A STUDY OF THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES OF AESCHYLUS

A dissertation to be submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge.

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This doctoral dissertation is the outcome of research performed by me at Cambridge and elsewhere between 1971 and 1975 and not involving collaboration. I have naturally made constant use of previous scholars' works, which are duly acknowledged.

The aims and scope of the dissertation are explained in the Introduction. My system of bibliographical reference is explained in the Bibliography.

I am conscious that my style may in places be found irritatingly compressed (parallels, for instance, are seldom quoted verbatim and the views of scholars are sometimes rather baldly summarised); I hope that the reader will excuse this, bearing in mind the constraints imposed by a fixed limit of length.

I should like to express my sincere gratitude for the kindness of Professor Sir Denys Page in answering some questions of mine on his text of the Sententiae; for that of Professor R.P. Winnington-Ingram in sending me a draft of an article as yet unpublished; for the generous hospitality of the Fondation Hardt; above all for the endless patience, forbearance and good advice of my Supervisor, Mrs. P.B. Easterling, to whose help I am indebted in many more places than I have been able to acknowledge individually.
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INTRODUCTION

1. Aims and Approaches

When I first started work on this play my object was to write a strictly literary commentary, showing how literary criticism could be carried on right through a Greek play in a useful, systematic and disciplined way. I have never wholly lost sight of this object, but inevitably the more traditional concerns of scholarship have encroached upon it. Obviously no kind of pure Empsonian sensibility, untainted by historical considerations, will get us far with Greek tragedy; if we are to avoid saying what is simply not true and to proceed by something more than guesswork, we must employ all the resources of scholarship to place ourselves, as far as possible, in the position of the audience in the fifth-century Theatre of Dionysus. And this is no small task. For instance, lexica, grammars, and parallels listed in commentaries and elsewhere will have to be consulted before we can know the meaning and connotations of any word or phrase; we shall have to consider what is known of the circumstances of performance in deciding what effect a given scene could in practice have upon an audience; we shall have to consider other Greek tragedies, and what has been written about them, in deciding what critical questions can usefully be asked.

But I should still argue that in addition to pure scholarship (if such a thing exists) there is room, and need, for a critical responsiveness which must, in the end, be subjective, even though this subjectivity must be as informed and disciplined as possible. After all, if we cannot hope to respond to a literary work, and to reach some measure of agreement in our response, what is the point
of writing about it at all? My commentary is therefore full of places where I claim that "the effect of this line, or passage, or scene, is such-and-such" and where the reader must decide whether he agrees or disagrees with me simply on the basis of his experience in reading the line, passage or scene in question. Note that the subjectivity of this does not preclude intelligent discussion, and does not preclude agreement; indeed I doubt whether the chances of reaching a consensus are any less in matters of critical response than in textual and other "scholarly" issues.

So far I have been concerned with questions of what the text means, at one level or another; and so long as this is what we are asking, it is easy to show that any distinction between levels must be an artificial one. There is also the question of what Aeschylus actually wrote, which is in theory separate; but in practice it soon becomes clear that one cannot with honesty discuss details of Aeschylus's language and expression while relying on any existing text, even as excellent a one as Page's. But textual discussion, if it is to be useful at all, takes up a lot of space, and so this has become a fairly important part of my thesis. I hope that here, too, I have made some original contribution, not just through occasional new emendations but through general discussion and clarification of issues.

My thesis, then, seeks to contribute to the understanding of the *Seven against Thebes* at various different levels, and has no single unifying viewpoint. I hope I have shown that such an approach is theoretically defensible, and — what is much more important — I hope it proves fruitful in the event. Of course there are dangers,
particularly if literary preoccupations are allowed to influence scholarly judgment; for instance, some critics seem to think that possession of literary sensibility obliges them to defend the manuscripts through thick and thin. I can only hope that I have in fact kept my head in these matters.

My concerns are limited to the matters I have been discussing—what Aeschylus wrote and what his text means. I have therefore not discussed paleographical issues which have no direct bearing on the text, or philological issues which have no direct bearing on the meaning; nor have I listed parallels except where necessary for my argument; nor have I attempted a complete metrical commentary. Finally, I have devoted only the briefest space to trilogy-reconstruction; my reasons for scepticism on the feasibility and usefulness of this exercise will emerge during my discussion of the Second Stasimon.

Throughout my work I have, of course, had to pick my way among the opinions of numerous previous scholars and critics, and I have tried to be as thorough as is practicable in acknowledging their work. I fear, however, that for reasons of space I may often have devoted less discussion than I should to views with which I disagree.
2. The Text.

I have done no work on the manuscripts, being content to accept readings from Dawe (1) and Page and to treat them in the unprejudiced way that Dawe recommends. Nor do I claim any originality of method in my textual discussions. In these circumstances I could hardly expect to make any spectacular advance in the text of Aeschylus; and any contribution I do make will be due to the fact that I can stand on the shoulders of Dawe and Page, who have done so much to make the study of Aeschylus's text easier and more profitable. Also the lack of full-scale commentaries on the Septem by good textual critics gives some scope for originality.

I have discussed all points where I differ from Page, and all other major textual issues. My lemmata are taken from Page's text, except in a few cases where the reader is warned in advance that I do not accept it. My commentary takes as read all information given in Page's apparatus.

One textual issue, that of the authenticity of the ending, has proved too complex and important to be discussed in the commentary, especially as my views on it are somewhat heretical. It is therefore given a separate chapter to itself.
3. Expression and Imagery.

In matters of expression and imagery I have tried to approach the play as far as possible without presuppositions and critical canons, discussing whatever effects I happen to find. Nevertheless, there are several preliminary points to be made.

My commentary attempts to note as fully as is practicable all places in the play where the poet expresses himself in ways that go beyond the bare prose meaning of words and grammar; that is to say, all places where the meaning is affected by the sound of the words, the interaction of words above the grammar, the various applications of imagery, and so on. At times this may be rather elementary; certainly I am not under the impression that every "poeticism" I discuss is of the highest poetic value. For example, I have taken pretty full account of cases of effective alliteration, even when the effect is obvious and trivial, because some classicists have maintained that all alliteration in Greek is fortuitous, and it seems to me important to show that this view can be controverted not just by selected examples but consistently throughout a play.

All devices involving the sound of words, their order, their metrical properties and the like, interact in subtle ways with the meaning of the words themselves, and none is intrinsically meaningful apart from the context in which it is used. If, therefore, I suggest that a certain device has a certain effect in a certain place, it is no refutation of my view to show that the same device has a different effect, or none at all, in some other place where
the words are different. Classical scholars have tended to neglect this rule, though it is easy to verify it from one's experience of poetry in any language.

A particular instance of this rule is the valuable distinction which Silk draws, and which I have tried to observe, between "prominence" and "emphasis." A word to which attention is drawn by its position in the metrical or syntactical unit (the most notable case being where a word begins a line in enjambement and is followed by a sense pause) is ipso facto prominent; but it is emphatic only if its function in the sentence allows it to be so. Thus prominence assists emphasis, but does not by itself produce it. Here, I think, lies the answer to the old controversy between Verrall and Headlam on whether some positions in the line are "emphatic."

I have also been much influenced by Dr. Silk's thesis in discussing imagery; and although I have not consistently adopted his technical terms, I have found it useful to employ the terms "tenor," "vehicle" and "neutral" terminology (the first two borrowed by Silk from I.A. Richards). "Tenor terminology" is that belonging to the context in which the image occurs - the illustrandum, what the passage is "really about." "Vehicle terminology" is that brought in from another area of discourse - the illustrans. "Neutral terminology" is any which is compatible with both tenor and vehicle, whether through colourlessness or through definite ambiguity or because it reveals what the tenor and vehicle have in common. For instance, in κλόουν καμών ἐπέλθη, κλόουν is a vehicle term, καμών tenor and ἐπέλθη neutral; in θυμὸς ...
Ænne λεόντων ὄς, θυμός is a tenor term, Ænet neutral and λεόντων vehicle. With some exceptions, such as van Nee, scholars have been very careless in distinguishing "metaphorical" from "non-metaphorical" words in complex imagery.

I agree with Stanford (3) and many recent critics - Miss Lebeck, for instance - that scholarship has traditionally underrated the possibility of creative ambiguity in Greek. But one must be very careful here. In any kind of discourse the range of meanings which a word might theoretically possess is strictly limited by the context in which it is used; and it will not do to ignore context and select whatever meanings we like indiscriminately from the lexicon, as Cameron, for instance, often seems to do. But context may pull in two different ways, either explicitly, in the case of puns and the like, or more subtly, as when syntax demands one meaning for a word while some form of interaction over the syntax strongly suggests another. Here again the critic must respond to the passage using not only the lexicon but also his sensitivity to literature and his knowledge of the possibilities of language to decide for himself whether an ambiguity is really present or whether it is a mere invention of critical ingenuity.

I have tried also to be sensitive to the effect of patterns of motifs and images repeated at intervals through the play - the pattern of nautical imagery being the most obvious. In practice, however, my feeling is that although such repetition has a valuable unifying function, and although the effect of an individual image may be enhanced by the fact that it belongs to a pattern, the creative
effect of these patterns is on the whole less than might have been expected — certainly by comparison with the Agamemnon.

It might be objected that the amount of space I spend on certain individual images, ambiguities and the like belies my intention of always bearing in mind the circumstances of performance; how could an audience take in all this at one hearing? But since the time of the "New Criticism" English studies have shown us how complex the working of even simple-sounding poetic language can be; and it is often the most impressionistic and subliminal effects, ones which an audience would absorb without even being conscious of complexity, that require most space to analyse them in cold prose. Certainly I feel that my own analyses have not been consistently thorough and have often had to take refuge in short cuts and imprecisions for lack of space.
4. Eteocles

Discussion of character in the Seven against Thebes means, of course, discussion of Eteocles. Here again I intend my detailed views to emerge in the commentary, but again some preliminary remarks are needed, for this is an area where approaching the play with wrong expectations can lead to disastrous results.

I shall admit at the outset, then, that I have little sympathy with the kind of psychological analysis still practised by, for instance, Podlecki (2) and Golden, not to mention the Freudian views of Calder. The emphasis on action and the family, rather than individuals, that we find in John Jones is much nearer the mark, even if at times exaggerated. The measure of its validity for this play lies, I think, in the way in which Eteocles as an individual is wholly forgotten between his departure at 719 and the last scene; so constantly is the emphasis of chorus and Messenger laid on the event of mutual fratricide that it would be possible - though no doubt an exaggeration - to argue that Eteocles has appeared on the stage simply because there has to be some role for the Protagonist to play. Certainly if the prime interest - or even a major interest - of Aeschylus and his audience had been in Eteocles as an individual, it is hardly conceivable that Aeschylus could have written the lyrics after 719 as he did, or that the audience could have accepted them.

We must be on our guard, then, against attempts to interpret events of the play in the light of "the character of Eteocles" (his attack on the chorus after the Parodos is especially subject to such interpretations); and certainly we must not scrutinise his
character for flaws and peculiarities (on this kind of approach see Dale 2). Eteocles is a good king - a king good of his kind, as Aristotle demands. That is what chiefly matters, even if, as I shall argue, lines 69ff. hint at thoughts and fears hidden beneath the kingly role and are difficult to reconcile with a strictly Joneian approach. If, like Sophocles with his Oedipus, Aeschylus did not take special pains to make his Eteocles an obviously and preeminently virtuous man, this was precisely because he could rely on his audience not to indulge in the kind of searching character analysis which comes naturally to some modern critics.

Note that my argument has not been based on any inconsistency of character such as Howald (p.73), Dawe (1 p. 31f.) and others have seen. Mrs. Easterling has reminded us that on a simple level consistent and comprehensible behaviour is necessary from any figure in drama if we are to take him seriously at all. And I shall argue (though this does depend on interpretation of the admittedly difficult scene from 653 on) that Eteocles fulfils this condition perfectly well. He simply reacts to different situations in different ways, and it is only when his behaviour in different scenes is assumed to be designed to reveal an underlying character that any difficulty arises.

Of course, Eteocles does remain on stage for a long time; he behaves in certain ways, and certain things can be said about him. It may thus be possible to claim with Wilamowitz (1 p. 64ff.) that Aeschylus's material has led him to a kind of fortuitous
"characterization" and concentration on a "hero" (though with most recent critics I should reject Wilamowitz's detailed view of the nature of this material); this will then be a historical rather than a strictly critical statement, but nonetheless interesting.

Von Fritz now seeks to go beyond Wilamowitz to show in detail how Aeschylus has used and shaped his material; and although von Fritz's approach is different from mine and, in a sense, more "psychological," I should hesitate to reject it completely. He is no doubt right to warn us against discounting any approach to Aeschylus that could possibly go by the name of "psychological;" and it may be true that we can see, in all three scenes in which Eteocles appears, a tension between emotional agitation and composure, which, even if to some extent "given" by the plot, still serves in practice as characterization. In these matters the right distinctions are hard to draw and there is no single correct approach.
5. The Play

What is the **Seven against Thebes** about? What are its merits and its defects? There are, of course, numerous ways of approaching these questions; I shall merely note here a few points which seem to me worth making.

The crucial data given by the myth were that Eteocles and Polynices killed each other in single combat while Thebes repulsed the Argive attack. One of Aeschylus's basic tasks was to make moral and religious sense of these events. The brothers' deaths he explained in terms of an inherited curse whose operation he depicted in a subtle and typically Aeschylean manner. The Argive defeat he explained in terms of hybris and divine punishment, which is combined in an equally characteristic way with effectively magical matters of omens and their interpretation. And there is no doubt that Aeschylus and his audience believed profoundly that curses are effective and hybris is punished. The play is thus dealing with matters of the deepest religious significance.

Further, much of the play's originality and effectiveness lies in the ironic and disturbing way in which these religious motifs are combined. Even as Eteocles is most successfully defending the city and defeating its enemies through the piety and ingenuity of his replies to their boasts, the Curse, unseen and unmentioned, is drawing nearer to fulfilment (see e.g. Kitto lp. 50ff.) - a fulfilment to which he will suddenly find that he has involuntarily committed himself. (The fact that the Curse is barely mentioned in the first half of the play is thus not a fault but, as I shall argue, something
essential to Aeschylus's purpose). There is a parallel here with Sophocles' Oedipus, who brings about his own (albeit inevitable) downfall while acting in the most reasonable and creditable way; and it is perhaps in part because Eteocles and Oedipus have brought their downfall on themselves, however unwittingly, that in the end they must passionately assent to it (for further implications of Eteocles' assent to the duel see p. 252ff. below).

The disputes between Eteocles and the chorus add a further dimension to the religious issues, though I shall be arguing that each side in the disputes represents not a philosophically coherent doctrine but a psychologically intelligible complex of religious attitudes. These two complexes of attitudes are brought into conflict by two situations - the dangerous panic of the chorus and Eteocles' decision to fight his brother - with interesting resemblances and differences between them (see below, p. 80ff., 258ff.). Aeschylus shows remarkable insight and impartiality in making the viewpoints of both sides recognizable and cogent; and even when the same type of conflict has arisen for a third time (see p. 364f. below) he still offers no solution.

Since the trilogy ends with the annihilation of the House of Laius and not with any kind of resolution, it is often said (see especially Solmeen 2) that
Aeschylus has not yet won through to the optimism of the 
Oresteia
and Prometheia (and the Danaid Trilogy is now often added to these).

This could be true, but we possess so little of Aeschylus's work
that it is not much more than a guess; and the factors which led
the tragedians to choose particular plots at particular times are
quite unknown to us, and may have been very different from those
which romantic critics postulate. And we must, of course, remember
that even the Eumenides contains no suggestion that no family
anywhere in Greece will ever again be wiped out by curses or
inherited guilt.

Now what about the mutual fratricide? The chorus explores the
paradoxes involved in this with the same kind of obsessive fascination
with which Sophocles and Euripides explore the paradoxes of
Oedipus's parricide and incest. And certainly there is plenty of
irony and pathos in the idea of killing and at the same time being
killed, simultaneous crime and expiation. It remains true, however,
that the deeds of Eteocles and Polynices do not seem of quite the
same interest and magnitude as those of Oedipus. The mutual
fratricide was probably invented as a means of bringing to an end
the story of an accursed family rather than for any religious or
psychological significance, for it does not seem to be at all a
common motif of folklore (though one could perhaps compare Balin
and Balan in Arthurian legend). This fact does, perhaps, weaken
the play to some extent.

If the play were to be faulted on any other ground, it would
perhaps be for a certain hesitancy on Aeschylus's part between formal,
ritualistic patterning and a freer, less predictable treatment. Often Aeschylus sets up a pattern of expectation which he does not fulfil: for instance, the chorus’s fears, unlike those of any other Aeschylean chorus, do not correspond to the event; Eteocles and Polynices are constantly contrasted with each other until 719, then always spoken of in the same breath until around 978ff, then contrasted again in the ending; the Shield Scene contrasts wicked attackers and pious defenders — but not in the case of Amphiaraus; the shield devices correspond to the reality — but not in the case of Polynices. Now none of these matters involves logical inconsistency, and indeed there is, as I shall be trying to show in the commentary, a good dramatic motive for each of them. Nor, certainly, am I saying that the play as a whole lacks unity; it seems to me to be, in its own way, one of the most closely organised of Greek tragedies. But I should still like to suggest — very much as a subjective impression — that Aeschylus’s efforts to rid himself of formalism and predictability have not yet reached the smooth naturalness of the Cretaeia, and that this leads to a certain jerkiness and lack of inevitability in this play. (A somewhat similar habit of setting up and flouting audience expectations can be seen in the Persae; see e.g. Dawe 3 p. 27ff.).
THE PROBLEM OF THE ENDING

Anapaests and Sisters.

Since I am here in agreement with the prevalent view — that 861–874 are interpolated, and 874–960 were written by Aeschylus for the chorus and not for Antigone and Ismene — there would be little point in my going over all the arguments and counter-arguments that have been advanced, especially after Nicolaus has given such a full account of the controversy at each point. I shall confine myself, then, to summarizing briefly what seem to me the crucial arguments.

1. The style of 861–874 is intolerably bad, as Nicolaus, in particular, shows in detail (p. 15ff.). It is evident that Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 100ff.) has the greatest difficulty in finding parallels for many of the expressions. But perhaps in the end it is the subjective impression left by the whole that counts for most; even if each individual phrase could be paralleled, is it conceivable that Aeschylus could have been guilty of both 863–5 and 871ff. only half a dozen lines apart?

2. The entrance of the sisters interrupts the chorus just as it is about to begin a lament (854–860). It seems to resent this, for, having announced its foreboding that the sisters will "send a lament not ambiguously from their lovely deep-breasted chests," it firmly forestalls them from doing so (866ff.). Believers in the sisters now find themselves in a cleft stick. If they give the
whole ode 875 - 960 to the chorus (so e.g. Wecklein, Tucker),
then the silence of the sisters is incredible. Taplin (p. 84ff.)
convincingly shows the difference between a meaningful "Aeschylean
silence" and such pointless hanging about. On the other hand, if
some part of this ode is to be given to the sisters (so e.g.
Lloyd-Jones) then the more they have to sing, the more Page's
objection becomes operative: "vix credibile videtur ... nihil
inesse quod sororibus unice conveniat." In short, the sisters
are introduced at this point either to take a quite unnecessary
part in a choral lament or to do nothing at all.5

3. The original play was written for two actors, the interpolated
ending for three.6 The redating of the Sulplices now makes it all
the less likely that the Septem could have been a three-actor
play. And other ways of getting round this problem are equally
unattractive, whether one assumes an instantaneous character change
by the deuteragonist from Ismene to the Herald (Lloyd-Jones, 3 p. 95f.,
considers this possible) or gives the part of Ismene to a κωφῶν
πρόσωπον (so e.g. Tucker, Introduction p. 5f., Wundt p. 362).
Κωφὰ πρόσωπα do not sing.7

The Lyric Stichomythia.

Those who would banish the sisters are divided on the
authenticity of 961 - 1004. I believe that Wilamowitz (3 p. 441ff.),
Fraenkel (5) and Nicolaus (p. 33ff.) are right to defend the passage.
Page's note stating that it must be given to the sisters, "his enim
unice congrui sunt 996 - 7," could equally well read, "vix credibile
videtur, si 961 - 1004 sororibus tribuendi sint, nihil nisi 996 - 7
inesse quod sororibus unice conveniat."8

And there is no difficulty about simply bracketing 996f.;
indeed once again Lloyd-Jones's discussion (3 p. 107f.) is too
honest for his own purpose. He shows, in opposition to Wilamowitz,
that 995 should be scanned as two cretics (reading δώμασίν )
rather than a single dochmias (reading δώμασι ) and divided
between singers; and in that case the dochmiacs that follow, even if
not unsuitable to their metrical context, can easily be dispensed
with. Fraenkel (5 p. 60f.) shows that τὸ πρὸςω γ' is
linguistically very odd (he is less convincing on πρὸν πάντων )
and suggests that the interpolator wanted to insert into these
lyrics something that would be suitable only for the sisters, but
was competent to make the insertion only in a place where he did not
have to bother about responsion.

And surely the rigidly formalised ritual lament of which
961 - 1004 consist is the last thing that would be composed by
the kind of late-fifth-century or fourth-century interpolator who
was responsible for the sisters. The end of the Persae, the
earliest surviving tragedy, provides the closest parallel for
both the form (the strict alternation of very short lines) and the
content. The dirges in both these plays dwell obsessively on
a single tragic fact; those in Sophocles and Euripides explore
subjectively and pathetically the emotions and circumstances involved,
especially the grief of the survivors. (Indeed it is only 996f.
that provide this sort of pathos here.) To compare, for instance,
E. Tr. 1287ff., perhaps the closest parallel in later tragedy, is at once to become aware of the difference.

I suspect that one reason why many scholars have wished to remove the lyric stichomythia is that it is difficult to separate neatly from the final scene. When once the lines are given to two semichoruses the division of the chorus into two halves, each mourning one brother, anticipates the final anapaests. And 1002-4, which seem to belong to their context, form an excellent cue for the entry of the Herald. But this brings us to the question of the final scene.

The Final Scene

Now that we have eliminated the sisters from the rest of the play, Antigone obviously cannot suddenly turn up here, unnamed and unannounced. Nor should we wish her to do so; there is no need to go yet again over the arguments against ending a trilogy with what obviously ought to be the first chapter in a new episode of Theban legend.

But I wish to consider the scene in more detail. As far as I know, scholars have invariably assumed that if Antigone goes the whole scene must go. But the Herald in his initial speech never mentions her or shows any awareness of her presence; nor, except for one line (1064), does the chorus⁹. May we not, then, take it as a hypothesis that the Herald's speech and the closing anapaests (except for 1064) were written by Aeschylus?

First we must take a closer look at 1064. Is it arbitrary to tamper with this line? I think not. We are told that Polynices
will be ἁγος and receive only the θρηνος of a sister.
But α στερητικων prefixed to a noun stem normally expresses complete lack of a thing; and there can hardly be a distinction here between γοι and a θρηνος (none of the distinctions made by Alexiou, p.103, 225f., seems relevant). 1064 thus seems to contradict 1063; and even if the expression is not impossible, at any rate in the work of an interpolator, it is sufficiently peculiar to suggest that we may be on the right track.

Aeschylus will then have followed 1063 with a line (or more than one) which described Polynices' future fate in terms obviously incompatible with a decision by Antigone to bury him. The interpolator of 1026 - 53 (or a later producer or editor) noticed the inconsistency and removed the line. But sense and synapheia then demanded that something else should be substituted - hence our 1064.

We are now free to consider arguments for and against our hypothesis.

Arguments for the Retention of the Herald's Speech and the Anapaests.

1. Antigone says that she will bury Polynices herself ἡν μὴ τις άλλος τόνδε συνθάπτειν θέλει (1027).
But she is clearly not reckoning with the possibility that she will have helpers; she is assuming she will not. Her whole speech, presumably under the influence of Sophocles' Antigone, places great emphasis on her heroism in performing the burial alone.
Are we then to suppose that the writer of this speech deliberately chose to destroy this effect and defy the expectations of both
will be ἄγος and receive only the φρήνος of a sister.
But αὐτηρητικόν prefixed to a noun stem normally expresses complete lack of a thing; and there can hardly be a distinction here between γόοι and a φρήνος (none of the distinctions made by Alexiou, p.103, 225f., seems relevant). 1064 thus seems to contradict 1063; and even if the expression is not impossible, at any rate in the work of an interpolator, it is sufficiently peculiar to suggest that we may be on the right track.

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Arguments for the Retention of the Herald's Speech and the Anapaests.

1. Antigone says that she will bury Polynices herself ἡν μὴ τις ἀλλος τόν οὐνδήπαιν ἔλει (1027).
But she is clearly not reckoning with the possibility that she will have helpers; she is assuming she will not. Her whole speech, presumably under the influence of Sophocles' Antigone, places great emphasis on her heroism in performing the burial alone. Are we then to suppose that the writer of this speech deliberately chose to destroy this effect and defy the expectations of both
Antigone and the audience by providing a whole semichorus of helpers? Interpolators may not be very bright, but their actions must be governed by mental processes of some kind.

2. It is scarcely conceivable that 1055ff. were written by someone who was aware of the existence of the sisters. If the Herald had got round to threatening Antigone with death, the chorus might perhaps be allowed to anticipate this; but he has not, and anyway Ismene would still be unaccounted for.

3. It turns out that the reason for the chorus's emotional outburst at 1054ff. is that they have been forbidden to mourn for Polynices or escort him to his tomb. The outburst would therefore most naturally follow immediately after the prohibition.

4. I hesitate to mention style here, since the material is so limited and since the Herald's speech and the anapaestas have, of course, attracted their share of stylistic objections. But it will perhaps be admitted that 1026 - 1053 does contain the worst expressions in this scene - the very peculiar rhetoric of 1033ff., for instance, and the insoluble problem of what Antigone intends to carry in her bosom at 1039. Platt, who considers the whole scene spurious, finds Antigone's speech especially "Sophoclean" (p.143), and draws most of his stylistic objections from it. This stylistic point proves nothing by itself, but if admitted will serve to back up my three preceding points.

(These four arguments taken together strongly suggest that 1026 - 1053 is by a later hand than the rest of the scene; but
they would in themselves be compatible with Dawe's suggestion (4 p. 27) that more than one interpolator might be at work.

We must now consider whether there are reasons for identifying the earlier "interpolator" with Aeschylus.)

5. We have already seen that the preceding lyric stichomythia, which appears to be genuine, neatly foreshadows the Herald's speech and the anapaests. Note too the visual symmetry that continues from the entrance of the bodies to the end when once the sisters are removed. The bodies, we may suppose, are placed on either side of the orchestra, surrounded by attendants and by the two semichoruses (who may come together when they have to sing in unison); the Herald, with or without the δῆμοι πρόβουλοι (see Commentary on 1005ff.), enters and leaves through the skene; and the semichoruses finally file out with the bodies by the two parodoi.

6. Some account of the burial of the princes, beyond the brief hints in 914 and 1002ff., would be very welcome (see Lloyd-Jones 3 p. 93).15 Eteocles was the heroic defender of the city, and we must be as interested in his fate after death as in that of Sophocles' Ajax. As for Polynices, the question of whether he is to be equally honoured is one that the play automatically raises, for in the Redepeaare his wickedness is contrasted with the virtue of Eteocles, whereas throughout the last part of the play both brothers have been mourned alike as victims of the Curse. The final scene now takes account of this ambivalence and to some
extent resolves it. It is also worth remembering that Findar, Sophocles, Euripides, and Theban tradition as reported by Pausanias, all show peculiar interest in the funerals that followed the expedition of the Seven; presumably this reflects the concerns of the Thebais.

7. Let us now look at the closing anapaests. Dawe (4 p. 27) is impressed by their style; but we must at once admit that in mere style an interpolator might well manage a convincing imitation of Aeschylus. What seems to me far less likely is that an interpolator could, or would, imitate from other plays Aeschylean features of stagecraft and (for want of a better term) "chorus psychology" that Aeschylus himself had (ex hypothesi) left out of the Septem. We can always say that the interpolator is archaising, but there comes a point where this ceases to convince, for the interpolator's purpose was (ex hypothesi) to modernize.

Firstly and most obviously, the Septem as we have it ends, like the Choephoroe, with choral anapaests of some length and of great dramatic interest. But all surviving tragedies after S. Tr. and O.T. (at least) end with a short and purely conventional choral tag, and we may take it that this was standard practice in the late fifth century. And to suggest that the chorus subsequently regained a more important role in the exodos would go completely against what little we know of the development of fourth-century tragedy.

Secondly, the chorus make it clear that they are exiting in some sort of procession (προπομπος, 1066), which no doubt
provides an excuse for grand choreographic pageantry. This feature can be paralleled from Perææ (Πέραι, 1077) and more especially Eumenides (Ψωμίδῆς, 1034), but not from any surviving post-Aeschylean tragedy (if the chorus's exit in Ajax, for instance, is to be regarded as a funeral procession, at any rate the chorus themselves make no allusion to this).

A parallel can also be drawn with Supplïce, which similarly ends with an argument breaking out between two bodies of people. If, as some scholars have thought (see Garvie p. 194ff.), the argument there is between two semichoruses, the parallel becomes very striking; it will still be of some significance if a subsidiary chorus is introduced, as is usually supposed.16

Again, the Septem as we have it ends with half the chorus suddenly defying authority and displaying unsuspected reserves of courage and loyalty. This is peculiar, but it is a peculiarity closely paralleled by the behaviour of the whole chorus at the end of Agamemnon and Prometheus.17 In all three plays the chorus has previously seemed timid and feeble; in all three it, or part of it, becomes defiantly loyal to its hero or master at the end. The very oddity of this feature makes it seem unlikely that an interpolator would imitate it.

8. Dawson, who evidently would like to rescue the anapaests but cannot see how, is right to admire especially the last few lines, 1074ff. (Introduction p. 25f. and ad loc.). This again is a matter of something slightly more than mere style, for it seems that the
"interpolator" is exploiting an existing Aeschylean image-pattern with the same skill as Aeschylus himself. Again and again in the first part of the play nautical imagery (often underlined by alliteration, as here) was used to express the role of Eteocles as the responsible commander, the general idea being that he was like the helmsman of a ship - the city - threatened by waves (64, 114) of foreign attackers. Of late, however, this aspect of Eteocles has been forgotten and nautical imagery has been used more sparingly and for other purposes. Now in these last lines Eteocles is at last given his due as the successful defender of the city, and it is at this point that the nautical imagery returns, used exactly as in the first part of the play, to strike a whole series of chords in the minds of the audience. At least this is hardly "das Werk eines schlechten Dichters" (Wilamowitz 1 p. 94).

9. From a historical point of view there can at least be no objection to my theory. Whether or not the Thebais made an issue of Polynices' burial, we may guess that the heroic deed of Antigone was a fifth-century, perhaps a Sophoclean, invention, and that at any rate it was not regarded as a necessary part of the story in 467. It was therefore as natural and characteristic for Aeschylus to dramatise the issue in a scene between a herald and the chorus (cf. Supp. 873ff.) as it was for Sophocles to make it a conflict between a heroic Antigone and a tyrannical Creon. But after the Antigone, and perhaps the Phoenissae, had become popular, the last scene of the Septem began to seem very much like Hamlet without the Prince. When the Septem was revived, therefore, Antigone had
to be inserted into the scene; and the interpolator then felt that he might as well introduce both sisters at an earlier stage (861) to take part in the lyrics.

Possible Objections.

1. The 21 lines of the Herald's speech would be the shortest iambic "episode" in Aeschylus. But there are "episodes" almost equally short at Pers. 598-622 (25 lines again forming a single rhesis), Sept. 792 - 821 (29?) and Supp. 600 - 624 (25). If Aeschylus had occasion to write an "episode" of 21 lines, why should he pad it out further? Events here are, indeed, fast-moving, but no more so than at the end of Supplices or Choephoroe, and once again, if the burial theme is a means of bringing the play to an end rather than a major issue of it, there is no reason why events should not be fast-moving.

(The remaining objections are ones which have been raised in the past against the scene as a whole).

2. A new issue is raised at the end of the play. But I hope I have shown that the issue is a relevant one, and the scene is no more loosely attached than, for instance, the latter part of the Ajax, or the Aegisthus scene in the Agamemnon. Much has been gained, of course, by the elimination of Antigone; the scene now genuinely reads like a finale and not like the opening of a new story.

3. Loose ends are left hanging. Or are they? The audience will have no doubt, when it sees the bodies carried off accompanied by
mourners, that the funerals will in fact take place. The authorities
know nothing of the matter, for the Herald, instead of standing
about making feeble remarks like 1053, has exited briskly after
1025 (a good exit line). Admittedly 1066f. hint at unpleasant
consequences for this semichorus, but Aeschylus always seems
indifferent to the fate of his choruses once the play is over.
(He leaves the chorus of *Agamemnon* dangerously defying Aegisthus,
that of the *Choephoroe* without a ruler, and that of the *Prometheus*
sharing Prometheus's plunge into the depths.)

4. Wilamowitz (1 p. 88ff.) and others object that it has previously
been assumed that the brothers will both be laid in the same grave.
Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 96) replies that a common grave may still be
intended in the concluding anapaests. This is surely wrong. It
is natural to assume that the two processions exit symmetrically
by the two parodoi, and when an audience sees people moving off
in different directions it assumes that they have different
destinations. On the other hand, the notion that a common grave
has been foreshadowed will repay investigation, especially in view
of the fact that in Attica of the classical period "pit graves were
single burials, as were virtually all other graves. The few
examples of mass burials were the result of extreme circumstances ..."
(Kurtz and Boardman p. 97), and that family graves do not in fact
seem to have been usual in Greece at any time after the Bronze Age.

Such lines as 731f. and 820 prove nothing. The brothers will
inherit only enough land for their graves, but an analogy between
dividing a kingdom and sharing a common grave is nowhere drawn by
Aeschylus.
At 914 in an obscure context occur the words τάφων πατρώιων λαχαί. They have been taken to mean "shares in their father's grave," but there is no reason why they should not mean simply "shares in the ancestral graves;" the ancestors have hitherto possessed graves, and now Eteocles and Polynices will have their own share.

And indeed at 1002 the place of burial is still not regarded as settled. 1004, however, has been very oddly treated, for everyone seems to take πῆμα in apposition to οφει in 1002, so that the brothers are to be buried beside Oedipus with, apparently, the express intention of spiting him—a grotesque and pointless procedure.

In fact πῆμα is either exclamatory nominative or, more probably, accusative "in apposition to the sentence," the meaning in either case being that the honourable burial given to the sons whom he cursed will be a source of continual pain to the dead Oedipus. For the personifying expression cf. Ag. 14, 894.

Thus the "shared grave" seems to me quite unsupported by anything in the text.

5. Exception has been taken (see e.g. Dawe 4 p. 21f.) to the political situation implied by δήμου προβούλους (1006). But the royal family has died out and Aeschylus does not wish to introduce a named regent—a Creon—at this stage of the play, so it is natural for power to pass into the hands of some anonymous body. Rather than go into irrelevant details, Aeschylus uses a vague term, δήμου προβούλους, recalling the politics of his own day (see Commentary ad loc.). Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 94) rightly
refers to Ag. 883f. and to the self-consciously democratic procedures of the Supplices; Dawe's view (l.c.) that in the latter play "all the power resides with the king Pelasgus" is strange and tendentious.

6. The Herald's speech and the anapaests have, as I have said, attracted stylistic objections, some fanciful, others less so. Several are dealt with by Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 10ff.); Fraenkel (5 p. 62ff.) adds a few more. But most of them can conveniently be dealt with in my Commentary.

A point that demands more attention, however, is the prosody of 1056. It seems true that there is no other instance of lengthening before initial mute and liquid in tragic anapaests (for A. Fr. 44 is not one). If, however, the lengthening is occasionally allowed in other metres, a single instance in anapaests need cause no great surprise.

Barrett on E. Hipp. 760 shows that there is no a priori objection to the lengthening, which would be borrowed by tragedy from epic and choral lyric, and he is no doubt right that instances in the lyrics of Sophocles and Euripides are too numerous to be emended away. From Aeschylus's lyrics only two instances are quoted, Cho. 606 and Frum. 378, but these two do appear valid (see Fraenkel, Agamemnon III p. 826).

In dialogue instances are fewer (Barrett l.c. and Denniston on E. El. 1058), but some Euripidean ones are hard to emend away. In Aeschylus we have again two, Pers. 782 νεκα φρονει and Fr. 677.1 ἐφημερα φρονει. The latter is quite easy to emend, the former much less so, as Broadhead shows ad loc.; and their similarity suggests that both are genuine. There is also
the anonymous Gyges Fragment, col. ii, line 5, where the lengthening before initial mute and liquid occurs amid an unusual number of lengthenings before mute and liquid in mid-word; and it is interesting to find Page (2 p. 23f., 43f.) using this as evidence of an early date. Possibly, then, the two Asschylean instances and the Gyges Fragment might allow us to guess that the lengthening in dialogue (and so in anapaests?) was especially a feature of very early tragedy.

Of course, the prosody of 1056 remains anomalous; but in view of what I have said the anomaly does not seem too worrying.

Conclusion

These matters are never, of course, susceptible of proof, and authenticity is even harder to prove than spuriousness. Nor is there any particular virtue in compromise, or in rescuing every possible line; given that there has been interpolation, the interpolation might as well be a long one as a short one.

On the other hand, I do feel I have given good positive reasons for thinking that 1025 - 1053 is later than the rest of the scene; and the authenticity of the rest, though conflicting evidence can be produced on this, would not, I imagine, have been seriously doubted if 1026 - 1053 had never been written. I think we are justified, then, in working on the assumption that the only spurious lines in the last part of the play (apart from 999; see Commentary on 998ff.) are 861 - 874, 996 - 7, 1026 - 1053, and 1064 (this last having replaced one or more lines by Aeschylus).
1. Page (app. crit. on 861 ff. and private communication) feels that 875 – 960 might also be interpolated. But the style of these lines seems to me wholly Aeschylean, and on Page’s own showing they can hardly be by the same writer as 861 – 874.

2. The fact of which Pötscher (p. 145ff.) makes so much, that other expressions here do have close parallels in genuine Aeschylus, of course proves nothing.

3. Taplin (p. 88n. 94) justly talks of the "incongruous obsession with breasts" in this passage. We might compare Page’s words on interpolations in Euripides: "The fourth-century spectator had conceived a sentimental regard for young women ..." (1 p. 121).

4. The text can be emended here to give some other meaning, but this does not affect the real problem.

5. I take it, despite Wilamowitz’s app. crit., that the interpolator did intend to give parts of the ode to the sisters. The reason they are introduced as early as 861 will be so that they can lend variety and subjective pathos to the lyrics at a time when so long a choral section would be intolerable to an audience.

6. This particular point would be answered by the compromise solutions of Kohl, who accepts Antigone but rejects Ismene, and of Robert and Pötscher, who reject the last scene but accept the sisters in the lyric section. For reasons which will be clear, neither of these compromises seems to me acceptable.
7. The children's songs at E. Alc. 393ff., Andr. 504ff., presumably performed by actual boy singers, are clearly not comparable. Some have supposed that Ismene's few words at S. O.C. 1724 - 36 are sung by a supernumerary, but even if this were true it would tell us nothing about what Aeschylus could do sixty years earlier.

8. Mention of the sisters at 974 is no doubt a mere scribal corruption, as Wilamowitz says (app. crit., also 3 p. 44lf.).

9. At 1068 συνθάφομεν has naturally been taken to mean "help Antigone to bury." But it need not. The semichorus has just referred in the masculine to τοὺς καλαίντας Πολυνείκη, implying that other citizens besides the chorus are having to make a decision in the matter and some may decide to bury Polynices; in any case the semichorus will "take part in the burial" (or we might write νιν θάφομεν).

10. I should guess that ἄγος was followed by a term meaning "unburied" in a paraphrase of the Homeric καλαυτος ἄθαντος (cf. 1822f., 1058f.). The sense of ἐλοι will perhaps have been completed by "to Hades" or an equivalent. E.g. χωρὶς τύμβου παρὰ τοὺς φθιμένους.

11. The point has been made before by Wilamowitz (1 p. 89f.) and others, but the natural conclusion does not seem to have been drawn.

12. Once again the point has been made (e.g. Dawe 4 p. 21) and left hanging.
13. I am here assuming that the traditional distribution of parts is the correct one; see Commentary on 1054ff. The question does not substantially affect my argument.

14. Choral odes commenting on the action can, at least in Sophocles, take their point of departure from somewhere earlier than the end of the preceding episode. It would be more surprising if an anapaestic system which itself contributes to the action could do the same.

15. If, as Wilamowitz (3 p. 445), Page (1 p. 32) and others suppose, the interpolated scene has replaced an extended ending by Aeschylus, then the latter could also have taken account of the burials. Indeed it could have looked remarkably like the ending we have, only without 1026 - 1053...

16. Another possibility, which would also favour my argument, is that a subsidiary chorus sings 1034 - 1051 but the main chorus divides at 1052.

17. For the parallel with the Prometheus see Snell p. 94. Here, as elsewhere in my thesis, I am assuming for the sake of argument that the Prometheus is authentic, even though my faith has been a good deal shaken by Griffith's thesis. If it is not, my argument must be adjusted accordingly.

18. It need hardly be said that Ἐπιτέμηθε need not imply an "Opfertod."
19. These prophecies would indeed be incompatible with casting Polynices out unburied; but that is not what happens. Presumably we are not to exclude from Greek tragedy every scene which threatens to prevent the fulfilment of a prophecy?

20. We may wonder whether the interpolator who introduced the sisters would have been so scrupulous (cf. Schmid -Stählin p. 216).

21. I take it that Elmsley's supplement is right.

22. Cho. 606 is admittedly in a very corrupt context, but I cannot believe in the "incendiary woman" we now meet in Page's text; Althaea is being charged with murder, not arson. πυρδαν τινα πρόνως, on the other hand, is very appropriate as a sinister, riddling reference to her plan of burning a brand.

At Eum. 378 Page accepts the lengthening, presumably as an epic licence in a dactylic context; but we can hardly assume that Aeschylus made a distinction in this matter between dactylic and other metres when the other tragedians did not.

23. At Cho. 854 we must presumably accept φρέν' ἀν, though word-order seems a little odd.

24. Certainly ἀφανειά, printed by Page, will hardly do. Until late Greek the word is found only at Π. XV.104, and then as a participle; see Fraenkel on Ag. 1174.
The Prologue

The Prologue as a whole presents no serious problems. It is straightforwardly expository, introducing us to the Protagonist, presenting a dramatic situation, and setting the plot in motion. This is neatly and economically achieved without any such overtly unrealistic convention as Euripides employs, but equally without any deliberate striving for naturalism - the Scout enters and exits without formalities and without a word from Eteocles (see Nestle 1 p. 34ff.). A sense of urgency and tension is provided by the warning of the Seer and increased by the Scout's news; not just today but this very moment will be decisive (Nestle 1 p. 35).

1ff. Enter Eteocles through some sort of skene onto some sort of stage, while a crowd of male Thebans of all ages (see below on 12 [13]) assembles in the orchestra. Rose, indeed, supposes that Eteocles addresses the theatre audience and that no stage crowd is used, but this is unlikely; the opening of the *O.T.* is a better parallel than the end of the *Eumenides.* Both here and in the *O.T.* the use of the stage crowd is confined to the Prologue, when the orchestra is not occupied by the chorus.

Eteocles' speech is divided into formal sections by careful ring-composition (see Sheppard p. 79): Κάδμου πολίται (1)/ Καδμείων πόλει (9); χρή (10)/ χρέος (20); βέβαι θεός (21)/ τελεί θεός (35). The gist of it is, "I must give the right orders; and you must defend your motherland; for the
attack will come today; so man the walls now (I have set spies)"
(cf. Wilamowitz 1 p. 69).

It is clear at once that Eteocles is a thoroughly able and
practical commander, without any trace of impiety or of anything
which it would occur to a Greek audience - for the moment, at least -
to condemn.

As has often been pointed out (see e.g. Sheppard p. 77f, Fowler
p. 26f. as well as commentators), many crucial motifs of the play -
the πόλις , the importance of saying the right thing, the ship
of state, the significance of names - are skilfully foreshadowed
in the first few lines. We must be careful, however, to consider
the lines from the point of view of an audience which does not know
the play and cannot bring later developments to bear on them.

1. λέγειν τὰ καλὰ
   Not a reference to ill-omened language,
as Cameron thinks (l p. 30f.), although the motif of "right speech"
will later come to include this. Eteocles is simply mentioning
his own responsibilities as a preamble to reminding the citizens of
theirs. He is also, of course, revealing his conscientiousness for
the benefit of the audience.

2. ἐν πρύμνητι πόλεως
   With νομῶν . On the antecedents of
Aeschylus's "ship of state" image see especially van Nes, p. 71ff.
This is the first extant case of πρύμνητι used metaphorically, but
the casualness with which Aeschylus can employ such phrases as
πρύμναν πόλεως , πρυμνήτης ἄναξ and ἄνδρα ... 
πρυμνήτην χθονός elsewhere (Supp. 345, Eum. 16, 765) suggests
that it may already have been a poetic cliché. The nautical imagery will gain authority and conviction from taking a standard and recognized metaphor as its point of departure. Attention is drawn to it here, however, by its position at the beginning of the play, by the strong π - alliteration, and in particular by the continuation of the nautical language in οὐκόμα νυμῶν. The validity of the image is purely conceptual (for there is no physical part of the city corresponding to the ship's stern or rudder) and is not explicitly spelt out. But it is quite clear from the context; the leader is as much responsible for the safety of his city as the helmsman is for that of his ship.

3. Βλέψαμεν μὴ κολμήν ὑπνώτι Nothing to do with the nautical image, which is confined to the parallel phrase governed by νυμῶν. The grammar is slightly illogical, as this is really a statement of what the leader ought to do; but Heimsoeth's κολμήν is not very likely. Mention of "eyelids" gives subjective immediacy to the ideas of sleep and wakefulness.

4ff. On the sentiment and its normality in Greek see Fraenkel 3. I do not think there is any real bitterness here; the citizens are charged with a certain illogicality, as the chorus later will be, but here the illogicality is accepted as normal. Certainly any hint of disrespect to the god is removed by the cautious optative in 4 and the pious apotropaic expressions in 5 and 8f. We can perhaps say that the lines alert the audience to the existence of problems of divine and human responsibility, but to talk of Eteocles himself
reflecting on issues of fate and responsibility (Snell p. 83f.) is a gross exaggeration.

The dramatic irony of these lines has often been pointed out. Eteocles identifies his own fate with that of the city and so supposes that the two predictions he makes are incompatible; in fact both will be fulfilled. The language in 6–8 is carefully chosen so as to refer ostensibly to a lament in which Eteocles is cursed while at the same time hinting at a lament for Eteocles himself, such as we shall in fact be hearing. It should be stressed, however, that this can adequately be described in terms of dramatic irony or of an inadvertent κακόλογον (which amounts to much the same thing in Aeschylus, for whom chance utterances really do predict, or determine, the future; see on 400ff); there is no need to suppose, with Winnington-Ingram (2), that Eteocles is revealing his secret knowledge of the Curse.

6. Ἐτεοκλέας__ A neat device to introduce the name.

εἰς πολὺς__ A characteristic way of emphasizing the amount of complaint against one man alone; see the commentators.

πιόλυν__ The key word is again made prominent by πι- alliteration, as it often is throughout the play (cf. Πέρσας and cognates in the Persae).

7. ὑμνοῖθ' The word is quite often used to mean "harp upon," and so will be only weakly metaphorical here. But there remains some slight sarcasm; this will be no hymn of praise, such as the god would receive.
Perhaps "preludes to violence" (Verrall etc.), but
despite Fraenkel on Ag. 1216 the sense "hymn" rather than "prelude"
seems to predominate here; the word will be used with variatio
in place of ὤμος (Rose).

The repetition of πολυ- characteristically
intensifies; I see little reason to doubt the text. Tucker,
Groeneboom and Cameron (1 p. 70) connect the word with the splash
of oars or waves, but van Nes (p. 45ff.) is probably right that
ῥόδος and its compounds carry no such associations.

9. ἐπώνυμος Equivalent to ἀλεξητήριος and so taking the
construction which that word would take, as commentators explain.
But -μος, with no change of paradosis, may well be right.

10-13. The periphrases for "young" and "old" lend dignified formality.
Cameron (1 p. 86) is quite unjustified in seeing nautical imagery
in these lines (see p. 7 above).

10. ὤμος ὅτε χρῆ ______ In antithesis to χρῆ...δοτις (1f.)

12 [13] f. It emerges from the various strained interpretations offered
that there is no natural way of taking "nourishing to great size your
growth of body" either as a description of the old men or (Tucker
and Groeneboom) as an instruction to both young and old; the latter
would have to mean that they are to grow larger between now and
the battle. Nor, I think, can ἔγησον, whether used as a noun or
governing βλαστημένον, be taken as "adult" instead of "aged,
as is argued by Danielsson.
Campbell's transposition enables us to take the line as a description of the men of military age. This is much better, but the stress on growth still seems odd, and the separation of \( \omega \tau \upsilon \sigma \mu \mu \rho \rho \tau \epsilon \zeta \) from \( \pi \omicron \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \' \alpha \rho \gamma \gamma \epsilon \omicron \nu \) is unwelcome. Headlam simply deleted 13[12] as a marginal parallel; but parallel to what?

I should suggest transposing this line to follow 18 and writing \( \alpha \lambda \delta \alpha \iota \nu \omicron \omicron \omicron \alpha \) (perhaps also \( \sigma \omega \mu \mu \alpha \tau \omicron \omega \nu \)). This may seem complicated, but it does give very good sense; we at last understand the emphasis on nourishment, growth and size; not too the standard pairing of \( \pi \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon \alpha \) and \( \tau \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \) that results (see L.S.J. s.v. \( \pi \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon \alpha \)). When two successive lines each consisted of a participial clause, one would easily be omitted; then when it was inserted in the wrong place, \( \alpha \lambda \delta \alpha \iota \nu \omicron \omicron \omicron \alpha \) became a necessary "correction."

12[13] \( \alpha \rho \alpha \nu \) We need not now consider \( \alpha \rho \alpha \nu \) — widely accepted but not very suitable, since it means "head" rather than "thought." Wilamowitz's belief that only children and old men are present is not borne out by 30ff., and see Campbell 2.

\( \omega \zeta \tau \) I cannot see that \( \tau \) here does anything but weaken. Since Denniston (1 p. 527) denies that \( \omega \omicron \tau \epsilon \) is possible, we should probably write \( \omega \zeta \tau \omicron \) (Abresch).

15. The country's gods and their altars are a focus of patriotic sentiment; it is unthinkable that their worship should be allowed to die out.
"Ενοικοφάννοι. Commonly used even in prose of "obliterating" anything, so a dead metaphor.

16. γυν τε μητος. After τέκνοις one might have expected a reference to actual parents. Instead Eteocles substitutes the most important parent of all, with the greatest claim on the Thebans' devotion. The Theban state which they are to protect is being identified, as a further incentive to patriotism, with the physical earth of Thebes, which like a mother has provided their actual nourishment.

17. Ερχοντας. It is hard to believe that this does not mean "crawling" (scol. M). The word is not so used elsewhere in tragedy, as Groeneboom points out, but it would be surprising if the connotations of έρπετον and έρπυζειν never rubbed off on it.

Ευμενεί. The word is common of places and things even in prose, but will still assist a personification already established.

18. Πανδοκόσσα. On the strong emphasis in the repeated παν- see Groeneboom.

Tucker and others see here a reference to an innkeeper. But when the land has just been described as a mother, to describe that mother as an innkeeper could surely only weaken and muddle the image. I take it that, whether or not Πανδοκεύειν already meant "to keep an inn" in Aeschylus's day, Aeschylus intended Πανδοκεύν simply as a verb corresponding to Πανδοκος, "receiving all comers" (so Sidgwick; see also Rose). Not all Greek parents did receive all comers, as Dawson reminds us.
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ἐυμενεῖ. The word is common of places and things even in prose, but will still assist a personification already established.

18. πανδοκοῦσα. On the strong emphasis in the repeated παν- see Groeneboom.

Tucker and others see here a reference to an innkeeper. But when the land has just been described as a mother, to describe that mother as an innkeeper could surely only weaken and muddle the image. I take it that, whether or not πανδοκεύει already meant "to keep an inn" in Aeschylus' day, Aeschylus intended πανδοκείν simply as a verb corresponding to πάνδοκος, "receiving all comers" (so Sidgwick; see also Rose). Not all Greek parents did receive all comers, as Dawson reminds us.
However, is substituted for the natural object, "children" (I doubt whether we can call this an internal accusative, as commentators do), with the result that the line illogically implies "accepting all children and accepting the labour of their upbringing."

Normally "education" rather than physical nourishment, and this sense can be justified here if the physical earth and the Theban state as a social institution are closely associated in Aeschylus's mind.

19. The Septem has a higher proportion of three-word trimeters than any other Greek tragedy. This is one of several features that give the play special grandeur and ὀγκος. They are mostly placed to emphasize moments of rhetorical climax, as here.

 Shields rather than spears to emphasize the idea of defence.

20. πιστος θ′ A bothersome problem. It is certainly hard to believe that πιστος could be an attraction into the case of οἰκητήρας, or that γένεσθαι πρὸς χρέος could be a phrase complete in itself, as Verrall and Tucker think. On the other hand πιστος θ′ involves an odd corruption, and the τε, if not impossible, is not really wanted. One could do worse than πίστωμ′, as Campbell (2) suggests (ΠΙΣΤΟΝ > ΠΙΣΤΟΝ > ΠΙΣΤΟς; cf. especially Pers. 171), though one would rather have expected the plural.

χρέος Probably "affair" but with some implication of "debt, obligation" (Cameron 1 p. 94).
21. ἂνεκ. Common with personal subjects even in prose, so a dead metaphor.

Θεός. Eteocles seems incapable of talking of success without mentioning the gods. It is futile to attempt, as Vernall and Podlecki (2 p. 268) do, to brush aside these obvious signs of piety.

22f. Somewhat redundant after 21, but the situation must be brought home to the audience.

24. άὖ. The repetition (from 21) emphasizes how Eteocles is getting down to the urgent business of the moment.

ὁ μάντε. No doubt Tiresias, who will probably have been named earlier in the trilogy.

βοτήρ. With Groenboom I am very doubtful if the seer really keeps or feeds his birds. The word will simply be an imprecise metaphor meaning that he has dealings with birds as an actual βοτήρ has dealings with grazing animals.

25. πυρὸς δίχα. In Sophocles and Euripides, as commentators point out, Tiresias does use fire; and I do not believe that Aeschylus would insert these words simply to display his fidelity to his epic source. If the text is right, their significance is lost to us. But the line as a whole becomes much more coherent with Ritschl’s φάους δίχα; see especially Rose.

27. The resumptive anacolouthon, besides saving the audience from getting lost in the grammar, enables Aeschylus to ram home the reliability of the seer.

(SIGΜΗ) He has portents at his command, i.e. he knows how to deal with them. The word marks Eteocles' respect.
29. The line must suggest guile and treachery (cf. δόλω, 38) although in the event there is nothing very treacherous about the Seven with their boasts and blasons. Aeschylus is apparently concerned to paint the attackers as black as possible from the first. \[\text{\underline{\text{νυκτινομελεῖσθαι}}}\] So the time must be early morning, as commentators point out; but no stress is laid on this.

\[\text{\underline{\text{μάλ δι}}\text{βουλεύσων}}\] Wilamowitz (see his app. crit. and 1 p. 59 n. 3) keeps \(-\text{βουλεύσων}\), apparently with "the enemy" understood; Tucker and others take \(-\text{βουλεύσων}\) with προσβολήν; Paley and Dawe (1 p. 125) favour \(-\text{βουλεύειν}\). All this gives quite unnatural Greek, and we should certainly accept \(-\text{βουλεύειν}\), with many editors.

30–35. The profusion of finite verbs, often in asyndeton, coupled with a remarkable amount of π- alliteration, gives an effect of bustle and excitement.

The amount of nautical imagery here is exaggerated by Tucker, Cameron (1 p. 59f.) and others; much more accurately determined by van Nes, p. 78f. The only intrinsically nautical words are πληροῦσε (commonly used of manning ships, but not of manning walls) and σέλασσ\(\) (always "deck" or "rowing bench" elsewhere; see Fraenkel on Ag. 182f.). θωρακεία, coming between these two words, will probably be ambiguous "neutral terminology," even though its nautical use is rare. The purely political and conceptual image of 2f. has here become more physical; there are physical resemblances between the city and a ship, and they must be manned in the same way.
32. σέλυσσαν Here apparently used of some sort of flooring within the towers; see the commentators.

36-3. These three lines are tacked onto a speech which has come to a natural and structural end, in order to motivate the next development, the Scout's arrival (Wilamowitz l p. 60). They also provide further evidence of Eteocles' self-confidence (πέποιθα, οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ) and military efficiency. He is not, of course, doubting Tiresias, as Rose thinks, but he needs more detail than augury can provide. The crowd move hastily off during these lines (Wilamowitz l.c.).

37f. δόξω...δόλω "A kind of emphatic finality" is suggested by the pararhymes (Dawson). Mrs. Easterling refers me to E. Med. 408f., Ma. 517f.

39ff. The Scout's speech is economical, fast moving and full of visual detail. It serves to give us as clear a picture of the Argive attack as Eteocles has just given of the Theban defence. The latter part (57ff.) increases still further the sense of excitement and urgency.

39. Eteocles' men are as confident in their leader as he is in himself. φέρετε and ἔνας give epic solemnity to the line.

40f. Great emphasis is placed on the accurate, eye-witness account (σαφῆ, αὐτός, ἔγώ). The Scout's information, like the seer's, can be taken as objectively true.
41. ΜΧΥΤΟΠΙΝΩ— Instances of this word and its cognates meaning
simply "spy" all seem to be later than Aeschylus, so it may retain its
root meaning of "one who looks down (from the walls)."

42. ΕΠΤΑ— Strictly inconsistent with what we later hear of Amphiaraus.
But it is important to Aeschylus's purpose that the attackers should
not be named and differentiated at this stage, and to talk of six
men would merely confuse the audience. This is a good example
of how Aeschylus will allow minor inconsistencies for a dramatic
purpose.

ΘΟΥΡΟΧ— Neither ΘΟΥΡΟ— the Homeric form — nor ΘΟΥΡΟ—
is in colloquial use in the fifth century, so the audience will
presumably have to gather the words' meaning from the contexts
in which ΘΟΥΡΟ— occurs in epic. It is therefore relevant to
note that Homer always uses it as an epithet of Ares; cf. 45, 53.

43. ΤΑΥΡΟΣΦΟΥΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ— The similar practice at Xen. Anab. II.2.9
shows that this would not in itself indicate wickedness. The
sacrifice, however, certainly makes the oath a particularly terrible
and binding one, and it also displays and externalises the demonic
and desperate bloodthirstiness of the Seven. The gods, especially
those of the underworld, appreciated blood, and so could be relied
upon to enforce such an oath, and the poisonousness of bull's
blood (Ar. Eq. 83 etc.) would make it especially appropriate. There
may also be an implication that he who breaks the oath will die like the bull (Tucker, Rose), and I suppose the blood would be poured on the ground in a ritual enactment of line 48. Finally, by touching the blood the Seven may hope to acquire the strength and fierceness of the bull; hence, perhaps, the joke at Ar. Lys. 188 when μηλοσφαγούσας is unexpectedly substituted.

μελάνθετον I agree with the last part of schol. M on this: a word properly used of swords is here applied to a shield, for which "τὸ δέτον" is strictly inappropriate, to mean simply "black."

One would expect a black shield to be used for dealings with these gods (and the fact that the Argives normally carry white shields (91) is hardly an objection, as Groeneboom thinks), but there would be little point in saying that the shield was simply "barred" or "ringed" with black. The second half of the compound is similarly redundant at E. Or. 821.

45. To respect the darker gods is in general a sign of piety rather than wickedness; cf. Aeschylus's Crestes and Electra, Sophocles' Antigone. But Greek religious belief was ambivalent on this matter, and certainly this kind of deliberate ritual invocation of gods who can only bring evil to men is a desperate and dangerous business. The Seven are here being depicted as men of reckless and fearful heroism, a particularly terrible threat to Thebes; it will be left to Eteocles in the Shield Scene to convict them of actual impiety and ἂνθρωπος.

