

on the part of the Lesbians tantamount to sacrilege.—See SCHOLIAST and STAN.

Note 34 (p. 155).

“He'll neither swear himself, nor take my oath.”

“The Greek words, ἀλλ ὄρκον οὐ δεξαίτ' ἄν, οὐ δοῦναι θέλει, have, in the juridical language of Athens, decidedly only this meaning; and, in the present passage, there is no reasonable ground for taking them in any other sense, though it is perfectly true that in some passages, ὄρκου διδόναι signifies simply to *swear*, and ὄρκον δέχεσθαι, to *accept an attestation on oath*.”—SCHOEMANN.

Note 35 (p. 155). “In old Ixíon's guise.”

“Ixíon was the son of Phlegyas, his mother Dia, a daughter of Deioneus. He was king of the Lapithæ, or Phlegyes, and the father of Peirithous. When Deioneus demanded of Ixíon the bridal gifts he had promised, Ixíon treacherously invited him as though to a banquet, and then contrived to make him fall into a pit filled with fire. As no one purified Ixíon from this treacherous murder, and all the gods were indignant at him, Zeus took pity on him, purified him, and invited him to his table.”—*Mythol. Dict.*

Note 36 (p. 156). “The ancient city of famous Priam thou
Didst sheer uncity.”

The original ἀπολιν Ιλίου πόλιν ἔθηκας, contains a mannerism of the tragedians too characteristic to be omitted. 'Tis one of the many tricks of that wisdom of words which the curious Greeklings sought, and did not find, in the rough Gospel of St. Paul.

Note 37 (p. 156). “For thee, in that thou comest to my halls.”

The best exposition that I have seen of the various difficulties of this speech, is that of SCHOE., unfortunately too long for extract. As to κατηγορῶντως, LIN. has, in the notes to his edition, justly characterised his own translation of it, in the Dictionary as *durissimum*. The first ὅμως, of course, must go; and there is nothing better than changing it with PAUW, MÜLL., and SCHOE., into ἐμῶς. The second ὅμως must likewise go; say ὁσιῶς with MÜLL. or οὕτως with SCHOE. There is then no difficulty.

Note 38 (p. 157).

CHORAL HYMN. This chorus contains a solemn enumeration of some of the main texts of Greek morality, and is in that view very important. The leading measure is the heptasyllabic trochaic verse so common in English, varied with cretics and dactyles. I have amused myself with giving a sort of imitation of the rhythm, so far as the trochees and cretics are concerned; to introduce the dactyles in the places where they occur, would produce—as I found by experiment—a tripping effect altogether out of keeping with the general solemnity of the piece.

Note 39 (p. 158). “But who sports, a careless liver.”

'Tis impossible not to agree with SCHOE. that these two lines are corrupt beyond the hope of emendation. He proposes to read—

τίς δὲ μηδὲν εὖσεβεῖ
καρδίας ἄγα τρεῶν.

A very ingenious restoration ; and one which, as matters now stand, I should have little scruple in introducing into the text ; but, for poetical purposes, I have not been willing to lose the image with which the present reading, ἐν φάει, supplies me and FR. —

“ Wer der nicht bei Wonneglanz
Trauer auch im Herzen hegt,” etc.

Note 40 (p. 158). “ To the wise mean strength is given,
Thus the gods have ruled in heaven.”

This is one of those current common-places of ancient wisdom, which are now so cheap to the ear, but are still as remote from the general temper and the public heart as they were some thousands of years ago, when first promulgated by some prophetic Phemonoe of the Primeval Pelasgi. The great philosopher of common sense, Aristotle, seized this maxim, as the groundwork of practical ethics, some three hundred years before Christ—*Φθείρεται γὰρ, says he, ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς καὶ τῆς ἑλλειψεως, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μεσότητος σώζεται ;* and Horace, the poet of common sense, preached many a quiet, tuneful sermon to the same ancient text—

“ Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.”

Note 41 (p. 158). “ Pride, that lifts itself unduly.”

I will not multiply citations here to show the reader how this pride or insolence of disposition, ὕβρις (the German *Uebermuth*), is marked by the Greek moralists as the great source of all the darker crimes with which the annals of our floundering race are stained (See Note, p. 349 above). They are wrong who tell us that Humility is a Christian and not a Heathen virtue : no doubt the name ταπεινοφροσύνη, used in the New Testament, was not the fashionable one among the Greeks : but that they had the thing, every page of their poetry testifies, with this difference, however, to be carefully noted, that while Heathen humility is founded solely on a sense of dependence, Christian humility proceeds also, and perhaps more decidedly, from a sense of guilt. Neither does the phraseology of Heathen and Christian writers on this subject differ always so much as people seem to imagine ; between the *μη ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν* of St. Paul (Rom. xii. 3), and the *οὐδεπώποτε ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου ἐφρόνησα* of Xenophon (Cyropaed. VIII), it were a foolish subtlety that should attempt to make a distinction.

Note 42 (p. 159).

“ Give the air-shattering Tyrrhene trump free voice.”

“ It is a correct and significant observation made by the Scholiast on Iliad XVIII. 219, that Homer never mentions the trumpet (σάλπιγξ) in the narrative part of his poem, but only for a comparison : familiar as he was with the instrument, he was not ignorant that the use of it was new, and not native in Greece. Indeed, it was never universally adopted in that country : the Spartans and Cretans marching into battle, first to the accompaniment of the lyre, and afterwards of the flute. The tragedians again are quite familiar with the Tuscan origin of the trumpet, though they make no scruple of introducing it into their descriptions of the Hellenic heroic age”—MÜLL. ; Etrusker I. p. 286.

Note 43 (p. 160).

Enter APOLLO. Here commences a debate between the daughters of Night and the god accusing and defending, which, as Grote (History of Greece, I. 512) remarks, is "eminently curious." And not only curious, but unfortunately, to our modern sense at least, not a little ludicrous in some places. The fact is, that the strange moral contradictions and inconsistencies so common in the Greek mythology, so long as they are concealed or palliated under a fair imaginative show, give small offence; but when placed before the understanding, in order to be interrogated by the strict forms of judicial logic, they necessarily produce a collision with our practical reason and a smile is the result.

Note 44 (p. 161). "... himself did bind
With bonds his hoary-dated father Kronos."

"In the fable of the binding of Kronos by his son Jove, Æschylus saw nothing disrespectful to the character of the supreme ruler, but only the imaginative embodiment of the fact, that one celestial dynasty had been succeeded by another. The image of binding, and of the battles of the Titans generally, might seem to his mind not the most appropriate; but the offence that lay in them was softened not a little by the consideration that the enchainment of Kronos and the Titans was only a temporary affair, leading to a reconciliation. The result was, that the Titans themselves at last acknowledged the justice of their punishment, and submitted themselves to Jove, as the alone legitimate ruler of Earth; and Herr Welcker is quite wrong in supposing that either here, or in the Agamemnon, or the Prometheus, there is any indication that the mind of Æschylus was fundamentally at war with his age in regard to the celestial dynasties."—SCHÖRMANN'S Prometheus, p. 97.

Note 45 (p. 162). "... How
With any clanship share lustration?"

Or, with BUCK., "what laver of his tribe shall receive him?"—the word in the original being *φρατρίων*. The ancient Hellenic tribes *φράτρες* were social unions, founded originally in the family tie, and afterwards extended. These unions had certain religious ceremonies which they performed in common, and to which allusion is here made. (Compare Livy VI. 40, 41, *nos privatim auspicia habemus* of the Patrician families.) To be *ἀφρήτωρ*, or *excluded from a tribe* (Il. IX. 63), was among the Greeks of the heroic ages a penalty half-civil, half-religious, similar in character to the *excommunication* of the middle ages. Of this extremely interesting subject, the English reader will find a most luminous exposition in GROTE'S *Greece*, vol. iii. p. 74.

Note 46 (p. 162). "... whom we call
The mother begets not."

Strange as this doctrine may seem to our modern physiologists, it seems founded on a very natural notion; and to the Greeks, who had such a low estimate of women, must have appeared perfectly orthodox. The same doctrine is enunciated by the poet in the Suppliants, v. 279, when he says, "the male artist has imprinted a Cyprian character on your female features"—the image being borrowed from the art of coining. And this, like many fancies cherished by the Greeks, seems to have had its home originally in

Note 59 (p. 170). "And, when Hermes is near thee."

What we call a "god-send," or a "wind-fall," was called by the Greeks *ἐρμαιοῦν*, or a thing given by the grace of Hermes. In his original capacity as the patron god of Arcadian shepherds, Hermes was, in like manner, looked on as the giver of patriarchal wealth in the shape of flocks.—Il. xiv. 490.

Note 60 (p. 170). "Ye Fates, high-presiding."

There is no small difficulty in this passage, from the state of the text; but, unless it be the Furies themselves that are spoken of, as KL. imagines (Theol. p. 45), I cannot think there are any celestial powers to whom the strong language of the Strophe will apply but the Fates. If the former supposition be adopted, we must interrupt the chaunt between Athena and the Furies, putting this Strophe into the mouth of the Areopagites, as, indeed, KL. proposes; but this seems rather a bold measure, and has found no favour. It remains, therefore, only to make such changes in the text as will admit of the application of the whole passage to the Fates, who stand in the closest relation to the Furies, as is evident from Strophe III. of the chorus (p. 146 above). This MÜL. has done; and I follow him, not, however, without desiring some more distinct proof that *ματροκασινύηται*, in Greek, can possibly mean sisters.—See SCHOE.'s note.

Note 61 (p. 170). "Jove, that rules the forum, nobly
In the high debate hath conquered."

Ζεὺς ἀγορᾶιος. The students of Homer may recollect the appeal of Telemachus to the Ithacans in council assembled (Odys. II. 68). Jove, as we have already had occasion to remark, has a peculiar right of presidency over every grand event of human life, and every important social institution; so that, on certain occasions, the Greek Polytheism becomes, for the need, a Monotheism—somewhat after the same fashion as the aristocratic Government of the old Roman Republic had the power of suddenly changing itself, on important occasions, into an absolute monarchy, by the creation of a Dictator.

Note 62 (p. 172). "Gracious-minded sisterhood."

The Furies were called *Εὐμενίδες*, or gracious, to propitiate their stern deity by complimentary language. Suidas says (*voc.* *Εὐμενίδες*) that Athena, in this play, calls the Furies expressly by this name; but the fact is, that it does not occur in the whole play. Either, therefore, the word *εὐφρων*, which I have translated "gracious-minded" in the play, must be considered to have given occasion to the remark of the lexicographer (which seems sufficient), or, with HERMANN and SCHOE., we must suppose something to have fallen out of the present speech.

NOTE.

On p. 132, after the *dramatis personæ*, I perceive that I have stated that the scene of this piece changes from Delphi to the *Hill of Mars*, Athens. This is either inaccurate, or, at least, imperfect; for the first change of scene is manifestly (as stated p. 148), to the temple of Athena Pallas, on the Acropolis; and, though the imagination naturally desires that the institution of the Court of the Areopagus should take place on the exact seat of its future labours, yet the construction of the drama by no means necessitates another change of scene, and the allusion to the Hill of Mars in p. 162 is easily explicable on the supposition that it lies directly opposite the Acropolis, and that Pallas points to it with her finger.

NOTES TO PROMETHEUS BOUND

Note 1 (p. 183). "This Scythian soil, this wild untrodden waste."

"The ancient Greek writers called all the Northern tribes (*i.e.* all who dwelt in the Northern parts of Europe and Asia) generally by the name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians; while some even more ancient than these make a division, calling those beyond the Euxine, Ister, and Adria, Hyperboreans, Sarmatians, and Arimaspi; but those beyond the Caspian Sea, Sacæ and Massagetæ." Strabo, Lib. XI. p. 507.—STAN.

Note 2 (p. 183). "This daring wretch."

λεωργόν, a difficult word; "evil-doer"—MED. and PROW.; *Bösewicht*—TOELP.; *Freveler*—SCHOE. The other translation of this word—"artificer of man" (Potter)—given in the *Etym.* was very likely an invention of Lexicographers to explain this very passage. But the expounders did not consider that *Æschylus* through the whole play makes no allusion to this function of the fire-worker. It was, I believe, altogether a recent form of the myth.—See WEISKE. "The precise etymology of the word is uncertain."—LIN.

Note 3 (p. 183). "... a kindred god."

"A fellow deity"—MED. But this is not enough. Vulcan, as a smith, and Prometheus were kindred in their divine functions, for which reason they were often confounded in the popular legends, as in the case of the birth of Pallas from the brain of Jove, effected by the axe, some say of Hephaestus, some of Prometheus—APOLLODOR. I. 3-6. EURIPID. Ion. 455; from which passage of the tragedian WELCKER is of opinion that Prometheus, not Hephaetus, must have a place in the pediment of the Parthenon representing the birth of Pallas.—*Class. Museum*, Vol. II. p. 385.

Note 4 (p. 183). "High-counselled son
Of right-decreeing Themis."

Not CLYMENE according to the Theogony (V. 508) or ASIA, one of the Oceanides according to Apollodorus (I. 2), which parentage has been adopted by SHELLEY in his *Prometheus Unbound*. That *Æschylus* in preferring this maternity meant to represent the Titan as suffering in the cause of RIGHT against MIGHT, as Welcker will have it (*Trilog.* p. 42), is more than doubtful. One advantage, however, is certainly gained, viz., that Prometheus is thus brought one degree further up the line of ascent in direct progress from the two original divinities of the Theogony—URANUS or HEAVEN, and GEE or the EARTH; for, according to Hesiod, THEMIS is the daughter, CLYMENE only the grand-daughter, of these primeval powers (Theog. 135, 315). Thus, Prometheus is invested with more dignity, and becomes a more worthy rival of Jove.

Note 5 (p. 183). "... saviour shall be none."

I entirely agree with SCHOE. that in the indefinite expression—ὁ λωφῆσων γὰρ οὐ πέφυκέ πω any allusion, such as the Scholiast suggests, to

HERCULES, the person by whom salvation did at length come, would be in the worst possible taste here, and quite foreign to the tone of the passage.

Note 6 (p. 184). "Jove is not weak that he should bend."

This character of harshness and inexorability belongs as essentially to JOVE as to the FATES. Pallas, in the Iliad, makes the same complaint—

"But my father, harsh and cruel, with no gentle humour raging,
Thwarts my will in all things." ILIAD VIII. 360.

