Rosemary Gwinnell.
AESCHYLUΣ

PERSAE

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1903
PREFACE

The text of this edition is taken from the second (revised) edition of the Aeschylus in the 'Oxford Classical Texts' series, published by the University Press. There are a very few further changes introduced, chiefly corrections of minor errors in the text or apparatus criticus, which had escaped notice.

The Persae, though it is by no means free from difficulties in regard both to the text and the interpretation, is yet one of the shortest (and on the whole easiest) of Aeschylus' dramas, and is accordingly not seldom the first that young students read. In writing the commentary, I have borne this fact in mind: and I have thought it best to give rather more help in the notes, in dealing both with the author's meaning and with the grammatical usage, than would be required for more advanced students. In the Introduction I have endeavoured to give, as briefly and clearly as I could, such help towards the understanding of the play, and questions connected with it, as would be most useful to those who were likely to read it. I have also added an Appendix, containing a few longer notes on some of the historical points raised by the play, and on one rather intricate question concerning the original text.
PREFACE

It is not necessary to mention the authorities and editions of the play which I have consulted, as they are all enumerated in the list, given in the Introduction, both of the editors of Aeschylus as a whole, and of this drama in particular, as well as of the many scholars who have contributed suggestions on isolated passages. But I feel bound, in this connexion, to pay a special tribute to Dr. N. Wecklein, whose work on Aeschylus, continued for a long series of years, has been so abundantly helpful to all students of the poet.

A. S.

Oxford, April, 1903.
INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE PLAY AND ITS PRODUCTION.

The Persae was acted at Athens in 472 B.C., and is therefore the second of the extant dramas of Aeschylus, coming after the Supplipes in date, but earlier than all the rest. The extract from the διδασκαλίαι (or official lists of dramatic contests), which is quoted in the 'argument' prefixed to the text, tells us the date, the names of the four plays with which the poet competed, and the fact that he was victorious. The plays were Phineus, Persae, Glaukos Potniaeus, and Prometheus, the last being the 'satyric' drama, or lighter piece (usually containing an element of burlesque) with which it was the custom for each competing poet to conclude his series of dramas. The Prometheus was called (in its full title) Προμηθέας Πυρκαῖος, or 'Prometheus the Fire-lighter,' the name being clearly a parody of the well-known title Προμηθέας Πυρφόρος, 'Prometheus the Fire-bringer,' under which he was worshipped at Athens along with the Fire-god Hephaistos. A fragment 1 is quoted by Plutarch (Mor. 86 F), who tells us that in the play a Satyr, when he first saw fire, tried to kiss it, and Prometheus cried to him, 'You goat! you'll be lamenting for your beard.' The subjects of the other plays are equally remote from the Persae and from each other. Phineus was a Thracian king, punished for cruelty to his sons by the visits of the Harpies who defiled and devoured his food. Glaukos of Potnia (in Boiotia) fed his mares on human flesh, and when this unnatural fodder on one occasion failed, he was punished by being himself devoured.

It is obvious that these four plays were completely unconnected; and it is even rather difficult to imagine how three such tragedies, of which the first and third were based on very

1 Aesch. Frag. 207 (Oxford Classical Texts).
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primitive myths, and the second was a historic and patriotic play, could be acted successively without a certain feeling of incongruity.

However that may be, the Persae is of the greatest interest to us, as the only extant Greek historic play. It was modelled (we are told in the Argument) on the 'Phoenician Women' of Aeschylus' predecessor Phrynichos, who about 477 treated the selfsame subject of the defeat of Xerxes, and in particular had a scene, at the opening of the drama, where the disastrous news was reported by a Persian slave. The same Phrynichos, about seventeen years earlier, had produced at Athens another historical play on the 'Capture of Miletos' by the Persians in the war with the Ionian colonies, which so distressed the Athenians that they fined the poet 1,000 drachmae. These two plays, and the Persae, are the only exceptions we know to the otherwise universal practice of the Athenian dramatists, to draw their subjects, not from contemporary history, but from the safer and more abundant material of the heroic myths. There were two obvious advantages in this course, apart from the fact that the myths could not give offence. For first, Athenian tragedy took naturally for its subject the strokes or crises of Fate, sudden reversals of fortune, and the like; which are clearly more easily found in the popular mythical tales of kings and heroes than in contemporary national history. And secondly, the poet was in the former case left far freer to remodel the structure of the story and re-arrange its incidents; and so to make an old thing new. And this freedom was abundantly used, as the extant thirty-three tragedies are alone enough to show. In this connexion it is most significant that the only three historic plays of which we know the subjects all alike deal with the struggles of Greeks against Persia, and two of them with the overthrow of Xerxes at Salamis: and also that, as far as we know, there was no instance of such a play being put on the stage later than 472, the year of the Persae.
§ 2. THE PLOT OF THE PERSAE.

The Persae, like the Supplices, has no prologue: it opens at once with the entrance of the chorus of Persian elders. The scene is laid near the palace of Xerxes at Susa, where the queen-mother Atossa lives, waiting for news from Xerxes, her son, who is away with his vast army in Greece. The tomb of Dareios is in sight of the audience.

The Chorus describe their anxiety: for 'the whole strength of Asia' is gone, and there is no news (12-16). They then describe the leaders and the diverse contingents, horse, foot, archers, and fleets, which are gone (17-64). The metre then changes from marching anapaests to regular antistrophic lyrics. They describe the bridge over Hellespont, the irresistible sea and land forces (65-92): the uncertainty of fate: show how heaven has lifted Persia to greatness in empire and conquest: and they ask what will be the end? (93-114). Will the land be emptied of its protectors? tidings we wait: but here is the queen! (115-154). (Parodos 1-154.)

Atossa enters in a car, anxious and distracted: she describes a dream she has had: She saw a Persian and a Greek woman striving together: Xerxes yoked them to his car: but the Greek was restive and overthrew the car. She woke and went to sacrifice, and saw an omen: a hawk attacking an eagle. The Chorus advise prayer to the gods, and to Dareios (155-225). She next questions them about Athens: when a messenger arrives and reports the defeat of the whole army at Salamis, his tale being interrupted by cries and questions from the Chorus (226-289). Then he relates in full detail to the queen the battle and destruction of the army: The queen goes off to pray: and bids the elders consult (290-531). (1st Epeisodion, 155-531.)

The stage is empty: and the Chorus express the despair of the land at the crushing disaster—especially the sorrow of the bereaved women. They contrast Xerxes' failure with Dareios' victories: brood on the fate of the drowned crews at Salamis, the narrow escape of the king, and the peril of disorder

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and revolt, now that the power of control is gone, now that 'the
blood-stained soil of Aias' seagirt isle holds all the might of
Persia.' (1st Stasimon, 532–597.)

Atossa returns on foot, in mourning garb (607–8), bearing
offerings to the tomb of Dareios, and calls on the Chorus mean-
while to sing an invocation to the spirit of the dead king, while
she pours the libations. The Chorus pray to Earth, Hermes,
and Hades to send the spirit up to their aid: next they address
Dareios himself, speak of his ancient prowess and wisdom, and
bid him come to hear the tale of their ruin and give counsel.
(2nd Epeisodion and 2nd Stasimon, 598–680.)

Dareios appears and questions Atossa, who tells him all: he
exclaims at the folly of Xerxes in thinking to 'chain the holy
Hellespont and be mightier than Poseidon.' He then recalls
the history of the Persian empire, and blames Xerxes for
disobeying his injunctions. He bids the Persians renounce all
idea of conquering Greece, and prophesies the further disaster
at Plataia. Let Atossa warn Xerxes. (3rd Epeisodion, 681–851.)

Chorus sing the praise of Dareios, his conquests of cities,
tribes, seas, islands; his energy, his wisdom, his power. (3rd
Stasimon, 852–908.)

Xerxes appears, and he and the Chorus deliver with alternate
songs the κομμός, or lament for the fallen. The Chorus ask
after all the chiefs: and the King can only bewail their death.
The play ends with this antiphonal lamentation. (Exodos 909–
1076.)

§ 3. REMARKS ON THE DRAMA.

This play was, as we have seen, the second of the extant
Greek dramas: and both the early date, and the sketch of the
plot given above, will prepare us to expect not so much a play in
the modern sense, as a picturesque presentment of a single
striking incident, in a setting of poetic description and lyric
song. And this is what we find. The subject is the crushing
disaster suffered at Salamis and Plataia by the army and fleet
of Xerxes, as it would appear when presented from the Persian
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point of view. The arrangement is effective, but extremely simple. We have the anxiety of the Queen and the people given in the first scene and chorus; the thrilling narrative of the messenger who reports the seafight; the summoning, by prayer and offerings, of the ghost of Dareios, who foretells the further blow of the battle at Plataia: and the return of the defeated and despairing Xerxes, ending with the lamentation of king and people for the ruin of the host. That is all. There is no surprise or unexpected event, as indeed, in a play founded on actual history, where poet and audience had alike been actors, was obviously impossible. There is no ἐγών, no struggle of hope and fear, such as in the Supplices adds the main interest to the situation: no chequered fortune, such as in the 'Επτα ἐπὶ Θῆβας (804) tempers the tragedy, enabling the messenger to say 'the city is saved; the princes are slain': nor is there any consideration for the future: for the Shade of Dareios denounces his son (782), and, foretelling (as we saw) the ruin at Plataia, forbids future attacks on Greece (790).

Thus the drama, if simple and broad in its general outline, was one that suited at once the times, the people, and the poet. The precariousness of all human fortunes, the fall that awaits the proud, the jealousy of the gods that threatens all excessive power or prosperity of men—these were deeply-rooted beliefs of the fifth-century Greeks, and they could not fail to be profoundly felt by those who had, like the poet and his contemporaries, actually seen the collapse of the invincible Persia at Marathon and Salamis. To Aeschylus in particular, these thoughts were habitually present: and the Persae is an early lyric pageant with this theme for its moral.

In the details, as well as in the general scheme of the play, amid much that justifies the boast put by Aristophanes (Frogs 1026) into the poet's mouth, that [by this play] 'he had made men eager to conquer their foes, and glorified a splendid victory,' there are also not a few reminders that Attic drama is still in its early stages. Such are the grotesque ignorance of Atossa where Athens is, whether the soldiers are bowmen,
whether they are ruled by a king (231-242): and the strange condition of mind which the dead Dareios exhibits. He knows the future, for he prophesies the battle of Plataia in some detail (816): but he has not heard the news of Salamis which is already some weeks old (693 sqq.). He blames Xerxes chiefly for 'chaining the Hellespont' and destroying the gods' shrines (745, 813): and when asked for advice he can only suggest that no more invasions of Greece should be attempted (791). The strangest thing he does is to interrupt the pressing question of what the Persians are to do now with a brief enumeration of the Median and Persian kings, apparently for the benefit of the Chorus and Atossa, who hardly can be supposed to require the information. And if the plot of the play is extremely simple and is presented with some naïveté in the details, the characters also are necessarily at this date sketchy and elementary. Some critics\(^1\) have made much of the shades of distinction shown in the sorrow of the various characters, alleging that the Chorus is 'vehement,' Xerxes 'gloomy,' the queen 'personal' in her laments, while Dareios displays 'a calm and divine melancholy.' Such subtleties were not at any time characteristic of the poet; and in this case they seem altogether imaginary. There were at this date only two actors: the notion of a play as a field for the exhibition of character belongs to the later development of the Aeschylean drama, and is chiefly visible in Prometheus and the Trilogy, both certainly subsequent to the rise of Sophokles. In the Persae more than half the play is chorus: more than half the remainder is taken up with the speeches of the messenger, who is merely the poet's mouthpiece, and of Dareios, whose part we have dealt with above. There is only left Atossa to be called a character; and she is depicted simply as an anxious, superstitious, ignorant woman, who is plunged in sorrow and despair when she hears the terrible news. This is all: but for the poet's purpose this is sufficient. In character-drawing, as we understand it, he (in

\(^1\) e.g. M. Patin, quoted with approval by Mahaffy, *Greek Dramatic Literature.*
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this play) neither succeeds nor fails ; for he does not attempt it. Neither the intention of the poet, the circumstances under which he writes, nor the tradition and resources of the theatre, really (at this stage of the drama) admit of such a study.

On the other hand, if we do not ascribe to Aeschylus effects which in 472 were neither intended nor attainable, many other of his characteristic powers are visible enough in the Persae as elsewhere. Such, for example, is the notable skill with which the impending disaster is made to cast its shadow before. Aeschylus is always strong in creating the ‘atmosphere’ of foreboding fear: and (in the opening scene) the Chorus ‘heart prophetic of ill is stirred’ in the first few lines, while the note is touched again in the account of the ‘trembling wives who count the days’ (65), and the thoughts of the ‘deceit of the god’ (93) that ‘pluck with fear at their gloom-wrapt soul’ (116). When Atossa comes on, she too (we find) is ‘fretted with care’ (161) by reason of recurring dreams of ill—the latest of which she tells at length (180-200). This, followed by a still more explicit omen, prepares the way most powerfully for the news given by the messenger (255) that ‘the whole army has perished.’ Equally notable is the epic power of forcible description, visible in all the Aeschylean dramas: here especially found in the stately account of the Persian host (12-60), the roll of the slain heroes (300-330), the troubles of retreat (480-515), and, rising magnificently, in the superb narrative of the battle of Salamis itself (355-470). It is true that the attempt to present the Persian view—an essential condition if Salamis is to be the theme of a tragedy—is not wholly maintained: the mask is half withdrawn in the constant reference to βαρβαροι (see notes), and in the exultation, apparent throughout the narrative of the Athenian exploits¹, it is practically abandoned. But this matters less, since at the time the play was addressed to the whole of Athens assembled in one place, and every subsequent reader has been on the Athenian side.

¹ See especially 396-430; but hardly less grand is the description of the scene at Psyttaleia, 447-470.

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The last 200 lines, containing the prolonged lamentations of the Chorus and Xerxes, have no doubt less interest for the modern reader: but, in judging the total effect, we have to remember that the humiliation of Xerxes is thereby emphasized; that to a Greek audience it was necessary and natural that a crushing misfortune involving many deaths should be adequately bewailed; and that the praise of Dareios, which fills the six stanzas of the third stasimon (852–908), really heightens the effect, by contrast to the disaster which his son's rashness and pride has brought upon the Persian empire.

§ 4. The Staging of the Persae.

The date of the Persae is 472, as we have seen: and at that time all plays were performed in the precinct of Dionysos, south of the Akropolis, where a new orchestra had been made in 499. This was the same site on which the great stone theatre, whereof there are considerable remains to-day, was built by Lykourgos in the middle of the fourth century B.C. But in the time of Aeschylus there was a low wooden stage, connected by steps with the orchestra: wooden benches placed on the hillside for the audience: and at this date no regular scenery. Scenery was invented by Sophokles, who first exhibited in 468: and there is every reason to suppose that in the Trilogy (458) alone of the extant dramas of Aeschylus the stage had a painted background. Till the innovation was made the stage was bare, with a simple hoarding behind, containing openings or doors through which the actors went on and off, the wooden stage-buildings (the development of the old shed or tent, σκηνή) being behind. There were frequently altars, statues of gods, and tombs, represented on the stage or in the orchestra: and in this play the tomb of Dareios is no doubt visible all through. The palace is understood to be near, but is clearly not in sight: indeed Atossa first comes on (159) with a chariot (607) and therefore by the orchestra door—which would be an absurd procedure if the palace was actually visible behind the stage. When the Chorus leader says, 140, 'Come,
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Persians, let us sit down before this ancient dwelling; they no doubt mean the palace, but it is only seen by the eye of imagination, as all the main scenery necessarily was in the early drama.

§ 5. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

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

A. Medicean Group.

1. M., far the oldest and most important, the Medicean, in the Laurentian library at Florence, written on parchment about the beginning of the eleventh century. A photographic facsimile of this has been published by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction.

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

3. P., Parisinus, in the library of Paris, on paper, in the fifteenth century. Very like the Medicean, and probably derived from it.

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

B. The Venetian Group.

4. V., Venetus, in the library of S. Mark at Venice, on parchment, fifteenth century.

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

2 Moritz Haupt, in the preface to Hermann's Aeschylus, ed. 1852, thinks a few of its variations from M. are due to emendation, the rest to carelessness.

6. Fa., *Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the museum at Naples, on paper, fourteenth century. This contains the recension of Demetrius Triclinius, a scholar and grammarian of the fourteenth century, who was unfortunately ignorant of the metres of tragedy, and somewhat rash in conjecture.

These three are obviously from a common origin, as the omission of ninety-one lines of the Eumenides in all three is enough to show; moreover the great mass of variations from M. are common to the three. The exact relation of this group to the Medicean is not certain, but the authorities tend to agree in believing that they are founded either upon M. or upon a not remote ancestor of M.

The six MSS. described above are the most important for the text of the Persae. There are many other later MSS., of little or no value, containing Prom. Theb. Persae, the three plays most read towards the close of the Byzantine period, when learning was decadent.

In the critical notes the text of the Medicean as *originally written* is always quoted as M. But besides the original scribe, other hands appear in the MS. as follows:—

1. A contemporary hand, easily distinguished, which wrote the *scholia* (or Greek notes to the text) and the *glosses* (or explanations of words between the lines), corrected the errors and supplied omissions of the first hand, added in some plays the Argument and Dramatis Personae, and occasionally inserted a query or a conjecture at the side. The corrections of this writer are important, as he evidently revised the work of the scribe, comparing it with another MS.: he was moreover clearly a more learned and careful person than the scribe. He is quoted always as m.

2. Later correctors (14th or 15th cent.) who are occasionally referred to, and are quoted as m₁.
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As the MSS. are called by different names, and quoted by different letters, it may be useful to give the following table:—

| M. | library | Florence, | no. | xxxii. 9 | century | XI. |
| G. | Wolfenbüttel | | | 88 | | XV. |
| P. | Paris, | | | 2886 | | XV. |
| Fl. | Florence, | | xxxi. 8 | | XIV. |
| Fa. | Naples, | | I. E. 5 | | XIV. |
| V. | Venice, | | 616 or xci. 5 | | XV. |

We have then the following abbreviations and signs used in the critical notes:—

M. the scribe or first hand of the Medicean.
m. the second hand, who revised the scribe's work.
m₁. later correctors.
G., B.; P.; V., Fl., Fa., the later MSS. described above.
rec. one of the later MSS. containing the passage.
recc. all (or most) of the later MSS.
codd. all (or most) of the MSS. including M.
⟨ ⟩ conjectural additions to the text.
[ ] words which should be omitted from the text.
† corrupt text not emended.

§ 6. THE SCHOLIA.

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

In the Medicean MS. by the side of the texts are written comments in Greek, called Scholia. They are in a small but clear hand, partly in capitals (half-uncial), while the text itself is written in cursive, that is in a running hand, in small letters, two or more letters being often closely connected and slightly contracted. The Scholia are by a different hand to that which wrote the text, and the authorities are agreed that they are mostly written, at the same time as the text, by the διορθωτὴς or scholar who corrected the errors made in the text by the professional scribe. Their value consists, both for text and xv
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comment, in their age. Their explanations are often wrong, but they not unfrequently contain valuable information dating back to many centuries before our earliest MS. For textual criticism they are occasionally a great help, as they sometimes explain a different text to that which is by their side in the MS., and so may furnish evidence of an older and truer reading than the MS. itself. In any case they are always worth considering.

The following specimens may be given of the way in which the Scholia can thus be made serviceable in correcting the text.

In 135 the Chorus is describing the grief of the Persian women in the absence of their husbands on the expedition; and the expression found in the MSS. is Περσίδες ἀκροπενθεῖς. This makes quite good sense, 'the Persian women in utter sorrow': but the scholiast, interpreting the adjective, says:—ἐπιμῶνος πενθοῦσαι, ὡς δοκεῖν ἀβρύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ πενθεῖν, 'persistently lamenting', so that they seem to luxuriate in their sorrow.' From this Paley perceived that the schol. was explaining, not ἀκροπενθεῖς (which indeed requires no comment) but the very similar word ἀβροπενθεῖς, 'revelling in sorrow,' which exactly fits the explanation, and is a much choicer word. This brilliant restoration is further confirmed by 541, where the Περσίδες are called ἀβρόγουα.

Again in 432 the MSS. read πλῆθος τοσοῦτ' ἀριθμόν, 'a multitude so great in number,' which is quite good Greek, and the sense quite appropriate. But the scholiast, who clearly had this reading in his text, and explains the accusative ἀριθμόν correctly, adds the words:—μὴ ποτε δὲ τοσοντάριθμον θέλει, i.e. 'perhaps he means [to write] τοσοντάριθμον.' In making this conjecture he shows a sense of style, divining that Aesch. is more likely to have used the rare compound adjective τοσοντάριθμον than the ordinary prosaic phrase. However deficient the scholiasts may sometimes be in literary taste and judgement, we should always remember that they had two great advantages over the moderns, viz. (1) that Greek was to them a living xvi
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language, (2) that they had access to a mass of Greek literature which is now lost. Thus their suggestions always deserve attention, and in this case the conjecture is most probably right.

The text of the Persae also provides useful illustration of another way in which a knowledge of the scholia is valuable to textual criticism. It often happens that their comments, written by the side of the text, are mistaken by copyists for the words of the poet, and incorporated in the copy. Thus in line 152 M. reads

\[
\text{βασίλεια δ' ἐμή, προσπίνω προσκυνώ}
\]

where the metre is destroyed and the poetry hopelessly spoiled by the last word, a mere prosaic repetition of the preceding word προσπίνω. The fact is that προσκυνώ, the common word, was originally written at the side of the old word προσπίνω, as an explanation, and then by mistake copied as part of the poet's words. The later MSS. correctly stop at προσπίνω.

Similarly in 589 M. and P. have βασίλεια ἡ βασιλική, the last two words being an explanation of the first, and entirely spoiling the metre.

But the most striking example is in 97, where all the MSS. read φιλόφρον γὰρ σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει . . . ἄτα, 'for ruin smiling kindly at first lures them aside,' the right sense, but quite unmetrical and intolerably prolix and prosaic. Seidler brilliantly conjectured for σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει the single word παρασάνει, 'entices aside,' which restores the metre and exactly suits the context. It is clear that Aesch. wrote this, and then the commentator rightly explained it by adding the words σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει, which correct but lengthy interpretation crept into the text.

Another very clear instance occurs in line 6. Most of the MSS., including M., read δάρειογενῆς· δαρέλου νιός. The last two words are merely a (rather superfluous) explanation of the poet's word Δαρειογενῆς, which has commonly been absorbed into the text. The Farnese MS. alone has it right, Triclinius having no doubt understood that the extra words were not the poet's, and ejected them from his recension.

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§ 7. The Editions.

The following is a list of the chief editions (a) of the whole seven plays, (b) of the Persae separately.

(a) All the plays:—

1518 Aldine. These give only the parts of Ag. found in M. In 1552 Turnebus. Ald. and Turn. the play is confused with Choe-
1552 Robortello. Rob. gives the two plays separate.
1557 Victorius (Vettori). This is the first that gives Ag. whole.
1580 Canter. 1828 Scholesfield.
1663 Stanley. 1831 Bothe.
1745 Pauw. 1842 E. A. I. Ahrens.
1746 Askew. 1847–79 Paley.
1782 Schütz. 1852 G. Hermann.
1794 Porson. 1852 Hartung.
1794 Portus. 1858 H. Weil.
1809 Butler. 1871 R. Merkel.
1823 Wellauer. 1880 Kirchhoff.
1825 Boissonade. 1885 Wecklein.

(b) Persae separately:—

1814 Blomfield. 1869 R. Merkel.
1825 E. R. Lange. L. Schiller.
G. Pinzger. 1875 W. S. Teuffel.
1837 G. W. C. Schneider. 1876 I. Oberdick.
1839 C. G. Haupt. 1884 Weil.
1853 Meineke. 1891 Wecklein (with Septem).

In addition to the above, readings or corrections are occasionally quoted from Arnaldus, Blaydes, Boeckh, Brunck, Burges, Burney, Campbell, Döderlein, Elmsley, Emper, Enger, Eustathius, Franz, Haupt, W. Headlam, Heath, Heimsoeth, Housman, Keiper, Lachmann, Meineke, Meyer, Monk, Nauck, Pallis, Passow, Prien, Scaliger, Schiller, Schneider, Seidler, Stadtmüller, Thurot, Wakefield, Wecklein.

§ 8. The Text and Critical Apparatus.

From the list of MSS. given above (§ 5) it appears that M. is far the oldest; and it is also the best (if not the only) authority for the readings. All the MSS. have many undoubted mistakes: and M. is no exception. In many places one or other of the xviii
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later manuscripts has a better reading than M.: but they also have several mistakes from which M. is free. There are, lastly, many errors common to all the existing MSS.

Under these circumstances, wherever the text is not that contained in M., the reading of the latter is always recorded, either specifically as read by M., or when the other MSS. have the same error, by the word codd., i.e. all (or most) of the existing MSS. The later MSS. are only quoted, either where one of them alone is right, or where, for other reasons, it seemed desirable to mention them. The following illustrations will make sufficiently clear the meaning of the critical notes at the foot of the text.

(1) MSS. all wrong: same error.

(line 17) κίσσινον Blomfield: κίσσινον codd.
i.e. all the MSS., including M., read κίσσινον, but the true reading κίσσινον was conjectured first by Blomfield. The fact is κίσσινον, 'made of ivy-wood' was written by mistake, being a Greek word, though here it makes nonsense: the true word is a name, which being unknown to the copyists was wrongly written.

(2) M. wrong: recc. right.

(line 80) ἴσοθεος recc.: ἴσοθεον M
i.e. M. has ἴσοθεον (no doubt misled by confusing φως, Epic masculine word for 'man,' with φῶς, common neuter word for 'light,' though here it makes no sense), while the later MSS. have ἴσοθεος the true reading.

(3) M. wrong (but nearer the true reading): recc. corrected and wrong.

(line 470) ἵησ' Robortello: ἵησ' M : ἵης' recc.
i.e. recc. have ἵης', 'rushed,' which makes the right sense, but is a mere conjectural emendation of M.'s word ἵησ', which is not a word at all. The true solution was found by the sixteenth century scholar Robortello, who saw that Aesch. wrote ἵησ' (the rare intransitive use of ἵημι, 'to rush'), and made a much better correction of the erroneous ἵησ' of M.

xix
PERSAE

(4) Lastly, one specimen may be given of a more intricate kind, where all MSS. are wrong, but M. was originally right.

(line 794) where Dareios says that the barren land of Greece is 'the ally of the Greeks.' Being asked why, he replies,

'because it starves to death those who are too numerous'
(i.e. cannot support a large host like the Persians): κτείνουσα λιμῷ τούς ἑπερπόλλους ἀγαν.
The note is

794 ὑπερπόλλους fuerat M: ὑπερπώλους m: ὑπερκόμπους recc. plerique
i.e. M. originally had ὑπερπόλλους, the right word: the corrector m. (and several later MSS. also) wrote ὑπερπώλους, a word which does not exist, and could only be supposed to mean 'with too many horses,' a quite impossible expression. In the other recc. a less impossible (but quite wrong) correction was made, ὑπερκόμπους, 'exceedingly boastful.' No doubt this was suggested by the idea (common in the Persae) that the disaster of the Persians was an example of the ruin of the overweening: but here the idea is wholly irrelevant, as it has nothing whatever to do with the barrenness of the land. M. alone had the true reading, fortunately still legible in spite of the correction of m.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ
Τά τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα:

χορὸς γερόντων
"Ατοσσα
ἀγγελος
eἰδώλου Δαρείου
Ξέρξης


Dramatis Personac] in Mediceo personarum nulla mentio
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων ἔλεος δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
καὶ τῶν ἀφνεών καὶ πολυχρόσων ἔδρανων φύλακες, κατὰ πρεσβελαν
ὁδὸς αὐτὸς ἀναξ Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς

Δαρειογενῆς

εἶλετο χώρας ἐφορέειν.
ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ καὶ πολυχρόσον στρατιάς ἡ ἡ
κακόμαντις ἀγαν ὁρσολοπεῖται

θυμὸς ἐσωθεν.

πάσα γὰρ ἱσχὺς Ἀσιατογενῆς
ἔχωκε, νέον δέ ἂνδρα βαῦξει,
κούτε τις ἄγγελος οὔτε τις ἤπιεν

αὐτὸ τὸ Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖται.
οὔτε τὸ Σοῦσων ἦδος 'Αγβατάνων

6 Δαρειογενῆς Φά: δαρειογενῆς δαρείον νῦν M codd. plures
9 πολυχρόσου recc.: πολυχρόσου M 13 ἔχωκε recc.: ἔχωκε M
[Et hic et alibi cum edd. recentioribus Atticam formam restitui.
In ipsius poetae scriptura constat sane inter ἔχωκε et ἔχωκε, ἐλλυσαν
(461) et ἐλλυσαν, ὁλακοστρόφου (767) et ὁλακοστρόφου nihil interfuisse:
in hac tamen fabula tot Ionicorum verborum extant exempla, ut cetera
quoque, quae in codd. ita scripta inveniantur, fortasse non debeant
mutari. Credas enim hoc Aeschylum voluisse, tanquam Persis aptius
foret Ionice loqui. (W. Headlam)] 16 'Αγβατάνων Brunck: ἐκβατάνων codd.

AESCH. PERS.
καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Κίσσιον ἔρκος
προλιπόντες ἔβαν, τοὶ μὲν ἔφ’ ἵππων,
tοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ναῶν, πεζοὶ τε βάδην
πολέμου στύφος παρέχοντες·
οἰος Ἀμύστρης ἤδ’ Ἀρταφέρνης
καὶ Μεγαβάτης ἤδ’ Ἀστάσπης,
tαγὸι Περσῶν,
βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὑποχοὶ μεγάλου,
σοῦνται, στρατιὰς πολλῆς ἔφοροι,
τοξοδόμαντες τ’ ἦδ’ ἱπποβάται,
φοβεροὶ μὲν ἱδεῖν, δεινοὶ δὲ μάχην
ψυχῆς εὐτλήμουν δόξῃ·
'Ἀρτεμβάρης θ’ ἱπποχάρμης
καὶ Μασίστης, ὅ τε τοξοδόμας
ἐσθλὸς Ἰμαῖος, Φαρανδάκης θ’,
ἵππων τ’ ἐλατὴρ Σοσθάνης.
ἀλλοι δ’ ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων
Νεῖλος ἐπεμψεν. Σουσισκάνης,
Πηγασταγὸς Αἰγυπτογενῆς,
ὅ τε τὴς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων
μέγας Ἀρσάμης, τὰς τ’ ἀγνιόν
Θῆβας ἐφέσων Ἀριόμαρδος,
cαὶ ἐλειοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται
δεινοὶ πλήθος τ’ ἀνάριθμοι.
ἀβροδίαιτων ὅ’ ἐπεται Λυδῶν
ὄχλος, οὕτ’ ἐπίπαυν ἠπερογενές
κατέχουσιν ἐθνος, τοὺς Μιτρογαθῆς
'Αρκτεύς τ’ ἀγάθος, βασιλῆς διόποι,
cαὶ πολύχρυσοι Σάρδεις ἐπόχους
πολλοῖς ἀρμασιν ἔξορμῶσιν,

17 κλοσιον Blomfield : κλοσιον codd. 18-9 τοι bis Blomfield :
oi bis codd. 21 ἀρταφέρνης (ex ἄρταφέρνης factum) M : ἀρταφέρνης
plerique codd. 22 Μεγαβάτης V rec. aliquot: μεταβάτης M
28 εὐτλήμουν recce.: εν τέληυν Μ V 30 Μασίστης (Herod.
7. 82) : μασίστης Μ 43 Μιτρογαθῆς recce. duo: μιτρογάθης Μ G
διρρυμα τε καὶ τρίρυμα τέλη,
φοβερὰν ὡσιν προσιδεσθαι.
στεῖται δ᾽ ἱεροῦ Τμῶλου πελάτης
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλέων δούλιον Ἐλλάδι,
Μάρδων, Ὀάρυβις, λόγχης ἄκμονες,
καὶ ἀκονιστᾶ τι Μυσοῖ. Βαβυλῶν δ᾽
ἡ πολύχρωσις πάμμικτων ὁχλον
πέμπει σύρῳν, μαῶν τ᾽ ἐπόχους
καὶ τοξούλκῳ λήματι πιστοὺς.
τὸ μαχαίροφόρον τ᾽ ἔθνος ἐκ πάσης
'Ασίας ἐπεται
δειναῖς βασιλέως υπὸ πομπαῖς.
τοιόνδ᾽ ἄνθος Περσίδος αἰᾶς
οἶχεται ἀνδρῶν,
oւς περὶ πᾶσα χθῶν Ἄσιάτις
θρέψασα πόθῳ στείνεται μαλερῶ,
tοκεῖες τ᾽ ἀλοχοὶ θ᾽ ἱμερολέγδουν
τείνοντα χρόνου τρομεσται.

πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσεπτολις ἡδῆ
βασίλειος στρατὸς εἰς ἀντίπορον γείτονα χώθων,
λινοδέσμῳ σχεδίᾳ πορθμὸν ἀμέλψας
'Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἐλλας,
pολύγουμφον ὃδισμα
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλῶν αὐχένι πόντου.

πολυνάυδρον δ᾽ 'Ασίας θούριος ἅρχων
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χθόνα πομα-

νόριον θείον ἐλαύνει
διχόθεν, πεζονόμον τ' ἐκ
tε θαλάσσας,
ἐξυροῦσι πεποιθῶς
στυφελοῖς ἐφέτας, χρυ-
σογόνον γενεάς ἱσόθεος φῶς.

κυναοῦν δ' ὁμαστὶ λεύσουν
φούνοι δέργμα δράκοντος,
pολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας,
Σύριον θ' ἄρμα διώκων,
ἐπάγει δουρικλύτοις ἀν-
δράσι τοξόθαμμων "Αρη.

δόκιμος δ' οὕτως ὑποστάς
μεγάλῳ μεῦματι φωτῶν
ἐξυροῖς ἐρκεσιν εὐργεων
ἀμαχον κύμα θαλάσσας.
ἀπρόσοιοτος γὰρ ὅ Περσαῖν
στρατός ἀλκήφρων τε λαός.

dολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταιν θεοῦ
τίς ἀνήρ θυατὸς ἀλύξει;
tίς οὔ κραπανῷ ποτὶ πήδη-
μα τὸδ' εὐπετῶς ἀνάφσων;

φιλόφρων γὰρ παρασαίνει
βροτὸν εἰς ἀρκνας "Ατα,
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

tόθεν οὔκ ἔστιν ὑπερθέν;


ννν ἀνατον ἐξαλύξαι.

θεόθεν γὰρ κατὰ Μοῦρ

ἐκράτησεν τὸ παλαι-

όν, ἑπέσκηψε δὲ Πέρσαις

πολέμουσ πυργοδαίκτουσ

διέστειν ἵππιοχάρμας

τε κλόνους

πόλεων τ’ ἀναστάσεις.

ἐμαθον ὃ εὐρυπόροι-

ο θαλάσσας πολια-

νομένας πνεύματι λάβροι

ἐσφάν πόντιον ἄλσος,

πίσυνοι λεπτοδόμοις πεί-

σμασὶ λα-

οπόροις τε μαχαῖς.

tαῦτα μοι μελαγχλῖτων

φρὴν ἀμύσοσται φόβῳ,

δ榃, Περσικὸς στρατεύματος

tούδε, μὴ πόλις πύθη-

ται κένανδρον μὲγ’ ἀστν Σουσίδος,

cαὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλισμ’

ἀντίδουνον ἄστεται,

δ🚁, τοὐτ’ ἔπος γυναικοπλη-

θῆς ὑμίλος ἀπώου,

βυσσίνους δ’ ἐν πέπλοις πέσῃ λακίς.

99–100 ὑπερθέν Robortello, ννν ἀνατον ἐξαλύξαι Wecklein: ύπὲρ

θανάτον ἐξάλυσαν φυγεῖν codd. 108 τ’ recce.: δ’ M 115 μοι

recce.: μοι MG 118 πόλις inuriā suspectum 121 ἄστεται

Burney: ἄστεται M recce. 125 πέσῃ λακίς omisit M, inter hunc

v. et 126 scripsit m
πᾶς γὰρ ἵππηλάτας
καὶ πεδοστίβης λεώς
σμήνος ὃς ἐκλέλοιπεν μελισ-
σάν σὺν ὄρχαμῳ στρατοῦ,
τὸν ἀμφίζευκτον ἐξαμείψας
ἀμφοτέρας ἄλιον
πρῶνα κοινὸν αἶας.