"Ἀργοῦ. If this were a common form in Homer, there would be no great difficulty about accepting it in Aeschylus. But in fact it is cited
only from \textit{Il. V.} 909, and is very dubious even there. I should prefer "Ἄρη", Ἔνυω (one of Tucker's suggestions) since "Ἄρηα is a regular Homeric form. Scribes would eliminate an apparent hiatus.

φιλαίματον In more senses than one; the word thus forms a link between the ritual and its purpose. Alliteration here and at 48 underlines the vehemence of the oath.

47. Θέντες Simultaneous aorist, despite Tucker.

λαπάζειν Apparently Aeschylus is able to use this for the Homeric verb ἄλαπάζειν without importing connotations of the medical term λαπάσσειν.

NotNil Pure variation after πόλει; again Tucker is over-subtle.

Καθεμίαν With θήτει, βία is being absolute as often; see Groeneboom.

48. After the first foot the line is parallel in rhythm, word-division and even accentuation to 47, perhaps to underline the equivalence of the two alternatives.

φυράσσειν The normal word for staining with blood, tears etc. is φύρειν. Here the cliché is enlivened and made into a vividly realised picture by the substitution of φυρᾶν, a prosaic word normally used of mixing food. The picture of the earth as a bloody paste will be all the more shocking in view of the emotive connotations which Eteocles has given to the same earth in 16ff.

φόνου The echo of φόνου in 44, prominently positioned at the same point in the line, provides another link between ritual and oath.
49-51. The unnamed Seven are here collectively invested with a touch of pathos such as will later be confined to Parthenopaeus and Amphiaraurus (and, rather differently, Polynices). Aeschylus wishes us to see the deaths even of these misguided men as in some measure tragic.

50. Χερολ We may perhaps feel an echo of χερολ at the same point in the line at 44, underlining the ambivalence of the Scout's picture; the same hands that were dipped in bull's blood are performing this pious duty.

51. The tears reveal the intensity of their emotion; the lack of lamentation reveals their corresponding hard courage and strength of will.

52f. Aeschylus here juxtaposes so many images and so many strongly emotive words with complex associations that numerous interactions are available over the grammar and analysis becomes difficult and necessarily subjective. Thus φλέγων, besides conveying the fierce intensity of the men's courage (cf. φλογι ἐκέλον ἀλην, II. XIII. 330), can interact with σινηρό- to suggest flashing weapons (cf. φλογι ἐκέλος again), with ἔνωσι to suggest breathing fire (cf. e.g. Hes. Th. 319), and with δεδορκώτων to suggest flaming eyes (cf. e.g. Od. XIX. 441, A. Fr. 421). This free flow of ideas is encouraged by the way in which Ἀρη δεδορκώτων, which evidently should in logic be applied to the men, is in fact transferred to the lions to which they are compared; see Smith p. 61.
52. στοηρόφορον. The second half of the compound adds weight to
the line, but is otherwise redundant, as often; Tucker's idea that
pride, φρονήμα, is in question is not borne out by the parallels.
The word will imply both pitilessness (Od. V. 190f., P.V. 242)
and courage (Il. XXIV. 205).

ευμόη. The psychological and the physiological sense are
inseparable here.

ΕΠΝΕΛ. As in such phrases as μένει πνεύμονες.

"Αρη δεδομένων. The internal accusative has a Homeric ring,
but the use of Ares in place of an abstract quality makes this
more bold and forceful than Homer's examples.

54. ποστις certainly applies to Eteocles (despite Verrall);
but does δικηω mean "fear on my part" as the bearer of bad news
(so e.g. Tucker, Groeneboom) or "fear on their part" with
reference to the future battle (so Wecklein, Weil, Sidgwick, Mazon,
Kamerbeck p. 76f. )? I agree with Fitton Brown (p. 80) that there
is no real reason why the Scout should feel fear (Fitton Brown's
text, however, is unconvincing), and I do not think, as the
commentators do, that referring δικηω to the Seven necessarily
involves reading ποστις (a faciilior lectio in a clearly corrupt
quotation); to say "you will learn about this soon enough" is
natural even if not quite logical. I thus follow Kamerbeck.
55f. ὁκ... ἄγοι Of course the indirect form of πῶς ἄγω (subjunctive), despite Rose.
λαχών... λόχον Almost punning, as if to pretend that the words are etymologically connected. Later, when the present comparative realism has given way to heraldic schmatism, these λόχον will fade out of the picture to leave each chief apparently attacking on his own.

57. ἐκκρίτους As opposed to κληρουμένους. The Thebans have an able commander who will not resort to such random methods as the Argives.

58. τάχος Omission of ὁς or κατά, common in Aeschylus, gives the word a curtness appropriate to its sense. Alliteration here reinforces this.

59. πάνοπλος This will be an "abusive" in that the word is technically used of a fully armed hoplite, but I see no need to take it here as "consisting entirely of arms" (Tucker, Groeneboom, Schuurman p. 125) rather than simply "fully armed."

60. χωρεῖ, κονίει Asyndeton gives strong emphasis to the verbs, as at 31. The more visual word is placed second to add vividness to the more general.
ἀργυρῆς ἄφρος Again echoing line endings (pointed out by Dawson) have an almost punning effect, this time closely linking the Argive army with the animal filth that helps to characterize it.
As Cameron points out (I p. 79), the postponement of the word ἵππων will make an audience think at first of the sea, especially in view of the nautical imagery that has gone before. The highly vivid and visual detail thus serves to connect the bestial quality of the attackers with the picture of them as a sea, which will be made explicit in 64.

ἀργεστής (the epic ἀργεστής) can mean "swift" as well as "gleaming white." At Eum. 181 both meanings seem to be felt, and it may be that here too, where the primary meaning is certainly "gleaming white," ideas of swiftness rub off on the sentence as a whole. Rose, indeed, supposes that "the horses fret and lather at having to move at the pace of the infantry," but the lines must suggest horses at full gallop; it is characteristic of Aeschylus's indifference to naturalistic time-scales that Eteocles could have time to make dispositions in these circumstances.

61. κραίνει With strong connotations of pollution, continuing the theme of defilement of the Theban earth begun at 48.

62. The Scout alternates in a lively and effective way between descriptions of the Argive attack and advice to Eteocles; the one necessarily implies the other.

We here move by association of ideas into an explicit nautical simile. The echo of line 3 marks the fact that both Eteocles and the Scout see the role of Eteocles in the same way.
63. ὑπόκαι Used of caulking a boat at Od. V. 256, so here
"neutral terminology" forming a transition between vehicle and
tenor language (see van Neck p. 60).

Μοταλγίας A powerful word, used metaphorically in various
contexts (L.S.J. s.v.). Tenor and vehicle are here fused by a
continuation of vehicle language after the end of the formal
simile - a common device in Aeschylus (see Smith p. 57ff.).

64. Ἄρεως πνοὰς at first sounds like simple vehicle
terminology and one expects the line to end with a sense pause.
The unexpected addition of Ἄρεως then makes πνοὰς ambiguous -
the "winds" that threaten the city are the "breath" of Ares - and
the new image provides a further link between the nautical imagery
and the reality.

Βοῶι Still further applications for the nautical imagery: the
attacker make a noise like a wave (cf. II. XIV. 394ff.) and it is
clearly implied that they threaten to engulf the city as a wave
engulfs a ship (cf. II. XV. 381ff.) We should probably call Βοῶι
tenor rather than neutral terminology, for the word does not seem to
be normal usage when applied to waves and the like (at P.V. 431
there is open personification; at II. XIV. 394 Βοῶι may be
influenced by the context of the simile; at Od. XXIV. 48 Βοῆ is
not "the roar of the deep" (L.S.J.) but a lament by sea nymphs).

Χειροκολου στρατοῦ For the device of qualifying a
metaphorical noun by means of an adjective with oxymoron or a
defining genitive, see the commentators.
66-8. Besides foreshadowing future developments, these lines provide a formal echo of the end of Eteocles' speech and the beginning of the Scout's.

66. ἰμεροσκόπου By coupling this word with ὀφθαλμόν instead of applying it to the Scout himself, Aeschylus insists on its literal meaning and on the idea of "seeing."

67. Ἀγοῦ There is a slight antithesis between sight and speech.

68. ἀπλαθῆς ἐστὶ Ominous dramatic irony, helping to prepare us for the speech which follows.

69ff. Eteocles is left alone in the orchestra for the only time in the play. He prays to the gods; and the strangeness of his prayer (oddly neglected by Schadewaldt, p. 49ff.) should not be played down. He names the Erinyes of his father, and prays that the city should not be "extirpated root and branch, in utter destruction;" and it would be falsifying the text, I think, to pretend that these words are compatible with the confident, practical tone which he adopts everywhere else down to 653. As the critics have seen, Aeschylus wishes here to foreshadow developments from 653 on. But he does so by using the device of soliloquy to reveal in Eteocles a secret knowledge and a secret fear which he would never confess in public. In the rest of Aeschylus's work only Clytemnestra provides any parallel for such a revelation of a character's hidden thoughts; and since that is a matter of overt and deliberate hypocrisy, Aeschylus's presentation of her is more external, and to that extent more straightforward, than what we have here.
However, the hidden side to Eteocles is presented to us in only a few lines (he has recovered himself by 76) and is nowhere explored or developed (though 71Cf. hint retrospectively at the same sort of thing.). There is no sign elsewhere in the play that we are meant to be conscious of its presence; Patzer, for instance, is wrong, I think, in explaining Eteocles' behaviour to the chorus in the next scene in the light of it (p. 103).

69f. Zeus is the ultimate arbiter; Earth and the city's gods have a personal interest at stake; the Erinyes is likely to be a major force on the other side. The coupling of higher and lower gods is not in itself unnatural or impious as Podlecki thinks (2 p. 288); cf. e.g. Cho. 394ff. We should not enquire too closely, with Patzer (p. 100ff.), what Eteocles supposes the Curse to mean; the lines do show that he does not specifically foresee single combat with his brother and thinks the Curse could involve the city, but, as Lesky argues (3 p. 9ff.), this does not amount to a specific "Verblendung." More important, as Lesky goes on to point out (p. 12), is the unconscious irony of Eteocles' naming the two sets of forces that will in fact be at work in the dénouement (cf. 4ff.).

71. 

Much significance has been seen in this particle. It is usually taken (see Lesky 3 p. 11f.) to imply "Do not destroy the city (whatever you may do to me)", and this is sometimes supposed, notably by Dawe (3 p. 38), to foreshadow a decision by Eteocles to sacrifice himself for the good of the city. Patzer (p. 100f.)
denies that Eteocles here distinguishes between his fate and the city's, but does not explain how he takes γε.

Here, however, I agree with Patzer, for it seems to me doubtful whether γε serves to emphasize πόλιν at all (cf. Verrall and Tucker, though their view gives the particle too vague a reference). The two words προμνόθεν and πανώλεθρον are automatically emphatic, and I doubt if it is possible to emphasize πόλιν as well in the same breath. One may say, "Do not destroy the city (whatever you may do to me)" or "Do not destroy the city utterly, root and branch," but can one say, "Do not destroy the city utterly, root and branch (whatever you may do to me)?"

But γε could well emphasize προμνόθεν and πανώλεθρον themselves; and for this type of misplacement see Denniston 1 p. 149. Here, as at Ar. Ay. 378, the γε emphasizes not the word that precedes but the idea contained in a phrase of more than one word that follows.

προμνόθεν — The primary meaning is certainly "root and branch, utterly," despite Rose; Eteocles in his desperation (underlined by strong alliteration) is making the most modest request possible, that some trace of the city should survive. We may suspect, however, with Dawson and van Nes (p. 87), that in view of the nautical imagery that has gone before the word carries a secondary suggestion of "stern;" this will keep up the pattern of nautical imagery without, I think, contributing much to the meaning here.

72. ἐνθαμνίστε — The city is rooted in its soil like a plant.
73. For the deletion see Dawe 1 p. 180ff.; but it does not seem to me probable. There can be no serious objection to Ἑλλάδος φθόγγον χέουσαν, since it is naturally of the greatest concern to Greek gods that the people praying to them should be Greek; and the enemy are constantly characterised as barbarian, whether Dawe likes it or not (see on 170 below). The MS. text here is at least as natural as the expression "root the city out of Greece."

δόμους ἐφεστίους "homes with hearths," is a real oddity. But we may plead that this place and Ag. 851 (which Dawe and Page emend) support each other; that "arbitrary changes of meaning" do occur in Aeschylus (Schuursma passim); and that ἐφεστίος may have religious and emotional associations which Aeschylus wishes to exploit here. And this may be sufficient. A case could be made, however, for reading Karsten's ἐφεστίος at Ag. 851 and δόμων ἐφεστίους with a lacuna after the line here; e.g. "Do not destroy the city and (enslave women and children) sitting at the hearths of their homes." (Indeed there might conceivably be an extended lacuna continuing with mention of "wealth flowing (uselessly away)" (cf. 360 ff.) and ending with something like "(and grant that a foreign army never captures us) and never holds a free land ... in the yoke of slavery.")

χέουσαν When used of the voice the word always means "pour forth," not simply "utter," so here it refers to the Thebans' passionate prayers; see Tucker and his parallels.

74. "A free land and (what is more) the city of Cadmus." Despite Broadhead 2 p. 3f. the expression seems to me entirely natural.
Broadhead (l.c.) is certainly right that in the
MS. text ὀψεβείν cannot be an infinitive of prayer; but can
it not be an imperatival infinitive, as Tucker and Groeneboom
take it? Broadhead objects to this on the grounds that one would
expect ἐν ζυγοῖς — but he himself gives parallels for
the plain dative — and that in place of "never" one would expect
a reference to the immediate situation — but the idea is in effect
"never let it be said that you enslaved a free land ..." For the
way in which the action of the enemy is attributed to the gods
see on 324 ὀψεβείν. I therefore would not amend.

76f. The gods must be given a reason for helping; see Groeneboom.
The attitude is wholly normal, despite Podlecki 2 p. 288; the
chorus will later pray in similar terms (177ff., 304ff.)
Eteocles exits, the Scout's advice having given him a motive
for doing so. (Groeneboom).

The Parodos.
The Prologue has introduced us to the commanders on both
sides and has presented the war chiefly as a matter of strategy
and personal heroism. The danger to Thebes is great, but it
can be calmly assessed, and measures can be taken to deal with it.

The chorus is now used, like the Scout, to present a
simultaneous picture of the attack outside the walls and
conditions within. The picture presented here, however, is
very different from that of the Prologue, for the chorus can
inevitably only imagine the enemy in impersonal terms, as the
destructive force causing the noise, the dust and the stones that hit the battlements. Apart from a reminder of the Prologue at 124-7 the emphasis throughout is on weapons and horses, not people, and the language is no longer grand and heroic.

A. is thus making very skilful use of the emotions of the chorus, and of the indirect way in which they have to picture the attack, to give a new dimension of horrific, impersonal realism to the war (see Rosenmeyer p. 55ff.).

The chorus's terrified appeals to the gods develop another important theme. I cannot see, however, that the audience would be conscious at this stage of any conflict between the chorus's religious attitude and that of Eteocles.

It has often been thought that some, at least, of the chorus can see outside the walls (Mesk, for instance, makes much of the alternation of optical and acoustic observations). But 81-4 seem to rule this out. The chorus state explicitly at the outset that their evidence for the enemy's approach is the dust in the sky and the noise of the hoofbeats, so any seemingly visual details later on must derive from their imagination. This does not permit us, however, to dismiss what the chorus imagine as false or exaggerated, whatever inconsistencies of time-scale we may encounter later, for the audience have been told that the attack is taking place now (59ff.) and will have no reason to doubt that the chorus is giving them a true description of it.

Elaborate attempts have been made by Robert (2) and many editors to divide the Parodos among semichoruses and individuals.
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Elaborate attempts have been made by Robert (2) and many editors to divide the Parodos among semichoruses and individuals.
The chorus may, indeed, have been divided in this way, but evidence for change of singers is almost entirely lacking and speculation seems profitless. It does, however, appear that 100 and 103 were sung or spoken by individual choreutae.

(See Wilamowitz 1 p. 69ff., Kaimio p. 115.)

78-107. Instead of marching on to an anapaestic rhythm the chorus rush on singing excitedly in astrophic dochmiac. The effect is highly dramatic and apparently quite exceptional, though we cannot be sure than an anapaestic entry was already the rule at this early date. The metre, the short sentences and the constant asyndeton all contribute to the speed and excitement of the passage.

78. The very common device of the "spoken stage direction;" the chorus tell the audience what they are doing instead of doing it.

ἐξελασάμενος Used only of women (L.S.J.). On the Ionic form see Fraenkel on Ag. 1165.

79. μεθοίησαμεν The word implies release of something pent up, and to that extent assists the metaphor in ἔετο. But I do not know why commentators insist on seeing a metaphor in μεθοίησαμεν itself, for the word is commonly used of people.

80. ἔετο Not a very strong metaphor in itself, but helping to prepare us for 85f.

86. To the chorus the attacking army is all too much present.

πρὸδρομος. Commonly taken as "in advance of the main army," a technical term used of cavalry. But the στρατος of 79
must be the whole army, and the asyndeton shows that the
λεώς is identical with the στρατός. πρόδρομος
must therefore mean "headlong" as at 211.

81. άθερία "In the sky," predicative with φανείον’.
The idea is thus not the same as at Supp. 180, where a dust cloud
is seen in the distance.

πείρας In itself a completely dead metaphor, but providing
a "pivot," in Silk’s terms, for the live metaphor in ἄγγελος.

82. The dust may in other ways be quite unlike a messenger,
from whom one would expect to hear news, ( ἄναυδος underlining
the paradox of the image) but it gives equally reliable
information.

83f. There are innumerable conjectures here, but comparison of
the schol. with the MS. text leaves little doubt that Paley,
Wecklein and Page are on the right lines, at least as far as
the schol.’s reading is concerned; and certain oddities in the
expression are not sufficient to make one reject this as the
original text.

But what of the beginning of 83? έτος (Paley), ἔτος
or ἔτος (both Wecklein) can hardly be right; but it does look
as though the schol. read ἔτος or ἔτος. Perhaps the schol.’s
text was in fact ἔτος γὰς ὅ ἑμάς, corrupted from an
original ἔτος γὰς ἑμάς (after Enger).

I think that the fullness of expression in γὰς ἑμάς
πέσι’ marks the chorus’s affection for the soil of their land,
and that βοῶ implies faint personification (see on 65 above).
The land, then, is suffering from the hoofbeats, and the "cry" brought to the chorus's ears is painful as well as frightening.

85. ἐποιηταὶ The subject is perhaps not βοῶ but the idea of "noise" contained in πεῖδ' ὀπλόκτυν'; the effect is the same. The chorus's insistence on the noise as a physical thing is a mark of the emotional implications it has for them.

βρέμει A sudden return to the simple fact of "noise."

ἀμαχήτου The word would have little point if the only object of comparison were the noise. It thus alerts us to implications beyond the simile's point of departure (especially in view of the imagery at 64 and 80); the attacking army is itself like a torrent or flood and may prove equally "irresistible."

86. The number of resolutions reflects the swiftness of the water.

ὁροτύμω If right, presumably a by-form of ὕροτυμος, here used catachrestically. But although Rose's comments (1 p. 323 and Commentary) are not quite accurate, in that ὕρος does in later Greek form some compounds in ὕρο- (ὁροπέδιον, ὕροφύλαξ), his ὁροτύμω deserves consideration. Given the implied comparison between the water and the advancing army, floodwater advancing across a plain and dashing against boundary stones will, as Rose says, have more point than a mountain torrent; also ἀμαχήτου will then make more sense, and the simile will be more in line with βετ...λέως at 80.

87. θεοὶ θεοὶ τε The anxious inclusiveness typical of religious language, as at 94, 167.
89. Δῶ. Found only at Pers. 117, 122, where the schol. may be right that it is meant to sound oriental. It is better to delete βοδα, as Sidgwick suggests, as a repetition from 84. The notion of a παρεπιγραφή (Robert 2 p. 162, Murray) is quite improbable; see Groeneboom.

(It may, however, be worth suggesting βοδα (or βοαι) περὶ τειχέων. The synizesis is dubious, but cf. Pers. 1054 καπιβοκ, and perhaps 955, where Murray and others read βοκ.)

90. ὑπὲρ τειχέων If right, this can hardly mean what it seems to mean. Throughout the rest of the ode the enemy are definitely pictured as outside the walls; and "across the walls" would not fit well into the same sentence as ἐπὶ πόλιν (see Paley). "Beyond the walls" (Paley and others) would make good sense but does not seem a possible translation. I can only suppose that this is a sort of "pregnant construction;" the enemy rushes on (perhaps rather "starts up, is stirred up") in a way that inevitably will engulf the walls.

91. λεύκασις Probably a known feature of the Argive army (cf. S. Ant. 106, E. Ph. 1099) derived from a pun on the name of Argos; see commentators.

91f. εὑτρεπεῖς...πόδος Recent editors mostly accept Weil's πόδα while rejecting his εὑτρεπῆ ἐπὶ πόλιν with its improbable correction. But διώκων πόδα with no adjective is intolerably weak, and Page's text is
certainly an improvement. However, διώκειν πόδας in the plural seems not to occur elsewhere, and, more important, I should question whether we ought to be thinking in terms of infantry at all. ά...λαδ' ought to be the whole army, which was ἵπποις at 80 and whose horses and chariots are emphasized throughout this part of the play. Nor need λεύκαις imply infantry, as Tucker and others think; Homeric warriors and barbarians have both chariots and shields, and cf. Supp. 182f. So διώκνων <δ'χονε> suggests itself; cf. Pers. 84, II. VIII. 438f., etc. No doubt we should then accept Page's εὐτρεπεῖς.

93. Parallel rhythm points up the two desperate questions.

95. πάτρως. Accepted by all recent editors except Tucker and Mazon; in fact rather unlikely. The schol.'s πατρώς need be no more than a scholiastic amplification; and I can find no instance in tragedy of ποτ' or ποτό- used without metrical necessity. (If ποτ' is right at Sept. 345, πρὸς could have been written, but even in doximasis there is some preference for exact responson.) It follows that here ποτό- should begin the doximasis, leaving δαμόνων as an odd cretic; cf. 78, 107, 122 (or δαμόνων; ἀ could be hypodoximasis, but see on 566 below).

97. μάραρες εὐεδρόλ. Emotive religious language, and in implied contrast (Tucker) with the chorus's own misery and danger.
98f. This hesitation reveals the chorus's indecisiveness and panic, but perhaps is due also, as Arnott suggests (p. 23) to the fact that the chorus must remain dancing in the orchestra till the end of the ode; A. wants them to refer to the act of suppurating the statues, but cannot yet let them do so.

99. ἄγαστοςι A Homeric epithet of Amphitrite (Od. XII. 97, Hymn. Ap. 94), and thus an appropriate word to use of women, but perhaps with associations of the roar of the sea still clinging to it.

100. Apparently one chorus-member interrupts the song to call out impatiently to the rest (see Kaimio p. 115), further revealing how disorganised the chorus is.

101f. I think we can accept the paradox if we write λιπαν' and translate, "When if not now shall we put on (the statues) prayer-objects (consisting) of robes and garlands?" (so Sidgwick and Groeneboom). The rare prose idiom ἔχειν ἀμφί τι, "busy oneself with something," is certainly not in question. "The statues" can quite easily be supplied from 98, and the word-order does not seem to me impossible; the words πέπλων καὶ οστέφων are pulled to the front of the sentence to give them prominence.

I doubt if the chorus are actually carrying robes and garlands; see Groeneboom.

103. I agree with Rode (p. 35) against Kaimio (p. 116 n. 1) and most commentators that this line appears to be a reply by a
second chorus-member to the question in 100. For the same chorus-member to remark simply μικρον δέορκα after the emphatic insistence of 100 would seem very weak.

This will clearly rule out the emendation δέορκα (despite Ag. 1533, E. Ph. 269). But in accepting δέορκα we must not treat the word as constructive "synaesthetic imagery" (Stanford 1 p. 106ff., 2 p. 47ff., Dawson etc.; Murray translates, "I am dazzled with the din"), for there is no question of the sound's being described in visual terms. This is mere catachresis, the most neutral of words for seeing being used, quite without emphasis, for the sake of variatio after ἀκούειτ'.

104. The bacchiac trimeter fits neatly into its metrical context, since its first five syllables could in themselves be a dochmiac, while the first three syllables of the dochmiac that follows (105) could in themselves be a bacchiac. On the other hand the change of metre, the regular diaeresis and the number of long syllables give great weight to the line and reinforce the vehemence of the chorus's appeal.

The chorus is pointing out to Ares that his status as patron of the Theban land conflicts with his actions as war god, since it is certainly Ares, in the latter capacity, who is stirring up the Argives. On the two levels of religious belief that are brought together here see Solmsen 3 p. 217ff. I think that Bernadete, however, (1 p. 23ff.) reads too much into the different aspects of Ares.
There can be no strong objection to this as an iambic trimeter (for the *previs in longo* without pause can be paralleled - or removed by τάω in 107); but it is very easy to restore dochmias by deleting ᾠ (or reading Dindorf's ᾠ *extra metrum*) and accepting the χρυσεοκήλης of most "recentiores." The word in this form is again applied to Areš in the late Hymn to Areš, line 1; both A. and the Hymn will be echoing lost epic. The second dochmias is fully resolved (cf. 204, 239), the resolutions being coupled with word-repetition to mark great excitement, as so often in Euripides.

109-149. The chorus pray in a slightly calmer tone to various important gods and goddesses in turn, presumably addressing the statues. In each case they interpret a known quality of the god as implying that he should or could help Thèbes, and they constantly draw attention to their own plight.

Whether the passage comprises a strophe and antistrophe is hard to decide, since most of it anyway consists of the same metre - dochmias - and since *syllabic* correspondence between dochmias tends to be loose. Certainly much emendation will be needed to obtain responson, but then the passage is extremely corrupt on any view. And the *non-dochmias cola 119 and 137, 120 and 140, 123 and 144, 126 and 149, do seem to respond too well for coincidence. I should therefore accept the existence of strophe and antistrophe, despite Wilamowitz and his followers, and despite the difficulty of, in particular, 114 and 131, 126 and 146. (Rode, p. 34ff., argues against
responsion on the basis of his equation of "mimetic" with "astrophic," but the argument begs several questions.)

109-111. A kind of formal heading to the individual appeals that follow – the desperate cry to Ares at 104f. being in a different category.

109. πολλόχοι χθόνος The kind of redundancy often found with compounds; it was apparently felt that the idea of "the land" was not made specific enough by πολλόχοι by itself.

 lij' ητε πάντες The dochiasm is a rather lopsided one, and the brevis in longo may be illicit as there is hardly a pause at the corresponding point in the antistrophe; but see Conomis p. 44.

111. λόχοι "Band," without military implications, as often in A. (see commentators). But here and at Fr. 343 line 32 the word may retain connotations of "lying" (in supplication).

114f. Possibly δοξολόφων κύμα γὰρ κακλάζεται | περὶ πόλιν πυκνάτις... (Headlam), but see on 131.

114. δοξολόφων The exact meaning is doubtful (see Groeneboom), but the implication clearly is that the crests of the massed army which the chorus visualise resemble a wave, presumably one topped with white foam. (λόφος , however, is not used of a wave-crest in Greek.) A new visual justification is thus given to the "wave" image announced at 64.
115. ἑλάζει Part of the vehicle, as the word is always used of splashing or foaming liquid. Alliteration links subject and verb as often (Groeneboom), and also has some onomatopoeic effect.

Since the word is used elsewhere of divine "inspiration" (E. Πα. 1094, Π.Α. 69), the image of 63f. is here given a more precise application: as the wind stirs up a wave, so the breath of Ares stirs up the attackers.

116f. One can do little more than guess at the text here and at 135f., since both strophe and antistrophe seem corrupt. What Page prints, following Tucker and Murray, is perhaps the best solution.

The repeated long syllables and heavy alliteration strongly reinforce the vehemence of the prayer, the focal point of this strophe. And the repeated ἑλαζ- links the completeness of Zeus's power with the urgent need for rescue, implying that prayer to Zeus for this is especially appropriate.

116. ἀντελέσ Either "accomplishing all things" (cf. e.g. Cho. 965) - for A. does speak of Zeus in such terms (Supp. 823f., Ag. 1485ff.) even if he does not realise their full implications - or simply "with full authority" (cf. e.g. Supp. 601).

119. The strophe is divided into three by three clausulae of similar rhythm (119, 123, 126).

120f. Κάδμου κυκλούνται More κ- alliteration, giving some prominence to these words.
122. The alternatives are to place lacunae in both strophe and antistrophe, with Sidgwick, Page and others, or to delete ὀς in 143 with Murray and cod. T. The former solution gives us pure dochiacism and a verb after φόβος; but the latter seems simpler. Ellipse of the verb is a mannerism of this ode (103, 160). The text will scan as either cret. (resolved) doch. or doch. cret.

122f. Tucker is probably right in seeing here a reference to the φιμον more specifically mentioned at 463. κινύρεσθαι (or κινύρεσθαι) does not seem quite the right word for the jingle of harness in general, and, if that were meant, why mention the horses' jaws at all? Thus the motif of the horses' breath is again used (cf. 60f.) to characterize the brute horror of the Argive attack.

123. φόνος φόβος is probably right at P.V. 355 and perhaps here, despite φόβος two lines above; cf. especially Sept. 386. In either case the internal accusative gives impressionistic colour to the verb, as often; "slaughter," or "fear," is what the sound means to the chorus.

124ff. We must not, of course, ask how the chorus knows this (Hiltbrunner p. 81f.).

124. ἄγαμος A lofty epic word, found only here in tragedy, connoting both heroic courage and arrogance.

124f. πρεποντες σ. ὰγαλς "Conspicuous among the army by their equipment, including spears which they brandish." The
very compressed and unprosaic expression, and especially the illogical compound, lend further poetic elevation.

125. ἐβδομάδικα The "abusio" of such an ordinary word is certainly strange, and the subterfuges of Verrall and Tucker - "each at a seventh gate" - are no help. But the possibility of corruption seems to me remote, and A. is probably seeking elevation (and variatio after ἐπικά in 124) by imitating II. VIII. 404, ἐς δεκάτους...δωδεκάτους, however that is in fact to be explained.

126. προσεκταντία This could mean "approach," but is more naturally taken as "stand by." This static picture is hard to reconcile with that of the army surging round the city; similar inconsistencies between the actions of the chieftains and those of the army in general are common in the Iliad.

127ff. After the long parenthesis introduced by γὰρ in 120 the chorus return to their invocations. The way in which the different gods are introduced is carefully varied. On the titles, cults etc. mentioned here see Tucker and Groeneboom.

127. Ἀγιευτείς And therefore next to be named.

129. Ἀδεικνολες An epithet of Athene at II. VI. 305 and in both Homeric Hymns to her, so the chorus is implying, as Tucker explains, that she should prove true to her title; hence the periphrasis.
130. Πολλάκι As often, the name is postponed so as to come with greater effect and emphasis as the solution to a riddle. The same happens to Poseidon in the next line.

As Cameron (1 p. 76) and others point out, the two epithets link the two motifs of horses and sea which have been so much associated with the attacking army. And we may note that Poseidon is the only deity who is here addressed by epithets not obviously relevant to the present situation. These epithets are thus given an illogical appearance of such relevance by the way the horse motif and the nautical imagery have previously been used; if the attackers are a sea or wave, and if their character is exemplified by their horses, then Poseidon too will have a part to play.

131. It is curious that the MSS. should give good metre in both strophe and antistrophe but without response. Probably, however, the antistrophe is corrupt. I should be reluctant to sacrifice the repeated ἐπάλλοςιν as Page suggests (cf. 171), and I think with Sidgwick that all we need is Klausen's ἵχθυβόλωι Ποσειδών (cf. S. Tr. 502) μαχαναί. A scribe has simplified a stylish word-order. The dative can now be taken ἀνὰ κολυοῦ with both ποντομέδων (since that sounds like a participle) and δίδων; like Artemis at 149 Poseidon is to use his characteristic weapon against the Argives.

The riddling periphrasis for "trident" is characteristic of religious language.
132. Agitated repetition is again underlined by runs of short syllables (cf. 106), here also by parallel rhythm and perhaps (if one were to read φόβοι) by rhyme.

135. φεῖ φεῖ A cry either of astonishment that Ares should seem to be on the wrong side or simply of horror at the name.

137. Κάδμου Mentioned because the connection of Ares with Thebes was through Cadmus and Harmonia, as commentators explain. ηδεσθαι Perhaps with a play on the two senses of ηδος, as Tucker, Smyth and Groeneboom suggest, though ηδεσθαι never in fact means "to be a ηδεστης" elsewhere. ἐναργῶς Only a personal epiphany will do.

141f. σέθεν κ.τ.λ. Ramming home the point in more forceful and explicit language.

143. If σε is to be omitted (see on 122 above), possibly λιτὰς θεολύτους should be written.

144. πελαξόμεσθα Perhaps the dance leads the chorus towards each statue in turn (though the strophe would then have to be danced differently from the antistrophe); but the word could be figurative, as in the regular use of ξινείσθαι.

145. Λύκελος Probably not felt as a pun; a fifth-century Greek would assume that the title meant "wolf-god," whatever its real derivation. The name is interpreted, like an omen, in a way favourable to Thebes, a magical way of obtaining the god's help.
146f. Murray's deletion of στόνων ἀυτὰς is a promising start, since the words make neither sense nor metre and there is no sign of a lacuna in the strophe. But we cannot leave matters there, for although the modified dochmiac ὑ ὑ - ὑ - is found at 893f., 935, Supp. 350 (and cf. Sept. 782?), one would be most reluctant to accept it in response with a normal dochmiac (see Conomis p. 37). Since ἄτατογένεια is unparalleled, and κοῦρα in tragedy paralleled only at S. O.C. 160, we might accept Wilde's ἄτατος | κόρα (cf. Fr. 170, S. El. 470) followed by a monosyllable such as < οὖ > (Dindorf).

150-165. The chorus revert to the mood of the opening section of the ode, terrified at the noises they can hear and addressing the gods not in deliberate religious invocation but in involuntary cries of terror which the noises call forth. They think first of Hera and Artemis because these are women's goddesses, as Rose points out.

Formally, however, the passage is much stricter than anything we have yet seen, with very regular metrical patterning and with very short sense-units corresponding closely to the metrical cola. Each of the four pentsyllabic cola consists of an address to a deity, and until 164 all the dochmiacs have the form ὑ ὑ - ὑ -. Such strict formal patterning seems, indeed, more typical of highly emotional choral passages in A. than the looseness of 79-108; it appears to be the wildest emotions that are felt to need most discipline to contain them.
151-4. Between 151 and 153 note the correspondence in rhythm, word-division and accentuation; the chiastic placing of the two finite verbs and the two participles; and the rhyming of ἀρματων and ἀζων. In 152 and 154 we have chiasmus of names and epithets. This intricate patterning compensates for the simplicity of syntax and thought.

152. Ἡφα. Not a goddess to whom the chorus would pray formally for the defeat of Argives; see Tucker.

153. θραυσματων. The tense seems to puzzle commentators, but see Headlam 1. p. 30ff.

155. ἔπαινεται. Normally the word means "to be mad for" something, but in the two Aeschylean instances, here and at Ag. 1427, probably "to be mad in accompaniment" (cf. e.g. ἔπαινεν). The "accompaniment" here will be with the shaking of the spears, not, as Groeneboom strangely thinks, with the rattling of the chariots.

The idea that the air or sky could vibrate in time to the shaking spears is itself an imaginative projection onto the elements of the importance that this shaking has for the chorus (and must be made to have for the audience); cf. Supp. 607f. But in addition the vibrating air is seen as participating in the fury of the enemy, which thus bears down terrifyingly from every direction. Anything that participates in the "mad" shaking is felt to be "mad" too. The very impossibility of realising the image in sensual terms — of imagining what "mad air" looks or sounds like — makes its paradoxical appropriateness in conceptual or emotional terms the more striking.
157. The question is phrased rather illogically but quite naturally, ποι̊, τέλος and ἐπί cumulatively emphasizing the end that the chorus fear. The run of short syllables marks a climax of excitement.

158. Efforts to defend a "genitive of place reached" with ἐρχεσθαί (Kamerbeek p. 77f., Tucker and others) seem fruitless. This appears to leave three alternatives: to read -βόλος for -βόλων with Robert (2 p. 167f.) and Page (but Page's interpretation, not Robert's, would then be right; the stones certainly do not come from the defenders); to read ἐπάλξεις for ἐπάλξεων with Wilamowitz and most subsequent editors; or to read ἀπετειαί for ἐρχεσθαί as Groesboom suggests. The first alternative gives rather difficult Greek and prevents us from deleting an unwelcome 5'; the second does give to ἄμφοβαλλων the meaning attested elsewhere - "skirmishers" - but the word-order is very awkward and "comes to the battlements" without qualification seems weak; the third is perhaps the most satisfactory. ἀπεσθαί is used of weapons - admittedly without a genitive - at II. VIII. 67, XVII. 631; ἐρχεσθαί would be a gloss.

ἄμφοβαλλων will then mean "hit at the top," not "hit from afar" (L.S.J.), the point being, of course, that the stones may soon be coming over the walls. This will probably be an etymological "abusive" (see on 147 below) of the military technical term.

Note the further chiasmus in the placing of the genitives in 158 and 160.
161. Since we need an address to some divinity, and since καὶ is an impossible particle here, the commonly accepted παί Διός, δειν is very attractive. Wilamowitz (app. crit.) and Groeneboom object that the reference must be to Zeus himself, as ultimate arbiter of battle; but in fact all that is meant, as ἰγνώρ shows, is that the divinity in question brings victory, and any patron god or goddess could do that. The "child of Zeus" in question is doubtless Athene (Rose and Dawson; note the echo of the language of 127), not Apollo (Sidgwick) or Ares (von den Bergh ap. Murray).

163f. Very religious and emotionally charged language. Sentences become longer and the formal pattern of the strophic pair begins to break down as the chorus revert once more to a less agitated, more trustful attitude.

164. The second dochiad is of a form probably not found elsewhere in A. or Soph. (see Conomis p. 24) and resposion with the strophe is very loose; this is the more surprising in view of the strict regularity of the other dochiads in this strophic pair. Then what are we to do with πρὸ πόλεως? If we punctuate before these words, with Sidgwick, Murray, Page, then the chorus are saying "rescue the city on behalf of the city" or "rescue the city in front of the city" - surely impossible. If we punctuate after them, with other editors, then "Once before the city" is an odd phrase, and I do not know of parallels.

The metre can be improved with Triclinius's πόλεως, which Mazon reads; but I should rather suggest σὺ τε
μόνον ὁ Καλαρ' ὁ Καλαρ', πρὸς πόλεως άνασσ'. For the response which this entails see Fraenkel on Ag. 1128.

165. Greensboom notes the vehement alliteration of ε.

166-180. A prayer to the city's gods in general, summing up what has gone before in a calmer mood and metre. Throughout the strophe alliteration of π and τ is used for patterning and to give prominence to crucial words.

166. πανολυτεῖς παναρχεῖς seems equally likely.

168. πυργοφύλακες. Probably a metaphor from an actual human office; it would be especially disgraceful for such a warden to betray his city.

170. ἐτεροφύνω. The depiction of the Argives as barbarian has puzzled Wilamowitz (1 p. 98) and many commentators. Sheppard (p. 77) and many others explain that A. has in mind the Persian wars and wishes to make the siege of Thebes more real for his audience by recalling a siege which they would well remember. Be that as it may, Persae and Supplices certainly show how interested A. was in the contrast between the violent Ἱβρις of barbarians and the pious σωφροσύνη of Greeks. (North p. 38ff.), and it seems that he has chosen to present such a contrast in this play also, defying known geographical fact much as Sophocles does in making Lemnos uninhabited. Hints of foreignness here will help to make plausible the barely human and certainly un-Greek recklessness of the Seven in the Shield
Scene; note βάρβαρον at 463. In the present context ἐτεροφώνω of course serves to make betrayal by Greek gods the more unthinkable; cf. 72f.

(Lloyd-Jones, 3 p. 85 n. 3, and others refer ἐτεροφώνω simply to a difference in dialect; but even if a difference between Boeotian and Argive Greek gives some ostensible justification to the word, it must surely imply more than this.)

171. Repetition, rhythmic balance and alliteration reinforce the passionate tone and give an incantatory effect. The sound also links πανόικως to παρθένων to imply that it is especially just to hear the prayers of defenceless maidens.

172. Ἡλπιοτόνως The personified prayers stretch out their hands, or the prayers are outstretched hands; the "transferred epithet" makes the gesture inseparable from its meaning.

174-180. Repetition of the key words φίλος and πόλις articulates the argument: "Gods that we love, show in turn by defending the city that you love the city, and remember the sacrifices made by the city that are a sign of that love between us." (Of course φίλος does not have the same associations as "love" in English.)

174. Parallelism with 166 brings out the difference; now we are concerned with the gods' links and obligations to the city, not with their power.
175. ἀμφιθάντες Like a Homeric warrior bestriding a fallen comrade (Tucker and Dawson). The word conveys the physical power of the gods and the helplessness of the city.

176. φιλοκόλολες Normally used of men to mean "patriotic;" the gods have as much duty to the city as its citizens have.

177. ἵλος Perhaps "temples" rather than "sacrifices," for otherwise 179f. seems repetitive. The gods are then exhorted in much the same patriotic terms as the citizens at 14f.

178. μελόμενοι The parallels of E. H.E. 33 and S. H. 1487 seem adequate; and the thought is "do not just care, but act." Page's -μένος is not attractive.

δ' Rather τ' (Rogers); 178 cannot be less closely connected with 177 than 177 is with 175f.

ἀρκεσθήκετε ἠλικτε is a dubious invented form. Bothe's ἀρκέσθηκε seems satisfactory.

179. φιλοθύμων A quite illogical compound; φιλία, from gods and men, characterizes the whole process of sacrificing.

**First Episode.**

We have seen that so far the audience has been given no reason to find fault with either Eteocles or the chorus. The dispute that now arises therefore comes as a surprise and requires explanation. What is going on in this scene, and what is its function?
Firstly, we should not assume that Greek canons of religion and morality were so rigid and coherent that they would strictly determine the attitude of an audience to any moral problem presented on stage. And here the positions of both Eteocles and the chorus are essentially natural ones which any Greek might well hold. It is normally considered right to submit oneself to the gods and to do all one can to enlist their help in time of danger; on the other hand it is equally right for a king to take practical measures and to condemn any behaviour that might endanger his city. And we must bear in mind a point often ignored, that the chorus have not only risked demoralising the defenders but actually done so; Eteocles tells us this at 191f., and since no one contradicts him, we must accept what he says as true.

Of course a dramatist can, if he chooses, supply an objective moral reference — for instance through a manifestly good character or an impartial chorus — to show the audience which party in a dispute should command their sympathy. And here if A. had made his chorus reply consistently either "I am sorry, Eteocles, I was frightened" or "No, Eteocles, your attitude is irreligious and wrong," we should obviously know where we were. The fact that they actually give something approaching both these answers (contrast 203ff. and 239ff. with 226ff. and 233ff.) shows that A. is not concerned to present a conflict between an unambiguously right view and an unambiguously wrong one; both timorousness and genuine religious feeling are essential characteristics of this chorus.
In fact there is no single, isolable philosophic point at issue, for each side in the argument represents not one attitude to one problem but a whole complex of emotionally related attitudes. We shall see that both Eteocles and the chorus change their positions in ways that are logically inconsistent, and that the languages and basic terms of reference of the two parties are always so far apart that the issue can never be specifically defined.

There is nothing crude or incompetent about this, for A.'s skill in writing in these two irreconcilable languages is at least as impressive in its way as the legalistic subtlety of Euripidean debate. And if the scene explores a conflict which exists between sets of natural and widely held Greek values, this in itself gives it great interest and to a large extent justifies its presence in the play. Its relevance to the main plot, even if not obvious at first, may become more so later, when at the crisis of the play a second argument takes place between the same parties (677-711).

But we have still not accounted for everything in this scene, for even if Eteocles is justified, from his own point of view, in rebuking this particular chorus of women, he hardly seems justified in condemning the whole female sex, as he does at 187-195. No doubt the passage would seem less strange to a Greek audience brought up on Hesiod and Semonides than it at first sight does to us (and compare E. Med. 573ff., Hipp. 616ff.), but the fact remains that it is not strictly motivated by the situation.
Should we then start thinking in psychological terms? Mésautis (p. 109), Rose (p. 13), Dawson (on 182ff.) and others suppose that Eteocles is influenced by thoughts of Jocasta, but this notion can at once be ruled out on the simple grounds that A. does not say so, and that such surprising psychological realism would have to be made very explicit; we must not fall into Waldock's "documentary fallacy." Patzer's view (p. 103), that Eteocles' excessive anger is meant to reveal his fear that the present war is the outcome of the Curse, is more respectable but still insufficiently supported by the text; see Lesky 3 p. 9ff., Kirkwood p. 15f. Verral, Podlecki, Golden and others see it as part of A.'s purpose to show flaws in the character of Eteocles, but if we reject their accusations of impiety and cynicism elsewhere (as we must), it will make little sense to see a flaw of character in this piece of misogyny alone. Eteocles speaks like a misogynist but, as Garton puts it (p. 252), "you cannot investigate him as such;" and although the passage is humanly intelligible, in that a man who was angry with a group of women easily might talk like this, considerations of character and psychology will not account for its presence in the play.

A more helpful line of approach is suggested by the analogous problem in the Supplices, where it is notoriously difficult to decide whether the Danaids hate their cousins because they hate men in general or hate men in general because they hate their cousins. The right explanation there probably
is that A. is not thinking in these terms of cause and effect at all, but wishes to universalise the conflict between the Danaids and the Egyptians as a general conflict between the sexes. The *Oresteia* further shows us how interested A. was in the question of the proper roles of men and women. Similarly here, I think that the words of Eteocles can be accounted for by a desire on A.'s part to identify the two parties in the dispute with the two sexes in general; the chorus is to exemplify womankind for the audience as well as for Eteocles, and we are to see their timidity and intuitive religious feeling as essentially feminine qualities in antithesis to his masculine courage and practicality. Each sex can claim to have a role in the city and to represent it in opposition to the wild, uncivilised host outside, since Eteocles is its worthy and capable leader while the women (like those of the *Troades*) embody its deep-rooted social and religious institutions and its capacity for fear and suffering (compare Finley's account of the play, p. 234ff.).

If it is right to see contrast and conflict between male and female qualities as an important element here, it is natural to guess, with Finley and Winnington-Ingram, that this was also an element in the other plays of the trilogy, for in this way Eteocles' speech will be given a thematic motivation and appropriateness which it otherwise seems to lack; see on 187ff. below.

To move on to matters of formal structure, the scene provides a good example of the archaic technique whereby progress in the
plot occurs only in brief jerks and only when a static situation has been fully explored. Thus the issue which Eteocles presents in his initial speech is explored from various angles in the amoibadion without any forward development taking place, with the result that the following stichomythia is able to take off from the same point and explore the same issue in a different form. Only at the very end of the stichomythia does a jerk forward occur as the chorus submits (263); this motivates Eteocles' concluding speech, which in turn ends with another jerk forward, this time in the main plot of the play, as Eteocles declares his intention to post seven defenders.

182ff. We may suppose, with Groeneboom, that Eteocles arrives because he has heard the women's noise from offstage. His speech falls into four sections: denunciation of the chorus (182-6); reflection on women in general (187-190); the chorus's behaviour as exemplifying this (191-5); threats and commands (196-202).

182. Ἰὑς ἡρωτῶ The phrase seems to have developed from an expression of sarcastic politeness into one of mere anger. ἐρώματι. Like unthinking animals (schol. M), though the word is sometimes used of people without any contemptuous tone (see Groeneboom).

183. ἀριστερὰ The MS. reading has been defended by Friis Johansen (1 p. 106 n. 17) and Fränkel (4), who quote Ar. Thesm. 301ff. and fifth-century inscriptions to show that the coupling of
with expressions like "beneficial to the city" was a standard formula in patriotic contexts. The words άριστα...σωτήρια are thus effectively in inverted commas; hence the order of the particles μαλ᾽ and τε.

185. ΠΕΣΟΥΩΝ The chorus may have "fallen" at the end of the Parodos; they can hardly have delivered any of it while prostrate.

186. αὖειν, λαμάζειν Asyndeton with the same effect as at line 60. αὖειν is not itself an insulting word, but serves, like ήμεζε at Supp. 872, to build up to λαμάζειν, which presumably is.

ΜΙΟΣΜΑΤΑ Personal, as often (cf. especially Eum. 73), and not "in apposition to the sentence" as Verrall and Tucker think. The echo of 181 (Friis Johansen p. 107) frames the sentence and gives prominence to the two abusive expressions.

187ff. The words ἐν κακοίς, δείσασα and πόλει clearly relate to the present situation, while ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίληι, κράτουσα and οἶκω do not. Friis Johansen (l.c.) cites Pers. 598ff. and Ag. 551ff. and 636ff. as parallel instances of "foil antithesis" in gnomic passages. Winnington-Ingram (1 and 2), however, points out that in these cases the less relevant element is not wholly irrelevant to the wider context, as it would seem to be here, and therefore conjectures that the subordinate role of women in the οἶκος was at issue in an earlier play of the trilogy. The hypothesis does help to account for a puzzling passage, and could be somewhat strengthened
by reference to Euripides' *Oedipus*, in which such an issue certainly occurred (E. Fr. 543-6); I think, however, that Winnington-Ingram's more specific conclusions concerning Jocasta rest on insufficient evidence (see on 750 and 756f. below).

187. ἐν εὐεργοῖ φίλη. Something of a cliché; when the phrase recurs at *Ag.* 929, φίλη has more point.

The antithesis here would in itself be natural enough - Eteocles would shun women not only in wartime but even in peacetime - but it helps to prepare for the stranger expression in 189f.

188. Ἐὔσωκος. Ambiguous; the word can be used of sharing a city, but here it serves as further preparation for what follows.

189f. Ἑρᾶος and κακὸν are certainly concrete, for the nom. pendens construction that Greeneboom sees here would be very awkward.

The expression is illogical, for instead of writing Ἑρᾶοςοῦσα ἔν, the natural antithesis to δεῖσσαι δὲ, A. has brought in the seemingly irrelevant participle κρατοῦσα and transferred the idea of "boldness" to the predicate. One effect of this is to provide an echo of Ἑρᾶος in 184; there is one situation in which after all women do show this quality. Again, οὐχίνωτι, which fairly clearly belongs in the first half of the antithesis, is transferred to the second, so as to bring it close to πόλει and to avoid an over-complex and mechanical expression.
The laconic omission of ζήτε in 190 paradoxically strengthens the line - "When in charge she's an intolerable θρόος; and when she's the opposite of a θρόος she's worse!"

192. διερροδήσατ’ The coinage gives a strikingly compressed expression -"you have roared cowardice through the citizens" - since a "noise" verb would not normally take such an object as "cowardice." Also the effect of oxymoron in the juxtaposition of such a strong verb with άφυκόν κάκην throws both terms into relief.

193. ἄφωντ' After κάκην the word will have sarcastic connotations of "courage"; the women do display ἄρετή - in the service of the enemy. (For this reason ὄφελλετε seems slightly better than ὄφελλεται.) There is also perhaps a pointed repetition of ἄριστα in 183 (Friis Johansen p. 106 n. 17) with similar sarcastic effect.

194. A very extreme and paradoxical statement in view of the contrast already established between the enemy outside and the chorus inside. Winnington-Ingram (2) sees a double meaning in this line, with reference to the house of Eteocles, but I do not see how this could be felt.

195. The passage of γνώμη plus exemplum is brought to a formal close by the echo of 187f. Συνναξών Like ξύνοικος (188) the word here means primarily "dwelling in the same city," but also suggests the οίκος theme.
196-9. The rhymed quatrain (cf. Eum. 71ff.) emphasizes the grammatical structure and thus the inevitable link between the crime in the protasis and the punishment in the apodosis.

197. The use of an illogical polar expression to lay great stress on the idea of "no one at all" is, of course, characteristically Greek. The illogicality here, however, does seem extreme, and, since the best parallels quoted by commentators are from comedy, it would perhaps be justifiable to see a touch of sardonic humour in the line (as also in 256, 260).

μεταλύμον. This would have been felt as a live metaphor in Solon's time (Solon Fr. 37. 9) and so probably in A.'s; military language is spilling over into a non-military context.

198. "A decree of death will be passed against them." Sidgwick says all that needs saying on this line, and the ingenuities of Verrall, Tucker and Rose are without any foundation.

199. Eteocles wishes to stress that the chorus is offending against the people as a whole.

Λευστῆρα...μόρον  Better called a new adjectival use of λευστήρ (Groenewout compares μαρανιστήρ, -ής at Eum. 186, E. Rh. 817) than a personification of μόρον, which would have little point. The "stoniness" of φήρος and λευστήρα forms a verbal link between the processes described in the two lines, but has, I think, no deeper effect.

200f. The allusion, which all commentators note, to the Homeric ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει, combined with a wish to give
prominence to ταξιθέντι and juxtapose it with ἐνδον, has involved A. in an awkward construction in which ταξιθέντι serves as both nominative and accusative.

200. Βουλευέτω The echo of Βουλεύδετω points up the irony of the word; Eteocles knows that the women's actions are not the outcome of real deliberation.

201. ταξιθέντι ἐνδον Strongly emphatic; Eteocles tries to restore the proper opposition between "inside" and "outside."

202. The speech ends as rudely and abruptly as it began. As commentators explain, with parallels, the first double question is equivalent to a very emphatic "have you heard?" to which "or are you deaf?" is an alternative.

203-7. From the first the chorus's tone is notably conciliatory (φίλων), and they do not attempt to contradict Eteocles' words. The noises that frightened them are evoked in similar language and metre to that of the Parodos, 204 in particular having clear onomatopoeic effect.

203. Ὀλίποιον τέχος Such a standard form of address in Greek tragedy that I very much doubt if an audience would see any special significance in the mention of Oedipus.

203f. ἄμυλοσσω The point is not, I think, that the chorus "mistake the meaning of the question" (Verrall) but that the repetition of the "hearing" motif (196, 202, 203f.) brings out the position of
the chorus between two opposing forces - Eteocles and the enemy -
both demanding to be heard.

204. ἀματόμενον The familiar use of an "illogical" compound
to present an impressionistic picture; the noise means chariots,
but the precise relation between noise and chariots need not be
specified.

ὁτόμον ὁτῷ The chorus uses the most direct of methods
to make us feel the noise and its emotional effect. Since the
musical use of the word is rare, Groeneboom is right to deny any
allusion to music here, despite Verrall, Tucker and Haldane p. 36.

205. The emendations which Page adopts seem probable. ὅτε
gives rather more natural sense than ὅτι, ἐλάγαξαν rather
more natural metre than ἐκλαγάζαν;
ἐλι- "non intellegitur" because it is paralleled only in the
word ἐλίχρυσος, which may have nothing to do with ἐλιτζ, and
for the prosody see Conomis p. 38.

206f. ἀείνυων is obviously corrupt, but van Nes (p. 105ff.) is
right to argue against Wilamowitz (1 p. 248 n. 1), Murray and
others that the other genitives should not be tampered with,
since they present a highly characteristic pattern of γρῦφος
and solution (see Fraenkel on Αἰ. 7 (p. 9) etc.). The metaphorical
noun πνεολίων is qualified, as so often, by a tenor
adjective; the resulting oxymoron is resolved by χολύνὼν,
held back to the end for greater effect; and to avoid baldness the
"solution" is in turn qualified by a logically redundant epithet, as at 944, Pers. 612. (The nautical use of χαλινοί is irrelevant here, since it is very rare and is itself clearly tropical; see van Nes 1. c.)

We might then suppose, with Page and others, that ἄπνων conceals a verb of which ὁστόμια is the subject; but the word-order is strained, and it is hard to think of an aorist verb (an aorist being required, as Page says) that could become ἄπνων. I find Schütz's διαστόμια attractive; the word, which would mean "bits", is not found elsewhere, but Schütz compares the ὑποστόμια of Pollux I. 184. διαστόμια would then be parallel with σύριγγες, and ἄπνων would conceal an adjective. (At Max. Tyr. XXX (XXIV). ὅ ἄνυνος is a variant for ἕπνους; and ἕπνους can be used of, for instance, a horse's nostrils (Xen. Eq. I. 10) to mean "affording a free passage to the air" (I. S. J.). If ἕπνων (after Bothe) were right here, there would again be an allusion to the φιμος of 463; see on 122f. above.)

206. πολλάκια The word forms another useful link between the nautical imagery and the horse motif (see on 130 above), though it departs from the usual pattern of nautical imagery in which it is the city that is equated with the ship.

207. Μυγλευτῶν For the ancient association of iron with fire see the parallels in Tucker and Groenboom. But the word also has a strongly emotive effect, as it suggests the extreme hardness
of the bridles and, by less logical association, the toughness and fierceness of the horses. Fire-born dragons (E. Fr. 943) or fire-breathing horses (E. Alc. 493) might flit through the audience's minds.

Cameron (1 p. 99) points out the similarity of the language in which the iron of the Curse is described at 942f., but this could only have had any effect for the audience if language like that of 942f. was used in the previous play.

208ff. The chorus have simply pleaded that they were frightened; Eteocles replies in inappropriately rational terms. πηδολαγεῖν brings to mind the ship-of-state image which Eteocles has already used and which can serve to express the responsibility which every citizen, as well as the King, possesses for the city's safety.

208. τι οὖν: A lively expression of impatience.

χρα μὴ 'c To talk of "irony" does not really make "can it be that" natural here (see Denniston 1 p. 47), so the χρα 'c of Q pelvic K, although a facillior lectio, may be right.

πρότερον There seem to be no grounds for the assertion of Tucker and others that images of the gods would be placed in the prow.

209. πρύμνησεν The image appears slightly confused, for it is hard to believe, with Groeneboom, that the word does not allude to the helmsman's position of special responsibility (see on 2 above), although the context demands that Eteocles should be speaking not of the helmsman - who would be Eteocles himself -
but of the ordinary sailor. Nor does he seem to be saying "I do not flee, so nor should you," as van Hes thinks (p. 80f.). Apparently helmsman and ordinary sailor are not properly distinguished.

210. ΠΟΝΤΙΩΛ ΛΙΝ ΚΥΜΑΤΙ P.V. 836 does not justify πρὸς with dative here. Page's text is possible, Prien's ποντίολος ἐν κύμασι is perhaps a slightly neater.

Because of the maritime imagery that has gone before the significance of the wave does not need to be spelt out.

211ff. The chorus begin to defend themselves. They fled not aimlessly but to the images of the gods, and this was quite justified by the circumstances.

212f. θεοῖς πλυνοὺς is usually, and no doubt rightly, accepted. For the rest editors present a great variety of texts, but Page is probably right in thinking that the verb cannot be omitted in a subordinate clause. One could stay closer to the MSS. than Page does with οὖς θυράδος ἐν παράδος νεπεμένας βρόμος... (so Blaydes, but with νιθάδος), and then retain ἐκλαγῆ in 205; but Page's metre is more natural. θυράδος is certainly needed; see Groenboom.

212. Θεοῖς Pure variation after δαιμόνων.

213. νερομένας An extended Homeric simile (11. XII. 156ff., 278ff.) has given rise, as so often, to a brief Aeschylean metaphor. The implication which Homer makes explicit — that the stones fall as
thick as snowflakes - A. can safely leave to be inferred from
the single word. Though itself nothing to do with the sea, the
metaphor coheres with the maritime imagery in that the city is
again conceived as beset by an implacable force of nature.

A slight sense of oxymoron after νείψομένως - since real snow does not make a noise - once more marks the distance
between tenor and vehicle language.

214f. The chorus repeat themselves with great emphasis: "It was
then that fear made me pray to the gods, so that they should save
the city."

214. δὴ τότε Decidedly epic word-order (Denniston I p. 228) giving
appropriate solemnity.

215. ὑπερέχολεν ἄλκαν The normal expression in Homer and
elsewhere is ὑπερέχειν χειρα(ς), as commentators
point out. The substitution of the abstract noun puts an extra
stress on "protection".

216. Eteocles cannot deny the value of prayer, so he suggests a
prayer that will be positive in tone, take account of the city's
natural defences, and give the gods a means of helping without
recourse to miracles. (I see no advantage in taking σύχεσθε
as indicative with Headlam 3.)

