and Ὀρεστιά were unnecessary). κτισθήσεται would be an appropriate word for 'πόλις-establishment', but καλεῖν follows better after τεθήσεται.] See Addenda.

1647. Ἀζῶσιν Ἀρκάσιον τε: 'by/for Azanians and (other) Arcadians', cf. 601*, and *Ag. Nub.* 413 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, etc. (KG ii 247); Eng. distinguishes sharply between 'by' and 'for', but in Greek the dat. of the agent is a species of dat. *commodi* (KG i 422). Arcas, son of Callisto and Zeus, had three sons who divided Arcadia; Azan's portion was the Western third (including Parrhasia). [So Σ, who also reports the earlier dynasty of the Argive Pelasgus who established Parrhasia as a πόλις, and of his son Lycaon and grandson Nyctimus in whose time occurred the Flood.]

1648-52. As in *A. Eum.*, the Areopagus-acquittal is to be the end of Or.'s

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- troubles (contrast *El.* 1254 ff., where he is to go from Athens to Arcadia; also *IT* 942 ff.); not as in *A.*, but in accordance with an ancient tradition (*Dem. Aristocr.* 66, etc.; *RE* ii (1895) 628), the jury is to be of gods, not men (divine acquittal being necessary to cancel the human verdict of the Argive Assembly). In *El.* 1258-63 the original divine tribunal on the Areopagus had sat in judgement on the killing of Halirrhothius by Ares. Note the 'happy' emphasis on 'victory' and 'piety', with only a hint of the traditional split voting in the vb *διοίσοισα*; the suggestion here is that Or. will be acquitted *outright* (by a clear majority). For this and previous treatments of Or.'s trial at Athens, see Stephanopoulos 148-51.
1649. *δικὴν ὑπόσχεσις* . . . : 'submit to being prosecuted by . . .', cf. 871-3*. *αἵματος μητροκτόνου*: 833*.
1650. Cf. 38*. *βραβήης*: 1065-8*; the Trial at Athens is to be Or.'s final *ἀγών*.
- 1651-2. *εὐσεβαστάτην ψήφον διοίσοισα*: cf. 48-9*, and *El.* 1262-3. Even for gods there is 'active' *εὐσέβεια* in respect of the jury-oath and in the general sense that it is *εὐσεβές/δοσιον* to act *judicially* in dealing with cases of homicide (cf. 501, 503, 515; *IT* 945 *ἔσττω γὰρ ὁσία ψήφος*); it is unnecessary to suppose that *εὐσεβαστάτη* here and in *El.* 1262 = *δοσιωτάτη* in the pass. sense 'most hallowed'.
- 1653-9. The usual story (as in S.'s *Hermione*) was that Herm. had been 'given' to Or. by Tyndareus during the war, but was instead given by Men. to Neoptolemus in accordance with a promise made at Troy, marrying Or. *en secondes nocces* only after N.'s death. (Eust. *Od.* 1479. 10; cf. Pearson, *Fr. Soph.* i. 141-3, Stevens, *Andromache*, pp. 1-5). In *An.*, E. had suppressed the role of Tynd. (thereby enhancing Men.'s perfidy); here the prior betrothal is suppressed altogether, and the promise to N. merely implied. The plot could have accommodated these motifs earlier on, but they would have complicated issues already complex enough; there is also a fine irony in the way the 'reconciling' marriage to Herm. is first mentioned immediately after a reminder of the sword which Or., the action frozen, is still holding at her throat. The marriage of Herm. to N. was perhaps too widely reported to be ignored altogether; and the recent prominence of N. in *S. Phil.* (sympathetically treated) will have been an extra reason for reasserting the usual tradition hostile to N. (cf. Fuqua' 32 ff., 66).
1653. *ἰὲ ἦς* . . . *δέρη*: most recent edd. accept *ἦ* (*ἦς* Monac. 500, Barocc. 74), which gives a 'whole and part' apposition, cf. 1527*, *Ba.* 619, Bond on *HF* 162 (KG i 289).
- 1654-5. *δς δ'* . . . : for the included name, cf. 65*. *οὐ γαμεί ποτε*: emphatically contradicting the usual story (neatly presented as a false expectation on N.'s part); Or. is to get his bride at once, and is happily spared the trouble of arranging for N.'s murder (as in *An.*). For the epic scansion *Νεοπτόλεμος*, cf. Dale on *Hel.* 9-10. [The scansion in *An.* 14, *Tr.* 1126 and *S. Phil.* 4, 241 is *Νεοπτ-*; but there is no need for Murray's <οὐ> *γαμεί νιν* or for Elmsley's *ἄξεσθαί νιν*.]
- 1656-7. The standard tradition as to N.'s death (altered in *An.*, where N. is