λέκτρα δ’ ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ
πῦμπλαται δακρύμασιν
Περσίδες δ’ ἀβροπενθεῖς ἐκά-
στα πόθῳ φιλάνορι
τὸν αἰχμάεντα θοῦρον εὐνα-
τήρ’ ἀποπεμψαμένα
λείπεται μονόζῳ.

ἀλλ’ ἄγε, Πέρσαι, τὸδ’ ἐνεξόμενοι
στέγος ἀρχαίον,
φρουτίδα κεδιῆν καὶ βαθύβουλον
θώμεθα, χρεία δὲ προσήκει,
pῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς
Δαρειογενῆς,
τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον;
pότερον τόξον ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν,
ἡ δορικράνον
λόγχης ἵσχὺς κεκράτηκεν.

ἀλλ’ ἦδε θεῶν ἵσων ὀφθαλμοῖς
φαός ὄρμαται μῆτηρ βασιλέως,

128-9 μελισσῶν rec.: μέλισσα M: μέλισσαι habebat schol. 133 πόθῳ]
δδϑ Wecklein 135 ἀβροπενθεῖς (ex schol. collato 541) Paley: ἀκροπενθεῖς codd. 135-6 ἐκάστα recce.: ἐκάσταν fuerat M, sed ν
ita erasum ut ἐκάστα videatur esse 137-8 εὐνατήρα προπεμψαμένη
(e recce. duobus) frustra restituebat Brunck 141 στέγος recce.: στεῖος M 144 ἄρα M 148 δορικράνον recce.: δορικράνον M
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

βασίλεια δ᾿ ἐμὴ, προσπίτνω·
καὶ προσφθόγγοις δὲ χρεῶν αὐτὴν
πάντας μύθους προσανδάν.

ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη,
μήτερ ἡ Ξέρξει γεραιά, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι·
θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφυσ,
eἰ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ.

ΑΤΟΣΣΑ

tañta δὴ λιποῦσι ἱκάνω χρυσοεστόλμους δόμους
καὶ τὸ Δαρείου τε καὶ μόνον εὐνατήριον.

καὶ με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντὶς· ἐσὶ δ᾿ ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ
μῦθον, ὀυδαμῶς ἐμαντῆς ὅθ᾿ ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κοῦσας ὀυδὲς ἀντρέψῃ πολὺν
ὅλβου, ἄν Δαρείου ἦρεν οὐκ ἄνει λιποῖ τωὶς.

ταῦτα μοι διπλῆ μέριμνα φραστὸς ἔστων ἐν φρεσίν, 164
μὴ τε χρημάτων ἀνάνδρων πλῆθος ἐν τῷ ἑβεων
μὴτ’ ἀχρηματούσις λάμπειν φῶς ὅνου σθένος πάρα.

ἔστι γὰρ πλοῦτός γ’ ἀμεμφής, ἀμφὶ δ’ ὀφθαλμῷ φόβος·
όμαι γὰρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότου παρουσίαν.

πρὸς τάδ’ ὠς ὄντως ἕχουτόν τώνδε, σύμβουλοι λόγον
τοῦδε μοι γένεσθε, Πέρσαι, γηραλέα πιστώματα·

πάντα γὰρ τὰ κέδο’ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ μοι βουλεύματα.

Χο. εὖ τὸν ἵσθι, γῆς ἄνασσα τήσδε, μὴ σε δις φράσαι
μὴτ’ ἐπος μὴτ’ ἐργον ὅν ἄν δύναμις ἥγεισθαι θέλῃ·
εὐμενεὶς γὰρ οὖτας ὧμᾶς τώνδε συμβουλοὺς καλεῖς. 175

Ἀτ. πολλοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ νυκτέροις ὑνείρασιν
ἔυνεμὴ’, ἀφ’ οὔπερ παῖς ἐμὸς στείλας στρατὸν
Ἰαόνων γῆν οἰχεῖται πέρσαι θέλων·

152 προσπίτνω] προσπίτνῳ προσκυνῶ (scholio injuria illato) M
157 εὐνάτειρα recce.: εὐνάτειρα M 162 οὖθ᾿ ἀδείμαντος] οὐθ᾿ ἀδεὶ-
163 πλοῦτος] δαίμων Heimsoeth 165 μέριμνα
166 θέλα C. G. Haupt: μέριμνα ἀφραστὸς codd. 168 ὀφθαλμῷ
Heimsoeth: ὀφθαλμοῖς codd. 174 δύναμις recce.: δυνάμεις M
θέλα] θέλει (ei in η mutatum mi) M 176 aiel V: αἰεὶ MG
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

άλλ' οὗτι πω τοιάν' ἐναργεῖς εἰδομήν
ὡς τῆς πάραθεν εὐφρόνης· λέξω δὲ σοι.
ἐδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ' εὐείμονε,
ἡ μὲν πέπλοιοι Περσικοὶ ἡσκημένη,
ἡ δ' ἀντε Δωρικοίς, εἰς ὃψιν μολεὶν,
μεγεθεὶ τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ,
kάλλει τ' ἀμώμῳ, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους
ταῦτω· πάτραν δ' ἐναιοὺ ἡ μὲν Ἐλλάδα
κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαι, ἡ δ' βάρβαροι.
tούτω στάσισι τι', ὡς ἔγω ἄδκους ὅρᾶν,
tεύχεσθαι ἐν ἀλλήλαις παῖς δ' ἔμοι μαθῶν
κατείχε καπράνευν, ἀρμασίω δ' ὑπὸ
ζεύγνυσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λέπαδι' ἐπ' αὐχένων
tίθησι. ἐν μὲν τηδ' ἐποργοῦτο στολὴ
ἐν ἡνίασι τ' εἴχεν εὐαρκτὸν στόμα,
ἡ δ' ἐσφάδαξε, καὶ χεροῖν ἐντῇ δίφρου
διασπαράσσει, καὶ ἔσωρτάξει βλα
ἀνευ χαλινῶν καὶ ξυγὸν θραύσει μέσον.
πίπτει δ' ἔμοι παῖς, καὶ πάτηρ παρίσταται
Δαρείοις οἰκτείρων σφε· τὸν δ' ὅπως ὅρα
Ξέρξης, πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν ἀμφὶ σώματι.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὃν νυκτὸς εἰσίδειν λέγω.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην καὶ χεροῖν καλλιρρόου
ἐψαυσα πηγῆς, σὺν νυπόλῳ χερί
βωμόν προσέστην, ἀποτρόπους δαίμοσιν
θέλουσα θόσαι πέλανον, δὲν τέλη τάδε.
ὁρῶ δὲ φεύγοντι αἰετῶν πρὸς ἐσχάραν
Φοῖβω· φοῖβῳ δ' ἄφωγιος ἐστάθην, φίλοι
μεθῦστερον δὲ κήρκοι ἐλεσόμω ὅρμῳ
πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνουτα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα
τίλλουνθ'· ὃ δ' οὐδὲν ἀλλο γ' ἡ πτηξας δέμας

181 μοι rec. : om. M 189 ἀλλήλης (Ionice) M 191 ετ' αὐ-
χένων rec. : ὑπαχένων M 193 ἡνίασι τ' Blomfield : ἡνίασιν M P : ἡνίασι δ' rec. 194 ἐντῇ Scaliger : ἐντῇ Μ 207 μεθ' ὦστερον Μ
παρείχε. ταύτ' ἐμοίγε ὑείματ' εἰσίδειν, 210
ὑμὼν δ' ἀκούειν. εὑ γὰρ ἵστε, παῖς ἐμὸς
πράξας μὲν εὑ θαυμαστὸς ἄν γένοιτ' ἄνήρ,
κακῶς δὲ πράξας—οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει,
σωθεὶς δ' ὁμοίως τῇδε κοιρανεί χθονὸς.
Χο. οὐ σε βουλόμεσθα, μήπερ, οὔτ' ἂγαν ὕφειεῖν λόγοις 215
οὔτε θαρσὺνειν. θεοὺς δὲ προστροπαῖς ἱκνομένη,
eἰ τι φλαύρον εἴδες, αἰτοῦ τῶν τέλειν τελείν;
tά δ' ἄγαθ' ἐκτελῇ γενέσθαι σοὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις σέθεν
καὶ πόλεις φίλοις τε πάσι. δεύτερον δὲ χρῆ χοᾶς
gῆ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς χέασθαι πρεμνεῖός 0' αἰτοῦ τάδε, 220
σὸν πόσων Δαρείον, ὅπερ φής ἵδεῖν κατ' εὐφρόνην,
ἐσθλὰ σοι πέμπειν τέκνω τε γῆς ἐνερθέν ἐς φάος,
tάμπαλιν δὲ τῶνδε γαία κάτοχ' ἀμαυροῦσθαι σκότῳ,
tαυτὰ θυμόμαντις ἄν σοι πρεμνεῖός παρῆνεσα,
εὖ δὲ πανταχῇ τελείν σοι τῶνδε κρίνομεν πέρι. 225
Ἀτ. ἀλλὰ μὴν εὔνους γ' ὁ πρῶτος τῶν τέλειον κριτής
παιδὶ καὶ δόμοις ἐμοίῳ τήνδ' ἐκύρωσας φάτων.
ἐκτελοῖτο ὅτι τὰ χρηστὰ· ταύτα δ' ὅσ ἐφίσεις,
πάντα θῆσομεν θεοὶ τοῖς τ' ἐνερθε γῆς φίλοις,
εὐν' ἂν εἰς οἴκους μόλωμεν. κεῖνο δ' ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω, 230
ὡ φίλοι, ποῦ τὰς 'Αθήνας φασίν ἱδρύσθαι χθονός.
Χο. τῆλε πρὸς ὅσμαίς ἀνακτὸς Ἡλίου φθειραμάτων.
Ἀτ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἵμερ' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηράσαι πόλιν.
Χο. πάσα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἄν 'Ἐλλὰς βασιλέως ὑπίκοους.
Ἀτ. ὡδὲ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ; 235
Χο. καὶ στρατὸς τοιοῦτος, ἐξεῖσας πολλὰ ὅτι Μίδους κακά.
Ἀτ. καὶ τι πρὸς τοῦτοις ἄλλος; πλοῦτος ἕξαρκῆς δόμοις;
Χο. ἀργύρου πηγῆς τις αὐτοῖς ἔστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.
Ἀτ. πότερα γὰρ τοξολκὸς αἰχμή διὰ χερῶν αὐτοῖς πρέπει;

210 εἰσίδειν Hartung: ἐστ' ἰδεῖν M: ἐστ' ἰδεῖν rec. 216 θρασύ-
νειν M 218 αγάθ' rec. : αγάθα δ' M τέκνους] τέκνῳ rec. 228 δὴ rec.: δὲ M G 230 κεῖνο Dindorf: κεῖνα codd. 239 χερῶν Brunck: χερῶς codd. αὐτοῖς] λαοῖς Enger : δαῖοι Stadt-
müller (χερῶς utrimque servato)
ΑΙΣΧΤΛΟΤ

Χο. οὐδαμῶς ἐγχυστηκαί φεράσπιδες σαγαλ. 240
Ατ. τίς δὲ πομπάνωρ ἐπεστεί κάπιστενάκος στρατῷ;
Χο. οὕτως δοῦλοι κέκλημαι φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκουι.
Ατ. πώς ἂν οὖν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολεμίους ἐπήλυδας;
Χο. ὡστε Δαρείον πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φθείραι στρατὸν.
Ατ. δεινὰ τοι πλείστης κιόντων τοῖς τεκούσι φροντίσαι. 245
Χο. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τάχι εἰσεῖ πάντα ναυμερτῆ λόγον,
tοῦτο γὰρ ἀράμην φωτὸς Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν,
καὶ φέρει σαφὲς τι πράγας ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλέων.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ὁ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἀσιάδος πολίσματα,
ὁ Περσὶς αἰα καὶ μεγάς πλούτου λιμήν,
ός ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολὺς
ὁλβος, τὸ Περσῶν δ' ἄνθος οἴχεται πεσόν.
όμοί, κακῶν μὲν πρῶτον ἀγγέλλειν κακά·
όμοι δ' ἀνάγκη πάν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος,
Πέρσαι: στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὅλωλε βαρβάρων. 255

Χο. ἀνὶ ἀνὰ κακὰ

νεόκοτα καὶ δὰί'. αἰαὶ,
διαίνεσθε, Πέρσαι,
tόδ' ἄχος κλύντες.

Ἀγ. ὡς πάντα γ' ἕστ' ἐκεῖνα διαπεραγμένα·

αὐτὸς δ' ἀέλπτως νόστιμον βλέπω φάος. 260

Χο. ἡ μακροβιότος

διδε γέ τις αἰῶν ἐφάνθῃ

γεραιοίς, ἄκουει

τόδε πῆμ' ἀέλπτον. 265

245 κιόντων Wecklein: ιδινων codd. 246 ναυμερτῆ Porson:


νημαρτῆ (ε ex a factum) M 250 μέγας (ex Eur. Orest. 1077)
Nauck: πολὺς codd.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

Αγ. καὶ μὴν παρὼν γε κοῦ λόγους ἄλλων κλύων,
Πέρσαι, φράσαμ' ἂν οἶ ἐπορσύνθη κακά.

Χο. ὁτοτοτοῖ, μάταν

[στρ. β.

tὰ πολέα βέλεα παμμιγῇ
τὰσὸ' ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθεν αἰας
δὰν Ἑλλάδα χώραν.

Αγ. πλήθονσι νεκρῶν δυσπότμως ἐφθαρμένων
Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.

Χο. ὁτοτοτοῖ, φίλων

[ἀντ. β.

ἄλιδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῇ
καθανώντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι
†πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσων.

Αγ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦρκε τόξα, πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο
στρατὸς δαμασθεὶς ναῖσσων ἐμβολαις.

Χο. ἵνα' ἀποτομὸν Πέρσαις

[στρ. γ.

δυσσαιαὶ βοῶν
δάους, ὡς πάντα παγκάκως
ήνυσαν, αἰαὶ, στρατοὶ φθαρέντος.

Αγ. ὃ πλείστον ἔχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμῖνος κλύειν·
φεῦ, τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὡς στένω μεμνημένος.

Χο. στυγναὶ γ' Ἀθάναι δάοις·

[ἀντ. γ.

μεμνησθαί τοι πάρα

266 γὲ rec. : τε M G plerique 268 ὁτοτοῖ τοῖ M 269 πολέα
Lachmann : πολλὰ codd. 270 τὰσὸ' Weil : γὰς codd. ἦλθεν
αἰας Weil : ἥλθ' ἐπ' αἰαν codd. 271 δὰν Blomfield (δαῖαν rec.):
δαῖα M G 275 μέλεα (adscriptum γρ. μέλεα) ccc. : σώματα
codd. 277 suspectum πλαγκτοὺς Wecklein, σπιλάδεσσων
Hartung 280-1 Πέρσαις . . . θοὸν Wecklein : θοὸν . . . Πέρσαις
codd. 282 δάους scripsi : δάους codd. 283 ἦνυσαν Wecklein :
ἔθεσαν codd. 286 Ἀθηναὶ rec. : Ἀθηναὶ M
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

ός πολλὰς Περσίδων μάταν
eύνιδας ἐκτισσαν ἦδ' ἀνάνδρους.

Ατ. σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη
κακοῖς· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἢδε συμφορά,
tὸ μὴτε λέξαι μὴτ' ἑρωτήσαι πάθη.
ὅμως ὃ' ἀνάγκη πημονᾶς βροτοῖς φέρεω
θεῶν διδώντων· τὰν ὃ' ἀναπτύξας πάθος
λέξον καταστάσ, κεὶ στένεις κακοῖς ὅμως,
tὸς οὖ τέθυκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν
tῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅστ' ἐπὶ σκηπτονύχια
ταχθὲς ἀνανδρον τάξιν ἡρήμον θανών.

Αγ. Ἐρέξεσ μὲν αὐτὸς ξῆ τε καὶ βλέπει φάος.

Ατ. ἐμοῖς μὲν ἐπίςας δόμασων φάος μέγα
καὶ λευκὸν ἡμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχύμου.

Αγ. Ἀρτεμ.βάρης δὲ μυρίας ὑπ'πον βραβεύς
στύφλοις παρ' ἀκτᾶς θεῖνει Σιληνών.
χῶ χιλιαρχος Δαδάκης πληγὴ δορὸς
πήδημα κούθον ἐκ νεῶς ἀφήλατο.
Τενάγων τῷ ἀριστεις Βακτρίων ἰδαγενής
θαλασσοπληκτὸν νῆσον Αἰαντος πολεῖ.
Λήλαιος, Ἀρσάμης τε καργῆστις τρίτος,
οἴῳ ἄμφι νῆσον τὴν πελειζόρμεμον
δινοὺμενοι κύρισον ἵσχυμαν χόνα:
πηγαί τε Νείλου γειτονῶν Ἀἰγυπτίου
Ἀρκτεύς, Ἀδεύς, καὶ Φερεσσάκης τρίτος,
Φαρμοχός, οἳ δὲ νὰ δὲ ἐκ μᾶς πέσουν.
Χρυσέως Μάταλλος μυριόταρχος θανών,
ὑπὸν μελαίνης ήγεμῶν στριμυρίας,
πυρṣήν ἰαπλῆθη δάσκοιον γενείδα

289 εὔνιδας ἐκτισσαν Boeckh : ἐκτισσαν εὐνίδας codd. 299 βλέπει
φάος schol. ad Ar. Ran. 1060: φάος βλέπει codd. 302 ἕπτονος
310 δινούμενοι Wecklein : νικώμενοι codd. 312 Φερεσσάκης Bothe :
φερεσεύς M : φερεσσακῆς recce. 316 πυρράν Porson : πυρᾶν M, πυρρὰν m
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

ἐτεγγ’, ἀμείβων χρώτα πορφυρά βαφῆ.
καὶ Μάγος Ἀραβὸς, Ἀρτάβης τε Βάκτριος,
σκληρὰς μέτοικος γῆς, ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.

"Ἀμιστρις Ἀμφιστρέφως τε πολύποιν δόρυ
νωμῶν, τ' ἐσοθὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι
πένθος παρασχῶν, Σεισάμης θ' ὁ Μύσιος,
Θάρυβίς τε πεντήκοντα πεντάκις νεῶν
ταγών, γένος Λυρναιοῦ, εὐεὐδῆς ἄνήρ,
κεῖται θανῶν δεῖλαιοι ὁ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς.

Συνένεσίς τε πρότος εἰς εὐψυχίαν,
Κυλίκων ἔπαρχος, εἰς ἄνηρ πλείστων πόνων
ἐχθροῖς παρασχῶν, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο.
τοσόνδε ταγών νῦν ὑπεμηνήσθην πέρι.
πολλῶν παρόντων δ' ὀλίγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά.

Ἀτ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν ὑψίστα δὴ κλῶν τάδε,
αἰσχὺ τε Πέρσαις καὶ λυγέα κοκύματα.
ἀτὰρ φράσαν μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν
tόσον δὲ πλῆθος ἢν νεῶν Ἑλληνίδων,
ὡστε ἄξιωσαι Περσικὰ στρατεύματι
μάχην συνάψαι ναίοισιν ἐμβολαῖς;

Ἀγ. πλήθους μὲν ἄν σάφε ἵσθ' ἕκατε βάρβαρον
ναυσὶ κρατήσαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνὶς μὲν ἢν
ὁ πᾶς ἄριθμος ἐς τρισκάδᾶς δέκα
ναῶν, δεκάς δ' ἢν τῶνδε χωρίς ἐκκριτος

Ξέρξη ὅ, ταῦτα ὅ, ταῦτα ἄλλα ὅ, ταῦτα
μή σοι δοκοῦμεν τῇ δε λειφθῆναι μάχη;
ἀλλ' ὃδε δαίμων τε κατέφθιερε στρατόν,
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

tάλαντα βρίσας οὐκ ἱσορρόπω τύχῃ.
θεοὶ πόλιν σφονοῦσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς.
Ἀτ. ἐτ᾿ ἀρ’ Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ᾿ ἀπόρθητος πόλις;
Ἄγ. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἔρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.
Ἄτ. ἄρχῃ δὲ ναυσὶ συμβολῆς τὸς ἤν, φράσουν
tίνες κατηρζαν, πότερον Ἑλληνες, μάχης,
ἡ παῖς ἐμός, πλήθει καταυχήσας νεῶν;
Ἄγ. ἤρξεν μὲν, ὥ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ
φανεὶς ἀλάστωρ ἡ κακὸς ἀμίμων ποθέν.
ἂνὴρ γὰρ Ἑλλην ἔξε, Ἀθηναιῶν στρατοῦ
ἐλθὼν ἐλεξε παιδί σῷ Ἑρέμη τάδε,
ὡς εἰ μελαινῆς νυκτὸς ἵεται κνέφας,
"Ἑλληνες οὐ μενοῖν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν
ναῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἂλλος ἀλλοσε
δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίοτον ἐκσωσολατο.
ὁ δ᾿ εὐθὺς ὡς ἥκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον
"Ἑλληνες ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φόνουν,
πᾶσιν προφωνεὶ τόνδε ναυάρχοις λόγον,
εὖτ᾿ ἀν φλέγων ἀκτίσιν ἥλιος χθόνα
λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ,
τάξαι νεῶν μὲν στύφος ἐν στόχοις τρισὶ
ἐκπλοῦς φυλάσσεως καὶ πόρους ἀληθῶς,
ἀλλὰ δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσου Άιαντος πέρις;
ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ ᾠ ᾿Ἑλληνες κακὸν,
ναυσίν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὑρόντες τωδά,
πάσων στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἤν προκεῖμενον.
τοσαυτ’ ἐλεξε κάρθο ὑπ’ εὐθομοῦ φρενοῦς
οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἡπίστατο.
οἳ δ’ οὐκ ἄκοσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ
δείπνον (τ') ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ’ ἄνηρ

347 paragrapho praefixa allii personae tribuunt codd.: recte nuntio
continuavit Schütz 358 μενοὶς Monk: μένοις codd. 359 ἐπεν-
θορόντες GV: ἐπενθορόντες M recce. 366 μὲν στίφος Brunck:
στίφος μὲν M G recce. 375 τ’ add. Scaliger
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

tropoúto kóptyn skalymón ámbh' eúrētymon.
ēpēi de fēgygos ʰlλιou katafréné
kai νυξ étēi, πᾶς ἄνηρ κόπτης ἀνάξ
ēs vaín éxwre πᾶς θ' ὀπλων ἐπιστάτης.
tάξις de tàξιν παρεκάλει νεώς μακρᾶς.
pléousi d' ὁ ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος,
kai pánnvixoî ðη διάπλουν καθῆτασαν
vaín ãnâktes pânta vântikwv λεον.
kai νυξ éxwreî, κού μάλ' 'Ελλῆνων στρατὸς
krýphaíon ékploun ouðamî kathóstatô.
ēpēi γε μέντοι λευκópoulos ἕμερα
pâsaw kateśchei γαιαν εὐφεγγῆς ιδεῖν,
prōton mēn ἥχητι κέλαδος 'Ελλῆνων πάρα
molpēndou ἡφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἀμα
antelalâxē vêsiw tôdos pētras
ἥχω' φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
gnômhs âposthaleîsw' ou γὰρ ὦς φυγὴ
paiâv' ἐφύμων σεμνὸν 'Ελληνες τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς máξhν ὀρμῶντες εὐφύχω θράσει
sâlpígex δ' ἀντῆ πάντ' ἐκεῖ' ἐπέφλεγεν.
eûthos δὲ κώτης ῥοθιάδος ἑυσεβολὴ
eπαισαν ἀλμῆν βρύχων êκ κελεύματος,
θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἥσαν ἐκφάνεις ιδεῖν.
tò deξiôn mēn prōton euathktow kêras
ήγειτο κόσμω, δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος
ἐπεξεχώρει, και παρῆν ὁμοῖοι κλὺειν
πολλὴν βοην, 'ὁ pâides 'Ελλῆνων ἵτε,
ἐλευθεροῦτε pâtrid', ἐλευθεροῦτε ðê
pâïdas, γνωάκας, ðeðw tê pâtrîwv ἔðη,
θῆκας τê pρογῶνû' ὑνû ὑπὲρ pântwv ἀγών.
kai mēn pâr' ἡμῶν Pērsiôdôs γλῶσας ρῶðos
ὑπηρτίαζε, koukêt' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμῆ.
ΑΙΣΧΤΛΟΥ

eυθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν ἑκαλκήρη στόλου ἐπάσων· ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς 'Ελληνική

ναῦς, καποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεῶς κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἅλλην δ' ἅλλος ἥδικοες δόρυ.

τὰ πρῶτα μὲν νυν ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ ἀντείχεν· ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν

ηθροιστ', ἀρωγῇ δ' ὀὕτως ἅλληλοις παρῆν, αὐτοὶ θ' υφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλοις χαλκοστόμοισ

παίοντ', ἔθραυν αὐτὰ πάντα κωτήρη στόλου, Ἐλληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως

κύκλῳ περίξ ἔθεων, ὑπτίωτο δὲ σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἢν ἰδεῖν,

ναυαγίων πλῆθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.

ἀκταί δὲ νεκρῶν χουράδες τ' ἐπιλῆθουν,

φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμῳ πᾶσα ναῦς ἤρέσσετο, ὅς πεπλήρη ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος.

tοι δ' ὡστε θύννους ἢ τιν' ἵχθων νόμολον ἀγαίνει κωπῶν δραμασίων τ' ἐρεπίσων

ἐπαίων, ἐρράχιζον· οἰμωγὴ δ' ὀμοῦ κωκύμασι κατεχεὶ πελαγίαν ἀλα,

ἐως κελαυῆς νυκτὸς ὅμι' ἀφεῖλετο.

κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δέκ' ἦματα στοιχηγοροίνη, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλήσσαμι σοι.

ἐν γὰρ τόδ' ἵσθι, μηδαμ' ἡμέρα μιᾷ πλῆθος τοσοῦταριμοῦ ἀνθρώπων θανεῖν.

Ἀτ. αἰαί, κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα

Πέρσας τε καὶ πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει.

Ἀγ. ἐν νυν τόδ' ἵσθι, μηδέπω μεσοῦν κακῶν.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

tοιάδ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἥλθε συμφορὰ πάθους,
ὡς τούδε καὶ διὰ ἀντισηκῶσαι ῥοπῆ.

Ατ. καὶ τῆς γένουτ’ ἂν τῆς’ ἐτ’ ἐκθέων τύχη;
λέξον τιν’ αὖ φῆς τήν ἐν συμφοράν στρατῷ
ἐλθεῖν κακῶν ῥέουσαν ἐς τὰ μάσσονα.

Αγ. Περσῶν ὅσοι περὶ ἦσαν ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν,
ψυχήν τ’ ἀριστοὶ κενγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς,
αὐτῷ τ’ ἀνακτὶ πίστιν ἐν πρῶτοι αἰεί,
τεθνάσω ἀισχρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.

Ατ. οὖ γώ τάλαινα συμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι.
ποίῳ μόρῳ δὲ τούσδε φῆς ἀλωλέναι;

Αγ. νήσοις τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων,
βαϊα, δύσορμος ναυσίν, ἂν ὁ φιλόχορος
Πᾶν ἐμβατεῖς, πορτίας ἀκτῆς ἐπὶ.

ἐνταύθα πέμπει τούσδ’, ὅπως, ὅταν νεῶν
φθαρέντες ἐχθροῖ οὐσιον ἐκσοφόζιατο,
κτεῖνοιεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλληνῶν στρατόν,
φίλους δ’ ὑπεκστόξοιεν εὐναλίων πόρων,
κακῶς τὸ μέλλον ἱστορῶν. ὅς γὰρ θεὸς
ναῶν ἐδοκε κύδος Ἐλληνων μάχης,
αὐθημερόν φράζαντες εὐχάλκους δέμας
ὅπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον’ ἀμφὶ δὲ
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὅςτ’ ἀμηχανεῖν
ὁποὶ τράπωστο. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ χερῶν
πέτρουσιν ἥρασσοντο, τοξίκης τ’ ἀπὸ
θώμυγγος οvrir προσπίτυντες ἄλλυσαν
τέλος δ’ ἐφορμηθέντες εξ ἤνδικος ρόδου
παίσαν, κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήμων μέλη,
ἐως ἀπάντων ἐξαπέθειεραν βίον.

Ξέρξης δ’ αὐνφιμωζεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος
ἐδραν γὰρ εἰχὲ παιτὸς ἐναγῆ στρατοῦ,
ΑΙΣΚΥΛΟΣ

υψηλῶν ὀχθὸν ἀγχὶ πελαγίας ἀλὸς·
ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κανάκωκυσας λιγύ,
πεζῷ παραγείλας ἀφαρ στρατεύματι,
ησ’ ἀκόσμῳ ἔων φυγῇ. τοιάνθε σοι
πρὸς τῇ πάροιλθε συμφορὰν στενέων πάρα.

Ατ. δ’ στυγνὲ δαίμον, ὅς ἄρ’ ἐφευσας φρενῶν
Πέρσας: τικράν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν
κλεων Ἀθηνῶν ἥρε, κοῦκ ἀπήρκεσαν
οὐ δ’ πρόσθε Μαραθῶν βαρβάρων ἀπώλεσεν·
ὅτ’ ἀντίποινα παῖς ἐμὸς πράξεων δοκῶν
τοσόνθε πλῆθος πημάτων ἐπέσπασεν.
σὺ δ’ εἶπέ, ναών αἴ πεφεύγασων μόρον,
τού τάσο’ ἐλείπες: οἴσθα σημήναι τορῶς;

Αγ. ναών γε ταγοὶ τῶν λειλεμμέων σύδην
κατ’ οὐρον οὐκ εὐκοσμον ἄφοιταὶ φυγὴν,
στρατὸς δ’ ὅ λοιπὸν ἐν τε Βουωτῶν χθονὶ
dιώλλυθ᾽, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ κηρναίον γάνος
δύψῃ πονοῦντες, οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀσθματος κενοὶ
dιεκπερώμεν ἐς τε Φωκέων χθόνα
καὶ Δωρίδ’ αἰαν, Μηλιά τε κόλπον, οὐ
Σπερχεὺδος ἄρδει πεδίων εὑμενεὶ ποτῷ,
καντεύθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιόδον πεδῶν
καὶ Θεσσάλων πόλεις ὑπεσπαινυμένους
βορᾶς ἔδεξαν’, ἐνθα δὴ πλείστων θάνον
δύψῃ τε λιμῷ τ’ ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἡν τάδε.
Μαγνητικὴν δὲ γαῖαν ἐς τε Μακεδόνων
χῶραν ἀφικόμεσθ’ ἐπ’ Ἀζιοῦ πόρον,
Βόλβης θ’ ἐλείου δύνακα, Πάγγαυων τ’ ὁρος,
'Ἡδωνίδ’ αἰαν' νυκτὶ δ’ ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς

χειμῶν’ ἀρων ἄρσε, πῆγινυσιν δὲ πάν

470 ἤτοι Ροβορτέλλο: ἤτοι Μ: ἤτοι' rec.: ἤτοι' G. C. W. Schneider
471 στενέων πάρα Dindorf: παρᾶ (mutavit in τάρα m) στενέων M
474 ἀπήρκεσαν rec.: ἀπήρκεσε Μ 477 τοσόνθε rec.: τοσῶν δὲ Μ
478-9 αἴ. ... τάσο' οἱ ... τοσῶ' Thurot, quem frustra probant edd.
480 γε Robortello: δὲ codd. 481 αἱροῦνται Emsley: αἱροῦνται Μ:
489 πόλεις L. Schiller: πόλισ M: πόλισι' rec.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

ρέεθρον ἄγνων Στρυμόνος. θεῶς δὲ τις
tὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τὸ τῆς ἦχητο
λιταῖσθ, γαῖαν οὐρανὸν τε προσκυνῶν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο
στρατός, περὰ κρυστάλλοπηγα διὰ πόρων:
χώστις μὲν ἢμῶν πρὶν σκέδασθήναι θεοῦ
ἀκτίνας ᾠρμήθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ.
φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἥλιον κύκλοι
μέσον πόρων δύμκε, θερμαίων φλογὶ:
πίπτον ὃ ἐπ' ἀλλήλουσιν ἡυτύχει δὲ τοι
ὅστις τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρητον βίον.
ὅσοι δὲ λοιποὶ κάτυχον σωτηρίας,
Θερήκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῷ πόνῳ,
ἐκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, οὐ πολλοὶ τυχε,
ἐφ' ἐστιοῦχον γαίαν· ὡς στένεις πόλω
Περσῶν, ποδοῦσαν φιλτάτην ἤβην χθονός.
ταῦτ' ἐστ' ἀληθῆ· πολλὰ δ' ἐκκλείπω λέγων
κακῶν ἃ Πέρσας ἐγκατέσκηψεν θεός.

Χο. ὥ δυσπόνητε δαίμον, ὡς ἄγαν βαρὺς
ποδῶν ἐνήλλοι παντὶ Περσικῷ γένει.

Ἀτ. οἱ ἵω τάλαινα διαπεραγμένου στρατοῦ·
ὅ νυκτὸς ὡμις ἐμφανῆς ἐνυπνών,
ὡς κάρτα μοι σαφῶς ἐδήλωσας κακά.
ὑμεῖς δὲ φαύλως αὐτ' ἄγαν ἐκρίνατε.
ὡμως δ', ἐπειδὴ τηδ' ἐκύρωστεν φάτις
ὑμῶν, θεοὶς μὲν πρῶτον εὐξασθαι θέλω·
ἐπειτὰ γῆ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς δωρήματα
ἡξω λαβοῦσα πέλανον ἔξ οἰκῶν ἐμὼν,—
ἐπιστημαὶ μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις,
ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εἰ τι ὅ ἦ λῶν πέλοι.
ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ πι τούσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις

506 ἡυτύχεις Paley: εὐτυχεῖ M V: εὐτυχῆς recce. plerique 516 εὐνήλ-
λου recce.: ἐνήλ M MG 517 οἱ' γῶ Porson: οἱ ἐγῶ M: οἱ ἐγὼ recce.
527 ὑμᾶς recce.: ἡμᾶν M

5*
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

πιστοὶ πιστὰ ἐμφέρειν βουλεύματα·
καὶ πάϊ', ἐὰν περ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλῃ,
παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προτέμπετ' ἐς δόμους,
μὴ καὶ τι πρὸς κακοὶς προσβήται κακὸν.

Χο. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν (μὲν) Περσῶν
τῶν μεγαλαῦχων καὶ πολυάνδρων
στρατιῶν ὀλέσας
ἀστυ τὸ Σοῦσων ἦδ' Ἀγβατάνων
πένθει δυνόμηρ' κατέκρυψας·
pολλαὶ δ' ἀταλαῖς χερσὶ καλύπτρας
κατερεικόμεναι
dιαμυδαλέοις δάκρυσι κόλπους
τέγγουσ', ἄλγους μετέχουσαι.

ai δ' ἀβρόγου Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν
ποθέουσαι ἢδ' ἁρτιζύγιαν,
λέκτρων εὐνάς ἀβροχίτωνας,
χλιδανῆς ἤβης τέρψιν, ἀφεῖσαι,
pενθοῦσι γούσι ἀκορεστοτάτοις.

κάγῳ δὲ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων
αἵρω δοκύμως πολυπενθῆ.

νῦν δὴ πρόπασα μὲν στένει
γαί' Ἁσίς ἐκκεκενωμένα.

Ξέρεῖς μὲν ἄγαγεν, τοποί,
Ξέρεῖς δ' ἀπώλεσεν, τοτοί,
Ξέρεῖς δὲ πάντ' ἐπέσπε ὀυσφρόνως
βαρίδεςσι οἰντίαις.