στέγειν The commonest meaning of the word is "to be watertight," and it does seem probable that this is alluded to here, although
a military use is found even in prose (Thuc. IV. 34. 3); see
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and it does seem probable that this is alluded to here, although
a military use is found even in prose (Thuc. IV. 34. 3); see
van Nes p. 81. Eteocles is thus insisting on his "ship of state" image and giving it a more literal application.

217. A very difficult line, probably best taken as "Well, will this not be the gods' part? But indeed they say ..." That is, Eteocles first recommends his practical prayer on the grounds that the city's natural defence is itself dependent on the gods, then shifts his ground by recalling that the gods cannot necessarily be relied upon in any case. Despite Wilamowitz 1 p. 64 n. 2 and most commentators, interrogative οὖν seems more likely in A. than affirmative οὖν; see Denniston 1 p. 236. It is very curious that both sets of particles in the line would most naturally imply change of speaker, as marked in the MSS. and accepted by Hermann, Paley and Sidgwick (see Denniston 1 p. 431, 442), for elsewhere in A. antilabē occurs only once at most (P.V. 980), and here in the midst of a very regular ancibaiion is surely, despite Hermann, the last place one would expect to find it.

Tucker and Mazon take πρὸς θεῶν as "in the gods' interest"; this makes sense, but one would not expect the set phrase πρὸς θεῶν to depart from its normal meaning. I see little merit in supposing that Eteocles is anticipating the chorus's reply (Rose - the effect would be merely comic), or that τάδ' ἔσται is effectively a prayer (Italie 2), or that Eteocles is making a negative statement, "This will not be the gods' part (Podlecki 2 p. 290ff.).

217f. ἄλλῳ οὖν κ.τ.λ. The fact that it is possible for a city to be taken shows that one cannot wholly rely on the gods. If
human defenders failed in their task the city would simply be captured and the gods, instead of providing a miracle, would abandon it. For parallels to the idea see Groenboom.

219ff. There can be no logical answer to Eteocles' words; the chorus simply react in terror to the very suggestion that the gods could abandon the city and treat it as an omen to be averted. The contrast between the more rational and the more intuitive religious attitude is very skilfully and realistically depicted.

219. Λίποι The simple verb echoes the compound. To take κατὰ... Λίποι together, as several commentators do, seems quite unnatural.

220. Πανάχυσις Since the word is normally used of a national assembly in honour of a god, it will continue to carry emotive connotations of organized national religion when transferred to the gods themselves.

221. ἄστυδρομομένων The expression is not purely pleonastic, for ἄστυδρομειν denotes a specific act, and it is this that the city will suffer; so Sidgwick, who compares the use of πολιορκεῖν. I do not think, despite Wilamowitz 1 p. 248 n. 1, that any further explanation is needed or that the Suda's reference to a Libyan feast called 'Αστυδρομία is of any relevance.

221f. οἰράτησιν ἄπτομένων One must sympathise with attempts to banish the surreal vision of an army being set on fire.
Common sense, however, will show that if the text is right ἁπτεῖν would inevitably be taken by an audience as the Theban army and ἀπτέμενον πυρί, whatever meanings ἁπτεῖν by itself may bear, would inevitably be taken as "being set on fire" (ἁπτεσθαί in this sense is never middle). Wilamowitz may be right to accept στράτον τυφόμενον, even though τυφόμενον looks like nothing more than a gloss (Dawe 1 p. 103); or one might consider χερὶ δαίω (cf. E. H.F. 915), even though the Homeric phrase πυρὶ δαίω looks so authentic. Otherwise I can only suppose that στράτευμι means the city with the army inside it.

222. πυρὶ δαίω. The Homeric formula is given added point, as Tucker notes, by the fact that the fire here is the enemy's.

224f. Genealogies of personifications are a natural way of expressing relations between abstract terms at a time when more abstract ways do not exist. Wimington-Ingram's idea (1 p. 43 n. 17) of an allusion to the family of Eteocles is quite fanciful.

225. μὴν. Enjambement forcefully juxtaposes the word with γυνὴ to highlight the two relationships.

γυνὴ σωτηρος. Often objected to, but I see little likelihood of corruption. Eteocles has related Obedience to Welfare by the usual method of making them mother and daughter; he now wishes to relate Obedience to Safety in different terms, so why not make them wife and husband? Clearly σωτηρ here must mean "safety" and not Zeus Soter as the school thinks,
though Zeus Soter may have influenced A.'s expression; and as
Wilamowitz says, "patet, curr masculinum praeoptaverit." The
text is confirmed by the peculiar passage mentioned by Rose,
Mnaseas ap. Photius s.v. Πραξιδήκη: Εὐθήρος καὶ τῆς
ἀδελφῆς Πραξιδήκης γενέσθαι Κτήσιον ύιὸν...

226ff. But the god can save even when things seem desperate to
rational calculation, as πειθαρχία cannot; he is therefore
more powerful, and we should rely on him. Once more the chorus's
attitude is wholly emotional.

226. έστι. Normally so punctuated since Hermann, but the effect is
abrupt, and one would rather have expected ἔχει. I should
prefer to write έστι θεῶι without the stop (not έστι
θεόῖς, as recommended by Dawe 1 p. 156, because of the singular
verb in 229).

228f. The "cloud" metaphor vividly conveys the sensation of
δυσχανία from the point of view of the individual
sufferer, and thus suggests, by fifth-century standards, a
distinctly personal and subjective kind of faith. The image
is appropriate also in that the gods dwell in the sky and
obviously have power over clouds; and by forming part of a
complex of sea, storm and weather imagery it relates the
generalisation to the present situation.

229. δόθων Grammar and word-order contribute effectively to the
sense as all the troubles that have been piled on from ἁμαρτοῖσι
to νεφελῶν are suddenly relieved in the one word. ὅρθοῦν in the present sense is common in both verse and prose, so a dead metaphor.

On the responsion see Dale I p. 168f. She is no doubt right that it is influenced by the dochmiac context.

230ff. Eteocles goes off on a new tack: the disciplined ritual of men is the right way to approach the gods, not the spontaneous emotional outbursts of women. It is very clear here that his quarrel is not with the gods but purely with the women and their behaviour.

Since the women have not been sacrificing, the expression is somewhat compressed and means in effect "It is for men to concern themselves with the gods, and they will do so by sacrificing ..."

231. πειρωμένων. Murray and others accept πειρωμένων, which makes sense (with πολεμών, of course – absolute as in Homer) but would not easily be corrupted into the dative.

233ff. The chorus merely reiterate what Eteocles himself has said (216f.), that the defences are dependent on the gods. The point perhaps is to remind Eteocles that at 216f. he was not saying that the chorus must not pray at all, as he has just done at 232.

233f. δόξα θεῶν belongs to both clauses, since the antithesis between gods and wall that Verrall and Dawson see here will not make sense. Weil's δυσμενέων τε would therefore be an improvement.

235. Challenging Eteocles to object, with an allusion, as commentators note, to the Homeric οὐ νέμεσις.
236ff. Eteocles cannot quarrel with the chorus's latest words, so he has to state more specifically what his objection is.

236. γένος Of course not derogatory, as Verrall, Dawson and Podlecki (p. 291) think; see Kirkwood p. 18 n. 12.

237. κακοσπλάγχνους The σπλάγχνα being the seat of courage. Such a resounding compound is appropriate to discussion of courage or its opposite.

238. ἀγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ Such a common form of expression that the tautology would certainly pass unnoticed; see Tucker's parallels.

239ff. It is fear that drives the chorus to worship the gods, so they cannot do so calmly. The argument thus comes full circle, and mention of noises outside gives the cue for the stichomythis.

239. On the text I can see nothing to add to Stinton's very convincing note (p. 48f.).

240. ταρβοσύνω φόβῳ The tautology simply emphasizes the idea of "fear"; Tucker's note is good.

241. τίμιον ξύνος ξύνος is so often used of seats of the gods that even with the word "gods" omitted τίμιον ξύνος can mean "place where the gods are worshipped".

ξύσυμα In this context the word will bear connotations of "supplication" as well as "arrival".
Dramatic irony, for the audience must have a shrewd idea whose death will be reported to the chorus.

Presumably "snatch at the news," as commentators explain. The chorus in their fear and pessimism are being sarcastically accused of a bloodthirsty obsession with bad news.

Eteocles means simply "This is what happens in war, and it need not mean that we are losing;" but the effect of his words is much more sinister and contributes to the characterization of war and Ares in the early part of the play.

The image exploits the shared symbolic language of Greek religion. The demon Ares feeds on blood; war, of which Ares is a symbol, is dependent for its existence on slaughter. (φόνω is "neutral terminology," the meanings "blood" and "slaughter" being fused, as often.) Tucker is right to compare the Homeric formula αἵματος ἄοι "Ἀρηα" and to connect the idea with the belief that blood poured on the ground at sacrifices was food for the gods (his further elaborations are fanciful).

Referring back to the idea contained in Θυνήσκοντας ἡ τετρωμένους and forward to φόνω βροτῶν in which this idea is made more explicit; entirely natural, despite Dawe 1 p. 142.

Properly used of animals, as Groeneboom points out; in such a context Ares is more theriomorphic than anthropomorphic. The juxtaposition with φόνω of a word implying life-giving nourishment gives a horrific effect; compare the language used of the Furies at Eum. 265f. and elsewhere.
245ff. The change of form to stichomythia is motivated by the fact that the chorus start hearing noises once more; this gives a new urgency to Eteocles' attempts to silence them and makes a more rapid kind of interchange appropriate. Down to 255 all the chorus-leader's lines are prompted purely by her fear of the noise and she completely ignores Eteocles; all his lines are attempts to cap hers, sometimes echoing her words (246, 254, 246). Then at 257 she begins to take notice and we have a genuine two-sided dialogue leading up to her submission at 263 (see Jens 1 p. 7f.).

245. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ' Very strong emphasis on the crucial fact of "hearing"; see on 203f. above.

φρονομάτων Once more the terror of the attack is conveyed through the horses' breath, though I suppose in reality other sounds would be louder. φρόνομα comes to mean "arrogance" in later Greek, and this may tell us something about its tone even when it bears the original sense of "snorting".

247. στένει The city reverberates with the noise outside, and the chorus-leader imagines this as a groan of fear and suffering, projecting her own emotions onto the city. Once more personification is coupled with mention of the earth on which the city rests; see on 83f. above.

μικροσμένων I do not know why editors persist in reading this. Groeneboom compares 274, Fum. 772, but in both places the noun understood is a vague "things in general", as usual, and
nothing as specific as "the enemy". When A. wrote ΚΥΚΛΟΜΕΝΟΝ
he certainly meant κυκλούμενον ; passive as at Thuc. VII. 81. 4.

248. οὐκοῦν More probably οὐκοῦν ; see on 217 above.
248, 250 and 252 then form a climactic series of negative questions
in a tone of increasing exasperation.

Ευλεύειν Eteocles is still talking in intellectual terms
(cf. 200, 223).

249. ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ if right, but asyndeton would be much
more forceful; so Brunck and cod. Nd.

250. "Wilt thou not in silence tell naught ..." (Sidgwick); very
idiomatic and compressed.

251. Εὐντέλεω Best explained as an etymological "abusio" of the
technical term (as Εὐντελής may be at Ag. 532), intended to
mean simply "those who share authority" with a suggestion of the
divine epithet τέλειος.

Προδώμις πυργώματα Alliteration underlines the urgency
of the prayer.

252. Another forcefully compressed and idiomatic expression.
The grammatical fusion of the curse with the command to be silent
gives the whole line the tone of a curse.

253. Πολίται The gods are fellow-citizens (see on 176 above)
and so must preserve the chorus-leader from the antithesis of
citizenship, slavery.
254. δὲ ἢ It is clearly desirable that σὲ should be inserted somewhere in the line. καὶ καὶ σὲ καὶ πόλιν, though recommended by Dawe (1 p. 168), is inelegant and puts the three objects in the wrong order, so Blomfield's conjecture seems probable; see Stinton p. 49. E. Ph. 437 is no doubt a reminiscence of the line, and points, I think, to Blomfield's text.

255. The audience will no doubt think of Capaneus and realise that the prayer will be answered. The address to Zeus comes as the climax of the three prayers.

256. The re-use of the address to Zeus, converting serious prayer into sardonic exclamation, coupled with assonance of line endings, makes a very neat, almost humorous retort; see Groeneboom. ἀνέσασε "Bestowed upon us." The epic dignity of the word and the fact that it is normally used of conferring benefits contribute to the sarcasm of the line.

257. This time the chorus-leader comes back at Eteocles with an equally neat reply, which turns on the two senses of μοιχηρός. She seems at first to be agreeing with Eteocles that women are "worthless," but the rest of the line shows that she really means "wretched" - and in this sense men can be equally μοιχηροί when their city is taken, as it seems Thebes soon will be. The neatness of this is, of course, purely verbal, and there is still no real communication.

258. πολυεστημεῖς Perhaps another double meaning. In the light of what follows the word - a ἀπαξ - must mean "speak
words of ill omen", but it could in itself mean "answer back" (cf. e.g. πάλιν ἔρει at Il. IX. 46); Eteocles is claiming that the word applies in the former sense as it so clearly does in the latter.

This is the only mention by Eteocles in this scene of the danger of ill-omened language, and it clearly does not constitute his major objection to the chorus's behaviour, as some critics seem to think. Of course, the chorus could not deliver lyrics while in contact with the images.

259. The religious objection gets a softer answer from the chorus-leader.

δομάτει I.e. fear makes us say what we do not mean, so it seems to "seize" the tongue and manipulate it against our will. There is no specific metaphorical picture, and Tucker and Groeneboom have no justification for talking of bolting horses.

260. In this context the tone can only be one of exasperated mock-politeness.

μούφον...τέλος "A favour easy to accomplish" a slightly compressed phrase. Eteocles still cannot conceive that the chorus could have real difficulty in controlling their emotions.

261. The chorus-leader innocently accepts the politeness as genuine; any appearance of irony here is due, I think, merely to the redundancy which the exigencies of stichomythia so often produce.

τάχ· The repetition is effective - "Tell me quickly and I shall
learn quickly” — though Page is right to think Meineke’s τότ’
worth considering.

262. In sharp contrast to the tone of 260 Eteocles spells out the
instruction he has been trying to convey in very rude and emphatic
terms.

φίλον γόβει. Vehement alliteration again.

263. The chorus-leader cannot resist the climactic effect of these
last lines; but even as she submits she still thinks in religious,
not practical terms. And although τὸ μόρομον could in
theory be neutral — "whatever is fated" — and is so taken by
Eteocles, there is pretty clearly a pessimistic undertone, as
usual in such expressions. οὐν ἄλλοις can then be seen
as dramatic irony pointing to Eteocles.

264ff. Having extracted a promise of silence, Eteocles is prepared to
allow the chorus a role in the defence. This leads naturally to
his own vow (271ff.) and so to his announcement of more active
military measures (282ff.).

264. ἀροῖμαι. "Choose, prefer," but no doubt with a suggestion,
as Groeneboom says quoting Αγ. 1653, of δέχομαι τῶν οἴωνον;
this will add to the irony of the previous line.

265. ἐκτὸς οὐς ἀγαλμάτων A suppliant position would
suggest fear and despair. Also, as commentators note, the chorus
must return to the middle of the orchestra for the next ode.
266. ξυμαχοῦς. συν- and μετα- compounds are very commonly used in an effort to express divine "overdetermination" (see Fraenkel on Αρ. 811); we know that men fighting a battle, for instance, cannot sit back and leave everything to the gods, but still if they win the gods will have had a hand in their victory. Eteocles is thus telling the chorus to pray for this kind of normal and natural divine aid, and not, as in the Parodos, for miracles and personal intervention. The formula he recommends also avoids any dispiriting reference to defeat.

267. κάμων...οὗ. The antithesis is brought out by the placing of the words at either end of the line.

268. The chorus are to sing a song of victory, just as armies did on going into battle, to provide encouragement and a good omen. Four highly emotive words emphasize the positive attitude that Eteocles commends.

εὖμενη. Implying good will both from men to gods and from gods to men.

269. I.e. the ritual ordained by custom, as opposed to an emotional improvised appeal.

Ελληνικόν. Again there is a slight implication that the enemy are not Greek. Eteocles wishes to encourage the kind of Greek patriotic sentiment that would make defeat unthinkable.

νόμος. Normally used of coinage, but here A. has derived the word directly from νομος.
270. **θάρσος φίλοις balances πολέμιων φόβοιν** with chiasmus — a purely verbal elegance, since the two phrases are not really in antithesis.

λύουσα A dead metaphor (despite Groeneboom).

πολέμιων Presumably right since there can be no question of MS. authority, although πολέμιου might be considered "exquisitius".

271-8. Some scholars (e.g. von Fritz p. 194) use this passage as evidence that Eteocles expects to survive the battle. In fact it is not quite certain that Eteocles is vowing to sacrifice and dedicate spoils himself (see below), but in any case it is not likely that the audience is intended to have any precise idea what Eteocles knows or expects at this stage.

271-3. The gods' connections with city and land are carefully emphasized; it would be heartening for the defenders to think of such gods as these.

271. **χώρα** See on 109 above.

272. I.e. the gods of Thebes in its two vital aspects, as life-giving land and as the πόλις which makes possible the institutions of civilized life.

273. The streams in particular are sources of nourishment and thus attract great reverence and patriotic sentiment; see on 307ff. below.

δόκοι τι’ A neat and deservedly popular correction; note the chiasmus. λέγω will then be the main verb of the sentence;
see below. Tucker and others accept Abresch's ὁδὸν ὀπί, Ἀττίλον, but ἀπολέγειν does not mean "omit".

274. Eteocles continues to concentrate on the prospect of victory. The genitive absolute construction relieves him of the need to choose between "if" and "when".

275-8α. It is unlikely that any restoration of this passage will ever win general acceptance. I shall take refuge in Page's obel and merely note certain lines of approach that seem plausible.

1. Making λέγω the main verb of the sentence enables us to delete 276 with Ritschl; for compelling objections to the line see Wilamowitz 1 p. 107. Murray attempts to retain it reading Bothe's θ' οἴςω, but this yields highly artificial sense.

2. If 277 is genuine we must presumably read θύσειν with Weil and cod. Q; for reasons see Wilamowitz l.c. But I should prefer to delete the line, since θύσειν τροπαία is itself not exactly paralleled, and since, as Regenbogen notes (p. 61), the clothes of the enemy were not normally dedicated as spoils. δουρηπάλης can then be retained with good effect in 278, the λάφυρα being shields, armour and the like. Note that 276 and 277 could well come from the same marginal parallel; bulls are being sacrificed and someone is vowing, in effect, to be victorious - or, no doubt, perish in the attempt - just as at Sept. 42ff.

3. In 275 I do not see how "the citizens" could be understood with σάμασσοντας, as Wilamowitz would like. If the line
is to be retained, then, we shall have either to write something like Weil's \( \alpha i\mu\alpha o\nu \tau \delta \) ', which does not seem very natural, or to mark a lacuna before the line as Groenboom suggests and accept Paley's \( \sigma \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon i\nu \) in 275\(^{a}\). It might seem simpler to delete 275 as well as 276-7, as Dindorf and Sidgwick do; the trouble with this is that the mere dedication of spoils, which was normal practice in any case, makes a weak conclusion to the preamble in 271-4.

4. Hermann, with several followers, ingeniously condenses 278 and 278\(^{a}\) into one line; Murray finds a new way of doing this; but against this approach see Regenbogen p. 58ff. It is perhaps better to suppose that \( \pi o\lambda \epsilon \mu \iota \omega \nu \delta \ ' \varepsilon \theta \varepsilon \mu \alpha \tau \alpha \) in 278\(^{a}\) has replaced a half-line by \( \Lambda \), which would contain a second verb parallel to \( \sigma \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon \omega \) (or \( \sigma \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon i\nu \)) and governing \( \pi \rho \delta \ \nu \alpha \nu \nu \) (\( \tau \epsilon \)). But here all is guesswork.

279. \( \epsilon \nu \varepsilon \mu \chi \omega \) Both "vow" and "pray", for a vow to reward the gods in the event of victory amounts to a prayer that victory should be granted. \( \phi i\lambda o\sigma t\omega \nu \alpha \) The one-word oxymoron mocks the chorus's irrationality.

280. \( \mu \alpha t\alpha o\nu \) Both "useless" and "foolish, reckless".
\( \mu \alpha \gamma r \iota o\nu \) Certainly not a live metaphor, whether from wild animals or from rustics; the English "wild" corresponds closely.
\( \pi o\lambda \phi \gamma \mu \alpha \sigma i\nu \) Evidently an undignified word ridiculing the chorus's earlier behaviour. Cameron (l p. 81ff.) may be right to feel here a paradoxical echo of the snorting of the enemy horses, though \( \pi o\lambda \phi \gamma \mu \alpha \) itself is not used of this.

281. A very natural idea to any Greek, even though fatalism would logically be inconsistent with instructions to pray for victory.
The strong echo of 263 will plant the idea of an inexorable fate very firmly in the minds of the audience; they will have occasion to remember it later.

282ff. And the innocent way in which Eteocles juxtaposes his own plans with the mention of fate makes for very chilling dramatic irony.

The lines motivate Eteocles' departure, and it is certainly true that the audience will for the moment assume that he is making his dispositions offstage during the Stasimon; see Wolff p. 91f., Erbse p. 2ff.

282. ἐφ γ' Presumably right, despite Denniston l p. 155; see Fraenkel on Ἀγ. 1656.

ἐμοὶ σὺν Ἐπιόμων A. could, if he had wished, have made it clear in the Prologue that Eteocles would be among the defenders, but he prefers to bring the catastrophe nearer by gradual stages. There is no hint that the decision to fight in person is intended to reassure the chorus as Kitto (l p. 49) and others think, and as Cameron says (l p. 35) it is not clear why it should have any such effect. But Kitto is right that the casual and unemphatic way in which the announcement is made is itself very effective; nothing could be more natural and obvious than for the King to be one of the defenders, and it is through such natural and obvious decisions that τὸ μόρσιμον comes to pass. (Against the view of Rosenmeyer that Eteocles is deserting his post at the helm see Kirkwood p. 19 n. 15.)
"The expression need not imply that he will be seventh in order, i.e. at the seventh gate, though it was doubtless chosen to suggest it" (Winnington-Ingram 2).

283. ἄντηρετας According to the Et. Mag. ἄντηρεταῖν means "to row on the opposite side of the ship" to someone else, and this could be relevant here in that the Theban champions must match the Argive ones in numbers and strength. More probably, however, A. has coined the word ἄντηρετης for use in this play, intending ἄντε- to imply "opponent" (perhaps with a suggestion of ἄντηρης ) and the "rowing" element simply to provide a link with the other maritime imagery; Thebes will have "a crew of champions" (Dawson).

τὸν μέγαν τρόπον The words are grammatical (cf. e.g. 465) and one can see what they must mean; the defenders will oppose the enemy in the Homeric fashion of heroic single combat, and the style of the Shield Scene is thus foreshadowed. The difficulty lies in finding parallels to show that the words could in fact be used in this way; but obelizing them seems an excessive measure.

284. ἐπιταξιέως Probably right, the two elements having completely separate force; see Dawe 1 p. 108.

285f. The lines provide an atmosphere of urgency and a link between Eteocles’ practical measures and his dispute with the chorus.

285. ἄγγελον Preferred by Wilamowitz and others because "fast messengers and swift–rushing words" would make an ill-assorted
pair and the misplaced ΤΕ would be a rarity. In this case Eteocles' words will foreshadow the reentry of the Scout (Wolff, Erbse II. cc.). But σπερχυνός ΤΕ καὶ ταχυρρόθους λόγους would most naturally be rumours, and I am doubtful if a messenger's words could be so described unless the messenger was expected to jabber at high speed; Tucker and Rose may then be right to read ἄγγελους and interpret "before hasty and swift-rushing words come as messengers", though the word-order would certainly be confusing.

286. Φλέγενυ Common in tropical senses, but still a vigorous word.

The First Stasimon.

Eteocles' instructions in the preceding speech form the point of departure for this ode (μέλει ...), but the chorus at once make it clear that these instructions will not be obeyed. The reason for this is not that A. wished to depict the chorus as persistently defiant, but rather that their attitudes must remain in antithesis to those of Eteocles and the kind of bold confidence that he has recommended must never become associated with them in the minds of the audience.

Still, as Bernadete points out (1), the Stasimon differs in several important respects from the Parodos. The metre is calmer, with only a few dochmiacs appearing in the third strophic pair; the fear which the chorus feel, instead of being shouted aloud as at 78, is now "near the heart," implying a more reflective
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mood; the gods are not addressed by name; and although the attack going on outside is again mentioned (295ff.), the chorus do not claim that they can actually hear it, and they spend most of the ode describing a sack which takes place only in their imagination. All this adds up to a significant difference of convention. The chorus of the previous ode, actively responding to noises offstage and praying to images visible in the orchestra, were very clearly taking part in the action; now they have moved a little way outside the action to take up the role of passive spectators and commentators. And it is because the audience will recognize and accept this convention that, even though the ode is hardly less desperate and pessimistic in tone than the Parodos, they will not expect it to have any causal influence on the plot and will not wonder whether the morale of the Theban army is again being affected.

The Parodos and First Stasimon can, however, be seen as companion pieces in that the former has presented us with the picture of a city under siege and apparently about to be taken, while the latter from the second strophe on presents, again in the present tense, the picture of a city being sacked and looted. The difference in convention and formal justification need not prevent us from feeling that the two odes represent successive chapters in the same story and that taken together they form, so to speak, an alternative action running in counterpoint to the real action of the play. A, it seems, is concerned to depict War in more than one aspect; defeat and suffering, which figure so largely in the women's
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imagination, are as much a part of it as strategy, individual prowess and victory. Thebes may happen to be victorious on this occasion, but victory implies the possibility of defeat, and by depicting such defeat as a background to the play as a whole A. sets the rest in high relief.

287-320. A straightforward sequence of thought: fear (287-294), the object of fear (295-300), prayers and appeals to the gods (301-320).

287. ἱππότατος. For the importance and significance of fear in A. see de Romilly I. The fear of a future event will always serve to create suspense and expectancy and to concentrate the audience's attention on the event itself. The Septem, however, is unique among A.'s surviving plays in that the event the chorus fear does not in fact take place.

ἰνυνόμελ. Commonly taken as "sleep," but the word can also mean "be drowsy," and, since the heartbeat does not actually stop when one is not afraid, this seems rather more appropriate here. The image makes its effect through a fusion of two ideas: on the one hand fear will keep a personified heart wide awake because it keeps people wide awake (Ag. 14), and on the other we associate wakefulness, as well as fear, with the rapid beating of our own hearts.

288. χείτονες. Not personifying, since the word is regularly used adjectivally of things as well as people, but mapping out the body—or the mind—in very concrete terms.

For the idea, especially common in A., that emotions arise near the heart see de Romilly I p. 43f. and Fraenkel on Ag. 179.
I imagine that the idea derives not from physiological theories, as Fraenkel suggests, but from a subjective feeling that the consciousness is affected by emotional forces that arise spontaneously outside it; or rather, one is aware of emotions as pressing from outside upon something, and that something is taken to be the heart because of the heart’s known connection with emotion (we are more conscious of its beating in times of stress).

μορφής. The variatio marks a slight discrepancy in the way the heart is being thought of — here as more or less the seat of consciousness, in 287 as an organ of which one is conscious.

290. ἔρως τῶν τάρβως

"Kindle flames of fear." The mixture of tenor and vehicle language as usual concentrates a great deal of meaning into a small space. The idea is that the relation of the chorus’s specific worries and forebodings near the heart to the overwhelming dread which, I take it, is felt in the heart (i.e. which fills the consciousness) is like that of sparks to the flames which they kindle; one may think of the way sparks set fire to a neighbouring building. And, of course, the fear itself resembles fire in its irresistible and consuming fierceness. Cf. Ag. 1034 — where, however, ἔρως takes a different construction, the φρίνος being the object which the fire burns.

291. οὐ λέων

I see no reason to think that τάρβως ἐς τινα is any more possible in Greek than "fear towards someone" in English, for Professor Page admits to me that his only parallels for the
construction are in cases of "hatred," "friendship" and the like. Also aphaeresis of εις seems not to occur in tragedy; if μὴ is right at Sept. 208, μὴ αἰς could be taken as crasis.

The MS. text is normally accepted and, awkward though it may seem, there are good parallels. Expressions relating to fear (Dodds on E. Ba. 1288) or lamentation (Page on E. Med. 206) quite often take a direct object as though the simple verb "fear" or "lament" had been used; here compare especially Supp. 565ff.

(Wilamowitz and Mazon punctuate after τάφος, taking τὸν...λέων with what follows, and Smith, p. 61ff., seeks to defend the resulting "fusion of illustrans and illustrandum;" but Solon 13. 17ff. and the other parallels which Smith quotes do not involve such difficult anaocolouthon as we should have to assume here.)

292ff. Doves were proverbially timorous; any animal is especially afraid for its young; and snakes are especially frightening creatures. The outlines of the simile seem to derive from II. II. 308ff., where a snake devours a brood of sparrows and their mother, and the dove and her fear perhaps come from II. XXII. 139ff.; see Sideras p. 221, 245. A. is obtaining great cumulative emotional effect by combining in a single simile themes which would already have appropriate associations for the audience.

The word-order is subtle, as Dawson points out. "Snakes" come first, next to the army which is their tenor equivalent; "children" are horrifically juxtaposed with the snakes; after the verb come two epithets in chiastic order, juxtaposed to emphasize the idea.
of "bed" in both; finally the subject of the verb reveals what the simile is all about and its epithet (linked to the noun by alliteration) shows its relevance to the context of "fear."

Although τέκνον is more commonly used of the young of animals than παιζόντας, we need not doubt—especially with πελευθέρων held back to the end—that the words will at first suggest human children and a human bed, just like παιδόν and λεκέδων at Ἀδ. 50; see Fraenkel ad loc. The effect is to intensify the pathos and horror and to provide a link with the human world of the tenor (though indeed tenor and vehicle do not correspond all that closely, since there is no suggestion that the chorus are afraid for anyone but themselves).

293. ὑπερδοσοίκεν Perhaps rather ὑπερ δέθοικεν (Blaydes); Tucker and Groenboom quote parallels for the compound taking a genitive, but could it at the same time take an accusative? ὄνειρονώτατος Grim meiosis pointing up the horror of the snake's presence in the nest and continuing the "bed" idea from λεχαίων. The conquering enemy would, of course, be ὄνειρονώτατος to the Theban women (363ff.), but if a reference to this is intended here, as Tucker suggests, it is rather deeply buried.

294. πάντρομος Probably suggested by τρήμα, the Homeric epithet of doves, but here having special relevance.

295-300. The insistent rhythm of six pherecrataeans marks the mounting desperation of the chorus, and the rhythmic correspondence of 295-7 with 298-300 underlines the antithesis.
It should not be doubted that τολ μέν are the main body of the Argive army and τολ ήδε the Argive skirmishers; Thebes is threatened in two ways, by weight of numbers and by slingshots. It is merely pedantic to object that πανόημει πανομίλει ought to refer to the whole army. Weil, Wilamowitz and Murray read πολίτωι in 299, but what have the actions of the Theban defence to do with the chorus's fears and desperate appeals to the gods? Müller (p. 264) suggests τοῖς in 298, but where then is the antithesis to τολ μέν?

296. Two near-synonyms for emphasis, which the repeated παν- (continuing the vehement π- alliteration from 294f.) strongly reinforces.

297. ΤΛ γένωμαι: The personal exclamation breaks in very suddenly after an unexpected sense-pause in the middle of a well-defined metrical colon, and serves to heighten the emotional effect of the chorus's account of the enemy advance.

298. ἀβυδόλολον A military technical term; see Groeneboom.

300. From Π. IV. 518. Here as in the Παιδ passage, the "jaggednessˮ makes us feel the cruel effect of the stoning; see Tucker.

301. The asyndeton gives an effect of impulsive spontaneity which a particle would have weakened.

303. Καύμωγενη Echoing Διογενείς (which in Homer is an epithet of kings and nobles), the implication being that the Thebans can
claim noble descent just as, on their own higher level, the gods can.

**βύζος**  "Rescue" is given the same prominence as at 165.

304ff. Once more the gods are addressed in patriotic terms as though they were citizens, as Rose points out. This form of prayer also serves to bring home to the audience the value and sentimental associations of Thebes. Once again there is a strong physical emphasis on the land itself and the nourishment which soil and rivers provide.

304. **πολον...γαλας πέον**  "What soil-of-land," i.e. "the soil of what land;" see the commentators.

305. **ἐχθροῦ**  "I.e. yours as much as ours" (Tucker).

306. **παθύχθου σίαν**  Thebes is both literally a "land with deep soil," and therefore fertile, and in a more imaginative sense a "land that extends deep into the earth" as opposed to simply resting on its surface; the "Thebanness" of the ancient city is inherent in its very soil.

A succession of "earthy" words - γαλας, πέον, -χθονα, σίαν - strongly emphasizes the idea of earth and land.

307ff. For rivers as κουρωνόφοι and sources of nourishment see West on Hes. Th. 347. The survival and prosperity of a Greek city would be heavily dependent on them.

308. **πωμᾶτων**  One expects "rivers," and A. may indeed have been influenced by the similarity of ποταμῶν and πωμᾶτων;
the substitution of "drinks" brings out the aspect of rivers which at present concerns the chorus.

310. The sentence is led back to the gods, with the implication that if the gods have provided Thebes with the best of rivers it would then be inconsistent of them to betray the city.

γαλάσχος An almost punning use of the word. Poseidon cannot deny being γαλάσχος, since it is a Homeric epithet of him; but A. is using the word unhomerically to mean "terrestrial"—i.e. as god of fresh water—and also, I think, to imply that the sender of Dirce must be a "protector of the land;" cf. Supp. 816 and note πολυόχολ just below.

314f. The typically Aeschylean accumulation of compound adjectives throws great weight onto the crucial noun.

314. ἀνδρολέτειραν See Fraenkel on Ag. 1465.

315. καταρρίφοπλον. Hermann's κάκαν, δίφοπλον is usually read, on the ground that καταρρίπτειν is not used of weapons; but if καταβάλλειν can mean "drop," it hardly seems safe to assert that καταρρίπτειν could not mean the same. And ἄνδρολέτειραν seems a rather more natural epithet of ἄταν than of κάκαν.

316f. ἀρουσεία κ.τ.λ. Normally taken as "win glory (for yourselves) in the eyes of these citizens," but I prefer Wecklein's rendering, "win glory for these citizens." κύδος is commonly bestowed by the gods on mortals (Pers. 455 and many times in Homer and Pindar),
but I have not found a case where the word is applied to the gods themselves. Wecklein and Tucker give parallels for the idea of "winning" glory etc. for someone other than oneself (e.g. Od. I 240); and see also Sideras p. 145f. Divine aid does not, of course, diminish the glory of victory in A.'s world.

318-320. The strophic pair is formally rounded off by an echo of the thought of 301-3.

Most recent editors accept Headlam's supplement in 318; but there are difficulties. At 317 ἐσεβότι was an epithet of the gods, corresponding; one would suppose, to the Homeric ἐσεβονος. Here, since to "stand gloriously enthroned," as Rose translates, would surely be beyond even a god's power, the ἐσεβα will have to be "abodes" rather than "thrones;" and even so one would expect "having fair abodes" to be a permanent quality of the gods rather than one they can be asked to display for the occasion (for Tucker's explanation is quite artificial).

Paley, Wilamowitz and Mazon delete τε in 319 and πόλιν καὶ in 302; but 302 looks faultless in itself. It is perhaps best to mark a lacuna after (not before) ἐσεβότι, with Hermann; but I do not see how to fill it. I should like something that would soften the harshness of the causal dative in 320.

320. ἄρχων. Marking the desperate and passionate nature of the prayers, and also the fact that they are uttered by women.

321ff. The second strophe makes a skilful transition which is paralleled in the antistrophe, their common point of departure
being brought out by the verbal echo οἰκτρῶν / κλαυτῶν.
Both strophe and antistrophe start with an account for the gods' benefit of the misery of a sacked city, but then shift from the infinitive mood to the indicative, so that by the time the third strophe is reached the timeless description of a sack in the present indicative is established as natural.

321. ἔγινεν Perhaps felt as especially appropriate for Thebes (cf. S. C.C. 1770), although A. and others use the word in a variety of contexts; see Tucker. The obscurity of its derivation would in itself add to its mysterious and imposing quality.

322. Ἀδαμ προέκαψεν Quoting the Iliadic formula "Ἀτός προεκάψε (I.3 and elsewhere) to bring some of Homer's grim dignity to the passage. In such contexts as this Hades must be thought of as simply a land of death and destruction rather than a land of survival after death.

322f. δομῆς ἄγαν δουλίαν Rather loosely connected to what precedes; the city is destroyed, its people enslaved.

The metaphor from hunting, though not a strong one, gives some sense of the helplessness and humiliation of captivity. We can see here a rudimentary example of the γρῦφος-and-solution structure - "the prey of the spear - that is, the prey of slavery."

323. φαράγι The cliche of "ashes" is enlivened and made evocative by the physical realisation of their texture, and the "crumbliness" is felt as a pathetic contrast with the enduring solidity of the city.
One would expect the dative to be governed by a verb meaning "burn," but A. expresses himself more elliptically by placing it between προύσφαι and περιθομέναν so that we can take it that burning is implied in the action of one or both of these verbs.

324. Θεόθεν This characteristic piece of "overdetermination" has given rise to various needless conjectures and contrived interpretations (Wecklein, for instance, takes the word as "complete with its gods" - Studien p. 55; Wilamowitz and Groeneboom join it with ἀπλωμώς). If a city is captured, the gods must have willed that it should be (just as, for instance, Zeus must be willing the death of Amphiaraus at 614), and since the gods are being addressed it is wholly natural that this should be mentioned.

326ff. Here the focus narrows to the women of the city, in 333 to the unmarried women, and for the rest of the ode A. is careful to concentrate especially on details that would personally concern the chorus.

326. κεχρωμένας, κεχρωμένας, favoured by devotees of M, is quite possible; but see Groeneboom.

327. Ἐ Ἐ A scream breaks from the chorus as they consider their own possible fate.

νέας τε καὶ ρακλῶν In either case the violence is shocking, as Tucker notes.
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327. Τάτα A scream breaks from the chorus as they consider their own possible fate.

In either case the violence is shocking, as Tucker notes.
328. ἔπιπλερον  The one-word simile gives a striking visual picture and also brings out the dehumanizing humiliation of the physical violence. The brutality of the Argive army has several times been conveyed by references to its horses, and now this brutality in action reduces the women to the level of horses also.

329. Ἄστι The finite verb breaks in suddenly and forcefully after the trailing infinitives and participles. The reechoing of the cries of the captives (331) is felt by "pathetic fallacy" as an expression of the pain that the city feels at being emptied.

330. The suggestion in Page's app. crit. should perhaps be adopted, since asyndeton is not very welcome at 341f.

331. λαίδος Normally used of goods and animals (Groeneboom), so another expression of dehumanizing degradation.

δαλμενας "Being ruined."

μετίχερος Possibly μετίχερος (δαλμένα μετίχερος Schütz); λαίδος δαλμενας could then be taken in a more literal sense - cf. 357ff.

332. Rounding off the strophe in preparation for ἱλαυτὸν δ'.

333. ἱλαυτὸν The implication of actual weeping makes this a rather stronger word than ὕλικτρον. Groeneboom finds further echoes of the sound of the strophe in the next few lines, but they are much less striking than ὕλικτρον / ἱλαυτὸν and probably mere coincidence.

ἀρτιτρόμολα ὄμοδρόκως Every possible permutation of
And ως, -τρόπο-, -ὁρός- and -τρόφ-, -οις, -ων and -ως seems to have been tried out here, and other ideas besides. It seems to me evident that ὑμοδρόμος, "plucked unripe," can only apply, whether as adjective or as adverb, to the maidens ravished before marriage, for with νομίμων it would be merely absurd, as Wilamowitz says (app. crit.); see Regenbogen p. 55ff. The metaphor, perhaps a pathetic evocation of the language of marriage hymns (Sappho 105), vividly expresses the waste of possibilities that the rape involves; as fruit plucked unripe will never ripen, so these maidens will never enjoy normal and wholesome marriage. It is also relevant that when fruit is unripe force is needed to pluck it.

For ὠρτιτρόπος- in any relevant sense, whether applied to the νόμῳ (Verrall, Regenbogen l.c.) or to the maidens, the parallels quoted do not seem adequate. Clearly the word could easily be corrupted from ὠρτιτρόφος- (cf. 350); but I rather suspect, with Wilamowitz and Murray, that it arises from a gloss or variant reading on the following word, for an ordinary noun meaning "maidens" is badly needed hereabouts. Murray's ὑμοδρόμοις παρθενικαίς, then, would do very well (unless indeed the accusative is to be preferred for the sake of parallelism with 326).

334. νομίμων Used of any lawful and customary practice and here applied to marriage rites.

335. The choice seems to lie between the text that Verrall and Page read and that of the MSS. (with δδόν ). The former seems slightly
the easier, but I cannot see that the latter is as difficult as commentators make out. ἀμείβειν and διαμείβειν take a variety of constructions, and if at E. I.T. 396f. Ἀπιστηθος γατιν Εὐρώπας διαμείβος can mean "having taken Asia in exchange for Europe," i.e. "having left Europe and entered Asia," why should διαμείβαι δωμάτων στυγερὰν δοῦ not mean "to take a hateful journey in exchange for their homes," i.e. "to leave their homes and enter upon a hateful journey"? With either text there is an implicit contrast with marriage, at which the bride leaves her father's home for her husband's.

336ff. The generalisations are another means of making the transition to indicatives.

336. Ἡ Several editors (Blomfield, Neil, Sidgwick, Italie) have realised that the solitary Ἡ cannot be paralleled. Page's Ἡ is good; for Ἡ...γὰρ see Denniston l p. 284. τὸν φθῖμενον Probably with specific reference to the man who has died in the battle. πρωλέω Almost defiant in tone; the fighting men would normally be supposed to suffer most.

339. πρόσεεμ Πicked up from 337.

340f. The highly compressed grammar throws great weight onto the powerful juxtaposed verbs.

340. ὁ Presumably for γὰρ. One might have expected asyndeton.
341. οἱ ἡμῶν. The generalisation πυρρόρει is brought home through the single evocative detail.

342. ἡμῶν. This literal "defilement" gives rise by association of ideas to the figurative "pollution" of piety in 344.

343f. The sudden shift onto the divine or demonic plane, and in particular the placing of the crucial word Ἀρης, provide a very powerful close to the antistrophe.

343. ἡμῶν ἐνέσβη. The MS. text gives a characteristic accumulation of epithets (cf. e.g. 314f.), and the dative with ἐπίνυσι can easily be understood from the context. Nor can there be much objection to calling Ares "berserk," since gods often possess the character they inspire in men (Aphrodite is lustful, Athena a warrior, and so on); one can see the rage of an enraged god in that of the conquerors or in the destruction they cause. Page's conjecture is possible but not necessary, and rather weakens the effect; also the apparent reminiscence of these lines at S. Ant. 135f. goes against it.

ἐπίνυσι. Commonly used to mean "excite, inspire," but in view of 63 and 115 we are probably justified in thinking once more of the actual breath of the god.

344. μαίνεται ἐνεβελεύ. Ares is given a new function to bring out one more aspect of War; it incites men to atrocities unthinkable in peacetime. Two words of strongly contrasting emotional associations are forcefully juxtaposed. μαίνεται probably
coheres with the "breath" idea so that the corrupting influence of Ares or War is implicitly compared to an unclean breath; cf. Tucker.

345ff. The succession of short sentences linked by δέ gives an effect of breathless agitation.

345. θορμοργαῖ. Evidently a bold use of an expressively onomatopoetic word - something like "gurglings" - normally avoided by serious writers and considered funny by comic ones (I suppose that is what the schol. means by κεκωμωθήτω δέ ἡ λέξις).

The first three periods of the strophe begin with feminine plurals - θορμοργαῖ, βλαχαῖ, ἄραγαῖ - which gain prominence by echoing one another. The various noises and the plunderings are the most noticeable features of the captured town.

ποτὶ. The following πηρ(τ)όλιν must certainly be omitted; but what then can be made of ποτὶ? We cannot understand ἀστυ, for that could only imply "motion towards," and I cannot see (despite e.g. Sidgwick) how any kind of "towered net" can be approaching the city, even if ellipse of a verb of motion were possible. (Nor can I see that Kamerbeek's talk of road-blocks - p. 78f. - is any help.) We might at a pinch understand ἀστεῖ, "hard by the city," with reference to a besieging wall, but the expression is still far from natural. In the end Wilamowitz's περὶ seems irresistible despite the oddity of the corruption; no doubt it was influenced by the gloss πόλιν. The reference then, as Groeneboom says, is to the city's own walls, which now act as a trap.
345f. ὀρχώνα πυργῶτις
The citizens are again like trapped
animals (see on 322 above), the metaphor being from a vertical
hunting net. The vehicle is qualified by a tenor adjective
as so often, πυργῶτις further implying that this is a net
that one cannot hope to break through or jump over; and this
implication of disastrous strength is underlined by the heavy
molossus standing out from the surrounding dochmiacs.

346. πρὸς ἄνδρας δὲ ἀνήρ
The Homeric expression (II. IV.
472 etc.) brings out the anonymity but also the common humanity
of the various pairs of killer and victim.

( ) δορὶ
It is hard to tell whether something has dropped
out or whether we should read δορεὶ here and θαλαμοπόλων
in the antistrophe with Wilamowitz and others. The latter solution
gives us the dochmiac that we should expect here, but response
is very loose; and see Fraenkel on Ag. 1176.

καὶ νεταῖ Presumably right, though the καὶ νεταῖ of Mκ
can be considered if an instrumental dative does not precede (for
MS. distribution counts for little in a clear case of uncial
misreading). δορεὶ καὶ νεταῖ (Groeneboom, Italie and
others) cannot be defended by reference to A.P. VII. 493. 2,
where δορατῷ is obviously governed by ὑπὸ.

348. ἐλαχαὶ Properly, or at least most commonly, used of sheep
and goats; the implied analogy vividly conveys the actual sound.

αἰματόσωσαι The effect can be likened to an internal
accusative; the babies βλάχωνταλ αἷμα. Whether the babies are themselves wounded or are merely crying at the sight of blood we do not know; the observer is simply aware of the cries, and "blood" is what they convey. I do not think this is exactly a transferred epithet, the babies themselves being bloody, and I should compare E. Tr. 555f., El. 752 rather than S. Ph. 694.

349. ἐπιμαστιδίων A very specific and emotive word is chosen to heighten the horrific effect of αἷματοςσαλατ.

350. ἀρτιτρεφεῖς The commentators point out that an epithet belonging to a noun in the genitive is quite often transferred into the case of the noun on which the genitive depends. In such cases, however, it is normally possible to see the two nouns as coalescing into a single notion (Jebb on S. Ant. 794); and it is one thing for νεῖκος-ἀνδρῶν to be treated in this way, quite another for βλαχαλ-αἷματοςσαλατ-τῶν-ἐπιμαστιδίων, particularly in view of the article. Indeed the word-order would naturally imply that ἀρτιτρεφεῖς was predicative, and not an epithet at all. It is merely evasion and special pleading to talk of "dabbing the various colours in among the substantives" (Headlam 2 p. 435) or of syntactical confusion reflecting the confusion of the scene described (Stanford 1 p. 135, cf. Rosenmeyer p. 57). The text seems to me impossible.

Blaydes's ἀρτιτρεφῶν would be easy enough but rather tame. I should prefer to write ἀρτιτρεφεῖς (ὁδὲ) accepting the ὁδιοίσι of most MSS. in 362 (for a "hemiepes
pendent," in Miss Dale's terms, seems a very suitable clausula after the "hemiepes blunt" of 349/361). This gives us an antithesis between the "bleating" of the unweaned babies and the "roars" of the newly-weened (cf. Hoernle p. 53 - but his own idea of an antithesis with asyndeton will hardly do).

\[ \beta\iota\mu\nu\tau\nu\tau\nu \] The sentence is ringed by two "noise" words, linked and given greater prominence by alliteration. The emphatic pleonasm of \[ \beta\lambda\chi\alpha\lambda \ldots \beta\iota\mu\nu\tau\nu\tau\nu \] can hardly be objected to in itself in view of Pers. 388f.

351. Certainly to be taken as "And plunderings are sisters of runnings-through-the-city;" and Groeneboom is probably right that the "runnings" are those of the terrified citizens (cf. 191). The words then form a transition from the citizens - the subject of what precedes - to the plunderers - the subject of what follows.

The very abrupt personifying expression is probably not too strange for A., and it serves to give a kind of demonic life to the chaotic forces at work. Page's suggestion is little help and gives an odd mixture of singular and plural. (If any emendation is needed, perhaps \[ \epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\gamma\varepsilon \] with Paley's \[ \delta\iota\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\alpha \] - "And plunderers are brothers in their runnings-through-the-city," a statement amplified in what follows.)

352ff. The simplicity of language, syntax and metre, with naive word-repetitions and jingling alliteration, underlines the bitterly ironic jollity and innocence of this picture of cheerful comradeship among the plunderers.
The irony continues in the gentle and euphemistic meiosis by which the purpose of the partnership is revealed; we are left to work out that this must mean that each plunderer wants to grab the most.

λελιμένος The plural is commonly accepted, but the construction ad sensum seems very harsh. -μένου gives a smoother and more coherent sentence than -μένος, but poor sense; a plunderer might want a partner as greedy as himself, but hardly more greedy.

Inviting us to work out the terrible implications for the victims of the euphemistic riddling language that precedes.

λόγος could perhaps be defended - "what tale" (Sidgwick) - but Stinton (p. 49f.) is no doubt right that schol. M points to another and a better reading. Following his lead we can obtain exact responson with τίς δ'...γός πάρα; and for the corruption of γός to λόγος Mrs. Easterling refers me to S. Ph. 1401. (One would expect responson between bacchius and molossus to be possible, but it seems rare; see Dale 1 p. 100.)

The question in 356 is partly answered by this picture of wanton wastage, in implicit contrast to the ordered and productive labour of peacetime.

παντόθανός Commonly used to mean "of all kinds" and best so taken here, despite Groenewoorn.

One might just swallow ἄλγυνετ without an object and a seemingly redundant κύρησας (like τυχόν), but a
πωκρόν ὑμῷ: here is an impossibility, for πισκός always means "causing distress" of some kind, never anything like "sad." The correction of Hoernle (p. 50f.) and Page solves all the difficulties. The "stewards" are now the looters, πωκρὼν having its very common function of marking an ironic expression. For the corruption cf. Cho. 126, where ὀμμάτων is usually read for ὄμματων, and note that schol. M may have read μυρῆσαντα.

ἀλγάνει. Again the weight of the isolated molossus underlines the sense; so too at 368.

Θαλάμηπολοι. Normally the word is feminine and means a lady's bedchamber-attendant; A. has made it masculine and given it a sense "steward of a storeroom" corresponding to another meaning of Θάλαμος.

360. πολλὰ. Linked by alliteration to παντοδαπὸς so as to bring out the parallelism.

361. γας ὀδος. Once more the earth provides for the city and the enemy's actions are directed against it.

361f: οὐτωδανοῖς ἐν βοῆσας. "In useless streams" (most commentators) or "on surging crowds of worthless men" (schol., L.S.J., Cameron 1 p. 64, etc.)? The former rendering might seem more natural, especially after ἀμαιδόφυρτος, but οὐτωδανοῖς elsewhere is always used of people, and βοῆσα can be "breaking waves" - surely an inappropriate metaphor for spilt produce - but never "streams." Probably, then, it is only 357-9 that describe
food spilt and wasted, and here we have an antithesis, food carried off indiscriminately to feed men who have done nothing to earn it. Ἁθλύως continues the nautical imagery, so that the same waves that threatened the city (64, 144) are now imagined to have broken into it; the word also has appropriate connotations of tumult and confusion.

363-8. In 361f. most editors accept νέατι and Trilinius's τάξιμον'. To this there are many objections. (1) the word-order of καινοπημονεῖς νέατι is strange. (2) If we place a stop after νέατι (so Wilamowitz) the reference seems limited to young slaves of the Thebans (see Rose) instead of newly enslaved free-born Thetan girls, which is what we surely want (see Rode p. 76 n. 1); while if there is no stop the anacolouthon is very awkward. (3) The accumulated genitives in 365f., whether rendered "of a man lucky after the fashion of a foeman victorious" (Rose) or (with Wilamowitz's ὰς) "if the foe like a man favoured by fortune should prevail" (Fraenkel on Ἀγ. 336), make intolerably ugly Greek. (4) We are forced to take τέλος in apposition to εὐνὸν; and for the difficulties to which that leads see below.

I thus accept the view of Butler, Sidgwick and Page that νέατι ταξιμονεῖς is a gloss on καινοπημονεῖς. A verb governing εὐνὸν will then have dropped out, and ὰς can be taken as governing ἔστι. But our troubles are not yet over. (1) εὐνυχοῦντος by itself seems a strange epithet; see Hermann. (2) ὰς does not seem to be the right
conjunction, however τέλος is to be taken (unless ὡς with indicative can be consecutive? — see Broadhead on Pers. 726-730); Butler's αἷς would be possible but not brilliant. 

(3) δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου will now have to be genitive absolute; for parallels to the ellipse of ὀντος see Jebb on S. O.T. 966; but if we disregard those involving ὑψηγήτ— (see Dawe 5 p. 249) we are left with only ο.ο. 83.

And we must now consider whether the νύκτερον τέλος is rape, as is usually supposed, or death, as L.S.J., Rode l.c., and some older commentators take it. The former version involves twisting ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον to mean "assisting, i.e. increasing, their woes," and, whatever allowance we may make for ironical ambiguity, this seems quite unnatural when one considers how a genitive is normally used with ἐπιτάρροθος, ἐπίκουρος and the like. How, indeed, are the more cynical members of the audience to be prevented from taking the Greek in its most natural sense, "they can hope for a nocturnal rite to alleviate their troubles"? Further, in this version the ὡς clause does nothing but weakly repeat what has already been stated. Taking the νύκτερον τέλος as death, on the other hand, gives a very strong and sombre close to the ode, and we must, I think, adopt a text that will allow us to do this.

The upshot of all this is that I think we should accept Blomfield's neglected transposition of 365 to follow 366. This at last sorts out the genitives in 365f., and it allows us to take ὡς as exclamatory, or, better, to write ὡς τ', as Blomfield
himself does (and the hiatus is at any rate made no worse). The sentence can now be literally translated: "And young slave-girls new to sorrow <must endure> the captive bed of a fortunate conquering foeman; so that their hope is for a nighted end to come, their helper in their most lamentable griefs."

The Rede penetration.

The tone of the play suddenly changes. From the notably naturalistic world of the Stasimon we move to a world much closer to that of myth and epic, one where battles are fought between individual champions, heroic or monstrosely evil, and where ordinary soldiery and the sufferings of civilians can be largely forgotten. For A. this is also, no doubt, a world of higher moral significance and poetic truth; when once the naturalism of the early part of the play has appealed to the audience's experience and engaged their personal emotions, it is on this higher level that the more universal truths, ὅλα ἐν γένοις, must be expressed. And in moving from one level to the other A. has been prepared casually to sacrifice any consistency of time-scale; for in the Parodos, and indeed as recently as 295-300, we were given to believe that an attack was already in progress, whereas now it appears that the crucial battle has yet to take place (Dawe 3 p. 33).

For most of this long central scene there is nothing that a modern audience would recognize as action. Brief choral dances provide some relief for the eye, but there is no reason to think that Eteocles or the Scout ever moves a muscle until the Scout's
exit at 652. And their sequence of paired speeches is the longest piece of strict formal patterning in extant Greek tragedy. (This is not to say, of course, that we need consider the old idea of Ritschl that the speeches in each pair were originally of equal length; despite Conradt's revival of the theory, the points made by Wilamowitz (1 p. 74f.) hold good.)

The scene has, however, a dramatic force of its own, to which the formal structure itself contributes. This, as has often been remarked (e.g. Howald p. 70f., Owen p. 47f.), is A.'s way of showing the battle being fought and won on stage, for when Eteocles, by a characteristically Aeschylean combination of the magic of omen and interpretation with the morality of hybris and punishment, manages to turn the attackers' boasts and blazons against them, he is making the victory of his own champions inevitable and the actual battle a foregone conclusion. Like Cassandra's vision of the death of Agamemnon the Redepeare present the catastrophe of the play to the audience before it happens, giving a kind of dramatic tension which is peculiar to A. and which can be contrasted (see de Romilly 2) with the retrospective pathos of the Euripidean messenger speech.

At the same time we have the added excitement and irony of the gradual progress towards the fatal duel between Eteocles and Polynices. Eteocles has declared that he will be among the Theban defenders (282) and it must be obvious enough to the audience that Polynices will be among the attackers. Thus each time another attacker is described and safely disposed of (and the Scout numbers
exit at 552. And their sequence of paired speeches is the longest piece of strict formal patterning in extant Greek tragedy. (This is not to say, of course, that we need consider the old idea of Ritschl that the speeches in each pair were originally of equal length; despite Conräd's revival of the theory, the points made by Wilmowitz (1 p. 74f.) hold good.)

The scene has, however, a dramatic force of its own, to which the formal structure itself contributes. This, as has often been remarked (e.g. Howald p. 70f.; Owen p. 47f.), is A.'s way of showing the battle being fought and won on stage, for when Eteocles, by a characteristically Aeschylean combination of the magic of omen and interpretation with the morality of hybris and punishment, manages to turn the attackers' boasts and blazons against them, he is making the victory of his own champions inevitable and the actual battle a foregone conclusion. Like Cassandra's vision of the death of Agamemnon the Redepeare present the catastrophe of the play to the audience before it happens, giving a kind of dramatic tension which is peculiar to A. and which can be contrasted (see de Romilly 2) with the retrospective pathos of the Euripidean messenger speech.

At the same time we have the added excitement and irony of the gradual progress towards the fatal duel between Eteocles and Polynices. Eteocles has declared that he will be among the Theban defenders (282) and it must be obvious enough to the audience that Polynices will be among the attackers. Thus each time another attacker is described and safely disposed of (and the Scout numbers
each one so that the audience will be able to keep track) the tension will rise (see e.g. Kitto 1 p. 50ff.). Eteocles is advancing unknowingly to his fate (whether or not he is actively bringing that fate on himself in the course of the scene) while acting capably and devotedly in the interests of his city.

So much will be generally agreed, but there has been much dispute about the working of the scene. Firstly, does Eteocles bring the Theban champions, or some of them, with him onto the stage? The idea that he does was accepted by Murray (Translation) and Rose, as well as older editors; but it should be sufficient refutation to note that the chorus describes the arrival of the Scout and Eteocles at 369ff. without any mention of the champions (Wilamowitz 1 p. 75f.; Fraenkel 2 p. 6f.). At 408 τόνδε must be emended, and at 472, if the line is genuine, τόνδε must not be interpreted to mean that Megareus is present.

More serious is the question of when Eteocles assigns the various Theban champions to their posts. The view that he does so in the course of this scene in response to the Scout's reports is on the whole the traditional one. Wilamowitz, however (1 p. 76f.), thought that certain of the assignments had already been made during the First Stasimon (so too Wecklein, Einleitung p. 9f., Groeneboom and others); and more recently Wolff has argued for the view (which in fact goes back at least as far as Weil) that this is true of all the assignments. Wolff's view is accepted by Patzer, Otis, Erbse and Cameron; von Fritz and Kirkwood take up the opposite position, that all the assignments are made during
the scene; Lesky (3), Dawe (3) and Winnington-Ingram (2) take up a compromise position like that of Wilamowitz, but add that A. is deliberately ambiguous in the matter and does not wish the audience to work out the details. Some further discussion is needed of the main points at issue.