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- recanting his ὄψεις when he is killed at Delphi by Or.'s allies); the tradition hostile to N. is here more appropriate to the 'happy ending' (we weep no tears for him). **Δελφικῶ ξίφει**: according to Pherecydes (*ap. Σ*) and S. *Herm.*, the killer's name was Machaereus ('Dagger-man'). **δικαῖα . . . πατρὸς**: 'recompense for (the death of) his father Achilles', cf. 53*, *An.* 53-**ἔξαιτοῦντα**: for the shift from dat. to acc., cf. *El.* 1250-1 (Diggle, *Studies* 44; KG ii 111-12).
- 1658-9. Λέκτρον . . . ἦνεσας**: cf. 1092 f.*, *Al.* 12 f., S. *Phil.* 1398. **ὡς or φ?** Di B. rightly, I think, prefers the latter (*P. Oxy.* 3718 in effect attests both). **δός· ὁ δ' ἐπιών . . .**: for the break after the monosyllable, cf. 1623-4*; but this is a more striking instance of late-E. willingness to fragment a resolved line-opening ('omnium asperrimus', Zieliński 188, 190). **ἐπιών**, 630-1*. **vv** is better taken as pl. (so *Σ*); the future happiness of *El.* is by no means irrelevant (unlike, perhaps, that of *Herm.*).
- 1660-5 (incl. 1638-42)**. Apollo is not concerned to forecast Men.'s destiny (so there is no mention here of his traditionally happy afterlife, as described in *Hel.* 1676-7); it suffices to reconcile him to willing acceptance of the altered situation by anticipating possible protests. Men. still has Helen's dowry and (prospect of) the Spartan throne; he can always take another wife, free henceforth from the continuous *πόνος* that Helen has caused him, in accordance with a now completed divine plan in which Helen's beauty was used to cause intercontinental strife. Finally Apollo undertakes to reconcile Or. and the Argives (absolving Men. from that humanly impossible task) and takes upon himself the entire responsibility for the matricide (removing Men.'s objections to Or. as 'polluted').
- 1660. ἴα . . .**: 'do nothing to prevent' (625*). There is no definite indication here that Men. had *schemed* to prevent Or.'s succession (cf. 682-716*); we are not invited to look beyond the *ὄργη* which Men. has displayed in the finale and his rational objections to Or.'s kingship in 1602 ff. [According to Paus. 2. 18. 5-6, Or. ruled Mycenae first, then added Argos, part of Arcadia, and Sparta too in succession to Men.]
- 1661. ἀνασσε**: it is left vague whether Men. (already an *ἄναξ*, 348-55*) is to be king of Sparta at once or merely in due course; in historical times Sparta had two kings. Note that 1660-1 is consistent with a *temporary* regency of Argos during Or.'s one-year exile (cf. *IT* 929 *Μενέλαος ἀρχει*).
- 1662-3. φερνάς**: 'dowry'; the 'bride-price' (*ἔδνα*) was the normal custom in heroic times, but E. 'was indifferent to such anachronisms' (Barrett on *Hp.* 625-6). Helen's dowry includes wealth as well as sovereignty (not the latter only, as *Σ*). **σε . . . πόνους διδοῦσα**: an 'inverted' expression (41-2*), with epic precedent (*Il.* 5. 397, *Od.* 19. 167). **δεῦρ' αἶε!**: usually with a pres. vb (*Med.* 670, *Ion* 56, *Hel.* 761, *A. Eum.* 596), but for a similar use of past tense for what has already (but only recently) ceased, cf. *Hel.* 1650-1 **ἐς μὲν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν παρόντα νῦν χρόνον . . . ἐχρῆν**. One might, however, have expected the imperf. *διήμυεν* (edd. do not comment on the aor. *διήμυσεν*); though cf. *Pl. Tht.* 206A *διετέλεσας . . . πειρώμενος* 'you have been trying all along'.

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- (1638-42). ἄλλην δὲ νύμφην . . . : cf. 1080 οὐ δ' ἄλλο λέκτρον παιδοποιήσαι λαβών. We may think here of the concubine by whom Men. obtained a male heir (*Od.* 4. 10-14); unless the point is simply that Men. can find sexual consolation. 1639-42 then follows, *partly* in explanation of 1638, but mainly in explanation of 1662-3: the *μυρίοι πόνοι* that Helen has caused for Men. have been part of a far-reaching divine plan for pitting Greeks against barbarians (in which the latest battle of Greeks and Phrygians has had its place). The explanation is illogical as things stand (with 1638-42 following 'Helen's destiny is to be immortal'); we have to regard the reason 'because Helen has now fulfilled her sole earthly function' as *implicit*, but E. did not habitually express *αἴτια* so obliquely. Note also that *θεοί* . . . *τήσδε* . . . *ἔθηκον* is balanced by *τῶδ' ἐγὼ θήσω* 1664 (the gods, as executors of the *Διὸς βουλή*, include Eris, 12-14*).
1639. *καλλιστεύματι*: 'outstanding beauty' (instrum. dat.), cf. *καλλιστεύματα Λοξία Ph.* 215, *καλλιστείον* 'beauty-prize'.
1640. *εἰς ἔν*: a favourite idiom (13 times in E.), intensifying *συν-* (cf. *Ph.* 462); *συνήγαγον*: 'pitted in combat', cf. A. *Sepi.* 508.
- 1641-2. *ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν* . . . : cf. *Hel.* 39-40 *ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν / πλήθους τε κουφίσειε μητέρα χθόνα* (the traditional *Διὸς βουλή* as the *αἴτιον* of the Trojan War; Jouan 41-54, Stinton, *EJP* 7-8); for the metaphor here (from the bilge of ships), cf. Dale on *Al.* 354. *χθονός*: gen. of separation, but also (*ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*) construable with *ὑβρισμα*, with semi-personification of the 'outraged' Earth-mother. *θηγῶν* . . . *πληρώματος*: continuing the nautical metaphor ('complement'); *πληρώματος* defining gen. (or subjective, as subj. of the vb implied in *ὑβρισμα*); *ἀφθόνου*: unusual where the 'abundance' is *unwelcome*, but cf. *Ph.* 715. The lavish use of *-μα* nouns is characteristic of E.
- 1664-5. *τὰ πρὸς πόλιν* . . . : 427*. *ἐγώ*: Apollo's role is associated with the *Διὸς βουλή*, cf. *Antiope* 48. 95 Kamb. *Ζεὺς* . . . *σὺν δ' ἐγώ* (sc. Hermes). *θήσω καλῶς*: cf. *θήσομεν καλῶς* at the end of A. *Ag.* (Elmsley on *Med.* 896[926], Diggle, *CQ* 1983, 350). We do not question Apollo's ability to reconcile the Argives (representatives of whom are present on the stage to hear Or.'s exoneration); henceforth, we may assume, the Argives will accept the prestige of Delphi in matters of blood-pollution. *ἔξηνάγκασα*: the intensifying preverb emphasizes that Or. 'had no choice', his *total* exoneration being necessary for the 'happy ending'; but an ironical tension remains between that simplistic (archaically 'traditional') view of the matter and the manner in which things have actually happened on the human level. Or.'s reply at once reminds us that (from his point of view) he had acted doubtfully in response to an uncertainly identified voice.
- 1666-72. So it was *true*, what Apollo had prophesied (1666-7); but Or.'s recognition of that is offset by the abiding memory of his former doubts (1668-9); however, 'all's well that end well', and he readily complies with Apollo's command to regard Herm. as his destined wife (1670-2). Murray's punctuation needs revision.