528 πιστοὶς rec. : πιστοῖς M 531 καὶ τι rec. : κέτι M
προσβήται (sed pravo accentu) Turnebus : πρόβθητε codd. 532 μὲν
add. Schütz 537 ἀταλαίς v rec. : ἀπαλαῖς M : ἀπαλαῖς rec. 538 in fine v. μητέρες ostück add. Dindorf 548 νῦν δὴ Porson :
νῦν γὰρ δὴ codd. plerique 549 Ἅσις Blomfield : Ἀσίας codd.
ἐκκεκενωμένα Hermann : ἐκκεκενωμένα MG 550 μὲν Porson : μὲν
γὰρ codd. ἄγαγεν Blomfield : ἄγαγεν codd. 552-61 in M
omissa adscriptis m 553 βαρίδεσι οἰντίαις rec. : βαρίδεσι τε
οἰντίαι (servatis verae lectionis accentibus) m
τίπτε Δαρείος μὲν οὐ-
tω τότ' ἀβλαβῆς ἐπῆν
τόξαρχος πολύτατος,
Σουσίδαις φίλος ἀκτωρ;
πεζῶν δὲ καὶ θαλασσίους
λινόπτεροι κυανώπιδες
νὰς μὲν ἀγαγοῦ, τοποῖ,
νὰς δ' ἀπόλεσαν, τοτοῦ,
νὰς πανωλέθρουσιν ἐμβολαῖς,
ηδ' Ἰαόνων χέρες.
tυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἀνακτ'
αὐτὸν εἰσακούομεν
Θρήκης ἂμ πεδιήρεις
δυσχίμον τοι κελεύθουσ.

τοι δ' ἀρα πρωτόμοιροι, φεῦ,
ληθέντες πρὸς ἀνάγκας, ηδ',
ἀκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας, οὰ,
<ἐρροσίν> στένε καὶ δακνά-
ζου, βαρὺ δ' ἀμβόσαου
οὐράνι' ἄχη, οὰ.
τεῦν δὲ δυσβάνκτον
βοῶτων τάλασαν αὐτῶν.

γναπτόμενοι δὲ δίων, φεῦ,
σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀναῦδων, ηδ',

554 τίπτε rec.: τι ποτε codd. cett.
556 πολυταις Victorius:
politais m 557 Σουσίδαις rec. duo: soustides m 558 δὲ καὶ
Paley: τε καὶ rec.: τε γὰρ καὶ m 559 λινόπτεροι Schütz: αἳ δ' 
διόπτεροι codd. 562 πανωλέθρουσιν V: πανωλέθροισιν (ω ex o fac-
tum m1) M 563 ᾦδ' . . . χέρες Dindorf: διὰ δ' . . . χέρας codd.
565 εἰσακούομεν Pauw: ἄς ἀκούομεν codd. 567 δυσχίμον Α
Aernaldus: δυσχείμορος codd. 568 πρωτόμοροι rec.: πρωτόμοροι M 
plerique allis placet πρωτομόριο (Blomfield) hic, et 576 δ' ἀλλ δεινά 
cum codd. rec. 569 ληθέντες rec.: λειϕθέντες M V 
ἀνάγκας Blomfield: ἀνάγκαν codd. 570 κυχρείας (π supra χ scr. m) M 
571 ἐρροσίν add. Dindorf 576 δὲ δίνα Hermann: δ' ἀλλ δεινὰ M
παίδων τάς ἀμιάντου, δά.
πενθεὶ δ' ἀνδρὰ δόμος στερηθεῖς, τοκεῖς τ' ἀπαίδες
δαίμονι ἅχη, δά,
δυρόμενοι γέροντες
τὸ πᾶν ὑ' κλύουσιν ἅλγος.

τοὶ δὲ ἀνὰ γὰν Ἀσίαν ἄν
οὐκέτι περισσομοῦνται,
οὖθ' ἐτὶ δασμοφοροῦσιν
dεσποσύνοις ἀνάγκαις,
οὖθ' ἐς γὰν προπίνουντες
ἀξονται βασιλεία
γὰρ διόλωλεν ἱσχύς.

οὖθ' ἐτὶ γλῶσσα βροτοῖσιν
ἐν φυλακαις' λέλυται γὰρ
λαοῖς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν,
ὡς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἄλκας.
αἰμαχθεὶσα δ' ἀρουραν
Αἰαντος περικλύστα
νάσος ἔχει τὰ Περσῶν.

Ατ. φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὡστὶς ἐμπειρος κυρει,
ἐπισταται βροτοῖσιν ὡς ὅταν κλύδων
κακῶν ἐπέλθη πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖν
ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροβῇ, πεποιθεῖαι
τὸν αὐτόν αἰεὶ δαίμον' ὁμοίων τύχην.

580 τοκεῖς Porson: τοκῆς codd. 581 δαίμονι Porson: ἐρα-
δαίμονι' M: ἔρρανται δαίμονι' recce. 588 οὖθ' Heath: οὐτ,
codd. προπίνουντες P: προπίνουντες MG recce. 589 ἐξονται
Halm: ἔξονται codd. βασιλεία] post hanc vocem in MP legitur ἡ βασιλεία, quod e scholio illatum eiciendum 595 ἄρουραν
598 ἐμπειρος G P: ἐμπορος M plerique 602 τύχην Weil: τύχης
codd.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

εμοὶ γὰρ ἡδη πάντα μὲν φόβου πλέα ἐν ὁμμασὶν ταύταια φαίνεται θέων, βοῦ δ' ἐν ὧνι κέλαδος οὐ πατωνιος.··
τοία κακών ἐκπληξὶς ἐκφοβεῖ φρένας.·
τοποῖς κέλευθοι τῇ ἅνευ τ' ὁχημάτων ἀνδρὶς τε τῆς πάροδεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν ἐστείλα, παϊδὸς πατρὶ πρεμενεῖς χοᾶς··
φέρουσ', ἀπερ νεκροῖς μειλικτήρια, βοὸς τ' ἀφ' ἀγνῆς λευκῶν εὐποτον γάλα, τῆς τ' ἀνθρομοργού στάγμα, παμφαὴς μέλι,··
λυβάσων ύδρηλαις παρθένου πηγῆς μέτα, ἀκήρατον τε μητρὸς ἀγρίας ἀπο·
ποτὼν παλαιάς ἀμπέλου γάνος τὸδε'··
τῆς τ' αἰὲν ἐν φύλλους ἀλλούσης βίων·
ζωῆς ἐλαιάς καρπὸς εὐώδης πάρα, ἀνθή τε πλεκτα, παμφόρου γαίας τέκνα.··
ἀλλ' ὃ φίλοι, χοαίσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων·
ὑμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τοὺν τε δαίμονα··
Δαρείου ἀγκαλείσθε, γαπότους δ' ἐγὼ·
τιμᾶς προπέμψῳ τάσδε νερτέρον θεοὶς.

Χο. βασίλεια γόναι, πρέσβοις Πέρσαις,·
σὺ τε πέμπε χοᾶς θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς,·
ἡμεῖς θ' ὑμνοὶ αἰτησόμεθα··
φθιμένων πομπῶν·
ἐνφροῦσας ἐῖναι κατὰ γαίας.·
ἀλλά, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοι,·
Γῇ τε καὶ Ἐρμῆ, βασιλεὺ τ' ἐνέρων,·
πέμψατ' ἐνέρθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς··
eἶ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκοι οἴδε πλέον,·
μόνος ἄν θυτῶν πέρας εἶποι.
ΑΙΣΧΤΛΟΤ

η ρ' αἰει μου μακαρίτας
ισοδαίμων βασιλεὺς
βάρβαρα σαφηνῇ
ιέντος τὰ παναλοκ' αἴ-
ανὴ δύσθροα βάγματ', ἦ
παντάλαν' ἀχὴ διαμβοάσω;
νέρθεν ἄρα κλέει μου;

ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι Γὰ τε καὶ ἄλλοι
χθονίων ἀγεμόνες
dαίμονα μεγανχῇ
ιόντ' αἰνέσατ' ἐκ δόμων,
Περσῶν Σουσίγενῆ θεών;
πέμπτε δ' ἄνω <τὸν> οἶον οὕτω
Περσίς αἰ' ἐκάλυψεν.

ἡ φίλος ἀνήρ, [ἡ] φίλος ὀχθός:
φίλα γὰρ κέκευθεν ἡθῆ.
'Αιδωνεὺς δ' ἀναπομπ-
ός ἀνείης, 'Αιδωνεὺς,
θείον ἀνάκτορα Δαριάνα. ἥ.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνδρας ποτ' ἀπάλλυ
πολεμοφθόρουσιν ἄταις,
θεομήστωρ δ' ἐκικλη-
σκέτο Πέρσαις, θεομήστωρ δ'
ἐσκεν, ἐπεὶ στρατῶν εὖ ποδοῦχει. ἥ.

638 διαμβοάσω Dindorf: διαβοάσω codd.: λίαν υβόασ Wecklein
642 μεγανχῇ rec. : μεγαλανχῇ M V P plerique 645 πέμπτει,
βαλήν, ἀρχαῖος βαλήν,

ὁ, ἴκον

ἐλθὲ ἐπ’ ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὀξθοῦ,
κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὐμαρων ἀείρων,

βασιλείου τιάρας
φαλαρον πυφαύσκων.

βάσκε πάτερ ἀκακε Δαριάν, οἱ.

ὁπως αἰανῇ κλύης
νέα τ’ ἄχη,
δέσποτα δεσποτῶν φάνηθι.

Στυγία γάρ τις ἐπ’ ἄχων πεπόταται
νεολαία γάρ ἴδη
κατὰ πᾶσ’ ὀλωλεν.

βάσκε πάτερ ἀκακε Δαριάν, οἱ.

αἰαὶ αἰαὶ;

ὁ πολύκλαυτε φίλουσι θανῶν,

†τι τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα

περὶ τὰ σῇ δίδυμα διαγόεν ἀμάρτια; †

πάσαι (γὰρ) γὰ τὸδ’ ἐξ-

έφθυναι τρίσκαλμοι

ναὶς ἀναίς ἀναίς.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ὁ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἡλικές θ’ ἡβης ἐμῆς

Πέρσαι γεραιοί, τίνα πόλις πονεῖ πόνου;

στῖνες, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδων.

λεύσομεν δ’ ἀκούων τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας

[στρ. γ.] 660 

[ἀντ. γ.] 665 

[ἐπιφόδος.] 671 

665 τιάρας rec. et Eustathius 381: βαλήν codd. plerique
661 Dindorf: δεσποτῶν codd. 666 Dindorf: corrigendum
671 Dindorf: corrigendum
675-6 sic in M leguntur nisi quod ante ἀμάρτια supra scriptum στὶς legas fortasse τι τάδε δυνατὰ δυνατὰ περισσα δίδυμα γοεδ’ ἀμάρτια; sed nihil certi, δυνάτα explicat scholium tanquam pro δυνάτα scriptum 677 πάσαι Blomfield: πάσαν M, πάσα m γαρ add. Dindorf 677-8 εξέφθιναι Blomfield: εξεφθυν’ αἰ (οἱ supra v scr.) M: εξεφθυν’ αἰ rec. 682 τῦλειος (i supra scr. m) M
ταρβῶ, χοᾶς δὲ πρευμενίς ἐδεξάμην. 685

όμεις δὲ θρηνεῖν ἐγγὺς ἑστώτες τάφου
cαι ψυχαγωγοῖς ὁρθιάζοντες γόοις
οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ'; ἔστι δ' οὐκ εὐεξοδον,
ἀλλωσ τε πάντως χοὶ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ

λαβείων ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἡ μεθέναι. 690

όμως δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐνυπαστεύσας ἐγὼ

ἡκὼ τάχυνε δ', ὡς ἀμεμπτὸς ὁ χρόνον.
tι δ' ἔστι Πέρσαις νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθὲς κακών;

Χο. σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι,
σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι
σέθεν ἄρχαιω περὶ τάρβει.

Δα. ἀλλ' ἔπει κάτωθεν ἠλθον σοίς γόοις πεπεισμένος,

μή τι μακαστήρα μίθου, ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων
eἰπὲ καὶ πέρανε πάντα, τὴν ἐμὴν αἰώδι μεθέεις.

Χο. διέμαι μὲν χαρίσασθαι,
διέμαι δ' ἀντία φάσθαι,

λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.

Δα. ἀλλ' ἔπει δέος παλαιῶν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀνθισταταί,

τῶν ἐμῶν λέκτρων γεραῖα ἦννυμ' εὐγενεῖς γύναι,
κλαμμάτων λήξασα τῶνδε καὶ γόον σαφές τί μοι

λέξου. ἄνθρωπεα δ' ἄν τοι πῆματ' ἄν τύχοι βροτοῖς.

πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ ἀθάλασσας, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ χέρσου κακὰ

γίγνεται θυτησίς, ὁ μάσσων βίοτος ἡν ταύτην πρόσω.

Ἀτ. ὁ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχῶν ἄλβον εὐτυχεὶ τότῳ,

ὡς ἔως τ' ἐλευσίνες αὐγάς ἥλιον ξηλωτὸς ὁν

βίοτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεοὺς δῆμαγες,

νῦν τέ σε ζηλῶθανότα, πρῶ κακῶν ἰδεῖν βάθος.

687 ὁρθιάζοντες Robortello: ὁρθιάζοντες V: ὁρθιάζοντες MG cett.
688 καλείσθε recc.: καλεῖσθαι M 693 τι δ' G: τι M 697 πεπεισμένος om. M, add. m 700-1 διέμαι Hermann: δείμαι M: δείμαι
recc. 709 εὐτυχεὶ πότῳ recc.: εὐτυχὴ πότῳ M aliis (sed in M ἐς ex ei factum)
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

διὰ μακρὸν χρόνου τάδ’ ἡμῶν ἑκτελευτήσεις θεοῦ· ἀλλ’ ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χῶθες συνάπτεται. νῦν κακῶν ἔοικε πηγὴ πάσιν ἡπίσθιαν φίλοις.

παίς δὲ ἐμὸς τάδ’ οὐ κατειδώς ἦμυσεν νέω βράσει· ὅστις Ἑλλησπόντου ἱρῶν δοῦλον ὡς δεσμόμασιν ἢλπισε σχῆσεις ρέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ· καὶ πόρον μετερρύμηκε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις περιβαλῶν πολλῆν κέλευθον ἦμυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ, θυμᾶς ὡν δὲ θεῶν ἀπάντων φετ’, οὐκ εὐβούλια, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσεις. πῶς τάδ’ οὐ νόσος φρενῶν εἰχε παίδ’ ἐμόν; δέδοκα μὴ πολὺς πλούτου τόνος 751 οὐμὸς ἀνθρώπωι γένηται τοῦ φθάσαντος ἀρταγή.

Ἀτ. ταύτα τοι κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται θούριος Ξέρξης: λέγουσι δ’ ὃς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοις πλούτου ἐκτῆσις ἔτιν αἰχμῆ, τὸν δ’ ἀνανδρίας ὑπὸ 755 ἱνδον αἰχμαῖευν, πατρὸφον δ’ ὀλβον ὀὐδὲν αὐξάνειν.

τοιάδ’ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὄνειδη πολλάκις κλῦων κακῶν τήνδ’ ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στράτευμ’ ἐφ’ Ἑλλάδα.

Δα. τοιγάρ σφιν ἔργον ἑστὶν ἐξειργασμένον μέγιστον, ἀείμνηστον, οἶον οὐδέπω τὸν ἄστυ Σοῦσων ἐξεκεῖνωσεν πεσόν, ἐξ οὔτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἀναξ τῆρο’ ὡπασεν, ἐν’ ἄνδρ’ ἀπάσης Ἀσιτὸς μηλοτρόφοι ταγεῖν, ἑχοντα σκῆπτρον εὐθυχητήριον.

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμῶν στρατοῦ· 765 ἄλλος δ’ ἐκείνων παῖς τὸν ἔργον ἦμυσεν· φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φακοστρόφοιν. τρίτος δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, ἐυδαίμων ἀνήρ, ἄρχας ἥθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·

Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἑκτήσατο, 770

749 δὲ θεῶν Dürerlein: θεῶν δὲ codd. ἀπάντων Weil: πάντων codd. 750 νόσος m, recce.: νόσος M 753 τοι Dindorf: τοῖς codd. 754 μέγαν recce.: μέγα M 765 ἦν γὰρ M: γὰρ ἦν m 767 φακοστρόφοιν Porson: οἰκοστρόφοιν codd. [sed vid. ad 13]
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

’Ιωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἦλασεν βία.
θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχοθρεν, ὡς εὐφρων ἐφι. 
Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ἦθυνε στρατὸν.
πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος ἤρξεν, αἰσχύνη πάτρα
θρόνους τ’ ἀρχαίους; τὸν δὲ σὺν δόλῳ
’Ἀρταφρένης ἐκτεινεν ἐσθολὸς ἐν δόμοις,
ἐξ ἀνδράσιν φίλουσιν, οἳ τὸδ’ ἤν χρέος.
[ἐκτος δὲ Μάραφις, ἔβδομος δ’ Ἀρταφρένης.]
κάγῳ πάλου τ’ ἐκυρίσα τοῦπερ ἡθελον,
κατεστράτευσα πολλὰ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ.
ἀλλ’ οὐ κακὸν τοσόνδε προσέβαλον πόλει.
Ξέρξης δ’ ὕμοι παῖς ὄν νέοις νέα φρονεῖν,
κοῦ μνημονεύει τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς.
ἐν γὰρ σαφῶς τὸδ’ ἱστ’, ἐμοὶ ἔννηλικεν,
ἀπαντες ἡμεῖς, οἳ κράτη τᾶδ’ ἔσχομεν,
οὐκ ἂν φανείμεν πήματ’ ἐρέσαντες τόσα.
Χο. τί οὖν, ἀναξ Δαρεῖς, ποὶ καταστρέφεις
λόγων τελευτήν; πῶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἑτε
πράσσομεν ὡς ἄριστα Περσικὸς λέως;
Δα. εἰ μὴ στρατεύοισθ’ ἐσ τὸν Ἑλληνικῶν τόπων,
μὴδ’ εἰ στρατεύμα πλεῖον ἦ τοῦ Μηδικῶν.
αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ἱδομαχὸς κείνοις πέλει.
Χο. πῶς τοῦτ’ ἐλέγας, τίνι τρόπῳ δὲ συμμαχεῖ;
Δα. κτείνουσα λιμὼ τοὺς ὑπερπόλους ἄγαν.
Χο. ἀλλ’ εὐσταλῆ τοι λεκτὸν ἀροῦμεν στόλον.
Δα. ἀλλ’ οὖν ὁ μείνας νῦν ἔν Ἐλλάδος τόποις
στρατὸς κυρίσει νοστήμων σωτηρίας.
Χο. πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γὰρ πᾶν στράτευμα βαρβάρων
περὶ τὸν Ἑλλῆς πορθμὸν Εὐρώτης ἀπο;

773 ἦθυνε Brunck: ἦθυνε ex ἤθυνε (fuerat ἦθυνε) factum M
774 δὲ Μάρδος recce.: δ’ εμαρδος (σο supra σο ser. m) M 778 seclusit
Σχütz δ’ recce.: om. M 779 τ’ recce.: δ’ M V alii 782 ἄν
νέος Turnebus: νέος εἶνα codd. [vide tamen ad 13] 794 ὑπερπόλου M:
fuerat M: ὑπερπόλους recce. plerique 795 εὐσταλῆ
recc. : εὐστελῆ M 796 τρόποις M
Δα. παροίρι γε πολλῶν, εἳ τι πιστεύσαι θεῶν χρῆ θεσφάτοσιν, ἐς τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα βλέψατα: συμβαίνει γὰρ οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ' οὖ. κεῖτερ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, πλῆθος ἐκκριτον στρατοῦ λειτεῖ κεναίσιν ἐξπίσιν πεπεισμένοι. μύμνουσι δ' ἐνθά πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς βοᾶς ἀρθεὶ, φίλον πίασμα Βοωτῶν χθονί. οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὑψιστ' ἑπαμένει παθεῖν, ὑβρεως ἀπωνα καθέων φρονημάτων οἱ γῆν μολοντές Ἐλλάδο οὐ θεῶν βρέτη ἡδοντο συλάν οὐδὲ πυμπάναι νεός. βωμοί δ' ἄιατοι, δαμόκων θ' ἰδρύματα πρόρρητα φύρδην ἐξανεστραπτα βάθρων. τουγάρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα πάσχοντι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντι, κοινότερω κακῶν κρηνᾶς ἀπέσβηκ', ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται. τόσος γὰρ ἐσται πέλανος αἰματοσταγῆς πρὸς γῆ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὑποθῖνε νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοστόρφ γονῆ ἀφωνα σημανοῦσιν ὀμμασιν βρότων ὡς οὐκ ὑπέρφευ θυτῶν οῦτα χρῆ φρονεῖν. ὑβρις γὰρ ἡμαθῶσο' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν ἀτης, θεν πάγκλατον ἐξαμαθέρος. τοιαῦθ' ὀρῶντες τώνδε τάπτιμο μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἐλλάδος τε, μηδὲ τις υπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα ἀλλων ἑρασθεὶς οὐβου ἐκχεὴ μέγαν. Ζεὺς τοι κολαστής τῶν υπερκόμπων ἀγαν φρονημάτων ἐπεστίν, εἰθυνος βαρύς.

806 φίλον recc.: φίλος M 807 υψιστε παμμένει (a supra τε scr. m) M 811 θ' recc.: om. Malii 815 κρηνᾶς ἀπέσβηκ' Housman: κρηνᾶς υπεστίν codd. (possis et κρηνᾶ κατεσβηκ' legere) ἐκπιδύεται Schütz: ἐκπιδύεται codd. 816 αἰματοσταγῆς (in recc. duobus adscript.) Brunck: αἰματοσφαγῆς codd. 817 Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος recc.: πλατέων δωρίδοσ M 819 σημανοῦσιν recc.: σημα- νοῦσιν M
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκείνων, σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένουν, πινύσκετ' εὐλόγωσι νουθετήμασιν, 830
λήξαι θεοβλασθοῦνθ' ὑπερκόμπῳ θράσει. σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιὰ μῆτερ ἡ Ξέρξου φίλη, 835
ἔλθοις' ἐς οίκους κόσμου ὅστις εὐπρεπής
λαβοῦσ' ὑπαυγὼν τιμεῖ. παντὶ γὰρ
κακῶν ὑπ' ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σώματι
στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων,
ἀλλ' αὐτῶν εὐφρόνως σὺ πράωνον λόγοις:
μόνης γάρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύων ἀνέξεται.
ἔγω ο' ἀπειμι γῆς ὑπὸ χόφων κάτω.
ὑμεῖς δέ, πρέσβεις, χαίρετ', ἐν κακοῖς ὦμως .
ψυχῆν διδόντες ἠδονή καθ' ἡμέραν,
ὡς τοῖς θανούσι πλοῦτος οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ.
Χο. ἕ πολλὰ καὶ παρόντα καὶ μέλλοντ' ἐτὶ
ἡλυκη' ἀκούσας βαρβάρουσι πῆματα.
840
Ἀτ. ὁ δαίμον, ὦς με πόλλ' ἐσέρχεται κακῶν
ἀλγη, μάλιστα ὁ' ἢδε συμφορὰ δάκνει,
ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι
ἐσθημάτων κλύωσαν, ἢ νῦν ἀμπέχει.
ἀλλ' εἶμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἐκ δόμων
ὑπαυγών τιμεῖ παιδὶ μου πειράζομαι.
850
οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ' ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.
Χο. ὦ πόποι ἡ μεγάλας ἁγαθὰς τε πο-
855

829 κεχρημένον e schol. rec. Schütz: κεχρημένοι codd. 834 παντὶ
Canter: πάντα codd. 841 ψυχῆν ... ἠδονή Pauw: ψυχῆ ... ἠδονή codd. 845 ἐσέρχεται codd. κακῶν Schütz: κακὰ codd.
850 παιδὶ μου Burges: ἐμφα παιδὶ M: παιδ' ἐμφα recce. 854 γεραιὸs M V
ΑΙΣΧΤΛΟΤ

πρώτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιάς ἀπε-

φαυνόμεθ', ἥδε πολίσματα πύργωα

πάντ' ἐπέρθομεν. 860

νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων

ἀπόνους ἀπαθείς

<ἀνέρας> εἰ ἐπράσσοντας ἀγον οἶκους.

οἶσας δ' εἶλε πόλεις πόρον 865

οὐ διαβάς "Ἀλυς ποταμοῖο,

οὖν ἄφ' ἐστίας συθείς,

οἴαν Στρυμονίου πελά-

γους 'Ἀχελώιδες εἰσὶ πάροικοι

Θρηκίων ἐπαύλων,

λίμνας τ' ἔκτοθεν αἰ κατὰ

χέρσου ἐληλαμέναι πέρι πύργου

τοῦτ' ἀνακτος ξιον,

"Ἐλλάς τ' ἀμφί πόρον πλατὺν

εὐχόμεναι, μυχία τε Προποντίς,

καὶ στόμωμα Πόντου·

νάσοι θ' αἰ κατὰ πρῶν' 870

ἄλιον περίκλυστοι

τάδε γὰ προσφέρειν

οία Λέσβος ἐλαι-

όφυτός τε Σάμος, Χῖος,

ἡδὲ Πάρος, Νάξος, Μύκο-

νος, Τήνω τε συνάπτουσ' 875

"Ἀνδρός ἀγχιγεῖτων,

858 εὐδοκίμους στρατιάς Wellauer: εὐδοκίμου στρατιάς codd.
858-9 ἀπεφαυνόμεθ' recce.: ἀποφαυνόμεθ' M 859 πολίσματα
Keiper: νομίματα Μ 860 ἐπέρθομεν Pallis: ἐπέθυνον (v eraso) M
865-6 ποταμοῖο | oὖν Burney: ποταμοῖο δ' M 866 συθείς recce.: K
συνθείς Μ 870 θρηκίων M V - 875 τ' recce.: om. M 882 οἷα
V: οἷα M cett. 886 ἀνδρων (ὅς supra ὁν scr. m) M
καὶ τὰς ἀγχιάλους ἐκράτυνε μεσάκτους,
Αἴμνου, Ἱκάρου θ' ἔδος,
καὶ Ἄρδουν ἢδὲ Κυίδουν
Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, Πάφουν,
ἡδὲ Σόλους, Σαλαμίνα τε,
tὰς νῦν ματρόπολις τῶν’
αὐτία στεναγμῶν.

καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους κατὰ
κλήρου Ἰαώνοι τολυάνδρους
‘Ελλάνων ἐκράτει σφετέραι φρεσίν.
ἀκάματον δὲ παρὴν σθένος
ἀνδρῶν τευχηστήρων
παμμικτῶν τ’ ἐπικοῦρων.
νῦν δ’ ὁκ ἀμφιλόγως
θεότρεπτα τά’ αὖ
φέρομευ πολέμουσι
διαθέντες μεγάλως
πλαγαίσι ποντίασιν.

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

οἵ,
δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγερᾶς μοίρας
τῆς δε κυρῆσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης,
ὡς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη
Περσῶν γενεάς τί πάθω τλῆμων;
λέλυται γὰρ ἐμοὶ γυνῶν ρώμη
τῆς’ ἡλικίαν ἐσεῖττ’ ἀστῶν,
eἰδ’ ὀψελευ, Ζεῦ, κἀμὲ μετ’ ἀνδρῶν

889 μεσάκτους recce.: μεσάγκτουσ Μ
recc.: τὰς ... ματρόπολις. 894 τὰς ... ματρόπολις Hermann: στεναγμῶν
recc.: τὰς ... ματρόπολεσ Μ
896 στεναγμῶν Hermann: στεναγμῶν codd.
807 εὐκτεάνους Μ
899 Ἰαώνοι Hermann: Ἰαώνοι codd.
900 ἐκράτει Hermann: ἐκράτυνε codd. (-νον Μ)
905 θεότρεπτα recce.: θεότρεπτα Μ

AESCH. PERS.
τῶν οἴχομένων
θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύψαι.

Χο. ὁτοιο, βασιλεῖ, στρατιάς ἀγαθῆς
καὶ περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης,
κόσμου τ' ἄνδρῶν,
oüs νῶν δαίμων ἐπέκειρεν.

γὰ δ' αἰάζει τὰν ἐγγαίαν
[προφόδος.
ἡβαν Ξέρξη κταμέναν Ἄιδον
σάκτοι Περσᾶν ἄδοβάται γὰρ
πολλοὶ φῶτες, χῶρας ἄνδος,
tοξοδάμαντες, πάνυ ταρφός τις
μυρίᾶς ἀνδρῶν, ἐξέφθωνται.
αἰαὶ αἰαὶ κεδνᾶς ἀλκᾶς.
طقة δὲ χθῶν, βασιλεῖ γαῖας,
αἰνῶς αἰνῶς
ἐπὶ γόνω κέκλιται.

Ξε. ὃδ' ἐγών, οἰοί, αἰακτὸς
[στρ. α.
μέλεος γέννα γὰ τε πατρῷα
κακῶν ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν.

Χο. πρόσφθογγόν σοι νόστοι τὰν
κακοφάτιδα βοῶν,
kakoméletou ián
Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητήρος
πέμψω πέμψω,
polúdakrówn iachán.

918 ὁτοιος Turnebus: ὁτοτοί M 920 om. M, in margine add. m
924 σάκτοι M, i add. m ἄδοβάται Hermann: ἄγαδαβάται MV
926 ταρφός τις Franz: γὰρ φύστις codd. et scholl.
928 choro
continuat Hermann: Xerxi tribuunt codd. 933 πατραί Heath:
patria codd. 935 πρόσφθογγόν recce.: προφόγγο M
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

Ξε. ἵετ' αἰανή [καὶ] πάνυνυρτον [ἀυτ. α.]
δύσθροςν αὖδάν. δαίμων γὰρ ὦδ' αὖ
μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ.

Χο. ἤσω τοι τὰν πάνυνυρτον,
λασπαθέα σέβων
ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη,
πόλεως γέννας πενθητήρος.
〈κλάγξω〉 κλάγξω
de γόου ἄριδακρων.

Ξε. Ἰάνων γὰρ ἀπηύρα,
'Ἰάνων ναυφαρκτος
'Ἀρης ἐτεραλκὴς
νυχίαν πλάκα κερσάμενος
dυσδαίμονα τ' ἀκτάν.

Χο. οἰοιοὶ βόα καὶ πὰντ' ἐκπεύθου.—
ποῦ δὲ φίλων ἄλλοις ὄχλοις,
ποῦ δὲ σοι παραστάται,
oῖος ἵν Φαρανδάκης,
Σοῦσας, Πιλάγων, [καὶ] Δοσάμας, ἢδ' Ἡγ-
δαβάτας, Ψάμμας, Σουσισκάνης τ'
'Αγβάτανα λιπών;

Ξε. ὅλοοὺς ἀπέλειπον [ἀυτ. β.]
Τυρίας ἐκ νάδος

941 καὶ seclusit G. C. W. Schneider πάνυνυρτον Blomfield: πανύ-
νυρτον codd. 944 τὰν anon.: καὶ codd. πάνυνυρτον Blomfield:
πανύνυρτον codd. 945 λασπαθέα Wecklein, σέβων Elmsley: λασ-
pαθή τε σεβίζων M recce. plerique 948 κλάγξω add. Hermann
949 de Blaydes: δ' αὖ codd. 950 Xerxi tribuit Lachmann: nulla
nota personae in codd. 953 νυχίαν] μυχίαν Pauw (v. 876)
955 ἐκπεύθου recce.: ἐκπεύθου Μ [hunc v. Xerxi dant codd.: scd
chori est inter se hortantis: reliquis Xerxes interrogatur] 959 καὶ
 seclusit Robertello 959-60 ἄγβαβατας recce.: ἄγαβατας Μ

6*
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

ἐρροντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς
Σαλαμινιάσι στυφελοῦ
θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς.

Χο. οἰοιοί, ἦ βόα: ποῦ σοι Φαρσοῦχος
’Αριόμαρδος τ’ ἀγαθός,
pοὺ δὲ Σενάλκης ἀναξ,
ἡ Άλαις εὗπατορ,
Μέμφις, Θάρυβις, καὶ Μασίστρας,
’Αρτεμβάρης τ’ ἢδ ‘Τσταίχμας;
tάδε σ’ ἐπανερόμαν.

Ξε. ἰδ δι καὶ μοι,
τὰς ὑγιόν χου κατιδόντες
στυγνὰς ’Αδάνας πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ,
ἐὴ ἐὴ, τλάμονες ἀσπαίρονσι χέρσῳ.

Χο. ἦ καὶ τὸν Περσάν αὐτοῦ
tὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ’ ὀφθαλμὸν
μυρία μυρία πεμπαστὰν
Βατανώχου παῖδ’ Ἀλπιστον
τοῦ Σησάμα τοῦ Μεγαβάτα,
Pάρθον τε μέγαν τ’ Οἰβάρην
ἐλῖπες ἐλῖπες;
ὡ ὁ γὸ δάων.
Πέρσαις ἀγανοὺς κακὰ πρόκακα λέγεις.

Ξε. ἵννγά μοι ὅητ’
ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων ὑπορίνεις,

964 ἐν ἀκραῖον Weil 965 Σαλαμινιάσι Hermann: σαλαμινίσιν M
967 βόα add. Hermann 968 ’Αριόμαρδος τ’ Brunck: κ’ ἀριό-
μαρδόστ’ M 973 ἐπανερόμαν Meineke: ἐπανέρομαι M 974 μοὶ
µοῖ M 981 Ἀλπιστον Wecklein post 981 deest v. 985 ὡ add.
Hermann 989 ὑπορίνεις Hermann: ὑπομιμήχασεις codd.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

〈άλαστ’〉 ἀλαστα στυγνὰ πρόκακα λέγων. 990
βοᾷ βοᾷ 〈μοί〉 μελέων ἐντοσθεν ἦτορ.

Χο. καὶ μὴν ἄλλους γε ποθοῦμεν,
Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριοταγὸν
Ξάνθων ἄρειών τ’ Ἀγχάρην,
Δίαιζην τ’ ἦδ’ Ἀρσάκην 995
ιπτιάνακτας,
Κηγδιδάταν καὶ Αὐθῆμαν
Τόλμον τ’ αἰχμᾶς ἀκόρεστον.
ἐταφοῦ ἔταφον,
οὐκ ἀμφί σκηνᾶς
τροχηλάτους ὅπιθεν ἐπομένους.

Ξ. βεβᾶσι γὰρ τοίπερ ἀγρέται στρατοῦ. 1000
Χο. βεβᾶσιν, οἱ, νόνυμοι.
Ξ. ἢ ἢ, ἢ ἡ ἢ ἢ.
Χο. ἢ ἢ ἢ, δαίμονες,
ἐθεσθ’ ἀελπτον κακὸν
diαπρέπον, οἷον δέδορκεν Ἀτα.

Ξ. πεπλήγμεθ’ οὗ ἢ ἢ ἂν ὡς τύχα’ 1005
Χο. πεπλήγμεθ’ ἐψῆλα γὰρ.
Ξ. νέα νέα δύα δύα’
Χο. ’Ιαόνων ναυβατῶν

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

κύρσαντες οὐκ εὐτυχῶς.
δυσπόλεμον δὴ γένος τὸ Περσῶν.

Ξε. πῶς δ' οὐ; στρατοῦ μὲν τοσοῦτον τάλας πέπληγμαι.
Χο. τί δ' οὐκ ὀλολευ, μέγ' ἀλαστε, Περσῶν;
Ξε. ὅρας τὸ λοιπὸν τόδε τὰς ἐμὰς στολὰς;
Χο. ὄρω ὄρω.
Ξε. τόυτε τ' ὁιστοδέγμονα—
Χο. τί τόδε λέγεις σεσωσμένου;
Ξε. θησαυρὸν βελέεσσω.
Χο. βαία γ' ὃς ἀπὸ πολλῶν.
Ξε. ἐσπανίσμεθ' ἁρωγῶν.
Χο. Ἰάνων λαδὸς οὖ φυγαίχμασ.

Ξε. ἀγανόρειος· κατελ-
δοῦν δὲ πῆμ' ἀελπτον.
Χο. τραπέντα ναύφρακτον ἑρεῖς ὄμιλον;
Ξε. πέπλον δ' ἐπέρρηξ' ἐπὶ συμφόρα κακοῦ.
Χο. παπαὶ παπαὶ.
Ξε. καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαὶ μὲν οὖν.
Χο. διδύμα γάρ ἑστι καὶ τριπλὰ.
Ξε. λυπρά, χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς.
Χο. καὶ σθένος γ' ἐκολούθη—
Ξε. γυμνός εἰμι προπομπῶν.
Χο. φλῶν ἀταισὶ πουτίασιν.