It is no doubt true, as I have said, that after 228ff. the audience will suppose that the dispositions are being made offstage during the Stasimon. But von Fritz (p. 201f.) is surely right that they will inevitably revise this opinion when they see Eteocles reenter at 372 having not stationed himself at a gate, and still more when both he and the Scout refer to the stationing of Melanippus in the future tense (395, 408). Erbse (p. 3) rejects this kind of argument on the ground that every word of the dramatist must be significant; of course it must, but this does not mean that every word must be reduced to mechanical consistency with every other word when good reasons for inconsistency can be discerned. And here the reason is clear and simple enough. A choral ode is needed before the long central scene, and during it the active, practical Eteocles cannot be left idly hanging about on stage. He must therefore be sent off to do something, and preferably something relating to the main plot of the play. Since the next step in the plot is to be the assignment of the Theban champions, it would be a very natural sleight of hand to have Eteocles go off at 286 to make the same assignments that he will come onstage to make at 372, and neither A. nor his audience would think twice about it.
But we must also consider the notorious variation of tenses in the Redeptaare. The Scout consistently refers to the allotting of Theban champions in futures and imperatives, while Eteocles uses two futures (408, 621), two perfects (448, 473), an aorist (505) and an ambiguous present (551). Both Wolff (p. 93) and Erbse (p. 4ff.) are conspicuously unsuccessful in their attempts to explain away the two futures; Wolff hopes that they might mean "ich werde gegenüberstellen" and so "er wird gegenüberstehen," and Erbse seems to think that Eteocles is simply echoing parrot-fashion the Scout's mode of expression, but neither can produce parallels. Nor does either scholar begin to account for the Scout's futures and imperatives, for although in logic the Scout might, no doubt, misunderstand the situation or express himself in an ambiguous and confusing way, that does not explain why A. should choose to make him do so. And we must remember that on the theories of Wolff and Erbse it is crucial for the audience's understanding of the play that they should be left in no doubt about the situation.

On the other hand, attempts to explain away the two perfects and the aorist seem no more successful. For the perfects von Fritz (p. 204) relies on a misunderstanding of Eum. 894 (where the sense is, of course, not "I now accept" but "Suppose that I have accepted"); and explanations on the lines of "The man is so obviously appropriate that he is as good as sent already" are clearly special pleading. As for the aorist in 505, von Fritz points out a fact often ignored, that Hyperbius seems to have
been picked not for a particular gate but to face Hippomedon, as if Eteocles already knew that Hippomedon would be among the Seven; and in view of this we might wonder if 447f., ἀνὴρ δ' ἐν' αὐτῷ...τέτακται, and (especially if 472 is spurious) 470-3, τῶιδε φως πέμπε...καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται, should not be similarly interpreted. But even if Polyphontes, Megareus and Hyperbius were chosen to face particular attackers and not to man particular gates, what comfort is there in this for those who believe in Eteocles' freedom of choice throughout the scene?

In strict logic, then, the situation would appear to be that during the Stasimon Eteocles made a preliminary selection of seven defenders (including himself), and, happening to know that Capaneus, Eteocles and Hippomedon would be among the attackers, assigned three of the defenders specifically to them; then before assigning the other four defenders he hurried onstage to hear the Scout's news. But A. never attempts to make this clear, and it would scarcely be possible for an audience to grasp such a complicated situation from the mere fact of the variation in tenses. And why, indeed, should they? What matters is that every line and speech makes sense in itself. At any given moment the audience will think they know what is going on, but, as Lesky (3 p. 8ff.), Dawe (3 p. 33ff.) and Winnington-Ingram (2) argue, they will form no consistent idea of the process as a whole.

And once again, as these scholars show, there are good reasons for the inconsistency. For one thing A. likes to provide
elements of variation cutting across the formal pattern of the scene, as Fraenkel's article (2) stresses. A clue to another purpose is given by the fact which Erbse points out (p. 5), that it is only Eteocles' two future tenses that are in the first person; Eteocles says "I shall send" or "He has been sent," but never "I have sent" or "He will be sent." Thus when the selection of a champion is made on the stage it is because A. wishes to stress the present practical activity of Eteocles and his ability to find effective answers to the Scout's accounts of the enemy. When, on the other hand, the selection appears to have been made in the past, it is referred to in vague terms which should prevent awkward questions from the audience; and A. is then able to imply that, since the choice proves so appropriate in the light of the Scout's new information about the attacker or his shield-device, Fate or a god (specifically mentioned at 508) must have had a hand in the matter. And this helps to counter the impieties of the Seven and to show that the gods are indeed on the Theban side.

It is important to note, however, that these inconsistencies do not seriously affect the so-called "Entschliessungsszene" or mitigate the necessity for Eteocles to fight his brother; for even if Eteocles had made all his other six dispositions freely in the course of the scene, he would still have been left with only one possible opponent for Polynices at 653. And we shall see that at that point A. makes no attempt to hoodwink the audience and to get away with a confusion between free will and determinism without their noticing, for both the complete inevitability of
the duel and Eteocles' passionate assent to it are fully and
unequivocally stressed.

369-374. These lines could all be spoken by the chorus-leader, but it
is more natural to divide them between two speakers as the MSS. and
editors do. The matching speeches in which the two arrivals are
announced then foreshadow the symmetrical structure of the whole
scene. The emphasis on the haste of both the Scout and Eteocles
lends an air of urgency; their apparently leisurely behaviour during
the scene is not to be considered naturalistically.

We need not, of course, ask why the two parties meet at this
spot. Such questions would only occur to an audience if a stronger
sense of locality had been given earlier on.

370. πευθώ A coining on the analogy of πευθω, like μελλώ
(Ag. 1356) and δοκώ (E. El. 747). A. is concerned to avoid
prosaic flatness in these very functional lines.

ζ φιλαί Marking the speaker's excitement.

371. Some of the strangeness of the line no doubt lies in the eye
of the modern reader, and the metaphor in itself is well explained
by Tucker. We may still wonder, however, whether the elaborate
expression is fully justified by the amount of information it gives.

διώκων "Neutral terminology," as the word can be applied either
to a foot (Hum. 403) or to a chariot (Pers. 84).

πομπίλους. As the charioteer or runner διώκει, so in turn
the chariot or foot πέμπει ("conveys" as at e.g. Supp. 136).
χυόας, χυόας, σύριγγες etc. are commonly referred to by Greek poets where we should think of wheels. I doubt if the runner’s joints are in question here; ποδῶν will be a defining genitive, as Tucker takes it, qualifying the metaphor, the point being simply that his feet speed on the Scout as naves — or wheels — speed on a charioteer. There is perhaps some implication that he moves as swiftly and smoothly as a chariot.

372. A grand and formal introduction for the King.

373. ἔλο’ ἀρτικολλος. This reading is approved by Fraenkel (2 p. 6), but it is unlikely to be right, for the only parallel cited for ἐναί with present sense in Attic is Eum. 242, and even there πρόσειμεν may well be future. Fraenkel objects to the ἔλος ἀρτικολλον of most editors on the ground that καὶ μὴν could not be followed by ellipse of the verb, but S. Ant. 526f. seems to provide an exact parallel.

ἔλος ἀρτικολλον, then, is a bold expression for "in the nick of time," formed on the analogy of ἔλος δέον, ἔλος καλὸν (S. O.T. 78) etc., the metaphor being the same as at Cho. 580.

374. σκοπινθ...πόδα The echo of 371 heavily underlines the parallelism and emphasizes the haste of both parties.

ἀθι ἀπαρτίζει Not impossible, I think, despite Dave’s derisive comments (1 p. 135). Haste robes Eteocles of the stately pace that one would expect of a king; as Wilmowitz says (1 p. 61 n. 1), he is not ἀρτίπους. Weil’s εὐ καταρτίζει
strikes me as a pretty far-fetched expression, but ό ματριγίζει, though abandoned by Hermann himself, is certainly tempting; the verb is a very plausible formation beside ματριγίζω, and the litotes is of a highly idiomatic kind (cf. e.g. Supp. 884, 904).

375f. As at 39 the Scout launches abruptly into his story, first stressing his qualification to speak. 376 reminds us how the Argive champions were appointed.

377ff. Tydeus comes first as the most important Argive hero. He and Melanippus had a story of their own, but the desire for symmetry and the fact that the battle has not yet taken place compel A. to omit much of the epic detail and to find new ways of differentiating the individual champions. Thus the main peculiarity of A.’s Tydeus is his quarrel with Amphiaraus. He is a monster of reckless arrogance and conceit, and, like the Argive army as a whole in the Parados, he is characterized by inarticulate noise (378, 381, 386, 392), by beast-like qualities (381, 393f.) and by his equipment, so that the general effect is of something barely human.

378. Βρέμει. After ἡν we expect a word meaning simply "stands," so the stronger word "roars," given prominence by the enjambement and sense-pause, comes unexpectedly and with great force. πόρον δ’ Ἰσμηνὖν Fraenkel (2 p. 7. n. 3) takes πόρον as internal, Ἰσμηνὖν as external object, but to separate the two accusatives like this seems most artificial. πόρον
must mean "river," 'Ἰμηνᾶν being either adjectival (Tucker) or in apposition (Groeneboom).

Presumably we are to think of the Isonus as flowing close to the walls at this point, though the geography is not made very clear. Possibly A. was led to mention the river by memories of the omens at Plataea, for there are notable similarities in the situation at Hdt. IX. 36-7, as Lattimore points out (p. 41).

379. A. here gives to anyone who may require it a plausible reason for the postponement of the battle. The delay allows time for the Scout's reports and Eteocles' replies, and it enables the Scout to describe in the present tense how the attackers are behaving at the moment. This is important, for a mere timeless account of their characters or a description of how they were behaving at some time in the past would have far less vividness and immediacy of effect. The delay has a further use in the case of Tydeus as it gives him something to chafe against and so sets his character in relief.

δ' μάντις Although he will soon be named, the allusive reference seems to presuppose knowledge of the myth on the audience's part.

180. μαργαῖον Connoting madness, savagery and glutinous desire.

381. μεσημβρινάς κλαγγαίζων I.e. cries of wholly irrational bestial rage, since snakes are fiercest when maddened by the heat. The parallels quoted for this belief (see Groeneboom) are all from Latin hexameter poetry and include a passage from
Statius (Theb. V. 518ff.), who elsewhere compares Tydeus to a snake (Theb. IV. 95ff.), so perhaps the idea derives from the Greek Thebesia. The implications of fierce heat in μεσημβριναίς further colour the picture of Tydeus's rage beyond the immediate context of the snake image.

Why οἵδαυν The simile justifies the preceding metaphor, since it is only in the context of snakes that "midday cries" are particularly fierce ones; or conversely, μεσημβριναίς is vehicle terminology applied to the tenor of the simile. The "fusion" belongs in Smith's Section IV (p. 37ff.). There is thus no reason to suppose with Rose that the dramatic time is in fact midday.

Boāi Commentators point out that snakes in Greek poetry do "shout" (Pi. 01. VIII. 40), but the real ground of the comparison is, of course, the fierceness and fearsomeness of the snake rather than the noise it makes.

382. ἦείωθι His reproach is as harsh and wounding as a blow.

οὐφόν Hardly "otiose" (Rose), for we need to know that the seer is a skilful one if we are to realise that Tydeus is wrong to taunt him.

383. σαλευώ Used of various kinds of wheedling and flattery. We probably should not think too specifically of a dog, but there is some personification of μόρος and μάχη; by his scrupulous attention to the omens Amphiaraus is displaying his fear of Death and Battle and abasing himself before them, when a true and manly warrior would go out and face them regardless.
μέρον τε καὶ μάχην  

Linked in proverb style by alliteration. Also the echo of the alliteration in 380 and the repetition of μάχη at the same point in the line mark the contrast with Tydeus's own behaviour.

384ff. Even in the account of the champion's equipment A. manages to avoid mere static description, and the emphasis on violent motion and noise contributes, as Fraenkel notes (2 p. 8), to the characterization. Harsh alliteration of κ, χ and λ underlines the sense, especially in the strongly onomatopoeic 386.

384. τρεῖς κατασχίους λόφους  
The detail is picked up by Aristophanes (Ach. 165) as a grotesque piece of heroic exhibitionism; see Fraenkel l.c. Only one crest was usual, as commentators point out, and the hyperbole of κατασχίους reflects the fear which the size of the crests inspires.

385. κράσυνος χαίτωμ᾽  
The helmet has flowing "hair," such as one would expect to see on a man or a horse. The paradoxical expression adds to the vividness of the picture, besides showing that these are not merely upright crests, the more usual and practical type.

ὅτε τῶν  

Certainly right. ἕκοι is for some reason often preferred, but even if the expression is intelligible the detail is pointless.

386. χαλκήπλατοι  

A more sonorous synonym for χαλκὲοι.

κώδωνες  

A sign of bravado, like the conspicuous crests and
the bright shield. In addition to the confusion which the noise and movement would cause in themselves, Tydeus is hoping to daunt the enemy by showing that he is so completely confident in his own prowess as to have no use for stealth and caution. If this kind of display was in real life also used for apotropaic purposes, this is not A.'s concern here.

387ff. We are brought by a natural sequence of thought to the shield-device. Whether the blazons of the Seven were described in the epic we do not know, but in any case A. is likely to have been the first to describe them for their moral significance and in order to characterise their bearers (Fraenkel 2 p. 9f.). The uninhibited display and self-assertion of the epic hero were apt to appear dangerously like hybris to fifth-century eyes, and it is to this kind of feeling that A. appeals here. It is necessary that the arrogance and conceit of Tydeus and the rest should be made concrete and visible, for A. seldom deals directly in attitudes of mind, and it is not mere attitudes of mind that the gods punish.

387. ἤπειροφον The ethical significance of the device is specified at the outset; the audience must not take it as simply a picturesque epicism. The arrogance must consist in an implication that Tydeus outshines other warriors as the moon outshines lesser stars (see Tucker, who points out "the insistence in λαμπρὰ, πανσέληνος, μέσων, πρέσβιτον, ὀφθαλμὸς, πρέπει"), besides once again the bravado of making himself so conspicuous in battle. Also a night sky will, of course, have appropriately
sinister associations (though Bacon's attempts (p. 32) to relate this specifically to the House of Laius seem to have nothing to do with A.'s text).

388. τετυγμένον A pure epicism, relating the present description to descriptions of works of art in the epic.

389. Here as elsewhere in the scene the Scout acts to some extent as spokesman for the attacker instead of simply giving a colourless description; the audience must be made to realise the full implications of the shield device.

δύσαλμός The word in the sense of "chief possession" would in itself be a dead metaphor, but since eyes and heavenly bodies are commonly associated in Greek (both being round, and both having connections with light), the metaphor is here brought to life. Without the moon the night would be blind, as Tucker puts it. The same idea occurs at Pi. Ol. III. 20 (476 B.C.), but we need not assume actual reminiscence on A.'s part.

391. ἀλύνω Referring both to his mental agitation and to the restless movement of his equipment.

ὑπερκύμνως Further insistence on the crucial quality of arrogance.

392. ἴδοι...μάχης ἑρῶ Echoing 380f. to round off the detailed description.

393f. The actual Argive horses and their breath have been used earlier in the play to characterize the brute horror of the
Argive attack. Now that A. is concerned with an individual champion apparently on foot, the motif is developed in imagery. Although the immediate purpose of the simile is simply to depict Tydeus's impatience, it will also be coloured by the sinister associations with which the motif is invested.

Commentators, who have a habit of insisting that every image should present a precise and detailed picture, argue about whether the horse in question is a racehorse or a warhorse (and see Fraenkel 2 p. 11f.); since either is equally appropriate, no decision is possible or necessary.

393. It is hard to say whether χαλιγων goes with κατασθαλινων (so e.g. Sidgwick, Tucker, Fraenkel l.c., comparing Eum. 651) or with μενει (so e.g. Groenewegen, comparing Ag. 238). I rather prefer the latter, for Eum. 651 seems different — "panting with exertion" (a sign of weakness) rather than "panting with strength."

394. οικολογος Applicable to the tenor as well as the vehicle, since a trumpet can give the signal for the start of a battle (e.g. Pers. 395).

δρυμίνει "Is eager, full of zeal" — a sense perhaps not precisely paralleled (for none of the passages cited in L.S.J. s.v. II.2 and Wilamowitz's app. crit. is really similar) but corresponding to a common sense of δρυμη.

κλύων The emendation is adopted by Wecklein (see Studien p. viff.) and Murray as well as Page, but it is hardly an improvement on the MSS. μενων , whatever the schol. may have read. Tydeus
is restless because he is awaiting a signal to attack, so the
natural comparison is with a horse awaiting a trumpet-call; a
horse hearing a trumpet-call would presumably be given free rein.
When the MSS. give perfect sense, the fairly unobtrusive jingle
-μαίνων μένει / -μαίνει μένων
scarcely
justifies emendation.

395. Προίτου πυλῶν  The echo of 277 formally rounds off
the speech.

396. κλήθρων λυθέντων  After πυλῶν these words can have
only one meaning, and the audience is given no reason to think
of starting gates (Tucker and others) canal locks (Cameron 1 p. 72)
or other imagery; see Fraenkel l.c. From a military point of view
one can admittedly ask, with Tucker, why the gates should be
unbarred, but the opposed champions have to face one another, and
in general the tactics envisaged in this scene will not bear very
close examination.

φερέγγυος  A dead metaphor.

397ff.  Eteocles displays his usual resourcefulness and calm logic.
He takes the Scout's speech in order, dealing first with the
boastful equipment, then with the shield-device and lastly with
the Scout's closing question.

397. κόσμου.  "Ornament, decoration, esp. of women" (L.S.J.); ἄνδρας
then marks the paradox. Tydeus's heroic pretensions are undercut in
Eteocles' first word.
As Kitto notes (1 p. 50), it at first sounds as if Eteocles will fight Tydeus himself; and the suspense is thus stepped up.

398f. In σήματα, λόφοι and κόσων Eteocles quotes terms used by the Scout, demonstrating that they lose their terror when deprived of their emotive epithets. (Page's punctuation is strange; 399 belongs with what precedes, not with what follows.)

399. δάκνουσ’....δορός Alliteration marking a gnomic expression.

δάκνουσ’ We need not think specifically of a dog, with Groeneboom and Rose; the word is no more strongly metaphorical than "bite" would be in English.

400ff. This first example typifies Eteocles' interpretations of the blazons, and it is important to understand what is going on (as Bernadete, 2 p. 5f., for instance, completely fails to do). We should distinguish an aspect of pure magic, marked by the words μάντις, ἐπώνυμον; μαντεύσεται, and one of fifth-century morality, marked by the interspersed words ἄνοια, ὑπέρκομπον, ἐνθίμως, ὑβρίς.

Firstly, then, the blazon is seen as a kind of "wordless κλητόν" (Rose, cf. Cameron 4 p. 100f.), as the linguistic term ἐπώνυμον makes clear. Any statement that can be seen as predicting the future in a way not intended by the speaker is a κλητόν, an omen indicating what the future will in fact bring. In particular the words of your enemy will act as a κλητόν if they can bear a meaning propitious to your own cause. But Greek thought did not distinguish clearly between
predicting the future and influencing it, and since a \nu\lambda\eta\omega\nu might in itself be susceptible of a number of conflicting interpretations it was felt that the act of interpreting it and "accepting the omen" was what determined the actual event. (For examples of this see Fraenkel on \textit{Ag.} 1653, Halliday p. 40ff.; Peradotto; for the power of words and omens as a recurrent motif of the \textit{Septem} see Sheppard, Hiltbrunner p. 49ff., Cameron 4.)

Eteocles, then, hopes that his interpretation of the "wordless \nu\lambda\eta\omega\nu" will prove fatal to Tydeus. But to this kind of logic the fact that the blazon is a boastful one should strictly be irrelevant. A., however, is not satisfied with the amorality of pure magic, and seeks to endow the magical forms with moral significance. We are meant to feel, in a way that cannot precisely be analysed, that Tydeus is doomed not just by the device but by his arrogance in bearing it; because the same device reveals his hybris and his coming death, hybris and death must be somehow linked.

400. \nu\acute{\kappa}\iota\alpha. The word which the Scout used quite unemphatically is here pulled prominently to the beginning of the sentence. It is possible to see some moral symbolism in the fact that where one man sees bright stars (against a dark background) another sees darkness (with stars upon it).

401. \mu\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu Ignoring with studied casualness the meaning which Tydeus intended the device to bear.

402. The anacolouthon reflects the mingling of magic and morality. The hanging \nu\acute{\kappa}\iota\alpha continues to colour the sentence, but
Eteocles illogically switches constructions so that it is Tydeus's "folly" (with implications of impiety and hybris, as often) which is prophetic instead of the device itself. This, I think, answers Broadhead's objection to the text (1 p. 52f.); see also Fraenkel 2 p. 12.

τάχ' ἄν...τινές
Eteocles employs a cautious expression to contrast with the over-confidence of Tydeus, but there seems to be also a note of sly sarcasm.

μάντις
We can learn the future from folly which will inevitably bring punishment just as we can from a soothsayer.

403ff. Eteocles continues to express himself with sardonic obliqueness. He means, of course, "The omen makes it likely that night will fall on his eyes," but he chooses a form of words that will suggest this to his hearers without committing him to a specific prediction.

403. νυξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς
The curious echo of νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός at the same point in the line at 390 (Cameron 4 p. 101) contributes nothing logically to the meaning, but will perhaps serve as a subliminal link between the device and its interpretation.

Similar expressions in earlier literature all seem to refer to "mist" or "darkness" settling on the eyes rather than "night," but the use of "night" is of course very natural.

404. φέροντι
The rhyme with the previous line (Cameron l.c.) links the idea of death with that of bearing the device.
405. ὑπὸνυμον Μetaphorical; the device is like a significant name such as Ζεύς ἀλεξητήριος (Cf.) in that it has a meaning which can be seen as an omen. The word thus links Eteocles' present interpretation of visual imagery with the motif of significant names elsewhere in the play.

406. The man who foolishly insulted a μάντις (382) will become one, to his cost (Otis p. 161). The words μάντις in 402 and μάντεσσαί here are clearly chosen to mark this further piece of irony and "poetic justice."

τὴν Probably right; see Dawe 1 p. 168.

ἔρων A kind of internal accusative: "the prophecy inherent in his hybris will be against himself." Once again A.'s desire to bring in hybris - morality where it is not logically required has involved him in rather strained grammar.

407ff. The defenders serve mainly to strengthen by contrast the impression made by the attackers (Fraenkel 2 p. 14). They are endowed with a minimum of personal characteristics, and A. does not always attempt to show that a particular defender is especially suited to a particular attacker; it is sufficient that Eteocles should have a stock of valiant but pious and modest warriors to draw from.

408. τῶν' Certainly right; see Wilamowitz 1 p. 77.

ἀναπαύο Recalling the Scout's question (395).
409. ἱον Ἀλκυήνης Ἑρώνου

The personification of Honour as a goddess marks the importance that the virtue has for Melanippus.

410. He will not utter haughty words himself, and he will hate Tydeus for doing so.

411. Ἀργός. A slightly paradoxical use of what is normally a term of reproach. I can see little point in the "pun on the enemy's name" that Dawson sees here.

412f. The fact of Melanippus's descent from the Spartoi - no doubt derived from epic tradition - enables A. to play some subtle tricks with imagery and ambiguity. The Spartoi in legend were literally "own men," and agricultural terms such as Ἐρνος are regularly used to mean "descendant." By employing these two ideas together A. brings out their agricultural implications, and he then further stresses the idea of plant-growth in the metaphorical ἄνεμωμα (not elsewhere used of genealogical descent) to give the impression that Melanippus has actually grown out of the soil. The effect is finally clinched in the overtly punning use of Ἐγγεχρός - "autochthonous" in more senses than one.

Melanippus's descent from an ancient, aristocratic and pure-blooded Theban family is thus felt in a highly emotive way as a direct link with the nourishing Theban soil, which has already been invested with emotional and patriotic associations (16ff., 304ff.).

412. ὅν Ὅρης ἀφείσατο

Rose may be right to see this detail as another favourable omen, especially in view of the
mention of Ares' present role two lines below; Ares may spare Melanippus as he spared his ancestors.

413. δικων’ "Thing with roots," as Mrs. Easterling explains to me, related in meaning to δίξα as πύλωμα to πύλη, πύργωμα to πύργος ; etc. The word is preferred to e.g. βλαστήμα as making the link with the soil more specific.

414. ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΟΣ. The name, so long delayed and now very prominently placed, receives great emphasis—"I shall send no less a man than Melanippus."

Ετεοκλής injects a note of caution for apotropaic reasons. He means, of course, not that the issue is wholly a matter of chance, but that there is always a chance element in war; the gods determine the issue, but not always on any intelligible grounds. The "dice" metaphor is a convenient way of expressing the idea of "pure chance" when even τύχη can have superstitious overtones. It also implies a typically Greek depreciation of mankind; what is life and death to us is a mere game to the gods.

415f. The "debt to earth" idea (Cameron 2 and 1 p. 85ff.) has already been applied to the Thebans in general (16ff.). But Melanippus, as we have just seen, is in a special sense a son of the land, so he will owe her a particular devotion and duty, and when he fights for her he will be protected by the same Justice that protects a son fighting for his mother.
415. ὑμαίμων

Normally taken as nominative singular on the analogy of Ζεὺς Ἀφίκτωρ or Ἰκτήρ (Supp. 1, 478f.). Wilkëns, however, points out that Ζεὺς Ἀφίκτωρ is rather a special case and that other alleged parallels (e.g. Supp. 402, Ag. 1190) are invalid; he therefore argues that the word is genitive plural of ὑμαίμως, to be taken with προστέλλεται. In that case, however, the word-order is rather jerky, the middle voice becomes harder to justify, and it is not very clear who these ὑμαίμων are (surely the only "relative" of Melanippus who can be in question is his Motherland). Wilkëns also considers the possibility of taking the genitive plural with Δίκη - "the Justice of kinsfolk" - citing Ag. 1432, Eum. 491f.; but, as he says, the parallels are not exact and the expression is not very natural. Probably the best explanation of the MS. text is after all the traditional one; the wording is certainly odd, but it seems in itself quite natural for Justice, like an Olympian god, to be given an epithet specifying a particular sphere of her activity. We might, however, consider taking yet another view of the paradosis and reading ὑμαίμων (attributed to Schéitz) - "Justice sends him, in a special sense a relative (of the Motherland) ..." - cf. 940.

κάρτα. If ὑμαίμων is an epithet of Δίκη, then κάρτα must certainly go with the verb, as Wilkëns and Fraenkel (2 p. 14 n. 1) argue.

416. ἑκούσῃ.

The pleonasm emphasizes the fact of motherhood.
417ff. The choral interjections emphasize the formal divisions of the scene and help to engage the audience's emotions. Normally, as here, the chorus adds its prayers, hopes and fears to the facts and probabilities expressed by Eteocles. In each case, as Tucker notes, it picks up words that Eteocles has used; here ὅπως echoes Ἀλκη.

There is some dramatic irony in the chorus's mention of success and justice in relation to the city but death in relation to φίλοι.

417. ὅμων...Ἀντίπαλον The audience are left to work out for themselves that this does not mean "our adversary" (Schuursma p. 17). The expression seems somewhat careless.

419ff. Weicklein, Sidgwick and Tucker take ὑπὲρ φίλων ὅλομένων as "of men slain for their friends," but it is very unnatural for the juxtaposed genitives not to be in agreement. It is better to assume, with other commentators, an illogical construction equivalent to τρέμω ὑπὲρ φίλων, μόρον εὑρίσκων ὅλομένων ἱερέα (Wilmotz). In that case as with many illogical constructions there are several ways of analysing the grammar; see Croeneboom. But there may be corruption.

422. Croeneboom points out (p. 150) that here and at 526, where the Scout again notices the chorus's comments, we have a rudimentary example of three-cornered dialogue, the first in extant tragedy. The effect is to give some feeling of natural
flow across the rigid formal structure. On the varied openings to the Scout's speeches see Fraenkel 2 p. 14f.

423ff. Capaneus is the archetypal blasphemer, and it is on this that the Scout's description concentrates. It was no doubt to avoid weakening the effect here that A. did not specifically mention the gods in connection with Tydeus.

423. Καπανευς Stanford (1 p. 74, 122), Tucker and others think that the name would automatically suggest κάπνος to the audience. That would indeed help to explain the constant emphasis on fire in this Badepean, but if any such pun were intended it would surely have to be made explicit, as it is at F. Supp. 496. It may be, however, that the pun did occur in the epic and that the association of fire with Capaneus in A. and other authors derives from this.

424. Гίγας οδ' Ξάλος Since Tydeus was short of stature (Il. V. 801), we must suppose either that οδ' Ξάλος means simply "this one," not implying that Tydeus was a Гίγας (so Sidgwick, Fraenkel 2 p. 15f., etc.), or that Гίγας refers only to hostility to the gods and not to giant size (so Wilamowitz 1 p. 111f. and most commentators). In view of the following μείζων the former explanation seems the more natural; cf. 486. Гίγας, then (or rather Гίγας; it is a proper name used metaphorically) is an appropriate term in more ways than one; and, as Tucker notes citing Batrachom. 28ff., Capaneus will meet the same fate as the Гίγαντες.
425. μείζων The comparison between the warriors is a Homeric touch.

οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον Tydeo was boastful by human standards, but Capaneus goes beyond these standards altogether. There seems to be an implication that the size of his boast is proportional to his stature.

φρονεῖ Used on the analogy of μέγα φρονεῖν. The word implies a slight personification of κόμπος, giving the monstrous boast a life of its own.

426. Fraenkel (on Ag. 525ff. and 2 p. 16) revives old arguments that this line is spurious. His objection is not that it is virtually repeated at 549 but that the mention of threats interrupts the account of blasphemous boasts in 425 and 427ff. The argument is not convincing; 427ff. describe a boast which is also a threat, and both aspects are important. And ἄνευλεῖ is echoed by Eteocles at 440.

ἔ μη κραίνοι τῇχη Inserted because even the reporting of such threats could constitute a bad omen.

427. θεοῦ...θέλοντος Capaneus perverts the conventional formula of cautious piety (marked by alliteration). The semblance of piety here will make the actual blasphemy in the next line all the more forceful and shocking.

428. οὐκ εἰς τὴν Page's apparatus says the right things. τὴν is not needed and an expressed object would certainly be desirable, so νῦν does seem probable. Whether an aorist
infinitive after φθονόν could have a future sense is an open
question (for possible parallels see Goodwin p. 42f.); if not,
οὐδ' ἄν νῦν (permissible since νῦν is enclitic) will
be the best correction. Compare E. Ph. 1175, apparently a
reminiscence of this passage.

429. ᾠνοῦ There have been numerous interpretations and emendations.
It seems to me fairly clear, however, that the idea here is parallel
to that at Pers. 739ff., E. Hipp. 438 and 1417ff.; cf. also E. Med. 94.
In all these passages something abstract is said to “swoop down”
on someone, the metaphorical expression being clearly designed
to suggest a thunderbolt; and similarly here I take it that the
language is fusing the wrath or hostility of Zeus with the
thunderbolt which would be its instrument. I do not believe,
then, that Strife is the child of Zeus; or that A. has misunderstood
Hes. Th. 710 (Fraenkel 2 p. 17ff.; this would be plausible only
if ἔρως were a rare gloss word); or that Διὸς ἔρων
is a periphrasis for Zeus himself (Richardson p. 4, Groenewegen and
others; such expressions as Πολυφώντος θύα are hardly
parallel); or that Ἄρων should be read (Hüller p. 257ff.;
the sense is very far-fetched); or that the plant ἔρωθηπτον
is somehow relevant (Headlam 4 p. 301ff.).

The question remains whether ἔρως can mean “hostility”
of one party as opposed to “strife” between more than one.
Headlam gives some parallels in support of this meaning, of which
the most convincing are Supp. 664f., A.P. IX. 340. 6. The word
may then be sound. However, the use of ἄργαλ in the
infinitive after ὕνον could have a future sense is an open question (for possible parallels see Goodwin p. 42f.); if not, οὐδ' ἢν νῦν (permissible since νῦν is enclitic) will be the best correction. Compare E. Ph. 1175, apparently a reminiscence of this passage.

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Hippolytus parallels referred to above makes Meineke's ὧργήν tempting here; and the 'A' scholiast talks of τὴν ὧργήν καὶ τὸν ἔμοιν, which could indicate in scholiastic convention (cf. e.g. ἐκποδῶν σχέσειν καὶ κρατήσειν in the same note) that he found ὧργήν in his text.

430f. There is clearly an agreeable frisson to be derived from hearing of Capaneus's defiance of the very weapon by which we know he will be killed. Dramatic irony, omen and direct causation (since it is because of the boast that Zeus will send the thunderbolt) are here fused. The mighty weapons and the grand and terrible defiance of Capaneus are described in appropriately resonant polysyllables.

Note the number of words referring to fire and heat in 430-4. This forms the characteristic motif of Capaneus, effectively contrasting with the night sky of Tydeus.

430. Βολῆς. Used of sunbeams as well as thunderbolts, as commentators note, so "neutral terminology" giving a basis for the following comparison.

431. μεσομπελοντος A verbal link with Tydeus (381), but not, as far as I can see, a very constructive one.

432ff. This time the shield device is introduced abruptly without mention of other equipment, no doubt because the audience is to identify the γυμνὸν ἄνδρα with Capaneus himself. Also
this enables A. to juxtapose the fire of Zeus and the fire with which Capaneus challenges it.

432. γυμνὸν  Symbolising Capaneus's contempt for the weapons of the defenders - and of Zeus.

πυρφόρος  Capaneus himself is πυρφόρος at S. Ant. 135, and so perhaps in the epic. We should not think here of Prometheus, despite Bernadete 2 p. 7 and despite E. Ph. 1121f., where the interpolator seems to have this passage of A. in mind; for one thing this would place Capaneus in far too favourable a light.

433. The paratactic construction lends a certain epic vigour and enables A. to place a forceful finite verb at the beginning of the line.

ἁλλομένη  This must mean "ready for action" and so slight (see e.g. Groeneboom), but it will probably also bear connotations of weaponry for a fifth-century audience.

434. χρυσοῖς  Gold being bright, dazzling, fiery, rich, ostentatious.

καυνέι γράμματαν  A slightly paradoxical expression fusing image and reality.

πρήσω πόλιν  Tydeus was eager for battle, but Capaneus takes the battle for granted and thinks only of the sack. He hopes that the slogan will daunt the defenders and act as an omen to bring him success; but of course it is arrogant for a mortal to make such confident claims for the future, which is in the gods' hands. The slogan is made neat and forceful by alliteration.
Wilamowitz (1 p. 76 n. 2) and his followers take this as parenthetical, but their parallels are not good (at Cho. 779 πράσε governs τάπεστελμένα; at Ar. Eq. 919 παύε is intransitive, as πέμπε cannot be, and the tone is facetious). Other editors and Fraenkel (2 p. 19) assume an apophasis, which is better but still hard to parallel (on Ag. 1232 see Denniston and Page ad loc. against Fraenkel; at Cho. 1073 οὐσία should probably be read, and even with οὐσία the parallel with the present passage is not close). With Murray, Müller (p. 459ff.) and others I suspect corruption influenced by 470; there is then little hope of restoring the original text.

Either Capaneus or the man on the shield; the two are identified.

The Scout treats boasts as something to be feared, so providing a foil for Eteocles' reply.

Before μένει the word may retain some of its Homeric implication of "running away" (Tucker).

This time Eteocles has little need of real interpretation or magic, for it is clear enough that Capaneus is bringing destruction on himself. It only remains to underline the man's hybris (438-443), make a specific prophecy drawing together the fire imagery (444-6) and name a defender (447-450).

The epigrammatic expression πέροι πέρος looks too authentic to be corrupt (Fraenkel 2 p. 19f.). And
certainly τῶιδε cannot be separated grammatically from 
νέρδει, as Tucker and Rose would like. So what does 
the first νέρδος refer to? Groeneboom thinks it is the 
gain brought by the boasts of Tydeus, but τῶιδε would not 
naturally be used of this, and τίπτεται implies that one 
νέρδος is somehow a consequence of the other. Fraenkel 
thinks that Eteocles is sarcastically referring to Capaneus's 
words and weapons from Capaneus's own point of view, but even 
Capaneus would say that his words and weapons were likely to 
bring a νέρδος, not that they were a νέρδος themselves.

I believe that this is simply an illogical word-play for the sake 
of emphasis, as in such expressions as αὐτὸς κατ’ αὐτοῦ 
and μόνος μόνος (and cf. 458). Eteocles could logically 
say either that the boasts of Capaneus are a νέρδος for 
Thebes or that a νέρδος results from them; in fact he combines 
the two expressions to emphasize the idea of gain and good fortune. 

막 I.e. "as well as in the case of Tydeus" (commentators), 
not "as well as in other cases of the proverb νέρδει νέρδος" 
(Fraenkel l.c.). 

τίπτεται A very faded metaphor. τόκος in the sense of 
"interest" is certainly not in question.

438f. The γνώμη seems to me a strange one to use here, for it 
would most naturally belong in a context where someone had been 
intending to conceal his μάταια φρονήματα and had 
blurted them out accidentally—and that is certainly not the 
case with Capaneus. If the text is sound (and I have considered
bracketing the two lines, together with ζ in 440), then the sense must, as Mrs. Easterling explains to me, be simply "Wicked men tend to be condemned out of their own mouths," with no antithesis intended between thoughts and speech.

438. ματαίων...φρονημάτων For the implications of this see Fraenkel on Ag. 165.

439. γλῶσσ' Lightly personified; a human accuser may lie, but a man accused by his own tongue must be guilty.

ματήγορος Certainly "accuser," as usual, not simply "indicator" as Groeneboom thinks.

440. Another odd line. The absolute use of δρᾶν cannot be objected to in view of E. Herac. 691, but the absolute use of ἀπειλεῖ here gives a very abrupt and jerky effect. Also δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένος sounds very much like a compliment; we expect to be told that Capaneus's threats are empty (cf. 397ff., 556), as indeed μάκογυρμάζων στόμα implies (see below). I suspect that after 440 a line has dropped out, beginning with something like δοκῶν and continuing with an object for ἀπειλεῖ.

441. θεοῦς ἄτιξων If a lacuna does not precede, Weil's θεοῦς δ is certainly desirable. In any event θεοῦς ἄτιξων belongs with what follows, and not, as the punctuation of Murray and others implies, with what precedes.

μάκογυρμάζων A sarcastic metaphor, since the word can
be used literally only of the body, and implies preparation for vigorous exercise; the only part that Capaneus exercises is his mouth. Dawson points out the echo of γυμνὸν at 432; the man on the shield may be stripped for action, but Capaneus resembles him only where his mouth is concerned.

442. ἵππος ἴδια ἤν Indifferently with either οὐκογυμνάζων or πέμπει. The word here has connotations of conceit and self-confidence.


The detail which the Scout failed to mention and which makes Capaneus's pretensions absurd and his downfall certain.

443. γεγωνὼν Ζηνί "Loud enough to carry as far as Zeus."
The phrase both mocks the resounding but empty boast and has sinister implications for Capaneus's future. Eteocles is doing little more than repeat what the Scout has told us, but the words he uses make the boasts appear ridiculous instead of terrifying. Despite Fraenkel 2 p. 21 n. 1 I can see no difficulty in two epithets qualifying ἐπη; slight redundancy will contribute to the sarcastic tone.


I.e. "restless and passionate," not "swelling" as translators and commentators think. As can be seen from the lexicon, the word is a standard and more or less dead metaphor derived from a stormy sea, not from a single wave.

444ff. Fraenkel (2 p. 21ff. and on Ag. 1244) can hardly be right that Eteocles has here finished dealing with Capaneus's boastful
words and is concerned only with the shield, since it is the words, far more clearly than the shield, which presage Capaneus's death by the thunderbolt. It is true that πυρφόρον must be intended to recall 432, but interpretation of the blazon is confined, I think, to this one word. Since the way in which "night" acts as an omen of Tydeus's death has been explained in detail, a passing word-echo is here sufficient to suggest that, because πυρφόρος is a standard epithet of thunderbolts, Capaneus is bearing an equally ominous device; the moral aspect, which is more crucial in this case, can then bear the main emphasis.

444. πέποιθα Such confidence is appropriate in a reply to such outrageous hybris.
δίκη In both a logical and a moral sense.

446. Wecklein and Fraenkel (ll. co.) accept Verrall's deletion of this line. In fact I do not think that the text makes sense without it, since there has never been any question of a κεραυνὸς ἔξηκασμένος, a picture of a thunderbolt. Fraenkel is for this reason compelled to take πυρφόρον as a noun and to paraphrase τὸν πυρφόρον...κεραυνὸν οὐδὲν ἔξηκασμένον by "his fire-bearer ... a thunderbolt (thus a real πυρφόρος ) and by no means an image of a fire-bearer ...;" this is very forced and obscure.

With the MS. text ἔξηκασμένον echoes προσήκασεν as one would expect, and the sense is natural enough, if a little
weakly expressed. In view of the variations between different pairs of speeches it is not much of an objection to point out that Eteocles nowhere else echoes the exact words of the Scout at such length. Fraenkel is doubtless right that the article cannot bear the kind of emphasis that Wilamowitz gives it, but its position is unobjectionable in itself (cf. e.g. Bum. 10, 35).

447ff. An opponent for Capaneus has to be found, both for the sake of symmetry and because Eteocles never relies purely on the gods without taking practical measures. But, as Wilamowitz (1 p. 101) and others point out, Polyphontes will have nothing to do in the event, and probably was not a character in the Thebais but merely a name that A. found at II. IV. 395.

447. ἀνή In addition to divine opposition.
ἐπ’ αὐτῶι In itself this could mean, no doubt, that being stationed at the Ἑλευρατ πύλαι Polyphontes will, as it now turns out, face Capaneus; but see on 505 below.
στόμαργός Normally taken to mean "talkative," applying to Capaneus. This would, of course, make sense, and give the word the meaning it bears elsewhere. But in view of 411 and 554 (cf. also S. Ph. 97) I agree with Tucker and Dawson in finding it hard to believe that the meaning is not "slow of speech," applying to Polyphontes in antithesis to αἰθων...αῆμα. Tucker, indeed, writes στόμ’ ἀργός, but this seems artificial; more probably we have here another case of catachresis or "abusio" following the apparent etymology of the word (its real
etymology being far from obvious) in defiance of normal usage
(see Schuursma, Fraenkel on Arg. 149). Lucian, perhaps with
classical authority, treats γλωτταργία in the same way
(Lex. 19).

448. αὐξων A standard poetic metaphor given special appropriateness;
Capaneus's symbol was a man bearing fire, but his opponent is
"fiery" in a more important respect.
Πολυφόντου βία On the frequency of this epic periphrasis
in this scene and its contribution to the martial and heroic tone
see Richardson.

449. The grandeur of the three word line is reinforced by strong
alliteration linking it to the name Polyphantes.
φρουρῆμα Not quite a normal word to use of a single man;
Polyphantes is himself a "defence," like a wall or a band of
soldiers.
προστατηρίας Probably "protectress" rather than "standing
before the gate," for the gate has not been mentioned since 423.
But why Artemis in particular should be protectress of Polyphantes,
or of Thebes, is a mystery (for the scholiast's explanation is
no doubt his own invention).

450. ἄλλως θεῷ The reading ἄλλων θεῶν is commended
by Dawe (1 p. 142) and several commentators; but σὺν θεοῖς
is a very common expression, and more natural, I should have
thought, than σὺν εὐνολαισί τινος.

On the religious formula see Fraenkel 2 p. 23.
451. The line shows Eteocles' confidence, besides helping the forward movement of the scene.

452ff. Again the chorus echo the words of Eteocles in the form of a prayer. This time they talk more fully "in character," recalling the fears of the First Stasimon.

453. The fate of Capaneus is foreshadowed for a third time.

454. πωλικῶν πῶλος is a standard poetic metaphor for "maiden," but the image here is perhaps used to recall the pathetic description of girls led away like horses at 328, developing this pathetic side of the horse motif in opposition to the side relating to Argive violence.

455. ὅπερνῦσω The epithet is transferred from the man to the instrument with which his arrogance is displayed.

456. ἐπλαπάξαι Taking a construction appropriate to e.g. ἐβαλεῖν (scol.).

457. The line is rejected by Fraenkel (2 p. 24) and several editors, defended by Tucker, Groeneboom, van Veen (p. 22f.) and Erbse (p. 11f.); but Fraenkel's arguments seem conclusive. Erbse explains that τὸν ἐντεύθεν λαχῶνα πρὸς πῦλαῖς means "the man who has won by lot the gate next in order," and no doubt that is what the writer of the line intended; but the fact remains that his way of expressing it is hardly Greek, or at best very weak and vague. To deny that with λέξω the
Scout could be replying to Eteocles' λέγε, ignoring the chorus, is simply to beg the question.

It seems that Eteolus was not a traditional epic figure but was introduced merely to complete the total of seven champions in an account which did not include Adrastus as one of the number (Wilamowitz l p. 102). A. therefore deals with him briefly and characterizes him mainly through his horses; apart from these he is little more than a paler version of Capaneus.

τρίτωλʻ...τρίτος The tautology merely emphasises the number and should not be rationalized; see on 437 above.

A. helps to fill out the account of Eteolus by reminding us of the selection procedure.

εὐχάλκου The logically irrelevant epithet has a very Homeric air, lending dignity to what might otherwise seem a rather trivial process. It also fits with the emphasis on weaponry in the rest of the speech.

Mention of the selection procedure seems to have recalled line 56 to A.'s mind. He wishes to preserve an ambivalence between heroic single combat and a more realistic kind of warfare.

The motif of horses, their breath and the noise they make, which has so often been used to characterize the brutality of the attackers, is here developed in greater detail; see Cameron l p. 75, 77.
461. ἰσπυκτηρίσει The word is found only here, and it seems impossible to tell whether it is a technical term for part of the harness or a live metaphor from a woman's headband (ἠμπυξ). ἐμπερωμέναις "Snorting," with connotations of anger.

462. Alliteration underlines the mares' eagerness and excitement. ἤλευθε Once more the scene is conceived in terms of movement and activity.

463f. Fraenkel (2 p. 25ff.) gives a detailed discussion of the device described here (and at Fr. 647), but concludes that we cannot determine exactly what it consisted of. What matters, however, is that it was probably known to the audience as a device used by barbarian soldiers to frighten an enemy.

463. βάρβαρος Once again, as with their language (72f., 170), the enemy are characterized as barbarian, so as to make them seem as foreign and hostile as possible to decent Greek values and to the life of the πόλις.

βρόμον The MS. text makes sense, of course; but in view of the schol. of βρόμον at 476, and of the recurrence of τρόμον two lines below, Schütz's conjecture is undeniably attractive. And it provides effectively onomatopoeic alliteration.

464. The grandiose three-word line, with its onomatopoeic repetition of π, μ and ν, conveys the effect of the φομός with almost humorous expressiveness. The illogical compound μυκτηροκόμπος, fusing into one indefinable concept
the source of the noise and its ethical associations (though
the -κώμοπος element may retain some of its Homeric sense
of "noise"), is particularly Aristophanic.

465. ἐσχημάτισται See Fraenkel 2 p. 29 n. 2.

466ff. This shield-device contains no real symbolism; it is simply
a picture of the literal reality that can be expected in the
future, and the boast which is here placed on the shield is
similar to that which Capanes has actually uttered. This does,
however, enable A. to depict Eteocles daring to blaspheme Ares
in the midst of an attack, and not just in a moment of safety
before the battle has started.

466. Eteocles has evidently got hold of a ladder properly
belonging to Capanes (S. Ant. 131, E. Ph. 1173, Statius Theb.
X. 540ff., etc.). It is no use asking what the hoplite is doing
up a ladder when he should be attacking a gate, nor what has
become of the horses; see on 396 above, 634 below.

468. θεοῖ...γραμμάτων See on 434 above.

καλαβάλης The letters must be "taken together" to be read
as a shout.

469. Ἀρης As usual in this play Ares is simply the personification
of war, who could be hostile to either side. The boast of
Eteocles is less completely shocking than that of Capanes,
but places more stress on the actual fighting.
471. Ἐὐγόν In this sense normally a dead metaphor, but here possibly revitalised by the mention of horses at 461-4; as a charioteer Eteocles is the obvious man to impose a "yoke" of slavery.

472ff. Since Eteocles is a rather colourless figure, Eteocles devotes his whole speech to the opponent, Megareus; this provides him with a new way of answering the shield device (478f.). Eteocles's blasphemy goes unanswered, no doubt because that of Capaneus has been dealt with in such detail; and we are presumably to take it that Eteocles will be destroyed not by Ares in person but by War.

472. Another line that is condemned by Fraenkel (2 p. 30ff., following Murray, First Edition) and defended by Erbse (p. 472); this time the issue is less clear-cut. Fraenkel thinks that a potential optative is not resolute enough for Eteocles; but the sense surely is "This (i.e. the man I am about to name) is the man I should send now (if I had the choice); but by some stroke of luck he is already sent" (see Wilamowitz l p. 76f.). It is only those who accept the conjecture ὅ τε ῥω who compel Eteocles to vacillate and correct himself. And the fact that τῦχη τὸς does not mean "some stroke of luck" at Cho. 138, S. O.T. 80, is no reason why it should not do so here. More serious is the objection to the postponement of ἦν ὡς, which in tragedy is paralleled only at S. O.C. 173 and, very doubtfully, E. Supp. 1114; but it is not uncommon in comedy and prose (see Denniston l p. 250ff.), and colloquialisms do occur in A. And the deletion
of 472 is open to the objection that while, as Fraenkel says, it is a common idiom for an imperative to be immediately answered by καὶ ὅ ἐσθι with the perfect tense, in every instance of this that I have seen (Denniston l.c.) the perfect refers to the immediate past after the order was given - "Do this! - Well all right, I've done it;" and this indeed is what one would expect from the analogy of the commoner use of καὶ ὅ ἐσθι with the present tense.

473. κόμπον ἐν χεροὶν A kind of oxymoron; men will learn of the prowess of Megareus through the deeds of his hands, and to that extent his deeds can be regarded as "boasts."

474. Μεγαρεύς The name is prominently positioned as so often. ὁπέρμα...σπαρτῶν Two dead metaphors are revitalised by the juxtaposition, just as at 412f. Megareus is the latest generation of "seed" in the race that was originally "sown."

475. μάργυν An obvious improvement on the MSS., at no cost. Ἰππικῶν φροναγμάτων Recalling the horses which terrified the chorus earlier in the play (245).

477ff. If he dies he will nourish the land and so fulfil an obligation to his mother; if he kills Eteocles he will bring honour to his house and so fulfil an obligation to his father. He has thus a double incentive and duty to fight to the death. The antithesis is not made very explicit, but if it is not intended why does A. mention the father's house at all?
477. The line is very obliquely expressed; presumably it alludes to ideas already familiar to the audience. In the first place we must take it that Megareus is a son of the land in the same way as Melanippus; then there is an allusion on the one hand to the idea that bloodshed enriches the earth (587) and on the other to γηροτροφία (see Cameron 2 and 1 p. 90ff.), the idea that a son must nourish his parents in their old age in return for the nourishment he received as a child. It has previously been implied that Melanippus (415f.) and the Thebans in general (19f.) would fulfil their debt to the land by defending her; here Megareus will fulfil his in a still more figurative sense by dying.

πληρώσει. An unusual use of the word, but cf. ἐκπληρώσην at Pl. Leg. 958b. A reference to the πληρωταὶ of an ἔρανος (Paley, Groeneboom) would make the image impossibly complicated. I can see little significance in the verbal echo of 464.

478f. A new way of turning the omen against the attacker; the blazon will not help Megareus to win, but it will increase his glory if he does. A victorious warrior could display either spoils of his enemies or pictures of men he had killed and cities he had captured; so if Megareus displays the shield of Eteocles as a spoil, it will seem as if he has killed a second man and captured a city. It is difficult to believe that this "interpretation" is intended very seriously, but it should perhaps be taken as a reductio ad absurdum of the idea of shield devices – if they have a meaning at all, why not this meaning? This would differ, however, from Eteocles' attitude elsewhere in the scene, especially at 510ff.
479. ηοὖνει. The senses "beautify" and "glorify" coalesce, as Tucker says.

480. All Argives will boast, and no boast will daunt Eteocles; the confidence — and the dramatic irony — is still clearer than at 451. 

κόμπαζ ἐκ ἀλλω. An expression normally meaning "boast over" is used in this special case to mean "boast in the case of." (Of the interpretation of Robertson, which has actually found some support, the less said the better.) By retailing the attackers' boasts the Scout appears to be boasting on their behalf, as Schöttz explains; and the wording helps to give the impression that Eteocles is actually faced with an opponent.

λέγων λόγων is usually accepted, and probably rightly; it gives rather more natural Greek and receives some support from the schol.

481ff. As there is little to be said specifically about Eteocles, the chorus pray in general terms.

481. τὰ. The simple corrections that Page adopts here and at 521 are probably best.

482. πρόσωπ' ἐμὸν δόμων. The parenthetic exclamation shows the chorus's trust in Eteocles and their strong emotion.

τοῖς. Variation of construction to avoid a bald antithesis of opposites.

485. The expression is the more menacing in that it merely hints at punishment through the words νεμέτωρ and κοταίνων.
and does not make the idea explicit; ἐπιδεῖν, indeed, is normally used in a favourable sense, as Tucker notes.

486ff. Hippomedon is another monster; his terrifying size and appearance are stressed throughout the speech, and his shield device is in keeping with this.

486. γελτονας Probably to be taken with Ὠγκας Ἀθάνας.

487. κῦν βοῆ Enlivening the colourless παρισταται and serving to characterise the attacker at the outset.

488. The poetic idiom subordinating the name to σχῆμα and τύπος implies that size and bulk are the man, or are the essential feature of him; size and bulk (belonging to Hippomedon) are standing by the gate. σχῆμα and τύπος are effectively synonymous and cumulative, and μέγας applies to both, as commentators note.

489. ᾧλω δὲ πολλὴν An ordinary shield resembles a threshing floor in shape but not in size. A threshing floor thus makes a very vivid and appropriate hyperbolic metaphor for an unusually large shield. And πολλὴν, though rather illogically applied to the threshing floor and not the shield, helps to show that great size is indeed the point of the image. There is no need to think of the astronomical sense of ᾧλως with the schol. and Wilamowitz. ἀσπίδος κύκλου λέγω. The tenor has to be specified if the image is to be intelligible, but by doing so in a separate parenthetical clause A. avoids weakening the effect of the vehicle; it is as though the Scout at first actually mistook the shield for
a threshing floor and then had to correct himself. *κύκλος* brings out the resemblance in shape to a threshing floor.

490. The reference to the Scout’s reaction is unexpected and unique in the scene, so it brings out strongly the terrible aspect of Hippomedon.

*δινωσαντος* He swings the shield to dazzle his enemies with the movement and to demonstrate his great strength. The fact, pointed out by Tucker, that *δινως* in later Greek could be synonymous with *κλως*, is probably not relevant.

491ff. As in the case of Tydeus A. has led up to the device in a natural manner. Since this device is of a kind that was actually common on shields, A. stresses the artistry and workmanship involved to make us conscious of the physical artefact as well as the symbol.

492. *ἐποκεν* The word commonly means "bestow upon" or "add to;" here something between the two. The usage seems to me no stranger than Page’s *ἐπικεν* would be.

493ff. Vase paintings etc. show that monsters, especially snake-haired Gorgon heads, were in fact commonly represented on shields (see Chase), no doubt to frighten both malicious spirits and enemy soldiers. Thus the blazon of Hippomedon, while reflecting the monstrous nature of its bearer, is also one that would be plausible in real life.

493. *πυρπνοος* The fire-bearer of Capaneus intended to burn the city, and there is probably a similar implication here.
This tells us something specific, unlike the similar expression at Ag. 494f. (unless, indeed, we should there adopt an interpretation like that of Murray’s app. crit.): this particular λιγνύς is very nearly fire. The juxtaposition of μέλαναν and αἰδήν brings out the colour contrast, the effect of this paradoxical ambivalence between black smoke and flickering fire being sinister and menacing as well as strikingly visual. A. could be imagining the smoke as represented by dark and glittering metal, but more probably the material of the shield is here forgotten for a moment. The "brother" idea should be thought of as a bold means of relating the two substances λιγνύς and πῦρ rather than a strong personification in its own right.

A. returns to the physical technicalities of shield-decoration, ingeniously combining these with sonorous alliteration and a climactic three-word line. Snakes grow from Typhon’s shoulders at Hes. Th. 824ff., and here we are presumably to imagine these as entwined around a central head, as on a Gorgoneion. I should translate: "And in addition (προς- ) the surrounding convex body of the hollow-bellied circle is fashioned as a ground with coils of snakes."

Another term that conveys a sinister visual picture.

At E. Fr. 185 ἄσπιδος κύτως seems to be a periphrasis for the shield itself; and thus here it
is natural to suppose that the "vessel" of the shield is its hollow body as opposed to the solid boss. And the natural meaning of περίδρομον will be "running round, surrounding." Commentators seem to assume that we cannot accept the natural meaning in both cases since the shield as a whole does not surround anything, but there is no difficulty if περίδρομον is given a limiting force; the περίδρομον κύτος is simply that area of shield-fabric which is visible around the central boss.

496. προσηδάφισται It is sometimes thought that the snakes are somehow used to fasten the figure of Typhon onto the base; but we can avoid postulating such an unlikely arrangement by taking προσ— as "in addition" (to the main figure). The surface of the shield, then, being decorated with snakes in paint or low relief, acts as an ἐδαφος—a ground or base—to the figure of Typhon, or his head, moulded in high relief on the projecting boss.

κολλογάδτορος The illogical compound fuses two ideas in an oxymoron which helps to make clearer the meaning of and the general picture; the slight curvature of the shield makes it resemble a belly, but an actual belly has solid flesh behind the surface whereas this one is hollow. The "belly" metaphor, as old as Tyrt. 11. 24, here gains further justification from the fact that κύτος can be used in anatomical senses (L.S.J. s.v. 3).

497. ἐπιλάλαξεν The acrast presumably marks the shout as instantaneous, not as past. Hippomedon is too monstrous and
inhuman for any articulate words to be mentioned. 

ζυθεος δ' Ἀρεω A slightly paradoxical expression
leading up to the image that follows, since one is more normally
ζυθεος with an ecstatic divinity like Dionysus or Pan.

Then in 498 tenor and vehicle language are further interwoven to
bring the actions of Hippomedon and the maenad into close relation.

498. θηλην προς θηλην His behaviour is as frenzied and
unnatural as a maenad's. But since maenads were typically joyful
and ecstatic there is a further oxymoron here (cf. E. H.F. 1119)
and the frenzy of Hippomedon is illuminated by the element of
contrast with Dionysiac frenzy as well as the element of
resemblance to it.

See on 381 above, Fraenkel on Ag. 387ff.

499. ΤΟΛΟΙΔΕ ΦΩΤΟΥ Cf. 435, 470. This repetitiveness draws
attention to the long succession of men against whom the city must
be protected.

500. The interpretation of Wilamowitz - ημπαζω έπι
Φόβων in reply to 480 - seems very artificial. ημπαζεται might be middle as at E. Aloc. 497, but see Groeneboom; more
probably the meaning is "terror is being vaunted," as most
commentators explain, although the parallels cited for such a
passive equivalent of an internal-accusative construction
(Kühner-Gerth Band I p. 126f.) are not very close. A. has then
used the quite normal φόβων βλέπων in 496 to lead up to
a grammatically strained expression which draws attention to
the line and brings out strongly the boasts' inherent quality of "terror."

501ff. The goddess whom the Scout has mentioned in passing is one who could be trusted to hate hybris and to care for Thebes; Eteocles accepts the omen.

501. ἀγγειτολίς. She is physically close to the city and therefore closely interested in it. The word is perhaps an official title (cf. S. Ant. 970) which πολαίσι γεῖτων then serves to explain, for otherwise the expression seems very tautologous.

503. One might write ὃς, removing the need to understand αὐτόν; for metaphorical language following a simile cf. e.g. Supp. 223f. (or indeed the "snake" could then be Typhon rather than Hippomedon and so hardly metaphorical at all). But ὃς (when barytone) and ὃς are unlikely to have been differently pronounced, and we probably have here a fusion of two constructions, with ὃς in effect simply showing that the language on either side of it is tropical.

The snaky monster on the shield has suggested a new, more precise application for the image of 291ff; the earlier fears of the chorus are being answered as well as the threat from the individual champions. For a goddess protecting nestlings Wilamowitz compares Ag. 55f.; we should not think of Athena Onca as the mother bird, with Groeneboom and Rose, for the mother bird would hardly fight off the snake. The image also helps to fuse Hippomedon with his symbol Typhon in the minds of the audience.
δύσχημα

As Verrall says, it seems that whatever the word's derivation it was connected in the fifth century with χείμα.

It thus expresses very boldly and effectively both the snake's icy coldness and its harsh cruelty; winter kills birds (Ag. 563), and the snake will be equally dangerous.