We must bear in mind that Jove represents three things—(1) that iron firmness of purpose which is so essential to the character of a great ruler; (2) the impetuous violence and resistless power of the heavenly elements when in commotion; (3) the immutability of the laws of Nature.

Note 7 (p. 184). "All things may be, but this
To dictate to the gods."

"Ἀπαντ ἐπράχθη πλὴν θεοῖσι κοίρανεῖν—literally, *all things have been done, save commanding the gods*. I do not know whether there is any philological difficulty in the way of this translation. It certainly agrees perfectly well with the context, and has the advantage of not changing the received text. SCHÖE., however, adopting HERM.'s emendation of ἐπαχθῇ translates—

"Last trägt ein jeder, nur der Götter König nicht."
"All have their burdens save the king of the gods."

On the theological sentiment, I would compare that of SENECA—"In regno nati sumus; Deo parere libertas est" (*Vit. Beat.* 15)—and that of EURIPIDES, where the captive Trojan queen, finding the king of men, Agamemnon, willing to assist her, but afraid of the opinion of the Greeks, speaks as follows:—

"Ουκέστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐστ' ἐλεύθερος,
ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δούλος ἐστὶν ἢ τύχης
ἢ πλῆθος αὐτὸν πόλεως, ἢ νόμων γράφαι
ἔργουσι χρῆσθαι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τρόποις."

HEC. 864.

Note 8 (p. 185). "Thou hast been called
In vain the Provident."

This is merely translating PROMETHEUS (from *προ* before, and *μητις* counsel) into English. These allusions to names are very frequent in Æschylus—so much so as to amount to a *mannerism*; but we who use a language, the heritage of years, a coinage from which the signature has been mostly rubbed off, must bear in mind that originally all words, and especially names, were significant. See the Old Testament everywhere (particularly Gen. c. xxix. and xli., with which compare Homer, *Odyssey* xix. 407). And, indeed, in all original languages, like Greek or German, which declare their own etymology publicly to the most unlearned, no taunt is more natural and more obvious than that derived from a name. Even in Scotland, a man who is called *Bairnsfather* will be apt to feel rather awkward if he has no children. "In the oldest Greek legend," says WELCKER (*Tril.* p. 356), "names were frequently invented, in order to fix down the character or main feature of the story"—(so Bunyan in the *Pilgrim's Progress*)—a true principle, which many German writers abuse, to evaporate all tradition into mere fictitious allegory. But the practice of the Old Testament patriarchs shows that the significancy of a name affords of itself no presumption against its historical reality.

Note 9 (p. 185).

Prometheus. The critics remark with good reason the propriety of the stout-hearted sufferer observing complete silence up to this point. It is natural for pain to find a vent in words, but a proud man will not complain in the presence of his adversary. Compare the similar silence of Cassandra in the *Agamemnon*; and for reasons equally wise, that of Faust in the Auerbach cellar scene. So true is it that a great poet, like a wise man, is often best known, not by what he says, but by what he does *not* say—(καὶ τῆς ἀγαν γὰρ ἐστὶ πονοσιγῆς βάρος, as Sophocles has it). As to the subject of the beautiful invocation here made by the Titan sufferer, the reader will observe not merely its poetical beauty (to which there is something analogous in *Manfred*, act I. sc. 2—

“My mother Earth,
And thou fresh-breaking day, and you, ye mountains,
And thou the bright eye of the Universe,”)

but also its mythological propriety in the person of the speaker, as in the early times the original elementary theology common to the Greeks with all polytheists, had not been superseded by those often sadly disguised impersonations which are represented by the dynasty of Jove. OCEAN and HYPERION (ὑπερίων—he that walks aloft) are named in the *Theogony*, along with THEMIS and IAPETUS, as the first generation of gods, directly begotten from Heaven and Earth.—(*Theog.* 133-4.) In the natural progress of religious opinion, this original cosmical meaning of the Greek gods, though lost by anthropomorphism to the vulgar, was afterwards brought out by the natural philosophers, and by the philosophical poets; of which examples occur everywhere among the later classics. Indeed, the elemental worship seems never to have been altogether exploded, but continued to exist in strange confusion along with the congregation of fictitious persons to which it had given birth. So in *Homer*, *Agamemnon* prays—

“Father Jove from Ida swaying, god most glorious and great,
And thou SUN, the all-perceiving and all-hearing power, and ye
RIVERS and EARTH,” etc.—*Il.* III. 277.

Note 10 (p. 185). “The multitudinous laughter.”

ἀνὴριθμον γέλασμα. I must offer an apology here for myself, Mr. Swayne, and Captain Medwyn, because I find we are in a minority. The Captain, indeed, has paraphrased it a little—

“With long loud laughs, exulting to be free,”

but he retains the laugh, which is the stumbling-block. Swayne has

“Ye ocean waves
That with incessant laughter bound and swell
Countless,”

also a little paraphrased, but giving due prominence to the characteristic idea. E. P. Oxon. has

“Ocean smiling with its countless waves,”

with a reference to Stanley's note, “Refertur ad levem sonum undarum ventis exagitatarum qui etiam aliquantulum *crispant* maris dorsum quasi amabili quadam γέλασις,” in which words we see the origin of POT.'s—

“Ye waves
That o'er the interminable ocean wreath
Your crisped smiles.”

PROW. has—

“Dimpled in multitudinous smiles.”

And SCHOE.'s—

“Zahllosses Blinken.”

And so BLOM. in a note, emphatically—

“*Lenis fluctuum agitatio.*”

But why all this gentleness? Does it agree either with the strength of the poet's genius, or with the desolation of the wild scene around his hero? I at once admit that γελάω is often used in Greek, where, according to our usage, *smile* would be the word; but in the Old Testament we find the broad strong word *laugh* often retained in descriptions of nature; and I see not the least reason for walking in satin shoes here.

Note 11 (p. 186). “. . . in a reed concealed it.”

νάρθηξ—“still used for this purpose in Cyprus, where the reed still retains the old Greek name”—WELCKER, *Tril.* p. 8, who quotes Walpole's *Memoirs* relative to Turkey, p. 284, and Tournefort, Letter 6. I recollect at school smoking a bit of bamboo cane for a cigar.

Note 12 (p. 186). “. . . Ah me! ah me! who comes?”

The increased agitation of mind is here expressed in the original by the abandonment of the Iambic verse, and the adoption of the Bacchic—*τίς ἄχῳ*, etc., which speedily passes into the anapæst, as imitated by my Trochees. Milton was so steeped in Greek, that I think he must have had this passage in his mind when he wrote the lines of Samson Agonistes, v. 110, beginning “*But who are these?*” Altogether, the Samson is, in its general tone and character, quite a sort of Jewish Prometheus.

Note 13 (p. 187). “Daughters of prolific Tethys.”

The ancient sea-goddess, sister and wife of Oceanus, daughter of Heaven and Earth. The reader will observe that the mythology of this drama preserves a primeval or, according to our phrase, antediluvian character throughout. The mythic personages are true contemporaries belonging to the most ancient dynasty of the gods. For this reason Ocean appears in a future stage of the play, not *Poseidon*. Tethys, with the other Titans and Titanesses are enumerated by Hesiod, *Theog.* 132–7, as follows—

“Earth to Uranus wedded bore Ocean deep with whirling currents,
Coeus, Creios, Hyperion, Theia, Rhea, Iapetus,
Themis, Mnemosyne, lovely Tethys, likewise Phœbe golden-crowned,
Then the youngest of them all, deep-designing Kronos.”

As for the epithet *prolific* applied to *Tethys*, the fecundity of fish is a proverb in natural history; but I suppose it is rather the infinite succession of waves on the expanded surface of Ocean that makes his daughters so numerous in the *Theogony* (362)—

“Thrice ten hundred they are counted delicate-angled Ocean maids.”

Note 14 (p. 187). “. . . the giant trace
Of Titan times hath vanished.”

Here we have distinctly indicated that contrast between the *old* and the *new* gods, which Æschylus makes so prominent, not only in this play, but also in the *Furies*. The conclusion has been drawn by various scholars that Æschylus was secretly unfavourable to the recognised dynasty of Jove, and that his real allegiance was to these elder gods. But the inference is hasty and unauthorised. His taste for the sublime led him into these primeval ages, as it also did Milton: that is all we can say.

Note 15 (p. 188). ". . . the new-forged counsels
That shall hurl him from his throne."

The new-forged counsels were of Jove's own devising—viz., that he should marry Thetis; of which marriage, if it should take place, the son was destined to usurp his father's throne.—SCHOLIAST.

Note 16 (p. 188). "O, 'tis hard, most hard to reach
The heart of Jove!"

Inexorability is a grand characteristic of the gods.

"Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando."—VIRG., ÆN. VI.

And so Homer makes Nestor say of Agamemnon, vainly hoping to appease the wrath of Pallas Athena, by hecatombs—

"Witless in his heart he knew not what dire sufferings he must bear,
For not lightly from their purposed counsel swerve the eternal gods."
ODYS. III. 147.

And of Jove, in particular, Hera says to Themis, in the council of the gods—

"Well thou knowest
How the Olympian's heart is haughty, and his temper how severe."—ILIAD XV. 94.

Note 17 (p. 188).

"My mother Themis, not once but oft, and Earth
(One shape of various names)."

Æschylus does not and could not confound these two distinct persons, as POT. will have it.—See Eumenides, 2. SCHOE. has stated the whole case very clearly. POT. remarks with great justice, that a multiplicity of names "is a mark of dignity;" it by no means follows, however, that *Themis*, in this passage, is one of those many names which Earth receives. In illustration we may quote a passage from the *Kurma Ouran* (Kennedy's Researches on Hindoo Mythology; London, 1831; p. 208)—"That," says Vishnu, pointing to Siva, "is the great god of gods, shining in his own refulgence, eternal, devoid of thought, who produced thee (Brahma), and gave to thee the Vedas, and who likewise originated me, and gave me various names." Southey, in the roll of celestial *dramatis personæ* prefixed to the Curse of Kehama, says "that Siva boasts as many as one thousand and eight names."

Note 18 (p. 189). "Suspicion's a disease that cleaves to tyrants,
And they who love most are the first suspected."

"*Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.*"—Sall. Cat. VII. "In princes fear is stronger than love; therefore it is often more difficult for them to tear themselves from persons whom they hate than to cast off persons whom they love."—RICHTER (Titan).

Note 19 (p. 189). "I only of the gods
Thwarted his will."

This is one of the passages which has suggested to many minds a comparison between the mythical tortures of the Caucasus and the real agonies of Calvary. The analogy is just so far; only the Greek imagination never could look on Prometheus as suffering altogether without just cause; he suffered for his own sins. This TOEPEL. p. 71, has well expressed thus—"*Prometheus deos laesit ut homines bearet: Christus homines beavit ut suae, Deique patris obsecundaret voluntati.*"

Note 20 (p. 189). "... in cunning torment stretched."

ἀνηλεὺς ἐρρύθμισμαι—"so bin ich zugerichtet."—PASSOW. A sort of studious malignity is here indicated. So we say allegorically to *trim* one handsomely, to *dress* him, when we mean to *punish*. The frequent use of this verb ρυθμίζω is characteristic of the Greeks, than whom no people, as has been frequently remarked, seem to have possessed a nicer sense of the beauty of measure and the propriety of limitation in their poetry and works of art. So Sophocles, Antig. 318, has ρυθμίζειν λύπην.

Note 21 (p. 190). "Blind hopes of good I planted
In their dark breasts."

A striking phrase, meaning, however, nothing more, I imagine, according to the use of the Greek writers (and also of the Latins with *caecus*) than *dim*, *indistinct*; neither, indeed, is the phrase foreign to our colloquial English idiom—"The swearing to a *blind* etcetera they (the Puritans) looked upon as intolerable."—Calamy's Life of Baxter. In the well-known story of Pandora, Hesiod relates that, when the lid of the fatal box was opened, innumerable plagues flew out, only HOPE remained within.—*Works and Days*, 84.

Note 22 (p. 190).

"And flame-faced fire is now enjoyed by mortals?"

Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, in his account of New South Wales (London, 1804), mentions that the wild natives produced fire with much difficulty, and preserved it with the greatest care. The original inhabitants of New Holland, and the wild African bushmen described by Moffat, the missionary, are among the lowest specimens of human nature with which we are acquainted. As for Æschylus, it is evident he follows in this whole piece the notion of primitive humanity given in his introductory chapters by Diodorus, and generally received amongst the ancients, viz., that the fathers of our race were the most weak and helpless creatures imaginable, like the famous Egyptian frogs, as it were, only half developed from the primeval slime.

Note 23 (p. 191).

Enter OCEAN. "This sea god enters," says Brunoy, quoted by POT., on "I know not what winged animal—*bizarrierie inexplicable*." Very inexplicable certainly; and yet, as the tragedian expressly calls the animal a *bird*, I do not see why so many translators, both English and German, should insist on making it a *steed*. The bird certainly was a little anomalous, having, as we learn below, four feet (τετρασκελὴς διωνός, v. 395—a *four-footed bira*); but it was a bird for all that, and the air was its element. If the creature must have a name, we must even call it a griffin, or a hippogriff, notwithstanding Welcker's remarks (*Tril.* p. 26). Those who wish to see its physiognomy more minutely described may consult Aelian. hist. animal. IV. 27, in an apt passage quoted from JACOBS by BOTH. There is an ambiguity in the passage which I have translated—

"Thought instinctive reined the creature,"

some applying γνώμη not to the animal, but to the will of the rider. So PROW.—

"Following still
Each impulse of my guiding will."

But for the poetical propriety of my translation I can plead the authority of SOUTHEY—

"The ship of Heaven instinct with thought displayed
Its living sail, and glides along the sky."

Curse of Kehama, VII. 1.

and of MILTON—

"The chariot of paternal Deity
Instinct with spirit."—VI. 750.

and what is much more conclusive in the present instance, that of Homer, whose *τιτυσκόμεναι φρεσὶ νῆες* (Odyssey VIII. 556), or self-piloted ships of the Phoenicians, belong clearly to the same mythical family as the self-reined griffin of old Ocean.

Note 24 (p. 191). "From my distant caves cerulean."

i.e., in the far West, extreme Atlantic, or "ends of the earth," according to the Homeric phrase.

"To the ends I make my journey of the many-nurturing Earth,
There where Ocean, sire of gods, and ancient mother Tethys dwells,
They who nursed me in their palace, and my infant strength sustained,"

says *Hera* in the *Iliad* (XIV. 200).

Note 25 (p. 192).