Ξε. διανε διανε πῆμαν πρὸς δόμοις δ' ἰθί.
Χο. διανομαι γοεῦνος ὦν.
Ξε. βοᾶ νυν ἀντίδοντά μοι.

1015 [στρ. ε.]
1020 [άντ. ε.]
1025 [στρ. ζ.]
1030
1035
1039
1040
1047
1048
1050
1066 νυν Παυω: νυν codd.
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

Χο. δόσων κακὰν κακῶν κακοῖς.
Ξε. ίνζε μέλος ὅμοι τιθεῖσ.
Χο. ὀτοτοτοτοὶ.

βαρεία γ' ἀδε συμφορά.
οἱ μάλα καὶ τῶν ἀλγῶ.

Ξε. ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στένας' ἐμὴν χάριν.
Χο. ἀλαὶ ἀλαὶ, δύα δύα.
Ξε. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.
Χο. μέλεων πάρεστι, δέσποτα.
Ξε. ἐπορθίαζέ νυν γόοις.
Χο. ὀτοτοτοτοὶ.

μέλανα δ' ἀμμεμίζεται,
οἰ, στονόσσα πλαγά.

Ξε. καὶ στέρν' ἀρασσε καὶ βόα τὸ Μύσιον.
Χο. ἀνί' ἀνια.
Ξε. καὶ μοι γενείου πέριδε λευκήρη τρίχα.
Χο. ἀπριγδ' ἀπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά.
Ξε. ἀὔτει δ' ὄξι.
Χο. καὶ τάδ' ἔρξω.

Ξε. πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε κολπίαν ἀκμὴ χερῶν.
Χο. ἀνί' ἀνια.
Ξε. καὶ ψάλλ' ἐθειραν καὶ κατοίκτωσαι στρατῶν.
Χο. ἀπριγδ' ἀπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά.
Ξε. διαίνου δ' ὀσσε.
Χο. τέγγομαι τοι.

Ξε. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.
Χο. οἰοὶ οἰοὶ.

1052 ἀμμεμίζεται Dindorf: ἀδ μεμίζεται (ἀδ ex ᾧ factum) M
1053 τοι Lachmann: μοι codd. 1054 καὶ βόα (ex Eustathio ad Dionys. 791) Hermann: κατιβόα codd. 1056 πέρθε Robortello: ῥπερθε codd. 1060 ἐρεικε recce.: ἐρείδε M
ΑΙΣΧΤΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

Ξε. αιακτός ἐς δόμους κίε.
Χο. Ἰω Ἰω, Περσὶς αἰα δύσβατος.
Ξε. Ἰωὴ δὴ κατ' ἀστυν.
Χο. Ἰωὴ δήτα, ναὶ ναὶ.
Ξε. γοᾶςθ 'ἄβροβαται.
Χο. Ἰω Ἰω, Περσὶς αἰα δύσβατος.
Ξε. ἢ ἢ θρισκάλμουσιν,
<dd>ἡ ἡ, βάρισιν ὀλόμενοι.
</dd>
Χο. πέμψω τοῖς σε δυσθρόως γόοις.

1074, 1075 ἢ ἢ VP: ἡ ἡ ἡ M post 1076 αἰσχύλου πέρσαι M
NOTES

The scene is at Susa near the palace of Xerxes. The tomb of Darcios is visible. The stage is empty. Enter the Chorus by the passage on the right into the orchestra, singing and marching to the anaepaetic measure.

[Lines 1-154. PARODOS: (Part 1) 1-64. 'We are the guardians, called Faithful, chosen by Xerxes to have charge of the land. Our hearts are anxious for king and army: the whole strength of the land is gone, and no tidings! They went forth from Susiana and Media, horse, foot, and navy: princes, captains, archers, knights. Egypt sent her forces, the rulers of Memphis and Thebes, rowers from the Delta unnumbered. Lydians from mainland, chariots from Sardis, 3-horse or 4-horse cars: dwellers by Tmolus, and Mysians boast to enslave Hellas: Babylon sends a mingled mass of men, and sword-clad warriors from all Asia follow. 'Tis the flower of Persians are gone: for whom all Asia sighs with longing, and wives and mothers pass anxious weary days, in fear.]

1. τάδε, for oίδε, 'we here,' by the not uncommon idiom of the neuter plural used as 'abstract collective' for persons. So ἀστὼν τῶν ἔμων τὰ βελτατα, Eum. 487 (though it is easier with superlative, as we say 'the pick of'). So πιστὰ πιστῶν, 687.

Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων, lit. 'of the Persians that went forth,' i.e. belonging to them, free use of partitive gen. We should say 'left when they went forth,' using a wholly different construction. The author of the argument says (on the authority of one Glaukos, a scholar of Rhegium) that Aeschylus imitated in this play the Phoinissai of Phrynichos, his predecessor in the art, and quotes the first line of that play:—τάδ' ἕστι Περσῶν τῶν πύλαι βεβηκότων. If this is accurate, Aeschylus has clearly copied the sense and phrasing.

2. πιστά, 'faithful.' The Persian king's councillors were called Πιστοί, Xen. Oec. 4. 6: and the name is again referred to inf. 528, 681.

3. 'The rich seats with wealth of gold' are the king's palace and treasury at Susa, as Herodotos tells (v. 49).
4. κατά πρεσβείαν, 'for their worth,' lit. 'on the score of dignity,' πρεσβείαν being precedence in age or position, and here including quality as well. So πρεσβεύω is 'to be first' or 'to be best.'

8. βασιλεία is equivalent to βασιλέως, and so is easily coupled with στρατίας.

9. πολυχρύσου, the 'gilded host,' suggests the pride of the Chorus in their army, but also the contempt of the Greek poet for the empty splendour of the Persians. So there is no need to emend (πολυανδρον, Teuffel; πολυχρυσος, Weil).

10. ὀρσόλοπεταί: a word of uncertain origin, found in late Epic (Homeric Hymn to Hermes 308, in form ὀρσόλοπεύω) and meaning 'to trouble,' 'to vex.'

13. νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαδ́ζει has given much difficulty, and been much emended. The best suggestion is Fritzschel's νὺν, 'and the bride cries for her husband': but though this might do as one detail in a general description of discontent, it is far too abrupt and isolated to suit here. βαδ́ζει is used Ag. 449, τὰ δὲ σιγά τις βαδ́ζει, 'thus do men mutter in secret': so here it is simplest to take it 'and they (the army, ἵππος Ἀσίας) grumble against the youthful king.'

The misgivings are manifold: the whole force of the land is in jeopardy: they are disaffected towards Xerxes; we have no news.

But the suspicion of some corruption remains.

14. ἄγγελος, a runner, opp. to ἰππεύς.

16. Συσα, the winter residence of the Persian kings, on the river Choaspes in Susiana, N.W. of the Persian gulf: Εκβατάνα, here in the older form Agbatana, the summer residence, capital of Media, south of the Caspian. Κισσία was the province of Susiana in which Susa was situated.

18. ἔβαν, Epic form of ἔβραν, used by the Attic poets.

19. ναῶν, Ionic form for νεῶν. The Ionic forms are numerous in this play: and it has been suggested that Aeschylus deliberately used them as the dialect of the Ionic colonies in Asia, and so appropriate to Persians (W. Headlam).

20. πολέμου στίφος, 'close rank of war.'

21–2. Herod. gives us most of these names, or others very like them: Μεγάβαζος, 7. 97; Ἰστᾶσπης, 7. 64; Μασίστης, 7. 82; Ἀρταφέρνης, 7. 74; Ἀρτεμβάρης (inf. 29), 1. 114; Φαραυδάτης, 7. 79.

25. σοῦνται, hist. pres., 'sped forth': the verb is common in Epic (σύνη, ἐστυντα, &c.), and the Attic poets often use it (σοῦσθε, Theb. 31; συμένη, Ag. 747; Eum. 1007, &c.).

26. τοξοδόμαντες, 'mighty bowmen' (lit. 'conquering with the bow'). This form, and another form τοξοδόμος (86), the poet
NOTES. LINES 4-47

uses only in this play; which is natural, as the bow was the great weapon of the Easterns.

28. εὐθλήμων δόξη, 'by the brave resolve': δόξη is used in a rather uncommon sense, but easily acceptable, since δόγμα and δοκεῖν are both regularly used of 'resolve': there is no need to change the reading. [Heimsoeth ingeniously suggests πείση, from Hesych. πείση πείσματι, adducing the scholiast on this line (who gives ἐνυποστάτω δοκήσει καὶ πείσματι), and quoting also Od. 20. 23, ἐν πείση κραδή μὲνε τετληνία, which certainly seems very like this phrase. But (1) the schol. δοκήσει points to δόξη being right; (2) all MSS. have δόξη; and (3) the note of Hesych. may be intended for the Odyssey line.]

29. ἵπποκάρμης, Epic word (Il. 24. 257), 'chariot-fighter': here prob. 'horse-fighter,' see 105.

'Αρτεμιβάρης occurs below (302) with the third syllable short θαρπ.

32. The 'paroemiac,' or terminal line of the anapaestic metre, rarely ends with a spondee before the last long syllable. But in Aesch. it does so occasionally, see inf. 152.

34. The change to the nominative in the list of names (from ἀλλος, line 33) is quite natural, 'there was' or 'went' being easily supplied.

36. Μεμφίδος, a great Egyptian city at the apex of the Delta of the Nile, centre of the Egyptian commerce, and practically capital of the country. Besides its palaces, it had many temples, such as those of Apis, Serapis, and Phtha (hence called ἱερᾶς). Fourteen years after this play (458) it was taken by the Athenians in the ill-fated expedition of that year.

37. ὄγυγιος: word of unknown origin (scholiasts' tales of Ogyges an old Greek king are inventions) used for 'ancient' by the poets, e.g. infra, 975; Eum. 1036; Theb. 321.

38. ἐφέπων, 'ruling,' lit. 'managing,' common Epic word.

39. ἐλεοβάτας, 'rangers of the mere' (ἐλον, 'swamp'), i.e. the inhabitants of the marshy delta, called ἐλεοῦ by Thuc. (1. 110), who says they were the 'best fighters of the Egyptians.'

42. 'Who control all the mainland-race,' i.e. those settled on the coast of Asia Minor: Sardis, the Persian western capital (47), is in Lydia, as were Smyrna and Ephesus: Lydia is mentioned as the chief district of these coasts.

44. διόπου, 'ruling,' 'in charge,' under the Great King. The Greeks were familiar with the western satraps of the Persian empire.

45. ἐπόχους, 'riders' whether on horses or cars, here the latter. Below, 54, metaphorically of sailors.

47. δῖρρυμα, τρῖρυμα, lit. 'with two poles,' 'with three poles':
and as the pole was required between the horses, it means ‘with three, with four horses abreast.’

τέλη is used from Homer downwards (e. g. κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν τελέσει, Π. 18. 398), for ‘troops,’ ‘squadrions,’ ‘companies’ of soldiers (and even of ships, τέλη τῶν νέων, Thuc. 1. 48). So here the whole phrase means ‘ranks of three-horse and four-horse cars, a terrible sight.’

49–52. M reads στειντα ... πελαται; but the ν is dotted (i.e. rejected as wrong by the corrector), and schol. remarks on the singular στειτα, which must therefore be the true reading. Some keep πελαται, sing. verb and plural noun, a use occasionally found, and known as schema Pindaricum: but it is far more likely that the original πελατης was changed to suit στειντα. πελατης, ‘the neighbour,’ is used, quite naturally, in a collective sense.

στειτα is a Homeric word, to ‘vow’ or ‘threaten.’ The meaning therefore is ‘And he who dwells by holy Tmolos’ (a mt. in Lydia sacred to Dionysos) ‘vows to cast upon Hellas the yoke of slavery’; Mardon and Tharybis are the leaders of these Lydians, and the Mysians their neighbours to the north.

It is characteristic of Aesch. to revel in geographical detail: in Prometheus the wanderings of Io in north and east and south are given with picturesque abundance; and in the lost ‘Prometheus Unbound’ there is evidence that there was a similarly lavish description of Herakles’ wanderings in the west. The fifth century (like the Elizabethan times) was an age of discovery of far lands, inspiring a new and enthusiastic interest.

51. λόγχης ἄκμονες, ‘anvils of the spear,’ fine phrase for a soldier who does not flinch when struck.

54. συρῆται, lit. ‘sweeping along’ (adv. from σύρω), i.e. ‘in masses,’ in crowds,’ slightly contemptuous word, of vast miscellaneous hosts.

55. τοξουλκός λήματι πιστοῦς, lit. ‘trusting the archer’s spirit,’ i.e. ‘keen fighters with the bow.’

56. μάχαρα is a dagger or short sword, common weapon in the east: the Thracians are called μαχαροφόροι (Thuc. 7. 27). These are the bodyguard of the king, the 10,000 (Herod. 7. 55).

58. δειναῖς ὑπὸ πομπαῖς, ‘under the dread commands’ of the king.

59–60. τοιῶν ἄνθος Περσίδος αἰας οἰκετεῖς ἄνδρῶν: the double gen. after ἄνθος is quite natural in Greek, though the nouns have a slightly different relation to ἄνθος: ‘the flower of the land, consisting of men’ is the exact meaning. We should paraphrase: ‘So fair a flower of Persian land are the warriors that are gone.’
61. οὖς πέρι: the acc. with πέρι usually of behaviour, e.g. ἀγαθὸς πέρι τὴν πόλιν: verbs of speaking, thinking, feeling (doubt, care, fear, grief, &c.) about anything usually take πέρι with genitive. But the two uses lie near together, and overlap.

62. στενέται, mid. for commoner act. στένω. This is a point in which the poets vary the normal use frequently. So στένομαι σε, πάτερ, Bacch. 1371; (δικρύω) χαίρειν καὶ δικρύεσθαι, Theb. 815; (τρομέω) τρομεύονται, 64.

63-4. 'Tremble at the lengthening time, counting the days,' a vivid description of the prolonged and weary waiting and anxiety. For the middle τρομεύονται see 62: the use is Homeric, τρομεύοντο δὲ οἱ φρείνες ἔντος, II. 10. 10. Notice the Epic or Ionic uncontracted form. See 542.

65-139. The Chorus cease the anaepastic song, and take their usual places for the lyric stanzas, sung alternately by the two halves of the whole body.

[65-154. Parodos, Part 2. The great host has passed Hellespont, and advances by land and sea afar: riding a Syrian car the king goes to war. None can resist: yet mortals are deluded by the gods to ruin: Persians have learned sieges, cavalry charges, to trust the sea in frail ships: my heart is fearful lest we hear of disaster: for all our people, horse and foot, are gone, passing the bridged strait: the wives remain mourning for absent lords. Let us inquire how the king is faring: whether bow or spear wins. Here is the queen: let us address her.]

68. λινοδέσμω σχεδία, 'rope-bound float-bridge,' referring of course to the great boat-bridge of Xerxes over the Hellespont. σχεδία is usually 'a float' or 'raft': and Aeschylus is clearly echoing the Homeric phrase of Odysseus' raft (Od. 5. 33), ἐπὶ σχεδίς πολυδέσμον, 'well-bound raft,' made of planks tightly bound.

70. The 'passage of Helle' is the Hellespont. Helle, daughter of Athamas, escaped with her mother Nephele and brother Phrixos from a plot to sacrifice the latter, by the aid of the ram with the golden fleece, who bore them off through the air. But in crossing above the straits, Helle fell into the sea, which afterward bore her name.

71-2. 'Casting about the sea's neck as a yoke the close-riveted pathway'; πολυγομφών is lit. 'many-pegged.' The bridge of boats is often called 'a yoke': and the whole phrase is a good example of the bold and figurative diction of the poet. See 745.

73. θυντός, 'warlike': the regular Homeric epithet of Ares, and the fighting heroes: it comes from the stem θυ- (describing quick movement) and means 'rushing,' 'swift,' 'furious.'
74-5. ποιμανόριον, ‘flock’ [only here found], as the king in Homer is regularly ‘shepherd of the people.’ So ποιμάνωρ, 241; ναὸν ποιμένες, Supp. 767.

θέων: common in Epic of the heroes: so here of the vast host.

76. πεζονόμον, lit. ‘land-grazing,’ to continue boldly the metaphor of ποιμανόριον. We might translate ‘ranging over land and sea.’ [MSS. give πεζονόμου: but the order clearly points to the phrase applying to the troops, not the leaders: hence I take the correction πεζονόμου τ’.]

79. στρφελότις, ‘stern,’ ‘rough’: used below 965 of a hard rocky shore.

ἐφέτης, ‘commander’: cf. ἐφετής, ‘orders’; ἐφήμι, ‘to charge.’

The word was used at Athens for an old court of judges.

80. ‘Godlike man of the race begotten of gold’: for the Persian kings traced their line to Perseus, son of Danae, whom Zeus visited in her prison in the form of a shower of gold.

ἰσθεος φῶς, common Epic phrase of heroes and kings.

81. κυανοῦν, prop. ‘dark blue,’ used vaguely for ‘dark’ (as hair, the snake, the brows of Zeus, thundercloud, &c., all in Homer). Tr. ‘and gazing with the dark glance of the fell serpent.’ δέργμα of course cognate. The snake’s eye was supposed to be deadly in its effect.

83. πολύχειρ, of the land force: χείρ is used commonly for a force of soldiers in Herod., χείρ μεγάλη, πολλή χερί, &c. So Thuc. 3. 96: and Aesch. οὐ συμφρα χερί, Suppl. 958.

‘With many a troop, and many a ship.’

84. διώκων, ‘speeding’: so Theb. 371, διώκων πομπίμους χώνας ποδῶν. The phrase is a clear reference to the Delphic oracle given to the Athenians in 480. This fearful prophecy contained the words—‘Neither head is safe, nor body, nor feet below, nor hands, nor aught else is left, but all are lost—brought to the ground by fire, and swift Ares speeding his Syrian car’ (Συνηγγενές ἄρμα διώκων), Herod. 7. 140. This play was acted only eight years later than Salamis, and every detail must have been familiar to the whole vast audience. Aesch. skilfully puts the words as a boast into the mouths of the Persians.

85-6. ‘Brings War of the bowmen against the famed spearmen?’ This praise of the Greek soldiers is natural in the Greek poet, though it is hardly suitable in the mouth of the proud Persians: the same contrast of arms below 147-9, 239-40.

87-90. ‘And there is no man skilled [lit. ‘tested,’ ‘approved’] to withstand the mighty stream of men, and with strong barriers keep out the sea’s invincible surge.’ ἐποστάς is best so taken (with schol. who explains it as ἀντιστάς), cf. Xen. Anab. 3. 2. 11, ἐποστήματι αὐτῶν τολμήσαντες. The metaphor grows as he
proceeds: a stream of men... barriers... the invincible sea. [Others much less naturally understand it to mean 'stand with great stream, &c.': but the *ē̆∫ma and *āmαχον κιμα must be the same thing, i.e. the Persian host.]

91. ἀπρόσουστος, explained by schol. ἀκαταμαίχητος, 'irresistible': προσφέρεσθαι is commonly used for 'to deal with,' 'to meet,' so the adj. is used by a sort of irony, 'hard to deal with,' being a mild expression for 'irresistible.'

[After this line Rossbach, Westphal, and others place the two stanzas 101-14, on the ground that they continue the proud tone of the earlier verses, and so should precede the lines 93-100 which express misgiving. But the change, though worth considering, is probably needless, see notes on 101 sqq.]

93. 'The crafty deceit of the god' is the delusion whereby gods lure the proud to their ruin,—a common Greek idea, here dramatically preparing the way for the catastrophe.

95-6. 'Who is he that lightly can leap thus high with nimble foot?' phrase elaborated for 'who can overleap and escape' the god's delusion? πῆδημα τόθ... ἀνάσσων, lit. 'speeding upward this leap' (cognate acc.): a necessary emendation for πῆδηματος ἀνάσσων of the MSS.: 'lord of a leap' is too grotesque.

97-8. φιλόφρων, lit. 'kind-hearted,' here describes the seeming kindness of Ate, which is really deceptive; 'For Ruin with a smile lures mortals astray, into her snares,' a picturesque imaginative phrase in the poet's manner.

[The MSS. give, after φιλόφρων γάρ, the words σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει, the right sense, but no metre, and clearly a scholium which has supplanted the poet's word. Seidler brilliantly conjectured παρασαίνει, 'entices aside,' restoring the metre, exactly suiting the sense, and explaining the corruption, the word being thoroughly Aeschylean.] See Introduction, § 6.

101-2. 'For fate of old ordained from the gods, &c.' The connexion of thought is this:—

In spite of our overwhelming power (91) we must remember how all are liable to calamity, and how smiling Fate deludes men (93-100). For once (τὸ παλαίστων) we waged wars on land, and captured cities (101-7), but now we have learned to tempt the perils of the sea with boat-bridges (or perhaps ships) (108-11); a strong hint, though veiled, that the sea-warfare may be their ruin.

The whole play being the glorification of Salamis, this suggestion (which is only touched, not dwelt on) is significant. And there is no need to change the order of the stanzas (see note on 91).

103. ἐπίσκηψε, 'laid charge upon.'
104. τυργοδαίκτους, ‘destroying the ramparts,’ i.e. breaching the walls and taking the fortress. The form in -τος (from verb-stems) is usually passive, but not necessarily so: and some words are used both ways. [So we have ἀνδροδαίκτων, Cho. 860 as here: so μεθπότος, blaming,’ Soph. Tr. 446; ὑποπτος, ‘suspecting,’ Thuc. 1. 90; ὑπνός, ‘flowing’; πανάλωτος, ‘destroying,’ &c.]

105. διέπω, ‘manage,’ Epic word used with πόλεμος, στρατός, &c. So here ‘direct the wars.’ ἰπποχάρμης, here adjectival, above (29) substantival, both quite natural: ‘the tumult of the horsemen’s fight.’

108. εὐρύπορος and πολιή, regular epithets of δᾶλασσα in Homer, e.g. Od. 12. 2 δᾶλασσης εὐρυπόρου; II. 1. 359 ἀνέδων πολιῆς ἀλῶς. Note that the word here is Epic even in form, gen. with suffix -οίο.

111. ἀλςος, ‘grove’ or ‘ precinct,’ in Homer always sacred, in connexion with some god or nymph: so in Herod. and Pindar. When Aeschylus uses it therefore of the sea (here and Supp. 868) the word is figurative partly, but keeps the notion of sanctity, ‘the sea’s holy plain.’ [Compare Swinburne’s beautiful phrase, ‘The sacred spaces of the sea,’ which may possibly be an echo of Aeschylus.] A similar phrase is the splendid expression 365, τέμενος αἰθέρος, ‘the holy precinct of the air.’

112. λεπτοσδώμος, lit. ‘fine-built,’ i.e. ‘slender’: the cables are slender relatively, as against the stormy waves, though in themselves they may be stout ropes. The word itself suggests the fears of the speaker.

112–4. The commentators differ as to whether this refers to the Hellespontine bridge, or ships. The whole phrase, ‘trusting slender ropes and devices for the passage of men,’ is compatible with either. On the whole (with Paley, Schütz, and Hermann) I prefer to understand it of the bridge, for these reasons: (1) πεῖσμα is a fastening cable, essential to the safety of a boat-bridge, but not so important to a ship: (2) μηχανοί is far more naturally used of the novel device of a bridge of boats, than of a ship: (3) λαοτόροι suits far better an army marching over, than sailors carried on board. It is true, on the other hand, that εὐρυπόρος suggests rather the open sea: but the strait was nearly a mile broad at the narrowest point (where the bridge was), and was quite wide enough for bad storms—indeed this bridge was actually wrecked by such a tempest. We may add that ἀλσος (properly an enclosure) more naturally suggests a strait than quite open water.

115. ταύτα, adverbial or appositional use of the accus., especially common with pronouns (ταυτ’ ὁ, καὶ ταύτα, τοῦτο
NOTES. LINES 104–135

μὲν, ἀμφότερον, τάλλα, and the interrogatives τί, ὃ τι (why), &c. So 159, 165. Translate 'Therefore it is, that my heart is torn with fears.'

μελαγχίτων, 'black-robed,' imaginative word for 'gloomy': so ἑπάλληξα κελαυνοῦται, Cho. 413; κελαυνίχρως καρδία, Suppl. 785. All these phrases are echoes of the Homeric φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιαι, II. i. 103, &c.

117. Περσικὸν στρατεύματος, 'in regard to,' after φόβω. Ordinarily the gen. after φόβος would be 'fear of': but the other is always a possible meaning of the gen. and is particularly common with verbs of emotion, as care (μέλει, κίδεσθαι, φυλάσσεσθαι, φροντίζω), wonder, delight, sorrow, &c. So below, 162, ἀδείμαντος ἐμαυτῆς.

119. κένανδρον, predicate, 'is empty of men,' i.e. has lost its army.

121. ἀντίδοτον ἀσεταί, 'shall chant an answering strain': we have μὴ... τίθηται... ἀσεταί... τέσσῃ where the combination of future with two subjunctives is unusual; but both fut. and subj. are common after verbs of fearing, and quite normal grammatically. The combination of the two is found Ar. Eccl. 493 μὴ καὶ τις ἡμᾶς ὀψεῖται χρῖμων ὰλως κατείη; Plat. Alc. I, 148 B ὀπος μὴ λήσει... καὶ πάλινωδῆ... ἀσεταί for MS. ἀσεταί (poor sense and bad metre) is a certain correction. The common confusion of e and αυ has caused the error.

122. ὃς, τούτ' ἔπος, 'this word, alas!' the regular Greek order, Ag. 1334 'μηκέτ' ἐσέλθῃς, τάδε φωνῶν; Cho. 314 'δράσαντι παθεῖν' τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ.

124. ἐμιλος, in loose but natural apposition to πάλισμαι'.

125. 'And rending fall on the fine linen robes,' the common oriental sign of grief, familiar in the Old Testament. So Suppl. 120 ἐμπιτών σὺν λακίδι λυσσαίει; Cho. 28 λυσσόμενοι δ' ἱφασμάτων λακίδες.

127. πεδοστίβης, lit. 'earth-treading,' i.e. 'march on foot,' here opposed to cavalry, cf. Suppl. 1000 περοῦντα καὶ πεδοστίβη, 'beasts of earth and fowls of the air.'

128. σμῆνος, 'a swarm.' ἐκλαλαπεν, absol. 'have gone.'

130–2. Strained and intricate phrasing, after the poet’s manner; but the sense is clear: 'having passed the sea-cape of either land, yoked in union.' What they really passed was the bridge which yoked the headlands. The πρώα is certainly neither the straits (schol.) nor the bridge (Blomf.).

135. ἀβροπενεθεῖς, 'tenderly mourning,' a certain correction of Paley’s for MSS. ἀκροπενεθεῖς: for schol. M. explains it ἀβρίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ πενδεῖν, showing that he read ἀβροπενεθεῖς: further in 541 we have the exactly similar word ἀβρόγοιοι. See Introd. § 6.
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139. Ἀείπετα, agreeing by a natural irregularity with ἐκάστα (the nearest nom.) instead of with Περαιώκεις.

μονότικός, a sort of pathetic oxymoron, lit. ‘lone-yoked’: there ought to be two, and only one is left. We must say simply ‘alone.’

The antiphonal song ends: the leader of the Chorus addresses them, and at his bidding they seat themselves: at line 150 they rise to greet the queen.

140. τόδε ἐνεχόμενοι: the poets use all verbs of sitting with acc., σέλμα σεμνὸν ἤμένων, Ag. 183; ναῦν ἐφέξατο, ib. 664; καρδίαν προσήμενος, ib. 834; τόδε ἔξεστο, Eum. 3. (This is even the case, as the instances show, when the verb is compounded with a prep. such as would usually require dative.) ‘Taking seat before this ancient hall,’ the king’s palace: they are to be suppliants, for news of Xerxes. There is a similar suppliant gathering before a palace in Oidipous Tyrannos at the opening of the play: in that case however the Chorus is distinct from the suppliants. The palace is supposed to be near. See Introduction, § 4.

[It is disputed whether 140–54 is chanted by the leader or the whole Chorus: but Πέρσας line 140, and πάντας, 154, seem rather in favour of the former.]

143. χρεία δὲ προσήκει, ‘for need has come.’ Observe the older meaning of προσήκει, usually meaning ‘it besits.’

δὲ in the Epic use, where we should say ‘for.’ It is not that δὲ means ‘for’; but that the older Greek gives the simple connexion ‘and,’ leaving the causal connexion to be supplied, e.g. Il. 13. 163 ἀστίδα ταφεῖην σχέδη ἀπὸ ἑό, δεῖσε δὲ θυμῶ, where we should say ‘for he feared in his heart.’ (The schol., innocent of any grammatical explanation, says correctly δὲ ἄντι τοῦ γάρ.)

146. τὸ πατρονύμιον γένος ἤμετερον, a line which has caused some difficulty: but it is simplified if we recognize that γένος ἤμετερον is predicate, τὸ πατρ. adverbial. ‘Akin to us in respect of the father’s name,’ they say: and the sense is, ‘the king is our kin, as the descendant of Perseus, whose name the Persians bear’: in other words Perseus was the father (in one sense) of Xerxes, and (in a conventional sense) of the nation called after him. [For γένος in apposition to βασιλεὺς compare ἡ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐνθεῖον γένος, ὀδ. ἀνθρώπων (Il. 6. 180), δὶν γένος ἑλέαρα, Il. 9. 538.] The schol. Med. takes the passage in this way, explaining the line κατὰ πατέρα συγγενής ἠμίν. So we say ‘he is our kin.’

147–8. ‘Whether the conquering bow-shot or the might of the sharp spear-head hath prevailed.’ ῥύμα, properly ‘drawing,’ then by easy transition ‘shot’: so in prose, ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος,
NOTES. LINES 139-155

'a bowshot distant,' Xen. Anab. 3. 3. 15. δορικράνου λόγχης, lit. 'of the point heading the shaft.'

Atossa the queen-mother enters the orchestra in a car, with attendants. The Chorus rise, and as she approaches prostrate themselves. She mounts the stage.

150. 'A light like the eyes of the gods': the language used is appropriate to the servile Persians who treated the royal family as divine: it is still more explicit 157.

152. προσπίνω, 'I do obeisance,' i.e. they fall on their knees and bow their heads to the ground. For metre, see 32. For the contempt of Greeks for these prostrations see Ag. 923, where the king forbids Klyt. to 'grovel and howl like a barbarian,' μηδὲ βαρβάρον δίκην χαμαμετές βάσιμα προσχάνης ἐμοί. See Intr. § 6.

153. προσφώνοιοι ... μύθοις, 'words of greeting.'

[155-531. FIRST EPEISODION. (The scene is unusually long; but as Atossa is on the stage the whole time, and it is not broken by any regular choric song, it is strictly one scene. There are different parts in it, as follows:—) Part 1. In answer to the Chorus' greeting she confesses anxiety. She has had an evil dream: she saw two women, a Persian and a Greek, and Xerxes yoked them to his car: the Greek one being violent upset the car, and Xerxes was thrown. She woke and sacrificed, then saw an omen: an eagle flying to the altar of Phoibos attacked and wounded by a hawk. The Chorus bid her sacrifice and pray: she then in short dialogue asks about Athens—the city, men, their wealth, armour, government: then the messenger is seen coming (155-248). Part 2. Messenger relates the disaster of Salamis, his story is broken by wails of the Chorus (249-89). Part 3. Atossa anxiously inquires about the slain: messenger says Xerxes lives, then gives a long list of the killed. In answer to a question about the fleets, he gives the numbers, then describes at length the battle of Salamis, ending with the slaughter of men from the beaten and damaged vessels, when they tried to land. Lastly he gives the fate of the fugitives. Atossa, seeing her ill vision come true, goes out to pray (290-531).]

155. The metre is tetrameter trochaic, the oldest measure employed in dialogue (Arist. Poet. 4 το μὲν πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρώντο), afterwards supplanted by the iambic which was well established before Aeschylos. This is the only play of Aesch. (or Soph.) where it is used for dialogue in the body of the drama; though it survives in the exodos of Agam. and Oid. Tyrannos. Euripides in his later plays (Bacch., Phoin., Ion,
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Iph., Aul., &c.) revives it. The iambic was considered a graver and quieter metre. (Haigh. Tr. Dram. 371.)

158. δαίμων παλαιός, 'our former fortune.' The hint of disaster is almost too open here: it is too plainly the Greek poet, not the Persian guard, who speaks.

159-60. 'The gold-decked halls' and 'royal bride-chamber' are of course the palace.

ταύτα δι': see 115, and inf. 165.

162. ἵμαντής... ἀδείμαντος, 'without fear for myself.' See 117.

163. 'Lest Wealth grown great spurn with his foot and overthrow, raising cloud of dust upon the ground, the Prosperity which Dareios raised by help Divine': the common Greek notion that excessive wealth or success brings ruin. The danger of Prosperity is strikingly given Ag. 1009 'Of gathered wealth if Fear casts out a part ..., the whole house doth not founder.' In Herod. the idea is constant: it is best seen in the story of Polykrates of Samos, who, invariably fortunate, was advised to propitiate the jealousy of the gods by throwing away his most precious possession. He cast a priceless ring into the sea; but when it was found by a fisherman in a fish, and returned, it was clear he was marked out for ruin (Herod. 3. 40–3). Still more appropriate to the Persae is the tale (6. 10) of Artabanos, uncle of Xerxes, who dissuades him from the expedition on the ground of this divine jealousy: 'the largest beasts, the highest houses, the tallest trees are struck with lightning: for all that is eminent the god is wont to humble.'

The phrasing (Wealth overthrowing Prosperity) is rather strange, and has been suspected: the ideas seem too nearly identical, and 755 occur so used. Heimsoeth suggested δαίμων for πλοῦτος, which has been adopted by Weil, Teuffel, Wecklein, &c. But as the idea of φθόνος is that it is the Prosperity which excites the jealousy, and so destroys the prosperity, the objection is not conclusive. And the change of term prevents the phrase from sounding harsh. For the form ἀντρίψῃ see note on 572.

165. MSS. read μέριμν ἀφραστος 'care inexplicable' or 'inexpressible.' The sense might do (see below 166-7): but the line can hardly be right, since the usual break after the fourth foot, which is essential to the metre, is neglected. C. G. Haupt suggested μέριμνα φραστός which does not alter a letter. φραστός ἐστιν will mean 'is pondered,' 'is rooted in my heart,' and is adopted by Hermann, Wecklein, and Teuffel. The verbs in -τος are indifferently active or passive, and often the same word is both. See above, 104.

166-7. These two lines give the substance of her 'care' or
anxious reflection. The construction is the same (μήτε with inf.) in both, but the grammar is different: one is a resolve, the other a belief. The first is normal: the second would ordinarily be οὐ, but there are many instances to the contrary, e.g. νομίσαντες μὴ ἄν ἰκανὸν γενέσθαι (Thuc. 6. 102), δοκῶ σφε μηδὲ προσβαλεῖν (Theb. 616), ὑποτησαντες μὴ ἵσον ἐξεῖν (Thuc. 5. 31), ὑποτεῖ ἦσαν μὴ προδύνως πέμψαι (Thuc. 6. 75).

'Neither to regard with honour stores of wealth without men, nor that success (φῶς) can come to the poor equal to their strength,' in other words, 'Men without wealth are weak: wealth without men is weaker than it looks.' Her real anxiety, which is veiled, is that Xerxes' hosts, with lavish appointment, may prove too weak for the Men without wealth, i.e. Greeks. If we retain ἀφραστὸς, this sense is the justification of an expression which would otherwise seem inexplicably emphatic. 'The Greeks are weak in wealth (she hints), but their strength is great: we have great wealth: may not our men fail?'

168. ἄμεμφής, i.e. not to be made light of, 'great,' ὄφθαλμῳ, 'our Eye,' a common Greek figure for any thing or person that is precious. So ὄφθαλμος οἶκων, Cho. 934; ὄφθαλμος Σκηλίας, Pind. Ol. 2. 18; μέγας γ' ὄφθαλμος οἱ πατρὸς τάφοι, Soph. O. T. 987; ὧμα πάσης χθονός, Eum. 1025.

169. So Klytaemestra (Ag. 968 sqq.) says (in effect) 'the return of the lord to his house is warmth in winter and coolness in summer.'

170. πρὸς τάδ', lit. 'in view of this,' i.e. 'now therefore.'