504. Not a euphonious line.

505. Hyperbius has been chosen to face Hippomadon; see p. 142f. above, von Fritz p. 204. The statement seems quite clear, and if A. intended it to bear some other meaning than the obvious one, as Tucker argues and as most critics seem to assume, then how is the audience to know this?

ἀνήρ See on 447 above.

506. To enquire one's fate from oracles or the like could indicate cowardice, but Hyperbius will find out his by facing danger and so putting it to the test. The line thus uses a paradoxical expression to stress the idea of fatalistic courage. There is also perhaps an implicit contrast with the attackers whose boasts claim to predict the future (Mason and Groenboom).

ἐξοτερήσατε "Make full enquiry into." Some commentators wrongly seek to weaken the word.

χρεία τύχη Easier to understand than to analyse or translate. τύχη must be "the event, what will actually happen," and χρεία, "need," must here be used like "die Not" to mean "stress, danger;" cf. S. Aj. 963.
507f. In the qualities in which Hippomedon excels Hyperbius also is "not to be despised." The expression is Homeric; Groeneboom compares I. I. 114f.

507. ὥστε 'Nor indeed.' To the antithesis of εὐδοκεῖ and θυμόν a third element is unexpectedly added so as to lead naturally into the account of the shield (cf. Denniston I p. 193).

σχέσιν "Nature, quality" a common enough sense (L.S.J. s.v. 2) despite Wilamowitz; not "his bearing of arms" (Groeneboom).

508. Ἐρυμής κ.τ.λ. Since the god Hermes is responsible for lucky chances, a providence and rationality (εὐλογεῖς) beyond mere coincidence can be seen in them. We have seen that Hyperbius was chosen, presumably by Eteocles, to face Hippomedon, so there will be a kind of overdetermination here; since the choice turns out to be more appropriate than Eteocles knew, a god must have caused him to make it. (I do not see what Ἐρυμής ἀγώνιος, mentioned by Tucker and Groeneboom, has to do with the case.)

509. I take this line as subordinate in sense to what follows: "For just as the men are private enemies, so they will bear enemy gods on their shields." (For examples of comparatio paratactica and other such paratactic constructions in A. see Friis Johansen 2.) Thus the fact that the men are private enemies is not, as is normally assumed, part of the lucky chance (this would logically be incompatible with my view of 505) but, presumably, the reason why Hyperbius was chosen to face Hippomedon in the first place. Note that making the lucky chance consist
solely in the opposed shield devices means that mention of it in 508 follows naturally from ὀπλᾶν σχέσιν in 507.

The personal enmity of the two men is commonly thought to be a detail from the epic, but it could equally well have been invented by A. for the occasion.

δυνα ἄνδρον The juxtaposition underlines the opposition between the men.

510ff. By giving the Theban champion a blazon of his own A. is able to provide a particularly clear omen of his future victory and symbol of the justice of his cause, thus showing that the gods are indeed on the side of Thebes. The neat effect is achieved, however, at the expense of slight moral inconsistency, for elsewhere in the scene (especially at 591ff.) it is implied that an honest and properly modest warrior bears no blazon at all.

511. θεοῦ Prominently positioned in antithesis to the men.

πύρπυρον Eteocles quotes the Scut's word (493) to prepare for mention of Zeus's fire in 513 (Tucker).

512. πάντως Marking Zeus's benevolence (Tucker).

513. σταθαῖον "Firm;" the word must evidently have lost any sense of "standing."

κοτός The calm picture contrasts with the fury of Typhon.

ἐν ἕρως An unusual expression, possibly chosen, as Tucker suggests, as an antithesis to ἐν ἔτοιμα in 493.

ἀλέγου As with βρέμετ at 378, A. inserts a vigorous verb where a tamer one would be expected. The idea of opposing the fire
of Zeus's thunderbolt to the fire on the attacker's shield is repeated from the Cypareis Redepaar.

514ff. Dindorf's idea of bracketing 515-520 is accepted by Mazon, Murray, Groeneboom and van Veen (p. 24ff.), but Fraenkel (2 p. 33ff.) is surely right to argue against it. Down to 513 Eteocles has been concerned merely with the coincidence that the opposed champions will bear opposed gods; the more important fact that Zeus defeated Typhon and that the blazons are thus an excellent omen for Thebes cannot be dealt with merely by an oblique allusion in 514, for omens have to be explicitly interpreted and accepted. Van Veen's lengthy arguments mostly rest on a priori assumptions about the parallelism between speeches in this scene or on misunderstanding of the sequence of thought.

Fraenkel follows Hermann and Wilamowitz in condemning 514; but I agree with Erbse (p. 12f.) that this too is unnecessary, for the line is a good one and, I think, plays its part in the argument. I take the sequence of thought here to be as follows: "The choice of Hyperbius was a providential one since he and Hippomedon will bear opposed gods on their shields; and further, the god on Hyperbius's shield is an unconquerable one. Now this last point is a token of the gods' favour to us; we are on the winning side, the enemy on the losing side, if Zeus is indeed stronger in battle than Typhon, and it is likely that the men's fortunes will reflect this in the event..." (for details of interpretation and line-order see below).

E. Hes. 347-352 looks very much like a reminiscence of this passage, complete with both 514 and 515f.
514. The sarcastic pretence of doubt brings out the obviousness of the truth that Zeus has never been defeated, as though Eteocles were saying to his enemies, "If you know of an instance, please tell me."

515f. There are, I think, two possible lines of interpretation here, not always fully distinguished by editors. (1) προσφέλεια δαμόνων means the patronage of the different gods to the two sides; 515 then acts as a formal conclusion to what precedes and should be followed by a full stop, and δ' ἐσμέν should be accepted in 516. (2) προσφέλεια δαμόνων means divine favour to Thebes; τοιάδε then refers forward as well as back, 515 should be followed by a colon, and the first δ' in 516 must be removed (as in three MSS.). I prefer the second approach (which is that of Wilmotz) as giving a more natural sense to προσφέλεια and a smoother run to the whole passage (see my paraphrase above).

515. προσφέλεια On the formation see Fraenkel 2 p. 34 n. 1.

516. τῶν κρατοῦντων... ἡσσωμένων The allusive plurals are of course quite usual; see Fraenkel on Ag. 412 (p. 216), 1625ff. (p. 771).

517ff. (Note that I am here using Page's line numbers, which are not the traditional ones, and also that Page's apparatus misreports the MSS.; it should read, "517 hoc loco Mᵉ et plurimi: post 519 Mᵃ; ...")
The line-order of \( M^a_c \) being evidently wrong, Wilamowitz and most subsequent editors accept the order of the minority of later MSS., with 517 (\( \varepsilon i\nu\delta\zeta\ \delta\varepsilon \ldots \)) following 518 (\( \varepsilon \lambda \ Z\varepsilon\Upsilon\zeta\ \gamma \varepsilon \ldots \)). Fraenkel, however, (2 p. 39f.) argues for the line-order which Page now adopts, simply on the ground that it is better attested. But that is not an argument; for, given that the initial dislocation of line-order here is older than our oldest MS. (see Dawe 1 p. 109), it follows that every line-order that is attested at all in the MS. tradition has an equal \textit{a priori} claim to consideration.

And if we look without prejudice at the sense of the passage it will be seen that the clause "if Zeus is indeed stronger than Typhon," while it no doubt could qualify the final stage of the argument, "and it is likely that the men will fare thus," would more logically and naturally qualify the previous stage, "we are on the side of the winner ..." The order of Wilamowitz and the minority of MSS. is therefore the best.

(But it \textit{may} be that we should simply omit 517 (\( \varepsilon i\nu\delta\zeta\ \delta\varepsilon \ldots \)) with \( A_1^a_c \), Frencken, Wecklein (see Studien p. 58ff.), for \( \varepsilon i\nu\delta\zeta\ \pi\rho\acute{a}\zeta\epsilon\iota \nu \) is an unusual construction (see below) and the position of \( \delta\varepsilon' \), as van Veen has noted (p. 31), is distinctly odd.)

518. Eteocles reiterates the crucial point, with an ironic implication of doubt as at 514.

517. \( \varepsilon i\nu\delta\zeta \) Eteocles shows his usual caution in prediction.
πράξεων ἄνδρας For ἐνός with the future no parallel is cited nearer at hand than Isæus IV. 18. Sidgwick's πρᾶξαι μάνδρας gives both the normal construction and a very desirable particle.

ἀντιστάτως Dawe (1 p. 117) is hardly justified in objecting to this as a late word when ἀντιστατεῖν occurs as early as Hdt. III. 52. Δ'ς ἀντηρέτας might be a genuine preservation, but is really more likely to be a scribal reminiscence from 283, 595.

519f. 'Υπερβίω...Ζεῦς The climactic summing-up is marked by repetition of these crucial names.

519. δὲ Most editors accept τε, so that Eteocles begins as though he were continuing the statement of probability but then, as even this might not be cautious enough, switches to a polite prayer-like construction (cf. Wilamowitz); and this may well be right.

πρὸς λόγου τοῦ σήματος "In accordance with the meaning of the sign." The sign is an omen but in A.'s world one must still pray for the omen’s fulfilment.

520. ἡσσηρ Zeus must prove true to his title; see on 129 above.

γένολτ’ ἄν A statement that Zeus "might prove a saviour" amounts in Greek to a polite hint that he should do so. But γένολτο Ζεὺς may be right; cf. 526.

ἐν’ ἀσπίδος The image on the shield and the real Zeus are fused so as to stress the potency and "reality" of the image in the manner of primitive magic.
After the careful logic of Eteocles' speech the chorus evoke in lyrical terms the horrific evil of Hippomedon's shield device and the revulsion that it must inspire in the gods.

The involved word-order takes some working out; and, as Groeneboom says, δέμας δαλμονός can be taken either as a periphrasis (cf. Eum. 84) or literally. The effect will be to fuse Typhon himself, his image on the shield, and the shield's bearer in the minds of the audience, so that the various epithets can be taken as applying to all three.

The primary meaning is probably an "exact antithesis" to Zeus as the stamp is to the die; but the word may be given special appropriateness here by secondary implications both of "striking against" Zeus (cf. e.g. ἀντιπαλός and see Groeneboom) and of a literal "opposed relief sculpture" (cf. L.S.J. s.v. τύπος IV and see Verrall).

The whole range of meanings from "hostile" through "hateful" to "friendless" (cf. 523f.) is appropriate here. θεονίοι I.e. γνησιοῦς (commentators), but also suggesting the normal sense "underground" and so completely the "antithesis" of the Olympian gods.

Hippomedon is inhuman and anti-human in bearing such a device. But it is θεολοιων that bears the main emphasis.

The dignified neologism brings out the detachment and invulnerability of the gods. They hate Typhon, but not as equals and not because they fear him.
525. **κεφαλὰς ἱψειν**

The head is naturally mentioned as the seat of life, but the verb is odd. A sense "hurt, spoil," even if possible in tragedy, would be very weak here; and **ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν** — "you will throw away your life" — at Hdt. VII. 65 does not seem a real parallel. I suppose A. must mean "will fall headlong" (Tucker and others), but he perhaps has the Homeric **κεφαλὰς Ἀὶδί προβάλειν** (Il. XI. 55, cf. Hes. Fr. 204. 118) at the back of his mind.

526ff. Now that a pattern has been established of attackers who are in all respects monstrous, horrifying and inhuman, A. begins to vary it so as to present Eteocles with increasingly difficult ethical problems. Parthenopaeus is just as savage, arrogant and blasphemous as the rest, but his nature contrasts with his attractive appearance and with his name, and his fanaticism is at least genuinely courageous and unselfish. The sharp antithesis between Theban virtue and Argive wickedness thus begins to be softened by a Homeric sense of the pathos of war for both sides. But A. is also departing from the usual Homeric convention whereby a character's name and appearance, if dwelt upon at all, reflect his nature and help to define the type to which he belongs, and in doing so it seems that he is taking deliberate account of the randomness and irrationality of real life. We should note, however, that deceptive appearances, which for Euripides will become the rule, for A. remain strictly the exception.

526. **οὕτως γένολτο**

Replying either to the chorus or to 519f.
528. **αὐτὸν** This seems to indicate that the tomb has some special significance (Tucker); the significance of Athena Ones having recently been spelt out (501ff.), the audience will perhaps gather that it is particularly dangerous and reckless for an enemy to stand and boast beside the tomb of a Theban hero.

529f. Men commonly swear by what they most honour or value ("honour" and "value" are both covered by **σέβειν**) such as a god or their eyesight. So by swearing by his spear Parthenopaeus reveals both his impiety, since he must honour it more than a god, and his heroic fanaticism, since he must value it more than eyesight. Since oaths by weapons in fact occur often enough in Homer without any special significance, Wilamowitz (3 p. 437 n. 3) calls this a criticism by A. of the epic; that is probably an exaggeration, but it is certainly an instance of a Homeric feature used for an unhomeric purpose of characterization (see on 287ff. above).

530. **σέβειν πεπολΘώς** I.e. **πεπολΘώς αὐτὴ ἢστε**

μᾶλλον θεοῦ σέβειν (commentators), but the peculiar grammar probably reflects a slight confusion of thought; **σέβειν** should really be applied only to the god and the eyes, **πεπολΘώς** only to the spear.

531f. A startling and effective piece of "syntactical legerdemain" (Dawson). The collective oath of the Seven at 47 is quoted word for word so that the audience will certainly expect a pause after **βίοι** , followed perhaps by some equivalent of the cautious line 48. The enjambement and the resulting twist in the use of
then come as a great surprise, heavily underlining the
impiety and its contrast with the original oath, which did not
claim to predict the result of the battle (cf. Bernadete 2 p. 11f.).

532-5. These lines are certainly not sarcastic and contemptuous,
as Tucker thinks, but they are not exactly a "ray of sunshine"
(Fraenkel 2 p. 39) either. The youthful appearance of
Parthenopaeus is certainly meant to be attractive and sympathetic,
but his blasphemy is all the more shocking by contrast - "These
words are spoken by a mere boy ..."

There is some imagery of plant-growth here, though less than
Tucker and others think. θλάστημα is a very weak and
standard metaphor in itself, serving as little more than "neutral
terminology." The expression ὀρας φυόνης, although
neither ὀρα nor φύειν by itself need suggest agriculture,
would more naturally be used of springtime (cf. e.g. Od. IX. 51)
nourishing plants than of a time of life nourishing hair, and so
should probably be classed as a plant metaphor. Τουλος
(which can mean "corn sheaf"), ταρφύς and ἄντέλλουσα
will then be further "neutral terminology" assisting the image.

532. μητρὸς τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς The audience are clearly meant
to recognize the allusion to Atalanta and to see here - and in
καλλιπρώτωδοι - a strong hint as to the attacker's name.
We can take it that the mother and not the father is mentioned
because Parthenopaeus was brought up by his mother and that this
helps to make his savagery the more paradoxical.
533. ἐκκαλλίφωρον

Apparently a coinage on the analogy of the Homeric κυωνόπρωφος (van Nes p. 89ff., Fraenkel on Αἰγ. 235). Fraenkel may be right to connect the "prow" metaphor with "the 'kennings' of oracular and sacrificial language," but that does not explain why A. should choose to use it here or at Αἰγ. 235. Possibly he had in mind the word καλλιπρόσωπος (M's gloss here) but felt that this had frivolous or erotic connotations (cf. Anacr. 1. 1. 3) which made it unsuitable for tragedy without some slight disguise.

ἐνδοροπαλε ἄνηρ

"A man who is half man, half boy." The repetition of "man" contributes no actual information (for a reference to bravery, ἐνδορπεῖα, would be out of place at this point, despite the schol.), but helps to mark the paradox.

534. στείχει

Expressing gradual movement; perhaps felt as a slight metaphor since the word is usually used of movement on foot. On this type of paratactic construction see Friis Johansen 2. διὰ παρηγών "Across his cheeks," of course, not "à percer ses joues" (Mazon); see Tucker.

535. 

Slightly smoother sense is given, I think, by taking ὄρας φυούσης with what follows (so e.g. Wilamowitz) rather than what precedes and interpreting the line as a generalisation — "the hair that sprouts thickly in due season."

536. 

The assonance adds solemnity and underlines the contrast between ὑμόν and παρθένων ἐπώνυμον.

παρθένων ἐπώνυμον This would normally mean "named
after maidens," but the idea of an appropriate name which
έπόνυμος also contains enables the phrase to be taken
as "suiting the name of maiden" (Dawson). Parthenopaeus is
παρθένων ἐπόνυμος , "appropriately named 'maiden',"
but his φρόνημα does not reflect this.

537. φρόνημα "Spirit, purpose," but no doubt with connotations
of pride and arrogance.

γοργόν Very often used of eyes and looks, perhaps merely
through habitual cliche. ὄμα , then, is "eye," not "face."

δ' Since φρόνημα as well as ὄμα must be governed by
ἐχθν (unless indeed ὄμος and ἐπόνυμος should be
written in 536?), I do not understand this particle (see
Denniston l p. 162 n. 3). To regard it as adversative, with
Tucker, would involve very awkward anacolouthon. Presumably
we should read γοργόν τ' with Q I C Tr.

Kirchhoff's transposition of lines, combined with Wilamowitz's
deletion of 549, is accepted by many editors; for arguments see
Wilamowitz l p. 110f., van Veen p. 34ff., Srebrny (who would also
delete 548) p. 26ff., Groeneboom. But Fraenkel (2 p. 36ff.)
argues strongly against this. As he says, the audience must
realise that the attacker is Parthenopaeus by 536 at the latest —
indeed παρθένων ἐπόνυμον would be unintelligible
otherwise — and for the name to be spelt out immediately
afterwards would be merely pedantic. ἑφίσταται πύλαις
in 538 is admittedly unattractive immediately after προσίσταται,
but this cannot count as more than a minor argument for the
transposition. For further points see below.

538. οὐ μὴν "Nor again;" see Denniston 1 p. 338, 585.

The device counts as a boast and not just an
insult because, I suppose, Parthenopaeus identifies himself with
the Sphinx, implying that Thebes will be at his mercy as it
formerly was at hers.

539ff. The Sphinx is another motif commonly represented on shields in
art (see Chase) and here given special significance. As at 491ff.
the plausible device is accompanied by circumstantial description
of how the shield is fashioned.

539. ὄνειδος In A.'s world to have been subject to the Sphinx is
in itself a "reproach," even if no moral fault was involved.

γαληνάτωι See on 386 above.

540. σώματος προβλήματι Showing the great size of the
shield (Tucker) and also implying that the tender body of
Parthenopaeus is fully protected behind hard bronze.

541. The old enemy of Thebes appears reborn in the new force of
monstrous evil that the Seven represent, and it is a son of
Oedipus who must combat this. The name "Sphinx" is placed at
a moment of climax marked by the three-word line.

ὁμόσιτος ὁμοστής, ὁμοφάγος, ὁμόσιτος
are almost always used of creatures that feed on human flesh;
the usage predates the use of ὁμός itself to mean "savage,
cruel," and is perhaps relevant to the habits of Centaurs and Cyclopes as discussed by Kirk, p. 52ff. Here, as Dawson notes, the repetition of ὄμο- from 536 links the Sphinx with her bearer.

There is no need to believe with Eustathius p. 1160. 49 (if indeed Eustathius is referring to this passage) that the device is somehow moveable like that at E. Ph. 1124. Tucker unjustifiably restricts the meaning of μηχανᾶσθαι, as can be seen from the lexicon.

542. ἐνώμα Wilamowitz and Groeneboom argue for the imperfect on the ground that the change of tense in 543 will mark the change of subject; but Wakefield’s γόμφουσι νωμᾶτι is very easy and probably right.

λαμπρὸν ἐκρουστον δέμας I.e. no mere painting but a three-dimensional repoussé figure in glittering metal.

543. ἐνα Probably in antithesis to πλεῖστο in 544; see Verrall's

544. ἀνδρὶ τῷδ’ This is certainly the Theban on the shield, not Farthenopaeus himself as Sidgwick and Tucker think. If the actions of the Thebans can be seen as directed against their own side, the omen will, so Farthenopaeus hopes, work powerful magic for the Argives.

545. καπηλεύσειν Tucker and Rose are probably right to see here an implied contrast between the κάπηλος who trades locally
and the ἐμπορὸς who travels with his goods for long
distances. The thought will be, "Since he has come all this
way like an ἐμπορὸς, it is unlikely that in the actual
battle he will content himself with the petty dealing of a
κάπηλος." A κάπηλος would be low-class (Groeneboom)
and so not ἄγαθος in war; would tend to look to his own
profit rather than devoting himself to a cause; and would do his
trading on a small scale. The word is in any case insulting
(cf. Fr. 639, L.S.J. s.v.), but mention of a long journey gives
it special point here.

546ff. It seems as though μακρὰς ᾑλεύθοι is explained
by Ἄρης, implying that Parthenopaeus had further to come than
the Argives; but it is then puzzling to be told that he is a
μέτοικος at Argos and was brought up there (Wilamowitz
1 p. 110, Srebrny p. 31ff.). Fraenkel (2 p. 37f.) explains that
after being brought up in Argos Parthenopaeus returned to Arcadia,
but has now come on the long journey to Thebes to serve as a
μέτοικος in the Argive army; this is possible but complicated,
and μέτοικος would more naturally imply that Argos was his
present home (and cf. E. Supp. 890ff., which gives no hint of a
return to Arcadia). I take it that the original journey from
Arcadia to Argos in childhood is being added on to the recent
journey from Argos to Thebes; Parthenopaeus has come a long way
since his birth, and the whole of this "journey" will be
"disgraced" if he now fails the Argive cause.
546. As Fraenkel says (l.c.), it is a strong point against Kirchhoff's transposition that this line would make a very ill-omened ending to the speech. 

κελεύθου...πόρον

Somewhat pleonastic, though one can say that κελεύθου is the route, πόρον the journey along it.

καταλογυνεῖν πόρον

A short way of saying "incur disgrace by showing himself unable to justify his journey."

547. Παρθενοπαιός

The name has to be mentioned somewhere although the audience will already have guessed it, and after μακρᾶς κελεύθου the words Παρθενοπαιός Ἀρκάς perform a definite function (Fraenkel 2 p. 39).

546. Parthenopaeus owes a special debt to Argos for bringing up a foreigner and treating him like an Argive. The line does not allude specifically to γηροτροφία (despite Cameron 1 p. 93), but it does recall the idea of the debt owed by Thebans to their land, and this makes the attractive loyalty of the otherwise villainous Parthenopaeus the more paradoxical.

549. Van Veen (p. 34ff.) thinks this line intolerably weak after 547f.; but the sense is simply "Such is the man ... who (as I have said) utters threats ...."

The repetition from 426 does not seem to have any special significance. The substitution of Ἡεός for τύχη makes the prayer more serious, as befits the close of a speech.
Eteocles begins with an ironically ambiguous prayer; it sounds as though he is saying "May the gods give them what they desire," but then line 551, since its construction is one very commonly found in curses and references to destruction, reveals that the prayer is in fact a curse. (The line-order of the MSS. should thus, I think, be preserved.) As Rose explains, "ἀν φρονοῦσι is destruction and slaughter; Eteocles hopes that they will find what is so much in their minds, but as victims, not inflictors of these harms." (I do not see how ἄν φρονοῦσι could mean ἐπιξιάείς ἄν φρονοῦσι as the schol. and other commentators think.)

The four juxtaposed datives reinforce the contemptuous tone.

"In utter destruction and misery (or degradation);" but both words can, as Tucker points out, have a moral sense, "utterly wicked," and their use here may thus serve to suggest an intrinsic link between wickedness and destruction.

The τε is not impossible (see Denniston 1 p. 497 n. 2), though certainly dispensable (cf. e.g. 71). The schema etymologicum underlines the idea of destruction.

Somewhat contemptuous, as implying that Eteocles himself knows nothing of Parthenopaeus. But a reference to the reputation of Arcadians (Tucker) would need to be made specific if it was to be felt.
554. καὶ ὁ δὲ ὁρᾶτι

The paradox of making one part of the body usurp the function of another gives a very striking image (Winckelmann's δὲ ὁρᾶτι would be extremely weak). Actor sees what is to be done and does it, but the close relation between seeing and doing is brought out by saying that the hand, the "doing" part, does the seeing.

τὸ ὁρῶσιμον

Evidently used for τὸ ὁρῶσιμον, "what is to be done." There can surely be no question of an internal accusative in view of the article.

555. A brother of Hyperbius could be expected to resemble him in virtue and prowess.

556. Parthenopaeus can be regarded as a mere tongue since his tongue is the only operative part of him (see Groeneboom); and it is natural to talk of a "stream of words" as "flowing" (cf. 73 and Groeneboom's parallels). A. combines these two natural ideas to make a very striking image conveying the futility of the attack; if Parthenopaeus is mere tongue, and that tongue is mere water, then there is little to be feared from him.

As Cameron notes (1 p. 64ff.), this continues the image pattern which pictured the enemy as water threatening to burst into the city (64, 85f. etc.). Formerly the image conveyed the great danger to Thebes, but Eteocles has been able to give it a new and more encouraging significance.

556. The antithesis of λόγος and ἐργον implied in 554 is made more explicit.
557. ἀλασίνειν. It is probably right to see this as "vehicle terminology" since water does nourish crops etc. (though ἀλασίνειν does not seem to be used of this elsewhere); but I do not think, despite Cameron l.c., that any very detailed picture is implied.

558f. I do not believe in Francken's τεῖχος, for θήρος...δάκος is a legitimate expression (cf. E. Hipp. 646f., Cyc. 325, and see below) and is therefore unlikely to have arisen by accident, while at the same time it is too rare and peculiar to be a deliberate scribal substitution.

Decision on Well's emendation - delete 559 and read δάκος in 558 - is more difficult; Wilamowitz, Murray, Fraenkel (2 p. 39ff.) and others accept it, van Veen (p. 38ff.) and Erbse (p. 13ff.) argue against it. Fraenkel objects to the MS. text on the ground of the difficulty of understanding "the Sphinx" as subject of μέμψεται; but there is no reason why the image should not be said to "blame its bearer." Erbse (followed apparently by Page) objects to the emended text on the ground of the change of gender κατὰ σύνεσιν in τυγχάνουσι, but that again seems to me natural enough in the context. But if the detailed arguments on either side are inconclusive (there is some force, however, in Rose's objection to φέροντα without the article), it is certainly true that the emendation gives much more lively and pointed sense; and Eteocles has already said once that Parthenopaeus will not be let in.
558. ἔχολος. In both an active and a passive sense, and indifferently with θηρος or δίσλος (if that is the right reading). The sight of the hated enemy will make Acor fight all the harder.

δίσλος. For the apparent history of the word see Barrett on E. Hipp. 645–8. Since δίσλος by itself already means "dangerous animal" in A. (Fraenkel on Ag. 824), we should probably take θηρος δίσλος as a fossilised formula which has lost any implication of "biting." Eteocles perhaps avoids the word ἀγκυρας for reasons of euphemism.

560. ἐξωθένειν εἰς. Obviously with what precedes, not with what follows as Tucker and other editors thought.

μέμφεται. Once again Eteocles sarcastically takes over the idea that the shield device has a life of its own and uses this against the enemy. The Sphinx will take as much of a beating as the Theban on the shield, and then she is more likely to turn against her bearer than to help him fight the Thebans.

561. κροτησμοῦ. Eteocles seems to be picking up the idea of "beating" from ἐκμυστοῦ in 542 (in which case the v. l. πλημμυρου for πυρυμοῦ has its attractions); the Sphinx will now receive a second "beating" which she will like less (see Dawson, and for κροτεῖν used of metalwork see Pi. Fr. 194).

ὑπὸ πτόλυμι I.e. before she can enter, in antithesis to ἐξωθένειν εἰς (Wilamowitz).

562. Eteocles cautiously qualifies his confident prediction, at the same time hinting to the gods that they ought to fulfil it.
See on 427 above.

The best reading; better than πᾶν, for we want a specific reference rather than a generalisation.

563ff. Anyone who can blaspheme and boast as the enemy champions do must be terrifyingly wicked and self-confident; the only hope is that the gods will destroy them.

563. The shocking report of the Scout causes such powerful emotion in the breast that the words are felt to enter the breast rather than the ears. There is perhaps an implication that the words are as painful as weapons.

564. τριχάς... πλόκωμος

More pleonastic than "look of hair" in English, the periphrasis helping to dignify a common cliché (see e.g. Groeneboom).

δρασίς

The word must in any case be predicative in sense, for the attempts of Wilamowitz (1 p. 249) and Groeneboom to rationalise a "look of erect hair" are very artificial. Even so the genitive should perhaps be accepted as "exquisitus" than the more obvious δράσις (first Wakefield and Blomfield, not Blaydes); cf. Tucker.

565. The run of short syllables and the repeated μεγαλ- mark a climax of agitation.

Πλούωμοι

This should now certainly be accepted; see Dawe 1 p. 110.

566. εἰθε < > θεός

εἰθε γάρ is not Attic (Wilamowitz 1 p. 112f.). For εἰ θεός θεός
(sc. εἶξεν) Tucker and others compare S. Ο.C. 623, but the expression is unnaturally abrupt. Clearly none of the MS. readings is right.

Now the only certain hypodochmiacs elsewhere in A. occur in the metrically anomalous Ε.V. (Conomis p. 31f.; Pers. 961/973 is very doubtful). This would not in itself make one doubt the MS. text at Sept. 629; but now that the papyrus attests a different text there, we are bound to wonder whether full dochmiacs should not be restored. (The account at Οxy. Π. xxii p. 100f. shows that the position of letters in the papyrus is not compatible with Wilamowitz's simple deletion of βαλλων.) Suppose, then, that πῦργων βαλλων ζενοθεμ (Page's apparatus) is right at 629; the problem of the strophe can then be very easily solved with ετθε θεος θεος.

For "Euripidean" doubling of nouns in moments of excitement cf. 204, Ευμ. 782, and for the response cf. 564/627, Άγ. 1164/1175, Χο. 960/971.

567. τόνδο To write τᾶλα (Dawe 1 p. 168f.) would entail inserting an object for ὀλέσεων in 566, and is not necessary; cf. e.g. Ε. Ηελ. 1587. But ἐν γάτι admittedly contributes little to the sense.

568ff. Matters become still more ethically complicated; here is an attacker who is not wicked at all, and who nevertheless must be opposed. By revealing that it is not only the guilty whom the gods destroy the case of Amphictyons presents Eteocles, as
Otis puts it (p. 163), with a prophetic analogy of his own fate. The seer's virtue, which no doubt was stressed in the epic and which certainly was implied by his important cult and oracle in A.'s own day (see Dodds ap. Podlecki I p. 162), is thus made to contribute to the ethical and emotional development of the play.

568f. Each of the two nouns ἀνδρα and μάντιν is qualified, as Verrall points out, by a term that one would expect to find applied to the other (for the chiastic construction will itself help to lend a colouring of ἄνδρεςα, corresponding with ἀλήθη ἄριστον, to ἀνδρα). This neatly brings out the paradox of Amphiaraus's successful combination of two roles. Verrall may well also be right that this passage and Pi. 01. VI. 17 (Tucker adds S. O.C. 1313f.) derive from the same passage of the epic, one which itself was perhaps influenced by the name Ἀμφιάραος.

For these reasons the v.I. σωφρονεστέρον should be rejected and a comma should not be placed after ἄριστον, as in many editions (Fraenkel 2 p. 42 n.1). Probably also ἀλήθη τ' should be accepted; Professor Page tells me he has no objection to appositional τ'ε as such (compare his reading at 631), so I am not clear why he rejects it here.

571ff. Instead of simply describing the attacker the Scout lets him reveal his character directly through his own words. His argument with Tydeus, first referred to at 382f., frames the first six pairs of speeches, thus helping to set the seventh slightly apart.
The repetition of the periphrastic formula (see on 448 above) serves to set the two mighty heroes forcefully against one another (Dawson).

Amphiaraus is implying that the words he uses are standard names for Tydeus. This may refer, as commentators think, to the legend of Tydeus's murder of a kinsman, but could have a more general reference, like the Homeric ἄνδροφόνος.

The implication clearly is that Tydeus urged Argos to war, as Apollodorus relates (III. 6. 8).

In the rest of the list of insults the article is omitted for the sake of speed and vigour; see Fraenkel on Ag. 1440-3. On the article here see Fraenkel on Ag. 896; but it perhaps has a generalizing force, as when applied to abstract nouns.

Wilamowitz, Groeneboom and others suppose that the genitive is subjective - "summoner in the service of the Erinyes" - on the analogy of πρόσπολον φόνου; but with an agent noun such as καλιτήρι any genitive would surely be taken as objective - "summoner of the Erinyes" - in Greek as in English. As Tucker explains, Tydeus is effectively the "caller" or "invoker" of an avenging spirit, either through the murder he has committed or through his evil acts and counsels in general. Since the legal sense of καλιτήρι does not seem relevant, this will be a case of etymological catachresis of a technical term.
Although there can hardly be a reference here to the curse of Oedipus, as the scholiast thinks, it may be significant that an Erinys makes a preliminary appearance at this point in the play, just as Polynices does at 576ff.

Since a πρόσπολος is specifically a minister of a god, we should write Φόνου with several editors. Tydeus assists the god of bloodshed in his work (cf. Ἀγ. 735).

Apparently "the present troubles," distinct from τῶν κακῶν in 573; the repetition is perhaps accidental.

Normally a council or council-chamber; the present use is perhaps merely another catachresis (cf. E. Andr. 446), but perhaps implies that Tydeus is the only "council" the king listens to (so e.g. Rose).

The naming of Polynices at this point for the first time in the play is carefully calculated; it is made all the clearer to the audience that he will be the seventh attacker, and Eteocles' continuing unconsciousness of his fate becomes all the more terrible.

On these very difficult lines see Danielsson p. 172ff., Lesky 2, Fraenkel 2 p. 43ff.

In 576 αὖθις looks to me sound; for the use of the word to mean "in turn," of an action analogous to, but not identical with, a preceding action, see L.S.J. s.v. III. ἀδελφόν may also be all right, for isolated epicsisms do occur in Ἀ., but the idea that it derives from ἀδελφόν glossing ὀμόσπορον
is certainly plausible. If πρὸς μόραυ and the other variants derive either from δύσπορον or from πρόσπολον two lines above, there is no way of recovering the word (most probably a participle) which has been displaced.

In 577 Lesky disposes of Schütz's popular conjecture ζμα and shows at length that ἐξυπτιάζων θύμα could mean "turning the name upside down," i.e. reversing its elements to make νεῖκους πόλυ. This could, as Fraenkel says, be a reference to something made more explicit in the epic, and the riddling allusion seems Aeschylean enough.

In 578 Lesky shows that ἓν οὐσίωνος will have to mean not "dividing" but "dealing out, assigning" (cf. especially E. H.F. 218). He therefore interprets δίς as "zweimal und zwar jeweils in verschiedener Form" (Πολυσέρινης, νεῖκος πόλυ); but this will hardly do, for the words "in verschiedener Form" are crucial and are not present in the Greek. Page, then, is right that the sense requires something like δίχ̄ or διος̄ (but an adverb διος̄̄ is not found elsewhere); if ἓν τελευτῆι is corrupt, perhaps διος̄̄ (proleptic).

Ἴν τελευτῆι is paralleled at Pi. Ο1. VII. 26, Ὑθ. I. 35, where it means "in the end," but even if the phrase could mean "finally" here, one must sympathise with Page's "non intellegitur," for what is "final" about the process in question?

And even when the individual phrases have been interpreted or emended piecemeal, we shall still not have finished with this
passage; for it is surely obvious that e.g. τὸν σὸν...
λοιδορῶν δυσκολον, ἐξυππιτάζων ὄνομα, Πολυνεήκους
βίαν, διοσά...τούνον ἐνδατούμενος, καλεῖ...
would be quite intolerable word order, whether Πολυνεήκους
βίαν was taken in apposition to δυσκολον or independently
as object of καλεῖ (cf. Danielsson, though his own text is
unconvincing). I therefore suspect with Murray that either 577
or 578 is interpolated; or reversing the order of these two lines
and writing ἐξυππιτάζων τ᾽ might do some good. But I see
little hope of a final solution here.

579. Verrall, Rose and Fraenkel (2 p. 45ff.) condemn this line,
and it does indeed seem a weak one. I doubt if the whole sentence
could be governed by βάζει in 571 (see Fraenkel l.c.), but it
is always possible that a main verb has dropped out somewhere in
the chaotic lines 576–8. However, Fraenkel's detailed arguments
against 579 are not, I think, conclusive. On τούτ᾽ ἔπος
he refers to his note on Ag. 605, but the distinctions made there
seem excessively fine. As for διὰ στόμα , the meaning of
this phrase — "through his mouth" — is paralleled at Sept. 51,
while for a phrase of this kind used in an apparently redundant way
Headlam's parallels (1 p. 75f.) seem sufficient.

580. καί "Even" or "also to the gods" would make no sense here
(despite Groesbeek, Rose and others), and some very strange
interpretations and emendations have therefore been proposed. In
fact this is probably an example of the usage by which καί
in questions "sometimes means 'actually' and conveys surprise or indignation" (Denniston 1. p. 316), although in such cases it normally precedes a verb.

581. The idea is a Homeric one (see Groeneboom); it is natural for an epic poet whose task is to glorify the heroes of the past to make those heroes concerned about their reputation in future legend. The line here helps to make it quite clear what the moral attitude of the audience should be.

Expressing the relation of audience and storyteller.

582ff. Amphiarraus talks the same language as Eteocles and the chorus, stressing the importance of the city and its religious institutions and expressing this in terms of kinship.

582. On the clear reminiscence at S. Ant. 199 see the commentators.

Normally either "native" to a place or "related" to a person. Here after πόλιν πατρώιαν these meanings seem fused so as to suggest that the gods native to the native city of Polynices are somehow linked to him by ties of kinship.

583. In contrast with πατρώιαν and ἐγγενεῖς.

584-6. The link that has so often been made in this play between patriotic ties and those of parenthood is here developed in complex and evocative imagery. As so often in A. the image is not imposed from outside by the poet but explores an association of ideas inherent in Greek modes of thought and language, and to some extent in the myth which the play enacts.
To "dry up the maternal spring" (or "stream") means not, I think, "to kill one's mother," as most commentators suppose, but "to break the tie of motherhood." The mother is the source from which a child comes and the source of his nourishment (as rivers also are—see on 307ff., above), and his continuing kinship to her is thus conceived in highly emotive terms as a continuously flowing stream. No justice (no claim, however just in other respects) can make this kinship cease to exist. (Teare are certainly not in question here, despite the schol. and Paley.)

Now the relation between 584 and what follows is primarily, as commentators recognize, one of comparatio paratactica: Polynices' breach of obligation to his country is as unjustifiable as a son's breach of obligation to his mother. But the complexity and emotional force of the comparison are much increased by multiple interaction between tenor and vehicle. (1) Although πατρίς γαία really means "land of one's fathers" and not "land that is a father," an illogical correspondence will certainly be felt between μητρός and πατρίς; this will lend greater conviction to the comparison and help to suggest that the land really is a parent. (2) The land itself has been elsewhere described as a mother (16, 416), and the language here will recall this. (3) Since streams and land are commonly associated in patriotic contexts (271ff., 304ff.), the subsidiary image of the stream in 584 will be felt as further helping to fuse the tenor and vehicle of the main comparison. (4) Personification of the land continues in ξύμαχος.
And all this impressionistic fusion of patriotic ties and family ties may well recall to the audience that Polynices will, to his cost, be fighting not only his country but also his own mother's son; both elements in the comparison will turn out to be directly relevant to the actions of Polynices, and the play itself will thus confirm the comparison's validity.

584. **ματασβέσει**  The sense "dry up" is normal usage and not in itself a live metaphor.

586. **ζύμμωχος**  Just as individuals captured by force will not make willing allies in war, so, I take it, the personified land, if captured by force, will not assist Polynices but will somehow see to it that he does not prosper as her ruler.

587. **ἐγώσε μὲν δὴ...**  "While you attack your own country, I, on the other hand, shall enrich an enemy's" (see Denniston 1 p. 395). **πλανῶ χθόνα**  Anyone shedding his blood on the land or being buried in it could be said to fertilise its soil; cf. 477 and Groeneboom's parallels here (but on *Perc.* 806 see Broadhead ad loc). Since, however, Amphiaraus will actually be swallowed up by the earth, the idea is particularly applicable to him. A. now uses this idea of fertilising the soil as a metaphor for the benefits which Amphiaraus's oracle will confer on the land (the physical and the more abstract sense of χθόνα being fused, as often). The manner of his death and his fate after death are thus skilfully linked by the imagery.

589. The short sentences with asyndeton mark grim resolution.
οὐκ ἀγιμον...μόρον

Implying both that he will die bravely and that he will be honoured after death.

590f. The nature of the shield confirms Amphiaraus's last words; he is well equipped for fighting, though not for boasting.

590. εὐκήλως ἔχων

Most editors (and also Bergson) read some form of εὐκήλ—, seeing here a contrast with the frenzy of the other attackers. It might seem sufficient objection to this reading that it can be adopted only at the cost of emendation (for a "calm shield" is hardly sense, despite Fraenkel 2 p. 47, Tucker and others) and that Amphiaraus has shown little sign of calmness in the speech that has just been reported. But in fact εὐκήλ— can be virtually ruled out on paleographical grounds.

It is as certain as such things can be that confusion between εὐκήλον and εὐκυκλον arose from misreading of minuscules (Headlam 1 p. 131); it follows that if εὐκήλον were the older reading, the ἔχων τοῦ of the schol. on Φ. Ph. 1111 would have to be derived from contamination by a minuscule MS. of the Septem; and that is highly unlikely.

Confusion between ἔχων and νέμων seems independent of that between εὐκήλον and εὐκυκλον and is probably ancient (see Dawe 1 p. 156). νέμων is therefore unobjectionable (for the word need not imply vigorous movement, as Bergson and Fraenkel seem to think), and εὐκυκλον νέμων is what we should read, with Wecklein, Sidgwick and Murray's First Edition.
591. μύκλων The repetition of "circle" gives a strong visual impression of the round expanse with, most unexpectedly, no blazon at all upon it.

592. On Plutarch's well-known story (Arist. III. 3) see Podlecki p. 35ff. Common sense will show that A.'s words here are not in fact specific enough to have been intended as an allusion to a particular Athenian or to have been spontaneously so taken by an entire audience; but it is fair to deduce from Plutarch and the numerous other citations that the line is one by which early audiences and readers were much impressed. In a "shame culture," such as still to a large extend persisted in A.'s day, no distinction between "seeming" and "being ἄρστος" was normally possible, since ἄρστος itself depended on display and recognition (see Adkins p. 153ff.); A. is therefore strikingly original in describing the commonplace contrast between the boaster and the doer in terms of something approaching personal integrity. And the disturbing discrepancy between seeing and being is a matter which greatly interested such contemporary thinkers as Parmenides (though this is not to say, of course, that actual influence by Parmenides or any other philosopher need be postulated here; see Römer p. 16ff.).

593. Another impressionistic and evocative mingling of tenor and vehicle terminology. The mind is apparently pictured as the field in which the furrow is ploughed (Hermann etc.), and the crop, as 594 explains, is wise counsels, but the furrow itself seems to have no exact tenor equivalent.
The word is commonly used of deep thought and the like (cf. especially Pers. 142, Supp. 407, and see Tucker), so here it acts as "neutral terminology" on which the image turns; as a deep furrow — implying deep, soft soil — produces a rich crop, so the depth in which Amphiarus searches his mind produces valuable counsels.

594. Ἡ. Referring to ἀλομα or φρένος indifferently, and so helping to fuse tenor and vehicle.

τὰ...βουλεύματα "Those counsels of his."

βλαστάνει Common in abstract senses as a more or less dead metaphor, but here cohering as "neutral terminology" with the agricultural image. Alliteration rounds off the image with an air of finality.

595. σοφοῦς τε κάγαθους Matching the attacker's qualities (568f.).

ἀντηρέτας The re-use of this word (cf. 283) helps to keep the nautical image pattern in view, but seems to have no more precise function.

596. δείνος ὡς θεοῦς σέβει Omission of the verb makes a pithy gnomic sentence with which to close (Groeneboom).

597ff. Eteocles has been presented with a new kind of challenge, and his words are not merely emotional and moralizing reflection but serve, as Tucker points out, the practical purpose of demonstrating that Amphiarus is not in fact δείνος; because of his evil
company he too must perish. There is great pathos and dramatic irony in this sorrowful demonstration that fate can destroy a just man, since fate will so soon—though for different reasons—be destroying Eteocles himself.

597. ὅρνιθος. It is easy, however illogical, to think of omens as determining the events they foretell; so here the word becomes equivalent to τύχη (Tucker).

βροτοῖς. Apparently "among mortals," a rather odd use of the dative. βροτοῦς, with 598 in apposition, is sometimes preferred and could be right.

598. δυσερεστέροις. Or τάτοις; see Groeneboom.

599f. κακὴς κάμιον. "Than bad partnership there is nothing more bad" (Tucker).

600. καρπὸς οὐ κοιμώτεος. The expression becomes tersely epigrammatical to the point of obscurity; it is hard to say whether "fruit is not to be reaped" means "there is no profit to be derived from bad company" or "one ought not to enjoy bad company." In any case the meaning here cannot be in line with 601; for if the "fruit" were death or divine punishment, then οὐ κοιμώτεος (which is not the same as e.g. δυσκόμιστος) would make no possible sense.

The dead metaphor of καρπὸς meaning "profit, enjoyment" is somewhat revitalised by the continuation of metaphorical language in κοιμώτεος and by the presence of agricultural
imagery shortly before (593ff.). Against the rich fruit which
Amphiaraus reaps from his mind must be set the evil fruit of
bad company.

601. The line is rightly rejected by most editors as a marginal
parallel. It interrupts the sequence of thought (γνώμη
in 599ff. and exempla in 602ff.) and has nothing to do with the
matter in hand; for even if ἕτη could be weakened to mean mere
"error" (so Sidgwick, Kamerbeek p. 79), the word would still not
be applicable to Amphiaraus, who has been thrown in with evil men
by fate and not by any error on his part. (Minor points are that
the asyndeton is odd and that (ἐκ)μαρτλίζεσθαι (-οὐσθαι)
does not elsewhere mean "bear as fruit"). The positive merits which
Kamerbeek sees in the line cannot outweigh these objections.

602ff. On the structure of this comparatio paratactica see Friis
Johansen 2 p. 25ff., van Nes p. 128ff., and for parallels to the
thought - a common one - see van Nes l.c. and commentators.
Logically one might ask why a ship is destroyed because of the
presence of bad men and not saved because of the presence of good
ones; but the belief arises from the need to account for undeserved
misfortune, and undeserved good fortune is not felt as such a
pressing problem. The choice of exempla - the ship and the
πόλις - ties in neatly with the "ship of state" image
elsewhere in the play.

603. θερμωθὲς Evidently not "hot-headed" (L.S.J.) or "excited
and feverish" (Tucker) but simply "wicked" (so also at Ρουμ.560,
Ar. V. 913); see Groeneboom. Presumably some psycho-physiological belief lies behind this usage.

Not impossible, I think, despite the doubts of Fraenkel (2 p. 48 n. 2) and Page; on the use of abstract for concrete see Groeneboom. The v.l. ἐν for καὶ seems to me attractive, the compromise καὶ ἐν much less so.

604. ΘΕΟΠΤΥΣΤΩΝ The word will have been coined as an emphatic and vigorous opposite to ΘΕΩΦΙΛΗΣ. I feel that ΘΕΟΠΤΥΣΤΩΝ, though firmly rejected by Tucker, would be a slight improvement, and the corruption to the dative singular would be an inevitable one.

605ff. This second example, while ostensibly another hypothetical case, brings us nearer home, so hinting at the fate of Amphiaraus and his companions.

605. ἄνιψάνων Commentators draw attention to the repetition (598, 602, 604, 605), but the word is so unemphatic in each case that this would hardly be noticeable to an audience.

606. ἔχθροκένων The word puzzles Tucker, but it simply denotes a classic type of wickedness, and one which a city as a whole might practise; this line is in effect the opposite of Od. IX. 176 etc.

607. ἔκδικως ἔκδίκως is surely right. In a theological context A. might well hesitate to attribute "injustice" to the gods; but the Greeks certainly felt that there was something wrong with the punishment of one who was δίκαιος (cf. e.g. Thgn. 373ff.), and the natural term to use for such "wrongness"
would be ἐδικος or ἐκδικος (the distinctions which Verrall and Tucker make between these words seem without foundation). ἐκδικος is clumsy without the article; ἐνδικος makes no sense at all.

ἀγρεύματος. One cannot select individual prey with a net, as one can with other weapons; the image thus expresses indiscriminate destruction falling on a whole city, as at Ἀγ. 357ff.

608. The long series of end-stopped lines within a single sentence builds up to an effective climax when the verb is at last supplied. μάστυλ. The metaphor is Homeric (commentators compare II. XII. 37, XIII. 812) but παγκοίνων gives it a new point; the god plies his whip across the backs of good and bad alike.

(This seems better than taking the word as "good" with Verrall and Tucker.) Groeneboom is probably right in thinking of willing and unwilling horses yoked to one chariot.

ἀδεμ. In the context of a whip the word ought to mean merely "is tamed," and it is so used in the two Iliad passages, 11. cc. Here, however, A. must be using it ambiguously to imply also "is killed," especially in view of ὄλωλεν at 604.

609. νίδα Οἰλέους. Emphatic - this prophet of all prophets.

610. Mazon and Fraenkel (2 p. 49) revive Wilamowitz's notion, which Wilamowitz himself retracted, that this line is spurious; but I see no serious objection to it. There is no reason to think that four cardinal virtues are in question (Rösler, p. 26ff., denies Pythagorean influence); and even if they were, four
cardinal virtues are known as early as Pl. *Nem.* III. 74f., as Rose points out. It might be objected that ἄγαθός is odd man out in a list of what Adkins calls quiet moral terms; but although the word is unlikely to mean "morally good" in A., it is still relevant here, since the gods were normally expected to favour ἄγαθος. And the four adjectives are carefully selected to recall both the terms in which Amphiarus was introduced (568f.) and Eteocles' two exempla (602, 605). The line thus helps to form a climax to the priamel; the good men in the exempla had one virtue each, but even Amphiarus, who has four virtues besides being a μάντις and προφήτης, will not escape destruction.

611. μέγας προφήτης. This term in particular is in antithesis to ἄνοσίους...θεοσυντόμοιοιν ἀνδράσιν; note the different kinds of speech implied by προφήτης and θεοσυντόμοιοιν. For the distinction between μάντις and προφήτης see Fraenkel on Αρ. 1099; the latter is the more respectful word, implying a special relationship with the god and a special holiness.

613. The primary reference is, of course, to the expedition to Thebes; but commentators are no doubt right in seeing a double meaning here, since the line sounds so much like a sinister allusion, with characteristic grim meiosis, to a journey to Hades, and since a reference to Hades would fit well with the next line. A long military expedition was in itself dangerous and perhaps impious, as the *Persae* makes clear; the expedition
will therefore lead ultimately to Hades, and its route will then be in a special sense "long to retrace."

_τείνως_  "Extending, making long," a normal usage.

_κομψὴν_  Apparently not used elsewhere of a military expedition, so here probably a metaphor, as Tucker says, from religious processions; Eteocles sarcastically uses an inappropriate term to set the impiety of the expedition in relief.

614. _Διὸς Θέλοντος_  Both a pious formula qualifying the confident prediction and also a specific point: although Amphiaraus is virtuous, Zeus will still permit his death.

.ovwv.keylppse"vsket The sentence builds up to a climax on this striking heptasyllable, whose length gives an air of finality and perhaps also (Dawson) reflects the slow act of dragging. The image of death as a physical "dragging down," presumably by the hands of some nameless demon, gives a very horrific effect. The choice of word will no doubt have been influenced by the manner of Amphiaraus's own death, though in view of οὐγ—this cannot be the primary reference.

615ff.  The passage is puzzling, for it is clear from the whole context, quite apart from 617 (which despite Verrall and Tucker can only mean "but he knows that he must meet his end in the battle"), that Amphiaraus will in fact be killed during the fighting; and how can this happen if he does not take part in it? Also if he is to refrain from fighting because he fears death, how can any Greek—let alone Eteocles—absolve him of cowardice?
The idea must be, I suppose, that Amphiaraus will not actually attack a gate, since he knows this would be useless, but instead will plunge at random into a mêlée somewhere else. A. is perhaps embarrassed by the difficulty of reconciling an attack on a gate with the legend that Amphiaraus was engulfed by the earth while charging across the plain in his chariot.

616. ἕθημον. No doubt right; various explanations have been offered for the nominative, but none seems very natural or easy to parallel. Dawe's pronunciation (1 p. 148) that "δοκῷ σφε ὥς ἕθημον < ἐντα > is not a natural mode of expression" I find hard to understand.

617. The change to a finite construction marks the introduction of a new piece of information of interest in its own right. τελευτικὴ μάχη. A. does not wish Amphiaraus to foresee the exact manner of his death, but chooses an expression compatible with what will in fact happen.

618. Amphiaraus's fate is finally sealed by this rather perfunctory reference to oracles predicting his death. We must not, of course, ask how Eteocles knows about these. In view of the part played by Apollo and his oracles in the destruction of the house of Laius (691, 745ff., 800ff.), Dawson is no doubt right to see some dramatic irony in Eteocles' words here. μαρπῶς. See on 600 above; the image of good or evil "fruit" has become a Leitmotiv of this pair of speeches.
With the reference is to particular oracles predicting Amphiaras's death; with the reference is to Apollo's oracles in general. Wilamowitz, Fraenkel (2 p. 50) and others prefer the latter, but the former seems to me more to the point.

619. The view that the subject of this line is Amphiaras has been decisively answered by Fraenkel (2 p. 50ff.), and I do not understand Erbse's attempt (p. 16f.) to revive it. Such an interpretation would make sense only if there had been a reference to words spoken by Amphiaras in the immediately preceding lines. English commentators suppose that the subject is Loxias, and this seems slightly better; but the change of subject is then awkward, and the line seems unnecessary and weak after 618. In expression it looks Aeschylean enough (cf. L, Cho. 582, Fr. 351), but Fraenkel, Page and others are probably right that it does not belong here.

620ff. Like Polyphontes Lasthenes will in fact have nothing to do and is mentioned mainly for the sake of the symmetry of the scene.

621. An ironic and paradoxical expression; Lasthenes will be very different from an ordinary doorkeeper, whose job is to assist visitors. It is curious that the word should be applied to Lasthenes when just above (606) it indicated impiety.

622. Lasthenes matches Amphiaras's physical and mental qualities, and the combination of these qualities is made to seem remarkable and paradoxical by the antithesis of γέροντα and ἠβῶσων.
623. Ποδώνες ζώνα - Probably not governed by φύσι -
for a connecting particle would then be needed - but continuing
the list of qualities without regard for strict grammar. 622
and 623 are then parallel in that each line switches to a personal
finite construction after the caesura.

The striking juxtaposition of foot, eye and hand brings out
the variety of Lasthenes' physical qualities. ποδώνες
can sometimes mean little more than "swift," and the existence of
this usage helps to justify the word here; but even so it is
hardly possible in the present context for the "foot" element to
go unnoticed. As Tucker sees, the effect is not so much to
personify the eye as to suggest that the swiftness of Lasthenes'
eye matches that of his foot. It is then further implied that the
swiftness of his hand - the most important part of a warrior -
matches both.

χειρ. χειρά might be right as a loose accusative of respect
influenced by the accusatives that precede (cf. Fraenkel 2 p. 52f.);
but χειρ is certainly easier.

624. The obvious rendering, "to seize a naked spear beside his
shield" (so Paley, Murray's Translation) will not do, since a
spear is not kept on the shield side, is not "seized" during battle,
and is never anything but "naked." Most commentators therefore
take γυμνωθέν to mean the exposed part of the enemy; this
then is object of ἄρπάσατι, which means something like "hit
upon;" and δόρυ is either the subject of βραδύνεται
(so e.g. Wilamowitz) or the subject of ἄρπάσατι with ὅσε
understood (so Tucker) or corrupted from Schürze's δορῷ (so e.g. Fraenkel l.c.). All this seems awkward in the extreme; in particular γυμνοθέν would surely require the article, and the alleged sense of ἀρμάτῳ appears unparalleled.

The only sensible explanation, then, is that given by Sidgwick: δόρῳ refers by a loose poetic usage to a sword, as it certainly does at Αρ. 1149 (see Fraenkel ad loc.) and as ἐγχος does elsewhere. All difficulties then vanish; the sword is seized from a scabbard on the left-hand side, γυμνοθέν being proleptic.

626ff. It would not be fitting for the chorus to pray specifically for the death of Amphiaraurus, so once more they pray in general terms.

626. δεικαλοῦς. If δεικαλς were right, as most editors suppose, corruption to δεικαλοῦς would be unaccountable. δεικαλοῦς seems justifiable in view of E. Herac. 901, I.T. 1202, though Dawe's δεικαλως (1 p. 182) is also possible.

629. See on 566 above. There can be no objection to the asyndeton in πύργῳ βαλὼν ἐκτοθεν, since this prayer can be seen as an amplification of the prayer that precedes.

630. The chorus use words that recall the wicked Capaneus rather than the virtuous Amphiaraurus. Their prayer is neatly rounded off by alliteration.

631ff. The Scout does not depart from his usual procedure but calmly and factually relates the attacker's identity, his
boastful words and his shield device, and finally gives Eteocles his cue. And indeed, apart from the one word ὁ ὑτοῦ in 632, the fatal news that the attacker is Eteocles' brother is delivered in the most unemphatic way possible. Metrically the words τὸν ὁ ὑτοῦ σοῦ κακίγνητον are buried in mid-line, the prominence being given to λέξω and πόλει, while grammatically they are merely in apposition to an anticipatory accusative, so that the weight of the sentence falls on the ὁ ὁς clause which forms the object. By making the Scout so innocently unaware of the importance of what he is saying A. is able to prolong the suspense and to avoid blunting the force of Eteocles' outburst at 653ff.

As Patzer says (p. 107ff.), Polynices is not literally a ἠμομάχος like most of the other attackers, but his association with them serves to show that his crime resembles theirs. In attacking his native land and planning to fight his brother he is opposing Zeus's justice and so in a particularly Aeschylean way fighting against Zeus (see Kaufmann-Ehler p. 50ff.). This undoubted crime overrides and renders irrelevant the original moral issue between the brothers.

631. The all-important number is emphasized by ὅ and by the repetition.

Τὸν τί For τὸν τί Verrall and others compare Eum. 10, but τὸν τί there is no doubt corrupted from τὸν τί. Wilamowitz (1 p. 77) defends τὸν τί here on the same lines as at 472, but here, at least, this seems most awkward. Blomfield's correction is probably best.
632. πόλει Since Polynices intends to deprive Thebes of a leader and may bring pollution on her, his threats are as much directed against the city as those of the other attackers.

633. ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται The pleonasm emphasizes "the wickedness of his deliberate and insistent imprecations" (Tucker).

634. νῦργυλς ἐπεμβας Sc. in a successful assault (Tucker). Polynices arrogantly assumes that he will be victorious. Once again there is some vagueness in the siège tactics envisaged; cf. 466f.

καπιγηρυθεὶς The word in the margin of the papyrus may have been καπιγηρυθεῖς as C.H. Roberts supposed (Oxy. P. xxii p. 101; it is curious that Roberts's name should go unmentioned in Page's apparatus and in the exchange of views at P.C.P.S. 1969 p. 108f.); or it may have been a miswriting of καπικηρυκθεῖς (Fraenkel 2 p. 53 n. 1). In any case καπιγηρυθεῖς cannot be what A. wrote, as Dawe (1 p. 169), Lloyd-Jones (4 p. 742) and Page believe, since Dawe's own remark that "ἐπεξιωμαχᾶσας would hardly duplicate it in asyndeton" is unanswerable. Dawe's objection to the MS. text is based on pure misinterpretation; no one except him seems ever to have imagined that it could refer to a ceremony conducted "in the middle of battle and perched on top of a wall."

The words that mean "proclaim as victor" elsewhere are κηρύσσειν and ἀνακηρύσσειν (see the commentators), but the present substitution of ἐπικηρύσσειν, with ἐπι-
contributing a suggestion of triumph over the city, as it also
does in ἐπεξεικαχάσας, is quite natural. So too is the
transference of this idea of proclaiming a victor from the
context of games to the context of battle.

635. The sense of triumph is emphasized by the three-word line
and grand polysyllabic verb. There is a slight oxymoron in
παιδὶν ἐπεξεικαχάσας; Polynices' paean will be a
shout of hysterical jubilation more suited to Iacchus than to Apollo.