"Enough my brother Atlas' miseries grieve me."

The reader will see by referring to the old editions and to POT. that the following description of the miseries of Atlas and Typhon is, in the MS., given to Ocean; and, it must be confessed, there seems a peculiar dramatic propriety in making the old sea god hold up the fate of the Cilician Blaster as a warning to the son of Iapetus, whom he saw embarked in a similar career of hopeless rebellion against the Thunderer. But philological considerations, well stated by SCHOE., have weighed with that editor, as with his predecessors BLOM. and WELL., whose authority and arguments I am for the present willing to follow, though not without some lingering doubts. The alteration of the text originally proceeded from Elmsley, and the original order of the dialogue is stoutly defended by TOEPEL. in his notes.

Note 26 (p. 192)

"The pillars of Heaven and Earth upon his shoulders."

If the reader is a curious person, he will ask how Atlas when standing on the Earth—in the extreme west of the Earth—could bear the pillars of *Heaven AND Earth?* and the question will be a very proper one; for the fact is that, as Hesiod distinctly states the case, he bore the pillars of *Heaven only* (Theog. 517). This is, indeed, the only possible idea that could be admitted into a mythology which proceeded on the old principle that the Earth was a flat solid platform in the centre of the Universe, round which the celestial pole (πόλος) wheeled. The phrase "*pillars of Heaven and Earth*" is, therefore, to a certain extent an improper one; for the Earth, being the stable base of all things, required no pillars to support it. In one sense it is true that the pillars of Atlas are the pillars of Heaven and Earth, viz., in so far as they have Heaven at one end and Earth at the other, which is what Homer means when he says (Odyssey I. 54), that these pillars "*γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν.*" And that this is the idea of Æschylus, also, is plain, both from the present passage, and from the Epode of the next following Chorus, where, unless we force in one conjecture of Schütz, or another of Hermann into the text, there is no mention of anything but the *celestial pole*. In all this I but express in my own words,

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and with a very decided conviction, the substance of the admirable note in SCHOE. to v. 426, WELL.

Note 27 (p. 192). "... Typhon."

The idea of Typhon is that of a strong windy power, *δεινόν ὑβριστήν τ' ἄνεμον*, according to the express statement of Hesiod (Theog. 307). The Greek word *Typhon*, with which our *typhus fever* is identical, expresses the state of being *swollen* or *blown up*; with this, the other idea of *heat*, which belongs also to Typhon (Sallust, *περὶ θεῶν*, c. 4), is naturally connected. According to the elementary or physical system of mythology, therefore, Typhon is neither more nor less than a *simoom* or *hot wind*.

Note 28 (p. 193).

"Knowest thou not this, Prometheus, that mild words
Are medicines of fierce wrath?"

The reader may like to see Cicero's version of these four lines—

"*Oceanus*. Atqui Prometheu te hoc, tenere existimo
Mederi posse rationem iracundiæ."

"*Prom.* Si quidem qui tempestivam medicinam admovent
Non ad gravescens vulnus illidat manus."

Tusc. Q., III. 31.

Note 29 (p. 194). "... holy Asia weep
For thee, Prometheus."

Here, and in the epithet of the rivers in the Epode (compare Homer's Odyssey X. 351, *ἱερῶν ποταμῶν*, and *Nägelsbach*, Homer, Theologie, p. 85), the original word is *ἄγνος*, a term to be particularly noted, both in the heathen writers and in the Old Testament, as denoting that religious purity in connection with external objects and outward ceremonies which the Christian sentiment confines exclusively to the moral state of the soul. I have thought it important, in all cases, to retain the Greek phrase, and not by modernizing to dilute it. The religious sentiment in connection with external nature is what the moderns generally do not understand, and least of all the English, whose piety does not readily exhibit itself beyond the precincts of the church porch. The Germans, in this regard, have a much more profound sympathy with the Greek mind.

Note 30 (p. 194). "... Araby's wandering warriors weep
For thee, Prometheus."

Arabia certainly comes in, to a modern ear, not a little strangely here, between the Sea of Azof and the Caucasus; but the Greeks, we must remember, were a people whose notions of *barbarian* geography (as they would call it) were anything but distinct; and, in this play, the poet seems wisely to court vagueness in these matters rather than to study accuracy.

Note 31 (p. 195).

"For, soothly, having eyes to see, they saw not."

With regard to the origin of the human race there are two principal opinions, which have in all times prevailed. One is, that man was originally created perfect, or in a state of dignity far transcending what he now exhibits; that the state in which the earliest historical records present him is a state of declension and aberration from the primeval source; and that the

whole progress of what is called civilization is only a series of attempts, for the most part sufficiently clumsy, and always painful, whereby we endeavour to reinstate ourselves in our lost position. This philosophy of history—for so it may most fitly be called—is that which has always been received in the general Christian world; and, indeed, it seems to flow necessarily from the reception of the Mosaic records, not merely as authentic Hebrew documents, but as veritable cosmogony and primeval history—as containing a historical exposition of the creation of the world, and the early history of man. The other doctrine is, that man was originally created in a condition extremely feeble and imperfect; very little removed from vegetable dulness and brutish stupidity; and that he gradually raised himself by slow steps to the exercise of the higher moral and intellectual faculties, by virtue of which he claims successful mastery over the brute, and affinity with the angel. This doctrine was very common, I think I may safely say the current and generally received doctrine, among the educated Greeks and Romans; though the poets certainly did not omit, as they so often do, to contradict themselves by their famous tradition of a golden age, which it was their delight to trick out and embellish. In modern times, this theory of *progressive development*, as it may be called, has, as might have been expected, found little favour, except with philosophers of the French school; and those who have broached it in this country latterly have met with a most hot reception from scientific men, principally, we may presume, from the general conviction that such ideas go directly to undermine the authority of the Mosaic record. It has been thought, also, that there is something debasing and contrary to the dignity of human nature in the supposition that the great-grandfather of the primeval father of our race may have been a monkey, or not far removed from that species; but, however this be, with regard to ÆSCHYLUS, it is plain he did not find it inconsistent with the loftiest views of human duty and destiny to adopt the then commonly received theory of a gradual development; and, in illustration, I cannot do better than translate a few sentences from DIODORUS, where the same doctrine is stated in prose: “Men, as originally generated, lived in a confused and brutish condition, preserving existence by feeding on herbs and fruits that grew spontaneously. * * * Their speech was quite indistinct and confused, but by degrees they invented articulate speech. * * * They lived without any of the comforts and conveniences of life, without clothing, without habitations, *without fire* (Prometheus!), and without cooked victuals; and not knowing to lay up stores for future need, great numbers of them died during the winter from the effects of cold and starvation. By which sad experience taught, they learned to lodge themselves in caves, and laid up stores there. By-and-by, they discovered fire and other things pertaining to a comfortable existence. The arts were then invented, and man became in every respect such as a highly-gifted animal might well be, having hands and speech, and a devising mind ever present to work out his purposes.” Thus far the Sicilian (I. 8); and the intelligent reader need not be informed that, to a certain extent, many obvious and patent facts seemed to give a high probability to his doctrine. “Dwellers in caves,” for instance, or “troglodytes,” were well known to the ancients, and the modern reader will find a historical account of them in STRABO, and other obvious places. The HORITES (Gen. xiv. 6) were so called from the Hebrew word HOR, a cave—(see Gesenius and Jahn, I. 2–26). But it is needless to accumulate learned references in a matter patent to the most modern observation.—MOFFAT’S “African Missions” will supply instances of human beings in a state as degraded as anything here described by the poet; and with

regard to the aboriginal Australians, I have preserved in my notes the following passage from COLLINS: "The Australians dwell in miserable huts of bark, all huddled together promiscuously (ἐφ' ὅσον εἰκὴ πάντα!) amid much smoke and dirt. *Some also live in caves.*" I do by no means assert, however, that these creatures are remnants of primeval humanity, according to the development theory; I only say they afford that theory a historic analogy; while, on the other hand, they are equally consistent with the commonly received Christian doctrine, as man is a creature who degenerates from excellence much more readily in all circumstances than he attains to it. These Australians and Africans may be mere imbecile stragglers who have been dropt from the great army of humanity in its march.

Note 32 (p. 195). "Numbers, too,
I taught them (a most choice device)."

"The Pythagorean tenets of Æschylus here display themselves. It was one of the doctrines attributed to this mysterious sect that they professed to find in numbers, and their combinations, the primordial types of everything cognisable by the mind, whether of a physical or moral nature. They even spoke of the soul as a number."—PROW. But, apart from all Pythagorean notions, we may safely say—from observation of travellers indeed certainly affirm—that there is nothing in which the civilized man so remarkably distinguishes himself from the savage, as in the power to grasp and handle relations of number. The special reference to Pythagoras in this passage is, I perceive, decidedly rejected by SCHOE.; BERGK. and HAUPT., according to his statement, admitting it. Of course, such a reference in the mind of the poet can never be *proved*; only it does no harm to suppose it.

Note 33 (p. 196). "... the fire-faced signs."

(φλογωπὰ σήματα). PROWETT refers this to *lightning*; but surely, in the present connection, the obvious reference is to the sacrificial flame, from which, as from most parts of the sacrificial ceremony, omens were wont to be taken. When the flame burned bright it was a good omen; when with a smoky and troublous flame, the omen was bad. See a well-known description of this in Sophocles' *Antigone*, from the mouth of the blind old diviner Tiresias, when he first enters the stage, v. 1005; and another curious passage in Euripides' *Phoeniss.* 1261.

Note 34 (p. 196). "And who is lord of strong Necessity?"

Necessity ('Ανάγκη), a favourite power to which reference is made by the Greek dramatists, is merely an impersonation of the fact patent to all, that the world is governed by a system of strict and inexorable law, from the operation of which no man can escape. That the gods themselves are subject to this 'Ανάγκη, is a method of expression not seldom used by Heathen writers; but that they had any distinct idea, or fixed theological notion of NECESSITY or FATE, as a power separate from and superior to the gods I see no reason to believe.—See my observations on the Homeric μοῖρα in *Clas. Mus.*, No. XXVI., p. 437. And in the same way that Homer talks of the *fate from the gods*, so the tragedians talk of *necessity from or imposed by the gods*—τὰς γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας θνητον ὄντα δεῖ φέρειν. With regard to Æschylus, certainly one must beware of drawing any hasty inference with regard to his theological creed from this insulated passage. For here the poet adopts the notion of the strict subjection of Jove to an external FATE,

principally, one may suppose, from dramatic propriety; it suits the person and the occasion. Otherwise, the Æschylean theology is very favourable to the absolute supremacy of Jove; and, accordingly, in the Eumenides, those very Furies, who are here called his superiors, though they dispute with Apollo, are careful not to be provoked into a single expression which shall seem to throw a doubt on the infallibility of "the Father." For the rest, the Fates and Furies, both here and in the Eumenides, are aptly coupled, and, in signification, indeed, are identical; because a man's *fate* in this world can never be separated from his *conduct*, nor his conduct from his *conscience*, of which the Furies are the impersonation.

Note 35 (p. 196).

"No more than others Jove can 'scape his doom."

The idea that the Supreme Ruler of the Universe can ever be dethroned is foreign to every closely reasoned system of monotheism; but in polytheistic systems it is not unnatural (for gods who had a beginning may have an end); and in the Hindoo theology receives an especial prominence. Southey accordingly makes Indra, the Hindoo Jove, say—

"A stronger hand
May wrest my sceptre, and unparadise
The Swerga."—Curse of Kehama, VII.

We must bear in mind, however, that it is not Æschylus in the present passage, but Prometheus who says this.

Note 36 (p. 197)

"Plant his high will against my weak opinion!"

The original of these words, "*μηδ' ἄμ' θείτ' ἐμὰ γνώμᾳ κράτος ἀντίπαλον Ζεὺς*," has been otherwise translated "*Minime Jupiter indat animo meo vim rebellem*;" but, apart altogether from theological considerations, I entirely agree with SCHOE. that this rendering puts a force upon the word *κράτος*, which is by no means called for, and which it will not easily bear.

Note 37 (p. 197). "Won by rich gifts didst lead."

Observe here the primitive practice according to which the bridegroom purchased his wife, by rich presents made to the father. In Iliad IX. 288, Agamemnon promises, as a particular favour, to give his daughter in marriage to Achilles *ἀνάεδνον*, that is, without any consideration in the shape of a marriage gift.

Note 38 (p. 197).

Enter Io. Io is one of those mysterious characters on the border-land between history and fable, concerning which it is difficult to say whether they are to be looked on as personal realities, or as impersonated ideas. According to the historical view of ancient legends, Io is the daughter of Inachus, a primeval king of Argos; and, from this fact as a root, the extravagant legends about her, sprouting from the ever active inoculation of human fancy, branched out. Interpreted by the principles of early theological allegory, however, she is, according to the witness of Suidas, the MOON, and her wanderings the revolutions of that satellite. In either view, the immense extent of these wanderings is well explained by mythological writers (1) from the influence of Argive colonies at Byzantium and elsewhere; and (2) from the vain desire of the Greeks to connect their

horned virgin Io, with the horned Isis of the Egyptians. It need scarcely be remarked that, if Io means the moon, her horns are as naturally explained as her wanderings. But, in reading Æschylus, all these considerations are most wisely left out of view, the Athenians, no doubt, who introduced this play, believing in the historical reality of the Inachian maid, as firmly as we believe in that of Adam or Methuselah. As little can I agree with BOTH. that we are called upon to rationalize away the reality of the persecuting insect, whether under the name of ὄϊστρος or μύωψ. In popular legends the sublime is ever apt to be associated with circumstances that either are, or, to the cultivated imagination, necessarily appear to be ridiculous.

Note 39 (p. 198). “. . . save me, O Earth !”

I have here given the received traditionary rendering of Αλεῦ ὦ δᾶ; but I must confess the appeal to Earth here in this passage always appeared to me something unexpected; and it is, accordingly, with pleasure that I submit the following observations of SCHOE. to the consideration of the scholar—“Δᾶ is generally looked on as a dialectic variation of γᾶ; and, in conformity with this opinion, Theocritus has used the accusation Δᾶν. I consider this erroneous, and am of opinion that in Δημητηρ we are rather to understand Δεαμητηρ than Γημητηρ; and δᾶ is to be taken only as an interjection. This is not the place to discuss this matter fully; but, in the meantime, I may mention that AHRENS *de dialecta Dorica*, p. 80, has refuted the traditionary notion with regard to δᾶ.