171. γηραλέα πιστώματα, abstract for concrete (like Χρυσηῆδων μείλημα, Ag. 1439; δουλευμα, Ant. 756; λῆμα, ib. 320; κηδευμα, O. T. 85, &c.), 'faithful elders,' a reference to the πιστοί, see note on 2.

172. ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστι, 'depend on you,' 'rest with you': so ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἐστιν, O. T. 314.

173. μὴ σε δις φράσαι, 'that you shall not tell twice.' The aorist after verbs of thinking, expecting, assurance, &c., is idiomatic in Greek, where in modern languages (and often also in Greek) the future is found: Phoen. 1599, ἔθεσανος φονέα γενέσθαι πατρός; Alc 1082, νομιζεῖ τὴν πόλιν χρώμον ποτὲ . . . πεσεῖν; Orest. 1527, δοκεῖς με τλήμα; and even combined with future, Theb. 427, φροίν ἐκπέρσεως . . . οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς βολὴν σχέσειν.

Observe also that the verb is ἵσθι, and therefore we have here infin. for partic. Antig. 1094, ἐπιστάμεσθα . . . μυπύττον' αὐτοῦ . . . λακεῖν. μὴ (for οὐ) is regular usage after imperative ἵσθι, by a sort of attraction.

174. μὴ τί ἐγγον, by an easy zeugma, after φράσαι.

ὡς θέλῃ, 'wheresoe'er our power will guide you': we should
rather expect 'can' than 'will,' but with δύναμις 'can' would be clumsy.

[After 175 the trochaic measure is dropped, till Atossa has recounted her vision, and her reflections, in the ordinary iambics of the scenes: then it is resumed again (215) for the dialogue, until the messenger returns.]

178. Ἰαόνων, Ionic form for Ἰώνων.

179. εἶδομην: the middle ἐδέσθαι, common in Homer, is much used in Tragg. instead of the Attic ἐδόθω.

183. Δωρικός, the sleeveless brooch-fastened χιτῶν of the Doriōns, which from the time of the Persian wars was the ordinary dress of all Greeks in Hellas, as opposed to the long-sleeved Ionian dress worn by Asiatics (Gardner, Greek Antiq., p. 50).

185. ἀμώμω, 'faultless.'

187. Observe the use of the word βάρβαρος, natural as addressed to an Athenian audience, but dramatically impossible in the queen's mouth. See note on 349.

188. τοῦτο..τεύχειν, an unusual anacolouthon, where the verb is turned into infin. by the intervening sentence ὅς...ῥάν, just as though ἐδόκουν was the principal verb: or as though ἐδοξάτην (181) was carried on in sense.

190. κατεῖχε κατάραν, 'strove to check and soothe their wrath,' common 'tentative' sense of imperf.

192. τῆς ἐπαργυροῦτο στολη, 'she (the Asiatic) waxed proud with the trappings': she was proud of her slavery and easy to rule.

194. ἔσφαδος, 'struggled,' 'was restive': the word often used of 'gasp' or 'spasms' of a dying man. Eurip. (Frag. 821) uses it exactly as here, of horses: σφαδάζειν ὡς νεόιγα πῶλον (cf. Soph. Ai. 833).

ἐννη, a vague word, 'trappings,' 'gear,' 'fittings,' used of armour, ἐντεια δίναι (II. 3. 339); of rigging, ἐντεια νρός (Hymn. Apol. 489); of banquets, ἐντεια δαιτός (Od. 7. 232). So here of the fittings of a chariot, probably meaning the reins, cf. 196.

195. ξυναρπάξει, 'seized it,' the δίφρος.

196. ἀνευ χαλίναν, 'free of the bridle': she had torn the reins to pieces.

199. τέπλους ῥήγνυσιν, the usual Oriental sign of sorrow and humiliation. See 125.

202. πηγής; to wash in the sea or fresh water after a bad dream or vision was a common Greek custom of purification: Apoll. Rhod. iv. 660, 'Kirke I found laving her head with seawater: so with night-dreams had she been affrighted': Ar. Ran. 1338 (in the burlesque parody of Eurip.), the heroine after a 'dread vision' calls for water ὡς ἀν θείον ὄνειρον ἀποκλίσω. The
poet here and below is ascribing Greek feelings and customs to the Persians who had ‘no altars, fires, libations, or cake offerings,’ Herod. 1. 132.

σὺν θυτησὸς χερί, ‘with sacrificial hand.’ The poets often use συν instead of the simple dat. of ‘instrument’ or ‘attendant circumstances’: but here the use is specially easy, as the offerings or victims actually accompany her.

203. βωμόν: the acc. is rightly used since motion is implied: the phrase means, not ‘I stood near,’ but ‘I went and stood near,’ ‘I drew near’: like παρὰ σὲ κυδέσομαι, &c.

ἀποτρόπαιος, ‘aversers of ill’ (usually ἀποτροπαιοῦς): Apollo is commonly so invoked, Aristoph. Eq. 1307, Av. 61, Plut. 359, perhaps both as Healer and Sun-god: night visions are ‘shown to the Sun’ (Soph. El. 424, Eur. I. T. 42). Here the god meant is clearly Φοῖβος (206), whose altar is the scene of the next omen.

204. πιλανον, ‘cake,’ ‘paste,’ stuff,’ a vague word used poetically of many liquids or half-liquids, such as oil, honey, blood, gum, foam: specially as here and 524 of sacrificial cake, made of oil, honey, and meal, which was burnt on the altar (Cho. 92). Cf. 816, where it is used of blood.

δὲν τῆλη τάδε, ‘to whom these dues belong’: τῆλη ‘rites’ are here the offerings themselves, as τῆλη ἑγκαρπα, ‘offerings of fruit,’ Soph. Tr. 238.

207. κύρκος, the ‘falcon’ is sacred to Apollo, as a bird of omen: Od. 15. 529 is called Ἀπίλλανος ταχὺς ἄγγελος: here attacks and mangles an eagle (the bird of Zeus), a stronger and swifter bird than himself, who is taking refuge at the altar: altogether a fearful portent!

δρόμῳ, ‘at full speed,’ a natural extension of meaning.

213. οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πολεῖ: it is far best to take this as a sudden thought, a dramatic change of phrase from what she was going to say. She begins, ‘if he win he will be the wonder of all men, if he fail’—[the disgrace will be as great is the natural antithesis: she shrinks from this, and like a proud queen of despotic power substitutes] ‘he is not answerable to the state: but in either case, if only he return safe (σωθείσ), he is ruler of the land.’

217. ἀποτροπὴν τελευ, ‘to turn aside’: here and 222 they advise the common prayer of one in perplexity at an ominous event, viz., ‘that the good may be fulfilled, the evil averted’: so Soph. El. 646 Klytaemestra (troubled by a dream) prays ‘if good it may be accomplished, if ill, it may be turned upon her foes’: and Ag. 144, after gloomy prophecy of the seer, the Chorus pray to Artemis ἡμβολα κράναι δεξιά μέν, κατάμορφα
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dε φάσματ' ἀνορθοῖν [last word an ingenious emendation of Wecklein], 'to fulfil the propitious signs, and correct the evil visions.'

ἀποτροπήν, o long: so ἀποκρύψει (Prom. 24), μηλότρόφου (Persae, 763), and frequently.

220. χέσαθα middle is an Epic usage (Od. 11. 26, χώς χέωμην) adopted by the poets (Oid. Kol. 477, ጺrest. 472).

222. So Cho. 147 Elektra pours libations on the tomb of Agamemnon, and prays him πομπὸς ἵσθι τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἀνώ. Dead heroes and kings are powerful below.

223. κάτοχα...σκότω, 'wrapt in darkness,' ἀμαυροῦσθαι, lit. 'dimmed,' i.e. hidden.

224. θυμόμαντις, 'divining by my spirit,' i.e. not by divine inspiration, but human insight: the same contrast O. T. 397, γνώμη κυρήσας, οὐδ' ἅπ' οἰωνὼν μαθὼν.

225. τελείν, 'will turn out,' intransitive as Theb. 659, εἰςομεσθα ὧποι τελεί; Cho. 1021, οὐ γὰρ ὁδ' ὑπη τελεί.

πανταχῇ, it will 'anyhow' be well, because (should the prayer be heard) if the omen is good all will be prosperous, if bad the ill will be averted. For κρίνομεν (of interpreting dreams) see next note.

226-7. The phrase τήνδ' ἐκφωσας φάτω, literally means 'hast confirmed this utterance,' which is taken two ways: (1) 'hast given this sure interpretation,' (2) 'hast settled on this advice.' But the phrase recurs 521, τῆδ' ἐκφωσεν φάτως ὑμῶν, where the context is decisive for (2). It may be added that (1) would be a mere repetition of τῶν' ἐνυπνιών κρῆτης, which is unlikely. Moreover, the advice is clear and full: the interpretation is most doubtful. Translate: 'Indeed 'tis with loyal heart toward my son and my house that thou the first interpreter of these visions hast given this sure advice'; so the schol. on 521. κρίνω is the regular word for 'interpreting' dreams, cf. ὑνειροκρήτης, Cho. 37, κρήται τῶν' ὑνειρώτων. The first interpretation was (by a natural superstition) regarded as important: if unfavourable, the bad omen was strengthened.

229. ἁμοιόμεν, 'order,' 'arrange': so τὰ δ' ἀλλα φροντὶς...θῆσει δικαίως, Ag. 913; πῶς τιθέαι ἄμορφος ὥδ; Eum. 678. There is no need for Wecklein's ingenious emendation φίλα for φιλοις.

232. 'The setting of the Sun's decline,' stately pleonastic expression in Aeschylus' manner. Wecklein quotes Prom. 6, δεσμῶν...πέδαυ; Pers. 436, συμφορὰ πάθους, 543, λέκτρων εὐνάς: the slight difference of aspect or abstractness in the words is enough to explain and justify the pleonasm.

233. ἀλλὰ μὴν, 'but yet': she finds it is hard to believe Xerxes would have gone to take it if it is really so far.
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234. An Athenian speaking to Athens naturally boasts that,
if Athens is taken, all Greece is taken.

236. τοιούτος is explained by ἔρξας... κακά: an idiomatic use: Plat. Apol. 33 A τοιούτος φανοῦμαι... οὐδεὶς συγχωρήσας. ἔρξας is unconnected, as always with words which are explanatory. 'Many ills' is a euphemistic reference to Marathon.

238. ἀργύρου πηγή, 'the spring of silver' is the Laurian silver mines in S. Attica. Shortly before the invasion of Xerxes Themistokles had persuaded Athens to build 200 ships, and employ for the purpose large funds, kept in the treasury, from the proceeds of these very Laurian mines (Herod. 8. 144). As Athens was saved by her fleet, one understands the interest which these lines would have for the audience.

239. 'Is the bow-stretched arrow seen in their hands?' πρέπω, a favourite word of Aesch., used of sight, sound, and even smell—anything that strikes on the senses: of sight, πρέποντος ὡς εἰς γραφαίς, Ag. 242; of sound, βοήν ἄμικτον... πρέπειν, ib. 321; of smell, ἀτρός πρέπειν, ib. 1311.

240. ἕγχη σταδία, 'spears for close fight,' opposed to the skirmish, to which archers and other light-armed troops are suited.

φεράσπιδες σαγαί, 'shielded armour,' describes (in Aeschylean style) the hoplite: the skirmishers wore the peltē or light shield.

241. ποιμάνω, lit. 'shepherd,' i.e. 'king,' see 75.

243. The despotic queen assumes that an army without a king cannot stand their ground: the answer is bitter and effective, 'They did so, to the destruction of Dareios' army!'

245. κλώτων. MSS. read ἱώτων, but this cannot give the sense 'gone' which is required. I have adopted Wecklein's ingenious κλώτων, which might easily have been corrupted into the common word ἱώτων: for Κ after Σ easily drops out.

Note that we have τῶν omitted with the participle, an Epic usage common in Aesch., e.g. πείμετε παραβάσων 'Ερμύν, Ag. 59; τιώτας, 'those who honour,' ib. 706; πιπλάντων, Cho. 360.

Note also that τοῖς τεκοῦσι governs genitive, cf. Eur. Alk. 167, αὐτῶν ἡ τεκοῦσα. The fact is that ὁ τεκῶν, ἡ τεκοῦσα are often used as nouns, with gen., as well as participles with the proper acc. The Latin parenser was originally participle.

246. ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, the 'restrictive' infin., limiting the sentence with a qualification ('at least to my thought'): like ὡς εἰπεῖν, ξυνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν.

πάντα ναμερτὴ λόγον, 'the whole tale truly told,' ναμερτή being practically predicative in use.
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247. Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν, 'is plainly Persian to see,' μαθεῖν the common 'epexegetical' inf. (like κλείνειν next line).

[Enter a Messenger in haste.]

250. μέγας: the MSS. read πολύς, which has crept in by error from 251, and here is hardly Greek. Heimsoth reads ταύς, an old adj. quoted by Hesych. and explained as μέγας: but the word is unknown outside Hesych. and cannot be safely read here. Moreover Eurip. Or. 1077 has the very phrase μέγας πλούτου λιμῖν (clearly imitated from this), 'haven of wealth,' a characteristic picturesque phrase for a place where wealth pours in from all lands.

251. No caesura: there are many such lines in Aesch. Here (as in some of the other lines) the slowness and weight of the line is appropriate to the grievous tidings. So 352, 465, 469, 489, 503, 509; Prom. 6, 113.

256–89. This passage consists of a dialogue [between the Chorus (in lyric lamentations) and the messenger (in iambic couplets describing the disaster)] which is neither strictly an act (ἐπεισοδίου), nor a στάσιμον or antistrophic choric song, but is of the nature of a κομψός or lament carried on between the two. There is a similar passage Ag. 1072–1177, where Kasandra utters lyric cries, and the Chorus respond at first with iambic lines, afterward with lyric (dochmiac) replies.

256. ἄνια, 'painful,' 'miserable,' usually ἄνιαρα. So 1055, 1060.

257. νεκότα καὶ δαί, 'strange and cruel.'

258. δαίνεσθή, imp. 'weep' (lit. 'be wetted' with tears).

260. ὡς . . . γ', 'ay, for,' the common use of γε in dialogue, assenting but qualifying.

261. νόστιμον φάος, the Homeric νόστιμον ἡμαρ, with the additional suggestion of joy or happiness conveyed by the word φάος 'light.'

262. 'Verily too long a life is this that is given us elders, to hear, &c.,' i.e. I have lived too long when I hear such trouble.

267. ἐποροῦνθη, 'were provided,' 'were sent': there is a touch of irony in using a word more natural with blessings.

269. βέλεα παμμυγή, 'weapons of every fashion': they think of the boasted number and variety (50 sqq.) of nations, forces, and arms, now all crushed in one disaster.

M reads γάς . . . ἔλθεν ἄιαν, 'Ελλάδα χόραν, where we have the double awkwardness of a Persian calling Greece διαν, and two nouns for 'land' in apposition. Weil reads τάος for γάς, αῖας for ἄιαν: and Blomfield found διαν in one late MS.
and reads δαν. These emendations are all easy and much improve the sense.

275. ἄλδεινα μέλεα πολυβαφή, 'sea-tossed sodden limbs,' forcible picture of the drowned men. μέλεα, a reading found in the margin of a late MS., is no doubt right for the unmetrical σώματα of the MSS.: it is the usual case of a gloss supplanting the true reading. πολυβαφή, being metrically equivalent to παμμυγή, may be accepted: no need for παμβαφή (Kaiser).

277. The reading of MSS. πλαγκτῶς ἐν διπλάκεσσοι is obviously corrupt: it could only mean 'in their wandering (i.e. washed hither and thither) cloaks,' which is impossible. Scholl. give wild interpretations (e.g. 'διπλάκεσσι, the two plains, land and sea'!!). Hartung's σπιλάκισσοι, 'rocks,' is almost certainly right. Perhaps πλαγκτῶν, agreeing with φίλον (Weil), is the most likely correction of πλαγκτῶς.

The sense will then be: 'Alas the sea-tossed sodden dead limbs of our dear comrades—thou tellest—washed hither and thither [lit. 'wandering'] among the reefs.'

279-82. MSS. read Πέρσαις after δυσαινή and βοάν before. Far the best and simplest correction is Wecklein's, to change the places of the two. I take Wecklein's ἰννασαν for ἰθεσαν, which restores the metre. I have ventured to read δάους (for δάους, which can hardly be translated) in the sense 'of the foe,' common acc. after verbs of telling or speaking of, here (by a very easy extension) after ὦς . . . βοάν.

'Utter a cry, sorrowful and woful to the Persians, of the foe, how deadly were all the deeds they wrought, alas! to the slaughter of our host.'

286. δάους, 'to her foes,' is the simplest and most natural rendering.

288. μάταν, 'for naught,' i.e. having done nothing to deserve it. So schol. μηδὲν βλαψάσας.

289. MSS. read ἐκτίσον εὐνιδας which does not suit the metre (ἰννασαν, αἰαὶ στρα-) of the strophe. I adopt Boeckh's εὐνιδας ἐκτίσον (Epic form), which is the simplest emendation.

295. καταστάς, 'composing thyself,' 'calmly.' So Ar. Ran. 1044 καθεστηκός, 'settled,' of a wind; and Arist. Pol. 8. 5. 22, uses the adverb καθεστηκός for 'steadily,' 'calmly.'

296. τίς οὖ τίθηκε: she naturally wishes for the good news first: but the phrase forcibly suggests disaster.

297. σκηπτούχια, 'command:' the general, like the king, holds the 'staff.' So σκηπτούχια βασιλεῖς in Homer.

298. ἄνανδρον, 'bereft of the man,' i.e. the leader.

300. φάος (Epic), 'delight,' 'joy,' as above, 261.
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302. μυρίας ἰπτοῦ: ἰπτος fem. is used collectively, for 'cavalry,' even in prose, ἡ διακοσία ἰπτος, Thuc. 1. 62. So line 315 inf.

βραβεύεις, properly 'one who presides' at a contest, a judge: here used for 'commander.' So Ag. 230 it is used for 'princes,' 'leaders.'

On the quantity, Ἀρτεμήρης, see above, 29.

The whole speech, 302–30, is a fine example of Aeschylus' power of swift and forcible narrative, in the Epic vein: while it serves the dramatic purpose of heightening the disaster, when Bactrian, Aegyptian, Trojan, Sardian, Mysian, Cilician, &c. have all lost their leaders—and those (he grimly adds, 330) 'but a few out of many.'

303. πᾶρ ἀκτᾶς, not 'on' (which would be dat.) but 'along': suggesting repeated battering of the hapless man as he drifted along.

The 'Silenian (rocks),' acc. to the schol., are a portion of the coast of Salamis near the Τρόπαιος ἀκρα or 'Trophy-head,' clearly named after the victory.

305. 'Sprang with a nimble leap from the ship,' a sort of grim and bitter irony: so Eur. Phoin. 1150–1, where a messenger, in describing the fighting before Thebes, says, 'And of our men many a tumbler thou wouldst have seen fallen to earth,' very much in the same spirit, and perhaps imitated from our passage. The original is prob. II. 16. 745 ἡ μᾶλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνήρ, ὡς ἤρει κυθιστᾶ: but this is taunting a fallen foe, which is of course done in quite a different spirit.

306. ἀριστεύεις, Blomfield's conj. for ἀριστος: a noun is required, else we have two adj. in apposition to the name.

ἰθαγενῆς, 'true-born,' i.e. a real native. (The word is Homeric (Od. 14. 203), used of legitimate sons opposed to νόδου.)

307. πολαῖ, 'haunts,' 'visits': another stroke of grim irony to describe the corpse repeatedly washing up against the rocky coast. The transitive use is mainly confined to 'turning the soil': but the compound ἀνατολέω is always transitive. Emper ingeniously conjectured στοδεῖ (a very easy correction which may be right), 'batters': but I retain the MSS. reading as it will probably stand, and varies the form of the irony.

'The isle of Aias' is of course Salamis.

309. πελαθρέμμωνα, 'nurse of doves,' generally taken (with the schol. and Hesych.) to be another descriptive phrase for Salamis, which according to a (doubtful) line in a Homeric hymn (10. 4) was sacred to Aphrodite, with whom the dove was connected. Hermann however argues that it was one of the islets near Salamis: the phrase seems obscure, without any name, or any other support to the theory: and it is safer to follow the schol.
NOTES. LINES 302–321

310. MSS. read νικώμενοι, an impossible word (and tense) of dead bodies knocked against the rocks by waves. I have taken Wecklein’s δινώμενοι which exactly suits, and is an easy change.

κύρισσον, ‘butted,’ a forcible vivid word in the poet’s manner. Note the Epic unaugmented form: so πέσου, 313; τροποῦτο, 376; παίουν’, 416; κυκλοῦτο, 458; θάναυ, 490; πίπτον, 506. This usage in Attic drama is confined to the narrative speeches, generally of messengers, which may be called the Epic element in tragedy; and the Epic forms seemed naturally suitable to these rapid narrations.

The licence is also found in Soph. and Eur., e.g. O. Kol. 1602, 1606–7–8, 1624; Eur. Bacch. 1c66, 1c84, &c.

It may be observed that in this line (and some of the instances quoted) the unaugmented form occurs after a diphthong or long vowel, where the augment may have been felt to be rather absorbed (prodelision) than absent. So below, 490.

311. ‘Neighbouring the springs of Nile’ is probably only Aeschylean for ‘Egyptian,’ and has no reference to the sources of the Nile, quite unknown then and 24 centuries after.

312. Φερεσσάκης (Bothé’s correction for the corrupt φεραεύης of M) may be an adj. (‘shield-bearer’) agreeing with Φαρμοῦχος, as some prefer: or a name, as I have printed it.

314. Χρυσεύς, ‘of Chryse,’ a place in the Troad, II. i. 37.

315. μελαίνης some take of the ‘swarthy’ troopers: but more probably it refers to the horses. This suits ἀπονω better: and is so less grotesque than as an antithesis to the ‘red-haired’ (πυρήνη) leader.

316. For the accumulated adjectives, cf. Ag. 154. φοβερὰ παλίνορτος οἰκονόμος δόλα μνάμων μῆς τεκνύποιονος, six adjectives! This habit however is found chiefly in lyrics.

317. πορφυρὰ βαφῆ are the ‘bloodstains.’

319. Another stroke of grim irony: the Bactrian warrior, battered against the reefs of Salamis, is a ‘stranger in a hard land.’


321. Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι. This line has been suspected, because it violates the law of the ‘Cretic,’ i.e. that when the last word is a Cretic (—ο) the fifth foot must not (as here) be a spondee.

But there are a few instances of the irregularity, the clearest being Eur. Phoin. 747, ἄραμφοτερον’ ἀπολειφθεν γὰρ οὐδὲν βάτερον, for which no plausible emendation has been proposed. It is quite possible that this line is genuine, especially as it is in an early play of Aeschylus, and the licence occurs in proper names.
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There is however another difficulty, that Arioramados is said (38) to be 'ruler of Thebes (in Egypt), and here his death 'brings mourning to Sardis.' Schol. says 'Sardis was his home,' and Hermann argues he may have been a Persian from Sardis appointed to be governor in Egypt. The name is certainly Persian.

324. Λυρναῖος, 'of Lynnesos,' a town in S. Troad. Stephanos (Byzantine geographer 5th cent. A. D.) quotes this line, identifying Aeschylus' Lynne with Lynnesos.

325. οὐ μάλλ' εὐτυχὸς: another ironic phrase, referring perhaps not merely to his painful death, but to his body being unburied.

326. εἰς: so εἰςδοκιμῶτατος εἰς σοφίαν, Plat. Apol. 29 D: a not uncommon variation for the dative.

330. πολλῶν παρόντων δ': notice δέ in the third (instead of the second) place. See note on 816.

334. δέ is superfluous after ἀταρ...πάλων: but it is exactly paralleled by Plat. Gorg. 414 D φέρε πρὸς θεόν, αὐτός δὲ ὁ Ἐσκράτης πῶς ἐκεῖ...;

335. ἡδιόσε, 'thought fit,' i.e. 'claimed,' 'dared.' So the middle is used φωνεῖ... εἶναι... ἡδιόσατο, Eum. 425.

336. ἐμβολή, regularly of attack by ships, προσβολή by land forces, ἐσβολή, of invasion: the natural preposition in each case.

338. κρατῆσαι, 'were stronger': it might have seemed that κρατεῖν was the more natural tense: but the aorist is often found when the emphasis is only on the fact. Thus we even find ἐβασιλεῦσε περιτήκοντα ἔτη and similar phrases.

338-43. For the question of the numbers of ships on the Greek and Persian side, see Appendix. It is enough to say here that Aesch. and Herodotus (7. 89) agree that the Persian fleet contained 1,207 ships, and that this agreement cannot be accidental.

342. The two words ἱπέρκομπτος, 'overboastful,' and ἱπέρκοπτος, 'excessive,' are both used by Aesch. and are confused in the MSS. In Cho. 136 they rightly read ἱπερκόπτως, required by the metre: in Sept. 455, where again ἱπερκόπτω δορί is required by the metre, they read ἱπερκόμπτω; and here also they read ἱπέρκομπτοι. 'Ships boasting in their speed' might do: but the better and more natural phrase is 'ships excelling in speed,' ἱπέρκοπτοι, which Wakefield proposed, and I have adopted. As between these two words the MS. authority, convicted of confusion, is clearly of less weight than usual.

344. λειφθήναι, 'to fall short,' an idiomatic use, whether literally, 'be behind,' Prom. 857, κύρκοι πελειῶν... κελειμένοι, or metaphorically, 'be inferior,' as here. He answers the
question himself, 'Force we had: but the gods loaded the
scales in favour of Athens (345-7).'

346. ἰσορρόπω: keeping up the metaphor of scales, 'equal-balanced.'

347-9. The Medicean MS. marks 347 with a dash, a common
way of indicating that the speaker is changed. This has led to
various proposals to rearrange and re-assign the three lines.
But the text as it stands will do, except that (with Schütz) we
must give 347 to the messenger. It is clear what has happened.
347 has no connecting particle, and therefore was supposed to be a reply: but the absence of connexion is right, since the line
is a mere summary of the two previous lines in other words:
and the universal idiom in Greek is to dispense with connexion
in such explanatory clauses.

349. A very fine answer to a hard question. Atossa asks 'Is
the city yet untaken?' The messenger cannot say 'yes,' for it
had been occupied and ravaged: yet he had just said 'The gods
save the city.' So he answers 'while men remain, defence is
sure.' The Persian's speech here as elsewhere is coloured with
Athenian sentiment. The poet writing a patriotic drama for
Athenian ears cannot help making the enemy's narrative turn
to the glory of Athens.

Of course in reality a messenger would have enlarged on the
sack of Athens.

352. For absence of caesura see note on 251.
καταυχήσας, 'waxing proud' (aorist).
354. ἀλάστωρ, 'Avenging spirit,' the personified curse which
attends on Pride or Sin, Ag. 1501, 1508; Supp. 415.
355-60. This is the famous story told afterwards by Herodotos
8. 75, how Themistokles, unable to persuade the Peloponnesian
chiefs to remain at Salamis, sent his slave Sikinnos to the Persian
generals to say that his master wished well to the Persians, but
that the Greek fleet was in alarm and dissension, and about to
fly; and advised them to enclose the fleet and attack them later,
proposing an easy victory.

360. δρασμῶ, 'flight,' lit. 'running off,' a contemptuous ex-
pression: Herod. uses the very word, perhaps taken from here
(δρασμῶν βουλεύονται).
362. φθόνος, the 'jealous displeasure' of the gods against any
form of Pride, Presumption, or excessive wealth or prosperity of
man—a deep-lying Greek feeling and superstition, common in
Aesch. Agamemnon feels afraid of it, when he treads on the

1 Cf. the regular use by the Persian queen or messenger of the word
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purple carpet, on his triumphant return (Ag. 947); Klytaimnестra pretends to feel it, after her extravagant burst of (assumed) joy at the king’s return (Ag. 904); Aigisthos feels it, after glorying over his enemy’s (supposed) death, Soph. El. 1466.

365. τέμενος (see note on ἀλσος, I11): properly a piece of land set apart and dedicated to a god. Thus Zeus has ‘a τέμενος and altar of sacrifice’ at Gargaros (II. 8. 48): the same phrase of Aphrodite at Paphos (Od. 8. 363). Hence the poets use it metaphorically: Pindar calls Syracuse τέμενος “Ἀρεος (Pyth. 2. 2), and the Nile-valley τέμενος Νεῖλοιο (Pyth. 4. 99). So here ‘the holy expanse of air,’ ‘the sacred space of heaven.’

366. στίφος, see 20.

367. φιλάσεως, inf. after the notion of orders contained in τάξιν. This inf. is common in prose.

371. πᾶνων, i.e. all the captains, ναυάρχων (363). στέρεσθαι, the regular form in pres. (and impf.) instead of στερεῖμαι, which is hardly found.

376. The oar (κόπη) was fastened by a thong (τροπωτήρ) to the thole-pin (σκαλμός). The verb for such fastening is τροπῳσθαι. εὐρετέμων is ‘proleptic,’ i.e. gives the result of the action. 378-9. The phrases ‘king of the oar,’ ‘lord of arms’ are stately poetic diction for ‘rower’ and ‘soldier.’ So Alkestis 498 πέλτησ ἀναξ, 1040 ἤχων ἄνάσσεων, Hel. 1267 ἔρετμών ἐπιστάτης, &c.

380. ναύς μακρὰ is the regular word for a ‘warship.’

382. διάπλοον καθίστασαν, ‘kept them rowing about.’

385. ἐκπλοῦν...καθίστατο, ‘tentative’ imperfect, ‘strove to sail out.’

386. λευκόπωλος, ‘day with her white steeds,’ is a Homeric memory: Od. 23. 246 Λάμπων καὶ Φαέθονθ’ οἵ τ’ Ἡδο πῶλοι ἄγουσι, ‘Brilliant and Bright, the steeds that bear the Dawn.’ White horses are ascribed to Persephone (Pind. Ol. 6. 95) and the Dioskouroi (Pind. Pyth. 1. 66). They are considered especially swift: Rhesos’ horses (II. 10. 437) are ‘whiter than snow and swift as winds.’ Latin poets imitate: Turnus’ horses, Aen. 12. 84, equis albis, Hor. Sat. 1. 7. 8 [Jebb, Soph. El. 706].

388. ‘First loud from the Greeks rose a sound as of song, a joyful strain’: the phrase is loaded and emphatic in Aeschylus' manner, to describe the paean: but there is no need of Wecklein’s ingenious reading ἔχει with a stop at παρά, which leaves μολπηθῶν ημίφημησον unconnected.

392. γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσθαι, ‘dashed from their hope.’ ἦς φυγῆ, ‘as in flight’: it could hardly be ‘for flight,’ as schol. explains.
NOTES. LINES 365-431

395. παντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν, not (as some take it) intransitive 'flamed over all those parts' but in the regular transitive sense 'set all their side afire,' a far finer expression. So Vergil took it, 'Martem accendere cantu,' Aen. 6. 165: and so the schol.

396. Ἐξεμβολᾷ is the simultaneous start of all the oars: 'dipped together their splashing oars.'

399-400. εὐτάκτως and κόσμῳ mean much the same: but there is no ground for suspecting corruption. Cf. συμφορὰ πάθος 436, a similar pleonasm.

406. 'Then from our side a clamour of Persian cries answered.'

408. χαλκήρη στόλον, 'bronze-sheathed beak': the στόλος was a sharpened beam, projecting in front, and armed with bronze covering, which was used to damage the enemy's ship by ramming.

411. κόρυμβα was the name of the stern decorations of ancient ships (a sort of feather-shaped end to the stern-post) which were kept as a trophy by the conqueror. If one ship charged another from behind, it would be the first thing broken off. [The position is proved by the passage in Apoll. Rhod. 2. 601, where Athena thrusts the Argo through the Symplegades: 'it sped like an arrow, but yet the clashing rocks brake off the topmost heads of the stern-post' (ἀφλάστου παρέβρισαν ἄκρα κόρυμβα). See Torr, 'Ancient Ships,' p. 68, and figs. 35, 36.] The word is used below metaphorically for 'top' or 'peak.'

δόρυ, 'the timber,' poetic for 'the ship,' as often in Tragedy, ἐπὶ ἱγαῖ δορᾶ, Ag. 1618; Suppl. 135, &c.

412. βέβα, 'the stream,' i.e. the long line: cf. βεβαῖον φωτῶν, 88.

416. κωτηρίστηρ στόλον, 'the array of oar-blades,' which would be shattered in the fouling of a mass of ships too close together. στόλος here in the general sense, not the special use 408.

417. οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως, 'with skill.'

421. χιοράδες (lit. 'hogs' backs'), 'reefs': so dorsum is used in Latin of a rock-ridge: 'dorsum immane mari summo,' Aen. 1. 110.

424. τοῖ δ', the Greeks. We observe the Epic form τοῖ, adopted by the same instinct as the unaugmented verbs, see on 310.

βόλον, 'a catch' of fish (schol. ἀγαραν).

425. ἀγαστῶς, 'fragments,' 'splinters.'

428. ἀφείλετο, 'took away,' i.e. 'stayed the slaughter.'

431. μηδάμ, neut. plur. μηδάμ used as adv., lit. 'nowise,' i.e. 'never.'

τοσοῦτότριμον, 'so great in number.' The word is doubted: but the schol. recognizes it, and it is a formation of the same kind as τοιοῦτότροπος, which is found in Herod. 7. 26 and Thuc.
2. 8. M reads τοσοῦν ἄριθμόν, which of course is possible: but it seems a duller and a balder phrase.

The inf. after ἵνα (instead of the partic.) is a variation from Attic diction; but is common in poetry, e.g. Soph. Ant. 1092; El. 908; O. T. 1455, &c. It recurs again immediately 435, for μεσοῦν is probably infin.

436. συμφορὰ πάθους, 'affliction of woe': for the doubly presented idea compare εὐτάκτως ... κόσμῳ (399-400). So συμφορὰ κακῶν 439.

437. i.e. 'so as to weigh twice as heavy in the scale as these,' the ills mentioned in 433. The metaphor from weighing is one of the commonest in Greek, as the words ἵσορροσς, ἀντιρρέπω, ἰσώπη, &c. show.

440. πέπουσαν ἐς τὰ μάσσονα, 'tending to worse.'

441. ἄκμαῖοι φύσιν, 'in the prime of their vigour.' φύσις is a variable word in meaning: here 'bodily condition'; Supp. 496, 'appearance'; Cho. 279, 'healthy flesh' (opp. to ulcers); Prom. 489, 'nature,' character'; O. T. 740, 'stature,' &c.

443. πιστὶν ἐν πρῶτοις, 'among the first in loyalty,' the acc. πιστὶν depending on ἐν πρῶτοις, equivalent to an adj. like ἄκμαῖοι, ἄριστοι, ἐκπρεπεῖσι on which the other accusatives depend.

445. συμφορᾶς, gen. after οἷ' γώ τάλανα, common after exclamations, ἵδι, ὠθοί, &c. and words like τάλας. It belongs to the large class of the gen. of respect. See 517, 918, 985.

447. νῆσος, Psyttaleia, a small island a mile long, half a mile from the coast of Attica, and rather less from Salamis, right in the channel where the battle was. After telling the story of Themistokles' stratagem (see above 355) Herod. goes on (8, 76): 'the Persians, believing what was told them, conveyed a large force on to the island Psyttaleia ... with this intention, that when the battle was fought (since the men and the wrecks would be most likely be cast up [ἐξουσομένων] on this island, lying as it does right in the channel where the coming battle would be) they might get possession of the wrecks, and kill the men'—almost exactly the same account. The conjecture ἐξουσοῖται (see below, note on 450), was made by Stahl because of Herodotos' word ἐξουσομένων.

449. ἐμβατεῖε, 'visits,' 'haunts.' Pan, who (according to a Homeric Hymn 19, 6) 'loves mountain tops and rocky paths,' was worshipped in the island. Pausanias, i. 36, 2, reports 'that there were no artistic statues (σῶν τέχνης ἀγαλμάτα) of Pan in the island, but rude images of wood' (ὡς ἐκαστὸν ἑτυχε ἔδωκα πεσουμένων). Herod. has a story how in the crisis before Marathon, when Pheidippides was sent to Sparta for aid, Pan appeared to him, and promised help to Athens, but complained that the
NOTES. Lines 436–462

Athenians had neglected him. Athens accordingly afterwards set up his worship in the Akropolis (Herod. 6. 105).

450. πέμπει, sc. Xerxes.