636. Since Polynices does not know where Eteocles will be fighting,
if at all, he does not expect to be able to arrange a duel until
after the battle (on Euripides' adoption of this sequence of
events in the Phoenissae see von Fritz p. 208ff.). But although
for this reason his vow will not be exactly fulfilled, it still
performs an important function in the play by establishing that
a desire for fratricide betokens the kind of furious hatred
characteristic of Polynices, and also by helping to motivate
Eteocles' outburst at 653ff. (see below ad loc.).

μακρὸν ὑπεκεῖν The similarity in sound between these
two words is often used for epigrammatic effect (Groeneboom).
Polynices means, of course, that he does not mind dying so long
as he can kill Eteocles, but there is dramatic irony and sinister
omen in his expression.

637ff. These lines briefly reveal Polynices' motive for hating his
brother, but the theme of his exile is not dwelt upon and we
never learn the rights and wrongs of the matter.
The text is difficult. ζωντ’ may be right, presumably implying not that Polynices may choose to spare Eteocles' life but that Eteocles may be too cowardly to fight; but either Schütz’s ζων or Heimsoeth’s ζων σ’ would certainly give a better antithesis to the previous line ("May I die killing him or living punish him as he deserves").

τώς (or τώς σ’) ἀνδρηλάτην seems to need emendation, for τώς meaning "thus" would be pointless, while τώς equivalent to ὰς (so Wilamowitz and others), even if S. John. 296 and the Doric speech at Ar. Ach. 762 are considered sufficient dramatic parallels, would still give a very awkward construction. In the text adopted by Sidgwick and Page τώς will have to mean ὰς καὶ σ’ ἀνδρηλάτησας αὐτόν (Paley), but this is a lot to understand from the one word, especially in view of the fullness of expression in the next line.

I am also suspicious of the text of 637, since "to punish you with exile in the same way" seems a weak and peculiar way of saying "to punish you in the same way, i.e. with exile." The line would be much strengthened by writing φυγὴν — "to avenge his exile (i.e. that of Polynices by Eteocles) in the same coin."

Perhaps, then, A. wrote something like

ἡ ζων σ’ ᾠνιστηρά γ’ ὰς ἀνδρηλάτην
φυγὴν τὸν αὐτόν τόνδε τείσοσθαι τρόπον
(γ’ ὰς Blaydes; ἀνδρηλάτην adjectival with φυγὴν;
for the double accusative see L.S.J. s.v. τίνω II. 4).

638. Hard alliteration, pointed out by Dawson, reflects Polynices' angry vehemence and contempt.
639ff. Polynices invokes the same gods on whom Eteocles has been relying in dealing with the other attackers. Such an invocation is no doubt monstrous in the mouth of one who is attacking his native land and threatening to kill his brother, but it is still difficult for Eteocles to answer. And in the end the gods will manage, in their own way, to fulfil the prayers of both brothers.

639f. γενεθλίου...κατρώλας γῆς Ideas of kinship and country are once again associated in a religious context. Polynices has been exiled by his brother and from his native land.

641. τῶν ὅν The enjambment and the repeated ὅν sound give prominence to the emphatic idea of "his;" the gods are to forget about other matters and devote themselves entirely (πάγχυ) to watching over Polynices' prayers.

Πολυνεύλους βία The name which has so far been held back has to be specified somewhere, and it is therefore made the climax of this sentence; the effect seems, however, uncomfortably jerky. (But πάγχυ can hardly go with the name -"in very truth a mighty Quarreler" - as Tucker and Rose imagine.)

642. εὐκυκλον Wilamowitz, Bergson (p. 146f.) and others prefer εὐθετον, which as the less obvious reading may be right; but there is something in Tucker's idea that εὐκυκλον has special point after καλοπηγῆς, Polynices having newly acquired a shield of Argive type.

643. διπλοῦν I.e. not only a symbol of the shield's bearer, such as other attackers have borne, but also a figure of Justice.
Recalling 541 to bring out the contrast with previous devices.

644ff. Polynices again makes things difficult for Eteocles; he bears a blazon which can in no way reveal his wickedness or act as an omen for the future. As we have learnt from the cases of Parthenopaeus and Amphiaraus, life can be more complicated than a contrast of obvious good and evil, and seeming may not correspond to being. (All the same, the fact that Polynices, alone in this scene, carries a blazon which does not correspond to the reality seems to me a distinct awkwardness; see p. 14f. above.)

644. Χρυσήλατον Matching Polynices' opinion of his own glory and virtue, but also recalling the brightness and ostentation of the other blazons.

645. τις Vividly used, like ἄρ' in 646, as though the Scout were at this moment deciphering the blazon.

647f. When once δίκη has been personified as a goddess, it is natural to expect that this goddess will assist and lead to victory those who honour her— that is, those who act justly or have a just cause. The logic of allegory thus serves to justify the
wishful belief that a just cause brings success, and this justification is very often exploited; see e.g. A. Fr. 530.

647. ματάξω The unexpected switch to direct speech lends greater immediacy to Dike's words.

648. ἐπιστροφάς One would like this to mean "control, management" rather than simply "wandering about;" then at Ag. 972 δῶμ᾽ ἐπιστροφωμένον would mean "in control of the house" and at Bum. 546f. the puzzling ζενοτίμους ἐπιστροφᾶς δωμάτων would perhaps be "house-regimes that show respect for strangers." Cognates of ἐπιτρέψειν do not seem to possess this kind of meaning outside A., but A. might be treating them as equivalent to cognates of ἐπιτρέπειν (ἐπιτροπή etc.).

649ff. The Scout concludes his whole series of reports by stressing their reliability; compare the last words of the Messengers at Ag. 680, Pers. 513. After this the Scout must exit, since he has nothing more to do (Wilamowitz l p. 62 n. 1); the attempts of Tucker and Erbse (p. 17f.) to keep him on stage are quite unconvincing.

649. ἐμείνων...τάξευρήματα "What has been found out about them," I think, rather than "their inventions" (i.e. shield devices etc.), though the objective genitive (instead of περὶ ἐκείνων) is admittedly a little odd.

650. Paley's deletion of this line is often accepted, and is probably right. As Wilamowitz says (l.c.), it is hard to tolerate
either the tautology and verbal repetition between 650 and 652 or the separation by line 750 of two references to the Scout's reports. The difficulties are hardly to be resolved by saying that the Scout becomes embarrassed and incoherent on seeing Eteocles' reaction to his news (so e.g. Dawson), by the excessively ingenious interpretation of Erbse l.c. (according to which ἡρμηνευμάτων refers not to the foregoing reports but to a message which the Scout expects to take to a hypothetical reserve defender; cf. Tucker). See also van Nes p. 83ff., arguing against Rose.

652. In contrast to the ends of the Scout's other six speeches A. is deliberately vague here (assuming that 650 is spurious) in avoiding mention of a defender or of the process involved in allotting one. The Scout must neither anticipate Eteocles' reply nor confuse the audience by referring to a defender who does not exist; what matters is simply that Eteocles must act somehow for the good of the city.

ναυκληρεῖν The ναῦκληρος was the owner, not the helmsman, of the ship, but van Nes points out (p. 123) that he would normally travel with her. The word thus reflects both Eteocles' interest in the fate of the city and his responsibility for it.

At line 1ff. and elsewhere in the early part of the play Eteocles was quite conscious of the responsibility implied by the "ship of state" image and confident in his ability to fulfil his role. The word ναυκληρεῖν now comes as a challenge: can Eteocles still control the ship in this new situation?
653ff. Whatever inconsistencies or ambivalences may have appeared earlier in this scene, or may be introduced later, the present situation is for practical purposes clear enough. Eteocles has just learned that Polynices is wickedly taking part in the actual attack of the Seven, a fact which he had not previously suspected. Whenever it was that the other Theban champions were assigned to their posts, we are not to doubt that Eteocles is now the inevitable defender for the Seventh Gate. Polynices' wickedness has thus led to a terrible coincidence in which the working of the Curse of Oedipus can clearly be seen; also his threat of single combat with his brother provides a further clue to the manner in which the curse will, sooner or later, be fulfilled.

Eteocles' outburst of horror at 653-5 reflects this situation. He must fight his brother (for the reasons why he must see on 627ff. below) even though he can see that in doing so he will be fulfilling the curse. If either brother survives the actual duel, he will be visited with deadly and incurable pollution, so the curse is in any case inescapable.

Many scholars have seen at this point an alteration in the character of Eteocles; and ever since Solmsen's influential article (Solmsen 2; see also Nestle 2 p. 2, 57f.) this alteration has commonly been described in terms of the onset of the Erinyes, who, it is supposed, besides working through external circumstances, also has a direct influence on Eteocles' mind and so drives him to madness. This madness is often described in graphic and imaginative language (e.g. Owen p. 49, Murray Aeschylus p. 140),
and it plays a useful part in the theories of Lloyd-Jones
(1 p. 86, 4 p. 741).

This notion, however, has rightly been abandoned by Patzer,
von Fritz, Golden and others; for arguments against it see
especially Kirkwood p. 14ff. Eteocles' emotional exclamation
at 653-5 is as much prompted by circumstances as that at 597,
and is as brief as it could well have been. Then in 656f.
Eteocles pulls himself together for the common good, and does
so in language which so clearly recalls the First Episode that
it might almost have been designed to refute in advance any
suggestion of a change of character. In the rest of the speech
his reply to the Scout's last report is entirely logical and
coherent; his tone may be rather more rhetorical and emotional
than elsewhere in the scene, but this again is wholly appropriate
to the situation. The examples of Cassandra, crestes and Io
show that A.'s way of portraying madness and frenzy was very
different from this. The predicament of Eteocles here is indeed
comparable with that of crestes before the matricide (see
Reinhardt p. 73ff.), but crestes is certainly not possessed by
any Erinys then; in fact I doubt very much whether any character
in A. commits a crime because "an Erinys has taken away his wits,"
whatever Lloyd-Jones may believe.

It is true, of course, that a new stage in the drama begins
at 653, in that the curse, previously mentioned only at 70, now
rises to sudden prominence. But the curse received little mention
before this simply because no one in the play had any idea how or
when it was to be fulfilled; and it was essential to A.'s purpose that this should be so. We should also note A.'s skill in making this new development take place not at a structural break in the play but within the unbroken pattern of this formalised scene (cf. Schmid-Stählin p. 211 n. 8). This is both aesthetically pleasing and, I think, in a certain sense true to life; it is during the regular conduct of our lives that we suddenly realise that we have involuntarily and insensibly committed ourselves to our destined fate.

653. θεομανές Any abnormal behaviour is liable to be attributed to divine possession. Polynices' disastrous wickedness implies that he is mad, as Oedipus was in uttering his curse (781); the gods must then have sent madness on the race, and this madness in turn reveals their hatred of it (στύγος...). The word θεομανές should not be pressed too hard; obviously Eteocles cannot consider that he himself is mad.

654. παιδάκρυτον I.e. nothing but tears belongs to it (Tucker); on compounds of this type see Fraenkel on Ag. 960. The pathos of the word is heightened by contrast with θεομανές and θεϊν... στύγος, which sound in themselves like vituperative terms. ομόν Οίδίπου The juxtaposition underlines the dreadful fact that the race of Eteocles is also that of Oedipus.

655. ὅμων After the repeated ὁ the longer exclamation marks a climax of despair.
Perhaps best taken as a misplaced particle emphasizing either νῦν or the whole sentence (see Denniston 1 p. 214) rather than πατρὸς.

656f. Eteocles once more takes rational account of the consequences of emotional display. If he merely bewails his fate instead of giving a logical answer to the Scout's last report, Thebes may be destroyed and thus more grievous lamentation may be engendered (the metaphor from breeding in τεχνωθῆ is expressive and wholly natural, despite Tucker). Eteocles' words here have nothing to do with his decision to fight his brother, which is not mentioned for another fifteen lines, and they can therefore, despite Dawe 3 p. 39, lend little support to an "Opfertod theory."

658. ἐπωνύμων The name in itself makes Polynices' claim of justice less plausible.

Πολυνεῖκη Or Πολυνεῖκει.

660f. As elsewhere in the scene, Eteocles describes the device in his own derogatory terms, here dwelling on the physical letters which the Scout merely mentioned in passing (646f). Dike herself might bring a man back from exile, but mere golden letters are unlikely to do so.

661. φλύνοντα A most expressively contemptuous term. If letters can "say" anything (647), then they can "babble, talk nonsense." The word is commonly applied to talk that is as empty and useless as bubbles, being influenced, no doubt, by φλυαρέιν;
the literal sense, "bubble," is perhaps also to be felt here, implying that the letters amount to no more than bubbles on the surface of the shield.

Alliteration heavily underlines the contemptuous sarcasm and links φλύοντα to φοίτων φρενῶν; Polynices' claim that Justice is leading him is no more than the babbling of a lunatic.

662ff. This device cannot be turned against its bearer, but Eteocles can deny from his own experience that it is valid. I doubt if we should feel, as some interpreters do, that this time Eteocles is unsuccessful in replying to the attacker's boast; after all, Justice will not return the city and house to Polynices in the event. And we know that at any rate the last and most important of Eteocles' charges (668f.) is quite justified (cf. 580ff.).

662f. The elaborate title, underlined by alliteration, contrasts the real Diκe with her representation on the shield. If the real Diκe had manifested herself in just actions and a just mind (as opposed to φοίτων φρενῶν), she might then have helped to restore the exile.

664ff. A carefully constructed rhetorical period. The negative expressions and end-stopped lines build up to a strong climax at 667, and that climax is then capped by the crucial point at 668f.

We may accuse Eteocles of missing the point in omitting to mention Polynices' present grievance against him, but I doubt whether the audience is meant to be aware of this.
Anything outside human life is unknown, and therefore frightening, and therefore dark. The picture of birth as a flight from darkness is a striking one in itself, though in this context serving as a mere periphrasis.

A metrical convenience.

"The chin's gathering of hair," a less attractive periphrasis. Because the beard accumulates gradually it is imagined as being "gathered" from different sources.

E. Supp. 958f. (quoted by Tucker) shows that could be right; but we can take it that both and were ancient readings, and is the better one (see parallels in Groeneboom's footnote).

Since the question, "Does Dike honour a man because he is just or is a man just because Dike honours him?" has not yet been formulated in A.'s day, A. is able unobtrusively to fuse two ideas here. Dike cannot be "standing by" Polynices in the sense of making him just, and because he is unjust she is unlikely to "stand by" him in the battle. thus has both a neutral and a specifically military sense.

Sarcastic meiosis - "Such is my opinion, but you may judge of the probabilities for yourselves."

Added mainly for the sake of the clinching alliteration.
670f. If Dike aided a man like Polynices she would have to be the kind of arbitrary and capricious divinity, unconnected with the common noun δίκη, that Kitto sarcastically describes (2 p. 38ff.).

670. πανδίκης A slightly unnatural expression is used for the sake of a play on words which brings out the absurdity of the state of affairs imagined here.

671. Δίκη The prominence conferred by the enjambement and the following sense-pause has the effect of placing the word in inverted commas.

φανέρως Suggesting once more that there is madness in Polynices’ wickedness. Alliteration adds to the epigrammatic force.

672ff. This emphatic statement of intention, followed by an attempt at justification, might by itself appear to reflect a completely free decision by Eteocles to fight his brother. It is generally agreed, however, that there can in fact be no question of complete freedom, since Eteocles elsewhere clearly regards the duel as something forced upon him by the curse and the gods (see especially Regenbogen p. 63ff.). The pattern of the scene dictates that here, as in his previous six speeches, Eteocles should name a defender and say why that defender is appropriate, and there is thus no need to see in the wording here a personal choice between valid alternatives.

What has happened is that the gods have placed Eteocles in a position where to refrain from fighting his brother would
involve a positive decision to back out; he would have to say, "No, I shall not fight my brother, although my own previous decisions coupled with a divinely ordered coincidence make it logical that I should, because I fear the consequences." And fifth-century notions of shame and honour make this impossible (see 683ff., 704, 717); if a man of honour, of ὄφελος, is faced with a choice between committing a certain act and displaying fear, then the act must be committed.

In that it would be physically possible for Eteocles to ignore these claims of honour, we may say, if we wish, that an element of free will is involved. It can be argued either that Eteocles was incapable of avoiding the duel because kings in Aeschylus have no option but to act in a kingly way or that the decision is Eteocles' own to the extent that, as Regenbogen puts it, he acts as he does because he is who he is (similarly von Fritz and others); the issue between these types of approach seems to me somewhat unreal. What does matter is that A. has been able to show in a natural and convincing way how a pious and honourable man could be led by a curse to commit, quite consciously and deliberately, a terrible crime.

Neither here nor anywhere else does Eteocles attempt to defend his intention to fight his brother on the ground that he will be acting for the good of the city. If A. had intended us to understand that Eteocles' death was necessary for the good of the city, or even that a sense of obligation to the city formed some part of Eteocles' motivation, this would certainly have been explicitly stated.
Wilamowitz's remarks on this (l p. 67) hold good despite attempts by some scholars (e.g. Pohlenz p. 84ff., more recently Egermann p. 502ff.; Dawe 3 p. 37ff.) to revive an "Opfertod theory;" even the watered-down version of this theory which von Fritz adopts (p. 212f.) seems insufficiently supported by the text. It is characteristic of the Greek attitudes and values which Adkins discusses that, however devoted a man may be to the interests of his city, the considerations that in the end override all others are those of personal honour and reputation.

Finally, all these issues of motivation and responsibility do not, of course, affect the powerful emotional impact which lines 672-5 will have on an audience. Eteocles is now at last confronted with his dreadful fate, and he faces it with calm, heroic determination. The short, blunt sentences come like hammer-blows, as Fraenkel says (2 p. 55), and their effect is made all the more powerful by their very lack of emotional expression.

672. τούτοις ΝΕΚΟΛΘΩΣ Taken literally this would imply that Eteocles is confident of winning the duel, but, as we shall see, the implication should not be pressed. An expression of defiant confidence is appropriate to the rhetoric of the speech, and there seems to be some grim irony in Eteocles' tone here.

673. ΑΥΤΟC Once again enjambement and following sense-pause serve to set apart a crucial and highly emphatic word. 

ΕΥΔΙΚΗΤΕΡΩC A paradoxical word, since Eteocles' intention may be ΕΥΔΙΚΟC in the sense "appropriate" but cannot possibly
be ἐνδικός in the sense "morally right." The rhetorical question keeps up the defiant irony of tone.

674f. By sandwiching "brothers" between "chieftains" and "private enemies" Eteocles seeks to confuse the issue; it is right enough for opposing chieftains or for private enemies (like Hippomedon and Hyperbius) to fight each other, so perhaps it is equally right for brothers to do so. But the odd man out in the list will, of course, be obvious enough to the audience.

675. ἔξωφος οὖν ἔξωπωλ The chiasitic reversal of the two cases and the insertion of a preposition give neat rhetorical variation.

676. As far as Eteocles is concerned there is no more to be said, and the suddenness with which action breaks in after all the talking is highly effective. Also the implication that Eteocles may now march off to war at any moment lends urgency and excitement to the following exchanges with the chorus.

But "warum nur die Beinschienen?" Wilamowitz (1 p. 77 n. 1) thought that Eteocles came on stage at 372 fully armed except for his greaves, but other scholars (Groeneboom, Schadewaldt 2) have pointed out that in literature and vase paintings greaves are traditionally put on before the rest of the armour, and that the demand for greaves must therefore be a signal to begin arming. Does the arming then in fact take place, as Murray (Translation), Rose and Schadewaldt suggest, on stage during the altercation that follows? The idea is an attractive one, since there would be great dramatic effect, as Schadewaldt shows, in having Eteocles
encased in armour and transformed into an ἀνήρ ὀπλίτης (717) before our eyes; also he would be doing something positive and active to justify his continued presence, and at 719 it would be all the clearer that he is going straight off to immediate battle. The five three-line speeches of Eteocles plus the stichomythia might then correspond to the six traditional items of a warrior's equipment.

But unfortunately we cannot call this view certain. It is possible that the call for greaves is simply addressed to an imaginary servant in order to end the speech on a dramatic note as though Eteocles were about to arm for the battle. When the chorus interrupt with more important questions the arming can then easily be forgotten. (The whole issue being so uncertain, there would be little point in going into the elaborate speculations of Miss Bacon.)

In any event there is no need to suppose with Schadewaldt that some lines listing other items of equipment have dropped out after 676. Even if the arming does take place on stage, it may be that A. wanted each item to be brought on separately but did not want Eteocles to interrupt the dialogue with the chorus by pedantically naming each one as he needed it; a demand for greaves would thus serve as a cue for the whole arming process.

ἀλχυῆς καὶ π. π. The Homeric-sounding extended epithet suggests that for Eteocles the issue is now a simple one; all that matters, as in a Homeric battle, is that physical armour should repel hard, physical weapons.
πέτρων  A good case can be made for πτερῶν;
see Dawe 1 p. 169f.

677ff.  The chorus-leader suddenly and unexpectedly breaks in to restrain Eteocles, and the terms in which she does so must strike a modern reader as surprising - "Do not become like your brother in passion." Similar language, clearly implying that Eteocles passionately desires the duel, will be used in the chorus's first strophe and antistrophe just below.

Since nothing that Eteocles has said appears to justify such a charge, we might be tempted to believe, with Patzer (p. 133f.), Cameron (1 p. 44) and others, that the chorus are simply mistaken in this matter. But this will not do, as Regenbogen (p. 66f.) and Lersky (3 p. 12ff.) conclusively show; in particular γὰρ at 695 can only be interpreted as expressing Eteocles' agreement with what the chorus have just said. We must conclude, then, that A. has chosen to give the crime of Eteocles a double motivation; when once Eteocles has realised that he has no choice but to fight his brother he is then made to feel passionate desire for the unavoidable duel. This element of desire is illogically superimposed upon the element of necessity in order to make Eteocles morally culpable - or perhaps rather to enable the audience to give their emotional assent to a moral law which can condemn a man for a crime which he finds himself forced by circumstances - that is, by the gods - to commit. The fact that Polynices was possessed by a frenzied and criminal lust for fratricide helps slightly to facilitate the attribution of similar motives to Eteocles here.
This is not, of course, the only instance in A. of such double motivation (see the excellent discussions of Lesky, 3 and 4, which I am following closely here). At Ag. 205ff.

Agamemnon is described as realising, after a rational and lucid assessment of his position, that he has no choice but to sacrifice his daughter, but we are then told that ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀνάγκας ἔδω λέπαδνον...τόθεν τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγγυς

(218ff.); this means, I take it, that when once the necessity was recognized the act was then passionately and impiously desired. Even Orestes, in the very course of explaining that he has no choice but to kill Clytemnestra, can talk of his ᾿μερόν (Cho. 299 - cf. Sept. 692). The cases of Eteocles, Agamemnon and Orestes are not, of course, identical (in particular Orestes displays none of the frenzied passion attributed to Eteocles and Agamemnon), for A. is not concerned to make them conform to any abstract theory of moral responsibility. But they all do, I think, reflect a particular moral outlook or habit of thought, and one that is not arbitrary or without foundation in the realities of life. It is clear, after all, that no decision we make can be completely free, in that there will always have been external factors influencing us to make it; there is an obvious sense in which any choice made by more rational means than spinning a coin amounts to a recognition that we have no choice; and yet in practice we are prepared to accept our decisions as our own and to take moral responsibility for them, and we tend to consider it just
that other people, at least, should be punished when they commit crimes. True, we should not be likely to feel responsibility — still less desire — for an act which was as patently forced upon us against our natural disposition as the crimes of Eteocles, Agamemnon and Crestes are (or seem to be) upon them. There is an undoubted difference here between A.'s vision and a modern one, owing, perhaps, to a relative lack on his part of any concept of "natural disposition." But it may still be that these instances of double motivation in A. do no more than express in an extreme and paradoxical form a contradiction in human attitudes which in itself is real and universal.

677. μὴ Separated from the verb for the sake of emphasis -  "No! ... Do not ..."
 Οἰδίπου τέχνος See on 203 above; but in this scene, where Eteocles' parentage is undeniably relevant, it may perhaps be legitimate to see some extra point in the patronymic expression.

678. ὀργὴν Probably "passion" (Lesky 3 p. 13), though to take the word as "disposition" would make little difference here. 
κάμιστ' αὐδωμένωι For the various interpretations proposed see Groeneboom. The simplest is "most ill spoken of," 
κάμιστ' ἁκούων and that is probably the primary meaning; but to take αὐδωμένωι as middle - "uttering the wickedest words" — would also give good sense, and it may be that both meanings are present.

679. Ἀρχέλους Καθελέους Interlocking word-order pointedly juxtaposes the two nationalities.
680. καθάρσιον  The word elsewhere is always active in sense, and some interpreters (Verrall, Rose, Regenbogen) take it so here - "There is blood that can cleanse that." But, as Rose (1 p. 325ff. and Commentary) and others point out, homicide in ordinary battle did not in fact require ritual purification at all. καθάρσιον must therefore be passive in sense - "For that bloodshed can be cleansed" - as most commentators realise; the idea is then merely a natural antithesis to that of indelible pollution, and no actual purification ceremony need be implied.

681f. After "Cadmeans fighting Argives" the expected antithesis is "Cadmeans fighting Cadmeans;" the substitution of "brother fighting brother" thus brings out the extra horror of the reality.

It is sometimes argued (Howald p. 71, Patzer p. 109ff., Cameron 1 p. 47f., 4 p. 109ff.) that if there is to be pollution then one brother will have to be left alive to suffer it, and that the chorus leader cannot therefore be thinking of mutual fratricide. But the argument is pedantic and in any case does not follow; it is on the cards, for instance, although the possibility is not explored in the event, that pollution might be visited on the city (Moulinier p. 194, Winnington-Ingram 2). It is true that A.'s main concern here is with the terrible crime of fratricide and that all specific emphasis on the pathetic fact of mutual fratricide is being kept in reserve until after the duel has occurred; but on any natural interpretation (Cameron's attempt to take ἄνδροιν ὀμαίσιον as dative does not come into this category) the language here clearly foreshadows the death of
both brothers. Here as elsewhere in A. it is wrong to enquire
too closely into the mental processes of the chorus.

681. ἀνδροῖν Logic would require the plural, but the dual applies
the generalization to the present case (cf. Tucker).

ἡδατοκ The subject of the speaker’s concern is provisionally
made the grammatical subject although the sentence will have to
take a different turn in the next line.

αὐτοκινόνος Cameron (ll. co.) is right that the reference
in this word is to kindred murder and not, as L.S.J. thinks, to
reciprocal murder, which would require ἅλληλο-. In such
cases as this the root meaning of αὐτο- is perhaps "with one’s
own hand" (see Jebb on S. Ant. 55f.), but there may, as Pohlens
suggests (p. 85), be a reflection of the primitive tendency to
see one’s family as an extension of oneself.

682. γῆρας Lightly personifying the μνόμα as a kind of
sinister δαίμων.

683ff. To commit a crime and so incur pollution is for Eteocles a
less fundamental evil than to back down and so incur αἰσχύνη
in place of its opposite, ἐυκλεία. These lines are an
extreme statement of the values of a "shame culture," and we
should not seek to romanticise them, as Snell, for instance,
does (p. 83). Eteocles, like the heroes of Sophocles, is firmly
committed to these rigid archaic values and unable to compromise
with the more humane "common-sense" attitudes which lesser men,
and choruses, may recommend.
Wilamowitz and others place a comma after \( \omicron \psi \rho \)
and none after \( \tau \nu \zeta \), but the sense then becomes less pointed
and the reference of \( \kappa \rho \delta \omicron \zeta \) less clear. For the enjambement
of \( \varepsilon \sigma \tau \omega \) without emphasis cf. \textit{Supp.} 761, \textit{Ag.} 1232, Headlam
p. 5ff.

683. The remote optative, the vague \( \tau \nu \zeta \) and the unspecified
\( \kappa \alpha \kappa \omicron \omicron \nu \) all contribute to the euphemistic playing down of the
externally inflicted misfortune, although the next line will betray
what \( \kappa \alpha \kappa \omicron \omicron \nu \) Eteocles has in mind.

684. \textit{\mu\beta \omicron \nu \omicron \; \kappa \iota \tau \lambda \iota \lambda \iota}. Eteocles assumes that in any event the
curse will bring about his death sooner or later; this being so,
the only criterion to the applied is that of honour and dishonour.
It may be implied here that a man's fellow-dead will respect him
if he has died honorably (Tucker, Groesboom), or more simply
that a dead man is somehow benefited by praise from the living;
in either case the belief is a natural projection beyond the grave
of men's wishes and ambitions in life.

Does Eteocles expect, if he does fight his brother, to be
killed in the duel or by the pollution of fratricide? Those who
insist that "Eteocles expects to win" are forced to assume the
latter, and all his references to death hereabouts (684, 689ff.,
697, 704) can in theory be accounted for in this way; but any
audience would be likely to suppose that death in the duel was
being referred to, and it is better that Eteocles, like the chorus,
should not be pinned down to a definite set of expectations.
685. ἁμῶν ἔδε ἑλοχρῶν

"Misfortune combined with disgrace" the meaning of ἁμῶν being fixed by ἁμῶν in 683.

ἐρεύς  "You will be able to tell of;" see Rose. Halm's φέρευς would be good in itself but would clash with φέροι in 683.

Amoibasion and Stichomythia, 686 - 719.

Short choral strophes, predominantly dochmiac, alternate with three-line speeches in iambic trimeters from Eteocles; there follows a brief stichomythia. The passage is thus very clearly a formal counterpart of the longer interchange between Eteocles and the chorus at 203-263. Such close formal correspondence over so wide a space would be hard to parallel in Greek drama. One effect of it is to help to structure the play as a whole around the great centrepiece of the Redeepaare; another is to invite us to consider the resemblances and differences of content between the two formally parallel scenes (cf. Seewald p. 46f.).

Most critics since Wilamowitz have talked as though the resemblances did not exist; but they seem to me most striking. Once more Eteocles is stern and resolute in manner (see below on 696) while the chorus is agitated and emotional; this is reflected in the contrasting metres used. Further, the attitudes of the two parties to the gods and to fate remain exactly the same as before. Once more Eteocles displays a sombre and unblinking fatalism while the chorus display a trusting, emotional,
feminine piety; once more Eteocles believes that what the gods have willed is inescapable and that all that remains for men is to bear this with courage and honour, while the chorus have faith that the gods will always help if men's attitudes and actions are sufficiently pious and humble.

All that has changed, then, is the situation. If it is now the fatalism of Eteocles that threatens to bring ruin when before it was the piety of the chorus, this is due not to any change of character or attitudes by either party but to a change in the immediate subject under dispute. A. has thus dramatised in two different situations what is essentially the same conflict of religious attitudes, and by doing so he has been able to do full justice to both sides of the ethical problem involved. He in fact shows great sensitivity in his dramatic treatment of this problem and its different implications, and this was no doubt one of his major concerns in writing the Septem.

It seems to me, then, quite untrue to say that the play falls apart in the middle; A. has indeed gone to great trouble to hold it together, and has done so with great success. The accusation of a change in the character of Eteocles I have already discussed (see on 653ff., 677ff.); admittedly we must now accept the existence of his lust for fratricide, but we know how this has come about, and it is no way alters or obscures the ethical attitudes which made up all the "character" he ever had. On the accusation of a change in the chorus's character we may fairly plead that there is no case to answer (see von Fritz p. 214f., 481f.).
Wilamowitz's notion (1 p. 68f.), for instance, that the chorus should now be regarded as matrons and not maidens (have they changed their masks while no one was looking?) seems to be based purely on the fact that they offer moral advice - as though no unmarried woman was capable of doing that - and on the word τέκνον at 686, for which see below. Again, their concern for Eteocles' welfare is hardly surprising when we remember that even directly after his tirade against them they could call him φίλον (203).

686. τέκνον The word has caused unnecessary difficulty. The chorus of Cho. use the same word in addressing Crestes (324) although there is no reason to think of them as much older than he, and Oedipus uses it at O.T. 1 and 7 in addressing his suppliants, some of whom are positively senile. In each case the word merely marks the speaker's affection and concern.

686f. θυμοπληθής δορίμαργος Hefty compound adjectives are characteristically used to throw great weight on the short but important word ἄτα. θυμοπληθής means that there is no room in Eteocles' soul for anything but ἄτα. δορίμαργος paradoxically ascribes to Eteocles the kind of blood-lust characteristic of the Argive champions (cf. e.g. 380); fate is able to make a Tydeus even of him.

687. ἄτα If a character in a modern play were to remark "Don't be insane," no critic would feel obliged to gloss the expression with an account of modern psychiatric theory. Similarly ἄτα.
is merely a natural word for the chorus to use here if they
wish to persuade Eteocles that his proposed action is senseless
and ruinous; what A. and other Greeks may have written elsewhere
about the supernatural causes of Ἁτη is quite irrelevant.
Indeed, if the chorus really thought of Ἁτα as a Lloyd-Jonesian
supernatural force (see on 653ff. above), what use would it be
for them to attempt to influence Eteocles' decision?

688. ἅρωτος. The word is normal usage in the fifth century in
non-sexual as well as sexual contexts, but it retains connotations
of irrational passion. It is here spoken of as an outside force
acting upon the subject; the viewpoint is characteristic of
Greek attitudes to strong emotion and once again does not imply
that the situation is supernatural or abnormal.
ἀρχή. For some reason generally taken as "beginning."
"Rule" (admitted as a possibility by Groeneboom) is the commoner
sense of the word in A. and is more point here; the ἅρως
is lightly personified as a king or tyrant. ἐκβάλλειν
is used of deposing a tyrant at e.g. P.V. 301, 910.

689ff. Eteocles does not treat his κακὰς ἅρως as an
outside force; he uses an imperative, ἢτω, on his own
responsibility and justifies this by what he knows of the will
of the gods.

689. ἐπισάφευς. Used intransitively of winds at Od. V. 304
as Tucker and others point out, so here probably "neutral
terminology" forming a pivot for the metaphor that follows.
The subject is of course ἔνοχος (Page's punctuation is confusing), but the separation of the verb from its subject adds to the imprecatory emphasis — "To Hell with it!" The metaphor is a standard one; see commentators and cf. especially S. Tr. 467f.

Maritime imagery, reintroduced at 652, is now given a new application which reflects the way in which the House has replaced the City as the major concern of the play and of Eteocles. Further, the ship itself has acquired a new significance in its new context (cf. Cameron 1 p. 67). Previously Eteocles was seen as the helmsman so that the emphasis was on responsibility and control; now he is borne away by a ship of which no control is possible. A ship can be controlled up to a point by a helmsman, but in the end it is at the mercy of the wind and waves that the gods send; A. subtly uses these two proverbial aspects of seafaring to express the two kinds of situation in which Eteocles finds himself and so to bring out the irony of his fate.

Χῦμα Κωνίτου. The standard image in ἔνοχος gives rise to a more elaborate picture; if the race is to drift "down wind" and to arrive in Hades then it must be sailing on a river of the underworld.

The ship - the race - is clearly conceived as being propelled by the χῦμα as well as by the wind; thus χῦμα perhaps means "current," though, as Groenemoed points out, the Greeks did think of ships as borne along by waves.
The choice of Cocytus rather than, for instance, Styx, is no doubt influenced not just by a desire for expressive alliteration but also by the common noun ἱώκυτος (243). There will then be a secondary implication of a wave or stream of lamentation speeding the dead on their way; cf. 854ff. λαχδών Perhaps with a suggestion of inheritance, in view of the mention of Laius in the next line; in any case tenor rather than vehicle terminology.

691. Eteocles perceives that the terrible situation in which he finds himself is a result not only of his father's curse but of Apollo's hatred of the entire race of Laius who disobeyed him. The hatred of Apollo makes the race ipso facto unclean and fit only for destruction as well as making its destruction inevitable.

We have not yet been told whether Eteocles and Polynices have children, but πᾶν...γένος will make sense in any case. The pollution will continue and renew itself until the whole race, whatever its size, is wiped out.

692. ἀμοδακὴς...μεσος Normally taken as "cruelly biting desire," and this is no doubt the primary meaning; Eteocles is driven headlong and relentlessly by his desire as one would be by the pain of a biting animal. But Tucker can produce good parallels for his interpretation, "a desire for biting raw flesh" as a hyperbolic description of Eteocles' blood-lust or "bloodthirstiness;" in the context of the Theban War the audience might well think of Tydeus's treatment of Melanippus
(see S. Fr. 799, where ὑμὸβρῶς is used of this, and for the implications of ὑμο- see on 541 above). There thus appears to be an impressionistic fusion of meanings here; the ἢμερος is savage to Eteocles and makes him equally savage to his brother.

693. πυρόκαρπον By itself this would be quite a weak metaphor, but here it reacts with ὑμοδάκτυς, the ὑμο- element coming to mean "unripe;" the taste of raw flesh becomes the bitter taste of unripe fruit to convey the horrible implications of Eteocles' proposed crime.

ἀνόροπταιαν τελεῖν "To commit homicide," a high-sounding periphrasis but without, I think, any metaphorical implications. Despite Verrall and Tucker -κτασία has no specific connection with animal sacrifice, and the quite normal use of τελεῖν cannot suggest religious rites.

694. Elliptical construction but clear enough sense: the killing will involve shedding blood that Eteocles cannot lawfully shed. Since the Greeks, like us, talk of "shedding blood" and of "blood relations," it is natural to bring these ideas together in such expressions as "unlawful blood."

695. Interlocking word order elegantly separates words in grammatical agreement and assists the sense by pointedly juxtaposing φίλου and ἔχθρα. A curse from a φίλος would be more emotionally disturbing than one from a stranger, and is therefore assumed to be more terrible and potent.

γὰρ If Eteocles had said, "No, the Curse leaves me no choice,"
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γὰρ If Eteocles had said, "No, the Curse leaves me no choice,"
we should have had to choose between his view and the chorus's. Since he in fact says "Yes, the Curse leaves me no choice," it is clear that A. regards the two views as being fully compatible. τελεῖ. This could, of course, be a scribal repetition from 693 replacing a quite different word. But we may prefer, with Winnington-Ingram (2), to keep some derivative of τέλος as an echo of the chorus's language (cf. 702, 709); we might then consider ἐχθρα...τελομένη (ἀρα being a gloss picked up from the margin and τελομένη having been shortened to τελεῖ' to give the right number of syllables).

696. At first sight it may seem most natural to take ὤμοισιν as the pitiless eyes of a personified Curse, as most commentators do. The parallels, however, suggest strongly that Paley, Rose and Dawson are right that the eyes are those of Eteocles. Compare especially II. X 26 and 91f., also such imitations in later writers as Pi. Nem. VIII. 3; A.'s audience can hardly have heard such a phrase as ὤμοισιν προσιζάνει without thinking of the Doloneia passages, even if these had not already given rise to a poetic cliche.

The point is, I think, not that the Curse is supernaturally driving Eteocles mad (in that case its seat would presumably be the ἐφένεις) but that it fills his field of vision, so to speak; whichever way he looks he can see nothing else, so completely is his mind taken up with the unavoidable knowledge of how the Curse is working. This fits well with the next line,
which bears the main emphasis; it is his inescapable awareness of being accursed that tells him of a gain before death.

And his eyes are dry because he can look at the Curse unflinchingly and without outward emotion. This is still the same brave and resolute Eteocles who sternly checked his lamentation at 656.

Several editors accept ἀκλαύτος, which is much more elegant and would inevitably be corrupted. On my interpretation of the line ἀκλαύτος would, of course, be passive in sense - "sits unwept on dry eyes."

Of the various renderings offered some can be dismissed as unobtainable from the Greek (e.g. "saying that death earlier rather than later is a gain," Mazon and Groeneboom). But we are still faced with a dilemma, in that if prefix means "preferable" (so Verrall - "telling of a gain preferable to postponement of death") then the antithesis with υστέρον is wholly artificial and very awkward, while if prefix means "sooner in time" (so Sidgwick and others) then the sense - "Saying that gain comes first and death later" - is weak and unsatisfactory. Rose is no doubt right that prefix illogically combines both meanings and that the general sense which the audience would receive is "telling of gain that comes first and outweighs the death that follows" (cf. Paley); the ambiguity can, however, be analysed in a number of ways.

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Ὑστέρου μόρον (HPC and Tucker) hardly helps.

Ὑστέρου μόρον, commended by Dawe (l p. 139f.), would
be logical enough, but involves an ugly string of accusatives and an improbable corruption.

It should not be doubted that the ηέρδος in question here is the same as that at 684, namely the preservation of honour. Since the Curse will in any case bring about Eteocles' death sooner or later, what matters is that he should first do as honour commands.

698ff. In the previous amoibaion the length of the choral strophes decreased as Eteocles gained the upper hand; here it increases as the chorus grow more desperate.

698. μὴ 'ποιρύνου Eteocles is felt to be driven by an external force but able to choose not to be so driven.

699. βίον εὖ κυρήσας A few cases are cited of κυρήσιν taking a direct object in the accusative (see Tucker), but εὖ κυρήσιν is a set phrase with which a direct object is surely impossible. βίον will then have to be an accusative of respect, as most commentators take it, and the sense will be "faring well as to your life," "having a prosperous life." But the bald accusative of respect seems unnatural; the aorist is hard to account for; and the sense is surprising, for what has Eteocles' prosperity to do with the case?

The sense we want, as Mazon and Rose perceive, is "You will not be called a coward if you have saved your life." This sense can hardly be obtained from the MS. text, but would be given by a change to βιότου κυρήσας, "having won life (instead of
death)." The corruption would be assisted by the familiarity of the phrase ἐν κυρεύω and perhaps by a gloss βίου. Commentators are no doubt right in referring to the Ἕρωποι τῆς Ἐρινύς of Homer. The word thus refers to the sinister invisibility of the Erinys as well as carrying obvious connotations of evil (in μελάν-) and of awesome divine power (in -αλυς).

The δ' that follows this word in the MSS. seems necessary, for the point now being made is quite distinct from that of the previous sentence. For the response involved see Fraenkel on Ag. 1128.

699f. ξειοι δόμων Reasonable choice lies between Weil's conjecture and Brunck's οὐκ ἐξει δόμοις (read by Wilamowitz and others); and the former reading seems the better, since the Erinys will have been haunting the house all along, like those seen by Cassandra.

700. ἐκ χερῶν Presumably emphasizing the free and deliberate act of offering sacrifice; cf. Ag. 1496 and Denniston-Page ad loc.

701. Ἔσθλ. I.e. the Olympian gods who can call off the Erinys if they wish. For the chorus's faith in the power of ritual and in the favour of the gods cf. 211ff., 226ff.

702ff. Eteocles, however, knows that the gods sometimes choose to abandon men (cf. 217ff.), and events have shown that this has happened to Eteocles himself, so they are unlikely to be deflected
from their purpose now. To accuse Eteocles of impiety in
despairing of the gods' protection, as Nestle does (2 p. 5), is
to adopt a Christian and un-Greek attitude; the gods do desire
his death, and it is merely realistic of him to recognize the
fact. It is because he knows that it is no use humbling himself
before the gods, as men of the fifth century normally felt obliged
to do, that he - like Prometheus, for instance, and Sophocles' 
Ajax - can achieve some of the proud and grand self-sufficiency
of the Homeric hero.

702. ΘΕΟΙČ Emphatically echoing the chorus's word; not even the
gods (let alone the Erinyes) are on Eteocles' side.

ΝῷÇ Not, I think, expressing doubt, ironically or otherwise, but
merely "in some way or other;" Eteocles knows the gods have
abandoned him, but cannot account for their behaviour in detail.

703. "And the (only) favour that they (would) value is my death."
(so one schol. and most commentators) or "and favours from me,
doomed as I am, (would) cause (only) surprise" (so Verrall and Rose)?
With the verb in the indicative and with no word for "only" the
Greek is rather odd on either interpretation, but it seems a good
deal odder on the former than on the latter. (Certainly admiration
on the part of the citizens is not in question.)

704. θαύμολευ See on 383 above. But this echo of Tydeus's
language should not be taken (as it is by Nestle, 2 p. 6, and
others) as discrediting Eteocles' attitude; Tydeus was at fault
not in thinking it unmanly to cringe before death but in wrongly
accusing Amphiarraus of doing so.
δελευρον μορον. Since μορος by itself normally means "death" in tragedy, A. is here using a particularly full and explicit expression to emphasize the unblinking courage of Eteocles.

Most editors attempt to follow the MSS.; but renderings like "It is now that death is at hand," even if obtainable from the Greek, would make nonsense of the επεί clause, while renderings like "Fawn now when death is at hand" would be possible only if Eteocles had asked "When shall I fawn?" Nor can παρεστηκε mean παρεστι, ξεστι; see Tucker. Evidently Tucker and Page are right to see corruption here (and in the alleged parallel of Supp. 630f.); Page's παρεστ', εξιον seems the best conjecture so far made, but the corruption is not easy to account for.

I should therefore suggest νυν ζητει σοι παρεστ' έκος. οτε for ζητε would be an easy uncial error, and a scribe who took ΠΑΡΕΣΤΑΧΟΣ for a participle might well substitute the indicative to give a semblance of grammar. For νυν ζητε see Fraenkel on Ag. 818 (but he should not have cited Sept. 706; see below ad loc.), and for the responson see Fraenkel on Ag. 1429f. (of long answering to short in the first syllable of a dochmiac I have counted some twelve examples in the Septem alone).

δραμων Perhaps the Erinys, perhaps the nameless δραμων of fortune.

706. ληματος. With τροπαλατ, not with δραμων, and referring to the spirit of the δραμων, not of Eteocles; to believe otherwise creates needless difficulties. For full discussion see van Nes p. 13.
Warning us that the whole sentence is supposition.

The chorus try to answer Eteocles in his own terms; if the god's will is a natural phenomenon like wind, as he has implied (689f.), there may be no need to drift ηατ' οὐρον, for it is a proverbial property of winds to change direction.

707f. θελεμωτέρως πνεύματι

The wind metaphor is made more explicit and given a new point; a wind that blows from a different quarter may be a gentler wind.

708. νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ

"Though at the moment (whatever may happen in the future) it is still seething;" νῦν and ἔτι here do not reinforce each other but have separate force, and if there is an echo of 705 it is a formal one not contributing to the sense. The subject is now perhaps λήμα δαλμονος rather than δαλμων. The short sentence and its short words sound very urgent and forcible after the long and polysyllabic Pindaric period; in particular great weight is given to the monosyllable ζεῖ. This word implies turbulent fury in antithesis to θελεμωτέρως; the metaphor has shifted slightly, since ζεῖν is not used of winds, but we can think of the turbulent sea that the wind stirs up; commentators cite Hdt. VII. 188. 2.

709. ἔζευσεν

Perhaps merely a strengthened form of ἔζεσεν; but although the compound is not found elsewhere as early as A., it may be significant that when it does occur it is almost always a medical term (first at Hdt. IV. 205). A picture of the curses as a latent disease which has now erupted into visible boils or
the like (so Stanford I p. 55, 94) would well fit the situation. It would also imply that the pollution caused by the curses is as horrible as a disease and as likely to prove fatal. In this case the link with the previous line will be through a kind of grim word-play; the word that the chorus used of a temporary storm suggests a less comforting image to the mind of Eteocles.

Several commentators make the word transitive (cf. ἐνίζεται) - "Yes, the curses of Oedipus caused the spirit of the δαίμων to boil." This too is possible; we simply do not know enough of A.'s language to be sure of the word's meaning.

710f. The connection of thought may be that the dreams revealed the disease while it was still latent. In any case the way in which they are now proving true confirms to Eteocles that he has no escape.

It is generally supposed that these dreams were more fully described in the Oedipus. This could, of course, be so, but Klotz (p. 622f.) is right that there is no need to assume it; mention of the dreams here gives us an added sense of the sinister inevitability of present events, and I suspect that A. invented them at this point purely for this purpose. Compare the previously unmentioned oracles whose fulfilment Darius recognizes at Pers. 739f.

The language of 711, however, is admittedly very vague and enigmatic. There is good reason for this, for awkward questions would be raised if it were implied that Eteocles had clearly foreseen the manner of his death. But if the connection between
the division of the inheritance and the death of the princes
is to be intelligible at all to the audience, A. must have used
language like this at some previous point; and in view of the
accounts of the Curse of Oedipus which occur in the following
lyrics, it is reasonable to guess that this point was during
an enactment or report of the Curse. In that case A. is
displaying some psychological realism in representing the
imagery of the Curse as haunting Eteocles' dreams; to say
that the dreams are psychologically plausible is not, of course,
to deny that they are genuinely prophetic of future events.

711. Ἐφεῖος  "Apparitions" in an abstract sense can prove true,
while "apparitions" in a (relatively) concrete sense — "dream
figures" — can apportion property. Apparently the two senses
are fused here; compare the Greek idiom of "seeing a dream"
instead of "having" one.

712. ἐπίθου  See Fraenkel on Ag. 1054.
οὐ στέργων  "Not liking to yield to women," I think, rather
than "not liking women" or "not liking our advice." In the course
of trying to persuade Eteocles the chorus-leader brings out the
conflict of male and female attitudes which is one factor making it
impossible for him to yield.

713.  Eteocles talks in brusquely clipped sentences with an air
of cold practicality; it is clear that nothing the chorus leader
can say will seem profitable to him.
And indeed she can only plead and cannot argue. The language is euphemistic; it is only in the last desperate plea at 718 that she can bring herself to say what these ὄνοι mean.

Both metaphors are standard ones, but the combination of the two adds up to a quite prominent image. Eteocles is now no more than a weapon whose natural function is to fight, so it is useless to expect him to be persuaded. Cameron (l p. 88) connects this image with the iron of the Curse, but we have heard nothing of that so far in this play.

Victory is what the gods honour (by bringing success and prosperity to the victor) even if the victory is won in a cowardly way (cf. Wilamowitz l p. 66); the line has puzzled commentators, but seems to me straightforward. By using religious language the chorus-leader seeks to avoid an appearance of cynical expediency - for why should mortals have higher standards than gods? - but the word μακάν makes it once again impossible for Eteocles to agree.

He cannot refute the chorus-leader, but he now sees himself as merely a hoplite dedicated wholly to the business of fighting, and communication is impossible.

As Patzer notes (p. 111), if an "Opfertod" were in question Eteocles would have to reply here that without the duel a Theban victory is in fact impossible, or at least less likely.
718. The blunt terms of this final desperate appeal bring the issue home to the audience at the critical and climactic moment. 

δρέψασθ'αυτον The word is used in various non-agricultural senses in both prose and verse and should no doubt be regarded as a dead metaphor here. But even so the use with αὐτό is odd; the idea of shedding a man's blood seems to have fused with that of "culling" his life (in which case Bion I. 22, cited by commentators here, is different).

719. Both Eteocles and the chorus have been talking in truisms which no Greek would ordinarily question. Now Eteocles goes off to his death uttering the most unanswerable truism of all and displaying the same grim but uncomplaining fatalism that he has displayed all through the play (cf. especially 281).

ἐκφύγων An indefinite ἐκφύγων could be right as the more difficult and better attested reading; see Dawe 1 p. 115, also Fraenkel on Ag. 71.

The Second Stasimon.

While the battle and duel are taking place offstage a choral interlude is obviously required, and it is in keeping with the preceding scene, and with the usual Aeschylean technique for preserving suspense, that the chorus should express their fear of the outcome. Fear is thus the keynote of the first three odes of the play. With the expression of fear, however, is combined the same broadening of focus that occurs at the
corresponding point of Persae and Agamemnon (see e.g. Jens 2, de Romilly 3 p. 75f.); now that the Erinyes of the House has made her appearance the chorus can draw together threads from the remote past to trace the divine causation that lies behind present events. There is thus no detailed description of the immediate military threat as in the previous odes, and the more reflective tone corresponds to the calmer metres used.

The argument runs continuously without sharp breaks but with several changes of direction. It can be roughly divided into three parts (cf. Brey):

str. $\alpha$ - str. $\beta$ (fears for the brothers, the evil of pollution, leading up to memories of the past);

ant. $\beta$ - ant. $\gamma$ (the crime of Laius, its consequences, leading to fear for the city);

str. $\delta$ - ant. $\varepsilon$ (a transitional strophe, then the downfall of Oedipus, his curses, leading back to fear of the Erinyes). Thus everything in the ode is linked to the chorus's present fears. The use of ring composition is very marked.

The ode has, of course, often been used as evidence for the content of the Laius and the Oedipus, and it requires that we should at least ask certain questions about these plays. Is it possible to discover whether the oracle to Laius and the curse of Oedipus were treated in them, and, if so, what form these took? We shall do well to stick closely to the evidence, bearing in mind that of A.'s principles of trilogy-construction (if he had any) nothing whatever is known and virtually nothing can usefully
be guessed; that all a priori assumptions about what A. "could not have left out" are likely to be worthless; and that the mere fact of the inclusion or omission of any feature in the present ode tells us nothing about its inclusion or omission in the previous plays. Moreover, I am unable to share the confidence of almost all scholars (but not Howald, p. 71f.) that the wording of an oracle or curse, as given in one play must faithfully reproduce its wording as given in the other plays. Sophocles, after all, was notoriously capable of modifying oracles and the like, for good dramatic reasons, within the course of a single play (Trachiniae, Philoctetes), so why assume that A. was any more consistent?

The oracle to Laius may or may not have formed part of the subject matter of the first play. But it appears from Fr. 172 that the death of Laius was described in one play or the other, and no sense could have been made of this event unless the oracle forbidding Laius to have a son was also mentioned somewhere. What form this oracle took we cannot be sure, for the version given at Sept. 748f. is the only extant version which mentions saving the city (see Baldry); one might, for instance, guess, with Howald (l.c.), that in A.'s original conception the oracle threatened Laius with death at his son's hand, and that mention of the city is inserted at Sept. 748f. simply because the city's fate is an important theme of this particular play.

On the only reasonable interpretation of διὸνμα κακά at 782 the curse of Oedipus, as well as the self-blinding,
followed immediately after his recognition of his crimes. In other versions of the myth (see Baldry) some time elapsed before the curse, and A.'s compression of the time-scale rather suggests a desire to fit both Aegnoris and curse into one play; at any rate it seems (despite Robert l p. 273ff.) that if the Oedipus treated either of these events it must have treated both of them. Also an audience which had not already heard the terms of the curse would have difficulty understanding Sept. 727ff.

At 788ff. we are told that Oedipus declared that his sons would "divide their property with iron-bearing hand." The language of 727ff. clearly reflects this; the chorus are interpreting the curse by using its terms to describe present events. What is not clear is whether the curse in A.'s original conception talked of a Scythian stranger, as is normally supposed (in which case at 788ff. the chorus will be simplifying matters for the sake of brevity), or whether, as in Euripides' version (Ph. 68), it talked specifically of iron (in which case the added complication of the Scythian stranger at 727ff. will simply be expressive imagery devised for this chorus). Or again it might have talked of "Scythian iron," like the Messenger at 819 [817]. I see no way of settling this issue.

720ff. As attributes are piled up the word 'Ερυθός is held back with sinister and riddling effect (Fraenkel l p. 278f.).

720. πέριπτως The Parodos and the first two Stasima all begin with expressions of fear (cf. 78, 287); besides lending unity to the
choral part of the play this points up the fact that in the Second Stasimon the object of fear has significantly changed. On πέρικα, a powerful word, see de Romilly l p. 25. Ἡλεσίοικον. Note the Jonesian emphasis. The Erinys is feared as the destroyer of houses, not as the goddess who descends so unfairly on individuals such as Eteocles.

Fraenkel's idea (l.c.) of placing a comma after this word does not seem helpful.

721. As a supernatural power the Erinys can certainly be called a θεός, but the idea of θεός has already been so far moralized that it is felt to be paradoxical that she can bear such a name.

722. παναληθη can only govern πανόμοιατιν, which is therefore a noun and should be followed by a comma, as in many editions.

The Erinys is a prophetess of evil not, I think, because she has anything to do with Eteocles' dreams (schol., Tucker, Manton p. 78), but simply because, as a personification of a curse, she knows all too well what will happen; once again prediction and causation are not fully distinguished. παναληθη is used with grim irony; the prophetess can easily prove infallible, since she herself sees to it that her prophecies are fulfilled.

723. "The Erinys of a father's curse," a particularly dangerous species.
724. τελέσατε. The grammar is explained by Wilamowitz (p. 79 n. 1) and others: the object of πέρρωκα is initially simply the goddess, but then an epexegetical infinitive is added to show the exact nature of the chorus's fear.

725. Ἐκαφίρονος. However unreasonable they may have been, the curses will automatically bring an Erinys into play. Patzer's idea (p. 114) that the gods fulfil only curses that are justified is not Aeschylean.

726. "For the present strife, destroyer of the children, is urging forward (the fulfilment of the curses);" so Wecklein. For the model of divine and human causation which this implies cf. Perae. 739ff. Other commentators follow the school in identifying the ἔρις with the Erinys, but this gives inferior sense and makes it harder to supply an object for the verb.

727ff. The antistrophe poses another riddle, parallel in structure to that of the strophe (Fraenkel 1 p. 278f., Seewald p. 18) and similar in many ways to the gold-changer image of Ag. 437ff. (see Fraenkel ad loc.) Both here and in the Agamemnon passage the language of peaceful, civilised business affairs, protected by law and acting in the interests of all concerned, is used with bitter irony to express the antithesis of this - the uncontrolled savagery of war and bloodshed. Our sense of the pity and wastefulness of death in war is heightened by the implied contrast with the useful transaction; Ares will provide not gold dust but ashes, and the iron will assign only enough land for a grave.
The two passages differ in technique, however, since here vehicle (or neutral) terminology is sustained until 731 in the manner of an allegory, while at Ag. 437ff. tenor and vehicle interact in a more complex and subtle way.

We have very little outside evidence for the legal procedure imagined here (see Levy p. 42f.), but the passage itself tells us all we really need to know— that an outside arbitrator might be called in to settle a dispute between brothers over an inheritance. If διακήλας is to be taken literally, the arbitration was somehow combined with assignment by lot.

727. Ξένος The use of arbitrators from foreign states in Greece is fully discussed by Engelmann. He does not, however, produce evidence that foreigners were used to settle private disputes in the fifth century, and it may be that Ξένος is used here with slight ambiguity to form a verbal link between tenor and vehicle; an arbitrator would have to be a Ξένος in the sense of "stranger" to the family, but the iron, being Scythian, is a Ξένος in the sense of "foreigner."

Manton (p. 78) points out the contrast with the domestic emphasis of the strophe; the curses from within the family paradoxically have as their instrument something foreign and barbarous.

728. Χάλυψις Almost "neutral terminology;" at any rate a strong hint as to the stranger's identity, since Χάλυψις is itself used to mean "iron" (e.g. Π.Υ. 133, S. Tr. 1260).
Whether or not A. was aware of the difference between Chalybians and Scythians, there is obvious point in his use of this word when we remember the Scythian customs described in Hdt. IV, which no doubt were already proverbial in A.'s day. (This is clearly better than thinking of a Scythian public slave at Athens, with Wilamowitz 1 p. 79 n. 1.)

729. Almost pure pleonasm, though we can say that κτεόνων refers to the particular property of the princes, χρηματοδαίτας to the function of "dividing property" in general; cf. 221. (Despite Fraenkel on Ἀγ. 437, χρυσαμιλβὸς...σωμάτων, linking tenor and vehicle, is not comparable.)

730. πικρὸς We may call this an effective enjambement, since the analogy of the previous metrical colon (and of the strophe) leads us to expect a light sense-pause after χρηματοδαίτας. Thus an unexpected enjambment gives sinister prominence to this sign that the "arbiterator" is not all he should be.

πικρὸς is so commonly used to mark ironic imagery, and by comparison so rarely used to mean physically "sharp," that I doubt if Paley and Tucker are right to see ambiguity here.

Ψμόφων Vehicle language is applied to the tenor, keeping up the pretence, so to speak, that the iron is something human. Groeneboom points out the reversal of the common image in which a hard-hearted person is compared to iron or stone; the present image thus gains conviction from the proverbial "hard-heartedness" of iron.
The solution to the riddle is underlined by its coming at the same point as 'Ερυνή in the strophe.

731ff. The image of iron as a divider of property is now developed and justified in terms which, it seems, serve as interpretation of the reference to dividing property in the curse of Oedipus. Eteocles and Polynices are now not contrasted but associated together as joint victims.