Note 40 (p. 198).

Chorus. With WELL., and SCHOE., and the MSS., I give this verse to the Chorus, though certainly it is not to be denied that the continuation of the lyrical metre of the Strophe pleads strongly in favour of giving it to Io. It is also certain that, for the sake of symmetry, the last line of the Antistrophe must also be given to the Chorus, as SCHOE. has done.

Note 41 (p. 199). “. . . the sisters of thy father, Io.”

Inachus, the Argive river, was, like all other rivers, the son of Ocean, and, of course, the brother of the Ocean-maids, the Chorus of the present play. Afterwards, according to the historical method of conception, characteristic of the early legends, the elementary god became a human person—the river was metamorphosed into a king.

Note 42 (p. 200). “. . . Lerne's bosomed mead.”

We most commonly read of the *water* or *fountain* of Lerne; this implies a meadow—and this, again, implies high overhanging grounds, or cliffs, of which mention is made in the twenty-third line below. In that place, however, the reading ἄκρην is not at all certain; and, were I editing the text, I should have no objection to follow PAL. in reading Λέρνης τε κρήνην, with Canter. In fixing this point, something will depend upon the actual landscape.

Note 43 (p. 201). “First to the east.”

Here begins the narration of the mythical wanderings of Io—a strange matter, and of a piece with the whole fable, which, however, with all its perplexities, Æschylus, no doubt, and his audience, following the old minstrels, took very lightly. In such matters, the less curious a man is,

the greater chance is there of his not going far wrong; and to be superficial is safer than to be profound. The following causes may be stated as presumptive grounds why we ought not to be surprised at any startling inaccuracy in geographical detail in legends of this kind:—(1) The Greeks, as stated above, even in their most scientific days, had the vaguest possible ideas of the geography of the extreme circumference of the habitable globe and the parts nearest to it which are spoken of in the passage. (2) The geographical ideas of Æschylus must be assumed as more kindred to those of Homer than of the best informed later Greeks. (3) Even supposing Æschylus to have had the most accurate geographical ideas, he had no reasons in handling a Titanic myth to make his geographical scenery particularly tangible; on the contrary, as a skilful artist, the more misty and indefinite he could keep it the better. (4) He may have taken the wanderings of Io, as Welcker still suggests (*Trilog.* 137), literally from the old Epic poem "Aigimius," or some other traditionary lay as old as Homer, leaving to himself no more discretion in the matter, and caring as little to do so as Shakespere did about the geographical localities in Macbeth, which he borrowed from Hollinshed. For all these reasons I am of opinion that any attempt to explain the geographical difficulties of the following wanderings would be labour lost to myself no less than to the reader; and shall, therefore, content myself with noting *seriatim* the different points of the progress, and explaining, for the sake of the general reader, what is or is not known in the learned world about the matter:—

(1) The starting-point is not from Mount Caucasus, according to the common representation, but from some indefinite point in the NORTHERN PARTS OF EUROPE. So the Scholiast on v. 1, arguing from the present passage, clearly concludes; and with him agree HER. and SCHOE.; Welcker whimsically, I think, maintaining a contrary opinion.

(2) The SCYTHIAN NOMADS, *vid.* note on v. 2, *supra.*; their particular customs alluded to here are well known, presenting a familiar ancient analogy to the gipsy life of the present day. The reader of Horace will recall the lines—

"Campestres melius Scythae
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos."—Ode III. 24-9.

and the same poet (III. 4-35) mentions the "quiver-bearing Geloni"; for the bow is the most convenient weapon to all wandering and semi-civilized warriors.

(3) The CHALYBS, or CHALDAEI, are properly a people in Pontus, at the north-east corner of Asia Minor; but Æschylus, in his primeval Titanic geography, takes the liberty of planting them to the north of the Euxine.

(4) The river HUBRISTES. The Araxes, says the Scholiast; the TANAI, say others; or the CUBAN (Dr. Schmitz in Smith's Dict.). The word means *boisterous* or *outrageous*, and recalls the Virgilian "*pontem indignatus Araxes.*"

(5) The CAUCASUS, as in modern geography.

(6) The AMAZONS; placed here in the country about Colchis to the northward of their final settlement in Themiscyre, on the Thermodon, in Pontus, east of the Halys.

(7) SALMYDESSUS, on the Euxine, *west* of the Symplegades and the Thracian Bosphorus; of course a violent jump in the geography.

- (8) The CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS, between the Euxine and the Sea of Azof. Puzzling enough that this should come in here, and no mention be made of the Thracian Bosphorus in the whole flight! The word *Bosporus* means in Greek the *passage of the Cow*.
- (9) The ASIAN CONTINENT; from the beginning a strange wheel! For the rest see below.

Note 44 (p. 203).

"When generations ten have passed, the third."

This mythical genealogy is thus given by SCHÜTZ from Apollodorus. 1. Epaphus; 2. Libya; 3. Belus (see Suppliants, p. 228, above); 4. Danaus; 5. Hypermnestra; 6. Abas; 7. Proetus; 8. Acrisias; 9. Danae; 10. Perseus; 11. Electryon; 12. Alcmena; 13. Heracles.

Note 45 (p. 203).

"When thou hast crossed the narrow stream that parts."

I now proceed with the mythical wanderings of the "ox-horned maid," naming the different points, and continuing the numbers, from the former Note—

(10) The SOUNDING OCEAN.—Before these words, something seems to have dropt out of the text; what the "sounding sea" (*πόντου φλόισβος*) is, no man can say; but, as a southward direction is clearly indicated in what follows, we may suppose the CASPIAN, with HER.; or the PERSIAN GULF, with SCHOE.

(11) The GORGONIAN PLAINS.—"The Gorgons are conceived by Hesiod to live in the Western Ocean, in the neighbourhood of Night, and the Hesperides; but later traditions place them in Libya."—Dr. SCHMITZ, in Smith's Dict.: but SCHOE., in his note, quotes a scholiast to Pindar, *Pyth.* X. 72, which places them near the Red Sea, and in Ethiopia. This latter habitation, of course, agrees best with the present passage of Æschylus.

With regard to CISTHENE, the same writer (SCHOE.) has an ingenious conjecture, that it may be a mistake of the old copyists, for the CISSIANS, a Persian people, mentioned in the opening chorus to the play of the Persians.

(12) The country of the GRIFFINS, the ARIMASPI, and the river PLUTO. The Griffins and the Arimaspi are well known from Herodotus and Strabo, which latter, we have seen above (Note 1), places them to the north of the Euxine Sea, as a sub-division of the Scythians. Æschylus, however, either meant to confound all geographical distinctions, or followed a different tradition, which placed the Arimaspi in the south, as to which see SCHOE. "The river PLUTO is easily explained, from the accounts of golden-sanded rivers in the East which had reached Greece."—SCHOE.

(13) The river Aethiops seems altogether fabulous.

(14) The "Bybline Heights," meaning the *κατάδουπα* (Herod. II. 17), or place where the Nile falls from the mountains.—LIN. *in voce καταβασμός*, which is translated *pass*. No such place as BYBLUS is mentioned here by the geographers, in want of which POT. has allowed himself to be led, by the Scholiast, into rather a curious error. The old annotator, having nothing geographical to say

about this *Byblus*, thought he might try what etymology could do; so he tells us that the Bybline Mountains were so called from the *Byblos* or *Papyrus* that grew on them. This Potter took up and gave—

“Where from the *mountains with papyrus crowned*
The venerable Nile impetuous pours,”

overlooking the fact that the papyrus is a sedge, and grows in flat, moist places.

Note 46 (p. 204). “. . . the sacred Nile
Pours his salubrious flood.”

ἔυποτον πέος, literally, *good for drinking*. The medicinal qualities of the Nile were famous in ancient times. In the Suppliants, v. 556, our poet calls the Nile water, νόσοις ἀθικτον, *not to be reached by diseases*; and in v. 835, *the nurturing river that makes the blood flow more buoyantly*. On this subject, the celebrated Venetian physician, Prosper Alpin, in his *Rerum Aegyptiarum*, Lib. IV. (Lugd. Bat. 1735) writes as follows: “Nili aqua merito omnibus aliis præfertur quod ipsa alvum subducat, menses pellat ut propterea raro mensium suppressio in Aegypti mulieribus reperiatur. Potui suavis est, et dulcis; sitim promptissime extinguit; frigida tuto bibitur, concoctionem juvat, ac distributioni auxilio est, minime hypochondriis gravis corpus firmum et coloratum reddit,” etc.—Lib. I. c. 3. If the water of the Nile really be not only pleasant to drink, but, strictly speaking, of medicinal virtue, it has a companion in the Ness, at Inverness, the waters of which are said to possess such a drastic power, that they cannot be drunk with safety by strangers.

Note 47 (p. 204). “. . . thence with mazy course
Tossed hither.”

I quite agree with SCHOE. that, in the word παλιμπλάγκτος, in this passage, we must understand πάλιν to mean *to and fro*, not *backwards*. With a backward or reverted course from the Adriatic, Io could never have been brought northward to Scythia. The mazziness of Io's course arises naturally from the fitful attacks of the persecuting insect of which she was the victim. A direct course is followed by sane reason, a zigzag course by insane impulse.

Note 48 (p. 204). “. . . Epaphus, whose name shall tell
The wonder of his birth.”

As Io was identified with Isis, so Epaphus seems merely a Greek term for the famous bull-god Apis.—(Herod. III. 27, and Müller's Prolegom. myth.) The etymology, like many others given by the ancients, is ridiculous enough; ἐπαφή, *touch*. This derivation is often alluded to in the next play, *The Suppliants*. With regard to the idea of a virgin mother so prominent in this legend of Io, PROW. has remarked that it occurs in the Hindoo and in the Mexican mythology; but nothing can be more puerile than the attempt which he mentions as made by FABER to connect this idea with the “promise respecting the seed of the woman made to man at the fall.” Sound philosophy will never seek a distant reason for a phenomenon, when a near one is ready. When an object of worship or admiration is once acknowledged as superhuman, it is the most natural thing in the world for the imagination to supply a superhuman birth. A miraculous life flows most fitly from a miraculous generation. The mother of the great type of Roman

warriors is a vestal, and his father is the god of war. Romans and Greeks will wisely be left to settle such matters for themselves, without the aid of "patriarchal traditions" or "the prophecy of Isaiah." The ancient Hellenes were not so barren, either of fancy or feeling, as that they required to borrow matters of this kind from the Hebrews. On the idea of "generation by a god" generally, see the admirable note in GROTE'S History of Greece, P. I. c. 16 (Vol. I. p. 471).

Note 49 (p. 207). "... they are wise who worship Adrastéa."

"A surname of Nemesis, derived by some writers from Adrastus, who is said to have built the first sanctuary of Nemesis on the river Asopus (Strabo XIII. p. 588), and by others from the verb διδράσκειν, according to which it would signify the goddess whom none could escape."—Dr. SCHMITZ. On this subject, STAN. has a long note, where the student will find various illustrative references.

Note 50 (p. 209).

"For wilful strength that hath no wisdom in it
Is less than nothing."

The word in the original, *ἀνθαδιά*, literally "self-pleasing," expresses a state of mind which the Greeks, with no shallow ethical discernment, were accustomed to denounce as the great source of all those sins whose consequences are the most fearful to the individual and to society. St. Paul, in his epistle to Titus (i. 7), uses the same word emphatically to express what a Christian bishop should *not* be (*ἀνθαδῆ*, self-willed). The same word is used by the blind old soothsayer Tiresias in the ANTIGONE, when preaching repentance to the passionate and self-willed tyrant of Thebes, *ἀνθαδιά τοι σκαιότητ ὀφλισκάνει*, where Donaldson gives the whole passage as follows:—

"Then take these things to heart, my son; for error
Is as the universal lot of man;
But, whensoever he errs, that man no longer
Is witless, or unblest, who, having fallen
Into misfortune, seeks to mend his ways,
And is not obstinate: *the stiff-necked temper*
Must oft plead guilty to the charge of folly."

SOPHOCLES, ANTIG. v. 1028.

Note 51 (p. 209). "... unless some god endure
Vicarious thy tortures."

The idea of vicarious sacrifice, or punishment by substitution of one person for another, does not seem to have been very familiar to the Greek mind; at least, I do not trace it in Homer. It occurs, however, most distinctly in the well-known case of MENŒCEUS, in Euripides' play of the *Phænissæ*. In this passage, also, it is plainly implied, though the word *διάδοχος*, strictly translated, means only a *successor*, and not a *substitute*. WELCK. (*Trilog.* p. 47) has pointed out that the person here alluded to is the centaur CHIRON, of whom Apollodorus (II. 5-11-12) says that "Hercules, after freeing Prometheus, who had assumed the olive chaplet (WELCK. reads *ἐλόμενον*), delivered up Chiron to Jove willing, though immortal, to die in his room (*θνήσκειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ*). This is literally the Christian idea of vicarious death. The Druids, according to Cæsar (B.C. VI. 16), held the doctrine strictly—"pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari." Of existing heathens practising human sacrifice, the religious rites of the Khonds in Orissa present the idea

of vicarious sacrifice in the most distinct outline. See the interesting memoir of Captain M'Pherson in *Blackwood's Magazine* for August, 1842.

Note 52 (p. 210). "Seems he not a willing madman,
Let him reap the fruits he sowed."

I have translated these lines quite freely, as the text is corrupt, and the emendations proposed do not contain any idea worth the translator's adopting. SCHOE. reads—

Τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ παραπαίειν
'Εἰ τὰδ ἐπαυχεῖ τί χαλὰ μανίων;

and translates

*Was fehlet ihm noch wahnwitzig zu seyn,
Wenn also er pocht? Wie zahmt er die Wuth?*

PROW. from a different reading, has

To thee, if this resolve seems good,
Why shouldst thou check thy frenzied mood?

NOTES TO THE SUPPLIANTS

Note 1 (p. 219). "Jove the suppliant's high protector."

Zeὺς ἀφίκτωρ, literally *suppliant Jove*, the epithet which properly belongs to the worshipper being transferred to the object of worship. The reader will note here another instance of the monotheistic element in Polytheism, so often alluded to in these Notes. Jove, as the supreme moral governor of the universe, has a general supervision of the whole social system of gods and men; and specially where there is no inferior protector, as in the case of fugitives and suppliants—there he presses with all the weight of his high authority. In such cases, religion presents a generous and truly humanizing aspect, and the "*primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*" of the philosophers loses its sting.