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- 1666-7. *ὦν θεοπισμάτων οὐ ψευδόμαντις ἦσθ' ἄρ' (no colon):* cf. *Held.* 65 *μάντις δ' ἦσθ' ἄρ' οὐ καλὸς τάδε* (721*). *A. Ag.* 1241 *ἀληθόμαντις;* the oracular statements (that Or. ought to kill his mother and that Apollo would see him through) are the same as those referred to in 1681 (*σοῖς . . . θεοπίσμασιν*); the gen. is objective. *ἐτήτυμος:* *IT* 1085, *Ion* 1488, *S. Phil.* 1290 (a word commoner in Aesch.). [Di B. and Biehl follow Hermann, Nauck, Paley and Murray in treating *ὦν θεοπ-* as exclam. gen.; the better punctuation is given by Porson, Wecklein, Weil, Wedd and Chapouthier. The exclam. 'Oh (how amazing? gratifying?) your prophecies (are)!' is strangely off-key (this is not the moment for colloquialism in the vein of *IA* 327, *Ar. Ach.* 87, *Av.* 61, *Pax* 238); and *θεοπ-* is given the wrong reference. Hermann objected to *ὦν* as carrying misplaced emphasis in the 2-line sentence; Weil defended it as 'truly yours'; but it simply stands next to the voc., as *σοῖς* in 1681.]
- 1668-9. 'Though indeed', cf. *IT* 720 (or 'and yet', *GP* 556), 'I began fearing that I might have heard some *ἀλάστωρ* and merely imagined hearing your voice'. *δοῖμαι:* for the aor. opt. (where aor. indic. might have been expected) M.L.W. has drawn my attention to the parallel at *IT* 1340-1 *ἐσθλθεν ἡμᾶς μὴ λυθέντες οἱ ξένοι / κτάνοιεν αὐτήν.* For the 'doubt' here, cf. *El.* 979 *ἄρ' αὐτ' ἀλάστωρ εἶπ' ἀπεικασθεῖς θεῶ;* and *Hamlet* II. ii 'The spirit that I have seen / May be the devil . . .'. *τινος . . . ἀλαστόρων:* 337*, 1546-8*; in a sense it could still be said that the voice of Apollo was the voice of an *ἀλάστωρ* (in relation to the ancestral Atreid Curse).
- 1670-2. *εὐ τελείται:* the 'happy ending' is made explicit (the vb ambivalently present and future, cf. *A. Ag.* 68 *τελείται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον,* *Bacchyl.* 18(17). 30, 45); and a repetition of the ironical point of 1653-4 follows at once (juxtaposing the ideas *σφαγή* and *λέκτρα*). *ἐπήνεσ:* present in force, as often (*KG* i 163-4); cf. also 1092 f.*. *ἤνικ' ἄν:* 'when', not 'if'; Or. assumes that Men. will be equally obedient to the dispositions of the *deus*.
- 1673-7. *ζηλῶ:* i.e. *μακαρίζω*, cf. 521, *ζῆλος* 971-3*; the assonance with *Ζηνός* is probably fortuitous. *κατοικήσασαν:* regarding Helen as already domiciled in Heaven (consistently with what Apollo has said so far, though not with 1684 ff.); but *-σουσαν* (Weil, Naber) could well be right. *κατεγγυῶ:* cf. 1079.
- 1676-7. An elegantly phrased 'aristocratic' wish; another 'traditional' touch, echoing *S. Phil.* 874 *εὐγενῆς . . . καὶ εὐγενῶν* (not without irony as to 'nobility' of *character*), but also looking forward to New Comedy in which the 'parental blessing' from a father giving his daughter in marriage was to become routine. *γῆμας ἀπ' :* cf. *An.* 974-5, *Thgn.* 189 f.; Elmsley on *Held.* 300.
- 1678-9. A mild hysteron proteron: the 'relinquishing of strife' (1680-1) is to precede the 'going separate ways' and 'general exit in peace' (1682 ff.). *ἕκαστος:* including Pyl., *El.* and *Herm.* *νείκας:* the reading of M only, and a doubtful word (see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1378). *νείκους* is possible (*διαλύεσθαι* pass., the construction then like *Med.* 896-7 *διαλλάχθηθ' ἅμα /*