732. The text which Page adopts gives more normal grammar than that of the MSS. but less suitable sense. The MSS. make the princes possess the graves while Page makes the graves possess the princes; and while the latter idea can certainly be paralleled (e.g. II. III. 243), it does not contribute, as the former does, to the comparison being made between occupying graves and occupying land. I should keep the MS. text (with -οισιν, of course), relying on Ar. Nu. 434, Thuc. VI. 12. 2, VII. 14. 2 as parallels for the dative.

καὶ Not to be taken closely with φθυμένοισιν but drawing attention to the clause as a whole (Denniston 1 p. 294).

733. The falling clausular rhythm, the heavy rhymne of regularly spaced long syllables, and the simplicity of the language - μεγάλων being chosen rather than a more "poetic" word - contribute to a tone of deep sadness in the line. πεδίων Suggesting fertility and wealth (Tucker). ἔμοιροι If the accusative is right (ἔμοιροις Pauw), the change of case after φθυμένοισιν marks the slightly
illogical shift from the general to the particular (cf. Groeneboom).

734f. αὐτοκτόνως αὐτοδάλμωτι

The more powerful word is placed second, as usual; we should presumably also take the first word as active in sense, the second as passive. As at 681f. (see above ad loc.) it is assumed that both brothers will die although it is the pollution of fratricide that is emphasized; the committing of fratricide must be characterized as a monstrous and polluting crime before the suffering of fratricide can be characterized as atonement for the crime and as a consequence of the pollution.

734. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄν

See Wilamowitz l p. 79 n. 2.

735f.

For the colometry see on 745 below.

735. γαῖα

A plausible correction even though Hermann's argument from Hesychius can be impugned (see Headlam l p. 26). The land, then, is once again considered as a physical substance with strongly emotive connotations; the dust of the nourishing motherland will drink not just enemy blood (cf. 48) but the polluting blood of fratricide.

Association of ideas in πεδίων and γαῖα forms a link with the preceding antistrophe.

736. πῆς

Personification of κόνις helps to recall the emotive personifications of the Land earlier in the play.

μελαμπαγές

The fact that blood poured on the earth clots
and does not flow away is used exactly as at Cho. 66f. as an image of the indelibility of blood pollution. The ἀγάγες element here, like πέπηγεν there, is thus a kind of "neutral terminology" implying "fixed, permanent" as well as "clotted" (Tucker, also Fraenkel on Ag. 392); and μελωμ-, of course, has sinister connotations. As he so often does, especially in the Cretea (see Lebeck p. 67ff. and passim), A. is using a physical event of the drama — blood actually will be spilt like this — as a symbol for something more abstract, and so exploiting the emotional associations which the symbol must evoke.

γόλυτον The blood which clots to black is crimson as it is shed. The word assists the emotive realisation of the physical fact of bloodshed, and contrast with μελωμ- provides a strikingly visual effect.

737. Appearance of doubt is ironically used to bring out the obvious impossibility of such purification, just as at Ag. 1019ff., Cho. 48.

μαθαμοῦδι Effectively "neutral terminology," for although the word does not seem to be used of purely physical cleansing, such a usage would obviously be justified by etymology.

739. Wilamowitz (1 p. 79 n. 3), citing Cho. 48 and 804f., reads λύσειν and takes σφέ as referring not to the princes but to αἵμα. This interpretation has the advantage of not implying that dead men can be polluted. But while λύσειν may well be right (cf. the religious sense of λύσις, L.S.J. s.v. I. 3),
Wilamowitz's warrant for ἄψε referring to a neuter singular noun is very weak; it is best to take ἄψε as ἀτοῦς and to admit some slight confusion (less apparent with λύσεις than with λούσεις) in the thought here.

739ff. The thought of the present troubles of the house leads naturally to that of older troubles to which the new ones are inextricably linked (συμμετέχεις). The lines thus form a neat transition to the subject of Laius.

743. παλαιογενή Echoing παλαιοῦσι to articulate the argument.

744. ὕποποινον Certainly sound; the crime of Laius was punished (relatively) quickly by his death, but nevertheless endures in its consequences to the third generation (so e.g. Tucker). It is a terrible truth that even when crime is punished its consequences remain. Whatever the origin of the Greek belief in inherited guilt, it certainly was not for A. an alternative to punishment of the guilty individual.

745. μένειν If this were right we should have either hastily to reinterpret 743-4 to mean "vetus delictum dico celeriter puniri" (Wilamowitz 2 p. 202) instead of "... punitum" (and how does the εὖτε clause then connect?) or to take μένειν as an illogical and awkward attraction from indicative to infinitive (Manton p. 80). Neither alternative is at all attractive, especially when the grammar of the MS. text is so entirely natural.
And hiatus after μένει seems defensible. If we divide thus—

παρβασίαν ὁμόποι— chor. cret.
νον, αἰῶνα δ’ ἐς τρίτον μένει, doch. iamb
'Απόλλωνος εὗτε Λάτος doch. iamb

then μένει ends a colon (for the run-over of word from dochmiae to iamb in 736 and 745 see Appendix); and hiatus at an acatalectic iambic colon-end without strong sense-pause is paralleled at Pers. 644, Supp. 145, Ag. 1091 (?), Cho. 426, 441. Thus the cost of eliminating the hiatus here surely outweighs any gain.

'Απόλλωνος...Λάτος Normal word-order has been considerably distorted so as to bring these two main characters together at the beginning of the story.

746. τρίς It is because Laius disobeyed such an emphatic and solemn pronouncement that his crime has lasted so long; the repetition of the magical fairy-tale number three is thus significant.

747. The epithets further underline the religious solemnity of the occasion.

749. σῶλευν πόλιν This is generally taken to represent an oracular present indicative, but an imperative seems much easier (so Tucker, Lloyd-Jones 3 p. 87 n. 2); and cf. E. Ph. 17f. Laius, then, was disobeying a command by the god and not just ignoring a prophecy.
The reference to the city can similarly be seen as helping to incriminate Laius as much as possible. Apollo was issuing not an arbitrary prohibition but a warning based on his foreknowledge that descendants of Laius would endanger Thebes (cf. Pohlenz p. 92f.); so in disobeying the warning Laius was also neglecting his responsibility as King. (Hence it may not be safe to assume with Lloyd-Jones (1 p. 90, 4 p. 745) and others that "Laius must have acted criminally for Apollo to warn him that he could only save his city by dying without issue.")

We must not take the oracle to mean that if Laius had a son the city would inevitably be destroyed. It is sufficient that the troubles of Laius's descendants, culminating in the present war, should have endangered the city (as the chorus says they did - 758ff.); when Laius failed to "save the city" its survival became not impossible but uncertain, as it is now (see Klotz, also Cameron 1 p. 52ff.).

And acceptance of the essence of Klotz's argument here in no way involves acceptance of an "Opfertod theory," as both Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 90) and Davé (4 p. 19) seem to think (see Golden). The city will in fact be saved, but not by the death of Eteocles. The wording of the oracle as given here does not logically imply that Laius's descendants must be wiped out if the city is to survive, and the chorus, who fear that both the princes and the city will be destroyed (764f.), certainly do not take it in this way.

750. ὅτι ἐμ ἐκεῖ could be right, giving an antithesis between ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ...ΕΙΠΟΝΤΟΣ Κ.Τ.Λ. and
κρατήσεις κ.τ.λ.,

but we are better off without the particle.

Φιλάω δεσούλαω

Now usually, and most plausibly, taken as "pleasant follies," a paradoxical and euphemistic expression for sexual lust (cf. Tucker’s parallels; also Eum. 216). The alternatives of taking Φιλάω as "his friends" or "his wife's" are less attractive, since the emphasis of the passage is on the culpability of Laius himself, and since δεσούλαω elsewhere means "thoughtlessness," as one would expect, not "bad advice."

Winnington-Ingram (1 and 2), arguing for "wife," claims that 802 and 842 speak of a deliberate decision by Laius, but in both places it is probably lack of thought that is meant (see below ad loca).

751. "He brought to birth his own death" — a riddle that is solved by the next two words.

μὲν Answered by δ’ in 758 (see e.g. Tucker, Manton p. 80).

The first half of the antithesis deals with the punishment of Laius’s disobedience, corresponding to ὑμπολυν, and the second half deals with its consequences for the city, corresponding to αἰὼν δ’ εἶς τρίτον μὲνει.

753ff. Besides serving a euphemistic purpose, the agricultural metaphor is another instance of A.’s highly emotive use of imagery already inherent in Greek modes of thought. The effect here is the more powerful since the reverse image, that of "mother earth" or the "motherland," has been employed so often
since the programmatic statement at 16ff.; what "earth" and "mother" have in common as sources of life has been invested with great emotional significance. It may be possible, in fact, to see a relation between the present image and that of 735f. and 812f.; the unnatural begetting of Eteocles and Polynices was a "bloody root" in the ματρόδας ἄρουρα, so there is a kind of primitive logic in the fact that the personified earth, the other source of life, will now drink their blood at their unnatural death. A. never explicitly says that one cause of the brothers' fate is pollution stemming from their incestuous origin, but the imagery may serve to suggest this at the subconscious level at which such ideas work. (Compare Cameron 2 and 1 p. 85ff.; but his discussions are diffuse and contain much that hardly seems relevant.)

753. ἐστε For ὑς, of course, as often (despite Wminton-Ingram 1 p. 93).

ματρόδας In the context of such impressionistic imagery we need not decide firmly between appositional and possessive genitive; for the sense cf. on the one hand S. O.T. 1256f., on the other S. Ant. 569.

ἀγνῶν Since the mother's body was hardly "chaste" or "sacred," this must be part of the vehicle, the implication being that as land sacred to a god is "taboo" and must not be profaned, so his mother's body was "taboo" to Oedipus.

755. ἐκαλοιματώσεσσαν Often taken as object of ἐσταλα, but I can extract no sense from "he endured a bloody root."
It is better to take ἔτλα with σπελαψ, "brought himself to sow," since parallels for this construction can be quoted (L.S.J. s.v. τλάω II.3); ὄζαν is then indifferently in apposition to ἀρουραν (so Groeneboom) or to the sentence (so Sidgwick). The way in which the agricultural image shifts from a sown field to a root is quite characteristic of A.

The phrase suggests the horrible pollution, like that of bloodshed, inflicted by Oedipus on his mother's body, and also implies that the union of mother and son — or the mother's womb — is a source of pollution, bloodshed and suffering for the family, and more particularly the source of the fratricidal children. The plant from the root is Eteocles and Polynices, as Groeneboom puts it. (I am assuming here that their parentage was made clear in the Oedipus, as it is at Sept. 926ff.)

756f. Commentators are divided on whether this refers to the union of Laius or that of Oedipus, but Manton (p. 80f.) argues strongly for the latter. The most important point is that we are still in the middle of an account of the consequences of Laius's crime, articulated by μέν and ὅτε (see on 751 above), so the subject of that crime cannot be rounded off here (Winnington-Ingram, 1 p. 12, seems to misunderstand this argument). It is sometimes objected that παράνοια could not be ascribed to Oedipus, who did not know what he was doing; but even if we suppose that A. made a firm distinction between παράνοια and ēγνοια (and ἔτλα, after all, hardly implies very logical thinking about the moral responsibility of Oedipus),
it may well be that he attributed Oedipus's ignorance to some
sort of "Verblendung" rather than to lack of evidence (see on
728 below, also Manton).

We are here given, then, a brief explanation of the ἔστε
clause, inserted in parenthesis before the chorus returns to
the second half of the antithesis.

757. ὑμφλος An ironically innocent-sounding word in sharp
contrast to the surrounding παρανοϊα...φρενώλης.

758ff. The chorus revert naturally to maritime imagery as soon as
they think of troubles besetting the city. In the first part of
the play, when they were concerned simply with the military
danger, it was the hostile army that was pictured as a wave
or a stormy sea; now that the situation is being explored in
greater depth the present danger can be seen as merely one "wave"
in a series deriving from the crime of Laius.

758. Usually, and most straightforwardly, interpreted "And as
it were a sea of troubles brings on a billow." But, as so often
in such contexts, the grammar is not very precise, so that the
effect is of something between a simile and a metaphor and
κακῶν can be taken with κῦμα as well as with θάλασσα.

759. δείπει. The change of construction conveys more vividly
the present situation: the sea actually is raising another
wave at this moment.
760. τρίχαλον This must agree with ἀλλα and thus logically applies only to the present disaster, but even so it is probably right to see here a reference to the three generations. An idea for a new application of the "wave" image - that the troubles of three generations correspond to the proverbial triple-crested wave, of which the third crest was the highest - suddenly suggests itself, and τρίχαλον is therefore added on (there will be some effect of enjambement after the pendant close of the preceding paroemia) without regard for strict logic.

Since χηλή is a dead metaphor in various senses in prose, I doubt if we should think here of the cruel talons of a bird, as Sidgwick does.

οἱ καὶ "And this is the one which ..." (see on 732 above).

περὶπ. π. π. π. By recalling lines 2 and 114f. the distinctively alliterative expression serves to remind us of how nautical imagery was used in the first part of the play.

761ff. It is pretty clear that "a wall in breadth" is an impossible phrase, not comparable, as Wilamowitz thinks (app. crit. and 1 p. 248 n. 1) with e.g. συμμετρία ἐν μῆκος;

nor does δι’ ὀλίγος , which should mean "at a short distance," give good sense. The text read by Weil and Page is certainly ingenious; ὀλίγων looks right, and there can be no real objection to ἀλμαρ in A. when the word is found at E. Tr. 590 as well as in epic. But I dislike ὃς’ - an unwanted word anyway, and giving very involved hyperbaton.
Following Weil's approach, therefore, I should suggest ἀλεκτηρί' ὀλγω; ἀλεκτήρια, which would here mean "means of protection" (cf. the Homeric ἀλεκτήρ), is an accepted correction at E. Fr. 697, besides being found in later poets (Pfeiffer on Call. Fr. 346). In a rare word Ἀάκη would easily become Ἀάκη (and Ἀάκα), and corruption of ΡΙΓΑΙΓΩI to ΔΙΑΙΓΟΥ would naturally follow.

Note how the nautical image has brought us back through association of ideas to the immediate military threat, although this has not been specifically mentioned.

764f. The crime of Laius leads to fear for the city as the curse of Oedipus leads to fear for the princes (though the reference to curses in 766 blurs this distinction).

766ff. We have been told how the crime of Laius led firstly to the troubles of Oedipus and secondly to the present dangers; we have still to be told that the troubles of Oedipus were themselves a further cause of the present dangers. The chorus must therefore work their way back to the subject of Oedipus, and the transition is now characteristically effected by means of generalizations which Oedipus can be brought in to exemplify. The train of thought is: "I fear that the city may perish with the princes; for curses can be pacified only at heavy cost; it is all right for those with nothing to lose, but mortals who are very fortunate may have to sacrifice everything (for instance their city as well as themselves); look at Oedipus ..."
The transition thus involves a slight subterfuge. Lines 769-771 appear at first to cohere closely with 764-5, for otherwise they would be unmotivated; ἡλβος, it seems, refers in particular to the state of princes like Eteocles and Polynices, and the ship which is lost refers in particular, as is shown by the continuation of nautical imagery from 758ff., to the city. But lines 769-771 could in themselves mean merely that great prosperity leads to great disaster for an individual, and it is of this maxim that the case of Oedipus provides an exemplum.

At 766-8 I read, for reasons given below -

τελειαν γαρ παλαιφατων ἄραν
βαρεται καταλαγαι· τα δ' όλο-
α πευμένους παρέρχεσαι,

responding to (772 - 4) -

τιν' ἀνδρὼν γαρ τοσώς' ἔθαυμασαν
θεοι τε ἔπνεστοι πόλεος
δ' πολύβοτος τ' αλών βροτῶν,

Note that Dindorf's simple correction πόλεος δ in 773f., accepted by almost all recent editors, is all the change that is needed to obtain perfect metre and responson (for 767/773 see Appendix), so we should not tamper further with the metre unless there are very compelling reasons.

766. ἄραν is obviously needed, and the next step, τελειαν (Dindorf and Headlam, accepted by Wecklein and Smyth), seems to me almost as obvious. With this text τελειαν
is appropriately parallel with θαλαφάτων;
it is now the ἀραί that are τέλειαι,
as one would expect; and βαρεία becomes the predicate,
as the sequence of thought demands.

Apparently loosely used to cover oracular warnings,
like the one given to Laius, as well as actual curses, like
those of Oedipus.

767. ματαλλαγαί

Heavy weather has been made of this word,
which is usually taken as a metaphor from the sphere of commerce.
But "exchange" (Wilamowitz 1 p. 82) would give awkward sense
here, and "settlement of accounts" (Tucker and others) is not
what the word as a commercial term means. It is much simpler
to render "conciliation, change from enmity to friendship."
The ironic understatement is typical of A.; the curses (lightly
personified) will in fact cease to be your enemies only when
they have triumphed over you completely.

768. Micheler's πενομένους is commonly accepted and very
convincing; see Headlam 1 p. 128. This, then, will be a "foil
antithesis" to the statement that follows, where the real
emphasis lies. The poor do, no doubt, have worries of their
own, but the meaning of τὰ ὀλόα is sufficiently
restricted by the context, and by the article, to inherited
curses and the like. Compare Ag. 772ff.

769ff. The chorus here comes close to expressing the doctrine
which that of the Agamemnon repudiates at Ag. 750ff. But in
view of the context the idea probably is that if things are
to go wrong at all then the possession of great wealth and
power ensures that the disaster will be on a grand scale; the
accent, then, is on πρόπρομα. After all, overloading
would be unlikely by itself to sink a ship in calm weather.

769. πρόπρομα "From the bottom" and so "utterly," like
προμαθες, προθέλυμος, πρόβατος
(so e.g. Tucker). The word coheres closely with ἐκβολή.
Despite the nautical context it makes no sense to render
"over the stern" (Mazon, Rose and others).

ἐκβολή A technical term for the jettisoning of part of a
cargo in the hope of saving the rest. But a "total jettisoning"
is a kind of oxymoron; this will in fact be no ἐκβολή
in the technical sense but an involuntary "throwing out" of
all the cargo as the ship capsizes or breaks up. The irony
is like that of βαρεῖατ ναταλλαγμ. The meaning
here is not, as is commonly supposed, the same as at Ἀγ. 1008ff.,
where an actual jettisoning is used as a metaphor for a prudent
sacrifice of part of a house's wealth.

770. δληστάν Whatever the derivation of this word A. no doubt
took it to mean "poor toiling mortals" as opposed to the blessed
gods (see Tucker, cf. also S. Ph. 709). The gods can obtain as
much Ἐλβος as they want, but for men it is dangerous.
"Greedy, gain-getting" (Sidgwick, Groeneboom), is a very dubious
translation of the word. The antithesis to πνευμάτων,
then, is contained not in ἀλφησταῖον but in what follows.

771. παχυτύς παχύς and its cognates are commonly used as expressively concrete terms for "rich, prosperous."

772ff. The good fortune of Oedipus was a consequence or reflection (not a cause) of the admiration of gods and men; the cause of this admiration was his victory over the Sphinx.

772. γὰρ echoes the corresponding point in the strophe (Groeneboom) and ἀνδρόφων echoes 770; both these repetitions help to articulate the argument.

773. There must be two groups of admirers - gods of the city and men - and not three - gods and fellow citizens and men (Zeus and Apollo, for instance, hardly admired Oedipus).

καλός must therefore be wrong. Murray and Groeneboom follow Schröder (cf. Wilamowitz 2 p. 202 n. 1) in deleting the word and adjusting the strophe accordingly, but it is simpler to read θεόλ τε with Mazois and Italie. τε is sometimes glossed by καλός (Dawe 1 p. 70).

The Theban gods are naturally interested in their city's safety and show gratitude to a man who has saved it; cf. e.g. 76f.

ξυνέστιοι πόλεως "Cohabitants (with men) of the city;" these gods are the Thebans' fellow-citizens (cf. 253). Page's use of obeli here is very odd.
most subsequent editors (though not Wilamowitz or Murray) and at first sight looks attractive; \( \text{πολύβοτος} \) is certainly supported by the schol. But we should surely think twice before introducing by conjecture a usage - \( \text{άγων} \) for "market place" - found only in non-literary Boeotian (see Fraenkel on Ag. 513; whatever \( \text{άγών} \lambda ο \text{εσο} \) may be, they are certainly not gods of the market place).

And the MS. text can, I think, be defended. \( \text{δ άλων} \) \( \beta οτόν \) will have to be used in a concrete sense, "the men alive at that time;" I have not found an exact parallel in Greek but the extension of meaning, common with "saeculum" and "generation," is very easy. As for \( \text{πολύβοτος} \), this can hardly be derived here from \( \beta οχειν \), as it presumably is at Tim. 15 (Persae). 141 and as other \( \beta οτος \) compounds are, for, despite Wilamowitz, "much nourishing" will make little sense with \( \text{αλων} \); but a derivation from \( \beta οτόν \) would be quite justified linguistically (cf. \( \text{πολύκρυος}, \text{πολύμηλος} \) etc.), and, even if Dion. Hal. I, 37. 1 is felt to be an insufficient parallel for fifth-century usage, we know how often A. uses words in "etymological" senses (see on 447 above).

The sense is now very good. Men were wealthy and prosperous under Cedipus's rule (that wealth should be measured in flocks is a Homeric touch), and so could display their gratitude and admiration to some effect. Also this interpretation justifies the article which the metre requires
(see on 766ff. above) - "the wealthy generation (which existed then)."

775. τότε Presumably looking forward, as though a ὥστε clause were to follow in place of the participle ἀφελόντα. 
Οδίπονυ The name has been delayed, as so often; the recipient of all this honour significantly turns out to be the ill-fated Oedipus. 
τίνος Pure varia. for the structure of the sentence dictates that the word should mean the same as ἔθαυμασαν.

776. τῶν Marking the euphemistic periphrasis - "The κῆρ (whose name we all know)."
ἀρνακανθραν See Groeneboom for parallels. With great economy the word gives us a vivid picture of the Sphinx seizing a man in her talons like a harpy.

777. κῆρ Used of various kinds of demons and bogies, so hardly tropical here.

666ff. Since part of the story has already been related, A. is here able to pass straight from the height of Oedipus's prosperity to the depth of his misfortune.

778. ἄριστον Normally "sane," as Tucker points out, and not just "aware," so perhaps implying recovery from some sort of "Verblendung" here.

The word recalls φρενώλης at 757 to mark the fact that the story is now being taken up at the point where it broke off.
Words denoting anguish and wretchedness are accumulated and juxtaposed (Manton), and monotonous repetition of ὠν reinforces the effect.

We must take it as read that Oedipus also learned of his parricide, as is implied by πατροφόνω at 784.

μέλεος Parenthetic, as often (despite L.S.J.), γάμων depending primarily, at least, on ἀρτίφρων.

παλαιομένων Paradoxical after ἀρτίφρων; it was Oedipus's sane awareness of his situation that drove him mad.

Possibly an "iambic tripody" (Denniston 2 p. 129ff.), but perhaps rather a dochmiac with an extra short (see on 146f. above); note that the preceding hemiepes could in theory be similarly interpreted.

δίδυμα μάν' These must be the self-blinding and the cursing of the sons; see Manton.

πατροφόνω χερί With what follows, since two separate datives with ἔτελεσέν would be clumsy and anyway Oedipus will hardly (despite Schütz) have cursed his sons with his hand. πατροφόνω resolves the fact that the act of Oedipus against himself is a kind of retribution for the murder of Laius; the hand that struck his father can now justly strike Oedipus himself.

τῶν κ.τ.λ. In view of πατροφόνω χερί we need not doubt, with Schütz, Verrall, Hoernle and apparently
Page, that these words do refer to the self-blinding. But the
text is hopeless. \( \chiρεισσωστέκνων \) being clearly nonsense,
most editors substitute some other \( -τεκνος \) compound, but
I very much doubt whether the children have any business here
at all; more probably they are imported from the next line. The
equally impossible (\( \acute{a}π' \)) \( \deltaμμάτων \) \( \epsilonπλάχθη \)
is commonly defended by reference to Pi. 01. I. 58, E. Tr. 640,
but these are false parallels; if "to stray from (or in respect
of) happiness" can mean "to lose one's happiness," it does not
at all follow that "to stray from (or in respect of) eyes" could
mean "to lose one's eyes."

(Wecklein's \( \chiρλ \) \( μὲν \) \( κερκίοι \) is ingenious;
\( \text{KPEK} > \text{KPEK} > \text{KPEIC} \); for this means of blinding
Wecklein compares S. Ant. 976. One might speculate that A.
wrote something like \( \chiρλ \) \( μὲν \) \( κερκίοι \) \( \deltaν \) \( \acute{e}π' \)
\( \deltaμμάτων \) \( \epsilonπλάχθη \) with e.g. Blaydes's \( \tauελέση \) \( \langle νυν \rangle \)
in 791; for the form \( \epsilonπλάχθη \) cf. \( \epsilonπληνχεις \) at E. Tr. 183.)

785ff. The last antistrophe neatly reverses the movement of the
first strophe to bring us back to the starting point of the ode.

785. \( \acute{a}τσ' \) Unless \( μὲν \) has preceded, Paul's \( \tau' \) would be an
improvement.

\( \alphaρχαίος \). The schol. on S. Ο.Ο. 1385 tells us that A.
\( \epsilonν \) \( τούς \) \( \acute{E}πτὰ \) \( \epsilonπι \) \( Θηβαίς \) followed the version
in which Oedipus cursed his sons for serving him a haunch of
meat instead of a shoulder. Most commentators link this scholion with the present passage; thus Wilamowitz's ἀργιλας...

...ΤΡΟΦΑΣ is supposed to mean "the traditional serving" of meat, and Francken's popular ἀγριας...

(τροφας) (championed by Müller p. 264f.) is supposed to mean the sons' "cruel nurture" of Oedipus. But Wilamowitz's text seems compressed and allusive beyond the limit of intelligibility, and ἀγρια τροφή is not the most natural of expressions; moreover, the chorus are saying that the curses were uttered while Oedipus was anguished and frenzied from the anagnorisis (778ff.), and it is hard to see how the serving of a meal is to be fitted into this scheme.

There is much to be said, therefore, for the view of Schuttz, Balsley (p. 31), Manton (p. 82) and others that the scholiast was simply mistaken and that τροφας refers to the rearing of the children. Note the appropriateness, on this interpretation, of the δίδυμα κακά, which now correspond to the two crimes of Oedipus; he blinded himself "with patricidal hand" and cursed the children born of the incest.

So what of the text? If τροφας is the rearing of the children, then very good sense would be given by ἀραιας itself, as Rode points out (p. 82 n. 1). The verbal repetition would be effective, the curses being appropriate to the "accursed rearing;" for the sense of ἀραιας Rode compares κατάρατοι at E. Med. 112. The free response which Rode postulates here does not, indeed, seem defensible, but we need
only read τέκνοις (Wellauer) to obtain the sort of
response found at e.g. Ag. 1004/1111, 1121/1132, 1408/1427.
(if, indeed, the scansion ἄραίας, on the analogy of the
Homerian ἄρα, can be entirely ruled out; for cases of
Homerian prosody in A. see Sideras p. 261f.).

786. ἐπικεφαλής Generally accepted and a clear improvement on
the MSS.

787. άγαρ Delaying the fateful word ἄρας so as to give it
greater weight, and showing that we have reached matters of
pressing concern to the chorus.

κιτρογυμνὸς One of A.'s impressionistic and ambiguous
compounds, suggesting both "bitterly spoken" and "bitter to speak;"
the curses hurt Oedipus himself as much as they hurt his sons.

788. καλ Defended by Denniston (1 p. 291), but he quotes nothing
really comparable. η is likely; Dawe (1 p. 117f.) objects
that from η to καλ would be a minuscule corruption, but
abbreviations for καλ occur in uncial also, as Mrs. Easterling
reminds me.

οὐδαρονύμω "Wielding iron," not "distributing with iron"
(despite Tucker, L.S.J.).

789. διά... λαχελν On this word see Borécký.

790f. A strong echo of the beginning of the ode (πέφρικα...
'Ερινύν τελέσω... ) with 'Ερινύς very prominently
placed at the end to give an ominous cue for the next scene.
Various interpretations are discussed by Tucker; we may add Brey's not implausible theory that the Erinyes is like a clawing bird or harpy. But on the whole the most usual interpretation seems the most likely: as in archaic sculpture and vase painting the bent legs imply running. The thought is perhaps of tireless and relentless pursuit rather than speed, which would have less point after ποτε in 789.

**The Messenger Scene.**

The Messenger's report is so brief as to seem almost perfunctory, and the scene contrasts strongly with the leisureliness of the Redepaare and of the Messenger Scene in the *Persae*. A. seems to feel that the conflict of Argives and Thebans has already been sufficiently presented and that all that is now wanted is the bare minimum of information necessary to motivate laments for the princes. The scene is in fact devoted solely to the announcement of two facts - that the city is saved and that the princes have killed each other - in various different aspects (hence the prevalence of asyndeton) but without any extraneous detail that might distract attention from essentials. The Messenger himself enters and exits without irrelevant naturalistic formalities, like the Scout in the Prologue. It is natural to guess that he is played by the Deuteragonist still wearing the Scout's mask.

In their eagerness to avoid crediting A. with "children born of mothers" recent commentators agree with Verrall that
the Messenger is rebuking the chorus's timidity by saying that they are "brought up as true mothers' children," μαμόθερπτοι. But even if we consider that this is a possible rendering of the Greek, and that the chorus have in fact been displaying timidity (as opposed to considered and reasonable forebodings), and that an otherwise faceless Messenger can fittingly adopt such a patronising tone, we may still find Verrall's interpretation incredible; for Greek women were not expected to take after their fathers, and it therefore comes as no surprise to find that in all the parallels cited the expressions imputing effeminacy are directed not at women but at men. There must, then, be something wrong with the text. A promising approach is to regard παιδες as a gloss; e.g. καινων μητέρων Wecklein (cf. S. Ph. 3).

Ἐφασεῖτε In dramatic contrast to τρέω (790).

793ff. Striking multiple π- alliteration is associated once more with the πόλις (see on 6 above). Also, as Hiltbrunner (p. 57) and Groeneboom point out, several prominent words and motifs from earlier in the play are here brought together to mark the fact that the whole process of defence which the play has depicted has now proved successful; note δουλους ζυγὸν 471 (and cf. 75), κομπάσμασιν 551 (and cf. 391, 425, 464, 473, 480, 500, 538, 554), στέγειν 216/ φερέγγυος 396, 449, 470, φάρδας 63, προστάτην 408 (and cf. 396).

794. Πέπτωκεν The word would more normally be used of the men themselves, and the line therefore suggests both that the men's
boasts have come to nothing and that the men are laid low.

The echo in sound and grammar of πέφευγεν gives prominence to both words.

δέρμος A grand Homeric-sounding word whose meaning for A. will have been determined by the contexts in which he found it in epic. The most apt parallels (Tucker) are ΙΙ. Β. 403, ΞΧΙΙ. 418, Ηεσ. Θθ. 996, where δέρμος εργώς refers to men using wicked violence against the gods.

795. πόλις Emphatic reiteration of a crucial word.

ἐν εὐσί ὑπὲρ τε Wilamowitz (1 p. 86 n. 2) and others take τε καὶ as linking εὐσί with πληγαίς, regarding this as "a very bold example" of polar construction - "in fair weather or foul." Van Nes's discussion (p. 63f.) seems decisive against this; close parallels are hard to find, and a logically meaningless phrase so prominently placed at the start of a sentence would be most unwelcome. Understand ἐστι then, and for the slightly awkward and unbalanced effect cf. Ε.Β. 178f. (but Tucker's ἐνεύσθῃ, a word found at Α.Ρ. ΙΙ. 935, is worth considering).

ἐὐσί, εὐσίς etc. are common in metaphorical senses (van Nes l.c.). The stock image thus forms a natural and inevitable-sounding element in the pattern of maritime imagery describing the danger to the city; a figurative calm is a fitting end to a figurative storm.

796. ἄντλον οὖν ἔσεξατο What precedes suggests that the reference is general and abstract - "the state is undamaged" -
while what follows makes it specific and concrete - "none of the enemy has broken in." Here again, as at 758ff., the maritime imagery brings us from the general welfare of the city to the immediate military situation.

797. οὔτεγελ "Neutral terminology" (see on 216 above) leads back from metaphorical to literal language. I agree with van Ness (p. 86) that the nautical image does not continue beyond this word; certainly there are no grounds for talking of irrigation with Cameron l p. 66.

798. The three-word line and accumulated polyyllables give an appropriately grandiose and climactic effect.

799. The Messenger pauses and begins afresh before breaking the bad news (Wilamowitz l p. 86). It is rather artificial to place a comma or dash before ἐν ἐξ παλάμισων, as some editors do, but these words do clearly serve to define τὰ πλεῖστα.

800ff. The bad news is broken gently in enigmatic and euphemistic language.

800. ἐβδομαγέτος The word is oddly treated by many commentators (but see Wecklein); it was an actual title of Apollo, as we are told by Proclus in Timaeum III. 200. D. Whatever this title was supposed to mean, A.'s reason for selecting it here is
clearly that it combines a reference to the number seven with a military-sounding ending. Since seven is not only a significant and magical number but one especially connected with Apollo (see Groeneboom), the fact that the brothers died at the seventh gate is an omen indicating that it is indeed Apollo who has brought to an end the House of Laius (cf. 690); and -αγέτας helps to suggest a military victory by the god. (No doubt if the word were in common use it would have to mean "leader of seven," but this would not be very appropriate here, and, despite Tucker, it seems absurd to call Apollo in effect an "august lance-corporal.")

801. εὐλετ' The wording is intentionally vague, for A. wants to suggest direct intervention by Apollo without saying anything that would imply that the action was not explicable on a purely human level. We can suppose that Apollo "chose" the seventh gate as his own in place of Eteocles who had been allotted to it (so e.g. Paley) and thus was able to win a victory over both brothers. When human antagonists fight we expect one of them to win, so it is paradoxical that the victory should have gone instead to Apollo.

Οδόπου γένει The crime of Laius has not been visited on the city, as the chorus feared (764f.).

802. ἤπαινων The language is not quite normal usage, for it is normally oracles, curses or the like that are "fulfilled;" Apollo can "bring to fulfilment" old follies as surely as oracles.
δυσδουλίας "Follies," here no doubt synonymous with δουλίας; see on 750 above.

803ff. Bad news from a messenger is regularly preceded by brief stichomythia, and stichomythia separates bad news from good also at *Ag*. 620ff., *E. Ph.* 1209ff. In this case we cannot talk of building up suspense, but the chorus-leader's horrified reaction helps to bring out the horror of what is reported and to ensure a correct response from the audience.

The line-order in the rest of this scene has been the subject of numerous theories; besides the commentators see Wecklein *Studien* p. 65ff., Havet p. 133ff., Pohlenz *Erlaut.* p. 45ff., Regenbogen p. 52ff., van Veen p. 45ff., Erbse p. 19ff., Willink. There would be little point, I think, in discussing in any detail the more elaborate of these theories, especially as Page, withdrawing his former assent to Verrall's drastic remedy (Page 1 p. 31ff.), now prints a straightforward text with which I am largely in agreement.

803. The chorus-leader has failed to understand the oracular expression of 800-2.

*νεόκοτος* With connotations of "alarming" (Tucker); cf. *άλλοκοτος* and *Pers.* 256.

804f. Clearly we cannot keep both lines. Since 804 is an anticipation of 820, unmetrichally adapted to its present context (for Triclinius's *βασιλέες* would be anomalous; see Willink p. 6 n. 1), the natural conclusion is that it is 804 which is
spurious (so Wecklein, Havet, van Veen, Erbse, ll. cc., and several editors); and this is now confirmed by cod. I, which omits the line (Dawe 1 p. 119; Page's "habent omnes" is, I understand, a mere error). But the idea persistently arises that 804 should be retained and 805 deleted or postponed (for arguments for this view see Pohlenz, Regenbogen, Willink, ll. cc., and Hermann, Tucker ad loc.; so too Weil, Verrall, Sidgwick, Smyth, Italie). I see no advantage in this; πόλις σέσωται is not a sensible answer to "What further news is there for the city," and τίνες; , as Groenboom notes, is much more natural after a vague ἄνδρες than after a specific βασιλέες ὁμόσποροι. It is sometimes said that the chorus-leader's questions could not without absurdity continue after an explicit statement that "the men are dead," but in 806 she makes it quite clear that she has failed to take in the Messenger's words.

805. αὐτοκτόνων See on 661 above.

806. παραφρονῶ φῶςω λόγου The "spoken stage direction" convention (see on 78 above), explaining how the preceding questions came to be asked. The chorus-leader's confusion, besides being psychologically plausible and bringing out the horror of the news, enables A. to prolong the stichomythia and so to spin out the delivery of the crucial information. φῶςω λόγου combines "from fear of what you will say" and "from the frightfulness of what you have said" (cf. Wilamowitz 1 p. 86).

807ff. Page seems right not to punctuate after 807 and 809, although the Messenger does not simply ignore the interruptions as is
usual in such cases. We may suppose that he at first plans to say something like "The sons of Oedipus lie dead at each other's hands." On the way, however, he replies to 808 with "and indeed there is no doubt about it," fitting this untranslatably into the grammatical structure of his sentence; and finally, after the chorus-leader has finished his sentence for him with ἐκείθεν κείσθον, he turns aside again to make a more emphatic statement in a tense logically inconsistent with κατεσποδημένω. This would all seem natural enough in performance.

807. ὧν Rather ὧν (Blaydes); this is obviously the particle, and if editors write ὧν despite the long vowel at e.g. 246 then they should do so here.

γένος τόκος Μα, whence τόκω Dindorf, followed by Weil and others, probably rightly. γένος will be a "correction," with reminiscence of 801, of the senseless τόκος (cf. Willink p. 7). Then Dindorf's κατεσποδημένω in 809 should doubtless also be accepted.

808. ὦ 'γώ τάλαλανα Because ὄδιπου τόκω has removed the slender hope that ἄνδρες might refer to someone else.

μάντις κ.τ.λ. Perhaps not just "I can tell what you are about to say" - a slightly odd use of μάντις - but "I have predicted it all along" (cf. Tucker), the same use of the present as is found with πάλαλ and the like (Kühner-Gerth Teil I p. 134f.).
809. **οὖδ’...μὴν** Perfectly good sense after 808, despite Murray and others; see Denniston 1 p. 340, Erbse p. 21.

**κατεσποδημένω** If we think of the word as a compound of **σποδέν** , it will be very violent and rather vulgar in tone - "bashed down," in fact (Verrall, Wilamowitz 1 p. 86 n. 5, Regenbogen p. 53 n. 2). It seems better to derive it directly from **σποδός** so that it can mean "throw down in the dust, make to bite the dust" (L.S.J.), for we want pathos, not violence, here. This sense is perhaps more suitable also at Ar. Th. 560, the only other instance of the word.

810. **κείσθεν** Decision between this and **κηροῦ** (read by Tucker, Italie, Dawe 1 p. 101, older editors) - perhaps with Tucker's **ἐκείσθε** - is remarkably difficult. On the one hand **κηροῦ** gives very idiomatic Greek and an attractive sense of the chorus-leader hinting at something she is afraid to say openly; and Wilamowitz's objection to the crasis (1 p. 87 n. 1) seems unfounded (cf. **χῆ,** **θημέρα** ). On the other hand scribes are more liable to eliminate duals than to insert them, and **κείσθεν** fits well after the perfect participle in 809. I slightly favour **κείσθεν**.

**δ’ οὖν** See Denniston 1 p. 461. Also the words assist the antithesis by separating **βαρέα** from **δύμως**.

811. **αὐτοῦς** Hartung's emendation (accepted by Sidgwick as well as Page) not only enables us to give this line to the Messenger instead of the chorus-leader, so rescuing us from the transpositions,
deletions and lacunae to which almost all editors resort at this point, but also makes the line far stronger and more pointed in itself; "they slew each other" - a fitting climax to the stichomythis. ἐναλέσσαν as middle is Homeric; the only parallel cited for a passive use is S. O.C. 842, where it is difficult to believe that the text is sound.

 исполни́н If the verb is middle we can restore the appropriate tense by writing ἠνάροντι; this form is not found, but all analogy supports it.

εμα It hardly makes natural sense or word-order to take ἐγγυν with ἀδελφαίς (despite Tucker, Groeneboom and others). Nauck's εμα is generally accepted and very plausible.

812ff. (I shall here use the traditional line numbers which Page prints in square brackets.)

This speech presents us with a real problem of line order: what are we to do with 820-1? Since it seems to me quite unnecessary and undesirable to transpose these lines into the stichomythis, as is often done, the following appear to be the possibilities worth considering.

1. Keep to the MS. order (so Tucker, Groeneboom among recent editors, also van Veen p. 49f.). The Messenger then takes a deep breath after 819 and sums up the whole of his news in 820f. But it cannot be denied that these lines seem very feebly repetitive after 815.

2. Page's order. This is not very satisfactory rhetorically, for πόλις σέωσαν seems unmotivated after 811; we
expect an extended account of the princes' deaths here, to balance the extended account of the saving of the city, before an antithesis is drawn between the two items of news.

3. Simply bracket 820f. (Butler, followed by Wilmotz and Mason). Always possible, of course, but the lines are good in themselves and develop a motif announced at 735f. Certainly Wilmotz's explanation of the interpolation (1 p. 86 and app. crit.) cannot be right; see on 818 below.

4. Place 820f. after 813 (Headlam, who would also for some reason bracket 818f.). The Messenger then starts afresh after 813; τολωτα in 814 refers back as well as forward; and the variatio between 820f. and 815ff. is perhaps not unlike A.'s style. But it cannot be called attractive, and one would like to think that A. did better than this.

5. Leave 820f. alone, but bracket 815 and place 814 after 819. Besides eliminating repetition, this solution would rid us of the peculiar ἐπιστάται; would make the whole speech less rambling by giving independent weight to 816-9 and confining the antithesis between good and bad news to the end; and would bring 814 closer to the anapaest for which it provides the cue (χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι / πότερον χαίρω... η...κλαύω). But it is perhaps questionable whether the end fully justifies the means.

In the absence of an obvious alternative I shall comment on the lines in the MS. order.

Von der Mühll thinks that a long description of the battle has dropped out after 811. But he produces no real evidence.
812. Recent editors (except Mazon, whose arrangement is not attractive) follow the MSS. in giving this line to the Messenger—perhaps rightly. It is possible, however, that we should continue the stichomythia and give the line to the chorus, with e.g. Hermann, Paley; the use of δήτα in 813 rather suggests this (see Denniston l p. 277). In that case read Heimsoeth's ἄρα instead of Nauk's ἄγαν for ἁμα here, and read αὐτός γ' (M2ssor) in 813.

ἀδαλμων Apollo, who we know is responsible for "consuming the race," merges with the vague, hardly personal ἀδαλμων of fate, which alone could be described as "common to both."

813. αὐτός δ᾽... δήτα "And it is he, assuredly, who ...;"
cf. Tucker.

ἀναλοὶ Perhaps not simply "destroys" but retaining some suggestion of "uses up;" no more of the race is left.

815. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιστάται Wilamowitz's ingenious note (1 p. 87 n. 1) hardly solves the real problem. ἐπιστάτης, "man in charge" in various contexts, is elsewhere always qualified
by a genitive (or equivalent) and seems meaningless without one. If we understand πόλεως with Tucker the word is a very odd one to use of Polynices, while if it is synonymous with στρατηγῷ it is simply redundant. The change of case also seems harsh; similar anacolutha at 622 and 759, for instance, are softened by a succession of accusatives.

816f. The Messenger has already connected the brothers' fate with the crime of Laius; he now recalls language which the chorus has associated with the curse of Oedipus (727ff.) so as to lead up to, and to justify, πατρὸς κατ' εὐχὰς (819). A slight extra point is given to the motif of iron, in that there is now an implied analogy between division of property by means of the iron sword and a physical cutting with an iron tool.

816. σωφρολάτω. The word suggests the hardness of the iron sword (as it does that of the fetters at Pers. 747) and so by implication the harshness of the brothers' fate.

817. Παιτήριον A technical legal term belonging to the "allotment" image.

818. Nothing is said or implied about a common grave; see Groenewoud on 820f. against Wilamowitz, and see p. 27f. above. χεῖνα. The partitive genitive χείνος gives more precise sense than the accusative (see e.g. Verrall) and would be hard to account for as a corruption; I should be inclined to accept it, with most editors, despite the difficulty of paralleling the use of ἦν for ὅν.
Although no single word is in itself nautical, the line as a whole is only intelligible as a nautical image; a very light suggestion is sufficient to make the meaning clear because of the way such images have been used earlier in the play. Here as at 690 the image of a wind or current propelling a ship conveys the helplessness of human beings before supernatural forces.

Commonly accepted as a conjecture and quite likely (see Wilamowitz I p. 88 n. 1), although to apply the word to agents, rather than sufferers, of disaster would be an easy extension of meaning.

Dawe (3 p. 39) and Kirkwood (p. 21f.) regard the way in which the saving of the city is juxtaposed, here and at 814ff. and 822ff., with the death of the princes as a hint that the latter was the cause of the former. This view is refuted by Podlecki (2 p. 297), who notes that in each case the juxtaposition is adversative. "I sold my house and bought a car" may imply something about cause and effect, but "I sold my house but I bought a car" does not.

Making the emotional and paradoxical effect of the next line all the greater.

Again the language brings to mind the prophecies of the chorus (734ff.); for the image see on 736, 753ff. above.

"By death at each other's hands."
The Third Stasimon.

The possibility of rejoicing for the safety of the city is raised only to be dismissed; this ode will consist solely of lamentation for the princes. Why should this be so, when the chorus have hitherto shown so much concern about the city's safety and when the Messenger has given as much weight to his good news as to his bad news? One answer is, no doubt, that different genres must be kept distinct, perhaps partly for musical reasons; the chorus can sing either a dirge or a paean but they cannot mix the two (and to sing one after the other would be somewhat absurd). Also these are the final lyrics of the trilogy, and it may well be that the fate of the city was a theme only of the Septem, while the whole trilogy was concerned with the fall of the House. And finally the Greeks, for whatever psychological reason, do seem to have liked nothing more than a good Ἐφικτος, and I suppose that to supply this need was one important function of early tragedy.

Despite some fine passages, this lengthy exploration of a single tragic fact, with very little variety or development of thought, is likely to seem rather tedious to the modern reader. It is usual, and no doubt true, to say of such odes as this that we miss much by knowing nothing of the music, dance and spectacle; though indeed these elements were present in all lyric passages and did not always act as substitutes for poetic interest.
822-831. Verrall condemned these anapaests (see his On Editing A. p. 18ff. as well as his commentary) and his view is now revived by Page. The passage does contain many peculiarities, but I shall argue that the nature of these is symptomatic not of interpolation but of a high degree of corruption. An anapaestic prelude foreshadowing the theme of the following lyrics is, of course, very typical of A. (see Groeneboom); and it would be strange indeed if the chorus were to launch straight into the dirge without taking any notice at all of the news of the city's safety.

822f. An address to the gods is a convenient and conventional way of beginning a choral soliloquy, but here it is also a mark of the chorus's emotion and perplexity (Schadewaldt 1 p. 46). A. especially likes to begin odes with an address to Zeus, the most elevated and emotional opening of all; cf. Pers. 532, Supp. 1, 524, Ag. 355, Cho. 783, 855. For the linking of Zeus with the city's gods see on 69f. above. The Messenger's factual report made no mention of the gods' help in saving Thebes, and some account has to be taken of this if the themes of the previous odes are to be rounded off.

822. μεγάλε Page's "inauditus" is a slight exaggeration; L.S.J.'s Supplement cites Them. Cr. XIII. 163c and A.P. XIV. 100. 4, where the phrase ᾿μεγάλε Ζεῦ recurs in an ostensible oracle of unknown date written in epic language. It seems rather more likely that A. and the epigrammatist are both
recalling some epic now lost than that the epigrammatist is recalling A.; in any case I see no reason to think that the form μεγάλε is one which an interpolator would be more likely to employ than A. himself.

823. oι δὲ

"Who indeed (as might have been hoped from their title) ..."

824. One would expect scribes to alter ῥύεσθαι to ῥύεσθε here, not vice versa, so there is no reason to suspect that the unmetrical ῥύεσθε is the original reading. Page's οὐκ...ῥύεσθαι ῥευσκηκεν is possible; so, I think, is Wilamowitz's simpler τοῦσθε ῥύεσθαι, for the objections of Parker, p. 84, are perhaps hypersensitive.

826. The fault here lies not so much in the metre (cf. Pers. 32, 152, Supp. 7, Ag. 366) as in the sense; surely not even an interpolator would talk of an "unharmed saviour" or a "harmless saviour." And despite Wilamowitz and Groeneboom line 225 is clearly a special case, not to be cited as evidence that σωτηρ could be used for σωτηρία in other contexts. A possible conjecture, after Scholastic (ὑχην), with illicit hiatus, would be πόλεως ἐκινησε σωτηρα τύχην (cf. Ag. 664, S. C.T. 80f.); for the accusative cf. S. El. 750 and the MS. text at A. Cho. 942f.

827. καὶ δυσδαιμονας

The sequence of four short syllables is rare enough in non-lyric anapaests to cause grave suspicion wherever it occurs in the MSS.; see Barrett on E. Hipp. 1364-7.
But here again sense as well as metre is at fault; μοιχείας καὶ δυσδαίμονας is feebly tautologous, and, more important, καὶ is wrongly positioned. On this last point it is no defence to note that ἀτέκνους is an adjective of different character from the preceding ones (Dawe 4 p. 20); the only defence would be if ἀτέκνους could be proleptic, or subordinate to δυσδαίμονας, or closely linked to πολεμάρχους to form a single idea — and it cannot. I should delete καὶ δυσδαίμονας as a gloss or an attempt to fill out a monometer as a dimer.

828. ἀτέκνους Lloyd-Jones's attempt (3 p. 90f.) to show that this could mean "unfortunate in the filial relationship" displays such obvious embarrassment that it hardly needs answering. It is strange to deny that "childless" would be emotive in this context; the brothers have not only died but died without children to mourn for them and to carry on the line. The audience, if they have thought about the matter at all, will already have gathered from such lines as 815 [813] that the brothers were childless, and the word here, though dropped in without great emphasis, serves to confirm this and to show why the lamentation must be performed by the chorus. See Dawe 4 p. 20, Kirkwood p. 23.

πολεμάρχους A technical term is used in a general sense as so often in A.; cf. Cho. 1072. A. has to choose a term that will apply equally to both brothers.
830. Obviously πολυνεικεῖς ought to be subordinate to, not coordinate with, ιματις ἐπώνυμον, despite Tucker, Groeneboom and others; and it is therefore usually assumed that a play on the name of Eteocles has dropped out here. This may, indeed, be right; but it should at least be noted that to call the brothers or their deaths "renowned" or "glorious" would, as Groeneboom says, be rather unsuitable to this context, where it is the wretchedness of the brothers' fate that is receiving all the emphasis. Perhaps A. dragged in an unsuitable term like ἑτερωντοι for the sake of word play, but possibly what has dropped out is some term synonymous with πολυνεικεῖς, inserted by way of explanation because πολυνεικής is not itself normal Greek.

831. ἀδεξετή Such an unnatural deed as fratricide is felt to be an offence against the gods. The chorus keep to their view, first announced at 677ff., that both brothers are equally guilty, and the audience is not now expected to question this. 

832ff. The word is used by A. in an emotional sense with none of the intellectual connotations that it later acquired. 

832ff. For the line-order and the general train of thought heresabouts see on 848ff. below.

The movement of thought in the antistrophe 840ff. is parallel to that in the strophe, and 840f. sounds like a reply to what has just been said. This suggests a division between different groups of singers after 839; and it is possible to mark such division also after 835 and 842. See on 875ff. below.
832f. The chorus begin their lament at the point where the
previous ode ended; the fear expressed at 690 f. has been
realised.

832. μέλαινα A graphic and evocative way of saying "wholly evil,"
making the curse appear as a concrete thing and perhaps slightly
personifying it.

833. The coordination of objective and subjective genitives has
caused trouble, but can be accounted for by saying, with Schütz,
that the curse on the race and the curse of Oedipus are not quite
the same thing, since the former dates from the time of Laius.
Rose's Excursus B (Commentary p. 245f.) is quite unhelpful.

834. Hard μ- alliteration reflects the unpleasantness of the
situation described, and forms the main justification for μακόν,
in itself a rather weak word.

The chorus are not describing their fear for the future
(see on 843 below) or their grief but rather their horror at the
spectacle of curses fulfilled (see de Romilly l p. 26f.).

τι As so often in A., the emotional sensation is presented as
something that the conscious mind cannot quite account for.
περιπέπτειν. περι- because the sensation comes from
outside the organ that experiences it; see on 288 above.

835. τεύχειν μέλος might in itself be normal non-metaphorical
usage, but in the presence of τύμβω there will be a suggestion
of physical building; the construction of a dirge is implicitly
compared in Pindaric fashion to that of a grave-building.

Επειτά With present force; Tucker's ideas here are very strange.

836. The one-word simile Θυίας is very abrupt; αἴματοσταγεῖς seems self-consciously melodramatic in this context; and the paraphrase in schol. M talks of αὐτοῦς δυσμόρως
θανόντας ὑπὸ δορᾶς ἄλλήλων but takes no account of αἴματοσταγεῖς. For these reasons consideration should be given to Θυίας ὡς (ΥΚ - the wrong order for a gloss?) αὐτοσφαγεῖς (Tucker).

Θυίας Here without oxymoron (contrast 498) simply implying frenzied emotion.

839. Ξυναυλία δορᾶς Presumably referring to the duel
(see e.g. Wilamowitz 1 p. 83 n. 3, Groeneboom); the point of the metaphor is admittedly not very clear and there is something in the objections made by Verrall, but other interpretations are no improvement. Possibly Ξυναυλία had some technical sense in music that would make the metaphor more apt.

840. For the emphatic expression see Groeneboom.

Αἰπεῖνεν Although the curse is lightly personified, the choice of a compound of εἰπεῖν is no doubt influenced by the word φάτης.

842. An expression that would most naturally mean "the plans of Laius were lasting," and so particularly successful, is
ironically used to mean that his lack of thought had lasting consequences. If βουλαὶ actually meant deliberate plans, as Wimnington-Ingram thinks (see on 750 above), then διήρκεσσαν would be very strained.

843. Since there is no mention elsewhere in the ode of any fear for the future, and since the whole context is concerned with lamentation for the brothers' deaths, Klotz is certainly right (p. 119f.) in taking this line to mean "The city is full of grief" (cf. 900). Even Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 90) concedes that there is no difficulty in this. In addition to Klotz's arguments we may note that the mention of oracles in 844 must cohere with the mention of Laius's disobedience in 842, and since the tense of 842 is past, the reference in 844 can hardly be to the future.

844. ἀμβλύνεται A sword must become ineffective in time, but oracles do not. This word recalls the actual sword which has been so much emphasized as the instrument of the curse (Cameron 1 p. 86f., Dawson); the oracles as Eteocles and Polynices encountered them were very literally "not blunted."

845ff. The climactic force of this emotional outburst is made all the greater by the jerky series of short factual sentences that precedes it.

846. πολύστονοι Obviously with passive force (despite L.S.J.).
846f. τὸς...ἐκλεκτον It does not make good sense or good Greek to render "this act of disobedience," so ἐκλεκτον must bear a different sense from ἐκλεκτον at 842. But the repetition of the word can still act as an effective link between the disobedience of Laius and the incredible act which was its consequence.

847. οὐ λόγῳ Simply stressing the reality, λόγῳ being opposed to ἐλπίζωσθε (Groenewom); we should not enquire with Tucker what λόγος is in question.

848-860 There are several interrelated problems here. First of all, does this passage consist of a strophe and antistrophe, as Hermann, Wilamowitz and their followers think? It is not difficult to arrange it, as these scholars do, as two sets of four unsyncopated and acatalectic lyric iambic trimeters, each set followed by a clausular line. It is rather harder to make the two clausulae, 854 and 860, respond, since neither looks corrupt in itself, but it can be done (e.g. εἰς ἀφενὴ πάνοικον τε χέρσου Werner). And enjambement across the end of the strophe, though very rare, can just be paralleled (Kranz p. 153f.; Fraenkel on Ag. 238f.; note however that in the case of Supp.582, Ag.176, 238 the sentence is syntactically complete at the stanza division, while at Sept. 750 the stanza division corresponds with the end of a long participial phrase). But the response still remains unsatisfactory; for although isolated cases of resolved answering
to unresolved biceps are not uncommon in A.'s lyric iambics (see Fraenkel on Ag. 765), it does not follow that resolution could be completely ignored for purposes of response, as one would have to assume here (Wilamowitz's text involves at least five cases of " in two lines), and no parallel for such wholesale freedom is cited (for conjectural restorations of Pers. 275 clearly do not count).

We can be fairly sure, then, that the passage is astrophic. But this raises another problem: what is an astrophic passage doing between two normal strophic pairs (I am taking for granted here the spuriousness of 861-874)? The few mesodes that occur elsewhere in A. are quite different.

And now let us look at the sequence of thought. In the anapaests the chorus asked whether it should rejoice for the city's fate or lament that of the princes. Then at 832 it launched suddenly into something that was obviously a lament, identical in its mood and its concerns with the main body of the ode, 874-960. It now appears, however, that this was a false start, for at 848ff. the chorus breaks off (with a rather surprising reference back to the Messenger's report), considers once more what it should say, decides in favour of a lament, and proceeds to give itself elaborate and formal instructions for this. Some scholars might seek to defend this strange sequence by saying that the chorus are inspired to a formal dirge by the sight of the bodies; but I can see no grounds for thinking that the bodies are brought on at this point (see below), and even if
they were we should still have to explain why A. did not have them brought on in time for the beginning of the ode.

What all this has been leading up to is a proposal that lines 848–860 should be transposed to precede 832–847. This would make the sequence of thought entirely natural; the question asked in the anapaests would be answered at once by the passage of astrophic iambics, which would act as a prelude to the entire dirge, and the formerly isolated strophic pair would be joined to the body of the ode with which it so clearly belongs. Admittedly a passage of astrophic iambics coming between an anapaestic introduction and a first strophe would itself be metrically unusual, but Io's monody contains a good parallel (P.V. 566ff.), and the procedure seems a priori far less strange than an astrophic passage in mid-stasimon.

Dislocation of lines can readily be explained in the neighbourhood of an admitted interpolation; one might guess, for instance, that 832–947 were at some time omitted to make room for 861–874 and were later reinserted in the wrong place.

848. The schol. says that at this point the chorus sees the bodies being carried on, and this view seems for some reason to be universally followed. The usual procedure for defending it is to assert that προϊστός means something like "seen clearly," and that when they say "the Messenger's report is seen clearly" the chorus mean that because the bodies are arriving it is now obvious that the report was true. But at best this would be extremely oblique, and in fact the
alleged meaning of προοπτος is unparalleled; although προοράω can mean "see before one," προοπτος, which is used mainly of inevitable disasters, can always elsewhere be translated "foreseen." Tucker, indeed, gives the word this sense here, but his idea that "a messenger's news is foreseen" means "there is no need of an ἀγγειάζος to announce what is approaching" is even more contrived.

Nor is there any need for such elaborations, for the line can perfectly well mean what it says — "These things are self-evident; the Messenger's report is (or was) foreseen." As soon as Eteocles went off to fight his brother the outcome was predictable, and was indeed predicted by the chorus; and it is wholly appropriate to their present horror-stricken mood that they should now recall that "this was bound to happen."

So when are the bodies brought on? There is in fact no proof of their presence anywhere in the ode down to 960, for the fact that the princes are often spoken of in the third person counts for at least as much as the fact that they are often apostrophized. The bodies must, however, be visible during the lyric stichomythia, as is shown by 972, 976f., 993. Presumably, then, they arrive after 960; it is rather strange that there is no explicit announcement of their arrival, but a lacuna at that point is always possible.

849. The text of Tucker and Page is not very satisfactory, as it rests on misinterpretation of 848 and involves emending the blameless-looking διπλάτνω. If we assume that the text of
Mα is sound apart from ἄνορέα, then some emendations that suggest themselves for this are ἀπορα, γοερά, μογερά and μόριμα. δίδυμ' ἀπορα would give us pure iamb (with the colon ending after μαν' αὐτοφόνα) but perhaps not ideal sense, and there is no need to make a fetish of pure iamb if we have given up hope of strophic responson. With e.g. δίδυμα γοερά (possibly ANOPEA arose from Ν, i.e. γοεδύα, written over ΝΟΕΡΑ) the colon will end after μαν and will scan as iamb cretic iamb.