Note 2 (p. 219). "Of the fat fine-sanded Nile!"

WELLAUER, in his usual over-cautious way, has not received PAUW's emendation λεπτοψαμάθων into his text, though he calls it *certissimum* in his notes. PAL., whom I follow, acts in these matters with a more manly decision. Even without the authority of PLINY (XXXV. 13), I should adopt so natural an emendation, where the text is plainly corrupt.

Note 3 (p. 219). "Gently thrilled the brize-stung heifer
With his procreant touch."

See p. 204 above, and Note 48 to Prometheus. There prevails throughout this play a constant allusion to the divine significance of the name EPAPHUS, meaning, as it does, *touch*. To the Greeks, as already remarked (p. 388), this was no mere punning; and the names of the gods (Note 17, p. 391 above) were one of the strongest instruments of Heathen devotion. That there is an allusion to this in Matthew vi. 7, I have no doubt.

Note 4 (p. 219). "Ye blissful gods supremely swaying."

I see no necessity here, with PAL., for changing ὦν πολὺς into ὦ πολὺς—but it is a matter of small importance to the translator. Jove, *the third*, is a method of designating the supreme power of which we have frequent examples in Æschylus—see the Eumenides, p. 164, where *Jove the Saviour all-perfecting* is mentioned after Pallas and Loxias, as it were, to crown the invocation with the greatest of all names. In that passage τρίτου occurs in the original, which I was wrong to omit.

Note 5 (p. 220). "Marriage beds which right refuses."

In what countries are first cousins forbidden to marry? WELCKER does not know. "*Das Eherecht worauf diese Weigerung beruht ist nicht bekannt.*"—WELCKER (*Trilog.* 391).

Note 6 (p. 221). "With Ionian wailings unstinted."

"Perhaps *Ionian* is put in this place antithetically to Νειλοθερῆ, *from the Nile*, in the next line, and the sense is, 'though coming from Egypt,

yet, being of Greek extraction, I speak Greek.'"—PALRY. This appears to me the simplest and most satisfactory comment on the passage.

Note 7 (p. 221). "From the far misty land."

That is EGYPT. So called according to the Etymol. M. quoted by STAN., from the cloudy appearance which the low-lying Delta district presents to the stranger approaching it from the sea.

Note 8 (p. 222). "All godlike power is calm."

It would be unfair not to advertise the English reader that this fine sentiment is a translation from a conjectural reading, *πᾶν ἄπονον δαιμονίων*, of WELL., which, however, is in beautiful harmony with the context. The text generally in this part of the play is extremely corrupt. In the present stanza, WELL.'s correction of *δε ἀπιδων* into *ἐλπίδων* deserves to be celebrated as one of the few grand triumphs of verbal criticism that have a genuine poetical value.

Note 9 (p. 222). "Ah! well-a-day! ah! well-a-day!"

The reader must imagine here a complete change in the style of the music—say from the major to the minor key. In the whole Chorus, the mind of the singer sways fitfully between a hopeful confidence and a dark despair. The faith in the counsel of Jove, and in the sure destruction of the wicked, so finely expressed in the preceding stanzas, supports the sinking soul but weakly in this closing part of the hymn. These alterations of feeling exhibited under such circumstances will appear strange to no one who is acquainted with the human, and especially with the female heart.

Note 10 (p. 223). "Ye Apian hills."

"Apia, an old name for Peloponnesus, which remains still a mystery, even after the attempt of Butmann to throw light upon it."—GROTE, Hist. of Greece, Part I. c. 4. Æschylus' own account of Apis, the supposed originator of the name Apia, will be found in this play a few lines below. I have consulted Butmann, and find nothing but a conglomeration of vague and slippery etymologies.

Note 11 (p. 225). "... rounded cars."

καμπύλος, with a bend or sweep; alluding to the form of the rim of the ancient chariot, between the charioteer and the horses. See the figure in SMITH'S Dict. Antiq., Articles *ἀντροξ* and *currus*.

Note 12 (p. 225). "... the Agonian gods."

The common meaning that a Greek scholar would naturally give to the phrase *θεοὶ ἀγωνιοί* is that given by HESYCH, viz., *gods that preside over public games*, or, as I have rendered it in the Agamemnon (p. 57 above), *gods that rule the chance of combat*. For persons who, like the Herald in that play, had just escaped from a great struggle, or, like the fugitive Virgins in this piece, were going through one, there does not appear to be any great impropriety (notwithstanding PAL.'s *inepte*) in an appeal to the gods of combat. Opposed to this interpretation, however, we have the common practice of Homer, with whom the substantive *ἀγών* generally means an assembly; and the testimony of Eustathius, who, in his notes to

that poet, Iliad, Ω 1335, 58, says “παρ Αισχύλῳ ἀγῶνιοι θεοὶ οἱ ἀγορᾶιοι;” *i.e.* gods that preside over assemblies.

Note 13 (p. 225). “. . . your sistered hands.”

διὰ χερῶν συνωνύμων. I am inclined to think with PAL. that ἐυωνύμων may be the true reading; *i.e.* in your left hands. And yet, so fond is Æschylus of quaint phrases that I do not think myself at liberty to reject the vulgate, so long as it is susceptible of the very appropriate meaning given in the text. “Hands of the same name” may very well be tolerated for “hands of the same race”—“hands of sisters.”

Note 14 (p. 225).

“Even so; and with benignant eye look down!”

I have here departed from WELL.’s arrangement of this short colloquy between Danaus and his daughters, and adopted PAL.’s, which appears to me to satisfy the demands both of sense and metrical symmetry. That there is something wrong in the received text WELL. admits.

Note 15 (p. 226). “There where his bird the altar decorates.”

I have here incorporated into the text the natural and unembarrassed meaning of this passage given by PAL. The bird of Jove, of course, is the eagle. What the Scholiast and STAN. say about the cock appears to be pure nonsense, which would never have been invented but for the confused order of the dialogue in the received text.

Note 16 (p. 226). “Apollo, too, the pure, the exiled once.”

“They invoke Apollo to help them, strangers and fugitives, because that god himself had once been banished from heaven by Jove, and kept the herds of Admetus.

‘Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.’”—STAN.

Note 17 (p. 226).

“Here, Hermes likewise, as Greece knows the god.”

This plainly points out a distinction between the Greek and the famous Egyptian Hermes. So the Scholiast, and STAN. who quotes Cic., Nat. Deor. III. 22.

Note 18 (p. 226). “Can bird eat bird and be an holy thing?”

This seems to have been a common-place among the ancients. PLINY, in the following passage, draws a contrast between man and the inferior animals, not much to the honor of the former:—“*Cætera animalia in suo genere probe degunt; congregari videmus et stare contra dissimilia; leonum feritas inter se non dimicat; serpentum morsus non petit serpentes; ne maris quidem belluæ ac pisces nisi in diversa genera sæviunt. At hercule homini plarima ex homine sunt mala.*”—NAT. HIST. VII. proem. This custom of blackening human nature (which is bad enough, without being made worse) has been common enough also in modern times, especially among a certain school of theologians, very far, indeed, in other respects, from claiming kindred with the Roman polyhistor; but the fact is, one great general law over-rides both man and the brute, viz. this—LIKE HERDS

WITH LIKE—the only difference being that human beings, with a great outward similarity, are characterized by a more various inward diversity than the lower animals. There are, in fact, men of all various kinds represented in the moral world—all those varieties which different races and species exhibit in the physical. There are lamb-men, tiger-men, serpent-men, pigeon-men, and hawk-men. That such discordant natures should sometimes, nay always in a certain sense, strive, is a necessary consequence of their existing.

Note 19 (p. 226).

“And of no host the acknowledged guest, unfearing
Ye tread this land.”

ἀπρόξενος, without a πρόξενος, or a *public host* or *entertainer*—one who occupied the same position on the part of the state towards a stranger that a ξένος or landlord, did to his private guest. In some respects “the office of proxenus bears great resemblance to that of a modern consul or minister resident.”—Dr. SCHMITZ, in Smith's Dict., article *Hospitium*. Compare SOUTHEY, Notes to MADOC. I. 5, *The Stranger's House*.

Note 20 (p. 227). “Of old earth-born Palæcthon am the son,
My name Pelasgus.”

Here we have an example of those names of the earliest progenitors of an ancient race that seem to bear fiction on their face; PALÆCTHON meaning merely the *ancient son of the land*, and PELASGUS being the name-father of the famous ante-Homeric wandering Greeks, whom we call PELASGI.

Note 21 (p. 227).

“All the land where Algos flows, and Strymon.”

The geography here is very confused. I shall content myself with noting the different points from Müller's map (*Dorians*)—

- (1) ALGOS; unknown.
- (2) STRYMON; a well-known river in Thrace.
- (3) PERRHÆBIANS; in Thessaly, North of the Peneus (Homer, II. II. 749).
- (4) PINDUS; the well-known mountain ridge in the centre of Northern Greece, separating the great rivers which descend on the one hand through Epirus into the Ionian sea and the Adriatic, on the other, into the Ægean.
- (5) PÆONIA; in the North of Macedonia (Iliad II. 848).
- (6) DODONA; in Epirus.

Note 22 (p. 227). “Apollo's son, by double right, physician
And prophet both.”

This is somewhat of a circumlocution for the single Greek phrase, *ἰατρομαντῆς*, *physician-prophet*; a name applied to Apollo himself by the Pythoness, in the prologue to the Eumenides (p. 142 above). The original conjunction of the two offices of prophet and leech in the person of Melampus, Apis, Chiron, etc. and their patron Apollo, is a remarkable fact in the history of civilization. The multiplication and isolation of professions originally combined and confounded is a natural enough consequence of the progress of society, of which examples occur in every sphere of human activity; but there is, besides, a peculiar fitness in the conjunction of

medicine and theology, arising from the intimate connexion of mind with bodily ailment, too much neglected by some modern drug-minglers, and also, from the fact that, in ancient times, nothing was more common than to refer diseases, especially those of a striking kind, to the immediate interference of the Divine chastiser—(see Hippocrates *περὶ ἰερῆς νόσου init.*). Men are never more disposed to acknowledge divine power than when under the influence of severe affliction; and accordingly we find that, in some savage or semi-savage tribes, the “medicine-man” is the only priest. It would be well, indeed, if, in the present state of advanced science, professional men would more frequently attempt to restore the original oneness of the healing science—(see Max. Tyr. *πῶς ἂν τις ἄλυπος εἴη*)—if all medical men would, like the late Dr. Abercrombie, bear in mind that man has a soul as well as a body, and all theologians more distinctly know that human bodies enclose a stomach as well as a conscience, with which latter the operations of the former are often strangely confounded.

Note 23 (p. 228). “. . . Io, on this Argive ground,
Erst bore the keys to Hera.”

i.e. was priestess of the Argive goddess. The keys are the sign of custodiary authority in modern as in ancient times. See various instances in STAN.

Note 24 (p. 228). “So runs the general rumour.”

After this, WELL. supposes something has fallen out of the text; but to me a break in the narration of the Chorus, caused by the eagerness of the royal questioner, seems sufficiently to explain the state of the text. PAL. agrees.

Note 25 (p. 228). “Like a leaping bull,
Transformed he came.”

Βουθόρῳ ταύρῳ. I have softened this expression a little; so modern delicacy compels. The original is quite Homeric—“*συῶν ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον*.”—Odyssey XI. 131. Homer and the author of the Book of Genesis agree in expressing natural things in a natural way, equally remote (as healthy nature always is) from fastidiousness and from prudery.

Note 26 (p. 228).

King. A question has evidently dropt here; but it is of no consequence. The answer supplies the first link in the genealogical chain deducing the Danaides from Io and Epaphus. See above, p. 400, Note 44.

Note 27 (p. 229). “Both this and that.”

I have translated this difficult passage freely, according to the note of SCHÜTZ., as being most comprehensive, and excluding neither the one ground of objection nor the other, both of which seem to have occupied the mind of the virgins. I am not, however, by any means sure what the passage really means. E. P. Oxon. has—

“Who would seek to obtain kindred as masters?”

POT.—

“And who would wish to make their friends their lord.”

Where the real ground of objection is so darkly indicated, a translator is at liberty to smuggle a sort of commentary into the text.

Note 28 (p. 229). "The wrath of suppliant Jove."

i.e. Jove the protector of suppliants. See above, Note I.

Note 29 (p. 230). "Like a heifer young by the wolf pursued."

The scholar will recognize here a deviation from WELL.'s text λευκόστικτον, and the adoption of Hermann's admirable emendation, λυκοδίωκτον. PAL. has received this into his text, and LIN., generally a severe censor, approves.—*Class. Museum*, No. VII. p. 31. Both on metrical and philological grounds, the reading demands reception.

Note 30 (p. 230). "Thou art the state, and the people art thou."

This is a very interesting passage in reference to the political constitution—if the term constitution be here allowable—of the loose political aggregates of the heroic ages. The Chorus, of course, speak only their own feelings; but their feelings, in this case, are in remarkable consistency with the usages of the ancient Greeks, as described by Homer. The government of the heroic ages, as it appears in the *Iliad*, was a monarchy, on common occasions absolute, but liable to be limited by a circumambient atmosphere of oligarchy, and the prospective possibility of resistance on the part of a people habitually passive. Another remarkable circumstance, is the identity of church and state, well indicated by Virgil, in that line—

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.

ÆNEID III.

and concerning which, Ottfried Müller says—"In ancient Greece it may be said, with almost equal truth, that the kings were priests, as that the priests were kings" (*Mythology*, Leitch, p. 187). On this identity of church and state were founded those laws against the worship of strange gods, which formed so remarkable an exception to the comprehensive spirit of toleration that Hume and Gibbon have not unjustly lauded as one of the advantageous concomitants of Polytheism. The intolerance, which is the necessary consequence of such an identity, has found its thorough and consistent champions only among the Mahomedan and Christian monotheists of modern times. Even the large-hearted and liberal-minded Dr. Arnold was so far possessed by the ancient doctrine of the identity of church and state, that he could not conceive of the possibility of admitting Jews to deliberate in the senate of a Christian state. In modern times, also, we have witnessed with wonder the full development of a doctrine most characteristically Homeric, that the absolute power of kings, whether in civil or in ecclesiastical matters, is equally *of divine right*.

Τιμὴ τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ, φιλεῖ δὲ ἐμῇτιετὰ Ζεὺς.

IL. II. 197.

"For from Jove the honor cometh, him the counsellor Jove doth love."