όπως, οὖν . . . ἐκσφοζίατο. According to the ordinary practice of Greek this sentence would be either οὖν . . . ἐκσφοζίωντο or οὖν . . . ἐκσφοζώτα. But there are a number of examples from various prose authors and poets where, if the sentence is (as here) past oblique, the optative is kept, in spite of the conjunction or relative having ἄν. Thus Dem. 865. 6 ἥγειτο δύναν λήψεσθαι, ἔπειδαν . . . δοκιμασθείν: Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 6 ἀνδραποδιάτας . . . ἀπεκάλει, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαίον εἶναι αὐτοῖς διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ἄν ἄν λάβουν τὸν μισθὸν: Isocr. 17. 15 ἱέρων μαστιγοῦν . . . ἔως ἄν τάληθη δόξειν αὐτοῖς λέγειν. So Xen. Cyr. 7. 5. 49; Hell. 2. 14. 8; 2. 3. 48; Soph. Trach. 2, 164, 687. Of course many of these have been emended: in prose ἄν can be dropped, and the verse-passages altered. But this is an unsatisfactory method of dealing with so many instances, especially as the oratio obliqua is always a feature of such sentences, and probably is the reason for the usage. It is very unlikely that this common form of sentence should only have been thus corrupted in oratio obliqua passages.

νεῶν φθαρέντες, 'wrecked from their ships': νεῶν, gen. of separation; preposition often omitted in poetry, as in Epic.

ἐκσφοζίατο, 'landed safe,' νήσον being acc. as the verb implies motion. There is no need for Stahl's conjecture ἐξοσφοζίατο.

453. πόρον, of the sea, as 357, 501, and frequently. It is strictly (as here) of narrow seas, 'waterways,' 'straits'; but is often used more loosely.

454. κακός . . . ἱστορόν, 'ill-knowing.' ἱστορέω is from ἱστωρ (stem ἱδ-, 'get knowledge,' 'find'), old Homeric word, 'one who finds,' 'judge,' 'arbiter.' The verb is used for 'inquire,' 'learn,' or 'know': Eum. 455 πατέρα δ' ἱστορεῖς καλῶς, 'thou knowest'; Prom. 632 τὴν τῆςδὲ πρῶτον ἱστορήσωμεν νόσου, 'let us learn.'

457–8. ἄμφι δὲ κυκλοῦντο, for ἄμφεκκυκλοῦντο; the Epic use of tmesis (prep. separated from compound verb) as well as absence of augment (see 310). Tmesis recurs 872, 917.

ἄμφικανεῖν, the Persians, of course (as schol. says). The omission is rather unusual, but the sense is unmistakeable. So below, 462, where the Greeks are the subject, and are not named.

462. ἐξ ἐνὸς πόδου: πόθος is the 'rush' of waters, and seems to include the notion both of swiftness and of sound, one or other notion prevailing according to the place. Here either 'with one rush,' or 'with one cry' would do: but as Aeschylus only uses the word twice, here and 406—where it undoubtedly
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means sound—we had perhaps better take it 'with one shout.' So ἱδαίς 396.

463. κρεοκοκτοῦσι, 'cut to pieces': the word properly means 'to mince meat,' and is decidedly audacious though effective. Eurip. uses it (perhaps in imitation or mockery of this line) in Kyklops 358.

464. ἐκαπέθεθεραν, notice the rare compound, for emphasis, 'utterly destroyed': imitated by Soph. Trach. 713.

465. No caesura: see note on 251. This is one of the cases where the heavy effect of no caesura suits the sense. It occurs again 469.

466. παντὸς ἐφαγὴ στρατοῦ, 'in sight of the whole army.' This must be the meaning, though the derivation is obscure. We have (Eur. Suppl. 652) ἐστὶν θεάτης, πύργον ἐφαγὴ λαβὼν in exactly the same sense: while Bach. 662 χιώνος ἐφαγέως βολαί means 'clear-see,' not 'clear-seeing.' So in English we can say equally 'his sight was clear' and 'the view was clear.' There is another quite distinct word ἐφαγής (from ἐφαγός) meaning 'righteous,' 'pure,' which we have in Soph. O. T. 921, Antig. 521, and many other places.

467. διθον: the 'hill' was the slope (Herod. 8. 90) at the south end of Mount Aigaleos, the ridge that separated the plain of Eleusis from the south-east plain in which Athens lies. The Sacred Road to Eleusis went over a col of this ridge: the west end of it (where Xerxes sat) commands Salamis, hardly a mile off, and the strait where the battle was fought.


472. ἐπενευράς φρενῶν, 'cheated of their wits.' So Αιάς 1391 ἐπενευραὶ ἐπιδίων.

473. πυκνῶν, 'to his cost': a common use, the adj. always being, as here, in emphatic position, see Od. 17. 448; Prom. 739.

474. ἀπήρχεσαν, 'sufficed,' i.e. to satisfy the 'malignant spirit.' The number slain at Marathon Herod. (6. 117) puts at 6400.

476. ἀντίπωνα, 'requital.' πρᾶξαν, in its special sense 'to exact,' used of payments, penalties, retribution, &c.

478-9. αἱ . . . τάδη. There is no need to alter this prosaically to οἱ . . . τῶνδ' with Thurot and many modern edd. The queen asks of the ships that escaped: the answer is (as of course she means) about the men. ναὼν οἱ would be a very awkward expression.

κατ' οὐρον, 'where the wind bore them' (as schol. says).

481. οὐκ εὐκοσμίου, a mild expression (with the common Greek meiosis) for 'in confusion.'

482. τε, because many other places are to be mentioned,
though with a natural irregularity this sentence takes another turn.

484. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀσθματὸς κενοί, lit. 'empty from hard breathing,' a rather strained and bold expression for 'exhausted with hard efforts.' [Corruption has been suspected: but though the diction is careless, the sense is plain—'Some faint from thirst perished round the springs, some dying from exhaustion had to tramp on'—then the list of lands to be traversed sufficiently explains διώλλυτο.]

485-8. The countries named are in the natural order on the march from Attica (NW., then NE.) for the return of the fugitives. Boeotia, Phokis, Doris (a small Dorian hill settlement north-west of Phokis), the Maliax gulf (the great indentation of the coast off the ōk of Euboeia), and Achaia (a small district south of Thessaly, between Mount Othrys and the Pagasaean gulf).

489. No caesura: see on 251.

490. θάνον, Epic unaugmented form (see on 310). This is one of the cases where it could be written θανν, and the vowel elided after -οι in τελέστοι (prodelision): but in view of the other instances it is more probably meant to be Epic and without augment.

492. Magnesia is the long narrow promontory projecting SE. from Thessaly, just N. of Euboea. Aχίος is the chief river of Macedonia flowing due South into the Thermaic gulf.

εσ τε: the first acc. γαϊνω has no prep.: the second Μακεδονων χώραν alone has the preposition εσ. No doubt the prep. is often felt as belonging to both: but it is important to remember that this is made much easier by the fact that the case alone is usually sufficient to give the meaning required, and that in the Epic dialect the prep. (really just developing out of an adverb) is often after its case, and frequently absent.

So Aesch. Eum. 692, το τ' ἡμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρώνη; Soph. O. T. 734 Δελφῶν κατ' Δαυλίας; id. ib. 761 ἀγροὺς σφε πέμψαι κατ' ποιμνίων νομάς; Ant. 1176 πατρών ἡ πρός οἰκείας χερὸς, &c.

493. πόρον, here 'passage,' 'ford.'

494. Bolbe, a large lake just N. of Chalkidike, empties into the Strymonian Gulf S. of Amphipolis. 'Bolbe's marshy reed' is poetic inversion for the prosaic 'the reedy marsh of Bolbe.' Mount Pangaioi, just E. of the Strymon, near the famous battlefield of Philippi. The Edones or Edonoi are a Thracian tribe in the district north of Pangaioi, between the Strymon and the Nestos. All these places are in the right order, on the direct coast route from Attica to the Hellespont.

498. νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ, 'thinking them of no account.' Cf.
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Eum. 423, ὃποι τὸ χαίρειν μὴ δαιμοῦ νομίζεται. It is practically equivalent to ‘disbelieving’; the positive phrase νομίζειν θεοῦ is idiomatic for ‘to believe in gods.’

500. θεόκλυτον, ‘calling on gods.’

501. This line in its metrical character is unique. The ordinary third foot and fourth foot caesuras (one or other of which is regularly found) are both wanting. There is a caesura, but it is in the fifth foot: which foot is moreover a trisilab, always rare, and particularly in this poet. Porson rearranged the verse: κρυσταλλοπηγὰ διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περὰ: Heimsoeth read κρυσταλλοπηγὰ διαπερὰ πόρον στρατὸς. This is easy enough. The real difficulty is to explain how a verse of normal metre was corrupted into its present form, and on this the correctors offer no hint. In view of the other metrical variations, viz, the six lines without caesura (see 251), and the ‘Cretic’ 321, it is far more likely the verse is genuine, and the aberrations are to be attributed to the early date of the play: the poet was still trying experiments.

διὰ πόρον, ‘the use of διὰ with acc. in the literal sense of ‘through,’ ‘across,’ is not Attic. It is common in Epic, and occurs occasionally in the Tragedians who imitate Epic usage.

503. No caesura: see 251.

505. διήκε, taken by some (Well., Blomf.) as from διήκω, ‘pass through,’ ‘pierce,’ which is possible: but on the whole it is more probably aor. of διέναι, ‘shot through’ (either intrans. or better διήκειν αὐγάς) which makes the same general sense. So Pal., Weckl., and the scholiast, who explains it διελθεῖν ἐποίησεν.

506. MSS. read εὐτυχεῖ or εὐτυχῆς (the latter clearly a correction). Paley’s ηὐτυχεί is clearly right.

507. πνεῦμα ἀπορρήξει βίον, ‘broke off the breath of life,’ a fine characteristic phrase, imitated thrice by Eurip., I. T. 974 βίον ἀπορρήξειν, Or. 864 πνεῦμα ἀπορρήξει, Tros. 750 πνεῦμα ἀπορρήξεις σέθεν.

509. No caesura, see 251: here the heaviness of the metre is suitable to the sense, and suggestive.

510. οὐ πολλοὶ τίνες. So Herod., who says (8. 115) that Xerxes reached the passage of the Hellespont ‘with hardly a fraction of his army’ (οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν). Aesch. however says nothing of the large force left with Mardonios (300,000 acc. to Herod. 8. 100).

511. ἐστοίχον γαῖαν, ‘the land of their homes,’ the adj. has sacred associations, as ἐστία was the centre of the worship of the household. So ἐστοίχον ἐς πόλιν (perhaps an echo of this line), Soph. Ant. 1083.

30
NOTES. LINES 500-535

ως, poetic use for ὁστε.
515. δυσπόνητε, 'woful,' 'ruinous.'
517. στρατοῦ, for gen. see 445.
519. See 251.
520. φαύλως ἄγαν, 'too weakly,' i.e. wrongly, untruly.
521. τῷ εὐφροσεν φήμες, 'your word hath given this sure
counsel,' i.e. to pray to the gods. See 226-7.
523. φθιτοῖς, 'the dead': she means Dareios in particular,
as the course of the play makes clear. Γη and φθιτοῖ are both
nether powers.
524. πέλανον, 204.
525-6. Sense: 'I know indeed [twill be, i.e. I shall utter
my prayers] when the deed is done [too late to alter the
disaster] but [I shall do it] in hopes it might be better here-
after.' The ως is not 'that': but the same use of ως as with the
gen. abs., lit. 'aware that the deed is done.' The structure is
rather abrupt and unusual: but the sense is clear, and there
is no reason to suspect it.
528. 'To confer faithfully with the Faithful,' πιστοῖ the name of
the special Councillors who advised the king, see 2. The
difficulty is that the Chorus themselves (who are here addressed)
are the πιστοῖ. Probably the Chorus (twelve at this date) are
naturally regarded as only representative of the larger body of
πιστοῖ; cf. 681 ὃ πιστὰ πιστῶν.
529. This line, 'if my son come hither before I return,' has
caused much difficulty, since Atossa comes back 598 while
Xerxes appears first three hundred lines later at 909; and the
precise caution to the Chorus seems meaningless in a drama
where nothing comes of it. See Appendix for further sug-
gestions.
531. πρὸσθήται κακῶν, 'get some further ill.'

[Chorus, 532-97. (1) ANAPAESTS. 'Oh Zeus! thou hast de-
stroyed the great army and plunged Susa and Agbatana in
sorrow! Women rend their veils and weep: brides desert
their couches to wail: we too lament (532-47) (2) FIRST
STASIMON. All Asia groans: Xerxes led them forth, and lost
them: the ships and Ionian hands slew them: hardly did the
king escape. Utter the loud lament! Tossed by the waves,
torn by the fish, they perished: the house, the bereaved parents,
immel them. The rule of Persia is gone—no tribute, no
reverence is paid: Rebellion's tongue is free: the Persian power
lies on the bloody soil of the sea-girt isle of Aias!' 548-597.]

535. Susa and Agbatana, the two capitals of the Great King,
see 16.
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537. καλύπτρα, 'the veil,' was usually a flap of the χιτῶν or ἰμάτιον, and not separate: the tearing of this is mentioned as a sign of grief, Suppl. 122.

538. κατερείκεσθαι, 'to bruise' or 'tear,' used especially of rending garments.

541. ἄβρογος, lit. 'in luxury of sorrow,' i.e. unchecked, weak, abandonment to grief. ἄβρος is 'soft,' 'delicate,' 'luxurious': 543 ἄβροχίτου is literal, 'softly clad.'

542. πολιοῦσαι, Epic or Ionic form, see 64.

546-7. 'And I too uplift [i.e. 'celebrate'] the truly woeful fate of those that are gone.' This is the most probable sense of αἴσω, as in Eur. Herakl. (321-2) πολλῷ σ' ἐπαίνῳ... ἄρῳ; Ar. Ran. 377 ὁποῖος ἄρεις τὴν Σώτειραν. Others take it as a sort of transference of meaning from the πένθος to the μόρον: but you can hardly say 'raise a lamentable fate,' meaning 'raise a lament for the fate.' Others suspect the passage, as not being genuine: but it is not necessary to suppose this.

δοκίμως: δόκιμος is properly 'tested,' 'approved': so the adv. means 'truly.'

552. ἐπέσε (Epic word ἐφέσα, 38) 'ordered.' δυσφρόνως, 'blindly,' 'amiss': Antig. 1261 φρενῶν δυσφρόνων; Theb. 875 ἦ δυσφρόνει.

553. βάρος is an Egyptian word for a freight-ship or transport, called Αἰγυπτία βάρος, Supp. 874. In Eur. Iph. A. 297 we find βαρβάρους βάρδας, 'foreign hulks,' as a contemptuous term for any ships that mean to fight the Greek ships at Aulis. βαρίδεσσι, Epic form: dative is instrum.

554. τίττε, Epic syncopated form of τί ποτε, Od. I. 225, II. 10. 85. So Agam. 975.

μέν is not answered by δὲ, but the antithesis is all the more felt because it is not expressed, 'Why was Dareios successful [while his son has failed so disastrously]?' It may be noticed however that this metre, common in Aeschylus, is usually strictly trochaic, while τίττε | Δαρεῖ | -ος μέν has a spondee in the second place: and Wecklein reads accordingly here and 651, 653 the form Δαρεῖος. But in the absence of support for this form, and the possibility of the metre allowing Δαρεῖος here, it is better to leave it.

555. ἄβλαβής, after the failure of Dareios' Scythian raid in 522, the burning of Sardis (500) and Marathon (490), ἄβλαβής, 'untouched by disaster,' seems strangely unsuitable. We must remember however, that Dareios had thoroughly organized the Persian kingdom, had conquered Thrace and Macedonia,
and crushed the Ionic revolt: and the Chorus, in glorifying
the past monarch in comparison with the present, do not adhere
pedantically to the facts.

556. τὸξαρχὸς, 'ruler of archers,' i.e. of Persians, see 85,
147, 239.

557. ἀκτωρ, lit. 'leader,' i.e. 'king,' as schol. explains.

559. λινόπτεροι κυνώπιδες, 'flaxen-winged dark-eyed ships,' in
the poet's terse imaginative style. In Homer it is the σκυρ
which are the ship's wings (ἐρετμὰ . . . τὰ τε πτερά ἐναὶ πέλουτα,
Od. II. 125, &c.)—really a truer comparison: but later always
the sails as here. 'Dark-eyed' is literal: ancient ships gene-
really had on each bow a huge eye painted, probably from the
Greek decorative instinct, combined with the natural fancy that
a ship is alive, and must see ahead. So Aesch. of the Egyptian
ship, Supp. 716 καὶ πρόφορα πρῶσεν ὀμμασιν βλέπονος ὀδὸν.
[All MSS. read αἷ δ' ὀμόπτεροι, neither sense nor metre: the
corruption is uncial, as Schütz saw: ΛΙΝΟΠ was read as
ΑΙΔΟΜΟΠ, the last two letters being repetition (dittography):
a brilliant and certain correction.]

562. ἰμβολαῖς, 'charges,' 'crash'; regularly used of the im-
 pact of a ship's beak on another ship.

563. 'The Ionians' hands' are the blows of the Greeks who
lined the shore of Salamis, Psyttaleia, and the mainland. There
were Dorians among them: but, to Persians, the Greeks were
always Ίάονες.

564. τυτθά, Epic word, meaning 'little': i.e. 'barely.' So
we speak of a narrow escape. Neut. Adj. for adv. as in Homer.

566. ἄμ πεδιήρεις, see below, note on 572.

568. πρωτόμοροι, 'the first to perish': M and most MSS.
read πρωτομοροὶ and δ' ἀλί δεινὰ 576. Some correct to πρωτο-
μόροι (Blomfield), and leave the antistrophe, reading ἀλὶ δεινὰ;
but I prefer with Hermann to read (with one Paris MS.) πρωτό-
μοροὶ here, and δὲ δίνα 576. The schol. reads and explains
πρωτόμοροι: and the expression 'torn by the eddy' is more
natural and forcible than 'by the dreadful sea.'

569. πρὸς, 'by': in place of ὑπὸ, with gen. of agent: poets
use πρὸς, ἐκ, παρὰ, ἀπὸ, constantly for ὑπὸ.

570. Κυρχείας: it appears Κυρχεία was an old name for Salamis,
from a hero Kychreus, son of Salamis and Poseidon. Sophokles
in the lost Teukros mentions a 'Kychreian hill,' said to be
'near' (περὶ) Salamis (Strabo 9. 1. 9, Soph. Frag. 521, Steph.
Byz. s.v. Κυψεῖος).

571. The metre is defective, and the verb is missing. Various
verbs are proposed, ἐρρανταί, ὀλοντο, τεθνᾶσιν, &c.: I have
taken Dindorf's ἐρρονοῦ, 'are lost.'
572. ἀμβόασον, Epic syncope (and assimilation) of the preposition (here ἅν) whether separate or in composition, e.g. ἄμ πυτά, ἄμ βωμοίς, ἄμφαδίς, ἄμπνυτο, &c. Tragedy is fond of these forms: ἀντρέπω, ἀμπέμπω, ἑπανελλω, ἑπαμθασίρη, ἀνστήσις, ἄνδαιο, προσαρμάσι, ὀδυσσακόμιστον, besides the common ἀντολαί, and several others, all occur in Aeschylus. ἅνα is much the commonest preposition so treated: of the fifty-four instances which occur in the Tragedians (excluding κατθονείν, only found in syncopated form) forty-seven are in words compounded with ἅνα. In this play, see 163, 566, 572, 621, 638, 807.

βαρύ, ‘loudly’: the use of neut. adj. as adv. is regular in Epic.

573. οὐράνι ἄχη might be, as schol. here takes it, ‘high as heaven,’ ‘reaching to heaven,’ like Suppl. 808 ἦλει δ’ οἴμφαν οὐρανίαν: but here it is better taken ‘heaven-sent,’ especially in view of the parallel phrase δαιμόνι ἄχη in the antistrope. Moreover, ‘heaven-high’ is more natural of a cry than of a grief. [οὐράνων ἄχος, Antig. 418, is probably different ‘a trouble in the sky,’ see Jebb, ad loc.]

574-5. ‘Prolong the sad utterance of groaning and cries.’ τεῖνω might be of intensity, not length: but μακράν ἑτένας (Ag. 1296), ἑτεινάτῃ λόγον (Cho. 510), and the still commoner ἑκτεῖνω (Ag. 829, 916, 1229, Eum. 201, 707), make the meaning ‘prolong’ more probable.

576. They are ‘battered’ by the ‘eddy,’ driving them on the rocks. For the reading see 568.

576-8. ‘Are torn by the voiceless children of the undefiled [sea],’ clearly meaning the fish (schol. τῶν Ιχθύων). Perhaps an echo of Od. 4. 404, of the seals νέποδες καλής ἀλοσύνης, generally understood as meaning ‘children of the sea-born goddess,’ i.e. Amphitrite. Some actually read (in place of the MSS. ἀλὶ δεινὰ) the word ἀλοσύνας (Naber, followed by Wecklein and Teuffel). But the schol. M clearly had no substantive agreeing with ἀμίαντον: for he explains it τῆς βαλάσσης αὐτὴν γὰρ λέγει ἀμίαντον. So τῆς ἀνθεμουργοῦ below (612) without noun, for the bee. Sophokles, Aias 1297, has ἰχθὺσι ἔλλοις explained as ‘mute fish.’ So Hes. Scut. 212 ἐλλοιας ἰχθύς.

583. τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσιν, ‘now hear all their woe,’ i.e. they lament their lost sons, but at length understand the full disaster. There is no need of Wecklein’s ingenious ἀπύουσιν, which indeed is not a very natural word.

584-5. δὴν οὐκέτα, ‘not now for long,’ the MS. reading needs no alteration: Dindorf’s θὴν for δὴν is no improvement.

589. ἀξοντα, ‘do reverence.’ The Greek contempt for these servile obeisances is often expressed, see 152.
592. ἐν φυλακαῖς, 'controlled,' lit. 'under guard.'

593-4. ἀλκαῖ... ἀλκαῖ, 'the people are set free to speak, now that the yoke of might is broken': the Persian nobles fear turbulence and revolt of the people, now that the power of the empire (ἀλκή is particularly fighting power) is crushed by Salamis. There may be also a touch of Aeschylus' fear of popular licence—see Eumen. 526 sqq., 693 sqq.

596. περικλευστά: Aesch. often uses compound adjective with three (instead of Ἐνω) terminations: παναρκέτας νόσου, Cho. 70; τάν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθου, Theb. 107; περιμφύτας πόλεις, Eum. 77. So Soph. Ant. 134 ἀντίτυπα δ' ἐπὶ γα; Eur. Phoen. 235 ἀδανάτας θεοῦ. The usage (like so many others in Trag.) is Epic: ἀμφιελίσθη, ἀμφιφύτη, ἀντίθετη, &c.

Enter Atossa in mourning garments without ornament, carrying libations and offerings.

[598–622. Second Epeisodion. Atossa returns, and says: 'Mortals in trouble fear all things, when prosperous are too confident: I too am fearful. I bring offerings to Darcios, libations of milk, honey, wine, water, olives and flowers. While I pour them, do ye chant the songs, and call up his spirit.]

598–600. This passage is somewhat roughly and carelessly worded, and has been much emended (Weil, Hartung, Merkel, Wecklein, &c.): but there is not the least obscurity in the meaning, and the MS. reading may stand, with the slight correction of τύχης to τύχην (Weil). 'Friends, whoever hath experience of trouble, knows that when on mortals there comes a wave of trouble, one is wont to fear all things: but when the god is propitious, (he is wont) to be assured that the same god will ever speed his fortune with fair wind.'

The repetition of κακῶν... κακῶν and δαίμων... δαίμων', and the change from βροτοῖς to the sing., need not really raise suspicion. They are both natural usages in speech; and the latter constantly appears, e.g. Od. 4. 691 ἦ τ' ἐστι δίκη θεῶν βασιλῆων ἄλλων κ' ἐκθαίρεσι βροτῶν ἄλλων κε φιλοίτη: Eur. Hec. 1189 ἄνθρώποισιν οὐκ ἐκρήγ'... τὴν γλῶσσαν ἵπτε τέντεν πλέον, ἄλλ' εἶτε κριστ' ἔδρασε... (a sentence remarkably like ours): Arist. Nub. 988 οὕτως ὄρχεσθαι... δεινοῦ κατοικά... ἀμέλη τῆς Τριτογενείας.

604. τάνταία, 'the enmity': so κυστίδιων ἄνταίων, Cho. 588, 'fell monsters.'

605. παϊνόνιος, 'healing,' Παιών being the name of Apollo the healer. The adj. is always so used by Aesch.: Supp. 1066 χερί παίνια; Ag. 848 φαρμάκων παϊνίων; ib. 1198 πῶς ὁν ὄρκος... παϊνόνιος γένοιτο; Frag. 144 εὑρίσκεις παίνιας. The sense, 'no healing sound' for the loud wailing, is quite satisfactory: the other sense
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‘not like a paean’ (which some propose) would do well, but the usage is against it. The schol. clearly took it as ‘healing’: for he explains the phrase as φθαρτικός.

607. ἄνευ τ' ὀξημάτων: the obvious meaning seems to be that she came before (159) with a chariot, and fine robes. But the point really turns on what was imagined, and what was actually shown in the theatre at this date. See Introduction, § 4.

κέλευθον τὴν... ἑστηλα, lit. ‘I arranged... this coming,’ i.e. ‘I came forth.’ στέλλω is here transitive, as usual; cf. λόγος στέλλει με, Prom. 389; στέλλου, ib. 394; στείλας στρατόν, Pers. 176; στελλων στρατιῶν, Ag. 799, &c. Others take it intrans. as Sophokles (Phil. 571, 640) and Herodotos (4, 147) undoubtedly use the word; then κέλευθον τὴν would be ‘on this way’: but the other is more probable: κέλευθος (like ὥδος) will then be used in a slightly more abstract way—‘journey’ rather than ‘road.’

613. ‘The watery draughts of the virgin spring’: the phrase is in the same ornate and stately style as the two preceding lines. Observe the Epic use of μετὰ with dat., as Hec. 355 παρθένοις μετὰ. Offerings to the dead appear first in Odyssey (II. 27), where Odysseus pours honey, wine, milk, and water, and sprinkles meal: this is a fuller account, adding olives and flowers, though there is no mention of meal. In O. C. 477 the χοάι to the Eumenides (who are so far like the dead that they are χθόνια) are of honey and water only. In Iph. Taur. 159 the χοάι to Agamemnon are honey, milk, and wine.

614-15. The phrase is rather piled up: παλαιάς ἀμπελοῦν γάνος is practically in apposition with the rest.

616. εν φύλλοις θαλλοῦσας βίον, the acc. is probably ‘extended cognate,’ where instead of the strict cognate θάλος is substituted the closely allied idea βίον. So Soph. Trach. 849 τέγγει δακρύων ἄχναν; Eur. I. T. 159 χοάς ὑδραίνειν. We may perhaps translate it: ‘Living a life luxuriant ever in leaves.’

It may however be a transitive use, as Pindar (Ol. 3. 40) has δενδρεῖ ἐθάλλε χῶρος: but possibly this too is a similar extension of ‘cognate’ usage.

617. ξανθής: the olive is commonly γλαυκή, ‘gray-green’ (the true colour of its leaves), O. C. 701; Troad. 802; I. T. 1101; but Pindar (Nem. II. 17) speaks of φύλλοις ἐλαιών χρυσέως, and Vergil (Aen. 5. 309) has flavus nectentur oliva. None of the three poets who speak of the olive as yellow can be wrong: and Vergil, country-bred and an exceptionally fine observer, least of all. The true explanation is given by James Henry on Aen. ll. c., who says:—‘the epithet flavus signalizes a remarkable... characteristic of the olive, its yellow pollen, which it sheds so copiously in the flowering season as not only to cover the leaves, trunk,
and branches of the tree, but even the ground and neighbouring objects with a yellow dust. . . . I walked for miles between rows of olives which were not only themselves yellow with this yellow dust, but had rendered . . . even the roads themselves to well-nigh the middle also yellow, as if strewn with a pale ochre powder.'

620. δαύμων, the dead Dareios is divine: so (in the Choephoroi) the dead Agamemnon is appealed to as a power able to help.

621. ἀγκαλείσθε: see 572.

The Queen passes on to the tomb of Dareios to pour the libations. She still remains on the stage, in sight of the spectators (684).

[Chorus. 623–80. (I) Anapaests 'Queen, pay thy offerings, and we will pray to the dead. Powers below, Earth, Hermes, Hades, send up His Shade to help!' (623–32). Second Stasimon. 'Does the godlike king hear my loud cries? Oh Earth and nether Powers, suffer him to rise — the greatest of the Persian dead! Aidoneus, send up our lord Dareios: he suffered no ruinous defeats: he was a wise counsellor and ruler: my lord, arise, come to the tomb's crest, with saffron sandal and royal crown! Hear our sorrows: a gloom of hell is over us. our youth is perished! O king, sore lamented, come: our proud ships are lost!' (633–80).]

624. θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς: ὑπὸ is best taken with θαλάμους, 'down to the dwelling underground.'

626. πομπῶν, 'those who send': from 629 it appears that not only Hades (649) is meant, but Ge and Hermes.

631. ἀκός οἶδε πλέον, 'knows any further cure': πλέον has been much discussed, but the simplest meaning is probably 'further than we know.'

632. θυτῶν: needless trouble is made about this word. Dareios is no doubt called divine (δαύμων 620, ἰσοδαύμων 634, θεὸς 644): but as compared with Ge, Hermes, and Aidoneus, he is naturally called θυτῶν: and the idea clearly is that his 'mortal' interest in Persian fortunes makes him the one spirit who is likely to help.

633. μακαρίτας: the three classes called 'blessed' are the gods, the dead, and living men. μάκαρ is used of all three, but most commonly of gods: μακάριος, almost entirely of living men: μακαρίτης, exclusively of the dead.

635. βάρβαρα: see note on 349. βάρβαρα σαφὴν ἂν are outside the article and therefore properly (in Attic) predicative. The lines might be rendered, 'uttering in clear outlandish tones those diverse dread and mournful cries': the accumulation of
adjectives is notably Aeschylean, the best instance being φοβερὰ παλίνορτος οἰκονόμος δολία μεγάλης μῆμες τεκνόποιος (Ag. 154–5), where there is a series of six successive adjectives broken only by the noun.

636–7. άιανης is used by Aesch. both for 'eternal' (αίανη χρόνον, Eum. 572) and for 'terrible,' 'grievous' (αίανης νόσος, Eum. 479, 942). The latter is the sense here and 664.

638. διαμβοάσω (Dindorf's excellent correction of MSS. unmetrical διαμβοάσω): see note on 572.

642. μεγανθη, 'illustrious,' purely a word of praise.

643. ἵνα 'ανίσοτα', lit. 'approve him coming,' i.e. 'suffer him to come' (here only in this sense with part.).

647. ὕθος, i.e. the tomb of Dareios (clearly visible on the stage, see Introduction on the Staging, § 4).

648. 'For dear' (or 'loving') 'is the heart it hides.'

649–50. Αἴνωνεύς, a later form for the Homeric 'Αίδης, found here first.

651. MSS. give δαρείον οἶον ἀνακτα δαρείαν, the last word (or δαρείαν) appearing also 663 and 671. The first word δαρείον is clearly a correction of δαρείαν which has got into the text: the reading adopted is Dindorf's, which is near the traditional text, and makes sense and metre. Wecklein's Δαριαίος, read by him above, 554, is also read here, 663 and 671.

652–3. The Dareios who 'never lost men in war's deadly calamities' is the same imaginary Dareios who is called ἀδάθις above, 555: though of course the πολεμοφόρος ἄτη of Salamis was the greatest by far.

654. θεομήσωταί, 'divine counsellor,' an echo of the Homeric θεόν μίσσωται ἄραίατος, Il. 7. 366 (of king Priam), 'counsellor equal to the gods.'

655. ἐσκεν, Epic frequentative form of the impf. of εἰμί, occurs Ag. 723 (according to the excellent correction of Casaubon). Similar forms in Homer: δόσκε, στάσκε, ἔχεσκε, καλέσκε, &c.: in Attic κλαίσκεν, Aesch. Fr. 312; βίασκε, inf. 671; ταμεύσκε, Antig. 950.

πόδουχεῖ, from ποδοῦχεω (like σκηπτοῦχος, πολιοῦχος, ῥαβδουχεῖν), 'to hold the sheet,' lit. of the steersman, nautical metaphor for guiding or ruling. The word is found in the (corrupt) form ποδοῦχεω, Pollux i. 98, and Dindorf brilliantly restored it here for ὑπεδώκει Μ, ἐπιδώκει ἐμ, both words meaningless and the first impossible.

657. βαλὼν, a borrowed oriental, perhaps Semitic, word for 'King': others say a Phrygian word: so Hesych. s.v.

ἄρχατος, nom. for voc., common in poetry, as ὁ τύμης, ὁ νυμφεῖον, Antig. 891.
659. κόρυμβον, 'top': see note, 411. ὑχθου: see 647. In Eur. Hec. 94 [where the captive queen is telling her dreams] she says ἥλθ' ὑπὲρ ἄκρας τύμβον κορυφᾶς φάντασμ' Ἀχιλέως, which almost looks like an imitation.

660. εὔμαρις, a Persian shoe, according to Pollux (7. 90) worn by men and women, probably like the women's Περσικαί (Arist. Nub. 151) covering the whole foot, whereas the Greek shoes were soles with thongs wound round the ankles. κροκόβαπτον: the saffron dye on dress was royal (Ag. 239) or worn by gods (the πέπλος of Athena was 'saffron-dyed,' Eur. Hec. 468). [Hesych. derives εὔμαρις from the Greek εὐμάρης, as an 'easy' shoe to walk in: unfortunately the a is long as this line shows and Orest. 1370 βαρβάρως εὐμάρησιν.]

662. φάλαρον πάρας. The tiara was the Persian royal cap or crown, which Xenophon tells us was of a special high form: βασιλεῖς μῶν ἔξεστιν ὑρθήν ἔχειν (Anab. 2. 5. 23). It was apparently a conical upright head-dress somewhat resembling a mitre. φάλαρον is a disputed word: elsewhere always plural, and usually of 'trappings' of horses. In II. 16. 106 Ajax' helmet is hit on the 'well-wrought φάλαρα' (possibly shining metal projections of some sort). Perhaps the safest translation is 'adornments': or here 'the peak' of the royal tiara.

πιθανόσκων, 'showing,' really reduplicated from stem φαφ (in φάς, φαέθων, &c.) meaning 'bring to light.'

663. βάσκ', Epic: βάσκ' ἰθι (II. 2. 8): the iterative sense lost, as it is in ἥβηκω, θράκτω: see 656.

ἄκακε, 'innocent of ill,' 'beneficent': word used by Demosthenes and Plato; it recurs below in a bye-form ἄκάκας, 855.

664. αἰανή, v. 636.

666. δέσποτα δεσποτάν, 'lord of lords,' a natural address to the Great King. If we retain the MSS. δέσποτα δεσπότων, it can only be translated by stopping off δέσποτα with a comma, and taking ἄχη to govern δεσπότων, 'the strange and grievous woes, o lord, of our lord,' a very harsh arrangement. Dindorf's correction δεσποτάν is certainly best.

667. ἄχλυς, Epic word, of the 'Darkness' of death, common of slain men, κατὰ δ' οφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἄχλυς (II. 16. 344, &c.), or when gods send ἄχλυς to prevent men seeing, as Aineias (II. 20. 341, &c.).

Aesch. uses it of the Darkness of disaster, here and Eum. 379. 'The darkness of Styx (river of Hades) floats over us' (ἐπὶ ... πεπόταται Epic tmesis, so 670).

669. νεολαίαι (-λα-ός), collective word, 'the youth'; it is a Doric word found also Suppl. 687, and Theokr. 18. 24.

675-6. Corrupt. 'The metre is not certain, as it is not anti-
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strophic. The word ὑπάτα, taken by schol. as a form of ὑπάστα (i.e. as voc. of ὑπάτης, 'prince'), is otherwise unknown. The suggestion given in crit. not. 'how can it be, these twofold crushing lamentable errors?' (ἄμαρτια euphemism for 'disasters') would be fairly near the text: but no convincing emendation has been given, or perhaps is possible. The 'twofold' loss is that of the army and the ships.