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- τῆς πρόσθεν ἔχθρας), *νεῖκος* easy and normal (διαλύεσθαι midd.). [In similar contexts E. has both *νεῖκος* and pl. *νεῖκη* with the simple vb λύω (*Hp.* 1442, *Antiope* 48. 116 Kamb.) and with *μεθίημι* (*Hel.* 1236, 1681); cf. also *Ba.* 294 *διδύμου* (Dalmeida) . . . *νεικέων* (*CQ* 1966, 40-1). We should, I think, choose between -ους and -ος, and I incline (with Chapouthier) towards the former as at once more *recherché* and better attested (διαλύεσθαι + acc. may be in general the normal construction, but it does not in fact occur in E.). *νεῖκη* (Wecklein) is no better than *νεῖκος*.]
- 1680-1. *τοιούτος*: 'like-minded', cf. *Held.* 266 (with the same ellipse of *εἰμι*). *σπένδομαι* . . . : i.e. 'I formally relinquish hostility against . . .'; the dat. with *σπένδεσθαι* in that sense is normally personal; by using impersonal terms, Or. 'forgets' Men.'s role and avoids implying that he had been a *θεομάχος*.
- 1682-90. *Anapaests*. Many plays end with a shift from spoken to (half-) chanted utterance; but seldom with such a self-contained *envoi*. Usually a divine 'dismissal' is followed by a brief or more elaborate human reaction (as in *S. Phil.* 1452 ff., where Philoctetes bids farewell to Lemnos); in *El.*, the Dioscuri virtually have the last word in anapaests, but there the three choral lines that follow are probably authentic.
1682. *ἴτε νυν* . . . : echoing *χωρεῖτέ νυν* . . . 1678 (cf. 1261/1266, *Med.* 89/105), but Apollo is now benignly addressing the entire assembled company.
1683. *Εἰρήνην*: cf. Dodds on *Ba.* 419-20; Peace is *καλλίστη θεῶν* in fr. 453 (from *Cresphontes*); the topical overtone is obvious in this, perhaps E.'s most topical, play (Intro. A, D i).
1684. *Δίους* (Nauck): cf. *Ba.* 245, 599, etc.; but *Ζηνός* could be right (Mosch., Ald., Porson), cf. *Hp.* 749, *S. El.* 1096 (Dawe i 193). *μελάθροισι πελάσω*: cf. *Med.* 760, *Hel.* 671, 682.
1685. *ἐξανύσας*: 'having definitively journeyed to' (by extension from (*δδόν*) *ἀνύειν*); poetic idiom especially for the 'impressive' journey to another world, cf. *Su.* 1141 *ἦνυσαν τὸν Ἄϊδαν*, *S. OC* 1562-4 *ἐξανύσαι* . . . *Στύγιον δόμον*. *ἄστρων πόλον*: cf. *οὐράνιον πόλον A. PV* 429; a poetical phrase, but also with 'Anaxagorean' colour (cf. *Anax. A1* and *A42*), as another thematic strand; there is a suggestion that Helen herself will become a star like her Brothers (see below).
- 1686 f. *παρ' Ἥρα* . . . *πάρεθρος*: enthroned (cf. *σύνθακος* 1637) alongside the Queen of Heaven (the highest possible rank), formerly Helen's bitterest enemy (there will be Peace in Heaven too). *τῆ Ἑ Ἡρακλέους Ἥβη*: sc. 'wife', cf. *Hdt.* 4. 205 *Φερεσίμης τῆς Βάττου*, *V. Aen.* 3. 319 *Hectoris Andromache* (not a Homeric formula; it may have been E. who first elevated to poetry an essentially prosaic locution). Hebe, daughter of Hera, with no significant cult, symbolized the gods' eternal youth and beauty; Heracles was the most august of all the *Διὸς παῖδες* who had been elevated from humanity to divinity as a consequence of *πόννοι* on earth.
- 1687-8. *θεὸς ἀνθρώποις* . . . *ἔντιμος*: cf. 8-9*, *S. El.* 239. *σπονδαῖς*: loosely

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instrumental (modal), at once a standard expression of 'cult' (as in *Hel.* 1667-9) and related in thought to *σπένδομαι* 1680, *εἰρήνην* 1683.

1689-90. *σὺν Τυνδαρίδαις τοῖς Διόσι* . . . : the simultaneous designation of the Dioscuri as 'Tyndarid' and 'sons of Zeus' is ancient poetical formula, not Euripidean sophistication (see Kannicht on *Hel.* 1497). We should then read (with Wecklein) . . . *ὕγρας* (not *υἰοῖς*) / *ναύταις μεδέουσα θαλάσσης*: a clausula of high 'epic' and 'oracular' solemnity; the epithet is proper to the sea, cf. *An.* 793 (*Ἄξενος*), *A. Su.* 259 (*θάλασσα*), *Pi. Ol.* 7. 69 (*ἄλς*), *Py.* 4. 40 (*πέλαγος*), also the epic *ὕγρα κέλευθα* (*Il.* 1. 312, *Od.* 3. 71), and appropriately emphasizes the 'wet' element where Helen will hold sway (whereas Heracles is essentially terrestrial); for *μεδέουσα* 'sovereign goddess of', cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 54 (a grandiose word, cf. *Ἰδηθεν μεδέων* of Zeus in the *Iliad*); for the double construction with gen. and dat., cf. *IT* 31 *γῆς ἀνάσσει βαρβάροι βάρβαρος*. Helen will exercise her marine governance from the *ἄστρον πόλος*, like her brothers who *φλογερὰν αἰθέρ' ἐν ἄστροις / ναίουσι, βροτῶν ἐν ἀλός ῥοθίοις / τιμὰς σωτήρας ἔχοντες* (*El.* 991-3). There can be little doubt that E. had 'stellification' in mind alongside other ideas (cf. *Hel.* 140 *ἄστροις σφ' ὁμοιωθέντε φάσ' εἶναι θεῶν*, and *ibid.* 1498-9). Eratosthenes and others looked to E. as an authority in matters of astromythography (which had very ancient roots in Greece); his *Erechtheus* and *Andromeda* had ended with an explicit *καταστερισμός*. But no particular star was available or worthy to be associated with this transcendent Helen, and the carefully phrased new mythographic formulation is appropriately imprecise. (*ὕγρας* (*γρ. M*) is plainly the truth, as against the obvious *υἰοῖς* (a word used by E. only in trimeters and a *form* not attested elsewhere in tragedy); it is scarcely conceivable that *ὕγρας* could be someone's brilliant 'improvement'. And yet, against Wecklein, all subsequent edd. have woodenly adhered to *υἰοῖς* without comment.)