849f. The main purpose of these lines is to generate pathos and emotional excitement by means of strings of emotive epithets coupled with agitated runs of short syllables, and the grammar is hardly distinguishable; it would be most natural to take δίδυμα μανά as exclamatory and then to understand τάδε πάθη ἐστὶν αὐτοφόνα κ.τ.λ. μερὴναιν is used personally of the princess; Croeneboom compares E. Hec. 897.

Repetition of δι- places a heavy stress on the number two. One might have expected one of the brothers to be victorious, so the double death is paradoxical and especially pathetic; but the pathos is combined with a kind of aesthetic symmetry, for the Greek love of antithesis extends to a fondness for stressing duality whenever possible.

850f. Issues of text and colometry here turn on the question of what to do with πόνων δήμων. Most recent editors delete πόνων with Robortelli; Page prefers Heimsoth's deletion of δήμων; Sidgwick, Tucker and Murray keep both words. In fact
I can see little reason for deletion, for both πόνοι πόνων (Broadhead on Pers. 681-3) and δόμων ἐφέστιοι (Dawe 1 p. 181) are thoroughly characteristic expressions, and for the general effect, with repetition, assonance and rhythmic regularity giving great prominence to the πόνοι and to the extreme suffering, we can compare Pers. 682, Ag. 1167, S. Aj. 866, 1197.

I should therefore read -

αὐτοφόνα δύμοιρα τέλεια τάδε πάθη. cret. iamb iamb

τὸ φῶ; τὸ δ' ἄλλο γ' ἐκ πόνοι iamb iamb

πόνων δόμων ἐφέστιοι; iamb iamb

Some editors mark division of singers after τὸ φῶ; and ἐφέστιοι; , perhaps rightly.

850. αὐτοφόνα See on 681 above.

δύμοιρα There need be no objection to this reading, for although the word elsewhere means "two thirds" it would be typical of A. to alter the meaning so that it referred to a twofold fate; see on 447 above. And δύμορος is not in fact found.

851. τὸ δ' ἄλλο γ' Apparently a lively colloquial touch (Denniston 1 p. lxxvi).

πόνοι More forcible than πόνους; the chorus is grieving for the πόνοι as it speaks of them.

δόμων ἐφέστιοι The chorus will concentrate on the domestic troubles of the house as opposed to the fate of the city.
854ff. Much of the power of this passage derives from the ways in which the highly imaginative and paradoxical conceit (what the chorus will in fact be doing is something quite unlike propelling a ship to Hades) is made to seem valid and appropriate. Firstly, it is psychologically natural to feel that mourning must assist the dead in some way; and we must remember that for the Greeks mourning was not so much a state of mind as a deliberate, purposeful action. Secondly, the audience will of course recall the use of nautical imagery earlier in the play; it has previously been applied to two of the play's major themes, the endangered city and the accursed family, and it is fitting that it should now be applied to lamentation and death when lamentation and death are the only themes left. Thirdly, the image takes as its point of departure a neat analogy between on the one hand the two essential elements in a dirge - vocal lamentation and rhythmic movement - and on the other the two ways of propelling a ship; and the metaphorical use of ἔρεσσεως, at least, is not new (Pers. 1046).

These lines may well have been sung by the chorus-leader alone (in which case the whole passage from 848 would presumably be solo), though that is not a necessary assumption (Kaimio p. 121ff.).

854. γών is onomatopoeically echoed in a series of ο-sounds. ηματ' οὖρον Helping to recall 690f.

855. ἔρεσσετ' A distracted woman's beating of her head would not in reality much resemble rowing; but the stylised version of this
that will form part of the chorus's dance will resemble rowing, in that it will be an arm movement performed rhythmically and in unison by a body of people (cf. Cho. 425ff.). This passage can thus be seen as a clue to the nature of Aeschylean choral dancing (cf. van Nes p. 116).

πότυλον  "Neutral terminology," since we can think of a procession, πομπή, escorting the dead as well as the propulsion of a ship.

856f. The construction is uncertain. ἀνέβαται (or διαμεθέαται with tmesis) is generally taken as causative governing θεωρία, but the only parallel cited for this use of the middle, Pi. Nem. III. 27, seems a good deal easier, and anyway the active παραμεθέεις is often read there. Verrall and Sidgwick may therefore be right to take πίτυλον and as respectively internal and external accusative after ἐρέσετ'; for parallels see Kühner-Gerth Teil I p. 320f.

856. πίτυλον Commonly used of the beating of oars, though it is hard to say whether this would be felt as the word's primary meaning (van Nes p. 117ff.).

δε αιὲν Page's objections seem illusory. A can just as well call the chorus's movements "the oarbeat [prose would require τοῦ πίτυλον] which is always crossing Acheron" as "an oarbeat of the kind which is always crossing Acheron;" and αἰὲν is a fine pathetic touch - men are always dying and women always lamenting them.
'Αχέροντι The land of the dead is commonly thought of as separated by a river from that of the living; so, if a dirge can be described as propulsion of a ship, it must, thinks A., be across this river that the ship sails. But there is also deep pathos in the implication that the only help which their friends can give to the dead is to speed them on their way to the dark land of Hades. It is rather misleading of commentators to talk of Charon here, since he normally has only a small boat and propels it himself.

857ff. The point of this further development of the image, the description of the ship as a θεώρις, lies in its inappropriateness, as the epithets in oxymoron show. The bitterly ironic, almost blasphemous, reversal of values is highly characteristic of A.; our sense of the gloom of the chorus's ritual and the voyage to Hades is heightened by contrast with the joyful and propitious ritual and voyage which the word θεώρις implies.

857. Ἐστολον Wilamowitz's idea that the ship lacks part of its prow (1 p. 84 n. 1, cf. Schuursma p. 161) rests on unfounded guesses. Most commentators take the word as "undecorated," but this too is open to objection, since Ἐστολος, as van Nes points out, (p. 94), is normally "equipment" in general, not specifically "festive decoration." And a ship taking the dead to Hades would hardly, despite van Nes, be "ill-equipped." Perhaps, then, the MS. variants (here and after μελάγγροκον) point rather to δύστολον (Blaydes) or δύστολον (if this could mean "on a
dreadful voyage); an Æ— word would be a natural gloss on a δυσ− word (and note ἀπόθετα below), and in such a context ΤΑΝΝΑΥΖ would very easily become ΤΑΝΝΑΥΖ.

μελάγκρομον Ships were not decked with flocks of wool, so the word must mean "of black weave" and so "with black sails."
No doubt the epithet is suggested by — and will suggest to the audience — the occasion when the ship of Theseus did indeed have black sails (Cameron 1 p. 69 n. 26, van Nes p. 93); is the association of the Θεωρίζ with death perhaps not completely incongruous after all?

859. We may sympathise with attempts to take these two phrases as epithets of χέρσον rather than Θεωρίζ (Tucker, Mazza, Stanford 1 p. 98, van Nes p. 95, Cameron 1 p. 68f.), but the word-order that they involve seems intolerable. We can only assume that at some stage in the Θεωρίζ ceremony Apollo was thought to be present on board the ship; perhaps it carried an image of him.

"Ἀπόλλων. The answer to Page’s app. crit. here is that for A.
"Ἀπόλλων is an ἄκ- compound; see Ag. 1080ff.

A primary characteristic of Apollo was that he kept aloof from death and mourning; see Fraenkel on Ag. 1075, where this characteristic is exploited rather as it is here. For this reason, as Verrall reminds us, criminals were not executed during the voyage of the Θεωρίζ. Besides noting the intensely emotive contrasting of opposite extremes in Greek religious attitudes, we should also doubtless bear in mind that Apollo is the god responsible for destroying the race; A. was conscious, as the
Cassandra scene also shows, of an ambivalence (what Euripides
would have called a hypocrisy) in the attitudes of a god who
shuns death and mourning himself and yet is capable of vengeful
destruction.

公认的 Whether or not A.'s Apollo "is the Sun-god," as Tucker
puts it, he is certainly very much associated with the sun and
with light. This word thus suggests a new alternative meaning
for ἄνοδος Ἄπόλλων, which could indeed mean ἄνοδος, and a new element of pathetic incongruity in the term ἔσωρίδα.

860. πάνδοκος This must, despite Tucker, be a point of resemblance,
not of contrast, between Hades and Delos; the word is used of
holy places at Πι. Ολ. III. 17, Πυθ. VIII. 61. There is, of
course, characteristic irony in the word, in that a place that is
πάνδοκος is normally one that is pleasant to visit.

公认的 With very skilful compression of thought A. alludes to
the name of Delos without actually mentioning it. This final
implied contrast between the proverbially bright Delos and the
proverbially dim Hades (see Tucker) beautifully rounds off the
whole image. The allusion to Delos implicitly contains yet another
ironic incongruity, since death and graves were felt to be a
pollution of the island and to be utterly inappropriate to it.

861-874. See p. 16f. above.

875ff. From here on the text provides evidence at certain points
(879, 895, 933) of interchange between different groups of singers.
The evidence is compatible with an arrangement like that printed
by Page in which change of singers occurs at the end, and at one
point in the middle, of each stanza (and this can be applied also
to 832-847; see above ad loc.), though less symmetrical arrangements
are possible. Again, it is natural to talk of semichoruses,
though there is nothing to preclude other forms of choral division.

875f. If, as I have argued, these lines follow directly after 847,
then ἰδω at 845 builds up towards the stronger ἰδω ἰδω here.
Note too the further repetition of the word ἀπλοῦτος, linking
the disobedience of the brothers to that of Laius and to the
incredible crime.

875. δύσφρονες. Probably "insane."

876. The two coordinated phrases are parallel in their syntax and
in their implication of perversity, which the coordination helps
to bring out.

ἀπρόμονες. Apparently a coinage, giving poetic elevation.

877. ἐλάντες. Primarily "destroying," but probably also with a
suggestion of "getting possession of" (cf. Tucker); there is
thus an ironic double meaning which σὺν ἄλκατ (αἴχματ )
resolves.

878. ἄλκατ. Normally "prowess, feats of strength," a complimentary
term; and the chorus is not being complimentary here. I prefer
αἴχματ , with Paley, Sidgwick, Smyth, Groeneboom; cf. σὺν
σιδάρῳ at the corresponding point of the antistrophe.

879. μέλεωι...μελέους. See Groeneboom.
881. διωμάτων. The key word "house" is handed back and forth, with variatio, between the semichoruses. Since δῶμα can mean either the family or the building, the word is "neutral terminology" on which the metaphor ἐρευνήσεις turns.

882. ἐρευνήσεις. I.e. they could not have destroyed the house more fundamentally and more wantonly if they had knocked down its walls.

μοναρχίας. Eteocles did not exactly fight for the sake of μοναρχία, but it was his exiling of Polynices that led to the duel (637f.). We should not doubt, as some commentators do, that the present phrase and ἐρευνήσεις both refer to both brothers.

883f. The sword is ironically and paradoxically described as an instrument of peace; it has at any rate ended the quarrel.

885f. σὺν σφόδρωι recalled the curse; so the other semichorus now takes up this theme in more explicit terms.

Evidently what is meant is that the curse of Oedipus came true since his Erinys fulfilled it; ἀληθῆ is applied, however, to the fulfilment which conformed to the curse, since it is with the fulfilment that the chorus is really concerned.

886. πότε. Presumably from the point of view of Oedipus, who might so have addressed her.

887. It is possible that this line and 900 are followed by division of singers (so Hermann, Verrall), as ἡδο' rather suggests; cf. 933.
This must be a noun, since εὐωνύμων
and δομοσπλάγχνων are hardly parallel enough in sense to be linked by τε (see Tucker).

In single combat the spear would, of course, be likely to pierce the left side; also the euphemism in εὐωνύμων lends a touch of irony.

889f. δομοσπλάγχνων The epithet enables Α. to mention the close physical kinship of the brothers in the same breath as their violent death at each other’s hands. But the coupling in a single phrase of the σπλάγχνα of the mother and the πλευρώματα of the sons is distinctly awkward.

890. If a lacuna follows this line it perhaps contained a second participle governing πλευρωμάτων, or a finite verb, either of which would strengthen the sentence. But as far as the strophe itself is concerned there is no absolute need for a lacuna; see on 903 below.

893f. Both the brothers and the curses are to blame. Α. simply juxtaposes the two causes without specifying the relation between them; so too at 897ff.

894. Most editors retain καὶ in 905 and insert a corresponding syllable here. This is presumably right, for 905 makes much better sense with καὶ than without it, and a dochmiac dimeter (the first dochmiac having an extra short, like the preceding metron) is obviously more welcome here than an aeolic colon of
εὔνυμων  This must be a noun, since εὐώνυμων and ὀμοσπλάγχνων are hardly parallel enough in sense to be linked by τε (see Tucker).

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a type perhaps not found elsewhere in drama (see Dale I p. 149).
It is harder to say what should be supplied in 894; perhaps δὴ
(Weil).

ἀντιφόνων I.e. each death avenges the other.

895f. Page is probably right to print the traditional text here.
We may sympathise with his desire (appr. crit.) to keep some form
of ἐννέπειν, but we do not want to tamper with the idiomatic
διανταλαίνει. Tucker refers to S. El. 676, where, despite Pearson
and others, πάλαι λέγει really seems better than the variant
tοτ’ ἐννέπω.

δόμοις καὶ σώμασιν The metaphorical blow to the house
is coupled with the literal blows to the bodies to bring out how
fatally and terribly the house has suffered.

897. ἀναπόδατοι μένει I.e. the passion that led them to
unspeakable crime; the expression is very forcefully compressed.

899. κοῦ That a negative is wanted is not certain — for a διχόφρων
πότμος might be a "destiny full of discord" (L.S.J.) — but
seems probable. In that case Page's κοῦ will be right, not
Wecklein's οὖ, which gives an improbable brevis in longo, or
Murray's δ' οὖ, which leaves everything wrongly connected.

διχόφρων The fate is lightly personified; to the brothers'
cost it chose to be impartial.

900f. The anaphora, artfully managed with chiasmus, prominent
positioning and grammatical variation, gives great weight to
the continual and ubiquitous lamentation. Alliteration neatly
links the three areas mentioned, πόλις, πύργοι and πέδον. Note too the progression from literal lamentation through an ambiguous expression (for πύργοι could refer to the men manning the walls) to pure pathetic fallacy. It is fitting that the land, which Eteocles defended with such devotion and so often personified, should now mourn.

900. μαί πολίν The ode has so far been concerned only with the brothers themselves and the house.

902. φιλανδρόν The land which nourishes its inhabitants so well must grieve when they are killed. The usual sense of the word, "loving one's husband," may also be relevant here (Tucker); the land bereft of its princes is like a woman widowed.

μένει The rhyme at the end of well defined cola suggests a formal ritual, and also brings out the pathos in μένει by linking it to a direct expression of grief.

903. Lloyd-Jones's discussion of ἐπγόνοις (3 p. 90) is misleading. In fact the earliest occurrence of the word is at Hecat. Fr. 30 Jacoby, where it refers to the Heraclidae; the second is the present passage; and the third is P. Pyth. VIII. 42 (446 B.C.), where it is a technical term for the sons of the Seven against Thebes, as it regularly is thereafter. It is possible, then, that in 467 the word had not yet acquired its technical sense, and that A. used it here simply in the general sense of "those born later," as Tucker, Klotz and others believe (though it remains a rather odd coincidence that the word should
be used here, of all places, in this rare sense). The idea will then be not that the possessions remain to cause further strife but that, ironically enough, they will pass to later generations in whom we have little interest instead of going to the brothers who fought and died for them (cf. Pohlenz Erlaut. p. 49). (Dawe, 4 p. 19f.; thinks that the chorus may be talking ironically of "descendants" who do not in fact exist, but I cannot see how this peculiar irony is to be worked out by the audience.)

Now this may be sufficient; but the line does contain other anomalies. There is the MSS.' τ', which has to be emended. There is the dative after μένει, a great rarity (see Broadhead on Perse. 807); the best parallel cited is Rom. 894, but even there μοι comes close to being an ethic dative. Also if the dative is right (ἐπιγόνους Schneidewin) then the run of the sentence strongly implies that it ought to agree with αἰνομόρους (Cameron, indeed, attempts to take it so (1 p. 54f. and 3 p. 251ff.), supposing that Eteocles and Polynices themselves are being called ἐπιγόνοι as non-inheriting sons; but this again is too obscure for any audience to work out, and it is doubtful if the possessions can properly be said to "await" people who are dead). And, of course, there is no line corresponding to 903 in the strophe. For these reasons we may wonder if Verrall and Nicolaus (p. 9ff.) are not right to follow Haupt in condemning the line as a gloss (in which case the sense will be, of course, "there remain the things through
which ..., for Verrall's attempt to take \( \mu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon \) as dative of \( \mu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon \) is intolerably strained. This view is not without difficulties; the sense that results is elliptical (but that would account for the gloss), and one would expect a glossator to use \( \kappa\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha \) rather than the poetic \( \kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\alpha \) (but he might be recalling 729). On the other hand a gloss of the form \( \kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\alpha \ \epsilon\pi\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma \) would very well account for the two MS. readings, \( \kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu\alpha \ \tau' \) and \( \kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu' \); and I rather think that this is the least unsatisfactory solution.

905. Read \( \nu\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron \); see on 894 above, and note also that \( \theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron \ \tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \), as the parallels show (II. III. 309, Od. V. 32), should be not "an end (to the strife) consisting in death" but simply a periphrasis for death.

\( \delta\iota' \ \varepsilon\nu \) The climactic effect of the anaphora is heightened by its coming at the same point as the same device in the strophe.

\( \theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron \) Another echo of the strophe (pointed out by Groeneboom) hammers home a crucial and emotive word.

906. \( \delta\\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\rho\delta\iota\omicron \) The context makes us think of the sharpness of the swords; this was matched by that of the brothers' tempers.

907. \( \iota\omicron\nu \ \lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\nu \) With sinister implications, since such expressions are often used in the context of death; see Borecký p. 266.

908ff. Heavy irony; although the division was equal the divider will strangely enough receive no praise for his work (so e.g. Wilamowitz; the lines have sometimes been oddly misinterpreted).
For gratitude to arbitrators of inscriptions quoted by Engelmann, p. 101.

910. Εὐχαρίς. Apparently not just "pleasing" but "elegant, charming," a deliberately incongruous term used for sarcastic effect.

Αναγ. The fatal name is postponed to the most prominent position. It is a natural variation to make Aris, rather than iron or the sword, act as arbitrator (cf. Supp. 934f.), especially as the chorus have been so much concerned with him earlier.

911. A pretty empty line in itself, but apparently serving as a foil to what follows.

912ff. I find it hard to go beyond Pace here. σιδηροπλήκτως... λαχαλ is nonsense (Higgings with blows of iron spades," explain some commentators, as though the material of the spades was of any interest to anyone). σιδηροπλήκτους, followed probably by δε τοι, does at least make the lines translatable. But it remains very difficult to stomach the totally frigid rhetoric of 913; 914 hardly deserves the kind of emphasis which the imagined interruption gives it, and even if it did the chorus is meant to be singing a dirge, not addressing a public meeting. And would the plural verb really be sufficient to induce the imagined interruptor to ask "Who?" rather than "What?" Still, there is nothing wrong with the metre, and it must be admitted that obelizing the lines hardly makes them any easier to account for.
914. For the meaning see p. 28 above.

λαχαί Presumably an Aeschylean coinage (though now paralleled in a third-century inscription; see L.S.J.'s Supplement), derived from λαγχάνειν on the analogy of e.g. λαβή from λαμβάνειν; cf. e.g. ἀνή 713, παυεώ 370. The word cannot have anything to do with λαχαίνειν (despite schol., Verrall, Tucker) for the obvious reason that "diggings of ancestral graves" cannot "remain" now unless the ancestors have hitherto been left to moulder on the surface.

915. I doubt if anything can be done with this; I have no confidence that any one of the words in the MSS. here is what A. wrote.

916f. Professor Page tells me that with his colometry he scans 917 as ionic plus syncopated anaeroctic, comparing E. Ἐκ. 335, 536. But in both those places the colon acts as clausula to a series of ionics, and, as Page admits, it would be anomalous in the present context. Most editors divide either δατηρ or (better) αὐτόστονος so that the two cola scan as doch. chor. chor. bacch., and this is surely right; see Appendix.

916 προπέμπει τὸν γόνον is lightly personified; again lamentation serves to escort or conduct the dead, as at 854ff. δατηρ Stronger than the English cliché "heart-rending;" the cry is so violent that the body feels torn by it.

917. αὐτόστονος αὐτοκήμων The cry arises spontaneously and from a genuine grief. The single central fact of lamentation
is subjected to intense scrutiny and given great emphasis by the long string of epithets.

918. δανίφρων Suggesting both "miserable at heart" with continued personification of γόος, and "proceeding from a miserable heart." The abnormal form (instead of δανίφρων) is used to mark a new meaning (but Tucker's idea that the cry δανίζει τὴν φρένα does not seem possible).

918f. οὐ φιλογαθής The Greeks seem to have happily accepted this sort of litotes without asking "What would a γόος φιλογαθής be?"; see Fraenkel on Ag. 323.

919. δακρυζέων The personification seems to have been continued for so long that the actual subject of the sentence is now forgotten.

920. ἐν φρένος And not just from the eyes (Tucker); φρένος is both psychological and physiological, as so often, so that the implication is both of "heartfelt" tears and of sobs from deep in the chest.

μυλύθηλ If Onians is right in arguing (p. 23ff.) that the φρενες are the lungs, this will be a quite precise description of subjective experience; grief is felt as a pain in the chest (so far Od. IV. 314, Thgn. 36lf. are comparable), and this is associated with the constriction of the lungs which occurs as continual sobs are forced out of them.

921. The repeated -ολυ heavily emphasizes the dual which recalls the manner of the princes' deaths (cf. Tucker). The words are
governed primarily by ἀλομένας, but word-order relates them to the whole expression of grief, ἐ...μινυθεὶ.

922ff. These lines which puzzle Page are rightly explained by Tucker and Groeneboom. They at first sound like a traditional encomium over the dead, relating the benefits they have done to citizens and guests, and it is only the words πολυφθόρους ἐν δαί coming παρὰ προσδοκίαν at the end that reveal the real meaning of what precedes — they have caused the deaths of Thebans and Argives in war. The ironic expression serves to bring out the tragic contrast between what a prince should do and what these princes did.

922. πάρεστι δ' εἰπεῖν I.e. this is the kind of encomium we can give them...

924. εἶναι Slightly ambiguous — ostensibly "guests," actually "foreigners."

ὁ εἰ Simply a more compendious and less mechanical substitute for πολλὰ δὲ (cf. Denniston 1 p. 375); the notions of Tucker and Groeneboom are unnecessarily complicated.

πάντων The word is appropriate to the ostensible meaning of the passage but not to the actual one; "benefits to all guests" would make sense, but "harm to all foreigners" would not. A. is thus a little careless here, but I do not suspect corruption.

οὑχός Again the ambiguity is not fully preserved, as the word would not normally be applied to guests.
925. **πολυθόρους** "Killed in large numbers," a meaning not exactly paralleled but quite natural. Tucker is over-subtle in seeing further ambiguity here and in δαί; resolution of ambiguity is what we need now.

**ἐν δαί** Recalling the epic ἐν δαί λυγρῇ, almost the only phrase in which the word occurs.

926ff. Mention of the mother here is in a sense a substitute for bringing her on stage as a mourner; she is presumably the only close relative of the princes now surviving. It is a fair guess that another reason for interest in her is that she was a character in one of the previous plays of the trilogy.

No writer before A. is known to have made Eteocles and Polynices children of the incestuous union (see Baldry). There are obvious advantages in this version of the legend, some of which A. exploits here.

926. **σφυν** ἡ τεκυόσα μου may, as Wilamowitz claims, be good Greek (though either μοι or μου would be more usual), but the main issue here is surely one of word-order; can any instances be cited of the order μοι ἡ τεχυόσα ? σφ’ Voss, but this gives poor metre (sp. sp. bacch.?); better νυν (doch. bacch. or sp. ithyph.).

927f. **γυναικῶν κ.τ.λ.** Slightly more than a periphrasis for "mothers;" normally a woman would be proud and happy to hear herself called τεκυόγονος.
929ff. The language becomes rather prosaic in order to make clear a complex situation. The disastrous birth of one son led to the disastrous birth of the others.

929f. αὐτῷ. Serving mainly to reinforce αὐτός, as in the αὐτός αὐτοῦ idiom. On the unusual use of the reflexive pronoun see Tucker; but Pi. Ol. XIII. 53 should be cited.

931f. When they come to describe the brothers' deaths in explicit terms the chorus naturally echo the Messenger's language; cf. 811, 812 [820] f.

932. χερσίν The dative has an epic ring to it and is slightly more graphic than the genitive would be (Groeneboom).

933. ὄμοσποροι...πανώλεθροι Since πανώλεθρος can be either active or passive in sense, these words can refer equally well to the hands or to the brothers themselves.

It is a little curious that ὄμοσποροι rather than ἄλλακοφύοι should be picked up from the other semichorus, but we should not resort to the ingenuities of Verrall and Tucker.

934. Since the MS. text could be right in either 934 or 948 but not both, a number of solutions are possible; the text which Page prints is as good as any. See Regenbogen p. 61ff.

ὅλωτομαί. If right this will be meant to suggest both "division of property" and "cutting" with a sword (so e.g. Rose); see on 818 [816] f. above. The former meaning is not exactly paralleled, but is plausible enough.
935. ἔριδι μανυμέναι Slightly more than "mad strife" in English, since the participle personifies the ἔρις.
(μανυμέναι would tighten up a loose construction; but cf. E. Fr. 435. 11)

937. πέπαυταὶ ὥς ἔχθος The last words of the other semichorus are picked up and given a more ironic twist; if that was "the end of the quarrel" then the enmity of the brothers is now over.
The bitter pretense that the mutual fratricide was a reconciliation is then sustained in what follows by means of the thought that the brothers' blood is mingled, and things mingled cannot be enemies (cf. Ag. 322f.).

939. ζώα Life is a substance which can be thought of as identical with blood (Rose); but there is something paradoxical and horrific, which the collocation of words helps to bring out, in the use of a word for life in the context of bloodshed and death. The word αἷμα is being kept in reserve.

940. ὕμαλμου The pun forms the climax of the image of reconciliation and gives it extra justification. Now that they have killed each other the brothers are not just ὤμοσινοροι but in the most literal sense ὕμαλμοι.

941ff. The idea of reconciliation naturally brings us back to that of the Scythian arbitrator, which A. seems resolved to make the most of. The two "arbitrators" that we have met before, iron and Ares, are here brought together and linked by strong anaphora.
942. ἐκ πυρὸς. Presumably to be felt as paradoxical after πόντιος, though the paradox seems a rather empty one. The fire also suggests the savagery of the stranger, as does the unexpectedly vigorous συθεῖς.

944. ἔπιθης. See on 206f. above.
δ' δ' I take it that the idea of Fage’s emendation is to prevent κακὸς from seeming weak and untroubling after πυρὸς. But it only partly succeeds in this, and anyway Ares was surely all too good a διατηρής; so even if δ’ δ’ is right further change seems to be needed. Weil’s popular τόος for κακὸς (ΚΑΙΙΙΟΟΟ) is a mere guess, but a good one.

945. Ἄρσεν, ἄραν. It is not normally the job of Ares to fulfil curses, but the word-play, implying a connection between the two words, makes it seem natural that he should have done so.

πατρόλαυς One of several possible corrections.

947ff. As the role of the gods is considered the chorus’s bitter irony gives way to a more resigned and mournful tone like that of the lyric stichomythia which follows.

947. μοῖνοι. As opposed, presumably, to the portions allotted to the other members of the race (Wilamowitz). A contrast with a portion of inherited wealth is no doubt implied (Borecký p. 267).

Exclamatory, if right.

948. διοδότων. The form is found elsewhere only as a proper name, but despite Wilamowitz this seems no great objection.
949f. If ἄχθεων (Hermann, not Wecklein) is right, it appears that this word, though used in the common abstract sense, has suggested physical burdens, to which the earth under the bodies—possessed by them but not weighing on them—now comes as an antithesis. Possibly a proverbial expression underlies both this and the peculiar Ag. 871.

949. σώματι Common sense seems to require σώματι, said to be in L.

949f. γὰς πλοῦτος Ambiguous—"a vast amount of earth" (cf. Ag. 1383) or "wealth consisting in land." The earth extending down for ever beneath the bodies is thought of as wealth (the idea being assisted by the chthonic associations of πλοῦτος; cf. e.g. Pearson on S. Fr. 273) contrasting ironically and pathetically with that for which the brothers fought.

950. ἐβυσσός If "bottomless wealth" was already a set phrase in A.'s day (cf. Ar. Lys. 174), then the application of it to something literally bottomless will further assist and justify the conceit. The word is effective also for its dark and disturbing connotations.

951. ἐβαμβίσκωντες A sarcastic metaphor; the "garlands" they should have won for the family are those of victory or the like.

953. ἐβαμβίσκωντες has given rise to the military imagery which is now consistently used down to 960. After all the military concerns of the play the real victory has gone not to the human antagonists but to three superhuman forces, the Curses, Ἄτη and the δαίμον (who can be thought of as Fate, the Erinyes or Apollo).
Songs described as ὀξύς, λιγύς etc. in the fifth century are almost always laments; the Curses have sung their song of victory to the shrill and ominous notes of a dirge (Tucker).

Cognate words juxtaposed to emphasize the humiliating fact of rout.

Set up by Ἄτη, I think, not dedicated to her.

The passive is deliberately unspecific; "they were slain" whether by the supernatural forces or by each other.

To the greater credit of the ὅλον; also preparing for the balanced antiphonal lament that follows.

For antiphonal dirges in Greece see Alexiou p. 150ff. and passim. The form is particularly appropriate here, since the mutual fratricide of the two brothers involves so many tragic and ironic parallels and contrasts which balanced semichoruses can ritually explore. Although the whole lyric stichomythia is concerned with a single event and tells us nothing new, A. still manages to give it a good deal of variety; the semichoruses sometimes address the two brothers alternately, sometimes contrast slaying and being slain, sometimes echo each other in ritual cries of grief, and so on.

The bodies are probably brought on after 960 (see on 849 above) and placed on either side of the orchestra, where the two semichoruses attend them. The semichoruses may, however, use the whole orchestra to dance the strophe and
antistrophe, for there both of them do lament both brothers; and they presumably come together for the ephymnia.

The text of the lyric stichomythia is in a desperate state throughout; see Wilamowitz 3 p. 441ff. as well as commentators.

961. The unequally divided trimeter, perhaps spoken by the two leaders, announces the theme to be explored. The aorist participles are of course synchronous.

παιδείς An unusual form used for the sake of the following ἐπισκόπος; see Groeneboom.

962. Killing and being killed were almost the same act—and between them here there is only one letter difference (see on 636 above).

963. The context shows that the two words are intended as active and passive respectively. They can be taken ἀνδρὸς κοινοῦ with both 962 and 964 [965].

964f. It seems desirable that this passage should end with the bacchiacs of [965], so Dale (1 p. 74 n. 2) is probably right to argue against Hartung's transposition (and she may, indeed, be right to regard v- v in [964] as bacchiac with resolution rather than iamb with brevis in longo, for the lyric stichomythis contains no certain instance of brevis in longo or hiatus in mid-line). [964] will then be a parenthesis interrupting the sentence; so e.g. Murray.

[964].  δάχων Theoretically scannable if the line consists of iamb; but it is hard to believe that A. did not write δάχα (so most
editors) to give exact response between the line's two halves (and see Dawe 1 p. 964).

965. **ματέκτας.** No doubt right; the line now balances 962 and each semichorus addresses one brother throughout 961-5.

967f. The chorus emphasize that their grief is no mere outward show (cf. 916ff.), and there is light personification of φρήν and καρδιά. The language is less normal and more striking than a literal translation would suggest.

967. Response with the following colon is obviously desirable; Lachmann's supplement ἦ might very easily have been lost after (or expanded into) ἦ ἦ both here and in 978.

971. As it stands this is a colon of "aeolic dactyls," for which S. Ph. 827 can be compared; but I should prefer to restore dochmiacs with Wilamowitz's ἐφθασον πρὸς φίλου (necessary because epic corruption in dochmiacs is very rare; see Conomis p. 40).

972. An empty antithesis in logic, but see on 849f. above.

973f. The sort of sense we want is "Here are griefs lying close to griefs - And brother close to brother" - amplifying 972. Thus for 973 Wilamowitz's ἄχε' ἄχεων τάδ' ἔγγυθεν is good; but 974 is very intractable. Most restorations of this line involve either "brothers" in the plural or "brotherly things," and neither is attractive; also it is not certain
whether what we should be seeking is another full iambic
dimeter or some sort of clausula. πέλας ὅ' ὅ' ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῶι
would make good sense, and for a paroemiac following an iambic
colon we can compare 751; but there is little point in
speculation here.

975ff. The full chorus breaks into a cry of horror at the
supernatural forces behind the events which the semichorus describe.

975. μομερά Of course feminine singular, not neuter plural as
Wilamowitz and Groenboom strangely think; the sense "grievous,
causing μόγοι" is rare, but cf. E. Med. 206.

977. μέλαινα τ' does not seem scannable; but, whatever their
origins, Erinyes were not normally identified with ghosts in
the fifth century. Also a triad of supernatural forces would be
welcome here (cf. 953-960). Probably, then, we should read
μέλαιν' Ἐρυνύς τ' (Hartung), even at the cost of a
postponed τε and despite Wilamowitz 3 p. 443 n. 5.

978ff. Despite Page I see no great difficulty in the division of
individual sentences between different singers; this probably
occurs also at Pers. 1052f. (see Broadhead ad loc.), E. Tr. 1326.
The device is highly artificial, of course, but considerations
of naturalism hardly apply in these contexts.

979. Since "exile" can apply only to Polynices, it is generally
supposed that ἔδειξατ' represents ἔδειξατο ; in that case
the middle is hard to defend (hence Wilamowitz's ἔδειξεν )
and an expressed subject seems indispensable (hence Page's εἴσελετ' Ὁδ'). But the mention of exile is in any case very sudden and unexpected, and it seems to me far more likely that εἰσελεκτ' represents εἴσελεκτε and that it is ἐκ φυγῆς that is corrupt; the obvious correction would be ἐκ σφαγῆς, "resulting from the slaughter" (see L.S.J. s.v. ἐκ III. 6 and cf. the reverse corruption φυγῆς to σφαγῆς at Eum. 422).

980f. It appears that here, and again at 990ff., both semichoruses refer specifically to Polynices, who thus receives more than his share of attention. This asymmetry is odd but can perhaps be interpreted as preparation for the closing scene, which is much concerned with Polynices and the chorus's attitude to him.

980. The text is usually defended, οὐδ' ἠκέθ', being interpreted "He did not truly return from exile" or "He did not succeed in his purpose;" but the simple verb is then having to do an undue amount of work without help from the context. Also if my view of 979 is right we need an expressed subject here. Halm's ὅδ' ἠκέθ' ὑς κατακτεῖνων, accepted by Wecklein, is perhaps the best that can be done.

981. σωθῆσα. This is simply untrue; I can see no sense, however paradoxical and contrived, in which Polynices (or indeed Eteocles) can be said to have been "saved." There are limits to how far A. will go for the sake of paradox and antithesis. Sense of a sort can perhaps be extracted from the v.l. σωθῆσα -- "He came to kill, but departing lost his life," the aorist being
synchronous and the "departure" being death itself – but I am not confident.

982. The sense echoes that of the corresponding line of the strophe.

ὡλέειν ὅθεν ὤςε. Page's ὡλέειν is very clumsy after ἀπόλεεσεν and is necessitated only by Weil's ὅςε; ὡλέειν without ὅςε can perfectly well be a use of the simple verb to echo the compound, as at e.g. 219 – "Lost it indeed!" Grose's ὡλέειν ὅητ', αἰαί is paleographically neat.
καὶ τὸν Or τὸν ὅς ὅτε (Hermann).

ἐνόσφισεν Simply "killed," as often; to understand πνεῦματος with Groeneboom might make a neater antithesis, but would be very difficult.

983. See on 993 below.

τάλαν...τάλανα. A kind of word-play; for the present situation τάλας is the essentially right word, applicable either to the race itself or to its sufferings.

984f. The schol.'s Ἡυντα does strongly suggest that for ὁλυγρά he read διερά (though the meaning of this will in fact be not "live" but "bewept;" cf. Perg. 1038). For the second semichorus merely to add to κῆδες' a third epithet and a dependent genitive seems, however, intolerably weak and disjointed, so if διερά is right we shall have to reverse the order of these lines; e.g. -

- διερά διαπάλθων πημάτων
- κῆδεα δύσομι διάνυμι.
— or, if a paroemia were wanted (see on 973f. above), δύστονα ἡδή (ἡδή ἄσσος).

If, on the other hand, we wish to preserve the MSS.' order, we shall have to find another correction for δύναμι; perhaps λυγρά δὲ (λυγρά Dindorf; δὲ lost by haplography before δι-), for λυγρά could be used as a noun, as often in Homer.

984. δυνάμις. The griefs for the two brothers are called by the same name since they are the same. As often, it is the first element of the compound that bears most of the meaning.

985. τριπάλτων. Triolinius's διπάλτων seems necessary, since τριπάλτως, "wielded with three hands," would hardly be a word in common use, and A. has no reason to coin it in a context where all the emphasis is on duality. Apparently a scribe has decided to go one better than A. The main force of διπάλτων will again lie in the first element, but there will also be a suggestion that the πήματα are like heavy swords wielded by the gods.

989. "Well (τοῦν — Denniston 1 p. 574), you know (the power of these supernatural forces) from experience ("passing through" recent events)" (not "You know that you have transgressed," as Tucker and others think). For the meaning of διοικράν cf. E. H.F. 830, also περάν at A. Cho. 270, and for the present participle used as an imperfect see Goodwin p. 47f. The text is probably sound.

990. Polynices was no slower to learn the truth than Eteocles — ironical, since the "knowledge" came only through death.
991. The point lies in the pathetic reply in the next line; a return from exile should be a joyful occasion, but this was not.

992. ἄντρακτας The metaphor which Eteocles (283) and the Scout (595) employed for equally matched champions tragically turns out to fit the brothers. Here a new point is given to the metaphor by the vehicle term δορὰς in oxymoron (as opposed to an ear).

993. Wilamowitz and others reverse the positions of this line and 983 so that this line can correspond to the similar 972; possible, but not essential, and a complicated corruption.

994. For the scansion see on 964f. above.

996f. Both lines should be bracketed. Tucker, Groeneboom and others keep 997 (996 would be better) and do not divide 995, but the second semichorus would still be making an excessive claim for itself, and the view of Wilamowitz and Fraenkel, for which I argue at p. 18 above, seems far better (but we need not bracket 995 as well, with Srebrny p. 34ff.).

998-1004. Fraenkel (4 p. 133ff.) discusses the metre of this passage and finds the rhythms here especially characteristic of laments at the close of tragedies; but his argument is dangerously circular, and I do not think that his evidence really justifies his conclusion. Also Fraenkel, like most editors, makes no attempt to give the passage any metrical symmetry, and I find it very hard to believe that the antiphonal pattern breaks down completely here.
The first step is to dispose of 999, which is omitted by several MSS. and Weil, Tucker, Smyth, Mazon. Acceptance of the line involves assuming that a lacuna precedes it; that here for the only time in the lyric stichomythia each semichorus sings two consecutive cola; and that here for the only time in these lyrics the brothers are referred to by name. It is clearly much simpler to suppose that the line derives from a gloss of the kind found in P.

We are now left with six lines, of which, if we disregard variation between ἵω and ἴο ἵω (the MSS. constantly disagree on this), the first (reading δυστόνων ) corresponds metrically with the fourth, and the third with the sixth. The second and fifth (1000 and 1003) do not as they stand correspond strictly with anything, but then both these lines are in any case metrically irregular and are often emended. Weil is surely right, then, that the six lines divide into two groups of three, responding together like a miniature strophe and antistrophe (indeed how is the clausular rhythm of 1001 to be explained on any other assumption?). And we can see the reason for this arrangement; A. wanted to end the lyrics with a clausula, but to preserve symmetry he wanted that clausula to respond with something; and the rules do not allow two clausulae in consecutive cola.

We can now consider the details. 1001 and 1004 begin ἵω ἵω and scan as iamb pherecrataean; they are perhaps sung by the whole chorus. 998 and 1002 probably begin ἵω and
scan as doch. iamb (see Appendix; less probably, ἵδι ἱδι and iamb lecyth). 1000 and 1003 remain a problem (in 1000 for -τατοι we must in any case read -τατε with cod. O and Weil, so that the line can answer in sense to 998). The most symmetrical arrangement would be to give these lines the same metre as 998/1002; and doch. iamb can be obtained after a fashion by reading ἕνεα (Headlam and Sidgwick) for ὑπον in 1003 and admitting a dochmiac of the form v---v (cf. S. Ant. 1289) in 1000. But the loose responsion does not inspire great confidence here; other possibilities include iamb lecyth., e.g. ἵδι ἀπάντων πολυστονώτατε (πολυστον- cod. F, Weil, Wilamowitz) and ἵδι ὑπον τιμώτατος τάφος.

998. Since ἐκένων ἀναζ would be an odd phrase, the genitive must be exclamatory, with ἀναζ marking the semichorus's respect for (presumably) Eteocles.

1001. "Like men possessed in their madness" — a description rather than a diagnosis (see on 687 above), and more in sorrow than in anger.

 Possibly ἐπ (see L.S.J. s.v. ἐπι B. I. 1. i).

1002. The question for which we have been waiting and which must be answered before the play can end. The lyrics, hitherto static and cumulative in their effect, end with a forward nudge towards the next development (cf. p. 84f. above).

1003. The only answer possible after all the lamentation; any wrong the brothers have done is now blotted out for the chorus.
1004. For the meaning see p. 28 above. The chorus laments the fact that the enmity of Cephasus and his sons is not ended even in death. The falling rhythm of the phracerataean and the strong alliteration bring the lyrics to a firm close.

The Final Scene.

An actor, presumably the protagonist, enters and starts speaking iambic trimeters. If the audience feel any surprise at this, they will understand soon enough that the scene is simply serving to clear up the remaining issue of the burial. The δήμου πρόσβουλοι may enter as well, as Wilamowitz and most editors think, in which case we must read Wilamowitz's τοίχος in 1006 (for the audience need to know at once who these people are) and we should perhaps regard the speaker himself as one of the δήμου πρόσβουλοι rather than a herald; but Lloyd-Jones (3p. 94f.) shows that the presence of the δήμου πρόσβουλοι is not in fact certain (see on 1025 below).

For the function of the scene see p. 22f. above. We may also note a thematic link with issues raised earlier in the play, since this is the second occasion when a representative of the interests of the state places the chorus in a moral dilemma by forbidding them to indulge their natural religious instinct for cries and lamentation; 1023 will inevitably recall such lines as 280. Once more the chorus make no attempt to deny the force of the practical arguments, but their instincts remain irreconcilable with these, and this time a division
of the chorus, showing that the problem still remains unsolved, is the only possible answer.

1005. δοκούντα καὶ δόξαντ' The tautology has a formal and legalistic ring and emphasizes the finality of the decision; the πρόβουλοι "think fit and have decided" (Tucker; cf. Verrall, Groenewoud).

1006. δήμου πρόβουλοι Lloyd-Jones's discussion (3 p. 94) seems entirely adequate. These are "men who take counsel on behalf of the people," a vague term probably with overtones of fifth-century politics (see p. 28f. above) but not implying democratic election.

τῆς δὲ Κασμείας πόλεως More "officialese" fullness of expression.

1007. ἐπ' εὔνοιαν χάονδς "For his loyalty to the land;" see Tucker. Once again, as so often in this play, patriotism is linked to the physical earth of the country. Fraenkel objects (5 p. 62) that the phrase ἐπ' εὔνοια is elsewhere used only when the εὔνοια is that of the subject of the sentence; if such arguments as this are to be admitted there will be no passage in A. that cannot be proved spurious.

1008. γῆ Picking up the sense of χάονδς with variatio. The earth rewards those who protect it.

φίλας If right (and φίλας is certainly possible), the word implies that the whole operation is characterized by
φιλὶα - that of the buriers towards Eteocles and the land and that of the land towards Eteocles. There may also be a kind of oxymoron with κατασκαφοὶς, specifying that this is a "loving excavation" as opposed to the "destruction, uprooting" that the land might have suffered (46).

κατασκαφοὶς. The word always means "destruction" except here, at 1037, and at S. Ant. 920. Fraenkel (5 p. 62f.) argues on the basis of Ant. 774 and 891f. that the word at Ant. 920 means not "graves" but "a hollowed-out chamber," and claims that the interpolator here, in imitating Sophocles, has failed to understand this. But even if Fraenkel is right about Ant. 920 (and "graves" seems to me an easier translation with ἕκαστοντος) it would be more reasonable to claim that Sept. 1008, where the word is qualified by γῆς and means "act of digging," precedes both Sept. 1037 and Ant. 920, where the word is unqualified and means "thing dug." Sept. 1008 would then be a case of Aeschylean catachresis which both the interpolator of Sept. 1037 and Sophocles took up and extended in meaning. (But I do not in any case place great reliance on arguments of this type.)

1009ff. Wilamowitz (1 p. 89) advances some rather odd objections to the reasons given for Eteocles' burial; Lloyd-Jones's reply (3 p. 95) seems sufficient. The fact that Eteocles was King is not mentioned because Polynices also claimed kingship, and here as elsewhere in the play A. wishes to avoid raising the original issue between the brothers (unlike the interpolator at 1049).
Nicolaus (p. 61ff.) claims that this line implies an "Oppertod," and makes much of the resulting inconsistency with the rest of the play. But if we look closely we shall see that the language here, as in 1011, is carefully calculated to suggest that Eteocles died from patriotic motives while not actually falsifying the facts; and this is just what we might expect from a Herald who wishes to present Eteocles' death in the most favourable light. To say that Eteocles died "keeping out the enemy" is, after all, literally true, whatever his motives may have been; and to say that he "chose death" is barely an exaggeration, given that he went deliberately to the duel in full knowledge that his death would be the result (see on 684 above).

On this line see also Broadhead 3 p. 121; but his σχεδίων... εἰληχευν πόλει gives poor word-order and is not attractive. οτέγευν A pretty certain deduction from the different MS. readings. Wilamowitz and others object that the word cannot be used of a man, and indeed this would probably not be normal usage (though Headlam, 1 p. 15, gives some parallels from late authors); but it is a quite natural extension of imagery found elsewhere in the play, since οτέγευν is used of the walls (216, 234, 797) and the walls have been fortified with men (449, 798). The enemy were like water trying to penetrate a ship; the walls have proved watertight against them; and Eteocles has been part of this "watertightness."

ἐν πόλει "ἐν πόλει nudum omnino intolerabile," says
Wilamowitz; he therefore joins the words with ἵσρῶν πατρώων, omitting Ὁ', but this, as he says himself, would hardly be possible in genuine A. We might reply that the bare ἐν πόλει is no more "intolerable" than ἐν γαῖ at 567; but in fact Francken's ἐν πύλαις seems very probable. Without reference to Francken's conjecture Nicolaus (p. 62) quotes Aelian V.E. III. 25. 69, where the Spartans at Thermopylae τὸν μαυτευμένον αὐτοῖς θάνατον εὐλογοῦ ἔν Πύλαις, and it looks to me strongly as if Aelian is in fact quoting A.'s line with a pun on πύλαις / Πύλαις (Aelian openly quotes from A.'s work elsewhere). For the corruption cf. πρὸς πόλει for ἐν πύλαις in Plato's misquotation of Sept. 451 (Pl. Rep. 550c).

1010. The point lies in the contrast with Polynices. For the construction of the genitive, and for μομφῆς ἀτρ amplifying Ὀσιὼς, see Tucker and his parallels.

1011. The Herald carefully avoids specifying whether Eteocles' death was itself καλὸς, while using language that strongly implies that it was. The language also has the dignified restraint of an epitaph.

1013. νεκρῶν The Herald has avoided this distressing word when speaking of Eteocles, but now deliberately and contemptuously introduces it.

1014. ἔχωρεῖν This detail could not be derived from the Antigone, as Wilamowitz points out (1 p. 94). He argues that
it must be imitated from E. Ph. 1630, since the idea is expressed more fully there; but since the expression here is as full as it needs to be, the argument does not follow.

1015. ὅντι Stronger than ὅν ὅντι would be; as far as his guilt is concerned he was the destroyer of the land (cf. Sidgwick).

ἀναστάτης Very rare and found only in A. (Chc. 303, cf. ἀναστάτης at Ag. 1227) - a small point in favour of authenticity.

1017. τῶλ τοῦτο Lloyd-Jones (3 p. 108f.) and most editors suppose that this is Polynices. But this does seem very weak (though some parallels are cited by Headlam, 1 p. 11), for the whole sentence has been about Polynices, so that if ὁρί is governed by ἐμπόδων it seems quite unnecessary to specify that the spear was his. I prefer the view of Tucker that τοῦτο is Eteocles and the dative is instrumental (so also Verrall, but with added complications). The enjambment is then effective; the god stood in the way with a spear, but the spear he used was that of Eteocles, and not, as we at first imagine, his own.

ἀγος For the word in this context see Moulinier p. 258.

κεκλήσεταλ Since one can be ἔναγής θεῶν, perhaps by analogy one can possess ἀγος θεῶν, "pollution in the sight of the gods," but Dawe's κεκλήσεταλ (1 p. 182f.) is attractive.

1018. ὅσα It is a little surprising that this use of ὅσα, when the subject is the same as that of the preceding clause, is never
regarded as a sign of interpolation. Once again some late parallels are given by Headlam, l.c. It seems that the word is in contemptuous opposition to τοῦτο but has been postponed out of its proper place in the main clause to avoid an over-mechanical antithesis.

1019. The language recalls 583 and thus the disgust of the wise Amphiarauts at the use of a foreign army.

1020ff. The decision announced at 1014 is restated more forcefully in sarcastic terms.

1020. ΠΕΤΡΥΟΥ A standard epithet, but here with something of the force that Tucker gives it; the birds will fly about with the body instead of letting it rest in the earth.

OLΩΝΟΥ Dogs (1014) and birds are a standard pair in such contexts, here separated to provide variation between the two accounts of Polynices' fate.

1021. ΤΟΜΕΝΤ Only the birds will take an interest in him; so they can be said to give him all the "burial" that he will get; see Tucker.

ΤΟΥΠΙΤΙΜΟΥ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ "To pay the penalty," but perhaps with a sarcastic second meaning, "to receive the honour (of burial)," since according to the MSS. (usually emended) ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑ is used of honours paid to the dead at S. El. 915. This second meaning will give far more point to the word-play with ΔΤΙΜΩΣ. (To word-play as such there can of course be no objection; see Lloyd-Jones 3 p. 109.)
For the standard pairing of burial and mourning see p. 32 above, Tucker, Groeneboom.

1022. ὁμαρτεῖν "Attend, accompany," the thought is of the people who would build the mound, though the actual χειρώματα are substituted as the subject of the verb. 

Τυμβοχόνα χειρώματα The grand polysyllabic periphrasis is in A.'s manner, as Fraenkel admits (on Ἀγ. 1326).

For χειρώμα as "work of hands" Lloyd-Jones (l.c.) compares ἀχειρωτόν at S. O.C. 698, where, however, the meaning may well be "unsubdued," as Jebb takes it. At S. O.T. 560, on the other hand, a "deadly subduing" makes less good sense than a "deadly act of violence, manhandling." But even if the present usage is an unparalleled catachresis, this will be entirely characteristic of A. (Certainly the χειρώματα are not slaves, as Tucker thinks.)

1023. προσεβεῖν Probably a mere synonym for σέβειν (cf. e.g. προσαγγέλλειν, προσευχεῖσθαι ), for, despite Verrell, L.S.J., Lloyd-Jones l.c., Nicolaus p. 71, "honour in addition" would not really be very natural here.

1024. The essential point is restated for emphasis, with ἄτιμον strongly echoing ἄτιμως (1021); the type of tautology involved - A and not B but A - is quite common. ἐκφορά here covers the whole process of mourning and burial; as Nicolaus says (p. 71f.), we need not demand strict logic in the use of the word.
1025. A brusquely unemotional conclusion. The echo of τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς καθομόσως netely rings the speech (Greenboom) and rather tells against τοῦσε in 1006.

τοῦσε...τέλει Probably "the government I have been speaking about, the present government;" see p. 364 above. On τέλει see Lloyd-Jones l.c. Since the word commonly means "judicial decision" or "legal office," and τὰ τέλη are magistrates in Thucydides and elsewhere, the present usage, though not exactly paralleled, is not surprising. And if someone expected an audience to understand it, why should the someone be an interpolator rather than A.?

1054ff. 1054-65 are almost certainly an expression of doubt by the whole chorus, whatever the MSS. may say. To give anything before 1066 to semichoruses leads to difficulties, since 1062-5 will presumably have to be given to the same semichorus as 1066-71. Lloyd-Jones's attempt to distinguish between whole semichoruses and their leaders (3 p. 111f.) is highly conjectural.

1054. μεγάλαυχος Cf. Pers. 533, where the word occupies the same position in an anapaestic dimer. The Furies, it seems, are exulting in their victory over the race by causing Polynices to go unburied.

φθειρωγενεῖς Explained and amplified by the αἴτε clause.

1055. Κῆρες Ἐρινύες The two highly emotive titles are here combined for added effect. The chorus begin by addressing the powers behind events (cf. e.g. 822ff., 832ff.) to imply that
the Herald's decree is yet another manifestation of their hatred.

1056. For the prosody see p. 29f. above.

προμνήθεν See on 71 above.

1057. The three questions vividly show the chorus's hesitancy and rapid changes of attitude.

1058. Polynices has been so continuously in the minds of chorus and audience that he does not need to be named.

1058f. ἡλάίειν...προσέμπειν Recalling the terms of the prohibition, 1022f.

1060f. Three juxtaposed words for fear strongly bring home the emotion.

1061. δεῖμα πολιτών The citizens are experienced as fear, fearfulness; see Tucker for parallels.

Groeneboom thinks that fear of the citizens suggests a democracy, but lynch mobs, stoning by the people and the like were of course traditional enough; cf. 199f.

1062. γε μὴν See Denniston 1 p. 585. "And yet" applies to the whole thought down to 1065 - "I fear the citizens; and yet there will be such a contrast between the fates of the two brothers."

1064. See p. 19f. above.

1066ff. The semichoruses probably begin to move off with the bodies (hence προφομποῖ, 1069). The language in which they
announce their decisions is very simple, dignified and
unrhetorical. Polynices is put first so that the play can end
with a tribute to Eteocles.

1066. ὅρω τῷ  Euphemistic, but all the more effective in bringing
out the semichorus's courage.

1068. συνθέσεως  See p. 32 above.

1069. γενάτι  I.e. the race of Cadmus; but a word meaning "family"
is chosen to suggest the strong emotional links between the
people and their rulers.

1070f. Several scholars agree with Wilhelm Nestle, p. 138, that the
idea expressed here is sophistic and Sophoclean. But there is a
great difference between a common-sense statement that a city is
capable of changing its mind—as Alcaeus, Solon and Theognis,
for instance, were well aware—and a large-scale emphasis on
mutability or moral relativism. In general the originality of
Sophocles' thought lies in new emphases rather than previously
unheard-of concepts.

1072f. The words of the other semichorus are taken up; in the case
of Eteocles both the city and natural justice agree.

1072. τῶ See Denniston I p. 518f., 588.

1074. The necessary qualification, which Eteocles himself was
always careful to make. For the periphrastic expression, avoiding
a bald μάκαρας μαλ Διά , cf. 450.
1075. Καθελεύον...πόλειν  Recalling at the end the first words of the play and the theme that has run right through it.

Ηρυξε  See Lloyd-Jones 3 p. 111.

1076. ἑναυταπήναν  Commonly used in non-nautical senses in prose, so probably not specifically nautical here (despite Pl. Rep. 389. d. 4; see van Nes p. 34), but "neutral terminology" leading into the metaphor.

1077f.  See p. 24f. above.

1078. τὰ μᾶλιστα  The words cannot mean "utterly," so they cannot qualify καταχαλυσθήναι, as Mason and Dawson think. To take them with Ηρυξε involves considerable hyperbaton, and Wilamovitz regards this as a sign of interpolation; but Eum. 1025, where ὄικαλως must be taken with πέμψω (Fraenkel Agamemnon III p. 743 n. 2), is a still more extreme case. And the hyperbaton here has point; we are suddenly brought back at the last moment from the possible destruction of the city to Eteocles' saving of it, the real concern of the sentence and the thought which A. wants to leave with us as the play ends.
APPENDIX

On isolated doehmiacs without metron-diaeresis.

In explaining to me his colometry at Sept. 916f. Professor Page tells me of a rule that where isolated doehmiacs (i.e. ones not paired in doehmiac dimeters) occur in A. there is never, except in clausulae, run-over of word from the doehmiac to what follows. The rule seems artificial, and I have broken it at the following points (an asterisk means that the rule is broken in a responding line also):

736* μὴ ἄμεμπαγής ἄλμα φθανόν
767* βαρείαι κατάλιθα κάθεται τά τό ὀλό
916f.* πρὸς ἐμπεμπεῖ δαὶ κυνῆρ γούς αὐ-
1002 Ἰῃ, κὼν σφέ θη|σόμεν χθόνιος;
and perhaps 1000* Ἰῃ πάντων πολύ|πονωτῶτε.

The various prima facie cases support each other. Elsewhere in A. I have noted:

Pers. 552f.*, where the analogy of the preceding cola strongly suggests that Ἐρέτης ὁ ἄντ' ἐπέσκε δυσ-
imbs, leaving -φρόνως μαρίδεσσι ποντίαις
as doeh. iamb.; Pers. 575*, where the doehmiac τεῖνε δὲ
δυσβάς- is hardly part of the clausula (Page, in fact, ap.
Broadhead Persae p. 290, tries to pretend that it is merely a
"Kursvers"); Ag. 1129, where the doehmiac ὁλοφόνου λέβη-
(recognized by Page - Denniston-Page Agamemnon p. 253) does form
part of a clausula, but I cannot see what difference that makes; and
Ag. 1153, where the doehmiac μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ (τ')
(again recognized by Page, 1.c.) divides either at an elision or
before an enclitic. (I have not included places like Pers. 548,
1077, where the putative dochmiac can be scanned as sp. cret.)

In each case what follows the dochmiac is an iamb or a metron with iambic affinities. For the association of dochmiacs with iambic types in general see Conomis p. 47f. (a conservative list).
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———(3) Time in Greek Tragedy. Ithaca 1968.


SHEPPARD, J.T. The Plot of the Septem contra Thebas. C.Q. VII, 1913, p. 73.


SHEBRNY, S. Critica et Exegetica in Aeschylum. Toruń 1950.

STANFORD, W.B. (1) Aeschylus in his Style. Dublin 1942.


VERRALL, A.W. On Editing Aeschylus. Cambridge 1892.


WECKLEIN, N. Studien zu Aeschylus. Berlin 1872.


-------------(2) Greichische Verskunst. Berlin 1921.


-------------(2) Septem Contra Thebas. Unpublished article.


3. Editions of Fragments

In referring to fragments I have employed the numbering of the following editions.


4. Addenda

The following articles have unfortunately come to my notice too late to be taken into account in the body of this dissertation.

BURNETT, A. Curse and Dream in Aeschylus' Septem. G.R.B.S. XIV, 1973, p. 343. (Miss Burnett makes a number of valuable points, though I cannot agree with her main contention, that Eteocles' dreams are a motivating factor of comparable importance to the Curse.)

FERRARI, F. La Scelta dei Difensori nei Sette Contro Tebe di Eschilo. S.C.O. XIX-XX, 1970-1, p. 140. (Arguing that the selection is made in the course of the central scene.)

Eteocle e il Tragico dei Sette Contro Tebe. Annali della Scuola Norm. Sup. di Pisa Serie 3 II 1, 1972, p. 141. (Ferrari's views correspond with mine at several points, notably on the "Oppertod theory" and on the aristocratic values displayed by Eteocles, though I do not agree that A. is attacking these values.)


A version of M.S. Silk's dissertation has now been published as 'Interaction in Poetic Imagery with special reference to early Greek poetry', Cambridge 1974.