On this very interesting subject every page of Homer is pregnant with instruction; but those who are not familiar with that bible of classical scholars will find a bright reflection of the most important truths in GROTE, *Hist. Greece*, P. I. c. XX.

Note 31 (p. 231). "Without the people
I cannot do this thing."

Æschylus makes the monarch of the heroic ages speak here with a strong tincture of the democracy of the latter times of Greece, no doubt securing

to himself thereby immense billows of applause from his Athenian auditors, as the tragedians were fond of doing, by giving utterance to liberal sentiments like that of Æmon in Sophocles—"πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἥτις ἀνδρός ἐσθ' ἐνός." But how little the people had to say in the government of the heroic ages appears strikingly in that most dramatic scene described in the second book of the Iliad, which GROTE (II. 94) has, with admirable judgment, brought prominently forward in his remarks on the power of the ἀγορά, or popular assembly, in the heroic ages. Ulysses holds forth the orthodox doctrine in these terms—

"Sit thee down, and cease thy murmurings: sit, and hear thy betters speak,
Thou unwarlike, not in battle known, in council all unheard!
Soothly all who are Achæans are not kings, and cannot be;
Evil is the sway of many; only one may bear the rule,
One be king, to whom the deep-designing Kronos' mighty son
Gave the sceptre and the right."—II. II. 200.

Note 32 (p. 233). "... possessory Jove."

Zeús κτήσιος.—An epithet characteristic of Jove, as the supreme disposer of human affairs. KLAUSEN (Theolog. II. 15) compares the epithet κλαριος from κλήρος, a lot, which I have paraphrased in p. 230 above.

"The Jove that allotteth their lot to all."

KLAUSEN quotes Pausanias (I. 31-4) to the effect that Zeus κτήσιος was worshipped in Attica along with Ceres, Minerva, Cora, and the awful Maids or Furies.

Note 33 (p. 234). "The pillar-compassed seats divine."

From a conjecture of PAL., περιστύλους; the πυλισσούχων being evidently repeated by a wandering of the eye or ear of the transcriber. Sophocles, I recollect, in the Antigone, has ἀμφικίονας ναοῦς. Of course, in the case of such blunders, where the true reading cannot be restored, the best that can be done is to substitute an appropriate one.

Note 34 (p. 235). "... the assembly of the people."

The word ἀγορά, popular assembly, does not occur here; but it is plainly implied. It is to be distinguished from the βουλή, or council of the chiefs.—See GROTE as above, and HOMER *passim*.

Note 35 (p. 235). "All crowning Consummator."

As the opening words of this prayer generally are one of the finest testimonies to the sovereignty of Jove to be found in the poet, so the conjunction of words τελέων τελειότατον, κράτος is particularly to be noted. The adjectives τέλειος, τελεος, παντελής, and the verb τελέω, are often applied with a peculiar significance to the king of the gods, as he who alone can conduct to a happy end every undertaking, under whatever auspices commenced. This doctrine is most reverently announced by the Chorus of this play towards the end (p. 244), in these comprehensive terms—

τι δε ἄνευ σέθεν
θνατοισι τελειον εστι.

"What thing to mortal men is completed without thee." And in this sense Clytemnestra, in the Agamemnon (p. 69), prays—

Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε τὰς ἐμὰς ἐυχὰς τέλει.

On the over-ruling special providence of Jove generally the scholar should read KLAUSEN, *Theol.* II., 15, and *Class. Mus.* No. XXVI. pp. 429-433.

Note 36 (p. 236). "... hence by the brize."

The reader will observe that the course of Io's wanderings here sketched is something very different from that given in the Prometheus, and much more intelligible. The geography is so familiar to the general reader from the Acts of the Apostles, that comment is unnecessary.

Note 37 (p. 236). "Divinely fretted with fitful oar she hies."

The partiality of Æschylus for sea-phrases has been often observed. Here, however, Paley for the *ἐρεσσομένα* of the vulgate has proposed *ἐρεθομένα*, aptly for the sense and the metre; but LIN. (*Class. Mus.* No. VII. 30) seems right in allowing the text to remain. I have taken up both readings into my rendering.

Note 38 (p. 236).

"Nor dared to approach this thing of human face."

It is difficult to know what *δυσχερὲς* in the text refers. POT. refers it to the mind of the maid—

"Disdaining to be touched."

To me it seems more natural to refer the difficulty of touching to the superstitious fears of the Egyptians; and to translate "*not safely to be meddled with.*" This is the feeling that my translation has attempted to bring out.

Note 39 (p. 237). "Jove's decided will."

I adopt Heath's emendation *βούλιος* for *δούλιος*. WELL., with superstitious reverence for the most corrupt text extant, retaining the *δούλιος*, is forced to explain *δούλιος φρην*, "*dictum videtur de hominibus qui Jovis auxilium imploraverunt;*" but this will never do. The reader is requested to observe what a pious interpretation is, in this passage, given to the connection of Jove and Io—how different from that given by Prometheus, p. 202 above. We may be assured that the orthodox Heathen view of this and other such matters lies in the present beautifully-toned hymn, and not in the hostile taunts which the poet, for purely dramatic purposes, puts into the mouth of the enemy of Jove.

Note 40 (p. 240). "Holy Hecate's aid avail thee."

Hecate is an epithet of Artemis, as Hecatos of Apollo, meaning *far* or *distant* (*ἑκας*). According to the prevalent opinion among mythologists, both ancient and modern, this goddess is merely an impersonation of the MOON, as PHOEBUS of the SUN. The term "far-darting" applies to both equally; the rays of the great luminaries being fitly represented as arrows of a far-shooting deity. In the Strophe which follows, Phoebus, under the name of *Λυκείος*, is called upon to be gracious to the youth of Argos.

ἔυμενῆς δ' ὁ Λύκειος
ἔστω πάσα νεολαία,

and in the translation I have taken the liberty, *pro hac vice*, as the lawyers say, to suppose that this epithet, as some modern scholars suggest, has nothing to do etymologically with *λύκος*, a wolf, but rather with the root

λυκ, which we find in the substantive *λυκάβας*, and in the Latin *luceo*. Æschylus, however, in the SEVEN AGAINST THEBES (p. 266 above), adopts the derivation from *λύκος*, as will be seen from my version. I have only to add that, if Artemis be the Moon, her function as the patroness of parturition, alluded to in the present passage, is the most natural thing in the world. On this whole subject, KEIGHTLEY, c. viii. is very sensible.

Note 41 (p. 241). "The bulging fence-work on each side."

(*παράρρυστοι*, more commonly *παράρρύματα*.) "The ancients, as early as the time of Homer, had various preparations raised above the edge of a vessel, made of skins and wicker-work, which were intended as a protection against high waves, and also to serve as a kind of breast-work behind which the men might be safe from the attacks of the enemy."—DICT. ANTIQ. *voce* SHIPS.

Note 42 (p. 241). "... the prow
Fronted with eyes to track its watery way."

"It is very common to represent an eye on each side of the prow of ancient ships."—Do. Do., and woodcuts there from Montfaucon. This custom, PAL. remarks, still continues in the Mediterranean.

Note 43 (p. 241). "To champion our need."

WELLAUER says that the "sense demands" a distribution of the concluding part of this speech between Danaus and the Chorus; but I can see no reason for disturbing the ancient order, which is retained by BUT., though not by PAL. That the sense requires no change, the translation should make evident.

Note 44 (p. 242). "... their ships dark-fronted."

(*κυανώπιδες*.) The reader will call to mind the *νῆες μέλαιναι*, the black ships in Homer.—See DICT. ANTIQ. *voce* SHIPS.

Note 45 (p. 242).

"A strong-limbed race with noon-day sweats well hardened."

This sentiment must have awakened a hearty response in the minds of the Greeks, who were superior to the moderns in nothing so much as in the prominence which they gave to gymnastic exercises, and their contempt for all sorts of *σκιотροφία*—*rearing in the shade*—which our modern bookish system tends to foster.

Note 46 (p. 242). "No Mars is in her."

δυσ ἔνεστ' Ἀρης, a proverbial expression for *pithless, nerveless*. The same expression is used in the initiatory anapaests of the Agamemnon. *Ἀρης δ' δυσ ἐνὶ χώρῃ*.

Note 47 (p. 242). "Good Greek corn is better than papyrus."

"Præter alios plurimos usus etiam in cibis recepta fuit papyrus"—ABUL. FADI—"radix ejus pulcis est; quapropter eam masticant et sugunt Ægyptii."—OLAUS CELSIUS, *Hierozoicon*, Upsal, 1745. I consulted this valuable work myself, but owe the original reference to an excellent "Essay on the Papyrus of the Ancients, by W. H. DE VRIESE," translated from the Dutch by W. B. MACDONALD, Esq. of Rammerscales, in the *Class. Mus.* No. XVI.

p. 202. In that article it is stated that "when Guilandinus was in Egypt in the year 1559-60, the pith was then used as food." HERODOTUS (Euterp. 92) says that they eat the lower part, roasting it in an oven (κλιβάνῳ πνίξαντες). PLINY (XIII. 11) says, "mandunt quoque, crudum decoctumque succum tantum devorantes." In the text, of course, the allusion is a sort of proverbial ground of superiority, on the part of the Greeks, over the sons of the Nile, pretty much in the spirit of Dr. Johnston's famous definition of oats—"food for horses in England, and for men in Scotland." I have only further to add, that the papyrus belongs to the natural family of the *Cyperaceæ* or *Sedges*, and, though not now common in Egypt, is a well-known plant, and to be seen in most of our botanical gardens.

Note 48 (p. 242). "The shepherds of the ships."

I have retained this phrase scrupulously—ποιμένες ναῶν—as an interesting relique of the patriarchal age. So in the opening choral chaunt of the Persians, Xerxes is "shepherd of many sheep," and a little farther on in the same play, *Atossa* asks the Chorus, "who is shepherd of this (the Athenian) people?" It is in such small peculiarities that the whole character and expression of a language lies.

Note 49 (p. 242). ". . . on this coast
Harbours are few."

"Nauplia was almost the only harbour on the coast of Argolis."—PAL., from BOTH. I am not topographer enough to be able to confirm this.

Note 50 (p. 243). "On a hanging cliff where lone winds sigh."

κρεμὰς. *Robortellus*: which WELL. might surely have adopted. The description of wild mountain loneliness is here very fine. Let the reader imagine such a region as that of BEN-MACDHUI in Aberdeenshire, so well described in *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1847. *διόφρων* is more than *διος*; and I have ventured on a periphrasis. Hermann's Latin translation given by PAL. is—"saxum praeruptum, capris inaccessum, incommonstrabile, solitudine vastum, propendens, vulturibus habitatum."

Note 51 (p. 244).

CHORUS (*in separate voices, and short hurried exclamations*). I most cordially agree with WELL. in attaching the ten verses 805-15 to what follows, rather than making it stand as an Epode to what precedes. A change of style is distinctly felt at the conclusion of the third Antistrophe; the dim apprehension of approaching harm becomes a distinct perception, and the choral music more turbid, sudden, and exclamatory. This I have indicated by breaking up the general chaunt into individual voices.—See p. 377, Note 19.

Note 52 (p. 245).

"Hence to the ships! to the good ships fare ye!"

"What follows is most corrupt, but so made up of short sentences, commands, and exclamations, that if the whole passage were wanting, it would not be much missed. It is very tasteless, and full of turgid phraseology."—PALEY. All this is very true, if we look on the *Suppliants* as a play written to be read; but, being an opera composed for music, what appears to us tasteless and extravagant, without that stimulating emotional atmosphere,

might have been, to the Athenians who heard it, the grand floodtide and tempestuous triumph of the piece. Compare, especially, the passionate Oriental coronach with which "The Persians" concludes. We must never forget that we possess only the skeleton of the sacred opera of the Greeks.

Note 53 (p. 248).

"To find stray goods the world all over, Hermes
Is prince of patrons."

"*Rei furtivae*," as the civil law says, "*acterna est auctoritas*"; and the Herald, being sent out on a mission to reclaim what was abstracted, requires no credentials but the fact of the heraldship, which he exercises under the patronage of the herald-god Hermes. It may be also, as the commentators suggest—though I recollect no passage to prove it—that Hermes, being a thief himself, and the patron of thieves, was the most apt deity to whose intervention might be referred the recovery of stolen goods. Something of this kind seems implied in the epithet *μαστηρις*, *the searcher*, here given to Hermes.

Note 54 (p. 250).

"In the general view, and publishes their praise."

After these words I have missed out a line, of which I can make nothing satisfactory—

κάλωρα κωλύουσιν ὥς μένειν ἐρῶ.

A few lines below, for *δυν ἐκληρώθη δορί*, I have followed PAL. in adopting HEATH'S *εἶνεκ' ἠρόθη δορί*.

Note 55 (p. 251).

CHORAL HYMN. This final Chorus of the Suppliants and the opening one of the Persians are remarkable for the use of that peculiar rhythm, technically called the *Ionic a minore*, of which a familiar example exists in Horace, Ode III. 12. What the æsthetical or moral effect of this measure was on an Athenian ear it is perhaps impossible for us, at the present day, to know; but I have thought it right, in both cases, when it occurs, to mark the peculiarity by the adoption of an English rhythm, in some similar degree removed from the vulgar use, and not without a certain cognate character. In modern music, at least, the Ionic of the Greek text and the measure used in my translation are mere varieties of the same rhythmical genus marked musically by $\frac{3}{4}$. As for the structure of the Chorus, its division into two semi-choruses is anticipative of the division of feeling among the sisters, which afterwards arose when the conduct of their stern father forced them to choose between filial and connubial duty. One thing also is plain, that there is nothing of a real moral finale in this Chorus. Regarded as a concluding ode, it were a most weak and impotent performance. The tone of grateful jubilee with which it sets out, is, after the second Strophe, suddenly changed into the original note of apprehension, evil-foreboding, doubt, and anxiety, plainly pointing to the terrible catastrophe to be unveiled in the immediately succeeding play.

Note 56 (p. 251). "Yet, mighty praise be thine,
Cyprian queen divine!"

The Chorus here are evidently moved by a religious apprehension that, in placing themselves under the patronage of the goddess of chastity, they may have treated lightly the power and the functions of the great goddess of

love. To reconcile the claims of opposing deities was a great problem of practical piety with all devout polytheists. The introduction of Aphrodite here, as has been remarked, is also plainly prophetic of the part which Hypermnestra is to play in the subsequent piece, under the influence of the great Cyprean goddess preferring the love of a husband to the command of a father.