[1691-3]. The prayer to 'Victory' can be associated with the 'honouring of Peace'; and the implied hope for success in the dramatic competition can be said to suit a play destined to have a powerful popular appeal. But the same cliché occurs also at the end of *IT* and *Ph.*, and was probably added by actors. [See Barrett on *Hp.* 1462-6; but (a) while allowing that actors may have added tailpieces to plays that lacked them, we should recognise the likelihood that they had authentic precedents (esp. in their favourite E.) for the type of play-ending that they favoured; (b) there are no solid grounds for suspecting the non-recurrent tailpieces of *Held.*, *Hec.*, *Su.*, *El.*, *HF*; (c) *Hp.* 1462-6 includes the authentic-looking words *πίτυλος* and *ἀξιοσηθεῖς*, and is easily defended against B.'s criticisms (*τῶν μεγάλων* 1465 means 'important persons like Theseus, Phaedra and Hippolytus'; *μᾶλλον κατέχουσιν* 1466 means 'command greater attention, are more emotive', sc. so as to arouse tears).]

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- 268–74. M. Cropp (*Phoenix* 1982, 209–14) argues similarly for an imaginary bow and invisible flying arrows, but much less persuasively for excision of 268–70 as an interpolated mythological clarification. Given the other ‘imaginary’ features (including the Furies), it is unreasonable to object to δός. . . addressed to an imaginary attendant; and the connection which C. creates between 267 (. . . ἐπει τὸ θεῖον δυσμενὲς κεκτήμεθα) and 271 (βεβλήσεταιί τις θεῶν . . .) is artificial, since Or. is not responding to El., and θεῶν is already pointedly juxtaposed with βροτησίῃ. The τόξα must be notionally ‘Apolline’ because of their successful deployment and the epithet ἐκηβόλων (273). 268–70 thus indispensably makes clear what would otherwise have to be inferred. We also need the word τόξα before 271 in order to understand βεβλήσεται . . . χερσί as referring to archery rather than sword-play (the more so, as the weapon is invisible). [Unless, of course, we wish to complicate the weaponry: Or. begins by threatening the Furies with a sword (271–2), as in the pictorial tradition, and then notionally assails them with arrows (273–4). Or are we now to consider taking out 273–4 as well?]
- 988–94. The arrangement *ba cr ba* / *zia* . . . is inferior, I now think, to *ba cr ba* / *zia* (repeating the pattern of 985), followed by *Πέλοψ ὄτ’ ἐπὶ πελάγεσσι διε- / διφρέυσε, Μυρτίλου φόνον / δικῶν ἐς οἶδμα πόντου* (further dimeters, with an enjambed pair). Unsyncopated iambic trimeters in lyric, as in dialogue, normally if not always have penthemimeral or hepthemimeral caesura (J.D.).
- 1369–74. Note further that the analysis . . . πῆφευῶν || βαρβαροῖς ἐν | εὐμαρτί-
‘σιν κῆδρωτά | . . . gives (in addition to the unwelcome pause) a seemingly unparalleled phenomenon, viz. a trochaic verse beginning with and extending the rhythm of an ithyphallic—the more unlikely where the trochaic rhythm has not yet been clearly established.
1387. For the anadiplosis in a ‘dochmiac compound’ (p. 106; here δ | *cr*), cf. 200* δλόμεθ’ ἰσονέκυες, δλόμεθα. It would be a mistake to include *ξεστῶν* in this verse, leaving *περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων ἐρινύν* to be analysed as *cr* | δ | *ba* (or, incredibly, *hd itē*).
- 1426–30. The Doric alpha in εὐπαγαί (cf. *Ναύπακτος*) is attested by BOVA (Biehl) and at least 13 other MSS (J.D.).
1447. ἄλλαι iam Scaliger (*ap. Barnes*). The direct speech might alternatively be punctuated: *Οὐκ ἐκποδῶν; ἴτ’ ἄλλαι, κακοὶ Φρύγες* (J.D.); cf. *Phaethon* 219 οὐ θᾶσσον; *S. El.* 1430 οὐκ ἄψορρον; *Aj.* 369 οὐκ ἐκτός; *OT* 430, 1146 οὐκ εἰς ὄλεθρον; That has the advantage of separating the two adverbs; and it is not a serious objection that the parallels cited do not have an imperative following the question. Cf. 275 τί . . . μέλλετ’; ἔξακρίζετ’ . . .