678–9. The heavy effect of six consecutive spondees is intentional. (We have in Ar. Ran. 372 sqq. a march of seventy-seven long syllables only broken by one anapaest in the last line.) τρίςκαλοι, lit. 'three-benched,' i.e. with three tiers of oars; triremes.

680. νας ἄνας: Aesch. is fond of this form of expression, ἀπολύντων Eum. 457, νόμος ἀναμος Ag. 1142, &c.

The ghost of Dareios rises from the sepulchre, with royal robes, high-peaked tiara, and saffron-dyed buskins. The queen stands silent by.

[681–851. THIRD EPISODION. Dareios' ghost speaks: 'what is your grief? the queen is near, you summon me with cries: 'twas hard to escape, but I have come: speak, my time is short' (681–93). The Chorus fear to speak: ghost asks the queen. She answers briefly. 'The empire lies in ruin.' In quick question and answer he learns of the loss of army and fleet, and the safety of Xerxes. Dareios cries, 'The oracle is fulfilled: Xerxes with reckless boldness has brought all to pass: He has bridged the Hellespont and angered the gods.' Atossa replies, 'it was the taunts of sloth that roused him.' Dareios replies by a sketch of the Persian history, showing this is the worst of all their disasters: and in a dialogue with the Chorus reveals that few have returned, that a select force is left behind, for whom worse ills remain, to befall them at Plataia. He warns against pride, bids Atossa meet Xerxes, and disappears. Atossa obeys, and departs.]

681. πιστὰ πιστῶν, 'faithful of the Faithful,' just as we say 'a man of men': such phrases are not in form superlative, but practically equivalent, meaning 'specially faithful,' 'a specially superior man,' &c. So Soph. O. T. 465 ἀρρητος ἀρρητῶν, O. C. 1238 κακὰ κακῶν: on the other hand ἐχαρίς ἐχάριων is a true superlative and therefore not really parallel, though often so quoted.

683. στένει, κέκοπτα, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδων: the line has occasioned difficulty, but there can be little doubt that πόλις is the subject of στένει and κέκοπτα, and that κέκοπτα is perf. of κόπτεσθαι, 'to wail' or 'beat the breast': χαράσσεται πέδων, 'her floor is trampled;' will then refer to the Chorus' wailing dances.
which have just ceased. Translate: 'She groans, she hath beaten the breast; her floor is trampled.'

685. έδεξαμην, the 'momentary' aorist, of an act just done, where we use the present. So ἦρων τόδε; 'do you ask?' Eur. El. 275; ἕγνως, 'you guess right' Orest. 1131; έδεξαμην το ῥήθεν, 'I accept'... Soph. El. 668, &c.: see also below 973.

687. Ψυχαγωγός, 'spirit-raising.' Aesch. wrote a play called Ψυχαγωγόι, of which one fragment shows that it treated the Odyssey tale of spirit-raising (Od. 11). There too the summoning was by libations, prayers, and the blood of victims (11. 24–50).

688. ὀρθάζοντες, 'crying aloud': so ἐπορθίαζον 1050.

689. ἄλλως τε πάντως χοί, 'especially since the nether gods, &c.,' where the causal conjunction is by a natural looseness of expression omitted. Literally it is 'The way is hard, both on all grounds, and [chiefly since] the gods, &c.' Exactly the same turn of phrase is found, Eum. 473 ἄλλως τε καὶ σὺ μὲν κατηρτικός... προσῆλθες, meaning 'specially since you, &c.'

689–90. 'The nether gods are more skilled to seize than to let go,' a grim piece of irony.

691. ένδυναστεύεις, 'prevailing.' So Agamemnon is 'prince of the mightiest tyrants under earth,' Cho. 358.

692. χρόνου, gen. respect, lit. 'in respect of time,' i.e. 'that I be not blamed for lingering,' according to the universal belief that ghosts have to return without delay.

694. σίβομαι, 'I feel awe,' i.e. 'I fear to look on thee,' &c. The word is not usually (though quite naturally) constructed with inf.: but cf. Plato, Laws, 798 B πᾶσα ἡ ψυχή σέβεται καὶ φοβεῖται τό τι κινεῖν, though τό makes the parallel not exact.

695. ἀντία φῶςθαι, 'to speak before' a person, Od. 15. 377 ἀντία δεποινής φώςθαι; this passage is conclusive against taking ἀντία as 'unpleasant words,' 'words that will vex thee,' which might otherwise perhaps stand. So below 701.

696. περί τάρβει, 'in fear': so περί φόβῳ, Cho. 35; περί δείματι, Pind. Pyth. 5. 78; περί τιμῆ, id. Ib. 2. 110.

698. μακιστηρα, the meaning is clearly 'lengthy,' 'tedious' (μακ-ρός, μήκ-ος): but the form is strange, for the verb is μηκύνω, not μηκίζω. Aesch. is fond of these agent-forms with inanimate things: it is part of that tendency to personify which marks his picturesque and imaginative style. So καραστηρής δίκαι (Eum. 186), ποδιστήρεις τέπαλοι (Cho. 986), μαστικτήρα λόγον (Supp. 466).

699. τὴν ἐμήν αἰδῶ, 'reverent fear of me': like σὸς πάθος, 'longing for you,' Od. 11. 202; θρόνοις οὐμόσ, Prom. 390; ἐμήν χάρων, 1046 infra; ἐπὶ διαβολῆ τῇ ἐμῇ, Plat. Apol. 20 E.

700. δίεμαί: a Homeric word, generally 'to chase' (run after),
twice used for ‘fly’ (run away), σταθμὸν διέσθαι (II. 12. 304), πεδίον διέναι (id. 23. 475). Here it means ‘I shun’: it is apparently distinct from δῇς, ‘he feared’ (δεῖδεια, ἔδειεσσα, &c.), which have digamma.

703. ἀνθίζοντα, ‘stands before,’ with gen.: like ἀντέχειν χεῖρα κράτος, O. C. 1651.

706. ἄνθρωπεία, ‘the woes that belong to man.’

708. ὁ μᾶσσων ... πρόσω, slightly artificial and pleonastic: ‘if length of days stretch far’: μᾶσσων, really proleptic.

710. ὡς, ‘how.’ It is better to take it so, and put full stop at βάδος: otherwise, if ὡς be taken as ‘since,’ the γάρ of 713 is less natural.

712. θανόντα, closely with πρὶν ἰδῶν, ‘dead, before seeing.’

715. σκηντός, ‘gust’ or ‘storm,’ by an obvious and natural metaphor.

717. παίδων: Herod. (3. 88) mentions four wives of Dareios, and (7. 2) seven children.

718. θυρίως: Epic epithet of Ares, and heroic warriors: ‘bold,’ ‘mighty.’

719. ἐμφόρανεν, ‘brought to folly,’ i.e. ‘wrecked.’

720. The ‘double force’ was by land and sea, the army and the fleet.

722. ‘Helie’s passage’ is Hellespont. See note on 70.

723. Βόσπορον, ‘Cattle-ford,’ was the name of at least three straits, (1) the straits of Kaffa, connecting the Sea of Asov with Euxine (Kimmerian Bosporos): this is connected with the story of Io, Aesch. Prom. 733: (2) the Thracian Bosporos, connecting the Propontis with the Euxine, the scene of Dareios’ boat-bridge when he invaded Scythia (Herod. 4. 85): and (3) the Hellespont, connecting Propontis with the Aegean. The latter is of course the one here referred to, and also in Βοσπορίων ποταμῶν, Alas 884.

724. ξυνάψασθαι, ‘to take part in,’ ‘help in,’ like ἔλλαβεσθαι, ἐνώρασθαι, &c., has the partitive gen. The verb recurs 742. Atossa darkly hints that the gods were leading Xerxes to his ruin: Dareios speaks plainer.

725. The subject to φρονεῖν is clearly Xerxes: but he shrinks from mentioning the name.

726. ὡς is causal: ‘Ay, for we can see the end,—what ruin he wrought.’

727. πράξασιν, ‘having fared’: a mild word.

730. ὡς is for ὡστε, as often in Tragg. πρὸς τᾶδ’, ‘therefore,’ grammatically comes after ὡς. The MSS. στέπεια is certainly wrong: Paley rightly suggested στένεια.

731. ‘Ah for the goodly aid and defence of our host!’ i.e.
NOTES. LINES 703-752

 alas for the brave soldiers who have perished! οἱ πόροι, ‘Out, alas!’ the usual Epic exclamation.

732. οὐδεὶς γίγνον, ‘nor is any old man [among them],’ i.e. ‘the whole youth has perished’: πάντες νέοι, as the schol. rightly says. There is no need for emendation.

733. μέλεος, i.e. Xerxes.

734. μονάδα . . . ἐπημον, ‘alone’ . . . ‘left desolate,’ are natural exaggerations: ‘with but a handful,’ he adds.

735. ποῖ (not ποι), idiomatically with τελευτᾷ, implying movement. Cf. Supp. 603, ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος; Cho. 528, ποὶ τελευτᾷ . . . λόγος; ib. 1075, ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ, ποὶ καταλιξεῖ . . . μένος ἀτῆς; cf. also below 787.

736. γαῖν, a beautiful and certain emendation of Askew for MSS. εὖ, ε and αί being regularly confused in MSS., while γ easily disappears when (as here) it comes next the very similar letter ν, which in MSS. has a tail below the line like μ.

738. στάσις, ‘dispute.’

739. χρησμῶν πράξις, ‘fulfilment of the oracles’: Herod. mentions an oracle of ‘Bakis’ foretelling the victory of Salamis (8. 77): and two oracles about the fate of Persians when Mardonios was left in Boiotia (9. 42, 43).

741. The emphasis is on διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου, as the order (and general sense) shows. ηὔχον, often, as here, of confident expectation or hope, as well as of confident speech.

742. συνάπτεται: see 724.

745. ἱρόν, ‘sacred’ to Poseidon, 750: hence called ῥόνον θεοῦ, 746.

747. μετερρήματι, ‘strove to change,’ with perhaps a notion of correcting; as in Prom. 243, οὕτω ἐρρύθμισαμι, ‘thus am I chastened.’

748. περιβαλῶν, i.e. τὸν πόρον, ‘having bound him with hampered fetters.’ περιβάλλω (like circumdo) takes both constructions, περιβάλλειν δεσμοῖς δοῦλον, and περιβάλλειν δεσμοῖς δοῦλον. So Cho. 575-6, νεκρὸν θήσω . . . περιβαλῶν χαλκείματι.

749. δὲ: misplaced.

όυκ εἰβούλια, euphemism, really meaning ‘in his folly.’

751. πλοῦτον πόνος, lit. ‘toil of wealth,’ i.e. ‘toil-won wealth.’ So Cho. 137 εἰ τοῖσι σοῖς πόνοις θλίουσιν μέγα; Eur. Ion 1088 ἀλλων πόνον εἰσπεσων.

745-52. The whole of this passage is interesting, if compared with Herodotos’ account (7. 35) of the chaining of the Hellespont, written towards the end of the 5th century, some sixty years later than the Persae. The bridge soon after the construction was broken by a storm. What Xerxes did, Herodotos tells as follows: ‘Then Xerxes . . . was exceedingly angry: and bade
them scourge the Hellespont with 300 lashes and let down a pair of fetters into the sea. I have heard also that he sent men to brand the Hellespont. He bade them say, while beating it, these barbarian and infatuated (ἀτάσθαλα) words: "Thou bitter water, thy master lays this punishment on thee, since thou didst wrong him, having suffered no harm from him: and Xerxes the king will pass over thee whether thou will or no!".

It is clear that in Aeschylus the 'chains' (745), the 'yoke' (72), the 'rivetted pathway' (71), and the 'hammer-forged fetters' (747) are only picturesque and figurative expressions for the bridge of boats itself. This is plain from the first mention (71), 'casting on the sea's neck as a yoke the rivetted pathway,' where the figurative character of the phrase is clear and explicit. The popular fancy developed (in Asia or Europe) the childish tales of the scourging, branding, and material fetters. If Xerxes had done any of these things, Aeschylus, writing eight years after the event, would have heard of it, and certainly would have made the most of this preposterous infatuation. Particularly noticeable is it that of the abusive speech to the Hellespont the poet says nothing, though in his hands this would have been apt and fertile material. The only words that even the least resemble any part of Herodotos' story are πέδας σφυρηλάτους (747): and there the whole sentence shows undeniably that they are the chains which bind the boats into a κελευθός for the army. And even this is a poetic exaggeration: for, as Herod. himself tells us, the ropes were of flax and papyrus—as of course ropes must have been (7. 36).


756. ἕδον αἰκμάξειν, 'fights—at home,' where the point of the phrase consists in the irony of the contradiction in terms; a sort of effective oxymoron. Exactly so (II. 5. 253) ἀλυσκάζοιτι μάχεσθαι, 'to fight shirking' = 'to shirk the fight.'

759. σφίν: probably here dat. sing., as the scholiast says. So Oid. Kol. 1490, where Prof. Jebb has discussed the point. He quotes Hom. Hymn. 19. 19, and 30. 9, and Pind. P. 9. 116; none of these instance are conclusive, but in all the sing. is more natural. The same is true here.

760. έχεκεινωσέν, 'emptied,' 'made desolate.' The form is Ionic, which dialect regularly has κελνός for κενός. The Ionic forms are numerous in this play: how much is due to the early date of the play (the older Attic was closely allied to Ionic), how much to the deliberate choice of the poet, to use Ionic in dealing with a Persian story, is not certain. See note on 19.

44
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762. οὔτε, Epic rel. for Attic ὅ, ὅπερ, or ὅτως.
763. μηλοπρόφου, for ὁ lengthened before -τρ- cf. ἀποτροπήν

765 sqq.: on the list of Persian kings see Appendix.

766. τὸδ' ἔργον, i.e. the establishment of the single empire.
767. 'For wisdom ruled his spirit'; he is not named, but the schol. says Artaphernes, and the phrase is supposed by some to be a reference to the name. See Appendix, § 1.

770. Λυθῶν, referring to the struggle with Kroisos, king of Lydia (Herod. I. 73-92).
772. ὅς εἴφρων ἐφυ, lit. 'how gracious he was to us,' i.e. 'such favour he showed us.' The construction is Epic (and common in Tragg. also), e.g. ἔχοις λάβεν, οἴων ἄκουσεν (II. 6. 166), αἰματος εἰς ἄγαθοιο...οὶ ἄγορευες (Od. 4. 611), φάν δὲ τιν' ἀθανάτον...κατελθέμεν, ὃς ἐλαίχθεν (II. 6. 108). The exclamatory or relative sentence gives in reality the reason for the statement in the principal clause: so that 'how gracious he was' becomes equivalent to 'because he was so gracious.'

774. Μάρδος is no doubt meant for the Magian pretender whom Herod. calls Smerdis; and this explains why he is here called αἰσχύνη πάτρα, &c. Possibly the corrector of M is right in reading Μάρδος (as he must have meant by his ωσ written over οσ): but I have kept the MS. form, as there is no certainty about Aesch.'s spelling of these names.

775. Herodotos' story is that six Persians, suspecting that Smerdis was a pretender, conspired to kill him: that Dareios joined them, became their boldest and most active member, and their leader, and carried out the plot successfully. Another of the seven was Intaphernes, who doubtless represents the same man (in the story) as Aeschylos calls Artaphernes. (See Appendix, § 1.)

776. ἐν δόμοις. The seven men boldly passed the guards into the palace (Herod. 3. 77) and slew the Magians.
777. χρέος, lit. 'requirement,' so here 'office,' 'duty.' ξύν ἀνδράσιν φίλοισιν, clearly the other six conspirators.
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778. This line is condemned by the schol. on the ground that Dareios succeeded to the throne after the suppression of the Magians. It is obviously impossible that Aesch. wrote it here, since Ἀρτάφρενς could not recur so soon after 776; it does not suit any known version of the story: and Μάραφις occurs nowhere else. It looks more like a duplication (with a different or corrupted name Μάραφις) of the previous passage 774–6, under the mistaken idea that Αρτάφρενες succeeded Μαραφίς.

779. πάλος, ‘lot.’ Herodotus’ story is that the seven Persians after disposing of Smerdis had trouble to settle which should rule: and decided that the throne should go to the one whose horse first neighed at sunrise: that Dareios, with aid of his groom, contrived that his horse should neigh, and so got the kingdom (Herod. 3. 85).

We cannot say if this was Aeschylus’ version, given here vaguely (as it would be) for dignity and brevity: but πάλος suits some such (apparently) chance settlement in Dareios’ favour.

τοὐπερ, Epic relative τοὶ, as often.

780. πολλά: Dareios made expeditions against Samos (Herod. 3. 139), Babylon (3. 150), Scythians (4. 1), Thrace and Macedonia (4. 114), the Ionians (5. 28 sqq.), Egypt (7. 1), and finally Greece—the war which ended at Marathon.

781. ‘But no ill so dire did I bring on the city’: the painfully chastened and inadequate boast of Dareios is a cruel satire on the part of the Athenian poet. So again below 786.

782. MSS. have νέος ἔων νέα φρονεῖ. It is conceivable that Aesch. wrote here the Ionic form ἔων, on the principle explained on 19. But it is perhaps on the whole more likely that it was a corruption perhaps due to accidental inversion of ὧν νέος, so as to read νέος ὧν.

νέα φρονεῖ is also unusual, as the short α is lengthened before φρ in another word. There are many instances of the lengthening before τρ-, πρ-, κλ-, πλ- in the same word, see note on 217. On the whole, however, there seems no sufficient reason to change the MS. order. The meaning is ‘hath young thoughts,’ i.e. rash ones.

785–6 clearly means ‘all our losses put together do not equal Xerxes’ one’: in the same spirit as 781.

ημεῖς means the line of kings.

787. τι ὅν. This hiatus the earlier edd. correct here and elsewhere. But MSS. give τι ὅν, Theb. 208, 704, Eum. 902; τι Ἀδοῦ, Ag. 1115; τι εἶπας, Soph. Trach. 1203; so in comedy, τι ὅν, Ach. 358; τι ἐξῆλθεν, 540; and probably the licence with τι was allowed exceptionally, particularly in colloquial phrases like 46
NOTES. LINES 778–815

τὶ ὀὖν; τὶ εἰπτας; The non-elision of final short iota in datives shows that to the Greek ear it seemed different from other vowels.

788. For ποῖ with τελευτήν cf. 735, where the phrase is somewhat similar. 'Whither dost thou lead the end of thy words?' elaborate and stately for 'what is your purpose in these words?' a gentle reminder that they want advice on the present crisis, and not Persian history.

ἐκ τούτων: idiomatic: we say 'in this case.'

790. τόπον: so χθόνος πᾶς τόπος, Eum. 249.

791. The construction is a double conditional, 'if you should not march... not even though the Persian host be larger,' i.e. εἰ... Μῆδικῶν dependent on εἰ... τόπον. εἰ (and any relative word) are often found in the poets with subj., while in Attic prose they require to be compounded with ἄν. The use is Epic. Cf. εἰ κρανθῇ πράγμα, Suppl. 92; εἰ προδῶ, Eum. 234; ὃς νέος πέση, Soph. O. C. 395.

As to the change στρατεύοντος... ὅ, it is quite common even in prose to find this break of sequence.

794. The really rich lands in Greece are a few small plains: Attica in particular is poor soil.

795. 'A picked force, well-appointed, shall we send forth.'

799. περά, 'is crossing': as the messenger described, 508–II, saying, ἥκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, 'they have come.'

801. θεσφάτωσιν: see note on oracles 739.

802. οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ’ οὖ, 'not some, without the rest,' idiomatic expression for 'one and all': Herod. 1. 139 τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ’ οὖ, ἄλλα πάντα ὁμοίοις: Plato, Laws 797 D ἐν ὡς ἔπος εἰπτειν οὖ τοῖς μὲν τοῖς δ’ οὖ ('I may almost say in every single case').

804–6. After Salamis Xerxes went back in terror, leaving Mardonios with a select force in Boiotia (Herod. 8. 100–7).

805. Ἀσωπός, river of Boiotia, flowing N. of Plataia, just S. of Thebes and Oropus, due east into the straits of Euboia, forming latterly the boundary of Boiotia and Attica.

806. πίασμα, 'enrichment.'

807. ἐπαμμένει: for syncope of prep. see note 572. As regards the prophecy, Dareios is darkly hinting at the battle of Plataiai, next year B.C. 479.

809. θέων βρέχῃ: as at Abai the Persians burnt the temple of Apollo, Herod. 8. 33, at Potidaia, temple of Poseidon (id. ib. 129), and especially all the temples on Akropolis of Athens (id. ib. 53), and even Delphi (id. 9. 42).

811. Nearly the same line, of the Greeks at Troy, Ag. 527.

815. MSS. read κρητικὸς ὑπεστίν ἄλλ’ ἐτ’ ἐκπαιδεύεται, of which no sense can be made. I have adopted Housman's brilliant
emendation κρηνίς ἀπέσβηκ', and Schütz's ἐκπιδίεταυ, making a fine sense, 'Not yet is the spring of sorrow dried, but still wells forth,' a thoroughly Aeschylean line. [κρηνις is not known: but if this is felt to be an objection, it would be easy to read κρήνη κατέσβηκ', the latter a characteristic Aeschylean word: κλαυ-μάτων πηγαὶ κατασβήκασιν, Ag. 888; ἐστιν θάλασσα, τίς δὲ μὴν κατασβίσει; Ag. 958. So Sept. 584.]

816. πέλανος: see 204: 'So vast an outpouring shall there be of shed blood upon the land of the Plataians.'

817. Δωρίδος. The army of Greeks at Plataea was mainly Dorian, the Athenian force being not quite one fourth of the whole.

818. ὅνεσ νεκρῶν δὲ: the particle δὲ is properly in the second place in the sentence: but in the poets, especially Aeschylus, is very often found in the third, and not unfrequently even in the fourth. But the cases must be sorted. In the most closely-bound phrases, i.e. preposition and word governed, or article and word agreeing, the use is so common as to be properly called normal. Thus πρὸ πάντων δὲ, σὺν τύχῃ δὲ, ὑπ' ἄπιδος δὲ, ταῖς σαις δὲ, ὅ κόμπος δ', τὸ πᾶν δὲ, are all Aeschylean instances, and there are 55 of this kind. Next to these in frequency come phrases in various forms, and various shades of close relation, but more separable: e.g. gen. abs., πολλῶν παρόντων δ' (Pers. 330); part. or adj. in agreement, ποιόν χρόνον δ', σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' (Ag. 278, 296); two nouns related, κρόκον βαφάς δ' (Ag. 239), πολλῶν πατησμόν δ' (Ag. 963). In this line the case belongs to the latter class.

819. ἄφωνα, cognate acc. 'shall give silent warning.'

820. ὑπέρφευ, from stem φυ-, lit. 'overgrown,' so 'over-highly,' 'over-proudly,' μέγα φρονεῖν being common for 'to be proud.'

821. 'The flower of Pride brings forth the ripe fruit of woe,' a fine Aeschylean picturesque γνώμη, like the magnificent line in Theb. (601), ἄτης ἄρωμα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται.

825. δαίμονα, 'fortune' as often.

828. εὐθυνος, 'a chastener,' from εὐθύω, 'to correct.' [The word has also another more special sense, 'a scrutineer' or 'auditor,' an official employed to test the accounts of magistrates. Some imagine the use here to include a metaphorical reference to this εὐθυνος: but the more general sense suits better: and so the scholiast, who says, τῶν μη προσκόντων εὐθυνος, δικαστῆς.]

829. κεχρημένον: MSS. give κεχρημένου, which could only mean that the Chorus 'were in need of prudence,' whereas the ghost clearly means Xerxes: moreover κεχρημένος, 'needing,' is only used with gen. A later schol. recognizes a variant κεχρημένον, which Schütz first adopted here, though both took it masculine,
agreeing with Xerxes. It makes far better sense to take it
*neuter acc.* (impersonal absolute, like the common εἰρημένον, 'it
having been stated'), from χράω, meaning 'when it had been
ordered' by the god. χράω is regularly used of the god's oracles
or orders; and Thuc. (3. 96) and Pindar (O. 2. 72) have χρησθέν,
in this sense, used absolute.

The whole sense will then be: 'Now therefore, as he (Xerxes)
has been warned to be prudent, admonish him, &c.' Cf. the
very similar phrase and structure, Ag. 1619-20 διδάσκεσθαι βαρύν
τῶν τελικῶν, σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον, the last word being also acc.
absol. neuter.

The 'warnings' are of course those of the oracles referred to
740, 801, above.

831. θεοβλαβέω (from θεοβλαβής), 'to offend the gods.'

834. MSS. read πάντα, which will not construe: far the best
correction is Canter's παντί, agreeing with σώματι. It is rather
far from its noun: but that is just the reason why it has been
corrupted. λακίδες means 'readings' or 'rags,' and στημορρα-
geiν (a word only found here, and doubtless formed by the poet)
'to be torn to tatters': so the phrase is bold and pleonastic,
but effective, after his manner. We must paraphrase: 'From
grief at his woes, all about his limbs the fine raiment is rent to
shreds.'

840. πρέσβεις, 'elders': but in prose the plural always means
ambassadors.

841. καθ' ἡμέραν, 'each day': *carpe diem* is his advice:
'for in death there is no more pleasure': a futile maxim, con-
temptuously put in the mouth of a dead tyrant.

842. ὠφελεῖν with dat. is rare: ὠφελῶν ἐμοί, Prom. 344; τοῖς
θανόσιν ὠφελεῖν, Ant. 560; τοῖς φίλουσιν ὠφελεῖν, Eur. Or. 665;
φίλουσιν ὠφελεῖν, Ar. Av. 419. In Attic prose it always has
accus.

**The ghost of Dareios disappears from the stage.**

845. ὡ δαίμων, 'o fate,' a vague appeal to the powers, as 472,
515.

847. In prose we should require τῶν παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι ἐσθη-
μάτων. The omission of the article is in the Epic style.

That the queen should think the ragged state of Xerxes' dress
the worst of the calamity, is another satire of the Athenian poet
on the ways of Oriental royalties.

850. M reads ἐμῷ παιδί, quite unmetrical: recc. read παιδί
ἐμῷ, where the elision of dative -ι is quite opposed to the practice
of Tragedy (see Jebb, O. K. 1435, appendix, where all the
alleged instances of elision are discussed), though common in

Aesch. Pers. 49
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Epic (see 914). Burges' παιδί μου is the best correction: but from the order ἐμῷ παιδί in M it may be argued that ἐμῷ is a note of explanation absorbed into the text (as so often happens), and the παιδί ἐμῷ of rec. a mere correction. If this view be taken, Wecklein’s παιδί δὴ is possible. But the transposition in M may be accidental.

Atossa goes off into the palace.

[852-908. Third Stasimon. 'Happy was our lot when Dareios the invincible was king! glorious armies were ours, successful assaults: and prosperous return. What cities he took, without crossing Halys, or marching to foreign lands! the cities by Hellespont, Strymon, Propontis, Euxine: islands off the coast, the Kyklades, the mid-channel isles—from Lesbos to far Kypros, and lastly the wealthy cities of Ionia! Now the gods have changed our fortune: we are laid low by our fleet's disaster.]

853. πολίσονέμου βιοτάς, 'our country's life': 'the great and prosperous rule of our state,' as he calls it.
854. γαραῖός: the -αι is short, as δειλαία, Eur. Supp. 279; δειλαῖος, Ar. Eq. 139.
855. ἀκάκας, another form (to suit the metre) of ἀκακος, 663.
859-60. νομίσματα... ἐπεύθυνον is the MS. reading, where the change of person in the verb, and the word νομίσματα (quite irreconcilable with the adj. πύργων) are both impossible. I take the corrections πολίσματα... ἐπιφθομέν, excellent sense, and suitable to the context: translate—'and all fenced cities we sacked.'

863. A dactyl is lost: ἄνεπας (Wecklein) is the best conjecture. A noun, not an adjective, is almost necessarily required.
864. δόσσας, 'what cities he took!' Exclamatory, as schol. takes it. Otherwise, if δόσσας be taken relative, 'and all the cities which he took...,' we might with some editors read (for αἳ) άι κατά in 871, and then διον might be the verb to the whole: but in so long a sentence, the exclamation δόσσα is better: especially as the sentence occupies the strophe, and runs over into the antistrophes.
865-6. Halys is the largest river of Asia Minor, flowing first SW. parallel to the great Taurus range, then curving round and discharging into the Euxine, East of Sinope. It formed the frontier between Paphlagonia and Pontus: and early in the sixth century by the eastward extension of Lydia under Kroisos, and the westward extension of the Median kingdom under Kyaxares, the Halys became the boundary between Media and
Lydia, afterwards united by Kyros in one vast empire from the Indus to the Aegean.

The phrase here 'not crossing the Halys' water nor leaving his home' is clearly meant in the Chorus' mouth as praise of Dareios for his military successes within the limits of his kingdom (or what he claimed as his kingdom), and his prudent avoidance of personal danger in foreign expeditions outside these limits. 'Crossing the Halys' may seem an odd phrase for foreign expedition, when the Persian empire reached from Thrace to the Indus: but it was really not an unnatural expression, as the Halys was roughly the boundary of the Graecized Asia Minor, and to cross it was not only the necessary preliminary to any western conquest, but was itself a venture into the less secure parts of his empire. There may also be an allusion to the famous oracle of Delphi to Kroisos, Kροίσος Ἀλν διαβάς μεγάλην ἄρχην διαλύσει (referred to in Herod. i. 91). The sneer of Aeschylus (for of course it is a sneer to Athenian ears) is based on Dareios' vicarious invasions of Thrace by Megabazos and Otanes, and of Greece by Mardonios, Datis and Artaphernes, &c.: but the poet ignores the Scythian war, the most adventurous of all, where Dareios in person led his troops into unknown lands beyond the Danube.

868–70. 'Such [πόλεις] as those Acheloian dwellings of the Strymonian water that neighbour the Thracian homes.' The question is, what are the Στρυμονίων πελάγους Ἀχελώιδες? Some take it of the islands Lemnos, Imbros, &c. which Otanes conquered for Dareios (Herod. 5. 26): but these are not 'neighbours' to Thrace, and islands are not mentioned till the next stanza. Others (following Weil) take 'the Strymonian sea' to refer to the large lake Prasias formed by the Strymon near its mouth: and this suits better Ἀχελώιδες, 'water'-cities, especially as the word Acheloos is always used of fresh water. The reference will then be to the Paeonian lake-dwellers on Prasias, of whom Herod. (5. 16) gives a very interesting account, especially recording that Megabazos conquered this tribe and sent them over to Asia (5. 17). This view is also confirmed by λίμνας ἐκτοθέν, 'outside the lake,' clearly an antithesis to the Ἀχελώιδες, living in the lake: and suits far better πάροικοι Θρηκίων ἐπαύλων, as the Paeonians bordered on the west frontier of Thrace.

872. ἔγγλαμαίναι πέρι πύργον (tinesis for περεικλάμασαι πύργον see 457), 'girt round with a rampart': the construction like δέλτος ἐγγεγραμμένη συνθήματ, Soph. Trach. 157; ἐπιστρημένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, Thuc. i. 126; πάιδας ἐστηγμένου ἀνδέμον ('with flower-pattern tattooed on them'), Xen. Anab. 5. 4. 32, &c.

The essential character of this constr. is that the indirect
object of the Active construction (e.g. ἐγγράφειν συνθήματα δέλτῳ) becomes the subject of the Passive phrase, while the accusative is carried unchanged into the new form. The Roman poets imitate: pedes traiectus lora tumentes, Verg. Aen. 2. 273; flores inscripti nominis regum, id. Ecl. 3. 106.

876. εὐχόμεναι, 'boasting to be,' like the common Homeric εὐχέται εἰναι. The omission of εἰναι in this use is characteristic of Aeschylus, e.g. γένος ἡμέτερον ... βοῦς εὖ ἐπαφῆς ... Δίος εὐχόμενον, Supp. 16-18; 'Ἀργεία τινες εὐχόμεσθα, ib. 274; τίς οὖν ὁ πόρτις εὐχέται βοῦς, ib. 314. So the schol. explains it, τὴν οἴκησιν αὐξῶν. Blomfield's ἐρχόμεναι, adopted by some edd., though easier, is really duller, and less satisfactory or likely.

μυχία Προποντίς, 'the creeks of Propontis.' The map shows many coves, islands, promontories, in this inland sea.

877. στόμῳμα Πάντου, called the Thracian Bosphoros.

879-880. κατὰ τρών άλιον, 'the sea-washed headland,' means no doubt primarily the projecting beak of the Troad, though he passes by easy transition to the more southerly islands, Lesbos, Chios, and Samos off the Ionian coast, and Andros, Tenos, Mykonos, Naxos, Paros in the Kyklades group.

885. συνάπττου, intrans. 'close-lying': the idea is given with characteristic fullness, συνάπττους ἀγχιγείτων.

887. ἀγγειάνα, used here generally 'sea-ward': he has touched on the coast-islands (882-3), and the Kyklades-cluster (884-6), and we now have the more detached islands.

889. μετάκτου, 'betwixt the shores,' natural epithet of the islands out at sea with no coast or neighbours near.

890. Ἰκάρου θ᾽ ἔδω, 'resting-place of Ikaros' (the son of Daidalos), whose wings, attached with wax by his father, fell off under the sun's heat, and he was drowned, according to the well-known tale, Hor. Od. 4. 2. 2. Apollodoros tells us (2. 6. 3) that Herakles found the floating body of Ikaros 'near an isle called Doliche, and buried it, calling the island Ikaria.' It lies halfway between Miletos and the Kyklades.

894. Salamis in Kypros, founded, according to the legend, by Teukros (Salaminian hero, brother of Atis) and called after his old home. So the schol., 'Salamis in Kypros is colony of the Athenian Salamis.'

898. τὰς εὐκτέάνους, 'the wealthy cities, πόλεις understood from 864.

899. κλήρον Ἰαόνιον, 'the Ionian heritage,' the southern half of the west coast of Asia Minor, settled by Ionian colonists.

900. σφητέραις φρεσίν, Epic style, 'with his wisdom.'

901. ἀκάματον, long ά, as in ἄδανατος, ἄδαματος, ἄδειμος, ἀπαράμιθος, &c. in Epic poetry, and Tragic imitators.
NOTES. Lines 876-914

902. τευχηστήρ, ‘armed warrior,’ in a different form τευχηστής, Th. 644.

903. ἑπίκοιρος, in Epic sense, ‘helpers,’ not later Attic sense ‘mercenaries.’

904-8. ‘But now the god-sent ruin of all this by war we endure, we, mightily laid low with disasters of the sea.’ τάδε is our former prosperity: what we endure is really the overthrow by war of this, and though the phrase is loose it is quite natural. πολέμοισι is not free from doubt: but I have kept it as I think it will stand as above taken. If it be altered, I prefer either Weil’s πολέμοιο or Hartung’s πλαγαῖς τε ποντίαιοι (H. reads πλαγαῖσί τε, but there is no reason to alter the metre). But perhaps alteration is not required.

Xerxes comes in, by the orchestra entrance, on a car, in royal robes, with attendants carrying his arms. He mounts the stage.

[909-1076. Excodos: (Part 1) Xerxes briefly laments the loss, and wishes for death: the Chorus answer in the same despair, ‘The Asian land is beaten to its knees.’ [These lines are anapaests (909-31)] (Part 2) κομμός, or lyric antiphonal lament between Chor. and Xerxes. Xerx. ‘I have been a curse to my land!’ Cho. ‘A sad greeting I will give.’ Xerx. ‘Sad be it: Fate has turned against me!’ Cho. ‘A bitter wail I will utter for the disaster at sea.’ Xerx. ‘The Ionian fleet has ravaged sea and shore.’ The Chorus then ask (by name) where all the leaders are: Xerxes replies, ‘dashed on the rocks,’ ‘gasp in death on the land.’ Chorus specially bewail the ‘numberer of the Host’ and the princes missing from the escort (932-1001). (Part 3) Antiphonal lament (mostly in single lines) for the unlooked-for woe, the miserable remnant of men and arms, the loss of all their strength (1002-37). (Part 4, the true exodos.) The mourning procession then forms, and with cries, beating of breasts, rending of robes—still in antiphonal lines—escort the crushed and despairing monarch out of the theatre (1038-76).]

910. ἀτεκμαρτστάτης, ‘most unforeseen’: τεκμαίρομαι is ‘to guess by signs.’

911. ἐκβή, lit. ‘set foot on,’ i.e. ‘trampled on.’ The same idea is more fully and forcibly given above (515) by the Chorus, ὃ δυσπόνουτε δαίμον, ὅς ἦγαν βαρᾶς Ποδόις ἐνθλῆνεν παιτὶ Περσικὸ γένει.