Note 57 (p. 252). "Lovely Harmonia."

"Hesiod says that Harmonia (ἁρμονία—order or arrangement) was the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. This has evidently all the appearance of a physical myth; for from love and strife—i.e. attraction and repulsion—arises the order or harmony of the universe."—KEIGHTLEY.

Note 58 (p. 252). "Yet must I fear the chase."

φυγάδεσθαι δ' ἐπιπλοίας. HAUPT adopted by PAL. An excellent conjecture.

NOTES TO THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES

Note 1 (p. 263). "Which may averting Jove from me avert."

The epithet ἀλεξητήριος or ἀλεξίκακος (Pausan. Att. III.) or the averter, applied to the gods (see Odys. III. 346, is to be noted), as characteristic of the grand fact in the history of mind, that with rude nations the fear of evil is the dominant religious motive; so much so, that in the accounts which we read of some savage, or semi-savage nations, religion seems to consist altogether in a vague, dim fear of some unknown power, either without moral attributes altogether, or even positively malignant. In this historical sense, the famous maxim, *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*—however insufficient as a principle of general theology—is quite true. In the present passage, the phraseology is remarkable.

ὦν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος
'Ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο—

literally, of which evils may Jove be the averter, and in being so, answer to his name. This allusion to the names and epithets of the gods occurs in Æschylus with a frequency which marks it as a point of devotional propriety in the worship of the Greeks. I have expressed the same thing in the text by the repetition of *avert*. So in the *Choephora*, p. 103, *Herald Hermes, herald me in this, &c.*

Note 2 (p. 263).

"In his ear and inward sense deep-pondered truths,
By no false art, though without help from fire."

"Tiresias, the Theban seer, was blind, and could not divine by fire or other visible signs; but he had received from Pallas a remarkably acute hearing, and the faculty of understanding the voices of birds."—*Apollodor.* III. 6.—STAN. WELL. objects to this, but surely without good reason. Why are the ears—*εν ὠσι*—mentioned so expressly, if not to make some contrast to the common method of divining by the eye?

Note 3 (p. 264). "By Mars, Enyo, and blood-loving Terror."

With Mars in Homer (Il. IV. 440) are coupled Φόβος and Δέιμος, *Fear* and *Terror*, as in this passage of Æschylus, and *Ἐρις*, *Strife*.

"FEAR and TERROR went with him, and STRIFE that rages without bound,
STRIFE of Mars the man-destroyer, sister and companion dear."

And in Livy (I. 27), Tullus Hostilius being pressed in battle, "*duodecim vovit Salios, fanaque PALLORI et PAVORI.*"—Compare Cic. de Nat. Deor. III. c. 25. ENYO is coupled in Homer as a war-goddess with ATHENA—

"Well Tydides knew that Venus was no goddess made for war,
Not Athena, not Eýno city-sacking."

In our language, we have naturalized her Roman counterpart BELLONA.

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Note 4 (p. 264). “. . . the chariot of Adrastus.”

“Because it had been predicted that Adrastus alone should survive the war.”—SCHOLIAST.

Note 5 (p. 265).

CHORUS. This Chorus, SCHNEIDER remarks, naturally divides itself into four, or, as I think, rather into five distinct parts. (1) The Chorus enter the stage in great hurry and agitation, indicated by the Dochmiac verse—*σποράδην*, according to the analogy of the Eumenides—(see the *βίος Αισχύλου*)—in scattered array, and, perhaps in the person of their Coryphæus, describe generally the arrival of the Theban host, and their march against the walls of Thebes. (2) But as the agitation increases, continuity of description becomes impossible, and a series of broken and irregular exclamations and invocations by individual voices follows. (3) Then a more regular prayer, or the chaunting of the Theban litany begins, in which we must suppose the whole band to join. (4) This is interrupted, however, by the near terror of the assault, and the chaunt is again broken into hurried exclamations of individual voices. (5) The litany is then wound up by the whole band. Of course no absolute external proof of matters of this kind can be offered; but the internal evidence is sufficiently strong to warrant the translator in marking the peculiar character of the Chorus in some such manner as I have done. For dramatic effect, this is of the utmost consequence. Nothing has more hurt the dramatic character of Æschylus, than the practice of throwing into the form of a continuous ode what was written for a series of well-arranged individual voices. Whoever he was among more recent scholars that first analyzed the Choruses with a special view to separate the exclamatory parts from the continuous chaunt deserves my best thanks.—See Note 19 to the EUMENIDES, p. 377.

Note 6 (p. 265).

“With clattering hoofs, on and on still they ride.”

πεδιοπλόκτυπος. Before this word, another epithet *ελεδεμνας* occurs, which the intelligent scholar will readily excuse me for having omitted altogether.

Note 7 (p. 265). “. . . the white-shielded host.”

The epithet *λευκασπης* seems characteristic of the Argive host in the Boeotian legend. SOPHOCLES, in the beautiful opening Chorus of the *Antigone*, and EURIPIDES in the *Phænissæ*, has it. Such traits were of course adopted by the tragedians from the old local legends always with conscientious fidelity. STAN. refers it to the general white or shining aspect of the shields of the common soldiers, distinguished by no various-coloured blazonry; which may be the true explanation.

Note 8 (p. 265). “With chaplet and stole.”

In modern times, the mightiest monarchs have not thought it beneath their dignity to present, and sometimes, even, to work a petticoat to the Virgin Mary. In ancient times, the presentation of a *πέπλος* to the maiden goddess of Athens was no less famous—

“Take the largest and the finest robe that in thy chamber lies—
Take the robe to thee so dear, and place it duly on the knees
Of the beautiful-haired Athena.”—IL. VI. 273.

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VIRGIL has not forgotten this—*Æneid* I. 480. The *peplos* was a large upper dress, often reaching to the feet. YATES, in the *Dict. Antiq.*, translates it “shawl,” which may be the most accurate word, but, from its modern associations, of course, unsuitable for poetry.—See the article.

Note 9 (p. 265). “O Ares, that shines in the helmet of gold.”

Mars was one of the native ἐπιχώριοι gods of Thebes, as the old legend of the dragon and the sown-teeth sufficiently testifies. The dragon was the offspring of Mars; and the fountain which it guarded, when it was slain by the Phœnician wanderer, was sacred to that god. APOLLODOR. III. 4; UNGER. *de fonte Aret.* p. 103.

Note 10 (p. 266) “And their steeds with ringing bridles.”

Bells were often used on the harness of horses, and on different parts of the armour, to increase the war-alarm—the κλαγγή τε ἐνοπή τε (Il. III. 2), which is so essential a part of the instinct of assault. See the description of Tydeus below, and *Dict. Antiq. tintinnabulum*, where is represented a fragment of ancient sculpture, showing the manner in which bells were attached to the collars of war-horses. Dio Cassius (Lib. LXXVI. 12) mentions that “the arms of the Britons are a shield and short spear, in the upper part whereof is an apple of brass, which, being shaken, terrifies the enemy with the sound.” Compare κωδωνο, φαλαραπωλους. *Aristoph. Ran.* 963.

Note 11 (p. 266). “God of pawing steeds, Poseidon.”

Neptune is called equestrian or ἵππιος, no doubt, from the analogy of the swift waves, over which his car rides, to the fleet ambling of horses. In the mythical contest with Pallas, accordingly, while the Athenian maid produces the olive tree, the god of waves sends forth a war-horse.

Note 12 (p. 266). “Save us, Cypris, mother of Thebans.”

“Harmonia, whom Cadmus married, was the daughter of Mars and Aphrodite.”—SCHOLIAST.

Note 13 (p. 266). “Save us, save us, Wolf-Apollo.”

Here is one of those pious puns upon the epithets of the gods, which were alluded to in Note 1 above. With regard to this epithet of Apollo, who, in the *Electra* of SOPHOCLES, v. 6, is called distinctly *wolf-slayer* (λυκοκτόνος), there seems to me little doubt that the Scholiast on that passage is right in referring this function to Apollo, as the god of a pastoral people (νόμιος). PASSOW (*Dict. in voce*), compare *Pausan.* (Cor. II. 19).

Note 14 (p. 267). “O-Onca, blest Onca.”

Onca, says the Scholiast, was a name of Athena, a Phœnician epithet, brought by Cadmus from his native country. The Oncan gate was the same as the Ogygian gate of Thebes mentioned by other writers, and the most ancient of all the seven.—UNGER. p. 267; *Pausan.* IX. 8.

Note 15 (p. 267). “The seven-gated city deliver, deliver.”

The current traditional epithet of Thebes, whose seven gates were as famous as the seven mouths of the Nile—

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"Rari quippe boni : numerus vix est totidem quot
Thebarum portæ vel divitis ostia Nili."—Juv. Sat. XIII. 26.

And *Homer*, in the *Odyssey* XI. 263, talks of—

"Amphion and Zethus,
First who founded and uptowered the seat of seven-gated Thebes."

These may suffice from a whole host of citations in UNGER. Vol. I. p. 254-6, and Pausan. IX. 8. 3.

Note 16 (p. 267). "... a foreign-speaking foe !"

This appears strange, as both besieged and besiegers were Greeks, differing no more in dialect than the Prussians and the Austrians, or we Scotch from our English neighbours. I agree with E. P. that it is better not to be over-curious in such matters, and that Butler is right when he says that *ἐρεπόφωρος* is only *paullo gravius dictum ad miserationem*—that is, only a little tragic exaggeration for *hostile* or *foreign*.

Note 17 (p. 268). "... the painted gods upon the prow."

The general practice was, that the tutelary gods were on the poop, and only the figure-head on the prow (*Dict. Antiq., Ships and Insigne*), but, as there was nothing to prevent the figure-head being itself a god, the case alluded to by *Æschylus* might often occur.—See the long note in STAN.

Note 18 (p. 268). "Who knows not
That, when a city falls, they pass to the Victor"

The Roman custom of evoking the gods of a conquered city to come out of the subject shrines, and take up their dwelling with the conqueror, is well known. In *LIVY*, V. 21, there is a remarkable instance of this in the case of Veii—"Tuo ductu," says CAMILLUS, "Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios : tibi que hinc decumam partem prædæ voveo. Te simul, JUNO REGINA, quæ nunc Veios colis, precor ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare ; ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat."

Note 19 (p. 269). "For blood of mortals is the common food."

I read *φόνω*, not *φόβω*, principally for the sake of the sentiment, as the other idea which *φόβω* gives, has been already expressed. Certainly WELL. is too positive in saying that *φόβω* is "*prorsus necessarium*." Both readings give an equally appropriate sense : that in the text, which POT. also gives ; or this other—

"Your fear but heaps the fuel of hot war
I' the hearts o' the foe."

Note 20 (p. 270). "Dirce and Ismenus' sacred stream."

These were waters in Theban legend no less famous than INACHUS and ERASINUS in that of Argos. The waters of Dirce, in particular, were famous for their clearness and pleasantness to drink. "Dirce, flowing with a pure and sweet stream," says AELIAN, *Var. Hist.* XII. 57, quoted by UNGER. p. 187, and *Æschylus* in the Chorus immediately following, equals its praise to that of the Nile, sung so magnificently in the *Suppliants*."

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Note 21 (p. 271). "From Poseidon earth-embracing,
And from Tethys' winding sons."

Γαῖόχορος—the "*Earth-holder*" or "*Earth-embracer*," is a designation of Poseidon, stamped to the Greek ear with the familiar authority of Homer. According to Hesiod, and the Greek mythology generally, the fountains were the sons of Ocean either directly or indirectly, through the rivers, who owned the same fatherhood. Tethys is the primeval Amphitrite.—See Note 13 to Prometheus, p. 390 above.

Note 22 (p. 273). "... at the Præetian portal Tydeus stands."

"A gate of doubtful parentage, from which the road went out from Thebes direct to Chalcis in Eubœa."—UNGER. p. 297. "Here, by the wayside, was the tomb of Melanippus, the champion of this gate, who slew his adversary Tydeus."—PAUSAN. IX. 8. This Tydeus is the father of Diomedes, whose exploits against men and gods are so nobly sung in Iliad V. From the frequency of the words *βοᾶν*, *βοῆν*, *βρέμειν*, etc. in this fine description, one might almost think that Æschylus had wished to paint the father after the Homeric likeness of the son, who, like Menelaus, was *βοῆν ἀγαθός*. In the heroic ages, a pair of brazen lungs was not the least useful accomplishment of a warrior. The great fame of the father of Diomedes as a warrior appears strikingly from that passage of the Iliad (IV. 370), where Agamemnon uses it as a strong goad to prick the valorous purpose of the son.

Note 23 (p. 273). "... the wise Oiclidan seer."

"Amphiaraus, the son of Oicles, being a prophet, and foreseeing that all who should join in the expedition against Thebes would perish, refused to go himself, and dissuaded others. Polynices, however, coming to Iphis, the son of Alector, inquired how Amphiaraus might be forced to join the expedition, and was told that this would take place if his wife Eriphyle should obtain the necklace of Harmonia. This, accordingly, Polynices gave her, she receiving the gift in the face of an interdict in that matter laid on her by her husband. Induced by this bribe, she persuaded her husband to march against his will, he having beforehand promised to refer any matter in dispute between him and Adrastus to the decision of his wife.—APOLLODOR. III. 6; Confr. Hor. III. 16, 11.

Note 24 (p. 273). "The brazen bells ring fear."

A Scottish knight, in an old ballad, has these warlike bells on his horse's mane—

"At ilk tail o' his horse's mane,
There hung a siller bell :
The wind was loud, the steed was proud,
And they gied a sindry knell."—YOUNG WATERS.

And one of SOUTHEY's Mexican heroes has them on his helmet—

"Bells of gold
Embossed his glittering helmet, and where'er
Their sound was heard, there lay the press of war,
And Death was busiest there."—MADOC. II. 18.

Note 25 (p. 274).

"His race from those whom Ares spared he draws."

That is to say, he belonged to one of the oldest originally Theban families—was one of the children of the soil, sprung from the teeth of the

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old Theban dragon, which Cadmus, by the advice of Athena, sowed in the Earth; and from that act, the old race of Thebans were called *σπαρτοί*, or the *Sown*. See STAN.'s note.

Note 26 (p. 274). "Proud Capaneus before the Electran gate."

This gate was so called from Electra, the sister of Cadmus. *Pausan.* IX. 8-3. And was the gate which led to Plataea and Athens. *Unger.* p. 274.