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1448. *ἐκλήσεν*: γρ. Z^d (J.D.); all the others have *ἐκ(κ)λήσειε*.
- 1449-51. *μὲν σταθμοῖσιν* also Aa (J.D.); for the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction, see also G. Kiefner, *Die Versparung* (1964), 27-9.
- 1458-9. J.D. reports a new reading *δινέουσιν* (Aa), which merits acceptance. As argued, we need the pl., and the imperfect is the right tense here. *δινέω* is the rarer vb, but *-ευ-* (as in 837 *φόνον* . . . *δινέων βλεφάροις*) accounts well for the anomalous *-α-* (*α* and *ευ* are very commonly confused). *ον* may have dropped out before *δμμα*.
1465. J.D. reports *ἰὼ μοί μοι* in six MSS (Aa Sa Zb F At Pr), and he adds *Al*. 876, *El*. 114, 129, ?159, 1167, *HF* 749, *Hr*. 1384 (v.l. *ἰὼ μοι*), *Med*. 97, 115, *Tr*. 281, 1237, *Ph*. 1508 (v.l. *ἰὼ μοι*), *Antiope* 48. 50 Kamb., *Phaethon* 274, 284. But he observes that, whereas *ἰὼ μοί μοι* and *ἰὼ μοι* occur often as errors for *ᾠμοι* (*μοι*), the reverse corruption here would be exceptional (though of course *I* can easily drop out after *N*). As to the possible analyses keeping *ᾠμοι μοι*, I prefer either Di B.'s *ā δ' ἀνιᾶχέν ἰᾶχέν* . . . or *ā δ' ἀνιᾶχ' ἰᾶχ*, . . . (both *δ | mol*) to the clumsier *ā δ' ἀνι-ᾶχέν ἰ-ᾶχέν ᾠ-μοι μοι* (*στ* _Λ, with an unparalleled pattern of overlaps). For the (uncommon) *δ*-form - *ω ω ω ω*, see Conomis 25, and add *Or*. 1305 (?) *τᾶν λιπὸπᾶτόρᾶ λιπᾶ-*; for the anadiplosis with two elisions, cf. 180-2*, *Hec*. 167.
- 1468ff. J.D. justly points out that my . . . | *ἰχνὸς ἐφέ-ῖ-ρὲν ἐφῆρῆν, ἐς |* . . . violates the rule for such anadiploses enunciated on p. 248 above (986-7*). He would accept the iambo-dactylic verse *φῦγᾶ<δ> ἰ δὲ πῶδῃ | τὸ χρῦσοῦσαμ-βάλον ἰχνὸς (-σοάμβαλον: 'this must be the right form')*, comparing *Hec*. 647 f. for resolution in the iambic part; then *ἔφερον ἔφερον ἔς κόμας δὲ/δακτύλους <υ> δίκων Ὀρέστας* (e.g. *<λάβρους>* or *<ἄκρους>*, cf. *Ba*. 709); *21r | -υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-*, cf. *Ph*. 247-8/58-9, 1041-2/65-6, 1732-3. Either that or *ἔφερον [ἔφερον] ἔς κόμας δὲ δακτύλους δίκων Ὀρέστας* would be preferable to West's proposals (erroneous anadiplosis: cf. 999, 1308). I remain doubtful as to *φυγά<δ> ἰ . . . ἰχνος*: the phrasing is oddly clumsy (as well as metrically odd, with the single *D* unit in the middle of an otherwise *ia-tr* sentence), where *φυγᾶ δὲ χρυσο(ε)σοάμβαλον | πῶδ' ἔφερον* . . . would have been straightforward.
- 1478-9. J.D. would, as in 1468, accept the iambo-dactylic verse *ἐναντα δ' ἦλθεν Πυλάδας ἀλαστος*, followed by *οἶος οἶος Ἐκτωρ | δ Φρύγιος ἦ <καί> τρικύρυνθος Αἴας* or . . . *τρικύρυνθος <ποι> Αἴας*. He has persuaded me that we cannot simply delete *Πυλάδης*, leaving *ἦλθε* without a proper subject. But it remains possible that *Πυλάδης* is a gloss. Something like *ἐναντα δ' ἦλθ' <Ἄρης>* (or *<Ἄρης Ἄρης>*) *ἀλαστος* would mend the iambs stylishly. As argued, an imprecise subject suits the context.
- 1483-7. *ἐγένοντο* . . . *δοσον* . . . *ἐγενόμεθ'* remains hard to accept. J.D. suggests tentatively *τότε . . . διαπρεπείς | [ἐγένοντο] Φρύγες δοσον (O) Ἄρειος ἀλκᾶν <ἀλκᾶν> (<ἀλκᾶν> M.L.W.) | ἦσσοιες Ἑλλάδος ἐγενόμεθ' αἰχμᾶς*. There are doubtless other possibilities on similar lines. Note that there is no particular virtue in getting rid of proclitics here, in the light of 1486 *φύγᾶς, δὲ ἰχνὸς ὤν*.