912. τί πάθω; ‘what will become of me?’ Homeric formula of perplexity and fear, ὃ μοι ἐγὼ, τί πάθω; τί νῦ μοι μῦκστα γένηται;

914. ἐστὶντ’: accus. not dat. as the dative ἦ cannot be elided, 53
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see 850. This anacoluthon recurs Cho. 410 πεπάλται μοι φίλου κέαρ κλύουσαν: Soph. El. 480 υπεστὶ μοι θράσος κλύουσαν: similarly Antig. 848 ἐφαυσας μερίμνας (gen.), πατρὸς ... οἰκτοῦ, where οἰκτοῦ is in apposition to the idea: Prom. 144 ἐμοῦσιν ὄσσοις ὀμίχλα προσῆχεν ... εἰσίδοουσαν.

917. κατὰ ... καλύψαι, tmesis, see 457.
918. στρατιάς ... τιμῆς, gen. after ὄστοι, see above 445, 517.
919. περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης, 'great glory of Persian rule.'
920. κόσμου, 'splendour.'
923. κταμέναν: Epic pass. aor., formed straight from the stem (non-thematic) like φιδίμενος, χύμενος, λέκτο, &c.

'Αἰδοὺ σάκτορι Περσάν, 'who hath packed Hades with Persians,' a most powerful and audacious phrase.

924. ἀδοβάται, 'dwellers in Hades,' a magnificent emendation of Hermann's for the meaningless ἀγδαβάται of MSS., which the scholia took as the name of a tribe!

926. τοξοδάμαντες, 26, 30.

tαρφύς, lit. 'thick,' 'dense': ταρφύς μυρίας, 'countless myriads,' the use of ταρφύς fem. (instead of ταρφεία) is an Epic and Doric licence, found in some adj.: e.g. θῆλυς ἐώσα, II. 19. 97; ἧθος αὐτῆς, Od. 12. 369; πολυλέ γε' ύργην, II. 10. 27. So ταρφύς ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ, Theb. 535. [MSS. read γὰρ φῦσις, absolute nonsense: the emendation above is by Franz.]

931. 'Sunk on its knee,' an obvious figure from wrestling: more explicit in Ag. 63-4 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοθαρῆ γόνατος κοινάσεις ἐρευνημένοι.

932. αἰακτός, 'lamentable.'

935. πρόσφηγγογον νόστου, predicative, 'as greeting for thy return': νόστου, gen. of respect.

936. κακοφάτιδα, lit. 'of ill utterance,' i.e. 'ill-omened.'

937. κακομέλετον, prob. 'ill-brooding' (μελ-'care,' not μελ-'song').

938. Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητήρος: the Mariandyloi were an ancient tribe in north of Bithynia, south of Herakleia Pontica, a coast town on the Euxine: Xen. Anab. 5. 10. 1. The tribe were famous as professional mourners: there was said to be a special Mariandynian flute, suitable to dirges (schol. M. and Hesych.). The 'Mariandynian mourner' was said to be proverbial (Eustath. ad. Dionys. 791).

941-2. Accumulated adjectives, in Aeschylus' fashion, see 316.

942-3. 'For here again shifting fortune assails me.'

945. λαοπαθήα: I have adopted (with much doubt) Wecklein's λαοπαθήα (short à), for the MSS. λαοπαθήν, in the sense 'sore suffering,' as a possible resolved form of the intensive suffix λά-(λάμαχος, &c.). The meaning of 945-6 will then be 'in honour
of the sore and grievous troubles of the disaster at sea—the lament of the race who mourn for the city,' i.e. of the Marian- dyian mourners. But there can be no certainty about the reading or the sense in detail.

950–4. Again a difficult stanza, where some doubt remains, 'For the Ionian naval host, turning the tide of battle (ἐπεραλκίς), swept them away' (i.e. the Persian warriors whom we mourn), 'the Ionian host, ravaging the dark sea and hapless shore.' So Eurip. Med. 212 (of Medea carried off to Greece) we have 'Ελλάδ' ἐσ ἀντίπορον δι’ Ἁλα νῦχον ἐφ' ἀλμυρὰν πῶς τον κλῆ', clearly to the opposite coast of Hellas, across the gloomy sea (Euxine) to the watery barrier of the main' (Hellespont): Androm. 1224 ἄντρα νῦχα (of Thetis' sea caverns).

Both here and Med. 212 μυχιῶν or μῦχιον is proposed, and the conjecture in one place is used to support the same conjecture in the other. I do not feel it is necessary in either. In Medea 212 'the gloomy sea' is far better than 'the sea of inlets': for with μῦχιον we leave the Euxine which Jason crossed from Kolchis. In our passage μυχιῶν would do for the land-locked sea, where the fight was: but 'gloomy' is at least more imaginative, and the phrase is more effective where sea and shore alike are deadly to the Persians.

955. MSS. give this line to Xerxes: but the antistrope shows that to be wrong. There is no difficulty in βία and ἐκτεύθων: 'Cry aloud, learn all the tidings' is a mutual exhortation of the Chorus,—a common dramatic device, of which the best instance is Eum. 140, 141, 254–7. The next line (956) is addressed to Xerxes, asking of his 'comrades' or 'guard' (παραστάται) whom the Chor. cannot see among the escort of Xerxes. Two names (Pharandakes and Sousiskanes) occur in the opening Chorus (31 and 34) among the leaders. Psammis is an Egyptian name (Her. 2. 159). The rest are unknown, see Appendix, § 4.

963. For the 'Tyrian ship' compare the conflict of Athenian and Phoenician ships which opened the battle, 410.

964. ἔρρωνται, 'lost,' 'perished': in Attic ἔρρω is not 'to go,' but 'to be gone,' cf. 732 ἐρρεῖ παρόλης δήμος.

ἀκταίος: the repetition 966 ἔτ' ἀκταίος may perhaps be defended, and I have left the MS. reading: but Weil's ἔτ' ἀκραίος, 'on the juts' or 'reefs,' seems very probable.

966. θείονται, 'striking,' intrans.: [in 418 ἰθείον occurs without object expressed: but the context there supplies the object, 'them,' i.e. the crowded Persian ships].

967–73. For the names, see Appendix, § 4.

973. ἐπανεράμαν (Epic unaugmented form); the aor. in the idiomatic 'momentary' use, see 685.
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975. ὀγνύγλος: see 37.

976–7. 'All with one stroke lie gasping on the shore'; ἐν πτυλῷ one of the very numerous nautical metaphors. πτυλὸς is properly the 'oar-sweep,' the 'plash of oars': here it describes the simultaneous dashing of the Persians on the beach, like dying fish (Od. 12. 254 of a fish, ἀσπαίροντα ... ἔρρυψε θύραζε).

977. χέρσῳ. Epic local dative common in poetry (without prep.). χέρσῳ occurs Hom. II. 4. 424. So πεδίῳ, ἄγρῳ, ὦρανῳ, δύμῳ, μυχά, &c.

978. αὐτόν can be taken with ἐλπίς, 'didst thou leave there': but it is better with τὸν σῶν, put first for emphasis.

'Didst thou leave thine own faithful watcher of the Persians, who numbered them by tens of thousands, Alpistos son of Batanochos ... and Parthos and mighty Oibares?'

Περσαν, prob. gen. after ὀφθαλμόν, in the sense 'spy of the Persians.' The Great King, as is well known, had spies and reporters of all men's doings, whom he called his Eyes and Ears. Herod. (1. 100) calls them κατάσκοποι καὶ κατηκοι (Watchers and Listeners), and ascribes the institution to Deiokes. So the young Kyros, playing with his fellow village boys at royalty, is elected βασιλεὺς, and promptly appoints a comrade to be his Eye (Herod. 1. 114): and when he grew up and became king in reality, he is praised by Xenophon (Kyrop. 8. 2. 10 sqq.) for having a large number of these Eyes and Ears.

The general sense is 'Didst thou leave behind also thine own all-faithful Eye over the Persians, who counted them by tens of thousands, the son of Batanochos Alpistos ... son of Sesamas, son of Megabates?' The name Alpistos is unknown: and Wecklein ingeniously proposes ἀλπνιστος, a rare word found in Pindar (Isth. 5. 12 ζώας ἄωτον ... τοῦ ἀλπνιστοῦ, 'the fairest flower of life'), the name being in that case the lost word in the next line. But this is at best a guess: and ἀλπνιστος seems more appropriate to a royal favourite than to a trusty officer.

In Arist. Ach. 92 a fantastically dressed oriental person is ushered in as 'King's Eye,' having a huge eye apparently in the mask.

980. μυρία μυρία πειμαστάν, the pride of the Great King was pleased by this method of counting by tens of thousands: so Dareios did in the Scythian expedition: and Xerxes' plan at Doriskos on the outward march is vividly told by Herod. (7. 60), how they packed 10,000 men as close as possible, drew a circle round, built a wall round the line, and measured the army by batches.

Possibly Aesch. is referring to this incident: then 'the son of
NOTES. LINES 975-1006

Batanochos, the king's Eye,' was the officer supervising the measurement. Herod. gives no name.

Note μυρία acc. after πεμπαστάν, a special but not rare idiom where the verbal (adj. or noun) keeps the case of the verb: so χώς προσπομός, Cho. 23; ἀπορα πόριμος, Prom. 904; [στέγην] πολλὰ ἔνυστορα κακά, Ag. 1090; τὰ μετέωρα φροντιστής, Plat. Apol. 18 B: and so ὀδύν κακώς, infi. 1041, where it is the remoter object that keeps the verbal construction.

985. δὰνω after ὁ, cf. 445, 517, 918.

986. πρόκακα, 'utterly ill': like the use of πρό (‘away,’ ‘utterly’) in πρόπας, προπάλαι, προπέλαιμως, πρόρρικος.

987. ἰγγα: the ἴγγε was properly 'a wryneck': this bird was used as a love charm, being tied to a wheel, and spun round, while magic songs or spells were muttered. The name was used for the wheel, and even the spell itself: and metaphorically for the passion or 'yearning,' as here, that draws the thoughts to those longed for. The charm is best known from the description in Theokr. 2. 17. Socrates in the talk recorded by Xenophon (Mem. 3. 11. 17) says that he keeps his friends οὐκ ἄνευ ψευδών καὶ ἐπφεδὼν καὶ ἴγγινων. So Pind. N. 4. 56 ἐλκομαι ἰγγι ἤτορ.

993. Μάρδων: the Mardois are called nomads by Herod. (1. 125), and are believed to be shepherds of the hills north of the Persian gulf. The other names (994-8) are unknown to Herod. From the last three lines of the stanza they are clearly chieftains who would naturally be escorting Xerxes.

999-1001. The construction is ἕταφον [αὐτός] οὐχ ἐπομένους, lit. 'I marvel at-them-not-following,' 'I marvel that they follow not.' This is a personalized construction (αὐτός οὐχ ἐπομένους = τὸ μὴ αὐτός ἐπεσθαὶ) not uncommon with verbs of emotion: σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαϊρω, Ai. 136; ἔσπε σε πατέρα τὸν ἅμων εὐλογοῦντα σὲ, Phil. 134; ἐμαυκτεῖν τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους ἀπιώντας, Plat. Phaed. 62 D; τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς θησκόντας οὐ χαίρουσι, Eur. Hipp. 1339.

1000. σκηναῖς προχρηλάτωσιν, lit. 'wheeled tent,' i.e. the ἀρμαμαξα or 'curtained car' (the groom in Xen. Kyr. 6. 4. 11 closes the car) used by kings or luxurious persons. The envoy in Acharnians (69-70) complains of their travelling 'under canvas' (ἐσκηνημένοι), 'reclining softly on chariots,' ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξών μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι.

1002. ἀγρέται, lit. 'gatherers,' i.e. 'marshallers,' 'generals' (the MSS. give ἀγρέται, 'rustics,' which is nonsense. The correction ἀγρέται is based on a note of Hesych. ἀγρέταιν ἥγεμον). τούτων is Epic relative.

1006. ἔδεσθε, 'have ordained': so χάμος ἔδεσθαι, Prom. 783, 'grant a boon.'
PERSAE

1007. διαπρέπον οἶνον δέδορκεν Ἀτα, 'plain to see, as is the glance of Calamity.' διαπρέπον three syll., like καρδίας two syll., Theb. 280; διαμε, 1038. Some take it 'showing how fierce is the glance,' &c.: but οἶνον must be relative (not indirect interrog.), as it is in the parallel expression, 1008.

1008. οὖα διί αἰώνος, 'such woe as lasts for ever,' οὖα attracted to the case of τύχα.

1012. οὐκ εὔτυχῶς, ironic understatement (meiosis) 'with no fair fortune,' i.e. 'to our ruin.' So οὐ μαλ' εὔτυχῶς 325.

1013. δυσπόλεμον, 'ill-starred in war.' Hartung suggests δυσπάλαμον, 'hard to conquer': an Aeschylean word, but out of place here where the tone is one of despair.

1014-5. There is no reason to suspect the text: 'in my vast host am I smitten': the army is the strength of the empire, and the empire is Xerxes.

1016. ἀλαστε: ἀλαστος and ἀλαστέω are Epic allied words of very obscure origin: the meaning of ἀλαστος is generally 'grieved' in Homer, found with ἄχος, πένθος, ὀδύρεσθαι, &c.: and similarly in Tragg. ἀλαστ' ἀλαστα στυγνα (supra 990); ἐπαθων ἀλαστ', O. C. 539.

As applied to persons it occurs II. 22. 261 μὴ μοι, ἀλαστε, συνημοσυνας ἀγόρευε, where it seems to mean 'wretched one,' or possibly 'madman,' 'witless' (perhaps connected with ἀλας, 'wander'). The meaning 'afflicted one' would suit either, and also the use of Xerxes here.

1017. τὸ λαοτὸν τόδε (neuter as in τάδε μέν Περσῶν, I), 'this remnant,' i.e. the few followers. στολή, 'equipment,' is best referred (with the schol.) to his soldiers and guards attending: so ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στολή, Suppl. 764: others explain it less well of his 'torn dress.'

1020-2. 'The arrow-receiving storehouse for bolts' is of course the quiver in Aeschylean phrase.

1023. 'Scant relics of all that store.' ὡς in its common comparative use; πιστὸς ὡς νομεύς 'faithful in his degree as shepherd,' Soph. O. T. 1118; φρονεῖ ὡς γυνὴ μέγα, 'has more than a woman's pride,' ib. 1078.

1024. ἄρωγών, best taken neuter, 'defences' rather than 'defenders.'

1025. Ἰάνων: MSS. read Ἰαώνων, unmetrical (as - - is wanted). I read with Passow Ἰάνων, the form found in MSS. 950, 951.

1026. ἀγανόρετος, variant form of Epic adj. ἀγήνωρ, 'manly,' 'bold.'

1032. μὴν οὖν, corrective as usual: 'Ay, and more than alas!' to which Chorus replies 'Ay, twofold [sorrows] and threefold.'

58
NOTES. LINES 1007-1050

1034. The form of phrase is again Epic: δυσμενέσιν μέν χάρμα, κατηρεί̂ σιν δέ σοι αὐτῷ, II. 3. 51; τῷ μέν κλέος ἀμμό δε πένθος, II. 4. 196, &c.

1038. διαυε διαυε, lit. 'water it' (with tears), 'weep, weep for the woe.' The second διαυε is two syllables, like διαπρέπον 1007, q.v.

After πρὸς δόμους δ' ἢ (1038) the Chorus begin to form the mourning procession, escorting Xerxes and the soldiers, and bewailing (in alternate lines with the king) the defeat and destruction of the army (1039-76). At the close of the song the procession passes out of the orchestra door.

1039. This line in MSS. occurs at 1047, and 1047 here. The confusion came clearly from the line following βόα νν, &c., which is found in both places. Obviously διαύομαι is the answer to διαυε.

1041. δόσιν κακῶν κακῶν κακοῖς: the verb 'I weep,' 'bewail' is easily supplied either from διαύομαι or βόα. κακοῖς depends on δόσιν (see note on 980): lit. 'an evil grant of ills to ills,' i.e. 'a grievous sending of sorrows on sorrows.' For the idiomatic harping on the word, cf. Aias 866 πίνοις πόμφο πόνου φέρει: in milder forms τίκτει φαν ἄταν ἄται, Soph. El. 235; πήματα φθιτῶν ἐπὶ πήματι, Ant. 595; ἄχει τ' ἄχεσι, δάκρυα δάκρυσιν, Eur. El. 365, &c. The use is common.

1042. ὑμοὶ παθεῖς, i.e. 'in unison with me.'

1045. 'Alas, and this too I grieve for': all through the ἵω calamities are harped on, viz. by land and sea, διπλοῦν μέτωπον 720, στρατόν. . . ὀλέσεν στρατόν 726, δίδυμα γάρ ἐστι 1031, and below the dual δύα δύα 1047.

1046. ἔρεσσε, 'strike': metaphor from the rhythmic beat of oars to describing the repeated blows of mourners on the head, breast, and arms. So in the magnificent passage Theb. 855 ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπημον χερῶν πίτυλον, κ.τ.λ. ('row with the speeding stroke of hand upon the brow, &c.') where the rhythmic beat of mourners is pictured as the oarage of the bark bearing the dead in black-sailed ship to the dark shore.

ἐμὴν χάριν, 'a boon to me,' where ἐμὸς stands for genitive, as in σος πάθος, &c.: see note 699.

1047. δύα δύα (dual), 'two woes, two woes.'

1049. μέλειν πάρεστι, 'tis my charge' (lit. 'tis for me to care for this'). τοῦ θρήνου is easily understood. Note that μέλειν is here personal, cf. θεοῦ αἰεοῦσθαι μέλειν, Ag. 370; μέλει κέρα, Theb. 287; θεοὶ ἄδικων μιλούσιν, H. F. 772, &c.

1050. ἐπορθίαζε, 'uplift the cry.'
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1052. 'The sorrowful stroke' is called 'black' metaphorically for 'gloomy,' 'sad': so we find μελαίνα τύχα, Suppl. 89; ἀναρ μελαν, ib. 888; μελαίνας ἀτας, Ag. 770; μέλας Ἄρης, ib. 1511, &c.
1054. τὸ Μύστον, 'the Mysian chant' (μέλος): the Mysians and Phrygians were noted mourners (schol.). So the Bithynians (938) and the Kissians (tribe of Susiana), Cho. 423. Violent signs of grief were common all over the East; as was also the custom of using hired professional mourners.
1055. ἰνία: see 256.
1056. μοι, ethic dat., 'I pray': λευκήρη clearly suits the Persian elders, not Xerxes.
1057. ἀπριγδα, 'with tight grip,' of the violent tearing of the hair. So ἀπριγδόπληκτα of the 'clenched' blows on the breast,' Cho. 425.
1060. ἄκμη χειρών: χεῖρ is often used for αρμ as well as hands, as in περὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα for embracing (Ag. 1559), ἔχω σε χερίν Soph. El. 1226: accordingly for the hands or fingers we often have ἄκρος or ἄκμη added: as ἀμφιδεξίοις ἄκμαις, O. T. 1243; χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας, Ag. 1594.
1062. ψάλλ', 'pluck,' metaphor from the action of sharply pulling the strings of a harp.
1068. aιακτός, active, 'mourning': in 932 the same word is passive 'lamentable.' These verbals are largely used both ways. So πιστός, usually 'trustworthy,' is used (Prom. 916 τοῖς μεταρ- σίοις κτύποις πιστός) for 'trusting': μεμπτός, active, Trach. 446, passive, Eur. Hel. 462: ὑποττός, both 'suspecting' and 'suspected.' Our word 'suspicious' is also used both ways. See 104.
1069. The text in the last few lines is in many places uncertain: I have given it in the text as it stands in M. The last eleven lines are marked as ἐπαθός: but there is here as often ground for supposing that such passages are called 'epodes' when the antiphonal or antistrophic correspondence has been lost, owing to corruption. The best suggestion for restoration is Weil's, as follows:—

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1066
1070
1075
NOTES. LINES 1052–1072

Χο. ἰὼ δυσβάνκτος.
Ξε. ἰὴ ἰὴ τρισκελοῦσι βάρισιν φθιτοῖ.
Χο. ἰὴ ἰὴ πέμψῃ τοῖ σε δυσθρόοις γώοις. 1079

In this the following points may be noticed:

(1) 1069 αἰαι αἰαι is distinctly suggested by αἰακτός 1068, and correspondence is restored.

(2) The single line is divided up into two:

Ξε. ἰὼ Περσίς αἰα.
Χο. ἰὼ δυσβάνκτος.

This removes the difficulty of δόσβατος, which can only be translated as it stands, 'painful to enter,' which is not very natural, as he has been a long time in 'Persian land,' and is not now entering. Further, again correspondence is restored. δυσβάνκτος was restored by Brunck (from three rec. who had δύσβακτος or δυσβάκτος), and would mean 'lamentable,' an easier sense: and one schol. rec. explains the word so, δύσθρηντος.

(3) δὴτ’ ἄν’ αἰαν is a very probable correction of δῆτα ναι ναι, which is certainly suspicious, if not impossible.

These points are all in favour of Weil's ingenious suggestion. The last five lines are more doubtful. We have to suppose a line lost after ἀβροβάται: 1073 (in the text) is re-cast exactly like 1069: and 1074–6 are rearranged into two lines.

But the total amount of conjecture is so considerable, that in spite of its ingenuity, and the high probability of some points, I have preferred to leave the MS. reading in the text, and relegate Weil's restoration to the notes.

1072. ἀβροβάται, 'softly stepping,' probably referring to the soft Persian shoe (see 660) which the Greeks considered effeminate. ἀβρῶς is a contemptuous word.
APPENDIX

§ 1. (ll. 759–781.) MEDIAN AND PERSIAN KINGS.

There is some difficulty in Aeschylus' list of the kings of the Medes and of the Persians.

Herodotus in his elaborate history of the rise of these dynasties (i. 98–130) makes Deioke the first Median king, then his son Phraortes, succeeded by his son Kyaxares, and next after him Astyages, whose daughter Mandane was married to a Persian named Cambyses. This pair had a son Kyros (‘the elder’), whose romantic adventures are related at length, and who finally defeated his grandfather Astyages, and became king of the Medes and Persians (553 B.C.). After Kyros came his son named (after Kyros' father) Cambyses, who slew his own brother Smerdis: but a Magian pretender calling himself Smerdis was put up by a plot of Magian rebels, and being accepted as Kyros' lost son succeeded to the throne. He was followed by Dareios the Persian, who helping with six conspirators to overthrow the Magians was made king of Persia (Herod. iii. 1–84). These dynasties would cover roughly the two centuries, 700–500 B.C.

Aeschylus' list is considerably different, and in some points obscure. He makes the first king one Medos (Pers. 765), clearly an imaginary 'eponymous' name (like Ion, Achaios, Doros, the reputed founders of the three Hellenic races). The second is not named (Pers. 766), and it is disputed who is meant. Some suppose Astyages to be meant, since in the ordinary tradition given above (and followed also by Xenophon, Cyrop. i. 3) he was grandfather and predecessor of Kyros. Others think that an Artaphernes is meant, which would explain the strangely worded though Aeschylean line 767, φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φιλοστρόφου. Next comes Kīros, and after him, fourth in this list, his unnamed son (Pers. 773), who can be none but Cambyses. The fifth Mardos, 'who is a disgrace to his land and the ancient throne' (Pers. 774–5), must be the Magian pretender Smerdis. This man was slain by
APPENDIX

Artaphrenes; but Aeschyllos nowhere says that Artaphrenes reigned, except in the clearly spurious line 778.

These facts will be most clearly shown by a table:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERODOTOS.</th>
<th>AESCHYLOS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Deiokes, first Median king.</td>
<td>1. Medos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Phraortes (son of 1).</td>
<td>2. ‘his son’ (Astyages or Artaphrenes?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Astyages.</td>
<td>4. ‘his son’ Kambyses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kyros (grandson of 4), first king of Medes and Persians.</td>
<td>5. Mardos (Smerdis).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kambyses (son of 5).</td>
<td>(6 and 7 spurious.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dareios (killed the Magians with six conspirators).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of these lists suggests the following comments:—

(1) The three first names of Herodotos’ tradition are telescoped, so to speak, into a single eponymous ‘Medos’ by Aeschyllos.

(2) Astyages and Kambyses are not named by Aeschyllos, though there are possible places for them (2 and 4), less likely in the first case, more likely in the second.

(3) The man who killed Smerdis-Mardos (the Magian pretender) is in Aeschyllos Artaphrenes, but he says nothing of the real Smerdis, son of Kyros, being killed by Kyros’ son Kambyses. Among the Persian conspirators who killed the Magian or false Smerdis, Herodotos mentions as a leading man one Intaphernes. There can be little doubt that the Intaphernes of Herodotos and the Artaphrenes of Aeschyllos are the same name variously rendered, one or both being perhaps corrupted. Some have supposed that Aeschyllos’ Artaphrenes in 776 is meant for one of the series of kings: but, as we saw, he nowhere says that Artaphrenes reigned, and in all the other cases he does so explicitly. Moreover, the spurious line 778, whoever wrote it, is clear evidence against this supposition.

(4) Dareios’ part in the conspiracy against Smerdis is omitted by Aeschyllos, but this may be, as Wecklein has pointed out, because it would not harmonize with the picture of Dareios (647–680, supra) as the wise and excellent king.

(5) Herodotos mentions two men named Artaphrenes, viz. (1) Dareios’ brother, who was never king, but governor of Sardis during Dareios’ reign, and a notable figure during the Ionic revolt. (2) His son, of the same name, one of the generals
PERSAE

appointed in 490 (the year of Marathon) to crush Athens and Eretria (Herod. v. 25–vi. 42, and vi. 94). Neither of these can possibly be identified with the Artaphrenes possibly referred to in Pers. 767, nor the explicit mention in 776. See below, § 4.

As to the form of the name, the suffix -φρένης is always found in Aeschylus, and in the best MSS. of Herodotus, and is nearest to the Persian form -frana, a common element in Artaphernes, Tissaphernes, Pharnabazos, Intaphernes, and many other names. The form -phernes or -pharn- is on the other hand universal in Thucydides. Nothing is more familiar than the shifting of the vowel which comes next to -ρ- in a word, as καρτερός κράτος, θάρσος θράσος, &c. And the existence of the Greek word φρένες makes it in this case all the more natural that if the form -pharn-, which probably was nearer to the Persian vowel-sound, was adopted in some cases, there should be a competing Graecized form -phrenes, with the vowel modified, but the ρ in the right place.

§ 2. (li. 338–40.) NUMBERS OF THE SHIPS.

As to the numbers of the Greek ships there is a discrepancy between the figures of the various authorities. Aeschylus gives the number as 310, ten ships being of special excellence (δεκάς ἐκκριτος, Persae, 340), and the Athenian contingent being 200. Herodotus, writing a generation later, gives a complete (viii. 43–7) list of all the contingents, and puts the total (viii. 48) at 378. But there is an error either in the historian's details, or in his arithmetic, or else his text has been corrupted: for the total of the contingents, as given in the ordinary texts, is only 366. Thukydides, reporting a speech made by an Athenian (unnamed) at the Spartan congress in 432, represents him as saying that at Salamis the Greek ships were 400, of which Athens furnished 'a little less than two-thirds' (Thuk. i. 74). Demosthenes (Cor. 238) says the total was 300, and the Athenians furnished 200.

In considering these four statements, we see at once that the latest authority (Demosthenes),1 representing no doubt the accepted belief in the fourth century, completely confirms Aeschylus' figures: while the anonymous speaker in Thuk. (if his text be sound1) is merely exaggerating. The real

1 A few bad MSS. read τριανοσίας, which would bring the figures into harmony with both Aesch. and Demosth. And possibly that may be right; though it may also be a correction.
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discrepancy lies between Aeschylos and Herodotos, the latter being an industrious (though uncritical) collector of facts and statements. And between these two, there can be no doubt that the authority of Aeschylos is far the highest. He had personal knowledge of the details of the battle, in which (according to a tradition recorded in Pausanias, i. 14. 5, which there is no reason to question) he actually took part. And moreover the play was written less than eight years after the events recounted, and was acted before the whole body of Athenians, to every one of whom the battle had been of the most momentous importance, and most of whom had been actually engaged in it.

It is impossible to imagine any evidence, to which Herodotos could have had access, that would be of greater weight or authority than the words of Aeschylos, in regard to a point so easily ascertainable at the time as the number of the enemy's fleet.

§ 3. (ll. 527-531.) Atossa's Exit.

The point raised on this passage is as follows:—Atossa, after hearing the tale of the disaster, has said that she is going to pray to the gods, and then will return with offerings to Earth and the Dead (thinking no doubt chiefly of Dareios, whose tomb is in view) (521-6). She then bids the Chorus consult with 'the Faithful,' i.e. with the whole body of Persian Elders whom they represent (527-8); and she adds, 'and if my son arrive before I return, do ye console him, and escort him home' (529-31).

But Atossa, as a fact, returns (before the arrival of Xerxes) at line 598: she holds a long dialogue with the Chorus, then with the Ghost of Dareios (598-851), who bids her go back to the palace to get 'fitting adornment' since the King's raiment is all in rags (833-6), and then to meet her son on his return. This she promises to do, saying, 'I will try to meet my son' (850).

It is argued (by Weil and others) that the words used in 529-31 are unsuitable, in their present position, to the play as we have it, inasmuch as Atossa reappears (for a scene of 254 lines) before Xerxes comes: and that they would suit better after 851, where the Queen leaves the stage for the last time, and where accordingly the injunction to the Chorus to escort him home, if she does not return in time, is natural, and indeed is actually carried out.

Weil further suggests that the passage perhaps appeared first in its present place, owing to its being copied from a MS. which
omitted the scene of the Ghost, i. e. from 532 to 851. He also would transfer to 851 the two lines 527–8: but this is clearly wrong, as ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς πετραγμένοι (527) must come after the narrative of the disaster. Others propose the omission (as spurious) of the whole five lines, or some of them. Lastly, Wecklein thinks that the play was originally written without the lines, but that Aeschylus, wishing to have a representation without the Dareios scene added the lines here to account for the non-reappearance of Atossa.

It is certainly true that a priori one would expect the phrase, 'If he comes before my return, escort him home,' to be spoken when Atossa is leaving the stage for the last time, and Xerxes' appearance is imminent, not when a long scene in which the Queen takes part is to intervene before the King's return. But the difficulty of supposing that the play was ever written or acted without the highly characteristic and effective scene of the invocation of Dareios' ghost, and his further prophecies of disaster, is surely decisive. This theory cannot be accepted on such comparatively slight grounds.

The question whether 529–31 ought not to be transferred to 851 stands on a very different footing; and there is certainly something to be said for the change. It explains beforehand why the Queen is not there to receive her son; which requires explanation, especially after her expressions of anxiety; though it is (dramatically) far better that she should be absent. If she were there, all the lamentations would have to be repeated, which are already rather wearisome: and moreover, she would have to clothe the ragged and travel-worn Xerxes with the royal robes she promised (849) to bring; and such a scene would border on the grotesque.

On the other hand, the lines, as they stand, would not fit on well to 851. καὶ παῖδ' would be in itself an awkward connexion, especially after παῖδι μοι (850). And it may be maintained that they are after all not unsuitable to their present place. They keep up the expectation of the return of the defeated and disgraced Xerxes: and they also, in their very form, suggest that Atossa may come back to pay the promised offerings (ἡ ἐως λαβοῦσα πέλανον, 524) before the King arrives, as she actually does at 598. Lastly, 851, pointed and effective as a closing line, would be decidedly weakened if 529–31 were added afterward.


Our two authorities, Herodotos and Aeschylus, both give lists of the names of those who commanded the various con-
APPENDIX

tingents of the huge host which Xerxes brought against the Greeks. Herodotos devotes thirty-seven chapters (vii. 61-97) to a systematic enumeration of all the captains of the separate nationalities, and the generals-in-chief of the army and the navy, the total number of names amounting to thirty-nine. In the Persae the names occur at three different points of the drama. The opening chorus, with its dramatic fluctuation between pride in the vast force and anxiety for its fate, mentions, in an effective manner characteristic of the poet, seventeen names of the leaders of diverse nationalities (Persae 21-51). Secondly, the messenger (302-30) vivifies his description of the disaster by enumerating nineteen commanders of the fleet or army who perished in the battle. Lastly, in the kómós with which the play concludes, the Chorus question Xerxes of the fate of twenty-six generals or naval leaders, only to learn each time that they have met their death (955-1000). Three of the names are found in all three places, and eight recur twice.

A comparison of Aeschylos’ list of fifty-one names with Herodotos’ thirty-nine shows rather surprising results. The cases where names in the two lists can be identified with certainty or probability are, as will be seen from the details given below, remarkably few.

(a) Names identical in the two authorities:

Arionardos. In Aesch. he is called ‘the ruler of [Egyptian] Thebes’ (38): his death is ‘a sorrow to Sardis’ (321) and (968) he is called ‘the good.’ Herod. mentions two men of this name, the leader of the Kaspians (vii. 67) (probably a nephew of Dareios), and the captain of the Moschoi and Tibarenoi, who is a son of Dareios and Parmys (vii. 78).

Arsames in the Persae (37) is called ‘the prince of Memphis,’ and his fate (by wounds or drowning) is recorded by the messenger (308). He is doubtless the son of Dareios mentioned Herod. vii. 69.

Artaphernes (Pers. 21), mentioned as a ταγὸς Περσῶν, is no doubt the Artaphernes of Herod. (vii. 74) who was a general at Marathon.

Masistes, one of the ‘kings who serve the mighty king’ (Pers. 24, 39), is clearly the son of Dareios and Atossa, and brother of Xerxes, whom Herod. (vii. 82) mentions as one of the six generals-in-chief at Salamis.

(b) Names similar, and possibly to be identified:

Astaspes, mentioned (Persae 22) among the first four names, may possibly be Herodotos’ Oltaspes (vii. 63) who comes fifth in his list, and is commander of the Assyrian force.
Pharandakes, classed as a ‘warrior of the bow’ (Pers. 31) and a ‘comrade’ of Xerxes (παραστάτης, Pers. 958), may possibly be either Pharandates (Herod. vii. 79) or Pherendates (vii. 67), the former general of the Sarangai, the latter of the Kolchians.

Masistras is one of those leaders of whose fate the Chorus enquires (971), and is not improbably the same as Herodotos’ Masistios, leader of the Alarodioi, and son of another of his list of Persian generals, Siromitres.

Megabates, mentioned by Aesch. among the first-named ταγοί (Pers. 22), is probably the ‘cousin of Dareios’ of that name (Herod. v. 32), who was made commander of the expedition against Naxos about 502 B.C., and also named (vii. 97) as the father of Megabazos, one of the admirals of the fleet.

Hystiaichmas (Pers. 972) has some resemblance to Hystaspes, son of Dareios and Atossa (Herod. vii. 64); but there can be no certainty in such an identification.

Oibares, called ‘the great’ (Pers. 983), is possibly the son of Megabazos (Herod. vi. 33).

Syennesis, called ‘ruler of Kilikians’ (Pers. 326), may be the ‘King of Kilikians’ name (Herod. v. 118).

(c) Other names in the two authors are similar, but what is said of them prevents identification: e.g. Pharnouchos is apparently in Aesch. (Pers. 313) an Egyptian sailor, while Herod. (vii. 88) mentions a commander of cavalry named Pharnouches.

Again, Aesch. has two champions, Seisames (Pers. 322) and Sesamas (982), names which resemble Herodotos’ name Sisamnes (vii. 66): but Seisames is a Mysian, Sesamas is ‘son of Megabates,’ and Sisamnes is son of Hydarnes.

From the above details it results that there are at least forty names (out of fifty-one) in Aeschylus which are not in Herodotos; and twenty-eight names (out of thirty-nine) in Herodotos which are not in Aeschylus. As Herodotos had access to Asiatic sources of information which were clearly not open to Aeschylus, the natural inference is that the poet and his audience were satisfied if the names had a Persian sound, and if a few of the best-known names were actually mentioned. The surprising point is that of the ten commanders-in-chief of the army and the fleet whom Herodotos names, only two at the most are mentioned by Aeschylus. It is particularly noticeable that neither the well-known Mardonios, general-in-chief of the land forces, nor Ariabignes, nor Achaimenes, both sons of Dareios and chief commanders of the fleet, is even mentioned in the Persae.
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