Note 27 (p. 275). "... The third lot to Eteocles
Leapt from the upturned brazen helm."

The custom of using the helmet, for the *situla* or urn, when lots were taken in war, must have been noted by the most superficial student of Homer. STAN. has collected many instances, of which one may suffice—

"Quickly, in the brazen helm, we shake the lot; and first of all,
Of Eurylochus, mighty-hearted, leapt the lot."—*ODYSSEY* X. 206.

Note 28 (p. 275). "At the Netaean gate."

So called from Neis, a son of Zethus, the brother of Amphion. *Pausan.* IX. 8; *Unger.* p. 313.

Note 29 (p. 276).

"Black smoke, the volumed sister of the flame."

Just as Homer, in a familiar passage, calls "sleep the mother of death" (*Il.* XIV. 231), adopted by SHELLEY in the exquisite exordium of *Queen Mab*—

"How beautiful is Death,
Death and his brother Sleep!"

MITCHELL, in a note on the metaphors of *Æschylus* (*Aristoph.* *Ran.* 871), mentions this as being one of those tropes, where the high-vaulting tragedian has jerked himself over from the sublime into the closely-bordering territory of the ridiculous; but neither here nor in *διαδρομὰν ὁμαλμούς*, which he quarrels with, is there anything offensive to the laws of good taste. It sounds, indeed, a little queer to translate literally, *Rapine near akin to running hither and thither*; but, as a matter of plain fact, it is true that, when in the confusion of the taking of a city, men run hither and thither, rapine is the result. In my version, *Plunder, daughter of Confusion* (p. 272 above), expresses the idea intelligibly enough, I hope, to an English ear.

Note 30 (p. 276). "Round its hollow belly was embossed
A ring of knotted snakes."

The old Argolic shield, round as the sun—

"Argolici clypei aut Phœbæœ lampadis instar."

See *Dict. Antiq.* *Clypeus*. The kind described in the text finds its modern counterpart in those hollow Burmese shields often found in our museums, only larger.

Note 31 (p. 276). "... by the god of war
Indwelt."

ἐνθεός δ' Ἀπει, literally, "ingodded by Mars," or having the god of war dwelling in him. This phrase shows the meaning of that reproach cast by the Pharisees in the teeth of Christ—*ἔχει δαιμόνιον*—*he hath a devil*, or, as the Greeks would have said, *a god*—*i.e.* he is possessed by a moral power

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so far removed from the common, that we must attribute it to the indwelling might of a god or devil.

Note 32 (p. 276).

“ . . . a hostile pair

Well matched by Hermes.”

The Greeks ascribed to Hermes every thing that they met with on the road, and every thing accidentally found, and whatever happens by chance—and so two adversaries well matched in battle were said to have been brought together by the happy contrivance of that god.”—SCHOL. ; and see Note 59 to the Eumenides, p. 386.

Note 33 (p. 278). “The sixth a sober man, a seer of might,
Before the Homoloidian gate stands forth.”

i.e. AMPHIARAUS—see above, Note 23, p. 420. Homer (Odys. XV. 244) speaks of him as beloved by Jove and Apollo. The Homoloidian gates were so called either from mount Homole in Thessaly (Pausan. IX. 8), or from Homolois, a daughter of Niobe and Amphion.—UNGER. p. 324.

Note 34 (p. 278). “With bitter taunts his evil-omened name,
Making it spell his ugly sin that owns it.”

The name *Polynices* means literally *much strife*; and there can be no question that the prophet in this place is described as taunting the Son of Oedipus with the evil omen of his name after the fashion so familiar with the Greek writers. See *Prometheus*, Note 8, p. 388. The text, however, is in more places than one extremely corrupt; and, in present circumstances, I quite agree with WELL. and LIN. that we are not warranted in introducing the conjectural reading of $\delta\mu\mu\alpha$ for $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$, though there can be no question that the reading $\delta\mu\mu\alpha$ admits of a sufficiently appropriate sense.—See DUNBAR, *Class. Museum*, No. XII. p. 206.

Note 35 (p. 278).

“The wise man is what fools but seem to be.”

“When this tragedy was first acted, ARISTIDES, surnamed the JUST, was present. At the declamation of these words—

$\delta\upsilon\ \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho\ \delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha\iota\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota,$

the whole audience, by an instantaneous instinct, directed their eyes to him.”—PLUTARCH, *Apoth. Reg. et duc.* SALLUST describes Cato in the same language—“*Esse quam videri bonus malebat.*”—STAN.

Note 36 (p. 280). “O god-detested! god-bemadded race!”

In modern theological language we are not accustomed to impute mental infatuation, insanity, or desperate impulses of any kind to the Supreme Being; but in the olden time such language as that of the text was familiarly in the mouth of Jew and Gentile. “*The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart,*” is a sentence which we all remember, perhaps with a strange sensation of mysterious terror, from our juvenile lessons; and “*quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat,*” is a common maxim in our mouths, though we scarcely half believe it. In Homer and the tragedians instances of this kind occur everywhere; and in the Persians of our author the gods are addressed in a style of the most unmitigated accusation. In such cases, modern translators are often inclined

to soften down the apparent impiety of the expression into some polite modern generality ; but I have scrupulously retained the original phraseology. I leave it to the intelligent reader to work out the philosophy of this matter for himself.

Note 37 (p. 281). “. . . the god will have it so.”

This is one of the cases so frequent in the ancient poets (Note 76 to Choephoræ, p. 372) where *θεός* is used in the singular without the article. In the present case the translators seem agreed in supplying the definite particle, as Phœbus, mentioned in the next line, may naturally be understood. In modern language, where a man is urged on to his destruction by a violent unreasoning passion, reference is generally made to an overruling decree or destiny, rather than directly to the author of all destiny. “But my ill-fate pushed me on with an obstinacy that nothing could resist ; and, though I had several times loud calls from my reason and my more composed judgment to go home, yet I had no power to do it. *I know not what to call this, nor will I urge that it is a secret overruling decree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we rush upon as with our eyes open.* Certainly nothing but some such decreed unavoidable misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have pushed me forward against the calm reasonings and persuasions of my most retired thoughts.”—*Robinson Crusoe*. On this subject see my *Homeric Theology*. *Class. Mus.* No. XXVI. Propositions 5, 12, and 18 compared.

Note 38 (p. 281). “Death is thy only gain, and death to-day
Is better than to-morrow !”

λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὕστερον μέρου—*mentioning to me an advantage* (viz., in my dying now) *preferable to a death at a later period* ; as his good genius might have whispered to Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo. In translating thus a confessedly difficult passage I have WELCKER (Trilog. 363), BUTLER, BLOM., and SCHÜTZ., and E. P. Oxon., on my side, also the simple comment of Scholiast II.—*κέρδος, i.e. τὸ νῦν τεθνᾶναι πρότερον, i.e. τιμιώτερον.* LIN. agreeing with WELL. translates “urging the glory of the victory which precedes the death which follows after it.” CONZ. is singular, and certainly not to be imitated in translating with Schol. I.—

“*Wer der erste tödlet gewinnt den Sieg.*”

“He who inflicts the first lethal blow gains the victory.”

POT. has not grappled with the passage. If LIN.’s interpretation be preferred, I should render—

“Beside me sits

The Fury with dry tearless eye, and points to
One glimpse of glory heralding black death.”

or—

“The glorious gain that shall precede the death.”

It will be observed that if *πρότερον* be taken in the sense of *τιμιώτερον*, with the Scholiast, and *τὸ νῦν τεθνᾶναι* understood to *κέρδος*, Wellauer’s objection falls that *μαλλον* or *μειζον* must be understood to render the rendering in my text admissible.

Note 39 (p. 282). “. . . goddess most ungodlike.”

I have remarked, in a Note above, that the Greeks, so far from having any objection to the idea that the gods were the authors of evil, rather

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encouraged it; and accordingly, in their theology, they had no need for a devil or devils in any shape. This truth, however, must be received with the qualification, arising from the general preponderating character of the Greek deities, which was unquestionably benign, and coloured more from the sunshine than the cloud; in reference to which general character, it might well be said that certain deities, whose function was purely to induce misery, were *ὅν θεοῖς ὅμοιοι*—*nothing like the gods*.

Note 40 (p. 282). "O son of Scythia, must we ask thine aid?
Chalybian stranger thine."

We see here how loosely the ancients used certain geographical terms, and especially this word SCYTHIA; for the CHALYBES or CHALDAEI, as they were afterwards called, were a people of PONTUS. Their country produced, in the most ancient times, silver also; but, in the days of Strabo, iron only.—STRABO, Lib. XII. p. 549.

Note. 41 (p. 284). ". . . for sorry tendance wrathful."

I read *ἐπικότος τροφᾶς* with HEATH., BLOM., and PAL. For the common reading, *ἐπικότους τροφάς*, WELL., with his usual conservative ingenuity, finds a sort of meaning; but the change which the new reading requires is very slight, and gives a much more obvious sense; besides that it enables us to understand the allusion to Æschylus in Schol. Oedip. Col. 1375.—See Introductory Remarks, WELCKER'S *Trilogie*, p. 358, and PAL.'s Note.

Note 42 (p. 284). ". . . (for still in four and three
The god delights)."

These words are a sort of comment on the epithet *ἐβδομαγέτας* given to Apollo in the text, of which PAPE, in his Dictionary, gives the following account: "Surname of Apollo, because sacrifice was offered to him on the seventh day of every month, or as LOBECK says (*Aglaoph.* p. 434), because seven boys and seven girls led the procession at his feasts.—Herod. VI. 57. The ancients were not agreed in the interpretation of this epithet." It is not *necessary*, however, I must admit with SCHNEIDER, to suppose any reference to this religious arithmetic here. Phœbus receives the seventh gate, because, as the prophet of the doom, it was his special business to see it fulfilled; and this he could do only there, where the devoted heads of Eteocles and Polynices stood.

Note 43 (p. 285).

"And I for plaints no less than pæans bring thee."

I see no sufficient case made out for giving these words from *τοιᾶντα* down to *φορουμενοι* to the Chorus. The Messenger, surely, may be allowed his moral reflections without stint in the first place, as the Chorus is to enlarge on the same theme in the chaunt which immediately follows. It strikes me also, that the tone of the passage is not sufficiently passionate for the Chorus.

Note 44 (p. 289). "Ay, drenched in gore, in brothered gore."

In the old editions, and in POT. and GLASG. these words are given to Ismene; but never was a scenic change made with greater propriety than that of BRUNCK, when he continued these speeches down to the end of Antistrophe IV. to the Chorus. Nothing could be more unnatural than that the

afflicted sisters, under such a load of woe, should open their mouths with long speeches—long, assuredly, in comparison of what they afterwards say. They are properly silent, till the Chorus has finished the wail; and then they speak only in short exclamations—articulated sobs—nothing more. For the same reason, deserting WELL., I have given the repeated burden 'Ιὼ Μοῖρα, etc. to the Chorus. The principal mourners in this dirge should sing only in short and broken cries.

Note 45 (p. 290). “Moera, baneful gifts dispensing.”

The word *μοῖρα* originally means *lot, portion, part, that which is dealt or divided out to one*. In this sense it occurs frequently in Homer, and is there regarded as proceeding from the gods, and specially from Jove. But with an inconsistency natural enough in popular poetry, we sometimes find *μοῖρα* in Homer, like *ἀτὴ*, elevated to the rank of a separate divine personage. “Not I,” says Agamemnon, in the *Iliad* (XIX. 86), “was to blame for the quarrel with Achilles,

But JOVE and MOERA and the FURY, walking through the darkness dread.

The three Fates, CLOTHO, LACHESIS, and ATROPOS, like the three FURIES, were a post-Homeric birth. We thus see how, under the influence of the Polytheistic system, new gods were continually created from what were originally mere functions of the divine mind, or results of the divine activity.

Note 46 (p. 292). “Due burial in its friendly bosom.”

θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς. The words here used seem to imply interment in the modern fashion, without burning, but they may also refer to the depositing of the urns in subterranean chambers. Ancient remains, as well as the testimony of classical authors, prove that both practices existed among the ancients, though cremation was latterly the more common. The reader will be instructed by the following extract on this subject from Dr. Smith's admirable *Dictionary of Antiquities*, article *Funus*: “The body was either buried or burnt. Lucian, *de luctu*, says that the Greeks burn, and the Persians bury, their dead; but modern writers are greatly divided in opinion as to which was the usual practice. Wachsmuth (*Hell. Alt.* II. 2, p. 79) says that, in historical times, the dead were always buried; but this statement is not strictly correct. Thus we find that Socrates (Plut. *Phædon*) speaks of his body being either burnt or buried; the body of Timoleon was burnt; and so was that of Philopæmon (Plutarch). The word *θάπτειν* is used in connection with either mode; it is applied to the collection of the ashes after burning; and accordingly we find the words *καίειν* and *θάπτειν* used together (Dionys. *Archæolog.* Rom. V. 48). The proper expression for interment in the earth is *κατορύττειν*; whereas we find Socrates speaking of *το σῶμα ἢ καόμενον, ἢ κατορυπτόμενον*. In Homer, the bodies of the dead are burnt; but interment was also used in very ancient times. Cicero (*de leg.* II. 25) says that the dead were buried at Athens in the time of Cecrops; and we also read of the bones of Orestes being found in a coffin at Tegea (Herod. I. 68). The dead were commonly buried among the Spartans (Plut. *Lycurg.* 27) and the Sicyonians (Paus. II. 7); and the prevalence of this practice is proved by the great number of skeletons found in coffins in modern times, which have evidently not been exposed to the action of fire. Both burning and burying appear to have been always used, to a greater or less extent, at different periods; till the spread of Christianity at length put an end to the former practice.”

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Note 47 (p. 293). "Mighty Furies that triumphant
Ride on ruin's baleful wings."

I have here, by a paraphrase, endeavoured to express the remarkably pregnant expression of the original *κῆρες Επιπνύες*—combining, as it does, in grammatical apposition, two terrible divine powers, that the ancient poets generally keep separate. The *κῆρες*, or goddesses of destruction and violent death, occur frequently in Homer. Strictly speaking, they represent only one of the methods by which the retributive Furies may operate; but, in a loose way of talking, they are sometimes identified with them. Schoemann, in a note to the *Eumenides*, p. 62, has quoted to this effect, *Hesiod* v. 217, and *Eurip. Elect.* v. 1252:—

"The terrible *Kerés*, blushless persecutors,
Will chase thee wandering frenzied o'er the earth."