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- 1488-91. J.D. writes: 'An iambic trimeter elided before dochmiacs, and ending in strong pause, is unthinkable . . . The only exx. of elided trimeters I can find are *Su.* 923 and *El.* 1183, both followed by - - - - -.' His remedy is to put 1489 (linked in thought with 1486-7) before 1488; νεκροὶ δ' ἐπισπτον . . . ἐφεύγομεν is then a *ζια* period like 1481-2, 1498-9.
- 1498-9. οὐκέτ' οἶδα: for the idiom ('I have no further knowledge', not 'I no longer know'), see Dawe on *S. OT* 115.
- 1500-2. 'Rather more economical' (J.D.) would be ἀν[α]σχόμενος ἀνόνα-'τὸν ἐλάβ' ἀπὸ Τροίας | τὸν Ἑλένας γάμον. But the δ-form - - - - - (Conomis 27-8) is scarcely more acceptable than - - - - - ἀνοσχόμενος is indeed plausible (cf. *KB* i 180; Barrett on *Hp.* 1364-7, Jebb on *S. Ant.* 467), and might be accommodated with a different transposition: ἀνοσχόμενος ἀπὸ Τροί-ας ἀνόνατ' ἐλάβε | . . . (ἀνόνατα, cf. *Al.* 412, and 152*).
- 1549-53. I should have dealt more fully with Reeve's arguments. (a) 'The use of tetrameters) just to announce an entry seems rather pointless', and cf. *Ph.* [1308-9] (Fraenkel, *SB München* 1963 Heft i, 83 and n. 2). But the barring of the doors is a significant dramatic action (Intro. E ii), worth making a point of here, not only in 1571-2 below. (b) The 'shouted γνώμη' in 1552-3 is 'strange technique'. But the extended apostrophe of persons within is similar in principle to 1349-52 ἔχεσθ' ἔχεσθε . . . ὡς εἶδη . . . Μενέλαος, οὐνεκ' . . . ἐπραξεν οἷα χρὴ πράσσειν κακοῦς (ending with a gnomic point). (c) 'The γνώμη itself makes only superficial sense.' As to that, I would add the possibility of a *topical* point about the dangerous power of 'successful persons' (οἱ εὐτυχοῦντες, cf. *Antipho* 2. 4. 9). Men. is sufficiently a member of that class (by contrast with Or., cf. 86-7* and Intro. F i. 11) to make the γνώμη relevant. For the Chorus Men. is still, as when they greeted him on his previous entry, an exemplar of 'success' (354 εὐτυχία δ' αὐτὸς ὀμλεῖς), and other considerations are for the moment forgotten (cf. 356 ff., where Men. immediately qualifies the choral μακαρισμός by describing the mixture of pleasure and grief in his present situation). J.D. further impugns the use of Ἀτρεΐδαι (to Or., in opposition to the entering Ἀτρεΐδης). But ὡ κατὰ στέγας Ἀτρεΐδαι (similar to 1345 f. ὡ κατὰ στέγας φίλοι ξιφήρεις) explicitly excludes any Ἀτρεΐδαι; not in the Palace. Orestes and Iphigenia are more surprisingly referred to as δυοῖν τοῖν μόνουιν Ἀτρεΐδαι at *IT* 898, despite Menelaus' kingship of Argos (929) and the marriage of Electra to Pylades (915, etc.). For Ἀτρεΐδαι 'members of the House of Atreus' (not 'Agamemnon and Menelaus'), cf. 810*, 816-18*.
- 1600-20. J.D. points out, in support of Grüninger, that (a) εἴ' 1618 followed by εἴ' 1622 is 'a bit surprising'; (b) 1619 is largely padding; (c) burning, rather than throwing, γείσα τειχέων is odd (to which I would add that γ- τ- τάδε jars after . . . τάδε 1618, and as a feebler phrase than γ- τεκτόνων πόνου in 1570); (d) Apollo ignores the burning. I strongly disagree with Seeck's attempt to remove all references to burning the Palace (cf. Reeve¹ 264⁴⁶); the torches are certainly in view (1573) with that contingent purpose in mind (1543, protected by strophic respension; cf. 149-50, 1594-5). But I

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do now think it likely that the *execution* of the 'burning' was added by actors for a heightened theatrical climax (cf. 1347-8*). What then of the argument as to 1600-17*? The case for putting 1610-12 before 1600 ff. is as strong as ever; but, with Biehl, I do not believe that E. can have intended 1621 (*Με. ὦ γαῖα . . .*) directly to follow 1617 (*Με. ἔχεις με . . .*). The shift thus from 'lamenting concession of defeat' (1613-17) to 'whetted temper' (cf. 1625) is much too abrupt. Other possible transpositions were outlined on p. 347. If 1618-20 go, the best arrangement would seem to be 1610-11[-12] (see below), 1600-7, 1613-17, 1608-9. The ἀντιλαβή then *begins* with Men.'s expression of ἀπορία (1610 οἶμοι, τί δράσω;) and Or.'s demand (πείθ' ἐς Ἀργείους μολών . . .), directly following 1599 (*Ορ. σίγα νυν, ἀέχου δ' ἐνδίκως πράσσων κακῶς*); and it ends with:

1617 *Με. ἔχεις με. Ορ. σαυτὸν σύ γ' ἔλαβες, κακὸς γεγώς.*

1608 *Με. ἀπαιρε θυγατρὸς φάσγανον. Ορ. ψευδῆς ἔφυς.*

1609 *Με. ἀλλὰ κτενεῖς μου θυγατέρ'; Ορ. οὐ ψευδῆς ἔτ' εἶ.*

Or. justly doubts whether Men. has 'truly' surrendered, and insists on the truth of his threat to kill Herm. (sc. if Men. does not act as demanded in 1610-11). That is the appropriate cue both for 1621-4 (with the phrasing δδὲ βιάζεται . . . ζῆν) and, indirectly, for Apollo's intervention (note the reference to Herm. and Or.'s sword in 1627).

[1612]. Given that 1600 ἢ γὰρ δίκαιον ζῆν σε; expresses Men.'s reaction to 1611 ἡμᾶς μὴ θανεῖν αἰτοῦ πόλιν, it is better that it should follow *directly*. The intervening line 'Or you will kill my daughter?' 'Just so' is a superfluous spelling-out of the alternative, and likely enough to have been interpolated (cf. 50[-1]*) in this otherwise disturbed context. Some confirmation is afforded by Men.'s use here only of the 2nd pers. *plural*. Note also that this is yet another line ending with . . . τὰδε (cf. 1598, 1618, 1620).

1646-7. For the omission of ὄνομα with τίθεσθαι 'to give a name', J.D. draws my attention to LSJ s.v. τίθημι A. IV.

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36. The metaphor may also, or alternatively, allude to 'hoop-whipping'; West cites *HF* 966, *A. Ch.* 1055 f.
- 73[-4]. In objecting to *φονεύς ἐφν* I had overlooked *S. Tra.* 36, 489, *OC* 1444 (cit. West). But the case for excision remains strong.
- 138-9. The papyrus is now reported as reading *ομφ* rather than *ομοφ*, and *ἀλλ' ὁμως* has turned up in at least two MSS (J.D.).
- 140-1. For Psellus' quotation see now A. R. Dyck, *Michael Psellus, The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (1986), 46. Dyck's text runs . . . αἱ δὲ <πρὸς> τὴν Ἠλέκτραν ἀποκρινόμεναι φθεγγομένην τῇ / οἰγᾶτε μὴ κτυπεῖτε, μὴ ἔσ(τ)ω κτύπος.
- 225-6. Paley's *ὦ βόστρυχ'*, *ὦ . . .*, mentioned by West, is plausible (cf. 1045 *ὦ φίλτατ'*, *ὦ . . .*). *βόστρυχοι* are normally pl., but El. can appropriately be handling and apostrophizing a single tress.
404. West defends *νυκτός*, pointing out that *ἡμέρα* can denote 'night plus day' (in that order), and comparing the dawn *ἀναίρειος* in *Il.* 23. 217 ff.
410. West rejects *ἀπετρέπου* as the wrong tense; so J.D. proposes *ἀπετρέπου*.
432. West accepts Wecklein's *Τροίει*, but one would welcome a parallel for a local dative dependent on a noun such as *μίσος*.
437. The question should probably be 'But does *not* the city recognize your inherited kingship?' West accepts *δ' οὐ* (Schirlitz) for *δέ*.
- 470-5. West observes that Tyndareus has not (apparently) encountered his granddaughter Hermione either at or on the way to Clytaemestra's tomb.
502. West cites *Med.* 534 f. *μείζω γε μέντοι τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας | εἰληφας* ('you have got . . . from . . .'). In the light of that clear parallel I should now accept *ἔλαβεν ἂν τῆς συμφορᾶς*. 'The (aforesaid) *συμφορά*' thus naturally refers to the murder of Or.'s father by his mother (496-8).
- 585-7: *διὰ τὸ κείνης γάρ* is probably the truth (J.D.; so West); there seems to be no parallel for the position of *γάρ* in *διὰ τὸ γὰρ κείνης*.
- 613-14. West shows that *ἐκούσαν οὐχ ἐκούσαν* can mean 'willy nilly', but not that that is the sense required. Tyndareus sees himself as applying the additional spur needed for *willing* action, as when Clytaemestra *ἐπισείει* the Furies. He lacks the clout for applying *force majeure*.
618. J.D. accepts my conjecture *δνειδος*, but takes *τάγαμμενος* as *τὸ Ἄγ.*
762. I had overlooked Wecklein's conjecture *δῶμα*, accepted by West.
803. *εἴ γε . . . ὄντι* (Reeve), mentioned by West, is another possibility.
838. West writes *Ἄγαμειμόνιος*, turning the reizianum into a pherecratean.
- 961-2. West accepts *λευκῶν* (Hartung), with which one might also consider writing *δουχι* (cf. *Su.* 76, *Hel.* 373); but the long anceps, here only in these iambs, is an unwelcome feature.

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- 1018-19. West accepts *νερτέρων* (B³, Sa) *πύλης* (Jacobs), citing *Hr.* 1447 and *A. Ag.* 1291. But he does not justify the singular 'gate'; and the majority reading *νερτέρου* (fem.) is an unlikely corruption of *νερτέρας* (L) or *-ων*.
1039. I should have cited *El.* 73 f. *ἄλις δ' ἔχεις / τᾶξωθεν ἔργα. ἄλις ἔχω* + acc. is similarly acceptable here (not, however, in 240 where we definitely need a partitive gen.). But the case for . . . *αἴμ' ἐγώ* . . . remains strong in the light of *IT* 1008.
- 1041-2. I should now accept *ξίφει* (Wecklein); J.D. compares *Su.* 904.
1313. West mentions Wecklein's *ἐς μέσον βόλον*, acceptance of which would enhance the case for deleting 1315-16. But *φόνον* is probably right (in line with the *suggestio falsi*, cf. 1286-1310*, 1297-8*).
- 1377-9. J.D. suggests *ἦ <π>ι πόντον*, analysing *πολιόν* . . . *ὄν* as 3δ.
1397. *Ἄσιδι* (West) is an improvement. But we must certainly divide after *βασιλέων* (before *zan / zia* λ). *αἰαῖ, Ἄσιδι | φῶνᾶ, βασιλέων* makes *zan*, with no need for Paley's extra *αἰαῖ*.
- 1400-1. J.D. excellently proposes *λέοντες Ἕλληνες / δύο διδύμω* (sic MO) (*ῥυθμῶ*); both verses are then *ia sp*, and for the idiom cf. 632-3*.
- 1430-3. J.D. suggests *ᾶ δὲ λίνον <λίνον> ἡλᾶκᾶτᾶ / . . . (D³, cf. 1369-74*)*.
1473. West corrects *ἦτ'* to *ἦστ'*, referring to Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 542. The same correction is presumably required in *Cyc.* 381, *Tro.* 1161, and *IT* 569.
1495. J.D. corrects my *παλαμῶν* to *-μᾶν*; cf. 1249-50* (*Δαναϊδῶν* codd.).
- 1500-2. Better still would be . . . / *ἀνσχόμενος ἀνόνα-ἴτον <ἀνόνατον ἄρ>* *ἀ-πὸ Τροίας ἔλαβε . . . (<ἀνόνατον>)* J.D.; *ἀνσχόμενος* sic Ad).
- 1554-5. Read *κλυών*: West corrects the accentuation of the aorist participle.
- 1589-90. West puts these lines before 1585, on the ground that they must precede the transition from killing Helen to killing Hermione (only the former being *κακῆ*). This transposition is consistent with my excision of 1579-84 (1589-90 could have been displaced by the interpolation). But Or. has already declared his intention of killing Hermione (1578), so that little is gained.
1608. West's *ψευδῆς <δ> ἔφης* could well be right.
- [1631-2]. West defends, reading *ἐν αἰθέρος πύλαις* (M in marg.). That removes objection (a); but (b) and (c) remain.

In several other places readings hitherto conjectural have turned up in one or more MS. Diggle's forthcoming apparatus must be consulted for the details. The readings include 38 *φόβον*, 118 *γε*, 337 *χορεύων*, 966 *κάρρ*, 1047 *μ' ἔτηξας*, 1114 *ὡς*, 1148 *σπασώμεθα*.

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